

SYMBOLISM IN ENU-ANI DRESS

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COLLEGE OF NUTRITION, TEXTILES, AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

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To the Provost of the Graduate School:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Theresa Nwoko entitled "Symbolism in Enu-Ani Dress." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in clothing.

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DEDICATION

To

Blessed Virgin Mary

Seat of Knowledge and Wisdom

And To

Head Seat of Wisdom and Love

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## ABSTRACT

### SYMBOLISM IN ENU-ANI DRESS

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MAY 1987

The purpose of this study was to investigate the symbolic significance of eight selected traditional design motifs and the colors used on the native hand-woven cloth of the Enu-Ani women weavers. These design motifs are commonly in use by the midwestern Ibos from three divisions--Oshimilli, Aniocha, and Ika--of Bendel State, Nigeria. The meanings of the design motifs and their relationship to usage by males and females relative to age and to past and present time periods were studied.

A total of 240 women weavers were randomly selected for an interview. They represented 24 villages: 10 weavers each from eight villages in each division. The weavers were indigenous to their villages, had 30 years or more experience, and are still engaged in weaving.

An interview schedule was developed and administered to each weaver at her place of work by the researcher or

one of two trained assistants. A tape-recorder was used to assure that no important information was omitted.

The data were analyzed using percentages, frequency distributions, and the chi-square test for independence to test the hypotheses. The results were interpreted with the .01 level of probability representative of significant results and .001 probability level representative of highly significant results.

In conclusion, males and females of the present time use more of the design motifs than the males and the females of the past. The females of all ages use more of the design motifs on their clothing than the males of all ages.

The Enu-Ani males use almost the same symbolic motifs as the females until their old age; then the males tend to use fewer motifs until they wear barely no design motifs on their native cloth. All color dyes available to the weavers for purchase locally are used for the symbolic design motifs whether the motifs are to be used for male or female clothing.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### Background of the Problem

Nigeria, a country on the west coast of Africa with a population of about ninety million people, has more than 120 different dialects and tribes. It is the largest black African country in Africa, and it is on the equatorial forest. Nigeria is a tradition-oriented agricultural economy, mostly cultivating yams, cocoyams, cassava, maize, and plantain as the staple crops. Palm produce such as palm oil, kernels, and palm wine as well as cocoa, coffee, kola-nuts, and rubber constitute the major export crops from the southern part of Nigeria. According to Oboli (1964) and Udo (1970), the northern part of the country produces ground nuts (peanuts) and cotton as its export crops while rice, wheat, millet, and cow-peas are its staple crops.

Nigeria is a country that values symbols within its social groups. Studies have been conducted on dresses and styles relative to symbolism and the artistic skills of the people in different parts of Nigeria such as the Yorubas of the West, the Akwaete Ibos in the East, the Opobo of the

Rivers on the South, and the pit dyers of Kano in the North (Nivem, 1967). Little or nothing has been reported on the woven fabrics/designs of the Ibos of Mid-West Nigeria also known as the Enu-Ani. To date, the researcher has been unable to identify any report of the Enu-Ani traditional woven designs.

The Mid-West Ibos of Nigeria or the Enu-Ani have a rich traditional symbolic costume, with significant design symbols. Most of these design symbols are woven in cloth of white background with forms similar to the motifs of the Congo of Central Africa. The general effect of the cloths is a more disciplined type of pattern than that found on the resist printed cloths of other tribes of Nigeria.

The researcher has observed that the designs on these cloths have certain qualities which cause other Ibo tribes of Nigeria to demand them and use these cloths for special activities. The costume form and how it is worn by these tribes serves to identify them as a member of this Ibo tribe and distinguishes them from other Ibo tribes.

The symbolism of Enu-Ani cloth, selected for this study and expressed in specific designs, is a reflection of their beliefs. Horn (1968) indicated that symbolism in dress is often unconscious, but a symbol used consciously can be more powerful than unconscious design symbols.



Sometimes, the designer can heighten the effect that he wishes to create consciously.

The choice of color used in Enu-Ani designs is mostly red and black on a natural white background. Red and black are the traditional colors, but within the color range could also be found shades of red and yellow ochres. Before the introduction of synthetic dyes, colors were obtained from the bark and roots of trees and Indigo color which gives shades of blue. All of these colors have symbolic meanings.

The types of patterns incorporated in the weave are simple motifs, often geometrical. These patterns range from stripes to delicate diagonal and zigzag lines. Other designs are human forms.

Forms used to decorate the woven traditional cloth and convey symbolic meanings, initially, were not to decorate but to record a statement or an idea. Trowell (1960) stated,

Most of the traditional pattern motifs of the various craftsman when he carved or embroidered some animal or hieroglyphic was not to decorate his handwork, not to depict some animal of which he was particularly fond . . . , but to record a pictorial statement of an idea. (p. 66)

The statement of ideas can be summed up in visual symbols which may have been abstruse. Meaning may also have been kept secret to a privileged few and/or it may have been forgotten by most tribal members in the course of time, but

the original design on the cloth kept the idea from being forgotten. In Nigeria, there is a story or meaning in each pattern or symbol that is either spiritual or legendary. Each symbol is a record of history or an experience.

Haddon (1910) believed that symbols were representative of forms that may or may not necessarily represent tangible objects but sometimes abstract ideas. In the art of many tribes of the world, ornament that appears as purely formal is associated with meanings. Some of these designs contain realistic figures and many of them are of geometrical derivatives.

The attitudes, beliefs, and behavior of the inhabitants of the many and varied tribes of Africa, as well as those of many of the third world countries, appear strange and mysterious. This is, no doubt, due to a lack of knowledge relative to the influence and effect of ancestral and traditional factors of which symbolism is one of the beliefs and behavior of the people of these tribes.

#### Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to examine and ascertain the symbolic significance of design motifs and colors used by the Enu-Ani people on the hand woven cloth during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The relationship

between motifs used for male and female apparel was investigated.

### Rationale

Information from a study concerning symbolic meanings of textile design motifs and colors utilized by the Enu-Ani tribe in Nigeria will result in a greater knowledge and a better understanding of the behavior of these people which may in turn strengthen peace and economic intercourse. The information obtained may help to develop the economy of these people.

### Assumptions

These assumptions were made for this study.

1. The people still believe in the significance and symbolic meaning of these design motifs.
2. The colors used in the past were limited due to lack of technology.

### Hypotheses

Major hypotheses deal with differences which exist in usage, symbolic meaning of design motifs and colors of fifty years ago and present between motifs used by males and females and between various ages. Fifty years ago will be referred to as past in the tables, presentation of data, and discussion that follow. The specific hypotheses were:

1. There is no significant difference in the responses to usage of the selected design motifs for the past and the present among males.
2. There is no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs for the past and the present among females.
3. There is no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for males due to age between young and middle age, between young and old age, or between old and middle age.
4. There is no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for females due to age between young and middle age, between young and old age, or between old and middle age.
5. There is no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for males and females.
6. There is no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for both sexes due to age between young males and females, between middle males and females, or between old males and females.
7. There is no significant difference in the responses to the meanings of selected motifs produced in the past and the present for the small mortar pestle, elephant,

fish, zigzag, native comb, border design, native checker, or native blade.

8. There is no significant difference in the responses to usage of colors in the past and the present.
9. There is no significant difference in the responses to the usage of meanings of the selected motifs between males and females.

#### Limitations

The limitations of this study were:

1. This study was limited to eight selected textile design motifs from three selected Ibo tribes of Mid-West Nigeria, namely Oshimilli, Aniocha, Ika.
2. This study was limited to apparel textile design motifs produced only for males and females of these three tribes.
3. The participants were limited to the traditional weavers from the selected tribes of the Enu-Ani of Mid-West Ibo of Nigeria.
4. The weavers were indigenous to the divisions.

#### Definitions of Terms

Symbolism. The art of using a sign to identify an object or a thing; artistic method of revealing material.

Yoruba. One of the dominant tribes in Nigeria whose art work is advanced in the history of Nigeria.

Akwaete. An Ibo speaking group in the inland area of the Ibo tribe known for traditional hand woven cloth.

Kano. A large city in northern Nigeria known for pit dyeing work.

Enu-Ani. A small group of Ibo speaking people within the Ibo tribe of the mid-western state of Nigeria who occupy the eastern portion of the mid-west state and are known for their white traditional hand woven cloth.

Oshimilli. A division within the Enu-Ani people living along the west bank of the river Niger.

Aniocha. A division within the Enu-Ani people living further inland from the river Niger.

Ika. A division within the Enu-Ani people occupying the furthest part from the river Niger.

Young Age. People between the age of 25 years and 40 years.

Middle Age. People between the age of 40 years and 65 years.

Old Age. People over the age of 65 years.

## CHAPTER 2

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The review of literature pertinent to the physical characteristics of symbols, motifs, and colors of symbols used in regard to clothing was divided into seven areas: (1) the primitive interpretation and the meanings of some symbolism, (2) the relationship between gods, magic, myth, and their superstitious meanings, (3) the meanings of selected religious symbols, (4) the source and interpretation of religious symbols in relation to a Supreme Being, (5) status and role of symbols and their importance in daily life of both males and females, (6) symbols as they reflect age of males and females, and (7) meaning of colors as related to the male and female motifs.

#### Physical Characteristics of Symbols

After reviewing the literature, it was noted that there seems to be remarkable resemblance in the art of many tribes all over the world from primitive time to present time. Symbols have similar physical geometric forms; however, the symbols carry different names and meanings to the people whose arts they represent. The most common of these symbols tend to be curves, triangles, or animal

forms. In African arts, most of the symbols used on clothing, carvings, or paintings as decorative art are of different shapes. Rattray (1959) stated that some of the Ashanti's symbols carry various shapes and forms which are used in clothing and in their shrines where the souls of their ancestors abode after death.

Some of these common symbols actually did not originate independently with an area but might have been carried from one place to another through trade. In The Migration of Symbols, d'Alviella (1972) stated:

The variety of symbols seems at first to be as boundless as the combinations of the human imagination. It is not uncommon, however, to discover the same symbolical figures amongst races the furthest apart. The coincidence can hardly be explained by chance, like the combinations of the kaleidoscope. Except in the case of symbols found amongst people who belong to the same race, and who, consequently, may have carried away from their common cradle certain elements of their respective symbolism, there are only two possible solutions: either these analogous images have been conceived independently, in virtue of a law of the human mind, or else they have passed from one country to another by a process of borrowing. (p. 11)

This shows that symbols throughout the centuries which have the same physical characteristics but may denote different meaning to different races or regions might have been borrowed from a neighboring tribe.



### Motifs and Colors of Symbols Used in Clothing

Symbols are represented in many different ways and colors. The African symbols have different motifs that are displayed in anthropomorphic--human or in zoomorphic--animal designs. These designs give rise to symbols not only woven in cloth but also made into other materials such as in wood carvings, metal castings, and clay moldings. These symbols are also used in shrines for religious worship, and native Africans respect these symbols.

Vaclavik (1925) noted:

The patterns found on these caps recall oriental patterns of goddesses with birds, stages, etc. The peasantry obviously liked zoomorphic motifs, even if they did not understand the meanings of the whole composition. But they respected this composition in the same way they respected liturgical symbols and inscriptions. (p. 29)

Many different colors are used in weaving these symbols into the cloth. Colors such as red, yellow, white, black, green, and combinations of other different colors are used to give the symbols meaningful value. Rattray (1959, p. 236) stated that "the warp cloth consists entirely of yellow threads into which red, black red, green, and other colors form the weft motif designs of the cloth."

The choice of colors used in weaving is decided by an individual weaver. If the particular design motif to be manufactured is a simple one, the weaver will have it in her memory, but if it is one with a great variety and

combination of color schemes, she will make a sample first showing the color combinations with the exact number of threads used for each color. These colors are local dyes produced from plants and roots of vegetables which are boiled to give the colors used in dyeing. Most of these roots and vegetables as well as barks of trees are still in use by the weavers. Rattray (1925) said,

The dye used . . . is made from the bark of a tree called in Ashanti Badie. . . . The bark is cut up and then boiled in a big pot, into which several lumps of iron slag etia have been placed. The bark and slag are boiled for several hours until two-thirds of the water have evaporated; the remainder is strained off. The liquid is now called Adinkira Aduru, i.e., Adinkira medicine, and is the color and consistency of coal tar; when this is cooled, it is ready for use. (p. 264)

The Yoruba of western Nigeria have motif symbols in their traditional hand woven cloth known as kijipa or ikale cloth, mostly found around Owo, Ekiti, Ondo, Ibadan, and Oyo areas. These motif symbols used are associated with traditional beliefs of the people. The consumers of these kijipa clothes use them for religious as well as funeral clothing, and these clothes are often prescribed by the cult priests. According to Aremu (1982), in Yorubaland, the kijipa was used extensively in the past, particularly as every day wear. The women who wore these cloths as a wrapper were childless women and those who often had miscarriages in their pregnancy. The colors of

the kijipa cloth are white, blue, or black, which were produced locally from the herb of roots and leaves of plants prepared by the priests.

The Kalabari are another tribe on the southeast of Nigeria and are among the Opobo of the River State. This tribe has cutthread cloth motifs called pelete bete and fimate bite, and the artists are mainly the native women who carry out the motif designs of these cloths. Unlike the Yourbas or the Enu-Ani whose design motifs are woven into the cloth, the Kalabari design motifs are cut-in on imported commercially woven cloth and renamed. The design motifs on these cloths are like other motifs from other African tribes which are of human or animal forms. Some of these motifs were drawn and described by Eicher (1982).

Motifs drawn from the physical environment are amgbo (millipede), Odum ikelekele (python), Sangolo (fish gill); from the masquerada: alu (triangle shapes in a masquerada veil), igbiri (rattles) . . . from the household: etere (mat or rectangle faced carpet), sibi dalaye (comb or rake for the hair). Other motifs . . . for example, abili (checker board surface). (pp. 4-5)

Eicher (1982) also stated that these cloths are of indigo and white colors. Most of the colors of these cloths are sombre indigo, red, and black.

The findings of the motifs and colors of symbols used in clothing show that most of the motifs on the African hand woven cloth are of anthropomorphic or zoomorphic

design motifs and their colors are in the darker color scheme.

### The Primitive Interpretation and the Meanings Of Some Symbolism

Symbols are interpreted within the context of their usage and their meanings which differ from one country to another. The actual meanings of some symbols are not interpretable. Sometimes the meanings are interpreted by their surface conceptual value, the aim being to give the visual meaning of the design motifs. Fingesten (1970) stated, "Symbolic interpretations are surface interpretations, while formal ones are interpretations in depth. Symbolic interpretations are aftereffects of a work of art" (p. 103).

The design motifs in the Kalabari pelete bite and fimate bite are grouped into three categories which are drawn from the physical environment, according to Eicher (1982). The reptilian design motifs such as the millipede, the python, and the fish were interpreted as the water-spirits by Horton (1965). These water-spirits shape and control the environment from which man tried to earn a living. The water-spirits are forces behind human activity that deviate from the established norm and are held responsible for individual acquisition of abnormal wealth and power and for the actions of those who introduce

strange fashions in clothes and other innovations. Another category is the spirits-of-the-dead. These spirits-of-the-dead are represented by the masquerade design motifs. These design motifs are the triangular shapes in the masquerade veil and the rattles. These are interpreted as the spiritual portions of human beings which leave the bodies at death. These spirits of the dead hold the same values as they held when they were alive, according to Horton (1965). The last category was from the household which is represented by mat or rectangle-faced carpet and the comb. These design motifs are interpreted as the free-spirits who are the spirits of the village heroes. They are the intermediary between the dead and the water spirits. They came to live with men in the village, and they founded communal institutions. They also devised peculiar skills whereby their members could make their living.

In the Yoruba kijipa cloth, the design symbols are omoole and ehin-ire or ire. These motifs are a representation of the deity--Obalufon, god of the weavers who guides their "home-made cloths" (Aremu, 1982, p. 7). The interpretation of these symbols, according to Aremu (1982), was that these symbols bring blessings to both the weavers and the consumers as well. The omoole which is a wall-gecho helps to prevent abiku or child's death. The

traditional interpretation is that omoole, the wall-gecho, never leaves its home and a child with the design motif of omoole on his clothes will never leave his parents' home and, therefore, would not die young but would live to an old age. It is also considered appropriate for pregnant women to wear kijipa cloth with omoole design motif as this motif helps to reduce infant mortality.

The ehin-ire or ire design motif which is cricket teeth is also interpreted as a blessing to the weaver as well as consumers. They are blessed with healthy children. Aremu (1982) said,

Cricket motifs are a symbol of sound health and happiness. The concept was drawn from the traditional belief that crickets are blessed insects dwelling somewhere in the sky and that when they appear during their season, they usually sound happy and healthy. (p. 8)

It is a belief in Yorubaland that the consumers of kijipa cloth with the design motifs of wall-gecho and the ire cloth of cricket design motif on it are blessed with long and healthy life in their families.

#### Relationship Between Gods, Magic, Myth, and Superstitious Meanings of Symbolism

Some symbols are related to gods, magic, and myth as they are the work of art, and these also are the different branches to which symbolism is related. Vaclavik (1925) stated,

None of these branches can be disregarded if we wish to understand folk textiles. Between the decoration of fabrics and all the varied fields of folk art mentioned above there is a close connection; the motifs pass from one field to another but are adapted to new material. Many elements are thus retained for a number of centuries, and some forms even have their origin far back in antiquity when they were connected with magical, sacrificial augural and non-artistic applications. (p. 16)

Vaclavik further stated that textile art consists of fabrics, embroideries, lace, and various home dyed and home printed materials. Many of the symbols in these various materials were embodied with the idea that man depends on natural forces and are frightened in the destructive strength of these forces. Man, being at the mercy of these forces to obtain food, therefore, turned in his helplessness to irrational means, sorcery, cult worship, and to augury. Design motifs which had the function of defence or aversion of evil are the wild rose, thorns, and wreaths. He also said that motifs connected with the dead are the acorn, snake, and birds which are still in use in Czechoslovakian textiles. The stag motif on the cloth had a cult meaning even in prehistoric times. The stag is depicted on the textiles and appears on the costumes of young men. This denotes strength and maturity. When on a child's bed sheet, it tends to bring health, strength, and good looks to the child. "May your little boy have a fine build and carry himself like a stag; may your little

daughter grow like an apple tree and son run like a deer" (Vaclavik, 1925, p. 21) are the superstitious meanings implied by these symbols.

No satisfactory meaning has been reached in seeking the origin of any design motifs from any country's antiquity due to the migrational character of the motifs from their foreign and original sources. The historical meanings of some of the design motifs are so confusing that one can only comprehend the meaning by a cautious analysis of the elements presented without the ethnographical theories.

The yoruba design motifs on the kijipa cloths were said to have originated from their ancestors whose culture and tradition were embedded in their gods and cult priests. The art of kijipa cloth weaving was a family profession because it is usually learned from mother to her daughter and only to the female children who were trained for the weaving. As stated by Aremu (1982) in the omoole and the ire design motifs woven on kijipa cloths which are related to the god of the weavers obalufon, the deity, their superstitious meaning was that the motifs prevent infant mortality and prolong the life of the weavers as well as the consumers. These design symbols prevent "the wandering spirits of children given to the prank of entering into



pregnant women and being born only to die for the sheer relish of mischief" (Aremu, 1982, p. 6).

The relationship of these symbols with gods and magic is that the Egungun, masquerade, in Yorubaland use kijipa cloth for their costume called eku-eegun during their annual festivals to appease the deities, to bring children to the barren, and happiness and loving kindness to the people in general. According to Aremu (1982), "Kijipa cloths are traditionally used for rituals involving requests for various kinds of blessing, including protection from sickness and death, gifts of children, prosperity, and victory over enemies" (p. 6). Young girls who are about to be married are advised to wear kijipa cloth by the oracle so as to have a happy marriage in life. It is believed also that whoever covers himself with kijipa cloth is protected from evil, illness, and accidents.

Horton (1965) stated that the superstitious meaning of the Kalabari reptilian design motifs on the pelete bite was that the odum, or python, lays eggs from which the non-ancestral spirits such as the water spirits, came from. These spirits, they believed, look after their houses when they visit by eating insects.

From the findings on the relationship between gods, magic, myth, and the superstitious meanings of symbols, it is clear that all symbols, being works of art, have

different individual meanings to different countries, races, and regions, and that each symbol depicts its own magical or superstitious meanings.

### Religious Meanings of Selected Symbols

Religion has always been a great influence on art because it is usually through people's efforts to make themselves dear to their gods that they create everlasting symbols. Most of the symbols revealed important events of a given era. Some symbols represented the wealth of that nation. Some religious symbols were embroidered or printed on the religious cloths, and others were woven in and are still in use in today's weavings. Each of these religious symbols has its own peculiar characteristics. The characteristics of these symbols are the figurative and the perceptibility qualities. The figurative quality implies that the inner attitude which is oriented to the symbol does not have the symbol itself but rather that which is symbolized in it. In addition, that which is symbolized can be a symbol for something of a higher rank. As quoted by May (1960),

A devotion to the crucifix is really directed to the crucifixion on Golgotha and devotion to the latter is in reality intended for the redemptive action of God, which is a symbolic expression in itself, for an experience of what concerns man ultimately. (p. 75)

According to May (1960) in his Symbolism in Religion and Literature, the perceptible quality of religious symbols implies that something which is invisible is made visible in the symbol and it is in this way given objectivity. The visibility of the symbol need not be sensory or felt for it can be as well something imaginative as in the devotion to the crucifix. Another characteristic of a religious symbol is its innate power which implies that the symbol has a power within it which distinguishes it from mere sign and gives to the symbol the reality which it has almost lost in ordinary usage. The acceptability of religious symbols is also a characteristic which also implies that the symbol is socially accepted by the society. Religious symbols are distinguished from other symbols by the fact that they are a representation of that which is unconditionally beyond the conceptual sphere. The symbols point to the ultimate reality which concerns man ultimately in religious act.

In the early periods before the birth of Christianity, Roman textile design motifs were of no significance for they were the work of the countries the Romans conquered through war. According to Lewis (1937), the Romans themselves did very little weaving for they were not adapted to such homely tasks. Neither did they make many printed fabrics for they did not understand the art of dyeing.

After the introduction of the Christian religion, different textile design motifs slowly evolved. They were printed symbolic figures which the religious refugees used to cover the walls of their catacombs. Some of these symbols were figures written, expressing their new faith. As stated by Lewis (1937),

This early Christian art which seems closely related to that of Byzantium was conceived in the Catacombs of Rome. There the symbolic figure painting with which the religious refugees covered the walls was more than an artistic endeavor. It was the written expression of their faith. As the Christ could not be portrayed in His true form lest the Roman persecutors destroy it, . . . (p. 29)

Some of the religious symbols which are still in use in churches are the fish, pelican, or eagle; these were used to represent Christ while a circle indicated eternity. A dove meant the Divine Spirit, the olive branch symbolized peace, and the wreath signified the triumph over death. The sun's rays had come to be the symbol of the sacrament or of a benediction. If, in a motif, the sun's rays were not used to express light, the spread wings of the eagle were drawn so as to give the appearance of rays of light, according to Lewis (1937). The fish symbol, according to Haffert (1983), has a double significance. It represents the miracle of the multiplication as well as the "food from heaven" (p. 57) which Christ promised to give His apostles which was Himself, His body and blood.

Flowers are symbolic and are also printed or embroidered not only on religious cloth but also on other cloths. The *lilium candidum*, a popular flower, is a symbol of the Annunciation of the Lord. This flower was held by either the Virgin or the Angel Gabriel. The *gladiolus* is a symbol of the Incarnation. The daisy flower is a symbol of the innocence of the holy Christ Child. The rosemary flower is a symbol of the Nativity of the Lord.

The butterfly is one of the symbols of the Resurrection and of eternal life through Jesus Christ. The three stages in the life history of the butterfly represent the three stages of the Christian as stated by Webber (1937). The first stage, the larva, represents the lowly condition of mortal men on this earth. The second stage which is the chrysalis lying in its shell and seemingly lifeless depicts the body of man in the grave. The pupa which is the final stage bursts from its outer shell, dries its wings, and soars heavenward with a beautiful new body. This represents to the Lord Jesus who will raise all the dead on the last day, the soul and the glorified body which are reunited to dwell in heaven forever.

The peacock is a symbol of the resurrection in the early days and of immortality as well. It is a symbol that was very common in the catacombs and in Byzantine churches. The bursting pomegranate is a symbol of the resurrection.

It is a symbol of the power of the Lord who was able to burst the tomb on Easter Day and was alive. The pomegranate has been used also to symbolize royalty, hope, the future life, and fertility, according to Webber (1937). It was used on the robes of Aaron (Exodus 28: 33-34). The pomegranate is used at present and is found in fine damasks used for altar cloths as well as clerical vestments.

The church has many other symbols which are still in use but are not commonly found in woven textiles. Other religious design motifs are borrowed and are used without the significance or with different meanings implied to them.

#### The Source and Interpretation of Religious Symbols in Relation to a Supreme Being

Symbolism was the commonest way for ancient Christians to communicate. It was a secret way practiced during the early church to prevent knowledge of the Christian mysteries from being learned by the unbelievers. Later, symbolism was extended to catechumens, pagans who desired to be Christians. Symbols have been used in all ages because of their recognized educational values. Even pagan nations have made use of symbolism. The early Christians also employed symbolism freely in their catacombs. Saint Clement of Alexandria in the second century urged Christians to give attention to symbolism, even in the

decoration of their household utensils, according to Webber (1937).

From the beginning of creation, according to Webber (1937), "God Almighty used symbols in teaching important truths." Again, according to Musurillo (1962) in his Symbolism and the Christian Imagination,

For Augustine, the way to the ultimate understanding of revelation lay through the forest of symbols which God had made in the world. (pp. 1-12)

God, whose Wisdom and Love expressed Itself in three Persons, communicates Himself through the cosmos under the veil of symbols and signs. (p. 92)

Webber (1937) also explained that the flaming sword of the angel of Eden was a symbol of God's authority over man. The blood sprinkled upon the doorposts of Israelites was a symbol of redemption, and the angel who slew the first born of every creature of Egyptians and spared the household upon which the blood sign was placed was also the symbol of death. The sign on the doorposts of the Israelites (Webber, 1937) was traditionally the Tau cross. The Tau cross was a T-shaped cross which was the symbol of God's chosen people. It was the cross on which Moses raised the brazen serpent in the wilderness. The serpent of brass was also the prophetic symbol of the crucifixion of Christ Jesus in the New Testament (John 3:14). In the Old Testament when God gave Moses directions for the

construction of the tabernacle or the Ark of the Covenant and its furnishings, symbols were used. The numerical numbers used for the dimensions of the Ark had symbolic meanings. The Ark signified God's presence in the midst of His people and from where He spoke and gave commands and answers. The Old Testament presents God's use of symbolism to communicate with His people. The findings in these readings are that symbols were used from the beginning of creation by Almighty God, the Supreme Being, to teach His creatures the important truths about Himself and His commands.

#### Status and Role of Symbols and Their Importance in the Daily Life of Both Males and Females

Symbolism in clothing has played an important role in the life of males and females throughout history. Symbols in clothing serve as a status indicator in most African countries. Exclusive and expensive styles and design motifs have often been adopted by the upper class to indicate their superior social position as compared to the lower classes. Trowell states (1960) that the design motifs that adorn traditional Enu-Ani cloth indicate status between the rich and the poor.

In Nigeria, certain clothing symbols signify status within the society. Both males and females of wealth and education used symbols to show their higher status among



themselves. Uneducated Nigerian men and women clothe themselves with garments with symbolic design motifs in order to rank themselves with the educated ones. Educated males and females use design motifs on their garments to indicate their superior social positions in the society. The richness and the severity of the motifs have an appeal to the eye. Symbolic status motifs are sometimes overshadowed by an unfamiliar religious design motif which has no significant meaning to some of the people. Some of these design motifs are not beautiful, but they record some individual preference. The overshadowed motifs have certain forms and arrangements that are considered pleasing within their structures.

According to Lewis (1937), the Egyptian kings wore cloths of significant design motifs marking their royalty and their status within their reign. The symbols on these cloths were significant because each of the symbols played an important role in the life of the people. These symbols were the lotus, the waves, the sphinx, the phoenix which is the Egyptian mythical bird, and the sacred beetle. Lewis (1937) stated that these motifs were important in the daily lives of both Egyptian males and females.

The lotus flower motif was used to decorate the massive columns which adorned their temples. It was also the lily of the Nile river and was a great flower for

everyone including the children who gathered them from the streams and wove them into garlands. This lotus flower was heavenly perfumed and scented the air in Egypt. Lotus flowers were used to make garlands which everyone wore. The lotus flower was used as a design motif and was woven into their textiles.

The wave motifs associated with the water flooding the Nile Valley were part of the woven textile design. This flooding meant fruitfulness. The wave motifs were, therefore, welcome symbols of prosperity. These wave motifs were woven in a zigzag symbol of the water and are used in the Zodiac sign of Aquarius who is the waterbearer.

The sphinx motif was representative of a combination of physical strength and intellectual power which depicted masculinity. It was woven into the cloth worn by the early Egyptian kings to indicate the superior mentality of the kings.

The sacred beetle was an invocation of good luck, representing the sun and the wings of providence. The phoenix motif was the symbol of the resurrection and the glory of the morning sun rising out of the burning glow of the dawn and, therefore, was the bird of the sun god Ra.

Lewis (1937) also stated that the Chinese used symbolism on their clothes to rank their level of superiority. The dragon was an outstanding motif used in

Chinese fabric and it is the heraldic emblem or motif of the emperor who acts as the son of heaven between his subjects and the gods above. The sky dragon motif was a representative of the emperor's power to hold up the sky. The motif of the earth dragon with five toes could not be worn on the robe by anyone below princely rank. The four-toed dragon motifs are for the lesser princes and princesses who had royal prerogatives without imperial rank. Greater distinction was shown by the number and placement of the dragon motifs on the ceremonial robes of the emperors. The imperial robes on which symbols appeared were indicative of the universe. The wave motifs which formed the lower border of the earth symbolized the water and the earth.

Symbols indicate status and role of males and females in their daily lives. Symbols help to indicate the importance of those who wear the symbols, their social superiority to their fellow beings, and the respect given to them by their subjects or the society.

#### Symbols as They Reflect Age of Males and Females

Symbols as they are woven into fabric have no distinction in usage among various age levels. Throughout history, even in primitive time, people of both sexes wore symbols on their clothing. Most of the symbols worn either

on clothes or as a decorative art were handed down from ancestors to their children. Symbols did not reflect age but rather rites of passage. Relation of age to any particular rite is more coincident than significant to the rite's meaning. It was noted in the readings that males and females wore symbols at all ages and at any age whether of religious or of non-religious symbolism. According to Webber (1937), the early Christians of all ages were encouraged to wear symbols as a mark of Christianity. In Yorubaland, as stated by Aremu (1982), young girls who were about to be married were advised to wear kijipa by the oracle for a happy marriage. Also, whoever covers himself, both young and old, with kijipa cloth is protected from evil, illness, and accidents. This shows that symbols could be worn by both males and females of all ages. Vaclavik (1925) said that symbolic motifs which were intended to bring happiness to man, were used in ceremonies of births on reaching the adult age, on marriages, and in building new dwellings, and everywhere good fortune was desired. He continued that some of the symbols were embroidered on the costumes of the people where the symbols denote maturity and strength. Symbols are also used in children's bedding as a sign of protection from evils.

Symbols do not reflect age. The literature shows that symbols woven either on clothes or as a decorative art could be worn or used by all individuals at all ages.

#### Meaning of Colors as Related to the Male and Female Motifs

There is no information on the meaning attached to colors related to woven motifs used by males and females in Nigeria. In recent years, the study of colors has brought about choice of colors worn by both males and females, but in practice people wear the color of their preference.

Colors have been used symbolically in weaving. The most common colors used in most African traditional hand woven cloth are creamy white and indigo which is a blue-black color. According to Aremu (1982), in Yorubaland, the creamy white and the blue-black colors are used in the weaving of kijipa motifs for the egungun masquerade. The color creamy white used in the symbol kijipa is for the men to use as aso-ibora which is a special right cover. Women also wear the iro-obinrin which is the creamy white kijipa as a wrapper. The creamy white color is commonly used by elderly men, hence the color is referred to as masculine in Yorubaland. Anything white is believed to be pure and is associated with the deity Obatala known as the patron of the Obatala worshippers. The female worshippers wear white beads as a sign of purity for the deity. The white color

represents purity in belief as well as clean in thought and in body. The main act in the use of white in worshipping the deity is that the worshippers would be clean in their daily life and their future should be bright as the white of the kijipa motif on the cloth.

The blue-black motif kijipa cloth is a symbol of peace which means ero or etu as stated by Aremu (1982). The traditional belief is that a woman who gives birth to a female child first gives ero--peace. This meaning originated from the cool dark color of the kijipa cloth which they believe brings comfort and happiness to the users. The blue-black color is a peaceful color in Yorubaland and it is mostly used by females. Aremu (1982) also stated that the blue-black color is known as the "feminine colour" (p. 9). The omoole is the wall-gecko motif woven in kijipa cloth to prevent infant mortality. This symbol is worn by pregnant women and is woven from the blue-black color which symbolizes comfort and peace to the wearer.

Vaclavik (1925) stated that it seemed quite natural that the oldest textile colors should be the cream and blackish-brown provided by sheep's wool and the natural yellowish color tone of unbleached hempen and linen cloth. The Czechoslovakians embroidered their design motifs with these natural colors.

In addition to these natural colors, there seemed to be these colors in use. The exact time for the origination of these colors could not be found, but other colors such as black, blue, green, yellow, and red are used throughout the world. To some tribes, each of these colors symbolizes something within their cultures, and these colors are used for certain motifs and for certain seasons of the year. To others, these colors are mainly used for textile beautification. Through the influence of churches and trade guilds, black is considered nearly everywhere as a funereal color.

White was originally a mourning color according to Vaclavik (1925) in Czechoslovakia. Not only in Czechoslovakia was white used as a mourning color but also in other parts of the globe. In Nigeria among certain religious groups, white is still used as a mourning color because black frightens and brings sickness and evil or bad omens on the wearer. Vaclavik (1925) stated:

In the opinion of older people, ancient white mourning was not so frightening in its effect as black mourning. As a result of Christian belief, mainly drawn from the Apocalypse, white is the mark of virginity and moral purity. (p. 32)

In many parts of the world, white is believed to mean purity and innocence; hence, in some religious groups, white is used by both males and females in certain ceremonies such as the celebration of matrimony, the

baptism of the young, and the reception of the Holy Eucharist. Among the pagans also, white is used for the worship of certain gods. Both male and female worshippers wear white cloth and white chalk on their bodies to show their purity in mind and body. Gustafson (1980), in her description of design symbolism of the Salish blankets, stated that the Salish of British Columbia used the white hair of the mountain goats in weaving the symbols on their blankets, signifying purity.

In early Moravia and Slovakia, according to Vaclavik (1925), blue color reminded the people of bruises, the pallor of corpses, and the plague. Blue foretold death and widowers wore blue colors. Brides were not allowed to wear a blue bodice in their garment in order not to suffer bruises in marriage. The blue color attained popularity when a preacher recommended blue color to be the color of the heavens. Christians accepted the color blue and used it in their costumes and on their ornamental motifs in embroideries and other decorations in the churches. Green is the color of trees which means health, growth, and youth to the Czechoslovakians. Vaclavik (1925) also stated that green color was used to embroider motifs on costumes worn at births and weddings. Brides wore green skirts or green bodices because green was regarded as a symbol of weddings. Most females embroidered their churching shawls with green



color showing health. In some African countries, green color is considered life, health, and youth. Green color is used in woven cloth to signify the new and healthy life as that of the growth of trees. Yellow is the color of ripening grain and is considered the symbol of good fortune and festivity. When yellow color is woven on cloth, it is meant to bring to the wearer good fortune. In medieval times in Moravia, Slovakia, and part of Bohemia, according to Vaclavik (1925), yellow color was used in the ceremonial textiles which were their handwoven fabrics such as ribbons and kerchiefs.

It was an old characteristic ascribed to red color that it be an aversion to the evil eye of man, bird, and beast. For this reason, red was significantly used in the ceremonies of family feasts, in the ceremony at the building of a new house, protecting the family life from evil minds, but red does not play any part in healing the sick or possessed. For this reason also, red color is always woven on the traditional cloth unless some one otherwise wishes to have one without a red color on it. Vaclavik (1925) said that the Czechoslovakians considered red color the most beautiful of all colors. Red denotes health and beauty. Most of their ceremonial cloths and their costumes were embroidered in red color.

With the increase of technological production of dyes, many shades of the basic colors are also used in the design motifs of clothing worn by both males and females. Most of these shades of basic colors have no significant meaning other than what their primary colors symbolize.

From the findings in the review of the literature, the author concludes that Nigerian culture colors are used randomly in the design motifs by both males and females. However, in certain other cultures, color does have significant meanings related to male and female usage.

#### Summary

The review of literature identifies the various aspects of symbolism pertinent to the physical characteristics of symbols and the motifs and colors of symbols as they are used in clothing. The literature showed the primitive interpretation and meanings of some symbolism and also the various relationships of the meanings between gods, magic, and myth. The information showed the source and the relations of symbolism to a Supreme Being and its interpretation to religion. The status and role of symbols as well as their importance to the daily life of both males and females were reviewed. Symbolism as reflected to age and the meaning of colors as they related to males and females were discussed. Findings

from the literature show that symbols are of significance to the world.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to investigate the symbolic significance of design motifs and colors in Enu-Ani traditional cloth and dress. The procedure was divided into these sections: selection of sample, the design motifs, weaver participants, the interview schedule, and the analysis of data.

#### Selection of Sample

The investigator studied the eight most commonly used design motifs found on Enu-Ani traditional cloth. Data were collected from 240 women weavers from Enu-Ani people of the Mid-West State of Nigeria.

#### Selected Design Motifs

The eight most commonly used traditional design motifs from the three divisions of the Enu-Ani tribe of Nigeria are listed. Illustrations are in Appendix A.

<u>Ibo</u>	<u>Translation</u>
Enyi	elephant
Akangweose	small mortar pestle
Uchie	native razor blade

Ugbo-Okwe	native checker
Ukpoto <u>o</u>	border design
Nha	native comb
Ije-agwo <u>o</u>	zigzag
Azu	fish

Other animals and objects also are used in geometric forms. As in other art media, the exact origin of the first design motifs was unknown, but records show the designs were handed down by their ancestors. These designs also grew from a need to express religious beliefs through symbols. Although there is still some crudity to these symbols, the primitivity of their quality appeals to the eye. These designs are not beautiful, but they record beliefs in certain forms, symmetries, and contrasts that are pleasing in them.

### Weavers

A total of 240 women weavers participated in the investigation by responding to an interview by the researcher. These women were selected from twenty-four villages: five to ten weavers from each of eight villages in each of the three divisions. These weavers were selected to respond to an interview schedule. An equal number of villages were randomly selected from a list provided by the local obi (mayor) from each of the three

divisions. The weavers were randomly selected from a list provided by the obi (mayor) of the village. Only weavers with thirty years of weaving experience and who are still engaged in the weaving skill were selected. The selection also was based only on those weavers who had been living and weaving in that locality for a period of forty years or more. Weavers from the three different divisions know historically the initial existence of these symbols in their own different localities. Only native weavers participated in the investigation.

#### Development and Administration of the Interview Schedule

The interview elicited information relating to the weavers' sources of design, the meaning of the symbols used in the weave, the choice and meaning of colors used on the cloth. Questions regarding difficulties encountered in weaving the design and the acceptance of the design motifs as authentic were also included.

The weavers were individually interviewed by the researcher and two trained assistants, since most of the weavers could not read or write. All questions were explained and read in Ibo dialect to assure better understanding of the question. The responses were marked on the interview schedule by the researchers. A copy of the interview schedule is in Appendix B. A tape

recorder was used to record conversations between the weavers and the researcher to assure that no important data were left out.

Weavers from each division were asked to weave samples of their symbols in a piece of cloth representing their division. Time to interview the weavers was planned to fit the weavers weaving schedule. Six weeks was spent in obtaining all the data from the three divisions.

#### Statistical Treatment of the Data

The data were analyzed using percentage and frequency distributions for descriptive purposes. Chi-square distribution analyses were used to test the hypotheses. The results of all statistical tests were interpreted with the .01 level of probability considered as representative of significant results and the .001 probability level considered as representative of highly significant results. The chi-square test of independence was used to test whether or not the differences between responses were statistically independent. Responses used for comparison were provided by the same sample who responded to different questions. Responses to use of the selected motifs were in terms of "yes, it was used" in the present or "no, it was not used." The same responses were recorded for whether the motif was in use 50 years ago. Rank numbers were

assigned by the researcher using one for the motif with highest number of "yes, it was used" responses to eight for the least "yes" responses. The data were analyzed at Texas Woman's University's computer laboratory using the SPSSX statistical package.



## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### Results

Information pertaining to the symbols and colors and their meanings used by weavers of fabrics utilized in the traditional dress of the Enu-Ani was obtained from responses of Enu-Ani women weavers through interviews. Results are presented and discussed under the major headings of demographics, symbols used 50 years ago and at the present time, symbols primarily for males relative to age, symbols primarily for females relative to age, symbols and colors used predominantly for males and for females, and the relationships among variables investigated.

#### Demographics

Interviews were scheduled and conducted with a total of 240 Enu-Ani women weavers. These women were selected from 24 villages in three divisions of Enu-Ani located near the river Niger. The demographic information obtained consisted of these categories: level of education, acquisition of weaving knowledge, number of years of residence in present home, and number of years of residence in other divisions.

### Education

The participants were questioned relative to the number of years of elementary school they had completed. The responses to question one showed that none of the 240 weavers had obtained any formal education.

### Acquisition of Weaving Knowledge

Since all of the participants were not formally educated, most of them obtained the knowledge of weaving by observing the weaving procedures of their mothers, grandmothers, aunts, and friends or through self-experience. As shown in Table 1, the majority (61%) of the weavers acquired their knowledge from their mothers while 32.5% acquired their knowledge from their grandmothers and 5.8% learned from self-experience.

### Number of Years of Residence in Present Home and in Other Divisions

All of the weavers were born and reared in the division in which they lived at the time of the interview. The total number of participants (240) who were interviewed from the three different divisions--the Oshimilli, the Ani-ocha, and the Ika--stated that they had always lived in their present division (see maps in Appendix C). Therefore, all participants were indigenous to the division in which they presently live.

Table 1

Percentage Distribution of Participants by Weaving Knowledge Acquisition

Source of Knowledge	Number	Percent
From mother	148	61.7
From father	-	-
From grandmother	78	32.5
From friend	-	-
From uncle	-	-
From aunt	-	-
From self-experience	14	5.8
From other	-	-
Total	240	100.0

#### Comparison of Design Motif Usage: Past and Present

The use of design motifs during the past and the present time were investigated in order to make comparisons. Information elicited from the questions related to the design motifs of the two different periods include design motifs used by both males and females. Several relationships were found to be significant between past and present usage of motifs. There were many significant differences in response patterns at the .01 or .001 level of probability for the different motifs.

Chi-square comparisons were based on response patterns:

no-no for present and past,  
no-yes for present and past,  
yes-no for present and past, and  
yes-yes for present and past.

A "no-no" response and a "yes-yes" response were interpreted to mean no change had occurred in responses to the questions being compared. A change from "no" to "yes" or "yes" to "no" was interpreted to mean a change had occurred. Significant chi-square values show significant change in the response pattern. Rank number was assigned using a one for the motif with the highest number of "yes, it was used" responses to the least "yes" responses. Tables showing cell frequencies and chi-square values for each variable will follow the tables showing frequency and percentages, but they will not be discussed except in terms of change in response pattern.

Table 2 presents the percentage distribution of design motifs used in the past and at present among males. The data revealed that at the present time the most used symbol was the elephant with 66.7%. The least used was the small mortar pestle at 4.6%. In the past, the most used design motif was the fish at 48.3%, and the least used was the elephant at 7.9%.

Table 2

Percentage Distribution of Design Motifs Among Males: Past and Present

Design Motif	Present					Past				
	Not used		Used		Rank	Not Used		Used		Rank
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	
Small mortar pestle	229	95.4	11	4.6	8	180	75.0	60	25.0	5
Elephant	80	33.3	160	66.7	1	221	92.1	19	7.9	8
Fish	157	65.4	83	34.6	4	124	51.7	116	48.3	1
Zigzag	112	46.7	128	53.3	2	154	64.2	86	35.8	2
Native comb	164	68.3	76	31.7	5	185	77.1	55	22.9	6
Border design	143	59.6	97	40.4	3	101	79.6	49	20.4	7
Native checker	217	90.4	23	9.6	7	171	71.3	69	28.8	4
Native blade	168	70.0	72	30.0	6	167	69.6	73	30.4	3

Even though the percentage of use for present and past was different, the zigzag design ranked second in usage during both periods. Native combs also showed little change in usage. The elephant design changed from least used in the past to most used at the present time. At present, the border design is being used more than in the past while the native checker and the small mortar pestle are being used significantly less.

A significant difference at .01 level of probability was observed for the border design between these two periods. The fish and native blade designs showed a very high level of significance at the .001 level of probability when fifty years ago and the present time were compared. The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns (Table 3) show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 7 and 9. Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to usage of the selected design motifs for the past and the present among males was rejected for fish, border design, and the native blade.

#### Comparison of Motif Usage Among Females: Past and Present

Detailed percentage distribution of design motifs used fifty years ago and at the present time among females is presented in Table 4. Among the most used design symbols

Table 3

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value for Comparison of Responses on Usage of Design Motifs by Males: Past and Present

Design Motif	Past		Present		x <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Small mortar pestle	170	59	10	1	.79397
Elephant	76	4	145	15	.86449
Fish	69	88	55	28	8.95266***
Zigzag	78	34	76	52	2.06056
Native comb	120	44	65	11	2.56589
Border design	105	38	86	11	5.34326**
Native checker	152	65	19	4	1.04760
Native blade	99	69	68	4	20.38253***

\*\* Significant at the .01 level of probability.

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

Table 4

Percentage Distribution of Design Motifs Among Females: Past and Present

Design Motif	Present					Past				
	Not used		Used		Rank	Not Used		Used		Rank
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	
Small mortar pestle	128	53.3	112	46.7	2	212	88.3	28	11.7	7
Elephant	185	77.1	55	22.9	4	169	70.4	71	29.6	2
Fish	134	55.8	106	44.2	3	170	70.8	70	29.2	3
Zigzag	120	50.0	120	50.0	1	189	78.8	51	21.3	4
Native comb	213	88.8	27	11.3	5	195	81.3	45	18.8	5
Border design	128	53.3	112	46.7	2	189	78.8	51	21.3	4
Native checker	213	88.8	27	11.3	5	147	61.3	93	38.8	1
Native blade	221	92.1	19	7.9	6	198	82.5	42	17.5	6



at the present time is the zigzag at 50%, and the least used is the native blade at 7.9%. In the past, the most used motif was the native checker with 38.3%, and the least used was the small mortar pestle at 11.7%.

The fish, the native comb, and the native blade designs ranked the same for both periods although the percentage of use for each period was different. The small mortar pestle changed from least used in the past to most used in the present. The elephant and native blade motifs are used less at the present time when compared to the past while the fish, zigzag, and border design are being used significantly more than in the past.

The chi-square value indicated very high significant differences at the .001 level of probability on the elephant, the fish, and the native blade motifs (Table 5). The zigzag and the border design were significantly different at the .01 level. The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and responded independently to questions 8 and 10. Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs for the past and the present among females was rejected for elephant, fish, zigzag, border design, and native blade.

Table 5

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value for Comparison of Responses on Usage of Design Motifs by Females: Past and Present

Design Motif	Past		Present		x <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Small mortar pestle	119	9	93	19	4.29562
Elephant	157	28	12	43	69.89745***
Fish	126	8	44	62	68.49723***
Zigzag	105	15	84	36	8.95954**
Native comb	173	40	22	5	.00000
Border design	108	19	80	32	5.43137**
Native checker	136	77	11	16	4.46190
Native blade	191	30	7	12	16.45451***

\*\* Significant at the .01 level of probability.

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

### Design Motifs Primarily Used for Males Relative to Age

Motif symbols primarily used for males relative to age--young, middle, and old--were investigated in order to make comparisons of the usage of each of the symbols among the three different age groups. Tables 6, 8, and 10 show the percentage while Tables 7, 9, and 11 show the cell frequencies and chi-square value distribution of the symbols used by the three different age groups.

#### Young and Middle Age Compared

The data in Table 6 revealed that both ages used the elephant and the zigzag motifs most at 57.1% and 50%, respectively, for the elephant and the zigzag motif at 50% and 55.4%, respectively. For the least motifs, the middle aged males used the native comb at 5% least and the young males used the native blade at 9.2% least. The border design changed from the most used by the middle aged males to the least used by the young aged males. The small mortar pestle was significantly less used by the middle aged males. The elephant was significantly used more by the middle aged males. The blade and the border designs were seldom used by the young males when compared with the middle aged males.

Significant differences were observed at .001 level on the small mortar pestle, the elephant, the fish, the

Table 6

Percentage Distribution of Design Motifs Used for Middle-Aged and Young Males

Design Motif	Middle-Aged Males				Young Males			
	Not used		Used		Not Used		Used	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Small mortar pestle	210	87.5	30	12.5	7	70.8	70	29.2
Elephant	103	42.9	137	57.1	1	50.0	120	50.0
Fish	158	65.8	82	34.2	5	70.0	72	30.0
Zigzag	120	50.0	120	50.0	2	44.6	133	55.4
Native comb	228	95.0	12	5.0	8	74.2	62	25.8
Border design	154	64.2	86	35.8	3	81.3	45	18.8
Native checker	157	65.4	83	34.6	4	71.3	69	28.8
Native blade	164	68.3	76	31.7	6	90.8	22	9.2

zigzag, and the border design between the two age groups (Table 7). The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently on questions 11 and 12. Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for males due to age between young and middle age was rejected for small mortar pestle, elephant, fish, zigzag, and border design.

#### Young and Old Ages Compared

Of the 240 participants investigated on the usage of the motifs between the young and the old aged males, the data in Table 8 showed that among the old males, the most used motif was the border design at 56.3%, and the least used motif was the small mortar pestle at 0%. The most used motifs among the young males were the elephant and the zigzag and the least used was the native comb at 5%.

No significant difference was observed at any level of probability between the two age groups on any of the motifs used by the different ages (Table 9). The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 11 and 13. Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to usage of

Table 7

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value for Comparison of Responses on Usage of Design Motifs for Young and Middle-Aged Males

Design Motif	Young Males		Middle-Aged Males		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Small mortar pestle	157	13	53	16	19.97515***
Elephant	88	32	15	105	80.16951***
Fish	138	10	20	62	80.10850***
Zigzag	90	30	17	103	87.42604***
Native comb	171	57	7	5	0.89735
Border design	139	15	56	30	21.27919***
Native checker	106	51	65	18	2.58551
Native blade	152	12	66	10	1.35916

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

Table 8

Percentage Distribution of Design Motifs Used for Old and Young Males

Design Motif	Old Males					Young Males				
	Not used		Used		Rank	Not Used		Used		Rank
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	
Small mortar pestle	240	100.0	0	0	8	170	70.0	70	29.2	6
Elephant	236	98.3	4	1.7	6	120	50.0	120	50.0	1
Fish	237	98.8	3	1.3	7	158	65.8	82	34.2	4
Zigzag	213	88.8	27	11.3	2	120	50.0	120	50.0	1
Native comb	230	95.8	10	4.2	4	228	95.0	12	5.0	7
Border design	105	43.8	135	56.3	1	154	64.2	86	35.8	2
Native checker	225	93.8	15	6.3	3	157	65.4	83	34.6	3
Native blade	234	97.5	6	2.5	5	164	68.3	76	31.7	5

Table 9

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value of Design Motifs Used for Young and Old Males

Design Motif	Young Males		Old Males		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Small mortar pestle	170	0	70	0	0.00000
Elephant	118	2	118	2	0.00000
Fish	158	0	79	3	2.01496
Zigzag	110	10	103	17	1.00235
Native comb	218	10	12	0	0.00000
Border design	63	91	42	44	1.10569
Native checker	144	13	81	2	2.02028
Native blade	161	3	73	3	0.28439



selected design motifs produced for males due to age between young and old age was accepted.

#### Old and Middle Ages Compared

The percentage distribution on the usage of the design motifs between the old and the middle males is shown in Table 10. From the data, it was observed that among the old aged males, the most used motif was the border design at 56.3%, and the least used was the small mortar pestle at 0%. Among the middle aged males the most used motif was the elephant at 57.1%. The least used motif was the native blade at 9.2%.

The zigzag design, although the percentage of use for both age groups was different, ranked second in usage for both old and middle aged males. The border design changed from the most used for the old males to almost the least used for the middle aged males.

A significant difference was observed at the .01 level on the border design between the old aged males and middle aged males (Table 11). The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 12 and 13. Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs

Table 10

Percentage Distribution of Design Motifs Used for Old and Middle-Aged Males

Design Motif	Old Males					Middle-Aged Males				
	Not used		Used			Not Used		Used		
	N	%	N	%	Rank	N	%	N	%	Rank
Small mortar pestle	240	100.0	0	0.0	8	210	87.5	30	12.5	7
Elephant	236	98.3	4	1.7	6	103	42.9	137	57.1	1
Fish	237	98.8	3	1.3	7	168	70.0	72	30.0	3
Zigzag	213	88.8	27	11.3	2	107	44.6	133	55.4	2
Native comb	230	95.8	10	4.2	3	178	74.2	62	25.8	5
Border design	105	43.8	135	56.3	1	195	81.3	45	18.8	6
Native checker	225	93.8	15	6.3	3	171	71.3	69	28.8	4
Native blade	234	97.5	6	2.5	5	218	90.8	22	9.2	8

Table 11

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value of Design Motifs Used for Old and Middle-Aged Males

Design Motif	Old Males		Middle-Aged Males		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Small mortar pestle	210	0	30	0	0.0
Elephant	103	0	133	4	1.03620
Fish	167	1	70	2	0.57866
Zigzag	96	11	117	16	0.03317
Native comb	170	8	60	2	0.00256
Border design	77	118	28	17	4.28334**
Native checker	161	10	64	5	0.00830
Native blade	214	4	20	2	1.35283

\*\* Significant at the .01 level of probability.

produced for males due to age between old and middle age was accepted except for the border design.

#### Design Motifs Primarily Used for Females Relative to Age

The same comparisons used for males relative to age were used to study design motif usage by females: young and middle, young and old, and old and middle. Tables 12, 14, and 16 present the percentage distribution of the symbols used by the three different age groups, and Tables 13, 15, and 17 present the cell frequencies and chi-square values distribution of the symbols used by the three age groups.

#### Young and Middle Ages Compared

The review of Table 12 showed that the most used motif among the middle aged females was the small mortar pestle design at 54.2%, and the least used motif was the native blade at 9.6%. Among the young females, the most used motif was the small mortar pestle at 62.9% and the least used was the native blade at 8.8%. Although the percentage for the design motifs--small mortar pestle, elephant, border design, and native blade--is different for the different age groups, the design motifs ranked the same for the different age groups.

Table 12

Percentage Distribution of Design Motifs Used for Middle-Aged and Young Females

Design Motif	Middle-Aged Females					Young Females				
	Not Used		Used			Not Used		Used		
	N	%	N	%	Rank	N	%	N	%	Rank
Small mortar pestle	110	45.8	130	54.2	1	89	37.1	151	62.9	1
Elephant	173	72.1	67	27.9	5	158	65.8	82	34.2	5
Fish	115	47.9	125	52.1	2	97	40.4	143	59.6	3
Zigzag	153	63.8	87	36.3	3	121	88.3	28	11.7	7
Native comb	178	74.2	62	25.8	6	93	38.8	147	61.3	2
Border design	167	69.9	73	30.4	4	143	59.6	97	40.4	4
Native checker	200	83.3	40	16.7	7	206	85.8	34	14.2	6
Native blade	217	90.4	23	9.6	8	219	91.3	21	8.8	8

Significant differences were observed at .001 level on almost all of the design motifs with the exception of the border design between the two different age groups (Table 13). The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 15 and 16. Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for females due to age between young and middle age was rejected for all of the design motifs with the exception of the border design.

#### Young and Old Ages Compared

Table 14 shows that the most used symbolic design among the old females was the zigzag at 49.6%, and the least used was the native comb. The most used motif among the young females was the small mortar pestle at 62.9%, and the least used was the native blade at 8.8%. The data showed that the small mortar pestle, the native comb, and the fish were used more by the young females than by the old females while the old females used the zigzag and the border design more than the young females.

Significant chi-square differences were observed between the different age groups at the .01 level on native blade and at the .001 level of probability on the small

Table 13

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value for Comparison of Responses on Usage of Design Motifs for Middle-Aged and Young Females

Design Motif	Middle-Aged Females		Young Females		x <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Small mortar pestle	80	9	30	121	67.78037***
Elephant	142	16	31	51	70.16528***
Fish	88	9	27	116	84.66137***
Zigzag	144	68	9	19	8.19838***
Native comb	86	7	92	55	17.02100***
Border design	99	44	68	29	0.0
Native checker	182	24	18	16	21.85608***
Native blade	205	14	12	9	17.34764***

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

Table 14

Percentage Distribution of Design Motifs Used for Old and Young Females

Design Motif	Old Females					Young Females				
	Not used		Used			Not Used		Used		
	N	%	N	%	Rank	N	%	N	%	Rank
Small mortar pestle	186	77.5	54	22.5	4	89	37.1	151	62.9	1
Elephant	208	86.7	32	13.3	6	158	65.8	82	34.2	5
Fish	188	78.3	52	21.7	5	97	40.4	143	59.6	3
Zigzag	121	50.4	119	49.6	1	212	88.3	28	11.7	7
Native comb	228	95.0	12	5.0	7	93	38.8	137	61.3	2
Border design	145	60.4	95	39.6	2	143	59.6	97	40.4	4
Native checker	147	61.3	93	38.8	3	206	85.8	34	14.2	6
Native blade	208	86.7	32	13.3	6	219	91.3	21	8.8	8



mortar pestle, the elephant, and the border design (Table 15). The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and responded independently to questions 14 and 16. Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for females due to age between young and old age was rejected for small mortar pestle, elephant, border design, and the native blade and accepted for fish, zigzag, native comb, and the native blade.

#### Old and Middle Age Compared

The data presented in Table 16 reveal that among the motifs most used by the old female was the zigzag at 49.6%, and the least used motif was the native comb at 5%. Among the middle aged females, the most used motif was the small mortar pestle at 54.2%, and the least used was the native blade at 9.6%.

Significant differences were observed at the .01 level of probability on the border design and the native blade between the old aged and the middle aged females (Table 17). At the .001 level, significant differences were also observed for the small mortar pestle and the elephant. The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore,

Table 15

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value of Design Motifs for Old and Young Females

Design Motif	Old Females		Young Females		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Small mortar pestle	85	4	101	50	16.68444***
Elephant	146	12	62	20	10.76449***
Fish	83	13	105	38	4.32928
Zigzag	106	106	15	13	.01595
Native comb	84	9	144	3	5.47821
Border design	101	42	44	53	10.39227***
Native checker	131	75	16	18	2.70060
Native blade	195	24	13	8	8.97591**

\*\* Significant at the .01 level of probability.

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

Table 16

Percentage Distribution of Design Motifs Used for Old and Middle-Aged Females

Design Motif	Old Females				Middle-Aged Females			
	Not used		Used		Not Used		Used	
	N	%	N	% Rank	N	%	N	% Rank
Small mortar pestle	186	77.5	54	22.5 4	110	45.8	130	54.2 1
Elephant	208	86.7	32	13.3 6	173	72.1	67	27.9 5
Fish	188	78.3	52	21.7 5	115	47.9	125	52.1 2
Zigzag	121	50.4	119	49.6 1	153	63.8	87	36.3 3
Native comb	228	95.0	12	5.0 7	178	74.2	62	25.8 6
Border design	145	60.4	95	39.6 2	167	69.6	73	30.4 4
Native checker	147	61.3	93	38.8 3	200	83.3	40	16.7 7
Native blade	208	86.7	32	13.3 6	217	90.4	23	9.6 8

Table 17

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value of Design Motifs Used for Old and Middle-Aged Females

Design Motif	Old Females		Middle-Aged Females		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Small mortar pestle	100	10	86	44	17.54433***
Elephant	163	10	45	22	20.29695***
Fish	92	23	96	29	.19742
Zigzag	84	69	37	50	12.66975
Native comb	170	8	58	3	.06544
Border design	110	57	35	38	4.09425**
Native checker	128	72	19	21	2.15997
Native blade	193	24	15	8	8.17888**

\*\* Significant at the .01 level of probability.

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

responded independently to questions 14 and 15. Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for females due to age between old and middle age was rejected for small mortar pestle, elephant, border design, and native blade and accepted for fish, zigzag, native comb, and native checker.

#### Design Symbols Used for Males and Females

Among the Enu-Ani weavers, certain design motifs are used for both males and females. These motifs were investigated to compare their use by each sex group. Tables 18, 20, 22, 24, and 26 present the percentage distribution while Tables 19, 21, 23, 25, and 27 show the cell frequencies and chi-square comparisons between males and females relative to age.

#### Comparison of Motif Usage Between All Males and Females

Data in Table 18 revealed that the most used motif among males 50 years ago was the fish at 48.3 percent and the least used motif was the elephant at 7.9 percent. The most used motif among females 50 years ago was the native checker at 38.8 percent, and the least used motif was the small mortar pestle at 11.7 percent. The native blade changed from most used by males 50 years past to least used

Table 18

Percentage Distribution of Design Motifs Used by Males Compared with Females 50 Years Ago

Design Motif	Males				Females			
	Not used		Used		Not Used		Used	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	Rank
Small mortar pestle	180	75.0	60	25.0	5	212	88.3	28 11.7 8
Elephant	221	92.1	19	7.9	8	169	70.4	71 29.6 2
Fish	124	51.7	116	48.3	1	170	70.8	70 29.2 3
Zigzag	154	64.2	86	35.8	2	189	78.8	51 21.3 4.5
Native comb	185	77.1	55	22.9	5	195	81.3	45 18.8 6
Border design	191	79.6	49	20.4	7	189	78.8	51 21.3 4.5
Native checker	171	71.3	69	28.8	4	147	61.3	93 38.8 1
Native blade	167	69.6	73	30.4	3	198	82.5	42 17.5 7

by females 50 years past. The native comb ranked the same for the two different sexes although the percentage of use was different. The elephant motif changed from most used by females 50 years ago to least used by males 50 years ago. The fish motif, as most used by males, signified the importance of the fish motif to the males.

The chi-square values (Table 19) showed that the fish and the native blade had .001 significant level of probability between the males and females of 50 years ago. The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and therefore responded independently to questions 9 and 10. The hypotheses of no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motif for fish and native blade were rejected and were accepted for small mortar pestle, elephant, zigzag, native comb, border design, and the native checker.

The data in Table 20 show that among males, in general, the most used motif was the elephant at 66.7%, and the least used motif was the small mortar pestle at 4.6%. The most used motif among females was the zigzag at 50%, and the least used motif was the native blade.

Although the percentage of the native comb and blade designs are different for the two different sexes, these

Table 19

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value for Design Motifs Used by Males Compared with Females 50 Years Ago

Design Motif	Males		Females		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Small mortar pestle	153	27	59	1	6.52291
Elephant	159	62	10	9	2.27445
Fish	100	24	70	46	10.99261***
Zigzag	121	33	68	18	.0
Native comb	155	30	40	15	2.71495
Border design	149	42	40	9	.12760
Native checker	114	57	33	36	6.58028
Native blade	152	15	46	27	25.68648***

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.



Table 20

Percentage Distribution of Design Motifs Used by Males Compared with Females in the Present

Design Motif	Males				Females			
	Not used		Used		Not Used		Used	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	Rank
Small mortar pestle	229	95.4	11	4.6	8	128	53.3	112 46.7 2
Elephant	80	33.3	160	66.7	1	185	77.1	55 22.9 4
Fish	157	65.4	83	34.6	4	134	55.8	106 44.2 3
Zigzag	112	46.7	128	53.3	2	120	50.0	120 50.0 1
Native comb	164	68.3	76	31.7	5	213	88.8	27 11.3 5
Border design	143	59.6	97	40.4	3	128	53.3	112 46.7 2
Native checker	217	90.4	23	9.6	7	213	88.8	27 11.3 5
Native blade	168	70.0	72	30.0	5	221	92.1	19 7.9 6

design motifs ranked the same for the two sexes. The small mortar pestle changed from the least used for males to almost the most used for females.

At the .001 level of significance, differences were observed between the male group and the female group for the fish, the zigzag, and the border designs (Table 21). The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 7 and 8. Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for males and females was rejected for fish, zigzag, and border design and accepted for small mortar pestle, elephant, native comb, native checker, and native blade.

#### Comparison of Young Males with Young Females

The most often used motifs among the young males, as revealed in Table 22, were the elephant and the zigzag at 50% each. The least used was the native comb at 5%. The most often used motif among the young females was the small mortar pestle at 62.9%, and the least used motif was the native blade at 8.8%. The comparisons showed that the small mortar pestle, the fish, and the border designs were significantly more used for young females than for the young males in woven cloth.

Table 21

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value for Design Motifs Used by Males Compared with Females In the Present

Design Motif	Males		Females		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Small mortar pestle	118	111	10	1	5.05345
Elephant	69	11	116	44	4.45627
Fish	75	82	59	24	10.04062***
Zigzag	84	28	36	92	34.64174***
Native comb	146	18	67	9	.0
Border design	91	52	37	60	10.08352***
Native checker	192	25	21	2	.00247
Native blade	150	18	71	1	4.30114

\*\* Significant at the .01 level of probability.

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

Table 22

Percentage Distribution of Design Motifs Used for Young Males and Females

Design Motif	Young Males					Young Females				
	Not used		Used			Not Used		Used		
	N	%	N	%	Rank	N	%	N	%	Rank
Small mortar pestle	170	70.8	70	29.2	6	89	37.1	151	62.9	1
Elephant	120	50.0	120	50.0	1	158	65.8	82	34.2	5
Fish	158	65.8	82	34.2	4	97	40.4	143	59.6	3
Zigzag	120	50.0	120	50.0	1	212	88.3	28	11.7	7
Native comb	228	95.0	12	5.0	7	93	38.8	147	61.3	2
Border design	154	64.2	86	35.8	2	143	59.6	97	40.4	4
Native checker	157	65.4	83	34.6	3	206	85.8	34	14.2	6
Native blade	164	68.3	76	31.7	5	219	91.3	21	8.8	8

The elephant and the zigzag motifs changed from the most used for the young males to the least used for the young females. The small mortar pestle and the native comb changed from the least used for the young males to the most used for the young females.

A highly significant difference was observed at the .001 level on small mortar pestle design between the young males and females (Table 23). Significant differences at the .01 level were observed between the two different sex groups for the fish and the border design. The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 11 and 16. Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for both sexes due to age between young males and females was rejected for small mortar pestle, fish, and border design and accepted for elephant, zigzag, native comb, native checker, and native blade.

#### Comparison of Middle Aged Males and Middle Aged Females

Table 24 revealed that among the middle aged males the most used motif was the elephant at 57.1%, and the least used motif was the native blade at 9.2%. For the middle aged females, the most used motif was the small mortar

Table 23

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value for Design Motifs Used by Young Males and Young Females

Design Motif	Young Males		Young Females		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Small mortar pestle	80	90	9	61	21.41486***
Elephant	83	37	75	45	.90769
Fish	76	82	21	61	10.42522**
Zigzag	104	16	108	12	.36388
Native comb	88	140	5	7	.0
Border design	81	73	62	24	15.41882**
Native checker	132	25	74	9	.77248
Native blade	153	11	66	10	1.33386

\*\* Significant at the .01 level of probability.

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

Table 24

Percentage Distribution of Design Motifs Used by Middle-Aged Males and Females

Design Motif	Middle-Aged Males					Middle-Aged Females				
	Not used		Used			Not used		Used		
	N	%	N	%	Rank	N	%	N	%	Rank
Small mortar pestle	210	87.5	30	12.5	7	110	45.8	130	54.2	1
Elephant	103	42.9	131	57.1	1	173	72.1	67	27.9	5
Fish	168	70.0	72	30.0	3	115	47.9	125	52.1	2
Zigzag	107	44.6	133	55.4	2	153	63.8	87	36.3	3
Native comb	178	74.2	62	25.8	5	178	74.2	62	25.8	6
Border design	195	81.3	45	18.8	6	167	69.6	73	30.3	4
Native checker	171	71.3	69	28.8	4	200	83.3	40	16.7	7
Native blade	218	90.8	22	9.2	8	217	90.4	23	9.6	8

pestle at 54.2%, and the least used motif was the native blade at 9.6%. The elephant and the zigzag motifs were significantly more used by middle aged males than middle aged females while the middle aged females used small mortar pestle and the fish motifs significantly more in the woven cloth than the middle aged males.

The native blade, although the percentage of use for both males and females was slightly different, ranked eighth for both sexes. The small mortar pestle changed from the least used for middle aged males to most used for middle aged females. The elephant changed from the most used for the middle aged males to nearly the least used for the middle aged females.

The chi-square value showed significant difference at the .01 level between the two different sex groups for the zigzag design (Table 25). The .001 level of significance was observed on the native comb and the native checker. The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 12 and 15. Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for both sexes due to age between middle aged males and females was rejected for zigzag, native comb, and native checker



Table 25

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value for Design Motifs Used by Middle-Aged Males and Females

Design Motif	Middle-Aged Males		Middle-Aged Females		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Small mortar pestle	103	107	7	23	5.99401
Elephant	82	21	91	46	4.44764
Fish	84	84	31	41	.71553
Zigzag	79	28	74	59	7.72338**
Native comb	161	17	17	45	92.08565***
Border design	142	53	25	20	4.36589
Native checker	55	16	45	24	21.08924***
Native blade	201	17	16	6	6.64344

\*\* Significant at the .01 level of probability.

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

and was accepted for small mortar pestle, elephant, fish, border design, and native blade.

#### Comparison of Old Males with Old Females

Among the old age males, the most used motif was the border design at 56.3%, and the least used motif was the small mortar pestle at 0% (Table 26). The most used design motif among the old women was the zigzag at 49.6%, and the least used was the native comb at 5%. The elephant and zigzag were used more by the old females than by the old males. The elephant and the native checker designs, although the percentage of use for both sexes was different, ranked the same for both sex groups.

The chi-square value shows that the native comb had a .001 significant level of probability between old males and old females (Table 27). A .01 level of significance was observed on the elephant motif for both ages. The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 13 and 14. Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for both sexes due to age between old males and females was rejected for elephant and native comb and accepted for fish, zigzag, border design, native checker, and native blade.

Table 26

Percentage Distribution of Design Motifs Used by Old Males and Females

Design Motif	Old Males					Old Females				
	Not used		Used		Rank	Not Used		Used		Rank
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	
Small mortar pestle	240	100.0	0	.0	8	186	77.5	54	22.5	4
Elephant	236	98.3	4	1.7	5	208	86.7	32	13.3	6
Fish	237	98.8	3	1.3	7	188	78.3	52	21.7	5
Zigzag	213	88.8	27	11.3	2	121	50.4	119	49.6	1
Native comb	230	95.8	10	4.2	3	228	95.0	12	5.0	7
Border design	105	43.8	135	56.3	1	145	60.4	95	38.8	3
Native checker	225	93.8	15	6.3	3	147	61.3	93	38.8	3
Native blade	234	97.5	6	2.5	5	208	86.7	32	13.3	6

Table 27

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value for Design Motifs Used by Old Males and Females

Design Motif	Old Males		Old Females		x <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Small mortar pestle	186	54	0	0	.0
Elephant	207	29	1	3	8.50962**
Fish	187	50	1	2	1.31195
Zigzag	113	100	8	19	4.35340
Native comb	224	6	4	5	34.91991***
Border design	69	36	76	59	1.31447
Native checker	138	87	9	6	.0
Native blade	204	30	4	2	.72485

\*\* Significant at the .01 level of probability.

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

### The Meaning of Design Motifs: Past and Present

The meanings of the design motifs as they were used in the woven cloth of the Enu-Ani people during both past and present times were investigated. Responses to questions 17 and 19 of the interview schedule provided the data. The results of the percentage distribution and the cell frequencies and chi-square comparisons are presented in the sections titled small mortar pestle, elephant, fish, zigzag, native comb, border design, native checker, and native blade.

#### Small Mortar Pestle

The participants indicated that the most common meaning (65.4%) for the small mortar pestle in the past was grinding while the least frequently stated meaning was that the motif was used by grandparents at 23.3% (Table 28). At the present time, the meaning most frequently stated for the small mortar pestle was for beautifying the cloth at 65.8%, and the least frequently stated meaning was grinding (1.3%). From the rank assigned, it can be seen that grinding changed from most used in the past to least used in the present.

The chi-square values showed that most response patterns between past and present meanings of the small mortar pestle were highly significant (Table 29). The

Table 28

Percentage Distribution of the Meaning of the Small Mortar Pestle

Small Mortar Pestle	Past				Present			
	No	%	N	Yes	Rank	N	%	Rank
Grinding	83	34.6	157	65.4	1	237	98.8	3
Woman's household belonging	134	55.8	106	44.2	3	185	77.1	55
Beautifying cloth	114	47.5	126	52.5	2	82	34.2	158
Use by grandparents	184	76.7	56	23.3	5	88	36.7	152
Handed down by grandparents	155	64.6	85	35.4	4	102	42.5	138

Table 29

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value on the Meaning of Small Mortar Pestle:  
Past and Present

Small Mortar Pestle	Past		Present		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Grinding	83	154	0	3	.43107
Woman's household belonging	120	65	14	41	17.12843***
Beautifying cloth	77	5	37	121	64.73872***
Use by grandparents	84	3	100	52	17.78394***
Handed down by grandparents	93	9	62	76	32.84247***

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

meaning "beautifying the cloth" had the most difference in the response patterns between past and present. The response pattern for the meaning "grinding" was not significant among the four responses, but the number of changes in the past category appears to be an important change. The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 17 and 19 (1). Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to the meanings of selected motifs produced in the past and the present for the small mortar pestle motif was rejected except for the meaning "grinding."

### Elephant

The data presented in Table 30 reveal that the meaning for the elephant motif, "sign of a great deed," was most common during both the past (66.3%) and is most common at the present (40.4%). The least common meaning for the past, "handed down by grandparents," received only 25.8% of the responses. Therefore, the meaning "sign of a great deed" was most common for both periods. At the present time, the least common meaning is "shows important happenings" at 22.5%. It showed that the most frequently stated meaning for both past and present was "sign of a great deed."



Table 30

Percentage Distribution of the Meaning of the Elephant Motif: Past and Present

Elephant	Past					Present				
	No		Yes			No		Yes		
	N	%	N	%	Rank	N	%	N	%	Rank
Sign of great deed	81	33.8	159	66.3	1	143	59.6	97	49.4	1
Signifies great event	159	6.3	81	33.8	3	177	73.8	63	26.3	4
Shows important happening	175	72.9	65	27.1	4	186	77.5	54	22.5	5
To beautify the cloth	128	53.3	112	46.7	2	160	66.7	80	33.3	2
Handed down by grandparents	178	74.2	62	25.8	5	174	72.5	66	27.5	3

"Sign of a great deed" and "to beautify the cloth," although the percentage of meanings for past and present were different, ranked first and second in usage during both periods. The meaning "signifies great event" changed from third in the past to fourth ranked at present time. "Shows important happening" changed from fourth ranked in the past to fifth ranked at the present time.

Highly significant differences at the .001 level of probability were observed on all the meanings related to the elephant motif between the two periods (Table 31). The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 17 and 19 (2). Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to the meanings of selected motifs produced in the past and the present for the elephant was rejected.

### Fish

Table 32 shows that the participants thought the meaning "signifies plenty of food" for the fish motif was the most common during both time periods, 68.8% for the present and 75.8% for the past. They also thought the least common meaning during both periods was "traditional design" with 9.2% for the past and 8.8% for the present time.

Table 31

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value on the Meaning of Elephant: Past and Present

Elephant	Past		Present		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Sign of great deed	73	70	8	89	41.45896***
Signifies great event	130	47	29	34	10.41528***
Shows important happening	154	32	21	33	34.66052***
To beautify the cloth	100	60	28	52	10.11928***
Handed down by grandparents	149	25	29	37	41.26269***

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

Table 32

Percentage Distribution of the Meaning of the Fish Motif: Past and Present

Fish	Past					Present				
	No		Yes			No		Yes		
	N	%	N	%	Rank	N	%	N	%	Rank
Most frequently eaten	177	73.8	63	26.3	4	204	85.0	36	15.0	4
Signifies plenty of food	58	24.2	182	75.8	1	75	31.3	165	68.8	1
Handed down by grandparents	97	40.4	143	59.6	2	143	59.6	97	40.4	3
Traditional design	218	90.8	22	9.2	5	219	91.3	21	8.8	5
To beautify cloth	129	53.8	111	46.3	3	118	49.2	122	50.8	2

Although the percentage of responses to the meanings "most frequently eaten," "signifies plenty of food," and "traditional design" were different, they ranked fourth, first, and fifth in position for both time periods--past and present--for the fish motif. "Handed down by grandparents" changed from second in rank in the past to third in rank at the present. "To beautify cloth" changed from third in rank in the past to second in rank for the present time.

Chi-square values showing significant differences at the .001 level of probability were observed on the different meanings assigned to the fish motif between the past and the present (Table 33). The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 17 and 19 (3). Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to the meanings of selected motifs produced in the past and the present for the fish was rejected.

### Zigzag

The data in Table 34 reveal that the most common present meaning for the zigzag motif is "snake walk" at 73.8%, and the least common meaning is "traditional design" at 5.4%. In the past, the most common meaning of the

Table 33

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value on the Meaning of Elephant: Past and Present

Fish	Past		Present		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Most frequently eaten	160	44	17	19	8.82561***
Signifies plenty of food	54	21	4	161	132.42867***
Handed down by grandparents	83	60	14	83	43.84889***
Traditional design	210	9	8	13	70.08933***
To beautify cloth	101	17	28	94	84.18102***

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

Table 34

Percentage Distribution of the Meaning of the Zigzag Motif: Past and Present

Zigzag	Past					Present				
	No		Yes			No		Yes		
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	
Sign of flood	65	27.1	175	72.9	1	220	91.7	20	8.3	4
Snake walk	165	68.8	75	31.5	4	63	26.3	177	73.8	1
Handed down by grandparents	89	68.8	75	31.3	4	63	26.3	177	73.8	1
To beautify the cloth	155	64.6	85	35.4	3	104	43.3	136	56.7	3
Traditional design	225	93.8	15	6.3	5	227	94.6	13	5.4	5

zigzag motif was "sign of flood" at 72.9% and the least common meaning was "traditional design" at 6.3%.

The percentage of responses to the meanings "handed down by grandparents," "to beautify the cloth," and "traditional design" were different. They ranked second, third, and fifth in position for both time periods--past and present--for the zigzag motif. The meaning "sign of flood" changed from first ranked in the past to fourth ranked at the present time, and the meaning "snake walk" changed from fourth ranked in the past to first ranked at the present time.

Significant differences at the .001 level were observed on all the meanings except "sign of flood" between the past and the present time periods related to the meanings of the zigzag motif (Table 35). The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 17 and 19 (4). Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to the meanings of selected motifs produced in the past and the present for the zigzag was accepted for the meaning "sign of flood" and rejected for the meanings "snake walk," "handed down by grandparents," "to beautify the cloth," and "traditional design."



Table 35

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value on the Meaning of the Zigzag Motif: Past and Present

Zigzag	Past		Present		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Sign of flood	62	158	3	17	1.01467
Snake walk	56	7	109	68	10.88004***
Handed down by grandparents	72	20	17	131	65.57796***
To beautify the cloth	89	15	66	70	33.76201***
Traditional design	220	7	5	8	42.07523***

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

Native Comb

Responses to the present time period, as shown in Table 36, indicate that the most common meaning for the native comb was "used by their grandparent" at 71.3%. The least common meaning was "traditional design" at 2.5%. In the past, the most frequently stated meaning was that the native comb was "used before the advent of Europeans" (67.9%), and the least frequently stated meaning was "traditional design" (3.3%). Although the percentage of responses to the meaning "traditional design" was different, it ranked fifth for both time periods--past and present.

Significant differences were observed at the .001 level of probability between the past and the present meanings on the native comb for "traditional design," "to beautify the cloth", and "handed down by grandparent." A .01 level was observed on "use by grandparent" between the two periods (Table 37). The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 17 and 19 (5). Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to the meanings of selected motifs produced in the past and the present for the native comb was accepted for the meaning "used before the advent of Europeans" and was rejected for the meanings, "used by

Table 36

Percentage Distribution of the Meaning of the Native Comb Motif: Past and Present

Native Comb	Past					Present				
	No		Yes		Rank	No		Yes		Rank
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	
Used before the advent of Europeans	77	32.1	163	67.9	1	227	94.6	13	5.4	4
Used by grandparent	161	67.1	79	32.9	4	69	28.8	171	72.3	1
Handed down by grandparents	82	34.2	158	65.8	2	131	54.6	109	45.4	3
To beautify the cloth	122	50.8	118	49.2	3	93	38.8	147	61.3	2
Traditional design	232	96.7	8	3.3	5	234	98.5	6	62.5	5

Table 37

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value on the Meaning of the Native Comb Motif:  
Past and Present

Native Comb	Past		Present		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Used before the advent of Europeans	69	158	8	5	4.13673
Used by grandparent	55	14	106	65	4.21278**
Handed down by grandparents	72	59	10	99	33.43698***
To beautify the cloth	84	9	38	109	84.17399***
Traditional design	232	2	0	2	133.01857***

\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

grandparent," "handed down by grandparent," "to beautify the cloth," and "traditional design."

#### Border Design

Table 38 presents the data that the most common meaning for the border design in the past was "to beautify the cloth" at 67.5%, and the least frequently stated meaning was "traditional design" at 18.3%. At the present time, the most frequently stated meaning was "to separate other design motifs" at 67.5%, and the least frequently stated meaning was "traditional design" at 29.2%. Although the percentage of responses to the meaning "traditional design" was different, it ranked fourth for both time periods.

Chi-square values shown in Table 39 indicate highly significant differences at the .001 level between the two periods on all the meanings for the border design except for the traditional design. The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 17 and 19 (6). Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to the meanings of selected motifs produced in the past and the present time for the border design was rejected for the meanings "to separate other design motifs," "to beautify the cloth," and

Table 38

Percentage Distribution of the Meaning of the Border Design: Past and Present

Border Design	Past					Present				
	No		Yes		Rank	No		Yes		Rank
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	
To separate other design motifs	157	65.4	83	34.6	3	78	32.5	162	67.5	1
To beautify the cloth	78	32.5	162	67.5	1	85	35.4	155	64.6	2
Traditional design	196	81.7	44	18.3	4	170	70.8	70	29.2	4
Use by parent	91	37.9	149	62.1	2	168	70.0	72	30.0	3

Table 39

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value on the Meaning of the Border Design Motif: Past and Present

Border Design	Past		Present		x <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
To separate other design motifs	75	3	82	80	42.26553***
To beautify the cloth	61	24	17	138	81.74391***
Traditional design	146	24	50	20	5.48681
Used by parent	83	85	8	64	21.79065***

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

"used by parent." The hypothesis was accepted for the meaning "traditional design."

#### Native Checker

The participants indicated that the most common past meaning for the native checker motif was "game played by the Obi" at 66.3%, and the least frequently stated meaning was "hand down design" at 8.3%. At the present time, the most frequently stated meaning for the native checker was "game played by the Obi" at 71.7%, and the least common stated meaning was "hand down design" at 11.3% as indicated in Table 40. Although the percentage of responses to the meanings "game played by old men," "game played by Obi," "to beautify cloth," and "hand down design" were different, they ranked fourth, first, second, and sixth for both time periods for the border design.

Chi-square values revealed highly significant differences at the .001 level between the two periods on the meanings of the native checker except for "game played in old days" which was not significant. The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns in Table 41 show the number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 17 and 19 (1). Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to the meanings of selected motifs produced in the past and



Table 40

Percentage Distribution of the Meaning of the Native Checker Motif: Past and Present

Native Checker	Past					Present				
	No		Yes			No		Yes		
	N	%	N	Rank	%	N	%	N	Rank	%
Game played by old men	168	70.0	72	4	30.0	177	73.8	63	4	26.3
Game played by Obi	81	33.8	159	1	66.3	68	28.3	172	1	71.7
To beautify cloth	109	45.4	131	2	54.6	109	45.4	131	2	54.6
Game played in old days	134	55.8	106	3	44.2	180	75.0	60	5	25.0
Handed down design	220	91.7	20	6	8.3	213	88.8	27	6	11.3
Used by grandparents	195	81.3	45	5	18.8	142	59.2	98	3	40.8

Table 41

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value on the Meaning of Native Checker: Past and Present

Native Checker	Past		Present		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Game played by old men	151	26	17	46	72.51725***
Game played by Obi	58	10	23	149	109.54948***
To beautify cloth	90	19	19	112	108.45951***
Game played in old days	104	76	30	30	0.81104
Handed down design	201	12	19	8	15.05762***
Used by grandparents	127	15	68	30	14.01110***

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

the present for the native checker was rejected for the meaning "game played by old men," "game played by the Obi," "to beautify cloth," "hand down design," and "used by grandparent" and accepted for the meaning "game played in old days."

#### Native Blade

The participants indicated that the most frequent meaning for the native blade in the past was "for circumcision" at 72.5%, and the least common stated meaning was "handed down design" (Table 42). For the present time, the most frequently stated meaning was that the native blade was "used by parents and grandparents" at 65.4%, and the least commonly stated meaning was "for circumcision" at 6.3%.

The meaning "for circumcision" changed from first in rank for the past period to fourth in rank at the present time. The first in rank "used by parents and grandparents" at the present time changed to second in rank in the past.

The chi-square value showed that there were significant differences at the .001 level of probability between the two periods on the meanings of the native blade motif on "to beautify the cloth" and "handed down design," and that the motif was "used by parents and grandparents." The "no-yes" and "yes-no" columns in Table 43 show the

Table 42

Percentage Distribution of the Meaning of the Native Blade Motif: Past and Present

Native Blade	Past					Present				
	No		Yes			No		Yes		
	N	%	N	Rank	%	N	%	N	Rank	%
For circumcision	66	27.5	174	1	72.5	225	93.8	15	6.3	4
To beautify cloth	113	47.1	127	3	52.9	89	37.1	151	62.9	2
Handed down design	179	74.6	61	4	25.4	170	70.8	70	29.2	3
Used by parents and grandparents	98	40.8	142	2	59.2	83	38.6	157	565.4	1

Table 43

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value on the Meaning of the Native Blade Motif:  
Past and Present

Native Blade	Past		Present		X <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
For circumcision	63	162	3	12	.13932
To beautify cloth	79	10	34	117	95.99484***
Handed down design	148	22	31	39	45.62409***
Used by parents and grandparents	77	6	21	136	138.39827***

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

number of respondents who changed their responses and, therefore, responded independently to questions 17 and 19 (8). Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to the meanings of selected motifs produced in the past and the present time for the native blade was accepted for the meaning "for circumcision" and "was rejected for the meanings "to beautify cloth," "handed down design," and "used by parents and grandparents."

#### Meaning of Same Motif Used for Both Males and Females

Participants were questioned on whether the meanings of the design motifs had the same meanings for both males and females as used on woven cloth. Responses to questions 21 and 22 of the interview schedule provided the data. Table 44 shows that for males, 87.1% thought the motifs had "no other meanings;" 7.5% thought the motifs had other meanings;" 5% stated they "do not know" while only 0.4% responded "others." For female usage, only 0.4% stated the motifs "had another meaning" while 7.9% stated the motif "had no other meaning," and 87.1 percent stated they did not know if the motifs had any other meanings when used in females' clothing. Nearly 5% (4.6%) were "others." Significant differences were observed at the .001 level between males and females on the meanings of the motifs.

Table 44

Percentage Distribution of Design Motif Meaning Used for Both Males and Females

Usage	Has Another Meaning		Has No Other Meaning		Do Not Know		Others	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males	18	7.5	209	87.1	12	5.0	1	.4
Females	1	.4	19	7.9	209	87.1	11	4.6

Therefore, the hypothesis of no significant difference in the responses to the usage of meanings of the selected motifs between males and females was accepted.

#### Color Usage: Past and Present

The colors used by the Enu-Ani weavers in the past and at the present were investigated in order to compare the color usage between the two periods. Responses to questions 24 and 25 of the interview schedule provided the data. The percentage distribution on the responses of the participants is shown in Table 45. The cell frequencies and chi-square values are shown in Table 46.

Analysis of the data in Table 45 revealed that the weavers used all of the listed colors except green, at only 0.4%, extensively in both the past and the present. Further probing produced no explanation for not using green. However, most of the colors used were from natural dyes, and natural green dye is difficult to produce. They also indicated green is only used when available from imported commercial dyes. Results presented in Table 45 show that all the colors were equally used at both time periods except for the green color which was equally not used in both time periods.

Highly significant differences were observed at the .001 level between the two time periods on the response



Table 45

Percentage Distribution of the Colors Used: Past and Present

Colors	Not used			Past			Not Used			Present		
	N	%		N	Used	%	N	Rank	%	N	Used	Rank
Red	13	5.4		227	94.6	5	13	5	5.4	227	94.6	5
Yellow	1	.4		239	99.6	3	0		.0	240	100.0	1.5
Blue	1	.4		239	99.6	3	1		.4	239	99.6	3.5
Black	0	.0		240	100.0	1	0		.0	240	100.0	1.5
Green	239	99.6		1	.4	8	239		99.6	1	.4	8
Orange	1	.4		239	99.6	3	1		.4	239	99.6	3.5
Brown	20	8.3		220	91.7	6	21		8.8	219	91.3	6
Others	200	86.3		34	14.2	7	207		86.3	33	13.8	7

Table 46

Cell Frequencies and Chi-Square Value on the Meaning of Colors Used: Past and Present

Colors	Past		Present		x <sup>2</sup>
	No-No	No-Yes	Yes-No	Yes-Yes	
	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	Present/Past	
Red	13	0	0	227	220.87805***
Yellow	0	0	1	239	0
Blue	0	0	1	239	0
Black	0	0	0	240	0
Green	0	0	1	239	0
Orange	1	0	0	239	59.49896***
Brown	20	0	1	219	215.23567***
Others	205	1	2	32	207.91354***

\*\*\* Significant at the .001 level of probability.

patterns on the colors red, orange, and brown (Table 46). The significant chi-square values indicate independence; however, the similarity of responses between the two periods produced many cells with five or less responses, thus highly inflating the chi-square values, and, therefore, rejection of the hypothesis of no difference is inappropriate.

#### Color Sameness for Both Males and Females

Since the same colors were used for both periods questions were asked in order to determine if the same colors were used for both males and females. Responses to question 23 provided the data for this section. Question 23 was "Are the same colors used for female clothing as for male clothing?" Table 47 presents the percentage distribution of colors used for both sexes. The data in Table 47 reveal that a majority (85.8%) of the participants said "yes" that the same colors are used in female clothing as for male clothing. Only 5.4% said "no" that the colors are not the same for female as for male clothing while 8.8% indicated "do not know" if the colors are the same for female as for males.

Responses to question 25a provided the data for determination of whether the colors used in the past have changed for the present time. Table 48 presents the

Table 47

Percentage Distribution of Same Color Usage for Both Males and Females

Color Sameness for Both Male and Female	Number	Percent
Yes	206	85.8
No	13	5.4
Do not know	<u>21</u>	<u>8.8</u>
Total	240	100.0

Table 48

Percentage Distribution of the Usage of Colors Changed in the Past

Past	Number	Percent
No change	21	8.8
Little change	206	85.8
Change completely	12	5.0
Do not know	<u>1</u>	<u>.4</u>
Total	240	100.0

percentage distribution of how usage of colors has changed from the past. The data in Table 48 reveal that 8.8% thought that the colors used in the past had "no change." A majority (85.8%) stated that there was "little change" in the color usage in the past. Only 5% stated the color usage "changed completely," and only 0.4% stated they "do not know."

#### The Significance of White as Background of Native Cloth

The participants were questioned on the importance of white as the background of the native cloth and the significance of white to the people. The responses from the 240 participants indicate that the color white used for the background of the native cloth was their traditional color. It was the color which their grandparents and great grandparents handed down to their parents. The significance of the color white to the people was that white is worn by their priests and priestesses in worshipping their god and their mother earth. The plain white woven cloth is a burial shroud. The color white signifies purity; therefore, they believed the white cloth shows their purity of body and mind as they perform their ceremonial rites. The results of the data are not tabled because the participants gave unanimous answers to questions 26 and 27 of the questionnaire.

### Discussion of Hypotheses

This section deals with the interpretation of the findings from each of the variables. The significant differences between the variables will be discussed under each hypotheses. The important differences under Hypothesis 5 will be combined with Hypothesis 6 as both hypotheses relate to the same variables.

#### Hypothesis 1

There is no significant difference in the responses to usage of the selected design motifs for the past and the present among males.

Based upon the analysis of the data, there were important differences between past and present usage of the design motifs among males. Three of the design motifs were significantly different: the fish, the border designs, and the native blade.

The fish and the native blade were used more in the past than at the present. This finding is likely to be true because in the past more males did more fishing as their major occupation than is done by present day males. Other than a few domesticated small animals and birds which very few of the natives reared for economic purposes, fish were an important source of protein in their diets. Also, it was less expensive when compared with meat.

Due to the primitive life and lack of modern razor blades, the native blade was used for circumcision which was an ancient custom and is still practiced at the present time on males. The society looked down on an uncircumcised male as an unclean individual. As stated by Wallerstein (1980), some circumcising peoples practiced cultural chauvinism in that they considered themselves superior to other groups who did not adopt the practice of circumcision. Loeb (1928) stated that among other explanations for origin of circumcision was for hygienic purpose. It was a covenant between God and Abraham (Genesis 17:10). Since circumcision was an ancient custom practiced in almost every land, one could see the importance of the native blade within the Enu-Ani people in the past.

#### Hypothesis 2

There is no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs for the past and the present among females.

The results of the findings showed important differences on the usage of selected design motifs for the past and present among females. Results showed that these design motifs were significantly different: elephant, fish, zigzag, border design, and native blade. The meanings of the difference for the fish and the native



blade were discussed in Hypothesis 1 and meanings for female usage are the same. The zigzag motif was found to be used more by females at the present time than by females in the past. The females in the past used more of the elephant motif than present time females.

The zigzag motif was used more by the present time females because of its significance as a "sign of flood." Flood is a symbol of fertility in an environment which depends on rain to cultivate its crops, according to Gustafson (1980). The Enu-Ani people, though part of the tribe, live along the river Niger, the major part of the people live inland, and required rain to help them in the cultivation of their crops. The use of the zigzag motif on their native cloth also meant that the mother land fertilizes their human mothers and blesses them with birth as well as food for their lives as a sign of prosperity. As stated by Lewis (1937), the zigzag motif used by the Egyptians was a symbol of water which is still being used in the zodiac sign for Aquarius. The zigzag weaves were associated with the flooding of the low Nile valley which meant fruitfulness as well as prosperity. The rippling and meandering lines which were zigzag designs signify human figures according to Haddon (1910). These figure designs covered the handle of the Mongaian paddle. These zigzag design human figures were to be female forms through which

the males traced their descent as a rule among the Polynesians. The zigzag design is used in many cultures and seemed to have a common meaning of fertility. The zigzag motifs used by the females of the Enu-Ani tribe fits in with this common meaning.

The elephant motif which was used more in the past by the Enu-Ani females than in the present was important because the elephant was a sign of a great deed. The elephant as a magnificent as well as the largest land animal was one of the greatest creatures which had come down to man from centuries past. According to Carrington (1959), Cumming killed an African elephant and stated, "I came full in view of the tallest and largest bull elephant I had ever seen" (p. 154). For a hunter to kill an elephant was regarded as a great deed. Wing and Buss (1970) stated that elephants were shot by trophy hunters. Elephants were hunted by civilized men long before the advent of modern firearms to obtain ivory and to capture the female elephants for domestication. According to Carrington (1959), ivory was ranked second in value to the use of the elephant carcass for food in the past. Ivory was in great demand for the making of ornaments and furniture. Palaces and houses were built of ivory in the past by the Romans. The ancient Egyptians also used ivory for their doorposts. Ivory was a precious ornament as was

stated in the praise for the beauty of Christ's Kingdom:  
"Myrrh and stacte and cassia perfume thy garment from the  
ivory house: out of which the daughters of kings have  
delighted thee in thy glory" (Psalms 44:9-10).

In Western Europe during the middle of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, many of the Gothic carvings were of ivory and were of religious objects. There was a great demand for ivory for domestic use in the past such as for the making of mirror cases, combs, earrings, and necklaces. With the demand of such ornaments, one could see the importance of the elephant motif on the traditional hand woven cloth of the Enu-Ani females. The elephant motif used by the females of the past did not mean the females hunted or killed elephants, but the motif was used as a sign of great achievement in an individual's life. The elephant motif also signifies wealth, and wealth sometimes is exhibited on one's clothing.

### Hypothesis 3

There is no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for males due to age between young and middle age, between young and old age, or between old and middle age.

Based upon the results of the findings, there were important differences in the responses to usage of border design among males. The border design motif is a parallel

line or lines used for separating other design motifs. This motif was used more by the old males than by the middle-aged and the younger males. Also, the middle-aged males used the motif more than the younger males. Based on conversation with respondents, it seems that for males, the older and the more advanced they become in age, a lesser variety of designs motifs were used in their native cloth until only the border design remained. The border design was used more during old age denoting resignation of old males to life and also showing that they had achieved most of what they could do in their youth, and that to them decorations of their native cloth is but vanity. The use of border design also showed that males in their old age are not flamboyant in clothing.

Respondents also stated that the more the old males advance in age, even the border design motif disappears from their traditional woven cloth until their cloth is completely white and without any design motifs. These plain white woven native cloths are also used as burial shrouds for all ages. It is more utilitarian to use the white cloth for a shroud than the ones with a border design on them because they are more easily made, less expensive to purchase and are more readily available at all times.

#### Hypothesis 4

There is no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for females due to age between young and middle age, between young and old age, or between old and middle age.

Results of the findings revealed there were important differences among the age groups on the use of selected design motifs. The small mortar pestle and the native checker showed important differences in usage. Although the three different age groups all used the small mortar pestle motif, it was in different degrees at their stages of life. The young females used the motif more than the old and more than the middle-aged females. Due to the youthful stage of these young females, they desire to show the beginning of family life and wish to exhibit their vigor and ability to achieve more in life. As the small mortar pestle was part of the woman's household belongings, these young females at this stage either were preparing for marriage or had just married and used the small mortar pestle to signify family possessiveness and also as a sign of maturity. In view of this family belonging, the young females use more of the motif on their woven cloth than the other older females.

The old females used more of the native checker motif than the young and the middle-aged females. The native checker is a game played by the obis (elder males) and

shows the importance of the motif to the natives. The obis are the rulers of the people and are elders who are experienced in knowledge concerning the native laws and regulations. Therefore, the natives consult them for advice on problems concerning the tribe, individuals, or families. Among the females, the old females are regarded as the mothers of the tribal women and are looked upon for advice on matters concerning females. The greater use of the native checker motif on their native cloth signifies respect among the younger females of the tribe for the older females and males.

#### Hypotheses 5 and 6

There is no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for males and females.

There is no significant difference in the responses to usage of selected design motifs produced for both sexes due to age between young males and females, between middle males and females, or between old males and females.

Results of the findings showed there were important differences in the responses to the usage of the native comb design for both sexes between the middle-aged and the old males and females. Among the middle-aged males and females, both age groups used the comb motif equally on their native cloths signifying the importance of the native comb for the groups. For the old males and females, the

females used more of the motif than the old males signifying the flamboyancy of females even at old age, still keeping up with fashion.

The findings showed that the younger age groups of both sexes use less of the comb motif on their cloths because most of them now wear their hair in the western style, therefore, do not have as much need to use the native comb as the older sexes. The native comb is an important tool used by both males and females in caring for their hair. The females in particular use the wooden comb for their hairdos as an adornment. According to Ogunwale (1977), hairdressing is an elaborate act and requires skill and takes imagination to do the act, and one of the tools used in the act is the wooden comb which is still widely used despite some other kinds of combs. In Nigeria, not only the Enu-Ani females emphasize elaborate hairdos, but it is a symbolic tradition of all West African females.

These styles have evolved into many varieties of braids symbolizing different objects with different meanings to each braid. Well-braided hair lasts for a week which means a working female has to do her hair often compared with a non-working female who does her hair monthly. She does this to keep up with hair fashion just as she would any other fashion. The hairstyles fade and new styles are introduced, and most females go with the

trend in hairstyle fashions. The Nigerian society relates hairdos to wealth and status; therefore, it depends on how often a female does her hair and what the individual spends for the hairstyles that proves the person's importance in the community. Houlberg (1977) stated that in Nigeria the society interrelates wealth and status to hairstyles and that females reflect this. As these hairstyles become a sign of fashion, most females do their hair very often, thereby requiring the frequent use of the native wooden comb, not only the Enu-Ani females but also by many other Nigerian older females.

#### Hypothesis 7

There is no significant difference in the responses to the meanings of selected motifs produced in the past and the present for the small mortar pestle, elephant, fish, zigzag, native comb, border design, native checker, or native blade.

The results of the findings showed that there were no important differences in the responses to the meanings of the selected motifs produced in the past and the present except that the meanings were ranked somewhat differently between the time periods. The absence of significant differences in the meanings of these selected motifs indicates that past meanings of design motifs are very much the same for the present. This also suggests that the customs and traditions of the people have changed little



for the present period and that, in general, the people still follow their ancestral beliefs. The Enu-Ani people like other Nigerians are also farmers whose staple crops are yams, maize, cassava, and plaintain as was stated by Udo (1970). According to Roach and Eicher (1973), this type of society is known as an agrarian society and the type of dress and motifs on their clothing relate to the development of an agricultural economy. This type of society is ordered by traditional beliefs and sentimental feeling for the customs and this directs their life patterns, thus making the custom and the tradition of the people difficult to change.

#### Hypothesis 8

There is no significant difference in the responses to usage of colors in the past and the present.

The results of the findings showed there were some important differences in the use of colors in the past and the present. Almost all the colors were used in the past and were being used in the present except for the color green. To obtain the color green from plants or from any other source was not known to them in the past or in the present. Therefore, they must use the synthetic green dyes which sometimes were easily obtained from the local markets. The researcher, a native of Enu-Ani, observed that red, orange, and brown were important because of the

bright and warm effect of the colors. Also, these colors were used to cast off spells from individuals or from homes, and it was believed that they also denoted health and beauty. According to Vaclavik (1925), red was considered the most beautiful of all colors in Slovakia and was one of the oldest characteristics ascribed for the aversion of the evil eye of man. For that reason, red was often and most significantly used in popular ceremonies such as anniversaries, the building of a new house, and protecting cattle. The Ashanti of Ghana, according to Rattray (1959), used many different colors for weaving the symbols into the Ashanti cloth. The colors used were red, yellow, white, black, and combinations of other different colors to give the symbols meaningful value. According to respondents in the study for the Enu-Ani people, it did not matter if the red tone did not achieve the full depth of color as in the case of orange and brown. What did matter was the conception of red as a symbol. Red was one of the oldest colors the weavers produced, and their shades change according to the intensity of the root and bark of plants used for the production of the color. At the present time, the synthetic dyes are used in combination with the locally made ones to obtain better shades of color.

### Hypothesis 9

There is no significant difference in the responses to the usage of meanings of the selected motifs between males and females.

Based upon the findings, there were no important differences in the meanings of the motifs between males and females. The meanings of the design motifs were not related to either masculinity or femininity; therefore, the meanings could be used for both sexes. For example, the elephant motif meaning "sign of great deed" is used on the clothing of both males and females which does not change its meaning. It only shows that he who used the elephant motif on his clothes achieved something great whether masculine or feminine. The degree and the act of the achievement varies depending on the action performed for the achievement by the individual. If the zigzag motif with its meaning "sign of flood" is used on the cloth, the meaning remains the same as flood is a symbol of fertility. It signifies that the individual will be blessed with birth as well as prosperity in life.

Meanings in primitive language are difficult to translate as they are mental processes. To understand the meanings of the primitive language, one has to understand the human nature and the culture of the people through their symbols. According to Redfield (1948), to understand the meanings of primitive language, one has to study the

signs and symbols of the people as every human tongue has a definite structure of its own where the structure assumes a fundamental importance. Therefore, the meanings of the motifs symbols of the Enu-Ani people as the primitive languages carry their significance within the structure of their particular language.

## CHAPTER 5

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Summary

This study was designed to investigate the symbolic significance of selected design motifs and colors used by the Enu-Ani people on their traditional hand woven cloth. The differences in usage between motifs used in the past and present, the usage of the motifs among males and females, and the usage relative to age among males and among females were also studied.

The sample consisted of 240 Enu-Ani women weavers who have resided at their present place for more than 30 years and are indigenous to their villages. The participants were randomly selected from the lists of women weavers provided by the obi (mayor) of the village. These women weavers were selected from 24 villages from the three different divisions in the Enu-Ani area. The divisions are the Oshimilli, the Aniocha, and the Ika. The design motifs selected were the eight commonly used ones among the Enu-Ani people. The weavers selected were those who had 30 years or more weaving experience and were still engaged in the weaving skill at the time of the investigation.

The data were obtained by personal interviews using an interview schedule. The questions were designed to obtain demographic information as well as responses to usage of the design motifs between past and present time periods and among males and females relative to their different age groups. A tape recorder was used to record conversations to assure that important data were not left out. Data were analyzed using percentage and frequency distribution for descriptive purposes. Chi-square analysis was used to determine differences between the responses to the variables. The results of chi-square distribution analyses were interpreted with a .01 probability level considered as representative of significant and a .001 level considered as highly significant.

The results revealed significant differences between some variables among males within different age groups as well as among females within different age groups. Significant differences were also found between males and females in the use of the motif designs. Findings from the analysis of data were:

1. Significant differences were found between past and present usage of the design motifs among males on fish, border design, and the native blade, but no significant differences were found on small mortar pestle, elephant, zigzag, native comb, and checker. The border

design is being used more in the present than it was in the past while the fish motif is used less in the present than in the past and the native blade motif is used equally in both time periods.

2. There was a significant difference between past and present usage of the selected design motifs among females on the elephant, fish, zigzag, border design, and the blade motifs, but no significant differences were found in usage of small mortar pestle, native comb, and native checker. The zigzag motif is being used more at present than in the past, and the native blade is used less at the present time than in the past.
3. Significant differences were found in the usage of the selected design motifs for males relative to age.
  - a. Between young and middle age small mortar pestle, elephant, fish, zigzag, and border design were significantly different, but no significant differences were found on native comb, checker and the blade. The small mortar pestle was being used more by young males than the middle-aged men, and the elephant motif was being used more by the middle-aged males than by the young males.
  - b. Between young and old age, no significant difference in the usage of the motifs was observed,

but border design was being used more by old males than by the young males. The zigzag motif was being used more by the young males than by the old males.

- c. Between old and middle-aged males, there was a significant difference on border design, but no significant difference was found on the small mortar pestle, elephant, fish, zigzag, native comb, native checker, or native blade. The border design was being used more by the old males than by the middle-aged males. The elephant motif, although not significantly different, was used more by the middle-aged males than by the old males.
4. There was a significant difference in the usage of the selected design motifs for females relative to age.
- a. Between young and middle-aged females, significant differences were found on the small mortar pestle, elephant, fish, zigzag, native comb, native checker, and the native blade, but no significant difference was found on the border design. The small mortar pestle was being used more by the young females than the middle-aged females and the zigzag motif was being used more by the middle-aged females than by the young females.



- b. Between old and young females, significant differences were found on the small mortar pestle, elephant, border design, and native blade, but no significant difference was found on fish, zigzag, native comb, and native checker motifs. The small mortar pestle was being used more by the young females than by the old females, and the native blade was being used more by the old females than by the young females.
  - c. Between old and middle-aged females, significant differences were found on the small mortar pestle, elephant, border design, and native blade, but no significant differences were found on fish, zigzag, native comb, and native checker. The small mortar pestle was being used more by the young females than by the old females, and the border design was being used more by the old females than by the young females.
5. There was a significant difference in the usage of the selected design motifs for both males and females on fish, zigzag, and border design motifs, but no significant difference on small mortar pestle, elephant, native comb, native checker, and native blade designs. The zigzag motif was being used more by the

females than by the males, as well as the fish and the border design.

6. There was a significant difference to the usage of the selected design motifs for both males and females relative to age.
  - a. Between young males and females significant differences were found on small mortar pestle, fish, and border design motifs but no significant difference on elephant, zigzag, native comb, native checker, and native blade was found. The small mortar pestle, the fish, and the border design were being used more by the young females than by the young males.
  - b. Between middle-aged males and females, significant differences were found on zigzag, native comb, and native checker, but no significant differences were found on small mortar pestle, elephant, fish, border design, and native blade designs. The zigzag motif was being used more by the middle-aged males than by the middle-aged females. The comb motif was used equally by both sexes. The native checker was being used less by the middle-aged females than by the middle-aged males.
  - c. Between old males and females significant differences were found on the elephant and native

comb motifs, but no significant differences were found for the small mortar pestle, fish, zigzag, border design, native checker, or native blade.

The elephant and the native comb were being used more by the old females than by the old males.

7. No significant differences were found in any of the meanings of the selected design motifs. The absence of significant differences in the meanings of the selected motifs indicated that the meanings were very much the same for both past and present time periods.
8. There was a significant difference in the usage of colors between the time periods on red, yellow, blue, black, orange, and brown, but no significant difference was found for the color green. The color green was not used in the past because it could not be produced locally; however, in the present time period, a synthetic green dye is used.
9. There was no significant difference in the meanings of the selected design motifs between males and females because the meanings relate to both males and females.

### Conclusions

Based on the results of this study, these conclusions have been drawn.

1. Most of the weavers learned the skill of weaving from their mothers rather than from any other source.
2. Males and females of the present time use more of the design motifs than the males and the females of the past, indicating that the present time males and females are more design conscious than their parents and grandparents were.
3. The Enu-Ani males use almost the same symbolic motifs as the females until their old age. Then, they tend to use fewer motifs until they wear barely no design motif on their white native cloth which they later use as their burial shroud.
4. At the present time, the females of all ages use more of the design motifs on their clothing than the males of all ages.
5. All colors which are available to the weavers and could be purchased in their local markets are used for any of the symbolic design motifs whether the design motif is to be used for males or females clothing.

#### Recommendations

Based on the results of this study, these recommendations for further research are suggested.

1. A similar study of this nature but with other Nigerian tribes who have traditional design motifs on their hand

woven cloth in order to compare usage and meaning of design motifs.

2. An investigation to determine the potential for mass-production and marketing of the traditional hand woven cloth of the Enu-Ani weavers.
3. Additional research is needed in order to determine the availability, quality, variety, and consumer preference for other design motifs used in the traditional hand woven cloth of the Enu-Ani.
4. Further study is needed on the consumer preferences of other tribal groups for traditional design motifs used by the Enu-Ani weavers.
5. A study to investigate the possibility of teaching the hand weaving skills in schools in order to retain better the ancient craft.
6. Craft fairs, exhibiting, and selling the traditional hand woven cloth of the Enu-Ani and other tribal groups should be organized to help strengthen the economy and economic well being of Nigerian people.

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## APPENDIX A

### MOTIFS

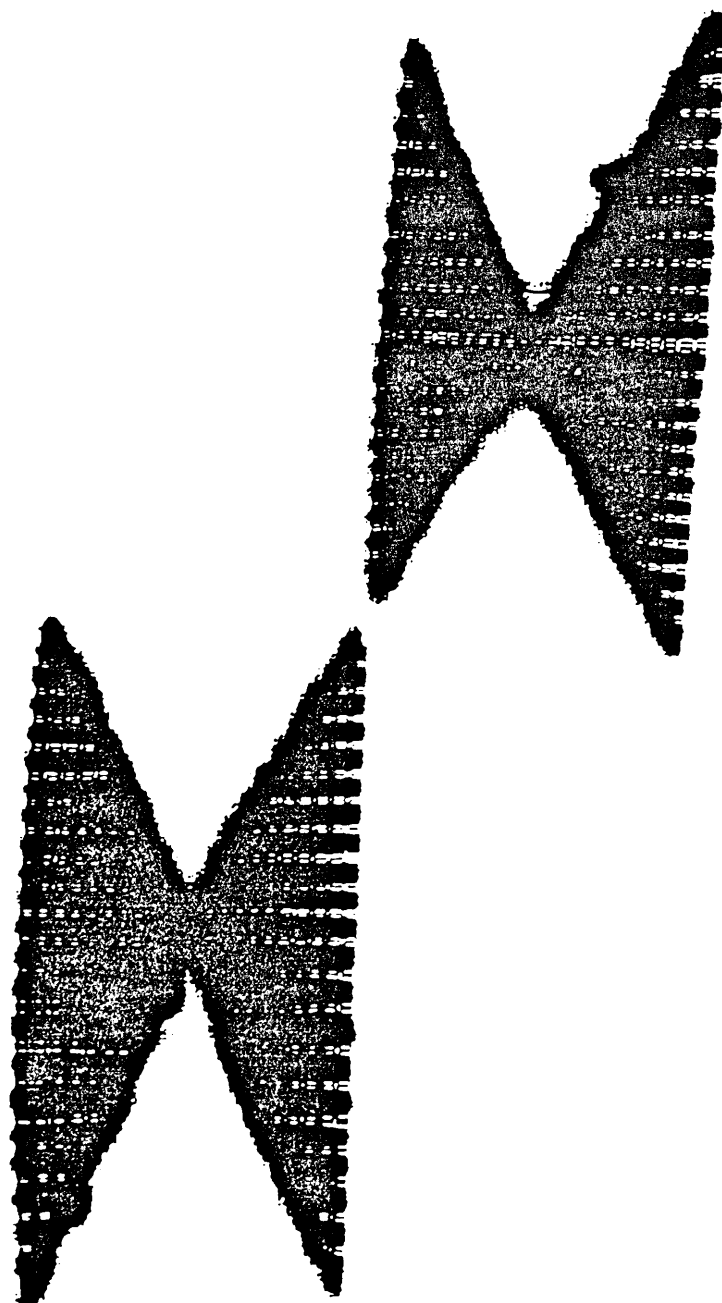


Figure 1. Small Mortar Pestle Motif.



Figure 2. Elephant Motif.

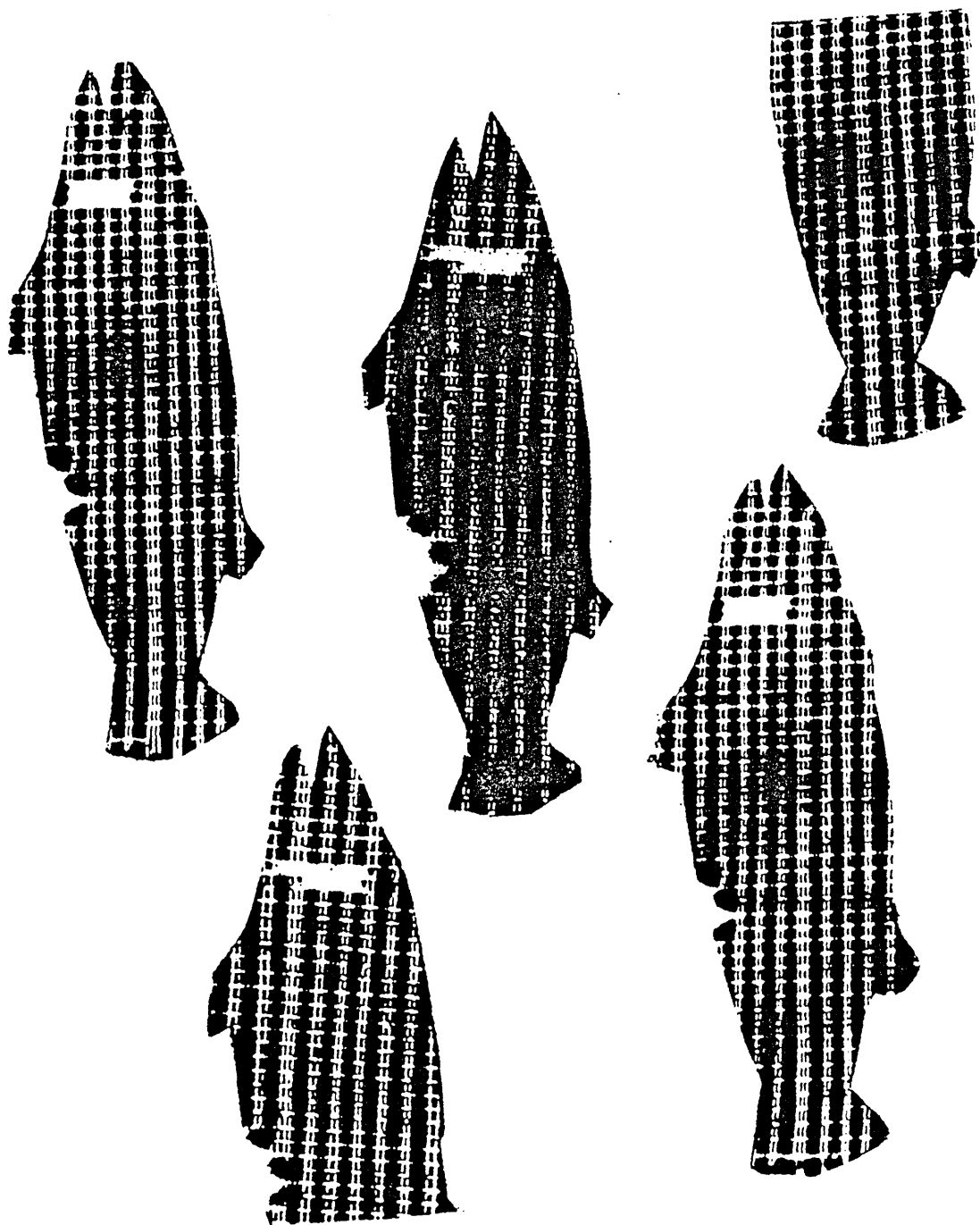


Figure 3. Fish Motif.

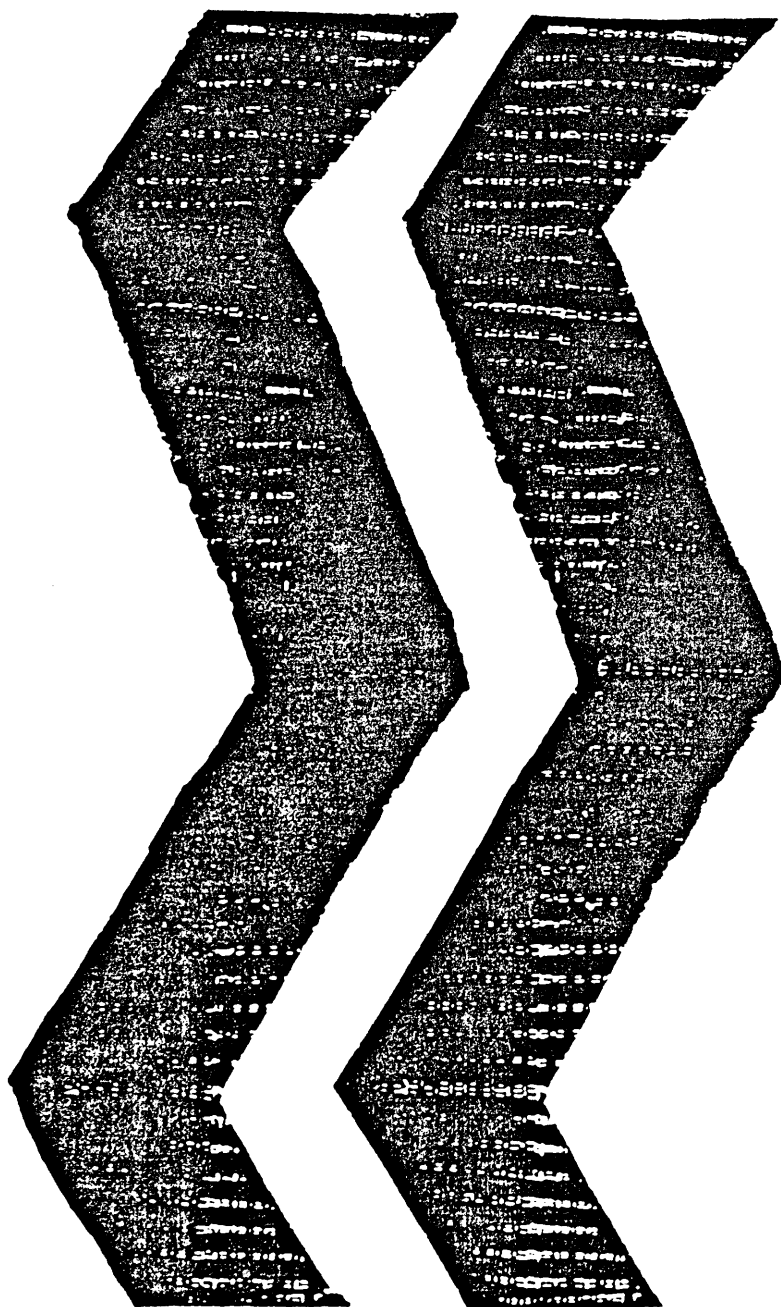


Figure 4. Zigzag Motif.

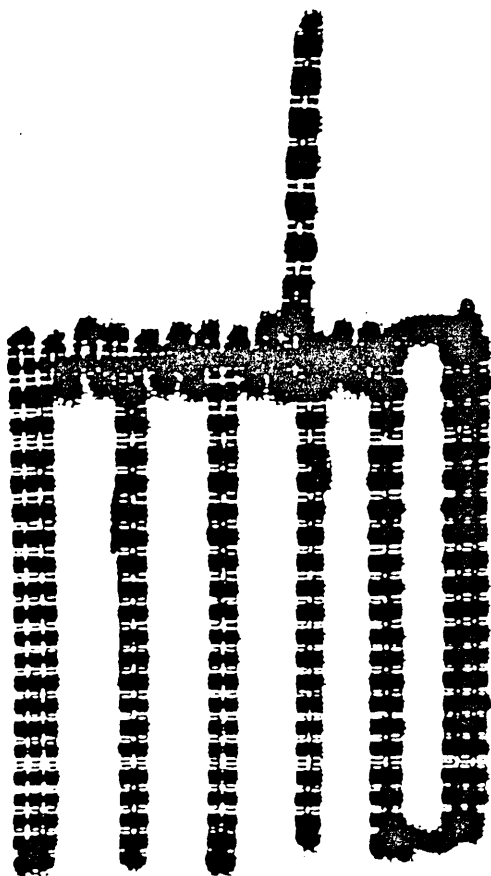


Figure 5. Native Comb Motif.

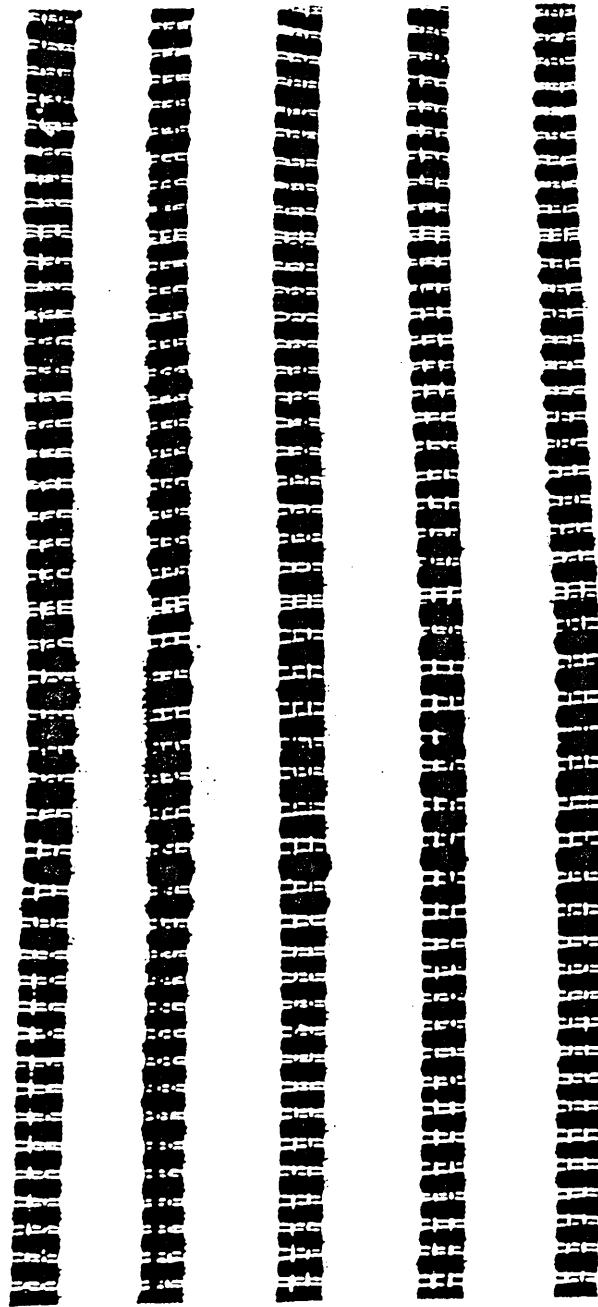


Figure 6. Border Design Motif.



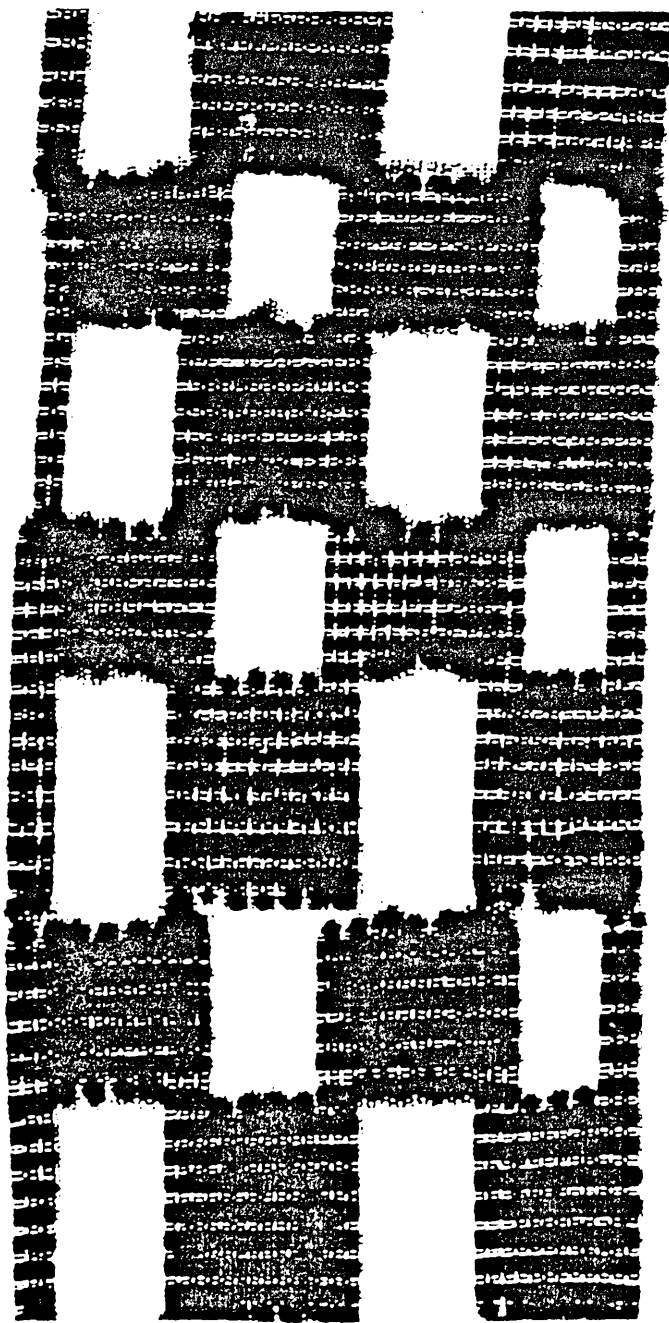


Figure 7. Native Checker Motif.

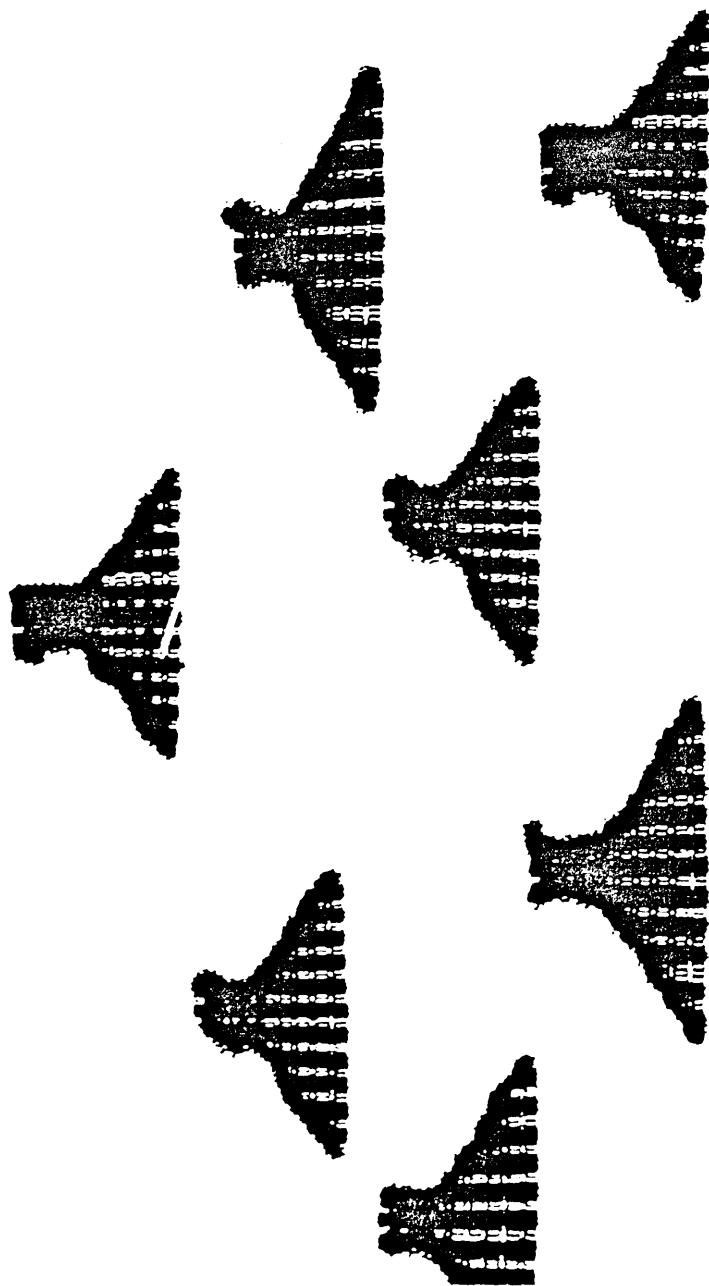


Figure 8. Native Blade Motif.

APPENDIX B  
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

### Schedule for Interviewing the Weavers

(To be conducted in the Ibo language and tape recorded)

Responses will be circled by the researcher as they apply to the weaver.

1. What level of elementary school have you completed?

1. Modern school graduate
2. Six years of school
3. Five years of school
4. Four years of school
5. Three years of school
6. No school
7. Other: Specify \_\_\_\_\_

2. How did you obtain your knowledge of weaving?

1. Learned from mother
2. Learned from father
3. Learned from grandmother
4. Learned from friend
5. Learned from uncle
6. Learned from aunt
7. Learned by self
8. Other: Specify \_\_\_\_\_

3. How long have you been living at your present home?
  1. 1 to 5 years
  2. 6 to 10 years
  3. 11 to 15 years
  4. 16 to 20 years
  5. 21 to 25 years
  6. 26 to 30 years
  7. More than 30 years
4. What division did you move from? \_\_\_\_\_
5. How long did you live at your old place before coming to your present place? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Did you move from your old place of living because of
  1. Marriage
  2. Children's marriage
  3. Other: Specify \_\_\_\_\_

At this point the interviewer will display one at a time the eight design motifs selected for study.

7. Which design motifs are used for men's clothing?
  1. Small mortar pestle
  2. Elephant
  3. Fish
  4. Zigzag
  5. Native comb
  6. Border design

7. Native checker
8. Native blade
8. Which design motifs are used for women's clothing?
  1. Small mortar pestle
  2. Elephant
  3. Fish
  4. Zigzag
  5. Native comb
  6. Border design
  7. Native checker
  8. Native blade
9. Which of these design motifs were not in use fifty years ago for men's clothing.
  1. Small mortar pestle
  2. Elephant
  3. Fish
  4. Zigzag
  5. Native comb
  6. Border design
  7. Native checker
  8. Native blade
10. Which of these design motifs were not in use fifty years ago for women's clothing?
  1. Small mortar pestle
  2. Elephant

3. Fish
  4. Zigzag
  5. Native comb
  6. Border design
  7. Native checker
  8. Native blade
11. Which of these designs were used on young male's clothing?
1. Small mortar pestle
  2. Elephant
  3. Fish
  4. Zigzag
  5. Native comb
  6. Border design
  7. Native checker
  8. Native blade
12. Which of these motifs are used in weaving clothing items for middle aged men?
1. Small mortar pestle
  2. Elephant
  3. Fish
  4. Zigzag
  5. Native comb
  6. Border design

7. Native checker
  8. Native blade
13. Which of these design motifs are used on old men's clothing?
1. Small mortar pestle
  2. Elephant
  3. Fish
  4. Zigzag
  5. Native comb
  6. Border design
  7. Native checker
  8. Native blade
14. Which of these design motifs are used on old women's clothing?
1. Small mortar pestle
  2. Elephant
  3. Fish
  4. Zigzag
  5. Native comb
  6. Border design
  7. Native checker
  8. Native blade
15. Which of these design motifs are woven in the middle aged women's clothing?
1. Small mortar pestle



2. Elephant
  3. Fish
  4. Zigzag
  5. Native comb
  6. Border design
  7. Native checker
  8. Native blade
16. Which of these design motifs are used in weaving young age women's clothing?
1. Small mortar pestle
  2. Elephant
  3. Fish
  4. Zigzag
  5. Native comb
  6. Border design
  7. Native checker
  8. Native blade
17. As I show you each of these design motifs, please explain the meaning of the design as it is used in woven cloth at the present time.
1. Small mortar pestle
  2. Elephant
  3. Fish
  4. Zigzag
  5. Native comb

6. Border design
  7. Native checker
  8. Native blade
18. What do you mean by that? (Researcher will probe the question until she gets the depth of response desired.)
19. As I show you each of these design motifs, please explain the meaning of the design as it was used in woven cloth in the past.
1. Small mortar pestle
  2. Elephant
  3. Fish
  4. Zigzag
  5. Native comb
  6. Border design
  7. Native checker
  8. Native blade
20. What do you mean by that? (Researcher will probe the question until she gets the depth of response desired.)
21. When each of these motifs are used on male clothing, what meaning do they give?
22. Do these same designs (Show the design motifs) mean the same thing when used in woven female clothing?

23. What colors are used in male clothing? Are they the same for the female? Why is this?

24. The design motifs are woven in many different colors. As I point out different colors in the designs, please tell me if they were in use fifty years ago.

Red

Yellow

Blue

Black

Green

Orange

Brown

Other: Specify \_\_\_\_\_

25. Now please tell me if the colors being used in present day design motifs are used in the weaving you make now?

Red

Yellow

Blue

Black

Green

Orange

Brown

Other: Specify \_\_\_\_\_

How has this changed from colors used fifty years ago?

26. Now, tell me why the white color is the only color used for the background of native cloth?
27. Of what significance is this color white to the people?

Thank you!

## APPENDIX C

MAPS OF AFRICA, NIGERIA, ANIOCHA, OSHIMILLI, AND IKA



Figure 9. Map of Africa showing Nigeria.

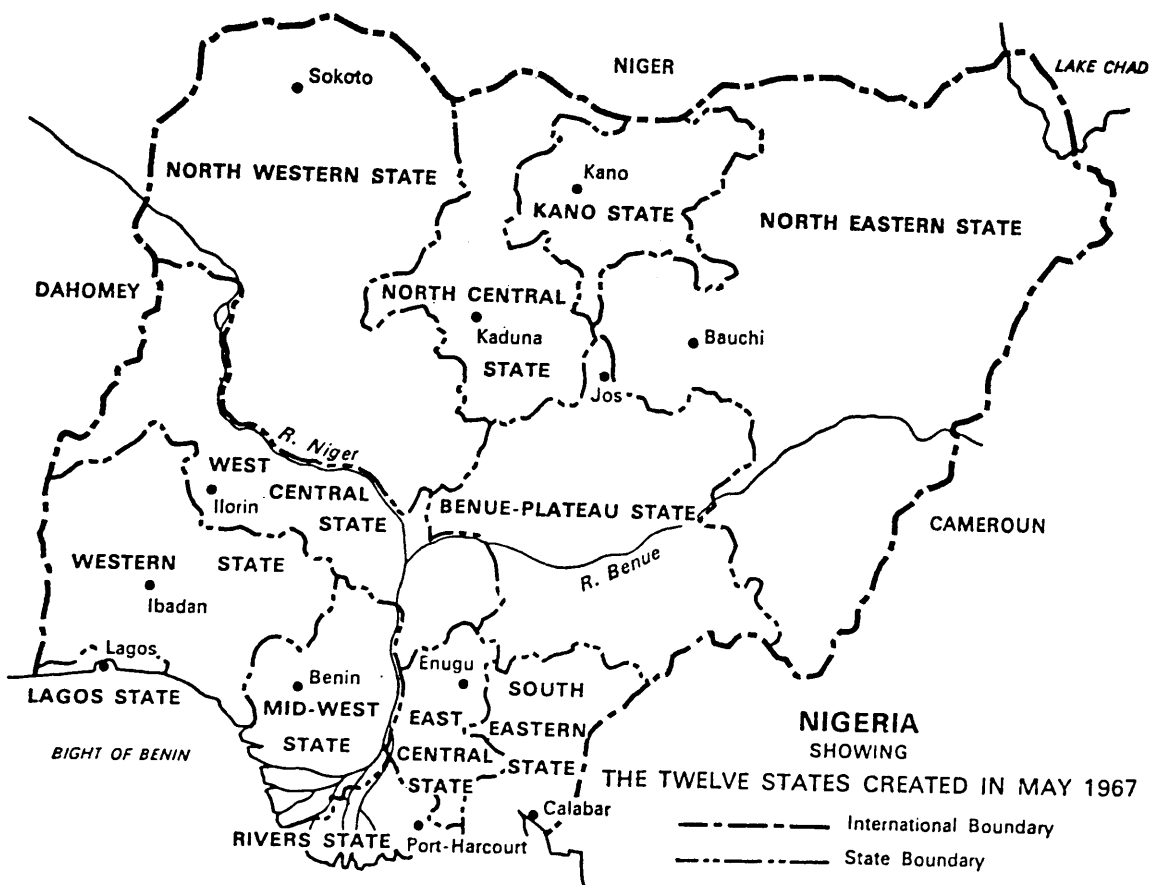


Figure 10. Map of Nigeria Showing Mid-West State.

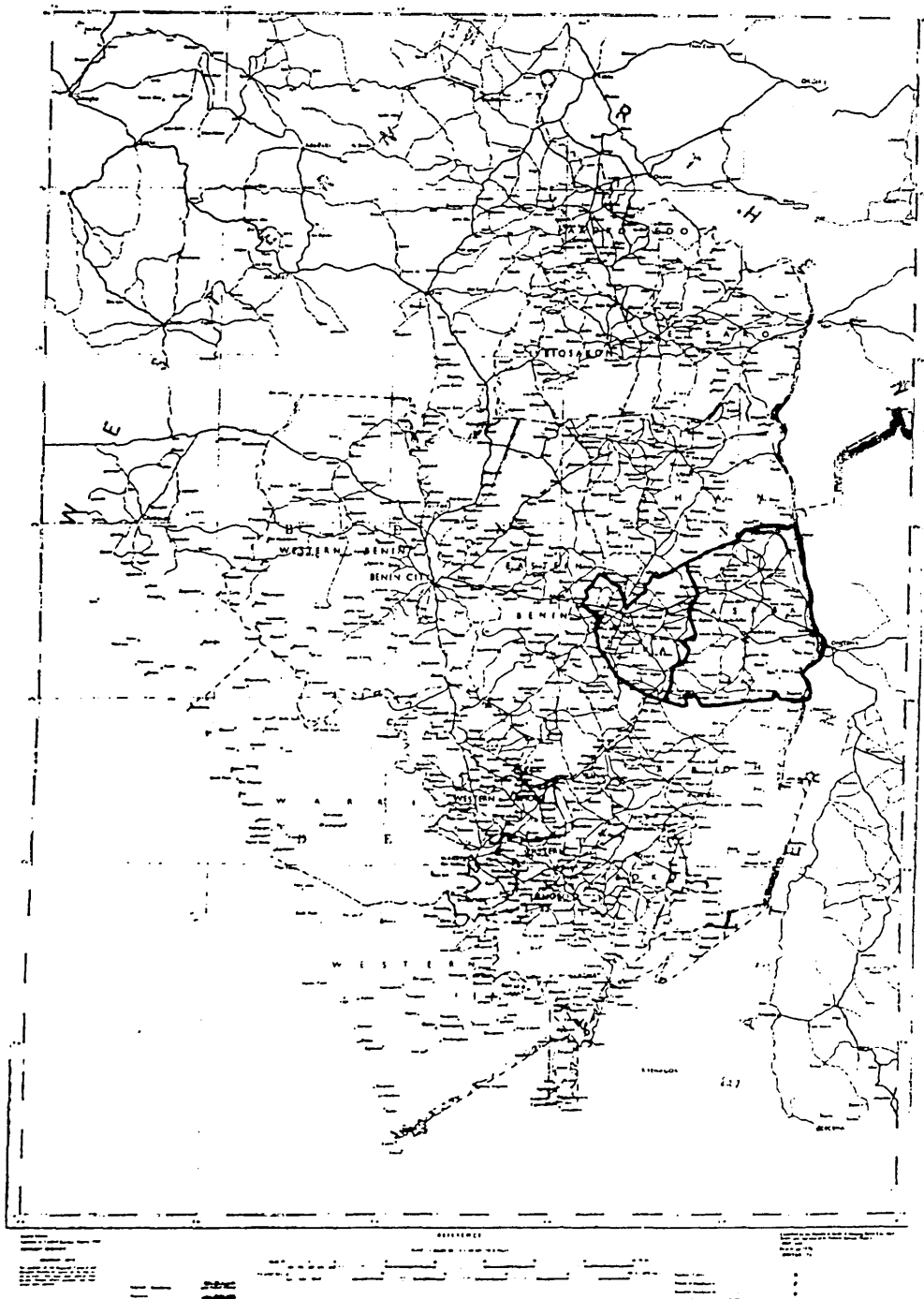


Figure 11. Map of Mid-West State Showing Aniocha, Oshimilli, and Ika Local Government Areas.



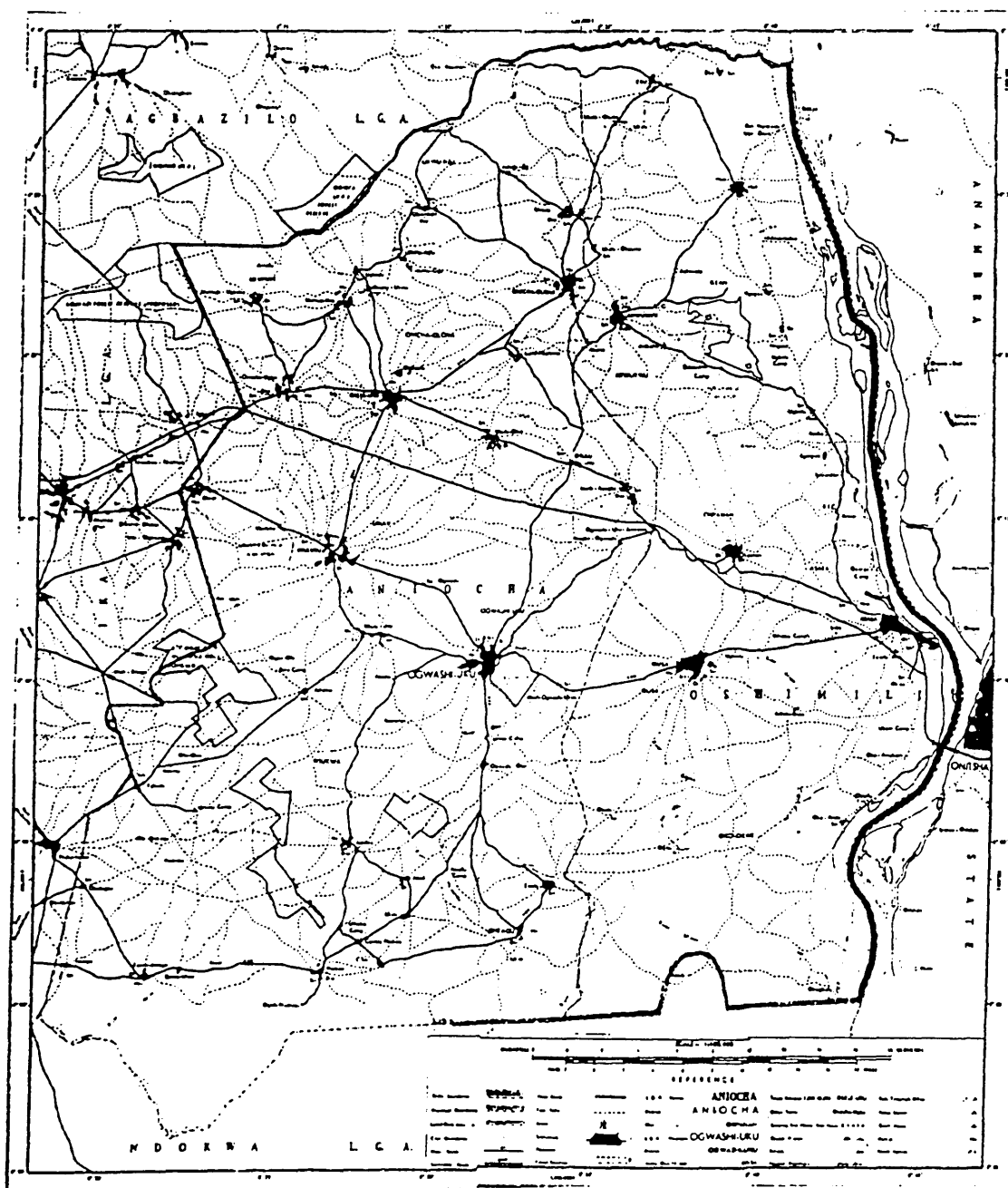


Figure 12. Aniocha and Oshimilli Local Government Areas.

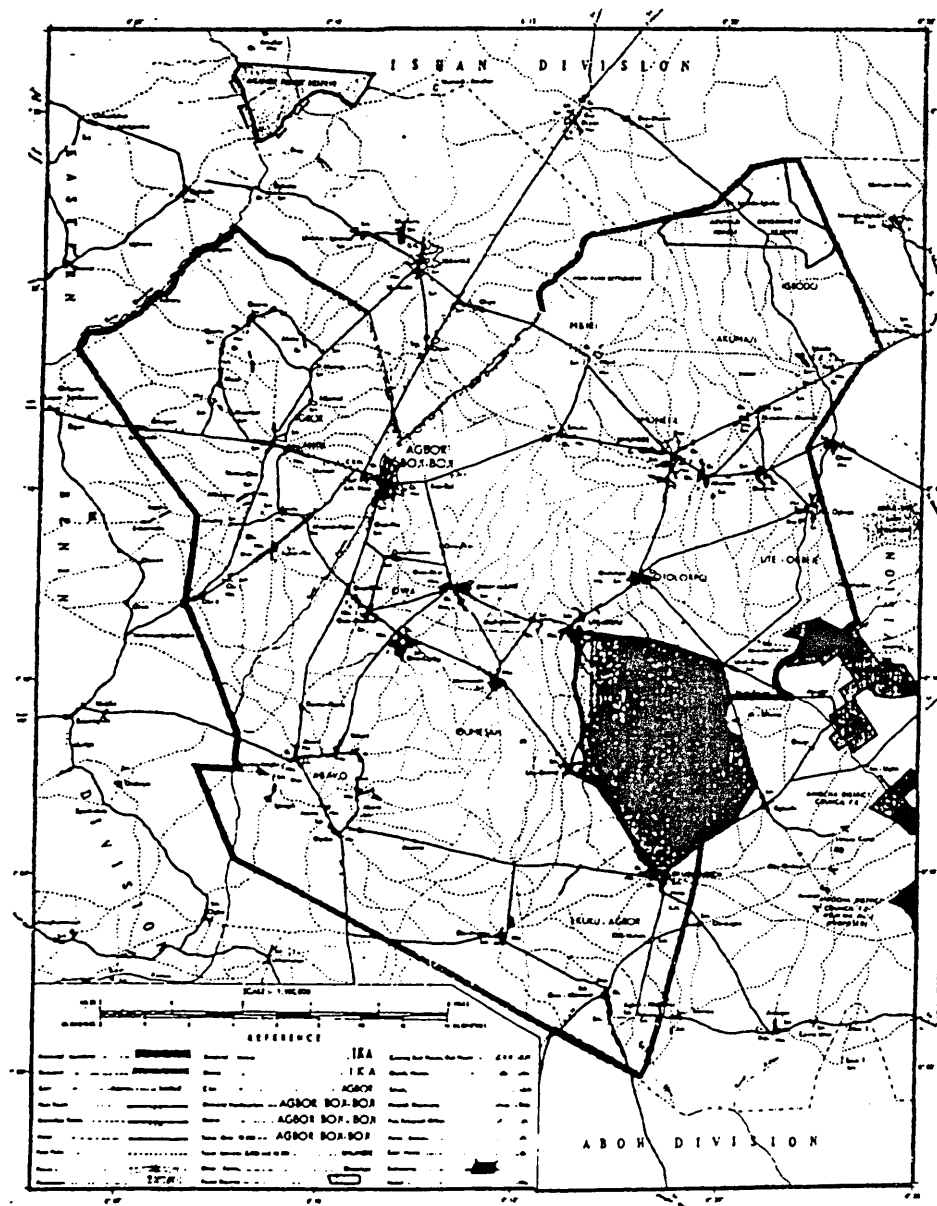


Figure 13. Ika Local Government Area.