

# Ethnographic examples: 2PP

## Coding for evidence: Tlingit, Emmons (1991), p. 156

- Ethnographic Passage: “If a man was insulted or struck, he was expected to retaliate immediately. Failure to do so brought shame upon him. The injured party would strike back at once, often in the presence of others.”
- What Is Happening?
  - An individual is insulted or physically struck.
  - The injured party is socially expected to respond.
  - The victim directly retaliates. Retaliation is immediate and personal.
  - There is no mediation, court, or kin delegation.
  - Failure to retaliate results in reputational loss (shame).
- Why?: This is a clear case of dyadic enforcement. The punisher is the victim. The punishment directly responds to the original offense. There is no third-party authority. The enforcement mechanism operates through personal retaliation and honor norms.



# Ethnographic examples: 2PP

## Coding for evidence: Bedouin, Abu-Lughod (1993), p. 162

- Ethnographic Passage: “*Day followed day and the young man searched for the killer until at last he found the one who had killed his uncle. He killed him and returned home.*”
- What Is Happening?
  - The uncle was killed.
  - The nephew directly retaliates.
  - The punishment (killing) is carried out by a close relative of the victim.
  - There is no formal court, no delegated authority, no institutional adjudication.
- Why?: This is a classic **dyadic retaliation** case. Even though kin are involved, the punishment is executed by a directly affected party (the victim’s close relative). It is not delegated to a neutral third party, court, elder, or office-holder.

