

## 1. Description

1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family: Gisu/Bagisu (Language: Lugisu, dialect of Masaaba)

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): myx

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Lat: 34° E to 35° E, Long: 45°N to 150° N

1.4 Brief history: “The Bagishu have no tradition of an early migration. They assert that their ancestors were called Mundu and Sera whom tradition says came out of a hole on Mt Masaba (Elgon).their early life seems to have been anti-social, almost based on the principle “ survival of the fittest”. Very little is so far known about their history but they are known to be related to a sub-group of the Luhya of Kenya known as Bukusu. The Bagishu are said to have separated from the Bukusu in the 19th century. The tradition claiming that they have always lived where they are since history is not fashionable.

The earliest immigrants of Bugishu are believed to have moved into the Mt Elgon area during the 16th century from the eastern plains.

The origin of the Bamasaba is not known but traditions carried over generations by oral history point to Egypt (Misiri) as the traditional homeland but this could be the similar epicenter where other migrations from the lower Nile and northwestern Ethiopia took place at the close of the millennium, approximately 900 AD.

The Bagishu, alternately referred to as Gisu, Bamasaba, (people of Bugisu region) are closely related to the Babukusu people of Kenya. The Babukusu of western Kenya are believed to have migrated from the Bamasaba, particularly from areas around Bubulo, in the current Manafwa District. Many clans among the Babukusu have their origins among the Bamasaba.

During the Constituent Assembly that led to the 1995 Constitution of Uganda, Mulongo Simon, a delegate from Bubulo East, introduced Babukusu as one of the ethnic groups, acknowledging the fact that both groups, Bamasaba and Babukusu are intertwined.

Mountain Elgon, known locally as Masaaba (a volcano 4'321m), the legendary father of the Bagisu people, has a long history of human occupation. The Bagisu, a Bantu speaking people, were the first settlers on the mountain's western and southwestern slopes. Traditionally agriculturalists, they began cultivating in Mt. Elgon's fertile volcanic soils in the 14th century. They have remained on the mountain's slopes up to the present day and now currently inhabit the Mbale District.

Land pressure during the early decades of colonial rule caused the Bagisu to move northwards, hence hitting the territory of the Sebei people (Nilotic tribe), who had fought against Bagisu dominance for over a century.” (1)

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: “Land pressure during the early decades of colonial rule caused the Bagisu to move northward, impinging on the territory of the Sebei people, who have fought against Gisu dominance for over a century. The Bagwere and Bakedi people to the south have also claimed distinct cultural identities and have sought political autonomy.” (2)

“Earlier, when the Masaai were still dominant in the eastern part of Mt Elgon, they were the traditional hostile neighbours. The dual economic activity of both crop and animal husbandry generated a resilient economy that supported their livelihoods and developed into an independent cultural community that endured centuries of hostility.” (1)

“The advance of the European missionaries in late 1890s, facilitated by Kakungulu, a British Uganda agent, established a base for the British colonial rule in the area. This changed drastically the geo-political settings of the Bamasaba from then onwards. They put up a futile fight against organized elite Ganda fighters but lost their sovereignty and succumbed to foreign rule. Bamasaba politics before the arrival of Europeans were organized in a decentralized way but maintained strong clan system that brought them together as a community. They had a strong fighting force of youths, whose pre-occupation was to herd livestock and trained in warfare (warriors). They warded off attacks from neighboring communities such as the Luo, Iteso, Elgon Masaai (Sabot and Sebei).” (1)

1.6 Ecology (natural environment): “They occupy the well-watered western slopes of Mount Elgon, where they grow millet, bananas, and corn for subsistence, and coffee and cotton as cash crops.” (1)

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density “This area has the highest population density in the nation, as dense as 250 per sq km. As a result, nearly all land is cultivated and land pressure has led to the migration of the population and to social conflicts.” (1) Population 500,000 (10).

## 2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): “Kamaleewa: These are tender bamboo shoots which are a delicacy among the Bagisu. Usually, after harvest, these shoots are first boiled and later on sundried before cooking.” (5)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: “Sundried fish: Sun-dried fish is a delicacy in the eastern region. These are several varieties including the small but highly nutritious species; locally known as Nkejje and Mukene. They are usually sun-dried and cooked in a sauce of peanut or pre-soaked and fried.” (5)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: “According to the Bagwere, the Bagisu hire ruffians to terrorise them. These are armed with deadly weapons like several sharp pangas welded together. “They strike you from a distance, giving you no chance to defend yourself,” laments a Mugwere survivor of the Bagisu's ‘long-range machete.’” (6)

2.4 Food storage:

2.5 Sexual division of production: There are some gender distinctions in crops, but they do not seem as sharp as in other areas of Africa or, possibly, as they were in the past. The main food crops grown by men and women are approximately similar, as are those considered main men's and women's crops. Bananas are considered the single most important crop by both men and women, married or single. Maize and cassava are somewhat more important to men, and beans, sweet potatoes, and cocoyam are somewhat more important to women. All of these, however, are commonly grown by both genders.

Among income crops, coffee is generally considered a men's crop, and it predominates among married men, but over half of single women also grow it, generally because they are widows who inherited their husbands' coffee plants after his death. Bananas and beans are important income crops for most households, and although beans are considered more a woman's crop, they are also grown by single men for income. Tomatoes, onions, and cabbages are also grown by women as cash crops and are sold in local markets. They are rarely if ever sold to traders for transport to distant markets. Other than those women who have inherited coffee, the produce women sell is generally only for local markets. In terms of gender identification of the main food and income crops, the responses indicate that although there are some differences, the distinctions are relatively subtle, and they may have become more flexible than they were in the past.

There are also some crop distinctions between married and single households of both genders. The main household income crops for married women are beans, coffee, bananas, and maize, in this order, with tomatoes, onions, and cabbages as additional income crops. Among single women, the main income crops are bananas, coffee, and beans. Maize, tomatoes and onions are less commonly grown by single women as income crops. Among married men, coffee stands out as the most important income crop, followed by beans, maize, and bananas. Tomatoes, onions, and cabbage, and in a

few cases cotton, are also important income crops. For single men, bananas are approximately as important as coffee as an income crop, followed by beans, maize, and tomatoes.

Many of the responses as well as anecdotal information provided by the respondents, however, indicated that although specific crops sold by men and women may not differ substantially, their marketing patterns often do differ. Women often sell sold their crops only locally, either in front of their homesteads or at the nearest market or trading center. Partly because of their heavy domestic workload, they often tend to travel very little. Indeed, one of the female respondents said that she does not travel anywhere except to her plots and back, while her husband does all of the marketing. Although this is an extreme case, men generally travel much more than women, and they are much more likely to sell produce in more distant markets. In addition, women often report that they have limited control of the money they earn from crop sales or some of their other activities (see also Table 10 below), as the money is said to “go into the husband’s pocket.””(9)

2.6 Land tenure: “Land was owned on a clan basis. Boys would be allocated pieces of land upon getting married.” Land is passed down from one generation to the next. (4)

2.7 Ceramics: No information found

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: “In a 1994 report for IUCN, Penny Scott describes how thousands of Bagisu people go to the forest during bamboo shoot growing season, to harvest and dry bamboo shoots. They stay for three or four days, living under makeshift bamboo shelters. They sing and chant, shouting progress to neighbours and friends across the valleys, working until late in the night and sleeping only a few hours. “The bamboo shoots are not merely a source of food during periods of shortage,” Scott writes. “The income generated from their sale is an important supplement to the household economy, particularly for residents of the forest-adjacent parishes of southern Mbale. Most important, however, is the cultural connection with ancestors, which is represented by the harvesting and consumption of bamboo shoots. The dish is an essential component of circumcision ceremonies and weddings.” (7)

2.9 Food taboos:

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

### 3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

### 4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f):

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): Roughly 6 people (9)

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: 37% of population polygamous, 11% of men polygamous, 62% of women polygamous (9)

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: “After the bride wealth had been settled, a delegation from the boy’s side would come with the boy and they would be offered the bride. A man could marry as many wives as he wished provided he could afford the bride wealth. In the event of divorce, the girl’s parents would return all that they had demanded as bride wealth. This depended on whether the woman left immediately after marriage or she had failed to produce children. If she had had children, only part of the bride wealth would be returned.” (4)

4.9 Inheritance patterns: “After the burial a ceremony would be carried out. It was attend by the elders. If the dead person had been the head of the house hold, this ceremony would installing an heir. The rules for choosing an heir demanded that he or she should be well-behaved and understanding. The heir could be a girl or a boy no matter whether he or she was younger than some of his or her elder brothers and sisters.” (4)

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: “The relationship of parent and child,demands formality and respect and provides the model for all behaviour between people of adjacent generations, who are all seen to stand in relation of begetter to begotten. Moreover, the two generations are seen to 'beget' each otherin a continuous cycle: father begets sons but these sons in turn will beget children of the same generation as the father.” (10)

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?

4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape “During ritual proceedings [of circumcision], the initiate could pick any girl and have sexual intercourse with her, the girl was not supposed to refuse. It is believed that if a girl refused, she would never have children when she got married.” (4)

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin): “The rules which determine the use of bridewealth bind together not only brothers and sisters, with the brother using a portion of his sister's bridewealth to marry himself, but also patrilineal parallel cousins and all crosscousins. These cousins are addressed as 'siblings' and all have rights to a portion of a girl's bridewealth and to inherit each others' widows.” (10)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? “The orphan burden added to those created by the post-civil strife outcomes is ever increasing and the number of widows is also rising. As a result there is an increasing number of street children, sex workers, elderly-and child-headed households.” (8)

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females 1.125 (9)

4.22 Evidence for couvades

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? “Lukoosi has a range of related meanings, all of which are relevant to understanding kinship behaviour. In the first place, lukoosi is respect, a respect which embraces not only the proper esteem rendered to persons but also a sense of the proper ordering of things, of customs and tradition. Lukoosi in this general sense is the fundamental principle upon which all orderly social relationships and conduct are based. A person 'with lukoosi' is thus not only a courteous individual but also respectable, honest and law-abiding. At its most general level, lukoosi finds

expression in the detailed rules of everyday etiquette. In a slightly more specific sense, lukoosi is mandatory among all kin, who must show proper respect for each other by observing due decorum.” (10)

4.24 Joking relationships? “The more general stipulation of lukoosi in relationships of all kinds continues to hold, and poses limitations on the types of behaviour thought suitable. Specifically it rules out any kind of joking or teasing, the only exception to this among consanguines being in the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren.” However those in “bukulo” relationships, or joking relationships, are the other exception to this. (10)

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations

4.26 Incest avoidance rules “As has been seen, sexual distance is absolute between people of the proximate generation and opposite sex, whether kin or married to kin, all of whom maybe referred to as basoni. With them, incest or adultery is regarded as 'polluting', and not just 'bad' because it 'spoils kinship', as is the case with such offences among members of the same generation.” (10)

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? “The naming of the child was not immediate. It would normally wait until such a time as the child began to cry continuously, say throughout the day or throughout the night. Tradition says that an ancestor would then appear as if in a dream and dictate the name by which the child would be called. The name so commanded was normally the one of the ancestor who appeared in the dream. The name thus suggested was obligatory and no one was supposed to question its suitability.” (4)

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? “Traditionally marriage was arranged by the parents of the boy and the girl, often without the knowledge and the consent of the girl.” (4)

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

## **Warfare/homicide**

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): “Tension is building up again between Bagwere and Bagisu farmers who grow rice in Namatala swamps on the disputed border between Mbale and Budaka districts.

A group of Bagwere in Nyanza, Mugiti sub-county in Budaka district reported that people suspected to be Bagisu from Kibiniko in Mbale district on Friday night crossed into Nyanza and destroyed their rice nursery beds and gardens.

Kenneth Mujasi, a farmer from Nyanza village, said his rice garden that was about to be harvested, was slashed down. Ziryati Were, another farmer, said she lost over 50 nursery beds that would have covered about 30 acres of rice.

The conflict between Bagisu and Bagwere over farming rights in the Namatala swamp has been going on for over four years. This prompted the Government to intervene by demarcating the boundary between Mbale and Budaka.

But before the demarcation was completed, the surveyors abandoned the exercise, saying their lives were being threatened. Stones meant to mark the border are still lying at Kamonkoli Police post.” (12)

4.18 Cannibalism? “Allegations of cannibalism fly thick and fast among the Bagisu, the Kisii and some tribes in the Congo forest, regions of civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, Asia and Latin America.

A photographer and one of the writers once accompanied police on the trail of a suspected cannibal who had exhumed a corpse buried on August 9, 2006 in Malanga Village of South Uyoma, Bondo District.

Led by the Bondo Officer Commanding Police Division Mr Golucha Roba, the police nabbed the suspect.

Villagers stared in disbelief as the class six dropout was arrested with human brain in a bottle and the private parts of the deceased in a handbag.

The suspect said he had been advised by a traditional herbalist in Seme that human brain and private organs would cure his skin disease.

His explanations were spine chilling.

If I mix human brain and local herbs, I will be cured. Killing is a crime but exhuming a dead body is not. I have never killed people but I exhume a corpse after two months,” he confessed.

The man later confessed before a Siaya Magistrate's Court that he had been exhuming and eating the brains and other body parts. He was sentenced to seven years in prison.

There have been reports in the local Press of people caught in various parts of Kisii in possession of hands, legs and other body parts.

“They eat the entire human body but keep the hands to stir local brews such as Busaa in the belief that the brews get tastier, attracts clients and sells fast,” a Kisii resident says.” (13)

## **5. Socio-Political organization and interaction**

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): “The Bagishu had a loose political structure based on clans. Every clan had an elder known as Umwami we sikuka (chief of the clan). These men were chosen on the basis of age and wealth. They were responsible for maintaining law and order, and unity and the continuity of the clan. They were also responsible for keeping and maintaining the cultural values of the clan and for making sacrifices to the ancestral spirits. Often stronger chiefs would extend their influence other clans but no chief managed to subdue other clans into one single political entity. Other important figures in Bugishu included the rainmakers and the sorcerers.” (4)

5.4 Post marital residence:

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex): “Both seniors and juniors address each other, according to sex, as either papa (father) or mayi (mother).” (10)

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: “Bukulo is a hereditary joking relationship which holds between members of different lineages, linking them as joking partners, bakulo (sing. umukulo) to each other.” (10)

5.8 Village and house organization: “About 55% of the housing units in rural areas are generally of poor quality, predominantly consisting of mud and wattle, with grass or banana fibre thatched roofs. Electricity is only available in towns through hydroelectric and solar power.” (8)

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: (see 5.13)

5.12 Trade: “[the Bagisu] grow coffee and cotton as cash crops.” (1)

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? “The Bagishu had a loose political structure based on clans. Every clan had an elder known as Umwami we sikuka (chief of the clan). These men were chosen on the basis of age and wealth. They were responsible for maintaining law and order, and unity and the continuity of the clan. They were also responsible for keeping and maintaining the cultural values of the clan and for making sacrifices to the ancestral spirits. Often stronger chiefs would extend their influence other clans but no chief managed to subdue other clans into one single political entity. Other important figures in Bugishu included the rainmakers and the sorcerers.” (4)

## 6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6.0 Time allocation to RCR:

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): “The experts at magic in Bugishu were divided into three categories. These categories, in their descending order of harmfulness were: the witch doctor proper or the sorcerer known as umulosi; next to the scale is the witch finder called umufumu; and the least harmful if the medicine man. The duty of the medicine man was to tell when to make sacrifices. He also supplied medicine against witch craft; snake bites, charm, for use in war and those to induce infection. He could read an oracle and also avert a creditor from coming to demand debts. The Umufumu could perform the powers of a medicine man but in addition had the power to detect who had cast a spell against someone. However, he did not have the powers to cast a spell. He could simply tell who had done it and appropriate means would be taken to get an antidote. The Umulosi was the most feared and the most harmful. His position was hereditary and he lived alone in the forest. He wielded great influence and sometimes he combined the functions of the witch-finder with his other roles. He was considered a direct medium and no medicine could be effective against his spells.” (4)

6.2 Stimulants: The Bagisu people are known for growing high-quality Arabica coffee (8).

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): “Mwaga is a ceremonial initiation dance of the Bagisu people, who live in eastern Uganda on the border to Kenya. They believe that for a young boy to become a man, he must be circumcised in a ceremony that is reflected in the dance.

Before this initiation, the young boy must dance for 21 days, and only then will he possess the spiritual powers with no fear and become a man. If a man, even an elderly one, does not go through this ceremony, he will never be referred to as a man, and he will never earn the respect of the community. He will actually be cursed until the spirits force him to perform this ceremony.

The Bamasaba (Bagisu) are famous for their traditional male circumcision ceremonies, held every year. This ceremony is an important cultural link between the local people around Mt. Elgon. Today during the three-day-ceremony of dancing, visiting friends and family, feasting and receiving gifts, preceded by a couple of months of preparations, e.g. bamboo strips being handed down to the candidate by the eldest uncle on the father's side in order to symbolize the responsibility and strength needed to face the challenge of manhood, the candidate is decorated with skins and waves two black and white colobus monkey tails in the air as he is accompanied in his running across villages. A combination of sounds, including the ringing of bells attached to the candidates, fiddles, flutes, and group songs, makes this event memorable to anyone watching. Intricate rhythms are played on different traditional drums of differing pitching, and this creates and often stimulates the dancing of everyone present. The person undergoing circumcision is accompanied in the running across the villages, and at the end of it he must be strong and he is not expected to make noise (scream) during circumcision, as otherwise the family will be very embarrassed. It is of great importance for the candidate to “quietly” stand strong during the circumcision to show that he is capable and ready to become a man. The initiates are admitted into adulthood after this ceremony and are expected to begin their formal contribution to the growth of their respective communities. Unlike the Bagisu, the Sebei also circumcise women.” (3)

6.4 Other rituals: “The judicial system was mixed up in their belief of witch craft. The accused might often be innocent but once named by a witch finder, he or she had to commit suicide. If a woman was suspected of an evil practice like sorcery, the husband had to send her away and custom demanded that he own people would not accept her either. The person named by the witch finder was usually killed should he fail to remove the spell which he cast on the victim or if the victim had already died.

The procedure of finding out whenever someone had cast the spell took a somewhat strange trend. The accused was summoned and confronted with the corpse or the sick man and urged to confess. If he refused, there were several other ordeals he was subjected to. The commonest was the use of a hot knife. If he got burnt when a hot knife was placed on his body, he would be considered guilty if the crime but if he was not burnt, he would be considered innocent. It is said, however, that there were cases when some people would not get burnt and there used to be living examples to testify to this fact.” (4)

6.5 Myths (Creation): “For the Bagisu people, for example, their creation story tells of their ancestors arising out of the mountain. “When you speak of Mount Elgon, it is part of our hearts”, is how one elder put it.” (11)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): “Their vocal lines are rhythmically complex with many variations, and they are characterised by the hexatonic scale. The music is mainly fast with characteristics being similar to that of the Buganda. A combination of sounds, including the ringing of bells attached to the candidates; fiddles, flutes, and group songs, makes [a circumcision ceremony] memorable to anyone watching. Intricate rhythms are played on different traditional drums of differing pitching, and this creates and often stimulates the dancing of everyone present.” (1)

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: The main focus is on men (circumcision) as opposed to women. (1)

6.8 Missionary effect: The Joshua Project indicates that more than 5 percent of Gisu people are now Christian. (8)

6.9 RCR revival:

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: “In the event of death, people would cry loudly and the body of the deceased would remain in the house for three days before the burial could take place. This applied to both sexes. Burial took place on the fourth day. There were elaborate rituals which were performed during burial. If the deceased was barren, a hole was cut at the rear of the house. The corpse would be passed through it to be taken to burial. In the case of a parent, the corpse would be passed through the normal entrance. Women who died un-married were treated in the same way as if they were barren, but such cases were rare because mature girls were normally chased away from homes by their brothers to go and get married.” (4)

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? “Before burial, the corpse was entreated that no one present was responsible for its death and therefore its spirit should not return as they had left no trace on earth, and their names were never given to anyone yet to be born.” (4)

6.12 Is there teknonymy? No.

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) “The Bagishu have a very strong belief in magic. Their outlook on the most ordinary events was bound up with magic.

There were several forms of witch craft; some particular with men and others particular with women. One of them was called Buyaza. It was done by putting the backbone of a snake into some belongings of his victim and then calling upon the spirits to attack him or her, other forms involved various actions and objects but the end result was usually the same that is inflicting harm or misfortune on the victim. There was another form of witch craft

known as gamalogo which was particular with women and gamasala which was particular with men and it required the use of pieces of food leftovers, put in a cocoon of poisonous caterpillar and placed in the thatch of the victim's hut. The men applied a method called nabulungu to bewitch cattle. Another method called Mutabula was also used by men and it involved burying a small flat woven basket in the ground outside the intended victim's hut. These were just a few. There were several other forms and instances of witch craft." (4)

## 7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

7.2 Piercings:

7.3 Haircut:

7.4 Scarification:

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: "[during circumcision] during the three-day-ceremony of dancing, visiting friends and family, feasting and receiving gifts, preceding by a couple of months of preparations, e.g. bamboo strips being handed down to the candidate by the eldest uncle, on the father's side, to symbolize the responsibility and strength needed to face the challenge of manhood, the candidate is decorated with skins and waves two black and white colobus monkey tails in the air as he is accompanied in the running across villages." (1)

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: "Clothes of men were hides of goats, antelopes and calves. They covered one shoulder and tied them on the left side with a knot. Men did always carry a spear. Clothes of women were out of banana stem material. They tied them around the waist and under the legs but with the sides free. They used small hides to cover the breasts." (8)

7.8 Missionary effect: "The Bagisu should be encouraged to see Jesus as an ancestor who is the new source of human lineage. There is no doubt that *imbalu* has immemorial religious riches. The blood shed at circumcision binds the people together just as the blood of Jesus brings all nations together." (14)

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

## 8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: Brother, sister, etc (common identifiers) (10).

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

## 9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

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