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## Interactional Aspects of the Body in Co-presence : Observations on the Central Kalahari San

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 菅原, 和孝 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	<a href="https://doi.org/10.15021/00003176">https://doi.org/10.15021/00003176</a>

## **Interactional Aspects of the Body in Co-presence: Observations on the Central Kalahari San**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

In anthropology and allied disciplines, there appears to be emerging an interesting trend which aims to elucidate the nature of our bodies in everyday social interaction. Although this trend has not yet been given a formal name, those who are engaged in this research will inevitably share a critical problem with the philosophers of this century: extrication from the Cartesian impasse or conquest of the body-mind dichotomy [SARLES 1975]. The ambition to challenge this problem is undoubtedly legitimate, but what a difficult task it leads us to! In our everyday life, we might profoundly experience the bliss of our bodily existence when we are absorbed in athletics or in sexual intercourse. In contrast, when we are depressed in sickness, the body is experienced as a terrible prison which confines our free 'consciousness' within it. Turning to the discipline of anthropology, one might go to the field, equipped with the theories of interaction, non-verbal communication, or, say, phenomenology of the body. Day after day the anthropologist would endeavor to observe the bodily behavior and interaction of people of cultures different from his own. As the result of this stoical task, the 'body' of his subject will be pinned like a dried-up specimen by the persistent gaze of the observer, while the subject's 'consciousness' of others will remain concealed within a black box beyond objective observation. This is not a criticism of the field anthropology in general, but to some degree an apology for my own work.

Since 1982 I have studied so-called 'face-to-face interactions' among the Central San hunter-gatherers in the Republic of Botswana, Southern Africa. My primary interest has been concentrated on the reconsideration of 'egalitarianism,' which has been regarded as an essential characteristic of hunter-gatherer societies, in terms of the tacit rules governing everyday interactions among the San. The paper I presented in the international symposium from which the present volume originated was also structured along this line. However, I subsequently began to doubt whether it is useful for a new understanding of the human body to arrange the observations along the functionalistic research strategy for reconsidering 'egalitarianism.' The limited conceptual framework, within which any research on face-to-face interactions only serves to explain the essential features of a given social organization, should be deconstructed, and instead a wider scope should be

attained which enables us to reorganize the evidence from the observation of face-to-face interactions along the distant route to the goal: extrication from the Cartesian impasse.

Aiming at this goal, in this chapter I intend to consider several interactional modes and functions of the human body by describing and analyzing how the Central San handle and refer to their own bodies in the immediate co-presence of others. This line of study is closely related to a discipline which has been called 'non-verbal communication research.' However, I prefer to choose as a key concept of this study 'co-presence' or 'co-existence' rather than 'communication,' because a fundamental assumption of the latter term is the concept of 'information feedback.' We can imagine an extreme case where a person (or one body) is co-existing with an other person (or other body), even though neither is information fed back to, nor is visible influence exerted on, each other. Focusing on the state of 'co-presence' as the reference framework of this study, we can cover the maximum range of interactional phenomena occurring between human bodies while minimizing the presupposed theoretical implications.

Observing the phenomena of immediate co-presence between bodies of people in a different culture, what level of understanding is the investigator expected to attain? The most fundamental moral of research for modern cultural anthropology is that every social and cultural phenomenon must primarily be understood from the viewpoint of the context experienced by the indigenous people themselves. In the discipline of kinesics founded by Ray Birdwhistell, who struggled to establish the study of body motion communication as a legitimate domain of cultural anthropology, one of the most important guidelines for research is to pay maximum attention to the context in which any body movement is embedded [BIRDWHISTELL 1970]. However, fully comprehending the indigenous context is in fact an endless task. If it is not at all possible to comprehend any meaning deriving from the bodies in immediate co-presence until we can totally grasp the cultural context, then it would also be impossible even to start any field work that simply aims for the understanding of bodily experience.

Birdwhistell [1970] concentrated his effort on rejecting the idea of universality of human bodily experience, although he very reluctantly had to admit that anthropologists have not found any culture on the earth in which smiling is completely absent. However, too rigorous concentration on cultural context will lead any anthropological study of bodily experience into another epistemological impasse. So far as we human beings biologically are the conspecifics called *Homo sapiens*, we all share a huge stock of self-evidence which enables us to comprehend some kind of 'meaning' of bodily behavior enacted by others, regardless of whether we are willing to do so or not. Human ethologists argue that such a stock of self-evidence is grounded on the 'innate programs' which have been phylogenetically established through the evolution from proto-hominid to *Homo sapiens* [EIBL-EIBESFELDT 1972]. Although these endeavors made to confirm the actual existence of innate programs by means of natural scientific procedures are commendable, it is doubtful

whether the patient works by human ethologists add much to the 'everyday knowledge' on which laymen depend when they want to comment on or interpret the behavior of the babies and children around them. The issue to be emphasized as a starting point for the 'anthropology of the body' is not whether the programs of behaving are genetically determined, but that there exists a common source of comprehensibility which is guaranteed to all people by the *facticity of the body* itself. This source of comprehensibility can be tentatively designated as the *proto-body-scheme*.

The proto-body-scheme can be represented as a bundle of directional characteristics toward the surroundings which are intrinsically embedded in our biological body. For instance, the mouth opens to eat food or to emit vocal sounds, the finger stretches to point at something, and the genital organ swells in the presence of an object of sexual desire. These are undoubted facts which constitute our lived experiences. If I can sense some 'meaning' springing from an instance of a bodily co-presence occurring in a different culture from my own, this is not because I have been thoroughly acquainted with the context of that culture. Rather, when people in co-presence handle their own bodies in one way or another, some directional forces of bodies call up the proto-body-scheme which I share with them, so as to resonate with it. I am, of course, not suggesting that I can understand the bodily experiences of other people quite intuitively. The most important thing is to acknowledge that, unless we premise a fundamental ground of common experience, or a proto-body-scheme, shared by all of us, we cannot even start to describe, using our mother tongue, the ways of bodily co-presence in other cultures.

In this article describing the ways of co-presence among the Central San, I will not try to rule out so strictly the affectional or emotional nuances which would be aroused in my own proto-body-scheme. On the contrary, I hope to introduce into the following arguments the resonance of my own feelings which arose when I was observing the bodily co-presence among the San. Although such a methodology might be criticized for being too impressionistic, it will probably serve to free the observer from a trap of sterile rigor which reproduces closed 'theories' without admitting the *a priori* condition of field work that the observer *pre-communicates* with the indigenous people by proto-body-schemes [cf. MERLEAU-PONTY 1962].

Finally, why have I chosen the San? I must confess that, along with a number of ecological anthropologists who pioneered the study of the San, I have been fascinated with their ethnological status as the 'most primitive' hunting-gathering people [LEE 1979; TANAKA 1980]. No doubt these anthropologists, including me, have been captivated by the idea that this 'primitiveness' must most directly represent 'human nature.' It is very easy to criticize such an idea as an illusion [WILMSEN 1983]. However, though the following rather begs the question, the San do represent some 'essential,' not to say 'primitive,' forms of being in the social world. On the grounds of the proto-body-scheme, bodily coexistence between individuals should be most directly experienced when any two bodies are literally in the closest proximity, that is, in physical contact. The remarkable characteristic of

San society is that the 'closeness' and 'contact,' which usually occurs as a marked event in our society, is maintained as the normal condition of interpersonal spacing relationships in their everyday life [SUGAWARA 1984]. San society provides a typical example in which the state of co-existing can be realized as an omnipresent experience of the 'lived body.' We can expect that this kind of society offers unique cases which throw light on the various functions of the body in co-presence, and that these cases imply a number of issues deserving theoretical consideration.

### CENTRAL SAN

In the late 1960s, when an epoch-making symposium on contemporary hunting-gathering people was held, several thousands of the San were estimated to be living in self-sustaining hunting-gathering economies in Botswana and Namibia [LEE & DEVORE 1968]. But at present, about 20 years later, there remain few people who are completely dependent on hunting-gathering modes of subsistence. The Central San, belonging to G//ana and G/wi linguistic groups, which are closely related to each other, have especially adapted to the harsh and dry environment of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, in the Republic of Botswana<sup>1)</sup>. Eco-anthropological studies have been carried out by Tanaka [1976, 1980] and by Silberbauer [1972, 1981] on the San people living in the ≠Kade area, located in the mid western part of the Reserve. Tanaka estimated the population in this area to be about 200 persons. Since 1979, the government has prompted the people in this area to settle around the !Koi!kom borehole. Since 1981, under the guidance of the Remote Area Development Program, both the San and the Kgalagadi agropastoralists living in other areas have begun to migrate to !Koi!kom. The population at !Koi!kom reached 530 in 1982. The people have settled in about 20 camps around the borehole and have become dependent on maize flour supplied by the government, and on meat sporadically obtained by groups hunting on horseback [OSAKI 1984; TANAKA 1987]. Traditionally, the camps were widely scattered and their composition changed frequently. At present, however, camp membership has stabilized in the settlement at !Koi!kom.

Field studies were carried out during three periods: August 1982–February 1983, July 1984–January 1985, and August–November 1987. Details of the quantitative analysis of proxemics, grooming, visiting activities, and greetings have been given elsewhere [SUGAWARA 1984, 1988].

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1) The glossaries of G//ana and G/wi dialects were compiled by Tanaka [1978]. In this paper, in principle, the notation of vernacular words (mainly G/wi) follows the orthography used by Tanaka, but I partially modified the usage of click sounds. The clicks are represented by the following symbols: /: dental click, !: palatal click, ≠: alveolar-palatal click, and //: lateral click. Guttural sounds are represented by the letter x.

## THE BODY INSTITUTIONALIZED: TENTATIVE DEFINITIONS

In this section, taking the mother-infant relationship as an illustrative example, several basic concepts shall be defined. The mother-infant relationship probably represents the case of the closest bodily co-existence that human beings can ever experience, and this closeness takes an extreme form in one kind of action repertoire, i.e., suckling-sucking. Needless to say, a large part of the action repertoire of the human being is restricted by the biological facticity of the body. One example of this facticity is in the breasts protruding sufficiently and in secreting the milk to be sucked. However, man has a wide range of potential action repertoires which it is biologically possible to enact, but are actually never enacted. The simplest reason why man actually does not carry out some kind of action repertoire is because its enactment is forbidden to him. *Weaning* offers the best example of a process through which enactment of some kind of repertoire of bodily action is forcefully forbidden to an individual.

In the traditional hunting/gathering life, the birth interval among the San was rather long, estimated at 3-4 years [LEE 1979; HOWELL 1979]. The infant could continue to enjoy breast feeding for more than three years until a younger sibling was born. However, adoption of a more sedentary life style seems to have remarkably shortened the birth interval of the San. Instances of siblings born in two successive years have rapidly increased. In these cases, children reaching only one year of age have to be forcefully weaned in the face of their strong resistance. The San women have a belief which decidedly enables them to accomplish the weaning: they believe that as soon as the mother becomes pregnant again, her milk becomes poisonous and will cause the death of the infant who continues to suck it. Probably even during the traditional hunting/gathering life it would sometimes be the case that the mother became pregnant before the infant had reached the age to be weaned. Weaning too early might result in the death of the infant, since soft baby food was hardly available in the traditional diet of the San. Although infanticide is of course an easy way to solve this dilemma, if the mother does not wish to resort to such a drastic step, some ideological belief must be required which can support her firm determination to wean.

A basic process through which the human body is shaped can be abstracted from this simple example of weaning. In other words, going through this process, infants are excluded from the action repertoire with which they have been so familiar, and their bodies are reorganized into ones not involved in sucking. Three important characteristics of this process should be noticed. First, there exists the mechanism of power (in the sense of *pouvoir* theoretically elaborated by Michel Foucault), which, in this example, is intrinsically embedded in the relationship between parent and child [FOUCAULT 1976]. Second, the way of behaving of all the members of a given society is distinctively uniform. That is, everybody ceases to suck his mother's breasts after reaching a certain age. Third, some kind of ideology rationalizes either the enactment or cessation of a given action repertoire.

Such a process of shaping with these characteristics can be designated as the institutionalization of the body. Furthermore, weaning can be regarded as an example of *strict* institutionalization, in that it allows no exception. It is assumed that a very large part of our social body-scheme is organized by this strict institutionalization. Certain institutionalized characteristics of the body might be prescribed by biological facticity, or derived from the necessity of survival.

On the other hand, the set of rules which we usually call 'etiquette' or 'manners' can be characterized as the *loose* institutionalization of the body. The etiquette not only directs an individual to perform or not to perform some action repertoire, but also involves within it some kind of ideology, whether codified or not, which rationalizes this direction. Thus a set of people who abide by a certain etiquette are usually prepared to specify the reasons for it, if they are asked. However, the degree of allegiance to the etiquette greatly varies not only among the members of a cultural community but with the individual according to time, place, and occasion. In principle, strict institutionalization of the body can be distinguished from loose, in that concerning the given action repertoire the *sane* members of a society show quite uniform tendencies. However, turning to the historical change of the institutionalization of the body, the distinction between strictness and looseness becomes far from clear-cut. For example, Norbert Elias characterizes the process of European civilization as the change or extension of emotional criteria for styles of behavior which satisfy the needs of the body, such as eating, sleeping, excreting, blowing the nose, and spitting. He elucidates that various manners which all the people in modern ages regard as self-evident, and the violation of which must provoke physiological disgust, were specified in real earnest in the instructional books on courtesy of the previous ages [ELIAS 1969]. Elias's argument exemplifies that the loose institutionalization of the body in one age may grow into a strict one in later ages, being so deeply internalized into the people as to form their 'super ego.'

Finally, it can be assumed that the ways and repertoires of actions by the body in co-presence are directed by some large set of implicit rules shared and understood, probably at an unconscious level, by all the members of a society. In this chapter, I prefer to designate the complex of such ground rules as the 'conventional program,' on the analogy of the 'innate program' which is the central dogma of ethology. In a given society, although the conventional program usually directs some individual behavior as if it were a matter of course, its ideological background is rarely specified. Even though the content of direction involved in the conventional program can be induced as a statistical trend from natural historical description and quantitative analysis, those who abide by it are seldom ready to give any definite reasons for it. Since the conventional program is, in its nature, deeply absorbed into the body-scheme, it seems that people quite spontaneously behave in such-and-such a way. Therefore, paradoxically, the strict institutionalization which is completely internalized may become indistinguishable from the conventional program in that both have the apparent feature of self-

evidence. On the other hand, people tend to be aware of loose institutionalization, especially when they try to behave in a proper manner in a tense situation.

When the problem of sanction against violation is taken into consideration, the relationships among the strict or loose institutionalization and the conventional program become complicated. Here I shall only briefly suggest the following points. The greatest variety of sanctions is probably derived from the violation of loose institutionalization: bad manners might be merely overlooked in some situation, and openly blamed in another, or even legally punished in extreme cases. Since the violation of strict institutionalization is assumed to be quite rare by definition, its actual occurrence, if possible, develops a symptom of distinct abnormality. The agent is typically labeled as a personification of insanity, and has to be subjected to medical or another appropriate treatment prescribed in the given society. On the other hand, it is assumed also by definition, that the sanction against the 'deviation' (rather than 'violation') from the conventional program is usually undeveloped or merely absent. This is not to say that the agent and other participants are always unaware of the occasion of deviation. Such an occasion might be perceived as a form of subtle psychological pressure that produces an unusual atmosphere, or might be accompanied by an interactional effect. Above all, the deviation can be strategically made use of by a participant as a possible option in his behavior [DUNCAN 1981]. This point will be discussed again in the following section.

It is supposed that most of the examples which will be analyzed in this paper are cases where the patterns or the repertoires of action of the body in co-presence are guided by the conventional program. But this is only a preliminary assumption. As the observer's understanding of the San's verbal and ideological world increases, it might be revealed that the people in fact hold an elaborate ideological account of the behavior which has been hitherto judged by superficial observation to be occasions governed by unexplicable convention. This point will be discussed in both the third section and the final section, focusing on how the San themselves refer to the modes of the body in co-presence.

## THE BODY AS AN INDEX OF ATTRIBUTES

The body is an index of *a priori* attributes of the individual. This is the most fundamental function of the body in co-presence. All the characteristics of the body such as looks, clothes, ornaments, and poses serve to index gender and age, the most basic attributes from which humans can never be exempt. In this section, focusing on these two types of biological attributes, gender and age, I shall analyze how they are indexed by poses of the body, or by the patterns of face-to-face interaction among the San.

The sexual differentiation of the pose is the most striking aspect of the body which exemplifies how deeply gender is carved in the human body under the process of being shaped into *l'être-pour-autrui*, or existence seen by the other [SARTRE 1943]. Here I shall only briefly illustrate this point with an example of sitting

posture. Although a quantitative analysis of San sitting posture is still under way, it is evident that there is remarkable difference between the sexes in the frequency of several specific forms of posture. This difference can *partially* be accounted for the difference in postures required by the tasks specific to males or females. For example, when engaged in careful manual work such as tanning hides or making bows and arrows, males frequently adopt a particular form of sitting posture: stretching both legs apart, or, more often, stretching the legs out with the ankles crossed.

However, the differentiation of working posture based on the division of labor between the sexes does not seem to correspond to the sexual differentiation of resting posture. In the resting situation, the males often take a particular posture designated by the San themselves as 'male sitting' (*kxaoko ≠ nō*): squatting with knees apart and buttocks off the ground. This posture does not seem to be fit to any kind of labor specific to males. On the other hand, women very often take the posture of 'raising one knee' in both working and resting conditions. Undoubtedly, supporting the physical stability of the body, this posture is well fitted for female-specific labor such as pounding food in a mortar or suckling. However, it might be too simple to assume that the differentiation in sitting posture between the sexes has been directly caused by an advantage or efficiency in labor. More attention should be paid to the continuous effect of sitting posture on displaying and emphasizing sexuality itself.

As a male observer, I have been somewhat bothered by the 'lascivious' pose of the female San who raise one knee and quite widely spread the thighs, so that the genital area is almost completely exposed. However, the essential feature of this posture which arouses erotic sensation does not consist in the intention of simply exposing the genital area. A woman raising, say, her right knee sharply bends the left knee, so that the left foot reaches and tightly covers the genital area. It might probably be the most essential tactic of aiming to present one's own body as an object for 'eroticism' to display one's sexuality and, at the same time, to hide it. This is also true for San women who in any situation succeed in conveying (perhaps unconsciously) their femininity, "the most basic characterization of the individual" [GOFFMAN 1979: 7].

Now we turn our attention to the body functioning as indices of attributes in face-to-face interaction. As was pointed out in the previous section, human beings might be forbidden certain kinds of action repertoire, which may be biologically possible for them, by institution or convention. In particular, it is often the case that the requisite condition for performing some action repertoire depends on the distinction between members of a society in *a priori* attributes such as gender and age. Grooming behavior, i.e., picking-off lice, and greeting behavior among the San exemplify this point.

Among the Central San grooming is predominantly a female activity: in about 80 percent of the observed episodes females played the role of groomer, while males participated as the groomer or the groomee in less than 15 percent of the episodes

(N=206). A great part (40.2%) of grooming episodes are performed by females toward juveniles, especially their own offspring. Thus, grooming is originally a kind of maternal behavior primarily consisting of a mother's care for the hygienic condition of her children. However, a mother's grooming of her children evidently also carries out the social function of reassuring them.

Among grooming interactions between adult females, the social function or 'hedonic' aspect of grooming becomes conspicuously evident. Both the groomer and the groomee are enthusiastically absorbed in this behavior. Although the examination of proxemic behavior elucidated that female consanguines usually show a remarkable cohesion, females groom their female affines almost as often as they do consanguines. It is especially noteworthy that this peculiar kind of contact behavior seems to extend beyond the bounds of the strong avoidance usually maintained between in-laws belonging to adjacent generations.

As was pointed out, San males only infrequently participate in grooming interactions. In particular, males *never* groom females, while females occasionally groom their husbands or non-consanguine males in adolescence. Thus role differentiation in grooming interaction between the sexes is characterized by irreversible asymmetry based on an exclusivity criterion [GOFFMAN 1979]. It is supposed that grooming by males toward females is not strictly tabooed, since male informants simply explain that they do not groom women because men do not know how to groom, or because they are not as good as women at grooming. As even the males sometimes groom other males or children, the above explanation by the San themselves is not persuasive. Evidently, adopting an action repertoire of grooming is a definite interactional index of femininity. Even though males and females occasionally encounter each other in this face-to-face interaction, males quite effectively emphasize the irreversibility of gender roles, or, in other words, display their attribute of non-femininity, by consistently failing to play the active role.

In contrast with grooming, greeting is predominantly a male activity<sup>2)</sup>. I found that most of the greetings (84 percent) occurred between adult men, while unmarried adolescents, whether males or females, seldom participated in greeting interactions (N=306). This point demonstrates that performing (or failing to perform) the action repertoire of greeting indexes not only the gender but also the age-bound attributes of the interactant. I was often bothered by San children who found great fun in exchanging greetings with the anthropologist, who was a quite curious being to them. On these occasions, adults sometimes reproved the

2) One-to-one greeting (*≠kaikaho*) among the Central San essentially consists of verbal exchange which is often accompanied with subtle non-verbal cues such as eye-contact and smile. The original meaning of *≠kai* is 'wake' and *kaho* is a suffix which makes it a causative verb. Thus, *≠kaikaho* originally means 'let someone wake up.' The typical sequence of *≠kaikaho* is as follows;

A: "Tsam ≠kai?"	(Are you fine?)
B: "≠Kai kwa. Tsam ≠kayāha?"	(Fine, and you?)
A: "≠Kai".	(Fine.)

children, saying, "You, child, don't greet the person." As I have pointed out elsewhere, greeting is a form of social behavior which serves to confirm that its participants are equally 'mature men' (*kxao //dōko*) having a relatively distant social relationship with each other [SUGAWARA 1988].

These examples of grooming and greeting show that the conventional programs governing bodily co-presence throw light on the distinction in *a priori* attributes among members of a society by prescribing the range of adequate participants in certain kinds of interaction repertoires. On the other hand, the following argument will show that the difference in patterns of action performed by the participants in certain interaction repertoires corresponds to the distinction in attributes. In classifying patterns of face-to-face interaction, the distinction proposed by Goffman [1979] between symmetrical and asymmetrical roles is convenient.

Play-fighting among the San offers the best example where a definite distinction between symmetrical and asymmetrical patterns of interaction can be confirmed. The typical pattern of play-fighting (*//gaikari-ku*) is often enacted between adolescent and/or pubescent boys in a form similar to a boxing match<sup>3</sup>). Play-fighting between males has an essentially symmetrical pattern, being composed of the mutual exchange of homologous actions, i.e., blows and kicks. Contrastingly, play-fighting between the sexes shows evidently asymmetrical patterns in which the roles of aggressor and defender are definitely differentiated. In the first type of the asymmetrical pattern, the male participant, adult or adolescent, plays the role of aggressor. He will firmly hold the wrist of the female participant, usually adolescent or pubescent, and try to pull her down onto the sand. The girl usually gives a piercing scream cheerfully and rather coquetishly, repeatedly crying out, "Stop it! X— (the name of male opponent)." However, as there is a great difference in physical strength between a pubescent girl and, say, an adult male opponent, she might be played with for a long time in spite of her resistance. On such an occasion, the girl will begin 'pseudo-crying' in a peculiar voice which sounds similar to that of an estrous cat, covering both of her eyes with the back of a free hand. If the male is too persistent, it may happen that this 'pseudo-crying' changes to real weeping [KITAMURA 1987].

The second type of asymmetrical play-fighting between the sexes, in which the female participant, usually older than the male participant, plays the role of aggressor, occurs far less frequently than the first type. In this case the female, who is bantered or physically played with by the male, chases the latter with a stick raised overhead. This ritualized 'mock chase' by females of males is very similar in its form to a particular kind of interaction between adults and children, especially mothers and their offspring. When a mother or other close adult kin is disobeyed, they will pick up a stick and pretend to whip the child, or actually chase away the latter with the stick raised overhead. Typically, far from being frightened, the child runs around cheerfully laughing, and this 'mock chase' rarely results in serious

3) The morpheme *ku* is a suffix which means mutuality or 'each other.'

physical punishment. Here we can see an example in which the parent-child complex is used as a source of behavioral imagery, as was suggested by Goffman [1979]. Namely, an interactional pattern originally specific to the parent-child relationship is transformed into a ritual-like display between female and male in the context of joking. This kind of interactional pattern shall be designated as 'ritual whipping.' The issues implied by the 'ritual whipping' interaction will be discussed in more detail in the final section.

In the //gaikari-ku interaction, not only gender but also the distinction in generation is often emphasized by asymmetrical roles. When play-fighting occurs between an adult man and a boy or a girl in pubescence, the adult male has a peculiar means of displaying his physical superiority. Lifting the pubescent youth in his arms, he will carry him or her into the bushes as if to throw him / her down on a thorny shrub. At the mercy of the adult, the pubescent laughs and screams loudly. In this playful way they learn the lesson that their opponent is a 'mature man' (*kxao //dōko*) for whom they are physically no match.

Thus the distinctions between members in gender and generation can be effectively displayed by both the possibility of participating in some kind of action repertoire and by the interaction pattern itself. Some of these distinctions are uniformly fixed, while others can be identified as only a statistical trend. For instance, an affirmation that no San male ever grooms females has been so far verified by past observations, even though it would take only one contradictory episode observed in the future to invalidate it. On the other hand, the proposition that no San female ever greets other persons cannot be supported at all: though the women also greet others in some particular circumstances or social relationships, the point is simply that the frequency with which they do so is significantly lower than for men.

Based on this analysis, we have to face a crucial question: are these differentiations by gender/generation of participant structure in face-to-face interaction the embodiment of institutionalization which is grounded on ideological rationalization such as 'male superiority' or 'senior authority'? Though this question is too complex to be readily answered, it has not been evidenced so far that the San themselves ideologically rationalize role differentiation in such face-to-face interactions as grooming, greeting, and play-fighting. Even the 'rule' that a man does not groom a woman, which seems to be obeyed most uniformly, is not explicitly expressed by the San themselves, and even if the observer points out this 'implicit rule,' he will never be given any ideological explanation. However, of course, it cannot be concluded that these conventional programs are merely meaningless coincidences. At the least, it is very probable that these programs are deep-rooted in the unconscious attitude-and-perception of the San toward the fundamental themes of their social life, such as the difference between male and female roles or the rights and obligations of elders. Furthermore, in some social contexts, this attitude/perception might be definitely expressed by a certain participant. Case 1 will exemplify how an interactant can present his basic attitude by taking the behavioral option of deliberately deviating from the conventional program.

### Case 1

One evening, an adult man (Hxarā) visited the subject camp, and exchanged greetings with two adult males who were there. Then an adolescent boy who was lying there called jokingly to Hxarā, "Are you fine, Mr. Hxarā?" Immediately, Hxarā approached and shook the adolescent boy roughly and even attempted to step on his head. The latter rolled about on the sand, crying "Stop it! Hxarā!" with his head between his hands. In spite of the violent way in which Hxarā treated the adolescent, both of them remained smiling.

In this case, the adult man who was greeted by the adolescent boy regarded this greeting as bantering, because an adolescent boy has neither the right nor duty to greet other people. Two years after I had witnessed this case, I again observed that the same adolescent boy addressed the 'superfluous' greeting to the same man, Hxarā. This 'superfluous' greeting by this adolescent boy evidently functioned as a cue to start a joking physical contact with an elder man. In other words, he activated the face-to-face situation with a particular partner, by daring to deviate from the rule that 'an adolescent boy has neither the right nor duty to greet other people.'

Therefore, we should not assume that the conventional program which governs the repertoires or patterns of bodily action indicates the *a priori* attributes of the interactant, as a kind of 'fate' by which any individual is blindly driven and directed to behave in a particular way. Rather, an individual dimly perceives the configuration of his or her own unconscious attitude as a member of a given society, which is continuously expressed and indexed through the programs of the body. Based on this perception, an individual sometimes can violate or even play with the program itself. That is, in bodily co-presence, an individual is not simply locked into certain *a priori* attributes, but he will voluntarily commit himself to the attributes, or demonstrate his ability to play a role appropriate to the attributes.

## THE BODY AS A SYMPTOM OF RELATIONSHIP

The body in co-presence displays a quality of relationship between individuals toward each other, or toward bystanders. Rather, the actual forms of bodily co-presence themselves constitute the relationship itself.

Hitherto, it has been argued that among a number of traditional African societies, interpersonal social relationships are regulated by a dichotomous system of joking-and-avoidance. With the San, the joking-avoidance relationship has been reported to be a fundamental principle of their social relationships [MARSHALL 1976; TANAKA 1980; SILBERBAUER 1981]. One would assume that those investigators who could not directly and systematically observe the bodily co-presence of the San have established these characteristics of respective kinship relations as a kind of 'ideal type' by interviewing several informants. Such models of relationship as ideal types seem to be generally consistent with the modes of bodily co-presence in the everyday life of the San. Specifically, the analysis of the proxemic

behavior, or inter-personal distances, within a camp showed the following features: 1) physical contact is strongly avoided between siblings of the opposite sex, 2) the in-laws belonging to adjacent generations, i.e., parents and their son's wife or daughter's husband, strongly avoid physical contact with each other, though they frequently tend to sit in close proximity (within 0.3 m), and 3) very frequent and intimate physical contact is observed to occur between an adolescent male and his mother's brother, or those included in a similar category by the classificatory kinship system of the San.

These features agree well with the characteristics of interpersonal attitude which are predicted by the principles of joking and avoidance confirmed among the San. However, among various kinship relations, there exist some categories of relationship in which even the 'ideal' attitude is not so uniformly standardized. The best example of such a category is the relationship between siblings-in-law of the opposite sex.

The relationship between siblings-in-law has been a problematic category in previous studies of the joking-avoidance relationships among the San in that only for this kinship relation was a remarkable inconsistency found between the !Kung San and the Central San. Among the !Kung San it has been pointed out that the joking relationship is applied to siblings-in-law of the opposite sex, while the relationship between siblings-in-law of the same sex is characterized by avoidance [MARSHALL 1976]. On the other hand, among the Central San, both Tanaka [1980] and Silberbauer [1981] maintained that the same principle is applied to both siblings-in-law and consanguineous siblings: the joking relationship is applied to the persons of the same sex, while avoidance is applied to the opposite sex. The simple principle delineated by Tanaka and Silberbauer seems to be supported by a quantitative analysis of the spatial proximity and physical contact among the Central San. Namely, physical contact between siblings-in-law was rarely observed within the subject group, which consisted of three adjacent camps composed of about 70 persons.

However, subsequent observations suggest that the relationship between siblings-in-law is of a complicated nature beyond any simple formalization. It should be pointed out that the practices of levirate and sororate marriage are very common in San society. That is, sexual intercourse itself is not intrinsically forbidden between siblings-in-law. The following series of three cases (2-4) not only correspond with the change of my understanding of the nature of relationship between siblings-in-law of the opposite sex, but also illustrate the fluctuation in the San's own view of this relationship.

**Case 2** 9:06 a.m. 20 September 1984<sup>4)</sup>

In front of **CH**'s hut, four residents and four visitors were gathering. An adult male visitor (**KJ**) approached and sat down in the narrow space between **CH** and his

4) In the following descriptions, abbreviated names of males and females are represented by two capital letters and by two small letters, respectively.

wife, **ga**, who is the elder sister of **KJ**'s third wife, so as to be in contact with her. **KJ** enthusiastically talked with **ga**, patting her right knee with his right fist.

**Case 3** 5:30 p.m. 3 January 1985

An adolescent boy, **KR**, and his mother, **ho**, were sitting near my tent. An adult male visitor, **HK**, from a neighboring camp approached them, and sat in contact with **ho** on her side. **HK** behaved affectionately toward **ho**, leaning against her in attempting to take off her bracelet. After about 30 minutes, when **HK** had left, I asked **ho**, "Is he your lover?" In response to my question, **ho** laughed amusedly. **KR** said to me, "Sugawara, have you forgotten? **HK** is Mother's brother-in-law. Mother's elder sister was in a 'love relationship' (*zākuaha*) with **HK** in the past."<sup>5</sup>) (Although I had very recently heard this episode from **KR**, I had forgotten it.) Then I asked **ho** again, "Do you sit in contact with him, *even though* he is your brother-in-law?" She answered rather shyly, "I sit in contact with him *because* he is my brother-in-law."

In the G/wi language, 'sitting in contact with each other' is referred to as *giba-ku*. When two persons are involved in *giba-ku* interaction, typically, both sit cross-legged and one puts his thigh and knee on the other's thigh. *Giba-ku* interaction is believed to be a special form of bodily co-presence which not only confirms affinity between the two parties but also displays this relationship in the presence of third parties.

The above two cases of *giba-ku* interaction between the sexes led me to speculate that siblings-in-law of the opposite sex have the potential of a sexual relationship, which is very effectively suppressed when they are living within the same camp [SUGAWARA 1988]. However, the following case, which was observed more recently, made me realize that this type of speculation was too simple. Though the following description might seem a bit elaborate, for a full understanding of the complicated nature of this relationship it is necessary to represent the temporal order of the occasions.

**Case 4** 5:30 p.m. 2 September 1987

In the camp adjacent to the subject camp, an adult resident, **SH**, struck his wife, **da**, while they were standing in front of their hut, and the people ran to see what was the matter. When I arrived at the scene, **da** was standing with her left wrist held by her brother-in-law (**SH**'s younger brother), **HR**. **SH** was sitting on the ground about two meters away from **da** and **HR**; **KK**, the father of **SH** and **HR**, was sitting on the ground about ten meters away from both parties. **KK** and **da** were arguing loudly with each other, while **SH**, with a sulky facial expression, intermittently butted in. About ten people, both the residents of this camp and of my camp, surrounded the scene. I could not follow the content of the argument well. As the quarrel did not

5) Among the Central San, adultery is very common. Some of the adulterous cases develop into persistent extra-marital sexual relationships which are called *zāku* or *zākuaha* (to be in *zāku*). Here the suffix *ku* also means mutuality [see Note 3)]. The social function of complicated networks of *zāku* relationship has been elucidated by Tanaka [1989]. Elsewhere I have analyzed everyday conversations concerning this relationship, and discussed its social context [SUGAWARA n.d.].

seem to develop into a dangerous condition, the spectators left the scene by twos and threes.

#### Explanation of Case 4.

The next evening, I asked my informant, **TB** (an unmarried adolescent boy), about the quarrel. The primary cause of the quarrel between the husband and wife was the extra-marital sexual relationship of the husband. **SH** had been in a 'love relationship' (*zākuaha*) with a widow, **hg**, living in another camp for the previous five or six years, and had fathered two sons with her. Recently, being afraid of his wife's anger, **SH** only infrequently visited **hg** by stealth. On the 1st of September, he slept with **hg** and came home at dawn of the next day. Though he lied to his wife, saying that he spent the night together with an adolescent male friend, **da** doubted it, and visited **hg** to ask whether the husband had visited her. The 'lover' **hg** admitted this openly. On the way home, **da** drank an alcoholic beverage in the neighboring camp, and after her return home severely chastised **SH** while under the influence of liquor. **SH** was enraged, and struck his wife with his fist. **da's** denunciation in the argument with her father-in-law can be summarized as follows: "Why doesn't **SH** marry **hg**? And move into **hg's** camp! I will set my hut on fire, and go back to my father's camp."

The most impressive sight for me at the scene of the quarrel was that **SH's** younger brother (also married), **HR**, had an embarrassed expression on his face and was holding his sister-in-law's left wrist with his right hand. He was standing on her left side and they were facing in opposite directions. I then asked **TB** about this occasion of physical contact between **HR** and **da**. The following is a summary of the resulting dialogue between **TB** and me (**SG**).

SG: Why was **HR** holding **da's** wrist?

TB: **HR** was restraining **da** from striking her husband.

SG: **HR** is **da's** brother-in-law, isn't he? Does he usually 'sit in contact' (*giba-ku*) with her?

TB: No, he doesn't. A man is afraid of sitting in contact with his sister-in-law.

SG: But, long ago, I witnessed it. When we were living at another camp site, **KJ** visited there and he sat in contact with **ga** (see Case 2 above). **KJ** is **ga's** brother-in-law, isn't he?

TB: AE—Sugawara, that's because **KJ** is **ga's** 'lover' (*zābe*)<sup>6</sup>.

SG: What!?

TB: Yes, he is. **CH** (**ga's** husband) and **KJ** are in the relationship of *zākuaha* (in this context 'mate exchange'). **KJ's** son, **TK**, was fathered by **CH**, while **CH's** son, **UP**, was in fact **KJ's** child.

These answers by **TB** surprised me very much. I have no means to confirm whether the biological paternity is really in accordance with **TB's** account. However, most important is that this dialogue made a remarkable breakthrough in my understanding of how extensively extra-marital sexual relationships have

6) The morpheme *be* is a masculine suffix.

developed in Central San society. With this dialogue as a start, the informants then began to reveal one case after another where the child whom I had believed to be a real offspring of the 'father' was in fact born as a result of the mother's adultery.

The prolonged description given here of the process through which certain latent information was revealed to the anthropologist gives a significant clue to the understanding of one function of the body in co-presence, i.e., being symptomatic of the social relationship. The first point to be noticed is that in the account of physical contact between siblings-in-law of the opposite sex there is a remarkable inconsistency between the statement by **KR** or **ho** in Case 3 and the explanation by **TB** in Case 4. This implies that the pattern of bodily co-presence which adequately displays this relationship has not been standardized among the San. The relationship between siblings-in-law of the opposite sex is intrinsically open to ambiguous potential. In some societies, the sexual intercourse with one's sibling-in-law is regarded as incestuous<sup>7)</sup>. Among the Central San, even though the sibling-in-law is a potential mate (as is the case for levirate /sororate marriage or for polygyny with sisters), at least within the camp, physical contact between men and women in this relationship is strictly avoided. Thus, it can generally be assumed that a firm consensus is difficult to attain as to the form of bodily co-presence which fits social relationships open to ambiguous potential.

Second, though apparently contradictory to the first point, a particular form of bodily co-presence can be interpreted and treated as a positive proof—or symptomatic sign in the semiotic terminology—of a particular type of social relationship. The informant, **TB**, did not attempt to dodge my question which was derived from the fact that I had witnessed a peculiar form of bodily co-presence. The critical point is that **TB** was driven by necessity to explain what I saw in terms of a 'love relationship' which is at a level different from standard kinship relationships. I am not suggesting that the external shape of bodily co-presence is a reliable clue to the 'truth.' Subsequently, I found that unmarried adolescent boys such as **TB** were not as well acquainted as the elder people with the complicated networks of love relationships that had happened in the past. Therefore, we can not deny the possibility that all of the information about the love relationships given to me by **TB** might be false. Even if this were the case, the most important fact remains that **TB** attempted to seek the true meaning of 'sitting in contact with each other' by turning to the sphere of extra-marital *sexual* relationship.

As was persuasively demonstrated by Erving Goffman, man can control his body motion and appearance in order to manipulate the other's impression, taking advantage of the common idea that man can lie far more easily verbally than with

7) Hamamoto Mitsuru presented a paper concerning the concept of 'incest' among the Duruma agriculturalists in Kenya, at the 25th Meeting of the Japanese Society of Ethnology, 13th–15th May 1988, Chubu University, Kasugai-shi. In this presentation, he pointed out that among the Duruma the concept of 'incest' (*maphingani*) was not restricted to intercourse between consanguines, but extended to intercourse between in-laws and close affines.

the body [Goffman 1959]. However, apart from an occasional encounter between an impostor and his victim, certain kinds of face-to-face interaction between those who have maintained a constant social relationship with each other for a number of years should inevitably 'embody' the quality of the relationship itself. In other words, a person's consistent expectation that such-and-such a form of bodily co-existence is possible with the other constitutes, in a true sense, the substantial experience of the relationship between the two of them. It is because we all know that some fundamental correspondence exists between the quality of experienced relationship and the forms of bodily co-existence, that, observing the actual bodily co-existence occurring between others, we attempt to gain some inference about the social relationship between them.

The association of 'physical contract' with 'sexuality' might be the most representative example which throws light on the fundamental correspondence between the body and the relationship. Matsuzono Makio elucidated that among the Gusii agriculturalists in West Kenya, one's daily interactions with others are rigidly defined by the strict behavioral codes which primarily concern 'sexual shame' (*nsoni*). Among respected persons, various types of direct and indirect bodily touch are prohibited. Even a married couple, in the presence of third parties, must restrain from engaging in certain kinds of face-to-face interactions which can be reminiscent of sexual intercourse, e.g., eating from the same plate or walking together [MATSUZONO 1981]. This situation stands in sharp contrast with the social life of the San, where a husband and a wife will quite frequently sit in proximity/contact with each other [SUGAWARA 1984], and eat from the same pot, or where an occasion of sitting in contact between a man and a woman will be interpreted as the symptom of 'love relationship.' However, though the "phenotypes" show a contrast between the 'positive' and the 'negative,' the San and the Gusii share the common obsession with the fundamental correspondence between 'contact' and 'sexuality.'

## THE BODY REFERRED TO IN SPOKEN DISCOURSE

As was elucidated in the previous section, the San interpret an observation of some form of bodily co-existence as an 'embodiment' of the quality of relationship which is associated with it. At this point, the bodily engagement ceases to be an unconscious or unintentional process, being subject to verbalizing and reflection on the activity of the participant as *l'être-pour-soi*.

Goffman designated the complex of information which is conveyed to others by bodily behavior as the 'body idiom' [GOFFMAN 1963]. In a translation into Japanese, this term is designated as 'shintai-hyōgen' (body-expression). Although this is a very intelligible translation, an important connotation implied by the word 'idiom' is discarded. The essential point is that human beings not only 'express' something by means of bodily behavior, but also fix this process of expression as an 'idiom,' in the literal sense of word, which can be made use of in discourse.

Needless to say, it is assumed that any language community will hold in its vocabulary a huge set of idioms concerning the body. This is also true for the Japanese language. In a standard dictionary of Japanese you can enumerate a great number of idioms under the headwords of, say, 'foot' or 'hand.' However most of these are based on metaphorical or metonymical uses of body parts and movements, without necessarily corresponding to what the body actually does in face-to-face situations. The issue relevant to this study is how the actual patterns of bodily engagement themselves are referred to in spoken discourse, rather than how the system of rhetorical usage of the body has been developed in a given language community.

In an article analyzing video-taped samples of auto-contact behavior occurring in everyday conversations among Japanese people, I found that some forms of auto-contact which are commonly used as verbal idioms by Japanese-speaking people were actually practiced within the 'proper' contexts, each of which corresponded to the lexical meaning of respective idioms [SUGAWARA 1987]. The following are several of these examples, with the lexical meanings (which are given in Japanese standard dictionaries) after the colon; 1) 'scratch one's head' (*atama-o-kaku*): gesture which expresses a feeling of shame at one's own failure, 2) 'rub one's hands together' (*momide-o-suru*): gesture which may be used when one is making a request or apology, expressing a flattering attitude, and 3) 'stroke one's breast down' (*mune-o-nadeorosu*): giving a sigh of relief.

The readers whose mother tongue is English will immediately notice that there are interesting differences in the lexical meaning of these 'auto-contact' gestures between Japanese and English. However, the cross-cultural difference in the meaning of particular patterns of gesture is not the relevant subject here. Attention should be paid to the way in which verbal and body idioms are correlated with each other. Assumedly, people, as interactants, will consistently observe the repeated occurrences of some pattern of body movement, and so empirically understand its constant relationship with a particular context. The Japanese verbal idioms described above probably have been established, through such a process of empirical understanding, by the members of what they are doing in face-to-face situations. Furthermore, once some pattern of body movement has been fixed in the verbal idiom, the latter itself would prompt the bodily behavior to be more distinctly patterned, and promote its frequent and accurate use in the 'proper' context. I will designate such a process as the 'idiomatization' of the body, through which bodily phenomena in the face-to-face situation are figured and fixed in the vocabulary, and, conversely, the verbalization influences the body.

The simplest example of idiomatization of the body among the San can be gained from their nomenclature of postures of sitting or lying. The San distinguish at least nine patterns of sitting posture and two patterns of lying posture, giving them different names. It is supposed that each posture has a particular implication associated with certain features of inter-personal attitude, as well as with certain functions in the context of working, playing, or resting<sup>8</sup>). Although this point was

outlined in the previous section, further research is required for a full understanding of the social and ergological functions of San posture. In the following part of this section, I shall analyze several samples of conversation in order to show how the San refer to their own bodily behavior in everyday discourse. Based on these analyses, I shall discuss what are the essential features of idiomatization of the body for the San, and, more broadly, for all of us as interactants.

(A) 'Pointing' (*//kā*)

It has been observed that pointing to people, livestock, or objects is customarily prohibited in various societies. Among the Semaq Beri, blowgun-and-dart hunters inhabiting the Malay peninsula, people will protrude the lips to point to an object because pointing with the index finger is strictly tabooed [KUCHIKURA 1987, n.d.]. An anthropologist who has carried out research among the Kipsigis agropastoralists in Kenya reported an impressive episode: though the Kipsigis people are usually very mild of temper, he was so terrified that he even felt in danger of being killed when faced with the fierce anger shown by a male individual to whom he had very casually pointed in a lively conversation<sup>9</sup>). Among the San, however, pointing with an index finger, as well as with protruded lips, is very common behavior. Particularly when the argument becomes hot, the speaker frequently thrusts his extended index finger toward the face of the opponent, whom he is rebuking. Evidently, *pointing* functions as a gesture to express aggressive emotion or a negative attitude towards the other. In the sample of conversation described below, the speaker **KK**, an old man, is telling another three old men that he is opposed to the intention of his classificatory 'daughter' (the daughter of his dead elder brother) to leave her husband and remarry another man (**SM**). One of the listeners is the husband himself. The following passage, in which **KK** is reenacting the argument which he had with his 'daughter,' was extracted from his lengthy discourse on this topic.

**Conversation 1**

When she came here a little time ago, I was opposed to the story that the 'daughter' would marry **SM**. She says, "Yes, I will marry **SM**." I said to her, "Whew, if you

8) In a conversation sample, a woman criticized her younger sister named **gk** (the third wife of a G/wi old man who owns many goats) for not firmly rejecting the advances of a married man who had frequently visited her with many gifts. She pointed out that whenever this man visited **gk**, she would 'sit up straight' (*//kaukyana ≠ nō*), though she had been sitting in a more relaxed position. Thus, using the body idiom concerning the sitting posture, this woman was ironically hinting that her sister also had a fancy for the man who was approaching her with sexual ambitions. This example has already been analyzed in another article on extra-marital sexual relationships [SUGAWARA n.d.].

9) This episode was related by Komma Toru in his presentation of a paper concerning the numerical system of the Kipsigis, in the 22th Academic Meeting of the Japan Association for African Studies, 25th-26th May 1985. (For details see [KOMMA 1989].)

marry **SM**, I will dislike you. If you point at the elder, the person who had borne you, point at me, then give me goats. Give me goats which your mother took when she got married." This is what I said to her.

We do not know whether the 'daughter' had actually pointed at her 'father,' (**FB**) but it is my guess that, judging from her mild temper, she did not do so, even though she had had a heated argument with him. In this case the utterance of "(do not) point at me" might not be a statement faithful to the bodily behavior which was actually enacted, but may merely be a rhetorical expression. However, hearing such a locution as "pointing at the elder," anyone of the San would vividly imagine the anger which the elder person would have felt. The expressive power of such a 'body idiom' is based on the experience of the people as speakers, who participate daily in arguments, and who often point at others and are pointed at by them.

Comparing this situation among the San with the taboos on finger-pointing which are found among different societies, we are tempted to consider the universal meaning of this kind of bodily action. It is very probable that our proto-body-scheme is quite keen at perceiving certain directional forces or, in the phenomenological sense of the word, intentionality which is emitted from the extended finger. It is not surprising that this force is often interpreted as negative or aggressive emotion, since one cannot help being objectified or threatened by too accurate and too exposed directionality emitted from the other, for example, when being constantly stared at.

(B) 'Grasping to silence' (!*hō/karo*)

The conversation of the San is usually accompanied by very large gesticulation of the arms and hands. A stereotype of the Latin people is that they cannot talk with their hands tied [cf. **BATESON** 1972]. By the same token, we can imagine that the San would also find it very difficult to talk if they were forbidden to move their hands.

Case 5

Two men (**PR** and **NA**), both relatively old, were talking in a friendly manner with each other, sitting side by side on the sand in **NA**'s camp. **PR**'s adolescent son had recently been living in **NA**'s camp and had often cooperated with him in hunting on foot using many dogs. **NA** bantered **PR**, insinuating that his dogs can run fast and bravely chase down big game, while **PR**'s son's dogs are slow and cannot catch the game at all. **PR** emphasized how excellent his son's dogs are. In the course of this argument, **NA** grasped **PR**'s wrist several times when it was about to move for a large gesticulation. As soon as he was grasped, **PR** would stop talking, and **NA** would succeed in gaining the floor.

This scene surprised me. The Japanese also have a pattern of gesticulation which is used when one intends to interrupt (or merely appease) the other who is

speaking agitatedly. This gesture consists of a vertical waving movement of the hand similar to the action of pressing something down with the palm downward and the arm stretched forward. It is usually accompanied with utterances such as "There, there" (*maa, maa*) or "Wait just a moment" (*chotto matte*). Compared with this Japanese practice of interrupting the other person, it appeared to me that the San's tactics of silencing the other by directly hindering the illustrating movement of the latter's hand was extremely forceful. Furthermore, it was somewhat humorous to me that **PR**, without showing any sign of displeasure at being held, stopped talking so as to yield the floor to **NA**, as if it were an automatic response.

Subsequently, I collected a sample of conversation in which this action of 'grasping the other's hand to silence him (her)' is actually verbalized. In Conversation 2, described below, **KK** is the same man as the speaker of Conversation 1. Here, **KK** heatedly argues with **SM**, who was referred to in Conversation 1—the man who intends to marry his 'daughter' (dead brother's daughter), taking her from the husband. In this conversation simultaneous utterances, or overlaps, occurred quite frequently. The approximate positions of overlap are marked by the braces. It is almost impossible to represent accurately this overlapping in G/wi in the English text since G/wi syntactic structure is quite different from English.

**Conversation 2** (Supplemented translations are in square brackets)

SM1: [Let us talk]

briefly, briefly, {briefly, briefly }

KK1: {No one can *grasp-to-silence* me}

No one can {*grasp-to-silence* me}

SM2: [The period of]{work..., the work }has passed

KK2: No

SM3: You understand, there remains the name of the work, but

{the period of work has passed (...)}

KK3: {In that way, in that way, a person }behave in this way. [A man will marry] the women living in my [camp]. A person—a man will marry my daughter (subsequent material omitted)

Here, the focus of the argument is the 'bride wealth' (*kxama*). The point on which **KK** is insisting can be summarized as follows—"Those men who married my 'daughters' all paid much bride wealth, but you cannot do so." Whereas, **SM**'s refutation can be summarized as—"Those men surely had been working very hard in the past, but such a period passed away long ago. [They are now as lazy as me.] Only the name of the game frequently hunted by one of them remains as the name of his younger sister-in-law," etc.

Attention must be paid to the phrase, repeated twice, that 'no one can *grasp-to-silence* me.' Unfortunately, since this conversation was recorded only by audio tape recorder, we have no means of knowing how these men were gesturing. However, judging from the fact that **SM** was repeatedly saying, "Let us talk briefly," it is guessed that **SM** was attempting to gain the floor by actually holding

**KK's** arm as **NA** did in Case 5. Still, manifesting that no one can silence him, **KK** is ready to resist **SM's** attempt. Now I shall make a comparison between two cases, Conversation 2 and Case 5. In Case 5, **PR** contributed to the smooth and harmonious progress of the interaction by submitting to an intervening attempt by the other, without invoking any explicit countermove to **NA's** forcing behavior. Imagine the disruption of interaction if **PR** had pulled free from **NA's** grasp crying out, "Don't silence me." Then it is further evidenced how cooperative **PR's** attitude as a conversationalist was, when he accepted his partner's request to yield his turn to speak. In contrast, in Conversation 2, **KK** was trying straightforwardly to confront every attempt by the other to interrupt the progress of his speech. The frequent and prolonged overlapping utterances which occurred in this argument can be regarded as a distinctive sign of antagonistic attitudes by both participants<sup>10</sup>. However, in this case **KK** was more responsible for the frequent occurrence of these overlapping utterances, as he was flatly exposing his hostility and distrust of **SM**, while **SM** flattered and attempted to appease **KK**.

In any event, comparing a smile-provoking scene observed in the interaction between **PR** and **NA** with the heated argument between **KK** and **SM**, it is noted that these two cases stand in sharp contrast with each other not only in the emotional nuance which colors the interaction, but also in the structure of participation. This comparison makes it clear that the empirical knowledge of the San of their bodily actions in face-to-face interactions, especially conversations, is differently invigorated according to variation in the participation structure of the respective interactions.

Generally, not only for the San but also for any people who communicate with one another depending on close coordination between speech and gesture, it might

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10) One of the remarkable characteristics of Central San conversation is frequency of prolonged simultaneous discourse (or overlaps) [KITAMURA 1986]. These overlaps can be classified into the following three types according to the context in which they occur: a) Co-operative: both parties speak simultaneously with each other, expressing almost the same content or opinion, b) Antagonistic: one party stresses his/her opinion concerning some relevant matter, while the other party opposes this, and c) Parallel: one party speaks about some subject, while the other party speaks about a subject which is, though concerning a *similar* topic, composed of very different details. Conversation 2 is an example of type (b). Types (a) and (b) are relatively comprehensible for non-San observers, while type (c) may seem the most curious. The following is an example of type (c). The shared topic concerns the 'healing dance' [see the final section of this paper]. One party (an old man) is telling that he had been good at dancing in his younger years, but now he takes pleasure in seeing other men dancing very nicely, etc. The other party (an adult woman) is also talking about the 'healing dance,' but telling that she had a bad dream in which two men attempted to cure her in the dance event in a horrifying way, etc. I am now preparing an article which will analyze the characteristics of conversational organization among the Central San. This will discuss the full implications of simultaneous talk by the San. Michael Moerman has also paid special attention to the phenomena of overlap occurring in Thai conversation [MOERMAN 1988].

be almost an inevitable reponse that the flow of speech itself is interrupted when the hand movement involved in producing a large gesture is hindered. However, with the San, this kind of response is naturally or automatically effected only when the agent has smoothly slid into preparedness to interact cooperatively with the speaker who will 'grasp his partner's hand'. In other words, the 'fact' that one silenced the other by grasping his hand (or was in turn silenced) offers little problem, so far as the tacit consensus of smoothly proceeding with the given interaction is maintained. However, this does not mean that it is simply forgotten by the interactants. This kind of fact experienced in face-to-face interaction will be stored in the empirical knowledge of the modes of function of the co-existing body, and will be crystalized into an idiom. It is just when the consensus of co-operation is jeopardized that the interactants are distinctly conscious of the body thus idiomatized.

This argument leads us to the hypothesis that when a reference is deliberately made to the idiomatized body, the speaker is harboring some kind of suspicion against the mode of interaction or relationship in which he is involved. This is especially true when a reference is made to an action such as pointing, which explicitly expresses an antagonistic intention. It is plausible that this reference plays a role of warning against the nature of the relationship in which both the addresser and the addressee are involved. However, as will be exemplified by the following case (C), the body idiom which intrinsically displays affinitive relationships can be made use of in order to manifest the speaker's doubt about the social relationship.

(C) 'Lay legs' ( $\neq$  *kai*) on the other

In this case, in a hut owned by a young married couple, **KE** and **bi**, three men and six women, including the couple themselves, gathered and chatted cheerfully. The wife, **bi**, was pregnant with their first child. A young married woman, **na**, who was a little older than **bi** and had recently given birth to her first child, had been talking for a long time to the young husband, **KE**, who was sitting at her left side. The point of her talk was that **bi** was in pitiable condition because she had been often bantered with by girls of the same generation about her early pregnancy. She implied a criticism of **KE**'s attitude toward **bi**, that **KE** should treat **bi** in a gentler way. **KE** seemed to understand this implication, and began to make an apology by saying, "My wife doesn't love me. What can I do?"

**Conversation 3**

na: (preceding passages omitted) "Oh! you (girl who bantered with **bi**) little girl! Do not laugh [at **bi**]. Surely [if you say such a thing], you will enter the Devil's [house]"—thus I said. And I argued and argued with them, and I pulled [**bi**] away from the surrounding people, and walked dragging her.

KE: Today, she seems to dislike me.

(Laughter of women)

GJ: What? Who?

KE: **bi** does.

GJ: Ah-yes, she dislikes only me. She lays legs on your thighs, in this way she doesn't lay legs on my thighs.

(A burst of laughter)

It was said that the man **GJ** in this example had sexual ambitions toward **bi**, and had often visited her with many gifts in his arms. The locution of 'lay legs on [the other's] thighs' used by **GJ** is similar to that of 'sit in contact with' (*giba*), which was described in the previous section, but more straightforwardly represents the style of close physical contact. **GJ** did not use this locution merely as a rhetorical expression. In fact, the wife **bi** was actually laying her legs on the husband's thighs on this occasion. Therefore, superficially, this scene may be regarded as a commonplace affair which can readily be imagined from our own everyday experience in Japanese culture. However, in this occasion, **GJ** is not innocently bantering with the young couple like the guest invited by a newly-married couple in Japanese culture, who will joke about their intimate behavior to each other. Far from that, **GJ** is cleverly making an ironical comment on the situation where the young wife **bi** does not positively respond to his advances in spite of giving her many gifts. Since this comment was much to the point, it provoked a burst of laughter from everyone there. Here, a style of bodily co-existence such as 'laying one's legs on the other's thighs' is evidently treated as a symptom of affectional attachment or sexual affinity. Moreover, in this example, the San themselves spontaneously speak under the conviction that the body is symptomatic of the relationship, without being led by the question asked by the investigator, as was observed in Case 4. This example clearly shows that the San are excellent observers of the forms of bodily co-existence which unfold in their everyday life. At the same time, fixing their observations of the subtle functions of the body in co-presence on the idioms, the San formalize both their social and individual experiences into a common means of expression which is accessible to everybody.

In all of these examples of the idiomatization of the body, the speaker who invoked these idioms certainly manifested distrust of or objection against some relationship in which he was involved. Is this merely coincidence? I would like to propose that this point implicates a great significance for understanding why one is urged to refer to the body in one's speech acts. Now turning to our everyday experience, I shall reflect on this point.

When we reproach somebody for his insincerity, we (Japanese) will sometimes say, "One can say anything with the mouth." Here, we are seeking some substantial proof of the sincerity instead of 'things only said with the mouth' (or 'lip service' in English). Namely, we are expecting that, instead of kindness in words, he should 'use his own body' for me, —which often means, specifically, financial support. Similarly, no matter how sweet the words of love a wife is whispering to her husband, the latter might suspect her "infidelity" from the lack of her orgasm in the bedroom [RANCOUR-LAFERRIERE 1985]. Thus, when one perceives a discrepancy between the verbalized actualities and the actualities which are totally lived by the

body, one tries to attain a more accurate interpretation of reality, depending on 'evidence of the body.' The desire to find 'evidence of the body' accelerates the idiomatization of bodily actions, and, conversely, the crystalization of bodily actions into idioms promotes enthusiasm for collecting evidence from the body.

We might be able to paraphrase this point by saying that the culture creates the body and, at the same time, the body creates the culture—or we can even claim that the relationship between culture and body is a dialectic one. But we have to admit that these statements are mere tautologies. What is required of anthropological practice is not to find sanctuary under these slogans, but to grasp accurately the dynamic process of the speech act in respective concrete settings, through which the idiomatization of body is ongoing. It is not until these microscopic observations are carried out that any ethnography of the 'body in co-presence' will be given some degree of reality. Whatever elaborate catalogue of 'body idioms' a given culture may be equipped with, the persistent activity of its members to seek for 'evidence from the body' is intrinsically unlimited. If we merely apply the ready-made idioms to respective ongoing situations, our understanding of face-to-face interactions will always end in stereotyped routine. It should be assumed that the agent is always trying to invent new idioms, re-interpreting available materials through the ongoing interaction. Only when we are witnesses, from such a point of view, to the actual scene where both the body and the language are generated, may we obtain a clue to extricate ourselves from the 'ethnographic stereotype' of cultures different from ours.

Although it is always necessary to be cautious of stereotyped understanding, it should be admitted that the whole attitude, or ethos, of the society toward the body plays an important role as a condition which facilitates or accelerates the idiomatization of body. In a society which is so suppressive of the body that immediate physical contact between its members is restricted to the minimum level, apart from the metaphorical use of body idiom, the dynamic idiomatization of the body, based on the participants' observations of the immediate co-presence, would be difficult to develop. As far as this point is concerned, San society quite sufficiently fulfills the necessary conditions for the idiomatization of the body to be accelerated. This is not only due to frequent occurrence of physical contact between parent and child or between friends in their everyday life. More important is that, far from suppressing their own 'bodiliness,' the San are willing to display it and to attract the other's attention to their own body. In the following part of this section I shall elucidate this point, analyzing how the San use adjectives concerning body as idioms.

The most striking evidence can be derived from their 'display of leanness.' When begging food from those of us on the study team, the San often attempted to appeal to our sympathy, rubbing their bellies or picking at their skin, and crying out, "Look, look! I am so lean!" (*mó, mó, kiri n/ěkyana zayāha*). Especially when looking at an old man or woman rubbing his or her wrinkled belly, even the coolest investigator probably could not help feeling moved. The 'display of leanness' should not be regarded as only a cunning tactic for begging something from a

stranger. It is advertising the meaning of one's own pitiful circumstances, and, at the same time, is a straightforward expression of one's concern for his or her own body. For example, an adolescent boy who had just come back from a group hunting trip of several days on horseback was sitting near an open-air fire together with another young man. He murmured, "I have become lean...", rubbing his calf and thigh, which were sticking out of his shorts. I felt that, with this behavior, he unintentionally vented solicitude about his own body, rather than displaying a tactical intention to appeal for the other's sympathy. Or even pride in having completed a long hunting trip might have been subtly expressed by this behavior.

Quite naturally, the complaint of being lean makes a contrastive pair with the admiration or envy of being fat. The San admired some of my colleagues, or were even amazed by them, because their thighs sticking out of their shorts seemed very fat to them. When commenting on a woman's figure, it is a common turn of phrase that she is 'fat and beautiful' (*tsiu e kyūēn*). But this does not mean that the San simply equate fatness with the feminine beauty. When the figure of a woman belonging to other ethnic groups (Kgalagadi, Tswana, Nharo, etc.) is commented on, it is usually affirmed without qualification that she is 'fat and beautiful,' whereas criticizing whispers are sometimes exchanged about some members of the camp for their 'being fat.'

For example, when I discussed with several young men complicated extra-marital sexual relationships in which a beautiful woman, **gk**, had been involved, I expressed wonder, saying, "How many men love **gk**!" Immediately, a man answered with a smile, "Because she is very beautiful." Then another said, "But, why does not **gu** (an unmarried young woman living in the same camp) have any lover?" and burst into laughter at his own words. Then they began to comment on how fat she was. I asked them what she ate everyday, and one man answered, "She eats too much *paritsi* (maize flour porridge)." Then, immediately, another added to this with a serious look, "—and she also drinks too much water." Thus, as is easily imagined from everyday experience in our culture, such characteristics of the body as leanness or fatness are frequently introduced into the discourse and precipitated into idioms, just because they constitute the most remarkable appearance of the body.

Adjectives such as 'fat' and 'lean' refer, of course, to some actual state of the body, while all of the examples previously analyzed in this section were those of idiomatization of bodily *actions*, or verbs. Therefore, in the latter case, both the responsibility and intention of the agent are apt to be questioned, whereas what is regarded as problematic in the former case are one's individual circumstances, which are symptomatically signalled by the actual state of one's own body. Whether reference is made to the action or to the state of the body, what is sought for in the context of speech can be best understood in terms of the 'evidence of the body.' Thus, the San, and probably we ourselves also, proceed with our interactions bound to the temptation to seek out more substantial meaning, hidden truth, and proof of sincerity or of real mind, in and behind the body. However, the desire to

seek for the 'evidence of the body' can not always be satisfied. One's naive attempt to obtain the evidence of the body has to be frustrated if the other person adopts, whether deliberately or not, a counteracting tactic of presenting his own body as a camouflage or a mimicry. Although this is an ordinary issue in the argument on 'false presentation,' it is expected that we can gain a wider access to the functions of the body by concentrating on apparently unintentional movement of the body. I shall examine this point in the following section.

### THE BODY EXCUSING

In another article which analyzed the face-to-face interactions between visitor and resident, I argued that various 'small behaviors' in which both of them were involved functioned as a kind of 'behavioral excuse' [SUGAWARA 1988]. In this section, I shall elaborate the concept of 'behavioral excuse,' not only re-examining the observations of the San but also referring to studies of face-to-face interactions among the Japanese and the Americans.

Though the term 'behavioral excuse' was coined by myself, we can extract the best example which validates this concept from a study by Charles Goodwin which elucidated the close correlation between gaze and the organization of speech. In this example, something interesting happened when one woman was about to light another woman's cigarette. This is the original description by Goodwin:

Ann, finding herself with a cigarette but no matches, asks Ginny for a light. Ginny opens her purse and takes out a lighter. However, while Ginny is doing this, one of Ann's children demands her attention and Ann turns to him. Thus, when Ginny finally produces her lighter, she finds that the person who requested it is engaged elsewhere... . Ginny nevertheless brings her lighter; but when it reaches the place where her partner's cigarette should be, it meets empty air... . When Ginny, in the course of bringing the lighter to Ann, discovers that she will not be met by Ann's cigarette, she strikes the lighter awkwardly and it fails to light. She then brings the lighter back in front of her and attentively fiddles with the flint *in a displayed attempt to fix it*... . Ann terminates the exchange with her child and begins to turn back toward Ginny. Immediately after this happens, Ginny stops working on the lighter and brings it back to Ann... . The broken lighter thus suddenly becomes fixed just as Ann begins to return her attention to Ginny. The lighter lights perfectly on Ginny's first attempt, just before Ann's cigarette reaches it [GOODWIN 1981: 144] (my italics).

Probably, in reviewing their own everyday experience, most people would notice that they are also sometimes engaged in a similar kind of behavior. It is an instance of 'small behavior' which we almost unconsciously enact in everyday face-to-face interactions. Goodwin pays special attention to this example in that it exemplifies the fact that "Participants have the ability to modify their non-vocal units in much the same way that they modify their vocal units." When Ginny's lighter

"meets empty air," a "failure to achieve coordinated action thus seems to have occurred." But Ginny's "displayed attempt to fix" the lighter demonstrates that "the participants have the capacity to modify their emerging action so that precise collaborative action can nevertheless still be achieved" (all quotations from [GOODWIN 1981: 144]). This interpretation by Goodwin undoubtedly hits the mark. However, a question still remains to be answered: why was Ginny motivated to *display* an attempt to fix the lighter? Interpreting this point psychologically, we can assume that Ginny was embarrassed by failing to achieve coordinated action, or, more broadly, when faced with the interruption of the smooth flow of behavior she has just projected. We can furthermore assume that she pretended to fix the lighter in order to camouflage her embarrassment. Such a psychological entity as embarrassment may be a very convenient concept which is applicable to various kinds of small behavior enacted at an awkward moment in face-to-face interactions. However, even though we vaguely know what is meant by such psychological terms as 'embarrassment' or "awkwardness," we have not yet understood what is the structure of the 'awkward' moment, or how the interactants handle their own body at this moment. In the following, I shall try to extrapolate the characteristics of behavioral excuse from the several examples which I have judged to be representative of an awkward moment in face-to-face interactions.

First, I shall again turn to the 'small behavior' observed among the San, in which one is engaged when entering a scene already occupied by the others. For example, an old man approaching a group of adolescent boys in front of my tent, who are waiting for me to pass out supper, hesitates about sitting down. He may crane his neck to look into the distance with a melancholic facial expression. Thus he displays an excuse for approaching the scene by means of a sequence of bodily behaviors. Or, paraphrasing it in more tactical words, he gives an outward show of being distracted by something happening outside of the camp, and thus feigns indifference to the distribution of supper. Similarly, it was sometimes observed that a visitor approaching the scene talks to the small children or attempts to catch them by the arm. Also during his stay, the visitor often playfully banters with the children who are around him. Or, the visitor in an awkward moment may be involved in various kinds of time-killing, e.g., inspecting various goods on hand, wiping the dust from his clothes, picking out a thorn from his foot, or even standing up to inspect the actual spot or object which has just been referred to in the conversation, etc.

Generally, when one participates in a scene or stays there without any definite engagement, he cannot be exempted from the possibility of being subjected to the conjecture of the others about his intention or purpose. In this situation, various kinds of small behavior which he displays may surely serve to give an impression to the other people that his presence itself is very casual and unintentional. In other words, by means of behavioral excuse, he attempts to cover his presence with a 'natural appearance.' However, it should be admitted that this framework of 'natural appearance' still remains merely a phenomenal substitute for a

psychological explanation such as the 'reduction of embarrassment.' It should be examined more analytically how the 'unnaturalness' oozes out of the body in co-presence, or how the 'natural appearance' can be recovered.

For this task, an important clue can be obtained from my own study of auto-contact behavior occurring in conversational interactions among Japanese people [SUGAWARA 1987]. The term 'auto-contact' refers to almost the same category of bodily action that was designated as 'self-adaptor' [EKMAN & FRIESEN 1969] or 'body manipulator' [EKMAN 1977]. My study elucidated the fact that the occurrence of auto-contact closely correlated with the speech act. A conversationalist far more frequently began to touch a part of his own body with his hand when he was speaking than when he was listening. A bout of auto-contact began to occur with the highest probability at the final moment of one's speech turn (the duration of which was estimated as less than 1/4 sec), and with the second highest probability at the initial moment. The clustered occurrence both within and between individuals was of special importance. Examining both the lexical and social context of the speech, it was found that, when different bouts of auto-contact were successively carried out by an individual or they were synchronized between two or more individuals, some remarkable change was occurring in the social context which had framed and directed the conversational interaction. In short, this change can be best characterized in terms of 'exposure of relationship.' Generally, in conversational interaction the participants notice the nature of the relationship between them, but they cleverly avoid referring straightforwardly to the relationship itself. When it happens that the nature of this relationship is exposed by an unexpected course of interactional events, the participants tend to touch or manipulate their own body. To put it more concretely, I identified the following aspects as examples of the nature of the relationship which was exposed: dominance-subordination, uneven distribution of regard for the partner among the participants, inconsistency in their views on some sociocultural topic, and the difference in the characteristics of expected social role between male and female participants (which will be often exposed in spite of the working consensus that both of them should have equal rights and obligations).

The moment when the nature of the relationship between the participants is exposed is almost synonymous with the moment when a small discrepancy arises in essentially co-operative tasks of the interaction. In a pertinent comment on my article, Tani Yutaka says that the auto-contact enacted by the conversationalist who is faced with this discrepancy is "an action that can always be used to establish an absence of manipulative intent." [TANI 1987: 203; original in Japanese]. In other words, the interactant attempts to recover the 'natural appearance' which is about to be lost in the encounter by behaving as if the discrepancy which is beginning to be exposed were not at all perceived by anybody from the first.

This argument will be reinforced by examining simultaneous discourse or "takeover" of the floor which can sometimes be observed in Japanese conversations. I have other unpublished data which show that both auto-contact and in-

strumental behavior occur significantly more frequently when the speech turn is yielded by various kinds of 'interruptions' such as overlap, butting-in, or 'silent interruption,' than by the 'smooth speaker switch' [BEATTIE 1982]<sup>11)</sup>. Probably one of the most fundamental rules for the conversational behavior of Japanese, as well as of Americans, may be to avoid simultaneous discourse. Transfer of the floor by means of interruptive simultaneous discourse is quite an ordinary, and yet very awkward, occasion of discrepancy which we encounter in our everyday conversations. Why then is it valid to characterize auto-contact or instrumental behavior as a project to reduce the discrepancy and to recover the 'natural appearance'? In order to elucidate this point, we should again consider the directionality (or intentionality) which springs from the body.

According to the argument by Goffman, "expressive messages tend to be ones for which the giver cannot be made legally responsible" [GOFFMAN 1963: 13-14]. Here 'expressive message' is almost synonymous with the information of which the transmitting vehicle is the sender's "physical complex," i.e., body. However, even though the bodily message may charge the sender with far less legal responsibility than the linguistic message does, it also can be treated as a definite symptom or evidence of some relationship, as was argued in the previous sections. The body in immediate co-presence with others ceaselessly emits some directionality from its different regions. An aggressive intention may be emitted from the stretched index finger, while a feeling of intimacy and reliance may be radiated from the legs which are extended toward the other's thighs. Just because the San subtly keep perceiving the directionalities thus radiated from the body, they attempt to seek evidence of relationship in the forms of bodily engagement.

However, when one is involved in auto-contact behavior, the directionality from the body returns to itself, thus forming a closed circuit. Or, when one inspects or manipulates some object, the body becomes, at least apparently, occupied with the management of the world of things. Similarly, though socialized adults have to conjecture about the reasons for their immediate co-presence with one another, it is generally accepted that young children stand outside of the mutual reflection of such conjectures. Therefore, seeking contact with young children is usually regarded as an 'innocent' manifestation of directionality toward one's surroundings. In sum, showing that his immediate concern is *not* directed toward the socially meaningful 'others' who are present in the scene, the actor becomes able to be exempted from responsibility to them. In this sense, his body becomes a 'harmless body.'<sup>12)</sup>

This argument makes it possible to understand the relationship of the actor's attempt to assume a 'natural appearance' by making use of 'behavioral excuse,'

11) This data was analyzed by Makido Masahiko under my guidance in a 1985 graduation thesis submitted to the Department of Behavioral Science, Faculty of Letters, Hokkaido University. [MAKIDO, M., n.d. "Nichijou-kaiwa ni okeru hatsuwaken to hi-gengoteki koudou tonon kankei ni tsuite" (On the relationship between the floor and non-verbal behavior in everyday conversation; in Japanese).]

with the activity of referring to the styles of bodily co-presence and of idiomatizing them, which was analyzed in the previous section. I would like to conclude that both activities represent two sides of an interactive totality of the body-in-co-presence. Namely, idiomatization of bodily action is an activity that aims to throw light on the indefinite intentions or responsibilities of the actor by directly introducing styles of bodily engagement into the discourse, while behavioral excuse attempts to assume that there was neither intention nor responsibility from the beginning, by narrowing down to the minimum level the directionality which ceaselessly radiates from the body toward others. This contrast demonstrates that the body in co-presence will emerge or be treated in opposing ways, according to the context of the interaction. In other words, man's experience of living bodily co-existence can have very different aspects.

The argument in this section might have provided a misleading image of too self-conscious interactants who are always eager to manipulate the other's impression, by cunningly controlling their own bodily actions. Or one may criticize it for lumping widely different behaviors together under the same heading of 'behavioral excuse': they range from very simple and seemingly unintentional actions such as auto-contact to highly organized and co-operative behavior such as lighting another's cigarette. Above all, this argument remains open to the criticism that the concept of 'natural appearance' has not been fully explicated but only substituted for by the directionality of the body. Thus, in the remaining part of this section, I shall examine another example which will illustrate all of these difficulties, and discuss a prospect for overcoming them.

This example is a video-taped record, the duration of which is about 60 min, of a conversation among five female Japanese university students at the lodgings of one of them. All participants were very relaxed, sitting around a *kotatsu* (table with a foot warmer), talking cheerfully with one another, drinking whisky, and eating snacks. However, there arose intermittently several occasions of silence of all the participants, i.e., the 'gap' which refers to the silence between different speech turns [GOODWIN 1981], especially when a 'stage' of the conversation or discussion which dealt with a specific topic had just been completed. The longest duration of gaps observed was about half a minute. The behavioral sequence of

- 
- 12) A primatologist has described his attempt to cover his body with 'harmless' appearance in the presence of chimpanzees [NISHIDA 1973]. When the wild chimpanzees showed the sign of alarm at his approach, he used to pick or manipulate the leaves of a tree, thus pretending to be attracted by the plant rather than by the chimpanzees. I was so impressed with this episode that, when I was observing the hybrid baboons in Ethiopia, I also adopted the same tactics. I discovered that this practice was accompanied by a secondary effect. When an adult male baboon stared at me to show a threatening facial expression, I would avert my eyes from him and begin to eagerly pick the leaves. At this moment I would lose the chance to monitor the fiercely attacking sign of the male baboon. Thus the secondary effect of pretending to be attracted by another object is to escape from the reality. In other words, by means of this practice, my body has become not only 'harmless' but also 'defenseless.'

the 'hostess' (H), who was the tenant in these lodgings, and who had invited the other four students, observed during this half a minute deserves special attention.

#### Case 6

(Figures below represent the duration in seconds which has elapsed since the beginning of the gap.)

0" H finishes her utterance turn and began to eat snacks [beginning of the gap].

1"-3" H continued to eat.

4"-6" H shook her head vertically in time to the music while eating.

7"-19" H continued to eat.

20" H stopped eating and raised her glass.

21"-22" H sipped her whisky with a noise.

23" H put the glass on the table.

24" H sniffled briefly rubbing her nose.

25" H lowered her head to look into a glass on the table belonging to A who was sitting at the table to the right of H.

26" H stretched her hand to raise A's glass, murmuring something.

27" A immediately uttered, "A, onegaishimasu" (Oh, please) [end of the gap].

28"-30" H started to get some ice for A's empty glass, while uttering, "Un, tsukurou, shouganai" (Yes, I'll make, I cannot help it).

Thus, during this relatively long silence, H was successively involved in quite different activities, i.e., eating, shaking her head rhythmically in time to music, drinking, rubbing her nose and sniffing, looking into another's glass, and stretching her arm to the glass. I have assumed that H felt that she was most responsible for overcoming this silence because of her social position as the 'hostess.' As we have no means to identify the internal process of the actor at least in natural settings, it is unfruitful to become lost in conjecture about what motivated the actor to behave in such-and-such a way. The least we can claim is that some outstanding features of the bodily phenomenon must be closely correlated with the particular nature of the context and the relationships. Here, the outstanding feature is that H's body most keenly responded to the peculiar context of the encounter, i.e., the long silence arising within the smooth flow of conversation. Furthermore, most attention should be paid to the fact that various kinds of bodily activity were organized into successive movements of the body within this peculiar context. Thus, this reinforces my point that different kinds of behavior can be well characterized as 'excuse.'

Although the activities in which H was involved were quite diversified, all of them share a common feature: self-sufficiency. As far as the directionality of the body is not projected to the others, but only to the objects in the surroundings or to itself, then the body can be regarded as being involved in essentially self-sufficient activity—but, this is only a paraphrase of the previous argument. I have to add to the argument another point: that the self-sufficiency of bodily activity is closely correlated with the 'natural use of the body.' In so far as H is involved in eating, drinking, rhythmically shaking her head in time of music, everyone would admit that her use of her own body is very natural. It is a matter of course that natural use of the

body is grounded, as well as on the biological facticity, on the socio-cultural consensus which in turn depends on the specific context of the respective social occasions. This argument seems to be very tautological, but I am not claiming that the question of 'what is natural?' should be finally reduced to the problem of socio-cultural context. Rather, I would like to emphasize that the consensus about the natural use of the body provides the reasons for bodily *movement* itself.

It is tempting to apply the concept of 'given off' information [GOFFMAN 1959] to the characterization of behavioral excuse, or to specify the content of information which is transmitted by it into some linguistic message, e.g., "I'm not at all noticing that this is an awkward moment or that there has arisen some discrepancy among us." However, this kind of formalization is too simple for understanding the intrinsically ambiguous nature of bodily experience. A more fruitful approach is to delineate how the interactants will try to seek immediate reasons for the body to move, or to find materials, the management of which necessarily requires some movement of the body.

Due to our profound ability to use language, we can never help living in a quite articulate world. When we idiomatize our own bodily action, the body itself becomes more and more articulate and charged with indices of attributes, symptoms of relationship, or proofs of intention and responsibility. But when we go through the interactive process, we have to encounter every kind of discrepancy which inevitably arises between our subjective projects of articulating the world. Especially when inter-subjective co-operation in supporting the common definition of a situation cannot be sustained, we will find ourselves having nothing to do. But even at this moment, we can at least move some parts of our body in accordance with its natural use. Here, our body recovers its original inarticulation, being exempted from any social responsibility.

## THE BODY RITUALIZED

For any consideration of the interactive aspects of the body in co-presence, the problem of rituality is the most critical one, and, furthermore, the most relevant to the more orthodox disciplines of cultural anthropology. In our everyday life, we often feel some aspect of the bodily action to be 'ritualistic.' However, it is not easy to distinguish a ritualistic interaction from an ordinary one. Concerning this point, Goffman proposed a pilot definition:

Ritual is a perfunctory, conventionalized act through which an individual portrays his respect and regard for some object of ultimate value to that object of ultimate value or to its stand-in [GOFFMAN 1971: 62].

Similarly, Goffman has set an important distinction between substantive and ceremonial rules:

A substantive rule is one which guides conduct in regard to matters felt to have significance in their own right, apart from what the infraction or maintenance of the rule expresses about the selves of the persons involved... A ceremonial rule is one which guides conduct in matters felt to have secondary or even no significance in their own right, having their primary importance—officially anyway—as a conventionalized means of communication by which the individual expresses his character or conveys his appreciation of the other participants in the situation [GOFFMAN 1967: 53–54].

Though these definitions by Goffman are enlightening enough, his book, *Interaction Ritual*, seems to have reduced the problem of rituality to the more partial problem of expression of regard and respect. In the discussion session of the international symposium from which the present volume originated, Yamaguchi Masao excellently redefined the rituality of everyday behavior. Among the several criteria which he proposed, the conceptual framework of 'reorganization of identity' is of especial importance. However, it should be also admitted that the repertoire of our everyday interactions includes perfunctory actions which are, in spite of their obviously ritualistic components, too simple and require too little emotional investment by the actor to be defined with the above framework, e.g., handshaking among Americans [SCHIFFRIN 1974] or bowing among Japanese. Thus, without endorsing any single definition of 'interaction ritual,' I shall first enumerate the examples of face-to-face interaction among the San which I feel to be obviously ritualistic, and extrapolate the morphological features of ritualistic interaction from them.

The first example to be examined is the grooming (or picking off of lice) interaction between adult females. In this interaction, the groomer pleasantly brings her face close to the head of the groomee and carefully inspects her hair. The groomee, with closed eyes and a rapt expression, emits sharp fricative sounds made by tongue and teeth, similar to the dental click, as the groomer crushes the lice. This vocal sound is designated as /oe/oe by the San themselves. According to informants, women 'say' /oe/oe because they feel comfortable or appreciate being groomed. More infrequently, the groomer herself 'says' /oe/oe just when she crushes the lice. I observed an impressive episode where an old woman, bending a little backward, 'sang' the /oe/oe finely, as she crushed lice with both hands on her granddaughter's head. Thus the sound of /oe/oe primarily conveys the 'comfortableness' or 'appreciation' of being groomed, and, more broadly, the 'delight of participating in the grooming interaction' for both parties.

As a matter of course, 'saying /oe/oe' has nothing to do with the 'substantive' function of grooming, i.e., to find the lice and crush them. In other words, from the viewpoint of the substantive function, emitting this sound is obviously a superfluous or decorative action. Or, we may claim that its essential function is *expressive*. Namely, we can specify 'saying /oe/oe' as an obviously ritualistic component of the grooming interaction. Furthermore this component has a distinctive pattern which can be readily recognized by both the interactants and bystanders.

Thus, the example of the grooming interaction most evidently illustrates the distinction between the 'substantive' and 'ceremonial' components of interaction, which constitutes the essential point of Goffman's definition [GOFFMAN 1967].

However, such an analysis of "phenotypes" of grooming provides little clue to the problem of genesis: why the San had taken the trouble to add such a ritualistic component to this interaction? As is suggested by the episode of interaction between the old woman and her granddaughter, the girls of the San, from infancy, will hear the sound of /*oe/oe* almost every time they are groomed, so that they will quite naturally internalize this ritualistic component. However, if this component had been internalized as only perfunctory etiquette, it would often be omitted by desultory or lazy participants. It is very probable that some kind of physiological basis unique to this interaction may lie behind the fact that 'saying /*oe/oe*' is almost invariably and quite spontaneously enacted in the daily and repeated occurrence of grooming interaction. Namely, for considering the genesis of this vocal sound, it is of essential importance that picking off lice pleases the groomee so much that the latter can hardly help heaving an involuntary sigh of pleasure. In other words, even though some component seems to be obviously ritualistic, it cannot be regarded as a symbolic sign which has been quite arbitrarily added to the set of substantial components. Moreover, it is also probable that the uniform patterning of interaction in the ritualistic style may be accelerated by the willingness of the interactant to take genuine pleasure in 'nicely' or 'beautifully' enacting the ritualistic component thus established. Speaking in more familiar language, the interactant will care about how "smart" he or she looks as a performer.

Secondly, I shall reconsider the 'ritual whipping,' the role differentiation of which was already analyzed in the second section. As was described, the parent pretends to punish the child, chasing him with a stick raised overhead. A similar pattern of behavior is observed when an adult female attempts to chastise a man who has bantered with her. It is difficult to abstract the ritualistic component from this behavioral pattern, which is distinguishable from the substantive one. Rather, we feel the whole pattern of this interaction to be ritualistic, just because it reminds us of the definition of 'ritualization' in the discipline of animal ethology. The first reason for this association of ideas is that an interactional pattern with the (original?) function of 'punishing the child' is diverted to another context of flirtation between the sexes. Secondly, the final goal of this action is never attained, and instead only the preparatory stages preceding the original goal, i.e., threatening and chasing, are repeatedly enacted in an exaggerated fashion.

However, the 'ritual whipping' includes a more essential component. It is the action of raising a stick overhead itself, which is used for the purpose of attacking the others. The San, whether adult or young, are amused by seeing a toddler hit or kick older persons, and even encourage him to display aggression in such a way. However, this encouragement occurs only when the attacker is far smaller than the attacked, and the former is neither angry nor fretting, but in a good mood. In this 'encouragement of aggression,' the adult often lets the infant take a stick which

has been at hand, instructing and prompting the latter to attack the target (sometimes the prompter him/herself) with it. There will be a smile of satisfaction playing about the lips of the infant, and s/he will confidently raise the stick overhead to thrust at the target who is beginning to let out a joyful scream.

Thus, the repetition of such a harmonious and playful interaction between adult and infant, which is quite an ordinary event for the San, provides the grounds on which the interactional pattern of 'whipping' is developed, and forms the foundation of its rituality. Namely, in this interaction, the body is not experienced as a mere instrument for emitting aggression toward others. Far from that, inserting a 'weapon' such as a stick as a medium of aggression into the 'violence,' which is one of the most remarkable functions for the body to objectify the other's body, the adult San succeeds in inducing the young to ritualize the 'violence' itself. Here, the 'weapon' is not an instrument for effectively damaging the target, but a medium of communication which serves to modify, at the meta level, the revelation of a fundamental potential of the body, i.e., violence, to exert an immediate influence on the other's body.

From the above argument, the following four points can be extracted as the morphological features which distinguish ritual interaction from other kinds of everyday face-to-face interaction: 1) superfluous decorative component, 2) diversion to another context which is relevant to a different function from the original one, 3) amplified enactment of a part of the behavior gestalt which, as a whole, is to aim toward the intrinsic goal, and 4) qualification of the potential of the body by means of some modifier. Whenever any one of these features becomes prominent, or two or more features appear in combination, we will discern some degree of rituality in the given interaction.

However, for a full understanding of the rituality of bodily interaction, this kind of classification of superficial morphologies is far from being satisfactory. It is to be asked why, in a given society, should some kind of interaction be distinguished as ritual one from another kind. Furthermore, this question inevitably leads us to the question of what is being expressed or represented by the ritual interaction. More generally, the question of what is expressed by some 'conventional act,' including ritual interaction, is accompanied with many difficult problems: Who or what can be identified as the subject of expression? Is it either the individual actor him/herself or the pattern of interaction itself which is composed of acts of the interactants cooperating? Or, does the latent rule which produces this pattern convey some message?

In another article which analyzed in some detail the greeting interaction among the San, I argued that the 'theme' of the conventional program which governs face-to-face interactions is closely correlated with the deep structure of the given society. In the context of this paper, this argument is in accordance with the claim that the rule in itself *expresses* some social message. But, in the same article, it was pointed out that such a claim is open to the danger of regarding the individual participant as a kind of robot which automatically acts according to an established program.

Thus, special emphasis was put on the significance of qualitatively describing the variation in the behavioral options of the participant [SUGAWARA 1988]. Since I have not enough space here to retrace in detail the logic of this argument, I would like to call the reader's attention only to the following point. It can safely be admitted that, in highly formalized interactions such as greeting, the participants behave *almost* automatically and they are *half* unaware of the theme of conventional program which directs their manner. However, at the same time each of them is surely the subject who continues to express something in quite an *ad hoc* way. In the case of greeting interaction, it might not be so misleading to broadly designate what is always expressed by the subject, or what s/he believes to be expressed, as 'respect' or 'interest' toward another participant. Or it can also be assumed that in the 'alliance ritual' of grooming interaction the women continue to express intimacy and reliance toward each other.

However, what is expressed by the participant in ritual interaction is not restricted to 'regard' in the broadest sense toward another participant with whom s/he is face to face. In some kinds of ritual interaction, the actor can more explicitly express a specific ideology. Furthermore, if the actor is definitely conscious of the implication of the ideology, then, according to the definition which was given in the first section of this paper, the conventional rules for the ritual interaction infinitely converge to the 'institution.' The following example is suggestive in considering this point.

#### Case 7

An adult man, **SH**, visited the subject camp from the next camp. He was sitting in front of **ST**'s hut and talking with **ST** and another adult male resident, **CH**. **ST**'s son's wife, **na**, poured bathtub beer from a polyethylene container into an enameled bowl filling it to the brim, and offered it to **SH**. **SH** held the bowl with both hands and brought his mouth close to the brim, but, before drinking, he protruded his lips to blow on the surface of the beer. Then he said in a low voice, "Woman's hand is dirty." The 'hostess,' **na**, emitted a sharp click sound "≠ε" and screwed up her mouth in disgust. After **SH** had drunk most of the beer, I asked him, "Why did you blow on the beer?" He answered, "**na**'s hand is dirty, since she is pregnant now." In fact, **na** was near her time of childbirth.

Though, up to that time, I had many times seen the San men blow on their beer before drinking it, I had believed that they did so in order to make it easy to drink by blowing away the scum on the surface of beer. It is very probable that a large proportion of the instances of 'blowing on the beer' which apparently seem to have a substantive effect of 'blowing away the scum' is in fact enacted for the ritualistic purpose of 'blowing away the pollution (*/ori*).' But I have no means to confirm this point, since, unlike **SH**, the San men usually dare not comment on their own action of 'blowing.' In any event, this apparently trivial episode most distinctly throws light on the ideology concerning the difference between males and females, which is fundamental to the social life of the San.

As was argued in the second section, one of the main themes of the conventional program governing face-to-face interactions among the San is to 'put emphasis on the gender difference.' Above all, gender difference is ceaselessly being embodied in the daily manners and behavior of the people or in the half-unconscious enactment of interactive roles. Furthermore, it is often verbalized as the 'male-centric ideology' which is prevalent among not only the Central San but also other San people. Namely, a woman's body is the source of pollution. Female genitalia or menstruation have the potential to destroy the male's prowess as a hunter [MARSHALL 1976]. At night invisible slivers containing evil forces shower down on the camp from the sky and lodge in the women's bodies, from which evil diffuses through the camp, etc. [SILBERBAUER 1981; SUGAWARA 1984]. I have not yet discovered much about how the women themselves think of such 'male-centric ideology' or what attitude they tend to assume toward it. However, as will be described below, the San's 'dancing ritual' offers strong evidence suggesting that the women themselves admit the role differentiation between the sexes, and praise the male's 'power.'

Turning again to Case 7, we can see how well an everyday small interaction, or seemingly unintentional movement of the body, can express the ideology underlying social life. The most important point is that the actor, taking the trouble to give comments on his own action, attempts to amplify the ideological effect which is concomitant with it. No sooner had **SH** blown on his beer than this scene was at a stroke transformed into a new phase which was highly sensible to ideology. Then, declaring that he had blown because the "woman's hand is dirty," **SH** revealed that he was quite conscious of the ideological implications of such a conventional act. This comment by **SH** is in accordance with the attempt to introduce a problematic nature into the context of an encounter by making cross-reference between actual bodily action and body idiom, which was discussed in the previous sections. However, unlike a number of examples analyzed in the fourth section, in this case the 'problematicness' thus introduced is not concerned with the characteristics of the concrete social relationship, but is aimed at an examination of a more abstract proposition, such as the polluting potential of a pregnant woman. It is not accurate to conclude that **SH** acted according to the institution. Though **SH** is acting quite spontaneously, his action is backed up by the institutional norms fundamental to the San's social life, and, conversely, these norms are backed up by his action and similar kind of actions by people.

All of the above arguments have finally led us to a viewpoint from which we can survey a unique domain where the fundamental norms of San social life are condensed into ritualistic expression, and, at the same time, into the very experience of the body. This is the trance dance or so-called 'gemsbok dance' (*h/o:*) [TANAKA 1980]. Concerning the trance dance among the San in general, ethnomusicological analysis is required on the one hand, and the approach of psychosomatic medicine will be valid on the other [cf. KATZ 1982]. However, comprehensive discussion of the trance dance is, of course, beyond the scope of this

chapter. The primary purpose of this chapter has been to make the experience of the body more intelligible by means of microscopic analysis of everyday face-to-face interactions. Along this line, I shall reconstruct the behavioral constitution of the dancing event from the topics of everyday conversations concerning the dancing, so as to examine the relationship between individual bodily experience and institutional norms, especially the contrast between male and female roles expressed in it.

Men hunt animals while women gather plant foods. This is the most basic condition of complementary contrast between male and female roles which forms the basis of socio-economic life of the San. More accurately, gathering is *mainly* carried out by females, while hunting is *exclusively* carried out by males [LEE 1982]. Although the plant food gathered by the women ensures the stable basis of their subsistence, meat is endowed with more value, whether symbolic, social, or nutritional, than the plant food, and is regarded as "true food" [TANAKA 1980]. The special value invested in meat is deeply associated with the admiration of male prowess as a hunter, or, more broadly, masculinity in behavior. The primary motif for the 'gemsbok dance' is also the admiration of 'male power.'<sup>13</sup>

In the gemsbok dance event, which usually begins late in the evening, women sit on the sand in a circle around an open-air fire, clapping and repeatedly singing (frequently in falsetto) monotonous melodies. Men dance around the circle of women, vigorously stamping the earth. The women encourage the men to dance more vigorously by singing more beautifully. If the men begin to perform more rapid and more violent steps in response to women's challenge, then the women begin to sing more loudly and more pathetically. Thus in the event of the gemsbok dance the roles of both sexes have distinctly complementary natures to each other, and the acts of both sexes perfectly feed back to each other so as to gradually ascend up to the climax. When a skillful man succeeds in dancing a long and rapid series of vigorous steps proficiently, the fascinated women one after another stretch their arms to rub his legs with both palms, with which they then rub their own cheeks. This action of the women is described by the San themselves in terms of beautiful metaphors, such as "take a cup to drink a puddle." Probably what is called by the

13) The gemsbok (*Oryx gazella*) is the most primary of the large game hunted by the San. Tanaka has estimated that this species is more frequently hunted than the other five species of large game in the Central Kalahari, i.e., giraffe, eland, kudu, hartebeest, and wildebeest [TANAKA 1980: 68]. Thus, it is supposed that the healing dance has been named after the representative status of the gemsbok as game. On the other hand, the admiration for female fertility is represented by the 'eland dance' (*gyû*). When a girl experiences her first menstruation, all of the female residents and the girl's female kin and acquaintances from the neighboring camps gather to dance in the celebration of "the birth of a new woman" [TANAKA 1980]. Tanaka interprets the name of this dance as follows: "The figure of the eland, the fleshiest of the animals of the Kalahari, represents to the San the ideal female body type; its abundant haunches are symbolic of fertility and easy delivery. Only the women participate in this ceremony: the men are not permitted to come near" [TANAKA 1980: 102].

San 'puddle' (!*koyo*) may be synonymous with the 'animation' or 'vigor' radiated from the male body. It sometimes happens that an old woman in ecstasy wets her pants. All these are undoubtedly experiences of the body.

Thus the dancing event of the San is a unique occasion from which they derive irreplaceable amusement. Moreover, at the same time it is an occasion where religious curing is carried out. One who is suffering from a bad physical condition will ask a man recognized as a good dancer (healer) to cure him/her by means of the gemsbok dance. For example, I collected a sample of gossip that a man obtained a considerable reward from the kinsmen of an old man for dance-curing him of a serious illness, but the sick man finally died after the healer had 'eaten up' the reward. A young man referred to this gossip while he was criticizing his mother for her requesting the execution of a curing dance from the same healer (for details see [SUGAWARA n.d.]). Both the dance and the healing of the sick are called by the same word, *t/i:* in the G/wi language. Actually, however, the word *t/i:* is very difficult to translate into English. 'Singing and dancing' is designated as *t/i:sa n//áe ya íya*, which literally means to 'sing and dance (or stamp) the *t/i:*.' Moreover, making magical medicine or cursing is sometimes designated by the same word. Thus this word has a broader meaning than just dancing, and probably extends to the exerting of any kind of supernatural power.

Even this brief sketch will allow us to conclude that both the fundamental institutional norms and cultural values of the San are condensed into the arrangement of the dance event. If ritual can be defined as an occasion which symbolically expresses the cosmology and the essential features of the given society, then the gemsbok dance of the San is a ritualistic event in this sense of the word. Therefore it can be expected that the participation structure in the ritual world, such as dancing, is highly standardized by the institutional norms. Namely, we should expect that the San women will no more play the role of dancer, or that of healer, in the gemsbok dance, than they can ever participate in the hunting activity, simply because they are born female.

However, in fact, this expectation is not at all true. It is not rare that an excited woman stands up to join in the circle of male dancers, and, if such is the case, she is never restrained by the other participants from performing in an *ad lib* fashion. Furthermore, my informants cited the names of recognized dance-healers, which included a few of their female acquaintances. It has to be admitted, of course, that during the dance event the males far more frequently get into the state of trance, which provides them with the power to cure, than do the females. Probably only a few women might be recognized as good healers both by themselves and by others. However, in an article on the healing dance among the !Kung San, Richard Katz estimates that about one-third of the !Kung women have the ability to get into the trance, i.e., the potential to cure the sick [KATZ 1976].

It might not be an exaggeration to claim that the trance dance constitutes the essence of the cultural identity of the San, as has been pointed out by a number of researchers [KATZ 1982; GUENTHER 1985]. However, among the Central San,

the norm regulating participation in the gemsbok dance, which is the most central to their ritual world, is far from strict. More than half of my adult male acquaintances show little interest in participating in the gemsbok dance. The informants gave me only banal answers to my question of why someone does not participate in dancing: "He cannot dance," "He doesn't know how to dance," or "He was good at dancing in his youth, but now he is old and doesn't dance anymore." Thus there is little social pressure to prompt an individual to participate in the gemsbok dance. Furthermore, the progress of a dance event completely depends on the spontaneous 'ride' of each participant. (Here the term 'ride' is literal translation of the Japanese *nori*, to which Kitamura Koji pays special attention in his paper in this volume, and the meaning of which is defined as the elated state of a person drawn into the activity of another.) Even when a number of people gather to sing and dance, it sometimes happens that neither the men nor the women can 'ride' so well in each other's performance due to some unknown reasons. If this is the case, the dance event will cease very early at night. Thus, though the gemsbok dance has the potential to arouse quite a deep enthusiasm in the participants, it lacks any device for forcefully inducing the people to fall into this enthusiasm.

This point is of fundamental importance for an understanding of the institutionalization of the styles of the body-in-co-presence in the San society. In the overall arrangement of the dance event, the San are faced with an ideology concerning the difference between male and female roles, and they commit themselves to it. But they do so not because they are, like the man who blows on his beer, simply eager to reinforce the ideology itself. They dance and sing primarily because they take pleasure from doing so. They do not mold their pleasure upon a demand for ideological consistency, any more than they try to sophisticate the ritual by adding to it arbitrary symbols which have no basis in the sensations of the body.

For a long time, hunting-gathering societies, with a few exceptions such as the Australian Aborigines, were characterized by their *undevelopedness* in different socio-cultural spheres, such as religion, ritual, law, and institution. At best, some researchers quite sympathetic toward the hunting-gathering culture have put special emphasis on the social attitude of 'informality' or 'anti-authoritarianism,' in contrast to agriculturalists [TURNBULL 1961]. Others, endeavoring to elucidate the egalitarian principles, have been fascinated with the modest and generous character of the hunters/gatherers or with their abhorrence of arrogance or of stinginess [LEE 1979]. However, most anthropologists have failed to ground these characteristics on the most fundamental basis of the social world, that is, the face-to-face interaction or the experience of the body in co-presence. From the viewpoint which has been elaborated in this paper, most of the characteristics of the hunting-gathering societies which have been regarded as signs of an undeveloped or primitive socio-cultural system are only a negative indication of the essential features of the interactional basis of the society, which ensure the maximum of spontaneity, flexibility, and variety in the function of the body-in-co-presence.

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