

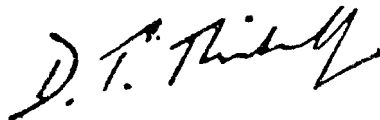
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THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE DIGO OF KENYA

by

Luther Paul Gerlach.

Thesis presented for the
Degree of Ph.D. in the
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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DIGO OF KENYA

Precis

As a result of Islamic and Western influence, Digo matrilineal social organization has been greatly modified, so that matrilineal patterns co-exist with important patrilineal and bilateral patterns. This dissertation is concerned with the ways in which these various, mutually contradictory, patterns combine to form a stable, multilineal, social organization.

The introduction presents the background data necessary to understand this organization. It shows how the Digo were influenced by Islam and the West, and it outlines how Digo unilineal organization was replaced by a multilineal system in which each Digo must develop a complex of mutual security and reciprocal aid associations.

The first five chapters are concerned with an exposition of the various categories of kin from which such associations are made, and analyze the forces which support each relationship. These chapters show how the nuclear family expands to form ever larger multilineal kin groups, and illustrates how each group is established and maintained by complex of shared rights and duties.

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Chapter six deals with the former division of Digo society into generation sets, and shows what effect this former division has had upon the current Digo social organization.

Chapter seven discusses the organization of adult men into a political and legal body known as the ngambi, and it shows how this body, in conjunction with the utsi, or community, functions to regulate some aspects of Digo behaviour. It also shows how relationships of kinship, affinity, and friendship are manifested in legal disputes.

Chapter eight presents a detailed survey of Digo patterns of marriage and divorce and a discussion of affinal relationship. It indicates how patterns of marriage and divorce are primarily a function of the Digo desire to establish and maintain rewarding mutual security associations.

The final chapter shows how relationships of kinship, affinity and friendship are manifested in magico-medical curing ceremonies, and it suggests that such ceremonies are important to the Digo because they reaffirm, dramatize, and test such relationships.

INTRODUCTION

The Digo, who call themselves Adigo, are one of the ethnically and linguistically related tribes of the Nyika or Midzichenda group of tribes of the North East Coastal Bantu. Other tribes of this group are the Duruma, Giriama, Jibana, Kauma, Chonyi and Kambe. The total population of the Digo is about 90,000 according to census figures of the Kenya and Tanganyika governments. About 55,000 Digo live in the Coast Province of Kenya, East Africa in the 2,000 square mile administrative area known as the Digo District. The balance, about 35,000 live to the south, in Tanga District, Tanganyika. This thesis is concerned only with the Digo of Kenya, and primarily with the Digo who live at Lungalunga Location in the Uмба River Valley. The Uмба River is in the extreme south-east of Kenya and the Kenya-Tanganyika boundary lies only a short distance to the South. The Digo of the Uмба live approximately in the geographical centre of the Digo area.

Broadly speaking, the Digo live along the Kenya and Tanganyika coast in a belt of relatively well-watered land, varying in width from about 10 to 25 miles, and extending south from Mombasa in the Kenya Protectorate to Tanga in Tanganyika. The majority of the Duruma live directly west

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of this Digo strip in the more arid hinterland, which merges on its western flank with uninhabited, often waterless, bush country. The other Nyika tribes live north of the Digo and north of most of the Duruma in Kilifi District, Kenya.

Many Digo of Kenya, perhaps 10%, live in what is usually regarded as Duruma land, and many Duruma live in Digo areas. Digo and Duruma intermarry, mostly with Digo taking Duruma wives. A number of people classed both by themselves and by government as Duruma and living in Duruma country seem to be descendants of Digo who preferred the Duruma pattern of combining extensive pastoralism with limited agriculture to the Digo reliance on agriculture, and who cashowed islamized Digo culture for Duruma paganism. In a similar manner, some Digo apparently have their origins in the Duruma tribe and in other Nyika tribes such as the Rabai, and the Jibana. For instance, one Digo lineage is known as the people of Rabai, that is, Arayai. Another lineage is known as the people of Jibana, namely, Adziyana.

In addition to Duruma and Digo, several thousand other Nyika tribesmen, primarily Ciriana, and some 3,200 Kamba also permanently reside in Digo District, though for the most part in the Duruma areas, where they herd cattle and goats. Some large European - Indian sugar and coconut plantations, a coral block industry, and several other

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smaller businesses attract migrant African labour from all over East Africa, including Luo and Nyamwezi. The great majority of such labour does not stay long in the District. A few such migrants, particularly Nyamwezi, have remained in the District, however, and these, together with the alien Nyika and the Kamba, have become to varying degrees assimilated to Digo and Duruma culture, while at the same time effecting certain changes in these cultures. In the hinterland of the District there live a few hundred Waryangulu, Nyika-ized, descendants of the wandering hunters who preceded the Nyika to the Coast. They are now so assimilated to Duruma culture that it is difficult to distinguish them from Duruma.

All of the Nyika tribes have been affected by the Islam of the East African Coast. The Digo are heavily islamicized, and most Digo claim to be good Muslims. The Duruma are still predominantly traditionalists, although Islam is beginning to make rapid progress among them. This writer did not study the other Nyika, but apparently the Jibana are also greatly islamicized while the rest are torn between traditionalism, Islam, and Westernism-Christianity.

Before their islamicization, the Digo were pagans who apparently had the concept of a high god called Mungu, but their early beliefs are impossible to ascertain with accuracy. It does not appear that the old Mungu was

important. The Digo call the Islamic Allah, Mungu, and this new Mungu is also not very vital in their lives. The most important supernatural forces remain what they were in purely pagan days, namely evil spirits and spirit-like forces. The difference is that the Islam of the Coast has added new spirits and new methods of dealing with spirits. Digo and pseudo-islamic spirits live in trees or caves or swamps or other special places. Some just wander over the land, often seizing and dwelling in the bodies and minds of Digo. Generally it can be said that all these spirits are evil, or at least potentially evil. They help the Digo only in so far as the Digo learn how to bribe and manipulate them into injuring enemies or into helping them in divination or in anti-spirit and anti-witchcraft ritual.

The Digo are essentially agriculturalists, although a number of individuals graze some stock, mostly goats and sheep. They are prevented from herding cattle over most of their domain because of the prevalence of animal sleeping sickness, but quite a few Digo are the absentee owners of cattle and other livestock, which they give to the Luruma to herd for them in the more tsetse-free Luruma land. Chickens are common, and most adults of both sexes own from one to twenty of these animals. The primary produce of the Digo consists of cassava, maize, coconuts, copra, palm wine, bananas, and

cashew nuts. The other fairly important crops are rice, both dry and wet, beans of various types, sweet potatoes, sorghum, mangoes, papaya, citrus fruit, some cotton, chili peppers and sesame. The main source of Digo wealth is their coconut trees, with cashew nut trees running second. Such trees are the most important heritable property.

By Western standards, and even by the standards of many other East African tribes, the Digo are neither energetic nor progressive agriculturalists. Though they have adopted some new crops, they refuse to modify their method of agriculture. To the dismay of European administrators, the Digo continue to clear land by slash and burn techniques, practise shifting cultivation, take no steps to prevent soil erosion, use the short-handled hoe, plant maize in crowded clusters, seldom trouble to weed their fields properly, and do not destroy the dead and diseased coconut trees which threaten their orchards. In spite of this, however, most Digo seems to have enough food and wealth to maintain a reasonably comfortable existence somewhat above the level of mere subsistence. The environment is kind to them and to some extent compensates for whatever they lack in skill or energy. While drought and insect plagues remain a threat, rainfall is usually adequate, falling in two rainy seasons each year, and insect ravages are curbed by modern techniques.

Digo are improvident and often dissipate the fruits of even a good cereal or vegetable harvest so rapidly that during the period between harvest some experience want. However, this seldom reaches serious proportions, partly because there are two complete growing seasons each year for annual crops, and partly because Digo can purchase food from Indian shop keepers and other Africans either on credit or with money obtained from the sale of cash crops or from other economic endeavour.

Digo who live along the Indian Ocean in villages like Tiwi, Diani, Msambweni, and Vanga often devote more of their time to fishing than to agriculture and live more on the proceeds of their fishing than anything else. Some Digo of the Uмба Valley also fish in the Uмба River but more just to embellish personal diet than as a major economic pursuit.

Some Digo, primarily those living near Mombasa or along the Coast, work either full time or part time for Europeans, Indians, Arabs or other Africans, including Digo. Relatively few have such employment, partly because they do not like to work for others, especially if it involves supervised physical labour according to a fixed schedule, and partly because they are not usually desired as employees by anyone, even fellow Digo. Digo are generally regarded as being lazy, troublesome,

opposed to authority, dishonest, and unreliable. The Digo seem almost proud of this reputation and at least do not attempt to refuse it. Indeed, they take pleasure in repeating the Swahili-Digo proverb "Mdigo ni Mzigo, hachukuliki," that is, "A Digo is a burden, he cannot be carried." Digo will usually hire Duruma, especially for hard labour, before they will hire a Digo. Though they will work for fellow tribesmen, Digo will not customarily work for other Africans. They consider themselves to be superior to other Africans, especially to the Duruma, whom they regard as the slaves of the Digo.

Many Digo engage in marketing and trading either as a major or supplementary occupation. Such an occupation is highly regarded because it permits much individualism, is often enjoyable, and gives prestige - fit work for a man of superior religion and civilization. Digo like to say that Muhammad was a trader.

Digo are clever businessmen and avid market-goers. They have long had a complicated and well-established market and trade system. In the past it is said that markets were primarily held on each fourth day in keeping with the Digo - Nyika four day week. Because of the influence of the West and Islam, the seven day week is now dominant and used to the exclusion of the Digo week. Weekly markets have been established in many places, some on Sunday or Saturday as a

result of Western culture, some on Tuesday or Wednesday as a result of Islam. The Duruma still retain markets on each fourth day.

It is interesting to note that a rationalization for going to market - or merely for not working - is always available to the Digo. They say that on each fourth day old Digo evil spirits patrol the land and if they see anyone working in the field they "seize" the worker and afflict him or her with serious illness or other troubles. Thus, people should not work on this day, but should go to the market. Similarly, it is felt that Islamic spirits or jini attack people who work in the fields on Tuesday or Fridays. In theory, a Digo Muslim should ignore pagan spirits and only rest on the Islamic days. But islamicization is not complete by any means and if he wishes to a Digo can also avoid farming on each fourth day. Furthermore, if he desires to farm on either or both Pagan and Islamic rest days he can rationalize this behaviour by declaring on one hand that he is a Muslim and unconcerned with the fourth day prohibition and pagan spirits, or that he is basically a Digo and not an Arab and therefore Tuesdays and Fridays mean nothing to him.

In other words, the average Digo can do pretty much as he wishes in this regard and find an excuse for it. This

flexibility, a result of culture change, is typical of all aspects of Digo culture, and it is dramatically illustrated in Digo social organization.

In order to understand this flexibility, in order to appreciate the extent to which a Digo is able to manoeuvre in his culture, it is necessary first to know something of the background of Digo culture change. Unfortunately, neither the writings of early explorers and researchers like Krapf, Guillain, Baumann or New¹, nor the traditions remembered by the Digo of today are sufficient to clarify the Nyika past. Accurate historical reconstruction is impossible. However, it is possible and desirable to develop some general impressions from available data.

It appears that the Nyika tribes, with the possible exception of the Duruma, who may partly stem from African mercenaries brought to Mombasa by the Portugese from Portugese East Africa, once lived north of the Galana River in a place which they termed Shungwaya. In about the 16th century, these Nyika migrated southward because of wars with the Galla. When they finally settled in their present domain, they undoubtedly came into contact with the Arabs, who had

1. J.L. Krapf; Reisen In Ost Afrika; 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1858.
 C. Guillain; Documents Sur L'histoire, La Geographie Et Le Commerce De L'Afrique Orientale; 3 Vols. Paris 1856/7
 C. Baumann; Usambara Und Seine Nachbargebiete; Berlin, 1891.
 C. New; Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa, London, 1873.

preceeded them on the Coast. Probably they also met the Portugese at Bombasa, and perhaps some Nyika women did become wives of African soldiers from other Portugese possessions. It is impossible to know about these early contacts.

By the mid-nineteenth century, however, when Krapf and others were on hand, it seems as if Digo and Arab were often closely and relatively amicably associated, and probably some Arabs were allied militarily with the Digo. The Arabs of Krapf's time were both descendants of the merchant adventurers from South Arabia who preceeded the Digo arrival, and also descendants of those who had come over during and after the Digo migration. Many were traders who dealt in slaves and ivory and other wares. Some engaged in plantation agriculture with slave labour, while perhaps a few were fishermen. Over the years these Arabs had inter-married with Africans and had become culturally and racially africanized to varying degrees. In turn, many Africans had become arabicized. These joint processes of africanization and arabicization have continued to the present day, so that some small African tribes, such as the Segeju, as well as descendants of African slaves of the Arabs have lost their tribal individuality or identity

and are customarily regarded as Swahili. It is also possible that Persians from Shiraz settled in East Africa and became africanized. At least, this is what people of the Coast who call themselves Shirazi claim. Digo refute this, however, and say that Shirazi are no more than descendants of African slaves of the Arabs.

At any rate, as a result of this process of acculturation involving South Arabian and various African and other cultures there has gradually developed what is known as Swahili culture. I will not go into more detail about the Swahili or what peoples in Africa should be considered Swahili. Suffice to say that the Islamic culture to which the Digo have been exposed over the centuries has been what might be termed "Swahili Islam". It has its origins in the sunni Islam of South Arabia where the Shaafi school of law held sway, but it has been greatly modified over the centuries by changing conditions and culture contact.

It appears that the Digo respected the advanced culture of the Arabs and feared their reputed powers as sorcerers. The Digo of the Umba Valley, for example, were under the influence of the Wavumba - Africanized Arabs of the fortified town of Vumba Kuu near the present Vanga. According to the Digo, these Vumba apparently helped the Umba Digo to improve their agriculture. For one thing, they helped them to plant wet rice. Also certain Vumba elders provided a "court"

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of last resort for the Uмба Digo and helped Digo settle legal problems which apparently involved both Islamic and non-Islamic law. A number of Vumba were known as wizards and diviners - experts primarily in pseudo-Islamic magic. They were reputed to use such magic to aid the Digo in various ways including divining, destroying enemies like the Galla and Masai, ridding themselves of witches, making rain and causing crops to grow well, preventing or eliminating plagues and curing illness.

In addition to magic, it seems that Vumba as well as other Arabs gave Digo gifts such as firearms and other weapons, slaves and garments. Gift giving as well as other important rights, duties and privileges between Digo and Vumba became institutionalized in the relationship known as Utani.

To their mutual profit, Digo and Arabs traded with each other. Digo obtained various manufactured items such as weapons and garments from the Arabs, and also foodstuffs. In turn, Arabs also obtained some foodstuffs from the Digo and used the Digo as middle men in the ivory and slave trade.

It is difficult to tell how often Digo themselves were taken as slaves by the Arabs or how often Digo fought Arabs. From what Digo can remember, it seems certain that at times Digo and Arabs did clash. Arabs themselves fought

with one another and Digo sometimes were caught in the middle, or in helping one Arab ally they had to fight his Arab enemies. Some Digo were taken into slavery as a result of this. Similarly, other Africans or fellow Digo warred with Digo and stole slaves to sell to the Arabs. Also some Digo got into debt to Arabs and to redeem this debt they were compelled either to become the slave of their creditor or to give a sister's child or children as a substitute. Similarly, if they needed money for any reason, Digo were not adverse to pawning their sister's children to Arabs. Arabs probably treated most of their slaves fairly well, and such slavery facilitated rather than impeded acculturation. Evidence thus indicates that relations between Arabs and Digo were more harmonious than not and of such a nature as to encourage important culture contact and culture change. Arabs profited more by winning Digo over to their side, keeping them as business partners and military allies than by antagonizing them.

The enemies of the Digo were primarily other Digo and Nyika, the Galla and the Masai. Not only did Digo live in dread of Masai raids, they also feared their fellows. Intra-tribal war was a salient feature of Digo life. One group of Digo often aided another to settle quarrels and obtain booty.

As a result of frequent war, the Digo, like other Nyika, lived in small fortified villages or kaya, usually in the midst of deep almost inaccessible forest. They ventured forth from these kaya to farm small plots surrounding the kaya and also to go to markets and engage in other trade. When danger threatened, they withdrew into the kaya. One kaya usually allied itself with neighbouring kaya to form a kaya cluster.

All available evidence shows that at one time Digo were matrilineal in structure and apparently localized the kin group by either avunculocal or matrilocal residence. During this period, one large subdivided kaya or kaya cluster constituted an endogenous lineage groups. Within the kaya or kaya cluster were two or more linked exogamous matrilineages tracing descent to a common putative ancestress. All important rights and duties were a function of the matrilineage, including inheritance and succession, payment of debt and blood money, called kore, land allocation, and protection. Each matrilineage had its own lineage "medicine" houses and its ritual specialists, whose job it was to ensure the fertility and welfare of the matrilineage, its land and its property. In spite of the importance of the matrilineage, there probably always was a reasonably strong tie between father and son.

At some point, probably because of a combination of economic and other reasons, including contact with Islamic and neighbouring African cultures, a shift to patrilineality and patrilocality began to occur. Bit by bit the side of father, called kulumeni by Digo, began to assume more rights and duties in regard to ego at the expense of the side of mother's brother and mother, called kuchetuni.

The shift has never been completed to the extent of making Digo fully patrilineal and patrilocal, and they now stand somewhere in the middle. For instance, about as many Digo live matrilocally and avunculocally as they live patrilocally. Until about 1948, inheritance remained basically matrilineal in most Digo areas, but since 1948 it has become equally divided between matri- and patri- heirs.

At first, this shift was probably not noticeable since it was so gradual and since the matrikin of ego resided very near to the matrikin of father and were allies rather than enemies of father's matrikin.

Conflict between kulumeni and kuchetuni was also minimized by a system of slave marriages which made the matrilineage of father and the matrilineage of mother one and the same. Cross cousin marriage also helped reduce conflict to a degree.

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Conflict did exist, however, and this gave Digo the chance to engage in the game of playing the kulumeni against the kuchetuni, in order to derive the most from each.

Conflict increased as the rule of lineage group endogamy, which once appears to have been relatively unbroken, weakened and some Digo married outside of their kaya cluster and into a potentially hostile phratry.

Judging from current patterns, marriage outside the lineage group probably did not occur often, but even a few such marriages could and did cause strife. Indeed, they often laid the basis for disputes which continue to the present day since they gave members of alien lineages rights to land, including the opportunity to plant coconut trees on this land which could be inherited by their matrilineal kin.

Because of such marriages in the days of inter-tribal war, it sometimes happened that the lineage of a Digo fought the lineage of his wife. In such event, husband and wife, their children and their own close matrikin were placed in an ambivalent position. In patrilocal residence, wife was in enemy territory, and in matrilocal residence the opposite was the case. In any event, children, especially sons of fighting age, stood in the middle since they were torn between devotion to mother and her matrikin and father and his

matrikin. They had conflicting rights and duties in each group though they were most closely affiliated to mother's group, but perhaps often felt a stronger tie to father than to mother's brother.

Digo say that acceptable behaviour for sons of fighting age caught in such an ambivalent position was to remain neutral. Acceptable behaviour for father and mother's brother in such a situation was also to remain neutral if they felt that they could not fight against their affines. Digo admit that father and mother's brother seldom did stay neutral, but claim that sons often did. At the same time, however, they show the conflict in their own thinking about this subject by pointing out that if sons saw that father's lineage was on the verge of completely destroying the lineage of mother then sons would enter the fight on the side of mother's brother. They did this because they did not want to lose their matrilineage and become no better than slaves of father's matrilineage. The essence of freedom was to have a mother's brother to balance against father.

In some fierce inter-lineage wars the members of one lineage, fearful of treachery, would kill all members of the enemy lineage in their midst. Digo tell the tale of Mboga Mwaluteso, whose lineage, Asemani, was fighting the lineage of his wife and son, Chinachimwaga. The life of his

son was threatened and so Mbega aided him to escape to the Chinachimwaga. He did this partly because he loved his son and partly because he feared the vengeance of the Chinachimwaga and the other lineages in their lineage group, called Kundutsi, if he allowed this to happen. He also did not enter the fight against the Chinachimwaga and prevailed upon his closest kin also to remain neutral. Partly through his example and good offices, the warring groups settled their quarrel and peace returned.

The termination of tribal war by European rule removed one situation where rights and duties in father's group clashed with those on mother's. However, European rule also brought other changes which, in turn, caused more conflict than it eliminated.

As long as the matrilineage had the duty to pay kore it could claim the right to inherit. As long as a man could pawn his sister's children or other close matrikin into slavery to compensate for his purposeful or accidental killing of a Digo of another lineage, or to redeem a debt or obtain money in need, then it was only just that these matrikin would inherit from him. When pawning of a fellow human was prohibited, and when a man was individually responsible and punished for homicide, then matrilineal inheritance lost an important basis for its existence. Digo could, and did,

argue that they lived with their fathers, and often helped father in at least as many ways as matrikin did. A usual argument, and one which is still often heard, is that it is the duty of young men and their mothers to help Father in the planting of the coconuts which his matrikin will inherit. Digo also maintain that during both the First and Second World Wars the British demanded that Digo send their sons for duty as porters or as soldiers if they could not themselves serve. Records show that only a few Digo did serve during time of war, but for the Digo even the fact that a mere handful of Digo had the duty of serving in the place of father that than in the place of mother's brother was enough to trouble them. It was like a patrilineal version of kore. If nothing else, it gave Digo yet another basis for claiming father's property. If all Digo at once decided to shift to patrilineal inheritance, perhaps no conflict would have arisen. But individual Digo wanted to profit both from matrilineal and patrilineal inheritance and obtain not only the property of father under the new principles but also the property of mother's brother under the traditional system.

As has been indicated, slavery offered a means for resolving conflicts in affiliation since children by a slave

wife had no mother's brother standing in opposition to father. The prohibition of slavery definitely limited this means although the effects of slavery in the past persisted and marriage to the descendant of a lineage slave serves a similar purpose.

Since European rule brought the confusion of World War I and the security of Pax Britannica to the land, it stimulated movement, broke down the kaya system, increased the likelihood of Digo marrying outside of the former kaya area and into alien lineages, and impelled some Digo to change their place of residence completely. As a result of these and other factors of change, the kaya cluster gave way to the neighbourhood, village, and location; and the endogamous lineage group developed into the semi-endogamous multilinear kin-community.

The metamorphosis of Iungalunga can be taken as a good example of this. During the century or so before the World War I in the Unba Valley there were the kaya of Gonja, Segu, Madzoreni, and Makwonyeni, and some small offshoots of these kaya. These linked to form the kaya cluster in which resided the Kundutsi lineage group consisting of the Chinarama, Chinadzore, Chinachimwaga, Chinakonde and Chinamjinga lineages. A small number of people who were not Kundutsi had also become established in the Gonja cluster before 1914, notably a few

members of five alien lineages named Chinalago, Chinamtewe, Chinamtwari, Chinamwamatu and Asemani. These had married into the Kundutsi lineages.

About 11 miles east, also along the Umba, and centering roughly about a place called Dziriye, were a number of kava of the Yombo lineage group which dominated the area, plus one or more kava of the Adziriye lineage, plus one or more kava of the Chinanchandze lineage. A little further east, at Jego, was the kava area of the Adabara lineage group.

The Chinanchandze, a small group, were closely allied to the Yombo and effected blood brotherhood with them. Inter-marriage between the various Yombo lineages and the Chinanchandze was apparently common and the Chinanchandze were and are almost like a lineage in the lineage group of Yombo except that they do not claim to stem from a common ancestress. The Dziriye were also allied militarily with the Yombo and inter-marriage occurred. The Dabara apparently remained somewhat aloof from, and at one time fought against Yombo. Limited intermarriage took place, and a few Yombo have land rights in the general Dabara area.

The Kundutsi in the Gonja cluster apparently did not often clash with the Yombo to their east. They intermarried infrequently. The Kundutsi were primarily interested in fighting off their customary Digo enemies, the Asemani and

Chinachinyavu to the south, in what is now Tanganyika. The Yombo were preoccupied with their struggle against the Chinangalla and Chinamangaro of Mount Jombo in Kenya.

During World War I, the Digo of the Uмба were caught between two fires. Some, especially a number of the Chinamjinga of Gonja, were taken to Tanganyika by the Germans and their askaris. Most of the Kundutsi and many Yombo fled north and were brought into a giant refugee camp at Galu near Gasi, about 20 miles south of Mombasa. Hundreds of other Digo from all over Kenya came to this camp, where they experienced plague and hunger. When the Germans were defeated, most of the Digo returned to their former homes but many old ties had been destroyed and many new ones created as a result of the war. There is no doubt that the Digo population had been reduced. Many Kundutsi never returned to Gonja, and others came back bringing wives, affines, and friends from alien lineages. Most of the Chinamjinga who had been taken to Tanganyika were lost, but a few returned after a long absence, bringing with them wives from the Agongo and Chinamangaro lineages. During the years of peace and prosperity following World War I, change followed upon change. The population of the Gonja area increased markedly but continued to diversify. Today those considering themselves primarily Kundutsi are still in the majority.

Because of a long series of government edicts, the whole of the Umba Valley area, with the exception of the Arab-Vumba stronghold of Vanga, at the mouth of the Umba, is now unified into the Location of Lungalunga, Lungalunga has its administrative centre and chief's office in what used to be Kaya Sega and is now the sub-location of Sega. Kayas Madzoreni and Makwonyeni have become sub-locations as well, and a sub-location called Mwalawa was formed from section of Gonja. Kaya Gonja itself has been deserted since World War I, and it is now a national forest. Some of its former Chinarama inhabitants went to Tanganyika and their descendants form an important part of the border. Most of the Gonja Chinarama however remained in Lungalunga.

The main Yombo, Chinanchandze, and Dziriye areas are now combined into the sub-location of Dziriye. The Dabara area of Jogo has become the sub-location of Jogo. Dziriye and Jogo tend to unite to form a separate entity and regard themselves closer to each other than to those living in the Sega - Makwonyeni - Madzoreni area, who, in turn, also unite to form a separate entity vis-à-vis Jogo - Dziriye. This is reflected in the fact that the Jogo - Dziriye area has its own government-appointed headman, at present stationed at Jogo; while the Sega - Makwonyeni - Madzoreni cluster has,

in addition to the chief of the location, a headman just for this cluster. Though Lungalunga, a name derived from a now-defunct fourth-day market in the Umba Valley, is officially the name of the entire Location, it is customarily used by Digo- and by government as well - in referring primarily to the Segga - Makwonyeni - Madzoreni cluster, while Jego and Dziriye are known by their individual names or lumped together simply as "Jego". In this paper, Lungalunga will identify the Segga cluster and will not include either Jego or Dziriye, which will be named individually. However, the name Lungalunga Location will refer to the entire Location, including Segga, Jego, Dziriye, etc.

In addition to causing change which weakened indirectly the stability and integrity of the matrilineage, European rule also attacked it directly. With some exceptions, most English administrators have seen matrilineal inheritance and succession and matrilineal rights and duties in land to be somehow inconsistent with progress. The tendency has been for administrators to encourage patrilineal inheritance and succession and patrilineal control of land. Digo desiring to inherit from father have found government attitudes helpful and have magnified these attitudes out of proportion, often claiming that government literally forces such patriliney upon them.

Government-sponsored locational African District Councils (ADC) are empowered to make local bye-laws and, partly as a result of government prompting, in about 1948 the Digo and Duruma ADC Councillors of Digo District discussed the passing of a law to make patrilineal inheritance compulsory. Though many Digo endorsed the idea, a majority did not, and it came to nothing. Further discussions were held in each location regarding the passing of resolutions to support patrilineal inheritance in the individual locations. The result of this has also been to give those favouring patrilineal inheritance semi-legal basis for their claims, while at the same time allowing matrilinealists good cause to say that only matrilineal inheritance is just.

Although European influence has thus caused major modification of Digo behaviour, Digo have not become westernized to the degree to which they have been acculturated to Islam. Islam has always served Digo as a model for change, but it was probably not until after World War I, when traditional Digo culture had been truly upset by the forces mentioned above, that major islamization began. Western intrusion acted somewhat as a catalyst to induce a major shift to Islam.

It is impossible to determine when Digo culture began to be noticeably modified by the Islam of the Coast. Material

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culture and certain elements of magic, ritual, and spirit belief were probably well influenced by Islam as early as the 18th century, and as time went by the full range of Digo culture felt the impact of Islam so that all major aspects of Digo culture were islamized to a varying degree.

In the process of acculturation sometimes a pre-Islamic pattern has blended with an Islamic pattern to produce an entirely different pattern. In other cases a basically Islamic pattern has developed to co-exist, sometimes in harmony, sometimes in conflict, with a basically Digo counterpart. The intermingling of some Western and some alien African patterns further complicates this acculturation process. Thus, the Digo system of inheritance, though somewhat modified by external and internal forces, still conflicts with the Islamic system, which, in turn, is supported by Western and other African principles. Islamic and other African methods of marriage offer acceptable alternatives to Digo methods, but Western methods are ignored. Types of Islamic and other African magic, ritual, and beliefs complement Digo magic, ritual, and beliefs, and, in turn, these conflict sharply with Western ideas. While it is true that most of these rival patterns tend gradually each to modify in the direction of its counterpart or counterparts so that alien patterns become increasingly assimilated to Digo patterns and vice-versa, many

patterns will continue to remain separate and distinct for a long time to come.

The overwhelming majority of Digo claim to be good Muslims. Most wear the Muslim dress of the Coast and bear Islamic names, engage in Islamic ritual and otherwise give the appearance of adhering to Islam. Generally speaking, however, the average Digo has only the haziest knowledge of Islamic injunctions, and is very lax in his observance of those injunctions known to him. For instance, Digo know that they should pray five times a day but few do this regularly. A number of Digo follow the letter of the injunction to fast during Ramadan, but practically none observe the spirit of this injunction. A very small number of Digo walimu or Koranic teachers are moderately well-versed in Islam, but the vast majority of walimu know little. In the numerous small Koran schools which exist all over Digo District these walimu teach young Digo certain rudiments of Islam - Islam as each mwalimu considers it to be. The main job of walimu is to help students memorize passages of the Koran so that they can recite them in a sing-song voice at various Islamic rituals. Probably no Digo can understand written or spoken Arabic to any extent but it gives prestige and it is also advantageous in dealing with supernatural forces to be able to recite Koranic or pseudo-Koranic passages and to pronounce many Swahili words with Arabic-like sounds.

The Islamic Law known and practised by the Digo is far removed from the Shaeffite principles which ideally should prevail on the East African Coast. It should be noted in this context that the British-directed Arab officials in Digo District, such as the Liwali and Mudir, who are often called upon to give advice in Islamic Law and who, as magistrates, often handle cases in which Islamic Law is at least indirectly involved, themselves seem to know surprisingly little about Islamic Law. It is only the Qadi of the Coast who seems versed in this law, and he seldom visits Digo locations. Since Digo thus know so little about Islam and are so inadequately schooled and directed in Islam, they can make of it what they will.

During the past few years Digo have become sufficiently affected by rising African nationalism to turn against the Arabs, claiming that they are aliens, that they stole Digo land, that they took Digo into slavery, that they tricked the Digo into resisting education to keep the Digo backward, that they continue to cheat the Digo at every opportunity, that they still regard themselves as the masters of the Digo, that they enjoy unfair advantages under the British and that the Sultan of Zanzibar cannot claim the 10 mile strip as his domain. They have been especially encouraged to do this by various clever and unscrupulous Digo and other African leaders who wish

thereby to gain economic and political power. It is too early to tell if this will cause Digo to reject at least some of their Islamic culture. It is interesting to note that there is developing a tendency for Digo to try to make Islam more their own religion by claiming that Digo once lived in Arabia, near Mecca, and that Digo were some of the first converts to Islam, but that quarrels with the Arabs, who had turned against the Prophet's teachings, forced them to flee to Africa. Digo who wish to rationalize matrilineal inheritance or any other more or less traditional behaviour often say, "We Digo are Digo, not Arabs to do things in an Arab fashion." At the same time, however, Digo desiring anything which might be construed as Islamic will assert just as fervently that "We are good Muslims and have been for ages."

The net result of all of the changes which have occurred during the past century in Digo culture, the total effect of all of the varying sanctioned patterns of behaviour extant in this culture, is that Digo should have sufficient scope for individualism to carry Digo culture to the brink of disorganization, if not over it. The fact that Digo are not willingly generous; but instead are as self-seeking as the situation permits seems to assure chaos.

Actually, however, two other aspects of Digo life balance out the potentially disruptive aspects of cultural

flexibility and self-seeking and keep individualism within adequate bounds. These other aspects are the desire for security and extreme envy of others.

Digo desire financial, physical, and other security more than they desire great freedom of action, and certainly more than they desire social instability. A Digo is, however, penalized by his fellows if he tries to go on his own and achieve security, especially financial security, by individual striving. His fellows will turn against him if he tries this, particularly if he is successful. Digo are very envious of others, and generally attribute success not to hard work but to witchcraft. Furthermore, they descend like parasites on a successful kinsman or neighbour and demand that he give them freely of his wealth until he seems at least as poor as they. If he does not do this then they turn against him. A successful man fears greatly that others, even some of his close kin, will try to destroy him or at least ruin his good fortune by black magic, especially if he is not generous with his wealth.

Individual striving is also limited by the fact that hard work is regarded as a sign of slavery, and by the fact that most Digo women do not ordinarily help their husbands to advance to any noticeable degree, either economically or otherwise. Marriage is unstable and husband and wife do not

usually form a satisfactory economic team or stable social unit. A Digo also cannot be certain that his children will stand by him. He must always keep in mind that they can leave him and go to their mother's brother or other persons to reside and work. Hence, if a Digo wishes to be an individualist he must be prepared to stand very much on his own and face strong opposition at the same time. Few Digo are willing to do this. Finally, Digo are pessimists and fear the future. Also, they are usually improvident and recognize this fact. They fear that in time of emergency, be it illness or trouble with the law, a funeral, or a wedding or any other occasion when money and aid are required, they will be left standing penniless, kinless, and friendless if they are individualists and alienate their fellows. However, they feel that if they constantly help sufficient numbers of their fellows and do not try to stand apart from or rise above them then, all other things being equal, they stand a good chance of receiving aid more or less to the extent to which they ordinarily give it and show promise of giving it in the future.

In short, because individualism is not an acceptable pattern, Digo desire to affiliate themselves to others for purposes of mutual security. However, since unilineality no longer exists, since rights and duties in respect to any one

individual or group of individuals are no longer so precise and well enforced that this individual or group is a dependable source of aid for any Digo, all Digo must build up about them a vast number of associations or relationships in the hope that at least one of such associations will be helpful in the time of need. They do so by finding, stressing, and reinforcing through reciprocity any link established between them and others by kinship, marriage, residence, blood brotherhood, special joking relationship, or friendship. Digo spend much of their time in developing, maintaining, reinforcing, and testing such associations. They also compare on a competitive basis the strength of their associations with those associations others have, and this has come almost to be an end in itself for many.

In their desire to establish mutual security associations, Digo will usually put immediate self interest aside when this threatens such association. This is what prevents the basically self-seeking Digo from using jurat uncertainty to assist themselves at the expense of all others, and prevent the use of so many varying and conflicting patterns that culture becomes disorganized.

The multitude of mutual security relationships held by any Digo do not divide into discrete units or groups, but rather intertwine and overlap so that at times rights and duties

in respect to one relationship are incompatible with those in respect to another. They may conflict so dangerously that either relationship or both may be rent asunder, or that whole sets of interlocking relationships may be damaged. To prevent such destruction, Digo seek compromise solutions to problems causing conflict, and/or they withdraw from the conflict situation. Thus, in the days of tribal war, when it was possible for Digo to be related by intermarriage to each of two warring lineages, often these Digo remained neutral and tried to effect truces. Then, as now, interrelation had both disadvantages and advantages in the maintaining of social stability and peace.

The presence of contradictory cultural patterns and legal systems in Digo life also are both advantageous and disadvantageous to the maintenance of stability. Digo are adept at balancing one pattern against another, one law against another law, in order to achieve compromise solutions which are agreeable to all concerned. For example, simply because neither son nor sister's son have an undisputed right to inherit they are encouraged to reconcile their differences, share the property, and form an effective mutual security group.

To summarize, it can be said that Digo social structure has, as a result of culture change, proceeded from one state of relative equilibrium where behaviour was rigorously defined by

the need of Digo to be acceptable members of matrilineages to a new state of relative equilibrium where behaviour is apparently not so well defined, but in actuality is carefully regulated by the need to eschew unsociable individualism and to develop, and maintain a multitude of mutual security associations. It is seen that cultural flexibility and the lack of a single system of patterning is, in one sense, a cause of the Digo need to develop many mutual security associations and, on the other hand it is used to maintain such associations by encouraging compromise. Finally, to close this circle, flexibility and its concomitant, individualism is kept within bounds and culture disorganization prevented by the need to belong to these associations. Digo culture is thus seen as a complex configuration of varying, often rival, patterns kept in delicate balance by the complex interplay of divisive and adhesive forces.

These patterns do not relate and combine in a manner which enables this writer to term Digo social organization either matrilineal, patrilineal, double unilineal, or even bilateral, though the latter comes closest to being correct. At any one time, in any one situation, patterns commonly associated with each, one, or all of these forms of organization are discernible in Digo social behaviour. If it is necessary to give Digo social organization a name - to try to

define in one word what sort of an organization it actually is - it seems best to call it multilinear.

In the rest of this essay, the writer will discuss in detail how multilineality is manifest in Digo social organization. He will show how mutual security associations are developed and how they operate, and he will describe the interplay of opposing forces to maintain balance.

CHAPTER 1

KINSHIP IN THE NUCLEAR FAMILY

The nuclear family consists of ego, his full siblings, and their mother and father. This group tends to be a residential group throughout the life of both parents. Daughters do depart in marriage, though some bring husband to the group to live, and in divorce they usually return to it. Even after the death of one or both parents, the majority of the members of this group often live together in the same homesteads, or, at least, in the same village or neighbourhood. There are many exceptions to this, as there are to any of the generalizations to be made in this chapter. In the chapters to follow, these exceptions will be presented and generalizations made more specific by illustration.

Ego terms his mother mayo (pl. anomayo), and his or her father baba (anobaba). Ego terms his or her brother or sister mwenehu (enehu). To indicate the fact that brother or sister has the same mother and father as himself, ego refers to each as mwenehu ndani mwenga, that is, "sibling of one womb." Children are termed mwana (ana).

The nuclear family itself has no specific term of reference. It may be called a nyumba, meaning "house", or

indicated by the prefix china-, meaning "group of". Nyumba is used when tracing affiliation to the male or female head of the family, while china- tends somewhat to be restricted to tracing affiliation to the male head of the family. For example, if ego's father is named Chuo and ego's mother named Nimasemu, ego may refer to his or her nuclear family as Nyumba ya Chuo or as China-Chuo, or as Nyumba ya Nimasemu. Ego may use either methods of family identification, irrespective of the fact that both parents are living, or that both are dead or that only one lives, or that they are separated or divorced. When both parents die, the full-sibling group ordinarily maintains some degree of cohesiveness in major activities involving members of the group, especially if its members reside close to each other. The full-sibling group is usually directed in these activities by the senior or most dominant brother, and the group can then also be identified as the "group of" this senior brother. Nyumba is not used in this context. When eldest brother dies, the next in line takes over, and the group is then known as the group of the new head.

For example, a man named Chuo Mwabukhari died in about 1942, and his eldest son, Bukhari Kwachuo, took over as head of the group of sons and daughters of Chuo and Nimasemu.

The group was then known as China-Chuo, or Nyumba ya Nimasemu, or China-Bukhari, though the latter name was apparently most common. Bukhari died about 1952, and his eldest surviving brother, Selemani, became the new head. The group is now usually referred to as China-Selemani. Selemani died shortly before the writer left Lungalunga in April 1960, but since his eldest surviving brother, Kasim, had not yet been fully confirmed as the head of the full-sibling group, and since memory of Sulymani was still fresh, no one had begun to call the group China-Kasim. Succession to headship of a group of siblings occurs when the group meets at the end of the wake for the dead brother to decide who should inherit his property. He who inherits the property of a fellow Digo usually succeeds to his rights and duties, including headship. But the matter is very complicated, and must be discussed later in this thesis, after the full range of kin categories, including half-siblings, have been described and the basic relationships between each made clear.

Relations between ego and father are moderately close and enduring, both ideally and actually. They stem not only from the fact that father is the biological progenitor of children, but also because he married mother by the payment of bride price (mahunda), thereby obtaining the legal justification to call children his own, and to establish a complex of rights

and duties in respect to them. In divorce, the bride wealth is returned to the man, who loses rights and duties in the wife. He will also lose rights and duties in her children by him unless he pays her brothers a fee known as malezi, or "birth and rearing price," usually a sum of money totalling from one-quarter to one half of the bride price. If he pays this, his children remain as much "his" as they did during marriage. This fee is to compensate mother and mother's brothers for the birth and rearing of the children and for the fact that these children remain so closely affiliated to father. Father has received "profit" from mother and mother's brother, and he must pay for it.

Miserly or trouble-making Digo sometimes try to escape paying malezi by various devices and attempt still to retain full rights and duties in their children, including the right to collect bride price for daughters. This causes numerous legal disputes. For example, Fumbwe Mwadodo, of Lungalunga, divorced his wife, Fatuma binti Athumani, and received his mahunda back from her father, Athumani Ruwa. He did not pay malezi to Fatuma's brothers for the daughter Fatuma bore him, declaring that this daughter was a sickly child and might die before he could get any work from her, or before she would marry to bring him bride wealth. He escaped paying any malezi for her for about 5 years, but her mother's brothers,

especially Halifani Athumani, grew ever more impatient. Finally, she did marry and bride wealth amounting to 300 shillings was paid to Fumbwe. He still did not give malezi to Halifani Athumani. Halifani took the matter up before an elders' court in Lungalunga. Halifani won the case and Fumbwe was told to pay him malezi of 40 shillings. Fumbwe still refused, partly on the ground that malezi is an old Digo idea and not in keeping with Islamic law. Fumbwe is ordinarily not a good Muslim, but he threatened to take the matter to Mombasa and the Qadi's Court. Digo knew he could not actually succeed in this attempt, but rather than allow the case to become more complicated, Halifani agreed to accept only 30 shillings. Fumbwe refused even this, and lost his temper - probably on purpose. He stalked out of the court, claiming that he would disown his daughter and give her back to Halifani rather than have Halifani abuse him so in court, and then he would not have to pay malezi. Fumbwe did not really mean this since it would have forced him to pay to Halifani the 300 shillings bride wealth he got for his daughter. However, everyone became so worried that his action would lead to further kin-affine conflict that a compromise was effected out of court in which matrikin of Fumbwe, Ahmadi, and Omari Kombo helped Fumbwe pay a total of 20 shillings malezi. Ahmadi and Omari also made it clear that they were aghast

even at the thought of Fumbwe rejecting his daughter. Such a thing loses Fumbwe and all his close kin the respect of the community.

There are also cases where Digo are so furious with a wife that they divorce her and also reject one or more of her children, indicating this by refusal to pay malezi. They customarily do this because they regard the child as a result of the wife's adultery. There are two instances of this in Lungalunga, and they deserve a full description since they also relate to many other aspects of Digo behaviour. In the first instance, which began in about 1944, Abdullah Pongwe felt that his wife, binti Hamisi, had committed adultery with Kombo Mambo, while Abdullah was working in Tanganyika. Owing to the number of months he had spent away from Lungalung, Abdullah was certain that binti Hamisi's youngest son Kasim, was the son of Kombo Mambo. He also felt that his other children, Juma, Seifu, Muhammadi, Omari, and Mwanaidi, had been disloyal to him while he was absent because they went to live with Kombo Mambo, and became very friendly with Kombo. Consequently, he disowned these children by a ritual curse, divorced his wife, and rejected Kasim, swearing that Kasim would have nothing but misfortune during his life. Abdullah then stalked off to Tanganyika to live. After the divorce, binti Hamisi remained friendly with Kombo, but married to Fumbwe Mwadodo.

Her children all went to live with her full-brother, Juma Hamisi, the current Chief of Lungalunga, and they still remain under his authority. In spite of Abdullah's rejection of Kasim, Kasim is regarded by the other children of Abdullah as a full-sibling.

Abdullah Fongwe never remarried. Several years after this incident, he returned to Lungalunga in death sickness. On his deathbed he said that he wanted reconciliation with his children, but he never admitted that Kasim was his own. Kasim has had leprosy since about the time Abdullah died, and Digo say that this is a result of Abdullah's evil curse. Kasim's siblings, as well as Ahmadi and Omari Kombo, sons of Kombo Mambo, help Kasim to obtain both western and indigenous medicines. Ahmadi and Omari say they do this because Ahmadi married Mwanasiti Abdullah Fongwe, and Seifu Abdullah married a full sister of Ahmadi. However, other Digo say that they do this also because they like to feel that Kasim is, perhaps, the son of Kombo Mambo. This broadens the base of relationships between the sons of Kombo and the sons of Abdullah. Since Kasim's parentage is in doubt, both sides claim him to help link both sides together.

In the other case of child rejection, Selemani Chuo thought that his wife, Chimwenga Nipongwe, was committing

adultery with Njio Kwangaza, and that the second of two children she bore him was truly Njio's. He rejected this child, and divorced Chimwenga. Njio married her, and paid malezi for the child, who is known as Salim, the son of Njio. Chimwenga then bore Njio three additional sons, Muhammadi, who died, Seifu and Bukhari. All sons regard themselves as the full-siblings of Salim and at least pretend that he is the biological son of Njio. Salim, however, tends to regard Ninyiro, the daughter of Chimwenga and Selemani Chuo, as a full-sibling as well, and she reciprocates his affection. In any case, she and Salim have the same mother, and this, alone, is a basis for close association.

Thus, the full-siblings of Selemani Chuo were very unhappy that Selemani rejected the boy who became Salim Njio. They tend to regard Salim unofficially as the son of Selemani and Salim reciprocates their attitude. They sometimes rationalize their association on the grounds that Ninyiro, the daughter of Selemani, would consider them very poor siblings of Selemani if they did not help Salim Njio. Kasim Chuo says that Ninyiro would not respect and help the siblings of Selemani if they did not, at least for her sake, aid Salim. Thus, when Salim needed money to help pay for the funeral and wake of Muhammad Njio, Kasim and Selemani Chuo paid twice as much as they would have paid for the funeral of simply a

neighbour, on the ground that they were aiding Ninyiro. Interestingly enough, Selemani and his siblings continue to call Salim mwana ("child") because he is at least the half-sibling of Ninyiro, who is a true mwana. The half sibling of anyone termed mwana is a classificatory mwana.

In general, Digo welcome any addition to their group of kin and the closer the kin link established, the better, since this provides the strongest possible reason for reciprocal aid. This point will be illustrated throughout this thesis. Better a full brother than a half brother, better a half brother than no brother, and better a kinsman than just a neighbour. If a Digo tries to reject anyone as his child, his brothers and his non-rejected offspring, especially if mature, will do their utmost to prevail upon him to keep the said child in the group. After all, it will be argued, each child gives the group just that much nguvu, or strength. Each child is faida, or "profit" to the group. Each is a vital element in the mutual security network. Even if children are the result of adultery of the wife, they should be kept by the husband, and the fact of their parentage should be hidden so that they are completely affiliated to the group. With rare exceptions, this is the case. If a child is rejected, the kin of the rejecting father tend to disregard his edict and to maintain close relations with the

child. The Islamic law that all children conceived before marriage are illegitimate is completely disregarded, though some Digo have heard of it.

The illegitimate children of a male Digo are affiliated to him by his payment of malezi to the mother's brother. In spite of their desire for children, however, males do not often admit to be the fathers of illegitimate children because of the additional troubles this often entails. If they are young unmarried men who wish for no responsibilities, they will not wish to be saddled with such a child, and if they are married they will not wish to risk a quarrel with their wife over their infidelity. If they admit to getting a married woman with child they will have to pay the husband compensation for adultery (malu), and if they get an unmarried girl with child they have also to pay her father compensation (adabu).

The mother's brother usually rears an illegitimate child and it is said that having such a child is to his profit and the profit of all his matrikin since it brings nruvu to this group. When the unwed mother does finally get a husband, an attempt is often made to induce this husband to pay malezi for her child on the grounds that he is getting not only a wife but a child at one time. This is sometimes done by the husband, but there seems to be a

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prejudice against accepting someone else's bastard as one's own child. Also Digo will not want to pay the additional expense of malezi. Adopted fathers are termed baba, just as true fathers are.

Illegitimate children are, in theory, treated as well as legitimate children and no stigma is supposed to attach to them, since they give "profit" to whoever rears them. In actuality, however, though there is no evidence available that they are mistreated, it is obvious that they are looked down upon by others, and whispered about behind their backs.

Of the samples in this writer's social survey of the Sublocation of Segu, out of four cases where men accused wives of adultery and claimed that her child was not their own, two divorced their wife and rejected the child; one maintained the wife and child; and one has remained undecided what to do for a period of 6 months, during which he has remained separated from wife. These cases span the approximate period 1945 to 1959.

Out of 10 cases of children being born to unmarried mothers, within the approximate period 1952 to 1959, four were affiliated to the person the mother claimed was child's father, and in two of these instances, the father married the mother. One was affiliated by malezi to the man his mother eventually married, though not his father; and one

is claimed by the man his mother married, although he has, for a total of 6 years, evaded malezi. Two died at a very early age, and two are growing up with their mother's brother.

Legitimate children carry the first name of father as their surname through the use of the prefix mwa-, meaning "son of", and ni- meaning "daughter of." Thus, if father's first name is Vesso, they are known as Mwavesso or Nivesso. The eldest living son takes the name mviere, meaning "senior", in distinction to his brothers, who are all mdide, or "junior." Similarly, the eldest living daughter is mviere vis-à-vis her sisters. Numerals can also be used to indicate order of birth. Thus, the eldest son of Vesso is Mwavesso Mviere or Mwavesso ya Mwenga ("the first"). The next eldest is Mwavesso Mdide or Mwavesso ya Mbiri. The third eldest is Mwavesso Mdide or Mwavesso ya Tahu. The eldest daughter is Nivesso Mviere or Nivesso ya Mwenga, etc.

Though there are often variations, the first name of sons will usually be taken from the first name either Islamic or pagan, of a male ancestor, customarily father's father in the case of first-born sons. Hence, if father's father was named Charo Mwahenze, father is named Henze Mwachare, ego is named Cahro Mwahenze, and ego's son is Henze Mwacharo. This pattern is varied in the case of sons born subsequently. Thus, ego's younger brother is named Kasim Mwahenze since Kasim

was the name of father's father's brother. In a very few instances, instead of patri-names, the name of mother's brother or mother's father is given to Digo, but only if they are at least third-born. Illegitimate children often receive the name of mother's male kin. The last name of illegitimate children is always Mwa- (Ni-) or bin (binti) Abdullah. When they are adopted, they take as a surname the first name of their adoptive father.

The first name of first born females is often the Islamic or pagan name of father's sister or father's mother or mother's mother. For example, the daughter of Chuo Kwabukhari is named Mwanasiti Nichuo, since Chuo's classificatory sister was named Mwanasiti. The daughter of Pongwe is Chimwenga Nipongwe since this was the name of her mother's mother.

On occasion, Digo may be reared by a father's full or half brother rather than father, and will thus carry as his surname the first name of this father's brother. Furthermore, father's brother may be so dominant a figure that even though father remains alive, ego may be named as "son of" father's brother. Or ego may use the name of father's brother to form his surname as an alternative to father's name in order to show heshima or "respect to father's brother, and to reaffirm the unity of father's sibling group. These

are exceptions to the naming rule and relate primarily to the formation of the expanded and the extended family. They will be discussed again in relation to these types of families.

All Digo have simultaneously several first names to draw from, including an Islamic name like Kasim or Bukhari or Fatuma, a Digo name like Nduano or Henze or Chiviera, and a nickname or nicknames of varying sort including the Digo form of the name of a District Commissioner, or an important world figure, or world event, or a visiting anthropologist's wife, or a name which indicates the attributes of the individual. Anyone of these can be used in situations where first names are exchanged, although the Islamic names are rapidly becoming the most fashionable. For no special reason, one of these first names will come to be used more in regard to an individual than any other and this then is the name which his children carry as a last name.

Digo of both sexes also bear the name of their father's matrilineage or lineage group, again using the mya- and ni- prefixes. Children of a man of the Chinarama are Mwarama and Nirama. These are commonly used in addressing or even in referring to an individual. Indeed, it is more polite by far to address an individual in this manner or as the son or daughter of a man than by his or her first name.

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In accord with principles of respect, first names ideally should only be exchanged between age-mates and close friends. Ideally, it is very disrespectful to address anyone who is neither an age mate nor a friend by a first name, especially if he or she is of the opposite sex from the speaker. This naming pattern, connected with relationships of avoidance, respect, and joking, is breaking down, along with avoidance and respect. Personal names are now often exchanged with respected and avoided persons of the same sex. There remains, however, a strong tendency for Digo to address anyone of the opposite sex by the mwa- or ni- method.

As a name of respect, Digo may also be called "mother of -" or "father of -" a child, usually their own, but also a child of a sibling. This is seldom done by Digo, but Duruma practise it widely. Furthermore, since Digo are equated with their grandparents, they can be called "father of -" or "mother of -" their own father or mother. This is seldom heard, but it is done, and is either used in addressing very young grandchildren in a joking manner, or it represents the very ultimate in respect. The context shows how it is meant.

The mwa- and ni- system of indicating affiliation to father is like the Islamic bin and binti. Digo also use the Islamic bin and binti interchangeably with mwa- and ni-.

Often, they use neither, but simply string one name behind the other. Muhammad, the son of Charo, can be called Muhammad Mwacharo, bin Charo, or just Muhammad Charo.

It is possible that the Digo mwa- and ni- naming system is a result of acculturation, though the Digo affirm that this is not the case, and admit only that the word bin came from the Arabs, not the idea behind it. They say they used mwa- and ni- in Shungwaya. There is no indication that Digo naming was different in the past, or that it in anyway showed matrilineal affiliation rather than patrilineal affiliation. Digo do carry the name of their mother's, and hence their own, matrilineage, but they are never addressed or referred to by this name. It is always as son or daughter of father's matrilineage that they are called. Perhaps, this system of patrilineal naming is merely part of the shift to patriline, although it may have been with Digo long before such a shift began. It is impossible to do more than guess.

Naming is a very complex matter, but for the purpose of this chapter the important point is that it is used to show patrilineal affiliation.

Digo relationships with mother are ordinarily better than those with father and can be termed very close and enduring. A mother does not have to validate her claim to children by the payment of malezi or any other fee.

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Digo say that mother is much more important than father, as is reflected in the fact of matrilineal descent. While it is terrible to quarrel with and turn against father, it is more than terrible to do this to mother.

Digo are admonished by society to help both parents throughout life, more or less equally well. In early childhood they are supposed to be especially obedient, under threat of punishment by scolding and whipping. Few parents do actually punish children to any degree, however, and children tend to be spoiled and unruly. Parents shift responsibility for child training onto each other. Father's sister sometimes intervenes to contest the authority of mother, while mother's brother often contests the authority of father.

Children are greatly desired, and not until a Digo is married and has a child is he or she accorded full legal responsibility. Children are usually well-treated and given the basic necessities of life. If any Digo fails to look after his or her children and see that they are properly fed and clothed, he or she is compelled by spouse, affines and kin to reform. If a mother feels that her husband is severely neglecting their children, she may leave him and go to her brothers or other kin, and put the children under their charge.

Mother's brother may also act unilaterally to protect children. On the other hand, if father feels that his wife is a bad mother he may divorce her and perhaps have his sister act as a mother surrogate. This seldom happens, but the threat is there.

As children grow older and become physically and financially able to help their parents, they are stimulated to give such aid by the desire not only to avoid the censure of others but also by the desire to obtain reciprocal aid from their parents, and by love for their parents, especially for their mother. These parents are similarly motivated to continue to help their children.

Older children can go on their own to their mother's brother and ignore their father if they are dissatisfied with him. The presence of mother's brother provides older children with a potent weapon to assure father's aid and also encourage him to promise that they will inherit his property.

Digo are jealous of a wife's brother and his closeness or potential closeness to their children, and will do a lot to prevent children from affiliating to him. Digo complain that no matter how much they help their children, these children will not truly be grateful. Instead, they

will help their mother's brother, especially in his old age, more than they will help their father, when he is old. Just as children use mother's brother to obtain aid from their father, a father can excuse such things as his refusal to spend money on his children's education or to loan his older children money, on the grounds that his children will only use this education or money to help their mother's brother. This limits the extent to which a father can be persuaded by his children to give aid.

In repayment for the aid parents gave them during their childhood and youth, Digo should ensure the security in old age of their parents. This ideal is generally adhered to, especially if parents have been good.

Digo fear that if they do not help their parents they will damage relationships with other kin and generally receive such a bad name that their prestige or heshima will be lost. Furthermore, they fear that they will then fail to inherit any parental property which they might otherwise obtain under current legal principles. Since neither they nor their father's sister's children have a clear right to their father's property, they will want to do nothing which might make their father favour his sister's children and state that a sister's children should inherit. This might not completely cost a father's children the inheritance, but it will make matters

difficult and probably limit their gains.

Digo also fear supernatural retribution if they do not help their parents or their children. For one thing, angry children or parents might go so far as to try to injure them with black magic. For another, it is believed that after death a person's spirit, called koma, lives on in some undefine manner. Digo do not actually worship koma, but they often pray to the koma of a parent to give them supernatural aid in various ventures. If a person was mistreated by anyone during his life, and died still bearing the grudge, his koma is sure to seek revenge on the offending individual by visiting him with bad fortune, making him or his wife or children ill, killing him, etc. Any angry koma is bad, but the worst are the koma of close kinsmen bent on vengeance, especially koma of mother and father.

Even if Digo do inherit the property of a father or mother who disliked them, the koma of this parent will ensure that no good comes of it. For example, if they inherit a coconut orchard, these trees will soon die, one way or another.

Merely being disliked by a father or a mother causes trouble enough, but if a Digo quarrels to such an extent with his father that his father completely rejects him with a violent curse, this is considered a major catastrophe. First of all, a very important kinship link in the mutual security

chain is thus broken and dissension and conflict may possibly spread further, damaging other relationships. Secondly, the curse alone can bring down a host of misfortunes upon a child's head. Thirdly, when a father dies, his koma will be sure to heap evil upon evil and finish off whatever the curse left undone.

Ritual means exist to allow Digo to remove this curse and re-establish the father-child link. Various close relatives of the conflicting individuals will try to effect such reconciliation at the earliest possible moment.

Digo say though women at times do quarrel with their children and may be so angered by their children that their koma can become a threat, they will never be able to reject their children. After all, Digo insist, children come from the womb of their mother, and nothing can break such a tie. It is also true that women in old age tend to be somewhat reliant upon their children than men are, and have even more reason not to renounce them. Even if they have to mortgaga all of their coconut trees or borrow money from various sources, most elderly widowers or divorced men will remarry so that they always have a wife to care for them. But many elderly widows or divorcees live with a favourite son or daughter, either because they have no desire to remarry or because they cannot obtain a new husband.

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In the sub location of Sega, with a population of about 750 in 1959, there have been no instances in the past 25 years where women did renounce their children with a curse, though there have been cases where slightly serious quarrels between mother and children occurred. In the same area, in the same length of time, there have been only two cases where a father disowned his children with a curse, though, again, there have been more instances of serious quarrel. Each of the curse-quarrels was reconciled, though only when the father was on his deathbed. In one of these, that involving Abdullah Pongwe and his sons, Digo feel that Abdullah really only made a half-hearted attempt at reconciliation. In any event, he did not remove his curse on Kasim, and this is reputed to be the cause of Kasim's continued leprosy.

The other curse-quarrel, that between Chisira Mwahamisi and his children; the sons, Kasim, Salim, Hassani and the daughters Nichisira Mviere, and Nichisira Mdide was completely reconciled in a ritual manner, but these children still speak badly of the now dead Chisira. They quarrelled with Chisira because he married another woman, Nicharo, some years after he married their mother, Nidodo, and came to favour this new wife and her three daughters by him more than he favoured

them and Nidodo. They also accused Nicharo of trying to kill them by witchcraft. Finally, about 1940, some 5 years after he married Nicharo, Chisira could stand no more: he cast them off with a curse, and divorced Nidodo. Under the headship of their eldest brother, Kasim, who was then about 25 years old, this full sibling group and their mother, Nidodo, formed their own residential and mutual security group, obtaining land for separate residence primarily from their matrilineage, Chinarama, but also from father's matrilineage, Chinadzore. The members of this lineage did not approve of his action in casting off his children, and they continued to regard the children as members of their group. Chisira had no full brothers, but his two closest half brothers, namely Juma Hamisi and Kasim Mwavesso, acted in his stead as "fathers" of these children. It was they who finally arranged the reconciliation with the dying Chisira, claiming that if Chisira died without revoking his curse, his koma would destroy Kasim Chisira and his siblings, and also bring bad luck to Chisira's brothers and other kin because they had not encouraged the re-establishment of a harmonious relationship. Their functions as baba were only honorary, however, and it was Kasim Chisira who became the effective leader of the sibling group. For

example, it was Kasim who paid for the bride price of Hassani Chisira's first wife. Such payment is a duty of father, and one which Chisira had eschewed. It was also Kasim who made the basic arrangements for the marriages of his two sisters, but, in accord with concepts of heshima or respect and honor, he gave Kasim Mwavesso the privilege of being the figurehead in these marriage arrangements. When reconciliation with Chisira was effected, Chisira was given a token portion of the bride price of Nichisira junior, who was being married at the time of Chisira's death. In the ceremony of reconciliation, kuasa ("to beg forgiveness") it was Kasim who begged Chisira forgiveness on behalf of the whole sibling group. Chisira accepted the plea, and swore that family relations would be as they were before the quarrel, and that his curse was lifted. A goat which Kasim brought was then slaughtered according to Islamic ritual, and Chisira was given the head of the goat to mark his renewed headship.

Just as Kasim Chisira has succeeded to the functions and role of father and can be relied upon by his siblings for important aid, so does he expect his siblings to help him and pay him a certain amount of respect. Respect may be indicated by terminology. The brother who assumes the position of baba may be termed baba, especially if he is much older than his

siblings. But, as in everything else, Digo have considerable choice in this matter. They may also call chief brother tsawe, or "grandfather," since a grandparent is equated with a sibling. It is more common to use tsawe than paba for the head of the sibling group, and it is not usual for Digo to term any sibling tsawe, either to pay him respect or to joke with him. Generally speaking, however, siblings of any age and position are most often called simply by the basic term, mwenehu.

If the sibling group consists of nothing but females, the eldest, in addition to the usual mwenehu, may be called mayo, or "mother," as well as wawa, or "grandmother." Wawa is used more than mayo, and is applied to show respect to or to joke with siblings of any age and position. In some instances, especially if the chief sibling does her work well, she may be termed paba to indicate that she is handling the affairs of the group as a father should.

Just as eldest sibling often becomes the effective head of the group after death or other misfortune removes the true father from the scene, so is it also possible for father to appoint one of his sons to act for him, on behalf of father, mother, and siblings, in a variety of family matters, including local disputes or government court cases. Ali Ngare, a man

of about 50, and a good father, has appointed his second eldest son Juma, about 25, to act in such capacity since Ali wishes now to take life easier and also to prepare Juma and Juma's siblings for his future role as baba, should Ali die. Juma was picked in preference to his slightly elder brother, Hamisi, as deputy since Hamisi is unreliable and does not aid his siblings or his parents as he should. Also, Hamisi cannot keep a wife longer than a few months and has no children because he has elephantiasis of the scrotum. Juma is stably married, has children, and is a good and helpful brother and son. His father and others claim that even as a child he shared things with his siblings and did not pick fights with them. Because of this, it is said that he has a "good heart." After Ali dies, Juma will probably remain group head. There are no other examples in Lungalunga where anyone but the eldest sibling is head of the sibling group.

In order to understand the functioning of the sibling group it is essential now to analyze the forces which bind siblings to one another, just as the bonds between parent and child have been studied.

The full sibling bond is established at birth and there exist no customary means whereby a man can reject his siblings by curse. There are rare instances of Digo quarrelling with

siblings to such extent that they break off friendly relations with them, but this is not done by curse, nor is there a ritual of reconciliation performed. There are also instances of Digo committing adultery with the wife of a brother, and a ritual is required to make amends and assure that, through threat of supernatural punishment, such adultery will not occur again. However, this is not actually reconciliation of a curse-quarrel. An "official" split in the sibling relationship is possible if father ritually disowns only some of his children, but, as has been indicated, children tend not to recognize such a split, and the disowned maintain close association with the non-disowned. Furthermore, if the occasion presents itself, Digo will attempt to extend sibblingship, just as they try to keep as many children in the group as possible to strengthen it. Thus, even though Abdullah Pongwe rejected Kasim, his other children have maintained full-sibling relationship with Kasim. At the same time, the sons of Kombo Mambo have apparently tended to believe that Kombo was the father because it has reinforced their affinal and friendship links with Abdullah's other children.

Similarly, Salim Njio finds it advantageous to be considered ndani mwenga with both the daughter of Selemani Chuo and the sons of Njio, and these siblings also consider

this worth while since it helps to support association for mutual aid.

In short, it can be said that relations between siblings are customarily harmonious and enduring and are recognized as being vital. However, just as the parent-child relationship is beset by stresses and strains, so is the sibling relationship.

In spite of their close adhesion, Digo say that full siblings are often very jealous of each other, especially in early childhood. It is possible that jealousy begins almost immediately in their life, that it in part comes from child-rearing methods. Children are breast-fed until the age of three or four or until yet another child is born to mother. Then they are suddenly and often forcibly weaned. If they resist milder weaning, they are either sent to mother's mother or sister to live apart from mother for a time, or mother smears crushed red pepper or dung on her breast and offers this to child with dramatic results. The weaned child is then completely replaced as the spoilt darling of his family by his baby brother or sister, and is told that it is his duty to look after the newcomer. It seems that this is the logical breeding ground for the envy which is such a feature of Digo life. Envy of younger sibling might

be submerged for a time, only to spread later throughout the full range of Digo relationship with kin, affines, neighbours, and others.

Digo, especially in childhood, are constantly told to curb manifest jealousy of siblings and to conform to the ideal of being a good brother or sister. If they must display envy and aggression, it should be directed elsewhere. They are told how important the sibling relationship is, and how wrong they are if they damage this relationship. They are informed of this not only by their parents, but also by a host of other close kinsmen, including mother's brother. Furthermore, the value and function of sibling association is manifest by the way in which father and mother help their siblings, and vice versa. The fact that siblings at an early age become responsible for each other, especially for the youngest, whom they have cause to envy the most, seems to control their open jealousy of each other. Jealousy is countered by a pattern of behaviour incompatible with jealousy - at least overt jealousy. This helps maintain balance, though it can never eliminate envy.

In later life, jealousy, aggressive tendencies, and suspicion of siblings rear their ugly heads in the form of witchcraft fears, accusations, and practices. On the one

hand, this is destructive to sibling solidarity, but on the other hand it induces siblings to put aside self-interest just when the temptation is greatest. Witchcraft fears and accusations are most in evidence when one member of a group of siblings, usually the eldest, inherits control of property which, but for his presence, other siblings would inherit. These siblings - and, indeed, all other kin who have claims to this property - will expect the actual heir to look after their interests in respect to his inheritance. Property is thus, in effect, jointly held under the trusteeship of a senior individual, who should administer it to the benefit of all. If he uses it only for his own benefit he will be challenged by them on legal grounds, and attacked by them with black magic, or at least he will fear this.

Digo do not like to talk, even among themselves, about witchcraft anxieties. These anxieties are manifest when Digo become seriously ill and have anti-witchcraft ritual to cure them. All serious illness and marked misfortune is attributed to witchcraft, and in many cases the persons suspected of such witchcraft include siblings or other kin envious of the victim's inheritance of property which they desired and had a lesser right to.

Some Digo are also suspected of killing their brothers by witchcraft in order to inherit property which brother

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developed on his own, and did not inherit. They may be dissuaded in such activities if brother is very generous with his wealth. This writer was reluctantly given a number of examples of Digo believed to be trying to kill brothers by witchcraft. Such witches now go unpunished, unless destroyed by counter-magic. In the old day, however, suspected witches were waylaid at night and executed by kinsmen. It was the duty of Digo to eliminate any kinsman who was a serious threat to society, even if he only injured non-kin. If magical means showed that a Digo killed another by witchcraft, this Digo and his matrikin had the duty of paying blood money, or kong, to the victim's matrikin. Some Digo cite an example of this occurring about 50 years ago. They also give an instance where, some 50 years ago, a group of full and half brothers executed one of their number who was trying to kill them by witchcraft in order to secure their property. There are probably other similar cases known, but these remain deep dark secrets.

It is worth noting at this time that those suspected of witchcraft include not only close kin, such as full siblings and parents, but all others with whom Digo really associate. This reflects the multilineal nature of Digo society. Distant kin, affines, and neighbours are also jealous of ego's good fortune, covetous of his gains, and angry because he is

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ungenerous. They all fear that if ego is wealthy he can use his wealth to obtain the loyalty and services of others at their expense. He can reduce the extent and strength of their mutual security associations in the process of building up his own. Therefore, they all have a reason to bring him down with whatever means are available, and witchcraft is often the best.

Witchcraft and curing ceremonies will be discussed in more detail, below. What is important in the context of this discussion of full siblings is that such siblings are motivated by witchcraft fears to help each other.

In addition to being involved with witchcraft, inheritance bears in other ways on sibling relationships. Full siblings are forced to be good to each other by the oft-repeated warning from close kin that if they exhibit disunity and jealousy they will lose primary control of either father's or mother's brother's property. They are reminded of current legal uncertainty and told that if their behaviour makes it evident that their joint inheritance of property will only pit them against each other, with junior members trying to usurp the position of the trustee of the property, they will not inherit. Instead, father's sister's sons or mother's brother's sons will take over to administer the property.

There is one time when the desire to extend full siblingship as far as possible meets with a severe test. This is when it costs those extending the relationship the property of a parent. The Njio case illustrates this. Njio died some years ago, and his full brother, Moyo, inherited his property. Moyo died in October 1959, and there was controversy over whether sister's sons or sons should inherit his own property and that which he obtained from Njio. The sons of Njio demanded that they should take over the coconut trees of Njio, and Salim, as eldest and as nominal head of his full-sibling group, assumed the right to act as the trustee of this property. Seifu and Bukhari, however, feared that he would use it only for his own enrichment and claimed that he should not be allowed to control it since he was not really the biological son of Njio, but rather the child of Selemani Chuo. Here they sharply reversed their former stand that he ndani mwenga because it served their best interests to do so. However, they were soon made to realize that if they took such a stand the property would go to sister's sons, who presented a united front.

Siblings often inherit from each other, both by the old matrilineal rule, and by the new patrilineal concept. Just as Igo are forced to help parents by the desire to

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inherit from parents, so are Digo forced to help siblings for the same reason. They worry about obstacles which siblings can put in their path by stating that they should not get his property, and fear that sibling's angry koma can destroy what they do inherit. They also fear sibling's koma in much the same general way as, though to a lesser degree than, they fear koma of parents.

To conclude this section, it may be said that the parent-child and full sibling relationships are established by birth and maintained throughout life by shared affection, important responsibilities, the fear of vengeance, envy of and pressures exerted by spouse's kin, the wish to be socially acceptable, and the desire to inherit property, succeed to group headship, and generally to receive aid and comfort in need. The other kin relationships to be discussed below are extensions of these nuclear relationships, and the forces which threaten them and which bind them together are essentially reflections of those mentioned. Therefore, it will only be necessary to discuss them briefly.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE EXTENDED FAMILY

A. General.

Digo marriage is relatively unstable. Of the 283 marriages surveyed in the sub-location of Segá, 25 ended in death and 90, or 35%, in divorce. It is common for divorced individuals quickly to marry others.

In the event of death of either spouse, the survivor also ordinarily remarries within a short time, especially if he or she is young.

Finally, Digo tend to be moderately polygynous. Out of 163 married men of all ages living in Segá during the period February - March 1960, 39, or 23%, had simultaneously more than one wife.

As a result of both remarriage and polygyny, the 163 married men living in Segá have had a total of 283 marriages. 55 men have had more than one wife in their lives, either simultaneously or successively. The total number of marriages effected by these 55 men is 147, and out of these, 97 marriages have resulted in children being born.

In short, many nuclear families were, in effect,

expanded by remarriage and plural marriage so that a large number of Digo children have half siblings. This is common throughout Digo District, and it had probably always been typical of Digo society.

There is, to be sure, a difference between the type of expanded family caused by the remarriage of (1) divorced individuals, (2) widowed individuals, and, (3) by plural marriages.

In the first case, all members of the nuclear family remain alive and the nuclear family itself can be regarded as being still intact, though divided. However, there exists always the tendency for one or each parent in divorce to try to compound children of the divorced union to his or her new family.

In the second case, the death of one parent eliminates the original nuclear family and remarriage may compound the remainder of the nuclear family to a new family, resulting in the formation of a compound family. Most children whose fathers have died, affiliate to the father's brother as their new baba rather than to the mother's new husband, however, and many live and associate with the father's brother's children

as much or more than with the mother's children by her new marriage. The number of fatherless children also affiliate to the mother's brother and his children as much or more than to any other set of kin. In the first and second case, therefore, the nature and direction of compounding varies according to the situation and personal choice.

In the third case, polygyny results in the compounding through a common father of two or more women and their children into a compound family.

Both remarriage and plural marriage create the same categories of half siblings and both remarriage after divorce and after widowhood create the same step-parent types. Therefore, for the purposes of elucidating kin categories it seems advisable to consider the effects of all three multiple marriage situations as resulting in the formation of expanded families, and to discuss them in one section.

B. Relationships resulting from remarriage after divorce.

In the event that mother and father are divorced, ego and his siblings should try to maintain good relationships with each parent and should not neglect either.

Indeed, the ideal is that the same complex of principal rights and duties between each parent and children should be maintained as if divorce had not occurred. This ideal is often adhered to somewhat closely, especially where both parents and children live in the same neighbourhood. However, mother's brother and stepfather often share at least somewhat in father's rights and duties, and father's sister and stepmother occasionally share some of mother's rights and duties. Each stepfather, that is, each of mother's husbands is termed bsbs, irrespective of ego's association with him. Similarly, each of father's wives is termed mayo.

If they are under the age of about 10, children normally remain with mother, after her divorce, no matter where she lives, and form new sets of associations on the basis of this residence. After divorce, women usually return to live with their siblings and/or parents until they remarry. Her children may hence come even more under the influence of mother's brother than is customary. Sometimes such influence is so lasting that children tend to affiliate more to mother's brother than any other parent surrogate throughout their lives, especially as in

the case of Abdulleh Pongwe, if father renounces children or dies.

When divorced women are remarried, their young children living with them may become somewhat closely attached to the stepfather. It is common for Digo to be good to wife's children by former marriage and some try to wean them away from devotion to true father, or at least to obtain a standing equal to that real father. This is in accord with the practice of expanding kin links as far as possible to provide bases for mutual security association. The desire for such expansion usually causes Digo to repress any jealousy because the stepchild is the result of another's cohabitation with the wife. The statements men make about their stepchildren and the wife's former husband seem to indicate that such jealousy is present, though hidden. When a man is very devoted to his stepchild he admits only reluctantly that it is not his true child. If ego does not care for his stepchildren, then the biological father or father's brothers or mother's brother or other kin of these stepchildren will tell ego to improve his behaviour or they will take the children from him.

In some instances, the stepfather may assume so many of the duties of father that society endorses his non-legal claim to the privilege of arranging marriages for his stepchildren, and to receiving at least a share of the bride wealth paid for stepdaughters. Stepfather's claim becomes even more just if the biological father has not yet paid malezi, and, of course, it becomes fully valid and stepfather becomes the legal father of these children when he, instead of biological father, pays malezi for them.

As long as the biological father has paid malezi for his children, or at least promises to do so, he will always remain legally in control of them, and he will often wish to have them live with him when they no longer need the care of mother. Residence for grown children is varied and considerable choice exists, but generally sons reside with father, while daughters tend slightly to remain more with mother than father. No matter with whom they primarily live, however, sons and daughters will visit their other parent frequently and for a period of time ranging from a few hours to weeks or even month. If, as sometimes happens, Digo do not like their stepfathers, they

will try to avoid them. A few examples will help clarify the points discussed:

1. Muhammad Abdullah and Chuo.

Muhammad, the son of Abdullah Pongwe, married Ning'anzi after her divorce from Mwinyi, the son of Selemani Chuo. Chuo, the son Ning'anzi bore Mwinyi in about 1951, lives with Muhammad and Ning'anzi. He has the same rights and duties in respect to his mother and stepfather as does his half brother, Pongwe, the son of Muhammad and Ning'anzi, born in about 1953. Since Mwinyi lives and works in Nairobi and has no wife there, he and his kin and Ning'anzi and her kin agree that Chuo should continue to be reared by Muhammad. Muhammad speaks disparagingly of Mwinyi, claiming that he lives with prostitutes in Nairobi. He also did not like to tell this writer that Chuo was not his son.

2. Muhammad Abdullah and Fumbwe Mwadodo.

Muhammad bin Abdullah Pongwe and his full siblings have Fumbwe Mwadodo as their stepfather, since he married their mother after her divorce from Abdullah Pongwe. They were not reared by Fumbwe after Abdullah disowned them, but by Juma Hamisi, their mother's full brother.

Muhammad and his brothers still live in the same homestead as Juma Mamizi, and it was Juma who paid a major portion of the bride wealth for each of their first wives. However, Fumbwe Mwadodo gave them rights to fertile and well-watered land for maize and banana cultivation and this encourages them to aid him and be on good terms with him.

3. Kasim Dzihambo and binti Fumbwe.

Kasim Dzihambo married Fatuma binti Athumani Ruwa after her divorce from Fumbwe Mwadodo, and it was Kasim who reared Fatuma's daughter by Fumbwe Mwadodo. When this daughter, binti Fumbwe, was married recently, the groom and his father wished to pay bride wealth to Kasim Dzihambo since it was well-known that he had cared more for binti Fumbwe than had Fumbwe. She was living with Kasim at the time of her courtship and marriage, and Halifani Athumani agreed that Kasim Dzihambo was more her father than Fumbwe Mwadodo, especially since Fumbwe had not yet paid malezi for her. Kasim, however, after thanking the groom and his father for their courtesy in recognizing his role as baba, told them to deal only with Fumbwe Mwadodo in this matter. He wanted no trouble

with Fumbwe, and it was enough that the groom's party came first to him. As noted in Chapter I, Fumbwe kept the entire bride wealth of 300 shillings for himself. Digo felt that he did very wrong in not giving Kasim Dzihambo at least a share of this money to repay him for his expenses in rearing Fumbwe's daughter, but they agree that Kasim has no legal right to such a share.

4. Jigi Mwamambo and Hussaini.

Jigi Mwamambo married binti Hamisi ya Tahu ("the third born") after her divorce from Omari Mwaduka of Jambe, near Jego, in about 1940. She bore Omari one son, Hussaini, in about 1940. Since Omari was poor and shiftless, it was Jigi who reared Hussaini, and Hussaini still lives with Jigi, and visits Omari only on occasion. Jigi and Juma Hamisi, the full brother of binti Hamisi, each contributed about 50 shillings to help Hussaini pay bride wealth of 180 shillings, and Jigi was his marriage representative. Hussaini paid the balance of this bride wealth amount from money earned while working on the docks in Mombasa. Omari Mwaduka contributed nothing.

Omari Mwaduka never paid the full sum of malezi for Hussaini, but Jigi and Juma Hamisi agreed that Hussaini should nevertheless bear the name of Omari and be regarded as Omari's son. However, since Hussaini is so closely tied to Jigi, he is often referred to by his friends and matrilineal kin as Mwajigi.

Relations with stepmother tend not to be as good as those with stepfather. Digo often quarrel with stepmother, accusing her of favouring her children at their expense. Digo say that a woman must love the children of her womb more than her stepchildren. This conflict is especially marked if children live in the same homestead with father and stepmother. Males usually get along slightly better with stepmother than do females, and this probably accounts for the tendency of females to live with their mother and stepfather rather than with father and stepmother. Perhaps one reason why stepmothers are so suspected and disliked is because they become the scapegoats to take the blame for any quarrel between father and children or between half siblings.

For example, Hemedi Mwarua married Nitsembeya Mviere in about 1932, and she bore him three sons, Juma,

Saidi, and Muhammad. Then he divorced her and married in about 1945 to Nikuro binti Ali Ngare. Mitsembeya died soon after the divorce, and her sons were raised partly by Hemedi Mwarua and his wife, and partly by the next younger sister of Nitsembeya, who lived with her husband, Juma, son of Abdullah Pongwe, only a few hundreds yards distant from Hemedi's house. These sons often quarrelled with Nikuro, and matters came to a head in 1958 when Hemedi Mwarua obtained 200 shillings from his cotton crop. Hemedi's sons by Nitsembeya Mviera claimed that they had need of some of this cotton money for various purposes. For one thing, at the time of this cotton harvest, a daughter of the youngest of the three Nitsembeya sisters was very ill due to childbirth complications, and these sons of the senior Nitsembeya desired to contribute money to send her to hospital. For another, Muhammad Mwahemedi wanted to obtain a wife and needed bride wealth money. In neither of these things did Hemedi Mwarua help them because he claimed that all his money was needed to send his two eldest sons by Nikuro to the government primary school. He said that they were old enough to pay for the medical

care themselves, and all also had the opportunity to raise cotton or to make money in other ways. They argued that they had never received any education, and that Hemedi was being very unfair in giving so much to Nikuro's sons. They blamed Nikuro for this, rather than Hemedi and his children by Nikuro. Their matrilineal kin, angered by the fact that Hemedi did not give aid for the sick daughter of the youngest Nitsembeya, said that Nikuro was trying to cause Juma, Saidi and Muhammad to quarrel with Hemedi so that Hemedi would disown them and give everything to her children. Eventually, apparently after Hemedi gave his promise to help Muhammad obtain a wife as soon as he had found a suitable one, some degree of harmony was restored to this group. But the basic antagonisms still exist, ready to flare up into open conflict again if any favouritism is even hinted at.

Although stepmother may be disliked by ego, it usual for relations to be cordial with her children, especially those fathered by ego's father. It is realized that association with them may be rewarding.

Similarly, relations with children of stepfather, especially if their mother is ego's mother, are usually cordial. All such children are termed enehu (mwenehu) by ego. To define their relationship more precisely, each half sibling with the same father as, but a different mother than ego, ordinarily is termed by ego mwenehu baba mwenga ("one father"). Each half sibling with the same mother as ego, but a different father, is termed ordinarily by ego mwenehu mayo mwenga. It is also not uncommon for half siblings with the same mother as ego to be referred to by ego as enehu ndani mwenga kwa mayo ("siblings who are one womb by mother"). To a slightly lesser extent, half siblings with the same father as ego are referred to by ego as enehu ndani mwenga kwa baba. At times, especially for those half siblings with a common mother, the kwa ("by") is not added and they are classed simply as enehu ndani mwenga. Ndani mwenga is chiefly used as an all-inclusive term when it is desirable to emphasize the unity of a group of half siblings. For example, if a group of half siblings quarrel they may be reminded by their elders that they should not behave in such a manner because, after all,

they are adani mwenga.

In general, it may be said that relations with half siblings closely approximate relations with full siblings. Digo say that in former times, when matrilineal principles were dominant, enehu mayo mwenga were more important to ego than enehu baba mwenga. The "side of mother," or kuchetuni, was then stronger by far than kulumeni, or the "side of father." Enehu mayo mwenga often inherited from ego, and in the absence of full siblings, or even in their presence, a senior mwenehu mayo mwenga often became as a baba to ego and cared for him as a father replacement. There are many instances where Digo have been dependent upon such half siblings for important economic and other aid.

The mayo mwenga relationship is still vital to the Digo because matrilineal concepts continue to exist, probably in much of their former strength, if not in their former uncontested dominance. Digo would not willingly discard a relationship so productive of aid even if cultural change made it possible to do so.

Enehu baba mwenga are, at least currently, as

important to ego as mayo mwenga. Patrilineal principles now rival matrilineal principles. Because of frequent patrilocal residence, particularly in ego's early years, he grows up with his baba mwenga siblings. (A survey of residence patterns in Segha indicated that patrilocal residence during the first 25 years of life is as common as all other types combined, including avunculocal, neolocal and matrilocal.) Because of an increasing tendency for children to inherit from father, ego may share father's property with enehu baba mwenga. If a senior mwenehu baba mwenga becomes the trustee of father's property, ego will expect to be as well cared for by this trustee as this trustee's full siblings. It should be noted that there is as yet no provision which permits ego to inherit the property created by his mwenehu baba mwenga. Ego inherits from his baba, or his awu, or his real mwenehu ndani mwenga, or his mwenehu mayo mwenga, or any two or more of these together, but he never inherits from his mwenehu baba mwenga unless the property involved was initially inherited by this mwenehu baba mwenga from baba.

Examples of relationships between half siblings

will be presented indirectly in connection with illustrations of other relationships and other aspects of Bigo social behaviour. In addition, three direct examples will be presented immediately:

1. Hussaini Omari.

It has already been mentioned that Jigi Mwachambo reared Hussaini Omari practically as a full son although he was the biological son of Jigi's wife, binti Hamisi ya Tahu, by her second husband, Omari Mwachuka. Hussaini's relations with the children of Jigi by Jigi's first wife, Nigona, are good. He also has fairly good relations with Hamisi Ali, the son of binti Hamisi ya Tahu by her first husband, Ali Kasirani, and to the children of binti Hamisi who are fathered by Jigi. Furthermore, he does not ignore the children of Omari Mwachuka by another woman. When Omari died in 1959, all of the children of Jigi and binti Hamisi mentioned above helped Hussaini meet his obligations, financial and otherwise, at the funeral and wake for Omari. When they worked together for this occasion, and in respect only to this occasion, they were identified as a functioning group by the title of china-Hussaini, since

Hussaini was the link which bound them together as a corporate unit. Similarly, if any or all of these full and half siblings and stepsiblings combine as a unit for any other occasion, particularly to help any other one of their number, they are termed the china- of this sibling for whom they act corporately.

2. Hamisi bin Ali Kasirani.

Before her marriage to Omari Mwaduka, binti Hamisi ya Tahu was married to Ali Kasirani and bore him a son, Hamisi. Reportedly because he suspected her infidelity, Ali divorced her. Later, primarily for economic reasons, Ali moved to Msambweni, a large coastal fishing village in Digo District. Hamisi did not wish to live in Msambweni and does not get along well with Ali or Ali's current wife. He prefers Ali's full, senior, and far wealthier brother, Nassoro Kasirani, who still lives in Lunglunga. Hamisi has never lived with his stepfather, Jigi, as did Hussaini Omari, but instead has always lived in Nassoro Kasirani's homestead, or mudzi. This is located only a few hundred yards from Jigi's mudzi.

Although Hamisi was not married to Ninkindu, the

daughter of Jigi Swamambo and Kigoa, he got Ninkindu with child. At the time he did this, Ninkindu was engaged to another young man of Lungalunga, Juma Omeri. Juma, helped by his father and father's father (who mortgaged some coconut trees to obtain 100 shillings), had already paid 300 shillings towards her bride wealth of 350 shillings.

Though Juma was engaged (kuchomba) to Ninkindu, her action was not regarded as adultery, as it is in the case of some neighbouring Nyika tribes. However it was still a very serious matter, and Juma and his kin were as furious as was Jigi. The problem was discussed before a gathering of kin, affines and neighbours of Jigi, Hamisi and Juma. It was decided, after long and often acrimonious argument, that Jigi should return Juma's bride wealth and the engagement ended since Juma no longer desired Ninkindu. It was also determined that Hamisi should pay 200 shillings adabu or "punishment and manners" fee to Jigi to compensate him for this act and the immediate loss of the bride wealth. The half siblings of Hamisi remained relatively neutral in this matter, except that Ninkindu's

full brothers asked that they be given malezi for her child by Hamisi. The main concern of Jigi's other children, especially those by binti Hamisi, was to restore harmony to the family group, and make peace between Jigi and Hamisi.

Jigi had, at first, demanded the full 300 shillings amount as adabu, but was prevailed upon to request only 200 shillings by his other children and binti Hamisi. Hamisi said at first that he would pay no more than 40 shillings to cover malezi for his child. Finally submitting to the arguments of his mother and her other children, he agreed to pay substantially more than 40 shillings. Indeed, he said that he would pay as much as 300 shillings if Jigi demanded it - as long as this amount would be considered bride wealth and he could marry Kimkindu with it. Jigi indignantly refused, saying that he would never let his daughter marry the son of his wife, for such a thing would be very "dirty" indeed, and cause people to laugh at Jigi and his kin. It was bad enough that Hamisi had slept with Kimkindu, but to marry her - - - never! Everyone except Hamisi agreed with Jigi. Even Hamisi's

kin pointed out that although there was no law forbidding such a marriage, no one in Lungalunga does marry so close a step-sibling. Hamisi resisted for a time, arguing that Islam allows marriages of this type, but at last he surrendered. Aided by Nassoro Kasirani, as baba surrogate, and by the sons of binti Hamisi ya Mwenga (the full sister of binti Hamisi ya Tahu), namely bin Abdullah Pongwe and his brothers, and by Hussaini bin Omari Mwaduka. Hamisi paid 200 shillings to Jigi. 40 shillings of this went to Nimkindu's full brothers as malezi.

After a month or more went by, Jigi's anger at Hamisi decreased to some extent, and he was urged by binti Hamisi and his children by binti Hamisi to return to Hamisi 100 shillings of the adabu. He did so, in the presence of Nassoro Kasirani and Muhammad Abdullah, who also received a share of this. In this manner, harmony was restored to the group. After a lapse of two years, Juma Omari even married Nimkindu, Hamisi, however, still desires her as a wife, and at the time this writer left Lungalunga in April 1960, it was rumored that Hamisi was going to cause her to separate

from June and marry him, in spite of public opinion.

C. Relationships Resulting from the Remarriage of Widows and Widowers.

If father dies and mother remarries, there is perhaps a greater chance for ego to become attached to his stepfather than if his father were alive and able to contest the influence of stepfather. However, even if ego's father is dead, ego's father's brothers usually act as father replacements and limit a stepfather's sway over ego.

Similarly, if ego's mother dies, it is perhaps somewhat easier for his stepmother to win ego over to her side if she desires to, than if his real mother were still alive. However, it is very unlikely that a stepmother will wish to become very friendly with ego, and, again, the sisters of ego's dead mother will act as mother replacements to keep ego from too great an affection for his stepmother.

ego's relations with half siblings and step-siblings resulting from the remarriage of either of his widowed parents are the same as those with half siblings and step-siblings resulting from remarriage after divorce.

D. Relationships Resulting from Polygynous Marriage.

Digo's relations with his mother's co-wives, also each called mayo, are usually not good. Each woman will attempt to obtain favours for herself and her children at the expense of other co-wives and their children. Jealousy is usually rampant in such a situation. Indeed, a Digo woman terms her co-wife mwivu, or "envious person." (This is in sharp contrast to Duruma, who call co-wives mukazi, or "helpful person," to signify that they help each other in agricultural and domestic duties.)

Although there are some notable exceptions, many Digo women are antagonistic towards their co-wives and the children of co-wives to such extent that they try to cause their husbands to divorce these co-wives, and also to break off good relations with their children by these co-wives. A number of divorces do seem to occur because of co-wife's machinations; but it is seldom that a jealous woman is able to do as Niharoo did to Chisira (as noted in Chapter I), and cause her husband to quarrel seriously with his children by another wife. The father-child relationship is stronger by far than the husband-wife relationship.

In spite of poor relations with the co-wife of mother, Bigo customarily have the usual good relations with the children of their father by a co-wife of their mother. These half siblings are also termed enehu baba mwenge. Only when mother's co-wife is very hostile to ego and causes her children to dislike ego, will ego have poor relations with these children. Since such conflict is a relatively unnatural state of affairs and not at all to be desired, ego will attempt to establish good relations with them as soon as conditions permit.

For example, Kasim Chisira has tried on several occasions to become at least slightly friendly with Nicharo's daughters by Chisira, but he has always been rebuffed. He wished to act as their marriage guardians and go-betweens since they have no closer matrilineally- or patrilineally- linked male kin than he, but Nicharo indignantly refused each time he asked. Probably Kasim was so persistent because he felt that he would obtain a share in the bride wealth of these girls if he acted as their guardian. Since he was rejected as a marriage guardian, when one of these daughters of Chisira and

Richardo was allegedly possessed with evil spirits and made very ill by them, neither Nabin nor his full brothers or sisters went to her curing ceremony or sent money to help pay for it. This is a certain sign of poor kinship relations. Nabin does, however, say that as soon as Richardo dies, he will again attempt to associate with Richardo's daughters as a mwenehu baba mwenga should.

E. Summary.

To summarize and conclude this chapter on the expanded family, it may be said that ego's relations with his stepfather, his half siblings and his step-siblings are normally good, but that ego's relations with his stepmother or the co-wives of his mother are often bad, primarily because of envy.

Just as it is very common for full siblings throughout their lives to maintain a fair degree of cohesiveness, act as a group in many activities and often reside together in the homestead, or mudzi, or at least in the same sub-location, so it is fairly common for half siblings to maintain some degree of cohesiveness and act corporately in many matters, including residence. It is much less common for step-

siblings to work together, but this also happens. such cohesiveness and group action is a function of many variables including personal choice.

The children, grandchildren, and subsequent descendants of full and half siblings and step-siblings may join each other and/or their respective antecedents in such corporate behaviour. They may also live together in the same homestead, and they may share property and land descended matrilineally, patrilineally, and bilaterally. This causes the extension of the nuclear and expanded family in space and in time, and forms what may best be termed multi-lineal kin groups. Nuclear and expanded families do not exist in isolation, but are an integral part of multi-lineal kin groups of varying, almost indefinite, size and composition. The next chapter will be devoted to a discussion of such groups.

CHAPTER III

MEMBERSHIP IN GROUPS AND KIN CATEGORIES

A. General.

A number of nuclear or expanded families related by kinship and/or affinity live together in large homesteads, called midzi (singular, madzi), and often work together in essential ways, and share important rights and duties. The core of such extended, aggregate families is often a group of full or half siblings, or the descendants of such siblings. Some groups tend to be composed chiefly of individuals related through matrilineal links to a common ancestress, and an important basis for their association and co-operation is their mutual sharing of land and property descended matrilineally. However, attached to such groups are kin who trace descent to this common ancestress through male links, and who also have a share in this property and use this land.

Some groups tend more to be composed chiefly of descendants of a common ancestor, traced patrilineally, and the basis for their co-operation and association is their mutual sharing of land and property descended

patrilineally. Again, however, there are affiliated to such groups kin who trace descent through female links to this male ancestor and have a share in this property and land.

These kin groups merge almost imperceptibly, both spatially and genealogically, by bilateral, or rather multilinear, links, multilinear sharing of property and land, into other neighbouring multilinear kin groups so that the whole community and beyond is encompassed by multilinear kin groupings. From the nucleus of his own family, ego's kinship links spread ever outward, into wider and wider circles without end. The bulk of his effective relationships are centered in the area contained within a sub-location, such as Sega or Madzoreni, but many extend into other sub-locations within ego's location, such as Lungalunga, and some extend beyond the location, and into locations throughout the entire Digo area in Kenya and Tanganyika. In this manner, people living within a large geographical area are linked together by important ties of kinship and affinity.

It has already been pointed out that Lungalunga

Location tends to be divided into two main divisions: the Jega - Makwonyeni - Maczoreni cluster on one hand, and the Jego - Dzirive cluster on the other. However, in spite of this division, the Yombo in Lungalunga, chiefly Selemani Chuo and his siblings, are linked to the Yombo at Jego and all of the multilinely-reckoned kin of the Chuo group in Lungalunga also extend kinship to the Jego Yombo, and vice versa. These relationships were clearly manifested in 1959, when Digo and other Africans of slave descent living in Vanga decided to move from this centre of the now-hated Arabs and establish residence and cultivations in a fertile, but vacant area of land near Jego. This land desired by the Vanga Digo had once been used by Yombo ancestors of the sons of Chuo. Because of this, the Chuo group, together with over 25 multilinely-reckoned kinsmen, went to Jego to meet with the Yombo there, and to discuss presentation of this land to the people of Vanga. Consultation with every Yombo, including those who are related to this group of lineages only through their father or grandfather, assures that in the future no Yombo will be able to contest the right of the Vanga people to this land.

In a similar manner, the Chinarama of Lungalunga have close Chinarama kin in Duga Location, Tanganyika and in Waa Location (near Mombasa, Kenya), and sometimes work together with them. The multilinely- reckoned kin of the Chinarama in each of these areas have, therefore, such widely-spread kinship links as well.

Thus, kinship links of any Digo ramify almost endlessly to create a complex, intertwined network of relationships, much like a spider's web in pattern. The centre of this web of kinship is usually the most important section of it, but every part of the web is potentially functional.

Although anyone of his kinsmen in this far-flung network of multilinely-reckoned kin may be of value at certain times, it is impossible for a Digo to associate closely with all his kin. The extent of association is primarily a factor of four vital aspects of Digo culture, namely inheritance and succession, residence, land tenure, and ritual. These aspects are regulated by the original matrilineal principle, which remains slightly dominant, and by successive patrilineal modifications of this principle. Because

of this, the average Digo associates primarily with: (1) close matrilineally-linked kinsmen, that is, those descended matrilineally from a common ancestress usually no more than five generations removed from ego; (2) very close patrilineally-linked kinsmen, that is, those descended patrilineally from a common ancestor usually no more than two generations removed from ego; (3) very close bilaterally-linked kinsmen, that is, (a) those descended bilaterally from a common ancestor usually no more than three generations removed (father's mother's mother), and (b), those descended bilaterally from a common ancestress usually no more than two generations removed (mother's father).

Matrilineages, called mafuko (singular, fuko) still exist as discernible groups in Digo society, although, as groups, they have but one major function, namely the contribution of money to funerals and wakes. Each Digo belongs to both his mother's and his father's matrilineage. Furthermore, incipient patrilineages exist, and each Digo belongs to the incipient patrilineage of his father. Such lineages extend like spokes from the centre of the Digo kinship web to give it form and

to extend it in time and space.

It is, therefore, seen that Digo society still has unilineal orientation in spite of the general bilateral structure at the centre of the kinship network which surrounds ego. Because of this, it is best to characterize Digo social organization as multi-lineal rather than bilateral. This gives emphasis to both the unilineal and bilateral elements in Digo society.

China-, nyumba ya..., and mryangu ya... ("door"), are all used by Digo to identify each group of multi-lineally-linked kinsmen who combine for any function and exist in respect to this function as a more or less distinct unit. For the purposes of this paper, however, only mryangu ya... (plural, miryangu ya) will henceforth be used to refer to any such multilineal group. Nyumba ya will be used to refer to a unilineal group, and china ya will be used to refer to a group many of whose members are not related to a common ancestor.

Miryangu ya is prefixed to the name of the nearest ancestor or ancestress held in common by those acting corporately in any function. For example, the multi-

lineal group diagrammed in chart holds some land and property in common. Many members of it live, or lived before their death, within the same mudzi or within close neighbouring midzi. Nimasuo is the nearest ancestress of all members of the group, and thus the group is known as mrangu ya Nimasuo.

It must be kept in mind that mrangu ya Nimasuo exists only in respect to that property and land descended through Nimasuo to all members of the group. In respect to other property and land descended from other ancestors of the members of this mrangu, or in respect to many other functions involving any of these members, this group is of less or of no significance, and merges with a larger group or splits into segments which either stand alone or themselves merge with other groups. Miryangu are, therefore, very flexible in their composition. This is true of all other elements and groupings within Digo social organization, as will be made clear. It is, of course, but another aspect of the general flexibility which pervades all aspects of Digo culture.

The rest of this chapter will be devoted to an analysis of the essential kin categories which result

from the multilinear extension of the nuclear and expanded family.

B. Terminology.

1. Kulumeni and Kuchetuni.

All kin related to ego through father, reckoned bilaterally, that is, traced equally through males and females, are kulumeni, or "male side" kin. All kin related bilaterally through mother are kuchetuni, or "female side" kin.

2. Enchu and akoi.

Ego terms each of his or her full siblings and half siblings as mwenuhu. These will be referred to as real siblings. Ego also terms each of his real or classificatory parallel cousins as mwenuhu. These will be referred to as classificatory siblings or classificatory enuhu. Ego terms each of his real or classificatory cross cousins mkoi (akoi).

For purposes of more definition, Digo often refer to a classificatory sibling related bilaterally to ego through his father as a mwenuhu mwana baba; and a classificatory sibling related to ego bilaterally through his mother as a mwenuhu mwana mayo.

Furthermore, a real or classificatory mkoi related to ego bilaterally through his father (father's "sister") is a mkoi wa kulumeni; and through mother (mother's "brother") is mkoi wa kuchetuni.

3. Anobaba, Anomayo, Anotsangazi, Anoawu.

Each male mwenehu or mkoi, real or classificatory, of ego's real father is ego's classificatory "father", or baba (anobaba). Each female mwenehu or mkoi, real or classificatory, of ego's real mother is ego's classificatory "mother", or mayo (anomayo). Each female mwenehu or mkoi, real or classificatory, of ego's father is ego's tsangazi (anotsangazi). Each male mwenehu or mkoi, real or classificatory, of mother is awu (anoawu).

It is thus seen that the child of anyone whom ego terms mayo or baba is his mwenehu. The child of anyone whom ego terms awu or tsangazi is his mkoi.

4. Ana and Awa.

Anyone whom ego terms baba, mayo, or tsangazi, terms him or her as mwana (ana)....Anyone whom ego terms awu terms him or her muwa.

Ego may, for the sake of courtesy, term a real or

classificatory mwana as baba or mayo; and a real or classificatory muwa as awu or tsangazi, depending upon sex and relationship. This is because the first ascending generation is equated to first descending generation. Each is a generation into which ego should not marry and whose members ego must treat with respect. Ego is most likely to term a classificatory mwana as baba or mayo, and a classificatory muwa as awu or tsangazi if he or she is about as old as ego.

5. Anotsawe and Anowawa.

Each real or classificatory baba or awu of ego's father or mother is tsawe (anotsawe), or "grandfather," real or classificatory.

Similarly, each real or classificatory mayo or tsangazi of ego's father or mother is wawa (anowawa), or "grandmother", real or classificatory. In effect, all individuals in ego's second ascending generation are either anotsawe or anowawa.

For definition, each tsawe or wawa related bilaterally through father is, respectively, tsawe wa kulumeni or wawa wa kulumeni; and each tsawe or wawa related to ego bilaterally through mother is, respectively, tsawe or

wawa wa kuchetuni.

Ego equates the members of his second ascending generation with those of his own generation, so that anyone whom his mother's mother's brother terms mwenchu, ego may also term mwenchu, in addition to tsawe or wawa, and anyone whom his mother's mother's brother terms mkoi, ego may also term mkoi, in addition to tsawe or wawa. Ego's behaviour in respect to his snotsawe and anowawa roughly approximates his behaviour in respect to his enehu or akoi. He may joke with anyone of his own or his second ascending generation, and he may marry anyone whom his mother's mother's brother also may marry. The basis for this system is to be found in the past division of Digo society into exogamous quarters termed mweria, mwana mweria, mugwa and mwana mugwa. This is a very complicated subject and will be discussed in detail in chapter V.

A Digo terms the members of his third and higher ascending generations in accordance with the fact that those of his second-ascending generation are equated either with enehu or akoi. By this system, each person whom ego's mother's mother's brother terms baba, or mayo,

or awu, or tsangazi, ego terms, respectively, baba mviere, moyo mviere, awu mviere, and tsangazi mviere. (Mviere means "senior"). Similarly, each person whom ego's mother's mother's brother termed tsawe or wawa, usually more precisely defined, however, as tsawe or wawa ya kahiri ("in second place"). For successive generations, the terminology cycle is repeated in accordance with the fact of generation equivalence. To indicate these successively higher generations, numbers are used as follows: ya tahu ("third place"); ya nne ("fourth"); ya tsano ("fifth place"); etc.

6. Adzukulu.

Anyone whom ego terms tsawe or wawa terms him or her mdzukulu (adzukulu). The reciprocal term for tsawe or wawa ya kuchetuni or kulumeni is respectively, mdzukulu ya kuchetuni or kulumeni.

Since adzukulu are also equated with enehu or akoi, the ana and awa of adzukulu may be termed, respectively, ana and awa, or ana adide and awa adide (-dide means "little".) However, Digo customarily term each individual in third descending generation chitukulu (vitukulu). Below, this, the usual system prevails, and the terminology

cycle is a point. Understandably, Digo seldom refer to or use the terms for those individuals who are above or below second ascending and descending generations.

C. Behaviour.

Behaviour between kin established by the extension of the nuclear and expanded family reflects multi-lineal social organization.

A general characteristic of all such behaviour is that ego's relations with close classificatory enehu, anobaba, anomayo, anoawu, anotsangazi, ana and awa tend to approximate his relations with real members of these same categories, at least to the extent to which these classificatory members act as the replacements, the surrogates, or the assistants of the real members. This will be made clear in the following analysis of behaviour between ego and classificatory members of these categories.

1. Enehu.

Ego's relations with his close classificatory siblings are ordinarily relatively harmonious and rewarding. However, they are often beset by the same

kind of conflict over property and inheritance that troubles relations between full and half siblings. Witchcraft fears extend to all classificatory siblings with whom ego ordinarily associates in important matters relating to land and property. In some cases, often owing to the absence of or the poverty or unfriendliness of full or half siblings, a close classificatory patrilineally- or matrilineally-linked sibling becomes as important or more important to a Digo than these real siblings. A close classificatory sibling may be the head of ego's residential group, and/or land-holding group, and/or property-owning group.

In those instances where a group of matrilineally-linked or even patrilineally-linked classificatory siblings associate very closely, they may refer to themselves as ndani mwenga, or mayo or baba mwenga to emphasize this unity.

As an example of behaviour between classificatory siblings, it is worth commenting on the Mryangu ya Nimasuo, which is shown on chart 1.

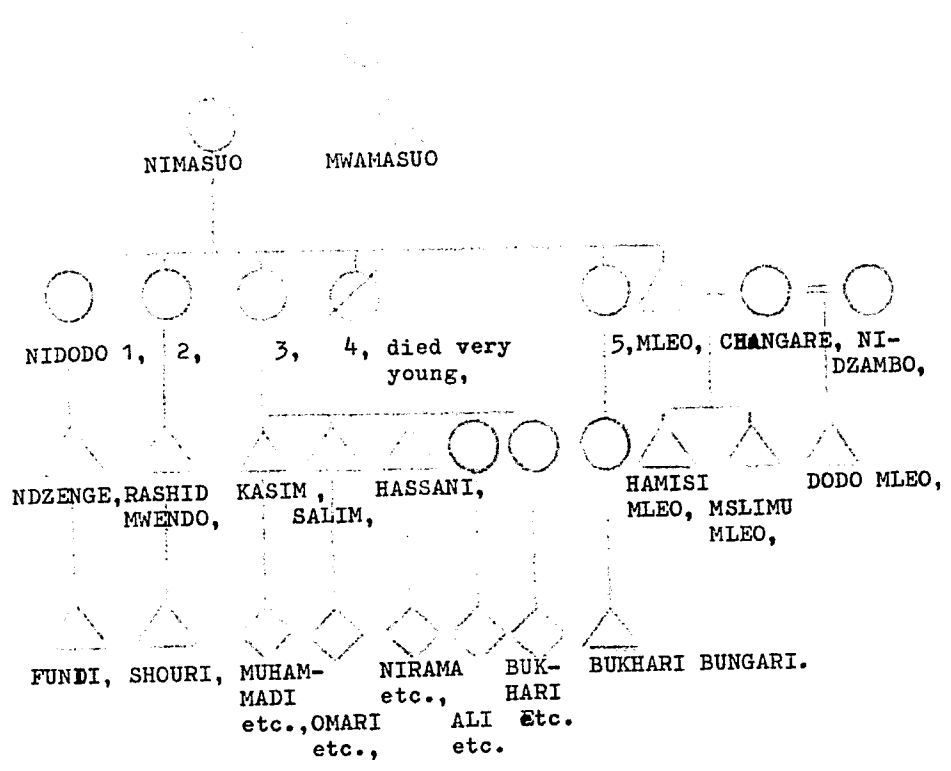


CHART NO: 1.

Nwamasuo and Nmasuo both planted coconut palms on Ohinerama land lying along the River Umba in Soga (Luagelunga). Furthermore, Nwamasuo inherited some coconut palms from his matrilineal ancestors. When Nwamasuo died, control of these coconut palms and nyangu itself passed to Nmasuo. Upon her death, her son, Mleo Mwadodo, the full brother of the Nidodo sisters, took over the palms and the nyangu. When he died, control of both the palms and the nyangu then passed to Nidodo Mviere. After some years during which she personally managed the inherited coconut orchards, she gave them to her only son, Ndzenge, to manage.

During her life, Nidodo used money earned both from selling coconuts and from mortgaging the palms themselves to assure that her sisters and sister's children received financial aid for ritual, medicine, bride wealth, and other essentials. By the time of her death, her only surviving full sister was Nidodo ya Tahu. Nidodo ya Tahu took over as nyangu head and in this capacity, would have been able to force Ndzenge to give the orchards into her care had he abused his

authority over them. As long as she lived, she saw to the welfare of everyone in the Mryangu, or so it is alleged. When she died, Ndzenge's authority over the coconut palm was subject to scrutiny only by his junior, matrilineally-linked, classificatory brothers, Rashidi Kwamwendo, and Kasim, Salim and Hassani Chisira. Since Ndzenge's mother was senior in age to the other Nidodos, Ndzenge had the right first to control the orchards. If Ndzenge should die, Rashidi, whose mother was the second born of the Nidodos, will inherit. If Rashidi dies, then Kasim will inherit, followed by Salim and, finally, Hassani. Upon Hassani's death, his eldest full sister, biati Chisira, will inherit. From her, the property will descend to her sons in order of their seniority. This is the usual order of matrilineal inheritance.

Ndzenge is now the nominal head of Mryangu ya Nimasuo. He should look after the interests of the group, and use the inherited property to aid the members of the group financially. If he did so, he would be the dominant figure in the group and its true head. Indeed, people might refer to it not only

as Mwamasuo wa Mimasuo, but also as China-Ndzenge. Years ago, he did care for the members of the group, but he has since become a complete drunkard, and has slowly but surely put all the coconut palms into mortgage to enable him to buy more palm wine. This caused Kasim Chisira to sue Ndzenge in a local elder's court for misuse of what was really group rather than individual property. Kasim won his case, but all that he received to compensate him was a small portion of the few hundred shillings which Ndzenge had obtained from mortgaging the palms.

In spite of this trouble, there are still a number of occasions when Kasim Chisira and his brothers work together with Ndzenge and Rashidi. All co-operated to hold a curing ceremony for Hassani Chisira's wife's close classificatory baba, a Chinarama man from Waa. In this instance, they referred to themselves as ndani mwenga. They all use Chinarama land which had once been claimed by Mwamasuo, and Kasim and Ndzenge have their cultivations close to each other. Also, when Ndzenge mortgaged one of his coconut orchards he gave Rashidi Mwendo 60 shillings to help him pay bride

wealth for a third wife.

Additionally, Fundi, the son of Mdzenge, lives as a close neighbour not only of Kasim Chisira, whom he calls baba (or baba mdide, since he is junior in age and line to Mdzenge), but also of the children of Kasim, who are Fundi's classificatory enehu mwana baba. He often co-operates with Kasim and his children in such things as ritual and law cases.

2. Akoi.

Ego's close akoi wa kuchetuni, that is, the children of ego's awu from whom he inherits, now frequently maintain that since they do so much for their father, indeed, often helping him plant the very coconut palms which their father will leave behind as heritable property, they should inherit at least a share of this property. Ego must, therefore, be good to his akoi wa kuchetuni, helping them in a variety of ways long before the death of their father so that when inheritance is decided, they and their father's other kin will agree that ego inherit a portion of even all of the involved property. Ego and his akoi wa kuchetuni will then form a tightly knit mutual security association

based on affection, reciprocal aid, and joint use of property.

On the other hand, ego's mother's brothers children may inherit from their father, and then they must care for ego. Once again, the Nimasuo group provides a good illustration: When Mleo Kwadodo died many years ago, an arrangement was made whereby the property he inherited went to Nidodo Mviere, and from her to descend matrilineally. However, the coconut palms he personally planted went to Nidodo Mviere for eventual inheritance by Hamisi and Mslimu, his sons from a slave wife, Changare. Dodo, Mleo's son by another wife, Nidzambo, was reared by Malau Kwadzambo, Dodo's mother's full brother, after Nidzambo was divorced from Mlec. Dodo inherited much property from Malau and had little or no interest in Mleo's coconut palms. Hamisi and Mslimu, who were reared by Mleo and later by Nidodo, obtained these palms to the exclusion of Dodo. They help Dodo as enehu baba mwenga should do, and Dodo reciprocates.

Nidodo Mviere and Nidodo ya Tahu used Mleo's coconuts to help care for Hamisi and Mslimu. Years

before kidodo ya Taha died, Hamisi and Mslimu had already begun controlling the orchard of Mleo, and they used the money earned from it to help kidodo ya Taha and her sons, real and classificatory, that is, Kasim, Salim, Hassani, Rashiidi and Ndzenge. Kidodo's sons were, of course, the akoi wa kulumeni of Hamisi and Mslimu. When kidodo died, they assumed maximum authority over the Mleo coconut palms, and continued to help their akoi wa kulumeni just as these akoi help them in need. Hamisi Mleo, Kasim, Salim, Hassani, and Ndzenge are neighbours and cultivate neighbouring land.

If ego's mkoi wa kulumeni, that is, ego's father's sister's son, inherits from ego's father, he may be termed baba or baba mkoi by ego to show that he has assumed the duties as well as the rights of ego's father. Reciprocally, this baba mkoi may term ego mwana, or, if ego is about as old as his baba mkoi, his baba mkoi may term ego baba (or mayo, if female). Digo say that formerly, when matrilineal inheritance was uncontested, a father's sister's son was called baba far more frequently than is the case today, often long before

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he inherited from a father. It was also fashionable and very courteous in former times to call the daughter of a father's matrilineally-linked real or classificatory sister baba mkoï both if she inherited from this father, and in recognition of the possibility of such inheritance. Such terminology, especially in anticipation of inheritance, is seldom used these days.

Just as it is becoming less common to term a cross cousin baba or baba mkoï, and mwanato indicate matrilineal inheritance and succession, so is it becoming less common to distinguish between cross cousins and siblings. Akoï is still chiefly used to refer to cross cousins, but Digo tend increasingly also to refer to their cross cousins as anhu, or "siblings". In this, they copy the Swahili pattern. Some Digo even use the Swahili word ndugu ("sibling") for both their siblings and cross cousins, and, indeed, for all categories of their bilaterally reckoned kin as well as their affines and friends. Thus, in referring to any group of Digo, ranging from his close kin to all of the Digo in Lungalunga or even in the District, a

Digo may say siswi sote ni ndugu ("we are all brothers").

3. ANOMAYO-ANA

Close matrilineally-related real or classificatory sisters of ego's mother are usually of considerable significance to ego and relations with them tend to be harmonious and rewarding. Such anomayo often act as replacements or surrogates or, at least, assistants of ego's real mayo. Sometimes one of them will inherit the property of her brother and either administer it or give it to ego or one of his siblings to administer under her overall supervision. Data already presented about the Mryangu ya Nimasuo show how the Midodo sisters acted to administer and supervise the administration of matrilineally-inherited property, and also how each cared for the welfare of her sister's children.

Ego's relations with the very close partilineally-related real or classificatory sisters of mother are harmonious, but anomayo ordinarily mean little to ego. Generally, aid is exchanged between ego and a patrilineally-related sister of mother in respect to the good offices of ego's mother. Ego's mother may either ask ego to help her to assist her sister in a variety of ways

or vice versa. Matrilineally-related real or classificatory sisters of ego's mother, on the other hand, customarily aid ego more directly and in respect to their mutual membership in a matrilineal group. The intervention of ego's mother is not usually needed to secure such assistance.

4. Anobaba-ana.

Because matrilineal principles often cause ego's father's rights and duties to be taken over by a matrilineally-linked rather than a patrilineally-linked or a bilaterally-linked real or classificatory brother of his father, ego is usually, but not always, more closely attached to such matrilineal anobaba than his other anobaba. Ego is also more closely attached, as a general rule, to the children of his matrilineally-related anobaba, than to the children of his other anobaba.

For example, Fundi, the true son of Ndzenge, is closely affiliated to Kasim Chisira, and relies upon Kasim for essential aid, especially since Ndzenge is a drunkard and unreliable in such important matters as arranging a marriage or a funeral. Fundi also lives

closer to Kasim Chisira than he does to Ndzenge, although they all live within a quarter of a mile of each other. Fundi, whose full siblings died in infancy, associates closely with the sons of Kasim.

A generation ago, it was rather common for a matrilineally-linked brother to inherit the wife or wives of ego and to cohabit with them. In such a case, there was even more cause for the children of ego to become closely affiliated to ego's matrilineally-related brother. This custom of wife inheritance and levirate marriage is now all but extinct, for reasons to be discussed in the chapter on marriage and divorce. The levirate was actually a "false" levirate because the children fathered by ego's brother customarily did not take the name of ego, but rather bore the name of ego's brother, their biological father, especially if it was he who reared them. It is also important to note that if the children of ego are reared by ego's real or classificatory brother then these children bear, as their surname, the name of ego's brother who reared them.

One example of these practices is afforded by Jenzi

Mwafumbwe, who inherited the wives of several of his younger real and classificatory matrilineally-related brothers. He reared the children whom they fathered as his own, and also fathered and reared children of his own by the wives he inherited. Each of these children is called Mwajenzi.

Another example is provided by Mambo Mwaduga, who inherited the wife as well as the property of his elder classificatory brother, Charo Kwajeke, related matrilineally to him through a common mother's mother. Mambo reared Omari, her son by Kwajeke, as his own son, and hence Omari is now called Omari Mwamambo. He fathered no new children by her.

It should also be stated that it is not uncommon for Digo to surname their biological children after the name of their senior real or close classificatory brother, and vice versa, in order to emphasize the unity of the sibling group. For the most purposes, including tax payment and registration, Digo use the name of their real father, but for hashima or "prestige and courtesy" they occasionally use and are occasionally referred to as the sons or daughters of their father's elder or junior

brother. For example, Juma Ruwa's children are usually each called mwa- or ni- Juma; but they are not infrequently each called mwa- or ni- Athumani, after Juma's younger full brother. Athumani's children are similarly called by the name of Juma from time to time.

In spite of the customarily dominant position of the matrilineally-related real or classificatory brothers of a father, frequent patrilocality and the sharing of land descended patrilineally also impels some Digo to have close association with the patrilineally-linked brothers of their fathers.

For example, Omari bin Hassani Shuguli obtained land, bride wealth money and other essential aid from, and lives with, Halifani bin Shuguli, his father's mwenehu baba mwenga. Shuguli, the father of both Hassani and Halifani, once used land in portion of the sub-location of sega known as Butola. Rights in this land descended to him matrilineally (in the Chinar-chimwaga lineage). When he died, Hassani and Halifani, his sons by different, unrelated, wives, continued to live together on this land in Butola, each cultivating part of it. Hassani was senior in age and aided his

younger brother, Halifani, to obtain a wife. When Hassani died, Halifani took care of Omari, Hassani's son, though he did not take Hassani's wife to be his. Halifani paid about 125 shillings of the 200 shillings Omari needed as bride wealth to get married. The balance, was paid by Selemani Chuo, the classificatory brother of Omari's mother, related to her matrilineally through a common mother's mother, and the heir to coconut palms her full brother had planted. Omari prefers to associate closely with Halifani rather than with Selemani Chuo. He and Halifani claim that Selemani, who has so much other inherited property, should give Omari the 20 or 25 coconut palms which the childless full brother of Omari's mother planted. Selemani refuses to do this, but he has helped Omari financially, both to pay bride wealth and poll tax.

5. Anotsangazi-Ana.

Ego's relations with the real or close classificatory sisters of his father are usually harmonious. These sisters of father may intervene to assure that ego's mother is treating ego properly. In theory, a tsangazi

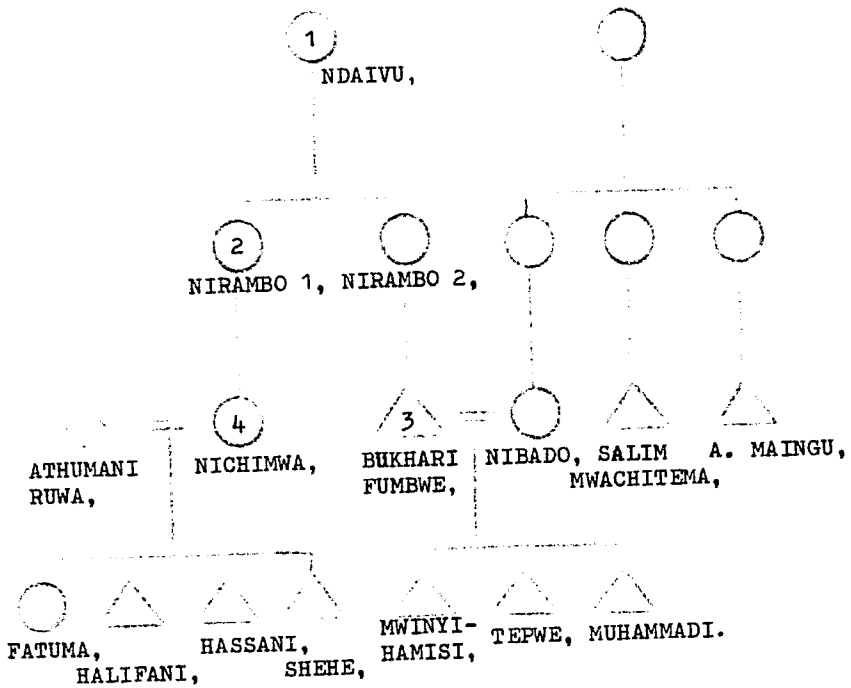
may chastise ego to assure that he develops proper manners and is respectful to his elders, including tsangazi. However, just as a Digo child's parents seldom actually discipline him, and very seldom go so far as to punish him, so is tsangazi unlikely ever to do more than mildly to scold ego. Tsangazi usually tries more to win the affection of ego than to discipline him, and is generally regarded with fondness by ego.

Ego's father's sister may be a rival of ego's mother for his affection, especially if ego grows up in close proximity to his father's sister. However, this rivalry is not as extensive or as important as is the rivalry between ego's father and mother's brother. Ego's mother's brother's interest in ego is supported by matrilineal concepts, and it is therefore able strongly to challenge the father-child relationship. The interest of father's sister in ego has to struggle against not only the natural affection between mother and child, but also against matrilineal concepts.

His father's matrilineally-linked real or classificatory sister is more important to ego than his

father's patrilineally-linked or bilaterally-linked sister. In the absence of any brothers, a father's matrilineally-linked sister may succeed to the trusteeship of the property which was under the control of ego's father. If so, ego then calls this tsangazi, baba or baba tsangazi. In anticipation of this baba role, and for the sake of heshima, ego may call his tsangazi, baba or baba tsangazi before the death of father. Digo say that formerly, especially before the trend to patrilineal inheritance, such anticipatory terminology was used far more frequently than is the present case.

An appropriate example of a father's sister inheriting the rights and duties of a father is that of Nichimwa. As chart 2 shows, Ndaivu is the common ancestress of all parties concerned. Ndaivu planted some coconut which her senior daughter, Nirambo Mviere, inherited. Nirambo Mdiide did not live as long as her elder sister, but died in giving birth to her only son, Bukhari Fumbwe. Bukhari was cared for by Nirambo Mviere, and grew up in the same household with Nichimwa, the daughter of Nirambo Mviere. When Nirambo Mviere



Key:

1, 2, 3, 4.= Order of inheritance and control.

CHART NO: 2.

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died, Bukhari, as her eldest male descendent, inherited the coconut palms of Ndaivu, together with some which each Mirambo had planted. Bukhari himself planted many coconut palms in Ndaivu's orchard to replace those which died during his and Mirambo's administration of the orchard. Such replacement of matrilineal property (mali ya kuchetuni), that is, property which has descended matrilineally, is endorsed by Digo custom. Bukhari also planted other coconut palms in neighbouring land which he had obtained from his father. These palms which he personally planted for his own use are now regarded as patrilineal property (mali ya kulumani) by the Digo.

When Bukhari died, his sister, Nichimwa, inherited control of the matrilineal property, and also became supervisor of the coconut palms which Bukhari planted for his own benefit. She became administrator in order to assure that Bukhari's sons would not quarrel with the sons of Nichimwa over the disposition of this property. Since Bukhari married the mother (long-deceased-) of his three sons by the Islamic marriage form, they have even a better claim to the property

which their father created than would otherwise be the case under current legal uncertainty. However, their claim is not completely uncontested, and it is feared that Nichimwa's sons might seriously conflict with them over rights to the patrilineal property. Merely because it is called mali ya kulumeni does not mean that it must in all cases descend patrilineally. It only means that it does not necessarily have to descend matrilineally, as should be the case with mali ya kuchituni.

Similarly, while mali ya kuchituni should, and in almost all cases does, descend matrilineally, Bukhari Fumbwe's sons do not forget that some of the trees in this "property of the female side" were planted by their father. Even though he planted them to replace matrilineal property, his sons feel that they should receive a share of the harvest of these trees.

Bukhari's and Nichimwa's sons are content to let Nichimwa administer all the coconut orchards involved since she does so fairly impartially. Two of Bukhari's three sons, Mwinyahamisi and Muhammad, and Mwinyahamisi's wife and children live in the same

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mudzi as Nichimwa and her three sons and one daughter by her only husband, Athumani Ruwa. Also in this mudzi live the following individuals: (1) the spouses and children of Nichimwa's children; (2) Athumani Ruwa and his other wife and children and their spouses and children; (3) Juma Ruwa, Athumani's elder full brother, and Juma's two wives, twelve sons and daughters, and the spouses and children of these sons and daughters.

This mudzi is often known as Mudzi wa china-Juma, or the Mudzi wa Juma. When the majority of the members of this mudzi act corporately they are called China-Juma because Juma is the eldest, wealthiest, and most dominant member of the group. When only Athumani's wives and children act together, they are referred to as China-Athumani. And when only Nichimwa and her children and her brother's children act together, as they often do, they are termed China-Nichimwa or, most accurately, Mryangu ya Ndaiva.

Tepwe, the second-born son of Bukhari Fumbwe's three sons, lives with his mother's brothers, Salim Kwachitema and Abdullah Maingu in another section of Segu, about a mile distant from Mudzi ya Juma Ruwa.

He lives in the mudzi of Salim Mwachitema because he likes his anoawu better than he likes Nichimwa's husband and sons. However, his chief reason is that he obtains benefits from his anoawu and their coconut orchards by living with and helping them, and he is able to share these benefits with his full brothers. His brothers, in turn, obtain benefits from Nichimwa and their father's property, and they share this with Tepwe. This effectively links the group of Nichimwa with that of Salim Mwachitema and Abdullah Maingu.

Nichimwa and her children help her brother's children to assist Tepwe if he needs to aid Salim Mwachitema or the close kin of Salim, especially in respect to funerals or curing ceremonies, where a great deal of aid is rather freely given and definitely expected. Similarly, Salim Mwachitema and his kin help Nichimwa and her kin for the sake of Tepwe and his brothers. In turn, the multilinely-reckoned kin, affines and friends of each group help this group to help the other group. In this manner, reciprocal aid associations spread ever outward, encompassing more and more people.

6. Anoawu-awu.

Ego's mother's brother is very important in ego's life, as indicated throughout this thesis. Ego's mother's closest real or classificatory matrilineally-related brother is customarily far more vital to ego than ego's mother's patrilineally-linked and bilaterally-linked brothers. Formerly, or so it is said, such a matrilineally-related mother's brother could put ego into slavery to meet kore or other obligations, and he had more rights and duties in regard to ego than had ego's father. Now, the rights and duties of ego's father towards ego tend somewhat to be more important and more extensive than those of a mother's brother. The chief hold of ego's awu over ego is property. If ego's awu likes ego he will be able to insure that ego inherits at least a portion of the property which he created. He will tell other influential local elders and kinsmen that he wishes ego to inherit some of his coconut palms or other property. If ego's awu does not like ego, the opposite will be true or he will at least threaten to disown ego from all inheritance and give everything to

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his children. To implement inheritance by his sons, for example, ego's awu may marry his wife or wives by the Islamic form.

Because Digo no longer have the duty of kore or debt slavery, it is maintained that their claim to the property of their anoawu is no longer automatic. It is not a right, but a privilege, and it must be validated by the assistance which they render their anoawu and the children of their anoawu.

Two examples will help clarify relations between ego and his awu.

a. Juma Hamisi.

Juma Hamisi is a man who takes a great interest in and helps the children of his three full sisters. These relationships have already been and will be further commented upon, and no detailed discussion is required at this point. Suffice to say that, even though the sons of biinti Hamisi Mviere and Abdullah Pongwe live with Juma Hamisi and exchange important aid with him, there is some conflict between these children and Juma. Muhammed bin Abdullah Pongwe feels that Juma has not helped him sufficiently to regain his wife,

Ming'anzl, who was taken away by her father because of a quarrel between her father and the Chinarama kin of Juma Hamisi. In addition, Omari Abdullah claims that when he obtained 200 shillings as compensation for the adultery of his first wife, Juma Hamisi kept most of this money, and that Juma has not been as generous or helpful in securing a new wife for Omari as he might have been. Furthermore, all of the sons of Abdullah Pongwe feel that Juma Hamisi pocketed for personal use some of the money obtained for collections to cover the cost of the funeral and wake of Juma Abdullah Pongwe, their deceased eldest brother. Other, classificatory, sisters sons of Juma, such as Kasim Chisira, also feel that he misappropriated funeral funds. None of these "sister's sons" of Juma wish to quarrel with him about this matter, however, and do not accuse him of cheating to his face.

In spite of this sort of conflict, relations between Juma Hamisi and his real and classificatory sister's sons are good. Such an important relationship as avu-muwa is strong enough to withstand many disruptive forces. It is typical of Digo that they

find fault with and talk behind the backs of even their closest and most essential kin, including their real parents, the real siblings of parents, and their own closely-related siblings and cross cousins.

b. Abdullah Selemani.

A case which illustrates conflict between ego's mother's brother and ego's patrilineal kin is that of Abdullah, the son of Selemani Ngare, born in about 1935 in Segu (Lungalunga). Presumably because he had syphilis which attacked his nervous system, Abdullah became incurably ill about 1958. It was felt that his illness was a result of black magic made by Nassoro Kasirani of Lungalunga, a man born in about 1910, who, allegedly, desired to marry Abdullah's wife, and therefore wanted to kill Abdullah. It was further thought that Abdullah's wife's father, Mwalimu Masudi, who is the son of Nassoro's close classificatory sister, related matrilineally to Nassoro through a common mother's mother, had helped his awu, Nassoro, to make this black magic.

Mwalimu and his mother, one wife, and children live in a small mudzi located only a few hundred yards

from Nassoro Nasirani's large mudzi. He and Nassoro are very friendly and help each other often. Kwalimu never did like Abdullah Selemani, it is asserted, but his daughter wanted to marry him, and so he gave in to her wishes.

Selemani Ngare, the father of Abdullah, is the relatively close, patrilineally-linked brother of Kwalimu Masudi, and, therefore, Abdullah is the classificatory son of mwana of Kwalimu. (Ngare, the father of Selemani, and Luutsu, the father of Kwalimu Masudi were related as brothers because Luutsu's mother's mother was a slave of Ngare's mother's mother.) According to the Digo of Lungalunga, it was only natural that Kwalimu Masudi's close matrilineal bond with Nassoro Nasirani was stronger than his more distant patrilineal link to Abdullah Selemani.

Abdullah Selemani was treated with every conceivable type of magic and medicine, but nothing worked, and he became partially paralysed and gradually wasted away. Finally, his mother and two senior full brothers took him by bus to Duga, where his mother's full brother, Ali, had arranged for a skilled Arab magico-medical

practitioner to treat him with yet another technique. Diviners had told Ali that Abdullah could not be cured if he lived so close to Nassoro Kasirani.

The Arab's technique also failed, but he determined by consulting the Koran that Abdullah was the victim of black magic which Nassoro had buried in the house in which Abdullah was married and had spent his first week with his bride. This house was in Nassoro's mudzi. When Abdullah was married to Mwalimu's daughter in 1959, Nassoro overtly wished the couple well, and, as the awu of Mwalimu Masudi, he asked permission to have the honour of holding the wedding at his mudzi, and allowing the couple to use a spare house in his compound for their first week of relative seclusion.

Abdullah's close matrilineal and patrilineal kin objected to this, and asked to have the wedding at the mudzi of Ali Ngare, the junior full brother of the deceased Selemani. However, Mwalimu and Nassoro prevailed, and this is taken as certain proof of their evil intentions. The first week of the marriage is a time of supernatural danger for the new couple, and black

magic planted in the very house to be used by the couple during this period is bound to be effective.

Abdullah's close kin were only too ready to believe that the Arab's divination was correct, and they obtained a specialist in anti-black magic ritual to go to Lungalunga in order to "smell out" or kuzuza the buried magic. On one day in early 1960, this specialist, together with scores of Abdullah's matrilineal kin from Duga, descended by bus load on Lungalunga, and marched up to Nassoro's mudzi to hunt for the magic. Nassoro did not object, but rather encouraged them to do their best, asserting that they would find nothing. He told them that only his regard for Abdullah, and his position as Headman of Lungalunga kept him from charging them all with false accusation in the government courts. The majority of the people of Lungalunga were displeased at this kuzzuza attempt because they do not like to bring witchcraft fears and accusations into the open. It is too dangerous - too likely to upset the delicate balance between social harmony and disharmony. Some Lungalunga Digo, however, are so envious of Nassoro's position as headman that they

were pleased to see this situation develop.

To the relief of many, and the dismay of some, the anti-black magic specialist found nothing buried in Nassoro's mudzi. He and Abdullah's kin returned to Duga, hinting that Nassoro had been very clever in hiding the magic. A few weeks later, Abdullah died. Ali Ngare and his sons and the full brothers of Abdullah, together with many other multilinearly-linked relatives of Abdullah went to Duga to bring home his body and bury it in Lungalunga. The matrilineal kin of Abdullah who were living in Duga, however, refused to allow this, and demanded the right to bury Abdullah and have his funeral and wake in Duga.

The place of burial is vital to Digo, partly because it shows affiliation, and partly because prayers to koma are made at the gravestone, and it is desirable to have this grave on personal land, close to the site of residence. Just as the matrilineal and patrilineal kin of ego rival each other for influence over and help from ego during his life, so do they rival each other for control of his body when he is dead. Each group of kin will try to get his body and bury it where the

members of this group desire. As a result, there is great variation in the place of burial. It is most common, however, for the burial to be patrilocal. A Digo will ordinarily bury his father, or his children, or his wife in the graveyard of his father, or his father's father, or, at least, in land belonging to his patrilineally-linked ancestors.

Similarly, there is often conflict over and variation in the place where the funeral ceremony and the wake is held, but most wakes are held in the mudzi of the husband, or the father, or the other patrilineal kin of the deceased.

In the case of Abdullah Selemani, the Lungalunga group, consisting primarily of his patrilineal and bilateral kin, finally secured his body, and took it to Lungalunga for burial next to his father, Selemani. The funeral and wake was held in the mudzi of Ali Ngare. However, the Duga kin of Abdullah, led by his mother's brother and consisting primarily of Abdullah's matrilineal kin, remained in Duga and held their own wake for Abdullah there. Though asked to come to Lungalunga, they angrily refused.

Kwalingu Masudi and Nassoro Sasirani came to the funeral and wake and acted as if they had never been accused of black magic in their lives. From the way in which they were received by everyone, including the mother and the full brother and baba mwenga brothers of Abdullah, no uninformed person could have imagined that they were suspected of causing the death of Abdullah. Digo are well able to dissemble their feelings.

7. Anotsawe, Anowawa - Adzukulu.

The relationship between ego and his real and close classificatory grandparents should ideally be very friendly and harmonious, and joking may be effected between these kin. However, most Digo treat closely-related grandparents with respect because of their age and position as parents of parents. Ideally, Digo should never personally chastise or discipline their misbehaving grandchildren, but should tell the parents of these children to rear them properly. This ideal is generally adhered to to a great extent. Women often care for the young children of their daughters while these daughters are working in the fields or otherwise

occupied, and in this capacity some grandmothers may attempt to discipline their grandchildren.

The most important tsawe is mother's mother's brother, that is, awu ya mayo, or tsawe ya kuchetuni. To differentiate between mother's mother's brother, and mother's father, who is also termed tsawe ya kuchetuni, Digo may call mother's mother's brother, tsawe ya kuchetuni ya kweli ("true" tsawe ya kuchetuni). The reciprocal of this term, that for a sister's daughters son, is mdzukululu ya kuchetuni ya kweli.

Ego may inherit from his mother's mother's brother. Since Digo equate their second ascending and descending generations with their own generation, a mother's mother's brother or a matrilineally-linked sister's daughters child is like ego's close matrilineally-related sibling. A sister's daughter's son is an ideal heir. He will inherit from ego either directly, or indirectly, through his mother and/or his mother's brother. It will be recalled that Ndzenge inherited the property of Mwamasuo, his mother's mother's brother, via his mother's full brother, Nleo Nwadodo, and his mother, Nidodo.

A mdzukululu ya kuchetuni kweli is like ego's extension

in another generation. Digo often dote upon such grandchildren. If the mdzokulu ya kuchetuni ya kweli is the product of a marriage between ego's son and ego's sister's daughter, then ego has even more cause to regard his mdzokulu as his equivalent. Inheritance by this mdzokulu of ego's property will often assure that ego's son also profits from this property and is rewarded for helping ego create it.

In former times, old Digo men often married very young slave girls, and when such men died, it was not uncommon for their mdzokulu ya kuchetuni ya kweli to inherit these slave wives from them even though the actual brothers of the old man inherited his property and other, older, wives. In some instances, often because all other heirs were dead, a Digo inherited all the wives as well as the other property of his matrilineally-related mother's mother's brother.

This is illustrated by the case of Bohero Mwapoko, a member of the Chinakonde lineage, and his eldest full sister's daughter's son, Zuba Mwamgwa. Zuba was a mature man when Bohero died, leaving behind him two slave wives, one quite young, and the young children of these wives.

Zuba also inherited the other property and obligations of Bohero. Zuba reared Bohero's children by these wives, and these children became known as the sons and daughters of Zuba rather than of Bohero. One of these sons, Mnyeto Mwazuba, born in about 1900, is still living. He is Chinakonde in lineage because his mother was a slave of this lineage.

Zuba also married other, non-inherited, women, but only one of these, Nimbega, of the Chinamkindu lineage, bore him children (two daughters), the last of whom, Wanza by name, died in 1959. These daughters, especially Wanza, regarded themselves as superior to Mnyeto because of his slave ancestry. However, their relations were satisfactory, and Mnyeto, who inherited Chinakone matrilineal property through Zuba and other matrilineal kin, cared for Zuba's daughters, and often helped them financially.

D. Summary.

To summarize this chapter, it may be said that each Digo is surrounded by an extensive network of multi-lineally-linked relatives. Factors of circumstance and personal choice, guided by a persisting emphasis on

matrilineal principles and practices, and a more limited but expanding emphasis on patrilineal principles, determine which of the many possible kin relationships will be utilized and emphasized by any Digo. Relations with those classificatory siblings, cross cousins, and siblings of parents with whom a Digo most closely associates tend to approximate to the relations he has with his real kin of these categories.

Mention has been made in this chapter of matrilineages and incipient patrilineages. In the next chapter, these will be studied in some detail.

CHAPTER IV

LINEAGES AND LARGE MULTILINEAL
GROUPS.

A. General.

The Digo term for a matrilineage is fuko (mafuko). There are at least 95 named mafuko in Digo society. Each Digo belongs to the matrilineage of his or her mother, and is the "son of" (mwa-), or the "daughter of" (ni-) the matrilineage of his or her father. Ego's mother's matrilineage is known as his fuko kwa maye Ego's father's matrilineage is known as his fuko kwa baba. At times, some Digo also find it convenient to stress that they are the adzukulu of the matrilineage of their father's father, or fuko kwa tsawe wa kulumeni. For instance, Selemani Chuo and his siblings do this because their land originated in the matrilineage (Chinachimwage) of Bukhari Mwanduano, their father's father. Digo never seem to stress that they are the vitukuu of father's father's father's lineage, but if it suited their purpose to do so, they undoubtedly would.

Each fuko has a name, usually prefixed by either

china or a, such as in Chinarama, or in Agongo. China and a mean, respectively, "group of", and "people of." In actual practice there is no difference between china and a. A man or woman who is of the Chinarama kwa mayo is called either Mrama or Mchinarama; and a single man or woman of Agongo kwa mayo is called Mgongo. A man who is, for example, a Chinarama kwa baba is known as a Mwarama. A woman who is of Chinarama kwa baba is known as a Nirama. Similarly, Agongo kwa baba are either Mwagongo or Nigongo.

Lineages are named in a variety of ways. Many are reputedly named after a male matrilineal kinsman of the actual or putative ancestress of the lineage. Chinarama, Chinadzore, Chinamwamatu, and Chinakonde are all examples of this method of naming. No lineages seem to be named after the lineage ancestress herself. Some lineages are named after important events or locations in lineage history. For example, the lineage Atsongo is named from the small yellow bird called tsongo, whose nests were used by a magico-medical practitioner ages ago as medicine to induce the lineage founder's "womb to fill with children" just as a

nest fills with eggs. Angome and Abiringome, the names of two large lineages, mean respectively "Fortified Place Number One," and "Fortified Place Number Two." These names probably refer to large kaya used by the Digo near Mombasa. The lineage name Abirini, or "second One" may indicate some order of priority in formation. Some lineages, such as the Arayai and the Ndziyana, apparently originated as offshoots of the Rabai and the Jibana tribes respectively.

Apparently all lineages are divided into a number of intermarrying sub-sections which descended from slave members of the lineage. This is a complicated subject, and it will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

Many lineages are allied to other lineages by blood brotherhood. For example, the Chinachandze are allied to the Yombo group of lineages by such brotherhood. A number of other lineages are grouped together by conventional and probably unreal bonds of kinship to form a group of lineages. The members of such a unit claim all to be descended matrilineally by

an unknown number of generations from a common, but unknown, ancestress. For example, the Chinarama, Chinakonde, Chinadzore, Chinachiwaga, and Chinamjinga units form the lineage group known as Kundutsi. The Digo themselves have no specific term for such a group. It is just Kundutsi, or Yomba, etc.

Each fuko is theoretically divided into a number of sub-lineages, but these sub-lineages are not actually discrete units whose membership is always fixed, and they exist only in respect to a certain activity or circumstance.

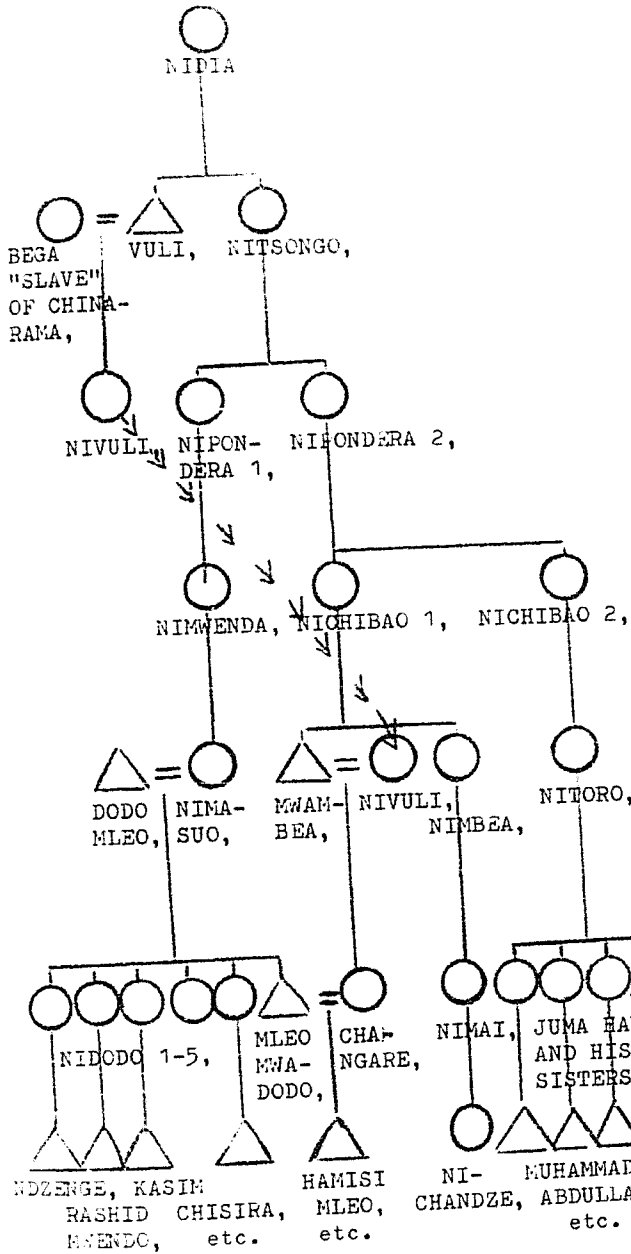
By Digo usage, each lineage is composed mainly of first order members, that is, those related to it through mother (kwa mayo); and of second order members, that is, those related to it through father (kwa baba). Ordinarily, the kwa mayo members are dominant, as is indicated by the fact that they contribute twice as much money as the kwa baba members do to help pay for funerals and wakes, which provide the sole occasions when all lineage members act together. In some instances, individuals related to a lineage through father's father, or kwa tsawe, also affiliate to a lineage group for this

function of collecting money for funerals and wakes.

For all practical purposes, therefore, each Digo lineage is actually a large multilineal group. It is impossible to know for how long Digo lineages have had this characteristic. It should be pointed out in this regard that, while most Digo are able to trace the matrilineal ancestresses of their mothers to five or six generations, they can seldom trace father's matrilineal ancestresses to more than two generations (a father's mother's mother).

Each large multilineal kin group, based on a lineage, is divided into a great many multilineal sub-groups, or miryangu of varying size, each of which merges almost imperceptibly into yet large miryangu and finally into the fuko itself. Miryangu, as discussed in the previous chapter, exist only in respect to a particular function or circumstance. For example, as chart 3 illustrates, the large multilineal kin group known as the fuko is Chinarama, and consisting of Digo who are Chinarama kwa mayo, kwa baba, and kwa tsawe, is divided into such miryangu as: (1) miryangu of nimasuo; and (2) miryangu of ngodo ya tahu, which includes only the children

MRYANGU YA NIDIA



MRYANGU YA NITEREMA

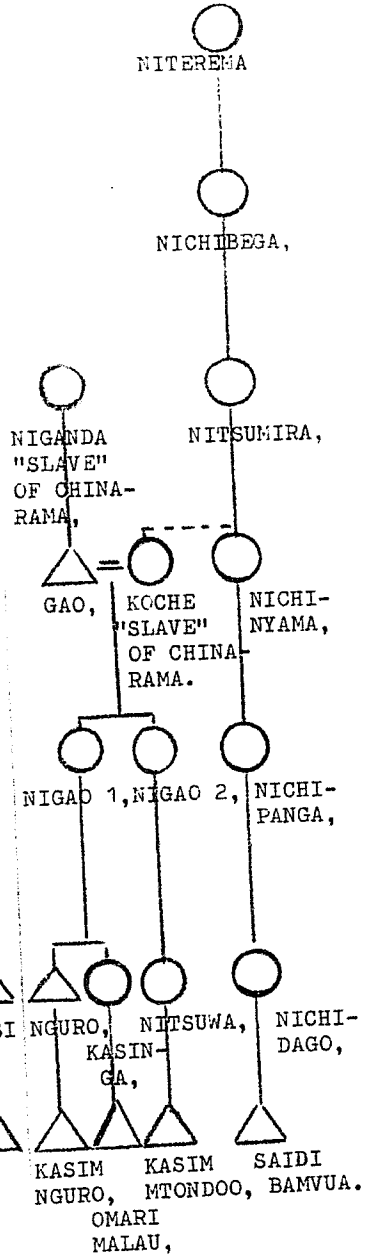


CHART: 3.

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and grandchildren of Kidodo ya Tahu; and (3) Miryangu of Nitoro which includes Nitoro's son, Juma Hamisi; Juma's children and grandchildren; Toro's three daughters binti Hamisi ya Mwenga, binti Hamisi ya Mbiri, binti Hamisi ya Tahu; and the children of these daughters of Nitoro and Hamisi. These miryangu, in turn, merge into the Miryangu of Nitsongo and Nitsongo is a part of the Miryangu of Nidia, which links with other miryangu to form the fuko la China-rama.

Like all other lineages, the lineage of China-rama also contains miryangu which originate in slaves taken into the lineage. All slaves lost their previous tribal or lineage affiliation and became members, both kwa mayo and kwa baba, of their master lineage. Bega was such a slave, taken by Vuli Mwatsongo, the mother's mother's mother's mother's brother of Nimasua. Bega bore Vuli a daughter named Nivuli, who, in turn, married Mwambee, the close classificatory matrilineally-related brother of Nimasuo. Mwambee was Nivuli's classificatory mdzukululu, but he was almost as old as she was since Vuli

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married Bega in Vuli's old age. Bega had no property, but Nivuli planted some coconut trees on land obtained from Vuli. She also received coconut trees from Vuli.

Nivuli bore Mwambee a daughter, Changare, who married to Mleo Kwadodo. Mleo was her classificatory matrilineal brother since her mother's mother was a slave of Mleo's matrilineage. Changare bore to Mleo two sons, Hamisi and Msimu. They are Chinarama kwa kayo and kwa baba, since both their mother and their father were members of the Chinarama lineage kwa mayo. Hamisi and Msimu and their respective children pretend that Nivuli and Changare were not of slave origin. They often call themselves and are often known as the Mryangu of Changare, especially when they are concerned with the few coconut trees which remain of those which Vuli and Nivuli planted and which descended to them through Nchangare. They are also known as the Mryangu of Mleo, and this term has significance especially when they are concerned with the coconuts which they obtained through Mleo Kwadodo. Because of Mleo Kwadodo, because of the coconut palms received from him, and because of other bonds of friendship and reciprocal aid, the Mryangu of

Chungare of Alao is an active affiliate of the Mryangu of Simasuo. Genealogically, this Mryangu of Michangare is also linked to the Mryangu of Nitoro, both through Kwambee and Nivuli.

Similarly, within the Chinarama lineage are a number of mryangu which stem from Niterema. The line of Niterema seems to be the most important Chinarama line, and magic and ritual designed to protect the Chinarama of Lungalunga and ensure the fertility of Chinarama land in Lungalunga descends in the line of Niterema. The line of Niterema had many slaves, including a woman named Ganda, and a woman named Koche. Koche, bought from the Doe Tribe of Tanganyika, was a personal slave of Nitchiyama, a direct descendent of Niterema. When Koche married Gao, the son of Ganda, and bore him two daughters, she founded a mryangu which is part of the Niterama group. The descendants of Koche do not use her name in identifying their mryangu, presumably because this makes it more obvious that they are descended from a slave. Also, Koche herself had no land or property in Lungalunga. Koche's descendants

prefer to call themselves the Mryangu of Gao, or the Mryangu of Nigao Mviere and the Mryangu of Nigao Mdiide, respectively. Koche is conveniently classed as a mwenehu of Nicheinyama, and the genealogical relationship of each of Koche's descendants to each of Nicheinyama's ascendants and descendants is in respect to this mwenehu relationship between Koche and Nicheinyama. Chart 3 presents, in abbreviated form, the essential structure of both the Mryangu of Niterema and the Mryangu of Nidia.

The members of both the Mryangu of Niterema and the Mryangu of Nidia will not discuss genealogy above the level of Niterema and Nidia. They claim that they do not know the ancestresses of these women. This may be the truth, but it is more probable that one or both descend from yet other slaves of the Chinarama. As will be shown in a separate chapter on slavery, Digo will do everything possible in order to conceal the fact of their own slave ancestry or the slave ancestry of others.

Because the magic and ritual to protect the Chinarama descended in the Niterema line, it seems

likely that Lidia or her immediate ancestress was a slave on this line, but no one will admit it. There are several other such extensive Chinama miryangu in Lungalunga and elsewhere in Digo Land, but their point of connection with each other or with Lidia and Nitorema is also not divulged. The point at which various branches of a fuko link with one another is a well kept secret, and, presumably, is unknown even to very many or most Digo.

In a similar manner, all other lineages are subdivided into extensive segments of considerable depth whose point of connection with each other is unknown or, at least, kept secret.

Members of various mafuko are scattered over the entire area of Digo residence. For example, fuko la Chinama has representatives living in almost every Digo location, with the majority residing in Waa, Lungalunga, and Duga. For the most part, however, Digo of one location have relatively little to do with members of their lineages in other locations. A Digo is far more concerned with those individuals with whom he shares land and property, than with those with whom

he merely shares a lineage name. Miryangu, not mafuko, are important to Digo, and the miryangu which are most important are usually those of the smallest depth and which act as a unit in matters of land and property and residence.

B. Mafuko; Functions;

1. Exogamy.

Theoretically, mafuko function to regulate marriage. Ideally, they are exogamous units. Supposedly, all members of a fuko, such as Chinarama, are descended from a common ancestress, and, therefore, no member of the fuko kwa mayo may marry another member of the fuko kwa mayo. In actual fact, as has already been illustrated and will be discussed in more detail later, each fuko has within it intermarrying lines or nyumba which originate in slaves taken into the fuko. All of the members of a nyumba actually are able to trace descent matrilineally to a common ancestress, and each nyumba within any fuko is exogamous; however, the fuko, as it now exists, is endogamous. Digo find this a very convenient system.

2. Chifudu

Lineages are non-totemic. If, in their distant past, they were totemic, Digo no longer know about it. The closest a fuko comes to having an emblem or device to set it apart from other mafuko is in its possession of a small wood and thatch shrine called rungu la chifudu. It appears that a rungu (marungu) is, or rather was, an ancestor shrine, and it is probable that chifudu once was an ancestor cult. However, details of this chifudu past are unknown to Digo.

From what little information is available, it seems that each localized fuko during the kaya period of Digo history had its own shrine or rungu, for magic and ritual, called chifudu, to aid all members of the fuko and bring them health, wealth, and many children. The rungu was made in the shape of a house. It was built from wooden poles of a certain type of wood reputedly possessing magical powers, and covered with a thatched roof made of coconut palm fronds. Each rungu had its own mrungu (arungu) or chief ritual specialist, customarily the senior female in the senior

line of a fuko. She was in charge of the magical implements in the rungu, namely an assortment of gourds which had been smeared with chicken blood and feathers. The rungu guarded the lineage and its lands, and it assured that its women would be fertile and its men virile.

The primary chifudo ritual was kurera ("to rear"). In kurera ritual, all able-bodied males and females of the fuko who had already been initiated by kurera tossing, would toss or bounce into the air all members of the fuko who had not as yet been tossed. This was to symbolize the Digo mother's method of bouncing or rocking her child in her arms to soothe it. Such a ceremony of kurera was either held every so many years as a matter of course, or only when diviners determined that such treatment was needed to restore health and/or fertility to members of the fuko. It was apparently also held to initiate slaves into the fuko and to make them an integral part of it.

Unfortunately, for the purposes of study, the entire chifudu system has broken down and chifudu is now essentially just a curing ceremony for any very ill

or sterile person rather than an ancestor cult for the members of a fuko. Owing both to the division of the fuko into numerous nyumba because of slavery, and to changing ideas about chifudu and its nature and function, many miryangu of varying size and depth now have marungu ya chifudu of their own as well as a number of arungu a chifudu, or chifudu specialists, of both sexes. Thus, while ideally only one rungu la chifudu should exist for all the Chinarama of Lungalunga, such rungu are possessed by the Mryangu ya Nitsongo, the Mryangu ya Niterema, and Mryangu ya Gao, and several other miryangu.

If a Digo becomes ill or is unable to obtain children a diviner may tell him or her that a cure can be effected only by chifudu ceremony and the construction of a rungu. Sometimes the sick or childless person, if old enough, may himself or herself build the rungu and become a mrungu. At other times, the sick person and his or her multilineally-reckoned kin will prevail upon a senior female in his or her mryangu to build a rungu and become the chifudu specialist. All members of the mryangu of the person who is to become an mrungu should

help to construct the rungu and also help to pay for the feasting and participate in the ritual which is part of every installation of an mrungu. They provide this help both because they may wish treatment from the mrungu and because all Digo have the duty to help kinsmen to obtain medicines and to be cured of illness. The person being installed as mrungu should personally pay at least a large percentage of the fees taken by those other arungu a chifudu who teach the new mrungu the medicines and ritual of chifudu. These senior arungu are ordinarily members of other miryangu or even other mafuko. It is considered only fair that the new mrungu should pay as much of the total expenses of the installation as he or she is able to because an enterprising mrungu is able to make money dispensing various chifudu medicines and practising a host of major and minor chifudu curing techniques.

Islam has been a major factor in causing modification of chifudu ritual. The male and female participants in old chifudu ritual wore only loin cloths or short skirts, and they sung obscene songs, called mtusi, apparently designed to stimulate fertility.

Islamic culture has caused Digo to feel that they must be well dressed at all times, and provide cover for both knees and breasts. Obscenity is also frowned upon as contrary to Islam.

Furthermore, Digo found that the chifudu custom of tossing individuals into the air was too strenuous and dangerous. Under the pretense that it is non-Islamic, they have practically eliminated it from the chifudu ritual. A few die-hards still insist upon kurera, especially if a diviner says that it is necessary to effect a cure. Mass initiation into the lineage of children and, of course, slaves by chifudu ritual has been done away with. One old man, Salim Mwachitema of the Chinamjinga of Segu, Lungalunga, would like to build a rungu and have kurera in order to initiate all of the children born within the past decade to all females descended from his dead mother, a former mrungu. Salim claims that this ritual is necessary in order to insure the good health of these children, and he wishes to see his sister become Mrungu. Salim cannot obtain sufficient support for his proposal since, it is claimed, all Chinamjinga are sufficiently

healthy and kurera is a "dirty" practice.

An interesting chifudu case is that of binti Hamisi ya Mwenga of the Mryangu of Nitoro. Binti Hamisi became very ill in about 1952, and it was decided that she needed chifudu ritual. She was treated by Nimai, a Chinarama woman of Mryangu ya Nitsongo who lives with her husband in Duga, Tanganyika. As a daughter's daughter of Nichibao Mviere, Nimai is senior to binti Hamisi, who is a daughter's daughter of Nichibao Maide. Nimai is supposedly the official mrungu for the descendants of Nitsongo since she is the senior living female of this mryangu. Nimai is obligated to come to Lungalunga to treat any Chinarama of the Nitsongo group if the diviner maintains that such care is necessary. In the old days, when kaya were endogamous, the lineage mrungu lived near her potential or actual patients, and it was easy for the mrungu to do her work. Marriage outside the location has changed this, ad the example of Nimai illustrates.

Nimai is an old woman and finds the journey to Lungalunga very taxing. Since 1952 binti Hamisi Mviere and her Chinarama kin in Lungalunga have maintained that binti Hamisi Mviere should build her own runqu in Seg

and care for the health of the Lungalunga members of the Mryangu of Nitsongo. Nimai, they said, could continue as Mrungu in Duga for those few members of Mryangu of Nitsongo living there. Nimai finally assented to this in 1956, when binti Hamisi Mviere became seriously ill for the second time. Between 1956 and 1958, Nimai taught binti Hamisi sufficient basic chifudu techniques to ready her for own work as mrungu. All that binti Hamisi needs to become an mrungu is to have a rungu built and to be officially installed as mrungu by the proper ritual and feast.

By December 1959, Juma Hamisi and other Lungalunga members of the Nitsongo group including Masim Chisira and Hamisi Mleo contributed enough money and food to hold this ritual and feast. Fumbwe Mwadodo also contributed money, partly because his father, Dodo, was a Chinarema kwa baba, married Nimasuo, and fathered the Nidodo sisters and Mleo Mwadodo, all of whom were in the Mryangu of Nitsongo.

It was planned to build the rungu in the Mudzi wa Juma Hamisi rather than in the Mudzi wa Fumbwe Mwadodo, where binti Hamisi Mviere lives with her

husband and his other wives and children and children's children. It is not usual for Digo to build marungu in the mudzi of their husbands because divorce is frequent, and they will not wish to go the place of their former spouses to hold chifudu curing ceremony. The mudzi of Juma Hamisi is a logical site for a rungu because it contains a number of the Chinarama, including the sons of binti Hamisi Mviere, and binti Ali, the youngest daughter of binti Hamisi ya Mbiri. Binti Ali is married to the eldest son of Jima Hamisi. Her father and her mother live in a mudzi which exists almost as an extension of Juma's mudzi.

By February 1960, binti Hamisi was ready to call Nimai and other non-Chinarama chifudu practitioners to come for the installation ceremony. Unfortunately for her plans, however, Juma Abdullah, her eldest son by Abdullah Pongwe, became very ill and died. Following this, Seifu bin Abdullah Pongwe, the second son of binti Hamisi Mviere, returned from Lamu, where he had been studying the Koran. Imbued with the teachings of the Walimu at Lamu, Seifu forbade his mother to build a rungu and have chifudu ritual, claiming that it was

contrary to the doctrines of Islam.

Seifu is the type of individual who stimulates the Islamization of the Digo. Apparently frustrated by his sexual impotency and angered by the ridicule this subjected him to, Seifu went to the large Koran school at Lamu, north of Mombasa, and studied there for about four years. He was financed in this by his brother, Juma, and his mother's brother, Juma Hamisi, presumably because they felt that it was their duty to help him and also because it brought them prestige to have a Mwalimu in their family. When Juma Abdullah died, Seifu returned to Lungalunga to take over the leadership of his full sibling group. Actually, it is more Muhammad Abdullah, his next eldest brother, who leads the group since Seifu is more given to other-worldly considerations and religious pursuits than to participation in mundane affairs.

Seifu has convinced his mother that chifudu is pagan and forbidden by Mungu. He swears that if she builds a rungu she will be punished by Mungu with more sickness than ever before. He has treated his mother for her aches and pains with pseudo-Islamic

medicines and techniques and her condition has improved. Because of this, she has decided not to construct a rungu or to become a chifudu specialist. Furthermore, her close kin have also been made to feel that they will lose heshima and, perhaps, incur the wrath of Mungu if they have this chifudu ceremony.

Other walimu in Lungalunga and elsewhere also campaign with similar effect against chifudu. It is possible that with a decade or so, chifudu will change beyond recognition or even cease to exist.

3. Fingo.

In addition to chifudu, Digo lineages once had magic and ritual known as fingo. Where chifudu was concerned more with individuals, their health and fertility, fingo was concerned with the land and its productivity and well-being. Fingo made crops grow, prevented insect plagues, and brought rain. It also protected the kaya from enemy attack or any other major disaster. Fingo was primarily in the hands of men of the lineage and the chief fingo practitioner was called the mwematse, or "son of the land". The fingo itself was a type of shrine established at a tree

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or a cave or an ancient grave, where powerful spirits were thought to dwell.

No one could begin planting or harvesting maize or any other staple crop without the permission of the mwanatse. Customarily, the mwanatse would be the first to break the ground for planting and would eat the first fruits, usually together with his mother or other close matrilineal kin. The status of mwanatse, like the position of chifudu specialist, descended in the senior line of the fuko. Descendants of slaves could never become mwanatse, and they were dependent upon the mwanatse as well as the mrungu of the lineage which had them as slaves to assure that they prospered.

Saidi Bamvua, the matrilineal descendant of Niterema, is, theoretically, the mwanatse of all the Chinarama who live in Lungalunga. That is, the status of mwanatse descended in his line, or nyumba, and upon the death of his mother's brother many years ago, Saidi succeeded to this status. Since Chinarama is the senior lineage in Lungalunga, the Chinarama tingo, located at the site of Kaya Gonja, is the senior tingo and supposedly, the most powerful in all of Lungalunga.

Actually, however, no one now recognizes the status of mwanatse, and the custom of lineage finjo no longer is followed. It is very difficult to obtain any information about finjo and the mwanatse because such information invariably forces Digo to admit that one nyumba within a fuko is senior and, indeed, the "master" nyumba. In short, such data reveal the fact of slave ancestry. Saidi Bamvua, himself, does not like to admit that he should be mwanatse, according to the old custom, because he fears that other Digo would then accuse him of boasting that he is an mbwana, or "master", or even allege that he is trying to re-establish slavery.

It appears likely that a primary cause for the disappearance of old finjo custom, as well as old chifudu custom has been the desire to conceal all trace of slave and master descent. Finjo like chifudu, still exists, but, like chifudu, its form and practice has changed considerably during the past century. Miryangu rather than mafuko now possess finjo. They have it in respect to the land and property which the members of each of the mryangu share. Anyone is able to make a finjo to

protect the land, property, and other interests of the members of his mryangu if he has about 10 shillings to pay a finigo specialist (muganga ya finigo), and a chicken or a goat or a sheep to slaughter. In theory, only the founder of the finigo or his heir may pray at the finigo for the welfare of himself and his mryangu, but even this custom is often violated. Neither the founder of the finigo la mryangu nor any of his heirs are termed mwanatse. Instead, each is usually termed muganga ya finigo.

In addition to these mufingo ya miryangu, there is a finigo for the entire Segwa-Makwonyeni-Madzoreni area, called finigo la Lungalunga. This is regarded as an Islamic finigo, and was established in Lungalunga in about 1925 by a Vumba Arab from Vanga, using pseudo-Islamic ritual. It was placed at a large mango tree in about the geographical centre of the Segwa-Makwonyeni cluster. The Digo now visit this finigo about once yearly, or each time when they are in especial need, and pray both to the finigo and to Mungu for the welfare of the people of Lungalunga.

Islam provided a justification for the elimination

of the old mafingo, and for the establishment of a pseudo-Islamic finjo for the entire community. It is claimed that the old mafingo were created by pagan ritual of the most evil sort, often involving the sacrifice of children of the lineage. Since Mungu abhors such evil, he will send disaster rather than aid to those who use the old mafingo. It is possible that some Digo object to the pagan finjo practices because they actually fear divine retribution. Saidi Bamvua, for instance, is a mwaliimu and claims to be a devout Muslim, opposed to all pagan activities. However, many Digo who say that the old finjo la fuko was contrary to the will of Mungu themselves pray to their own mafingo ya miryangu which were established by pagan ritual and magic.

4. Mahanga and Kuoga Madzi.

The sole function which remains to the fuko and the members of a fuko acting as a group is the collection and contribution of money to help pay for funerals and wakes (which may be referred to collectively as mahanga). A major portion of the expenses of a mahanga should be born by the close, multilineal kin of

the deceased. However, mahanga are very expensive, and it is only possible to meet mahanga costs by obtaining sizeable contributions from all Digo in the location or, at least, in the sub-location.

For example, upon the death in 1959 of Juma bin Abdullah Pongwe, who was a Chinarama kwa mayo (Mryangu of Nitoro), and a Abirini kwa baba, those most concerned with his mahanga were his full brothers, his mother, his mother's sisters and his mother's brother - in short, Mryangu of Nitoro. The members of the other miryangu within Mryangu of Nidia were also involved to a considerable extent in this mahanga.

A Digo's father and his father's mryangu will ordinarily take as great an interest in his death and mahanga as his mother and his mother's mryangu. However, in this case, Abdullah Pongwe was himself dead, and also had no close kin in Lungalunga except his own children. His mother was, it seems, a slave of the Adzirive of Lungalunga.

The members of the Mryangu of Nidia, acting as a separate group on the basis of their close kinship with Juma badullah, contributed about 75 shillings to

Juma's mahanga. Women of the mryangu contributed as well as the men, and if these women had no money of their own, they asked their husbands or children to help them pay. Nearly 50 of these 75 shillings were paid on the day of burial in order to cover the immediate costs of the burial and mahanga. Much of this money was obtained by mortgaging coconut trees held by members of the mryangu. Here, Ndzenge was heavily criticized because he had long before mortgaged all of his orchards he had received in trust from his mother, and he had nothing to contribute.

As is customary, especially for an influential adult with numerous kin and affines, the mahanga lasted for a total of seven days. During this time, all the Digo of Lungalunga plus relatives and friends of Juma Abdullah and his mryangu from all over Digo Land visited Lungalunga to feast and to mourn. The mahanga was held at the mudzi of Juma Hamisi, who also directed the mahanga operations.

The custom of mahanga, like every other major element in Digo culture, has been much modified by Islam. Before the Islamization of the Digo mahanga,

no one who was related closely to the deceased could wash or have sexual intercourse during the first six days of the mahanga. On the seventh day, however, all of the close relatives of the deceased went to a nearby river or pond to cleanse themselves, often, at the same time, wrestling with each other in such a manner as frequently to cause injury. This ritual washing was termed kuoga madzi. After this, the mahanga was concluded with a final feast. Then, the close matrilineal kinsmen of the deceased sat down to discuss the inheritance of his property and the succession to his various other rights and duties.

Nowadays, Digo no longer deny themselves the right to wash their bodies or to have sexual intercourse, during mahanga, and no longer follow the old ritual of kuoga madzi. Digo explain away the demise of the old custom by the usual excuse that it is contrary to Islam. A mahanga is now terminated by the collection, on the seventh day, of money to pay for the feasting and the cost of the burial and the Koran reading. This collection of money is called kuoga madzi. The name for ritual cleansing has thus

survived as the term for a custom which also allows Digo symbolically to conclude the mahanga and "wash their hands of the matter".

Only adult males were present for the kuoga madzi of Juma Abdullah's mahanga. Since Juma Abdullah had been the Chief of Lungalunga, and was a very important person, his kuoga madzi drew to it practically each adult male in the location of Lungalunga, including many from the Jego area, where Juma had obtained one of his seven wives. Most other mahanga also attract large crowds, but some, especially those for infants, are small affairs. At the kuoga madzi for Juma, as at all kuoga madzi for all mahanga, the male members of each fuko in Lungalunga grouped together, each first according to his fuko kwa mayo, at various shady places near the mudzi of the mahanga. That is, all the Digo who are Chinarama kwa mayo, including those of Miryangu ya Nidia, sat together, each fuko group apart from all other mafuko groups; all those who are Chinamjinga kwa mayo sat together, as a discrete unit; all Adsiriye sat as a unit, etc. At Juma's kuoga madzi, as at all such functions, one individual in each fuko group, usually its most reliable elder, collected money from each fuko

member. Another individual, who knew how to write, made a record of the contributions in each group.

By tradition, each one of the five mafuko in the Kundutsi group of mafuko must contribute 15 shillings for the mahanga of any adult of reasonable importance. The Kundutsi, therefore, contribute a total amount of 75 shillings. The elders in each fuko of the Kundutsi assign to each member of the fuko a certain sum to contribute in order to raise this 15 shillings total. Elders usually each pay 50 cents (half a shilling); and young men usually each pay 25 cents. The members of each fuko kwa baba should also contribute, and often join their kwa baba fuko group after paying to their kwa mayo group. Each Kundutsi kwa baba elder usually pays twentyfive cents, and each young man of the Kundutsi kwa baba pays about ten cents. On some occasions, more or less than the 15 shillings is collected. If more is obtained, this is contributed to the mahanga with pleasure, since it shows how strong the fuko is. If less is obtained, the balance is usually made up by conscientious elders of the fuko.

Mafuko which are not of the Kundutsi group do not

set a standard sum for the lineage to contribute. However, they usually collect more or less the same amount at each mahanga of importance. For each mahanga, the elders of these non-Kundutsi mafuko decide what amount each member should pay, and they do their best to assure that this is contributed. For the mahanga of Juma Abdullah, each of the non-Kundutsi Digo contributed about as much as the average Kundutsi man did. Members of the Chinamwamatu lineage, which is a member of the Yombo group of lineages, sat together as a group with the members of all of the other mafuko within Yombo, and most elders gave about 50 cents, if kwa mayo, and about 25 cents, if kwa baba.

Kasim and Selemani Chuo, of the Chinamwamatu kwa mayo and kwa baba, each gave one shilling and 50 cents. They gave this much primarily because they are deadly rivals of Juma Hamisi and wish to show that they are not to be despised. They desire their fuko, although small, to contribute as much as any of the mafuko in Kundutsi. Furthermore, since Kasim and Selemani are Chinachimwaga (of the Kundutsi) kwa tsawe

(Bukhari Mwanduano) and since the land which they use originated in the Chinachimwaga, they were asked to pay 25 cents to the Chinachimwaga by the matrilineal descendents of Ninduano, their father's father's sister. They each paid 15 cents, and this was sufficient to meet their obligations to the Chinachimwaga.

Muhammad Chuo, the junior brother of Kasim and Selemani, is a drunkard and a misfit. He is ordinarily too poor to contribute money for any purpose. He often escapes his obligations because he is regarded as defective in legal personality. Sometimes his brothers meet his financial obligations for him. Like any other woman, Mwanavita Chuo, the full sister of Kasim and Selemani, does not have to contribute money for mshanga unless the deceased was a very close kinsman. However, she often persuades her husband, Muhammad Salim, to contribute about 10 cents on her behalf to help her brothers meet their obligations. Muhammad Salim, therefore, pays not only for his mafuko kwa mayo and kwa baba, neither of which are Yombo, but also for his wife's fuko. He does not sit with the Yombo during

kuoga madzi, but rather gives the money to Nichuo, who then hands it to her brothers to contribute.

When it is put into the Yombo total, it is listed as the contribution of Muhammad Salim. If Muhammad Salim is bereaved of a close kinsman, or if he himself, dies, the Yombo will be reminded not only of his affinal link with Yombo, but also of his financial aid, and will be requested to give an especially large sum of money to his mahanga. Perhaps 25 per cent of other Digo women also do as Nichuo does and obtain money from their husbands in order to help their mafuko.

In addition to the Lungalunga Digo, about 200 Digo, primarily of the Chinarama kwa mayo and kwa baba, came from all over Digo Land to attend Juma's mahanga. Some chiefly those of Waa and Duga, chartered buses and lorries for the occasion. It is not usual for so many from outside the Location of the deceased to come to his mahanga. Ordinarily, the great majority of those involved in a mahanga are residents of the deceased's sub-location. However, at least some visitors -- kin, affines, and friends -- do come to each mahanga, and they also contribute to kuoga madzi. Often such visitors

directly to their relatives or friends in the sub-location or location of the deceased. In a few cases, however, as at the mohanga of Juma Abdullah, these visitors group themselves by mafuko and contribute in this manner. Many residents of Duga earn money by working on Indian and European sisal plantations in Tanganyika, and they can afford to pay a sizeable amount for kuoga madzi. Some of the Duga Chinarama link to Mryangu ya Nidia, and desired to pay at least as much as the Lungalunga Chinarama. The Duga Chinarama sat in a separate group, apart from their Lungalunga kin, and collected a total of 50 shillings. They then took this 50 shillings to the Lungalunga Chinarama. The Waa Chinarama also sat as a group, contributed 30 shillings, and gave this to the people of Lungalunga.

The Chinarama of all the locations involved and all the other Kundutei of Lungalunga pooled their individual collections and then proudly announced the total to the other mafuko groups. This total included the money which had been collected in addition to kuoga madzi, with respect to close kinship and affinal links

with Juma Abdullah. When the other mafuko groups heard that the Kundutsi, to which group Juma Abdullah belonged, had contributed a respectable amount to this mahanga, they also put their respective contributions into the mahanga "bank". The head of the mahanga, Juma Hamisi, then added up all the contributions, and, in front of the assembled men of each fuko compared this sum with the money owing at the Indian shop for mahanga expenses.

Because Digo do not have much cash on hand, they usually borrow money for mahanga necessities from the local Indian merchants, and they also buy food for mahanga feasting from these merchants, on credit. These debts are repaid on the day of kuoga madzi. If any money remains after paying all debts, it is used either to pay for more Koranic reading over the grave, or to hold a feast, or karamu, subsequent to the mahanga. If not enough money has been collected to meet debts, then special levies are made on close kin of the deceased. If the deceased left property, the heirs of this property should be the ones to pay whatever money is still owing. Often they accomplish this by mortgaging or selling

whatever property has been left to them.

In the case of Juma Abdullah, it was determined that only 390 shillings had been collected, but 500 shillings were owed to the merchants. When this information was given, many men claimed that the mahanga had not provided enough food or tea to cost 500 shillings. It was alleged that Juma Hamisi had cheated somewhere, and misappropriated mahanga funds. Some individuals became even more angry when Juma Hamisi claimed that it would be necessary for the children of Juma Abdullah to pay 100 shillings of the remaining debt because they would inherit from him. Juma Abdullah left behind no property of any value. His only potential asset was the bonus which the Kenya Administration sometimes gives the heirs of a deceased government servant who has performed his duties satisfactorily.

The five children of Juma Abdullah were all under the age of 15 years, and they had no property or money. It was, therefore, necessary that their immediate matrilineal kin should pay the 20 shillings levy assigned to each by Juma Hamisi. For example, Nirama, the 12 year

old daughter of Juma Abdullah by his second wife, Halima binti Muhammad Salim, was helped by her mother, who personally paid 5 shillings; her mother's father, who paid 2 shillings; her mother's full brother, who paid 3 shillings; and her mother's mother's brothers, namely Kasim and Selemani Chuo, who each paid 5 shillings. Kasim and Selemani were especially critical of Juma Hamisi, and accused him of dishonesty. They also questioned why Juma Abdullah's brothers had not helped to pay the debt.

Juma Hamisi stoutly defended his handling of the mahanga, and promised that when the government bonus of 200 shillings came, it would be used to repay those who had helped Juma Abdullah's children, and that it would not be given to Juma Abdullah's brothers. The bonus never arrived, much to the chagrin of all. To make matters worse, at least as far as the sons of Chuo are concerned, Juma Abdullah never paid the malezi for Nirema after his divorce from Halima, and the brothers of Juma Abdullah also evaded paying this debt. However, both Muhammad Abdullah and Seifu Abdullah have used the services of Nirema to help them

in agricultural and domestic tasks. Kasim Chuo claims that this is adding insult to injury -- not only do these brothers of Juma evade their just mahanga and malezi debts, they also make Juma's eldest daughter work for them. Muhammad Abdullah, on the other hand, asserts, that since he is contributing more to the maintenance of Nirama than Halima and the sons of Chuo are, it is only fair that Nirama, as his mwana, helps him more than she helps her Anotsawe a kuchetuni a kveli.

It should be noted that a lineage has no official leadership or political organization. The most influential members of any fuko are usually its elders, though no one elder is conceded more authority in kuoga madzi matters than any other. All fuko elders sitting in open council decide by general agreement and majority rule how much money will be given to any mahanga. Juma Hamisi tends in some degree to dominate the Chinarama, but no one will admit this, and his position is challenged at all times by other Chinarama. Even Kasim Chisira, who is both his close classificatory matrilineally-linked muwa and also his

mwana, since Juma Hamisi was the mwenehu baba mwenga of Chisira, contests the leadership of Juma Hamisi. Indeed, these Chinarama men were jealous of Juma Hamisi's position as Headman of Lungalunga before Juma Abdullah's death, and are very envious of his present status as the government-appointed Chief of Lungalunga Location.

Juma Hamisi was head of the mahanga because of his close relationship to Juma Abdullah, and because Juma Abdullah's brothers, who had the right of choice, gave this honour to him. It is customary for the closest kin of a Digo, for example his father or his full brother, to give the headship of the mahanga (termed mkono wa mahanga, or "hand of the mahanga") to a slightly more distant kinsman. This pays respect to this kinsman and also draws him closer to the group of close kin of the deceased. Thus, when Luti, the son's son of Muhammad Salim died, Muhammad Salim gave the mkono wa mahanga to his mwenehu mayo mwenga, and it was this mwenehu mayo mwenga who made the final tally of the kuoga madzi money.

The head of the mahanga does not have any right to act unilaterally in mahanga matters, and should make mahanga plans in conjunction with all relatives of the deceased. The Langalunga Digo claim that Juma Hamisi did not consult with his relatives, but rather acted in a very high-handed manner, hoping thereby to show his nguvu or "strength" and assure that no one would dare contest his attempt to be selected as chief.

If any Digo does not pay money at kuoga madzi, his fuko cannot act in any "official" capacity to punish him or force him to pay. A few Digo do avoid their obligations at kuoga madzi, and no direct action is taken against them. However, when they are in need, no one helps them, and this punishment is enough. Few Digo women came to pay their respects to the wife of Muhammad Salim's son when her child, Luti, died, because she seldom visited the mahanga of others, and her brother seldom paid sufficient kuoga madzi money. However, because Muhammad Salim, his wife, Nichuo, and his wife's brothers always fulfil their obligations to others, the mahanga of Luti was a financial success, and enough money was collected to pay all debts and hold a small karamu.

The close kin of a Digo who escapes his mahanga duties will assuredly try to make him see the error of his ways. His mother's brother or his father, for example, may threaten to disown him. Witchcraft and angry koma are also to be feared by the shirker. It is small wonder, then, that most Digo pay what is asked of them at kuoga madzi.

C. Patrilineal Grouping:

Digo trace descent patrilineally through their naming technique. Many Digo are able to give the name of all their direct male ancestors to a depth of three or four generations. They use the Arabic-Swahili word nasaba or asaba for this patrilineal extension. Furthermore, certain rights and duties may be transmitted patrilineally, especially rights and duties in land, and the magic and ritual which goes with land, to protect it and its users and inhabitants and help them to flourish. To be sure, many or all of these essential rights and duties originated in the matrilineage of the patrilineally-related ancestor, but the important feature is that the matrilineal line did shift at some point to a patrilineal line.

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For example, Bukhari Mwanduano and his sister, Ninduano, of the Chinachimwaga matrilineage kwa mayo and kwa baba came to Lungalunga from Galu, near Gasi on the Coast, in about 1870. They obtained land from their Chinachimwaga kin in Lungalunga. Mwanduano became an important figure in Kaya Sega. He married a woman, Nimasemo, of the Chinamwamatu lineage of the Jego area, presumably so that he could effect a military alliance with this lineage and the other lineages within the Yombo group. Eventually, other Chinamwamatu came to Sega to live under the protection of Bukhari Mwanduano. Bukhari married many other women, but only Nimasemo bore him a child who lived past infancy. This child, a male named Chuo Mwabukhari, grew to adulthood and married a girl, Fatuma, of the Chinamwamatu kwa mayo and kwa baba undoubtedly descended from a slave of this fuko. Her children by Chuo, including Bukhari Selemani, Kasim, Muhammad and Mwanavita, inherited coconut palms which Chuo planted thinly over a vast area of land which he had obtained from his father in Sega. The children of Chuo claim all of the land encompassed by these trees since, by current government-endorsed Digo law, land

belongs to those who own the productive trees which are planted on it. There is no law to regulate how many trees are required to claim any area of land, but if too much land is taken, this claim will eventually be contested by a jealous neighbour.

The Chuo-Mwanduano land is in an especially fertile area along the river, and it is desired by others of the Chinachimwaga fuko, especially those descended from Ninduano. They claim this land because it originated in the fuko la Chinachimwaga, and because it was once the land used by Ninduano and Mwanduano. In a dispute over the use and ownership of this land heard in a local elder's court, the descendants of Ninduano referred to themselves as members of the Nyumba ya Ninduano and as members of fuko la Chinachimwaga. The children of Chuo referred to themselves chiefly as adzukulu a Mwanduano, and as adzukulu a Chinachimwaga.

This dispute was resolved by a compromise which gave each side a more or less equal share of the land, based on the fact that each side has rival claims to equal strength. Where the matrilineal descendants of Ninduano have old Digo custom to support their claim to

the land, the patrilineal descendents of Mwanduano have Islamic and government sanctions to help them. Most Digo, except the Chinachimwaga, maintain that if the case went to the government courts, the land would be given to the sons of Chuo since "government wants sons to inherit land." It is, indeed, true that the government officials working in the Digo District desire to see Digo develop small holdings which descend patrilineally. Other land cases in other parts of the Digo District reflect this current patrilineal bias.

The sons of Chuo feel fairly secure in their possession of their portion of Mwanduano's land. They are planting coconut palms and banana plants on it, and also have allotted part of it to their sons for the planting of coconut palms. Presumably, the sons of these sons will also be able to use some of this land and assure that it is theirs by the cultivation of permanent crops. For the present, only the sons of Chuo help the Chinachimwaga in kuoga madzi, but it is not improbable that the sons of these sons of Chuo eventually may also contribute to the Chinachimwaga in respect to the land which they hold.

There are a few other cases similar to the Chuo case in Lungalunga, and still more instances of patrilineal "shift" will occur in the future.

Muhammad and Juma, the sons of Kasim Chisira by his first wife, a woman of the Asemani lineage, now have Chinarama land. Kasim's eldest son, Muhammadi is married to Mwananyumbwe, a girl of the Adziriyе. In another 15 years, his son by Mwananyumbwe, and Adziriyе kwa mayo and a Asemani kwa baba, will probably be given some of Muhammad's Chinarama land. It is a duty of a father to give land to his son and most Digo do request that their fathers fulfil this obligation.

One way to keep fuko land with the fuko is for Digo to marry a slave or the descendent of a slave of the fuko. Another is for men to marry women of their father's fuko kwa mayo. An example of this latter type of marriage and its effect upon land tenure is that of Dodo Mleo, a member of the Atewe fuko kwa mayo, and of the Chinarama fuko kwa baba. He lived in the old Kaya Sega in the late 19th century, and used land obtained from his father, a member of the chinarama of Sega. Dodo's first wife was Nimasuo, a member of the

Chinarama kwa mayo and kwa baba, and, as indicated in chart 3, the direct matrilineal descendent of Nidia. Nimasuo bore to Dodo the five Nidodo sisters and Mleo Mwadodo. As a result of this marriage, some Chinarama land returned to Chinarama. Indeed, a part of the land used by Kasim Chisira and by Hamisi Mleo descended from Dodo's father's mother's brother to Dodo's father, then to Dodo, and finally to the children and children's children of Dodo. Since Mleo Mwadodo married a descendant of a Chinarama slave, the land he obtained from his father remained in Chinarama hands. Hamisi and Msimu Mleo are Chinarama kwa mayo and kwa baba.

In addition to Nimasuo, Dodo Mleo also married another woman, a slave of the Atewe, who bore him a son, Fumbwe Mwadodo. Dodo Mleo gave Fumbwe a large section of what had been land of the Chinarama. Thus, even though some Chinarama land did return to this fuko by way of Nimasuo, some remained with the Atewe. Fumbwe has married many women of various lineages, and has given his sons land from Dodo's portion. Fumbwe did, however, marry binti Hamisi Mviere after her divorce

from Abdullah Pongwe, and he has given her sons by Abdullah permission to use some very fertile and well-watered former Chinarama land for banana and maize cultivation. This land is planted in coconuts which Fumbwe inherited from his father as his father's mwana and classificatory muva. Fumbwe's mother was the classificatory mwenuhu of Dodo because of her slave status. Both because of the land he uses and his marriage to binti Hamisi, Fumbwe supports the Chinarama, of which he is a kwa tsawe member, in many activities, including mahanga and kuoga madzi.

D. Summary.

To summarize this chapter, it may be said that mafuko now have but one function, namely the contribution of money at mahanga. Since each fuko has kwa mayo, kwa baba, and even some kwa tsawe members, and all these act together to contribute money for mahanga, a fuko is a large multilineal group. The smaller multilineal groups which comprise a fuko are best termed miryangu. Most miryangu, while multilineal in overall composition, are matrilineally-oriented. That is, most of the older, authoritative members of the miryangu are of the miryangu

kwa mayo, and the land and the property which support the existence of these niryangu has descended primarily in the matrilineal line.

Some small multilineal groups, however, are composed mainly of Digo who trace descent patrilineally, and the land and the property which support the existence of these groups has descended patrilineally.

Considerably mention has been made of slavery in and the effects of slavery on Digo society. This is such an important subject that the following chapter will be devoted to a detailed discussion of slavery.

CHAPTER V

KINSHIP THROUGH SLAVERY

A. General.

A large number of Digo are descended from slaves, or ajori (mujori), either in the male or female line. There is great stigma attached to such descent and so no one wishes to admit of his own slave ancestry. Also, no one wishes to say that another Digo is of slave ancestry, because if the slandered person hears of such an accusation, he and his close kin will most likely be able to show that the slanderer is also a descendant of a slave. The slandered Digo will also attempt to avenge themselves on the slanderer by black magic. If Digo quarrel because of allegations of slave status, the kin and affines of each party will do all in their power to bring about a reconciliation, and will urge each side not to mention slavery again.

The most powerful sanction against anyone openly stating that another Digo should be subservient to him because of master-slave relationships between their ancestors is the realization that the individual or individuals alleged to be "slaves" will take the matter to the District Commissioner

and say that the alleged "master" is trying to re-establish slavery. According to government files and to the Digo themselves, there is no instance of such a report being made to a government official during the past 40 years, at least. However, the threat that such a report could be made is always present. What is feared is not so much that government would take any action, but rather that when Digo carry such a secret and personal matter to the government, then these Digo are no longer interested in maintaining the state of precarious balance in social relations. Then, assuredly, harmony will give way to nothing but conflict in inter-personal and inter-group relations.

Digo of many locations, especially the Digo of Tanganyika, have the custom of kuwirana ("to sing against"), in which two opposing individuals or two opposing groups of Digo sing about the slave ancestry of each other. The individual or group which proves his or its opponent to have the most slave ancestry wins. The perfect way for a person to win is to prove that the ancestors of the opposing individual were slaves of his ancestors. The quality of singing, the ingenuity of songs, and the amount of food and drink which is provided to the judges and spectators are also, in theory at least, important factors in securing victory in kuwirana.

Such song contests provide the one occasion where slavery may be discussed without fear of open conflict. The idea seems to be that if X and Y quarrel with each other about slave status or attempt in any way to bring the fact of slavery into other quarrels, then it is best to allow them to settle the fact of slavery in a socially acceptable manner. Once it has been established whose ancestors were the slaves of whom, the two parties can re-establish harmonious relations and not again mention slavery. Each party will know his position in relation to the other and tacitly act accordingly.

In actual fact, however, such song contests often only increase antagonism. This is illustrated by two cases:

1. The Tanganyika Song Contest.

In early 1958, there was a major song contest near Duga, Tanganyika. The two principle contestants each had about 100 close kinsmen as supporters. Both also invited hundreds of guests from all over Digo Land in Kenya and Tanganyika. They paid for the transport by bus or lorry of most of these guests. They also paid for large quantities of food and drink for all these guests, and provided them with shelter during the week-long contest. The guests were supposed to show which contestant they supported by

sitting near this contest. Each contestant and his kin group tried to wean guests away from the other contestant by offering more and better refreshments.

Rivalry over numbers of guests and the money spent on the guests added a new dimension to the song contest and became an end in itself. The singing and feasting continued for seven days, and each contestant and his immediate supporters went deep into debt with local Indian and African shop keepers. Each contestant showed that his opponent and the close kin of his opponent were descended from slaves, but, because of intertwined relationships, neither could show conclusively that his ancestors were the masters of the other's ancestors. The judges deliberated for hours and then suggested that the matter should end in a draw. Neither side agreed to this, and fighting broke out between the contestants, their supporters and many of their guests. A number of individuals were injured, some severely. Police had to be called in to restore order. The contest ended in total disorder, and the guests went home to spread word of the event over the land. After a long period of bickering and recurrent minor fights, the contestants and their supporters, most of whom live within no more than a few miles of each other, reconciled their major differences. However, it is

said that each side is saving money and learning new genealogical facts about the other in preparation for a new contest in the future. There have been no other major song contests among the Digo of any area since this contest.

2. The Lungalunga Song Contest.

In Lungalunga, there have been no song contests since about 1949, when Juma Hamisi, of Mrvangu ya Nitoro and Omari Malau, of Mrvangu ya Gao, (illustrated in chart 3), sang against each other, after a series of quarrels involving ancestry and land and property rights. By tracing genealogies in his songs, Juma easily proved that an ancestress of Omari Malau, namely Kochc, was bought as a slave by Nichinyama. Omari Malau, however, presented information in an attempt to show that Juma Hamisi's mother, Nitoro, was descended from a slave ancestress many generations removed. He also proved without a doubt that Hamisi, the father of Juma Hamisi, was a slave of the Chinadzore.

This song contest emphasized the fact of slavery in the Chinadzore and the Chinarama, and it showed which branches or nyumba within each fuko were slave and which were "master". Because of this, and because of the numerous quarrels it engendered, the contest almost tore the Chinarama into two rival groups of equal size. Since it was so injurious to

social harmony and stability, the song contest was brought to an end without a vote being taken as to who won. It was vowed by all Digo of Lungalunga that they would never again allow anyone to initiate a song contest. This vow has been kept, but there have been numerous song contest "scares", when it was thought that a contest was being planned.

In order to prepare for a song contest it is necessary for each of the contestants to collect detailed genealogical data about the other. Such data are highly prized, and kept like a military top secret. Before challenging another to a contest, a Digo will usually have gathered a considerable amount of such information. If anyone hears that questions are being asked about his genealogy, he will prepare for a possible song contest by gathering data about the questioner. The elders who are in possession of such information are carefully cultivated by younger Digo, befriended, and given gifts and aid. These elders will divulge their knowledge only when they are well paid. Some receive as much as 100 shillings for choice information which pinpoints slavery.

Digo claim that if he is well-bribed, many a greedy elder will reveal vital data even about his close kinsmen, and that he will give such information to the worst enemies of his kinsmen. An elder is most likely to do this if his

kinsmen concerned were not good to him, and so this is but another means to encourage Digo to help and pay respect to others, especially the aged. Since such information is so valuable and vital in self-defence, Digo often collect it even when they plan no song contest. Since it is costly to procure, few Digo have detailed genealogical information, even about their own families. It is customary for a Digo to pay his father and other patrilineal kin, and his mother's brother and other matrilineal kin to receive information about his own ancestry. Not even a father or a mother's brother will reveal this information without receiving at least a token payment of several shillings to equal the uchi, or palm wine, which formerly was given to elders as payment for genealogical data. An elder who knows much about the ancestry of others is much admired, much envied, and much feared. It appears that there is a tendency to regard such a knowledgeable man as a witch.

In spite of the ban on song contests in Lungalunga, Digo of this location collect genealogical data as avidly as ever, and they fear that someone will break the ban. The only way to "keep the peace," is to know so much about everyone else that everyone will be afraid to start the next song contest. Attempts have been made to cause all Digo in

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Lungalunga to stop collecting information, but these attempts always end in failure. No Digo is so trusting of his neighbour that he will believe that others will observe a ban on the collection of data about slave ancestry. Certainly, there are no Digo who are willing to be unilateralists.

An interesting aspect of this dread of defeat in song contests is that Digo also fear that if a man or a group of kinsmen become too wealthy, they will use this wealth to purchase great secrets about ancestry, and also to wage a major song war. This gives Digo yet another cause to envy and dislike the economic success of others.

When this writer began his research in Lungalunga, Digo were convinced that he was a government agent, bent on stealing land from them, increasing their taxes, or finding out about their political and subversive activities. When he asked detailed questions about their genealogies, then they also feared that he was attempting to ferret out data about slavery for some nefarious purpose, or, at the very least, that he would bring information about slavery into the open and thereby stimulate a new round of song contests. Because so many aspects of Digo culture relate to past slavery; including marriage rules, inheritance, all manner of ritual, land tenure, etc.; this writer found it very difficult to

make headway in his work. Each question that he asked about any element of Digo culture was, in one way or another, related to the slave ancestry of Lungalunga Digo. Digo are skilled prevaricators, and, in their ability to conceal the truth with plausible cover stories, most Digo rival the intelligence agents with whom the writer dealt in the Korean War. However, when the writer finally found out about past slavery and then unravelled the story of its effects on current Digo life, otherwise inexplicable behaviour became logical, and otherwise confusing bits of information fell into place to form a coherent picture.

B. The Effect of Slavery.

Before European rule finally put an end to slavery, Digo obtained slaves through tribal war, direct purchase, capture of thieves and homeless persons, the claiming of debt, and the claiming of blood money or kore. For each adult he killed, the killer had to give into slavery himself or one girl and one boy, customarily his matrilineal kin. Such slaves were affiliated to the fuko kwa mayo and kwa baba of whoever obtained them as slaves. They lost their own mafuko completely, and their former matrilineal kin, such as their mother's brothers, lost all rights and duties in them.

If they were koro slaves, they took the place of the killed person. If the person killed was fairly old and the replacement fairly young, the enehu of the dead man then apparently termed the replacements adzukulu or "grandchildren," since adzukulu are equated with enehu, etc. If the deceased was about the same age as the replacements, then his enehu called the replacements enehu. Terminology and relationships with all other kin of the deceased were in respect to this initial classification.

Slaves also found their place in the system of relationship and terminology by means of marriage. If a Digo married a slave woman of his age, she was equated as his mwenehu. If she was much younger than he was, then she became his mdzukulu. A Digo could also equate a slave as his son or daughter (and, simultaneously, as his sister's son or sister's daughter).

Apparently, Digo always wished to make slaves and the descendants of slaves as much a part of and loyal to their new fuko and nyangu as possible. Otherwise, they would be liabilities to the lineage. They would attempt to escape from it, or would turn against it in war. Nowadays, if the descendants of slaves are not treated well by the descendants of their antecedents' masters, they will kumbolela or "redeem" their true, but "lost" fuko. They will simply reject

membership in their present fuko, discarding all rights and duties in it, and secure membership in the original fuko of their ancestor who was taken as a slave.

In former times, a Digo liked to marry a slave because his children by her were completely his. They had no mother's brother to stand against him. Since the slave wife was affiliated as his matrilineal kinswoman her children by him were also affiliated as him matrilineal as well as patrilineal kin. They could inherit from him, or at least share his property with his true matrilineal kin. If a man obtained sufficient slave women for himself and his matrilineal kin, he could create a strong mutual security group to stand with him against all others. He and his true matrilineal kin could cause descendants of slaves to be married to whom they pleased, either to someone within their fuko to make it internally stronger, or to someone of another fuko to establish better external relations.

Fuko exogamy did not apply to those descended from slaves of the fuko. Thus, in each lineage there developed a number of slave satellite branches or nyumba. The members of both the master and the slave nyumba acted together as one fuko, at least in former times, but they preserved sufficient separateness to intermarry. Members of any satellite nyumba

could marry any members of any other satellite nyumba or members of the master nyumba. Since slaves and descendants of slaves could themselves own slaves, satellite nyumba obtained satellite branches of their own. Therefore, each fuko became subdivided into many intermarrying nyumba of varying size and depth, the longest being the central of master nyumba. As indicated in previous chapters, each nyumba forms the core or the basis of an mrivangu, and develops into such an mrivangu by the addition to it of its kwa baba kwa tsawe members.

When the British and Germans put a stop to slavery, the Digo maintained the intermarrying nyumba principle. Very few slaves or the descendants of slaves redeemed their lost fuko, for they had become too much a part of their master fuko and nyumba. They had secured too many rights, such as land and property, in their new fuko to cast it off. At first, the master nyumba was all-powerful, and if a man of the master nyumba married to a girl of a satellite nyumba, her full or mayo mwenga brothers had little influence over his children by her. Eventually, it became necessary to blur as completely as possible the fact of slave descent, and to accord the brothers of a wife of slave descent both respect and the customary rights and duties in the children of this wife.

However, Digo still saw a great advantage in marrying within their fuko a person of another nyumba, because such a marriage still tended to reduce conflicting rights and duties between the husband, his children, and his wife's brother and other matrilineal kin. A wife's matrilineal kin, although of a different nyumba and possessing equal sovereignty, are nevertheless closer to ego's matrilineal kin than Digo of an entirely different fuko. Ego can give children by such a wife at least some of his property because they are both his real ana and his classificatory awa. His wife is his mwenehu, related to him matrilineally because of slave affiliation to his fuko. This is the reason why Fumbwe Mwadodo, whose mother was descended from a slave of his father's Atewe fuko, inherited from his father. It is also the reason why the children of Chuo bin Bukhari Mwanduano and Fatuma inherited from Chuo. Very many other Digo have also inherited from their fathers because of this type of marriage.

Slavery created a special category of mwenehu, namely the mwenehu mwana ma. All members of any exogamous nyumba within a fuko who are descended through an equal number of generations from a common ancestress call each other mwenehu ndani mwenga, or mavo mwenga, or mwana mavo, as noted previously. However, they call anyone of a different nyumba within their fuko who is on the same generation level as themselves, and

whom they are able to marry, or would be able to marry if of a different sex, mwenehu mwana ma. Ma has no specific meaning, and presumably is a word artificially derived from mayo. The mother of Fumbwe Mwadodo was the mwenehu mwana ma of his father; the mother of Kasim Chuo was a mwenehu mwana ma of Chuo.

All enehu mwana ma bear the same fuko name and are considered equally to be members of this fuko for the fuko function of contributing money at kuoga madzi. If a Digo does marry his mwenehu mwana ma then their children will be of the same fuko kwa mayo and kwa baba. Digo like to maintain all Digo who are members of one fuko are descended from the same founding ancestress, but at the same time they like to distinguish between nyumba of this fuko for purposes of marriage. This type of flexibility, which permits Digo to manipulate custom so that they may, so to speak, "have their cake and eat it too," is manifest throughout Digo culture.

A sure sign of slave descent either in the matrilineal or the patrilineal line is when a Digo is a member of one fuko both kwa mayo and kwa baba; that is, when his parents were enehu mwana ma. If such a person is asked about his ancestry he will pretend that he does not know why his parents both of the same fuko and ostensibly descended from the same

ancestress, were able to marry each other. He will not trace their ancestry far enough to show where slavery brought an ancestress of one or the other into the fuko, but he will simply say, in effect, "I do not know any more about this matter. These are affairs of the past, about which I have no interest." Even if he is aware that his interviewer knows that one of his ancestresses was a slave of his present fuko, he will not divulge information about this slave descent, but will act as if it does not exist. It is very unwise to humiliate an informant by attempting to obtain such concealed information.

It might be added that many Digo fear that self-government and the demise of strong British rule will cause a re-birth of slavery. They are worried in case those of slave descent may fight against those of immediate master descent if the masters attempt to reestablish supremacy. This fear gives Digo even more cause to avoid any mention of slavery.

A survey of Digo in Segla indicates that out of a total of 63 men aged about 40 or over, 19 are of one fuko kwa mayo and kwa baba. This indicates a fairly high proportion of mwana ma or slave marriages before 1920. However, of a total of 271 males under the age of about 20, only 12 are the result of mwana ma marriages. There is a definite trend away from

such marriages since they reflect upon past slavery. Also new laws and ideas tend alone to reinforce the position of a father in respect to his children and their mother's brother. Children may now inherit even if their father is not also their classificatory awu as a result of his marriage to his mwenehu mwana ma.

An example will illustrate the effect of slave status on inter-personal and inter-group relationships in Lungalunga.

From the preceding chapter, it will be recalled that Nichinyama was descended from Niterema, of the Lungalunga Chinarama, and that the line of Niterema is presumably the master nyumba. (Chart 3 shows the essential relationships.) Nichinyama bought Koche as her slave. Later, Koche was married to Gao, also descended from a slave, and bore him two daughters, Nigao Mviere and Nigao Mdide. Nigao Mviere was married to or taken as a concubine by Dzambo Mwachando, a member of the Chinarama kwa mayo and kwa baba. Three sons and three daughters were born to this marriage, of which group of full siblings, Nguro was the youngest. All of these siblings were married, but, with the exception of two of the girls, none married a member of the Chinarama kwa mayo. All raised children and obtained grandchildren; and all died before 1957, with the exception of Nguro.

In 1958, Nguro's eldest and thrice married daughter was married again, this time to a Yombo man living in Dziriye. Digo do not necessarily have to pay all the bride wealth for a wife immediately upon marriage. This Yombo man delayed full payment for months, but by late 1959, he had paid all the bride wealth for her except one goat, called mbuzi ya diigwa, which the father of the girl obtains in the pagan form of Digo marriage in order to seal the marriage pact. In December 1959, this mbuzi ya diigwa was brought to Nguro at his mudzi in Sega, where he lives with his wife, his son, his son's wife and children, and his youngest daughter, who is separated from her husband.

Nguro accepted the mbuzi in the usual formal manner, accompanied by Budzo Safari, the only son of Nigao Mhide, and by his classificatory mdzukululu wa kuchetuni, Saidi Bamvua, whose mother's mother's mother was Nichinyama, the owner and classificatory "sister" of Koche. The only other persons at this formal acceptance were the young children of Nguro's son, who played about as Digo children are wont to do, making nuisances of themselves and interrupting their elders frequently; Selemani Chuo, a Yombo of a different fuko from the husband of Nguro's wife, but selected by this husband as his go-between in this mbuzi payment; and this writer, who is a classificatory mdzukululu and affine of Nguro, since Nguro's son's

youngest daughter is named Ushi, after the writer's wife, and the husband of any mdzukululu is also an mdzukululu. The writer is also a classificatory mdzukululu of Nguro because he was adopted as a Chinarama kwa mayo in the relationship as muva of Juma bin Abdullah Pongwe. Furthermore, he was adopted as the mwana of Selemani Chuo, and was, therefore, Chinamwamatu kwa baba. In spite of these relationships, he knew of the facts of Nguro's slave ancestry at the time of this formal acceptance of the mbuzi ya diigwa.

From the outset, it was obvious that Saidi Bamvua, although far younger than either Nguro or Budzo, was the dominant person at the ceremony of acceptance. It was also fairly clear that Budzo and Nguro tended to resent his influence. Nguro and Budzo felt that the goat was too small, but Saidi claimed that, with a few shillings given as an additional payment, it would suffice. Selemani Chuo agreed that Saidi's suggestion was a good one, and he promised that the husband of Nguro's daughter would pay the extra amount within a few days. Nguro then demanded that the money be paid at once, but Saidi prevailed upon him to accept Selemani's offer.

The writer asked everyone present at the ceremony why Saidi was so important a figure. He was informed, with

some hesitation, that the reason was, as the writer had "already been told," that adzukulu a kuchetuni are vital figures. Other Digo informants later reaffirmed that this was, indeed, the case. However, the writer, who at this time was just beginning to learn about the significance of past slavery, and who compared the activities of Saidi with those of other adzukulu a kuchetuni, was not satisfied that he was being told the whole truth.

Some months later, Nguro became very ill, allegedly because of black magic (utsai) put in the ground near his house some decades ago by several of his now dead matrilineal kin. It was necessary to have kuzuuzza utsai to "smell out" the buried utsai. Saidi Barvua, who claims to be a very devout Muslim, and frowns upon such "dirty" customs as kuzuuzza, was nevertheless at the kuzuuzza. Saidi contributed 15 of the 56 shillings collected to pay for the kuzuuzza. This was more than any one person had paid except Nguro himself. Budzo Safari and Omeri Malau, the real muwa, of Nguro, each paid only five shillings. Nguro's son, who is poor, paid two shillings; Budzo's daughter's husband contributed two shillings; and the balance was collected cent by cent from the many multilineally-related kin and affines of Nguro who attended the kuzuuzza. The writer was told

that there was no special significance to be attached to the fact that Saidi paid so much. He had done, or so it was said, no more than what any good mdzukul ya kuchetuni should do.

Finally, in March 1960, the truth emerged in spite of the attempt to keep it concealed. Nguro died in March, and, as is usual in mahanga ("funerals and wakes"), his close kin gathered to determine the account of payment due from, and the duties to be assigned to, each of them at the mahanga. As noted in the information about the mahanga of Juma Abdullah, it is customary for a close kinsman of the deceased to be given the position of mkono wa mahanga, and made the director of mahanga operations, and chief treasurer of mahanga funds. Budzo Safari was selected to do this post by Nguro's son and by the numerous other descendants of Koche who came to the mahanga. Saidi Bamvua, the only living male matrilineal descendant of Nichinyama, felt that he should be made the mkono wa mahanga. A few Achinarama not of Koche's nyumba supported Saidi's claim to the mkono post, but most others sided with Koche's descendants. Saidi finally agreed that Budzo could have the mkono wa mahanga as long as he, Saidi, was given an important voice in planning mahanga operations, and as long as Nguro was buried in the graveyard area of Saidi's matrilineal kin.

Since Saidi's father was a mwana ma mwenehu of his mother and descended from a slave of the Chinarama, he had been buried in the grave area of Saidi's matrilineal kin. Also buried in this area are other slaves and descendants of slaves of Nyumba ya Niterema, including Nguro's siblings, and free-born members of this nyumba, including Nichinyama. Saidi claimed that Nguro should be buried there as well. Not once in his argument with Nguro's kin did he say that they were subservient to him, but they certainly knew that this is what he was trying to prove.

Omari Malau swore that Saidi could never have the body to bury where he wished. He claimed that he, Omari, as the true muwa of Nguro, would take the body and bury it at a site near his mudzi in Makwonyeni. Some of Omari's close kin shouted their approval of the suggestion. Budzo and the son of Nguro, however, claimed that rather than have anyone take the body to his own grave area, a compromise should be effected and the body buried in the coconut orchard which Nguro had planted on Chinarama land near his own mudzi. No other people were buried there and it was neutral ground. Omari agreed to this, as did all other Chinarama descended from Koche. They stood together, determined that Saidi would not be allowed to have his way as the descendant of the owner of Koche. The other, more neutral, Chinarama

present at the discussion advised Saidi to give way to Budzo in this matter, but Saidi declared that he would only do so if all the important Chinarama, including those not at this meeting, agreed. It was decided to hold a conference of all Chinarama elders later in the day.

Plans were then made to send information about Nguro's death to his kin, affines and friends in other locations and summon them to the mahanga. Plans were also made for the purchase of the winding sheet and other materials for the burial, for the borrowing of money at the Indian shops, for the purchase of food on credit, and for the immediate collection of money from close kin and affines to meet immediate needs. Saidi put forward various suggestions, but Omari Malau launched a tirade against him, claiming that Saidi knew nothing about mahanga operations and that his proposals were valueless. Saidi denied this and said that Omari was only trying to make trouble where none should exist. Budzo and neutral Chinarama elements again restored order, claiming that a mahanga was no time or place to quarrel. Eventually, suitable plans were drawn up, the meeting ended, and the necessary preparations began. Not once during this meeting did anyone mention the word slave or slavery or even the name of Koche or Nichinyama. In no way did anyone reveal the cause of the dispute between Saidi

and Omari and the others, though Omari had referred to the close kin of Nguro as the Mrvangu ya Nguro, and also as China-Gao, and said that Saidi was not of this group and should not interfere and act as if he were.

Although not even his best informants had dared directly to tell him about the fact of slavery in this case, the writer had been told enough to make rather accurate suppositions. Armed with these, and pretending that he knew more than he did, he finally persuaded a leading member of the Chinarama, not, however, a descendant of Koche or of Niterema, to disclose the truth. This informant discussed the enslavement of Koche and said that in the old days, a generation or more ago, everyone of Koche's descendants would have obeyed Saidi, but that now they take offence at Saidi's real or imagined attempts to influence them.

Nguro, it seems, was of the old school of Digo thought, and tended to show Saidi respect. Budzo also allowed Saidi to play the role of mbwana, or "master" as long as he did not overdo it and make his status too obvious. In return for this semi-obedience, Saidi gave them important economic help. Digo are prone to sacrifice a lot of independence in order to obtain financial aid and general security. Also, the land rights of Nguro and Budzo were obtained through the Myumba of Niterema. It appears that Nguro, a great believer

in the old Digo ideas about the supernatural, felt that if he did not pay Saidi respect, then the koma of the ancestors of Saidi, those who first planted in this land, would destroy Nguro's property. Nguro never forgot that Saidi was supposed to be mwanatse, and he was unhappy that Saidi did not wish to go to the old finjo in Gonja to pray for the welfare of the Chinarama.

Omari Malau, however, scoffed at these ideas and refused to pay homage to Saidi. Furthermore, Omari wished to obtain at least a large share of Nguro's many coconut palms, both those which he inherited matrilineally and those which he planted. Omari wished to share these with Budzo Safari and, perhaps, the son of Nguro. Saidi, although junior in age and generation level to Omari and, especially, to Budzo, had a good claim to a major share of the palms which Nguro had inherited matrilineally, and a lesser claim to the coconut palms which Nguro had planted. According to old custom, members of a master nyumba may demand such inheritance as a right. However, Omari Malau denied the validity of such custom. To have allowed Saidi to bury Nguro would have been to give Saidi and his matrilineal heirs the opportunity of asserting control over Nguro's property just as they asserted control over his body. It was a master stroke to bury Nguro among his

coconut palms because then the son of Nguro, Omari and Budzo, and the successive heirs of these people will always be able to say, in effect, "of course these coconut palms are ours." Nguro would not otherwise be buried there. They will also be able to plant new coconut palms and other crops on this land. If the matter ever goes before a government court, they will certainly win with such positive proof of ownership and control as a grave of a close ancestor on the land. Furthermore, Nguro's koma will watch over the land the property for his son and his true sister's sons.

Saidi appreciated the importance of the place of burial as much as Omari Malau and Budzo did, and, unfortunately for harmony, he remained just as unwilling to let them select the place of burial as they were unwilling to give him this opportunity. Saidi did not change his mind, even when other, supposedly neutral, Chinarama men discussed the matter and agreed that Nguro should be buried in his coconut orchard in accord with "new customs". The matter was argued back and forth for over a day, and in the heat Nguro's body began to decompose. Finally, some Chinarama took matters into their own hands and began to dig a grave in Nguro's orchard, and Saidi reluctantly assented

to Nguro's burial in this grave when he was warned that if Nguro's body deteriorated before it was buried, his koma would surely attack Saidi.

Since the ground was so hard owing to the numerous tree roots, the diggers made little progress, and for a time Saidi interpreted this as a sign that Nguro did not want to be buried there. Digo have the belief that a koma can indicate its preference in burial place by making the ground hard at the places it dislikes, and the ground soft at places it likes. Saidi said "see, I told you so," and a number of Digo began to agree with him. Omari and his close kin rushed reinforcements to Nguro's orchard to dig faster and the grave was completed before Saidi could prepare a grave on his own land. Nguro was finally buried among his coconut palms about 32 hours after his death. Usually, burial is effected within 12 hours of death.

The writer left Lungalunga soon after this event, and before the inheritance of Nguro's property was determined. It seems fairly certain that the usual compromise will be effected which will have all possible heirs either cooperating in the use and administration of this property under a trustee, probably Budzo. Saidi will, therefore, continue to work together, at least in respect to this property, with the descendants of Koche. If he tries to

take the matter to court to obtain a larger share or all of the property, he will certainly be defeated because government will not recognize a claim based upon slavery. On the other hand, if Koche's descendants attempt to cut Saidi out entirely, he may threaten to take the matter to court and also cause such a disturbance that the Chinarama will be split into bitterly antagonistic factions. Other mafuko could easily be drawn into such a quarrel, with disastrous effect to all. Therefore, everyone will do everything possible to ensure that Saidi and the descendants of Koche settle their differences.

C. Kukombolela.

If a Digo feels that he is being mistreated or humiliated because of his slave descent, he may be prepared to kombolela or "redeem" his fuko lost to him by the enslavement of his ancestor. Apparently, Omari Malau threatened that he and the entire China-Gao would leave the Chinarama, but no one took him seriously because Koche was of another, and insignificant, tribe in Tanganyika, the Doe. He and his kin would lose everything and gain nothing if they suddenly said that they were no longer Digo kwa mayo but Doe. Nicharo also, the wife of Chisira, was descended from a slave taken from the Doe tribe by the Chinarama, but though she threatened

to kumbolela, she was not serious about it. The most that she was able to do was to reject the Chinarama of Nyumba ya Nitsongo, which had taken her ancestress as a slave, and transfer her allegiance to the group of Omari Malau.

In many cases Digo of other Digo mafuko were taken as slaves, and their descendants are able, sometimes with profit, to return to their original fuko. Not many make this transfer because of their vested interests in their master fuko, but a few do change. Some change because they are denied inheritance in their master fuko. Some change because they are told by those of their original and "lost" fuko that if they return to this original fuko they will inherit more than if they stay where they are. Some kombolela because they are very ill, and their diviner says that they are being plagued by the angry koma or the angry chifudu of their ancestors in the "lost" fuko, and must return to this fuko in order to please the koma or the chifudu.

Digo often know which of their ancestors were taken as debt or kora slaves by another fuko, and they know those who are descended from these slaves. Such descendants also often know exactly from whence they and their nyumba came. Frequently, a Digo will not wish to bring back into the fuko the descendants of people lost to the fuko because this may allow the newcomers to inherit property which he

would otherwise obtain. However, just as frequently, a Digo will wish to see his group expand and will be willing to sacrifice some property rights in order to obtain the general and all-encompassing aid which newcomers can give him, especially if owed to him because of real or anticipated property rights.

When ego does redeem a lost fuko, he gains a new kinsmen, and they gain a new fuko member who will help them in a variety of ways, including payment at kuoga madzi. Indeed, a usual method of dramatically demonstrating kom-bolela is to refuse to give money to the master fuko at kuoga madzi, but instead to give it to the redeemed fuko. However, even though ego does reject his master fuko and his general obligations in respect to his membership in it, he usually cannot, or will not, dispose of his kinsship affiliations caused by this membership. Thus, while he will not pay money to the fuko as a fuko member, he will often give financial aid for mahanga and other matters directly to his kin in his rejected fuko.

Similarly, while ego usually loses land and property rights in his rejected fuko, he obtains financial and other aid from the members of this fuko, especially from those who took over the property and land which ego lost.

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To be sure, the quarrels which often lead to and are magnified by lineage transfer do cause serious breaks with certain kin. However, even these are often reconciled over a period of time. It is one thing to discard a lineage name, and it is another thing to discard actual kinsmen. Kinship means too much to most Digo to be rejected, even if rejecting it would gratify feelings of anger or be immediately remunerative in terms of property. There are only a few Digo who cannot control their temper or their greed sufficiently to keep kinship bonds intact.

Some examples will help to clarify the practice of kombolela:

1. Taziganywa.

The first example is the case of Taziganywa Nimbega, a woman born in about 1915, in Sega. Her father was Mbega Mwambeto, a member of the Chinarama kwa mayo and kwa baba, and her mother was Pesa, a slave of the Chinarama, taken from the Adziriyē fuko in debt slavery.

As chart shows, Taziganywa is the mwenehu mwana ma of Juma Hamisi. She is also Juma's mkoi because Mbega, her father, is the mwenehu mayo mwenga brother of Nitoro, Juma Hamisi's mother. The mother of both Mbega and Nitoro was Chibao, a member of the Chinarama kwa mayo and kwa baba. Chibao was married first to Mbeto Mwaruta, also a Chinarama

kwa mayo and kwa baba, and Mbeto fathered Mbega. Then Mbeto died, and Nichibao was inherited by Msumbira, the son of Mbeto's full sister. It is ordinarily not considered right for ego to cohabit with the wife of his dead mother's brother. Ego should assure that she marries another individual, perhaps the sister's daughter's son of her dead husband. Ego's profit in this will be the bride-wealth he collects for her. However, in this case Msumbira did cohabit with Nichibao, and she bore him a daughter, Nitoro. (Toro was a nickname used and liked by Msumbira.)

The fact that Msumbira did cohabit with Nichibao indicates that she is descended from a slave ancestress, and that Msumbira is of the nyumba which held her ancestress as a slave. Members of the master nyumba were once able to do as they wished with their slaves and those descended from their slaves, and they could marry such individuals of slave status without regard to usual custom.

Presumably Msumbira's father was also descended from a slave of Chinarama. However, what is important in tracing slavery and mastery is matrilineal descent. The ancestors of Nidia conveniently "forget" where their nyumba connects with that of the Nyumba of Nisema, the nyumba of Msumbira. It is also "not known" where the Nyumba of Nisema affiliates

with that of Niterema.

Juma Hamisi inherited about half of Mbega's 200 coconut palms, some of which Mbega inherited and some of which he had planted. Juma also succeeded to Mbega's duties as baba to Taziganywa. Thus, he fulfills simultaneously the role of Taziganywa's baba-mkoi and that of Taziganywa's mwenehu mwana ma, with the former role taking precedence since it involves rights and duties in respect to property.

Taziganywa married first to Duga Mwagwede, also a member of the Chinarama kwa mayo and kwa baba, and her mwenehu mwana ma. 1952, after many years of marriage and the birth of five daughters, all of whom but one died, Taziganywa was divorced from Duga because of certain quarrels they had and because Duga never let her forget that she was the daughter of a slave of the Chinarama. Her father, Mbega, was alive when she was married and acted as her marriage guardian. It was he who received her bride-wealth of 120 shillings and three goats. However, he was dead at the time of her divorce, and Juma Hamisi was her marriage guardian and had the duty to return this bride-wealth. As Mbega's heir, he had inherited Mbega's liabilities as well as his assets. Fortunately for Juma, however, Taziganywa was married to Mnyeto Mwazuba almost as soon as she was

divorced, and Mnyeto also paid 120 shillings and three goats as bride-wealth for her. Juma took this amount and gave it to Duga, receiving, in turn, 30 shillings and one goat as malezi for Taziganywa's one remaining child. It is interesting to note that Mnyeto Mwazuba was also having arguments with the Chinakonde over his slave ancestry at the time that he became friendly with Taziganywa. It appears that they married because of their common dislike of being regarded as having slave status.

At the time of or before her divorce from Duga, Taziganywa also quarrelled seriously with Juma Hamisi and other Chinarama men, including Kasim Chuo. She rejected her Chinarama fuko kwa mayo, and took back her Adziriyе fuko kwa mayo. She retained, however, the Chinarama fuko kwa baba. Her daughter, Niduga, was very unhappy about her mother's decision, partly perhaps because Niduga was married to Kasim Chisira in about 1950, after Kasim's first wife died. She is the mwenehu mwana ma of Kasim, and Kasim calls her mother mayo. Mbega was Kasim's close classificatory, matrilineally-linked tsawe wa kuchetuni, as chart 4 shows. Both Mbega and Kasim are descended matrilineally from Nidia. Kasim does not like to have anyone, especially his wife's mother, kombolela and reject the Chinarama. In theory, if Taziganywa is now of the Adziriyе,

her daughter and her daughter's children must also be of this fuko. Kasim Chisira, however, maintains that his wife and children are still Chinarama kwa mayo and kwa baba. Niduga, who is apparently devoted to her husband, as well as her mother, does not know which way to turn, and in doing her best to make her mother change her mind and return to the Chinarama. This is another instance where conflicting rights and duties encourage people to attempt to eliminate the conflict situation.

Taziganywa, the sole surviving child of Mbega, inherited 100 of his coconut palms. Juma Hamisi and other members of the Chinarama agreed to Taziganywa's control of these coconut palms because it should have made her and her daughter more loyal to the Chinarama. Her marriage and the marriage of Niduga to Chinarama men insured that this property and the land it included remained within the hands of the Chinarama.

These coconut palms which Taziganywa obtained were planted in Mwalewa (part of the old Kaya Gonja), an area which had been abandoned by the Digo in about 1938, and had reverted to bush. Elephants eventually destroyed most of the palms, so that by the time that Taziganywa was divorced from Mwaduga and transferred to the Adziriyi, only about 15 of the palms were left standing. Kasim Chisira declared

that Taziganywa should forfeit these 15 coconut palms because of her kombolela action, and Taziganywa - not really losing much - agreed. Juma Hamisi also assented to this, and Kasim took over control of the palms in the name of Niduga and her children by him. The coconuts he obtains from these palms bring Kasim very little money. Prompted by his wife and by his desire to cause Taziganywa to return to Chinarama, Kasim gives Taziganywa financial aid each year which costs Kasim at least as much as he earns from her coconut crop.

In comparison with Kasim's generosity, the members of the Adziriye, even those who are members of the same nyumba from which Pesa was taken, do not give Taziganywa any financial help and seem to have little interest in her welfare. In spite of this, Taziganywa has remained firm in her resolve to be a member of the Adziriye. It appears that she has frequently been very ill, and one or more diviners have told her that this illness and also the deaths of all but one of her children are manifestations of chifudu anger. The diviners said that she would become well again, and the lives of her daughter and her daughter's children would be protected, only if she returned to the Adziriye, built a rungu la chifudu in the name of her

Adzirive ancestresses, and became the mrungu of this shrine. If she did not do this, they warned, the chifudu spirits or forces would remain angry and would surely destroy her and her descendants.

Taziganywa has never built such a rungu, partly because of lack of funds, and partly because Juma Hamisi and Kasim Chisira have pleaded with her not to take such a step. They feel that building a rungu in the name of the Adzirive would be too public a rejection of the Chinarama. For a time, Taziganywa interpreted an improvement in her health as a sign that the Chifudu of the Adzirive was sufficiently satisfied with her kombolela not to require a rungu. In 1958, however, she became more ill than ever, and again the diviners encouraged her to build a rungu. Juma Hamisi and Kasim Chisira somehow got her to agree to build a chifudu in the name of the Chinarama, and her own nyumba in the Chinarama, rather than in the name of the Adzirive. Presumably they bribed her diviner into saying that this would suffice, and also they promised to help her pay for the cost of installation.

By February 1960, all steps had been taken for this installation ceremony and the construction of a new rungu. Other arungu had been hired to come, food had been

purchased, and a site in Sega had been selected for the rungu. Then, at the last moment, Taziganywa declared that the koma of her mother and other ancestresses had appeared to her in her dreams and had warned her that only a rungu in the name of the Adziriye, and built near the place of her mother's birth in Dziriye sub-location, would suffice. This infuriated Juma and Kasim, who said that they would give her no further help, and would withdraw the money and food already collected for the planned installation. Taziganywa declared that they could not refuse her aid even if she did adhere to another fuko because Juma Hamisi was still her baba mkoi, and Kasim Chisira still her daughter's husband and her classificatory mwana.

When the writer left Lungalunga in March 1960, the matter was still unsettled, with neither side giving way. Since Taziganywa cannot apparently secure aid from the Adziriye, Lungalunga people feel that she will eventually do as Juma Hamisi wishes, and perhaps even claim that she is again of the Chinarama kwa mayo. She will fear that the Adziriye will not give her a satisfactory burial and mahanga when she dies, and will decide that her best hope for a proper mahanga lies in re-establishing good relations with the Chinarama.

The Taziganywa case, incidentally, provides a good illustration of the way in which the practice of chifudu is modified because of rejection of slave status, and how marungu ya chifudu are built for ever smaller groups.

2. Juma Hamisi.

An interesting case of kombolela is that of Juma Hamisi, the baba mkozi of Taziganywa, and a key figure in so many other examples presented in this dissertation. Juma's father, Hamisi, also called Mtunda, was born a member of the Abirini fuko kwa mayo and kwa baba, but he was taken as a slave by the Chinadzore of Segwa. Juma Hamisi knew this, but simply ignored it. It is not really possible for a Digo himself to reject the master fuko kwa mayo of his father. After all, Digo say, it is wrong to go against the decisions of a father. It is up to a father himself to kombolela his fuko. If he does not do this, his children cannot have the audacity to do so.

However, in about 1945, some years after Hamisi died, Juma Hamisi was visited in Lungalunga by a man of the Abirini whose mother was Hamisi's mwenehu, related matrilineally to Hamisi by a common mother's mother. This muwa of Hamisi declared that the Abirini had themselves redeemed Hamisi by declaring him to be one of them again. He also

told Juma how other lost members of the Abirini had returned to the fold. Juma and his full sisters agreed that Hamisi should again be considered as a member of the Abirini if his matrilineal kin desired this. Indeed, in a wonderfully impudent move, Juma Hamisi declared that his father's Digo name was not really Mtunda, as the Chinadzore called him, but rather Mbwana, a word which means "master", and according to Juma, Hamisi's name at birth.

The Chinadzore men in Lungalunga were angry about this kombolela, but they did not strongly object to it. Juma, a very forceful man, did not lose any property by the transfer. He had already claimed the coconut palms which his father had planted on Chinadzore land as a right due any son. This was before it had become common for sons to inherit, but the Chief of Lungalunga, Kombo Hambo, also a very domincering man, supported Juma Hamisi in the matter.

Kacim Vesso, the main living representative of the nyumba within Chinadzore which had owned Hamisi, and hence the man who had a claim on Hamisi's property as his closest classificatory muwa did not wish to have any trouble with Juma. He did not seriously contest Juma's allegation that since slavery was no longer allowed, Hamisi's former masters

were not to be regarded as his matrilineal heirs and had no claim to his property. In answer to Kasim Vesso's claim that Hamisi planted the coconut palms on Chinadzore land that this entitled the Chinadzore to a share of these palms, Juma Hamisi showed how this land originated in the Chinarama, who first settled Lungalunga, and how the Chinadzore, as members of the Kundutsi group of mafuko, had got it from the Chinarama when they arrived in the area.

Juma Hamisi kept Hamisi's coconut palms, and he also kept full rights to the large area of land encompassed by these palms. He has continued to help the Chinadzore in nahanga and kuona madzi activities ostensibly on the basis of his Chinarama descent kwa mayo, which joins him with those of the Chinadzore as a brother member of the Kundutsi group. Kasim Vesso, however, complains at times that Juma Hamisi does not help him as much as he should do. An illustration of this is provided in the last chapter, on Uganga, in which it is shown how Juma Hamisi was criticised for not attending or sending aid to an important curing ceremony for Kasim Vesso's daughter.

3. Bukhari Abdullah Luutsu.

By redeeming their Chinanchandze fuko kwa mayo, Bukhari Abuallah, his mother, and his full brothers and

sisters, all residents of Lungalunga, were able to inherit considerable property in Tiwi, a coastal village in Kenya. This property was owned by Kasim Shehere, the matrilineal descendant of Nichimasi, the mother's mother's mother's mother of Bukhari. The eldest daughter of Nichimasi was taken by the Chinadzore as kore slave; the youngest daughter of Nichimasi remained free, a member of the Chinanchandze fuko. Kasim was the last survivor of the Nyumba of Nichimasi still within the Chinanchandze, and he wanted Bukhari, his mother and his siblings to join him and maintain the nyumba. He allowed Bukhari to administer his coconut palms before he died.

Bukhari had also obtained property in Lungalunga from his father, a Chinadzore, and from some of his father's matrilineally-related brothers. His father and father's brother were the enehu mwana ma of his mother. When Bukhari and his mother redeemed their Chinanchandze fuko kya mayo, they were told that they could not have the property of the Chinadzore. For a time, Bukhari managed to use both the coconut palms of his anobaba and of his awu, Kasim Shehere, but at length he was deprived of the palms of his father's brothers. He kept the coconut palms of his real father, but only because of the new concept of

patrilineal inheritance, and because the Chinadzore did not wish to have him take the matter of inheritance to a government court.

In a manner too complicated to discuss here, the entire problem of Bukhari's inheritance of his father's and Kasim Shehere's coconut palms did come before a government court, and then before a District Commissioner's appeal court. Bukhari was accused both of cheating his mother and his father's brothers. It would have made the case far more understandable and would have supported the plea of Bukhari if the fact of slave ancestry would have been revealed. Though the Chief of Lungalunga and the Digo assessors at the case also knew of this slavery, neither they nor any of the parties to the case mentioned it to the District Commissioner. Justice was not fully done, but to the Digo this is not as bad as revealing the fact of slavery. The District Commissioner's verdict was based on inadequate information and the false testimony of all parties to the case, including all witnesses and assessors.

D. Summary.

To summarize this chapter, it is noted that slavery has had a very important effect on Digo social organization,

creating intermarrying nyumba within each fuko, and reducing the conflict between matrilineal and patrilineal rights, duties and concepts. The enehu mwana ma thus established are an important category in the total range of Digo kin categories. Descendants of slaves usually have such vested interests in their "master" fuko that they do not kombolela or "redeem" their "lost" fuko. To keep descendants of slaves in a fuko, members of this fuko are ordinarily willing to overlook even serious quarrels and the prospect of eliminating rivals for inheritance. Since slave status is degrading, great care is taken not to reveal the fact of such ancestry to outsiders, or to cast aspersions on the ancestry of others.

Knowledge of slavery and its effect on Digo culture led to a greater understanding of all aspects of this culture, and solved many mysteries which otherwise could only have been explained away by hypotheses. Another aspect of Digo culture, knowledge of which has proved valuable in understanding other aspects of this culture, is the former division of Digo society into exogamous quarters. Like slavery, it was very difficult to obtain information about this system. The reason for this difficulty is not that the Digo wished to keep it a secret as much as that they were

ignorant of it; the system passed out of existence too long ago to be known now. Its effect upon Digo culture is not quite as important and lasting as slavery, and knowledge of it does not reveal as much about Digo behaviour as does knowledge of slavery, but it is a subject worth discussing in detail, and this will be done in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI
GENERATION SETS.

A. Mweria - Mugwa.

All the evidence indicates that Digo society was once divided into four exogamous sections termed Mweria, Mwana Mweria, Mugwa, and Mwana Mugwa. Digo society no longer is divided in this manner, and it seems that the custom expired by the end of the 19th century. Only a few Digo know anything about this system of division, and what they know they learned from their elders, not from personal experience.

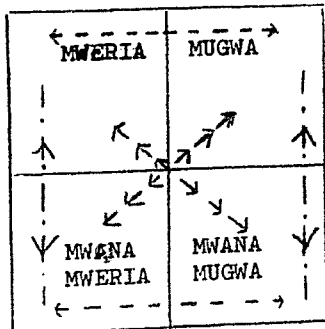
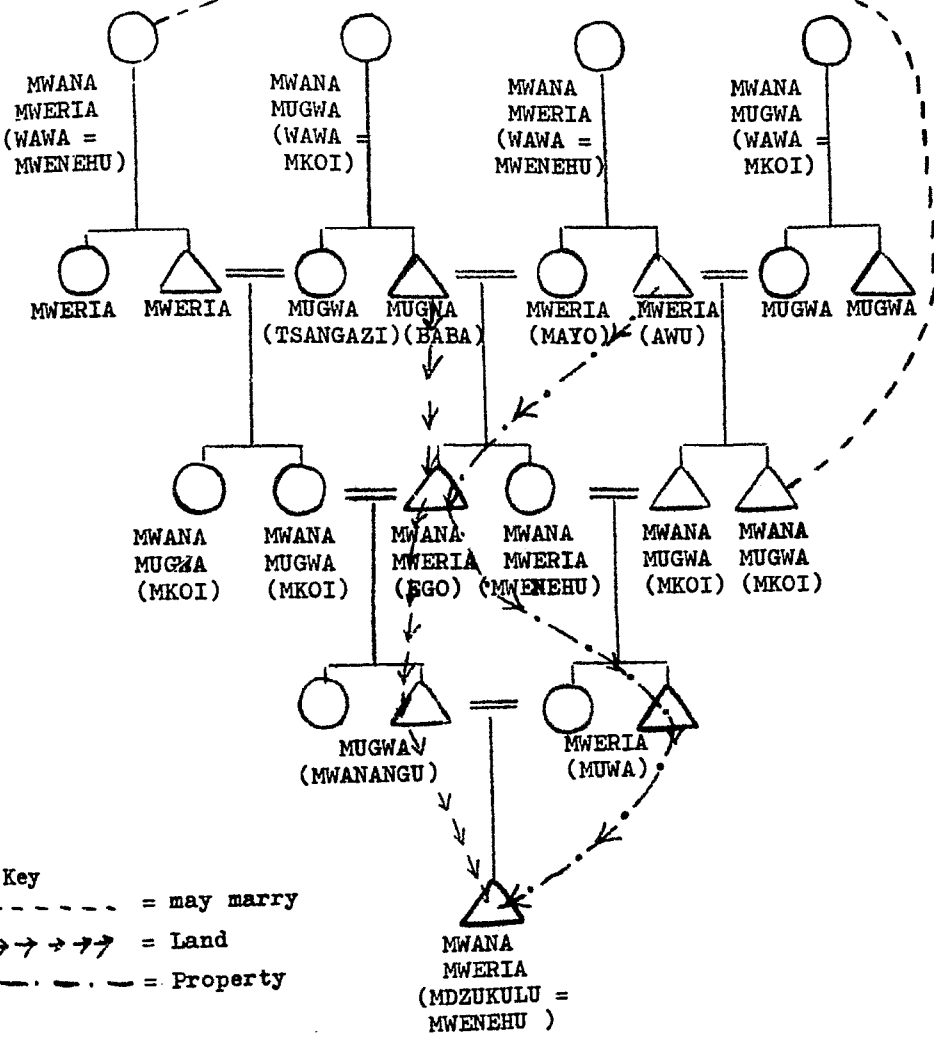
Although Digo society is no longer divided into exogamous quarters, current Digo marriage rules and patterns, respect and joking, and the system of generational equivalence reflect this former division.

The Mweria-Mugwa system is rationalized by the tradition that the first two Digo were a man named Chirau and his sister Ngumba, both of whom lived in the place north of the Galana River which Digo call Shungwaya, and claim to be their original homeland. Chirau and Ngumba each married to other individuals, but the identity of their respective spouses is conveniently disregarded in the traditions. Chirau's wife bore him sons and daughters,

each of whom he named Mweria. Ngumba bore sons and daughters, each of whom she named Mugwa. All Mweria were given a number of special rights and duties, the chief of which were the functions of leading all Mugwa males in war, and directing all Mugwa in co-operative activities to clear land for agriculture. All Mugwa had the function of burying all Mweria and directing their mshanga.

Mweria males married only Mugwa females, and Mugwa males married only Mweria females. That is, each married his nkoj rather than his mwenuhu. Descent was traced matrilineally. The sons and daughters of Mugwa females became Mwana Mugwa ("Child of" Mugwa) and succeeded to the functions of Mugwa. The sons and daughters of Mweria woman became Mwana Mweria, and succeeded to the functions of Mweria. Mwana Mweria married only Mwana Mugwa. The children of Mwana Mugwa women became Mugwa, and the children of Mwana Mweria became Mweria. Again, functions as well as affiliation descended matrilineally. Then the cycle repeated itself, and Mugwa again married only Mweria to produce Mwana Mweria and Mwana Mugwa. This system is illustrated in chart 5.

By this system, second ascending and descending



generations were equated with ego's generation, but first ascending and descending generations were not so equated, and marriage was regulated accordingly. For example, if ego was a Mweria he could marry any Mugwa, not only of his own generation but also any Mugwa of the generation of tsawe or mdzukululu. All were equated with cross cousins, or akoi. Ego could not marry a Mweria, or a Mwana Mweria or a Mwana Mugwa. A Mweria was his sibling, a Mwana Mweria or Mwana Mugwa was either his "parent" (baba-tsangazi; mavo-awu), or his "child" (mwana-muwa). Similarly, if ego was a Mwana Mugwa he could marry any Mwana Mweria of any generation, but no one else.

In the days of the system of Mweria and Mugwa, there was, ideally at least, no conflict between patrilineal tenure of land and matrilineal descent and inheritance. This is because both property and inheritance returned to the originating group in the second descending generation. Ego's son's son was also ego's sister's daughter's son. An mdzukululu wa kuchetuni was also a mdzukululu wa kulumeni.

The cycle of Mugwa - Mweria, and Mwana Mugwa -

Mwana Mweria, continued ad infinitum over the course of most of Digo history. The Digo claim that at one time they did not make war among themselves, and the only units of society were the units of Mweria - Mugwa, and Mwana Mweria - Mwana Mugwa. They say that only after they came to Kenya and settled in their present habitat did they develop lineages and lineage groups, which then warred against each other. The system of Mweria - Mugwa continued to function in many important ways in spite of this development. This system formed the basis for an age-grade, or rather a generation set system. For example, a generation of Mweria and Mugwa existed as elders. Below them, a generation of Mwana Mweria and Mwana Mugwa were the young and middle-aged men of warrior class, and below this generation was a new generation of Mweria and Mugwa children growing up, preparing to be initiated and enter the warrior status.

Every 13 to 15 years, the men of the elder and warrior generation would hold a mng'aro or initiation for the whole "child" generation. If the warrior generation, that is, the generation which had last experienced the mng'aro, consisted of Mweria and Mugwa, then

all Mwana Mweria and Mwana Mugwa who had never been initiated went to the mng'aro. If the warrior generation consisted of Mwana Mweria and Mwana Mugwa, then all non-initiated Mweria and Mugwa went to the mng'aro. It is said that the Digo of Kwale, most of whom lived in the Kaya ya Kundutsi, were the first to decide when a new generation should be initiated. They sent messengers all through Digo land, urging each group of Digo to put aside all intr-tribal wars and have mng'aro. Then, in each area, at Waa, at Kwale, at Gonja, etc., one group of Digo after another had its own mng'aro, so that within the space of a year or so all were initiated. Each group had its own special place of initiation. Initiation sites were always alongside a pond or a river, where the thick, light-coloured clay called chilindini ("very beautiful") could be found. Initiates had to dance in this mud and smear themselves with it.

The great majority of those who were initiated at the mng'aro were youths, of both sexes, just entering the first years of puberty. Since mng'aro was very strenuous, infants of the generation being initiated could

not go to the mng'aro. They simply missed initiation. When the generation immediately below them went to the mng'aro about 15 years later, they could not go with it since it was the generation of their ana or "children". They had to wait for their adzukulu to enter initiation, since their adzukulu were their equivalents. Thus, if ego was a Mugwa and missed his mng'aro, he could not go with the Mwana Mugwa generation to the mng'aro, but instead he had to wait another 15 years until the children of the Mwana Mugwa generation, that is, the Mugwa, his own group, were ready for initiation. Then, even if ego was old and weak, he - or she - had to undergo mng'aro.

Each mng'aro lasted for weeks and involved the circumcision of both males and females, and extensive dancing in the thick mud chilindini during which weaklings often collapsed and were trodden underfoot, to die. Furthermore, males being initiated had to take to the warpath and kill either dangerous wild animals or humans of other tribes, or both. Since old men and women initiates often died during this mng'aro, and since they were ridiculed during their early and middle age for not having been initiated, a system arose whereby even infants

were circumcised and their elder siblings at the mng'aro acted on their behalf, symbolically to put them through the mng'aro.

The custom of the mng'aro eventually died out. British administrators of the coastal area writing in the Political Record Book during the years 1900-1914, stated that both the Digo and the Duruma elders seemed unwilling to have initiation "for their young men." The British administrators felt that it would be good for tribal discipline to have initiation as of old, minus only the slaying of humans. However, they found that the Digo actively opposed initiation, and the Duruma evaded it. Duruma, with much the same custom of initiation as the Digo except that they do not circumcise their women, began their initiation in about 1915, but the war with Germany prevented its completion. After the war, a few more, generally unsuccessful, attempts were made to initiate the rest of the Duruma men. However, for the Digo, mng'aro ended well before 1913, and probably the last general initiation was between the years 1880 and 1900.

Mzee Luutsu, the oldest man in Lungaiunga, born perhaps in 1880 and, unfortunately, senile, faintly remembers

that when he was young, there was a time of mng'aro. It appears that he did not enter it, for he was too young. He knows only that all the young men of the Lungalunga area went to the nearby swamp called Yuni, and returned days later, covered in mud and singing Roko Ho, Roko Bura; Roko Ho, Roko Bura, over and over again. These were magical words, he claims, and no one can translate them. Because his brothers went to mng'aro, Luutsu was made a Mweria, or a Mugwa -- or a Mwana Mweria, or a Mwana Mugwa. He cannot quite remember which was his group, and his suppositions vary from day to day.

Digo men whose fathers were born in about 1870 remember that their fathers told them that the last mng'aro was held about the time that the English and the Germans first appeared in force in the Digo country. Since mng'aro was a secret event, and also considered to be "bad" and contrary to Islam, their fathers told them little or nothing about it, and what they did hear, they want to keep to themselves.

If questioned about initiation, and why they allowed the custom of mng'aro to die out, Digo stoutly

affirm that mng'aro was a terrible thing which no Muslim man or woman could possibly wish to experience. It was chafu, or "dirty". It was contrary to the will of Mungu, etc. It seems as if here, as with so many other aspects of old Digo culture, Islam provided the excuse to eliminate an onerous custom. Digo young men and women were glad to escape the tribulations of mng'aro, and, presumably, the generation of "warriors" and "elders" were not willing to press the issue and force initiation. Mng'aro was a time of stress and strain for all Digo, not only the initiates. For one thing, it was a major problem to arrange for mng'aro. For another, mng'aro brought danger to the land. It is said that when the male initiates became drunk with the excitement and power of the mng'aro and took to the warpath to prove their mettle, no one, not even a Digo of their own or other areas was safe.

Probably the system of Kweria - Mugwa had been weakened and modified considerably before the end of the mng'aro, and this change in the nature and function of generation sets itself contributed to the elimination of these sets. In any event, whatever the sequence of

change has been, the entire generation set system is modified to such extent that Digo no longer use the Mweria and Mugwa terminology, and they do not know who is Mweria, Mwana Mweria; Mugwa or Mwana Mugwa. The generation set system did, however, leave its mark on Digo culture and some important effects of it persist.

It will be remembered that ego equates the generation of his tsawe and wawa, or of his mdzululu with his own generation, and regards all either as siblings or as akoi, depending upon their relation to ego's mother's mother's brother or sister's daughter's son. Although Digo do not relate this practice to the Mweria-Mugwa system, it seems probable that this system is its origin.

The Mweria-Mugwa system also perhaps provided the basis for the Digo patterns of respect and joking. It is possible that at one time a Digo could only joke with and not show respect to those individuals within that quarter of society into which he could marry; that is, into that quarter containing his real or classificatory cross-cousins of any generation. Currently, however, a Digo may joke with anyone of his own or second ascending

or descent in generations, and Bigo claim that this has always been the case. Bigo maintain that since time immemorial only those individuals whom they term hubs, or lanngagi, nyovo or gwi have been treated with respect and have not been joking partners. If this is so, then, while Bigo society was divided into quarters for the purpose of regulating marriage, it was divided into halves for the purpose of regulating respect and joking. It was logical for ego to treat the "parent" generation set with respect, since this was the generation set which was responsible for initiating and disciplining ego. It was logical for Bigo to have joking relations with his grandparent and sibling generation sets because the members of these sets did not discipline ego but rather went to initiation with him.

It should be noted that personal joking is usually mild in character. For example, a close classificatory tnave (father's father's cross cousin) of Halifeni Atkumani, who is a fish hawker in Lungalunga, pretended on one occasion to take fish from Halifeni without paying. Halifeni warned him that while joking (uhani) is permissible at some times, it should not be done when he is

selling fish. For business (biashara) and uhani do not mix. Everyone present at the Lungalunga fish market laughed loudly at this, including Halifani's tsawe.

Muhammad Abdullah tricked one of his mother's sister's sons, Hassani, by telling him that his mother's sister's husband's classificatory father, Mnyeto, wanted to see him about an urgent matter. When Hassani arrived at Mnyeto's house after a long, hot walk, Mnyeto said that he had never summoned him. They knew that it was a joke, laughed about it, and planned to play a similar joke on Muhammad.

Digo indicate that actual patterns of respect and joking are somewhat different from the ideal, and that these patterns are constantly changing. In part, this change appears to be a result of the elimination of the generation-set system. Digo often show respect to and do not joke with certain relatively close kinsmen even though ideally they are joking partners. For example, if ego's elder brother or cross cousin has assumed leadership of the sibling - cross-cousin group to which ego belongs, ego should pay some respect to him

as a baba. Similarly, ego should not joke with his father's real or close classificatory father, or mother's real or close classificatory mother's brother, but rather ego should afford these individuals the heshima or "respect" which their age and influence over ego's parents demands.

On the other hand, ego frequently jokes with people who are his very distantly related "parents" or "children," or at least does not treat them with the deference which is supposedly mandatory. For example, Kasim Chuo often jokes with Mwadzihambo, an important magloc-medical practitioner, or muganga, or Lungalunga. Both men are about the same age in years, but Mwadzihambo is the classificatory baba of Kasim. In a joking manner, Kasim Chuo calls Mwadzihambo such things as "a terrible mtsai ('black magician')," or he refers to Mwadzihambo in his presence as a man not to be trusted with money. This is rather serious uhani, but Kasim thinks that it is in order, and Mwadzihambo only laughs at it and retorts with similar accusations about Kasim.

Kasim Chuo is a classificatory mwana of Mwadzihambo by a link which they cannot trace. They only say that

their respective parents also stood in the relationship of "parent-child" and so they are continuing this pattern. They do not know the reason for it, and swear that they are not related by kinship or affinity in any obvious way. Probably their relationship is a result of generation differences in the past which were created by the Mweria-Mugwa; Mwana-Meria - Mwana Mugwa dichotomy. Presumably, the ancestors of each were in different generations sets, with one in the "parent" and the other in the "child" set, and though generation sets of this type no longer exist, the baba - mwana difference continues from generation to generation.

Kasim Chuo claims that his father, if alive, would be angry at hearing him exchange jokes with Mwadzihambo, but that Digo customs are changing. Now no one objects to joking between people who stand in the "parent" - "child" relationship only because of unknown, untraceable associations in the past. Kasim Chuo says that by present custom, he could even marry the full sister of Mwadzihambo, though in his father's time such a marriage to anyone termed mayo or mwana, even if related only by untraceable past association, would have

been forbidden. Essin cited several cases of Digo who married their classificatory anomayo during the past decade. This subject will be discussed again in the chapter on marriage and divorce.

B. Jando

Although the system of Kweria and Muaya generation sets no longer exists, circumcision of males and females continues and this deserves some comment.

Ideally at least, circumcision is no longer associated with pagan culture, and it is not an aspect of a generation set system. Instead, for males, at least, circumcision is regarded as Islamic and an aspect of entry into the Islamic community. All males are circumcised, and usually this occurs at an earlier age than was the case with the mg'aro. For females, circumcision is regarded as necessary to insure "cleanliness" and "decency." It is said that no self-respecting Digo man will wish to cohabit with a Digo woman who has not been circumcised. Nevertheless, an increasing number of females successfully refuse to be circumcised.

Circumcision is generally unmarked by any ritual, and some males go to the hospital to have this operation

performed. What ritual exists is Islamic, and it primarily consists of Koranic reading. Since it is feared that enemies will make black magic to prevent the wound from the circumcision operation from healing, one or more magico-medical practitioners often make anti-black magic medicine at the time of circumcision. This, however, is not truly a part of the circumcision ritual.

Usually, children are circumcised in very small groups of from two to ten related individuals of the same sex. For example, a group of brothers, sisters, and sisters' husbands decided that a number of their respective ana and awa are ready for circumcision. They may also invite a close friend to have his children circumcised with their children. It is well to have a number of adults to share the fee of the circumcisor, the anti-black magic specialist, and the Koran-reading mwalimu. For their sons' circumcision, these adults will engage the services of a local man proficient in the work of circumcision, especially one who is known for his "luck" and skill in this work. For the circumcision of their daughters, who are not necessarily circumcised at the same time as their sons, these adults

will secure a talented female circumcisor. They will almost always ask a mwalimu to come for the koranic reading, and a muganga to come to make his magic and ritual against black magic. Because circumcision is a time of danger for children, a time when witches love to cause trouble, the event of circumcision is kept as much a secret as possible. The circumcision of females is especially kept secret, not only because of witchcraft, but also because it is known that the government frowns upon the custom.

There is no actual initiation ceremony involved with circumcision. The most which may be done is to ask the children riddles. For example, an elder may describe in riddle form an insect and ask the recently circumcised children to name this creature. A favourite riddle describes a centipede, but in such a manner that children often think that it refers to an elephant. If the children are not able to answer the riddle, they are ridiculed. It is said that a decade or more ago, children were beaten for failing to answer, but that this is, by common consent, no longer allowed because "Islam does not like children to be poorly treated." Fewer and fewer

children are asked riddles during the period of their circumcision, and this custom is also dying out.

The rite of circumcision, the period of circumcision and of the healing after circumcision, and the place of circumcision are all called jando by the Digo. This is a Swahili word, not a Digo word, and the custom of jando is much different from the old Digo mng'aro. At the same time, the Digo version of jando is different from the jando of many other Islamized peoples of the coast. It is simpler and less expensive. Many "Swahili" peoples celebrate the circumcision of their male kin and neighbours with elaborate feasting and gift-giving. Digo, at least those of Lungalunga, make as little fuss over jando as possible and seldom feast or give gifts. If they do hold a feast, it is a very small affair, and the gifts given to the newly-circumcised individuals are insignificant. The individuals who are circumcised together do not thereafter associate in any special manner merely because they shared jando. At the very most, jando may reinforce the bonds of friendship and kinship which unite those being circumcised at one time and place, but it forges no new bonds of any type.

C. Summary.

To summarize this chapter it may be said that Digo society was once organized into generation sets, which regulated important functions and prescribed patterns of marriage, respect and joking. This system has more or less vanished, but effects of it persist, notably in generation equivalence, in patterns of terminology, and in some marriage rules, and rules of respect and joking. As these patterns and rules undergo change, the effects of the former system diminish, and eventually all traces of it may disappear.

Partly because of Islamic ideas, and using Islam as an excuse, Digo did away with their harsh ng'aro, or initiation, and the substitute is the very much milder and less important circumcision rite known as jando.

CHAPTER VII

NGAMBI

A. General.

Membership in the Mweria - Mugwa generation sets was determined by birth, and advancement from the uninitiated grade, to the warrior grade, and to the elder grade was progressive. In addition to this stratification based on chronological sequence, Digo society was stratified by ngambi grades, based on wealth and the payment of initiation fees. Men of the grade of elder, and perhaps also those of the warrior grade, could enter into ngambi grades, and were then called angumbi (mungumbi). There were approximately 10 such grades, and their names seem to have varied from location to location.

It was necessary to begin at the lowest grade and move up the hierarchy of grades step by step, paying successively higher fees. Fees consisted of palm wine, goats, and cattle, and these were contributed in the nature of a feast for all angumbi. The drink and food was distributed in varying amount in direct relation to the grade of each member. Position in the ngambi hierarchy was also manifested by different methods of eating and drinking. Junior

members had the task of preparing and serving the senior members with food and drink, and could themselves only drink from one size of gourd with one size of straw. Senior members used increasingly larger gourds and straws, and the most senior could drink from ladles and, unlike the others, could take palm wine and meat away from the feast, to consume at home.

The rank of each ngambi was also manifested by the way in which he was buried, by the ceremonies held at his mahanga, and by the respect accorded him during his life. Ngambi was essentially a secret society, and some ngambi secret ritual was reputedly of such character as to give members of the ngambi great power. If members of the ngambi, especially senior members, were seriously abused by Digo who were not angambi, the members of the ngambi could injure or even kill the wrongdoer by ngambi magic or simply by secret murder. If any member of the ngambi revealed ngambi secrets he was executed by the society, and if anyone tried to spy on the angambi during their meetings in order to learn of their activities, he was also disposed of.

Apparently, there was not one ngambi for the entire Digo tribe, but, instead, each kaya area had its own ngambi. It seems as if a primary function of the angambi in each kaya area was to serve as a local government and a local

court of law. The ngambi was composed of members of all mafuko in a kaya area, and was, therefore, independent of the fuko organization. Theoretically, it could govern an area comprised of several mafuko and also dispense justice impartially, irrespective of fuko ties. Ngambi members received fees in the form of food and drink for their legal activities. This food was also eaten as a part of an ngambi feast, in which seniority determined the amount of food and drink received and the method of consumption. In addition to receiving the most to eat and drink, senior members also had the most influence in legal and political affairs.

If anyone contested the decisions of the ngambi, he had to fear retribution both from the ngambi and from his own fuko elders, some of whom were members of the ngambi. If a whole fuko group disagreed with the verdict of the ngambi (in which majority rule prevailed), the ngambi members who were not of this fuko told all the other local mafuko to war against the recalcitrant one and enslave its people. This disagreement with the ngambi and resultant war is supposed to have happened in the past, but no Digo can give examples. Details of ngambi activities and old Digo political organization are, unfortunately, completely lacking.

Digo no longer remember what once happened, and current practice is presumably much different from the Digo custom of even only a few years ago.

Ngambi is now all but extinct. A few old men in a few scattered locations, notably Waa, call themselves members of the old ngambi, but they have no official political power, and very little legal power. In Waa, Abdullah Bambuulo, a fervent Digo "nationalist" and former government school teacher, has attempted to give new life to the ngambi and to use it as a weapon to undermine British authority. He has had some success, and there is the danger that ngambi, as a weapon of Digo and African nationalism, and in a new form, somewhat resembling the movement of Mau Mau, will again gain power in Digo Land. This is, however, as much speculation as fact.

Ngambi of the old form no longer exists in Lungalunga. The last few members of the Lungalunga ngambi died between 1940 and 1945, and they did not teach any new Digo the ngambi secrets. Digo in Lungalunga and elsewhere say that they gave up the ngambi because the practices of ngambi were pagan, "dirty," and entailed the drinking of palm wine. It was, in short, contrary to Islam. It was also very expensive, and it gave wealthy men a chance to dominate their fellows.

The presence of British law and government did away with the need for it.

The name ngambi persists in Lungalunga, as elsewhere, in Digo Land, to signify the elders and the middle-aged men of a community who take an active interest in community affairs. As with every other unit in Digo society, the composition of any group calling itself the ngambi is variable, and it depends upon the total situation and the attitudes of the men involved. For some matters affecting any one area, a large number of Digo will gather, calling themselves the ngambi. For other matters affecting the same area, a much smaller group will gather as the ngambi. Indeed, the same matter may be discussed at different times in the same area with noticeable differences in the size and composition of the ngambi group present. For example, about 35 men from all over Lungalunga gathered at Segu two weeks before the time of Ramadan in 1959 to discuss the coconut harvest, but two weeks before Ramadan in 1960 only about 20 men came together for the same purpose, and all of these came only from the Segu-Makwonyeni area, and not from beyond it, as was the case in 1959. Both of these groups of men called themselves the Ngambi ya Lungalunga. The reason for these differences is that the Ramadan of 1960 began in February,

just before the long rains, and Digo were very busy preparing their fields and planting. Ramadan came later in 1959, and the heavy work of cultivation had been completed at the time of the ngambi meeting.

The composition of the ngambi at any local court case varies from time to time. Cases involving Digo of the Segamadzoreni-Makwonyeni cluster are usually heard near the office of the chief in Lungalunga. Since Selemani and Kasim Chuo live near this office, and since they are not keen agriculturists, to say the least, but instead prefer to spend their time talking and desire to use ngambi to gain personal power, they attend most cases as judges. A few other Digo are also frequently available as judges. But the majority of Digo only come to ngambi when they have nothing else to do, or when the case involves fairly close kin or affines or friends.

An important function of the ngambi is the regulation of the coconut harvest. Coconuts ripen throughout the year, and government agricultural officials encourage Digo not to pluck the nuts from the palms, but rather to harvest only those which fall. Digo, however, trust no one, and they feel that neighbours and even kinsmen will steal their coconuts which lie on the ground. Also, Digo regard coconuts

as their main form of security. If coconuts were harvested and sold haphazardly throughout the year, Digo would not have sufficient coconuts to sell when in great need, such as at Ramadan, when Digo feast, not fast: or at tax-paying time; or at a time of famine, or illness, or mahanga. Digo, therefore, have a closed season for coconuts called kuweka ngambi, during most of the year, and they allow no one to pluck coconuts during this closed season except with the permission of the local headman and some dominant members of the ngambi. Permission is granted only for such special harvesting if the headman and the ngambi members are satisfied that the person requesting this permission truly needs the money for something important and unforeseen like a mahanga or a curing ceremony, and that he strongly objects to obtaining the funds by mortgaging the coconut orchard. In all other cases, harvesting and selling of coconuts is restricted to four or five fixed times a year. These times when the ngambi closed season is lifted are generally (1) at Ramadan; (2) at the beginning and/or the end of a tax year, either to allow Digo to pay tax as soon as it is levied, or at the last moment, before penalties are invoked; (3) during the two periods between harvests, when Digo maize granaries are exhausted.

When these times are drawing close, men and women of all ages discuss the matter of removing the quarantine. There are those who wish this to happen as early as possible because they desire money at once; there are others who wish for a delay because they want the money only at the moment of greatest need, or because they wish to delay the work of harvesting and preparing as long as they can. Eventually, the ngambi will be summoned by the chief, or the headman, or simply by an important elder, such as Selemani Chuo, who, like very many other Digo, is jealous of the power and position of the chief. Word will go out to all adult men, especially those of substance, who own or share the control of coconut palms, that a meeting will be held on a certain day to discuss the ending of quarantine. Sometimes so few show up on the scheduled day that another day is picked. There is often much loud-voiced discussion of the matter, ordinarily more for the enjoyment of friendly argument than anything else. At times, however, such ngambi meetings provide a showplace for conflict between strong personalities, and the arguments which take place are not so friendly. Whether friendly or unfriendly, discussion eventually comes to an end, and it is decided by informal vote and majority rule that on such and such a day, usually within a week of the meeting, the

harvest and coconut sale will begin.

During the harvest, the coconut orchards are places of great activity, as coconuts are felled, husked, split, laid out to dry, packed, and sold as copra to local Indian merchants. Many Digo, not only the "owners" or managers of the coconut palms, earn money during the harvest. The owners and managers are usually older men or women, who have their children, sisters' children, cross cousins, and other kin and affines to help them in the harvest and sale of the nuts. Either they pay these kin and affines wages for their work, which helps these kin and affines to meet expenses for Ramadan, or to pay taxes, or to purchase food and clothes, etc.; or they pay the poll tax for these individuals and purchase necessary items for them. In any event, coconut money is used to help a wide circle of relatives, thereby assuring the continued support and devotion of these relatives. To preserve important kinship links and affinal links, and to keep the sons, sister's sons, siblings, and cross cousins of any owner or manager of coconut palms satisfied with his behaviour, it is necessary that the ngambi quarantine function properly to regulate the coconut harvest.

If a Digo is caught harvesting coconuts during the

period of quarantine, he is brought before the so-called korti, or "court", of ngambi members, and, if he is found guilty of breaking the quarantine, he is fined in relation to the number of coconuts which he picked. In Lungalunga, the ngambi has a "policeman" to patrol the orchards and apprehend any quarantine breakers, or anyone stealing coconuts. Theft of coconuts, especially by youths, is common. Indeed, some children steal from their own parents or from other very close kin. The policeman is kept rather busy, and he is paid for his work from a fund collected by the "chit" system. Each owner of coconuts should purchase for one shilling a cheti, or "chit", to entitle him to harvest his coconuts when the quarantine is lifted or when he has received special permission to harvest. Chits are signed by both the chief or the headman, and by a special ngambi "clerk" (karani va ngambi). Without such a chit a Digo cannot "legally," according to ngambi custom, harvest his coconuts. In Sega, there are supposedly 30 owners of coconut orchards, and so at each quarterly harvest 30 shillings should be collected. However, Digo manipulate ngambi rules as easily as they manipulate many other rules and customs, and usually no more than 10 shillings is obtained. Digo of other locations have other methods of guarding their

orchards or of paying for the services of a policeman.

The British administration knows little about the work of the ngambi to regulate the coconut harvest, but it approves of what it does know, and Digo are not especially interested in keeping details of this function a secret. Another function of ngambi is the exacting of tribute from and regulating the activities of local Indian and Arab merchants. This function is kept as much a secret as possible, for the government would object to it.

Since early times, Digo have felt that any foreigner who does business with Digo must compensate Digo for the opportunity they give him to earn money from them. Consequently, they ask each owner of a shop (duka, pl. maduka) in Digo locations to pay them a yearly or quarterly levy called ng'ombe, or "cow", unless this shop owner is a fellow Digo. It is said that in former times a real ng'ombe was given as tribute, and this beast was used to provide a feast for the members of the old ngambi. Now, money, ranging from five to thirty shillings is given to the new ngambi, but the payment is still called ng'ombe. (The cost of cattle has risen sharply in the past few decades, and a cow now costs, at the very least, 120 shillings.)

Because the composition of the now ngambi is so varied, there is no fixed pattern of distribution of the ng'ombe levy. Generally, the money is divided among those senior adults who are present when it is collected from the shop owner. Since a relatively large number of adults show up for this collection, the amount that each one gets is small. In some cases, ng'ombe money is used to finance a locational enterprise, and no one personally receives a cent of it. The principle of ng'ombe is at least as important as actually obtaining the money. It is necessary to show the foreign merchant that he is, indeed, foreign, and that he is dependant upon the good will of the Digo, especially of the Digo elders. He must accord them respect. Digo feel that the Indian or Arab merchant continually cheats them, and that their own poor business methods and foolishness in selling cheap to and buying dear from the merchant makes the merchant despise them. The ng'ombe custom allows them to feel that ultimately the merchant is really at their mercy.

Lungalunga angambi, like other angambi, demand a large initial levy from any alien merchant who establishes a new duka or tea shop in the location. In Lungalunga, before 1959, there were only two merchants, Jafr Ali and

Gulab Khan, both Indian Bohora Muslims. In early 1960, an Arab from Tanganyika established a duka in Lungalunga and paid 25 shillings to the ngambi as his initial fee. The ngambi members of Lungalunga also request an ng'ombe levy of ten shillings from each of the three Lungalunga merchants at each time of coconut harvest and sale. The members of the ngambi claim that if they did not regulate the harvest and sale of these nuts, the merchants would not obtain so much regular profit. The Digo say that not only do the merchants get in bulk most of the Lungalunga copra supply, which they can then resell at a good profit, but they also sell to the Digo large quantities of goods at the time of coconut harvest and have debts owing them repaid.

Jafr Ali has always paid his coconut harvest ng'ombe levy without question. He apparently feels that ten shillings is little enough to pay for his great profits. He monopolizes three-quarters of the Lungalunga business. Gulab Khan, on the other hand, refused to pay his levy in 1958, probably feeling that the Digo would do nothing about his action. The Digo were furious, and they did just as Digo all over Digo Land do when their ngambi edicts are challenged by a foreigner: they imposed a boycott on Gulab Khan's ship.

It is said that the ngambi has always had the power to impose a boycott, called kweka ngambi, on anyone Digo or alien, who flaunts the authority of ngambi decisions. If a merchant is boycotted, a circle made of entwined grass and called the kanha ya ngambi, is mounted on a forked stick and placed in front of his shop. This means that no one is allowed to enter the shop or do any business with the shop keeper. Indeed, no one is allowed to help the shop keeper in any way, or to work for him, or even to talk to him. If any Digo has a job such as that of water boy or errand boy at the duka, he must quit. If a Digo is so foolish as to break the boycott and deal with the merchant, he is also, in effect, boycotted. The kanha ya ngambi is placed in front of his house and no one will deal with him. He becomes a social outcast. Indeed, he is called an adui ya utsi, or "enemy of the people."

No Digo will speak to such an outcast, no one will sell him any food or anything else, no one will give him hot coals to light his fires, no one will come to treat his ills, and if he goes to the river or to a well or pond to drink or to bathe, people may even try to prevent him from obtaining water. His wife is taken from him by her people, who claim that he is a bad husband for her and that if she

remains with his she and her kin will also be outcasts. In some cases, the person who breaks the ngambi edict is even beaten, and his very life may be endangered. Nowadays, the ngambi boycott of an individual is only invoked against Digo who do something totally evil, such as siding with aliens or with government against fellow Digo. It is not invoked if they merely break the ngambi coconut quarantine. However, Digo maintain that in earlier times, when ngambi was a secret society and the political and legal authority, the ngambi personal boycott was invoked for any infraction of major ngambi rules of all categories.

Needless to say, few Digo are willing to risk this ngambi-imposed ostracism, especially if it is just to help an Indian shop keeper whom they distrust and envy. Furthermore, Digo seem to take great pleasure in demonstrating how powerful a force they are when they act together. A boycott, particularly in this time of nationalism, is an enjoyable event. Not surprisingly, therefore, not one inhabitant of Lungalunga dealt with Gulab Khan in any manner, and within two weeks he became desperate. He threatened to tell the government police or the District Commissioner about the boycott. This horrified the other Indian merchants in the Digo District, who feared that his action would surely turn

all the Digo against all the merchants in the district. They close kin of Gulab Khan were especially worried, for they have extensive business interests throughout the coastal area. These other Indians warned Gulab Khan not to jeopardize his and their future in the country by rash action. They pointed out that independence from British rule is bound to come soon, and that the Africans will not deal kindly with those individuals of other races who caused them serious trouble during the days of British control. Gulab Khan submitted at last, and he came to terms with the Lungluga people. He paid the angambi 15 shillings, and promised always promptly to pay them the ng'ombe levy in the future.

Ngambi has acted in a like manner in other locations to punish alien merchants who contested their authority. For example, in one coastal location in 1959, an Indian owner of both a bus service and a large shop refused to give local Digo a ride on one of his buses when he learned that they were using a competitor's service as well as his. In retaliation for his action, which the Digo elders considered highly insulting, his shop and his bus service were boycotted until he submitted, and asked for forgiveness. He did call in the police before he gave way to the Digo, and much

trouble resulted. Eventually, however, he succumbed to intimidation and the pleas of his kinsmen, and he paid about 100 shillings as adabu, or "punishment fee", to the angambi. He also refused to testify against the Digo in the police court, and this made the police powerless to bring to trial the individuals most involved.

It appears that even if the now ngambi lacks concrete organization, it is still powerful and can be used to good advantage by any individuals who can dominate it, or, at least, manipulate it. In many of its activities, ngambi does stand opposed to the laws and policies of the British administration. Government appointed chiefs and headmen often find the ngambi a nuisance, or even worse. In theory, chiefs and headmen should dominate their local ngambi, and should never let the ngambi members take government or the law into their own hands. Chiefs and headmen should use the angambi only as advisors in handling court cases and as assistants in carrying out government proposals or orders. In actual fact, however, the elders of many locations, acting as angambi, do contest the authority of the chief and headman, scorning these officials as mere "slaves" of the government, and claiming that only rule by elders is traditional and, therefore, valid.

In Kikoneni, the only location in the Digo District which has no primary school, the ngambi is controlled by a group of old men who hate the idea of education and fear that if a school is built and education supported, then the chief, their rival, will gain much credit from the District Commissioner. Hence, they have done everything in their power to resist school construction, and it can be said that it is the members of this ngambi, and not the government chief, who actually govern Kikoneni.

The situation in Lungalunga is somewhat different. There, the present chief, Juma Hamisi, dominates the scene. Juma Hamisi was influential in Lungalunga even when his immediate predecessor, Juma Abdullah, was chief. Juma Hamisi was the Headman of the Sega-Makwonyeni-Madzoreni sub-location during the tenure of office of Juma Abdullah, and, even though Juma Abdullah carried the title of chief, having been appointed to this position by the District Commissioner, it was always Juma Hamisi who governed the location. Juma Abdullah, as the true muwa of Juma Hamisi and heavily indebted to his ayu for all manner of aid, took his orders from this full brother of his mother. Juma Hamisi's authority does not go undisputed, however. Not only are his attempts to control the affairs of his fuko

Kwa mayo, Chinavuta, contested by his own close kinmen, but his rule of Lungalunga is also challenged, primarily by Kasim Chuo. Kasim dreams of becoming chief, as was his father. Kasim claims that the position of chief should be a hereditary one, not based merely on the choice of a District Commissioner or a Mudir. Kasim is, however, the sort of man who would deery the hereditary principle if this principle helped another rather than him.

Kasim and his brothers have found in the ngambi a means of opposing Juma Hamisi. The Lungalunga ngambi is at present dominated by the Chuo family. Solemani Chuo asserts that he is the head of the ngambi because in the days of the old ngambi his father's father, Mwanduano, was the most important, highest ranking member of the ngambi in the Lungalunga area. Kasim Chuo is the Karani ya ngambi, and maintains that the Digo should come first of all to him or to his brother, Solemani, to obtain permission to fell coconuts out of season. Muhammad Chuo is the ngambi policeman. Most of the Digo of Lungalunga oppose Juma Hamisi and his headman, Nassero Kasirani, just as they would oppose any chief or headman, and they therefore support the sons of Chuo in the attempts of these three men to establish the ngambi as a rival to the chief's power.

Juma Kenisi maintains that ngambi is, at the most, a body of very unofficial, unorganized, leaderless men who have no function but to assist him and act at his command. He says that the ngambi is extra-legal, and that the British administration forbids anyone but government-appointed officials to issue chits for any purpose or to levy fines. He insists that the position of head member of the ngambi was never inherited, and that Selemani Chuo cannot, therefore, claim the right to lead the ngambi. If Juma has his way, the ngambi will, indeed, remain a formless, powerless, association of adult men. The Chuo brothers and other elders, however, say that the ngambi is sanctioned by inviolate custom, and that the fines which the members of the ngambi levy are necessary to keep order. They assert that these are not really fines in the government sense, but rather traditional payments to reward the men of the ngambi for their work, and to give the wrongdoer a better appreciation of what is right and what is wrong. If the Chuo brothers succeed, the ngambi will become a more powerful organization, with a hierarchy of leadership. It is unlikely, however, that they will win, and even if the ngambi does gain more power in Lungalunga, the sons of Chuo will not long be allowed to dominate it. Rivals will soon

arise to contest their position. Unlike Abdullah Bambuulo, the sons of Chuo are not attempting to re-establish the old ngambi, with its secret rites and fees. They urge only that the chief and his headman must respect the authority of the ngambi in regulating the coconut harvest, in handling local court cases, and in exacting tribute and controlling the activities of the local Indian and Arab merchants.

The conflict between Juma Hamisi and the sons of Chuo and the other elders of the ngambi came to a head during the case of Bukhari Kasirani. This case will be discussed in detail since it also illustrates how kinship is manifested during local legal disputes and court cases, and how various relationships are manipulated to cause compromise and establish harmony.

Bukhari Kasirani is a Chinachimwaga kwanyo and a Chinangalla kwa baba. His nyumba within the Chinachimwaga was established in Lungalunga before the arrival, in the late 19th century, of Mwanduano and Ninduano, members of the Chinachimwaga from Galu. It will be recalled that Mwanduano is the father's father of Kasim Chuo, and that Ninduano is the father's father's sister of Kasim. It is said that the nyumba of Bukhari Kasirani's ancestors gave

land to Mwanduano and Ninduano because these two Chinachimwaga persons were closely linked to his matrilineal antecedents. Mwanduano and Ninduano are related to Bukhari as his close, classificatory, mother's mother's siblings. However, the actual bond between them - the point at which the nyumba of the one links with the nyumba of the other - is not revealed, and is supposedly not known. It is claimed that neither nyumba was a slave branch, but such a claim means little. All evidence indicates that either one or both of these nyumba originated in women taken as slaves by the Chinachimwaga in the distant past. Chart number 6 shows the essential relationships in this case.

Although he was born and reared in Lungalunga, Bukhari Kasirani live most of each year in Msambweni, where he is married to a Msambweni girl, has interests in his wife's father's fishing business, and has other Chinachimwaga and Chinangalla kin as neighbours and friends. After his mother was divorced by his father, Kasirani, she went off to Msambweni, where she married Selemani Shee of the Abirini fuko. She bore Selemani a son, Shee Selemani. Bukhari and Shee live in Msambweni on Abirini land obtained from Selemani Shee.

Mwanyama, the full brother of Bukhari Kasirani's

mother, Ninyama, planted about 100 coconut trees on a fertile piece of Chinachimwaga land at the Umba River in Lungalunga. ^{Mwaka} Ninyama died childless, and his close classificatory brother, Mambo Mwaduga, related to him through a common mother's mother, inherited his coconut trees. When Ninyama died, Mambo also inherited her property. Mambo had a son, Hassani, and a daughter. He also had reared Omari, the son of Mwajeke, Mambo's close classificatory brother, related to Mambo through the same mother's mother which Mambo has in common with Ninyama. Mwajeke died at a fairly early age, and Mambo inherited his wife and the right and duty to rear Mwajeke's child, Omari, as his own. Omari is hence called Mwanambo rather than Mwajeke. Mwajeke had no other property.

Mambo, himself, died in about 1940, and the 125 coconut palms which he had inherited from Mwananyama and Ninyama, in addition to another 50 which he had planted went to his muwa, Bukhari Kasirani. Bukhari Kasirani kept all these inherited trees as his own until 1949 or 1950, after some of the Lungalunga elders and Chief Kombo Mambo passed a local bye-law to the effect that sons should inherit the coconut trees personally planted by their fathers. Bukhari willingly gave Mambo's 50 coconuts to Hassani Mambo,

for Hassani to share with Omari. Both Hassani and Omari had, up until this time, received generous financial aid from Bukhari Kasirani in respect to his ownership of the coconuts.

Bukhari has retained the other coconuts because they had not been planted by Mambo, and Bukhari was their legal matrilineal heir. However, since 1946 he has lived in Msembweni, visiting Lungalunga only irregularly and infrequently, and cannot himself look after these inherited coconut palms, he has given Hassani and Omari the function of caring for those palms planted by Mwanyama. This also enables them to use the fertile land under and surrounding these palms for the growing of annual and semi-permanent crops. If Bukhari cannot come to Lungalunga for the coconut harvest, Hassani and Omari direct the harvest and receive a fair share of the money earned, for their work. Even if Bukhari personally handles the harvest, Hassani and Omari help him in this and also obtain a share of the profit.

The 25 coconut trees planted by Ninyama were given by Bukhari to his close classificatory matrilineally related sister's sons, namely, Mwenye Shee and Mwachoko Luntuu, for them to care for and to help him harvest. In return for this work, they also receive a portion of the proceeds.

As chart 6 shows, Mwenye Shee and Mwachoko Luutsu are Chinachimwaga of the nyumba of Ninduano, and the classificatory, bilaterally related sister's sons of Kasim Chuo. They use the land under and surrounding the coconut palms of Ninyana for the cultivation of bananas, and they have also received permission to plant bananas on the land in Hassani Mambo's care.

Finally, when Bukhari sells his coconuts, he often does so through a young Digo trader in Lungalunga, Bukhari Mwamnyeto, who is Bukhari Kasirani's more distantly related, matrilineally linked, classificatory sister's son. Mwamnyeto is a member of the Chinachimwaga kwa mayo, and is presumably descended from a slave of Bukhari Kasirani's nyumba. Mwamnyeto, who takes the coconuts to Mombasa by bus and sells them there to Indian merchants, sometimes pays a bit more for them than does Jafr Ali. However, Mwamnyeto seldom has capital enough to purchase more than few thousand nuts at any one time, and so few Digo deal with him. Bukhari Kasirani, however, likes to give him his business.

This group of kin, including Bukhari Kasirani, his akoi, and his awa, are linked together by kinship ties, which are reinforced by the sharing of land and property, and by the association in business ventures. They form a mutual

security and reciprocal aid group, with an involved complex of rights and duties in each other. In the ngambi case concerning these individuals, they were conveniently referred to as the Chinachimwaga, mryangu ya Mwakasirani. Bukhari Kasirani is the central figure in the group, and the case dealt mostly with him.

The case was held in September 1959. Coconuts were in quarantine, but Bukhari Kasirani needed money to help his mwenhu mavo mwenga, Shee Selemani, to pay for the bride-wealth requirements of Shee's son. Bukhari came to Lungalunga in early September 1959, and he stayed with Mwenye Shee and Mwenye Shee's wife. Secretly, he arranged with Mwanyeto for Mwanyeto to buy 500 of his coconuts for 50 shillings. Then, without even requesting ngambi permission, he and Mwenye Shee and the two young sons of Mwenye Shee began felling the coconuts. Before they were caught by Muhammad Chuo, they had managed to get 300 nuts into the hands of Mwananyeto, for which Bukhari received 30 shillings. Bukhari gave seven shillings of this to Mwenye Shee.

Juma Hamisi was in Kwale at the time of this incident, attending a meeting of the African District Council. His headman, a rather ineffectual and inept man named Nassoro

Kasirani (no relation to Bukhari Kasirani) was in charge. All of the sons of Chuo and a number of other elders told Nassoro to hold an ngambi trial in order immediately to judge and punish the wrongdoers. Nassoro wished to wait until Juma's return in two days, but the elders persisted and Nassoro capitulated. A korti ya ngambi was held under a shady tree near the chief's office on the day after Bukhari was apprehended.

The elders who came to sit as judges were Kasim and Selemani Chuo; Kasim Dzihambo (who strongly supports the sons of Chuo in their striving for power); Jigi Hambo (not a kinsman of Hassani Hambo, but an affinal, since he married Hassani's full sister); and about ten others, all unrelated to Bukhari. Bukhari Kasirani was present as well, of course, along with his mwenehu mayo mwenga, Shee, who also came to visit Lungalunga; and Mwachoko Luutsu; Mwenye Shee; and Mabwana Gaone, the husband of Mwenye Shee's full sister. Mwamnyeto was at the trial, accompanied by his elder full brother, Hassani.

The trial was handled very informally, with all the participants casually squatting or sprawled over the ground. Everyone was in a good mood, as is usual in most trials - at least initially. A decided attempt is made in

all trials to keep all the parties to the case in good spirits, and extensive joking is carried on. If a trial is strictly an ngambi matter, in which the angambi accuse someone of breaking ngambi rules, as the Bukhari Kasirani trial was, then the angambi act as if the accused did nothing really wrong. The accused acts as if the whole matter is very humorous. If a trial is strictly a matter between private individuals, such as when a Digo accuses another of cheating him, here, too, the accused and the plaintiff usually seem like the best of friends, having nothing but a friendly argument. To be sure, in some private cases, such as the Fumbwe Mwadodo malezi case, the two parties to the litigation do eventually lose their tempers and quarrel openly. But even these quarrels are often handled in such a way that the majority of those in attendance find them entertaining, and not a cause for further conflict.

Furthermore, most litigation is handled through "middle men", called alumba, so that a private plaintiff and the accused do not have to speak to each other personally or to give detailed testimony. Each party to a private case has his own mulumba, usually a kinsman skilled at kulumbana, or "litigation and repartee." If the plaintiff is the ngambi itself, then only the accused has his mulumba,

but the angambi acting as judges, do so in a public capacity. Hence, their remarks to the accused are not to be taken as a personal affront to the accused or his kin. Everything possible is done to prevent the parties to a trial from acting in such a manner as to cause a breakdown of associations for reciprocal aid and mutual security.

Digo culture permits Digo to play a number of seemingly contradictory, conflicting, roles almost simultaneously. This also helps to make a local court trial an instrument to restore rather than damage social harmony. A man is able to act in the same trial as a close relative, or friend and neighbour, of both the accused and the plaintiff, and also to act as an impartial judge of both. Multiple role-playing helps to assure an honest trial and the maintenance of mutual aid associations. In the role of an unbiased judge, ego may endanger his relations with either or both parties to the case. In the role of a biased kinsman, friend, or affinal to either party in the case, ego may also endanger his relations with the other party to the case. However, by playing the role of unbiased judge, and almost simultaneously also the role of biased and helpful kinsman, affinal, or friend to both parties to the case, ego assures the continued friendship and support of both parties.

Ego is not afraid to be an impartial judge or witness because he also helps those he accuses, sentences, or gives evidence against.

Multiple role-playing also encourages compromise. Interrelation gives everyone good cause to desire the peaceful and just settlement of disputes. Primarily in his role as kinsman of the plaintiff or as member of the ngambi, but also as a kinsman of the accused party, desiring peace between both sides, ego encourages the accused to agree to the court order. Primarily in his role as a kinsman of the accused, but also in his role as judge and as a relative of the plaintiff, ego requests the plaintiff and/or the ngambi to be more reasonable in its demands and more lenient in its charges and sentence.

In the Bukhari Kasirani trial, Nassani Mambo sat with the angambi, and played the role of judge, questioning in detail Bukhari and his sister's sons, and agreeing that they did wrong and should pay a fine. He also sat with Bukhari Kasirani and the Chinachimwaga kinsmen of Bukhari as a fellow kinsman, ready to help them. Omar Mambo was Bukhari's mulumba, and also acted as a judge. Kasim Chuo, although mainly a judge, also played the role of helpful kinsman, in respect to his relationship as Chinachimwaga

kwa tsawe, and his use of land contested by such matrilineal descendants of Ninduano as Mwachoko Luutsu and Mwenye Shee. Selemani Chuo, on the other hand, was content to sit merely as a judge, Jigi Mambo also sat only as a judge. On the basis of his affinal relation to Hassani Mambo, Jigi was prepared to agree with Hassani's plea for leniency in passing sentence and in collecting fines from Bukhari and his kin.

After hearing all the evidence, the angambi judges in this case, including Hassani and Omari Mambo, Kasim and Selemani Chuo and the ten others, sat alone, apart from everyone else at the trial. This is known as the kando ya ngambi, or "separate place of the ngambi." These judges decided that: (1) Bukhari Kasirani had to pay 25 shillings adabu, or fine; (2) Bukhari Kwamnyeto had to pay 15 shillings adabu; and (3) Mwenye Shee had to pay five shillings as adabu. They allowed Bukhari Kwamnyeto to take the coconuts to Mombasa to sell them, but they forbade further harvesting out of season by any of the parties to the case.

The judges returned to the accused parties and the spectators present at the trial, and they conveyed their decisions to the accused. The accused parties and their

kin, affines and friends then went to sit in their own separate place, or kando, termed in this instance as kando ya Chinachimwaga. Hassani and Omari Mambo went automatically to sit with this group and to help it. Hassani also asked Kasim Chuo to join the group, stating with a smile, "Come, mwenuhu, you are a Chinachimwaga kwa tsawe." Kasim chuckled at this, and went to join them.

In the kando ya Chinachimwaga, Bukhari Kasirani admitted that he had done wrong, but he said that he could only pay five shillings because he needed money to help Shee Selemani to pay bride wealth for Shee's son. Hassani Mambo told him that he was guilty of a major wrong, though it was his first such offence. Hassani urged Bukhari to pay as much as 10 shillings, and then Hassani asked each person present at the kando ya Chinachimwaga to contribute what he could to help Bukhari. It was, Hassani said, an obligation of udugu, or "brotherhood". Everyone agreed to this.

Then Mwenye Shee argued that he could not and should not pay his five shillings fine since he had only helped Bukhari Kasirani in his role as Bukhari's muwa. It is hard for a Digo to disobey an avu, especially when the avu has given this Digo property and land to use. Mwenye Shee also swore that he did not know that Bukhari was breaking

the ngambi. Bukhari had told him that he had received permission from the chief to pick his coconuts. Bukhari Kasirani smiled shamefacedly at this statement, and he agreed that he did tell Mwenyo Shee that permission had been granted. Kasim Chuo said that Mwenye Shee should have realised that this was a lie, but Kasim also agreed that if Mwenye Shee was really tricked by Bukhari, he should be made exempt from the fine.

Bukhari Mwamnyeto then said that he was a poor man and could not pay his fine, and also asserted that he, too, thought that Bukhari Kasirani had received permission. This was greeted with derisive laughter by everyone, even by Bukhari Kasirani. Kasim Chuo and Hassani Mambo declared that Mwamnyeto has often cheated the ngambi and bought and sold coconuts in secret during the quarantine. This was the first time that he was caught with contraband nuts, but everyone knew that he had frequently violated the quarantine. His fine, they argued, was really too small. Mwamnyeto smiled and said that he would pay the amount requested. He left the group with his brother to go to the shop of Jafr Ali to borrow 10 shillings. He had only three shillings on his person, and his brother gave him an additional two.

The remainder of the group then took up a collection

for Bukhari Kasirani. Bukhari himself gave his 10 shillings. Hassani and Omari Mambo each gave two shillings and fifty cents. Mwenye Shee, in his role as muwa, and Mwachoko Luutsu, also in his role as muwa, each contributed one shilling. Kasim Chuo gave thirty cents, and the writer paid twenty cents. Shee Selemani gave nothing because he said that he had used all of his money in paying the bride-wealth of his son. If a person is definitely without money, he is able to evade the obligation to help his kin financially. Shee aided Bukhari simply by attending his trial and providing "moral support."

Kasim Chuo took the seventeen shillings and fifty cents collected to Selemani Chuo, Jigi Mambo, and the other angambi. He explained to them the decision of the kando ya Chinachimwaga and successfully persuaded them to accept this decision. Bukhari Mwamnyeto returned within about ten minutes and paid his fifteen shillings. Then the total of thirty-two shillings and fifty cents was divided among everyone present at the trial as their reward for being present and co-operating. This payment is called either the jamvi la vazee ("mat of the elders"), or, simply, chai, meaning "tea," since it may be used to purchase tea. In former times the payment was called uchi or "palm wine,"

because this is what those at the trial drank, rather than the tea of these more "civilized" times.

Each member of the ngambi received one shilling. Just as they each had paid money in their role as akoi. Hassani and Omari Nambo now, in their role as judges, received money. The headman, who was present for some of the trial, received three shillings and six shillings was set aside to be given to the chief, upon his return from Kwale. In theory, these amounts were given to the headman and the chief to show them respect, but actually they were to involve them in the ngambi action so that they were compromised by it, and made to appear as ngambi supporters.

All other persons at the trial, including Bukhari and Hassani Mwanjeto, and Bukhari Kasirani and his other relatives, each received from twenty to fifty cents, according to the age of each. This is the final offering of peace, and their acceptance of it from the ngambi indicates that they agree with the verdict. The trial ended with everyone relatively satisfied and in a friendly mood.

In this atmosphere of harmony, Selemani and Kasim Chuo proposed that the ngambi have another election of

officials. Within a few minutes, it was decided that Selemani would retain his unofficial post as head of the Lungalunga ngambi, and that everyone in the location should be made to realize how important such a post was. Dodo Mleo, also at the ngambi trial, is a resident of Madzoreni in Lungalunga. He was selected as the head mungambi in the Madzoreni area. Interestingly enough, Dodo is a Chinarama kwa mayo and kwa baba, and, since he is older than Juma Hamisi, feels that he, not Juma, should be the dominant member of the Chinarama.

Kasim Chuo was confirmed as the clerk of the ngambi, and Muhammad Chuo was also told to remain as the coconut orchard policeman. Muhammad complained that he was not getting enough money for his work as policeman, and thus it was agreed that each owner of coconut orchards should be forced to pay one shilling for a harvesting chit. Then, all present at the trial and election adjourned to the hoteli or "tea shop" owned and operated by Salim Muhammad, the son of Nichuo, Kasim's full sister. There they refreshed themselves and chatted for another hour or more.

Two days later, Juma Hamisi returned to Lungalunga and was furious to learn what had taken place without his approval. He and his headman returned their shares of the

ngambi fine to Mwamnyeto and Bukhari Kasirani, and he demanded that all others also return what they had obtained from the fines. Mwamnyeto and Bukhari Kasirani refused to accept the money back from anyone except the chief and the headman, and the angambi refused to pay it. The chief also demanded that the angambi cease all talk of elections, and called a meeting of all the Lungalunga men to discuss the situation and openly state his objection to the extra-legal activities of the ngambi. Only a few men did turn up at the meeting, and Juma then threatened to call in the government and imprison those who refused to obey his lawful orders.

For some time it appeared that there was going to be serious trouble in Lungalunga, but at length the chief got his way. Lungalunga people began to fear that only Kasim Chuo was profiting from this conflict, and that if the conflict continued, life in Lungalunga might become unpleasant. A compromise was effected whereby the ngambi and its members can only meet to decide whether or not a man caught harvesting, selling or purchasing coconuts during the quarantine should be sent to the government courts. Unfortunately, there is no specific government ordinance under which such a man could be tried and sentenced, and so Juma Hamisi tried to get the African District Council to

draft and pass a local bye law which would allow such trial and punishment. Some locations approved of the idea, but in most places the elders did not wish to allow government to usurp any prerogatives of the new ngambi. These elders wanted the ngambi alone in each location to be able to try and to punish by traditional methods those who break the ngambi rules.

The matter was not yet settled by April 1960, and the struggle for power continues in Lungalunga, as it does elsewhere in the District.

B. Summary.

To summarize this chapter, it may be said that the ngambi was once a stratified secret society to which men of the grade of elder, and perhaps men of the grade of warrior, belonged. Membership in the ngambi cut across lineage membership, and the ngambi was able to function as a political and legal body. This traditional ngambi passed out of effective existence about a generation ago.

In order to further their own ends, some Digo attempt to re-establish the traditional ngambi or to strengthen the "new," generally unorganized, ngambi. The composition of the new ngambi depends upon the situation. The new ngambi has the function of regulating the coconut harvest. Digo depend upon this harvest system to provide them with money

when they most need it, and to help them meet kinship obligations and maintain associations for mutual aid.

The members of the ngambi act as judges in local court cases, either cases involving two private parties, or those in which the plaintiff is the ngambi, itself. Multiple roles are deftly played in order to encourage compromise and insure the maintenance of good relationships between kin, affines, and friends.

Ngambi has the power to make levies on alien merchants, and the power to boycott their shops. It is also able to ostracize a fellow Digo who becomes an "enemy of the people," or a adui wa utai, by breaking the boycott and helping an alien.

CHAPTER VIII

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

A. Forms of Marriage.

There are three kinds of marriage among the Digo, namely, luhala, kislanu, and king'ombe. The least common form is king'ombe, or marriage by cattle. This king'ombe form is not significant in Digo society, both because only four out of 283 marriages in Lunga-lunga are of this form, and because no Digo woman is married by this form. It is only women of other tribes, chiefly of the Duruma and Giriama, who are given in king'ombe marriage. The king'ombe marriage form, itself, is from the custom of the Giriama, and it spread to the Duruma and to the Digo.

The king'ombe is a marriage form much like the old slave marriage since the woman is given for a very high bride-wealth (mahunda) of 10 to 20 cattle, or 1,000 to 2,000 shillings, and she completely loses her affiliation to her parental lineages or tribe. She becomes affiliated to the fuko of her husband, and her children call their father both baba and awu. Neither a king'ombe woman nor her children have a kuchetuni to defend them. The children customarily inherit from

their father, at least a share of his wealth, but both the king'ombe wife and her children are themselves almost like inheritable property, since if her husband by king'ombe dies, a woman is taken over by her husband's matrilineal heirs, and her children call this heir of their real father baba. In theory, these children may only be married by cattle. That is, the daughters must be married for bride wealth equal to or more than that paid for their mother, and the sons should obtain cattle wives. In actuality, Digo can seldom find anyone willing to pay cattle mahunda for their king'ombe daughters, and they seldom have enough wealth to obtain king'ombe wives for their sons. Thus, these children almost invariable are married by kuhala or kiislamumu.

Because king'ombe marriage is so similar to a slave marriage Digo women are not given as king'ombe wives. Even if a man attempts to give his daughter or his sister's daughter into marriage by king'ombe, her mother's brother or father will refuse. A Digo does not have the power to do as he wishes with his

children or his sister's children, and he cannot arrange marriages for them without the consent of their other main kin.

Men who wish to marry a woman by king'ombe must obtain the money or cattle themselves. It is not the duty of a father to give his son a king'ombe wife unless this son is the child of a king'ombe woman. Indeed, a man will usually not want his son to get such a king'ombe wife, since the woman will become affiliated to the fuko kwa mayo of his son, and strengthen this fuko. It is said that at times a man will help his sister's son to obtain a wife by king'ombe, just as in former times Digo men gave slave wives to their sister's sons to strengthen their fuko kwa mayo. The mahunda of each of the four king'ombe wives now living in Lungalunga, however, was paid solely by the husband of said wife. Primarily because of financial considerations, those Digo who do themselves obtain wives by king'ombe are at least of middle age and are relatively prosperous. Each of the four men in Lungalunga who obtained a king'ombe wife was over the age of 40 at the time of marriage, and

was moderately wealthy. Furthermore, each had previously contracted a number of marriages with Digo women by kiislamu or kuhala, and some of these marriages have continued to exist side by side with the king'ombe marriages.

The most common marriage form in Lungalunga, and presumably over the entire Digo country, is the kuhala, or "to carry away" form. 201 or 71 per cent of 283 marriages studied in Lungalunga, and effected by men now living in Segga during the periods 1918-1960, were of this form. The next most common form is the kiislamu or "after the manner of Islam" form, and 78 or 27 per cent of the sample of 283 marriages were of this type. The kiislamu form is becoming increasingly popular in respect to the kuhala form, and 51 per cent of the marriages effected since 1958, were kiislamu. Kiislamu marriages have more prestige, are generally more expensive to effect, and are perhaps slightly more stable than the kuhala marriages. 34% of the kuhala marriages studied, ended in divorce; while only 28% of the kiislamu marriages ended in divorce. Digo sometimes convert a kuhala marriage into a kiislamu marriage by having an

Islamic wedding. 15 or 5% of the kiislamu marriages in Lungslunga were conversions of this type.

Both the kuhala and the kiislamu forms of marriage create approximately the same complex of rights and duties in spouses, kin, and affines, but there are some important differences. Both marriages are effected by the payment of bride wealth. Bride wealth is called mahunda in the kuhala form, and mahunda ranges in amount from 40 shillings to 200 shillings, plus from one to three goats. The average mahunda is about 120 shillings and 1 goat. This is paid to the father, or father surrogate, of the bride, and he divides it with other kin of the bride. In divorce, mahunda is returned to the husband, often minus the malezi of about 30 to 40 shillings.

In some instances, kuhala is initiated by the elopement of a man and his sweetheart before his payment of mahunda. Elopement is often more or less formally effected, frequently with the prior knowledge of the close kin of both parties. Sometimes, it is done without the knowledge or approval of anyone. In any

event, however, the man usually loses no time in paying the first installment of mahunda, and as soon as he does this and mahunda is accepted, a valid marriage is considered to have begun. Then the man may legally refer to his partner as his mkaza, or "wife," and she may refer to him as mlume or "husband".

Kuhala is sometimes effected by the payment of at least an installment of mahunda before the "carrying off" of the bride. Here, marriage can be said to commence with the actual "carrying off."

In quite a few cases, mahunda is paid either all at once or by instalments within a period of a few months. In other cases, full payment may take years. It depends upon the parties to the marriage, and there is no set rule. It is ordinarily true, however, that if a husband does not pay at least three quarters of the bride wealth within a year or two of the outset of the marriage, his wife's kin may terminate the marriage, or at least separate the husband and the wife until the husband pays what he owes. A woman will feel "great shame", it is said, if her husband is either so poor, or miserly, or so disinterested in her that he does not

pay what was promised.

Bride wealth in the kiislamu form of marriage is more complex a matter than is the case for the kuhala type. Bride wealth for kiislamu is customarily paid in full by instalments before the marriage. As soon as the first instalment is paid, the man and his wife-to-be are officially engaged, (kuchomba), and they call each other muchomba. According to the Digo, marriage is finally effected by the full payment and acceptance of all the bridewealth and by the Islamic wedding ceremony. The terms mlume and mkaza may then be used. However, the marriage is not actually considered legal according to Islamic law until it is registered in the Register of Islamic Marriages and Divorce in the government offices at Kwale, Gazi, Vanga, and Mombasa. At times, the Qadi and/or the Mudiri or the Liwali come on tour with a Register of Islamic Marriage and Divorce in order to induce Digo to register their kiislamu marriages and divorces. Most Digo do register sooner or later, in spite of the small fee this entails, because they, especially the men, find it advantageous to have this proof of legal marriage.

The name for the kiislamu bride wealth is theoretically not termed mahunda, but in practice many Digo term it mahunda as a convenient way of referring to its three divisions. Ideally, the Islamic bride wealth should consist only of mahari (adapted by way of the Swahili language from the Arab term, mahar, or "dowry" [, and it should not be bride wealth in the normal Digo sense, but it should instead be the amount paid to the bride, not to the bride's family. In divorce, mahari supposedly should not be reclaimed by the husband, and, indeed, if any portion of it was not paid to the wife, this should be given to her before the formal divorce is made legal and binding. This is the ideal Islamic form, which some Digo like to pretend prevails in Digo land. In actuality, however, Digo continue to practise the kuhala mahunda system under a new set of names, namely mahari, kilemba, and mkaia.

Mahari is that portion of the total bride wealth which is listed in the Register of Islamic Marriage and Divorce. The marriage is not legal, according to the

government and the Kenya version of Islamic Law, unless this amount is listed. Although they always list mahari, Digo practically never give it to the bride, but instead they give it to the bride's father, just as they give him bahunda. The bride's father is supposed to, and often does, use this mahari, or some of it, to pay for the wedding feast and to buy the bride an outfit of cooking utensils and a bed. Mahari is usually listed as 100 - 200 shillings. At the time of marriage registration, an Islamic official, such as the registry clerk, or the Qadi or Mudir, may ask the bride if she personally received the mahari. If she says no, the marriage is not considered legal until the amount is paid to her. Practically no Digo woman will admit that she did not get mahari, and if one is unprincipled enough to admit this, she is usually regarded as a traitor to her family, her new husband, and indeed, the Digo community. Such action shames the Digo in the presence of the Arabs, and nothing could be much worse.

Kilemba, meaning "turban", is a Swahili term, and

it is the sum which a father should obtain to compensate him for his work in rearing the child. He may keep this for himself, but he usually divides this amount with his own patrilineal and matrilineal kin, primarily his brothers and sisters. They in turn, should, and customarily do, use this amount to help the father pay for the wedding feast. Kilemba ranges in amount from 30 shillings to 80 shillings, and averages 60 shillings.

Mkaja is a Swahili word meaning the binding cloth women wrap about their waist after childbirth in order to maintain a slender figure. In bride wealth terminology, it is the sum of money which a mother obtains for her work in bearing and rearing the child. She should divide it with her close matrilineal brothers and sisters. If some of her patrilineally-related siblings are especially friendly and helpful to her, she may also give them a portion of mkaja. Her kin who receive kilemba should and usually do use this to help her pay various expenses of the wedding ceremony and the feast. Mkaja is about equal in amount to kilemba.

In some few and unusual cases, a father takes the

entire bride wealth, that is, mahari, kilemba and mkaja, as a lump sum and does not divide it. This matter will be discussed in more detail, below. Also, in a few instances the daughter demands that mahari be given to her, usually, as indicated above, to the horror of everyone. Three examples will help to clarify this behaviour by a daughter:

1. Binti Mwalimu Masudi.

The daughter of Mwalimu Masudi was married to Abdullah Solemani Ngare by Kiislamu for about 300 shillings, of which 200 was stated to be mahari at the time of the marriage ceremony, conducted by Ahmadi Kombo, the local Lungslunga agent of the gadi. Mwalimu Masudi and his kin used some of the 300 shillings for wedding expenses. Mwalimu gave none of the mahari to his daughter, and bought her only a very few items for her outfit. He used 150 shillings of the mahari to redeem from mortgage a coconut palm orchard.

When the gadi and the Mudir came to Lungslunga to register marriages, as they do about twice a year, Mwalimu's daughter and her husband went to sign the Register.

The Mudiri asked Binti Mwalimu if she had received her puhani, and to the amazement and dismay of everyone, probably including the Mudiri, she said no. In his defence, Mwalimu quickly replied that he had taken the puhani only in order to redeem his orchard so that he might give it to his daughter as a wedding gift, for her to use for several years. The Mudiri made Mwalimu swear before witnesses that he would either sign the orchard over to his daughter, or give her 200 shillings as soon as he sold the coconuts. Mwalimu never had the slightest intention of giving his daughter the coconut orchard, even for her temporary use, and he therefore elected to give her the money.

Mwalimu paid his daughter the 200 shillings by instalments and in the presence of witnesses. It was made clear to Binti Mwalimu that her action in this matter was reprehensible and humiliated not only her close kin, but also all the Digo of Langalunga. She was told that she would have to save the money and not spend it, for her father would not now be responsible for returning her bride wealth in divorce. If she wanted the right to

obtain the mahari she would have to accept the duty to repay it. Binti Mwalimu apologised to her father and gave him two shillings of the 200, keeping the rest to purchase a bed, clothing and cooking pots. They made peace with each other in this manner, harmony was restored, and Mwalimu assumed the duty to repay bride wealth.

2. Binti Bukhari Athumani.

Binti Bukhari was married in about 1958, and her mother, Michiriboto, persuaded her to demand her mahari. It is said that Michiriboto did this because she is on bad terms with her husband, Bukhari Athumani, the father of Binti Bukhari, and also because Michiriboto's mother was a slave, and Michiriboto has no matrilineal kin to look after her interests. She wished to obtain as much of the bride wealth in her hands and her daughter's hands as possible so that if she divorced from Bukhari she would have some financial security. It is said that she also feared that Bukhari would only squander the mahari and would not be willing to repay it in the event of her daughter's divorce, thereby making it more difficult for her daughter to leave an undesirable husband.

Binti Bukhari demanded this mahari, 300 shillings in amount, before the marriage actually took place. Her father gave it to her without much trouble, or so her father claims, and she used 100 shillings of it for clothes and other items for her outfit. She gave 100 shillings of it to Michiriboto, who used it to purchase a mortgage on about 50 coconut palms, a very good investment. The remaining 100 shillings she gave to her father, Bukhtari in order to keep his friendship and to oblige him to help her in divorce and other matters.

3. Binti Abdullah Luutsu.

Binti Abdullah Luutsu was married in about 1952 and demanded that mahari be given to her because she did not trust her marriage guardian and father surrogate, Bukhari bin Abdullah Luutsu. Her father, Abdullah Luutsu, was mentally ill, and her eldest full brother, Bukhari Abdullah, had succeeded to his rights and duties. She knew, as did everyone else, that Bukhari would not help her in divorce, but would do everything possible to escape returning the bride wealth. Further-

more, Bukhari did not give her any items for her new household, and did not even contribute sufficiently to her wedding feast. This angered and humiliated her and her new husband and his kin.

Supported by public opinion, in this case, she went to Vanga and complained to the Mudir that she had not received her mahari of 200 shillings. The Mudir ordered Bukhari to pay her mahari, but he refused to do so, claiming that he had spent all of it. He was then sent to jail and released only when his two younger brothers borrowed in Bukhari's name the 200 shillings from an Indian merchant in Lungalunga and paid this to their sister in the presence of the Mudir. Binti Abdullah gave 50 shillings of her mahari to her mother, and kept the rest. She has remained married to the same husband, and it is impossible to know who will help her if she is divorced.

There are certain important points about the divorce of a kuhala and a kiislamu marriage which should be mentioned at this point. Kuricha ("to leave") is the name for the divorce of a kuhala marriage. Kutalaka ("to divorce according to Islamic Law") is the name for

the divorce of a kiislamu marriage, and it is derived from the Swahili word, kutalaka, which, in turn, is derived from the Arabic word talag. Divorces are frequent in both types of marriage, and, as noted above, 54% of the kuhala marriages in Segwa ended in divorce, and 28% of the kiislamu marriages ended in divorce. In both types of marriage, divorce is usually predicated upon the assumption that a husband and a wife who quarrel with each other a great deal draw their kin into the quarrel. In a Digo community, ego's affines are often also his kin, and/or his friends. It is better to divorce than to attempt to maintain a marriage full of conflict which eventually spreads to kin, affines, and friends.

Digo say that a good man should demand the return of mahunda in the divorce of a kuhala marriage only when he has received no children from the marriage. No Digo, however, adhere to this ideal. The most that Digo will forfeit is malezi, and even this is given grudgingly.

Digo are even more emphatic in declaring that a good Digo Muslim has a moral and religious obligation not

to claim the return of bride wealth in the divorce of a wife married by kiislamu, even if the marriage produced no children. However, in 20 out of 22 cases of kiislamu marriage studied, the husband actually demanded the entire amount of the bride wealth, minus only malezi, where it was appropriate.

In rare cases, such demands for bride wealth are met without much of a struggle, usually because the divorced woman's kin wish to assure the most harmonious settlement and/or because the woman was at fault in causing the divorce. Apparently only in five of the twenty cases of kutalaka was the husband given the amount he requested. In most instances, especially if the bride wealth was a large amount and if much of it was used to finance the wedding festivities, and to pay for the wife's household outfit, the wife's kin will demand a major reduction on the amount to be returned. They may threaten to take the matter before the Mudiz and the ladi on the basis that no mahari should be returned in divorce. The husband will then usually counter this threat by maintaining that mahari never went to his wife, but rather to her father. Finally, often after much

discussion, a compromise is ordinarily effected whereby, in addition to malezi, anywhere from 10 to 50% will be deducted from the bride wealth which is returned.

If a wife's kin are unusually unyielding in this matter of returning a reasonable percentage of the bride wealth, a husband has a means of bringing them to terms. Just as Islam gives a wife's kin a reason not found in pagan marriages to withhold bride wealth, so does it give a husband a weapon against his wife and her kin which is not possessed by him in a kuhala marriage.

In kuhala marriage, divorce is effected by the separation of wife and husband and the return of bride wealth. But even if their bride wealth is not returned, Digo women find no legal impediment to being remarried. In kiislamu, on the contrary, divorce must be legalized by the husband's signing of the Register of Islam Marriage and Divorce. Most women and their parents will wish this to be signed because if it is not signed, the wife's remarriage will be prevented by her deserted husband and his kin. Some Lungelunga girls who are denied legal divorce by their husbands will go to Bombay or Tanga and live as prostitutes

or as the mistresses of men in these cities. However, the great majority of Lungalunga women do not wish to do this, but much prefer obtaining an official divorce so that they may be married again and remain in Lungalunga.

This weapon in the hands of a husband can be used by him to force his wife's kin to return to him a reasonable amount of bride wealth. It can also be used by him to make his marriage somewhat more stable than is a kuhala marriage. His wife will not be able to desert him quite so readily because she knows that divorce is not as easy for her to secure. Unfortunately, some Digo are tempted to use this weapon to force their wives to pay more for divorce than bride wealth. This technique is called kuuza talaqa, or "to buy a divorce." There are only two examples of kuuza talaqa in Segga, and in one of these it is asserted by the husband that his sole objective is to force his wife to stay with him.

The Juma bin Kasim Chisira case will help to illustrate some of the major points about divorce:

In early 1959, Juma bin Kasim Chisira married

Fatuma, the daughter of Juma Mwanyevu for a bride wealth of 300 shillings, of which 300 was listed as mahari, 100 as mkaja, and 100 as kilemba. Mwanyevu divided the money among his kin, primarily with the kinsman he likes best, Buhari Mwanyevu, his mwenehu basa mwonga. About 100 shillings of this bride wealth was used for the wedding feast. Mwanyevu also used another 100 shillings to purchase a bed, clothes and utensils for his daughter. In addition to the bride wealth which they paid, Kasim Chisira and his brothers contributed some 40 shillings worth of rice and maize and a small goat, worth about 20 shillings to the feast.

Mwanyevu's daughter did not like Juma Kasim, and was forced into this marriage. It appears that about 15% of all marriages are forced marriages. About three-quarters of such forced marriages last for a reasonable length of time but the rest end within a few months, as did that of Juma Kasim and Fatuma. Fatuma ran away from Juma, returning to her father and mother. Her parents then coerced her into going back to Juma by claiming that they did not have the money to repay the

bride wealth, and that they would have to sell some of her mother's goats to raise the bride wealth money. Fatuma remained with Juma only six additional days, and then left him again. Once more she was talked into going back to Juma. But this time, before she left her parent's mudzi, Kasim Chisira sent his close matrilineally related brother, Muhammad bin Abdullah Pongwe, as his agent to discuss matters with Fatuma and ascertain if she sincerely wished to return or if she was being forced to do so by her greedy parents. Fatuma told Muhammad that she greatly disliked Juma. Kasim Chisira and his kin, therefore, agreed that it would only lead to more trouble if she rejoined Juma, and it was decided to effect divorce.

Mwanyevu was told to repay all of the bride wealth which he had received, because his daughter was at fault and she had given Juma nothing but trouble. During weeks of intermittent discussion and bickering, the two Mwanyevu brothers and Omari Kama, full brother of Fatuma's mother, steadfastly refused to repay more than 300 shillings, while Kasim and his brothers demanded 500 shillings. Not only would Juma bin Kasim Chisira

not sign the divorce register, but Kasim Chisira refused to return Fatuma's bed and utensils until the 500 shillings was repaid.

A number of other Digo entered the picture to attempt to convince the two parties that such quarrelling was unseemly contrary to Islam, and dangerous to community and kin harmony. An important mediator was Juma Hamisi, the mwenuhu baba mwenga of Kasim Chisira's father, and, simultaneously, the close classificatory matrilineally related brother of Kasim's mother. Juma Hamisi is also a friend and affine of Omari Kama, and terms Omari mwana because one of Juma's two wives is a distant, classificatory, matrilineally related, sister of Omari's mother. Similarly, Omari is a friend and distant relative of Kasim Chisira. Omari's wife is a full sister of the wife of Salim Chisira, the full brother of Kasim. This causes Omari and Salim to term each other as mwanyumba ("son of one house"), meaning that each has married into one nyumba. By extension, Kasim is also the mwanyumba of Omari. Such a relationship is a basis for close association if no closer bond exists.

Juma Hamisi and others argued that if both parties

to the conflict did not come to an acceptable agreement, Kasim and Omari and Salim and Omari might cease to be friends. Furthermore, the wife of Omari might begin to quarrel with the wife of Salim if each took her husband's part in the trouble, or, if both sisters took the part of the husband of only one sister, the marriage of the other might itself end in divorce. Similarly, Juma Hamisi's marriage to the classificatory mayo of Omari Kama might be endangered by the conflict over the payment of bride wealth.

Juma Hamisi told Kasim that Kasim's action in demanding so much was definitely contrary to the precepts of Islam, and that it gave all the Chinarama a bad name. Omari Kama persuaded Mwanyevu to pay as much as 400 shillings, and Juma Hamisi prevailed upon Kasim to accept this. Mwanyevu paid a first instalment of 200 shillings and promised to pay the balance within a few weeks.

A few more aspects of and points of difference between Kuhala and Kiislamu are worthy of consideration:

In former days, kuhala was the only non-slave marriage form known. Kiislamu began in about 1920, and

it was not until about 1945 that it began to be popular. Before about 1940, or 1945, kuhala was more elaborate than it is now. A kuhala marriage was effected only after the groom and his bride went through a somewhat trying period of initiation and ritual. After being taken from her father's house, a girl had to spend four days with her husband in one room of her husband's hut, during which they could not emerge, and during which they were fed only water and a few greens. Then the girl was ritually introduced to her husband's mother and father, and to their respective kin. Her husband's father gave her a hoe to symbolize her future duties as his agricultural assistant, and he stuffed his mouth with maize meal to show her that he expected her to help prepare food for him. This kuhala wedding ceremony also included considerable feasting, dancing, and the singing of obscene songs. Furthermore, the bride received from her father a dowry of clothes, gourds and pots, much like the bride's outfit of household equipment in the kiislamu marriage.

Nowadays a kuhala marriage is stripped of everything but the bare essentials of a legal marriage.

The ritual, feasting, dancing, and giving of dowries are pretty well gone. If a girl is officially received by her husband's parents, the reception consists of nothing more than these parents saying: "Welcome, and do not fear us, but regard us as your mother and father." The former emphasis on a bride's period of apprenticeship is now gone. The custom of seclusion for four days on water and greens is definitely ended, at which young Digo breathe a sigh of relief. They say that fortunately Islam prohibits such a barbaric custom.

In contrast to the current kuhala wedding, the kiislamu wedding is very elaborate, and is marked by feasting, dancing and singing. The food for the kiislamu wedding feast is prepared in a "civilized" Islamic manner, the dancing is usually a very sedate version of the old pagan form, and the singing is no longer obscene. Most of the singing consists of Koranic chants, performed by young students of the Koran schools. Interestingly enough, a group of adult men at almost all large kiislamu weddings make a very purposeful and dramatic attempt to sing obscene songs and dance in

the old fashion. The Koranic students, led by their walimu, then chant Koranic verses even louder than before, and noisily beat on their tambourines and drums to drown out the singers of obscenity. The kin of the bride and/or the groom customarily then try to chase away the performers of the pagan song and dance, and often stage an artificial but realistic quarrel with these performers. Eventually, Islam always triumphs at kiislamu weddings. Everyone is much amused by the entire incident, the power of Islam is made manifest, but a welcome glimpse of the old custom is permitted.

Following the wedding, the bride is presented to her husband's mother and father, and the close female kin of each of these parents. These individuals often given the new bride gifts to welcome her, but not to symbolize her apprenticeship to her affines. The bride and groom may spend some relatively undisturbed days together after the wedding, but they are well-fed and may emerge more or less at will.

Nowadays, a kuhala marriage is often regarded as a trial marriage. If it is successful, the husband

may consult with his wife and her kin about transferring the marriage to the kiislamu form. Such a transfer usually requires additional bride wealth to cover the costs of the Islamic ritual and feasting, or to compensate the woman's father and matrilineal kin for the greater rights her husband obtains in her and her children by him. Both a woman and her kin feel that they lose a certain measure of independence if she is married by the kiislamu form. As mentioned, it is more difficult for a woman to secure a divorce of a kiislamu marriage. Her kin also are restricted in their efforts to break up a marriage which they deem undesirable if this marriage is kiislamu rather than a kuhala. A husband, however, suffers no such restriction, and may easily divorce his wife married by kiislamu.

A man also obtains somewhat more legal authority over his children if he marries their mother by kiislamu than if he marries her only by kuhala. For one, Digo are able to do just as Fumbwe Mwadodo did, and claim that their children by kiislamu marriages may not be taken from them even if they have not paid malezi for these children. They are able to state that Islam does not recognize the

right of a child's matrilineal kin to demand malezi, but instead affirms that a father's rights and duties in his children are uncontested and supreme. A Digo man, therefore, may threaten with court action the mother's brother of his child by kiislamu marriage if this mother's brother tries to exert undue influence over or to gain undue rights in this child. This threat helps a father bring a mother's brother to terms and to establish an agreeable compromise solution.

An Islamic marriage is not entirely to the detriment of a wife and her kin, however. For one, it tends to assist her children by this marriage to obtain at least a share of the property of their father and/or to obtain satisfactory aid from the matrilineal heirs of their father. Her children often use some of the property which they inherit or aid which they obtain in this manner, to help her and her matrilineal kin.

Before about 1935, any Digo whose father professed Islam could demand in the government courts that he had a right to inherit his father's property. However, the matrilineal rule remained so firm in most areas that only a few Digo of Digo District did take the

matter to the courts, and of these, as many lost their cases as won them. It was held that merely a verbal profession of Islamic faith did not entitle a man to change customary rules of inheritance. As a result of government decisions and the opinions of Digo elders, during the period 1935-1948 the only way in which a Digo could give his children a theoretical "right" to inherit from his was to marry their mother by kiislamu. Only by such a marriage could a man show that he was truly enough of a Muslim to warrant partilineal inheritance for his children.

Contrary to ideal Islamic law, Digo feel that children are products of a kiislamu whether they were conceived or born prior to the inception of this marriage, or after it. Thus, a man may even marry his kuhala wife by kiislamu on his death bed, and all of her children by him are automatically considered to be children of a kiislamu marriage.

Relatively few kiislamu marriages were effected in Lungalunga before 1948, probably partly because Digo did not want to contest the matrilineal rule, and increase conflict over inheritance. If a wife's matri-

lineal kin were pleased at the prospect of her children inheriting from her husband, her husband's matrilineal kin were displeased. An average man also was also suspicious of his childrens' intentions, and feared that if his children inherited, they would neglect his matrilineal kin and help only their own matrilineal kin. Even in those instances of Islamic marriage, children found that they were usually unable to secure inheritance unless they took the matter to the government courts. If they did this, they were then regarded by the matrilineal kin of their fathers as not deserving of aid. In only one case in Lungalunga before 1948 did children inherit specifically because of the marriage by kiislamu of their parents, and even in this case the children were allowed to inherit without trouble only because the matrilineal kin of their father felt certain that the children would help these matrilineal kin.

What kiislamu marriage form did do prior to 1948 was to assure that the children of such a marriage had a right to expect that the matrilineal kin of their father would give them financial and other aid. They could threaten the matrilineal heirs of their father with court

action to secure patrilineal inheritance if they were not properly treated. Often they managed to secure a small share of the inheritance as a result.

The kiislamu marriage form also gave Digo married to enehu mwana ma a chance to blur the mwana ma link and to give the children of mwana ma wives a greater right to inherit than that which the mwana ma affiliation alone gave them. That is, children of mwana ma parents had, in any case, a right to inherit their father's property since their father was also their mother's classificatory brother, but a few close matrilineal kin of their father might contest this right, on the grounds that these children were the descendants of slaves. If these children were also the products of a kiislamu marriage, they could say that they had this as the basis for inheritance, and their patrilineal kin who wished to erase the memory of slavery would agree.

In any event, conflict over inheritance or not, Digo could escape the necessity of admitting slave descent in regard to inheritance matters by claiming only that their right to property was a result of the kiislamu marriage of their parents rather than because their

parents were enehu mwana ma. It is not unusual, therefore, that most of the pre-1948 kiislamu marriages were of enehu mwana ma. Chuo bin Bukhari, for example, married his mwenehu mwana ma, Fatuma, first by kuhala and then, after all children were born, he converted the marriage to kiislamu. These children inherited from him on the basis of his mwana ma relation to their mother and because of the Islamic marriage, but they customarily only cite the marriage form as the reason for this inheritance.

By 1948, Digo sentiments had shifted to the extent that many digo wished to see their children inherit at least a quarter of their property. The matter was discussed in the African District Council in Kwale. Many councillors opposed the idea that only children of kiislamu marriages could inherit. They claimed that all Digo are Muslims, and that Mungu regards all children of Muslims to be equal, whether their parents married by kiislamu or not. They cited example after example of men who married several wives, but only one or two by kiislamu, with the result that the children felt cheated. This, they declared, was

unjust and led to conflict between siblings. Actually, since inheritance according to Islam was more fact than fiction, the arguments of these councillors were merely excuses to support their claim that a law should be passed to enable all Digo children to inherit, irrespective of the method of marriage. The only result of this meeting was that about as many councillors voted for general patrilineal inheritance, as voted against it, and each location was told to establish its own bye-law in regard to inheritance. There was no establishment of one law of inheritance for the entire District.

In 1948, Lungalunga was governed by a chief who wanted general patrilineal inheritance to be established. A number of influential elders also supported this type of inheritance. Consequently, in mid-1948, Lungalunga passed a locational bye-law to the effect that children should inherit the property which their father had himself created, whether or not their father had married their mother by kiislamu. Almost immediately, Digo claimed, and often received from the matrilineal heirs of their dead fathers, the coconut palms which their fathers had planted and which these matrilineal heirs had

inherited. In Vanga alone, six men and five women obtained such property within a few weeks of the passing of the local bye-law. There is, however, considerable conflict in inheritance. Not everyone accepted the bye-law. The case of Budzo Mbwagizo illustrates this conflict:

Budzo's parents were not married by kiislamu. His father and father's full brother had planted a large area in coconut palms, and this property was inherited in about 1947 by shee, the son of Budzo's father's full sister. Shee refused to abide by the bye-law, and Budzo took the matter to the Vanga African Court in 1949. Budzo won the case, and inherited the coconut palms which his father had planted. The coconut palms which his father's full brother, Safari, had planted were given to the sons of Safari. Budzo, however, paid the costs of this court case and has, himself, demanded the right to use all of the coconut palms of both his father and his father's brother. He claims that he is the eldest son of the elder brother, and should, therefore, assume the rights and duties of his father and his father's brother and be the head of the

group of the children of his father and his father's brother. Budzo had completely ignored the welfare of his father's matrilineal heirs.

What makes this case so interesting is that in 1948, this same Budzo had won an inheritance case against Shee, his father's sister's son, in which Budzo used matrilineal principles to defeat Shee. Budzo's mother's mother's brother died in about 1940, and left behind a wife whom Budzo inherited. This woman ran away to Tanganyika before Budzo could take her as a wife, and she was married to a man in Tanga. This man paid the bride wealth for her to Budzo's father. Although it was Budzo's right to obtain this bride wealth, his father did not give it to him, stating that Budzo should not be so disrespectful as to ask for it. In 1948, Budzo took his father's sister's son, Shee, to the Vanga African court to demand that matrilineal principles were such that he had a right to obtain this bride wealth from his father's heir. The court decided that since Budzo's father had not given him this bride wealth, Shee, as his father's heir, had the duty to do so. Shee paid this. However, Shee did not get this amount returned to

him when sudzo took over the coconut palms of his father.

There are similar cases in Lungalunga also in which Digo inherited both under old matrilineal and new patrilineal principles. There is, in short, marked legal uncertainty. Each inheritance case had to be decided on its own merits; the bye-law supports, but does not necessarily enforce, patrilineal inheritance. Furthermore, while kiislamu marriage often helps a Digo to claim the property of his father, it is not crucial to such a claim. As a result, the matrilineal kin of a man have no cause to oppose his marriage by kiislamu. Such a marriage does not noticeably prejudice their best interests.

Kiislamu marriages carry far more prestige than kuhala marriages. They are more elaborate and costly, and are considered a sign of correct, "civilized," Islamic behaviour. It is interesting to note that at Islamic weddings those men and women who were married by the kiislamu form sit apart from those married only by the kuhala form, and they are the first to get served with food. This seems designed to make those married by

kuhala feel their inferior status. Even if men do not wish to go to the expense of having an Islamic marriage, women now often feel that such a marriage is necessary to their heshima, or prestige. Women who were married by kiislamu often ridicule those who have only had the kuhala marriage. Many women married by kuhala, therefore, prevail upon their husbands to convert their marriage to the Islamic type, and many women being married for the first time demand an Islamic marriage from the outset. The desire for prestige is also important in motivating their kin and their husbands to consent to such a marriage. In short, the kiislamu form is becoming increasingly fashionable, and this now usually outweighs the dislike of giving a man extra rights over his wife and his children.

The section to follow will be concerned with a further elaboration of kuhala and kiislamu marriage and divorce, and with the rights, duties and relationships which are established by and involved in such marriages and divorces. Since these two forms of marriage and their effects are so similar, they will be treated as a unit in the following discussion, unless otherwise indicated.

The King'ombe form and its effects will not be included in this discussion.

B. The Relation of Kin to Marriage.

A basic attitude or consideration about marriage is that no one individual or group of kin should effect a marriage unilaterally. An individual male Digo may initiate marriage activities by running off with a girl, or by getting her with child, or merely by obtaining her consent to a marriage. However, the actual marriage, effected by the payment of bride wealth, must be agreed to by the close kuchetuni and kulumeni kin of both the man and the woman, and it must be arranged by a group of the man's kin acting as his marriage representatives, and by a group of the woman's kin, acting as her marriage guardians.

The marriage representatives of a man customarily consist of his father, and/or his father's and mother's closest real or classificatory matrilineal or patrilineally related brothers, and/or his father's sister's sons, and/or his real or close classificatory brothers. Bride wealth is usually paid at least partly by a father and/or the surrogates of a father. For example, Chisira paid the bulk of the bride wealth for Kasim and Salim

Chisira, because they were married before Chisira disowned his children. However, after Chisira rejected his children, he would not pay the bride wealth which Hassani required to obtain a wife, and it was Kasim who paid most of this amount, with Hassani himself contributing a share. Years later, when Juma, the second son of Kasim was married to Fatuma, the daughter of Juma Mwanyevu, Hassani contributed a major portion of the necessary bride wealth. This was partly because Kasim was poor at the time, and partly because it helped to emphasize the unity of this group of all siblings and the children.

Muhammad Ali of Lungalunga paid the bride wealth required by the two sons of his close classificatory brother, Hamisi, matrilineally related to him through a common mother's mother. He did this because Hamisi had died and Muhammad Ali was his closest kinsman and heir. He had not actually inherited any property from Hamisi, who was very poor, but he accepted Hamisi's responsibilities. Hamisi had lived in Msambweni with his wife's family, and his two sons planned to stay there. Muhammad Ali, however, requested that they come to live with him in Lungalunga

since he had helped them get married, and they readily assented. They now live in Muhammad Ali's mudzi, together with his real sons, and all combine to form an effective reciprocal aid group.

A mother's brother should also contribute to bride wealth requirements. Ideally an awu should pay one-third of the total amount of bride wealth, but actually anoawu pay anywhere from nothing to everything, depending upon the situation. For instance, Juma Hamisi paid the bulk of the bride wealth required by Juma and Seifu Abdullah, the sons of his true sister, because their father, Abdullah Fongwe, had rejected them. In some other cases, a mother's brother pays a great deal of the bride wealth because the father and his kin have no money. Generally speaking, however, ego's patrilineal kin will not wish his matrilineal kin to pay everything because this may cause him to become too closely affiliated to these matrilineal kin, and vice versa.

while ego's kulumeni and kuchetuni kin have a traditional duty to help him obtain a first wife, their obligation to assist him to obtain subsequent wives is a

function only of the extent to which ego aids them. Their actual desire to help ego pay bride wealth requirements for subsequent wives is also often a function of ego's ability to play the kulumeni against the kuchetuni. Ordinarily, ego will keep all bride wealth returned in divorce and himself pay what is needed for a subsequent wife, getting only minor aid from others. Even in some first marriages, ego will pay the bulk of the bride wealth for his wife because he is the sole money earner in his close kin group. Ego's father may tell ego that he would not have had the chance to earn the money if, in accordance with tradition, he had been forced to devote his time to helping his mother and father farm. It should also be noted that if ego in his old age desires to obtain a wife, his sons or sister's sons should help him financially, both to pay bride wealth and to pay for the wedding feast. Ego will receive such aid in respect to the aid he gave to his sons and sisters sons, and also in respect to their desire to see him established with a wife to care for him so that they are not unnecessarily troubled by his daily wants.

A woman may become enamoured of a man and agree to elope with him, but she must let her kin know of this, and they must agree to the marriage. A group of them, drawn from the same kin categories as a man's marriage representatives, must act as her guardians. They deal with the man's go-betweens, and it is they who set the amount of bride wealth and who receive it. Primarily, it is the right of a father or a father surrogate to receive a girl's bride wealth, if he has paid malezi for her. He should share this bride wealth with other close kin of the girl, especially with his own close real and classificatory siblings and with the girl's mother and her mother's brothers. This sharing involves them in the marriage and it emphasizes the unity of their respective sibling groups. It also assures that these kin will help repay the bride wealth in divorce, and this is a major consideration for all Digo.

Digo ordinarily do not save or invest the bride wealth which they obtain for their female kin. Instead, they spend it rapidly, on the wedding feast, on the dowry given to the bride, and on their own immediate needs. They may use some of it to obtain a wife for themselves or for

a male kinsman, although this is not common. When the time comes to repay the bride wealth because of divorce, they will probably not have the money available. Few Digo possess ready capital in excess of 25 shillings. They may mortgage their coconut trees to obtain the money required. Usually, however, they prevail upon the husband to wait either until they have scraped together sufficient funds by selling their cash crops, or until the girl remarries. If the divorce is the girl's fault, and it was she who left her husband (which is ordinarily said to be the case), the husband had the right to demand his bride wealth at once, but even in such cases some husbands will wait rather than cause trouble. In some instances, the kin of the girl force a divorce for various reasons and then the husband will assuredly claim immediate payment of his bride wealth. If the husband chased away his wife, he is obligated to wait for the bride wealth until she remarries, but some husbands still request the return of their bride wealth without delay.

No matter what the situation is, Digo find it always desirable to have kin who are under obligation to help them repay the bride wealth. Very few Digo do as

Fumbwe Mwadodo did, and keep for themselves the entire bride wealth which they obtain for their daughters. It will be recalled that Fumbwe Mwadodo kept for his own use all the bride wealth of 300 shillings paid for his daughter. Fumbwe is generally considered to be very greedy and to enjoy quarreling with others. He is also a wealthy man, and possesses many coconut palms and even a few cattle and goats in Duruma country. He knows that his kin will help him in need even if he does not give them a share of the bride wealth because they frequently want his aid and also will desire his property when he dies. Digo say that if Fumbwe dies, his koma will be very nasty, indeed, to those kinsmen who did not help him, especially if they inherit his property. Interestingly enough, Fumbwe used some of the 300 shillings bride wealth to obtain for himself a wife from the Duruma tribe. With four extant and four divorced wives, Fumbwe has been married more than any other man in Lungalunga.

Most Digo divide the bride wealth as Muhammad Salim has done. Muhammad Salim is married to Kwanavita binti Ohuo, who bore him three daughters, Halima, Tima and Mariani, and three sons. Muhammad lives in one mudzi with his wife

and sons, and with the full brothers of his wife, namely Selmani, Hasmim and Muhammad Chuo. Muhammad Salim always shares about one half of the bride wealth for his daughters with his wife and her brothers. As is customary, Richuo obtains one-quarter of the total bride wealth to compensate her for her pains and trouble in bearing and rearing the children. Her brothers also receive a share totalling one-quarter of the total amount. Muhammad Salim has a close classificatory brother, Muhammad Siri, to whom he is related matrilineally by a common mother's mother. Muhammad Salim usually gives Muhammad Siri the honour to be the principle marriage go-between for his children, and he also gives Muhammad Siri about one-eighth of the bride wealth.

Unlike her newly-married sisters, Halima binti Muhammad Salim has often been married and divorced. In each case of divorce, the above listed kin of Muhammad Salim have helped to repay her bride wealth, sometimes contributing even more than they received as a share of this bride wealth. Halima is again without a husband. Muhammad Siri and the sons of Chuo refuse to accept any portion of her bride wealth should she remarry because

they say that she will quickly be divorced and they will only have to return the money within a few months. Therefore, Muhammad Salim is cautioned to ask only a minimal amount of bride wealth for her if she does remarry. He must ask for some bride wealth in order for her marriage to be valid, but he knows that it is undesirable to ask for more than about 30 shillings, the minimum amount which will cover malezi. It is said that Muhammad Salim should also warn Halima's next husband that she is hard to live with, and that he should tell Halima that if she divorces again, and it is her fault, she must then repay the bride wealth herself.

Tibu binti Jereko, a young attractive girl who was married to and divorced by six husbands in three years, received such a warning from her father. Jereko told her last husband that he could marry Tibu for only 30 shillings, stating that this would give him rights to his children by Tibu. Jereko warned Tibu that if she left this now husband it would be up to her to repay the 30 shillings unless she first of all bore her husband a child to recompense him for this bride wealth. Jereko and his kin and affines wanted nothing more to do with

Tibu's marriages and divorces. True to form, Tibu ran away from her seventh husband after two months of marriage, and indeed, repaid the bride wealth herself. It is said that she obtained the money partly by prostitution, and partly by farming, harvesting, and selling a crop of rice grown on land given to her in Vanga by her full sister's husband. Apparently, a number of men in Vanga vied with each other for the chance to help her farm this crop.

Bride wealth usually ranges from 40 shillings to 200 shillings in kuhala marriages, with 120 shillings an average amount; and from 120 shillings to 500 shillings in kiislamu marriages, with 300 shillings about average. Digo do not like to ask for a high bride wealth, especially for a girl who is often divorced, because they may only have to repay it. Digo predicate everything upon the assumption that divorce will probably occur in all marriages, and it should be made financially as easy as possible. Furthermore, a woman and her kin, particularly her matrilineal kin, feel that securing a high bride wealth for her is too much like selling her into slavery. A woman and her kin should be reasonably free to terminate or at least to threaten to terminate, a marriage which

becomes undesirable. If a man pays such a high bride wealth that his wife cannot leave him because her kin cannot repay the amount, then he might treat her as a chattel, or so it is feared. A wife and her kin will then not have the freedom to effect a divorce, which they so ardently desire, or the lever to force a husband to come to terms with his wife and her kin.

It is a feature of Digo marriage that the close kuchetuni or kulumeni kin of a woman may forcibly prevent a proposed marriage; or may cause a wife to leave her husband until their demands are met; or may cause the complete divorce of a marriage. The fact that they have such powers usually enables them to bring the husband or the other kin of the woman to terms before a divorce actually occurs.

Power to force separation or divorce is relatively uncontested in kuhala marriages since Digo regard the government and Islamic officials as having no powers of intervention in any matter concerning such marriages. Kuhala marriages are an aspect of Digo law and justice. However, power to force separation or divorce is strongly contested in kiislamu marriages, particularly if they are

registered. It is said that such marriages are protected both by Mungu and by government. Both will penalize those who try to break up such marriages. A husband whose kiislamu wife is taken from him by her kinsmen may claim that this is wife-stealing. Unfortunately, no instances have occurred in Lungalunga to test the reaction of government. A number of Islamic marriages have been challenged, but in every case a settlement was reached between the parties concerned without anyone carrying the matter to the government. Digo feel that it is disastrous to bring the government, or Arab officials into any local dispute. Thus, Digo seldom carry out a threat to involve the government or the Arabs, but their threat to do so often suffices to bring about a compromise.

If Digo are commanded by both their kuchetuni and kulumeni to leave their spouses or to break up with their achumba, they usually obey. Often they are torn between devotion and duty to their kin and to their spouses, but obligations to their kin come first, both ideally and actually.

When a woman's patrilineal kin desire her to establish

or to maintain a marriage, but her matrilineal kin do not, the woman is expected to obey her matrilineal kin. Here, conflict of devotion and duty is even more marked and the woman caught in the middle usually does all that she can to cause all the parties to reconcile their differences. In the two examples of such conflict in Lungalunga, matrilineal kin were obeyed, but only with great reluctance, and in one case only after a long period of opposition.

In theory, if a man's matrilineal kin oppose his patrilineal kin in marriage matters, he should also adhere to his matrilineal kin, but there are no instances of this to test actual behaviour. There are also no instances where a Digo's matrilineal kin effected or favoured a marriage which was opposed by his or her patrilineal kin. Presumably, the strong opposition of these patrilineal kin before the marriage would be enough to cancel it, and perhaps in some cases it might be enough to terminate an extent marriage.

Examples will help to clarify these points about forced separation and divorce:

1. Omari bin Salim Chisira. (This case illustrates the prevention of a proposed marriage.)

In 1957, Omari bin Salim got a girl in Jego with child and he wished to marry her. He paid four shillings kushika mimba ("to seize the womb"). This identified him as the father of the unborn child. Then his father, Salim and Salim's full brothers contacted the father of the Jego girl to arrange for the kiislamu marriage of the couple. The father of the Jego girl, partly on the suggestion of the matrilineal kin of the girl, refused to condone the marriage. He and his affines claimed that Omari was a "bad" type of young man, not yet ready for marriage, and that this marriage could only end in divorce and in ill-feeling between all parties concerned.

The father and the other close kin of this Jego girl demanded 80 shillings from Omari to punish him and to compensate them for the fact that he got the girl with a child. This fee would act as malezi, they claimed. Salim and Kasim Chisira complained that if they paid compensation they were gaining nothing but an infant, and that their honourable request for marriage should be accepted. Eventually a compromise was effected and Salim, Kasim and

Hassani Chisira together paid 40 shillings as compensation.

Omari's child died within a few weeks of its birth, and it was Omari and his anobaba who buried it in their grave area. This showed that they had paid malezi for the child and that it was theirs. The Jego girl married to another man within a year, but Omari remains unmarried.

- 2. Binti Hamisi ya Tahu (This is a case where divorce was effected by the full brother of a woman because her husband did not pay the promised bride wealth.)

Juma Hamisi has acted as the marriage guardian of his full sisters since the death of their father. Juma terminated the marriage of his youngest sister to Omari Mwaduka after a year or two of marriage, and his other sisters and other close matrilineal and patrilineal kin agreed to this divorce. The divorce was effected because Omari had only paid about one-quarter of the mahunda which he had promised to pay. The amount which he had paid was not even enough to cover malezi, and he showed no indication of being able to, or even being willing to, pay any further installments. Jigi Mambo desired binti Hamisi as a wife, and she was married to him with

her full consent almost as soon as she left Omari. Jigi paid Juma Hamisi even more than the mahunda which Omari had been supposed to pay. Some time later, Jigi converted his kuhala marriage to binti Hamisi into a kiislamu marriage.

3. Muhammad Ndaro. (This is a case where a divorce was forced by a wife's mother's brother in order to obtain malezi from the wife's father.)

In about 1950, Muhammad Ndaro of Lungalunga agreed to the marriage of his daughter, who had been carried off by her lover, Mwahenze, in kuhala style. Muhammad arranged everything with Mwahenze and Mwahenze's family without consulting Budzo Mbwagizo, the awu of his daughter. Muhammad Ndaro collected 200 shillings mahunda from Mwahenze and did not share it with Budzo Mbwagizo.

Budzo recalled that Muhammad Ndaro had not paid malezi for his daughter, although he had divorced her mother, Budzo's mwenehu mayo mwenga, and had been repaid his mahunda. Budzo, therefore, took his muwa from Mwahenze, and Muhammad Ndaro, having no legal right

to stop Budzo, eventually returned the 200 shillings mahunda to Mwachenze and the marriage was ended.

Budzo could have allowed the marriage to continue and in due course would have obtained the malezi. However, he wanted Muhammad Ndaro to appreciate that a Digo father cannot act unilaterally in marriage matters. Later, Muhammad Ndaro arranged another marriage for his daughter, but this time he consulted with Budzo, and also gave Budzo malezi as well as a share of the 200 shillings mahunda which he obtained.

- 4. Bukhari Muhammad. (This is a case of a separation forced by a wife's mother to obtain malezi, and is noteworthy because the wife at first resisted her mother's demands.)

In about 1940, Bukhari Muhammad of Lungalunga married by the kuhala form, for only 40 shillings mahunda, to Nichandze binti Mwangangu of Duga, Tanganyika, and brought her to live with him in his father's mudzi. Six children were born to this marriage, but only one, a daughter, born in about 1943, lived past infancy.

In about 1948 or 1949, Bukhari had to borrow 20 shillings from his wife's mother in order to pay his government poll tax. Bukhari did not repay this loan. Then, in 1950, he divorced Nichandze after a series of arguments stemming partly from his suspicion that she was having affairs with other men each of the many times that she visited her mother in Duga. It was Nichandze who wished to be divorced from Bukhari, and he readily assented, demanding that his mahunda be repaid him at once.

Nichandze's mother wanted to help her daughter be rid of Bukhari. She told Bukhari that he had already obtained 20 shillings from her which he had not repaid. She gave him another 20 shillings earned by selling one of her goats, and the marriage was terminated. Digo say that a woman will often help to repay the mahunda of her daughter to be free of an undesirable husband. In this case, Nichandze's other close male kin did not help her repay this, partly because they did not have the cash on hand, but chiefly because her mother's aid sufficed. Her father had died in about 1945.

Nichandze and her mother could have refused to pay

anything to Bukhari, on the ground that the 40 shillings mahunda just covered malezi for his daughter. Indeed, they could have demanded that he repay the 20 shillings loan. However, this would only have caused conflict and delayed the completing of divorce. Furthermore, Bukhari might then have kept his daughter with him instead of allowing her to return with her mother to Duga. Malezi was not cancelled, however, and it remained a debt on Bukhari.

In about 1958, Bukhari's daughter left Nichandze and came to live with Bukhari in Lungalunga. She did this both because of a daughter's standing obligation to live some time with her father, and also because Nichandze was married to a man in 1957 whom binti Bukhari detested. In September 1959, Bukhari arranged an Islamic marriage for his daughter with a young man of Makwonyeni, in Lungalunga. It is said that the young couple liked each other very much. Bride price was set at 300 shillings, and by mid-December 1959, Bukhari had received, and spent, 200 shillings of this.

Nichandze and her mother heard of this proposed marriage through kin and friends in Lungalunga. They sent word to Bukhari that he had no right to plan a marriage

without consulting them. They stated that they were not "his slaves"; to do with as he wished, and they demanded an apology and immediate payment of the 40 shillings malezi. Bukhari and his daughter's mchomba and future affines feared that Nichandze and her mother might try to upset the marriage plans, and so they held a secret wedding ceremony on 20th December, some month before the proposed wedding date, and before Bukhari had been paid the 100 shillings necessary to complete the bride wealth.

Five days later, Nichandze, her new husband, her mother, and Rashid Mwendu came from Duga to Lungalunga and stayed with Juma Hamisi. Nichandze's mother is Nimai, the daughter's daughter of Nichibao Mviere, of the Mryangu ya Nidia, as shown on Chart 3. Rashid Mwendu, who lives in Duga with his new wife, is the classificatory sister's son of Nimai. It will be recalled that he is the son of one of the Nidodo sisters, as is Kasim Chisira. Nichandze, Nimai, and Rashid were joined by Kasim Chisira, Dodo and Hamisi Mleo, Muhammad bin Abdullah Pongwe, and Omari Mambo, and all planned action against Bukhari. All but Omari Mambo are of the Mryangu ya Nidia, and Omari is

the son of a Chinarama woman apparently related to the Mryangu wa Nidia by slave ancestry.

This group, spurred on by the angry commentary of Nimai, decided to demand an immediate payment of 40 shillings from Bukhari to cover malezi and an additional 20 shillings to repay the loan which he had received. Muhammad Abdullah was sent to request this of Bukhari. Bukhari refused to pay it, stating that he had no money on hand but would pay the 30 shillings when he finally obtained the 100 shillings bride wealth balance from his daughter's new husband. He said that he would not pay the 20 shillings because he had given Nichandze's mother many gifts during the period of his marriage to Nichandze.

When Muhammad relayed Bukhari's answer, Nichandze declared that Bukhari was a great liar and a cheat. They said that they knew nothing about his gifts to Nimai, and that he would certainly never pay even the 40 shillings if given a chance to delay. Therefore, with the approval of at least some of their Chinarama kin, they sent a message to Nichandze's daughter, commanding her to leave her new husband. The purpose of this was to force Bukhari either to come to terms with Nichandze and Nimai,

or to see the marriage dissolved and to be forced to repay the 200 shillings bride wealth which he had obtained and already spent.

Nichandze's daughter, however, refused to heed Nichandze. She liked her new husband too much, and apparently also was somewhat more devoted to her father than to her mother. Nichandze and her mother and other Chinarama kin were shocked and horrified at the attitude of Nichandze's daughter. They thought that it was terrible - indeed, unheard of - for a girl to turn against her mother and her mother's mother and mother's brothers for her father's and her husband's sake.

It was not considered proper for Nichandze to go to see her daughter both because she might have quarrelled with her daughter in her anger, and also she might have had to meet Bukhari or her daughter's husband, and this would have been humiliating for all concerned. Women also do not have full legal personality, and men handle their legal affairs for them. Since it was essential that Nichandze's daughter be spoken to and made to change her mind, a delegation of Chinarama men of the Muyangu Ya

Nidia visited this girl and argued with her for some time. She finally promised to leave her husband as soon as she packed her belongings. Immediately the Chinarama men left her to report the good news to Nichandze, however, binti Bukhari ran off with her husband to a distant part of Lungalunga where her husband's mother's brother lived. Bukhari and his kin and affines applauded binti Bukhari's action, claiming that she had Islamic religion and law on her side. They threatened to carry the matter to the government courts if further attempts were made to part the happy couple.

For a time the matter remained in stalemate, but by late January, binti Bukhari was somehow induced to return to her mother, presumably through fear of her mother's anger, and perhaps partly because she was tiring of her husband. In late February, Bukhari's kin and Nichandze's representatives arranged a compromise by which Bukhari paid Nichandze only 30 shillings and binti Bukhari returned to her husband. To the dismay of everyone, binti Bukhari had, by this time, found a new boy friend in Duga. A week after her return to her husband, she left him and fled to Tanga, presumably to live with her new lover. The

problem was still unsettled by April 1960.

5. Muhammad Abdullah. (In this case, separation was forced by both the matrilineal and patrilineal kin of a wife in order to revenge themselves on the husband and the husband's kin).

In about 1952, Muhammad bin Abdullah Pongwe married as his first and only wife, binti Ng'anzi Kwatuwa, and she bore Muhammad only one child, a son, in about 1953. Muhammad married her by the kuhala form for about 200 shillings bride wealth, some of which was paid for by his mother's brother, Juma Hamisi, but most of which he paid himself. Muhammad always wished to marry her by the kiislamu form, and she agreed to this. However, for some years her father opposed this because he did not want Muhammad to gain so much control over Ning'anzi. He claimed, as many Digo do, that he would first have to see how the marriage was working out before he agreed to the Islamic marriage. Finally, in about early 1957, he agreed to the kiislamu marriage, if he got an extra 100 shillings, and Muhammad began to collect this amount. Muhammad was in no hurry to pay it, partly because he saw no urgency in converting to the kiislamu form. Procrestation is a salient feature of Digo behaviour in all fields of endeavour.

In 1956, Omari Abdullah, the younger brother of

Muhammad, was married by the kiislamu form to a girl named Fatuma, and he brought her to live with him in a house in Juma Hamisi's mudzi, next to Muhammad Abdullah's house. The total bride wealth was only 200 shillings since Fatuma was an oft-divorced trouble maker, interested in many men. Within only a few months of the wedding, Omari Abdullah determined that Fatuma was committing adultery with Athumani Mwang'anzi, the full brother of Muhammad Abdullah's wife.

Under the leadership of Juma Hamisi, who had helped to pay for Fatuma's bride wealth, a delegation consisting of Muhammad Abdullah, Juma Abdullah, and other kin of Omari, went as his representatives to Athumani Ng'anzi's father and kin to demand compensation, called malu, for this adultery.

Ng'anzi refused, claiming that there was not sufficient proof of adultery, and also that since his daughter was married to Muhammad Abdullah, Muhammad and his close kin should be generous and fair, and treat Ng'anzi with respect.

Eventually, a local elder's court heard the case and it was decided that compensation would have to be paid.

amounting, in this case, to 200 shillings. Ng'anzi and his kin paid this, but very grudgingly, and they never forgave the kin of Omari Abdullah for it. Digo say that "even since this matter, Muhammad Abdullah's relations with his wife's father have been very bad."

As is usual in adultery cases, Fatuma's family demanded that Omari divorce her since he had humiliated her and her family by demanding malu and making an issue of it. They were able to effect this divorce without returning the bride wealth to Omari, because the compensation equalled the amount of bride wealth. Juma Hamisi piously likes to claim that when Omari was divorced, Juma did not request or obtain from Fatuma's family a return of the bride wealth, adhering, therefore, to Islamic principles. Other Digo, however, say that since Omari got the 200 shillings as malu, much of which Juma Hamisi took, Juma received exactly what he paid. Digo frequently obtain a return of bride wealth by claiming it as malu.

In cases of adultery followed by a divorce, especially if the adulterer pays malu equal to the bride wealth, it is common for the adulterer to marry his former partner in adultery. In this instance Athumani could not properly

marry Fatuma because, in Digo eyes, it would look as if Athumani's sister, the wife of Muhammad Abdullah, had "given her brother the wife of her husband's brother." Relations between Muhammad and his affines were now strained enough without adding a new dimension to the conflict.

In spite of this trouble, Muhammad and his wife got along well enough, and he still wished to marry her by kiislamu. Ng'anzi now refused to allow such a marriage. He and his kin were interested only in revenge! In February 1960, his opportunity came - a rather manufactured opportunity. Rashid, the son of binti Hamisi ya Tahu and Jigi Mambo, and hence the sister's son of Juma Hamisi and the close classificatory brother of Muhammad Abdullah, related to him through a common mother's mother, was reportedly "caught in the act" of adultery with the wife of Athumani Ng'anzi. Salim Mwatwa, the mwenehu baba mwenga of Ng'anzi said that he saw them together "in the bushes," and Athumani's wife conveniently admitted that this was true. Athumani declared that he forgave his wife and would not divorce her, but that he could not forgive Rashid, and wanted 210 shillings as malu.

This claim was indignantly refused by Rashid's patrilineal and matrilineal kin. They said that Rashid had never committed adultery with anyone, and that it was all a trick by the Mwatuwa brothers.

Athumani's father, his father's enehu mwana baba, and his mother's brothers, some of whom came from Msambweni, all gathered for a major local court hearing of the matter. Rashid was represented by his father; his father's sister's husband; his mother's full brother, Juma Hamisi; his mother's sons by her first two marriages; and his mother's sister's sons, namely Muhammad, Omari and Seifu Abdullah. The court elders decided that there was, indeed, insufficient proof of adultery. The kin of Athumani ng'anzi stalked angrily out of the court, maintaining that there was as much proof here as in the case of Athumani and Fatuma, and that they would not abide by the court's verdict, but take the case to a government court.

Ng'anzi and his wife's brother then took Ning'anzi from Muhammad Abdullah, swearing that Muhammad was not a fit husband for her since he was so "bad" to his affines. She obediently went with her father and her mother's

brother, and remained at her father's home. Muhammad tried to no avail to persuade her to return to him. Conveniently forgetting his part in taking binti Bukhari from her husband, as noted in the previous case, Muhammad Abdullah told Ng'anzi that he could not break up a marriage in this manner. Ng'anzi declared that Muhammad never thought enough of Ng'anzi to marry her by kiislamu, and so her father and her mother's brother could do as they pleased. He said that Muhammad had no legal recourse, and that he would only give him back his wife when Rashid paid the 210 shillings malu.

This case dragged on and on, and was still unresolved in April 1960, when this writer left the District. No one wanted to force the issue by taking it to the government courts. Everyone hoped that a compromise could be effected which would restore harmony.

This section dealt with the importance and function of kin in arranging and terminating Digo marriages. The examples just presented have illustrated some of the chief reasons why kin prevent or terminate a marriage. Another very important reason for Digo to oppose a marriage is if the parties to it are so related that they cannot marry.

The following section will deal with preferred and prohibited marriages.

C. Preferred and Prohibited Marriages.

Digo experience some ambivalence of attitude in deciding if a marriage to any category of relative is desirable or undesirable. Marriage with some categories of relatives, such as akoi, or enehu mwana wa may be liked because such marriage helps to resolve future conflict in inheritance and succession, or because such marriage is immediately pleasing or gratifying for one reason or another. However, since marriage is the most unstable and least treasured of all essential relationships, it is dangerous to involve it with other essential, more stable, more dependable and treasured relationships. Marital conflict may cause trouble between kin and/or friends to the extent to which they become involved in such conflict, and it may cause contradictions in role playing to appear.

Furthermore, since Digo are so sensitive about slavery, many marriage or set related to marriage which seems to show that a spouse or the kin of a spouse are of slave status is enough to make this marriage undesirable.

even if the marriage would bring other benefits.

Broadly speaking, a marriage is preferred if it is particularly effective in establishing and maintaining kinship harmony and supporting mutual aid. It is disliked if it does the opposite of this and causes relatively minor disharmony or conflict. It is prohibited if it causes extreme disharmony or conflict. It is also disliked or prohibited if it reflects unfavourably upon the status of one or both parties to the marriage and their respective kin.

1. Lineage Exogamy and Mwana Ma.

It will be recalled that the master fuko itself is exogamous, but that slavery and the mwana ma affiliation have created intermarrying nyumba within each fuko. Mwana ma marriage is good in so far as it helps to reconcile ~~conflict~~ between the kuchetuni and the kulumeni, and between matrilineal and patrilineal inheritance. It is bad in so far as it reflects upon past slavery. It is decreasing in popularity, probably partly because the new ideas about inheritance make such marriage less necessary.

Marriage or sexual liaison within a nyumba itself

is incest and requires cleansing ritual to purify the injured nyumba, and to separate, under pain of supernaturally caused death, the incestuous couple. Digo believe that if this ritual is performed and the couple have sexual relations again, they will sicken and die. There are no cases of incest within the memory of Lungalunga Digo. It should, however, be pointed out that such cleansing ritual is sometimes used to prevent a recurrence of adultery between a Digo and his or her close kinsman's spouse.

For example, in 1939, Halifani Mwapowo's full sister's daughter's son (his real mdzukululu wa kuchetuni) committed adultery with Halifani's youngest wife, and the cleansing ritual was performed. Halifani's mdzukululu swore by ritual curse that should he again commit adultery with any of Halifani's wives he would die. Halifani's youngest wife then swore that should she commit adultery with Halifani's mdzukululu or any other of his kin she would die. The function of such a ritual is to re-establish harmony between all parties concerned. The offended spouse is reconciled with his adulterous kinsman and also is assured that this person

will not again commit adultery with any of his wives.

Since 1939, there has been only one other instance of such a cleansing ritual because of adultery in Lunga-lunga. In 1945, a young man committed adultery with the wife of his mwenchu mayo mwenga. There have been several other occasions when the ritual could have been used, but these days most Digo refuse to swear such a terrible oath, which condemns them to death if they break it. They conveniently oppose this ritual on the grounds that it is contrary to Islam and to government regulations about black magic.

2. Patrilineally and Bilaterally Related Half and Classificatory Enchu.

It will be recalled that the Mweria-Mugwa generation system prohibited marriage to any but real or classificatory cross cousins, or akoi. All real or classificatory siblings, or enchu, were prohibited as marriage partners. This prohibition itself, like Mweria-Mugwa, has ceased to exist, but the attitudes towards marriage which it created, persist.

There is now actual rule of incest forbidding marriage to a mwenchu baba mwenga, or to any classi-

ficatory mwenehu related to ego by patrilineal or bilateral links. Indeed, a distantly related mwenehu who is not linked by matrilineal descent to ego is a common marriage partner for ego. However, it is still considered foolish and wrong to marry a close patrilineally or bilaterally related mwenehu. Partly this seems to be a remnant of former attitudes caused by Mweria-Kurwa. Chiefly, however, it is a concept based upon the common sense appreciation that if such enehu marry and then quarrel, they will assuredly draw their kinsmen into the quarrel. Since the kin of one are the kin of the other, this sort of strife may wreck kin groups, and divide them into opposing factions. If the marriage ends in divorce, the members of the kin group may quarrel among themselves about repayment of the bride wealth and payment of malezi, once again with one faction opposing the other.

Furthermore, although divorce ends the husband-wife relationship, the sibling relationship must still go on, but it may be unfavourably prejudiced by the memory of the unsatisfactory marriage. If, for example, e, o marries his mwenehu baba mwenga who, because of

patrilocal residence, shares a common mudzi with ego, irrespective of marriage, this conflict is especially marked. After the marriage is terminated by divorce, ego and his mwenehu and the close kin of each may still have to continue dwelling in very close proximity to each other.

The fact that marital strife and divorce between enehu is so injurious to kinship does provide, of course, a basis for a compromise either to save the marriage or to effect early and satisfactory agreement on divorce and bride wealth return. But the rather problematical advantages so derived are not worth the risks involved, and do not enter the calculations of Digo in arranging a marriage. As Digo put it, when people quarrel about serious marriage and divorce problems, then there is vita, or "war", and kinship and friendship may temporarily be forgotten. In the dispute over Juma Kasim's divorce from binti Juma Nyevu and the return of bride wealth, Kasim Chisira quarrelled with Omari Kama to such an extent that their old friendship was nearly replaced by hostility. To be sure, this friendship provided some

basis for agreement, but it took a long time to come to this agreement, and their former friendship has not quite returned.

Because of a long history of general location endogamy, it is true that Digo often marry someone fairly closely related to them, and they just take their chances on the consequences. It is noteworthy, however, that in spite of the fact that the neighbouring Arabs allow and even endorse marriage to close patrilineal kin on the basis that it is proper Islamic behaviour, Digo very seldom marry a mwenehu baba mwenga, and infrequently marry a mwenehu with a common father's father. Of the 283 marriages studied in the Segwa survey, only one was a marriage to a mwenehu baba mwenga, and only three were marriages to a mwenehu with a common father's father. Marriages to enehu with a common father's father's father and beyond are, however, rather common, and are generally effected in direct relation to the spatial and functional closeness of the enehu and their respective kin.

3. Real and Classificatory Akoi.

Marriage to real or close classificatory akoi is governed much by the same principles outlined above, for

enehu. It is recognized that marriage to akoi may eventually endanger the unity of kin groups, but there are also some advantages to be gained.

Marriage to a father's sister's daughter is a theoretically preferred marriage. Digo say that this type of marriage is good because it means that ego is marrying his father's matrilineal heir, and that ego's children by her are ego's father's adzukulu a kuchetuni. Ego's father will dote upon these adzukulu, especially since they are related to him in two important ways. They are truly a reincarnation of ego's father. Because such adzukulu will inherit from his father, and also receive much aid from his father, ego will profit. They will have to aid ego, and will use the property they obtain from ego's father to do this. Indeed, ego's father will be justified in giving ego his property to hold in trust for ego's children until they come of age to inherit from ego's father. Furthermore, even if ego's father's sister's sons inherit from ego's father, when they die their heir will be their sister, the wife of ego. Her children by ego will be the next to inherit this property and will be able to help ego. Also, the land which ego obtained from

his father will be returned to his father's fuko lava mayo. Such a cycle is shown in chart which illustrates the Mweria-Mugwa system.

In actual fact, in spite of the ideal preference for marriage to a father's sister's daughter, and the benefits such a marriage should bestow, relatively few Digo contract marriage to such akoi. Of the 283 Segwa marriages, only 11 are marriages to a real or close classificatory father's sister's daughter. Of these, only three are to a father's full sister's daughter; four are to a father's close matrilineally related sister's daughter; and the rest are to a father's patrilineally or bilaterally reckoned sister's daughter.

It seems that the fear of kin conflict predominates to negative the value of the other advantages obtained from such a marriage. Marriage enehu mwana ma, although also rapidly declining in popularity, has existed as an alternative means of reconciling inheritance and land tenure problems. Furthermore, new principles of inheritance case on its own merits and in accord with the situation. Marriage to a father's sister's daughter is not necessary.

Marriage to a mother's brother's daughter is ideally disliked, though not prohibited. It is considered bad because ego inherits the rights and duties of his mother's brother. If ego married his mother's brother's daughter and then quarrels with her or divorces her, his mother's brother may try to prevent ego from inheriting or his koma may cause ego much trouble. If ego divorces his mother's brother's daughter, his mother's brother may refuse to return more than a small token portion of the bride wealth on the grounds that ego will inherit from him and is an ingrate to ask for bride wealth.

If such a cross cousin marriage is still extant when ego's mother's brother dies, and if ego inherits from him, he also succeeds to the position of baba mkoi of his mother's brother's children, one of whom is his wife. He becomes at once both her husband and her marriage guardian, and these two roles are incompatible. Digo like to terminate a marriage with the repayment of at least a portion of the bride wealth. However, if ego, as baba mkoi, divorces his mother's brother's daughter, only he has the duty to repay her bride wealth, and he cannot

do this to himself. Thus, he gets nothing. Only when his divorced wife and mkoi remarries will he be able to collect the bride wealth.

Even more important than this, his mother's brother's daughter may have to live with ego after their quarrels and divorce, and this may cause their dispute to continue. Ego's mother's brother's other children will, in any case, find fault with ego for mistreating their sister. His authority as baba mkoi will be compromised by his actions as a spouse and a sister's spouse.

Furthermore, if ego marries his mother's brother's daughter, both she, and her siblings, and perhaps her other kin will feel that this is too much like a slave marriage. It is almost as if ego inherited this woman from his mother's brother, since in the old days it was his mother's brother who gave ego women of slave status to wed or to take as a concubine. If ego does marry and then mistreats his mother's brother's daughter, she and her siblings will be quick to claim that this is sure proof of his attempt to relegate them to slave status. Indeed, even if he is a good husband to her, ego's mkoi may take needless offence at his slightest act which seems

to reflect master-slave attitudes.

A final objection to marriage to a mother's brother, and ego's children by his mother's brother's daughter inherit from her brother, their awu. This concentrates all property in the hands of ego and his children, and the loser is ego's mother's brother's son. This also encourages a mother's brother's children to claim that they are being treated as slaves, with no rights.

The only advantage to ego of such a marriage is that ego can such effect a concentration of property. The advantage to the children of ego's mother's brother is that if ego in addition to inheriting the rights of his mother's brother, also marries his mother's brother's daughter he will have one more reason to undertake the duties of a baba mkoi and help his akoi.

The disadvantages of marriages to a mother's brother's daughter by far outweigh the advantages, as shown in the fact that out of 285 marriages surveyed, only seven were to real or close classificatory mother's brother's daughters, and of these only one was to the

daughter of a mother's close classificatory matrilineally related brother. The other five were each to the daughter of a mother's patrilineally or bilaterally related brothers. Such marriages are no more or less resistant to divorce than any other types of marriages.

The marriage to the daughter of a mother's full brother ended in divorce and conflict. It provides a good illustration of the points discussed above, and is worth describing.

In about 1950, Saidi Umari inherited the 100-150 coconut plam of his mother's full brother, Hassani Mwangomboro, and he also succeeded to the role and the duties of baba mkoji of Hassani's three daughters and one son. He apparently fulfilled his duties adequately. In about 1952, Mariamu, Hassani's eldest daughter, was divorced from her husband, Fumbwe Abdullah, who demanded the return of his mahunda of 160 shillings and two goats. 40 shillings and one goat were deducted as malezi for the children born to the union. Unlike some Digo, who evade their just duties as heirs, Saidi paid 100 shillings and one goat of the mahunda, and the mother's

brother of Mariamu paid the additional 20 shillings and one goat because he had been given a large share of the original mabunda by Hassani Mwangombero.

Mariamu returned to live with Saidi and her brother in one mudzi. Saidi liked Mariamu, and he took her as his wife by kuhala. He said that since he had paid Fumbwe 100 shillings and a goat it was as if he had paid bride wealth for her.

For a time, it seems, no one, including Mariamu's brother and mother's brother said anything about this marriage. Eventually, however, both Mariamu and her brother and mother's brother began to say that Saidi had treated her like a slave, taking her in this manner and not paying a thing to her brother or mother's brother. The marriage ended after a series of quarrels, and Saidi demanded that Mariamu's brother and mother's brother pay him at least 100 shillings to compensate him for the mabunda which he returned to Fumbwe and which he counted as his mabunda for Mariamu. Mariamu's kin indignantly refused to pay this on the grounds that Saidi had the duty to return Mariamu's bride wealth in her divorce from Fumbwe, but not the right to take her as his wife

in respect to this payment. They maintained that Saidi had received Nassani's property at the expense of Nassani's children, and now he could not also demand that they pay him an additional 100 shillings. They affirmed that they could not return what they had not received from him.

Saidi finally gave in to their arguments, and his divorce from Mariamu was effected without the return of mahunda. Mariamu went to live with her married sisters in other locations, and has not yet remarried.

4. First Ascending and Descending Generations.

Ideally, as has been discussed, a Digo should treat anyone in his first ascending and descending generation with respect and supposedly should not marry or cohabit with anyone in these generations. It is regarded as incest (mawingane) to cohabit with or marry a real mother or any of her real or close classificatory siblings who share with her a common ancestress, related through direct matrilineal links, or a common father or father's father. It is also mawingane to marry a father or his real or close classificatory matrilineally linked or patrilineally

linked siblings. The Digo of Lungalunga can recall no instance of such mawingane having occurred in Lungalunga.

It is not mawingane to marry the akoi or the more distantly related and mwana ma related classificatory siblings of a mother or a father, but it is considered bad to marry such individuals. It leads to too much conflict, breaks down patterns of respect, and emphasizes slave status.

It is not actually wrong to marry a person whose relation as a mwenuhu or a mkoi, a mayo or a baba, an awu or a tsangazi, is purely honorary or so distant as to be untraceable, but neither is it good. The kin of either party may possibly forbid this marriage, or may demand a special payment called mbuzi ya chikomaukwe. In more ancient times, this mbuzi, or goat to permit an otherwise prohibited marriage, was probably slaughtered ritually to "cleanse" the groups of kin involved of any possible mawingane resulting from this union. It is no longer slaughtered

ritually and is now merely an addition to bride wealth. Indeed, the mbuzi ya chikomaulwe may be paid as cash if a goat is not available. It is now more a payment to show cognizance of the difference in generation, and to show that no party to this marriage is trying to usurp any rights or to ignore principles of heshima. If ego pays this mbuzi in respect to his marriage to a mwenehu mwana ma of his mother or father or child, he indicates that he is not merely taking her as if she were a slave, with no rights. Furthermore, since Digo treasure any bond of kinship, affinity, or friendship, the person who asks ego to pay this mbuzi in respect to ego's marriage with a distant relative, emphasizes the existence of this distant relationship, and thereby honours and pleases ego.

Examples are needed to clarify this subject:-

a. Abdullah Pongwe.

First of all, there is the case of Abdullah Pongwe, who was a member of the Abirini kwa mayo and a member of the Adziriyi kwa oaba. Hamisi Ewamtunda, the father of Juma Hamisi and the three binti Hamisi sisters, was born a member of the Abirini kwa mayo, but was taken as a slave of the Chinadzore, as noted. Somewhere, generations removed, Hamisi and Abdullah Pongwe had a common ancestress, either through slavery or through consanguinity. They could not, or would not, identify this link, especially while Hamisi still remained only of the Chinadzore. However, because of this link, Abdullah termed Hamisi tsawe. Thus, the daughters of Hamisi were Abdullah's very distant classificatory anomayo. Abdullah paid mahunda of 120 shillings and four goats, one of which was mbuzi ya chikomaukwe, to marry the eldest daughter of Hamisi.

b. Kasim Chuo.

The wife of Kasim Chuo, binti Juma Ruwa, is his distant classificatory mwana, or "child", because of affinal links through Kasim's father. In addition to Kasim's mother, Chuo also married to the classificatory sister of Juma Ruwa's mother, related to Juma Ruwa's mother through a common mother's mother. Kasim, as do all Digo, termed all the wives of his

father as anomayo. The sister's of anyone termed mayo are also anomayo. Kasim, therefore, termed the sister of his father's second wife, mayo. Juma Ruwa, the son of this sister, is Kasim's mwenehu as a result, and binti Juma Ruwa is Kasim's mwana.

Kasim did not pay mbuzi ya chikomaukwe for this marriage because no one asked him for it. He affirms that it would have been proper for Juma Ruwa to have asked for the mbuzi in order to recognize Chuo's affinal relationships, but "Juma Ruwa is not a man to pay respect to another."

5. Second Ascending and Descending Generations.

All that need be said here is that anyone who is two generations removed from ego, except those closely related to him, are suitable marriage partners for ego. Partly because there is usually a large age difference between ego and such partners, these marriages are not common.

6. Double Unions, Sororal Polygyny, the Sororate, and the Levirate.

Ego is not permitted to marry or cohabit with the real or close classificatory matrilineally or patrilineally related sister of the current, deceased, or divorced wife or mistress of his real or close classificatory matrilineally or patrilineally related brother. Ego is also not allowed

to marry or cohabit with divorced wife or cast-off mistress of his real or close classificatory matrilineally or patrilineally related brother. Some Digo extend this prohibition to include the bilaterally related classificatory sisters of the wife of their bilaterally related classificatory brothers. What is most emphasized in this prohibition, however, is close matrilineal relationship and very close patrilineal relationship. It is possible that at one time this prohibition encompassed only matrilineal kin, but now it is an aspect of Digo multilineal organization.

For the sake of discussion, this prohibition may best be termed the prohibition of a "double union". Digo sometimes call such double unions, kuingira mryangu mara mbiri, that is, "to enter the mryangu two times". Also regarded as kuingira mryangu mara mbiri and prohibited are marriages to a stepsister. It is felt that since ego's parent marries to the mother of this stepsister, ego should not also "enter this mryangu," and marry this stepsister. It is also prohibited as kuningira mryangu mara mbiri for ego to marry or cohabit with the real or close classificatory sister of a woman with whom his mother's real or very close matrilineally related brother has cohabited or married.

The sororate and sororal polygyny is prohibited as

kuingira marambiri. Ego is not allowed to marry or co-habit with the real or close classificatory matrilineally, patrilineally or very close bilaterally related sister of his extent deceased or divorced wife.

Perhaps the main reason for the prohibition of the double marriage and the sororate is that such a marriage stimulates conflict in marital and kinship relations. If ego quarrels with his wife or divorces her and his brother is married to her sister, or his father is married to her mother, the quarrel may spread to this other marriage and damage it, no matter how harmonious it otherwise was. Also, ego's quarrels with his wife may be reinforced by and, in turn, reinforce the marital strife of his brother or father. As a result, either or both marriages may be divorced.

In sororal polygyny, if ego quarrels with his one wife, his marriage with her sister would also be endangered. Also quarrels with one wife would be reinforced by and would reinforce quarrels with her sister. Even worse, any overt or covert or latent envy which one sister has for the other would be many times magnified by the envy which co-wives have for each other. Perhaps this co-wife envy would also ramify and increase. Chaos would result, and this might spread to involve many kinsmen and affines. At the very least, it

would damage the sister relationship.

In the sororate, it is felt that ego's dead wife's sister would not like being married to ego because ego might ridicule her by unfavourably comparing her sexual abilities or her domestic or agricultural abilities with those of her dead sister. This would cause her to envy her dead sister, and also cause her to quarrel with ego.

A further reason for the prohibition of all types of kuingira mryangu mara mbiri is that such marriages "give too much power to one fuko." If ego marries to sisters, or if ego and his brother or father each marry a woman from one group of matrilineal kin, it means that all of ego's children, or ego's and his brother's or father's children, are of one matrilineal kin group, and this strengthens this group. Also, it means that all of these children are "children of" ego's kin group. In short, such marriage causes unbalance in the composition of kin groups, and this was especially important in the days of intratribal war. It is no longer a major consideration, but it provides a good rationalisation for the prohibition of kuingira mryangu mara mbiri.

Finally, since slaves and descendants of slaves were married without consideration of kuingira mryangu mara mbiri, any current violation of this prohibition is likely to be

considered as a reflection upon and a threat to the social status of the women involved and their kin.

The levirate is permitted by the Digo. According to old custom, it is right that ego inherits the wife of his matrilineal kinsman, that is, of his matrilineally related brother, mother's brother, and mother's mother's brother. This inheritance is called kuhala ufwu. Ego may merely care for such an inherited woman, treating her with respect, and expecting from her no more than domestic and agricultural assistance, or he may cohabit with her as a full wife.

It was customary for ego not to cohabit with inherited women much older than himself, or with the wives of his awu, irrespective of their age. Such "semi-wives" with whom ego did not cohabit might marry again and ego would secure their bride wealth. If they remained with ego, this added to his work force.

It was considered proper for ego to cohabit with a wife inherited from his mwenehu or tsawe wa kuchetuni who was approximately of ego's age or younger. To accomplish this cohabitation and make such a semi-wife into a full wife, ego gave her a token payment of cloth or money, usually about four shillings. This payment was called kuingira nyumbani, that is, "to enter the house," using "house" in the literal

sense rather than to mean a kin group. Ideally, this woman would not, and actually she could not, effectively object to this kuingira nyumbani. As discussed earlier, any children born to this "false" levirate marriage were usually named after their biological father, or the man who reared them, rather than for their mother's first husband.

The levirate is now, however, practically defunct. Digo dislike it almost as much as they dislike the sororate. They claim that they no longer follow the levirate practice because Islam prohibits such a pagan custom. Again, however, Islam merely provides the excuse to ban a custom which is objected to on other grounds. Digo women now demand their freedom and do not want to be taken as a full wife by the heir of their deceased husband unless they very much like this heir. They feel that the levirate is too much like slavery and the inheritance of chattels. The most that they will consent to is to become a semi-wife of the heir of their husband until they find a new husband. Most do not even become a semi-wife, but instead go to live with one of their grown children, or another kinsman. If they marry, the heir of their husband is entitled to the bride wealth, but he is no longer entitled to keep these women as members of his labour force.

Male Digo also regard the levirate as too much like slavery. Furthermore, most men dislike to care for and especially to cohabit with the wives of their brothers because such wives have a tendency to compare the merits of their deceased husbands with the merits of the heirs of these husbands, usually to the discredit of the heirs. While such comparison includes relative generosity, faithfulness, wealth, general ability, and social status, etc., it is chiefly concerned with sexual prowess. Digo men are extremely sensitive about their sexual abilities, especially because disease causes many to be impotent or sterile. To cause a Digo to envy the sexual powers of his deceased brother or other close kinsman is very bad indeed. Digo men are, therefore, certain that they are bound to quarrel seriously with a deceased kinsman's wife if they take her as a semi-wife or as a full wife.

It is also forbidden to marry the divorced spouse of a close kinsman. Such a marriage could also only lead to envy, bickering and conflict.

Of the 283 marriages studied in Segá, none were of the sororate or sororal polygyny type. There were three double unions, where Digo married or cohabited with the matrilineal kinswoman of his close matrilineal kinsman's

wife. Each of these double unions was terminated forcibly by the kin of the women involved. There was one marriage which was a "classificatory" double union, in which the kin involved, a man and his classificatory mwana, were too distantly related to cause prohibition.

There were four levirate marriages (with kuingira nyumbani). Of these four, only two were effected recently, and the other two were effected before 1940. There were numerous levirate marriages effected before 1930, or so it seems, but these are not included in the Segwa survey of 283 marriages, because all parties to these other levirate marriages have died.

In the survey, there were no instances of marriage to the divorced spouse of a close kinsman.

Examples will help to clarify the points discussed:

- a. Juma Ruwa. (This is an example of double union, and it also illustrates an instance of a marriage to a mother's brother's daughter.)

In about 1945, Juma Ruwa, a member of the Chinadzore kwa mayo, inherited the property of Mtawazo Mwangaza, his mother's full brother. He also became the baba mkozi of Suwaga, the daughter of Mtawazo by a slave wife, originally of the Chinachinyavu fuko of Tanganyika. Since Suwaga's

mother was a slave of the Chinadzore, Suwaga was also Juma's mwenehu mwana ma, and he was in the status of her mbwana, or "master".

In about 1928, Suwaga was married by kuhala to Mnyeto Mwazuba of the Chinakonde in Sega, and bore him several children, including Mwanasha, the only one of these children who lived past infancy. Mwanasha, herself, was married for the first time in 1948 or 1949, and by 1953 had been divorced and married to a total of three husbands.

Suwaga was divorced from Mnyeto in about 1950, and Juma Ruwa had to repay mshunda to Mnyeto, minus the malezi for Mwanasha. Juma kept this malezi because of his relation to Mwanasha as her classificatory mother's brother. In this same capacity, he took a share of Mwanasha's bride wealth each time she married, and helped repay this amount in divorce.

After her divorce, Suwaga came to live with Juma Ruwa, whose mudzi was located about a half of a mile from Mnyeto's. Within a period of several months of her divorce, Juma took Suwaga as his full wife without paying any bride wealth for her. She had no matrilineal kin to object to this, or to claim bride wealth. The members of her "lost" fuko of Chinachinyavu took no interest in her, and her

classificatory, matrilineal kin in the Chinadzore fuko were dominated by Juma Ruwa. Juma, born in about 1900, is very loathe to discard slave practices or to ignore status. He is descended matrilineally from the master nyumba of the Chinadzore in Lungalunga, and he does not like anyone to forget it. His full brother, Athumani, has similar ideas.

In approximately 1953, Seifu bin Juma Ruwa, the second son of Juma Ruwa, began to have sexual relations with Mwanasha, the daughter of Suwaga, after Mwanasha had been divorced from her third husband and had come to live with Suwaga and Juma. By late 1953, Seifu decided to marry Mwanasha. Suwaga objected to the marriage because it was definitely kuingira mrvangu mara mbiri for Kuma's son to marry her daughter, and it was a certain sign of slave status. Juma and Seifu ignored her objections, and Suwaga eventually assented to the marriage if it was effected in the kiislamu form to give it higher status, and more legal recognition. Seifu agreed to the Islamic marriage, and listed 200 shillings as mahari in the marriage register in Vanga. However, he paid only 60 shillings as bride wealth, giving 50 shillings to Mnyeto Mwazuba, and 10 shillings to Juma Ruwa.

Less than a year after Seifu and Mwanasha were married, Seifu found her committing adultery and, without consulting Mnyeto Mwazuba, he demanded 90 shillings as adultery compensation from Mwanasha's lover. Mnyeto Mwazuba accused Seifu of having married his daughter, Mwanasha, only to obtain profit from compensation for adultery, knowing full well that Mwanasha was promiscuous. Suwaga also was furious and went to Tanganyika to see her "lost" Chinachinyavu kin. She redeemed this "lost" fuko, and her Chinachinyavu kinsmen came to Lungalunga to deal with Juma Ruwa and Seifu. The result was that Seifu, after getting his 90 shillings malu, divorced Mwanasha, who married her lover. Mwanasha demanded that in accordance with Islamic law she be given the 200 shillings mahari listed in the marriage register. Seifu refused, claiming that since she had committed adultery she was not entitled to anything by Islam - except execution by stoning. She caused Seifu no further trouble.

The members of the Chinachinyavu who came to help Suwaga told Juma Ruwa that he and his son had committed evil of kuingira mryangu mara mbiri, and therefore, even though Mwanasha's marriage was ended, they could not condone Suwaga's marriage to Juma. The "dirt" was still in the family.

Suwaga went with her Chinachinyavu kinsmen to live in Tanganyika, and Juma Ruwa was unable to claim a return of mahunda since he had in actuality paid none for Suwaga. Suwaga's Chinachinyavu kinsmen wanted to have cleansing ritual to "remove the dirt" of this former marriage, but Juma refused, partly because he would have had to contribute a goat. The Chinachinyavu were content to let him have his way in this and to put an end to the entire matter.

- b. The sons of Njama. (This case is that of a double union effected by brothers.)

In about 1950, Kasim Njama, a member of the Chinakonde kwa mayo, married by kuhala to Ninyiro binti Shee Moyo, a Mvirizi kwa mayo. Several children were born to this relatively harmonious marriage.

In about 1956, Muhammad Njama committed adultery with Kasim's wife. Muhammad was the unmarried, younger mwenehu baba mwenga of Kasim, and lived in the same mudzi as Kasim, along with their common father and their respective mothers. Kasim and his father could not ask for malu to compensate for this adultery because Muhammad was of their own family. In any case, Muhammad had no money of his own, and his brother and father had the responsibility to help him pay malu.

His mother, a Digo from Tanganyika had no closely related brothers to take an interest in her or her son's affairs.

Neither Muhammad nor his parents, nor Kasim nor Kasim's wife and her kin wanted to have the old cleansing and separation ritual, whereby Muhammad and Kasim's wife would swear to die if they again committed adultery. Therefore, all that happened was that Muhammad and Kasim's wife were strongly warned never again to do this awful thing, and Muhammad paid Kasim a token fee of 10 shillings adabu, or "punishment," to show his remorse at his deed.

Muhammad continued to live in the same mudzi as Kasim, but he no longer troubled Kasim's wife, whom Kasim still liked and did not divorce. However, within a year of this adultery incident, Muhammad eloped with the full and senior sister of Kasim's wife, some months after her divorce from her first husband. Muhammad claimed that he wanted to marry this woman, and asked his father to begin making the arrangements.

This was too much for Shee Moyo, the father of these two girls. He, as well as the full brother of the mother of his daughters, angrily demanded that Muhammad be parted from binti Shee Mviere, and that Kasim be divorced

from binti Shee Maide. They also said that Njama and his sons must contribute a sheep and money to hold a cleansing ritual to "purify" the families involved and restore harmony with the supernatural.

After much controversy, these demands were met. Kasim was returned his bride wealth, and he soon remarried, Muhammad left Lungalunga for a time, but he returned to marry a girl of Sega, and he once again lived in the same mudzi as his brother and father. Digo say that Kasim does not bear a grudge against Muhammad for wrecking his marriage, because sibblingship is more important than marital devotion.

c. Muhammad bin Abdullah Pongwe. (This case illustrates a permissible double union, and shows which relationships are considered not crucial in determining prohibition.)

In 1957, Muhammad bin Mslimu Mleo wished to marry the full sister of Muhammad Abdullah's wife. Some members of the Chinarama maintained that he could not do so because he is the classificatory mwana of Muhammad Abdullah.

It was soon decided that the relationship between Muhammad Abdullah and Muhammad Mslimu was sufficiently distant to permit marriage. As chart 3 illustrates, Muhammad Abdullah and Mslimu Mleo are both members of the

Mryangu ya Nidia. They are related to each other as mwenuhu mwana ma, since Mslimu is a direct matrilineal descendant of Bega, a slave of the Nyumba ya Nidia, and Muhammad Abdullah is a direct matrilineal descendant of Nidia, herself. Mslimu and Muhammad are also related to each other as classificatory akoi, since Mleo, the father of Mslimu, was related as a classificatory brother of Muhammad's mother through a common mother's mother's mother's mother.

- d. Juma Hamisi. (This is a case where cleansing ritual to restore harmony would have allowed a Digo to marry the sister of his mother's brother's mistress.)

In about 1945, Juma Hamisi eloped with a woman of Lungalunga named Nimenno. He lived with her for some months without paying mahunda for her, and she was only termed his mchumba, and not his mkaza, or "wife". Eventually, her father took her from Juma, and she was married to another man.

In August, 1959, Rashid, the son of binti Hamisi and Jigi Mambo, desired to marry binti Njaa Mwamagoda by the kiislamu form. At first, everyone agreed to this marriage. Then Henze Mwatubwa, the full brother of binti Njaa's mother, Nibuwa, raised an objection. Nimenno, Juma Hamisi's mchumba,

is the classificatory sister of binti Njaa, since they have a common mother's mother's mother. Henze recalled that Juma Hamisi, the full brother of Rashid's mother, had once "lived in a very dirty way" with Nimeno, and, therefore, this marriage by Rashid to Nimeno's mwenehu would be kuingira mryangu mara mbiri.

Henze demanded that Juma Hamisi, Rashid, and Jigi Mambo together hold a cleansing ceremony to compensate for the evil done in the past to Nimeno. If they did this, Henze said, then he would agree to the marriage of Rashid with binti Njaa, because Juma had not actually married Nimeno.

Juma refused to contribute towards such a ceremony, and declared that his brief liaison with Nimeno should be of no concern of anyone, especially because she is related to binti Njaa by a somewhat distant link. Henze did not admit that the link was distant of that Juma's liaison with Nimeno was not important. Neither side gave in to the other, and eventually Rashid married someone else.

e. Athumani Ruwa. (This provides an example of the levirate.)

Athumani Ruwa, the junior brother of Juma Ruwa, inherited the wife of his classificatory brother, Dzambo, related to him through a common mother's mother's mother. This

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wife was born of a Duruma mother and a Digo father, and had lived with Dzambo in Duruma country, at Mariakani.

It is customary, though not necessary, for the brother closest in age to the deceased to inherit his wife and often his personally created property, but not his inherited property. Thus, Athumani, and not Juma Ruwa, inherited the wife and also some of the goats and a few cattle possessed by Dzambo. This wife, born in about 1920, did not object to her marriage by Athumani, partly because her mother is a Duruma, and Duruma adhere more the levirate than do the Digo, and partly because Athumani paid maheri directly to her, and then married her by kiislamu after getting her to profess the religion of Islam. She remains in Mariakani to keep an eye on Dzambo's goats and cattle for Athumani, who visits her for several days about once every two months.

7. Exchange Marriage.

Digo do not prohibit the marriage of ego to the sister, real or classificatory, of his sister's husband. However, Digo do not like such a marriage. Again, this is too dangerous a marriage because if one couple quarrels, the other may well be drawn into it. Also, the marital strife

of one couple may reinforce the marital strife of the other. Finally, Digo say that such a marriage is too much like exchanging bride wealth, or like not paying bride wealth at all, and thus it is reminiscent of a slave marriage.

There is only one example of exchange marriage in the 283 marriages surveyed in Segá. This is the marriage of Seifu bin Abdullah Pongwe to the full sister of Ahmadi Kombo, who, in turn married the full sister of Seifu. Both of these marriages were of the kiislamu form. Seifu's marriage ended in divorce because of his sexual impotency. Ahmadi's marriage continues. Kombo Mambo, the domineering father of Ahmadi, was the individual most responsible for these marriages.

8. Remarriage after Divorce.

It is possible to remarry a divorced spouse, but few Digo effect such a remarriage. Digo feel that if this marriage failed once, it will probably fail again. There are only four cases of remarriage on the Segá survey. Three of these cases were of remarriage to a wife married by kiislamu. In one of these, the husband had divorced his wife according to the Islamic pattern of telling her that he divorced her "twice". When he remarried her, in 1951, he was warned by the Qadi and the Mudir that if he divorced her again, he could not remarry her unless she had an inter-

vening marriage. He and many other Digo professed surprise at this strange law, claiming that they had never heard of it before.

In one of the other two Islamic remarriage cases, the husband has divorced and remarried his wife a total of four times without any intervening marriage, and it is said that he has been able to do this because he did not sign the register of divorce. Digo feel that he is "playing with his wife," to divorce and remarry her so often. They say that this is both morally wrong, and bad for kinship and affinal relations, but no one will bring the matter to the attention of the Arab officials.

It is evident from the material presented in this and previous sections on marriage and divorce that the primary function of marriage regulations is to promote or at least to maintain harmony in kinship relations. In the next, and concluding, section of this chapter, affinal relations, themselves, will briefly be categorized and discussed.

D. Relationships Created by Marriage.

The basis of all affinal relationships is the husband and wife bond, which, as has been shown, is relatively unstable, and more fraught with strife than any

other essential relationship. A basic Digo premise is that if a husband and wife quarrel excessively, or if their marriage in any way endangers the harmony of other essential relationships, they should divorce. There is relatively little attempt made to reconcile separated spouses, unless the cause of the separation is only a minor misunderstanding. Digo say that the Duruma are pagans and fools to attempt to keep their wives obedient by beating them. Digo, who are "civilized," do not chastise their disobedient, quarrelsome, or unfaithful wives. They find it easier and better not to attempt to reform a wife, but rather to part on good terms with her and her kin, thereby maintaining harmonious relationships with as many persons as possible.

Digo ordinarily follow this pattern, and most remain fairly friendly with their divorced spouses. A former spouse is termed muricha, or "left person," if divorced from a kuhala marriage; and a mtalaga if divorced from a kiislamu marriage. The new husband or wife of a former spouse is termed myivuvu, or "envied person," as if to emphasize a common sentiment about such a person.

All other terminology which is established by marriage, that is, terminology which is exchanged between ego and the kin of his spouse, remains identical and constant once it

has been established by the initial payment of bride wealth, and is unaffected by the termination of the marriage through divorce, or death. That is, ego begins terming his wife's father as mtsedza when the first installment of bride wealth is paid, and continues to call him this even though he divorces this wife. Terminology is the same whether the marriage was by kuhala or kiislamu. In keeping with this constancy in terminology, relationships between ego and his wife's kin ideally should remain, and actually often do remain, more or less constant once bride wealth payment has begun, irrespective of the fact that the marriage ends in divorce. Divorce does not by itself terminate satisfactory affinal relationships. Such relationships are usually terminated only if ego quarreled considerably with his spouse and her kin before and during the divorce proceedings.

Marriage is thus seen as a means not only for obtaining a wife, and children, but also as a means of establishing many other links on which to build mutual aid associations. Since, in a closely knit, relatively endogamous community, a wife's kin are often ego's kin, marriage may strengthen and add a new dimension to kinship bonds, just as it may weaken these bonds in the event of marital strife.

1. Relationships Between a Husband and His Wife.

Even though a woman may refer to her husband as mlume mwangu, or "my husband," and a man may refer to his wife as mkazangu, or "my wife," neither should call each other by these terms. It is not polite to do so, and, instead, they should address each other as a "son or a daughter of a lineage or a father," or as a "father or a mother of their own or their brother's or sister's children."

Generally, a husband and his wife should treat each other with respect and should not joke with each other unless they are on very good terms. Each must appreciate that the other is a free and independent person, ever-ready to effect a divorce. A husband must take especial care not to ask too much of his wife or she will claim that she is being "treated as a slave." Each spouse must also keep in mind the great jealousy and suspicion with which Digo customarily regard their spouses, and try not to give his or her spouse a cause to think evilly of him or her. Each spouse has the duty to gratify the sexual desires of the other and to help the other to procreate children. A Digo man has the duty not to mistreat or to bully his wife, but instead to provide her with clothes, medical care, adequate shelter, food and/or the means to obtain food. A woman has the duty

to be relatively obedient to her husband, and to assist him in agricultural and domestic functions.

Looking at these varied rights and duties in more detail, it is seen that a man's primary agricultural activity is the development of cash crops, such as coconuts, bananas, cotton, cashew nuts, etc. His secondary agricultural activity is helping his wife prepare annual food crops, especially maize and cassava. To help his wife in this, he should give her fertile land to use, and should clear the heavy bush from this land, either by his own efforts or by the employment of others. A good husband should also work by the side of his wife in the lighter agricultural tasks, such as digging or weeding or guarding the crops from wild animals.

A woman's primary agricultural activity is to plant, and weed, and guard, and harvest the annual crops. These will be used to feed her children and husband, and it is her duty to see to it that her granary is as well-stocked as possible so that her children do not go hungry. A woman expects that her husband will help her in this production of annual crops and the most productive Digo families are those in which men work side-by-side with their wives. Most wives simply will not work hard on their own.

A secondary agricultural activity of a woman is to aid her husband in the planting, guarding, and harvesting of cash crops. Women are usually not especially helpful in these matters unless they are certain of securing a suitable reward from their husbands, such as a share of the profits made from these crops, or a gift of new clothes, or trinkets, or a sheep or a goat to rear.

Women fear that if they help their husbands to prosper, these husbands will only use their wealth to obtain new wives. Furthermore, since marriage is considered unstable, women fear that they might be divorced before they can profit from the cash crops of their husbands. Finally, because inheritance is often at least partly matrilineal, women fear that the children will not profit from the property which they help their husbands to amass. Many Digo women feel that it is better to help siblings and other matrilineal kin, than to help their husbands, because these kin are more reliable and rewarding sources of aid than their husbands.

Women are themselves able to create, keep, and inherit property. They often earn money through the making and selling of clay pots, baked goods, and straw mats. Also, many raise chickens and a few goats or sheep. In

theory, they should share their wealth with their husbands, or at least offer to do so, since these husbands gave them the opportunity and time to create it. In actuality, men are usually afraid to ask their wives for such a share, because their wives may use such a request as an excuse to demand a divorce. Men are sufficiently satisfied if their wives use their wealth to buy clothes for themselves or for their children, because this may reduce the need for the men to purchase such items.

Women also use their wealth to obtain basic foodstuffs, such as maize meal, at the local Indian shops or at African markets. Some women are unwilling or unskilled agriculturalists, but good pot or mat makers, or bakers, and so obtain their foodstuffs indirectly. Ninyiro binti Selemani Chuo, for example, is too ill to work much in the fields, but she provides food for her children by baking and selling buns of various types to Digo men at the Lungalunga tea shop. Kasim Nguro, her mentally retarded husband, works for a very low wage at the local Indian shop, and does not have any time to farm.

Men are expected to use money from cash crops to purchase clothes for their wives and children. A frequent cause for marital strife or divorce is the complaint of a

wife that her husband is a miser, or that he is so lazy or incapable that he has no money. Women who do not get what they want will often go home to their fathers, or brothers or other kin until their husbands bring to them at least some of the desired garments. In most cases, a woman will be supported by her kin in such matters, but occasionally these kin will tell her that she is asking for too much and should return to her husband. Two examples will illustrate these points:

- a. Nimpemba. (This is a case which shows how a woman is aided by her kin to obtain maintenance from her husband.)

In 1956, after ten years of marriage by kuhala, Nimpemba of Lungalunga left her husband, Maurinda, of Duga, Tanganyika, because he did not adequately maintain her. She returned to Lungalunga, and stayed with her nearest adult kinsman, Saidi Hassani, the close classificatory mdzukulu wa kuchuni of her deceased father. Saidi had inherited the rights and duties of her father. He cared for her, and when Maurinda came to Lungalunga to discuss the return of Nimpemba, Saidi swore that she would not live with Maurinda again unless she got at least 80 shillings to buy eight gura lessa (eight pairs of colourful cotton piece goods which Digo women wrap about themselves as garments).

A compromise was effected, as it usually is, and, after receiving 40 shillings, 10 shillings of which she gave to Saidi for his aid, Nimpemba returned to Tanganyika with Maurinda.

b. Tima binti Muhammad Salim.

(This case shows how a woman's claim for more maintenance from her husband is rejected by her kin.)

In 1958, after only a few months of marriage by kiislamu Tima binti Muhammad Slim left her husband, Ramadani of Duga, and returned to her parents in Lungalunga. She complained that her husband was miserly, and would not give her gifts when she requested them. Her parents, her mother's brothers, and her own brother told Tima to go back to Ramadani immediately, and to mend her ways. This was Tima's first marriage, but she is known as a very fickle - even promiscuous - girl, who will have trouble with any man.

Furthermore, her husband, Ramadani, is the close, classificatory muwa of her father, Muhammad Salim. Muhammad Salim and the mother of Ramadani are related as siblings through a common mother's mother. Hence, Muhammad Salim is more inclined to think well of his daughter's husband

than would otherwise be true.

A duty of Digo women is to prepare food for their husbands. This is usually fulfilled after a fashion, but many women refuse to prepare food if their husbands are especially late for a meal. This writer has seen a number of Digo men refused food by their wives because of the tardiness of these men. In each case, the woman simply claimed that she could not be expected to heat food again, and her husband would just have to wait for the next meal, or go to the hoteli for tea and biscuits. Women are reluctant to provide breakfast for their husbands. Instead, many demand that their husbands go to the hoteli, or contact a hawker, to purchase tea and cakes for their and their husbands' breakfasts.

Women also demand that their husbands purchase fish at least three times a week. Fish are now a prestige food, and are easier to prepare than the wild greens which Digo otherwise use as relish or sauce for their maize and cassava porridge. Digo women now greatly dislike the task of collecting and preparing these wild greens, although men declare that only a decade ago women were satisfied with such greens as a daily fare. This writer and his wife once praised a Digo woman for her ability in gathering so many varied greens, only to have her angrily retort that

she would not have to grub for greens like a slave if her husband were a better provider.

Almost all Digo women refuse to wash the garments of their husbands, and most men conveniently explain away their need to wash their own clothes by saying that "women cannot do this job as well as men can." They are not as careful with the clothes as men are."

Much more could be said about rights and duties between spouses, but what has been mentioned should suffice to show the nature of the husband - wife relationship. Before turning to a Digo's relations with his wife's kin, only one further point need be made, namely that Digo must appreciate that the primary obligations of their spouses are to the kin of these spouses. Each Digo should, therefore, help his or her spouse to meet his or her kinship obligations. Thus, if a wife's mother or father is ill, ego must help his wife pay the medical expenses and/or participate in the curing ceremony. Similarly, a woman must help to care for her husband's parents if they are ill or infirm. Both a husband and a wife draw their respective kin into helping them aid their respective affines. This provides a basis for reciprocal aid between a wide range of affines.

2. Relations with Spouse's Kin.

Ego, and each of her female enehu and akoi, real or classificatory, term each real or classificatory baba of ego's husband as baba vyala ("father who bore"); and they term each real or classificatory tsangazi of ego's husband either baba vyala, to emphasize sibling equivalence, or as tsangazi vyala. Ego and each of her female enehu and akoi, real or classificatory, is termed by baba and tsangazi vyala as mkaza mwanangu ("wife of my child").

Ego and each of her female enehu and akoi, real or classificatory, term each real or classificatory mavo of ego's husband as mavo vyala, and are, reciprocally, termed mkaza mwanangu by each mavo vyala. Ego and her enehu and akoi each term each awu, real or classificatory, of ego's husband as awu vyala, and are, in turn, each termed mkaza mwanangu by each awu vyala.

Ego and his enehu and akoi, real or classificatory, each exchange the term mtsedza (atsedza) with each real or classificatory baba, mavo, or tsangazi of ego's wife.

Ego (m.s.) exchanges the term mlamu (alamu) with each mwenehu and mkoi of his spouse. Ego (f.s.) exchanges the term mlamu with each male mwenehu and mkoi of her

spouse, and she exchanges the term wifi (anowifi) with each female mwenehu and mkoi of her spouse.

Since anotsawe, anowawa, and adzukulu are equated with enehu, each tsawe, wawa, and mdzukulu of a spouse is either a mlamu or a wifi, depending upon the respective sexes of the speakers.

Ego's parents and his spouse's parents exchange the term chiviere (viviere).

The kin of ego's spouse ordinarily help ego in any activity involving this spouse and his or her children. They do this more in respect to their kinship with this spouse and these children than in respect of their affinity with ego. The extent to which ego receives aid to help him and his other kin and other spouses is, all other thing being equal, basically a function of the general reciprocal aid relationships established with these affines; and the extent to which ego's spouse and children, who are ego's link with these affines, will desire these affines to help ego.

The most important affinal relationships are usually those between ego and his or her spouse's close kin of this spouse's own or first ascending generation. These relationships will now briefly be discussed.

a. Baba and Mayo Vyala.

Relations between a woman and her husband's parents are usually good, and are characterized by the exchange of much courtesy and respect, but not by avoidance. In former times, a woman would be required to work for her husband's father and mother until she bore her first child. When she bore her first child, then she and her husband could obtain their own land for farming, and set up a relatively independent household. The establishment of a separate household was, and sometimes still is, marked by the presentation to the new wife of a figa, or set of three cooking stones by her husband's mother. Even after this presentation, it was considered right for the new wife to cooperate closely with her husband's parents.

These days a woman no longer had to undergo a fixed period of apprenticeship to her husband's parents, but it is still considered good if she does help her husband's parents in domestic and agricultural activities. A large number of women adhere fairly closely to this ideal, but even more women quickly establish completely independent households and farms. If a woman gets along well with her husband's mother and helps her, her husband

and his kin are pleased. But if she quarrels with her husband's mother, her husband is expected to tell her to work on her own, and even to take her to live apart from his parents. Digo feel that there is no reward in forcing a woman to help her affines, since this only ruins the marriage, and, even worse, often puts a husband in an ambivalent position, in which his parental ties conflict markedly with his marital ones. In such conflict, the parental bond should prevail, but it probably does so only about half the time.

If a woman and her husband quarrel, their respective parents will not personally intervene. Instead, these parents will have one or more of their own anobaba, or anoawu, or adzukulu act in their behalf to attempt to effect a reconciliation, if they believe that a reconciliation is definitely possible. Such attempts at reconciliation usually involve a gathering of kin and affines to hear a husband and his wife (or his wife's brother, acting for this wife) air their complaints. The parents of either spouse do not come to such meetings because they would find it shameful to hear one spouse abuse the other. It is said that a man will be especially shamed to hear his son discuss the infidelity of this son's wife.

A woman expects her husband's mother to help her in the birth of her child, especially if she bears this child in or near the mudzi of her husband's mother. It is customary for a woman to bear her first child at the home of her mother, but on many occasions she finds her husband's home to be equally satisfactory, particularly if her own mother is dead and her mother's sisters are not adequate substitutes. It is usual for a woman to bear children subsequent to her first child at the mudzi of her husband, but, again, various factors cause frequent modification of this. In any event, a husband's mother is often present to help in the childbirth.

A woman's husband's father often is present at the birth of her child if there are complications during childbirth. He will wish to contribute whatever magico-medical knowledge he possesses. Most elderly Digo have, during their lives, learned various magico-medical techniques, and medicines to treat all manner of complications, and they will dispense free of charge any of these which are appropriate to help the wives of their sons during childbirth. Otherwise, for other illnesses, even sons and daughters, once they are mature, must pay for medical aid received.

b. Awu Vyala and Tsangazi Vyala.

A woman always treats the awu and the tsangazi of her husband with respect. They are important to a woman in so far as they are important to her husband. If ego's husband lives with or near his awu or tsangazi, or obtains considerable aid from his awu, then ego may have to some extent the same relations with this awu vyala or tsangazi vyala that she has her baba vyala or tsangazi vyala. A husband's tsangazi often takes a great interest in the birth and care of his children, and may be present and be very helpful during childbirth. Ego's husband's father's sister, as well as ego's husband's sister are often the individuals who select the name or names of ego's child.

c. Atsedza.

Ego's relations with his wife's parents are ordinarily good, but at the same time they are heavily tinged with respect and near avoidance. Though a woman is quickly welcomed by her husband's parents and told to treat them as she would her real parents, a man may be kept at a distance for months or more by his wife's parents, especially by his wife's father.

Whereas it is necessary for a woman to be welcomed to the family of her husband because she may help her husband's parents in domestic and agricultural chores, a man seldom helps his atsedza to this extent, and does not need to be made welcome. Residence is only infrequently matrilocal, and even when a man does live in or very near the mudzi of his wife's parents, he does not often work together with his atsedza.

In most cases, a Digo man is eventually given a formal welcome by the parents of his wife, usually within the first six months of his marriage. Ego is invited by the parents of his wife to attend a small welcoming feast, which his wife's mother prepares. When his wife's mother serves the food to him, she will tell him that he is not to fear her, but instead to regard her as a mother. Ego's wife's father should invite ego to sit down and eat with him, and if he does so, this is a certain sign that he desires to establish friendly relations with ego, and wishes to terminate practices of formal avoidance. Digo feel that eating is a very personal act, which shows each Digo to his worst rather than to his best advantage. Also, it may cause a Digo to emit wind in the presence of his atsedza, and this is considered terrible and completely

disrespectful. The offending person must pay a goat to his mtsedza to show that he does not really hold his mtsedza in such low regard. Furthermore, Digo have the fear that an enemy can easily put black magic into their food, or blow black magic into their mouths, when they are eating. Digo seem to believe that their atsedza, in spite of overt friendship or regard, are often their secret enemies, and wish to do them harm. Digo apparently fear their male atsedza more than their female atsedza.

In some instances, a Digo woman will give her daughter's husband food and welcome him, even though her husband remains aloof from this daughter's husband. For example, Kasim Chuo married Tima, the daughter of Mwavesso, and quickly became friendly with Tima's mother. Tima's mother prepared food for Kasim, and he ate it with Tima's full brother, Selemani. However, Mwavesso himself, has never officially welcomed Kasim Chuo, and has never eaten food in Kasim's proximity. Kasim maintains that Mwavesso does not like him, and did not really wish to have him marry Tima. Mwavesso and Kasim maintain a very formal and very polite relationship. As is customary in such formal relationships, they never address each other with personal first names, but always use the term mtsedza.

or the surname, "son of lineage," or "son of father".

A Digo's wife's mother may give him financial aid at times. It will be recalled that Nimai gave her daughter's husband, Bukhari Muhammad, 20 shillings to pay his taxes. Digo say that it is easier to get such financial aid from a wife's mother than from a wife's father, because a woman greatly desires to please her daughter, and to induce her daughter's husband to be good to her daughter.

The awu of a wife is another very important figure, and he must be treated with respect. He may be helpful to ego if ego is a good spouse and affine, but he may cause ego considerable trouble if ego's actions reflect upon the integrity and status of ego's wife's fuko kwa mayo. The awu of a wife does not ordinarily give ego a welcoming ceremony unless this awu of ego's wife has become a father's surrogate to her, and she has lived with him for some time.

The tsangazi of a wife must be treated with respect, and may be relatively important to ego if she is important to ego's wife. Ego is also usually not formally welcomed by her.

c. Alamu and Anowifi.

The relationship of alamu and anowifi is not characterised by avoidance of respect, and joking is

permitted.

Ego's relationships with his or her alamu and anowifi are ordinarily fair to good, and rewarding. Alamu and anowifi, of course, take a great interest in their sisters and brothers, and in the children of their sisters and brothers. Such interest may be both helpful and irksome, or even dangerous, to ego. Ego may find that the siblings of his or her spouse support this marriage, and encourage the spouse of ego to be good to ego. There are many cases of such behaviour in Lungalunga. However, there are also many cases where his alamu and anowifi are so jealous of ego that they encourage their brother or sister not to be an obedient spouse to ego. Much depends upon ego's relations with ego's alamu or anowifi, and it behoves ego not to alienate them if he or she wishes to have a successful marriage.

Ego's wife's brother is, of course, ego's children's awu. Enough has been said in this dissertation about conflict between ego and the awu of his children, not to require further commentary at this time. Ego's husband's sister, that is, ego's child's tsangazi, is also often a rival of ego for influence over ego's child. This relationship has also been discussed earlier in this dissertation.

To summarize this section on relationships between ego, his spouse, and his spouse's kin, it may be said that the bond between a husband and his wife is generally unstable and often inharmonious. Digo feel that it is better to terminate an unsuccessful marriage rather than allow it to prejudice other essential relationships. Ideally, the marriage should be terminated with the minimum of conflict so that ego's relations with the kin of his or her spouse continue to be good.

Ego should treat with respect the parents of his or her spouse, and the siblings of these parents. Ideally a woman should help the parents of her husband in domestic and agricultural chores, and many do this. However, just as many women do not cooperate with their anobaba vyala and anomayo vyala, and it is usually considered foolish to attempt to force such cooperation.

A man's relations with his wife's father are often not as good as those with his wife's mother. However, if a man quarrels with his wife, her mother may be a far more deadly adversary than her father.

A general rule is that any Digo's relations with his or her spouse's kin are a function of his relations

with his or her spouse. The fact that Digo fear that the kin of their spouses may attempt to injure them by black magic seems to indicate deep-seated suspicion of and antagonism towards these affines.

CHAPTER IX

UGANGA.

Digo uganga, or magico-medical practice, is too complex a subject to discuss at this time. What is important about uganga is that it provides a frequent manifestation of relationships of kinship, affinity, and friendship. It dramatizes, tests, and reinforces such relationship.

This chapter will be devoted to a discussion of how relationships were manifested at uganga to cure Mwanasha binti Kasim Vesso of illness caused by evil spirit possession. A detailed study of numerous cases indicates that women or men are afflicted by evil spirit possession when they desire to reaffirm that their kin and affines are still interested in their welfare. Apparently, Mwanasha feared that her husband, Kasim Tsembea, was going to get another wife. Her curing ceremony required her husband to devote time and money to help her, and prevented him from obtaining another wife.

Shaitani possession is treated by aganga, or magico-medical practitioners, who specialize in treating such possession. Each muganga ya shaitani has his numerous patients organized into a guild of patients. His patients

are called his ateji (muteji). When he calls upon them to help him munga or "treat" a patient of shaitani possession they must come to help. Each muganga ya shaitani also has his apprentices, called anafunzi, and his assistants, called anamadzi.

If a person is ill, he and his kin consult a diviner, who determines which shaitani are causing this illness, and recommends a muganga. Each muganga is a specialist in dealing only with a limited number of the hundreds of shaitani known to the Digo. In theory, a Digo selects an muganga only on the basis of this practitioner's ability, but actually Digo usually pick a muganga on the basis both of his ability and his relationship to them. Uganga is sometimes expensive, and it is felt that a kinsman of an affine will not charge as much for his uganga services. Also, it pleases a relative if he is selected as the muganga, and it helps to reaffirm any kin or affinal relationships which exist between the muganga and the patient and the patient's relatives.

The muganga selected to treat Mwanasha binti Kasim Vesco was Omari Malau, the husband of the full sister of Mwanasha's husband, Kasim Tsembea. Chart 7 shows this and other important relationships connected with this case

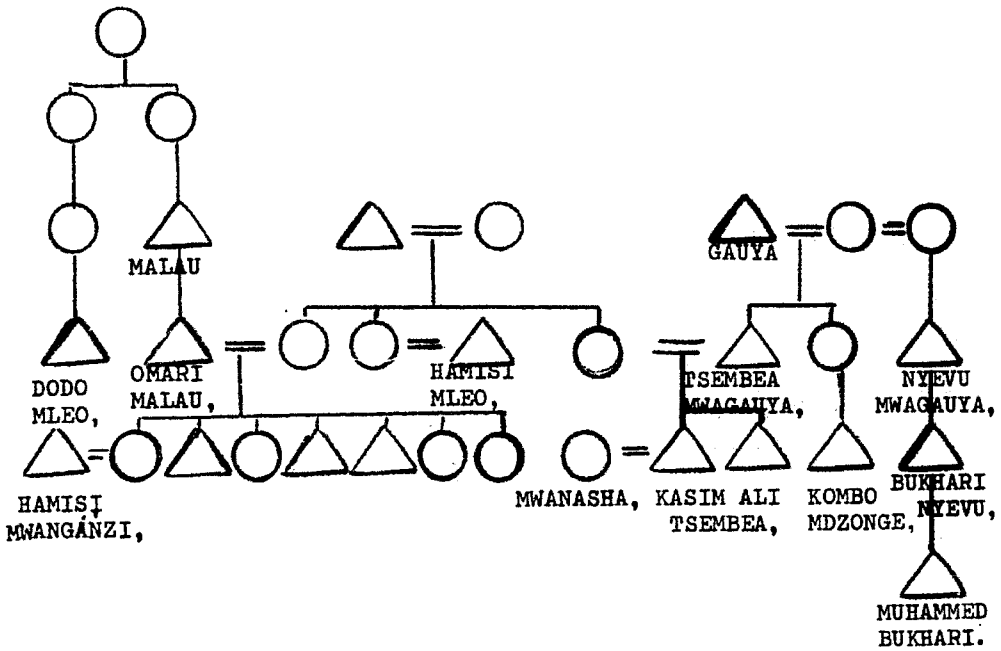


CHART NO: 7.

of uganga.

Numerous other individuals came to this uganga, which lasted five days. Many contributed money and food to the uganga, and all helped in various ways to make the uganga a success. Uganga to treat shaitani requires the services of many people, some must help in the dancing and music-making required to exercise the shaitani. It is felt that a cure will not be effected unless a host of relatives do attend and give aid.

The following individuals attended the uganga for Mwanasha binti Kasim Vesso:

1. Kasim Tsembea, the husband of Mwanasha came. He paid ten shillings, and gave one goat to the uganga.
2. Ali Tsembea, the younger full brother of Kasim, who lives with Kasim in one mudzi. Ali paid three shillings, and gave several chickens to the uganga.
3. The wife of Ali Tsembea came, and contributed maize from her own fields. She also danced and sang to help exercise the shaitani.
4. Kasim Vesso, the father of the patient came. He contributed four shillings.
5. Binti Tunya, the wife of Kasim Vesso and the mother of the patient came. She has been afflicted by the same

shaitani which plague her daughter. She contributed maize meal and rice to the uganga, and also sang songs to exorcise the shaitani.

6. Selemani Kasim Vesso, the full brother of the patient, came. He is the awu of the patient's children, and it is felt that these children will also suffer from the attacks of Mwanasha's shaitani. Selemani paid ten shillings to the uganga, and contributed three chickens. He also helped in all aspects of the uganga work, and played drums, gongs and rattles. His wife, Nimutwa, and his children by this wife were not at the uganga because the baby of Nimutwa's mwenehu baba mwenga, Fatuma, had just died, and Nimutwa was at the mahanga. Chart 8 illustrates Nimutwa's affiliation to this sister and shows their common father is Muhammad Ali. Selemani Kasim had to divide his time about equal between the uganga of his sister and the mahanga of his wife's half sister. He also had to contribute a relatively large amount of money to the mahanga. He is regarded as well-to-do because he is a palm wine tapper and trader. He uses his father's coconut palms for his tapping, and gives his father one quarter of his profits.

7. Abdullah Kasim Vesso, the mwenehu baba mwenga of the patients, came and contributed one shilling. He is the only

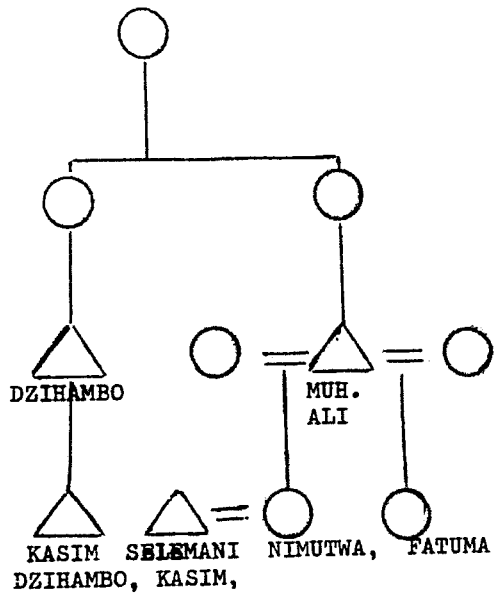


CHART NO: 8.

child of Kasim Vesso's second wife. Abdullah's wife and children were also at the uganga, and his wife danced and sang. Abdullah played drums.

8. Ali Kasim came. Though not a kinsman, he is a close friend of Selemani Kasim Vesso, and helps Selemani tap and sell palm wine. He also likes uganga very much, and he gladly assisted in the uganga singing and drumming.

9. Tima binti Chisira was present, because she is the daughter of Chisira bin Hamisi by his second wife, Nicharo. Chisira was the mkoj of Kasim Vesso. Vesso Mwachilonda, Kasim's father, was the full brother of Chisira's mother. When Vesso died, Chisira inherited his many coconut palms. Chisira had no full siblings, and his closest living matrilineal sibling was Kasim Vesso, Chisira's mwenehu mwana ma. Kasim's mother was a slave of the Chinadzore, and, indeed, a personal slave of Chisira's mother, Michilonda Mviere. She was a mwenehu mwana ma of Vesso. Kasim, therefore, inherited from Chisira the coconut palms planted by Vesso. He had a double right to them, both as a mwana, and as a muwa of Vesso. Chart 9 indicates the involved relationships.

Since he inherited Chisira's rights, he also inherited his duties, one of which was to care for Chisira's children, both by Nidodo, his first wife, and by Nicharo, his second

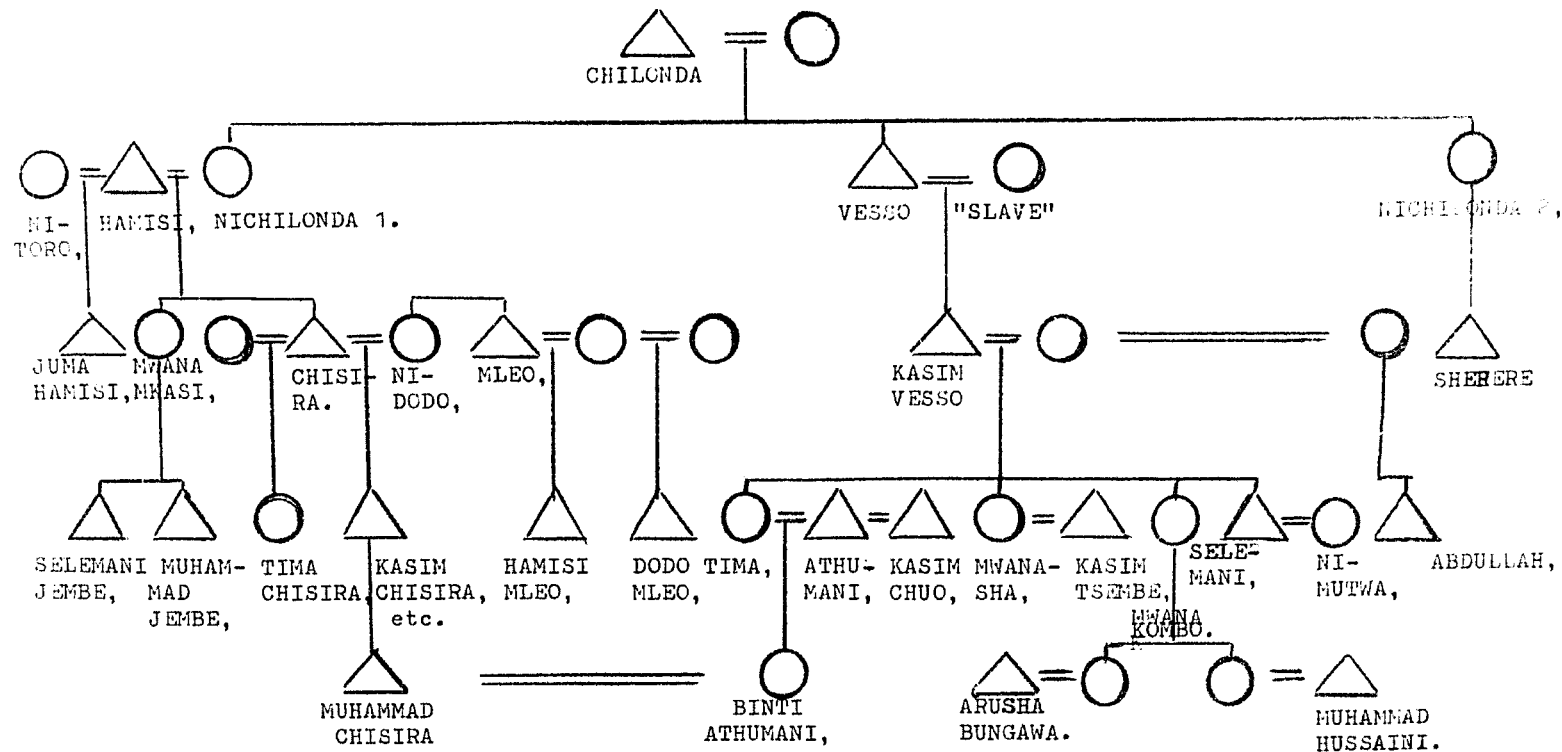


CHART: 9.

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wife. Kasim Vesso, hence, is the baba of Kasim Chisira (the son of Midedo), and of Tima, the daughter of Nicharo.

Kasim Vesso took Nicharo and her daughters to live in his mudzi, but he did not cohabit with Nicharo. Kasim Chisira and Kasim Vesso never exchange financial aid. Kasim Vesso acted as the marriage representative of the two full sisters of Kasim Chisira. The daughter's daughter of Kasim Vesso married to Muhammad, the son of Kasim Chisira. This marriage pleased all parties concerned, and, though it did not return land or property to its original fuko, it did further validate Kasim Chisira's claim to land once used by Chisira. Kasim Chisira did not come to the uganga because he had no desire to meet Nicharo, who, he felt sure, would attend. She did not attend, however, because of illness.

10. Muhammad Kasim Chisira was present, as was his wife, binti Athumani, and his wife's mother, Tima binti Kasim Vesso. Tima, full sister of the patient, bore binti Athumani while married to Athumani Selemani Ngare. She divorced Athumani and is now the wife of Kasim Chuo. Muhammad contributed fifty cents to the uganga. Tima helped in the singing and dancing, and contributed maize from her own cultivation. Binti Athumani helped prepare the food. Both Tima and binti Athumani are also ateji

of Omari Malau.

10. Kasim came due to the uganga because he is the husband of Pina binti Kasim Vesso, since he likes uganga, and because he wants to make as many friends as possible to help him in his struggle with Juma Hamisi, the Chief of Lungalunga. Omari Malau, although a member of the Chinarama, detests Juma Hamisi, as was indicated in the chapter on slavery. Digo believe that "an enemy of my enemy is my friend." Kasim came gave two shillings.

12. Arusha Bangawa and Muhammad Hussaini came because they each married one of the daughters of Mwanakombo binti Kasim Vesso, a full sister of the patient. Mwanakombo and her daughters and the children of these daughters also came to the uganga. Arusha and Muhammad did not help in the uganga, but each contributed one shilling. Their wives each brought maize meal, and danced and sang. Mwanakombo sang and helped to administer medicines to the patient.

13. Kombo Mdzonge was present because he is the mkoi of the patient's husband, Kasim Tsembea. That is, Kombo is the son of the full sister of Tsembea. He and Kasim were land which Tsembea received from Tsembea's father, and they live close together. Kasim inherited his father's

ten or twelve goats and sheep, and gave about four to Kombo. Tsembea had no other property. Kombo did little work at the uganga since he knows nothing of this work, but he did contribute a small goat. Also at the uganga were Kombo's wife and son, Selemani, a young boy of about ten years. Selemani was sent by his mother to bring the goat, but he refused and was rude to his mother. Kombo was not present during this quarrel, but later he heard about it, and whipped Selemani for humiliating his mother in the presence of others.

14. Hamisi Mleo came because he is, like Omari Malau, married to one of the two full sisters of Kasim Tsembea's mother. Hamisi is also the real mkoj of Kasim Chisira, and is, therefore, the classificatory baba of Muhammad Kasim, and the classificatory baba vyala of binti Athumani. Hamisi skillfully played the brass gongs used in the uganga, and he contributed one shilling. His wife also came, and contributed maize and cassava. Her two sisters, the mother of Kasim Tsembea and the wife of Omari Malau, are dead.

15. Dodo Mleo came since he is also a muganga of the same shaitani which Omari Malau can treat; and because he is the muwa of Malau, Omari Malau's father. He inherited the approximately 150 coconut palms of Malau. Omari has never requested his share of these palms, but Dodo helps Omari financially. For example he often helps him pay his poll tax.

Dodo, like Omari, oppose the dominance of Juma Hamisi. Dodo is also the mwenehu baba mwenga of Hamisi Mleo. Dodo contributed fifty cents, mostly to help Hamisi meet his obligations. Dodo also helped perform uganga.

16. Kasim Dzihambo came for several reasons. First of all, he is another muganga in Lungalunga, and it is considered respectful for a muganga to invite other aganga to attend his uganga. Secondly, he is a friend of Omari Malau. Thirdly, his wife, binti Ruwa, is a mwenehu baba mwenga of Kasim Chou's first wife. The junior wife of Kasim Chuo, it will be recalled, is the sister of the patient. Kasim Dzihambo is, therefore, the mwanyumba of Kasim Chuo. He is also a friend of the Chuo family, and Kasim's classificatory baba, presumably because of Mweria-Mugwa relationships in the distant past. Finally, Kasim Dzihambo is a classificatory brother of Nimutwa, the wife of Selemani Kasim Vesso. That is, the father of Nimutwa, and Dzihambo, the father of Kasim, are related as brothers through a common mother's mother. This is shown on chart 8. In his relationship as mlamu of Selemani Kasim Vesso, and as mwanyumba of Kasim Chuo, Kasim Dzihambo contributed fifty cents.

17. Muhammad Ali, the father of Nimutwa, and, therefore, the mtsedza of Selemani Kasim Vesso, contributed three shillings. He did not come to the uganga because of the mahanga of his other daughter's baby.

18. Halifani Malau came to the uganga because he is the brother of Omari, and is, therefore, a baba of Kasim Tsembea, just as Omari is. (The husband, and the brothers of any husband, of a sister of ego's mother is termed baba by ego.) In his role as baba, Halifani contributed fifty cents. He also helped his brother in the uganga work.

It should also be noted that Omari Malau, in his role as baba of Kasim Tsembea, contributed one shilling to the costs of the uganga. In his role as muganga, he was paid some fifteen shillings. He gave his apprentices and other main assistants several shillings as well.

19. Muhammad Bukhari Nyevu came, because he is the mwana-funzi, or apprentice, of Omari Malau. He is also the classificatory mwana of Kasim Tsembea because his father, Bukhari Nyevu, and Kasim Tsembea are related patrilineally through a common father's father. Muhammad Bukhari lives in his father's mudzi, which is part of the

mudzi of Kasim Tsembea. In his role as mwana he contributed one shilling. As an apprentice muganga, he helped Omari Malau in Omari's work.

20. Hassani Mwarangi came because he is also a mwanafunzi of Omari Malau. He is also the very close classificatory mkoi of Omari, since his father, Rangi, was the awu of Omari, related to Omari's mother, Kasinga, as a mwenuhu mwana ma. Hassani did not contribute anything to the uganga, but in his role as mwanafunzi, he helped in the work of uganga.

21. Nirama, the full sister of Omari Malau was present. She is Omari's main female assistant in all uganga, and is also a muteji of Omari. She contributed nothing to the uganga, but helped her brother in his work.

22. Conspicuous by their absence at the uganga were Juma Hamisi; Mwanamkasi, the full sister of Chisira, and Selemani and Muhammad Jembe, the sons of Mwanamkasi. Those at the uganga, especially Kasim Vesso, felt that they, particularly Juma Hamisi, should have come, if only to pay their respects. Omari Malau fanned the flames of resentment, saying, in effect, "what can you expect of Juma Hamisi?"

It will be recalled that Juma Hamisi took the coconut palms planted by his father, Hamisi, even though Kasim

Vesso felt that he had a right to these palms as a classificatory muwa of Hamisi. Kasim Vesso expects that Juma Hamisi should help him in such important matters as uganga. Juma, however, opposes all uganga as pagan custom, and a waste of time and money.

Selemani and Muhammad Jembe and their mother should have come to the uganga because they, too, obtained coconut palms which Kasim Vesso otherwise might have taken. Kasim's father, Mwachilonda, had two sisters, the elder of whom bore Shehere. Using coconut seedlings given him by Vesso Mwachilonda, and using the aid of Kasim Vesso, his mkoi, Shehere planted about 25 coconut palms before his death in 1940. He died childless. His mwenehu, Chisira, inherited his coconut palms and when Chisira died, Kasim Vesso told Ewanankasi and her sons to assume control of Shehere's coconut palms. These relationships are shown in chart 9.






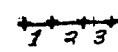
After much uganga, the various shaitani of the patient emerged, and, speaking through the voice of the patient, demanded that they be given such things as new clothes, trinkets and goats. As is usual in all such cases, the husband of the patient is supposed to give his wife the items which the shaitani of his wife demand.

His wife will then use these items in the name of her shaitani. As long as she obtains the items, the shaitani will be pleased and will not cause her to be ill or inflict her with other troubles. In the case of Kasim Tsembea, the shaitani of his wife acted in such a way that she could not bear to have Kasim sleep with her, and, if he attempted to do so, her shaitani pushed him out of the bed. Kasim gave her what her shaitani demanded, and for a time at least, she was cured.

Such uganga activities occur frequently in Lungalunga and elsewhere in the District. In part, they are a function of the economic cycle, and most uganga takes place during and immediately after the period of harvest of both cash and food crops. In places like waa where many Digo are employed as wage labour, extensive uganga ya shaitani occurs right after each pay day.

In part, such uganga is a function of the nature of Digo social organization, and the need Digo have constantly to dramatize, test, and reaffirm their relationships of kinship, affinity and friendship. A study of any major uganga activity illustrates very clearly the fact that Digo social organization is multilinear.

Key:

-  = Railway
-  = Roads
-  = River Uмба
-  = Road to Tanga
-  = Kenya - Tanganyika Border
-  Miles

