

# *The Patrilocal Band: A Linguistically and Culturally Hybrid Social Unit<sup>1</sup>*

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AN ENDURING and usually unquestioned assumption underlying general anthropological theory is that which suggests the "homogeneity" of very simple societies. For the purposes of the development of evolutionary theory, or for the generation of a descriptive ethnography, or for the discussion of the validity of the "genetic" approach in historical linguistics, it is customarily assumed that "primitive," or "simple" or "folk" societies contain individuals who think, and act, and speak more or less alike.\*

Such a society is small, isolated, nonliterate, and homogeneous, with a strong sense of group solidarity. The ways of living are conventionalized into the coherent system which we call "a culture" (Redfield 1947:294). The concept of primitive or "tribal" culture is based on three fundamental aspects of the behavior of members of tribal societies. First, it is a construct that represents the ideal, norm, average, or expectable behavior of all members of a fairly small, simple, independent, self-contained, and homogeneous society (Steward 1955:44).

In this paper, I would like to question the "homogeneity" of many "simple" societies and suggest, to the contrary, that many band societies are bi- or multilingual and highly diverse in regard to general cultural content.<sup>2</sup> I would like to call particular attention to the results of extensive exogamic regulations in the face of very low population densities. It is the contention of this paper that such marriage regulation coupled with population densities of less than one person per square mile result in frequent extra-linguistic group marriage with the result that local groups contain speakers of two or more languages, and practitioners of two or more local cultures. As most band societies are characterized by virilocal residence (see below), it is typically the female who is divergent in regard to language in the local group. And, since it is the female who is responsible for the early language training of the child, as well as for its early enculturation, the thesis to be developed has many implications for understanding cultural growth and change. The original impetus to this paper came while analyzing ethno-historical data collected among the Indians of Baja California, Mexico (Owen 1963a).

The type of society with which I am concerned in this paper is that of the "patrilocal band level of socio-cultural integration" as recently outlined by Service (Service 1962; *cf.* Sahlins 1961:324).

## THE PATRILOCAL BAND

Service defines the patrilocal band as "the simplest, most rudimentary form of social structure" (Service 1962:107). As a structure, the patrilocal band is,

\* See Julian Steward's comments on this article in the Brief Communications section of this issue.

or was, to be found in all the major quarters of the earth and virtually in all the habitat zones in which the human species can survive. Service believes the patrilocal band to have been the structural form during the paleolithic; as the "simplest, most rudimentary form . . .," he suggests that "it would be scientifically assumed to be earliest as well" (Service 1962:107). He offers the "patrilocal band" concept as a substitute for the combined familial, patrilineal, and composite band levels earlier hypothesized by Steward (1955:101-150). Service believes, and attempts to demonstrate, that both the "familial" and "composite band" levels of socio-cultural integration are results of serious post-European contact disturbances on former patrilocal band structures. The patrilocal band then becomes the generic form of band organization. Service prefers the designation "patrilocal" rather than "patrilineal" because he believes residence rather than descent to be the most important process. Examples of recent patrilocal bands are the Australians, Tasmanians, Ona, Tehuelche, Southern Californians, Baja Californians, Philippine Negritos, Semang, Central African Negritos, and the South African Bushmen. Also included are those societies previously classified by Steward as either at the "familial" level or at the "composite band" level: the Northern Algonkians, the Northern Athabascans, the Andamanese, the Yahgan, the Shoshone and Paiute, and the Eastern Eskimo. In short, Service believes that hunting and gathering populations at all times and all places have been organized into patrilocal band structures, excepting only those which existed in the midst of such abundance that the environment could support a higher level of integration; e.g., the North-west Coast societies of North America (Service 1962:59-109).

All patrilocal bands share a number of characteristics. All are foragers for wild foods, are small in absolute size (30-100+ individuals), have low to extremely low population densities (1-50 square miles per person), lack any but age and sex specialties, and all presumably have minimal technological development. Further, territoriality tends toward the "home-base" variety, with relatively fluid boundaries, non-kinship sodalities are absent or weakly developed, and leadership (such as it is) rests in the chief male figure. The pre-eminent characteristics, however, both regarded as necessary conditions to the formation and maintenance of a patrilocal band, are reciprocal band exogamy and virilocal residence.

In the following pages I would like to examine the evident degree of linguistic diversity to be found within several patrilocal band societies: those of Baja California and of Australia, the Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego, the Great Basin Shoshoneans, and the Seri of northwest Mexico. The pattern to be outlined could be substantiated for the Andamanese, the Bushmen of South Africa, and probably for other band societies as well.

Two assumptions underlie the following presentation. First, I regard language as a means of conveying, amongst other things, a set of traditional, regionally oriented, adaptive symbols. The total matrix of the language is a device whereby one generation passes to another the knowledge, values, attitudes, and techniques necessary to cope with the total environment wherein it

has been traditionally located. Second, I regard "culture," or better "a culture," as a complex of traditionally derived adaptive symbols—including, of course, both material and non-material. Thus, the old adage "every language is sufficient to the needs of the speakers" takes on a specific, evolutionary meaning: *the* language is a device whereby regionally appropriated knowledge and understanding are transmitted to later generations.

#### BAJA CALIFORNIA

Aboriginally, and to the present, three Indian languages were spoken in Northern Baja California (Hinton and Owen 1957): Kiliwa (Meigs 1939), Paipai (Owen 1962, 1963b), and Tipai or Diegueño. Each of these languages was mutually unintelligible, each was subdivided into an uncertain number of regional dialects, and each linguistic group was more or less centered in a geographical region.

In socio-cultural level, all of the Baja California populations fall easily within Service's patrilocal band level. Residence groups were small, usually localized around waterholes, and no extra-band political integrations existed. The residence pattern was basically virilocal, though bi-locality was practiced as well. Exogamy was bilateral and extreme, with marriage not permitted with a known consanguineal relative. Each of the patrilocal bands was named. All bands spent a significant portion of the year at their various home-bases, utilizing local sources of food, or food derived from elsewhere which was stored at the home-base. Several times each year, however, the bands would move to the regional sources of food (such resources as *pinon* stands, oak groves, dense *opuntia* stands, areas of abundance of *agave*, and the sea coasts [cf. Broder 1963]). To which of these a band might move would depend on what foods were abundantly available near the home-base. The highly variable landscape of Northern Baja California ensured that the general ecology was not identical for any two bands. Sea coast, Lower Sonoran Desert at 2000 feet, Upper Sonoran Desert at 4000 feet, semi-Alpine conditions at 7000 feet, regionally distributed stands of oaks, highly variable coverage of *agave*, and other such variety ensured that the ecology of any one band would be significantly different from that of any other. Since every band was faced with slightly different ecological problems and, as each band was also slightly divergent dialectically, each band then may be characterized as having a slightly different culture.

Turning to the nature of any given band, it can be indicated also that *each* band contained internal cultural and linguistic diversity. Marriage partners brought into the group, usually the female, had to be selected from non-relatives. The probability of selecting a partner from a neighboring band, after long periods of geographical contiguity, was slight. The contiguous bands consisted principally of relatives who, even if distant geneologically, would be barred by the incest taboo. The response to this was to select partners from more distant bands and, in Baja California, where contiguous bands were dialectically and culturally slightly different, those located at greater distances

from one another, were different to an even greater magnitude. Paipai, for example, located in the more southerly portion of the Paipai range, frequently married Kiliwa; Paipai from bands in the Northern portion of the area frequently married Tipai. Each band then contained principally male speakers of Paipai and many females who natively spoke another dialect or another language. And not only were many of the adult males and females native speakers of different languages, but they were also trained in regional cultures differing to greater or lesser degrees.

In Baja California, relationships between bands further fostered cultural and linguistic diversity within the band. Though it is frequently concluded that linguistically similar residence groups form the basis of extra-band social and political affiliations, this is not the case in Baja California. It is geographical location and, as a dependent variable, affinal affiliation, not linguistic identity, that leads to the little extra-band solidarity as existed (Owen 1963b: 386-387). Contiguous Paipai and Kiliwa bands did and still do intermarry (Meigs 1939: 85), share regional food resources, and in all ways are more closely affiliated with each other than the Southern Paipai bands are with the Northern Paipai bands. The term Paipai then has very little social or cultural meaning and, I suspect that through dialect variation, it has little linguistic meaning either.

If culture is seen as a set of adaptively useful concepts carried in the minds of the members of the culture, concepts which are then transmitted to the next generation by means of language, the question may be asked: "What was the nature of 'culture' in any given Baja California patrilocal band?" A typical family situation was, with the patrilateral extended family as the principal vehicle of cultural transmission, one of adult males as native speakers of one language, and some proportion of the females as native speakers of different languages or at least dialects. Children were enculturated to some point in life principally within the language and symbol system of the mother and other females, not in that of the father and other males. Since the women themselves might be drawn from perhaps several dialect and language groups, the children of each familial segment within the band would have undergone slightly different enculturation from the standpoint of symbolic content.

What then is the "cultural" reality of the Baja California residence group? Many males and females speak different languages and respond to slightly different symbolic frameworks. Children vary to a degree from either parent, being under bi-cultural and bi-lingual constraints, and, furthermore, children of one family might diverge from most or all other children in regard to language training and the "inherited" symbolic system. These patrilocal bands then, because exogamy forces marriage with members of divergent linguistic and cultural groups, can be further characterized as culturally and linguistically hybrid residence groups, united principally by patrilineal consanguineal ties and to only a lesser degree by ties of either common language or common culture. They are social groups in which at least two languages are commonly

employed in transmitting the cultural framework which, in its turn, partakes of at least two divergent sources.

Lest it be thought that the bilingual and bi-cultural character of Baja California patrilocal bands be unique, I would like to briefly discuss several band organized societies found in other regions: the Australian, the Fuegian, the Basin-Plateau and the Seri. Each of these, I believe, corroborates the suggestion that all, or most, patrilocal bands have the same socio-cultural make-up as that suggested for the Baja Californians.

#### AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES

Due to the degree of cultural destruction suffered by most patrilocal band societies prior to their study, it might be suggested that the apparent linguistic consequences of local group exogamy are post-contact phenomena. However, in the only paper of its type of which I am aware, Norman Tindale puts forward the thesis that extra-band and extra-tribal marriages are not only common but probably ancient in most of Australia (Tindale 1953). In one tribe—"tribe" here used as employed by Tindale (more or less equivalent to dialect/linguistic group)—which was examined in detail, extra-tribal marriages comprise 8% of all marriages; for Australia as a whole, Tindale estimates the frequency of extra-tribal marriages to be 15%. He concludes: "It is evident that among the Pitjandjara and the Ngadadjara, inter-tribal unions were not unusual events and fitted properly into their life patterns. . . . The existence of inter-tribal marriages therefore must be accepted as normal, since people who encounter each other on the margins of tribal territories, though often nervous in each other's presence, apprehensive, and often at enmity, do engage in barter, occasionally do give women in inter-tribal marriage" (1953:173).

Turning to Radcliffe-Brown's summary statement regarding the social organization of the Australian aborigines, an additionally convincing case is made for the linguistic and cultural diversity of native Australian residence groups. He notes a typical patrilocal band composition (related men, unmarried women, and spouses from other "hordes"), and then states that these "hordes" "are grouped into larger local or territorial units, which will be spoken of as *tribes*" (Radcliffe-Brown 1930:35-36). The "unreality" of the tribe is made abundantly clear when, after giving linguistic homogeneity as the hallmark of his "tribe," he goes on to comment:

It is often difficult, however, to say whether a particular recognized local group is a tribe, or a subdivision of a tribe, or whether another group is a tribe or a larger unit consisting of a number of related tribes. Thus within what might be regarded as a large tribe there may be differences of dialect (and differences of custom) in different parts, so that it is divided into *sub-tribes*. Again, adjoining tribes frequently resemble one another in language and custom. It is therefore sometimes difficult to decide whether we are dealing with a tribe subdivided into sub-tribes or with a group of related tribes (1930:36).

The obvious difficulty Radcliffe-Brown faced in presenting the thought contained in the quotation above is that the concept "tribe" was his invention, not an inherent element in the social conceptions, nor the social reality of the

groups he was describing. In attempting to give to non-tribal, patrilocal bands a linguistic or geographic generic name, he found that they would not fit:

It is true that each tribe may be regarded as occupying a territory, but this is only because it consists of a certain number of hordes, each of which has its territory. The territory of the tribe is the total of the territories of its component hordes. Moreover, in some instances at least, the boundary between one tribe and another may be indeterminate. Thus in Western Australia a horde lying on the boundary of the Ngaluma and Kariara tribes was declared to me to be "half Ngaluma, half Kariara," i.e., belonging properly to neither of the two tribes. Similar instances of hordes which occupy an indeterminate position between two adjoining tribes of similar language and custom occur elsewhere in Australia. . . . We see, therefore, that the tribe in Australia consists essentially of a number of neighboring hordes, which are united by possession of a common language and common customs. The group is often an indeterminate one because it is difficult to say exactly where one language ends and another begins (1930:36-37).

Clearly the problem which Radcliffe-Brown encountered was that of attempting to apply the concept "tribe" to a series of local groups which were united principally by ties of kinship created by local group exogamy which frequently led to selection of a mate from some distance (Radcliffe-Brown 1930: 236 *et passim*). In such areas, marked by linguistic and cultural diversity, the obvious result of importation of females from a distance is to place in the local group females who are linguistically and culturally divergent to some degree from the permanently resident males. "Common language and common customs" as the criteria of unity, under such circumstances, has only dubious relevance.

The patrilocal band nature of the Murngin is clear from the reporting of Warner despite his use of the term "clan" in reference to the local group: the clan has 40-50 members, it is exogamous, localized, and patrilocal. In regard to linguistic differentiation, Warner notes:

The tribe is almost a non-existent unit among the people. Its most explicit element is a dialect unity, but even here the linguistic variation within small local groups is very highly developed (Warner 1937:9).

The members of each moiety are supposed to speak different languages. . . . Each clan is said to have a language. . . . The people surrounding the Koparpingu and Djambarpingu area say that their moieties have linguistic differences that are like Koparpingu and Djambarpingu, but do not consider themselves as being Koparpingu and Djambarpingu. There is considerable regional dialect variation among the Murngin clans; the division, however, is not on the basis of moiety, but on that of groups of contiguous clan hordes belonging to the same tribe or different tribes (Warner 1937:30).

Here also is a social patterning very much like that of Northern Baja California. "Murngin" was, as Warner implied, a convenient fiction employed principally for descriptive purposes. Local groups amongst the Murngin differed from one another in both language and in culture, and social integrations followed geographical not linguistic lines. Obviously, from Warner's reporting, and recalling that Murngin moieties were exogamous, the composition of any "clan" or local group must have been at least bilingual. In regard to Australia, in general, it should be noted that preferential first or second cross-cousin marriage, if not fostering intra-band linguistic diversity to the degree of extreme bilateral exogamy, does nonetheless normally require extra-local

group marriage. Thus, if, as Warner suggests for the Murngin, dialects are associated with both the local groups and with the moiety, extra-local group marriage will of itself foster intra-band bilingualism.

Furthermore, a simple rule of extreme bilateral exogamy, with kinship traced lineally for either two or three generations, will produce structures remarkably like the Australian sections. If either first or second cross-cousin marriage be permitted within the framework of extreme bilateral exogamy, then close duplicates of the Australian marriage sections result.

#### FUEGIANS

The Fuegians had undergone great cultural disruption prior to the time that the first reliable ethnographies were attempted. But, in the early part of this century, inter-band and extra-tribal marriages occurred, and dialect variation and, to a lesser degree, cultural variation marked each band (Cooper 1946a:107; 1946b:81-82). Yahgan preferred residence group exogamy but dialect endogamy, yet, nonetheless, frequently inter-married with both the Ona and the Alacaluf (Cooper 1946b:81-82).<sup>3</sup> This intermarriage occurred despite a factor which probably operated to reduce both the frequency and desirability of extra-band marriage among the Yahgan—the geographical nature of the area: “We have mentioned in detail that the entire Cape Horn Archipelago is geographically divided into five separate regions. As a result, there are an equal number of dialect groups living there” (Gusinde 1937:798).

It seems highly likely that the recent and probably the ancient Yahgan bands—exactly as Baja California bands—consisted of series of localized male groups each varying to some degree from all other such groups, with the individual men married to females, some percentage of whom were obtained from local groups who spoke other dialects or other languages.

#### BASIN-PLATEAU

In the major study of these populations, Steward frequently cites the difficulty encountered in labeling the various regional, cultural, and linguistic groups: “Nomenclature for this area and the groups in it involves considerable difficulty. Linguistic terms are not satisfactory. . . . The question of designating subdivisions of these groups is equally difficult” (Steward 1938:xi, xii).

Despite perceiving the problem involved in employing macroscopic labels, Steward did nonetheless ultimately employ basically linguistic designations, e.g., Shoshoni, Paiute. In later papers he raises the question of the appropriateness of the macro-labels and, in reappraisal, points out that the natives themselves employed regional, geographic or other designations, e.g., food staple, to distinguish one population from another. The emphasis was upon locale occupied, not on language spoken nor upon “culture” practiced (Steward 1939:202; 1955:115-116).

Throughout the region population densities were low (averaging 15 square miles per person) ranging from 30-40 square miles per person amongst the Gosiute to 2 square miles per person in the Owens Valley. Dialect and cultural

variation, even if slight, occurred from group to group, and marriage was most frequently locally exogamous and nearly everywhere was bilaterally exogamous to the extreme. Residence was typically virilocal, though matrilocality, bilocality, and limited neolocality also occurred. Each residence unit (band or "village") was independent, though sometimes linked into a larger cooperating social unit ("district"). From Steward's reporting it is certain that many of the residence groups were hybrid both culturally and linguistically; and, as he was not concerned with this point in his reporting, it is likely that many more extra-tribal marriages occurred than he cites (Steward 1938).

Regarding the Fish Lake Valley Paiute, Steward notes that the inhabitants of this valley cooperated, and presumably intermarried with Lida or Deep Springs people as often as they did with their own valley neighbors (1938:61-63). Of 32 marriages recorded for around the year 1870, five were with Shoshoni; such inter-tribal marriages suggesting to Steward that, in general, proximity was an important factor in the choice of mates (1938:67). In specific regard to the Lida area he remarks: "Separate treatment of the Lida region is somewhat arbitrary. Its population, though predominantly Shoshoni, was linked with Fish Lake Valley Paiute and the Gold Mountain, Stonewall Valley and Clayton Valley Shoshoni through extensive intermarriage and cooperation in various activities. . . . It was but a link in the network of interrelated villages that extended throughout the entire Nevada Shoshoni area" (Steward 1938:68).

In regard to the Eastern California Shoshoni, Steward notes that, in one village wherein 21 marriages are recorded, 10 were exogamous by district, and four marriages were outside the Shoshoni language. In the central and southern Death Valley area, most bands are "tri-hybrid" (Paiute, Shoshoni, and Panamint), and one band is noted as being definitely bi-lingual despite its patrilineal composition (Steward 1938:91-93).

In the Beatty and Belted Mountain regions, of nine marriages recorded, seven or eight were extra-district in the Beatty area; and in the Belted area, of eight marriages, four were outside the linguistic group (Steward 1938:99). At Deep Creek, note was taken of a Shoshoni who practiced extra-tribal polygyny—he was married to both a Paiute and a Ute (Steward 1938:131).

There is little doubt that if the analytical units employed by Steward had been more precise, the evidence would point to an extremely high rate of extra-"district" marriage, and an extra-dialect marriage rate at least as high as that suggested for the Australians by Tindale.

#### THE SERI

These Hokan-speaking Indians, resident on the coast of the State of Sonora, Mexico, are still not well known. However, the evidence that is available clearly indicates patrilineal band structure, and cultural and linguistic diversity: "Historically the Seri are not a tribe but the consolidated remnant of a series of dialectically distinct tribes that once held the barren coast of Sonora from Guaymas to Puerto Libertad" (Kroeber 1931:4).

The exact number of bands is uncertain. Kroeber suggests between four and six (1931:7-29); a recent attempt at reconstruction made by a linguist who has been resident for years with the group suggests that there were originally six bands (Moser N. D.:1). The same writer, based on what is without doubt the best evidence that will ever be forthcoming on the Seri, indicates that there were three distinct but mutually intelligible dialects and that, due to highly divergent ecology, bands differed considerably in general culture (Moser N. D.:3, 6-16). The bands tended to be exogamous and some number of marriages took place with utterly unrelated populations, principally the Papago and the Yaqui (Moser N. D.:3, 6-16). Contact with the Piman-speaking groups and consequent lexical borrowing has, in the past, led some to suggest that the Seri language might have Piman "genetic" affinities. This contention has been effectively refuted (Spicer 1953).

#### DISCUSSION

In situations of extremely low population density, extreme exogamic regulations will inevitably lead to selection of mates from some distance, often 50 miles away or more. Given a generally low intensity of communication, and great ecological variation, it is likely that groups located at such distances from one another will be dialectically and culturally divergent to some degree. Band societies of the European contact period, and, most importantly, perhaps all pre-Neolithic human social groups, may be characterized as linguistically and culturally hybrid social units.

I would like to suggest that the common practice of giving to patrilocal band groups a linguistic designation (Paipai, Kiliwa, Shoshoni, Yahgan, Murngin, etc.), or any other form of generic label obscures the unique aspect of the socio-cultural nature of each band. Furthermore, implicit within the generic linguistic label are a series of common anthropological assumptions which should be called into question. These assumptions are: 1) that every ongoing social group has a neat package of temporally stable beliefs and practices that may be called *a* "culture," 2) that every society has *a* single language, 3) that all, or the vast majority of the members of a society will speak *the* language, 4) that enculturation within a society takes place by means of *the* language, and 5) that cultural growth and change normally occur within a single language and a single symbolic tradition. These assumptions make it possible, for example, to discuss Paipai "culture" as if there were a common set of symbols shared by all speakers of Paipai; to discuss Paipai symbolic adaptation (culture) as being carried on by all the individuals within the territory bounded by the distribution of the Paipai language; to presume that Paipai "culture" is transmitted from generation to generation, relatively intact, by means of Paipai language. It is my contention that, to varying degrees, all of these assumptions regarding the nature of "culture" or "*a*" culture are invalidated at the patrilocal band level of socio-cultural integration by the phenomenon of extra-band and extra-tribal marriage.

As seems to be often the case, Edward Sapir long ago called attention to

some of the conceptual problems raised here. In a paper dealing with the concept "personality" (Sapir 1934), he cited the need to revise the concept "culture" as it was then (and now) being employed: ". . . the tidy tables of contents attached to this or that group which we have been . . . calling "cultures" (1934:597). He pointed specifically to the role of the child as the receptor of a symbolic system which, at best, he poorly perceives and imperfectly re-enacts.

It is strange how little ethnology has concerned itself with the intimate genetic problem of the acquirement of culture by the child. In the current language of ethnology culture dynamics seems to be almost entirely a matter of adult definition and adult transmission from generation to generation and from group to group. The humble child, who is laboriously orienting himself in the world of his society . . . is somehow left out of account. This strange omission is obviously due to . . . a convenient but dangerous metaphor . . . (which) . . . is always persuading us that culture is a neatly packed up assemblage of forms of behavior handed over piecemeal, but without breakage, to the passively inquiring child. I have come to feel that it is precisely the supposed "givenness" of culture that is the most serious obstacle to our real understanding of the nature of culture and culture change. . . . Culture is not, as a matter of sober fact, a "given" at all. . . . As soon as we set ourselves at the vantage point of the culture-acquiring child . . . we then see at once that elements of culture that come well within the horizon of awareness of one individual are entirely absent in another individual's landscape (1934:595-596).

Sapir, who expounded his point at considerably greater length than here presented, was principally concerned with differential personality patterns, not with language variance. If the latter element is added to Sapir's concern then the problems involved in conceptualizing culture obviously become that much greater.

If extra-band and extra-tribal marriage occurs in most patrilocal band societies, and accepting Service's point regarding the primordial nature of that type of social structure, the biological and socio-cultural evolutionary implications of band exogamy are great. Band cultural conservatism and potential for change, the phenomenon of language differentiation over time and region, the "function" of rigorous male initiatory rites, the nature and origin of bifurcate-merging kinship terminologies, and many other phenomena as well, including the formation of "tribal" level societies, are all more intelligible if perceived as developments from the culturally and linguistically "hybrid" band.

A notable point, usually explained by reference to diffusion theory, (i.e., "cultures" which benefit little from diffusion), is the extreme cultural conservatism of band societies. Everywhere, throughout the pre-Neolithic, for example, cultural change is very slow. If cultural change and growth be defined as a gradual accumulation of additional adaptive symbols, then the hybrid patrilocal band is a structure which especially inhibits growth. In each generation females are lost to the group and inevitably take with them some useful symbols. Tindale notes, in this regard, that an Australian female, married extra-tribally, took with her a personal *tjurunga* which, in that new context, was meaningless (Tindale 1953:184-185). Thus, without adding anything to the group which she joined, she removed a presumably adaptive symbol from the system she left. This sort of process, repeated each generation through the

dispersal of the females for tens of thousands of years, would result in a random, gradual but constant, elimination of cultural concepts from their original context—in a fashion certainly analogous to genetic drift. To be sure, such “diffusion” of concepts (including material items) would be additive on occasion, but to the degree that the migrant female’s cultural background differed from that of the patrilocal band which she joined, the likelihood of such diffused symbols actually being additive would diminish. In any case, with the extensive movement of females at marriage, some numbers of symbols and understandings obtained by girls during childhood would be inapplicable in the context of their adult lives, and, hence, not transmitted. On the other hand, the very presence of females, some of whom possessed a slightly divergent set of adaptive symbols in each band, would give to patrilocal bands a reservoir of new ideas and understandings to be drawn upon in times of stress. Exogamy serves, thusly, not only to enlarge the size of the co-operating group (*cf.* White 1959:104) but also to make available symbols invented or developed in one group to those social units surrounding it.

The development of diversification in language families is customarily regarded as primarily genetic in character: “For these reasons, changes in language are largely genetic, consisting of gradual divergent modifications of existing forms, and the whole science of historical linguistics rests on this foundation” (Murdock 1958:133; *cf.* Hymes 1959). On the other hand, suspicion has long been present that, in addition to genetic growth, diffusion or hybridization has also been an important process: “Modern languages have developed by differentiation. Insofar as this is true, the establishment of a genealogical series must be the aim of inquiry. On the other hand, languages may influence one another to such an extent, that, beyond a certain point, the genealogical question has no meaning, because it would lead back to several sources and to an arbitrary selection of one or another as the single ancestral type” (Boas, quoted in Hoijer 1951:8). The fact that languages can and do intermingle as postulated by Boas is suggested by analysis of the so-called “pidgin” and “creole” languages (Taylor 1963; Hockett 1958:419–423; Sturtevant 1917:152). To assume that the intermingling of hithertofore unrelated languages is entirely a “modern” phenomenon would seem, to me, unwarranted. Instead, it might better be suggested that gradual linguistic hybridization is one course which may result, and often has, when two social structures characterized by utterly unrelated languages find themselves geographically, or socially, contiguous. It is difficult to conceive of a social structure which would more facilitate linguistic borrowing than that of the patrilocal band as outlined above. In fact, it is difficult to believe that extensive linguistic hybridization between unrelated languages has not occurred throughout human history. Perhaps the concept “pure languages” will one day join the concept “pure race” on the intellectual trash heap—and for remarkably similar historical and processual reasons.

Turning to another point, given the movement of women, continued over

long periods of time between contiguous but linguistically divergent groups, it is probable that linguistic borrowing, especially in lexicon but perhaps also in subtle features of phonemics and morphology, would be most apparent in the realm of female "culture." It might even be suggested that the frequently noted female "dialects," such as that of the Yana of California, have their origin in the native linguistic disparity of the females in contrast to the males.

Another suggestion which stems from the conception of the patrilocal band deals with initiation ceremonies. Rigorous male initiation ceremonies, those of the Australians or the Fuegians, for example, take on possible new meanings if they are perceived as a necessary means of inculcating the appropriate local culture in male youth who, until adolescence, had been primarily enculturated by "foreign" females. The initiatory rites, then, are a means of forcibly transmitting to the male inheritors of the locale the necessary symbol system for survival within it—"the dramatization of the sex role which occurs in societies with a high degree of male solidarity" (Young N. D. quoted in Norbeck *et al.* 1962:482 ff.; see also Burton and Whiting 1961).

Service attributes bifurcate-merging terminologies to reciprocal extra-band marriage, which brings about a society-wide set of affinal moieties. This attribution takes on additional weight if the halves of the moiety system are understood to be linguistically and culturally more or less divergent. Mother's brothers then not only live elsewhere but may speak a different language or dialect as well. In the enculturative process, Mother, in reference to her own patrilineal kin, especially the males, would presumably refer to such in her own terminological system. Bifurcate-merging terminology in band societies, then, not only takes cognizance of affinal duality but also linguistic and cultural diversity as well, and may have been produced as a result of terminological reciprocity practiced across linguistic boundaries.

Implications for human morphological evolution and for archeological investigation also emerge from the "hybrid" band concept.

Gene flow rates in areas of low population densities where extreme bilateral exogamy was practiced must have been very rapid indeed. Mutations, if favored, could have been transmitted over vast reaches in relatively short periods of time. Furthermore, if, as it has been argued, populations receiving diverse alleles as a result of extensive gene flow exhibit great "plastic" variation (Hulse 1960), apparent differences between various ancient populations may reflect plasticity, rather than any significant genetic differences. Hulse also suggests that shorter stature, and concomitant increase in brachycephaly, is associated with village endogamy (1960:75). It might be proposed that many other apparent physical differences between populations have arisen as a result of the increase in local selection and the decrease in the rate of gene flow associated with the development of Neolithic villages. This is to suggest that some, and perhaps many, of the apparent genetic differences between what are called the "races" of man may be of relatively recent origin. At least the decrease in the rate of gene flow as a result of development of local group

endogamy certainly must be taken into consideration in any discussion of specific morphological evolution (*cf.* Newman 1962).

Obvious archeological implications are contained in Hulse's suggestions noted above. Additional archeological potentials emerge from the contention that, in patrilocal band areas, it is the females that move, taking with them female "culture."<sup>4</sup> In Southern California, for example, such things as grinding tools, gravers, many cutting tools, scrapers, and other such tools which might be used by women more frequently than men, show little distinctive variation over wide areas. In the same region, however, considerable local distinctiveness may be seen in such things as projectile points, fishhooks, and ceremonial objects ("plummet stones," "doughnut" stones, "cogstones," etc.). This is the sort of patterning one would expect to find where males tend to be relatively localized and isolated from the culture of foreign males but wherein females and female culture are relatively mobile.

As noted by Service, by Oberg and by Steward as well (Service 1962:111; Oberg 1955:486; Steward 1955:201-202), increased population density is a correlate, if not a cause, of cultural advancement. A structural concomitant of increased population density would be, of course, an increase in such things as intensity of linguistic communication and cultural communication in general. Increased density would act to decrease the necessity of importing females from long distances and probably to lower regional dialectical and cultural differences as well. Within the social group itself all of this would act to lower the degree of linguistic and cultural dissimilarity between mates and, ultimately, the development of sedentary, endogamous villages would bring about matings between individuals speaking more nearly the same language and sharing a more similar symbol system. The exponential growth rate of concepts associated with the Neolithic everywhere may well be a result of the development, for the first time in human history, of societies relatively homogeneous in both language and culture. In such a relatively homogeneous society, few symbols would be lost through "drift" and most symbols would be effectively transmitted to the new generation. Increments to the culture of the relatively endogamous society could still be made by the reduced rate of extra-cultural marriages and by other means of diffusion. Furthermore, an emphasis on linguistic group endogamy permits the "foreign" wife to contribute to the symbol system of the society which she joins, but to have little significant inhibitory effect in transmitting the appropriate culture to her offspring.

Finally, let me propose that all the understandings anthropologists have regarding the nature of a human culture—a social group whose members share an essentially identical set of symbols and all of whom speak a single language—that all of these understandings begin to become relevant and accurate only at what Service has called the "tribal level of sociocultural integration." At this level, due to increased population density and to local group endogamy, human societies for perhaps the first time in their evolutionary development, moved toward cultural and linguistic homogeneity. And, even at this level, of

course, the process is just beginning. Today, "one-worldism" and the cultural and linguistic implications this concept carries, is still off in a long distant future.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Research in Baja California was supported by grants from the National Science Foundation, the National Academy of Science, and the Research Committee, University of California, Santa Barbara, as well as by a Pre-Doctoral Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council. I am grateful to many people for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper, but especially to Professors Ralph Beals, Walter Buckley, Loring Brace, James Deetz, William Garrison, Walter Goldschmidt, and Elman Service. I would like to attribute all flaws and errors in the paper to them, but, alas, I cannot. A very different version of this paper was read at the 65th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association under the title, "The Social Demography of Northern Baja California: Non-Linguistically Based Patrilocal Bands."

<sup>2</sup> For a similar point of view to that expressed in this paper, see Lesser 1961.

<sup>3</sup> Parenthetically, it might be noted that similar preferences, at least in regard to dialect endogamy, probably characterize all humans at all times in their search for a mate. Yet, in situations of low population density and low survival rates, it is not the ideal preference but rather the hard fact of availability which determines the frequency of dialect endogamy.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the potential significance of the concept "female" culture in archeological analysis, see Deetz 1960, 1964.

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