

Desiring Sex, Longing for Love: A Tripartite Conundrum

William Jankowiak

"...marriage ought to be based primarily on affection---love if you like---and only if this is present does marriage offer something that is...sacred."

"That's exactly what I'm talking about, the preference for one man or for one woman above all others, but what I'm asking is: a preference for how long?"

The Kreutzer Sonata, Leo Tolstoy

Culture's Dilemma (1)

No culture is ever completely successful, or satisfied, with its synthesis or reconciliation of passionate, companion(or comfort) love, and sexual desire. Whether in the technological metropolis or in a simple farming community, there is tension between sexual mores and proscriptions governing the proper context for love. Western societies are not unique in their ambivalence. At various times sexual passion has been preferred over “romantic” as well as “companionship.” No ethnographic study has reported that all the passions and affections have been regarded as equally valuable. It is either the sexual, the romantic, or the companionship image that is the official ideal and thus the preferred idiom of conversation. No culture gives equal weight to the use of sexual, the romantic, and the companionate metaphors. One passion is always regarded as a subset of the other. No matter how socially humane, politically enlightened, spiritually attuned or technologically adapted, failure to integrate sex and love is the name of the game. The paramount passion is easily recognizable from examining conversational idioms. Conflicts over issues of propriety, etiquette, and social standing inevitably arise

whenever there is a break in the cultural understanding and consensus regarding things sexual and romantic. To some degree, dissatisfaction is everywhere: Its dissonance sounds in all spheres of culture. Whatever a culture's (i.e., its patterns of human activity and the symbolic structures that give such activity significance) posture toward sex and the many facets of love, ambiguities, conflicting emphases, perplexities, unclear strictures, and downright quandaries litter the cultural landscape. The diversity of ambivalence, tension, and contradiction across the globe is infinite and (when viewed collectively) bewildering in its range of differences. But what human communities have in common is a universal compulsion to make a working peace with the three-way conflict between romantic/passionate love, comfort/attachment love, and physical sex. Every culture must decide whether to synthesize, separate, blend, discount, stress, ignore one or the other. For example, some ethnic groups in Papua New Guinea believe that sexual intercourse is an intensely unhealthy and deeply polluting experience that should be avoided. However, the fact remains that sex is, in the words of one man, "something that feels so good, but is so bad for you" (Terry Hays, in conversation). In a different Papua New Guinean culture, men often run to the river to slice their penis with a bamboo knife to let the contaminated blood flow from their body after a sexual experience (David Boyd, in conversation). Contradictory or seemingly conflicted attitudes are evident among the Huli of Papua New Guinea where men abide by traditional taboos in their marriages, while seeking out "modern" erotic experiences in their extramarital lives (Wardlow chapter 8; Wardlow 2006). It can be found in Igbo men's need to develop an intimate comfort or attachment love with their spouse, while also seeking sexual pleasure through sexual variety with a variety of partners (Smith chapter 9).

Because the two distinct types of love - companionship (sometimes call comfort or

attachment love) and passionate or romantic love (Hatfield and Rapson. 1993), have their logic and endocrinology - many of the social tensions, conflicts, and individual moral ambivalence arises from each person or community seeking to balance the twin forces of the two loves. By comfort love I mean a deep affection felt toward “those with whom our lives are deeply intertwined. It involves feelings of friendship, understanding, and concern for the welfare of another” (Hatfield 1988:193-194; Hatfield. & Rapson.1996; Harvey and Wenzel 2001). In contrast, passionate love involves idealization of another, within an erotic setting, with the presumption the feeling will last for some time into the future. This does not mean companionate love is not without its passions. Percy Shelley, the 19th century poet, thought passion an integral aspect of both loves; albeit romantic love tended to be more physical, while companionate love more spiritual. Although both forms of love are present in every culture, they are often not equally valued, celebrated, or honored. This results in a tripartite tension that extends beyond love and sex being more than the simple contrasting of two desires, but rather a tripartite conflict between the sexual imperative, the romantic, and the companionate.

The cauldron of ambivalence can be immediately recognized in the contradictions that flourish all across the globe where passionate love may be proclaimed as the authentic ground for relationships and marriage but its connection to sexual desire is only silently acknowledged (e.g., Mormon Fundamental polygamous communities, Lahu, Tamil Nadu), doubted in another (e.g., Marri Baluch; Inuit Eskimo), and openly avowed in another (e.g. America, urban China). The tension between passionate love and sex is echoed in Birgitt Rottger-Rossler (chapter 6) account of the Makassarese society of South Sulawesi/Indonesia struggle to reconcile societal duties with individual desire. Makassarese associate falling in passionate love with an illness,

and treatment is considered essential. Contradictions are evident in high Himalayan polyandrous societies where men and women are often caught in the grips of passionate or excited love, and forsake dyadic exclusivity so the wife can manage her relationship with all of her husbands. Although some women can live, if not thrive, in a plural marriage, every woman interviewed mentioned how their life “is emotionally challenging...[which is why] many women prefer monogamy” (Tiwari chapter 5). Unstated is the presumption that the emotional quality of the husband/wife relationship is enhanced in a dyadic as opposed to a plural arrangement. Conflict abounds amongst the Aka pygmies men and women engaged in competing reproductive strategies: Aka men, many who feel a deep comfort love for their spouse, still engaged in a “walkabout” in search of a second wife to have more children; while wives often resort to physical violence to prevent them from leaving. The Aka understand the wife’s anguish, while also respecting men’s right to seek another wife (Bonnie and Barry Hewlett, chapter 2).

The discrepancy over the pull of romance and the tug of sexual passion is nicely delineated in Blanche DuBois' admonishment of her sister, Stella, in Tennessee Williams' play *A Street Car Named Desire*. Blanche expresses her horror over Stanley Kowalski's obvious sexual appetite as follows: "A man like that is someone to go out with-once'-twice'-three times when the devil is in you. But live with? Have a child by?" In this case, the issues are erotic adventure and excitement versus the stability of domesticity and family. The irony in Williams' vision is that while Blanche argues for the latter as the ideal, much of her life has been consumed by the former. Blanche's problem is not uniquely American: Chinese literature is full of stories concerned with the difficulty in separating or blending together the two emotions. In Li Yu's *Be Careful about Love*, written prior to European contact, a Qing dynasty emperor is attracted to

one woman's beauty, while simultaneously yearning for emotional intimacy with another. The emperor insists that "sexual love [is] a product of admiration of the other's good looks and talent [while] true love [is] the unalterable state that arises from that love" (Hannan 1988:144). Both Blanche and the Qing emperor's comments are representative of the conflict that lies at the heart of the push/pull tension between erotic attraction and a yearning for deeper emotional attachment.

Throughout history they have been various responses to the tripartite tension. For example, contemporary American swingers have institutionalized a set of ritual practices designed to uphold the primacy of the pair bond or comfort love, prevent the formation of a passionate love entanglement, and remain open to experiencing sexual pleasure with strangers. For swingers this is the ideal solution to the competing demands of the tripartite passions. Another contemporary response is found in the development of sex-tourism trade throughout the Caribbean, southeast Asia, and other parts of the world. The construction of what Denise Brenman (chapter 7; Brenman 2004) calls sexscape zones enables mostly men to pursue rather inexpensively a variety of sexual encounters. In the case of mature European and American women, these zones enable some the opportunity to construct, however momentary, an imagined romance with someone unsuitable to form a long term comfort love relationship.

The above societies, like societies everywhere, have constructed an often uneasy arrangement between the forces of passionate love, comfort love, and sexual desire. It is one that requires continuous adjustment at the individual and societal level. In the domains of love and sex there can never be a stable society. The emotional tug between the competing and often contradictory desires insures every generation will revisit, renegotiate, and modify their

“traditions” used to account for the relationship between love and sex. Less known, and even less recognized, are the social constraints placed on the expression of different types of love and sex. Because the logic of passionate love, comfort love often differs from the pursuit of sexual desire, the emotional/motivational states, their interrelationship or separation presents different structural and psychological dilemmas for the individual and his or her community who must deal with the often competing tugs produced by these dueling forces. This then is this book’s central focus: To examine the opportunities, constraints, and competing rationales voiced and unvoiced over the appropriate relationship between the expression of passionate (and comfort) love and sex as they are manifested, in a variety of ethnographic settings, as deeply felt authentic, albeit often antagonistic, realities.

Love: A Contested Domain

Throughout the 20th century, a war of ideas raged over the significance of love. The battle raged not just over the origins and value of romantic passion but over whether attachment love was also real. Most academics did not consider love vital to psychological integration, personal contentment, and well being. Although some scholars considered love an important value, it was considered more an artifact of personal philosophy than a biological imperative. Unless a culture taught otherwise, humans could do just fine without being loved. This was the predominated position, Deborah Blum points out, of mainstream psychology which regarded affectionate mothering as irrelevant to a child’s emotional well being (2002:57). Given this conviction, parents were advised not to develop too close of an attachment with their children otherwise the socialization process would be undermined. It was a position that B.F. Skinner (1974), influenced by the early work of John B. Watson (Buckley 1989) built upon to develop his theory of

conditioned behavior. For Skinner, and his numerous disciples, Freud's insistence on the existence of an inner consciousness at odds with social circumstances was not only wrong it was morally incorrect. Until the late 1970's, Skinner's operant conditioning theory was the predominant psychological model taught in most American university psychology departments.

Alternative theoretical frameworks such as John Bowlby's attachment theory challenged the Skinnerian paradigm. For Bowlby, human infants had a biological need to form close loving bonds with a primary caretaker. He thought this behavior had its origins in human evolution. It evolved out of the parent-infant relationship whereby infants attached to specific individual(s) were more likely to survive. Attachment theory, however, was received with deep skepticism and was severely criticized for advancing a theoretical model that lacked data.

Harry Harlow's (1959) research on mother-infant attachment amongst different monkey species (e.g., rhesus, spider, Cebus, etc) would change all that. It provided the data (along with others who focus on children raised in orphanages) necessary to support Bowlby's insights into the nature and importance of the attachment process. Until Bowlby, the conventional wisdom held that "a baby's relationship with its mother was based entirely on being fed by her" (Blum 2002:57). Harlow's research demonstrated that love matters and, thus, the attachment process is essential to human well being (Blum 2002:58). The development of evolutionary psychology with its emphasis on discovery of human universals provided further support for Bowlby's theoretical model. We now know, as Bonnie and Barry Hewlett (chapter two) point out, that "the attachment process and the ability to empathize and feel compassion for others influenced" the way humans bond with one another. Today, the consensus amongst mainstream psychologists and anthropologists is that Bowlby and Harlow got it right: the need for attachment is a human

universal (2).

The attachment theory has moved away from the study of infant-parent bonding process to focus on early childhood history impact in shaping an individual's outlook and behavior in adulthood. James Chisholm (1999) has argued that a child's early home environment (e.g., families' access to material, natural, and emotional resources) can predict when a child will become sexually active as well as their ability to sustain lasting pair-bond relationships. In materially rich and stable home environments, Bonnie and Barry Hewlett (chapter 2) point out, children tend to develop a reproductive strategy that favors a late start to sexual relationships and a strong orientation to form long term comfort love relationships, while children raised in materially limited or emotionally violated environments tend to begin sexual relationships earlier and have a weaker ability to form a long term relationship. Moreover, individuals who have fragmented early childhood attachment bonds often adopt an approach to love that is organized around a "hopeless romantic" posture whereby they fall quickly in and out of love or remain aloof and coldly objective and, thus, never "fall in love" (Chistholm 1999;1995).

Is Passionate Love Universal?

At the close of 20th century social scientists reached a consensus as to the vitality, importance, and universality of attachment love. This has not been the case, however, for romantic love. Until the publication of Ted Fischer and my cross-cultural study on the romantic love, the conventional wisdom held passionate love to be a byproduct of a particular kinds of social configurations. It was thought that romantic love could only be found in stratified societies that had a leisure class with a rich literary tradition (Stone 1988), or it could be found in smaller scale societies that encouraged mobility and individual decision making (Lindholm 1998). Our study found romantic

love presents in 146 out of 166 sampled cultures. Since its publication, five additional cultures - Inuit (formerly the Copper Eskimo), Shavante, Canala, Huron, and Chagga - have been reclassified from an inconclusive to the positively identified category. The revised survey raises the number of positive confirmations to 151 out of 166 cultures, or 91 percent. This finding stands in direct contradiction to the popular idea that romantic love is essentially limited to, or the product of, Western culture or only found in smaller, highly mobile socially fragmented societies. Moreover, it suggests that passionate love constitutes a human universal, or at the least a near-universal (Brown 1992).

Charles Lindholm, an insightful and highly productive anthropologist, has taken exception to our finding. He argues against romantic love being a human universal. For Lindholm, romantic love requires a special kind of social situation that encourages frequent mobility, weak social networks, and few alternatives for finding intimacy. In this setting, individuals should “attempt to escape from certain types of social contradictions and structural tensions through the transcendental love of another person (Lindholm 1998:258); thereby ensuring romantic love as the stronger and more salient reality. In contrast, romantic love will be absent whenever individuals are embedded in a rich web of intimacies that prevent the formation of an all exclusive passionate love bond. In this setting, Lindholm contends individuals are less likely to need, value, or desire to become involved in a romantic entanglement. From this perspective, romantic love’s appearance is closely linked to the social contradictions that arise from living in a particular kind of society. It follows, therefore, that romantic attraction should be unknown in relatively stable societies that are organized around alternative forms of intimacies other than the pair bond.

There are three difficulties with Lindholm's position: First, his primary interest is exploring the relationship between structural factors and the emergence of a particular cultural ethos. His analytical interest ensures his investigative eye is centered more on macro structures than it is on individual variation (Lindholm 1988:244). Consequently, alternative contexts outside his analytical framework are ignored. In the case of romantic love, his approach cannot account for the presence of a particular emotional state in one context, its absence in another, and its denial, albeit presence, in yet another (see discussion in Schlegel 1990). Second, and in many ways the more fundamental problem, is empirical. There are numerous cultures that are organized around large extended families, with dense social networks and stable social organizations that also value the pair bond relationship (see Appendix for listed cultures) (3). For example, Shanshan Du (chapter 4) points out that amongst the Lahu intimacy, marriage, and romance are interlocked with each other, defying the suggestion that romance leads to marriage only under the socio-structural conditions typical to the industrialized West. For the Lahu, the husband-wife bond is highly valued as the ultimate manifestation of the ideal form of intimacy. The Lahu emphasis on the pair bond is typical of other highland societies (e.g., Miao, Dai) in southeast Asia. Finally, his model of mind is a blend of psychoanalytical and cognitive models that prefer to study emotions as cultural construction or at least as a force deeply influenced by culture. Our disagreement lies in the meaning of "deeply influenced by culture."

My position is closer to Robert Levy (1973) who believed that "underlying emotions are similar from one culture to another; what differs is the extent to which a culture emphasized or valued an emotion" (Reddy 2001:37). Levy classified cultures as falling along a continuum of emotional expressiveness that ranged from the "hypercognized" (i.e., emotions are "emphasized

and consciously rehearsed, expressed, and discussed” (Reddy 2001:37) to the “hypocognized.” (i.e., emotions are “not named, denied, and concealed.”(Reddy 2001:37)). This analytical distinction is useful. In the end, the essential difference between cultures that separate sexual gratification from passionate love may not be the absence of the experience as much as a restriction of the contexts deemed appropriate for its expression.

Levy’s position has received strong support from the emerging and rich research in neurobiology of affiliation (Dupre and Morrone-Strupinsky 2004). In the case of passionate love, this research found attachment and romantic love “share a common neural mechanism” (Bartles and Zeki 2004:1155). This suggests there is a neurophysiological substrate conducive for the development and maintenance of a pair bond relationship (Porges 1998:838;1988; also see Esch and Stefano 2005). Porges (1998) thinks this neurophysiological state is essential to induce the appropriate emotional response necessary to the formation of the pair bond. It also implies that humans with and without a culture’s instruction are neurologically oriented to “fall in love” (see overview in Gray and Ellison 2008).

Recent research on brain wave patterning lends further support to passionate love’s universality. This research discovered different areas of the brain are activated when an individual feels sexual desire compared to passionate love (Aron et al 2005). Because humans share similar biological underpinnings, their experience of sexual arousal, deep attachment, and romantic love is remarkably similar (Aron et al 2005). If humans were completely culturally constructed beings, there would be no neurological basis for passionate love. This suggests that passionate love arises from forces within the hominid brain that are independent of the socially constructed mind. From

this perspective, passionate love is a universal, and it should be present, albeit not necessarily valued, in every culture.

Bonnie and Barry Hewlett (chapter 2) believe that much of the disagreement between the evolutionary psychologists and many cultural anthropologists stems from each not recognizing or accepting there can be different approaches to investigating a phenomenon. In the case of passionate or romantic love, they write “Jankowiak focuses on understanding the universal and biological based components of intimacy, while Lindholm (1998; 2001) uses niche construction (or evolutionary cultural anthropology) to explain how social-cultural structures contribute to dramatic differences in human intimacy.” They add, “the different approaches have different aims: evolutionary psychology tries to explain human universals, while niche construction tries to explain human diversity” (Bonnie and Barry Hewlett: chapter 2).

Sociological configurations can and do influence the formation of a culture’s ethical ideals and emotional ethos. The fact that passionate love is an experience that can surprise individuals in every society does not explain why some societies value it, while others deny its existence (5). Because researchers have rarely studied the relative frequency in which a person falls in and out of love, it is unclear if passionate love is experienced with less frequency in those cultures that deny or disapprove of the emotional experience. The relative frequency in which members of a community experience passionate love may very well depend upon that culture's social structure, degree of social fluidity, and ideological orientation. Thus, a greater proportion of Americans, compared to the Makassarese (chapter 6) or the Murik (Lipset 2004), may experience passionate love. I suspect this is the case. However, until this is substantiated through further field

research, it remains only a hypothesis. It is a hypothesis that is untested today as it was in 1992 (6).

Recently, Victor de Munck and Andrey Korotoyev's (1999) cross-cultural study of the relationship between romantic love and sexual equality lent a qualification to Lindholm's social structure (or niche construction) thesis. Their analysis centers on identifying the specific societal contexts or niche constructions that promote what they term "strong or weak love cultures" (de Munck and Korotayev 1999:267). They found romantic love weakly correlated as a basis for marriage when there is a "double standard" that tolerated only one sex (presumably men) to engage in premarital sex and/or extramarital sex. On the other hand, when premarital sex and extramarital sex is prohibited for both sexes, romantic love is perceived as a more positive value. Weak love societies may provide other forms of belonging or avenues to intimacy (e.g., brother-sister relationships; same gender associations), that are equally or more satisfying than the sexually charged pair bond. In weak love societies passionate love should be present, but in a more muted form; whereas in strong love cultures romantic love should readily be evident in a society's official ideology and in ordinary behavior (7). This distinction may provide a way of synthesizing Lindholm's (1988a;1988b) insights into the relationship between social structure and emotional expression with the work of other anthropologists (see Padilla et al 2008) working from different analytical lenses.

Sexual Desire and Love: Ideal Types

Every sexual encounter need not be about the desire for some kind of transcendental merging with another. Some people desire nothing more than physical gratification or "release from arousal without emotional entanglements" (Abramson and Pickerton 1995:9). Simply put, sex, the use or

objectification of another, can be an act of pleasure; the norms and guidelines regarding its conduct can, at least, be successful in their clarity of expression. Though regulation itself may not be successful, its regulations can be -- at least in terms of their intent. For individuals interested exclusively in uncomplicated sexual gratification, the ideal partner is anyone belonging to the individual's preferred sex-orientation who is willing, available, and non-judgmental. In this way, sexual desire, in its most objectified form, is a total pursuit of physical pleasure. A perspective captured in Henry Miller's *Tropic of Capricorn* with his numerous sex-scenes that graphically depict the acts of sexual intercourse or in his words: "It was fucking *Paradise* and I knew it, and I was ready and willing to fuck my brains away" (Miller 1962:182 cited in Mayne 1993:72). For Miller and many men, sexual intercourse can be, at least some of the time, be only about heighten physical sensation. Other times, however, the motivation for seeking sex can be more complicated. Bonnie and Barry Hewlett (chapter 2) point out that the Aka pygmies' pursuit of sexual pleasure is intertwined with another more important value - reproduction. For the Aka sexual intercourse is a pleasurable experience that is secondary to their primary goal, which is to have a child. Or in the words of a young Aka woman "Love is the work of the night; love and play are nice together if it makes a pregnancy." For the Aka, unlike many contemporary Americans and urban Chinese, reproduction, not erotic satisfaction is the higher value.

Presently, there is a lively discussion in both scholarly and popular literature over the origins of gender linked differences in men and women's criteria used to select short term and long term partners (Townsend 1998; Small 1995). In spite of, or maybe because of, this discourse, a consensus is emerging that holds that women, in certain contexts, are as open as men to casual sexual encounters (Berscheid and Regan 1999; Brenman chapter 7; Cai Hua 2001; Hrdy 1999;

and Jankowiak and Mixson chapter 10). The debate has now shifted to the meaning of “certain contexts.” Whatever the eventual outcome of these discussions, it is clear that sexual monogamy does not come easily to mammals, birds, or humans (Barash and Lipton 2001). If the pursuit of sexual fulfillment often results in individuals seeking novelty, the love impulse in both its passionate and comfort form engenders an opposite inclination: to find intimacy with familiarity. Unlike sexual gratification, love cannot be bought (or for that matter, arranged, anticipated, or outlawed). If passionate love is bought, it is invalidated. In contrast, sexual release and, thus, satiation, in the absence of a love bond, can result in an immediate disinterest in the other (Porges 1998). People in a state of passionate love discover that sexual gratification does not lessen but intensifies interest in the other.

The human sex urge, as Kingsley Davis (1976:223) observes, is often about more than simply achieving an orgasm. It can be in the desire for tactile contact and intimate communication with another person. However, even when there is little or no prior interest, sexual orgasm can give rise to stronger feelings of emotional involvement. It is the desire for physical intimacy (i.e., close physical and emotional relationship) that brings erotic interests into social relations, thereby linking eroticism with such interpersonal emotions as affection, trust, insecurity, and jealousy (Davis 1976:223). Hector Carillo (2002) important study of the relationship between passion and sexuality in Mexico repeatedly found couples losing themselves and with it all rationality as their union dissolve into an emotional transcending ecstasy through their sexual interactions. In this way the pursuit of a ‘good risk’ an intense emotional entanglement may lead to a “bad risk” in sexual behavior (i.e., the loss of “safe sexual practice) (Dave Suggs, written communication).

The tensions, quandaries, and perplexities in balancing love and sex are evident in the way Nevada prostitutes working in legalized brothels interact with their customers. Research in San Francisco, Stockholm, and Amsterdam prostitutes found a high percent of male customers expected the woman to demonstrate an interest and concern for their well being (Bernstein 2008). For these customers, the illusion of emotional intimacy is just as, and maybe even more, important as being sexually satisfied. A similar pattern is apparent amongst some male customers at urban strip clubs. In a setting celebrating the objectification of a woman's body, regular customers often strove to develop a "relationship" with a particular stripper who, for her part, pretended to care about them (Frank 2002). Wardlow (chapter 8), Smith (chapter 9), and Jankowiak and Mixson (chapter 10) report that even the domain of the extramarital tryst can quickly transcend the sexual to include the emotional. These and other examples reveal that emotional intimacy can and does arise out of a highly sexually charged atmosphere. This is the central finding in Nicole Constable's (2003) study of mail order brides: whatever men's and women's initial motivations for entering into correspondence, most felt or sought to develop emotional bonds with each other in the process of courtship.

Passionate Love's Universal Attributes

Passionate love refers to any intense attraction that involves the intrusive thinking about one person within an erotic context with the expectation that the feeling will endure for some time into the future. Helen Fisher et al (2002:416-417) lists the thirteen psycho-physiological characteristics often associated with being in passionate love (also see Harris 1995:86; Leckman and Mayes 1999). These de Munck (chapter 3) reports are: 1) thinking that the beloved is "unique"; (2) attention is paid to the positive qualities of the beloved; (3) contact or thought of the

beloved induces feelings of “exhilaration,” “increased energy,” “heart pounding,” and intense emotional arousal; (4) in adverse times, feeling connected to the beloved is magnified; (5) “intrusive thinking;” (6) feeling possessive and dependent on the beloved; (7) a desire for “union” with the beloved; (8) strong sense of altruism and concern for the beloved; (9) re-order their priorities to favor the beloved; (10) sexual attraction for the beloved; (11) “emotional union” takes “precedence over sexual desire.” (12) Note that the feeling of passionate love is “involuntary” and not controllable; and (13) passionate love is generally temporary (i.e., it can “range from a few days to a few years; but the limited duration is one distinguishing feature from companionship love” (Steve Meyers, email correspondence).

These emotional states may also be manifested behaviorally as “labile psychophysical responses to the loved person, including exhilaration, euphoria, buoyancy, spiritual feelings, increased energy, sleeplessness, loss of appetite, shyness, awkwardness,... flushing, stammering, gazing, prolonged eye contact, dilated pupils, .. accelerated breathing, anxiety ... in the presence of the loved person.” (Fisher 1996:32). The presence of similar neurological mechanisms and brain patterns may account for the ability to readily identify when someone is romantically involved or erotically excited (Fisher 1998:32).

The traits also contribute to the formulation of a psychological configuration where people in love believe the other person is unique and not replaceable. For people in love there is also a heightened sense of egalitarianism that transcends social status (de Munck and Korotayev n.d.). For example, the emperor of China in a state of passionate love was not superior to his lover who he treated, however momentary, as an equal (see Hinsch 1990 for historical cases). This then is one of love’s most defining properties: the capacity for individuals to form a pair bond

anchored in emotional exclusivity. It is difficult, perhaps nearly impossible, to love more than one person at anyone time.

American psychological studies that investigated this phenomenon reported that around 25 percent of the undergraduates surveyed acknowledged that, at one time or another, they had been “in love” with more than one person. Most of those that admitted loving more than one person at the same time, also admitted not enjoying the experience and were relieved when it ended. In an unpublished study Helen Gerth and I (N.d.) found that some individuals who acknowledged being emotionally intertwined with two partners often preferred one over the other. For instance, the closer love was the last and not the first one called to say “good night,” was chosen to accompany the individual to a much anticipated event, or to be dreamt about more often. Others individuals, however, were adamant in their insistence that they could love two people at the same time. Our in depth interviews reveal everyone made an immediate and clear distinction between two different types of love: Comfort and passionate love. Significantly, no one in our sample admitted to being in a state of excited or passionate love with two or more individuals nor did anyone acknowledged that they were involved in a comfort love relationship with two different individuals. Everyone admitted being involved in a comfort love relationship with one partner and a passionate love entanglement with a different partner. When we queried if they could imagine themselves in love with three or more people at the same time, there was surprise and negative exasperation at what that arrangement would involve. In fact, no one interviewed though the experience of being simultaneously in love with two people was a pleasant satisfying experience. Everyone we interviewed (n=27) was in strong agreement that

being in a concurrent love is, in the words of a 36-year-old woman, “a terrible, exasperating experience.”

Further support for the inability to passionately love more than one person at a time comes from studies of polygynous societies where the impulse to form an exclusive or passionate love bond is a powerful and, at times, an overwhelming desire (Jankowiak et al 2005; Jankowiak 2006; Tiwari chapter 5). This research strongly suggests that although humans are not sexually monogamous, they are emotionally monogamous.

Passionate love interest starts with an attraction, a simple psychological state. One finds another person appealing, likable, good-looking, charming or sexy, or some combination of attractive traits. Attraction can be mild or strong, immediate or slow burning, having a long fuse. It is embryonic, and can grow or not. Attraction can lead to infatuation, a more absorbing and intense phase, but also a more problematic state as well. As soon as the person is no longer regarded as a sex object but is perceived to be a unique personality we can say that love has arrived. Or as Joseph Campbell wrote to his wife-to-be, Jean Erdman, in the early stages of their relationship: "My powers of criticism are paralyzed so far as you are concerned. It is, in fact, difficult to distinguish my condition from that of a person hypnotized." Although sexual attraction is possible without infatuation, attraction always accompanies infatuation. In fact, sexual attraction is the very essence of infatuation.

In ordinary life, the sexual desire and passionate love are two urges that form a complex that enables one proclivity to flow into the other and vice versa. Instead of thinking of them as two diametrically opposed feelings, it is more fruitful to view them as two intertwining, albeit separate domains that can easily and readily become intermingled. From a biochemical

perspective this makes sense: sexuality and emotional bonding are mutually reinforcing. Research has found that a sexual orgasm (combined with prolonged physical caressing) can trigger an oxytocin release that further serves to strengthen personal memory, attachment, and, thus, contribute to sustaining a romantic (and also a companionate) love bond (Porges 1998). Clearly passionate love and sex are separate domains. What is striking, however, is how easily they merge into one another.

Here I am in a qualified disagreement with Lindholm (2001) who argues that erotic attraction is not an essential aspect of romantic passion. For him, passionate love is asexual idealization or it is not love, but lust. Lindholm's explanation of how idealization and transcendence are independent of eroticism is insightful. It is one thing, however, to note the presence of chaste love as an ideal as it was in a medieval courtly setting, and another to infer that sexual desire is entirely absent. He offers two case studies (e.g., medieval European troubadour society and the Marri Baluch) in support of his position that passionate love can be a chaste form of love. In Medieval Europe, courtly ladies were well aware of sexual banter and the importance of erotic attraction. It was not unknown, James Reston points out, "for poets to entertain the court with verses about unfaithful women who had victimized [a fellow] and left him loveless" (Reston 2001:30). The new discourse of asexual love must be understood against the backdrop of sexual frankness. The gradual replacement of the sexually raunchy with a new asexual discourse appealed to many aristocratic women (Reston 2001:30; Robertson 1969). This did not mean that sexual desire was absent. Rather, it only changed the conditions and settings in which the emotions were expressed. In time, the new "courtly style" became an institutionalized form of flirting that resulted, in some instances, in sexual seduction.

The second example of a chaste love society is the Marri Baluch. In this Afghanistan society men express their “love” for a married women (a dangerous act), while denying sexual interest. This may arise from the Marri Baluch men’s truly lacking sexual interest, or it could simply be a convenient trope for denying sexually interest. Shanshan Du (2002) found chaste love, a form of comfort love, voiced as a high ideal among the Lahu (of southeast Asia). After marriage, it is not unknown for married women and men to sing love songs about someone else. These love songs are devoid of erotic content. For someone to express erotic feelings, would be deemed rude and vulgar. Du reports (chapter 4), however, it is clear that “the absence of erotic expressions in Lahu love songs and formal courtship is rooted in ambiguous cultural representations of sexual desires, rather than the absence of the erotic feelings among the individuals.” For the Lahu and the Miao, extramarital love discourse (or institutionalized flirting) is restricted by ethical norms of propriety more than by the absence of erotic feelings. I suspect a more complete investigation of Marri Baluch culture would find a remarkable similarity to the Lahu in domains of sex and love.

What is striking about the above ethnographic cases is what they tell us about an individual in passionate love. Once emotionally involved, it is difficult not to become sexually involved. Equally striking, with the exception of a few unisexual religious communities (e.g., Trappist monks, Catholic convents), few societies are able to maintain an idealized version of chaste love. Certainly this speaks to the immense difficulties in separating sexual desire from an idealized version of chaste love.

This difficulty arises from passionate love’s ability to heighten all our senses, and, thus, our entire consciousness. Emotional and sexual passion is at its peak. The lovers are greedy of

each other's presence. They feed on it, energizing each other; the intoxication is full of adrenaline, the senses are open full-bore. The possibilities of erotic expression are wide-open, restricted only by the lover's imagination. This phase has an unmistakable feeling that the experience may not end. Of course, lovers often realize that it will. But from inside the experience, the sense is overwhelmingly the opposite. As Lord Byron once said "My heart leaps up." There is the sensation of leaping, of being high, off the ground, in the clouds. Ecstasy, the apotheosis of love: Mind and body identified with the other. In effect, an oceanic feeling.

At the individual level, it is the ability to personalize the love object that makes it so special, yet so dangerous. This accounts for one of the most perplexing of passionate love's many paradoxes - its one-sidedness. This feeling is encapsulated in William Carlos Williams's words to his beloved: "I cannot say/that I have gone to hell/for your love/but often/found myself there /in your pursuit." The attempt to construct a public forum to re-experience a private condolence is found in a Northwest Coast Indian song Menmenlequelas where a man, upon discovering that his lover has deserted him, laments:

You are cruel to me, you are cruel to me, my dear.

You are hard-hearted, against me, you are hard hearted against me, my love.

You are surprisingly cruel, you are surprisingly cruel against me, for whom you pined....

Don't pretend too much that you are indifferent of the love that I hold for you, my dear.

Else you may be too indifferent of the love that I hold for you my dear!

My dear you are too indifferent to the love that I hold for you my dear (Boas 1964).

The worst obsession of all, resulting in the bitterest pain, may come from an encounter with a seducer or seductress; those sometimes enchanting, yet always dangerous individuals, are

universally recognized as a Don Juan or Femme Fatale. These male and female seducers are found in stories, folklore, and cautionary tales across the globe. The seducers either seem incapable of love, or they willfully use the love experience to manipulate and dominate their lover or lovers.

For the culture at large, the seducer is often in opposition to social mores and norms. Few cultures formally condone the hostile manipulation of its members' emotional and sexual needs. In this way, a fatale figure is a challenge to the culture, an outlaw who manipulates the conventions of love for his or her own ends. Ultimately, the seducer is the worst danger of all dangers. The irony is that, frequently, the seducer will use the scent of danger as an erotic enticement to draw his or her victims forward and into the emotional web of dependency, for humans find risk and danger thrilling and stimulating despite our best judgments to the contrary. In other words, a romantic entanglement, an emotional snare, may be created out of erotic attraction.

Because men are prone to idealize female beauty, they can develop a love crush for a woman who is completely uninterested in them. This is the point of the cautionary femme fatale tales: They are warnings to men not to become emotionally involved with a pretty woman they do not know. A cross-cultural study (Jankowiak and Ramsey 2000) of the femme fatale motif found it present in 73 out of 78 or 94 percent of the sample cultures (4). Because the fatale tales revealed anxiety, anticipation, expectation, and conflict as recurrent themes, they are warnings against becoming sudden emotional involvement or “falling in love” more than evidence of a culture’s fear of sexual pollution.

Sexual beliefs and practices are varying solutions to relatively invariant problems of human life”(Suggs and Miracle 1993:488). Societies appear to be compelled to account for, justify, and control their member’s sexual behavior and affectionate displays. The primary means to accomplish this end is to develop a system of norms reflecting the society's highest ideals, which always, albeit in different ways, deal with issues about family formation and bio-cultural continuity (Davis 1976). Out of this concern, cultures seek to regulate their members’ behavior, through defining what is a proper and improper sexual display and practices. Cultures recognize the dreadful danger of such an encounter as it can result in personal destruction as well as social chaos.

My premise is simple: out of the stew that is our genetically-based and chemically-driven biological urge for sex and emotional affiliation comes the psychological experiences that have been variously dubbed, defined, and distinguished as infatuation, limerance, romantic love, or passionate love. When the two experiences come together, an aesthetic unity is formed. However, whenever sexual desire and loving intimacy are at odds with one another, a competition occurs. This competition is accompanied by important implications for understanding the difficulty cultures encounter in balancing and regulating sexuality, both as private experience and as a mode of social behavior.

PART II: Culture’s Response to the Dilemma

Cultural attitudes toward sexuality range anywhere from a deep apprehension or fear to an open, naturalistic approach and to what can be perceived as permissive or promiscuous. More often than not, a culture's attitude is mixed. Most cultures, in point of fact, exhibit ambivalence toward sex and love, an ambivalence that bears a compelling resemblance to the multiple confusions and

anxieties common in the West today that are particularly acute in America. At the social level, cultures are cognizant of how human desire leads to various forms of behavior between the sexes (and between the same sex) that must be regulated, guided, channeled, and restricted.

To guard against the formation of unexpected and unplanned love bonds, cultures have developed a multitude of forms of social regulation (Collins and Gregor 1995) that can include "harem polygamy,... seclusion of women and chaperonage, obsession with virginity, descent systems that create primary allegiances to parents rather than spouses, clitoridectomy, the men's house complex, association of women with impurity and contamination, ... and patterns of sexual promiscuity that undermine enduring relationships" (Gregor 1995:338). Cultures that adopt these strategies of direction strive to uncouple passionate love bonds from feelings of sexual satisfaction. The senior generation in most cultures, Alice Schlegel reminds us, seeks to "control the young through control over their future sexual [love] lives" (1995:186). In these societies, the passionate love bond is held to be a potential rival to other more important non-dyadic loyalties (Schlegel and Barry 1991). It is further understood that feelings of sexual attraction can lead to deeper relationships of human feeling which in turn can develop into full scale resistance to parental authority. In the case of passionate love, parental guidance is often one of definition: Is it suppose to exist? If so, when and how should it be expressed (Person 1988)?

The de-valuation of passionate love did not mean companionate love was equally de-valued. The idealization of companionate love as a publically stated and valued element for the making of the good marriage is a relatively recent (Hirsch and Wardlow 2006). This new global phenomenon should not obscure companionate love presence in numerous societies and, thus marriages, prior to its elevation as an official ideal in the local cosmology. Until this occurred,

companionate love remained an unvoiced, albeit from the perspective of individuals involved, immensely gratifying emotional state. The ethnographic and historical literature contains a wealth of cases that demonstrate the presence of intimate or comfort love within society's that made a fetish of duty and honor (Jankowiak et al 2005). The transformation of the world's economies that has resulted in the replacement of the extended family with the conjugal family did not create the feeling-state of companionate love as much as it transformed comfort love out of the private domain into the dominion of cultural expectation.

Although there are different ways to integrate sexual desire, passionate (and comfort) love, one pattern stands out: The endorsement of one desire or form of love often results in the diffusion of the other. This pattern can be found in the study of rural Chinese and Korean suicide patterns. In both societies female suicide is clustered around two different age cohorts: early twenties and late forties. The plight of young wives in patrilineal societies is well known; not well known is the plight of middle age women who also have a high rate of suicide (Wolf and Witke 1975). The late forties clustering arise from a real or imagined shift in emotional loyalty between the mother and her son. Because rural Chinese and Korean mothers develop intensely close emotional bonds with their sons (Wolf 1972), they can become acutely paranoid that her son's incoming wife will monopolize his time, attention, and, in the end, love. The reasons for middle age Chinese or Korean women's suicide arises out of her perception of being emotionally replaced by her son's wife as the primary source of affection. Believing they have lost their son's affection and loyalty, some women lapse into a depression that leads to suicide. The Chinese and Korean cases demonstrate that out of prolonged sexual intimacy can come emotional intimacy or comfort love.

The interrelationship between the sexual, the procreational, and the emotional domains are also evident in Samoan ambivalence toward sex and love. It is an ambivalence that arises from brother-sister intimacy bond, an asexual form of love, serving as the paradigmatic model for the ideal relationship. This folk model, Brad Shore (1996:291-292) believes, accounts for a deep-seated uneasiness Samoans adopt towards the erotic. It is an uneasiness that never goes away. Shore suggests that the “psychological complexities of forming erotic attachments may account for [the frequent] violence between lovers and spouses” (1996:292). In effect, Samoans often use violence to erotize their marriages. How representative is the Samoan case? Is sexual ambivalence toward the erotic typical of any culture (or individual) that idealizes the brother-sister relationship over the husband/wife bond? This holds for the Tamil Nadu of South India where strong brother/sister intimacy competes with and undermines the husband/wife bond (Trawick 1990). It is also true for contemporary Hohhotian Chinese Muslims (*Hui*) who have close brother-sister ties as well as the highest frequency of spousal abuse as compared to local Mongol and Han Chinese population (A Chinese researcher who prefers to be unnamed, in conversation). Further research may find that the high incidence of rural Chinese spouse abuse may arise from Chinese men striving to overcome their deep asexual love bond toward their mother. If so, then the Chinese men use physical violence - much like the Samoans - as a way to transform an asexual love bond into an eroticized encounter. If this interpretation holds across cultures, it demonstrates there are psychological costs to valuing the brother/sister bond more highly than the husband/wife bond.

The Metaphors of Sex and Love

How a culture understands the relationship between the many faces of love and sex determines which type of metaphor will be appropriate or inappropriate in conversation amongst and between

members of the same and the opposite sex. The ambiguities between our voice saying one thing and our body saying another constitutes one of the reasons why cultural codes regulating sexual desire and emotional interest are so hard to enforce. This is also why, during intense social change, so many people are unsure of how to act in mixed company. In many instances, they become intensely unsure of their behavior or what signals they are sending or, if indeed, if they are being received and understood.

There are three distinct, albeit often overlapping, discourses used to converse about feelings of love and sexual desire: de-erotic, the poly-erotic, and the uni-romantic. Each discourse reflects a culture's synthesis over the meaning of love and sex. No matter what the culture's notion of an appropriate discourse, non-verbal expressions (particularly those that may contradict the literal ones) are subject to confusion.

Perhaps the most common posture, the de-erotic prefers not to use explicit sexual metaphors in public conversation, deeming them too crude and vulgar. This style is most commonly found in ranked or stratified societies, which confine sexual topics to conversations among same sexed age-mates. On the other hand, the poly-erotic style tends to accentuate sexual imagery in ordinary speech. For example, women in poly-erotic cultures often respond to male sexual banter through asserting the value of their sexuality. For them, it is a source of their pride and thus their dignity. Among the Tongan, "discourse is humorous, with joking and teasing being frequently employed in conversation" (Morton 1996:176). Helen Morton typically found that Tongan women's response to men's sexual joking was to hit, punch, or push the men, albeit in good humor (see also Malinowski's *Sexual Life of Savages*). The poly-erotic style is evident in late twentieth century African-American teenagers humorous put down ("playing the dozens"). As

with any form of speech, the use of sexual imagery has numerous connotations and contexts. At times the banter can imply good-natured joking; Other times it conveys intense sexual desire or hints at secret romantic desire or attachment. Occasionally the banter disguises a troubling ambivalence toward the opposite sex. Significantly, with the exception of American subcultures, societies that favor the poly-erotic discourse pattern tend to disapprove of public expressions of romantic or affectionate love and displays of emotional intimacy. These behaviors are considered to be private matters and not open to public consumption.

Significantly, cultures that favor the Tongan pattern disapprove of public expressions of love and displays of emotional intimacy. These behaviors are considered to be private matters between individuals and not for public consumption. In contrast, the uniromantic American pattern is organized around the notion of idealized love, which approves and glorifies public displays of affection in speech and behavior, as long as such displays are not overtly sexual. Although romantic metaphors are the preferred language of courtship, it is understood, as it was in Medieval courtly society, that the metaphors may range in meaning and implications from pure lust to unrequited affection. In looking back over the historical record, it is painfully obvious that ethnographers and explorers misunderstood or misperceived the numerous forms of affiliation that can exist inside and outside the "official" culture. The three competing discourse patterns represent the individual and the official culture's inability to reconcile the two volatile emotions of sexual desire and passionate love. The ethnographic record shows a clear relationship between a gender's economic and political influence and the preference for a specific discourse or language pattern. This sex difference may account the uni-romantic discourse pushing out the poly-erotic in Medieval European courtly society. When aristocratic women, the standard-bearers for eleventh

and twelfth century European social manners, found the former more aesthetically satisfying than the latter, a new style emerged. Whatever meaning courtly love held for the individual, this style also served to establish social boundaries between the cultural elite and the peasantry. Whereas the latter enjoyed the crudities of sexual bantering, the elite, especially its women, preferred to de-emphasize the erotic in favor of romantic imagery. In this way, the earthy language of Eros, or what is conceptualized as the poly-erotic pattern, was replaced by the high-flown language of romance and gentility, an idiom that is used in many strata across America today (Jankowiak 1999).

In our own era, Kevin Birth and Morris Freidlich's (1995) diachronic study of the transformation of Trinidadian gender relationships effectively documents the impact of disease, cultural diffusion, and social stratification on the change from the poly-erotic pattern to a recognizably uni-romantic pattern. In effect, they found that romantic metaphors had replaced sexual metaphors as the preferred idiom, at least by men, of a male-female courtship and public address. Previously, the preferred idiom was organized around sexual imagery that regularly disguised or diminished underlying implications of romantic passion. They suggest that it is Trinidadian women's newly obtained economic independence that enabled them to effect the change to romantic imagery, with its metaphors closely related to relationships, generosity, and family. Michael Angrosino (personal communication) found, during the late 1970's, that Trinidadians were careful to affirm the permissibility of speaking openly about sex but the need to touch privately on matters of the heart. Linda Rebhun (1995) also noted that nearby Northeast Brazilians made a similar distinction. She found passionate love was always a possibility, though not a necessarily articulated fact of life, which customarily grew out of the sexual encounter.

Oscar Lewis (1966) made a similar observation in the 1950's where he also found the Puerto Ricans had adopted a like-minded approach to matters of sex and matters of the heart.

Expressing and Being in Love: Sex Differences?

The sex difference reported for men and women in more complex state level societies (see overview Buss 1992; Symons 1979) may account, in part, for the phenomenon of instant attraction or "love at first sight." If male erotic and romantic idealization of women is based on images of physical attraction, that would also account for men's ability to quickly shift between sexual fantasy and deep romantic affection. Customarily, women show more interest in assessing a man's social status or understanding his character. As opposed to physical attractiveness, this has appeared to be the more dominant criterion for female mate selection and the formation of romantic fantasies. In China, for example, men often admit to "falling in love" with a good-looking woman they frequently encountered but seldom actually spoke to. In the words of one twenty-nine-year-old man "I dreamed of someone like her last night. She was so beautiful. I knew I wanted to marry her" (Jankowiak 1993). The word "like" may be the pivotal word for it suggests an image, not a particular person. This phenomenon is echoed in the Brazilian proverb "Born in a glance and matures in a smile" (Rehbun 1995). American sociological research also found men tend to "fall in love" faster than women, who are correspondingly consistently slower to make such emotional commitment (Canican 1987). In this way physical attraction, at least for men, might prove to be a primary catalyst for romantic idealization. Since it takes much longer to evaluate character than it does physical beauty, women may be slower to become romantically

involved or to commit completely to a mate. Because there are no studies from small scale societies that focus on the speed in which men and women “fall in love,” it is difficult to determine if Euro-American data is a cultural specific response or pan-human universal. This is less the case for studies of male and female sexual strategies.

The evolutionary psychological research (see overviews in Buss 2000; Batten 1992; Brizendine 2006) on men and women’s sexual strategies has consistently confirmed the reality of sex differences in the pursuit of short and long term sexual strategies around the globe. This research holds there are innate sex differences wherein men and women are typically attracted to different qualities of a potential lover or mate; for men, the qualities are youth, health, and physical attraction, whereas for women, the qualities are ambition, social and economic success, and generosity (Symons 1979). Recently, female scholars (Ramsawh and Harris 2003) have pointed out there may be an age bias in much of this research: it focuses primary on college students or men and women in their reproductive prime. Left unexamined is the frequency in which a middle age woman is willing to adjust her short and long term sexual selection criteria. This research finds evidence that mature women, in certain contexts, can benefit from modifying their selection criteria in short term sexual encounters. In this way, the differences in sexual selection criteria may disappear as women (but not necessarily men) age. This does not mean there are no innate sex differences. It does suggest that “cultural influences can exaggerate basic differences that evolved under adaptive pressure” (Ramsawh and Harris 2003 :1396; also see Bonnie and Barry Hewlett chapter 2).

The differences in male and female sexual strategies, underlie much of the cultural tension that arises from working to balance sexual desire with passionate love. Female sex choice is

grounded in selecting males whose accomplishments have the highest contextual value; while male choice is grounded more in physical attraction (Ballen 1992). Because the value of a particular context can change, females are more able than males to rapidly adjust their mate selection criteria. The differences in sexual strategies can also result in male anger over being rejected by someone they have idealized, albeit from afar. It can also be manifested in female bitterness and resistance whenever they perceive their partner wasting family resources. Because males and females often expect different things from each other, the sexual relationship can easily become filled with ambiguity, tension, conflict, and anger.

The cool objectivity found in mate selection criteria of different societies often quickly disappear whenever the discussion shifts to the meaning of love. For many, romantic entanglement is one of life's truly authentic and deeply moving experiences. It stands, as such, in direct opposition to the more instrumental and pragmatic values found in a culture's discourse on the ideal mate. The conflict in reproductive interest, however, ensures that men and women will continue to approach the domain of sexual pleasure with different expectations, which ensures that whenever men and women discuss the erotic, it will inevitably be with murky ears. As soon as the conversation shifts to the domain of love, the differences that were so explicit and raw in the sexual domain, disappear. Men and women are united in the meaning and purpose of love.

Psychologist Dorothy Tennov (1979) maintains, with little evidence, there is no difference between American men's and women's experience of passionate and comfort love. Although social factors are responsible for the cultural variation found in the expression of romantic passion; it remains to be seen, if once a state of passionate love arises, everyone's experience is the same. Ethnographic evidence tends to support Tennov's position. For example,

I found in the 1980's urban Chinese women were somewhat more reserved and cautious than men during the initial stages of courtship (Jankowiak 1993). Susan and Dave Davis (1995) also found a similar pattern among Moroccan women. However, we both reported that once a woman became emotionally involved, there was no noticeable gender difference in the way the feeling state was articulated or displayed (8). Cathy Davidson (1992) drew a similar conclusion from her literary history of western civilization's view of love. She reported that whenever she read a quote about someone being in the state of love, she had immense difficulties determining the century in which the author lived. Tennyson would, no doubt, think she would have trouble recognizing the gender of the writer as well. Recent neurobiological research (Marrazziti and Canale 2004) is supportive of Tennyson's position. This research examined the relationship between specific hormonal changes, sexual arousal, and emotional attachment and discovered that the hormonal levels of estradiol, progesterone, DHEAS, and androstenedione did not significantly differ between men and women in a state of passionate love (2004:934). The authors conclude that humans in a state of passionate love are remarkably androgynous, at least in their biochemical composition. If this research receives further collaboration, it would suggest that men and women in a state of passionate love (if not comfort love) are remarkably similar. It remains to be seen, however, if this also holds for men and women who are sexually aroused. To date, evolutionary psychologists have been relentless in documenting sex differences in the way the erotic is understood, pursued, and savored. The emerging research on comfort and passionate love is finding minor sex differences in the way love is experienced. If this finding proves to be representative it may account for the perennial human dilemma: The push for sexual enjoyment often differs from the pull of affective involvement.

Conclusion

It is my contention that passionate (and comfort) love and sexual desire are three of the more powerful human sentiments. These three sentiments are organized around different cultural and psychological criteria, which puts them, in several ways, in direct competition with one another, and this competition raises important implications for understanding some of the turmoil often found in male-female relationships. Ethnographic research findings reported in this chapter and elsewhere (Ahearn 2001; 2003; Hirsch and Wardlow 2006; Rebhun 1999) find the love/sex conundrum is found everywhere and so too the dilemma, especially for individuals in a given culture, over how to satisfactorily reconcile these three often volatile and conflicting forces.

Sex and passionate (and comfort) love are fundamental experiences that often result in strong emotional bonds with which every community must deal. Parents realize that they must instruct their children in how to avoid romantic manipulation and, more importantly, how to recognize appropriate human affection. Cultural models are useful in that they provide an explanation of how to integrate the many facets of love and sex into a more unified whole. These models or explanations can be challenged by individuals and interest groups (e.g., society for human sexual polyamory, Christian fundamentalists, libertines, and so forth) who offer alternative models as to the proper relationship between the types of love and sex. But this raises, a larger and more vexing issue: Is the dilemma for individual and culture between sexual desire and passionate love? Or is it between passionate love and comfort love? Or are we dealing with a triangular relationship? (Steve Meyer, in an email correspondence). Certainly there can be one without the other—a disheartening fact in cultures where the goal is to blend them together—but

this examination is primarily concerned with their relationships, a tripartite relationship that is universal.

All the above concerns are most vividly manifested in our private pathos. For it is in the individual where the perennial tensions between the facets of love and lust must be addressed, bracketed, rationalized, and thus managed. Few achieve a lasting peace with it, or are satisfied with their synthesis, most of us continue to combine in some fashion the push and pull of sexual attraction, delight in passionate love and the stability that come with a comfort love. A point highlighted in the confession of the poet W. B. Yeats revealed his personal struggle with integrating these often dueling passions. Yeats noted that he had labored for nearly half his life under the cultural imperative of upholding the aristocratic conventions and refinements of high-brow comfort love, but came, in time, to realize that this posture could be more distancing than any societal restraint. In the end, Yeats understood that the conventional language of passionate love, the tradition that he inherited as a poet and more importantly, as a man, had become an inbred, private language increasingly removed from true passion and real feeling. The volatile nature of contemporary life ensures, that everyone around the world will continue as observers and participants to confront, in their own way, the meaning of Yeats' dilemma.

Endnotes

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2) Recently, neurobiologists research lends further support to Bowlby's attachment theory. This research sought to document hormonal changes related to sexual arousal and emotional attachment. It repeatedly demonstrates the presence of an interrelationship between neurohypophyseal peptides such as oxytocin (a peptide originating in the hypothalamus within the brain), vasopressin, and the formation of distinct forms of affiliation manifested in monogamous union, mating guarding, and paternal care (Young, L., Zuoxin Wang, and T. Insel 1998; Hofer 1995; Unvas-Moberg 1998). In a related study Burnham et al (2003) found a link between decrease levels of testosterone (T) in men in committed relationships. He writes that "long term pair bond (and not just in the context of marriage) [is] an important predictor of male T levels" (Burnham et al 2003:3). In effect, these hormones play an essential part of the evolution of social animal behavior (Gray et al 2004; Gray 2007).

3) It appears Lindholm's cross-cultural study (1998; 2001) never developed a criteria for dropping cultures from his sample. He used the entire HRAF data set. This resulted in a distorted research design as the quality of ethnographic reporting is not similar for all cultures listed in HRAF. A researcher can not be confident, therefore, that the data contained within his or her sample is equally comprehensive or of similar quality. The HRAF, as a compiler of anthropological research findings, is a reflection of shifting research interests. Given anthropologists proclivity to seek novel frameworks in which to present their data, the Files may not always the most complete source of information on a given topic. It all depends on what previous researchers were interest in collecting. For example, the field's initial interest in the study of diffusion resulted in ethnographers gathering enormous amounts of information on the material culture such as house construction, weapon designs, and subsistence activities. The subjective domains of the people remained the forgotten territory. It would not be until the 1980's when ethnographers (who were not working within the cultural and personality paradigm) began to study emotions and with it came an interest in the exploration of individual's subjective lives (See Lyons 1990 overview). Consequently, to rely entirely upon the HRAF for evidence of the presence or absence of a particular subjective experience such as love, anger, fear, joy, and so forth would result in finding an overwhelming number of inconclusive or negative cases. The negative findings arise not because native populations did not experience these emotions, but rather because earlier ethnographers did not write about them. As Lew Langness noted, in a 1986 conversation: "we were not supposed to write on these subjects." Given this limitation, any cross-cultural sample seeking to explore the presence or absence of a particular emotion must develop a criteria in which to drop cultures that *do not contain* information on individual subjective feelings and behaviors. Not to do so, will result in a distortion of the validity and representativeness of the sample and, thus, analysis. Without examining a culture's folklore, we would not have found as many positive cases for passionate love presence. In relying upon interviews (and folklore texts) we were able to overcome some of the gaps found in conventional ethnographic accounts.

4) An early twentieth century Inuit Eskimo tale is representative of the desire and fear of female beauty. In the tale a hunter comes upon a dazzlingly hypnotic woman who sings: "Come, come, lonely hunter. Now I will embrace you, embrace you now". The hunter, overwhelmed by the singer's beauty, jumps into a frigid river and swims toward the woman who begins to move

slowly away downstream. After extraordinary effort, he finally reaches her, only to have the woman turn into a night owl and fly into the night laughing. Exhausted from the ordeal, the hunter passes out and freezes to death (Boas 1964). A similar tale can be found in an Ibo of Southern Nigeria story aptly titled “A pretty stranger who killed a king.” It deals with a man who falls in love with a strikingly pretty woman who is a witch in disguise; upon falling asleep she cuts off his head (Bascom 1975:33).

5) The second objection comes from Bonnie Adrian (2003) in her book *Framing the Bride: Globalizing Beauty and Romance in Taiwan's Bridal Industry* where she notes in an endnote (p.263 en4) that the 1992 cross-cultural survey is flawed as it is based on an erroneous assumption: that cultures exist as independent entities. This is a familiar criticism of cross-cultural research (often referred to as Galton's problem). Because cultures mutually influence each other, it is difficult to determine cultural borders. Consequently, the migration of ideas, sentiments, and behaviors can result in a researcher comparing cultures thought to be distinctive when they are in fact remarkably similar. Cross-cultural researchers seek to control for this problem by striving to keep the ethnographic time and social space as similar as possible (see discussion in de Munck 2000). Further, dismissing a study as erroneous because it “reifies culture” does not help us understand or account for the persistence of the behavioral trait across divergent linguistic communities, its presence within a range of belief systems and in different levels of social organizations.

In looking for evidence of a human universal, a researcher is less constrained by Galton's problem or the issue of culture reification. Since the focus of the investigation is on individual behavior and not culture or its official ideology, it does not seriously distort the finding if some cultures have so diffused into one another that they have become essentially similar. If a human universal is present, it should be manifested in similar behavioral acts all around the globe. This is what we found. Thus, the objection that we “reified culture” is not applicable to any analysis of human universals, as the analytical focus is on the individual and not the community.

Adrian's second objection, based on research conducted by ethnopsychologists (e.g., Lutz 1988) who stress the relationship between cognition, emotion, and ethical choice, is conceptual. Their position is that emotions are social constructions, and, thus, there is no such thing as a basic emotion or human universal. This is her opinion, it is not Lutz (1988:210) who points out that there probably are universal emotional expressions (or basic emotions), as there are cultural constructed emotions. Lutz's qualification is consistent with the neurophysiological literature of emotions, mostly unread by strict cultural constructionists, who do not consider the neurophysiological literature relevant to understanding the factors that promote cultural variation (6). Our cross-cultural survey was designed, however, to see if there was evidence for romantic passion, as evident in standardized behavioral acts and emotional expressions, found around the world. It was not designed to identify the cultural rules for expression of love in different societies. If everything is culturally constructive, then how would a constructionist account for the presence of similar behavioral traits in so many different societies? Until cultural constructionists can provide a cultural explanation for the existence and persistence of behavioral attributes associated with people in love, their objections to the evolutionary psychologists and behavioral ecologists analysis can never be taken seriously.

7) Recently, David Lipset (2004), in an important paper, examines one of the components of our definition of passionate love and finds that idealization of the beloved is absent among the Murik (Papua New Guinea), at least as it is voiced during the Murik courtship process. In its place, the ritualization of masculine expression during courtship has become the primary context for the assertion of masculine identity and not the idealization of the beloved. He does not explore, as it was not the focus of the paper, whether the Murik men are capable of idealizing their “beloved” in other contexts. He does note that it was not unknown for women to elope to another village to be with someone they chose, rather than follow their parents’ wishes. Lew Langness (personal communication) also noted that Bema women often demonstrated a strong preference for someone other than the one selected by her parents. This resulted in friction that was resolved with the woman running away with her choice of marital partner. Lipset reports that there is a popular Murik folklore tale that discusses how men can use love spells to compel the woman of their choice to “look at no one but himself” (Lipset 2004:211). Lipset used this tale to make an important point: The Murik discourse on courtship and love does not privilege the self’s merger with the beloved. However, the tale does reveal that the Murik behave as if love is about involvement best disclosed through a series of behavioral preferences that are organized around the creation and protection of sexual/emotional exclusivity. Thus, the notion of emotional exclusivity for another does not seem foreign to Murik sensibilities. Their emotional preference is manifested behaviorally more than it is verbally. What is needed are more case studies such as David Lipset’s study of the Murik; whereby the ethnographer probes the subjective domain in order to understand the processes of love and sexual desire as they are manifested in daily life.

8) They did not examine if there is a relationship between social stability and the degree to which passionate love is valued. Nor did they examine if passionate love was present, as a private experience, outside of marriage. For example, Hindu India society has been remarkably stable. Its cultural norms have and continue to disapprove of passionate love as a basis for marriage. However, there are countless stories highlighting passionate love as an appealing sentiment in its mythology, literature and films. Clearly, individual Hindi’s are capable of understanding and, thus experiencing, albeit often only in the realm of fantasy, passionate love.

9) Moroccan women are so fearful of “falling in love” before marriage, they consciously work at not letting themselves do so. Once in a state of passionate love, the women believe they would not be able to deny their boyfriend’s requests for sex; thereby making them vulnerable to being abandoned by their boyfriend for being a “loose” woman. Significantly, the Davis’ report that because Moroccan men do not suffer approbation from being in love with a number of women, men tend to “fall in passionate love” more often than women.

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APPENDIX I

THE DATA

Each culture is followed by the reference in which romantic love was reported to be present (or absent) in that culture. Following the reference is either an (a), which means that this is the source recommended by Murdock and White (1969) or a (s), which means this is a supplemental ethnography.

1.) Nama

Schapera, I. 1951 The Khorsan Peoples of South Africa.
London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp.244-245. (a)

2.) !Kung

Marshall L. 1976 The !Kung of Nyae Nyae. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard
University Press, p.279. (a), suggestive but inconclusive; supported by Shostak.
Shostak, M. 1981 Nisa. New York: Vintage Books, pp. 266-269. (s)

3.) Thonga

Junod, H. 1962 The Life of a South African Tribe. New Hyde Park, New York:
University Books, pp.100-101; 190-201. (a)

5.) Mbundu

Courlander, H. 1975 A Treasure of African Folklore. New York:
Crown Publishers, p.299. (s)

8.) Nyakyusa

Wilson, M. 1951 Good Company. Boston: Beacon Press, pp.76-77. (a)

9.) Hadza

Woodburn, J. Personal Communication (a)

10.) Luguru

Beidelman, T.O. 1983 The Kaguru. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, p.66. (a)

11.) Kikuyu

Kenyatta, J. 1953 Facing Mount Kenya. London: Seeker & Warburg, Chapter 8. (a)

13.) Mbuti

Turnbull, C. 1955 Wayward Servants. New York: Natural History Press, p.141. (a)

Aka Pygmies - Barry Hewlett (personal correspondence)

14.) Nkundo Mongo

Hulstaert, G. 1938 Le Mariage des Nkunde. Bruxelles: Givan Campenhout, p.37. (a)

16.) Tiv

Bergsma, H. and R. Bergsma. 1969 Tales Tiv Tell. London: Oxford University Press, pp.9-14;19-20. (s)

Paul Bohannon (personal correspondence - one case)

17.) Ibo

Ottenberg, P. 1981 Marriage Relations in the Double Descent System of the Afrikpo Ibo of Southeastern Nigeria. New haven: Human Relations Area File Press, pp.49-50. (s)

19.) Ashanti

Rattray, R.S. 1929 Akan-Ashanti Folk Tales. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.45-51. (a)

20.) Mende

Little, K. 1967 The Mende of Sierra Leone. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.153-157. (a)

21.) Wolof

Gamble, D. 1967 The Wolof of Senegambia. London: International African Institute, pp.65-68. (a)

22.) Bambara

Courtlander, H. 1982 The Heart of the Ngoni. New York: Crown Press, p.77;127. (s)

23.) Tallensi

Fortes, M. 1949 The Web of Kinship Among the Tallensi. London: International African Institute, p.86. (a)

24.) Songhai

Miner, H. 1953 The Primitive City of Timbuctoo. Princeton:

Princeton University Press, pp.176-177. (a)

25.) Fulani

Stenning, D.J. 1959 The Savannah Nomads. London: Oxford University Press, pp.141-144. (a)

Helen Regis "The Madness of Excess: Love Among the Fulbe of North Cameroun" p.141-151. In William Jankowiak Romantic Passion. New York: Columbia University Press. 1995.

26.) Hausa

Cohen, A. 1971 Customs and Politics in Urban Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp.56-57. (s)

Tremearne, A.J.N. 1970 Hausa Superstitions and Customs. London: Frank Cass and Company, pp.304-306. (s)

28.) Azande

Seligman, C.G. and B.Z. Seligman. 1933 Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, pp.514-517. (s)

30.) Otoro

Nadel, S.F. 1947 The Nuba. London: Oxford University Press, p.111. (a)

34.) Masai

Spencer, P. 1988 The Masai of Matapato. London: Manchester University Press, p.32. (s)

Masai Warriors (Film)

35.) Konso

Hallpike, C.R. 1972 The Konso of Ethiopia. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, pp.112-113. (a)

36.) Somali

Lewis, I.M. 1962 Marriage and the Family in Northern Somaliland. Kampala, Uganda: East African Institute of Social Research, pp12-13. (a)

37.) Amhara

Beier, U. 1966 African Poetry. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

41) Tuareg

Briggs, L.C. 1960 Tribes of the Sahara. Cambridge: Harvard university Press, pp.130-133. (s)

- 42.) Riffians
Joseph, R. and T.B. Joseph. 1987 The Rose and the Thorn. Tucson:
University of Arizona Press, pp.86-112. (s)
- 43.) Egyptians
Ammar, H. 1954 Growing up in an Egyptian Village. London:
Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.186-187. (a)
- 44.) Hebrews
Ecclesiastes, XI. 19. (a)
- 45.) Babylonians
Morris, J. 1915 The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria. Philadelphia:
J.B. Lippincott, p.453. (s)
- 46.) Rwala
Musil, A. 1928 The Manner and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins. New York:
American Geographical Society, pp.138-139. (a)
- 47.) Turks
Makal, m> 1954 A Village in Anatolia. London: Valentine, Mitchell & Company,
p.73. (a)
- 49.) Romans
Cowell, I.R. 1975 Life in Ancient Rome. New York: Capricorn Books, p.57. (s)
- 50.) Basques
Gorostiaga, J. 1955 Antologia De Poesia Popular Vasca. San Sebastian:
Vascongada de los Amigos del Pais, chapters 11 and 15. (s)
- 51.) Irish
Glassie, H. 1985 Irish Folk Tales. New York: Pantheon Books, p.257. (s)
- 52.) Lapps
Turi, J. 1931 Turi's Book of Lappland. Oosterhout, Netherlands:
Anthropological Publications, pp.202-207. (s)
- 53.) Yurak Samoyed
Popov, A.A. 1964 "The Nganasans," in The Peoples of Siberia. eds.
M.G. Levin and C.P. Potapov. Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
p.571. (s)

54.) Russians

Benet, S. 1970 The Village of Viriatino. garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, pp.106-107. (s)

55.) Abkhaz

Benet, S. 1974 Abkhasians. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, p.64. (s)

56.) Armenians

Von Haxthausen, B. 1854 Transcaucasian. London: Chapman & Hall, p.226. (a)

57.) Kurd

Kinnane, D. 1964 The Kurds and Kurdistan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.6. (s)

59.) Punjabi

Eglar, Z. 1960 A Punjabi Village in Pakistan. New York: Columbia University Press, pp.93-94. (a)

60.) Gond

Fuchs, S. 1960 The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla. New York: Asia Publishing House, p.294. (s)

61.) Toda

Emeneau, M.B. 1937 "The Songs of the Todas," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 77 (4), pp.543-560. (s)

62.) Santal

Bompas, C.H. 1972 Folklore of the Santal Parganas. New York: Arno Press, pp.300-301. (s)

63.) Uttar Pradesh

Beck, B. and P. Claus, P. Goswami and J. Handoo (eds.) 1987 Folk Tales of India. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p.v;256. (s)

Freeman, J. 1979 Untouchable. Stanford: Stanford University Press, chapter 23. (s)

64.) Burusho

Lorimer, D.L.R. 1935 The Burushaki Languages. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Company, pp.15-19. (a)

65.) Kazak

Winner, T. 1958 The Oral Art and Literature of the Kazakhs of Russian Central Asia. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp.186-188. (s)

66.) Khalka Mongols

Jagchild, S. and P. Ayer. 1979 Mongolia's Culture and Society. Boulder CO: Westview Press, p.95. (s)

William Jankowiak (Love songs heard in the field: 1981-1987)

67.) Lolo (Yi)

Lin, Y. 1961 The Lolo of Llang Shan. New Haven: Human Relations Area File Press, pp.49-50. (a)

68.) Lepcha

Gorer, G. 1967 Himalayan Village. New York: Basic Books, pp.158;169;316-317. (a)

69.) Garo

Burling, G. 1963 Rengsanggri. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, p.85.(a)

70.) Lakher

Parry, N.E. 1932 The Lakhers. London: Macmillan & Co., pp.292-293; 318-319. (a)

71.) Burmese

Nash, M. 1965 The Golden Road to Modernity. New York: Wiley and Company. (a)

72.) Lamet

Izikowitz, K.G. 1951 Lamet. Elanders, Sweden: Gottenburg, pp.78-79. (a)

73.) Vietnamese

Dumoutier, G. 1907 Les Cultes Annamites. New Haven: Human Relations Area File Press, pp.23-24. (a)

75.) Khmer or Cambodians

Groslier, B. and J. Arthaud. 1957 The Arts and Civilization of Angkor. New York: F. Praeger. (a)

76.) Siamese or Central Thai

Gordon, Y. 1962 The Hill Tribes of Northern Thailand. Bangkok: The Siam Society, pp.32-36. (s)

77.) Semang

Schebesta, P. 1962 The Negritos of Asia, Volume 2. (trans. Frieda Schutze). New Haven: Human Relations Area File Press, pp.216-245. (a)

79.) Andamanese

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. 1948 The Andaman Islanders. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press,

pp.70-73. (a)

80.) Vedda

Parker, H. 1910 Village Folk Tales of Ceylon. London: Luzac and Company, pp.67-68. (s), back up Seligmann

Seligmann, C.G. and B.Z. Seligmann. 1969 The Veddas. Osterhout, Netherlands: Anthropological Publications, p.96. (a), inconclusive; backed by Parker.

81.) Tanala

Linton, R. 1956 Analysis of Tanala Culture. New Haven: Human Relations Area File Press, p.321-329. (a)

82.) Negri Sembilan

Ahmand, R. 1922 The Akuan or Spirit Friends. pp.381-382. (s)

83.) Javanese

Geertz, H. 1961 The Javanese Family. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, p.58. (a)

84.) Balinese

Bello, J. 1970 Traditional Balinese Culture. New York: Columbia University Press, p.73. (s), backs up Geertz

Geertz, H. and C. Geertz. 1975 Kinship in Bali. Chicago: Chicago University Press, pp.110-111;137. (a), suggestive, backed up by Bello

Sisters and lovers: women and desire in Bali Megan Jennaway. Lanham, Md:Rowman and Littlefield, 2002 p.143 (overview on studies of love in Bali).

85.) Iban

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86.) Badjau

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APPENDIX I:

Each culture is followed by the reference in which romantic love was reported to be present (or absent) in that culture. Following the reference is either an (a), which means that this is the source recommended by Murdock and White (1969) or a (s), which means this is a supplemental ethnography.

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5.) Mbundu

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8.) Nyakyusa

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9.) Hadza

Woodburn, J. Personal Communication (a)

10.) Luguru

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11.) Kikuyu

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13.) Mbuti

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14.) Nkundo Mongo

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21.) Wolof

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23.) Tallensi

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24.) Songhai

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- 30.) Otoro
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- 35.) Konso
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- 36.) Somali
Lewis, I.M. 1962 Marriage and the Family in Northern Somaliland. Kampala, Uganda: East African Institute of Social Research, pp12-13. (a)
- 37.) Amhara
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- 43.) Egyptians
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- 55.) Abkhaz
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- 56.) Armenians
Von Haxthausen, B. 1854 Transcaucasian. London: Chapman & Hall, p.226. (a)
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- 59.) Punjabi
Eglar, Z. 1960 A Punjabi Village in Pakistan. New York: Columbia University Press, pp.93-94. (a)
- 60.) Gond
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Asia Publishing House, p.294. (s)

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