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A Content Analysis of Mehinaku Dreams

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A Content Analysis of Mehinaku Dreams

THOMAS GREGOR

Despite the growth of psychological anthropology, dreams remain relatively neglected in the ethnographic descriptions of non-Western peoples. We have a number of systematic examinations of dreams, including those from Australia (Schneider and Sharp 1969), Africa (LeVine 1966), and India (Gray and Kalsched 1971), but many ethnographic regions are virtually unknown territory in terms of dream research. In no case do we have a data base that is as scientifically compiled as that of Hall and his collaborators, who have analyzed more than 10,000 American dreams (Hall 1951; Hall and Van de Castle 1966). The purpose of this paper is to expend the base of evidence upon which cross-cultural dream research rests by providing descriptions of the manifest content of 385 dreams collected among the Mehinaku Indians, an Arawakan-speaking people of Central Brazil. Although a number of researchers have effectively utilized dreams as a method of research among South American Indian cultures (see, for example, Kracke 1978, 1979), I am aware of

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few published collections of dreams from the peoples of this area.

The 83 Mehinaku Indians live along the headwaters of the Xingu river in Brazil's Xingu National Park. They and their culturally similar but linguistically distinct neighbors participate in a well-developed system of intertribal barter, marriage, and collective ritual (see Gregor 1977). Unlike that of many of the other native peoples of Brazil, Mehinaku life remains essentially traditional. The presence of an Indian post and a small air force base has had a psychological impact that is visible in Mehinaku dream life, but the villagers thus far remain protected from wage labor, contact with missionaries, squatters, and others who would exploit them or alter their lives.

According to the Mehinaku, dreams occur when the soul (*iyeweku*, literally, "shadow") leaves its home in the iris of the eye to wander about through a nocturnal world peopled by spirits, monsters, and the souls of other sleeping villagers. In the morning the villagers are careful to recall the adventures of their souls, since they are a clue to the future. Dreamed occurrences are symbols (*patalapiri*, literally "pictures, images") of events to come. The meaning of the symbols is determined by metaphoric equivalences of color, shape, and action. For the most part, the equations are gloomy predictions of misfortune: injury, illness, and early death. A dream of collecting flying ants, for example, suggests the death of kin, since the ants are short-lived, and the clouds of flying insects resemble the rain of tears that accompanies a death. Frequently dream symbols have sexual or scatological associations, as in a dream of a vagina that is a symbol for a knife wound, or a dream of a dirty rectum, which suggests burned manioc bread (see Gregor 1981 for a full description of Mehinaku dream theory).

Each morning, the Mehinaku remember their dreams and often recount them to their families and housemates. This penchant for recall and immediate verbalization is ideally suited for research, as it insures that the night's dreams are not lost in the cloud of amnesia that follows waking for most Westerners. During my research, the villagers made superb informants as I circulated through the houses each morning to harvest the previous night's crop of dreams.

In utilizing these data, however, the reader should be aware that in many respects the dream narratives were collected under less favorable conditions than those enjoyed by Hall and others who have worked with American informants. First, my dream reports

vary considerably in length, ranging from a sentence or two to several hundred words. Second, the elaborate Mehinaku system of dream interpretation is a powerful incentive for the dream's "secondary revision," in that culturally meaningful elements may be emphasized in the dream reports. We must always keep in mind that we are dealing with *accounts* of dream experiences rather than the experiences themselves. Finally, although nearly all of the dreams were related to me in the Mehinaku language, I have only a few tape recordings of dream narratives. The bulk of the dreams were written in a notebook in a mixture of Mehinaku and English as they were narrated. With these caveats in mind, it is clear that the dream summaries that follow are not suitable data for the kind of comparative research that may depend on subtleties of verb form or other grammatical nuances of the dream report. We may have more confidence, however, in the dream themes, settings, characters, and emotional tone.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE AND THE DIMENSIONS OF ANALYSIS

All studies of manifest dream content reflect the research interests of the investigator. My own research on the nature of masculinity has led me to examine dream themes dealing with aggression, sexuality, and anxiety. The sample of informants has been weighted toward men (276 out of a total of 385 dreams); among the men two individuals were selected for intensive study. Their sequentially collected dreams constitute about 25% of the entire corpus. In all but a few cases, which are noted in the text, their dreams were sufficiently like the others in the sample so that the reported averages are skewed by less than 5%. The entire collection of dreams includes at least some narratives from 18 men and 18 women, including almost the entire adult population.

The total sample of 385 dreams is examined in Tables 1 and 2 under the following headings:

Dreamer Profile. A brief biographical sketch accompanies each set of dreams included in the sample.

Dream Summary. The summaries are my condensations of the significant elements of the dream in which I list main dream characters, settings, and action.

TABLE 1
THE CONTENT OF MEHINAKU MEN'S DREAMS

Dream Summary	Characters			Aggression		Anxiety			Sexual- scatological
	Son/Daughter	Mother/Father	Brazilians	Aggressor	Victim	Level	Castration	Passive/Active	Transformation
<i>Dreamer Profile</i> A young man of 23, married with two children. A low-status individual within the community, he is attracted to, and yet frightened of, Brazilian life. A new father, he frequently expresses concern over health and well-being of his infant son.									
1. Went fishing and caught tiny fish. Brought fish home to family.	S,D							A	
2. A woman attempted to have sex with him. The jealous husband assaulted him and struck him repeatedly with a club.				jealous husband	self	3	x	A	x
3. Lost his belt and could not find it.*						1	x	A	
4. Desired and approached girl, struck by his jealous wife.				jealous wife	self	3	x	A	x
5. Went to garden with a village child.								A	
6. Attacked by a jaguar that turned into a village witch.				witch-jaguar	self	2	x		x
7. Shot stingray with arrow while he fished.				self	ray			A	
8. Was frightened of lunar eclipse.						2		P	
9. Fell from tree and injured head and neck.						3	x	P	
10. Cut down tree and captured two parrots.*	S							A	
11. Turned into a bird and flew above forest.								A	x
12. Shot a jaguar that turned into a woman.				self	jaguar-woman	1	x	A	x
13. Stung by wasps while in woods.				wasps	self	3	x	A	

14. A plane crashed. The bodies were taken from the wreckage.	x			1		P	
15. A large piece of manioc bread broke as he held it.*				1	x	P	
16. Shot a <i>pirarucu</i> (a large, 6-foot fish) that turned into a villager.		self	fish-villager	2		A	x
17. Stung by ant.		ant	self	2	x	P	
18. Caught bird and nurtured it; regarded it like child. (See no. 10.)	S					A	
19. Chased by snake, he turns and kills it with machete.				2	x	A	
20. Cut self with knife—a deep wound. Sees vagina in dream.		knife-woman	self	3	x	A	x
21. Digs for worms, uses them as bait, catches fish which are given to women singers.						A	
22. Watched a villager executed as a witch.		village men	distant male kin	2		P	
23. Bathed in very cold water in morning						A	
24. Watched as the sun rose.						P	
25. Painted self with red <i>urucu</i> body paint.						A	
26. Slipped in mud and fell.				1		P	
27. After climbing tree, caught bird and nurtured it. (See no. 10.)						A	
28. Too close to the fire, became very hot.						P	
29. Struck a spirit-woman with a club for trying to kill his child.	S	spirit-woman	child	2		A	x
30. Pursued by ghost of dead mother; cannot escape.	M	mother	self	2		P	
31. Played ceremonial flutes on plaza while women danced behind him.						A	
32. After shooting a fish, called to friend from canoe, but friend could not hear or be found.				1		A	
33. Stole and then lost potatoes. Caught by farmer and humiliated.		self	farmer	1	x	A	
34. Went out to the field to get manioc and brought it home.						A	

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Dream Summary	Characters		Aggression		Anxiety			Sexual- scatological	
	Son/Daughter	Mother/Father	Aggressor Brazilians	Victim	Level	Castration	Transformation Passive/Active		
35. Went out to the field to get corn. Harvested it and returned home.							A		
36. Shot vulture in the head and captured it. Gave it to parallel cousin who made it his pet.			self	bird		1	P		
37. Given tripod by Brazilian. Becomes sick in dream.*			Brazilian	self		1	P		
38. After swim in very cold water, huddled near fire to warm up.							A		
39. Went fishing and killed many fish with bow and arrow, but missed some, lost arrow.			self	fish		1	x	A	
40. Canoe turned over while fishing. He lost hooks, line, and knife.						2	x	P	
41. Father was angry at him and set fire to his hair.		F	father	self		3	x	P	
42. After eating fish, his stomach began to hurt and he vomited.						2	x	A	
43. Had sex with Brazilian woman and got sore on penis. Removed penis, washed it, put it back on.			x	woman	self	3	x	A	x
44. His infant cries for milk, but mother is with a Brazilian woman and cannot attend to the child.	S		x			2		P	

45. Shot fish with arrows. Gave some away and lost others. Became lost in woods.				2	x	A	
46. Went to traditional village. Ignored by all present.				1	x	P	
47. Broke an ear of corn and was afraid to wrestle. (See no. 15.)				1	x	A	
48. Slipped on mud and injured arm.				1		P	
49. Traded his <i>urucu</i> pigments for arrow.						A	
50. A small boy started a fire in relatives' house.				1		P	
51. Bathed in very cold water.						P	
52. Shot and killed a small bird.*	S		self	bird-son	1	A	
53. Stomach sickened by food he should not have eaten because of taboo, his child is thereby endangered.	S		self	son	1	x	A
54. Parallel cousin dies. He cries and mourns for him.					2	x	A
55. Women in the course of a ritual attack him, pull his hair, cover him with their body paint.			women	self	3	x	P
56. His brother drowns despite his efforts to save him.	S	F			2	x	A
57. Unable to kill oriole, misses with arrows.			self	oriole	1	x	A
58. Saw man beating his wife and her lover.			man	wife, lover	1		P
59. Had sex with woman, her husband discovered him and struck him with a club and a machete.			jealous husband	self	3	x	A
60. Went to the garden.	S	M,F					A
61. Captured little bird and nurtured it. It bit him on the finger. (See no. 10.)	S		bird-son	self	1	x	A
62. Gave medicine to dying baby.	S?				2		A
63. Visited a dangerous neighboring tribe.					1		A
64. Fell into the water while getting his fish trap.					1	x	A
65. A house pole carried by many men fell on his finger.					2	x	P
66. Forced out of his house by a woman.			woman	self	1		P

x
x

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	Son/Daughter	Mother/Father	Aggressor Brazilians	Victim	Level	Castration	Passive/Active	Transformation	Sexual- scatological
<i>Dreamer Profile</i> A man of 22, married with two children, one an infant. Part of a large kin group, well regarded within the community. An active participant in village rituals and community activities. The considerable anxieties about Brazilians evident in dream material are also consciously expressed.									
67. Went with his mother to the Waura tribe to participate in women's ritual, <i>akajatapa</i> .	M							A	
68. Went to Auiti village and stole sugar cane.			self	other tribe	1			A	
69. Went to river with father to fish, but got caught in the rain.	F							P	
70. Played the men's sacred flutes in men's house.								A	
71. A plane landed, everyone was afraid of disease. (See no. 37.)		x	Brazilians	Mehinaku	2			P	
72. A child was left out alone in the dark and spirits took her away.			spirits	child	1			A	
73. Chased by a black jaguar.*			jaguar	self	2	x		P	
74. Kept pet bird which flew away. (See no. 10.)	S				1	x		P	
75. While fishing, shot at stingray, but missed and almost lost arrow.			self	stingray	1	x		A	
76. Almost ate fish in violation of taboo that would have killed son.	S		self	son	1	x		A	

77. Shot with arrow at <i>Jawari</i> spear-throwing contest-ritual.			man from another tribe	self	2	x	P	
78. Brought food from house to father to be distributed in the name of sacred flute spirit.	F						A	
79. A poisonous snake bit his parallel cousin.			snake	cousin	1		P	
80. Participated in killing of a village witch with a club and a machete.			self	witch-distant relative	2		A	
81. Observed the shamans of the village as they treated a sick kinsman.					1		P	
82. Watched as parallel cousin killed animals with club.			cousin	animals			A	
83. Brazilians shot and killed his brothers.		x	Brazilians	brothers	3		P	
84. Went to air force base. Soldiers tried to have sex with wife. They shot at him and the Mehinaku.		x	Brazilians	self, wife, villagers	3	x	P	x
85. Killed Brazilians who had threatened them with guns.		x	Brazilians	self	3		A	
86. Frightened by spirit.			spirit	self	2		P	
87. Frightened by the ghost of his deceased MoBr.			ghost	self	1		P	
88. Frightened by and then kills jaguar.			jaguar	self	1	x	A	
89. Saw an anaconda from his canoe and urged a young man in seclusion to get it for strength magic.							A	
90. Caught in a cold wind, he blew on the fire.							P	
91. At salt-making village with family; does not participate.	S	M,F						
92. Plane crashes. Mother catches on fire.		M	x	Brazilians	self, mother	2	A	
93. Brazilian doctor rapes wife and shoots at him.			x	Brazilian	self, wife	3	x	A
94. Poisonous snakes threatened to bite him.				snake	self	2	x	A
95. Observed a man rejecting his daughter's suitor as a potential son-in-law.					1		P	
96. Ran from a frightening spirit.			spirit	self	1		P	
97. Killed threatening jaguar.			jaguar	self	1	x	A	

111. Saw fisherman. Ate turtle eggs and meat that father caught and brought home.	F					A	
112. Bit by a locust while in the garden looking at peppers.		locust	self	2	x	P	
113. Gave up spear gun in trade for tape recorder.					x	A	
114. Shot at a bird but missed.		self	bird		x	A	
115. Saw spirit and heard its voice, lectured by father to avoid spirits.	F			1		P	
116. Burned on the body by a spirit fire.	S	F	spirit	3	x	P	

Dreamer Profile A man of 21, unmarried, older sister and three younger brothers. A member of one of the village's larger kin groups and likely to become an influential chief. Fascinated yet confused by Brazilians and their civilization. Deep-seated sexual conflicts suggested by dreams have correlates in his ambivalent relationships with women.

117. Attacked by women during Yamurikuma role-reversal ritual.		women	self	2	x	A	
118. Had sex with a woman who took his shirt to clean herself off.					x	A	x
119. Flies pestered and bit him.		flies	self	1	x	A	
120. Had sexual relations with a woman whose flesh was rotten and breaks open during intercourse.				2		A	x x
121. Pushed away hands of girl who grasped him because she wanted to dance.		girl	self	1	x	P	
122. Ant bit his finger.		ant	self	1	x	P	
123. Caught playing with Brazilian's camera equipment and was ashamed.	x			1		A	
124. Placed in jail by Brazilian soldiers. Told he would be released at "one o'clock," but could not read watch.	x	Brazilians	self	2		P	
125. A woman gave him her hammock.						A	
126. Fell into the mouth of a giant fish.		fish-spirit	self	2	x	P	
127. Offered bad food by a female kin.		woman	self			P	

Dreamer Profile A man of 21, recently married, father of infant. Oldest child in family of six children. Well adjusted and highly regarded, takes evident pleasure in his relationships with wife, child, parents.

141. Many passengers get off a plane. Frightening, threatens disease.	x	Brazilians	self, Mehinaku	2		P	
142. Could not get a bird he and brother sought as pet.						A	
143. Showed a wild pig to child.	D	wild pig	self	1	x	A	
144. Looked for a baby bird, a pet, with his family.	M,F					A	
145. Saw a woman have sexual relations.						P	x
146. Daughter almost drowned. Rescued her.	D			2		A	
147. Stung by bees.		bees	self	1	x	P	
148. Put out the fire he set in thatch grass.				1		A	
149. Had sexual relations with girl friend. Wife saw them and became angry.		wife	self	1		P	x
150. Rescued drowning brother.						A	
151. Shot five fish with bow and arrow from canoe.		self	fish				
152. Shot bird in forest.		self	bird			A	
153. Attacked by herd of wild pigs.		pigs	self	1	x	A	
154. Shot at threatening jaguar and missed.		jaguar	self	2	x	A	
155. Shot three fish with bow and arrow.	M					A	
Brought them home to his mother.							
156. Killed a threatening snake in dream. Saw frightening spirit. Reassured by mother.	M	snake, spirit	self	1	x	A	
157. Glided through flooded forest in canoe.						A	

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	Son/Daughter	Mother/Father	Brazilians	Aggressor	Victim	Level	Castration	Passive/Active	Transformation Sexual- scatological
<i>Dreamer Profile</i> A man in late 20s married with three children. Somewhat marginal to village life in residence arrangements and participation in ceremonial life of the community. More deeply concerned about witchcraft and spirit-induced disease than most villagers.									
158. Eaten by devouring spirits.				spirits	self		3	x	P
159. Learns in dream that son of distant kin will be eaten by spirits.				spirits	son		1		P
160. Legs were weak. Walked slowly as if old.							1	x	A
161. Watched as giant <i>pequi</i> fruit fell from tree.									P
162. Had sexual relations with a spirit-woman.									A
163. Gathered flying ants.*							1		A
164. Flew up in the air, but was shot down by a crowd of armed villagers. Multiple injuries.				crowd of Mehinaku	self		3	x	A
165. Living at the Waura tribe.									P
166. Eaten by a giant spirit-fish.				spirit	self		2	x	P
167. Heard a jaguar growling; frightened.				jaguar	self		1	x	P
168. Chased by pigs. Killed them with knife.				pigs	self		2	x	A
169. Went to the house of the snake-spirit.									P
170. Bad manioc bread made his stomach hurt.							1	x	P

x

171. An airplane flew low overhead and set fire to the villagers' houses.	x	Brazilians	self, Mehinaku	3		P	
172. Saw ghost and frightening snake.		ghost, snake	self	1	x	P	
173. Man wanted to kill him. A woman protected him.		man	self	2		P	
174. Found and nurtured baby turtle.	S			1		A	
175. Saw the ghost of dead sister.						P	
176. Stabbed a troublesome child with knife.		self	child	1		A	
177. Saw many male spirit-people building a house.						P	
178. Saw distant male kin dressed as a Brazilian. Warned him against Brazilians' diseases.	x			1		A	
179. Dived under the water.						A	
180. Saw the ghost of a man killed as a witch.				1		P	
181. Diseased; covered with sores.				2		P	
182. Had sexual relations with a spirit-woman who looked like a kinsman's wife.				1		A	x
183. Stepped on thorn and injured self.				2	x	A	
184. Drank manioc beverage which gave him a stomach ache.				1	x	A	
185. Shot and killed a spirit-fish.		self	spirit-fish			A	
186. Frightened by sight of a woman's vagina.				1		P	x
187. Rain fell into his house and on the silo of manioc flour.				1		A	
<hr/>							
<i>Dreamer Profile</i> One of the oldest men in village, in late 60s. Head of large kin group and household of wife, five children, in-laws and grandchildren. A singer and shaman, well respected in the village.							
188. Visited his sister in another tribe.						P	
189. Visited the Auiti village. Saw their underwater silos of <i>pequi</i> mash.						A	
190. Shot at fish and lost an arrow.		self	fish	1	x	A	
191. A woman pulled his hair. She wanted to marry him and have sex.		woman	self	2	x	P	x
192. Shot at monkey.		self	monkey	2		A	

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193. Went fishing and monkey hunting; killed monkey.				self	monkey				A
194. Bailed out canoe.									A
195. Working on fish poisoning expedition.									A
196. Threatened with knife by rival within village.				male rival	self		3	x	P
197. In canoe with wife. She says she is dying.							1		P
198. Tried to shoot monkey, but missed.							1	x	A
199. Bitten by <i>tocandira</i> ant.				ant	self		2	x	A
200. Went to ancient Mehinaku village.									A
<i>Dreamer Profile</i>	An outgoing, friendly man of 18; unmarried. As a child persecuted by other villagers on grounds that father was a witch.								
201. Chased by a vicious dog.				dog	self		2	x	P
202. Had sexual relations with an Auiti woman.									A
203. Tried to visit Indian Post, but could not find canoe.									A
204. Wrestled; broke collar bone, back; died.				wrestler	self		3	x	A

x

205. Line caught around legs while fishing; tripped and fell.			2		A	
206. Killed monkey with bow and arrow while hunting with cross-cousin.	self	monkey			A	
207. After eating fermented <i>pequi</i> mash, everyone, including the anthropologist, became sick.	x		2	x	P	
208. Sexually aroused by attractive woman on way to river.					A	x
209. While wearing rituals masks, he and other men teased village women.	self, men	women			A	
210. Arranged a marriage for cousin and girl friend.					A	
211. Returned from fishing trip with big catch. All villagers rejoice on his return.					A	
212. Cousin and cousin's wife had sexual relations.					P	x
213. Got <i>pequi</i> and ate it.					A	
214. Went swimming.					A	
215. Had sexual relations with little girl and injured her. Sense of guilt within dream.	self	little girl	2		A	x
<hr/>						
<i>Dreamer Profile</i>	A man of 40 married with three children. Somewhat marginal to ritual and social activities, he is ridiculed as a fool by many villagers.					
<hr/>						
216. On fish-poisoning trip with deceased brothers. Killed many small fish together.	M,F				A	
217. Stung by ant.	ant	self	2	x	P	
218. Stung on foot by stingray.	stingray	self	2	x	P	
219. Looked for underwater <i>pequi</i> silo.*			1		A	
220. Anthropologist's infant son died.	x		1		P	
221. Magic witch-killing method split open rotted body of witch.	unstated	witch	2		P	x
222. Saw dead man's ghost.			2		P	

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	Son/Daughter	Mother/Father	Brazilians	Aggressor		Level	Castration	Passive/Active	Transformation
223. Made sick to stomach by deceased mother's "ghost food."				mother	self	1	x	P	
224. Shot with tiny arrow by spirit.				spirit	self	2	x	P	
225. Found knife in water. An old woman tried to have sex with him and marry him.								A	x
226. Brought spirit's food to men's house.								A	
227. Watched as a Mehinaku woman opened an egg in which she finds her pet chicken.								A	
228. Harvested potatoes.								A	
229. Washed his necklace.								A	
<i>Dreamer Profile</i> A man of 35, father of three. Affable, outgoing, but somewhat marginal to village life; rejected as a gossip. Long periods of more successful residence in other tribes.									
230. Saw couple having sexual relations.								P	x
231. Had sexual relations with girl.								A	x
232. His cheek is torn open by man who had been killed by a witch.				man	self	3	x	P	
233. Attacked by a jaguar.				jaguar	self	2	x	P	
234. Lost his gun.						1	x	P	

235. Almost eaten by otter monster.		otter-spirit	self	2	x	P	
236. Plane landed on village plaza — threatened with disease. (See no. 37.)	x			1		P	
237. Had sexual relations with village girl.						A	x
<i>Dreamer Profile</i> A 13-year-old, well-adjusted and sociable. Somewhat marginal to the community in that parents have spent many years in another tribe.							
238. Searched for <i>pequi</i> fruit with with comrade.						A	
239. Heard sister singing and participating in role-reversal ritual.						P	
240. Ran, frightened, from snake-spirit.		snake-spirit	self	1	x	A	
241. Took off in Brazilians' plane.	x					A	
242. Searched for fish underwater, wearing diving mask.						A	
<i>Dreamer Profile</i> A man of 28, married with three children. A powerful shaman.							
243. Had sexual relations with a woman.						A	x
244. Frightened by spirit seen at air force base.	x			1		P	
245. Dreamed of sexual relations.						A	x
246. Frightening spirit appeared as a shaman.				1		A	
247. Dreamed of oral sex with a woman.						A	x
<i>Dreamer Profile</i> A man of 45, married, no children.							
248. Ghosts of dead parents asked him to build a fence.	M,F					P	
249. Wanted to have sex with a girl, but he had no eyes to see her.				3	x	P	x
250. Feeling guilty after having refused to give his wife food, he makes her a present of <i>pequi</i> .				1		A	
251. Angry, he lectures wife's lover, who is hidden.				1		A	
252. Attacked by man who choked him.		man	self	3	x	P	
253. Rejected offer of food from wife.						P	

TABLE 1
THE CONTENT OF MEHINAKU MEN'S DREAMS

Dream Summary	Characters			Aggression		Anxiety				
	Son/Daughter	Mother/Father	Brazilians	Aggressor	Victim	Level	Castration	Passive/Active	Transformation	Sexual-scatological
254. Frightened by jaguar.				jaguar	self	2	x		P	
<i>Dreamer Profile</i>	Accomplished, well-respected man of 45. Married, six children. Deep-seated insecurities regarding aggression.									
255. Shot a jaguar that turned into a man after death.				self	man-jaguar	2			A	x
256. Angry at wife because she intended to marry another man.				self	wife	1			A	
257. Swam in hot water.									A	
258. Frightened by jaguar. Struck it with club and its head fell off.				jaguar	self	2	x		A	
259. Frightening big plane crashed.						2			P	
260. Tried to have sexual relations, but saw woman's genitals and therefore became impotent.						1	x		A	x
261. Smoking like a shaman, fell into trance.						1			A	
262. Pigs attacked him; he rescued child.	S			pigs	self,son	2	x		A	
<i>Dreamer Profile</i>	Well-adjusted and highly sociable man of 30. Married, two children.									
263. Dug a hole in the ground to escape a bomb.			x	Brazilians	self	2			A	

on head with	self	fish		A	
have sex with	self	wife	1	A	x

years; married to two women; two children.

in his father. (See no. 3.) no. 10.)	F	father	self	1	x	A
				2	x	A
		self	parrot	1	x	A
						A
s on bank, but				1		P

11.

jaguar	self	2	x	P
self	pigs			A

11.

ed itself into fear-	self	alligator-witch	1		x
ends in river.	self	fish		A	
rds.				A	

e 40.

canoe.	jaguar	self	1	x	P
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*NOTES TO TABLE 1(*Numbers refer to table items.*)

3. A belt and certain other garments are closely associated with the dreamer (see Gregor 1977:154, 156) and therefore their loss is coded as an example of castration anxiety.

10. All dreams of pets are believed to refer to the dreamer's children, hence the notation under characters of "S" for son.

15. Dry bread and other brittle objects are equated with the dreamer's bones. The informant remarked that he feared he would break a bone in the dream.

37. All Brazilian-made objects are symbols of disease, since the Brazilian is said to be responsible for introducing epidemic illnesses to the region.

52. Most small animals are symbolically equated with children.

73. A jaguar is equated with a village witch who intends to assault the dreamer.

101. Women who see the sacred flutes are gang-raped.

108. A frustrated desire or rejected request can lead to illness or injury.

163. Symbolic of death of a kinsman.

219. A *pequi* silo is a symbol of a corpse, hence the indicated level of anxiety.

Characters. Dreams including relationships with children, parents, and Brazilians are noted in this dimension of content analysis.

Aggression. A dreamed event is scored under this heading if it involves a deliberate physical effort on the part of one dream character to injure another. Killing, chasing, shooting, choking, and robbing are examples of such acts, as are sexual assaults. Limiting the definition of aggression to physical aggression obviously eliminates many important aggressive events from consideration, but has the advantage of defining aggression in a way that is generally unambiguous.

When a dreamer acts aggressively in reaction to an assault, the dreamer is coded as the victim of aggression rather than the perpetrator.

Anxiety. Each of the dreams is rated on a scale of 0 (no perceived anxiety) to 3 (extreme anxiety) as experienced by the dreamer. Anxiety level 1 was utilized for dreams in which the dreamer was threatened, but was not in fact injured. This level of anxiety was also scored for diffuse or nonspecific anxiety; for mild anxiety relating to the experience of guilt or shame; for anxiety connected with fear of abandonment, separation, and loneliness; and for any dream, regardless of content, that the dreamer perceived as somewhat disturbing.

Anxiety level 2 was reserved for dreams in which the narrator reports the dream to be frightening (*kowkapapai*) or otherwise indicates considerable anxiety. These dreams include dreams of slight injury to the dreamer (an insect bite, or a fall in the mud), seeing

dangerous spirits, or experiences that evoke substantial guilt, separation anxiety, or shame, such as being caught stealing.

Anxiety level 3 is reserved for death anxiety, attacks by dangerous animals (notably jaguars, dogs, snakes, stingrays, and venomous insects) and assaults by other persons.

All the coding for the anxiety dimension of the content analysis involves a subjective judgment on my part based on my impressions of the dreamer's report and the cultural implications of the dream event. Nonetheless, the ratings involved are intended to be roughly comparable to those utilized in other work (c.f. Breger, Hunter, and Lane 1971).

Castration Anxiety. This dimension of analysis follows that of Hall and Van de Castle (1965 and 1966:126-130). A dream statement is coded positively for castration anxiety if it reports an actual or threatened injury or defect in a specifically mentioned part of the dreamer's body; an infantilization of a part of the dreamer's body; a threatened or actual clawing, biting, or stabbing of the body as a whole; or an injury, loss, or defect occurring to an animal or possession in close association with the dreamer. In addition, a dream receives a positive score for castration anxiety when a male dreamer acquires female characteristics, or finds that he has difficulty in using a bow and arrow, a gun, or other device which is symbolically phallic in nature.

Passivity/Activity. Dreams are coded as being primarily passive when the dreamer is simply an observer of events, or merely responds to the actions of others. The common dream of being chased by an animal, for example, would be coded as passive. When a dream contains mixed elements of passivity and activity, as is often the case, it is scored as active.

Transformation. One of the more interesting distancing mechanisms utilized by Mehinaku dreamers is the metamorphosis of dream characters in the course of the dream. Frequently animals are transformed into people and people into animals, thereby justifying dreamers' hostility or defusing their anxiety. Dreams displaying this feature are noted.

Sexual-Scatological Dreams. A regular percentage of men's and women's dreams incorporate elements that are overtly sexual and scatological in nature. When the dreamer reports seeing or participating in sexual activity, or mentions the genitalia or feces, the dream is coded in the appropriate column.

TABLE 2
THE CONTENT OF MEHINAKU WOMEN'S DREAMS

Dream Summary	Characters			Aggression		Anxiety			Sexual- scatological
	Son/Daughter	Mother/Father	Brazilians	Aggressor	Victim	Level	Castration	Passive/Active	Transformation
<i>Dreamer Profile</i>	A woman of 23, married with three children. Outgoing, enthusiastic participant in village activities.								
1. Dog attacked and bit her.				dog	self	2	x	P	
2. Collected ants.						1		A	
3. Saw Brazilians and frightened by them.			x			1		P	
4. Frightened by sight of pregnant woman with enlarged genitalia.						1		P	x
5. Village man clubbed her when she refused to have sex.				man	self	3	x	P	x
6. Saw cousin eating fish.									P
7. Was bathing.									A
8. Saw villagers eating <i>pequi</i> .									P
9. Participated in women's ritual of role reversal.									A
10. Processed and skinned manioc tubers.									A
11. Saw and was frightened by feces on path.						1		P	x
12. Ate food prepared for spirit festival.									A
13. Saw a man killed as a witch.				man	man	1		P	
14. Saw two men on plaza awaiting a jaguar.									A
15. Two men called to her. She held her baby.	D								P
16. Frightened of men raping her.				men	self	1		P	x

17. Dreamed of MoBrDa's ghost.							P	
18. Saved child from drowning.					1		A	
19. Sank deep in mud as she tried to walk.					2		P	
20. Spilled manioc porridge.					1		P	
21. Pursued by Brazilian motorboat filled with "savage" Indians.	x		Brazilians, other Indians	self	2		P	
22. Married to another man.							P	
23. Bitten by dog.			dog	self	2	x	P	
24. Made manioc bread.							A	
25. Went bathing, carrying infant.	D						A	
26. Cooked fish for ghost of MoBr.							A	
27. Watched as star rose.							P	
28. Went to garden to work.	D	M					A	
29. Ate MoBr's ghost-fish.							A	
30. Dreamed of wrestling with another woman.*					1		A	
31. Chased by snake.			snake	self	1	x	P	
32. Defecated in brush outside of the village.							A	x

Dreamer Profile A young girl in puberty seclusion, age 14. Intelligent, sociable.

33. Stole potatoes and ate them.			farmer	self	1		A	
Caught by farmer.								
34. Broke ceramic pot.							P	
35. Saw dancing women.							P	
36. Saw women wrestling and went bathing.							A	
37. Frightened by Brazilians speaking on raido.	x				1		P	
38. Frightened by deer.			deer	self	1		P	
39. Stole sugarcane from garden.							A	
40. Frightened by eclipse while bathing with other women.					1		P	
41. Fearful of plane. Mother struck and killed sister. Her corpse turned into an arrow.	M	x	Brazilians, mother	self, sister	3		A	x
42. Saw friend processing manioc.							P	
43. Chased and bitten by anaconda.			snake	self	3	x	A	

Dream Summary	Characters	Aggression	Anxiety
	Son/Daughter Mother/Father Brazilians Aggressor Victim		Level Castration Passive/Active Transformation Sexual- scatological
44. Found and ate foul-smelling <i>pequi</i> .			A
45. Saw woman stirring manioc beverage.			P
<i>Dreamer Profile</i>	A fifty-year-old woman, married with four children. Well adjusted, sociable, outgoing.		
46. Saw woman with ceramic pot.			P
47. Visited another Xingu village			A
48. Bathed with other women.			A
49. Daughter bitten by rattlesnake.	D	snake	P
50. Jaguar bit her hand.		jaguar	3 x P
51. Went to defecate and was transformed into a wolf.			1 P x x
52. Went bathing.			A
53. Frightened by dog. Threatened it with stick.		dog	x A
54. Went to "village in sky" (paradise). Saw parents.	M, F		A
55. Almost drowned.			2 P
56. Went to distant field. Processed manioc.			A
57. Saw a ghost of a girl in seclusion.			P
58. Saw men bringing fish into village.			P

59. Drifted in canoe to bathing area by river.						P	
<i>Dreamer Profile</i> A woman of 20, married with two young children including newborn infant. Articulate, concerned about and fascinated with Brazilian civilization.							
60. Frightened by sight of rectum of a spirit.				spirit	self	1	P x
61. A crying child missed its mother.	S						P
62. Saw plane landing.	S,D	M,F	x				P
63. Saw and collected ants with husband.							P
64. Beat her husband and his lover as they had sex.				self	husband, lover	1	A x
65. An agouti ate her feces. She killed it with a stick.				self	agouti		A x
66. A "savage" Indian with a two-headed knife-like penis chased her.				"savage" Indian	self	2	P x
67. On way to get firewood. Refused to assist grandmother who called her.						1	A
68. Took an agouti as a pet.*	S,D	M,F					P
69. Lost in swamp with family in a canoe.	S,D	M,F				1	P
70. Went to bathe. Path to river ascended toward sky. Frightened.						2	A
71. Saw spirit woman drinking manioc beverage.							P
<i>Dreamer Profile</i> A 17-year-old girl, married with two children.							
72. Wrestled on plaza with girl in seclusion. (See no. 30.)							A
73. Visited another person's house.							P
74. Dreamed of pregnancy.							P
75. Attacked by dogs.				dogs	self	2	P x
76. Dug potatoes.							A
77. Cleared weeds.							A

TABLE 2
THE CONTENT OF MEHINAKU WOMEN'S DREAMS

Dream Summary	Characters			Aggression		Anxiety			Sexual- scatological
	Son/Daughter	Mother/Father	Aggressor Brazilians	Victim	Level	Castration	Transformation Passive/Active		
<i>Dreamer Profile</i>	A 24-year-old woman, mother of three.								
78. Masturbated daughter; laughed at. Ashamed.	D					1	A	x	
79. Singing with other women on plaza.							A		
80. Stole <i>pequi</i> mash from deceased man.			man	self		1	A		
Caught, lectured.									
81. Teased a village man about his penis.			self	man			A	x	
<i>Dreamer Profile</i>	A 30-year-old women with five children.								
82. Jaguar chased her.			jaguar	self		1	x	P	
83. Kinsman killed monkey.			man	monkey				P	
84. Brazilian stole her children. Heard them crying to her from far off.		x	Brazilians	self, children		3		P	
<i>Dreamer Profile</i>	A 65-year-old woman.								
85. Jaguar chased and ate her.			jaguar	self		3	x	P	
<i>Dreamer Profile</i>	A 27-year-old woman.								
86. Dreamed of marriage to another man.							A		
87. Wrestled with and thrown by woman from other tribe. (See no. 30.)			woman	self		1	A		

Dreamer Profile A 20-year-old girl, married with new-born infant.

88. A flaming plane fell on her.		x	Brazilians	self	3		P	
89. Bitten by ant. Grandparents died.			ant	self	2	x	P	
90. Struck and killed her crying baby.	S		self	son	2		A	
91. Went to another tribe; missed father.		F			1		P	

Dreamer Profile A 12-year-old girl in seclusion.

92. Bites the penis of sexually aggressive spirit.			spirit	self	1		A	x
93. Woman with overlarge genitals came to have sex with her.			woman	self	2		P	x
94. Watched as village man had sex with his wife.							P	x

Dreamer Profile A 40-year-old woman.

95. Brazilian had sex with her, made her sick.		x	Brazilian	self	2		A	x
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Dreamer Profile A 40-year-old woman with three children.

96. Frightened of waterfall.	D				1		P	
97. Husband leaves to have sex with another woman.					1		P	x
98. Watched baby agouti nursing.							P	

Dreamer Profile A 65-year-old woman.

99. Singing ritual on plaza.							A	
100. While collecting <i>pequi</i> , man attempts to force her to have sexual relations.			man	self	1		P	x

Dreamer Profile A girl of 13 in seclusion.

101. Bitten and chased by monkey-spirit.			monkey-spirit	self	3	x	P	
102. Found younger brother broken in pieces.					2		P	
103. Told short suitor she wanted a tall lover.							A	
104. Saw a villager's dirty rectum.*					1		P	x

TABLE 2
THE CONTENT OF MEHINAKU WOMEN'S DREAMS

Dream Summary	Characters			Aggression		Anxiety		
	Son/Daughter	Mother/Father	Aggressor Brazilians	Victim	Level	Castration	Passive/Active	Sexual- scatological Transformation
<i>Dreamer Profile</i> A girl, age 12.								
105. Saw mother, whom she missed, in Sao Paulo.								A
<i>Dreamer Profile</i> A 45-year-old woman.								
106. Stung by wasp.			wasp	self		1	x	P
107. Saw frightening witch-spirit.			witch-spirit	self		1		P
<i>Dreamer Profile</i> A 15-year-old girl.								
108. Cradled and nurtured bird.								A
<i>Dreamer Profile</i> A 40-year-old woman with five children.								
109. Husband clubbed turtle			husband	turtle		1		P

*NOTES TO TABLE 2 (*Numbers refer to table items.*)

30. At the time this dream was narrated, the villagers were preparing the role-reversal ritual of Yamurikuma in which the women actually wrestle visiting women from other communities.

68. Within the dream, he narrator regards the pet as a symbol of her children.

104. Informant in recounting the dream interprets the rectum as a symbol of burned manioc, and concludes that she is therefore likely to burn manioc bread later in the day.

ANALYSIS OF THE DREAMS

Dreams of Aggression: Table 3. Aggressive dreams that contain at least one violent act are frequent occurrences in Mehinaku dreams, as may be seen in Table 3. Men's dreams show nearly one-third more aggressive encounters than do those of the women, a statistic that is understandable given the men's participation in political conflict, and their violent interaction with animals. In comparing the Mehinaku data with that of Hall and Van de Castle's sample, it appears that aggressive encounters figure far more heavily in the manifest content of Mehinaku dreams than in those of American subjects. Interestingly, however, the relative differences between male and female dreams are very close. In evaluating this similarity it is well to post a note of caution. The Mehinaku sample of dreams includes adults of all ages, while Hall and Van de Castle's norms were derived from studies of college students. Further, here and in other tables Hall and Van de Castle calculate their norms from a sample of 200 dreamers, each of whom contributed to five dreams to the overall sample. In the analysis of Mehinaku dreams, however, I report averages from fewer dreamers, each of whom has provided more dreams. Finally, as I have indicated in footnotes to the tables, Hall and Van de Castle's categories are not always strictly comparable to the ones used in this study. The pairing of Mehinaku and American data is therefore intended as suggestive rather than as a definitive cross-cultural comparison.

The Role of the Dreamer in Aggressive Dreams: Table 4. Table 4 demonstrates that both men and women are more likely to be the victim of aggression within dreams than the initiator of aggression. The variance between men and women reflects the realities of Mehinaku life. Women consider themselves more vulnerable to the

TABLE 3
DREAMS OF AGGRESSION

(Figures are percentage of all dreams in sample with physically aggressive encounters.)		
	Mehinaku	Americans
Men	45 (N = 125)	24*
Women	34 (N = 37)	15*

* The American data are derived from Hall and Van de Castle (1966:168-170), subclasses 5-8 only.

attack of dangerous animals than men, and are in fact the occasional victims of the men's sexual assault.

The Dreamer as the Victim of Aggression: Table 5. Men are one of the major sources of aggression in the dreams of Mehinaku men and women. For both sexes, more than one-third of these dreamed assaults are by Brazilian men, reflecting a deep-seated insecurity that the Mehinaku have toward whites.

Animals are another major source of aggression in Mehinaku dreams. Jaguars, dogs, snakes, venomous insects, and other dangerous fauna are a part of the natural environment and are cast in a malevolent role in the villagers' dreams. In contrast with the Mehinaku, animal assaults are relatively unusual (though far from absent) in the dreams of Hall and Van de Castle's subjects.

The Dreamer as Aggressor: Table 6. Noteworthy in Table 6 is the frequency that children are the victims of men's dreamed aggression. In daily life, children are seldom physically punished even

TABLE 4
THE ROLE OF THE DREAMER AS AGGRESSOR, VICTIM,
OR OBSERVER IN DREAMS OF VIOLENT ENCOUNTERS

(Figures are percentage of all dreams of aggression.)			
Sex and Culture of Dreamer	Dreamer as Aggressor	Dreamer as Victim	Dreamer as Observer
Mehinaku men	28	62	10
American men*	23	52	25
Mehinaku women	11	78	11
American women*	11	47	29

* Data are from Hall and Van de Castle (1966:171), Table 14-9, categories 5-8, "reciprocal aggression" being counted as "dreamer as victim." The "mutual" and "self-aggression" categories are not counted for the comparisons in Table 4.

TABLE 5
THE DREAMER AS THE VICTIM OF AGGRESSION

Identity of the Aggressor within the Dream (Figures are percentage of all dreams of aggression against the dreamer. <i>N</i> = 78 Mehinaku men's dreams, <i>N</i> = 29 Mehinaku women's dreams.)				
Sex and Culture of Dreamer	Men	Women	Animals	Spirits, Monsters and Others
Mehinaku men	31	17	42	10
American men*	54	3	14	29
Mehinaku women	41	7	45	7
American women*	53	8	15	24

* Data on American subjects are from Hall and Van de Castle 1966:174, and represent percentages of aggressive episodes within dreams.

though they are often the source of frustrating experiences for their parents (see Gregor 1977:274-275). The dreamed stabbing of a child (Table 2, dream 176) and the sexual assault on a little girl (Table 2, dream 215) are admittedly unusual dreams, but suggest the intensity of the emotions that children may arouse.

The predominance of animals as victims of aggression is understandable given that the Mehinaku are fishermen and hunters of birds and monkey. It should also be mentioned, however, that animals are often killed for very casual motives, such as getting a closer look at them or making them the butt of children's semisadistic games. It is quite likely, therefore, that within the psychic economy of Mehinaku dreams the killing of animals is properly understood as "aggression" rather than simply "subsistence."

There is no table corresponding to Table 6 for women, since the very few women's dreams of aggression (*N* = 4) do not justify tabular presentation.

TABLE 6
THE DREAMER AS AGGRESSOR

Target of Dreamed Aggression (Figures are percentage of aggressor dreams, Mehinaku <i>N</i> = 34.)						
Identity of Dreamer	Child	Man	Woman	Animal	Spirit	Other
Mehinaku	15	20	12	50	3	0
American men*	0	58	8	28	0	6

* Data are from Hall and Van de Castle (1966:174), and represent percentages of aggressive episodes within dreams.

The Causes of Dream Anxiety. Fifty-five percent of men's dreams and 42% of women's dreams reveal at least one level of anxiety. Men's anxiety dreams are not only more frequent, but are more fearful than the women's, having an average anxiety level of 1.66 against the women's average of 1.47.

The single major source of anxiety dreams for both Mehinaku men and women is animal dreams, accounting for 30% of all anxiety dreams. In the case of women, animal dreams have an anxiety level of 1.78 which makes them among the most distressing of women's dreams. For men, on the other hand, anxiety-charged dream encounters with animals are frequent, but less disturbing (anxiety level 1.32). On the face of it, this contrast is unexpected, since men are far more likely to experience encounters with dangerous animals than women. Unlike the women who do not carry weapons, however, the men can protect themselves against such large fauna as wild pigs, jaguars, and dogs. These animals are especially frightening to the women and are the principal aggressors in 69% of their animal anxiety dreams but appear in only 42% of the men's. The men are more fearful of insects, snakes, fish, and other fauna against which strength and weapons are a poor defense. I am therefore inclined to attribute the relative intensity of the women's anxiety to their relative helplessness in dealing with dangerous animals, as contrasted with the greater mastery of the men.

Castration Anxiety: Table 7. Mehinaku men's dreams reveal 75% more castration anxiety than is characteristic of Hall and Van de Castle's American subjects (see also Winget, Kramer, and Whitman 1972 for additional comparable data). The significance of this contrast depends on whether this dimension of content analysis actually measures a fear whose root meaning is sexual or is merely an index of concern about assault and injury. Several lines of evidence suggest that the more Freudian, sexual interpretation is correct. There is ample cultural data suggesting castration anxiety in the areas of mythology, theories of disease, and sexual practices. Sexual relations are said to stunt growth, weaken wrestlers, and cause illness. Myths are redolent with sexual themes, including the *vagina dentata* motif and overt stories of castration. We have already alluded to this pattern in dream symbolism, where a dream of female genitalia portends an ax wound.

The content of men's victim dreams (Table 5) also suggests that

TABLE 7
CASTRATION ANXIETY

Sex and Society of the Dreamer (Figures are percentage of all dreams in the sample [Men $N = 276$, Women $N = 109$] that were scored for castration anxiety.)

Mehinaku men	36
American men*	20
Mehinaku women	12
American women*	9

* American data are from Hall and Van de Castle 1966:194.

castration anxiety is a psychological reality for the Mehinaku. In dreams of assault, we find that the women are regularly the perpetrators of violence (17% of all men's victim dreams) despite the fact that women almost never injure men in daily life. By contrast, in Hall and Van de Castle's sample, women initiated aggression in only 3% of men's victim dreams. The threatening characterization of women in Mehinaku men's dreams is in accord with a generalized concern about sexual matters, and a relatively high level of castration anxiety.

Passive and Active Orientation. Sixty-one percent of men's dreams were scored as active and 39% as passive. In contrast, only 42% of women's dreams were active in character. The substantial differences between men's and women's dreams must be tempered by the fact that long dream narratives are somewhat more likely to be scored as "active" and short ones as "passive." Women, on the average, provided shorter dream narratives than men. Nonetheless, even men's short dreams were more active in orientation than the women's.

The relative passivity of women's dreams corresponds to women's position in daily life. Mehinaku society, like many of the small tribal groups of the South American lowlands, is decidedly patriarchal in nature. Men make the political decisions and dominate the religious and public aspects of village life. Even within the domestic arena the men clearly dominate. Few women buck the system, but those who do seek to control their husbands through other men, such as their fathers, rather than by way of their own authority.

Transformation. This relatively rare dream theme appears in only two of the 109 women's dreams, and in nine of the 276 men's dreams. In most of these dreams (Table 1, dreams 6, 12, 29, 129,

255, 273) the transformation distances the dreamer from a potentially painful aggressive wish. Thus the dreamer often kills dangerous animals that subsequently turn out to be humans. The heavier use of this mechanism among the men as a way of handling violent encounters may suggest greater male conflict concerning aggression.

Sexual-Scatological Dreams. This dimension of analysis codes dreams with overt sexual and scatological interactions, activities, and desires. Among the men's dreams, 35, or 13%, were overtly sexual. This figure is virtually identical to Hall and Van de Castle's study of sexual interactions in which 12% of the dream corpus were of this type (1966:181).

Men's sexual dreams showed great variation from informant to informant in their content and affective tone. One individual's sexual dreams are highly charged with anxiety, having an average level of 2.6 per dream. For others, however, sexual dreams are devoid of anxiety, or have a very low anxiety level. Thus the anxiety level of sexual dreams for all the men but two was only 0.74.

Women's sexual dreams occurred with nearly the same frequency (12%) as the men's, but with a somewhat higher level of anxiety. The women's dreams often reflected a fear of rape and other violent encounters with sexually aggressive men (Table 2, dreams 5, 16, 66, 92, 100). In contrast, the men's anxiety-charged sexual dreams show a fear of assault by jealous husbands and paramours. This comparison is understandable in the light of everyday Mehinaku life, since gang rape is institutionalized as a punishment for seeing the men's sacred flutes (see Gregor 1979:254).

An additional interesting characteristic of men's sexual dreams is that they subsume most of the dream plots that can be considered highly bizarre by our own standards, such as dreams 43, 120, 134, and 249 in Table 1. Among the total sample of 385 dreams we find only five scatological dreams, all of which are narrated by women.

CONCLUSION

Each night, Mehinaku men and women enter different dream worlds. The sources and intensity of their anxieties, and their roles as aggressors or the targets of hostility, show substantial variation. For the most part, we were able to point out Mehinaku institutions

that reflect and explain the differences in men's and women's dreams. To a large extent, waking life and dream experiences run in tandem.

The special value of dream research, however, is that it takes us beyond the impact of waking experiences on personality to reach conclusions we could only guess at from a knowledge of everyday life. The social anthropologist, for example, would have little basis for predicting the aggressive role played by Brazilians in the villagers' anxious dreams of assault and sexual exploitation. To be sure, the Mehinaku express concerns about the Brazilians and their intentions, but for the most part their history of contact with outsiders has been peaceful. Even today, the villagers' lands are intact and their traditional autonomy is respected by reservation authorities. The impact of the outsider on the Mehinaku is therefore easy to underestimate without the advantage of psychological data.

In a similar way, the prevalence of animals in anxiety dreams leads us to redirect our attention to the villagers' relationship to the natural world. And, without the direct evidence of the villagers' dreams, the psychological meaning of the castration themes found in myths and theories of disease would be merely conjectural. Attention to dreams thereby systematically enriches the account of Mehinaku culture provided by descriptive social anthropology.

Beyond the ethnographic value of dream collection, the villagers' manifest dreams provide tantalizing hints of differences in men's and women's dreams that go well beyond the frontiers of Mehinaku culture. The similar percentage of sexual dreams for Mehinaku and American men is especially compelling in this respect. Some of the tables (notably Tables 4 and 5) also display suggestive parallels between the manifest content of American and Mehinaku dreams. With additional cross-cultural data it may be possible to show that the dream experience is less variant than other aspects of culture. This suggestion is not a new one, for the literature already includes cross-cultural parallels, such as those established by Griffith, Miyagi, and Tago (1958), Hall (1962), and Leman (1966) among such diverse cultures as American, Japanese, Mexican, Yir Yoront, and Hopi. It is my hope that the present study will usefully extend the range of cross-cultural research, so that ultimately it will be possible to make accurate and systematic generalizations about human dream life.

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