

There is then a growing similarity of patient and therapist behavior over time with respect to these three areas. Hypotheses were then formulated to account for this increase in similarity. Since the increase in similarity might be due to a change brought about by one or both of the participants, the data was analyzed to determine to which participant, patient or therapist, it could be attributed.

A participant may contribute to growing similarity of behavior during the session by responding with a proposition similar in kind to the one introduced by the other participant. The results suggested that for primary system communication, both therapist and patient are responsible for increased similarity. With regard to evaluative propositions, it was the patient who was more responsive throughout. There is, however, no increase in the responsiveness of either patient or therapist over time. With regard to affective references, two of the therapists (the two more active ones) and their patients show an increase in sensitivity.

A trend toward similarity is one type of interdependence noted between therapist and patient communications. It was to the specification of such phenomena that we referred, when we mentioned as our purpose the identification of latent social processes not within the awareness of the participants in a therapeutic system.

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Lorna Marshall

SHARING, TALKING AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG !KUNG BUSHMEN

This paper describes customs practiced by the !Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the !Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.¹

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae !Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,² does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The !Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle

¹ This description of the !Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the !Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

² Lorna Marshall, "!Kung Bushman Band Organization", *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4 (Oct. 1960).

across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to the group, free from hostility or rejection.

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. !Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠ Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a when she was sick. When !U had a baby, her sister Di'ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Khan, falls down and do not help him up. !U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠ Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died.

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The deadly poisoned arrows are always at hand. Men have killed each other with them in quarrels – though rarely – and the !Kung fear fighting with a conscious and active fear. They speak about it often. Any expression of discord ("bad words") makes them uneasy. Their desire to avoid both hostility and rejection leads them to conform in high degree to the unspoken social law. If they do deviate they usually yield readily to expressed group opinion and reform their ways. I think that most !Kung cannot bear the sense of rejection which even mild disapproval makes them feel. They also conform strictly to certain specific useful customs which are like instruments for avoiding discord.

TALKING AND "TALKS"

I mention talking as an aid to peaceful social relations because it is so very much a part of the daily experience of the !Kung and, I believe, usefully serves three particular functions. It keeps up good open communication among the members of the band; through its constantly flowing expression it is a salutary outlet for emotions; and it serves as the principal sanction in social discipline. Songs are also used for social discipline. The !Kung say that a song composed specifically about someone's behaviour and sung to express disapproval, perhaps from the deepest shadow of the werf at night, is a very effective means of bringing

people who deviate back into the pattern of approved behaviour. Nevertheless, during our observations, songs were not used as much as talking. If people disapprove of an individual's behaviour, they may criticize him or her directly, usually putting a question, "Why do you do that?" or they may gossip a bit or make oblique hints. In the more intense instances "a talk" may ensue.

The !Kung are the most loquacious people I know. Conversation in a !Kung werf is a constant sound like the sound of a brook, and as low and lapping, except for shrieks of laughter. People cluster together in little groups during the day, talking, perhaps making artifacts at the same time. At night families talk late by their fires, or visit at other families fires with their children between their knees or in their arms if the wind is cold.

There always seems to be plenty to talk about. People tell about events with much detail and repetition and discuss the comings and goings of their relatives and friends and make plans. Their greatest preoccupation and the subject they talk about most often, I think, is food. The men's imaginations turn to hunting. They converse musingly, as though enjoying a sort of day-dream together, about past hunts, telling over and over where game was found and who killed it. They wonder where the game is at present and say what fat bucks they hope to kill. They also plan their next hunts with practicality. Women (who, incidentally, do not talk as much as men) gave me the impression of talking more about who gave or did not give them food and their anxieties about not having food. They spoke to me about women who were remembered for being especially quick and able gatherers, but did not have pleasurable satisfaction in remembering their hot, monotonous, arduous days of digging and picking and trudging home with their heavy loads.

Another frequent subject of conversation is gift-giving. Men and women speak of the persons to whom they have given or propose to give gifts. They express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with what they have received. If someone has delayed unexpectedly long in making a return gift the people discuss this. One man was excused by his friends because his wife, they said, had got things into her hands and made him poor, so that he now had nothing suitable to give. Sometimes, on the other hand, people were blamed for being ungenerous ("far-hearted") or not very capable in managing their lives, and no one defended them for these defects or asked others to have patience with them.

As far as we know, only two general subjects are taboo in conversation. Men and women must not speak openly together of sexual matters except as they make jokes in the joking relationship. The !Kung avoid speaking the names of the gods aloud and do not converse about the gods for fear of attracting their attention and perhaps their displeasure. They

told us their myths, but only when we asked them to. It is evidently not the habit of these Bushmen to recount the myths as they sit by their fires. They do not invent stories. They said they had no interest in hearing things that are not true and wonder why anybody has.

While a person speaks the listeners are in vibrant response, repeating the phrases and interposing a contrapuntal "eh". "Yesterday", "eh", "at Deboragu", "eh", "I saw old /Gaishay". "You saw Old /Gaishay", "eh, eh". "He said he had seen the great python under the bank." "EH!", "The PYTHON!" "He wants us", "eh, eh, eh", "to help him catch it". The "ehs" overlap and coincide with the phrase and the people so often all talk at once that one wonders how anyone knows what the speaker has said.

Bursts of laughter accompany the conversations. Sometimes the !Kung laugh mildly with what I would call a sense of humour about people and events, often they shriek and howl as though laughter were an outlet for tension. They laugh at mishaps that happen to other people, like the lions eating up someone else's meat, and shriek over particularly telling and insulting sexual sallies in the joking relationship. Individual singing of lyrical songs, accompanied by the //guashi, or snatches of the medicine music, the playing of rhythmical games, the ceremonial dances themselves occupy the evenings, as well, but mostly the evening hours are spent in talk.

"A talk", as the !Kung call it, differs from a conversation or an arranged, purposeful discussion. It flares spontaneously, I believe from stress, when something is going on in which people are seriously concerned and in disagreement. I think that no formalities control it. Any one who has something he wants to say joins in. People take sides and express opinions, accusing, denying, or defending persons involved. I witnessed one "talk" only, in 1952, which I mentioned before and should mention again in this context. It occurred over a gift-giving episode at the time of !Nai's betrothal and involved persons in Bands 1 and 2 who were settled near together at the time. Khuan//a, the mother of /Gunda, !Nai's fiancé, had diverted a gift which people thought was making its way to Gao Medicine, the present husband of !Nai's mother. Instead of giving it to him at the time when an exchange of gifts was in order, she gave it to one of her relatives. !Nai's mother's sister, !U, sitting at her own scherm, began "the talk" by letting it be known what she thought of Khuan//a, in a voice loud enough to be heard in the two werfs, a startling contrast to the usual low flow of talk. Di/ai, !Nai's mother, sitting with her shoulder pressed against her sister's, joined in. People in the werfs went to sit at each other's scharms, forming lines

³ Lorna Marshall, "Marriage Among !Kung Bushmen", *Africa*, vol. xxix, no. 1 (Oct. 1959), pp. 352-3.

groups who agreed and supported each other. From where they sat, but not all at once and not in an excited babble, they made their remarks clearly, with quite long pauses between. Some expressed themselves in agreement with !U as she recounted Khuan//a's faults and deviations, past and present. Khuan//a's family and friends, who had moved to sit near her, denied the accusations from time to time, but did not talk as much or as loudly as !U. Khuan//a muttered or was silent. !U said she disapproved of her sister's daughter marrying the son of such a woman, but would reconsider her position if Khuan//a gave the expected gift to Gao Medicine. The talk lasted about twenty minutes. At that point Khuan//a got up and walked away and the "talk" subsided to !U's mutterings and others' low conversation. In a few days Khuan//a gave Gao Medicine a present, not the gift in question, but one which satisfied Gao, and, as they said, "they all started again in peace".

There is a third form of verbal expression which might be called a "about" rather than a "talk", but as far as I know the !Kung have no special name for it. It is a verbal explosion. Fate receives the heat of the remarks in a 'shout'.

We were present on two such occasions, one in 1952, the other in 1953. Both were in response to the burning of scharms. In both instances little children, whose mothers had taken their eyes off them though they were only a few feet away, had picked up burning sticks from the fire, had dropped them on the soft, dry bedding grass in the scharms and, at the first burst of flame, had sensibly run outside unscathed. On the first occasion, the two children, who were about three years old, were frightened and were soothed and comforted by their mothers and other relatives. They were not scolded. On the second occasion, Khuan//a, the two-year-old granddaughter of Old ≠ Toma and !Gam, had set fire to her grandparents' scherm. She was not apparently frightened at all and was found placidly chewing her grandfather's well-toasted sandal. She was not scolded either. What was especially interesting was the behaviour of the Bushmen. On both occasions they rushed to the burning scharms, shouting all at once, in extremely loud, excited voices, volcanic eruptions of words. The men made most of the noise, but the women were also talking excitedly. No one tried to do anything, nor could they, for the scharms burned like the fiery furnace. I asked the interpreters to stand close to one person at a time and try to hear what he said. People were telling where they had been when the fire started, why they had not got there sooner. They shouted that mothers should not take their eyes off their children, that the children might have been burned. They lamented the objects which had been destroyed – all in the greatest din I have ever heard humans produce out of themselves. It went on for about eight or ten minutes in bursts, then tapered off for another ten. While Old

≠ Toma's scherm was burning, he and his wife, !Gam, the great maker of beads, sat on one side weeping. After the shouting had subsided, a dozen or more people set about looking for Old ≠ Toma's knife blade and arrow points and picking up what beads they could find for !Gam in the cooling ashes. The two instances of "shouts" provided examples of the vehemence which vocal expression can have and vividly illustrated the !Kung way of venting emotion in words.

There is still another kind of talk, not conversation, which I consider to be an outlet for tension and anxiety. We happened to hear it only in relation to anxiety about food and do not know if other concerns sometimes find expression in this way. It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠ Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠ Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on.

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the !Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

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Martin Joos

THE ISOLATION OF STYLES

This paper starts out from certain speech phenomena which have usually been named under two separate headings, and undertakes to unify them as far as possible by treating one of them as the independent variable or "cause", the other as the dependent variable or "effect" in popular terminology. The independent variable has been called "levels of usage" and the like; I call it "style". The dependent variable will be a large fraction of that variability which has been called "free variation" and "free alternation", including even "free" grammatical and lexical choices. The labeling as "independent" and "dependent" is from the viewpoint of the speaker; for the listener, of course, the resultant speech phenomena are stimuli from which he derives the "style" categories that governed the speaker. Switching from the speaker's to the listener's viewpoint then would seem to reverse the labels "independent" and "dependent", "cause" and "effect", between the two correlated categories. But for clarity in discussion it is expedient to adopt one of the two viewpoints as our standard; and the choice here is moreover clearly forced if we desire to prepare for further discussion from the "Transformation" standpoint which is becoming current today: then the speaker's viewpoint is the dominant one, and the listener's task is regarded as one of reconstruction, by trial and error, to match what the speaker presumably did straightforwardly.

The terms "free variation" and "free alternation" have been misunderstood by taking the word "free" in the sense that it has in the romantic theory of "free will". Actually, the word "free" is used in linguistics to mean merely "not yet accounted for". It is the technical label for what-over clearly does not need to be accounted for during the current opera-