

# SUMBWA

## 1. Description

1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family: The name of the society is Sumbwa. The language family is Niger-Congo/Bantu. The language itself is named Sumbwa. However, there are other mother languages in the area, such as Swahili and Nyamwezi. Also, a neighboring language is the Sukuma. (2 p2) Furthermore, “Swahili is the national language of Tanzania, and it is generally used in group settings, especially in areas where many different people groups are represented. While nearly everyone knows at least basic Swahili, bilingualism testing among the Sumbwa indicates that the educated have a higher level of Swahili ability than those who have not been to school”. (1 p2)

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): The three letter ISO code is 639-3: suw (1)

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Longitude 32 E, Latitude 3'30 (1)

The Sumbwa people are “scattered over a wide area. The main center of the Sumbwa people is located in the Bukombe, Runzewe, and Kahama districts of Shinyanga region in northern Tanzania”. (1 p2)

1.4 Brief history: “According to tradition, they [The Sumbwa] originated in the far western part of the country, and many, many years ago they moved into the north central area of the country, where they conquered the local people and set up their own chiefdom”. (1 p1) The Sumbwa were originally hunters and gatherers, as most groups in that area. However, since then, they have become primarily farmers dealing with cotton, bee-keeping, and maize and cassava growing. (1 p2)

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: It seems as there is quite an effort of Christian missionaries to minister in that specific area where the Sumbwa reside. Furthermore, “They live in close contact with other people groups, particularly the Sukuma and Ha. They seem to have good relationships with these people, and they live peacefully together”. (1 p2) Also, “The White Fathers began a mission in Ushirombo in 1891, and their work spread throughout the Sumbwa area. They have been the main church in the area for many years, and it was not until about 1987 that other denominations came in“. (1 p2) As time progressed, 5 Christian groups settled in that area – SP, COG, AIM, and SDA. That being said, in 1998 there were total of 192 local workers doing ministry work in the area for these organizations. (1 p2)

1.6 Ecology (natural environment): The Ecosystem type is Scrub Forest and the Geologic type of their environment is Plains. (1 p2)

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: The population of the Sumbwa people, according to a measure done in 1996 is around 191,000 people. (1 p1)

## **2. Economy**

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): The main carbohydrate staple foods for the Sumbwa people are sorghum, millet, maize, rice, sweet potatoes, cassava, beans, chick-peas, gourds, sunflowers, bananas. (2) Furthermore, the Sumbwa also farm cotton for cash crop and bee-keeping (honey) for food and income. (1 p2)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Peanuts and chick peas are some of their sources of protein. (2)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns? : Although there is no specific data regarding the different weapons the Sumbwa use, according to a source, within the region of the Unyamwezi, where the Sumbwa reside, the most profitable hunt was for elephants, done primarily by guns – “mostly smooth-bore- muzzle-loader”. (5 p35)

2.4 Food storage: The data does not provide us with a clear statement regarding the food storage within the Sumbwa people, but I would assume it will not be any different than the other tribes in the area.

2.5 Sexual division of production: The data speaks of division of labor and specifically that man and woman both have different tasks to accomplish, some of which are that men clear the bushes, do all metal and woodwork, sewing and ironing of clothes and so forth; for the women, the tasks include weeding, bringing of firewood for cooking and beer-brewing and many more. (5 p51)

2.6 Land tenure: “In Sumbwa, ownership is conveyed by right of cultivation or by grant by the chief of a field belonging to some person who has migrated out of the land”. (4 p273) Such ownership does not stop even if the land is not being used. The only way for the ownership to lapse is for the owner to hand over his land or if the person is missing, the chief of the tribe can give that land away. (4 p273) Also, “If a man leaves the country his land falls to the chief. Private land belongs not to the individual, but to the family after the first owner”. (4 p273)

2.7 Ceramics: There is not any evidence that I could find of ceramic work done by the Sumbwa, however, it will not be a surprise for that to be found today, as some of the sources used in this paper have aged substantially.

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: Within the Sumbwa tribes, as similar to other tribes, any considerably valuable item found anywhere belongs to the chief. Also, if there is an elephant hunt, the chief is given one tusk. (4 p275)

2.9 Food taboos: The source refer to the greater area of Unyamwezi, of which the Sumbwa belong, and they explain that the most frequent food prohibitions “are animals that are spotted or striped, e.g. bush-buck and are associated with leprosy by the people”. (5 p70)

2.10 Canoes/watercraft? – The Sumbwa people do not seem to use canoes or any other form of watercraft as they do not live near a major water source. On that note, they derive most of their water from wells or bore-holes. (1 p3)

### **3. Anthropometry**

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): Although there is no specific data for the height of the Sumbwa, one would have to assume that it will not be any different from the neighboring tribes.

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): There is no data regarding the mean adult weight. Nevertheless, judging by the food source of the Sumbwa and their active life, one must conclude that they are very lean and in the same mean adult weight bracket as the other tribes nearby.

### **4. Life History, mating, marriage**

4.1 Age at menarche (f): Although there is no specific data pertaining to the age at menarche, it can be concluded that similar tribes have the same age at menarche as the other tribes in Tanzania.

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): There is no evidence to support at what age the first birth occurs, but it is known that the age of marriage is puberty so I would consider that to be the approximate time for first birth. (4 p252)

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): The family size depends on different factors but a man can have many women that he is married to. However, each one is separate from the other so it is hard to say whether they should be considered one family or separate entities. (4 p249)

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): There is no specific data regarding the Inter-birth-interval, but there is no evidence to support that the Sumbwa’s inter-birth-interval is any different than within neighboring tribes.

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): The age of marriage is generally accepted to be puberty. (4 p252) “It is a very common rule that a younger child may not marry before an elder”. (4 p251) Furthermore, if any brother/sister tires to marry before an older sibling, the older sibling “will make pretence of being married by cohabitation for one night with some youth”. (p 252)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: There are no solid statistics on this matter but it is known that divorce do occur in normal rates. Furthermore, divorce can occur in two ways – either the husband returns his wife to her parents or the wife simply deserts, which is the less common type separation. (4 p261)

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: There is not specific data gathered to provide percentage facts, but it is evident that polygamy is the predominant form of marriage among the Sumbwa people. According to the source, the presence of only one wife is considered to be a state of poverty thus “...many wives mean wealth. They bring strength to the family and by consequence the husband of many wives is respected and esteemed “. (4 p248-249) Another interesting fact pertaining to marriage is that if a father dies, his sons can marry his widows but the sons cannot marry their own mothers. Furthermore, the sons will also take over the young children of the widow. (4 p259)

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: There seems to be evidence to support Bride purchase with dowry. Furthermore, the dowry depends upon if the girl is virgin. “...and even in Sumbwa, where it is said that few marriageable girls are virgins, a price of two or three rupees is paid for loss of virginity”. (4 p246) Furthermore, The Dowry is “150 to 1000 hoes according to rank” and it must be paid on, or before marriage. (4 p254) However, if the man cannot pay the dowry or if the parents of the girl do not want to give her away even after the dowry has been paid, the man can abduct the woman (with the woman’s consent). (4 p253)

4.9 Inheritance patterns: Regarding the inheritance rules, within the Sumbwa tribe, the inheritance falls to the sons. It is also known, but not a hundred percent proven, is that the oldest son acts as the trustee of the inheritance while the other male siblings are still minors. (4 p267) Unlike other tribes in the area, within the Sumbwa, the inheritance by a son is not regulated by the chief, and no formal permission is needed. (5 p62)

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: When a man has many women each wife is separated in her own tent and she only shares her household with her own children. (4 p249) Also, if the wife has illegitimate children, the husband may acquire them by paying a trifling sum. (4 p260) Furthermore, pertaining to the parent-offspring

matter, while the children belong to the mother and they stay with the mother, the father can acquire the children by paying a negligible sum. (4 p260)

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: There hasn't been any sources speaking of homosexuality but judging by the strict code of ethics that the Sumbwa follow (recall that no two people even closely related to each other can marry the other (4 p251)) one may conclude that their social attitude regarding homosexuality will be very conservative. However, one cannot speculate on what the social consequences will be.

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): The Sumbwa people are strictly exogamous. "...in Sumbwa persons related in the remotest degree may not marry". (4 p251)

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized? : There is no mentioning of partible paternity within the sources, but it is certain that the Sumbwa are strict regarding husband/wife relationships being considered sacred and separated. (4)

4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows"): Although data is not specially referring to this subject, the overall notion is that women are highly regarded.

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? I did not manage to find any evidence pertaining to this topic.

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: According to the source, rape is very rare and if it happens, payments are made to the husband. (4 p246)

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin): There are no specific categories from whom to choose a spouse, but it is certain that if there is the slightest relation between the couple, they cannot marry. (4 p251)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? The women do not enjoy sexual freedom as the people committed the adultery with the wife will be prosecuted. However, a wife's unfaithfulness is closely related to the man's unfaithfulness as a woman cannot prosecute her husband for adultery. Furthermore, the compensation paid to the husband for his wife's adultery by the adultery is divided in 3 parts – "the husband receives 100 hoes, the king 50, and the elders 22; possibly these payments should be called fees or fines rather than compensation". (4 p245)

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: There is no concrete evidence for such gifts but it is evident that extramarital sexual contact is somewhat regarded as a bad occurrence. (2 p246)

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? It is considered that the man will marry another woman, and if he can marries his ex-wife's sister for a very small sum. So the new wife will watch over the kids. (4 p258)

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: There is not much if any data at all regarding the adult sex ratio, but one can conclude that it will not be much different than the ration of the neighboring tribes.

4.22 Evidence for couvades: There certainly has not been any evidence to support the practice of couvades.

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older): There does not seem to be any distinction for potential fathers.

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? There hasn't been any data pertaining to this "ritual" of avoiding people of respect, but as present in other tribes, it will most likely exists within the Sumbwa people as well.

4.24 Joking relationships? According to a source, the "Sumbwa are ... said to joke with the Zaramo and Zigua who live on or near the cost, and according to Moreau, the Nyamwezi and Sumbwa also joke with a number of other tribes who live between their country and the coast". (5 p66)

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: The sources do not speak directly regarding the Sumbwa's patterns of descents, but it seems that predominantly, it is bilateral as emphasis is put on both lineages.

4.26 Incest avoidance rules: "...in Sumbwa persons related in the remotest degree may not marry". (4 p251)

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? There seems to be a distinct ceremony after betrothal. "If the betrothal continues until marriage this is invariably marked by a celebration which involves much ceremony of a religious character". (4 p252)

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? There is no data on how one can change their name or obtain a name, but according to a source on the Sumbwa, a baby is given a name it begins to crawl. (5 p70) Also "special names which do not vary according to the sex are given to twins, the first two children following these, and breach-born children". (5 p70)

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) I have not yet found any data regarding marrying outside the community, but from reading the sources, a conclusion can be made that it's a matter of choice.

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? When the man asks the girl to marry him and after receiving permission by the girl, the man goes to the father and officially asks him for permission to marry the girl, which is quite similar to our ways. (5 p74) On the other hand, “If the betrothal continues until marriage this is invariably marked by a celebration which involves much ceremony of a religious character. The most essential item of these ceremonial proceedings is usually the conducting home of the bride, and it is to be noted that it is very usual for her to be carried”. (4 p252) Furthermore, according to the source, couples are sometimes betrothed even at birth, but such betrothals are not binding. (4 p252)

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: Although I could not find any data on the subject, it seems as the Sumbwa do not have specific conflicts of interest over who to marry, and they have their own choice. However, as mentioned earlier, one cannot marry a person if they are related in any way. (4 p251)

## **Warfare/homicide**

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: I did not manage to find any data regarding the casualties of warfare, but one can imagine that the percent of adult deaths due to warfare will be similar as in nearby tribes.

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: In a few tribes near the Sumbwa people, a murderer within the tribe can seek refuge (sanctuary) with the chief. However, within the Sumbwa people, a murderer cannot seek refuge with the chief if the people affected by the murder demand to kill the murderer. (4 p237) Furthermore, the right of blood revenge falls on to the father of the deceased. Also, if the murderer cannot be found, the nearest relative will be killed and only one person can be punished for the crime committed. (4 p237) However, during certain occasions and seasons (during a month called Kwera), this blood revenge must be postponed as the chief is sacrificing to his ancestors. (4 p237) Regarding blood money, the due is paid by the family of the murderer. (4 p237) Also, “...200 to 1000 hoes [type of a currency] are paid according to the rank of the person killed”. (4 p241)

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: According to a research on the Sumbwa people, if a woman causes herself to have abortion she is subject of punishment by death. Furthermore, any one that has assisted her will also suffer similar consequences. (4 p232) Within the Sumbwa, if death was caused by another

person upon another, it doesn't matter if it was unintentional, or as self-defense - it will always require blood revenge. (4 p239)

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): The Sumbwa people are in good standing with their neighbors and “they live in close contact with other people groups, particularly the Sukuma and Ha. They seem to have good relationships with these people, and they live peacefully together”. (1 p3)

4.18 Cannibalism? There is no information supporting any form of cannibalism within the Sumbwa.

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

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: According to a source, within the Sumbwa, “the homesteads of a village tend to form a number of loose clusters separated from, each other by 100 to 400 years of open fields”. (5 p41) Furthermore, there are approximately 8 chiefdoms within a 3,500 square feet area. (5 p13)

5.2 Mobility pattern (seasonality): Even without data on the subject, one can conclude that the Sumbwa do not migrate very often if any at all within a period of time. They seem to be settled in the area of Tanzania.

5.3 Political system (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): The Sumbwa seem to be organized in chiefdoms. Furthermore, they also have village headmen. “Among the former [Sumbwa] this position may be bought from the chief, but they are generally members of the chief's family”. (4 p223) Also, over the village headmen are the heads of districts. (4 p223) Furthermore, the chief's successor is chosen among the chiefs sons by the chief's favorites. (4 p224) Also, the chief's power is somewhat limited as he has to consult councilors and he is somewhat acting by their advice. (4 p224)

5.4 Post marital residence: In most cases, the different wives live in different huts/apartments but in one building. If the man does not have a place of his own or if his wife does not like his parents, he moves in with his wife. I am not certain on how a man will choose with which wife to live. (4 p250)

5.5 Territoriality? (Defined boundaries, active defense): Certainly there seems to be defined boundaries as in other tribes in the area, but there is no specific data regarding the type of boundaries or the defense of these boundaries.

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex): There seem to be evidence of slavery within the Sumbwa. Furthermore, the King protects all slaves. This means that the owner of the slave cannot kill him without the

consent of the King, which happens extremely rarely. (4 p264) Also, the master of the slave is directly responsible for his slave's actions and debts. (4 p265)

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: There is no data regarding the special friendships/joking relationships, but as in most other tribes, this surely is part of their intriguing culture.

5.8 Village and house organization: The Sumbwa live in "Houses made from mud bricks". (1 p3)

5.9 Specialized village structures (men's houses): There hasn't been any data regarding the specialized village structures. However, it is very likely, as in other tribes, for certain structures such as these to exist.

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? The Sumbwa sleep and live in houses made of mud bricks. (1 p3)

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: There seems to be a ranking system within the Sumbwa people. Furthermore, there is strong evidence for slavery within the Sumbwa. The master of the slave can give the slave a wife and pay for the dowry if he gives the slave a woman that is a slave to another person. Furthermore, all children of the slave are also slaves and property of the master. (4 p265) However, the grandchildren of the slaves are considered free and not slaves of the their grandparent's master. (4 p66)

5.12 Trade: The Sumbwa use cotton and Bee-keeping for their main source of income. (1 p3)

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? There seem to be different ranks within the Sumbwa and also a King. Furthermore, slavery is a very common practice within the Sumbwa people. (4 p265)

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

For the Sumbwa, and some of the nearby tribes, ancestor worshiping is the main element in the religious practices. Furthermore, the spirits only affect their own descendants or their siblings. (5 p77) Also, offering to the ancestors is made very regularly, and the Sumbwa have simple shrines, made out of wooden stakes that are stuck in the ground – these are used for the ancestral offering. (5 p77) Apart from the ancestral worship, the Sumbwa are also believed to worship a high god. (5 p78)

6.0 Time allocation to RCR: The exact time spent on RCR is not supported in the form of data, but offerings to ancestors and worshipping them is a big part of the life of the Sumbwa people. (5 p77)

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): Although there is no data specifically speaking of the Sumbwa's specialization, there are certainly roles that each individual will take within the tribe.

6.2 Stimulants: I have not been to find evidence supporting the notion of stimulants within the Sumbwa people, but I am confident that some form, as in other tribes, of stimulants will be present, whether it is for worshipping purposes, or something else.

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): There seem to be a very secretive special ritual (ceremony) performed with the birth of a first-born child. Furthermore, there are total of 10 figures used in this secret ritual that pertains only to the mother and father of the child and also the grandparents. (3 p67) According to the source, "the element of secrecy plays such an important part in all spiritual activities of the people that a tentative explanation of its reason may be not out of place". (3 p67)

6.4 Other rituals: There seems to be a very secretive ritual for newborn babies performed with the knowledge and participation of only the parents and grandparents of the infant. The ritual involves specific figurines and associated activities with these figurines. (3 p66)

6.5 Myths (Creation): According to an article on the Sumbwa, "The super- natural world is not a uniform conception despite the common principles of belief and even a striking similarity in the procedure of rites. Direct communication with the metaphysical sphere is restricted to ancestors from whom a man may expect immediate beneficial influence on matters of the moment". (3 p67) The article goes on to say that each citizen of the Sumbwa tribe has their own heaven and hell that is shared only with his relative and ancestral descendants. The overall notion is that the Sumbwa put a good amount of emphasis on spirits and communication with the spirits, which can be good and bad depending on the situation. (3 p67)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): There is no specific data pertaining to the cultural materials within the Sumbwa. However, according to a source on the region of Unyamwezi, the drums it he predominant musical instrument of the area. (5 p37)

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: There are no certain sex differences regarding RCR but this can also be due to low data pertaining to the subject.

6.8 Missionary effect: The Sumbwa people were certainly influenced by the Missionary effect and Christianity and Islam are still the predominant religions. (5 p80)

6.9 RCR revival: The Sumbwa people are very strongly oriented toward RCR and predominantly, ancestral worship, with specific rituals. (5 p77)

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: The Sumbwa seem to believe in heaven and hell and for each citizen, there is a separate hell and heaven that they share with their family and ancestral descendants.

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? There has not been any data regarding the taboo of naming dead people, but it is evident that the Sumbwa are still communicating only with their own ancestor's spirits. (3 p67)

6.12 Is there teknonymy? There is no evidence to support the practice of referring to the parents by their children's names (tekonymy) but rather, as an overall conclusion, they most likely refer to each other by name.

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) It seems as the Sumbwa used to worship spirits and to believe that spirits are something of a secret. However, due to recent missionary works, many Sumbwa people are converting to Christianity, or Islam. On that note, "A large percentage of the Sumbwa claim to be affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church. It seemed, however, that many of the people are not actively involved. They do not appear to be strong believers; neither do they seem to feel a strong need for change. Most seem like they would be happy to continue as they are now". (1 p3) Furthermore, according to the source, there also seems to be a high degree of syncretism between the traditional religion of the Sumbwa, and the new religions presented to them by the missionaries (1 p3)

## **7. Adornment**

7.1 Body paint: I did not find any specific evidence regarding a permanent body painting of the body. However, during certain rituals such as the ceremonies associated with a child's birth, ash and other materials are mixed to paint certain parts of the mother and father's bodies and also the baby's body as well, particularly the head. (3 p69)

7.2 Piercings: "In Sumbwa the chief wears a round shell in the hair,' an armband of lion's sinew, and two copper armrings". (4 p223)

7.3 Haircut: Although there is no specific data pertaining to the different haircuts, one can imagine that the traditional haircut for that region will also be present within the Sumbwa.

7.4 Scarification: Although specific data is not present regarding scarification of the Sumbwa, there is data supporting the scarification in the whole Unyamezi region, which the Sumbwa is part of. Also, the tradition of knocking out the two middle lower incisors has been present in the past within the Sumbwa. (5 p69)

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): There is no research specifically referring to these types of adornment. The evidence suggests that the Sumbwa are people wearing western-style clothing. Also, the women may wear traditional African clothing called kangas, which are a form of wrap. (1 p3)

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: “In Sumbwa the chief wears a round shell in the hair, an armband of lion's sinew, and two copper armrings”. (4 p223)

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Even though there must be some type of differences in adornment within the different sexes, the data is not there to support it.

7.8 Missionary effect: The Sumbwa people were certainly influenced by the Missionary effect and Christianity and Islam are still the predominant religions. (5 p80)

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: It does not seem as there is data on the cultural revival in adornment.

## **8. Kinship systems**

8.1 Sibling classification system: There hasn't been any data pertaining to the classification system of the siblings, but as in other tribes in Tanzania, one can be certain that sibling classification systems do exist.

8.2 Sororate, levirate: There is no evidence to support whether the Sumbwa practice sororate or levirate marriages. However, “man's sons may marry their father's widows, provided, of course, that they-cannot marry their own mothers, and in such case they will also take over the small children of each wife”. (4 p259)

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):  
There is no concrete evidence regarding any other kinship topology. However, it will not be surprising in the future to find such evidence.

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

- The Sumbwa use bicycles as a means of transportation but they also travel by foot. On that note, “Because many of the villages are very close to the main tarmac road which goes all the way to Rwanda, people have

access to buses and other kinds of transportation. Many of the other roads are in poor condition, and some villages are inaccessible by car. There are a few good roads in the area, but these seemed to be used mainly by the trucks that are hauling cotton”. (1 p4)

- Furthermore, there is no form of electricity , but the main source for heating and light is wood burning.(1 p4)
- Another interesting fact pertaining to debt is that if a man has debt, he can use slaves as securities. Furthermore, if a man is seized for debt along with his wife and children, the family of the wife buys her off and the debtor’s brothers buy out the children “...by payment of ten rupees for a boy and eight rupees for a girl”. (4 p277) Furthermore, if the man does not pay the debt back, he is a slave until the payment has been made. If the man dies while being a slave, the creditor will have to pay blood money. (4 p277)
- Whenever the first child has been born, within one or two weeks the child will be brought out of the tent. The interesting fact is that the father has not even seen the child, nor is he aware of the sex of the child. (3 p68)

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