

1. Description

1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family: Nyakyusa society, Nyakyusa language (also known as Ikingonde, Ikinyakyusa, Kinyakyusa, Konde, Kukwe, Mombe, Ngonde, Nkonde, Nyakusa, Nyekyosa, Nyikyusa, Sochile, Sokile, Sokili), Niger-Congo family (11)

1.2 ISO code: ISO 639-3: nyy

1.3 Location: The Nyakyusa occupied the fertile Rungwe Valley of what is now Tanzania, 9° south longitude, 34° east latitude (12)

1.4 Brief history: The first inhabitants of the Nyakyusa land were called 'abiliima'. The origin of this group of people is not clear, for it has been argued that the group consisted of people with different origins and background. For example, some members of this group are said to have been invaders from Bukinga (now known as the Makete district in the Iringa region), while some are said to have been kin to the Bungu, people from near Lake Rukwa. The chiefs of the Nyakyusa are said to be descendants of the invaders, while the common people are believed to be descendants of the original occupants of the area. Many agree that the Nyakyusa chiefs had a special relationship with the chiefs of the Kinga area because it is believed that they used to perform rituals together in an area belonging to the Nyakyusa people, namely Lubaga. (17; pg 124) The Nyakyusa can trace their origin to Nyanseba, a nubian Queen, who was raided and captured by a ruthless warrior and herdsman who turned the rulership of Empress to Emperors. (5)

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: The Nyakyusa long remained isolated from the outside world, for their valley is cut off by high mountains and the stormy waters of the north end of the Lake. They were scarcely touched by the slave trade and Europeans first visited the country in 1878. (2; pg 218) Nyakyusa were incorporated in the German colony of Tanganyika. With the defeat of the Germans in World War I, control of Tanganyika passed to the British, who assumed the territory under a League of Nations mandate and administered it until independence. Lutherans and Moravians, followed by Catholics, settled in Nyakyusa. The missionary presence resulted in challenges to the values of precolonial society (e.g., polygyny), a division of the population along religious lines, and a withdrawal of Christians from participation in traditional communal ceremonies. Wage migration has taken many men out of the country to work for various periods in the mines of the Rhodesian Copper Belt or in South Africa. The introduction of cash cropping and private land has further enhanced these individualistic tendencies. The overall effect of such changes has been a transition from a society based on kinship to one based on the nuclear family and voluntary association. (13)

1.6 Ecology (natural environment): Region: South Mbeya region, Lake Malawi north end; Iringa region, Makete District. Also in Malawi. (11) They live in southern Tanzania on the Livingstone Mountains, which rise from the northern point of the Lake Malawi. (1; pg 107) Their country comprises alluvial flats near the lake and the mountainous country beyond for about 40 miles. (6) Their territory extends northward up the southern flank of Mount Rungwe, an extinct volcano. Rainfall is distributed throughout much of the year, with a concentration in March and April; it exceeds 250 centimeters per year on the slopes of Mount Rungwe. (13)

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density:

Population: 805,000 in Tanzania (2006). Population total all countries: 1,105,000. (11) Mean village size: Each chiefdom had between 100 and 3,000 married men. (2; pg 218); Home range size: Small, due to the high quantity of age villages (13); Density: Not found

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): Rice (1; pg 107), plaintains are the Nyakyusa's traditional staple food, augmented with corn, millet, and beans (6) and pumpkins (17; pg 124)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Cattle owners and cultivators (extremely vital to their culture and livelihood), with elaborate techniques of green manuring and rotation (2; pg 217) Also goats and sheep. (17; pg 124) soured milk (21)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: Spears, bows, and arrows. (18; pg 61)

2.4 Food storage: Granaries (13)

2.5 Sexual division of production: Men and women share work equally for the most part. (6) In cultivation, hoeing is done by men, and planting, weeding and reaping by women. (8; pg 301) A son was expected to hoe for his father. Likewise, a son-in-law was expected to hoe for his father-in-law; in the absence of cattle for bride-wealth, this service was the only way a poor man could acquire a wife. Skill at hoeing was once a primary masculine virtue. Now, because of the absence of the many men who are pursuing outside employment, women have increasingly been obliged to hoe and tend the home fires. (13)

2.6 Land tenure: The allocation of land and the selection of a headman for each village of young men is made by the retiring chief, and the headmen of the villages of his generation, who are his advisers and against whose advice he dare not act, since they are believed to have a mystical power over him. (2; pg 221) With the collapse of the age-village system, land tenure became the affair of the nuclear family; even as early as the 1930s private ownership had been established over valuable plots in old volcanic craters. By the late 1960s, a substantial landless class had emerged. (13)

2.7 Ceramics: There was no pottery making (9; pg 57)

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: Sharing within the group was a paramount value, and those who did not incurred much animosity, culminating in witchcraft accusations. Girls were taught the virtues of deference. (13)

2.9 Food taboos: A boy should not and does not eat alone, but a group of friends eat together, visiting the mother of each member of their gang in turn. This system is regarded not only as being congenial to small boys (as with us) but also as moral. For the Nyakyusa eating with age-mates is a corner stone of morality, and a boy who comes home alone often to eat is severely scolded. (2; pg 219)

2.10 Canoes/watercraft? They made dug out canoes. Canoes were important for fishing on Lake Nyasa and for crossing rivers; they hollowed out of the trunks of umwali trees, which were highly prized as shade trees and for adorning homesteads, and felled only to make canoes. But the canoes themselves were never decorated. (9; pg 57)

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): Male: 157 cm, Female: 154 cm (10; pg 98)

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): Male: 60 kg, Female: 51 (10; pg 96)

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): 15 (4; pg 80)

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): 17 (4; pg 80)

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): The average woman has 4 children, so the completed family size completely depends on the number of wives a man takes. (3)

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): Polygamy was seen as, among other things, a kind of family planning method-it allowed individual wives to delay another pregnancy until they had stopped breastfeeding the previous baby. Women who became pregnant while still nursing were ridiculed. (19; pg 35)

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): Celebrated normally between twenty and thirty years of age for men (1; pg 108) Girls are betrothed about eight, and go finally to their husbands when they reach puberty. (pg 219)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: Divorce is far more frequent than formerly, partly because women claim a greater freedom of behavior than before, as well as the right of choosing their own husbands, and are supported by the courts. (14; pg 207) Divorce used to only be allowed in exceptional circumstances, for example, if a man could not end up paying the cattle dowry for his wife. (19; pg 35)

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: Polygyny is the ideal of every Nyakyusa man, and is achieved by a substantial porportion of the men over 45. In a conservative part of the country nearly a third of the adult men had more than one wife. (2; pg 218) In the 1930s as many as 70 percent of married women lived in polygynous households, but as many as 70 percent of adult men were either unmarried or monogamous. (13)

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: Yes; brides are purchased with a cattle dowry. (3)

4.9 Inheritance patterns: Inheritance is in the male line, but goes to brothers before sons. Inherited wealth is thus in the hands of the older men, though these have obligations towards their sons, both real and classificatory. For example, a man must provide lobola cattle both for his own sons and for the sons of any man from whom he has inherited. In return the son must hoe his father's fields and maintain a respectful bearing towards him. (8; pg 301) Movable property was inherited within matrilineage. (16; pg 120)

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: Moving out of the parent village to sleep (see 5.6 below) is directly connected by the Nyakyusa with decency. They say that a growing boy should not be aware of the sex activities of his parents, and therefore must not sleep at home, even in a separate hut, but in a different village altogether. (2; pg 219)

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: Homosexual intercourse is common in the boys' villages, between close friends, but there is no real perversion. The older men in discussion dismiss it with the tolerant word "adolescence", it is never continued after marriage. Homosexuality was condoned provided it was mutually agreeable; polygyny would have facilitated the practice, and there are no observations on the equivalent in girls, who marry early. (3)

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): There are no clans, or defined exogamous groups. (2; pg 219) Villages tended to be endogamous and were composed of a number of patrilines, cross-cut by shallow, small matrilineages. (16; pg 120)

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized? Males believe they play a role in conception. Other fathers are not recognized because sexual infidelity among women is rare. (3)

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)? No

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: Rare (3)

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin) Men usually marry their first wife and then continue to marry young girls as junior wives. Often the junior wife is a niece of the senior wife. Moreover, wives are inherited from elder brothers and fathers, so that a man may have some wives older than himself and other who are very much younger. (2; pg 220)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? Women have only enjoyed sexual freedom in the recent past. Nyakyusa society has always been patriarchal and regarded women as a form of property.

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: None found

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? Other women within the age village as well as the father (3)

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: Higher number of females than males (2; 219)

4.22 Evidence for couvades: None

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older) No distinctions were found.

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? There was a powerful avoidance between fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law. (13)

4.24 Joking relationships? Institutionalized joking accompanied by mock physical aggression is an important characteristic of communication between the Nyakyusa. (22; pg 186)

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: Patrilineal, but great emphasis is also given to cognatic and bilateral ties in enlisting people's cooperation and aid. (1; pg 107)

4.26 Incest avoidance rules: The determining motivation for the residential segregation of pubertal adolescents [into "age villages"] is the great fear of incest. (1; pg 152)

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? There is an elaborate puberty-marriage ritual for girls (2; pg 219) At puberty a girl is secluded in her mother's hut. Her mothers-in-law (for traditionally she was always betrothed before puberty) come formally to lay the litter on which she sits with her maids, girls a little younger than herself. There the latter spend the greater part of the day weaving mats,

dancing and singing; there they entertain young men; and there they sleep. The gill washes ritually with her husband, using ikipiki medicine provided by his lineage as a symbol of their marriage, and eats plantains as in the death ritual. "The medicine is to create relationship. Using it means that the bride is now of my lineage." Feasts are exchanged between the two families, hers and her husband's, and after about three months she is elaborately purified and shaved, the litter is taken out and burned, she is admonished on her duties as a married woman and cries, "Put me down, mother." When her virginity has been proved, her husband brings a bull which is killed for a feast. The sacred cut (ijammapa) from it is buried by her father in his banana grove, and there he prays, saying: "Here is the meat. I have eaten the food of others, come out a little, may she bear a child at her husband's." After she has gone to her husband, she returns with plantains mixed with the sex fluids to bury in her father's grove just as a widow does after her union with the heir. (7, pg 233)

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? The boys take their mothers clan name, while girls take their fathers. That was to enforce their names would remain forever with equal prestige among the nations in times to come. This practice shows the power and influence of women among the Nyakyusa. (5)

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) Marriage is attained according to norms strictly governed by the kinship system and are not regulated, nor were they even in the past, by membership in an "age village" (1; pg 108) Therefore, it does not matter whether their spouse is from inside or outside of the community. Daughters often move out and marry men in other villages, but they may and quite often do marry an age mate of their father and remain in the village. (2; pg 220)

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? Yes; girls' fathers (13) arrange marriages, often to men who are age mates with the father or to men who are already married to one of their relatives (2; pg 220)

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: Marriage is prohibited between the descendants of a common grandfather, and much disliked between descendants of a common great-grandfather (2; pg 219)

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: Percentage not found, however, the remoteness of the Nyakyusa's location prevent them from engaging in many wars anyway, therefore the adult deaths due to warfare is very low.

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: Ingroup is more common (see 4.16)

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: In the ritual of ubusoka (see 6.4), if an old chief does not die soon enough of natural causes he was probably strangled. The Nyakyusa theory is that he died from "the chilling breath" of his people who loved his sons rather than him. The fact that old chiefs do not now die off as they used to do is one of the political problems of the country; power tends to remain in the hands of the older generation much longer than before a European administration was established. (2; pg 221)

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): Due to their remote location, Nyakyusa have always been somewhat detached from other societies. Instead, they interacted mostly with other chiefdoms within their societies.

4.18 Cannibalism? Only attributed to witches; Greed and conspicuous wealth were thought of among the Nyakyusa as merging into the sort of greed for meat that led to witchcraft. A witch was pictured as one who gnawed the living inside until they wasted away, and who disinterred corpses to eat them. Cannibalism and witchcraft were sometimes scarcely distinguishable in ordinary speech. (15; pg 79)

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: Village numbers between 20 and 50 members (2; pg 220)

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): None found

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): In precolonial days, the territory was divided into a hundred chiefdoms, each composed of a cluster of villages. The chief belonged to an aristocratic clan, for he was a descendant of one of the first Nyakyusa to come to the lake: His office was hereditary. Presiding over each village was a headman selected by popular election. (1; pg 107) They developed no centralized political authority before the coming of the Europeans. (2; pg 218)

5.4 Post marital residence: Patrilocal (2; pg 218)

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): Territories are drawn by the chiefs. Bachelors serve as warriors to keep each age village safe. (13)

5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex): The Nyakusa are not organized on the basis of kinship but rather on the principle of age into "age villages" (1; pg 107) The age-village starts when a number of herd-boys, about ten or eleven years old, build together at the edge of their fathers' village. They have been practicing building huts for some time, but when they reach the age of ten or eleven they actually go to live in their huts, sleeping and spending their spare time in them, though still going to their mothers' huts for meals. A boys' village starts quite small, with not more than 12 members, but it grows as young boys from the fathers' village, or from other men's villages in the neighborhood, become old enough to join it. When the original members are 15 to 16 years old the village is usually closed to any further ten-year-olds, who must then start a new village on their own. Conditions vary with the density of population in the neighborhood and other factors, but generally the age-span within a village is not more than about five years (2; pg 219-20)

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: See 4.24 above

5.8 Village and house organization: In polygynous households each wife has her own house, or in former times a separate room in a long house; each household is allotted its own land, which the husband helps cultivate. (13)

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? On the ground of their huts (2; pg 218)

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: Conditioned to an extent by kinship. This is the case because the boys who are originally segregated belong to kin related families, and in their relations with each other they express the values and solidarity of their kin group. (1; pg 108) Residential use of age class system to organize the communal settlement. (1; pg 40)

Commonality of age of the inhabitants of the newly segregated residential unit furnishes the propellant that gives social cohesiveness to the unit and leads it to attain its own autonomy as a residential unit. In a certain sense, the concept of age class comes to be overwhelmed by and absorbed in residential concept of the village. (1; pg 152) - Members of agnatic lineages of depth of three or four generations are bound together by their common interest in the cattle which circulate within and between lineages, and by the supposed mystical interdependence of kin, but the lineage is not a corporate one. Kinsmen do not live together. (2; pg 218)

5.12 Trade: In precolonial times there was regional traffic in iron, cloth, pottery, and salt (13) Now their biggest cash crops are coffee and rice. (1; pg 107)

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? Yes, the chiefs in each age village are at the top of the social hierarchy. It is possible for a member to work his way up through the hierarchical system.

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6.0 Time allocation to RCR: Rituals and ceremonies are the most popular art form practiced among the Nyakyusa, therefore they devote a lot of time to RCR (13)

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): There is a belief in medicines, that is, in a mystical power residing in certain material substances which is used by those who have the requisite knowledge. (23, pg 3)

6.2 Stimulants: None found

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

Birth: The birth ritual is fairly elaborate at the birth of a first child, short and simple for other children, but prolonged and complex in cases of abnormal birth, that is, twin birth or breach delivery. (The same word, *ilipasa*, is used for both and the ritual is the same.) Abnormal birth is felt to be even more dangerous and terrifying than death, and a larger circle of relatives is held to be in danger than are in danger from a corpse. Affines, and mothers' relatives as well as agnates, gather for the purification. Isolation huts are built for the parents of twins, and they are formally inducted, a ritual litter being laid for them. A very large group of relatives gathers to wash with medicines and brings gifts of millet which is put to soak for beer. When that is brewed the temporary huts are burned, the parents and twins and relatives are shaved and anointed, splashed with scalding medicine, and given sausages of medicated porridge which they must eat from the ground. The parents have ritual intercourse and a mess of plantains is taken by the mother of twins to her father's grove, as by a bride or widow. (7, pg 233-4)

Death: The ritual performed at death is the most elaborate of the family rituals and in it themes which recur in the others are expressed most clearly, so let us begin with it. It consists of two parts: first there is the burial, to which all relatives, and all members of the deceased's village, as well as special friends from other villages, should come; then, some days later, there is the "farewell to the dead" and ritual purification, which concern only immediate agnates and the widow or widows, if the deceased is a man, and siblings, children, grandchildren and the widower, if the deceased is a married woman (cf. Wilson 1939). As soon as someone dies the women begin wailing, and messages are sent to agnatic kinsmen, affines, and the mother's father or brother. An autopsy is performed to discover the cause of death, and later the agent is sought by divination. The grave is dug in the swept courtyard of the homestead, close to the huts, and some hours after death the corpse is buried, wrapped in cloths and facing in the direction from which his ancestors came. A few utensils are buried in the grave and these, together with the cloths, and the cattle which are sacrificed, are believed to go with the dead to the world of the shades. At least one cow from a man's own herd is killed at his death, and his affines the fathers, his wives, and the husbands of his sisters and daughters-each bring a cow or bull to kill also. For a woman, her father and her husband each provide a cow or bull. Other relatives and friends bring cloths, or barkcloth mourning belts with which to tie up the trembling bellies of the close kinsmen of the dead, and so help to assuage their grief. Crowds of relatives and neighbors gather to wail, to dance, and to feast; the greater the feast, the larger the crowd, the longer the mourning, and the greater the prestige of the family concerned. Everyone who comes goes to the hut where the corpse is lying, or has lain, and there greets the chief mourners and wails with them a little. The men soon move away to talk and dance, but most of the women remain tight-packed in and around the hut, wailing in unison, swaying as they sit, and weeping un-restrainedly. The men, for their part, express their passionate anger in the war dance, charging back and forth over the new-filled grave, brandishing spears, and ready to quarrel and fight at any moment. Funerals commonly did end in battles between contingents from different villages. The dance is a form of mourning. "We dance because there is war in our hearts-a passion of grief and fear exasperates us." "A kinsman when he dances assuages his passionate grief; he goes into the house to weep and then comes out and dances the war dance; his passionate grief is made tolerable in the dance; it bound his heart and the dance assuages it." With their spears, the young men slash at the bananas surrounding the courtyard; they are added to the sacrificed cattle and the cloth to accompany the dead on his journey. Women dance also, threading their way among the men and calling the war cry to urge them on. Gradually, on the second or third day after the death, the war dance merges into a dance of sexual display. To the Nyakyusa this is in no way incongruous; they hold that friends who come to mourn should not leave without encouraging the bereaved to turn their thoughts again to life and laughter. At Christian funerals, also, this is very noticeable; on the second or third day there is a switch from mourning hymns to joyful ones. (7, pg 230-1)

6.4 Other rituals: Once in each generation there is a great ritual at which administrative power and military leadership are handed over by the older generation to the younger. At this ritual there is a new deal in land. The men of the retiring generation move to one side to

make room for the expanding villages of the younger generation, but it is not simply a transfer of land from one village of fathers to one of sons; the boundaries within the chiefdom are all redrawn, and the old men move even when there is unoccupied land available for their sons. The only land excluded from the new deal are the very valuable fields made in craters of extinct volcanoes, and these are interited, like cattle, within lineages. At this ritual, which is called ubusoka, the “coming out,” each village of young men is formally established on its own land, one of its members is appointed as headman, and its relative status in the hierarchy of villages in the chiefdom is demonstrated. At the same time the two senior sons of the retiring chief are recognized as chiefs, and the old chief’s country divided between them. The division does not become absolute until the old man’s death. (2; pg 220-21) Usually occurs only once every 30 years. (7; pg 229)

6.5 Myths (Creation): The religion of the Nyakyusa is expressed in ritual rather than in dogma. Everyone participates, at some time or another, in a variety of rituals; a great deal of time and energy is devoted to them, and they are elaborate. By comparison, the dogma and myth are limited both in content and in influence. Many more people participate in rituals than are fully conscious of dogma and myth; many more people can describe rituals than interpret them. (23, pg. 6)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): There is little development of arts and crafts except in relation to building—they build substantial and beautiful huts and long houses—and the main form of artistic expression is in ritual. Rituals are frequent and elaborate; great numbers of people attend them and the excitement is often intense. At death, at puberty and marriage, at birth—particularly at twin birth, and in misfortune, family rituals are celebrated; and annually, before the break of the rains, as well as in times of drought, flood, pestilence, famine, or other public misfortune, sacrifices are made on behalf of chiefdoms and groups of chiefdoms to immediate royal ancestors and the more distant heroes. (7; pg 228)

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: No initiation ceremony for males, although circumcision is customary. However, women go through initiation, birthing, and marriage preparation ceremonies. (2, pg 226)

6.8 Missionary effect: Missionaries have aided in completely eradicating the age village system (by the late 1960’s). However, it has been relatively unsuccessful in preventing polygamy. (13) In the pagan tradition the meticulous performance of the rituals is stressed: the right medicines; the right persons; the right order of events are all important. The attitude of mind of the participants matters also—if they are on bad terms the ritual will be ineffective— but goodwill and forgiveness alone are useless without the performance of the proper ritual. In the Christian tradition, it is the inward and spiritual attitude of the participants that is stressed. (14, pg 202) This individualistic way of thinking has significantly changed Nyakyusa society since the missionaries’ arrival.

6.9 RCR revival: Not much of a revival because only 16% of Nyakyusa people are Christian while most of the rest are still pagan. (20)

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: Death is something very fearful and later ritual is directed toward cleansing the close relatives from the contamination of death, separating them from the corpse, and pushing away the dead from their dreams and waking thoughts. At the same time it ensures the entry of the dead into the company of the shades of the lineage, and he is invited back to his homestead hearth. (7; pg 231)

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? No

6.12 Is there teknonymy? None found

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) Lubaga is the Nyakyusa center of worship. (2; pg 218) The traditional religion of the Nyakyusa people has three elements: first, there is a lively belief in the survival of the dead and in the power of senior relatives, both living and dead, over their descendants; second, there is a belief in medicines, that is, in mystical power residing in certain material substances which are used by those who have the knowledge to do so; and third, there is a belief in witchcraft, an innate power to harm others exercised by certain individuals, and in a similar power, “the breath of men,” exercised by villagers to punish wrongdoers in their midst. (7; pg 228)

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: Used in special ceremonies, varies among chiefdoms (13)

7.2 Piercings: Found in both men and women (5)

7.3 Haircut: Hair is a symbol of filth, so in most ceremonies it is shaved off both males and females (7; pg 235)

7.4 Scarification: They practice childhood elongation of the labia majora (3); however no blood related scar practices could be found.

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): Beads are popular (21)

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: Special beads used especially in divination rituals (21)

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Beads mostly worn by women. Women also wear beaded neck rings, elongating their necks (21)

7.8 Missionary effect: Mostly western dress now (13)

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: None found

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: No sibling classification system, all classification systems are based on age.

8.2 Sororate, levirate: A son is required to treat all his father’s wives as mothers while his father and father’s full-brothers are alive, and sex relations with a father’s wife are treated as a heinous offence, but after the death of the father and his full-brothers these same women become wives of their former sons, with the limitation that a man cannot inherit his own mother or her kinswoman. (2, pg 226-7)

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): None found

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

-The men of a village are all of an age and bound together by a common life shared from early youth, but the women in any village are of diverse age and experience. (2; pg 220)

-Cleanliness is of the utmost importance to the Nyakyusa. This includes within their household as well as their physical appearances. (13)

Numbered references

1. Bernardi, Bernardo. *Age Class Systems: Social Institutions and Politics Based on Age*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire: Cambridge UP, 1985. Print.
2. Cohen, Ronald, and John Middleton. *Comparative Political Systems; Studies in the Politics of Pre-industrial Societies*. Garden City, NY: Published for the American Museum of Natural History [by] the Natural History, 1967. Print.
3. "Growing Up Sexually." *GUS*. Web. 02 May 2012. <<http://www2.huberlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/GUS/NYAKYUSA.HTM>>.
4. Paige, Karen, and Jeffery M. Paige. *The Politics of Reproductive Ritual*. Berkeley: University of California, 1981. Print.
5. "Nyakyusa and Ngonde Ethnic Group." ForAfricanArt.com. Web. 02 May 2012. <http://www.forafricanart.com/Nyakyusa_ep_71-1.html>.
6. Nyakyusa (people). Encyclopedia Britannica Online. Encyclopedia Britannica. Web. 02 May 2012. <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/422994/Nyakyusa>>.
7. Wilson, Monica. *Nyakyusa Ritual and Symbolism*. [New York]: American Anthropological Association, 1954. Print.
8. Piddington, Ralph. *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1950. Print.
9. Wilson, Monica. Traditional Art Among the Nyakyusa. Web. 02 May 2012. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/3888796>>.
10. Eveleth, Phyllis B., and J. M. Tanner. *Worldwide Variation in Human Growth*. Cambridge [Eng.: Cambridge UP, 1976. Print.
11. "Nyakyusa-Ngonde." Ethnologue Report for Language Code: Nyy. Ethnologue: Languages of the World. Web. 02 May 2012. <http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=nyy>.
12. "Nyakyusa Religion; Research & Encyclopedia Information." BookRags. BookRags. Web. 02 May 2012. <<http://www.bookrags.com/research/nyakyusa-religion-eorl-10/>>.
13. Countries and Their Cultures: Nyakyusa and Ngonde." Everyculture.com. Web. 02 May 2012. <<http://www.everyculture.com/Africa-Middle-East/Nyakyusa-and-Ngonde.html>>.
14. Wilson, Monica Hunter. *Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa*. London: Published for the International African Institute by the Oxford UP, 1959. Print.
15. Wilson, Monica (Hunter). *Religion and the Transformation of Society; a Study in Social Change in Africa*. Cambridge [Eng.: University, 1971. Print.
16. Moore, Sally Falk. *Law as Process: An Anthropological Approach*. London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1978. Print.
17. Mwiturubani, Donald Anthony., and Wyk Jo-Ansie. Van. *Climate Change and Natural Resources Conflicts in Africa*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2010. Print.
18. Mwakikagile, Godfrey. *Africa and the West*. Huntington, NY: Nova Science, 2000. Print.
19. Mbunda, Daniel. *Traditional Sex Education in Tanzania: A Study of 12 Ethnic Groups*. New York, NY (380 Second Ave., New York 10010): Margaret Sanger Center, Planned Parenthood of New York City, 1991. Print.
20. Maynor, Michelle. "Book Reviews." Web. <http://soar.wichita.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/10057/3260/LAJ_v39_P83-84.pdf?sequence=1>.
21. *The People*. Web. <<http://sites.google.com/site/intercontinentalbookcentre/south-africa-as-a-multi-ethnic-society/the-people>>.
22. Thompson, James D., Buford H. Junker, Arthur Tuden, and Edward H. Litchfield. *Comparative Studies in Administration* .: [Pittsburgh]: University of Pittsburgh, 1959. Print.
23. Wilson, Monica Hunter. *Rituals of Kinship among the Nyakyusa*. London: Published for the International African Institute by the Oxford UP, 1957. Print.