PhD 14272

SETTLEMENT AS HISTORY :
A STUDY OF SPACE AND TIME AMONG THE DOGON OF MALI

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I dedicate this thesis
to my Cornish and my
Dogon parents in
return for the
benefit of their wisdom.

"ìdu gini do"

"the eyes of a fish are water"

Dogon Proverb

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SUMMARY

This thesis is based on a study of the use and organisation of the residential space of a contemporary West African group of subsistence cultivators, the Dogon of Mali. Its aims are to contribute towards the development of a theory of material culture practice and increase our understanding of the relationships between physical space and human behaviour. In Chapter 1 some of the more common archaeological and ethnoarchaeological assumptions of these relationships are discussed. In particular, the notion that material culture passively reflects behaviour is critiqued, and an alternative formulation which proposes that material culture actively creates social values and meanings is developed. This position is further developed in Chapter 2 with reference to the temporal structuring of action. Chapter 3 provides an introductory ethnography of the Dogon, and the main theme is taken up again in Chapter 4 our with reference to changes in the social configuration of residential space. In Chapter 5 the use of material culture and its spatial order as part of personal strategies played out between young and old, men and women, the individual and the lineage is examined. Chapters 6 and 7 illustrate how these power and gender relations form the axes of daily practice and introduce the potentials for change. While Chapter 8 indicates how, in the face of this potential for change, the dominant ideology is sustained through the use of the physical fabric of settlement to construct a sense of tradition and identity. Chapter 9 summarises the arguments and discusses their implications for archaeology.

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Chapter One

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOARCHAEOLOGY

> "Magic is always an unsuccessful attempt to provide meanings and values, but it is often difficult to distinguish magic from genuine knowledge and from art"
>
> Williams 1980, 189.

Section 1:1 Introduction :

The argument outlined below is based on the results of field research amongst a contemporary, non-Western society, the Dogon of Mali, West Africa. Specifically, a study was made of the use and ordering of residential space and material culture. The aim of this study has been, therefore, to examine relationships between human activity and the generation of patterns of physical artefacts. While founded on work carried out in a contemporary community, the issues addressed by means of the data presented also relate directly to current debates in archaeology. The nexus of these, concerns the appropriateness of particular formulations of human activity within archaeological theory. Related to this is a second issue, namely, whether material culture merely reflect, in a passive sense, human actions and value systems, or, conversely, actively constitute and help to reproduce aspects of society. Moreover, the manner in which the interpretation of archaeological data proceeds, will depend, largely, on which of these two positions is favoured.

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Intriguingly, the resolution of this debate is most likely to be resolved through the investigation of the multitudinous ways contemporary societies attribute meaning to the artefacts and physical spaces they regularly create, use, modify and abandon. There is, therefore, a pressing need for research into the processes of material culture patterning within the context of living communities. During the last twenty years, a disciplinary subfield has emerged, termed 'ethnoarchaeology', which addresses some of these issues. As dominantly conceived, the latter aims to establish the material correlates of human behaviour, which are universal in nature and have predictive value. If these correlates are properly formulated, it is argued, they can in turn be used to infer meaning from the static remains of the archaeological record. Under these broad terms, the majority of ethnoarchaeologists ascribe to the assumption that material culture reflect behaviour, although they differ widely as to the specifics of this relationship. In this thesis a contrary position is forwarded, which posits that material culture stand in a recursive relationship to human agents, and an object of the thesis is to contribute towards the development of a 'theory of material culture practice'. To this end, its greater part is given over to the description and analysis of artefactual patterning within dwelling space in relation to particular ideological constructs. More specifically, the study is concerned with elucidating how physical space helps to construct a sense of history, and how the use of such images of the past contributes to the reproduction of social formations and the physical properties of settlement.

The research method I have followed entailed living with the Dogon for a total of fifteen months, spread over two visits, focussing on the spatio-temporal structuring of daily routine and other aspects of social life. Through participant observation of this kind, I hoped to learn afresh how material culture are integrated into daily life. By virtue of being an outsider, it was easier to adopt a critical and self-conscious position and so explicate this process. The method of participant observation, as is deeply appreciated within Anthropology, is fraught with difficulties, not least that of learning the langauge. The experience, however, does challenge one's own perception of the world. Whereas this has frequently been viewed as the role of ethnography in archaeology, the response to this kind of 'culture shock' has often been a pessimistic one. In this thesis, I hope to adopt a more optimistic stance as to the contribution contemporary material culture research can make to the discipline.

Section 1:2 Archaeology and Inference :

As suggested above, the nature of the inferences that are drawn from archaeological remains is in part contingent on the epistemological status of material culture. The purpose of this section is to examine how this has changed, as explanatory archaeological theory has changed. This summary will also place the emergence of ethnoarchaeology into historiographic perspective, and in so doing will bring to the fore some weaknesses of the approach, which will be considered more

extensively in section 1:3.

The underlying issue in many contemporary debates is over the relationship between artefacts and the humans who designed, produced, used and discarded these same objects. A general concern with causal links between mind and matter is by no means new to the discipline, and appears to have been a preoccupation of Western thought in general, at least since Aristotle. Kluckholn, in his essay on Anthropology and the Classics, suggested that one of the major influences on subsequent developments in Cultural Anthropology has been the Aristotelian heritage of the 'nature of things' (1961). Weltfish expressed this in greater detail where he argued that:

> "taking material objects as the focus of our analysis, our own analytic conceptions with relation to them probably rest on the four categories or 'causes' of objective experience developed by Aristotle" (1960, 174).

These were a) Form or shape of an object, [which lies within a range distinct to a given culture];
b) Material;
c) Process, [by this is meant motor and postural procedures];
and d) Social and mental conceptual constructs, [which assign a use, purpose and significance to the object].

The four Aristotelian causes are frequently illustrated with reference to a single artefact. For instance, the form of a statue is its shape, its material might be bronze or marble, the process the acts of its sculptor, and the mental constructs its meaning, purpose and function. When Aristotle in Physics defines the material cause, he refers to the bronze of a statue or the silver of a bowl. He did not however carry this through, as in

the example here, with the other causes. In fact, Sprague (1968) has argued that it is philosophically wrong to exemplify the four causes together by a single example of this kind, largely because of our conceptual separation of these categories. It is easier to appreciate their interelatedness if one applies them to the idea of a Human Being (e.g. see Guthrie 1981, 225-226). Conventional understanding of the four causes, then, is probably based on misconceptions of Aristotle's views on the relations between them, a point which will be returned to below.

With this point in mind, it is clear that ethnographic observations have served to inform archaeology on all of these 'causes'. Take, for example the early accounts of stone-tool using societies provided by de Bry. As Daniel (1950) has indicated these observations led to the rejection of a belief that stone celts were 'thunderbolts' and arrowheads were 'elf-arrows' by Lhwyd and Plot among others. More importantly, this rejection entailed that, on the basis of inferences drawn from contemporary observations, these objects were for the first time to be viewed as human products. Unlike many subsequent ethnographically derived analogies, all four 'causes' of objective experience were simultaneously employed in its construction. Moreover, these 'causes' were not conceptually separated, and neither was one or other of them elevated to a position of theoretical dominance. To elaborate, the observations challenged the dominant Seventeenth Century analytical conceptions about 'form', by extending the range of humanly produced artefacts to include stone axes and flint

arrowheads. Prior to the appearance of de Bry's accounts the possibility of stone-tool using societies had not been extensively considered. So the observation also had an influence on considerations of 'material'. A concomittant effect of this was that certain motor and postural procedures capable of producing such a form as a stone axe had to be attributed to humans, even though these may have been poorly understood at the time. In the same vein, Seventeenth Century social and mental constructs were also challenged as certain objects could now be considered as implements. The conceptual separation of these four 'causes', rather than a straightforward heuristically useful anlaytical separation took place at a much later date.

The history of the discipline is sufficiently well known for it to be unnecessary to elaborate the changing emphases archaeologists have placed on one or other of these 'categories'. One example will serve to make the point, the construction of artefact typologies. Thomsen's Three Age System was largely constructed according to the material of certain objects, cause (b). This scheme, designed to provide a chronological framework, was later superseded by more sophisticated typologies based on form, cause (a), such as those of Montelius, although the basic divisions of Stone, Bronze and Iron were maintained. As an interest in form developed so did a concern with mechanical process, cause (c). The above, admittedly an over-simplification, merely demonstrates the shifting emphases placed on the properties of artefacts in the construction of typologies.

It is important to note that whereas Thomsen's scheme

derived from the solution of an entirely practical problem, the organisation of a museum collection (Klindt Jensen 1975), it also arose from a particular sequence of historical events. The desire to explain the observed sequence of patterns led archaeologists to consider the issues of cultural change. As is well known, initial theories were based on an interpretation of Darwinian ideas of evolution. The specific combination of two basic concepts, namely the gradual and continuous development of form and the explanation of affinity in terms of descent from a common ancestry, had a significant effect on the discipline. In essence, it was assumed that morphological similarity denoted phylogenic proximity. This, as Renfrew points out, was a fundamental error, for "similarities between phenotypes need not betoken kladistic affinity" (1979, 13).

Although these early developments within the discipline placed a great emphasis on taxonomy, the classificatory schemes were constructed with the aim of social reconstruction in mind. Improvements in the understanding of stratigraphical context facilitated the demarcation of temporal stages, and so helped distinguish between different stages of social progress. Uncritical uses of these procedures encouraged a tendency to assume that artefacts were directly equivalent to peoples and later 'cultures'. The misidentification of a similarity in form with affinity of descent led, in the absence of an independent means for establishing chronologies, to an explanatory framework overly dependent on migrations and invasions as causal processes. In their attempts to reconstruct past lifeways archaeologists

drew on ethnographic data principally with the desire to match material patterns with forms.

In effect it was accepted that form, cause (a) was conditioned by social and mental conceptual constructs, cause (d). Change in ´culture´ represented a change in ethnicity, and both could be reflected in material objects It was this model of social and material change that Childe advanced in the first edition of ´The Dawn of European Civilization´ (1925), although he no longer adhered to it in his later writings. In fact, it is apparent that throughout the 1940´s and 1950´s, on both sides of the Atlantic, alternative explanatory frames were being adopted. Of these the structural-functionalism of Taylor and Childe, and the ecological-functionalism of Clark and Steward had important consequences.

Klejn (1977, 3) suggests that the later models of Childe were drawn from Marxism[1] and those of Clark from Anthropological Functionlism as developed by Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. Childe´s interpretaion of Marx has been the subject of considerable discussion and disagreement. One can concur, however, with Gathercole´s reading of Childe that the latter "saw culture as an essentially integrative device, whereby its various elements assured a particular consistency, if not uniqueness, because of thier manifold interrelationships" (1971, 231).

This position is not entirely dissimilar from that of Malinowski´s discussion of a theory of language. In constructing his approach, Malinowski placed an emphasis on both the explanatory power of purpose and function, <u>and</u> on the contextual

dependence of meaning. This is most clearly demonstrated in his study of Trobriand systems of agriculture, where on speech he wrote:

> "It does not function as an expression of thought or communication of ideas but as a part of concerted activity. If we jotted down the words spoken there and treated them as a text divorced from its context of action and situation, the words would obviously remain meaningless and futile" (1935, 8, original emphasis).

It is clear that for Childe, the notion of context, so central to the methodologies of the discipline, must be extended at all levels of interpretation to include the human, and not just the physical, context of artefacts. His frequent reiterations of this view were aimed at refining understanding of the concept of archaeological sources and to lay the foundations of a contextual approach to their interpretation. Crucial to this model was an appreciation that artefacts, "things made or unmade by deliberate human action" (1956, 11) as with all archaeological data "are expressions of human thought and purposes and are valued only as revelations thereof" (1959,11). A similar view was held by Walter Taylor, who argue that it "is the mediate agency of a mind that brings about the culture relationships between cultural products" (1948, 143). Childe, however, offers a qualifying rider to Collingwood's dictum (1946) that 'all history is the history of thought', where he argues that historians are per force restricted to a consideration of only those thoughts which were objectified by society (Childe 1956, 11). The emphasis here is clearly on action rather than thought per se.

An emphasis on the contextual dependance of the meaning of material culture was similarly a feature of Clark's work, although he favoured 'environmental context' as determinant, as opposed to the 'social context' preferred by Childe. In stressing this, however, he shows a greater inclination towards a conceptual separation of thought from actions and to be in favour of a kind of hierachy of inference. This is particularly clear in the division of the chapter on interpretation in his essay on Archaeology and Society (1947, 151-188), into categories such as 'living area', 'material culture', 'art' and 'religion'. The structure of this chapter could almost be a precursor of Hawkes' 'ladder of inference' (1954), except that Clark may have considered economy easier to infer than technology.

Steward, commenting on an essay by Lowther on epistemology (1962), also stresses the importance of context in archaeological understanding. For example, he argues that it is only when objects are considered in context that they "acquire ascribed meanings, which depend upon innumerable auxiliary propositions and conceptualizations" (Steward 1962, 508). Attributes, he states, cannot be treated as external to context, for it is only through a consideration of context that an assessment of meaning can be made; this includes the process of determining Piltdown skulls from those of Swanscombe, and eoliths from palaeoliths. "If truth also consists of meanings derived from contexts", he continues, "the epistemological need is to stipulate interest and problem so as to set a frame of reference for ascertaining the

way in which the context is structured" (ibid., 508).

In the work of all these authors, despite their different orientations, there also exists a strong bias towards the totality of social behaviour characteristic of Durkheimian holism, that laid the foundations for a systems approach in archaeology[2] . Context, whether social, economic or environmental was considered to be structured so as to facilitate the functioning of the cultural group or system. In place of Durkheim´s emphasis on moral order was substituted purpose and usage. Social processes came to be seen as adaptive strategies, restricting comparison to groups within a culture area, which was frequently defined according to geographical and ecological criteria. This is clearest in the attempts of Clark to develop an economic archaeology. In his earlier work, economic life is situated in the "wider economy of nature" (1952, 7) and a simple tripartite model demonstrating the links between biome, habitat and economy was forwarded (1952, 8). The interprative model of Star Carr that Clark formulated some twenty years later bears all the hall marks of a systems approach (e.g. 1972, 15), without fully adopting that paradigm.

Childe, although never a systems thinker, also fostered an approach to material cultures that would be compatible with systems theorising. This is clearest in his consideration of the rise of civilisation in the Near East. He lists, for example, the various material traits that could be treated as correlates of state-like formations and provides a series of hypotheses concerning the evolution of social and productive stratification

and economic development(1934). Childe also elaborated upon this theory of social change in a general fashion elsewhere (1951). By accepting the irreducibility of culture as a prerequisite, the problem which faced archaeolgy, and incidentally clearly acknowledged at the time by many of its practioners, was how to overcome cultural relativism. To assume the existence of ´uniformities of social evolution´, as did Marrists, was not a solution, as Childe came to recognise. To do so would be to fail to account for the differences between societies, particularly those which had reached the same stage of cultural evolution (Childe 1958, 7). The relative nature of meaning, then, appears to have been the rock upon which the later normative approach was to founder. The pessimism exhibited in the work of many archaeologists at this time, derives from the apparent empirical falsification of the potentials of a discipline that these same archaeologists had struggled to establish in a wider context of universities and society. These anxieties, characteristic of classic relativist view about historical understanding can be summarised as follows :

1) Archaeologists study the past only through the medium of contemporary sources; that is they do not study the past ´objectively´, that is by means of observation (e.g. Collingwood 1946, 251-253).

2) Our knowledge of the past is incomplete because of the selective nature of our source material. Since archaeologists do not know what is missing it is not possible to correctly evaluate what is present (e.g. Piggott 1965, 78-84; Smith 1956, 7).

3) Archaeological narratives, like all historical accounts, are structured in a manner which may not accurately characterise what actually happened (e.g. Piggott 1972, 951).

4) Archaeological accounts are necessarily value-laden since archaeologists bring with them their own ethnocentrisms. Related to this is the occassional recognition that the events of history are in themselves value-laden in that they are constituted by human acts (especially Collingwood 1946; also Childe 1958, 7-8).

Without direct observational access to the past, as a means of confirming inferences, the arguments went, it was not possible to know **The Past** as it actually was[3]. Within this framework the role of ethnography could most usefully be as a means to stimulate the imagination and sohelp allieviate, but not overcome, these anxieties.

The efforts to break free of this ideographic, particularist and sceptical view of archaeology gave rise to what has subsequently been termed the ´New Archaeology´. The focus of the debate in the 1960´s and 1970´s became the various claims to scientific status, and the reactions against these calls. In particular archaeologists became preoccupied with two things, the status of their observations and their status as observers of phenomena.

Although it was accepted that all observations are on contemporary phenomena and therefore require a certain set of presuppositions, making these explicit was not all of what was entailed. A further step, that of formalising the procedures of inquiry was also required. A lack of standards of inference was held to characterise the discipline, as borne out by Clarke´s description of archaeology as ´an undisciplined empirical discipline´ (1968, xiii).

It was held by several proponents of an explicitly

scientific approach that a lack of standards of inference predicated against the application of logical and empirical justifications of an interpretation, in preference to the academic status of the individual who made it (Binford 1965, 17; for recent re-statements of this belief see Binford 1983, 3-20; Plog 1981, 26). Conversely, sytematising procedures would guarantee that standards of interpretation and falisification could be applied, and the first step towards a 'loss of innocence' made. In short this entails accepting that the Natural Sciences offer a privileged model of rationality, although as Clarke expressed it, the "real basis of objectivity is to be arbitrary in a narrowly confined and defined manner" (1968, 136).

One of the arguments of this critique was that historical events cannot be explained without some consideration of process, that is, apart from their processual context (Binford 1968a). This belief arises in part from an insistence that meaning derives from function as well as form, and in particular the social function of artefacts. Such a conceptual separation of the Aristotelian causes, already established by precedent in the discipline, was reinforced by notions of social units as systems, and the necessity of interdependent functioning parts to ensure the survival and perpetuation of those groups. Binford, in an early attempt to define the principle functions of these parts, categorised material culture into technomic, socio-technic and ideo-technic domains (1962). Within this scheme the meaning of an artefact was viewed as being contingent on its function and

position within a system. There is, however, a tendency to assume that ´function´ implies final cause, since in a systems framework ´function´ specifies the contribution of an artefact, as with practices and institutions, to the persistence of the system[4].

The ascription of function is however not straightforward, and poses a particular set of problems for the archaeologist. In the first place it is acknowledged that meanings as conventionally understood, are culturally relative. For Culture, according to this position, is dependent upon symbols because it "was the excerise of the symbolic faculty that brought culture into existence and it is the use of symbols that makes the perpetuation of culture possible" (White 1949, 33). The thrust of White´s argument here is that it is symbolic communication which brings objects, as objects into existence, and therefore only exist for an actor after the ascription of meaning. This however, raises the problem of how is it possible to come to terms with another culture if, as experience suggests, meaning is ascribed to the world according to different criteria.

A related problem is that through the exigencies of time, the archaeologist is poorly situated to translate meanings that may be made available in an ethnographic context through verbal gestural and even literary means. Combined, these anxieties seem to indicate the need to establish universal, timeless laws that facilitate comparison between sets of archaeological data, and alleviate the problems of non-observation.

Adopting a strongly positivist frame of reference required accepting that archaeological facts are empirical realities. The doctrine of empiricism ensures that "only what has been given to us in sense experience can play a substantive role in our knowledge of the world" (Mitchell and Rosen 1983, 3). This in turn facilitates the use of definitions of archaeological facts, that are increasingly distanced from any assumption that they are the products of human endeavour. Wauchope (1956, 36) identified the artefact as the minimal archaeological fact. The archaeological fact, for Clarke, was also "the artefact - or rather observations about their specific and contextual attributes" (1968, 41). The polythetic nature and hierachical ordering of archaeological entities, Clarke believed, corresponded with the function of artefacts within the different information systems of social groups.

Binford's position differs from Clarke's in that he regards observational units, such as the attribute or artefact as a priori judgements of significance (1968a, 23-25), and has more recently defined archaeological facts as:

> "a structure of relationships between the distribution and form of matter as caused by energy sources acting on matter in the past" (Binford 1981a, 26).

This is in keeping with his view of 'culture' as a conceptual construct, as the extrasomatic means of adaptation available to human society (1962, 218)[5]. From this perspective, artefacts are mere addages that reflect in a passive and non-problematic manner the adaptive strategies of a given society. As by products of

the operation of a cultural system, artefacts provide a means of establishing the operational variables of that system (Binford 1968a, 24). Within this scheme of reasoning, the phenomena that are considered to be non-observable are processes, particularly human behaviour. In its extreme form this model assumes that "behavior is observable in the material remains of the culture" (Watson, Redman and LeBlanc 1971, 68). In fact this statement is a complete refutation of the premises of phenomenalist and inspectionist theories of knowledge that New Archaeology has espoused, since the behaviour is clearly not observable.

It was, however, this emphasis on process that encouraged the rejection of efforts to understand the archaeological record in terms of the meanings, the artefacts and ecofacts contained therein might have had for the historical agents. The explanatory philosophies ascribed to, particularly that of nomological deductivism, lent support to this attitude to material culture.

Binford expresses the need for laws of cultural dynamics as arising from questions of the kind "What meaning may we justifiably give to contemporary static facts regarding past dynamics ? What conditions of dynamics, not available for observation, produce the forms and structures observable as static patterning in the archaeological record ?" (1977, 6-7). In order that meaning, which is apparently lacking from the archaeological record, is not ascribed at will by observers, it is essential to identify the "agency (energy source) responsible for generating certain patterns" and to "specify criteria for

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recognizing traces, or 'signature patterns'"(1981a, 26). In otherwords certain standards of comparison must be established. Furthermore it was suggested that in order to answer these points appropriate theories, known as Middle Range Theory, should be developed. In general terms, Middle Range Theory attempts, to use currently fashionable terminology, to get from 'statics to dynamics' (infra Section 1:3). One of the methods of formulating these theories proposed is that of 'actualistic studies', under which term can be included ethnoarchaeological research, since it is only in a contemporary context that the relevant variables and observer coincide.

Section 1:3 Ethnoarchaeology : Panacea or Paralysis ?

The use of ethnography within archaeology as a means of suggesting hypotheses was hardly novel, and Hawkes, for instance, had stated that the contribution of ethnography was "to stimulate the imagination" (1954, 162). What distinguished this new tack was that archaeologists were to conduct their own ethnographic inquiries, with an aim to answer specific problems and to test specific hypotheses. Ethnographic accounts and contemporary interests in Anthropology were deemed inappropriate, and a new method had to be devised. The apparent advantage of commencing this research was that it would focus on an area which had received scant attention from social and cultural anthropologists, namely the relationships between material culture and human behaviour.

Since the publication of the study by Kliendist and Watson

(1956) ethnoarchaeology has achieved the status of a recognised disciplinary subfield. Despite an overall diminution of eclectic uses of parallels and more systematised research, ethnoarchaeology still exhibits a great diversity in specific aims, scope and substance. A number of useful reviews that summarise the history and scope of the uses of ethnographically derived data in archaeology have appeared in recent years (e.g. Atherton 1983; Orme 1973,1981; Stiles 1977; Ucko 1969). Less deliberation has been given to identifying the theoretical advances that could have been achieved only by these means (although see Hodder 1983). It is significant that Yellen sees one of the principle roles of ethnographic analogy to be a negative one, that is to act as ´spoilers´ (1977, 8). Many others view the contribution of ethnographic data to be the source of ´prior hypotheses´ (e.g. Gould 1978, 256-257). Although the great variety of specific aims might be a causal factor for this diminutive role, it is improbable that the lack of substantial ethnoarchaeological contributions to archaeological theory can be entirely attributed to this plurality. In the following review, it will be suggested that a failure to pursue the general aims and flaws in the basic premises of ethnoarchaeology are more likely causes. Given the range of different approaches espoused, the term is exceedingly difficult to define. The definition that ethnoarchaeological research entails "the use of ethnographic methods and information to aid in the interpretation and explanation of archaeological data" (Stiles 1977, 88) is, however, sufficiently broad to cover most of the

field and serve as a general definition.

In terms of their more general aims, however, most researchers are in agreement that ethnoarchaeology can inform the discipline on the relationships which pertain between human behaviour and material culture patterning (e.g. Kramer 1979, 5; Gould 1980, 4; Binford 1968b, 270; Rathje 1978, 49; Stanislawski 1978, 204; and Watson 1979, 281), so as to enable a better evaluation of archaeological patterning. For these aims to be realised requires a certain set of uniformitarian assumptions about human behaviour. In some cases these are restricted to Homo sapiens sapiens. Moreover, it is also assumed that there is an isomorphic relationship between patterns of activity and material culture patterns (but see Schiffer 1976 on 'transforms'). This is a corrolary of the assumption that direct predictive links exist between human behaviour and culture. It is these assumptions which underlie the dominant attitude to material culture today (Hodder 1982a, 9-11). Where ethno-archaeologists differ widely, in their capacity as archaeologists, is how best to evaluate an archaeological interpretation when using ethnographically derived information. The discussion over the uses of analogy, for instance, and the forms that these should take (Ascher 1960, Binford 1967) and the case made for their rejection (Freeman 1968; Gould 1980) is precisely over evaluative procedures.

The focus of this debate has been on the extent to which archaeologists can legitimately claim that observed similarities between an archaeological and an ethnographic data set support

the inference of further, but unobserved similarities. The structure of analogy is therefore contingent on that which is to be explained, that is the unobservable in the archaeological record. Early uses of ethnographic parallels were characterised by a reliance on the similarities in the formal properties of objects for inferring functional similarities. Salmon (1982, 59) suggests that this was in part due to the assumption that functional requirements place greater constraints on artefact form than other requirements, such as symbolic intent. However, as indicated above, the history of the discipline attests to the changing emphases placed on the role of function in explanations of social change.

In the first instance, technological similarity between societies was considered diagnostic of the stage of cultural evolution that had been attained. At a later stage in the discipline's development, less stress was placed on moral progress, and function became synonymous with Functionalism. In keeping with Functionalist writings in general, an emphasis on the totality of social behaviour laid the foundations for systems thinking. Subsequent developments have seen the economic or ecological sub-systems achieve a theoretical dominance, being portrayed as functioning to integrate other parts of the system. Furthermore, ecological-adaptive responses of human behaviour can ultimately be reduced to energy transformations of matter. This shift in conventional meaning of 'function' has had a significant effect on the conceptualisation of the unobservable. The claims made that contemporary ethnoarchaeology provides the discipline

with appropriate theories to facilitate valid inferences about the past, therefore require careful scrutiny.

The following discussion will be concerned principally with recent attempts to provide a solution to the problems of inference that arise from the nature of archaeological phenomena and the cultural specificity of meaning. As has been suggested, the research designs of ethnoarchaeology, where explicitly formulated, are efforts to resolve this dilemma. Binford, as one of the most prolific exponents of the need to address these issues, has recently likened his solution, Middle Range Theory, to the Behavioural Archaeology of Schiffer (1976) and Clarke's Interpretative Theory (1973) (1981, 25), although Binford and Schiffer differ over many aspects (infra Section 2:2). It is convenient therefore, since Clarke did not write extensively on these issues, to begin with a consideration of Schiffer's proposals, even though his major work is not directly based on ethnographic fieldwork.

Archaeological data, according to Schiffer, exhibits three fundamental properties. In the first place they consist of materials in static relationships. Secondly, these materials are the output of a cultural system. Finally, these materials have been subjected to non-cultural processes subsequent to their original output (Schiffer, 1976, 12). On the basis of these three properties, Schiffer reasoned that it was necessary to establish correlates, or laws, which relate behavioural variables to variables of material objects or their spatial patterning. Additional laws pertaining to the output of

artefacts from a system, and those realted to post-depositional modifications of this output (C- and N-transforms), were also deemed necessary (1976, 12-26).

In common with most behaviourist approaches to human actions, Schiffer favours the rejection of ´norms´ (including values and beliefs), as having any explanatory value, and is of the view that because the concerns of ´normative´ anthropologists are with "culture-specific phenomena having no nomothetic import" (1975, 837) they are unable to provide ´laws´ of cultural change. This rejection is generally made on two grounds; the culturally-relative nature of norms makes cross-cultural comparison impossible, and, the assumption that ´norms´ are unobservable. The latter view is more firmly held when the object of study is a past society, since its very nature, its pastness, makes it unobservable. This in turn, has led him to formulate principles of discard behaviour that emphasise system homeostasis, such as ´maintenance of lifespace´ without seeking provide means of establishing the beliefs and intentions which were associated with the physical acts of discard.

Aside from their value as ´spoilers´, Yellen proposes an essentially similar search for material correlates of activities, in his proposal that archaeology should adopt a laboratory approach to the ethnographic milieu (1977, 11). Following Freeman (1968), he perceives a danger in adopting an anthropological frame of reference in the construction of these generalisations, and proposes that "normative rules must be converted into probabilistic ones" (1977, 50). To support this

point of view he indicates, by means of a hypothetical example, how breaking a normative rule (female post-marital rule of residence) by only 20% of married women is amplified over time. In the cited case, after five generations only marginally over 50% of all married women would have resided in the localities the residence rule would predict (1977, 50-51).

Rathje, in his discussions of variations in discard between different socio-economic and ethnic groups in Tucson, details analogous discrepancies between ´norm´ and ´behaviour´. He noted, for instance, that out of 33 households which had claimed never to have purchased cans of beer for their consumption, 17 had significant quantities of beer cans in their garbage. Of these, the greatest proportion belonged to a low-income bracket and particularly Mexican-American households (1978, 61-67).

Neither Yellen or Rathje feel inclined to pursue the discrepancies between ´norms´ and ´behaviour´, and to explain why such things occur. For example, from Rathje´s data Mexican-American´s in Tucson drink more beer than they say they do. Rathje attributes this mismatch to problems of Interview-elicited data, and a possible misuse of food-stamps, a view that is left unexamined (1978, 67). In other words, both authors are disinclined to examine the meaning an activity, such as beer drinking, has in a particular context, such as the household. Yellen and Rathje view material culture from the conventional perspective of being passive reflections of behaviour. Having roundly dismissed the explanatory power of ´cultural norms´, both

implicitly or explicitly use a model of rule following behaviour as characteristic of social life. Any lack of conjunction between normative statements and behaviour is treated as merely evidence of idiosyncracies.

Gould's recent criticisms of the role of analogy in archaeology (1978, 1980) are attempts to surmount just such a tendency. He points to the "futility of trying to draw direct archaeological conclusions from ethnographic observations" (1980, 27), particularly since the ideational realm tends to leave at best ambiguous traces and at worst none at all (1980, 24). He proposes that archaeologists should abandon the application of the principle of uniformitarianism without some kind of qualification, since these limit knowledge to that of present day phenomena. At best analogy can be used in a 'contrastive' fashion, in order to establish qualitatively different ways of doing the same thing (1980, 35-36). Gould would rather the complete abandonment of analogical reasoning, in favour of the application of general, but spatially and temporally invariable propostions about certain aspects of human behaviour. The aspects which Gould considers ammenable to such an approach are essentially those concerned with food procurement and resource utilisation. Hence he places great emphasis on archaeology adopting an ecosystemic viewpoint. To this end, ethnoarchaeology can make a major contribution to an understanding of the "essential requirements for sustaining human life" because the study of "human residue behaviour provides an empirical means of discovering adaptive relationships within ecosytems" (1980, 43).

In places Gould views all aspects of human behaviour as having some adaptive significance (e.g. see the treatment accorded to traditions, ibid. 45-46). Where certain types of behaviour cannot be so assimilated, they are classified as 'anomalous' (1980, 138-160). It is the latter kind of behaviour which is held to indicate the true conceptual diversity of humankind. It is unclear, however, how Gould differentiates between adaptive behaviour and anomalous, or culturally relative, behaviour, without making uniformitarian assumptions about what constitutes adaptive behaviour. This entails that the definition of behaviour as either 'adaptive' or 'anomalous', requires a conceptual separation of the two on the grounds of their observable effects, or function. Hence, the use of 'anomalies' to get at 'ideational factors' is merely a reiteration of earlier approaches to unexpalinable, that is seemingly non-utilitarian, artefacts, and the categorisation of the same as 'ritual objects'. Variability between societies is thus treated as idiosyncracy, despite his claims to do otherwise (1980, 139).

In keeping with his familiarity with the problems, and his frequent refinement of his theoretical position over the years, Binford manages to avoid most of the traps Schiffer, Yellen, Gould and others fall into. A consideration of Binford's contributions to archaeology are beyond the scope of this section. However, reference must be made to general aspects of his work given their role in his formulation of Middle Range Theory. The purpose of Middle Range Theory, as Binford so perceives it, is to develop principles for making inferences

about cultural dynamics from observations on the archaeological record (Binford 1977, 1978). It can be contrasted with General Theory, which has as its concern the explanation of social change and human and cultural evolution.

As has already been indicated, Binford is concerned that archaeology should be systematic and scientific. By this is meant, not only should inferences be made explicit, but also that there should exist some standards of comparison. Such standards are essential beacuse of the status of both, archaeologists as observers and of archaeological observations. Archaeological observations are on the present and archaeologists are temporally removed from the events of the past that concern them. In order to make inferences about past events from contemporary observations, it is essential first to establish unambiguous relationships between the two sets of phenomena (for a discussion see Binford 1981a, 21-25). What is required, Binford argues, are "accurate means of identification, and good instruments for measuring specified properties of past cultural systems .... that permit the accurate conversion from observation on statics to statements about dynamics" (1981a, 25).

Much of his recent work has concerned animal bones and the physical traces that a variety of energy sources can leave on bones. The aims of the elaborate investigations of cut-marks and fragmentation as produced by different tools types, and butchery techniques have been directed towards establishing a check list of criteria with which the differences can be distinguished. Other studies have been concerned with site-formation processes,

including patterning of bone deposits by carnivores, at different types of site. Binford is correct to argue against common assumptions such as that the contents of a site are a reflection of the activities performed therein (1978b, 330), or that some types of discard behaviour represent a distortion of those activities (1981b, 199-200), and even that site location is suitable only for a single type of economic strategy (1982). At this level of analysis his comments are useful ammendments to the studies of Schiffer, Yellen and Gould. However, where all are in agreement, as with most other 'ethnoarchaeologists', is over the definition of behaviour appropriate to archaeological data. All accept, in some cases with minor modifications, that human behaviour, or at least the dimension appropriate to their needs, is equivalent to mechanical process. It is possibly unnecessary to look beyond the desires of the New Archaeology to achieve a legitimate status as a Science, and the mechanistic connotations of a systems approach to social formations, to understand this tendency. Nevertheless, it remains a largely unexamined assumption that such an approach to human behaviour is suited to ethnographic research. It seems paradoxical, at the very least, that in a context where all agree such social facts as ideas, beliefs and norms are accessible to the observer, that these same facts should be excluded from study.

This has had some severe consequences on the contributions that ethnoarchaeology can make to the discipline. For instance, Binford has made strong claims for the virtue of his style of ethnoarchaeology throughout his work. As well as emphasising a

need for developing methods of inference he acknowledges the necessity of techniques for the empirical evaluation of these inferences. Nowhere in his work, however, has the means of inference he favours been adequately tested. This lacuna in his work has encouraged even sympathetic authors to challenge the appropriateness of the strategy advocated. In a recent review of Binford's most recent work it was asked "Is the absence of evaluation attributable to an early stage of development or is it inherent in the method of supplying meaning itself?" (Dunnell and Simek 1984, 10).

To summarise, ethnoarchaeological research has largely informed the discipline on how the 'authenticity' of an archaeological source may be established, and very little on the agents which generated these sources in the first place. The term 'to authenticate' is used in the sense of "to establish the authorship of something" (O.E.D.), and under this category can be grouped studies of activities at occupied sites (e.g. Gould 1980, Yellen 1977), of post-depositional modifications (e.g. Gifford 1978) as well as investigations of historically abandoned sites (e.g. Bonnischen 1973, David 1971, McIntosh 1974), and more generalised discussions on site-formation processes (e.g. Schiffer 1976).

Valuable though these contributions have been to developing an appreciation of the complexity of formation processes, they do not, and cannot as presently designed, supply a greater understanding of the phenomena archaeologists call 'material

culture´. The emphasis placed on process, and particularly human behaviour, so central to the epistemologies of New Archaeology, has neither helped allieviate the problem of Cultural Relativism that can paralyse an ideographic approach, nor has it substantially contributed to an understanding of the universals of human society. The bulk of ethnoarchaeological contributions to the discipline, at worst, remain as sophisticated and salutary, but no less cautionary, tales. At best, the studies comprise what might be termed the Science of Moving and Decaying Material Bodies, validated by the laws of physics and chemistry. Essential as a means for distinguishing between human and non-human structuring of archeaological facts, they cannot however provide a means for understanding the significance of the human ordering of the material world. To employ a semi-literary metaphor, the insights of these studies may facilitate distinguishing between writing on the wall and traces left by a snail, but they can neither help in the translation of the message or explain why the message was written at all. In this respect, if, as has been argued elsewhere,

> "ethnoarchaeology is to develop from this limited ´service´ role, it would seem essential for its practitioners to reorientate themselves towards assessing the ethnographic material culture in its own right rather than to continue to search for illumination or insight for the archaeological record" (Rowlands and Gledhill 1976, 26).

Section 1:4 Refrain :

Critiques of processual and systems archaeology echo some of the same accusations that were levied against the normative

school in the early 1960's. In particular, the dissatifaction with the notion of systems as **sui generis** and homeostatic parallel criticisms of the culture concept and diffusionist and migrationist explanations of culture change. The inadequacies of earlier attempts to understand the processes of history via the traces of its events have been transformed into efforts to explain the events in terms of universal processes. That neither paradigm entirely succeeds in satisfactorily accomodating both event an process derives from their foundation on dualist philosophies. The dichotomy event:process, generally conceived as one of synchrony:diachrony, succeeds only in reproducing distinctions between mind and behaviour, structure and function.

In place of these conventional dualist approaches to the study of history can be proposed a theory of human action or agency. It will be held that humans, as agents, are responsible for the events of history that concern archaeology. Moreover, if so conceived, human actions must **ex hypothesi** constitue the processes of history. There are three areas that require further elucidation, namely, the theory of agency, an accomodation of theory of material culture and the appropriateness of this theory to an historical discipline. The first of these is discussed in the following section, the second is the concern of most of the remaining part of this thesis and the third will be examined briefly in the concluding chapter.

Section 1:5 A Theory of Action :

In contrast to behaviourist models, theories of human agency

contend that actions cannot be reduced to physical movements where the object is to understand the performance of those actions. Giddens, among others, has argued that any reductionist tendency to represent human actions as biophysical acts has important consequences on the epistemological status of actions (1976, 73). Simply put, selecting acts as the minimal unit of analysis (e.g. Harris 1964) has the effect of changing something that someone makes happen into something that 'happens to' someone. Giddens, contra Harris, holds that the preferred unit of analysis should be the individual rather than the act.

Holy and Stuchlik make a similar point where they state that to circumscribe the study of actions to purely observable events would restrict the domain of anthropological observations to trivial descriptions of physical movements (1983, 35). As these authors point out, most descriptions incorporate an assumption that the actors involved are rational and sentient beings. In otherwords, it is conventional to assume, just as within everday life, that the actions performed by actors are purposeful and rational, at least "in the minimal sense of issuing from appropriate beliefs and desires" (Macdonald and Petit 1981, 40). To assume otherwise would be a hinderance to any form of assessment of the majority of human actions, whether they be performed by members of a different society or those or our own. What seems to distinguish this position from behaviourist models is that the behaviour of individuals as individuals is treated as non-random and non-equivalent with Brownian Motion, despite several formal similarities. For instance, observations made on

the collective movement of people in Cambridge market on a weekday, from the tower of Great St. Mary's might formally resemble the behaviour of gas particles. Indeed, as an individual within such a crowd of people we might catch ourselves 'wandering aimlessly'. However, this is not to say that even these acts are without purpose, since we have already consciously situated ourselves within a particular context. This minimally consists of a spatio-temporal location and the presence/absence of other individuals. Moreover, other contexts might be entirely unsuited to the kinds of action we categorise as 'wandering aimlessly'. For instance, were we to stray off the pavement into a busy road whilst aimlessly wandering, the results could be quite catastrophic. The fact that this is quite hard to do in Cambridge market points to a consciously structured environment, which as residents of Cambridge we assimilate and incoroporate into our strategies. That is, we can move about the streets and market in a sort of daze because we know that it is reasonably safe, if not always sociable, to do so.

An important point about action, which distinguishes it from mechanical acts that are outwardly similar, is that actions have a semantic content which the latter lack. Gas particles do not, and cannot wish to bump into each other or allow themselves to bump into each other, they just do so according to the laws of physics. People, on the other hand, because they are capable of exercising their own volition, can decide to bump into others, should they so wish. From this comes a second and related point. In so far as what distinguishes human actions is intentionality,

then beliefs, desires and notions must be causal features of action. As Searle has recently suggested, causal relationships between human physical and mental phenomena only remains mystical and problematic where these are treated as two ontologically distinct categories (1983, 271). This is precisely the dilemma that is faced within behavioural science, which tends towards a search for classes of physical events which either correlate with a set of mental states, or with a set of universal laws of adaptive behaviour. In fact intentionality, which is merely an assertion that our mental states are about something, is realized in action as well as causative of that action. That is to say, the reason that an action is performed stems from intention itself, that is it causes its conditions of satisfaction. It is possible for certain acts to be performed without prior intentions, such as suddenly shouting out loud, but as Searle asserts, there can be no actions without "intentions in action" (1983, 107). Hence, to use the popular philosophical example of raising one's arm, the action consists of 1) the intention of raising as realized in action, and 2) the physical movement of the arm. "Take away the first and you don't have an action but only a movement, take away the second and you don't have success, but only a failed effort" (ibid., my emphasis).

It is important to stress here that intentionality need not imply deliberation or planned intent. This would radically restrict the potential of the theory since so many of our actions are done through force of habit, the longue duree of existence. Similarly, there are no grounds for rejecting this theoretical

position on the basis that not all actions are successful, or that there are unintended consequences of action. The theory of action as proposed contains a notion of indeterminacy as an integral part. It cannot be overemphasised that intentionality is causal at the level of action **qua** action. It is perfectly possible to perform an action knowing full well that it will not be causally effective, but it is an entirely different matter to state that the action, which had as its consequences certain muscle movements was non-intentional. These points are discussed more adequately elsewhere (e.g. Searle 1983) and need not detain us here. The concept of intentionality was introduced primarilly to demonstrate differences between human and mechanical movement. What is of more fundamental concern here is how to determine the content of action, and how such action is inter-subjectively determined.

Conventionally the explanation of notions, such as beliefs and desires, has been considered to be more problematic than the explanation of actions **per se**. Essentially the explanation of notions has been seen as requiring a further step of inference, a view which derives from the rule of phenomenalism. Phenomenalism holds that only the immediately apprehended world has any empirical content, and a consequence of this is to restrict claims of certainty and knowledge only to phenomena that are open to inspection. Thus, as Giddens argues 'norms', however defined, are held to have no empirical content (1974). Within a theory of action, however, such a position becomes untenable, given the minimal defintion of action as notionally informed

acts. One corrollary of this view is that notions are no less real than behaviours, although they may take a different form. The notion, for instance, of a university, a nation state or any social institution is no less real than their physical manifestations. Indeed, it could be held that the existence of such an institution could not be adduced from their material features without some concept of what a nation state, university or whatever, is and is not. The same could be said to apply for abstractions such as 'acceptable behaviour' or 'work'. For instance, a concept of acceptable behaviour not only entails some set of ideas about what constitutes it, but also an assumption that the notion has some validity. Moreover, in order to behave in a manner acceptable to others some collective agreement on the content and concept must have been reached, for it is this agreement that gives the notion its inter-subjective validity. In order that such and agreement can be attained, notions held privately must be made available to others via action. An important feature of notions, therefore, is that they concern knowledge of the physical an social world, a "certainty that phenomena are real and that they possess certain characteristics" (Berger and Luckmann 1966, 13), and that that knowledge is shared.

Significantly, then, "both notional and interactional phenomena are available to us as observers (and to the actors as well) ... in the same form: actions as observable performances, and actions as indications of notions held by the actors" (Holy and Stuchlik 1983, 55-6). Here action is considered to include

vocal as well as gestural components. Our intersets in notions, however, are less concerned with their private internalisation and more with their public manifestation and application. Hence, although vocal acts are perhaps the most common means by which exigeses are conveyed, it has to be appreciated that all actions contain an exegetical element. Therefore, just as an individual's actions are indications for other actors of notions privately held, then they can also be indications of the same notions for the anthropological observer, since prima facie other actors are also observers.

Meaning therefore is made available to us all via the same set of forms. It remains to be established however, whether in everyday contexts meaning is simply intuited or can also be inferred. It is important for this point to be resolved, since the kind of historical understanding that can be achieved following the insights of a theory of action will be contingent on the answer to it. Were it to be demonstrated that our everyday, commonsensical modes of understanding are intuitive, then any application of such a model within a rationalising study of historical events would raise questions of standards of comparison. Specifically, these would concern issues of hermeneutics and the relativism of rationality. That is, explanations proposed by such a theory of historical understanding would be based on our own intuitive standards which may not correspond with those of the historical agents. Alternatively, should it be confirmed that commonplace modes of understanding are inferrential, then it would at least be conceptually feasible to utilise such a model as part of

historical understanding. What would be required of the historian in this instance would be to reconstruct the sytems of logic utilised in the past.

Surprisingly this issue of inference or intuition has not been given detailed consideration in past discussions in archaeology. Where 'commonsense' models have been proposed (e.g. that put forward by Collingwood 1946) often, they have been rejected on the grounds that they relied on intuition rather than inference, and therefore opened the way for imaginative reconstruction. A more serious criticism has been that since intuited knowledge is a product of our own frames of meaning, to follow these schemes would be to impose our own values onto the past. This, as suggested above, was the thrust of the positivist critique of 'normative' archaeology.

For the moment the object is simply to examine the assumption that everyday knowledge is intuitively acquired. In the first instance this can be challenged from the perspective of how, as individuals, we know the world. As has already been intimated, facts do not exist for us as facts outside of an interpretative framework of concepts. This point can be most elegantly demonstrated with reference to the now famous 'Duck or Rabbit?' visual illusion. At one moment the lines appear as the head of a duck, at the next like that of a rabbit. As Gombrich states, try as we might it is not really possible to view the shape <u>apart</u> from its interpretation (1977, 4-5 for an illustration and discussion). Consequently some form of matching process must occur within the brain that associates a particular

form with a particular concept. At this private internalised level there is nothing to distinguish this matching process as inference rather than intuition. However, as previously established, what distinguishes humans is the sharing of concepts. Since the symbolic content of these concepts is not directly observable it is made available to others via actions. The interpretation of these actions, however, cannot be intuitive, because, if taken to its logical extent the intuitive theory of ´knowledge´ posits that each individual would substitute his/her own meanings for those conveyed. Clearly this is not the case; groups of individuals do share bodies of knowledge and hold approximately similar concepts about the world. Concepts, as Wittgenstein argued, form the basis for the classification of phenomena into interwoven patterns of similarity and dissimilarity (1956, 11/4). They are held collectively so as to facilitate social existence and the creation of society.

One insight which arises from this, is that there must be some qualities about action which restrict the freedom of both actor and observer to substitute content[6] and so facilitate inference. Because the logical criteria of an action derive from its context this makes the action potentially understandable to other actors/observers. Context is however not external to action but within action. Action therefore has a contextually dependent meaning that other actors conventionally determine "by ascertaining the relations among beliefs, [and] how they presuppose and imply each other in a logical system" (Hanson

1975, 51-2). If meaning is made available in this form, then there is no a priori reason why members of another society, who hold another system of logic, cannot reconstruct from the **context** of the action, the **logic** of the action. A description of the context of actions provides an understanding of why it was held that the action would meet its conditions of satisfaction. By taking into consideration more details about the context of the performance of an act, the action is rendered sensible. In effect the description of context is a demonstration of the relevance of the reasons for action. However, just as most acts are performed without deliberation the interpretative inferences become almost intuitive. They do so because certain sets of information become redundant once it is assumed by two actors that they operate with the same set of taken-for-granted knowledge about the world, or doxa as Bourdieu (1977) has termed it. This comes closer to Aristotle's formulation of the relation between form and matter as one comprising of potentiality and actuality (Joachim 1951, 178). As Joachim goes on to state, Aristotle saw volition as being the final cause, not function or purpose as popularly held. Hence, to return to our earlier example, it is the "sculptor's volition [which] initiates a sequence of changes resulting necessarily in the beautiful statue and the beautiful statue is the final cause which makes just these changes necessary as means to its production" (1951, 186).

The structuring of context via action, although it has the consequence of extending meaning and thereby leading to its conventionalisation, also leads to the restructuring of that

meaning. It is power, over individuals and within contexts, which in turn derives from this reflexive monitoring of action because the latter generates a potential for the disproportionate allocation of resources and authority (infra Section 2:4).

Section 1:6 Summary :

In the preceding paragraphs it was established that current trends in archaeology and more specifically in ethnoarchaeology, have led to a conceptualisation of human action as essentially a mechanical process. The arguments which are used to support this position emphasise the status of archaeologists as observers of contemporary phenomena and not 'the past'. This has encouraged a rejection of any consideration of normative criteria given that these are unobservable. In turn this lends support to the belief in a nedd for universal laws appropriate to the study of processes of long-term change, a task for which archaeological data is considered most suited. Consequently, a majority of ethnoarchaeological studies concentrate on site formation processes and ignore issues related to the meaning of material culture. Such studies cannot contribute to General Theory and have come to be seen as an underutilisation of the potential of this research domain, as evinced by the growing body of critiques. This comparative lack of success can be attributed to a misidentification of human action as behaviour and of notions as entailing rule-following.

In the final section a theory of action that attempts to allay these beliefs was proposed. In the first instance the

question ´what is distinctive about human action?´ was posed, to which the answer ´intentionality´ was supplied. Having further defined what is meant by the term, a second series of questions directed at establishing the implications of this observation were asked. It was argued that actions are intrinsically intentional so as to allow ends to be realised. However, in order that ends can be realised through action it must be held that the action will meet its conditions of satisfaction. The only way that this can be assessed is by drawing on the context, both physical, mental and social, of the action. Consequently action is both representative (i.e this notion is held) and evaluative (i.e. it is appropriate for this action to be performed). The advantage of this view of action is that it escapes the false dilemma of mechanism and finalism by treating action as intrinsically dialectic. By this is meant action is neither entirely arbitrary nor rule-bound but open ended according to contextual criteria. The manner in which this ´open-endednes´ is constrained and conventionalised, and the consequences this has on the ordering of the material and social worlds form the subject of discussion of the following chapter.

Footnotes :

1. But see Childe´s remarks in his Retrospect, where he states that he attempted to marry aspects of both Marx and Malinowski (1958, 72)
2. Kuper points out that the notion of system is not present in Malinowski´s work (1973, 38).
3. Compare this with Dray´s recent observations on the American historian William Beard (1980).
4. See for instance Rappaport (1979, 74-8).
5. Similar behaviourist reductionism is a characteristic of Harris´ work. In particular he treats action as constituted by so many little bits, or ´actones´. Such a quasi-molecular construction of action, when operationalised, can only account for ´environmental effects´ on an object (1964, 47).
6. Tyler has argued similarly for language where he states "commonplace knowledge consists of collocations and means of inference" (1978, 233). Here the implication is that collocations motivate actors to "anticipate patterns of inference" (ibid.).

CHAPTER 2

SPACE, TIME AND CONTEXT.

> "The magician speaks and the objects respond. The words are launched into the things - sometimes even the surrounding world gives the sign that the words have been received by the essence of things"
>
> Malinowski 1935, 241.

Section 2:1 Introduction :

A common problem with most theories of material culture is that the organisation of space is considered to be either a direct, or an inverse, reflection of social relations. By considering space from this perspective a tacit assumption, that spatially peripheral individuals also assume a peripheral role in the reproduction of society, is introduced. A further consequence of this is that social action is viewed as determined by the dominant ideology; a position which precludes the possibility of examining conflict and the role of the individual, in terms of her/his personal strategies in the recreation of structural relationships. In this thesis it is argued that material culture stands in a recursive, rather than a merely reflective, relationship with its users. In order to reflect a particular set of societal values, such as those associated with status, artefacts must necessarily be invested with meaning. The repetitive and routine use of these artefacts thereby serves to recreate the particular significations

attatched to them. In other words, once a spatial order has been generated and imbued with meaning, it no longer simply reflects a social order, but can actively define the persons who can occupy and use that space. The individuals associated with a particular locale or set of artefacts are, however, in a privileged position, since they have, theoretically, the capacity to transform the spatial order, or use artefacts in new contexts, and thereby generate new or alternative meanings, as part of personal strategies. While in turn, since material culture as deployed within particular strategies reproduce their significance in a manner contingent to that specific strategy, artefacts also possess a capacity to transform. This point will become clearer once both a 'theory of structuration', which addresses the reproduction of social relations and institutional forms, and the notion of power have been more fully discussed. For the moment, it need only be stated that as representational symbols, artefacts operate as a form of, and medium for, discourse; and, that the relations of dominance, of discursive power are contingent on both the knowledge of specific actors and their spatio-temporal autonomy. This contextual specificity of meanings raises a number of related questions concerning the definition of context, the necessity of multiple meanings and how these are sustained, and the uneven distribution of knowledge with regard to the appropriate use of symbols. The further elucidation of these points in relation to the spatio-temporal autonomy of individuals forms a key feature of the ethnographic component of the thesis. However, before this material is presented it is necessary to review the more dominant

conceptualisations of space and time as held in archaeology, and to offer an alternative formulation which relates directly to the issue of power relations.

Section 2:2 Space:

2:2.1 Introduction:

Space provides a convenient starting point in that a great diversity of perspectives have been adopted both within archaeology and in the other human sciences. No attempt will be made to review the anthropological approaches, since, while this material is extensive, and provides many insights, the general conceptions of space as an environment, and ordered space as a reflection of a social organisation, a cosmology or some such entity are common to both archaeology and anthropology, despite the emphasis given by the latter to the symbolic and conceptual significances of space.

2:2.2: Archaeological models of space:

Related to the adoption of statistical techniques of spatial analysis over the last twenty years, has been a growing interest in within-site patterning (Clarke's semi-micro level(1977)). Three main lines of enquiry have been followed, and it is convenient to the argument here to review representative examples of each. The first of these, which are mainly behavioural in emhpasis, concentrate on the assumption that the distribution of artefacts within a site are a direct reflection of their location of use. This position forms the basis for a concept of 'activity area', which, traditionally, has been applied to spatially

restricted distributions of tools and associated by-products. With the renewed concern with, and more sophisticated modelling of, site-formation processes, the assumption that the locations of discard always, and unambiguously, reflect the location of tool-use or manufacture has been called into question. Schiffer has been one of the principle protagonists to systematise this critique, and illustrates his points in terms of 'behavioural chains' (1975, 1976). The term 'behavioural chain' refers to "the sequence of all activities in which an element participates during its 'life' within a cultural system. A chain segment is then simply a specified portion of a given chain" (Schiffer 1975, 106). The example of maize processing is used to illustrate how, from the moment of harvesting to consumption, the spatial location of each activity changes, and how different actors and tools are deployed at each stage in the chain, thereby generating different residues and artefactual patterns (ibid., 108). The claim that behavioural chains have a predictive value is more open to question, at least as initially characterised by Schiffer, and he has since provided a more sophisticated model of discard behaviour, endeavouring to identify transformational laws of both non-cultural and cultural kinds (1976). With regard to the latter, analytical concepts of 'primary', 'secondary' and 'de facto' refuse were proposed, and considered in relation to their <u>distorting</u> effects on the distributions of archaeological materials through the rooms of a Pueblo settlement known as the Joint Site. The implication then of Schiffer's work, is that if correctly formulated specific correlates of different categories of 'discard behaviour' can be identified.

Binford, although equally interested in patterns of discard and site formation processes, challenged Schiffer's model on the grounds that it was based on what he called a 'Pompeii premise' (1981b). Essentially, he picked up on an earlier observation of Ascher's that living societies have a disorganising effect on their own refuse and architectural structures, and to assume that an excavated assemblage from a settlement site represents "the remains of a once living community, stopped, as it were, at a point in time" would be erroneous (Ascher 1961, 324). In this regard Binford and Schiffer are in agreement, and the main point of contention between them is to whether 'cultural-transforms' (Schiffer 1976, 12) should be construed as distortions of the archaeological record. Specifically, Binford's argument is that such a view introduces an assumption that the archaeological record is, in some sense, 'fossilised behaviour', a cross-section of all society frozen in time as at Pompeii. Conversely, Binford suggests that the archaeological record is "a normal consequence of the operation of living systems" rather than a distortion, and should be regarded "as matter transposed and organized during the process of energy use and entropy production" (Binford 1981b, 200; my emphases). In other words, Binford is a far stronger adherent of the view that the past is dead and not available to us for inspection. The archaeologicl record exists in the present, and constituted as it is only by dead organic and inorganic matter, and not living, sentient beings, it can be appropriately studied by means of natural scientific principles. This position is consistent with Binford's focus of interest in describing cultural systems, rather than describing past

lifeways, and some of the problems of inference that such a construal of archaeological remains introduces have already been touched upon (Section 1:3). The relevance of Binford's position with regard to the ordering and use of space, is that so conceived, artefact distributions **per se** cannot provide any information about cultural or social phenomena, and therefore appropriate linking principles are deemed necessary.

Schiffer has recently responded to this critique of Binford's, suggesting that it was based on a misconstrual of his position, whilst arguing that a "far more serious Pompeii premise afflicts Southwestern archaeology" (1985, 18), on the basis of which "artifact variability between houses is interpreted directly in behavioral terms: different artefacts mean different behaviors" (ibid., 19). Nevertheless, and irrespective of their disagreements, both Binford and Schiffer accept as their basic premise that 'activity' and its material correlates constitute the initial linkage from which further inferences can be derived. With respect to this point, Yellen's study of the spatial organisation of Dobe !Kung camps provides a useful counterpoint.

Following observations of the patterning of activities and their material residues at a series of camps, Yellen proposed that both rainy- and dry-season camps could be "arranged on a single scale ranging from small, short-term camps marked by scant amounts of debris, at one end, to larger counterparts occupied for longer periods and more densely covered with assorted kinds of remains, at the other" (1977, 80). Of these, Yellen felt that

only the latter would be archaeologically recoverable. Yellen also suggested that since camp-size and length of occupation influenced the range of activities performed at a site, and consequently its potential archaeological assemblage, to a greater extent than its season of occupation. Because the size of a camp varied independently to its season of use, archaeologically, this could give rise to a false impression of functionally differentiated camps (ibid., 81-82). This, and further considerations of intra-camp patterning led Yellen to argue that it is the social context of an activity, rather than its primary nature which "uniquely determines the location at which it will be performed" (ibid., 97).

The concept of 'activity area' has recently been given further critical consideration by Kent, with particular regard to the assumptions that they are mono-functional and sex-specific use-zones (1984). Like Yellen, Kent attempts to overcome the more serious limitations of strictly behaviourist models, and is inclined towards more humanistic approaches to the ordering of space. Drawing on ethnoarchaeological studies of the use of space by three contrasting groups of North Americans, Kent forwards a conceptual model of the spatial organisation of activities. Cross-culturally, Kent argues, different societies are situated at various points along a continuum, ranging from spatial unity, or holism, at one end to the opposing pole of spatial segmentation, or compartmentalism. This continuum is thought of as a reflection of a general principle, or stucture, which "permeates culture, behavior and cultural material" (Kent

1984, 205). In other words, in highly spatially segmented societies one would expect to find a great number of sex-specific and mono-functional activity areas, and associated assemblages of equally sex- and use-specific artefacts. In terms of cultural behaviour, the same tendency would be manifested by, for instance, a marked sexual division of labour, activity specialisation and hierachically structured social collectives (1984, 204-222).

Closely parallel to the above, but with different emphases are those studies which endeavour to infer some aspect of social organisation from architectural forms and artefactual distributions. Again, a wide range of approaches have been espoused, and there is often little unity of opinion with regard to the general validity of the preferred material correlate, or correlates. At least three categories of interest can be identified, namely, the relationship between settlement size and population, the material indicators of economic differentiation and the correlates of particular marriage patterns and kinship structures. Of the former, Naroll's study of floor area and site population (1962) has formed the basis for most subsequent studies, which have tended to focus on hunter-gatherer communities. As noted above, from his study of !Kung campsites, Yellen rejected Naroll's allometric relationship in favour of a model based on the definition of social units of increasing aggregation. Weissner (1974), using data on the same !Kung camps, on the other hand endeavoured to extend Naroll's model, which led to her suggestion that as the extent of a settlement

increases, then the mathematical constant between setlement size and settlement density also changes. Whitelaw (1983) has recently indicated that in addition to camp-size, the spacing between individual domestic units is also a key variable.

As further criticism of such excercises it can be noted that dwelling size may not simply be determined by the size of the residential group, and economic or social differentials could be of greater importance. The complexity of the relationships between compound- or room-area, wealth and household size are drawn out, for example, by Kramer (1979b, 1982) with reference to the architectural space of a contemporary Kurdish village. Whereas the premise that "residential space reflects variation in both compound population and economic status" (1979b, 158) was accepted, it was noted that certain architectural features were of relevance to different socio-economic variables. Specifically, the number of dwelling rooms provided a good indication of the number of co-residing married couples (1979b, 158; 1982, 104-119), whereas estimates of household size were more adequately derived from the metric area of dwelling space (1979b, 154-155; 1982, 124), although the number and/or volume of facilities such as ovens and grain bins also provided a coarser indication (1982, 123). Finally, compound size, rather than just the extent of the dwelling space, correlated positively with the economic prosperity of the principle resident (1979b, 153-154; 1982, 126-136). Watson, on the other hand, in a comparable study of another village in the Iranian Zagros, with a much lower total population, found that along with its size, the furnishings and

condition of the living room were also good indicators of "family size and relative wealth or poverty" (1978, 134). In fact, Kramer also noted that across Southwest Asia the relationship between settlement size and population density exhibits considerable variation (1982, 160-168). Also of relevance here are the observations by Audoze and Jarrige (1980), that in Baluchistan compound size was determined by the types of domestic animals that were kept rather than wealth, and by Horne (1981), who has indicated, also for an Iranian village, that because of the system of inheritance the members of a kin group can simultaneously occupy several, spatially dispersed, compounds (see also Chapter 4). Taken together, in the absence of further work, these would appear to caution against the cross-cultural application of any single spatial or architectural variable to determine either village population, household size, or relative differences in wealth between occupants. More general criticisms with regard to the manner in which the relationships between the material and social worlds are viewed can also be levied against these studies, and these are addressed at the end of this section.

As well as these ethnoarchaeological studies, mention can be made of efforts at social reconstruction solely from archaeological remains. Of these, probably the best known are the studies by Hill (1966) and Longacre (1968) with regard to the reconstruction of post-marital patterns of residence from the stylistic variations and similarities of pottery assemblages from individual houses. As a basic hypothesis, it was suggested that,

assuming female potters, if post-marital residence had been matrilocal, and pottery techniques and decorative techniques were learned and passed within the context of the household, then this social patterning might be reflected by the non-random patterning of certain designs (Hill 1966, 17-21; Longacre 1968, 97-8). Neither of these studies was exclusively restricted to the reconstruction of rules of post-marital residence, and have much in common with the more emphatically behavioural approaches discussed above. For, in that it was accepted that since "the patterning of material remains ... is the result of the patterned behaviour of the members of an extinct society", then the structure of covariation should reflect aspects of social organisation (Longacre 1968, 91). Thus, the reconstruction of room function was thought of as important as the reconstruction of patterns of social organisation (e.g. Hill 1968). In addition, Whiting and Ayers (1968), have attempted to correlate residence rules with dwelling shape on a cross-cultural basis.

In retrospect it is also clear that many of the subsequent studies of intra-site spatial patterning were influenced by this early work, even though it often led to a more critical appraisal, such as Schiffer's observation that room contents may be of a secondary nature (1972, 1976), and Kramer's comments that room area may indicate household size or economic status, rather than function as Hill suggested. The 'matrilineal descent' hypothesis has also been criticised from an ethnoarchaeological perspective, including on the grounds that the patterns of learning the craft of pottery need not be based on a clan or

lineage network (Stanislawski and Stanislawski 1978), and that very little consideration was given in the original model to the effects of re-use, re-cycling or exchange of both complete pots and sherds on the assemblage composition (Stanislawski 1978, 221-224)[1]. A comparable point, though in this instance with reference to the modelling of room categories is that because "the internal variation within each of the functional types is unkown" (Ciolek-Torrello 1984, 128), then the broad differences between room categories might mask important, if more subtle, variations within each room. Although its significance is largely missed by Ciolek-Torrello in his multivariate analysis of Grasshopper Pueblo room assemblages, this is an important point as will later become clear (see especially Chapter 5).

Finally, mention must also be made of Clarke's study of the Iron Age village of Glastonbury, which integrates a preliminary assessment of post-depositional and formation processes with the reconstruction of social groupings from patterns of artefacts and building forms (1972). From the outset the bases for a set of assumptions regarding rubbish disposal, sampling, selective preservation and length of occupation are explicitly and cogently formulated. From an analysis of the vertical, horizontal, structural and artefactual relationships, Clarke identified a basic logic to the spatial order which he felt reflected a male:female, dominant:dependant divison of society. Moreover, this logic "defined a distinct range of structures repeatedly reproduced and repetitively clustered in such a way that each sector of the site resembles the varied replication of

a single kind of modular unit" (1972, 814). Despite the comprehensive manner in which the question of spatial order was addressed, a number of criticism of Clarke's scheme can be forwarded. These include the ethnocentric bias to the ascription of gender association to particular artefact categories, the overdependence on ethnohistorical data with regard to the inferred social structure, and an over emphasis on economic forces as the means by which individual sites aggregate with their wider landscape context. Nevertheless, it is clear that Clarke appreciated that the conceptual, social and functional orderings of space coalesce to produce a single scheme, a point too rarely drawn out in other studies of this kind.

In this regard, the third category of spatial studies come close to the mark, since explanatory priority is given to the cosmological or conceptual ordering of space. Interest in site-orientation, for instance, has a long history within archaeology, mainly of a speculative kind, although the uncertainty as to the significance of such aspects is also acknowledged. Reed, referring to Pueblo sites, felt certain that orientation was important, but could forward an opinion no more conclusive save that it reflected:

> "something basic in personality structure, outlook, national character -- or something comaparable to the Spanish inward-facing patio-type house on the edge of the street and our front-facing dwellings with the lawn on the outside" (Reed 1956, 13).

More optimistic and assertive positions have latterly been taken, amongst them being in Fritz's analysis of Chaco Canyon

site distribution and layout (1978). The author took the position that as elements of a cultural landscape, architectural forms and site placements were the material embodiment of the world-view of the prehistoric inhabitants during the mid-eleventh century A.D. (Fritz 1978, 41). Three types of symmetry, namely translation, reflection and bifold rotation, were identified at various spatial scales, ranging from that of individual spaces, through aggregated space, such as settlements, to the entire inner Chaco region (ibid., 42-50), which also revealed a basic north-south asymmetry. The latter, as evidenced by variations in the size and the quality of planning of various sites, also coincided with fundamental differences in the agricultural potential of each sector, and the location and characteristics of human burials. This specific combination was then interpreted as reflecting 'high' and 'low' status categories stemming from an asymmetrical distribution of religious authority (ibid., 51-55).

Another study of the cosmological order of a group of architectural structures is provided by Huffman's recent analysis of Shona sites dating to the 13th and 15th centuries A.D.. Huffman, from the premise that "the spatial organisation of ... settlement encodes cultural information" (1984, 593), constructs a model of space use for these sites which is analogous to that observed in the contemporary settlements of various Bantu societies of the region. It is proposed that a front:back division pervades the spatial ordering of activities, which on the basis of ethnographic analogies were held to correlate with public:private and profane:sacred organising principles (ibid.,

594-596). Thus, the restricted spatial distribution of figurines in the 'back' portion of the Great Enclosure at Great Zimbabwe, the lack of 'domestic debris', the enclosure plan and the specific orientation of entrances were all used to support an interpretation of the site as a pre-marital initiation school, with an internal division into male and female domains. It is further suggested that comparable interpretations can be forwarded for other Shona sites with massive architectural constructions.

The work by Glassie on the folk-housing of Middle Virginia also places an emphasis on the relationships between the conceptual and spatial ordering of society (1975). In particular, the difference between pre-Georgian and Georgian housing styles correlated closely with modifications in the 'world-view' of Virginians. Specifically, the change was from an 'open' society with asymmetrical house plans and facades, to a more 'closed' society, in which a greater stress was laid on order and symmetry in architectural styles.

Largely for the sake of convenience studies which focus on the proxemic and grammatical aspects of spatial order can also be included within this third category of spatial studies. Proxemics, as discussed in detail by Hall (1966), is concerned with human relationships to the spatial dimension of their environment, and the study of the largely unconscious structuring of space. Several spatial scales and characteristics of the material environment are identified, the most pertinent being the proximate- and macro-environments of individuals, and the fixed

or semi-fixed qualities of environmental features (Watson 1969).

Amongst archaeologists, the work by Fletcher adheres closest to the strictures of proxemic analysis. The primary emphasis of his studies, at the semi-micro level, have been with spacing behaviour, and how this can be detected from a settlement plan (e.g. 1977). As basic premises it is accepted that the structuring principles behind such behaviour operate at the level of the sub-conscious, and that these principles can vary cross-culturally. Nevertheless, it is proposed that these organising principles confer order and coherence onto the material form of a settlement, which in turn carries information, or ´messages´ as to how space is to be utilised (1977, 78-108; 1984, 201-204).

2:2.3 Critique:

Whereas it will be clear that a great diversity of approaches to the spatial configuration of physical remains have been adopted within archaeology, the vast majority of such studies treat space as the mere environment for action, rather than as a contextual constituent of action. When so conceived the relationship between the social and material worlds is seen as one of passive reflection on the part of the latter, and essentially unproblematic. While this gives the appearance of granting a causal primacy to human agents, as argued in the previous chapter, archaeology lacks appropriate and theoretically grounded concepts of action and the human subject. In an effort to avoid subjective and impressionistic evaluations of material traditions, and to facilitate cross-cultural comparisons of those traditions, artefactual and architectural forms are seen instead, as the products of processes of a highly general and universal

nature. The very emphasis on universality and generality, however, effectively masks the facts of the historical and cultural specificity of material production. Hence, when attempts are made to address the patterning of material culture over a wider spatial, and longer temporal, scale, recourse is rapidly made to abstract forces, particularly ones derived from formal economics, evolutionary theory and cultural ecology, as the means to explain pattern maintenance and change.

Clarke, for instance, identified a number of hierachically organised levels of resolution within archaeological systems (1977, fig. 1), arguing that each level of spatial organisation, ranging from the micro, or within structure, to the macro, or between site scale, has its own appropriate theory of aggregation. Within this scheme, economic and geographical models were thought to supercede social and cultural models once the level of analysis is extended beyond the boundaries of the site. The difficulty with such a proposition is not that 'cultural' or 'symbolic' variables should be granted theoretical primacy, but instead that notions of economic value, social significance, symbolic import, or whatever, are embedded in an historically specific rationality, which enters, through human agency, every sphere of activity. This relates directly to an earlier point that all human action is notionally informed. With the studies discussed above, however, an emphasis is placed on the identification of universal material correlates, by either excluding the study of meaning altogether, or by imposing ethnocentric values onto the traces of past human behaviour.

This can be most clearly seen in studies of space which endeavour to establish cross-culturally valid laws of behaviour of a particular kind. Thus, intimated in Schiffer's tripartite division of discard behaviour is an assumption that most types of discarded artefact can be subsumed under the category 'refuse', and "that this stands in the same relation to a postulated category of 'value' as it does in our own society" (Moore, 1982, 75). Binford's position is a comparable one, if more elaborate, since an aim of his ethnoarchaeological studies has been to delineate and identify the material consequences of particular mechanical processes. The patterns thus generated can be used to infer the practice of certain activities of a highly generalised nature, which are therefore, reputedly, cross-culturally valid. These include such behavioural actions as the tossing and dropping of artefacts, and like other studies of this kind the mechanical properties of actions are dissassociated from the intentions and cultural context of the actors who performed them. Furthermore, this analytical exclusion of meaning and intent facilitates the use of formal analogies to define the properties of particular classes of activity. Thus, for instance, it is suggested that amongst the Nunamiut Eskimo, a home-base can be differentiated from a hunting-stand owing to the absence of activities directed towards the maintenance, i.e. tidying up, of living space at the latter category of site (1978b; 1983, 180-190). Specifically, the sweeping up and redeposition of items dropped within dewllings produces a different assemblage composition to that generated by the dropping and tossing of items as observed at Nunamiut hunting stands. At the level of

ethnographic description these observations have a certain utility. However, to imply, as Binford does, that patterns generated by discard at hunting-stands in general are not subjected to tidying up, on the grounds that they are non-residential, simultaneously fails to explain why this conceptual division is important to the Nunamiut, and introduces several ethnocentric assumptions about, for example, 'domestic space', and attitudes to discarded materials.

Kent's effort to forestall some of these difficulties is a welcome one. Even so, her suggestion that the spatial ordering of activities can fall anywhere along a continuum from rigid demarcation to complete non-segregation, however well substantiated cross-culturally, is of limited, and largely descriptive, applicability. As currently conceived, her scheme cannot provide adequate expalanations of why, for instance, the spatial separation or unification of activities are considered socially necessary, how such divisions are reproduced, or why, within a particular society considerable variation about a cultural ideal might be observed. In effect, Kent fails to address the reasons for, and the uses of, conceptual boundaries which come to be realised, materially, through daily practice.

Many of the preceding criticisms can also be levied against the studies oriented towards the reconstruction of social organisation outlined above. In the ethnoarchaeological studies of Kramer and Watson for instance, the relationship between the material and social worlds is seen as one of passive reflection, and the onus of the research is thus directed towards correctly

recognising the appropriate material correlates of particular socio-economic variables, such as ´wealth´ and ´rank´. Moreover, these variables are treated as analytical abstractions, rather than as culturally specific constructs. In both studies there is, for instance, a surprising lack of discussion given to the relationships between men and women for studies ostensibly concerned with a Moslem society, and the notions of ´honour´ and ´shame´ which can often determine the status, and even wealth of a family, are left unexamined (for useful discussions, see Khatib-Chahidi 1981 and Wright 1981).

Mention can be made here of a recent endeavour to construct a theory of the social logic of space. The focus of inquiry is on architectural form, and the initial premise that "buildings are social objects through their very form" (Hillier and Hanson 1984, 2) has much to recommend it. However, two general weaknesses can be identified. Firstly, a distinction is made between the function and style of an artefact, in which an object´s function is given theoretical primacy (ibid., 1), something which has long been a bone of contention within archaeology. The second criticism refers more directly to the the modelling of how space acquires form. The approach proposed relies on a concept of generative grammars, whereby, given certain conditions, forms are held to develop in a predictable manner from a single cell or complex of cells. While it would be impossible to review this model adequately here, one point can be made. Specifically, the modelling of generative grammars relies on a distinction between the ´inside´ and the ´outside´ of a cell

or cell complex. Rather than accepting that the definitions of the boundaries are contingent on cultural values, the terms refer simply to the physical properties of the analytically bounded space (ibid., 73-81). In other words, although a structure may have a physical ´inside´, this ´inside´ may be open to all and sundry (a church is a good example), and in this sense is an unbounded space. By ignoring the conceptual categorisation of space, the authors inevitably produce a **formal** logic, and not the social logic they promise.

The work of Fritz and other comparable research into the cosmological ordering of the material world come closer to approach favoured here, in that the symbolic elaboration of space, widely discussed within social anthropology, is acknowledged as having relevance to archaeological interpretations. Of the examples discussed, however, all exhibit many of the drawbacks common to the behavioural and societal studies. Huffman´s interpretation of Great Zimbabwe and other contemporary structures, in addition to treating space-society relationships in a reflectionist vein, is confounded further by his uncritical use of ethnographic analogy, in a manner which purports little change in the social relations of the production of cultural knowledge during the past five hundred years. This is inspite of the fact that this period witnessed an intensification of external exchange links, and, in the modern era, a particularly traumatic epoch of Western colonisation[2]. Fritz´s model of Chaco Canyon is intriguing, in that various transformational principles were identified, which can be

reasonably inferred to have generated a semblance of symmetrical order to the landscape the residents of the Canyon had cause to experience. On the other hand, in common with the other studies this spatial order is conceptualisised as passively reflecting, rather than actively constructing social values and experiences

Despite these criticisms, Fritz's analysis has the advantageof drawing attention to the need to address the symbolism and meaning of residential and topographic space within archaeology. A point made, incidentally, some time ago by Mary Douglas at the 'Man, Settlement and Urbanism' symposium (1972), and more indirectly by Leach (1977), in his challenge to archaeologists to embrace a structuralist epistemology. In recent years several archaeologists have endeavoured to develop a theory of material culture, based on the essentially structuralist premise that "insofar as material culture is a genuinely cultural phenomena, it can only be understood as meaningfully constituted" (Wylie 1982, 41)[3]. Among such studies are included several concerned primarilly with way in which the spatial dimension of settlement and material culture reflexively monitor routine practice, helping to both create and maintain specific social relations.

For example, in a study of the Islamic community on the island of Lamu, off the Kenyan coast, Donley illustrates how, through the temporal and spatial ordering of daily activities, a symbolic scheme is both implemented in and re-constituted by the plan and internal arrangement of dwellings (1982). From one perspective, the symbolic loading of each space and associated

activities are seen to act as a mnemonic for the wider cultural order, which confers a practical mastery of these schemes upon the social agents, in much the same fashion as proposed by Bourdieu for the Kabyle houseplan (1977, 91; 1979). The fact that newly born infants are taken on a tour of their parental home, and "told who is to use each item of furniture and on what occasions" (Donley, 1982, 70), lends support to this conceptualisation. However, as Donley points out, the ordering of rooms, activities and material culture stand in a recursive, rather than a passively reflective relationship to these symbolic constructs, and contribute to the reconstitution of these schemes.

Analogous points are made by Moore in her preliminary discussion of categories of space amongst the Endo Marakwet of Kenya (1982). It was noted, for instance, that the distributions of ash from the cooking hearth and goat faeces correspond with the spatial dimensions of the specific cultural division of tasks between the sexes. Thus, ash is always discarded behind the woman's hut within a compound and goat faeces are found located in close proximity to the man's hut. The same relative order also obtains for the location of human burials of the different sexes (ibid., 77-79). However, this patterning cannot be treated as merely deriving from the functional requirments of subsistence and the maintenance of living space, for the respective components of each domain constitute symbolically loaded categories related to the positive and negative aspect of fertility. Thus, the practical separation of women from goats has the effect of simultaneously restricting access to, and

control over material wealth to men, and generating a particular symbolic capital which men can deploy in various social and political strategies to their own advantage[4].

In a recently published monograph these configurations are given more detailed consideration, and placed within a broader cultural and historical context (Moore 1986). Additionaly, on the basis of both the ethnography and an extensive review of contemporary social theory, it is proposed that the spatial ordering of the social and physical worlds exhibit certain text-like properties. Specifically, it is argued that "a spatial text is open to a multiplicity of different interpreatations" (ibid., 86), and this polysemic quality, by virtue of the power of meaning to guide, stimulate and condition everyday practice ensures that the spatial arena becomes a nexus of ideological discourse and concern. For, to offer one reading out of many, or to challenge a dominant reading, requires not simply a rhetorical, but also a practical autonomy over the formulation and articulation of the spatial order. As a cultural representation, the spatial order is "completely bound up with the conduct of a continual process of argumentation" (op. cit.).

These points are echoed by Kus (1982, 1983) with respect to the representation and construction of social space in the eighteenth century kingdom of Merina, on Madagascar. Once again stress is placed on the centrality of the individual, not as a passive observer of rules, or as a mere inhabitant of a meaningful world, but as a creator of that world. As Kus notes, the problems a symbolic and contextual archaeology faces are not

just that of:

> "the description of symbolic categories, but also the problem of the formation of conceptual categories, their changing content, and their changing structuralization within a larger representational scheme" (Kus 1983, 281, emphasis added).

Another recent study which attempts to relate space and material culture to the representation of power relationships is that by Rowlands (1985) on the 19th Century Grassfield Kingdoms of the Camerouns. In this study, Rowlands outlines how the ambivalence felt by commoners towards the divine authority of a Palace Chief, finds representational expression through the spatial ordering of settlement, from the level of the individual house to the palace layout and regional disposition and composition of shrines. Regulatorary control over access to differently graded 'moral' spaces helps to reproduce the order, in that the Palace Chief, as possessor of divine authority and an absolute power, is spatially segregated for his own protection from potential pollution. By means of this containment, the Palace Chief is prevented from fully excercising his potential power to achieve his own ends above those of the community.

From these arguments, and with particular regard to the aspects of spatial order that stem from its materiality, the following conclusions can be drawn. First, the physical arrangement of structures and facilities, as relatively durable phenomena, help to condition and pattern action. Second, the creation of spatial boundaries and categories in this manner also serves to define social groups, in terms of the users and

occupiers of these spaces. Third, crossing these boundaries entails a social redefinition, either of a permananent or temporary kind, and a dominant ideology or interest group will seek to maintain the relationships between the spatial and temporal boundaries, and the social categories these contain. Where limits exist, the effect is to exclude some individuals in preference to others (Ardener 1981).

The general features governing the composition of the dwelling units of a kin group, and its demographic reproduction, provide a convenient example of these more theoretical observations. For each dwelling unit there are physical boundaries, such as walls and fences, and spatial units, such as rooms and courtyards, which contain certain persons. Outsiders cross these boundaries under prescribed conditions, and the protocol of visiting may involve not only modes of behaviour, but also restrictions in time (e.g. see Wright 1981). Not all ´intruders´ to the space are temporary visitors, since the co-residential group might necessitate the introduction of outsiders so that it can reproduce itself. It may also be accepted that some of the members, possibly defined by their age or sex, have to leave the unit and either establish or join other cells. Most frequently both sorts of movements occur. Consequently, although the physical space may remain stable, the social group it contains, and defines, can be in a state of flux. The consequences of the ageing and reproduction of the occupants of a residential group must therefore also be taken into consideration, as too must the ´opening´ and ´closing´ rituals of the different stages of life

that individuals pass through. Hence, the study of space is inexorably bound up with, and cannot be disassociated from the temporal dimension of activity. For, it is only within an axis of time-space that the conceptual division of the world can be realised through material practice, and it is to the temporal dimensions of action that I now turn.

Section 2:3 Time :

2:3.1 Introduction:

Like space, there are varying dimensions of time, ranging from the moment of action or interaction, through diurnal, seasonal and annual cycles of activity, to the longer term history of social institutions and cultural traditions. An equally central form of time is that of the individual's biography, which can be treated as either a segmented or continuous passage through different time-spaces (see below for clarification of this concept). It has already been noted, for instance, that degrees of bodily 'purity' or defilement, which precipitate the spatial seclusion of specific individuals, can be contingent on particular temporal rythms, such as a woman's menstrual cycle (Donley 1982), socially ordered cycles of initiation (Moore 1986) or following the end of a person's life (Hodder 1982). The integration of time and temporality into the study of physical space as a representational form, is therefore crucial, since both time and space constitute the 'architectonics' of social practice (Harré 1978). Moreover, as Harré remarks:

> "each area and volume, and each period of time, and each thing has a structure that differentiates it from other things and makes it thereby a potential vehicle of significance or meaning" (Harré 1972, 144).

2:3.2 Time in Archaeology and Anthropology:

Within archaeology 'time', and the temporal dimension of material assemblages have received considerably less attention than their spatial counterparts, particularly since the adoption of 'absolute' methods of dating, and the concomittant demise of the paradigms of Cultural Historians. The notion that the processual and systemic archaeologies produce only a parody of history by treating cultural change as externally derived and in evolutionary terms, is well substantiated (e.g. Hodder 1982b; Rowlands 1982; Tilley 1981, 1982). Whereas these critiques have focussed on the theoretical inadequacies of synchrony:diachrony and structure:function dichotomies, the concepts of time as held within the discipline have received far less attention, the work by Leone being a notable exception. Essentially, Leone draws on an earlier observation by Clarke, who pointed to the relative status of time and space, arguing that "a key step in archaeological interpretation is a model approach toward the meaning of time and space for the inmates of particular systems" (Clarke 1973, 13). Whereas Clarke had indicated previously that the origins of European archaeology could be traced to Italy in the Sixteenth century (1968, 6-8), it is Leone who reminds us that the notion of the past as totally separate from the present <u>originated</u> in the Renaissance (1978, 31). This conceptual division of time, Leone argues, contributed to the rise of

concepts of the individual and of self-identity. This, he feels, opened the way for the ideological masking of relations of production and class, in that a person's economic and social role can be sustained by the maintenance of a belief in "an earned future state of bliss or terror on the basis of individual performance" (Leone 1978, 29).

Leone's remarks are particularly pertinent in that he echoes Clarke's insistence that archaeology be critically aware of its own epistemological foundations, and also of the need to establish a means of distinguishing between our modern concepts of time and those held in the past. However, without careful and explicit formulation of the centrality of time to social action, there is a distinct possibility of introducing concepts of 'primitive' and 'civilised' (or 'capitalist') time, of 'hot' and 'cold' societies, as forms of innate mental qualities (cf. Levi-Strauss 1966). Thus, the significance of Leone's observation that an individual lay American "makes time pass at different rates under different circumstances" (1978, 35), is not, merely, that the experience of time is relative to different individuals and cultures, but also that the experience of time is socially constructed, contextually dependant, and ammenable to change or modifiaction both individually and institutionally.

The idea that different social institutions construct and project time differently according to their purpose, or function, has had considerable currency within anthropology. Beidelman, for instance, recounts that the Kaguru have two, rather than just

a single abstract category for time (1963), neither of which serves the purpose of a chronology, in the Western sense of the term. Of these, one refers to time spans shorter than a day's duration, while the other is used when discussing spans of a greater duration. Various natural sequences, such as the diurnal cycle, the cycle of the moon or the seasonal change from wet to dry months, are used to divide and order susbsistence activities. On the other hand, it is the temporality of individual biographies which imbue domestic space with social and cosmological import (Beidelman 1972, 701-705). But, when referring to the past "Kaguru never speak of events occurring 'so many years ago'; instead they simply refer to whatever important event marks the particular period in question" (Beidelman 1963, 11). In these terms the Kaguru past is an entirely relative one, since the events of the past thought of as important only have significance in terms of contemporary concerns.

Bloch (1977) provides a more theoretical consideration of time, distinguishing between the notions of cyclical and linear time which can be found operating in conjunction within a single society. The principle of linear, or durational time, Bloch suggests, enters society at the level of practical affairs, whereby individuals come to know the world. Conversely, the principles of cyclical or non-durational time, governs ritual contexts, and that this timeless view of existence operates, on an ideological level, to mask the social relations of the present. Hence, contemporary constructs of the past are used to

produce "a legitimate order of inequality in an imaginary world which we call social structure" (1977, 289).

To some extent this parallels Leach's earlier observation that the recognition of ageing, as an irreversible process, and of the repetition of 'natural' events, along with an appreciation of changing rates or durations, constitute the main features of how time is experienced (1961, 132-133). However, Bloch seems prepared to disregard Leach's comment that "there is nothing intrinsically geometric about time as we actually experience it" (ibid., 126), and that the referents of linear and cyclical time are metaphorical expressions. Furthermore, Bloch's perspective has been variously criticised by other researchers for making a false analytical distinction between the two types of cognition. Bourdillion (1978), for instance has indicated that pragmatic activities, such as the seasonal round of agricultural tasks, are also geared to cyclical time. A more penetrating critique, provided independently by both Asad (1979) and Austin (1979), is that society cannot be separated into levels of infrastructure and superstructure, since ideology is grounded in, and constituted by routine activity. Thus, as Asad argues:

> "What verbal discourses (as well as other models of communication) signify or do can only be determined by analysing the concrete conditions in which they are produced" (Asad 1979, 620).

A comparable point is made by Austin, where she holds that the two structures of temporality, "create a context for activity, and produce legitimating symbols couched in the ideologies of everyday life" (1979, 620). The efficacy of the symbols depend,

therefore, on the power of dominant institutions and their ideologies "to contain conflicts of interest both within and beyond the society" (op. cit.).

To summarise this discussion, we can infer that time is implicated in practices in two distinct, but nevertheless complementary ways, namely as 'historical' and 'experiential' time. The former term serves as a gloss to cover all aspects of received and inherited conditions and traditions of practice, while the latter is held to encapsulate the being-in-the-world, necessarily a conceptually ordered world, which constitutes lived existence. Thus, settlement, as a spatial phenommenon encapsulates both material forms and practices inherited from the past and moments of occupation as lived by the residents of these localities. However, in that material and symbolic forms are produced by the actions of these residents, they not only construct their own future but re-write their own past, adding appendages and making ammendments to earlier utterances and productions. Settlement is thus both narrative and event, and as a durable form can be appropriated by different groups so as to represent and legitimate their own concerns.

2:3.3 Time-space and everday action:

The integration of temporality into the analysis of spatial forms and structure has been a principle aim, also, of time-space geography, and the approaches forwarded offer a productive line of inquiry, largely because they allow a certain hegemony to the individual agent. Their stated aim is to identify 'paths' through space and time, which define "where, when and for how

long, the individual has to join other individuals, tools and materials in order to produce, consume and transact" (Hagerstrand, 1975, 39). Although this bears a superficial resemblance to Behavioural Chain Analysis (see above, Section 2:2.1), there is a significant difference between the two approaches. Thus, while the latter approach makes uniformitarian assumptions about the actors who perform these activities, in time-space geography the individual differences form the object of analysis. Essentially, this perspective treats individuals and objects, not as 'fixed entities' but as following 'trajectories' from one locale to another. Where the various trajectories of persons and objects intersect, a node, or locale, of interaction is said to exist. When viewed over even short periods of time it becomes apparent that the same individual particpates in several different fields of interaction, which are comprised of many different contexts. The nature and significance of the context, the expected modes of behaviour and appearance, and the degree of individual participation are all contingent on its position within a specific time-space network, through which people and things move at different rates. Thus, each situation has its context, which is a complex interaction of numerous times and spaces, and is recreated and modified in each instance. In this sense, the biography, or lifepath, of an individual is an "oscillation between a situation which is locational rather than spatial and a context which is experiential" (Parkes and Thrift 1979, 357).

In contrast to the ´compositional´ approach to spatial forms, which views the co-ordination of activity across space and time in a purely anatomical manner and in terms of statistical aggregation, this ´contextual´ approach treats each event in terms of its setting (Hagerstrand 1975; Carlstein and Thrift 1978; Parkes and Thrift 1979). The temporal and spatial structure of social organisation is seen to reproduce various patterns of interaction, with each individual possessing a different capacity "to form couplings and select among potential couplings in a given portion of time-space" (Carlstein and Thrift 1978, 237). The spatial autonomy of an individual can therefore be curtailed, or ´entrained´, by that of others, since the context of each situation "accords different temporalities a dominance rather than others" (Parkes and Thrift 1979, 357).

Despite the pertinancy of these insights, as currently formulated the approach fails to examine adequately how the routinisation of action, which entails the fixing of a particular temporality to activity, both reproduces social institutions and yet contains the conditions and potentials for their change and transformation. In one sense, then, it lacks an appropriate formulation of history, not as moments of stasis interspersed by moments of change, but as a continual flow of conduct, and unfolding of events, which are open-ended but nevertheless establish the future conditions of action. This same point was raised towards the end of Section 1:5 above, and it can now be more fully elaborated.

Section 2:4 The Historical Structuring of Contexts :

2:4.1 Agency and the theory of structuration:

As intimated above the purpose of this section is to pick up on salient features of human action which have already been raised, with particular regard to two sets of questions, the relationships between the individual and the institutions of society, and, the concepts of power and legitimation. These in turn will be related to the material, that is artefactual, world and the reproduction of material traditions. In effect it will be held that the link between the material and social is of a kind commensurate to the manner by which an individual both constitutes, and is constituted by society.

This essential dialectic lies at the heart of the theory of structuration, forwarded within contemporary social theory as an appropriate formulation of everyday practice. The central theorem of the concept of structuration is the "duality of structure" (Giddens 1979, 69), which purports that social life is recursive. In their reproduction of daily practices through social action, actors regularly draw upon existing interpretations, schemes, resources and norms, which are made available by existing structures of signification, legitimation and domination. The problem faced by any form of social analysis is therefore seen as having to explain the persistence over time of the more dominant structures. To put this another way, it is necessary to account for the complicity that exists at the level of practice between those who occupy positions of practial capacity and power, and those who are subject to, in a non-

coercive manner, that authority. Hence, the suggestion that these dominant institutions and meanings are constituted and reconstituted at the level of daily routine, essentially proposes that the everyday existence of each individual lends credence to, and sets further precedents for, the normality, or 'naturalness', of those practices. Such regularised acts can be termed 'situated practices' (Giddens 1979, 56).

Without routine, the practices and events of each new day would bear little resemblance to those of the previous day, and though conceivably internally coherent, they would lack any broader and more general structure. However, as our own experiences should inform us, although our activities over each successive day approximate those of previous days, we know, implicity, that each day is different. The nature of this difference can be in terms of the range and specificity of the tasks we have to perform, the problems which arise as unforseen consequences of earlier actions, or the external circumstances which impinge on our 'normal' course of existence. Moreover, during the time-span of our lives, the pattern of daily routine changes according to our educational, occupational, and recreational contexts and our physical well-being. It is these two temporal scales of action, the immediate, or transactional, and the biographical which comprise the nett contributions of the individual to the routinisation of existence. However, since such action is not sustained within a vacuum, and is largely realised as 'inter-action', then the practices of individuals necessarily constitute, at anyone moment, the social, spatial and

temporal dimensions of larger aggregations. In that a tacit agreement is reached amongst participants as to appropriate codes of conduct, behaviour, purpose, import and so forth, then their interaction can be said to both supply coherence to, and form the constituent parts of, social institutions. These institutional structures, somewhat paradoxically, have a greater durability, in terms of both their rules and resources and their effects, than any moment of interaction, although they only have existence within a sequenced aggregation of such instances. The problem, therefore, is to account for these more durable dispositions, which appear to co-exist alongside the actions of individuals as 'objective structures'.

However, whereas human action has commonly been characterised as rule-bound, in the sense of following fixed norms of behaviour, within the terms of a theory of practice 'action' can be seen as essentially strategic. By 'strategic' is meant that knowledge of the social and natural world is oriented, through action, to particular ends. The advantage of such a conceptualisation is that it redirects attention towards actual practice and away from the statistical description of rule following and deviance from the rule. In otherwords, the existence of a rule, norm, convention, or some such stricture is granted a lesser importance than how it is differently perceived and interpreted. Normative rules of behaviour, with their connotations of either deviance or automaton-like response, neither of which adequately characterise the behaviour of human beings, are replaced by schemes, or principles, and dispositions.

Moreover, these are seen to be implicitly held, rather than being codified in the unconscious, for they exist only in the practical state of an agent's practice (Bourdieu 1977, 27).

2:4.2 Power and legitimation :

In terms of Gidden's theory of structuration, the reproduction of social institutions and conventions is conteingent on both the knowledgeability of social actors, and their respective abilities to sustain relations of autonomy and dependence (Giddens 1979, 96-130; 1981, 49-68). Even as a free-agent, in the minimal sense of possessing uniquely individual notions and intentions, an actor is free of the context, both social and material, within which, and through which his or her actions are situated. Hence, the routine excercise of the same choices towards the same goals, on a daily basis, has as its consequence the reflexive monitoring of action, in that **context**, though of the instant, is itself created, selectively, from pre-existing forms. Thus, humans can never fully escape the past, for it constitutes the prior conditions of action. On the other hand, through their ability to exercise choice and implement intentions, individuals always create fresh contexts, which in turn become the conditions of future action. Control over the context of action and the implementation of specific strategies over others are consequently directly related to the issues of power.

Individuals differently situated in terms of their access to resources, including both knowledge and material phenomena, and their spatio-temporal autonomy possess different capacities to

replicate or transform the structure of social relations and institutions. Power derives from an ability to control and reproduce the contexts of action and social intercourse. More specifically, power relates to "interaction where transformative capacity is harnessed to actors' attempts to get others to comply with their wants" (Giddens 1979, 93, original emphasis). Although power may entail coercion, at the level of everyday action a certain complicity exists between dominant and subordinate groups. The nature of this complicity lies, largely, in the fact of the 'naturalisation' of relations of dominance and the asymmetrical distribution of resources. Physical space and material culture, as media for representation, play a central role in this process of legitimation, since, through a control over the production, use and structuring of **forms**, their symbolic meanings are open to negotiation and manipulation to suit the ends of particular interest groups.

Section 2:5 Outline of the Study:

The object of this thesis is not to rehearse these same arguments at the level of abstract theorising, but to examine how they can be brought to bear on a specific body of data. In particular, how they might contribute to an understanding of Dogon space use and organisation, and contribute towards the development of a theory of material culture practice. To this end, the choice of the Dogon area as the research domain has several advantages, since anthropological work in the area has well established precedents, with the consequence that several

models of Dogon space have been proposed. Thus, it will be possible to compare these explications with that developed here, thereby providing a somewhat independent measure of the qualities of the favoured perspective.

The most famous of these models is that set out by Griaule (1949), and reproduced in English in Griaule and Dieterlen 1954. In that model the plan of a particular category of compound is explained in terms of an anthropomorphic symbolism. Thus, the cooking-hut represents the head, a line of stores form one of the arms, while animal pens stand for the remaining arm and the legs. Finally, the hall and the entrance pasage are said to symbolise and erect penis, and the whole is held to represent "a man lying on his side in the marriage bed" (1949, 87). This spatial scheme can be contrasted with that given by Calame-Griaule (1955), which, although also anthropomorphic in design characterises the house as female, rather than male. The model is based on the room plan of a house alone, rather than the entire compound, and therein may be a conceptual difference that relates directly to different spatial scales. The room designated as the kitchen, square in the plan given by Calame-Griaule but often circular in my study village, is held to represent the head of a person, the main room is the body, the stores along either side of this room are the arms, the entrance hall the legs, while the door is regarded as representing a vagina (Calame-Griaule 1955, 481).

The anthropomorphic model has also been extended to the level of the village, wherein the location of certain shrines, altars, and other architectural forms and spaces which feature in

ceremonies and rituals of the ward or village populace, rather than for a specific minimal lineage, are said to represent the various anatomical parts of, to use a Western metaphor, the 'body politic' (Griaule 1949; 1965). Again there is an unacknowledged difference of opinion over the gender associations of this entity, since Griaule characterises it as hermaphrodite, whereas in her more strictly structuralist analysis of Dogon language and culture, Calame-Griaule links the village with women, as part of a system of homologous binary opposites along the lines of male:female::bush:village::dry:wet (1965)[5].

The general village model proposed by Griaule, which essentially treats Dogon practice as permeated in its entirety by an intricate cosmological understanding, has also been used by other researchers. Lagopoulos, for instance, has favoured a more rigidly semeiological analysis (1975), in which he attempts to define signifiers and pre-signifiers, and denotative and connotative elements of the system. A comparable position is followed by Van Eyck (1969), and employing semeiotic principles these authors infer that bipartite divisions of space reflect the duality of the primordial order explicated in Dogon mythology.

Against these can be placed the more descriptive and pragmatic studies of Dogon architecture, house types and room contents by Brasseur (1960, 1968), and that by N'Diaye (1972), who also considers the formal characteristics of dwellings with respect to the social standing of their occupants. Key amongst these is the 'lineage house', or <u>ginu na</u>, which N'Diaye argues is always recognisable as a two-storeyed structure with a frontal

facade comprising of a checkerboard pattern of niches (ibid., 273-274). However, the restricted distribution of these house-forms is overlooked, and no attempt is made at a comprehensive assessment of the significance of the social categorisation of dwellings.

To summarise, previous studies of Dogon space have covered much the same range of topics as have been addressed by archaeologists with respect to their own data. As with the latter, these discussions have treated the cosmological, social and functional features of spatial order as distinct units of analysis, and as mere refelections of abstract and fixed categories of thought, rather than conceptualising all three as interdigitated through human practice. It is the aim of this study to attempt such an integration, with specific reference to the ways in which material culture and space are invested with meaning and deployed, over the course of time, in individual and collective strategies. While it is held that these strategies are partly conditioned by the pre-existing conceptual and material orders, the latter are seen to encapsulate as many potentials as they do constraints. Thus, practices are conceived as open-ended and multivalent, and through which individuals seek both an autonomy to pursue their own interests, and an identity which derives, in part, from conformity and the acceptance of the dominant cultural constructs. It is this dialectical relationship as worked out through action on, and in, the physical and social worlds which will be examined below.

To this end, the thesis is ordered in the following manner. In the following chapter an introductory ethnography of Dogon institutions, practices and history is set out so as to provide the necessary framework for an understanding of the ordering of residential space and daily routine. Constraints on space preclude the possibility of further discussion, but as the study proceeds it will become clear that many of the referents, whether to social institutions, such as the lineage , or to practices, such as funeral rites, are not fixed entities, and are subject, always, to renegotiation and redefinition. In Chapter 4, the social and physical dimensions of settlement are described, and the temporality of routine activity and longer-term residence, discussed. Chapter 5 extends the spatio-temporal referents to the level of within-house and within-room material culture patterning. The changing configurations of spatial order, according to the various temporal scales of activity, and changes during an individual's lifecourse are detailed, and the recurrent negotiation of meaning and the strategic manipulation of boundaries revealed. In the following chapter the discussion is broadened to incorporate the symbolic constructs of identity, with an aim to relate regularities in spatial pattern to the dominant ideology of the patrilineage and the strategies of its senior males. Chapter Seven considers the issue of out-migration and the foundation of neolocal settlements in the adjacent plains, and the concomittant ordering of space so produced. Although new patterns of economic activity and spatial order can be defined, no new social order has, as yet, emerged. It is suggested that this absence of lineage fission can be attributed

to the power and efficacy of a sense of belong and identity constructed from the material symbols of settlement, which, though rooted in the past is nevertheless mediated by contemporary concerns and aspirations. This latter point is addressed more fully in Chapter 8, wherein the notion of the past as an ideological construct and resource is forwarded, and the significance of the thesis title 'Settlement as History' drawn out. In the concluding chapter a summary of the argument is presented and its relevance to archaeological materials discussed.

Footnotes :

1. Hodder (1982) provides a further critque of the hypothesis.
2. For other criticisms, see Blacking 1985.
3. For a particularly clear statement on this, see Leach 1976,10.
4. Hodder has recently outlined analogous data with reference to other pastoralist groups in the region (1985).
5. A rather unusual formulation, given the more common homology male:female::culture:nature drawn by structuralists.

CHAPTER THREE

AN INTRODUCTORY ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE DOGON.

> "If we may judge from the procedure of modern barbarians, the legitimate deductions from experience are inextricably mixed up with what we should call useless magic. Each operation of every craft must be accompanied by the proper spells and the prescribed ritual acts. All this body of rules, practical and magical, forms part of the craft tradition"
>
> Childe 1951, 81.

Section 3:1 Introduction :

The aims of this chapter are to summarise the principles of social structure, agricultural production and religious and political organisation of the Dogon, in the Sanga region of Mali, in advance of more detailed expositions of the organisation and use of residential space. The substance of this ethnographic introduction is based in part on field data collected between May and November 1981 and October 1982 and May 1983, which pertain specifically to the study villages. The existing anthropological texts on the Dogon have served as another source of more general information. The majority of these texts are based on fieldwork conducted in the Sanaga region, particularly by Marcel Griaule and his associates between 1931 and 1960. The existence of a large quantity of material concerning this area, collected over a period of thirty years by a small group of researchers, was a major reason for electing to carry out fieldwork in a cliff-line village in the vicinity of Sanga.

A few notes of caution, however, must be introduced at this early stage, for despite the obvious benefits they bring to this study, the data contained in these earlier mongraphs must be used judiciously. This is due, largely, to the objects of inquiry that characterised Griaule's équipe. The latter's discussions on ethnographic method (Griaule 1957) outline generalities of the approach espoused, and the perceived advantages of research teams. Teamwork enabled the many facets of traditional society to be examined in more detail than an individual could hope to achieve, and return visits permitted the researchers to build on their knowledge. Possibly so as to avoid a plurality of expositions on the Dogon, and therefore a kind of researcher-induced relativism, a theoretical scheme that could both unify the work of individual team members, and depict Dogon society as an entity, was also required. Interestingly, Griaule chose not to favour a crude economic or technological determinism - neither did he follow the lead of British structural-functionalism, which was then much in vogue. Instead, he emphasised symbolic structure as the unifying principle. Why he chose to do so is not entirely clear, however, his decision may well have been influenced by a knowledge of the broad comparability that exists between the symbolic systems of several ethnic groups in Western Sudan (Dieterlen 1955, 1959). Over a number of years, therefore, it would have become possible to build up a body of data on the subtle differences in the symbolic systems of these societies, and to trace their evolution over history. Although this 'pan-Sudan' endeavour was never fully realised, Griaule and his associates succeeded in documenting Dogon society in great

detail, and their search for a symbolic exegesis of Dogon culture was greatly aided in 1947 by a Dogon sage, known as Ogotemmeli. Essentially, over the course of a month, the latter instructed Griaule in secret and esoteric aspects of Dogon belief, which had up until then been kept from the research team (Griaule 1965).

In the light of these conversations, the specific concerns of the research team became the analysis of Dogon social structure in the light of Dogon myths of creation and migration. It was further hoped that this analysis would later lead on to an exegesis of Dogon symbolism. The published commentaries on economic and social organisation also tend to exhibit this bias and have been variously received within anthropology. A weakness perceived by Douglas, for example, is that Griaule and associates "do not seek to relate informants' statements to practice" (1968, 23). This is particularly noticeable with respect to discussions of, day-to-day routine, the position of the individual within the lineage structure, and the form and composition of residential groups, all of which will be more fully elaborated in later chapters. Conversely, the main researchers are of the view that Dogon practice, knowledge of which for the anthropologist derives from observations and verbal elicitations, is itself a representation of <u>another form</u> of knowledge. Since 1947, and Griaule's conversations with Ogotemmeli, the anthropologists have had some insight into these domains. In these terms, the specialist knowledge Griaule, Dieterlen and their colleagues have detailed is, for the initiate, the <u>final</u> state of knowledge and awareness, acquired

only after years of diligent application. As a problem in hermeneutics both views touch on points of relevance. On the one hand, how is such specialist knowledge acquired and how is it manifested? On the other, to what extent have the intentions and desires of the ethnographers conditioned the content and structure of these exegeses? Space precludes the possibility of a critique and an historiographic assessment of Griaule et alias position in the development of French anthropology (see however, Balandier 1960, Clifford 1983, Lettens 1971 and Sarevskaja 1964 among others). Moreover, fieldwork currently in progress may shed some light on these points (Van Beek pers. comm.). In most instances throughout this thesis published material is used only to substantiate my own contemporary field observations. Where, for a variety of reasons, it was not possible to pursue detailed inquiries into aspects of Dogon society, it has beeen necessary to rely more heavily on the earlier ethnographies.

Section 3:2. Topography and Environment :

The area the Dogon occupy, which exhibits most of the characteristics of an epirogenetic landscape, lies between 14°-15°5′N and 1°5′-4°W (Figure 3:1). The most prominent topographic feature is the somewhat erroneously named Bandiagara Escarpment, an almost vertical cliff face, between 180 to 270 metres high, which runs in a line from south-west to north-east for over 260 km. The cliff (Plate 1) marks the edge of a large sandstone plateau which rises in the west from the alluvial flood plains of the Niger. The plateau surface has been intensely weathered and shallowly dissected by stream action. Along the scarpline it

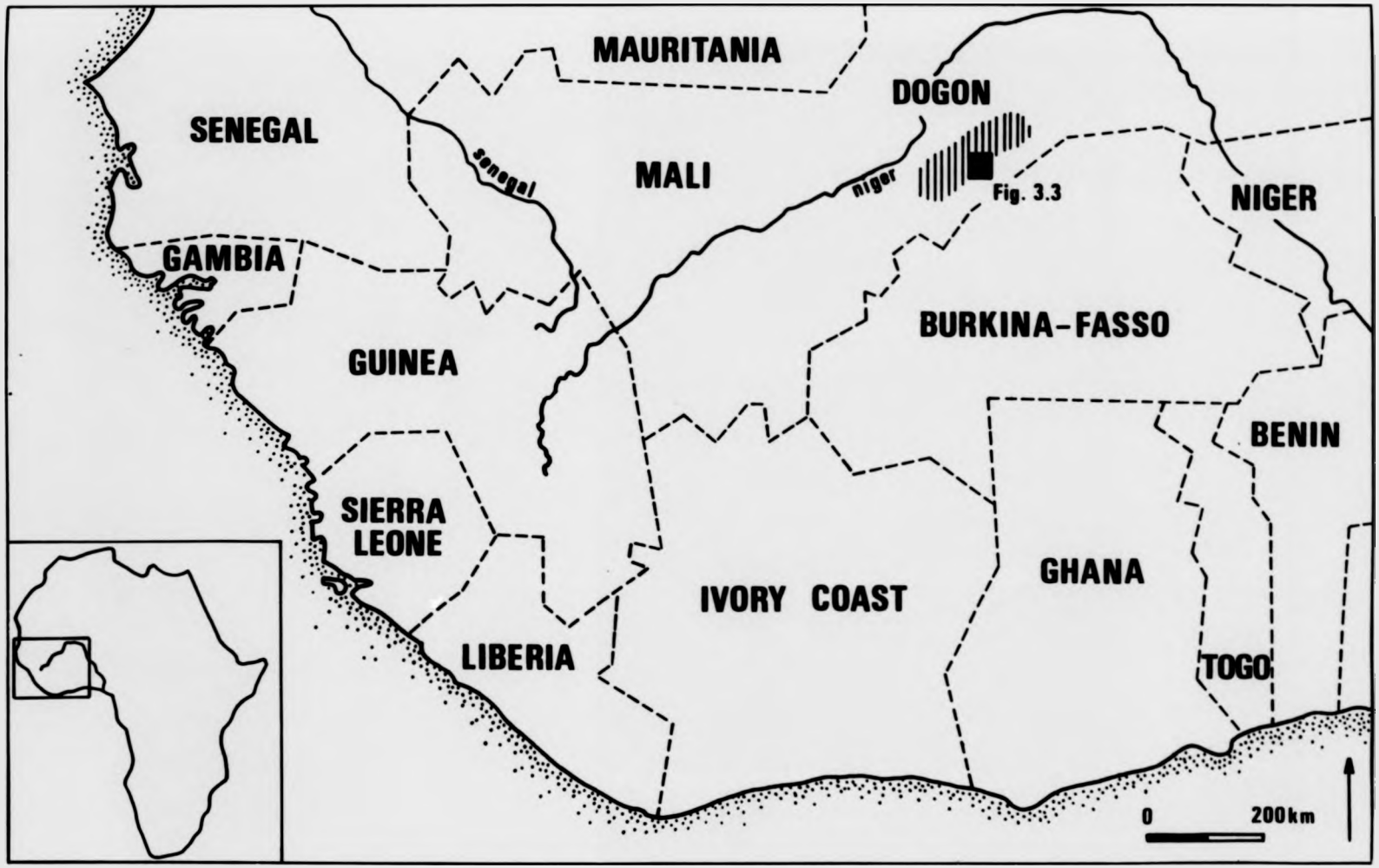

Figure 3:1 Location map of the Dogon Region

Plate 1 General view of Bandiagara escarpment.

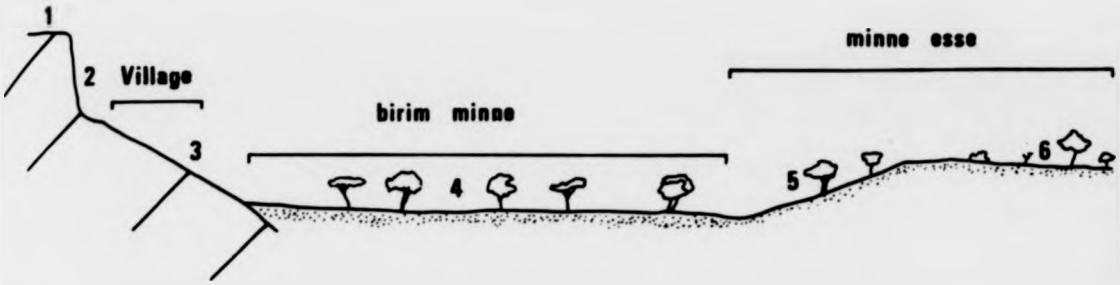

Figure 3:2 Topographical cross-section of the Bandiagara Escarpment

reaches altitudes between 450 to 550 metres O.D. To the east of the cliff lies the vast, sandy Gondo Plain, which consists of a large depression resulting from the erosion and weathering of the Upper Volta massif that has been subsequently infilled. Bandiagara sandstone, dated tentatively to the Upper Silurian, and the principle member of the Clastic sedimentary series which forms the basis of the region, is a "thick formation of massive sandstones and quartzites attaining more than 2,200 ft. (670 m.) of thickness" (Aghassy 1970, 289). The pediment of this block lies deep under the sandy sediments that comprise the Gondo Plain. These sediments have been subjected to a number of phases of aeolian and fluvial removal and deposition, resulting in a pattern of linear dunes running north-east from the foot of the scarp (Daveau 1959). In cross-section (see Fig 3:2) the main topographical features from the north-west are the plateau surface (1), sub-vertical cliff (2), talus scree of sandstone blocks, with an angle of slope in the region of 25° (3), a sandy piedment valley between 3 to 4 km. wide (4), a dune scarp with an angle of slope around 25-35° (5) and the dunes running into the sandy plain (6).

The Sanga region lies between the 600mm and 500mm isohyet (the latter aproximately coinciding with the fifteenth parallel), although there is considerable variation in the amount of rainfall from station to station in the same year. According to Daveau (1959) the number of days per annum without rain is in the region of 315 to 325. Under favourable conditions, the rains come in late June from the south-west, and continue until mid-October, although over 60% of the annual rainfall is concentrated in the months of July and August. Temperatures average 28°C during this period and relative humidity is in the region of 80%. On the plateau about 40% of the rain percolates through the joints in the sandstone until it reaches the layer of impervious schist which lies below (Huizinga et al. 1979). The remaining 60% is either trapped in small ponds and lakes or is lost as surface runoff. The angle of dip and joint structure of the massif have a causal effect on the drainage system and most of the consequent streams run westwards into the Niger basin. In the Plain, up to 80% of the precipitation can evaporate before it penetrates the earth. The optimum locations as regards water retention are in the canyons and at the foot of the cliffs. Here, due to the influence of topography, rainfall levels are consistently higher and evaporation and run-off are less pronounced (Gallay 1965).

In the cool season which follows the rains, temperatures drop to 18°C on average, and the sky is often overcast although very little rain falls. Strong harmattan winds start to blow from the north and north-east in December, and continue into

February, bringing with them clouds of dust which hang overhead for days. At night temperatures drop quite rapidly and fires are often needed to provide warmth. By the middle of March the hot season has begun in earnest, and temperatures reach 45°C in the shade during April and May. The relative humidity drops to almost 10% and most of the surface collections of water have long since evaporated. Into June, the air becomes much heavier and dark clouds form on the horizon, only to scud rapidly over the plateau leaving most of the villagers in a state of anticipation until the clouds eventually break, and rain falls once more.

The vegetation in the region is characteristic of the thorn Savanna belt of West Africa. The most ubiquious tree is Acacia albida, although baobab (Adansonia digitata), tamarind (Tamarindus indica), locust tree (Parkia biglobosa) shea butter tree (Butyrospernum parkii) and Khaya senegalensis are also common. Trees are a source of raw materials for building, tools, furnishings and heating requirements. Their leaves, fruits and flowers are used widely in sauces and as animal fodder. There are many shrubs, grasses and weeds (which proliferate after the rains) to be found scattered across the rocky slopes at the foot of the cliff, on the plateau and as a major constituent of the 'bush' that covers much of the Plain.

Section 3:3 The Study Region and its History :

Although the Dogon now occupy an extensive portion of this Plain, and are distributed widely over the plateau, historically, the core area of has always been along the escarpment.

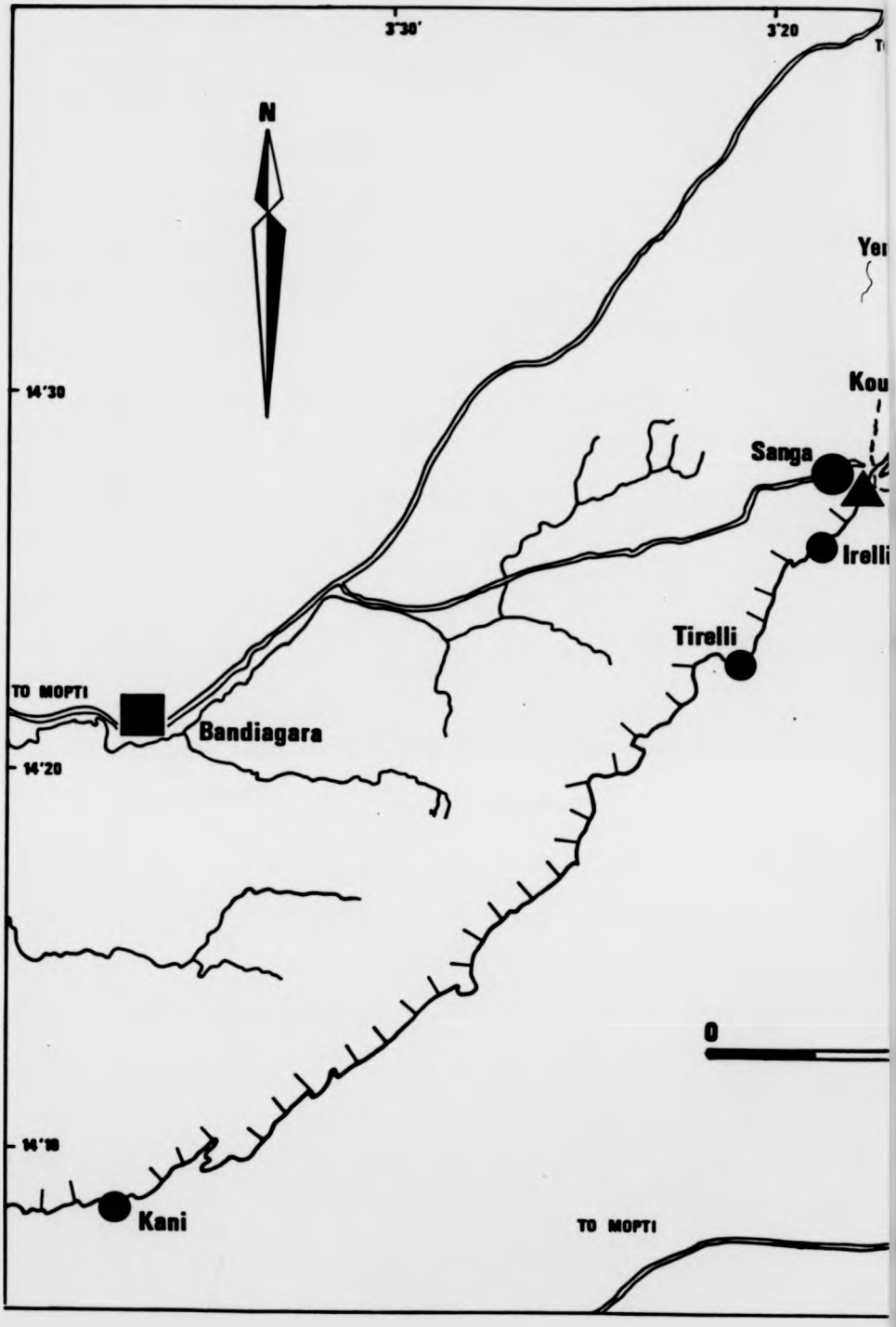

Figure 3:3 Location map of the study villages

3°20
TO DOUENTZA
3°10
3°
Bamba
Yendonma
Yougou
Koundou
Ibi
Sanga
Banani
Irelli
Sorou
Madougou
Tirelli
Tasego 1&2
Tanouma
Tiegourou
Goudiodorou
0
15km
TO OUAGADOUGOU

villages

Settlement is in the form of nucleated villages and most of the research was conducted in a scree-slope village, Banani Kokoro, which lies almost at mid-point along the line of the scarp. The other study villages and homesteads lie at varying distances from the escarpment in the Plain of Gondo. The majority of these are comparatively recent foundations, and research in these localities was restricted to migrants from Banani Kokoro (infra Chapter 7). The location of these and the major settlements in the area are shown in Figure 3:3. Population density varies widely across space, and although the Sanga region used to be the most densely populated, around 50-75 per km^2 (Brasseur and LeMoal 1965), this figure has declined as more villages have been founded some distance away in the Plain of Gondo. On the other hand, as with many other parts of Mali, the overall rate of population growth has been increasing gradually. Thus, in 1936, the Dogon totalled 150,000 while by the early 1960's the total population was in the region of 220,000.

Dogon society is patrilineal and divided by means of lineage segmentation. The largest social unit is the tribe, of which there are four, the Dyon, Arou, Ono and Domno. According to oral tradition, members of these tribes are said to be descended in the male line from four mythical ancestors who migrated from Mande, respectively Amma Serou, Lebe Serou, Binou Serou and Dyongon Serou. Tribal groups are not restricted to any one geographical area, although certain tribes appear to be numerically and politically dominant in particular regions. For example, in the Sanga region the Dyon predominate, although

members of the Arou tribe are also present. Nowadays however, tribal divisions are less important than the territorial grouping of settlements, and the particular configurations of association, allegiance, tribal membership and political authority derive from the rule of primogeniture which, over the centuries, has established a hierachy of descent and locality groups.

Linguistically, Dogon belongs to the Gur, or Voltaic, group of languages (Westermann and Bryan 1970). Calame-Griaule (1956) has identified at least twelve different dialects, and of these dyamsay is regarded as the oldest, and to have been spoken by the founding ancestors. Unlike the tribal groupings, spatially distinct dialect zones can be identified, and that spoken along the escarpment between Yendouma and Irelli, and therefore in Banani, is known as toro so (lit. cliff speech). Even in this restricted area, with a population of c.30,000 in 1953, several subdialects were identified. It is not as yet clear whether the linguistic differences stem from initial tribal divisions, although according to oral testimony, dyamsay spread to the plains with two of the founding ancestors, Lebe and Dyongon, by which time the other two ancestors were already speaking the tombo dialect (Calame-Griaule 1956).

A series of myths, well documented by Griaule (1938) describe the creation of the universe, the world before the Dogon, the coming of death and the invention of agriculture and technology. Running concurrently with these myths are a series of histories recounting the migrations of the Dogon from the Kingdom of Mande[1], and the sequence of the foundation of various

villages. Essentially, the four mythical ancestors reached the southerly end of the escarpment in the 15th Century, and founded the village of Lebere Kan, or Kani Na (now deserted) (Griaule and Deterlen 1965, 17), bringing with them earth from their lebe altar (see section 3:8). The group began to segment, and the descendants of the four ancestors left to establish their own settlements. The complex sequence of moves which followed gave rise to the present tribal groupings (Dieterlen 1941). Thus a number of villages, spread out along the line of the escarpment, can claim tribal allegiance because they were founded by descendants from a common ancestor. Members of the four villages of Banani belong to the Dyon tribe.

The early Dogon settlers did not however enter an empty area. It is held in legend that the previous occupants of the region, known as Tellem, were a group of pygmy hunter-gatherers who occupied cliff-face structures, traces of which still remain. At first the two populations are believed to have subsisted alongside each other, but as Dogon land clearance intensified, the Tellem eventually left. Some accounts hold that the Kurumba of Burkina-Fasso are the descendants of the Tellem. For a summary of the archaeological sequence see Bedaux (1972, 1974 and 1977) and for details on the pottery and textiles see Bedaux and Lange (1984) and Bedaux and Bolland (1980). Anthropometric studies of Tellem skeletal material and contemporary Dogon and Kurumba populations suggest a lack of affinity between the three (Huizinga 1968). Excavations in the Homboroi mountains to the north, at Nokara and Sarnyere, confirm this general sequence up

to the nineteenth century. From then on the sequence changes and the material culture traditions of this area become significantly different from that of the Sanga region (Gallay 1981).

Section 3:4 Village Structure :

3:4.1 Past and present village organisation :

Whatever the precise historical basis for population movement into the region, the gradual encroachment of settled agriculturalists over the region laid the basis for the present pattern of settlement. Moreover, the villages along the escarpment are of considerable antiquity, and the oral traditions of their foundation, as well as documenting the evolution of regional settlement, also serve to legitimate the contemporary structures of authority and dependance, both between and also within settlements. In one sense it can be said that this oral tradition encapsulates an idealised model of the social structure for all levels of Dogon society.

This point is best illustrated with reference to the specific research locality, and the social organisation of the study village. There are four villages of Banani, which lie in the administrative division known as the Arrondissement de Sanga, each between half and one-and-a-half kilometres apart from its closest neighbour. From north to south along the escarpment these villages are, respectively Banani Amu, Kokoro, Sirou and Na, and in 1982 their combined populations totalled close to eight hundred. While each village functions as a relatively autonomous unit, all are ritually united. The fourth village,

Banani Na, is the latest foundation, and its founders originally came from near the village of Nini, The other three are linked by a tradition of common ancestry. The history of their foundation is briefly outlined in the following synthesis of accounts given by several infomants:

> "The founder of Banani Amu, the senior village, was called Bansogoro. Bansogoro had three sons, the eldest of these, Ogodyeme, while out hunting came across the tracks left by his dog, and realising that they indicated that there was water nearby decided to settle in the locality[2] and so founded Banani Sirou. His younger brother, Ogotogu, returning from visiting Ogodyeme, decided to build his house in the region between his brother and his father, and so Banani Kokoro was founded. The third son, Ogon, remained in Banani Amu to look after his father".

The account tells us two things, firstly, that villages split as a result of the fissioning of a kin group, and secondly, that seniority is based on age. While the relative position of a village within the segmentary lineage structure cannot change, individuals at least have the opportunity of acquiring greater authority as they get older. These two principles, of lineage fission and age-seniority, govern the greater part of Dogon social organisation. Thus, the occupants of the three villages of Banani, as descendants from a common ancestor (Bansogoro), constitute the localised agnatic descent group at its widest extent, while those of Banani Na are included on the basis of a fictive link. In the absence of a Dogon term, Tait (1950) has classified such groupings as 'maximal lineages'.

The oldest male member of such a localised agnatic descent group is the Hogon (ogo). As its most senior member the Hogon

symbolises the unity of the maximal lineage, and it is through him that the more distant links with settlements, such as Kani, are maintained. Representatives of these villages attend the installation ceremony of a new Hogon, a time when the new incumbent is transformed from a mortal to supernatural state. Once installed, the Hogon moves into the village compound known as ogo ginu Hogon's house, and now must remain within the confines of his village. When he dies, he is buried apart from other villagers, and his funeral rites differ from those held for other men (Desplanges 1907, 322-336; Dieterlen 1941, 232-239; Paulme 1940, 195-232). In the past, assisted by a council of seven elders, the Hogon was responsible for the administration of justice, policing the village, and also had control over market trading. In all of these roles the power of the Hogon has diminished with the rise of Canton and village chiefs during the Colonial[3] and post-Colonial eras. However, the Hogon can still exercise his authority in these matters, and on a few occassions in Banani between 1981 and 1983 was observed to do so. These included officiating at a dispute over land between two lineages, the imposition of fines following the breaking of a taboo by some young women and the levying of a tax on beer-sellers one market day. This being said, the Hogon's authority is now largely restricted to ritual matters, and in terms of contemporary politics, it is the village chief, elected from among the active adult males of the village, who acts as an intermediary between the organs of the State[4] and other members of the village.

3:4.2 Ward structure:

Lineage fission as well as generating new settlements can also result in the further subdivision of a village into wards, called togu. Physically a ward consists of adjacent compounds of several extended family groups linked by a tradition of ultimate common descent (Dieterlen 1956, 115), although in a few instances 'attatched lineages' occur (Tait 1950), where a patrilineage, or segment, from another village has sought dwelling sites and farming lands in another ward. Each ward has its own men's meeting shelter, togu na, where the male populace of the ward can congregate, and where disputes and other discussions relevant to these men take place. Other physical features which define village space, such as the square, menstruation seclusion hut and cemetery are shared by all members of a village and not just occupants of a particular ward (infra Chapter 4). The village of Banani Kokoro, which has a resident population of 121, contains only one ward, whereas both Banani Amu and Banani Sirou have two each[5], and Banani Na has also recently been divided into two wards.

Since post-marital residence is virilocal, and rights to compound sites and fields are held by men and transmitted patrilineally, the men of a ward grow up together and usually establish their households within the ward confines. Active members participate together in agricultural work parties, providing their labour in payment for cash and/or sustenance to a lineage segment that cannot support itself by means of its own labour force. Whenever repairs to ward and village property,

such as wells, shrines and the togu na, are called for, all active males are expected to tender their services. Circumscision and initiation can also be organised by wards, but may also involve members from other villages (see Leiris and Schaeffner 1936). The village ward is not an exogamous unit, although marriages between members of the same ward are generally avoided because of the difficulties this can give rise to in the event of a divorce. It is only in matters of dispute and divorce that women seek jural support from their natal ward, and if this is the same as their husband's then it can lead to an undesired rift between the two lineage segments.

Ward cognates also belong to the same patriclan, binu, which forms the basis of a cult group for the worship of the ancestors (infra Section 3:8). This is a larger and non-exogamous kin group that can be composed of several lineage segments (De Ganay 1941). Members of the same binu observe the same set of taboos and have a common totem. The villages of Banani Amu, Sirou and Kokoro, all belong to the same binu, although each of these villages has its own shrine and cult priest. Women retain membership of their natal patriclan although in practice will become subject to the authority of their husband's patriclan as well as his patrilineage.

3:4.4 Lineage structure and marriage :

By far the most important social unit for the Dogon is the lineage. Minor lineages are called tire ginna, and minimal lineages can be referred to, simply, as ginna. The term tire means ancestors, while ginna derives from the concatenation of

the words ginu meaning house and na, large. Just as the word 'house' can mean in English both a descent group and a dwelling, so the word ginna refers to both the patrilineage and the place of residence of its senior male. Due to lineage fission smaller groups, or minimal lineages, ginna, have evolved. Essentially, a ginna is an agnatic descent group, and one or more make up a tire ginna of wider span and greater time depth in the genealogical structure. In daily practice there is a tendency to refer to both groups as ginna, and to drop the linguistic clues as to their structural position. Moreover, several tire ginna are undergoing fission, so that their smaller segments only come together for ritual purposes. Consequently most ginna, as exogamous units, have become largely autonomous and form the principle units of production, consumption and reproduction within the village.

Two or more tire ginna make up one ward togu, villages comprise of one or more wards, and so on until the highest level of segmentation, the tribe, is reached. The spatial equivalents

SPATIAL UNIT	LEVEL OF SEGMENTATION	DOGON TERM
Village	Patrilineal descent group, with named ancestor.	ana
Ward	Major lineage	togu
Group of kin linked compounds	Minor lineage	tire ginna
Smaller group of kin linked compounds	Minimal lineage	ginna

TABLE 3:1 SOCIAL UNITS AND THEIR SPATIAL EQUIVALENTS.

of these theoretical social units are summarised in Table 3:1 and the actual composition of the lineage segments found in Banani Kokoro are summarised in Table 3:2. In this table each tire ginna is allotted a Roman numeral, and the smaller, economically autonomous segments that call themselves ginna are allocated a letter.

		Ginna	Adults		Children		
			M	F	M	F	
Tire ginna	I	A	4	5	-	3	
		B	2	7	1	6	
Tire ginna	II	C	4	6	4	4	
Tire ginna	III	D	2	3	4	3	
Tire ginna	IV	E	3	3	1	1	
		F	3	5	4	5	
		G	3	3	-	-	
Tire ginna	V	H	4	3	1	3	
Tire ginna	VI	I	4	2	2	_	(partially studied)
Tire ginna	VII	J	3	3	-	1	(partially studied)
Blacksmith 1		*	1	1	2	-	
Blacksmith 2		**	1	-	1	-	
Population Total			34	41	20	26	(N=121).

TABLE 3:2 TIRE GINNA AND GINNA IN BANANI KOKORO 1981.

Hence in Banani Kokoro there are ten ginna groupings, most of which are composed of a senior man, his wives, sons and unmarried daughters and his sons' wives and children, which function as independent units of production and consumption and hold rights of usufruct over their own field space. However, there are only seven tire ginna, two of which are in the process

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		B	2	7	1	6	
Tire ginna	II	C	4	6	4	4	
Tire ginna	III	D	2	3	4	3	
Tire ginna	IV	E	3	3	1	1	
		F	3	5	4	5	
		G	3	3	-	-	
Tire ginna	V	H	4	3	1	3	
Tire ginna	VI	I	4	2	2	_	(partially studied)
Tire ginna	VII	J	3	3	-	1	(partially studied)
Blacksmith 1		*	1	1	2	-	
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of expansion and segmenting (I & IV) and one is in decline (VII). Throughout the rest of this thesis the term ginna will be used to refer to the ten minimal lineages, the use of the term tire ginna will refer to the structurally superior groups and tire togu to the entire ward, which in this case also constitues the village, ana. (For alternative uses of these terms see Paulme 1940; Dieterlen 1956; Tait 1950).

The head of each ginna is the eldest male in direct agnatic descent from the founding ancestor, and is known as the ginu bana. The administration of the social unit is in his hands and it is to his compound that the term ginu na refers. As Paulme has expressed it, the ginu bana is:

> "le remplacant naturel de l'ancêtre fondateur de ce groupe ... Il constitue l'intermediairé obligé entre la collectivité des vivants et les divinités familiales" (Paulme 1940, 88-89).

As an agnatic and exogamous group the ginna must recruit the women who are destined to provide its new members from other lineage groups. By exercising control over the productive capacity of individuals, through rights of access to dwelling space and land, it ensures its own reproduction. In exchange for the reproductive and productive capacities of women, young men have to provide bridewealth and brideservice to their in-laws. Payment of bridewealth is restricted to a man's first wife, the term for whom is ya:biru, (lit. wife work). Subsequent wives, often divorcees, are termed ya:kedu, and the decision to cohabit is made by the couple concerned without the husband having to

meet any affinal obligations. A man's first wife is generally promised to his mother by the mother of his future wife, while both are quite young, often pre-adolescence. A number of prestations are made on behalf of the boy by his lineage, and at various points the contract can be broken off by the return of these gifts.

Once his fiancée is of childbearing age, a young man has to give brideservice, working on his father-in-law's fields for three days. The first time, he works with members of his age-set weeding fields. The second time he works alone; on the third day, generally in the following year, he works alongside his age-mates again. During this time, the couple live apart in their respective wards. Later the bride is presented, by her fiancé, with a gift of a rooster and a hen, which she sacrifices on family altars to secure her fertility. Another gift, of chewing tobacco, is made to her ginna, and is distributed amongst the old women of the girl's ward. The marriage can then consumated (for details see Dieterlen 1956, 138-142). The couple continue to live apart for a period which can last until the conception, or birth, of their third child. When the first child is born its father will send twenty saval (a calabash measure) of millet to his father-in-law; he sends ten saval for the second child and five for the third[6].

Cordial and relaxed relations are the norm between spouses and co-wives, although disagreements can develop into voluble and heated arguments and may eventually lead to temporary separation or divorce. This is comparatively easy, and provision is made

for both women and men to claim grounds for separation. In either case a woman returns to her natal ward, or that of her new husband (see Paulme 1940, 410-412 for discussion). In most cases, any son born to the couple will remain in his father's lineage, whereas daughters will generally accompany their mother.

Despite individual jural rights in possessions many items of material culture are used communally and aspects of this are discussed in subsequent chapters. There is, however, no conjugal estate, and the disposal of another persons possessions by a kin member is virtually unheard of, and where it occurs is the subject of dispute. The issue of inheritance is consequently subject to a number of strict rules. Personal property is bequeathed by men to their brothers and sons, any remaining objects being inherited by the senior male. Women tend to bequeath their possession to their daughters and agnatic female kin, particularly their sisters. Although men do not have rights to alienate lineage property, that is dwelling sites, fields and herds, these are periodically divided as part of the process of lineage fission. Inherited property is not normally distributed until after the period of mourning, marked by various lineage and inter-lineage ceremonies, has ended (infra Section 3:8).

Affinal links, crucial to the reproduction of the ginna, as well as being sustained by means of ceremonial exchanges of beer at rituals and bridewealth payments, are also reinforced by a joking relationship between a mother's brother: a sister's son, ninyu : sa i. In this a boy, usually the first born, is brought

up by his maternal uncle and lives in his mother's natal ward until early adolescence. The nephew, sa i (lit. sister's child) has the right to joke with, insult, and generally behave in a disrespctful manner to his maternal uncle (Griaule 1954). Reciprocally, as well as having rights in his nephew's labour, as a youth, the ninyu can call on his sa i to help serve beer on ceremonial occasions, such as funerals and sacrifices, held in his village, that is, the boy's maternal village. The relationship is one of affection and joking, for which the Dogon term is mangu. As Griaule (1948) suggests, relationships of this kind introduce a cathartic element into interactions between mutually dependent groups.

Section 3:5 Principles of Land Tenure :

Each ginna holds and controls rights of usufruct in agricultural land amongst the scree, and in the piedmont valley extending onto the dunes. The responsibility for the mamnagement of this space is in the hands of the ginu bana. The latter acts as custodian and not owner of the land and cannot alienate it, although his practical control over its exploitation is extensive. While inheritance ensures that all land passes to a single individual, other members can cultivate individual plots of land, the product from which they are free to dispose of as they wish. The land is generally 'loaned' to them by the lineage head, or by other lineages. If land is not required for lineage use then it can be cultivated by the individual. When the lineage decides it requires this land again, then control over it is relinquished, normally after the crop it supports has beeen

harvested. No payment in either cash or product is required, although as a matter of respect a small portion of the crop is given to the ginu bana responsible for the land.

Women, who do not inherit land, are free to negotiate for similar plots for their own use from their husband's lineage. Usually these plots lie in otherwise untended parts of the scree slopes, or in garden zones, where condiments such as sesame and pimento are cultivated. Widows also have rights in land, and in Banani Kokoro several cultivate areas sufficiently large to satisfy their annual needs. While the loan system helps to meet the needs of individuals, particularly young males whose need for bridewealth capital is a pressing concern, it is insufficient to satisfy other demands. The latter arise mainly because of the system of inheritance which at once ties a community to the land, whilst simulataneously, where lineage fission occurs, resulting in diminishing farm size. This contradiction has encouraged outmigration from the traditional area by individual families to the more sparsely populated parts of the plains[7].

Other than leaving the village, one alternative strategy which can be pursued is to clear more bush and incorporate the land into the existing system of crop rotation and manuring. Although water supply is probably the limiting factor in the region, soil fertility must also be maintained. The sandy nature of the soil and its low humic content means its natural capacity for nutrient exchange is also low. Consequently the Dogon use arboreal cover, animal pasturage and manuring spreads to maintain fertility. Maintenance of an adequate tree cover provides a

steady supply of nutrients, such as magnesium and phosphoric acid, and the root system also helps to reduce aeolian erosion. **Accacia albida** is especially important as it enriches the soil with nutrients. An estimate made twenty years ago put the tree cover at between 40-50 trees per hectare, of which 80% were **Accacia albida** (Gallais 1965). The density, in the piedmont valley, is far less today, and women, who are responsible for collecting firewood, have to go around 7 to 10 km. to find adequate supplies. More important contributions to soil fertility are made by the manuring systems adopted by the Dogon. Two categories of field are identifiable, birim minne and minne esse, respectively those which are manured and those which are not. There are two ways of manuring fields, which can be used either separately or to complement each other.

After the harvests are over (mid November) groups of Fulani graze their herds on the fields owned by a ginna and camp in the vicinity. A few weeks later they move on to graze their herds on another's land. The manure from the cattle helps to replenish the fertility of the soil, and in return the Dogon provide a fixed amount of millet, after the following harvest, to the Fulani owners of the herd. However, since the herds, during the dry season, feed on fairly poor grasses which are low in protein and high in silica content, the manure tends to be high in undigestible residues of low nutrient value (Ahn 1970). Consequently, a number of fields are also manured towards the end of the dry season with compound refuse.

This manure, pandaga is drawn from the animal byres used for ovicaprids, which is generally richer in nutrients than bovine manure. When combined with millet chaff and stalks, poultry manure and urine, household refuse and human excreta, it has a much higher nitrogen and phosphate content, even so large quantities of manure are necessary to keep fields in permanent cultivation. The manure spread onto fields comes exclusively from ginna compounds and is often enriched by the inclusion of several ritually important items (infra section 3:8). Stemming as it does from the ginna compound this manure is accorded a significance, and the dominant theme of all these associations is that "le fumier qui va aider la terre à revivre, comme si de la mort naissait une nouvelle vie" (Calame-Griaule 1965, 134).

Crop rotation is also employed, so as not to deplete the soil of the mine esse which lie on the dunes and beyond. Since these fields are more distant from the village they receive minimal manuring and are consequently sown with millet for only one to two years, before being left fallow over several years. This system is known as bala. A more complex alternative system, termed bogou, involves crop rotation, where initially haricot beans and sorrell or groundnuts are grown for one year. This is followed by four years of millet and a final year of hungry rice prior to a four to five year fallow (Gallais 1965).

Section 3:6 Agricultural Resources and the Farming Cycle:

As a unit of production ginna members collectively farm the lands to which it has rights of usufruct. The Dogon are

primarilly subsistence agriculturalists whose staple crop is millet, (Pennisetum spicatum), several varities of which are grown (see Dieterlen 1952 for details). Other secondary cereals include sorghum, (Sorghum vulgaris), rice, (Oryza) and hungry rice, (Digitaria exilis). Groundnuts, (Arachis hypogea), haricot beans (Vigna unguiculata Walp) sorrell, (Hibiscus abelmoschus esculentus) and cotton are also cultivated by the lineage group. Products usually tended by individuals on small plots of land include sesame, okra, chilli peppers, tobacco and indigo along with fruit trees such as mango and papaya. The Dogon also make extensive use of arboreal products, particularly from baobab, and also tamarind, Lannea acida and Shea trees.

Most extended families maintain a herd of ovicaprids, in 1983 a total of 118 were declared for taxation purposes. Few cattle are owned in comparison, and only 40 were registered on the 1983 tax inventory. Most of these cattle are tended by members of the family living in the Plains or otherwise by local Fulani groups. In the latter case the Fulani have rights to any milk from the herd. Although the Dogon get a return, in the form of manure and also saved labour, the relationship between the two groups can be a source of tension and conflict. Fulani herders, traditional enemies, along with the Mossi, of the Dogon, are treated with suspicion and a lack of respect. Most Dogon expect to be tricked in their dealings with the Fulani unless they are careful, and forceful about their rights. Some families in the study ward owned donkeys, six in all, and these were also kept in plains villages. Poultry are found in almost every family

compound. Hunting, once an important dry season acitivity, is rarely practiced.

The calendar year begins with the annual millet harvest in mid-October. All active members of the ginna above the ages of five or six participate. Harvested grain is taken back to ginna granaries, the millet stalks collected for use as animal fodder, and also to provide the base for pandaga manure. The harvest takes between three and four weeks to complete, and its end marks the start of the dry season, a time of year known as bago, which lasts for three lunar months. After the harvest those families with garden plots begin to prepare these, adding manure and hoeing over the soil. Regionally, onions[8] are sown by late November, and tobacco in early December; tomatoes and lettuce are also grown at this time of year although on a smaller scale. In Banani, however, such garden activity is of marginal economic significance owing to a lack of suitable fields and sufficient water supplies. Consequently, agricultural tasks between November and May are few; the only pressing concern is the care of herds during the driest period when water and pasture are scarce. After the bulu ceremony (infra Section 3:8) has been held in early May, work can begin on preparing and manuring fields. Once the first good rain has fallen, usually late June, crops are planted. The first weeding takes place in late July, continuing into August, and fields are weeded a second time in late August or early September.

The divisions of agricultural tasks and servicing roles are made according to age and sex. Broadly speaking, women prepare

and cook food and carry out the associated tasks of fetching firewood and water and gathering plants for culinary use. Women are also responsible for child rearing and participate in agricultural production. Men assume responsibility for supplying food staples and tending livestock. They also act as masons and builders whenever necessary, and see to the maintenance of structures. Although men do gather plants and fruits this is done far less frequently than by women. Some of the agricultural tasks, such as hoeing are done by both sexes, but heavier work such as clearing field and bush are performed by men. Men also harvest the ears of millet, which women transport back to the village. Women are responsible, also, for the porterage of products and raw materials in general.

Section 3:7 Non-Lineage Divisions of Society:

Although the principles of lineage segmentation are paramount in the structuring society, there are a number of institutions which cross-cut the descent system. Of these, the distinction between inneomo and innepuru males distinguishes those who can come into contact with corpses, build and repair menstruation seclusion huts, and hold certain ritual roles. The terms mean, literally, 'living men' and 'dead men' respectively. It is the latter category, numerically quite small within society, who perform these functions. The status is an inherited one, and all innepuru can trace their ancestry via nani links (see below Section 3:8) to the first ancestor to die in human form (Dieterlen 1941, 86; 1956, 113). Patriclans can also call

on, in a reciprocal fashion, the innepuru of other patriclans to assist at major rituals, which helps maintain a network of social relations between spatially dispersed groups.

Another important means of horizontal division are the age sets (turo) and age-mates (tumo). Boys circumcised in the same year constitute an age-set, although these are not named groups. Circumcision ceremonies, kenene, take place every three or four years, and boys will generally be between nine and twelve years old. Until a boy has been circumcised he is not regarded as a male, and observes many of the same taboos as women. After the ceremony, which includes initiation into the Society of Masks, the boys are now eligible to participate in masked dances, organised according to toru membership (Griaule 1938, 348). A young man will also call on his age-mates tumo, that is ward cognates circumcised in the same year, to help him fufill his labour obligations to his affinal kin, and he will help them in turn. Although girls undergo cliterodectomy (Paulme 1940, 487-492), there is no equivalent ceremony, and there is no female equivalent to the awa.

As well as exogamous family units largely dependant on farming for subsistence, there are two endogamous craft groups, blacksmiths and leatherworkers. Leatherworkers, dyem tend to be localised in their own settlements, and there are no leatherworkers in any of the villages of Banani. The nearest settlement lies on top of the plateau close to Engueli, one of the villages of Sanga. Leatherworkers tend to work by commission, making belts, knife sheaths and scabbards, saddlery

and shoes. The only leather product made by non-leatherworkers is a shoulder sack from tanned goat or sheep hide. Many of the leatherworkers have become involved with trading and marketing non-Dogon commodities brought in from outside the region. Their wives also have a specialist role, that of indigo-dyeing local cloth. Although leatherworkers do not hold much land, they are a very wealthy group and most have adopted Islam.

Blacksmiths, irine, and their wives, on the other hand, live amongst the Dogon, although their houses are always at the peripheries of a settlement (Compounds 4 and 40, Figure 4:1). There were two smiths resident in Banani Kororo throughout the period of fieldwork, a somewhat unusal situation. Normally there is only one smith per village, since when a smith wishes to establish himself, after years of apprenticeship with his father, he requests dwelling and forge space from the village of his choice. If his request is granted then the villagers will build or repair a house on the edge of the settlement for him, and also construct a forge. Traditionally members of this craft group held no rights in land, and gained their livelihood by producing and repairing agricultural tools, and other metal artefacts, in return for quantities of cereals and other foodstuffs. Nowadays they have some access to land and sell their products for cash more frequently than exchanging them. Blacksmiths also perform a number of highly valued social functions. These essentially entail acting as mediators in disputes, particularly in cases of divorce. If either party wishes to reach a settlement and re-integration, they approach the village smith who acts as a go-

between and counsellor, and advises on the appropriate sacrifices that must be made (Dieterlen 1972). The smith is also the cutter at male circumcision ceremonies. The wives of blacksmiths control the production of spindles and spindle whorls, inexpensive items, but virtually essential components of every woman's personal possessions. Blacksmith's wives can act also as hairdressers, although they no longer hold a monopoly over this task. Aside from their integral role in the Dogon economy, blacksmiths are responsible for carving ritual statues in wood, and their wives make the pots, wone, used in ancestral shrines, but do not make other pots.

Finally mention must be made of the markets, ibe, which are an important context of non-lineage based activity. Found on the edge of settlements, markets are organised regionally according to a five-day cycle and are restricted to certain villages. In the Sanga region these are, in order of occurrence, Sanga, Irelli, Ibi, Banani and Yendouma. Days are named accordingly (such as Ban ibe for Banani market day), and market-time structures the pattern of work and also major rituals. In Banani the day of rest is also Yendouma market day, and is named dam bai rather than Yendouma ibe. Markets move sequentially from point to point along the cliff-line, and only Yendouma is more than a few hours walk from Banani. Those at the southernmost (Irelli) and northernmost (Yendouma) ends are also part of other market cycles which link two other groups of villages.

The range of products sold in these markets is vast. Generally, taking into account seasonal variations these include

meat, both raw and cooked; cereals, fruits, vegetables, spices and cooked vegetable snacks; beer and other beverages; locally made objects such as pots, baskets and dyed cloth; and non-indigenous products brought in by traders from Mopti. Villagers are aware of the other markets in the cycle and, apart from Yendouma, frequently visit the others to sell their own products or make purchases. However, markets are pre-eminently social occassions; male friends sit talking and joking over a pot of beer and cuts of roast meat. Women form their own groups, and under the guise of selling foodstuffs and products have a chance to meet agnates and to exchange news.

Section 3:8 Religious Organisation:

There are four main ritual cults, which are hierachically ordered. Each cult has its own set of officiants, rituals, territorial and physical expressions and ritual concerns. For the purposes of this section only the main features are summarised. In subsequent chapters selective reference is made to aspects of various rites observed, and where necessary features of the particular cult are elaborated.

The lebe cult, headed by the Hogon is the most senior and closest to a universal and unifying religious institution. According to Dogon myhtology, the founding tribal ancestors brought with them a piece of earth from their original homeland. This piece of earth came from the tomb of Lebe, who, following the appearance of death, was the first amongst the Dogon to die. However, Lebe metamorphised into a large snake, normally

described as a python, whilst in his tomb. Over time, the migrating Dogon steadily subdivided to found new villages. With each segmentation the portion of earth was divided and a small piece was incorporated into the lebe altar of the new village. These cone shaped altars in mud, therefore symbolise both the senior ancestor, Lebe Serou, and the rebirth of the Dogon in their new lands (see Dieterlen 1941, 228-239).

Following a period of transformation on assuming office, each Hogon comes to personify the rebirth of both Lebe and the Dogon. The rituals connected with the lebe cult are, therefore, essentially ones of renewal. As well as the ogo ginu and an altar, variously located in the village square, or in the marketplace as at Banani, there is a third material expression of the cult. This is the Hogon's field, ogo minne, in which cereals used in the principle cult ritual, the bulu, are grown, and where the placenta's of newly born infants can be deposited[9].

The word bulu means to 'revive' (Calme-Griaule 1968, 49), and the ceremony held at the end of the dry season restates the debt the living owe to the dead, expresses a communal desire for prosperity and bountiful harvests in the coming year, reaffirms affinal links and generally symbolises the renewal and rebirth of the land with the onset of the rains. The ceremonies are spread over five days, which begin with sacrifices over the amma altars at each tire ginna, made by the head of each segment. On the following day a sacrifice, attended by all senior men, and not just lineage heads, is held at the binu ginu in the village ward.

On the afternoon of the final day all villagers congregate in the senior village square. The men form a chain ranked according to age, and each holds in his hand a millet stalk or umbrella. The line, with music, songs and prayers heads off to the house of the founding ancestor, where ears of millet are thrown to the crowd. After visiting the binu ginu of each ward in turn, they return to the Hogon's house. In the final part of the ceremonies, the Hogon's son throws out to the awaiting villagers, the first ears of millet to have been harvested the previous year from the Hogon's field. These ears are gathered up and incorporated into the compound manure which will later be spread out onto the field of the various lineage segments[10](Lifchitz and Paulme 1936).

In keeping with the juro-political role of the Hogon, the lebe altar also has powers of protection and judgement. For instance, the altar is held to be responible for protecting villagers from malevolent persons and spirits. As such the lebe is viewed as 'all-seeing', and can be called upon to dispense justice and punish those humans who contravene the laws of society.

The binukedine is the priest and shaman of the totemic binu cult. He is drawn from amongst the inneomo, and observes a number of additional taboos, particularly those which might make him impure, such as drinking from the same calabash or eating from the same bowl as a ritually impure man, innepuru. The word binukedine means "celui qui vient à la rencontre du binu" (Calame-Griaule 1968, 36), and refers to the shamanistic qualities of the officiant that enable him to communicate with

the supernatural world on behalf of members of the patriclan (De Ganay 1941, 107-127). There are two aspects of the cult, one known as babinu (lit. father's binu) which concerns the whole patriclan, and the binu i which deals with concerns of the individual. Both address similar issues, and a binukedine of either is generally regarded as being skilled in curing and divination. The shrine, which can also be located adjacent to the compound of the binukedine, in the case of Banani Kokoro is situated amongst the ancient extant structures built onto cliff-face ledges (infra Chapter 8). These contain a small altar, comprising of a pot kept full of water and containing aquatic plants, which features in several rain-making rituals. An old quern with several stone axes, the latter thought to be 'thunderbolts' and a gift from the supernatural being known as Nommo[11] is generally to be found on the ground close by, and also features in these ceremonies.

Also associated with the cult is a field, called binu minne, wherein are grown cereals used in the annual sacrifices. Of these the principle ones are the celebration of first fruits, bago di, and the sowing festival, bulu. After the harvest, and to start the new year, a number of small sacrifices are made by the lineage heads in order to thank and propitiate their ancestors. At the same time the biunkedine makes a sacrifice of millet gruel at the binu ginu, and offers prayers emphasising continuity of the patriclan. Each year, as part of the bulu ceremonies, the shrine is decorated, using millet gruel, with a number of designs including checkerboard panels and chevrons.

There are also a series of lineage-based ancestral cults that are responsible for funeral rites of their members, thereby ensuring that an individuals social position in life is sustained after death. The Dogon believe that after death, the spirit of the deceased is not immediately transformed into an ancestor. During this period of liminality the spirit is metaphorically **en route** towards the world of the ancestors. It is when in this state that a person's spirit can be most malevolent and dangerous. Funerals, bago bundo, which are held several weeks, and sometimes months, after burial, are public rites at which agnatic and affinal kin venerate, according to age, sex, and in some cases specialist occupation, the life and actions of the deceased. Mourners visit the kin of the deceased to offer their condolences, and in return the kin of the deceased fulfill their reciprocal obligations by offering beer (infra Chapter 6).

The spirit raising ceremony, which for men is called dama, and marks the end of mourning, is held up to three years later. The precise interval of time is determined by the age, sex and status of the deceased. During this period millet is accumulated by the deceased's tire ginna in preparation for the coming ceremony. Another series of public rites and dances, spread over three days are held. As in case of funerals, if the deceased was male and participated in a sigi ceremony (see below) masquerades are held. The greater the seniority and status of the deceased, the greater the number of dancers who perform, and the greater number of distant affinal kin who attend. Masked dances are not held for women, nor are they held if a man has not

participated in a sigi. Although the overt purpose of these public rites is to honour and praise the life and venerate the status of the deceased, the deceased's agnatic and affinal kin also make use of the occassions as means to acquire prestige.

When the dama is held, certain rites are performed by the lineage head, ginu bana, and other kin members which ensure that the deceased becomes a lineage ancestor. These are performed at the wagem shrine, which is situated at the senior ginu na for the ward, tire togu. In Banani Kokoro, since it only has one ward, there is only one wagem. On the same day, at the ginu na of the deceased, similar rites are performed on the anayimung, or yayimung if the deceased was female, shrine. For both deceased men and women, the rites require the addition of a funerary cup wone, to the wagem and the anayimung/yayimung shrines. Normally a carved stick dege, is also added (See Plate 12). There is a degree of lassitude as to whether these are incorporated for both sexes or only men, a point also noted by Dieterlen (1941, 176). These objects are normally consecrated by the eldest son of the deceased, with sacrifices of chickens, beer and gruel. He also performs a similar a sacrifice over the collective vessels of the lineage ancestors tire, when the wagem bulu is held each year (Dieterlen 1941, 164). The object of these rites is to sustain contact between the living and the dead. It is when these are first performed for a recently deceased individual that the nani relationship between the deceased and a child member (circa four to six years old) is established.

In contrast to the other ritual institutions described above, the awa, or Society of Masks, cuts horizontally across society. With one exception it is an exclusively male institution, from whose members are drawn the masked dancers who perform at funerals bago bundo, and at spirit-raising wakes termed dama. All members also participate in a series of rituals and a period of feasting and drinking that are held once every sixty years, and are collectively known as the sigi ceremony. This ceremony, last held in Banani in 1969, symbolises the regeneration of all Dogon society. On the occassion of a sigi a new imine na, Great Mask, which forms the cult's altar for the next sixty years, is carved and consecrated by men who participated in the previous sigi. It is then left hidden in the cult shrine, a cave or rock shelter outside the village, where sacrifices are made over it whenever bago bundo and dama ceremonies are held.

Membership to the awa, which is a secret society, is open only to circumscised males. Adolescents are initiated into the society on the occasion of their circumscion (Leiris and Schaeffner 1936) and at the next dama to be held in their village (Griaule 1938). Age-set groupings are used to rank members, but junior status does not preclude the possibility of achieving rank. Men who have demonstrated their abilities as dancers will be given the more difficult masquerades, and so acquire prestige. Similarly, individuals who demonstrate an apptitude for the secret knowledge of the society are selected by the olubaru, the ritual leader of the awa, and his adjutants, kabaga, to be

educated in the myths of origin and to be versed in sigi so, the secret language. This level of instruction is restricted to selected individuals and takes place out in the bush during a period of retreat immediately prior to a sigi. As well as fulfilling the role of intitiator, the olubaru (lit. master of the bush) is responsible for the chanting of dirges and praise songs at both the bago bundo and dama, and co-ordinating the sequence of dances that make up part of these rituals. In keeping with the secrecy that surrounds the society, men carve and prepare all their masks well away from the village and the prying eyes of women and children.

The choice of masquerade, from as many as fifty individual designs, appears to be largely a matter of choice. The costume generally consists of a mask carved from wood, or, made from plaited fibres decorated with cowry shells, fibre anklets, wristbands and a kind of cowry shell bodice (Griaule 1938, 194). The costumes can represent animals, birds, reptiles, human beings (both Dogon and 'foreigners') and things. The themes do not appear to be fixed, and Griaule noted the disappearance of some forms, and new forms such as the lady tourist, gendarme and medical doctor, have since developed (Imperato 1972). The most common form is that known as kanaga, which resembles a 'croix de Lorraine' in design, however, the representational significance of this mask is still obscure (see Griaule 1938, 470-485 for a discussion). Each mask or group of masks has its own chant and dance, and dancers perform either singly or in groups wearing the same costume. The most dramatic, and also ritually significant

mask is that known as sirige; a wooden mask with a carved and painted superstructure that can be over five metres in height.

The exclusion of women from the awa society[12] is relaxed in the case of the yasigine, women who have had experience of spirit possession usually brought about by transgressing the taboos of the awa. The yasigine take on the ritual status of a man and assist dancers in public and prepare beer and sesame oil for use in the rites of the society. (Griaule 1939, 266-278). Other women are afraid of the masks, and when the dancers appear in public women and children wil take refuge off the ground, such as on rocks or house roofs, and draw back from the dancing space. During these ceremonies the political authrority of the Hogon is revoked, and the olubaru assumes control over the village. This opposition between the olubaru and kabaga, and the binukedine and ogo is sustained by the association of the former with death, since officers of the awa are always drawn from amongst the innepuru (for elaboration, see Zahan 1969).

Section 3:9 Summary :

A number of points can be drawn from this review of Dogon social, ritual and political organisation. First, the general pattern of affiliation is based on patrilineal descent, and the relations between individuals, established by categories of kinship, situate each person in his/her proper place vis à vis lineage ancestors. Second, the fundamental social group is the minimal lineage, members of which constitute co-operating units of production and consumption. The localised and corporate nature of this group is revealed by the polysemic term used to

describe it. Third, as evidenced by the strictures governing descent and post-marital residence, such groups are characterised by an ideology of agnatic exclusiveness. Conversely, the principle of exogamy creates affinal and matrilineal kinship ties. Finally, the ritual cults are also hierachically organised, and opposing pairs address, respectively, the issues of fertility and mortality. The maintenance of lineage identity thus stands in opposition to its reproductive needs, and it is terms of these dual themes that the spatial ordering of settlement can be best understood.

Footnotes :

1. There was a Colonial presence in Mali (French Sudan) by 1883, although prior to 1892, when French Sudan gained its autonomy, operations in the region were directed from Dakar where the Colonial Administration was based (Oliver and Atmore 1981). It was not until 1922, when the Colonial forces stormed the village of Tabi, that indigenous military resistance in the area finally ended (Arnaud 1922).
2. The contemporay state of the Republic of Mali over the centuries has been the locale for several trading kingdoms and state-like formations, for a summary see Levtzion (1973).
3. The Republic of Mali is currently a single party state with a civilian government and a National Assembly based on principles of democratic centralism (Pierot 1979).
4. Similar accounts have been recorded for the founding of Kani Bonzon (Desplanges 1907, 192) and Ogol Da (Paulme 1940,35).
5. Dieterlen (1941, 52) cites the following figures for ward divisions : Banani Amu 2 wards; Banani Kokoro 1 ward; Banani Sirou 4 wards; Banani Na 1 ward.
6. Dieterlen (1956, 142) gives different figures, 40 saval for the first child, 20 for the second and no millet for the third.

7. Ernst (1976) has documented the fragmentation of landholdings in other parts of Mali. In the regions studied, he noticed that the reduction in farm size was correlated with a change from complex to simple family units, and the breakdown of the system of patrilineal organisation. It was also noted that part of this process was encouraged by the increase in cash crops grown for export.
8. Onions have become the major cash crop since the late 1930's, when they were planted for the first time on any scale. Previously cotton was the principal cash crop, but its role in the market economy of the area has since diminished.
9. Placentas can also be discarded in the ginu na compound amongst the panadaga manure.
10. It is held that these ears help to ensure the fertility of the fields thus manured.
11. Nommo, son of Ama 'God', and androgenous twin of Yurugu, was sacrificed and ressusucitated by Ama, so as to purify the world following the incestuous act that Yurugu, the pale fox, had performed (for the most detailed discussion see Griaule and Dieterlen 1965, 225-384). Nommo also spirit of water, and a symbol of the fecund earth (Calame-Griaule 1965, 215-216).
12. The exclusion of women from the awa is accounted for in myth. A woman is reputed to have found the first mask, but because she used it to frighten her husband from his house, village elders devised a scheme whereby she was tricked and lost possession of it. Since then men have prevented women from recovering possession of the masks (see Griaule 1938, 52-55).

CHAPTER 4

PEOPLE IN SPACE

> "The importance and symbolic value given to the threshold within the system cannot be fully understood unless it is seen that it owes its function as a magical boundary to the fact that ... as the necessary meeting point and locus of passages between the two spaces that are defined in terms of body movements and socially qualified crossings, it is logically the place where the world is reversed"
>
> Bourdieu 1979, 151.

Section 4:1 Introduction :

As indicated in the previous chapter, the most important social grouping in Dogon society is that termed ginna, which, following Tait (1950), I refer to as a minimal lineage. It was noted that the term ginna, can also refer to a particular spatial unit, namely the compound in which the senior male of the unit resides. The term is a concatenation of two words, ginu, meaning ´house´, and na meaning ´large´, and so as to maintain a textual distinction between the social and spatial units, ginu na is used to refer to the compound, and ginna to the social group.

It must be stressed, however, that the Dogon use the single, shorter term when referring to either an agnatic kin-group or a particular category of residential space. While this term has the appearance, therefore, of expressing an isomorphic correspondence between a bounded social unit and the spatial distribution of its members, of the kind ´all ginna members live

in the same ginu na´, in fact, this is not the case. Instead, the personnel who cooperate in daily subsistence tasks, reside in physically distinct spaces, for which the generic term ´compound´ is employed. This rather neutral term is used to refer to physically bounded places of residence so as to avoid many of the semantic and analytical difficulties associated with the more usual anthropological term ´household group´[1]. As will become apparent, compounds are conceptually distinguished from each other according to the age and gender characteristics of the principle resident of these spaces. Furthermore, because the demographic composition of each compound changes over time, their categorisation shifts accordingly. Thus, a compound occupied by a married man, his wife and any dependants will be called by one name, while the same compound, when occupied only by this man´s widow will fall into another category. The issue is actually more complex than this, since both men and women during the course of their lives reside, sequentially, in several different compounds. The object of this chapter, therefore, is to describe in greater detail the physical configurations of residential space in relation to the changing temporal distribution of people over space.

The compounds belonging to an individual lineage, however, do not exist in vacuo, since they also abut the compounds of other lineage groups within the settlement. In addition, there are a number of communal localities and facilities, for which all villagers have some use-rights, although the degree of access granted to these domains is frequently contingent on the age and

gender of the individual. Since the composite presence of these places contributes to the conceptual definition of a locality as a 'village', ana, it will be useful to describe their physical characteristics first, before going on to address in more detail the form and composition of more specifically residential spaces.

Section 4:2 Physical Characteristics of Residential Spaces :

4:2.1 Village Space :

In addition to a genealogical statement of ultimate common origin for its occupants, villages in the Sanga region are characterised by several architectural and spatial features, which in turn define such settlements as villages. Aside from the various cult house detailed in Section 3:8 above, each has its own village square, a seclusion hut for menstruating women, and a cemetery. Villages divided into more than one ward will have a corresponding number of men's meeting shelters; single ward villages, such as Banani Kokoro have only one. The physical features of these can be briefly described, while the wider significance of some will be drawn out in later chapters. Their respective locations can be seen on Figure 4:1 (in the envelope on the inside back cover), and Plates 2 and 3 provide a general view of the study village.

Seclusion huts for menstruating women, (pùnulu ginu), circular or oval in plan, are always located at the edge of a settlement. These huts, made from daub plastered stone walls, are built only by the inne puru, impure men, of the village. They are used by women for a period of five days during their

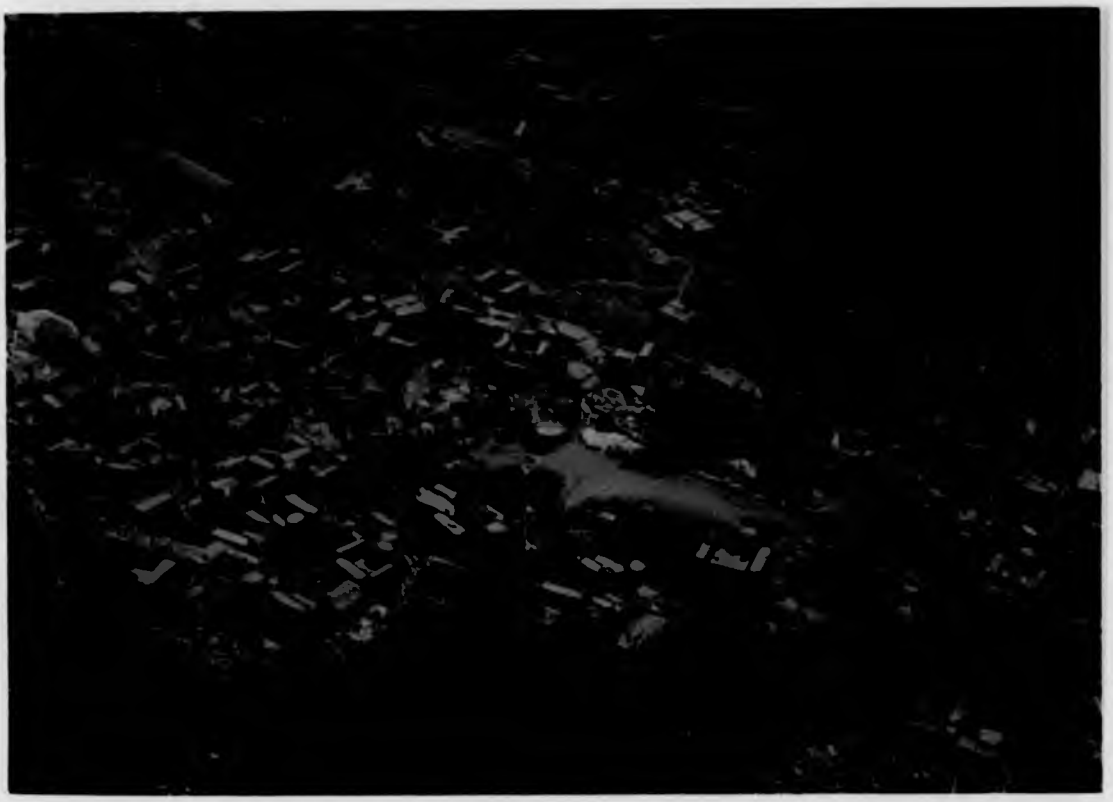


Plate 2 Overhead view of Banani Kokoro.

menses. In effect, though, it is only necessary that menstruating women sleep at these locales, since during daylight hours it is permissible for them to move about the village along certain prescribed paths. The surrounding courtyard, as well as the interior of the hut are exclusively female domains.

Unlike the menstruation hut, the men's meeting shelter, (togu na), lies approximately in the centre of the settlement. A series of daub coated dry-stone pillars support a layer of timber beams, upon which rests a thick bed of millet straw. There is often a cleared space adjacent to the togu na, as in Banani Kokoro, where men can perform various crafts, such as rope- and mat- making or woodwork. The togu na serves as a resting place during the leisure hours of the day as well as a meeting house for juro-political debates. It is an exclusively male domain and women can not enter this space.

The village square, (tay go), is an open space cleared of boulders and stones, where public rites and ceremonial dances are performed. Located within this space is a sacred stone, (anakade dumma), which is considered the locus of a powerful spirit that acts as a guardian of the village against malevolent forces. This stone, actually below ground in Banani Kokoro, features prominently in funeral and spirit raising ceremonies. The village market (not illustrated) lies some distance from village residential space at the foot of the scree-slope. Aside from wood and straw shelters used by regular vendors and stone built structures used as 'restaurants', the market contains the lebe altar, one of three protective altars that surround the

village. The latter vary in type and form from village to village. In Banani Kokoro apart from the lebe altar and anakade dumma there is also a mono altar on a path leading south towards Banani Sirou. All serve as guardians against both humanly and supernaturally induced misfortune, and sacrifices are periodically made to the spirits they contain.

For cliff-line villages such as Banani, cemeteries, ono say are placed in caves and rock shelters, often sites which were previously inhabited by the Tellem, in the cliff face. In most cases these cemetreries are just accessible by foot, although the corpse is always hauled up by rope. In addition to these features all villages have their own winnowing and threshing floor dedidiu, located on the edge of the settlement; some villages, including Banani Kokoro, also have a fixed bonfire kiln ongoro, for firing pots.

As a kin related group villagers share the use of these spaces. Moreover, access to, and use of these spaces is finely geared to the rythms of lineage activities. For instance, women make use of the winnowing zone on a daily basis while processing millet for lineage consumption. Time taken for making and firing pots must be scheduled against lineage labour commitments. Men make use of the togu na as a place for socialising and relaxation more frequently in dry season months, when there is less lineage based work for them to do. Likewise, funerals, which take place in the village square, or the other ceremonies held at the various shrines, are linked to the cycle of seasons, which also have a conditioning effect on the rythms of lineage activity.

Plate 3 Montage of Banani Kokoro, from village square.

The use of these spaces, therefore, is partly contingent on the rythms of subsistence activities which take place, for the most part, in lineage, rather than village space (see below). This suggests that there is no marked conceptual division between 'public' and 'domestic' spaces, since the use of a particular space for either kind of activity, varies contextually according to the circumstances which prevail at the moment of use.

An example should help clarify this point. The threshing and winnowing of grain takes places each day at the edge of the settlement. Only women are involved, and normally the members of different lineage groups work alongside each other, but use seperate mortars, since the product of their labour (the husked grain) is to be distributed amongst close kin. Thus, although a 'public' space, the activities perfomed therein are largely 'domestic', in the sense of being lineage-based. However, on the occasion of a forthcoming village ceremony, requiring quantities of millet beer, although the threshing and winnowing are carried out by the same individuals, on these occasions women from several different lineages process their millet communally, in the available wooden mortars. Hence, at these times, the use of space is of an entirely 'public' nature, in the sense of being of inter-lineage concern. Rather than imposing a public:domestic dichotomy, perhaps the most appropriate manner of differentiating these various village spaces, from those owned by distinct lineages, is to note that in terms of lineage-based activities, these locales are of secondary importance compared with 'lineage-space', and, that the participating actors at 'village spaces'

are drawn from several minimal lineages.

4:4.2 Compound Space:

As Figure 4:1 demonstrates, the greatest proportion of village space is taken up by the compounds of residential groups. Compounds in Banani Kokoro, and typically in other scree-line villages of the Sanga region are bounded on all sides. Drystone walling links house and granary walls, incorporating sandstone blocks wherever necessary. No strict plan is adhered to, and compounds, and the structures they contain, are oriented at random. Enclosed within these walls are the courtyard, houses, granaries, and associated facilities of household units. Access to compounds is gained via a gap, or gaps, in the surrounding wall, where a wooden door may be fitted. Because the village is built on a slope most of the compounds have several different levels and the amount of flat ground available is quite variable (Figs 4:2 - 4:5; Plates 3 - 7).

The term gono, or courtyard, refers to the space contained within the walls of a compound, in which are situated various facilities, such as hen coops, granaries and weaving looms. The remaining space within a courtyard is typically divided into areas for different tasks, such as an outside hearth for cooking, a food-processing zone, and seating space. Items such as wooden mortars and pestels, querns, agricultural tools, cooking pots and so forth are often kept in the courtyard. Although those artefacts associated with a particular task tend to be stored at their use localities in the compound, there is no rigid demarcation of courtyard space into separate 'activity areas', nor is there any rigorous conceptual ordering of this space.

Key to Figures 4:2 - 4:5

1st = First Wife´s House/Granary
2nd = Second Wife´s House/Granary

B = Animal Byre
G = Personal Granary
CG = Secondary Crops Granary
EG = Empty Granary
MG = Millet Storage Granary

dolu = Entrance Porch
gono = Courtyard
pana biri = Cooking Hut

f = animal fodder
h = hearth
hc = hen coop
l = weaving loom frame
m = mortars and pestels
p = potting equipment
q = quern
s = washing area
t = agricultural tools
w = firewood

⁝⁝⁝⁝⁝ = First Storey Room

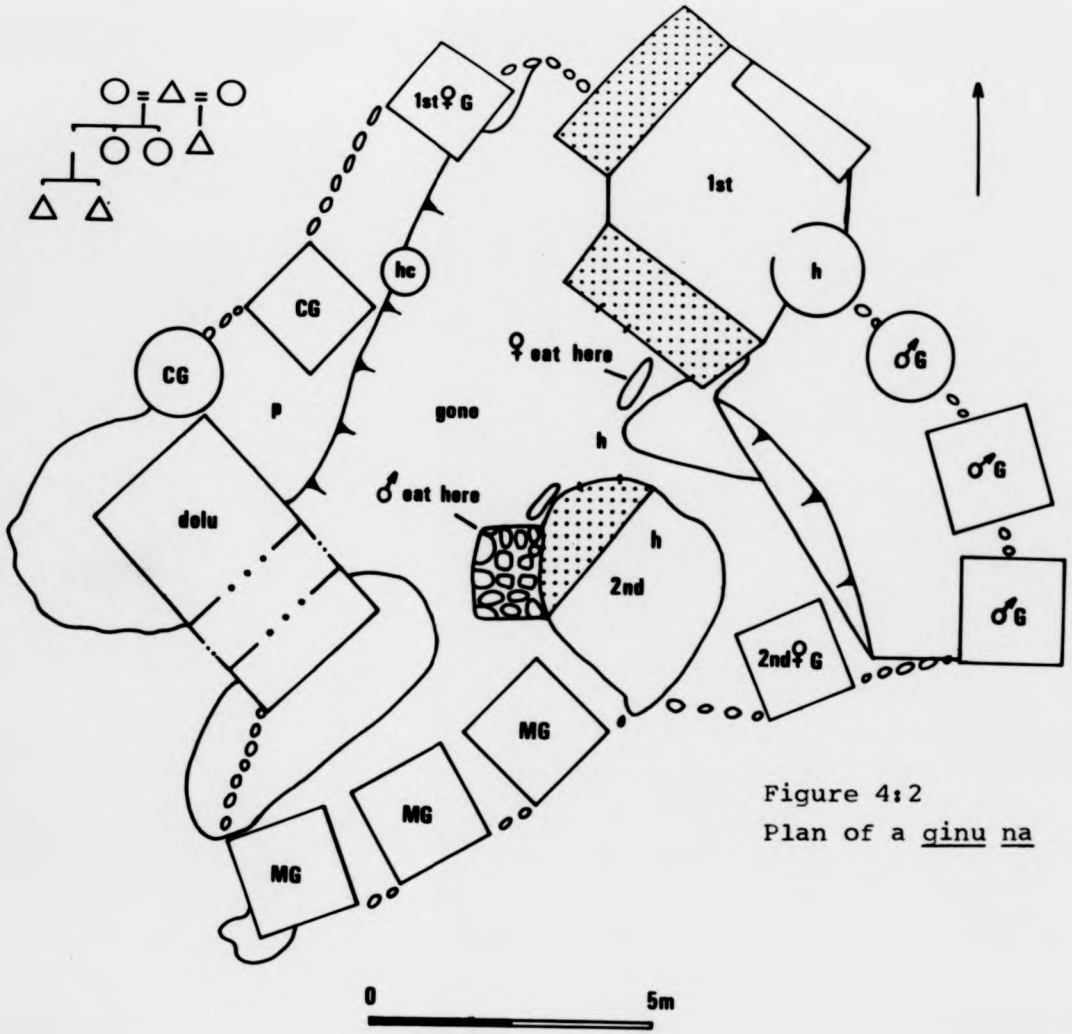
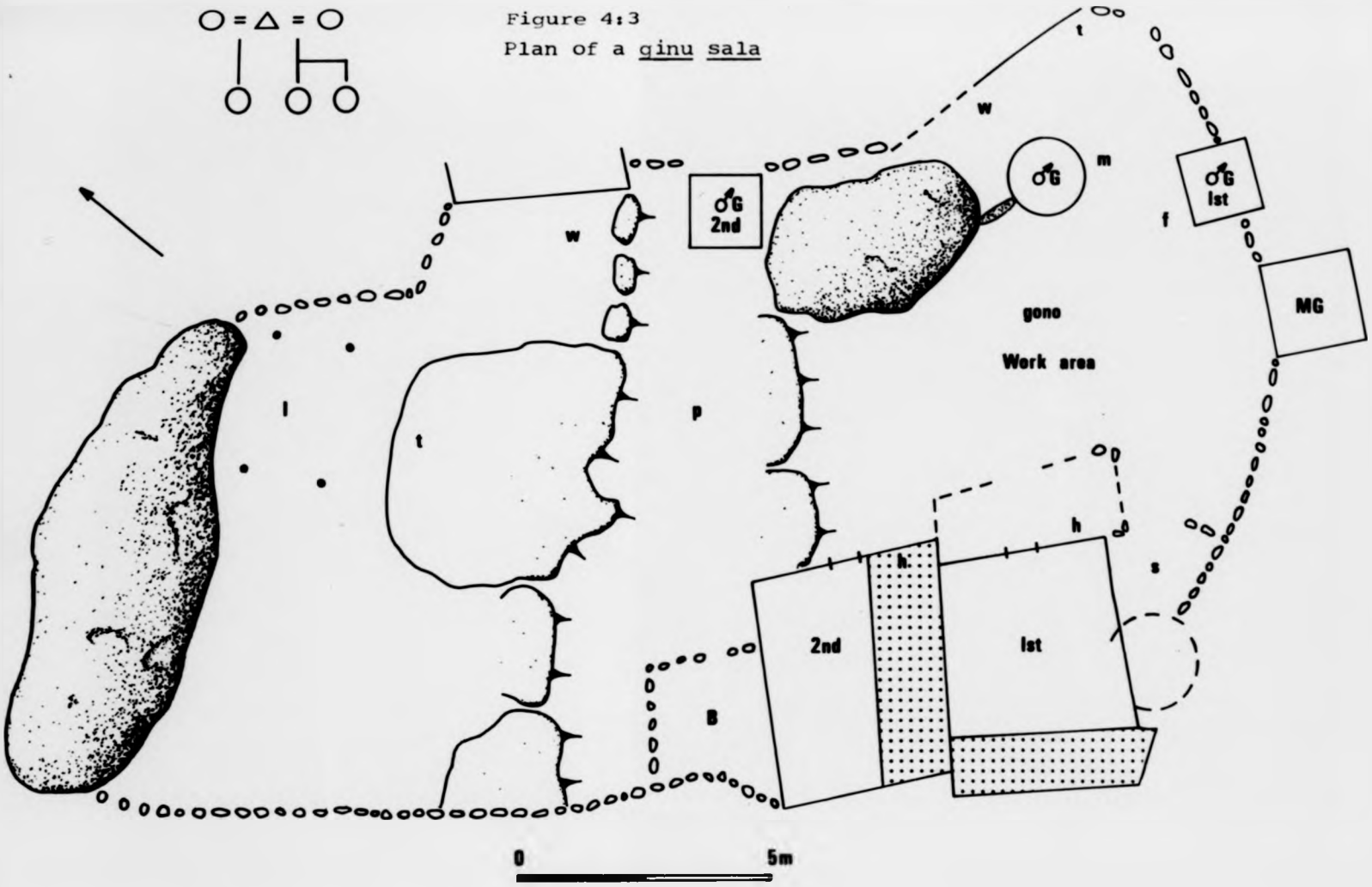


Figure 4:2
Plan of a <u>ginu</u> <u>na</u>

Figure 4:3
Plan of a ginu sala



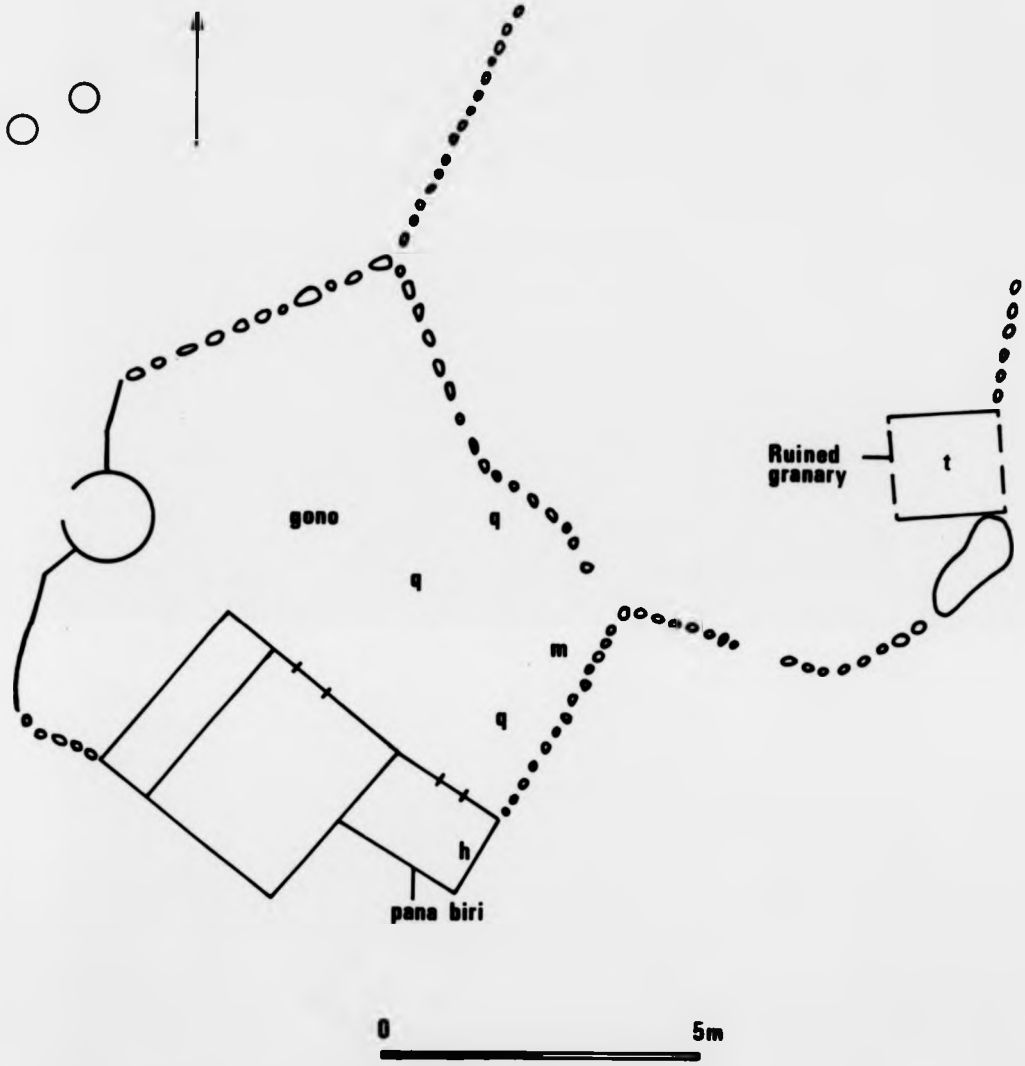


Figure 4:4 Plan of a <u>ya:na</u> <u>peneye</u> <u>dungy</u>

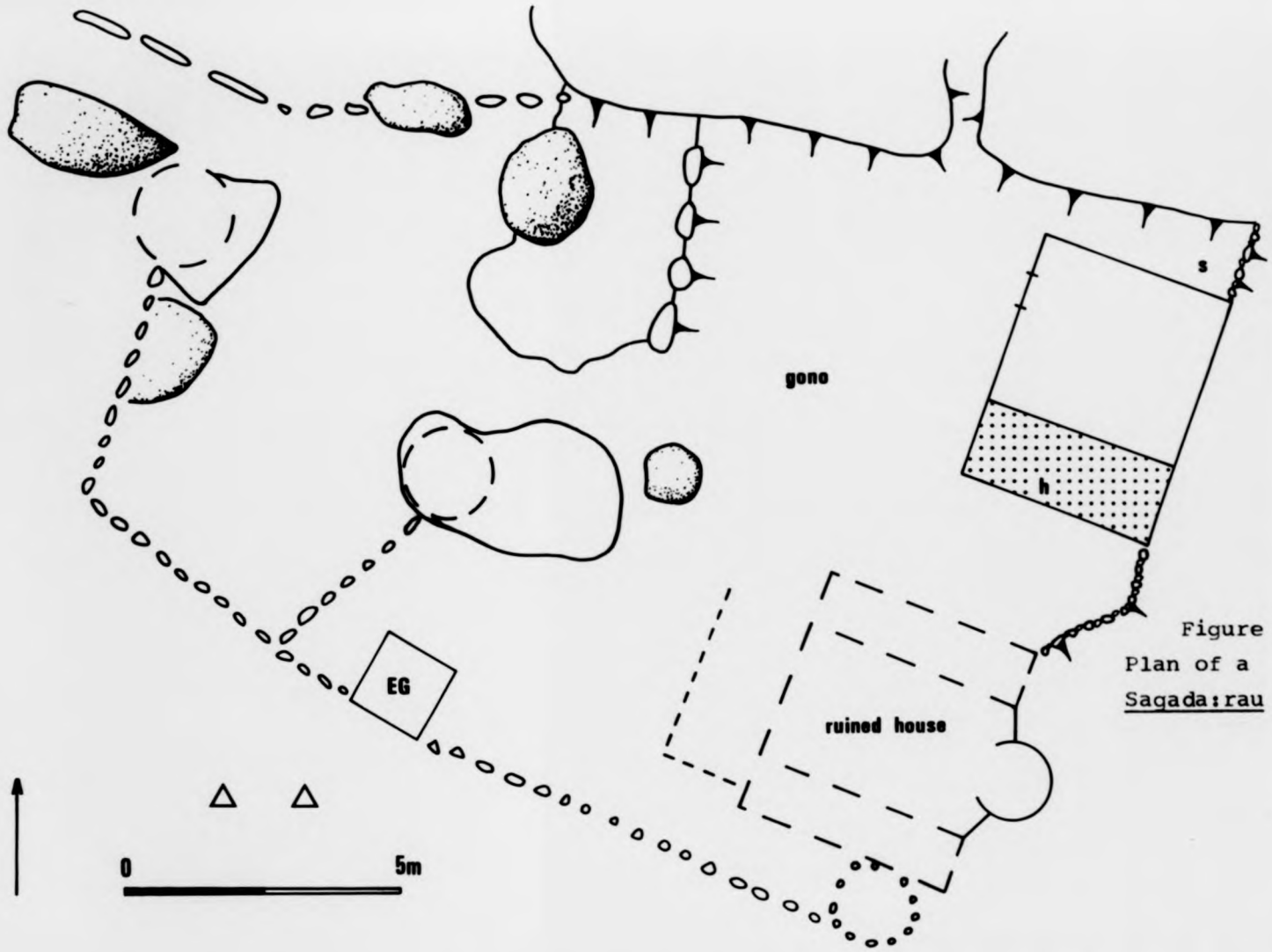


Figure 4:5
Plan of a
Sagada:rau dungy

Instead, the particular distribution of objects and task-zones derives from a practical ordering of daily routine. In terms of rights of access, courtyard space (that is, the area bounded by the walls of a compound but not within the houses) can be envisaged best as 'open space'. For, as well as being open to members of the household and other ginna members, it is also readily accessible, with permission, to other villagers and 'strangers'. Thus someone wishing to enter a compound belonging to another lineage, first pauses at the entrance and calls out the standard greeting 'pouy'. Anyone inside will respond 'o', whereupon the visitor will enter the courtyard. Non-villagers will first be offered water and then food before the greeting sequence is completed. Villagers, on the other hand, will on entering continue with their greetings. If no-one is currently 'at home' then a non-lineage member will not enter the compound. To do so would be disrespectful, and would also lay the individual concerned open to charges of witchcraft.

Granaries are an important feature of compound space, and as is clear from Figure 4:1 the number and form of granaries within any one compound is very variable. While four different forms can be identified, the Dogon only make a tripartite division. Although some circular granaries guyo gono are found, most of the granaries are rectangular in plan, of varying widths and heights. Granary types can be distinguished according to size and also internal divisions. A formal distinction which is correlated with granary height is the presence/absence of internal divisions. The tallest granaries, between 2.5 - 3 metres

Plate 4 A *ginu na* compound.

Plate 5 A ginu sala compound.

Plate 6 A ya:na peney dunoy compound.

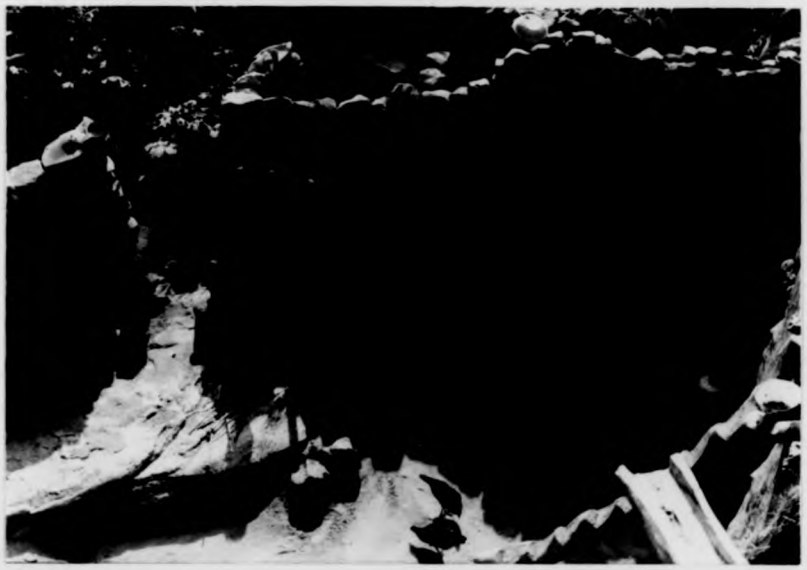


Plate 7 Detail of a ya:na peney dunoy compound.

high, and between 1.8 and 2 metres square do not have internal divisions. These granaries are used exclusively for the storage of grain, particularly millet and sorghum. Millet is stored in the spike, and the granaries are kept sealed until the grain is needed, which may be some tweleve months after it has been harvested. The location of millet granaries tends to be restricted, although not exclusively, to ginu na compounds, since they contain the products of the communal labour of the lineage group. However, as their name guyo ana, literally 'man's granary', suggests, they are male spaces, and women are prohibited from entering them.

The other two types of granary are substantially smaller, approximately 2 metres high and 1.50 m square. They are divided internally, both laterally and horizontally, and it is on the basis of these divisions that the Dogon make a distinction between male and female personal granaries. On the lower level male granaries, also called guyo ana, are partitioned into three compartments, while female granaries, yana guyo, comprise of four compartments (Figure 4:6). In some cases a small pot, tonyo, or sometimes just a hollow in the clay, is placed at the point where the partition walls intersect. The upper storey of both male and female granaries is divided into four compartments by means of low daub sills. Despite this theoretical division, in practice men use granaries divided on the ground floor into four compartments, and women utilise those with only three such units. Thus in daily practice the terms guyo ana and yana guyo are used to refer to granaries used by the different sexes, rather than

formally distinct types. These granaries are used for the storage of personal possessions as well as some crops and vegetable products, and are considered as particularly private.

Another architectural feature found in some compounds is an entrance porch, dolu, to the courtyard. These are narrow rectangular structures with a doorway in both of the longer walls. Typically, the doorway facing the 'street' is closed by a heavy wooden door, which can be kept in place by means of a simple peg inserted into a recess cut into the wall. These strutures tend to be restricted to ginu na compounds, although in Banani Kokoro, not all of these compounds have such entrance porches. They are used particularly during the day as areas of shade where people can sit and talk or perform various crafts, though items in regular use outside the bounds of the compound are often stored here.

Parts of the compound may be divided off by means of drystone walling to form a goat and or sheep pen. These are known as ende, and are used principally to pen livestock overnight. The herds are taken out early in the morning to graze, either freely or under supervision and are rounded up again towards dusk. Cattle are not kept inside villages, except the occasional calf, which will be kept with the herds of goats and sheep. The detritus which accumulates in these pens is used as pandaga manure. That the distribution of these pens is almost entirely restricted to ginu na compounds, is because herds are owned collectively by the minimal lineage, rather than by individuals. This manure, used to fertilise lineage fields, emanating as it

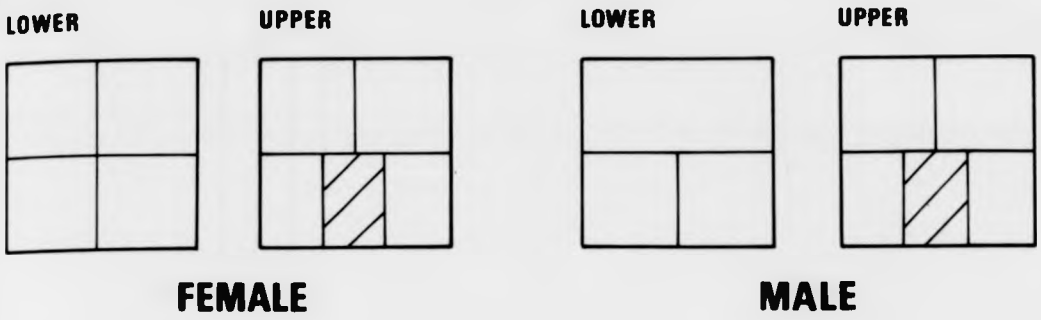


Figure 4:6 Male and Female personal granaries

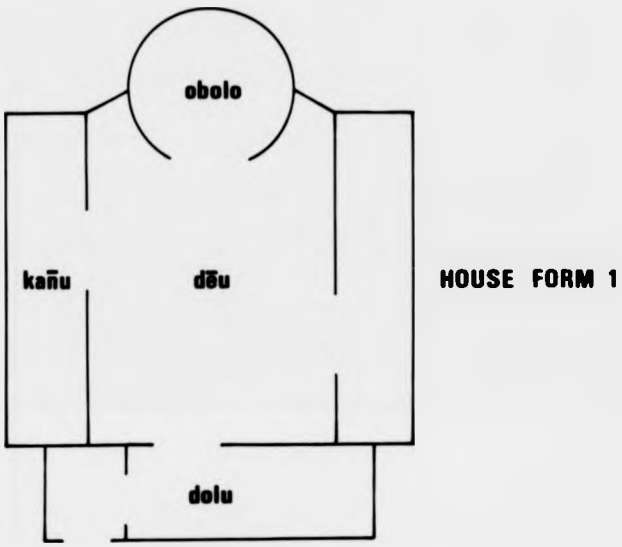
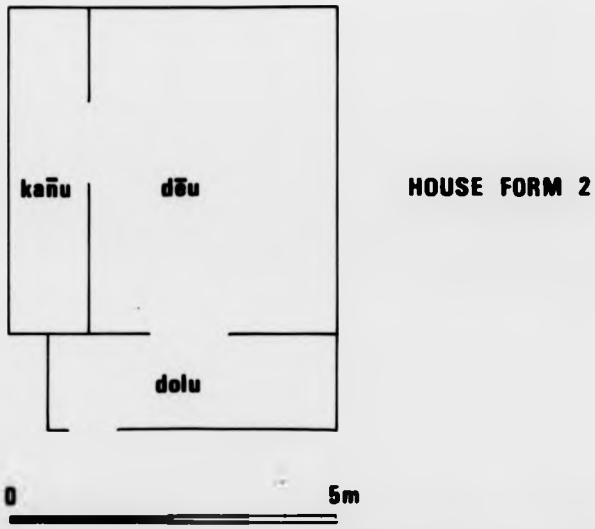


Figure 4:7 House Forms One and Two



does from the ginu na compound, is also significant, since it has been enriched, symbolically, by the addition of certain items, namely the placentas of newly born children, and ears of millet distributed at the bulu ceremony (supra Section 3:8). By means of the association of ideas, the inclusion of these items reaffirms the interconnection of the ginna, as a unit of production and the requirments for its continued fertility.

4:2.3 House Space:

Compounds contain between one and four houses. As is clear from Figure 4:1 the form of these structures is not uniform. For analytical purposes it was necessary to distinguish two forms. These are not distinctions made by the Dogon, and were employed only to facilitate the comparison of household inventories. The basic difference is that one form, reputedly an older design, and no longer followed in new buildings, has several more rooms. In both types, however the terms used to describe the respective rooms are the same. Both house forms occur together, and in some instances are bonded to each other. The forms also occur singly in separate compounds, and up to three of the simpler form are found together. Although neither house form is conceptually correlated with a particular social status (Table 4:1), the particular combination of house forms within a single compound is a direct consequence of the development cycle of respective lineage groups (see Sections 4:3 and 4:5), and hence where both forms occur in a compound, the Form 1 house is utilised by the senior wife.

	Form 1	Form 2
First Wives	12	9
Second & Third Wives	0	10
Widows	3	7
Widowers	1	1
Divorced Males	4	2
Single Males	1	8
Males, Personal Use	1	3

TABLE 4:1 MARITAL STATUS OF OCCUPANTS OF DIFFERENT HOUSE FORMS.

Type 1 House Form :

The older form is characterised by a circular tower-like room, obolo, which is located at one end of a rectangular, central room. Unlike Type 2 houses, hearth and bed occur in separate rooms. Doorways on either side of the central cell, deu, lead off into narrow side rooms, kana. Along the remaining wall is a third rectangular room, dolu, that can be subdivided, and through which access to the central room from the outside is gained. On the first storey there are generally two narrow rooms along each side, directly over their groundfloor counterparts. These are also called kana. Another similar room may be located over the groundfloor entrance way. Access to first storey rooms and also the roof terrace is generally gained by means of a wooden ladder placed in the tower-like room (Fig 4:7).

Type 2 House Form :

These houses comprise of a principal room with a stone and clay coated bed, and usually a hearth. Along one side wall, or the back wall, there can be another narrow, rectangular room, which is generally used for storage purposes. Some houses of this form have a similarly shaped first storey room, directly above the one on the ground floor. Access to this is gained by wooden

ladder, through a space in the ceiling of the groundfloor store. It will be noted from the overall village plan that some single-roomed houses do not conform to a rectangular plan, however, for analytical purposes these have been treated as Type 2 houses.

Each room name implies a designated use although, as argued in Chapter 5, this classification of space is not always rigorously enforced. On the groundfloor, the circular room of Type 1 structures serves as the kitchen; the central room is a sleeping area as well as a general living space, and the two narrow rooms along each side serve as storerooms. The remaining room can be considered as an entrance hall, which may have a porch as well. The first storey rooms are used for storage, but can serve as bedrooms during the rainy season. The roof terrace is also used as a sleeping area, and as a convenient place for drying foodstuffs, such as baobab leaves, ears of millet and other produce. The basic difference between the two forms of house is that Type 2 lacks a separate room where food can be cooked and beer brewed, and consequently the principal room often combines cooking and sleeping areas. Type 2 houses also lack an entrance hall where agricultural tools, such as hoes and axes can be stored, although there are some exceptions to this. One consequence of these differences is that there is greater spatial overlap in tasks and mixing of different use-categories of artefacts. Despite this house and room use is evidently not simply determined by architectural form, since the demographic composition of the residential units within each compound varies widely.

Section 4:3 Social Space :

The definition and analysis of residential units is frequently problematic where a single term, 'household', is used to categorise a range of potential combinations of persons of different sex and age. When residential categories are linked to gender and age distinctions that alter during an individual's lifecycle, as amongst the Dogon, even greater care is required, so as not to conflate conceptually distinct residences under a more generic term. Moreover, it is not sufficient merely to define the range of co-resident groups, consideration must also be given to why these categories of co-residence are important.

Each minimal lineage (ginna) owns and controls access to its own dwelling space, and, unlike many other West African societies, lineage members reside in separate compounds. The number of compounds, including vacated ones, owned by the respective lineage groups is summarised in Table 4:2. As this table shows, all own at least two compounds and the maximum held by a single ginna is fifteen. Only one of a lineage's compounds is termed ginu na, and in all but one case these are occupied by the senior male of a minor lineage, who holds the title ginu bana. The exception (Compound 23) is currently occupied by the widow of a recently deceased ginu bana, and the reasons for this are elaborated below. The remaining compounds belonging to a minimal lineage are used by other lineage members. The virilocal rule of post-marital residence, in combiantion with the developmental cycle of the lineage group, effectively determine the demographic composition of each compound. The residential

groupings which these principles generate, can be distinguished from each other according to the social position of the principle occupant. Contrasted with the ginu na compounds are all the other residences, which can be collectively termed ginu sala, or ordinary house. The ratio of ginu sala to ginu na compounds in the village is in the region of three to one.

Tire Ginna	Number of compounds in use	Number of compounds in ruins
I	10	1
II	5	9
III	2	4
IV	9	6
V	5	0
VI	5	?
VII	2	?

N.B. Tire ginna VI & VII only partially studied.

TABLE 4:2 NUMBER OF COMPOUNDS BELONGING TO EACH MINOR LINEAGE.

As indicated in section 4:2 there are some formal features which can distinguish a ginna from a ginu sala, such as a covered entrance porch in place of the compound gateway, and large rectangular granaries used for storing millet. However, neither of these features are restricted to ginu na compounds; for example Compounds 6 and 7, on Figure 4:1, are both ginu na compounds whereas Compounds 24 and 25 which also have some of these physical features are ginu sala. In addition to these architectural features, ginu na compounds contain ancestral shrines (anayimung, yayimung), generally situated in one of the first storey kana rooms. Outside some, but not all ginna compound quern-like stones are found. These, known as sa tongo are used during the production of an oil made from **Lannea acida.**

Griaule (1949) and others, describe the ginu na as a two storeyed structure with a decorated facade composed of a checkerboard pattern of niches. No such structure exists in the village of Banani Kokoro, although there is one in the more senior village of Banani Amu; this structure was invariably described as the binu ginu for the three villages of Banani. There is nevertheless one characteristic that does distinguish ginu na compounds from the others. Of the extant buildings in the village all those categorised as a ginu na are regarded as the oldest foundations in the village apart from the binu ginu shrine, the lebe ginu, the togu na, the punulu ginu and some old house sites which are in effect abandoned tire ginna houses (infra Chapter 8).

If the rule of residence is considered in relation to the age of certain structures, it is clear that it establishes an isomorphic relationship between the eldest male of the minimal lineage group and the eldest residential structure belonging to that group. However, this relationship does not appply for the occupants of other houses. The next eldest male could as easily occupy a recently constructed house as one of the older buildings belonging to the lineage.

Within the category of ginu sala some of the compounds are further distinguished according to the social position of the occupant/occupants. Thus, some of the compounds can be referred to as sagada:rau dunoy, or young men's house, and others as ya:na peyne dunoy, or widow's house (lit. old woman's). Essentially, houses termed sagada:rau dunoy are used as sleeping rooms by two or sometimes three adolescents males, who may or may not be close

kin, but are generally age-mates. There were three such houses in 1981, Compounds 14, 19 and 24; in late 1982 one of these was vacated so that a married man recently returned from Abidjan could live in it with his wife and child. Although several other compounds in the village have a solitary male as occupant, these men are either widowed or divorced and therefore their compounds are not classifiable as sagada:rau dunoy. In addition to the widow in Compound 23, there were seven other widows living in the village in 1981, while in 1982-83 the total number of widows was seven. Each of these occupied their own compound, termed ya:na peyne dunoy, Compound 10, 12, 17, 26, 28, 29 and 30. Although only these women reside here, one or two adolescent girls, normally belonging to their affinal ginna, will also sleep at these compounds. The number of compounds belonging to each category, and the marital status of their principle occupants are summarised in Tables 4:3.

	Conjugal	Polygynous	Solitary	Dependant
Ginu Sala	4, 18, 20, 25, 31, 31, 33, 36, 37.	1, 2, 21, 34.	5, 11, 35.	8, 9, 27, 40.
Ginu Na	6, 15, 32.	3, 7.	13.	23.
Ya:na peney dunoy.			26, 29.	10, 12, 17, 28, 30.
Sagada:rau dunoy.			14, 19, 24.	

TABLE 4:3a RESIDENTIAL CATEGORY OF COMPOUNDS IN VILLAGE SAMPLE.

Marital Status	Compond Number.
Married	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39.
Divorced	8, 9, 27, 35, 40.
Widow	10, 12, 17, 23, 26, 28, 29, 30.
Widower	13.
Unmarried Male	5, 14, 19, 24.
Wife Absent	11.

TABLE 4:3b MARITAL STATUS OF PRINCIPLE OCCUPANTS OF COMPOUNDS.

	Conjugal		Polygynous		Solitary		Dependant	
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.
Ginu sala	9	31	4	24	3	3	4	8
Ginu na	3	9	2	13	1	1	1	4
Ya:na peney dunoy	-	-	-	-	2	2	5	16
Sagada:rau dunoy	-	-	-	-	3	4*	-	-
Mean Population	3.3		6.2		1.1		2.8	

* N.B. Two unmarried, but unrelated males were residing in Compound 19.

TABLE 4:4 DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE COMPOUNDS (1981).

To summarise, the members of a particular ginna (descent group) do not occupy, to sleep in, a single compound but rather several lineage-owned dwelling spaces. These are both dispersed throughout the patrilineal settlement and also beyond its bounds in the Plains. Residential groupings can be either male- or female-headed, according to context, and all potentially include ´secondary´ members[2], such as dependent children, grandchildren or nephews (sa i). The majority of these ´secondary´ members are linked either agnatically or by affilitation, to the descent group that has rights of usufruct over these compounds. These

divisions can therefore be said to serve as spatial referents of the internal divisions of a descent group. However, the particular configuration and composition of the various categories are specific to 'residence', and the degree of overlap between other groupings, such as cooking and consumption groups must be established rather than assumed. It is these sets of relationship that are examined in the following section.

Section 4:4 Units of Consumption and the Use of Space :

4:4.1 General Principles:

As Harris (1981) has argued it cannot simply be taken for granted that propinquity ensures the co-operation in servicing tasks between co-residents. Nevertheless, and despite the ostensible division of residential groups so as to avoid incest and other categories of prohibited sex, the groupings described above do have other purposes. To a greater or lesser degree these derive from the contradictions that arise from the presence of widows. Because of their age widows are entitled to respect, whether or not they are senile. In matters concerning authority however, a widows gender is in conflict with her age; no adult male would consider living under, in a jural sense, a woman. Thus, although the responsibility for assisting and 'caring for' a widow may be assumed by her sons, this kind of relationship is particular prone to tension. Alternatively, should a widow remarry (preferentially levirate, see Dieterlen 1956, 143), her new husband takes on the role of provider. Generally though, and at a practical level, these responsibilities are assumed by young

female affines, that is those girls who sleep in her house.

Depending on how physically active a widow is, and the age of the girls, the latter assist to greater or lesser degrees with food preparation, cooking and fetching water. Although widows are entitled to receive grain from their deceased husband's ginna, active widows also cultivate millet and other secondary crops on a small scale. When required, work parties of young men and women drawn from the village can be hired to provide extra agricultural labour. The crops from this land are the property of the widow, even though the land is on loan to her from her affinal lineage. Widows then, while not entirely independent, do have a certain degree of autonomy. Some widows also chose to return to their natal village, particularly when their sons and daughters no longer live in the same village. Such moves are made because the widows feel alienated by their affines, and therefore seek the moral and emotive security their natal settlement, where they are amongst patrikin, provides. In the case of Banani Kokoro, two of the resident widows were born in the village, and recently returned after having spent most of their adult life in another village.

Whereas widows often live fairly independent lives, the other categories of courtyard-group, that is ginu na, ginu sala and sagada:rau dunoy tend to co-operate in everday tasks. Food preparation and cooking generally take place in the context of the ginu na compound. Adult female members of the group take turns to prepare the two communal meals of the day, although they may be assisted in these tasks by their co-wives, daughters and

daughters-in-laws whenever necessary. This pattern of work is contextualised as being one example, from many, of the reciprocity that exists between ginna members. When explaining why all adult females should take turns to prepare and cook communal meals, the opinion most frequently expressed, is on the lines that the sharing of food requires a sharing of labour.

This ideal of unity is also reiterated in lineage-oriented rituals. For instance, a metaphorical phrase used, in both ya:yinu and bulu ceremonies, to emphasise lineage co-operation ran: "many hearths exhaust the supply of wood". The sentiment that "si l´on cessait de cuisiner dans une maison, la famille disparaîtrait", noted by Calame-Griaule is a comparable one (1965, 129). The wider significance of these types of metaphorical statement are elaborated upon in a later chapter. For the moment it is only necessary to concentrate on one aspect, that relating to the division of labour amongst food-preparation and cooking groups. In the first place, the ideal of each female having an equal share in this work is contradicted in practice since as a woman gets older, she allocates more of these tasks, particularly the more arduous ones, to her juniors, such as daughters and the wives of her sons. By so doing, a senior woman who is still fit can negotiate time and space so as to persue more economically lucrative activities, such as brewing and potting. Part of the capital gained from the sale of these products, is used to purchase essential ingredients for the sauces which accompany the daily staple of millet porridge, and hence is, in effect, re-invested in the lineage. Another

portion, however, is used to purchase items of material culture, particularly those related to dress and adornment, and since this augments a woman's material possessions, such strategies have an important effect on the composition of her household inventory, a point which will be pursued in the following chapter.

Other than cooking, the major servicing task of daily routine performed by women is the drawing and porterage of water. Both young and older women do this, and only menstruating women, or those too young or weak to carry a full waterpot, do not. There are two sources of water, a semi-permanent, secondary spring above the village near the cliff-face, usable from July to January, and a well at the foot of the talus scree that is used only during the dry season months. The round trip to the spring takes about fifteen minutes and between twenty and twenty-five if the well is used. Water is fetched twice a day, early in the morning and in the late afternoon. For all women, save widows, the first task of the day is to fill the waterpots in the ginu na; after this those women not resident in the ginu na will fetch water for the waterpots kept in their own house. It is obligatory for each of a man's wives to fill her waterpots daily. Adolescent girls will fetch the water for the widow whose house they share the use of; the sister's of the young men living in the sagada:rau dunoy are generally responsible for supplying the latter with water.

Once again a disparity, in terms of work load, between women of different ages can be noted. Whereas all women fetch water twice a day so as to replenish the pots in their own house, the

junior women always have to make a second trip, since they contribute to the refilling of the pots in the ginu na. The division of tasks therefore, although seemingly based on a notion of reciprocity and equal labour, varies according to the age of the respective participants. This is not to say however, that this uneven distribution is in some sense masked, for, the ideal of unity is based on a notion of the shared distribution of the products of communal labour, and not necessarily on a balanced division of that labour.

Although conjugal units, from time to time, do eat apart from the larger group, the normal eating group comprises all ginna members. The only exceptions to this are menstruating women, who prepare and cook their own meals at the village seclusion hut, and widows. Incidentally, the sole widower in Banani Kokoro also took his meals apart, although this was a matter of convenience rather than the consequence of a rule (see Case Study 3, below). As indicated previously, lineage members collectively consume meals at the ginu na. Seating space is set aside for each sex, and men and women eat from separate wooden bowls. Ideally a separate bowl is reserved for the ginu bana. Junior males eat from another bowl, and women and uncircumscised children from a third. Where the number of women is large, the older married women eat with the children (usually two generations below), and the junior married women use an additional bowl. The ginu bana should be the first to taste the food, after which other members can begin eating (see Dieterlen and Calame-Griaule 1960, 78). In the absence of the ginu bana a

morsel should be given first to a large tortoise (agunuru) that lives in the compound. In fact, only one ginu na in Banani Kokoro still has a tortoise, and other lineages indicated that a small portion of food could be set aside in the bowl of the ginu bana. There are no conventions regarding who may finish first, and any remaining food is collected up by the cook for her own use. There are few rules of etiquette, save that ones hands are washed before eating, and food is eaten only with the right hand. Although the sexes sit apart, they are free to converse with each other, and the evening meal often provides the context for planning the following day's work. Meals partaken in the fields are far less structured, and usually comprise of millet gruel. Even so, men and woman will still drink their gruel from separate calabashes.

Outside the context of lineage relations, apart from on ceremonial ocassions, the other locale of food consumption is the village market. Here cooked meat and rice, as well as beer and small 'snack-like' foods are all available for purchase. Generally only men buy cooked meat, and they are also the principal consumers of beer; both products are shared amongst friends and age-mates. It is notable that even younger men, who have less opportunity to accumulate cash participate in this form of activity. Normally, adolescent males eat their meals along with other members of their ginu na, although those residing in sagada:rau dunoy often club together to buy meat. This may either be cooked, in which case they will eat it at the market, or else they may buy raw meat, and cook it for themselves within

their own compound. The sharing of food, and tea and coffee, between age-mates in this fashion is sanctioned by village mores. The compounds of unmarried males are also the scene for much youthful activity, and younger men and women will generally congregate at one or the other of those in their village, during their daytime leisure hours and at night.

As indicated above, millet storage granaries are generally restricted to ginu na compounds, and it is from these that the millet for communal meals is extracted on a daily basis by an adolescent boy. Access to these is closed to women, and the use of the term guyo ana highlights this male appropriation of a communal product and space. The millet stored in these granaries is that harvested from the communally farmed fields of the minimal lineage. Both women and men do roughly equal amounts of work towards the production of this staple.

Just as each wife should have her own house, then so too does she expect her husband to supply her with a granary. Granaries are regarded as spaces where personal property can be kept safely, out of sight from prying eyes. Since there is no conjugal estate, this also means out of sight from spouses, as well as other villagers. Access to a granary is restricted to its user, and anyone delegated by them. For example, a woman may allow her daughters entry, but will generally deny it to her husband. In fact a woman often sends her daughter on an errand to fetch something from a granary, whilst she is otherwise engaged in some other task. It is perhaps significant that most of the doors to these granaries are lockable, many with the

traditional wooden lock, ta koguru[3], others with modern padlocks. Granaries then, stand out in contrast to most of the other spaces in a compound and house, as 'closed areas', and it is frequently stated that 'a woman's granary is like a man's trunk'. It is generally held that it is impolite to enquire as to the contents of another person's granary, and many villagers were reluctant to give details about the contents of their granaries. Griaule also noted this, where he observed that "to poke one's head into a granary is to invade the privacy of the family, to pry into its secrets. To scrutinise the foodstuffs, the seeds and ears of grain lying steeped in the darkness, is to measure up present resources and intrude into the provision for future needs" (1965, 37), although he is refering here to millet storage granaries.

4:4.2 Case Studies:

Three case studies are outlined below so as to demonstrate the range of residential combinations and space use that can be found in the houses of a single lineage segment.

The first example refers to tire ginna II (Table 3:1). The ginu na (Compound 7), is occupied by the ginu bana, and his two wives. All three have separate granaries, and in addition there are four granaries for storing millet. Each wife makes pots and brews beer in the confines of the courtyard, and both utilise the same potting stone, kept upturned close to senior wife's house. There is only one outside hearth, used for the preparation of meals during the dry season; querns and mortars when not in use are stacked in an out of the way corner. The eldest son of the ginu bana lives, with his wife, in Compound 22. The latter helps

her mothers-in-law with food preparation and cooking at the ginu na. Ocassionaly she brews beer, which she does at the ginu na, making use of the brewing equipment stored there. Apart from their youngest daughter, all of their children (2 sons and 2 daughters) sleep at the ginu na.

A younger brother of the ginu bana, currently divorced, lives in Compound 8. When present in the village, he eats with the rest of the family at the ginu na, however much of his time is spent in the plains. Two other lineage-owned compounds are currently occupied. One of these, Compound 28, is used by the widowed cousin of the ginu bana. This woman, who had married a man from Ogol, and lived there for most of her life, returned to Banani Kokoro when her husband died about five years ago. She claimed that this move was precipitated because her affinal kin had not been particularly friendly towards her. Still active, she farms a number of fields, growing millet as well as some secondary crops such as sesame, cotton and sorrell, by herself, relying on work parties to help with the weeding. The money she gains from selling beer and pots helps to offset these overheads. The other compound (36) is nominally occupied by the third son (of the ginu bana), with his first wife and their two young children. In fact, for much of the time this man lives with his second wife and her children in a village in the plains where he has another house. Meanwhile his first wife, (n.b. he has not divorced her) makes use of the compound and house. She shared this for a while with her unmarried sister-in-law, until the latter moved to her husband's village in 1983. In 1982 however,

the sixth, and youngest son of the ginu bana returned from a period of wage labour in the Ivory Coast, and moved into compound 36 early in 1983. His brother's wife meanwhile moved back to her mother's compound, which happens to be in the same village (no. 23), although she still formed part of the work and cooking groups of her affinal ginna.

The second case study, although superficially similar to the previous example, differs in that this unit is only a segment of a tire ginna (no. IV), although it is still termed ginna (Letter G in Table 3:1, See Figure 4:8). In other words, it is representative of a particular stage of the process of lineage fission. The ginu bana and his wife live in the ginu na, and, like other senior women, she brews beer and makes pots in this space. The entrance porch (dolu) is used to store agricultural tools such as hoes, and in the courtyard (gono) there are personal granaries for both sexes and three millet granaries. Some distance from the ginu na, and in another compound, lives their first son, who has been divorced for several years. Somewhat of a solitary individual, this man has cultivated an air of being a diviner, although his father has a much lower opinion of his skills and behaviour. The second son, is, on the other hand, a more active participating member of the family, and he and his wife occupy a compound close to the ginu na. When present in the village both fulfill their respective roles, although during much of the year they live in the plains, returning mainly to help with weeding and harvesting crops. Adjacent to their compound is the house used by the elderly

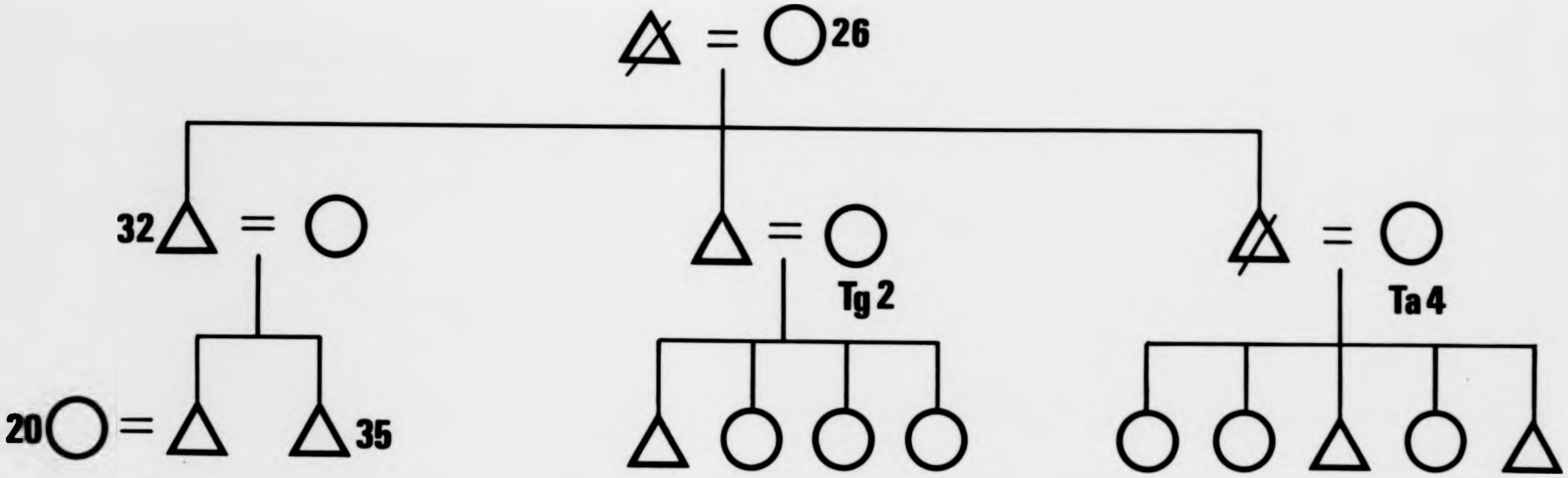


Figure 4:8 Kin diagram for Ginna G

mother of the 'ginu bana'. She lives alone and is also infirm, consequently she is far more dependent on her son and daughter-in-law than the other widows mentioned in the other case studies.

The third example refers to a complete tire ginna with twelve members who occupy five compounds. The ginu na is occupied by a widower, B, aged 71 whose sole spouse died about twenty years ago. Now bodily frail, and also blind, he retains only nominal control over the daily affairs of other lineage members. His two surviving sons live outside of the region, one in Abidjan, the other in Mopti, and both his younger brothers are deceased. The son of one of these, S, lives with his wife Y, and their third son in another compound. The mother, A, of this man lives close by, and she shares her house at night with her son's three daughters. Their older brothers, P and D, live in separate compounds, but only the eldest of these (P) is married and his wife lives with him in Banani Kokoro.

Whereas the ginu na should ideally be the context for food preparation and communal meals, it is rarely used, and B virtually lives in the entrance porch to this compound. The millet granaries here are empty and in need of renovation, the roof of the principle house is starting to collapse. The anayimung/yayimung shrine, in a first floor storeroom, is on the other hand well preserved, and lineage sacrfices are still performed here. S, his wife and children are responsible for the cultivation of the ginna fields and the millet harvested is stored in his compound, rather than at the ginu na. S is also the only butcher in the village, and by selling cooked and raw

meat on market days he has access to a small cash income. In the compound, Y has her own personal granary where she stores her most treasured possessions, some of them purchased with money gained from selling the beer and pots she makes. Meals are prepared and eaten in this compound, although both A and B eat at their respective compounds. A, still physically active, cultivates a small plot of land, allocated to her by the lineage, for her own purposes. Although she grows some millet, she sells most of her crops, such as sesame and pimento, at market. P and his wife are not always present in the village, and spend several weeks at a time, during the rainy season, farming lineage fields between twenty-five and forty kilometres away in the plains (infra Chapter 7). This temporary absence is possible because the labour demands of the subsistence group, are not under undue stress created by the presence of a large number of non-productive dependants. D, who is unlikely to take on the responsibilities of parenthood until after he has worked for a few years in Abidjan, helps his parents with work in the lineage fields that lie nearby. Both brothers thus make limited use of their compounds, except as a place where age-mates and friends can congregate in the evening to socialise.

The 'theoretical' divisions of lineage organisation thus appear to be given a spatial referent. However, the groups that use these spaces for different activities, including residence, that is sleeping, are not co-terminous but overlapping. The basis for the composition of various residential groups is different from that used to determine the membership of

production, cooking and consumption groups. This difference is revealed in the choice of terms employed to categorise these residential locations. The word dunoy used in conjunction with a noun indicating the age and sex of the principal occupant stands in contrast with the word ginu in such terms as ginu sala and ginu na. The word dunoy can only be approximated in English, and 'sleeping room' is perhaps the best equivalent. The word ginu on the other hand means 'house', and its usage draws attention to the physical consequences of male and female cohabitation. In other words the categorisation of space has important moral connotations regarding permissible residential combinations. Certain spaces then are, residentially, only 'open' to certain individuals at any given moment. Nevertheless, since all of these categories are linked to biographical position, individuals occupy several different houses and compounds during the course of their lives. Turning to a more detailed consideration of the ordering of residential space it is clear that the trajectories followed by men and women differ in certain details.

Section 4:5 Space and Biographical Position :

4:5.1 Male Spatio-Temporal Trajectories:

A minimal lineage owns several compounds, some of which might be lying vacant, and even in considerable disrepair. Of the extant compounds, these are occupied by lineage members according to their requirements. Since the residential needs of an individual changes during the course of his/her life, men and women often move from one compound to another during their adult

life, while their dependant children sleep at different localities appropriate to their age and sex.

Consequently, all infants, at first, live and sleep with their parents (in ginu sala). As two- or three-year olds they will sleep with their elder siblings at their father's ginu na, up to the age of circumscision. Following which, a boy will move either to his maternal uncle's, or will occupy, with a few age-mates, a house in his own ward. The latter, now termed saqada:rau dunoy, is generally a vacant house owned by the tire ginna to which one of the boys belongs. Adolescents live here until they marry, or leave the region as temporary migrant labour. On marriage, a man is obliged to provide a house for his wife, and often a granary as well. Since each wife occupies her own house, within a common compound, a man must be able to offer a separate house to each woman he subsequently marries. This can be achieved either by constructing a new house each time, or by repairing and/or appropriating older structures belonging to the lineage.

Because of the nucleated nature of the settlement, there is a finite amount of space available within each compound. Consequently, where an individual male wishes to expand his household, and is unable to do so in the compound he currently occupies, land, where a new courtyard can be built, must be found at the edge of the settlement. Since any building here entails an encroachment onto land used for other purposes, principally agricultural, permission must be sought from the lineage head, who, if willing will apportion some of the available lands to the

person who requested it. While there can be several reasons as to why the areal extent of a compound needs to be increased, the same procedure is followed whenever an individual wishes to build outside the confines of the compound he currently occupies, but within his village ward.

When building a new house, before a start was made on the foundations the groundplan used to be traced out on the ground in millet gruel (Calame-Griaule 1955, 478), and the rite was accompanied by prayers and libations made on behalf of the ginu bana. Although no longer practiced in Banani, it is worth noting that as part of the rite certain objects were placed inside the principal room. These were a cooking pot, a basket, a wooden spoon and a calabash. All objects are associated with the work women will regularly perform within the house. Calame-Griaule cites, as part of the prayers of blessing uttered, the phrase "qu´ Amma salisse la maison" (Calame-Griaule 1955, 480). The implication here is that the house be used, and the metaphor, also employed in other contexts, conventionally wishes upon someone ´a long life´.

This association between the house and certain servicing activities is re-emphasised in the rites, which are still observed in Banani, concerning the addition of the roof. The construction of the roof of a house always involves most of the active male members of the village ward, and the task should never be individually executed. The men prepare the platform of wattle bundles, which they must later plaster with daub.

Meanwhile, women, from the village, or ward, of the builder's wife, are summoned to fetch the water necessary for making the daub. As each girl arrives to pour water over the dry earth-and-dung base, one of the men working on the roof tries to pull her down into the mud. She resists, throws mud at the youth, and they exchange jibes with each other. The actions of this coquetry are held to be analogous with those of a woman reluctant to enter her husband's house for the first time. After the roof has been plastered, a ritual meal is prepared. The female helpers bring sand, straw for lighting a fire and three large stones for the hearth (Calame-Griaule 1955, 484). The 'occupier' of the house supplies four new calabashes, three pots, two 'mouvettes' and a basketful of groundnuts. Although the women prepare this mock meal for the men to eat, there is an element of role reversal involved, since in daily life men provide the food and women the culinary equipment.

A married man is likely to remain in the same compound, termed ginu sala, for the remainder of his life. He might have occasion to move, however, for three reasons, namely, requirements for more space so as to accomodate additional wives, migration into the plains, or, when he becomes the eldest male of his minimal lineage. In the latter instance, as the newly appointed ginu bana, he is required to leave the compound he currently occupies, and move into the ginu na of lineage. It should be noted here that this move, which also requires the translocation of the man's wives and dependants, does not take place immediately following the demise of the previous incumbent.

Instead, the move occurs only after the dama ceremony for the deceased has been held, between two and a half, and three years after his death. This delay permits the dependants of the latter to accumulate sufficient resources, so as to hold a dama of a scale appropriate to the deceased's high status. It also allows lineage members time to settle any disputes between themselves regarding the inheritance of the movable property of the deceased, and even his rank. These points thus help to explain why, between 1981-83, there was a widow residing in a ginu na, and not in her own ya:na peney dunoy.

Once installed as the ginu bana, a man is unlikely to move into another compound. The only eventuality which would, in fact, necessitate yet another move would be if the man became eligible for the rank of Hogon, since traditionally the Hogon should live in the ogo ginu, not his own ginu na, although in Banani this rule is no longer observed. Significantly, the ogo ginu is regarded as the oldest residential foundation in the village. Hence, were the rule to be followed, there would be an isomorphic relationship between the oldest male in the village, and its oldest compound. Furthermore, the compounds designated ginu na, and tire ginu na, are also considered to be the oldest compounds belonging to a minimal lineage and minor lineage, respectively (infra Chapter 8 for further discussion).

4:5.2 Female Spatio-Temporal Trajectories:

For women the pattern of residence is different. As adolescents, girls share the house of a widow, sleeping there and helping with tasks of food preparation and cooking. Sometimes

the widow might still be residing in her husband's ginu na, but normally she lives apart in her own house with its own courtyard. Whilst residing here girls often visit their fiance's ward or village, and can spend the night with him. As a first wife, ya bire, a woman will only take up permanent residence in her husband's compound after the birth of at least one child but may be only after the birth of her third. When a young wife finally leaves her parents ward for that of her husband, she brings with her several items of material culture. Typically these include a few sauce and millet cooking pots, a wicker basket, wood spoons and 'mouvettes' and a new skirt made from local cloth. These possessions are often given to her by her mother (see also Dieterlen 1956). They cannot be regarded as dowry since her husband has no claims to this property, nor is it brought by her for distribution amongst other members of the minimal lineage. The only item brought by a new wife, which is specifically for utilisation by her husband, as well as herself, is a waterpot, loy. Moreover, her first task as a new member of her husband's lineage is to help fetch water for the waterpots in his ginu na, and then to fill those for her husband. By this gesture "la nouvelle venue apporte, a son tour, dans la maison de famille, les âmes des enfants anaitre" (Dieterlen 1956, 141). The next job to be performed at the ginu na is to prepare and cook a meal. Both of these activities, the fetching of water and the cooking of a meal, require that pots are put down in their appropriate places, in the central room and on the hearth respectively. Dieterlen records that where a woman is still contemplating on whether to stay with her husband or not, she asks another member

of his family to physically place the cooking pot on the hearth for her (1956, 141). These minor rites therefore mark, in a material sense, the transition of a wife from her natal ginna to that of her husband. In so doing, a section of domestic space, the hearth, and an item of material culture, the waterpot are made special, and the incomer redifines herself socially.

She will live in her own house until her husband either moves or dies. If she is joined by co-wives the latter are provided with their own houses in the same compound. The location of the houses, where there are two junior wives, always follows the same pattern so that the house of the third wife lies between those of the other two. In instances where the house of the second wife is physically attached to that of the senior wife, should a man marry for a third time, this would entail not only the construction of a new house, but also that the second wife vacate the rooms she currently occupied for the incoming wife, and take up residence in the newly constructed one.

While divorce is comparatively easy, for a woman however it also entails residential movement, either back to her natal ward or to her new husband's compound. Should a woman's husband become the ginu bana she will move with him into the ginu na. If she outlives him, she continues to reside in the ginu na until the next senior male is installed. Whereupon, unless she re-marries, the widow will be re-housed by her affinal kin in a separate compound. Alternatively, she may chose to return to her natal ward (as have two of the widows in Banani Kokoro), on account of poor relationships with her affinal kin.

4:5.3 Case Material :

The following case material, gives some indication of the temporal scales involved. The older villagers interviewed sometimes had difficulty recalling the moves they made in childhood hence the case material is sketchy on these.

Males :

A) Born 1908; 1927-28 left village to work in Kumasi, Ghana as labourer in stone quarry; 1928 returned to village, repaired Compound 25; 1929 wife joined him from Banani Amu; 1956 became ginu bana and moved into the ginu na, 13, still resident there.

B) Born 1921; 1938 spent one year in Bamako; 1939 returned to Banani and with capital began to build a house, Compound 34; 1941 left for Tanoma, a village in the Plains, where he constructed a house; 1951 moved from Tanoma to Entemenu, built another house; 1960 returned to Banani, built the second house in Compound 34; 1974 part of the original house collapses, but does not get re-built. 1983, still occupies Compound 34, with his two wives and two youngest daughters.

C) Born 1957; lived at mother's ginu na in Ogol until 1960; 1960 moves in with his ninyu (Mother's brother) in Ogol. 1975 leaves for Mopti, spends three months there as wage labourer, returns to Banani. 1975 Leaves for Abidjan. 1980 returns to Banani, re-furbishes Compound 33; 1981 Leaves again for Abidjan; 1983 returns to Banani, and is joined in his compound (33) by his wife.

Females :

A) Born 1920 in Banani Kokoro (Compound 16); 1937 moves to Koundu to join husband; 1977 husband dies; 1979 returns to Banani Kokoro, takes up residence in Compound 12, adjacent to her FBS, who is now the lineage head.

B) Born early 1930's at Pege; 1946 marries; 1947 first son born (in Pege); 1949 moves to Tanouma (in Plains), after birth of first daughter, to join husband; 1952 moves to Banani Kokoro when husband returns, lives in Compound 20; 1953 second son born; 1967 husband becomes ginu bana, moves with him into ginu na (Compound 30).

C) Born 1956 in Koundu; 1972 marries a man from another ward of Koundu; 1977 first son born; 1978 divorces husband and moves to Banani Kokoro (Compound 1), as the ya:kedu of her new husband (son stays in Koundu); 1981 first daughter born; 1982 (July) leaves husband and returns to her paternal ginu na at Koundu; 1983 (Feb.) re-joins husband in Banani Kokoro.

Section 4:6 Summary :

In the preceding discussion a number of points have emerged which have a bearing on residential composition and the use of compound space. In the first place, it was noted that most of the compounds are superficially similar in terms of physical features and layout. All compounds are relatively 'open' spaces, save when unoccupied, and their internal division arises from a routine differentiation of tasks. Although the organisation of these tasks is based on the sexual division of labour, this does not give rise to an ordering of space with marked male:female or young:old zones of external compound space, except for granaries. Conversely, compounds are differentiated from each other, as residential spaces, according to the age and gender of the principal occupant.

The criteria of residence are contexually variable; in the case of a ginu sala membership is established according to permitted sexual relations. On the other hand, the residential grouping termed saqada:rau dunoy is founded on criteria designed to prevent certain sexual relationships. The category ya:na peney dunoy appears to be generated by a need to resolve conflicting male attitudes towards the age and gender of widows. Finally, only lineage heads are eligible to take up residence in the ginu na. Likewise each category has another set of criteria that include 'secondary' members and exclude others. For both ginu sala and ginu na those included are women, as wives, and children of certain ages. Adolescent girls constitute the permitted 'secondary' members of widow's houses. At first glance

the sagada:rau dunoy appears not to conform to this pattern of hierachical ordering, since these groupings generally include two or three age-mates of an approximately equivalent rank. However, continued residence in their compound is contingent on the needs of other individuals. As noted in Section 4:3, when a young couple and their child returned to the village from Abidjan, a sagata:rau dunoy was vacated for them to occupy, and thereby transformed into a ginu sala. Spatial presence, therefore, need imply complete autonomy over the residential use of a compound.

In fact, complete autonomy over the disposition of space, in a jural sense, rests not in the hands of each occupant, but solely in the hands of the individual who heads the lineage that owns the respective dwelling spaces. As custodian of these for past, present and future generations he is responsible for ensuring that the descent group is not alienated from its property. However, in the face of a continually changing membership the ginna must cater for these residential needs, that are potentially in direct opposition to the corporate ideal. Rather than follow a principle of property devolution, the strategy adopted to resolve this dilemma between individual needs and the corporate ideal, is to move individuals through space in accordance with their changing social status. By regulating the rate of distribution, the ginu bana excercises considerable control over individuals by binding some to the village, and also over the changing configuration of physical space and by implication settlement growth.

An additional point emerges from this; not only are changing residential locations a key feature of individual biographies, but also this progression through life is associated with an accumulation of power to modify the residential status of others. The re-housing of the widow of a ginu bana, and the subsequent entry into the ginna by his successor is the clearest example of this. The decision of a man to take third wife, or the return of married men after an absence from the village can also have comparable effects. What emerges from this review of the ideal sequence of moves an individual will make, and their 'knock-on' effect on others, is that the order is regulated by male strategies.

In particular, it is the accquisition of wives, children and millet that are the perennial concerns of Dogon males. Almost every ritual oration, benediction, or prayer which is addressed to the ancestors and to Amma (God), contains a standardised set of phrases which address such concerns. For instance, at a sacrifice held at the wagem in May 1983, as part of the bulu ceremonies, the prayers addressed to the village ancestor's included the following passage :

> Where there are men
> We look for a good wife [for each],
> Bring us women to give to our men.
> If you have a wife,
> You look for children.
> Ancestors, you must bring us children.
> A man who has a child
> Looks for something to eat.
> Amma, bring us a sack of grain
> And leave it on our shoulders.

The order in which these requests for wives, children and millet are made is significant, if self evident. Without a wife a man

has no children, and without children he runs the risk of being without millet in his old age, without millet, he cannot sustain his dependants. The attainment of each goal marks a change in social position, and the biography of a male is directed by this sequence. However, the sequence of moves is largely conducted within a specific locality, the natal village, and residential proximity to agnatic kin enhances the possibility of achieving these goals. One consequence of this is that the various residential groups co-operate in the tasks of production, cooking, consumption and other servicing tasks. The criteria for membership of each respective task-group are different, although the overall pattern that emerges is one of overlapping sets.

On the other hand women, in terms of residence move through space according to male strategies, and frequently, that space belongs to their affinal kin. As young wives, they quit their natal village or ward, and take up residence in that of their husband. Once installed, a woman's presence is subject to male conditions of residence. Even where a woman stays in one place while her husband establishes another 'household' elsewhere (see example of Compound 33 cited in Section 4:3) she is still subject to this control. In the particular case cited, the spatial distribution of the labour of this couple was part of a wider strategy of the <u>qinu bana</u>. While the woman remained to help with 'servicing' tasks of the <u>qinna</u> in Banani, her husband farmed land and tended lineage cattle with his elder brother in the Plains (infra Chapter 7). The conditions of divorce may make any decision to withdraw from such a frame easy to implement, but for

women they still entail a residential move, either back to their natal village or on to live with their new husband.

Whereas the goals of wives, children and millet are essentially seen as male concerns, each stage directly involves women, and it is precisely because of this that conflict arises. Male success depends largely on the appropriation of female productive and reproductive capacities, although there is an added element of older men appropriating the labour of younger men. The emphasis placed on the ambiguous and potentially dangerous position of women is reiterated in many contexts. An example of this, is contained in the rites surrounding the entry of a woman into lineage space and the crossing of its social boundaries. For, by performing the tasks of fetching water and cooking a meal, a newly arrived wife symbolically accepts the authority of her affinal ginu bana, and indicates a willingness to provide that lineage with her labour and reproductive capacity. Having said this, however, on a daily basis women have great practical control over the use and ordering of compound space, and from this can negotiate for greater spatial and temporal autonomy. It is this layering of strategy and negotiation acted out in the course of daily routine and with reference to household inventories that is the focus of inquiry in the following chapter.

Footnotes :

1. For discussions see Carter 1984; Goody 1976; Hammer 1984; Harris 1981; Yanagisako 1979.
2. For elaboration of these terms see Verdon 1979, 1980.
3. The symbolism of these is discussed by Dieterlen (1972).

CHAPTER 5

OBJECTS IN PLACE

> "Exchange allows social space to be negotiable at the same time that personal space (one's autonomy) is inviolable. In contrast, magic is a mechanism that allows one person to intrude upon the personal space of another. Were magic rather than exchange the *modus operandi* of daily social interaction, the spilt of society into two classes, controllers and controlled, would be complete ... Individuals are constrained by exchange, but they also maintain their personal autonomy within its framework"
>
> Weiner 1976, 213.

Section 5:1 Introduction :

It has been suggested that the distribution of individuals through residential space is a consequence of strategies aimed at the social and demographic reproduction of a kin group. The members of this kin group, termed *ginna*, operate as an independant economic unit, with respect to subsistence needs, and are headed by the eldest male of the group. Since the group is exogamous, it is important that ties with other minimal lineages are maintained so as to ensure the movement of women between lineages. Whereas in some other segmentary lineage societies elite or prestige items are exchanged as bridewealth for women, amongst the Dogon no such system pertains. Furthurmore, a young man is not required to perform more than a few days bridelabour for his affinal lineage, and normally this is easily fulfilled. His affinal lineage, however, does retain control over his wife's labour for some considerable period after the marriage has been

consumated, since she continues to live in her natal village, at least until the birth of her first child, and need not move to her affinal village until after the birth of her third. Since, given the long lactation period, this can easily span four years, the comparative lack of bridewealth and bridelabour returns, is partly offset by her continuing labour contribution to her natal lineage. Even so, this is double-edged, since during this period the woman concerned is being excluded from the residential space that is offered as part of the marriage contract, in exchange for rights over her productive and reproductive capacity. Moreover, the delay in taking up residence can also make it easier for her husband to spread his costs, in terms of labour and resources required to construct or renovate a house, over a number of years.

In terms of the strategies of lineage heads, though, this state of affairs is not particularly favourable, for young men can meet their bridelabour requirements with only minimal recourse to lineage heads. In otherwords, unlike a society such as the Gourou, where lineage heads appropriate the labour of younger members and transform the product of this into prestige items, to be used as bridewealth (Meillassoux 1964), young Dogon males do not depend on elders for this kind of capital. There is then a greater potential for fission, since newly married men could establish their own household and productive unit with considerable ease, thereby negating the whole basis of the lineage structure. On the whole, though, such a sequence of events is rare, since by virtue of their control over access to,

and re-distribution of, dwelling space, lineage heads succeed in keeping junior males in a subordinate and dependent position. As previously indicated, it is junior males who have to invest time, labour and capital into the construction of houses and granaries for their wives. Yet, the land upon which these buildings are constructed remains as lineage property, and as head of the lineage, the ginu bana retains control over the allocation of this space. As we have seen, during the course of their lives, individuals periodically move from one house to another, and the houses and compound that a young man might construct, rather than remaining in his possession, are appropriated (and hence so is his 'surplus labour'), by the ginu bana.

The emphasis placed on the correct distribution of people through dwelling space suggests that the ordering of material culture within house-space may also be important. An indication of this has already been provided by the preliminary discussion of the rites performed by in-marrying women, and in particular the treatment given to waterpots and cooking pots. These acts, it was suggested, mark in a material sense the crossing of the boundary between two lineages, in both a spatial and sociological sense, and thereby metaphorically emphasise the conditions under which in-marrying women are granted access to lineage resources, in return for rights over their labour and reproductive capacity. The everyday use by women of these items at their specific locations serves to reinforce these metaphors, and hence daily routine effectively creates the conditions for the reproduction of the particular set of meanings. In this sense,

women could be held to be responsible for the recreation of their own domains, and by extension the social order. On the other hand, the practical capacicty women have to transform the arrangement of house, and compound space is also potentially dangerous, since a transformation of the spatial order could also signify a challenge to the social order it represents. There appears, then, to be an in-built source of tension in the system, whereby men simultaneously acknowledge their dependence on women for both demographic and social reproduction, and also the destabilising effect women can have on the social order. This ambivalence towards women is expressed in a number of ways and in a variety of contexts, ranging from the mythology associated with the discovery of masks to attiudes towards female fertility and sexuality.

In terms of the ordering of space, a possible response to this in-built tension, given the emphasis placed on the crossing of boundaries by women, could have resulted in the rigid demarcation of dwelling and compound space into male and female areas. In fact, once a woman has entered a new lineage-space, there are no domains within it that are exclusively male or female, aside from granaries, and, at least theoretically, neither is she excluded from other areas of lineage space, i.e. other compounds and fields. It is only at certain moments in their lives that women are segregated from men and 'society', in a clear-cut fashion, namely after childbirth, during menstruation and on widowhood. Time, then, is crucial to the ordering of space, a point which was also noted for the observed pattern of

residence, and one of the functions of the particular configurations of cohabitation is to prevent the incidence of incest. Significantly, concern over incest has to do with a fear of the mixing of generations (Calame-Griaule 1965, 288).

Although it remains to be established that the internal organisation of house space is at all significant, the foregoing suggests that the differences which exist between the various residential categories, may be of greater significance than the division of activities, and space within a given house. Again, the importance placed on the temporal ordering of activity within lineage space would support this interpretation, particularly because different temporal scales structure the use and organisation of space differently. According to social time[1], that is from the perspective of their biographical position, for instance, men and women who work and eat at a ginu na but do not sleep there, are excluded from this space for an indefinite period. The course that they will eventually follow remains unknown, if potentialy predictable, since it is dependent on, and conditional to, the biographical trajectories of others. On the other hand, from the perspective of the diurnal rythm, the same individuals are excluded from the same space only for a few hours each night. This communal use of space for certain tasks raises a series of interpretative problems. A particularly key issue in this regard, is the extent to which the observed pattern within the houses of a particular social category, can be attributed to its use by members of the minmal lineage, and how much of the pattern is generated by those who sleep in the house,

and use the rooms for storing their possessions. In effect then, the de facto use of objects and space may obscure the de jure rights in possessions and access to certain spaces. Even the assumption that residents are better placed to effect a transformation[2] of the spatial order may not hold for all cases, for, as argued in Section 4:3, spatial presence is not necessarily co-terminous with spatial autonomy.

To illustrate some of these points, the brewing of beer, for market sale, can be considered. This tends to be perfomed by older women, who, by virtue of their seniority vis-à-vis other lineage women, can allocate some of their routine tasks to others and thereby find the time to make beer. The task must begin with germinating millet seed some ten days before mashing commences, and the mashing itself requires two full days of activity, ending only after a night during which the fermentation of the beer is supervised. For boiling and fermenting the beer, special vessels and associated items of material culture are required, much of it considered to be expensive; the large dey and dadema pots used during mashing and fermenting cost between 6,000 and 9,000 MF (£6-£9 in 1982), according to their size and quality. This equipment is generally restricted to ginu na compounds partially because such items are expensive to replace and therefore only the ginu bana, or senior women can afford to purchase them. The use of these items, however, is not restricted to senior women, and the more junior, female lineage members make ocassional use of the brewing equipment. These latter women generally do not bother to move the pots, which are heavy, and the rest of the

assemblage to their own compound, and instead brew their beer at the ginu na. There is, also, the additional advantage of having more experienced senior women on hand to give advice. The profit realised from the sale of the beer is retained by the woman who made the beer, and she is under no obligation to provide any renumeration, even in kind, to the more senior women, although she is obliged to retain a portion of beer for the lineage head, as a mark of respect. The question is, then, which of these facts are more important, the association of older women with brewing equipment, or the use of this same equipment by junior women at a place other than their residence?

One way to resolve this is to examine the extent to which the use of particular spaces for certain tasks is constrained by the lineage ideology of commensuality and cooperation. For instance, it is clear that the ginu na is considered the major locale for many subsistence-related tasks of production, distribution and consumption. In addition, it is also a locus for ritual activity connected with ancestor veneration. It might be expected, therefore, that the bulk of the material culture associated with food processing and cooking, agriculture, ancestor cults and, in view of the above comments, brewing, will be located in the ginu na category of houses. It is harder to predict, from this model, the kind of items to be found in other categories of residence, such as the ginu sala and sagada:rau dunoy, although it might be anticipated that these will contain a higher proportion of such things as clothing and other items of attire, and a lower proportion of subsistence-related equipment.

The distribution of some artefacts could be more uniform, aside from food bowls which, theoretically, ought to be restricted to ginu na and the houses of widows. If room use varies according to the biographical position of the occupants of the house, it could be suggested that the evaluation of certain activities is different for the separate generations. Alternatively, if the use made of rooms remains roughly constant, while the nature of room inventories varies qualitatively, it could be held that differences between people, such as male and female, young and old, are being marked rather than the tasks. In cases where the pattern varies from the expected model, it may be possible to argue that the relevant pieces of material culture form part of strategies concerned with the representation of self and identity. These private and individuating acts, aimed as they are at accumulating personal benefits, might even conflict with, or at least differ from, the idealised model of appropriate behaviour for these individuals. Such patterns could thus be held to be indicative of the kinds of tensions referred to above.

Section 5:2 Dogon Material Culture and Household Inventories :

5:2.1 Introduction:

The purpose of this section is to introduce some general comments on the material culture and household fixtures commonly encountered. Like most other aspects of Dogon society, these have been discussed by earlier researchers, although in much less detail than, for instance, the religious institutions and associated rituals. The shortcomings of these earlier accounts are twofold. In the first place, the morphological features of

houses are described in a purely superficial way, and usually without specifying the localities where such observations were made. House form varies considerably over Dogon territory and even within individual settlements. This is further exacerbated by a common failure, on the part of the authors, to differentiate between the four major categories of residence. For example, the earliest dated account, by Desplanges, merely notes in passing some of the general features of Dogon architecture, and even the locality referred to is not specified (1907, 363-364, and Fig 191). Arnaud (1921, 266-268) gives a similar account with even less detail. Paulme, although aware of the various categories of residence, does not always elaborate upon the differences between them, particularly in terms of their inventories. Her brief description does suggest, though, that in appearance some rooms forty years ago resembled, if superficially, many contemporary ones:

> "Par terre, sur le sol battu, traînent des poteries, des calebasses, des manches et fers de houe, plusieurs paniers, une navette et un support de poulie de tisserand. Des pagnes, des ceintures et des bonnets en coton de formes diverses, des sacoches et un carquois en cuir" (Paulme 1940, 321).

(Compare with Plates 8 to 11)

Brasseur's study of room use is more detailed, although the multi-cell form of house, examined between 1954 and 1956, containing over sixty-five rooms (1960, 49), is probably restricted to the area around Bandiagara. While Calame-Griaule's (1955) discussion of house form and room use is concerned with the symbolic ordering of space (see below, Section 5:5.2), she does not consider any possible intra-settlement variations. The

Plate 8 Interior of a widow´s house.

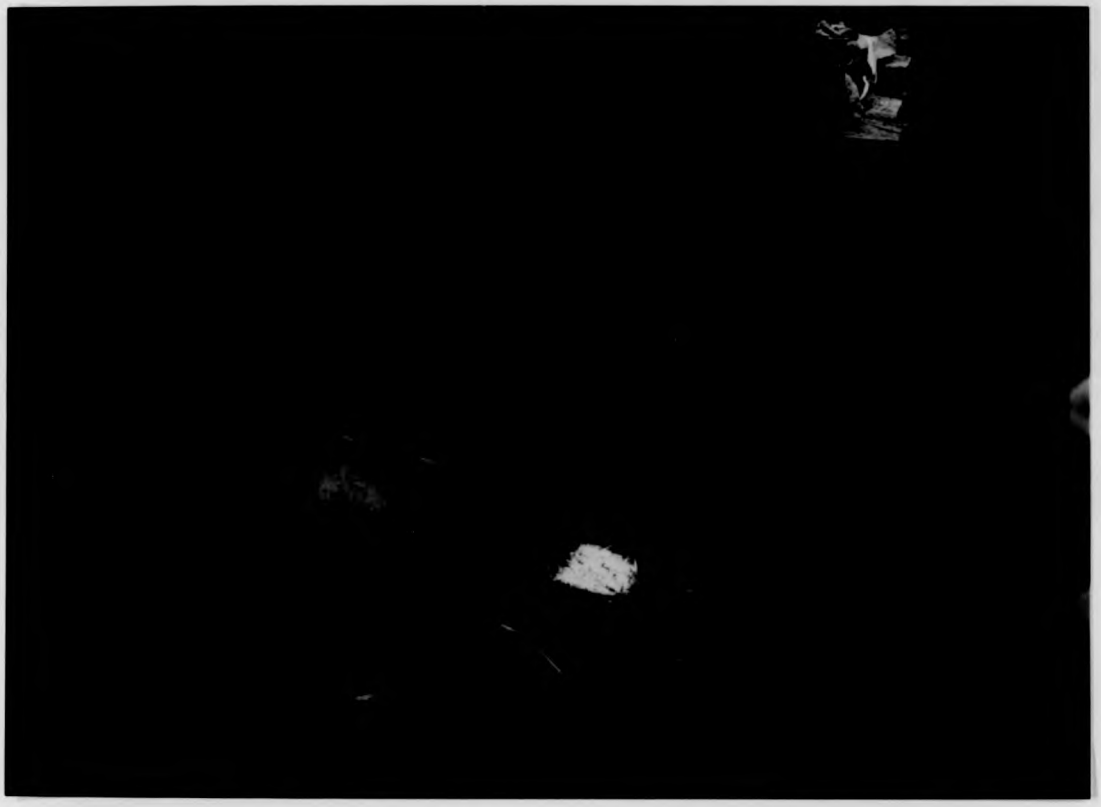


Plate 9 Interior of a widower´s house.

Plate 10 Kitchen in a married woman´s house.

Plate 11 Interior of a young, married woman´s house.

overview by N´Diaye (1972) of room use in her account of Dogon housing is essentially similar to previous descriptions, and Brasseur´s later study (1968) is only of limited help towards understanding regional differences.

There have been even fewer studies of Dogon material culture, despite the fact that it is particularly rich in variety, and for each specific task, such as cooking, beer brewing or agriculture, frequently several artefact types are employed. Arnaud´s list (1921, 288-291) of over seventy individual items is the most comprehensive available, although De Ganay (1953) and Dieterlen and Calame-Griaule (1960, 55-58), provide more detailed discussions of, respectively, agricultural tools and culinary equipment.

5:2.2 Material culture in the study village:

A total of 243 different artefact types, excluding different items of clothing, were noted in the study village, and of these 72% (175) can be categorised as ´local´. By this is meant those items made by the Dogon, members of the two castes of craft specialists, and the few objects made by adajacent tribes, that are used with great regularity by the Dogon. In particular these include straw mats used as covers for food bowls, and the wooden food bowls themselves. The remaining 68 types originate from outside of the immediate region, and include those made in towns such as Mopti, and all goods of industrial origin. Since a lot of the latter come from African states and China, the term ´Western´ seems inappropriate here, and the term ´non-indigenous´ is employed instead.

As there is a great deal of secondary use and curation of objects, and that many everyday tools and containers are, in effect, multi-purpose items, it would be inadvisable to base the analysis of household inventories entirely on artefact nomenclature, without taking into consideration their recorded use. The nomenclature of artefacts is, nevertheless, informative, and at least four overlapping classifactory systems appear to be used. Objects can, it appears, be distinguished according to their function or form, their gender (based on either formal features or user association), and even according to their associations of use in conjunction with other objects, and equivalent classifactory systems also hold for the range of masks encountered (see De Mott 1982).

Variation in house form, as well as overlapping uses of space, the range of residential composition and the multi-purpose nature of many objects, pose certain analytical difficulties. A number of approaches to the classification of objects have been adopted here, in an attempt to demonstrate the complex layering of forces at work in generating and constraining spatial patterns. In the first instance a comparison between all inventories, based on the categorisation of objects by material, i.e. a system that is not 'functionally' loaded, is employed. This aims to demonstrate the broad similarities that exist between all houses. In the second stage of analysis objects are classified into 'sets', according to approximate functional association. These are food preparation, cooking, and beer-brewing items, food bowls, waterpots, cult objects, furnishings,

agricultural tools and weaponry. In addition, more heterogeneous categories of male and female clothing and items of adornment, and 'decorative' items have been defined. Another categorisation of objects that is employed, is between locally made and 'non-indigenous' artefacts, with an aim to identify differences between houses that correspond with differences in residential composition. The final stage of analysis concerns the patterning of space according to different cycles of activity. (For an alternative etnoarchaeological approach to household invetories see Hayden and Cannon 1984).

5:2.3 : Data and methods of collection.

The data used in these analyses were collected in 1981, when a total of fifty-three houses, from 33 compounds, were visited and their household inventories recorded. In 1982-83, return planning visits were made to a sample of these houses (60%), and an additional six houses, whose occupants had changed since 1981 were also planned. Although these samples cover all the social categories there were, nevertheless, other potential sources of bias, and the relevance of the methods of data collection to these issues needs to be briefly discussed. Foremost amongst these was the issue of time, which revolved around the question 'how typical a day, was the day on which a house was planned?' For instance, observations made two or three days before a lineage based ritual might have indicated the preparation of beer in certain rooms of a ginu na, whereas two days after the same ritual, there could easily have been little indication as to which spaces were used for beer making. For this reason, it was

important to take into account the cycles of activity. The difficulty, however, was that there are several overlapping temporal cycles, such as the diurnal rythm, the five-day market cycle, the seasonal cycle, and the ritual cycle, and, the latter alone can be split into several temporal scales.

By first collecting data in 1981 during the 'wet season', and comparative data from a sample of the same houses during the 'dry season' between 1982 and 1983, it has been feasible to incorporate the possibility of seasonal variations, into the analysis of these inventories. The manner in which the data was collected should also have alleviated any biases that diurnal rythms, and the market and ritual cycles might introduce. For, houses were visted, in no particular order, on all days of the five day market cycle, and in both the morning and afternoon. Theoretically, of course, the use of such data depends on the assumption that material culture patterns are more resistant to change, given the concept of the 'reflexive monitoring of action' introduced in Chapter 2. In an effort to examine this assumption, a series of repeat visits[3] were made during 1982-83, to a small number of houses, and the analysis is outlined in section 5:4.2. Whilst acknowledging that the sample size for several of the defined residential categories is small and statistically invalid, the sample nevertheless represents 85% of the compound groups in the village, and 70% of the houses currently in use. Finally, it must be noted that the use of artefact distributions as the basis of analysis here, is in conjunction with observations of behaviour and verbal statements.

5:2.4 : General patterns:

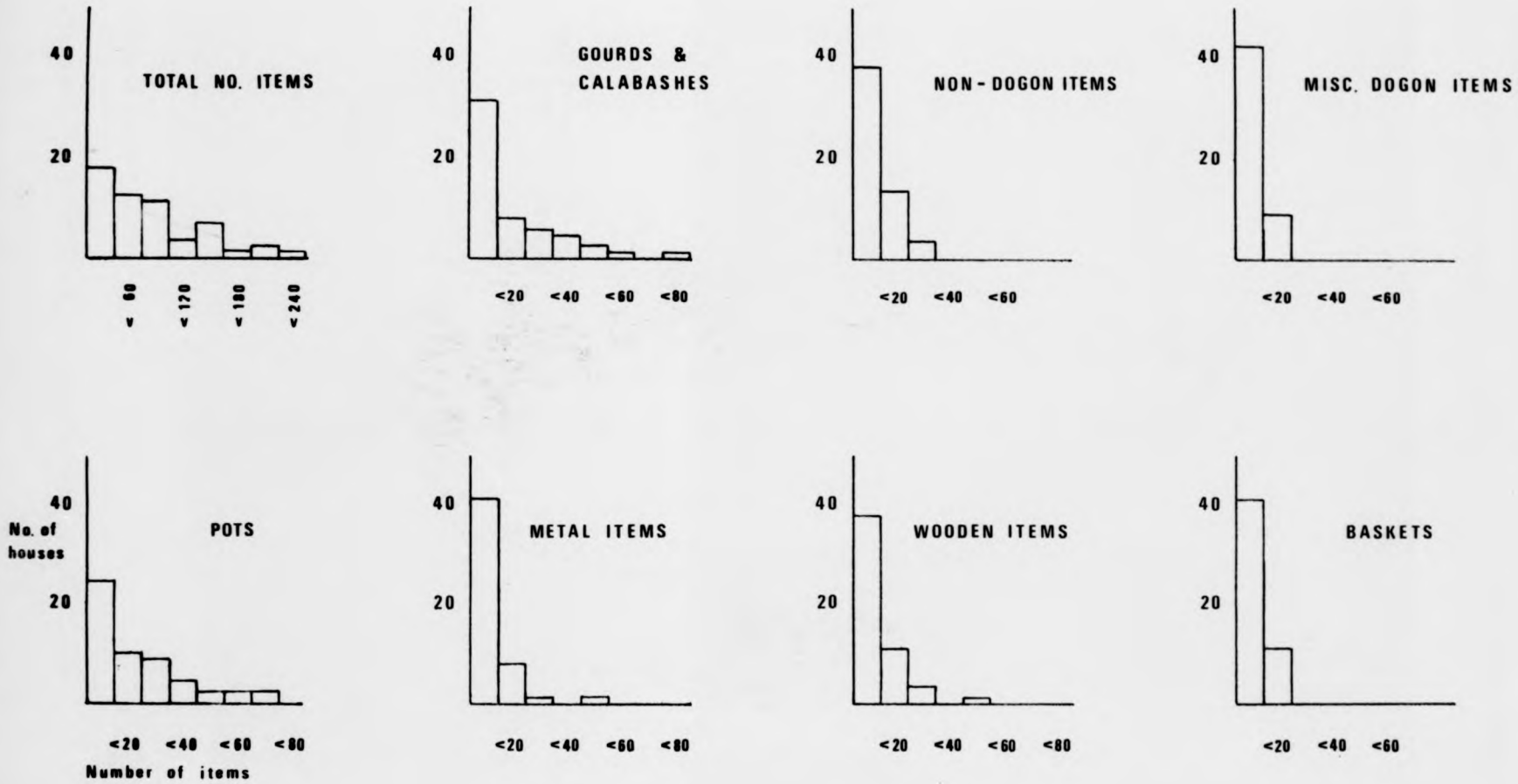
Most houses contain a similar range of artefacts associated with different tasks such as cooking pots, stone querns, calabashes and gourds, and waterpots, as well as sleeping mats, items of clothing and an assortment of different kinds of storage container. Other types of object such as beer-brewing and beer-serving vessels, agricultural tools and weapons have a more noticeably restricted distribution. Some of the houses, or individual rooms within houses, appeared to be crammed full of objects, many of them broken and unusable, along with collections of gourd- and pot-sherds, old torch batteries, tin cans, scraps of cloth and the odd shoe or sandal. Other rooms, and sometimes entire houses, are virtually empty of possessions. Some seem to be neatly arranged and well swept, while others give the appearance of being rarely used.

In dwellings where women are resident, most of the objects within a house, on the whole, belong to them[4]. By this is meant that they either purchased, made or have been given these items. Nevertheless, there are certain artefacts which are retained by men in the event of a separation, even though these may be less frequently used by men than by women. Namely, these are waterpots, stone querns and, frequently but not invariably, wooden mortars and beer brewing and serving pots. In addition, certain objects, such as all weaponry, are indisputably male items, although a widow may sometimes keep such items of her husband, until her death, when they will be inherited by his sons. On the other hand, in those houses where women are absent,

the bulk of the objects can be said to belong to the male resident or residents.

There is, then, a great diversity in appearance, and yet a striking similarity in the contents of houses, a point which is borne out in Figure 5:1, which summarises the density of artefacts of different materials found in separate houses. It is apparent from this that most houses contain small quantities of a great number of different objects, ranging in material from wood and metal to stone and leather. A few houses (8%) however contain larger quantities of pots, gourds and calabashes, and also, to a lesser degree, straw objects. Likewise the majority of houses (76%) contain less than 100 objects (approximately equal numbers contain 0-49 objects as those with 50-99 items). Twenty-two percent contain between 100 and 199 artefacts and only one had over two hundred individual items. Within the two broad density groupings there is, however, considerable variation, as demonstrated in Table 5:1. It is clear from this table that artefact density can vary from room to room within a house, as well as between houses. It appears, also, that the presence of additional rooms, or their absence, does not always have a causal effect on densities, since there are cases of both Form 1 and Form 2 houses (as defined in Chapter 4) having both high and low artefact densities.

Figure 5.1 Densities of artefacts of different materials.



House Form One

1981 Sample ROOM										1982-3 Sample ROOM									
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
21	47	16	13	06	--	08	13	--	--										
08	40	09	--	32	--	27	--	20	--	09	51	03	38	--	--	26	--	20	--
14	58	16	00	34	--	00	--	00	--										
22	39	16	13	--	--	27	16	12	04	28	40	08	12	--	--	27	09	15	11
08	53	14	11	18	--	17	05	18	--	07	51	09	14	12	--	24	15	30	--
00	16	05	00	12	--	02	07	--	--										
19	65	30	21	27	--	11	15	--	--										
00	06	10	--	--	00	03	56	--	--										
15	38	01	04	41	--	21	14	07	--										
10	35	15	11	41	--	15	39	--	--										
13	91	40	08	10	--	05	03	--	--	11	82	40	04	27	--	05	03	--	--
02	08	00	00	00	--	00	00	--	--										
06	20	00	12	07	--	00	01	--	--										
01	06	04	03	--	--	03	00	--	--	02	22	09	02	--	--	02	01	--	--
05	11	03	--	09	--	00	--	02	--	02	16	05	--	08	--	14	--	09	--
10	25	30	03	10	--	01	10	--	--										
07	32	09	04	11	--	06	03	--	--	06	43	12	11	18	--	06	10	--	--
18	27	09	11	05	--	11	01	--	--										
17	93	20	--	--	--	29	22	--	--										
00	30	00	00	04	--	00	00	--	--	06	43	01	00	23	--	00	00	--	--
	Unoccupied in 1981									01	14	00	00	02	--	00	00	--	--

TABLE 5:1a : ABSOLUTE DENSITIES OF OBJECTS IN DIFFERENT ROOMS OF FORM 1 HOUSES IN 1981 AND 1982-3 SAMPLES.

Key to column numbers: 1 = kitchen, 2 = main room, 3 = lefthand, ground floor store, 4 = righthand, ground floor store, 5 = entrance hall and porch, 6 = back, ground floor store, 7 = lefthand, first floor store, 8 = righthand, first floor store, 9 = front, first floor store, 10 = back, first floor store.

House Form Two

1981 Sample ROOM										1982-3 Sample ROOM									
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
--	11	--	--	--	--	05	--	--	--										
--	16	01	--	08	--	01	--	--	--										
--	10	--	--	--	07	--	--	--	--										
--	62	--	--	--	--	-3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	06	--	--	--
--	24	00	--	27	--	01	--	--	--										
--	26	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	24	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	28	15	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	48	04	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	16	05	--	--	--	03	--	--	--										
--	40	--	--	--	11	--	--	03	--										
--	09	00	--	--	--	01	--	--	--										
--	09	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--										
--	35	20	--	--	--	--	--	--	--										
No Data for 1981										--	105	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	26	--	--	--	06	--	--	04	--	--	34	--	--	--	09	--	--	03	--
--	45	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--										
--	07	02	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	79	15	--	--	07	--	--	--	--
--	40	--	14	--	--	--	02	--	--	--	37	--	16	--	--	00	--	--	--
--	34	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	47	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	37	--	--	06	07	--	--	--	08										
--	76	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	63	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	52	--	--	25	03	--	04	--	--	--	46	--	--	53	05	--	04	--	--
--	152	--	52	--	--	--	16	--	--	--	166	--	52	--	--	--	10	--	--
--	63	--	46	--	--	--	06	--	--	--	105	--	30	--	--	--	08	--	--
24	---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	31	---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	52	--	--	08	07	--	--	--	--										
--	61	--	11	--	--	--	15	--	--	--	83	--	08	--	--	--	18	--	--
--	51	16	--	--	--	09	--	--	--										
--	54	--	--	--	27	--	--	01	--	--	53	--	--	--	21	--	--	01	--
--	47	20	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	32	--	16	--	--	03	--	--	--
--	14	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--										
12	---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--										
--	17	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--										
--	03	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--										
--	13	02	--	--	--	00	--	--	--										
No Data for 1981										--	49	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
No Data for 1981										--	03	--	--	--	03	--	--	--	00

TABLE 5:1b : ABSOLUTE DENSITIES OF OBJECTS IN DIFFERENT ROOMS OF FORM 2 HOUSES IN 1981 AND 1982-3 SAMPLES.

Key to column numbers: 1 = kitchen, 2 = main room, 3 = lefthand, ground floor store, 4 = righthand, ground floor store, 5 = entrance hall and porch, 6 = back, ground floor store, 7 = lefthand, first floor store, 8 = righthand, first floor store, 9 = front, first floor store, 10 = back, first floor store.

Section 5:3 : Residential Categories and Household Inventories.

5:3.1 Differences between residential categories:

This part of the analysis relies upon distinguishing between houses used solely by women and those used only by men, and those occupied by both sexes. Five categories have therefore been defined, which are based upon the distinctions made by the Dogon with slight modifications. The first of these is termed 'widows' and includes all houses that are categorised ya:na peney dunoy, and the single house in compound 23, a ginu na, in which a widow, rather than a lineage head, resided. The second category is termed ginu sala; this includes all houses found in such compounds except those occupied by divorced or otherwise single males, and those houses used by men for their needs but not used by their wives. The third group is termed ginu na, and comprises of the houses from all ginu na compounds except those occupied by a single man or woman, and those houses used by married men for their own ends. The fourth group, refers to the sagada:rau dunoy, that is those houses lived in by men who have yet to marry or have not yet been joined by their wives. The first four categories, therefore, closely resemble those identified in the previous chpater. As such, this categorisation excludes the houses used by certain individuals for whom there is no distinctive category of residence, namely divorced and widowed men, of whom there were four in toto, and also an unmarried male of about fifty-five, and these form the fifth category, called 'other single men'. Also included in this category are the houses (four in all) which are used only by men, although located in compounds occupied by married men and women.

Figure 5:2 (a-e) summarises the main components of the 1981 inventories for each of the five categories. For the most part these bar-graphs indicate that the use of rooms corresponds with room nomenclature. For instance, kitchens tend to have a preponderance of cooking and food processing items, the greater proportion of the inventories of the ground and first storey kana rooms is devoted to storage, and so forth, regardless of the age or sex of the principal occupants of each house. In addition, although this is not indicated graphically, most houses contain a basic inventory comprising of at least a waterpot, a few food processing and cooking items, some pieces of clothing and the odd storage vessel. Nevertheless, there are some noticeable quantitative and qualitative differences between these social groupings, and a broad distinction can be made between the houses used by women, whether married or widowed, and those used solely by men. The former (Categories 1-3) contain, on the whole, more objects than the latter, and often a greater range, and the following trends can be identified:

Cooking and food-processing items :

The figures suggest that these are not entirely restricted to the ginu na and ya:na peney dunoy categories of housing. Most striking is the high density of these types of artefact found in the ginu sala category. Observations of daily routine indicate that the generation of this pattern can be attributed to both the performance of these tasks in localities other than the ginu na and also the storage of implements away from their locations of use. For instance, a woman living in a ginu sala compound often

keeps her wooden pestel (kuna:i) in her own house, although she uses it most often at her husband's ginu na and at one of the threshing and winnowing spaces at the edge of the village. The same is true for other items of culinary equipment, although most houses, or at the very least compounds, contain a stone quern, a wooden pestel and mortar, and a cooking vessel.

The presence of some artefacts used during the preparation of food, in low numbers, in houses resided in by single men can also be noted. This suggests that under certain circumstances, such as the lack of a wife, men are prepared to perform these tasks, a point borne out by observation and informants.

Brewing Equipment :

Brewing can take place at both the houses of widows and the ginu sala, and consequently some equipment is found in houses belonging to these categories. The greater proportion, as previously intimated, is distributed amongst the ginu na category of houses. Even so, the number of brewing related items, as with objects used during the preparation of food, found in the houses of widows seems quite high, given that most of these women are elderly and many are no longer physically active. This particular trend is therefore suggestive of an element of curation, a point borne out by other observations.

Furnishings :

The highest density of furnishings, including such necessities as sleeping mats and wooden stools, is amongst the ginu sala category, and may be because this is numerically the largest sample.

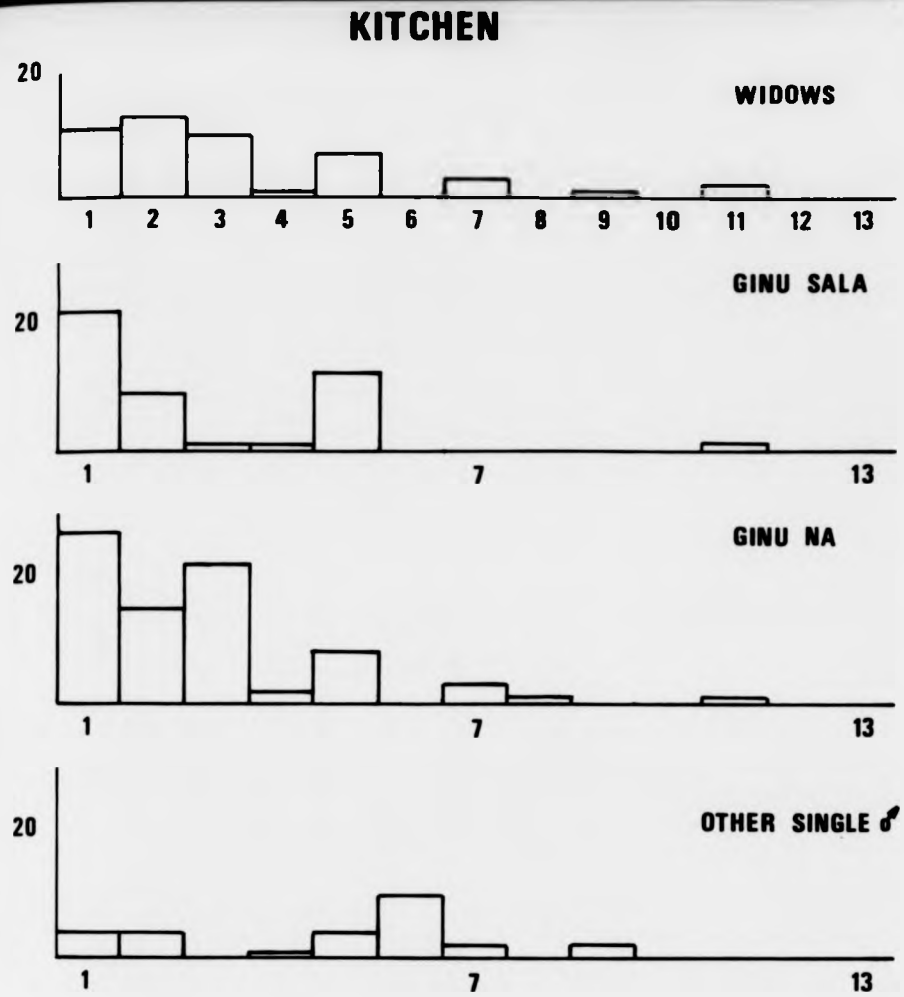
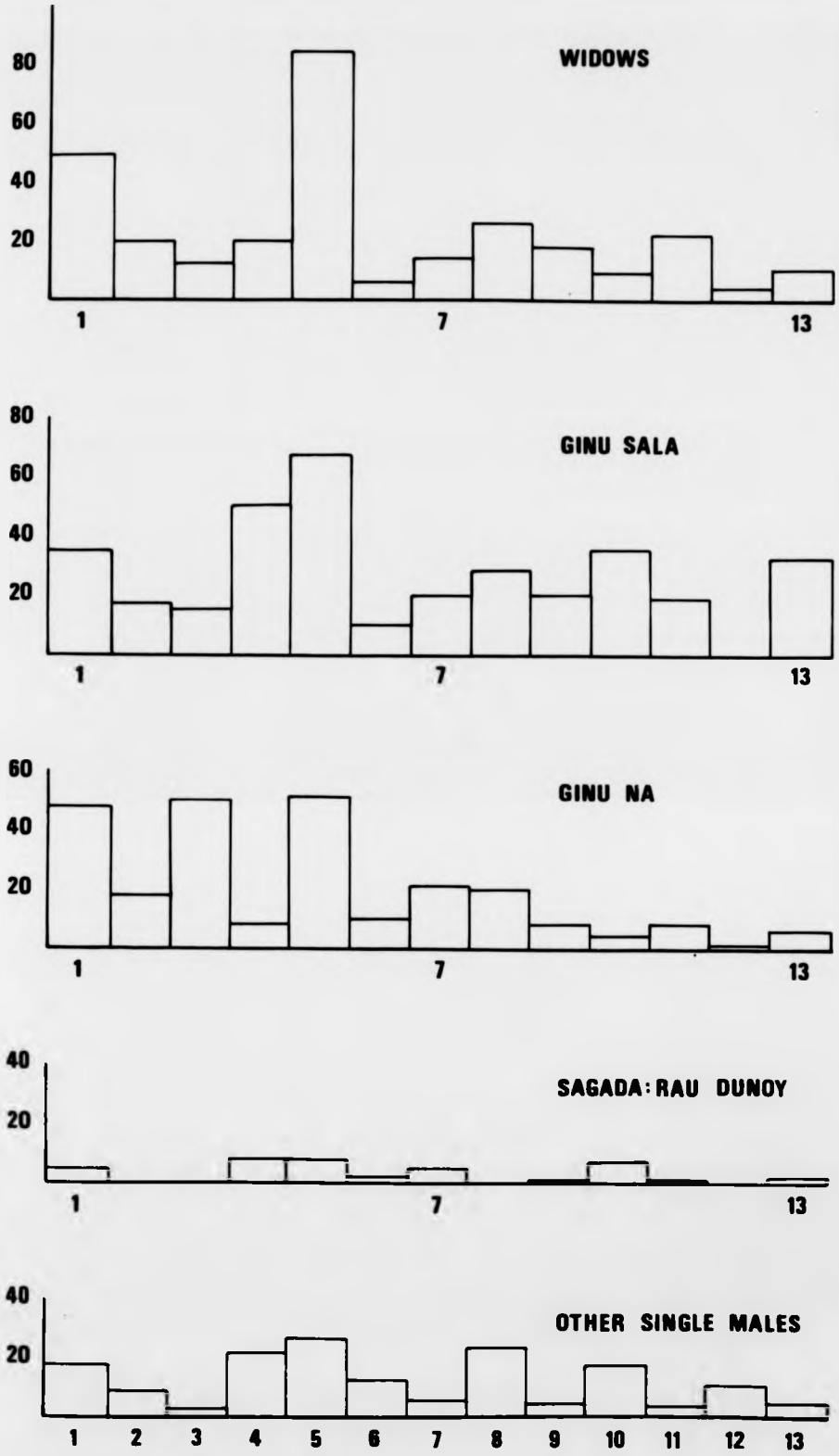


Figure 5:2 Absolute frequencies of artefacts according to room category and residential status

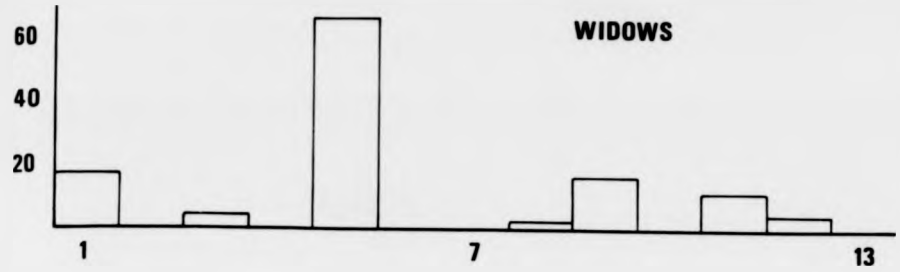
Key To Figure 5:2

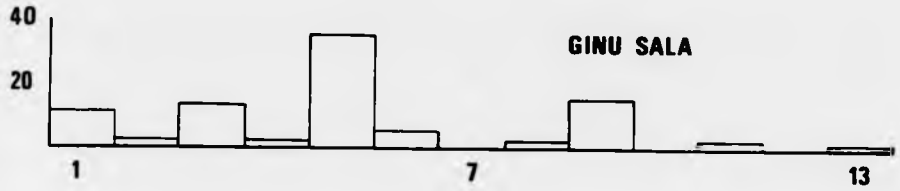
1 = Cooking; 2 = Food Processing; 3 = Brewing; 4 = Furnishings; 5 = Storage; 6 = Weapons; 7 = Waterpots; 8 = Agricultural Tools; 9 = Female Attire; 10 = Male Attire; 11 = Food Bowls; 12 = Shrine Material; 13 = Decorations.

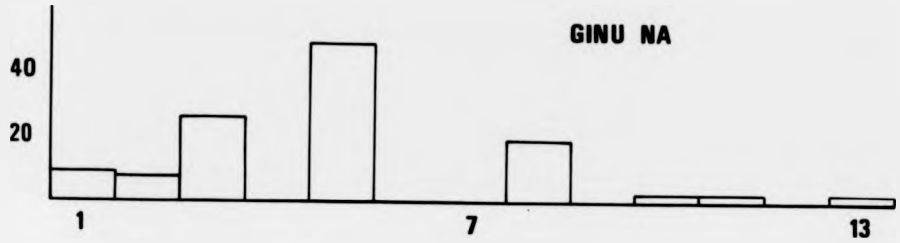
MAIN ROOM

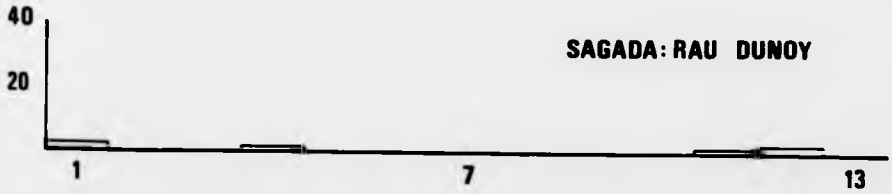

WIDOWS
80
60
40
20
1
7
13
GINU SALA
80
60
40
20
1
7
13
GINU NA
60
40
20
1
7
13
SAGADA: RAU DUNOY
40
20
1
7
13
OTHER SINGLE MALES
40
20
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

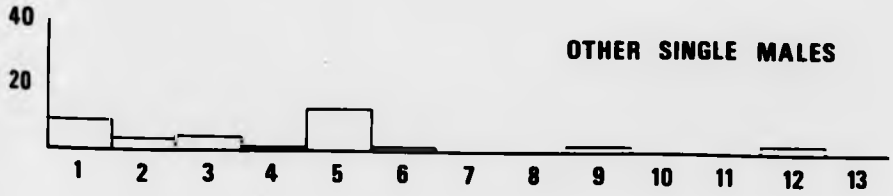
GROUND FLOOR STORES



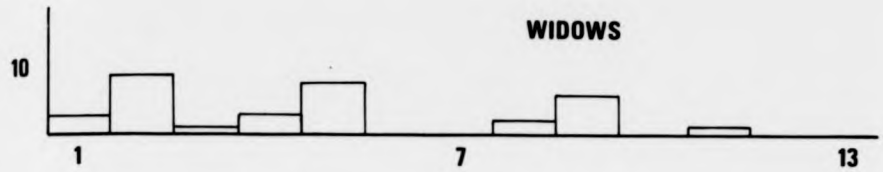


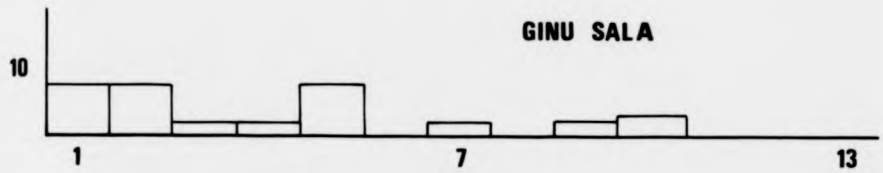


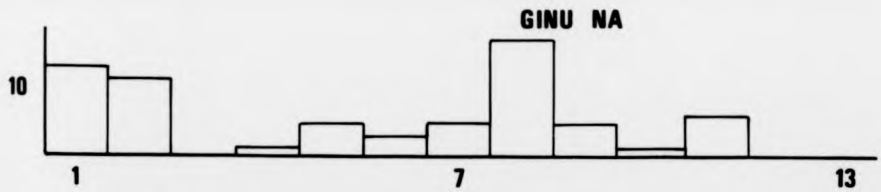


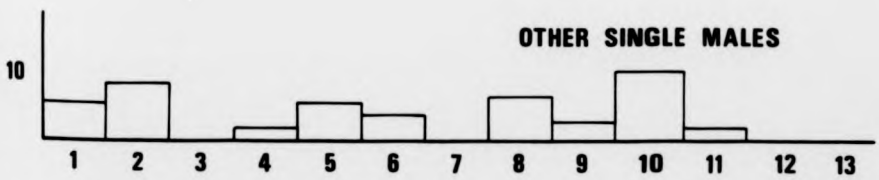


PORCH

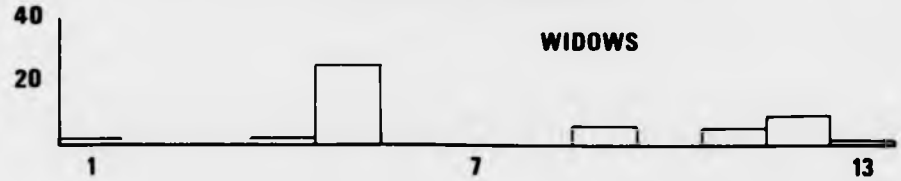

WIDOWS
10
1
7
13

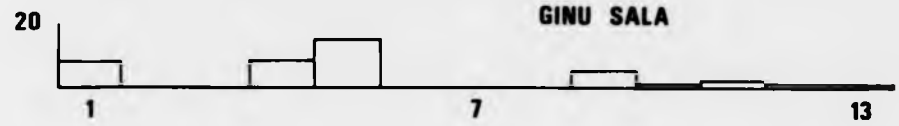

GINU SALA
10
1
7
13

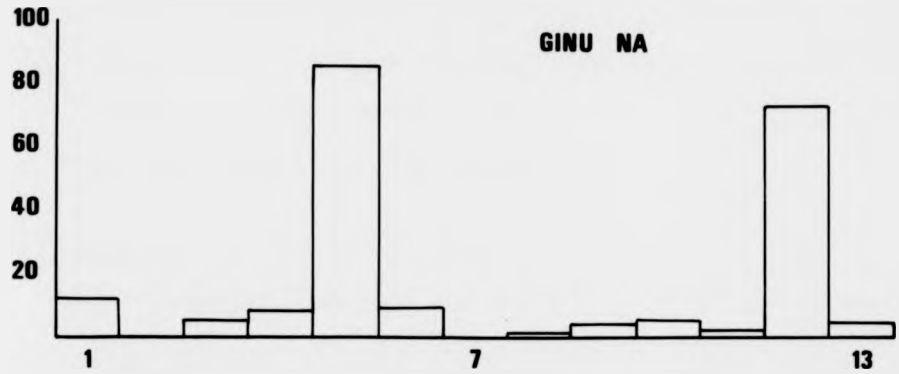

GINU NA
10
1
7
13

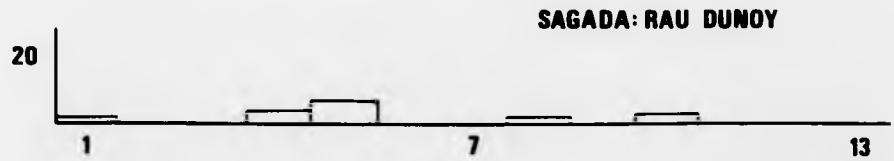

OTHER SINGLE MALES
10
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13

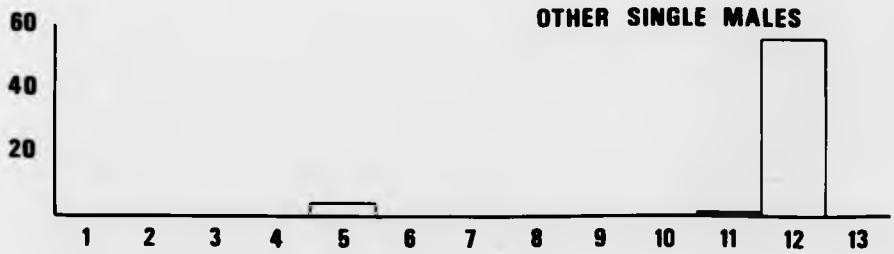
ROOF STORES


WIDOWS
40
20
1
7
13


GINU SALA
20
1
7
13


GINU NA
100
80
60
40
20
1
7
13


SAGADA: RAU DUNOY
20
1
7
13


OTHER SINGLE MALES
60
40
20
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13

Storage Items :

While these are present in all categories, and often in considerable quantities, the highest densities are found in the houses of widows. Given that most widows are no longer major producers or consumers, the high density of storage items in their houses is somewhat anomalous. The pattern cannot be attributed, entirely, to the absence of personal granaries, since amongst the widows, five make use of the guyo ya (granary) in their compound. This trend probably derives from the significance placed on the curation of objects and the rules governing the inheritance of possessions.

Male Items :

The clearest trend, and one to be expected is that the sagada:rau dunoy, and the houses of other single men, contain more male-associated objects, particularly items of clothing and accoutrements such as leather sacks, leather belts with knives and pouches attatched, and, for younger men, sunglasses, felt hats and umbrellas. Noticeable too, is the presence of this category of object in the ginu sala, especially in the central room of these houses.

The presence of a few male items amongst the possessions of widows further supports the impression that heirlooms form an important part of their inventories. Although not apparent from the tables, the particular kinds of object found in such houses are the leather belts with attatched knives, pouches and tweezer-sets, that were worn by their husbands. The leather sacks that belonged to their husband are also retained by these women.

Waterpots :

The distribution of waterpots, irrespective of residential category, is generally restricted to the central room of a house, and are found only infrequently in any of the other groundfloor rooms, 14% of all occurences. The pattern is interesting, since most other categories of object can be found more extensively distributed throughout house space. In view of the normalness of such fluidity in pattern (see also Section 5:4.2 below), it is feasible that the particular spatial location of waterpots, loy, is accorded some significance in addition to its role in marriage rites.

Wooden Bowls :

The distribution of wooden bowls, ostensibly used for serving food, is almost as restricted as that of waterpots. The symbolism of these bowls has been outline in Chapter 4, but it was held there that the bowls are used, ideally, only at the ginu na of a lineage, and their significance derives from their context of use. That is, by virtue of their use by lineage members for communal meals at the ginu na, the bowls come to symbolise the continued sustenance of lineage members. The presence of wooden bowls, sometimes in considerable numbers, in other categories of residence, therefore needs to be examined.

Ritual Objects :

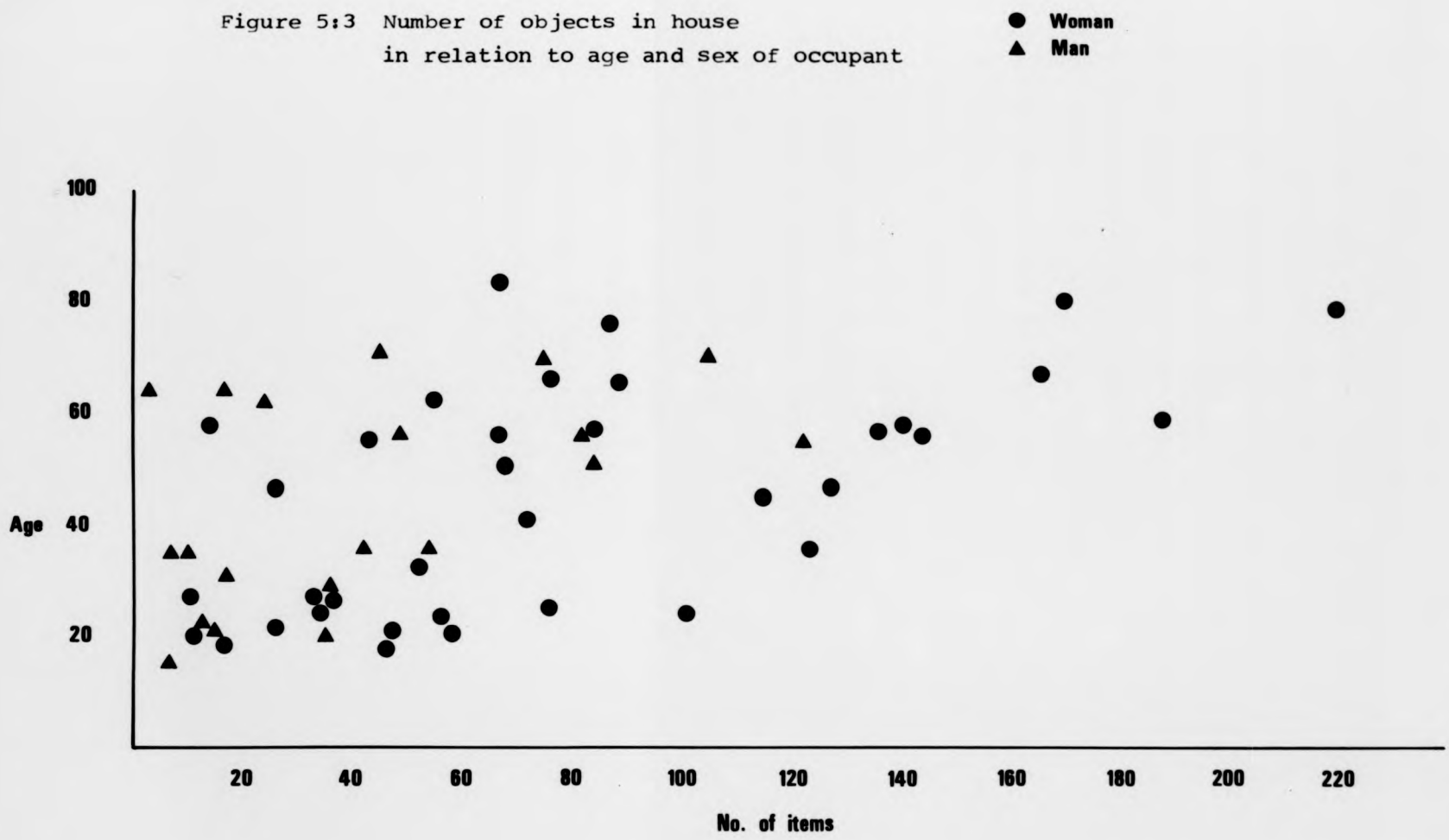
This category covers the pottey vessels, wone, and wooden carvings dege that are placed in ancestral shrines at the start of the spirit-raising ceremonies (dama) held for the deceased. Also included in this set are those cult objects, such as those

termed ama, made from a daub cone placed on a flat stone, that can be found in houses, as distinct from the various cult houses. For the most part, this type of material is restricted to ginu na houses, and its presence there is unremarkable (see Section 3:9 above), however the preference for first-floor storerooms (kana) as the location of these shrines requires comment.

5:3.2: Artefact Densities:

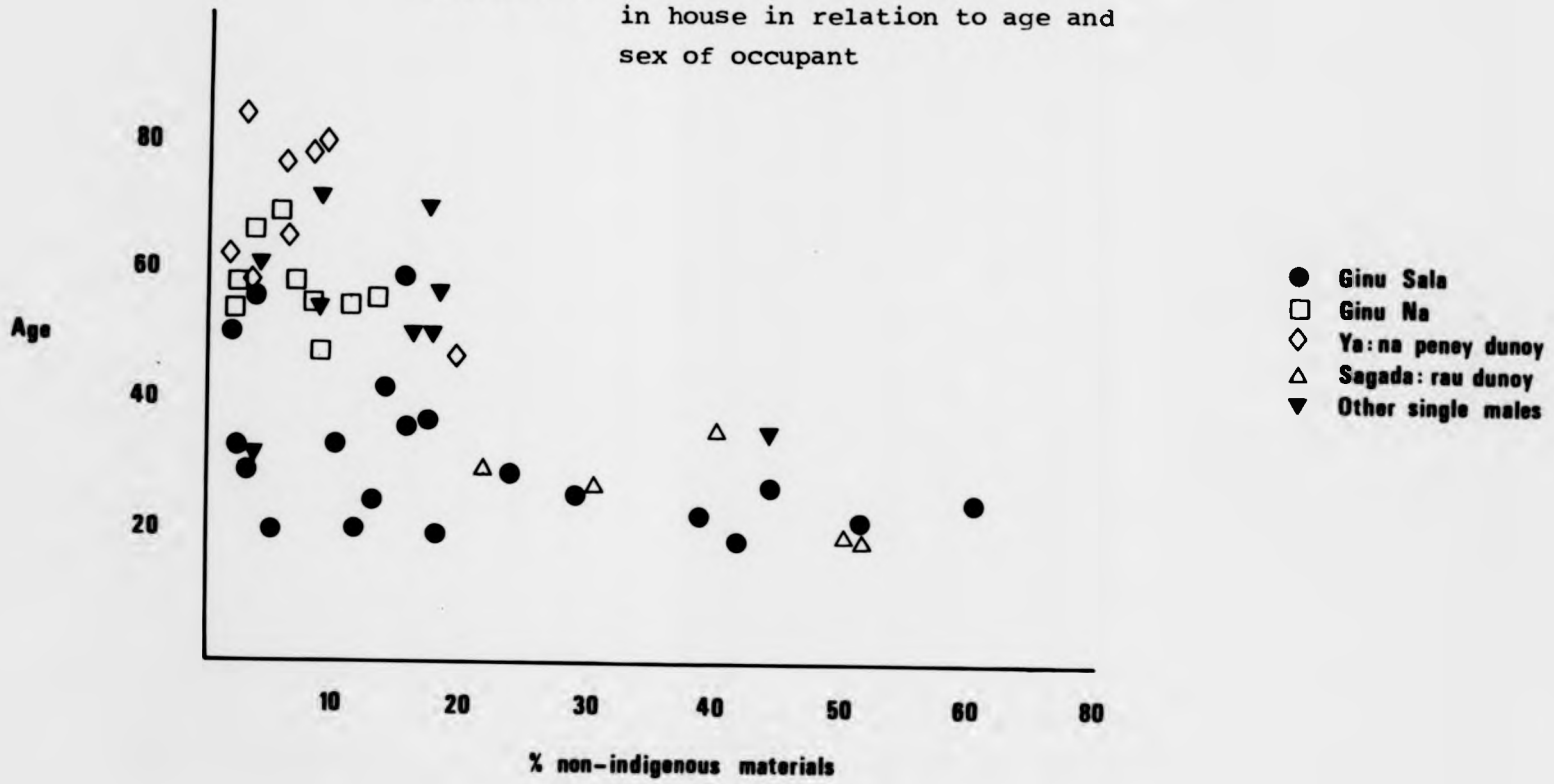
While it has been noted that artefact densities vary from house to house it has yet to be established whether this is correlated with differences in the age or gender of the occupants. Figure 5:3 illustrates these associations, for data collected in 1981 with the addition of data for the houses that were planned for the first time in 1982. It is apparent from this that there are three approximate clusters. Most noticeable is that the houses with the greatest number of artefacts are occupied by older women, the majority of whom are widows. Younger women tend to have fewer items in their houses, a trend which also applies for younger men. While this also holds for one of the two houses used by the eldest single man, his other, single-roomed house has far higher densities. Likewise some of the houses occupied by divorced men, and also the celibate, have quite high artefact densities, but this does not necessarily apply to those used by married men as storerooms.

Figure 5:3 Number of objects in house
in relation to age and sex of occupant



Although not clearcut, these trends raise a number of questions. Firstly, why do older women, especially widows, have the greatest number of objects in their houses? Following on from this, is the related question whether the correlation between number of possessions and age, with respect to women, represents a path of gradual acquisition during the course of their lives, and if so, the significance of this. Another possible difference between the houses occupied by younger individuals and those of older persons, might be in the proportion of their inventories that is composed of non-indigenously produced objects. The presence of more of the latter in the houses of younger men and women could be indicative of changing attitudes to material culture, and even changing relations of production, since, to purchase these items, considerably more capital per object is required. Figure 5:4, which is drawn from the same sample as used for the previous figure, summarises this data. It is clear from this that the greatest densities of non-indigenous items are associated with those individuals in their mid-twenties to mid-thirties, who are not necessarily the youngest of those represented in the sample.

Figure 5:4 Number of non-indiginous objects in house in relation to age and sex of occupant



Section 5:4 Household Inventories and Cycles of Activity :

5:4.1 Introduction:

Great stress has been placed on incorporating dimensions of time into the analysis, both for reasons to do with sampling, and also because of the significance given to the temporal structuring of activity by the Dogon. In this section the relationship between time and material culture patterning is pursued with reference to three scales of time, the seasonal cycle, the market cycle and generational time. While much of the previous section has been concerned with a synchronic view of generational differences, some additional points can be made from a diachronic perspective, even one as brief as two years.

5:4.2 Seasonal Cycles:

There is a marked difference in the scheduling of labour between the 'wet season', when lineage members are regularly engaged in agricultural work, and the 'dry season' when the level of demand on their time for agricultural or pastoral purposes is greatly diminished. This could have a causal effect on the patterning of activity performed within the confines of the compound and house, and may therefore result in different patterns, either in room use or between residential categories[5]. During 1982-83 all of the compounds planned in 1981 were revisited, and 60% of the houses were replanned (this figure includes the few houses which were planned for the first time). These data were be treated in the same fashion as the 1981 inventories, however, since no major differences were evident, and because of constraints space, these data have been excluded.

5:4.3 Market Cyles:

Market activity is geared to a five day cycle, and although most of the consumable produce on sale is prepared that day, this is not the case for beer, the sale of which probably represents one of the highest turnovers in most markets. It was noted above, that the germination of millet is begun several days in advance of brewing, but it is the last two days which require the most effort. As has been consistently argued, in order to brew beer, a women must be able to allocate her time to these tasks, rather than the subsistence and servicing requirements of the lineage group. In order to illustrate this, the data collected on a number of visits, each falling on a different day of the market cycle but usually a few weeks apart from each other, to a small number of houses, can be employed. The changing densities of items used for cooking, food preparation, brewing, and storage, as well as waterpots, for the groundfloor rooms (where most tasks are performed) on each of these visits, is shown in Table 5:2. Although two of the houses are drawn from the ginu sala category, while the remainder are drawn from ginu na compounds, their assemblages, and the pattern of activity observed, are quite comparable.

As is apparent from these tables, the distribution of objects between rooms varies over relatively short periods of time, as space is re-arranged to meet certain needs. Perhaps the most noticeable difference between the ginu na and the ginu sala examples, is the paucity of cooking items, and to a lesser degree, brewing equipment, and food processing items in their

HOUSE A: GINU NA

	KITCHEN					MAIN ROOM					STORES				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
NOV	5	4	4	1	2	0	1	5	2	1	1	0	4	0	0
JAN	3	2	4	4	1	5	2	5	2	1	0	0	4	4	0
MAR	9	2	6	3	0	2	6	4	2	3	0	2	4	2	0
APR	6	4	5	2	0	2	4	6	1	8	0	0	5	0	0

HOUSE B: GINU NA

	KITCHEN					MAIN ROOM					STORES					PORCH				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
OCT	3	1	2	0	0	7	3	2	4	4	O	1	3	9	0	3	2	0	0	0
NOV	4	1	5	0	0	3	0	1	2	5	0	5	6	6	0	1	2	0	0	0
FEB	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	3	4	3	1	2	5	9	0	6	5	1	0	0
MAR	0	0	5	1	0	1	1	1	6	5	0	2	8	8	0	6	2	0	1	0
APR	1	2	5	1	0	4	3	0	6	6	2	1	5	7	0	7	2	0	1	0

HOUSE C: GINU NA

	MAIN ROOM				
	A	B	C	D	E
OCT	4	2	2	6	0
NOV	1	5	1	6	0
JAN	2	0	0	1	1
MAR	2	3	0	10	0
APR	1	4	0	10	1

TABLE 5:2 Temporal changes in densities of objects used for A = Cooking, B = Food preparation, C = Brewing, D = Storage, and as E = Waterpots for different groundfloor rooms.

HOUSE D: GINU SALA

	KITCHEN					MAIN ROOM					STORES					PORCH				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
NOV	0	0	1	0	0	2	5	12	8	3	0	0	0	2	0	2	5	0	1	0
JAN	0	0	3	0	0	4	3	7	10	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
APR	0	2	3	1	0	3	4	10	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

HOUSE E: GINU SALA

	MAIN ROOM					STORES				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
NOV	8	0	1	11	3	0	1	3	7	0
DEC	7	6	2	11	7	0	0	2	9	0
APR	3	9	4	15	3	0	1	0	6	0
APR	8	7	4	10	4	0	0	0	7	0

HOUSE F: GINU SALA

	MAIN ROOM					STORES				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
NOV	2	1	0	6	2	3	0	2	2	0
DEC	2	1	0	4	4	2	0	3	6	0
APR	2	5	1	4	3	1	0	5	3	0
APR	3	3	0	6	4	3	2	8	3	0

TABLE 5:2 (cont.) Temporal changes in densities of objects used for A = Cooking, B = Food preparation, C = Brewing, D = Storage, and as E = Waterpots for different groundfloor rooms.

respective kitchens (compare Houses A and B with House D). Although this appears to support the principle that food should be prepared and cooked in a <u>ginu</u> <u>na</u>, it can be noted here that

food is prepared and cooked on a regular basis within the ginu sala compound in which House D is situated. However, the external hearth in this compound is used in preference to the circular kitchen in the house. The material culture associated with these tasks, is kept, when not in use, largely in the main room (deu) of the house. The data for houses E and F, which are of Type 2 form, and consequently lack a separate kitchen, indicate slightly different uses of space. In House F, the cooking hearth is located in the groundfloor ´store´, while E lacks an internal hearth, and the main cooking hearth is located immediately outside, to the right of the doorway.

Two other points are worth noting, firstly, the restricted distribution of waterpots, which in all cases save House A were always located in the main room. Although the actual density of waterpots found in a room varied from visit to visit, this can be attributed to the diurnal rythm, since visits were made at different times of the day on each ocassion. Thus, a visit early in the morning normally coincided with the time when the occupant, and her dependants, were using some of the waterpots to fetch water, and hence the presence of these would not have been recorded. The second point concerns the changing densities of brewing equipment, and requires more detailed discussion.

For example, in House B, on the visit made in October 1982 the kitchen was being used for cooking, although some of the items used for preparing food were distributed amongst other rooms. The visit in November coincided with a date two days prior to a village market (held every fifth day), and the female

resident had just started to make beer by boiling the mash in her kitchen, and had re-ordered objects accordingly. On the sixth of March 1983, she was also preparing beer for Banani market. On this occasion, however, the market was the next day, and a later stage in the brewing process had been reached. The mash had just been boiled for the second time, and was being transferred from the vessels (known as dyuno) in the kitchen to the large pots (known as either dey or dadema depending on their size) used for storing the beer while it ferments that were located in one of the storerooms (for illustrations of these brewing pots, and other forms, see Appendix 1). Other minor variations can also be discerned, such as the movement of storage vessels to make room for fermenting jars, most of which can be correlated with cyclical patterns of activity.

Similar reconstructions of activity can be developed for the other houses, although these observations are largely trivial and only two points need to be stressed. Firstly, the patterning of most objects is fairly fluid, by which is meant that they are moved from room to room as they are needed, or when the space they occupy is required for other purposes. The use to which space is put, therefore, varies contextually, and this also applies for individuals. For instance, although all of the female residents of these houses regularly brew beer, each uses space differently. In House A brewing (boiling and fermenting) takes place only in the kitchen (unlike in House B), while the other rooms are used only to store brewing equpment when it is not in use. Although uncluttered, the kitchen in House D is

rarely used, and most of the brewing takes place in the main room of the house. At houses E and F, which are in the same compound, different rooms are used for straining and fermenting beer, the main room and the side-store respectively, in conjunction with an external hearth where the beer is first boiled. Other variations in the use of space for food processing, cooking and storage were also noted in these houses. Yet, despite such daily and weekly movements, waterpots, which are also taken out to fetch water for drinking, cooking, and brewing, are nearly always kept in the same room. Thus, the routine use of these objects stands out from that of others, and can be construed, perhaps, as actively recreating the association of this vessel type with the central room of a house.

5:4.4 Generational time:

By now it will be apparent that different generations have their own characteristic assemblages of material culture. In order to illustrate this further, a number of planned house interiors are reproduced here. These can be grouped into two categories; the first set show the distributions of material culture in all of the houses occupied by the members of a single lineage group. It refers to the tire ginna, case study C, previously discussed in Section 4:4.2. This example is used because it covers the complete range of house categories for which inventories have been compared. From a consideration of these plans, many of the trends identified for a larger sample can be seen in finer detail (Figure 5:5 a-g).

To reiterate some of these points, the main house of the ginu na is surprisingly empty of objects, save a few old beerpots and fermenting jars. This is largely for three connected factors. Firstly, women store more of their possessions within a house than men, and the latter generally own, in absolute terms, fewer items. Secondly, when a woman dies her possessions are restituted by her agnatic kin, and distributed amongst them according to her wishes. Consequently, her house is stripped of its contents, and only a few items, including stone querns, and more importantly the waterpot or pots, are left behind (see also Figure 5:7 a & b). Thus, since the male resident of this compound, the lineage head, is widowed, the comparative paucity of objects in his house is unsurprising. On the other hand, as a ginu na, and nominal locus for routine activities, a higher density of items connected with these tasks might have been expected. However, this man is now quite elderly and physically infirm, and his agnatic nephew has assumed much of the daily responsibilities of agricultural production, and the ginu na is no longer used for routine subsistence tasks (Figure 5:5a).

Conversely, the house used by the widowed mother of this younger man, is full of material equipment (Figure 5:5d). Although much of it is in regular use, the contents of many of the storage vessels, and their locations, did not appear to have changed between the first visit made in 1981, and subsequent visits in 1982-3. Likewise, the beer fermenting jars had remained unutilised, save as containers. In fact, the density of objects in the main room of this house, compares favourably with

that in the other house utilised by the widower, as a store for his most prized possessions (Figure 5:5g). The curation of objects appears to be important, therefore, for both older women and men, although the significance of this, as will later be discussed, differs in each case.

The patterns for the other houses can be noted more briefly. Firstly, different densities of objects in the two ginu sala examples (Figure 5:5 b & e) can be observed. This is largely attributable to differences in the ages of the female occupants, one being middle-aged (Figure 5:5b), the other, young and recently married. Although the house of the unmarried male contains slightly fewer objects than that of the young married couple, in both houses the inventory contains a relatively high percentage of 'non-indigenous' objects.

The second set illustrate the same points in a different way; thus Figure 5:6 a & b show the pattern of a house used first as a sagada:rau dunoy and then as a ginu sala, and the relative changes in densities. Also noticeable, is the high proportion of 'non-indigenous' objects, most of which had been purchased in Abidjan, and brough back to be used to 'decorate' the house interior. While, 5:7 a & b is used to indicate how the pattern can noticeably change when a widowed woman dies, and the consequent removal of her possessions by her patrikin.

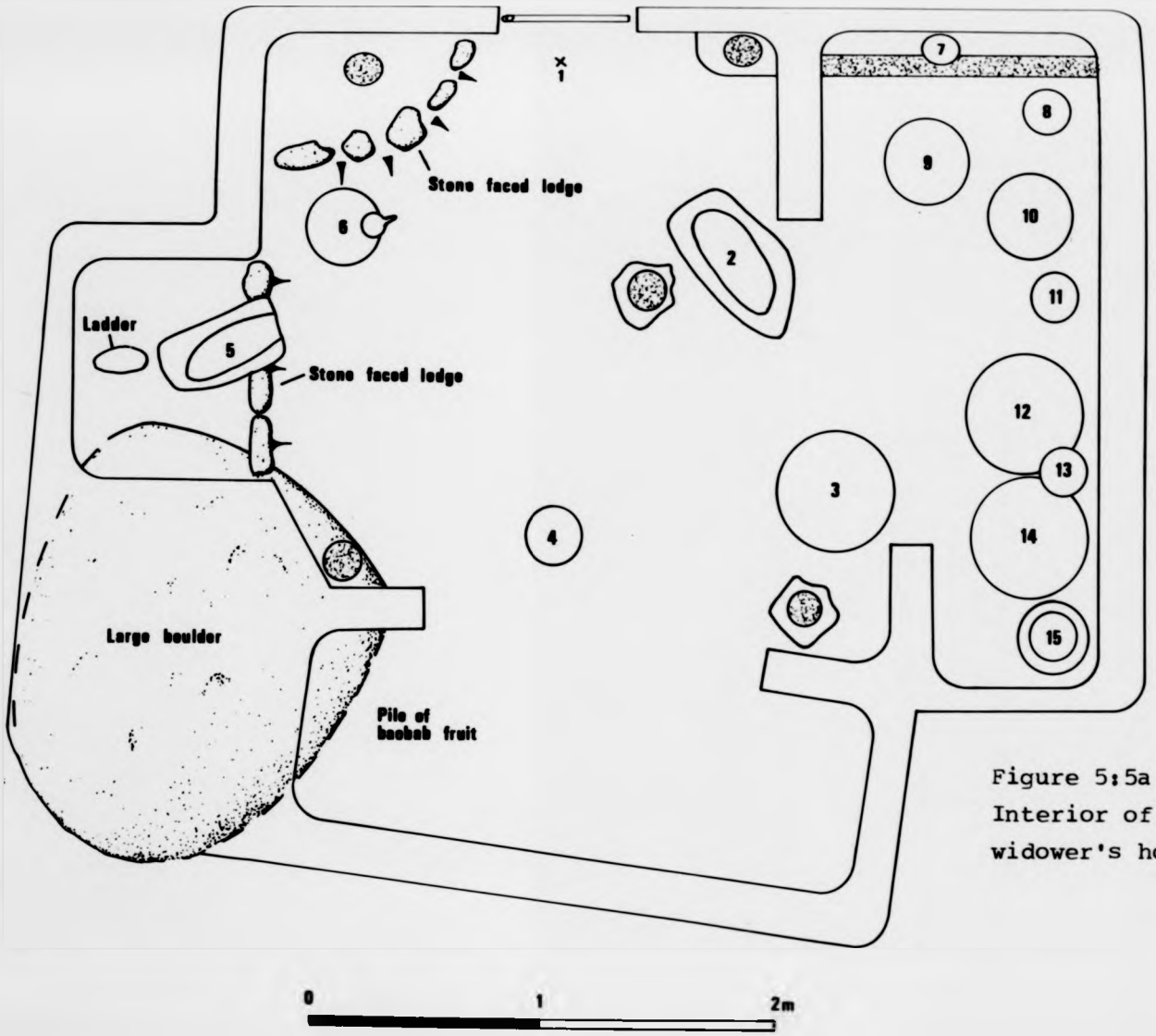


Figure 5:5a
Interior of a widower's house

House Inventories to accompany Figure 5:5.

House A

Main Room:

1 Protective charm; 2 Stone quern; 3 Empty beer fermenting jar (large); 4 Wooden stool; 5 Stone quern; 6 Waterpot, work calabash resting on top.

Left-hand Store:

7 On shelf - work calabash; 8 Beerpot; 9 Storage pot, with baobab seeds, gourd on top; 10 Storage pot, with baobab seeds; 11 Empty sauce cooking pot; 12 Empty beer fermenting jar (large); 13 Empty sauce cooking pot; 14 Empty beer fermenting jar; 15 Empty storage pot, an empty sauce cooking pot on top.

Back Store:

Empty of objects.

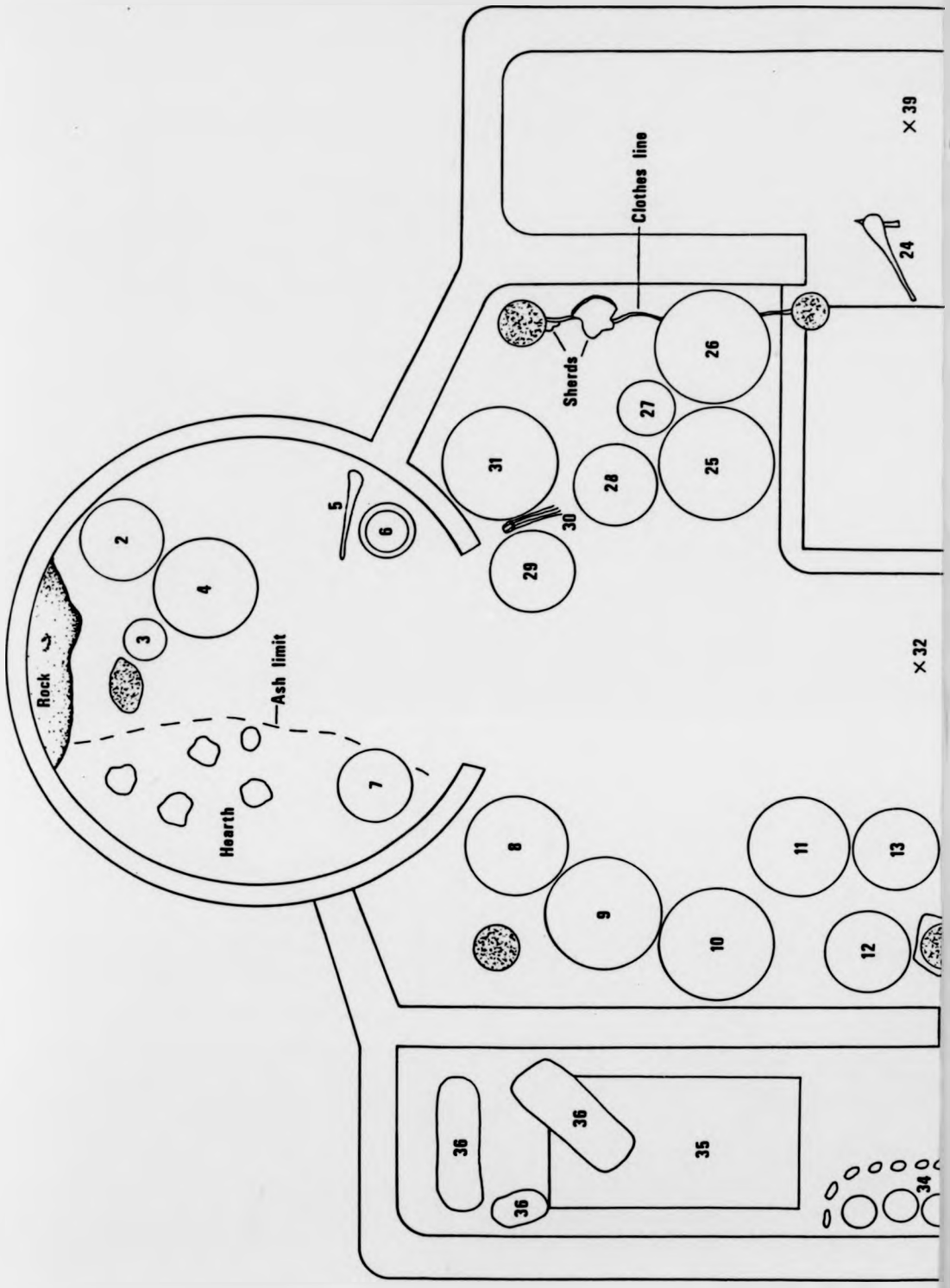
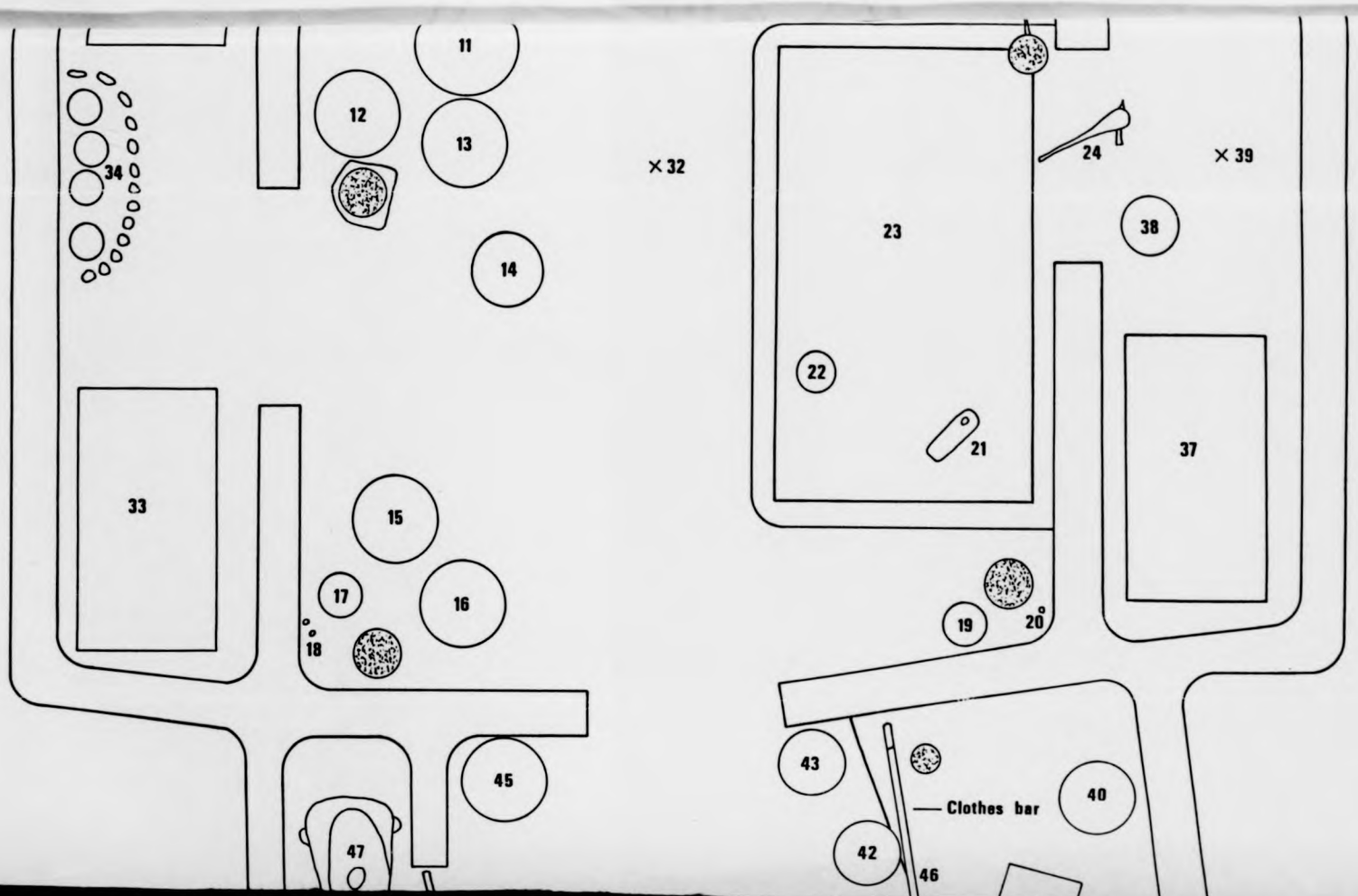


Figure 5:5b Interior of a married woman's house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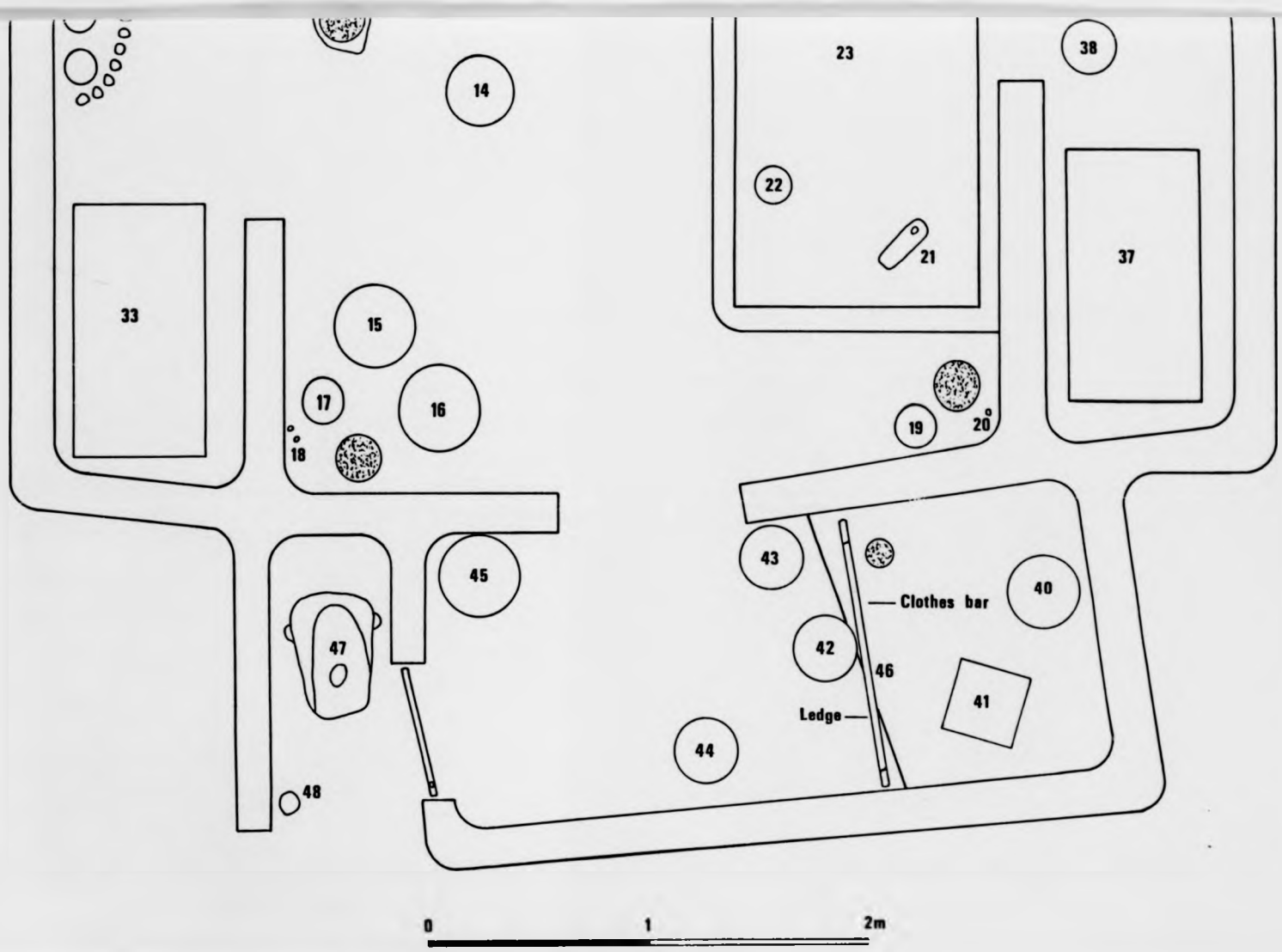
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House B

Kitchen:

1 Wooden ladder; 2 Beer boiling vessel, containing beer; 3 Empty sauce cooking pot; 4 Beer fermenting jar, with beer; 5 Wooden cooking spoon; 6 Empty sauce cooking pot; 7 Metal cooking pot.

Main Room:

8 Beer fermenting jar, containing water; 9 Empty beer fermenting jar (large), and ceramic bowl; 10 Beer fermenting jar (large), with germinated millet (for beer); 11 Beer fermenting jar, with water; 12 Empty beer boiling vessel; 13 Empty beer boiling vessel 14 Metal cooking pot; 15 Empty storage pot; 16 Storage pot with millet chaff (for filtering beer); 17 Empty beerpot; 18 Two wooden walking staffs; 19 Wooden tam-tam; 20 Metal ´bush´ spear;
On bed: 21 Plastic jerry-can; 22 Work calabash containing dried tamarind fruit; 23 Straw sleeping mat; 24 Metal stone-chisel;
25 Beer fermenting jar (large), with beer; 26 Beer fermenting jar (large), with millet chaff; 27 Empty wicker basket; 28 Waterpot; 29 Waterpot; 30 Straw brush-like filter; 31 Beer fermenting jar, old batteries, old work calabashes, broken flip-flops and metal scraps; 32 Machette stuck into rafters;
On Clothes-line A-B: Four wooden axe-handles, a pot-hanger.

Left-hand Store:

33 Metal trunk, locked, containing female clothes; 34 Three gourds containing millet seed, and one gourd containing cowries; 35 Two metal trunks, contents undisclosed; 36 Three masks.

Right-hand Store:

37 Locked metal trunk, containing male clothes; 38 Old beerpot;
39 Two pairs of black leather shoes;

Porch:

On Ledge: 40 Empty storage pot; 41 Cane basket, with potting clay 42 Small pot containing gruel; 43 Ceramic bowl, with tamarind fruit; 44 Galavanized-iron bucket and three calabashes with tamarind fruit soaking in water; 45 Waterpot; 46 On wooden bar: one gourd, one dogon skirt; 47 Stone quern and grindstone; 48 On wall-peg: Beer-fermenter.

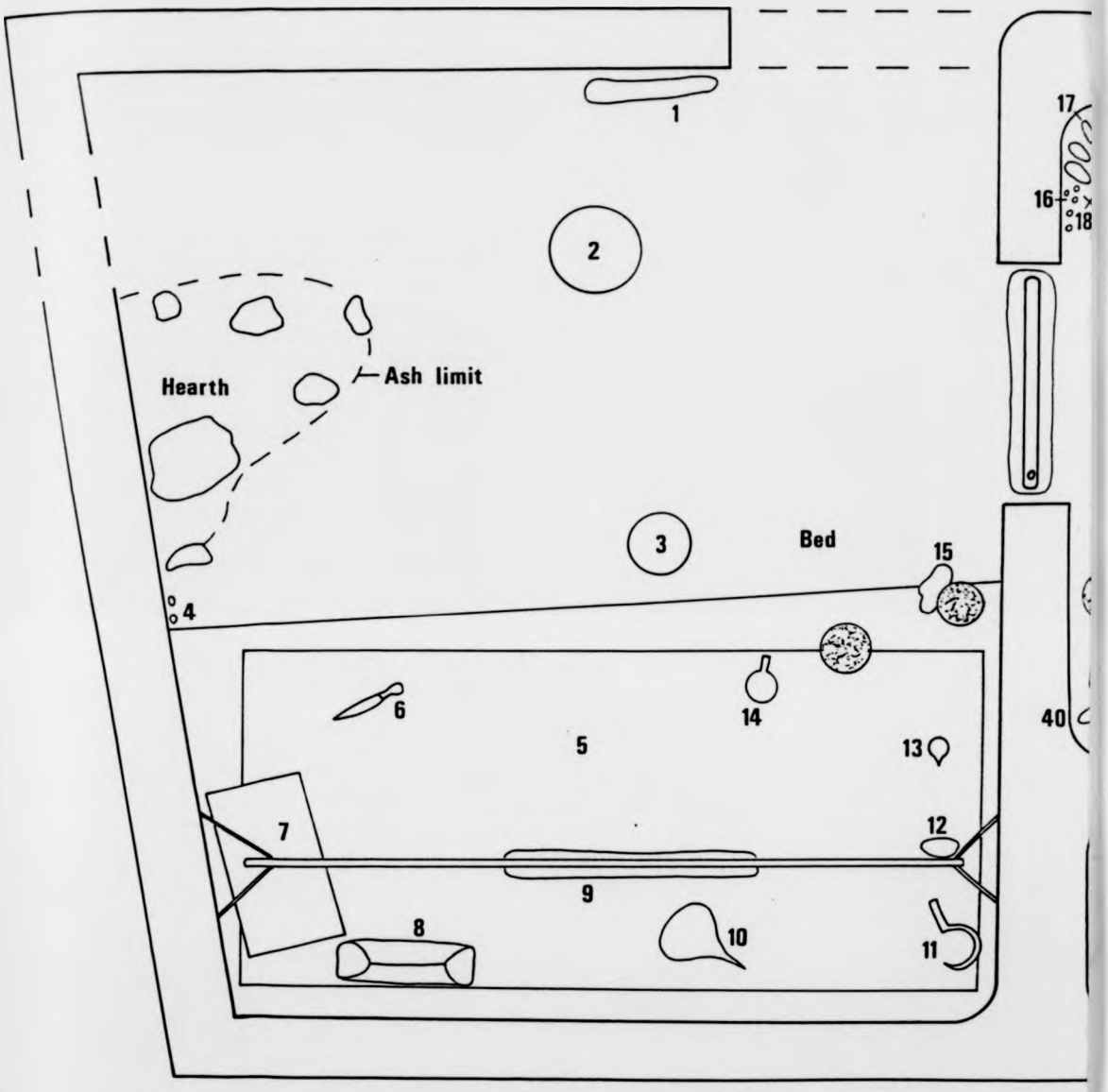

Figure 5:5c Interior of a married man's house

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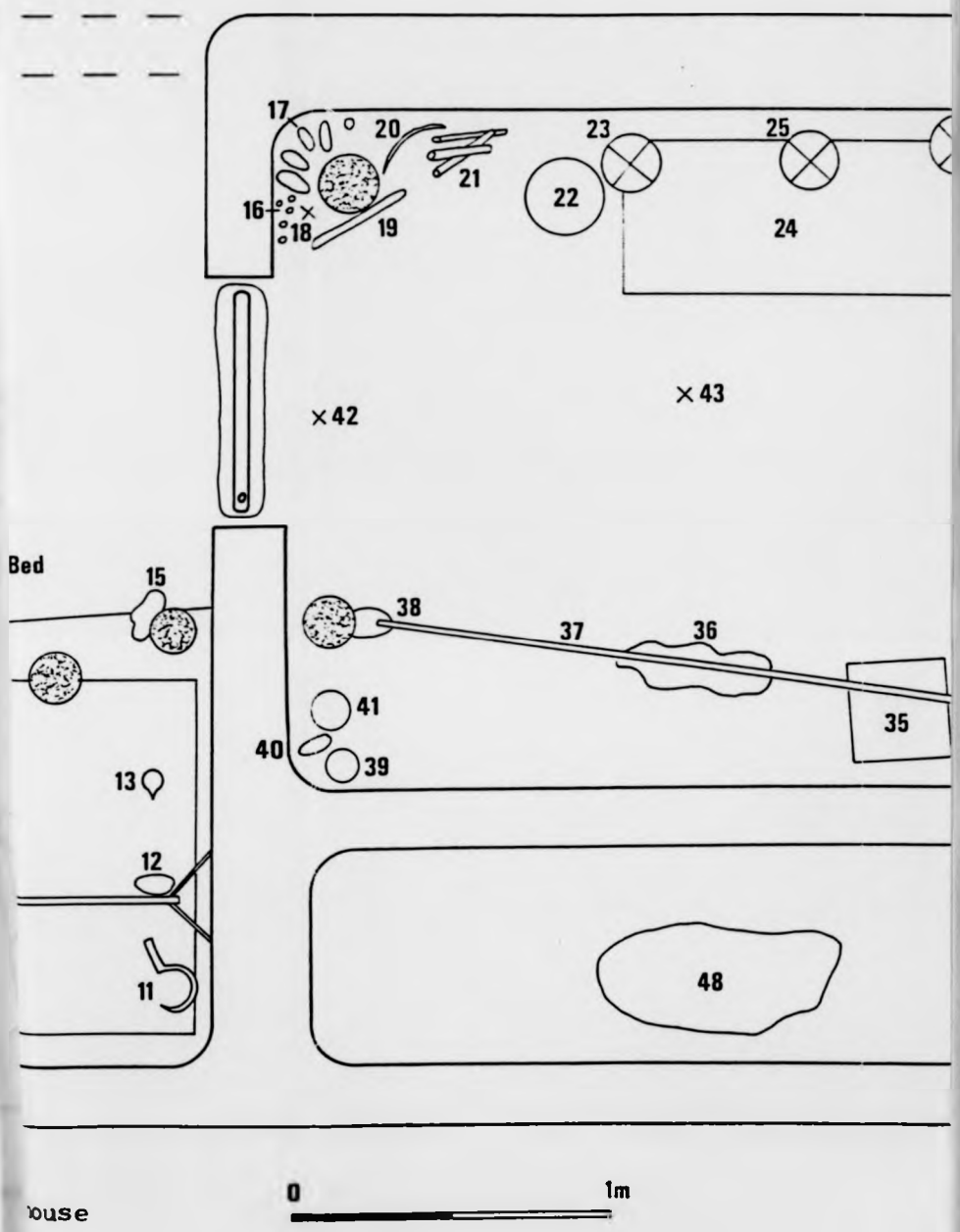
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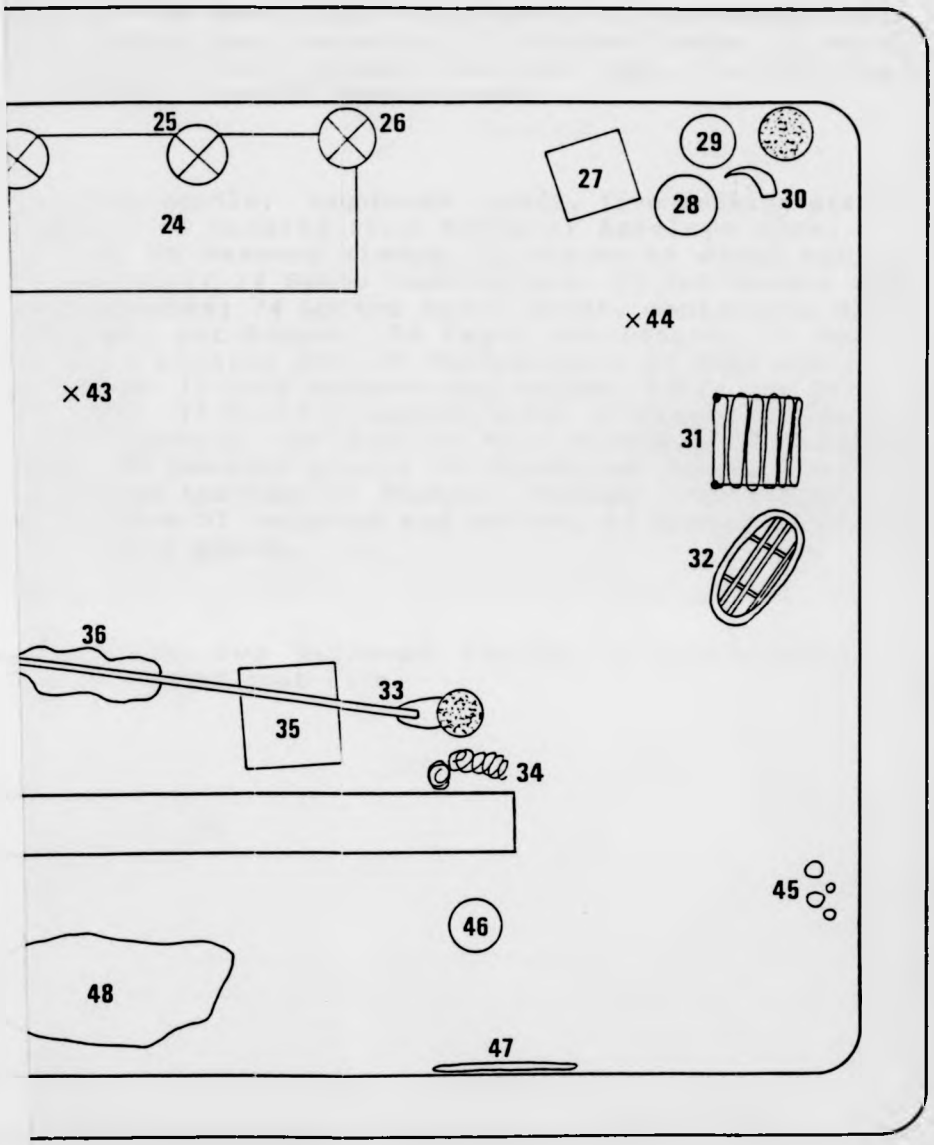
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House C

Porch-cum-Kitchen:

1 Dished stone quern; 2 Pottery cooking bowl (for meat sauces), aluminium ladle; 3 Repaired work calabash; 4 Wooden cooking spoon and ´mouvette´. On ledge: 5 Straw sleeping mat; 6 Knife; 7 Cardboard box with male and childs clothes; 8 Plastic hold-all with torch and tin of coffee; 9 On wooden bar: Female clothes, Dogon style; 10 Old hoe blade; 11 Sickle; 12 On wooden bar: Leather water-drawing bag, machette; 13 Calabash ladle; 14 Metal kettle; 15 On wooden bar: Leather shoulder sack, leather bag, plastic waterbottle, leather needle-pouch.

Main Room:

16 Weaver´s pulley handle, ´vagabonds´ staff, five walking staffs 17 Four muskets; 18 Hanging from rafters: Antelope horn; 19 Granary door; 20 Weavers sledge; 21 Pieces of metal tubing (for musket barrels); 22 Sauce cooking pot; 23 Pot-hanger and three work calabashes; 24 Locked metal trunk, containing male clothes; 25 Empty pot-hanger; 26 Empty pot-hanger; 27 Metal griddle; 28 Sauce cooking pot; 29 Wooden bowl; 30 Horn core; 31 Cane-slat chair; 32 Cane tobacco-leaf holder, full; On bar: 33 paraffin lamp; 34 Coils of baobab bark; 35 Cane-slat chair, and empty cane basket; On bar: 36 Male clothes, 37 Leather shoulder sack, 38 Leather pouch; 39 Decorated gourd, tourist artefact; 40 Wooden tam-tam; 41 Musket; Hanging from rafters: 42 Protective charm of calabash and cotton, 43 String of dried onions, 44 Two empty gourds.

Back Store:

45 wooden statuette, two ´vagabond´ staffs; 46 wooden bowl; 47 Granary door; 48 Tanned goat skin.

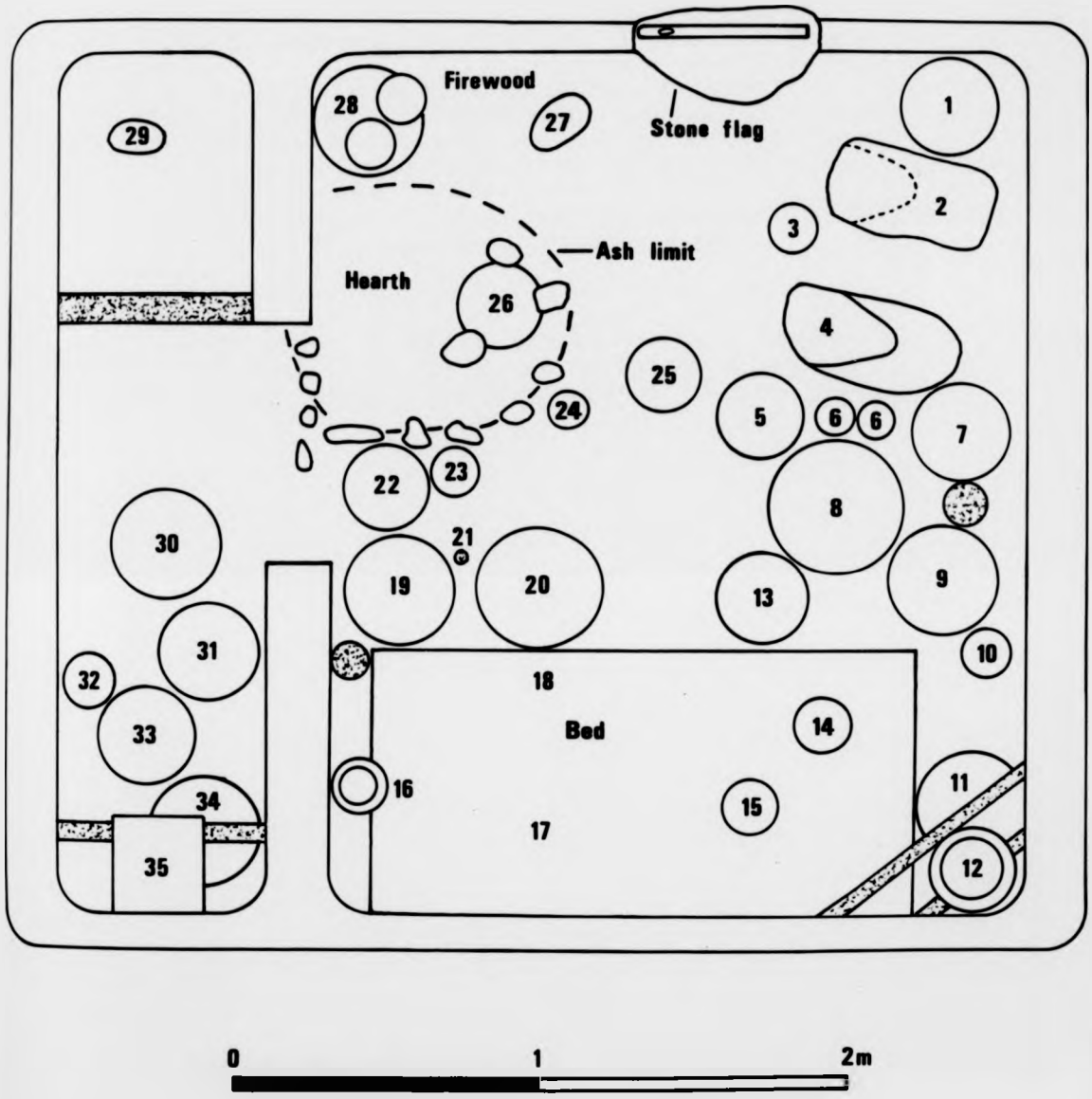


Figure 5:5d Interior of a widow's house

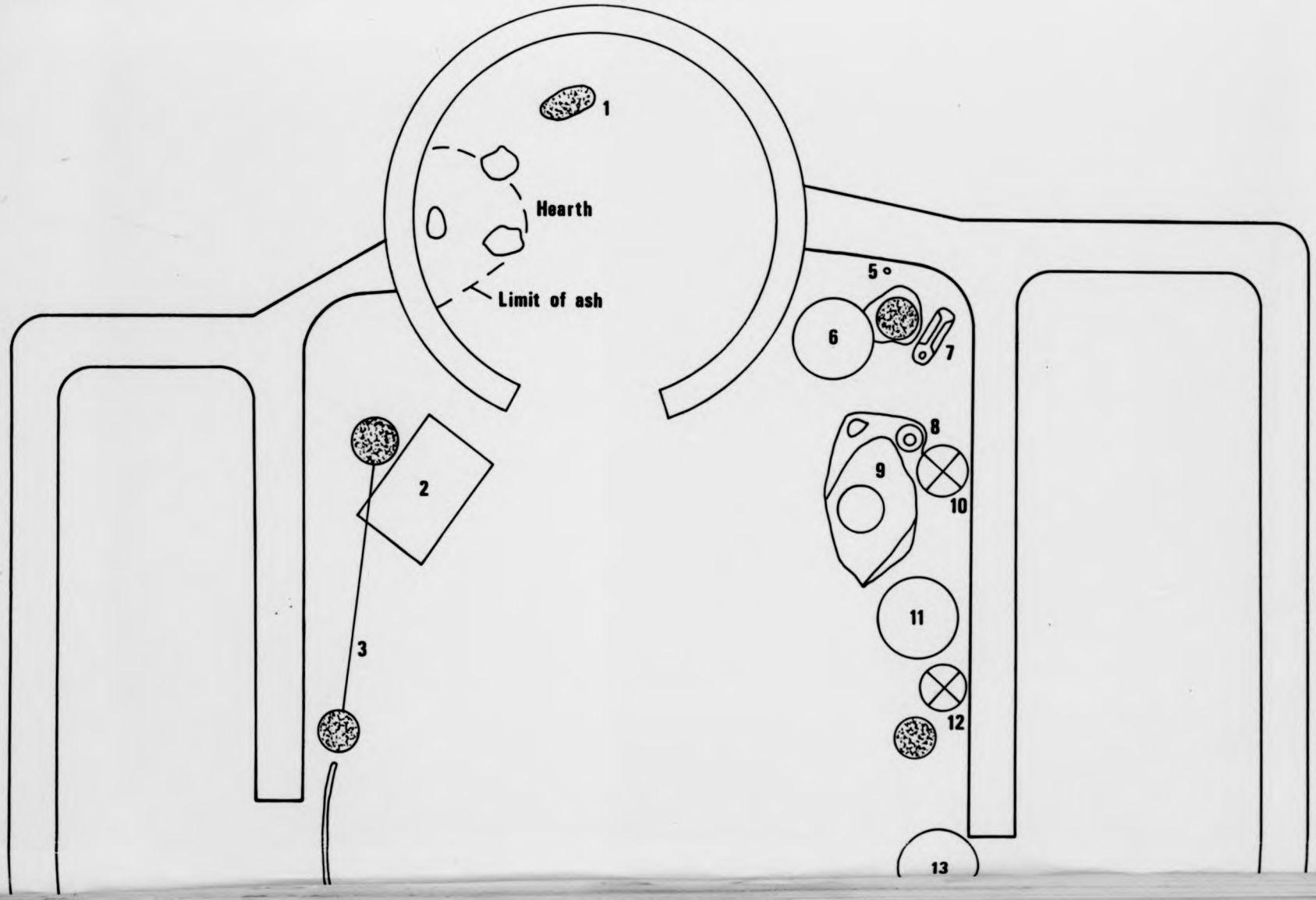
House D

Main Room:

1 pile of baobab leaves; 2 flat quern; 3 plastic bucket with wild dates; 4 dished quern and bowl-cover mat; 5 small pot for gruel; 6 two ´sa´ oil pots; 7 storage pot with sorrel seeds, large sherd, & two calabash with baobab leaves; 8 storage vessel with dried ´sa´ fruit & calabash; 9 waterpot and drinking calabash; 10 gourd; 11 storage pot with ´sa´ fruit & broken wood bowl; On shelf: 12 two small storage pots, one with ash; 13 small sauce cooking pot; On bed: 14 work calabash; 15 work calabash with sorrell leaves; 16 wood bowl; 17 pile of sorrell leaves; 18 baobab leaves; 19 storage pot with sorrell seeds; 20 beer fermenting pot, 21 wood spoon; 21 22 metal cooking pot; 23 sauce cooking pot; 24 water filter pot; 25 wood stool; 26 porridge cooking pot, in use; 27 calabash of cinders; 28 storage pot of cinders, two work calabashes; 29 wood spoon;

Right-hand Store:

30 storage pot with dried baobab leaves; 31 storage pot with baobab leaves; 32 large calabash with baobab fruit; 33 beer fermenting jar (small); 34 storage pot; 35 two cane baskets.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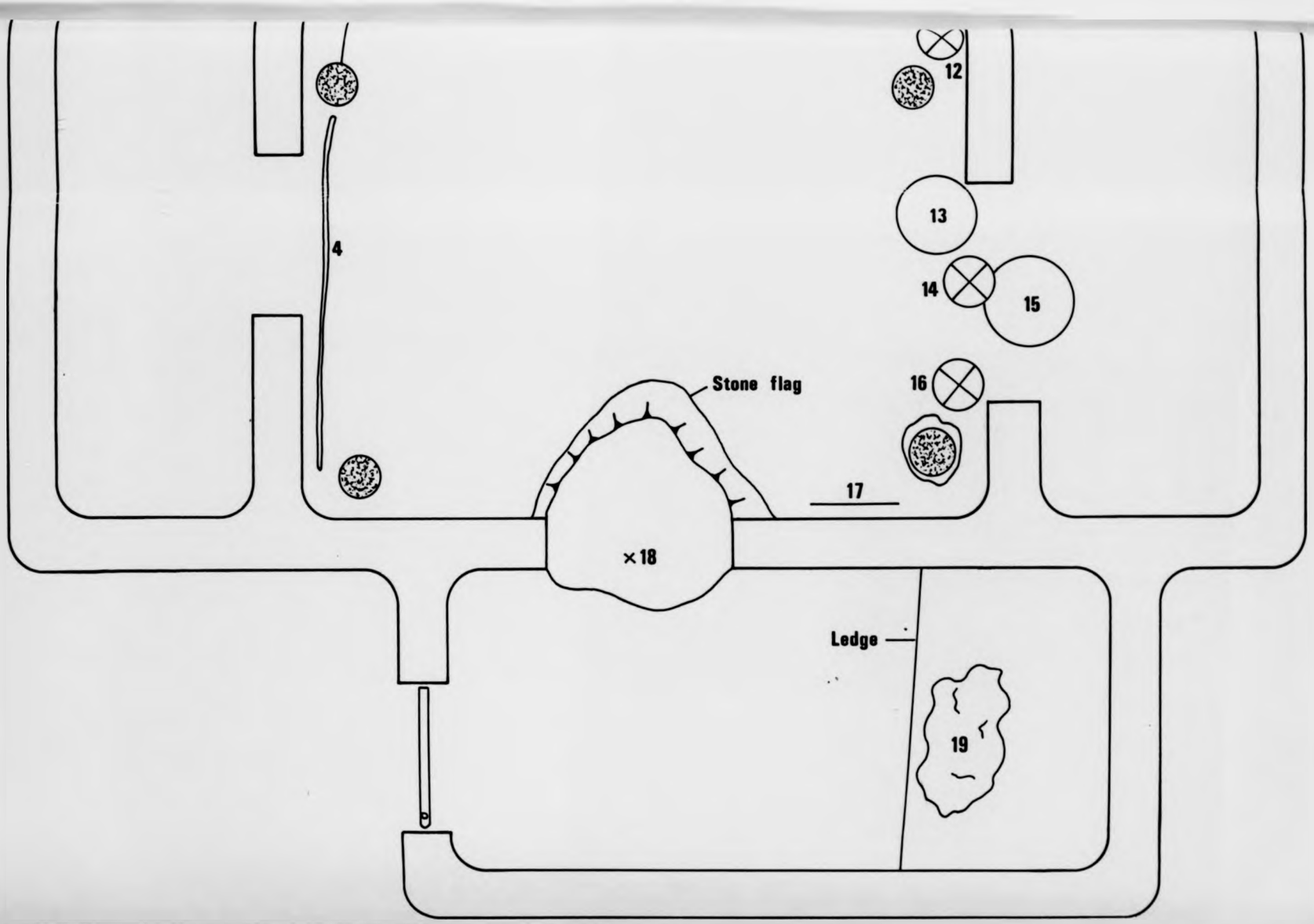
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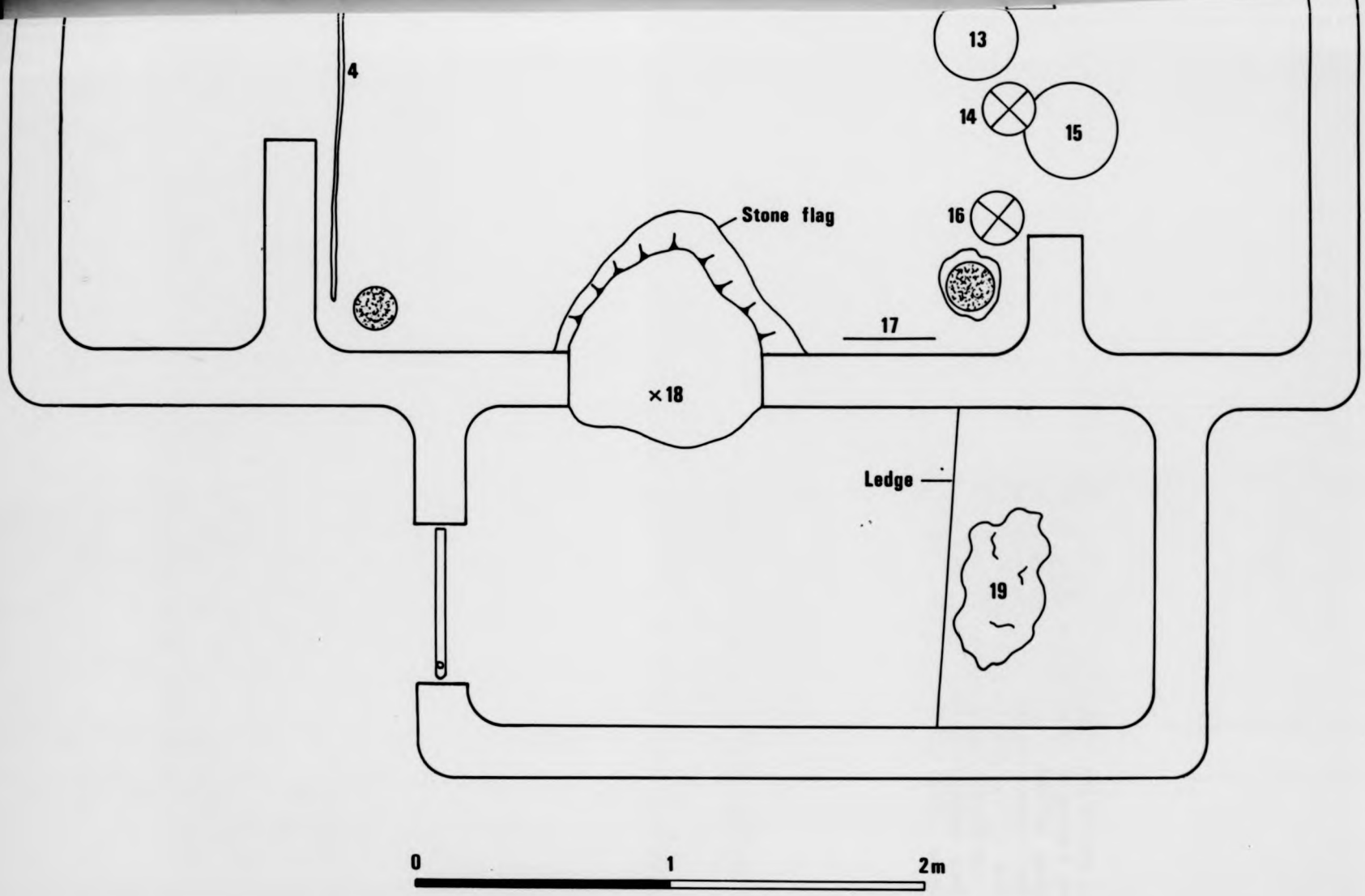


Figure 5:5e Interior of a young couple's House

House E

Kitchen:

1 Wooden ladder, leading to roof;

Main Room:

2 Suitcase, containing male & female clothes; 3 Clothes line; 4 Straw sleeping mat; 5 Wooden walking staff; 6 Metal cooking pot; 7 Plastic jerry-can; 8 Paraffin lamp; 9 Stone quern and grindstone; 10 Pot-hanger and calabash; 11 Large enamelled metal bowl with a smaller metal bowl; 12 Empty pot-hanger; 13 Waterpot; 14 Pot-hanger, with painted calabash containing needles, thread & torch batteries; 15 Empty storage pot; 16 Pot-hanger and small metal bowl; 17 Three new food-bowl covers; 18 Mirror, stuck onto wall above doorway.

Left- and Right-hand stores:

Both empty.

Porch:

19 Dogon skirt, pair of trousers and machine-spun cotton blouse; 20 Padlock on door.

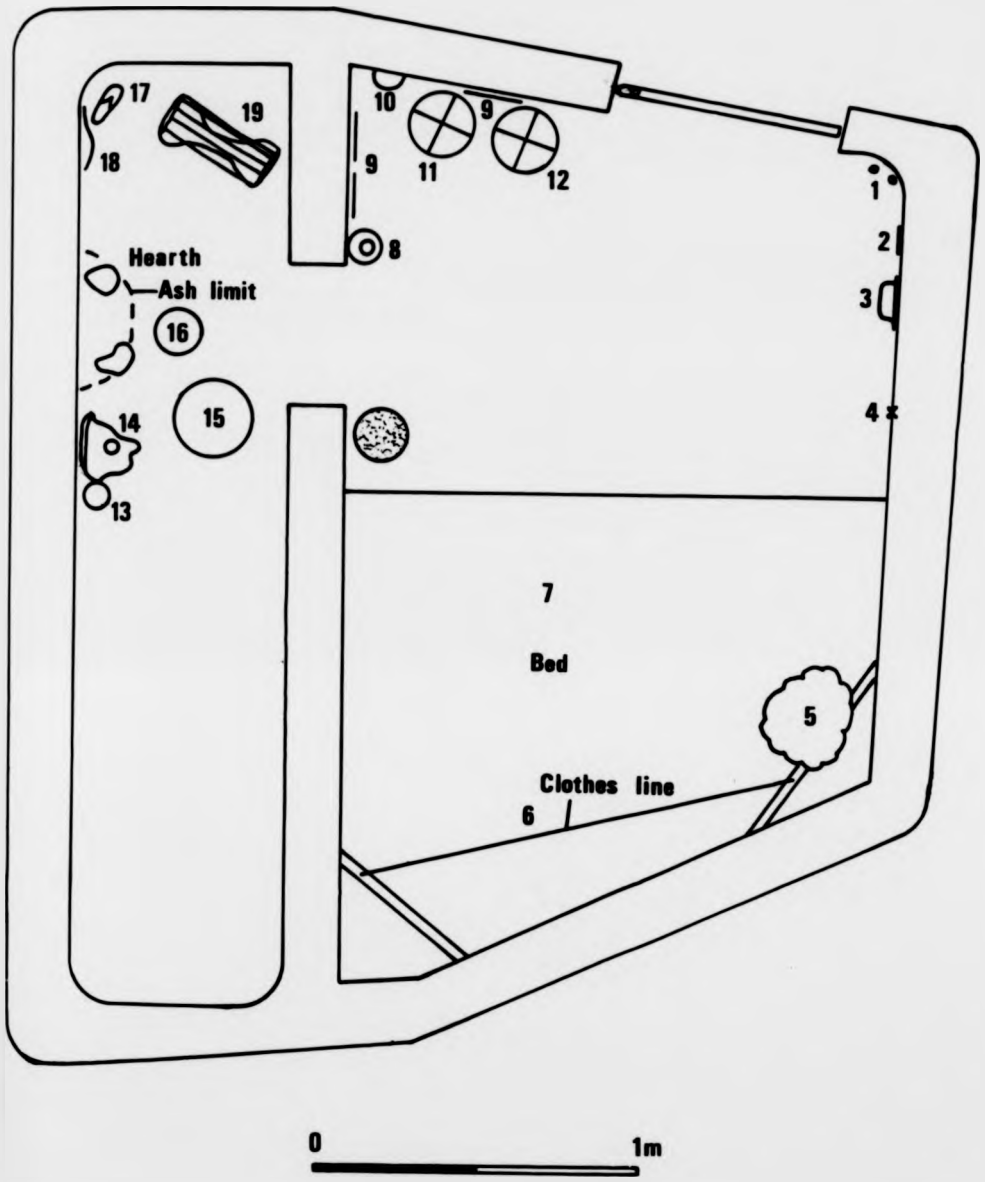


Figure 5:5f Interior of an unmarried man's house

House F

Main Room:

1 two walking staffs;
On wall: 2 mirror, neck-chain with plastic whistle; 3 felt hat; 4 leather belt; magazine pictures;
5 mosquito net; 6 On clothes line: two pairs trousers, Dogon tunic and breeches, on Bar: Dogon skirt and plastic bucket; 7 pair of jeans; 8 parafin lamp; On wall: 9 three circular straw mats; 10 coloured ladle;
11 pot hanger with enamelled metal bowl; 12 empty pot hanger.

Right-hand Store:

13 bottle; 14 sherd and plastic cup; 15 porridge cooking pot and comb; 16 tin-can used for boiling water; 17 pair of shoe; 18 hoe; 19 wooden under-arm drum.

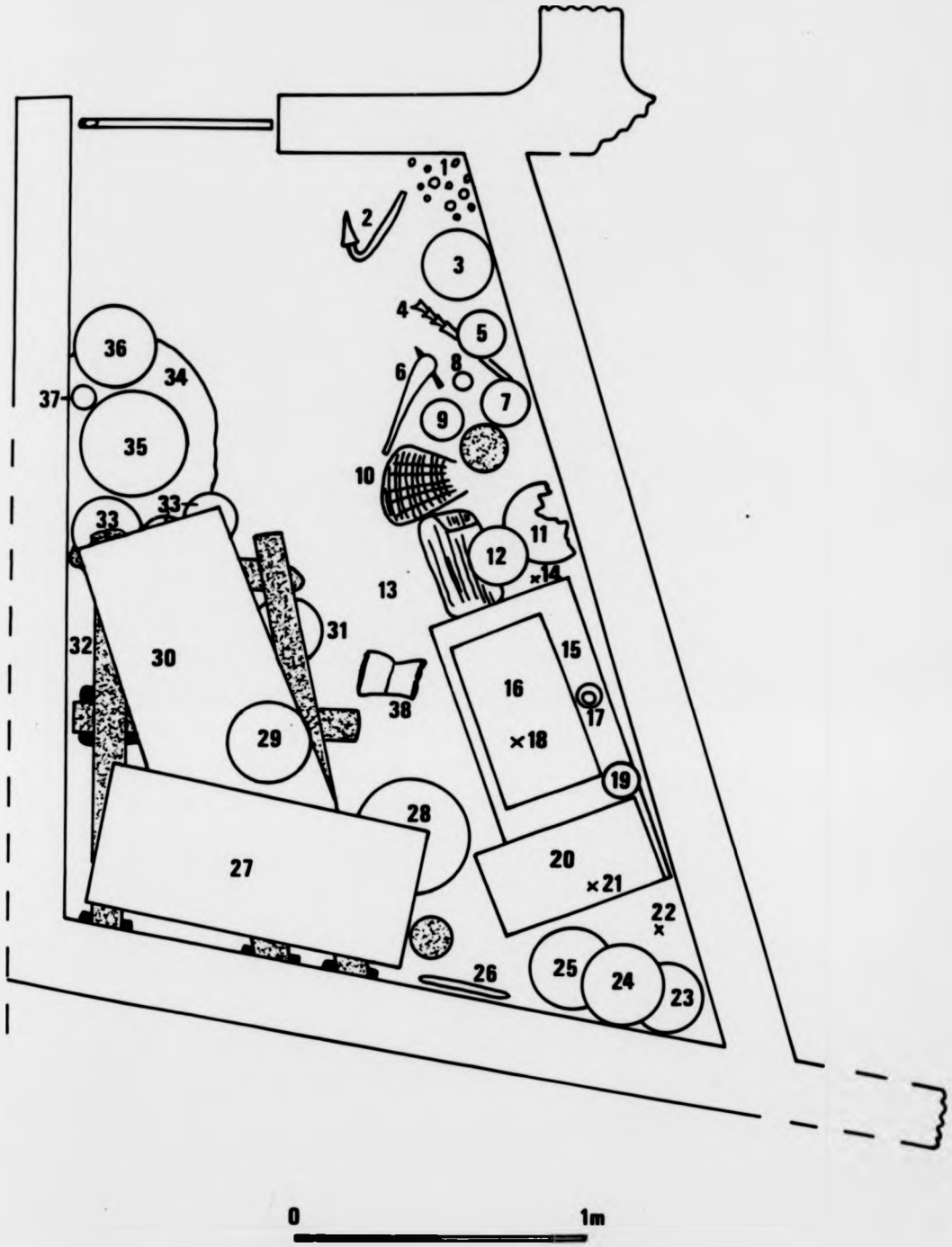


Figure 5:5g Interior of a widower's storeroom

House G

Main Room:

1 Walking staff, two ´bush´ spears´, two ceremonial spears, leister, barbed spear, two axe handles, collection of hoe, axe and sickle blades; 2 adze; 3 beerpot; 4 weaver´s winder; 5 two calabash; 6 stone-chisel; 7 calabash; 8 tin-can; 9 calabash; 10 broken chicken basket; 11 broken pot; 12 wood bowl; 13 walking staff; 14 protective charm; 15 locked metal trunk; 16 suitcase full of papers; 17 gourd with arrowheads, penknife blade; 18 "ritual thief´s" axe 19 parafin lamp; 20 cardboard box with leather quiver of arrows; 21 umbrella, in rafters; 22 big spindle, with thread; 23 two calabash; 24 sauce cooking pot, three calabash; 25 wood bowl, axe blade, knife blade; 26 tobacco rack; 27 locked metal trunk, unlocked casket containg documents; 28 storage pot; 29 metal bucket, on wood frame; 30 locked metal trunk, with a heap of coats, trousers and shirts, and straw hat on top; 31 beerpot; 32 mask; 33 broken gourds; 34 pile of clothes; 35 storage pot; 36 wicker basket with weaving shuttles and double-heddle; 37 glass bottle.

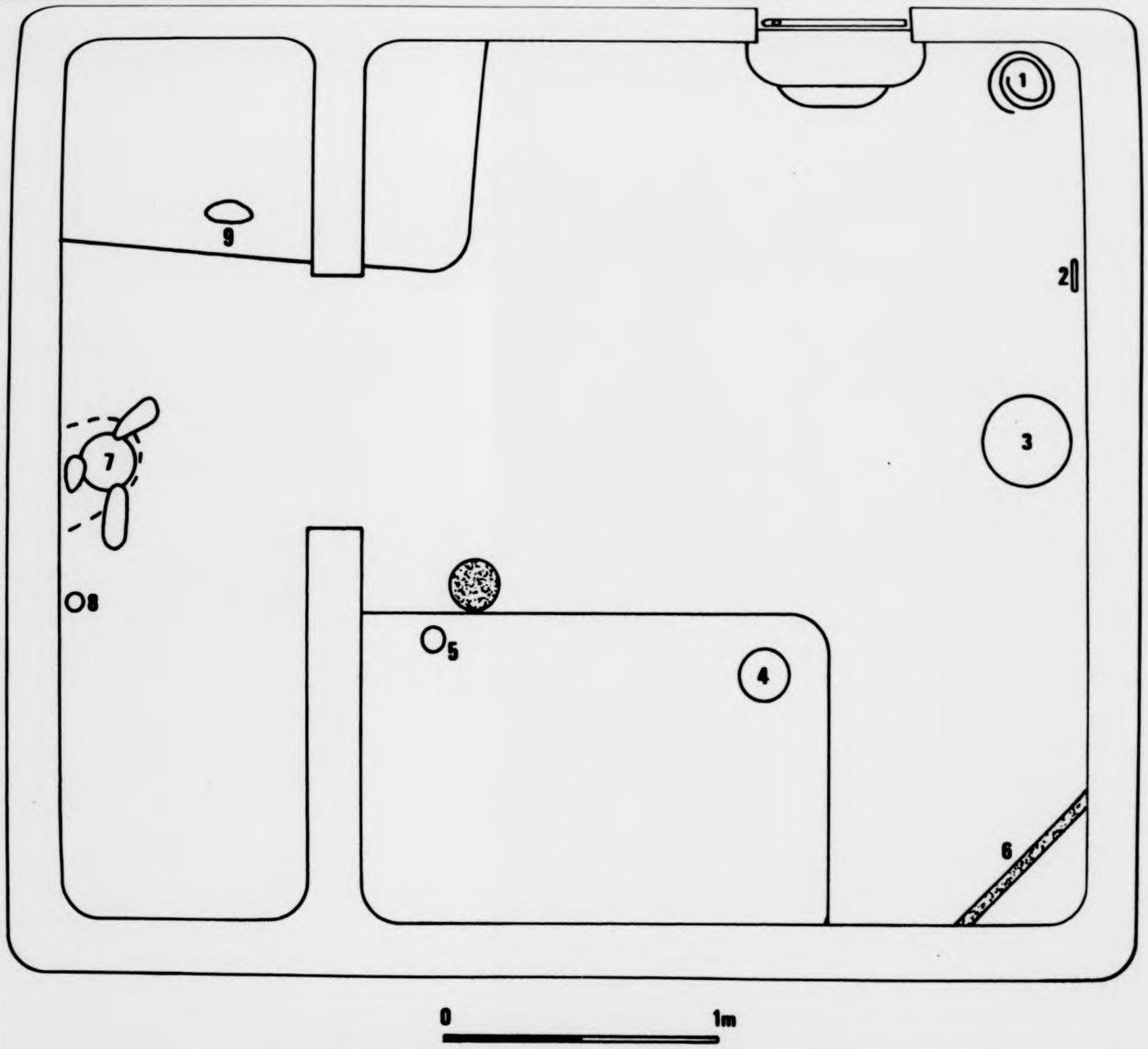


Figure 5:6a Sagadarjau dunoy 1981

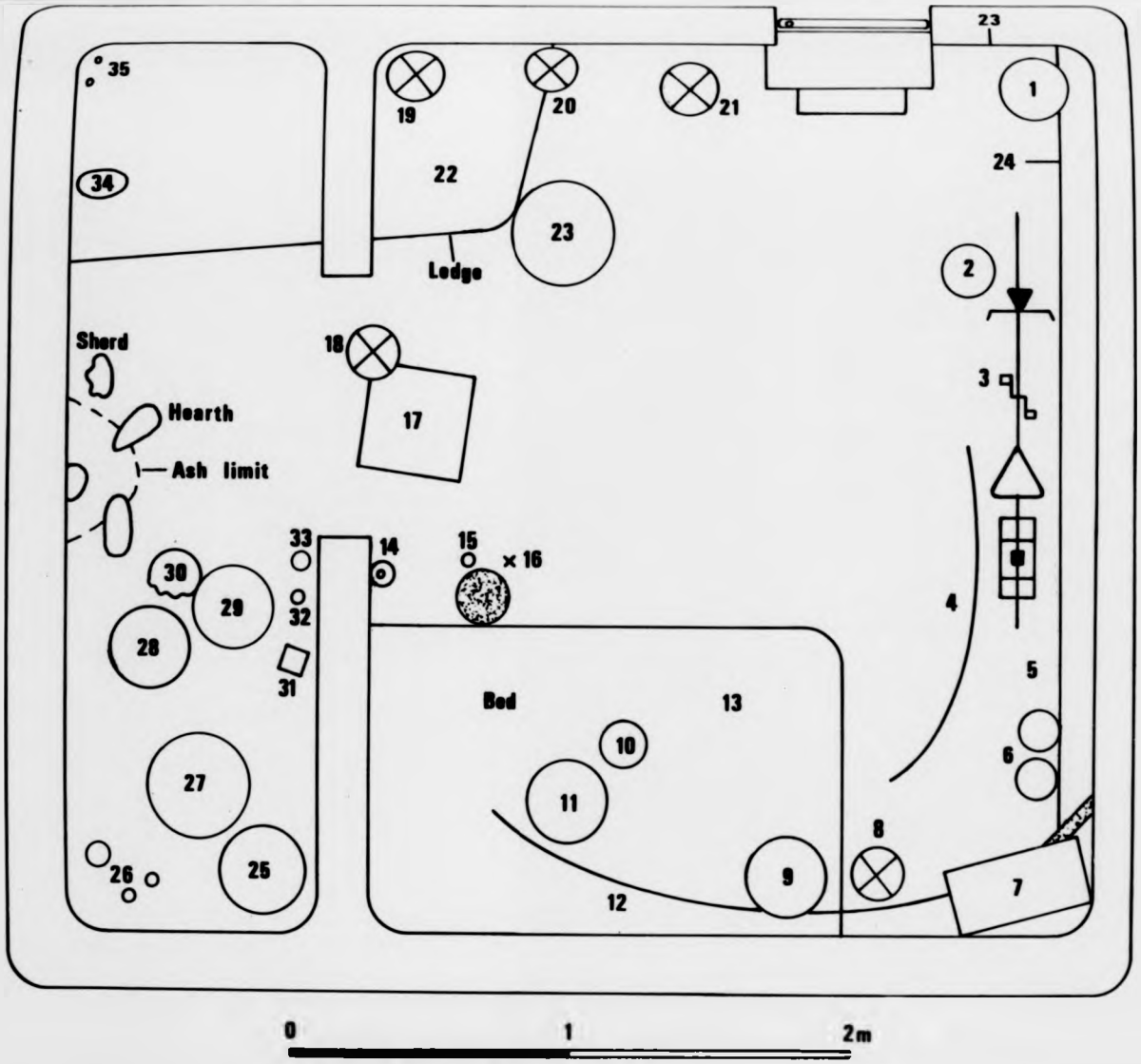


Figure 5:6b Ginu sala 1983

House Inventories to accompany Figure 5:6

Figure 5:6a Sagarta:rau Dunoy

Main Room:

1 Rolled sleeping mat; 2 Machette in leather sheath; 3 Waterpot and ladle; 4 Drinking calabash; 5 Tin of coffee; On bar : 6 Pair of trousers

Left-hand Store Room :

7 Small cooking pot; 8 Plastic mug; 9 Wooden ladder to roof.

Figure 5:6b Ginu Sala

Main Room:

1 Ceramic bowl with kola nuts; 2 Wooden stool; 3 Bicycle; 4 Millet-straw sleeping mat; 5 Cloth-strip as clothes line, male clothes, Western and Dogon; 6 Two underarm drums, grass brush; On Shelf: 7 Suitcase with male clothes, belts, umbrella, pair of sunglasses, two head scarfs; 8 Empty pot hnager; On bed : 9 Metal bowl, 10 Plastic pot with money, 11 enamelled metal bowl; 12 Straw sleeping mat, 13 Male clothes; On wall : 14 Paraffin lamp; 15 Grass brush; 16 Torch and pair of shoes; 17 Cane basket with millet and calabash of same; 18 Pot hanger and enamelled bowl with carded cotton; 19 Empty pot hanger; 20 Empty pot hanger; 21 Pot hanger, wooden bowl, box of matches, cooking spices, necklace;
22 On Ledge : Six plastic cups, two metal trays, bolt of Dogon cloth, torch batteries, tube of toothpaste, spindle of thread, knife, two spoons, packet of coffee, old tin, two stone armlets, ladle, clothes peg, metal awl, puncture repair kit, bicycle inner tube, and work calabash.
23 Waterpot, metal tray as lid; On Wall 24 Five framed monochrome photogrpahs, several magazine pages, mirror and coloured bowl mat.

Left-hand Store Room:

25 Storage pot with hungry rice; 26 tin with peanut oil, tin with gunpowder, plastic pot with sa oil; 27 Beer boiling vessel; 28 Millet porridge cooking pot; 29 Millet porridge cooking pot, aluminium ladle; 30 Broken sauce pot; 31 Tin of paraffin; Plastic tub of table-salt; 33 Tin can; 34 Wooden ladder; 35 Two walking staffs.

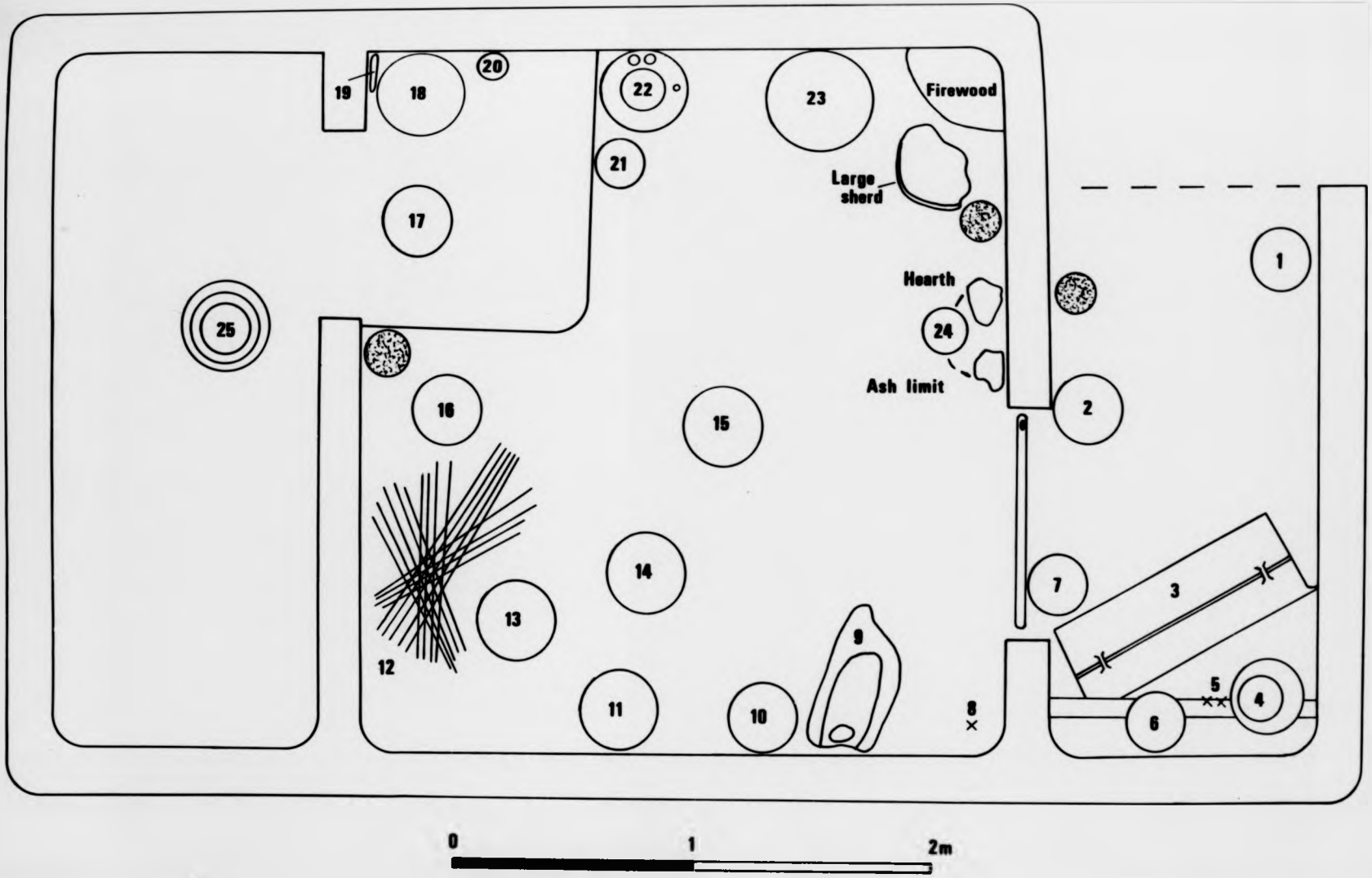


Figure 5:7a Widow's house 1981

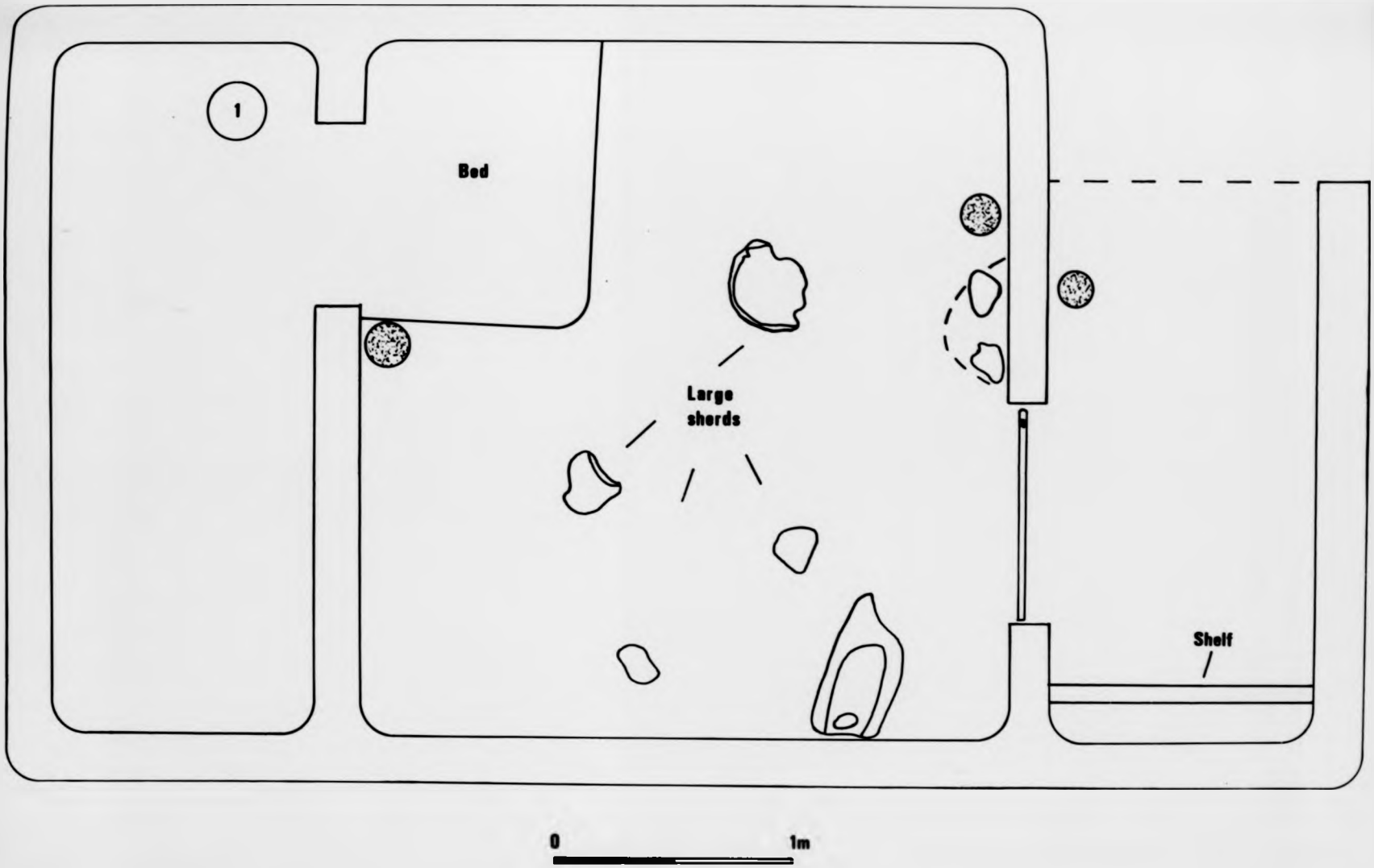


Figure 5:7b Vacant 1982

House Inventories to accompany Figure 5:7

Figure 5:7a 1981 Ya:na Peney Dunoy

Porch:

1 Wooden stool; 2 Millet porridge cooking pot; 3 Old door used as seat; On Bar: 4 Wicker basket with spinning equipment and work calabash, 5 Bead necklace and leather belt, 6 Work calabash; On Ground: 7 Small pot containing millet gruel and calabash ladle;

Main Room:

8 Weeding hoe; 9 Dished quern and grinding stone; 10 Small storage pot with millet grain, calabash salt pot; 11 Large calabash with two work calabash and two drinking calabash; 12 Pile of millet straw; 13 Storage pot with millet; 14 Waterpot with calabash ladle; 15 Waterpot; 16 Storage pot with ashes; On Bed: 17 Wicker basket with snuff gourd, bead necklace, head-band in aluminium, aluminium bracelet, leather armlet, leather and metal belt, bronze anklet, ginning iron, cowries; 18 Gourd 'portmanteau' with two indigo skirts, leather wallet, calabash salt-pot, stone bracelet; 19 Ginning stone; 20 Work calabash and calabash salt-pot; 21 Sauce cooking pot; 22 Storage pot with tin cans, calabash salt-pot and ceramic bowl; 23 Beer fermenting jar (small), with seven spindles, ginning bar and unspun cotton; 12 Calabash with cinders;

Back Store Room:

25 Six work calabashes, seventeen calabash ladles.

Figure 5:7b 1982 House Unoccupied

Main Room:

Dished quern

Back Store Room:

Work calabash.

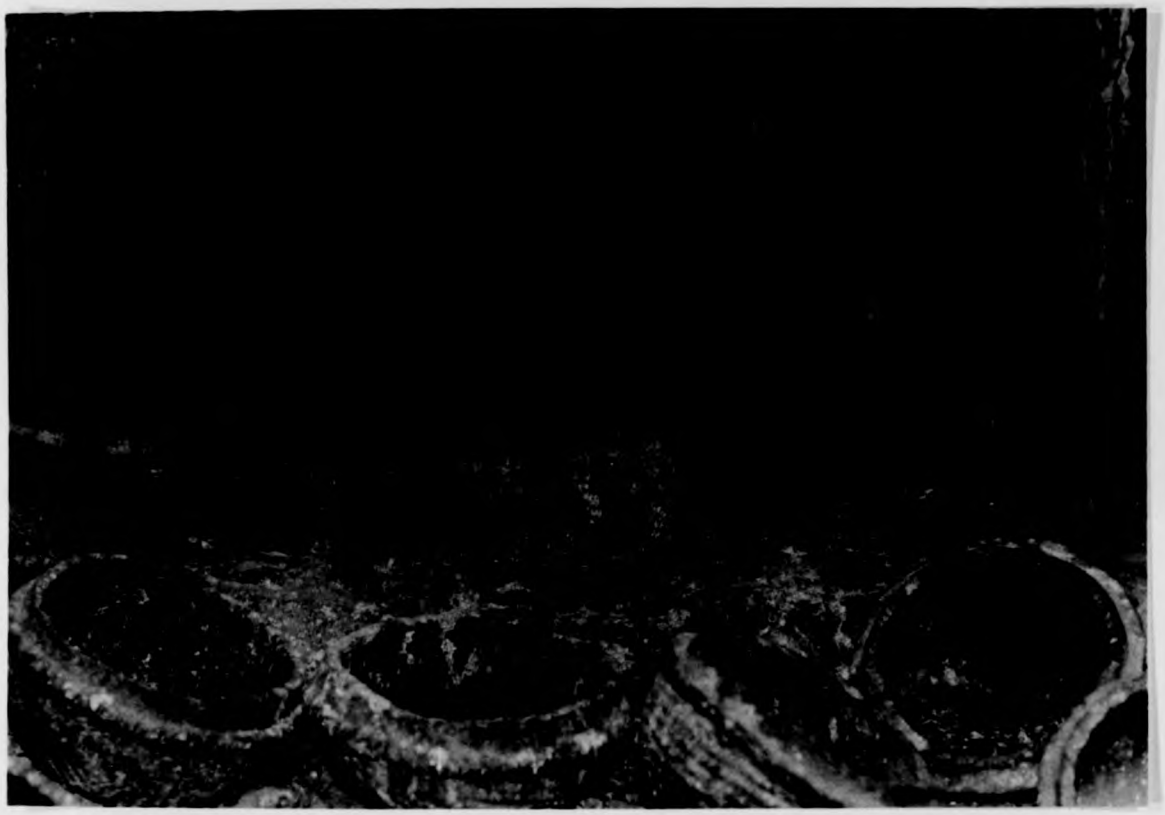


Plate 12 Detail of wone shrine material.

Section 5:7 Discussion of Household Inventories

5:7.1 Introduction:

The preceding comments have drawn attention to the degree of correspondence between the model of the use of space for lineage members and the actual patterns of activity. In terms of that model, the material assemblages of houses occupied by lineage heads and their wives, confirm the principle that these houses, and associated courtyard space, should constitute the main locale for food-processing and cooking, the fermentation and brewing of beer and certain religious practices. It is also clear that the use of house space, in general, accords well with the classification of rooms, although there is a degree of flexibility, particularly with respect to the temporal structure of activity (see Table 5:2) and between separate houses. In itself this point is not at odds with the tennets of lineage-use of space, since the idealised pattern implies an uneven distribution of certain tasks. However, when the inventories of the different categories of residence are compared, aspects of the model do not hold. In particular, it can be seen that food-processing and cooking take place, at a higher level than anticipated, in the *ginu sala*, and also feature in houses used solely by men. Perhaps more importantly, the houses of individuals who are towards the end of their lives, and who no longer make a substantial contribution to the round of daily activities, especially those of widowed women, frequently contain high densities of objects, which, for the most part, remain unutilised, gathering dust.

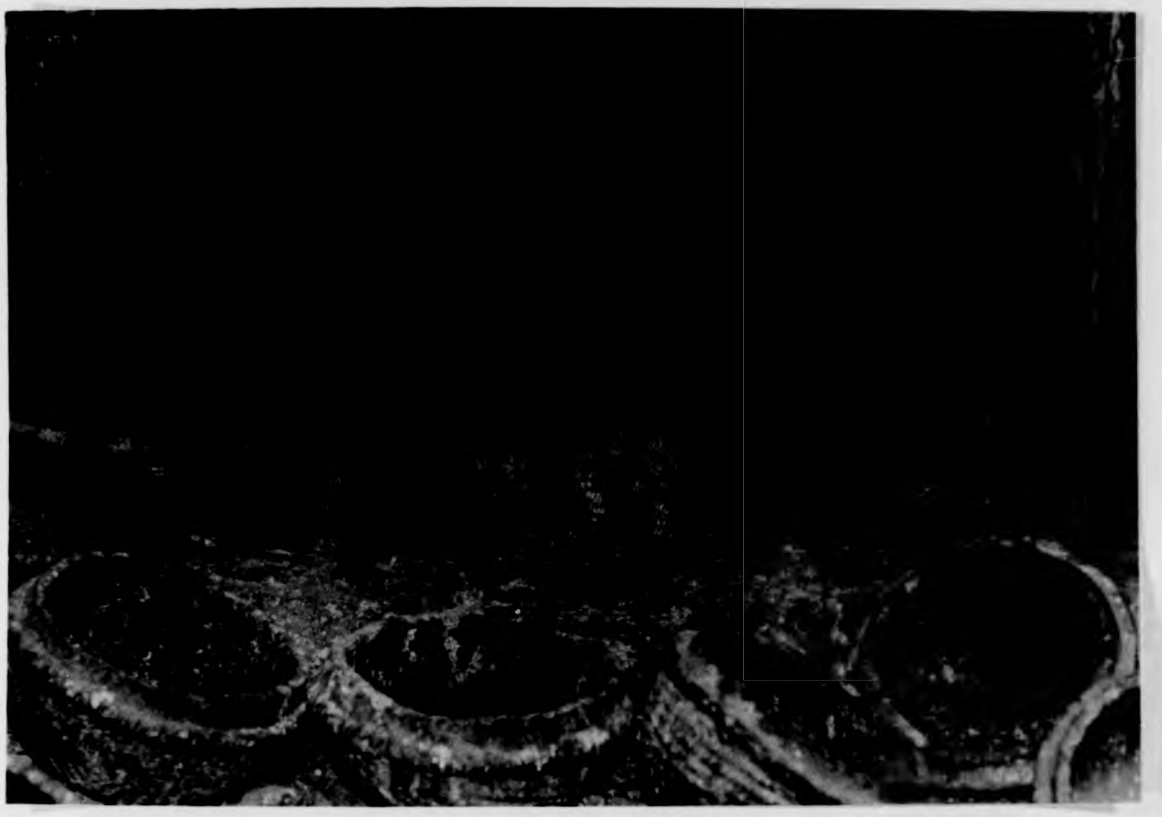


Plate 12 Detail of wone shrine material.

Section 5:7 Discussion of Household Inventories

5:7.1 Introduction:

The preceding comments have drawn attention to the degree of correspondence between the model of the use of space for lineage members and the actual patterns of activity. In terms of that model, the material assemblages of houses occupied by lineage heads and their wives, confirm the principle that these houses, and associated courtyard space, should constitute the main locale for food-processing and cooking, the fermentation and brewing of beer and certain religious practices. It is also clear that the use of house space, in general, accords well with the classification of rooms, although there is a degree of flexibility, particularly with respect to the temporal structure of activity (see Table 5:2) and between separate houses. In itself this point is not at odds with the tennets of lineage-use of space, since the idealised pattern implies an uneven distribution of certain tasks. However, when the inventories of the different categories of residence are compared, aspects of the model do not hold. In particular, it can be seen that food-processing and cooking take place, at a higher level than anticipated, in the *ginu sala*, and also feature in houses used solely by men. Perhaps more importantly, the houses of individuals who are towards the end of their lives, and who no longer make a substantial contribution to the round of daily activities, especially those of widowed women, frequently contain high densities of objects, which, for the most part, remain unutilised, gathering dust.

To argue that these discrepancies represent some kind of statistical deviation about a norm, would be to miss their wider social significance, and, in any case, would not provide a sufficient understanding of their meaning. Instead, as the outcome of conscious and intentional actions, the observed configurations should be seen as deriving from personal strategies played out against the background of the lineage ideology. The latter, of course, is aimed at regulating and controlling the actions of its members, so as to ensure their sustenance, and the demographic and social reproduction of the group. One manner by which this is attempted is by representing space, and the spatial order, as a metaphor for the social group. The semantic connotations of the word ginna are the clearest indication of this, while the emphasis placed on the pattern of residence and the crossing of lineage boundaries also lend support to this view. However, space can also be treated as synonymous with time, such that at a certain time in a person's life s/he can occupy a particular space. Although control over access to dwelling space is important, equally crucial is control over the spatio-temporal pattern of daily tasks, for it is precisely by the routinisation of these activities that the distribution of resources[6] can be controlled.

In contrast, the strategic action of individuals **qua** individuals is directed towards the negotiation of a personal autonomy over certain domains. Although the autonomy of junior individuals is ultimately constrained by the authority of the ginu bana, a level of power can be achieved by means of a

practical control over activities and, by extension, space. In fact, this might even be the weakest point in the logic of the system, since, by equating authority with age, there is a recurrent need to prevent those who have the practical capacity to effect a transformation of the world, from usurping the position of those who excercise authority. For the moment this dilemma can be left unresolved (but see Chapters 6 and 8), and the relationship between household inventories and personal and lineage strategies must be pursued in greater detail. In particular, it is the contention here that, it is precisely these kinds of strategies that are both represented by the inventories, and also actively involve the constituent parts to achieve certain ends. The nature of the assemblages can therefore be seen in terms of individuating acts set against the officializing[7] strategies of the lineage. Within this broad scheme two sets of strategies appear to be played out, often simultaneously, namely, those between the young and old, and those between men and women.

5:7.2 : Officializing Strategies:

The diversity of spatial patterns, whether viewed in terms of room use, residential categories or cycles of activities, has been the most frequent impression that has emerged from the various analyses of house inventories. The regular movement of objects, and also people, between different contexts is a pervasive feature of daily routine. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that certain objects, some of which feature in daily activities, should be closely associated with

particular locations. Moreover, it is precisely these objects, along with the hearth, which are used to symbolise the lineage and activities of the lineage.

Figures 5:2 clearly shows that both waterpots (loy), and to a lesser degree food bowls (banya), are rarely kept in rooms other than the central living room (deu). Only in 14% of the houses were waterpots found in other rooms, namely kitchen and entrance porch, and only two houses lacked such a pot. One of these was used by a married man as a store, and the other was occupied by an unmaried male. All the other sagada:rau dunoy had at least one waterpot. None of these pots had been purchased by the young men who lived in these houses, and had been provided, instead, by the mother of one of them. Likewise the houses used by widowed or divorced men also contain waterpots, which are daily replenished by female relatives. The waterpots in these houses, on the other hand, were provided by their wives, even though the latter, by then, were absent. For, when a woman divorces her husband she is entitled to take all her possessions with her, except the waterpots she had supplied for him and his ginu na. When a man is widowed the possessions of his late wife are distributed amongst her female kin, except the loy which remain with her husband. Waterpots are also found in all of the houses where women are present, for the reasons noted in Chapter 4. Hence, these particular items are associated with all social categories, although they are 'supplied' specifically by women. The specific location of these pots within a house appears to be related to this latter point.

The association between waterpots, the central room of the house, and the rites involving these vessels relies on a series of analogical relationships that link water with fertility. As with many societies in the Western Sudan, the Dogon liken the foetus to a fish[8], that swims, during pregnancy in the amniotic fluid. Although formed, in its mother's breast, from a mix of seminal fluid and menstrual blood, the foetus thus depends on a substance analogous to water for its survival. As noted in Chapter 4, the spirits of unborn children are held to reside in the lineage ponds (no longer extant), and that by drawing water from the water-source, the in-coming wife symbolically marks the arrival of her fertility. Thus, the waterpot is held to be analogous with the womb, a point substantiated by the use of the word 'loy' to describe 'the amniotic sac' (Calame-Griaule 1968, 186). In common with several other symbolic representations that the Dogon make, an anthropomorphic similarity forms the basis for the symbolism of the house ground-plan (Form 1). The circular kitchen, therefore, represents the head of a person, the main room is the body, the stores along each side are the arms, the entrance hall represents the legs, while the door is sometimes regarded as the vagina (Calame-Griaule 1955, 480). The location of waterpots, which represent the womb, within the central room of a house, which represents the body, is thereby a logical relationship. Additional support for these analogical relationships, derives from the use made of both water and the central room during childbirth. Childbirth takes place within the central room of the house, which, for a woman's first pregnancy, and possibly others, is generally the main house of

the ginu na of her natal lineage. Moreover, the women present perform a series of rites that use water, thus "on crache de l'eau sur [l'enfant] pour lui conferer la parole, on le lave on le fait boir" (Calame-Griaule 1965, 88, note 1).

If waterpots can be seen as symbols of the unborn members of the lineage, wooden bowls, in certain contexts, are held to be symbols of the living members. Termed banya, most wooden bowls are used for serving food, and as such are never used for any other purpose, though there is a current trend, mainly amongst younger women, to use identical bowls for decorative and storage purposes. Those used for serving food are generally bought by either the ginu bana, or one of his wives. Most bowls tend to be decorated just below the rim, with a range of different motifs, but no particular motif is associated with the gender of their user. Comments made about such decoration do indicate, however, that women consider such motifs make the bowls attractive to look at. Ideally, these food bowls should be restricted to the ginu na, since it is at these locales that lineage members eat together as a group. Each ginu na should contain at least two bowls, one for men and the other for women, but several use three or four bowls (for the ginu bana and widows, respectively). These food bowls should not leave the compounds of the ginu na (Dieterlen and Calame-Griaule 1960, 55, note 40), and are hence used, cleaned and stored there. From this use association, and especially the bowl used by the lineage head, these bowls symbolise the continued sustenance of the lineage. Moreover, because of their significance these bowls tend to have a long

use-life, and cracks are often repaired with either cord or aluminium plates, thereby reinforcing the notion of longevity already embedded in the bowls through their context of association[9].

As Figure 5:2 indicates, wooden bowls are not, in fact, restricted to the ginu na category, and there are two other contexts where they occur in significant numbers, the ginu sala and the houses of widows. Although not apparent from these figures, in the region of 10% of these bowls are used for eating, the remainder are used as receptacles for storing small items, and are commonly displayed by suspending them from the house rafters. In both contexts the decoration is considered to be an important feature, although the younger women tended to emphasise this more. Most of these bowls were bought in the local markets; however, some of the bowls amongst the inventories of widows were acquired under different circumstances. For, during male funerary ceremonies, a sister of the deceased dances whilst holding a new wooden bowl and the leather shoulder-sack belonging to her brother, both objects symbolising in this context the personality of the deceased[10]. Since only older men are entitled to a full-scale funeral and dama, these dancers are also older women, and are frequently widows. After the ceremony, this woman retains both the bowl and the sack, which explains the presence of some of these items amongst a widow's possessions.

The signification of wood bowls, then, is contextually dependent. In one context, through their use-associations the bowls signify communality and continuity, and, through repeated

daily use become stained, cracked and even heavily repaired. In another context the bowls are principally decorative items, they are used simply for storing small items and therefore remain clean and new-looking. In such contexts, their signification speaks of the individual owner, of her youth or of her 'attractiveness'. These vessels are therefore equivalent to the coloured enamelled metal bowls that are similarly used and displayed. While such values also hold for the bowls owned by widows, in a ritual context these bowls symbolise the qualities of a close male agnate, rather than her own, or those of the lineage. Each woman who has performed such a dance knows which bowl, among several, was used, and by retaining the bowl, a memory of her deceased brother is kept alive.

The distribution of ancestral cult material is even more restricted than either waterpots or food bowls, and only a few houses other than those of lineage heads contain such items. These objects tend to be kept in the first-floor rooms, known as kana, that are otherwise used for storage, and even as sleeping rooms. One of the explanations for the use of this particular room has to do with guarding the relevant artefacts. Most cult material, regardless of where it is kept, is carefully protected from those not permitted to view it. A good example is that of masks, which are kept hidden from women, generally at the edge of a settlement, that is on the interface between village and bush. In different contexts, such as the ancestral shrines at ginu na compounds, other groups are prevented from having access. Although women are excluded from these shrines during the moments

of sacrifice, so are most other men. Often only two men are present in the shrine during these rites, a senior male who officiates and the 'cutter'. Other lineage members congregate either on the house roof, or on the ground in the compound. Amongst these people men are generally to the fore, but the women are also present, if in the background. At some ceremonies, such as the ya:yinu, which is specifically concerned with venerating female lineage ancestors (see Dieterlen 1941, and De Ganay 1942, for details), women are noticeably present. Moreover, since these shrines are invariably kept at one end of a room which is also used for storage, women regularly have an opportunity to view the shrine. On the other hand, those women who have married into the group, are effectively excluded from having their 'spirit' incorporated into this space. For, on their death, their bodies are returned to their natal village to be buried in the cemetery there. Likewise, the 'spirit-raising' ceremony that is held for a woman, takes place at her natal ginu na, and cupules are depositied in the yana:yimung shrine there, and not in the one at her affinal ginu na. This would suggest, therefore, that these particular shrines are guarded from other lineages, since, by regulating access to the 'spiritual space' of the lineage, its genealogical purity is preserved (see Plate 12).

5:7.3 : Individuating strategies :

The activities most closely associated with women, and over which they have considerable autonomy, are those related to the preparation of food. It has been noted that the patterning of culinary equipment does not accord entirely with the expectations

generated by the lineage model. There is a slight possibility that this discrepancy might be due to differing seasonal patterns of activity. For instance, Dieterlen and Calame-Griaule state that each wife daily cooks for her children and takes turns, with her co-wives, to prepare her husband's meals, which could account for the observed pattern. Moreover, they also argue that it is only during the rainy season that the entire family (ginna) "mange le repas confectionné par l'un ou l'autre des femmes" (1960, 78). However, observations indicate that in the study village, for the most part, all members of a particular ginna consumed meals at the ginu na, (or in lineage fields), which had been prepared and cooked at the ginu na by one or other of the female members of the lineage group. In addition, the 1982-83 data for the dry season months do not differ markedly from the data for the rainy season collected in 1981. Nevertheless, meals can be cooked by a wife simply for her husband, her children and herself. These often include 'delicacies', that is food not regularly prepared, such as haricot beans, rice, sorrell, hungry rice and even meat. Such dishes, which usually take less time to prepare and cook than the daily staple, are generally termed 'apala' or 'da' thus distinguishing them from the regular meal of millet porridge, 'gya'.

Although it was commonly stated that only when either a husband or wife, or both, were about to embark on an arduous task, or journey, would such dishes be prepared, in many ginu sala meals of this type were occasionaly prepared as an alternative to that consumed by other lineage members. Although

no conjugal family appeared to make a habit of this, it is a sufficiently common practice not to go unnoticed. So, despite the existence of a moral force that emphasises communal consumption of food by lineage members, practice clearly deviates from the ideal. The very fact that during 1983 two men each built a single-roomed structure specifically for use as a kitchen (pana biri) in their ginu sala compound lends further support to this point.

It can be suggested here that this situation derives from the strategies of women aimed at their children, and also their husband. Divorce and separation are fairly easy to implement by either party, and women, should they so wish, have no compunction about leaving their spouse for a few months. On the other hand, in the normal course of affairs, any woman would prefer that her husband did not precipitate a separation, since this would leave her in an uncertain position. In the first place, she would have to return to her parents ward, and either find another mate, or enter into negotiations, mediated by the village blacksmith, with her husband. Either course of action might turn out to be a costly exercise.

One means of sustaining her husbands interests, and often in competition with her co-wives (although such jealousies are rarely publicly expressed), is by preparing special dishes, form her own stocks of food kept in her granary. In fact, distribution in this manner is one of the most frequent uses of this category of resource. The strategy is particularly effective given the evaluation placed on cooking by Dogon men.

One of the finest compliments that can be bestowed on a woman, thereby making her a more eligible mate, is to say that 'her hand has the salt'. Moreover, so men claimed, poor cooking can be the root cause of divorce (Dieterlen and Calame-Griaule, 1960, 49).

From this perspective, the separate preparation of meals at the ginu sala fosters solidarity amongst the conjugal unit to the detriment of the moral order of the lineage. To a degree such action is permissible, but if a married couple persistently eat apart this will be commented upon, and the ideology of reciprocity invoked as a sanction against such behaviour. Conversely, the practical control women have over cooking, and other aspects of daily routine, can form part of the repertoire of gender relationships. For example, so as to emphasise their grievances women may chose to delay preparation of the evening meal, or not to add salt to the pot, or for that matter, decide not to refill the loy in their house. These small acts, precisely because they deviate from the normal, routine and expected course of events have considerable locutionary force. On several occasions, and amongst one conjugal unit in particular, men were overheard arguing with one of their wives about incidents such as these.

In one case, which well illustrates this point, a man's second wife, over a couple of weeks had always been late with the evening meal, and had consistently chosen not to refill her waterpot in the afternoon. This precipitated a row between husband and wife. The former argued that it was normal to expect his wife to do these tasks. The latter at first said that she

had not had sufficient time during the afternoons to fill her waterpot, because she was helping her co-wives, with either the dehusking and winnowing of millet or child-minding. In addition, she said, the meal had been late, on one occasion, because she had been at Sanga market purchasing condiments for future use. Her husband retorted that she could easily have asked one of her step-daughters to fetch water, and that she had been at market principally to sell her own produce. The argument was a long and protracted one, but it eventually transpired that the woman involved was angry, for even after living with him over several years, her husband had made no move towards building a granary for her personal use. The debate eventually petered out, and the husband left the compound to go about his daily tasks. Later in the day, the aggrieved wife however, collected up her finest personal belongings, and set off with these and her child towards her natal village some 20 km. distant. On this occasion she was encountered **en route** by the uncle of her husband and another village elder. Between these two, and also the village blacksmith who was later called in to mediate (see above section 3:7), the woman was persuaded to stay.

The example indicates the lengths to which a woman is prepared to state her case and how what might otherwise have been a minor incident can escalate for both parties concerned. It also shows how, even when an infrequent and disordering event occurs another set of routine procedures are instigated. Close kin and village elders, that is, those with authority who might therefore be heeded, intervene, and in this particular case it

became necessary to summon the blacksmith in his capacity as official mediator, to resolve the dispute. This sort of action becomes significant, and hence discursive because of the value placed on a woman's abilities as a cook. Women then, it could be said, are risking their reputations, both as individuals and as women, when they embark on such out of the ordinary acts. Yet, by manipulating routine tasks for strategic purposes they can create an opportunity, which they might not otherwise have, to voice their complaints.

The argument can be extended, for, during periods of separation from her husband, a woman will take with her those possessions she values most. During her absence, neither her husband nor her co-wives may use her things or enter her house. In the eventuality of a permananent separation she will remove all of her belongings, and on their removal the house looks bare compared with when she was resident. The only objects the divorcee is obliged to leave behind are the water pots, loy, despite the fact that she provided them. Thus, by her absence a woman can transform the appearance of a house, and the removal of her possessions signifies her husband's changed status.

The normal, ideal trajectory of the latter is disrupted, particularly if he has no additional wives, since he will have to rely more heavily on other kin, or else prepare his own meals and fetch his own water. It is significant that the two permanently divorced men, in the village, often prepare their own food, as does the only celibate. All three, perhaps by choice, also

remain on the periphery of the routine affairs of their lineage.

Another feature of the inventories of the ginu sala that can be accounted for in terms of the tensions that exist between men and their wives is the presence of quantities of furnishings, male-associated items and decorative artefacts. While women own the bulk of the possessions, a proportion of these has generally been purchased by men, and their own belongings make up the rest of the assemblage. Amongst younger men great stress is placed on dressing smartly on public occasions, such as when attending funeral ceremonies, on National public holidays and especially during the bulu festival. The styles of clothing depart from the traditional forms, and are generally made from machine-woven cloth, which can be purchased in the larger markets such as Sanga, or during visits to towns. There is a certain difference in price[11] between the two types of cloth, but because most of the younger men in the village do not as yet weave indigenous cloth the difference is not as marked as it could be. Thus, both local and non-indigenous cloth have to be purchased, and this can amount to a considerable financial outlay. Locally the means to accumulate capital are few, and most men leave the village for a period of waged-labour in the towns of Mali, Ivory Coast and, less commonly, Ghana. Significantly, clothing is the most popular item with which to return, although most will also endeavour to acquire things not locally available.

This pattern of acquisition is clearly resprented in the inventories; the houses occupied by unmarried youths have little material culture within them[12]. Besides a water pot, the

inventory may only consist of sleeping mats, a few clothes and possibly a bicycle. Likewise, the houses where the occupant is married but has still to be joined by his first wife, can be sparsely furnished, although these inventories may often include several 'non-indigenous' objects. Typically, these include a photograph of themeselves and their workmates, clothes made from machine-spun cloth, Homberg hats, sunglasses, and perhaps an umbrella, mirrors, suitcase and other paraphenalia. A similar pattern can be observed for the houses of young married couples, although in these cases there is a greater density of artefacts owing to the presence of the possessions of both persons. In these houses there is also a higher proportion of 'decorative' items, than in either the ginu na or 'widow' categories. Aside from magazine pictures and photographs stuck onto the walls, these include such things as brightly-coloured enamelled metal bowls and trays, engraved calabashes, new wooden bowls and plastic vessels, all of which are often suspended from the rafters (See Plate 13). Figure 5:4 also indicates that the inventories with a high percentage of 'non-indigenous' objects are those of individuals in their mid-twenties to mid-thirties, that is, in those houses where the male resident has had an opportunity to earn cash.

The importance of these items for men, is their role in strategies aimed at satisfying their wives, and in some cases attracting their second and third wives. As Calame-Griaule observed, jealousy between co-wives commonly features in marital relationships, and not simply in terms of sexual favours, "mais

Plate 13 Detail of wall decorations in a young man´s room.

aussi sur toutes les formes d'attentions et marques d'affection que le mari peut avoir pour l'une ou l'autre, et naturellement sur les cadeaux" (1965, 332). However, if the acquisition of non-indigenously produced objects, which have to be purchased and cannot simply be made, is important to marriage strategies, any control exercised over the opportunities to accumulate such items could be a significant source of power. Thus, young men, hoping to go to Abidjan in search of wage labour, so as to enhance their personal wealth, and thereby standing, often come into conflict with their lineage head, who wish, either to retain the labour of these men for lineage production, or even to appropriate some of their earnings (see also Chapter 7).

Obviously, not all of the decorative items found in ginu sala houses are purchased by men. For instance, objects such as wooden bowls, coloured enamelled trays and bowls and engraved calabashes, are commonly purchased by women. Any cash derived from petty market-trading that is not used to buy condiments, for the sauces that accompany dishes of millet served to lineage members, is frequently invested in such objects, and also items of attire. The aims of this process of acquisition may be slightly different to that pursued by men, but the constraints placed upon it are comparable. Senior women control access to either the resources, such as field space, the means of production, such as brewing equpiment, or the specialist knowledge, such as that needed for potting, that are required by women wishing to enter into most kinds of market activity. Thus they are more favourably placed than junior women who also have

the added disadvantage, when compared with young men, of not being free to leave the village to find employment. This imbalance in opportunities to acquire cash between young and old, and to a lesser extent between men and women, sets up a series of tensions which run through the whole of society.

Turning to a consideration of the inventories of the houses of widows, the most striking point is not so much the presence of items used for preparing food or beer, since these can be accomodated into the lineage model (see above Section 4:4.1), but the sheer density of objects. This is apparent from Figure 5:3, while a visual impression can be gained from the plan of an appropriate house interior (Figure 5:6d), which shows the floor space cluttered with objects, stacked on top of each other, and gathering dust for want of use. Towards the end of their lives, then, women appear to have more possesions than they can employ in various tasks. On the other hand, these women no longer need to pursue a strategy aimed at gaining autonomy since they are either married to a lineage head, and hence in a position of considerable power, or are widowed and to some extent less constrained by lineage routine.

If contrasted with the houses of single, older men, such as that of a widower, there is a marked difference in appearance since the houses of the latter tend to be bare of goods (compare Plate 8 & 9, and Figures 5:6a and 5:6d). In the example illustrated, the main house in the compound contained little more than a few pots, two old querns and a water pot. It is interesting that the pots left behind were those associated with

beer, such as beer fermenting jars, dey and beer-serving pots, buno. These are the few pots which men buy, although women can also buy them if they have need of them. The rooms were musty and unswept, and the occupant spent most of his time in the entrance porch to the compound, where he had a sleeping mat, blankets, his snuff horn and other male equipment, and his walking staff.

For reasons already discussed, the rules of property transmission determined, to a large extent, the household inventory. This man's wife had been dead for nearly twenty years, and since a woman's possessions are inherited only by her daughters and other female natal kin, on her death her house was cleared of objects by these individuals and apportioned between them according to her wishes. This redistribution does not take place immediately after a woman dies, or for that matter after her burial, and occurs only after her spirit-raising ceremony (see also Paulme 1940, 327). This rule also plays an important part in determining the display of objects at these same ceremonies and will be dealt with in the following chapter. In terms of its material consequences on household space, most of the objects are cleared away, often including large potsherds, for even these are still usable. Disputes can often arise over the issue of inheritance (see also Calame-Griaule 1965, 333), and thus any property that the deceased did not allocate to a certain individual is removed by her natal kin.

On the other hand, close to the entrance porch of the compound where this widower lived, is a small single roomed house

which he kept padlocked. At first the widower described the contents as belonging to a relative of his, who lived in the plain of Gondo, and only later did he explain that it was for his own use. Inside the floor was cluttered and dust lay over everything. Nearly all the objects were those associated with men, such as shuttles and other weaving equipment, spears, muskets, walking staffs. Amongst the piles of old exercise books was a battered suitcase, containing the few remaining and highly prized pieces of clothing he had brought back with him from Kumasi, where he had spent several years doing wage labour in the late 1920's. In short, the room had become a store room for the heirlooms his sons, absent from the village, would come to inherit. The objects were being kept 'out of sight', as evidenced by his initial reluctance to reveal the contents of the room, which had become a repository of his past.

There is then a superficial similarity between this house and those of widows, since both contain collections of objects that have been acquired during the course of an individuals life. However, by keeping his possessions locked away, the widower was using his house <u>as if</u> it was a granary, and had thus transformed a relatively open space into one which was both literally and metaphorically closed. The houses of widows, on the other hand, are more open, to both the young girls who share these spaces, and to visiting affines and friends. While most of these women also have their own granary, these are clearly differentiated from their dwelling space, and this difference in attitude to their material surroundings will be pursued in Chapter Six.

Section 5:8 Summary :

In the course of this chapter a number of themes which have a bearing on household inventories have been examined. These can be briefly recapitualted here, since the expalanation of these patterns has a bearing on the analysis of material culture in wider social contexts. Considering male:female differences, first of all, it is abundantly clear that where women are present the inventory of a house is frequently richer both qualitatively and quantitatively. Although this correlation partially derives from the association, through daily practice, of women with many of these items, such a pragmatic explanation cannot be sustained in all contexts. Thus, older women literally surround themselves with objects that they no longer use. Although older men can also own many items, these do not feature so prominently in their daily routines. Significantly, a man's most prized items are those used in 'public' (i.e inter-lineage) contexts of display. In a sense, then, both men and women can be said to be making biographical statements about themselves through the medium of their material possessions.

Another set of objects, by virtue of their contextual association with the major locus of lineage activities, symbolise the lineage, and an idealised complementary division of labour. The precise symbolism of these objects relies on a set of analogies which the Dogon make between life and food, water and fertility, and old age and death. The use of these symbols as part of the dominant ideology helps to construct both male and female notions of identity, and belonging. These notions in turn

pre-structure the kinds of autobiographical statements an individual might wish to make. However, this ideology, which emphasises commensality, is based on an unequal distribution of authority, and control over the allocation of resources. By manipulating the conventional meanings of objects, as part of personal ambitions and strategies, individuals are able to create a degree of personal autonomy from the constraints placed upon them by the dominant ideology.

This can be most clearly seen with respect to women, and their practical control over space. Thus, women, by virtue of their regular and daily association with the house, acquire a capacity for the transformation of the spatial order. Any change in the spatial order is potentially dangerous, for unless the new pattern can be accomodated it is no longer 'order', but 'disorder'. This raises, in turn, the questions as to whether the dominant ideology is actually changed by such practices, and if not, how it is reproduced, and these points form the focus of discussion in the following chapters.

Footnotes :

1. In one sense social time "as form, ... as succession organized by the application to passing time of the principle which organizes all dimensions of practice, tends to fulfil even more effectively than the division of space, a function of integration in and through division" (Bourdieu 1977, 163, original emphasis).
2. "Action involves intervention in events in the world, thus producing definite outcomes ... Power as transformative capacity can then be taken to refer to agents' capabilities of reaching such outcomes" (Giddens 1979, 88, my emphasis).

3. When working with individuals who are unaccoustomed at reckoning time and record keeping after the fashion of Western societies, this precludes the possibility of using diaries kept by various individuals, such as employed by time-space geographers, as a method of collecting data.
4. Although most of these objects can be used freely by her spouse, he does not have the right to alienate any of his wife's possessions.
5. There is also a certain degree of variation in the contents of stored foodstuffs, such as cereal, leaves and fruits, between the two seasons which can be attributed to the differential availability of these products. This data is not illustrated, though, partially because of the effects of differential rates of consumption, and the difficulties in distinguishing between the years when foodstuffs were first put into store.
6. The term 'resources' is used here in the dual sense as defined by Giddens, who notes that they "are the media whereby transformative capacity is employed as power in the routine course of social interaction; but they are at the same time structural elements of social systems as systems, reconstituted through their utilisation in social interaction" (1979, 92).
7. As Bourdieu has noted, the object of such strategies "is to transmute 'egoistic', private, interests ... into disinterested, collective, publicly avowable, legitimate interests" (1977, 40).
8. Taxonomically, this is the catfish (Clarisa senegalensis).
9. The association of the eldest member of the lineage with an old object (the food bowl), in the oldest extant dwelling belonging to that lineage, clearly emphasises this connection between longevity and continued sustenance. It is significant that there is a special food bowl, more elaborately decorated, termed ogo banya, for the Hogon, the oldest male for the entire maximal lineage.
10. Paulme noted this as well, although she cites some different objects: "Au milieu des hommes, les soeurs du mort brandissent l'une son fusil ou sa lance, un autre son chapeau et son chasse-mouche" (1940, 514).
11. The price of a dyed, locally woven and sewn wrap-around-skirt in 1983 cost 4,000 MF, while an equivalent one made from machine-spun cloth cost between 6,500 - 8,000 MF. There were about 1,000 MF to £1 sterling in 1983.
12. Paulme's comments on the interiors of this category of residence are of interest here: "Les pièces de ces maisons d'enfants offrent en général un aspect dénudé, les occupants serrant chez leurs parents leurs quelques effet personnels, qu'ils jugent là plus à l' abri" (1940, 469).

CHAPTER 6

SYMBOLS OF IDENTITY.

> "Through the magic of a world of objects which is the product of the application of the same schemes to the most diverse domains, a world in which each thing speaks metaphorically of all the others, each practice comes to be invested with an objective meaning, a meaning withwhich practices - and particularly rites - have to reckon at all times whether to evoke or revoke it"
>
> Bourdieu 1977, 91.

Section 6:1 Introduction:

The passage through life from infancy to old age, amongst the Dogon, is characterised by a sequential movement from one category of residence to another. In relation to this, it has been argued that, in several respects, the conceptual categories used to define residential groups are given material expression, through the personal possessions that make up house inventories. Social space, then, is defined partly according to spatial, temporal and material criteria. One of the features of this ordering of the social world is that it is in constant need of re-statement by virtue of the fact of biological ageing. People 'grow out of', as it were, their previous social identity and must take on, and take to, the trappings of their subsequent position. Any rejection of the idealsied trajectory through space-time, such as men or women declining to have offspring, is a departure from convention, and as such threatens the order

itself. This order is publicly represented in a manner best termed as the 'official lineage idiom', by which is meant co-members of a lineage are held to work in complementary opposition for their mutual benefit. However, the true nature of social and economic relations are not as equal as this rhetoric would have people believe. In short, the relations of production, consumption and reproduction ensure that older men occupy positions of power. By virtue of their authority, the latter are able to control the allocation of residential space, and thereby control the 'biography' of individuals. To develop a phrase of Hägerstrand's (1975), the passage of life is a carefully choreographed path through time and space.

However, as discussed in the previous chapter, individuals always retain the capacity to negotiate their position in the social hierachy via practice, and thereby to accumulate a degree of spatio-temporal autonomy. Cooking is a case in point, for although viewed as one of a woman's many responsibilities as a wife and lineage member, her practical control over the tasks can be used to great effect as part of her personal strategies. In otherwords, by modifying the normal, routine and expected course of events, such as altering their spatial or temporal location or material components, a woman can make certain statements about herself, and her perception of her relations with others. In one sense then, individuals, through practice, construct, or at least elaborate upon, aspects of their identity. As part of this process of construction, they may wish to depart from the ideal models held to be appropriate to someone at their stage in life.

This kind of action, as I have said, is a challenge to the 'official' version, but since the acts are presupposed by a prior knowledge of the 'idealised' models, they are best construed, not as radical alternatives, but as strategic interpetations.

Theoretically, such 'interpretations' always carry with them a destructuring potential. On the other hand, individuals often make, to all intents and purposes, identical strategic interpretations. Hence, one could say that their activities present no challenge to the existing order, and that they reproduce instead, an orthodox heterodoxy. These same points can be rephrased with more specific data in mind. Thus, to return to the cooking example, does the fact that junior wives periodically cook at their own compounds, rather than at their affinal ginu na, contribute to the erosion of the official model? Or, why do women select this method for voicing their grievances and why is it tolerated by their husbands and by lineage heads? Clearly this could be an issue of concern, for, as will be recalled, the hearth is regarded as a symbol of the lineage by virtue of the collective use of those at the ginu na, for the production of communal meals (see above section 4:4). The actual use of other hearths, by some of the same individuals, would seem to be a negation of the use associations that make the analogy possible. Indeed, such a sentiment appears to have motivated the use of the phrase 'many hearths quickly exhaust the firewood', in the ya:yinu and bulu ceremonies, since on both occasions the orator followed it with the phrase 'a tradition of the past' (tèmu dige), thereby attempting to legitimise certain practices

by giving them an historical significance (infra Chapter 8). Alternatively, from the analysis of household inventories it seems that, despite much temporal restructuring of the spatial order, and departure from normative models of routine practice, such individuating acts have a limited effect on the ´cultural order´, as testified by the repetitive relocation of food bowls, waterpots and shrine material. The object of this chapter is, then, to examine why the ´official´ model is so effective.

Section 6:2 Symbols of Age and Gender:

6:2.1 Introductory discussion :

Attention has already been drawn to the significance of age and gender distinctions, with particular reference to residential categories. It was argued that the latter derive from a conceptual ordering of social space, largely for the purposes of ensuring the social and demographic reproduction of the lineage, which in turn help to maintain its **genealogical space.** Since descent is traced patrilineally and lineages are headed by male elders, the structure of social space lends support to male strategies. While the resultant order serves to keep various age and gender categories apart for residential purposes, members of most categories must interact and co-operate collectively for the purposes of production. Such practical necessity partially explains the absence of marked divisions of internal house space into male:female, or young:old zones. Conversely, because rights of access and use of house space are conferred on in-marrying women, the latter, through their routine associations with house space, in effect transform an ´open´ space into a semi-personal

one. This mix of de jure and de facto rights of use over space, is characteristic of Dogon age and gender relations. That is, while there are acknowledged modes of behaviour appropriate to one's age and gender, and occasions when formal differences are emphasised, relations between the sexes and generations are generally relaxed and cordial. A consequence of this is that both men and women have the opportunity to negotiate their own individuality from the basic 'ground rules' of social and behavioural norms.

A feature that relationships between seniors and cadets, and between men and women have in common is that both are based on an imbalance in authority. Although an elder's authority over a junior, or that of a man over a woman, is backed jurally, some of the most central elements of such relationships derive from ideas about inter-personal respect. These form a complex set of notions, and cannot be fully elaborated upon here, but in order to understand age and gender symbolism certain aspects must be examined. The main point about respecting imbalances in authority is that it need only be demonstrated in certain contexts. In other words, in some contexts women behave in a deferential manner to men, while in others they act in a more assertive fashion. Likewise, young and old may interact as if equals in one context, when in another their age differences clearly condition their demeanour.

For instance, as mentioned above, domestic disagreements can often arise between husband and wife. These can develop into

vociferous and aggressive arguments between the protagonists, no aspect of which could be conceived of as submissive behaviour on the part of the woman concerned. Conversely, there are times when women must show deference to male authority, such as when passing or addressing men at the togu na. The togu na, or men's meeting shelter, is an exclusively male area, and under no circumstances can women enter its space. Anyone passing the togu na, regardless of gender, should greet those seated there, saying 'togu na bem pouy'. In addition, any woman passing by carrying a load on her head, must steady it with one hand however superfluous this might be. Since women pass the togu na several times a day carrying waterpots, bundles of firewood, baskets and the like on their heads, this gesture becomes habitual. There are other deferential gestures and modes of conduct that women have to adopt at certain times, such as during their menses (infra Section 6:3), and perhaps the most marked examples can be observed when the two sexes hold a discussion at the togu na.

During these debates the rigid spatial division which ensures that women remain at the edge of the area that comprises the togu na, is reinforced by bodily posture, since the men are seated while the women stand. The structure of discourse also emphasies gender differences, for the men, generally by age, voice their opinions in turn, whereas the majority of women remain silent and are represented by a single, senior, individual. Throughout the only dispute of this kind that occurred during the periods of fieldwork, the faces of all the women participating remained expressionless, and their posture

subdued. Discussions involving both men and women only take place under exceptional circumstances, and the case referred had been precipitated by the infraction of a taboo by menstruating women (infra Section 6:3.2). Under normal circumstances, men alone discuss the affairs of the village, and do not normally take the views of women into consideration. The posture and gestures that women adopt, as signs of respect, are an acknowledgement on their part of the control men have over discourse, and by extension, socialisation.

The spatial exclusion of women from the political arena is double-edged, for, on the one hand, the association of men with a particular activity to be carried out in a certain locale, creates a contrast between this domain and those where women are active participants. This in turn generates an implicit assumption that the matters discussed in each context are qualitatively different. The dichotomy is transposed, also, onto daily routine. Hence, during the hours of the early afternoon, when most people are resting, men congregate at the togu na, whereas women visit the compound of a friend, both with an aim to converse and exchange information with their peers. The generalities of the subject matter differs very little between the two sets of conversation, but men would feel uneasy discussing their affairs with their wives, and **vice versa.** Excluding women from most formal discussions at the togu na, as well as the informal socialising, puts them at a futher disadvantage, since it denies women the opportunity to acquire the langauge of debate, which differs from everyday discourse.

This lack of knowledge, on the part of women, is reinforced whenever they do particpate in a debate, by their behaviour. As I have said, most do not express their views at all, leaving that task to a single indivdual. More importantly, the low evaluation of their views, in the eyes of men, is expressed by their posture, since the Dogon hold that words of great weight and import should be uttered in a seated position. A similar sentiment is expressed in the proverb which runs ´ine na da le daiye, kije igeje ii dagi igenu iyele´ meaning ´a youth standing does not see that which an old man sees when seated´ (Dolo and Minta 1980, 82).

There is a further connotation to this proverb, for as well as contrasting standing with sitting, young and old are also contraposed in the proverb, thus drawing attention to the belief that wisdom comes with age. It is this sagacity, as much as jural authority, that junior men are encouraged to respect. The balance, is, however, a delicate one, for the line between old age and senility is fine, and while a young man should not accuse a senior of being in error, he may, nevertheless, act contrary to the advice and wishes of the latter. An even more ambiguous relationship pertains between young men and old women, especially their widowed mothers. In view of their age, the latter should be shown respect and tolerated, while their gender denies them authority. As we have seen, a response to this dilemma is to spatially marginalise widows, while conferring upon them some responsibilties of ´educating´ the daughters of their sons. Even so, most men are careful not to offend their mother, for fear

that following her demise she would cause them some misfortune or illness.

This ambivalence that members of different generations feel toward each other, is partially explicable in terms of the process of socialisation. One of the roles of elders is to pass on their knowledge, to bequeath 'cultural artefacts', as well as material possessions, onto their dependants. As individuals age and grow, gradually they accumulate more and more 'artefacts'[1], with which they mould their own identity. In some respects, those who bestow such resources onto others can define the parametres of age and gender identities, because they are in a position to control the exchange of knowledge and to structure practice. Ultimately though, following death, they must disengage themselves from the social process. Ancestral cults may ensure that the deceased are seen to retain some influence over village, lineage and personal affairs, but they must leave practice in the hands of the living.

The devolution of land and property is one aspect of this process of exchange between generations, and it has already been intimated that the ginu bana is considered to be the custodian of these resources for future generations. Correct maintenance of both the material fabric and the demographic composistion of the lineage requires specialist knowledge. Its possession forms a major device for legitimising the structural imbalance of economic resources between both, elders and juniors, and, men and women. Just as the distribution of dwelling space is carefully controlled by the lineage head, so too is the allocation of

knowledge. Meanwhile, young men are encouraged to sit around after the evening meal in order to listen to the head of the extended family recount such information. Women are excluded from such occasions, and proverbs insist that it is not prudent for men to take women, even their wives, into their confidence (Calame-Griaule 1965, 389). Renowned amongst men as gossips, women cannot be expected to keep such information to themselves. Proper topics of conversation with one's wives, therefore, include family matters and all the minutiae of daily life, but not 'traditional knowledge'. It is precisely the latter kind of information which is necessary for propitiation of lineage ancestors and maintainance of inter-lineage ties. Moreover, many of the rhetorical devices used in public debates are also explained to young men at these night-time sessions. Thus, whenever women wish to communicate with men on such matters, they are ill equipped to deal with the situation, since their knowledge of the techniques of the dominant mode of discourse, that is the one which will be listened to, is minimal.

Two points emerge from these observations; firstly, the context of learning reinforces the principle that the acquisition of this type of information is an exclusively male prerogative. Its possession, therefore, confers upon the individual the right to claim his status as a male, and to act accordingly. This, of course, begins much earlier following circumscision, when the social identity of boys is changed and they become prototype male adults. The second point is that by controlling access to certain types of information, much of which concerns an exegesis

of ancestral rites and mythology, lineage elders create a relation of dependence between young men and themselves. The necessity for this derives from the decreasing practical involvement of the elders in production, and hence increasing dependence on junior generations for material support. The comparative strength of the latter is freely acknowledged, and the motif ´sagada:ra, golo anai´, ´youth, the axe of men´ is a common metaphor used in prayers and other formal orations. It is sometimes followed by the phrase ´tinu u minyu´, ´it is you who looks for wood´, intimating that it is the young who do most of the clearing of fields and work on the farms. So that the latter do not form their own independent units of production and consumption, elder men must, therefore, maintain the appearance of an immutable link between correct ritual practice, and the successful economic production and demographic reproduction.

6:2.2 Material expressions of age and gender :

In keeping with the view of individual biographies as choreographed paths through space and time, it is notable that there are several styles of male clothing, which are roughly correlated with certain age groups. These have, in the recent past, become less marked amongst the younger generations, owing to such factors as the penetration of ´Western´ styles of dress, and the greater availability of machine spun cloth. On the other hand, the general preference, amongst elder men, for indigenous styles, contrasts with that held by younger men for ´modern´ clothes. A general description of the styles characteristic of each age group is provided by Calame-Griaule (1951), and since

all but the loin cloths once worn by young boys are still made, the sequence can be summarised here:

Age	Male Clothing
0-4.	nude.
4-up to circumscion c. 10-12.	loin cloth (gere) or, thigh length breeches (ponnu numo turu); small shirt (argoy tete).
up to 40.	Breeches (ponnu semu); sleeveless overshirt (argoy kolo kala).
40 plus.	Baggy knee-length breeches (tubo); sleeved overshirt (argoy numo).
50 plus.	In place of argoy numo can wear a sleeved calf-length tunic (argoy sulo); cap (kelegu).

TABLE 6:1 CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN MALE CLOTHING STYLES AND AGE.

The main feature about the different male garments is that as individuals get progressively older, more and more cloth is used for their clothes. The loin cloths and overshirts worn by pre-pubescent boys are tight-fitting, as suggested by the name ponnu numo toru which means, literally, 'breeches of one band (of cloth)'. These, and the clothes of youths (sagada:rau) contrast sharply with the long flowing tunics (Plate 14) and generous breeches of older men, which require several metres of cloth to make. Since cloth is comparatively expensive to purchase, and the craft of weaving takes time to learn, the clothes themselves signify differences in age, not as correlates, but in a more subtle, referential manner.

Although in contemporary Dogon society such age distinctions are not as readily apparent, this blurring of styles of dress applies mainly for contexts of work, when most adult male,

Plate 14 Lineage head wearing an <u>argoy</u> <u>numo</u>.

regardless of their age, simply wear a pair of breeches. Rules of decorum ensure that men wear a shirt, or tunic, when they visit another vllage or a market, and on these occassions the differences in age are more visibly marked. The contexts in which age distinctions are most clearly and persistently indicated, however, are the major rituals, such as funeral and spirit-raising ceremonies and the bulu. Significantly, it is in these public contexts of collective actions that, alongside lineage affiliation, age is used as an ordering principle. The system for marking age categories amongst women is far simpler. Young girls wear a wrap around skirt, numo turu, of mid-thigh length, while adolescents and older women alike wear a longer, calf-length version, known as soy dyibe, that is made from more bands of cloth. Although most women wear a few items of jewellery, such as a pair of aluminium earrings and possibly a bracelet, no single age group is associated with either a particular item, or with a standardised quantity of objects[2]. In passing, it can be noted that women probably wear fewer pieces of jewellery as a matter of course in daily life than they did in the past. When asked for a reason why women wear such items, the standard response was 'to make themselves pretty'. What most of those interviewed did not comment upon was that jewellery, as a means of adornment and sign of attractiveness, has been superseded, to some extent, by another set of artefacts. Central to the adoption of these is a notion of modernity, as characterised by the desire to accumulate quantities of non-indigenous products (see Figure 5:4 above). The latter are not simply restricted to pieces of jewellery, and include such

functionally diverse artefacts as enamelled metal bowls, plastic buckets, mirrors, machine spun cloth and soaps and perfumes.

The contrast between men and women is not simply in terms of the presence or absence of portable symbols of their age, but is also one of ´public´ and ´domestic´ modes of representation, in the sense of, respectively, inter-lineage and intra-lineage contexts (supra Section 4:1). As indicated here, men have access to, and control over, the public arena and its discourse. Their rights to these are signified by their styles of clothing, each change of clothing denoting changes in their responsibilities and their knowledge. Women, on the other hand, are marginalised, both in terms of their exclusion from public discussions and lack of knowledge of styles of public debate, and also with respect to their public image. From their modes of dress, adult women appear superficially identical. Yet, the same women pursue a strategy of accumulating possesions, with which, as argued in Chapter 5, to define their age-status.

One way in which a woman´s standing is measured, by men, is through her cooking. For, not only is a woman´s expertise in cooking highly valued, but also some of the common metaphors for women and their routine tasks make reference to ´domestic´ items of material culture. Predominate amongst these is the calabash, of which there are several different categories. The most ubiquitous are those used as drinking vessels, called koro si, and those employed during food preparation, known as koro pilu. A pair of metaphors frequently employed in sacrificial prayers make use of this distinction, and they run as follows:

The koro pilu has done its work,	Koro pilu bira wona,
The koro si has drunk.	koro si kaye djewa.

Despite having identical forms, these artefacts are conceptually distinguished according to ideas of cleanliness. A koro si is considered to be 'clean', and must be used only for liquids, such as water, beer or gruel, although its name literally means 'the calabash which is held' (Plate 15). The word pilu, meaning 'white', refers to the discolouration of the inner surface of a calabash owing to its repeated use for winnowing grain (Plate 16). Although having a literal derivation, the implication of the term is simply that calabashes used for a range of tasks, and not just winnowing, are dirty, and the term is used to distinguish these from those suitable for use as drinking vessels.

The use, of these two phrases during sacrifices where beer and food were offered to the ancestors, can thus be understood as metaphors for the roles of women as preparers of food and brewers of beer, respectively (for further elaboration see Section 8:4). The important point here is that by employing these metaphors men acknowledge the practical control women have over 'domestic' contexts. Nevertheless, they are careful not to allow women to extend their influence into the 'public', that is village, sphere of inter-lineage relations. The paradox is that just as men are dependent on women in their servicing role, they are even more dependent on women as reproducers, that is as 'producers of producers'. Control over fertility is therefore a vital part of

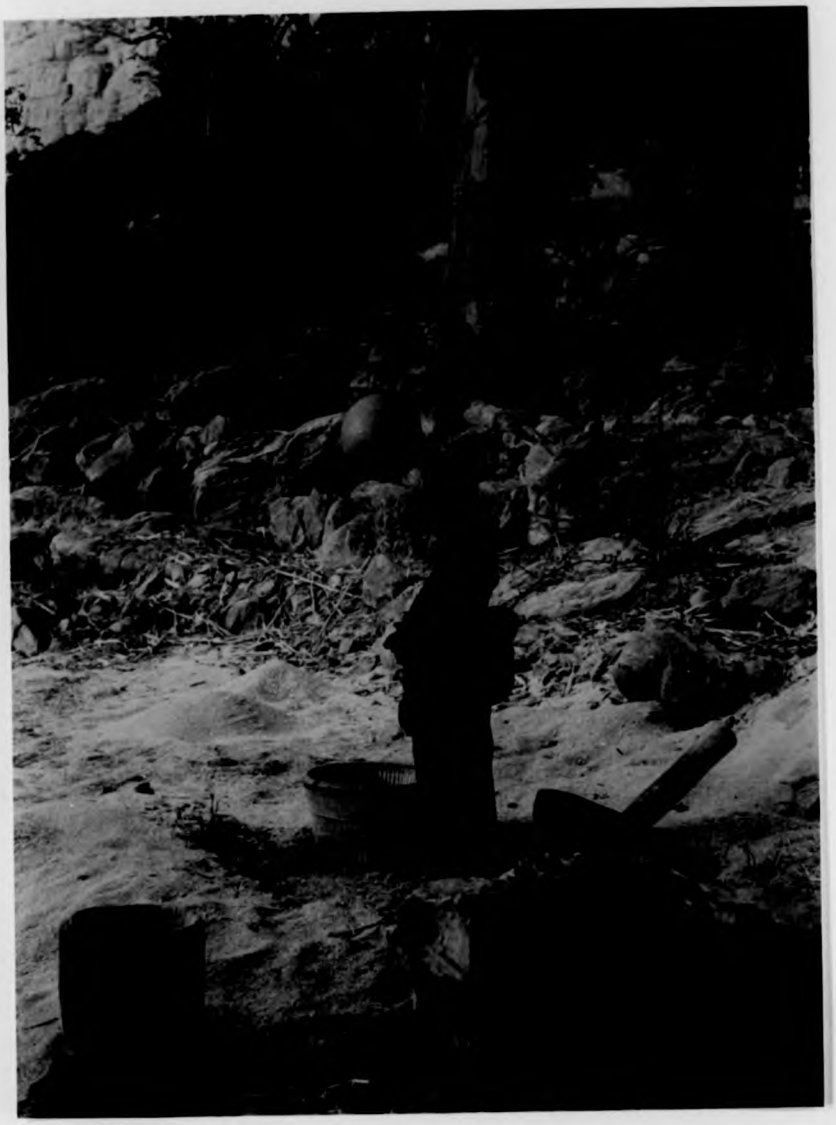


Plate 15 Koro pilu being used for winnowing.

Plate 16 Men drinking beer from koro si.

male subordination of women, and the strategies employed to achieve this are examined in the next section.

Section 6:3 Symbols of Fertility :

6:3.1 Introduction :

In a gynaecomobile society such as the Dogon, the strategic importance of controlling female fertilty is obvious. As discussed in previous chapters, one of the mechanisms by which this control is maintained is by regulating access to dwelling space. Part of the marriage contract involves the provision of usufruct rights over house and compound space to the in-coming woman, in exchange for rights of sexual access on the part of a prescribed male. One of the marriage rites, it was noted, involved the filling, and correct placing, of a waterpot by the woman. This act, which is later repeated hundreds of times as a part of daily routine, symbolically marks the arrival of her fertility. There are, however, wider connotations to the act. In the first place, by performing it at her husband's *ginu na*, the locus of collective lineage activities and place of residence of the lineage head, indicates the importance of her fertility not just to her husband, but also his lineage. Dieterlen (1941, 155) notes for another marriage rite, namely the pouring of water into the *tonyo*[3] at the *ginu na*, is performed to legitimise the children borne to the couple. The point at issue here is not filliation, since were the rites left unperformed the identities of both genitor and genitrix would still be known, but **descent.** The importance of this distinction lies in the opportunity it creates for the male parent to confer upon his children a certain

'identity', that is a sufficient credential for the latter to have rights of usufruct in part of the immovable property of the lineage. As such, the "specified parent is both a parent and the repository, as it were, and transmitter, of structurally significant ancestry" (Fortes 1970, 282). This is seen clearly in the belief that the spirits of unborn children reside in the pond owned by their father's lineage, and that these same spirits must be transformed into human beings according to carefully controlled practices. Thus, when the lineage head officiates at the marriage rites, and offers prayers to the ancestors requesting that the couple bear children, he fulfils his role as mediator between past and future generations. Conversely, whilst being the necessary agents of transformation in this process, the contribution made by women to the social space of the lineage is genaelogically supressed. By the same token, any outward sign of unconstrained fertility or independence on the part of women, is perceived as a threat to male concerns. At least theoretically, once impregnated a woman is no longer dependent upon the natural father of her child, and, given the relative ease of divorce, she could move elsewhere. In keeping with the emphasis given to correct spatial locations and associations of people, it is not surprising that women are secluded, and socially marginalised, precisely at those moments when direct evidence of male involvement in the process of reproduction is lacking, that is at, and immediately following parturition and during menstruation.

6:3.2 Principles of female seclusion :

To view the seclusion of women during their menstrual period purely as a sociological fact of Dogon culture, would be to treat it simply as an interesting curiosity. While notions about pollution and danger lie at the root of this confinement, there is nothing immutable and universal, about the flow of menstrual blood that warrants such a taboo on contact between the sexes. Consequently, reasons for the cultural elaboration of a physiological state, and the conceptual distinctions thus generated, must be sought. Central to an understanding of the reasons for seclusion are Dogon notions about procreation and conception, and these are outlined below.

The Dogon hold that the foetus is formed in the mother's breast by a mixing of female menstrual blood and male semen. For a child to be properly formed these two components must be balanced, and thus an excess of one, or a deficiency of the other, is viewed with concern. Semen, euphemistically termed di pilu (lit. 'white water'), is held to circulate around the body like blood. An old man once stated, as an explanation of his lack of physical strength, that his di pilu did not circulate properly, thus equating sexual potency with physical strength. The flow of menstrual blood, ya:punu, is also considered to be a loss of sexual potency (Paulme 1940, 422), and it is for this reason that during their menses women are segregated from men. Should the latter come into contact with a menstruating woman this could upset their own balance of semen to ordinary blood, and therefore potency, and could eventually lead to death. It is

significant that older men are considered to be most at risk from this kind of pollution, that is precisely those individuals whose sexual potency is on the wane.

Since both semen and menstrual blood are considered as strong substances, women, under exceptional circumstances, can also be 'polluted' by an excess of semen. Thus, women who die during pregnancy or childbirth are termed ya:pilu, the word pilu, (white), being a reference to semen, intimating the cause of death to be an excess of male potency. The rites of purification that the deceased's husband has to perform support this view. In order to remove the pollution of his own potency, the latter goes into seclusion for thirty five days, during which time he eats apart from other members of his lineage, using an entirely separate set of items, such as food bowl and drinking calabash. His food is prepared in different pots from those in normal use and his clothes are not washed with those of others (see also Dieterlen 1941, 202-203). Also, he must abstain from sexual intercourse with his other wives.

The deceased, on the other hand, remains a polluted being, and only members of a few select villages, Banani and Tiogou among them, are permitted to carry her funeral bier to one of the special cemeteries reserved for such cases. She is also dressed in a white, rather than blue, skirt and blouse when interred. Her possessions, rather than being distributed to her daughters and sisters, are instead gathered up and deposited in a special sanctuary (Dieterlen 1941, 199-200). It is interesting to note that her pots are broken, in much the same way as pots are broken

in the event of pollution being introduced into a village by menstruating women (see below). Whereas death during childbirth is blamed on the male partner, sterility, on the other hand, is generally attributed to "un defaut de confirmation, soit à la sorcellerie, soit encore à quelque déficience dans le ´sang´ de la femme" (Paulme 1940, 421; emphasis added). A distinction which implies that while men can be ´over potent´, only women can be sterile, and that their monthly loss of sexual potency as well as being contained must also be revoked.

As part of this containment, women have to go into a five-day retreat, during thier menses, at the menstrual hut, ginu punùlu, situated on the periphery of the village (Plate 17). They take with them a supply of food which they prepare using culinary equipment stored permanently in the hut. For the duration of these five days, women must abstain from any kind of sexual contact with men, and must avoid talking to them as well. Should they be greeted by a man they will not respond. In fact, it is only at night that menstrauting women must remain continuously within the confines of the hut and courtyard, and during the day it is permissible for them to move about the village. However, they must use only certain prescribed paths, and they cannot enter either their ginu na compound, or any other compound in the village. They must also wash and defecate at a locale away from the village and surrounding fields. On the other hand, menstruating women are allowed to work in lineage fields, although they must be careful not to enter the Hogon´s field, as this could stop the rains (Paulme 1940, 265).

Plate 17 The seclusion hut for menstruating women.

Immediately after the end of menstruation women wash themselves, and their clothes, at the special locale reserved for their ablutions, and cover their bodies in oil, sa ni, made from the kernels of the fruit of Lannea acida. Because this tree, called sa, flowers, and also keeps its leaves during the dry season, it is regarded as particularly fecund. By covering their bodies in this oil, which is kept in a special purpose pot known as sa tonyo, women are symbolically replacing the potency that they have lost during menstruation. Significantly though, this oil is considered to be quintessentially male, although men never use it. In other words, a male element is required by women wishing to 'replace' their sexual potency. The oil itsself is prepared on a quern-like stone, termed sa tono. These are located, theoretically, outside, and adjacent to, each ginu na. In Banani only three such stones remain, rather than one for each of the seven minor lineages (tire ginna). Although used only occasionaly, and with less frequency given a growing preference for industrially produced body oils, the sa tono is considered to represent the fecundity of the ginna members who use it, and as such is an important feature of the material fabric of the village.

For the most part the sanctions placed on a woman's comportment during menstruation, and particularly when she is not strictly confined to the ginu punùlu, serve as clues to her physiological condition, since her actions differ markedly from normal behaviour. Hence, a greeting which provokes no response, or the use of a certain path, serves as unspoken warnings to men.

Generally, the inherent danger posed by the situation is succesfully negotiated with the minimum of disruption to ordinary routine, and the prescriptions themselves become routine procedures. So, when the taboos are broken, a number of rites must be performed in order to counter the pollution introduced into the village.

These rites were performed twice during the period of fieldwork between 1981 and 1983, for comparable reasons. In each instance, particular women decided not to spend a night at the seclusion hut during their menses. On the occasion in 1981, the first indication that this had happened came when early one morning, around seven o´clock, women began converging on a spot on the eastern periphery of the village. Each woman was carrying a basket full of used cooking pots, wooden spoons, calabash sherds and ´mouvettes´. All of the objects that made up these loads were items currently used during cooking (the pots included those for making sauces, nine toroy, and those for boiling millet, pana toroy), and had been extracted from the kitchens, and other rooms and hearth areas, of the houses and compounds of every married or widowed woman. A strict rule ensured that no item currently used during cooking was left behind. As each woman arrived, she either emptied her basket over a slight drop, or threw out objects individually, onto the boulder strewn surface, thereby causing the pots to shatter. Any that by chance did not break, were retrieved and smashed against a rock. The debris produced was left where it came to rest, and the locality, even prior to the events observed, was thick with

sherds and larger portions of pots, indicating a long history of use (Plate 18).

Apart from being located on the edge of the settlement (the exact position is marked on Figure 4:1), no taboo appeared to be associated with this midden, termed punùlu didiu, and several times both men and women were later observed crossing it while going about their normal tasks. Two points emerge from this, in the first place, the acts of deposition, and particularly the breaking of pots, are the significant features of the rite. The second point to emerge concerns the spatial effect of the rites. As noted above, all the culinary equipment in use was removed from every household, aside from those of widowers and unmarried men. In some cases up to fourteen vessels were removed from a single house, and the average number of pots extracted from each of the ginu na category of houses was ten. The spatial effect of the rites was dramatic, each kitchen being stripped of objects, and every woman effectively having to meet a financial burden. For some, this meant extracting new vessels from the store of pots they had made for sale. Others, who either did not have any pots to hand, or were not potters, had to buy new ones. In addition to discarding her cooking utensils, each woman was also required to empty the waterpots (loy) in her house, on the evening before the pot-breaking ritual. These were then placed outside, and upturned, so as to dry in the sun on the following day. Moreover, no woman fetched any water during the course of the morning of the ritual, and the waterpots were replenished only in the late afternoon. It was particularly emphasised that

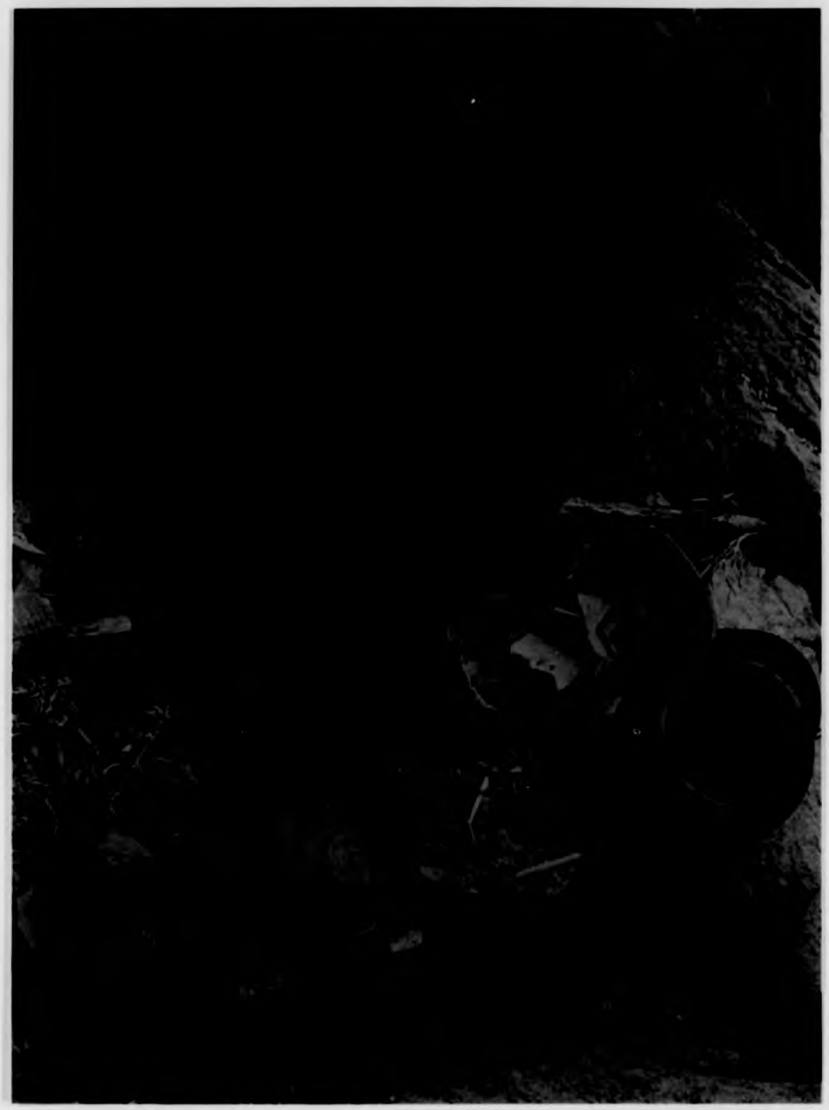


Plate 18 Broken cooking pots on the punùlu didiu.

the fresh water should be put into completely dry vessels, otherwise it would become polluted again. During that day no woman prepared any food for the mid-day meal, or any light snack or edible market produce. As with the drawing of water, normal tasks were recommenced only in the late afternoon, when women began preparing evening meals. Thus, no water or food was consumed in the village for the best part of the day, a point the male villagers were at pains to emphasise, as they sat around, while their wives and daughters did none of their customary tasks. Instead, as part of the purification rites, the latter convened **en masse** at the menstrual hut, where a goat was sacrificed, by women, and then burnt on the hearth in the compound. The same rites were observed in 1982, when several young women refused to sleep at the ginu punùlu, and on this occassion the matter was considered serious enough to warrant a debate between men and women.

6:3.3 Rites of parturition :

Women also go into seclusion immediately following parturition. Depending on her biographical circumstances, a woman will give birth either at her paternal ginu na, where one of the secondary houses will be cleared for her, or in her own house. She will use this space exclusively for the next thirty five days. For the first fifteen days, mother and child remain within the bounds of the compound, although friends and relatives can call on her here to see the child and offer a small gift. During the next twenty days both must continue to live in the same house, but can move about the village during the day. For

the entire thirty five day period the mother must prepare her own food, using a different set of culinary equipment from that in use by other lineage members. She also eats from a seperate food bowl. The cooking pots, if not her own are often purchased for her by her husband, or else provided by her mother, as with the food bowl. She keeps these items, and can use them without restriction after her period of seclusion has ended.

It can be noted in passing that stillborn infants are buried outside of the village in a pot which in turn is put into a crevice (Paulme 1940, 434). Paulme does not specify the type of pot, but in terms of their form, waterpots, loy, are identical to the ubiquitous storage vessel, termed toroy. Toroy is also the generic term for pot, thus it is probable that, given the conceptual and linguistic links made between the womb and the waterpot referred to above, this is also the symbolic significance of the use of pots for burying still-born babies.

There are some obvious parallels between the post-partum restrictions observed by women, and those followed by men whose wives have died during pregnancy or childbirth. The length of time over which the taboos are respected is identical, as is the use of a special set of material culture for eating, drinking and preparing food. The latter rule, and also the retreat from 'normal' interaction, are analogous to the taboos followed by women during their menses. However, the reasons as to why post-partum women must be secluded are more ambiguous. For instance, Paulme notes that "seules des personnes âgées, hors de la vie, peuvent approcher impunément la jeune mère, avant que celle-ci

soit purifiée du sang de l'acouchment" (1940, 437), suggesting that the mother is temporarily impure. On the other hand, one male informant, whose wife had recently given birth, told me that women were secluded to protect them from any form of pollution accidentally introduced by someone else. What is clear, is that the dangers of pollution can be transmitted via material culture, but they do not remain permanently attatched to the objects. This also holds for the pots broken by villagers following the infraction of a menstraution taboo, as discussed above.

Another significant point about the period of seclusion following childbirth is that this is considered to be one of the moments when the nani relationship between child and ancestor can be established; the other two being before conception and during pregancy (Dieterlen 1941, 128). Establishing this link between generations bestows certain credentials upon the child, by which s/he is entitled to protection and support throughout life from his or her respective nani (ancestor). In return, an annual sacrifice of a chicken and beer must be made by the recipient. In a sense, then, through the child, memory of the deceased is sustained, while through the ancestor the child is provided with an initial social identity. Significantly, this relationship is not established for illegitimate children.

6:3.4 The wider significance of spatial seclusion :

In summary, the designation of particular moments of the reproductive cycle of women as potentially polluting and requiring their seclusion, are specific cultural elaborations of physiological states. By enforcing the seclusion of women, in

both physical and metaphysical senses, men endeavour to control both female fertility and the newly born child. Control over the former is essential for the continued reproduction of the lineage, while control over the latter is needed if the lineage's future labour demands are to be met. Thus, by regulating the new-born infant's entry into the world, a social identity, specific to the lineage, can be conferred upon it. By socially marginalising women at key moments in their reproductive cycle, the normal spatial autonomy that the latter possess, and the practical power which obtains from this, is constrained, and women can only re-enter society once they have been symbolically 'cleansed'.

Nevertheless, a woman will retain a hold over her child's biography for a considerable period after childbirth, and it is only gradually weaned, metaphorically as well as literally, from her. The first few days of its life are spent almost exclussively within the confines of a house in the company of its mother. Later, it can be taken outside of the compound into the village, and, at the end of the period of seclusion it will be taken to be named by the Hogon of its paternal village. For the next few years, the child remains more or less permanently with its mother, from whom it first learns to speak. Up to this point, a child's mother, and if it is her first child, then her patrilineage as well, has almost unrestricted, practical control over its life. Significantly, the dialect of a child in its early years, is always that of its mother's village, and its vocabulary that of household objects and tasks (Calame-Griaule

1965, 256). Hence, by delegating the task of rearing her own children to a woman, her affinal lineage would lay itself open to the risk of losing control over the child, were it not for a genealogical relationship between the child and a lineage ancestor. By creating this bond, however, **de jure** to lineage property, including dwelling space, are granted to the child. The movement through dwelling space that a child subsequently follows (supra Chapter 4), helps to practically reinforce this conceptual control, since the spatial distance between a woman and her child is gradually increased over time. Moreover, by grading male children, in various ways, such as age-sets, clothing styles and circumscision, and conferring on them a greater 'public', that is inter-lineage, rather than purely 'domestic' (i.e. intra-lineage) identity, a social distinction between males and females is created, and which material culture and physical space recursively recreate. This process of gender construction is sustained throughout life, and various aspect of it have already been discussed. Essentially, the differences become more marked as individuals grow older, and in the following section the differences between men and women towards the end of their biographical trajectory are examined.

Section 6:4 Symbols of perpetuity :

6:4.1 General discussion :

The previous section pointed to some of the ways by which female fertility is constrained for the purposes of ensuring lineage continuity, and pre-empting the potential control women

have over their offspring. Arising from this discussion, it became apparent that there are appropriate modes of reproduction, suggesting that the issue of continuity is not simply a matter of demographic replacement. The identities of future lineage members must be as carefully managed, as they are later in life. Unlike during life, however, the souls of the unborn and newly born lack the autonomy that comes from the practical abilities with which an individual is gradually equipped via socialisation. The possession of practical ability and knowledge allows individuals the potential for interpreting their world and to make statements about their place in it. If, as they age, men and women accumulate greater personal autonomy, what happens following death? Do the deceased retain, or even enhance, so to speak, their standing and individuality, or is this lost through the capricious vagaries of the living? It is to these questions about social and personal identities after death that I now turn.

Death, itself, is viewed with ambivalence, since it both disrupts the social order and also marks the start of a transition from the uncertain world of mortals to that of the ancestors. While for the Dogon death does not mark cessation of existence, it does require careful management to guarantee an unproblematic passage from one state to the next. Given the ability of the ancestors to intervene in events in the world, it is in the interests of the living to ensure that the dead do not feel aggrieved about this process.

Another concern, just as important, that is expressed through funeral ceremonies is the need to meet reciprocal

obligations that exist between respective lineages. The delay between funeral and spirit-raising ceremonies is held to be necessary so as to allow the appropriate lineage to accumulate sufficient resources to transform into beer, and thus fulill its commitments to other lineages. However, the relationship between a lineage and its affinal kin is one of tension, for the growth and expansion of one lineage is predicated upon its ability to acquire women from others. Hence, these ceremonies provide opportunities to make 'public' representations of the status of the deceased. By suppressing the specific characteristics of the deceased individual, and representing his/her life as epitomising the ideals of the 'official' idiom, the identity and standing of the lineage as a whole can be enhanced. Consequently, although the scale of the rituals is partly dependent upon the age and gender of the latter, lineages with greater resources to draw on are able to hold more expensive, and thereby prestigious, ceremonies. Such public expressions of the spatial extent of a lineages kin-links, and the size of its resources serve to reinforce its own position of dominance over others. It is, therefore, strategically useful to manipulate the social, or public, identity of the deceased for the greater benefit of the lineage. However, this kind of biographical ammendment requires careful expression.

6:4.2 Burial Rites:

Save under exceptional circumstances, people die inside the house they were dwelling in. Immediately after it is known that a man or woman has died, a relative is sent to notify other kin

and villagers in general. In preparation for burial, the corpse is washed, by male or female agnates according to the sex of the deceased. The head is shaved and the hair placed in a gourd, which is later taken with the body to the cemetery. According to my informants, adult males are dressed in a pair of dark blue long trousers, a blue shirt and sandals or shoes. Adult women are dressed in a blue skirt and blouse. Normally an elder sibling of the deceased dresses the corpse. Once dressed the cadavre is wrapped first in the sleeping blanket used during life and then in a blanket known as bomo gama. Each lineage owns one such blanket, and this is used, as a kind of burial shroud, for all lineage agnates[4]. Only when it has become quite threadbare will a lineage replace its bomo gama.

The lineage head (affinal in the case of women), now offers a short prayer, and following other rites, the body is taken to the cemetery. Normally a married woman is buried in the cemetery of her **natal** village, which can be sometimes tens of kilometres away, while a man is always buried at his **paternal** village. Amongst the mourners there is one, often a sibling or child of the deceased, who carries the gourd containing the latter's hair. If the deceased was female then one of her close female kin carries her oil pot (sa tonyo). Some of the female mourners bring with them their ginning bar, lege i, and tap rythmically on a bronze or alloy bracelet. On arrival at the cemetery, village elders, who have gone on in advance, welcome the procession, particularly if the participants have come from another village. The senior male present then begins a 'prayer of thanks', tige,

addressed to the deceased, during which the latter's qualities, as a representative of his or her sex, are praised. As an example of this, part of the text of one such oration, known as ya yium tige, for a woman who had lived in the plains for over forty years, and given at her burial in December 1982 in Banani Kokoro can be cited:

"Welcome, welcome from the road
Men of Sorou,
Welcome to all who have accompanied her.
Thank you for your respect,
Thank you for caring for her during life.
The Hogon has sent his greetings,
Atime has sent his greetings,
Babasema has sent his greetings,
The fourth oldest has sent his greetings.
They gave her water,
They gave her food,
They have cared for her up to this moment.
She has taken the rope so that she can ascend
For her the rope has become short.
Let God give you a long rope,
God give that to them.
All the people of Sanga,
The people of Bongo,
All the elder brothers,
All the younger brothers,
All the elder sisters,
The younger sisters of Banani.
Let God place a long rope
Between them and the women who is dead.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
You left the village of your father and
You have returned to your father's village.
That is the heritage of the world;
It is not just you,
You are not the first,
You are not the last,
Death is a Dogon custom.
She took some cotton,
One day she spun thick thread,
One day she spun thin thread.
The spindle danced in her hand.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
She cultivated well,
Thank you for your meals,
Thank you for your water,
Thank you for all your kind words.

All male elders: Thank you, thank you, thank you.

Once this has been completed, the body is then placed in the cemetery, reputedly in an extended position. Meanwhile, the bier is thrown down on top of a pile of older ones, while the gourd containing the hair of the deceased is placed with others at the foot of the cliff. Depending on the sex of the deceased a number of other items can be deposited. If female, the sa tonyo is put close to the gourds, by one of the deceased's sisters, normally with a hole punched through the base of the pot. Sometimes the small calabash-ladle used for extracting the oil from this pot is also left there. As a rule, so is a spindle, complete with spindle whorl and a small length of spun thread, which belonged to the deceased and is generally carried there by the deceased's youngest daughter[5] (Plate18). While the placing of such items is always a feature of female burials, this is not the case for males. Only if they happened to have been weavers are artefacts, namely weaving shuttles with a short length of thread, deposited at the edge of the cemetery, slightly apart from the female associated pieces (Plate19). As these objects are being put in place by various individuals, the large blue and white blanket, known as bomo gama is taken off the corpse, and returned to the lineage head of the deceased to be put back in his granary, and the mourners now disperse.

6:4.3 Discussion:

There are, clearly, a variety of symbols involved even in this early stage of the funeral rites, some of which seem to bear little relation to the others. In fact, it is precisely in these

Plate 19 Broken sa tonyo at the edge of a cemetery.

Plate 20 Weaving shuttles at the edge of a cemetery.

rituals dealing with death and burial that a number of themes, that arise in separate contexts during life, coalesce. It is appropriate, then, to draw out some of the linkages first before going on to discuss the subsequent rituals.

Cotton, cloth and cloth production provide the dominant, or at least the most recurrent, imagery. Reference to both the tasks and relevant material culture are made in both the funeral poetry and the acts of ritual. In the former, the motif :

Bai turu pana,	One day she spun thick thread,
Bai turu geda,	One day she spun thick thread,
Gene gala ejugereleru.	The spindle danced in her hand.

is used as a metaphor for the roles assumed by the deceased during her life. The ginning and spinning of cotton are female activities, and are particularly associated with older and widowed women. The actual production of cotton thread is not restricted to these persons, and the houses of most women contain the basic equipment required (see Table 6:2), but, since older women, with fewer work committments for their affinal lineage, spend many hours occupied in this way they are most clearly identified with the craft. The reference, in the oration, to both thick and thin threads (the only categories distinguished by the Dogon), simply implies qualities of prowess. The epithet 'the spindle danced in her hand' has a similar connotation. Taken together the phrases indicate an evaluation of the deceased fufilling a particular role, during her life, with a degree of aptitude. In short they are 'statements of praise', as befits their use in a tige or praise song. However, the wider

significance of these lines can be provided only by an anlysis of the other contextual associations of cotton, cloth and cloth production.

	With	Without
Spindles	36	17
Heddles etc.	20	33

TABLE 6:2 NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD INVENTORIES WITH AND WITHOUT SPINDLES AND WEAVING EQUIPMENT (1981 Sample).

At the end of this particular oration, the senior men present formed a group around the corpse, and holding in their right hands, at shoulder height, a clump of cotton bolls, they shout ´sabe, sabe, sabe´, which in translation approximates as ´thank you´, shake their walking staffs at the body and then throw the cotton on the ground. A small portion of this cotton is left with the oil pot, spindle and gourd containing the deceased´s hair. The same sequence was observed a few weeks later at another woman´s funeral.

Explanantions of the use of cotton in this stage of the rites emphasise the historical importance of cotton, which prior to, and during, the Colonial period, was grown more widely than it is today (see above Footnote 13, Chapter 3). Even to this day, it remains a sign of wealth and the act, as with the word sabe, is said to be performed as a mark of respect, signifying the prosperity of the deceased. However, an important point about the act,as with the motifs employed in the burial oration, is that they are standardised and formalised procedures. Thus,

while the age of the deceased might vary from burial to burial, the actual method of evaluating the deceased remains the same, irrespective of her personal biography. The tige given at another woman's burial a few weeks later was almost identical to the one cited above, and the example quoted by De Ganay (1941, 71-72) is strikingly similar.

The same process of standarisation is at work with the deposition of a spindle at the foot of the cliff when the corpse is being interred. Drawing on the oratorical metaphors, the disposal of this personal item of material culture amongst identical pieces belonging to other women, while a sign of respect and symbolising the achievements of the deceased, simulataneously obscures her individuality. As stressed in the previous sections, the other acknowledged role of women is as reproducers. The death of a woman, even one who has passed her menopause, represents a conceptual loss to the lineage of her fertility. Thus, the deposition of the artefact most representative of her monthly renewal of fertility, the sa tonyo, signifies that on this occassion the loss of fertility is irrevocable.

Superficially the male burial rites also point to a suppression of individual identity in favour of gender roles and lineage affiliation. As noted, if a deceased male was a weaver during life, his shuttle is deposited at the edge of the cemetery. Just as in the case of spindles, the shuttle is preeminently the tool of the craft of weaving, an exclusively

male activity. The placing of a shuttle is both to symbolically represent the prowess of the deceased at his craft and as a mark of respect. At this level the two sets of acts, one for women the other for men, appear to be co-terminous, and simply to reflect a sexual division of labour. However, in contradistinction to spinning, weaving is a specialist activity, and while potentially open to all only eight men in the study village claimed to be able to weave. This specialisation is not so evident from the household inventories (Table 6:2), since the beater and double-heddle and other weaving paraphenalia are highly valued items, and many curated pieces belonging to previous generations, are kept in either houses or personal granaries. In this regard, then, the recognition of the deceased's special abilities is an acknowledgement of his individuality; or at least a distinguishing quality since no distinction amongst the set 'weavers' is made in these rites. It is significant, as will be elaborated, that other male specialists, such as herdsmen, hunters, and even those who served in the Colonial army, have their own distinct funeral, but not burial, rites.

The repetitive use of a particular style of blanket for members of the same lineage, irrespective of their sex, also requires comment. These blankets have a series of standarised weft-float motifs in white set against a blue ground, formed by indigo-dyed warp threads, with intervening white bands. Only a few, particularly skilled, weavers know how to produce these patterns, and, as with many other craft specialists, these

individuals originate from a limited number of villages, Banani Amu being one of them. The blankets are expensive, costing upwards of 35,000 MF (£35), and are replaced only when literally thread-bare. Each minor lineage segment (tire ginna) has its own blanket, which is normally stored in the personal granary, or metal trunk, of the senior male. When a person dies the corpse, after it has been prepared for burial, is wrapped in this blanket. Following interment, the balnket is returned to its original location, although it is subsequently put on display at the deceased's funeral ceremonies (see below). Its use as a covering for a corpse is particularly pertinent, since it draws together the other themes relating to cloth production. The division of tasks between the sexes for the production of cloth is held, by the Dogon, to epitomise the mutual interdependence of men and women. The crafts of spinning and weaving, which separately symbolise the roles of women and men respectively, when viewed collectively serve as a microcosm for Dogon society. If the division of tasks is examined further, it transpires that not only are both men and women involved in the processes of production, but so are members of the two craft castes. As noted previously, the wives of leatherworkers are responsible for the dyeing, in indigo, of cloth, while spindles are made only by the wives of blacksmiths. The blanket-cum-shroud as the end product of several stages of co-operation, therefore, is a logical choice to symbolise notions concerning unity through diversity and complementarity. Although notionally a symbol of 'the person' (see Griaule 1938, 312, note 3), the use of these blankets in burial, and funeral rites, is motivated by a desire to supress

individuality. In its place the public identity of the deceased that is emphasised is as a lineage member, since the cadavre is cocooned in an item of lineage property which has a long 'uselife', and is safeguarded by the lineage head. In other words, an object that can only be produced by the mutual co-operation of the sexes, is used to represent the ideal consequences of marriage ties, since the life of a lineage member can only be produced through mutual cooperation between the wife-givers (female) and the wife-takers (male). Similarly, the possession and guardianship by the lineage head of an **ancient** object, expresses metaphorically his responsibilities to preserve and prolong the life of the individual. Here, as in other areas of social interaction, the senior male of a lineage is portrayed as the catalyst for life, and his personal strategies legitimated under the guise of lineage prosperity and perpetuity.

6:4.4 Funeral songs and rites :

The expression of sorrow over the destruction and loss of an individual, on the one hand, and offering praise for the fulfillment of gender roles on the other, are the basic themes of male and female burial rites and songs. These two themes are also played out in the subsequent funeral and spirit-raisng ceremonies. Male funeral songs for instance, begin by praising the deceased's abilities as a farmer and for executing his duties, to his wives and children, as a provider of food. As the song cycle progresses, however, the singers begin to express regret at his passing. Similar sentiments are expressed in female funeral songs, although in these the roles of food

preparer and nurturer are stressed more than farming activities. This is particularly clear in the gummo wolu, which are sung by mourners at a man's funeral first in his compound, and later, at night, in the village square. For instance, at the funeral for an elderly man held in 1983, the mourners began with the following song :

"Remember his hoeing,
He hoed in the day,
He hoed at night,
He hoed well.
The arrow of our combat
God takes out one, two.
He takes them out from their quiver,
It is over."

After this had been sung three times, the rythm changed and another song began. Once this had been completed others, in either sigi so, the secret language, or in the local dialect, followed, and the final song of the cycle ran as thus:

"The owner of the house,
Where is he?
We do not see him.
The owner of life,
Where is he?
We do not see him.
He has not returned to fix it [the house],
His body is soft [lit. ripe]."

A comparable series of songs for women are those which make up the kodu pele ni. Like the gummo wolu these are sung by mourners at deceased's compound and later in the village square. Again some examples recorded in 1983 can be cited, for instance :

"The woman who lives here,
She has taken her shawl,
She is spending the night away,
She is going via Bara,
The woman who lives here."

and

"She has sewn a band of cloth,
Thanks to the needles,
She has sewn a dress,
Thanks to the needles."

The motifs are fairly easily understood. The references to hoeing and to arrows make use of the common analogy made between implements and men referred to above. They are also contrasts, for the former is a productive activity, while the other is a weapon and thus destructive. Like arrows drawn from their quiver, the numbers of men diminish, unless carefully guarded. This then is the sense of the first male funeral song. In the other example, the owner of the house become the owner of life. Here the lines point to an assumption that male control over property is also control over life, an issue to be examined more closely in the penultimate chapter. The lyrics of the funeral songs for women employ the same technique. The first song makes a reference to the parting of a mother, "she is going via Bara" is a euphemism for death, but the phrase also hints at the final movement through space women face, the return of her corpse to her natal village, leaving her children behind. In the other example, one of the many daily tasks of a women become a metaphor for her life, and she is praised for performing her tasks well. But the second song has a deeper meaning, for it is through women that affinal links are forged, they become like needles, and sow together the fabric of society.

6:4.5 Funeral rites :

The dual themes of sorrow over the loss of a lineage member, and praise of his or her life recur in the funeral rites. In view of the extensive descriptions of these in the literature (e.g. Dieterlen 1941, Griaule 1939, and Paulme 1940) only a few salient points will be discussed.

Male funerary rites begin in the late afternoon, when both affinal and agnatic kin congragate, at the house of the deceased. Displayed on the roof is the bomo gama, along with some of the possessions of the deceased, particularly fine clothes and weapons. The eldest relative of the deceased climbs onto the house roof, with a type of spear known as sàru, and is joined by other male agnates. Having recited the deceased's praises, the spear is upturned and plunged into the house roof. All those on the roof now fire their muskets, and the fusillade marks the start of a series of mock combats between agnatic kin on the roof and affinal kin on the ground. Later in the evening comparable mock combats are executed in the village square, although these also incorporate a long dance sequence with burning firebrands. After these are over, the men and women present chant the gummo wolu songs until daybreak, and then disperse. The rites recommence, in the village square, on the afternoon of the same day, and more 'battles' ensue.

There are two elements of this stage of a funeral which need to be stressed. Firstly, distinctive rites are incorporated into the general sequence in cases where the deceased fufilled a

specialist role, as a hunter, herder, or awa official. Interestingly, and in keeping with the evaluations given to voyaging in the funeral songs, deceased men who served in the Colonial army are accorded comparable distinctions. In these cases, an effigy of the deceased, dressed in his old uniform, is placed on the roof of his house along with some of his possessions. While his comrades-in-arms, also dressed in uniform, march into the square to fire their muskets in a final salute.

The second point to note is that, on the second day of ceremonies a few of the possessions of the deceased are displayed in the village square (by the stone known as the anakade dumma supra Section 4:1), along with the burial blanket of his lineage. In this context, the blanket is more clearly a symbol of the person, and men face towards the stone when they recite the personal praise songs of the deceased.

Female mourners express their grief in a different, but equally metaphorical manner. Thus, close kin cover their heads, and frequently bodies, with dust and ashes. Also, on the first day of ceremonies, women will congregate outside the deceased's compound, or her paternal ginu na if female (see below). Here, the mourners get down on their kness and begin wailing and ululating, periodically hitting the ground with a calabash and causing it to shatter.

Although praise songs are chanted and men fire their muskets equally for women as for men, the funeral rites held for women

differ in some important respects. In the first place, the initial ceremonies for the deceased take place at her paternal ginu na, and not at her own compound. Secondly, no mock combats are held to honour her. Instead, following the praise songs, mourners go to the village square, where young men and women perform a dance with a wicker basket (tomo), which contains a portion of the deceased's cotton. Moreover, on the second day far more of her possessions are put on display in the village square. Particularly, these include her fine clothes, jewellery, ladles and calabashes, and blankets, which are packed into large tomo, calabashes and enamelled metal bowls. Her female kin gather these up and carry them to from the ginu na to the village square. On entering the square, these women, each balancing a bundle on her head, make four turns (in Dogon numerology four is synonymous with femininity) of the square, before placing the bundles by the anakade dumma, towards which the male elders address their praise songs.

Many of these actions, as with those described for men, are simply considered as contextually appropriate signs of honour and respect towards the deceased. The display of possessions, and the representation of the personal and lineage identities of the deceased, however, have an important bearing on both the composition of household inventories, and the manner by which the individuals biography is eventually subsumed within an officialising lineage idiom.

Section 6:5 Conclusion:

Analysis of the liturgical and dramaturgical features of burial and funeral ceremonies has indicated how the biographies of men and women are publicly portrayed. Men are praised for their roles as providers to their family, and as voyagers, mediators between the Dogon world and that which lies beyond. The dominant images of women are as nurturers and servicers of domestic space. Alongside these models of gender roles must be placed those of age, especially the emphasis given to seniority. Moreover, gender identities change gradually as individuals age. These differences find material expression through male styles of dress and the household inventories of women.

Hence, there is a close correspondence between the differing ideal responsibilities of men and women, and the spatial arenas in which these find material expression. Specifically, men are held to be concerned with inter-lineage, or external, affairs, and their increasing autonomy over these matters is symbolically represented by changes in clothing styles. Cloth **per se** is a sign of wealth, thus the incremental increase in the quantity of cloth used for a garment, stands as a metaphor for the individual's growing control over economic resources. As portable items, male clothing is a pre-eminently suitable vehicle for the public expression of status, and it was noted that age-correlated clothing styles are most noticeable and rigorously enforced at 'public' events, such as funerals. That is, in precisely those contexts where inter-lineage ties are

strengthened by means of ceremonial exchanges of beer and millet. The object of this re-affirmation of bonds is to maintain affinal links and the exchange of women, and thereby the reproduction of each lineage.

The control male elders excercise over the relations of reproduction is reinforced by their control over the allocation of dwelling space, and by the spatial marginalisation of women at key points in their reproductive cycle. One consequence of this male concern with fertilty and demographic reproduction is on the composistion of the household inventories of younger women. As discussed in Chapter 5, the latter endeavour to maintain the interests of their husband, and hence a position of security, by expressing their own ´attractiveness´ through the medium of decorative and non-idigenous items of material culture.

Concern over own security continues throughout a woman´s life. This is partly because she lives amongst affinal kin, exchanging her reproductive and productive capacity for rights of residence within her husband´s village (supra Chapter 4). Hence, once a woman passes child bearing age, her position could become even more insecure. However, this is partly prevented by her increased seniority within the food preparation/cooking group, and a concomittant control over the labour of its junior members. By virtue of this, a senior woman can create a spatio-temporal autonomy from routine lineage activities, and is thereby able to enter into specialist production of beer and pots, and some of her proceeds are directed towards accumulating more possessions. These strategies have the equally important effect of creating a

publicly acknowledged identity and reptuation as a ´maker of good pots´ or ´brewer of strong beer´. Moreover, under the guise of selling her own products, an older woman can establish links with other women, which can lay the basis for future marriages between their grandchildren.

Thus, the practical power of women extends beyond the bounds of the lineage group. However, by controlling their fertility by means of spatial marginalisation, public expressions of gender roles, and her eventual transformation to the status of ancestress, men underplay this practical power in favour of genealogically established identities. In effect, women are left only with their possessions, and in later life widowed women, already on the margins of their affinal group, surround themselves with the material expressions of their lives. However, by bequeathing these to their female agnatic kin, and through the public display of these objects at funeral ceremonies, women are able to sustain their biographical identity after death. In turn, the inheritance of objects often lays the basis for a more junior woman´s inventory, and so the cycle of accquisition and distribution repeats itself.

Footnotes :

1. By ´cultural artefact´ I include material and non-material products, after Weiner (1976, 20).
2. The general impressions gained from conversation, interviews and examination of published photographs taken between 1930 and 1960, is that women wear fewer pieces of jewellery as a matter of course in daily life than in the recent past.
3. These are quern-like stones, to which ancestral spirits come to quench their thirst.
4. Since both male and female cadavres are wrapped in the same blanket, this means that when a woman dies her natal kin must be immediately informed so that they can send their blanket to to her affinal village.
5. While her mother´s body is being prepared for burial it is the latter who spins the thread left on the spindle, using her left hand instead of her right as is normal.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VILLAGE EMIGRATION AND STRATEGIES OF AUTONOMY.

Section 7:1 Introduction:

This chapter presents an analysis of household inventories and the organisation of residential space in settlements in the Plain of Gondo, hereafter referred to as 'the Plains'. The patterns and trends in these data are then compared with those for the main study village, and the contrasts examined. The majority of the settlements in the Plains are recent foundations, established and currently occupied by migrants from villages along the escarpment. Such migrations often result in the long term absence of men from their natal village. As we have seen in earlier chapters, men also spend periods away from their village as wage-labourers. There is then an empirical reality to the image of men as voyagers, which, as discussed in the previous chapter, finds expression in burial and funeral ceremonies. However, an equally important set of images are those which focus on the lineage and stress the need for lineage members to reside in spatial proximity to each other, and their collective co-operation over subsistence activities. This sentiment is epitomised by the saying "many hearths quickly diminish the firewood", and finds frequent expression in lineage-based rituals. Hence there is an apparent contradiction to the dominant ideology, which stresses on the one hand a need for spatial stability, and on the other casts men in the role of

´voyagers´ as well as ´providers´. As ´providers´ the practical affairs of men embody the ideals of production, and the surplus product of their labour can be deployed to enhance the standing of the lineage. Conversely, as ´voyagers´ men leave the immediate vicinity of the village, and escape the constraints imposed by the lineage ideology of collective cooperation. Moreover, by leaving their natal settlement, men acquire greater spatial autonomy and opportunities to pursue their own goals, rather than those of their lineage. It is the aim of this chapter to see how these conflicting notions are reconciled within the structure of routine practice.

The basic questions to be examined are, why does emigration occur? What form does it take? And, what are the social and physical consequences? With respect to these, the central concern must be to determine whether the foundation of new settlements results from lineage fission, thereby leading to the formation of new segments, as has been noted for other segementary lineage structures[1]. If fissioning does not occur, that is, if the daughter settlements derive merely from the territorial expansions of existing lineages, it will be necessary to establish why links are maintained across considerable distances.

Section 7:2 Village Emigration :

7:2.1 Emigration and wage-labour :

Village emigration is directed towards two types of localities, either towns and cities, where the main goals sought

are employment and cash earnings, or a rural context where the objects are to establish new farms and settlements. The two strategies are not immutable, and many men go first to seek wage employment, and later return to the area to establish their own household somewhere in the plains. Answers to the question why do either rural-urban or rural-rural migrations occur at all, are to be found, in part, by considering the relations of production and reproduction in connection with the system of land tenure. However, these must also be viewed in an historical context, particularly with respect to the events which have facilitated these trends. Turning to the former first, in Chapter 4 it was noted that a young man wishing to marry and to continue to reside in his natal village is dependent on his lineage head, not for movable bridewealth so much as for dwelling space, and specifically a house for his new wife. As a conjugal family unit, and possibly later as a polygynous one, the residents of this compound co-operate with other agnatic kin in subsistence activities. These seperate, kin-linked, compound groups collectively form a corporate group known as the ginna, or minimal lineage, which is headed by its senior male, the ginu bana.

However, it transpired in Chapter 5 that, while access to dwelling space remains a key feature in marriage exchange, the practical control over this space that each woman gains, through the regular use of it, provides her with a negotiating strength. In particular, it was argued that a woman can manipulate daily and routine events so as to express her grievances, and to

influence the strategies pursued by her spouse. Thus, men wishing to enlarge the size of their households, with an aim to increase levels of production, by marrying more wives, must not only have access to a sufficient area of dwelling space, but also have additional capital with which to maintain each wife. This capital is not employed for subsistence purposes, and instead it is transformed into material goods, and more expensive food items such as meat, coffee, sugar and powdered milk. Comparison of inventories suggests that younger women prefer non-local artefacts to those made locally, such as pots and calabashes. The latter are perceived mainly as necessities, and stocks are replenished according to utilitarian requirements. As women get older however, they begin to inherit more of these items from their agnates, thereby increasing the relative density of indigenous objects to exogenous ones in their house inventories.

In a sense then, it could be said that another value-system exists alongside that of the elders, whose views constitute the dominant ideology. This competing ideology focusses more on artefacts than immovable property, both as personal possessions and as items for gift exchange, whereas lineage property is held in usufruct and cannot be alienated. Although the level of gift exchange is not great, and is principally restricted to between spouses and age-mates, such exchanges play an important part in maintaining relationships between individuals not related by descent. This raises two further questions. Firstly why are non-indigenous objects sought after, and secondly how are these objects acquired. The two are linked recursively, for the

prestige value of non-indigenous objects, however accumulated, is enhanced by the material and economic benefits that also accrue from such strategies.

The first point to bear in mind is that whilst residing patrilocally, any surplus that a man produces is appropriated by his lineage head. The latter deploys this for his own interests, transforming it into beer and food offered at sacrifices and other ceremonies to affines, or selling part of the surplus crop and re-investing the proceeds into lineage herds. Thus, it is not possible for junior men to increase their own capital purely by greater expenditures of effort on lineage owned farmland. So, while the principles of patrilineal descent and the system of land tenure ensure that all agnatic kin have the right to inherit lineage property, only the lineage head has control over the use of these resources. Because neither lineage owned dwelling- or farm-space are marketable commodities, and accession to the position of lineage head follows the rule of primogeniture, junior members are faced with two sets of options. For instance, they can spilt away from their lineage group to establish an independent household. Since all available land around the study village is allocated to one or other of the existing minimal lineages, this strategy requires either the division of land belonging to the natal lineage, or a movement away from the natal village into areas, such as the nearby plains, where unoccupied land is available. Alternatively, they can leave for the towns in search of waged employment.

Rural-urban migration is facilitaed by the comparative dearth of alternative sources of income open to young adult males within the rural context. For instance, although onions are an important cash-crop in the region, the lack of a suitable water supply during the dry season months, when this crop is cultivated, means that in Banani this is not a practical option[2]. Off-farm sources of income are largely restricted to some kind of craft-specialisation, such as weaving or basketry, and tourism. Few men in Banani are skilled as weavers, and the village does not have a tradition of basket-making[3]. One individual in the village has a virtual monopoly of the tourist trade, and works in close conjunction with the local office of the Governmental tourist agency. A few other men produce objects, particularly engraved calabashes and gourds, for sale to tourists. However, their returns are both highly seasonal and generally insubsantial, making it impossible for them to rely entirely on tourism as a source of income. Likewise, work-group participants, who help offset labour bottlenecks during the period of intensive agricultural activity, are only minimally renumerated.

Seen from this perspective, both short and longer-term visits to towns clearly provide greater opportunities for individuals to earn cash. There is also the added adavantage of having ready access to markets, and the greater availability of goods of industrial origin. In fact, the most sought after items, such as mopeds and bicycles, radios and cassette players, and clothing accoutrements such as umbrellas, Hombergs,

sunglasses, and flourescent coloured socks are rarely on sale, even in the larger local village markets.

However, rural-urban migration does not, or at least only rarely, provide long-term independence from the lineage. Most of the visits are for between a few months to a few years (see the case material above in Section 4:5.2), following which men return to their natal village. Here, once more directly subject to the authority of the lineage head, and under a moral pressure to redistribute their newly acquired wealth, men can rapidly lose the standing and prestige they have so assiduously accumulated. A more secure and independent future can be obtained by establishing a neolocal residence in the plains where farm land is readily available.

7:2.2 Rural-rural migration :

The majority of settlements founded by migrants from cliff-line villages lie in a band between twenty and sixty kilometres distance from the escarpment. Although there are records of settlements in the Plain of Gondo from at least the 1860's (Brasseur 1968, 395), for the most part, this expansion into the Plains post-dates the final imposition of a Colonial administration and standing army in the early 1920's. Prior to this date, at least according to folk memory, Dogon settlers in the Plains always lived under the threat of attack from local Mossi and Fulani groups (see also Brasseur 1968, 395). This may have been because the latter tribes had grazing rights over the land, then largely characterised by scrub vegetation, which the Dogon wished to take into cultivation. The soils in the Plains

are also more fertile, although water is in far more limited supply. Many villages still lack a year-round supply of their own, and even in those villages with wells these are often very deep. In one of the study villages, for instance, the villagers had had to excavate a fifty-four metre well before they reached the water table. While soil fertility and land exhaustion around the escarpment have obviously promoted expansion in to the plains, other forces have had a contributory effect once the lands were perceived to be available. Likewise, the Colonial administrative structure may have made this land more accessible, but for a clearer understanding of the processes of colonisation of land and settlement it is necessary to turn to a consideration of individual histories and motives of the migrants curently resident in settlements in the plains.

Visits were made to several of these, although research was restricted to those compounds occupied by migrants from the main study village of Banani Kokoro. These were distributed over a total of seven villages and a further two homesteads, which account for most, but not all of the settlements currently containing migrants from the main study village. However, since the numbers of Banani migrants in some of these are small, and because these same sites were not actually founded by men from Banani, the following analysis is restricted to data from two of these villages, and the two homesteads. However, only in terms of their specific settlement histories, geographical location and population densities do these particular sites differ from the others visited.

The two villages, Tanouma and Tiegourou, both founded by men originating from Banani Kokoro, lie approximately forty-five kilometres from the escarpment, and only a few kilometres apart. The homesteads, both named Tasego, are much closer to the escarpment, and were first settled thirty-three and twenty-one years ago by migrants from Banani Kokoro (see Figure 3:3).

The prime motivation of both the surviving founders of Tanouma, which is approximately forty years old, and those who first settled at Tiegourou in 1973, appears to have been the same. One inhabitant of Tanouma, aged fifty-eight, who arrived there in about 1945 commented:

> "I came here to look for food, when my father was still alive. I first went to Goudiotouru, where I spent three years, then I came here. My five brothers helped me clear the bush, but it was my choice. In Banani there was not enough land".

Another man, who settled there in the same year, came initially to help his brother who was already farming the land, but his motivations were much the same:

> "My brother and S (the acknowledged founder of the village) had by then defined the limits of the village. I came to help my brother to clear more fields in the dry season. My brother built this house (i.e. the one the speaker resided in), but when I came to look for more land he built another."

Similar responses were elicited from the inhabitants of the nearby village of Tiegourou, some of whom were resident beforehand in Tanouma. One of the first to settle, a man aged fifty, came with his wife and family from another nearby village where he had lived for the last six years, although he originally

came from Banani Kokoro. He said that he had left the escarpment in search of land because "the space along the cliff (toro) is too small. It is for the elders". The male occupants of one of the joint-compounds visited gave a more detailed explanation. As the elder brother said:

> "We came to look food, for more things. There is not very much space by the cliff. We always had to economise, and there were always little problems between us (i.e. their fellow agnates). It was our father (then, as now lineage head) who decided that we should leave. G, our elder brother, comes each year to help with the harvest, and our younger brother also comes to help with the weeding."

For most migrants, then, the prime reason for quitting their paternal village was the search for more field-space, arising from a perceived shortage along the escarpment. However, the strategies followed vary from individual to individual. Some made reference to the tensions between generations and also between siblings, and several of these migrants rarely visit their close kin who live along the escarpment. One man in particular, was quite adamant that the sons of his elder brother never came to help spread the tasks of weeding and harvest, and although he was by now clearly resigned to this state of affairs, he also regretted it. Some left to clear land without help from their siblings, and to escape from paternal authority. As one man put it, "My parents were fit when I was young, I would have had to wait my turn". Others, on the other hand were encouraged to leave by the head of their lineage, as part of a strategy of both demographic and territorial expansion. Such a diversity of reasons for leaving Banani, and the several sequential moves

across space that this has involved, can be seen in the following case histories.

7:2.3 Case Histories:

A Born 1936 in Banani Kokoro;
Moved with parents to Tanouma 1940;
Left Tanouma at the age of seventeen (1953) for Goudiotouru;
Returned to Tanouma 1966;
1983 occupies a joint compound, as senior male, with four of his married brothers, his wife , his widowed mother and dependant children.

B Born 1925 in Banani Kokoro;
Left in 1938 with elder brothers for Goudiotouru;
1941 moved with brothers to Tanouma;
1950 younger brother (b. 1933) arrived as herder
1952 elder brother (b.1922) moved to Banani (see below F);
1967 Father died, eldest brother returned to Banani to take up residence in lineage ginu na.
1972-3 Younger brother began farming around Tiegourou;
1973 Younger brother built house at Tiegourou and left Tanouma (see below C);
1983 Living in Tanouma in a stem compound with his wife and his two married sons.

C Born 1933 in Banani Kokoro;
1950-1973 with brothers (see above B);
1973 Moved to Tiegourou with wife and children;
1983 Living with wife and unmarried daughters and son in Tiegourou.

D Born 1944 in Banani Kokoro;
1964-66 Spent wet season months with paternal uncle at Bonoumo
1967 left for Abidjan to work in the port;
1968 returned to Banani for sigi ceremony;
1968 left for Abidjan again;
1970 Returned to Banani;
1972 Spent a few months at Tiegourou clearing bush;
1973 Moved to Tiegourou and began farming;
1980 Leaves for Abidjan, here he spends a year working;
1983 Living in Tiegourou with his two wives and children.

E Born 1945 in Banani Kokoro (cousin of C above);
1975 Moved with wife and family to Tiegourou;
1983 Living with family in Tiegourou.

F Born 1922 in Banani Kokoro;
1938-1952 with brothers (see above B);
1959 Left Banani and established his own homestead at Tasego 2;
1983 Livingwithwife, unmarrieddaughters, married daughter and son´s wife at Tasego 2; son away in Abidjan.

To summarise, while some men saw migration into the plains as a means to escape competition over lineage resources with their fellow agnates, and others were encouraged to move as part of economic strategies pursued by their seniors, all have gained a far greater spatial autonomy than would have been open to them had they remained in Banani. Given this autonomy it might be expected that where households become economically independent fissioning would occur. That is, they would break away from their paternal lineage and establish their own segment, with all future generations tracing their descent back to the original founder of the compound or village. This would lead, therefore, to the reproduction of the same arrangement of residential space and spatio-temporal structuring of daily routine as noted for the main study village. That is, a number of kin related compounds, whereby adults from different generations reside in seperate localities, and a pattern of routine activity focussed around the compound of the lineage founder, and occupied by the current lineage head. Whether or not these expectations do in fact hold is the subject of discussion in the following sections.

Section 7:3 The Spatial Order of Settlements :

Three types of settlement founded by emigrants from cliff-line villages can be defined, namely, cattle-camps, homesteads and villages. While cattle-camps differ in terms of their

residential composition from villages and homesteads, they sometimes form the first stage in the process of village formation, and can thus be usefully discussed here.

The first point to be noted is that, although much of the herding of Dogon cattle is carried out by their Fulani neighbours, some lineages prefer to tend their own stock. Lineage size is obviously a contributing factor, since a year-long committment of at least one adult is required. Thus, it is usually lineages which have a labour surplus that follow this particular strategy. Cattle are always byred away from cliff-line villages, partly because of the constraints on space imposed by the rocky terrain and partly because of the availability of pasture. The camp associated with the main study village lies about an hours walk away to the south on the crest of the dune complex that marks the eastern boundary of the piedmont valley. During the dry season months when pasture is scarce, the herds are moved regularly in search of fresh grazing. In the wet-season, however, when much of the land around is under crops, the movements of the herds are more carefully constrained and semi-permanent camps, are utilised. These resemble, superficially, those occupied by Fulani herders, in that the main structural features of both examples are wooden corrals around which are clustered straw-built circular huts. The material equipment of the two types of camp is also quite similar, since the Fulani purchase pots, wooden items and metal tools from the Dogon. However, the demographic and social structures of the two categories are very different, as is the internal organisation of

house space (for comparative data see Brasseur 1968).

The cattle-camp used by villagers from Banani overlies fallow fields belonging to several lineages, from both Banani Kokoro and Banani Sirou. Since these fields lie beyond the limits of the area annually manured with household refuse, and the soils here are relatively infertile, they benefit greatly from the several months of heavy use. When the camp was visited in October 1981, it was occupied by members of two lineages from Banani Kokoro, three from Banani Na and two from Banani Sirou. Each lineage group had their own corral, na goro, and circular straw hut, kuru. There was also another corral, which included pens for goats and sheep, with a hut nearby, owned, but not occupied, by a third lineage from Banani Kokoro. The latter structures had been built a few years ago when the camp was moved to its current location, but they had not been used since the previous year. Total population of the camp varied between seven and twelve persons, mainly young men between eighteen and thirty years of age. These men tend the herds of their lineage throughout the year, but are helped, periodically, by junior male agnates of more than twelve years of age. Rather exceptionally, since cattle-herding is a specialist task normally restricted to males, there were also two teenage girls living in the camp and helping their elder half-brother with his tasks.

Unlike the cattle camps, all of the homesteads (Plate 21) and village compounds visited are year round habitations for at least some of the occupants, although, originally, they may have

Plate 21 View of a homestead in the Plain of Gondo.

been constrcuted to provide shelter on a seasonal basis. Many of these sites were indeed first used only during the wet-season months, as new lands, far from the escarpment, were brought into cultivation. At first straw huts resembling those of cattle-camps would have been erected, but as the exploitation of this land became a more regular feature of the agricultural strategies of the lineages concerned, more permanent structures were built. The occupants continued to use these only for a few months at a time, so as to prepare, sow, weed and harvest the fields. Later, however, as the case material below bears out, these settlements became more permanent.

In terms of their physical appearance and composition, 'homesteads' are here defined as isolated compounds occupied through out the year. Villages are simply agglomerations of several such compounds, although they may also contain other, non-residential structures such as a togu na, mosque or church. The settlement history of these villages suggests that they were originally composed of a loose structure of two or three compounds, and have expanded over the years with the arrival of more immigrants. Migrants from one of the cliff-line villages do not necessarily go to a single 'daughter' settlement in the plains. Moreover, the populations of these plains settlements do not stem from a single village of origin, but are instead drawn from several. Thus, for example, the village of Entemenu, about twenty-five kilometres from Banani, although founded by immigrants from Irelli, also has residents from both Banani and Nini. Likewise, the settlement of Tiegourou, established by

families originating from Banani, now includes a number of families from Yendouma. Migrants from different villages do, however, tend to settle in adjacent compounds, eventually leading to the formation of separate wards, togu. If these become of a sufficient density and spatial extent, then each ward will establish its own togu na. An interesting similarity between these and cliff-line villages therefore emerges. In the Plains villages, as in the latter, the senior ward is always that most directly associated with the village founder. Unlike the cliff-line villages, however, the wards of a Plains village do not belong to the same apical descent group, since they were not created as a result of lineage fission.

Section 7:4 Village Physical and Social Space :

7:4.1 Physical space :

Whether homestead or village, habitations in the Plains are abuted on each side by the fields belonging to the occupants. Agricultural land is abundant, and unlike at Banani, where land close to the settlement is divided up into several small blocks, each belonging to a different lineage, here the fields are extensive. Often they cover areas in excess of 200 m^2 although a more averaged sized field is in the region of 100 m^2. This compares with a mean field size of 50 m^2 in the piedmont valley adjacent to Banani.

The houses are generally single-room structures built of mud bricks, with a daub-coated timber beam roof supported by timber uprights. Several also have a sheltered porch along one

side, constructed from timber posts and beams covered by a wall of grass thatch. Distinct from these structures are huts, also made from mud brick, but quite often with a thatch rather than daub roof, which are used as kitchens, pana biri (see Figure 7:1, in envelope inside the back cover). The majority are circular in plan, but rectangular examples do occur, and in a couple of compounds, vacated rectangular sleeping huts had been converted into kitchens. Both millet storage and personal granaries are built and roofed in the same fashion as at Banani, although, owing to its scarcity, stone is rarely used for the footings. Likewise, compound walls are made, predominantly from wood fences and straw or grass panels, and not in stone. In some settlements external compound walls are made from mud-brick, but normally these did not feature in the settlements studied.

Other compound features wooden fenced cattle corrals and byres for sheep and goats, domed mud-brick hen coops and the occasional hen-coop. Trees are sometimes grown in the middle of a compound to provide shade. Each of the two homesteads had free-standing wood and thatch shelters, togi, which also provide a shaded area, and are used as resting places and for various craft activities such as weaving and wood working. External cooking hearths are not very common, and according to the residents of these villages, this is largely to minimise the risk of fire.

In contrast to the compounds in the cliff-line villages, which have high stone walls and limited internal space, compounds in the plains are far more open, often with only a rudimentary

boundary fence, and are a lot more extensive, (compare Figure 7:1 with Figure 4:1). In terms of their Another noticeable difference is that each compound, save one, in the sample, has its own block of millet storage granries, whereas in Banani these tend to be restricted to a few, mainly ginu na, compounds. In the plains, millet storage granaries are also larger, being on average two metres square and 2.80 to 3.00 metres high, as against 1.80 metres square and 2.50 metres high in Banani.

7:4.2 Residential composition and daily routine :

Turning to the more specific details of the residential composition and social structure of homesteads and villages, a number of preliminary remarks can be made. Firstly, although widows, unmarried adolescents and married women alike have their own houses, as in cliff-line villages, they do not necessarily occupy seperate compounds. Instead, each may have their own house, used for sleeping and storage purposes, as part of a shared compound. In short, unlike in Banani where adults belonging to a different generation dwell apart, compounds often contain adults spanning up to three generations. Thus, in the sample studied (n=16), although the majority of compounds were in fact utilised by conjugal or polygynous family units (n=9),

	Village	Homestead	Total Pop.	Mean Pop.
Stem	3	1	27	6.75
Joint	2	-	27	13.5
Conjugal	7	1	40	5.0
Polygynous	1	-	4	4.0
Solitary	1	-	1	1.0

TABLE 7:1 FAMILY STRUCTURE AND POPULATION OF SAMPLE COMPOUNDS IN THE PLAIN OF GONDO.

twenty-five percent were occupied by stem families, a further two by joint families, the remaining compound being used by a widow. Moreover, unlike in Banani where both spatial constraints and residential rules limit the growth of compounds only to the addition of houses and facilities for new wives, in the plains, compounds expand by means of a process of syncretic accretion. That is, when a male reaches adolescence, rather than leaving his parental compound and living in another with his age-mates, he is allocated, instead, a seperate dwelling _within_ the parental compound. Likewise, on reaching adulthood and marrying, a man is not required to move from his parental compound. In some instances, no vacant dwellings will be available for young couples to occupy, and in which case new structures will be built within the confines of the compound, unless there is insufficient space. As members of the parental generation die, then their dwellings will once more become available for use, and will be re-allocated to either their children or their children's children, depending on requirements.

A final feature of note about the residential structure of these settlements is the absence of _ginu na_ compounds. That is, even within a village of several individual compounds, no one compound is singled out as the residence of a lineage head. More significantly, none of the male residents of these compounds are considered as a _ginu bana_, and this includes even those who actually head the basic production and consumption groups. One consequence of this is that, the spatial structure of daily routine for a village as a _whole_ is markedly different. For

Time	Male Task	Female Task
5.30	Rise	Rise
5.45		Water put on for morning meal and coffee; leave to fetch water.
6.10	Household head lights a fire.	Return with first pots of water.
6.15	Boys begin milking cows.	Leave to fetch more water.
6.45		Return from well.
6.50	Boys prepare to leave with cows.	
7.00	Cows leave compound.	Start threshing millet with mortar & pestel; Adolescent girl helps to wash infant.
7.20		Cooking commences.
7.50	Boys return without herd.	
8.00	Apala served	Apala served
8.30	Adults leave for the fields; boys leave with sheep and goats.	Some adults leave for the fields; at least one remains to prepare & cook gruel.
9.40		Takes gruel to fields.
13.00	Half hour break taken by those in fields; consume gruel.	
14.15	Boys pass through, with sheep & goats to give them water.	
16.30		One adult returns with firewood; leaves to fetch water.
16.45		Returns, and begins to thresh & winnow millet.
17.15		Other women return; some go
17.30		to fetch water, others wash and then help with food preparation.
18.00	Boys return with goats & sheep. Leave again.	
18.20	Household head returns, washes.	
18.35	Boys return with cows, and start milking.	Cooking starts.
19.00	Gets Dark. Household head lights a fire in the compound.	
19.40	Meal served.	Meal served.
21.30	Retire.	Retire.

TABLE 7:2 : TASKS CARRIED OUT AT TASEGO 1, September 1981. (Wet Season)

rather than a pattern of activity whereby the residents of several compounds work collectively at a more restricted number of locales, and particularly the gini na in the village, in the plains each compound group tends to function as an independent unit.

On the other hand, the division of labour by age and sex in these settlements is broadly comparable with that outlined above for Banani. Both men and women, and adolescent children are involved with all stages of the cultivation and harvesting of primary and secondary crops. The precise allocation of agricultural tasks is identical to that for cliff-line groups. Women are also responsible for crop processing and food preparation, as well as child minding. They are assisted in these tasks by their female dependents, such as daughters and daughters-in-law. The threshing and winnowing of millet takes place on the edge of the settlement, while secondary crop-processing occurs within the bounds of each compound.

Adolescent boys and young adult males assume most of the burden of stock control, including milking. Cattle and other livestock are taken out to pasture on a daily basis, and kept within the settlement overnight. Men are responsible for the construction and maintenance of buildings and also for the initial clearance of tracts of scrub for fields. In some settlements women alone draw and transport water needed for household consumption, but in the two study villages men helped with these tasks, as well drawing water for their livestock. The principal seasonal difference is that during the rainy season

both men and women are absent from their compounds for the best part of the day (Table 7:2).

Section 7:5 Household Inventories :

7:5.1 Description :

In most respects the range of artefact types found in houses in the plains is comparable with that noted for the main study village. Even so, a few general observations are in order. Firstly, there are no suitable deposits of potting clay in the vicinity of Tiegourou and Tanouma. Consequently, none of the female residents of these villages now make pots, although some had made pots in the past[4]. Residents of these villages thus rely solely on market purchases as a means of replenishing and acquiring stocks of new pots. Like their counterparts along the cliff, women also inherit pots from their agnates, and an individual's personal stock of pots generally comprises some she inherited, some that she brought with her from the escarpment, and some purchased in the local marlets of Madougou, Danatenu and Karakinu. Although pots made in the plains by Dogon women are sold in these markets, pots made by another ethnic group, the Dyemo, are also available. Stylistically and formally the former resemble those made in cliff-line villages. Nevertheless, they are identifiable as emanating from the plains, and the pots of one local style produced in and around Karakinu are characterised by a wider mouth and a taller rim. Dyemo pots are even more distinctive, and the typical form of a necked jar with a flaring rim, does not feature in the repertoire of Dogon styles. Most of

the village households have a mixture of Dyemo and Dogon pots, in the sample of kitchens, Dyemo pots comprise, on average 32% of the pottery assemblage, while in dwellings they make up, on average 89% of the pots. In neither of the homesteads did a single example of a pot in the Dyemo style occur, a fact possibly attributable to the distance of these settlements from the markets where Dyemo vessels can be purchased. Moreover, both of these homesteads are close to clay deposits, and in each of them at least one woman still makes pots.

Apart from differences in pottery styles, the only other point of note is that a wider range of types of objects of industrial origin were encountered in the plains villages. Types not represented in the Banani inventories include printed books, especially copies of the Koran or Dogon translations of the Bible, an assortment of trinkets such as penknives, nail-clippers, key-rings and playing cards, and the equipment needed for making 'thè arabienne', i.e. glasses, tea-pot and charcoal burner.

The data were collected and collated in the same manner employed at Banani. The sample size is restricted to sixteen individual compounds, containing a total of sixty-eight houses and a further fifteen cooking huts. Of the houses, ten were empty, nine were used as stores-cum-guest huts, while access was not granted to two sleeping-huts/dwellings. Hence the analysis is based on a total of thirty-two dwellings and fifteen cooking-huts. The physical form and residential composition of compounds makes comparative analysis more straightforward, since the houses

are of much the same design, and because it is easier to isolate the dwellings allocated to the different categories of person. For these villages, as for Banani, the sample includes houses used by married women, widows and single adolescent males. But, as noted above, there is no ginu na category of dwelling. There is, however, and additional category, namely houses reserved for use by unmarried adolescent girls. On the other hand, since all but one compound contains a separate cooking hut communally utilised by all residents, potentially of different ages, gender and marital status, the inventories of these can only be contrasted in a general fashion with those of dwellings.

7:5.2 Discussion of inventory data :

Figure 7:2 illustrates the similarities and differences between the kitchens and houses used by individuals of different sex and marital status, and the data exhibit the following trends:

Seperate cooking huts :

The presence of seperate cooking huts means that far fewer pieces of cooking equipment are kept in dwellings, although the houses of widowed women do contain a significant quantity. The majority of cooking huts also contain waterpots, unlike in Banani, where waterpots are rarely kept in kitchens.

Wooden bowls for food, like waterpots, are normally stored in the cooking huts, although identical wooden bowls used for decorative and storage purposes do feature in several of the dwelling inventories (see Figure 7:3, and Plate 22).

Key to Figure 7:2

1 = Cooking; 2 = Food Procesing; 3 = Furnishings; 4 = Storage; 5 = Weapons; 6 = Waterpots; 7 = Agricultural Tools; 8 = Female Attire; 9 = Male Attire; 10 = Food Bowls; 11 = Wood Bowls; 12 = Decorations.

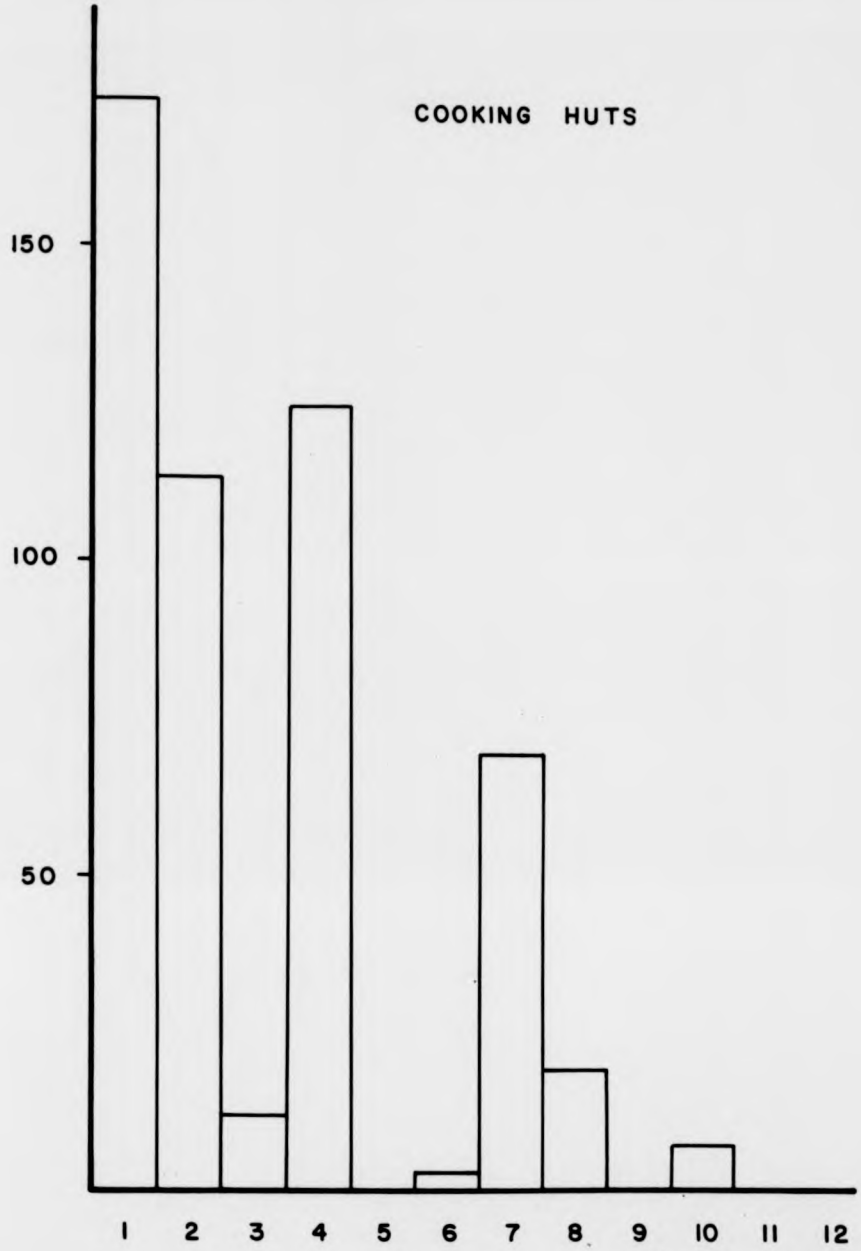


Figure 7:2a Absolute frequencies of artefacts according to room type / marital status

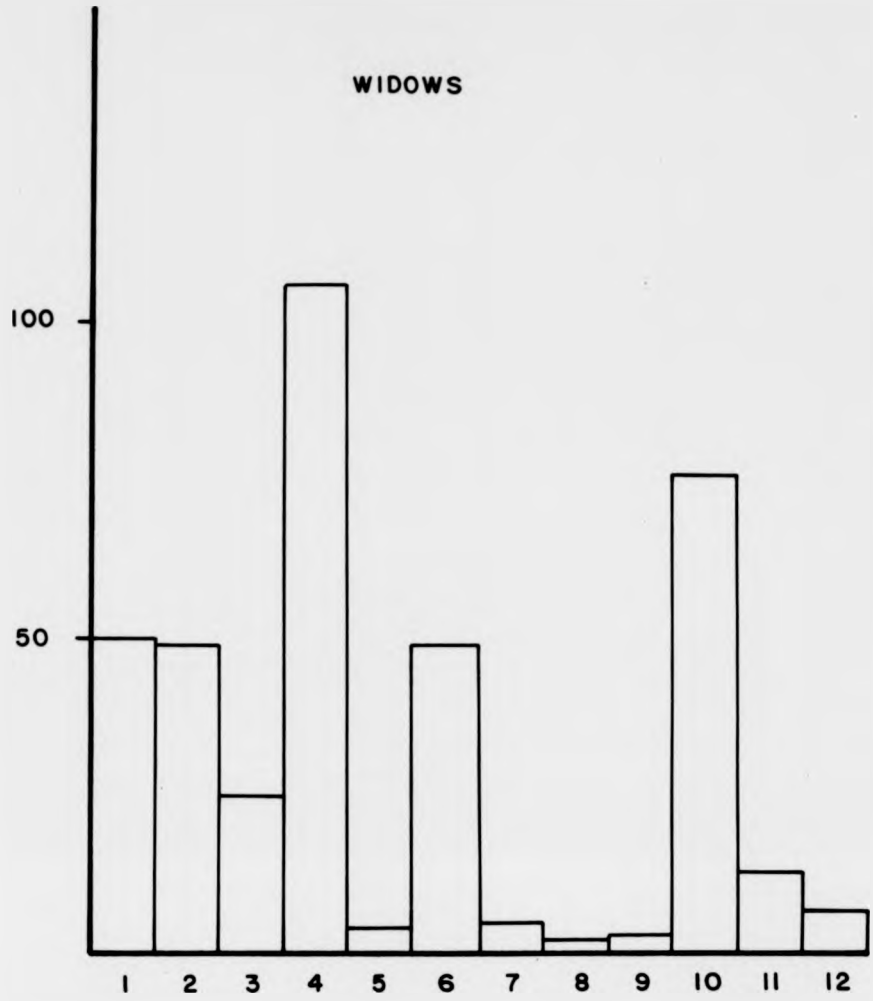


Figure 7:2b Absolute frequencies of artefacts according to room type / marital status

Figure 7:2c Absolute frequencies of artefacts according to room type / marital status

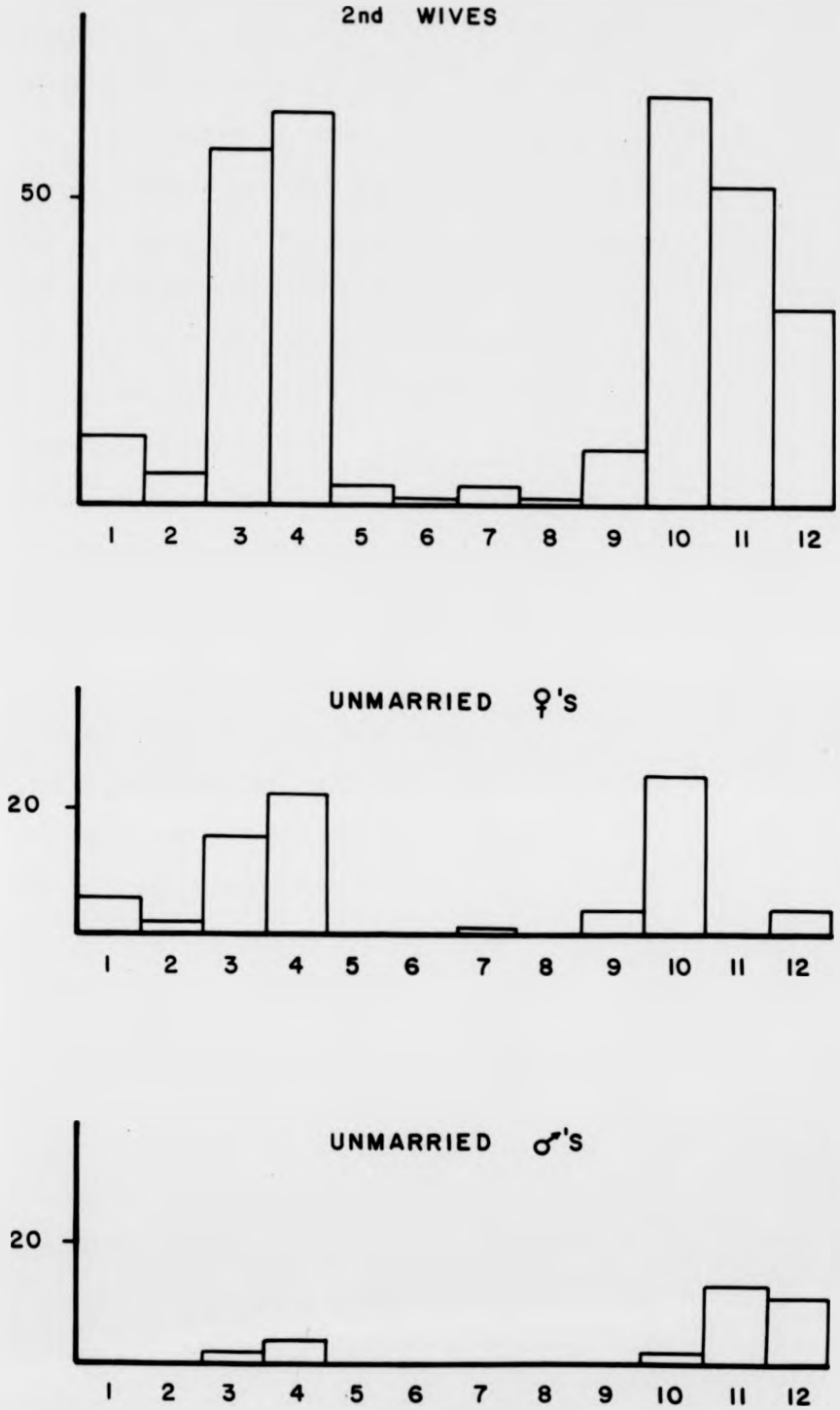


Figure 7:2d Absolute frequencies of artefacts according to room type / marital status

Dwellings :

Food-processing equipment is not restricted to cooking-huts, and in fact quite a considerable preportion is kept inside dwellings. Where houses have a straw covovered porch along the front, or similar type of enclosed space, the objects are generally kept and utilised here, since these spaces are frequently in almost permanent shade. Otherwise the objects are taken out and used in the compound and subsequently returned, the only exception being stone querns which are usually kept outside even when not in use. Few discernable differences exist between the houses of married women and widows save that the density of food-processing and cooking related items is marginally higher in the houses of the latter.

The absence of brewing equipment is particularly noticeable, although it must be pointed out that 44% of the houses do contain pots originally designed as fermentation vessels, that is the pot types known as dey and dadema. These are used for a variety of purposes, including water storage, dry storage, and occassionaly for the storage of supplies of fresh gruel (punu), normally served at midday during the dry season months. All of these pots originate from escarpment villages. Some had been purchased by their owner before she left the escarpment, and had been brought with her. Alternatively, others had been inherited from female agnates, and more rarely affines, and were kept largely as hierlooms. Older women tend to have more of these pots in their houses than younger women, thus 69% of women over forty had at least one of these amongst her possessions as

against 30% of women below the age of forty. Only in one household, occupied by Catholics, is beer ever consumed, for neither the Muslims or Evangelists drink alcohol.

Houses of Single Men and Women :

As in Banani, the houses of young single men have few objects within them, comprising mainly of items of clothing and adornment. Although both samples are small, these can be contrasted with the houses used by single women, other than widows. For these contain considerably more objects, covering a wider range of functions, pointing to the fact that women invest, proportionately, more of their energies and capital into strategies for accumulating artefacts.

Hearths :

Apart from in cooking-huts, most structures lack any kind of hearth, save those occupied by widows. All of the houses, or their associated porches lived in by widows contain hearths, whereas only 26% of married women have hearths in their dwellings, while neither of the adolescent males have one.

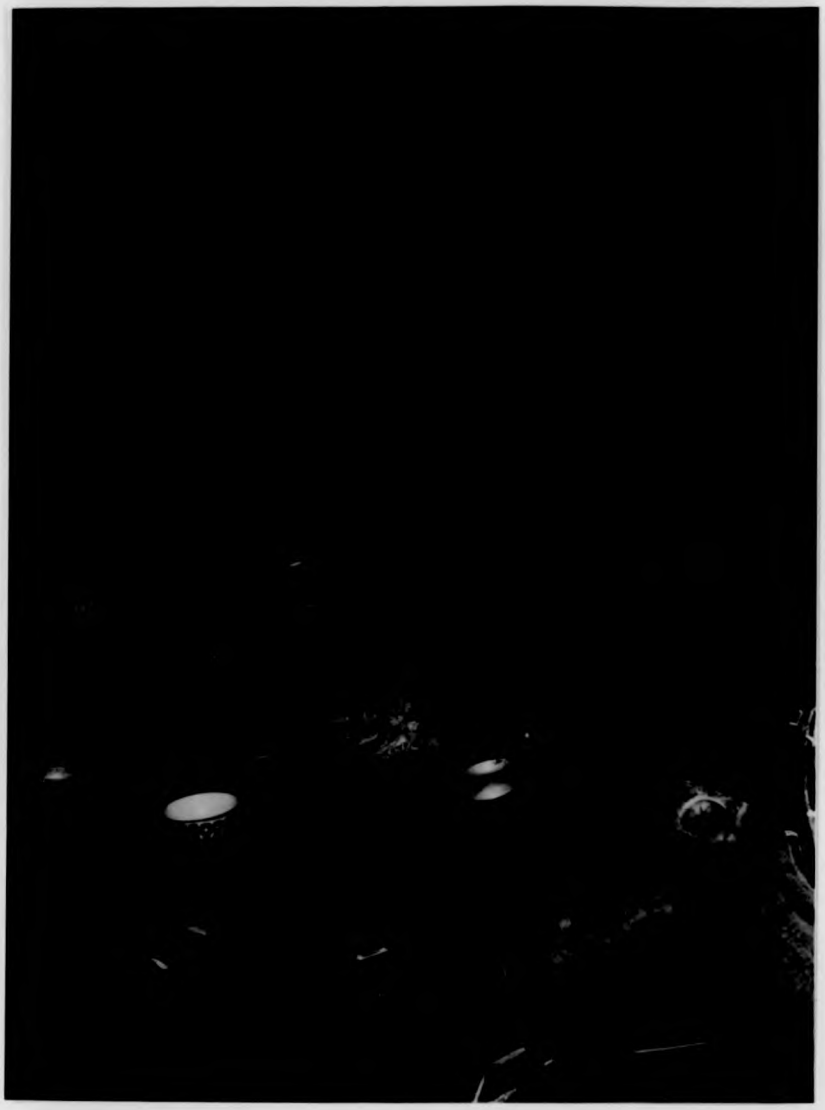


Plate 22 Interior of Plains village kitchen.

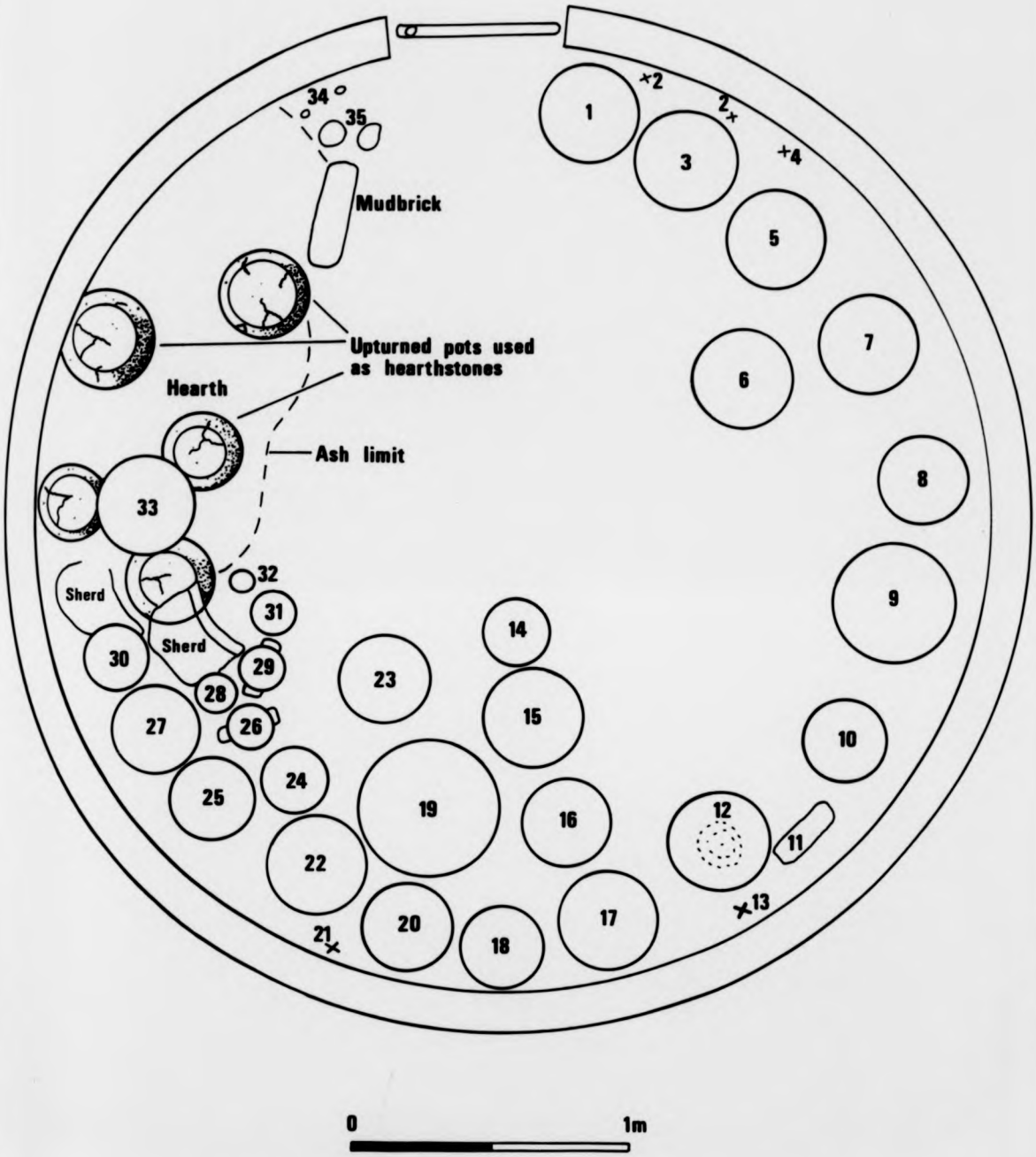


Figure 7:3 Interior of a <u>pana</u> <u>biri</u>

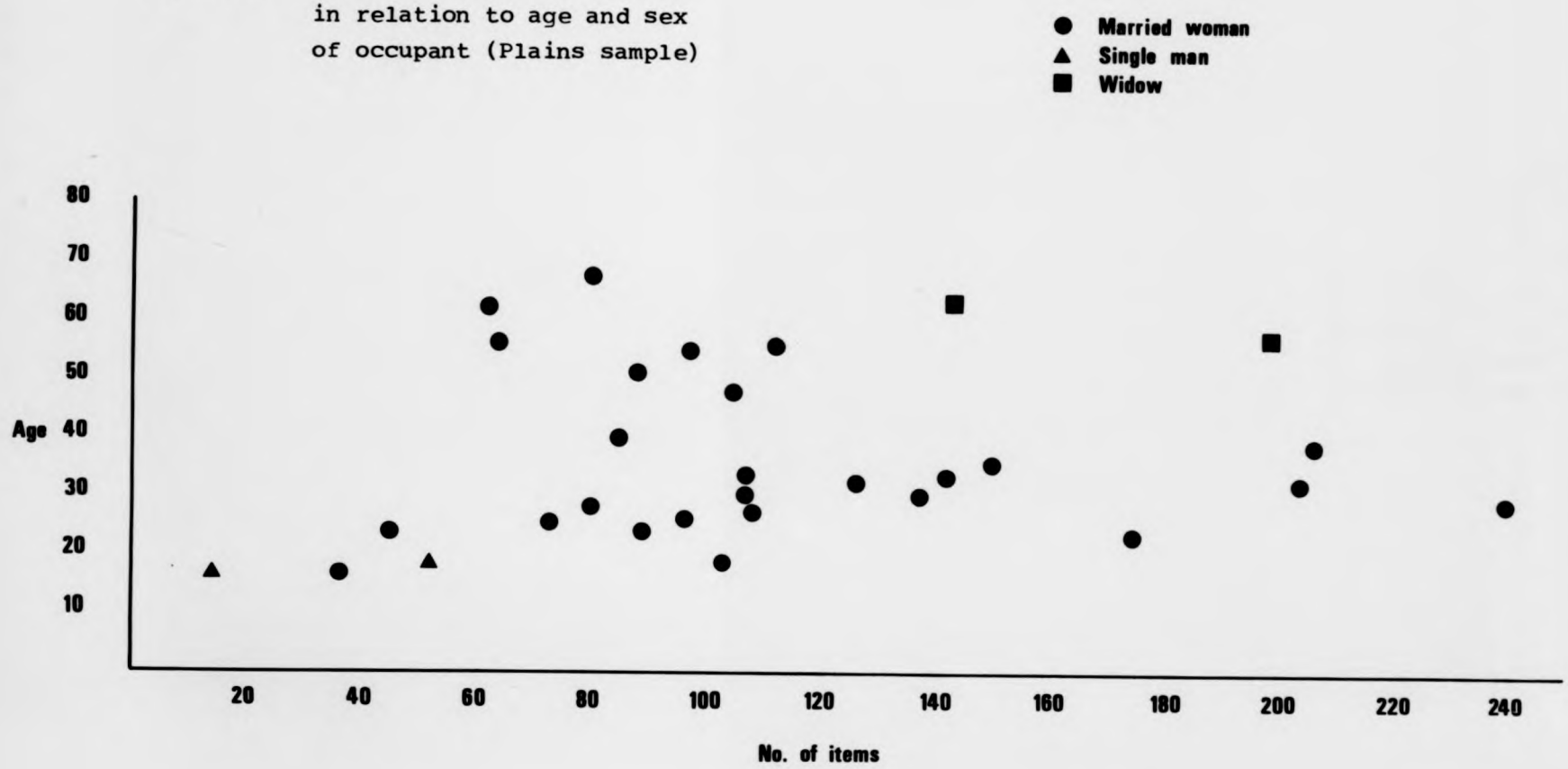
Household Inventory to accompany Figure 7:3

Cooking Hut (Pana Biri) :

1 Old millet porridge cooking pot; 2 Two ladles; 3 Dyemo waterpot 4 Gourd; 5 Waterpot; 6 Waterpot, drinking calabash with gruel and circular straw mat; 7 Dyemo waterpot; 8 Dyemo waterpot; 9 Beer fermenting jar (small) used as waterpot, and ceramic bowl of millet gruel; 10 Dyemo waterpot; 11 Plastic jery-can; 12 Couscous boiler (ceramic); 13 Straw brush; 14 Dyemo sauce cooking pot; 15 Enamelled metal bowl; 16 Dyemo waterpot and calabash ladle; 17 Dyemo waterpot and ladle; 18 Dyemo storage pot containing baobab leaves, wicker basket on top; 19 Large metal cooking pot; 20 Dyemo storage pot with sorrell seeds, calabash of baobab pips; 21 Metal stone-chisel; 22 Dyemo storage pot with ash, ladles, and work calabash; 23 Metal cooking pot and wood food-bowl; 24 Dyemo sauce pot; 25 Storage pot with hungry rice, empty Dyemo sauce pot and work calabash on top; 26 Metal saucepan and nylon flour sieve 27 and 28 Ceramic bowl for cooking meat sauces; 29 Metal saucepan 30 Small Dyemo storage pot, work calabash on top; 31 Calabash, plastic cup and metal dish; 32 tin can with salt; 33 Millet porridge cooking pot; 34 wooden spoon and ´mouvette´; 35 tin of coffee and tea-strainer.

Possibly the most intersting trends in the data are those showing the relationships between the age of the principal occupant and the total number of objects and density of non-indigenously produced items in her or his house. Whereas it was noted for Banani that the greatest quantities of material culture are found in houses of older women, in the Plains the highest concentrations occur in houses occupied by married women between thirty and forty years old, with a single exception (Figure 7:4). Older women, especially widows, do have proportionately more storage related items than younger women (see Figure 7:2), but this is offset by greater quantities of clothing and items of adornment present in the inventories of married women. The latter also have far higher densities of non-indigenously produced goods (Figure 7:5), especially those in the thirty to forty age bracket. Although the same trend was observed in the Banani data, the absolute densities of non-indigenous objects in houses in the plains are far higher (for a better visual impression of this see Figure 7:6)

Figure 7:4 Number of objects in house in relation to age and sex of occupant (Plains sample)



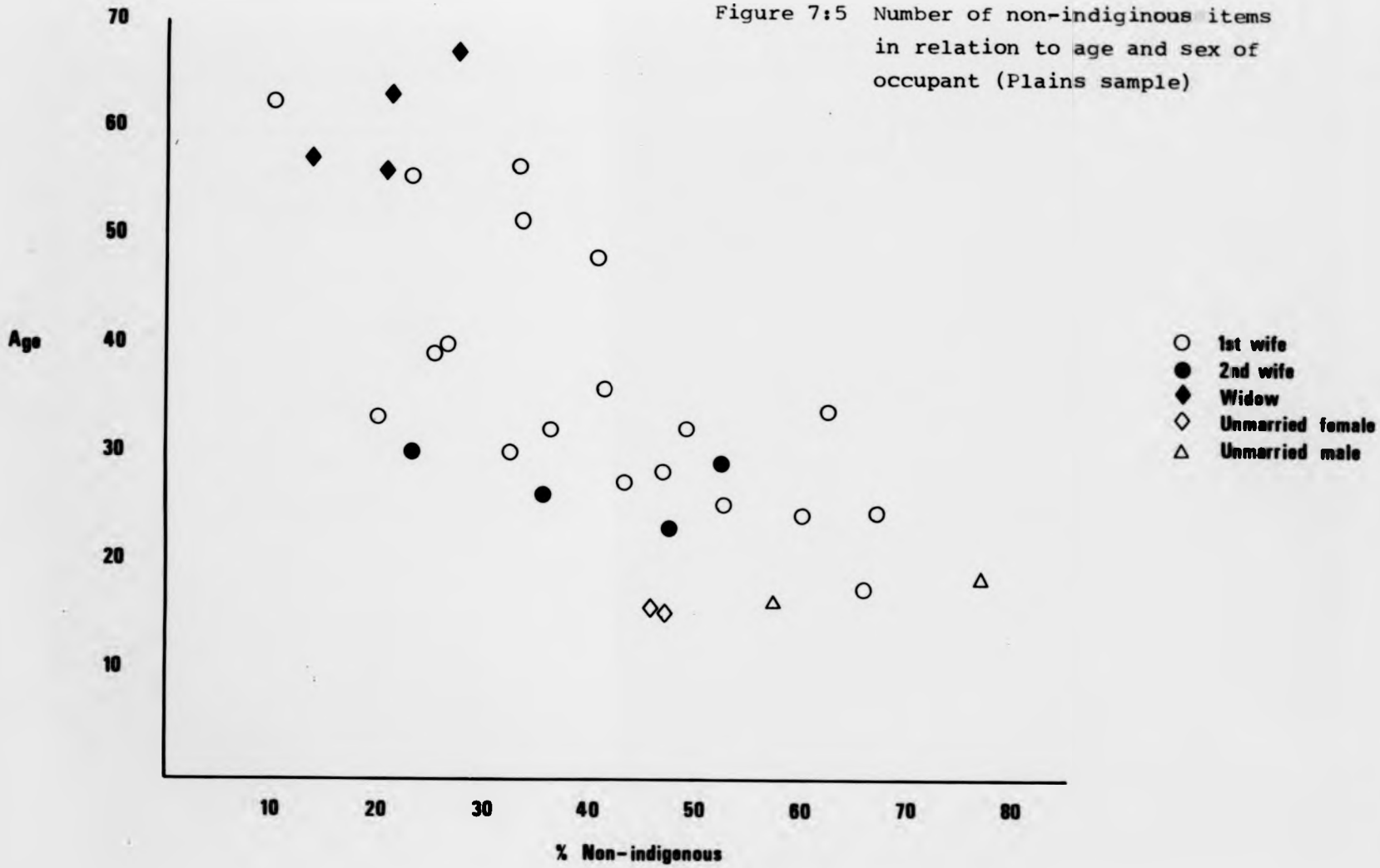


Figure 7:5 Number of non-indiginous items in relation to age and sex of occupant (Plains sample)

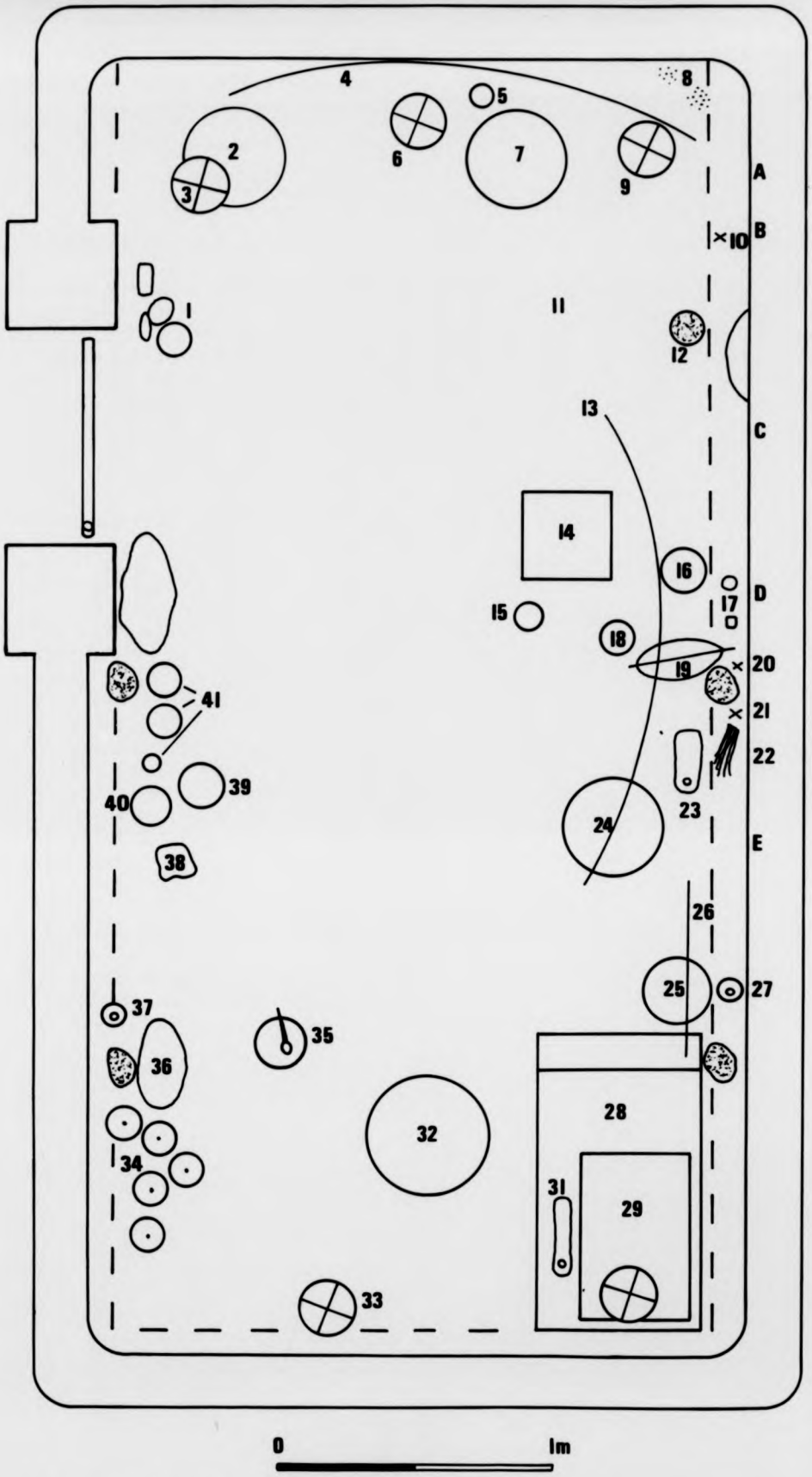


Figure 7:6 Interior of a married woman's house (Tiegourou)

House Inventory to accompany Figure 7:6

Main Room :

1 Glass bottle, tin of talcum powder, ladle; 2 calabash with unspun cotton, ten spindles and leather spinning mat; 3 Pot hanger with a ´Fulani´ style calabash contain another calabash and two big ladles; 4 Sleeping mat; 5 Jar of hairgrease; 6 Pot hanger with empty calabash; 7 Enamelled metal bowl, four spindles full with thread; 8 Two bundles of straw for sweeping brushes; 9 Pot hanger with enamelled metal bowl, skull cap and vest; 10 Pair of shoes; 11 Dogon skirt; 12 Ginning bar; 13 Straw sleeping mat; 14 Cane basket with unspun cotton, circular straw mat; 15 Tin can; 16 Plastic bucket; On low ledge around room: 17 Tin can, plastic cup, spindle, block of soap; 18 Glass bottle of paraffin; 19 Storage spindle of cotton thread; 20 Head scarf; 21 Puncture repair kit; 22 Straw brush; 23 Wooden spinning weight; 24 Enamelled metal bowl, carding combs; 25 Sauce cooking pot, enamelled bowl; 26 Wooden clothes bar (female) and mosquito net; On low ledge: 27 Paraffin lamp; 28 Two locked metal trunks; 29 Suitcase with male clothes; 30 Empty pot hanger; 31 Wooden spinning weight; 32 Circular metal trunk, female clothes; 33 pot hanger with calabash containing seveteen spindles; 34 Five storage spindles, replete with thread; 35 Calabash of cotton bolls and spoon; 36 Five kilo sack of salt; 37 Paraffin lamp; 38 Plastic bag of chillies; 39 Calabash with fruit of wild date tree; 40 Plastic bucket; 41 Sack of cotton, pair of sandals, empty tin can, tin can with shea butter.

On Back Wall :

A Plastic hold-all, leather protective charm;
B Necklace made from beads and 10-Franc pieces and bead necklace
C Enamelled pan;
D Two head scarfs
E Coloured, circular straw mat.

Section 7:6 Summary :

The above points can be summarised briefly, and the first point to note is that the pottery assemblages of the plains sample of inventories include examples of pots made by another ethnic group. Pots of this style do not occur in the main study village. Although pots of this kind are more readily available in the plains, the decision by women to purchase such pots must be accounted for, particularly since 89% of the pots found in dwellings (in the two villages), are of Dyemo origin. Of a sample of twelve adult women who expressed an opinion about their pots, eleven said that Dyemo pots were preferable to Dogon pots for cooking with. Eight of these women held that Dogon pots were better as loy, that is waterpots, although, nearly all of these did use Dyemo pots for storing water. Only one woman felt that Dyemo pots keep water fresher and cooler. Five women preferred the form and decoration of Dogon pots and five thought otherwise, while one woman said that she liked the appearance of the two styles equally. Even so, the number of pots owned by an individual is not strongly correlated with her expressed tastes, and on the whole the quantity of pots found in a single dwelling is low.

However, a common remark made by these women was that such and such a style 'was prettier', indicating that aesthetic judgement influenced the choice of artefact type. Indeed, the overall impression gained from these conversations was that women saw material culture as a means to express their attractiveness. This point is borne out by the presence, and particularly in the

houses of younger women, of quantities of toiletries, such as bars of soap, bottles of hair oil and phials of perfume, and even cans of talcum powder and deoderant-spray. Most of these items can be purchased in the larger markets, such as Madougou, although some have come from outside of the region, and apart from the blocks of soap, all are comparatively expensive. Another item that features in the inventories of younger women are calabashes with designs painted on with coloured poster-paints, which can cost from between 1,100 MF to 2,500 MF (£1.10-£2.50 at 1982 rates of exchange). Also sought after are calabashes which have had their outer surface abraded thereby giving it a very white colouring. These, known as pullo koro are characteristically Fulani, and along with other calabashes, new wooden bowls (incidentally also made by another ethnic group), and enamelled metal bowls are suspended in straw hanger from rafters, prominently on display. Other decorative items iinclude photographs and magazine pictures, stuck, along with mirrors, onto the inside walls (Plate 23).

Compared with Banani, both a wider range and higher absolute densities of non-indigenously produced artefacts, (predominantly of industrial origin), are present in houses in the plains. Furthurmore, unlike in Banani, the house in the Plains with the highest relative proportions of non-indigenous goods, and with the highest absolute densities (Dogon and non-Dogon), are thos occupied by women in the the thirty to forty age group. Although a percentage of these goods were purchased by their husbands, either for themselves or as gifts for their wives, women buy the

Plate 23 Interior of a young married couple´s house.

greater majority. This is surprising in view of the fact that neither brewing, potting or other kinds of petty market activity provide a source of income for any of these women. Two points can be made; first, that most women in the plains are involved in cultivating cash-crops, especially groundnuts. Secondly, the women of a household, rather than just its male head, have control over some of the proceeds from the sale of surplus grain. There are several reasons for this, including an implicit recognition by men of the part women play in the production process. With respect to this, it is interesting to note that the plains sample includes two matrifocal compounds headed by widowed women. A woman's role in the production strategies of a household can be enhanced, also, during the periods when some of its male members are away, either in education or employment. This is not to say, however, that this increased responsibility is publicly acknowledged.

Of equal importance are the arrangement of residential space and the structure of daily routine. In terms of compound layout, settlements in the Plains differ from those along the escarpment, being both less enclosed and of greater areal extent. More significant differences are that each compound, save one, contains its own cooking-hut, that adult members of several generations reside in the same compound, and that compounds can be expanded by a process of syncretic accretion. Possibly as a consequence of the arrangement of social space, there is less inter-compound co-operation in subsistence activities, and most compound groups operate as virtually independent units of

production and consumption. Thus, no one compound is singled out as the appropriate locale for the preparation and consumption of food, the storage of grain, and as the residence of the lineage head as in Banani. Moreover, there is no symbolic elaboration of space along the lines noted for ginu na compounds. This probably explains why both waterpots and food bowls are located more frequently in kitchen-space than in dwelling-space. For, as argued in earlier chapters, both these items symbolise basic functions of the lineage group for which the lineage head has overall responsibility.

The crucial consequence, then, is that each compound unit bears the responsibilities for ensuring its own viability and reprodution. Consequently, surplus stocks are sold rather than transformed into gifts of beer and food offered to affines at sacrifices and other ceremonies. Although some of the capital gained is used to purchase livestock, herd sizes are in fact relatively small, and only three household own more than ten head of cattle and one had more than fifteen ovicaprides. More of the proceeds are invested in material culture; amongst men for example, 32% own a bicycle and three household owned a plough[5]. We also find that compound groups no longer have the same control over land. So, any individual man seeking greater independence from his father or siblings can hive-off, and, simply by asking permission, from the chef de village, to build and cultivate land nearby, can join another village. Or, he can establish an independent homestead of his own. As the case material presented in Section 7:2 indicates, this is precisely whta happens over

time. See, for example, the biographies of B, C and F, all of whom are brothers born of the same parents. We can note that they lived for a while, along with their elder brother and families, in a joint-compound in Tanouma, while their father was still alive and headed their lineage. This territorial expansion, however legitimated and perceived, is also a lineage strategy for coping with, and usefully deploying its surplus labour. This is so whether migration is on a long term basis aimed at creating daughter settlements, or on a seasonal basis whereby young adults assits with labour extensive tasks such as herding livestock, and, weeding and harvesting crops. A basic aim of these strategies is for part of the surplus produced in the plains to be returned to the parental village. However, with the passage of time, the development cycle of the lineage group begins to influence the outcome of residential and economic decisions. Hence, in the case study refered to, as the family of each brother has grown and matured, he has become increasingly independent of his siblings. So, while the eldest returned to Banani, another remained in Tanouma, the third eldest moved to Tasego 2 and the youngest helped found Tiegourou, with each gaining greater control over the surplus product of his compound group.

Rather surprisingly though, we can note that despite this increased wealth and independence, the three brothers still in the plains have not founded separate lineages of their own. Each, like all of the other adult males in these study villages, also said that they would return to Banani Kokoro if, to quote

"Ama gives me a long life", that is, if they became the senior male of their patrilineage. For, despite being practicing Muslims or Christians, these men feel strongly that to do otherwise would be to abandon their ginna.

Why is this sentiment so strongly felt that does fissioning not occur? One reason is that by adopting a strategy of moving men over space, particularly junior siblings, the lineage head preempts disagreements over access to resources. By allocating the various responsibilities of the lineage, such as the task of cattle herder, or of augementing the lineage stocks of food, each individual is provided with a certain role and identity within the context of the lineage. It will be recalled, for example, that cattle herders, like other specialists, have their own particular funeral songs and rites. Thus, whereas migrants from Banani find greater scope to pursue personal strategies, and so construct more unique identities, these individuating practices can still be accomodated by the lineage model. This is so because, to have any meaning such identities must have a point of reference from which a sense of belonging can be constructed, and it is to this issue that I turn next.

Footnotes :

1. See for example the classic discussions on the Tallensi (Fortes 1945) and the Tiv (Bohannan L & P 1954), and the more theoretical expositions of Meillassoux (1981).
2. In 1982 only one lineage in cultivated onions commercially.
3. Locally, cane baskets (tadu) are made by specialists in Koundu, Yougou and Yendouma to the north and Tirelli to the south.
4. In these two villages only two elderly women and one who was married and middle-aged knew how to make pots.
5. There are some practical and economic advantages to be gained from the possession of some of these items. As Kohler noted "la bicyclette est utilisée pour aller dans les champs éloignes, y transporter le fumier et en rapporter les récoltes, elle permet de ganer un temps précieux quand les pluies imosent aux cultivateurs un horaire chargé" (1972, 75).

CHAPTER EIGHT

SETTLEMENT AS HISTORY.

> "In a good deal of modern sociological literature the term 'social reproduction' is invoked as though it were a magical touchstone an explanatory concept of extraordinary potency. In fact ... it is not an explanatory notion at all: the reproduction of social systems is at every moment a contingent phenomenon which requires explanation"
>
> Giddens 1981, 64.

Section 8:1 Introduction:

Left unanswered in the last chapter was the question 'why is it that new lineages have not formed in the neolocal settlements of migrants, despite the potential for economic independence'? Labour supply may be a limiting factor for some groups, and I have indicated that there is some seasonal movement of people from the escarpment to cope with labour extensive tasks. However, other households are sufficiently large to do without this seasonal labour. Moreover, most compound groups have agnatic kin living either within the same village or nearby, upon whom they could rely for labour, rather than their kin along the escarpment. In this chapter, I want to pursue the suggestion that while demographic composition and economic conditions influence the decision to retain ties with their patrilineage, the power of the past is far more important for these individuals. In particular, I wish to develop the theme of 'settlement as history', and how such an integration of space and

time provides a sense of ancestry, of belonging and of identity, and how this affects the dominance of the 'lineage' ideology and its acceptance.

The elaboration of two concepts, and their inter-relation, is involved, namely, 'the past' and 'identity'. Aspects of age and gender identities, and the associated symbolism of certain artefacts have already been discussed. Identities too are linked to the past, in the sense that an individual lives out her or his life within the context of pre-established conventions from the moment of conception, as evidenced by the emphasis placed on defining the conditions of reproduction, to the moment of death, as exemplified by the suppression of individuality in funeral rituals. The living, however, are not doomed to act out their existence as automatons. Rather, as I have stressed throughout this thesis, they are actively involved, at the level of daily routine, in the negotiation of personal autonomy and identity. Routine existence incorporates both the reproduction and standardisation of social identity and the creation and implementation of personal difference. Individuals must draw on a body of knowledge about past practices so as to explore the potentials offered by the future. This body of knowledge can be loosely termed 'tradition', and being socially produced it can be moulded by its producers to legitimate their own concerns. But, it is not an entirely plastic resource, since, to be shared, to be endowed with a measure of intersubjectivity, it must be constructed and applied according to certain conventions. This, naturally, raises the issue of how is it possible for these

conventions to be changed, if, as Bloch remarks, our models of the social determination of concepts imply that actors can only talk within society and lack the means to talk about society (1977, 281), and I will be taking up this problem towards the end of this chapter.

Obviously, before the full implications of these points can be developed, it is important to establish first how the Dogon construct and perceive their past. Secondly, it will be crucial to examine how representations of the past are deployed for the purposes of legitimating practice. Once this has been done , it will then be possible to elucidate how the dominance of the lineage model is sustained, even in the face of continual renegotiation and newly emergent material conditions.

Section 8:2 Models of the Past:

For the Dogon, oral tradition is the basic source of information about the past, and it takes three forms, myth, oral history and genealogy. However, the Dogon also employ material evidence, such as physical remains and artefacts, to substantiate the veracity of oral traditions and point to the actuality of past events. Each form of oral tradition refers to different types of event, differently situated in space and to 'pasts' of different time depth. Even so, as I shall indicate, the meaning of these different pasts are complementary. Taking myths first, these are principally concerned with the events relating to the creation and peopling of the world, the invention of agriculture and technology and, in the final instance, the introduction of

death (Griaule 1938, Griaule and Dieterlen 1965). Prior to the appearance of death, the ancestors of the Dogon lived, as immortal beings, far to the west near Mande. With the appearance of death, however, the founding ancestors of the four tribes, and their wives, began to migrate westwards (Dieterlen 1941, 1956), eventually arriving at the edge of the region the Dogon now occupy. The first villages were established here, and from these descendants of the apical ancestors of each tribe spread outwards, the sequence of fissioning, village foundation and partioning of territory laying the basis for a segmentary lineage structure.

However, the land which the Dogon began to settle was already occupied by a group of people called the Tellem, who are said to have been of a far smaller stature than the new arrivals. At first, according to tradition, the Dogon co-existed alongside the Tellem, with each ethnic group exploiting different resources. Later, and here the span of years is left unspecified, the Tellem left the region, because, as is most commonly adjudged, they were hunter-gatherers and the Dogon, as agriculturalists, had cleared the forests to make fields for their crops. Moreover, although the Dogon and Tellem are thought to have overlapped in space for several decades, and possibly centuries, contemporary Dogon are adamant that the two groups did not inter-marry, and no lineage traces its descent back to Tellem ancestry. From this simplified synopsis of the distant past, a relative chronology, a sequential ordering of events, and also concepts, can be drawn up:

```
                                SPACE

                Mande                                   Dogon area

T               Mythical
I   Myth        Beings
 ------------------------- Migrations --------------------------
M   History                                             Tellem
E                                                       Dogon/Tellem
                                                        Dogon
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FIGURE 8:1 : SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE DIFFERENT LEVELS OF THE PAST.

My aim in introducing these elements and concepts of the past is not to produce a simple chronology, but to get at their meaning. Whilst acknowledging that the word ´meaning´ has several different senses, and Sperber´s remarks as to the abuse of the term in anthropology (1975, 12), I take it as axiomatic that the conventions governing the construction of narratives about the past endow the sources with meaning (see Appadurai 1981), and some of Saussure´s principles are of relevance here.

Saussure argued that for words to have meaning they must be located within a field of relations with other words (value) and have external reference and effect (significance) (1974, 108-109). The concept of value can be divided further to cover relations of sequential order and relations of exclusion and substitution. The field of reference for a word is the sentence within which it is located, while the relations of sequential order govern its location in the sentence relative to other words, and the relations of exclusion and substitution determine which words can, and cannot, be used in its place. The

principles can be extended to establish how different categories of past events are conceptually organised.

First of all, three ´pasts´ can be defined, which I broadly categorise as the ´mythical past´, the ´Dogon past´ and an intermediary past, which, for want of a better term, can be called the ´Tellem past´. The specific location of each within the field of relations that the Dogon perceive as ´times past´ is illustrated in Figure 8:1. Briefly, the rules that govern the relations of exclusion and substitution between mythological and historical time, are that during the former period beings were immortal and differently located in space.

A more intriguing relationship is that between the Tellem and the Dogon, since they overlapped both temporally and spatially, and architectural remains of both the Tellem and the earliest Dogon inhabitants are held to still exist. From discussions about this era, it is clear that it is viewed as a period of transition, an interface between mortal and mythical domains. While the Dogon settlers are conceived of as having human characteristics, the Tellem are attributed with supernatural powers, such as an ability to fly. This latter quality, it is held, enabled the Tellem to gain access to their ´houses´ high up on the cliff-face. The Tellem are further distinguished from the Dogon by physical characteristics, particularly their smaller stature, and also by their subsistence base. Finally, amongst the range of standing architectural remains found widely along the cliff-face, some are firmly accredited to the Tellem, others are held to be early Dogon

foundations, but, despite the probability that several Tellem structures have been re-used by the Dogon, no such sequence is acknowledged to have taken place. In sum, the material traces of both sets of people are conceptually separated, along with their respective physiometric characteristics, and the cutural traits of one cannot be substituted for those of the other.

In Saussurean terms then, the value of the past, as a narrative construct, is that it defines the Dogon as Dogon, as descendants from certain mythical persons, and distinct from the Tellem, the previous occupants of the area. The significance of the past, its external reference, though, has yet to be established. Here, I shall concentrate on the accounts of Dogon settlement as documented by the histories of village foundation. The basic theme of these texts is to trace the territorial expansion of the descendants of one of the four apical ancestors. As noted in Chapter 3, the villagers of Banani are descended from Dyon, and the account of the foundation of the village describes how its structural position relative to other villages also founded by Dyon's descendants is derived. Part of this account, recited by the village binugedine, is given below:

> 'The Dogon land, we came from Manding. We left Manding and moved to Ban. On leaving Ban, we came, little by little. We arrived at Kani and installed ourselves there. At Kani we ordered ourselves. We spent three years at Kani. On leaving Kani we came to Barou. We left our things there and went on to Ogol. The man of Kani, the man of Ogol; the man of Kani is the eldest, after him it is the village of Ogol, after Ogol it is Irelli. After Irelli it is Banani and after Banani it is Ibu. After Ibu it is Nini. All our 'presidents' (lit.) are from Kani. After

> Kani, it is the man from Ogol, the man from Kani is his elder brother. Man of Kani, man of Ogol, both are the same family (lit. person). They are elder brother and younger brother´.

In a similar, but shorter, exposition of the origins of the village, the third eldest male inhabitant covered much the same ground:

> All the Dogon along the escarpment and those at Sanga came from Manding. They stopped first at Kenyé, later they came to Kani. After Kani they went to Barou Na, where they divided the lébé and each brother took his part. The eldest was in Kani; the second eldest brother to Sanga, the third brother to Irelli and the fourth brother went to Banani. The fifth eldest went to Ibu, and the youngest to Nini.

As we saw in Section 3:4, for each village there is a further, and more detailed account as to how, and by whom, each portion of inhabited land was chosen. For the villages of Banani, the founding ancestor was Bansogoro, but it was his sons, Ogodymé, Ogotogu and Ogon who created the villages of Banani Sirou, Kokoro and Amu.

In all of these narratives an emphasis is placed on birth order position, a sequence of moves over space, and the ultimate common descent of relevant participants. Moreover, each individual, often loosely categorised as a ´brother´, is seen to have claimed an area of land, which his descendants now occupy and cultivate. However, the narratives do more than document the processes of lineage fission and territorial expansion, for, by linking descent groups and their spatial locations with historical events, the narratives provide evidence for the

legitimacy of the claims of villagers to occupy, as of right, their land. This, then, is the external reference, the significance of accounts of the Dogon past. But the proposition also holds for the other phases of the past; thus, for example, the Tellem, by abandoning the land they had previously occupied, relinquished, in the Dogon view of events, their rights over that land for good. The fact that the binugedine introduced his account of the history of settlement with the words "Dogo gini", literally 'the houses of the Dogon', their land, their country, supports this conclusion.

In summary, although pasts of different depths and specific content can be identified, their meanings, in terms of their value and significance to the living, are complementary. At the largest spatial and temporal scale, narratives of the mythical past are concerned with the creation and ordering of the world. The myth of Nommo and his twin brother Yourugu, the pale fox, so extensively documented by Griaule and Dieterlen, is explicitly concerned with the reintroduction of order after the chaos brought about by the original incestuous act of Yourugu. The theme of order stemming from appropriate sexual and marriage relations recurs repeatedly in accounts of events closer in time. Thus, Dogon myths of migration incorporate the complex genealogies of the initial five generations of descendants of the four apical ancestors. As Dieterlen (1956, 115-129) has elaborated, these document the emergence of the principles of descent and marriage alliance that structure contemporary Dogon society.

However, it is important to emphasise that the purpose of these narratives is not to reveal the social structure, the set of rules that govern the organisation of society, so much as to present the elements of identity. Social and personal identity are not fixed packages applied en masse in every interaction, but rather, are contextually dependent and selectively applied. In one context one can be a Dogon disputing with a Fulani, in another a villager of Banani following after villagers of Kani, Sanga and Irelli at a major ceremony, and in a third the head of the senior lineage segment officiating at a tire ginna sacrifice. Narratives about the past, then, are means by which the correctness of the claims of rights to an identity, by an individual or collective, are both explained and legitimated. At the widest extent these narratives incorporate all Dogon, and at the narrowest extent they treat the individual's specific genealogical location. What they have in common is a concern with the correct spatial and temporal ordering of groups, be they of different ethnic, tribal or lineage origin.

We have also seen this concern with ordered social space at the level of the village and the patterning of residence. However, just as the latter category of order is open to manipulation, through individual strategies, so narratives of the past can be deployed to support particular interests and relations of dominance. For, as Peel has argued, "making history, on the plane of social action directed at realising a future, is ... closely involved with making history, in the sense of giving accounts of the past" (1984, 111). The meaning of the

past depends, therefore, as much on the context of use of these historical narratives, as on the relations of value and significance, which govern the manner in which narratives are srtuctured. The relations of value, in a sense, define the limits of possible meanings, while the potential meanings of a narrative are explored, and exploited, within its context of use. The efficacy of a specific meaning, its power of coercion, lies in the dexterity with which it is manipulated to serve individual or sectional interests without doing injury to a collective model of the appropriateness of these aims.

Detailed knowledge of myths of origin and migration, and the account of the foundation of the village is restricted to male elders, and even amongst these the degree of knowledge is by no means uniform. Moreover, there is little call in routine practice to raise either issues of the ethnicity of villagers, or their structural relationship vis-à-vis other villages, thereby predicating against the public expression of the historical narratives which cover these matters. Admittedly, at every dama ceremony held in one or other of the the villages of Banani, members of the awa societies of the nearby settlments of Sanga, Irelli and Nini particapate, and likewise masked dancers from Banani attend the dama ceremonies held at these other villages. Since the order in which members of different awa societies perform follows the order of primogeniture, that is dancers from Sanga appear first and those from Nini last, it can be said that the principle of the myths of migration does find practical expression. However, the texts themselves are not recited at

these events, or at other times during the course of the ritual calendar of an average year. By far the most important level of the Dogon past, in terms of structuring the physical form and practice of settlement, is that represented by, and in, lineage genealogies, and it is to these that I now turn.

Section 8:3 Village Genealogies:

Although all adults know the names of their recent ancestors, detailed knowledge of a lineages' genaological history is restricted to older males. As with other aspects of tradition and custom, the knowledge of elder males represents the 'official' genealogy. Although informants were questioned on several occasions and every effort was made to cross-check data against each other, the data base is far from complete and deals mainly with male ancestors, since descent is traced patrilineally.

The significance, here, of the genealogical data is that it relates certain lineage segments and individuals not only to specific places within the village, but also to certain stages in its development. Hence, in the account of the foundation of Banani the second son of Bansogoro, called Ogotogu, is accredited with building the first houses of Banani Kokoro. These structures, which lie on a narrow ledge of the cliff-face above the present village are still extant, and are regularly repaired (see below). Theoretically the Hogon should inhabit these buildings, since the current Hogon of all Banani comes from Kokoro. In fact, the latter lives in his ginu na in the village

under everyday circumstances, and uses these structures only on ritually significant occasions. For instance, the locale was used during the ceremonies held when the current Hogon was installed in 1981. Although now on the margin of the village, these structures, containing as they do the principle village shrines, represent its conceptual core.

Immediately below these important buildings lie collapsed walls and disused houses, which mark the gradual downslope expansion of the settlement as it grew syncretically (Plate 24). The traces of house footings closest to the foot of the cliff have now been incorportaed into fields allocated to the village binukedine (see above Section 3:8), and the outlines of the compounds are difficult to trace. Just downslope from these, however, are several disused compounds, with upstanding dry stone boundary walls enclosing houses. The latter, despite requiring a fresh coating of daub to their external walls and, sometimes, some structural repairs to the roof, are well preserved. Nevertheless, they remain uninhabited, and are generally used simply for storing bundles of millet straw and wood. One of the reasons for the conservation of these buildings is that the removal of reserves of re-usable materials, such as dressed stone and timber beams, however convenient a supply, is strictly prohibited. The most common explanation for this restriction on the re-use of building materials is that it prevents compounds which have been temporarily vacated by their 'owners' (i.e. last resident), from being ransacked. While this is indubitably the case for some of the houses, especially in view of observations

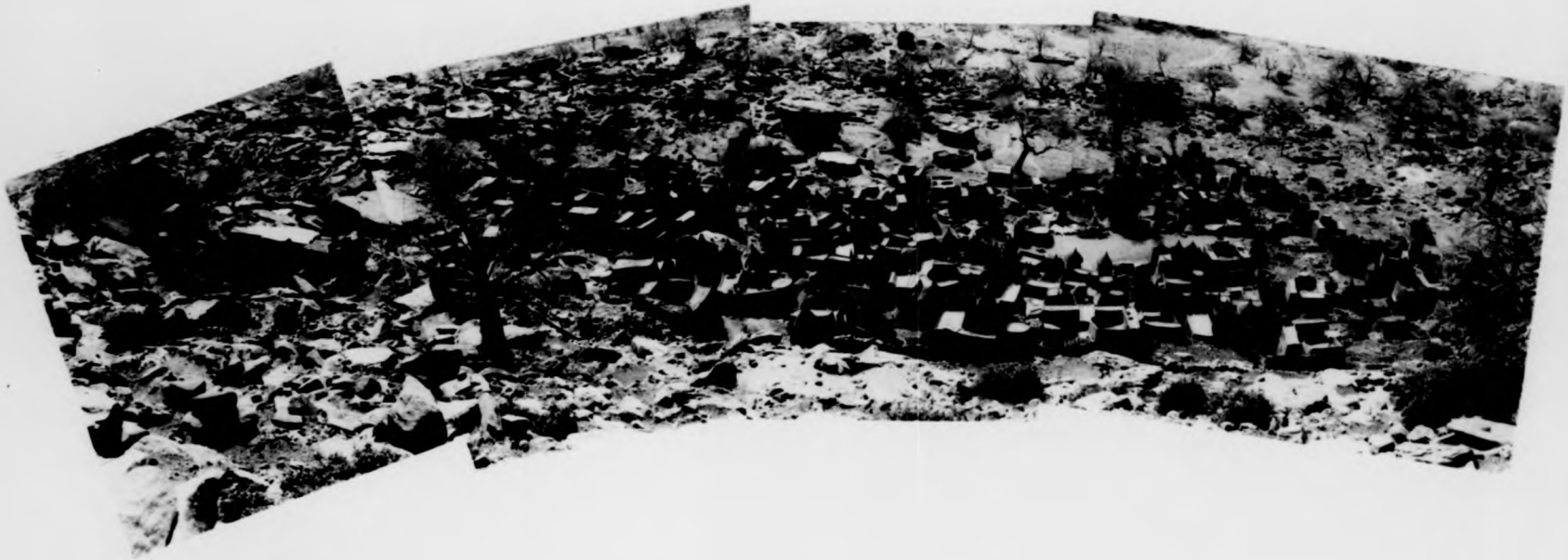

Plate 24 Montage of Banani Kokoro, from cliff-face.

detailed in Chapter 7, it can still be asserted that a good proportion (40%), of the deserted, but still extant houses, were not the residences of recent emmigrants but of members of more distant generations. This suggests that there is another motive behind the preservation of old compound sites, and this aspect of settlement history is considered next.

In the first place, an approximate chronology of settlement expansion can be built up from the genealogies, since many of the named individuals are associated with the foundation of a new house site. Like the village genealogy, these data are incomplete, but nevertheless they do raise several interesting points. Each minimal lineage, as noted above in Section 4:3, owns a number of extant and ruined house sites. For the majority of these compounds the name of the original occupant, and hence builder, is remembered. Over time, the boundary of the settlement has moved downslope and towards the south-west. On the south-western edge, there exists, however, a number of compounds no longer used and largely in ruins, even though they were built comparatively recently. In most cases these had been inhabited, reputedly, prior to the era 1913-1916 when the region suffered a severe drought, and the village population was decimated[1]. The impact of this drought, and ensuing famine, also shows up in the genealogical data, and those who lived through it still have a vivid memory of the hardships endured. In a sense, then, an aspect of the recent history of the village is embedded in its physical fabric, the ruined compounds standing as proof of the effects of famine. There are a number of reasons which suggest

that the occurrence of the famine itself is an insufficient explanation of the abandonment of the compounds on the south-western edge by the lineage groups which own them. Firstly, in the light of the relations of production and consumption, it is improbable that the only village residents to have died during the famine were those living in this part of the village, and more likely that other residential units elsewhere in the village also became unviable. Secondly, even without regular annual maintenance to their external surfaces, houses can withstand the elements for at least a decade, and thus those compounds that were abandoned during the famine, would still have been available for re-occupation by members of the subsequent generation. While demographic factors would have limited the rate at which the post-famine village population increased towards the pre-famine level, there is no *a priori* reason for the abandoment of these specific compounds. Likewise, subsequent generations might have ensured the upkeep of these dwellings, without actually occupying them, as is done for several vacant houses today. So why is it, then, that some of the newer compounds were abandoned and allowed to fall into disrepair after this event, and older ones were preserved? I want to suggest here that the answer to this question lies in the ancestry of the different compounds.

It can be noted, initially, that many of the oldest structures in the village are preferentially repaired, as part of the annual round of activities. Thus, during the dry season months repairs are made to the external walls of those houses in the village requiring attention, but especially to those of

lineage heads. Moreover, the buildings held to be the original village structures, that is those on the cliff-face, are also renovated from time to time, and often quite extensively. For instance, in February 1983, over the course of a morning, several male villagers began to remove the roof of the binu ginu, which had partially collapsed. Most of the major beams were considered to be still serviceable, and were re-incorporated into the structure. Some were replaced, however, with new timbers, and a bed of freshly cropped saplings was laid across these beams. This in turn was coated with a fresh mixture of clay daub, and finally cracks in the outer walls were also filled with this daub. From my observations I would estimate that up to thirty percent of the binu ginu in Banani Kokoro comprised of freshly acquired materials. In the adjacent village of Banani Sirou, in the same month, virtually the entire structure of their binu ginu was rebuilt with new materials. However, these structures continue to be referred to as the oldest buildings in the village (Plate 25).

It is interesting to note, also, that the gini na, which are considered to be some of the oldest extant dwellings, are also assiduously maintained. This is so even to the extent that men who have adopted another faith, such as Islam, continue to repair their ginu na. With respect to these compounds, there exists an intriguing isomorphic relationship, which does not apply for the other categories of residence. In essence, this entails that the oldest extant compound belonging to a minor, or minimal lineage, is always occupied by the eldest living male member, that is the

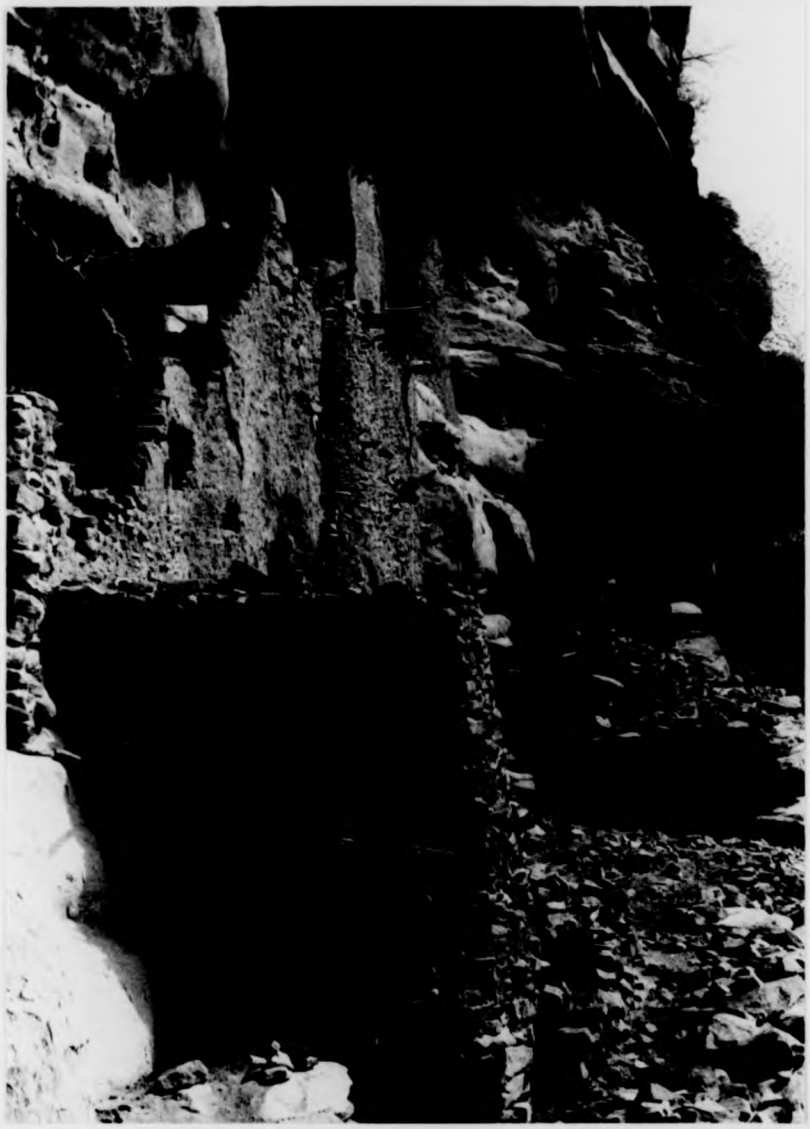

Plate 25 The binu ginu at Banani Kokoro.

ginu bana, of that group. This applies for all lineage groups save those undergoing fission, which will be discussed below. In most cases the present ginu na of a particular lineage segment is held to have been built by the apical ancestor of that segment. Since the existing lineage groups are of varying span, this can mean that either the existing ginu na was one of the very first constructions in the village, or that it is of a more recent date. This is best illustrated with appropriate case material:

Example 1: The present ginu na of this lineage was built by Wano, the apical ancestor of the lineage at its widest extent, and hence is also a tire ginu (See Section 3:4); adjacent to it lies the village wagem, which may have been constructed by the father of Wano. The latter's eldest son, Dungire, later took up residence in the ginu na, whilst his younger brothers built two house, now in ruins, above this, and which the lineage still own, utilising the space as fields. The sons of these three brothers constructed a further eight houses, all of which are the property of the lineage. Of these, three are in ruins, two are vacant, one was in ruins but has recently been renovated to house one of the village blacksmiths, and the other two, in 1983, were used, respectively, by the eldest and sixth sons of the present ginu bana. One of the latter's younger brothers lives in the village (the other two live in the Plains), in a house built by their father's brother. The latter's widowed daughter also uses another of the lineage's houses, but the name of the man who built this has been forgotten (see Figure 8:2).

Numbers refer to compounds in Banani, T = Tasego, TG = Tiegourou
Ta = Tanouma. Brackets signify current resident.

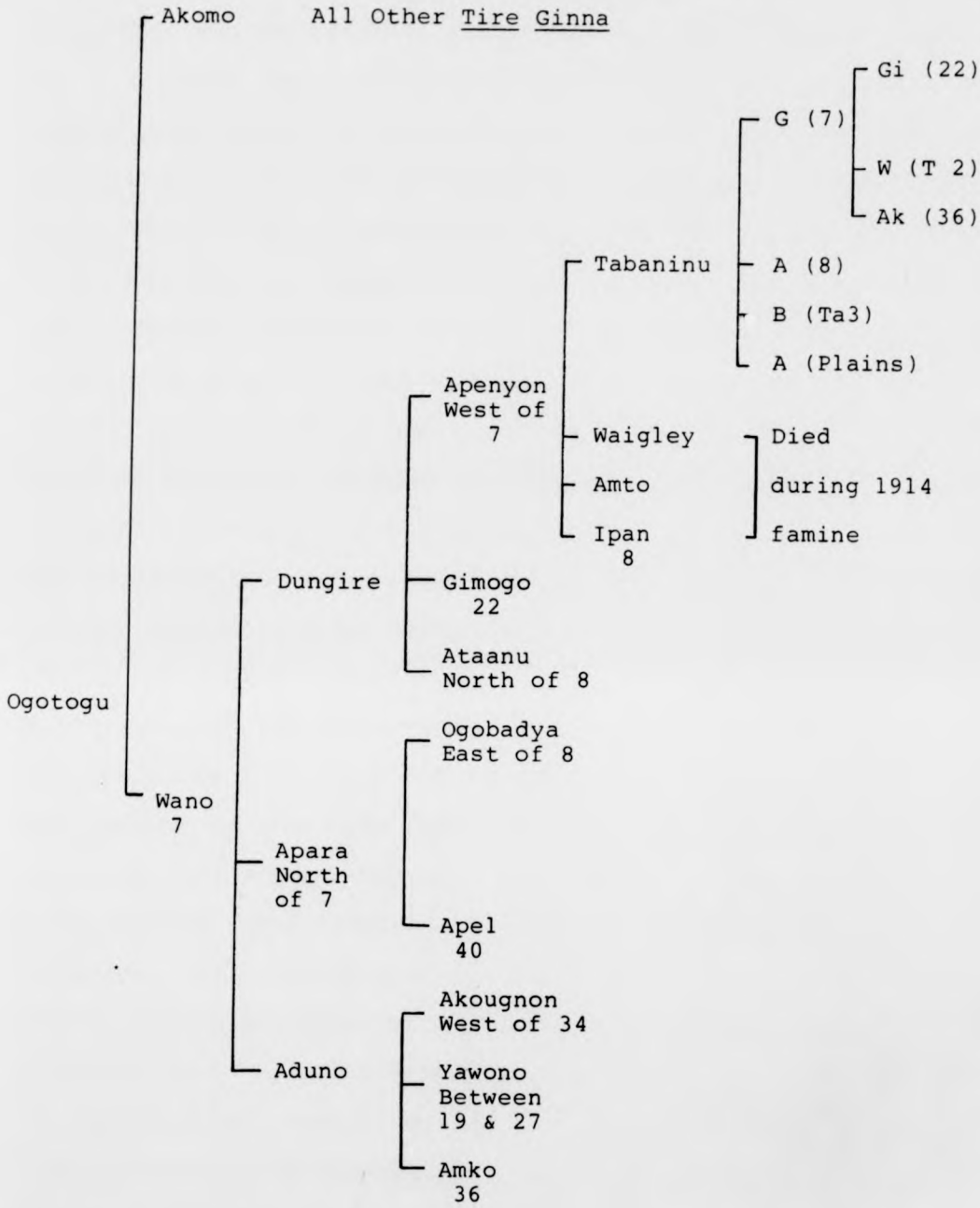

FIGURE 8:2 Genealogy of Tire Ginna 2.

Example 2: In this second example, the ordering of the house space of a minor lineage (tire ginu) that is subdivided, for production and consumption purposes, into two minimal lineages and a further two independent households, is discussed. The senior male lives in a compound, called a ginu na, which was originally built by his grandfather, Kembasa Serou (see Figure 8:2). The latter's grandfather, Nina, built what is considered to be the oldest lineage structure, which, although in ruins still contains important shrine material, such as the amma na, used in ceremonies, like the bulu, for the minor lineage (see below), and as such is the true tire ginu construction. This compound was later occupied by Apara, brother of Kembasa Serou, whose other brother, Kukurum, was responsible for constructing the building which now functions as the ginu na of the other junior, minimal lineage group. Of the remaining eight compounds belonging to this to this minor lineage, the son of Kembasa Serou built one, and two were constructed by the sons of Kukurum. Of the remaining five, two were built by their present incumbents, who belong to the same generation as the senior male of the lineage, younger brother and cousin respectively, but nevertheless have formed independent households for production purposes. The son of one of these now lives in the compound built by his grandfather. It was not possible to ascertain precisely who had constructed the other three, all of which were in use in 1983, but it is possible that one was built by an agnatic relative of Kembasa Serou, and another was constructed by the son of Asergeram (see Figure 8:3).

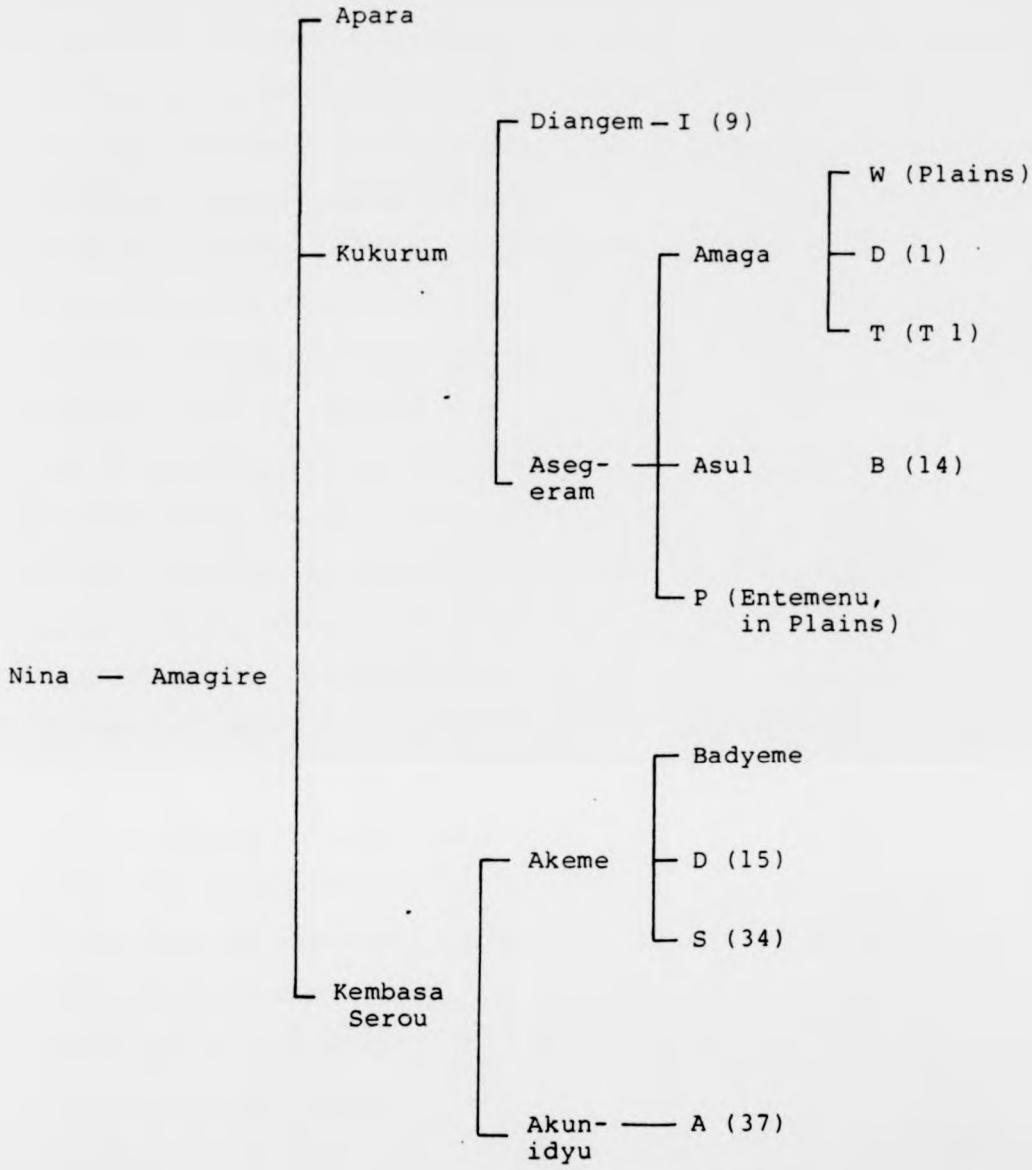

FIGURE 8:3 Genealogy of <u>Tire</u> <u>Ginna</u> 1

Example 3: The final example covers, in lesser detail, the division of property amongst members of the same tire ginu following lineage fission. This minor lineage comprises of three minimal lineages, each with its own ginu na construction. None of these is the oldest extant building belonging to the minor lineage, which, in fact, lies vacant on the upslope edge of the occupied part of the village. Each of the present heads of the minimal lineages are descended from a common grandfather, Amasagu, and it was his sons who were responsible for splitting the lineage into three independent groups. Amasagu had lived, as lineage head, in the compound adjacent to that built by Nina (see above, example 2), and this construction is thought to have been laid out by Anley, an elder brother of Nina. Anley's son, Anaosu, probably founded the compound now used as a ginu na by the senior male of the minor lineage. The next eldest lives in a compound, also a ginu na, built by Amasagu (his grandfather), before Amasagu became ginu bana and took up residence in the house built by Anley, that is the tire ginu construction. The third ginu na currently in use, by the junior lineage head, was built by an individual called Inukeme, whose precise affiliation could not be determined, but was of either Anaosu's or Amasagu's generation (see Figure 8:4).

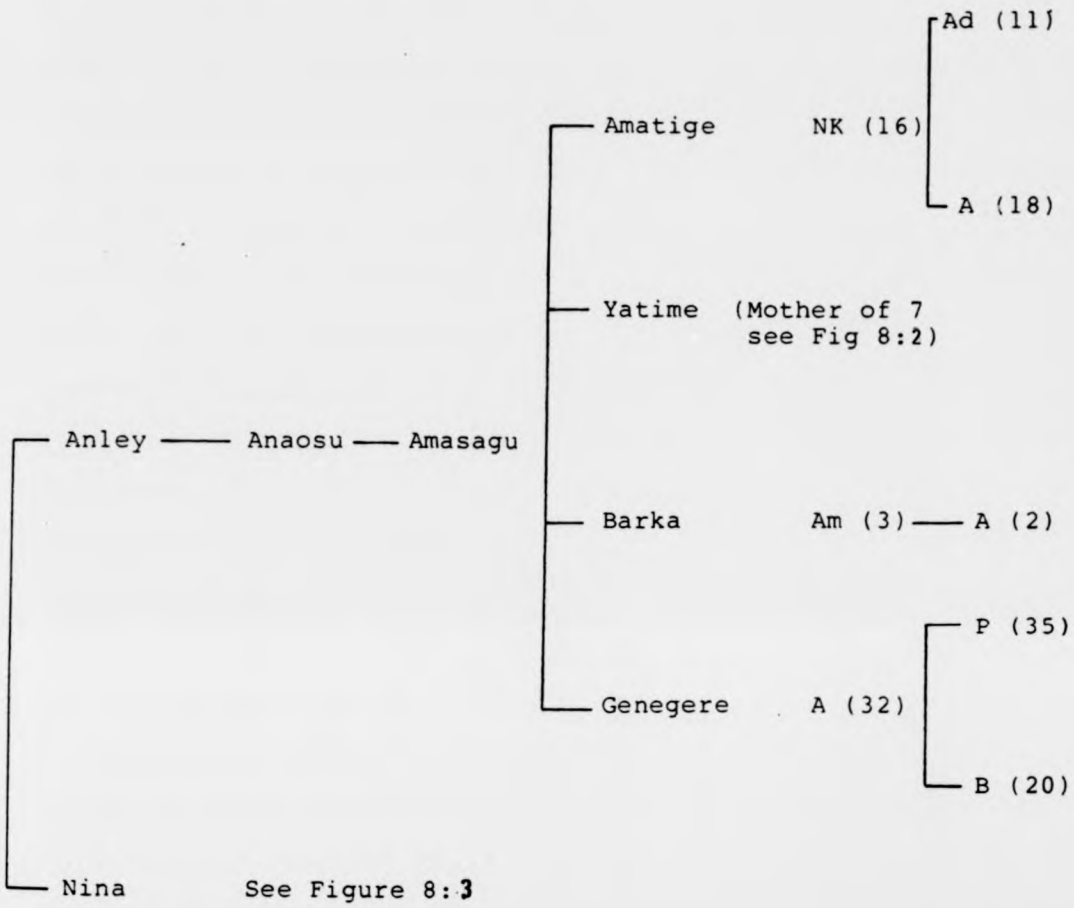

FIGURE 8:4 Genealogy of <u>Tire</u> <u>Ginna</u> 3, undergoing fission.

Several points emerge from these examples, including the observation that not all of the older houses are still in existence, but nevertheless many are maintained. Perhaps of greater import is the fact that there is a degree of departure from the ideal structure of associations between lineage heads and dwelling space. To elaborate, many of the current lineage heads reside in the compounds constructed by the apical ancestor of their lineage at its maximal extent, as in the case of the first case study. Moreover, one can surmise that all previous heads of that corporate group have resided here, in their capacity as ginu bana, for, unlike other houses, once a ginu na has been created its residential status cannot be altered. In one sense, then, by reproducing the particular configuration of ´eldest male in the oldest dwelling´, past practices are being replicated and reconfirmed, and a history of associations come to be linked, and as it were embedded in the physical fabric. On the other hand, just as the Hogon, the oldest man in the villages of Banani, no longer lives in the ogo ginu, the oldest structure in the village, some lineage heads live in compounds that were built by the apical ancestors of segments of narrower extent. This can be partially explained by the effect of the principle of primogeniture on segmentation, which means that the heads of junior segments will only have the right to live in compounds built by the apical ancestor of the narrower segment they head. But, as in both examples two and three above, neither of the heads of the senior segment currently lives in his tire ginu, although both were entitled to do so. How is it that these men can do this, without doing injury to the principles which

structure the order of settlement? Interestingly, these localities, that is the tire gini, are used for major ceremonies, and analysis of the benedictions given on such occasions reveals how the appearance of stability and of adherence to tradition is maintained, even though there is considerable departure in practice from these theoretical ideals.

Section 8:4 Legitimating History:

The object of this section is to explain how particular forms of discourse are maintained, through the mobilisation of symbols, as authorative and effective means of legitimation. It is perhaps useful to reiterate that senior males officiate at the main ritual ceremonies, and although certain prescriptions are placed on the form and content of utterances in these contexts[8], they are, nevertheless, interested in using this medium to maintain their own interests in the face of perceived changes. One response to new and changing situations is to approach them in terms of models drawn from the past. Thus, for example, I have already noted above (Section 6:1) that the phrase "It is a tradition of the past" is regularly employed in prayers and benedictions. This oratorical motif usually follows an allusion to some kind of event, action or fact of life, and the topics covered can range from the necessity of honouring lineage ancestors, through the role of women as preparers of food to the inescapable fact of death. In each instance the phrasing places a value on the phenomenon, and underlines this evaluation by describing it as custom. As an example of this, part of the text from a ya:yinu sacrifice, already referred to in Chapter 6, can

be cited:

> With women it is a custom,
> that the hearth should have three stones.
> We depend on God for our customs.
> We hope that God does not abandon us,
> If we err, may God put that to one side.
> Thank you, thank you, thank you.
> Tomorrow we [the lineage] depend again on you
> [the women].
> The white calabash has done its work,
> The calabash which is held has drunk,
> The women, they have done their work,
> Their duty to give [beer and food] to be
> eaten,
> [Is] A tradition of the Dogon.
> Do not think of it as a sufferance,
> It has been this way since there were women,
> We thank you for the respect [that you have
> shown],
> We depend on you.

Some of the metapohrs used in this text have already been explained, and they all refer to the contemporary division of labour and the role of women as processors of crops and preparers of food. The object of citing this text here is to illustrate the manner by which certain key issues are contextualised as deriving from past customs. The metaphors are given a further timeless dimension by the line "It has been this way since there were women". By categorising the contemporary division of labour as traditional, the speaker, in this instance a lineage head, not only contextualises a certain ordering of practice as having antecedents, but also accords the primacy of the past a certain authority. These metaphors also gain a legitimacy by virtue of being ´publicly raised´, that is from their context of use. This is because, raising these concerns in public gives them the appearance of being collectively held, of being based on a set of common assumptions. For, to be contextually appropriate and

intelligible, the speaker must use metaphors, and even entire styles of speech, that are not ´out of place´ within a network, or web, of understanding[2]. Emphasis on the appropriate style of discourse and language in a given context is a common theme in Dogon society, and Calame-Griaule (1965) has detailed its many nuances. For the purposes of this argument, the proverb "the words of the house should not leave the family", will suffice as an apposite demonstration that personal differences should not be raised in public contexts.

Finally, the ´past´ can also be employed as a kind of literal ´material witness´ to the logic and veracity of the claims made by elders as to the suitability of the contemporary order as a means for ensuring lineage continuity (on the importance of continuity see Section 6:4). Hence, in other rituals the names of specific ancestors are linked, explicitly, to the physical fabric of the settlement. For instance, at the sacrifice held on the first day of the 1983 bulu, the annual sowing festival, held at the village wagem (ancestral shrine), the officiant began his benediction as follows:

> Wano, Akomo
> The stones are for them,
> Their things.
> They made them, we found them.
> Something of our fathers,
> One cannot abandon one´s father´s things.
> The custom, it may diminish but it cannot disappear.
> We, the men who are present here, cannot abandon it.

Likewise, the prayers accompanying sacrifices of chickens and gruel over the amma na (mud cone) altars at the tire ginna (minor

lineage) compounds, on the second day, began with greetings of the new year to all the major topgraphical landmarks around the village, and then the naming of the relevant ancestors, as for instance example in this extract:

> The place, Ogotogu, is for you,
> Ogotogu, good evening.
> Emker, Ongono, Kunyu,
> All of you,
> Our ancestors.
> Each of you,
> your feet are like the feet of a millipede[3].

The technique serves as much to remind those present of their ancestry as to pay appropriate homage to the ancestors. Indeed, the two purposes are intimately linked, for the living owe a debt to the dead, in terms of their nheritance. By which I mean not merely the material, but also the conceptual legacy which previous generations helped to create, and now forms the basis of a social identity from which personal identity projects can develop (see above Section 6:5).

This latter point is important, for while a sense of the past and identity can be constructed in individual memories, it can only be represented through socially established media, which include material culture and architectural forms. These media expand the individual's consciousness and understanding of his or her relative spatial and temporal position, and how that position was attained, because they give access to other peoples thoughts, actions and perceptions which set the precedents and boundaries for the world in which the living find themselves. Significantly, items of material culture and architectural forms

are particularly suited to this task. As the "physical embodiment" of propositions about society, they "help to maintain the life of these propositions in the stream of tradition" (Shils 1981, 90). Thus, to link the past to the present via the medium of material forms is to encourage the sedimentation of past meanings in contemporary phenomena. Nevertheless, to invoke meaning is to pursue a strategy, and hence, by virtue of their control over and practical use of a knowledge of the techniques of ritual, elders are able to pursue their own strategies under the guise of being in the collective interest, and against perceived threats posed by women and young men. It is interesting to note, for example, that in both the ya:yinu sacrifice and those held at the wagem and tire ginna, the officiants expressed their concern over these matters. Thus, senior men admonished the ancestors not to heed women:

> Do not listen to the words of women,
> Do not listen to the words of children,
> Do not listen,
> It is your sacrifice.

While they expressed their fears about the contemporary distribution of lineage members by asking the ancestors to look after, in particular, those men from the village living in the plains or the cities:

> They are here, they are there,
> As far as Kumasi,
> As far as Abidjan,
> As far as Bamako,
> Everywhere.
> There are your descendants (lit. men),
> They are in the plains,
> They have gone in search of food.
> On God's behalf, bring them food,

Give them good health,
Find them wives,
Give them children.
Give them all these things,
We have not abandoned you.

This concern is contextualised as an 'objective interest' in the welfare of these individuals, and the lineage heads portray themselves as seeking ancestral support on behalf of their fellow lineage members. Without wishing to deny that this sentiment is genuinely held, it must be reiterated that, under the existing relations of production and consumption, it is the elders who have most to lose, economically, by the absence of younger men. This was also confirmed in private conversation with both young and old men. Generally, the latter felt that the young were forgetting Dogon traditions, and saw changes since their youth in terms of the greater availability of non-indigenous items of material culture. Although they did not see this as a bad development, their perception of benefits of wage-migration and schooling was that these provided new opportunities for young men to earn money on the lineages behalf. They intimated, and more rarely explicitly stated, that today's youth preferred to keep the money for themselves, and to use it to purchase goods of industrial origin. In fact, a couple of lineage heads asked me to write to sons of theirs, living in Abidjan, admonishing them for forgetting their family and for not sending any money. This view of change contrasts with the model generally held by younger men, who insisted that people were richer nowadays, that they had more things and larger herds.

Section 8:5 Conclusions :

This concern over the threats to the control of the elders over resources, has another dimension which is largely to do with issues of lineage continuity. As I have elaborated above, the latter entails the necessity of bringing women into the group and for junior members to remain in close proximity to, and economic dependence on, their parental generation. In earlier chapters I have indicated how different facets of a symbol system are mobilised to legitimate this model of social order, demonstrating the way in which various material symbols link different aspects of space and time to the individual and to social groups, and an image of continuity is created. Of pre-eminent importance, as evidence for the continuity through time of the patrilineage, are the material traces of its persistence in space. So by stipulating a rule of patrilocal residence for the lineage head, the symbolic guardian of the lineage patrimony, and ritually re-affirming these links in the very localities held to have been created by the senior lineage ancestor, the history of settlement is confirmed, and the possibility of new lineages forming in the plains is diminished. For, to establish a ginu na in the plains would be to disassociate oneself from the past, not because the villages in the plains have only just been settled, for some in fact have been in existence for at least fifty years, but because they lack an appropriate past. That is, they were formed by individuals from disparate lineages, often stemming from several villages, and not by groups linked by common descent. The notion of common descent, for villagers along the escarpment, may have

had no basis in the reality of the past, but this is irrelevant, for the reason that accounts of the past represent an ideal, which can be moulded to suit certain ends but cannot be radically transformed without going beyond the bounds of acceptability.

The changing material fabric of settlement, its crumbling walls and freshly plastered surfaces, are a testament of the changing fortunes of individual lineages. These residues from the past, this archaeology of practice, trace the successes and failures of shifting strategies aimed at transcending the physical constraints of time and space, and settlement becomes history.

Footnotes :

1. On this famine, see Gallay (1981).
2. This idea of ´webs of significance´ is from Geertz (1973, 5).
3. In other words, the lineage has expanded and has many members.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

> "The thread of meaning carries the expressive load of a formulation by embodying the relations between the artist's imagery and his subject. Thus metaphor is used to extend the expressive power of language as magic extends the power of human action by projecting its capacities into new realms"
>
> Wagner 1972, 79.

Section 9:1 Introduction :

This chapter aims to review and draw out the main arguments of the thesis. In the first part, the ethnography of space, time and power relations amongst the Dogon are summarised, and issues requiring further research identified. In the second part, the theoretical implications of the study are discussed, and illustrated, briefly, with reference to archaeological material.

Section 9:2 Relations of space, time and power :

It has been argued that Dogon spatial ordering of residence exhibits a number of important characteristics. To summarise, members of the same minimal lineage reside in several, spatially distinct and bounded compounds. These compounds are differentiated from one another according to the marital status and demographic composition of their residents. Four categories are defined, the compound for the lineage head and his wives, compounds for other married cognates, compounds for junior, unmarried males and compounds for widowed women. The segregation

of residential space in this manner is made, ostensibly, according to Dogon notions of both authority and legitimate sexual relations. However, this segregation of space applies only to its residential usage, and the greater majority of the activities of male and female, junior and senior lineage members occur in the same restricted number of locales. Specifically, these include lineage-owned fields, as well as the courtyard space of the compound of the lineage head. It is in these areas that all members of the lineage work and eat together. The latter category of compound, termed ginu na, also contain the majority of granaries in which millet harvested from lineage fields is stored.

As well as being the place of residence for a lineage head and the principle locus of daily tasks, there are two further features to a ginu na which distinguish it from all other residential spaces. Both are connected with the developmental cycle of the minimal lineage. As described in Chapter Four, one of the consequences of the biological and biographical ageing of individuals is a concomittant change in their residential status. Thus, when a young man is joined by his wife, his dwelling is re-classified from sagada:rau dunoy to ginu sala. Equally, when a woman's husband dies, her space is transformed from being a ginu sala into a ya:na peney dunoy. Conversely, when a lineage head dies, the ginu na in which he lived cannot be re-categorised, and the next male occupant of this space must be the previous incumbent's legitimate successor as lineage head. This rule partly accounts for the second distinguishing feature,

in that it helps to recreate an isomorphic relationship between the place of residence of the eldest male of the group, and the oldest inhabited space belonging to that group.

Other changes in the marital and jural status of the individual can also entail a physical movement through space from one compound to another. Such as, when a woman leaves her natal village to take up residence with her husband, or when junior lineage members are moved on account of the residential demands of other, more senior individuals. Movement through space forms an important element of an individual's biography, with each change in spatial location marking in a material sense a change in identity. However, men and women follow different trajectories, and the nature of this difference is significant, in that it stems from male jural control over the allocation of dwelling space, and yet generates female practical control over the same spaces. Thus, women are moved through space from their natal village to that of their husband, and, following their death, back to their natal settlement. Men also move through space. However, this movement takes place, for the most part, within their paternal village, and between locales to which they can claim access as of right, because of their genealogical identity. The exceptions to this occur when men either leave the region to find waged-employment, or establish neolocal compounds in the Plains.

In that the pattern of residence ensures a regular restructuring of the spatial arrangement of people, it brings

with it scope and potential for change. So as to contain this potential and replicate the existing order, the lineage ideology must create and persitently re-invoke a 'sense of place'. This can be clearly seen in the way in which specific spaces become contextualised as the appropriate localities for the daily and collective tasks of agricultural production and other subsitence and servicing tasks. The regular performance of these, and the routine use of these spaces, help recreate a set of beliefs regarding the need for a complementary division of labour and the pooling of resources, for the continued survival of the group. The crossing of lineage social and spatial boundaries by in-marrying women is also given ritual recognition at the ginu na. Given the structuring of routine in this manner, a specific distribution of material culture within house-space might be anticipated. To some extent this was borne out by the analysis of household inventories presented in Chapter Five. It was noted, for instance, that the ginu na category of houses tended to contain, proportionately, more items used for food preparation, cooking and brewing. Other, possibly more important, trends were observed. Specifically, most waterpots, despite daily use and removal from house space, are regularly kept within the deu, or main room, of a house. Similarly, wooden bowls for serving food are more commonly associated with this room than any other, although to a lesser degree than are waterpots. A third category of object, namely the pots and carvings placed in ancestral shrines, have an even more restricted distribution. For, not only are these usually placed in a first-storey kana, or store-room, but also, they are

restricted in a but a few cases, to the ginu na category.

Whereas neither food-serving bowls or waterpots are so exclusively limited to the ginu na category, it was indicated that like the shrine material, these items, along with the hearth, are important symbols of the lineage and its functions. Furthermore, through their regular use within the context of a ginu na, and their associations with specific rites, their connotation as symbols of fertility (waterpots), sustenance (food bowls) and perpetuity (shrine cupules and carvings) are reproduced. However, it is only through their specific **combination** at a ginu na, which itself is simultaneously the oldest inhabited space of the lineage, and the place of residence of its eldest male member, that the objects acquire their efficacy and power.

Other elements of household inventories, on the other hand, stand in contrast to this ordered patterning, and the specific structure of practice it is held to represent. For example, objects used for cooking, food preparation and brewing are found in significant quantities in both the ginu sala and 'widows' category of residence. The latter category frequently have high overall densities of objects, whereas houses occupied by younger women contain relatively higher percentages of non-indigenously produced items. Houses used by single men tend to have fewer objects than those where women are present, and the inventories are comprised of more 'male' objects such as weapons. Another observation made in Chapter Five, which has a significant bearing

on the explanation of these differences was that despite their lack of jural rights over space, women have considerable practical autonomy over its arrangement.

The nature of these differences between young and old, male and female, the lineage and the individual, lies in the differential use of material culture to make autobiographical statements. It was argued that the kinds of statements an individual makes, is contingent on the lineage models of appropriate age and gender roles. However, just as spatial autonomy can derive from a practical control over routine, the construction of personal identities entails a negotiated reading of the ´official´ idioms. The representational form that the latter take relate directly to the competing principles of agnatic exclusiveness and lineage exogamy. Thus, the aims of the former to limit access to, and rights over land and property to legitimate descendants from a common ancestor, are contradicted by the requirements for demographic and social reproduction. It is from this inherent contradiction that the tensions and relations of dependence between males and females, seniors and juniors, agnates and affines, which pervade social intercourse are derived. On the one hand, the jural authority and genealogical identity of male agnates must be sustained. On the other, this cannot be achieved without the direct participation by female affines.

In Chapter Six, I discussed ways in which the aysmmetrical nature of these relations is legitmated through the construction of particular notions of role and identity, and how these are

given material representation. The manner of representation in each case creates a basic contrast between the activities of men, which are seen as of inter-lineage importance, and those of women, which are held to concern intra-lineage activities. Although I have referred to these in terms of a public:domestic dichotomy, it is important to reiterate the view that these are not immutable categories, and that I have aimed to demonstrate how these constructs are created and practically deployed, and not simply imposed (supra Section 4:1; infra Section 9:3).

One of the reasons for the emphasis placed on age-categories and their public expression by means of modes of behaviour and male clothing styles, has to do with the devolution of lineage resources of knowledge and property. This relates back to the argument that as males follow their biographical trajectory through space, they assume, progressively, greater responsibility within the lineage strategies of accumulating wives, children and millet. In that the initial stages of these entail exchanges of women, the public expression of the increasing social maturity and prosperity of males, helps to alleviate the concerns a lineage might have as to the well being of its married 'daughters'. The specific dramaturgical and liturgical motifs employed during male funeral ceremonies thereby reinforce specific images of male roles, and simultaneously, the standing of their respective lineage. Since these contexts also provide opportunities to fulfill and renew reciprocal obligations between lineages, the strategic manipulation of the identity of the deceased by his lineage, can improve its own position of

dominance within the segmentary structure.

In contrast to the image of men as providers, and as responsible for the arena of public discourse, the dominant, officialising idiom of women is as nurturers and in charge of 'domestic' activities. Although women are praised as such, in their capacity as transformers of male products they occupy a position of potential power. Consequently, as elaborated in Chapter Six, women are spatially marginalised at key points during their reproductive cycle and their life-course. Frequently, their re-integration into society requires a symbolic affirmation of male dominance, such as with the application of sa oil to their bodies on the ending of a period of seclusion in the menstrual hut. Lineage preoccupation with fertility also finds expression during burial rites, although it is sorrow over an irrevocable loss of fertility which is marked by the deposition of a woman's sa oil pot. In addition, a certain standardisation of female roles is achieved by both the imagery of funeral songs and the ritual deposition of ubiquitous items of material culture. These contrast with male funerary songs and rites, in that the latter distinguish men from each other according to the specialist roles they held in life.

On the other hand, the exclusion, in a jural sense, of women from their 'affinal space' and the standardisation of their roles and identities, has a recursive effect on the nature of household inventories. Consequently, in the early stages of married life women invest their surplus product in their own appearance, as

part of strategies aimed at maintaining secure relations with their husband. As women age, they gain greater spatial autonomy and through their practical control over lineage routine, they can embark on the market production of beer and pots and thereby augment their inventories. From these strategies, which involve them in a wider network of exchange relations, women often consolidate a 'public' identity, and may even play an active part in forging marriage alliances between lineages. Although these public functions are supressed by the patrilineage, aspects of a woman's personal identity are sustained through the display and devolution of their property. This, therefore, accounts for why the inventories of old, widowed women contain the highest densities of artefacts. As material symbols of specific skills and achievements, these objects actively maintain a memory of the deceased amongst her descendants, which in turn helps create the conditions for emulation by younger women. In efect then, the cultural constructs of gender, revolve around, and are resolved in, the processes of artefact acquisition and consumption.

It is interesting in this respect that in the Plains, where both men and women have greater spatial autonomy, that the houses of women in the thirty to forty age bracket not only contain high densities of non-indigenously produced items, but also the highest overall densities. On this latter aspect, the houses of these women differ significantly from those of their contemporaries in age along the escarpment. The trend is suggestive of another system of values and gender constructs, but it has not been possible to resolve entirely the implications of

this, and further research into the issue is required. It probably relates to the strategies of their spouses, since, as noted in Chapter Seven, these men pursue goals aimed at augmenting their own household and rather than the holdings of the entire lineage. Despite their virtual economic independence, however, these migrants, as yet, have not founded new lineages.

In Chapter Eight it was argued that the absence of lineage fission relates directly to the power of the past, as something embedded in the physical fabric of settlement, which elders invoke as a testimony to the success and legitimacy of the contemporary order. By maintaining control over ritual practices, forms of discourse and the space in which they live, lineage heads are able to control the representation of the past. With their knowledge of the genealogical links with specific spaces they can construct both a theory of descent and of historical practice. More importantly, because of the conjunction this creates between the principle locale of daily activity, the place of residence of the eldest male of the group and the oldest inhabited space, the physical space of the ginu na comes to stand not simply as a metaphor for the minimal lineage, but also for its entire repertoire of productive and reproductive strategies. It is for this reason that the material symbols of past, present and future generations it contains, and which singly have specific, contextually dependent meanings, acquire a collective significance that extends beyond their context, and thus transcends the boundaries of space and time of individual existence.

Section 9:3 :

In the foregoing chapters I have detailed differences and similarities between household inventories in certain Dogon villages. My aims have not been to establish invariable material indicators of socio-economic status, age-rank or gender, instead the argument has focussed on explicating how individuals create, from a range of pre-existing forms, particular representations of self and social identity. In this regard, the discussion and anlaysis might have obscured much of the multivocality of material representations, the ambiguities of discourse and the more emotive, poetic aspects of everyday existence. It may even be felt that I have portrayed Dogon men and women as calculating individuals, weighing up each consequtive action and deliberating on every significance. As we know ourselves, daily life is a far more incohate, paradoxical and unreflective experience than as characterised above.

Despite this limitation, the study brings to the fore several points with respect to 'material culture practice' which need reiteration here. First, integral to the study of space is the study of time. Not just in terms of the chronological ordering of events, but how the experience and division of time structures movements within space, and how these same movements give coherence to the temporal order. Second, the tangible quality of material culture contributes to the reproduction of social practices, in that they provide the objective evidence of notional phenomena. Third, through the involvement of material forms in routine practice, artefacts recursively monitor rather

than passively reflect the social world. Fourth, in contrast to the ephemeral nature of spoken language, things, beacuse of their durability have the capacity to outlast contexts of meaning production, and so have the capacity to carry forward through time past meanings, and thereby contribute to the creation of tradition. Any subsequent use is therefore presupposed by an interpretative reading of this history, and positive, neutral or negative evaluations will affect specific dispositions towards older objects accordingly. Finally, while the meanings of objects are always contextually and historically specific, precisely because they **represent** and make available beliefs and intentions in a durable form, it is possible for others to infer those meanings from their contexts of use, consumption and discard.

This later point relates back to my earlier argument, outlined in Chapters One and Two, that human action, as notionally informed acts, cannot be reduced to either their 'normative' or 'physical' properties. In this respect, it suggests that as archaeologists, we should be less inclined to establish correlates of behaviour and more prepared to examine how such practices are constituted through the articulation of meanings.

So as to illustrate the potential of this formulation of the relationships between action and material culture, I discuss here some difficulties associated with the use of the terms 'domestic' and 'ritual' (which in archaeology is frequently synonymous with

´public´) to describe various categories of archaeological entity. I will point to some problems of inference that such a division introduces into the interpretation of archaeological deposits, and propose an alternative scheme based on the concepts of intentionality and human agency.

At the heart of the ritual:domestic dichotomy lie particular conceptualisations of human action and of the relationships which pertain between action and the representation of notional phenomena, especially through the medium of material culture. Within archaeology the term ´ritual´ is conventionally used to refer to archaeological entities which cannot be adequately accomodated by technological or economic processes, and, in this sense, is employed to explain the unexplainable. This idea can be seen in Hawkes´ ´ladder of inference´ (1954), which ranks inferences into a scale of ascending difficulty, on the assumption that the respective classes of activity are inherently different. Hawkes may have been right to postulate that the natural laws governing physical, chemical and biological processes impinge as constraints more acutely on technical and economic activities. However, this is very different from arguing that the meaning of some types of activity is more self-evident than it is for other types.

For, if the meanings of ritual actions are characterised as obscure, in some way ´hidden´ and not revealed directly by the actions themselves, then in this sense they can be called ´symbolic´. Yet, since ritual acts are defined in contradistinction to the more self-evident technical and economic

activities, this necessarily precludes the possibility of more characteristically pragmatic acts of ever having a symbolic connotation. A logical outcome of this dichotomy, although not invariably followed, is the extension of the principle so that domestic contexts are interpreted in an utilitarian manner, by virtue of being perceived, principally, as a locale for the performance of routine, pragmatic activities. This in turn helps to reinforce a set of assumptions about the universal nature of domestic activities.

Another favoured approach to this kind of problem, and discussed more fully in Chapters One and Two, is to distinguish ritual and domestic activity according to their formal properties rather than their normative content, with an aim to establish their material correlates. Since within such a theoretical framework, direct behavioural links are held to exist between society and material culture, and because behaviour is lacking from the archaeological record, an apparent need is created for actualistic, ethnoarchaeological studies. However, as I have argued during this thesis, to treat material culture merely as the material correlates of behaviour, or extrasomatic adaptive appendages, precludes the possibility of ever recognising that its meaning is both concept-dependent and intersubjectively constituted. For, the meanings of the acts of material production, use, excahnge, consumption and discard exist in their realisation through action, and are mediated by and through socially available forms, such as language and material culture. Both have a recursive effect on action, but material culture,

because of its durability can often have a more lasting influence such that meanings come to be sedimented in its material form.

This argument can be illustrated with reference to specific archaeological data. The main reason for selecting the site I shall focus on, is that its phases of use exhibit an apparent change from a domestic context to one of ritual, specifically mortuary, activity.

Excavated in 1952, the site of Mount Pleasant Farm, Nottage (N.G.R. SS 833796) overlooks a small coombe on the edge of a plateau above Porthcawl (Glamorgan). It comprised of a ring cairn, enclosed by an irregular quarry ditch with a burial pit to the west of the apparent centre, containing a small Hilversum urn[1] and another deposit near the southern edge of the cairn containing part of an adult cremation and an inverted collared-rim cinerary urn of Earlier Bronze Age type. Beneath the centre of the cairn, and partially covered by a buff-coloured layer of earth, were the remnants of dry-stone walling, outlining three sides of a small rectangle, six metres by three metres, and several post holes. Sherds of several different forms and fabrics, all of probable Neolithic date, were found in the buff-coloured layer and in some of the post hole fills (Savory 1950-52, 76-80).

The excavator interpreted the underlying structure, as a dwelling, and the associated artefactual and botanical remains distributed through the layer of darker coloured earth as occupation debris, on the basis the particular associations of

several elements. Specifically, these were the form and material of the structure, and the condition and composition of the associated artefactual assemblage (see my comments on the Aristotelian causes, supra Section 1:2).

Although excavation only revealed a three-sided construction, the excavator argues for the existence of a fourth wall, along the western edge, suggesting that it was later destroyed during the erection of the cairn, with the displaced sandstone blocks being incorporated into the cairn (ibid., 78), although on the excavation plan there is little trace of these blocks. More significantly, having inferred a particular form, the excavator postulates the existence of features necessary to meet its load-bearing requirements. Thus following the suggestion that "post-sockets 1 to 3 held a central row of posts carrying a gabled roof" the author assumes that "there was a fourth socket about six feet west of number 3, ... and that this, like socket 1, carried a gable" (ibid., 79). Furthermore, the large hollows marked 4 and 5 on the plan are linked, on architectural grounds, with post holes ´C´ and, ´A´ and ´B´ respectively, despite being of a different size, having different profiles, possibly different fillings, although this is unclear from the text, and that the few diagnostic sherds from these different forms are possibly of different date, earlier Neolithic in feature 5, and a later, Peterborough derivative form in post-hole ´C´.

The composition and condition of the pottery assemblage, were also used to support the conclusion that the earliest levels

of the site represent a domestic context. While the majority of sherds recovered were small, and suggestive of trampling, as the excavator noted, the assemblage was "far from uniform in character" (ibid., 82). Moreover, localised distributions, which may possibly represent different phases of use, can be defined, and the entire assemblage is atypical compared with those from other ´domestic´ contexts in the region (ibid., 85).

In other words, when viewed critically, the favoured interpretation is not supported, unequivocally, by the available evidence. However, the reason for stressing this is not beacuse I prefer a ´ritual´ interpretation of the this context, but to suggest that having created a domestic:ritual distinction, the excavator missed the actual significance of the contextual association of a burial over an earlier site.

In view of the attention given to identifying the formal properties of each functional context, it is surprising, to say the least, that the excavator made very little of the observed stratigraphic relationships with respect to the interpretation of Early Bronze Age mortuary rites. Indeed, the evidence from the cairn is dismissed as less important than the house-foundation found beneath it (ibid., 87). The archaeological value of the site, for the excavator, thus derived from the apparently fortuitous construction of a cairn over a Neolithic habitation at some point in the Bronze Age, which helped to protect the settlement from various processes of erosion. Again, one can suggest that the false division of practices into ritual and domestic categories, and the search for their appropriate

material forms, meant that the excavator missed one of the meanings of the burial ritual which can be held with a high degree of certainty, as embodied in the intentionallocation of the cairn over historical remains. By proposing this I am arguing that the actions which resulted in the observed stratigraphic relationship should be treated as part of the mortuary rites performed at this specific site, and not simply as the outcome of functional expediency.

That the association was intentional is clearly supported by the archaeological evidence, and the excavator accepted that traces of the earlier site would have been visible as a field monument and concentration of exposed stone, which were in any case disturbed during the erection of the cairn. My main disagreement with him, therefore, is to whether the reason for selecting the site for a burial was entirely because it presented a ready supply of stone, and it is on the evidence for alternative, or even complementary reasons that I now dwell.

Whatever the purpose of the original structure, on the available evidence, it is clear that it was not used for burial. Hence, by virtue of the superimposition of the cairn and the deposition of an urn cremation on its southern edge, the mortuary rites, as well as identifying with the past, entailed a transformation of a specific locale into a place of burial. It is important to see this change in use as the realisation of intentions, which were neither immutable nor trivial. Before pursuing the implications of this, I want to reconsider the

nature of the burial per se, and to make a number of inferences about the sense of these specific acts of burial.

The primary burial, was found in a shallow hollow on the southern edge of the cairn, covered by loosely-packed limestone blocks. It was composed of the cremated bones of an adult, of indeterminate age and sex, covered by an inverted urn, of early collared-rim type, with a herringbone design of 'maggot' impressions around the shoulder (ibid., 81 & 86). Both the cremation and the urn were incomplete, and it is possible that the deposit had been reburied in its final context after the construction of the cairn (ibid., 81). Despite this indeterminacy regarding the original location of the burial deposit, we can infer that, not only did the notion of human burial, in this instance, entail a transformation of the corpse, but also that the context and practices, that is the choice of locality and the acts of cremation and enurnment, were appropriate to this specific individual.

To put it another way, the observed configuration of material forms described as 'the primary burial', was generated according to specific relations of spatial location, which structured the choice of context, and a set of relations of exclusion and inclusion which affected the choice of particular forms. There are several levels of spatial location, which range from the association between cremated bones and collared urn, through the deposition of this urn in or beneath a stone cairn with an encircling ditch, to the topological location of the cairn. Had the burial been placed outside the cairn, or the

cairn placed above ploughed fields rather than above an historical monument, the significance of the burial, its external reference may have been different. In much the same vein, the relations of exclusion and inclusion govern the selection of specific forms from the entire corpus of a particular artefact type (see also Miller 1985). By this I mean, for instance, the use of a decorated urn, rather than an undecorated one, the herringbone motif rather than a chevron design , and a ring-cairn rather than a kerb-circle. These relations effectively determine which forms are interchangeable, without altering the sense of the act, and which forms would be inappropriate. Without further comparison with other contemporary burials in the region, at this juncture it is only possible to say that an inverted collared urn, with a specific decorative motif, situated within a stone cairn, conveyed a meaning appropriate to the age, gender and standing of the deceased, even though we cannot specify these latter dimensions of personality. This might appear a somewhat trivial observation, but it is important to introduce these concepts, for they underlie my points about the contextual specificity of meaning, and raise to the fore the ´could-have-been-otherwise´ feature of action. The latter, as Giddens has indicated, links action to power and domination (1979, 88; 1981, 53) in that the realisation of the specific acts of burial and cairn construction required a certain autonomy of purpose and legitimacy of intention. It is this capacity to act, such that a particular interpretative reading of the natural and social worlds finds expression, which is of importance here.

What was realised through the mortuary rituals was the conceptual link between a particular category of the dead and the visible remains of a past order. In addition, I wish to argue that because this link was objectified through practice, the rituals had as their outcome the transformation of 'the past' into a legitimating resource. To elaborate, I have suggested that immediately prior to the construction of the cairn, the locality existed, for the local population, as an historical monument. By virtue of being used for burial, the locale was subsequently appropriated in the dual sense of being taken out of a pre-existing topological order and integrated into another, and, of being intentionally selected as 'appropriate' to the context of the specific ritual[2]. If prior to the acts of burial and cairn construction the place had significance as a 'monument', the rituals, simultaneously added a dimension, of an ancestral or spiritual kind, which it had previously lacked, and re-integrated the space into the domain of contemporary practice. Thus not only was the meaning of space transformed, but also that of time, in that the conceptual boundary of 'the past' was extended to incorporate aspects of the social, as embodied by the deceased's identity.

This re-introduction of the past into the present, in a specific guise, raises a fresh set of questions about the relations of power. Specifically, I mean the possession of a capacity to transform an allocative resource, potentially available to the community, into an authoritative one. By the latter is meant the particular symbolic constructs of the

legitimate post-mortem statuses of the deceased individuals and and their relationships with the living. Without precise knowledge of their age or sex, and the chronological relationship between the primary and secondary burials, it would be inappropriate to speculate on the specificity of either of these. What I think we do have evidence for, in a more general sense, is the use of history to give contemporary practices the appearance of emanating from the past, and, as a consequence of this, a shift in the boundaries of a tradition (cf. Shils 1979, 262-3).

Wider contextual evidence would be needed to support this, and the provisional nature of these remarks is deliberate. Even so, I consider that the preceding discussion has opened up a set of questions for future research, and to this end a number of general remarks can be made. In the first place, the contextual associations of a cairn and burial over the remains of an earlier structure are not unique to Nottage. Certainly two other comparable sites are known elsewhere in Glamorgan, namely Sant-y-Nyll, to the west of Cardiff (N.G.R. ST 101783), and the Mumbles, or Newton site, near Swansea (N.G.R. SS 606887). At the former, excavation of a denuded cairn revealed a deposit of cremated bones in a shallow, circular pit, cut through another putative occupation deposit, containing quantities of bone and fragmentary pottery, and associated with a complex of shallow post-holes, thought to represent three huts (Savory 1959-60). Like the so-called secondary cremation at Nottage, the cremation pit was covered by a sandstone block and a heap of stones loosely bonded with earth. Although no grave objects were found, it was

possible, in this case, to identify some of the bones as belonging to at least one adult, probably female, and a child aged between 15 and 24 months (Irvine 1959-60, 26-27). The Newton site also comprised of a cremation pit beneath a denuded cairn, with "the bones of two adults (one female) and a child scattered throughout its fill´ (Savory 1972, 126). Close by, to the north west of the pit, lay part of a crushed Food Vessel. A semi-circular arrangement of post-holes was found beneath this layer in association with fragments of Beaker pottery of a Long Necked variety.

My second, general, point emerges out of these resmblances, in that comparison between these three sites and with other burial and non-burial sites could indicate how different organising principles were structured and related. Only through contextual studies will it be possible to establish how, for instance, the nature of spatial boundaries within and between sites, other heat-mediated transformations, such as cooking and metal working, or the decorative motifs on pottery, stood in relation to the living and the dead, and the age and gender categories of the former. Again our interests in these similarities and contrasts should be less with the fact that they are symbolic representations, and more with why such a conceptual ordering of the physical and social worlds was appropriate, and how that order was sustained.

Section 9:4 Concluding Remarks :

Finally, I have indicated with in this case material and at greater length in the ethnographic study, that the search for 'material correlates' is not a necessary prerequisite for archaeological inference, and that it is possible to make sense of the lived experience of past actors from archaeological remains. This task is helped by the fact that in order to make sense of their lives, these same actors represented their experience, and interpretations of that experience, to others in a structured and communicable way. Various media are available to the human species to communicate with others, some of the most durable being physical artefacts and architectural forms. It is precisely because of this durability that material culture is so ammenable to the task of conveying meaning across generations, and yet, as a vehicle for meaning it is also subject to both constraints and multivalency introduced by the context of use and intentions of users. It is this discursive element and the changing emphases of the more dominant modes, that archaeologists should endeavour to understand. Hence, the problem archaeology faces, is not so much how meanings are reflected, but how meaning is created, sustained and used imaginatively in the ebb and flow of everyday existence.

Footnotes :

1. For a more complete definition of the pot types and forms referred to see Savory 1981.
2. For a comparable use of the term 'appropriation' see Thornton (1980, 16-20).

Appendix 1

Lists of artefact types in analytical sets (Chapters 5 and 7).

Cooking :

Pot	:	sauce pot	nine toroy
		millet cooking pot	pana toroy
		meat sauce pot	tegele
		couscous cooking pot	lasiru toroy
Metal	:	iron griddle	
		iron/aluminium ladle	
		cast iron cooking pot	
		iron saucepan/wok	
Wood	:	'mouvette'	gilugile
		spoon	panagile
Calabash	:	sherd	
Straw	:	feather-grass filter	
Other	:	shell	

Food Processing :

Pot	:	water filter	e tegeru
Metal	:	knife	polu
Wood	:	mortar	kuna:
		pestel	kuna i:
Calabash	:	work calabash	koro pilu
Basketry	:	basketry sieve	nu guro
Stone	:	flat quern	una
		dished quern	punu gedu
		grindstone	una i & punu gedu i
Non-Indigenous	:	nylon sieve	

Brewing :

Pot	:	beer boiling pot	dunu
		beer fermenting pot	dadema
		beer fermenting pot	dey
Wood	:	filter	
Fibre	:	beer fermenter	buduru

Furnishings :

Straw	:	sleeping mat	kaba
		Douentza sleeping mat	
		Mopti sleeping mat	
		pot hanger	djongol
		leather talisman	
		wood stool	tuguru
		cane chair/stool	
		cane bed	
		paraffin lamp	

Storage :

Pot	:	storage pot	toroy
Calabash	:	oil gourd	ni kemme
		salt pot	kokono
		portmanteau	kanabara
Basketry	:	cane basket	tadu
		wicker basket	tomo

Weaponry :

Metal	:	leaf-shaped spear (hunting)	saru
		triangular-shaped spear (funeral)	saru
		hunting lance	duru
		cutlass	polu kabay
		arrowhead	ke
Miscellaneous	:	flintlock musket	marapa

Waterpot : loy

Agricultural Implements :

Metal	:	male axe	gulo ana
		female axe	gulo yana
		male billhook	duru
		female billhook	go:nu
			gebuli
		hoe	enu ana
		weeding hoe	dama
		hoe	enu wala
		sickle	goi
		millet harvesting knife	kebele
		machette	kibogu
		rake	
		shovel	
		plough	

Female Attire :

Metal	:	head band	domo
		waist band	don dugè
		anklet	yogu
		aluminium/ alloy bracelet	meṅ
		earring	suguru konjolo
Leather	:	belt	temu
		necklace	sebi
Pot	:	sa oil pot	sa ni tonyo
Miscellaneous	:	skirt	soy dyibe
		Western style clothing	
		bead necklace	

Male Attire :

Wood	:	walking staff	baga
Straw	:	conical hat	pirigu
Leather	:	belt	temu gunu
		sack	gigymé
		armbangle	no baga
Miscellaneous	:	Dogon clothes (see Chapter Six)	
		Western clothes	
		felt/cloth hat	
		umbrella	
		sunglasses	
		plastic/leather belt	
		radio/cassette player	

Wood Bowls : banya

Shrine material :

Pot	:	cupule	wone
Wood	:	carving	dege

Decoration :

Straw	:	circular straw mat	bele
		coloured " "	bele
Calabash		engraved calabash	koro
		painted calabash	"
		or calabash ladle	
Miscellaneous	:	mirror	
		photographs	
		magazine pictures	
		coloured plastic covering	

List of Non-Indigenous Objects :

1 Metal cooking pot
2 Galvanized iron bucket
3 Plough
4 Tin can
5 Enamelled metal bowl/dish
6 Hammer
7 Shovel
8 Screwdriver/pliers
9 Nylon sieve
10 Torch
11 Paraffin lamp
12 Suitcase/grip
13 Metal trunk/box
14 Shoes/flip-flops/sandals
15 Glass bottle
16 ´Western´ style male clothing

17 ´Western´ style female clothing
18 Cardboard box
19 Machine-spun cloth
20 Glass jar
21 Wooden trunk/box
22 Tin plate/tray/lid
23 Metal rod
24 Plastic jerrycan
25 Plastic bowl/bucket
26 Kettle, metal or plastic
27 Saucepan/´wok´
28 Metal stool
29 Plastic sack/basket
30 Bicycle pump/puncture repair kit
31 Bicycle pannier or other spare part
32 Plastic plate
33 Sowing machine
34 Plastic sleeping mat
35 Mirror
36 Comb/hairbrush
37 Waterbottle/carafe
38 Cup
39 Bicycle
40 Mousetrap
41 Photographs/magazine pictures
42 Pith helmet
43 Mosquito net
44 Padlock
45 Belt, leather or plastic
46 Metal chain
47 ´Western´ style hat, especially Homberg type
48 Cutlery
49 Umbrella
50 Clock/watch
51 Plastic wallet/handbag
52 Cassette
53 Radio/cassette player
54 Soap block
55 Sunglasses
56 Moped
57 Plastic table cloth
58 Excercise book
59 Printed book
60 Rubber water-drawing bag
61 Wire-wool or plastic equivalent
62 Teapot
63 Drinking glass
64 Safety razor/blades
65 Galvanized wash-pan
66 Skull cap
67 Toothbrush/toothpaste
68 Box or tin of tea/coffee/chicory/dried milk/sugar
69 Jar of hairgrease
70 Deodorant spray-can
71 Playing cards

72 Cushion
73 Nail scissors/clippers
74 Penknife
75 Keyring
76 Poster paint
77 Wool

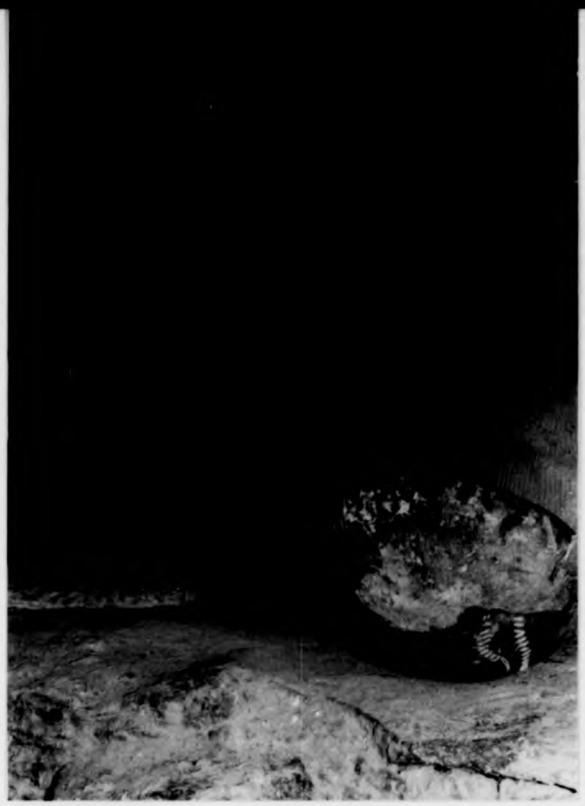

Plate 26 Example of a toroy

Plate 27 Example of a loy

Plate 28 Example of a dyuno

Plate 29 Example of a pana toroy

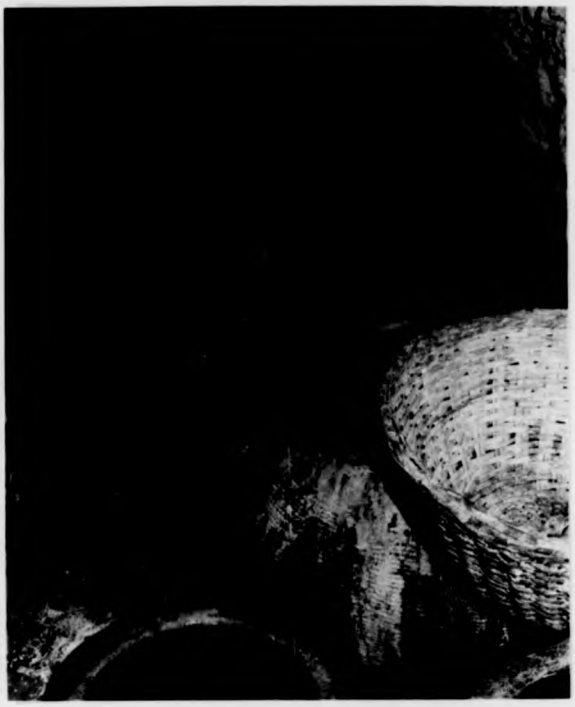

Plate 30 Example of a dadema

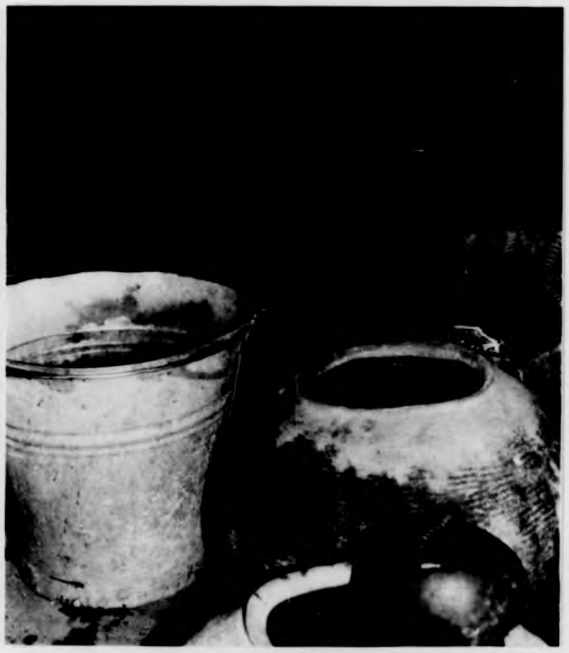

Plate 31 Example of a dey

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