Hierarchy and Equivalence in Jaffna, North Sri Lanka: Normative Codes as Mediator

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1: *Introduction*

In a Jai myth, a boy is stranded in a treetop (Lévi-Strauss 1970). In a Hidatsa myth, an eagle, swooping down after a bloody bait, is caught in midair by a hunter who rises from a subterranean trap (Lévi-Strauss 1966). A structure common to these two myths is the resolution of the separation between heaven and earth. The boy and the hunter ascend and the eagle descends to the middle air; middle air mediates heaven and earth.

The hiatus, frequently found in explanations of human action, between analysts who emphasize structures of thought and analysts who stress hard facts of control of power and resources, is certainly present in anthropological studies of South Asia. After a spirited exchange between Dumont and Bailey, proponents of the two schools, Bailey finally proposed that their differences might lie beyond the pale of academic discourse (Bailey 1959:88).

Must this analytic opposition of structuralism and structural-functionalism remain unresolved? A mediator, as used in the mythic analysis above, means a symbol which has attributes of each of a pair of contraries. Heaven and earth are mutually exclusive but the middle air is part of both. Structures of thought and patterns of behavior, the subjects of structuralist and structural-functional analyses, are mutually exclusive. But cultural norms, codes for conduct in a society, epistemologically mediate these contraries.

Cultural norms are form to the content of behavior, structuring, for actors, the complexities of social happenings. And cultural norms are content with respect to the form of thought structures such as the opposition purity/impurity, since such features of thought are the con-

ceptual foci structuring the interconnected systems of normative symbols which I call normative schemata (see section 8). Thus I contend that normative analysis, like the middle air, mediates the stratosphere of structuralist analysis and on-the-ground behavioral analysis.

As a vehicle for this theoretical issue, I address the substantive question of unity versus diversity in rural South Asia. Of the numerous authors who have characterized Hindu civilization in terms of unity and diversity, Dumont, a structuralist, and Karve, a behavioral positivist, stand near the end points of the continuum. Unity, to Dumont, derives from the principle of hierarchy which encompasses Hindu society by pervading many contexts of human action[1] and providing a general structure of action which can be modified only by the encompassed nonideological features of power and wealth (Dumont and Pocock 1957a; Dumont 1966a:28). To Karve, diversity derives from the syncretistic process of societal formation: individual caste cultures and mores become aggregated into village confederations. The unique identities of a plurality of castes resist the integrating effect of the Great Traditional heritage, the principles of hierarchy, pollution, and *karma*. Compared with intense intercaste interaction, interdependence among castes is "tangential and peripheral" (Karve 1961:16). Normative analysis, a level of analysis treated tangentially by both Dumont and Karve, helps clarify an important aspect of the unity/diversity question. In the three parts of this paper, I ask the question: is there unity/diversity in symbolic and normative orientations at the level of the caste, at the level of intercaste interrelations, and at the level of man/god relations?

Part I rejects certain aspects of Karve's diversity model. It is clear that different castes have different versions of pan-Indian principles; e.g. in the Uttar Pradesh untouchable's interpretation of *karma*, retribution for wrong action occurs in the present life, rather than influencing the state of future reincarnations as in classic exegesis (Kolenda 1964). Castes do not, however, have idiosyncratic cultures, for there exists a regular paradigm of defining features of caste identity. Individual caste categories are defined as a symbolism of sharing: shared natural substance within each caste, caste occupation, caste cattle brands, and caste origin myths. The common symbolism which defines the diverse caste identities implies a certain uniformity in diversity.

[1] Marriott (1969:1166), reviewing Dumont's notion of hierarchy in the latter's book (Dumont 1966a), notes that

> [Hierarchy] expresses itself positively in the existence of a caste system, in rules of contact and food, in a ritualized division of labor, in ranked structures of marriage, and so on, and negatively in the opposed ideas of the world renouncing Hindu sects.

Part II is more inclusive than Part I since it considers normative codes for intercaste conduct. Contrary, that is, hierarchical and nonhierarchical, codes coexist in Jaffna, north Sri Lanka. These variations in normative structure, which correspond to variations in actual patterns of intercaste behavior, indicate that neither Karve's diversity model nor Dumont's unity model is strictly applicable in this context; instead, there are diverse unities of normative orientations.

Part III moves to a still more inclusive set of relations, namely those between man and god. An analysis of ritual relations in Jaffna shows how diversity of normative orientations resolves to unity. The opposition of hierarchic/nonhierarchic normative codes present on the level of relations between castes is neutralized on the level of relations between man and god; only the hierarchic norms appear. Thus, an unmarked/marked category model from structural linguistics (Greenberg 1966) is used to explain the structuring of contrary normative schemata within the traditional order.

In Part IV I summarize the substantive question of unity/diversity in symbolic and normative orientations. Then I return to the theoretical question posed at the beginning. Using Piaget's notion of the nesting of form and content (Piaget 1970), I show first, that norms structure patterns of behavior, from the analyst's viewpoint, in that norms are an indigenous, fictional representation of reality; and second, that norms are themselves structured, again from the analyst's viewpoint in that deep structures of thought are conceptual foci for systems of norms. Explicit norms (those consciously used by natives) mediate implicit structures of thought (those formulated by the analyst) and patterns of behavior observable both by natives and by the analyst. So normative analysis is said to mediate the opposition of structuralist/structural-functional analyses, an opposition which yields such disparate substantive generalizations as in the unity/diversity problem.

I: DEFINING FEATURES OF CASTE: THE ORDERING OF DIVERSITY

The Jaffna peninsula is the northernmost area in Sri Lanka. Except for Sinhalese members of the administrative, banking, police, and military corps, the 612,000 residents are Tamil-speaking Hindus. As in Geertz's (1959) study of Bali, there is no standard village spatial organization; space in agricultural, fishing, and artisan villages is organized differently according to the differential orientations of the inhabitants to the principles of purity/pollution, commanding/being commanded, and mercantile enterprise (David 1974b).

Present inhabitants recognize twenty-four named, endogamous caste

(*cāti*; Sanskrit *jāti*) categories in Jaffna.[2] This hierarchical social differentiation is coded by a symbolism of sharing; each caste category is defined by four attributes: shared natural substance, shared traditional occupation, shared cattle brands, and shared origin myth. That this paradigm of identity symbols is common to all castes denies Karve's assertion that caste cultures resist the integrating effect of the wider culture.

2: *Shared Natural Substance: Blood and Spirit*

"Why is it that heroes in the Mahabharata or in the Skanda purana could be shot full of arrows and yet not die at once?" a village theologian asked me. "I shall tell you," he said immediately:

> In the golden age of the Krita Yuga, the animating spirit (*uyir*) resided in the marrow. In the silver age of the Dvapara Yuga, the spirit resided in the bones. This was the age of the great battles recorded in the puranas. Arrows would not reach the bones. Therefore, the heroes would not die from that cause alone. In the bronze age of the Treta Yuga, the spirit resided in the flesh. In the iron age of the Kali Yuga, the spirit resides in the blood.

Villagers quite unfamiliar with this elegant schema are, nevertheless, quite aware of the connection between blood and spirit. The spirit resides in the blood. Since all members of a caste share the same origin myth and thus the same ancestor, they all distantly share the same blood, the same natural substance, and the same spirit.[3]

In the indigenous theory, blood-and-spirit is a hierarchical concept. A caste's blood-and-spirit is either good (*nālla*) or bad (*kutāta*), high (*mēle*) or low (*kīre*). Note that the classificatory term for high castes (*uyirnda cātihul*) derives from the term for spirit (*uyir*). Since each caste is considered to have a unique level (*patinilai*) of blood purity/impurity (*cuttam/tiṭṭu*) relative to every other caste, natural substance is a defining feature of caste identity.

3: *Substantial Sharing of Traditional Caste Occupation*

At first glance, the traditional occupations identified with castes appear to be codes for conduct rather than defining features of caste

[2] See Table 2 for a list of castes and their traditional occupations. Transliteration follows the *Tamiḷ lexicon* (1936) conventions.

[3] There are grades of purity within each caste. But there are also more specific origin myths of a quasi-historical nature, those related to various migrations to Sri Lanka from India.

identity. Jobs are, after all, learned by the individual. This outside, objective viewpoint misses the villagers' representation of the learning process. Learning any traditional occupation, be it that of priest, fisherman, or devil dancer, requires initiation. Initiations are formal only for spiritual roles, but any initiatory learning demands an inner sympathy between teacher and student to further the required inner propensity of the student to cut through his or her ignorance and participate in the knowledge of the teacher. The propensity to perform the caste occupation is held to be substantially transmitted from parents to children;[4] parents are considered the best teachers of the caste occupation because they share natural substance with the child. Similarly, since the spiritual master (*kuru*) does not share natural substance with the spiritual pupil (*sisya*), mantras which unite their bodies must be said before the *kuru* can cut the ignorance of the *sisya*. In cultural analysis, caste occupations are more than standard patterns of social relations, more that diacritical markers; since they relate directly to the caste's shared natural substance, they are a feature defining inclusion in or exclusion from caste categories.

4: *Caste Cattle Brands*

If the above argument is accepted, caste cattle brands also are defining features of caste identity since these are iconic symbols of the caste's traditional occupations. As depicted in Figure 1, Brahmin priests brand their cattle with a trident (*sulam*), a symbol of Siva. Saiva Chettiyar, traders and moneylenders, use a moneybag with a long string. Vellāḷar cultivators have a two-leaved lotus (*ērilaitamaraī*); the stems of the two leaves join in a circle in which the man's initial is branded. Fishermen/traders use a crescent-shaped boat (*toni*) with a rudder; Cantar oilpressers and -mongers have an oilmill (*chekku*); washermen use a bundle of clothes (*pottali*); barbers have a shaving knife (*savarakaṭṭī*); Paḷḷar agricultural workers use a double yoke for bulls; Nalavar toddy tappers use a climbing strap (*taḷarār*), which is looped behind the tree and around both feet, as their brand; and Koviar herders use an inverted omega sign which resembles a bull's horns.

[4] The notion of aptitude for behavior transmitted in natural substance appeared in a questionnaire administered to a high non-Brahmin caste in Madras City. Most older respondents stated they would be able to identify a Paraiyar untouchable by caste-bound etiquette even if he had been brought up for the first twenty-one years by high-caste parents (Barnett 1972).

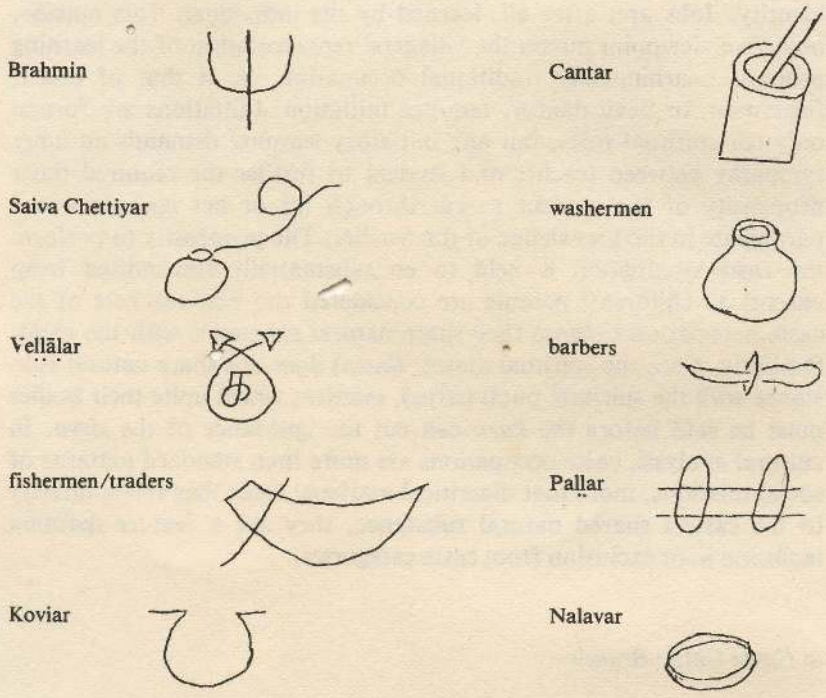

Figure 1: Caste cattle brands (*kuripatti*)

5: *Caste Origin Myths*

Various origin myths must be presented in some detail (each myth is the translation of an entire text) since these documents of self-definition are the data I will use to show the differential commitment of the different castes to the three normative schemata, the priestly, the aristocratic, and the mercantile, which I outline in part II. In that section no clear classification of the myths is given because, in most myths, references are made to more than one schema's normative symbols. To foreshadow the exegesis in part II, some myths have action referring to norms of the priestly and the aristocratic schemata, other myths refer to the priestly and the mercantile schemata, but no myth refers to all three; this pattern of pairing denotes a dichotomy of hierarchic/nonhierarchic value orientations.

5.1: BRAHMIN MYTHS

Origin Myth. Brahmins relate various versions of the birth of 48,000 *ṛsis* [seers] from the face of Brahma, the god of creation. Each of

these *ṛsis* was the progenitor of a *kotiram* (Sanskrit *gotra*). The myth focuses on a feature of kinship distinguishing Brahmins from all other castes, exogamous *kotirams*.

Emigration Myth. A Cola princess named Marutappiravikavalli was endowed with a horse's face. She heard of the healing properties of the spring at Keerimalai on the north coast of the Jaffna peninsula, two miles west of Kankesanturai, and when she bathed in its waters, her face became human and beautiful. The name of her campsite, Kōvil Kadavai, was changed to Maviddapuram (*ma* [horse], *vidda* [left off], *puram* [city]) in memory of the event. She asked her father, King Tisai Yukkira Colam, to build a Kandasamy (Murukan, Subramaniyam) temple at Maviddapuram. It was built according to Agamic scriptures by a famed architect from Maturai. But the king could not persuade Brahmins to cross the sea (that is, the Palk Strait). They felt they would lose caste if they did so. The chief Brahmin, Periyamanath Tullar, fasted and saw a vision which incited him to go to Maviddapuram: as the narrow strait could be crossed in several hours, the Brahmins would not lose caste, because they could perform their morning *pūjā* on Indian soil and the evening *pūjā* in Sri Lanka. This marked the entry of Brahmins into Sri Lanka.

5.2: VEḶḶĀḶAR [LANDOWNER] ORIGIN MYTH. Although many Veḷḷāḷar, the dominant landowning caste, were asked to relate their origin myth, I was unable to elicit anything more explicit than the myth recorded by Arunachalam (1964):

> A branch of Veḷḷāḷas, the old ruling caste of Tamiḷ land, claimed to have received grain and instruction on its cultivation from the Earth Goddess, Parvathi, hence Veḷḷāḷas were called *pillais* [children of Parvathi]; kings also drove the plow.

Veḷḷāḷars would elaborate by saying that they were both the creators of life (in that they created food) and the rulers of the land.

5.3: KAMMALAN [ARTISAN] MYTHS

Origin Myth. One day Sivaperumal was leaving Kailas mountain in the company of the artisan of the gods, Visvabrahma. Siva became angry when his consort, Umatevi, bowed to Visvabrahma but not to him. Fire flashed from his *neṭṭi kaṇ* [third eye] and the five-headed Kammalan was born. Later, Siva sent Viravar with a sword to cut off the heads of the Kammalan. Brahma, the five-headed god, was accidentally struck by Viravar and lost one of his heads. Kammalan took the sword of Viravar and separated himself into five bodies, each with a

head. The five men are the ancestral carpenter, blacksmith, brass-worker, sculptor, and goldsmith.

Inspiration Myth. Siva and Kamacciamma were renowned dancers. Kamacciamma, full of pride, boasted about her ability. When word of her egoism (*ahamkaram*) reached Siva, he arranged a dancing contest. Siva and Kamacciamma danced superbly for a while. None of the gods could decide which was the better dancer. Siva assumed the Nataraja pose, with his leg raised in the air. As soon as Kamacciamma imitated this pose, Parvatiamma, Siva's consort, protested that Kamacciamma had lost, since it is immodest for a woman to raise her leg while dancing. When the other gods agreed, Kamacciamma became furious. She caused a fire to break out which threatened to destroy all the created (manifested) universe.

Siva and all the gods were helpless until Visvabrahma, the artisan of the gods, conceived a plan. He made a pair of tongs out of Brahma, Visnu, and (U)rudra. Brahma and Visnu became the two handles and (U)rudra became the connecting pin. With these divine tongs, Visvabrahma seized Kamacciamma by the neck and subdued her.

When she became calm, it was decided that she should turn her power (*śakti*) to the service of man. She would aid the five descendants of Visvabrahma (the goldsmith, the stonesmith, the coppersmith, the carpenter, and the blacksmith) in their work. As a living sign of her aid, she is present in the fire of the blacksmith's forge.

5.4: KARAIYAR [FISHERMAN] MYTHS: THE KURUKULAM

Origin Myth. A celestial nymph (*apsara*) was flying over the sea. An ovary (*vintu*) dropped from her into the water. A fish swallowed the ovary, and a child was born to the fish. The child came to shore, where she was found and raised by Karaiyar fishermen. As she smelled of fish, she was called Matchakanti [fish smell]. The girl grew up and took the trade of her foster parents, who were ferrymen.

One day Pararajasekaram *munivar*, a Brahmin *kuru*, was ferried across the river by Matchakanti. The *munivar* realized that if he copulated with her at that moment, a great *kuru* would be born. She consented to his astrological persuasions, but her smell repulsed him. Before uniting with her, the *munivar* sang a mantra which changed her into the sweet-smelling one, Paramalakanti. The son born to her was Viyāsar (the author of the Mahabharata). As both Pararajasekaram and Viyāsar were *kurus*, their descendants were called the Kuru clan, or Kurukulam.

The sweet-smelling Paramalakanti attracted the attention of King Santanu; they married and had three sons. The sons married but had

no children. After Santanu died, Paramalakanti wanted the royal line to continue and asked the fierce-looking, bearded Viyāsar to sleep with his stepbrothers' wives, the princesses. Since the first princess shut her eyes when Viyāsar entered her, her son, Tirutarasyiran, was born blind. Since the second princess was frightened when Viyāsar slept with her, her son, Pantu, was born nervous. The third princess was also afraid of Viyāsar and required her maid to sleep with him. Being a courageous woman, the maid united fearlessly with Viyāsar, and her son, Vituran, was quite bold and healthy. The first son, Tirutarasyiran, had 101 sons named Kaurava, the combatants in the Mahabharata war and the ancestors of the Karāva or Karaiyar.

When I questioned the Karaiyar about the intriguing incident of Viyāsar's affairs with the three fearful princesses and the courageous maid, they responded with another myth:

Unmelting Heart Myth. Kurukulam was the sailor (*patakoti*) and trader (*sampanotti*) for Siva. One day, God (Katavuḷ or Siva), his consort Parvati, and the lesser gods (*tēvarhuḷ*) were walking by a river when Kurukulam, a Karaiyar, passed down the river in his boat. The foremost of the lesser gods asked Kurukulam to take them all into his boat. Kurukulam said he would take only Siva and Parvati. The lesser gods agreed. Kurukulam helped Siva and Parvati into the boat, but then the lesser gods asked Kurukulam to take them also. Kurukulam said he was the servant only of God (*katavuḷukku kaṭṭupāṭu*) and that he would not touch the other gods with the same hands with which he had touched Siva and Parvati. Kurukulam then agreed to bring the boat close to shore and tip it to one side in order that the gods could enter without his touching them. As the gods were thus entering the boat, Siva said, "*Uḷḷamum Karaiyān, Yukattilum Karaiyar*" ["The heart will not melt, in the whole period of creation (*yukam*) it will not melt (or dissolve)"][5] The root of the verb "to dissolve" (*karai*) is exactly the same as the root of the proper name of the Karaiyar people, that is, the people, *ār*, of the shore, *karai* (*Tamiḷ lexicon* 1936:767).

5.5: KAIKULAR [SILK WEAVER] ORIGIN MYTH.[6] At the time of the creation of Murukan, nine virgins became pregnant by the look of Siva after

[5] There are two variants of this myth. In the first, Siva, Parvati, and the other gods are fleeing from the destruction of the evolved universe. Otherwise the myth is no different. In the second, the Karaiyar boast of their superiority over the other two fishing castes in Jaffna. Instead of gods accompanying Siva and Parvati, a Mukkiyar man and a Timilar man are with them. Kurukulam will not touch them after he has helped Siva and Parvati into the boat, etc. In these variants, the refrain remains unchanged: "The heart will not melt, in the whole period of creation it will not melt."

[6] This is straight from the Skanda purana.

Parvati refused his embrace. Amman (Parvati) cursed them and the children were not born for ten years. Finally Siva begged Śakti (Parvati) to allow the children to be born. When she granted her permission, the nine virgins delivered nine children, each with a full head of hair. Later, these nine children, who were called the nine heroes or Nava Vēravan (from *vēran* or *viran* [hero]), assisted Murukan (Skanda) in the battle against the demon Suran. Vērapahu Tevar, the foremost among them, slew Tarakan, the younger brother of Suran. The Senkuntar Mutaliyar (Kaikular) descend from Vērapahu Tevar. In the olden days, the Senkuntar in India were warriors and were given the title Mutaliyar for their bravery.

5.6: KUSAVAR [POTTER] ORIGIN MYTH. A Brahmin was living in the kingdom of Vikkiramattiran in Mysore. He was married to a Brahmin woman. Having calculated that sexual union on a certain day would be astrologically auspicious for the birth of a ruler, he left the village in order not to cohabit with his wife and impregnate her before the proper time. On the appropriate day he was trying to return to his village but found himself stranded on the wrong side of a river in flood. One of the Kusavar ancestors belonging to the Bakttar family (*bakti* [devotional worship]) asked him what he wanted, and the Brahmin explained. The Bakttar replied that it was certainly impossible to cross such a turbulent river and invited the Brahmin to his house. The Bakttar's daughter had attained age and the Bakttar permitted the Brahmin to sleep with her. The Brahmin then went on a pilgrimage to Kāsi (Banaras). The girl became pregnant and bore a son.

This Bakttar made pots for King Vikkiramattiran. When the child was ten years old, he told his grandfather that he should not demean himself by delivering pots to the king. The king's servants should come to the Bakttar's house and take them away.

The child made many elephants, horses, camels, lions, and other animals out of clay. One day he circumambulated the house carrying some of the animals, one of which was a lion, the vehicle of Kali. As soon as he finished the circumambulation, Chamundeswary Kali appeared to the boy in the form of a woman. She gave him a pot of water and a cane and told him that the last days of Vikkiramattiran had come. She told him to sprinkle the water on the clay animals and they would come to life. With these animals and the cane he could fight the king.

The king was angered by the Bakttar's demand that the king's servants fetch the pots. The king and his soldiers fought against the boy with his cane and his animals. The king died in the battle, and the boy began to rule the kingdom. The Kusavar are his descendants. In

the king's palace in Mysore you still find the *cakkaram* [wheel] of the Potter. It is made of gold. In September during the Navarattiri [nine nights] Festival (the north Indian Dashara festival), they turn the golden *cakkaram* while performing the *pūjā* to tools and weapons (*Ayuta pūjā*).

5.7: VANNAR [WASHERMAN] ORIGIN MYTH. Parameswaran (Siva) left the house and was gone so long that Parvati, his consort, became annoyed. She sat inside the house, closed the door, and held it closed with stiffened legs. Siva knocked at the door. No answer. She was strong and had the courage to hold out. To reduce her strength, Siva made her menstruate. Her strength gone, her legs became limp, and Siva was able to enter the house. Parvati asked Siva who was going to wash her clothes. Siva raised his hand and a boy (*podien*) appeared. Parvati told the boy to wash her clothes. The boy told her that washing alone would not suffice; he would have to strike the clothes on a stone. The boy asked Siva for a pond and a stone; Siva raised his hand and a pond and a stone appeared. The boy washed the clothes. The Vannar are the descendants of this boy.

5.8: AMPATTAR [BARBER] ORIGIN MYTH. Barbers came to Jaffna as servants of the warriors. Since they came without their wives, they were given unchaste Vellālar women for their wives. Subsequently these women refused to take food from the leftovers of their husbands in commemoration of their former high position. They are permitted a very intimate duty, delivering to the Vellālar women a razor with which to shave their pubic hair from the time of their marriage until widowhood. But they are ashamed to appear on festive occasions as do the wives of other servants.

5.9: PALLAR [AGRICULTURAL LABORER] ORIGIN MYTH. Pallan and Vellālan, both farmers, were *annan* and *tampi* [older and younger brother]. Pallan had many children; Vellālan had four children. There was a horrible thunderstorm and a cyclone which destroyed Pallan's land, tools, cattle, and crop but left Vellālan's possessions intact. Pallan had no food and had to ask his younger brother for something to eat.

Vellālan felt sorry for his elder brother, but Vellālan's wife was a bad woman. He was afraid of her. Vellālan asked his wife to give Pallan and his family shelter and food. For two days she obeyed, although she did not wish to do so. On the third day Vellālan's wife scolded Pallan and told him to go away. Vellālan was so sad that he died of shock (*mar padaippu* or *atircci*).

Vellāḷan's wife became the owner of the property[7] and Paḷḷan and his family had to take food from her hands. She soon told them to go away. They started crying, and she then made them work for her. She made her husband's elder brother plow, sow, harvest, draw water, and do other menial work; Paḷḷan's wife had to cook for her; Paḷḷan's children had to look after the cattle. Having kept an account of all the food she gave them, she bought all the land once held in Paḷḷan's name. After acquiring all the land, she said, "You must sharecrop[8] on your own land. You must cut and plow." She added sarcastically, "Paḷḷan is the rightful owner of milk and rice." Vellāḷan's wife continued to live on the raised land (*mētu*). Paḷḷan lived on the low land (*paḷḷam*), which was more suitable for irrigation and cultivation. The name Paḷḷan derives from the term for low land.

5.10: NALAVAR ORIGIN MYTH. There is no Nalavar caste. The Nalavar are the Deventera caste, called Nampi in India. The Nampi were the trusted regiment (*nambi pattalan*) of the king. Their main duty was to keep watch from the highest watchtower. When they saw a foreign army coming, they would blow their war conch and alert the regiments on the ground for the attack. If their king went to war, the Nampi were charged with protecting the seven wives and the treasure of the king. They were the "life" of the king.

Their Indian king went to fight the king of Sri Lanka. The Indian king lost the first battle but won the second. Having lost the second battle, the Sri Lankan king used a ruse. He forged the handwriting of the Indian king and wrote the Nampi to bring the king's wives to Sri Lanka. The Nampi prepared a ship and set sail for Sri Lanka. In midpassage the king's wives became suspicious of the letter and of the Nampi. They wanted to return to India. The Nampi told them that they had received the king's order and would continue until the order was rescinded. The wives, deciding that the Nampi were going to rape them, threw themselves overboard to save their chastity, crying, "The Nampi have broken [or spoiled] faith [*Nampikkai ketta nampi*]."

How could the Nampi return to India? What could they say to the king's kinsmen? They decided to continue to Sri Lanka. Landing at Manār, the closest landing place from India, they sought shelter in a village of tree-climbers called Cantar. The Cantar were frightened because the Nampi were wearing the king's uniforms. The Nampi told them not to be frightened. They explained they were not kings but

[7] This is contrary to the law of inheritance, by which Vellāḷan's sons or close agnates would own the property.

[8] *Vāram* is the term for the giving of a sharecrop holding. It implies a hierarchical arrangement between lessor and lessee. The same term denotes the granting of supernatural power by Siva (or another high deity) to a properly austere ascetic.

were in danger and wanted shelter. They destroyed their uniforms and ate and relaxed for two or three days. When their money ran out, they were forced to ask the Cantar if they could take up Cantar work. The Cantar agreed, and the Nampi began to climb trees for coconuts and toddy, repair fences, and do agricultural labor. When the king's envoys came searching for the Nampi, the Cantar replied that the Nampi were kinsmen. The Nampi eventually married Cantar women.

A variant of this myth connects the Nampi with the Vanniar, landowners in the Vanni section south of the Jaffna peninsula. There is an inversion: one of the Nampi wives is raped instead of the Nampi being suspected of rape. The one addition is that they were called Nalavar because they slipped away from their caste (*naḻuval* [slip away]; *nalavar* [tree-climbers (who descend the tree in a slippery fashion)]) (Sivaratnam 1968:148, 149).

5.11: PARAIYAR ORIGIN MYTHS

First Variant. Two brothers were the *pusaris* [priests] in a Mariammam[9] temple. The elder brother decided to fast and to observe a vow of silence. He wanted his younger brother to watch over the temple. So he said to the people, "*Nān parrayan, tampi pārpār*" ["I will be silent (*parrayan*), my younger brother will watch."]. But the people misunderstood him and thought he said, "*Nān paraiyan, tampi pārpār* ["I am the drum person (*parai* [funeral drum], *an* [person]), younger brother is the priest" (*tampi* [younger brother], *pārpār* (from *pār* [to see]) [seer, wise one, priest]).].

Second Variant: Paraiyar as "Nanthanar." In former times, Virupasikai slept with Kasipa *muṇivar.*[10] Twenty-seven girls were born. The *muṇivar* gave the twenty-seven girls in marriage to Sukkira Bhavan. The sixteenth girl was Kāti. She and her children went to live in the forest. They had no work at first, then began to weave, slaughter goats and cows, and deliver messages for others. They were ignorant of God (*tēva vaḻḻi pātu illai*). They were not clean (*tupiravullāmal*). The Nanthanar (Paraiyar) caste originated from this girl.

At this time, Viyāpāhar *muṇivar* was doing penance (*tāvam*) with seven other *muṇivars* in Vatam Meru Malai. One evening there was a beam of light crossing the sky from the south to the north. Seeing the light, Viyāpāhar *muṇivar* worshiped it. The other *muṇivars* asked him why he had done so. He replied, "Kāti and Sukkira Bhavan had

[9] Mariammam is a fierce goddess who spreads smallpox and is "cooled" by animal sacrifices. She also cools the earth by bringing rain for the crops.

[10] Kasipa Gotra is the largest Brahmin *gotra* in the Jaffna peninsula.

children. They are now at the crossroads [that is, not in a civilized society]. A son named Nanthan was born to them to bring up their state. The light signaled the event. That is why I worshiped it. The light is the light from Siva's third eye. The light has Siva's power [*śakti*]. This light created Nanthan. Therefore I worshiped the light."

Nanthan became a young man and worshiped Siva daily. He decided to go to Sithamparam, the site of a famous temple to Siva. As was seen by others in Sithamparam, he became one with Siva in a burst of light. He stepped on fire, became God, and disappeared.

While Nanthan was living with Kāti and her children, the Paraiyar or Nanthanar [people of Nanthan] progressed. They moved out of the forest to a settlement between the forest and the village, the *ceri*. After Nanthan appeared, they learned how to keep themselves pure.

6: *Summary and Conclusion: Ordering of Diversity*

Part I has shown that castes are categories differentiated by a regular paradigm of defining features: natural substance, occupation, cattle brands, and origin myths. Symbols defining diversity are not themselves diverse. That is, the system of symbols used to define caste identity does not vary from caste to caste. This point does not support Karve's (1961) position that each caste has a separate caste culture because it was formerly a separate tribal society.

II: NORMATIVE CODES FOR INTERCASTE CONDUCT: DIVERSE UNITIES

Part II will discuss the contrary normative codes by which different castes orient their intercaste conduct. I label this second variation on the theme of unity/diversity as diverse unities (of intercaste relations). This view again contrasts with Karve (1961), who holds that intercaste relations are "tangential and peripheral" as compared with the intensity of intracaste relations.

First, a *social structural* analysis will detail two contrary modes of intercaste relationships. Castes in the agricultural sphere (priests, landowners, barbers, laborers) are engaged in *status* or *bound*-mode intercaste relationships. Castes in the fishing, artisan, and merchant sectors are engaged in *contractual* or nonbound-mode intercaste relations. *Bound* and *nonbound* are emic distinctions.

Second, three normative schemata will be detailed in a *normative* analysis. The *hierarchic priestly* schema enjoins a code for conduct of hierarchic separation between castes. The *hierarchic aristocratic* schema enjoins a code for conduct of enduring, diffuse, hierarchic,

solidary intercaste relations. The *nonhierarchic mercantile* schema enjoins a code for conduct of temporary, specific, equivalent, manipulative relations between castes. This analysis is based on exegesis of native symbols.

Third, a *value orientation* analysis will prove certain correlations between the first two analyses. The test of correlation is the thematic content analysis of origin myths of *bound* and *nonbound* castes in which mythic action incorporates norms of the above normative schemata. Castes engaged in *bound*-mode relationships are committed to the *priestly* and *aristocratic* schemata. Castes engaged in nonbound relationships are committed to the *priestly* and *mercantile* schemata.

7: *Modes of Intercaste Relations: Bound and Nonbound Relations*

Present views on South Asian rural social structure are synecdochic, the part standing for the whole, in that most studies are of multicaste agricultural villages dominated by landowning castes (Bailey 1960; Cohn 1955; Gough 1960; Majumdar 1958; Marriott 1960; Mathur 1964; Mayer 1970; Opler and Singh 1952). A stereotype of rural social and cultural structure has emerged from this inexhaustive sample: the locus of organization in agricultural villages is typically a dominant landowning caste of fairly high religious status. The dominant caste in an agricultural village has diffuse or multicontextual relationships with each of its traditional serving castes. Roles of hierarchical reciprocity are played in the contexts which analysts label economic exchanges, ritual exchanges, and political exchanges:

> These economic relations were, however, only one aspect of the multiple relations which linked the different caste households in the Indian village. For instance, the hereditary relationship between a Peasant master and his Untouchable labourers operated not only in the economic but also in the political and ritual spheres. If an Untouchable was involved in a dispute with another, whether Untouchable or not, his Peasant master had to come to his support. Similarly, the Untouchable allied himself with his Peasant master in disputes. He was expected to fight for the latter, even against Untouchables aligned with other Peasants in conflict with his own master. Perhaps even more important, the Untouchable had to perform a number of ritual services for his Peasant master, such as carrying a torch ahead of a funeral procession from his master's household. These different types of relations—political, economic, and ritual — reinforced each other and in turn helped to insure the stability of the Indian peasant economies (Epstein 1967:232, 233).

This type of intercaste relationship, which has been reported from many regions in South Asia, is often called the *jajmāni* relationship.

In addition to noting the *jajmāni* relationship, authors have called attention to the more particularistic, contractual relations between

artisan and fishing castes and all other castes. Epstein (1967:232) classifies two types of intercaste relationships in terms of mode of reward, duration of service, and regularity of demand:

> Thus in Mysore in south India I found two types of hereditary link in the villages: one between Peasant masters and their Untouchable labourers, the other between Peasants and certain functionary castes, such as washerman, barber, and blacksmith, whose services were continually required. Village craftsmen, such as the goldsmith and potter, whose services were not in regular demand, had no hereditary relationship with Peasant caste households; they were not rewarded annually, but rather on the occasions when their services were required.

Wiser (1936) distinguishes intercaste relationships in terms of recruitment: "those who serve some" and "those who serve all;" in the former, the religious status of the other caste is relevant to recruitment: "those who serve some" and "those who serve all"; in the other caste is irrelevant. Pocock (1962) elaborates on Wiser's distinction in terms of the purity/impurity dichotomy. The occupations of some, "those who provide a service," such as barber and washerman, are a direct reflection of the underlying value of purity/impurity. Occupations of others, "those who provide a commodity," are but an extension of the same value.[11]

Certainly, to try to determine the variations in the structural positions of the various castes in a region, the variations even within one village locality, is an empirical question. In Part II, I report two polar modalities of intercaste relationships and mixed modes, that is, deviations from the two modes. Each mode comprises a set of options from seven pattern variables. A mixed mode is an ordered transformation, in that the set of pattern variables includes some options from the opposite mode.[12] That is, the Vellālar landowner, the Brahmin priest, the barber, and the untouchable all have intercaste relationships of the status mode; the alocal artisans such as the goldsmith, the temple carver, the weaver, and the oilpresser, and fishing castes such as the Mukkiyar and the Timilar have intercaste relationships of the opposite polar mode, the contractual mode. Local artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, potters, and the dominant fishing caste, the Karaiyar, have relationships which combine options from both modes.

7.1: STRUCTURE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN CASTES IN AN AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE: THE BOUND MODE. In Jaffna agricultural villages there is a highly uni-

[11] Pocock's "those who provide a service" is similar to Wiser's "those who serve some"; "those who provide a commodity" is similar to Wiser's "those who serve all."

[12] Let pattern variables A, B, and C each have options 1 and 2. Then one mode is defined as A_1, B_1, and C_1 while the opposite mode is defined as A_2, B_2, and C_2. A mixed mode might be defined as A_1, B_1, and C_2.

form structure of intercaste relations between the dominant[13] landowner (Vellāḷar) caste and the serving castes. I follow the local category and call this mode of relations the bound mode (*kaṭṭupāṭu* from *kaṭṭu* [to tie, to bind]). The Jaffna equivalent of the north Indian *jajmāni/kumin* distinction is *nainar/kuṭimākkaḷ*. *Nainar* is a Telugu word adopted for master or lord. *Kuṭimākkaḷ* means people (*mākkaḷ*) of the house (*kuṭi*). Individuals are referred to as son or daughter of the house (*kuṭimakan* or *kuṭimakaḷ*); they are addressed as younger brother or younger sister (*tampi* or *tańkacci*). This usage is telling: a master is engaged in bound-mode relations with both his children and his people of the house.

In the agricultural village the landowner caste is *nainar*. The *kuṭimākkaḷ* are the Brahmin [priest], Koviar [domestic servant, factotum], Ampaṭṭar [barber], Vaṇṇar [washerman], Paḷḷar and Nalavar [agricultural laborer], and Paraiyar [drummer, remover of excrement].

I shall now give a brief account of the empirical characteristics of the bound mode of relationships observed between the dominant landowning caste and the serving castes with the following seven pattern variables:

A. *Recruitment.* Recruitment to a bound relationship is perhaps a misnomer. The relationship exists due to the relative social categories with which individuals are identified at birth. One man is born to landowner parents, another to barber parents; the relationship exists between them without voluntary contract.

B. *Time.* The relationship is long-lasting, frequently hereditary.

C. *Space.* The relationship is restricted in locality. Most relations take place in one's hamlet or village and in adjacent villages. Spatial definition implies both proximity and categorical restriction, that is, wards within a village (David 1974b).

D. *Clientele.* The relationship is *restricted to certain categories of people*, that is, landowners of a specific status grade who occupy a specific ward. The specifications are honor-*cum*-dominance and purity/impurity.

[13] "Dominance" is a descriptive, not an analytic, term. Srinivas' various definitions include factors of numbers, economic and political power, relative religious status, and land ownership (Srinivas 1955 and 1966:10). Dumont and Pocock (1957b) emphasize the dominant caste's influence in regulating life-styles of other castes. By excluding the land ownership requirement, this descriptive term aptly covers cases of locally dominant fisher and artisan castes.

E. *Pricing Mechanism: Traditional Price—Mode or Media of Exchange.* The relationship is compensated by a traditional pricing mechanism. Harper (1959) wishes to distinguish between payment in produce and payment in cash. I would argue that the price-fixing mechanism is more relevant than the media of exchange. There is no bargaining between the dominant caste and the serving castes. The major payments, whether in produce or in kind, are observably related to the agricultural cycle, payments occurring with some small ceremony between employer and employee. Unit jobs with unit compensations can also occur without ceremony. In my view, price fixing for service by fiat (without bargaining), redistribution, and cyclical, ceremonialized compensation are the important indices of the traditional price mechanism rather than payment in produce versus payment in cash.

F. *Context of Relationship.* The relationship, although localized in the village, is *multicontextual.* Although actors would not necessarily make the distinction (they tend to think of roles played in economic, political, and ritual contexts as part of one undifferentiated relationship) the observer notes roles played in analytically separable *contexts.*[14]

G. *Vector of Relationship.* The exchange between two castes in a bound relationship is asymmetrical within each context of the multicontextual relationship. A landowner will *require* the Brahmin and the barber to support his faction; the Brahmin and the barber *petition* the landowner to intervene for them in time of trouble. The Brahmin gives cooked food to the landowner and the barber; the Brahmin will not accept cooked food from either. Similarly, the landowner gives cooked food to the barber but will not accept cooked food from him. The landowner receives and pays for the services of the Brahmin and the barber, but he will neither work for nor accept pay from either. Thus there is asymmetry in each exchange context.

Barth (1960) uses the term *status summation* to characterize the involute structure of relationships in a caste system. In most cases there is a constant direction of asymmetry of exchanges between the landowner and his serving castes. The landowner is superior to the barber in ritual, economic, and political exchanges. This situation may be termed *status summation.* But between the landowner and the Brahmin priest, the direction of asymmetry is not constant: the landowner is inferior to the Brahmin in ritual exchanges but superior in other respects. Since the two pattern variables cover more cases, I thus use two terms (bound relationship as multicontextual and bound relation-

[14] See the quote from Epstein in section 7.

ship as asymmetrical within each context) in preference to the previously used single term "status summation."

Terminology: Bound Relationships. Although averse to throwing yet another term into the cauldron of neologisms, I will call the above set of characteristics *bound relationships.* Since the term *jajmāni* relationships encourages a view from the top, a sort of superordinate centrism, it will not do. The term *bound relations* is an emic distinction: *kaṭṭupāṭu totarpu.*

7.2: NONBOUND RELATIONSHIPS: EMPIRICAL GENERALIZATIONS. The data that I collected in an agricultural village in northern Sri Lanka agree well with the above empirical model. Northern Sri Lanka, like the rest of rural South Asia, is composed not only of agricultural villages but also of fishing villages, artisan villages, and rural towns. A strongly contrasting mode of traditional intercaste relationships obtains between artisans and fishermen on the one hand and the other castes on the other hand: nonbound relationships (*ishtamāna totarpu*). Using the same pattern variables as above, the empirical characteristics of the *nonbound relationship* are as follows:

A. *Recruitment.* Recruitment to a nonbound relationship is voluntary between individuals.

B. *Time.* The nonbound relationship is of no set duration. Each transaction (for example, buying fish or cloth) lasts but a few minutes. A man may trade with many fishsellers or become friendly with a particular fishseller and buy only from him. He is not bound to buy from any of them.

C. *Space.* A nonbound relationship is *not restricted or defined* in terms of locality. Market centers may be within a man's village of residence, but many items are available only beyond the village. Availability of items and their relative prices, rather than any categorical restriction, determine the locality in which they will be bought.

D. *Clientele.* The nonbound relationship is *not restricted to certain categories of people.* Wiser (1936) distinguishes between castes which serve only some other castes (in my terminology, bound relationships, such as the barber who will not cut the hair of an untouchable) and those who serve all (nonbound relationships, such as the potter who sells pots to all customers). I accept Wiser's formula, except I would not say that the potter serves all but rather that he trades with all. (Service and work have a particular inferior connotation not current to

the same degree in the West.) In any case, one index of the nonbound relationship is that the client's ability to pay is the relevant criterion for the occurrence or nonoccurrence of the transaction, not any hierarchical values.

E. *Pricing Mechanism.* Commodity transaction is governed by a *contingent* (supply-and-demand) pricing mechanism rather than by any *fixed* (traditional) compensation. Prices may fluctuate irrespective of the medium. (Barter was rare in 1968, but some people still exchanged rice for fish. When fish were scarce, more rice was given for the same amount of fish.) Further, payments are made at the time of the exchange; there is no periodic large-scale payment as occurs in *jajmāni* (bound) relationships. Finally, payment is not the occasion for any ceremony.

F. *Context of Relationship.* The nonbound relationship is *mainly unicontextual.* Buyer and seller meet only in the economic context.[15] This economic transaction does not imply interaction in ritual or political contexts. (There is some ambiguity on this point concerning service of an artisan to a temple and in life-cycle rituals.) Note, however, that in the limiting case, the nonbound relationship is zero-contextual, as it is in the case where goods are sold through a middleman and producer and consumer have no contact at all.

G. *Vector of Relationship.* With nonbound relationships, each exchange is symmetrical. Normally, buyer and seller meet on neutral ground, the market. A buyer of higher rank than the seller cannot command the seller, nor can the buyer of lower rank than the seller be commanded by the seller in the market place. Bargaining is antithetical to hierarchy.

7.3: SUMMARY: MODES OF INTERCASTE RELATIONS AND TRANSFORMATION OF MODES. The differences between bound and nonbound relationships are summarized in Table 1.

[15] Artisans may have jobs in ritual context; for example, a goldsmith melts gold for the wedding *tāli* on an auspicious occasion. But this is a unit job — the goldsmith would not be invited to the wedding for which he made the *tāli*.

Table 1. Summary of characteristics of bound and nonbound relationships

Pattern variables	Bound relationships	Nonbound relationships
Recruitment	No real recruitment; from birth	Voluntary between individuals
Time	Long-lasting, often hereditary	No set duration
Space	Restricted or defined in terms of locality	Not restricted or defined in terms of locality
Clientele	Restricted to certain categories of people	Client's ability to pay for the commodity is the only criterion
Pricing mechanism	"Traditional" (fixed) pricing; periodic payments with ceremony	Supply-and-demand (contingent) pricing; payment on delivery of commodity; no ceremony
Context	Multicontextual: roles played between a given dyad in economic, ritual, and political contexts	Mainly unicontextual: only economic transactions between a given dyad
Vector	Asymmetrical exchanges; hierarchical reciprocity	Symmetrical exchanges; nonhierarchical reciprocity

Although castes engaged primarily in bound-mode relations are sometimes called bound castes (*kaṭṭupāṭu cāti*), and castes primarily engaged in nonbound-mode relations are sometimes called free-willing castes (*ishtamāna cāti*), there is no neat classification of bound-mode castes versus nonbound-mode castes. That is, artisans are always engaged (allocating their time and resources) in nonbound (*ishtamāna*) relationships. Agriculturalists and their serving castes are only predominantly engaged in bound (*kaṭṭupāṭu*) relationships, since they must interact frequently with artisans and fishermen in nonbound relationships.

In sum, bound and nonbound relationships are variations in social structure occurring within one society, rural Tamil, Sri Lanka. I speak of the variations as polar modalities. Each mode is a cluster of interrelated empirical characteristics.

In the agricultural sphere there are deviations from the bound mode: the relationships *between* serving castes are not as systematically asymmetrical nor multicontextual as those between the dominant landowner and each of the serving castes. In the mercantile sphere, some artisan castes[16] have relationships more conditioned by locality, expectation of duration, and tendency toward a fixed clientele than other artisans. Note that the deviations from the bound mode are in the direction of the options of the nonbound mode; and deviations from the nonbound mode are in the direction of the bound mode. The variant modes of intercaste relations are complemented by variants in normative structure, to which I now turn.

[16] Local artisans: blacksmiths, carpenters, and potters. See Table 2 (p. 203).

8: *Normative Analysis*

Every cultural symbol is an indigenous theory of reality for members of that society: regularities in phenomena are codified by symbols, and orientations for action are provided by symbols. For actors, a cultural symbol is both a descriptive theory (code of conduct) and a prescriptive theory (code for conduct) of the *phenomena* it is arbitrarily identified with by the culture. Bound- and nonbound-mode relationships are two contrary modes of *behavioral phenomena.* Previous sociological descriptions of types of intercaste behavior by Epstein (1967), Wiser (1936), and Pocock (1962), among others, did not explore the possibility that the modes of intercaste relations might be prescribed by distinct, contrary codes for intercaste conduct. That is, the two modes of relations might result from different value orientations, the implementation of different norms into action.

After months of interviews and observations of disputes concerning actors engaged in the two modes of relationship, I induced two separate indigenous theories, two contrary normative schemata by means of which actors oriented themselves to the action of others (code of conduct) and with which they guided their own action (code for conduct). Each schema is composed of a discrete set of indigenous symbols. The meanings of the symbols in each set are integrated: the code prescribed by each symbol in the set is compatible with the codes prescribed by the other symbols in the set; each set yields an internally consistent orientation to action. The meanings of symbols in one set, however, are not compatible with the meanings of symbols in the other set; the meanings are contrary. An actor cannot follow both schemata in the same transaction.

Space does not permit me to relate anecdotes of disputes which illustrate that actors follow the code for conduct prescribed by the aristocratic schema when engaged in the bound mode of relationships and the code of conduct prescribed by the mercantile schema when engaged in the nonbound mode of relationships;[17] nor have I space to describe ranking data showing that the third normative schema, the priestly, is compatible with the aristocratic and the mercantile schemata (David 1974a). The priestly schema is a code for conduct for actors engaged in both bound-mode and nonbound-mode relationships.

8.1: NORMATIVE SCHEMATA. The aristocratic schema enjoins a code for conduct of enduring, diffuse, hierarchical, solidary relationships between units (castes).[18] The set of symbols comprising the *aristocratic schema* are *pattam* [titles], *urimai* [nonnegotiable right of master and

[17] Re choice of codes, see section 8.2.

[18] This description builds from Schneider's (1968) notion of the code for conduct between kinsmen in American culture: enduring, diffuse solidarity.

servant to service and remuneration], *kauravam* [honor], *maraiyātai* [respect and limitation, that is, preserving honor], *vāram* [command, in the specific sense of the giving of a power to a subordinate], *aṉumati* [command, in the sense of giving permission for action to take place], *ātaram* [mutual support], and *varicai* [mutual definition of status].

The *mercantile schema* enjoins a code for conduct of temporary, specific, equivalent, mutually manipulative relationships between units (individuals). The set of symbols comprising the mercantile schema are *uḻaippu* [profit and manipulation], *cantōcam* [mutual satisfaction], *nītam* [fair dealing], *keṭṭikkārar* [individual skill, cleverness, and achievement], and *upakāram* [specific aid].

The priestly schema enjoins a code for conduct of hierarchical separation between units (castes). Separation should be hierarchically ordered in terms of the religious principles pure/impure: a place for everyone and everyone in his place. The symbols of this set are *ācaram* [purity] and *tittu* [pollution].

In the aristocratic schema, an intercaste relationship *toṭarpu* is strongly conditioned by the category of birth of the actors. The category of birth (*jāti* [caste]) provides the limits (*maraiyātaikuḷ*) for potential interaction, and the general rules (*murai*) for the interaction. The hierarchical aspect of relationships in the aristocratic schema is described by villagers as respect (*maraiyātai*), the deference shown the superior by the inferior. In many gestures of etiquette between the superior and the inferior, the superior always gives (food, money, and so forth), while the inferior always receives and serves. The superior is held always to command and to give permission for action to take place (*aṉumati*). In fact, the inferior is not without some power (to withdraw from stratifying interaction), but the inferior never directly commands activity to take place.

The mutual, or solidary, aspect of relationships in the aristocratic schema is further exemplified by the norms of *varicai* [symbol of status] and *ātaram* [mutual support]. The term *varicai* is a cognitive shorthand for a social phenomenon: intracaste ranks of bound-mode castes are, in part, defined by the existence of relationships between master and servant and by the intracaste rank and behavior of the other party.[19] The term *ātaram* refers to the right to expect aid from the other in happy times and support from the other in troubled times. In sum, the aristocratic schema is used by villagers to describe conduct of and prescribe conduct for bound relationships.

[19] In eighteenth-century English comedies of manners, the butler of a highly placed lord scorns the butler of a lord of lower state. In Jaffna, the barber of a titled landowner will neither dine with nor marry a barber of an untitled, albeit wealthy, landowner.

The norms emphasized in the mercantile schema are the code of conduct and the code for conduct of nonbound relationships. In this schema the relationship is not strongly conditioned by the category of birth of the actors. Given the customary symbolic value of many commodities, every Tamil buys gold, cloth, and oil at some time during his life. Trading of these commodities is guided by nonhierarchical norms, *nītam* [fair play] and *cantōcam* [mutual satisfaction]. Nonhierarchy does not exactly mean equality, but rather balance, equilibrium, lack of inequality or partiality; these latter meanings are connotations of the terms *nītam* and *cantōcam*. These notions have no place in the aristocratic schema, where the superior rules by fiat and the inferior's satisfaction is obligatory. Furthermore, in place of the absolute, ascriptive, categorical value of respect (*maraiyātai*), the mercantile schema emphasizes the prestige of cleverness (*keṭṭikkārar*). A *keṭṭikkārar* is a man who is clever and is able to prove it; for example that he is a skillful craftsman or an adroit fisherman. This aspect of individual achievement is also seen in the emphasis on effort and industry (*uḻaippu*). Finally, in place of the aristocratic norm of diffuse mutual aid (*ātaram*), this mercantile normative schema enjoins specific unit acts of help (*upakāram*).

Put another way, the code for conduct embodied in the *aristocratic* schema is that of *hierarchical amity*: diffuse, enduring, hierarchical solidarity. The *mercantile* code for conduct is exactly the opposite, *nonhierarchical instrumentality*: nondiffuse, nonenduring, nonhierarchical nonsolidarity. Since relations between castes are usually characterized in terms of ritual distance, the notion of castes behaving toward each other with hierarchical amity gives a different focus to the relationship. True, relative purity of different castes is a feature of the system, but this difference in terms of ritual purity does not prevent an intense (diffuse, enduring, solidary) relationship. Hierarchical amity is a foreign notion in Western class society, where ranked classes are seen (in Marxist theory) as being in antagonistic relation. In Jaffna caste society, the antagonistic or, at least, manipulative relation (euphemized as the *cantōcam* [mutual-satisfaction] relation) is associated with the nonhierarchical relation in the mercantile schema. Specific, temporary, manipulative dealing is associated with equivalent position between the transacting parties.

8.2: ACTORS' CHOICE OF APPROPRIATE NORMATIVE SCHEMATA. By means of terms for classifying social relations, the villagers do know when to follow the code for conduct prescribed by the aristocratic schema and when to follow that prescribed by the mercantile schema. Castes engaged in bound-mode relations (*kaṭṭupāṭu totarpu*) are either high caste (*uyirnda cāti*) or low caste (*korenja cāti*); castes engaged in

nonbound-mode relations (*ishtamāna totarpu*) are good caste (*nallā cāti*) (see Table 2). When the aristocratic schema is in effect, actors say that they are connected, that there is *koṇṭāṭṭam* between the units (my description of the bound relation details what they mean by *koṇṭāṭṭam*). When the mercantile schema is in effect, actors say that there is no connection (*koṇṭāṭṭam illai*) between the units (my description of the nonbound relation details what they mean by *koṇṭāṭṭam illai*). These indigenous classifications of units (castes) and modes of relations between units permit consistent *value orientations* to the different normative schemata, that is, *translation of norms into action.*

Table 2. Castes of Jaffna: traditional designations, traditional occupation, and mode (bound/nonbound) of intercaste relationship

Type	Caste name	Other designation		Traditional occupation
		Aryan	Dravidian	
Bound-mode castes: priests and castes of the agricultural sector (see section 7.1)	Brahmin[a]	Brahman	Pārpār, Antanar	Temple priest
	Saiva Kurukkal[a]		Pārpār, Antanar	Temple priest
	Vellāḷar[a]	Sudra	Marutam	Landowner
	Koviar[b]		Idaiyar, Mullai	Herder, domestic servant
	Vannar[c]		Kaṭṭati [exorcist: sergeant-at-arms]	Washerman
	Ampaṭṭar[c]		Parikari [surgeon]	Barber
	Pallar[c]			Agricultural laborer
	Nalavar[c]			Agricultural and fishing laborer, toddy tapper
	Paraiyar[c]		Muppar, Valluvan	Funeral drummer, weaver, sanitation man
	Tirumpar[c]			Washerman for Pallar and Nalavar
Nonbound-mode castes: merchants and alocal artisans (see section 7.2)	Saiva Chetty[a]	Vaisya		Merchant
	Acari[b]		Visvabrahman	Temple carver
	Tattar[b]		Visvabrahman	Goldsmith
	Kaikular[b]	Vaisya	Cenkuntar Mutaliyar	Silk weaver
	Ceniar[b]	Vaisya	Vanikar	Cotton weaver
	Cantar[b]	Vaisya	Vanikar	Oilpresser
	Mukkiyar[b]		Neytal	Fisherman
	Timilar[b]		Neytal	Fisherman
Mixed-mode castes: primarily bound mode	Pantaram[b]	Lingayat		Temple cook and assistant to priest
	Nattuvar[b]		Isai [music] Vellāḷar	Auspicious musician
Mixed-mode castes: primarily nonbound mode (fishermen and local artisans)	Karaiyar[b]	Kshatriya	Neytal, Kurukulam	Trader, fisherman, landowner
	Tachar[b]		Visvabrahman	Carpenter
	Kollar[b]		Visvabrahman	Blacksmith
	Kusavar[b]	Brahma		Potter

[a] *Uyirnda cāti* [high caste].
[b] *Nallā cāti* [good caste].
[c] *Korenja cāti* [low caste].

9: *Value Orientation Analysis*[20]

The previous assertion, that bound-mode castes are committed to the priestly and aristocratic normative schemata and that nonbound-mode castes are committed to the priestly and mercantile schemata, will now be substantiated by thematic analysis of caste origin myths. The contention is that mythic action is consciously related by villagers to the normative schemata to which they are oriented.

9.1: BOUND-MODE CASTES. The priestly aristocratic references of the Veḷḷāḷar landowner myth (section 5.2) are based on a pun. The Veḷḷāḷar are children (*piḷḷai*) of the goddess Parvati. Their high, pure parentage is essential for the prosperity of the territory under their command; their purity brings forth the crops from the earth.[21] But *piḷḷai* is also a lordly title held by the landowning castes in southern Tamilnadu, where most Veḷḷāḷar probably came from.

The aristocratic notions of command (*vāram*) and hierarchical rights and obligations (*urimai*) are closely defined in the washerman myth (section 5.7). Recall that when the master (Siva) commanded the servant to clean Parvati's polluted clothing, the washerboy demanded a pond and a stone. The servant can command the master in that he can require the proper equipment to carry out his task. This norm of nonnegotiable rights and obligations (*urimai*) of masters and servants is again illustrated in the Paḷḷar (untouchable agricultural laborer) myth of the fall of a landowner to a worker (section 5.9). Having taken advantage of Paḷḷan's misfortune to reduce him to becoming her worker, the wife of Veḷḷāḷan sarcastically tells Paḷḷan that he is now the "owner of rice and milk." Even Veḷḷāḷar informants, who were displeased with the picture of the Veḷḷāḷar woman, nevertheless approved the insight of the myth: to have an undeniable right (*urimai*) to a portion of the harvest, as all servants do, is, in a sense, to be a parcener of the estate. Note that these mythic definitions of the related norms of command (*vāram*) and nonnegotiable rights (*urimai*) yield a code for conduct similar to the notion of *noblesse oblige*, that is, hierarchical reciprocity.

Servants' ability to influence their master is greater than is generally noted; they enforce aristocratic norms. Is it gratuitous that the washerman, whose alternate name is Kaṭṭati [literally, the one who binds or ties], enforces norms which govern the bound relationship (*kaṭṭupāṭu*

[20] The identification of mythic themes with priestly, aristocratic, or mercantile norms was made largely with the help of informants. The use of a tape recorder during the myth-telling sessions permitted me to catch side comments which were as valuable as or more valuable than direct questioning after the telling of the myth.

[21] This theme is found elsewhere in India (see Barnett 1970:164; Nicholas 1967).

totarpu)? He investigates the honor and purity of his master's prospective marriage allies. He partitions the row of eating mats by tying a white cloth in order that distant relations (*tūratte contakkārar*) or nonkin (*paratuvar*) within the same caste may each have a separate eating place (*paṇṭi*). Before a wedding feast begins, the Kaṭṭati is traditionally asked whether any improper guests are present. Anyone pointed out by the washerman, even a landowner, is expelled. The Kaṭṭati sets the limits (*maraiyātai*); he watches over proper social distinctions and thus guards his master's respect (*maraiyātai*) and honor (*kauravam*). Given the norm of mutual definition of status, the servant is protecting his own honor as well. These norms are also seen in the barber myth: sexually indiscreet Veḷḷāḷar women become the wives of the low-caste barbers (section 5.8).

The Nalavar myth (section 5.10) about the king's trusted regiment wrongly suspected of rape is an account of a fall from an aristocratic position. All these myths not only make reference to norms of the aristocratic schema (titles, command, honor, respect, guarding against loss of honor, mutual rights) but also give subtle interpretations of the norms which differ from Western definitions of the same norms: the superordinate commanded by the subordinate, the superordinate's honor guarded by the subordinate, and so forth.

The priestly schema (pure/impure hierarchy) is emphasized in the origin myths of two other castes engaged in bound relationships: the Brahmin priest and the Paraiyar untouchable. The Brahmin myth (section 5.1) concerns the preservation of purity in the face of a violation of scripture — crossing the sea. Their mythic sophism is that they remained pure since they did the morning *pūjā* and the evening *pūjā* on dry land, having crossed the sea in the interim.

In caste society, according to Dumont (1966a:65ff.), the principle of hierarchy is defined by the opposition of the pure and the impure, the opposition of the Brahmin and the Paraiyar. One Paraiyar myth (section 5.11), of the elder brother who decides to remain silent (*parrayan*) and becomes the Paraiyar, while the younger brother is told to watch (*pārpār*) the temple and becomes the Pārpār or Brahmin, certainly supports this view. Originally higher in the hierarchical older brother/younger brother opposition, the Paraiyar/older brother becomes the lowest of the hierarchy, while the Brahmin/younger brother becomes the highest; the Paraiyar is an inverted Brahmin.

Hierarchy is further defined as a human/extrahuman continuum[22]

[22] In the West, social stratification entails ranked relations only between different categories of humans. The South Asian conception of hierarchy includes, in addition, categories of gods, demons, and animals. Inden (1969:12) notes this more extensive definition of hierarchy in the progressive distribution of god's food (*prasadam*) to the whole hierarchy; first the priest, then clean castes, then untouchable castes, and finally animals and impure spirits are fed. Ostor (1971:28) makes a similar point for Bengal:

in the second Paraiyar myth, the tale in which the Paraiyar saint, Nanthan, civilizes the wood-dwelling Paraiyars (section 5.11). The pure Brahmin and the impure Paraiyar, the human limits of a hierarchy which extends beyond humans, mediate between the human and the extrahuman. Brahmins of course mediate between all men and god, between the human and the suprahuman or divine; they are known in Jaffna, as elsewhere in South Asia, as *piritivar* [god's representatives on earth]. That Paraiyar are also mediators — a point not noted in the literature — is the thrust of the Paraiyar exegesis of their Nanthan myth:

> The twenty-seven sisters who wedded Sukkira Bhavan had five kinds of children: (1) herbs and plants; (2) animals and reptiles; (3) ordinary men; (4) saints, seers, and gods (*muṇivar, ṛsi,* and *tevar*); and (5) ghosts and people between earth and heaven (*pey* and *kintheruvar*). In the course of the myth, the Paraiyar moved from barbarism to a position between animals and men, between the lowly spirits (ghosts and people between earth and heaven) and men. Even today there is evidence of this position because in India Paraiyar live in a *ceṛi*, [settlement between the forest and settled communities].

While other castes describe the *ceṛi* as a hamlet removed from the main village because of the Paraiyar's pollution, Paraiyar describe the *ceṛi*'s location as a spatial symbol of their role as mediators between men and the infrahuman:[23] they live in an area between the forest, where ghosts and other spirits dwell, and the settled village.

In summary, myths of two castes involved in bound-mode relations, Brahmin and Paraiyar, incorporate the themes of purity and impurity, the conceptual focus of the priestly normative schema. Again, we note that these ideas of purity/pollution and hierarchy are defined in ways which differ from Western notions of hierarchy, just as the previous myths elaborated the notion of command.

9.2: MYTHS OF NONBOUND-MODE CASTES. Unlike the hierarchical mythic themes of bound-mode castes, the origin myths of nonbound-mode castes (artisans, fishermen) incorporate nonhierarchical mercantile norms such as *cantōcam* [mutual satisfaction, impartiality to status

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There is no fundamental cleavage between men (*manus*) and deities (*debota*) but the line is drawn repeatedly on a continuum, and the series of gradations are more extensive than a mere opposition would allow.

[23] Elaboration of the second proposition exceeds the scope of this paper. Two points: first, Paraiyar (and other low castes) are the black magicians dealing with ghosts and demons. Second, there is an extension above and below the human hierarchy in the opposition saint/demon (*muṇivar/muṇi*). The saint can escape from the cycle of creation. The demon is permanently bound to creation. The *muṇi*, in Jaffna theory, is a *muṇivar* who either renounced his renunciation or successfully pursued his asceticism, received supernatural power from god (*vāram*), and misused his power. The *muṇivar* is, in both cases, punished by god: he is transformed into a demon.

difference], *keṭṭikkārar* [cleverness, individual autonomy, and achievement], and *ishtamāna vēle* [work commanded and inspired by the divine rather than commanded by humans].

I was discussing Jaffna castes with four Karaiyar fishermen, one of whom regaled us all with his biting, incisive impressions. When he came to the Karaiyar, he said, "Karaiyar? *Virakkarar* [brave man]! When he goes to sea he does not think of his wife and children! Karaiyar's heart will not melt! He fights with a cutlass against a man with a rifle [an incident I observed]. Karaiyar's heart will not melt! He sells fish to a Brahmin or to an untouchable at the same price. Karaiyar's heart will not melt!"

With this statement, the mythic images (section 5.4) of the princess's undaunted maid who sleeps with the horrifying Viyāsar and the obstinate boatman who refuses to touch minor gods after touching Siva and Parvati come into focus with norms for daily social relations. The unmelting heart refers not only to bravery (the martial ethic characteristic of the Kshatriya ruler) (Hitchcock 1959) and puritan obstinacy (refusal to touch inferior beings after having touched the highest beings); the unmelting heart is also a symbol of the mercantile ethic of impersonal attitudes (toward kin and clients) and impartiality regarding religious status differences in business dealings. To "forget about wife and children" and to deal with all castes on the same footing are strong statements in a hierarchical caste society, where the individual ordinarily acts as a member of a category following a traditional customary exchange with a representative of another social category. Against this background of categorically defined exchanges, making an individual contract is like sailing through uncharted waters. A compassionate trader goes out of business. An obstinate trader who is impartial to status differences between himself and the buyer and who is also willing to sell for a just (*nītamāna*) price will be likely to find himself and the buyer satisfied with each other (*cantōcam*). In a trading context, the unmelting heart, which implies mutual satisfaction through obstinacy and impartiality, is a prerequisite to profits (*uḻaippu*). The unmelting heart is thus a central symbol of the mercantile schema, a set of symbols enjoining a code of nonhierarchical, manipulative relations between castes.

These same norms are seen to be valued in the origin myth of the Kusavar [potter] (section 5.6), another caste engaged in nonbound relations. The potter boy does not oppose his grandfather's trading with the king Vikkiramattiran; he bridles only when his grandfather is submissive to the king. To go to someone's house or palace is a sign of respect. Trading goods at the neutral marketplace yields no superiority to buyer or to seller. The potter boy's request is that the relationship be evened off; he does not demand that the king himself come to

pick up the pots, which would put the king in an inferior position, but only that the king's servants pick up the pots at the potter's house. The boy is trying to implement the mercantile principle of *cantōcam*, mutual satisfaction, equal dealing between buyer and seller. The king rejects this mercantile solution and selects a martial (aristocratic schema) code for action. With the aid of Chamundeswary Kali, the king is then beaten at his own game.

Action in other myths implies that mercantile norms are divinely oriented or inspired. The definition of work in fisher and artisan myths relates to the priestly and mercantile normative schemata: to work (*vēle*) for another man is demeaning. Artisans and fishermen say, in life and in their myths, that they are autonomous and free-willing (*ishtamāna*) with respect to men. Such was the boatman Kurukulam's reply to god's ministers when they wanted him to serve them by lifting them into the boat. Kurukulam was willing to serve god but no one else (section 5.4). Artisans are willing to be bound in service to god (*katavuḷukku kaṭṭupāṭu*) because their skill is divinely inspired. In the Kammalan artisan myth, divine skill is ensured by Kamacciamma's vow to live in the blacksmith's fire after Visvabrahma tamed her with the divine tongs made from Brahma, Vishnu, and (U)rudra (section 5.3). Skill is irrelevant in the aristocratic schema: a bad barber still has his right (*urimai*) to remuneration. But in the mercantile schema the skill (*keṭṭikkārar*) of the artisan, held to be divinely inspired, is rewarded by men; a maladroit artisan (*mutal* [fool]) is not.

10: *Summary and Conclusions: Diverse Unities*

The two contrasting modes of intercaste relations, the bound and the nonbound, have been described, as have deviations from these modes. The three normative schemata relevant to intercaste relations, the hierarchical priestly and aristocratic schemata and the nonhierarchical mercantile schema, have been outlined. It was then proposed that castes primarily engaged in bound relations with other castes would have a value orientation to the priestly and to the aristocratic schemata, while castes primarily engaged in nonbound relations with other castes would have a value orientation to the priestly and to the mercantile schemata.

The projective test available in caste origin myths demonstrated these hypotheses. In these cultural documents of self-definition, castes engaged in bound relationships[24] value the norms of the aristocratic

[24] That is, Brahmin, landowner, washerman, barber, untouchable laborer, and Paraiyar castes.

schema: *paṭṭam* [titles], *urimai* [nonnegotiable right of master and servant to service and remuneration], *kauravam* [honor], *maraiyātai* [respect and limitation, that is, preserving honor], *vāram* [command in the specific sense of the giving of a power to a subordinate], and *aṉumati* [command in the sense of giving permission for action to take place]. On the other hand, origin myths of castes engaged in nonbound relations[25] value the norms of the mercantile schema: *uḻaippu* [profit and manipulation], *cantōcam* [mutual satisfaction], *nītam* [fair dealing], and *keṭṭikkārar* [individual skill, cleverness, and achievement].

All castes in Jaffna know the various normative codes prescribed by the discrete sets of symbols which I have labeled the priestly, the aristocratic, and the mercantile schemata. Knowledge is, of course, not a sufficient cause of human action. Translating the aristocratic norms into social relations requires expenditure. The landowner pays for the ritual services which maintain his honor (*kauravam*). Similarly, resources are mustered by castes committed to the mercantile norms; a goldsmith who, unlike the serving castes, refuses to take food from the landowner, must pay for his autonomy (*ishtamānadu*). Nonrelational forms of commitment, such as incorporating priestly, aristocratic, or mercantile ideas into the caste origin myth, require no material expenditure.

Whether in relational or in nonrelational contexts, castes in Jaffna are committed to a finite number of normative codes, some castes stressing the feudal order, other castes stressing the enterprise order. Although many castes have some unique ideas about behavior, they are not solipsistic, that is, each committed to a unique set of ideas. Rather, there are diverse unities of intercaste symbolic orientations: contrary, hierarchical/nonhierarchical, codes for intercaste conduct. I conclude that Karve's (1961) emphasis on diversity, her notion of idiosyncratic caste cultures, has several limitations. Conversely, in the context of relations between castes, Dumont's (Dumont and Pocock 1957b, 1959) stress on ideational unity, that is, the primacy of the hierarchical principle of purity/impurity, is not exhaustive, for castes are also strongly oriented toward the hierarchical principle of commanding/being commanded and the nonhierarchical principle of mutual satisfaction.

III: THE HUMAN/DIVINE CODE FOR CONDUCT: UNITY FROM DIVERSITY

This article has proceeded in reverse-Chinese-box fashion; starting with the individual unit, the caste, and proceeding to relations between

[25] That is, Kammalan artisan, Karaiyar or Kurukulam fisherman, and potter castes.

castes, it will now consider a still more inclusive set of relations, those of all castes with the divine. This third part completes the variations on the theme of unity/diversity; symbolic orientations were described in Part I as ordered diversity and in Part II as diverse unities. Now, the final variation will be unity from diversity; for, irrespective of the diverse normative codes with which castes orient their interrelations, all castes follow a unified normative code, a hierarchical servant/master code, for conduct with the divine.

11: *Exoteric Symbolism*

Space forbids a full exposition of the symbolic structure of relations between humans and the divine. It should be stressed that all villagers relate to ritual symbols because these symbols have exoteric meanings. Religious symbols, whether they fit the attributes of Great Tradition or of Little Tradition (Redfield 1960), have both esoteric and exoteric meanings.

Apicēkam [the act of pouring liquids] has the arcane, or esoteric, meanings of dissolution of cravings, separation of the spirit from the body, and purification of the spirit and the body. These inner meanings (*ūl karuttu*) are known and shared by initiates but not by much of the rural populace. *Apicēkam* also has a popular, or exoteric, meaning, that of a rite capable of increasing the sacrificer's wealth. This meaning derives from the identification of *apicēkam* with the anointing of kings at their coronations and present-day aristocrats at their lavish *rites de passage*. The Jaffna exoteric reasoning is that the kings were anointed and they were wealthy; if you are anointed you will be wealthy. Thus the ritual symbol of *apicēkam* has both esoteric and exoteric meanings. It is only the exoteric meanings of ritual symbols, however, representations referring to normal sensations and perceptions (*koṇṭāṭṭam*) of village life, that are known and shared by the uninitiated and the initiated, by members of every caste.[26] Therein lies a unity of symbolic orientations.

12: *Men/God as Servants/Master*

Many ritual symbols have an exoteric component of their meaning which identifies the human/divine relation as the servant/master rela-

[26] Turner (1967) holds that ritual symbols are polysemic; he demarcates as the sensory and normative poles the two clusters of meanings usually associated with ritual symbols. In my definition of exoteric meanings, I am expanding his notion of the sensory pole to include perceptions of social events as well as sensations.

tion. God is treated as a king in one episode of the *pūjā*: the priest displays *varicai* [symbols of status such as miniature flags, whisks, mirrors, or umbrellas] before the icon; villagers readily identify with this episode since they frequently witness servants displaying the same *varicai* at the *rites de passage* of a dominant caste. *Apicēkam* is the anointing of a king. The annual festival of a deity is not complete without the procession around the temple in the *tēr*, or king's chariot. The very name of the temple is *kōvil*, the king's palace (*kō* [king], *il* [place]) (Subrahmanian 1966:66). The minor god Viravar guards temples to pure gods from impure or evil influences for the duration of the festival; he is bound as a servant to god (*kaṭavuḷukku kaṭṭupāṭu*) for the duration and is rewarded "like a servant" with food offerings when the festival is finished. The worshipers also consider themselves bound as servants to god for the duration of the ritual, ceremony, or festival: volunteer ritual workers are called slaves (*atimai* or *tontar*) during the occasion and wear armbands to signify their temporary bondage.

Do all castes follow this servant/master code for human/divine conduct irrespective of the codes to which they are committed in their daily intercaste relations? Discussion of ritual division of labor suggests that they do. Dumont's arguments are sometimes rejected too quickly by canons of verifiability. For example, his definition of caste society as holistic determines his definition of the division of labor in caste society. Thus he revises Marriott's (1960) nonholistic statement, "An occupation is a sort of behavior which constitutes a service rendered to a caste by another caste," into his holistic statement, "It is a service rendered to the whole by the intervention of its castes" (Dumont 1966a:120). This view will never be verified by analyzing daily dealings between men. It is only at the level of relations between men and god that Dumont's statement — that each caste has a duty with respect to the whole — can be verified.

Participation of all castes is essential at the deity's annual festival. Each caste is hierarchically bound in service to god (*kaṭavuḷukku kaṭṭupāṭu*), like servants to the master in the bound mode of relationship, at least once during the year, at the annual temple festival (*tiruviḻā*). A simple list of caste duties, as shown in Table 3, should suffice to illustrate this statement. If the giver of a festival is rich, then the services or products contributed by each caste are more than each would have given on its own. The silk weaver not only is commissioned to provide a certain amount of silk cloth but also provides a certain amount not paid for by the giver of the festival. In literal terms, it is this little bit that makes all the difference.

Consider an expression of *homo aequalis*, of the atomistic, equalitarian ideology of Western industrial societies: Leeds Football Club

Table 3. Duties of castes to the whole: caste services or products contributed to a deity's annual festival

Caste	Duty
Brahmin [priest]	Officiant
Saiva Kurukkal [priest]	Officiant
Saiva Chettiyar [merchant]	Giver of the festival (*upayakkārar*)
Veḷḷāḷar [landowner]	Giver of the festival (*upayakkārar*)
Pantaram [templar]	Assistant to the officiating priest during ritual; cook of offering to god (*prasadam*); decorates the temple, ties garlands, etc.
Koviar (Koviḷar: *kōvil* [temple]) [domestic]	Cook of offering to god (*prasadam*); cleans and decorates the inner courtyards
Sippacari [icon carver]	Sculptor of stone and wooden icons; builder of the temple
Kaṉṉar [brass worker]	Maker of brass vessels for ritual use
Tachar [carpenter]	Builder of platforms, arches, etc. for ritual use
Kollar [blacksmith]	Maker of ritual brazier, knives for cutting coconuts, and other metal utensils for ritual use
Taṭṭar [goldsmith]	Maker of golden icons and ornaments for the icon; maker of the ritual fan, flag, whisk, etc.
Kaikular [silk weaver]	Maker of silk garments for the icon; maker of the temple flag essential in Agamic ceremony
Ceniar [cotton weaver]	Maker of the cotton draping hung during the festival
Nattuvar [musician]	Festival musician
Kusavar [potter]	Maker of the water pots which represent deities, the cardinal directions, etc. in the ritual
Karaiyar [fisherman/trader]	Importers of ritual objects unobtainable locally, such as the yak tail whisk, deer skin mat, sacred wood for the Homa fire, etc.
Cantar [oilpresser]	Provider of oil for the Homa fire lighting, torches, etc.
Vaṉṉar [washerman]	Ties cotton cloth in drapings around the temple
Ampaṭṭar [barber]	Aids in purifying the priest (ritual shave); pours oil on torches during processions
Untouchable	Cleans outer courtyard of temple; collects firewood

had narrowly beaten Manchester United, and the Manchester partisans were rallying for the traditional postgame fight with Leeds. I heard one man yell, "Every man for himself and God for us all!" Sectarianism aside, in Western societies, "All for God, and God for all!"

would be an eccentric thought. But in caste society, all men are for god in the same way, in that all Jaffna castes follow the same code for human/divine conduct, the master/servant relation of the priestly and aristocratic normative schemata described earlier.

Both hierarchic schemata are amalgamated in ritual participation, the act of temporary renunciation of daily roles. The worshiper must provide a service or a commodity proper to his caste. For his service or commodity, he receives from god a nontangible, traditional reward: merit (*punya*). Thus the code for conduct resembles the aristocratic schema. In addition, the worshiper must be in a state of extreme purity when he approaches god. He must abstain from meat, liquor, and sexual intercourse. He must bathe and don ritually pure clothing. He must separate himself from impure influences such as demons by tying a sacred thread around his arm. He is protected from impure influences by a portal guardian deity, in Sri Lanka usually the fierce Viravar (Sanskrit Bhairava). A longer list could be given, but the relevance of the priestly (pure/impure) code for conduct between man (qua worshipers at the annual festival) and god is obvious.

13: *Conclusion: Unity from Diversity*

To show how diversity of symbolic orientations resolves to unity, I will now discuss the formal structure of the three normative schemata. It was argued earlier that the category of "relationship" (*koṇṭāṭṭam*) is held by villagers to refer only to bound relations (*kaṭṭupāṭu totarpu*), for which the hierarchic priestly and aristocratic schemata are the code for conduct. In contrast, the category of "no relationship" (*koṇṭāṭṭam illai*) is held by villagers to refer only to nonbound relations (*ishtamāna totarpu*), relations for which the nonhierarchic (equivalent) mercantile schema is the code for conduct (section 8.2). The opposition *koṇṭāṭṭam/koṇṭāṭṭam illai* is isomorphic with the opposition work/business (*vēle/viyāparam*). For example, a landowner and a barber have a relationship, since the barber is bound in service to the landowner and must work for him; the landowner and the goldsmith have no relationship, since they are not bound in master/servant relation but have only business dealings with each other. On the level of relations between castes, there is a contradiction between the two hierarchic normative schemata (the priestly and the aristocratic) and the schema of equivalence (the mercantile), an opposition of hierarchy/equivalence.

This contradiction is only resolved on the more inclusive level of relations between men and gods. During the annual festivals, all men temporarily take on the servant position with respect to god and are

bound in service to god (*katavuḷukku kaṭṭupāṭu*). Such is the lot of ordinary men in the world, the undeniable duty (*urimai*) of householders (*grhastas*): the "path of the servant" (*dāsya marga*). All men temporarily renounce their normal roles, whether the hierarchical roles of master or servant or the nonhierarchical roles of artisan, fisherman, or trader, in favor of the servant role with respect to god: they all do temple work (*kōvil vēle*) for god during the festival.

This opposition man/god may be relevant in many parts of India. For example, in Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, India,

> . . . food is offered to the deity and then retrieved from the altar for consumption by participants in the ritual. The transaction allows the deity to be paid for divine favors and at the same time establishes a hierarchical relationship between the deity and the worshippers as a group. Differentiation within the congregation is obscured by the wider opposition between divinity and the worshipping group as a whole (Babb 1970:287).

Thus, in relations between men and god, the opposition hierarchy/equivalence is resolved in favor of the hierarchical term. Since this normative code is followed by all castes, we may speak of a unity of symbolic orientations.

This same analysis too briefly indicates what kind of symbols structure diversity into unity, a question requisite for an anthropologist working with a peasant society. Are the abstract, refined, codified symbols called the Great Tradition solely representative of the mentality of the Hindu villager? Are the concrete, homespun, locally known symbols of the Little Tradition an exhaustive representation? Obeyesekere (1963) argues that peasant villagers have traditions which integrate religious figures and religious action otherwise segregated by the analyst's rubrics Great Tradition (GT) and Little Tradition (LT). For example, the Lord Buddha (GT), gods (GT and LT), and demons (LT) are all part of a hierarchy ordered by the principles of purity, merit, and command.

Following his lead, I argue that a more appropriate dichotomy than that of the Great/Little Traditions is that of esoteric/exoteric traditions, that is, the structuring of symbolic diversity as analyzed in terms of a popular, exoteric symbolism which ordinary villagers relate to perceptions and sensations of daily life.

This issue, which will be studied in another paper, must be mentioned here, since I have here been using an exoteric definition of hierarchy which differs from Dumont's (1962) textually based, esoteric definition. Dumont might deny that the priestly and aristocratic schemata are both hierarchical schemata. In his definition, the priestly schema alone is hierarchical since, to him, hierarchy entails the absolute separation of the spiritual principle (purity/impurity) from the temporal principle (power: commanding/being commanded); as the

spiritual principle encompasses the temporal principle, the spiritual principle alone is a hierarchical, holistic principle. Elsewhere (David 1972:474-503) I contend that the more popular, exoteric definition of hierarchy entails the conjoining of the two principles and the lack of encompassing/encompassed relation between them, both principles being holistic and segmentary.

IV: CONCLUSION

14: *The Substantive Question: Normative Analysis as Guide to Unity/Diversity Characterizations of Rural South Asia*

Unity/diversity characterizations depend upon the various authors' theoretical positions: how are a multiplicity of normative codes for conduct and a multiplicity of types of behavior handled in the literature? Bailey (1960:6) deals with diversity on the social structural level of analysis by distinguishing conflict from contradiction. Conflict can be resolved within the framework of the structure; contradiction cannot:

> It was very obvious in Bisipara that the ritual sub-structure in which the Warriors [caste] and the Untouchables interacted was in many respects inconsistent with their political and economic relationships. There was an irresolvable contradiction between these two sub-structures, and, taken together, they did not add up to one consistent structure.

Conflict, which can be resolved within the framework of the structure, threatens neither equilibrium nor homogeneity; contradiction, which cannot be so resolved, implies both disequilibrium and diversity. Bailey's (1960:7-8) response to the presence of contradiction is to posit the presence of more than one structure:

> The presence in any situation of irresolvable contradiction between different roles indicates that the total situation cannot be understood within the framework of a single omnicompetent structure. If the analysis is to be continued within the framework of one structure, then one or the other side of the contradiction must be ignored. This is not satisfactory since it removes the analysis further from reality. Alternatively, it may be assumed that there is not one structure to be analyzed, but there are two or more structures operating in a single social field.

Whereas Bailey does not offer suggestions on how to deal with the presence of more than one structure operating in a single social field, Moore (1960:815) opts for a methodology of dialectic between ideal types:

The literature of sociology abounds with dichotomous classifications, ranging from culture-types through forms of social cohesion or relationship, to paired normative alternatives. Although such modes of classification are "primitive" in the sense that they attempt analysis in terms of attributes rather than variables, they are not useless. It is the beginning of wisdom to identify the dichotomies as polar extremes on a range of variation, and the pursuit of wisdom to note that "pure" types do not concretely exist. A very considerable gain in wisdom results, however, from *recognizing the paired alternatives as conflicting principles of social organization, both of which are persistent in the system. Predominant institutionalization of one alternative does not dispel or dismiss its counterpart. . . . Sociologists have noted, for example, that "achieved" status systems retain elements of ascription, and conversely* [emphasis mine].

Dumont posits a rather different relation between polar opposites in his analysis of Hindu society. To Dumont, there is no relation of dialectic between hierarchy and individualism. Rather, hierarchy "encompasses" individualism:

L. Dumont's Homo Hierarchicus raises most provocatively the issues of comparing cultures given a structural analysis of the symbolic domain. He suggests that anthropological understanding derives from the mediation of systems real for the people themselves (stressed by them) [i.e. the encompassing feature] and systems singled out by the anthropologist because of his antecedent mindset (unstressed by the people themselves) [i.e. the encompassed feature]. Generalization involves locating features common to all cultures and seeing them in their stressed or unstressed aspect in any particular culture; that is, generalization must start with two cultures and the stressed/unstressed features might not be applicable to a third culture. Dumont has concentrated on the question of hierarchy and stratification, individualism and holism in India (Anonymous 1971:20).

To Dumont (1966b:30-31), hierarchy is the feature on the level of maximal consciousness of ideology which underlies caste society. Equality and individualism are marginal features in caste society, expressed only in the ideal of the renouncer.

On one hand, Bailey's notion of contradictory structure within one society eschews cultural analysis but includes a strict empirical test[27] to determine the presence of contradictory behavioral structures in a social setting.[28] Since he offers no suggestion on how to analyze the

[27] "Every conflict needs to be examined to see how far it brings into play redressive mechanisms and how far it is contained within one structure. It is clearly a mistake to leap at once to the conclusion that every conflict is evidence of irresolvable contradiction and therefore of change. Some conflicts are temporary disturbances of a structure which has its own means of finding a way back to equilibrium. It is only after this question has been asked that one is justified in concluding that the analysis can only be saved from undue 'unreality' by postulating the presence in the social field of more than one structure" (Bailey 1960:10).

[28] My use of *contrary* must not be confused with Bailey's use of *contradictory*. Bailey's definition of *contradictory* follows from his interest in equilibrium structures

formal relations between such contradictory structures the final account is of an unordered collection of structures, of diversity, although different from Karve's (1961) view that diversity results from the amalgamation of individual caste cultures in village communities. On the other hand, Dumont's (Dumont and Pocock 1957a:13) analysis, which concentrates on abstract ideological features such as purity and impurity, is not easily amenable to empirical verification. But his constant attention to the relations between units rather than to the units themselves, to relations whose form is constant due to the encompassing ideological feature, ends with a picture of unity.

Normative analysis, specifically the structuring of contrary normative schemata provides a middle way between these theoretical and substantive contributions. In this article, the review of a substantive problem, unity/diversity in South Asian society, has focused upon patterns of commitment/noncommitment to symbol systems in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. The picture of diversity of symbolic orientations in caste society in Part I was limited by discussing individual caste identity; each caste defines itself with a culturally shared system of symbols: ideas about natural substance, occupations, cattle brands, and origin myths. Each caste defines itself not by a unique set of symbols but by a paradigm of symbols known and shared by all castes. This section thus rejects certain aspects of Karve's diversity characterization in which individual caste cultures dominate wider societal principles.

Like ideas defining social differentiation, ideas defining social interrelations are also shared by all castes. In Part II, codes for intercaste relations were described as diverse unities of symbolic orientations. Jaffna castes have distinct modes of intercaste relations and distinct systems of normative symbols which prescribe contrary normative codes for intercaste conduct. Since Dumont's unity model emphasizes hierarchy as the encompassing ideology in Hindu South Asia, egalitarianism and individualism not being stressed in the culture, Part II modifies his position. The mercantile schema emphasizes equivalence and individual skill if not, strictly speaking, egalitarianism and individualism. This nonhierarchic schema coexists with the hierarchic aristocratic and priestly normative schemata in rural Jaffna. Similarly, nonbound-mode and bound-mode intercaste relations are variant social structures in rural Jaffna.

In Part III, which considered ritual relations between men and god,

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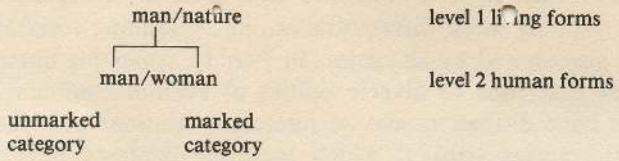
(cohesion/lack of cohesion, conflict/resolution of conflict, etc.): he uses *contradictory* in the sense of irresolvable conflict between roles in different substructures. In using *contrary* to describe modes of behavior or normative codes, I follow the etymological sense: elements are in contrary relation when there is a contrast of opposition in the logical sense and not opposition in the behavioral (i.e. conflict, confrontation) sense.

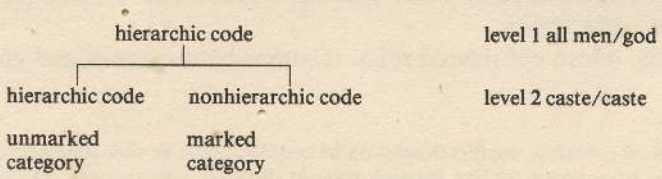
an analysis of exoteric ritual symbolism was used to describe unity of symbolic orientations.

The structuring of contrary normative schemata at different levels (diversity on the level of relations between castes and unity on the level of relations between men and god) may be stated more formally with a descriptive model. Following Black's (1962) definition, a model has nothing to do with data. The logical connections of terms of a well-developed theory are borrowed for use on a domain of data with underdeveloped theory. A new theory is thus modeled on an existing theory. To understand the structuring of contrary normative schemata, I shall borrow unmarked/marked category theory from structural linguistics.

Although Greenberg (1966) attempts to show the relevance of unmarked/marked category analysis to the phonemic, morphophonemic, and semantic levels of language, I shall use an example from the semantic level only. The term *man*, meaning mankind as opposed to animals or to nature, is on a higher taxonomic level than the terms *man* and *woman*, the two genders of mankind. *Woman* is a category further specified, or semantically *marked*, in relation to the *unmarked* category *man*. Conversely, the opposition *man/woman* is neutralized at the higher taxonomic level. There exists the opposition man/nature but not woman/nature.

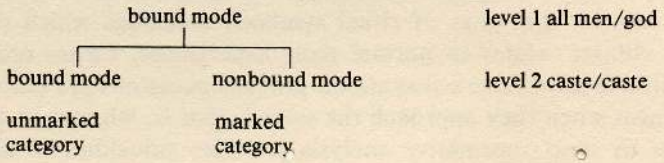


In this study, the more inclusive taxonomic level is the opposition man/god (in Tamil, *maṉisan/katavuḷ*) and the lower level is the kinds of man, or castes, that is, intercaste relations. Then the opposition existing at the lower level between hierarchic normative codes for conduct (unmarked category) and the nonhierarchic code for conduct (marked category) is neutralized at the higher level of relations and only the unmarked category appears.

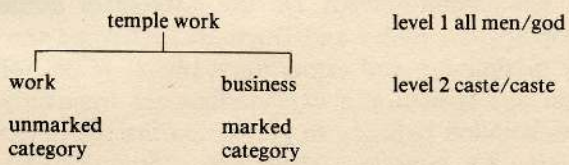


Similarly, the opposition between two modes of intercaste relationships, which, following indigenous categories, I label bound and

unbound relationships, is neutralized at the higher level of relations. That is, some castes are involved in bound relationships with some other castes; different castes are involved in nonbound relationships with other castes; but members of all castes are involved in a bound relationship with god.



Another neutralization concerns labor. Work (*vēle*) is a hierarchical concept since to do work is inferiorizing: the barber works for the landowner. Business (*viyāparam*) is a concept of equivalence since marketing connotes the superiority of neither seller nor buyer: the goldsmith and the landowner have business relations with each other. Temple work (*kōvil vēle*) is a hierarchical concept since man is working for god as a member of a serving caste works for the master: Brahmin priests and Sippicari icon carvers, for example, do nothing but *kōvil vēle*, but *all* castes do temple work during the annual festival.



The formal relation of unmarked and marked categories is intended to resemble Dumont's usage of the encompassing and the encompassed. The opposition of unmarked/marked categories, one of the several notions used in ethnographic semantics to describe hierarchical arrangements of lexical units, may be of wide utility in analyzing patterns of thought in hierarchical societies. Here it was demonstrated that all castes, regardless of their normative orientations in intercaste conduct, both share and are committed to a single system of exoteric symbols prescribing a hierarchical servant/master code for human conduct toward the divine. Unlike the level of relations between castes, the opposition of hierarchic (priestly and aristocratic) normative schemata/nonhierarchic (mercantile) schema is here neutralized: only hierarchic schemata are relevant in ritual relations between men and god. The unmarked category, hierarchy, and the marked

category, equivalence, are both present on the lower level of relations. The unmarked category alone appears at the structurally higher level of relations. Thus the analogy with unmarked/marked categories of structural linguistics is fulfilled.

This model clarifies the question of unity/diversity of symbolic orientations. Unity in symbolic orientations in Jaffna caste society is incited by exoteric meanings of ritual symbols, meanings which the uninitiated villager relates to normal daily experiences. Castes committed to diverse normative schemata on profane occasions are united in commitment when they approach the sacred, that is, when they act as a whole. In short, normative analysis provides guidelines to disentangle the question of unity/diversity in symbolic orientations in caste society at three levels: within the caste, between castes, and between men and god.

15: *Normative Analysis as Mediator*

As indicated in the introduction, using normative analysis to clarify a major aspect of the unity/diversity puzzle was a vehicle for a more general theoretical question. Social structural analysts and structuralist analysts were viewed as talking past each other on this puzzle. Must the hiatus between these two important perspectives of explaining human action remain unresolved? Do the differences between two eminent anthropologists, Bailey and Dumont, lie beyond the pale of discourse? My preliminary and exploratory answer is the following: social structural and structuralist explanations are frequently reductionist, each explanation reducing to epiphenomena the object of the opposite analysis. Yet conscious structures of thought, normative codes, mediate in a cognitive sense between actual networks of relationships and unconscious structures of thought. That is, the object of normative analysis mediates the objects of social structural and structuralist analyses. A nonreductionist strategy of analysis would thus be to reject any notion of a one-to-one correspondence between these levels of analysis and to delineate the relations between normative symbols and behavior patterns and between conscious normative symbols and unconscious structures of thought.

Different brands of theoretical reductionism have influenced Bailey's and Dumont's views, not only on the unity/diversity problem but on other empirical questions, such as local caste ranking. Bailey reduces cultural ideas to social structure, to hard facts of resources and power. For example, he notes that, in the middle ranges of a village hierarchy, the ritual ranks of castes correspond to their politico-economic ranks. When he dismisses the lack of correspondence con-

cerning Brahmins and untouchables as a "peculiar rigidity . . . at the extremes of the hierarchy" (Bailey 1964), he incurs Dumont's (1966b:19) charge of reducing the whole ideology of purity and impurity to an epiphenomenon.

In turn, Bailey, Marriott, and others have criticized Dumont's brand of structuralism as reductionist and unverifiable. His analysis jumps from empirical detail directly to "intellectualist" formulations on the structural level. In explaining the central data of Bailey's analysis, correspondences between social and ritual ranks, Dumont (1966b:28) assigns empirical factors, politics and economics, to an "encompassed" secondary position relative to the "encompassing" position of the hierarchical ideology. These analytic "residues" are reduced to epiphenomena in a novel way; they condition human action only within the limits imposed by the hierarchical ideology.

The analytic strategy used in this article to cope with these opposing forms of reductionism is to attend to the level of analysis stressed by neither Dumont nor Bailey; normative analysis can give equal time to both material and ideational features, the subjects of social structural and structuralist analyses, because cultural norms mediate, in a logical and cognitive sense, between the two factors.

Put otherwise, Piaget's (1970) idea of the relativity of form and content helps to describe the relations between behavior patterns, cultural norms, and the underlying features of ideology. To Piaget, no absolute opposition exists between form and content. Rather, what is form with respect to a cognitively inferior level is content with respect to a cognitively superior level: real objects are content ordered by numbers, numbers are content with respect to algebra, algebra with respect to calculus, and so forth.

First, how do cultural norms give form to the content of patterns of behavior? Cultural norms are an indigenous "fictional" theory of real phenomena, including real patterns of behavior. As Leach (1965:ix) puts it, symbols bear an "as if" relation to reality, both for anthropologists and for natives.

> In brief, my argument is that although historical facts are never, in any sense, in equilibrium, we can gain genuine insights if, for the purpose of analysis, we force these facts within a constraining mould of an *as if* system of ideas, composed of concepts which are treated *as if* they were part of an equilibrium system. Furthermore, I claim to demonstrate that this fictional procedure is not merely an analytical device of the social anthropologist, it also corresponds to the way the Kachins themselves apprehend their own system through the medium of the verbal categories of their own language.

De jure, norms are what actors ought to do or ought not to do. *De facto*, they are fictional representations of reality used by actors to simplify their perceptions of complex patterns of behavior; to render

to ambivalent or ambiguous psychic phenomena a coherent, psychologically reassuring form; to euphemize indiscreet behavior or base motivations; to provide a clear cognitive frame for coordinated action when the motivations of individual actors are disparate or antithetical or antipathetic. Shared norms are conditioned by reality (they are a code of reality) in that they are fictions manipulated by actors to bring them in line with *faits accomplis* or with proposed action; and reality is conditioned by norms (code for reality) in that the norms provide both positive guides for proposed action and cognitive frames to differentiate "acceptable" behavior from "unacceptable" behavior and then to eliminate from consideration what is judged to be "unacceptable."[29]

Given all these relations between the normative level and action, an apposite comparison is the relation of an analyst's theory to his data. The normative level is an indigenous, culturally coded theory of reality; the normative level abstracts from blooming, buzzing reality complex behavioral and psychic phenomena. Complexity is reduced for the sake of order (Lévi-Strauss 1966:22). Analogous to the normative level as a model of and for reality are the analytic processes in which, respectively, acquisition of data conditions the formulation of a theory and theoretical formulation conditions the perception of a domain of data. In brief, to recognize cultural norms as an indigenous, fictional theory of reality is to insist that norms provide form for the content of behavioral phenomena while reducing neither ideas nor action to epiphenomenal status. With attention to the normative level, politico-economic factors are not reduced to a secondary encompassed status.

Continuing with Piaget's idea about the relativity of form and content, how are ideational features the form ordering the content of cultural norms? Ideational features are the analyst's abstraction from the meanings of the normative symbols of normative schemata. Verifying that symbols of each normative schema express different ideational features is not a metaphysical but a simple exegetical task. Informants, by their words and actions, define the meanings of symbols. I began to group symbols into normative schemata when I recognized recurring themes in native exegeses of different sets of symbols. For example, the theme of commanding/being commanded appeared as informants defined (1) nonnegotiable rights (*urimai*), (2) honor (*kauravam*), and (3) work (*vēle*). In the first case, "the master does not have unlimited command for he must heed the rights of his servants"; in the second, "many *varicai* define the honor of the master, his pure ancestry, his wealth, his command of all the serving

[29] Compare "double-think" in George Orwell's *1984*.

castes"; in the third, work is inferiorizing because "when you work for a man you are commanded by him." The exegeses of these symbols, *urimai*, *kauravam*, *varicai*, *vēle*, appeared as variations on the theme of commanding/being commanded.

Turner (1967:50, 52) has said that symbols are multivocalic, that is, polysemic. Commanding/being commanded is a voice heard in all the symbols of the aristocratic normative schema. Put more formally, commanding/being commanded is a conceptual focus for the symbols of the aristocratic normative schema, a general idea elaborated in the meanings of the symbols composing the schema. Similarly, the opposition purity/impurity underlies the meanings of the symbols composing the priestly schema, and the term "mutual satisfaction" underlies the mercantile schema.[30]

Dumont (1966a:66) allows for this direction of inquiry when he says,

> We do not pretend that the opposition pure/impure underlies (*fonde*) society other than in the intellectual sense of the term; to those who live in it, caste society appears coherent and rational by implicit reference to this opposition.

Norms, of course, are referred to in actuality, not implicitly. To the extent that norms can be shown to be expressions of structural oppositions, actors are then making implicit reference to the structural oppositions.

An Indian student of mine, having read the debates in *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, said, "Bailey is Bailey and Dumont is Dumont. And never the twain shall meet." He is wrong. The gulf between behavioral analysis and structuralist analysis seems unbridgeable only as long as we fail to attend to normative analysis. Cultural norms give a "fictional" form to the content of actual behavior. And the concepts or meanings identified with normative symbols are content with respect to ideological features; ideological features are conceptual foci for sets of symbols composing normative schemata. Thus, in the idiom of relativity of form and content, cultural norms relate both to behavior and to ideological features. As the middle air mediates heaven and earth, normative analysis mediates structuralist and social structural analyses. Such a detailed argument is necessary if one chooses the analytic strategy of delimiting the relations among three separate levels of analysis. As in the story of the Hidatsa eagle hunter, it takes some effort to keep one's feet planted on the earth while reaching for the sky.

[30] This point was demonstrated by an exegesis of transactional ranking symbols of Jaffna, Sri Lanka. The opposition purity/impurity is part of ranking symbols such as food giving/food taking, proximity behavior, and permission to use a well. The opposition commanding/being commanded is part of the meaning of ranking symbols such as giving/receiving an object with one/two hands, removal of shawl and turban, and pronouns of address (David 1974a).

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