

correspond to the following alternative classification: X = religion, Y = the religio-political, and Z = the politico-religious spheres. The arrows indicate the convergence of the roles in the hamlet of the senior. Whereas all roles are subject to selection from age-sets, Y and Z, for now Y and Z are lineage statuses expressed in possession of Dzana-lulugu and Igi of the maximal and minor segments respectively. This confirms the attachment.¹³

In the example, used previously, of Waju, the following situation obtains (Fig. 4):

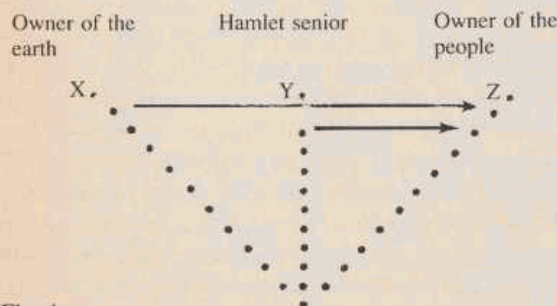


Fig. 4

The unitary and compound clans, assuming expansion, are limited by the ecology as land insufficiency and soil exhaust / erosion, and undergo normal fission. This is, in fact, the final argument proposed by Tait in justification of his clan formations and their distribution.¹⁴

Duality

Tait (1961) has, as stated, linked the opposition of "owner of the earth" / "owner of the people" within Konkomba society directly to the lineage system and its fusion:

1. Clan A maximal lineage L 1 undergoes fission.
2. Minimal lineage segment L 2 moves to a new clan area, clan A 1.
3. An earth shrine is established (divined) in A 1's territory.
4. On becoming a maximal lineage, the segments undergo fission and are opposed as "owners of the earth" / "owners of the people," if they remain proximately co-resident (1961: 118-123). "There

is a marked tendency, to put it no more strongly, for a major lineage to be segmented into two and only two minor lineages and this is invariably the case when the major lineage occupies one single hamlet" (1961: 120). The distinction of ritual roles does not occur for Tait except where, and here we interpolate, (a) the clan hamlet of origin has two segments; (b) the segment migrating is co-resident or nearly co-resident in the new or vacant clan territory; (c) undergoing fission as a new maximized lineage, the segments are opposed as "owners" of the "earth" and "people." To reiterate, if there is no co-residence or no virtual co-residence, "contrapositioning" does not occur.

Tait (1961: 40) stresses that, as concerns the "owner of the earth" (*otindaa*), he is "sent by the earth." He is charged with responsibility for shrines of rivers, lakes, fertility, the major earth shrine, the hunting shrine, and the custodians of the shrines. It is emphasized that the *otindaa* are the seniors of that age set "who enjoy this ritual status" (1961: 40). *Otindaa* have ritual status. In one example, from Kotiando, it is stated that it is not a question of seniority in a kin group, and that rites are performed by him when "called on to do so by the elder." "Elder" here is assumed to be "The Elder," who is equated with the "owner of the people." It is stated that "in discussing affairs outside the *actual* [italics added] context of work or rite, the senior elder of a clan asserts his undivided authority without contradiction" (1961: 47). This authority is judicial and executive in nature. There are those shrines which are only the concern of the "owner of the people," these being direct ancestor shrines, regalia, and market shrines, at least in the example of the Gbiedo market of Bekumbwam clan of Saboda which is noted to have a Dagomba paramount chief (1961: 44). As a generalization the linking of the earth priest and "his people" with a notion of the ritual congregation as moral-social control is acceptable if not helpful (Fortes 1945).

Tait attempted to show that the non-exogamous compound clan and the contrapuntal clan were alternatives. The basis of this appearance of one or the other form was the territorial distribution of lineage members based on optimum lineage size against the carrying capacity of the land. He further proposed that, if there was sufficient compound land for everyone, the lineage split but the hamlet(s) or village did not divide.

The situation of the creation of the vacant, new territory is central. It bears on a form which bridges segmentary non-state and segmentary state societies. It is necessary to reconsider the new clan territory and the opposition of "owners of the

¹³ *Dzambuna* (Tait 1961: 81) is complicated. Its uses range from rain-making to "a present symbol of a living kin group" (p. 84). The counterpart, the *igi* of the minor lineage, also figures in homicide rites and the second or final burial rites (Tait 1958: 194).

¹⁴ Tait, in fact, suggests a figure of 250 as representing the point at which changes are forced.