

Questionnaire (put reference #:page # after each entry)

1. Description

1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family: The Kabyle Berbers. Speak Kabyle although many speak Arabic and even French. (#1) “The Kabyles speaking the Zouaoua dialect are those who inhabit the Djurdjura Mountains in what is called Great Kabylia and Little Kabylia. (#3 chapter 2)

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): “kab” (#1)

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): 36.750/4.00 (#2)

1.4 Brief history: “The word Kabyle is taken from the Arabic *kabail*, plural of *kabila* which means 'tribe.' Some Arab writers use it as a synonym for Berbers.” (#3 chapter 2) “North Africa between 845 B.C. And 1830 A.D. underwent ten invasions: Phoenicians, Greeks, Jews, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arab, Spanish, Turk, and French. In each one of these that was of any consequence the Berbers are found to common cause with the new invaders...// Yver points out that the Berber groups which were defeated and driven into the mountains, -where they were inaccessible to the invaders, - have preserved their language and customs. The Kabyles were one of these groups...// Little Kabylia seems in some instances to have been even more resistant than Great Kabylia. Under the Moslem dynasty of the Aghlabides who governed North Africa 800-909 A.D. little Kabylia escaped their regimes. A difficult region to penetrate it was not attacked by the Arabs who took care not to invade it...// The Kabyles were the very last of the Berber tribes in Algeria to be conquered by the French. Throughout all the invasions prior to the French they seem to have maintained their independence. (#3 chapter 2)

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: “The establishment of Mission schools in Kabylia is not easy. The government must be petitioned for permission to open a school. This permission may be refused without any reason being given. All depends upon the attitude of the party in power. When the permission is obtained (if it is), it carries with it certain specifications that must be met. The teacher in charge of the school must be French and have French diplomas. The school must follow the regular curriculum of study. The children may be presented for the government examinations if they meet the requirements for such examinations...//One thing which often strikes a visitor to Kabylia is the lack of games. The boys play certain gambling games with stones and button. They tie stones in a rag and kick this if they can find a smooth enough place on the mountain side. They are very loathe to learn games which are new to them. They like marble games and when croquet was introduced near one village it proved to be a great attraction for both boys and girls. (#3 chapter 3)

1.6 Ecology (natural environment): Bounded on the north by the Mediterranean Sea. A western boundary along the Isser river. The southern and eastern boundary formed by the Djurdjura Mountains...// Some of the mountains in the Djurdjura are very high, the Lalla Khadija being about 7,500 feet. The highest point the Col (pass) de Tirourda which is more than 8,600 feet. Over this it is possible to pass from Great Kabylia to Little Kabylia at certain times of the year. During the winter this pass is blocked by snow. There are narrow valleys and high peaks in Great Kabylia. The mountains are lower in Little Kabylia...// The heights are not habitable, but the Kabyles have built their villages on the lower habitable hilltops and cultivate the surrounding land. On the higher mountains the climate is very pleasant in summer but in the valleys it is very hot. Even in this mountain area there are extremes of heat and cold. In some parts cultivation is possible throughout the year. In other parts the snow makes cultivation impossible in the winter...// The seasons may be roughly divided into two- the hot, dry season from May to October, and the cold, rainy season from November to April. In the winter when the rains are heaviest, usually from December to March, torrents of water pour down over the mountains and cause much devastation. The same thing happens when the snows melt on the high mountains. As the result of these torrents pouring down the mountains much erosion has taken place in Kabylia. The river Isser, Sebaou, Soummamm, and Wad Sahel, are not navigable. The mountain streams pour into these rivers causing them to be swollen at times while at other times they are almost dry river beds...// The thermometer sometimes registers as low as fourteen degrees Fahrenheit in winter and as high as one hundred four degrees in summer when the sirocco is blowing. These winds come from the Sahara, blowing from the south, southeast and southwest. These are excessively hot winds which destroy vegetation and bring distress to animal life. A sirocco may occur at any time of the year. Winds coming from the north and east are often very strong. Frequently the moisture they bring is not sufficient for rain but causes heavy fog...// In some parts of Kabylia there is an abundance of water while in others the lack of water causes cultivation to be restricted in the summer. The amount of rainfall varies from 24 to 32 inches in the coastal ranges to 60 inches on the high peaks of the Djurdjura...// Luxuriant forests are found in some sections of the mountains. These are largely cork and pine trees. Semple says that this was the region of the famous *Atlantos silva* or forests known to the Romans as the citrus. This is quite distinct from the citrus *Medica* or citron. It is a tree related to the cypress and has a beautifully variegated wood. Some commentators identify this citrus with the cedar or cedar tree of the Atlas Mountains. (#3 chapter 2)

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density “Kabylia is the most densely populated part of Algeria. The population, however, is very unevenly distributed. It averages some 250 to the square mile. The greatest density is in the vicinity of Fort National where the figures reach 530 to the square mile. This is about equal to the density of population in Holland...//

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): Pomegranates, apricots, cherries, oranges, lemons, walnuts, almonds and other varieties of trees are found in Kabylia. Wheat, Barley, lentils, chick-peas, and broad beans are grown. “The woman makes the flour into *ar'roun* or *souksoul*. Either may be made from wheat or barley flour. (#3 chapter 5) “The two most important crops in Kabylia are figs and olives.” (#3 chapter 5)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: “There are no large herds in Kabylia for there is not pasturage enough to support them. The few sheep which are kept, the goats, oxen and donkeys, must be fed many months of the year because of insufficient pasture. Practically every family keeps a few chickens, and rabbits are being kept by an increasing number of people.” (#3 chapter 5)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:

2.4 Food storage:

2.5 Sexual division of production: “The wife is responsible for the care of the home. This includes carrying the water from the fountain, preparation of food, washing of the clothes, care of the children, care of the hut, preparation of wool for spinning and weaving. She also assists with much of the outdoor work in the planting and harvesting, in the gathering of olives and the making of the oil, and in the picking and drying of the figs. The husband is responsible for providing food and clothing for his family. But this may be done as he wishes. He bought his wife and is free to treat her as he pleases.” (#3 chapter 2) “Among the Kabyles each member of the family has duties in the planting and harvesting of the crops. The men do the plowing and the sowing of the seed. The women and children help with the weeding, while the women care for the vegetable gardens.// In the gathering of figs the men and women both pick the fruit and place it upon the drying racks.// All the family has work to do during the olive season. The men beat off the olives, take them to market, and assist in making the oil. The women gather the olives, assist in making oil and filter it. The children assist in gathering the olives.// The men do the marketing, get the clay for pottery making, and sell the pottery. Some follow ambulant trades. The blacksmiths, mason, tailors and jewelers are men. They are also the festival musicians.// The women do the spinning, weaving pottery making, basketry, cooking, carrying of water, care for chicken and rabbits and are seamstresses and dancers.// The children keep the sheep and goats and help about the house. The girls begin at an early age to carry water and to learn household duties.// In many ways the women assist the men, such as in the building of a house, or the planting of a hedge. Often the women assist in heavy work but the above division of labor is typical.” (#3 chapter 5).

2.6 Land tenure: “Contour farming is used, but the furrows are very shallow. The ground is broken by the use of oxen and the old style wooden plow after the wheat and barley have been sown freehand. The plow is held in great honor among the Kabyles. (#3 chapter 5)

2.7 Ceramics: “The pottery in Kabylia is made by the women. It is not an industry which is found in all the villages, but is confined to a few villages, or in some instances to a few families. Lowie says that local specialization although less common than division of labor according to sex, is far from negligible... In Kabylia all use pottery but its manufacture is confined to a few places. Thurnwald also speaks of pottery making as limited in area...// Only three colors are found on Kabyle pottery- red, white, and black. The red is more of a brownish tint. The colors are obtained by crushing lumps of native earth and mixing this with the water. The designs used on the pottery are rectilinear.” (#3 chapter 5) “There are many different kinds, shapes and sizes of pottery made. Included are the jars used for carrying water from the fountain. In Great Kabylia these are long, slender, and pointed on the standing end. These resemble very much the old Roman water jars. In Little Kabylia the water jars are shorter, thicker and flat bottomed. The ones having the point end fit well into the small of the back when being carried. The women using the flat bottom jars place a piece of cork bark underneath sometimes, to make carrying easier.” (#3 chapter 5)

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

2.9 Food taboos:

2.10 Canoes/watercraft? “The river Isser, Sebaou, Soummamm, and Wad Sahel, are not navigable. The mountain streams pour into these rivers causing them to be swollen at times while at other times they are almost dry river beds.” (#3 chapter 2)

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): 164-160 centimeters included 46.6% of a study (#3 chapter 2)

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): “In the eye of the Kabyle there is no age of majority for a girl since she is always under the authority of her nearest male relative.” (#3 chapter 3) Seem like the age isn't really recorded

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): “Kabyle law does not fix the age at which marriage is legal for the girl; and until French law intervened in recent years, the Kabyle girl could be married even before puberty. Kabyle custom seemed to be to marry the girls as young as possible, sometimes as early as eight or ten years of age. But since World War I they have been a little older- usually having reached the age of puberty. (#3 chapter 3)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: “That repudiation [divorce] is very frequent is evidenced in a survey by the writer in one village where not a woman was found who had not been divorced at least once, while some had been divorced several times. (#3 chapter 3)

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: “Polygyny is recognized by the Kabyles just as it is sanctioned by Moslem law. It is, however, not the practice among Kabyles, being only very rarely among them.// One reason for this is an economic one. The majority of the men cannot afford more than one wife at a time. Divorce is so easily obtained that it is much easier and much more in line with the economic status of the men, to have frequent divorce rather than a second wife in the household.” (#3 chapter 3)

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: The groom's father must pay a bride's price, which the two fathers discuss alone. “the price paid is called thouthith which means 'to eat'” this is because the money received for her he will now be able to feed his family. (#3 chapter 3)

4.9 Inheritance patterns: “The Kabyle woman has no right to inherit. For a long time the Kabyles faithfully followed, at least in appearance, the prescriptions of Moslem law in regard to succession rights, and women were admitted to a part in the inheritance in the proportion established by the Koran. But this obedience to the letter of the law was only a mistaken appearance. The Kabyle spirit was unwilling to admit that a woman should have command of the land which she was incapable of defending and which she was believed to be incapable of cultivating.// When the father did not resort to the pious fraud of *h'abous* in order to rob in advance the women of his family, his death brought violent quarrels among the male heirs, which often degenerated into armed conflict. The women who had

thoughtlessly wasted their part of the heritage or who allowed their husbands to devour it, found that their families did not wish to provide them with protection and support. Their pleas for help were answered by the family with the saying that their right was 'used up.' Under these conditions the greater part preferred to renounce the benefit of the Moslem law in order to be assured of their place and care in the home of the family and to keep the good will of their near relatives. Persuaded that they would not make worse the position of women by returning to their ancient customs, which the Koren had upset without wiping them out, the Kabyles about 1748 A.D. assembled and decided that in the future the women would have no more a legal place in the succession right of males, that is to say, 'no more right to property on earth.' At the same time the *h'abous*, which had been such an effective weapon in keeping succession rights away from women, fell into disuse, and property struck by *mortmain* became free in the hands of the possessors.

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: "The Kabyle family is patriarchal. It is composed of the father, mother, sons, their wives, their children, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, nephews, cousins. Often the entire family lives in one small hut, having everything in common. Sometimes, when the hut becomes too crowded and the family can afford to do so, an additional hut is built beside the family one to care for a married son and his family. Often one room is added to the family hut.// The father is always the supreme ruler of the family. Even when the sons have married and had children of their own they still recognize the authority of their father. Upon the death of the father the oldest son in the household assumes the authoritative role. In case there is no son or grandson to assume the role, it passes to the nearest male relative in the household. (#3 chapter 3) "The Kabyle family does not seem bound together primarily by love and affection. In many instances to be sure, there is real affection and it is sometimes very striking to see how much affection the father has for his children. Yet, the family seems to be kept very often in submission through fear of the father. The children are afraid their father will beat them if they incur his displeasure. The wife lives in constant fear of divorce. She, too, is sometime beaten. In fact, a woman seems to have more respect for a husband who beats her, displacing often proudly, her marks to the village women. Yet, many times the children go uncorrected and frequently are very undisciplined. The mother is especially indulgent with the boys." (#3 chapter 3)

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): "Pride causes the father to take into consideration the social position of the man in question. He wants it to be as high as or higher than that of the girl." (#3 chapter 3) So it seems they practice class endogamy within their own villages.

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

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin) "Other prohibitions are also observed in the selection of a wife. Though it is not in the *kanoun*, still custom would not sanction a man from a good family taking a wife from a family whose members exercise a profession looked upon as shameful by the Kabyles. Some of the professions looked down upon include: butcher, cobbler, and dancer. Nor is marriage with an adultress sanctioned." (#3 chapter 3)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? No

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring. Frowned upon by the village, disrespects the honor of the village

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? Children belong to the father and the mother has no legal right over them. (#3 chapter 3)

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

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?

4.24 Joking relationships?

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: "A Kabyle family is also patrilineal, relationship being reckoned through the males. The children all bear the name of their father, while the wife continues to use her own family name after marriage. When a woman speaks of her husband she often does so as 'the father of my children' or the 'father of such such a child'. (#3 chapter 3)

4.26 Incest avoidance rules

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? "The marriage festivities in Kabylia are always important, usually lasting three days. Not all of the same customs take place in all parts of Kabylia but the following is a typical description of a Kabyle wedding. On the first day of the wedding celebration, the father of the groom brings to the father of the bride the *thoutchith*. Not until the father has this money in his hands does he allow the girl to be taken away.// When the price is paid, it is customary for the one receiving the money to make a reduction in the price, returning a certain sum to the father of the groom. There is no law demanding this, but custom expects it. Sometimes a rather substantial sum is remitted, sometimes only just enough to say that custom has been observed. It is a question of pride- to show that one is not primarily interested in the money. The *thoutchith* is paid in the presence of witnesses and the *Fatiha* is repeated.// For hours before time for the bride to be taken from the house she is being prepared for her departure. She is dressed in gay colored *thiquodiar* (plural of *thaqandourth*- Kabyle dress) made of silk, sometimes with lace sleeves. Upon her head are tied bright colored *thihendiaie* (plural of *thakindith*, head-handkerchiefs). The hands, feet and hair are dyed with henna, the eyebrows and eyelashes are blacked with kohl.// The neighbor women assist in preparing the bride for her marriage. They help her dress and give her advice as to what is expected of her during the wedding festivities. A needle is fastened to the head-handkerchief to ward off evil spirits. Food is set before her and she is urged to eat, being told that if she does not eat before leaving home she will be very hungry. She is admonished to refuse food offered her during the feasting in order not to appear gluttonous.// The bride's clothes, blankets, jewelry, and other personal possessions are packed in an *assendoug*. The *assendoug* has been bought by the bride's father either at market or from a maker of *assendoug*. It is a rectangular shaped box with a lock. The outside is painted in bright colors, green, red, orange, or rose, and decorated

with rectilinear designs similar to those used on pottery. If the maker of the *assendouq* has had access to European supplies, the box is often lined with wall-paper.// The male relatives of the groom come to take the girl to her future home. Heavily veiled, she is placed upon the mule, the *assendouq* behind her. Another mule may carry the mattress or any other possessions she may have. Amid the firing of guns and the yu-yu shouts of the women, the bride is taken away. The guns are fired along the way and again when the bridal party reaches its destination. Gunfire and the yu-yu shouts are believed to ward off evil spirits.// Upon the arrival of the wedding party at the groom's home, the mother-in-law appears with a water jar. The girl must swallow seven times but leave enough water for her husband to swallow seven times, too. The rest of the water is thrown on the girl while they say, 'We give water,' and the girl answers, 'I enter with water and faith.' The water is to indicate that there will be faith between the husband and the wife and that she will not deceive her parents-in-law. The mother-in-law gives the bride an egg to toss over her shoulder, a symbol that she may be fruitful.// Lifted from the mule the bride is taken into the hut and placed in a corner on a cushion while the wedding guests make merry. Under the cushion upon which she sits is placed some wheat signifying that the bride will find food in the home of her husband. Sometime there are musicians and dancers, at other times the women shout and chant and beat upon old tin cans. The men remain outside the hut, the women inside. Feasting upon cous-cous, the festivities are kept up for hours, until finally weary they sleep until morning when they begin again.// The next day the bride changes her dress and head-handkerchief and the women comb her hair. In Little Kabylia the groom's brother comes in, cuts off a lock of the bride's hair and placing it in his shoe, tramps upon it. Her brother-in-law gives her the equivalent of twenty-five cents for this privilege. This act is to signify submission on the part of the girl to her new husband. In some parts of Kabylia this submission is indicated by seven raps upon the head with a reed as the bride enters the court-yard for the first time.// When the husband first asks the bride for food she must not answer him but must only jingle her necklace. If she answers, it is believed her husband will have no affection for her. Upon the first trip to the fountain to get water, usually after seven days, she throws salt and wheat along the path and around the fountain: the wheat is an appeal that God may give her boys, the salt so that she will be always gracious. (#3 chapter 3)

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?

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)? "The most rigid rules pertaining to marriage to be found in any Berber grup are found among the Kabyles. The girl is not consulted as to her wishes in regard to marriage. She is the property of her nearest male relative- father, grandfather, brother, uncle. It is he who makes all the arrangements for her marriage, and *sells* her. (#3 chapter 3)

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: "one of the most influential persons in the household, in spite of the fact that the family is patriarchal, is the mother-in-law... The mother-in-law, often jealous of her son's affection for his wife, resorts to very clever intrigue in order to bring about a divorce

Warfare/homicide

4.31 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

4.32 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

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

4.34 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):

4.35 Cannibalism?

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): "Each *thaddarth* (village) was an independent, autonomous unit, administering its own affairs, making its own laws, naming its own official...// Whatever the size, each *thaddarth* is a republic in itself. These small democratic communities, in which the will of the people is the sole governing authority, are the result of an 'inborn love of independence, an instinct for the value of individuals joined to the conviction that individuals prosper only when united by bonds of sympathy and mutual assistance.// A group or two or more villages forms an arch. The ties which bind the villages into such a unit may be political or administrative. The joining of several such units into a confederation is called a *thaqbilt*. The wider the circle of federation among the Kabyles, the looser the cords that bind it together." (#3 chapter 4). "A village is made up of a certain number of *kharouba*, while each *kharouba* is composed of a certain number of families. The villages vary in size from a few score of inhabitants to several hundred, or even a thousand or more people. The villages have been built on the most inaccessible places in the mountains" (#3 chapter 3) "The village is divided into parts called *kharbouba*. The *kharouba* is composed of families which are usually united by parental ties and have the same origin. But the *kharouba*, though it is sometimes formed exclusively of members of one family, or composed of families with blood-bonds, may also include strange families who have moved into that section of the village, or people who have no relatives. However, in all probability in early times the *kharouba* began as a family...// The governing body of the village is known as the *djemaa*. In former days the *djemaa* had great power. All males of the village had the right of franchise and were members of the *djemaa*. A stranger, no matter what his origin, might become a citizen with the consent of the *djemaa* and the payment of an admittance fee. No stranger could remain in a village without having himself incorporated into the *djemaa*. Boys received the franchise at the time when they become old enough to observe *Ramadan*. There is no fixed age for this among the Kabyles. It takes place during the teens. (#3 chapter 4) "The *djemaa* convened once a week. The assembly was often held in the open but in case of inclement weather or excessive heat, the meeting was held in an enclosure called the *Djemaa*, a building similar to the village huts, made of stone and mud, having a tile roof, and stone benches around the walls where the men may be seated.// The *amin* presided over the sessions of the *djemaa* which was always both opened and closed with the reading of the *Fatihah*. The *djemaa* finished its session by sundown. The *amin* presented whatever business was to come before the assembly and the members were then free to express their

opinion. The *djemaa* still meets and transacts local business... It is the elders of the village, the heads of families, the influential men who speak. This does not mean that the others have not the right to speak; all have the right but in practice it is exercised only by the elders and men of influence.// The *djemaa* levies local taxes, modifies local customs, administers public charity, and formerly declare war and made peace. In short, any matter, large or small, which in any way affect the welfare of the village is the concern of the *djemaa*, even though this demand encroachment upon the private life of the villagers. Not only is it a legislative body, it is also a judicial body, exercising judgment in civil cases and formerly in criminal cases. Under French rule, the administration of penal law has been taken away from the *djemaa*.// The *djemaa* does not act in all matters where a decision is necessary. Matters concerning two or more individuals but not involving the public order are delegated to judge-arbitrators. The *amin* and *akal* supervise and preside at these debates.// IN delegating this power of arbitration to neutral parties the *djemaa* seeks to preserve itself from disrupting influences. The *cofs* (political parties) are often guilty of bringing such discord by upholding one side in an argument. The *djemaa* has always sought to keep free of any force that might disrupt it. No written account is kept of the proceedings.// In all matters of importance coming before *djemaa* a unanimous decision is required. No matter how small the minority may be, its opinion is always respected... If unanimity does not prevail, the assembly may adjourn without reaching a decision and the matter may be revived at a later date, or, as often happens, ultimately abandoned. If a prompt decision is necessary, the chief men of the tribe may make the decision or it may be referred to the *djemaa* of another village, or to some individual arbiter belonging to their own or another village in whom both sides have confidence.// The power of the *djemaa* is limited by the influence of the strongest and oldest members, by the political parties, by the unwritten law and custom of the village, and by certain collective guarantees that may involve several villages.// Attendance at the assembly of the *djemaa* is obligatory upon all members. 'When the *amin* invites the men of the village to come to assist at the assembly, if one of them withdraws to take care of his personal affairs he will be fined.' This is one of the laws of the *kanoun*. When the men have assembled each *t'amen* takes the roll call of his *kharouba*, makes note of the absentees and gives the account t the *amin*.// When speaking each one remains seated and says what he has to say. However, each one must always show proper respect for the *djemaa*. There is a doura fine for whoever lacks respect at the assembly of the *djemaa*.// The chief officer of the village, both executive and presiding is the *amin*. The Kabyle words which are sometimes used for the *amin* are *amoqran* meaning 'the great one,' the 'chief,' or *amrar*, meaning 'the elder,' the 'aged one'. The *amin* is often called the *ameksa*, the 'shepherd' of the village." (#3 chapter 4). "The *amin* presides over the sessions of the *djemaa*. As executive officer he carries out the decisions of the *djemaa*. He does not exercise any independence or initiative, except in small matters relating to the maintenance of order. If there is some disorder in the village, except in small matters relating to the maintenance of order. If there is some disorder in the village, such as a theft, it is sometimes possible for the *amin* to investigate this. If in some matter the *amin* does issue an order, this is carried out without question by the people, no matter how inconvenient it may be for them to do so...// The *amin* collects fines imposed by the *djemaa* and in certain small matters has the right to levy fines. Through his *t'emman* he must keep himself informed concerning all the happenings of the village and must conduct all investigations necessary for his reports to the *djemaa*.// Before matters are submitted to the *djemaa* for public discussion they are examined by a 'limited *djemaa*' which usually consists of elders, marabouts, *akalm*, *cof* chiefs, *t'emman* and other influential people. This small group, when agreeing upon a question before it comes before the *djemaa* is so influential that the presenting of the matter for final approval is only a simple formality. Smaller matters occasionally are decided by the 'little' *djemaa*. This is an example of a small, influential group, which, because of birth, wealth, or public opinion, exerts tremendous power in the village affairs. It would seem to be the rule of the few, in spite of the Kabyle's love for independence. Yet, the *djemaa* does have the right to over-ride the opinion of the little *djemaa* if it so desires. Thus the principle of democracy is maintained...// The statutes of the Kabyles, their customary law, are called the *kanoun*. The word is from the Greek meaning canon, custom law...// The *kanoun* represent the total laws enacted by the *djemaa* and are the accumulated custom of the village. The *kanoun* are not written but have been conserved in the memories of the old men who transmit them orally. The Kabyle know intimately the customs of the village, the laws concerning inheritance, the fines imposed for various crimes." (#3 chapter 3) "There is a collective solidarity and responsibility of kin. If a person is killed, his family or clan clamor for revenge, and the culprit's kin protect him irrespective of his guilt or innocence. The aggrieved party holds the offender's kin responsible as a body and may be content to kill any member of that group. Thus reprisals back and forth may last for years." (#3 chapter 3) "Another important check is that of *h'orma* (honor). Public opinion in Kabylia brings pressure to bear upon people to hold sacred the *h'orma* of the village. To violate the village *h'orma* brings disgrace not only to the individual who is guilty, but reflects upon his family and the whole village." (#3 chapter 3)

5.4 Post marital residence: "The family is usually patrilocal, the girl going to reside in the home of her husband's family. It sometimes happen that if the husband goes to the city or to France to work that his wife will return to her own home during his absence. This is more likely to occur if there are no children in the family" (#3 chapter)

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex): There are many phases of life which the family do not share as a family. Meals are not eaten in common. The men are served first, then the women and children eat what is left. Worship is not shared. The men attend services at the mosque, the women and children do not. Most of the social life for the woman takes place within her own court yard, while the men gather at the mosque, or the *djemaa*, at the marketplace or the coffee house.// The one gathering place of the women is at the fountain during the hours when they go for water. At some of the fountains in the summer time they must wait a long time while the water drips slowly int their water jars. In other parts of Kabylia there is a greater abundance of water. At the fountain the women often do their washing. Here this is time to exchange all the news of the village, to learn of the coming and going of people, of the divorces, of the prospective marriages, of the suspicions, the hates, and the intrigues taking place in the life of the village. There are women, the ones in the more well-to-do families, and many of the marabout wmen, who never get to the fountain. They are kept within the confines of their own courtyard. But the women who carry water for them brng them the news. Women of the same *kharouba*, being usually related, visit back and forth more freely than it is possible to do with those living in other parts of the village... The men gather at the *djemaa* to talk and play checkers. In many of the villages there is a coffee house where many men gather... These coffee houses are often located outside the village (#3 chapter 3)

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

5.8 Village and house organization: “The villages have been built on the most inaccessible places in the mountains. The huts are huddled together as compactly as possible. This was no doubt done in early days as a protection against invasion. In some parts of Kabylia the villages are far apart, in other places they are very close together. (#3 chapter 3) “In the selection of sites for their villages, the Kabyles do not seem to have taken into consideration the question of water. In some vicinities there is plenty of water, but in others the women must go long distances to obtain it, often being compelled to carry their heavy water jars up hill, over the steep, rugged, donkey paths. In the building of their villages comfort was certainly not considered. In this respect the Kabyles seem to resemble the Hopi (a tribe of North American Indians in Arizona) whom Lowie describes, saying that they built their homes on steep ridges, overlooking the desert plain, because they were harassed by marauding nomads. Their women had to carry every drop of water up the heights, and the men travelled several miles their cornfields; 'yet' continues Lowie, 'from conservatism most of them continue this inconvenient arrangement even today when hostilities are no longer to be feared.’” (#3 chapter 3) “The Kabyles live in villages on the hill tops, each village being a unit in itself. The huts are crowded together, with narrow, winding paths making passage possible through the village. The dwellings are constructed of mud and stone, all being the same type of structure. These huts are rectangular with a low, wooden door as the only opening...// There is a partition dividing the one room into two parts, the floor level of the one is lower than the other. The animals occupy the lower, smaller part, while the other is used for the living quarters of the family (#3 chapter 3). “The village is divided into parts called *kharbouba*. The *kharouba* is composed of families which are usually united by parental ties and have the same origin. But the *kharouba*, though it is sometimes formed exclusively of members of one family, or composed of families with blood-bonds, may also include strange families who have moved into that section of the village, or people who have no relatives. However, in all probability in early times the *kharouba* began as a family...// The governing body of the village is known as the *djemaa*. In former days the *djemaa* had great power. All males of the village had the right of franchise and were members of the *djemaa*. A stranger, no matter what his origin, might become a citizen with the consent of the *djemaa* and the payment of an admittance fee. No stranger could remain in a village without having himself incorporated into the *djemaa*. Boys received the franchise at the time when they become old enough to observe *Ramadan*. There is no fixed age for this among the Kabyles. It takes place during the teens. (#3 chapter 4)

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? “There is sometimes in the better houses an overhead loft used for storage of for sleeping quarters.” (#3 chapter 3) if not then on the ground of their hut.

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: “A village is made up of a certain number of *kharouba*, while each *kharouba* is composed of a certain number of families. The villages vary in size from a few score of inhabitants to several hundred, or even a thousand or more people. The villages have been built on the most inaccessible places in the mountains” (#3 chapter 3) “The violation of their *anaia* is the most serious injury that can be inflicted upon the Kabyles. A man who violated or broke the *anaia* of his village or of his tribe was punished in former times by death, and by the confiscation of all his goods, and his house is demolished.// The *anaia* is a veritable political institution. Every Kabyle has the right to ask *anaia* if the need arises but it is expected that he will not abuse this privilege of asking. The *anaia* of the *djemaa* is only given in general assembly, after deliberation. It is most often asked by the Kabyle against whom there exists a blood debt, or by the stranger who has escaped by flight from capital punishment, or by someone who has been banished. (#3 chapter 3) “It would seem that the political parties known as the *cofs* today in Kabylia were in earlier times the clans of the village. The clan began with those claiming blood relationship but as time went on in primitive society others were oftentimes included until the diverse origins came to be forgotten or the differences ignored. In primitive society the clan sometimes complicated society and divided a man's loyalties. The clan regarded the interests of its members as paramount.// Herein the Kabyle *cof* differs from the primitive clan. The Kabyles bind themselves together, but as was pointed out above, in self interest. When one party fails to be of use, the Kabyle may change his political affiliations.” (#3 chapter 4)

5.12 Trade:

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? “Many of the customs concerning women are very severe and the violation of them is more serious than murder. 'A kiss pays dearer than an assassination.'// Kissing a woman on the mouth is forbidden. Women must not go out bareheaded, must not stop in the village paths to talk with men. The men are supposed to keep away from the fountain and off the paths leading to the fountains at the hours when the women go for water. The court-yards are walled in, with walls too high to gaze over, and it is forbidden for a man outside the family to gaze into the court-yard. These laws are much more strictly enforced in some parts of Kabylia than in others.// The wife owes obedience to her husband in all matters. 'He may correct his wife each time she is at fault. If his fist is not sufficient he may use a stick, a stone, a sword. His right only stops at homicide.’” (#3 chapter 3)

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6.0 Time allocation to RCR:

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

6.2 Stimulants:

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): Death: “At the time of a death the solidarity of the village is again manifested. The women scream until they are so hoarse they cannot speak. They scratch their faces, often bringing the blood, and tear their hair. The Kabyles have a profound respect for their dead and the whole village is supposed to turn out for a funeral. According to a Kabyle *kanoun* one may be fined for failure to attend a funeral even though the deceased may not be a relative. As soon as death occurs the *amin* is informed and gives the orders as to what men in the village are responsible for digging the grave. This is an obligation falling upon all men in turn and must be performed when the *amin* so designates.// Burial takes place as soon as possible after death. No embalming measures are used. The body is wrapped in a shroud, placed on a rough stretcher and carried on the shoulders of the men to the place of burial. One of the most desolate places in Kabylia is the cemetery. The marabout recites the *fatiha* and the body is placed in the shallow grave, the earth and stone are thrown in, a barbary fig cactus is planted on the top, and a small water jar is placed on the

grave.// No social distinctions are seen in the burial of the poor and the rich. They all have the same kind of a funeral. The expenses for the funeral of an indigent are paid by the djemaa. The villages are under obligation to assist at his funeral the same as for any one else in the village.// The funeral over, the feasting begins. A large cous-cous dinner is served in the home of the deceased. The Kabyles seem to recover from their grief very quickly. They are in anguish for a few hours, then it all seems to be over and they take up their normal work again. (#3 chapter 3)

6.4 Other rituals: "In some parts of Kabylia a festival is held with a *temecheret* when plowing begins, and many superstitions are found in connection with the plants." (#3 chapter 5)

6.5 Myths (Creation):

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

6.8 Missionary effect:

6.9 RCR revival:

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) "The Kabyles are usually designated as Orthodox Moslems, belonging to the Sunnite branch and the Malikite rite.

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

7.2 Piercings:

7.3 Haircut: "The men always keep their hair short, many of them having their heads shaved in the summer. Bald-headed men are infrequent. The hair is more often wavy than straight and in some instances inclined to be kinky. The women always wear their hair long, even a child's hair is never cut" (#3 chapter 2)

7.4 Scarification:

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

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

7.8 Missionary effect:

7.9 Types of clothing: "The men wear the red fez upon their heads and in the summer a large straw hat is usually worn over the fez/ Trousers are of a loose, baggy, ill-fitting variety and made of cotton materials, white, brown and blue being the colors most frequently seen. The shirt, a loose garment made of cotton material, is very long, coming well below the knees, and is sometimes worn without trousers. Every man has a burnous, a large, hand-woven, woolen garment, in the shape of a huge cape with a hood. This is worn with the right end flung over the left shoulder.// The women and girls in Great Kabylia dress somewhat differently from those in Little Kabylia. All wear much jewelry, bright colored head-handkerchiefs of cotton or silk. Dresses are in bright colors. The dress is made somewhat like a 'Mother Hubbard,' loose, and without much shape. Several may be worn at a time, the top one always being the shortest. The length is easily adjusted under the large hand-made woolen belt which is worn. A long piece of cloth worn as a wrap-around skirt is used in Great Kabylia. The women are usually barefooted. (#3 Chapter 3)

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

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):

9.1 Before the days of the coffee house the men returned home at dark when all the family would go to bed. Now some of the men stay late to play cards. Hanoteau says that cards were completely unknown in Kabylia in ancient times, they were introduced there since the conquest of Algeria by the French, but the djemaa has shown no special concern to prohibit them or to regulate their use.// Gambling is resorted to by some who play cards with the result that some families who were comfortably situated have been reduced to poverty. In the coffee house only coffee is permitted to be sold. The men frequent them in order to chat, play cards or checkers or dominoes and drink Kabyle coffee. In a few of them liquor is sold illegally (#3 Chapter 3)

9.2 "All which concerns the woman's interests touches the h'orma (honor) of the village. Hence, the village intervenes in all circumstances to respect or avenge its honor, which makes a part of the common patrimony." (#3 chapter 3)

9.3 "One very strange theory in practice among the Kabyles is that known as the 'sleeping' (it't'es) child. Hanoteau thinks that this is a tradition of most ancient antiquity. According to this theory a divorced woman may declare she has a 'sleeping' child and so long as she holds the child to be sleeping she cannot be married again. A widow will often, if she thinks she is pregnant, place her belt upon the corpse of her husband to declare that the child she is carrying belongs to her husband. Nothing can be done with the inheritance until this heir-to-be is born. If after eleven months the child has not been born, a mid-wife is called in who gives the woman an emmenagogue. If this does not produce delivery then the child is said to be 'sleeping.'// There is no limit to the length of time the child may remain 'sleeping. This of course holds up the inheritance for if the 'sleeping' child finally comes to life, should he be a boy, he has a share in the inheritance.// The theory of the 'sleeping' child is not confined to widows and divorced women. This practice is sometimes used by women who fear they will be divorced because they have not had any children. The husband is told that the child is 'sleeping.' It is not

necessarily a ruse for many believe profoundly in it, going to dispensaries and pharmacies in an endeavor to find some kind of medicine to awaken the 'sleeping' child.” (#3 chapter 3)

9.4 “The Kabyles are a most hospitable people and no matter how poor they are, will share with other who may be their guests. The hospitality of the mosque or the *djemaa* is never refused to strangers or travellers who may wish to lodge there, nor to the poor who temporarily may find themselves without a shelter. There are times when many guests may be in the village- as on the occasion of a marriage, a funeral, or a circumcision. It is the duty of the *amin* to see that the guests are given hospitality. He specifies who in the village is to render this service. In different villages different methods are used in determining who is to be responsible and when for such entertaining. The important thing is that the guests are always placed under the *anaia* of the village and to have anything happen to them would be a blow to the *h'orma* of the village” (#3 chapter 3)

9.5 “Whenever a murder has occurred, the family of the victim gathers immediately after the burial and among themselves names the one in the family of the murderer who is to be the victim of *rek'ba*. It may take a long time before the victim pays the price or it may be only a short time. Seriously wounding the victim is not enough; death must be met by death. The Muslims have a transaction by which *rek'ba* may be settled by a money payment as *dia*... This arrangement does not exist among the Kabyles. For them it is a head for a head. (#3 chapter 3)

9.6 “Boys received the franchise at the time when they become old enough to observe *Ramadan*. There is no fixed age for this among the Kabyles. It takes place during the teens.” (#3 chapter 4)

9.7 “A certain few professions are not honored among the Kabyles. In spite of the fact that most of the people have been kept on the same intellectual plane through lack of educational facilities, and even those who have any money are only a little above the poverty level, the Kabyle, in his pride, has found a way of creating classes by dishonoring certain professions such as those of butcher, measurer of grain, shoemaker, dancer, and *t'ebala* (sings with tambourine accompaniment)” (#3 chapter 5)

9.8 “Often in Kabylia a man may have a piece of work which he cannot do alone so must ask the help of neighbors. A poor Kabyle man may need help which he cannot afford to hire in building a house; another may need assistance felling a tree or in doing something else. Upon such an occasion the Kabyle calls upon the kindness of his neighbors to help. They never refuse him. This is known as

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