

# Sanday's causal diagram

(recreated from Sanday 1981, p. 68)

Environment is a  
source of danger  
in the form of  
large animals  
(fishing or gather-  
in is less important)

Outer/animal  
orientation

Fathers  
distant from  
infants

Masculine  
origin  
symbolism

Dual orientation

Couple origin  
symbolism

Environment is perceived  
positively: large animals  
not present or not hunted  
(fishing or gathering is  
more important)

Inner/plant  
orientation

Fathers  
closer to  
infants

Feminine  
origin  
symbolism