

# **Why do human and nonhuman species conceal mating?**

## **The cooperation maintenance hypothesis**

**Yitzchak Ben Mocha**

Department of Anthropology, Zürich University, Winterthurerstrasse 190  
8057, Zürich, Switzerland

Department of Primatology, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig,  
Germany

Max Planck Institute for Ornithology, Seewiesen, Germany

Max Planck Institute for Animal Behavior, Konstanz, Germany

[yitzchakbm@gmail.com](mailto:yitzchakbm@gmail.com)

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## **Appendix 1: Methods for cross-cultural ethnographic survey**

I systematically reviewed the "*electronic Human Relation Area Files World Cultures*" (hereafter eHRAF World Cultures; n=249 cultures, >4,572 documents). This database contains ethnographic collections covering all aspects of cultural and social life. Ethnographies are each indexed at the paragraph level with codes for different topics. For each culture, I reviewed all paragraphs coded with at least one of the following 12 codes of sexual behaviour: "*Sex*", "*Extramarital sex relations*", "*General sex restrictions*", "*Homosexuality*", "*Kinship regulation of sex*", "*Miscellaneous sex behavior*", "*Premarital sex relations*", "*Sexual intercourse*", "*Sexual stimulation*", "*Sexuality*", "*Sexual training*" and "*Sex and marital offenses*" (n>25,608 relevant paragraphs from >1,882 relevant documents). In cases where a certain paragraph was dependent on previous paragraphs, I read throughout the document until an adequate understanding was ensured. For the geographical distribution of the examined cultures see Appendix 2.

Informants from diverse and distinct cultures were reported to be reluctant to discuss sexual matters (e.g., Broude and Greene, 1976; Gorer and Hutton, 1938; Mead, 1961; Stirling, 1965; Suggs, 1963). As a result, explicit statements on whether legitimate mating is concealed were not always available. Coding decisions were, therefore, based on a holistic understanding of all sexual practices within the culture in question (see also Clause 18 below), and the analysis of all ethnographies included in the eHRAF World Cultures (many of which were written by different ethnographers describing different communities and/or different historical periods of the same culture) allowed within-culture cross-validation of sexual practices.

For each culture, I coded three variables. First, whether pairs regularly take efforts to conceal legitimate mating (see Glossary), at least partially (see Clause 2), from the sensory perception (see Glossary) of conspecifics (yes/no). The following considerations were used to reach a decision for this variable (Table 1):

1. The starting assumption was that customs of public mating are a remarkably unusual phenomenon for Western anthropologists and will, therefore, be reported if observed (for examples see Crocker, 1990; Elwin, 1947). Hence, the absence of reports on public mating was taken as the first evidence for concealment. Nevertheless, the absence of reports on public mating was not considered to be sufficient evidence for the practice of concealed mating.
2. Evidence that pairs regularly take efforts to conceal *at least some* sensory stimuli from conspecifics was required. For example, if pairs made sure to have sexual intercourse quietly when co-residents were sleeping in the same room (i.e. audible concealment; for example see Beardsley et al., 1972), or when pairs divide the dwelling with a curtain for sexual privacy, even though co-residents may be able to hear some stimuli (i.e. visual concealment, for instance, Hudson, 1938).
3. I examined whether efforts to conceal mating were regularly made and not whether they were often successful. For instance, pairs were considered to conceal mating if they usually wait to have sexual intercourse until co-residents sleep; although the latter may sometimes pretend to be asleep so they can observe the mating.
4. I focused on sexual practices between normative members of society. Therefore, sexual practices of, for example, religious priests, the warrior class and the rape of prisoners of war were not considered other than as background information.

5. I focused on everyday sexual practices. Sexual practices that were only held in special contexts, such as at festivals or as punishments, were not considered other than as background information. See Appendix 6 for customs of public mating under special contexts.
6. An exception to Clause 5 is the first night of wedlock. Concealment during the first night of wedlock was considered as indirect evidence for the concealment of legitimate mating in everyday life. Cultures that only had indirect evidence for concealment are marked in Appendix 3 with “?”.
7. I focused on matrimonial sexual practices between adults. Legitimate pre-matrimonial matings by adolescents were considered as background information.
8. Efforts of a pair to conceal mating from the sensory perception of dependent children were considered as evidence for the concealment of legitimate mating. However, the absence of efforts to conceal marital mating from children was not considered as evidence for the absence of concealment from adults.
9. Due to the basic assumption described in Clause 1, statements that describe the attitude towards sexuality as “rigorously modest” were also considered as evidence for the sensory concealment of legitimate mating (when “modesty” or “chastity” clearly referred to sexual behaviour and not to sexual promiscuity). For instance, “*complete hush and excessive secrecy prevails over sexual matters among adolescents as well as adults*” (Ammār, 1954, pp. 190–192) and “*any open reference to sex is severely shunned by the rather prudish Nupe. Sex and privacy go together*” (Nadel, 1954, p. 113).

10. Lack of evidence for public mating combined with poor data that suggests sexual modesty was considered as indirect evidence for concealed mating. These cultures are marked in Appendix 3 with “?”.

| <b>Table 1.</b> Coding criteria for concealment of legitimate mating in humans. |  |
|---|--|
| Code  | Criteria   |
| NA<br>(Not Available)   | No references to mating concealment<br><br>OR<br><br>References to sexual behaviour are available and do not report legitimate mating being public.  |
| Yes?  | References to sexual behaviour are available and do not report legitimate public mating<br><br>AND<br><br>Evidence for concealment during the first night of marriage<br><br>AND/OR<br><br>Data suggesting sexual modesty is poor  |
| Yes   | References to sexual behaviour are available and do not report legitimate public mating<br><br>AND<br><br>Explicit statements about regular efforts to conceal legitimate mating from the sensory perception of conspecifics<br><br>AND/OR<br><br>General description of attitudes towards sexuality states they are “rigorously modest” |
| No  | Explicit statements that no efforts are taken to conceal legitimate mating from the sensory perception of conspecifics   |

The second variable that was coded is: whether social norms entitle husbands and/or wives to have at least some control over sexual access to their spouse(s) (yes/no). The following considerations were used to code this variable:

11. To code “yes”, I required evidence that at least one spouse (husbands and/or wives) was entitled to control sexual access to his/her spouse *at least to some extent*. Examples of evidence include reports of punishment for adultery and supervision of the wife by family members during the absence of the husband. An example of extreme sexual control is when both spouses strictly forbid each other to have extramarital sex. An example of mild sexual control is that spouses allow each other to have occasional extramarital sex and only sanction extramarital sex if it becomes too frequent or more important than the matrimonial relationship. For the code “no”, I required evidence that social norms entitle both spouses to have unrestricted extramarital sex with any group member they desire. For example, if both spouses allowed each other to have extramarital sex without limitation on its frequency, timing (e.g., not only during festivals) or the identity of the extramarital sexual partner.
12. I examined whether social norms entitle mating control and not whether these norms are successfully enforced. Namely, reports that adultery is common were not considered as evidence against attempts to achieve greater mating control.
13. I focused on sexual norms among normative members of society. For instance, I did not consider the sexual practices of religious priests, royal or warrior classes and the rape of prisoners of war other than as background information.
14. I focused on sexual practices found in everyday life. Permissive sexual practices that were only allowed in special contexts (e.g., religious ceremonies and festivals) were considered as background information and not as evidence for the absence of mating control.

15. I focused on matrimonial sexual practices among adults. Pre-matrimonial matings by adolescents were considered as background information only.

The third variable that was coded is: whether pairs, at least occasionally, reveal the time and/or location of future matings in a way that enables others to interrupt the planned mating? (yes/no). The following considerations were used to code this variable:

16. To code yes, I required evidence for norms and/or regular behavioural patterns in which pairs, at least occasionally, reveal the time and/location of their future legitimate mating to other persons in a way that enables the latter to interrupt the mating if wanted. For example, when the bride and the groom consummate the marriage in a closed room while the wedding guests wait outside, or when the pair seek help from friend or parents to achieve privacy for mating.
17. To code no, I required evidence that pairs rigorously concealed information about the time and/or location of their future mating from conspecifics.

The following considerations were used to reach a decision for all three variables:

18. Within-culture variation: with regards to the variables coded, no significant contradictions were found between ethnographies that described the same culture. The only exception being the Goajiro from Colombia as represented in Appendix 3 by two entries that indicate the different periods and attitudes toward mating concealment.
19. The principal authority for each culture represents the ethnography with the strongest evidence. Although for some cultures, evidence of mating concealment from principal authorities was not sufficient to stand alone and coding decisions were based on additional sources.

20. The eHRAF World Cultures' classifications were followed regarding names of cultures and geographical classification.
21. The categorisations of the eHRAF World Cultures and White (1989) were followed regarding sources that are included in the Ethnographic Atlas (EA) and the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample (SCCS). All other ethnographic sources were categorised as belonging to the "survey" sample.
22. Cultures were included in the SCCS/EA or the survey samples according to the status of the ethnographic sources that supported the coding decision. If strong ethnographic sources with different statuses were available, priority was first given to sources from the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample, then to sources from the Ethnographic Atlas and lastly to the survey sample.

To ensure the reliability of coding decisions, the procedure used by Broude and Greene (1976) was modified: the author (n=178 cultures)/research assistant (n=71 cultures) read all sex-coded paragraphs, coded different variables and marked paragraphs that described relevant information regarding the tested variables. Next, the research assistant/author, blind to the other's coding decisions, read only the paragraphs that were marked as relevant and re-coded this culture. Cases of disagreement between the two coders (1/132 cultures for sensory concealment of mating; 2/210 cultures for mating control; 7/43 cultures for concealment of information), were discussed by a joint reading of the original paragraphs. Cases for which an agreement could not be obtained were omitted from the survey (n=0).



**Appendix 3.** Concealment of legitimate mating in 249 human cultures (for the geographical distribution of the examined cultures see Appendices 4-5)

| <b>Culture*</b><br>(sub-region*)   | <b>Is legitimate sexual intercourse concealed?</b><br>(sample) | <b>Examples for concealment of sexual interactions**</b><br>(principal authority)  |
|------------------------------------|--|--|
| <b>Africa</b>                      |  |  |
| Azande<br>(Central Africa)         | Yes? <sup>(EA)</sup>   | <i>“They go quietly into the bush or into a neighbouring hut and have intercourse”</i> (Evans-Pritchard, 1928, pp. 457–458)  |
| Barundi<br>(Central Africa)        | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep with all his wives...Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret”</i> (Albert, 1963, p. 193)                                     |
| Mbuti<br>(Central Africa)          | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>  | <i>“Youths could have sex whenever they wanted (within minimal bounds of privacy and respect for others)”</i> (Turnbull, 1983, p. 34, 1962)  |
| Mongo<br>(Nkundu) (Central Africa) | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>  | <i>“A natural shame which makes them seek darkness and privacy for acts of this sort”</i> (Hulstaert and Vizedom, 1938, p. 84)   |
| Teda<br>(Central Africa)           | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | (Le Coeur and Schütze, 1950)   |
| Amhara<br>(Eastern Africa)         | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | (Levine, 1965, pp. 85; 102; Messing and Bender, 1985, pp. 208; 214)  |
| Bena<br>(Eastern Africa)           | Yes? <sup>(EA)</sup>   | (Culwick et al., 1935, p. 356)   |
| Ganda<br>(Eastern Africa)          | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>  | It is taboo to have sex when other people are in the house (Kagwa et al., 1934, p. 101; Southwold, 1965, p. 103)   |
| Gikuyu<br>(Eastern Africa)         | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>  | <i>“Gikuyu consider such public display [kissing] of affection vulgar”</i> (Kenyatta, 1953, p. 156)  |
| Hadza<br>(Eastern Africa)          | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“Sex usually occurs at night in the hut or around the hearth while others are sleeping. One never hears people having sex, so couples are careful to be discreet and quiet”</i> (Marlowe, 2010, p. 174) |
| Kaffa<br>(Eastern Africa)          | Yes? <sup>(survey)</sup>                                       | Relatives of the bridegroom leave the room to allow private consummate of marriage (Grühl et al., 1884, p. 232)  |
| Maasai<br>(Eastern Africa)         | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>  | <i>“They do not customarily cohabit except at night. They are afraid of coitus in daylight”</i> (Merker, 1910, p. 65)  |

|                               |                         |   |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| Okiek<br>(Eastern Africa)     | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup> | The sexual realm is muted among circumcised people (Kratz, 1991, p. 833)  |
| Fellahin<br>(Northern Africa) | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | <i>“Complete hush and excessive secrecy prevails over sexual matters among adolescents as well as adults”</i> (Ammār, 1954, pp. 190–192)  |
| Tuareg<br>(Northern Africa)   | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>  | (Benhazera and Coleman, 1908, p. 8)   |
| Khoi<br>(Southern Africa)     | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | Husbands move to another part of the hut when they lend their wives (Schapera, 1930, p. 253)  |
| Shona<br>(Southern Africa)    | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup> | <i>“One Shona custom that I learnt was that we should show love more by our deeds rather than by words. There is less sentimentality among us and little display of love in public”</i> (Gelfand, 1979, p. 25)  |
|                               |                         | <i>““The act of love”, the Karanga says, “should take place in seclusion, the place and the time are sacred””</i> (Aschwanden and Cooper, 1982, p. 3)   |
|                               |                         | <i>“In the seclusion of their home, man and wife may talk plainly about anything to do with sex, such talk stimulates their love-play. But in public, there are only a few, strictly defined, occasions when such talk is permitted. This is one of the reasons why all direct sexual references are forbidden in public: there they have an obscene and shocking effect. “Nobody would use such terms unintentionally”, the Karanga says [...] Nowadays, when nearly all sexual inhibitions have been dropped, we can see the wisdom of the Karanga's traditional upbringing, which took into account both extremes of sexual behaviour and yet managed to keep them balanced: great freedom in private on the one hand, strict taboos in public on the other. When the balance was disturbed, the pendulum swung heavily in the direction of the unrestrained extreme”</i> (Aschwanden and Cooper, 1982, p. 49) |
|                               |                         | <i>“Such parts of the human body must never be exposed to view publicly. A woman who places a chihadyana where everybody can see it shows the most intimate parts of her body. This turns a body into something commonplace and kills all desire for it, the Karanga say. It is like telling everybody the secret of one's private love-life, whereas love should be hidden — like glowing embers under the ashes”</i> (Aschwanden and Cooper, 1982, p. 193)  |
| Mende<br>(Western Africa)     | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | <i>“It is equally against etiquette for any show of intimacy, other than a hand clasp, to be made in public, even if the parties concerned are lovers”</i> (Little, 1951, p. 130)   |

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|----------------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| Nupe<br>(Western Africa)         | Yes <sup>(EA)</sup>     | <i>“Any open reference to sex is severely shunned by the rather prudish Nupe. Sex and privacy go together”</i> (Nadel, 1954, p. 113)  |
| Songhai<br>(Western Africa)      | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | High modesty in clothing, one must not be seen naked (Rouch, 1954, p. 49)   |
| Tallensi<br>(Western Africa)     | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>  | <i>“Tallensi are horrified at the suggestion that children who ‘have sense’ might witness sexual relations between their parents”</i> (Fortes, 1949, p. 193)  |
| <b>Asia</b>                      |                         |   |
| Abkhazians<br>(Caucasus)         | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | <i>“Extreme modesty is required at all times”</i> (Benet, 1974, p. 86)  |
| Kazakh<br>(Central Asia)         | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | A shared dwelling is divided by a curtain for sexual privacy (Hudson, 1938, p. 39)  |
| Lepcha<br>(Central Asia)         | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | <i>“These legitimate copulations must be practised discreetly”</i> (Gorer and Hutton, 1938, p. 326)   |
| Mongolia<br>(Central Asia)       | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | <i>“The wealthier and more dignified families considered the public expression of marital intimacy to be extremely bad taste”</i> (Vreeland, 1973, p. 241)  |
| Tibetans<br>(Central Asia)       | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup> | <i>“When one of her husbands visits the wife in her private room at night, he hangs his rosary on her door; should another husband come in, he will feel for the rosary, and if it is there, will quietly retire”</i> (Sherap and Combe, 1926)  |
| Manchu<br>(East Asia)            | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | <i>“Kissing is considered a pure sexual act and should be made stealthily”</i> (Shirokogorov, 1924, p. 101)   |
| Miao<br>(East Asia)              | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup> | <i>“The act of sexual intercourse may take place in the woods...or in another house”</i> (Graham, 1937, p. 34)  |
| Okayama<br>(East Asia)           | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | <i>“The husband, after waiting in the quilts at night for the rest of the household to settle into slumber, grasps his wife and satisfies himself as quietly and inconspicuously as possible”</i> (Beardsley et al., 1972, p. 333)  |
| Taiwan<br>Hokkien<br>(East Asia) | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup> | <i>“The occurrence of the “Victorian” view is not unique to K'un Shen or to Taiwan. It is a traditional Chinese attitude... Sexual joking or shows of affection do not take place in the presence of others, be they family members or outsiders”</i> (Diamond, 1969, pp. 60–62; see also Wolf, 1972, p. 139) |

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| Yi<br>(East Asia)              | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“Whether in a forest or thicket, whether beside the mountain stream or in wild fields, a young Lolo male and female could make love to each other”</i> (Lin and Pan, 1947, p. 64)  |
| Chukchee<br>(North Asia)       | Yes <sup>?(SCCS)</sup>   | (Bogoraz-Tan, 1909, pp. 602; 607)   |
| Nivkh (Gilyak)<br>(North Asia) | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“Likewise a public display of sexual intimacy is not allowed. No one permits himself to lie down under one covering with his group an'gej in the common yurt, even with a preliminary agreement. Moreover, even between individual spouses openness of sexual relations is not allowed. Intercourse may not take place publicly or before the eyes of the individual spouse concerned. If the act takes place at night in the yurt where there are also strangers sleeping, then each one lies down separately, and only when all have gone to sleep does the man or woman [...] move over to the bed of his group spouse, who may accept or reject the attentions if there has not been any preliminary agreement [...] In the winter, in the yurt: in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at night, after all have gone to sleep”</i> (Shternberg et al., 1933, pp. 252–253) |
| Samoyed<br>(North Asia)        | Yes <sup>?(survey)</sup> | (Bénard and Messner, 1921, p. 5)  |
| Yakut<br>(North Asia)          | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“Lovers used to come to their girls mostly at the time when everybody else had just fallen asleep and when sleeping is generally at its soundest”</i> (Popov, 1946, p. 18)   |
| Badaga<br>(South Asia)         | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“If sharing the bed with children a couple will have intercourse while lying on their sides so as to be less visible and turbulent. Yet in practice anyone who wants to watch his relatives in coitus has simply to pretend to be asleep”</i> (Hockings, 1980, p. 47)  |
| Bengali<br>(South Asia)        | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“They never discuss the sexual act with each other, because no one is supposed to talk about such things, even husband and wife... She is expected to be modest above all other considerations”</i> (Roy, 1975, p. 98)   |
| Khasi<br>(South Asia)          | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | Pairs move to a separate dwelling to “enjoy matrimonial privacy” (Nakane, 1967, p. 66)  |
| Gond<br>(South Asia)           | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“The dancing and singing, it need hardly be said, lead on frequently to love-making, couples retiring into the darkness”</i> (Grigson & Elwin, 1949, p. 186) (Elwin, 1947)   |
| Santal<br>(South Asia)         | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“If a Santal avoids the above partners, he is free to ‘take whatever girl he wills’. But even here his conduct is hedged with certain rules. He must always, for example, observe the strictest privacy”</i> (Archer, 1974, p. 88)<br><br><i>“Moreover the value of sex lies in its intimacy and there is no clearer index to Santal sensibility than in the value which the tribe acts on public reticence. In the privacy of night or in the secret meetings of</i>  |

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|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
|                                   |                          | <p><i>lovers the sexual technique of Santals is as developed as that of the Pardhans” (Archer, 1984, p. 507)</i></p> <p><i>“It follows that sexual intercourse itself must never be in public [...] The same principles apply to attempts and preparations” (Archer, 1984, pp. 509–510)</i></p> <p><i>“These accessories to the sexual act almost cease with child-birth and coitus is indulged in as the first thing on bed, “for fear of children rising from their sleep and disturbing them”” (Mukherjea, 1962, p. 434)</i></p> |
| Telugu<br>(South Asia)            | Yes? <sup>(EA)</sup>     | (Dube, 1955, pp. 183; 195; Tapper, 1987, p. 138)  |
| Uttar Pradesh<br>(South Asia)     | Yes? <sup>(survey)</sup> | (Wiser and Wiser, 1930, p. 94)  |
| Alorese<br>(Southeast Asia)       | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“Probably one of the most acute sources of shame in relation to sex is public intercourse” (Du Bois et al., 1944, pp. 98; 103)</i>   |
| Balinese<br>(Southeast Asia)      | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“The Balinese are extremely discreet in their intimate relations; lovers are never seen together in public” (Covarrubias, 1938, p. 137)</i>  |
| Cambodians<br>(Southeast Asia)    | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“Actual intercourse is evidently executed very quickly and quietly” (Ebihara, 1971, p. 491)</i>  |
| Ifugao<br>(Southeast Asia)        | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | (Barton, 1938, pp. 55; 98; 229; Lambrecht, 1941, p. 172)  |
| Javanese<br>(Southeast Asia)      | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“The facts of sexual intercourse seem to be successfully hidden, at least from the conscious awareness of children, in spite of the fact that it seems to be carried on in the same bed, or at least the same room, as the children” (Geertz, 1961, p. 103)</i>  |
| Rungus Dusun<br>(Southeast Asia)  | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <p><i>“Mongoliduk means “to peek at”, “to watch secretly” in a sexual context. For example, it refers to a person taking a furtive look at someone’s genitals or secretly watching sexual relations, for which the offender can be sued” (Appell, 1991, p. 62)</i></p> <p><i>“This story appears contradictory to Rungus cultural values as sexual intercourse is a very private act and must not be observed, particularly by close relatives for it puts them in ritual jeopardy” (Appell, 1991, p. 80)</i></p>                   |
| Semang<br>(Southeast Asia)        | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“The Semang cohabit in the camp at night. It is said to be improper during the day because others would notice” (Schebesta and Schütze, 1954, p. 247)</i>  |
| <b>Europe</b>                     |                          |   |
| Highland Scots<br>(British Isles) | Yes? <sup>(survey)</sup> | (Walker, 1984, pp. 75; 78)  |

|  |                         |  |
|--|-------------------------|--|
| Rural Irish<br>(British Isles)           | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | Extreme modesty; for instance, wives walk several steps behind their husbands (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940, p. 202)  |
| Saami<br>(Scandinavia)                   | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup> | Parents sleep in the storage room to allow their daughter sexual privacy (Pelto, 1962, p. 147)   |
| Albanians<br>(Southeastern Europe)       | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>  | Wedding guests wait outside the room where the marriages are consummated (Durham, 1928, p. 199)  |
| Bosnian Muslims<br>(Southeastern Europe) | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup> | <i>“Husband and wife relations vary within the village, but in general, public display of affection is rare”</i> (Lockwood, 1983, p. 16)   |
| Croats<br>(Southeastern Europe)          | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup> | <i>“A husband and wife could only show affection, therefore, in the privacy of their own room”</i> (Gilliland, 1986, p. 101)   |
|  |                         | <i>“The quality required of women in relation to honour is shame, particularly sexual shame. Subjectively the woman's sexual shame is not simply a fear of external sanctions; it is an instinctive revulsion from sexual activity, an attempt in dress, movement, and attitude, to disguise the fact that she possesses the physical attributes of her sex. Maidens must be virgins, and even married women must remain virginal in thought and expression”</i> (Campbell, 1970, p. 146)  |
|  |                         | <i>“Even in marriage sexual activity is something ‘out of alignment’ (anapodo). In some way it pollutes. After sleeping with his wife a shepherd ought to wash his hands before milking a ewe, a sacred animal. Intercourse must occur in darkness, without speech, and the woman must remain motionless and passiv”</i> (Campbell, 1970, p. 155)  |
| Greeks<br>(Southeastern Europe)          | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup> | <i>“He may continue to sleep with his bride in privacy for one or two months but if he prolongs this period unduly it represents a clear breach in the solidarity of the family. Sexual intercourse becomes now progressively associated not with the proof of manliness, but with conjugal intimacy and solidarity. And in his attempt to maintain his relations with his family of origin unaltered and intact he uses great care to avoid any demonstration of this kind of interest in his bride. Sarakatsan sleeping arrangements are simple. Velenzas, thick woollen carpet-like blankets, are spread on the ground. The Sarakatsanos removes his shoes and his jacket, and another velenza is placed over him. It is the duty of the young bride to place the heavy enveloping velenzas over each member of the family in turn and then to put out the oil lamp before making her way to her husband's side. It is not generally very long before a concert of snores indicates that the family is asleep and it is then possible for the bride and groom under their heavy covering to exchange silent embraces. Silence, of course, is necessary to avoid discovery but in any case the Sarakatsani believe that speech during intercourse is shameful”</i> (Campbell, 1964, p. 67) |

|   |                          |  |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| <i>“One never even speaks of the sexual life”</i> (Kavvadias and Schütze, 1965, p. 157) |                          |  |
| Serbs<br>(Southeastern Europe)  | Yes? <sup>(survey)</sup> | (Erich 1966, p. 146)   |
| Basques<br>(Southern Europe)  | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | Sexual matters are poorly discussed, even between the married couple (Del Valle et al., 1985, pp. 210–213)   |
| <b>Middle America and the Caribbean</b>   |                          |  |
| Haitians<br>(Caribbean)   | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | (Herskovits, 1937, pp. 102–103; Simpson, 1942, p. 669)   |
| Puerto Ricans<br>(Island) (Caribbean)   | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“Parents carefully guard their own sex relations from their children”</i> (Wolf, 1972)  |
| Kuna<br>(Central America)   | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“That everything concerning sex is to be treated with the utmost secrecy, is very strictly upheld among the Cunas”</i> (Nordenskiöld et al., 1938, p. 371)  |
| Talamancans<br>(Central America)  | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“I must do these people the justice of saying that they are remarkably modest”</i> (Gabb, 1876, p. 518)   |
| Nahua<br>(Central Mexico)   | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | Parents have intercourse at night (Lewis, 1951, p. 291)  |
| Zapotec<br>(Central Mexico)   | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | Parents have intercourse in the storage room to avoid being seen by their children (Taylor, 1979, p. 185)  |
| Maya<br>(Maya area)   | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | Parents wait until the children are asleep (Elmendorf, 1976, p. 66)  |
| Mam Maya<br>(Maya area)   | Yes <sup>(EA)</sup>      | Pairs postpone the consummation of marriage <i>“because the noise would awaken her father and the young husband would be ashamed”</i> (Wagley, 1949, p. 40)  |
| Tzeltal<br>(Maya area)  | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“All legal sexual relations are carried out in the relative privacy of the house”</i> (Nash, 1970, p. 203)  |
| Huichol<br>(Northern Mexico)  | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“Sex is very much a private concern and relations between men and women, married or unmarried, are never carried on within view or earshot of others, especially children”</i> (Furst, 1967, p. 62) |
| Tarahumara<br>(Northern Mexico)   | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“Even in marriage the women are still careful about exposing themselves before their husbands. During sexual intercourse wives do not remove their clothes”</i> (Fried, 1951, p. 148)               |
| <b>Middle East</b>  |                          |  |
| Bedouins<br>(Middle East)   | Yes? <sup>(survey)</sup> | Marriages are consummated inside a closed tent/ house (Dickson, 1951, p. 205)  |



|   |                          |  |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| Basseri<br>(Middle East)                                  | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | Marriages are consummated inside a closed tent when the couple is alone (Barth, 1961, pp. 141–142)   |
| Iran<br>(Middle East)                                     | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“Even married couples should not display affection to each other or otherwise acknowledge their sexual relationship in front of others”</i> (Hegland, 2004, p. 524)   |
| Kurds<br>(Middle East)                                    | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“To sleep was a family affair (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms)”</i> (Hansen, 1961, p. 37).<br><br><i>“Nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any man other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest”</i> (Masters, 1953, p. 126) |
| Lur<br>(Middle East)                                      | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“My husband and I always slept separate—I here, he over there. We would have been ashamed if our children noticed us do it”</i> (Friedl, 1997, p. 29)   |
| Israelis<br>(Orthodox Jews:<br>Hassidim)<br>(Middle East) | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | Sex should not be carried in front of other people including children who learned to speak (Rockman, 1993, p. 265)   |
| Palestinians<br>(Middle East)                             | Yes? <sup>(survey)</sup> | (Granqvist, 1947)  |
| Rwala Bedouin<br>(Middle East)                            | Yes? (SCCS)              | (Musil, 1928)  |
| Turks<br>(Middle East)                                    | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“Sex and anything to do with it is taboo in many social contexts, and this flavour of impropriety, as in many western contexts, makes straightforward information difficult to obtain”</i> (Stirling, 1965, p. 99)  |
| <b>North America</b>                                      |                          |  |
| Aleut<br>(Arctic and Subarctic)                           | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | Couples are ashamed to caress each other in public (Innokentii et al., 1840a, p. 116)  |
| Kaska<br>(Arctic and Subarctic)                           | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“In summer unmarried couples copulated in daylight or at night, but always in the privacy of the bush. A husband and wife waited until after nightfall and the sex act between them always occurred in the dwelling”</i> Voyeurs were scolded (Honigmann, 1954, pp. 126–130)  |
| Ingalik<br>(Arctic and Subarctic)                         | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“Man and woman are seldom isolated from a social group for other than sexual reasons”</i> (Osgood, 1958, p. 206)  |
| Iroquois<br>(Eastern Woodlands)                           | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“Normally the Iroquoian peoples were modest in dress, often rather shy in public contacts with the opposite sex...chastity and marital fidelity were publicly recognized ideals”</i> (Wallace and Steen, 1969, p. 63)   |



|   |                          |  |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| Mi'kmaq<br>(Eastern Woodlands)                      | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“But even the most trifling; no kissing, no badinage between young persons of different sexes; in a word, everything is said and is done in their wigwams with much modesty and reserve” (Clerc and Ganong, 1910, p. 250)</i>   |
| Pomo<br>(Northwest Coast and California)            | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | (Loeb, 1926, p. 334)   |
| African Americans<br>(Regional and Ethnic Cultures) | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“They gathered in the bayou, a boy and girl would slip off from the group into the woods” (Davis and Dollard, 1958, p. 273)</i>   |
| Amish<br>(Regional and Ethnic Cultures)             | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“The subject of sex in Amish life is regarded as a purely personal matter. Adults purposely ignore any mention of the subject, especially in the presence of children” (Hostetler, 1980, p. 162)</i>  |
| Arab Canadians<br>(Regional and Ethnic Cultures)    | Yes? <sup>(survey)</sup> | (Abu-Laban, 1980, pp. 169–170; Jabbra, 1991, p. 45; Skoggard, 1999, p. 7)  |
| Eastern Apache<br>(Southwest and Basin)             | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“The parents are very careful to urinate and to have sexual intercourse in private and to speak carefully” (Opler, 1941, p. 77)</i>   |
| Havasupai<br>(Southwest and Basin)                  | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“Married couples, and couples, married or unmarried, who are engaged in a secret affair, do not show interest in one another in any public situation” (Smithson, 1959, pp. 77–78)</i>   |
| Hopi<br>(Southwest and Basin)                       | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“Social dancing is not a Hopi custom, nor does embracing in public or any public exhibition of intimacy ever occur” (Dennis, 1940, p. 43)</i>   |
|   |                          | <i>“It is quite likely that the constant presence of other adults in the house and the lack of privacy prevented spouses from developing intimacy. All people of the house slept in one room, and the couple wishing to have sexual relations had to wait until others were asleep and then conduct themselves with a minimum of noise” (Schlegel, 1988, p. 52)</i>                                      |
|   |                          | <i>“Night is the best time, for during the day Hopis are apt to walk in without knocking. My own mother walked in on Irene and me once, and when I showed embarrassment she said, “Never mind me, that's the way the world goes”” (Talayesva and Simmons, 1942, p. 283)</i>  |
| Mormons<br>(Southwest and Basin)                    | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | <i>“He tries to avoid showing affection to any wife in the presence of others, to avoid feelings of jealousy [...] Seymour told a story about a man who slept with several wives in the same bed and had sexual relations with one in the presence of others. For this, and probably other reasons, there was a great deal of conflict and upheaval in this family” (Altman and Ginat, 1996, p. 353)</i> |

|   |                          |  |
|---|--------------------------|--|
|   |                          | <p><i>“If cohabitation takes place in the hogan, it also is done quietly and surreptitiously. A woman lifts her dress. A man takes off his g-string. Exposure of the human body is rare. Exposure of the human genitalia is shameful and embarrassing”</i> (Dyk, 1951, p. 108)</p>   |
| Navajo<br>(Southwest and Basin)                               | Yes <sup>(EA)</sup>      | <p><i>“White persons who are told of the strong Navaho sensitivity with regard to bodily exposure wonder how privacy can possibly be maintained under hogan conditions. There are several answers. Navahos do not undress when they go to sleep. Sex relations take place during the hours of darkness”</i> (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 47)</p> <p><i>“Intercourse seldom takes place except under cover of darkness and with very little disrobing”</i> (Leighton and Kluckhohn, 1947, pp. 87–88)</p> |
| <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Oceania</b></p> <hr/> |                          |  |
| Kapauku<br>(Melanesia)  | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | Sex is carried out during day time and in the bush (Pospisil, 1958, p. 136)  |
| Kwoma<br>(Melanesia)  | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | Sex is initiated by discreet communication (Whiting, 1941, p. 127)   |
| Lesu<br>(Melanesia)   | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | Pairs have intercourse indoors or outdoors according to the presence of people (Powdermaker, 1933, pp. 278–283)  |
| Malekula<br>(Melanesia)                                       | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | Children are sent away to achieve sexual privacy (Deacon and Wedgwood, 1934, pp. 41; 154–155)  |
| Manus<br>(Melanesia)  | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | Sexual issues are a source of shame and are not discussed (Mead, 1930, pp. 164; 167)   |
| Northeastern Massim<br>(Muyuw)<br>(Melanesia)                 | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | Pairs have intercourse in the bush away from their garden (Damon, 1990, p. 127)  |
| Orokaiva<br>(Melanesia)                                       | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup>  | Pairs have intercourse within enclosed private gardens (Schwimmer, 1973, p. 89)  |
| Sa<br>(Melanesia)   | Yes? <sup>(survey)</sup> | <i>“We have never observed other than momentary unavoidable physical contacts between men and women, whether married or not”</i> (Lane and Lane, 1957, p. 46)  |

|                             |                         |  |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| Siwai<br>(Melanesia)        | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | Pairs do not discuss sexual matters and become more discreet as their children grow older (Oliver, 1955, pp. 141–143; 261)   |
| Tinputz<br>(Melanesia)      | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup> | Pairs sneak away to have intercourse in the bush or wait until others are asleep (Blackwood, 1935, pp. 120–127)  |
| Trobriand<br>(Melanesia)    | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | <i>“Sex is regarded as naturally to be avoided in public and open conversation, and always to be concealed from others in behaviour”</i> (Malinowski, 1929, p. 397)  |
| Wogeo<br>(Melanesia)        | Yes <sup>(EA)</sup>     | Elders make opportunities for pairs who have no private dwelling to sneak to the forest during mid-day work (Hogbin, 1946, p. 186, 1945, p. 341)   |
| Belau<br>(Micronesia)       | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>  | (Barnett, 1949, p. 114; Force and Force, 1972, p. 25; Smith, 1983, pp. 137–138)  |
| Chuuk<br>(Micronesia)       | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | <i>“There is obviously far less direct stimulation of the clitoris in this position and it is recognized that orgasm is less likely to be reached by the woman. However, it is more discreet and less likely to attract attention in a house full of people; for this reason even married couples often prefer it lest they disturb someone else and cause embarrassment to all concerned”</i> (Gladwin and Sarason, 1953, p. 110)<br><br><i>“There is, however, a sense of modesty about sex and genital exposure which requires that intercourse be carried on in strict privacy”</i> (Goodenough, 1949, p. 615) |
| Marshallese<br>(Micronesia) | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | <i>“Immoral acts are not committed openly, only in secret”</i> (Erdland and Neuse, 1914, p. 107)   |
| Hawaiians<br>(Polynesia)    | Yes <sup>(EA)</sup>     | <i>“Old time Hawaiians never “made love” in public, or even in the presence of relatives or friends”</i> (Buck, 1957; Handy and Pukui, 1972, p. 171)   |
| Lau Fijian<br>(Polynesia)   | Yes <sup>(EA)</sup>     | <i>“Married people have connection in the sleeping house or in the bush”</i> (Thompson, 1940a, p. 50)  |
| Maori<br>(Polynesia)        | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>  | (Buck, 1952, p. 365)   |
| Marquesas<br>(Polynesia)    | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup> | <i>“There are no data on the patterns of public courtship followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others was probably also an aboriginal trait [...] public intercourse, sanctioned on some occasions in the past, is no longer practiced”</i> (Suggs, 1963, p. 76)  |
| Samoans<br>(Polynesia)      | Yes <sup>(EA)</sup>     | <i>“All expressions of affection are rigorously barred in public. [...] So no Samoan child is accustomed to seeing father and mother exchange casual caresses”</i> (Mead, 1928, p. 135)  |
| Tongans<br>(Polynesia)      | Yes <sup>(survey)</sup> | <i>“Because sex is a tapu subject in public”</i> (Bloomfield, 2002, p. 105)  |

| South America                                 |                          |  |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| Barama River<br>Carib<br>(Amazon and Orinoco) | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“Men have usually arranged trysts with girls or women... these couples slip off to their rendezvous, leaving the remainder of the party”</i> (Gillin, 1936, p. 65)  |
| Jivaro<br>(Amazon and Orinoco)                | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“The Jibaros especially are very decent in sexual matters. They do not consider it proper to discuss such questions publicly, and obscene gestures or language”</i> (Karsten, 1935, p. 216)   |
| Mundurucu<br>(Amazon and Orinoco)             | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“The sorties to the forest thus give the couple minimal privacy”</i> (Murphy and Murphy, 1985, pp. 177–178).  |
| Nambicuara<br>(Amazon and Orinoco)            | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“Sexual relations usually take place at night, and often not far from the fires of the camp. More often the couple draws back about a hundred meters into the neighboring bush”</i> (Lévi-Strauss and Sittler, 1948, p. 73).  |
| Shipibo<br>(Amazon and Orinoco)               | Yes? <sup>(survey)</sup> | (Behrens, 1988, p. 74)   |
| Sirionó<br>(Amazon and Orinoco)               | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“Since privacy is almost impossible to obtain within the hut [...] more intercourse takes place in the bush than in the house”</i> (Holmberg, 1950, pp. 63–64)  |
| Trumai<br>(Amazon and Orinoco)                | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks”</i> (Murphy and Quain, 1955, p. 105)  |
| Yanoama<br>(Amazon and Orinoco)               | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>    | <i>“Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes”</i> (Chagnon, 1968, p. 89) |
| Mapuche<br>(Central Andes)                    | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>   | <i>“Some care is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery”</i> (Latham, 1909, p. 95) (Faron, 1961, pp. 157–158)  |
| Bororo<br>(Eastern)                           | Yes? <sup>(EA)</sup>     | (Baldus and Lillios, 1937, p. 30, but see also p. 18)  |

|   |                                    |   |
|---|------------------------------------|---|
| Canela<br>(Timbira)<br>(Eastern)        | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>              | <i>“A youth visits his betrothed in her platform bed, which she hurriedly elevates to a level directly below the roof, and shields from the sight of the other inmates by a partition of mats. However, nobody casts prying eyes in their direction, for in this regard the Timbira display exemplary discretion and considerateness even if personally interested in the relationship of the young people”</i> (Nimuendaju and Lowie, 1946, p. 118) (but see Crocker, 1990). |
| Tupinamba<br>(Eastern)                  | Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>              | <i>“The men and women behave themselves decently and do their business secretly”</i> (Staden, 1928, p. 147 (3))   |
| Warao<br>(Eastern)                      | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>             | (Heinen, 1973, pp. 43; 476; 600; Turrado Moreno and Muirden, 1945, pp. 212; 271)  |
| Xokleng<br>(Aweikoma)<br>(Eastern)      | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>             | (Henry et al., 1941, p. 17)   |
| Goajiro<br>(North-Western)              | (traditional) No <sup>(SCCS)</sup> | <i>“Conjugal relations of a couple who are pure Indian are carried out openly without precautions against the presence of outsiders — either at home or in the fields — even in front of the smaller children, who from a tender age are accustomed to see calmly these biological acts”</i> (Bolinder, 1957; Gutiérrez de Pineda and Muirden, 1950, p. 133).   |
|   | (modern) Yes <sup>(SCCS)</sup>     | <i>“Exhibitionism of a sexual type is considered a punishable act”</i> (Gutiérrez de Pineda and Muirden, 1950, p. 232; Watson, 1968).   |
| Kogi<br>(North-Western)                 | Yes <sup>(EA)</sup>                | Pairs have intercourse at night and outdoors (Reichel-Dolmatoff and Muirden, 1951, pp. 219; 286)  |
| Abipón<br>(Southern)                    | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>             | (Dobrizhoffer, 1822, pp. 41, 138–139)   |
| Enxet and Enlhet (Lengua)<br>(Southern) | Yes? <sup>(survey)</sup>           | <i>“They are rarely disturbed by other community members who seem to know when a bathing area is being occupied, and it is during these periods that they engage in sexual relations. In fact, a spouse is the only person of the opposite sex to see someone's genitalia”</i> (Kidd, 1999, p. 169)   |
| Tehuelche<br>(Southern)                 | Yes? <sup>(SCCS)</sup>             | (De Viedma and Muirden, 1837, p. 5; Musters, 1873, p. 169)  |

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**Yes?** = Only indirect evidence for concealment.

<sup>(EA)</sup> = Based on resources included in the Ethnographic Atlas (eHRAF World Cultures, Gray, 1999).

<sup>(SCCS)</sup> = Based on resources included in the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample (eHRAF World Cultures, Murdock and White, 1969; White, 1989).

\* Geographical and cultural classifications follow the eHRAF World Culture.

\*\* Examples were chosen to present diversity (e.g. methods for concealment, concealment of different sensory outputs, concealment of milder interactions than sexual intercourse, etc.). Cited examples are not necessarily the strongest available evidence for concealment of sexual intercourse. See Appendix 1 for the criteria used to infer the concealment of sexual intercourse.

Examined cultures for which data was not available in the eHRAF World Cultures (n=118):

**Africa:** Bagisu; Bambara; Banyoro; Berbers of Morocco; Betsileo; Katab; Konso; Lakeshore Tonga; Lozi; Mao; Ovimbundu; Rwandans; Shilluk; Shluh; Somali; Southern Toraja; Suku; Tanala; Turkana; Yoruba

**Asia:** Ainu; Andamans; Atayal; Baluchi; Bhil; Burusho; Flores; Ghorbat; Hazara; Inner Mongolia; Kachin; Karakalpak; Karen; Kol; Koryak; Kyrgyz; Monguor; Nenets; Nicobarese, Pamir peoples; Rmeet; Tajiks; Turkmens; Uzbeks; Vedda; Vietnamese; Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

**Europe:** British (1714-1815); Early Icelanders; Icelanders; Imperial Romans; Montenegrins; Slovenes.

**Middle America and the Caribbean:** Aztec; Cuban; Dominican; Island Carib; Jamaican.

**Middle East:** Babylonia; Yemenis.

**North America:** Alutiiq; Cherokee; Chicanos; Arab Americans; Basque Americans; Cajuns; Chinese Americans; Chinese Canadians; Chinookans of the Lower Columbia River; Chipewyans; Cuban Americans; Creek; Delaware; Haida; Haitian Americans; Innu; Italian American; Italian Canadians; Klamath; Korean American; Maricopa; Natchez; North American Armenians; North American Hmong; Northern Paiute; Nuxalk (Bellacoola); Ojibwa; O'odham; Osage; Pawnee; Puerto Ricans (Mainland); Quinault; Sea Islanders; Serbian Americans; Stoney; Tubatulabal; Ute; Western Woods Cree; Yokuts; Yurok; Zia Pueblo.

**Oceania:** Aranda; Kanak; Kimam; Rapa Nui; Santa Cruz Islanders; Tiwi; Yapese.

**South America:** Bahia Brazilians; Canelos Quichua; Chachi; Ndyuka; Chorote; Otavalo Quichua; Quito Quichua; Saraguro Quichua; Saramaka; Terena.

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**Appendix 6.** Customs and frequent occurrences of public mating in 20 cultures.

| Region                           | Sub-region*                  | Culture*                 | Custom (principal authorities)  |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Africa                           | Eastern Africa               | Banyoro                  | <p><i>Ceremonial mating:</i> mediums intercourse while other mediums sing to conceal the act from the people outside (Nyakatura and Rigby, 1970, p. 60).</p> <p><i>Sex training:</i> the bride's aunt sleeps with the married couple and instructs them about sex (Roscoe, 1923, p. 272).</p> |
| Africa                           | Eastern Africa               | Gikuyu                   | <i>Ceremonial mating:</i> the rape of a woman from another tribe (Lambert, 1956, p. 53).  |
| Asia                             | Southeast Asia               | Alorese                  | <i>Social punishment:</i> public intercourse with the husband to enforce marital sex with an uncooperative wife. Not clear whether it is an irregular verdict or a custom punishment (Du Bois et al., 1944, pp. 103; 107).  |
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Northern Mexico              | Huichol                  | <i>Supervision of marital mating at the wedding night:</i> the bride's mother may stay to ensure that her daughter cooperates with her new husband (Lumholtz, 1973, p. 94).   |
| Middle East                      | Middle East                  | Turks                    | <i>Supervision of marital mating at the wedding night:</i> a woman watches through the keyhole to check whether the husband is impotent (Makal et al., 1954, p. 130)  |
| North America                    | Arctic and Subarctic         | Ojibwa                   | <i>Gang rape:</i> in drinking parties (this behaviour is not known from traditional Ojibwa: Shkilnyk, 1985, p. 46).   |
| North America                    | Eastern Woodlands            | Iroquois                 | <i>Ceremonial mating:</i> sexual dreams of sick people were realised in public and may have included sexual intercourse (John, 1994, p. 83; Wallace and Steen, 1969, p. 63)   |
| North America                    | Regional and Ethnic Cultures | Puerto Ricans (Mainland) | <i>Gang rape:</i> as a means to unite gang members (Bourgois, 1996a, p. 422)  |

|               |                    |            |   |
|---------------|--------------------|------------|---|
| Oceania       | Melanesia          | Kanak      | <i>Gang rape</i> : as a punishment for a woman (Salomon and Hamelin, 2008, pp. 34–35). Data are from modern times, but the phenomenon may be rooted in group sex among youth in former times (Leenhardt, 1979, p. 153).   |
| Oceania       | Melanesia          | Malekula   | <i>Ceremonial mating</i> : group sex, during which sex is not exclusive (Deacon and Wedgwood, 1934, pp. 651–652).   |
| Oceania       | Melanesia          | Siwai      | <i>Sexual training</i> : by observing an older sibling (Oliver, 1955, p. 149).  |
| Oceania       | Melanesia          | Tinputz    | <i>Social punishment</i> : gang rape as a punishment if a woman interferes with the puberty ritual of boys (Blackwood, 1935, p. 200).   |
| Oceania       | Melanesia          | Trobriand  | <i>Social punishment</i> : women will gang rape a man from another district and as a punishment (Malinowski, 1929, pp. 272–277, reliability is questionable).   |
| Oceania       | Micronesia         | Belau      | <i>Sexual training</i> : young boys were permitted to stand outside the house and peep-through holes to observe mating (Smith, 1983, pp. 137–138).  |
| Oceania       | Polynesia          | Marquesas  | <i>Ceremonial mating</i> : group sex, during which sex is not exclusive (Linton, 1939, pp. 172–173).  |
|               |                    |            | <i>Group sex</i> : group sex with “ <i>promiscuous girls</i> ” (modern behaviour which may be a relict from an institute of youth dormitory) (Suggs, 1963, p. 34).  |
| South America | Amazon and Orinoco | Mundurucu  | <i>Social punishment</i> : gang rape of a woman in public and as a punishment, for example for being too promiscuous. (Murphy, 1960, pp. 108–109).  |
| South America | Amazon and Orinoco | Nambicuará | <i>Homosexual intimacy</i> : is “carried on much more publicly than normal relations. The couples [...] install themselves near a fire of the camp under the amused eyes of the neighbors” (Lévi-Strauss and Sittler, 1948, p. 86); but see also (Price, 1981, p. 699). |
| South America | Eastern            | Bororo     | <i>Gang rape</i> : the gang rape of girls that were not contracted for marriage for too long (Cook, 1909, p. 387).  |



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|                  |                   |                    |  |
|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--|
| South<br>America | Eastern           | Canela/<br>Timbira | <i>Ceremonial mating</i> : semi-public group sex during festivals<br>(Crocker, 1990, p. 106);<br><br><i>Social punishment</i> : gang rape to educate girls for sexual<br>“generosity” (Crocker, 1990, pp. 164, 230). |
| South<br>America | North-<br>Western | Kogi               | <i>Sex training</i> : the first intercourse between husband and wife is<br>observed by the priest's assistants (Park, 1965, p. 882; Reichel-<br>Dolmatoff, 1990, pp. 17–18).   |

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\*Geographical and cultural classifications follow the eHRAF World Culture

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## Appendix 7. Overview of mating patterns in social great apes and examples from non-great ape species.

| Species  | Concealed mating   |   | Public mating   |  | Degree of cooperation                                | Mating control  | Physical interference with mating                   |
|--|--|---|---|--|--|---|---|
|  | Legitimate mating  | Non-legitimate mating                                   | Legitimate mating                                       | Non-legitimate mating                              |  |   |   |
| <b>Humans</b><br>( <i>Homo sapiens sapiens</i> )                 | <b>Yes</b><br>(Ford and Beach, 1951 see also appendix 2) | <b>Yes</b><br>(Ford and Beach, 1951; Friedl, 1994)      | <b>No</b><br>(Ford and Beach, 1951 see also appendix 2) | <b>No</b><br>(Ford and Beach, 1951)                | <b>High</b><br>(Hill and Hurtado, 2009)              | <b>Yes (m)</b><br>(Daly et al., 1982 see also appendix 5)             | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(Daly et al., 1982)        |
| <b>Nonhuman Great Apes (Hominidae)</b>                           |  |   |   |  |  |   |   |
| Species  | Concealed mating   |   | Public mating   |  | Degree of cooperation                                | Mating control  | Physical interference with mating                   |
|  | Dominants  | Subordinates  | Dominants   | Subordinates                                       |  |   |   |
| <b>Bonobos</b><br>( <i>Pan paniscus</i> )                        | <b>Yes?</b><br>(Heidi Douglas, unpublished data)         | <b>Yes?</b><br>(Heidi Douglas, unpublished data)        | <b>Yes</b><br>(Hohmann and Fruth, 2003)                 | <b>Yes</b><br>(Hohmann and Fruth, 2003)            | <b>Intermediate</b><br>(Tokuyama and Furuichi, 2016) | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Hohmann and Fruth, 2003; Surbeck et al., 2017)      | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(Hohmann and Fruth, 2003)  |
| <b>Chimpanzees</b><br>( <i>Pan troglodytes</i> )                 | <b>Yes</b><br>(Hobaiter and Byrne, 2012; Nishida, 1980)  | <b>Yes (also vocal)</b><br>(Townsend et al., 2008)      | <b>Yes</b><br>(Tutin and McGinnis, 1981)                | <b>Yes</b><br>(Tutin and McGinnis, 1981)           | <b>Intermediate</b><br>(Muller and Mitani, 2005)     | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Surbeck et al., 2017; Tutin and McGinnis, 1981)     | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(Tutin and McGinnis, 1981) |
| <b>Mountain gorillas</b><br>( <i>Gorilla beringei beringei</i> ) | <b>Yes?</b><br>(Harcourt et al., 1981)                   | <b>Yes?</b><br>(Martha Robbins, personal communication) | <b>Yes</b><br>(Harcourt et al., 1981; Schaller, 1963)   | <b>Yes</b><br>(Harcourt et al., 1981; Watts, 1990) | <b>Intermediate</b><br>(Harcourt and Stewart, 1989)  | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Stoinski et al., 2009)                              | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(Watts, 1990)              |
| <b>Old World Monkeys (Cercopithecidae)</b>                       |  |   |   |  |  |   |   |
| Species  | Concealed mating   |   | Public mating   |  | Degree of cooperation                                | Mating control  | Physical interference with mating                   |
|  | Dominants  | Subordinates  | Dominants   | Subordinates                                       |  |   |   |
| <b>Chacma baboons</b><br>( <i>Papio ursinus</i> )                | <b>NA</b>  | <b>Yes</b><br>(Baniel et al., 2019)                     | <b>Yes</b><br>(Baniel et al., 2019)                     | <b>Yes</b><br>(Baniel et al., 2019)                | <b>Intermediate</b><br>(Baniel et al., 2018)         | <b>Yes (m)</b><br>(Baniel et al., 2018)                               | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(Baniel et al., 2018)      |
| <b>Geladas</b><br>( <i>Theropithecus gelada</i> )                | <b>Yes (vocal)</b><br>(le Roux et al., 2013)             | <b>Yes</b><br>(le Roux et al., 2013)                    | <b>Yes (vocal)</b><br>(le Roux et al., 2013)            | <b>NA</b>  | <b>Intermediate</b><br>(Snyder-Mackler et al., 2012) | <b>Yes (m)</b><br>(le Roux et al., 2013; Snyder-Mackler et al., 2012) | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(le Roux et al., 2013)     |
| <b>Rhesus macaques</b><br>( <i>Macaca mulatta</i> )              | <b>NA</b><br>(Berard et al., 1994)                       | <b>Yes</b><br>(Berard et al., 1994)                     | <b>NA</b><br>(Berard et al., 1994)                      | <b>No</b><br>(Berard et al., 1994)                 | <b>NA</b><br>(Berard et al., 1994)                   | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Berard et al., 1994)                                | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(Berard et al., 1994)      |
| <b>Tibetan macaques</b><br>( <i>Macaca thibetana</i> )           | <b>Yes?</b><br>(Zhao, 1993)                              | <b>Yes</b><br>(Zhao, 1993)                              | <b>Yes</b><br>(Zhao, 1993)                              | <b>Yes</b><br>(Zhao, 1993)                         | <b>Intermediate</b><br>(Zhao, 1996)                  | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Zhao, 1993)   | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(Zhao, 1993)               |
| <b>New World Monkeys (Platyrrhini)</b>                           |  |   |   |  |  |   |   |
| Species  | Concealed mating   |   | Public mating   |  | Degree of cooperation                                | Mating control  | Physical interference with mating                   |
|  | Dominants  | Subordinates  | Dominants   | Subordinates                                       |  |   |   |
| <b>Black Howler Monkeys</b><br>( <i>Alouatta pigra</i> )         | <b>NA</b>  |   | <b>Yes</b><br>(Van Belle et al., 2009)                  |  | <b>Intermediate</b><br>(Van Belle et al., 2014)      | <b>Yes (m)</b><br>(Van Belle et al., 2009)                            | <b>Bi-directional</b><br>(Van Belle et al., 2009)   |
| <b>Brown-mantled tamarins</b><br>( <i>Saguinus fuscicollis</i> ) | <b>No</b><br>(Terborgh and Goldizen, 1985)               | <b>No</b><br>(Terborgh and Goldizen, 1985)              | <b>Yes</b><br>(Terborgh and Goldizen, 1985)             | <b>Yes</b><br>(Terborgh and Goldizen, 1985)        | <b>High</b><br>(Terborgh and Goldizen, 1985)         | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Goldizen, 1989; Terborgh and Goldizen, 1985)        | <b>No</b><br>(Terborgh and Goldizen, 1985)          |

|  |  |   |   |   |   |  |   |
|--|--|---|---|---|---|--|---|
| <b>Common marmosets*</b><br>( <i>Callithrix jacchus</i> )          | No published observations of mating despite it being studied for >15 years     |   |   |   | <b>High</b><br>(Digby et al., 2006)             | <b>No</b><br>(Digby et al., 2006)                            | <b>NA</b>   |
| <b>Pygmy marmosets*</b><br>( <i>Cebuella pygmaea</i> )             | No published observations of mating despite it being studied for several years |   |   |   | <b>High</b><br>(Soini, 1988, 1987)              | <b>Yes (m)</b><br>(Soini, 1988, 1987)                        | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(Soini, 1988, 1987)      |
| <b>Spider monkeys</b><br>( <i>Ateles belzebuth chamek</i> )        | <b>Yes?</b><br>(Gibson, 2010)  | <b>Yes</b><br>(Gibson, 2010)              | <b>Yes</b><br>(Campbell and Gibson, 2008)                           | <b>No</b><br>(Gibson, 2010)               | <b>Intermediate</b><br>(Gibson, 2010)           | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Gibson, 2010)                              | <b>NA</b>   |
| <b>Tufted capuchin monkeys</b><br>( <i>Cebus apella nigrilus</i> ) | <b>NA</b>  | <b>Yes</b><br>(Janson, 1984; Lynch, 2005) | <b>Yes</b><br>(Janson, 1986; Lynch, 2005)                           | <b>Yes</b><br>(Janson, 1984; Lynch, 2005) | <b>High</b><br>(Burkart and van Schaik, 2010)   | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Lynch, 2005)                               | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(Janson, 1984)           |
| <b>Woolly spider monkeys</b><br>( <i>Brachyteles arachnoides</i> ) | <b>No</b><br>(Milton, 1985)  | <b>Yes</b><br>(Milton, 1985)              | <b>Yes</b><br>(Milton, 1985)  | <b>Yes</b><br>(Milton, 1985)              | <b>Intermediate</b><br>(Strier, 1997)           | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Milton, 1985)                              | <b>No</b><br>(Milton, 1985)                       |
| <b>Carnivores (Carnivora)</b>                                      |  |   |   |   |   |  |   |
| <b>Species</b>   | <b>Concealed mating</b>  |   | <b>Public mating</b>  |   | <b>Degree of cooperation</b>                    | <b>Mating control</b>  | <b>Physical interference with mating</b>          |
|  | <b>Dominants</b>   | <b>Subordinates</b>                       | <b>Dominants</b>  | <b>Subordinates</b>                       |   |  |   |
| <b>Banded mongooses</b><br>( <i>Mungos mungo</i> )                 | <b>Yes</b><br>(Cant, 2000)   |   | <b>Yes</b><br>(Cant, 2000)  |   | <b>High</b><br>(Cant, 2003)                     | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Cant, 2000)                                | <b>Bi-directional</b><br>(Cant, 2000)             |
| <b>Dwarf mongooses</b><br>( <i>Helogale parvula</i> )              | <b>Yes?</b><br>(Creel et al., 1992)  | <b>Yes</b><br>(Creel et al., 1992)        | <b>Yes</b><br>(Creel et al., 1992)                                  | <b>Yes</b><br>(Creel et al., 1992)        | <b>High</b><br>(Rood, 1990)                     | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Creel et al., 1992; Keane et al., 1994)    | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(Creel et al., 1992)     |
| <b>Lions</b><br>( <i>Panthera leo</i> )                            | <b>NA</b>  | <b>NA</b>                                 | <b>Yes</b><br>(Packer and Pusey, 1982)                              | <b>Yes</b><br>(Packer and Pusey, 1982)    | <b>Intermediate</b><br>(Packer and Pusey, 1982) | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Packer and Pusey, 1982)                    | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(Packer and Pusey, 1982) |
| <b>Meerkats*</b><br>( <i>Suricata suricatta</i> )                  | No published observations of mating despite being studied >15 years            | <b>Yes</b><br>(Young et al., 2007)        | No published observations of mating despite being studied >15 years | <b>No</b><br>(Young et al., 2007)         | <b>High</b><br>(Young et al., 2007)             | <b>Yes (p)</b><br>(Griffin et al., 2002; Young et al., 2007) | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(Young et al., 2007)     |
| <b>Spotted hyenas</b><br>( <i>Crocuta crocuta</i> )                | <b>Yes?</b><br>(Kruuk, 1972)   | <b>Yes</b><br>(Kruuk, 1972)               | <b>Yes</b><br>(Kruuk, 1972)   | <b>Yes</b><br>(Kruuk, 1972)               | <b>Intermediate</b><br>(Holekamp et al., 2007)  | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Engh et al., 2002)                         | <b>No</b><br>(Kruuk, 1972)                        |
| <b>Even-toed ungulates (Artiodactyla)</b>                          |  |   |   |   |   |  |   |
| <b>Species</b>   | <b>Concealed mating</b>  |   | <b>Public mating</b>  |   | <b>Degree of cooperation</b>                    | <b>Mating control</b>  | <b>Physical interference with mating</b>          |
|  | <b>Dominants</b>   | <b>Subordinates</b>                       | <b>Dominants</b>  | <b>Subordinates</b>                       |   |  |   |
| <b>Bottlenose dolphins</b><br>( <i>Tursiops</i> sp.)               | <b>NA</b>  | <b>NA</b>                                 | <b>Yes</b><br>(Connor et al., 1992)                                 | <b>Yes</b><br>(Connor et al., 1992)       | <b>Intermediate</b><br>(Connor et al., 1992)    | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Connor et al., 1992)                       | <b>No</b><br>(Connor et al., 1992)                |
| <b>Rocky mountain bighorn sheep</b><br>( <i>Ovis canadensis</i> )  | <b>Yes</b><br>(Hogg, 1988, 1984)   |   | <b>Yes</b><br>(Hogg, 1988, 1984)                                    |   | <b>No</b><br>(Shackleton, 1985)                 | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Hogg, 1988, 1984)                          | <b>Bi-directional</b><br>(Hogg, 1988)             |
| <b>Hyrax (Hyracoidea)</b>  |  |   |   |   |   |  |   |
| <b>Species</b>   | <b>Concealed mating</b>  |   | <b>Public mating</b>  |   | <b>Degree of cooperation</b>                    | <b>Mating control</b>  | <b>Physical interference with mating</b>          |
|  |  |   |   |   |   |  |   |
| <b>Rock hyraxes</b><br>( <i>Procavia capensis</i> )                | <b>Yes</b><br>(Bar Ziv, 2013; Bar Ziv et al., 2016)                            |   | <b>Yes</b><br>(Bar Ziv, 2013; Bar Ziv et al., 2016)                 |   | <b>High</b><br>(Bar Ziv et al., 2016)           | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Bar Ziv, 2013; Bar Ziv et al., 2016)       | <b>Bi-directional</b><br>(Bar Ziv et al., 2016)   |
| <b>Rodents (Rodentia)</b>  |  |   |   |   |   |  |   |
| <b>Species</b>   | <b>Concealed mating</b>  |   | <b>Public mating</b>  |   | <b>Degree of cooperation</b>                    | <b>Mating control</b>  | <b>Physical interference with mating</b>          |

|   |   |  |   |   |   |  |   |
|---|---|--|---|---|---|--|---|
| <b>Cape ground squirrels</b><br>( <i>Xerus inauris</i> )                    | <b>Yes</b><br>(Waterman, 1998)  |  | <b>Yes</b><br>(Waterman, 1998)  |   | <b>No</b><br>(Waterman, 1995)                     | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Manjerovic and Waterman, 2015; Waterman, 1998) | <b>Bi-directional</b><br>(Waterman, 1998)         |
| <b>Richardson's ground squirrels</b><br>( <i>Urocitellus richardsonii</i> ) | <b>Yes?</b><br>(Michener and Mclean, 1996)  |  | <b>Yes (also vocal)</b><br>(Magyara, 2009; Michener and Mclean, 1996) |   | <b>No</b><br>(Michener, 1979)                     | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Michener and Mclean, 1996)                     | <b>Bi-directional</b><br>(Davis, 1982)            |
| Bird: Passerines (Passeriformes)  |   |  |   |   |   |  |   |
| Species   | Concealed mating  |  | Public mating   |   | Degree of cooperation                             | Mating control   | Physical interference with mating                 |
|   | Dominants   | Subordinates                             | Dominants   | Subordinates                            |   |  |   |
| <b>Alpine accentors</b><br>( <i>Prunella collaris</i> )                     | <b>No</b><br>(Davies et al., 1996)  | <b>Yes</b><br>(Davies et al., 1996)      | <b>Yes</b><br>(Davies et al., 1996)                                   | <b>No</b><br>(Davies et al., 1996)      | <b>Intermediate</b><br>(Davies et al., 1996)      | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Davies et al., 1996)                           | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(Davies et al., 1996)    |
| <b>Arabian babblers</b><br>( <i>Turdoides squamiceps</i> )                  | <b>Yes</b><br>(Ben Mocha et al., 2018)  | <b>Yes</b><br>(Ben Mocha et al., 2018)   | <b>No</b><br>(Ben Mocha et al., 2018)                                 | <b>No</b><br>(Ben Mocha et al., 2018)   | <b>High</b><br>(Zahavi, 1989)                     | <b>Yes (m)</b><br>(Ben Mocha et al., 2018; Perel, 1996)          | <b>Unidirectional</b><br>(Ben Mocha et al., 2018) |
| <b>Dunnocks</b><br>( <i>Prunella modularis</i> )                            | <b>Yes</b><br>(Davies, 1983; Davies et al., 1996)   |  | <b>Yes?</b><br>(Davies, 1983; Davies et al., 1996)                    |   | <b>High</b><br>(Santos et al., 2015)              | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Davies et al., 1996)                           | <b>Bi-directional</b><br>(Davies et al., 1996)    |
| <b>Florida scrub jays*</b><br>( <i>Aphelocoma coerulescens</i> )            | No published observations of mating despite it being studied >15 years                            |  |   |   | <b>High</b><br>(Mumme et al., 2015)               | <b>Yes (p)</b><br>(Quinn et al., 1999)                           | <b>NA</b>   |
| <b>Long-tailed manakins</b><br>( <i>Chiroxiphia linearis</i> )              | <b>NA</b>   | <b>Yes</b><br>(McDonald and Potts, 1994) | <b>NA</b>   | <b>No</b><br>(McDonald and Potts, 1994) | <b>Intermediate</b><br>(McDonald and Potts, 1994) | <b>Yes (m)</b><br>(McDonald and Potts, 1994)                     | <b>NA</b>   |
| <b>Pied babblers*</b><br>( <i>Turdoides bicolor</i> )                       | No published observations of mating despite it being studied >15 years                            |  |   |   | <b>High</b><br>(Nelson-Flower and Ridley, 2015)   | <b>Yes (p)</b><br>(Nelson-Flower and Ridley, 2015)               | <b>NA</b>   |
| <b>Superb starlings*</b><br>( <i>Lamprotornis superbus</i> )                | No published observations of mating despite it being studied >15 years (but see Rubenstein, 2007) |  |   |   | <b>High</b><br>(Rubenstein, 2007)                 | <b>Yes (p)</b><br>(Rubenstein, 2007)                             | <b>NA</b>   |
| <b>White-winged choughs*</b><br>( <i>Corcorax melanorhamphos</i> )          | No published observations of mating despite it being studied >10 years                            |  |   |   | <b>High</b><br>(Heinsohn et al., 2000)            | <b>Yes (p)</b><br>(Heinsohn et al., 2000)                        | <b>NA</b>   |
| <b>Zebra finch</b><br>( <i>Taeniopygia guttata</i> )                        | <b>Yes</b><br>(Birkhead et al., 1988)   |  | <b>Yes</b><br>(Birkhead et al., 1988)                                 |   | <b>No</b><br>(Zann, 1996)                         | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Birkhead et al., 1988)                         | <b>Bi-directional</b><br>(Birkhead et al., 1988)  |
| Bird: (Gruiformes)  |   |  |   |   |   |  |   |
| Species   | Concealed mating  |  | Public mating   |   | Degree of cooperation                             | Mating control   | Physical interference with mating                 |
|   | Dominants   | Subordinates                             | Dominants   | Subordinates                            |   |  |   |
| <b>Tasmanian native hens</b><br>( <i>Tribonyx mortierii</i> )               | <b>No</b><br>(Ridpath, 1972)  | <b>No</b><br>(Ridpath, 1972)             | <b>Yes</b><br>(Ridpath, 1972)   | <b>Yes</b><br>(Ridpath, 1972)           | <b>High</b><br>(Ridpath, 1972)                    | <b>No (m)</b><br>(Ridpath, 1972)                                 | <b>No</b><br>(Ridpath, 1972)                      |

“\*” indicates species for which the cooperation maintenance hypothesis predicts that dominant individuals will exhibit habitual concealment of mating. “?” indicates entries that are based on unpublished data or indirect evidence from published literature. Concealment was only considered as “Yes” when statistical evidence for active concealment was available or when behavioural strategies for concealment were observed (e.g., consortship). “No” use of concealed or public mating was considered when individuals were regularly observed to engage in one type of behaviour, but never in the other. Note that this is a conservative approach, as in most species concealed mating was not studied directly. “(vocal)” indicates species that inhibit distinct vocalisations that are typically produced during matings. In social systems where

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dominant and subordinate group members physically interfere with each other's matings ("*bi-directional*" pattern of Physical interference with matings), no distinction was made between dominants and subordinates. The degree of cooperation was considered "*High*" for species with systematic alloparental care and as "*Intermediate*" for all other types of cooperative behaviour between one of the mating partners and other group members (e.g., within-group coalition, territory defence). Mating control was considered as "*Yes*" if one group member constantly monopolised matings with at least one other group member during the female's fertile periods. When data about the monopolisation of mating (m) were not available, paternity data (p) was used. Physical interference with mating was considered as "*Unidirectional*" when dominant individuals physically interfered with subordinates but not vice versa; "*No*" interference was considered when cases of physical interference with the mating of others was rarely observed. "*NA*" stands for data not available.

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**Appendix 8.** Cultures for which data was available about whether social norms entitle spouses (husbands and/or wives) at least some control over sexual access to their spouse(s) (e.g., at least one spouse is restricted to have sexual intercourse only with his/her spouse or to have extramarital sex only with specific partners or to have extramarital sex for a limited extent only) (n=210). For geographical distribution of cultures see Appendices 2, 9-10.

| <b>Region</b> | <b>Sub-region*</b> | <b>Culture*</b> | <b>Mating control?</b> | <b>(Principal authorities, examples)</b>   | <b>Sample<br/>(Survey/ (EA)<br/>Ethnographic<br/>Atlas/ (SCCS)<br/>Standard-Cross-<br/>Cultural-Sample)</b> |
|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------|--|---|
| Africa        | Central Africa     | Azanda          | Yes                    | (Evans-Pritchard, 1962, p. 269, 1928, pp. 457-458(1); Lagae, 1926, p. 77; Larken, 1930, p. 102a)       | SCCS  |
| Africa        | Central Africa     | Barundi         | Yes                    | (Albert, 1963, pp. 193; 204; Meyer and Helmut, 1916, p. 164)   | Survey  |
| Africa        | Central Africa     | Mbuti           | Yes                    | (Turnbull, 1965, p. 181)   | SCCS  |
| Africa        | Central Africa     | Mongo (Nkundu)  | Yes                    | (Hulstaert and Vizedom, 1938, pp. 42–43; 448; 459)   | SCCS  |
| Africa        | Central Africa     | Okiek           | Yes                    | (Huntingford, 1954, p. 135, 1953, pp. 66–67, 1951, p. 42)  | Survey  |
| Africa        | Central Africa     | Rwandans        | Yes                    | (Hove and Crawford, 1941, pp. 23–26)   | Survey  |
| Africa        | Central Africa     | Suku            | Yes                    | (Kopytoff, 1980, p. 195, 1965, p. 453, 1964, pp. 102–103)  | SCCS  |
| Africa        | Central Africa     | Teda            | Yes                    | (Chapelle and Schütze, 1957, pp. 232; 234; 237–239; 241; Kronenberg and Schütze, 1958, pp. 39; 41; 43) | SCCS  |
| Africa        | Eastern Africa     | Bagisu          | Yes                    | (Heald, 1989, pp. 33; 148; La Fontaine, 1959, pp. 34–35)   | Survey  |
| Africa        | Eastern Africa     | Banyoro         | Yes                    | (Beattie, 1958, p. 16)   | EA  |
| Africa        | Eastern Africa     | Bena            | Yes                    | (Culwick et al., 1935, pp. 342–343; 360–361; 368; 371–372; Swartz, 1966, p. 99)                        | EA  |
| Africa        | Eastern Africa     | Ganda           | Yes                    | (Mair, 1934, pp. 55; 254; Roscoe, 1911, pp. 261–263; 338)  | SCCS  |
| Africa        | Eastern Africa     | Gikuyu          | Yes                    | (Kenyatta, 1953, pp. 182; 229)   | SCCS  |
| Africa        | Eastern Africa     | Hadza           | Yes                    | (Bagshawe, 1925, p. 127; Marlowe, 2010, p. 175, 2004, p. 692)  | EA  |
| Africa        | Eastern Africa     | Kaffa           | Yes                    | (Grühl et al., 1884, p. 232; Huntingford, 1955, p. 115)  | SCCS  |
| Africa        | Eastern Africa     | konso           | Yes                    | (Hallpike, 2008, p. 194)   | SCCS  |
| Africa        | Eastern Africa     | Maasai          | Yes                    | (Leakey, 1930, p. 202; Merker, 1910, p. 159)   | SCCS  |

|        |                 |                    |     |  |        |
|--------|-----------------|--------------------|-----|--|--------|
| Africa | Eastern Africa  | Mao                | Yes | (Grottanelli, 1940, pp. 275; 310)  | SCCS   |
| Africa | Eastern Africa  | Shilluk            | Yes | (Colson, 1952, pp. 60–61; Dempsey, 1955, p. 71; Howell, 1953, p. 97; Seligman and Seligman, 1932, pp. 68–69)                       | SCCS   |
| Africa | Eastern Africa  | Somali             | Yes | (Lewis, 1962, p. 35, 1955, p. 109)   | SCCS   |
| Africa | Eastern Africa  | Turkana            | Yes | (Emley, 1927, p. 189; Gulliver, 1951, pp. 8B; 169A-172b; 204A; 216A)   | EA     |
| Africa | Northern Africa | Berbers of Morocco | Yes | (Coon, 1931, pp. 102–103; Hart, 1954, p. 61)   | SCCS   |
| Africa | Northern Africa | Fellahin           | Yes | (Ammār, 1954, pp. 50; 185; 190)  | SCCS   |
| Africa | Northern Africa | Tuareg             | Yes | (Benhazera and Coleman, 1908, pp. 9; 16)   | SCCS   |
| Africa | Southern Africa | Khoi               | Yes | (Schapera, 1930, pp. 252–253; Schultze et al., 1907, p. 100)   | SCCS   |
| Africa | Southern Africa | Lozi               | Yes | (Gluckman, 1958, p. 186)   | SCCS   |
| Africa | Southern Africa | Ovimbundu          | Yes | (Edwards, 1962, pp. 122; 126; 141–145; 153; Hambly, 1934, pp. 184; 203; McCulloch, 1952, p. 32)                                    | SCCS   |
| Africa | Southern Africa | Lakeshore Tonga    | Yes | (Van Velsen, 1964, pp. 86; 92–93; 98–102)  | EA     |
| Africa | Southern Africa | Shona              | Yes | (Aschwanden and Cooper, 1987, p. 179; Bullock, 1950, pp. 116; 245; 262; 264; Gelfand, 1979, p. 1; Gelfand and Hannan, 1968, p. 46) | EA     |
| Africa | Southern Africa | Tanala             | Yes | (Linton, 1933, p. 297)   | SCCS   |
| Africa | Western Africa  | Bambara            | Yes | (Henry and Coleman, 1910, pp. 170–173; 176; Monteil and Looney, 1924, p. 226)  | SCCS   |
| Africa | Western Africa  | katab              | Yes | (Meek, 1931, pp. 44; 77; 121)  | EA     |
| Africa | Western Africa  | Mende              | Yes | (Little, 1951, pp. 142; 150)   | SCCS   |
| Africa | Western Africa  | Nupe               | Yes | (Nadel et al., 1942, pp. 152; 398)   | EA     |
| Africa | Western Africa  | Songhai            | Yes | (Rouch, 1954, pp. 38; 43)  | SCCS   |
| Africa | Western Africa  | Tallensi           | Yes | (Fortes, 1949, pp. 28; 109–110)  | SCCS   |
| Africa | Western Africa  | Yoruba             | Yes | (Ajisafe, 1924, pp. 35; 56; Lloyd, 1965, p. 564)   | EA     |
| Asia   | Caucasus        | Abkhazian          | Yes | (Benet, 1974, p. 47)   | SCCS   |
| Asia   | Central Asia    | Inner Mongolia     | Yes | (Chang et al., 1956, pp. 173; 187)   | Survey |
| Asia   | Central Asia    | Kazakh             | Yes | (Hudson, 1938, p. 47)  | SCCS   |

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|------|--------------|---|-----|---|--------|
| Asia | Central Asia | Lepcha                                    | Yes | (Gorer and Hutton, 1938, pp. 160–162; 171; 327)   | SCCS   |
| Asia | Central Asia | Mongolia                                  | Yes | (Vreeland, 1973, pp. 78; 241)   | SCCS   |
| Asia | Central Asia | Tibetans                                  | Yes | (Bell, 1928, p. 195)  | EA     |
| Asia | Central Asia | Xinjiang<br>Uygur<br>autonomous<br>region | Yes | (Norins and Lattimore, 1944, p. 80)   | Survey |
| Asia | East Asia    | Ainu                                      | Yes | (Batchelor, 1927, p. 38)  | SCCS   |
| Asia | East Asia    | Miao                                      | Yes | (Graham, 1954, p. 4, 1937, p. 27)   | Survey |
| Asia | East Asia    | Manchu                                    | Yes | (Shirokogorov, 1924, pp. 100–104; 150)  | SCCS   |
| Asia | East Asia    | Monguor                                   | Yes | (Schram, 1957, p. 71b; Schram and Lattimore, 1954, p. 78a; Schram and Winchell, 1932, pp. 152; 162)   | EA     |
| Asia | East Asia    | Okayama                                   | Yes | (Cornell, 1953, p. 203; De Vos, 1973, pp. 81–82, 86; De Vos and Wagatsuma, 1961, p. 1216)   | SCCS   |
| Asia | East Asia    | Taiwan<br>Hokkien                         | Yes | (Barnett, 1971, p. 447; Diamond, 1969, p. 60; Feuchtwang, 1974, p. 124; Gallin, 1966, p. 122; Harrell, 1982, pp. 143–144; Meskill, 1979, p. 224; Wolf, 1969, pp. 200–203; 889, 1968, p. 69; Wolf and Huang, 1980, p. 145) | Survey |
| Asia | North Asia   | Chukchee                                  | Yes | (Bogoraz-Tan, 1909, pp. 401–402; 572–575; 602–603; Sverdrup, 1938, pp. 122–125)   | SCCS   |
| Asia | North Asia   | Koryaks                                   | Yes | (Jochelson, 1905, pp. 733; 735; 756–757)  | EA     |
| Asia | North Asia   | Nivkh<br>(Gilyak)                         | Yes | (Black, 1973, pp. 63–65; Shrenk and Nagler, 1881, p. 1039; Shternberg et al., 1933, pp. 70–73; 227–228; 269–275)  | SCCS   |
| Asia | North Asia   | Yakut                                     | Yes | (Kharuzin, 1898, pp. 42–43; Popov, 1946, pp. 18–19; Sieroszewski, 1993, pp. 896; 911–912)   | Survey |
| Asia | South Asia   | Andamans                                  | Yes | (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922, pp. 50; 70)   | SCCS   |
| Asia | South Asia   | Badaga                                    | Yes | (Hockings, 1980, p. 55)   | Survey |
| Asia | South Asia   | Bengali                                   | Yes | (Bhattacharyya, 1976, p. 126; Fruzzetti, 1982, pp. 96; 124; Rohner et al., 1988, p. 56)   | Survey |



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|--------|----------------|---------------------|-----|--|--------|
| Asia   | South Asia     | Bhils               | Yes | (Naik, 1956, pp. 53; 142; 227; 230–231)  | EA     |
| Asia   | South Asia     | Burusho             | Yes | (Lorimer, 1939, p. 190; Tobe, 1960, pp. 349; 363; 420)   | SCCS   |
| Asia   | South Asia     | Khasi               | Yes | (Nakane, 1967, pp. 137–138)  | Survey |
| Asia   | South Asia     | Gond                | Yes | (Elwin, 1947, pp. 43; 146, 1943, p. 40; Grigson and Elwin, 1949, pp. 223; 261)   | SCCS   |
| Asia   | South Asia     | Nicobarese          | Yes | (Man et al., 1932, p. 50)  | SCCS   |
| Asia   | South Asia     | Santal              | Yes | (Archer, 1984, pp. 77; 152; 330; 333; 342; 515, 1974, pp. 81; 88; 157; 197; 214; 216; 348; Biswas, 1956, p. 51; Culshaw, 1949, pp. 145; 148; Kochar, 1970, p. 86; Mukherjea, 1962, pp. 196; 212; 402–403; 407; 418–420; Skrefsrud et al., 1942, pp. 82; 130) | SCCS   |
| Asia   | South Asia     | Telugu              | Yes | (Dube, 1955, pp. 144; 147; Hiebert, 1971, pp. 22; 110)   | EA     |
| Asia   | South Asia     | Vedda               | Yes | (Bailey, 1863, p. 291; Seligman et al., 1911, pp. 87; 96)  | SCCS   |
| Asia   | Southeast Asia | Alorese             | Yes | (Du Bois et al., 1944, pp. 100; 178)   | SCCS   |
| Asia   | Southeast Asia | Balinese            | Yes | (Covarrubias, 1938, p. 158)  | SCCS   |
| Asia   | Southeast Asia | Cambodians          | Yes | (Ebihara, 1971, p. 492; Ebihara and Matthiasson, 1974, p. 329; Zhou et al., 1987, pp. 14, 31)  | SCCS   |
| Asia   | Southeast Asia | Ifugao              | Yes | (Barton, 1938, pp. 60–62, 1919, p. 24)   | SCCS   |
| Asia   | Southeast Asia | Javanese            | Yes | (Geertz, 1961, p. 128)   | SCCS   |
| Asia   | Southeast Asia | Kachin              | Yes | (Leach, 1954, pp. 75; 137)   | EA     |
| Asia   | Southeast Asia | Karen               | Yes | (Marshall, 1945, p. 13, 1922, pp. 145; 148; 287)   | EA     |
| Asia   | Southeast Asia | Rungus Dusun        | Yes | (Appell, 1991, pp. 79; 87; 94; 97; 99, 1965, pp. 55–56; 311; Appell and Appell, 1993, p. 19)   | Survey |
| Asia   | Southeast Asia | Semang              | Yes | (Schebesta and Schütze, 1957, p. 143)  | SCCS   |
| Asia   | Southeast Asia | Southern Toraja     | Yes | (Nooy-Palm, 1986, pp. 34–37; 116)  | Survey |
| Asia   | Southeast Asia | Vietnamese          | Yes | (Aubaret and Howard, 1865, p. 103; Tran-van-Trai and Messner, 1942, pp. 67–68; 181–182)  | Survey |
| Europe | British Isles  | British (1714-1815) | Yes | (Malone and Abate, 2012, p. 4; Razi, 1985)   | Survey |

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|----------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|------|---|--------|
| Europe                           | British Isles        | Highland Scots         | Yes  | (Ducey, 1971, pp. 290; 346; 389; Geddes, 1955, p. 218)  | Survey |
| Europe                           | British Isles        | Rural Irish            | Yes  | (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940, pp. 208; 213; 218; Fox, 1995, p. 160)   | SCCS   |
| Europe                           | Scandinavia          | Early Icelanders       | Yes? | (Karras, 1992, p. 294)  | Survey |
| Europe                           | Scandinavia          | Saami/Lapps            | Yes  | (Itkonen et al., 1948, p. 544; Pehrson, 1957, p. 68; Pelto, 1962, p. 62; Scheffer, 1704, pp. 33–35)   | SCCS   |
| Europe                           | Southern Europe      | Basques                | Yes  | (Del Valle et al., 1985, pp. 211; 213; Douglass, 1969, pp. 108–109)   | Survey |
| Europe                           | Southern Europe      | Imperial Romans        | Yes  | (Carcopino et al., 1940, pp. 93–94; Pellisson and Wilkinson, 1897, pp. 49; 54)  | Survey |
| Europe                           | South-eastern Europe | Albanians              | Yes  | (Durham, 1928, pp. 69; 205; Hasluck and Hutton, 1954, pp. 48; 198; 210; 212–214; 265)   | SCCS   |
| Europe                           | South-eastern Europe | Bosnian Muslims        | Yes  | (Bringa, 1995, p. 91; Lockwood, 1983, p. 73)  | Survey |
| Europe                           | South-eastern Europe | Croats                 | Yes  | (Gilliland, 1986, p. 244)   | Survey |
| Europe                           | South-eastern Europe | Greeks                 | Yes  | (Campbell, 1964, pp. 100; 152; 199; Herzfeld, 1991, pp. 27; 90, 1983, p. 83; Hirschon, 1989, p. 149, 1978, p. 67; Iossifides, 1991, p. 137; Kavvadias and Schütze, 1965, pp. 159; 245–246; 265; Kennedy, 1986, p. 124; Lozios and Papataxiarchis, 1991, p. 226) | Survey |
| Europe                           | South-eastern Europe | Montenegrins           | Yes  | (Boehm, 1984, p. 71)  | Survey |
| Europe                           | South-eastern Europe | Serbs                  | Yes  | (Halpern 1967, p. 223)  | EA     |
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Caribbean            | Haitians               | Yes  | (Herskovits, 1937, pp. 42; 116; Simpson, 1942, p. 657)  | SCCS   |
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Caribbean            | Island Carib           | Yes  | (Breton et al., 1665, pp. 12; 24–25; Du Tertre et al., 1667, p. 24)   | SCCS   |
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Caribbean            | Puerto Ricans (Island) | Yes  | (Steward et al., 1956, pp. 155[a]; 292[b])  | Survey |

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|----------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-----|--|--------|
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Central America | Kuna        | Yes | (Nordenskiöld et al., 1938, p. 32; Wafer, 1934, p. 96b)  | SCCS   |
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Central America | Talamancans | Yes | (Gabb, 1876, pp. 496–497)  | SCCS   |
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Central Mexico  | Aztecs      | Yes | (Durán, 1975, pp. 95; 283, 1964, p. 131; Sahagún et al., 1974, p. 172, 1957, pp. 6; 93; Soustelle and O'Brian, 1961, p. 185) | SCCS   |
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Central Mexico  | Nahua       | Yes | (Lewis, 1951, pp. 78; 278; 328)  | Survey |
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Central Mexico  | Zapotec     | Yes | (Parsons, 1970, pp. 115–116; Taylor, 1979, pp. 185–186)  | Survey |
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Maya area       | Mam Maya    | Yes | (Wagley, 1949, pp. 41–42)  | EA     |
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Maya area       | Maya        | Yes | (Elmendorf, 1976, p. 91; Redfield and Rojas Villa, 1962, pp. 96–97)  | Survey |
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Maya area       | Tzeltal     | Yes | (Nash, 1970, p. 281)   | Survey |
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Northern Mexico | Tarahumara  | Yes | (Bennett and Zingg, 1935, pp. 211; 230; Fried, 1951, pp. 156; 164; 201)  | Survey |
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Northern Mexico | Huichol     | Yes | (Furst, 1967, p. 61; Klineberg, 1934, p. 456; Lumholtz, 1973, p. 91; Valadez, 1996, p. 276; Zingg, 1938, pp. xi; 140)        | SCCS   |
| Middle East                      | Middle East     | Babylonia   | Yes | (Saggs, 1988, pp. 155; 179)  | SCCS   |
| Middle East                      | Middle East     | Basseri     | Yes | (Barth, 1961, p. 139)  | SCCS   |

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|---------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|-----|--|--------|
| Middle East   | Middle East          | Bedouins (Kuwait and Saudi Arabia) | Yes | (Dickson, 1951, pp. 148; 202)  | Survey |
| Middle East   | Middle East          | Israelis (orthodox Jews: Hassidim) | Yes | (Rockman, 1993, pp. 256–257)   | Survey |
| Middle East   | Middle East          | Iran                               | Yes | (Hegland, 2004, p. 524)  | Survey |
| Middle East   | Middle East          | Kurds                              | Yes | (Leach, 1940, p. 55; Masters, 1953, pp. 186; 241–242)  | SCCS   |
| Middle East   | Middle East          | Lur                                | Yes | (Friedl, 1997, pp. 86; 224)  | Survey |
| Middle East   | Middle East          | Palestinians                       | Yes | (Granqvist, 1947, p. 43; Lutfiyya, 1966, p. 148)   | Survey |
| Middle East   | Middle East          | Rwala Bedouins                     | Yes | (Musil, 1928, p. 238)  | SCCS   |
| Middle East   | Middle East          | Turks                              | Yes | (Stirling, 1965, p. 115)   | SCCS   |
| North America | Arctic and Subarctic | Aleut                              | Yes | (Innokentii et al., 1840b, p. 10)  | SCCS   |
| North America | Arctic and Subarctic | Alutiiq                            | Yes | (Birket-Smith, 1953, p. 80; Hrdlicka, 1975, p. 78)   | Survey |
| North America | Arctic and Subarctic | Chipewyans                         | Yes | (Carter, 1989, p. 10; Hearne, 1958, p. 83; Smith, 1982, p. 29; VanStone, 1963, pp. 49; 50)   | Survey |
| North America | Arctic and Subarctic | Kaska                              | Yes | (Honigsmann, 1954, pp. 91–92; 126–128)   | SCCS   |
| North America | Arctic and Subarctic | Ingalik                            | Yes | (Osgood, 1958, pp. 210; 215–216)   | SCCS   |
| North America | Arctic and Subarctic | Innu/Montagnais                    | Yes | (Lips, 1947)   | SCCS   |
| North America | Arctic and Subarctic | Ojibwa                             | Yes | (Hallowell, 1976, p. 347)  | SCCS   |
| North America | Arctic and Subarctic | Western Woods Cree                 | Yes | (Smith, 1981, p. 261)  | Survey |
| North America | Eastern woodlands    | Cherokee                           | Yes | (Fox, 2003, pp. 360–361; Gilbert, 1978, p. 340; Mooney, 1982, pp. 661–662; Strickland, 1975, pp. 21; 27; 31), but see also (Reid, 1970, pp. 69; 114–119) | Survey |
| North America | Eastern woodlands    | Creek                              | Yes | (Swanton, 1928, pp. 346–350; 370)  | SCCS   |
| North America | Eastern woodlands    | Delaware                           | Yes | (Goddard, 1978, p. 219; Kinietz, 1946, p. 59; Newcomb, 1956, p. 38; Zeisberger et al., 1910, p. 82)  | EA     |

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|---------------|--------------------------------|--|------|---|--------|
| North America | Eastern woodlands              | Iroquois                               | Yes  | (Morgan and Lloyd, 1901, p. 322);                   | EA     |
| North America | Eastern woodlands              | Mi'kmaq                                | Yes  | (Clercq and Ganong, 1910, pp. 250–251, 261)         | SCCS   |
| North America | Eastern woodlands              | Natchez                                | Yes  | (Swanton, 1911, pp. 94–96)                          | SCCS   |
| North America | Northwest Coast and California | Chinookans of the Lower Columbia River | Yes  | (Ray, 1938, p. 73)                                  | EA     |
| North America | Northwest Coast and California | Haida                                  | Yes  | (Murdock, 1934, p. 372; Swanton, 1905, p. 50)       | SCCS   |
| North America | Northwest Coast and California | Nuxalk (Bellacoola)                    | Yes  | (McIlwraith, 1948, pp. 419, 427)                    | SCCS   |
| North America | Northwest Coast and California | Pomo                                   | Yes  | (Loeb, 1926, pp. 281–281; 298)                      | SCCS   |
| North America | Northwest Coast and California | Quinault                               | Yes  | (Olson, 1936, p. 107)                               | Survey |
| North America | Northwest Coast and California | Tubatulabal                            | Yes  | (Voegelin, 1938, p. 56(b))                          | EA     |
| North America | Northwest Coast and California | Yokuts                                 | Yes  | (Gayton, 1948, p. 106)                              | SCCS   |
| North America | Northwest Coast and California | Yurok                                  | Yes  | (Heizer et al., 1952, p. 168; Kroeber, 1925, p. 32) | SCCS   |
| North America | Plains and Plateau             | Klamath                                | Yes  | (Spier, 1930, pp. 50–51; 279; 301);                 | SCCS   |
| North America | Plains and Plateau             | Pawnee                                 | Yes  | (Weltfish, 1965, pp. 17–18; 338)                    | SCCS   |
| North America | Regional and Ethnic Cultures   | African Americans                      | Yes  | (Davis and Dollard, 1958; Powdermaker, 1968)        | Survey |
| North America | Regional and Ethnic Cultures   | Amish                                  | Yes  | (Hostetler, 1980, p. 157; Nagata, 1987, p. 261)     | Survey |
| North America | Regional and Ethnic Cultures   | Arab Canadians                         | Yes? | (Jabbara, 1991, pp. 45–46; Skoggard, 1999, p. 7)    | Survey |
| North America | Regional and Ethnic Cultures   | Basque Americans                       | Yes  | (Decroos, 1983, p. 61)                              | Survey |

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|---------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-----|---|--------|
| North America | Regional and Ethnic Cultures | Cajuns                   | Yes | (Brasseaux, 1987, p. 69)  | Survey |
| North America | Regional and Ethnic Cultures | Chicanos                 | Yes | (Achor, 1978; Kiev, 1968)   | Survey |
| North America | Regional and Ethnic Cultures | Chinese Americans        | Yes | (Chen, 1992; Wong, 1982)  | Survey |
| North America | Regional and Ethnic Cultures | Cuban Americans          | Yes | (Boone, 1989; Boswell and Curtis, 1984)   | Survey |
| North America | Regional and Ethnic Cultures | Italian Americans        | Yes | (Campisi, 1958)   | Survey |
| North America | Regional and Ethnic Cultures | Korean Americans         | Yes | (Yang, 1987)  | Survey |
| North America | Regional and Ethnic Cultures | Puerto Ricans (Mainland) | Yes | (Bourgois, 1996b; Harwood, 1987)  | Survey |
| North America | Regional and Ethnic Cultures | Sea Islanders            | Yes | (Creel, 1988, p. 245; Johnson, 1930, p. 135)  | Survey |
| North America | Southwest and Basin          | Eastern Apache           | Yes | (Opler, 1941, pp. 16; 145; 406–411)   | SCCS   |
| North America | Southwest and Basin          | Havasupai                | Yes | (Spier, 1928, pp. 221; 224–225)   | SCCS   |
| North America | Southwest and Basin          | Hopi                     | Yes | (Aberle, 1951, pp. 69–78; Dennis, 1940, p. 18; Malotki and Lomatuway'ma, 1987, p. 182; Schlegel, 2000, p. 3, 1988, pp. 43; 51; Talayesva and Simmons, 1942, p. 276; Titiev, 1944, pp. 40–42)  | EA     |
| North America | Southwest and Basin          | Maricopa                 | Yes | (Spier, 1933, pp. 224–225)  | Survey |
| North America | Southwest and Basin          | Mormons                  | Yes | (Altman and Ginat, 1996; Fife and Fife, 1966)   | Survey |
| North America | Southwest and Basin          | Navajo                   | Yes | (Bailey, 1950, p. 24; Bauer, 1985, p. 86; Hill, 1938, p. 144; Kluckhohn et al., 1971, p. 303; Ladd, 1957, pp. 210; 241; 243; Left Handed and Dyk, 1938, pp. 372–376; Leighton and Leighton, 1944, pp. 21–22; Leighton and Kluckhohn, 1947, pp. 86–87; Matthews, 1899, pp. 4–5; Rapoport, 1954, p. 46; Reichard, 1950, p. 193; Van Valkenburgh, 1938, pp. 40–41) | EA     |
| North America | Southwest and Basin          | Northern Paiute          | Yes | (Whiting, 1950, pp. 76–78)  | SCCS   |
| North America | Southwest and Basin          | O'odham                  | Yes | (Joseph et al., 1949, pp. 49; 221)  | SCCS   |
| North America | Southwest and Basin          | Ute                      | Yes | (Opler, 1963, p. 151)   | EA     |

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|---------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|------|--|--------|
| North America | Southwest and Basin | Zia Pueblo                  | Yes  | (Hoebel, 1969, pp. 103; 108; White, 1962, pp. 208; 210)  | EA     |
| Oceania       | Australia           | Tiwi                        | Yes  | (Hart and Pilling, 1960, pp. 36; 39; 46).  | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Kanak                       | Yes  | (Leenhardt, 1930, pp. 66, 239)   | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Kapauku                     | Yes  | (Pospisil, 1958, pp. 57–58, 285)   | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Kimam                       | Yes  | (Serpenti, 1965, pp. 145, 179–180)   | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Kwoma                       | Yes  | (Whiting, 1970, p. 225, 1941, p. 126)  | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Lesu                        | Yes  | (Powdermaker, 1933, pp. 228; 244; 247–248; 251; 277–283, 1931, p. 354)   | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Malekula                    | Yes  | (Deacon and Wedgwood, 1934, pp. 149–150; 154)  | Survey |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Manus                       | Yes  | (Fortune and Council, 1935, pp. 344–345; Mead, 1956, p. 335).  | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Northeastern Massim (Muyuw) | Yes  | (Damon, 1990, pp. 42; 133, 1983, p. 49)  | Survey |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Orokaiva                    | Yes  | (Broude and Greene, 1976; Newton, 1989, p. 36; Williams and Murray, 1930, p. 321)  | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Sa                          | Yes? | (Lane and Lane, 1957, pp. 23–24)   | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Santa Cruz Islanders        | Yes  | (Davenport, 1969, p. 210; Graebner and Schütze, 1909, p. 133; Speiser and Schütze, 1916, p. 109)   | Survey |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Siwai                       | Yes  | (Oliver, 1955, pp. 95; 157; 167; 442)  | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Tinputz                     | Yes  | (Blackwood, 1935, pp. 97; 114; 119)  | Survey |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Trobrianders                | Yes  | (Malinowski, 1935, pp. 202–203, 1929, pp. 68; 114; 317–318; 438; 493, 1927, p. 9, 1926, p. 84, 1922, pp. 42; 47; 54)                                     | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Melanesia           | Wogeo                       | Yes  | (Hogbin, 1945, pp. 334; 342, 1938, p. 238, 1935, pp. 320–325);   | EA     |
| Oceania       | Micronesia          | Belau                       | Yes  | (Barnett, 1963, pp. 33–34, 1949, pp. 91; 130; 133–134; Force and Force, 1972, pp. 24; 29; Kubary, 2009, pp. 6; 14)                                       | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Micronesia          | Chuuk                       | Yes  | (Bollig, 1927, p. 104; Fischer, 1950, p. 21; Gladwin and Sarason, 1953, pp. 124; 127–128; 287–288; Goodenough, 1949, p. 615; Swartz, 1958, pp. 468; 480) | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Micronesia          | Marshallese                 | Yes  | (Erdland and Neuse, 1914, p. 89)   | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Micronesia          | Yapese                      | Yes  | (Lingenfelter, 1975, p. 66; Müller, 1917, p. 386)  | SCCS   |

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|---------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----|--|--------|
| Oceania       | Polynesia          | Hawaiians          | Yes | (Handy and Pukui, 1972, pp. 109; 162)  | EA     |
| Oceania       | Polynesia          | Lau Fijians        | Yes | (Hocart, 1929, pp. 36; 158; Thompson, 1940b, p. 58)  | EA     |
| Oceania       | Polynesia          | Maori              | Yes | (Best, 1924, pp. 474–475; Buck, 1952, pp. 370–371; Firth, 1959, p. 120)                                    | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Polynesia          | Marquesas          | Yes | (Handy, 1923, p. 98; Suggs, 1963, p. 51)   | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Polynesia          | Rapa Nui           | Yes | (Métraux, 1940, p. 114; Routledge, 1919, p. 226)   | Survey |
| Oceania       | Polynesia          | Samoaans           | Yes | (Mead, 1928, p. 104; Turner, 1884, pp. 91; 177)  | SCCS   |
| Oceania       | Polynesia          | Tongans            | Yes | (Gifford, 1929)  | EA     |
| South America | Amazon and Orinoco | Barama River Carib | Yes | (Gillin, 1936, pp. 145; 149; 186)  | SCCS   |
| South America | Amazon and Orinoco | Jivaro             | Yes | (Harner, 1973, pp. 106–107; Karsten, 1935, pp. 222–223; 271; Reiss, 1880, p. 11)                           | SCCS   |
| South America | Amazon and Orinoco | Mundurucu          | Yes | (Murphy, 1960, p. 87, 1954, p. 42; Murphy and Murphy, 1985, pp. 171–172; 242–243)                          | SCCS   |
| South America | Amazon and Orinoco | Nambicuara         | Yes | (Lévi-Strauss and Sittler, 1948, p. 367; Pinto and Brunel, 1938, p. 46)                                    | SCCS   |
| South America | Amazon and Orinoco | Ndyuka             | Yes | (Köbben, 1969, p. 121)   | Survey |
| South America | Amazon and Orinoco | Saramaka           | Yes | (Herskovits and Herskovits, 1934, pp. 73–75, 204–205; Price, 1993, pp. 46–47; 58)                          | SCCS   |
| South America | Amazon and Orinoco | Shipibo            | Yes | (Abelove, 2000, p. 52; Bergman, 1980, p. 79; Eakin et al., 1980, p. 37)                                    | Survey |
| South America | Amazon and Orinoco | Sirionó            | Yes | (Holmberg, 1950, pp. 58–59; 61; 64)  | SCCS   |
| South America | Amazon and Orinoco | Trumai             | Yes | (Murphy and Quain, 1955, p. 48)  | SCCS   |
| South America | Amazon and Orinoco | Yanoama            | Yes | (Barker and Muirden, 1959, p. 3; Becher and Schütze, 1960, p. 146; Chagnon, 1967, pp. 63–64; 67–69; 82–83) | SCCS   |
| South America | Central Andes      | Mapuche            | Yes | (Faron, 1961, pp. 131–133; Latham, 1909, pp. 354, 356; Titiev, 1951, p. 103)                               | SCCS   |
| South America | Central Andes      | Saraguro Quichua   | Yes | (Finerman, 2004)   | Survey |



|               |               |                           |      |   |        |
|---------------|---------------|---------------------------|------|---|--------|
| South America | Eastern       | Bahia Brazilians          | Yes  | (Borges, 1994, pp. 78; 100; 123; 140; 159; 202; Hutchinson, 1957, p. 147; Schwartz, 1985, p. 289) | Survey |
| South America | Eastern       | Bororo                    | Yes  | (Levak, 1974, pp. 84; 87)   | Survey |
| South America | Eastern       | Canela (Timbira)          | Yes  | (Nimuendaju and Lowie, 1946, pp. 104; 124; 129)   | SCCS   |
| South America | Eastern       | Tupinamba                 | Yes  | (Léry, 1906, p. 563; Thevet, 1878, p. 212 1)  | SCCS   |
| South America | Eastern       | Warao                     | Yes  | (Turrado Moreno & Muirden, 1945, p. 257-260)  | SCCS   |
| South America | Eastern       | Xokleng (Aweikoma)        | Yes  | (Henry et al., 1941, pp. 35–36)   | SCCS   |
| South America | North-Western | Chachi                    | Yes  | (Altschuler, 1965, pp. 73; 165–166; 169)  | Survey |
| South America | North-Western | Kogi                      | Yes  | (Reichel-Dolmatoff and Muirden, 1949, pp. 228–229)  | EA     |
| South America | North-Western | Goajiro                   | Yes  | (Gutiérrez de Pineda and Muirden, 1950, pp. 83; 86; 92; 108)                                      | SCCS   |
| South America | Southern      | Abipón                    | Yes  | (Dobrizhoffer, 1822, pp. 138; 213)  | SCCS   |
| South America | Southern      | Chorote                   | Yes? | (Rosen, 1924, p. 159)   | EA     |
| South America | Southern      | Enxet and Enlhet (Lengua) | Yes  | (Grubb and Morrey, 1911, pp. 215–216; Loewen, 1966, pp. 263–264)                                  | SCCS   |
| South America | Southern      | Tehuelche                 | Yes  | (De Viedma and Muirden, 1837, p. 10)  | SCCS   |
| South America | Southern      | Terena                    | Yes  | (Oberg, 1949, p. 29B)   | Survey |

\* Geographical and cultural classifications follow the eHRAF World Culture

**Yes?** = Only indirect evidence is available.

**Appendix 11.** Do pairs, at least occasionally, reveal the time and/or location of future matings in a way that may enable others to interrupt the planned mating? (n=43 SCCS/EA cultures).

| <b>Region</b> | <b>Sub-region*</b> | <b>Culture*</b> | <b>Factual concealment?</b> | <b>Examples from principle authority</b>                                 | <b>Sample ((EA) Ethnographic Atlas/ (SCCS) Standard-Cross-Cultural-Sample)</b> |
|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|--|--|
| Africa        | Central Africa     | Mbuti           | No                          | (Turnbull, 1965, p. 216)   | SCCS   |
| Africa        | Central Africa     | Mongo (Nkundu)  | No                          | (Hulstaert and Vizedom, 1938, pp. 73; 214; 287; 338; 456–457)            | SCCS   |
| Africa        | Central Africa     | Teda            | No                          | (Le Coeur and Schütze, 1950, p. 25)                                      | SCCS   |
| Africa        | Eastern Africa     | Bena            | No                          | (Culwick et al., 1935, pp. 356; 375–376)                                 | EA   |
| Africa        | Eastern Africa     | Gikuyu          | No                          | (Kenyatta, 1953, pp. 157–158, 180–182)                                   | SCCS   |
| Africa        | Eastern Africa     | Maasai          | No                          | (Leakey, 1930, pp. 192–194; Merker, 1910, p. 158; Spencer, 1988, p. 189) | SCCS   |
| Africa        | Eastern Africa     | Mao             | No                          | (Grottanelli, 1940, p. 254)  | SCCS   |
| Africa        | Eastern Africa     | Shilluk         | No                          | (Seligman and Seligman, 1932, pp. 64; 69)                                | SCCS   |
| Africa        | Southern Africa    | Ovimbundu       | No                          | (Childs, 1949, p. 113)   | SCCS   |
| Africa        | Western Africa     | Katab           | No                          | (Meek, 1931, p. 42)  | EA   |
| Africa        | Western Africa     | Nupe            | No                          | (Nadel, 1954, pp. 82; 110)   | EA   |
| Asia          | Caucasus           | Abkhazian       | Yes                         | (Benet, 1974, p. 86)   | SCCS   |
| Asia          | Central Asia       | Kazakh          | No                          | (Hudson, 1938, p. 47)  | SCCS   |
| Asia          | East Asia          | Yi Lolo         | No                          | (Lin and Pan, 1947, p. 67)   | SCCS   |
| Asia          | East Asia          | Manchu          | No                          | (Shirokogorov, 1924, pp. 151–152)  | SCCS   |
| Asia          | North Asia         | Chukchee        | No                          | (Bogoraz-Tan, 1909, pp. 400–401)   | SCCS   |
| Asia          | South-East Asia    | Balinese        | No                          | (Covarrubias, 1938, pp. 150–151)   | SCCS   |
| Asia          | Southeast Asia     | Ifugao          | No                          | (Barton, 1938, pp. 55, 188)  | SCCS   |
| Middle East   | Middle East        | Basseri         | No                          | (Barth, 1961, pp. 141–142)   | SCCS   |

|                                  |                    |                    |     |  |      |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----|--|------|
| Middle East                      | Middle East        | Kurds              | No  | (Hansen, 1961, pp. 131–134)  | SCCS |
| Middle East                      | Middle East        | Turks              | No  | (Makal et al., 1954, pp. 130–131)                                      | SCCS |
| Middle America and the Caribbean | Northern Mexico    | Huichol            | No  | (Lumholtz, 1973, p. 94)  | SCCS |
| Oceania                          | Melanesia          | Kapauku            | Yes | (Pospisil, 1978, pp. 75–76, 1958, p. 46)                               | SCCS |
| Oceania                          | Melanesia          | Kimam              | No  | (Serpenti, 1965, p. 167)   | SCCS |
| Oceania                          | Melanesia          | Kwoma              | Yes | (Whiting, 1941, p. 127)  | SCCS |
| Oceania                          | Melanesia          | Lesu               | No  | (Powdermaker, 1933, pp. 239–240)                                       | SCCS |
| Oceania                          | Melanesia          | Manus              | Yes | (Mead, 1930, pp. 164; 167)   | SCCS |
| Oceania                          | Melanesia          | Siwai              | Yes | (Oliver, 1955, p. 144)   | SCCS |
| Oceania                          | Melanesia          | Trobriand          | Yes | (Malinowski, 1929, p. 271)   | SCCS |
| Oceania                          | Melanesia          | Wogeo              | No  | (Hogbin, 1945, p. 345)   | EA   |
| Oceania                          | Micronesia         | Chuuk              | Yes | (Bollig, 1927, p. 46; Gladwin and Sarason, 1953, pp. 102; 105–106)     | SCCS |
| Oceania                          | Micronesia         | Marshallese        | Yes | (Erdland and Neuse, 1914, p. 91; 99; Krämer et al., 1938, pp. 274–275) | SCCS |
| Oceania                          | Polynesia          | Marquesas          | No  | (Linton, 1939, pp. 172–173; Suggs, 1963, p. 34)                        | SCCS |
| Oceania                          | Polynesia          | Samoans            | No  | (Holmes, 1958, p. 53; Mead, 1928, p. 136)                              | EA   |
| Oceania                          | Polynesia          | Tongans            | No  | (Gifford, 1929, p. 191)  | EA   |
| South America                    | Amazon and Orinoco | Barama River Carib | No  | (Gillin, 1936, p. 72)  | SCCS |
| South America                    | Amazon and Orinoco | Jivaro             | Yes | (Karsten, 1935, p. 216)  | SCCS |
| South America                    | Amazon and Orinoco | Mundurucu          | Yes | (Murphy, 1960, pp. 117–118)  | SCCS |
| South America                    | Amazon and Orinoco | Nambicuara         | Yes | (Lévi-Strauss and Sittler, 1948, p. 73)                                | SCCS |
| South America                    | Amazon and Orinoco | Saramaka           | No  | (Price, 1993, p. 22)   | SCCS |
| South America                    | Amazon and Orinoco | Sirionó            | No  | (Holmberg, 1946, p. 158)   | SCCS |
| South America                    | Eastern            | Canela (Timbira)   | No  | (Crocker, 1990, pp. 281–283; Nimuendaju and Lowie, 1946, p. 104)       | SCCS |

|  |                   |         |    |  |      |
|--|-------------------|---------|----|--|------|
| South<br>America   | North-<br>Western | Goajiro | No | (Gutiérrez de Pineda and Muirden,<br>1950, p. 133) | SCCS |
| * Geographical and cultural classifications follow the eHRAF World Culture |                   |         |    |  |      |

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