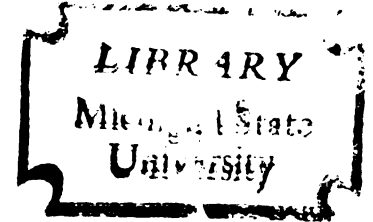


STALEMATE: A STUDY OF CULTURAL DYNAMICS


Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
MARTHA BUTLER BINFORD
1971



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STALEMATE: A STUDY OF CULTURAL DYNAMICS

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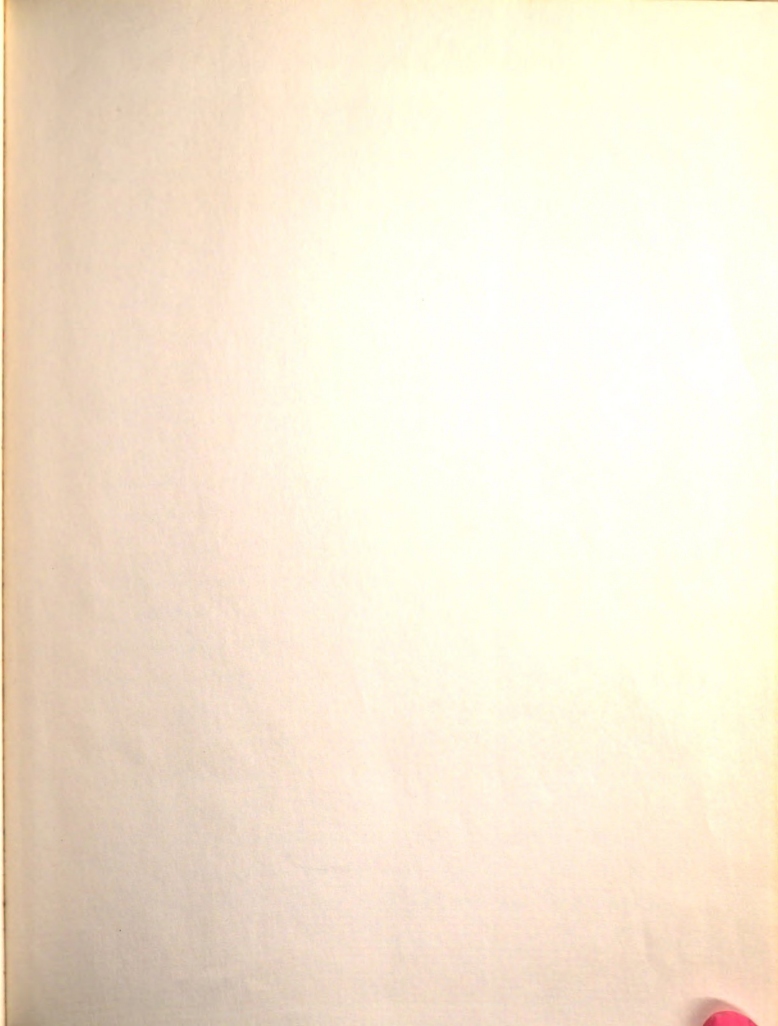
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STALBART: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF

THEORY OF CULTURE

The thesis is divided into two parts. The first part consist of a general introduction to the study of culture in the region of Mozambique, followed by a study of the culture in these chapters is a study of the culture in the region of Mozambique in Southern Africa.

The core of the thesis is a study of the culture in the extended case history and an analysis of the culture in the theoretical orientation known as the study of culture in the specifically the analysis is an analysis of the culture in the dynamics which is a study of the culture in the culture among themselves and with other forms of culture in the culture. It is assumed that there is a dynamic of culture interaction among the values and between the values people say they hold and their behavior. That is, there is assumed to be a definite relationship between what people say they should do and how they actually behave. It is the purpose of a study of cultural dynamics to formulate

a series of propositions which account for the behavior by analyzing the processes which lead to the behavior.

ABSTRACT

STALEMATE: A STUDY OF CULTURAL DYNAMICS

By

Martha Butler Binford

The thesis is in two parts. The first two chapters consist of a general and descriptive ethnography of the Rjonga of Moçambique, Portuguese East Africa. Included in these chapters is a correction to Henri Junod's work done in Southern Africa.

The core of the thesis is the presentation of one extended case history and an analysis of it from the theoretical orientation known as "process theory." More specifically the analysis is an exercise in cultural dynamics which is a study of the relationship of values among themselves and with other forms of behavior over time. It is assumed that there is a dynamic or active interaction among the values and between the values people say they hold and their behavior. That is, there is assumed to be a definite relationship between what people say they should do and how they actually behave. It is the purpose of a study of cultural dynamics to formulate

a series of propositions which account for observed behavior by analyzing the processes involved in people's behavior.

The processes which are analyzed can be classified into two major groups: those processes which belong to the loosening class and those which belong to the correcting class. 'Loosening' is the name given to the general class of processes which make it possible for people to behave in ways which are not in strict accordance with behavior indicated by statements of values. Correcting processes are those whose effect it is to bring actors to behave in accord with shared views about the behavior in question. Correcting processes make the central actor's moral status better than it was after committing a value violation and after sanctions have been brought to bear by some of his friends, kinsmen, colleagues, or associates.

The analysis of a case history using these concepts enables us to investigate how a culture 'works'; it shows who the people are who do not require a strict observance of values in relation to a central actor, and why; it shows which people or groups implement their values by bringing sanctions to bear against a transgressor, and why. A series of studies of this kind should allow us to understand better how internal change as well as radical change occurs among a people.

In the conclusion I show that there is a reasonably close correspondence between the stated values central to the case and the actors' behaviors. In order to appreciate this fully, however, it is necessary to have reference to values and attitudes which are not central to the case but which govern behavior. Consideration of these non-central values and attitudes defines the Rjonga value hierarchy and the flexibility or inflexibility of certain values. Knowledge of these, in turn, should provide a certain degree of predictability about the course of future change and how and in what areas of life it will occur.

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

1971

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The research upon which this book is based was supported by a National Institute of Health Research Fellowship and Training Grant.

I am profoundly grateful to the officials who made my research possible and who aided me so generously. To

Director of the Cabelmiro and Malangatana gave of his time, advice, and

The Administrator in my area was most helpful in giving me any assistance I needed. Their assistance and the Governor-General of Mozambique and the District of Lourenço Marques District were sympathetic and showed interest in my work when I had the pleasure of meeting them later in my stay. I was also gratified by the sincere enthusiasm and interest shown by several officials with whom I had the pleasure of talking and comparing notes, particularly Dr. António Rita-Ferreira.

In particular, I am greatly indebted to Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, who introduced me to his village and guided me through all of the preliminary procedures that

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In particular, I am greatly indebted to Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, who introduced me to his village and guided me through all of the preliminary procedures that

made my work possible. In addition he loaned me his house for seven months while mine was being constructed. In the village I would have accomplished little without the constant assistance and friendship of Belmiro Fénisse Magule. Besides these two, I owe my thanks and friendship to the hundreds of people who contributed to making my life in the village rewarding and interesting.

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The core of this thesis is the presentation of one extended case history, with a temporal dimension of several years, and an analysis of it from the orientation

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is twofold. First I give a general and descriptive ethnography of the Rjonga of Moçambique. This was necessary because there has been no intensive fieldwork done in that country since Junod, a Swiss missionary, lived there at the end of the last and the beginning of this century, and published his two volume monograph, The Life of a South African Tribe. Given the vicissitudes of life, I feel much better putting some of the data I acquired into presentable form as soon as possible. Here, of course, I include only a small portion of the total, limiting the presentation to material relevant to this thesis. I have tried to emphasize the values and attitudes the Rjonga have in every phase of their life which I discuss in the ethnography, because their values are central to the second part of the study I present here.

The core of this thesis is the presentation of one extended case history, with a temporal dimension of several years, and an analysis of it from the orientation

known as "process theory." More specifically this analysis is an exercise in cultural dynamics, which will be more fully explained later in this chapter. Briefly, I will trace out the processes which occur when people implement the values, beliefs, attitudes, etc., they say they hold. By "implement" I mean how some people make other people either adhere to their stated values or how they fail to do so, and what the consequences of success or failure are. This approach deals with what people say they should do ("ideal culture") and what they actually do ("real culture"). It goes further and tries to identify the processes which occur in the interaction of the "ideal" and the "real," holding that these are related and affect each other.

concern with facts Theoretical Background

a return When I left the United States to go do field work in Africa, I was not sure whether I would be able to go to Mozambique or not. In an effort to cheer myself in the face of this uncertainty, I would reflect that the research problem I had written for the National Institutes of Mental Health was one I could take to any country and people in the world. It was originally designed for a people with witchcraft beliefs; but by the very nature of the definitions I used, the problem could equally well be adapted to any belief system. That this was so reflects rather significantly the interests, goals, and ambitions

of anthropologists today. In a sense we seem to have come full circle. One hundred years ago an anthropologist also could have gone anywhere in the world, but his goal was largely one of description to acquaint the interested world with rare and different customs. Skipping everything that has happened in between we come to what is occurring today. Bohannon and Stern (A.A.A. Newsletter; 8: 1970) characterize it this way:

Indeed, we have returned to the days of rags and patches, but with the notable difference that each article now is a well reasoned entity; it has an argument and a point, in contrast to mere reporting of "facts." It can be characterized as the "Suffer Your Little Theories to Come unto Me" period.

Within this larger movement of "middle-level" theories as they show up in professional journals and books, there is a smaller trend which urges a renewed concern with facts. Some have labelled this scornfully as a return to nineteenth century empiricism, thereby missing the whole point of a rather more ambitious orientation in our discipline: an attempt to use a theory and methodology which makes the reporting from varied societies comparable and thus will allow, ultimately, the formulation of general propositions and "laws." That has always been the implicit aim of anthropology, as I understand it, but there is a certain reticence and modesty among its practitioners on this point. A bashful smile and off-hand manner accompany statements to the effect that "someday we might be able to make general statements about the

functioning of societies." The operative word seems to be "someday." Perhaps this is because some have tried to do just this and have been proven incorrect in their attempts. The word "incorrect" in this context must be taken to mean that the general laws or theories put forth did not account for all the known facts, and thus were not useful.

Certainly much work has been done, and many controversies engaged in as a result, on establishing terminologies and methods of reporting which would make material from different areas comparable. But these activities seem to have taken place in sub-fields of the total discipline, or perhaps even sub-sub-fields. The so-called controversy between Gluckman and Bohannan in political and legal anthropology is a case in point (Gluckman, 1969). With increasing specialization, anthropologists have tended to retreat more and more within the fortresses of their particular interests and to engage in petty duels with other inhabitants of the same fortress.

It is impossible to keep abreast of the entire field; but that should not preclude attempts to continue our efforts to arrive at general theories, laws, processes, or whatever.

One of the most serious drawbacks in an attempt to arrive at general formulations lies in the nature of the studies done. There have been very sophisticated attempts at providing comparable material, many of them in the

realm of systems theories or models (Schneider, 1965).

Southall (1965: 129-133) writes in a kind of despair when he says:

We cannot generalize because we lack the data. We lack the data because we have not done the fieldwork. Most social anthropologists have studied one or two societies intensively. . . . They have often chosen two societies not only radically different but far apart. The result is that there are hardly any instances in which the covariation of structural elements in neighboring systems over time has been effectively studied. How much more elementary can we be? This is the crux of the structural-functional problem.

His analysis of the problem continues:

In the past we have had debate between the extreme positions of those who see social anthropology as an emergent natural science seeking laws and those who see it as a special kind of history documenting particular and unique sequences of events. The next phase in the dialectic should be not synchronic structural analysis of laws, nor unique history, but diachronic structural analysis through history to establish generalizations. . . . We still communicate with one another so badly that the objective can only be reached, if at all, by all the necessary material passing through a single intellect. This presupposes intensive fieldwork, in several languages, over several contiguous societies of common or intermingled proximate origin.

Southall is lamenting the problems of a particular theoretical orientation, structural-functionalism. It applies, however, to all efforts in social anthropology if we are going to go beyond "a special kind of history documenting particular and unique sequences of events." Since it is patently impossible for "all the necessary material [to pass] through a single intellect," how can the problem be resolved? Should all anthropologists publish their raw field notes so that anyone can then interpret

them according to his bias and interest? I have heard several anthropologists say that this is the only possible solution. I find this hardly feasible, if for no other reason than that few anthropologists have the time to rework others' notes since they have their own to cope with.

I think we have now reached a stage in social anthropology where the work and ideas of our predecessors of the last fifty years is of sufficient excellence to enable us to see, however dimly, what the next step must be. As Southall put it, we must have facts again, but with an important difference from the facts offered us a hundred years ago. The difference lies in the assumptions we make about societies, since the ideas we hold necessarily influence the facts we collect. This is precisely how the discipline has developed to date; new theories and assumptions lead to different methods of collecting data, which in turn influence the theories, etc. The data we gather are the beginning and end of all of our endeavors, and changes in our thought must be related to our methods in the field.

New ideas in social anthropology, stemming largely from the situation in Africa after World War II, have shown inadequacies in the structural-functional approach. I think the position of the new orientation, called "process theory," has often been misunderstood. It is not an attempt to negate the structural-functional viewpoint, nor

to ignore it. I see it as an effort to build on previous thought and go further, which is what happens in all disciplines. Process theorists say we must know what the structure of a society is, must be able to identify its institutions, statuses, roles, and any other patterns or regularities.

It is assumed that the beliefs, attitudes, values, institutions, etc., of a people are positively selected for. No piece of behavior exists because it is "custom"; the behavior which the anthropologist observes and the ideas and values he infers are an active, dynamic part of the people's life. This raises the interesting, and vital, question of how? These assumptions, that there is always change (however defined) in social life and that there is a reason for observed behavior, require different methods of collecting data and different kinds of data than were thought sufficient some fifty years ago. And these assumptions also take us back to the beginning, as it were, analytically. We have to begin anew in our interpretations and our analyses as we explore the possibilities and implications of this new (revised) orientation.

The method appropriate to process theory was first developed by Turner (1957). Turner's "social drama" or "extended case history" provides the temporal dimension missing in older studies, and thus focuses on social process or "dynamics." The extended case history follows

one group of people as they interact over time, and attempts to analyze the processes involved in that interaction. Another assumption, obviously, is that what a man does in 1950 will influence what he does in 1951, as will what others have done to him in the same time period. The greatest strength of this method, as I see it, is that the anthropologist may select the type of process he is interested in. Turner's explicit goal, as he stated it in Schism and Continuity, was

. . . to isolate the cardinal factors underlying Ndembu residential structure. . . . These crises [social dramas] make visible both contradictions between crucial principles governing village structure, and conflicts between persons and groups in sets of social relations governed by a single principle (1957: xvii).

The method enables an anthropologists to single out principles, processes, regularities, or institutionalized changes, as well as radical change, in such a way as to make his data and analysis comparable with other studies, while at the same time describing what actually happens. The model is reality in all of its complexity.

Cultural Dynamics

While the term "cultural dynamics" has long been in currency in anthropology, the sense in which it is used here is quite different from prior usages. The terms, definitions, concepts, and theory which I use come from a paper "Bena Cultural Dynamics" (n.d.) by and from personal correspondence with Marc Swartz.

behavior. The phrase 'cultural dynamics' focuses interest on analyzing what actually occurs, taking into account the alternatives which may or may not be open to people in specific situations. It also calls attention to the assumption that there is always a reason for observed behavior which "custom" is not sufficient to explain. It further implies a temporal dimension which is a necessary part of understanding how and why behavior occurs, because we assume that social life is a continuum and people necessarily take into account not only what they have done but what others have done in relation to them over time.

For the purposes of this analysis, "culture" can be defined as a system of values, beliefs, attitudes, and norms. Following Hallowell (1955: 85), I assume that "any human society is not only a social order but a moral order as well." Thus, much behavior is held to be meaningfully related to concepts of good and evil, the nature of the universe, society, and men. If this is true, it follows that we must look to the cultural system for an explanation and understanding of behavior. Unfortunately, the problem is not that simple. Culture, in and of itself, does not satisfactorily explain all behavior. A society is defined as a patterned system of interpersonal relationships which are a product of cultural dicta, environmental exigencies, biological needs, and personal idiosyncracies. But an analysis of these is not sufficient to understand all

written these two values were not perceived to be

behavior, either. Although these two levels must be kept analytically distinct, the phrase 'cultural dynamics' emphasizes the interaction between them.

should Cultural dynamics is a study of the relationship of values among themselves (value hierarchies) and to other forms of behavior over time. I am not here concerned with the internalization of values but with the relationship of values to behavior. There is assumed to be a definite relationship between what people say they should do in their relationships with other people, and how they actually behave. The correspondence between the "ideal" and the "real" is seldom an exact one, however. It is the purpose of a study of cultural dynamics to formulate a series of propositions which will account for observed behavior.

develop This also involves an analysis of the relationship of the values in question to each other. Some values are more important and inclusive than others, but the relationships among them are no more static than the relationships of the people who hold them. The primacy of certain values may lessen or increase over time, as other factors change in the total environment. For example, the right of a U.S. citizen to bear arms, predicated on the value that he should be able to defend himself, is gradually being superceded by the value that individual action is detrimental to the society at large--that is, to the social or collective welfare. At the time our Constitution was written these two values were not perceived to be

conflicting; the actions of a handful of individuals in our recent history has made many feel that the smaller, less inclusive value (implied in the right to bear arms) should be dropped from the total repertoire of U.S. values. The behavior of some individuals has affected, for at least some other people, the relationship of the values they hold. This particular example might be analyzed as one in a series of events related to all the values involved in the history of states' rights vs. federal government's rights, and the changes in the values (realignment, exclusion of some, inclusion of new ones, etc.) which have occurred throughout our total history. My point is that I take the processes whereby the content of values and the primacy of some values over others develop over time to be dependent on other factors in the environment. Analytically I give precedence to the values that are symbolized by the behavior of people engaged in interaction with one another, holding that developments in the content and meanings of values and changes in value hierarchies are a consequence of that interaction.

Some Variables

There are several aspects, or dimensions, to the relationship between shared values and behavior. This is another way of saying that there are many variables which could be taken into account. Swartz (n.d.) has singled out some from a potentially unlimited number. A study of

the processes could focus, for example, on "the range and type of situations to which the meanings or values are applicable and the flexibility of their application throughout this range." An analysis made from this point of view takes as point of departure the fact that some values are less inclusive than others, and may apply to some situations, or to some people, but not to others. It then proceeds to analyze how weak or strong (flexible/inflexible) these values are in the situations where they are applicable. The processes investigated are those which define the value hierarchy. It is assumed there is always some kind of development in this, as well as other, dimensions.

Another possible variable, or dimension, is "the operation and interplay of supports for the maintenance and for the alteration of the meanings and values shared by actors" (Swartz, n.d.). The analysis could investigate the processes involved in how the stated values of a people are enforced or how they are changed.

Another variable, and possible analytical focus, is the "relationship between statements of values and detailed meanings and the behaviors which are referents of those statements" (Ibid.). The analysis investigates the processes involved in the central actors' behavior and the reactions of others to them.

Further and methodological procedures will be necessary.

That these three variables or dimensions, and others, are intimately related is obvious. All of these dimensions are aspects of what actually happens; that is, they are a property of reality. Analytically it is possible to single out one for consideration, but this should not be taken to mean that the others are not also a vital part of the situation. Development is occurring in one or more of these dimensions always.

that what "Development" is necessarily a neutral word which may mean rapid change or not. It is an indisputable fact that values everywhere change and often the actors become consciously aware of such change only after the fact.

to be to attempt
 appo Much value change is probably accomplished gradually and virtually imperceptibly to the actors involved. It may happen influence what
 propositions
 be a consequence of an aggregate of confrontations in a changing environment which introduces new factors which people must take into account. We do not know what the relationship between the state
 processes of internal change are and that is an ultimate goal of studies of cultural dynamics. It may not be possible to do but it is worth an effort to discover if they become crucial in the future
 there are patterns to the processes. To this end a detailed case history is necessary, obviously. None of the more crucial theoretical questions can be answered by a single extended case history and its analysis; a series of studies following the same theoretical and methodological procedures will be necessary.

Lest I have misled my readers by talking about change I should make it clear that an analysis of the processes involved in the interaction between stated values and other observed behaviors is a useful thing, in itself. In my previous discussion I simply went a step further by emphasizing that the seeds of change must always be present in what people are doing every day.

The primary assumption underlying my analysis is that what people say they should do actually affects what they do, and what they do affects their views on what they should do. Swartz says:

I take the main task of the study of cultural dynamics to be to attempt to formulate propositions which account for whatever relationships are observed. These propositions will describe the specific processes whereby shared views about what must, ought or can happen influence what does happen, or whereby what does happen influences the views in question, or both (n.d.).

My own case will be analyzed from the point of view of the relationship between the statements of values and the behaviors which are referents of those statements, but other dimensions will be dealt with, although not explicitly, as they become crucial in the course of the case.

Loosening and Correcting

There are some four concepts used in the analysis which deserve careful explanation. These are loosening, correcting, field and arena.

A specific instance of loosening consists of three parts: (1) the act which is a value violation; (2) the

process Loosening is the name given to the most general class of processes which make it possible for people to behave in ways which are not in strict accordance with behaviors indicated by statements of values. Since the study in question is a social and not an individual one, the important question becomes what processes loosen a value enough so that the actor can behave in a manner which is not in strict adherence to a shared value and still be accepted by at least some of his colleagues and associates.

to play A person may justify a given act which is at variance with stated values in a variety of ways. He may justify his behavior by reference to others' behavior and the process could be called 'self-justification by reference to another's violation.' He could deny that he behaved contrary to valued behavior, and the process is called 'denial'; he could say that the value in question does not apply in the case at issue, and the process is 'ambiguity of role and/or value.' Or he might say that there are special circumstances which make his behavior correct (in accordance with the value) and not a violation, and this could be called 'redefinition of role.' However, the actor's use of ambiguity, or any of the other processes, is only a beginning. It is necessary to find out what it is that the actor does that makes it possible for at least some other people to accept what he did or is doing.

success A specific instance of loosening consists of three parts: (1) the act which is a value violation; (2) the

process which made the value violation possible (e.g., denial, ambiguity, choice between alternative values, etc.); and (3) acceptance by at least some of the actor's friends and associates of his behavior. By definition, if no one at all accepts the actor's behavior then loosening has not taken place.

Another aspect of the definition of loosening processes is that these occur before a value violation is taken exception to by at least some people. If I am going to play cards with Joe's friend, Fred, and before we go Joe warns me that Fred cheats at cards but I should not become angry because he is really a nice guy and very rich, and I still agree to go play cards, then Joe has successfully loosened the value "don't cheat at cards." He has loosened it for me because I accept that Fred's behavior is permissible on the grounds that (a) he is rich and does not need the money, so cheating at cards is an eccentricity of his, and (b) he is otherwise a "nice guy"--that is, his over-all moral status is good. The process in loosening the value is one of emphasizing the positional element of Fred's status and not the behavioral element, and there is an implicit value hierarchy involved. One value states "you should not cheat," and not cheating at cards is a minor corollary of this. The other value, perhaps not explicit in our culture, is something like "Economically successful people can do things which economically unsuccessful people cannot." Since I accepted Joe's

explanation of Fred's behavior, I have expressed an acceptance of their value hierarchy also. If I refused to go play cards with Fred after Joe told me he cheated then the loosening was not successful with me, although it might be with some other people, but there must be some behavioral evidence for loosening. The actor's associates must accept his variation from the stated value and there must be evidence that they are aware of the violation and have accepted it.

Correcting processes are the converse of loosening processes. The general class of correcting processes includes "all the processes whose effect it is to bring actors to behave in accord with shared views about the behavior in question" (Swartz, n.d.) [my emphasis]. Correcting does not necessarily mean that the actor returns to a strict adherence of the value. This may happen or the actors (transgressor and accusers) may agree on new values, or they pretend the violation never happened and that the old values and rules still apply. On the other hand, correcting might not take place at all, or it might occur through coercion rather than agreement.

To return to the example about Fred's cheating at cards: If Joe does not warn me before we go that Fred cheats, and I start to complain when I discover the fact and then Joe says I should not mind because Fred is rich, etc., and I accept this and continue playing, then correcting has taken place. It is called correcting

because the value violation had taken place and someone (I) had taken exception to it. I agree to Joe's and Fred's definition of the situation and to the implied value hierarchy, and permit Fred to continue cheating at cards because of the positional aspect of his status. If I do not agree with their rationalizations I have two options, at least. I can stop playing cards and refuse to play with Fred ever again; here correction has not taken place. Or I can get really nasty and file an official complaint against Fred (assuming this is possible in the society). If the law then demands that Fred make reparation there is correcting through coercion. Of course, Fred might promise to stop cheating, and I then agree to continue playing cards with him. Correcting has occurred.

Equally Just as loosening processes include what happens after a value violation but before some associates or friends of the actor take exception, correcting processes include what takes place after a value violation and after somebody has taken exception to it. Loosening includes what people do to lessen the impact of their value violations before any of their colleagues or friends bring sanctions to bear against them. Correcting includes what people do to lessen the impact of their value violations after they have committed those violations and after some of their friends and/or colleagues have brought sanctions to bear against them. Correcting may also take place without loosening. That is, the value violation was never

accepted and the actor does something to redeem himself. Joe told me about Fred's habits in card playing and we both declined the invitation to go; the next day Fred sends us a \$100 gift certificate at Sears. We take this as an apology for his habits and a tacit promise not to cheat; or, if he does, not to exceed \$100 in his winnings from us. The value "don't cheat at cards" was not successfully loosened because we did not agree that Fred's behavior was acceptable; it was corrected, however, by Fred's \$100 gift which we took to be his agreement that he was wrong and we were right--that is, he was making reparations for his behavior. To repeat, loosening only occurs when at least some people who are aware of the violation of a value continue to accept the actor and there is proof of this. Equally there must be behavioral evidence for correcting. In the analysis of my case I must be able to show that the actor's and his associates' relationships were changed because of his variant behavior, and that those relations were improved by something which happened after his value violations and after sanctions were brought to bear against him. This means that the actor's relationships with his colleagues and friends became more tolerable than they had been before the correcting process occurred.

Field and Arena

The concepts of loosening and correcting as discussed so far give only a two dimensional picture of

reality. In an actual case involving many people and having a temporal dimension of perhaps years it is not likely that the simple identification of an act as loosening or correcting can take us very far, because correcting and loosening can overlap. Further, what is correcting for one person may be loosening, or nothing at all, for another. The concepts of arena and field add a third dimension to the study and provide some sort of boundary (only defined by the real events, however) to the processes in question, while also focusing attention on important questions.

In his Introduction to Local-Level Politics

(1968: 9), Swartz defines the concepts:

A field is defined by 'the interest and involvement of the participants' in the process being studied and its contents include the values, meanings, resources, and relationships employed by these participants in that process. The contents and the organization, as well as the membership, of the field change over time as new participants become involved; former participants disengage; new resources, rules, meanings, or values are brought to bear or old ones are withdrawn; and relations within the field change.

Given the fluidity of the field . . . it seems to me that the value of the concept can be increased by defining a social and cultural area which is immediately adjacent to the field both in space and in time. . . . The contents of this second space, which I will call . . . the 'arena,' depend upon relations with participants in the field, but it includes more than the field. In addition to the actors who populate it, the arena also contains the repertory of values, meanings, and resources these actors possess, together with the relationships among them and with the members of the field. Values, meanings, and resources possessed by the field participants but not employed by them in the processes which constitute the field are also part of the arena.

and Joe's arguments (Fred is rich, etc.), the ongoing process which took place was a continuation of the

loosen. Different kinds of loosening and of correcting can be going on at the same time in various parts of the field and arena, and different ones can occur at different times throughout the entire case. For instance, when people who are involved with the central actor are aware that he has not behaved as their shared values indicate he should have, and these people care about what he has done, they may react in a variety of ways. They may make mild comments to the effect that their friend has behaved oddly, but they say this to others and not directly to their friend (the central actor). In this case the loosening of the value in question has been successful. If others of the central actor's colleagues, however, speak directly with him remonstrating his 'improper' behavior, and bring strong sanctions to bear (or urge that these be brought to bear) against him, the loosening of the value has not been successful, and a separate correcting process must occur. It is important to understand that in the case of colleagues who agree with the central actor's definitions (i.e., accept the loosening), the correcting process is, in effect, the same process involved in the original loosening of the value. To return to my example of Fred, the card sharp, and our mutual friend, Joe: in the instance where I only discovered about Fred's cheating after we began to play cards and I protested, but was ultimately won over by Fred's and Joe's arguments (Fred is rich, etc.), the correcting process which took place was a continuation of the

loosening process. I agreed to a new definition of the situation and the correcting process can be called 'stressing the positional aspect of a status rather than the behavioral element implied by that status.' This was the same process used in loosening the value "don't cheat at cards." In the example where I refused to accept Fred's and Joe's definition of the situation and either stopped playing cards or brought in the law, a separate process was required for correcting, obviously--I had refused to accept the first process as sufficient to make Fred's behavior palatable or even tolerable to me. If the law forces him to make amends of some sort the process is 'coercion'; if he agrees to stop cheating at cards then the process is returning to behavior implied by the strict meaning of the value "don't cheat." If many more people were involved in this card game and some agreed to continue playing cards with Fred but others refused, we would be faced with the problem of the social scope of loosening and correcting--that is, that loosening can work with some people but not with others. If loosening were to work with all of the central actor's friends, colleagues, and associates who were aware of his variant behavior we would not have a study in cultural dynamics of the kind I intend to do here. We would be studying value change, straight and (relatively) simple. That is not to say the problem is not a crucial and little studied one; it is simply a different sort of problem than the one involved in this

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study which proposes to examine the processes involved in the relationship between statements of value and the behaviors which are a referent of those statements. From a series of studies of this sort we may ultimately be able to arrive at generalizations about the kinds of conditions under which certain kinds of loosening and/or correcting processes work, and of the kinds of results which might be expected from the joint operation of both. I suspect that these kinds of studies are a necessary antecedent to fruitful studies of value change where this occurs as a result of something other than extraneous authority figures imposing their will on a people.

The most important issue in this kind of study of cultural dynamics, to phrase the problem another way, is to discover how values work when some people do not behave in strict accordance with value dictates and some other people continue to accept the central actor, and his deviant behavior, but others do not. To answer these questions the concepts of field and arena are most useful.

The questions which consideration of the field lead to are:

1. Who is directly involved in the process related to the value violation at issue?
2. In what ways are these actors related to one another as concerns the process involving the value?
3. Are the actors organized into groups as concerns a particular process involved in the value violation at issue?

4. What resources (anything which advances the actors' goals in the process related to the value at issue) do the actors use?
5. What relations do the actors have to the resources used?

These questions are aimed at collection of data in the field which will, in turn, enable the anthropologist to answer the question: what about what the actor does makes it possible for some people to accept his variant behavior? In this society are there predictable situations or kinds of groupings where loosening will be successful? Loosening of what kinds of values? And so on.

Pertinent arena questions are:

1. Who are actors involved with in events and processes other than the one concerning the value in question?
2. Who has moved out of the field and into the arena? That is, who has ceased to be directly involved in the process related to the value in question?
3. Are there boundaries keeping people in the arena from entering the field? That is, if a man is beating his wife do the people witnessing it not interfere because no one is supposed to meddle in family affairs?
4. Are there boundaries which keep people in the field from moving into the arena at particular times during the course of the events, or during the whole of the events (throughout the case, in other words)?

All of these questions draw attention to the fact that loosening and correcting may have a different social scope. There are differences in who is aware of what the central actor is doing (this is the arena) and who feels

with the case I present here. The actual events of the

strongly about what he does and tries to 'bring him into line' (this is the field). These latter are the people who may begin the correcting processes; that is, they initiate a new series of events aimed at different goals than the central actor's. The central actor, himself, may initiate the correcting processes.

Summary

In this thesis I will present a very long, extended case history which has a temporal span of two years. Following Gulliver (1969: 15-16) I have tried at least to delineate what he calls "the three main stages [of a dispute]: the prehistory of the dispute, the dispute itself, and the social consequences that follow settlement." Of these three stages the third has most interest for a student of cultural dynamics, perhaps. As Gulliver says:

A full consideration of the consequences of a dispute settlement is equally important, both for general analysis and in the examination of social processes among a particular cluster of people. . . . The form and content of the settlement, and its subsequent enforcement as relevant, must necessarily affect relations between the disputants and others involved in some way or other. . . . The settlement in effect defines, or redefines, statuses, rights, and obligations, both for the disputants themselves and for other people. Status expectations may be reaffirmed, weakened, strengthened, or altered, and all this has some effect on subsequent relationships and social action.

That this last statement is very true was brought home to me by the very nature of my becoming acquainted with the case I present here. The actual events of the

case occurred before I arrived in Mitini. Valente, the principal actor whose behavior was called in question by some of his colleagues and friends, volunteered all of the information pertinent in the case. He said he felt he should tell me so that I would understand why he was the enemy of certain people with whom I saw him interacting frequently. In effect, of course, what he was trying to do was recruit my good opinion of him; I was a resource to him. My good opinion, in his estimation, was not sufficient if I did not know the facts of his dispute and the events which took place throughout its course. Valente brought me into the field, purposely. As I think will be seen after reading the case, he was trying to extend the correcting process which occurred in his dispute settlement. The dispute was not resolved by village standards or values; it was resolved by the intervention and support of a powerful authority figure extraneous to the Rjonga system. In me, for whom Valente worked, he saw another powerful figure whose support would continue to assure his moral standing in the village at least to the extent that no one would try to intervene in his conduct. Since I arrived just a few months after the last episode in his case (although it had formally ended some time earlier) I was in a position to witness the types of relationships he had with people who had been principal actors in his dispute during the following twenty months. I will

analyze these at the conclusion of my analysis of the case itself, because I think the issues involved in this particular case and the kind of resolution it had are of particular and vital concern for an understanding of how change (which, to me, necessarily implies value change) will occur among the Rjonga, at least. Throughout the ethnography, particularly in the second chapter, I try to emphasize which rules (and values) are changing or have changed. It may be that any generalizations which can be made from data concerning the Rjonga will only be applicable, if at all, to other peoples who have also had a period in their history when they were in close contact with a foreign power. But this, also, would be useful to know. It would be a beginning in the search for answers to such questions as: does change in a society's rules and values come about as a consequence of technological changes, for example? Are changes in values a necessary antecedent to acceptance of other changes in the total environment? Do changes of values and changes in the total environment go hand-in-hand, changes in values being a consequence of an interaction between old (traditional) values and new factors in the environment? I have already indicated that I am biased towards this latter kind of explanation, but it is based on educated intuition and not on facts and figures. It is these which we need so desperately.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The Rjonga are a Bantu-speaking, agricultural tribe of southernmost Moçambique consisting of partially localized patrilineal clans and lineages. Their territory extends from the town of Manhiça, near the coast, to Ressano Garcia on the Transvaal border, to the southern boundaries of the Province. This area comprises the greater part of the District of Lourenço Marques.

There are no census figures by tribe available to the general public. According to the Moçambique Year Book (1969: 13) the total population in the District of Lourenço Marques in 1960 was 447,278 in an area of 16,118 square kilometers (Spence, 1963: 26). Spence (op. cit.) says that 374,464 of these people are "Non-Civilized" groups, a category which excludes assimilated Africans whom he puts into the "Civilized" category. The Year Book states that 121,843 of these Africans of various tribes live in the capital city. Subtracting the city residents from the District's entire population gives a figure of 252,621. I think this figure too large for the Rjonga, and established their supremacy in the whole country which

however, since it includes the entire population (black and white) of the concelho (county) of Manhiça, including the Shangaan and Chope tribes. The Rjonga live only on the southern limit of the county of Manhiça. Therefore I have subtracted the population of Lourenço Marques and of Manhiça county from the population for the whole district. I arrive at a rough calculation of the Rjonga tribe which might be about 175,000 (cf. Junod, 1962: 20).

Tribe and Territory

No discussion of any phase of Rjonga life is possible without first noting the rather serious confusion in the literature over the precise definition of the location of the tribe. Junod's excellent monograph, The Life of a South African Tribe (revised edition 1927 and 1962), deals with the life of the peoples of the "Thonga" nation of Moçambique and includes data on the Rjonga, whom he calls the "Ronga." Both terms, "Thonga" and "Ronga," have carried over into recent literature and are used by the Portuguese in the same sense that Junod uses them. The origin of the word "Thonga" is the Zulu language. A concise explanation of the word and of the history underlying it comes from Quintão (1954: 7-8). All translations from the Portuguese are my own:

"The Thonga" is the pejorative term equivalent to 'vassal' which the Zulus applied to the tribes of the littoral when they invaded these regions in 1819; not finding any resistance they conquered without difficulty and established their supremacy in the whole country which

extends from the Maputo to the Save, and even to the Zambezi. Their principal conqueror was Manukosi who, deserting with some thousands of men, crossed the Pongolo river and, entering into Portuguese territory, crossed the Nkomati and established himself in Bilene, on the banks of the Limpopo.

Allied with his rival Songandaba he conquered another Zulu invader named Ngaba who had pursued them. Afterwards he joined battle with Songandaba, pushing him to the North up to the Zambezi and perhaps to Nyassaland, remaining master of the whole Thonga tribe. Immediately he went to establish himself in Maçapa, to the north of the Save, to strengthen his authority over the Ndjao tribe. His reign was of a long duration; he died in 1859.

In 1860 war broke out between his two sons, Muzila and Mawewe. The latter, a bloodthirsty man whose allies were recruited particularly from the northwest part of the country, expelled his brother who fled to the north of the Transvaal. Muzila returned in December of 1861 with the aim of asking for help from the Governor of Lourenço Marques, promising to become a subject of Portugal.

The Portuguese governor supplied him with weapons and troops and the two armies sustained a bloody war in the fields of Moamba, ending with the defeat of Mawewe. Muzila, conqueror and acclaimed king by the Vatuas, declared himself to be a tributary of the Portuguese crown.

In 1884 when Muzila died he was succeeded by his son Gungunyana, who began by giving allegiance to the Portuguese governor but, since he was a great hypocrite and traitor, he sometimes betrayed this allegiance. Having succeeded in getting the support of the hordes of Zixaxa, of Magaia, of Mahazule and Godide in 1894, he tried to assault the city of Lourenço Marques, thus originating the War of 1894, called "Gungunyana's War," which ended in 1895 with the defeat and imprisonment of all of the enemy chiefs and in which Mouzinho de Albuquerque had a preponderant role. With the aim of weakening the power of those black potentates the Portuguese government divided their lands and put in their place a large number of small kings.

Junod divided the "Thonga" nation, which included all the peoples conquered by the Ngoni, into six linguistic groups: Ronga, Hlanganu, Djonga, Bila, Nwalungu, and Hlengwe (1962: 14). These groups cover an area far

greater than that inhabited by the Rjonga. Junod uses the term tribe to refer to "the totality of the Thonga nation" (op. cit.). Later he says,

They are hardly conscious that they form a definite nation, and therefore they possess no common name for it. The name Thonga . . . was applied to them by the Zulu or Ngoni invaders, who enslaved most of their clans between 1815 and 1830 (1962: 14-15).

He also notes that the Rjonga disliked the name and considered it an insult. In fact the Rjonga were never under Ngoni dominion but were a protectorate of the Portuguese 100 years before Junod's time.

Junod applies the term clan to "the smaller national units, which are called after some old chief . . . but . . . the name of the clan means not only a group of people, but a certain part of the country" (1962: 14). Last he says, "Now some of these clans, those which occupy the same tract of country, form groups because they speak the same dialect of the Thonga language" (1962: 14). These groups, in fact, composed six discrete peoples or tribes, and the "clans" are tribes composed of several different clans, a fact which got Junod into some difficulties when he discusses the composition of a village. To return to Quintão again, he gives the location of Junod's six "groups" and comments briefly on each (1954: 9-10):

The Thonga tribe comprehends six dialects, namely: Xironga, Xidjonga, Xihlanganu, Xibila, Xinwalungu, Xihlengwe.

Of all of these dialects the one which occupies the largest area, without doubt, is Xihlengwe but because of the aridity of the country and its small population it does not have the importance of Xironga.

Xironga is spoken by more than 100,000 people in the regions of Maputo, Tembe, Mpfumo, Matola, Mabota, Nondjwana, Xirinda, and Manhiça.

Xidjonga is spoken between the Nkomati and the Olifant, from the Libombos to the hills of the Limpopo; it includes the following groups: Khosa, Rikoto, Xiburi, Matié, Nkuna, Nkabelane.

Xihlanganu is spoken in the southeast, in the Libombo mountains, to the north of the Nkomati by peoples of this name.

Xibila is spoken in the region of Bilene which includes the plains of the lower Limpopo leaving its junction with the Xengane.

Xinwalungu is spoken in the triangle formed by the Olifant and the Limpopo with the Longué mountains (an extension of the Libombos), by the Loi peoples. The Maluleke branch, at the junction of the Limpopo with the Pafuri, also speak Xinwalungu.

Xihlengwe is spoken in a considerable area, found between the Limpopo and the Save, extending the entire length of the Xengane and including all of the Gaza country and almost all of the District of Inhambane, including the following peoples: the Hlengwe of Xingombê, Hlengwe of Madzibé, Tsua, Makwakwa, Kambana.

Xironga is without doubt the most important Thonga dialect, so we can classify it as one of the three principal languages of our Province of Moçambique, which are: Xironga, Xisena, and Kiswahile.

I quote Quintão rather than Junod here largely to illustrate the continuing effect of the latter's monograph on current Portuguese literature. The Portuguese have completely accepted Junod's account of the Thonga tribe and continue to speak of the Thonga language group and its dialects. The Rjonga today occupy the same territory they did when Junod wrote about them; the major point of

difference is that I treat the Rjonga as a tribe whereas Junod called them a clan of the Thonga tribe. The latter is a construct; the name, as shown above, was derived from the Zulu invasions which began under Manukosi.

The name "Thonga" is even more confusing when we take into account the Tsonga, another name for the Shangaan tribe immediately north of the Rjonga; the Tsonga or Shangaan are Ngoni, followers and descendents of Manukosi Shangaan. Also distinct from the Tsonga and the Rjonga are the Bi-Tonga who live on the coast of Moçambique around Inhambane.

Junod's Informants

Because of the confusion resulting from any discussion of the "Thonga" tribe, it is useful to know what refers specifically to the Rjonga in Junod's monograph. He carefully describes his sources of information in most cases, and he gives the names and origins of his informants (1962: 3-6).

Spoon, subsequently renamed Elias, was a Rjonga from Rikatla, where Junod lived on and off for approximately eighteen years. Rikatla is a village in the Rjonga kingdom of Nondjwana.

Tobane Mpumo has a Rjonga clan name, but from Junod's description of his history I am not sure if Tobane is Rjonga, Djonga, or Shangaan. Junod does say, however,

"I owe him most of what I know about the tribal system of the Rongas" (1962: 4).

Mankhelu Nkuna was from the Transvaal; Junod says of him, "as regards the Northern clans of the tribe . . . (he was) an authority as excellent as Tobane for the Southern Ronga clans" (1962: 4). Any information cited as coming from Mankhelu, then, probably does not refer to the Rjonga. Anything Junod discusses as being peculiar to the "Northern clans" is not Rjonga, since the area referred to is completely out of Rjonga territory into Gaza District, or into the Transvaal.

Viguet, Mawewe, and Simeon Gana also are not Rjonga; when these men are cited by Junod as sources, the data do not refer to the Rjonga.

Mboza Mabzhaya was a Rjonga.

Junod frequently divides his discussions into data pertaining to the "Southern clans" and the "Northern clans." Anything referring to the latter may not be considered Rjonga. Data about the Southern clans include the Rjonga tribe but also what Junod calls the Hlanganu and Djonga groups. Any general discussion about customs of the Southern clans must be considered cautiously since the information may or may not apply to the Rjonga. Here it is useful to keep in mind the names of Junod's Rjonga informants because he often puts their names in parentheses following a particular statement.

Orthography

A brief discussion of the orthography I use is also necessary for anyone interested in consulting Junod, who is the most important and primary source of information for the peoples of Moçambique.

Junod follows Lepsius' rule "with its two main principles: a letter must always have the same value, and a single sound must be represented by a single letter" (1962: 484). As a consequence the Rjonga /rj/ becomes /r/ in Junod.

I have transcribed most native names and words in such a way that an English speaker pronouncing them would at least approximate the Rjonga pronunciation. This could become confusing when consulting a Portuguese map because many of the place names are native ones, and the Portuguese write these, understandably, so that a Portuguese speaker can approximate the correct pronunciation. However, they have also simplified native names by eliminating many of the laterals, which are a characteristic of Xi-Rjonga.

The Portuguese write the English /ny/ as /nh/; and English /k/ is /c/. Thus on a map will be found /Inhaca/ Island, which I have transcribed as /Inyaka/. Rjonga /wa/ becomes /ua/ in Portuguese writing, and I have used the spelling of literate Rjonga which is /wa/. I do not change the spelling of major Portuguese cities. "Manhiça," for example, would be written /Manyisa/ in English, but I

leave it in Portuguese to facilitate its location on a map. The cedilla is important in Portuguese because it differentiates between /s/ and /k/. Thus the place name Manhica would be spelled /Manyika/ in English.

The Portuguese and literate Rjonga transcribe the sound /sh/ as /x/. This is so common that I have also adopted it, although Junod does not use it. Thus the name of the Rjonga language is written /Xi-Rjonga/ rather than /Shi-Rjonga/.

Other differences between my orthography and Portuguese orthography are most easily seen by comparing Quintão's transcription of Rjonga clan names (page 4) with my way of transcribing them. The major difference is that I adhere to the native pronunciation, whereas the Portuguese simplify wherever possible. Thus the Portuguese /Maputo/ is /Maputcho/ in my system, since that is the way the Rjonga pronounce it. I write /Matola/ as /Matcholo/; /Xirinda/ is /Xirindja/. The Portuguese write the clan name /Mabzhaya/ as /Magaia/ and pronounce it /Magaya/. Several Rjonga told me that the Portuguese were incapable of pronouncing their names correctly, and they have two systems as a result. Among themselves they speak "correctly"; when dealing with a Portuguese they use the "simplified" version of their names. Where a difference is such that it would be difficult for a non-Portuguese speaker to correlate my spelling with Portuguese spelling, or with Junod's, I will indicate alternate spellings

and/or pronunciations in parentheses. I think this necessary for the benefit of any future ethnographic research in the area. It took me a long time to be able to correlate Portuguese transcriptions with Junod's and with information I was given while in the field. It would be wasteful to force anyone to go through the same process again.

Rjonga History

The Rjonga tribe was divided into eleven politically autonomous kingdoms, which were, north to south: Manhiça, Xirindja, Makandja (Makanda), Nondjwana (Nondwana), Makaneta, Mabota, Nwamba (Moamba), Mpfumo, Matcholo, Tembe, and Maputcho. The history of these kingdoms is confusing and complex, some being relatively recent in origin as a result of a younger brother successfully revolting against an older brother and establishing his own domain. Others were created by the Portuguese as recompense for some kingdoms being their allies against other kingdoms. I will sketch the history of some of these kingdoms briefly, using the Nondjwana and Makaneta histories as a detailed example of the sort of thing that happened. As Quintão said, where there used to be one king the Portuguese put many. Thus one of these kingdoms today may have several kings; in other cases (Tembe, for example) one kingdom has been merged with another.

Evidence from Junod, some history in Portuguese, a book on clan and praise names written in Rjonga-Shangaan, as well as information I was given, indicates that the original Rjonga kingdoms were completely independent of each other and had distinct territories. Furthermore they were often hostile to one other and fought battles which are still recorded in memory, as well as in some history books. For example, Mapunga Mabzhaya of Makaneta kingdom fought Musongi Maputcho, king of the Maputcho kingdom, and defeated him at the Battle of Malongatiba in 1870 (Junod, 1962: 394). Another Mabzhaya king fought against Tembe and defeated him; the various kingdoms extant at the time of the final, decisive war against the Portuguese, 1894-1895, fought on different sides. The deaths of kings were not announced until approximately a year following the event, at the coronation of the king's successor, so that hostile neighbors would not take advantage and invade a leaderless kingdom. Thus all of the evidence indicates that the people now known as the Rjonga tribe amalgamated slowly as a result of intermarriage between the royal lineages and, particularly, under the pressure of the Ngoni invasions. Junod notes that the kings of Mpfumo usually married royal women of Matcholo and Mabota, and the Matcholo and Mabota kings married Maputcho royal women (1962: 377). He gives no other data about marriage alliances, but I have evidence to indicate that the Mabzhayas of the relatively recent

Nondjwana kingdom married women of Manhiça and Xirindja and Tembe.

Junod (1962: 16) lists nine of the Rjonga kingdoms:

All around the Bay of Delagoa [now called the Bay of Lourenço Marques], we find the Ronga group. This word Ronga is a very old one and very convenient, as all these clans consent to be called by it. The real Rongas are, I think, the Mpfumo and the Matjolo [Matcholo] clans, who are settled on the west of the Bay. South of the Bay is the Tembe clan and its two sub-clans, which have become independent: Matutwen and Maputju [Maputcho]. North of Lourenço Marques are the Mabota and Mazwaya [Mabzhaya] clans, the country of the latter, which extends on both sides of the estuary of the Nkomati, being called Nondwane. Further north are the two clans of Shirindja and Manyisa which form the transition to the following group. The new generation speaks a purer Rjonga dialect, the old one more the Djonga.

Briefly the history of the kingdoms is this. Tembe and Mpfumo were probably the first comers, already established when the Mabzhayas arrived from Swaziland, and definitely there when the Portuguese arrived. At some point in their history, just when is not clear, a younger brother of Tembe rebelled and established himself as king over his own domain. This was the beginning of the Maputcho kingdom; apparently this happened prior to 1800 since the second or third king on the Maputcho royal genealogy gives the dates of his reign as from 1800-1850. The Portuguese mention the Tembe king in documents of 1554. Junod (1962: 27) cites Perestrello:

Into the Bay flow three rivers. . . . The first one to the south, is called Zembe [Tembe]. It separates the land of a king of that name from the dominion of the king of Nyaka. . . . The second is the river of the Holy Spirit of Lourenço Marques. It separates the land

of Zembe from the land of two other chiefs whose names are Rumu [Mpfumo] and Mina Lebombo [Mabota]. The third and last is the Manhiça, so called after a Kafir of that name who governs there.

Similarly a younger brother of Mpfumo, which is the native name for Lourenço Marques, rebelled and established the kingdom of Matcholo. He is known as a traitor and the word means "knees" in Xi-Rjonga, indicating the manner in which Matcholo crawled to the Portuguese, betraying the secrets of his brother. It is probable that Matcholo rebelled in the period immediately preceding Gungunyana's war of 1894-1895.

It appears from some sources that Mabota was another younger brother of Tembe; however, Mabota kingdom was in existence at the time of Perestrello, since it is mentioned in his accounts (see above). Mabota kingdom is in Marracuene county, geographically, but is administered by Lourenço Marques county.

I have no information relating to the origin of the Nwamba kingdom; perhaps it also was a result of battles against the Portuguese. I doubt this explanation, however, since the king of Makaneta, who gave me the most accurate historical material I collected, listed the Rjonga areas as I give them (page 37), with Nwamba named separately.

Manhiça kingdom was extant at the time of Perestrello; Xirindja is its neighbor. Probably Xirindja was a younger brother who rebelled also, but there is less information about these two kingdoms than any others.

They are thought of as "strangers" by the other Rjonga, although they consider them to be Rjonga. Again it is probable that their incorporation into the Rjonga tribe was a result of the pressures from the Ngoni and the Portuguese. Manhiça and Xirindja are on the boundary of Rjonga and Shangaan territory, and it is here that almost everyone speaks both languages. These two kingdoms fall into the Portuguese county of Manhiça today.

The history of the Makaneta, Nondjwana, and Makandja kingdoms offers a good example of the development of the Rjonga areas. I lived in Nondjwana kingdom and thus collected more detailed information for this area than for any of the others.

I translated from Rjonga-Shangaan the following history of the Mabzhayas in A. A. Jacque's book on clan and praise names; later I was told the same history by Santos Mabzhaya, the king of Makaneta.

Honwana: Mahlangwana. The person who fathered this race was Munondjwana who had two sons--Honwana and Mahlangwana.

Mahlangwana was the father of Nyongonyana, whom the people of Mabzhaya found when they came from Ngomana and from the Libombo mountains and Nhlanganu. The Honwana and Mahlangwanas began to fight, then the Mabzhayas said that "we can help you"; but they did not accept and showed them their assegais. Then the Mabzhayas made a hole in a hut and made an oil from the tihuhlu tree and put it in the hole in order to kill the Nondjwana king.

They also cooked a good meal and made drinks and then went to tell Nyongonyana to come eat. When they invited him he was pleased, saying he would enjoy it. "You, Nyongonyana of Mahlangwana, king, come to eat." But they had put the oil in the hole and covered it with a mat. The Mabzhaya people sat around the edge of the mat to hold it down,

leaving the center for Nyongonyana. When the king entered he found the people seated in a circle and he saw the jug of beer and dish of food and sat down together with his men in the middle of the mat. And he said: "Today we are going to enjoy delicacies." And when he settled himself well, he fell and the people of Mabzhaya seized him and drowned him.

The counselors [injuna] of the king fled to advise their people that their king was killed by the Mabzhaya. The Mabzhaya continued to kill many people and afterwards they built their homes there. . . .

In that time the Ngomanas left their surname and called themselves those of Mabzhaya and said that they were Ba-Nondjwana, the owners of the country. From then until today they are known as the Nondjwanas.

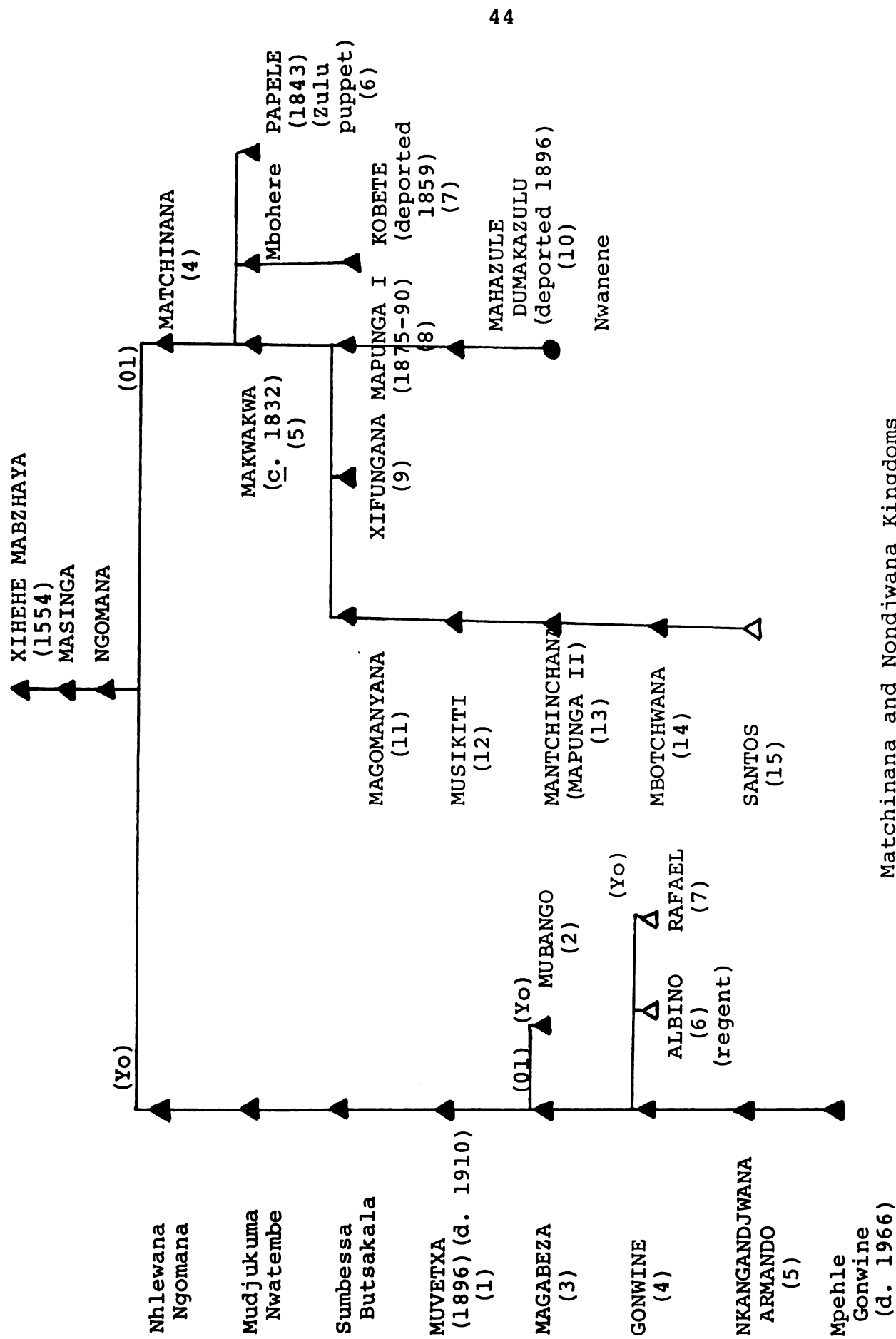
Everyone today agrees that the Mabzhayas conquered the Mahlangwana and Honwana clans and took over their country. The story given above is told with only minor variations, one of them attributing the introduction of iron knives to the Mabzhaya. The first Mabzhaya king was Xihehe, said to come from Psatine in Swaziland, "the place of the Mabzhaya." He established himself in the area known most commonly to the Rjonga as Matchinana (Makaneta to the Portuguese). This is the land of Nyaka mentioned by Perestrello. In the genealogy of the kings, Ngomana grandson of Xihehe, is shown as having twin sons, Matchinana and Nhlewana. Ngomana lived on the right bank of the Nkomati; the area known as Nondjwana is on the left bank of the Nkomati, or the "mainland." There was rivalry between the twin brothers, and their father sent the younger, Nhlewana, to rule as a chief in Nondjwana because there was no chief there at that time. Nhlewana's descendants

continued to rule as chiefs of Nondjwana until the time of Gungunyana's war. Then Muvetxa Nhlewana Mabzhaya went to the Portuguese and offered his help to them in fighting his classificatory older brother, Mapunga Matchinana Mabzhaya. Junod credits the beginning of Gungunyana's war to Muvetxa's machinations in an attempt to win a kingdom for himself. Mapunga fought the Portuguese sporadically but it was Mahazule Dumakazulo Mabzhaya, Mapunga's son, who fought against the Portuguese in 1894-1895 and was deported in 1896 after Gungunyana's defeat. As a reward for his help, the Portuguese established Muvetxa as king of Nondjwana, thus depriving the senior line of the better part of its territory. Since Mahazule was deported his father's younger brother, Magomanyana, ruled in his stead; today's king, Santos Mabzhaya, is his direct descendent. The kings of Nondjwana trace their descent from Muvetxa Nhlewana Mabzhaya; there have been seven of them since 1896. As recently as 1966 an heir to the Nondjwana throne was assassinated. Today Rafael Nhlewana Mabzhaya, a junior grandson of Muvetxa, is king of Nondjwana (see Figure 1).

The king Santos told me that Makandja used to belong to the Matchinana Mabzhayas but was given to a Makandja by the Portuguese when Filimão Makandja returned from the war and laid claim to it.

Despite the diverse histories of the various Rjonga kingdoms, the people can be referred to as a tribe because they have a delimited territory, a common language, common

THE



Matchinana and Nondjwana Kingdoms

Figure 1.--Genealogy of Mabzhaya kings.

political structure; cultural unity; and an awareness of themselves as a distinct group. In case of attack by another tribe, the Shangaan for example, I was told that the Rjonga kingdoms would unite to repel the invader. In point of fact, the kingdoms were divided and fought against one other during Gungunyana's war, but this does not refute the premise that they constitute a tribe. The word "Ba-Rjonga" means "people of the East" so that their name seems to have had a geographic rather than a cultural referent. However, as Junod says, it is a name accepted by all the peoples around the Lourenço Marques area.

Climate and Soil

The district of Lourenço Marques is drained by five major rivers: Incomati, Matola, Umbelúzi, Tembe, and Maputo. Most of the country is flat with only a few gentle hills in the Nondjwana area. The Limbobo mountains form part of the western boundary between the District of Lourenço Marques and Swaziland and the Transvaal.

The country is sparsely covered with bush; the soil varies in quality from the rich black soil found in river valleys, to the white sandy soil most common in the areas farmed by the Rjonga, to reddish soils which extend in a fifty mile wide belt to the Save river (Spence, 1963: 14). The richest soil that the Rjonga of Nondjwana have access to is that found in the area they call Inyaka, on the left bank of the Inkomati river.

The Moçambique Year Book (1969: 20) classifies the climate in the area around Lourenço Marques as hot, which is defined as anything over a median of twenty degrees centigrade, annually. The range in each of the counties of the District is approximately from 17 to 30 degrees centigrade annually. The climate is desert-like in that the temperature always falls off considerably at night, except in the very hottest months.

The year divides into two seasons: the colder, drier one from April to August or September and the hotter, rainy season extending from September or October until February and March. The rains usually do not start until November and occur sporadically until February.

The Year Book rates the Rjonga area as "moderately rainy" since it has a median annual rainfall of 768 millimeters. There was a severe drought during my two years and the two staple crops, corn and peanuts, failed in the Nondjwana area. Those areas adjacent to the rivers can count on annual overflowing to fertilize the land, but it is seldom that any considerable portion of these areas is available to the Rjonga farmers.

Portuguese Administrative Divisions

The Rjonga situation is further complicated by the Portuguese administrative divisions which cross-cut the native areas. The Year Book (1969: 36) describes the divisions as follows:

The districts are composed of concelhos [counties is the best translation in my opinion] which are made up of parishes. Temporarily, in the regions where the economic and social development considered necessary for the purpose hasn't yet been attained, the counties may be replaced by administrative circumscriptions.

The administrative counties and circumscriptions are grouped into districts under the authority of a governor of the district . . . and are made up of parishes or, where these cannot be created, of administrative posts.

The District of Lourenço Marques consists of seven counties (see Figure 2). Manhiça county includes the Manhiça and Xirindja kingdoms. The county of Marracuene includes Makandja, Nondjwana, and Makaneta kingdoms. I am not certain about Sabie county; there are two administrative posts, but the headquarters is located at Moamba (Nwamba). This leads me to believe that this county subsumes Nwamba kingdom. The Year Book lists eight chiefs in this area, and I cannot determine if one of them is king, or whether all are of equal status.

The county of Namaacha is another enigma; two kings are listed in that area. The Year Book gives no surnames for the kings and chiefs it mentions, which makes it extremely difficult to determine their origin. I suppose that this area was carved out of the Mabota and Matcholo kingdoms. I had intended to visit all of these areas towards the end of my stay in the Province but was prevented from doing so by severe illness which resulted in my returning to this country somewhat earlier than I had anticipated.

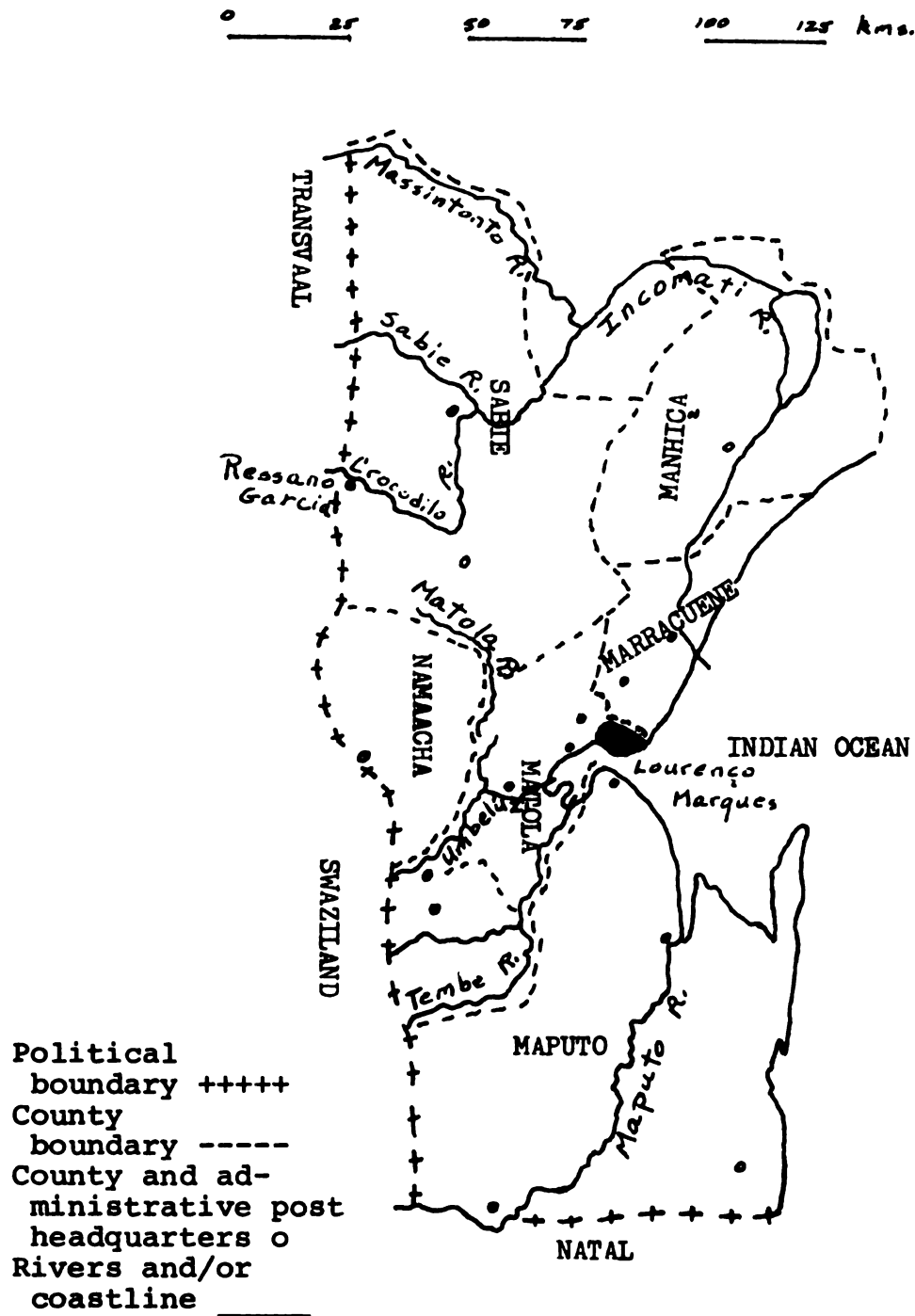


Figure 2.--Counties of the District of Lourenço Marques.

Matcholo county, known as Vila Salazar since 1968, has its headquarters at Matcholo-Rio (Matola-Rio), and two administrative posts, at Boane and Machava (Mashaba). The Year Book lists three kings for the county, which means the kingdom has been divided into three parts by the Portuguese. Matcholo rules in Matola-Rio and Machava; two kings are named as ruling in the Boane area.

The county of Lourenço Marques includes the area formerly known as Mpfumo, which is the Rjonga name for the capital city. The city is divided into fourteen bairros; four Mpfumo kings rule in those quarters rarely inhabited by the native population. The Year Book says (1969: 205),

Lourenço Marques has other bairros. . . . The largest of these is that of Matola (Matcholo), which is already considered to be a very important vila. But there are the bairros of the Zoological Gardens, of Machava, of Influne, of the Mahotas, and others which are beginning to be born now thanks to the interest the city-dweller has in procuring these surrounding districts in order to build his own house, with a garden and kitchen garden, and chicken coops.

This county has two administrative posts, Benfica and Munhuana. Although Figure 1, which follows the map in the Year Book, shows Benfica to be part of the county of Marracuene, it appears that administratively Benfica belongs to the capital. This area includes the Mabota kingdom. I was told that from Km. 5-20 on National Highway No. 1, all the area to the east of the highway is the area the Rjonga call Mabota, and the area to the west of it is called Matcholo. The kingdom formerly known as Mabota is now ruled by four kings.

The last county, Maputcho, includes the former Tembe kingdom. The county is divided into four administrative posts: Catembe, Catuane, Inhaca, and Manhoca; the headquarters is at Bela Vista. There are five kings listed for the entire county; I assume that the former two kingdoms have thus been divided into five parts. The Rjonga of Nondjwana and of the capital tell me that the language spoken in this area is slightly different from that of the other kingdoms, but that it is mutually intelligible with Xi-Rjonga and they consider it to be Xi-Rjonga. Some of the customs of Tembe and Maputcho are also slightly different, particularly in reference to marriage. I had occasion to speak with a South African anthropologist who had lived in the Ka-Tembe area for some time and he flatly denied that the people living there were Rjonga. Other Rjonga whom we called in to clarify the situation were adamant in saying that the people of this southern county are Rjonga. I think that there is no doubt that they are Rjonga; the anthropologist in question could speak neither Xi-Rjonga nor Portuguese, communicating with the people in Zulu, and he based his statement on the different origin and history of the Tembe-Maputcho kingdoms rather than on those criteria I list as definitive of a tribe. Furthermore I knew men from Tembe, and in response to my question they affirmed that they considered themselves Rjonga.

Finally, the Year Book lists the tribe of all of these counties as Rjonga, with the following exceptions: in Manhiça county are found Ronga, Tonga [Shangaan], and Chope, and the languages spoken there are given as Ronga, Shangaan, and Chope. In Namaacha and Sabie counties are found Rjonga and Swazis, and both languages are spoken.

Kingdom Political Structure

All of the information which follows was collected in Nondjwana kingdom, county of Marracuene (see Figure 2), in a village which I will call Mitini, more than thirty kilometers north of the capital city. I visited several other villages of Nondjwana, and a few of the other Rjonga kingdoms in order to check the validity of my information in all Rjonga areas. I am satisfied that the condensed ethnography which follows is basically accurate for all the Rjonga areas. There are minor variations in such matters as lobolo payments; and the language of the Ka-Tembe area is slightly different, as I have noted. But everyone agreed that basic values and social organization are similar throughout the tribe. I was unable to visit Ka-Tembe and the region around Ressano Garcia, as I had planned. Nevertheless I did speak to people from these areas, as well as from others, and the few questions I asked bore out the contention that the entire tribe represents a cultural and social unity despite divergent histories for the various clans and kingdoms.

The Nondjwana kingdom today consists of many villages, which are grouped into seventeen districts, all under the rule of counsellors (indjuna), who in turn are subject to the king (hosi). Each village has its own chief (muntwana) also, and villages are subdivided into zones, each of which is in charge of a petty official whom I call the zone chief. The ruling principle of Rjonga life is seniority and hierarchy, as will become clear.

The king is always the eldest son of his father; the son of the "wife of the country," that woman whose lobolo was paid by the entire kingdom, does not have automatic right to rule, contrary to Ngoni law. Because of the fear of being overthrown by jealous siblings it was not uncommon for a king to kill his brothers and father's brothers (Junod, 1962: 410). This is documented for several of the Rjonga kingdoms, the heir to the Nondjwana throne in 1966 was assassinated on the eve of his coronation.

The first Nondjwana king, Muvetxa, had some thirty-six wives and he placed all of his first-born sons, as well as several junior sons, as village or district chiefs, replacing the Mabzhaya chiefs of the senior Mabzhaya royal lineage when Mahazule was deported in 1896. No one person could recount the names of all of Muvetxa's sons to me, but many villages still bear the dead chiefs' names since it is the custom for the succeeding chief to take his father's name, which is also the name of the

village in many cases. Muvetxa's son Magabeza had some sixteen wives, and his son Gonwine a more modest number. Nevertheless the effect is such as to confuse even the Rjonga because each king put in his favorites, including father's brother, own brothers, own half brothers, and sons as chiefs; and the villages changed names accordingly. Any one village, today, may have as many as half a dozen names.

The heir to the throne seldom lives at the capital village, called Ntsindja, but is sent by his father as a chief to another village to learn how to rule. Mitini has had many subsequent kings as its chief for several years; before he became king, Rafael had been chief of a village on the outskirts of the kingdom for fifteen or so years.

The king ruled with the help of counsellors, called tindjuna, who acted as a check to his (formerly) unlimited powers. Junod (1962: 421-423) mentions four different categories of counsellors: the "Principal Counsellors" (tindjuna letikulu)

. . . whose province it is to discuss and decide the more serious questions which affect the country. These are generally the uncles of the chief. . . . These tindjuna watch over the chief, and have the right of finding fault with him if they are not satisfied with his conduct.

I may note that Junod's "chief" is my "king," given the confusion over the Thonga nation and its last ruler, Gungunyana.

Then there were those men who were in charge of the army, whom Junod calls "Military Counsellors." The third category is that of "Agents General" who "are especially entrusted with the business of adjoining countries . . . these officials form an indispensable link in the diplomatic, and even in the matrimonial relations, between one kingdom and another."

Junod's fourth category is of the district chiefs "appointed by the chief [king] in the various districts to act as overseers or magistrates, to adjudicate the petty differences of the people . . ."

Apparently today there are only two categories of counsellors still effective. I say "apparently" because I found the king and his counsellors most reluctant to discuss the structure of the kingdom so I had to obtain information where and how I could, in bits and pieces which I put together as a jigsaw puzzle. The two categories I observed were of the "Principal Counsellor" and the district counsellor type. The king is constantly attended by one or two men, of his family but also of other clans, and his court is always attended by most of the district chiefs and some village chiefs. Presiding at the court, conducting all of its business until the king "cuts the case" by giving the final judgment, is a group of five or six men who are his "principal counsellors." In addition he has an ndjuna whom he calls his "secretary," who lives in the capital city and is supposed to attend all

Sunday trials in the king's court. This man has the most influence over the king of any I saw, although he belongs to a different clan; his father before him was one of the counsellors of the king Gonwine, but only while Gonwine was chief in Mitini village. The secretary's power was undoubtedly related to the fact that he was instrumental in supporting Rafael's claim to the throne when the legitimate heir was assassinated. Very recently the secretary in question was replaced by another man, of a still different clan, who was obliged to move to Ntsindja to constantly attend the king. Thus today the power structure is still in a fluid state while the king seeks to consolidate his tenuous hold on the throne. Similarly, another man very close to the king, of his own lineage, was recently replaced. That the present incumbent should feel uncertain in his power is not strange. He knows himself to be a junior member of the royal lineage, and at his coronation the royal drums were not played. These are still in the possession of the deposed regent; some old men told me that the king "stole the flag" and is not a real king because he does not have the drums and because the deceased legitimate heir's own son lives.

The king's functions used to be threefold: military, religious, and judicial. Today the major function the king performs is to preside over the king's court, which is the highest native tribunal. All of the village chiefs are said to "occupy the same chair." This

means that they are of equal status and like brothers, even if not of the same lineage or clan. They may hear cases which involve men not of their own village, but they may not charge these "strangers" a fee for doing so since the chief is only "helping his brother." Only the king has the right to charge a court fee to men of all villages, or "to unite the flag."

The chief is the father of the village; the king is the father of the people; and today the Portuguese county Administrator is the father of them all. The king is also said to be the country (tiko); a village chief only owns the country. However there seems never to have been, and certainly there is not today, any mystical association between the king's health and the land or his people. The king's ancestors cannot visit their wrath on the country, only on their own family; nor can the king pray to his ancestors on behalf of the country as in time of drought. The only first fruits ceremony performed today, and it was not performed while I was there, is for wukanye, an alcoholic drink made from the nkanye tree's fruit. The king with the aid of his diviners is supposed to determine the date for this festival, and he drinks the first fruits which have been treated by his doctors. Afterwards he sends word to the villages and the first fruits ceremony takes place there in every household (muti). This ceremony is the extent of the king's religious function today.

Formerly the king was commander-in-chief of the armies, although he had a general of the army who actually led the troops into battle. This function today consists of providing men for the Portuguese draft when he is requested to do so.

The king's duties are primarily judicial now. Every Sunday the king has a court where two or three cases are heard. Any case which a village chief feels he cannot resolve in the village bandla is taken to the king. The king charges each party to a trial the same fee as a village chief charges, seventy escudos (about \$3.50), but his fines are higher than those levied in a chief's court and the trials are attended by district and village chiefs, with written records kept. These records are sent on to the Administration so that the awe felt by parties to a trial at the king's court is considerably more than that which they feel at a village chief's court. Permission to take a case to the king's court is supposed to be obtained by the village chief; he "opens the road" for the principals. Any case which the king feels he cannot resolve is sent to the Portuguese Administrator for adjudication. A king who is felt to be an unjust judge, as Muvetxa was, can be circumvented by the people who take their disputes directly to the Administration. This reflects severely on the prestige of the king, and deprives him of one of his largest sources of income.

The senior magistrate at a trial is supposed to give some money to his counsellors so that they can buy beer and everyone can drink to restore good relations after a trial. The party who wins at a trial is supposed to pay the court a "gratification" quite apart from the court fee and apart from the fine levied on the guilty party. In fact the guilty party is fined for his offense in three ways. First, he must pay whatever the winner deems he deserves, and the court often accepts the winner's estimate of this. Second, the court adds a fine which the king or presiding magistrate keeps for himself. And third, the gratification that the winner pays is tacked on to the fine. The fine is conceptualized as consisting of only two parts, but no one forgets to add a little extra to the winner's damages so that he will have sufficient to pay a suitable "gratification" to the court. From this money comes the beer which all drink together. In addition the senior member will give small amounts of money to those elders who habitually attend the trials and speak when the word "is given to the hubo." (The bandla is the court; the hubo consists of the men who compose the court.) After a particularly bitter dispute among family members, the senior official may levy a fine of a bull to be slaughtered at the court on a given day, with all the involved family members and all of the court members attending the feast to restore good relations.

In addition to the money he gets from holding court, the king also receives an annual salary from the Administration. The king further charges a fee to all miners returning from South Africa, and he can request food, livestock, and labor from his people at will. While I was there the king charged all of his villages a large amount of money in order to lobolo his "wife of the country." In fact he recently eloped with a divorced woman of another tribe, and the people are distressed because he has eaten their lobolo. A divorced woman is not entitled to a full lobolo; in fact, she is not entitled to any lobolo at all, although often her family charges one and receives it.

In addition to the counsellors who advise the king and can check his power, the king commands his own police, as do the village chiefs. The king is the liason between his people and the Administration, and any requests from the Administration for troops, labor, etc., are simply relayed by the king to his chiefs. The king's police will go to the various villages and, with the chief and the chief's police, draft men. This constitutes one of the greatest sanctions that either king or chiefs has. The other sanction is the ability to send men to the Portuguese jail. It is part of the Rjonga ethic that no man can be forced to admit his guilt at a trial. If a man is "stubborn" and refuses to admit that he is in the wrong there is nothing today that the chief or king can do about it immediately except to send the culprit to the

Administrator. This is quite drastic, in itself, but the outcome is not always what the king intended. He remembers those who displease him, however, and the force of his power is felt at the time of the draft. He can also "punish" an entire village by always calling on that village whenever he needs money or labor for himself.

Village Political Structure

Each village has a chief who is the king's counterpart. Villagers will address the chief as "king" (hosi), although technically he is not entitled to this address. The salute to a village chief, and the term of address, is muntwana. A village chief is supposed to be the former chief's oldest son. This is not always the case, of course, particularly when a king replaces former chiefs with his own immediate relatives and favorites. However the norm is for the chief's oldest son to succeed him, and to take his father's name when he becomes chief. If a chief is very unfair or cruel or dishonest he can be deposed by the king and be replaced by another of the royal lineage. The people are said to have no recourse if their chief is a bad one; but, in fact, there are several instances of the people secretly sending representatives to the king to complain, and of the chief being removed. Another sanction the people have against their chief is to move out of his village, and this is bad for the chief's

reputation as well as depriving him of income in much the same way as the king can be.

The chief "owns the country." No stranger can settle in his village without his permission and without being presented by him to the king who is the only one who has the power to grant "asylum." The chief also owns all of the land and its products, which is represented by the fact that all diviners and doctors who wish to practice their art must present themselves to the chief and pay him an annual fee. This fee is conceptualized in two ways. It is payment for the doctors' license to cut the roots and herbs he needs for his medicines, because the chief owns all of the trees and plants. It is also a sort of compensation to the chief for potential trouble.

All seniors, be they king, chief, or head of a family, must know "the beginning of cases." This means any source of potential trouble, as well as all actual disputes, must immediately be made known to the appropriate senior so that he has complete and, where possible, prior knowledge and thus can be an effective judge at actual disputes brought to him. Rjonga ethic has it that no one who does not know the "beginning of a case" has the right to pass judgment nor even to voice an opinion at a dispute. Similarly all those people who make and sell beer within the village must pay an annual fee to the village chief. Drunk people are the source of many disputes and fights that the chief may have to adjudicate, and the fee paid to

the chief is like a license to brew trouble as well as beer. Men returning from the mines must also pay the chief a set sum; the chief, in turn, is obliged to turn over a part or all of this to the king. Finally, the chief receives twenty escudos of all lobolos paid into the village.

Although the chief "owns the country," and this by gift of the king, he cannot dispose of the land arbitrarily. Fields, trees, etc., are inherited by the members of the family who own them. Only those portions of the bush which have never been claimed lie in the chief's gift. Similarly a field which has lain fallow for several years, or which is held to be owned by someone but has never been worked, becomes part of the "public domain" and can be given by the chief to a villager.

Mitini village is divided into five zones, each of which has its own chief whom I call the zone chief. These zones represent areas which were settled primarily by men of one clan; their chiefs are descendents of these men, and in many cases the zones are named after them. These minor officials comprise the village chief's counsellors and they are supposed to attend all village trials. Each zone chief chooses another man, often a younger brother, to act as his second-in-command. The chief also has his own police. The position of zone chief is also hereditary, passing to the oldest son. If a zone chief is removed or resigns he is frequently replaced by the man who acted as his policeman, or deputy, whether or not they are

related. Shortly after I settled in Mitini, the chief, a classificatory son of the king, was removed from office because of the people's complaints against his unfairness. His ndjuna, or second-in-command, a man of another clan, then acted as regent until the king decided who should succeed.

A man who has been chosen for, or who has succeeded to, office in the village has this fact entered in his Portuguese identification book. He retains the responsibility of a "servant of the state" until the registration is rescinded at the request of the chief or of the king. Many of the men who occupy these jobs speak bitterly about the burden imposed on them. The people say that he who rules is alone and has no friends; he also should have no favorites and never show partiality in his judgments. The chief, as well as the king, when he succeeds to office is said to have been smeared with buba, the Rjonga word referring to a venereal disease. This metaphor for authority expresses the dilemma which those in power have in trying to be a "father" to their people while still complying with disagreeable demands from even more powerful people. The chief is "father" of his people, and his duties include defending them from unpleasant jobs, etc. The chief is responsible for organizing and supervising all communal labor ordered by the king. If there be much of this the people blame the chief for not protesting to the king and defending them.

The chief, in turn, delegates authority to the zone chiefs so that in the last analysis it is they who are immediately responsible for all work. If they feel the chief demands too much of them, based on complaints from their zone inhabitants, they censure the chief. The sanction of the people, in cases like this, is to refuse to turn up for the ordered communal work. If the men do not come when ordered, the zone chief is blamed by the chief for lacking the respect of his men. The chief, in turn, is blamed by the king for the same reasons. And, finally, the king stands in fear of the Portuguese Administrator, who cannot afford to deal with someone who has no power over his people.

Failure to comply with the chief's orders and, ultimately, moving out of his village completely are the strongest weapons the villagers hold. These are more than sufficient to give weight to the advice of a chief's or king's counsellors, who are like senators in that they represent the wishes of the people. There is no democratic process of election, of course; the counsellors stand at the apex of the chain of command and of communication; it is they who can influence the chief or king, and it is their ear the people must reach with their petitions or complaints. Junod speaks of the court vituperator (1962: 428); I have heard elders of the village chief's court censure him in no uncertain terms, and elders in the

king's court instructing him in his duties and obligations when he was carried away by his own rhetoric. These old men, the most valued of advisors, serve the function of "vituperator" today.

As is the case with the king, one of the chief's primary duties is that of adjudicator. The village trial days were usually Thursdays and all of the zone chiefs and the village police were supposed to attend. In addition there were two old men, among the wisest and the richest in the village, without whom no trial would begin. These two men, of different clans, are not of the Mabzhaya, or royal, clan; but their ancestors were among the first to settle zones in Mitini and they served their kings as counsellors. If both were absent at the time of a trial the chief would send his policeman to search for them, and he would postpone the trial until at least one could be present. These two men also were called to Ntsindja every Sunday to instruct the king from the time of his coronation ("inauguration" would be more appropriate), in his role as first judge of the land. After two years they asked the king to free them from their duties because the walk to and from Ntsindja each Sunday was an arduous one for them; he finally acceded to their request but only reluctantly because "no one likes to work alone." I mention these elders in this context because it is the rich and successful man in Rjonga life who is listened to, whose word carries most weight. He is a "big man."

Besides the village chief's court there are the zone chiefs' courts. When there is a dispute, the parties to it are supposed to negotiate together, with their friends and family. If these negotiations are unsuccessful, or if one or the other circumvents this step altogether, the zone chief and the elders of his zone are supposed to hear the dispute first. A zone chief charges only twenty escudos, instead of the seventy of the village chief or king, to hear a trial; his fines are also less and are more in the nature of a settlement which both parties to the trial arrive at. Because of the rules governing residence and the relationship between neighbors, a highly valued one, a zone chief's trial is like a family hearing of a formalized sort. A zone could also be thought of as a neighborhood which usually consists of kin; failing kin, the inhabitants of the zone are close friends. When a man wants to move his household (muti) and settle in another area of the same village, he must ask permission of the zone chief and of those people who will be his immediate neighbors.

If a dispute reaches the zone chief's court, it is a public admission of failure on the part of the people involved in the dispute and on the part of their family and friends; they have failed to act as reasonable people. From this level upward, through the village chief's court and the king's court, there is always a statement in the

course of the trial that it is shameful there should be a trial: the dispute should have been settled at home. If the zone chief and his elders feel they cannot resolve the case, or if one or the other of the principals in the trial is dissatisfied with the court's ruling, the zone chief "opens the road" to the village chief's court. In these cases the zone chief has failed because he was not wise enough to convince the guilty one of his guilt and demonstrate it cogently enough that the person would admit it and accept his punishment. No man can be forced to admit his guilt unless he is genuinely brought to see it and freely confess it. Although chiefs used to use various forms of physical persuasion, such as tying a "stubborn" man to a stinging ant heap, it is believed that if the guilty man is not brought to understand what he has done wrong he will err again. Further he will lose respect for his chief and the elders because he will think he was ill used and unfairly sentenced. This ethic does not prevent the two kinds of chiefs or the king from indulging in dire threats of the consequences to a person who stubbornly refuses to admit that he understands he was in the wrong. At every trial I attended at the village chief's court, and I went often, there were always dark references to the tree that shaded the court; it harbored one of the dreaded stinging ants nests. At times a person was tied up; on one occasion I saw a man at the king's court beaten. The

ultimate threat is to send the resisting person to the Portuguese Administrator. None of this, however, mitigates the conviction that the person himself must see and admit to his fault. I have also sat for several hours at the conclusion of a trial, both at the village chief's and at the king's court, while the court cajoled, threatened, and pleaded with the person they found at fault to admit he perceived his error. However, such a person loses prestige in the eyes of his peers; he is thereafter thought of as a man with little reason, an argumentative man, a man whose advice no one wants.

The chief's, and the zone chiefs', role is primarily that of father to his people, and his duties are conceptualized in the same way that a father's are towards his family. He must defend his family and provide for them; he is responsible for their behavior; he must preserve peace in the family, and hear disputes settling them fairly and without partiality or favoritism. He must be an exemplar in his own behavior, or no one will listen to him. A proverb I often heard was "When a chief limps, his subjects limp also." Of course chiefs are people like everyone else and it is seldom that a man can live up to his role; chiefs or kings who did are still remembered in the people's frequent allusions to their wisdom and kindness. The chief who starts limping too badly, however, finds that he is not consulted when he should be; he is not advised of what is going on in the village; his elders

do not attend his trials; the men do not come to the ordered work parties. And, finally, he finds that his people have complained to the king and he is removed. This knowledge serves to put some check on the chief, and to make him more anxious to comply with the role as his villagers define it.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Residence

The muti is the smallest corporate unit in Rjonga life. There are two referents to this term: "village," and "household" or family compound, this latter being my interpretation of the most common use of the term. When I refer to a muti I always use it in this latter sense. A muti is the area of cleared bush, an oasis of sand, which can consist of from one to seven or eight huts or houses. The word for house is yindlu or kaya, the latter also meaning "hearth" or "country" (patria). Muti refers to the aggregate of houses in one clearing.

The core of the muti is the nuclear family: a man, his wife or wives, each with her own house and kitchen; his sons and unmarried daughters. Often a man's brothers and their families will live there also; this is the ideal. Unmarried or divorced sisters and their children make their home here, and widowed women who have refused to be inherited usually go to live with their sons. Older couples' daughters' children will often be in residence for a few years from the time they are weaned. This is said to

create a friendship link between the two families bound by marriage; it is also a way of repaying the wife's household for the services it lost when she married out, although this is a major function of the lobolo also. More important, if a child is living with his maternal grandparents, the child's parents will make more frequent visits than otherwise might be the case. The child living thus with his maternal grandparents is not entitled to inherit anything from them, and seldom does, in my experience. It is also said by the Rjonga that a grandmother always favors her daughter's children over her son's children. When I inquired why, the answer I received was along the lines that the sex sticks together. This battle between the sexes is an intense one, although of the joking variety. When a woman has daughters she tells her husband that she has "conquered" him; she is stronger than he.

The Rjonga had corporate lineages, a pattern which is perceived today only at certain rituals, notably the xidjilo, or service to the memory of the ancestors. Property vested in the lineage (cattle, other livestock, fields, cash) and was administered by the eldest male of the family on behalf of the family. When the eldest man died he was succeeded by his younger brother, and so on until all the elders of that generation died out; then the eldest son of the eldest "father" succeeded assuming the duties, obligations, and rights of his father. If a man's

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father died while he was still young his inheritance was kept and administered by the family head until he was old enough to claim it for himself. Whatever his father left he could then call his own and dispose of at will, but he, as the eldest of his siblings, was obligated to provide for them at need: he must help his younger brothers and father's brothers' sons with their lobolo; he must clothe and feed the females in his family. Thus within one muti there would be a hierarchy of elders, each the immediate head of his own ndangu, or hearth.

Lineage segmentation usually took place along ndangu lines; each wife had her own kitchen, or ndangu, and this is the origin of the term. Brothers of the same father and different mothers belong to different ndangu. When fathers, brothers, their wives and children all live together the head, is the eldest male, and although each ndangu can point to its individual holdings of stock or fields, they were administered (herded or plowed) by all on behalf of all, under the supervision of the family chief.

This pattern of the large muti seldom is seen today; that it did exist is attested to by Junod (1962: 310 ff.) and by some of my oldest informants who lived in enormous miti (sg: muti) of twenty or more huts holding some 100 or more people. The last, and largest, muti in Mitini split up fifty-seventy years ago when several unexplained deaths occurred in a short period of time,

including the deaths of some of the youngest adult males. The two eldest males, brothers, built separate miti, taking their sons with them. When these two elders died their sons moved and built again. This time the sons built separately, each ndangu (full siblings) building apart. At each successive death the muti was destroyed and the survivors split again. In this particular case the first two elders who separated and built separately went into what today are two different zones--that is, they lived very far apart. In the succeeding divisions, the brothers built apart from each other but near by so that they were neighbors.

The Rjonga attribute the present day lack of large miti to several causes, the principal ones being fear of witchcraft between fathers and sons, or between brother and brother, and the introduction to the cash economy. As one old informant bitterly told me when recounting the grandeur of his lineage muti, "what kills us today is money." He meant that since the young men can find jobs in Lourenço Marques or in the South African mines they can earn enough cash to support themselves and are no longer dependent on their fathers and elder brothers to help them. This does not mean that brothers or fathers and sons do not live together at all today; a man's greatest happiness is still when his son asks permission to build his own house in his father's muti, where he can live with his wife. But no

muti of the dimensions of the one mentioned above exists anymore.

There are approximately 200 homesteads in Mitini scattered throughout the village and separated from each other by fairly large areas of uncleared bush or by fields. I have complete census data for 105 of these 200 households, but the statistics which follow are based on only 101 of these; the other four households are headed by women, which is a very unusual circumstance. In each case these women are either widowed or divorced and have no living male kin. The heads of the 101 households in my sample represent thirty-eight clans; of these 20 per cent are of the Mabzhaya clan, 22 per cent of the Ngwenya clan, and 6 per cent of the Mashiana clan. These three clans represent the most powerful and important ones in the village; their ancestors settled the area and they have intermarried in almost every generation. The Honwana and Mahlangwana clans, the original settlers of this area conquered by the first Mabzhaya, are represented only by two and three household heads, respectively.

The average number of people per muti is seven; this figure includes minor children. In 65 per cent of the households there is only one adult male, the head of the family. Twenty-one per cent of the households include a father and his married son or sons; 13 per cent include married brothers living together; and only 2 per cent consist of an elder, his married brothers, and their

married sons. This is the ideal composition for a muti; such a homestead inspires "fear" and "respect" in the other villagers.

The actual composition of a muti fluctuates over time as women of the family marry out; divorced or widowed sisters come back; men go to the mines and return to marry, then later leave the muti to build their own; and so on. Often the apparent head of a household is a woman because all of the adult males are gone; some are in South Africa for eighteen months or longer at a time. Others have work in the capital city or elsewhere and have homes there where they take one of their wives, returning to Mitini only for vacations and weekends. But all Rjonga agree that every household has a senior male as its head; women who live alone, for whatever reason, are called xungwa which means "divorcee" and/or "prostitute."

Mitini is a relatively young village, it began being settled more densely as a consequence of the 1894 war with the Portuguese. There are several people, however, who say that their ancestors came to the village to escape inter-tribal warfare, as well as intra-tribal wars. As nearly as I can tell the village became a popular place to settle in around 1850; the largest attraction was a sizeable lake which has since dried up.

From the households for which I have census data, there are only 50 per cent whose heads were born in Mitini. Of those 50 per cent who were not born in the village,

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44 per cent came with their mothers because they had male relatives in the village. This move would most often take place after the death of the father-husband in his village. Thus a considerable portion of the heads of household are settled in Mitini in order to be near their uterine kin.

The marriage residence rule is virilocality, and the ideal is for a man to take his wife, or wives, from outside his native village. In my sample 13 per cent of the native heads of households married women also native to Mitini; heads of household not native to the village who married women who are natives represent another 13 per cent. The 101 men in my sample have a total of 137 wives among them, of whom 54 are native to Mitini; that is, 32 per cent of all wives are natives of the village.

Given the fact that agnatic kinsmen do not live together in the same muti to the extent they say they used to, and given the mobility of villagers after the death of their head of household, it is not strange that any given zone in Mitini is composed mostly of cognates and some friends who have asked permission to settle there. There are about 1,400 inhabitants in the village, and although I have not yet been able to collect genealogies from all the 200 or so heads of households and their wives, I have no doubt, from the individual maps of neighbors made for each household census taken, that most of the inhabitants of one zone can claim kinship (agnatic, uterine, or affinal) with one or more of their close neighbors. Many of the

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household heads also have close agnatic kin in other zones of the village, though again the analysis of the census data has not yet progressed to the point that I can say exactly what percentage this involves.

There is a strong value about the relationship between neighbors. They are said to be the people one can depend on most; when you are in immediate need of help they are nearest you, whereas your agnatic kinsman may live far away. The people say "The huts burn together"; this indicates the basis for the value. If they do not cooperate with one another, help each other in small and big things, then they might suffer in time of need. Disputes between neighbors are as serious as those between near kinsmen because of the necessity of being able to rely on neighbors for help. There is a slightly more positive aspect to this value, though; if there were disputes between neighbors there would be little tolerance for marauding chickens, goats, and inquisitive children. These everyday occurrences would simply fan the flames of an existing dispute until a peaceful settlement would be very difficult and continued existence side by side virtually impossible. Thus the value of good relations between neighbors takes on the aspect of preventive measures.

The ethic concerning neighbors carries over into marriage rules. It would be too strong to say that marriage between neighbors is absolutely proscribed, but

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it is definitely discouraged. People who are neighbors should not marry because this would impose too heavy a strain on the relationship of "neighbor." Furthermore people seem to consider a neighbor not just those persons who have adjacent miti, but all who live in the same zone. Perhaps this is a function of the ideal that close kinsmen should live together or near each other.

Many reasons are given for the spatial separation of the miti, one of the most distinctive features of Rjonga villages. The reasons include the statement that Mitini is still a relatively uncrowded place so that people have room to spread out. I was also told that each muti must have uncleared bush to the west of it because the Rjonga have no bathrooms and must use the bush. Livestock must have room also, and if there is space between miti this lessens the chance of disputes due to wandering stock. For a variety of reasons these explanations lack cogency. I think fear of interference into family affairs and fear of witchcraft play a large part in the distribution of the homesteads. The Rjonga are quite defensive and constantly take measures to protect themselves from hostile people and forces. Whatever the reasons, the miti are usually separated by an extensive area of uncleared bush. Some miti do cluster more closely together; these are usually close kinsmen and/or friends.

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The fields are scattered throughout the entire village, as well as outside of it, and they are not immediately adjacent to the miti except in a few cases. Some householders have kitchen gardens just outside their homestead. A few have large fields adjacent to their miti, but the majority of the people have to walk considerable distances to get to their fields. Also any given individual may have several different types of fields, within and without the village, which are widely separated.

All of the zones are separated from one other by large areas of fields and/or uncleared bush; the only exception are those two zones settled by the two brothers when their large lineage muti split up. These two zones have the same name, but they are distinct; each has its own zone chief and police. The boundaries of Mitini are more fields or uncleared bush separating it from its closest neighbors, which include some European farmers. The village is in the heart of the bush and is only accessible by passing through other villages first. Although I was unable to measure with any degree of accuracy, I estimate that the village encompasses some thirty square kilometers, perhaps more.

Subsistence

The Rjonga today are mainly subsistence farmers. The major crops are peanuts, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, onions, rice, tomatoes, sugar cane, tobacco, and cassava.

The soil in Mitini is very sandy, except in the areas near the now dry lake; only corn and peanuts grow with any degree of success.

There are several types of fields and each family owns at least two different kinds. A hlangwa is a field in a former lake bed, of dark and humid soil; it is neither wet nor dry. A tchobo is a wet field, with very dark soil. There are byela fields of wet clay. Of these three types, only the hlangwa and tchobo are to be found in Mitini; they are the scarcest and most valued, being the most productive. The byela fields are found only outside of the village on the margins and plain of the Nkomati river.

The most common type of field in the village is called simu, which actually means "field," but the word is used only to refer to the dry white sand fields (European and Oriental plantations are called mashamba). Dry fields are subdivided into three types according to the length of time they have been utilized: a lisindje is a dry field which is being plowed and sown for the first time; a pula is a field which has lain fallow for two or three years and is being reused; and a hlanga is a field which is cultivated every year and has never been put to fallow. Because of the increasing population in Mitini, and the scarcity of uncleared bush near the village due to the encroachment of European and Oriental farmers, the yield of the fields has fallen off drastically in the last ten to twenty years. Where a field used to yield fifteen to twenty sacks of

peanuts in a year it now may give only four or five; this is because there is not enough land to permit fallowing, and more and more land is brought under cultivation to make up for the reduced yield of old fields, thus instituting a vicious cycle.

Agricultural activity goes on year round, but the period of greatest work is just before the rains in September when all of the fields are cleared by hand and plowed. The rains last sporadically through January or February; plowing, seeding, and weeding can take place during all of those months, but the best month for planting is said to be October or November. The harvest takes place between two and four months after planting, depending on the product and type of field. Wild fruits are also available in every month except August and September; often it is these fruits which keep the people from absolute starvation.

Plowing is a man's job, but a woman will do it if she has no male kinsman to rely on or no cash with which to pay a friend to do it. A man yokes a small plow to two cattle; the plow was introduced into Mitini very recently, around 1940. Small boys help their fathers or other kinsmen with the plowing; men and women sow together; weeding is their joint responsibility although, in fact, women do most of it since the men are kept quite busy plowing all of their fields. Sowing of fields is often a joint effort of kinsmen and neighbors, as is harvesting.

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A cooperative party to harvest a field is called a djimo, and the people who help are recompensed by a beer party afterwards. A man may mark off small portions of a field and may pay cash to people who need it to weed these portions and harvest them. This system is largely replacing the djimo, or cooperative work party.

Besides the staple crops (corn and peanuts) grown in Mitini, the people harvest cashews, mangos, and other wild fruits. Cashews are the major cash crop, the trees jealously guarded and ownership carefully staked out and registered at the Portuguese Administration. From time to time, a woman may take a sack of corn or peanuts, or other vegetables in small quantities, to the bazaar in the nearest vila or in Lourenço Marques for sale. They do this when they want money for clothes, usually; it is a sporadic activity at best. Each wife is supposed to have her own field for which she is responsible and from which she prepares meals for her husband and own children. Her husband may give her permission to sell a small amount of produce from her fields for clothes, or other luxuries. The yield being small, however, they usually consume what they produce.

Cattle play an important role in Rjonga life, a left-over from the days when wealth was in terms of cattle and only men could handle them. Their importance, I gather, was equal to that in the northern tribes of the East African Cattle Area. However, the large herds were

decimated during the Ngoni invasions and wars, and the people never recovered them. This was probably a major impetus in the wholesale migrations to work in the South African mines (Rita-Ferreira, 1963: 42), together with the need to acquire cash in order to pay the annual tax levied by the Portuguese.

Nevertheless, a man's wealth and prestige is still measured in terms of the number of head of cattle he owns, although these are pitifully few for any one person today. Some men in the village are known as "cattlemen"; they have more stock than others and have been successful at raising cattle. Many who had enough cash to begin a herd were unable to care for the animals properly and they died. Thus there is a certain mystique about the "cattleman." A few successful men keep large corrals where their kin, neighbors, and friends also keep their stock. The owner of the corral hires a man to take charge of all of the cattle, be responsible for their being taken to pasture and water every day, and be in charge of the baths also. The cattle are registered in the name of the man who actually cares for them; I think this is to facilitate any necessary transactions with the authorities about the cattle. The individual owners pay the corral owner an annual fee, from which he pays his herder. More important than the money is the prestige which accrues to the successful corral owner. It is interesting to note that the corral owner receives the prestige due a successful cattleman although

it is another person, the hired hand, who does the actual work. There is much mystery surrounding the successful raising of cattle, and I was led to understand that this has to do with witchcraft and/or potent medicines. I do know that men whose cattle were dying in the care of the village's biggest cattleman, while his were thriving, were afraid to remove their cattle from his corral. They spoke to him about it cautiously, observing that their cattle seemed to be cursed, but he put them off with platitudes and reassurances. The villagers told me they would not simply remove their cattle because then all of their stock might die and even worse calamities befall them. They would express their displeasure by not paying their annual fee, or delaying doing so for many months. This is a very common technique among the Rjonga; it is a generalized trait which I came to call "passive resistance."

Small holders who have only four or five head each put their cattle in charge of small boys of about six to fourteen years of age; this is the traditional occupation of young boys and men. A boy begins his herding duties at age four or five, being put in charge of goats first. As his ability increases, and depending on the availability of other young boys and men, he is included in cattle herding activities until he is old enough to be put in charge of the "herd."

Lobolo payments are always in cash and never in cattle. I was told that payments used to be made in

cattle, then in hoes, now in cash (see Junod also). However a man is supposed not to spend the lobolo money until there are children and he feels sure the marriage will be a success; if he were precipitate and spent the cash and his daughter returned home he would be embarrassed by the need to repay the lobolo. The one way men can spend the lobolo money properly is to buy cattle, because these increase and can be sold if another lobolo is needed or if one received must be repaid. Selling cattle is a major source of revenue, but the people hate to do it because they say they need the cattle for the plowing. More important, I feel sure, is the prestige which accrues to the cattle owner.

Every family also keeps chickens, goats, and perhaps pigs. Meat is consumed maybe five times a year: at Christmas and New Year, when visitors arrive, for weddings, births, and deaths. Cattle are always slaughtered for a wedding; usually fowls, goats, and pigs, in that order of increasing importance, are provided for the other occasions. People usually sell the offspring of their stock rather than eat it themselves.

The staple dish is a loaf made from grains of corn, eaten with a relish of boiled bean leaves, peanut butter sauce, or some other kind of vegetable. Usually only one meal a day is cooked, in the evening. In the mornings the people drink tea, heavily sugared if they have sugar, and eat plain bread purchased at one of the cantinas (trading

post); at noon they might eat the remains of the last evening's meal. They eat whatever fruits they encounter at any time.

No family can survive on the produce from the fields alone. The need for cash to pay the tax; to pay the lobolo; to buy clothing, bread, sugar, tea, and medicine has combined with other factors to produce a large-scale labor migration. Between the two most popular places of employment, Lourenço Marques and the South African mines, it is the mines which attract the greater number of men. The reasons for this are many and complex; I shall not go into them here. It is sufficient to say that in every family there is at least one male member who has a cash-earning job, and the great majority of these go to the mines. Many men have gone as many as sixteen times, for a two year period each time, making it a career. There is a very strong machismo cult associated with going to the mines. Young men believe that they will be called cowards by the girls they want to court in marriage if they refuse to go to the mines to collect enough money to pay a lobolo.

I shall reproduce one of the explanations I was given by an old man when I asked how the people started going to the mines, and why. It is a matter of record that these migrations to the mines began 100 years ago.

In the beginning the people knew of a place called Babin which is on the boundary of Swaziland and Pretoria. It was heard that there was a white man who came to Lourenço Marques and agreed with certain individuals for

them to go work there in Babin, and he promised to pay them a certain amount. These people, after they arrived there and liked it, began to write and draw their friends, and they told them how to go there. And thus, little by little, the people went there until from Babin there was another white who did the same thing and took the people to South Africa.

And in those times when someone had luck he could grab some rocks of money, worth gold. And they called that rock daimana. And the people knew that with luck they might find some of those rocks, and when they sold them they could earn a lot of money. They liked going there to that place a lot.

During that time, when the owners of the mines saw that the people liked their work, they went little by little, building the mines, removing them towards South Africa. They also began to procure means of transports, because a person, in order to arrive at Babin, used to have to spend two or three weeks on the road; and many were eaten by lions and other savage animals. Going, as well as coming, they were eaten. The trip was dangerous because only a person who had luck arrived there. And thus, because of that, they began to construct the railroad. After it was finished they began making contracts for people going there.

The most interesting thing for the people from that time until now is that each one tries his luck, thinking that he will find that rock worth gold when sold and that he will earn a lot of money to enrich his hearths (mindangu). But it is not everyone who succeeds in having luck. If it were only the contract there would not be many people who would like going there, because they are ill-treated and many people die before they have the luck which most interests them.

Kinship Roles

There are fourteen kinship classes among the Rjonga, including all affinal relations. These are shown on Figures 5 through 8, Appendix B, and can be compared with Junod's kinship terms on Figures 9-12, Appendix B.

As I have already mentioned seniority and hierarchy are the keys to Rjonga social organization. The

people say there must always be a chief, someone in charge who is responsible for the behavior of those inferior to him.

The father is the head of his own family just as the chief is head of the village, and the king is the head of all of the chiefs. A father is obligated to help all of his sons in material and non-material things. He is responsible for arranging his son's marriage, helping him to gather the lobolo, asking other relatives and friends to be family representatives in the dealings with the wife's family. He must feed and clothe his children; buy their medicines when they are sick; pray to the ancestors on their behalf if he is pagan, and if they are ill. If a married daughter is ill or, particularly, if she has no children or they all die the father, as well as her husband, must do everything which the doctor-diviner prescribes for her cure. In this case the husband is primarily responsible for initiating the treatment because he is the "owner" of the woman; but in cases connected with children the treatment almost always must be at the woman's own home, and the father and her brothers have clear responsibilities and obligations.

The father is responsible for teaching his children to be "good" people; he is, in fact, held responsible for their behavior as long as they live with him. In the case of daughters, the father is blamed if she is not a good wife and mother; he is shamed by her bad

conduct because it reflects on his training of her. In disputes the father is held responsible for his children's behavior, and he often acts as if he were the defendant in the case, arguing on behalf of his son, mobilizing support among their relatives, friends, and "big men" of the village. The good father is a man you can always turn to for advice; he is someone who will "help you with words," which is highly valued among the Rjonga. And finally a father should have no favorites among his sons, providing for them all equally but in order of seniority. The eldest son must be the first to marry; then the second son, the third, and so on. Similarly the younger daughters may not marry before their elders so that there be no unfairness in the distribution of the lobolo. The eldest daughter's lobolo should be given to the eldest son, etc.

In return children owe their father complete obedience and respect, complying with his orders, working as he directs. He is their chief, and one does not quarrel nor disagree with the chief. Sons should give their wages to the father and he distributes it at need to buy clothes, pay lobolo, etc. Daughters are absolutely ruled by their fathers and by their elder brothers, as well. Sons are admitted to family consultations as they grow up and mature; daughters rarely are until they reach middle age and are fathers' sisters.

Among themselves siblings have a hierarchy also. Although all siblings, and cousins of the four categories,

are called by the same term meaning "sibling" there are definite distinctions on the basis of age. A younger sibling is called ndjisana; an older is called nondjwa. This distinction is most apparent in those children who "follow each other"; that is who are consecutive in order of birth. The older, regardless of sex, takes care of the younger, carrying the baby on his back from the time the mother leaves it out of her exclusive care--not necessarily when weaned. The older child forms a very strong attachment to the infant put in his care and does most of the socializing of the child as he grows up. The younger child looks to this older sibling as to a friendly parent; the child in charge is often stricter than the mother would be, and the younger may well fear punishment from the older. Nevertheless this older sibling is the person closest to the child, and the one that the child seems to relate to most freely. The father, and even elder siblings, thus become relegated to another level and take on the aspect of rather remote and very powerful authority figures. The younger child will often call these older siblings "makwerju" (sibling) or, if they are much older than he, by the term for "father" or "mother." This is particularly the case after the death of own father and mother. Cousins who are older are always called "sibling" or by the term for "father" or "mother" which is extended to all people as a courtesy title if of the same approximate age, or of parents' age. If the cousins are of the same age or

younger they are called by their first name, as siblings call younger brothers and sisters by their first name.

Because I think the relationship between the two children who "follow each other" to be crucial to understanding Rjonga life I will give an excerpt from my field notes. At the funeral of an old man his elder brother spoke first, as is the custom. The deceased must have been over sixty-five; his surviving older brother about sixty-seven or sixty-eight years old. The eldest brother is the head of one of the miti composed of married brothers, their married sons, and their children. The deceased brother had left this muti to build his own so that of the three brothers only the eldest and youngest were actually living together.

This one who died is my brother who follows me; after I stopped nursing I left a part of the milk for him. He is not [just] a relative nor is he a friend, but he is my legitimate brother. I prided myself because of him, knowing that I have a younger brother, advising him. But today things ended. He also prided himself because of me. If anyone wanted to do him harm sometimes they stopped knowing that he has an older brother. Even if I had a lot of money I could not buy a brother. I can only say that today I remained in a terrible place.

In the beginning we lived well together. He had herded someone's cattle, with his younger brother who is hidden here [that is, standing behind the eldest while he spoke]. And they received a cow, the two [traditional recompense to herd boys]. And when Fernando [deceased] returned from South Africa with only a little money, but wanting to marry his wife, the one who died before him, we entered the house and we talked, and his brother Eduardo [the youngest of the three] said: "Brother, you can take the cow and use it for your wedding, because if you marry your wife she will give me water also." And it was thus. [The traditional duty of women is to carry water for the muti inhabitants; this is symbolized by a man going to a

woman's parents when he wants to marry and saying "I come to seek water".]

He succeeded in marrying, but he did not have luck. His wife died first. My brother had no luck. He suffered much in his life. But after the first one died he agreed with this Ngomana [deceased's second wife's surname] who also had bad luck because her first husband died; and the two without luck met. And the mother of this woman was my wife's father's sister. That means that she was my sister-in-law. And when her parents knew they only asked 1500\$ [instead of the full lobolo of 2500\$] since she had been married. And he only had 500\$ and I offered him 500\$, leaving a debt of 500\$. But as we agreed with the bakonwana [in-laws of greatest respect category: wife's relatives] we went to register her in our house [registered her at Portuguese Administration as lawful wife]. We said we would pay all of the money of which 500\$ was lacking. Until now I can say we never paid it; I do not know if he was capable of having paid, but I think he would have told me.

This one who today left me is my brother whom I loved much. At the time he left home I told him not to leave, but he did not hear me [referring to Fernando's leaving family muti and building his own]. And I cannot say more things about him. The other thing is that I thank all of you here for your help; and I can say that I also have helped him a lot. . . .

The old man continued speaking for some time recounting all that he had done to help his brother in his last illness, and the trouble he was put to in arranging the funeral. In fact when Tomas, the eldest, was notified in the middle of the night that his younger brother was dying he refused to go to him. He said that he had told his brother not to move out of the muti so that the brothers could care for one another; that he had moved, despite his older brother's advice, and now there was nothing he, Tomas, could do. When Fernando died all that he had would be Tomas', the elder brother, and then Tomas said he would do what was necessary.

This excerpt from my notes provides excellent data on the conflict between ideal behavior between brothers and what actually often happens. What does happen is that the younger sibling grows to resent the elder's authority, demands, advice. That is, the more dependent the younger actually is or feels himself to be, the more hostile he is likely to feel toward his elder. The younger, as he grows up, tries to free himself from his elder's dominance by saying that only his father, or father's brother, has the right to make the demands on him that his elder brother makes. The elder brother does not see it that way at all since he has cared for this younger brother much as a father would, and thus feels completely justified. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that the father, who should treat all of his sons alike, often concerns himself only with the eldest considering his duties fulfilled when the eldest, or perhaps two eldest, are married. Then the father often seems to act as if it were the brother's responsibility to provide for the younger siblings.

The only relationship, of the possible four dyads among siblings, which is relatively free of this kind of strain is that of older sister-younger brother. In this dyad the younger brother comes to think of his older sister as a second mother which is a permissive role on both sides with the male half of the dyad not obligated to pay much attention to what the female says. The older sister-younger sister relationship is subject to much the same

kind of strains as older brother-younger brother. This is alleviated if the two sisters marry into different lineages; but there is a strong marriage preference for a man to take his wife's younger sister as his second wife because the younger sister is already accustomed to serving and obeying the elder.

To return to the funeral oration, a brief analysis will make clear the realities of what I have dealt with in the abstract. The first paragraph makes clear the possessive love the older brother feels towards his junior. Explicit in this is the role of protector assigned to the elder, which is a father's role par excellence; father and older brother are seen as protectors and providers. I have heard many men say that at the time of their father's death they felt bereft because they no longer had anyone to care for them; to protect them; to help them with words. They felt they would no longer be "respected" (which also means "feared") by others because of the death. I have heard a younger brother express the identical sentiment at the death of his older brother. This is made clear in Tomas' words: "If anyone wanted to do him harm sometimes they stopped knowing that he has an older brother." The same kind of protective-providing aspect to the older brother role is demonstrated in the words "after I stopped nursing I left a part of the milk for him." The people know that a woman stops having milk (usually) only when she conceives again. They say that the toddler who is

thus forcibly weaned has surrendered his milk in order to provide for his sibling-to-be-born. Since siblings who are said "to follow each other well" are only two or two and a half years apart, the elder often does have to be weaned because his mother has conceived again. If she had not the toddler would continue nursing until he was three or four years old.

"Milk" is a common metaphor for expressing kinship ties and obligations. Children of the same mother but of fathers of different clans are called "siblings of the milk." When men arbitrate or judge a case between siblings, own or classificatory, they will say the differences must be settled "because the milk can't die."

If the elder brother is not head of his family, that is if he also has brothers older than he, then the tension between the two younger brothers might be even greater. The eldest, the head of the family, is the one who inherits his father's obligations and rights, and also becomes the intermediary with the ancestors. It is to him that the others are obligated to give their wages; for whom they must work; whom they must obey. However, a man's next older brother will make the same demands on his younger sibling without being able to compensate for them by acting as an intermediary in the spiritual realm, and he disclaims any obligations to his younger brother on the grounds that the eldest is responsible.

In this case, though, the eldest brother, Tomas, is also the head of the family and thus feels a doubled responsibility, as it were, to his younger brother while also expecting strong loyalty and obedience to his orders on the grounds of being head of the family and the next older brother. That is, the older brother's emotional investment is really stronger than an own father's because of the intensive care he took of his younger sibling from a very early age.

"In the beginning we lived well together." This alludes to the fact that the three brothers lived together in the same muti for some years, all of them married. The "living well together" means that the younger brothers obeyed their eldest brother. This is the first note in the sharper-than-a-serpent's-tooth theme which occurs throughout the rest of Tomas' oration, and was implicit in his refusal to attend his dying brother. Also in this paragraph is a glimpse of the relationship between Fernando, as older brother, and Eduardo, the youngest of the three. Eduardo "followed" Fernando. Tomas tells how Eduardo helped his older brother marry by giving up his share in the cow they received as payment for herding. In doing so Eduardo was complying with the obligations of a younger brother to his elder; in the family hierarchy the elder is always entitled to receive whatever help he needs before the younger. Also, Eduardo verbalizes the corporate nature of the brothers' relationship in saying "because if

you marry . . . she will give me water also." Even more interesting is the hierarchy implied by the fact that when Fernando was in need it was his younger brother's obligations to him, and not his older brother's equally strong obligations, which were activated. This is a common facet of Rjonga relationships; one is more likely to receive his due from the person over whom one has power and authority rather than from a person who is obligated merely by virtue of his status. If a Rjonga has the option of going to his senior and saying "You must help me in this as you have helped me in other things because it is your duty as my protector"; and going to a junior and saying "You must help me in this because I have always helped you and taken care of you, and if you do not do what I want now you need not expect any further help from me"--the choice always seems to be to go to the latter. In this the petitioner is not a supplicant throwing himself on the mercy of another, he is an authority figure demanding his rights. That this aspect should be stressed seems natural for the Rjonga whose organizing principle is seniority, and the rights of seniority are often given more emphasis than the obligations of the senior to his juniors. This, in itself, is a partial explanation of why senior-junior relationships are so often strained, although it does not explain why rights rather than obligations should be stressed.

In the third paragraph Tomas is hinting, as other Rjonga explained it to me, that his brother's bad luck was

partly due to his failure to behave as a "good man," specifically as a good younger brother. Tomas also points out that Fernando was able to take a second wife for a reduced lobolo because the woman was Tomas' nhombe, a sister-in-law of the category of preferred wife. This woman is a preferred second wife for Tomas himself, since she is his own wife's classificatory younger sister. Thus, by extension, she becomes a preferred wife for Tomas' younger brother who would have inherited her when Tomas died, if Tomas had actually married the woman himself. Tomas fulfilled his obligations as head of the family, and as older brother, by getting a reduction of the lobolo, and by helping his brother with 500\$. It is probable, although I do not know for certain, that since Eduardo had already helped his older brother to marry once (by giving up his share of their cow), the brothers agreed it was Tomas' "turn." At any rate it is clear that Tomas acted as head of the family in this second marriage by helping Fernando with words ("we agreed with the in-laws") and with money. He mentions the debt still owed on the lobolo which shows that Fernando was unable to fulfill his obligations without his older brother's help (and is also an example of another Rjonga trait which might be expressed "leave well enough alone"). And he ends by saying that perhaps Fernando had been able to pay the 500\$ balance "but I think he would have told me." That is, Tomas cannot believe that his younger brother so forgot his obligations

to his older brother and head of family as to have not told him of all important transactions in his life. It must be remembered that in his role of protector and chief of the family, a man must always be told first, and immediately, of any important business which can affect the whole family if there should be a dispute. The head of the family, just like the zone and village chief, must know "the beginning of the case" so that he is equipped to negotiate, arbitrate, or judge at need.

The final paragraph is a repetition of the theme of love and bitterness felt by an elder brother whose younger brother rejected him, his advice, his right to loyalty and obedience. Tomas concluded by stressing that he helped Fernando in his last illness. This is true to the extent that he provided 50\$ to pay for his brother's transportation to a hospital at my request. He told me that I had done right in coming to him to ask for the money, because he was the eldest and the "owner" of that sick man. More than that Tomas refused to do, and he acted only when I interfered because Fernando called me to his house and asked me to help him. My assistant was vehement in saying that I should not help because that was not what I had come to Mitini to do, and I should not meddle in a family affair. Furthermore my assistant stressed that Fernando had been his enemy; this will be seen in the case which forms the core of the dissertation. By helping my assistant's enemy I was "taking sides against him." This

is another feature of Rjonga philosophy and one which I was able to overcome only by appealing to the Christian tenets which my assistant claimed he held dear--that is I appealed to his most important status symbol, in effect. Our compromise was to the effect that I could help only if I went to consult the head of Fernando's family first, Tomas, and asked him for the money and did what Tomas was willing be done. And so it was. However I was made very aware that Tomas resented my interference, particularly because he felt he owed his brother nothing since he had left his older brother's homestead, and thus rejected him as head of family. Tomas and Eduardo also indicated their displeasure that Fernando had dared to call me, and thus used me to shame Tomas in my eyes.

The relationship between Tomas and his youngest brother, Eduardo, is a classic example (as I am told) of "good relations" between brothers. I take this to be the case in many similar relationships where there is little strain imposed because of the tension between rights and obligations. Eduardo was content to treat Tomas as eldest brother, or as a father. He behaved toward him as a young man does towards a much older man; his respect was easy and his manner affectionate. He sits at his brother's feet in the muti; he on the ground, his brother, Tomas, on a chair, a symbol of importance. When there are visitors Tomas is the one who receives them, speaks with them, offers hospitality; it is Eduardo who actually waits on

them and seldom joins in the conversation. This is the sort of relationship I often observed between siblings who did not "follow each other."

The strains between consecutive brothers due to the stress the older places on the younger's obligations, at the expense of the elder's own obligations, is an important factor in the break-up of the lineage muti. The younger brother resents the demands his elder makes on him; often the younger sees no corresponding rights in his relationship with his elder, and this makes him unwilling to comply with the elder's rights to his material resources. This situation is particularly aggravated when either or both of the brothers have become Christian, as is the case with Tomas, Fernando, and Eduardo. There are no supernatural sanctions that the elder can invoke to force his younger siblings' compliance with his demands. Add to this the fact that younger brothers can go to South Africa or Lourenço Marques to earn the cash they need to pay a lobolo or a tax, and there is a situation created in which demands are made which have no sanctions to reinforce them. To requote my old informant "It is money which is killing us." The elders perceive the relative ease with which cash can be earned as a major factor in the breakdown of the ideal pattern of cooperation among siblings and respect owed to the eldest male of the family. Aging fathers are particularly bitter because they looked to their sons to take care of them and support them in their decline;

instead the sons leave home to find cash jobs and build their own miti.

The tension generated between siblings by the discrepancy between rights and obligations goes a long way in explaining why so many men leave their father's village, at his death, and establish themselves in their mothers' natal villages. In the father's village are older kinsmen who will succeed as chief of the family, and these sons stand to gain by leaving rather than staying as junior members of the muti. Sometimes only the younger sons of a man will leave, the elder remaining in his father's village if he succeeds to his father's position. More often the widow refuses to be inherited by her dead husband's younger brother and returns to her natal village bringing one or more of her sons with her. Widows in Mitini who are living with their sons in their dead husbands' village explained to me that they stayed on because it was their duty not to break up the dead man's muti. Obviously there are factors of prestige involved in a widow's decision whether to stay on in her husband's muti and village, after his death, or whether to return to her own village. A widow in her natal village is a father's sister which is a more prestigious status than wife or widow in her husband's village.

One other factor probably plays a role in men establishing themselves in their mothers' villages. The ideal is for a couple to send their oldest child to his

mother's village as soon as he or she is weaned. Often, if the child is a boy, he remains there permanently, marrying into the village and eventually making a home for his mother after his father dies. Equally often the married couple do not send their eldest child but the second or third one, and it is even more likely that these younger siblings will remain in their mothers' village to make their home and establish themselves as heads of their miti.

There are several instances of a family head's next younger brother asking his permission to leave the muti to build his own. In these cases for which I had census information the family head told me that he understood his brother's desire to be chief of his own family and to want to give orders, and thus gave his permission before there could be quarrels. Younger brothers decide whether they will stay with the eldest or move with the younger. The Rjonga deal a lot in might-have-beens where status is concerned. Thus one eldest brother, explaining to me why he let his younger brother leave to build on his own, said "My brother knows if he had been born the eldest, he would rule." I have heard other men say "If my mother had been born a man I would be chief of a village today." This I heard from sons whose mother was the daughter of a king. In yet other cases I heard men say that the father's sister was important and to be respected and obeyed because if she had been born a man she would be their "father" (father's brother).

A son's feeling toward his mother is warmly protective. Over and over I was told, and heard the men say among themselves, how much their mothers suffered in bearing and raising them. Rjonga men conceptualize their mothers as those people who fought for their rights against other competitors--father's other wives, his children by those wives, patrilateral cousins who shared the same muti, etc. A mother, for an adult son, is not someone you consult. A mother is a person you tolerate and cherish even if she is old and foolish, and has not very much sense as is the case with most women. In the poetry and short stories of a few Rjonga in Mitini the theme of love for a mother occurs frequently. In response to the Stewart Emotional Response Test, in that part dealing with either anger or unhappiness, there were frequent allusions to the suffering of a man's mother fighting against great odds to provide for and support her son until he grew to maturity. Daughters think of their mothers in much the same way. Before they marry girls confide in their mothers about love affairs; they tell things to their mothers that they are afraid to tell their fathers. They ask their mothers to intercede with their fathers on their behalf. After daughters marry, their children are their mother's favorite grandchildren, and mother and daughter are further united by the sense of being perceived as hostile and "foreign" women in their husbands' miti; women who have no word in the affairs of their muti, not even where their own

children are concerned. Thus a man grows to consider his mother as a rather inept partisan; a woman learns to consider her mother as an ally in a man's world where both are subject to the same sorts of stresses. This tie is surely reinforced by the presence of a woman's daughter's children in her muti from the time they are weaned. The Rjonga say that sending their first-born child, of either sex, to the wife's mother creates a bond of friendship between the two families; I think it also has the effect of binding mother and daughter more closely into a relationship which is more one of elder and younger sister. The seeds of this future relationship between mother and daughter begin in the daughter's early childhood when she begins to share her mother's work, and becomes increasingly responsible for the domestic tasks in the muti. Thus mother and daughter may share equally the brunt of husband's-father's wrath if things are not done to his liking; there is a difference in that the husband will accuse his wife of not training the daughter properly and, if the daughter tries to defend her mother, he may even say the mother is alienating his own child's affections. If a girl becomes pregnant before she is formally engaged her father is outraged and angered because his daughter has brought "shame" to his household. The mother more often takes the view of commiserating with the girl who has been deceived and ill-used by the man. Perhaps this might be partially explained by the father's concern in the lost

lobolo (because a girl who has borne a child is not entitled to be loboloed--she is "spoiled"), whereas the mother, who has little or no interest in the lobolo, is more free to respond in a supportive way to the girl's unhappiness and misery.

Some women do come to hold an important status in their husband's miti, of course. These are usually powerful personalities who have lived to a successful old age. Often they are women who did not leave when their husbands died, but stayed on in his village raising their sons to maturity to become head of their own household in their father's village. In several of these cases, however, I have data which show the sons rebelled against their mother's tyranny (as the sons perceived it) and moved out to build their own homestead when they married. In these cases the woman has become too powerful and dominant and her son/sons rebel in much the same way they would against their own fathers or brothers. In some cases a son told me he moved out of his father's muti (mother's) because his mother refused to listen to him, to follow his orders. In other cases the son accused his mother of witchcraft because his wife's children died, or she aborted each time. In all cases I think the conflict can be conceptualized as that of a person whose behavior was interpreted as being in flagrant contradiction to expected role behavior. This conflict was often made overt in the relationship between the son's wife and his mother. The

wife demanded to be treated as the most important woman of the muti, as she should be failing the presence of her husband's sisters, whereas the mother--used to being head of the household--would emphasize her authority over the in-marrying woman. A daughter-in-law is treated as her husband's mother's servant, particularly in the first year of marriage; but as time progresses and she bears children her status improves accordingly and she becomes more important than husband's mother. But a woman who marries into a household where her husband is already the head (a very unusual circumstance in view of ideal residence patterns), she expects to be accorded immediately the respect she should have accrued slowly over long years, in the "normal" course of events. Thus mother-in-law and daughter-in-law engage in a struggle for dominance, each emphasizing a different aspect or phase, chronologically, of their proper roles. Another way of phrasing this dilemma is to say that a woman's status, among other women, is a function of her husband's status. If her husband is the head of household, then she feels she is "first lady." But her husband's mother still thinks of herself as her own husband's wife, and if he were alive she would be first lady. The resolution of these conflicts depends, of course, on the son's perception of his mother's behavior. If he feels his authority is threatened he will move out and build his own muti, or send his mother away. If his

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relations with mother are good, then the wife is told to obey her mother-in-law as she should.

These problems are relatively new to the Rjonga and are a result of the breakdown in traditional patterns of residence. The resolution of specific conflicts which come as far as one of the village courts, usually precipitated by a wife leaving her husband, demonstrates the tension between ideal norms and actual events today. Conflicting norms are held by each principal to the dispute, and the court must decide which they will uphold. Members of the court have increasingly little leeway in these matters because they know that if one of the principals takes the case to the Portuguese Administrator he will rule in such a way as to favor "women's rights." Women who abandon their husbands will try to claim their children to whom they are not entitled by traditional law. The Portuguese Administrator, however, takes the European point of view that a mother should not be deprived of her children unless there is definite proof that her care would be prejudicial to the children's welfare. Similarly a new widow who has been dispossessed by her husband's death, because her husband willed all of his goods to his brothers or sons, will go to the Portuguese Administrator and be fairly sure that she will be awarded whatever it is she seeks. Also, women who are unhappy in their marriages, or bored or dissatisfied with their role, have the knowledge that they can leave their husband even if they do not have their

father's or brothers' consent. This is possible because they can find work in the cashew factories, which employ women almost exclusively, and thus repay their own lobolo. The songs the Rjonga sing today, morality songs, have as their constant theme the disrespect of women for their male superiors and their wanton recourse, as the men see it, to the cashew factories. Women who work in these factories, among the Rjonga, all bear the stigma of being prostitutes because they are working to earn the money to free themselves from their protectors, their husbands. A woman who is unwilling to live with her male "owner" (as father and later husband are thought of) is a wanton woman whose only interest can be to sell her favors to as many men as she can.

Complex as this situation is it is made even more so by the personality of each Administrator. Some Administrators try to use tribal law to settle disputes brought to them, and always consult their interpreters about this before ruling. Others, in difficult cases such as succession to the throne, will go so far as to call in elders from all of the villages involved and take a vote. On the other hand there are Administrators who become agents of rapid change because they take no interest in tribal law and rule according to European law in almost all cases, taking only a token recognition of tribal law and custom. Most Administrators, for example, recognize the importance but not the meaning of the lobolo payment and will rule

that it be paid, or repaid, as the case may be. However they will so rule even in cases where tribal law holds the lobolo is forfeited thereby undermining a strong sanction.

Briefly, the role of father's sister and mother's brother are much what one would expect after reading "The mother's brother in South Africa." Father's sister, particularly if she is living in ego's own homestead, is an important woman as women go. If she is widowed and has come to her brother's muti to live she is usually consulted in family affairs and has a voice in family councils. Her status, like a wife's, is dependent on the status of her brother. If there are both a father's sister and a wife in residence, in the brother's-husband's absence, it is the father's sister who is acting head of the household. Thus in one case for which I have full information a young boy was forced to go to his classificatory mother's brother's house, to live and be a herder, by his father's sister. His father was working in the mines; the boy did not want to go because his mother's brother's village had no school, and Mitini did, and he had just turned school age and was attending. His father's sister told him that if he refused to go she would throw him out of the muti and he would have no one to support him. He had to go; his mother could sympathize but she had no recourse to her sister's-in-law dictum.

The mother's brother is a person to whom a man can turn and demand material assistance and/or support. A

mother's brother often helps his sister's son in gathering a lobolo; and since first-born children are sent to their maternal grandparents' muti to live after they are weaned, the mother's brother truly takes on the aspect of "male mother."

Junod (1962: 232-234) has more information on the role of mother's brother than I collected, particularly in the ritual sphere. My observations were that mother's brothers were called upon to give assistance in disputes; in making up the party to court a girl; and, finally, in the actual wedding were present and contributed something to the feast. The mother's brother has a small financial stake in his sister's oldest daughter's wedding; he receives 100\$ of his sister's daughter's lobolo, but only at the marriage of the eldest. The only rituals at which I was aware of mother's brother playing a role were those which involved treating a woman who had difficulty bearing children or conceiving. In these cases it is specified that the woman return to her father's house, or if he is dead to her brother's, to undergo treatment. The mother's brother also plays a part in the ritual of cleansing widows; that is, his presence is mandatory sometime after his sister's husband has died. He must travel to his sister's son's muti (assuming sister's son was living with his father) and there he is in charge of the nkosi ceremony, which is conceptualized as "offering their hand" to the widowed sister. The widow's brother, or his son, buys

the food and drink for the feast, and he also brings clothes for the widow. This ceremony is supposed to take place after the major cleansing ceremony for widows. Her relatives come again, a year or so after the deceased's funeral (which they also attended), with the intent of consoling the family and giving new clothes to the widow to "diminish the weight of her mourning." If the widow is a fairly young woman she is now free to remarry. At a ceremony I attended an old woman, the widow's brother's wife (and a widow herself) sang: "Solitude, solitude; we came to see the sadness; yo-we, yo-we, we came to see the anxiety." The ceremony includes a visit to the dead man's grave where his living oldest brother prays to him and says "Here are your in-laws come to visit you; they brought wine and tobacco for you." The widow's oldest surviving brother presides at this ceremony; lacking brothers, the widow's oldest brother's son does.

Finally, mother's brother is potential head of male ego's household if his mother returns to her brother's village when her husband dies and ego is still a minor. I have absolutely no cases of an adult male residing with his mother's brother; he may return to his father's village, or--more often--construct his own muti in his mother's brother's village. In this case, however, he must look to his mother's brother when he needs to mobilize support as in disputes. I think this situation is much more complex than I can indicate now; my census data seems

to indicate that there may be marriage alliances between certain villages, but to be sure involves computations which I am unable to make now. If this is the case, however, then men may have agnatic kin in their mother's villages on whom they can rely. This is especially true in the case of brothers who have separated, one of them leaving the village altogether taking his wife and children with him. When he dies his sons may return to their father's brothers' village, where their mother may also have kin. If one woman marries happily into a village there is a preference for her sisters to marry into the same village and, later, for their sons to take wives from their mothers' natal villages.

The role of wife among the Rjonga has already been analyzed to some extent. A new bride is a servant in her husband's home, having the most onerous and unpleasant chores relegated to her. At the same time during the first year of her marriage she is not permitted to have her own hearth (kitchen) and must help her mother-in-law in her kitchen. A wife owes her husband total obedience in all things; he "owns" her. Beyond all of her domestic chores she is charged with telling her husband everything that happens in their own family; she should communicate her daughter's confidences if these have information which may affect the family's standing in the community. A wife should never discuss the affairs of her household with others; "gossip kills the muti" the people say, and there

is a strong value against interference in family affairs which might be prompted by a wife's indiscriminate talk. If she is unhappy in her marriage she can go home to her father or brothers. They will judge the merits of her complaint according to their status and ability to repay the lobolo if she is truly determined to divorce her husband. A husband should "follow" (ku-landjela) a wife who has returned to her parents, and asks them to encourage her return to him. They listen to his side of the story, and if they can convince their daughter that she must return, they tell the husband how much of a fine he must pay in order to get her back. This fine is to show the husband that the wife's parents do not send her back willingly; she has protectors in them and they would like to keep her. If they feel their daughter was unjustified in running away they charge only a token fine to the husband. Always, however, a woman's family reprimand her for having been "unwifely" and having abandoned her master's home. Her husband owns her; he is responsible for her; she owes her complete obedience to him and not to the male members of her own lineage.

A woman's role in her husband's muti is always difficult; if her husband is not the head of the household, or if he is but has unmarried or divorced or widowed sisters living with him, she remains in a low status. She is not invited to attend family councils except as a distinct mark of favor; if she does attend she has little

or no say. She may speak, but no one feels obliged to take any real notice of what she says. Her husband is responsible for feeding her, clothing her, and having sexual relations with her regularly. If he fails in this latter duty she is thought justified to complain to his family elders, or to her own family. In some cases she may take the case to court and there she often has the sympathy of the court. A wife, however, may not make any transactions without her husband's knowledge and consent because he is responsible for her behavior, including responsibility for all debts she may incur. This is true for all women. For example a woman who has married but whose husband has not paid the full lobolo may not be registered at the Administration as belonging to the husband's household. Concomitantly their children do not belong to the husband's lineage; jural rights are conferred only by a minimum payment of 1500\$ of the 2500\$ lobolo unless the husband and wife's parents have another agreement. The husband's acquisition of jural rights in his wife and children is symbolized by registering them as his own at the Administration. In order to do this senior males of the wife's lineage must accompany him and his wife to the Administration to act as witnesses. At the same time responsibility for the woman's behavior and debts passes from her own lineage to husband's lineage.

Women are long considered "strangers" in their husbands' miti. They are the first to be accused of

witchcraft if there are many inexplicable deaths in the household, particularly when their own husband dies. While he is alive they should care for their husband in every way, never abandoning him when he is sick or old, obeying him in everything. Their status improves as their husband's does and they reach their apex of power over other women in the muti when their husband is head of the household. This lasts only while their husband is alive, or until their sons' wives have borne many children and begin to reach middle age. Then they are again supplanted in their role of dominant woman.

In the Emotional Response Test almost all the men said one of their greatest joys was when they married and thus became chief of their own ndangu (hearth or kitchen); the second joy was said to be at the birth of their first child which made them "people" in the eyes of the village. Similarly a woman's greatest joy was at the birth of her children because then she was a mother and "someone." The prospect of marriage made her happy because she thought she would live happily ever after as mistress of her house; almost all women put this into the past tense, qualifying the statement explicitly by saying the marriage had not worked out to be such a joy, after all. The Rjonga do not consider anyone who has not several grown children to be an "adult," a "person." Importance is measured in terms of live offspring, in general. As one man told me "this

is the African's greatest wealth; it is the beginning of his riches and fortune when he has children."

Many of the young men today deplore women's status and say things are improving because women are not treated as slaves anymore. That is, a woman does not have to crawl to her husband and sons on her knees to offer them dinner. Indeed, a woman often eats her meals with her husband now, instead of waiting until all of the men have eaten apart, in the hubo, and then finishing their scraps with her daughters. These same young men also believe they should consult their wives about matters affecting their children; when there is strong disagreement, I noted, the men found it easy to discount their wife's opinion on traditional grounds. Other young men believe the lobolo should be abolished, blaming this institution for women's debased role. Others also agree that polygamy is not a practical institution because no man can adequately support more than one wife and her children. Also, polygamy disrupts the household because of the co-wives' jealousy. So these young men, many of them Christians, take only one wife allowed by church law and have many lovers instead. They expect and demand their wives to keep silent on this subject, and not object. If a man does want to take a second wife, usually because the first is barren, he should tell his first wife about it and discuss it with her. She, according to tradition, should not stand in her husband's way; but, also according to tradition, she should

agree willingly that the proposed second marriage is a good idea. The Rjonga idea that no one must be forced to accept something against his will informs many different areas of life. However, if she does object to the proposed second marriage too vehemently, or expresses her disapproval in other ways, her husband will divorce her because "she has lost respect" for him.

If a woman does have junior co-wives then another hierarchy within hierarchies is begun. Her junior co-wives must work for her; her oldest son will become the head of the household, and not the junior wives' sons. She will be the one admitted to family councils, and not the others, and so on. In actual fact, junior wives are often their husband's favorites, and he should have no favorites. This naturally increases the bitter tension and rivalry expected of co-wives; the space between their huts is called the "quarreling place" in Xi-Rjonga.

Polygamy is strongly valued by the old men and pagan men, in general. Multiple wives are a proof of a man's wealth and wisdom; each wife has to prepare a dish for her husband at each meal and many wives mean many dishes of food. Thus a man could invite friends to eat and his fame increased with his hospitality. The Rjonga say that a man builds a muti in order to receive visitors. A visitor confers honor on his host, and a visitor goes where he knows he will be well received and well fed; since much

of the burden for this hospitality falls on the wives of the muti they can contribute substantially to their husband's prestige.

The more wives, the more children also, and this is the "African's greatest wealth." Sons help him in his work enabling him to cultivate more fields, harvest more food; the sons' wives are a further labor force in the muti. Daughters increase a man's wealth by their lobolo. As Junod puts it a pagan's ambition was to build a circular muti, each hut belonging to a wife or to a grown son and his wife. Finally, a man's ability to hold together a large muti is proof of his wisdom and fairness, and this makes him a "big man" in the eyes of the villagers; such a man is consulted by all who need "help with words"; he usually is an important man at all village trials.

Polygamy is forbidden by all of the Christian churches which the Rjonga join and this fact creates much tension in village life. Christian men will forbid their children to play with the children of pagan men; the Christian men consider themselves to be better than their pagan brothers. More important, the Christian men are forbidden to take second wives and this becomes critical if they impregnate an unmarried girl. I will discuss this at greater length in the following sections, but this is an important factor to consider in relation to polygamy. One of the reasons the Rjonga give for the necessity of polygamy is the two year post partum sexual taboo; if a woman

conceives before the two years she may kill her baby because she will lose her milk. Christian men believe they may not take two wives; they also believe in the post partum sexual taboo, and this necessarily leads them into behavior which is condemned by the churches.

Marriage and Divorce

I have already indicated that the Rjonga have only partially localized patriclans and that the corporate nature of the lineages is breaking down. The clan consists of everyone of the same surname, and formerly a marriage between two people of the same name had to be preceded by a religious ceremony "to kill the surname." I know of no instance where this ceremony is still practiced although there are marriages between congeners. The men contracting these marriages say they cannot trace their exact relationship to the woman they are marrying, although all of the same surname are thought to be related. The men also say it is a way of renewing the family tie and strengthening it. But the villagers attribute the troubles in a marriage between congeners to the anger of the ancestors over the broken taboo.

A man should not marry his neighbor because a wife should not live near her parents; the temptation to run home to them when there is an argument would be too great, and the martial problems of a couple impose too great a strain on the relationship of neighbors if these are also

affines. Ideally, a man should take his wife from another village and the preference is for him to marry a woman from his mother's village. This pattern also seems to be breaking down. Statistics on the marriages of all of the men of the Ngwenya clan over five generations for which I have data show a steady increase in the percentage of wives who are native to their husbands' village. In the first generation none of the wives were native to Mitini; in the second generation 10 per cent were native; in the third, 11 per cent; in the fourth, 38 per cent; and in the youngest generation 100 per cent of the wives are also native to the village.

A man's preferred spouses are all of those women whom he calls nhombe which means "sister-in-law." These are of three categories. First are his older brothers' wives. A man inherits these women, usually only one of them since the others are distributed to other brothers, at his brother's death. I think this is properly the levirate because the children are thought of as children of the dead man (Bohannon, 1963: 79, 119-120). The Rjonga say that the surname must follow the lobolo; that is all of a woman's children should bear the surname of the man who paid her lobolo, and thus acquired all rights in her, despite the surname of the biological father. If a man's younger brother inherits the widow, as is the ideal, then the surname of course is the same. But the Rjonga say also that "a child must know his father" and children are

told who their biological father is whether or not they bear his surname. The child's rights, however, are supposed to be only in their legal father's lineage. The eldest son is responsible for all of his siblings, and these include his half-siblings born to his mother and father's younger brother. Thus if all of these siblings live together, the eldest son must help his own brothers and half-brothers, as well as father's brothers' sons, with their lobolo. Since lineage segmentation takes place along ndangu lines, however, the siblings born to an older man's own mother and father's younger brother may move out of his muti and claim their biological father's cattle and other goods as their rightful inheritance. This leads to trouble today, as I witnessed in several cases, because the oldest man considers these younger men to be his younger brothers of the same father, legally speaking. As such he has the right to retain control over all the goods and property, administering it as he sees fit, including that left by his father's younger brother. The younger men make a distinction between their biological father and their legal father "of the lobolo," and claim the cattle, etc., which belonged to their biological father. This situation is also reflected by the increasing use of the biological father's surname where this man does not belong to the same clan as the man who paid the mother's lobolo.

The second category of women called nhombe and thus considered to be preferred spouses are a man's wife's

younger sisters. These include all of the women whom his wife calls "younger sister." This is because the younger sister already respects and obeys her older sister, and thus makes an ideal second wife in a system where second wives are treated as the servants of the first wives.

The last category are a man's wife's brother's daughters. The rationale for this is the same as that for marrying a wife's younger sister. This woman calls the man's wife "father's sister" and thus already is accustomed to obeying and respecting her. Co-wives who are younger sister or brother's daughter to the senior wife are called nhlampsa, which means "the one who washes" thus indicating their inferior position to the first wife.

A man should not marry any woman whom he calls "mother," "sister," "daughter," or "sister's daughter." Besides these there are two other categories of proscribed marriages: those with a mukonwana, which include wife's brothers' wives, wife's older sisters, and wife's brother's son's wife; and with a nwingi. Nwingi are a man's younger brothers' wives, his sons' wives, and his wife's sister's sons' wives.

A marriage is legalized by the payment of the lobolo which is set at 2500\$ today. On payment of 1500\$ a man acquires all rights in his wife and children, and this is symbolized by his registering them to his family at the Portuguese Administration. If a man does not pay at least this amount his wife and children belong to his wife's

lineage, and the wife's parents register the children as their own. Formerly the surname "followed the lobolo"; even if a woman remarried her subsequent children would have the surname of the man who paid her lobolo. This is no longer the case but the rule reflects the fact, still true, that a woman can be formally married only once. If she divorces or is widowed she may bear more children and be considered married, but no ceremony is performed and no lobolo may be requested by her lineage. In fact today widows and divorcées are demanding lobolos, or their male relatives are, and where the claim is allowed by the man (who has little choice if he wants to take the woman) the question of the ownership of the children is left open and depends on the goodwill of the parties involved. Lobolo payments and the registration of children form a large part of court cases today, as a result.

There are four kinds of marriages. The traditional mode is called the ku-konisa which involves the bride's family escorting her to her husband's home where there is a mock battle. This kind of marriage was last practiced in 1952 and is the pagan form of marriage, as the Rjonga say. A Christian wedding, at which a church minister officiates whether in a church or not, is called ku-tchata. Both of these types of wedding are always preceded by the formal engagement ceremony, called the ku-buta. This involves the prospective groom and his family representatives calling on the family of the prospective bride to say

"they seek water." In most cases the young man has courted the girl with the help of a go-between who plays a major role in the engagement ceremony and wedding. In these cases when the young man and his representatives present themselves to the girl's parents and the parents ask the girl if she accepts the suit the conclusion is certain. In other cases, where the girl has not been courted prior to the request to her parents, she may refuse the man and her wishes are respected by her family because no one can be forced to do that which they do not want to do. If the girl accepts the suit the parents and the groom set a date when he will return with his family and friends to pay the ku-buta.

At this ceremony the groom pays a part of the lobolo, as much as he can, and also brings jugs of wine and beer. He is supposed to give the mother of the girl 100\$ for the cloth in which the mother carried the infant girl. He must also give a wedding ring and money for clothes for the bride and her parents. There are several other types of payments made at the ku-buta also, which are apart from the lobolo, and thus the total cost of a wedding is really around 3000\$ or 4000\$ (\$105 or \$140). From the time of the ku-buta the girl is thought of as the man's wife, although she continues living with her parents; but the couple may have sexual relations which, if they result in the girl's pregnancy, involves no disgrace to the girl or her family. When the man has accumulated enough money to pay the whole

lobolo he notifies the girl's parents and they visit the prospective groom's muti to collect it. Here the in-laws are treated without respect and are much abused until the actual payment is made. There follows a feast and the day is set when the bride will come to her husband's home accompanied by her go-between and friends. The go-between will also live with the new bride for a week or more until the bride "learns the life of her husband's muti." In both kinds of wedding, the traditional and the Christian, there is a large feast on the day the bride comes to her new home and there is a public presentation of gifts, with speeches, to the new couple. A few months after these two kinds of wedding there is another ceremony called the ku-kata which takes place in the man's muti. There the wife's mother and father's sisters come and admonish her and counsel her in her duties, telling her she must accept the hard work imposed on her by her mother-in-law, and warn her that she will be looked on with disfavor by her husband's female relatives, in particular. She is told that wives are suspected of killing their husbands by witchcraft, and that she must obey everyone in the muti to prove that she is a good woman.

The other two kinds of marriage are related. There is the ku-tluba which is a secret elopement and which may take place whether there has been a formal engagement or not. When this happens the woman goes to live with the man as his wife immediately. Her parents pretend not to know

where their daughter is, waiting for the man to come present himself to them and formally announce that he stole their daughter. He has the status of "thief" in his wife's parents' eyes until he takes formal steps to announce his good intentions--that is, to pay the lobolo. If the man does not announce himself to his wife's parents within a reasonable amount of time they will visit him as the wronged parties in a dispute, demanding reparation. He is not treated as a potential son-in-law at this juncture but as someone who has committed a crime. From this point onward normal dispute settlement procedure is followed if the man does not immediately agree to pay part of the lobolo. Until one or the other side pays a formal visit, however, everyone ignores the fact that the woman is living with the man, and all principals act as usual toward each other.

When a man pays the lobolo for a woman who is already living with him, after an elopement, this is called a xonxonela marriage. In this case the man goes with his representatives to his wife's muti to pay the lobolo. He must also pay a fine to her family above the lobolo for having eloped with her. After he has paid the minimum 1500\$ he can register the wife and children as his own at the Administration. In cases of elopement where the man never pays the lobolo and the woman continues living with him, or if she leaves him, the children belong to her father who registers them. In some cases, by agreement, a man lives with his wife and registers the children as

his own without having paid the lobolo. It is agreed that their first daughter's lobolo will be given to the mother's lineage as her lobolo. But always it is necessary for male members of the wife's lineage to accompany the man as a witness when he goes to register her and/or his children at the Administration.

If a man impregnates an unmarried girl he should marry her because if she bears a child out of wedlock she is considered "spoiled" and her father cannot ask a lobolo for her. If he refuses to marry her he must pay a fine of 1500\$ and loses his rights in the woman and child. Since this amount is the same as that required to legally register a wife and children the fine symbolizes a lobolo which has been paid and forfeited. The only traditional grounds whereby a man loses the lobolo he has paid for a woman is if he sends her away. In effect, this is the only ground for divorce which a woman has: that her husband no longer wants her. The husband loses all rights in the woman and in the children, who then belong to her father or brothers. A child born to an unmarried woman is called a "pregnancy of the hearth" and belongs to her father; the child takes his mother's father's surname. The mother has no jural rights in the child at all.

If a man commits adultery in which no pregnancy results the usual fine is about 400\$-600\$. This fine is paid to the "owner" of the woman, her husband if she is married. Women are never liable for committing adultery,

but their families are. A woman who is known to have committed adultery can be divorced by her husband if he chooses, and her parents must repay him the lobolo. The wronged husband has the option of exacting a fine from his wife's parents (who, in turn, collect the fine from the woman's lover) and keeping his wife; of sending his wife home to her parents but keeping the children and not demanding repayment of the lobolo; of sending both his wife and children back to her parents and demanding that the full lobolo be repaid; or of ignoring the whole thing. The husband can make the conditions in cases of this nature but the limit of them is sending back his wife and children and being repaid the lobolo, whereby he loses all rights in the children also. Although the burden for a successful marriage is said to be the woman's, she is not held to be as much at fault in the case of adultery as a man. She is of a "lesser race" which easily forgets "how to behave" and is more susceptible to cupidity. Men have many ways of tempting a woman, the Rjonga say, and she must try to be strong in the face of unceasing assaults on her virtue, particularly since men are cleverer than women and can offer them money.

A wife cannot protest if her husband commits adultery; she has no recourse and must respect and obey him in everything. If she runs away from her husband, for whatever reason, and he "follows" her to her parents' home to request her return she must go or she forfeits her

lobolo and children. That is, her parents will be forced to repay him the lobolo if his wife refuses to return to him, and he will retain all rights in the children. For this reason a wife's parents urge her to return to her husband and hold her lacking in respect to her own lineage if she jeopardizes the lobolo they received for her.

If a woman's husband dies and she agrees to be inherited leviratically by his younger brother there is no problem; the children still belong to their father's lineage and there is no further lobolo payment. If a woman refuses to be inherited, and her lobolo had been paid, she may leave but her husband's lineage retains all rights in her children. A woman may refuse to be inherited but agree to continue living in her dead husband's muti, or near it; in this case it is understood that all children she bears will belong to her dead husband's lineage, and they will have his surname. If a woman who has not been loboloed is widowed she will return to her parents' home taking all of her children with her. The dead man's lineage has no right in them since they did not pay the lobolo. She cannot be inherited by her husband's younger brothers unless they pay her lobolo.

These are the traditional customs; as I have indicated they are being changed today under the combined influence of church and state. The church does not allow a man to have more than one wife, although in all other matters relating to marriage and children he is bound by

tribal custom. The Portuguese Administrators also rule, in cases which come to them, that women have rights to their children whatever tribal law may be. This undermines the traditional sanctions which prevented women from abandoning their husbands. The Administrator will require that the woman's family repay her lobolo, but rule that she may keep her children. Obviously this further contributes to the disintegration of corporate patrilineages.

Inheritance and Succession

Succession to office is supposed to be from father to oldest son. This is certainly the case for such positions as zone and village chief although the latter, as well as succession to the throne, is complicated by the rights of the younger brothers of the incumbent. As Junod puts it (1962: 410-411),

. . . when a chief [king] dies, his elder son is the regular heir, but all his younger brothers must reign before the son, the true heir, is crowned. This system attempts to reconcile two principles which we have already met with as governing the family life:
 (1) the absolute preeminent right of the elder branch,
 (2) the community of property amongst brothers.

Junod goes on to note that the younger brothers who rule are looked on as princes regent, but that if they reign for a long time they become reluctant to give up the throne to their nephew.

The habit of dividing the power between brothers who soon become rivals, and of allowing the younger brothers to reign before the legal heir, both tend to destroy the unity of the clan and give rise to quarrels and unrest. . . . A chief, when he ascends

the throne, will do his best to get rid of troublesome brothers in order to reign alone and to ensure the chieftainship to his son (1962: 413).

Junod cites the case of Mapunga (see Figure 2), a king of Nondjwana at the time of the 1894 war, who killed four of his brothers.

A king usually places his brothers and sons as village chiefs and as district chiefs in an attempt to consolidate his power and placate potential rivals. This was done by the present king at the time I left Nondjwana; he began replacing all of the men who were already in power at the time he succeeded with his own favorites. When Gonwine ascended to the throne (Figure 2) his younger brother, Dique, was made chief of Mitini. Many of Dique's brothers and half-brothers moved to Mitini with him "to help him rule" and are still there. He was succeeded by his eldest son who was subsequently removed from office by the complaints of the people to the king. The son was succeeded, by the vote of the village zone chiefs, by his father's younger brother who was living in the village--one of the dead chief's brothers who had moved with him to Mitini to help him rule. The Rjonga say that this man's eldest son will now succeed him as chief.

Zone chiefs are succeeded by their next younger brothers or father brother's sons also. In one of the village zones created when the large Ngwenya muti split up, already referred to, the eldest son by the second wife of the head of the family was sent with his brothers to

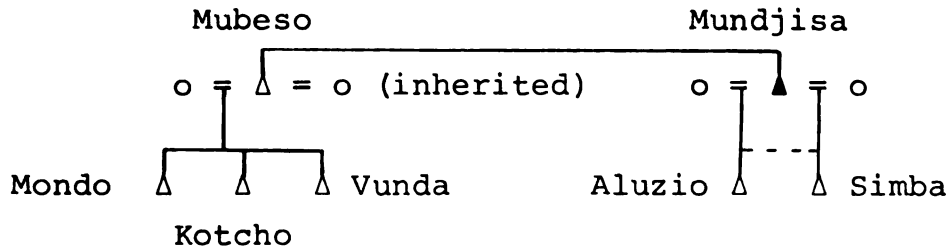
settle a new area of the village and to be its zone chief. When this man died he was succeeded by his father's younger brother's oldest son, who had acted as his second-in-command and policeman. When that man, in turn, died he was succeeded by a younger brother of the first zone chief. In the other Ngwenya zone, originally settled by the first head of the family who moved, the zone chieftainship passed to his eldest son by his first wife, an old man who still lives and holds that office. Since he has no living full brothers he said the office would pass to his eldest son who is living in the village. His eldest makes his home in the capital and so cannot succeed to the office.

Succession to the head of a family is also adelphic. Since inheritance of property is by eldest son there is a division of authority and property which introduces tension into the muti. Every father designates one of his sons as "the divider" of his cattle, fields, cash, and whatever else he possesses. The eldest son, if it is he who is designated--and this depends on his relationship with his father and whether he lives with his father--is charged with sharing the father's goods with his siblings equally and fairly, and providing for the needs of all of his family. A dying man will call his close friends and favorites, including women, to give them things such as fields which they would not ordinarily inherit. Whatever is left is to be administered by the person he designates as divider. If a dying man's sons

are still quite young he will charge one of his brothers with caring for his things until they are old enough to claim their inheritance. What frequently happens is that the brother so designated will spend the wealth left by his older brother before his brother's sons reach their majority. Then there is a dispute and these sons leave their father's brother's muti if they cannot effect a settlement. Or a succeeding family head will use the cattle and cash of the family to lobolo wives for the eldest men, whether full brothers, half brothers, or father's brother's sons, as he should; then when one of the younger men reach marrying age, and know their own father left cattle, they try to claim it to sell for a lobolo only to find it has already been used elsewhere. This also leads to disputes and the splitting up of a muti. Disputes over inheritances form a large proportion of the cases which go to the village chief's and king's courts.

A brief account of one of the first trials I attended at the king's court over an inheritance will make clear the complexities which are introduced by the division of authority and inheritance to property within a family.

Two full brothers lived together; the eldest had two sons by two wives, the eldest son called Simba, the younger Aluzio. Their father was Mundjisa. Mundjisa's younger brother, Mubeso, had three sons by the same woman, Vunda, Kotcho, and Mondjo (oldest to youngest). Many years ago the eldest brother, Mundjisa, died making no



verbal disposition of his cattle, sheep, and goats. His younger brother, Mubeso, inherited his wife and Mubeso took all of his dead brother's stock also, registering it in his name. He also registered Simba, still a minor, as his own son, which he had no right to do. Custom decrees that a man's younger brothers inherit his wives and his older brothers administer his stock and other property to provide for his wives and children; the younger brother who inherited the wife is not responsible for providing for his brother's sons. The older brother sells stock to buy food, clothes, and to provide a lobolo for the dead man's sons. Since Mundjisa only had a younger brother, Mubeso, he took his dead brother's wife, stock, and registered his eldest son as his own. Mubeso and his brother's sons, Simba and Aluzio, lived together with his own sons, Vunda, Kotcho, and Mondjo until Mubeso himself died. When he was dying he charged Simba, his older brother's oldest son, to take care of his younger brothers, which included his father's brother's sons, selling cattle when necessary to provide for their lobolo.

Sixteen years ago Simba complied with his father's brother's dying wish and divided the cattle evenly between

himself, his half brother, Aluzio, and Vunda, the eldest of his father's brother's sons. He kept four cattle; gave four to Aluzio; and another four to Vunda. When he did so he told Vunda that he was to use these cattle to help his younger brothers with their lobolo when it was time for them to marry. When a sister of Aluzio, Simba's own half sister, married Aluzio was still too young "to eat the money," and Simba gave her lobolo to Vunda, his father's brother's oldest son, to use as his lobolo.

The case I attended was provoked because Mubeso's two younger sons, Kotcho and Mondjo, complained to their chief that they received no part of their father's inheritance. It transpired, in the course of the trial, that they did not know that all of the stock had originally belonged to Mundjisa, Simba's own father. They only knew that the cattle were registered in their own father's (Mubeso's) name. These two young men said they never received cattle to sell to lobolo their wives. Simba had given cattle to Vunda to provide for his younger brothers, and Vunda had kept them all for himself never telling his younger brothers that this was their share of their father's inheritance. Simba had never told Kotcho and Mondjo about the inheritance, either, thus unwittingly keeping them in the dark, and the boys grew up in the belief that all of the cattle were their father's. When testimony proved that the cattle originally belonged to Simba's own father, the court agreed that Vunda, Kotcho,

and Mondjo, as father's brother's sons, had no legal claim to it. Only the eldest son has the right to inherit, and that meant that Simba could have kept all of the cattle to himself. Simba was praised by the court for his generosity and for fulfilling his moral obligation to help his "younger brothers" (father's brother's sons) by giving them a share of his father's inheritance. Vunda was severely criticized for not sharing his four cattle with his younger brothers, and he was told by the court to give each one head. Vunda tried to argue that Simba should have provided for the younger men, Kotcho and Mondjo, because he was the head of the family. However, when Mubeso died the three brothers had left Simba's and Aluzio's village and moved to another, thus rejecting Simba as head of the family. The court told Vunda that Simba had no legal obligation to share with his father's brother's sons; that a brother could leave things to a brother if he chose, but that it was the eldest son who had the right to inherit. The court also pointed out that when Mubeso registered Simba as his own son he had potentially disinherited Vunda, Kotcho, and Mondjo anyway, because Simba was then entitled to inherit from Mubeso as eldest son. The court was emphatic in its approval of Simba's behavior; he had given a lobolo from his half sister to help his father's brother's son, Vunda, to marry, as was his right as head of the family. Vunda had no legitimate grounds for complaint. But one of the elders of the court, when

giving his opinion, said that

If we decide this case well, Kotcho and Mondjo should find something of the inheritance. They can't lose; the milk can't die, because they were all born in the same house. But they can't ask for their inheritance. It seems that Simba helped those two brothers, Aluzio and Vunda, and not those two, Kotcho and Mondjo. Simba can say that if Aluzio and Vunda didn't give anything to Kotcho and Mondjo it isn't his fault; because if he had he wouldn't have anything for himself. Look well at the words because if we don't decide well (morally), Kotcho and Mondjo could lose because they have no right. We know how to judge cases in our houses.

Then the elder finished his speech on a slightly bitter note, saying "Let's return to the Rjonga proverb: why doesn't the son of the father go to work to earn his own fortune? If there weren't an inheritance what would he eat?"

It becomes apparent that younger brothers are dependent on their elder brother's good-will to receive a part of their father's wealth. The older brother is morally obligated to provide for his younger siblings, doubly so if he succeeds as head of the family. But there is no legal basis for this unless there are witnesses to a dying man's disposition of his goods. This is a source of contention between brothers. It is also a source of contention between father's younger brother and his older brother's sons. I was often told by men that their father's younger brothers told them, when they reached their majority and tried to claim their inheritance, that the father's brother claimed all of the wealth had been spent in raising them.

Dispute Settlement Procedures

There is a very strong value against interfering in family affairs. Disputes should be settled "reasonably" by the principals involved. If a dispute occurs between classificatory siblings an elder of the family may call on them both to ask what has happened and to "help them with words." But the principals cannot be forced to listen to nor heed the advice of their elder. Absolutely no one should interfere in a dispute or fight between a man and his wife. If it appears the man is about to kill his wife one of his brothers might interfere to save his brother from future punishment, but he does so without any legal sanction, and at considerable risk to himself since his brother might turn on him justifiably. People who interfere in others' fights or disputes can be fined at court for doing so.

When a man feels he has been wronged by another he is morally obligated to call on the person and ask him for an explanation for his actions, and the two should try to effect a settlement. This obligation of the aggrieved to visit the aggressor is very strong. Anyone who goes directly to one of the courts is severely criticized for doing so. I frequently heard the following at trials I attended: "If you see someone's child stealing can you take him to jail without first telling his parents?" This means that if the aggrieved can find no satisfaction from the person who wronged him, he should next gather his

representatives and visit the elders of the aggressor's family to try to reach a settlement. If these, in turn, cannot negotiate a settlement acceptable to both principals the case should be taken to the zone chief's court where the principals' kin and neighbors form the court. The zone chief charges 20\$ of each principal to hear their case, but the settlement is usually arrived at by the principals, although the zone chief can impose a fine also. If the zone chief's court fails to adjudicate or negotiate the case to the satisfaction of both parties, he "opens the road" for them to take the case to the village chief. The fee for hearing a case there is 70\$ each, and the fine is larger. In addition the loser in a case must pay an additional sum which the winner gives to the court members as a "gratification." The village chief levies a sufficiently large fine to enable him to keep a part, and to give a small amount to his zone chiefs and other elders of the court, and to buy beer for everyone at the conclusion of the trial. If the court fails to satisfy both principals, operating on the value that no one can be forced to admit his guilt, the village chief "opens the road" for the principals to take their case to the king's court. There the fee for hearing the case is also 70\$, but the fines are much higher, the people attending are village chiefs, and records of the trial are sent to the Portuguese Administrator. If the king's court fails, the king "opens the road" to the Portuguese Administrator who

is the highest court of appeal for the Rjonga. At every level from the zone chief's court upward there is a feeling of failure on the part of all those who formed the court.

In a case the plaintiff sits to the right, facing the court, and speaks as long as he likes, uninterrupted. If the defendant or witnesses try to interrupt they are fined 50\$. When he finishes a member of the court may ask him questions, or may ask questions of some of the witnesses, but usually the defendant speaks immediately after the plaintiff, also uninterrupted except for necessary questions to clear up certain points. After both principals have spoken the witnesses for both are asked to speak and are questioned as needed. When all of the witnesses have been heard, the chief or his second in command "gives the word" to all of the people attending the trial--the hubo. Anyone can speak who wishes to at this juncture; only eye witnesses may give testimony, however. It is usually at this phase of the trial that everyone begins to speak at once, and a lot of yelling goes on. I noticed this pattern at the dozens or more trials I attended; everyone would begin speaking calmly, but the tension would steadily mount until everyone would cast off all restraint and there would be great furore. This usually occurred during the witnesses' testimony; order would be restored, but without fines, and the word given to the hubo. The chief of the court always speaks last

and his opinion "cuts the case." This is the judgment, and it usually represents the majority opinion as given by the elders who gave their opinion first.

As I have said, from the time a dispute leaves the hands of the families involved there is a stigma. At every trial someone always says: "this case shouldn't have come to court; it should have been settled at home." Failure on the part of the families, of the zone chief, of the village chief, or of the king to resolve a dispute indicates that they lacked in wisdom and did not have the respect of the loser in the case. They failed to explain the law and "right" behavior with sufficient cogency so that the guilty party was able to see and admit his guilt freely. No man can be forced to accept his guilt. Court officials indulge in dire threats to a man who is being "stubborn," who refuses to admit that he did wrong. The village chief would threaten to tie such a person to a stinging ant's nest, a frequent punishment used in the days of the absolute authority of village chiefs and kings. Formerly kings had the power of life and death, and of any means of corporal punishment. Village chiefs also had the right to beat offenders. Now, however, the only real sanctions that village chiefs have are to send a "stubborn" man to the king's court, and to remember him when the time for communal labor, or the Portuguese draft comes. Despite the threats used, however, the people believe that if a man does not admit his guilt freely, brought to perceive it by

the words of the elders of the courts, he will err again because he will believe he has been misjudged. He will also lose respect for his chief and not obey him in other matters. Ultimately he may move out of the village altogether. The people say that it is worse to be "stubborn" and deny one's wrong-doing than to commit the offense which originally brought one to court. This attitude could be paraphrased "To err is human, to repent and confess is divine." This attitude is clearly reflected in the fines levied. If a man quickly and earnestly admits he was wrong and asks forgiveness the fine is a small one. A man who denies his wrong for a long time, detaining the court for many hours, will find himself subject to a heavy fine.

Before a case goes to court a man calls a family council which his father, father's brothers, own brothers, and close friends whom he invites, attend. Together they discuss the case: the evidence they will present; the argument they will use; the witnesses they will call; the amount of compensation they will exact if they win; how much of a fine they may have to pay if they lose. A man's father and his own brothers should support him in a case, financially and "with words." They will attend his trial, mobilize support among friends, neighbors, and other kin, and they will speak for him at the trial although they cannot act as witnesses unless they are directly involved in the case. At the family council the principal to the

trial is obligated to tell everything to his elders; this is telling them the "beginning of the case" so that they are adequately prepared to help defend him. A man's kinsman can be called as a witness against him, however, if he knows anything about the case; in this situation the kinsman is obligated to tell the truth even if it works against the principal, because he is morally obligated to help his kinsman "be a good person." Kinsmen who are not involved as witnesses in the case act and speak as if they were principals in the case, however, speaking on behalf of the real principal. If they feel their kinsman in the case is guilty without hope of being found in the right, the most they can do for him is keep silent or "ask forgiveness" of the court. A man's kinsmen are also morally obligated to help him pay the fine if he is found guilty; today this takes the form of lending him the money. Formerly, the eldest of the family was expected to pay the fine, without expectation of being repaid, because the family head was responsible for the behavior of all of the members.

Being able to get the support of one of the "big men" of the village is highly valued because the opinion of these men carries a lot of weight in the hubo, and frequently influences the chief's judgment. A principal to a trial will try to mobilize support among those men he considers his friends and whose opinions carry weight in the village. He will always try to get the support of his

zone chief, of course, if the trial goes to the village chief's court. The zone chief, in his capacity of "father" to the zone inhabitants, is supposed to be fair and impartial so that his opinion also has great weight in a trial.

At a trial a man's word is never sufficient proof in any matter because the Rjonga believe all men are inherently self-seeking and that they will, of course, lie to try to defend themselves. Thus there must be witnesses in every matter, whether in court cases or not. The people become angry not when a man lies to defend himself, but when he persists in the lie after he has been conclusively proved to be at fault: this is being "stubborn," and persistent stubbornness denotes an unreasonable man.

Cases between relatives, particularly (classificatory) brothers, should always be "resolved in the house." If a dispute between brothers goes to court it is proof of the rupture of good relations and reflects on the good judgement of all involved. In a very complicated case I attended two relatives were involved, one of whom was classificatory father to the other. The younger, Souza, was the aggrieved but he did not go to visit his "father," Gela, because they had been involved in disputes before and Souza said he knew that Gela "couldn't be reasoned with." Instead Souza took the case to Gela's own father's brother, who is the oldest living member of the clan in the village. Souza stands in the relation of "grandson" to this old man;

he has an own father's brother to whom he could have taken his case, but he showed respect for Gela by taking the case to his father's brother. This old man called together other members of the family to hear the dispute: two were father's father's brother's son's sons to Gela (that is, classificatory brothers), and the other was Gela's father's father's brother's daughter's son, a man of another clan, but also a classificatory brother. The old man told them they had to judge the dispute because "the tripe are biting each other." Gela refused to let his relatives judge the case saying they would all "take sides" with Souza, and he took the case directly to the village chief. There he was censured by everyone and fined. All of his relatives denounced him for bringing a family matter to court and for refusing to let his brothers judge the case. His neighbors attended this trial, as they had the court called by the old man, and equally denounced him for refusing to let them try to settle the matter. Gela was admonished in a long speech by Souza's father's brother (his own classificatory brother) and told that his relatives might refuse to help him in the future because they would "see the evil in your heart," and would remember that he refused to let them hear his case.

This case demonstrates another feature of Rjonga disputes. If men are not fully satisfied with a judgment they remember the injustice they feel they suffered at another's hands, and they bring the same person to court

again and again. As the Rjonga say "a case doesn't rot." Gela and Souza had had several other cases together at court before the one mentioned above. Several of the trials I attended were, in effect, a continuation of old grievances. Also a Rjonga does not believe in neutrality, except in the village chief or zone chiefs. In any case everyone even remotely involved "takes sides"--a person is for you or against you, and a Rjonga does not forget over the years who took which stand. No close relative such as a brother, sister, son or daughter, or even an affine living in the same muti, can act as a witness for a relative because it is expected that these people will naturally "take sides" with the principal. Taking sides is evidenced by any bit of behavior, no matter how apparently trivial. If a man carries a message for one of the principals to the other principal he is endorsing the contents of the message; he has "taken sides" with the one sending the message. If a representative of one of the principals is trying to negotiate a settlement with the other principal and his representatives, and he does not like the terms proposed, he refuses to tell his own principal about them lest this one think his representative is "siding against" him. A representative of the opposing principal must carry the terms himself. These attitudes explain why cases between relatives and neighbors are so disruptive of regular social life, and why the principals should make every effort to negotiate a settlement among

themselves. A man who needs help in harvesting his crops, building a new corral, moving his muti, etc., will not go to a person who has "taken sides" against him in a dispute. If this should be a close kinsman or neighbor he suffers, as do they when they need help.

Cases heard by zone chiefs, village chiefs, and the king are all of the same sort dealing with divorce, lobolo questions, theft, damage to fields or livestock, and inheritance. A Rjonga who is assimilated can be tried by Portuguese courts in civil and criminal cases which fall in the jurisdiction of these courts. He can also be tried in the village courts, however, if a dispute occurs with someone who complains against him or if he complains against someone. There he is subject to tribal law despite his status of "assimilated," and the court makes no allowance for his status although his word may carry weight as a "big man" of the new breed. All the assimilated Rjonga I knew are relatively young men whose word carries great weight in any matter having to do with the Portuguese or city life; this produces a slight "halo" effect so that they might be listened to in other matters, even by their elders. But, all things being equal, they are subject to the same laws and customs in a dispute.

Ancestor Worship and the Ndangu

The traditional religion consists in praying to the ancestors and making offerings of white wine and tobacco.

In those miti where this is still the practice there is a tree dedicated to the family gods usually near the principal entrance (lihlampfu) into the muti. This main path is always from the east, and everyone not an inmate of the muti must use it or be suspected of witchcraft. When a member of the family prays at this tree he is supposed to wrap a white cloth (tcheka) around the tree trunk and make an offering of food, white wine, or snuff at the base of the tree, which is called the altar (gandjelo).

A man has three altars: the principal one is at the base of the tree, of any species, and it always faces eastward as do the houses; the second is inside his house on the right side, the man's side, at the "head"--again eastward. All Rjonga sleep with their heads pointing to the east; only corpses are laid out with their heads to the west. The third altar is in the mfungwe; this is the rear of the house where all important possessions are kept and it is a private place. If a man is a diviner he keeps his spirit basket used only for sacred items, his gods' clothes and other appurtenances, at the "head."

A woman brings her own gods to her husband's muti, if she is a diviner, and she cannot pray to her husband's gods nor at his altars. Her altar is inside the house on the left side, the woman's side, and at the "foot"--facing westward. Diviners of either sex, however, built a hut for the spirits called an ndumba and this faces westward to

show it is a house of the dead, and most of the paraphernalia are kept here.

To pray to the ancestors is called ku-pahla. The head of a muti does this in time of trouble: when there is drought, if members of the family are sick, asking protection for a journey, etc. A man may not pray for his children, on pain of death, if he has not loboloed their mother; to do so is to risk the children's lives. Praying to the ancestors is not done on a daily or regular basis by those families who do not have spirits. The ancestors are appealed to in time of trouble and to appease their anger which has resulted in illness in the muti, or which has affected a daughter of the muti married elsewhere.

Ku-pahla is also the ceremony performed after a person consults a diviner's bones to know the cause of an illness. If the diviner says the illness is not due to witchcraft but is caused by some angry family gods the client must pray at the family altar in the muti. He buys a white cloth, which is the color for the Rjonga ancestor gods, a white chicken, white wine, and some snuff and offers these to the gods at the altar. This is not considered to be a very serious matter if the illness passes off quickly.

Ku-timhamba is another ritual, very like the ku-pahla, the major difference being that it involves going outside the man's muti to perform it. This is the ritual performed at a wife's father's muti. If a woman is barren

or abortions before coming to term the husband consults a diviner to discover the cause of their misfortune. Usually the diviner informs the husband that his wife's gods are angry for some reason: she did not take formal leave of them when she married, or 100\$ of the lobolo were not offered to her mother's brother, or there are spirits in her home muti. Whatever the reason the husband is obliged to go to his wife's parent's house and set a date when he and his wife may come to perform the necessary ritual. The husband buys a white cloth, a female goat which has never given birth, white wine and snuff and he and his wife go to her parent's and spend the night there. At dawn the next day they pray at the altar, the wife's father officiating, and offer their gifts to the ancestors. The goat is not killed but is allowed to grow and give birth in this muti. If the ceremony was properly performed the woman will give birth. In some ceremonies a red cloth is used, but these symbolize a foreign spirit, an Ndjau. At all of these prayers the person officiating takes a slightly threatening note with the ancestors, telling them their wishes have been complied with and now they must leave the family alone. This is also an occasion for all present to air any grievances they feel against others.

Another occasion for the ku-pahla is at the ceremony in honor of someone recently dead, the xidjilo. This is also a time of a large feast to which all members of the family, agnates, cognates (including affines),

neighbors and friends are invited. Only the more immediate family members go to the cemetery and pray at the grave, however. Here, also, there are offerings of white wine and snuff and a goat or a rooster is killed at the grave, and the meat cooked and eaten there by all present.

Usually the oldest living brother of the dead man prays on behalf of all of the family, giving their news, telling the deceased he has not been forgotten, asking for his protection and his intercession with the other ancestors. Again this is an occasion for everyone present to air their grievances. Then the family returns to the muti of the dead man where a cow is slaughtered and all of the invited guests eat and drink and dance until the next day.

A clan is divided into spiritual groups, called ndangu (pl.: mindangu). An ndangu is a hearth or kitchen, and all of those people descended from the same man and woman (full siblings) form an ndangu. The man from whom common descent is traced, however, seems to be one who has recently died, a father of the oldest living men of the clan.

The Ngwenya clan members in Mitini can all trace descent from one of six half brothers, all dead now. At least four of these lived together, with their sons and sons' sons, in the large family muti which split up some fifty-seventy years ago. The other two lived in other villages, but many of their sons subsequently moved back to Mitini. Each of these six half brothers is the head

of a spiritual descent group, or ndangu, if they have living sons. In the cases where all of the sons of one of these brothers are dead, the sons' sons pray to their own father, calling him the "owner" of the ndangu. Thus men who have a common father's father's father will not belong to the same ndangu if the father's father's father is dead. A father's brother (classificatory) can pray to the ancestors on behalf of his brother's son. Ownership of the ndangu is from father to eldest son; that is, as each man dies he becomes the owner of the group for his living sons. The right to pray to the ancestors is adelphic; after all full brothers have died, the eldest half brother has the right to pray on behalf of his brothers' sons. Even when brothers and father's brother's sons are not living together in the same muti the appropriate man must be called to officiate at ceremonies to the dead. Thus when one fairly young man of the Ngwenya clan had the xidjilo ceremony in memory of his father he called his father's only living brother (half brother) to come pray at the grave. These men do not live in the same muti. At another xidjilo, also of the Ngwenya clan, the dead man's oldest living father's own brother officiated. Again, none of the participants live together although all of these people do live in Mitini. In both of the ceremonies there were older living Ngwenya men who attended but who did not pray; in the last mentioned service the father's brother who prayed has an older half brother who attended. Full

brothers, when living, officiate before half brothers, and eventually the ndangu will segment (in the fourth descending generation) so that the descendants of these men will belong to different groups.

Doctors, Diviners, and Spirits

The spiritual beliefs of the Rjonga are so varied and complex that I can only give a very brief indication of them here. Figuring prominently are two kinds of foreign spirits, the Ngoni or Zulu, and the Ndjao. A special class of practioners exists to cope with these, and this class is further subdivided into two kinds of doctor-diviners.

The traditional healer, whom I can call a doctor for convenience's sake, is the nanga. A nanga becomes such usually by virtue of inheritance or by being taught by his father or father's brother. This man knows what roots to cut to make medicines for specific diseases; one nanga may cure barrenness in women as a speciality; another may be expert at curing vernereal diseases, and so on. Whatever diseases he is able to cure this doctor does so without benefit of spirits. Usually he has been taught by his own father or mother who treated him with medicines, cutting the back of his hand with a razor and rubbing in the special medicine which gives him the power to cure. Not all sons of a doctor show an aptitude to become doctors in their own right, and to this extent the power may be said to be hereditary. Knowledge of the proper roots to

use is insufficient to make a doctor, however; he must also be specially treated by another doctor. These men can usually be distinguished because they wear an open-ended brass bracelet on their right wrist. One old doctor I knew told me that before he made his medicines he had to pray to his father, who had taught him, to "open the road" for him. The bracelet he wears is open-ended so as not to "tie up" the power of the god, his father.

There is another kind of healer who may also be a diviner. This is the mungoma, or "man of the drums," and the Rjonga frequently use the terms nanga and mungoma interchangeably, although they say there are real differences in their functions. For this reason I will treat the mungoma and the nyamusoro as a class distinct from the nanga. People who consult the doctor (nanga) should tell their symptoms accurately so as not to confuse him in his prescription. This man has no supernatural aids, beyond praying to his teacher or teacher's teacher (always a dead person, at any rate) for help in his work.

The mungoma is the most powerful kind of practioner. He is diviner and healer, although he may specialize in only one of these tasks. A mungoma, like the nyamusoro, becomes such by virtue of possession and then attending a "school" where he learns to divine and to cure. He has spirits, and these are of two kinds: Ngoni and Ndjau. These spirits are said to "wake up" (ku-pfuka); that is, they come back after death to bring illness and death to

the people. A Rjonga ancestor god never wakes up to bring death; he may bring illness or barrenness if he is angered, but he does not "spoil" the muti as the foreign gods do. Only the mungoma and nyamusoro can deal with these foreign spirits, divine their motive, and prescribe the proper steps to be taken to appease their wrath. This almost invariably results in a member of the afflicted family having to become a diviner himself, attending the school to learn how to do so. If a person who has been possessed by the gods refuses to join the fraternity the gods may kill him or her.

A mungoma may only consult bones to divine the cause of misfortune. The mungoma who specializes in discovering who is at fault when two people are having an argument, each accusing the other of witchcraft, is called a muhlale. This is somewhat akin to the mondjo ordeal where two parties suspected of witchcraft drink a medicine administered by a mungoma; the one who becomes drunk from the mondjo is guilty. The muhlale does not administer a medicine, he merely consults his bones and discovers which is the guilty party. A mungoma may also divine by use of the bones and then prepare the medicine himself to cure his patient. Or he may divine the cause of the illness and then send the person to a specific nanga who specializes in this particular malady. He is also adept at finding "hidden things," whether these are material objects or causes of misfortune. The mungoma is usually a man, and

he does his consulting of the gods, his own particular spirits of the Ngoni or Ndjau tribes, by beating the drums. His gods claim kinship with him; the fact that they belong to another tribe is no deterrent in this. But Ngoni and Ndjau people can also return to possess any person they had contact with when they were alive, and they particularly return to afflict the families of a man who killed them in battle. In this sense the kinship is established by virtue of killing a man in war. In this way the real fighting supremacy of the Ngoni and the Ndjau are perpetuated in Rjonga cosmology. The cloths which symbolize the Ndjau gods are red; those used for the Ngoni gods are black. When the mungoma is evoking his gods by playing the drums he dresses as an Ngoni warrior, complete with spear and shield. When he is possessed the god speaks through his mouth in the appropriate language, almost always Zulu in the case of a mungoma because he works almost exclusively with Ngoni gods, the most powerful of all. Given this fact the mungoma always has an assistant (nyauti) who interprets for him since the majority of the people cannot understand Zulu.

A nyamusoro is usually a woman, although both men and women are said to be able to become either a mungoma or nyamusoro. But the nyamusoro, who also becomes a doctor-diviner by having been possessed and having been another doctor's apprentice at a school, specializes in

the "smelling-out" (ku-femba) which is done only through an Ndjau god, never an Ngoni. A nyamusoro may also have an Ngoni god, the more powerful of the two always, but she can divine only by means of the drums or bones using the Ngoni god. The "smelling-out" can be performed by using the drums (and there are different rhythms used for the Ndjau and Ngoni) and a tchobo, a whisk made of ostrich feathers or the tail of a wildebeeste, which the diviner constantly brushes across her face and shoulders. This evokes the Ndjau god who possesses her and speaks through her mouth, telling the cause of the deaths or illnesses. The "smelling-out" can also be performed by consulting the bones, although the method employing the drums seems to be the more popular. A mungoma never performs a "smelling-out." Usually the nyamosoro does not know how to cure, and sends her patients to a doctor (nanga) recommended by her spirit. Some nyamusoros do use medicines, however, and these are the ones who aspire to become powerful mungomas. The people say the nyamusoro is like a dog because she can smell out possessing foreign objects lodged in a patient's body and discover hidden things, including illnesses caused by witchcraft and the master of the witchcraft. If the diviner only discovers hidden things, however, he is a mungoma.

Both of these categories of diviner are powerful and are feared because they can fight witches and also

know the medicines and methods necessary to practice witchcraft themselves. A spirit who is sent to bring illness to someone is called a mulhiwa, and it can be said that one diviner's god is another's mulhiwa if they engage in a fight. Diviners call their teacher "father" or "mother" and all those who were apprenticed to the same person are considered to be siblings. There is only a loose kind of association binding all of these practioners, but they engage in subtle struggles for power which only become overt in court cases involving witchcraft. Village chiefs refuse to hear a case which seems to involve witchcraft these days, sending the principals to the king's court. The king's power is also seriously curtailed in these cases since the use of mondjo, the ordeal traditionally used in witchcraft cases, is forbidden by law. Witchcraft and the practice of divining and curing is also outlawed. The cases still occur, of course, and there is one village set aside on the outskirts of Nondjwana kingdom where all suspected witches are sent to live together.

There are a variety of spirits which can possess a person and cause illness and death in his muti which are not related to the Ngoni or Ndjau spirits necessarily. There is a bush spirit which might possess you as you walk along a path or if you pick up an object which someone has lost on the path. Treatment for possessing spirits used by some nyamusoros involves transferring the

spirit to an object, such as a 100\$ note or a cloth, and then dropping this object on a path where someone else will pick it up and become possessed. A diviner suspected of doing this can be expelled from his village because he is "killing the people." The treatment constitutes a form of witchcraft. These bush spirits (nhoba) are foreigners and "not of the house."

Matlarji spirits are spirits "of the spear"; they are warriors killed in battle and are the spirits of men who themselves had spirits when they were living. These are also called a mukwasana, and their motive in possessing someone is that they want to continue the work they did in their lifetime. They usually are related to the person they possess.

The xibiti spirit is a god "of bitterness." He comes to kill in your muti, like the mukwasana, and often is the spirit of a person who committed suicide. The only way to appease all of these spirits is to join the fraternity and undergo treatment in order to become a host, a nyamusoro or mungoma.

In addition to these spirits and the diviners who can control them there are witches who also can practice by use of medicines. All of these various beliefs are intimately related to other beliefs having to do with a person's shadow and his soul, two distinct properties. As I have said the subject is too complex to treat here. It is enough to note that most Rjonga live in a world

which they consider to be full of hostile forces and they feel it necessary to take precautions against these constantly. They are suspicious and defensive in almost all of their interpersonal relationships, and this is evidenced in many different areas of their life. One illness or one death or one misfortune of another nature will not prompt suspicions of witchcraft, but two or more of any of these occurrences will send a person to a diviner. And the people most often suspected are fathers, mothers, and wives. The Rjonga say that only a person past middle age, with grown and married children, can be a witch, however. The trait is also thought to be hereditary so that if one's father or grandfather was a known witch, then the children and grandchildren also will be when they reach middle and old age. This suspicion of middle aged and old men works against the respect and obedience that sons are supposed to give their fathers, and is given as a frequent cause for sons refusing to live with their fathers.

Christianity and Education

There are several Christian religions which the Rjonga join, but the most popular, in terms of converts, and the most prestigious is the Methodist established by Swiss missionaries in the last century. The most notable of these was Henri Junod, and he lived in a village of Nondjwana kingdom off and on for some seventeen years. Most of my discussion will center on the values introduced

by the Swiss Mission church, but they apply equally to the Zionists, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Catholics. All those belonging to any of these religions, or any other Christian religion, consider themselves to be far superior to their pagan brethern. One of the major reasons for this is the intimate association of education with religion. The mission churches, primarily Catholic and Methodist, have been the only agents of education in the bush; the missions built schools which children attend for education's sake primarily. Most of them, however, learn "the life of the church" whose school they attend and become converts. The only other schools which native children can attend are in the major cities, and here they must pay tuition. The result for the Rjonga is that Christianity and education go hand in hand, and the prestige of being Christian and educated is almost equal. The Rjonga recognize that the "school builds the church," and that the school is used explicitly by its missionary teachers as a means of making converts. One of the greatest strengths of the Swiss Mission church is that it accepts all children and does not discriminate against pagans.

There is no such thing as a Rjonga teacher who is not a member of a Christian church, although there are educated Rjonga who are not Christian in fact and/or in practice. A Rjonga ordained minister has more prestige than anyone outside the traditional authority structure,

such as village chiefs or the king. Next in order of importance is a school teacher who combines his superior status as Christian with the status of one "who works for the people" by virtue of his education. In this respect it is useful to know that both to be an ordained minister and to be a mission school teacher a man must have a minimum of Standard 4 education. The minister's and the teacher's achievements are equal, educationally, but the minister has precedence in terms of status because he is God's representative.

Christian men are supposed to be superior to the pagans in their beliefs and in their behavior. They may not smoke, drink, take more than one wife, nor participate in any of the traditional rituals, including praying to the ancestors. This, of course, creates a division in Rjonga village life. Brothers may be divided because one is Christian and the other not. Their values, therefore, are different and the Christian considers himself bound only by Christian values, whereas the pagans consider him to be bound by all traditional values and custom whether or not he is Christian. Junod is very explicit about the effect of Christianity on the Rjonga (1962: 543):

The old customs, the sacred superstitions, many articles of the Native code, are rejected by the converts. They remain generally very submissive to the authority of their chief, pay their taxes, join the army, but, should the Authorities summon a "nyiwa," a gathering of the clan to smell out the witches, should statue labour be ordered for a Sunday, etc., their conscience does not allow them to obey.

On the other hand Native converts, under their white missionary, generally form a Church, which sometimes becomes a kind of imperium in imperio, subject to its own laws. This is the necessary consequence of bad, or immoral, heathen customs (beer-drinking, lobola, polygamy) which the Christian ideal cannot tolerate. A deep gulf is thus created between Christians and heathens, and this also weakens the tribal life.

If a couple both belong to a church they may take their marital problems to their minister. If only one of them belongs, however, the church may not interfere because of the strong value against interfering in family affairs. It is not unusual for a pagan man to number a Christian among his wives. He is in no way bound by her beliefs, however, and she still owes him the absolute obedience expected of all wives. She may go to church, with his permission, but she should not involve him in the doings of the church nor should she consult the minister about any problems she has at home. I was told that most of the converts to Christianity are women, drawn by the proscription of polygamy by the churches. It is certainly true that women far outnumbered men at all Christian functions I attended.

Besides the association of Christianity and education and the resulting shared prestige, education is valued independently as the only way that the Rjonga can come to terms with the Portuguese. Almost all privileges and well-paid jobs are predicated on a Standard 4 education: it is necessary to get a driver's license, to teach at an official or mission school, to become a nurse,

etc. Also the Portuguese reward education and command of the Portuguese language in various ways not directly related to jobs and wages. The Portuguese value education, verbal skills, cleanliness, and good clothing regardless of race. The Rjonga have been under direct control of the Portuguese, unlike other tribes in Moçambique, for the last 100 years and have learned this thoroughly. The Rjonga value these same traits not per se but because of the effect they will have on their status in Portuguese eyes.

Another source of newly acquired values is the Portuguese themselves because their taxation of the Rjonga made it necessary for them to enter the cash economy. Thus the Rjonga have learned that money is necessary in order to survive, as well as to provide the outward vestiges of a "civilized" man--good clothes, metal pots and pans, a radio, a cement house with zinc roof, and--the ultimate--a car. But the Portuguese among themselves accord more prestige to a highly educated, well-mannered person than to a very rich person who lacks "culture." The Rjonga know this and thus have a double motive for according higher prestige to church and education than to material wealth. Furthermore this hierarchy of values is reinforced by the Rjonga's own value system which suspects undue wealth either because its possessor is a witch, or because he has failed in his obligations to help his family and to share (through hospitality) with his friends and neighbors.

All of the acquired values are superimposed on the traditional Rjonga value system. Less emphasis is placed, by all Rjonga, on upholding church or Portuguese-introduced values than on upholding their own value system. The values of the church are completely foreign to Rjonga life, particularly those which forbid polygamy, drinking, smoking, and the principal motive for abiding by them is their prestige value in the eyes of the Portuguese. And a Rjonga who gets along successfully in the Portuguese milieu is accorded a high status among his peers and elders. Christian values are expedient to a Rjonga, but this does not detract from their prestige one whit. In a dispute, however, the village considers a person as a Rjonga subject to traditional law and custom and his status as Christian will not protect him from the censure of the village should he not behave rightly. In fact, although the pagans do not share the Christian's values, they will censure him the more if he behaves contrary to custom because they agree that a Christian is better than a pagan. His fall from grace is consequently greater than a pagan's similar lapse. Thus there is explicit recognition of the two value systems and, in the ordinary course of events, the prestige and virtue of the Christian value system is recognized by everyone. The newer values become ineffective, however, when they are brought into open conflict with the traditional value system, and this can put a Christian Rjonga into a dilemma.

Although all Rjonga admire Christians and educated people, not all Rjonga are either or both. On the other hand, all Rjonga have fully embraced not only the necessity for but the desirability of money, and bend their efforts to that end. Thus a man will act to preserve his material status at the expense of his status as a good Christian and educated man if these two statuses should happen to conflict. This has the effect, slow but perceptible, of breaking down traditional patterns of cooperation and undermines filial obligations of respect to poor, less advantaged fathers and brothers. The old men say that money is what is destroying their old ways, and I often heard the proverb: "The white man has no kin; his kin is money."

CHAPTER IV

TWIXT CHURCH AND STATE: A CASE

Mitini's first school was established by a member of one of the most prominent clans of the village on his return from a period of labor in the South African mines around the beginning of this century. This man has come to be called the "evangelist" by the people of the village, and he is their most recent culture hero because of his efforts on behalf of the village. One of the young men of Mitini recently wrote a short history of the school, dealing principally with the Evangelist's life and how he came to build a school for his people. The article is entitled "The Origin of Mitini," which in itself points up the importance people give to their school. "Mitini" was the name given to the school, and the village came to be known by that name, the school being its outstanding characteristic and principal point of pride. Since the article contains so much of the flavor of the people's attitude toward their Evangelist and towards education I will reproduce it here as background to the case which follows.

Mudondjisa was born in Mitini when the people still did not know how to count or read. When he was a young boy he went to live by the river, in the region which is called Matxinana, with his uncle. On attaining his majority he accompanied his uncle on the daring adventure that they undertook barefoot, cutting through the bush going to Benoni, bearing towards Johannesburg, to get the money to lobolo a wife. After a long time and innumerable sufferings they arrived at Benoni. For Mudondjisa it was the first time that he had gone and so he could not understand anyone speaking in Zulu. He and his uncle worked for some time, and afterwards they completed the rest of the journey by train.

In Johannesburg they lived in the compound, and various tribes were mixed together although those from the East lived separately from the others. Mudondjisa did not cease to satisfy his curiosity, going to hear lessons in Zulu principally, because he had to know the language so he could work. In a short time Mudondjisa assimilated the Zulu language and during his free hours he read his books with a willingness which invited him to know more things about what he saw in that very strange environment.

One day when he was strolling through a village which lay around the compound he passed a hut where he saw a Zulu mother seated with her son who was teaching his mother to read and write. Mudondjisa approached respectfully and heard the mother say: 'Enough, my son. I will study tomorrow.' Mudondjisa withdrew from the place but he nevermore forgot this sentence which became the foundation for the education of a village. "When I return to my land I will teach my mother and father to read and write and about the existence of God," said Mudondjisa.

Truly when he returned to Mitini he told the children to gather firewood and at night he called near to him his parents and people of the family, and he began to teach them to write on the ground around the large fire. Thus was given the first step of education in that village, and the people were enchanted and attributed witchcraft to the art of writing, and said Mudondjisa was the biggest witch who, with a piece of paper, succeeded in speaking with a person who was far away. The reputation of this witch spread throughout the region and people came so that Mudondjisa could read to them the letters that their husbands and sons sent them from Jone [Johannesburg].

Some time later Mudondjisa ordered that a hut be bought and the classes began to take place inside that hut, and not out of doors. It was at this time that the pastor Junod appeared and encouraged him in the prestigious work

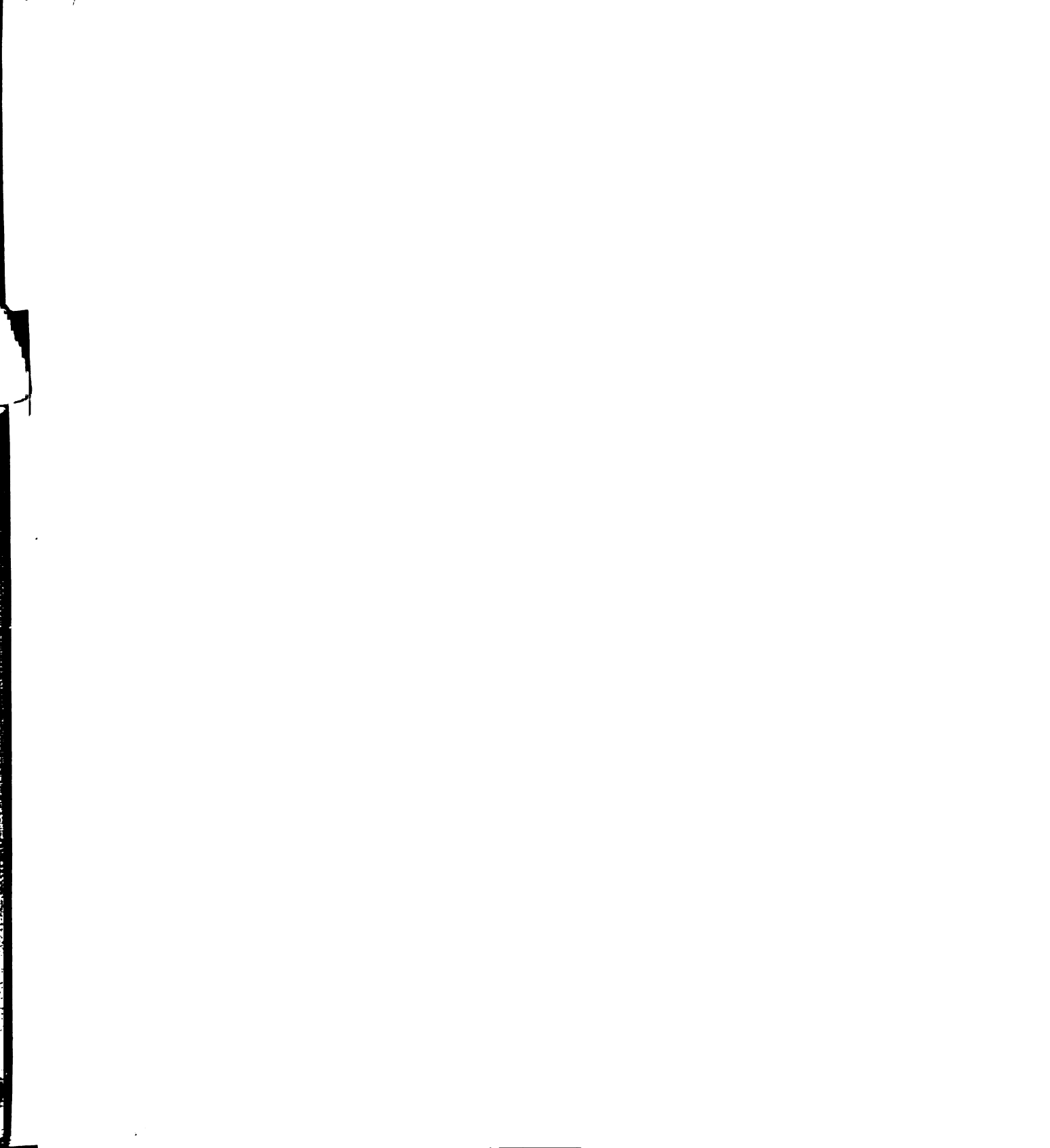
of teaching, which caused the numbers of his pupils to increase. Then they decided to take up a subscription and they succeeded in building a hut which, not long after, was succeeded by a masonry house.

Mudondjisa was very intelligent. He foresaw the future of his generation and knew very well that those simple people needed to know how to spell out the letters of the alphabet in Rjonga so they could communicate with their people who were in the Jone mines. But, he knew, the next generation would need to make contact with European peoples and, thus, very early he sent his son, Nwavangela, to the city of Lourenço Marques to learn Portuguese. When this one returned he managed to continue and develop the work of his father, and in 1934 the school [Swiss Mission] was inaugurated which was baptized with the name of "School of Mitini."

There are several striking things about this article. First is its flavor of "fireside tale"; it is written in the same style used by the people when they gather around their fires at night to tell the old stories. This in itself guarantees that Mudondjisa's memory will live on in the stories of his people, because this tale is told much as it was written by the author of the article I have translated. The article was written in Portuguese because it was intended for publication in a city newspaper to demonstrate the ambition and will to learn among the Rjonga.

Another important feature of the piece is the identification of education and Christianity; the two go hand in hand. Very significant is the fact that Junod's praise of the Evangelist's work "increased the number of his pupils."

Last is the author's statement that the Evangelist's great intelligence lay in recognizing that learning to read



and write Rjonga would not be sufficient for the next generation who "would need to make contact with European peoples." The necessity of learning how to interact successfully in the Portuguese milieu is clearly recognized by the Rjonga, and this explains why those who do learn Portuguese, and who acquire jobs with the Portuguese, are accorded such a high status today.

It should be noted that until 1969 no official schools, meaning government sponsored schools, were allowed in the bush. Only the various missions could build schools in the bush and the certificates they award are not recognized in the city when such are required for a job. This forces a Rjonga, or any other tribesman, to go into a city if he wants schooling which will be officially recognized. Nevertheless the mission schools served a vital function in teaching the children, and young adults, to read and write Portuguese so that they could then enter city schools if they chose. For those not interested in having jobs in the city the mission school taught them enough of the language to get by in their necessary transactions with the Portuguese, and--at the same time--increased their prestige in the eyes of their fellows.

The Swiss Mission subsidized the building of a school house-church in Mitini in 1934 and provided mission teachers for it. The mission owns the land on which the house is built, and owns the building, but it no longer plays any part in the school itself. After some time the

school was closed down by the authorities. It was opened again, briefly, after some time, then closed down again.

Finally, just a few years ago, some of the elders of the village, including a brother (half-brother) of the Evangelist, requested some of the young men who were living in the city and going to school to help them open their village school again. After much discussion and many meetings the young men, who came to be known as the "city school-board members," agreed to help organize a village-run and sponsored school. In due course people were chosen to belong to the Mitini school board, most of them elders of Mitini but some also of other villages whose children would walk into Mitini for school each day. There were some women put on the school board also; these were important women, the people said, but the major reason in having them was their ability to pay the 100\$ "foundation fee" charged of all school board members. Each household in the village was also charged 10\$; all of this money was to buy books and equipment for the children. In addition there were "matriculation fees" charged of each child, but these were minimal (about a quarter). From these revenues the school teacher's salary was to be paid each month. In all the arrangements and planning, the young "city school board members" played a major role. The people of the village relied on them for their know-how in what to teach, how classes should be organized, choosing an appropriate teacher, and getting contributions from any Portuguese

they had contact with in the city. Thus the city members' board was held to be more important than the village school board because they had more power to effect results. Their collective success in the city (meaning higher education and better jobs) afforded them the prestige necessary to sway indifferent or even hostile villagers who could see no purpose in paying out 10\$ for a school, particularly if they had no children who would attend the school.

There was an early controversy regarding who would teach, and this is important to the background of the case which follows. In the beginning the village chief (since deposed because he "ate" the people's money and tricked and deceived them in other matters) was very interested and involved in the creation of the village school. When all of the arrangements were complete and the consent of the mission to use their building obtained, the question of who would teach arose. Muntwana, the chief, said he had arranged a man for the job, a stranger to the village. The young men from the city chose one of themselves, Valente (the main protagonist in the case), as the professor of the school to work with Francisco, the man lined up by the village chief. To show their appreciation of the village efforts in obtaining a professor, the city members said they would pay Valente's salary out of their own pocket for the first three months. This was their financial contribution to the school. At the time Valente had a job in the city.

At one of the first school board meetings in the village, a "general assembly" meeting open to everybody who cared to come, Francisco was asked to speak to introduce himself and to tell something about himself. He said he had been promised the job by the chief and that he had been introduced to the Evangelist (then a very old man) and to his younger brother Tomas. The members of the school board were annoyed that none of these three people (the chief, the Evangelist, or his brother Tomas) had come to the meeting to present Francisco as custom and etiquette demands. When asked what financial arrangements he had made with the chief, Francisco said it had not been discussed; he had only agreed to teach in their school. The matter was dropped and arrangements were made for a villager who was teaching at a mission school in another village to come help Francisco and Valente divide the children into grades, and to help them make up a teaching program. At the end of the meeting Francisco requested a place to live, food, soap, and tea as part of his salary. The board told him he would have to wait until the chief was present before any commitments could be made.

This meeting took place in October of 1963. Before the next meeting, scheduled for the next month, there was a dispute between Valente and Francisco, the chief's candidate for professor. One of the city members had been given several school books by a Portuguese friend as a contribution to the school. Valente was put in charge of

selling these books to children to make money to provide equipment for children whose parents could not afford it. Valente had gone to visit the Evangelist and left seven books on the table in his house. When he returned he found the books gone, and discovered that Francisco had sold them and kept the money. After waiting a day Valente went to Francisco and asked him about it; Francisco said he had kept the money "to eat on." At this time Francisco was living with the chief, who hoped to keep him as a "paying guest." Valente and Francisco quarreled and finally Francisco went off to get the chief who returned with him to Valente's house; the Evangelist also came with him. The chief was very angry and told Valente that the school would be closed because the authorities did not like it. The people had not gone to the Portuguese authorities to request permission to run a school; according to the chief, this had angered them. The three men told Valente that the children should be sent home. The following day Francisco rang the school bell to open the school but Valente did not go. At recess Francisco went to Valente's house to ask why he had not gone; Valente said he had refused to go because the chief said the school should be closed. Francisco tried to appease Valente, saying the chief had only been angry and that the authorities actually had not said anything at all about closing the school. Valente still refused to go, and Francisco went off to get the

Evangelist to convince Valente. He still refused to go, even threatening the Evangelist with a beating if he did not leave his house and stop pestering him. The two men left and Francisco taught alone for two days; finally he went to Davida, the president of the village school board and the chief's ndjuna (lieutenant, second-in-command), who also was a good friend of Valente's. Davida persuaded Valente to return to the school.

I was told about this dispute by several people and Valente had written it down in his diary, which is the actual source of my account. Valente said that he was annoyed by the chief's meddling, that the man's only concern was to eat the people's money by having the professor live with him. Also significant in this current dispute were feelings arising from an older one which directly concerned Valente and Muntwana, the chief. Muntwana had married Valente's younger sister some six years prior to this time, against Valente's express wish. Valente based his objections to the marriage on three grounds: his sister and the chief were too closely related, being classificatory siblings; Muntwana had married three other women who had divorced him and Valente worried about this, because it showed the chief must be a bad husband; and, lastly, the chief had not loboloed any of his wives. Valente did his best to dissuade his sister from marrying Muntwana but she did not heed his advice; she eloped with the chief, telling Valente that their

older brother, Nkosi, approved. The chief did not pay the full lobolo for this his fourth wife, but only 1000\$ of it, which was not sufficient to register her at the Administration and thus give him all rights in his wife and children. Valente was outraged by his sister's stupidity and what he took to be his older brother's cupidity; he was sure that Muntwana had given Nkosi some money to buy beer and had thus obtained his tacit approval to the marriage. Nkosi was not a Christian, whereas Valente, Mandjia (his sister), and Muntwana were--the latter only nominally because he had multiple wives and was a beer drinker. He assumed this status as one befitting the village chief, but he played no active role in church affairs. He took a second wife after a few years of his marriage to Valente's sister. Furthermore Valente had always supported and cared for his sister, whereas their older brother Nkosi had done nothing. The deed was done, however, and a few years later Muntwana moved his muti next door to Valente's, after the chief's father died. Although they were neighbors there was still bad blood between Muntwana and Valente because the latter felt his sister had been tricked. He also accused his brother-in-law, the chief, of taking his chickens and eating them--a complaint made by many of the villagers about their chief.

Given this background, the dispute between Valente and Francisco and the Evangelist takes on more meaning. The people say there is no recourse to a bad

chief (although this is not strictly true, witness Muntwana's subsequent deposition) and one must only submit to him. Add to this the fact that the chief was also Valente's brother-in-law, and neighbor, and there is a situation in which anger and frustration must necessarily be bottled up. Francisco was the chief's protege and so afforded a natural target for the displacement of Valente's anger; anyone aligning himself with Francisco would also be a target for Valente's wrath, and hence he threatened to beat up the Evangelist. This is an expression of the Rjonga trait of "taking sides" in a dispute which I have mentioned earlier.

The situation remained thus until the next meeting of the school board in November, which the chief attended. The president of the city school board asked if Francisco were coming and the chief said no. They asked the chief if he knew Francisco's house, which meant they were asking if he knew anything about his character. Muntwana said he did not and further said he would send the would-be professor away. Davida, the president of the village school board, took out and read a letter sent to him by Francisco; at this point the man appeared. The letter stated that Francisco had bought supplies at a local store on credit and that the village would have to pay his bill; in addition he demanded that a house be built for him, that he be paid a salary of 300\$ a month, and that his food be bought for him. When questioned about his salary,

Francisco said he was not sure yet and would let the board know the definite amount he required by January of the following year. A big argument ensued; the chief took the teacher's part, but it culminated in the school board dismissing Francisco after paying him 300\$ for the work he had already done. This left Valente as the only teacher of the school. The men from the city stood by their promise to pay his salary of 300\$ for the first three months; after that he would be paid 500\$ a month out of the monies collected from matriculation fees, sale of books, etc.

At the next meeting, at the end of December of 1963, the minutes of the school board meetings show that the chief, Muntwana, had been making trouble for the school board. He had demanded money of them, basing his claim on the chief's right to be paid at the beginning of any new venture so that he would know "the beginning of the cases" and be able to judge disputes. That is, a new doctor or diviner or vendor of beer must always go announce themselves to the chief and pay him an annual fee so that he would know of their activities and be prepared to hear cases which resulted from these activities. The chief sent a man to Davida, who was also his ndjuna, making the demand. At this school board meeting Davida asked if anyone from the board had gone to speak to the chief about the matter, and Fernando (another younger brother of the Evangelist) said he had. Fernando had told the chief that

the board would call on him in a week to discuss his having sent someone to ask for money. The chief had told Fernando to tell them not to come to him but to go speak to Davida. In this way Muntwana put Davida into a quandry because his two roles of ndjuna to the chief and president of the village school board were in conflict. As the chief's second-in-command Davida had to reinforce the chief's claim to the money; as president of the school board he had to try to fight against it.

Later in the meeting it came out that the chief had removed all of the chairs from the church (which was also used as the school building) and had taken them to his house. There was some discussion and it was apparently agreed that a delegation would be sent to ask the chief about this. The minutes gloss over this and the chief's claim to a fee from the school board. When I inquired about this from other members of the board I was told that the cases were finished; this is an expression of the Rjonga value that after a case has been judged and a person punished, there must be no further discussion of it. Nor should a person ever be reminded of his former sins if he has already atoned for them; this also extends to not discussing a person's transgressions with him unless one is a principal party in a dispute. However, when I first arrived in Mitini I was forbidden by the king and by my sponsors to speak with Muntwana, who was deposed about a week after my arrival. I was told that he had "funny

things in his head" and that I should ignore him. When I told the king that his classificatory son had come to visit me, I saw the king in a rage for the first and last time; he forbade me again to speak with the ex-chief and yelled that it was he who gave the orders, not Muntwana. One of the things I was told by some of the elders was that Muntwana had been an "enemy of the school" from the beginning. I do not know the resolution of the chief's demand for money; I do know that the chairs were returned to the church-school, but have no more information on how this was accomplished. However, the information I have is sufficient to show that Muntwana was indeed an enemy of the school, and this will be significant in the case which follows.

After Muntwana was deposed, his ndjuna Davida acted as chief of the village. About a year later (in 1969) there was a meeting of the whole village called by the king to elect a new chief because, he said, many people had come to complain to him about Davida's lack of fitness for the job--among other things he was Mitini's most notorious adulterer, and adultery is easily the village's favorite pastime. That is another case; however, there are two important points to be made about this. One is that the chief's second-in-command is, like our vice-president, the acting chief in the absence of his superior; he is also supposed to be of one mind with the chief, at least publicly, in all things. The second point is that

Davida, after he became the acting chief, acted in much the same way Muntwana had. The people said the situation was the king's fault because the two should have been removed from office at the same time; that is, the acts of one are thought to be the acts of the other. If the chief is bad so is his ndjuna, because it is the ndjuna's duty to advise his chief and correct him if he behaves in an unseemly fashion. Davida's dilemma at the time of the case which follows was because of this: In all things pertaining to the village it was his duty to support his chief; but he was also supposed to advise him. However, the ndjuna has no sanction and a chief can easily ignore his advice if he chooses, which means the ndjuna must then follow him and be tarred by the same brush. The only sanction against the chief is that the people can go directly to the king, as they did in this case, and by their complaints succeed in having the chief removed from office. Davida, obviously, had to follow Muntwana's lead because Muntwana, as an elder told me later, refused to "hear the words of his advisors." At the same time, though, Davida was also president of the village school board, and the chief was an enemy of the school. Furthermore, Davida and Valente were good friends; but Muntwana and Valente were not, despite being neighbors and brothers-in-law. All of this is pertinent to Valente's troubles which began in 1966, the second full school year of the new village-run school.

Resume

Valente, the school teacher when the school was supported by the village, and a good member of the Swiss Mission church, impregnated an unmarried girl. This act violated one of the strongest values of the pagan Rjonga who say that an impregnated, unmarried girl is "spoiled" because she is not entitled to a lobolo if her despoiler refuses to marry her. It also violated strong church values because a Christian is supposed to be better than other people, and adultery is a sin against God. Furthermore, a man who is a school teacher is obligated to be an exemplar in his behavior for the children who are in his care. In many ways a school teacher is conceptualized as a minister of the church.

Trying to redeem his wrong, Valente took the girl home as his second wife, thus bringing the wrath of the church and school board, closely associated with the church, down upon his head. His impregnating Anna offended the pagans on two counts: Firstly, she was his neighbor, and neighbors are even closer than kin; they are the people who are near in time of trouble and answer calls for help in time of need whereas relatives may be far away. Secondly, it is very bad to impregnate an unmarried girl, at least before becoming engaged; after going through the engagement ceremony (ku-buta), a couple are expected to have sexual relations, and no stigma attaches to either if the woman should become pregnant.

When the case came to trial Valente denied that Anna was his wife, saying that they had made no arrangement for marriage, but only to live together. This statement was prompted by many of the pressures which had been brought to bear on him, and was designed to appease the church and school board members, thus safe-guarding his job. It satisfied the church but not the pagans, and this was Valente's dilemma throughout the case: by virtue of his achieved status he held contradictory values; in trying to uphold one set of values he violated the alternate set, and thus could not succeed in pleasing anyone.

The case was resolved only by the intervention of an outside authority figure, the Portuguese chief of police. Valente managed, with this powerful man's help, to get rid of Anna and to preserve his job and status as Christian without even paying the traditional fine. That is, the correcting process in this instance consisted of ignoring Valente's breach and not bringing it up anymore. As will be seen, the matter still rankled in his mind and apparently in the minds of other principals in the case, and had consequences which were apparent several years later.

The dominant values in this case are:

1. A Christian should not commit adultery; and he may not have two or more wives, simultaneously.

2. A Rjonga should not impregnate an unmarried girl; if he does, he must marry her or pay the 1500\$ fine and lose woman, child, and money.

Given the hierarchy of values discussed earlier, all Rjonga hold their traditional values to be more important than any of the introduced values, whether the source be church, state, or some other agency. Thus a man's violation of the church values would affect only members of the church who are deeply committed to it, and whose group image would be threatened by the actions of one of their members. On the other hand, a man's violation of the traditional values regarding unmarried girls would offend everyone. From the point of view of correcting the value violation, only the payment of the 1500\$ fine could satisfy pagans and Christians alike, although not in the same degree. That is, the pagans would far prefer to have a man marry the girl he has impregnated; this is unacceptable to the Christians, who can only insist that he pay the fine. But both groups do insist that some reparation is necessary.

Dramatic Personae

Since some forty or more people are involved in the case which follows it is best to give a very brief sketch of each one's position in the village. As can be seen from the genealogy (Figures 3 and 4) all are related

to each other in some way, several having more than one kind of kinship link.

1. ABEL Present at Valente's trial, but did not speak. Abel came to the village many years ago with his mother; he married into Anna's clan, one of the most powerful in the village. Not a Christian; lives in Valente's zone.
2. ALFONSO Anna's father and a principal in the case. He came to the village a few years ago with his two younger brothers, because his father's sister lived here. He married into one of the most powerful clans of the village, as did his brothers--each into a different clan. They are all nominal Christians, but Alfonso has two wives and thus is not considered a Christian by members of the church. His younger and favorite wife lives with him in the city where he works, the senior wife in the village with their children. He lives in Valente's zone.
3. ALFREDO A zone chief of the village, and Anna's mother's mother's brother's son; a principal in the case. Alfredo also belongs to the school board, and is a Christian. He is chief of Valente's zone.
4. ANDRE Valente's life-long friend; his mother belongs to Anna's clan and is the Evangela's sister. Andre's mother and Anna are classificatory siblings, so Anna is actually Andre's classificatory mother's sister although Andre is older. He is a Christian and lives in Valente's zone.
5. ANNA A major principal in the case, the unmarried girl whom Valente impregnated. Her mother is the Evangela's classificatory sister (patrilateral parallel cousins). She is a Christian and lives in Valente's zone.
6. ANTONIO Full brother to the zone chief, Alfredo, also Anna's classificatory mother's brother; a principal in the case. He is also married to a relative of another

principal in the case (Marcos). A Zionist; he lives in Valente's zone.

7. BELU A principal after the case was ostensibly ended. President of the city member's school board and a prime mover in opening the school; also a life-time friend of Valente's. He is related to Anna also; their mother's are classificatory siblings, although Belu is older than Anna. A Christian; his house is in Valente's zone where his mother, Eliza, lives.
8. BERNARDO Full brother of Alfonso, and Anna's father's younger brother; thus a principal in the case. Married into one of the powerful clans. A Christian; lives in Valente's zone.
9. CELESTE Anna's mother, a principal in the case. She is her husband's senior wife but lives alone in the village with their children. She and the Evangela are classificatory siblings. A Christian; lives in Valente's zone; a member of the church board.
10. DAVIDA President of the village school board; ndjuna to the village chief; member of one of the most powerful clans; a very good friend of Valente's. A principal in the case. Not a Christian; chief of another zone.
11. ELIZA A principal in the case; mother to Belu, president of the city school board. Eliza belongs to the church board; lives in Valente's zone.
12. ESTEL Full sister to Anna; present at the trial. Lives in Valente's zone.
13. EVANGELA (See MUDONDJISA.)
14. FAMBA Chief of another village, present at Valente's trial because he had come to hear another case on the same day. Spoke against Valente; not a Christian.
15. FENIAS Absent throughout most of this case, but becomes important in later events related to the case. An elder of Davida's clan (the president of the school board);

member of the church and school boards.
Lives in Davida's zone; a Christian.

16. FERNANDO A principal in the case; member of one of the most powerful clans; younger half-brother to the Evangela. He is also Anna's classificatory mother's brother, since he and Celeste are brothers' children. Member of the church board, but not of the school board. A Christian; he lives in Valente's zone.

17. FRANCISCO A minor character in the case; he is the stranger introduced by the village chief to be the new teacher in the village school. Dismissed by the school board; he continued to live in the chief's house afterwards, and attended Valente's trial.

18. JACOB One of the elders of Davida's clan; related to Valente's wife's head of household, and present at a family meeting. A Christian; he lives in Davida's zone.

19. JORGE Anna's full brother; a principal in the case. He acted as Anna's head of household in this case, in his father's absence. A Christian; lives in Valente's zone.

20. KOKWANA Anna's mother's mother; wife to the Evangela's father's brother; father's sister to Alfredo and Antonio. She spoke against Valente at his trial; not a Christian. Lives in Valente's zone.

21. MAHETCHE Present at Valente's trial; came to the village many years ago to live with his mother's parents. Related to all of the powerful clans; married to a woman of Anna's clan. Not a Christian; lives in neither Valente's nor Davida's zones; an elder of the village.

22. MAKALABASI An elder of Davida's clan; related to Valente's wife's head of household. Makalabasi is also a village elder and co-chief of Davida's zone.

23. MAKWAKWA Present at Valente's trial; village elder and a zone chief. Member of Anna's clan.



Not a Christian; lives in a fourth zone (distinct from any of the others mentioned).

24. MANDJIA Valente's younger sister who eloped with the chief. A Christian; lives in Valente's zone.
25. MANDLOVO Present at Valente's trial; village policeman, village elder. Is Valente's classificatory mother's brother. Not a Christian; lives in Valente's zone.
26. MANUEL An elder of Davida's clan, and the man whom Valente treats as if he were his father. Manuel and Valente are classificatory siblings, but because of the great difference in their ages Valente calls him "father." Also a close friend, associate, and kinsman of Tomas, half brother to the Evangela, thus related to Anna also. An elder of the village; his presence is required at all trials. Formerly a Christian; lives in Valente's zone.
27. MAPULA Present at Valente's trial; elder of the village; a policeman of the village. Came to the village many years ago with his father's younger brother; related to all the powerful clans, married into Davida's clan. Not a Christian; lives in Valente's zone.
28. MARCOS A principal in the case; a member of both the church and school boards. Came to the village long ago with his mother who was a daughter of the Evangela's father's brother. He is Anna's classificatory brother, although much older than she. A Christian; lives in Valente's zone. (He is also own mother's brother to Belua, the president of the city school board.)
29. MUDONDJISA Also called the EVANGELA; elder of one of the most powerful clans; introducer of education and Christianity to the village. He is Anna's classificatory mother's brother. A Christian; lives in Valente's zone.

- MUNTWANA** A principal in the case; village chief; divorced from two women of Anna's clan. Valente's neighbor, brother-in-law, and classificatory sibling. Not a Christian; lives in Valente's zone.
- MUSONGI** Present at Valente's trial. Muntwana's mother; moved here with her husband and family when her husband became chief. Lives with her son. Not a Christian; lives in Valente's zone.
- NANGA** Present at Valente's trial. Eldest living member of Davida's clan; village elder; zone chief. Not a Christian; does not live in Valente's zone.
3. **NKOSI** Present at Valente's trial; Valente's and Mandjia's own older brother. Lives next door to Valente; not a Christian.
34. **RAMONA** Present at Valente's trial; a relative of Anna's, exact kinship link unsure. Not from the village.
35. **ROSA** Principal in the case. Member of the church board. Matrilateral cross-cousin of Makwakwa, also of Anna's clan; related to the two other powerful clans also. Married into village. Christian; lives in Valente's zone.
36. **RUTI** Principal in the case, indirectly. Valente's wife, married into village. She has a classificatory grandmother, and classificatory head of household is Solomon (see below), because his biological father had the same surname as hers. Christian; lives in Valente's zone.
37. **SUBULA** Valente's mother, married into village; belongs to chief's clan. Not a Christian; lives in Valente's zone (in his house).
38. **SOLOMON** Principal in the case; member of both church and school boards. His social father, whose surname he uses, was brother to Davida's father's father; he is also head of household to Ruti, Valente's wife, because his biological father and hers are of the same clan, and he is the only person in the village of her clan besides

her classificatory grandmother (who married into the village). A village elder. Christian; does not live in Valente's zone, but in Davida's.

SUZANA

A principal in the case. She is Fernando's second wife, thus the Evangela's sister-in-law. She is also father's sister's daughter to her husband's older brother's wife. Member of the church board. A Christian, she lives in Valente's zone.

TCHUKELA

Present at Valente's trial; Valente's own father's younger brother. Not a Christian; lives in Valente's zone, but not with Valente.

TOMAS

Present at Valente's trial. Village elder whose closest associate is Manuel, the man whom Valente treats as if he were a father; Tomas' presence is also required at all village trials. He is half-brother to the Evangela, older full brother to Fernando, and also a classificatory mother's brother to Anna. Not a practicing Christian; lives in Valente's zone. Member of the school board.

VALENTE

Major principal in the case; village school teacher, secretary of the village school board. His father and father's brothers moved to this village many years ago; later all of the father's brothers except Tchukela moved back to their native village. Related to Manuel and Davida as well as to the chief, Muntwana; he is classificatory sibling as well as brother-in-law to the chief, his neighbor. A Christian since he was eighteen years old and cured of a near-fatal disease in the Mission hospital.

VICENTE

Present at Valente's trial. Belongs to Davida's clan; his brothers-in-law are the Evangela's brother, Anna's father, and the chief's classificatory father. Not a Christian; does not live in Valente's nor Davida's zone. (His son lives with Tomas.)

44. ZAKARIA Principal in the case; of another village; member of both the church and school boards. Classificatory son of the Evangela, thus classificatory sibling of Anna's, although much older. A Christian; lives in neighboring village.
45. ZINYAWA Present at Valente's trial. Life-long friend of Valente's; classificatory sibling of Anna. Not a Christian; belongs to chief's clan; lives in Valente's zone.

It is evident that not all of these people are important to the case, for some were involved because of a status which required their presence at Valente's trial, or because of a close kinship connection with principals in the case. Others were brought into the case, at least peripherally, because Valente tried to recruit their support. As will be seen, he failed in all cases to mobilize active support until he began to operate in the traditional mode, as it were.

One of the most interesting features of the case, which it is useful to know before the fact, is the personal sense of grievance Valente felt against his erstwhile friend, Davida. I have already outlined Davida's dilemma caused by his conflicting roles as ndjuna to the chief (enemy of the school) and as president of the village school board. Also Davida and Valente have a very tenuous kinship link (see Figure 3); they usually do not address each other by a kinship term, however, each using the term "father" in addressing the other. This is the standard term of respect used by men of the same approximate age if

they do not recognize a kinship connection. Occasionally I heard Davida address Valente as "son," and when I inquired I was told this was because of their kinship connection through Manuel who is Davida's classificatory father's brother. Davida used this term only when he was trying to win Valente's assenting opinion to a specific issue, however.

From my personal knowledge of these two men, and through long conversations with Valente about it, I know that some of his behavior in this case was dictated by his sense of outrage at being abandoned and betrayed, as he saw it, by Davida who ultimately opted to follow his chief's lead. Also most of the people in this case live either in the zone of which Davida was chief, or in the zone Valente lives in.

A full account of the events in Valente's case, written double space for the reader's convenience because the case is long, can be found in Appendix A.

All of these events transpired several years before my arrival in Mitini. Valente, himself, told me about the case to explain his enmity with certain people in the village, and to explain the background to some current disputes involving school affairs. The school had been closed down by the authorities just a few months before my arrival, but there was still school business pending which was the cause of much agitation among those involved. I had access to the minutes of the school board

meetings because Valente was secretary for the board and wrote them. There were also several meetings of the board, after my arrival, and I was allowed to tape these; the resulting transcripts run into hundreds of pages which make very clear the factions and issues whose source was the present case. A year after my arrival an official school, brought by professors sent from the city, was authorized by the Governor-General and inaugurated by him. He made a gift of money to the village school board as a gesture of appreciation for all their efforts on behalf of their people. The disposition of this money created great trouble and provoked many more meetings of the board at which Valente's case with Anna again became an issue.

That the consequences of this one case should be reaching in time is partially explained, I think, by the fact that the case was never resolved by traditional Rjonga means, nor even by Rjonga Christian values. It was ended by the intervention of a powerful authority figure extraneous to the village. Thus there was never a meeting of the principals in the case and the traditional Rjonga people were working together to show that the "case had died." Nor did Valente ever meet with Anna's parents to have a family meeting together, with the same object. Thus the case "did not," and the hard feelings generated continued to surface occasionally when related matters came up.

The source of any conversations are Valente's notes; he has kept detailed accounts of everything which

s happened to him, and which has occurred in the village, importance since he learned to read and write at the age eighteen. Every evening before going to sleep, no matter how tired, he writes in these diaries. I have had many occasions to check the accuracy of his written accounts, and am most impressed by them. He might leave out some information out, at times; everything which he includes is correct to the minutest detail.

Figures 3 and 4

The complexities of Rjonga kinship and marriage can be seen in these two figures. The forty-five people who appear in an appearance in this case are all shown on these two figures which actually comprise a single genealogy. Several have multiple links to each other. The numbers represent their alphabetical order in the biographical sketches which are on pages 188-194.

People represented by a letter of the alphabet (I do not use the letter "O") are connecting links and are used to show the relationships between people on Figures 3 and 4. In some cases the same person, represented either by a number or a letter, appears more than once on the same figure and/or on both figures. See, for example, J 30 on Figure 3.

The principals in Valente's case belong primarily to one of three clans, or are related to one of these three clans. Figure 3 shows the relationships from the

point of view of the Evangela's clan (he is 13/29).

Figure 4 shows the relationships from the point of view of Samuel's and Davida's clan (26 and 10, respectively). I do not provide a genealogy from the point of view of the third clan which is the royal one. These connections are shown through the chief (30) and the two kings (Figure 4).

The virtual impossibility of providing only one genealogy is shown by the complications represented by Davida's (10) kin ties. Figure 3 shows he is brother-in-law to the Evangela (13/29) and also shows that his son married the Evangela's granddaughter (her father is 4). Figure 4 shows Davida's close connection with the royal clan, and thus with the chief (30). The exact relationship between the two kings shown on Figure 4 can be determined by looking at Figure 1.

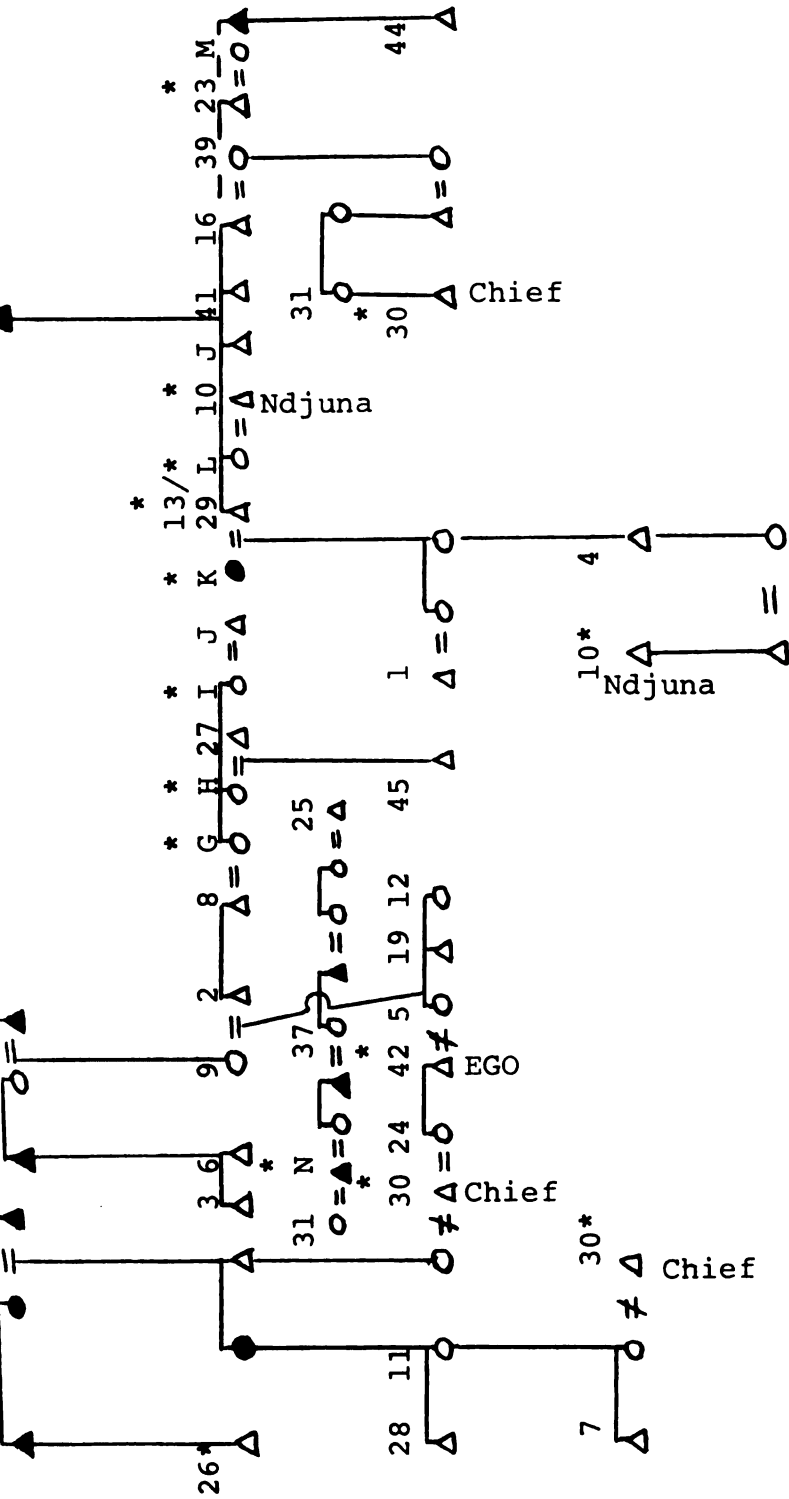


Figure 3.--Genealogy of people in the case.

*Shows links with Figure 4.

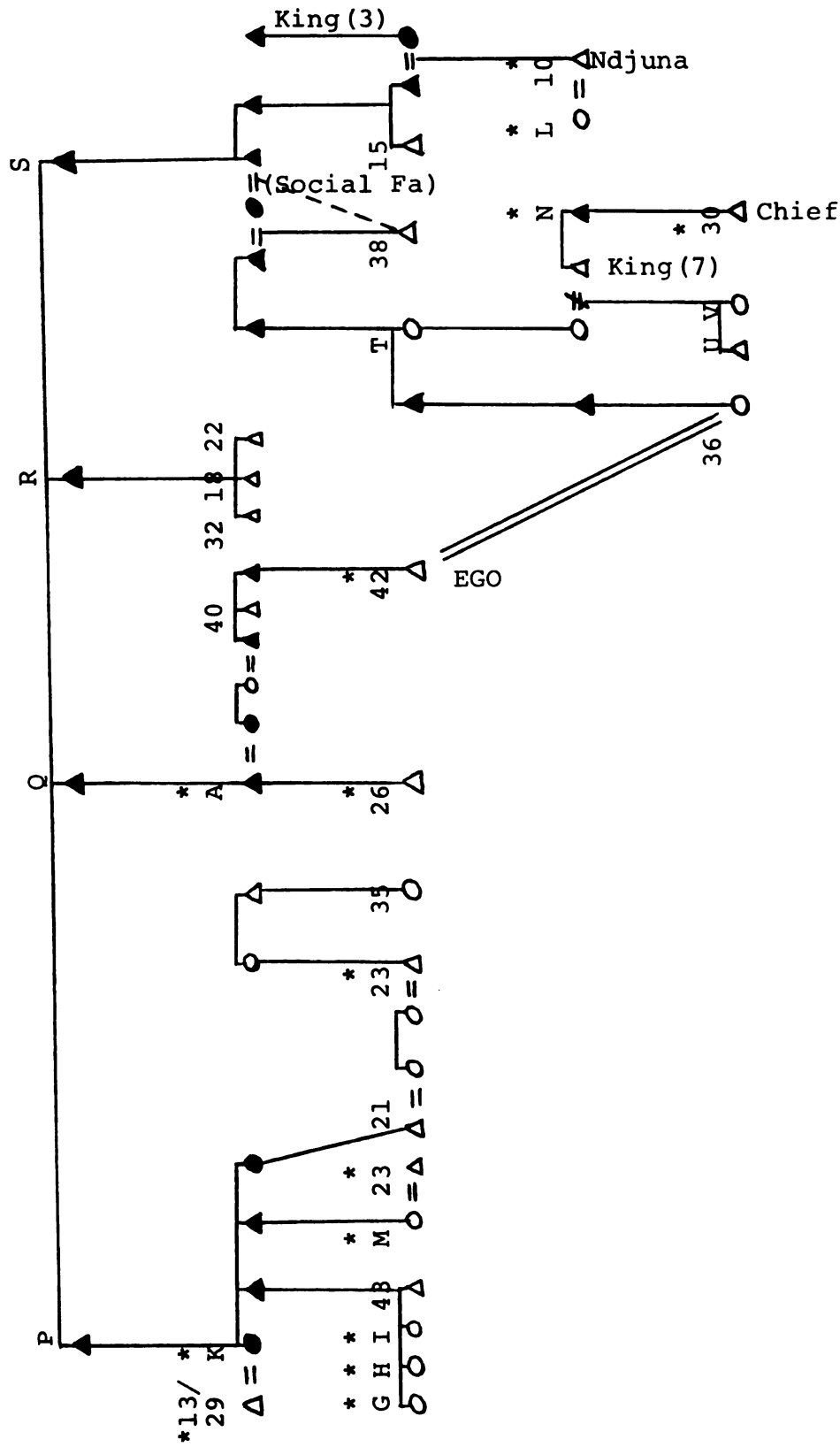


Figure 4.--Genealogy of the people in the case.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE CASE

Procedure

Loosening and correcting are only the names of two very large classes or processes. To identify something as either loosening or correcting is the most preliminary step in its analysis. What is necessary, then, is to identify a particular sequence of events which are all related to the process in question, and to assign the events and related process to a general category of either loosening or correcting processes within the larger class of all loosening or all correcting processes. As I go through the case, event sequence by event sequence, I will attempt to define the process and give it a name so that at the end of the analysis it will be possible to make some generalizations about specific kinds of processes, when they are used, when they are successful, the social scope of success and/or failure, the overlap of loosening and correcting, etc.

At the beginning of each event sequence I will briefly summarize what has happened. A full account of

the events is given in Appendix A, pages 416-451. After the summary of each sequence of events I will analyze what has happened, including in this analysis changes in the field and arena, as well as their content at the time of the events. This is vital because, as will be seen, different values become the focus of attention in different parts of the case, and the actors in the field change over time.

Field and Arena "At Rest"

A description of the field "at rest," that is before the events begin which mark the beginning of a case, should detail the status of the actors involved. This has been covered in some detail as relates to Valente: he was a Christian in good standing; he had some education (through Standard 3); he had had a job in the city which he gave up to become the village school teacher; he also had some training in giving medical aid in the form of prescribing and giving injections and applying ointments to wounds and bandaging them. These statements summarize Valente's achieved statuses. In so far as they concern his success in the larger milieu of Rjonga-Portuguese interaction they demonstrate that his was a high status from the Rjonga point of view. He reads, speaks, and writes Rjonga and Portuguese and had taught himself to do the same in English. His quality as a scholar is undisputed in the village, and everyone still

refers to his as "tisha" which means "teacher." The Rjonga use this term in a way which I took to be a summary of all of his statuses, and an indicator of his high moral status.

In addition to these achieved statuses, Valente was (and is) known as a good worker and successful agricultur-
alist. He is frequently asked by his kinsmen and friends and neighbors for help in the preparing of their fields for sowing. He had saved enough money to buy two heads of cattle which he used in plowing, and also owned a plow. He fished and hunts with good results, although his hunting is not for food but for birds which he trains to sing and then sells to Europeans and Orientals. His initiative in this enterprise is admired by all, including his elders, since it brings in a respectable income and involved considerable ingenuity.

Valente's family does not have a long history in Mitini. His father and father's brothers moved to the village after they were grown men. He does not know why they moved from their natal village. After a few years, the brothers not getting along well, all except Valente's father and his younger brother returned to their village of origin again. Valente's father's sister, however, had married the king of Nondjwana and this created a kinship link with all those of the royal clan. Valente grew up with the young heir to the throne, who lived in Mitini in his youth, and they herded goats together. Valente

remembers this with pride because Rjonga parents control their children's choice of playmates and forbid association with those they consider undesirable or unsuitable.

Valente told me that after he had gone to his mother's brother's village to herd cattle, he gained a reputation for being extremely wild, fierce, and stubborn. He says he thinks he was possessed by a devil. He also says he bitterly resented being sent to herd at that time because he had enrolled in Mitini's school and wanted to continue learning. There was no school in his mother's brother's village. This was when he was about ten years old. He stayed there for some eight years and when he returned to Mitini he left again, almost immediately, to get a job in the city. After a year's work there Valente contracted an illness which everyone said was fatal. He was put into a Swiss Mission hospital and there baptized prior to what everyone considered to be his imminent demise. To everyone's surprise he recovered, and he said from that time he lost his "wildness" and became a strong member of the church. He attributes his recovery to his baptism. He told me that after his case with Anna he felt wild and angry again, and did not know what was going to happen to him.

Valente had only completed Standard 3, and mission teachers are required to have a minimum of Standard 4 to teach in a mission school. This was not a deterrent in his becoming the village school teacher because the same

standards did not apply to this 'informal' school.

Valente, however, was aware of his failure to measure up to rigid requirements and this made him feel insecure in his job. Nevertheless he was considered to be one of the best men in the village because of his successful efforts at self-improvement which he then contributed, as it were, to the village for the sake of future generations. His status was verbalized in this way to me by several elders, as well as young men, in the village. He was compared to Christ who also gave up wealth in order to work "for the good of the people." Inasmuch as I can gather the status of school teachers in our country when they were supported by small communities I think it safe to say that Valente's status was much the same. The people came to him for help in writing letters, having their letters read to them, and for innumerable other bits of advice and information which pertained to the special skills he had. His "help with words" was also sought by his peers because he was 'good with words'; this followed, almost by definition, from his status as school teacher. As a teacher he was also considered a custodian of morals and was held up as an example to young children. This is an unusual status for a young man of thirty to hold among the Rjonga. Although he had been married for some six years at the time he became a teacher and had three children, men of his age are still considered 'unripe.' He would not be considered a mature man of sound opinions and worthwhile advice until

his children were at least half-grown, in the normal course of Rjonga life. His status was a heady brew even for a man less proud and self-willed than Valente is. I did not observe his behavior until after his case with Anna was over, as I have said. But in the twenty-one months following it I had almost daily contact with him and was well able to observe the quality of his interactions. Whenever his opinion was disagreed with, by peers or elders, he would become very angry and say "Listen, I know better than all of you because I am wiser and have more education" or words to that effect. He made constant reference to his superior ability. That this was probably symptomatic of a sense of insecurity is irrelevant to this case. If he behaved before his case as I saw him behaving after it (and some references by close friends of his lead me to believe this was the case) he could not fail to have generated resentment among his peers and elders. Valente's comportment was not unusual for an important man or a 'big man'; what was unusual was for a man of his age to behave in this way. Other successful young men whom I came to know very well still behaved with deference and respect to their peers and elders in the village, whatever their privately expressed opinions of these same people might be.

Anna's family background is very much like Valente's. Her people (father and father's younger

brothers) came to the village relatively recently; however, before they were married. Each of the brothers married into a powerful family in the village, thus becoming related to the Evangelist's family and to Davida's family. Anna's father used to belong to the Swiss Mission church and Anna and her mother still do. Her father took a second wife, with whom he lives in the city, and thus he no longer is a practicing Christian. Anna's mother, though, is a member of the church board. Anna had attended the school in Mitini and that is how she and Valente got to know each other well. She and her mother lived in the same zone as Valente and thus they were considered to be neighbors. In actual fact their respective miti are only five or ten minutes apart, so they really are neighbors. Anna's older brother lives in the same muti and is the acting head of household in his father's absence. The father does not get along well with his senior wife and rarely visits the bush, a fact which she (Celeste, the senior wife) bitterly resents. This constitutes a public insult and is a flagrant violation of valued behavior because men are not supposed to have favorites among their wives, and all wives should be given the same amount of attention--including sexual attentions.

Valente is happily married and his wife is considered to be an exceptionally good wife and mother. Ruti was a stranger to the village and has very few kinsmen; her own brother lives in another kingdom some distance

away and her father died as a prisoner far to the north while she was still little. She has a classificatory grandmother living in Mitini; this old woman married into the village and stayed on after her husband died. Through the dead man the old woman and Ruti are related to the royal clan; the old woman's daughter also became a wife of the king, but was later divorced. Ruti is brother's son's daughter to the old woman whom she thus calls "grandmother." In addition to this old woman Ruti has one other relative in the village, the elder Solomon who belongs to both the church and village school boards. Solomon and the old grandmother are classificatory siblings because Solomon's mother's second husband was the old woman's father's brother. Solomon and the old woman thus should have the same surname, but Solomon bears the surname of his social father--his mother's first husband who paid her lobolo. This man, Solomon's social father, belongs to Davida's clan and was an elder of the clan; Solomon today is also considered an elder of Davida's clan and is treated as a clansman by all of his social father's congeners (see Figure 4, 38 and T). This is in accord with valued, traditional behavior. At the same time, however, Solomon is considered the head of Ruti's lineage (and of the old woman's, Ruti's grandmother) because his biological father was of their clan and was real father's brother to the old woman. This was necessary, I was told, because there must be a male head to every household who will help 'with

words,' adjudicate disputes, act as family representative at need, etc. Solomon acted in this capacity for the old woman, his 'sibling'; after Ruti married into the village he also acted in that capacity for Ruti, although it is not the rule that wives have male kin living in their husband's village who can act for them. It was Ruti's brother, living in the distant village, who received her lobolo and who would have to act in a case concerning Ruti's lobolo.

Ruti also is very active in church affairs and was president of the young matron's group which met weekly; she sings in the choir and is one of the best voices. This is important since it contributes to village prestige at an annual contest of all village church choirs. Mitini has won this contest ten years in a row and that is a great source of pride to the entire village. The contest is judged by the white ministers and administrators of the church. I have mentioned that Valente is the strongest male voice in this choir and he is among those responsible for teaching the choir and leading rehearsals. The third strongest, and best, voice is Valente's younger sister's, Mandjia. She is married to the then-chief of the village, Muntwana, and they are Valente's closest neighbors. These three, Valente and Ruti and Mandjia, take great pride in their singing ability and the prestige they brought to the village as a result.

In addition to her activities in the church, Ruti is renowned as an excellent cook, hostess to her husband's

visitors, and maker of mahewu, a non-alcoholic drink. When others are giving parties Ruti is asked to come help make this drink because her recipe is superior to others'. She also is known as a very hard worker in the muti and in the fields, and as a skilled seamstress. Ruti has some education (she and Valente met in school) and can understand Portuguese to some extent, but does not speak it. I heard her constantly praised by other women and by Valente's friends who envied him his superior wife who is also very beautiful. Valente, and several of his friends, explicitly praised one particular virtue Ruti has to me: her ability to disguise any personal dissatisfaction or unhappiness she might be feeling. Valente said:

We could be quarreling and Ruti crying almost hysterically when someone knocked at the door. She immediately would stop crying, clean her face, and open the door with a smile and receive whoever was there well. She never showed that she was unhappy with me.

Valente's friends phrased their praise in almost exactly the same terms--that Ruti never deprecated her husband in the slightest way and never complained about anything, always supporting her husband in everything. Valente could bring people to his house for a meal at midnight and be assured that his wife would get up and fix them a meal cheerfully. It is no exaggeration, then, to say that this was a model couple in the village. Valente fulfilled his obligations to his wife by building her a good house of concrete, buying dishes and other equipment, and providing

her and their children with clothes, food, and medicine. Although not as lavish as a few other miti in the village, Valente's and Ruti's muti is obviously a well-to-do one, and always meticulously clean and in good repair. Last, Valente is very gratified that his wife and younger sister, Mandjia, get along so well and cooperate in domestic and agricultural chores. They could be considered to be very good friends and seek each other's company in preference to others'.

This summary, although somewhat lengthy, gives a good indication of the situation at the time Valente and Anna started having sexual relations. Anna, an unmarried girl, could not hope to compete in terms of prestige with Ruti, the really exceptional wife. Both Anna and Valente are Christians so their adultery was the worst possible conduct given all of the above factors. Christians should not commit adultery. This is an explicit value held by all Christians, but not held by all pagan Rjonga. Adultery is a very common occurrence in Mitini and elsewhere among the Rjonga. I was frequently amused by the cavalier and good-hunting attitude, as it were, that Rjonga men took to adultery. In many ways I think it is an institutionalized alternative for men who cannot afford second wives, or who do not want to submit themselves to the problems--as they conceptualize them--of polygamy. A mistress is treated as a wife in all of the important ways: she may go to her lover for money if she needs medicines, clothes, a fare

for bus or train. She calls on him for help in other matters such as plowing or clearing her fields, repairing structures in her muti, etc. These aids are for an unmarried woman, particularly a divorcee. Unmarried girls keep their affairs a secret unless they are hoping to marry the man (usually an unmarried man), in which case the possible legitimization of the affair is symbolized by the use of a go-between. An affair between an unmarried girl and a married man is conducted somewhat differently. Parties to an affair come to an explicit understanding of the ultimate outcome before they have sexual relations--that is, a man will declare that he will not marry the woman in question, and then it is up to her to decide if she will continue with the incipient relationship. Or a man will declare he wants to take another wife because his first is barren, or quarrelsome, or shows no respect for him, or some other reason(s). In cases where marriage is a possible outcome the woman may use a go-between, usually a sister or close friend. No go-betweens are necessary with a divorcee; a man does his courting directly and if an agreement is reached between them he often divides his time almost equally between his own muti and hers. He is acknowledged (that is, public) head of her muti and is called on when there are any business transactions concerning her.

When a young, unmarried man is courting an unmarried girl with marriage in mind the go-betweens (each

has one) are adults. Adulthood is a necessary requisite because the affair is thus conducted properly and has a witness who speaks to the girl's parents when the man comes 'to seek water': to make a formal request of the girl's parents. As I said in the earlier discussion on marriage, the go-between plays an important role in the engagement and marriage ceremonies and actually lives with the bride in her new home for some time. Unmarried girls may confide in their older sisters and mothers, but the first official recognition of a suitor can be made only when he presents himself formally. This is a function of the Rjonga idea that no one can know what another person is thinking or planning, and may never act on suppositions based on intuition. Even though parents are aware that their unmarried daughter has a lover they cannot assume that his intentions are either honorable or dishonorable. The most the parents may do, if they are convinced that the suit has no honorable outcome or if they disapprove of the man on other grounds, is to send their daughter to visit relatives in some distant village. They may not speak to the man in question. This attitude is demonstrated constantly in Rjonga life as I observed it. At trials, for example, when a principal based a complaint on something he said he knew his opponent was thinking or planning, he was shouted down and the complaint was inadmissible on the grounds that no person can possibly know what another is thinking under any circumstances.

An affair between a married man and a married woman is again slightly different than the other kinds of relationships. Here secrecy is paramount again but the woman may well confide in a close friend, usually another married woman, who will act as go-between by carrying messages. This form of adultery is the least serious of all and the outcome of the affair, if discovered, depends on many factors. In some cases of adultery involving a married woman the husband is content to exact the 400\$ fine from the lover and leave it at that. The discovered wife is covered with shame and often, the Rjonga say, becomes a model wife after that if her husband does not constantly berate and humiliate her. The father of one woman thus found in adultery observed complacently to her lover that it was a good experience for her: "she has tested another tree and knows what it is all about now."

Although explicit reference does not come out until later in this case it is useful to know now that Valente and Anna had not contracted for marriage, but only to be lovers. Whether Anna acquiesced in the hopes of later changing Valente's mind on this point we cannot know, nor should speculate. This form of the relationship was symbolized by their use of a young boy, a student of Valente's whose mother had asked Valente to train him and use as a messenger, as a go-between. The child's position structurally was virtually non-existent or, at most, neutral. He did not give any sort of legitimacy to the

relationship, although his role was an institutionalized one insofar as go-between are used in affairs. The boy was also a neighbor of Anna's, but Valente told me this had nothing to do with his choice of the child to carry messages. He chose him because he had been using him as an errand boy for several months, at the boy's mother's request, and knew him to be reliable and discreet.

All of the statements of values and attitudes discussed above may be summarized in a series of value statements. Some I have not discussed yet, but should be self-evident.

1. Rjonga boys and girls may engage in love play, which is called the gangisa. Boys should not commit excesses during this adolescent courting, which means they should not impregnate girls indiscriminately; they are expected to withdraw. If a boy does impregnate many girls he is called an adulterer; a girl who is promiscuous is told she 'will lose her head.'
2. If a married woman commits adultery there are supernatural sanctions which affect her husband: he is liable to contract a lung complaint, usually conceptualized as TB. Thus an adulterous married woman may kill her husband.
3. There are no supernatural sanctions involved in making love to an unmarried girl. However, she must not become pregnant. If she does she is "spoiled," because her father cannot ask a lobolo for an unmarried girl who has given birth.
 - a. A woman may be legally married only once and all her children legally belong to the man who paid her lobolo, and all of her children should bear this man's surname.

- b. If a couple are engaged, that is have performed the ku-buta ceremony, no stigma attaches to either if the girl becomes pregnant. The marriage takes place sooner than originally planned, perhaps.
 - c. If the ku-buta has not taken place and an unmarried girl becomes pregnant the man must either pay the full lobolo and marry her, or pay a fine of 1500\$ and lose the woman, child, and money.
 - d. 1500\$ is the minimum lobolo payment required to register children and wife to husband's lineage at the Portuguese Administration. This payment transfers all jural rights to husband's lineage.
 - e. The only occasion in which a man forfeits the lobolo he has paid for a woman is if he sends her away. A man who refuses to marry an unmarried girl whom he has impregnated is conceptualized as a husband who has sent his wife away. Thus his fine is set at 1500\$ which is symbolic of the jural rights he would have acquired in her by payment of the lobolo, and which he loses by sending her away.
4. The burden for 'defending the hearth,' that is for having a good marriage, is said to be the wife's.
- a. A wife owes her husband absolute loyalty and obedience in all things. She may not dictate his behavior nor object to it. This includes an at least passive acceptance of any extra-marital affairs he may have.
 - b. A man should always consult his wife before bringing a new wife to his muti. This is demanded by courtesy and respect to her position as senior wife. The Rjonga also say it takes a long time for a woman to accept a new idea or understand a new situation. If a man were to take a second wife without previous warning to his first wife, she would be upset and unable to cope with the situation 'properly.'

5. Women, as a race, are inferior to men in understanding, reason, and good behavior. They can easily be led astray by a man's superior persuasive powers, and by their cupidity when men offer them money.
 - a. Although the burden for a successful marriage is said to be the wife's, she is not as much to blame in cases of adultery as a man. She can be too easily bemused by men's arguments and thus led astray.
 - b. A woman is never held legally responsible for adultery. She may be divorced and her lineage may have to repay the lobolo; in such cases it is her lover who is liable for the lobolo which he gives either to her parents or directly to her husband. The lover is the 'thief' who stole the woman, and he must compensate the husband for taking his property. If the husband does not desire a divorce, the lover pays the 400\$ fine to the husband.
6. A Christian is expected to behave 'better' than his pagan brethern; that is, he is bound by the strict commandments in the Bible.
 - a. A Christian should not commit adultery.
 - b. A Christian should not drink or smoke.
 - c. A Christian should not attend nor participate in any pagan rituals, nor should he subscribe to pagan beliefs and attitudes.
 - d. A Christian may have only one wife. He swears in the marriage ceremony 'to cleave unto one woman,' and all those attending the wedding are witness to this sacred oath.

All Rjonga subscribe to the first five statements and their correlaries; I read these to a gathering of six elders and asked if they were accurate and I was told they were. Only Christians subscribe to the last statement, however, and pagans do not feel they are bound by them nor do they behave as if they were binding on Christians

either. Pagans do expect that Christians should be 'better' than they because a good, practicing Christian has taken a structural step, as it were, closer to "whiteness" and "civilization." These values are held to be especially binding on a school teacher for all of the reasons discussed earlier. Most school teachers, for the Rjonga, are also ministers; at the least, they are closely associated with Christianity and are usually functionaries of a mission. Most black teachers belong to a mission and are given their job in their capacity as member of a mission. Valente was an exception, but expectations of his role behavior were identical to that of a mission teacher, as is clear from the case. At the beginning of the events of this case, then, both Valente and Anna held all of these values and attitudes.

Phase I

El. Valente and Anna have sexual relations for a year; she thinks she may be pregnant and he tells her to think about the problem.

There is no way for me to analyze the processes which led to Valente's and Anna's original breach of the Christian value not to commit adultery sociologically. Just to get the analysis started I can say (as a result of long, personal conversations) that Valente justified his act in several ways, but these may be only retroactive self-justifications. He said his wife Ruti did not sleep willingly with him every night as a Rjonga male expects;

further all of the other men committed adultery also, including Christian males. I gathered that he thought his superior status, as well as his access to the child entrusted to his care to be used as a go-between, also played a part in justifying his affair. He was convinced that no one would ever find him out and thus there would be no trouble.

Insofar as rich, successful, 'big men' among the Rjonga act in ways not strictly in accord with value statements by virtue of their status, Valente was behaving as a Rjonga 'big man' and not as a Christian. His behavior seems to have been dictated, or at least justified, by attitudes appropriate to a particular class of Rjonga men. 'Big men' gain their reputation by success in a material sphere as well as by their ability to advise people, adjudicate disputes, and organize and direct work parties. They are supposed to be neutral in their adjudicative roles but often, in fact, use their status to further their own interests and support their close kinsmen. They are able to get away with this behavior because after they achieve a sufficient pinnacle of fame their status as 'big men' becomes institutionalized to a degree. They become advisors (ndjuna) to the king, for example, and this is registered in their identity books. This status cannot be taken away from them except by direct order of the king or Administrator. The people in the villages could stop seeking their advice and support in disputes, which would

diminish their prestige; however, they would still be used by the king as judges in his court and thus it was more to the people's advantage to continue seeking their advice in village affairs so they would have a 'friend at court' should they find themselves before the king in a case. Thus the principle, or unwritten rule, governing this sort of behavior for the Rjonga could be stated as: the more you have, the more you get and can get away with. As an interesting sideline commentary I observed that the king in another kingdom did not follow this unwritten rule, and was deeply respected and loved by his people. He was mentioned to me as an exemplar of kingship not only by his own people but by people of other kingdoms as well. His fame was widespread. A few people then observed to me that the king in my area was an example of the proverb: if the king limps all of his subjects will limp also. Thus the unwritten principle governing behavior of 'big men' in Mitini does not necessarily apply to other Rjonga kingdoms and villages; apparently it does apply, however, wherever the king is not what he should be.

To the extent that my assumption of Valente's motives is correct, it could be said that he was behaving in accord with the unwritten rule which applies to important, successful men. It is obvious that this rule is more powerful for him (and others) than the rules or values governing the behavior of Christians. This is not surprising if my earlier discussion on the flexibility of

Christian values is remembered. Valente also told me that when Ruti taxed him with his wedding vows not to commit adultery or to take another wife, he was both amused and angered by this 'typical and illogical' female reaction.

Was I to be the first man who stood up in church and refused to swear to that? Everyone else swears it also, in church weddings, but that does not mean they will not take lovers. They all do. That proves that the only reason you women run to join the church is because it says we must not take lovers or second wives.

In this retold scrap of conversation it is obvious that Valente was appealing to others' behavior and not their status: that is, he stressed the behavioral aspect at the expense of the positional aspect of Christians' status.

E2. Anna tells Valente that she is pregnant and he tells her to ask her mother for 'help with words.'

Valente's and Anna's secret was about to come out because he failed to withdraw as custom dictates in affairs of this nature. He behaved as a 'good man,' however, in telling her she could go to her mother to confide in her and ask for her advice. This was behavior which all Rjonga would subscribe to as 'proper,' he was correcting.

E3. Anna's mother, Celeste, cries and says her daughter did very wrong because Valente is teacher, married, and a neighbor. She says she cannot help them in any way.

Celeste was the first person to know about Valente's and Anna's violation of the value that Christians should not commit adultery, and of the value "do not impregnate an unmarried girl." Valente had made a partial correction of his value violation by sending Anna to her mother.

This sustained his status as a good man, at least in his and Anna's eyes. Up to this point there had been a value violation and a move towards correcting, but no loosening because their behavior was not yet known and accepted by others. Celeste's response is definitely not one which would allow me to say that loosening had occurred. On the contrary she started a move towards correcting because she condemned their behavior on traditional and Christian grounds and refused to help them even 'with words.' She objected because Valente was a teacher (and a Christian which follows by Rjonga definition). This status carries an obligation for impeccable moral behavior even more than the generally superior status of Christian does. She objected because he was married. If he were pagan and married it would not be quite as bad because he would be free to marry Anna, but since he was Christian and married she, as a good Christian (she belonged to the church board), knew that it was impossible for Valente to correct his act by the most highly valued pagan method--marriage. Thus it did not occur to Celeste that violating the Christian value "do not take more than one wife" was an alternative solution to the original breach of the Christian value "do not commit adultery," and the all-Rjonga values concerning unmarried girls. This indicates that for her, anyway, the Christian value was more powerful than the traditional. And, last, Celeste condemned their behavior on the grounds that they were

neighbors. This was a violation of the pagan Rjonga value that neighbors should not marry. To summarize Celeste's position then, she objected on three grounds which include both spheres of Rjonga life and values: that of traditional values still held by pagans and Christians, as well as that of newer values adopted as a result of church membership and education. Loosening, therefore, still had not taken place successfully for Anna who was rejected by her mother. Since I have no data concerning any interaction between Celeste and Valente at this juncture I cannot comment on it except to say that Valente, himself, told me he did not see nor speak to Celeste at this time. In short there is still no behavioral evidence (except between Anna and Celeste) for loosening or correcting. A new value had become part of the field, however: neighbors should not marry and this is a pagan (all-Rjonga) value. Anna's account, however, of her mother's reaction indicates that Valente's moral status suffered a severe blow from Celeste's point of view.

E4. Valente tells Ruti, his wife, about Anna. Ruti becomes hysterical and refuses to help him because he did not tell her before the trouble occurred, and because he is involved with an unmarried girl and not a divorcee.

Following the moral obligation to tell wives of impending trouble which will affect them Valente told Ruti about Anna. This is in accord with the attitude and value mentioned above, number 4 b. If women do not have enough time to get used to a new situation or idea they will be

incapable of behaving properly. Since Anna's pregnancy would become visible within a month or two, Valente had little recourse (but see later: the alternative solution of denying paternity, often used, was not employed by Valente). There was not successful loosening, as yet, because Ruti refused to help her husband. Her objections were on different grounds than Celeste's. Ruti refused her support because her husband had not told her about the affair before it came to trouble. Whether husbands tell their wives things or not does not fall into the realm of explicit values except when he intends taking another wife. It depends on their relationship and their respective personalities. To my knowledge there is no other value which states a husband must tell his wife about his behavior, although there is one saying a wife must tell her husband everything. So Ruti's objection was an appeal of a personal sort: Valente did not trust her enough to confide in her. Her other objection was that Valente's affair was with an unmarried girl and not a divorcee. This is based on the pagan attitude that adultery with married women, or better divorcees, is far less serious than with unmarried girls. No where did Ruti appeal to their jointly held values relating to Christianity. Insofar as Ruti objected to her husband's behavior she violated the rule that wives owe their husbands absolute loyalty and obedience. Since this was a private dispute, however, her behavior was both expected and admissible. Only if she

were to make these complaints public would she be truly guilty in Valente's eyes and other villagers' of gross violation of her obligations to him.

To summarize the events thus far: Valente and Anna violated four values. One was that Christians should not commit adultery; this value does not apply to pagan Rjonga for whom adultery, as I have said, although publicly frowned upon is actually an institutionalized alternative to the problems of polygamy. The second value, more powerful than the first because it is held to be important by a larger group of people, is that a man should not impregnate an unmarried girl. The only people who knew about these value violations so far were Celeste, Anna's mother, and Ruti, Valente's wife. Their response did not constitute a loosening of the values in question because each refused their support and help. The grounds for refusal were different for the two women; the mother objected on traditional as well as Christian grounds. The wife objected on personal and pagan (traditional) grounds. Unmarried girls "provoke cases" she said, and took the stand that an affair with a divorcee would have been allowable.

The values which were explicitly a part of the field at this juncture are:

1. You should not impregnate an unmarried girl (pagan value).

2. Christians should not commit adultery.
3. A Christian may not have two wives simultaneously.
4. You should not marry a neighbor (pagan value).

E5. Ruti tells her husband not to meet with Anna clandestinely but to bring her to their house when they want to meet.

This act on Ruti's part was the first instance of loosening in the case. She was aware of her husband's value violations and she had accepted them to the extent that she asked him to bring his lover to their house. Her rationalizations for this are discussed in the case description, but are irrelevant here except as they relate to her utilization of valued behavior for wives. She gave her husband what amounts to public support because she gave him the opportunity to continue with his unvalued behavior easily. Ruti behaved in accord with the value "Wives owe their husbands complete loyalty and respect in everything." The loosening process was due to a choice between alternative values. The traditional value governing a wife's behavior was stronger and more important to Ruti than the Christian values which should have governed her husband's behavior, and which gave her the right (since they were both Christian) to go to their pastor to seek advice and aid, thus exposing their domestic problems. Judging Valente's initial value violations by his behavior it could be said that this same process, choice among alternative values, was operative for him,

also. It is interesting that Anna did not accept the face value (motivationally) of Ruti's act: she suspected it as a ploy which would give Ruti an opportunity to punish Anna, and refused to go to Valente's house for several days.

Ruti had loosened the values in question for Valente and Anna, but Anna denied that Ruti had done so. Although analysis of this is really an analysis of the "processes of ratiocination" (Gulliver, 1969: 59), it is interesting insofar as it indicates indirectly Anna's own value hierarchy and her expectation of another's value hierarchy. Anna could not believe that a wife (also Christian) could accept her husband's (Christian school teacher) continued adultery with the unmarried girl he had impregnated.

Since a pagan man would be behaving in valued fashion by not abandoning the girl he impregnated, and by urging his senior wife's acceptance of her, it must be that Anna expected the Christian values in question to carry more weight than the traditional values. In this she emphasized Valente's moral status as good Christian at the expense of his over-all status as "good man." Valente and Ruti obviously acted in accord with their perception of Valente's over-all moral status of "good man," who--though he had erred grievously--was now acting to redeem that wrong: that is, to correct it in a way prescribed by all Rjonga. Seen from this point of view, I can say that Ruti's act in telling her husband to bring his lover home constituted loosening and correcting; there was an overlap

in the processes due to the two different social arenas the protagonists were involved in. Ruti's act loosened for Valente and Anna the Christian values which forbid a Christian to commit adultery and to take second wives. From the point of view of valued wifely behavior, Ruti was correcting her own value violations when she first refused to help her husband. Ruti had now corrected this by returning to traditional, wifely behavior: supporting her husband in all things. She acted, therefore, as a good Rjonga wife and not as a good Rjonga Christian.

A further word about neighbors and affinity: The fact that the impregnated girl was also a neighbor was not sufficient to prevent the marriage from being the best course the man could take to redeem his sin. I should state that from the Rjonga point of view impregnating a woman is tantamount to marrying her in the sense of becoming her "owner." Any man who has sexual relations with a woman "owns" her even though he is not her legal husband should she be already married. In this case the husband is the legal owner and has legal rights which the lover does not; but the lover can forbid the woman from taking other lovers, for example, and the Rjonga behave as if he did have legal rights.

Neighbors are often close kin, such as own brothers, half brothers, or patrilineal cousins. Neighbors are also cognates of varying degrees, however, and these ask permission to settle from those already

there because of their expectation of support (material or non-material) from those already there. Thus a new family moving into a village, having a range of kin from which to choose, will ask permission to settle near the family compound of the man it perceives to be the most powerful. Muntwana, the chief at the time of this case, had moved his muti next door to Valente's after the old chief died (it used to be the rule that miti were destroyed after a death and the family would move to a new site). The reason for choosing this place was its proximity to the church-school building, a center of power. The other reason was that it was next to the chief's brother's-in-law (Valente) muti, and he could expect to count on Valente for help and support as a kinsman. This seems to violate the rule that neighbors should not be close affines, or vice versa, but Muntwana and Mandjia had been married some six years before they became Valente's neighbors. I stress all this to illustrate the fact that not marrying a neighbor is seemingly a quite flexible rule which falls into the realm of good advice and not absolute proscriptions. Given this fact, Valente's choice of corrective actions to his real sin in impregnating an unmarried girl had to be governed by the strong proscription which applied; that is, by the Christian dictum that a man may not be polygamous. He was then faced with the choice between obeying a dictum which is held by a relatively few number of people (practicing Christians) or of obeying the

much more widely held dictum that he should marry the girl. If he obeyed his Christian fellows' rules, his over-all moral status as a 'good man' would be jeopardized in a much larger context because pagans do not care a whit for Christian values when they conflict with all-Rjonga values. If he disobeyed the Christian rules he would vastly improve his standing as 'good man' from the point of view of all Rjonga; he had suffered a blow to his prestige (by impregnating the girl) which he could restore in the eyes of all Rjonga by marrying her. They would then consider him to be 'better' than he was before he married her and after he impregnated her. Given these facts, one would expect a man faced with these alternatives to opt for the course of action which would restore his moral status within the larger group rather than within the smaller group (Christians). Since all things are not equal in this case, it becomes of critical importance to understand the subsequent course of events and to isolate the social forces which worked against Valente's original intent to satisfy pagan traditions rather than Christian traditions. That this was his intent is made very clear by the events already analyzed and those about to be.

One further point should be stressed before continuing the analysis. There is an alternative for pagans who refuse to marry a girl they have impregnated. Assuming they deny paternity and cannot 'get away with it,' they can still refuse to marry the girl and instead pay

the 1500\$ fine and lose rights in her and the child. This alternative is the only one which Christians also admit in these cases. Thus Valente could have satisfied both Christians and pagans by merely paying the fine and forfeiting his rights. This course of action would be less satisfactory to the pagans than marriage would be, but it is institutionalized; in following it Valente would please the Christians more than the pagans, but he would have satisfied both groups. Valente never, at any time during this case, denied paternity. He also did not consider paying the fine and losing the rights in Anna and the child until much later on and he did so then for important reasons, as will be seen. That is, he considered that alternative only after some particular sanctions had been brought to bear. This is further evidence, albeit of a negative sort, that his intent was to correct his behavior by following prescribed and favored pagan methods.

E6. Valente gives Anna money for her trip to the city when she asked for it; she intends to tell her father about her situation.

Valente was further correcting his sin, or rather continuing the corrective moves (reinterpretation of role) he had already made, in giving Anna the bus fare. He was morally responsible for providing for the woman he had impregnated; this is part of the ethic of women and their lovers as I have already discussed it. He was treating Anna as if she were his wife. What was especially important about Anna's going to the city was the fact that

she went alone without her mother. More than that, it should have been Anna's mother, Celeste, who first gave the news to her husband. That Celeste had made no move towards communicating with her husband and that she did not even accompany her daughter when she went to visit him is further evidence that the loosening had not been successful with her. She not only had refused to give her daughter the support to which she was entitled, she had violated the value which states that wives must tell their husbands everything which affects their family and may lead to trouble: "the beginning of cases." Anna behaved properly by going to her father herself; she corrected for her sin, therefore, without loosening having taken place. Note that Valente absented himself altogether at this time by going hunting, and used the results of his hunt as an excuse for going to the city when Anna had been absent for a week.

E7. Valente meets Anna and her father at the station; Alfonso, the father, refuses to pay his daughter's fare because her 'husband' is present.

Valente notices that Alfonso, Anna, and her sister were crying, but he approached them and all exchanged quiet greetings. No mention was made of Valente's and Anna's situation. This was in accord with Rjonga values since no Rjonga can know what another is thinking or planning. Also, a father and mother may not interfere in their daughter's love affairs, except by sending their daughter away, until the man involved has (a) presented

himself with a formal suit; or (b) elopes with their daughter and then does not come to present himself to her parents within a reasonable time. If the man fails to present himself to the parents within a reasonable time after eloping with their daughter the father and his representatives may call on him as the aggrieved parties in a dispute. Until that happens all relationships proceed as usual.

In this situation it is most important to realize that a part of the value which states "you should not impregnate unmarried girls" is the definition of what seduction consists of, and which governs the behavior of the people involved. Seduction is not admitted as having taken place until: (1) the woman becomes obviously pregnant and has no husband; (2) the man presents himself to the woman's parents, announces he has impregnated her, and offers to either marry her or pay the fine; or (3) the woman elopes and goes to live with the man and he fails to present himself to her parents within a reasonable length of time. In this latter event, to repeat, normal dispute settlement procedure is followed, the parents taking the role of the aggrieved party in the dispute.

Anna was neither obviously pregnant nor had she eloped with Valente, so that when they all met by chance at the train station Alfonso greeted Valente as if nothing had happened. That is, loosening had occurred and the process was one of denial; there had been no seduction.

It is vitally important to understand my concept of field. Field is a construct which is socially, not psychologically, defined. It consists of real people interacting, face to face. Alfonso was very much a part of the field, although it happened by a chance meeting. He became part of the field when his daughter went to visit him to tell him about her pregnancy, but he did not become part of a seduction situation for Valente because of the cultural boundaries which prevent a parent from interfering with a daughter and her lover. This value is a corollary of the more inclusive Rjonga value that no one can meddle in a family affair, particularly between husband and wife. Remember that a woman's lover is thought to be her "owner" and that, further, impregnating a woman is tantamount to a man's declaring himself her husband. This latter is held to be true because boys and girls engage in love play from early adolescence, as do adult couples, without pregnancy resulting unless it is specifically desired. Withdrawal is specified in many contexts by the Rjonga and they believe it to be completely effective.

At the chance meeting at the station Alfonso and Valente were the central actors in a social field which consisted of normal, friendly relations between two people who have no problems with each other. Being in the field at all, that is being confronted with Valente, put Alfonso into the dilemma of how to be present but not to become

part of the seduction situation and thereby violate the value which forbids interference. Phrased another way, Alfonso's problem was how to be present but not be present in terms of the situation uppermost in everyone's mind. The solution was a culturally defined one, part of the value "do not impregnate young girls." He denied that the impregnation had taken place by acting as he would normally act when meeting Valente. Although analytically we can see that Alfonso was very much a part of the field (he was involved in this process relating to the violated value) he acted as if he were not.

The value had been loosened for Valente by Alfonso's denial that seduction had occurred. But this was a particular kind of loosening process out of the total class of possible loosening processes because it was culturally constituted or defined. Alfonso could act in no other way without himself violating a value (do not interfere). That is, this particular loosening process was not an individually devised one invented to cope with a particular circumstance which threatened to put the actor into trouble. It was a culturally prescribed process and the actor knew it would work. If Alfonso did not behave in accord with this cultural prescription (that is, if he did not loosen the value for Valente) he would be threatened by sanctions more severe than those currently possible for Valente. He would have violated the unwritten rule that

no Rjonga can know what another intends to do and would have accused Valente of something which he had not done-- because the seduction had not taken place according to the definition which is a part of the entire value. His own moral status would suffer a severe blow and he could, and would, be fined at court for meddling. Concomitantly he would have given Valente an "out"; if one person is not reasonable then his opponent is not under as strong an obligation to behave reasonably either. Valente might, but this is speculation, refuse to marry Anna on the grounds that he could not possibly get along with an affine who interfered in his affairs.

The important point is that there is probably a large category of loosening processes, which are culturally prescribed to deal with potentially threatening situations, within the whole class of loosening processes. These prescribed loosening processes are designed to deal with situations in which spontaneously normal behavior is not applicable, as when a value has been violated. They constitute a set of rules of how to behave after some people have ceased to behave properly, as in the present case. In this instance the rule specified that one denies that the unvalued behavior has occurred at all thus avoiding all of the inevitable sanctions attendant on any other course of behavior. Up to this point, then, Alfonso defined his field with Valente as one of normal, friendly relations

between fellow villagers and neighbors (they live in the same zone). Valente accepted this definition.

Immediately following this exchange of greetings, however, Alfonso brought a mild sanction to bear which also redefined the field he perceived himself to be acting in. He refused to pay Anna's fare home because her husband was there to pay it. That this sanction was aimed at Valente and not at Anna was shown by Alfonso's giving her money "to buy what you need." The money he gave was more than enough to pay the fare in question. By this act Alfonso clearly indicated to Valente what his expectations of his future behavior were: that Valente would act honorably and marry the girl. He had gone further than that by treating Anna as Valente's wife, and indicating that he expected Valente to act as her husband. Alfonso denied the existence of a seduction situation, but he created a new situation which could satisfactorily define his role and presence: a marriage situation. He was not free to speak directly to Valente about the situation at all, not even to tell him, himself, that he must pay Anna's fare home. Given this situation he took the only means possible to communicate his definition of the situation to Valente by using the one person who was so placed, structurally, that she could act as a messenger without involving Alfonso in a value violation of his own. This monetary sanction had two effects: it redefined the situation for Alfonso and Valente, and it indicated what was expected of Valente.

By agreeing to this definition (Valente paid the fare) Valente corrected slightly for his sin. He was clearly behaving as Anna's husband and thus was following proper procedures for a man who had committed a sin and wanted to redeem himself in the eyes of his fellows.

E8. Anna goes that night to Valente's house for the first time; this situation continues for several weeks.

Anna hesitated to enter Valente's house until he fetched her which indicates that she continued to be incredulous of his and Ruti's definition of their mutual situation. Anna seems to have been the only actor, apart from her own mother, whose thinking was influenced by the Christian value violations involved in these events. This is the only possible explanation of her hesitation to go to Valente's house. It is also the most logical attitude for her to have taken given her mother's reaction. Celeste was a member of the church board and thus could be considered a strong, practicing Christian. On the other hand, Alfonso used to be a Christian but obviously no longer was since he had a second wife with whom he lived in the city; Anna would look to her mother, and not to her father, for guidance. Christian values and attitudes would be represented in Celeste's reactions and opinions, not Alfonso's, and Celeste rejected her daughter by refusing even moral support. There is no way of knowing how Valente rationalized his behavior to Anna. The only evidence there is was her reluctance to go to Valente's

house which she explained on the grounds that Ruti was deceiving him and only wanted to punish Anna. In the end, however, Anna did go and she continued doing so for several weeks. The fact that Ruti encouraged her husband to bring his mistress home and countenanced their love making in her living-dining room while she slept in the bedroom, amply demonstrates the degree of loosening which has taken place. This loosening of the value against Christians committing adultery was another culturally constituted process. Ruti behaved as if her husband were any other pagan Rjonga who was contemplating taking a second wife. She behaved as a good Rjonga wife should in respecting and obeying her husband in all situations. The rules governing good wifely behavior were stronger for Ruti than the values governing good Christian behavior. Ruti's loosening of the Christian value against adultery was due to the process of having to choose between alternative values; in this case, as in Alfonso's, she did not invent her own solution but followed the widely held rules which state that a good wife always respects, supports, and obeys her husband no matter what. To engage in a bit of speculation here is irresistible. Ruti's definition of the situation which included herself, Valente, and Anna was something like "good wifeliness." Anna's definition of the situation, it would seem from all evidence, was definitely seduction, and this would explain her extreme

reluctance and even fear to enter Valente's house at his invitation.

Since there is a natural break in the events of the case at this point (Anna continued visiting Valente's house for several weeks and no more was said about it), it is a good place to recapitulate the events, values, processes, and fields.

The first event which may be analyzed sociologically is when Valente sent Anna to her mother to tell what had occurred and to ask for help with words. The field contained Anna and Celeste and the following values were made explicit:

1. Christians should not commit adultery.
2. No man should impregnate an unmarried girl.
3. No Christian may have two wives simultaneously.
4. No man should marry his neighbor and impregnation is tantamount to marriage.
5. Wives owe their husband total obedience and this includes telling their husbands everything which affects their social and moral standing.

Celeste had a choice between alternative values when she responded to her daughter. One choice was culturally constituted in that all wives should communicate events to their husbands. Celeste should at the least have offered to go tell Alfonso about the situation for Anna, even if she refused to give Anna any other kind of

moral support. Celeste refused to help in any way and thus defined her relationship with her daughter (and, indirectly, with Valente) as a "seduction-bad Christian" situation. By so doing Celeste violated the value governing the behavior of wives-mothers in these circumstances. No loosening had taken place of the value "Christians should not commit adultery and not marry more than one woman," nor of the value "men should not impregnate unmarried girls."

By sending Anna to tell her mother, Valente corrected slightly for his sin. He did not deny paternity and thus redefined the situation slightly (the process in this correction) so as to appear as a "responsible man" if not as a potential husband. Anna's and Valente's situation, remember, was one of lovers and not of potentially legal mates, but Valente's role was ambiguous now. Forthcoming evidence indicates he redefined the situation and planned to act as a husband; at this point no more can be said than that he behaved like a responsible man.

The next event was when Valente brought his wife Ruti into the field by telling her what had happened. Ruti's initial reaction defined the situation as "bad husband." This was a violation of the rules governing the behavior of good wives, but it was successfully loosened by Valente who kept her and did not send her home. The process in his loosening this value for his wife probably indicates a momentary redefinition of roles; the "bad

husband" would tolerate a "bad wife." The value which Ruti made explicit in this confrontation was that "men should not impregnate unmarried girls because this provokes trouble for the entire household." Valente's act threatened their joint moral standing in the community.

Within a few days Ruti redefined the situation which included herself, her husband, and his lover. She could not tolerate the lapse in her own moral standing (one assumes) and thus chose the culturally constituted alternative: to behave as a good wife by supporting her husband under all circumstances. Loosening of the values "men should not impregnate unmarried girls" and "Christians should not commit adultery nor take two or more wives" occurred through the process of choice; the choice was the only "correct" one for Ruti because of the rule governing the behavior of wives. Thus a field which included the three of them was a "good wife" situation and not a seduction, marriage, bad Christians, or any other kind of situation.

The next person brought into the field was Alfonso. By paying for Anna's fare to the city, Valente continued in his new role of "responsible man," which was now definitely approaching the role of "husband." He knew of Celeste's disapproval, he knew of his wife's support, and these two forces could have been impelling him to elaborate the role of "responsible man" to that of "husband." In the field consisting of Alfonso, Anna, and Valente

loosening of the values in question took place through the process of denial. Seduction had not occurred, by definition; the explicit value Alfonso acted on was the one which forbids parents to interfere in their daughter's affairs. This cultural rule prescribed Alfonso's behavior in this field, just as another cultural rule prescribed Ruti's behavior in the same field. Moments after, Alfonso redefined the field from the neutral "good neighbors" to a "marriage" situation. He did this by imposing a monetary sanction on Valente which called for further correcting by Valente. The initial loosening of the primary values still held since Alfonso avoided interfering directly; the sanction was applied through a structurally permissible person.

As relates to the two primary values in question (concerning Christian's behavior and impregnating unmarried girls) there were two acts of loosening, and one failure to loosen. The processes involved in both the loosening were culturally constituted: one cultural rule called for return to ideal behavior (Ruti), the other called for denial (Alfonso). In the failure to loosen there was a cultural rule which would have led to loosening, but Celeste opted for an individual course of action provided by the alternate values held by Christians. Her behavior called for correcting on Valente's part while simultaneously being a violation of the value governing the conduct of wives.

For the sake of convenience I will call all of these events part of Phase I. Phase II is analyzed next and is signaled by new events with concomitant changes in the fields.

Phase II

E1. A month later Valente tells Manuel about Anna, and Manuel says Valente did wrong but they would wait to see what developed.

Valente brought a new person into the field, and the loosening of the values was mildly successful in that Manuel told him he did wrong but agreed they would "wait to see what happens." The process in loosening the values was probably ambiguity of actor's roles. Manuel was waiting for events to define which role Valente should assume in these events which would, in turn, clarify whether it would be better for Valente to correct his value violation of pagan norms or to correct the violation of Christian norms. Remember that in correcting his behavior for one value system he would automatically violate further the values of the alternate system. The only solution Valente could opt for which would at least minimally satisfy both pagans and Christians was to pay the fine for impregnating Anna. In so doing his moral status would be better than it was after he had impregnated her, but not nearly as good as it was before he had impregnated her. From the Christian's point of view he would be exposed as an adulterer which is a sin before God. From the pagan's

point of view he would be exposed as a "thief"; from the point of view of both groups his status as teacher would be seriously questioned. The statuses of minister and teacher, above all others, carry the requirement for impeccable moral behavior, as I have said.

A close examination of the genealogies (Figures 3 and 4) show Valente's and Manuel's kinship with each other and with the Evangela's and Anna's families. From the point of view of mobilizing support among neutral people, Valente chose the most powerful person to go to with his problems. Valente calls Manuel "father," saying that it is this man who always gives him advice and support when he asks. Whether this was the case before I arrived or not I cannot say; I can only state what Valente says to be the fact. It was certainly true after my arrival in Mitini; that is, Valente did go to Manuel with all the information, requests for help, etc., that a man usually seeks from his own father or father's brother. Note that Valente did not go first to his own father's brother (Figure 4, 40); this man is a bachelor and marginal to most village activities. Figure 4 shows that the actual kinship link between Manuel and Valente is one which demands that they call each other "brother." Valente has restructured the nature of this kin tie (a tenuous one, at that), saying that Manuel's greater age, his experience, and his wisdom are such that he could only be called "father," out of respect. Also on Figure 4 can be seen the link between

Manuel and Davida, the chief's ndjuna and president of the village school board. Davida calls Manuel "father"; I have already noted that on occasion Valente is called "son" by Davida. When Davida employs this term he is utilizing his status as brother-in-law to the Evangela (Figure 3; 13/29, L, and 10), and not his relationship to Valente through Manuel. The complicated system of intermarriages between clans enables one person to activate different roles in different situations.

Valente was very much involved with the Evangela (no.s 13/29), and his brothers Fernando (16), and Tomas (41) in matters relating to the school and/or church. He visited these men regularly to exchange news and to inquire about their health. Remember also that Tomas (41) and Manuel (26) are constantly in each other's company, and are the two men without whom no village trial will proceed. These are the same two who went to the king's court every Sunday, also, to instruct him in how to judge cases (he ascended to the throne in 1968). The Evangela and his brothers are father's brother's sons to Anna's mother. For this reason, of course, Valente could not go to the Evangela, nor to Fernando nor Tomas, asking support in a case which involved their father's brother's daughter's daughter (Figure 3; 13/29, 41, 16 E, 9, and 5). Valente and these men were involved in many other events, but they were on opposing sides in this particular sequence of events. Valente's act in going to Manuel for support was

thus a very astute one. Manuel is not closely related to Anna (Figure 3); he is closely associated with Tomas, however, in all other important ways, and he is one of the most important men in the village and in the kingdom. As concerns his structural position in this case (impregnating an unmarried girl), Manuel was placed in the middle and could act either as a 'broker' between the two sets of people or could throw his weight on one side or the other. Empirically, Manuel's kinship links with Valente are closer (classificatory siblings) than his kinship links with Anna (classificatory MoBr/SiDa). Valente and Anna were in no sense violating incest tabus, though, and these kinship links (Anna's to Manuel and Valente's to Manuel) are not the important factors. Valente can be seen to be activating a kinship role, but I have already discussed how he restructured the nature of this link. It is obvious that the important elements in Valente's and Manuel's association (from Valente's point of view) concern Manuel's status in the village and kingdom. Although Valente said he went to Manuel for support because of the latter's role of "father" to him, it was Manuel's status and close association with Tomas which was most important. If Manuel supported Valente in the case the opinions of the village's most important 'big men' would be divided (Tomas representing Anna's family if he acted at all). A person can remain neutral in Rjonga disputes, but if he takes sides he is automatically "for" one side and the enemy of

the other. Tomas' kinship link with Anna is too strong to be completely ignored; he had either to remain neutral or act for Anna's family. If Manuel decided to remain neutral his strong ties with Tomas might serve to keep Tomas neutral also. In this Valente would at least silence two strong voices, two opinions which, working against him, could destroy his status altogether.

To recapitulate: Manuel's mild censure of Valente's behavior amounted to successful loosening of the values "do not impregnate an unmarried girl" and "Christians should not commit adultery nor take more than one wife." The process was certainly ambiguity of actor's roles, but it becomes interesting to note that not only Valente's roles could be called ambiguous, but Manuel's also. I have no direct evidence for this but my knowledge of the Rjonga makes it virtually certain that Manuel communicated with Tomas about Valente's troubles. Manuel and Tomas are close neighbors, in addition to their other ties. Here I should also remind the reader of the much earlier dispute between Valente and Fernando (the Evangela's and Tomas' younger brother) concerning the sale of text books by the teacher Francisco, hired by the village chief and fired by the school board. Cases which have been resolved should be forgotten and old enmities discarded, the Rjonga say. This does not mean that that happens, of course, and I frequently noted how parties to a dispute who had since

been friendly, to all intents and purposes, could still easily quarrel at the slightest provocation.

E2. A few days after seeing Manuel, Valente goes to tell Davida who suggests that he, Manuel and Valente discuss the case.

Davida also loosened the value "do not impregnate an unmarried girl" successfully for Valente; the process was choice between alternative values (but see page 249). Since Valente told Davida what he had done to correct for his son (he went to talk to Manuel), Davida agreed that matters were "well arranged." That Davida was more concerned with the violation of the pagan value than the Christian one is evident: he quoted the Rjonga proverb to Valente which states that the Rjonga will not tolerate an impregnated, unmarried girl, but will accept the same girl back in their household after she has given birth. Valente had also corrected for his behavior by telling Davida that if Anna was ejected from her parents' house he would take her into his house. On the basis of the one corrective move and one corrective statement he made, Davida loosened the value for Valente. He further agreed to meet with Valente and Manuel so that they could make plans; this was an offer to act for Valente in the case. These two men were associated in school events and were close friends as well. In addition, it will be remembered, Davida was ndjuna to the village chief so that his support in a case was very strong and would be taken to indicate the chief's support, also, in the absence of any evidence

to the contrary. Davida, like Manuel, could act as broker or could throw his opinion on one side or the other; his was a very powerful voice in the village. Valente activated their friendship tie, and at the same time enlisted the support of the president of the school board which should safeguard him from repercussions in that quarter. The one role which was not open to Davida was neutrality because of the multiplicity of links and associations with all concerned in this case. Note that Davida seemed to predicate his support on Manuel's having offered his support: he suggested that the three of them meet to discuss the case. Hence Valente's move in going to Manuel first was doubly astute; he knew that Manuel was senior to Davida, and that the latter would probably follow the former's lead. In going to Manuel in his role of "father" to Valente, Valente followed valued procedure in time of trouble. The first step is for the party in a potential or actual dispute to communicate everything to his kinsmen and elders. These visits to Manuel and Davida show that Valente anticipated the inevitable: either payment of a fine, marriage to a second wife, and/or a court case. Any one of these situations demanded that he recruit support and representatives.

E3. Valente tells his older brother, Nkosi; he is pleased and says he also plans to take a second wife.

The most striking thing about this was that Valente had obviously told his brother that he was

planning on taking a second wife. This older brother is a pagan and would be concerned only with the violation of the value concerning unmarried girls. He loosened this value for Valente just as Davida did; although analytically I can say the process was choice between alternative values, from Nkosi's point of view what made Valente's behavior acceptable was the corrective moves he had made. He had told his older brother, following proper procedure in case of trouble; and he had said he planned to bring Anna home as his second wife. In these two instances (Davida and Nkosi) there seems to be another category of culturally constituted loosening processes which are related to the central actor's corrective acts. The loosening seems to have been predicated on an unwritten rule: if a person who deserves your support for structural reasons acts in a way to correct a value violation, then you must give him your support. This is loosening predicated on future correction.

In a dispute at court no close family member is allowed to act as a witness because it is assumed he will lie to defend his kinsmen; this follows by definition of kinship roles. Some kin, however, may act as witnesses against the principal to the dispute, and this behavior is valued because they have a moral obligation to teach a kinsman to "behave like a good person." By telling Nkosi that he planned to bring Anna home Valente removed him from the category of kinsman obligated to act against him

"to teach proper behavior," just as he did with Davida. The extent of Nkosi's loosening for Valente was shown in his not telling their father's sister when they visited her on the same day. This woman deserved to be told by virtue of her relationship to them; that he did not tell her was due to the bad relations between them going back to his childhood. It is clear that Valente expected her to berate him and perhaps to speak against him if a trial should develop. Nkosi's silence amounted to a value violation ("tell your elders about impending trouble") and constituted loosening of the value for Valente.

E4. A week later Valente told his mother the news and asked her to tell his older and younger sisters and his father's sister; his mother was very upset.

Sabula was very upset by her son's behavior and was worried that Anna's parents would punish him. Whether she was reacting to his proposed abduction of Anna or to the violation of Christian values I do not know. A mother's moral status is a reflection of her son's status if he is head of the household she lives in, as in this case. Valente treated his mother as an elder of the house by asking her to communicate with his father's sister and older sister both of whom live in two different villages. He also asked her to tell Mandjia, his younger sister "who followed him" who is his next door neighbor and the chief's senior wife. In all three cases he could easily have communicated his intentions himself; he was obviously avoiding discussion and recriminations. The loosening of

the values was again only mildly successful; Sabula was upset and remonstrated with him, but he ignored her. Sabula's reaction was a private one; she did not move out of Valente's muti, and she did as he requested. This constituted loosening of a culturally constituted kind; a mother has no recourse but to obey her son as the head of her family unless she wants to move away and thus forfeit all claim to his support. The process was redefinition of Valente's role; she had to treat her son as party to a potential dispute and give aid when requested. In a negative sense it could be said that Sabula was suppressing all the other roles which Valente also played, and was responding to the most important one at that time. He refused to listen to her lamentations and told her to obey. Her only choice was to do so or to violate her obligations to him.

E5. Valente tells his friend Zinyawa about his affair; Zinyawa says he will be punished and offers to perform an abortion; Valente refuses this because of the risk to mother and child.

Figure 3 shows that Zinyawa (number 45) is a classificatory sibling to Anna; she is his mother's sister's husband's brother's daughter. Valente told me that he had three very close friends with whom he grew up and played and then herded; Zinyawa is one of these friends. The other friend, present in the village at the time of these events, is Andre (Figure 3; number 4), but Valente did not go to see him. Andre finally visited Valente, as recorded

later in the case. Since both of these men are equally close to Valente it is probably that Andre's close connection with Anna's family (he is the Evangela's grandson) prevented Valente from going to him as he did to Zinyawa. Andre is definitely a 'closer' relative to Anna than is Zinyawa but there is an even more important barrier --Andre is Christian. Zinyawa's reaction was sympathetic; he told Valente he would surely be severely punished, and immediately mourned the fact that they did not live in a country where he could easily arrange an abortion for Anna and thus solve Valente's problems. This constituted loosening of the value "do not impregnate unmarried girls." Since Zinyawa is a doctor (nanga) the Christian values involved were not applicable and were irrelevant to him. The process in loosening the value was ambiguity of the central actor's behavior. On the one hand Valente had violated the value concerning unmarried girls, but he refused to compound this sin by risking her life and the unborn child's by an abortion. Furthermore Zinyawa reacted as a good friend is expected to react under these circumstances. As a friend he owed Valente his support and sympathy; he need not act for him, unless requested, but he should indicate that he was still Valente's friend. This is another instance of the strong Rjonga attitude that your family and friends are 'on your side' if they are not witnesses against you.

In going to Manuel, Davida, Nkosi, his mother, and Zinyawa, Valente was mobilizing the support of those people who owed him loyalty and support either because of structural relationships or because of the values attached to friendship. In Manuel's case Valente activated the roles of "father" and "son," thus making a strong, if implicit, claim on Manuel's support. The same was true with his approach to his older brother, Nkosi, and to his mother. With Davida and Zinyawa his claims to their aid were based, again implicitly, on the values attaching to friendship. Davida was also a kinsman, although a distant one, but I have already stated that Valente had this relationship in mind and stressed it by having gone to Manuel first. In addition to this Davida and Valente were closely associated through school activities and this created another basis for in-group solidarity and support. Given the emphasis on cooperation among the Rjonga, voluntary associations of any kind, including friendship, carry the same kinds of obligations as kinship associations or connections. They are not as strong as the bonds of kinship, but they exist. A man who does not stand by his friend in time of need becomes an enemy for the future. Thus a man, in the course of growing up, forms ties with certain relatives and friends who are most supportive and these form an enduring, if vague, 'action set' (Gulliver, 1969). This action set is vague in the sense that not the same people are always called upon in time of need; a

man's action set consists of a larger group than the one he actually mobilizes in time of need. This serves to give a man a choice of the most powerful and/or useful people for any given situation. In some cases, as with Manuel and Tomas, two or more men do act together so regularly that the action set becomes institutionalized for these two, and from the point of view of others, as well. In these cases gaining the support of one of the men in the set is tantamount to gaining the support of both, or all if there are more than two. I saw at least three other sets of this nature in the village, each one consisting of two men who always acted in concert and who always called on each other in time of need with the expectation of receiving support. There are also cases when two members of one of these sets found themselves on opposing sides in a dispute, but in every case this was where one was in such flagrant and public violation of accepted norms that the other was obligated to "teach him proper behavior." That is, in these rare cases one behaved as a kinsman to the other by not permitting him to act improperly because to do so would constitute a value violation for the friend not directly involved in the dispute. Note that I have stressed how Valente indicated to each of these people he visited that he intended to correct for his behavior by taking care of Anna; he thus removed himself from the category of "flagrant and public violation of accepted norms." In each instance he gave evidence of his

intention to correct for his behavior; the exception which might be made is his visit to Manuel. There the burden was on Manuel who said they would wait to see what happened, thus removing the onus for immediate correction from Valente. As I have indicated I take this to have been a stalling maneuver on Manuel's part, given his structurally and morally central position. In all cases the loosening of one or both of the values in question was successful for culturally constituted reasons. Also noteworthy is the fact that Manuel, Davida, Nkosi, Zinyawa, and Sabula were not Christians (see pages 185-194 for short biographies on each: numbers 26, 10, 33, 45, and 37, respectively). Perhaps for this reason Valente did not go to visit his old childhood friend, Andre (number 4), who was a strong, practicing Christian, and why he did not tell his younger sister, Mandjia, who also was a strong Christian. Valente, in effect, had defined the field in which he intended to act as a pagan one, thereby limiting the choice of possible corrective acts he could make. He obviously intended to behave like a good pagan and to use pagan methods for redeeming himself; at least he so indicated to those whose support he sought. The ambiguity of his behavior will become clear in the next episode.

E6. In late August of the same year Anna moved into Valente's house. It was almost two months to the day since she became pregnant.

Anna and Valente had eloped; this is called the ku-tluba and is the pagan form of marriage used by men who do not have the money to lobolo a wife. There is a very fine description of the ku-tluba and its meaning in Junod (1962: 119) which I will quote here:

But there exists another way of getting a wife. . . . A young man . . . wishing to marry such and such a girl, will send a friend to her and propose a rendezvous in the bush. If she agrees to become his wife in this irregular manner, she goes there and meets him. They have relations together and run to one of the relatives of the girl's mother. The family of the mother will be more lenient than the family of the father, having no right to the lobolo. . . . The parents look everywhere for their daughter and try to get her to return home. If she is quite determined to remain with her ravisher, they let her go free, deploring their misfortune and their shame. But it is rare in the primitive state of the tribe for such a marriage not to be regularised. The thief, if he has retained any feeling of decency, will try to collect the lobolo. One morning he goes to the village of his wife's parents, and deposits a sovereign or a goat or a cock on the threshold of the hut of the girl's mother; or he hangs a half-sovereign on the goat's neck, rubs its lips with salt to prevent it from bleating, and then shouts loudly: "We have stolen, we of such and such a clan." . . . When he has been duly recognized, he runs away. He will perhaps bring some other presents till he has definitely "lobola" his wife. This is called the nshonshonela [ku-xonxonela]. Should he not succeed in bringing the regular payment, the first girl born of that marriage will be the lobolo. . . . In law, all the children of such a union belong to the girl's family: a man who has not lobola has no right of property in his children.

Should the woman who has been stolen by tluba go at once to live with her irregular husband in his village, her parents will arrange matters in another way. They will 'go as enemies,' to make a regular descent on the village of the thief, kill a pig, threaten to take all the furniture. The men of that village will then intercede and, in the course of time, the lobolo will be paid ["village" means household here].

I have omitted from this quotation the fact that the parents of the girl will ignore her whereabouts, even

though they know quite well, until the abductor has presented himself to them. It is only when the man fails to present himself to the girl's parents within a reasonable period of time that they come 'as enemies.' The difference between the elopement form of marriage (ku-tluba) and the xonxonela form is that in the latter the couple immediately go to a relative of the wife's mother. In the elopement the girl goes straight to her husband's house, as Anna did.

Valente's choice of elopement over the xonxonela gave him more latitude, more choice in his future behavior. By not taking Anna directly to a relative of her mother's he avoided committing himself to lobolo her. He had chosen an alternative which is recognized by the pagan Rjonga (and the Christians if no other wife is involved), and thus had corrected his sin to the smallest degree permissible by pagan standards. His behavior was ambiguous in that he brought a second woman home, but had made no move which indicated he intended to legalize the relationship by loboloing her. Anna would be recognized as his wife by all pagans; but he acquired no rights in her legally. This move could be construed as a minimally corrective one by the pagans, and probably was a stalling maneuver on Valente's part until he could assess public (all village) opinion about his behavior. He told me that throughout this case his major concern was for his job as school teacher; this job is intimately connected with Christianity as I have pointed out many times. It is

here that Valente's dilemma, occasioned by his holding contradictory values, is most clear. He behaved in a way to demonstrate that he was still a 'good man' to the pagans; and at the same time behaved ambiguously enough that the Christians could not accuse him of polygamy in the legal sense.

This ends Phase II of the case. The following episodes are different in that new people entered the field and made different demands than had been made to date; furthermore, the people involved in this were members of an organized group, the Christian church of which Valente was a member.

Phase III

El. A week after Anna moved into Valente's muti four members of the church board came to call on Valente to demand that he send Anna away because it was against church law, and a teacher "should not have done something like that." Valente refuses their demands.

This visit by the members of the church board was a flagrant violation of the Rjonga value which forbids anyone to interfere in a family affair, particularly between husband and wife.

Fernando (page 190, number 16) was a member of the church board and the Evangela's younger brother (and Tomas'). Suzana, his wife, was a member of the church board (page 193, number 39). Eliza (page 189, number 11) was a member of the church board and the mother of the president of the city school board. Rosa (page 192,

number 35) was a member of the church board. These four all lived in Valente's zone, and were related to Anna in some way, although Fernando and Suzana were the most closely related. (See Figure 3 for kinship links of 16, 39 and 11; Figure 4 for number 35.)

Membership in church and school boards overlapped in only four cases, all men: these were Solomon (number 38); Marcos (number 28); Zakaria (number 44 and the only non-resident of Mitini); and Fenias (number 15). None of these men were present on this first visit, and two reasons can be induced to account for this. The first is that this was not a 'family' visit; the reason for coming was not conceptualized as interference by family members of either side (that is, Valente's or Anna's). None of these people who came was sufficiently closely related to Anna (not even Fernando, because he was the youngest of the brothers) to be able to act for her at this stage in time. If her father, Alfonso, decided that a reasonable amount of time since the elopement had elapsed he would go visit Valente himself, with his representatives. More evidence of the same kind (that this was not a family visit) was Solomon's absence. He was the president of the church board but he was also Ruti's head of household. His appearance could have been construed as interference of an unforgivable sort, especially since Ruti had not complained to any member of her family.

The second reason which accounts for Solomon, Marcos, Zakaria, and Fenias not appearing at this first visit is the fact that they were also members of the school board. This visit was defined by Fernando and his companions as a church visit; their complaint was Valente's violation of church law. Christians have definite values that they can point to, as a group; members of the school board do not have a definite set of values peculiar to them as a group.

Other church board members who also lived in Valente's zone but who did not come on this visit were Marcos, Celeste, and two others who nowhere appear in the case but who were close relatives of the Evangelists. Marcos' absence has already been explained on the grounds that he was also a member of the school board; furthermore he was a party to the earlier dispute involving Valente and the first teacher, over the sale of the school books. Note that Eliza was Marcos' sister, however. Celeste was Anna's mother and could in no way justify her appearance at Valente's house at this time; she was bound by the cultural rule which states that parents of an eloped girl ignore her whereabouts until the man presents himself to them.

There were twelve people who belonged to the church board; four of these also belonged to the school board and I have accounted for their absence on that basis. Four came to call on Valente. Of the remaining

four, one was not native to the village; two never became involved in the case at all; and the last was Anna's mother. Of the two who never became involved, one was the Evangela's, Tomas', and Fernando's sister; the other was a man closely related to them.

For future reference there were also twelve members of the school board; of these, three were the young men who comprise the 'city school board'; four were also on the church board (Fenias, Zakaria, Solomon, and Marcos). The remaining five were: Davida, the president; Valente, the secretary; Tomas (Fernando's brother); Alfredo, a secretary; and a woman who does not appear in the case. The other four did and were principals in the formal dispute which comes later.

In this visit the first thing Valente did was to call Ruti into the house to hear what the elders had to say; he did not call Anna. This amounted to a value correction in that he accorded formal status and prestige to his senior wife, and not to the junior. At the same time he told the church people that what they had heard about his having a second wife was true. He accorded Anna a wifely status verbally but not behaviorally, and this is not uncommon among the Rjonga; he gave Anna public status in declaring her his wife, he reduced her moral status by not having her present. Men who dislike their wives and/or feel their wives to be a liability to them frequently acted in the same way, I observed. This ambiguity (the

process in this mild correction) on Valente's part left him some scope for future action; he still had some alternatives. Remember that he insisted to me that it was never his intention to marry Anna legally because they had not contracted for marriage. He was willing to protect her from her father's wrath, and to take care of her at least until the baby was born. He made this explicit to Davida and Zinyawa. By not treating Anna as his wife behaviorally he still preserved the option of not marrying her (to satisfy the Christians), but also preserved his status among the pagans by assuming responsibility for her. His behavior was ambiguous enough that the pagans could assume (although they should not) that he had married Anna and all that remained to be settled was the amount of the fine he must pay for the elopement, and when the lobolo would be paid.

The church board's coming to question Valente about his taking a second wife was a flat violation of the strong Rjonga value not to interfere in family affairs. Leaving that value aside, however, their visit could be analyzed as being within traditionally valued behavior. They explicitly took the stand of aggrieved parties prior to a dispute; before one side takes another to court he is morally obligated to call on the transgressor to question him about his behavior and to try to effect a private settlement. Fernando made this clear in his opening words (Appendix A). He told Valente that he had violated

church law and he also hinted at future sanctions: "since you are a professor you should not have done something like that." Seen only as a member of the group of Christians, Valente had violated one of their strongest values and these visitors were applying standard corrective procedures by having come to question him and demand that he make reparations. They further made it clear that they did this in fairness before taking him to "court" (that is, to report his violation to the missionaries at the mission station in a distant village). Fernando said he wanted to know what Valente intended to do about his sin so that the church people could take his answer to the missionaries. If they could report to the missionaries that Valente planned to send Anna away, the missionaries and other church people would then assume the status of those who were morally obligated to give support, for structural reasons, because the main actor had proven he intended to redeem his ways (see the analysis of the loosening by Nkosi, e.g.). The implication, of course, was that if Valente did not give a satisfactory answer to these people they would assume the status of kinsmen who were morally obligated to act as witnesses against their relative in order to "teach him how to behave properly." These church board members treated Valente as their close kinsman in this respect; they acted as if the bond of Christianity was like the bond of kinship. In a sense, Fernando and

his companions behaved like aggrieved kinsmen before a dispute.

Valente parried this initial exchange by saying things had happened unexpectedly and he had not thought about what he should do. Significantly, he said "In the beginning I did not think it would come to this." This was a minor corrective statement; he was saying he did not violate the church law about taking a second wife deliberately. It was an accident and thus he was not as much to blame as he might be.

Rosa said they understood that, but that he was wrong in bringing Anna to his house; he should have left her with her parents "waiting to see what they would do." This was a rejection of his thesis that he was not deliberately behaving badly. Valente's point was valid from a pagan point of view; Rosa, as a Christian, denied its validity by saying his major error was in bringing Anna home at all. Rosa defined the field as that of Christians; Valente was trying to define the field as it actually was: a contradiction in values when seen in their total context of pagan and Christian bearers. He was trying to keep a foot in both camps by saying (in a variety of ways): "look, I am not a bad guy (pagan) because I brought her home; and I am not a bad guy (Christian) because I did not treat her as a wife behaviorally; and this was all an accident, anyway--I did not mean to do it." These were corrective

statements, from the point of view of the values he had violated.

Valente's response to Rose constituted a rejection of her criticism and involved a redefinition of his role and the field they were all interacting in. He said they had no right to interfere in his family affair; the church must wait to judge him until he settled the case with Anna's father; and if he had left her at home it would show that "he did not understand anything." Valente redefined (by narrowing) the field to one which included pagan roles only. He specifically stated this by saying that the church could have at him only after Anna's father had had his licks, and by saying if he had not brought her home it would prove he was not even a good pagan ("I do not understand anything"). He had not completely excluded the church, however; note that he recognized their right to impose sanctions on him, but only after the pagan sanctions had been imposed. The rest of the interview continued along the same lines; the church members proposed alternative solutions (corrective acts, from the Christian point of view) and Valente rejected them as not being acceptable to pagans. Suzana warned him that these members were sent by Solomon (of church and school board and Ruti's head of household), and that they would have to tell him everything. Valente said when he had decided what he should do he would send them a message. The interview

ended with Fernando leading a prayer asking God to forgive Valente for his sin so that he could return to the church.

The church board members refused to loosen the value "a Christian may not have two wives," but were more than ready to loosen the value concerning the impregnation of unmarried girls by the process of redefining Valente's roles so as to deny the importance of any non-Christian roles. Valente rejected their loosening of this value by saying "I may have been wrong but I understand something and you do not since you interfere in a family affair--making what I do more acceptable because you who attack me show yourselves to be wicked, so your attack is without force."

There was a clear overlap of correcting and loosening processes here. By treating Valente as a public figure whose roles as Christian and school teacher were the most important components in his over-all status, the church board members acted as aggrieved kinsmen in a dispute, thereby loosening the value about unmarried girls but demanding correction for violation of the Christian values. Interference in the life of a public figure, such as a chief, is no more tolerable, generally, than is interference in the life of a private party. A chief can be chastised by his counselors and/or ndjuna, but he cannot be obliged to heed their advice. This is very clear in Muntwana's history (chief at the time of these events, Valente's brother-in-law). His behavior was outrageous,

doubly so in a chief, but he refused to listen to his elders; finally, a delegation went to the king to complain and he was ultimately removed from office. Inasmuch as the advisors and ndjuna can counsel the chief, the church board members can be considered as advisors to their public 'chief,' the school teacher. The flaw in this argument is that this was specifically not a school board delegation, but a church delegation; the 'chief' of the church in the village was the pastor, not the school teacher, although the two are closely associated in the minds of the people. The sanctions which these church board members threatened to bring against Valente were moral sanctions, affecting his status as Christian. There had been no direct economic threat (his position as school teacher) as yet, although Fernando brought this up by stressing this component as the second most important one in Valente's over-all status. A slight case might be made for the church board members' interpretation of Valente's status as a public figure being within traditional bounds, but only with the reservation noted above; to the extent that this argument is allowed, the church people's violation of the non-interference value is diminished.

Valente, however, refused to loosen the non-interference value for Fernando, Eliza, Rosa, and Suzana, and by treating this as a value violation he demanded correction for their behavior: that is, leaving him alone and recognizing that, under the circumstances, he had done

the best he could. The encounter ended in a draw in that Valente agreed to send a message after he came to a decision, and that the church members would hold off going to the missionaries until they received his message. They would repeat what had occurred to Solomon, and this was part of the same sanctioning procedures they had already taken. Valente denied them the right to judge him before Alfonso (Anna's father) came to some agreement with him though; in so doing he explicitly defined the important field as a pagan one.

E2. Valente did not tell Anna what happened at this meeting; he stopped going to Friday meetings for baptized Christians and to choir practice; he continued going to Sunday services.

In not telling Anna what the members of the church board wanted Valente continued the corrective process, from the Christian point of view, that he had employed when Fernando et al., were present. He continued not to treat her as a wife; this difference was highlighted by his taking Ruti into his confidence, as Anna knew. I can say that the sanctions which the church board threatened to bring against Valente had been successful in that he continued his change in behavior to Anna, denying her status as wife operationally.

Further correcting was evidenced in his not going to the Friday meetings or to choir practice. These activities were restricted to Christians in good standing; by not going he admitted that he was not a Christian in

good standing. From an individual viewpoint it would be accurate, perhaps, to say he stopped going to forestall the church people from preventing him. From a sociological viewpoint, however, this must be considered as correction: a change in behavior occasioned by imposed sanctions, or threatened sanctions. The process was redefinition of role; Valente accepted the evaluation of his status as "Christian in bad standing."

E3. Two weeks later Fernando returns with Solomon to visit Valente at home; the mission pastor sent word if Valente could not decide what to do he should stop teaching at the school; Solomon urges him to send Anna home with money and to ask pardon; Valente rejects these proposals; Fernando says he will talk with Alfonso.

Fernando and Solomon had come to get Valente's answer about what he intended to do. Solomon was the head of the church board in Mitini and also a member of the school board; further, he was Ruti's head of household (page 192, number 38). Valente continued stalling by saying he had not talked with Alfonso yet so he could not make any decisions. Since Alfonso was "the owner of the case" (principal aggrieved party) this is quite correct; no one should make decisions before speaking with the opposing party in a dispute.

Fernando parried this delaying technique by saying the pastor at the mission said if Valente could not make up his mind it would be best for him to stop teaching. This was a powerful sanction designed to force Valente's hand. He rejected it angrily by denying that the mission

had any word about his being a teacher. "I am not a professor of the mission but of the village. For his part, I do not go to the meetings of the church anymore." This statement reinforces the analysis of the last episode. Valente felt that by ceasing to attend church meetings he had corrected for his violation of Christian values to the fullest extent of his power to do so. In effect, he said, that should satisfy the missionaries, because that was all they could require of him: "for his part . . ."

Valente denied that the pastor had any right to interfere in any part of his life not directly connected with the church. He separated the roles of Christian and school teacher, thus trying to protect the element of his status which was most important to him. Let me note that it is the most important element for all Rjonga, also; education and Christianity go hand in hand, but the Christian values are meaningless for pagans, whereas being a school teacher has great meaning in other terms. To become assimilated a Rjonga must demonstrate that he can read and write Portuguese, is a Christian, and pays his taxes. The Portuguese consider command of the language and payment of taxes the most important criteria; they do not question claims to Christianity, nor investigate them. I know of some assimilated Rjonga who have multiple wives and hold important jobs with Portuguese officials, for example. Although many Rjonga fear assimilation for reasons too lengthy to examine here, they also recognize that it is a

necessary next step if they are to survive in a world which clearly demands interaction with non-Rjonga. It is for this reason that they value education so highly and so desperately wanted a school for their children: so that these children would be ready for assimilation. Before a Rjonga (or any other tribesman) can take the exams which admit him to the last year of high school, he must become assimilated. Assimilation can also occur anytime after completion of Standard 4.

From these people's point of view, Valente's attempt to separate the roles of Christian and school teacher were completely novel. Never before had there been a school teacher who was not a Christian. Never before had there been a school teacher who was not also appointed by the mission. Valente was emphasizing the ambiguity of his roles by saying that he was the exception, a non-mission appointed school teacher. This removed him, he said, from any mission applied sanctions insofar as they related to his status as teacher. Remember that mission teachers must have a minimum of Standard 4 education, and Valente only had Standard 3. This further marked the difference in his status; it also made him very nervous, as he told me. If he lost this job he would be unable to find another teaching job because he did not meet the educational standards. There were no other village run schools; only mission schools. Valente's efforts were directed to getting the church people to loosen the value

that school teachers must be Christians. So far he had not succeeded, but neither had the church people succeeded in getting Valente to correct the violation of the same value. He had corrected for violations of purely church values; but he had not corrected the violation of the value which says a school teacher must be a Christian. He refused to send Anna home and denied that the church could dictate his behavior in this by using school oriented sanctions.

Solomon repeated that they thought he should send Anna back to her parents with money (the proof that a husband has sent his wife away and that she has not run away of her own accord), and should ask their pardon. Valente denied he could do this, and suggested that if Solomon thought he could he, Solomon, could do it for him, going as his representative. Solomon said that was impossible since he was not of Valente's family. Valente won that round. He said, in effect, "if you behave as members of my family in demanding that I do this, then act as members of my family by taking her back." If Solomon agreed he would be the principal in any dispute which followed because he would be the instigator and person legally liable. In lobolo disputes, for example, if the woman's mother's brother received the lobolo, acting as her family's representative, he is liable at court for the lobolo unless there are witnesses to his having turned it over to the woman's parents. In the same way, if Solomon took Anna back to her father's house, he would be legally

liable at court. When Solomon refused to do this he undercut his own moral position by admitting he had no right to interfere in a family affair. This was a tacit admission on Solomon's part that the only sanctions he could enforce were church sanctions; Valente had already recognized this by ceasing to attend church meetings. Further than that, in Valente's view, the church could not go. He agreed he was not a good Christian; but he stated he was a good pagan, which was more than these interfering church board members were, and he further associated his status as school teacher with paganism, not with Christianity.

E4. At a general assembly of the school board Davida brings up Valente's case and blames the church board people for interfering; they reply they had no choice since they were ordered to by their superiors, the missionaries; Valente says he will stop teaching which he is doing as a labor of love since they have not paid him, anyway; the board asks him not to 'kill the work' and to continue teaching, but they will have to send his case to the missionaries for judgment; Valente agrees to teach but blames the church board members' talk for the fall in enrollment and consequent fall in his salary; at the next meeting he is paid for the last two months but there is still 1400\$ owed him.

The most important points in this sequence of events were:

1. The school board president, Davida, blamed the church board people for interfering in a family affair.
2. Davida said the case should have been brought to the school board before it went to the church board: "If you find someone's son stealing can you send him to jail before speaking to his parents?"

3. Valente defensively agreed to stop teaching because he did not really want to anyway: this was a threat against the school board who would be left without a teacher. Valente defined his role as teacher as having performed a favor for the school board. He further reminded the board he had not been paid which gave him a good reason for quitting (not for being fired).
4. Davida asked him not to leave but stated that they must send Valente's case to the church missionaries and if they decided the board did not resolve the case well, the school board would have to meet again.
5. Valente continued on the defensive saying the school board was more concerned in judging his case, which they had no right to do, than in paying his salary.
6. At the next meeting Valente was paid for two months, but not for many preceding months. This debt of 1390\$ remained as a possible economic sanction against him.

Davida began by loosening the value that school teachers must be Christians for Valente by the process of stressing one component of Valente's status at the expense of another (ambiguity of actor's roles). Davida's use of the proverb (point 2) indicated that he considered Valente to "belong" first to the school board, and next to the church. In saying that the school board had the right to judge Valente's behavior at all, Davida treated him as a public figure whose characteristic role was that of school teacher; the church board members tried to treat him as a public figure (with no private family life, that is) whose characteristic roles were Christian-school teacher.

Davida withdrew this loosening of the value, apparently because Solomon (who was Davida's elder: see Figure 4,

numbers 8 and 10) said that the village church board had no option: the missionaries were their superiors. Solomon also said, in effect, "I did not violate the non-interference value because I was ordered to interfere by the missionaries." This was correction by a process of explicit reinterpretation. Davida ultimately agreed to this definition of the situation by saying the school board would have to send Valente's case to the mission. In saying this he corrected the value violation relating to non-interference for Solomon. This is crucial to the case. The president of the school board, Valente's close friend, the village ndjuna (Davida was all of these) had redefined the field to include the missionaries' opinions. His definition was binding on Valente because he was a powerful figure in the "school teacher field." I have no evidence of the exact arguments which were used that caused Davida to change his mind in this way. I suspect that the mission ownership of the building used as a school affected his change of attitude, but I can only speculate about that.

Valente agreed to this redefinition of the field he perceived himself to be acting in by offering, although petulantly, to stop teaching. He did this in such a way, however, that it was a threat to the school board which would have to replace him. In effect, he was saying: "You of the school board better support me because I am working without pay, and where else would you find another

like me?" In this way, he presented his agreement to continue teaching as a correction for his previous behavior. He had behaved badly in impregnating Anna; the church and school board behaved worse in interfering; he agreed that they had the power, if not the right, to interfere; he said he was working without pay, anyway, so he would resign; he was persuaded to continue teaching so the children would not suffer. He defined his role as one of a person willing to put up with the outrageous slings and arrows of meddlesome people so that innocent children would not suffer. He was a martyr. In this way Valente acted to preserve his moral status as "a good man."

Remember that he had put the church board on the defensive by claiming that their talk kept enrollment (and his salary, which came from matriculation fees) down. In this he appealed to the unwritten attitudes that hurting a person's economic status is far worse than attacking his moral status. This desirable position was weakened at the next school board when his salary for the last two months was paid, although not the 1390\$ from prior months. Later Valente was to make much of this debt to him because it was the final claim he had to the moral status of "good man" who was economically hurt by others' interference in his affairs. Nevertheless, the payment of the two months' salary constituted correcting by the school board of the value concerning a man's economic status by a partial return to valued behavior; Valente's case with Anna, was

not mentioned at this second meeting so the Christian-school teacher value violations he had committed were loosened for him, by the process of ignoring their existence, by the school board.

E5. In the same month as the second meeting of the school board Fernando returns to visit Valente, with Suzana and Rosa; Fernando recounts his meeting with Alfonso who only wants the lobolo for Anna; Valente says he still has come to no decision.

Fernando had gone to talk with Alfonso, ostensibly to reason with him and persuade him not to make demands Valente could not meet, because Alfonso had been a Christian once and knew the laws of the church. Objectively this act was a further violation of the non-interference value; subjectively, Fernando defined Alfonso as a one-time Christian and approachable on those grounds. Alfonso refused to loosen the non-interference value for Fernando; Anna belonged to him, he said, not to the church. He told Fernando he was only interested in seeing the lobolo because Valente had married his daughter. There was no loosening, only a demand for correction. Valente replied to Fernando's renewed request for a decision by saying he could decide nothing until he saw what Alfonso would do. Note that he based his delay not on the grounds that he had not gone to talk with Alfonso yet (valued procedure), but on the grounds that Alfonso had not acted yet. He had defined legal marriage to Anna out of existence; this alternative was no longer part of Valente's field. If the man does not present himself to

the girl's father after a reasonable period of time, after they have eloped, the girl's family "come as enemies." Valente was forcing Alfonso to act as aggressor by refusing to go speak with him. The reasons for this are obvious. If Alfonso was forced to come to Valente demanding reparation, Valente had no choice but to meet his demands, from the pagan point of view, or suffer a worse blow to his moral status. Valente put himself into a position where whatever he did was done by necessity, not by choice. Alfonso would be the aggrieved party in the dispute, of course, and Valente the transgressor. Valente was making social forces work for him as a protection against the sanctions of the church and school boards. If his affair came to public trial at court he knew that village opinion and tribal custom would take precedence over the customs of a minority group whose values are not held to be binding on all Rjonga.

This third visit by the church board members ended in another stalemate. Fernando indicated that the church still had sanctions it could use against Valente and demanded correction. Valente refused to loosen the non-interference value implicit in the visit, and thus denied correction was necessary. At the same time, he did correct slightly by indicating he would not marry Anna voluntarily; he would wait until events forced him to act. He was a pawn of fate, in short. The process in this correction was denial of alternative courses of action.

E6. Some time later Zakaria, the church and school board member from another village (Figure 11, number 44) comes to visit Valente; he asks Valente to give Anna up on the grounds that it is shameful; he says the people are murmuring "how can a man with two wives still teach?"; Valente says he understands but can do nothing before talking to Alfonso; Zakaria agrees but says Valente should do this soon.

Zakaria's visit to Valente shows there were many people in the arena: that is, there were people who were aware of the value violations and who had opinions, but who were prevented from expressing their opinions because of a cultural boundary (non-interference). These people were divided into two groups: parents of children in Valente's school and Christians. Zakaria told Valente he tried to explain to these people that Valente's roles of Christian and school teacher were distinct because he was not a mission appointed teacher, but "even so the people did not understand." Zakaria thus made explicit that Valente's attempt to loosen the value which says a school teacher must also act like a Christian had not been successful because of the inextricable association of these two statuses in the people's minds. Valente said he understood that but he could not act before speaking with Alfonso. That is, he asked for loosening on the grounds that there was another rule which he was bound to obey first: that governing the behavior of a man who has eloped. He continued to plead ambiguity of actor's roles (alternative values); that was the process. Zakaria agreed with this but stressed that Valente should therefore try

to speak with Alfonso. Zakaria pointed out, in effect, that Valente's priorities were admissible but that he had not acted on them. Thus he required correction. Valente agreed he would try to speak with Alfonso, and the meeting ended.

E7. Valente asks Anna what she thinks of all of these visitors; he suggests she return to her parents' house so he will not be bothered by them anymore; she agrees and repeats what her mother had told her; Valente goes hunting and Anna returns to her mother while he is gone.

Valente asked Anna if she knew the purpose of the visits from the church and school board members; this indicates that he had not discussed the situation with her at all. She admitted that Ruti had told her. He asked that they come to an agreement which consisted of her going home and asking pardon for having accepted a married man. In return for this Valente would continue to support her and she could come to his house whenever she wished. She was to explain to her parents that people came to bother Valente all the time, and that is why they were agreeing she leave. Valente emphasized that Anna must explain to her parents well that they had come to an agreement on this; that is, that she was not being involuntarily sent away by him.

Sending Anna home to her parents because of the visits by Fernando, et al., was a major corrective act. Valente was succumbing to the pressures brought to bear on him. From the Christians' point of view, Valente was

returning to prescribed behavior, the process in this correction. Since he had not legally married this woman nor even paid the fine for impregnating her, his action in sending her home violated all pagan norms relating to this situation. He was abdicating his responsibility. Note that he put the burden on Anna: she should ask her parents' forgiveness for having accepted a married man. At the same time he insisted she make it clear to her family that she had not been sent away but had agreed that the only proper thing to do, to protect Valente, was remove herself. The only grounds a woman's family has for retaining a lobolo in the case of divorce is if the husband sends the wife away without her consent. By stressing the "agreement" Valente obviously hoped to end the case in this way.

Valente was correcting for the violation of the Christian values and at the same time was trying to protect himself from future pagan sanctions by denying that he had violated any. This was a formal statement of his refusal to consider marriage to Anna as an acceptable alternative to his original value violation. Since he had led Alfonso, Davida, Zinyawa, and others, to believe he would correct for his violation by marrying Anna, this is clear evidence that the Christian-school board sanctions brought to bear were more important to Valente than violating pagan norms and the consequent sanctions were. He resolved his

dilemma by choosing to correct for the Christian-school teacher violations rather than for the pagan violations.

It is not unusual for a man to send away a wife who is the cause of misfortune if he feels that losing the lobolo and woman and any children is more tolerable than the trouble she causes but there are sanctions about this. Thus in sending Anna away because she was the source of all the bothersome visits from church and school people who threatened not only his moral standing but his job, Valente acted within permissible bounds. At the same time, however, he denied he was sending her away. It was a mutual agreement and since they never contracted for marriage he hoped the worst that could happen (pagan sanctions) was that he pay the fine for impregnating an unmarried girl. Valente had left this option open for himself, as I pointed out earlier, by never taking any of the formal steps a man should, after an elopement, if his intentions were honorable. From ceasing to treat Anna as his wife operationally (not having her present at Fernando's visits; not discussing these visits with her) he had moved to ceasing to consider her his wife in any sense. Note that this decision followed after economic sanctions had become a possibility--that is, after Davida said the missionaries would have the last word on Valente's status as teacher.

Anna agreed with all Valente suggested (that is, loosened the value about sending wives away) and told him,

for the first time, that her mother had predicted all this would come to pass. Apparently Celeste had told Anna that the missionaries would fire Valente from his teaching job and that the villagers would blame Celeste and Anna for the village losing its school teacher. Anna had not told Valente this because she was afraid he would not have let her come to his house, and she was also afraid her mother would get into trouble if she stayed home. She was sure her father would forbid her to remain in his (Alfonso's) house after she became pregnant, and if her mother had let her she would get into trouble also. She told Valente she thought her mother would let her return now and agreed to explain everything well to her family so there would not be "lots of noise"--that is, so her family would not be able to say she was sent away: divorced, in effect. She said she would stress that their object was to avoid further annoying visits from members of the church and/or school board.

This ends Phase III. It is crucial to understand that two other values have become a part of the field so that there are now four major values involved in the processes. These are:

1. A Christian may not have two wives.
2. A man who impregnates an unmarried girl must either marry her or pay the fine and lose woman, child, and money.

3. No one may interfere in a family affair,
particularly between husband and wife.
4. A school teacher must also act like a Christian.

The overweening importance of point one led the interested church and school board members to violate point three. For a long time Valente refused to loosen this value violation for them by repeatedly telling them they had no right to dictate his behavior except as it related to purely church values. He had corrected for those by ceasing to attend church functions. It was when point four became an important part of the field for Valente (by Davida's action) that he capitulated and corrected for point one also. He had tried to separate his roles as Christian and school teacher to avoid sanctions aimed at this latter status, but he failed because Davida agreed that the missionaries would have to have the final word-- "they are our superiors." The threat to Valente's moral status as good Christian failed where the threat to his economic standing succeeded. To fully grasp this it is necessary to remember the close relationship between education, good jobs, assimilation, and acceptance into the "civilized" Portuguese world. I think it clear that the Christians who interfered in Valente's life were primarily concerned about his violation of the rule of monogamy: a purely church oriented consideration since there are assimilated Rjonga with more than one wife. It was when the status which carries most weight in the total context

of Rjonga life, which includes the Portuguese, was threatened that Valente reacted as the Christians demanded he should. In other words, whereas the Christians may have thought Valente sent Anna away so as to improve his standing as Christian, I think Valente acted so as to preserve his standing as school teacher which is most important in a "third world" context.

I have, throughout this analysis, divided values into "pagan" or "Christian" categories. Obviously both sets of values are a part of the same sociocultural milieu; also a part of this milieu are all attitudes and values relating to assimilation, to becoming a part of the total Portuguese culture and society. The strongest demand the Portuguese authorities make is that all blacks in Moçambique learn to speak Portuguese. This is the only possible lingua franca because of the diversity of tribes and languages. A common language for all is the only hope the authorities have of making Moçambique really a "province" of Portugal. This aim is made abundantly clear by prolific proganda posters found throughout the villages. This attitude, goal, or whatever it is called, is a definite part of every Rjonga's repertoire of attitudes. The highest expression of command of the language is to become a teacher; in this way the teacher fulfills what I take to be a strong need for achievement and for self-actualization. He not only knows how to read and write himself, he is capable of teaching others and thus

advertises his accomplishment in the eyes of the world. I earlier mentioned that the Rjonga equate a teacher with Christ. The Portuguese also value teaching very highly and defer to "men of letters." The poet, novelist, professor is accorded high prestige by them.

Taking all of the above into consideration, a renewed appraisal of Valente's actions to date will show that his status as potential citizen (an assimilado) could have been uppermost in his mind from the beginning. There are other assimilated Rjonga with more than one wife, and this fact could explain his apparent willingness, in the beginning, to treat Anna as his wife publicly. The flaw in his position was in not having passed Standard 4 which is the mission and Portuguese requirement for all school teachers. In being the village school teacher Valente had it both ways. He had the status and prestige of being a teacher without the concomitant obligations of being assimilated. Many Rjonga fear becoming assimilated, as I have noted, and do much to avoid it. At the same time they covet the rewards of assimilation--better jobs, much higher status, etc.

Until his teaching job was threatened, Valente had all of the rewards and none of the obligations of assimilation. Davida's action put all that into jeopardy and Valente responded by acting as demanded to protect his teaching job--not to protect his standing as a good Christian. When Valente corrected for violating the

Christian value concerning polygamy, by sending Anna away, he automatically loosened the non-interference value for the Christians and school board members. The process in his correction was the same process in his loosening of the Christians' violation of the non-interference value: denial of alternative courses of action (it was also the same process in Anna's loosening). Stated another way, the Christians pleaded extenuating circumstances. Remember that Solomon told the school board that he had no choice but to go to Valente because the missionaries had ordered him to, and they are the "adults, the superiors."

Note also that word of Valente's second wife had spread to a distant village, where the mission is located. I do not know how the missionaries came to find out because Valente does not know. But this constitutes evidence that everyone knew he had impregnated an unmarried girl and then brought her to his house. Valente had not been living in isolation since the beginning of these events; he continued to lead his normal life and in the course of this he spoke with many villagers. None of these violated the non-interference value by talking to him about his situation with Anna. Not discussing a man's sins with him (unless one is a principal and aggrieved party) and not being able to guess what a man is thinking and/or planning to do are corrolaries of the more general non-interference value. No one (not even Anna's father) violated this value except the church and school board members, and

Valente's behavior had been ambiguous enough to satisfy minimal expectations. Alfonso had reason to believe that Valente would act honorably and lobolo Anna; he could not assume Valente would not do so without violating the relevant corollary of the non-interference value. This value probably acted as a boundary and kept Alfonso from reentering the field since the encounter at the train station.

Phase IV

El. Valente returns from his hunting trip and Ruti tells him Anna returned to her mother; Ruti gave Anna some money; later the same evening Anna returned with her older brother, Jorge, who wanted to know why his sister had been sent away; Ruti denies Anna was 'sent away' but that it was by mutual agreement; after some pressuring Jorge succeeds in getting Anna to agree she was sent away; he refuses to return to discuss the matter with Valente and says they will talk in court; Valente does nothing.

Jorge took the stance of an aggrieved party when he returned to Valente's house with his sister, Anna, on the same night that she returned home. He was aggrieved because his sister had been sent away, the implication being it was involuntary. He had some basis for believing this because Ruti had given Anna some money to buy what she needed. When a man sends a wife away against her will he always gives her a little money, a match box, anything which will be proof to her parents that she did not run away but was sent. There is no way of knowing what Ruti's intentions were, but her behavior in giving Anna money was ambiguous enough to give Jorge an excuse to "come as an

enemy." Remember that although Jorge might have known very well that Valente's behavior indicated he had decided to follow church dictates and to abandon Anna, he could not act on this assumption given the rule that no one may know what another thinks or plans to do. The money Anna was given did give Jorge the right to go ask questions, provided he take the position that the money represented a wife sent away by her husband. Seen from this point of view Jorge's act was not loosening but corrective in that his object was to make Valente correct for violation of the values concerning impregnated, unmarried girls and sending wives away. Ultimately, it is better for an unmarried woman (unloboloed woman) to live with the man who fathers her children and be supported by that man than to live in her parents' home and give birth to illegitimate children. Although such a woman may have no legal status as wife, and her children would belong to her father, she would have social status as wife. The woman who is never legally married and gives birth to children in her father's house is called a kandjakaya; this could be translated "she fornicates at home." It is a pejorative word; the child born in his mother's father's household of an unwedded mother is called a nyimba ya ndangu, or "pregnancy of the hearth (kitchen)." This is not a pejorative but purely descriptive phrase. If a woman becomes pregnant and is subsequently supported, if not loboloed, by the man responsible and lives with him she is not considered a

sinner nor at fault. The couple's eldest daughter may then provide the lobolo for her mother when the daughter marries. A woman who does not have even a social status as wife comes to be considered a prostitute by the people; a woman who has "lost her head." Anna was placed in this position when Valente asked her to leave his house.

At first Anna told her brother that it was a mutual agreement and that she had not been sent away involuntarily. Jorge questioned her about this angrily, in front of Ruti, until she at last gave in and said she was sent away involuntarily. This admission was necessary to Jorge or he would have had no basis for coming to interfere in a family matter between husband and wife. This gave him and his father (for whom he was acting in the latter's absence) the right to take steps to protect the woman of their house and to take legal steps against Valente. This also absolved Anna of wifely obligations to support her husband in all things; by saying that Valente had sent her away she also said Valente was no longer her husband.

Jorge's refusal to return to discuss the situation with Valente was a violation of the value concerning dispute settlement procedure. He should have returned, as the aggrieved party, to talk the matter over and try to effect a settlement privately. From an objective point of view it is possible to say that since Valente had given no indication of going to talk things over with Alfonso he had lost the right to a peaceful and private settlement.

Sociologically, however, Jorge's refusal to return was a value violation and subject to sanctions.

Valente did nothing after Ruti had told him everything that happened while he was away hunting. Note how Valente always seemed to absent himself, on hunting trips, in times of crisis and potential trouble.

E2. The next day Valente receives a letter at school from Anna saying Muntwana, the chief, had gone to tell Anna and Celeste that Alfonso had complained against Valente; there was to be a trial at the chief's court, the complaint based on Valente's marrying Anna then sending her away; the two women had not known of this; Valente asks what Anna will do and she says she does not know; Valente dropped the matter and left.

Anna behaved like a good wife in immediately notifying Valente of impending trouble, but she did so secretly. This was necessary or her brother would be very annoyed because it would negate the allegation that Anna was no longer Valente's wife, and would put Jorge and Alfonso in the position of having meddled between husband and wife. The first Anna and Celeste knew of the impending court case was when the chief Muntwana (Valente's brother-in-law) told them about it. The first Valente knew of the impending case was when Anna wrote him; his nearest neighbor and brother-in-law and the village chief (Muntwana) did not tell him. If there were good relations between Muntwana and Valente, the chief would have warned his brother-in-law right away. By this act, and by the absence of action, Muntwana declared himself an "enemy" to Valente. That is, the chief had 'taken sides.'

E3. That night Valente goes to tell Manuel about Alfonso's complaint; Manuel tells him of a case he had long ago involving Celeste's mother's sister and how he went to jail as a result; this was a warning to Valente of what could happen to him.

This event began a repetition of the sequence of events just before Valente first brought Anna to his house--he went to his friends and kinsmen to mobilize support. His 'father,' Manuel, had already heard the news which is more evidence of common knowledge about this case.

Mobilization of support is a culturally constituted act. Valente sought support which would loosen the central value which now concerned divorcing a wife. Note this important change in the values central to the case. Manuel's account of his refusal to marry the Evangela's, Tomas', and Fernando's sister (classificatory) was tantamount to a refusal to loosen this value for Valente. He was warning him that he would be punished as Manuel was punished long ago, in a similar case. Manuel had had to pay a fine as well as go to jail.

E4. Valente next goes to tell Davida who also has heard about the up-coming trial from Muntwana, the chief; Davida points out that this is strange because Alfonso lives in the city and only two days have elapsed since Anna was sent home--"I do not know where Alfonso and Muntwana met"; Davida is sure Muntwana will tell Valente, but he disagrees.

Davida neither loosened the relevant value for Valente nor apparently required correction. He merely observed that it was odd that Muntwana and Alfonso should have met to set a trial since the latter lived in the city

and had not been in the bush for some time. Regarding Muntwana's own value violation (not telling Valente about the complaint) Davida observed that Muntwana was sure to do so in time. Valente said he thought not because they did not get along well. Davida maintained a neutral position at this time; he did or said nothing which indicated he was either 'for' or 'against' Valente.

E5. A few days later Valente is told by Davida's son at school that a date has been set for the trial; Davida's son also repeats that his father had said "now Valente will be punished"; Valente wrote this down and said nothing further; he says his enmity with Davida dates from this day.

This was private evidence for Valente that Davida had taken sides against him. He had not yet been informed of the trial date. Valente knew now that Davida refused to loosen the value concerning sending a wife away involuntarily. Davida did not know that Valente knew.

E6. Davida meets Valente a few days later and tells him the trial date; Valente says he is going hunting on that day because he has not been officially notified; Davida says that would be "abusing" the court and he, the ndjuna of the chief, was notifying him now; Davida asks when Valente's family will meet to discuss the case and suggests that Valente invite him so he can "know both side's opinions"; Valente says he will let him know when.

Davida had definitely assumed the role of ndjuna towards Valente at the expense of the roles of friendship, fellow school board members, etc. He refused to loosen Valente's newest value violation and demanded correction for it by demanding that Valente attend the trial. At the same time he tried to maintain a neutral position by asking to be invited to Valente's family meeting (customary

before a trial) so he could judge the case fairly, knowing both sides of the story. Davida defined the situation as "neutral ndjuna," ignoring all of the other factors equally in the field. Valente accepted this definition by agreeing to let Davida know when his family would meet.

At this point it would be useful to refer to Figure 4, page 187, which shows that Davida (10) is maternal grandson to a king; by virtue of this he is a close kinsman of Muntwana, the chief. The chief had already obviously taken sides against Valente by not telling him of the trial although they were close neighbors and affines. Davida's choice of sides in this case was dictated by structural considerations; not only was he second-in-command to the chief, he was his kinsman. Both of these statuses carried obligations of support which were stronger than Davida's obligations to Valente. Furthermore, the school teacher-Christian values were no longer at issue; the complaint was based on Valente's having married a woman and then having sent her away. This freed Davida from acting in his role as president of the school board; his position could no longer be construed as interference in a family matter because this sequence of events was culturally constituted. Nevertheless, Davida tried to act in such a way that Valente could not claim that Davida had violated the claims of friendship by requesting that he be notified of the family meeting.

He stressed that he would attend this meeting in his role of neutral ndjuna, however, not as family supporter and friend.

E7. A few days later Valente writes to Davida, Manuel, and Tomas to notify them of his family meeting and requesting that they attend; none of the three came, Manuel saying it was not worthwhile, he would agree with all of Valente's family's decisions; Tomas and Davida did not respond at all.

Valente was trying to recruit the most powerful support available in the village by inviting Manuel and Tomas to his meeting. These are the two village 'big men.' Note that Tomas (Figure 3, 41) is a kinsman of Anna's, and is Fernando's older brother (Fernando being the church board member who initiated the visits to Valente). Tomas' presence at Valente's family meeting would put him and Fernando on opposite sides of the case, and this would be a coup for Valente. It would amount to Tomas' siding against his own brother who had interfered in a family matter, and would thus strengthen Valente's claim of violation of the non-interference value which led him to his present circumstances. Valente could go to court and say "I did not violate the value against sending wives away; I was ordered to do so by the church and school people who are my 'superiors.'"

Neither Tomas nor Davida responded at all to Valente's invitation. There are cultural boundaries which prevented them from entering the field. I have no evidence which clearly states why neither came, but knowledge of the

Rjonga makes it clear that there were structural reasons for this. Muntwana might have forbidden Davida to go; this is really irrelevant since the important fact is that Davida did not go. Manuel's excuse (that he would merely agree with whatever Valente's family decided) worked to maintain his neutrality. He had not rejected Valente, but neither would he actively support him with his presence since this would be taken by the village to mean he was 'siding with' Valente.

E8. Valente's father's brother, older brother, mother, and wife attend the family meeting customary before a trial; he explains the case and tells them he cannot marry Anna "for reasons they cannot understand"; he says they have an agreement whereby he will support her at home; he is prepared to pay the fine for impregnating an unmarried girl and shows them 800\$; Tchukela and Nkosi both wish Valente would keep the wife and child, but agree to attend his trial and hear the sentence; the trial is postponed because of the Evangela's death which all the village will commemorate by going to his grave to pray.

Valente's meeting was attended only by the people absolutely required to do so because of kinship obligations. The family consensus was that Valente should marry Anna and keep the baby. None of these members present was a Christian; note that Valente's younger sister, Mandjia, was not present. She was a strong Christian and the chief's wife. Valente told his family that he could not marry Anna (correct for his sin in the most acceptable way possible) for "reasons they could not understand." In effect, he was saying "This looks like a further value violation to you but it is not, but you would not understand why it is not because you do not hold the same values

I do." He asked that his family accept his reasons (values) on faith and thus support his action. He indicated to his family that he would correct for his sin by paying a fine and showed them the 800\$ he had towards a down payment; he asked them to believe, at the same time, that he was not further violating the original value in refusing to marry the girl. Remember that this is the most highly valued solution to his situation, from the pagan point of view. There were two processes here, then: there was a request for loosening (which was granted) based on extenuating circumstances, and there was correction of a culturally constituted kind--his willingness to pay the fine. His father's brother, Tchukela, agreed to Valente's decision, although he regretted it, and said he would "go hear the sentence." Under these circumstances there was nothing else that a kinsman could do. He could not argue the case for Valente because he was obviously refusing to act in the best possible way; he could only indicate his continued support of his "son" by attending the trial and possibly asking the court to "forgive them"--that is, to lessen the amount of the fine.

E9. Reading Appendix A will tell exactly who attended Valente's trial; his family members; Anna's family; the church board visitors to Valente's house; and the village elders (zone chiefs, etc.) were all there; everyone present is related in some way to Valente and Anna (see Figures 3 and 4); ten people speak against Valente, no one speaks for him; Alfonso demands the full lobolo for Anna because Valente sent her away and she was 'spoiled' by her pregnancy; Valente rejects this and an argument over terms ensues; Valente finally agrees to pay the full lobolo; the

church members are rebuked for interfering in a family affair, and Valente leaves without paying anything; Davida follows Valente home and asks for 100\$ 'to please the court'; Valente refuses to pay it but then offers to let Davida take the money back to the court for him; Davida refuses to take it and says Tchukela must do it; Tchukela takes the money and the court tells him to come with Valente in one week to pay the fine of 2500\$ (a full lobolo).

The exact sequence of events at this formal trial, before the village chief and his elders, is long and complex. To summarize the outcome first I can state that public opinion, as represented by the court, found Valente guilty on two counts: he impregnated an unmarried girl, he sent his wife away. Remember that the fine for impregnating an unmarried girl is 1500\$ (a full lobolo is 2500\$) and that payment of 1500\$ entitles a man to all rights in his wife and children which is symbolized by his registering them in his name at the Portuguese Administration.

If a man divorces his wife by sending her away he forfeits any part of the lobolo he has paid and loses all rights in the woman and children. If he has not paid 1500\$ of her lobolo, but a lesser amount, and sends his wife away her parents have no recourse for the unpaid portion of the lobolo. They have consented to the arrangement by permitting their daughter to live with the man. That is, the man is not fined so as to bring his total investment (and loss) up to a minimum of 1500\$.

If a man impregnates an unmarried girl and refuses to marry her he is liable to a fine of 1500\$ which

represents a divorce, in effect. The 1500\$ fine is the minimum lobolo he would have had to pay to acquire rights in the woman and children; the fine symbolizes a man who has sent his wife away and thus loses those rights and the lobolo he has paid. Thus, at law, the father of a woman's child is considered to be her husband and the penalties for impregnating and abandoning her are the same as for a husband who divorces his wife. This is part of the ethic which holds that a woman can only be legally married once in her life (that is, her father can collect only one lobolo) and that all of her children should bear the surname (clan name) of the man who paid their mother's lobolo. Impregnation equals marriage under these circumstances, and an impregnated girl becomes a wife by definition. Refusal to legally marry this wife by payment of at least 1500\$ constitutes divorce (sending the wife away involuntarily) and a subsequent loss of money, woman, and children. It is for these reasons that a man in Valente's position is considered a thief; he is trying to steal 1500\$ worth of rights from the girl's father.

Note that there is one difference between a 'real' divorce and the kind of divorce symbolized by the fine for impregnating an unmarried girl. If a man truly considered himself married although he had not paid even the minimum 1500\$ and sends his wife away, the most he can lose is wife and children and whatever portion he has paid. No further fine is levied, as explained on the previous page.

In cases of impregnation and refusal to marry it is always the case that the woman has never gone to live with the responsible man for any length of time; that is, she never acquired a social status as wife. Anna's having lived in Valente's household for some time complicated his case. She had acquired social status as wife, and for this reason Alfonso complained on the grounds that Valente married his daughter and then sent her away. He demanded full payment of the lobolo as a fine because she was "spoiled" and he could not ask a lobolo of any other man. Thus two values were inextricably concerned in this trial. The easiest way of explaining these complexities is to say that if Valente had gone to Alfonso and paid 1500\$ for Anna's lobolo he could then have sent her home without any further fines or payments. He would have had to lose all rights in Anna and their child and the 1500\$, but it would have ended the case. In fact (as I have discussed twice already) had he even paid 500\$ of the lobolo and gained Alfonso's consent to Anna's living with him he could have sent her home and that would have put an end to the case. Since the couple eloped without prior consent of the woman's father, his consent to a minimum payment is necessary to avoid the husband falling into the category of impregnator of unmarried girls in the event of an immediate divorce. If this were not so, of course, a man who impregnates an unmarried girl could elope with her and pay something like 200\$ and then send her home with impunity.

Valente's crime was really a series of related events:

1. He impregnated an unmarried girl and thus became her husband in terms of legal liability.
2. He eloped with the girl and thus gave her social, but not legal, status as his wife.
3. He did not obtain her father's consent to the elopement.
4. He sent his wife away and thus became legally liable for both the impregnation and the divorce.

It is on the basis of points two and four that Alfonso demanded reparation of a full lobolo rather than just the 1500\$ fine for impregnating an unmarried girl. He took into account Anna's fleeting status as Valente's wife--her social status. It is obvious that by "social" I mean public. I make a distinction, because the Rjonga do, between the status of "wife" accorded by the mere fact of impregnation, and the status of "wife" accorded by the woman actually living with the man in his household. The rule of virilocality is important here. No woman who is married ever lives in her father's household, no matter where her husband is. A woman in her father's household is:

1. An unmarried daughter.
2. Visiting her family with her husband's permission.

3. Divorced.

4. Widowed.

Concomitantly, any woman living in a household other than her father's or brother's is:

1. A wife.

2. A widowed mother.

3. A female relative of a wife asked to come help take care of some minor children.

4. A widowed or divorced female relative of the head of household living here with his permission.

Given these rules concerning residence it is obvious that Anna's presence in Valente's household could only be explained by her being considered his wife. I know of women whose husbands have been absent for more than fifteen years (in the South African mines) who continued living in his house because they still considered themselves married. Had they returned to their father's or brother's household it would have been assumed that they had run away from their husband and he would have to be repaid the lobolo and would also keep all of their children.

Given this necessary information about marriage, divorce, and residence rules it is easier to understand what actually occurred at Valente's trial.

Each party to a case at court must first pay 50\$ which is a fee for the court "to hear the case." (I refer the reader to Chapter II, the king's judicial functions in

the section on Kingdom Political Structure and the village zone chiefs' judicial functions in the section on Village Political Structure. Also see Chapter III, the section entitled Dispute Settlement Procedure.) Alfonso insisted that Valente had to pay the 50\$ for Anna because Valente was her husband and thus legally liable for all of her debts. Valente refused to pay Anna's 50\$ court fee on the grounds that Anna was not complaining, Alfonso was; and that she was not his wife because they had not contracted for marriage. The zone chief and elder, Nanga (32), replied that Valente should pay the two court fees because Anna was Valente's wife: "we see her pregnant and he gave the pregnancy." Nanga was concerned with Anna's status as wife due to the fact of impregnation. The matter was finally resolved (and I do not know by what arguments) by Valente paying his own court fee and Alfonso paying his own court fee. This established Alfonso, Anna's father, as the other principal in the case, and the grounds for complaint became, by definition, Valente's impregnation of an unmarried girl and his refusal to legally marry her. This is crucial since it defined the value central to this trial as being about impregnating unmarried girls and not about (centrally) divorcing wives.

The chief asked the person complaining to speak first, as is the custom. Alfonso said he complained against Valente because he had "spoiled" (impregnated) Anna and then sent her back home without paying any part

of the lobolo and he had also refused to pay her court fee. Note how Alfonso again dragged in the violation of the value related to sending wives away. Anna was questioned by the court and she said that she was sent away by her husband because the church board members pestered him about her presence in his household and she "did not know why." Anna was claiming not to know why the church board members objected to her presence. She was denying that any value was operative in their behavior except the non-interference value which they violated.

Valente spoke next and his argument was that he did not send Anna away because they had an understanding that she would return home eventually since they had not contracted for marriage. Note how Valente answered the complaint related to divorcing wives and not to impregnating unmarried girls. This initial round at the trial was devoted to defining the field, in this case the central value violations. He denied that she was ever his wife except by virtue of her pregnancy. This was a continuation of his original violation in sending her away; at that time the process was denial of alternative courses of action and Anna had loosened the value relating to sending wives away by accepting his definition. Now he made the same claim (attempt to correct the value concerning divorcing wives) but the process was simply denial: she was never his wife because they had not contracted for marriage. Stated another way, before sanctions were

brought to bear (court trial) Anna loosened the value related to sending wives away by the process of denying alternative courses of action. After sanctions were brought to bear Valente tried to get the court to loosen the same value by means of another process: denial that Anna was ever his wife. Success in getting the court to loosen this value for Valente would be the same as having the court admit that no correction was necessary because the value had not been violated, and this would amount to correction. Remember that there may be no loosening but there may be correcting in that the actor is accepted again by his having done or said something to redeem his sin. If Valente could get the court to accept the denial that Anna was his wife and could successfully explain the ambiguity of his having Anna live with him (it was by mutual agreement but she also left by mutual agreement) he would have successfully corrected for the violation concerning sending wives away. The process involved in the court's agreement of his definition of the situation would be ambiguity of actor's behavior.

Anything which Valente did now was correction because sanctions had been brought to bear which demanded he make his moral and/or legal position more tolerable than it was before the violation and public awareness of it. Correction can take place by: (a) the actor's return to strict adherence of valued behavior; (b) everyone concerned agreeing on new values; (c) everyone agreeing

the violation never occurred and the old rules and values still apply; (d) coercion--that is, everyone is forced to accept the actor although they still agree he violated the value and the value is still in force. Wherever correction occurs it has the effect of lessening the impact of the central actor's value violation after this has occurred and people have become aware of it and objected (that is, brought sanctions to bear).

Valente was attempting to correct for the value violation involved in his sending Anna away when he asked the court to agree that she was never his wife. He elaborated on this by saying he did not dislike Anna "but he saw that she and Ruti could not live together in the same household." This last was an appeal to the court members' knowledge of the jealousy between co-wives. But at the same time he asked the court to agree Anna was not a co-wife. The court's response is to ask Jorge to speak as a witness.

Jorge's testimony was to the effect that Anna said she had been sent away by her husband without knowing why. He said she told him this in front of Ruti. This contradicted Valente's assertion that he and Anna had an agreement about her leaving, and brought the value related to divorcing wives squarely into the field again. Jorge refused to loosen this value and demanded correction of a culturally constituted kind: payment of a fine. Valente repeated he did not send Anna away against her will, and

there was furore in the court. This general outbreak occurs in every trial and usually signals crucial elements of testimony. It occurs when key witnesses or principals contradict each other; the court must decide, through questioning or by individual opinions, who is telling the truth and then judge the case.

At this point the "word" was given to the people attending the trial. Anyone attending a case may speak, whether he is an elder or not. Besides the people already mentioned, Anna's mother's mother spoke against Valente saying "You only want to marry and not to pay the lobolo." The chief's mother, Musongi (31), said Valente should marry Anna because no one else would now. Musongi's word carried weight because she was the chief's mother and the villagers would assume she was speaking her son's opinion. Anna's mother's mother's brother's son (classificatory mother's brother: Figure 3, number 3) entered the field by saying that they of Anna's family did not expect a case to be judged today, but only to see the lobolo paid. Alfredo is chief of the zone Valente lives in so that his opinion carried a great deal of weight in court; in addition, mother's brothers traditionally take part in discussions about their sister's daughter's lobolo (and often act as the family representative) because they are entitled to receive 100\$ of their sister's eldest daughter's lobolo. Since Anna had an older sister Alfredo was not entitled to any part of Anna's lobolo, doubly so

since Celeste has own brothers who were entitled to collect from her eldest daughter's lobolo before Alfredo was. Nevertheless, there was a basis for Alfredo's speaking on behalf of Celeste's family. In addition to these two statuses Alfredo was also a member of the school board and had thus been present at all discussions of Valente's affair there.

Valente's response to these demands that he marry Anna was to repeat he had never said he would and she knew it. The court said it was impossible that Anna returned home of her own accord, Valente must have sent her away. This represented the first judgment of the court: Valente was to be held liable for sending his wife away, and this reversed the decision represented by Alfonso's being made to pay his own court fee at the beginning of the case. Valente's attempts to correct for his action in sending Anna away by denying he had had failed, and the court demanded that further (proper) correction be made for this sin. Muntwana said that Valente must marry Anna properly (legally). Valente refused, saying it was awful to live with two women. Here he appealed to village knowledge of the pitfalls of polygamy, but not to the Christian values governing polygamy. Christian values had no where been mentioned except indirectly in Anna's statement that she did not know why the church members objected to her being Valente's wife.

Muntwana asked Alfonso what damages he wanted from Valente. This means that Muntwana had judged the case and found Valente guilty; he was proceeding to the next order of business which was the amount of the fine. Alfonso demanded a full lobolo because he could not ask one from any other man now that Anna was spoiled. Valente replied that the case should never have come to court and that he and Alfonso could have settled it had Alfonso come to talk to him about it. This observation is always made at Rjonga trials by somebody. It is significant that Valente made it in this instance. This was correcting and the process was self-justification by stressing another's value violations. In an earlier discussion I pointed out the significance of Valente's waiting for Alfonso to come to him. Of even greater significance was that Alfonso and Muntwana did not ask for a fine for having impregnated an unmarried girl, but for marriage which is represented by the full lobolo.

At this point other people voiced opinions of the same kind--that is, that Valente should pay the lobolo. A chief of a neighboring village, Famba, present for another trial which was to follow this one, told Valente he should pay double the lobolo. This kind of exaggeration and threats are customary at a trial when the person found guilty is being 'stubborn.' I have discussed this at length in the section on dispute settlement procedure in

Chapter III. The ruling principle is that no man can be forced to admit his guilt; he must freely confess his fault and pay the penalty. Valente was being stubborn in that he continued to argue the case and to deny that he was at fault. The trial could not formally end until he admitted his fault and agreed to pay the fine.

There then followed a series of demands by Valente which were inadmissible but enlightening in that they showed that while the court was demanding a full lobolo for Anna Valente conceptualized this as a fine for having impregnated a young girl. This will shortly become clear.

Valente repeated Alfonso should have come to him to discuss the case. Since he had not (emphasis on another's improper behavior) he would now have to swear that if Valente paid a full lobolo for Anna she might never marry again as long as she lived. He said he would kill her and any man he caught her with. This demand makes it clear that Valente would not have Anna as a wife; otherwise there would be no mention of 'other men' in her life. He made agreement with this demand a correction for Alfonso's violation of dispute settlement procedure (because Alfonso did not go to talk to Valente).

The court insisted that Valente marry Anna; Valente refused to marry Anna. Neither the court nor Valente had verbalized the Christian values which were dictating his refusal although all were aware of these. (Remember that Alfredo was also a member of the school

board; I have no data on who attended Alfonso's family meeting prior to the trial but it becomes abundantly clear later that Alfonso had asked Alfredo to act as one of his representatives). Christian values were as much on trial in this case as Valente himself was, but this was never made explicit. No one asked Valente why he refused to marry Anna, but he had said it was because "it is awful to live with two women." He refused, in other words, on pagan grounds by appealing to general attitudes about polygamy. The court's sentence required Valente to pay a lobolo; that is, to marry Anna. If he then sent her home again it made no difference to anyone: he would lose the lobolo he had paid and all rights in her and in their child. Valente refused to conceptualize the 2500\$ demanded of him as a lobolo, and his demands showed this. He considered this to be a fine for having impregnated Anna and having refused to marry her. The fine for impregnating and refusing to marry a girl was set at 1500\$ by Tomas (41), Manuel's close friend and the village 'big man,' when Tomas acted as regent-chief of Mitini before Muntwana came of age. Everyone present also knew this; it had become village law several years before.

Returning to Valente's first demand that Anna never marry again but 'live alone' (never have sexual relations again) for the rest of her life, it should be clear that Valente was saying he would not have her in his household as a wife. Muntwana said this was impossible

and threatened Valente with future consequences in other courts if he refused the judgment of this court. Valente merely repeated that if he paid the full lobolo Anna could never marry again. Muntwana said Valente could not make that demand because he had refused to marry her himself and thus could not deny Anna the right to marry again if she wished. By "marriage" Valente specifically meant she could not have sexual relations. This last statement of Muntwana's changed the field slightly in the direction Valente had been aiming for: the 2500\$ was not a "marrying" lobolo but a "fine" lobolo, because Muntwana recognized that Valente refused to marry. Having conceded this Muntwana put himself, and other members of the court, into a dilemma because a request for 2500\$ was excessive. It was 1000\$ more than the fine set for this kind of case.

Valente's next demand was that if he paid the full lobolo Anna could "marry" as often as she pleased provided she bring all children she bore to Valente to be registered as his own. This is in accord with the values governing marriage and affiliation; all the children a woman bears belong to the lineage of the man who paid her lobolo ("the surname follows the lobolo"). This demand had to be predicted on Anna's living with Valente as his wife, however, and shows that Valente was merely grasping at straws now. That is, he could claim Anna's children as his own only if he did not divorce her, if he refused to let her live with him he forfeited everything. He now

conceptualized the fine as a "marriage" lobolo, but simultaneously indicated Anna would not be living with him as wife ("she must bring all children she bears to me"). Valente's aim at this juncture was to have the fine reduced from the full lobolo to the proper fine of 1500\$ for impregnating an unmarried girl and then refusing to marry her.

As Valente made clear to me when he was recounting this trial his 'stubbornness' was occasioned by what he considered Muntwana's own value violations. Muntwana had a reputation for being a bad chief and for 'eating' the people's money. He levied excessive fines at cases because it would increase the amount the winner would give to 'please the court' for having judged in his favor. Furthermore, there is the entire history of bad relations between Valente and Muntwana prior to this trial, including the dispute over Francisco, the school teacher Muntwana had hired. Francisco was also present at Valente's trial, incidentally. No man can say directly to a chief (or to any other man) "You are doing this to me because you have a grudge against me and because you have a personal financial stake in my fine." But Valente justified his 'stubbornness' at his trial by reference to the chief's improper behavior. From the court's point of view, however, there was only apparent a further value violation (you should admit your guilt and pay the penalty) and there

was no loosening of this value for Valente because the reasons for it were not (could not be) made explicit.

Valente's next suggestion was that he would pay the full lobolo if Anna brought his child to him when it was weaned at the age of two. The court refused to consider this also. Valente seemingly considered the fine to be a "marriage" lobolo now, and the court considered it to be a fine for impregnating Anna. Given this latter, Valente had absolutely no rights in Anna or in their unborn child by law. Valente raged at the court saying: "What do you want then--everything? Woman, money, and child?" This, of course, was precisely what the court wanted since it is the customary penalty in these cases. Leaving aside all consideration of the various meanings of the 2500\$ demanded, Valente was simply behaving badly according to Rjonga views. There was no excuse for his 'stubbornness' since he impregnated the girl and refused to marry her although urged to do so by everyone. Since he refused to redeem his sin in the best way possible, the only alternative left open to him was to pay the fine gracefully and thus end the case. Although I might speculate about his behavior being occasioned by the sense of grievance he had at being caught between contradictory values, the people of Mitini were not interested in that because they recognize only one value system at law. From the Rjonga point of view all of Valente's arguments since

the beginning of this trial were further value violations and were damaging to his moral status as "reasonable man."

Finally Valente agreed to pay the full lobolo, with no strings attached. He told me that his agreement was "sarcastic," meaning he had no intention of complying with these unreasonable demands. His motive was simply to get away from the court. Whether this is true or not is a moot point. His intentions are to become important in another sequence of events, however, shortly to be discussed.

Davida then rebuked the church members for interfering in Valente's family affair and asked them if they were going to help him pay his fine to redeem their sin. They all refused to help. Thus the church members' violation of the non-interference value was sanctioned at court; although they refused to pay they also ceased to interfere and thus correction had taken place through the process of returning to valued behavior.

Valente was told to return to the court one week from that day to pay the fine to Alfonso. Almost all cases end in this way since few people have the cash to pay fines with them; some make downpayments, as it were, as an earnest of their intent to pay, and the winner gives money 'to please the court.' He can either give it at the conclusion of the trial or promise to give it after he has received the fine money coming to him. Famba, the visiting chief, told Valente to give the court 100\$ now

because they had settled his case. Valente went home without paying anything and Davida followed him to collect the 100\$. Valente told Davida that Alfonso should have "pleased the court" because he had won the case. He also showed Davida the 800\$ he had in his pocket with which he had been prepared to pay a part of the fine. He told Davida that when he saw that the case had been prejudged against him and that the people were ready to strip him of everything, he had decided not to pay anything. Then he gave Davida the 100\$ and told him to take it back to the court. Davida refused to take it, saying that Valente's father's brother, Tchukela, must do it. Tchukela took the money and was told to return with his son the next week to pay the fine.

Davida had to refuse to take the 100\$ because Valente had told him he had decided not to pay anything; knowing this, if Davida carried the 100\$ back to the court, he would be 'taking sides' with Valente and supporting him in his intentions. Valente had partially corrected for his behavior by attending the trial and, finally, by paying the 100\$ demanded of him. He should have paid some money down towards his fine; he should not have been asked to 'please the court.' This was a violation of established court procedure by the members of the court, but Valente had lost everyone's sympathy and no one spoke up on his behalf about this. Although he had partially corrected for his crimes, by complying with the court's demands, he had

indicated to Davida that he intended to continue his value violations by not paying anything. Thus the 800\$ remained in his pocket. The court did not know this, of course.

A brief summary of everything which occurred at the trial is easy if all of the arguments are ignored. Valente was tried for the violation of two values: (1) impregnating an unmarried girl; (2) sending the girl away from his house, back to her parents' house (that is, divorcing her). He was found guilty on both counts primarily on the strength of Jorge's testimony supported by Anna's. The church members were rebuked for interfering in a family affair and correction occurred through their returning to ideal behavior. Valente was fined 2500\$ and paid 100\$ to the court, which was a violation of court procedure. He had partially corrected for his crimes, and further correction was to occur the next week by his paying the complete fine which would end the case.

The values central to this sequence of events, and to this entire phase, concern impregnation of unmarried girls and divorcing wives. Divorce itself is "disliked" by all Rjonga and is thought to be a very poor solution to any marital problems. All cases of divorce which I attended at one of the courts made clear that it is a value violation in itself, with culturally constituted sanctions. If the man divorces his wife the sanctions consist in his losing all rights in her and their children and the lobolo he has paid; if the woman runs away

(divorces her husband) the sanctions are that her family must repay the lobolo and still forfeit all rights in her children who are kept by the husband. For this reason, refusal to marry an impregnated, unmarried girl is considered to be a further value violation distinct from the sin of impregnating her; it compounds this original crime. Valente's moral status, in the eyes of all pagan Rjonga, suffered a severe blow when he refused to marry Anna. Payment of the fine would redeem his moral status somewhat, but not to the extent that marriage would have. From the Christians' point of view, payment of the fine was the only way Valente could redeem his moral status without further endangering it. It is interesting to note that this case reached such large proportions because of Valente's status as a school teacher and Christian, but it was ultimately judged purely on traditional grounds. Thus he was caught in the original dilemma of being unable to satisfy traditional and church values at the same time.

E10. The night of the trial Ruti, Valente's wife, runs away to her grandmother's house (Figure 4, T); Valente follows her (-landjela) immediately to ask her why and to ask her to return to his house; Ruti is humiliated because Valente promised to pay Anna's full lobolo whereas he has only paid 1500\$ of her lobolo and she is senior to Anna; Valente denies that he will pay Anna's full lobolo--he says he was being 'sarcastic' and only wanted to escape from court; he tells Ruti she did wrong in running away because she showed lack of respect for her husband in abandoning him in time of trouble, and she did not know what he was thinking; she agrees she was wrong but refuses to return with him that night.

Ruti had violated the value which says wives owe their husband total respect at all times, but she did so in a culturally constituted way. Going home is a wife's way of forcing adjudication of her differences with her husband because he must follow her with his own representatives and their dispute is settled by their two families. In this way the non-interference value is circumvented. If a husband does not "follow" his wife when she runs home to her family he loses her and must repay the lobolo because it is the same as divorcing her. It is only after a woman has returned to her family's homestead and the representatives of both sides meet to discuss it, and she still refuses to return to her husband, that it is said she has divorced him. Until the husband makes a formal request, in front of witnesses, that his wife return to him she is in a legal limbo--neither married nor divorced. Thus a husband's failure to "follow" his wife constitutes refusal to correct for whatever he has done which made her run away in the first place. Following her constitutes correction of his behavior, as she sees it, and at the same time loosens the value governing wives' obedience and respect for their husbands under all conditions.

Valente's following Ruti was thus a dual action: it loosened the value governing good wifely behavior, and it indicated his willingness to correct for his own behavior if only by allowing her improper behavior. The

value which Ruti said Valente had violated was that senior wives are entitled to respect from junior wives, and this respect would be undermined if the junior wife had been loboloed to a greater extent than the senior wife. It would show that their husband valued the junior wife more highly than the senior, and this--in turn--would loosen the value of respect toward a senior co-wife by a junior co-wife. Valente's response to this accusation was denial: that is, he corrected for his fault by denying he ever intended to pay Anna's full lobolo. It was merely a ploy, he said. If he did not say this he would be forced to pay the balance of 1000\$ for Ruti's lobolo in addition to Anna's lobolo, although he and Ruti had a private arrangement that he need only pay 1500\$ for her. Having corrected for his fault (humiliating his wife in public, since everyone knew how much lobolo he paid for her) he censured her behavior in acting without knowing what he was thinking. She corrected for this by admitting she had done wrong, but still refused to return home with him that same night. This was a continuation of her violation, but also was culturally constituted in that she was entitled to a formal meeting between her representatives and Valente's.

Ell. Five days later and two days before due back in court to pay the fine, Valente goes to see Zinyawa again and tells him what Ruti has done; Zinyawa agrees Ruti was a 'fool.'

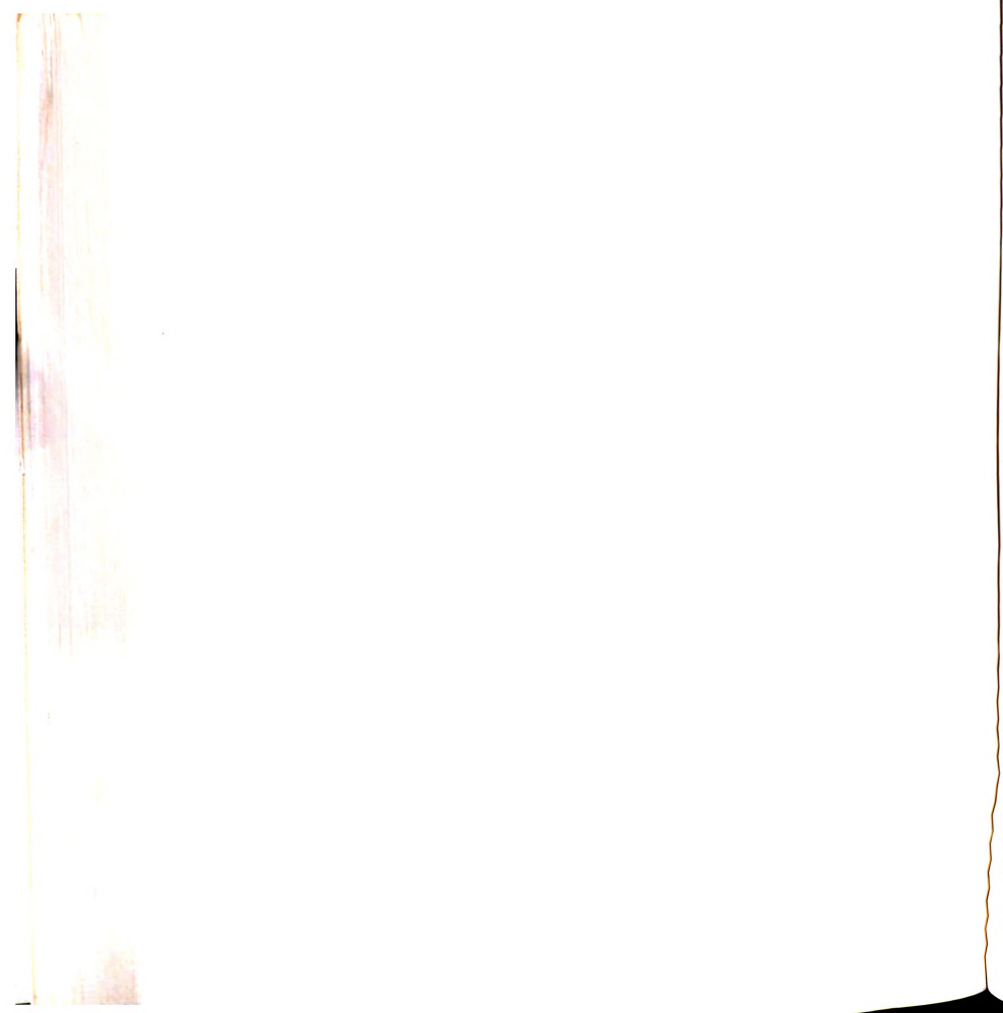
Valente's object in going to see Zinyawa was to tell him he was troubled by this new development. He was caught in a new dilemma: if he complied with the court order to pay Anna's full lobolo he risked losing his wife, Ruti, because he would have violated the value concerning the rights of senior wives, and the only way he could redeem it was by paying the balance of Ruti's lobolo also. Zinyawa sympathized with Valente saying Ruti was a fool to run away; she should have known, as he did, that Valente had no intention of paying Anna's full lobolo unless she agreed to "live alone forever." This new dilemma of Valente's concerned purely pagan values, and Zinyawa indicated the solution lay in Valente's refusing to pay the fine which would appease Ruti's concern about the respect due to senior wives. Zinyawa also criticized Ruti's behavior; that is, he did not loosen the value governing good wifely behavior and thus he supported Valente. This support of Valente amounted to loosening the value concerning the respect due to senior wives by denying that Valente had violated it.

El2. The next day Valente speaks with his Christian friend, Andre (Figure 3, number 4); Andre wants to know what Valente thinks about the case; Valente says he wants to continue being Anna's lover and to support her, but while she lives at home; if he does otherwise he will lose his teaching job and the children will suffer for something they had not done; Andre agrees with this view, and asks Valente to watch over his family while he is away at the mines.

This was the first time that one of Valente's Christian friends had entered the field. Valente's

answer to what 'he thinks about the case' was couched in terms which would appeal to a Christian. He said he could not marry Anna because of the church-school values which prevented this. If he ignored those values he would be fired and it was the children who would suffer. At the same time he indicated his good moral status as a pagan by saying he still loved Anna and was willing to support her as long as she lived with her parents. Couched in analytical terms, Valente corrected for this refusal to marry Anna by pleading extenuating circumstances (ambiguity of actor's roles); he reinforced this process by saying he would support Anna and continue to be her lover. The process here was a partial return to ideal behavior; that is, he indicated he did not willingly abandon Anna. That these corrections were acceptable to Andre was made clear in his reply that this was a "rational" point of view, and by his request that Valente care for Andre's family in the latter's absence. As far as Andre was concerned, then, no loosening had taken place but correcting had.

El3. The next day Valente returns to court, this being the time set for payment of his fine; Appendix A shows who was present; Alfonso (Anna's father) and Solomon (church and school board, Ruti's head of household) are absent; the other church board members are present because they were ordered to be; they are again rebuked and again refuse to help Valente pay his fine; Anna's mother, Celeste, asks for further damages on the grounds that her husband will 'eat' the entire fine with his second wife and leave her to bear the burden of Anna's and the child's expenses; Valente replies Celeste is a fool and refuses to pay any part of the fine because "there is no precedent for settling a case this way"; there is much argument and Valente leaves the court without paying anything.



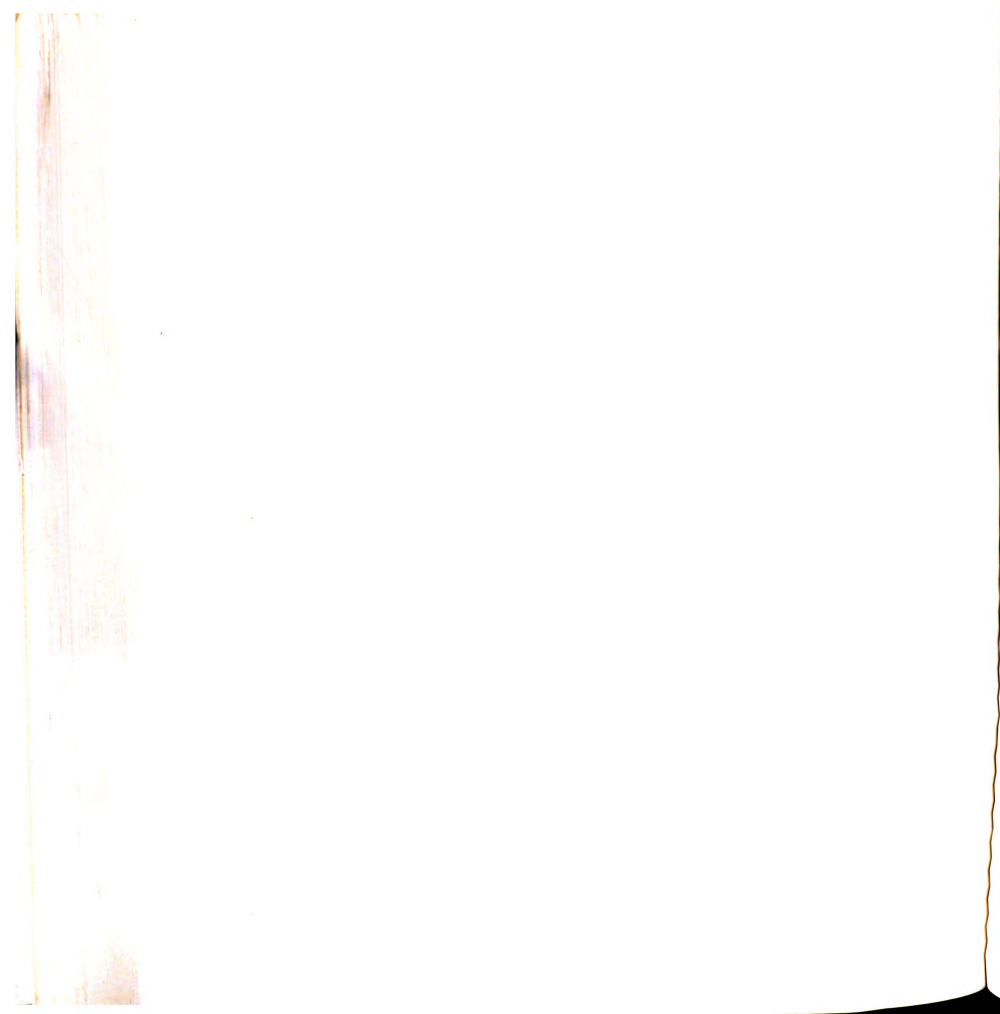
Davida opened the hearing by recounting what had happened and by again rebuking the church board members for interfering in a family affair. He said they should correct for this by helping Valente pay his fine, but they again refused. They did make explicit the Christian values involved in the case, however, but denied they had gone to interfere. Fernando said they went to pray for their fellow who was "sinning with this second woman," but that they had failed to save him. Thus Fernando denied that Valente's behavior was in any way dictated by the church board members' visits, the proof of this being that they had failed in their objective. Fernando was correcting, on behalf of the church board members, through the process of denial which was reinforced by the lack of success (See--you can tell we did not interfere because he is still a bad Christian").

Celeste's demands that Valente build a house for Anna and support her until she gave birth, on the grounds that her husband would 'eat' the lobolo by himself, was a violation of the value which says wives owe their husbands complete loyalty and respect. She was airing her own domestic problems in public by advertising that Alfonso had violated the value governing the respect owed senior wives. He showed favortism by taking his junior wife to the city to live with him, leaving the senior wife alone in the bush.

Valente refused to accept this value violation of Celeste's and called her a fool. He further refused to pay any part of the fine on the grounds that the case was unfairly judged--"there is no precedent for settling a case this way," and he questioned the integrity of the court by impugning its neutrality. This was a culturally constituted violation of the value which says a man owes his chief and elders obedience and respect. If a man refuses to admit his guilt on the grounds that he has been unfairly judged the court cannot force him to comply. He can be called before a higher court (the king's court is the proper next level) or he can choose to take the offensive himself and complain at the king's court. Valente was threatened with the dire consequences which would surely ensue if he persisted in rejecting this court's decision, but he was adamant and left without paying anything. In this way he resolved the dilemma posed by Ruti's running away.

El4. Valente and his representatives (Manuel, Tchukela, and Nkosi) go to Ruti's grandmother's house to meet with her representatives (Solomon and Jacobe) to make a formal request for Ruti's return; the case is discussed and Ruti is censured by her family for lacking respect for her husband; it is agreed she will return to him in two days' time, and Valente pays 20\$.

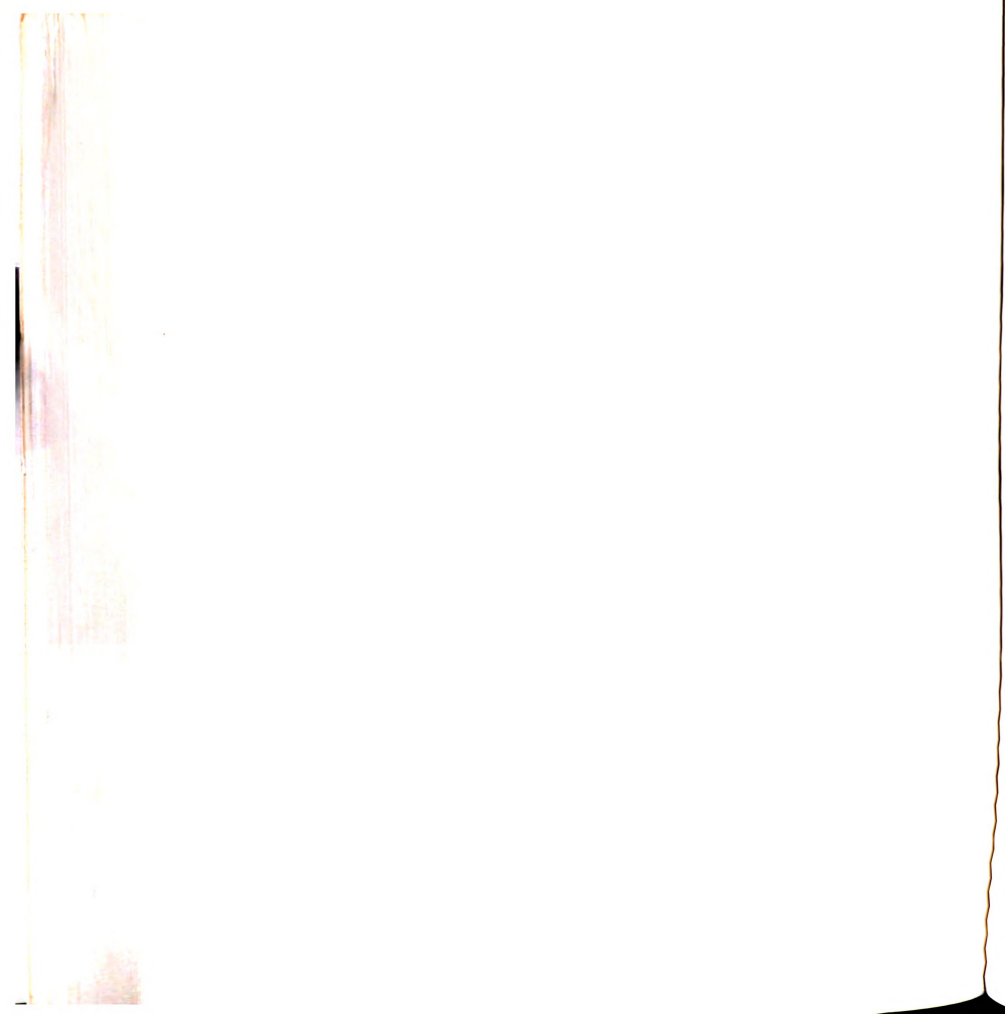
It is interesting that Manuel, Valente's classificatory father, acted for him in this affair when he refused to take an active part in the events prior to Valente's trial. This indicates that he did not think



Valente's behavior was justifiable prior to this event in which he participated.

Also present were Valente's older brother and father's brother; it is customary for the corporateness of the lineage to become evident in matters relating to marriage. Solomon, the head of the village church board and also a member of the school board, was present in his capacity as Ruti's head of household (see Figure 4; 36, T, and 38).

Ruti stated her complaint: Valente had offered to pay the full lobolo for a junior wife but had not done so for her, the senior wife. Valente denied that he promised to pay Anna's lobolo but only said he would so he could get away from court; Ruti said that was not true because he had shown her the money (800\$) he had saved towards payment of the lobolo. At this point Solomon supported Valente by saying he had not agreed to pay a lobolo but a fine, therefore Ruti should have stayed with her husband. Thus Solomon made explicit the fact that Valente refused to marry Anna. Ruti, however, aware that 2500\$ was excessive for a fine in this case assumed it to be a lobolo, and this was the basis for much of Valente's argumentation at court and his subsequent refusal to pay any part of the fine. That is, Valente was not alone in considering this sum to be excessive as a fine. On the basis of this explicit reinterpretation by Solomon of Valente's behavior, the value governing respect due to



senior wives ceased to be part of the field. Instead, Ruti was found to be at fault for violating the value of obedience and loyalty due to husbands, and apologized. Valente had to pay a 20\$ fine to get her back. This also was culturally constituted; a husband whose wife has run away must always pay something in order to get her back. This is a 'small' lobolo and symbolizes that his wife is not without protectors who wish to keep her. However, Solomon said that they levied such a small fine because they agreed their daughter (Ruti) had not behaved well. Given this interpretation, payment of only 20\$ to get his wife back was a correction by her representatives for her value violation. This ends Phase IV; the next phase differs in that Valente attempted to correct for his initial violation in impregnating an unmarried girl in a different way than he had previously.

Phase V

El. Valente meets Alfonso in the city the next day; he tells Alfonso what happened with Ruti; Alfonso says if Valente had gone to him in the beginning he never would have complained in court; they set a day to meet with their representatives to settle the matter.

Alfonso had not been in court the day before so Valente told him what had happened in the bush in his absence. He recounted Ruti's running away and that he refused to pay the lobolo for Anna. Telling about Ruti was obviously a way of correcting for the value regarding compliance with the court's demands. Alfonso's response



that he never would have gone to court if Valente had gone to talk to him first was a correction for violating proper dispute settlement procedure. The process in Valente's correction was pleading extenuating circumstances. The process in Alfonso's correction was stressing another's value violation to account for own violation. Each accepted the other in that they agreed to meet with their respective representatives to settle the case the following month. This is the procedure which should have been followed at the very beginning of all of these events, ideally before Anna went to live with Valente. Both corrected by returning to valued procedure; note that both had violated the value governing this procedure. Valente should have gone to Alfonso but when he did not it became proper procedure for Alfonso to go to him.

E2. Valente goes to Alfonso's house with Manuel, Tomas, and Tchukela (26, 41, 40); Alfonso's representatives are Muntwana, and Antonio (30 and 6); Valente is immediately suspicious because Muntwana is present; Alfonso's side asks for the 2500\$; Valente agrees to pay a fine of 1000\$; Alfonso's side demands at least 1500\$; Valente says this is too much because he could register woman and child for that; after much discussion Valente and his representatives confer in secret outside; they agree he will pay 200\$ now and promise the 1300\$ balance for later; they also agree he will stop paying after giving 500\$--that is, they plan to lie; they return to Valente's house in the city and Manuel, Tomas, and Tchukela carry the 200\$ to Alfonso saying Valente agrees to pay 1500\$ as he earns it and the 200\$ is an earnest of his intent; meanwhile Alfonso et al., have decided Valente must write out a declaration of his intent to pay 1500\$; Manuel says they are complicating the case; Muntwana insists Valente sign it; Antonio is sent to bring Valente back; Valente is angry; a discussion over who should write the declaration ensues; Alfonso threatens to go to the Administrator with the case; finally Antonio says Valente is right to refuse to write the declaration

himself--Alfonso should write it; Alfonso refuses; Valente leaves; when the others discover he has gone for good they refuse to accept the 200\$ and Manuel is told to take it back until Valente writes the declaration.

To summarize these events briefly before a detailed discussion, this meeting to settle the matter amicably failed. Valente's case began to take on a political aspect in that the two village 'big men,' Manuel and Tomas, were arranged against the chief Muntwana. In fact, when Muntwana was finally judged before his 'father' (the king) on the grounds that he was a bad chief and the people complained, Manuel and Tomas testified against him. This took place a year from these events and thus my analysis is speculation, but informed speculation, at least. Valente's refusal to pay 1500\$ at first was improper since the fine in these cases was set at that price by Tomas, himself, when he was acting chief of Mitini. Alfonso's demand for a written declaration was novel; it is customary for a court secretary to write down the amount a person has been fined and the date the fine is due. Since this suggestion of a declaration originates with Muntwana it is fairly clear he did not trust his brother-in-law to actually pay the fine unless he was bound by a quasi-legal document which would have force with the Portuguese authorities. Negotiations broke down over this declaration because Valente, Manuel, and Tomas had already agreed that Valente would promise to comply with Alfonso's demand for 1500\$, but would actually pay only 500\$. If Valente

signed the document he must pay the 1500\$ or be liable at a Portuguese court. This meeting ended in another stalemate.

The most interesting thing to note is that Tomas was acting for Valente. Remember that Tomas was Manuel's close friend and associate; it was these two who always had to appear at village trials. Manuel had already acted for Valente in the matter concerning Ruti's running away. There is no explicit evidence to account for Tomas' presence now, but it is clear that Manuel had persuaded his friend to join him in supporting Valente. Tomas and Manuel (and Tchukela, Valente's father's brother) helped Valente to correct for his value violations by following valued procedure in dispute settlement--calling on the opposing side. I think it clear that the process in this correction was culturally constituted. It was the same process I discussed in connection with Nkosi's loosening of the value about impregnating unmarried girls. When a kinsman or close friend acts to correct for his value violation you must support him; if he does not try to correct for his sins a kinsman can be a witness against him in order to 'teach him how to behave.' There were structural considerations which brought Manuel into the field, given this rule about supporting kinsmen. The bonds of friendship between Manuel and Tomas served to bring Tomas into the field also. In short, the presence of all three of Valente's representatives can be



explained on structural grounds. The church people (including Tomas' younger brother, Fernando) were out of the case, having been chastised at court. Nevertheless it is curious, to say the least, that Tomas' relationship with Anna (Figure 3, numbers 41 and 5) did not prevent him from remaining neutral. I can only adduce the political reasons to account for this, but these were never made explicit.

The other interesting, and curious, aspect of this meeting was that Valente and his representatives went to call on Alfonso, thus taking the role of the aggrieved. Of course this meeting had been arranged between Alfonso and Valente; I do not know how they came to agree on Alfonso's house in the city as the meeting ground. Valente also had a house in the city which he used during these following events. I can explain this only by saying that Valente was taking the role of the aggrieved because he thought the case at court was unfairly judged. This explanation has the merit of agreeing with the prior explanation which accounted for Tomas' presence: that this case had assumed political overtones.

Valente immediately was suspicious of Muntwana's presence at this meeting. It confirmed his idea, as he told me, that there had been collusion between Muntwana and Alfonso, the former urging the latter to take the case to court where a large fine would be imposed that the two could divide. This interpretation of Muntwana's motives

is consistent with his record of unchiefly behavior which ultimately resulted in his deposition.

Alfonso's other representative, Antonio (6), was own brother to Alfredo, the zone chief who spoke against Valente at the trial. He was also classificatory mother's brother to Anna, and his presence was explicable on these structural grounds. There is another consideration which should be taken into account, however. Alfredo was also zone chief in Valente's and the chief's zone. These provide structural reasons, apart from his tenuous relationship to Anna, for appearing on Muntwana's side. Next to the ndjuna (Davida), Alfredo owed his chief complete loyalty and support. Antonio, Alfredo's full brother, followed Alfredo's lead, of course. Thus I interpret Alfredo's and Antonio's presence in the field as support of their chief, primarily, and not of their classificatory sister's daughter.

Valente told Alfonso he did not have 2500\$ and it was too much to ask. Alfonso admitted this by asking how much he would pay, and when. Thus Alfonso corrected for the original excessive fine. Valente promised 1000\$ but Alfonso and Muntwana said he must pay at least 1500\$. Valente said this was too much since he could register Anna and the child for that amount. Much discussion ensued. Valente objected to payment of 1500\$ for the very reasons that this amount was set as the proper fine in cases of impregnation of young girls--remember I have pointed out

that this fine represents the lobolo lost when a man divorces his wife, and it was Tomas who set this amount. Now Tomas was supporting Valente's assertion that the fine was too large. They were behaving as 'big men,' in acting as if the rules which bind ordinary mortals did not apply to them.

When no agreement could be reached on the amount of the fine, Valente went outside the house to confer with his representatives in secret. This often happens at trials in one of the courts. Valente and his representatives agreed to lie, pretending to agree to pay the 1500\$ but planning to stop payment after Valente had given Alfonso 500\$. He would pay 200\$ down today, on account. The 500\$ is the fine set for adultery between a man and married woman. By their agreement in Valente's plan, Manuel, Tomas, and Tchukela showed this correction was acceptable. Unfortunately I have no evidence of the process which made this correcting possible; the most I can say is that it might have been that they stressed Muntwana's unfairness in setting an excessive fine originally. They returned inside Alfonso's house and said that Valente agreed to pay 1500\$ and would send 200\$ on account later in the day. Valente had the money with him then, but they did not tell Alfonso or his representatives that. The reason for this is that no man who feels he has a legitimate grievance ever comes to court with fine money. If he did so it would indicate he expected to be found in the wrong and

would be a tacit admission of guilt. Even when a man is found wrong, and has the money in his pocket, denial that he has any money is a way of expressing a passive resistance, a very common trait among the Rjonga. When structural reasons or cultural rules, or both, prevent a man from speaking his objections he can still express them by his failure to act as he should. This is what I mean by "passive resistance." Men who object to a chief's order to appear for a village work party register this objection by failure to appear. This, in turn, is taken to mean by everyone that that man has no 'respect' for his chief. If too many men fail to show respect for their chief he is blamed by the king and runs the risk of losing his position. If only one man fails to appear he can be fined for his lack of 'respect.' This is merely one example of when and how passive resistance works. The method is employed by the Rjonga in all contexts of their life, including promising an anthropologist to appear for an interview and failing to do so; or promising to build her a house because the king ordered it, and then taking seven months to do what could be done in two weeks.

When Valente told Alfonso he would send the 200\$ later that day he registered his objection to paying the fine at all. Experts in a method are quick to recognize its employment by others. I have no doubt that it was this which subsequently made Muntwana demand that Valente sign an agreement to pay the full 1500\$. Valente and his

representatives went to Valente's house in the city and then Manuel, Tomas, and Tchukela returned to Alfonso's house with the 200\$ saying Valente would pay the 1300\$ balance as he earned it.

Muntwana's demand that Valente write out a declaration of his intent to pay the 1500\$ was met by Manuel's complaint that Muntwana "is complicating things," because never before had such a declaration been required of a person fined. Muntwana insisted, and Antonio was sent to fetch Valente. Manuel refused to go get him because this could be interpreted as his 'taking sides' with Alfonso et al., and endorsing the message he carried. Valente refused to write out the declaration himself saying that Alfonso should write it and Valente would copy it for himself. The telling point is that if the declaration was in Valente's handwriting it would be absolute proof of his commitment to pay the full 1500\$. If it was only in Alfonso's handwriting Valente could disclaim it should the matter come before a Portuguese official. The argument raged back and forth with many examples of how merchants keep their books for installment payments. Valente's explanation of merchant bookkeeping convinced Antonio, Alfonso's representative. Antonio said Valente was right:

If we buy trousers in a factory they give us a statement of the bill so when we are ready to pay we present the bill, and the merchant writes how much we pay that time. We should write the account.

Antonio obviously missed the significance of the handwriting, and Alfonso refused to write the account himself. Valente went outside as if he were going to the bathroom; men and women always get up and walk away without explanation at these times. After some time elapsed one of Alfonso's representatives went outside to look for Valente. When it was found he had left altogether Alfonso and his party realized that Valente refused to meet their conditions. Although they might be virtually certain that Valente's behavior indicated he had no intention of paying the full 1500\$, they could not say so because of the rule which states no man can know what another is thinking or planning. This rule means that Alfonso should have accepted Valente's promise to pay the 1500\$ at face value, and not have showed his distrust by demanding a written declaration. This violation of the value resulted in the breakdown of negotiations. Alfonso made Manuel take back the 200\$ until Valente agreed to write out the declaration. Valente's behavior amounted to a continuation of his value violations but the process was stressing another's value violation to account for own violations. This reflects the unwritten rule which governs much Rjonga behavior: do unto others as they have done unto you. That this rule is operative in settling court cases is supported by much other case material I have. This rule will mitigate one man's offense against another if the 'other' had previously behaved badly himself. This is reflected by low

finer levied and explicit statements by members of the court.

Thus Valente's attempt to correct for refusing to accept the court's judgment on the grounds that the court (primarily Muntwana) had violated the rule of neutrality was thwarted by a repetition of the same value violation directed against him. That is, Muntwana had again violated the law which demands a chief be neutral by demanding that Valente write the declaration. Valente refused to loosen the value of neutrality for Muntwana and Alfonso by leaving. They, in turn, refused to loosen the value governing acceptance of the chief's decision by refusing to accept the 200\$.

E3. A few days later Muntwana, Alfonso, and Anna complain against Valente at the Administrative post which governs Mitini village; Muntwana brings back the summons but gives it to Valente only three days before the date set.

This action set Muntwana fairly into a field which can be defined only as "grudge fight." If Alfonso were going to issue a new complaint against Valente he should have gone to the king's court to complain. This was the proper next level in the court hierarchy. It was Muntwana's duty as chief to insist that Alfonso follow proper procedure in this; Alfonso could be held liable for circumventing the proper steps. Instead, Muntwana loosened the value governing proper procedure by going with Alfonso to the Administration. They were equally guilty in this value violation. Muntwana further

continued the violation by withholding the summons from Valente and presenting it to him only a few days before the hearing. Thus the whole history of bad relations between Valente and Muntwana became an explicit part of the field.

E4. Valente goes to the Administration with his father's brother, Tchukela, and his wife, Ruti; Alfonso's side consists of himself, Muntwana, Anna, Alfredo (the zone chief), and Anna's mother's mother, Kokwana (20) who is also father's sister to Alfredo; Valente tells the history of the case to a sepoy friend of his, including the fact that Muntwana never paid the lobolo for Mandjia, his sister; Muntwana states the complaint against Valente including an allegation that Anna is a minor in Portuguese law--this would make the offense rape; the sepoy supports Valente but Muntwana is adamant on the Rjonga law concerning impregnation of unmarried girls; the Portuguese chief of police arrives, the complaint and defense is repeated for him, and after consultation with his sepoy he rules that Muntwana must pay the balance of Mandjia's lobolo to Valente who can then use this money to pay for Anna's lobolo; Ruti says she is willing to accept Anna as her co-wife; Valente agrees to this but insists that if he pay the lobolo Anna must come live with him as his wife; the police chief agrees to this and asks Valente when he will pay; he states he does not know because he may have to go to South Africa to earn the money; the police chief accepts this as reasonable and dismisses them all saying Valente can return whenever he has the money; he rebukes Muntwana and Alfonso as trouble-makers and says Valente is the only one who can speak Portuguese properly and who "understands things."

Valente's side arrived at the police station first and he explained the circumstances to a friend of his there who was a sepoy and who acted as interpreter for the chief of police. Valente brought up Muntwana's failure to pay for Mandjia's lobolo during the last six years to demonstrate that being brought before the police chief for non-payment of a lobolo was unreasonable. He also told the sepoy that although Alfonso was demanding the money he was

sure Muntwana had put him up to it. Thus Valente claimed (a) he should not be brought before the chief of police on a lobolo case; and (b) Muntwana had not paid for his own wife, Valente's sister (do unto others as they do); and (c) Muntwana had violated the rule of neutrality.

When Muntwana arrived with the others he complained that (a) Valente impregnated an unmarried girl; and (b) that the girl was a "little" girl, below the age of consent. This is not valid in Rjonga law which needs to establish whether the girl consented or not--rape is rape, to the Rjonga, and although a young girl's rape might further prejudice the court against the defendant, the important variable is consent and not age. The sepoy loosened the relevant values for Valente urging Muntwana to drop the case (he denied that Anna was a "little girl") and to let Valente return to teaching at school in peace. Thus the processes in the sepoy's loosening of the two values which Muntwana charged Valente violated were: denial (Anna was not a "little" girl), and ambiguity of actor's roles. He stressed one component of Valente's status (teacher) at the expense of other components in his over-all status. Muntwana refused to allow this and insisted that by Rjonga law Valente must lose the woman and child and pay the fine.

The sepoy questioned Muntwana about the number of wives he had married and how much lobolo he had paid for each. Muntwana replied he had married five women and that he had not loboloed all of them. When asked why not, he

refused to answer saying that that was another case and not at issue here. He denied that his conduct was part of the field.

When the chief of police arrived he asked Valente to explain the case so it could be judged. When Valente finished the police chief asked Muntwana if the particulars were correct. Muntwana said they were and the police chief asked why he was complaining. Muntwana replied (note that Alfonso was silent and Muntwana had openly taken the offensive) it was because Valente had spoiled a "little" girl. The chief of police told Muntwana that if it was proved that Anna was eighteen or more the Portuguese courts could not oblige Valente to pay any fine. That is, he was giving Muntwana the option of taking this case one step higher to the Tribunal which is ruled strictly by Portuguese law, and not by tribal law. Administrators, according to their inclination, can rule by tribal law. If Muntwana chose this option on the basis that Anna was under eighteen years old and lost the case Valente would be completely exonerated and could not be bound to pay the fine for impregnating an unmarried girl. Muntwana dropped this charge of Anna's being under-age, but insisted that Valente be made to pay for impregnating her since it is tribal law. At this point the chief of police consulted with his sepoy and then began to question Muntwana about his marriage to Valente's sister. He established that Muntwana still owed 1500\$ of Mandjia's lobolo and ruled

that Muntwana should pay this to Valente so he could use it to pay the 1500\$ for Anna. Valente could then arrange the other 1000\$ necessary by himself. This would bring the total amount up to 2500\$ again, or a full lobolo. The police chief, through the sepoy's coaching, had established that Valente's proper correction for his sin in impregnating Anna was to marry her by paying the full 2500\$ lobolo. He held Muntwana responsible for 1500\$ of this and Valente for the 1000\$ balance. Note that the chief of police was following tribal law in ruling on a marriage to correct for the sin of impregnation. In doing so he ignored Valente's status as Christian, and no one brought it up. He knew, of course, that Valente was teacher at the village school. He further ignored tribal custom by telling Muntwana to pay Mandjia's lobolo to Valente; the persons who had the right to 'eat' this lobolo technically are Tchukela, the father's brother, and Nkosi, the oldest brother. This indicates that the chief of police had accepted the sepoy's assessment of the case and punished Muntwana for bringing this case to him and for not letting Valente "return to the school to teach in peace."

Valente responded that he agreed with the chief's ruling but that a lobolo is paid so that a woman stay in the man's house as his wife. Valente wanted verbalization of the fact that the 2500\$ was not a fine for impregnating Anna, but a lobolo for marrying her. Valente told the

chief of police that he and Anna had no arrangement to marry, but if he paid 2500\$ for her it meant they were marrying: "Can you buy a jacket and leave it in the store?" The chief of police agreed that doing so would not be fair to the purchaser and Valente pressed home his point saying that was what Muntwana and Alfonso wanted him to do by forcing him to forfeit money, woman, and child. Valente corrected for the various crimes which brought him before the chief of police by explicit reinterpretation--that is, by lying. If he paid 2500\$, Valente said, Anna had to come live with him as his wife. The chief of police asked Ruti if she would agree to this arrangement and she said she would, thus abiding by the value of support of husband under all circumstances. Valente ultimately corrected for the crime of impregnating an unmarried girl through the culturally constituted process governing this crime, then, and the dilemmas which prevented him from doing so earlier were solved by the chief's not considering them as relevant. The Portuguese chief of police had passed the sentence according to tribal, pagan law; his authority was supreme and this freed Valente from any church imposed sanctions if he complied with the chief's ruling. It also freed him from worry of Ruti's objection to his paying Anna's full lobolo when hers had not been paid; this was clear since she told the chief of police that she agreed to accept Anna as co-wife. The value governing her behavior toward

her husband overrode any other considerations in front of the police chief.

The chief of police went further in his support of Valente. When the date for payment of the fine was discussed Valente told the chief of police he could not commit himself to a certain date:

If I set a day and go home and they send me away from the school I will have to find other work. Maybe in South Africa and it might take me eight months. I might not be able to pay on the day I promised and then you would blame me also. If I had the money I would pay right now so the case would not drag on, because there never has been a case like this one.

Valente's argument was very astute: he hinted that the village might bring sanctions to bear by firing him from his teaching job which would make it harder for him to comply with the payment of the lobolo. This had the effect of putting any school based sanctions on him in an unfavorable light. He reinforced the argument by saying that this could also cause him to lose the sympathy of the chief of police by making him default on the payment set for a certain day. Remember that Valente was being held responsible for only 1000\$ and Muntwana for the other 1500\$, and that Valente had the 800\$ he had had from the beginning of these events. Naturally he did not tell that to the chief of police and apparently no one else did. Instead he said that if he had the money he would be happy to pay up right now and so end a distasteful episode in his life. The chief of police accepted these as reasonable arguments and left the date of payment open. This was

tantamount to giving Valente forever to pay the 1000\$.

Muntwana, in desperation, asked the chief of police to write down all of their names and the sentence. At this the chief of police lost his patience and made explicit the factors which had guided him throughout: Valente spoke better Portuguese than anyone else present and "understands things better than they." He told them to go away and return when Valente was ready to pay.

The resolution of Valente's case thus rested on a value which is the most important in the total context of Rjonga life: living up to Portuguese expectations.

Valente's superior command of the Portuguese language showed the chief of police that he was "better" than the others because he was a member of the "third world" and not just of a tribe. Valente's status as school teacher reinforced this judgment of the police chief's, of course.

E5. All of the parties go outside the police station and Alfonso asks Valente to permit Anna to return to the city with her father because she has some mangos to sell; Valente asks if Alfonso would have pleaded for Valente had he become a prisoner instead of Anna?; Alfonso says he "asks a favor," and Valente grants it; Alfonso invites Valente to come to the city so he can get some medicine which makes co-wives live in peace; Valente agrees to go but never did, suspecting the 'medicine' to be poison to kill Ruti.

That the correction was successful was shown by Alfonso's asking Valente's permission to have Anna return to the city with him for a few days. The process in the correction was coercion: that is, the old rules and values still applied but they had been overridden by a superior

authority. Asking permission of Valente was an admission that Valente was now Anna's legal husband and she could no longer act without his permission, not even to visit her own mother and/or father. Valente's moral status was now more tolerable than it had been before this correction took place, and Alfonso showed this in asking permission to take his daughter back to the city. Valente forced Alfonso to admit this by asking if Alfonso would have asked the chief of police to let Valente go free for a few days in order to settle his affairs before becoming a prisoner (had the case gone against Valente). Alfonso replied: "Leave it. I know you are right. I ask a favor." On this basis Valente agreed. Alfonso further indicated the degree of successful correction by inviting Valente to come to him in the city to get some 'medicine' which would enable Ruti and Anna to live together peacefully. He was acting to help Valente who complained that "living with two women is awful." This was ostensibly a friendly overture. Valente told me he never went after the medicine because he was sure it would be poison which would kill Ruti thus leaving the field clear for Anna.

This ends Phase V. The last phase shows how Valente, freed from most sanctions by the chief's of police ruling, used tribal custom to force Anna to run away from his house. This freed him of any obligation to pay for her lobolo, and secured his teaching job from any other sanctions brought to bear by the Christians or

mission or school board on the grounds that a school teacher must act like a Christian and not have two wives. At the end of this last sequence of events there was an outward return to the status quo. Valente continued teaching and had only one wife. His moral status had suffered as a result of these events, however, and the account at the end of this chapter entitled "Subsequent Events" shows what repercussions this entire case had.

There is nothing strange in Valente's treatment of Anna, shortly to be discussed, nor in his desire to be rid of her. She had turned against him when she testified in court and thus proved that her feelings for him were less strong than her fear/respect of her brother and father. Furthermore, Valente knew that most of the people would not tolerate a school teacher who had two wives since it violated the value which holds that a school teacher must also act like a Christian and not just declare himself to be a Christian. Remember Zakaria's visit to Valente and his story that the "people are murmuring." It was entirely possible that he could still be fired from his job on some other pretext, just as a chief can be deposed if all or most of the men refuse to obey him. When a chief loses the respect of his people he loses his qualifications for the job.

Phase VI

El. Ruti goes to the maternity hospital at the end of the month; Valente visits her everyday; three days after Ruti went to the hospital Anna moved into Valente's muti; he makes her sleep in his mother's house and forbids her to enter his house; Anna goes to the maternity hospital three months later and has a son; Valente never went to visit her there; during all of this time he continues teaching and no one comes to see him about having two wives.

It is significant that Anna did not move into Valente's household until after Ruti left for the maternity hospital which was about a week after the hearing at the police station. When she did come she was forbidden to enter Valente's and Ruti's house and had to sleep with her mother-in-law. Valente accepted her as a second wife because it was the only way he could comply with the chief's of police ruling, but he did not treat her as a wife and made a sharp distinction between his treatment of her and of Ruti.

New brides used to act as servants to their mothers-in-law in that they helped the mother-in-law in her own kitchen and did not acquire a kitchen of their own until after a year of marriage. Each wife is entitled to her own house and kitchen, with the exception of this first year. Co-wives help the senior wife in her kitchen. Anna and Ruti worked together in one kitchen, after they both gave birth, but Anna never had her own house as she was entitled to have. Sleeping with her mother-in-law was barely within permissible bounds. Valente could excuse this on the grounds that he had neither the time nor money

to build a new house for his new wife. What was not within permissible bounds was refusing Anna permission to enter his and Ruti's house. This indicated to Anna that she was unwelcome and only barely tolerated. Valente violated all of the values which pertain to a husband's treatment of his wives (no favortism) but in so doing he made clear to Ruti that she was still the favored, as well as senior, wife. In this way he solved the dilemma posed by Ruti's objection to a co-wife which she had phrased in terms of the respect due the elder vis á vis the junior. The Rjonga conceptualize their values relating to polygamy as protecting the rights of the senior wife because it is common that junior wives are favored at the expense of the senior. I saw this over and over among the men who had more than one wife. Given this very common expectation among all the Rjonga, Valente's treatment of Anna was the more significant. He told me that Anna expected him to favor her and abandon Ruti, just as Anna's father favored his younger wife at the expense of Anna's mother. He said he had no intention of doing so since Ruti had been his wife for ten years and had borne four living children and was a superior worker to boot. Ruti had proven herself to be a good wife and Anna had not. He never forgave Anna for appearing in court to testify against him, and he would not accept her father's and brother's commands as sufficient cause for this.

In addition to forbidding Anna entry to his house, Valente never visited her when she was in the maternity hospital, whereas he made a great point of going to visit Ruti every day when she was there. Thus from the time she entered his muti until she returned after giving birth to their son, Anna was made to feel that she was unwelcome. Nobody could interfere in his treatment of Anna, of course, given the non-interference value. Her only recourse was to run home but it should be clear to the reader that this was not an alternative from her point of view. If Anna ran home she was divorcing her husband and her father would have to forfeit the lobolo which had not even been paid yet. She could be sure that her husband would not follow (-landjela) her since he had made it clear she was an unwelcome presence in his household.

Valente's response to Alfonso's humble request, immediately after the trial at the police station, indicated the kind of life Anna could expect to live. Remember that the analogy Valente drew was that of a "prisoner." She had behaved in a very unwifely fashion by going to complain against her 'husband' in the village court and by consenting to go to the Portuguese with the case. This was Valente's view; actually Anna had no choice, but was bound to obey her father and brother since there was no other man who had legal rights in her. Also Valente had given her little reason to behave in any other way, but this became irrelevant now that she was considered his

wife by the Portuguese chief of police. Since white opinion did not seem to object to Valente's being a Christian and a school teacher and having two wives, he was suddenly on very strong ground. He was still subject to village disapproval but Muntwana could not touch him through the medium of the village court without being made to pay the 1500\$ to Valente. If Muntwana had tried to move against Valente, he need only go to the chief of police and complain. This latter official had made it clear that he would support Valente at Muntwana's expense. In effect, the Portuguese chief's ruling had given Valente a breathing space in which he could act to solve the problem of two wives without fear of immediate sanctions being brought to bear by anyone. He might fear (as he told me he did) that the mission or school board would still find a way to deprive him of his job, and for that reason he behaved in such a way guaranteed to make Anna run away of her own accord. This is the only way he could be rid of her without becoming legally liable again, and by which he could be freed of the obligation to pay the 1000\$ of her lobolo.

E2. After Anna returns from the maternity hospital, Valente goes to tell her mother, Celeste, of the birth as custom demands; Celeste comes with three female relatives to visit Anna in her mother's-in-law house; five days later Celeste returns with these women bringing the customary gifts of good, clothes, and firewood, and they cement the floor of Sabula's house (Valente's mother); after they leave, Sabula takes the food into Valente's house; the next day Valente calls Anna and forbids her to give any of this food to any member of his family to eat

because "there must be something in it"; he also forbids her to return the food to her mother with an explanation why he will not allow her to share the food; when he returns in the afternoon he finds that Anna has taken all of her things and run away; this is one week after the baby's birth; she never returns, no more is said of marriage or the lobolo; this ends the case.

Publicly, Valente behaved as a husband should in going to notify Celeste that Anna had given birth to a child. He also did not interfere when Celeste came to pay the customary visits to a new mother and to bring the gifts to celebrate the birth. If Celeste wondered at finding Anna in her mother's-in-law house is unknown; what is sure is that she could say nothing about it. Sabula took the food to her son in his house and presented it to him. When Valente called Anna the next day he dealt the last blow necessary to make her run away. He asked her if her mother had ever sent him any food before they were married? She said no. He then said that he and her family never met to have the customary feast after a dispute and he was still angry with them and did not want to eat anything they provided because there might be poison in it. Since Celeste had never sent him food before he insisted it was suspicious she did so now, since the families had not formally met to kill the case by feasting together. For this reason he forbade Anna to give any of this food to Ruti or his children. He told her she could eat it alone or with the neighbors (Muntwana, on one side; his older brother's wife, on the other). Anna cried and asked Valente to order her to send all of the gifts back to her

mother explaining why. Here it is important to remember that a wife may not visit her natal home without her husband's permission. This is another strong reason for the rule that a man should not marry his neighbor; the rule which forbids wives to visit their parents without husband's consent would conflict with the values governing good neighbor relationships if the neighbors were also affines.

Valente refused Anna permission to return the food to her mother with an explanation why it was not acceptable to him, Ruti, or his children. He said if she sent it back without his permission "you will see what happens." This occurred at the morning recess, and Valente returned to school leaving Anna crying bitterly.

By refusing Anna permission to return the food to her mother Valente closed the door to any possible reconciliation because Anna had no proof of his thoughts and suspicions, and no recourse to her family about his ill-will. In refusing to allow Anna to share the food with Ruti and the children Valente also showed he suspected Anna's family of witchcraft or, at least, of being capable of it and that he would only barely tolerate her presence. He also showed that he would constantly defend himself and his family against her and her family. This created an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust too great to live with for Anna.

When Valente returned at noon from the school he saw Anna eating her gift food with his older brother's wife. He said nothing, but called Ruti to come make his lunch. This public refusal to eat her food was an insult to Anna. When he returned home again at the end of the school day, Valente found that Anna had taken all of her things and the baby and had returned to her mother. He did not follow her and no one of her family came to see him about the lobolo. Since he had paid nothing toward Anna's lobolo the baby belonged to her father and carried his surname. Technically when a wife runs home and her husband does not follow her it is held that he has divorced her rather than she him if her father complains at court. In this case no one pursued the matter for what should be obvious reasons. Valente's and Alfonso's relationship had been too strained to permit any amicable outcome, and Alfonso knew that Valente had the support of the chief of police. The matter ended there.

In this way Valente solved the original dilemma of trying to satisfy Christian and pagan values simultaneously. With the breathing space given him by the Portuguese chief of police he arranged matters so that Anna ran away of her own accord thus freeing him of any obligation to pay her lobolo. He satisfied pagan law by having corrected for his sin in marrying the girl he impregnated, and momentarily avoided Christian sanctions because of the police chief's support. He also satisfied Christian values when Anna ran

away by not following her; pagan sanctions were avoided again because of the police chief's support. By failing to follow Anna Valente corrected for the violation of Christian and school values (a teacher should act like a Christian) because he again became monogamous. The processes operative in both of these corrections were coercion since Valente violated values in the act of correcting, but was not called to account for them. The old rules and values still applied for all Rjonga but they had been overridden by the superior authority of the Portuguese chief of police which everyone recognizes. Because of this man's support Valente became more acceptable to all of his colleagues than he had been after the series of value violations which occurred throughout this case. Thus coercion lessened the impact of the value violations Valente had committed.

Subsequent Events

Three months after Anna ran away Valente intercepted a letter for her at the post office from another man who was at the mines. He opened the letter and found a photograph of the man inside. He kept the picture "as future proof," resealed the letter, and gave it to Anna. This clearly showed his continuing interest in Anna's affairs and a fear that there might still be repercussions about her having run away and his failure to "follow" her. The letter and photograph (which he gave to Manuel to keep

for him) were proof of her adultery should the matter be raised.

Anna had changed the name Valente had chosen for their son, thus repudiating any connection Valente had with the child. At the annual census, while I was present in the village, Valente acted as secretary writing down all of the names of new-born children. Celeste brought his son to be registered and Valente entered the name he had chosen for the boy without Celeste's knowledge nor consent. In this way he indicated his feeling of possessiveness towards the child. He told me that he hopes the boy will come to live with him when he grows older and is told who his real father is, as all children must be told ("the child must know his father").

When Valente's affair with Anna came up before the school board the president of the city school board, Belu (Figure 3, number 7), was away and he did not return until months after Anna had left Valente for good. Belu's mother is Eliza (11) who had participated in the visits to Valente's house. The school board met again, in secret, near the end of the year in which Anna had given birth and run home to her mother. Davida told Valente before the meeting that Valente should not come because they were going to discuss his case with Anna while Belu presided. Davida told Valente that the board could not speak freely if Valente were there. This enraged Valente but he stayed away. At the meeting the board decided not to pay Valente

the 1390\$ of back salary which they still owed him. Davida told the board that he had talked to Valente about it and Valente had agreed to forgive the board this debt to him. Another man of the village attended the meeting because he had some business with the school board although he was not a member. He went to Valente's house immediately after the meeting and told Valente what had been said because he did not approve of the board's manner. Davida did not come to tell Valente the outcome of the meeting as he had promised he would. Valente swore to me that he had never said a word to Davida about forgiving the school board its debt to him.

Some five months after Anna had run away, and after the secret meeting of the school board presided over by Belu, there was another meeting. Fenias (Figure 4, number 15) attended for the first time in a year because he had been away at the mines working. Davida told Fenias the news and he also told him that he had visited Valente who had agreed to forgive the board the debt of 1390\$. After this, Davida asked Valente if he agreed to go on teaching in the school. Although it is never made explicit, it is clear that Davida considered forfeiting the 1390\$ owed Valente a way of his correcting for the value violation involved in his affair with Anna. Valente certainly perceived Davida's statement in this light and I think he was correct. Intimate association with Davida over two years taught me how he handled matters. It was Davida's

method to pretend to befriend a person so he could more easily accumulate evidence which could be used against that person in court. I privately think this explains Davida's request to attend Valente's family meeting before the trial at the village court, but I have no evidence for this.

Valente answered Davida's inquiry about continuing to teach in this way: "A person is never judged before his trial. Even if I do not want to continue teaching I have to until my case is judged here. Thus I will continue."

Valente made clear that he thought Davida's statement to the effect that Valente would forfeit the 1390\$ was a fine levied because of his affair with Anna, and he rejected this as being a sentence passed before a trial. It was Valente who made explicit the connection between the debt and his affair with Anna. He also repeated the process of agreeing to teach as a being in compliance with the law. He was thanked by Fenias for his strength and courage throughout the past events. Valente then asked Marcos (Belu's mother's brother), who was treasurer for the board, about his back salary. It was repeated that everyone knew that Valente had forgiven them this debt. Marcos said they were beginning the new things of the new year with a clean slate, therefore. Everyone spoke at once and told Valente that Belu had asked about this debt and Davida had told them they were

forgiven it. Valente asked to read the minutes for that meeting. Since he was the secretary and kept all of the minutes for school board meetings, there were no minutes for the closed meeting which he was not allowed to attend at which Davida told them Valente had forgiven the board the 1390\$ debt. Valente told the board that if there were not any minutes it was not a matter of record. He also said he had never told anyone that he would forgive the debt. After much discussion everyone agreed to table the matter until Belu was present again. Valente took a parting shot at the board as they broke up:

If you are agreed thus and Belu accepted you will be spoiling your things by yourselves. It is not Belu who knows anything about this matter; it is all of you who told him. We have never had a year when we grossed 8000\$ or 9000\$, but you agreed that 6000\$ would be paid for my salary each year. Now you owe me 1390\$. How is that possible?

As it happens the school board never paid Valente the 1390\$ out of their own funds, collected as matriculation fees, until the Governor-General authorized an official school in Mitini. This was the first government school ever built in the bush, and the Governor-General said in his inaugural speech that it was to reward the people of the village who had worked so hard for their children's future. He also gave a gift of 5000\$ to the school board to reward them for their efforts. Many long meetings of the school board were called to discuss how this money should be divided and after much argument, in which a dispute between Valente and Alfredo (3) figured,

it was agreed that the 1390\$ to Valente would be paid from these monies before the balance was divided. The arguments leading to this decision were bitter, and I have no doubt that it was Valente's association with me, as well as his status of teacher of the village school in the Governor-General's eyes, which ultimately led to this decision.

A few months after the last meeting of the school board, mentioned above, the village school was permanently shut down by the authorities. No one knew exactly why this happened, but gossip indicates that Muntwana was blamed by the people for this. It is whispered that he went to the authorities saying that the professor (Valente) was teaching sedition. If this is true or not there is no way of ever knowing, but it is what the people seem to believe. This occurred just a few months before my arrival in Mitini, and was still very much in the people's minds. I heard much about the school during my stay there, and was asked to act as advisor to the young men who lived in the city who were trying to get government approval for an official school. I declined to advise, but I listened long hours to their planning and their strategies. As I have already indicated they were successful, and a year after the school had been closed down a new school was built and staffed by the government. It was at the occasion of inaugurating this new school that the Governor-General made the 5000\$ gift to the old school board out of his own pocket. The school board had

disbanded when the school was closed down, and they met again only to settle the distribution of the 5000\$ gift. As I said, this took a long time to decide and Valente's share in the money was the cause of long hours of debate and dispute, and almost led to a public rupture of his relations with Davida and Alfredo. He insulted them publicly and demanded that they speak to him about this matter, but they continued to avoid a dispute by apologizing and/or refusing to discuss the matter. After the school was closed down, Valente had remained in the bush farming and without any other job. He worked for me, among many others, after my arrival.

Valente continued feeling angry and ill-used by the school board and refused to help in any other village projects when requested to. He also quarrelled frequently with Davida and Alfredo during the following years, as I have said, although they never went to court with their disputes because of these men's refusal to react to him. The chief, Muntwana, was deposed a few months after the school was closed down and Valente has few dealings with his brother-in-law now. Valente continued to refuse to help in the village efforts to acquire an official school and told me that he would not teach at it if he were asked to.

After Anna left his house Valente became a Christian in good standing again and participated in all church functions. Fernando was later barred from the

church because he took a lover. Valente never forgot his grudge against Fernando and when this man was dying (see Chapter III) Valente tried to prevent me from helping Fernando because he had been Valente's enemy.

Anna married the first year I was in the village. Her husband, the man who had written from the mines, paid 1000\$ lobolo for her. Her son by Valente continued living with Celeste and did not go with his mother to her new husband's home. This is not unusual in these cases.

After I returned to America Valente went back to school and earned his Standard 4 certificate so that he could be eligible to teach in the new school, helping the Portuguese teachers there. He told me he did this to help the children who had not done anything against him.

All of these subsequent events show how a case as involved as this one has long-lasting effects on the relationships of the participants in it. Although there was no rupture severe enough to result in another court trial involving Valente the relationships of friends and neighbors were changed by the course of the events concerning Valente and Anna. Davida and Fernando no longer were Valente's friends and the degree of enmity Valente felt was amply demonstrated by his reluctance to help Fernando when he was dying. Valente's feeling of obligation to cooperate in village affairs was changed so that he refused further work "for the people." In fact he did

help after repeated requests by a Portuguese doctor who began to visit the village on weekends, but ceased doing so after a while because he said the people were making unreasonable demands on his time. His agreement to teach in the school if appointed he rationalizes as helping innocent children, and thus he emphasizes his superior moral status.

The most important consequence of all of these events seems to me to be the change in attitude of one of the men best qualified to help his village. Because of the sense of grievance he has at having been caught between Christian and pagan values, Valente has changed his orientation from the pagan attitude of cooperation to one of determined self-help. If he should help his village in doing so, he seems to consider this incidental in his primary goal which is self-advancement. Valente found support in the Portuguese chief of police; this will affect his future relations and goals in that he will act so as to satisfy these "third world" expectations rather than pagan-village expectations, insofar as he can get away with it. He may find he has to move out of the village as a result, but this he is prepared to do.

These last statements I have made are really predictions, and only the future can determine whether my assessment of the consequences of this case is accurate or not. I hope it is not.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Throughout the analysis of the case it appears that many values have become part of the field in relation to the processes, but this is more apparent than real. As concerns loosening and correcting there are only seven values, and two corollaries, which are central to these processes. Contributing to the appearance of many more values related to (involved in) the processes are eleven values and/or unwritten attitudes which changed the course of events in Valente's case. This occurred either because one of these values or attitudes was violated, or because someone adhered to one of them because it was more important or inclusive than the central value. An example of this is the value "always communicate with your seniors about matters affecting the household (or lineage, or village)." This is a corollary, a highly specific rule, which is really a part of the value which states that seniors must be shown respect and be obeyed by their juniors, and that seniors should protect juniors. This value (specific rule of a value) was violated ten times

during the course of the case and in each instance was symptomatic of a grudge held because other role expectations had not been complied with, or lived up to. Muntwana's failure, on two occasions, to tell Valente he was summoned before a court contributed to Valente's belief that the neutrality of the chief had been set aside in favor of 'taking sides' against him because of past differences. This, in turn, led Valente to violate the value which says you should obey the ruling of a court and respect your chief, and this value did become central to the case.

The important thing to remember is that there is a very significant difference between value violations and successful loosening and/or correcting. Value violations may lead to a different course of behavior by principal actors without these values being involved in the loosening or correcting processes. That is, one person's value violation may only lead to another person violating either the same or a different value, and the case may change course without loosening or correcting for that value occurring. When Rjonga do this they are usually behaving in accord with the attitude "do unto others as they have done unto you."

The major values which became central at one time or another in the case follow. I have numbered these to correspond with the tabulation of their occurrence in Table 1, "Chronological Order of Processes." The episodes

(E) referred to in this Table refer to each sequence of events within one phase; in the analysis in the preceding chapter these episodes begin with the single-spaced summary of events. Thus the notation (1-E4) means that the process in question relates to value 1 and occurred in episode 4 of the relevant phase. The major values are:

1. Christians may not have two or more wives simultaneously.
2. Teachers must act like Christians.
3. If you impregnate an unmarried girl you must marry her or pay the fine.
4. Do not interfere in a family affair.
5. Divorce is bad.
6. If you cannot negotiate a dispute reasonably and privately, you must follow proper dispute settlement procedure which means submitting to adjudication.
7. Seniors (superiors) must be shown respect and be obeyed by juniors (inferiors); seniors must protect junior.
 - a. Wives owe husbands absolute obedience, respect, and loyalty.
 - b. Obey the ruling of a court.

These are the values which became central to the fields in the case, and were involved in loosening and/or correcting processes. The notation (cc) following the description of a process means "culturally constituted."

TABLE 1.--Chronological Order of Processes.

Loosening Processes	Correcting Processes
<u>Phase I</u>	
Choice between alternative values (cc) (1-E4; 2-E4)	Return to ideal behavior (cc) (7a-E4)
Denial (cc) (3-E6)	Reinterpretation of role (cc) (3-E5)
Choice between alternative values (cc) (1-E7; 2-E7)	Following prescribed behavior (cc) (7a-E7)
<u>Phase II</u>	
Ambiguity of actor's roles (cc) (3-E1)	Mobilization of support (cc) (3-E1)
Actor's intent to correct (cc) (3-E2)	Mobilization of support (cc) (3-E2)
Actor's intent to correct (cc) (3-E3)	Mobilization of support (cc) (3-E3)
Ambiguity of actor's behavior (cc) (3-E4)	Mobilization of support (cc) (3-E4)
Ambiguity of actor's behavior (cc) (3-E5)	Mobilization of support (cc) (3-E5)
	Following rules for breaking rules (cc) (3-E6)
Choice between alternative values (cc) (1-E6; 2-E6)	

TABLE 1.-- (Con't.).

Loosening Processes	Correcting Processes
<u>Phase III</u>	
Redefinition of actor's roles by excluding one (3-E1)	Ambiguity of actor's behavior (1-E1; 2-E1)
Redefinition of actor's roles by excluding one (3-E3)	Extenuating circumstances (1-E1)
Ambiguity of actor's roles (2-E4)	Redefinition of role (self-imposed sanction) (1-E2)
Explicit reinterpretation (4-E4)	Ambiguity of actor's roles (1-E2; 2-E2)
Denial (1-E4; 2-E4; 3-E4; 4-E4)	Explicit reinterpretation (4-E4)
Redefinition of actor's roles (3-E5)	Denial of alternative course of action (1-E5; 2-E5)
Redefinition of actor's roles (3-E6)	Ambiguity of actor's roles (1-E6; 2-E6)
Denial of alternative courses of action (4-E7)	Return to prescribed Christian behavior (1-E7; 2-E7)
<u>Phase IV</u>	
Extenuating circumstances (cc) (5-E8)	Mobilization of support (cc) (5-E3)
Actor's intent to correct (cc) (3-E8)	Mobilization of support (cc) (5-E4)
Rules for breaking rules (cc) (7a-E10)	Mobilization of support (cc) (3-E7; 5-E7)
	Mobilization of support (cc) (5-E8)

TABLE 1.-- (Con't.).

Loosening Processes	Correcting Processes
Denial (7-E11)	Follows prescribed behavior (cc) (3-E8)
	Denial based on ambiguity of behavior (5-E9; 7-E9)
	Self-justification (6-E9)
	Follows prescribed behavior (cc) (5-E9)
	Following rules for breaking rules (cc) (7a-E10)
	Mobilization of support (cc) (7-E11)
	Mobilization of support (cc) (3-E12; 5-E12)
	Ambiguity of actor's roles (3-E12; 5-E12)
	Partial return to ideal behavior (1-E12; 2-E12)
	Denial (4-E13)
	Return to ideal behavior (cc) (4-E13; 7-E13)
	Denial (7-E14)
	Explicit reinterpretation (7a-E14)

TABLE 1.-- (Con't.).

Loosening Processes	Correcting Processes
	Return to ideal behavior (cc) (7a-E14)
<u>Phase V</u>	
Justification by another's bad behavior (6-E3)	Extenuating circumstances (7b-E1)
Denial (ambiguity of actor's roles?) (1-E4; 2-E4)	Self-justification (6-E1)
	Following prescribed behavior (cc) (3-E2; 5-E2)
	Return to ideal behavior (cc) (6-E2)
	Following prescribed behavior (cc) (3-E4; 5-E4)
	Explicit reinterpretation (3-E4; 5-E4)
	Stressing actor's achieve- ments instead of his status (3-E4; 5-E4)
	Coercion (7b-E5)
<u>Phase VI</u>	
	Following prescribed behavior (cc) (3-E1; 5-E1)

TABLE 1.-- (Con't.).

Loosening Processes	Correcting Processes
	Over-compensation (pre-scribed behavior) (7-E1)
	Return to ideal Christian behavior (coercion) (1-E2; 2-E2)

TABLE 2.--Actors in the Field (by Phase and Episode).

Phase I

E1 Valente and Anna
 E2 Valente and Anna
 E3 Anna and Celeste
 E4 Valente and Ruti
 E5 Valente and Ruti
 E6 Valente and Anna
 E7 Valente, Alfonso, Anna, and Ester
 E8 Valente, Ruti, and Anna

Phase II

E1 Valente and Manuel
 E2 Valente and Davida
 E3 Valente and Nkosi
 E4 Valente and Sabula
 E5 Valente and Zinyawa
 E6 Valente, Anna, and Ruti

Phase III

E1 Valente and church board members (Fernando, Suzanna, Rosa, Eliza) and Ruti
 E2 Valente and the church (arena: Self-imposed sanctions)
 E3 Valente and church board/school board members (Fernando and Solomon)
 E4 Valente and the school board (Davida, Tomas, Zakaria, Alfredo, Solomon, and Marcos)
 E5 Valente and church board members (Fernando, Suzana, Rosa)
 E6 Valente and church board member (Zakaria)
 E7 Valente and Anna

Phase IV

E1 Valente and Ruti (Ruti, Jorge, and Anna)
 E2 Valente and Anna
 E3 Valente and Manuel
 E4 Valente and Davida
 E5 Valente and Davida's son
 E6 Valente and Davida
 E7 (By letter--Valente, Davida, Tomas, and Manuel)
 E8 Valente and family (Nkosi, Tchukela, Sabula, and Ruti)
 E9 Valente and village elders; church and school board members; own family; and Anna's family (village trial)
 E10 Valente and Ruti
 E11 Valente and Zinyawa

TABLE 2.-- (con't.).

-
- E12 Valente and Andre
 - E13 Valente and village elders; church and school board members; own family; and Anna's family (convening of village court to pay fine)
 - E14 Valente and own representatives (Manuel, Tchukela, Nkosi) and Ruti and her representatives (Solomon, Jacobe, and grandmother)

Phase V

- E1 Valente and Alfonso
- E2 Valente and his representatives (Manuel, Tomas, Tchukela) and Alfonso and his representatives (Muntwana, Antonio)
- E3 Muntwana, Alfonso, Anna, Portuguese chief of police
- E4 Valente and his representatives (Ruti, Tchukela); Anna and her representatives (Alfonso, Muntwana, Kokwana, Alfredo); the Portuguese chief of police and his sepoy
- E5 Valente and Alfonso

Phase VI

- E1 Valente, Ruti, and Anna
 - E2 Valente and Anna (Celeste, her relatives, and Valente's sister-in-law)
-

The six phases of the case extend over thirty-eight weeks, from mid-winter of one year to the fall of the next. In terms of the actors' perceptions the first phase is discrete from the following five since one month separates Phase I and Phase II. Phases II-VI are separated by only one week, two days, one day, and one week, respectively, so that it can be assumed that the events within them are seen to be consequent to preceding events by the actors. This might serve to explain part of Valente's surprise and sense of grievance at the interference of the church and school board members. During the first phase Anna's mother and father and Valente's wife, Ruti, all became aware of Anna's pregnancy, but nothing was done. Alfonso did not take Valente to court immediately, nor did Valente offer to make reparations for his crime immediately. This delay of his may have been in accord with the attitude "see what you can get away with" (see later discussion).

The events of this first phase took place over a two week span, during which the interested parties all became acquainted with the facts; then there followed a one month lull. I can only speculate that this month's lapse served to strengthen Valente's assurance that Alfonso would not act precipitously and that he was giving Valente time to accustom Ruti to the idea of a co-wife. All Rjonga know that women take a long time to get used to a

new idea, and that wives, in particular, must have sufficient time if they are to act properly.

This sense of security that Valente might have had (and which his conversations with me indicate he did have) would have been reinforced by the events of the first phase. Table 1 shows that there were three loosening and three correcting processes in this first phase, and that all six processes were culturally constituted. That is, all actors participating in these processes continued to have proper (valued) relations because they had recourse to a higher value which ordered their relationships, and thus the violations of the principal actor did not result in chaos.

At the conclusion of the analysis of the case I was struck by how closely people's behavior was governed by their shared values. Table 1 demonstrates, in part, in what way this was so. There were four of the major values central to this first phase; as will be noted, values 1 and 2 (the Christian values) were linked throughout the case, as later values 3 and 5 (impregnation of girls; divorce) would be. In this phase the central values were the two Christian values; the value governing the impregnation of unmarried girls; and the corollary to value 7 which governs the behavior of wives under any and all circumstances (7a). That these should have been the central values is hardly startling; four of the actors in this phase were Christian (Valente, Anna, Ruti,

Celeste, and--formerly--Alfonso). Ruti occupied two statuses, however, that of Christian and that of wife, and she first violated value 7a for a variety of reasons but then corrected for this violation by returning to the observance of the rule in 7a. This makes clear that the precepts of 7a (wives owe husbands complete loyalty and obedience) were more important (superior to) than those of any other shared values she and her husband held, including the Christian ones. All Rjonga I spoke to on this subject agreed it should be so, and Ruti acted as if it were so. The only process in which Valente was involved himself was a correcting one, a reinterpretation of his role so that he behaved as a responsible man towards the woman he impregnated. The other processes in this phase can be considered as accommodating this correction.

This phase also provides a clear example of possible consequences when behavior is governed by reference to superior values other than the violated value. Ruti's correction of her initial violation of value 7a was a culturally constituted process: return to ideal behavior (of wives). This had the effect of loosening the Christian values (1 and 2) for Valente and the process which made this possible was her choice between alternative values; thus this latter process must also be culturally constituted. The loosening of values 1 and 2 by Ruti did not come about because of an individual, inventive process but because she had no choice if she

were to follow the most important rule pertaining to wives. This shows that loosening and correcting processes may be intimately related in a causal sequence yet be different in motive and effect. This phenomenon recurs in the case, in each instance the result of a culturally constituted correcting process.

Celeste's position was similar to Ruti's in that she also occupied the statuses of Christian and wife. In addition, and central to the episode in which she was a member of the field, she was a mother. Celeste refused to loosen the relevant values for her daughter and this involved her in a violation of value 7a also. Unlike Ruti she did not correct for this (and even repeated the violation later), so no process of either kind applies to Celeste's behavior (value violations are distinct from loosening and correcting processes). That Celeste should have violated the value governing the behavior of wives, whereas Ruti corrected for the same value, has to be explained in terms of her relationship with Alfonso, her husband. He had violated the value which says that polygamous husbands must not show favoritism by taking his junior wife to live with him in the city, and by seldom visiting Celeste in the bush. Celeste behaved in accord with the unvalued attitude, but widespread behavioral trait, "do unto others as they have done unto you." Although ideally this attitude is deprecated by the Rjonga I noted that behaviorally it was operative legally in that

a man's fine at court would be set very low, and this was verbalized by members of the court, if the opposing principal had also violated one or more important values in his interactions with the other principal. This same attitude governs the relationships of many people after they have been opponents in a trial and accounts, in my opinion, for continued grudges although the 'cases should die' after the fine is paid and the men have drunk beer together. This attitude, of course, is closely associated with the phenomenon of 'taking sides' among the Rjonga.

It could be that the stratification of the Rjonga by seniority principles, applicable at every level of village and family organization, and the corpus of kinship obligations makes it possible for these phenomena of 'taking sides' and bearing grudges, beyond the limits of a specific case or encounter, to exist despite the obvious necessity for cooperation. In fact, the latter phenomena might be explained as displacement in view of the strictures of seniority and kinship obligations. As a possible hypothesis this would associate all of these characteristics--contradictory as they are--into one constellation of Rjonga attributes. In terms of complying with obligations, the Rjonga say that a person's first duty is to his kin living with him in the same muti; next it is to other kin, wherever they live, according to the degree and type of relationship; third come the obligations to neighbors; fourth to friends; and last to other

villagers. Obligations to the chief and king precede all others. In actual life, the Rjonga say it is impossible not to meet one's obligations to neighbors before those to kin living elsewhere simply because of the neighbors proximity. Similar factors of expediency might mitigate against a constant and strict adherence to valued behavior, particularly when the strength of the obligation is taken into account.

The second phase of the case extended over two weeks and is again characterized by processes which are all culturally constituted. There were five instances of mobilization of support by Valente which is valued procedure in any dispute. Of interest is that Valente sought support before there was a case; these five episodes were prior to his bringing Anna into his household as his wife. It is as if he were testing opinions to see what the reaction to his bringing her home would be, to see if he could 'get away with it.' But, as I noted in the analysis, he only sought out non-Christians at this point, and they were sure to agree that the pagan method of reparation was the only proper one. In each case there was loosening of the value concerning the impregnation of unmarried girls (value 3); that this cannot be construed as loosening of the Christian values is due to the non-Christian status of all of the actors involved in these fields. Since the consensus was that he could do nothing better than marry Anna, Valente's final correction in this phase was to

bring her home, and the process was one of following the rules for breaking the rules (elopement following impregnation is one alternative). Ruti acquiesced in this by a repetition of choosing between alternative values; she continued to adhere to the value governing the behavior of wives (7a), it being the most important value in her total repertoire. Note that the correcting process "mobilization of support" did not result in identical loosening processes; this is explained by reference to the particular actors in the fields. The kinship obligations to support someone who intends to redeem his bad behavior was an operative process for Valente's older brother and for Davida, his close friend, associate, and distant kinsman. Ambiguity characterized the other three loosening processes; Manuel, remember, said "wait and see what Alfonso does." Valente's mother and his other close friend, Zinyawa, loosened value 3 because of the ambiguity of his behavior. He told each of these people that he intended to bring Anna home and support her, although he did not say he was going to marry her. It seems indisputable to me that it was the ambiguity of his bringing her home which was the crucial element in the loosening rather than the obligations of motherhood or friendship although these played a role.

A final observation about the two phases taken together is that in each there are equal numbers of loosening and correcting processes, and the principal actor was involved in seven correcting processes out of a total

of nine. The nine loosening processes have reference to culturally constituted acts by others associated with Valente. Furthermore, the seven correcting processes represent Valente's actions calculated to redeem his crime in impregnating an unmarried girl by a variation of the most valued pagan means--social marriage, if not legal marriage.

Phase III also consisted of equal instances of loosening and correcting processes, but none of these was culturally constituted and this indicates a significant change in the course of the case. The phase episodes began one week after the last episode of Phase II and extended over seven weeks. This is the phase which was characterized by the visits from the church board members to Valente's house, remonstrating with him because of Anna's presence. The final episode was the one in which Valente succumbed to these pressures and sent Anna back to her mother. In this phase also was Valente's confrontation with the school board. In the entire case there were four times when there were public confrontations (school board meeting; village trial; village court to pay the fine; police chief's trial), and I think these were crucial in the development of the case since they represented the consensus of organized groups to Valente. These public confrontations were characterized by the attendance of some people formerly in the arena, and by people who were not closely associated with Valente in terms of kinship or

participation in other organized groups. Each confrontation was followed by a change in Valente's behavior; that is, by an apparent change in his intentions. The school board meeting occurred in E4 of this phase, and it was after this that Valente sent Anna back to her mother although all of the events of the preceding phases show he had intended to marry her (socially).

Seven of the eight correcting processes in this phase represented acts by Valente to correct for his violation of the two Christian values (1--no polygamy; 2--a teacher is a Christian). This was because two organized groups which represented Christianity and education had entered the field and threatened Valente with sanctions which were intolerable to him--loss of his teaching job. He could easily have returned to the city and found other work of the sort he had been doing before becoming the village school teacher (domestic work), but this could not compare in prestige with the job which was threatened by these groups.

The loosening processes include some which loosened the value regarding the impregnation of unmarried girls; this came about through the church board members' adherence to a superior value, that governing the behavior of Christians and school teachers. The church board members' behavior consisted of a value violation (non-interference), adherence to higher values (Christian), and

a reinterpretation of their value violation which amounted to a correcting process (in E4). Thus adherence to superior values which are not shared by the whole society can result in violations of widely shared values. This is the crux of the case, of course. The choice between alternative values with which Valente and the church and school people were faced necessarily involved opposing effects because one of the value systems was not widely shared although the prestige of its bearers was great. The ambivalent attitude of the pagan community is clear by reference to the high prestige attaching to, but unshared nature of this value system. The loosening of the value regarding unmarried girls (value 3) differed from Ruti's loosening of the same value in that it was not the consequence of a culturally constituted correcting process. Ruti's correction for her violation of the value governing the behavior of wives resulted in the loosening of value 3, thus both processes were culturally constituted. The church and school board members acted as if they belonged to a sub-society, of which Valente was also a member, in which kinship roles are replaced by seniority roles by virtue of status within the sub-group. Given this replacement, senior members of the group can act to correct the behavior of junior members of the group as a father can punish his son, or a king his subject. The church members made this explicit when they said they did not violate the non-interference value because they had to obey the

orders of their superiors, the missionaries, in a distant village. This sub-society and its culture cuts across village boundaries uniting people not only within a specific kingdom and tribe, but throughout the Province. It is precisely this facet which makes it a valuable entity to Portuguese authorities. Although Valente fought expulsion from the group by trying to separate the roles of Christian and teacher, thus freeing him from sanctions aimed at his professorial status (the one which the Portuguese explicitly value the most), he was defeated by the inextricable association of Christianity and education in the minds of the Rjonga (but not of the Portuguese).

There was one instance of a one-to-one correspondence of loosening and correcting processes in this phase. Although Davida began by censuring the church board for its interference in Valente's family affair, which they corrected by an explicit reinterpretation (E4), he ended by loosening this value for the church board. The process in the loosening was the same the church board members had used to correct for their violation--explicit reinterpretation. Davida's loosening of the non-interference value constituted an acceptance of the church people's definition of the situation so that the processes were identical. This phenomenon indicates an agreement on new values which apply to a situation. As I said in the analysis, I have no specific data to indicate how this

came about, but I suspect it was mission ownership of the school/church building which was responsible.

Also interesting in this phase is an instance of multiple processes in correcting for one value. Valente attempted to correct for his violation of the Christian values by pleading ambiguity of behavior and extenuating circumstances (E1). In the preceding phases inspection of Table 1 will show that the processes were distributed through succeeding episodes. In Phase I the loosening processes occurred in episodes 4, 6, and 7; the correcting processes occurred in episodes 4, 5, and 7. The same kind of distribution occurred in Phase II. It is only with Phase III that there was more than one instance of a correcting process for the same value in the same episode. It is impossible to tell at this juncture the significance of this; however, it is worth noting here since the same distribution occurs elsewhere in the case at which time I will discuss it more fully.

Phase IV began two days after the preceding one and extended over four weeks. It was most significantly characterized by far more correcting processes (eighteen) than loosening processes (four). Whereas the first three phases involved primarily three values, this phase included far more values central to the processes and thus indicates another change in the course of the case. Phase II was devoted almost exclusively to processes involving value 3 and this was so because most of the

actors were non-Christian. Phase III was characterized by correcting processes involving almost exclusively values 1 and 2 and this was so because most of the actors were Christians who belonged to an organized group (whereas the actors in Phase II did not). The loosening processes in this phase involved four values (1, 2, 3, and 4), only one of which represented action by Valente himself. When he decided to correct for the Christian values (return to prescribed Christian behavior in E7), he also loosened the non-interference value for the church and school board members (denial of alternative courses of action in E7). This occurred when he sent Anna home and thus involved him in another value violation (5--divorce is bad). Violation of this value was compounded in pagan opinion by his failure to properly correct for the initial violation of impregnating an unmarried girl. Valente's moral status suffered a more severe blow as a consequence of this act (violation of 5) than it had from the first act (violation of 3).

In this phase all the major values and one of the corollaries (7a) became involved in the processes. This represented the involvement of all the actors in the same phase (Christian and non-Christian). That this should be so is explained by the fact that the second and third public confrontations (the village trial in E9 and village court convened to collect the fine in E13), occurred in

this phase. These events were precipitated by Valente's sending Anna home, in the final episode of the preceding phase, which was construed as divorce by Jorge, her brother, and later by the members of the court. Thus the majority of correcting processes (eight) related to the value that divorce is bad and represented actions by Valente, and six of them were culturally constituted (primarily mobilization of support).

Failure to abide by the procedures governing dispute settlement also became part of the field in this phase because Valente took the offensive and blamed the trial on Alfonso's not coming to settle the matter of Anna's impregnation privately and by negotiation. I think Valente was operating on the principle that the best defense is offense because, as I have pointed out, it was his place to go to Alfonso and not vice versa. Alfonso violated proper dispute settlement procedures when he complained directly to Muntwana instead of going to Valente first, however, as the aggrieved party should. But, as I have also pointed out, the rules governing proper dispute settlement procedure always become part of the field in trials because the Rjonga value negotiation more highly than adjudication.

Although there were only eighteen correcting processes in this phase, these eighteen represented twenty-five discrete correcting acts. This is partially explained by the fact that the same process (mobilization

of support, for example) was involved in correcting for more than one value at the same time. This, in turn, signifies that some values were linked for the actors involved in these processes. Thus in E7 Valente tried to mobilize support, a culturally constituted correcting process, for his violation of the value about impregnating unmarried girls (3) and divorcing wives (5). His attempt to have his action result in these values being loosened failed. Whereas mobilization of support in order to effect loosening of the central values succeeded in Phase II, it notably failed in Phase IV. This is explained by the severity of his moral lapse in compounding the violation of value 3 by divorcing Anna (violation of value 5). His efforts succeeded in the loosening of these values in only one instance, for culturally constituted reasons. Values 3 and 5 were loosened in E8 by his older brother, his father's brother, his mother, and his wife because he asked them to accept his behavior although they could not understand the reasons for it. That is, the values were loosened at his family meeting, and the members of his family were complying with the attitude that if a kinsman intends to correct for his crimes he should be supported.

I should explain that the loosening of value 7 in Ell of this phase refers to Zinyawa's denial that Valente had violated the principle that superiors must protect juniors; this has reference to Ruti's running away from

her husband because she said he had humiliated her by giving preference to Anna in agreeing to pay her full lobolo.

The discrepancy between the eighteen correcting processes and the twenty-five discrete acts is also partially explained by the same phenomenon observed in Phase III: different correcting processes for the same value in the same episode. This amounts to 'over-correction' since the same value is corrected (that is, its violation is justified) by different processes but in the same field. The actors in one episode are identical since one criterion for distinguishing episodes was changes in the content of the fields. In E9 of this phase the actors in the field consisted of: the village elders, members of the church board, Anna's family, and Valente's family.

Over-correction seems to indicate the actor's own assessment of his moral status; the lower he feels he has fallen in the opinion of other actors in the field, the greater the need to correct for his crime. Or, the same effect may come about because one process failed in its intent (to restore actor's moral standing or, at least, make it better than it had been after his value violations). In these cases the first process is followed by a different process with the same intent. Valente corrected for his violation of the value concerning divorce in E9 by two different processes: the first was denial based on ambiguity of his behavior, but this failed. The second

was compliance with prescribed behavior, which was culturally constituted, and in this instance meant his agreement to pay an excessive fine.

The second example occurs in E12 when Valente spoke with his Christian friend, Andre. He employed mobilization of support and stressed the ambiguity of his roles ('simple' over-correction). No loosening of the values (3 and 5) was involved by definition, but correcting for them was successful in that Andre agreed Valente had acted reasonably and asked him to care for Andre's family in his absence. Some correcting processes can result in simultaneous loosening processes, as I have shown in the earlier discussion, but this seems to occur only when there is reference to a superior (and other) value than the one central to the process; or, when there is a one-to-one correspondence between the loosening and correcting process. I have shown that this seems to involve a redefinition of the situation and an agreement on new (or different) values.

The third example of over-correction for one value occurs in E13. This is of the same variety as the first example where the first correcting process failed to improve the central actor's moral status. In this episode the actor is a group, the church board members, who were censured for interfering in a family affair. They denied they had done so, but then ceased to interfere (return to ideal behavior, culturally constituted).

The last example of this phenomenon is in E14 where the actors in the field consisted of Valente and his family representatives and Ruti and her family representatives, meeting to negotiate Ruti's violation of value 7a when she ran away from home. The first process was explicit re-interpretation followed by a return to ideal behavior (Ruti went back to Valente).

Multiple and differing processes of the correcting class occurring within the same field and involving the same value can be explained in two ways: (a) the phenomenon reflects the actor's own perception of his moral lapse vis á vis the other actors in the field and this indicates the degree of importance (superiority and inflexibility) of the value involved in that social field; or (b) the first processes failed and the actor perceived himself as constrained to substitute another act which would succeed in improving his moral status for the other actors in the field. This also indicates the degree of superiority and inflexibility of the central value(s) in that field.

Phase V took place one day after the last events of Phase IV, and extended over four weeks. The values central to this phase are fewer than in the preceding one. Also characteristic of this phase is the greater number of correcting processes in comparison to loosening processes; this characterized the last phase also, but not the first three phases. Three of these correcting

processes were culturally constituted in that they involved either a return to ideal behavior (Valente and his representatives followed proper dispute settlement procedure in going to call on Alfonso), or following the prescription for 'proper' correction of a crime (Valente et al., agreed to payment of a fine for impregnating Anna then divorcing her). Both of these occurred in E2.

The most significant event in this phase was the inclusion of the Portuguese chief of police and his sepoy in the field (E4) by virtue of Alfonso's complaint at the police station. This was the last public confrontation and the results changed the direction of the central actor's behavior again, as the previous three confrontations had done. The Christian values were not part of the field in this phase although they were loosened for Valente by the denial of their existence by the sepoy and the chief of police. This denial (loosening of values 1 and 2) is extremely important to the understanding of Valente's behavior in the last phase.

The values governing impregnation of unmarried girls and divorce were again linked in this phase although reference to divorce was not explicitly in the field which included the chief of police. That is, it was not mentioned to the chief of police as one of Valente's crimes, but the corrections for 3 (impregnation) also successfully corrected for 5 (divorce) for Alfonso,

Muntwant, et al., because the values were associated in their minds and accounted, in part, for the excessive fine levied Valente.

The last phase began one week later but extended over three months. It was characterized only by correcting processes and no loosening processes. Thus the pattern of these two major classes of processes is clear in the development of the case. Their occurrence was equal in the first three phases but in the fourth phase correction exceeded loosening and this was even more the case in Phase V, until Phase VI contained only correcting processes. I should note that Phase VI contained more value violations (not shown as processes, of course) than it did correcting processes. This was the case since Valente corrected first for the violation of pagan values and in so doing he again violated the Christian values. He then corrected for the Christian values but in so doing he violated the pagan values. This was the original dilemma with which he was faced, but it was the coercion represented by the Portuguese chief's of police support which permitted him to violate one value system with impunity while acting to improve his moral status vis á vis the alternate value system.

I think that the most important elements in the change of direction of the case shown by the increase in correcting processes from Phase IV onward are the public confrontations. Until the first confrontation (with the

school board in Phase III, E4), Valente's actions were designed to improve his moral standing in the pagan community by means of culturally constituted correcting processes. As a direct consequence of that confrontation Valente changed his behavior so as to improve his moral standing in the Christian-educated community. This was directly responsible, in turn, for the second public confrontation in which the pagan community expressed its indignation at his behavior. This confrontation and the succeeding one resulted in Valente's return to the first method: attempt to improve his moral standing in the pagan community. The consequences of the first confrontation, with the school board, were shown by his refusal to entertain the most valued pagan method of correction, however. He refused to marry Anna, but apparently agreed to pay the fine. The last public confrontation (with the police chief) again changed the course of Valente's behavior enabling him to act so as to improve his moral standing first in the pagan community, then in the Christian-educated community, serially and not simultaneously. Thus the intervention of organized groups played an important role in the determination of behavior in this case and in its ultimate resolution.

Inspection of Table 3, "Processes Grouped by Value," shows other interesting patterns. In this table "P" stands for "phase" so that the notation PI-E2 means "phase I, episode 2."

TABLE 3.--Processes Grouped by Value (Chronological).

Loosening Processes	Correcting Processes
<u>Christians may not have two wives simultaneously (1)</u>	
Choice between alternative values (cc) (PI-E4)	Stressing ambiguity of actor's behavior (PIII-E1)
Denial (III-E4)	Extenuating circumstances (PIII-E1)
Ambiguity of actor's roles (PV-E4)	Redefinition of role (PIII-E2)
	Ambiguity of actor's roles (PIII-E2)
	Denial of alternative courses of action (PIII-E5)
	Ambiguity of actor's roles (PIII-E6)
	Return to prescribed behavior (PIII-E7)
	Partial return to prescribed behavior (PIV-E12)
	Return to ideal Christian behavior (PVI-E2)
<u>Teachers must act like Christians (2)</u>	
Choice between alternative values (cc) (PI-E4)	Ambiguity of actor's behavior (PIII-E1)
Ambiguity of actor's roles (PIII-E4)	Denial of alternative courses of action (PIII-E5)

TABLE 3.-- (Con't.).

Loosening Processes	Correcting Processes
Denial (PIII-E4)	Ambiguity of actor's roles (PIII-E6)
Denial (ambiguity of actor's roles?) (PV-E4)	Return to prescribed behavior (PIII-E7)
	Partial return to ideal behavior (PIV-E12)
	Return to ideal Christian behavior (PVI-E2)
If you impregnate an unmarried girl marry her or pay the fine (3)	
Denial (cc) (PI-E6)	Reinterpretation of role (PI-E5)
Ambiguity of actor's roles (cc) (PII-E1)	Mobilization of support (cc) (PII-E1)
Actor's intent to correct (cc) (PII-E2)	Mobilization of support (cc) (PII-E2)
Actor's intent to correct (cc) (PII-E3)	Mobilization of support (cc) (PII-E3)
Ambiguity of actor's behavior (cc) (PII-E4)	Mobilization of support (cc) (PII-E4)
Ambiguity of actor's behavior (cc) (PII-E5)	Mobilization of support (cc) (PII-E5)
	Following rules for breaking rules (cc) (PII-E6)
Redefinition of actor's roles by excluding one (PIII-E1)	Following prescribed behavior (cc) (PIV-E6)

TABLE 3.-- (Con't.).

Loosening Processes	Correcting Processes
Redefinition of actor's roles by excluding one (PIII-E3)	Mobilization of support (cc) (PIV-E7)
Denial (PIII-E4)	Ambiguity of actor's roles (PIV-E12)
Redefinition of actor's roles by excluding one (PIII-E5)	Following prescribed behavior (cc) (PV-E2)
Redefinition of actor's roles by excluding one (PIII-E6)	Following prescribed behavior (cc) (PV-E4)
Actor's intent to correct (cc) (PIV-E8)	Explicit reinterpretation (PV-E4)
	Stressing actor's achievements instead of his status (PV-E4)
	Following prescribed behavior (PVI-E1)
<u>Do not interfere in a family affair (4)</u>	
Explicit reinterpretation (PIII-E4)	Explicit reinterpretation (PIII-E4)
Denial (PIII-E4)	Denial (PIV-E13)
Denial of alternative courses of action (PIII-E7)	Return to ideal behavior (cc) (PIV-E13)
<u>Divorce is bad (5)</u>	
Denial of alternative courses of action (PIII-E7)	Mobilization of support (cc) (PIV-E3)
Extenuating circumstances (cc) (PIV-E8)	Mobilization of support (cc) (PIV-E4)
	Mobilization of support (cc) (PIV-E7)

TABLE 3.-- (Con't.).

Loosening Processes	Correcting Processes
	Mobilization of support (cc) (PIV-E8)
	Following prescribed behavior (cc) (PIV-E8)
	Denial based on ambiguity of actor's behavior (PIV-E9)
	Following prescribed behavior (cc) (PIV-E9)
	Mobilization of support (cc) (PIV-E12)
	Ambiguity of actor's roles (PIV-E12)
	Following prescribed behavior (cc) (PV-E2)
	Following prescribed behavior (cc) (PV-E4)
	Explicit reinterpretation (PV-E4)
	Stressing actor's achieve- ments instead of his status (PV-E4)
	Following prescribed behavior (cc) (PVI-E1)

TABLE 3.--(Con't.).

Loosening Processes	Correcting Processes
<u>Follow proper dispute settlement procedure (6)</u>	
Stressing another's violations (PV-E3)	Self-justification (other's behavior) (PIV-E9)
	Self-justification (PV-E1)
	Return to ideal behavior (cc) (PV-E2)
<u>Seniors must be respected and obeyed by juniors (7)</u>	
Denial (PIV-E11)	Denial (PIV-E10)
	Mobilization of support (cc) (PIV-E11)
	Denial (PIV-E12)
	Return to ideal behavior (cc) (PIV-E13)
	Over-compensation (pre- scribed behavior) (PVI-E1)
<u>Corollary (a): wives owe their husbands respect, etc.</u>	
Rules for breaking rules (cc) (PIV-E10)	Return to ideal behavior (cc) (PI-E4)
	Rules for breaking rules (cc) (PIV-E10)
	Explicit reinterpretation (PIV-E14)
	Return to ideal behavior (cc) (PIV-E14)

TABLE 3.-- (Con't.).

Loosening Processes	Correcting Processes
<u>Corollary (b): obey the ruling of a court</u>	
	Extenuating circumstances (PV-E1)
	Coercion (PV-E5)

This table shows all of the processes involved with one value throughout the case, and the most striking pattern is the greater number of correcting processes than loosening processes for each value. In this case each of the values which was violated, and which was central to the case at one point in its development, was over-corrected. Also, the final correcting process for each value was culturally constituted except in two instances.

The two Christian values were corrected (PVI-E2) by a return to ideal Christian behavior. The value concerning the impregnation of unmarried girls was corrected by following prescribed behavior (PVI-E1). The value which forbids interference in a family affair was corrected by a return to ideal behavior (PIV-E13). The value concerning divorce was corrected by following prescribed behavior (PVI-E1). Values governing dispute settlement procedure were corrected by a return to ideal behavior (PV-E2). The value governing relations between superiors and inferiors was corrected by over-compensation (exaggerated return to ideal behavior: PVI-E1); this is one of the exceptions that was not culturally constituted, although it was based on a culturally constituted process. The first corollary to the above value which governs the behavior of wives was corrected by a return to ideal behavior (PIV-E14); and the second corollary which commands compliance with the ruling of a court was corrected by coercion (PV-E5); this was the

second exception to culturally constituted correcting processes, although a case could be made for its being one.

The loosening processes which were most often effective were ambiguity of actor's roles and/or behavior, and denial of alternative courses of action. These specifically fit the dilemma of two alternate and conflicting value systems but worked largely for culturally constituted reasons: the actors in the field adhered to other or higher values which resulted in the loosening. The corrective process of mobilization of support did not result in positive action until Valente went to call on Alfonso with his representatives in Phase V, E2. In the other instances it was sufficient to show Valente that he had not been completely ostracized by those people who owed him support for structural and/or cultural reasons, but it did not result in people going with him to others to negotiate his case. This occurred only when he opted to act by prescribed methods in a culturally constituted way: first when he called on Ruti formally, second when he called on Alfonso formally.

I will return to a discussion of adherence to higher or other values and the role this process plays in the case shortly.

The obvious conclusion from these facts is that the resolution of the case depended primarily on the actors' return to valued behavior, or following prescribed behavior (which means following the rules for redeeming a

crime after it has been committed). The single most important exception to this generalization was the coercion represented by the police chief's support of Valente. It is obvious that something like this was necessary if the dilemma was not to be resolved by the simple means of expelling the principal actor from the group (Christian) altogether. Valente knew that taking Anna home the second time improved his moral standing in the pagan community since it was the correction this community had originally demanded. At the same time he knew that this same act would return his moral standing in the Christian-educated community to the same low it had reached after he took her home the first time. Through a subtle implementation and manipulation of the values governing the relations between husbands and wives he rid himself of Anna in such a way that both the pagan and Christian community were satisfied, and his moral status became more tolerable than it had been after the value violations involved in his behavior throughout the case. His moral status was not restored, I think, to the same level as before the events of the case, and this is demonstrated by the economic sanctions that the school board tried to impose several months and years later.

To understand completely the correspondence between shared values and behavior, however, reference to 'unwritten values' (attitudes) and values not central to the case must be made. These provide a bridge between

valued behavior and behavior which is apparently not in accord with shared values. Consideration of these other attitudes and values not central to the loosening and/or correcting processes shows the remarkable degree of concordance between the 'ideal' and the 'real' in this case.

The values and/or attitudes which also governed behavior in the case follow:

- Always communicate with your seniors about matters affecting the household (or lineage, or village).
- No man can know what another is thinking or planning.
- Do unto others as they have done unto you.
- You must support your kinsman if he tries to act properly.
- Friends are like kinsmen although your obligations to them are secondary to obligations to kinsmen.
- No man can be forced to admit his guilt.
- Hurting a man's economic status is worse than hurting his moral status (reflected by fines at court).
- A daughter with a child is more acceptable than an unmarried, pregnant daughter.

--The more you have (economically and morally) the easier it is to act contrary to shared values.

--You are morally responsible to the woman you impregnate.

--See what you can get away with; if no one catches you, you are not guilty.

I do not intend to do a detailed analysis of the occurrence of these values or attitudes which are not central to the case. There are three generalizations concerning them worth making.

First, adherence to one or more of these values can result in the loosening and/or correcting of yet another value. In these cases, adherence to the non-central value is obviously more important than adherence (or not) to the value which is central to the processes. An example of this is that adherence to the value "you must support your kinsman if he tries to act properly" resulted, in several instances, in the loosening of values central to the case (1 and 3, for example). This means that there may be values which are superior to other values and which govern behavior, but which may not be central to the case in terms of loosening and correcting processes. There is no reason to state categorically that they do not result in loosening and/or correcting processes, but these processes do not involve the same value. Thus apparent discontinuities in behavior, and resulting loosening and/or

correcting processes, may be explained by reference to adherence to more important values which are a part of one of the actor's field.

This leads to the second generalization concerning the role of non-central values and attitudes. I must emphasize that "non-central" does not mean unimportant; the term simply refers to the role of the values/attitudes in question in loosening and correcting processes within an actual case. Adherence to some value may be culturally specified if the actor is to avoid other value violations, and adherence to these rules may also result in correcting without loosening, and thus account for other apparent discontinuities in behavior. An example of this is Valente's mobilization of support which was in accord with the value "always communicate with your seniors." (Note that this, like others in the list, can be considered to be a specific rule of a value which is central to the case. The inference seems to be that the general principle which informs the values is more important than specific rules.) Mobilization of support is a culturally constituted correcting process (adherence to a value) for the other values violated (do not impregnate unmarried girls, etc.). Adherence to these non-central values may also account for the over-correction apparent in this case which I have already discussed. Perhaps as a series of crimes in our country might result in a 'clean-up' by the police department, an all-out campaign against crime, so might a

series of value violations by an actor result in a general 'tightening-up' of his behavior. This would have the effect of containing his moral lapse to a specific area so that no halo effect could come into effect to the detriment of his over-all moral standing.

Third, there is the category of culturally constituted processes, per se. In threatening situations where value violations have already occurred, people related to the central actor always seem to have recourse to a value which continues to define their behavior in relation to the central actor. If this were not so then the attitude "do unto others as they have done unto you" would be widespread and result in an almost complete breakdown of orderly social relationships. Adherence to these values may result in the loosening or correcting of other values central to the case, as I discussed in the first generalization. There is another function of these non-central value/attitudes, however, in that they can act as a cultural boundary which prevents other actors from entering the field at all. All of the people in Mitini and in other villages who had an interest in the Mitini school, but who did not become involved in this case, directly, were prevented from entering the field because of adherence to the value "do not interfere in a family affair." Failure to abide by this value led the members of the church board to be chastised by the court, but it also led, ultimately, to the change in Valente's behavior.

These observations can be summarized: (a) adherence to non-central values or attitudes may result in the loosening and/or correcting of a central value; (b) adherence to non-central values or attitudes may result in the correcting of a value without loosening having taken place, and account for 'over-correction' by the central actor; and (c) non-central values and attitudes may constitute cultural boundaries which prevent people from ever becoming part of the field.

Following from these is the obvious statement that not adhering to these non-central values might result in further value violations by others and a case may thus change direction drastically. This should be obvious from a consideration of the consequences of Muntwana's and Alfonso's violation of the attitude which says no man can know what another is thinking or intends to do. Their insistence that Valente write out a declaration of his intent to pay the 1500\$ fine made apparent their distrust and suspicion of his intentions. Manuel objected to this saying that never in his experience had such a written declaration been required of a man at court. Ultimately the attempt at peaceful and reasonable negotiations broke down because of this value violation. Similarly, and even more important to the nature of this case, are the consequences following from the church board members' violation of the non-interference value. This value should have acted as a boundary to prevent them from entering the

field at all; had it done so I think there is little doubt that Valente would have married Anna and the case would have ended there. The church board members obviously felt, however, that adherence to the Christian values was a more important issue than their own value violations: "we also are hurt by this which happened to you," Eliza told Valente. These people also reinterpreted their value violation so that it would be seen as compliance with a superior's orders. This got Valente into more trouble since his decision to bow to the sanctions of the church and school (they had the power, if not the right) involved him in a compounding of his original violation relating to unmarried girls because he divorced Anna.

Returning to a consideration of Table 3, the over-correction of each value seems also to indicate the inflexibility of these values for the Rjonga. If sheer number of processes is any criterion, the value governing the impregnation of girls was the most important and inflexible of the nine, since violation of it involved Valente in fifteen discrete corrective actions; similarly, he performed fourteen corrective acts for violation of the value concerning divorce. I have shown how closely linked these two values were because the pagan community felt that violation of this second value compounded Valente's original crime in violating the first value (3). In numerical terms, again, the Christian value governing polygamy (1) ranked third in number of corrective acts.

This might demonstrate its importance and inflexibility for the Christian community and again shows that the crux of this case was always the choice between alternative value systems without one of these value systems being widely shared by all Rjonga.

It appears that the Rjonga do value education highly, and the status of Christian insofar as this status has prestige value with the Portuguese; that is, these statuses are valued as means to an end. I have also said several times that the status "educated" is far more important to the Portuguese than "Christian," but that these two statuses are closely associated by the Rjonga because all bush schools were mission schools. The single exception to this in the Province is the new school built in Mitini by express command of the then Governor-General. It follows, therefore, that the Rjonga pagan community would accord more prestige to educated men than to Christian men since there are the latter with a minimal education and poor command of Portuguese. It is their inability to disassociate the two statuses which leads to so much ambivalence in their attitude towards Christians.

There is little reason for the pagans to adopt Christian values, and many reasons why they resist and resent them. Some of these reasons should be apparent from this case. The Christians place their own values above pagan, tribal values and this undermines many of the most important sanctions which enforce the pagan way of

life. In resisting the Christian values the Rjonga feel (as several elders expressed it to me) that they are resisting destructive change. Thus Valente's case, at this point in time, can be seen as a test of the relative strengths of the alternate value systems and ways of life which they represent. If Christianity should gain more ground among the Rjonga in the future this case may provide an example of the transition era from one value system to another (a reworking of the traditional value system), and then it would be most instructive to have another case history involving the same values to see whether the processes are essentially the same or different.

There is one last fact about the Rjonga which should be made explicit since it emphasizes the importance of the interference by the church and school in Valente's affair. There is an unwritten attitude among the Rjonga which is something like: "see what you can get away with; if you are not caught, you are not guilty." I observed this many times during my stay there, but it was only after my return home and a rereading of Junod that I found the same observation in Volume II of his monograph expressed far better:

For the Bantu the law, nau, is the interest of the clan [tribe]. Theft is bad because it ruins individual property, and it is necessary to respect property, otherwise collective life becomes impossible. . . . But if society is not aware of it, you may steal; you are not guilty; no one has been offended. This

principle gives to the morality of Natives a very curious legal character, which White people are sometimes slow to understand. A man is not guilty if he has not been convicted of his fault by a regular judicial pronouncement. He does not even feel himself guilty. But if his sin is proved, he at once gives up all subterfuge (1962, Vol. II: 582).

If the church people had not interfered in Valente's family affair his marriage would have set a precedent for others and would have severely undermined one of the cardinal criteria for defining a Christian, and would have debased (from the Christian community's point of view) the status and meaning of Christianity. This was obviously intolerable to them since they violated the value governing non-interference in family affairs. It was the Christians who saw Valente's affair as a test case of their status and sub-culture and who forced the issue--and lost.

The crux of the matter is, of course, that the Christian values are not shared by all Rjonga, so they do not admit that there are more important rules which should have governed Valente's and the church and school members' behavior. This highlights the fact that there is still unresolved the dilemma of achieved versus ascribed statuses, and concomitant role expectations, among the Rjonga. The moral requirements of achieved statuses which belong to the Rjonga-Portuguese milieu are held to be more stringent, by those who occupy these statuses, than the requirements of pagan achieved or ascribed statuses (and these latter are few). Because of the significance of these achieved statuses in terms of economic success and

prestige among the Portuguese the people who occupy them feel themselves to be released from other requirements if there is a conflict.

For the Rjonga today, then, the arena relations which are most sensitive to field events are those which involve a member of an organized, non-traditional group, such as the church or school board, in a transgression which threatens the group image although the group may not be directly involved. The importance of the group image rests in the importance the Portuguese (strongest authority group for the Rjonga) also accord that same group, or rather the goals and ambitions of the group. Since learning the Portuguese language is intimately associated with education, anything to do with education is highly valued and rewarded by the Portuguese authorities. Stated another way, I can envision other organized, non-traditional groups whose image would be unimportant to the Portuguese because the group did not embody significant Portuguese goals either directly or indirectly.

Although the explicit goals of Christian Rjonga may not be the same as Portuguese goals (unifying the Province by means of a common language), the effect of Christian goals (which usually involves education and learning Portuguese) satisfied Portuguese goals. It is this fact which gives power to the church and school groups among the Rjonga, and which makes their group image important enough so that they violate other values in

order to protect it. These facts relate the entire problem to the field of acculturation; some Rjonga (Christian and/or educated) are becoming successfully acculturated to the total Portuguese society, and others are resisting acculturation for themselves although they may desire their children to become acculturated. Portuguese authorities, notably Administrators, have rewarded the behavior which demonstrates successful acculturation at the expense of behavior which is merely in accord with tribal values. Valente's case provides one more precedent for the Rjonga which demonstrates the desirability of occupying a status which was not indigenous to the tribe.

In the "Practical Conclusions" to Volume I, Junod discusses the change in the Rjonga way of life and singles out two primary causes for this: the first is the necessity of entering the cash economy with the consequent migrations to the South African mines (1962: 537-539), and the concomitant changes in patterns of work and co-operation. The second cause, implicit in most of Junod's monograph, is the introduction of Christianity and the changes in a way of life that that entails when adopted (543). I have already cited Junod on this in the body of the text. The reference is to the imperium in imperio which results: ". . . Native converts, under their white missionary, generally form a Church . . . subject to its own laws." Junod goes on to note:

The causes which have brought about this change will probably increase in power in the course of time. The process of individualisation will go on; so consequently will this process of destruction of the tribal tie, and we may confidently look forward to a moment when the clan [tribe] will have lost its political cohesion and its members have become independent of any Native Authority (543).

He later concludes, "The black race is now in a period of transition and nobody can foretell in what direction and how far it will evolve" (545). The fascinating aspect of these observations is that they were written at least fifty years ago, and were based on data that Junod collected as long as seventy-five years ago. The "period of transition" continues for the Rjonga, but I suspect the direction is slightly more evident now. Given Junod's evidence, the Rjonga continue to resist the 'imperium in imperio' and seem rather to move towards an emphasis on education and financial success, per se; that is, towards what he calls "civilization," but perhaps not hand in hand with Christianity as he foresaw. Why this should be so, if it proves to be so, becomes the subject of another thesis.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

VALENTE'S CASE

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Phase I

E1. Valente started having sexual relations with an unmarried girl, Anna, in the beginning of a school year (June). Anna and Valente are both Christians and also neighbors. Anna became pregnant a year later, a date which Valente remembered exactly because he wrote it down in his diary to mark the first time he failed to withdraw. When she told him that she thought she was pregnant, he told her to think how they could resolve the problem if she were.

E2. By the middle of the following month Anna knew that she was pregnant and she told Valente. He asked her what she thought they should do and she replied that she did not know. Valente told her to tell her mother to see if she could help them "with words."

E3. When Anna told her mother she cried a lot at first. As she told her daughter, Valente was a teacher, married, and a neighbor; this made the case very serious. Celeste told Anna she did not know what to do and could not do

anything herself. She said that Anna and Valente would have to decide by themselves what to do.

E4. The next thing that happened was that Valente told his wife Ruti that he had impregnated an unmarried girl. At that time Ruti was also pregnant, but she had not been when Valente first started having relations with Anna. Ruti cried and became hysterical, and asked her husband why he had fallen in love with an unmarried girl instead of with a divorced woman. Valente and Ruti discussed the situation, and Ruti refused to help him because he had not told her about it before the trouble occurred. They resolved nothing on that night.

E5. A few nights later when Valente was going out to meet with Anna in the bush, Ruti told him she did not like his leaving the house; it was ugly to meet a woman in the bush, and people might find them. She said if he had told her about the affair before, she would raise no objection to his going out if he were going to meet a divorced woman instead of an unmarried girl. Ruti told him to agree with Anna that they meet in Valente's house; that is, she wanted her husband to bring Anna to their home whenever they wanted to "meet." She said there was no point in trying to hide the affair now because everyone would know anyway. Valente accepted this and went out to tell Anna. Anna refused to come to his house claiming that Ruti was deceiving him in her intentions. Anna was

afraid that what Ruti wanted was an opportunity to scold and beat her. Valente insisted that Ruti could not beat Anna, and finally convinced her. Anna did not come to his house for some days, however.

E6. Two days later Anna wrote Valente a letter requesting money for her fare to the city so she could go see her father who lived there with his second wife. Valente sent her the money, and on the same day he went north on a trip. When he returned two days later he went to the house of their go-between, a young boy, and found Anna had not returned from the city yet. After waiting four more days, Valente went to the city to sell the results of his hunting.

E7. When he went to the station to return to the bush Valente saw Anna, her father Alfonso, and her older sister Estel also waiting for the train. All three were crying. When Valente approached them they were quiet and Alfonso exchanged polite greetings with Valente. Valente then boarded the train. A few minutes later Anna also boarded and said she had asked her father for the fare home. He had refused to give her the fare since "your husband is here and he will pay for it." Alfonso did give his daughter a little money to "buy what she needed."

E8. They could not talk on the train because of all the other people around them so Valente told Anna to come

to his house that night. He had agreed with Ruti before leaving the bush that this was all right. That night Valente waited for Anna and when she did not appear he went outside and found her seated by the entrance to the muti. She said she had been afraid to enter the house. Valente took her inside and she remained until after midnight. Since the house has only two rooms they slept in the main room, while Ruti slept in the bedroom with the children. This arrangement continued for some weeks and no more was said about it.

Phase II

E1. About a month later Valente went to Manuel's house, the man whom he treated as a father and whose advice and "help with words" he always sought in time of need. He told Manuel everything that had happened to date. Manuel told Valente that he had done wrong but that they would wait and see what would happen.

E2. Three or four days afterwards Valente went and told his good friend and president of the school board, Davida, about the affair. Davida was shocked and asked Valente if he had told Manuel about it yet. When Valente said he had, Davida said the matter was "well arranged" if Manuel knew about it. He suggested that he, Manuel, and Valente should all get together to talk the matter over and to make plans. Valente agreed, and told Davida that if Anna's parents threw her out of their house, he would take

her home to his house. Davida said this was a good idea because the "Rjonga never accept a pregnancy, but a child--yes."

E3. After this Valente told his older brother Nkosi when the latter was home on vacation from his job as a domestic servant in the city. Nkosi was pleased by the news and told Valente that it was better to have two wives because they could help each other. He said he also planned to take a second wife. They did not mention lobolo payments. That same day they went together to visit their father's sister, in another village, but they did not tell her what was happening. Valente had a long-standing grudge against his father's sister.

E4. A week later Valente told his mother and asked her to tell his father's sister and his own older sister, who also lived in a different village. He told his mother only because he had made arrangements with Anna to move into his house. His mother Sabula was very upset and asked him if Anna's parents would not punish him. She also told him he had done wrong. He paid no attention to her and only asked her to tell his younger sister Mandjia also. She was the chief's senior wife, and Valente's immediate neighbor.

E5. Valente went to tell his close friend Zinyawa about his affair. Zinyawa was a doctor; he told Valente that he

would surely be severely punished and it was a pity they were not living in South Africa. Zinyawa said if they were living there he could help Valente by arranging an abortion for Anna. He had had this done himself to a girl he had impregnated, and the cost of the operation was much less there than in Moçambique. He offered to try his medicines on Anna but Valente refused the risk of killing her and the baby. He said that thus the case would be more serious and would involve the authorities if it were discovered. It was better to continue with his known troubles than to incur new ones. Zinyawa agreed with him that this was the wiser course.

E6, In late August of the same year Anna moved into Valente's house. It was almost two months to the day since she became pregnant.

Phase III

El. A week later Fernando left a message in Valente's house saying he wanted to talk to him; he left the message with Ruti since her husband was not home. That same night Fernando; his wife Suzana; Eliza, mother of the city's school board president; and Rosa all went to Valente's house. They were all members of the church board; in addition, Fernando was Anna's classificatory mother's brother. When they arrived they went inside the house where Valente was reading. Anna and Ruti were in the kitchen, and Valente called Ruti to come in the house.

Fernando said:

We are sent by the church board to know the truth because we heard you married a second wife, although you know the church's law forbids that. Also, since you are a school teacher, you should not have done something like that. When we met, we agreed it was best to come talk with you before we take the case to the mission, so we can agree on something. Before we go to the mission we want to know what you thought? If this is right?

Valente answered:

Since you have heard that I have another wife, it is because it is true. But I still have not thought anything, because this was something which happened unexpectedly. In the beginning I did not think it would come to this.

Rosa said: "We understand that things happen unexpectedly, but you did wrong in bringing her home. You should have left her there at her parents' house, waiting to see what they would do." Valente told her:

Excuse me, I do not think this is your business. The affair is between the people of my family and of Anna's family. I know that none of you has the right to enter into a family affair. You should wait for us to end the cases with the people of Anna's family; afterward the cases could go to the church. If I left Anna at home her parents would just have sent her here. That would show that I do not understand anything.

Eliza said:

We also are hurt by this which has happened to you. We understand that a person in an affair is upset. If I had as much money as in former years I could help you by lending you some so you could send Anna home with that money. You could ask pardon for what you did, and ask that Anna stay with her parents. Now it is very difficult.

Valente answered: "I am grateful for the help, but I have no money for that. I think it is better to help Anna with medicines than to leave her with her parents." Suzana

said:

All right. We were sent by Solomon to talk with you. We will have to tell him everything you said. We understand all of your words. We would like you to think well so we can send a true answer.

Valente said: "After thinking I will send an answer." At the end of the interview Fernando prayed, asking God's pardon for Valente's sin, and that He help Valente to return to the church.

E2. Valente did not tell Anna anything of what went on at this visit. He had stopped attending the Friday meetings of baptized Christians as soon as Anna had moved into his house, because he knew that any Christian with a case of adultery or of taking a second wife was not permitted to attend. He continued going to the Sunday services, open to all. He also had to give up going to choir practice, which hurt him very much because he loved to sing and was one of the strongest voices in the church.

E3. Two weeks later Solomon came to Valente's house with Fernando. They said they had come for his answer "about what you have decided." Valente said: "I have not thought anything before talking with Anna's people."

Fernando replied:

When we sent to the mission, the pastor asked us about it because he said he had heard about it--that you have a second wife. And we said you did. He asked what we did about it, and we told him. He said for us to come talk with you to get your decision, so that afterward they can send us a certain answer. He said if Valente cannot decide, it would be better for us to

arrange something so he cannot continue teaching in the school.

Valente answered angrily: "The pastor has no word about the school. I am a professor not of the mission but of the village. For his part, I do not go to the meeting of the church anymore." Solomon said: "Our view is that you should send Anna home with some money, and ask pardon." Valente said: "I cannot do that, If you think I can, I can send you as my representatives." Solomon said: "We do not have the right, because we are not of your family." Fernando said: "I will see if I can talk with Anna's father to see what he thinks about the case. He also was a Christian from here and knows all the laws of the church."

E4. Things continued in the same way until September of the same year. At that time there was a meeting of the school board, a general assembly meeting which anyone could attend. Davida, the president, began the meeting by saying: "We begin with a big case which has caused many people to doubt, because of our way of speaking. There was an argument about the professor's case in his muti." Davida wanted to know which people had gone to Valente's house to speak to him about taking a second wife. He asked them why they had gone there, and why they had told the church people in the mission before speaking about the matter in the school board. Solomon answered: "We did not go to tell them; they had already heard about it."

All involved, except Valente, began to argue about it, Davida telling the church members they had done wrong. He said they should have brought the case to the school board right away. Solomon responded that they (the church board members) did not give the orders here in the village. The missionaries were their superiors and, if they said so, Solomon and the others had to go speak to Valente. Davida replied: "If we were whites we could send you church board members to prison today. If you find someone's son stealing, can you take him to jail before speaking to his parents?" They argued the merits of either side until Valente stood up and said:

I am not fighting with you here. If you say that because I have this situation I should leave your work, I accept gladly. Because I know what causes me to leave. I did not ask for your work in the beginning. You told me that I was only helping to gather up the children and dividing them into classes, and that you would get a professor to teach. I should not have gone on working until today. Thus do not argue about me, with my case which you cannot resolve here. Also I am still teaching today, but not for money; you have not paid me. So do what you want with me; I accept everything.

The school board told Valente he could not leave the school because they did not want "to kill the work." The school would continue, but they would have to send Valente's case to be judged by "their adults" (the missionaries). Davida said: "If they say that we did not resolve this well, we will meet and speak again. But on Monday the school bell should ring." Valente agreed to ring the bell and open the school but he said if he had no case he

would refuse to do it. He agreed to do it now only because he did not want to be accused of doing it on purpose so he could leave their work. He said what could make him stop ringing the school bell now was the fact that there were only seven children matriculated, and they had paid only 330\$. He knew it was the fault of the school and church board members that there were so few children, because they had been talking about his case. Since his salary of 500\$ a month was paid from these monies, their talk was hurting him directly. Also, he said, they had not even asked him if he could continue working for them or not this year, as is the custom at each year's end. "You only think it important to judge my cases." The school board agreed to leave everything thus and set another meeting for the following month. At that next meeting they paid Valente's salary for the last two months, but they still owed him 1390\$ for back salaries which had not been paid. His case with Anna was not mentioned at this meeting.

E5. Later in this month, October, Fernando returned to Valente's house with Suzana and Rosa. He told Valente that he had talked with Anna's father, Alfonso. Alfonso had told Fernando that he did not want to know anything about the manner of the people of the church. He only wanted the lobolo for his daughter because Valente had married her, and Anna belonged not to the church but to

him, her father. Alfonso had said to Fernando: "You, Fernando, you only came here to annoy me. If this case happened to you, what would you do?" Fernando had replied: "I would not oblige the man to marry the second wife because I know that the church law does not permit it." Alfonso had said: "I do not care. Do what you want. I only want to see the lobolo." When all of this had been related, Fernando asked Valente again what he was going to do. Valente said: "I can only wait for Anna's people, to see what they will do. Only then can I decide."

E6. Some time later Zakaria, the church and school board member from another village and Fernando's classificatory son, came to visit Valente. He asked him to separate from Anna because it was a shameful thing for him to have two wives. He told Valente that the people were murmuring and saying "How can a man with two wives still teach?" Zakaria told Valente: "I tried to explain that there is a big difference between mission professors and this professor. Even so the people did not understand." Valente said: "I understand, but I cannot resolve the matter alone before an interview with Anna's parents." Zakaria agreed: "That is right. But you should try to meet with the parents." Valente said all right, he would try.

E7. Later in this month, November, Valente asked Anna if she had seen all of the people who had come to his house. She said she had. He asked if she knew why they had come and she said yes, because Ruti had told her. Valente asked her what she had thought when Ruti told her, and Anna replied 'nothing.' Valente told her it would be better if they agreed to something so that people would end their visits to him which annoyed him considerably. He said that she should return to her parents' house and ask pardon for having accepted a married man, and for having left home. He told her to explain their agreement well, and everything which had happened--that people were always coming to talk to him urging him to send her away. If her parents agreed she would stay home and he would support her, and she could come to his house whenever she needed him. He would do the same, going to visit her at her house when he wanted her. It was not dislike of her, he told Anna, he only wanted to end these visits. Anna accepted this and told him that before she had left home her mother had told her not to go to Valente because she would not be able to get along with Ruti. Also her mother had told her that the missionaries would fire Valente as teacher, and the people of the village would say lots of things, crying about Anna and her mother who caused their teacher to be fired. Valente asked Anna why she had not told him all that before? She said that she liked him a lot and also her father would not let her stay home.

She thought her mother would suffer a lot from her father because of her, if she stayed home. Valente asked if she thought her mother could accept her now and Anna said yes. He told her to explain everything well to her mother, and to say he was not abandoning her. He would do all he could to help her. He repeated that she should be very careful in the way she told her mother so that there would not be trouble. If Anna believed everything her mother would say at first there would be "lots of noise" and then Anna and her family might not agree. Anna said she understood and would explain he was not abandoning her; that he would support her and the baby, but that he was anxious to end the annoying visits from members of the church and/or school board. Three days later Valente called Anna and told her he was going north again to hunt and that he would be gone two days. Anna said that she would return to her parents' house that night, and when he returned he would find her gone. He agreed and left at midday, and Anna was not home then.

Phase IV

El. Valente returned two days later and Ruti told him that Anna had returned to her parents' house the night of the day he had left. She had given Anna some money so that she could buy what she needed while Valente was away. Ruti then told her husband that Anna had returned the same night she left with her older brother, Jorge. Jorge

wanted to know why Anna had gone home. Ruti told him that Valente and Anna had agreed on it because of the people who came talking. Jorge said: "It cannot be. I think she was sent home." He asked his sister if she had agreed to this arrangement with Valente or if she had been sent away. Anna answered they had agreed, and Jorge had repeated the question angrily until she finally said that she had been sent away. Jorge said: "All right. Since the case is thus, I will not come back when he returns home. We will talk only in another place (court)." Ruti insisted that she knew that Valente and Anna had made the arrangement together, and told Jorge it would be better for him to return after her husband came home. He refused and left with his sister. After being told all this Valente merely said 'all right,' and did nothing.

E2. The next day, Monday, Valente went to school. At recreation time Anna sent him a letter asking if Valente knew that her father, Alfonso, had complained against him to the village chief. She said that that morning Muntwana, the chief, had gone to her house to tell her and her mother that Alfonso had lodged a complaint against Valente. He was complaining on the grounds that Valente had married his daughter, then had sent her home. Muntwana wanted to know if Anna and Celeste knew that. Anna's mother told the chief they had not known. Valente did not answer Anna's letter but at noon he went to her

house to ask how this had happened. She told him, and Valente asked her what she would do if her father complained. She said she did not know. He dropped it and went home for lunch.

E3. That night Valente went to tell Manuel, his "father," what had happened. Manuel said that he had already heard about it. He also told Valente about a case he had had involving Anna's mother's sister many years before. He had been her lover but married another woman because he had no money to pay the lobolo which Celeste's family demanded. Tomas (Manuel's current close friend and associate, as well as Fernando's older brother), was outraged by Manuel's marriage to another woman and had sent his classificatory sister to Manuel's house to be his wife. The case was long and involved and Manuel actually went to jail for a while, as well as having to pay a fine. He refused to marry the woman. He told Valente this story by way of a warning of what he could expect.

E4. Valente next went to see Davida to tell him what had happened. Davida said the chief had already told him, "but I do not know where Muntwana and Alfonso met." Davida thus put his finger on the crux of the matter because Anna had returned home on Friday, and by Monday the complaint was lodged by Alfonso who lived many kilometers away in the city. Davida asked if the chief

had not told Valente he was summoned to court yet, and Valente said no. Davida said the chief would, and Valente said he did not think so since they did not get along.

E5. After a date was set for the trial Valente heard about it from one of his pupils, Davida's son. The boy told his teacher at school that he had heard his father saying that now Valente would be punished. Valente simply wrote this down and said nothing more, but he told me several years later that his enmity with Davida dated from that time.

E6. A few days later Davida met Valente on the path and told him that the trial was set for November 13. Valente said he had heard but since no one had notified him officially he planned to go north to hunt on that day. Davida said Valente could not do that because the court would say he was abusing them, and he--the ndjuna--was telling him now. Valente agreed to remain in Mitini. Davida wanted to know when Valente's family would meet to discuss the case so that he could go hear and help them. Thus, Davida said, the case could be judged when he knew both sides' opinions. Valente said all right but he did not know when they would meet.

E7. A few days later Valente wrote to Davida saying his family was going to meet. He also asked Manuel and Tomas to attend. None of these three appeared. Manuel

told him he would agree with all of Valente's family decisions and that it was not worthwhile for him to attend. Tomas did not answer at all.

E8. Valente's father's brother, Tchukela; his older brother, Nkosi; his mother, Sabula; and his wife, Ruti, attended the family meeting customary before a trial at court. He explained the case in question to his family. They asked him if he would marry Anna, and he said he would not for reasons that they could not understand. He only wanted to pay a fine and leave her free. He had agreed with her, he told his family, for them to "get along" while she was at home. They asked Valente if he had the money for a fine and he said he had 800\$. Tchukela said he would like Valente to keep both Anna and the baby, but since he could not, all right. He would go to his brother's son's trial and hear the sentence. Sabula said she could not say anything; she only hoped it would end well. Nkosi also said he wanted Valente to keep Anna.

Valente did not go to the trial on November 13 because he had visitors from the church who were going to pray for the Evangela who had just died. The men of the court changed the date of the trial because they also had to go pray for the Evangela. The trial was set for November 20.

E9. The following people attended Valente's trial:
(listed by group) Muntwana, the village chief; Davida, the

ndjuna; Tomas, village elder; Manuel, village elder; Famba, chief of another village present for another case on the same day; Alfredo, zone chief; Nanga, zone chief; Makwakwa, zone chief; Mapula, elder; Mandlovo, village policeman; Mahetche, village elder; and Makalabasi, second zone chief in Davida's zone. Several of these people are connected with the case directly, in ways not related to their positions in the village political structure; however, they would be present at any trial, except Famba. People of the church and/or school board present were: Davida; Fernando; Marcos; Solomon; Suzana; Eliza; Rosa; Alfredo; Celeste; and Fenias. Some of these have already been mentioned; others of them are also directly involved in the case in other ways. The others present were: Musongi, the chief's mother; Antonio, Alfredo's full brother, classificatory mother's brother to Anna; Alfonso, Anna's father; Bernardo, Anna's father's brother; Jorge, Anna's older brother; Ramona, Anna's relative; Estel, Anna's older sister; Kokwana, Anna's mother's mother; Anna; Vicente, closely related by marriage to Anna's family; Zinyawa, Valente's good friend; Tchukela, Valente's father's brother; Nkosi, Valente's older brother; Sabula, Valente's mother; Leta, Valente's older sister come from another village for the trial; Mandjia, Valente's younger sister, the chief's wife; Francisco, the professor hired by the chief and fired by the school board; Ruti, Valente's wife; and Abel, assisting the trial, related to Anna's

family by marriage. It is interesting to note that Valente's good friend, Andre, did not attend. Andre is also the Evangela's, Tomas', and Fernando's grandson, and a practicing Christian.

Nobody spoke in Valente's defense at the trial. Those who spoke against him were Nanga; Muntwana and his mother, Musongi; the village chief, Famba; Anna's relative, Ramona; Anna; Alfonso; Jorge; Kokwana; and Alfredo. Neither Manuel nor Zinyawa spoke on Valente's behalf, nor any members of his immediate family. The trial opened in traditional fashion with the chief asking who was complaining. He then told each principal to pay the court fee of 50\$ to 'hear the case,' as is the custom. This immediately provoked a dispute. Anna's father, Alfonso, said that Valente should pay the full 100\$ for himself and for his wife, Anna, because a husband is responsible for all of his wife's debts. Valente denied that Anna was his wife and said further that she was not complaining against him; her father, Alfonso, was. Valente said that Alfonso must pay 50\$ and Valente would pay his own 50\$. Nanga, the zone chief and an elder, said: "How is Anna not his wife when we see her pregnant and he gave her the pregnancy?" Nanga said Valente should pay the 100\$ by himself because a husband is responsible for his wife's debts and expenses. It was finally resolved that Valente would pay 50\$ and Alfonso would pay 50\$. The chief then told the person complaining to speak. Alfonso said that Valente had

'spoiled' his daughter, then sent her home without paying any part of the lobolo. He had also refused to pay the 50\$ for her court fee. He said: "You will see today," which was a threat to Valente. Then Anna told the court that the members of the church were to blame for her being sent away. They had gone to visit her husband several times and it was his annoyance at being pestered by them that made him send her home, and she did not understand why. Valente was asked to speak next. This is the standard procedure at any trial; first the plaintiff speaks uninterrupted, then the defendant. After them the witnesses for either side speak, and the court questions anyone they think can contribute evidence. Valente said he had not sent Anna away, but that they had an understanding that she was to return home eventually because they had not contracted for marriage. He said he did not dislike her, but he saw that she and Ruti could not live together in the same household. The court asked Jorge to speak. He maintained that Valente took his sister as his wife, then sent her home. He recounted how she had come home on Friday night and how he had returned to Valente's house with her, and what Ruti had said. Anna had told him, in front of Ruti, that she had been sent away and did not know why. Valente repeated that he had not sent her away, and there was furore in the court as almost always happens at this stage. The "word was given to the court," and everyone who spoke censured Valente. The

chief's mother said that Valente should marry Anna because she was an unmarried girl and 'spoiled,' and no one would marry her now. Ramona said since Valente refused to marry her, what would poor Anna do? Alfredo said they of Alfonso's family did not expect a case to be judged today, they only expected to see the lobolo paid. Valente repeated he had never agreed to marry Anna. The court said it was impossible that Anna had gone home of her own accord; Valente must have sent her away, and now he must marry her properly. Valente refused, saying it was awful to live with two women. Muntwana asked Alfonso, Anna's father, what he wanted. Alfonso said he demanded the full lobolo because Anna was spoiled and he could not ask for a lobolo from anyone else. Valente said the case should never have come to court. If Alfonso and his representatives had come to him at home they could have settled the matter among themselves. Anna's grandmother, Kokwana, said: "You only want to marry and not to pay the lobolo." The chief, Famba, said Valente should not talk a lot and should pay the lobolo because Alfonso's people were good people. Valente should pay double the lobolo, in his opinion; if he were in the king's court he would not be permitted to speak one word, he would have to pay only. Valente repeated that Alfonso should have come to him to discuss it. Now, he said, Alfonso's people would have to swear that if Valente paid the full lobolo Anna would never marry again, but would 'live alone' for the rest of

her life. Furthermore, he said, if he saw her with another man he would kill them both. Muntwana said this was impossible. He threatened Valente, telling him to pay what Alfonso asked; if this case went to the Portuguese, he said, Valente would have to pay 6000\$; if it went to the Tribunal he would have to pay 12,000\$. It was better for Valente to accept to pay the 2500\$ lobolo now. Valente repeated that if he paid Anna could never marry again. Muntwana said this was impossible because Valente had already refused to marry her himself, and he could not deny her the right to marry if she wished. Valente replied that in that case she could marry as often as she chose, but he would register all of her children as his own if he paid the full lobolo. The court told him that was impossible. Then Valente agreed to pay the full lobolo if Anna brought his child to him when it was two years old and weaned. The court refused that also. Valente said: "What do you want then--everything? Woman, child, and money?" The argument raged on, and Valente finally agreed to pay the full lobolo. He told me that he agreed "sarcastically," having no intention of paying; he only wanted to get away. Whether this was true or not is a moot point. Davida rebuked the church members who had interfered in Valente's family affair and asked if they were now going to help him pay the fine. They all refused. Valente was told to return to court the following Thursday to pay the lobolo/fine to Alfonso. The chief, Famba, told Valente to pay

100\$ to the court because they had settled his case. It is customary for the winner of a case to "please the court" with some part of the fine he is awarded; the loser, if he is to pay the fine at some future date, must pay something down at the trial as an earnest of his intent to pay. Valente went home without paying anything, and Davida was sent after him to collect the 100\$. Valente told Davida that Alfonso should pay, not he, because Alfonso had won. Then Valente showed Davida the 800\$ he had in his pocket with which he had been prepared to pay a part of the fine. When he saw that the case had been prejudged against him, he told Davida, and that the people were ready to strip him of everything he had decided not to pay anything. Valente then gave Davida the 100\$ to take back to the court, but Davida refused it. He said that either Valente or his father's brother, who was present, should take it. Tchukela took the money to the court and was told they must return the next Thursday to pay the lobolo in court.

El0. That same night Ruti, Valente's wife, ran away going to her classificatory grandmother's house. Valente followed her (ku-landjela) immediately and asked her why she had done this. Ruti said she had been humiliated by his acceptance to pay the full lobolo for Anna because he had not paid the full lobolo for her. They had agreed that he would pay only the 1500\$ necessary for him to

acquire all rights in her and their children, and to register them at the Administration. Ruti had agreed to this because, she had said, if they ever divorced and he had to repay the money she had no father to whom it could be repaid. She did not particularly like her brother (who lives in another village) and saw no reason why he should receive the full lobolo. Now, Ruti said, he was putting his junior wife above her by agreeing to pay the full lobolo for her. Valente told her that he had no intention of paying the full lobolo for Anna; he had agreed to only so he could leave the court, and his agreement was "sarcastic"--that is, he did not mean it. He also told Ruti that she had showed a lack of respect and love for him by running away. She had abandoned him in time of trouble without even knowing what he had in mind. Ruti agreed she had been wrong, and he went back home leaving her there. She refused to return home with him that night.

El1. On the following Tuesday, two days before he was to return to court to pay the lobolo, Valente went to see his friend Zinyawa again. He told him that Ruti had run away and he was troubled. Zinyawa said that she was a fool and that he had realized that Valente refused to pay Anna's lobolo unless she agreed to live alone forever.

El2. The next day Valente went to speak to his other close friend, Andre, who had gone to Valente's house and left a message saying he wanted to speak to him. Andre

told Valente he wanted to speak about his case. He said he had not been able to find Valente before the trial and he wanted to know what he thought about it. Valente said he wanted to continue being Anna's lover but while she lived in her mother's house so that people would not talk. He said his only fear was of being fired from his job and then the children of the school would suffer also for something they had not done. Andre agreed that this was a rational point of view. He then told Valente that he was going to the mines to work and he asked that he keep an eye on his family while he was gone and help them. Valente agreed to do this.

El3. The next day Valente returned to court, it being the day set for him to pay the lobolo to Anna's father. The only involved people present this time were: Muntwana, the chief; Davida, the ndjuna; Fernando; Suzana; Antonio and Alfredo; Kokwana; Celeste; Anna; Tchukela; Sabula, Mandjia; and Francisco. The zone chiefs and court elders also were there except for Tomas and Manuel. The church board members had been told by Davida that they had to come since they had meddled in a family affair. This time, however, Solomon stayed away; he was also Ruti's head of household and was now involved in the case through her action in running away from her husband. Anna's father, Alfonso, also was not present being in the city at work. Davida told the men of the church that they had meddled

with Valente's second wife and that he was fined 2500\$ as a result. He asked them what they were going to do about it. They replied, through Fernando, that they were annoyed and did not know why Valente was sinning with this second woman. They had gone to pray for him in an effort to save him. Davida asked if they had succeeded, and Fernando said no. Davida told them they should help Valente pay the 2500\$ and they all refused saying they were not of his family. Then Celeste, Anna's mother, spoke up and said that her husband would "eat" the full lobolo in the city with his second wife, whereas she would have the care of her daughter and grandchild and all of the expenses. She asked that Valente be ordered to build a house for the girl and to support her until she gave birth. Davida asked Valente to reply and he said: "I think she is a fool, and I will not pay a cent. Not the 2500\$, not 1\$. Because I see you all have it arranged against me, and there is no precedent for settling a case this way." A man of court told Valente that he should sell his cattle to pay the fine because if the case went to the Administrator he would have to pay more. Valente refused saying that he had had the cattle for ten years, and if he were sent to prison over this case he would at least find the cattle at home when he was released. After much argument he went home still refusing to pay.

El4. That night Valente went to Ruti's grandmother's house formally with Manuel, Nkosi, and Tchukela. Waiting for them were Ruti's representataives: her grandmother; Solomon, the technical head of their house; and Jacobe, Solomon's classificatory father's brother, also classificatory grandfather to Davida. Valente's representatives asked why Ruti had run away. She answered that it was because her husband had not paid the full lobolo for her and she was his first wife. Valente told the family that he had not promised to pay Anna's full lobolo really, but he did not want to argue in court so he had let them think he had agreed. Ruti replied that he did promise because he had told her that he had the money. Solomon said that Valente had not accepted to pay the lobolo, only a fine; therefore, Ruti should have stayed at home with her husband. Ruti's family convinced her to return home, and told her it was the same as if she had run away when her husband was sick. She had not behaved as a good wife should. They asked her if she would return home to Valente and she said yes. They told Valente and his representatives that they would send his wife home on Saturday, and they fined him 20\$ so he could take her back. Jacobe said they were asking so little because Valente was in the right.

Phase V

El. The next day Valente went to the city where he saw Alfonso who had not been present in court the day before.

Valente told him what had happened with Ruti. Alfonso said that someone had told him that Valente refused to pay the lobolo, and Valente said that was right. Alfonso said that if Valente had come to see him in the beginning he would never have complained in court. He invited him to come with his representatives to discuss the matter. Valente agreed and they set the meeting for December.

E2. In December Valente went to Alfonso's house in the city with Manuel, Tomas, and Tchukela. When they arrived at Alfonso's house they found waiting for them Muntwana, the village chief; and Antonio, Anna's classificatory mother's brother. The fact that they found the chief there increased Valente's suspicions, as he told me, about collusion between the chief and Alfonso. They asked him where the 2500\$ were. Valente said he did not have it, and they asked him when and how much he would pay. Valente said he would pay a fine of 1000\$, but Anna's representatives said no, he should pay at least 1500\$. Valente refused saying that he could register the woman and her child for that amount. After much fruitless discussion Valente went outside with Tomas, Manuel, and Tchukela to confer in secret. He told them he would pay only 500\$ in all and they agreed to this planning that he would pay 200\$ now, and tell Alfonso that the 1300\$ balance would be forthcoming. They planned to lie since Valente said he would pay no more than a total of 500\$. Valente

had the 200\$ with him but they told Alfonso he would send the money later because he did not have any with him. They went to Valente's house in the city and he gave Tomas, Manuel, and Tchukela the 200\$ to take back to Alfonso. They did so, and Manuel told Alfonso that Valente agreed to pay the 1500\$, and would send it as he earned it. In the meantime, Alfonso and his representatives had decided with the chief that Valente should write out a declaration saying that he agreed to pay the 1500\$, and was giving 200\$ on account today. Manuel complained that they were complicating things; he said he had assisted at many cases like this and never was a written declaration needed. Muntwana said never mind, just do it. Manuel refused to send for Valente himself because this would indicate he agreed with Alfonso's demand. Instead Antonio was sent after him. Valente returned and Manuel explained what Alfonso wanted. Valente refused to write out the declaration; he said Alfonso could write it and he would copy it for himself. Alfonso was angry and said he would take the case to the Administrator. They argued and finally Antonio said that Valente was right to refuse to write the declaration himself. He said: "If we buy trousers in a factory they give us a statement of the bill so when we are ready to pay we present the bill, and they write how much we pay that time. We should write the account." But Alfonso refused. Valente then explained how merchants

keep their books, and he now insisted that they write both copies themselves, and then he left. The others waited for him, thinking he had gone outside to go to the bathroom. After some time passed they sent someone out after him. When they found him gone they realized that he refused to accept their conditions and Manuel was told to take back the 200\$ and to keep it until Valente wrote out the declaration.

E3. On the following Thursday Alfonso, Muntwana, and Anna went to the Administration in the Vila nearest the village and complained against Valente. Muntwana brought back the summons for Valente but only gave it to him on the Saturday before the Tuesday set for the hearing.

E4. On that day Valente went to the Vila with Ruti, his wife; and Tchukela, his father's brother. They arrived at the police station (where the complaint had been made) first and Valente told his story to a sepoy there. He said he refused to pay the lobolo. The sepoy asked him who wanted the money and Valente said Alfonso did, but he was convinced that Muntwana, the chief, had put him up to it. Valente told the sepoy, a long-time friend of his, that Muntwana had married his sister ten years ago and still had not paid her lobolo. At this point the other side arrived consisting of Anna, Alfonso, Muntwana, Kokwana, and Alfredo. Muntwana told the sepoy: "We have come to complain against this man who impregnated

this little girl." When Valente was telling me about this he gnashed his teeth and said: "Can you imagine how ashamed I was? A little girl." The sepoy asked Muntwana: "Where is she?" and when Anna was pointed out he said: "what a lush little girl." Muntwana answered that she was only fifteen years old, but the sepoy said he was lying, she must be at least twenty-two. Then the sepoy asked Muntwana how many women he had married in his life. Muntwana answered he had married five. The sepoy asked if he had paid the lobolo for all of them and Muntwana said no. When the sepoy asked why not Muntwana refused to answer saying that was another case. The sepoy asked him why he did not drop the case and let Valente go teach in the school in peace, and Muntwana answered: "It is the law of we Africans that Valente pay and lose the woman and child." At this point the chief of police arrived and asked that the case be explained to him so he could judge it. Valente repeated his story and the police chief asked Muntwana if that were correct. Muntwana said it was. The police chief told him: "If you want to go to the Tribunal I will arrange it, but if the girl is more than eighteen years old Valente will not be punished, and I cannot oblige him to pay the money." Muntwana insisted: "It is our custom. He has to pay." After a whispered consultation with his sepoy the police chief asked Muntwana if he had not married Valente's sister. Muntwana said he had. The chief of police asked him more questions establishing

how long they had been married and that he had paid only 1000\$ of the lobolo, owing a balance of 1500\$. Then the police chief said all right, Muntwana should pay Valente the 1500\$ owing on his lobolo, or show the money to Valente but give it to Alfonso. Then Valente could arrange the other 1000\$ by himself and that would end the case. The police chief asked Valente if he accepted that. He said yes, but that a lobolo was so a woman would stay in a man's house as his wife, and he and Anna had no arrangement to marry. He said: "Can you buy a jacket and leave it in the store?" The police chief agreed that was not fair and Valente said that was what Alfonso and Muntwana were trying to make him do by forcing him to forfeit money, woman, and child. If he paid the full lobolo, he said, Anna would have to live with him. The police chief asked Ruti if she would agree to having a co-wife, and she said yes. The police chief then asked Anna's family where they wanted to receive the lobolo, and they replied at the Administration. The chief then asked Valente when he would pay, and Valente said he did not know. The police chief said he must set a day. Valente responded:

If I set a day and go home and they send me away from the school I will have to find more work. Maybe in South Africa, and it might take me eight months. And I might not be able to pay on the day I promised and then you would blame me also. If I had the money I would pay right now so the case would not drag on, because there has never been a case like this one.

The chief of police agreed to leave the date open. Muntwana demanded that the police chief write down all of their names, and the official became angry and said he already had them. Furthermore, he told Muntwana, Valente spoke better Portuguese than any of them, and he could understand things. "I have much to do. Go away and come back when Valente can pay."

E5. They all left and outside Alfonso asked Valente if Anna could return to the city with him for a few days because she had left some mangos there to sell, and they would spoil. Valente asked if he had been taken prisoner would Alfonso have requested the police chief to let him go arrange his affairs and return to jail later? Alfonso said: "Leave it. I know you are right. I ask a favor." Valente agreed and Alfonso told him to come to the city and he would take Valente to a doctor who would give him medicine so that the co-wives could live in peace together. He told Valente not to tell anyone about it. Valente agreed but never went, telling me it was obvious that the old man wanted to give Ruti poison so that only Anna would be left.

Phase VI

E1. In late December Ruti went to the maternity hospital and gave birth to their sixth child. Three days later Anna moved into Valente's muti. She stayed on until she went to the maternity hospital in March to give birth

to their son. While she was in his muti he made her sleep with his mother, in her hut; Anna was forbidden to enter his and Ruti's house. He visited Ruti everyday while she was in the hospital; he never visited Anna. During all of this time no one came to talk to Valente about his second wife and he continued teaching at the school.

E2. When Anna returned from the maternity hospital Valente went to visit Celeste, her mother, to tell her the news as is the custom. Celeste came with three women relatives to visit the mother and baby. Five days later they returned and cemented the floor of the hut (a purification ritual), brought firewood, some jugs of a non-alcoholic drink, sugar, bread, tea, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some cloth for a baby dress. This was the customary visit and gifts for a mother after a birth. They left these things at Sabula's hut and she took them into Valente's house. The next day Valente called Anna and asked if before they were married her mother had ever sent him anything? She said no. He told Anna that he and her family had not met to have the customary feast after a dispute, and he was still angry with them and did not want to eat anything they had brought. He said it was possible that "there might be something in it." He told Anna that she was not to give anything to Ruti or to his children to eat; she could eat it alone or with the neighbors. Anna cried and asked that he order her to send all of her gifts

back to her mother explaining why. He refused and said if she did not want it she could give it to the pigs, but if she sent it back without his permission "you will see what happens." He went back to school and left her crying. When he came home at noon he found Anna eating her gift food with his older brother's wife who was their neighbor. Valente called Ruti to come make his lunch, then went back to school. When he came home again he found that Anna had taken all of her things and gone home to her mother. This was one week after the baby was born, and Anna never returned. No more was said about the marriage or the lobolo. This was the formal end of the case.

APPENDIX B

KINSHIP DIAGRAMS

Note: This appendix consists exclusively of eight kinship diagrams which show the difference in kinship terms collected by Junod and by me. A discussion of kinship roles can be found in Chapter III.

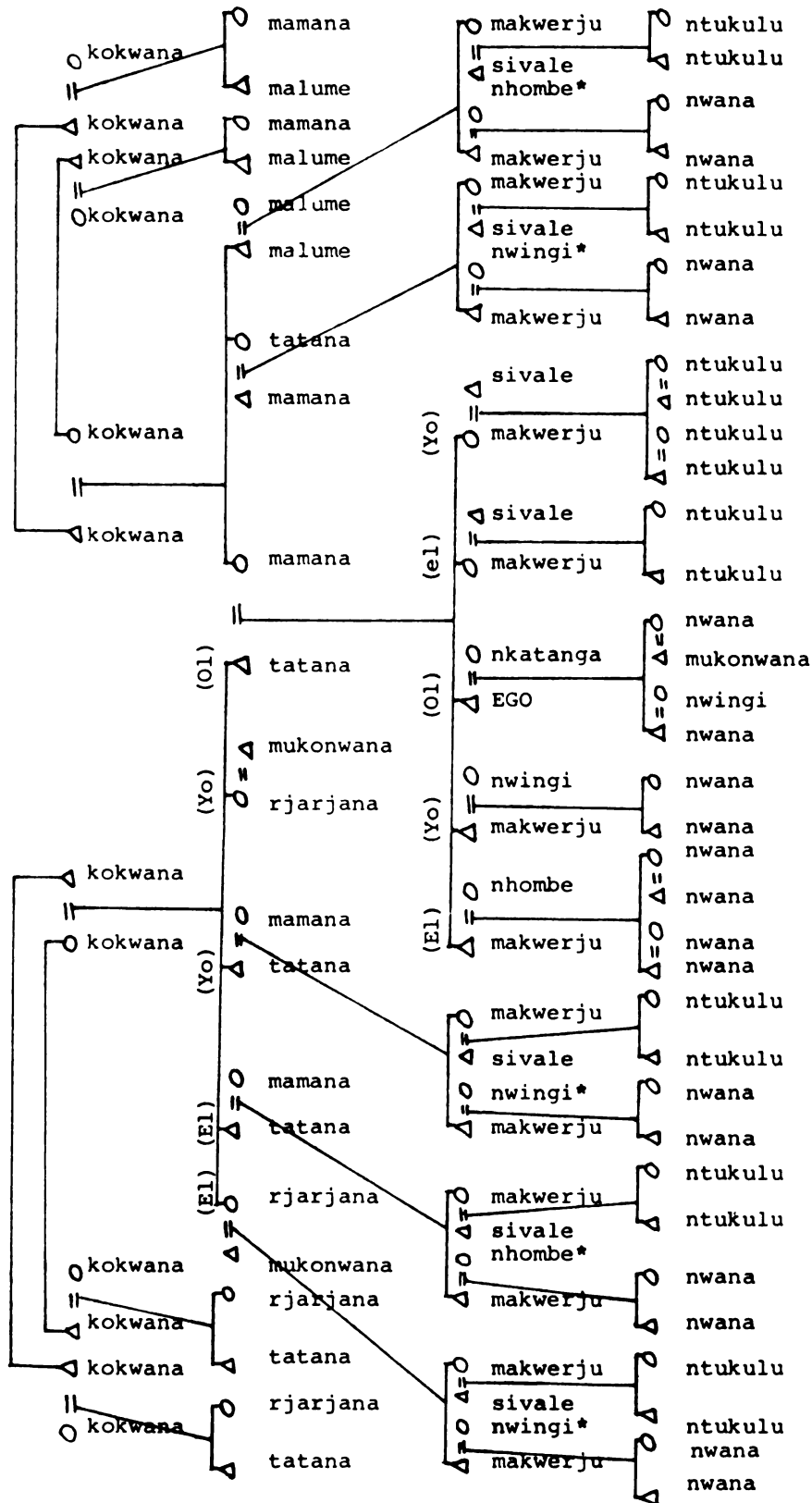


Figure 5.--Male ego's terms of reference to own family (1970).

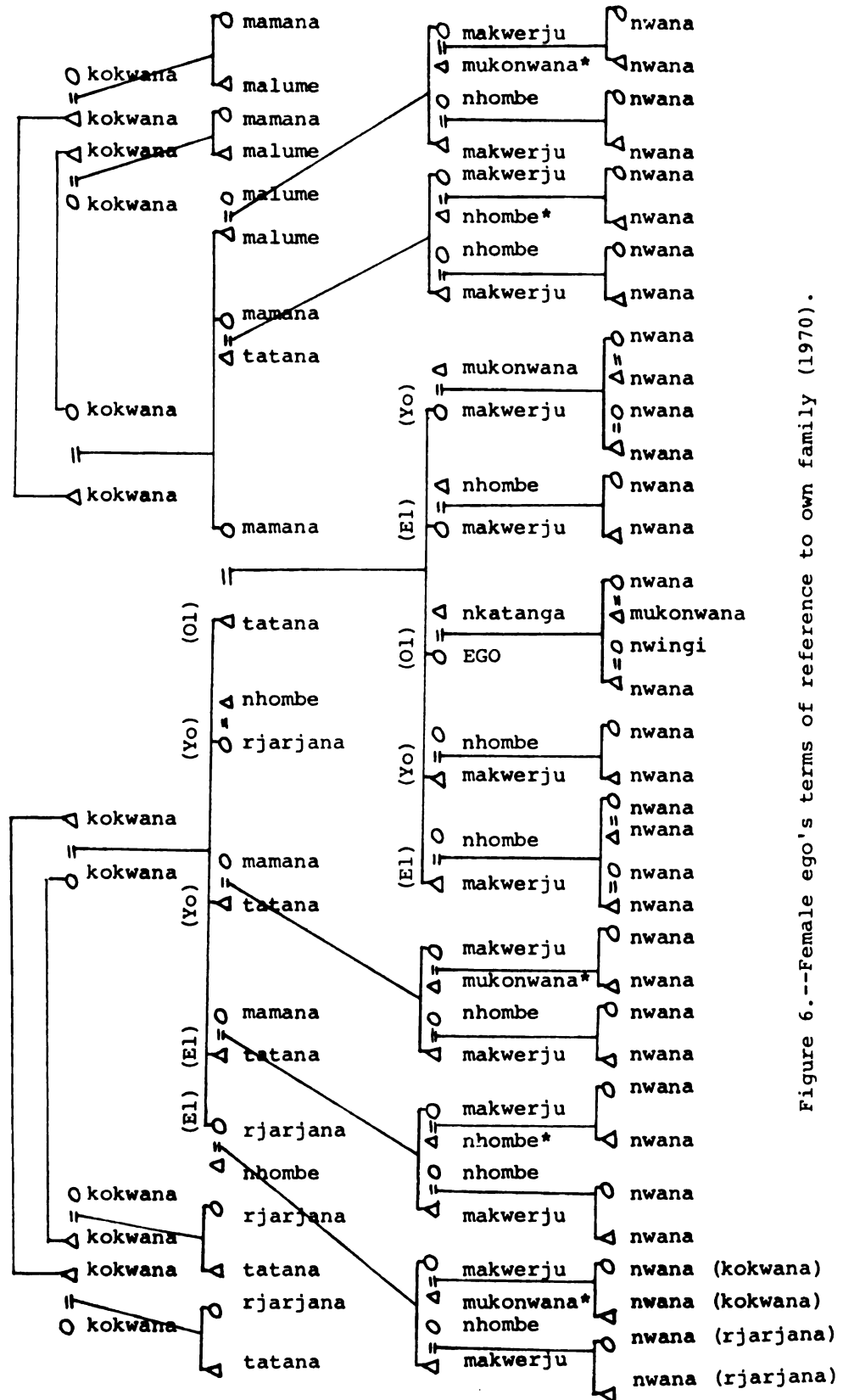


Figure 6.--Female ego's terms of reference to own family (1970).

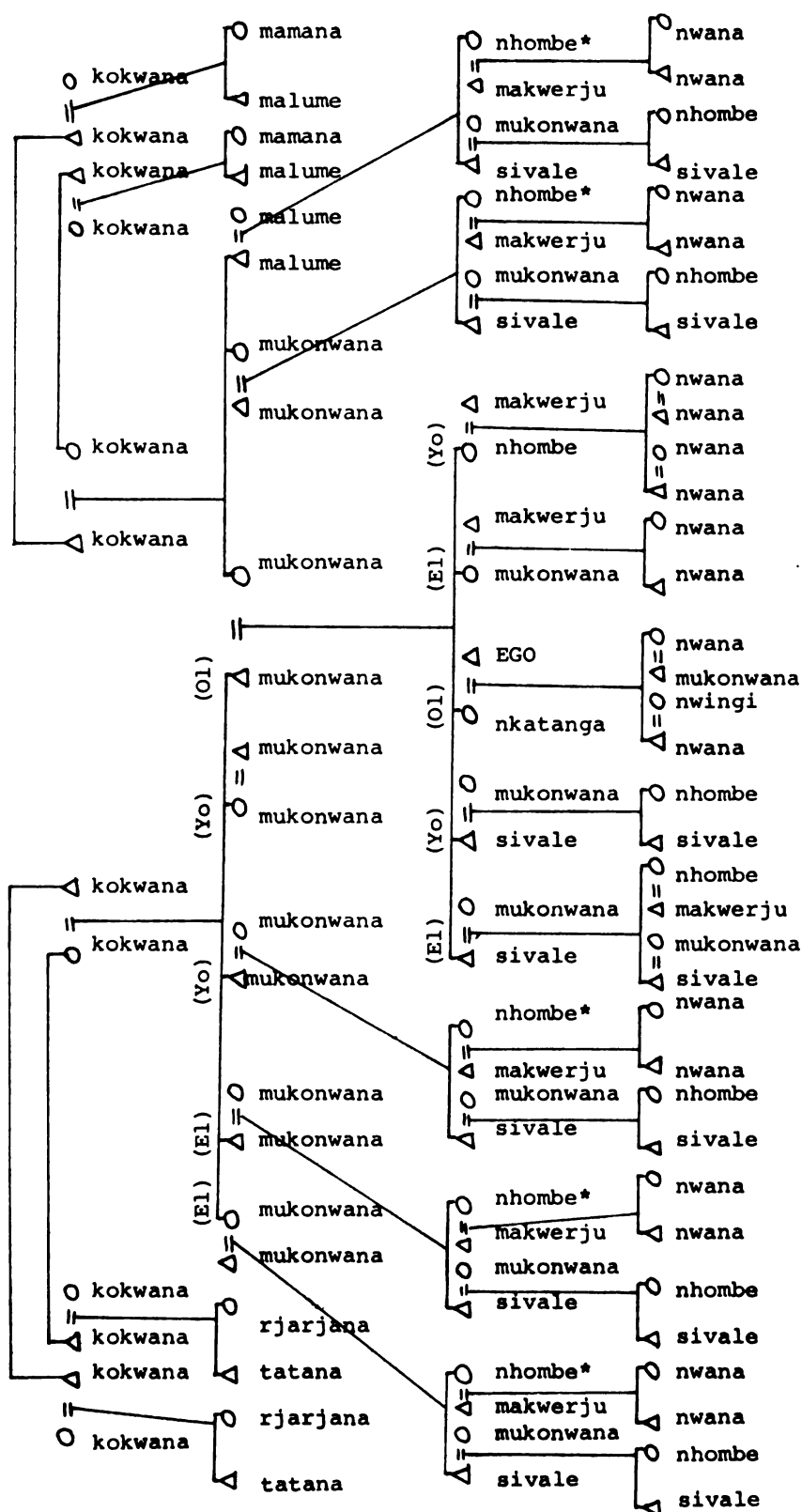


Figure 7.--Male ego's terms of reference to wife's family (1970).

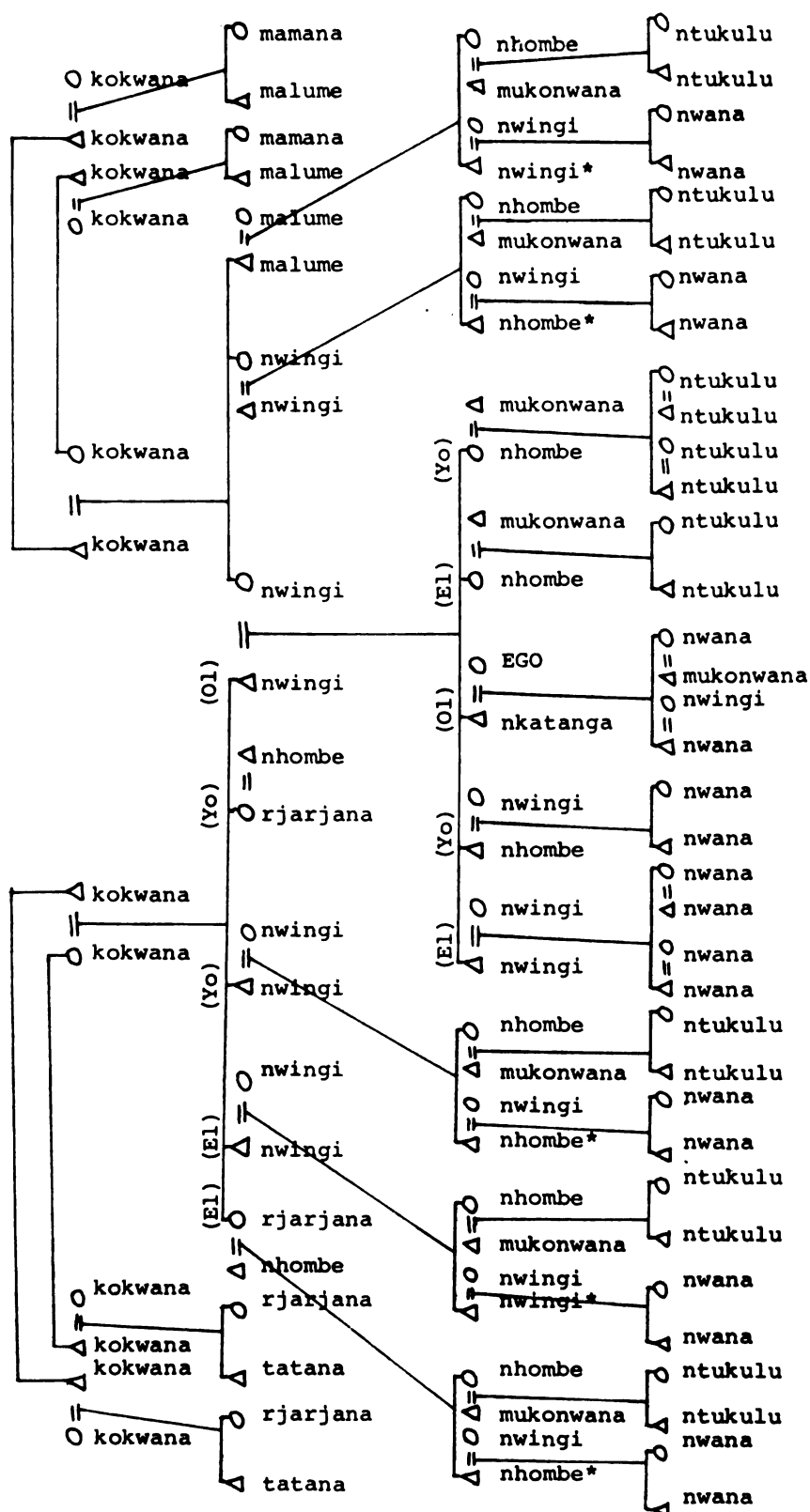


Figure 8.--Female ego's terms of reference to husband's family (1970).

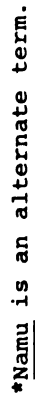


Figure 9.--Male ego's terms of reference to own family (1927).

*Namu is an alternate term.

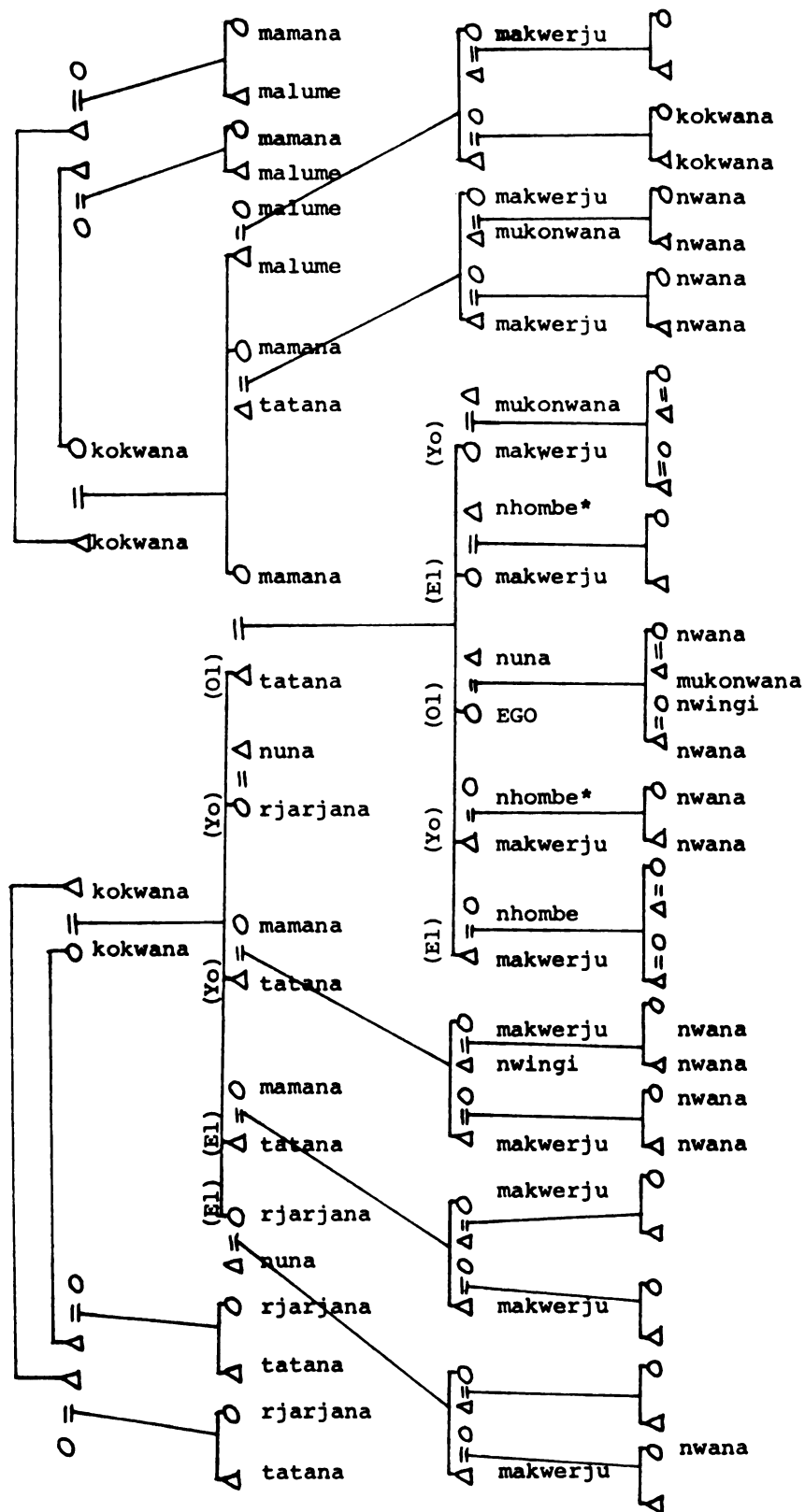


Figure 10.--Female ego's terms of reference to own family (1927).

*Namu is an alternate term.

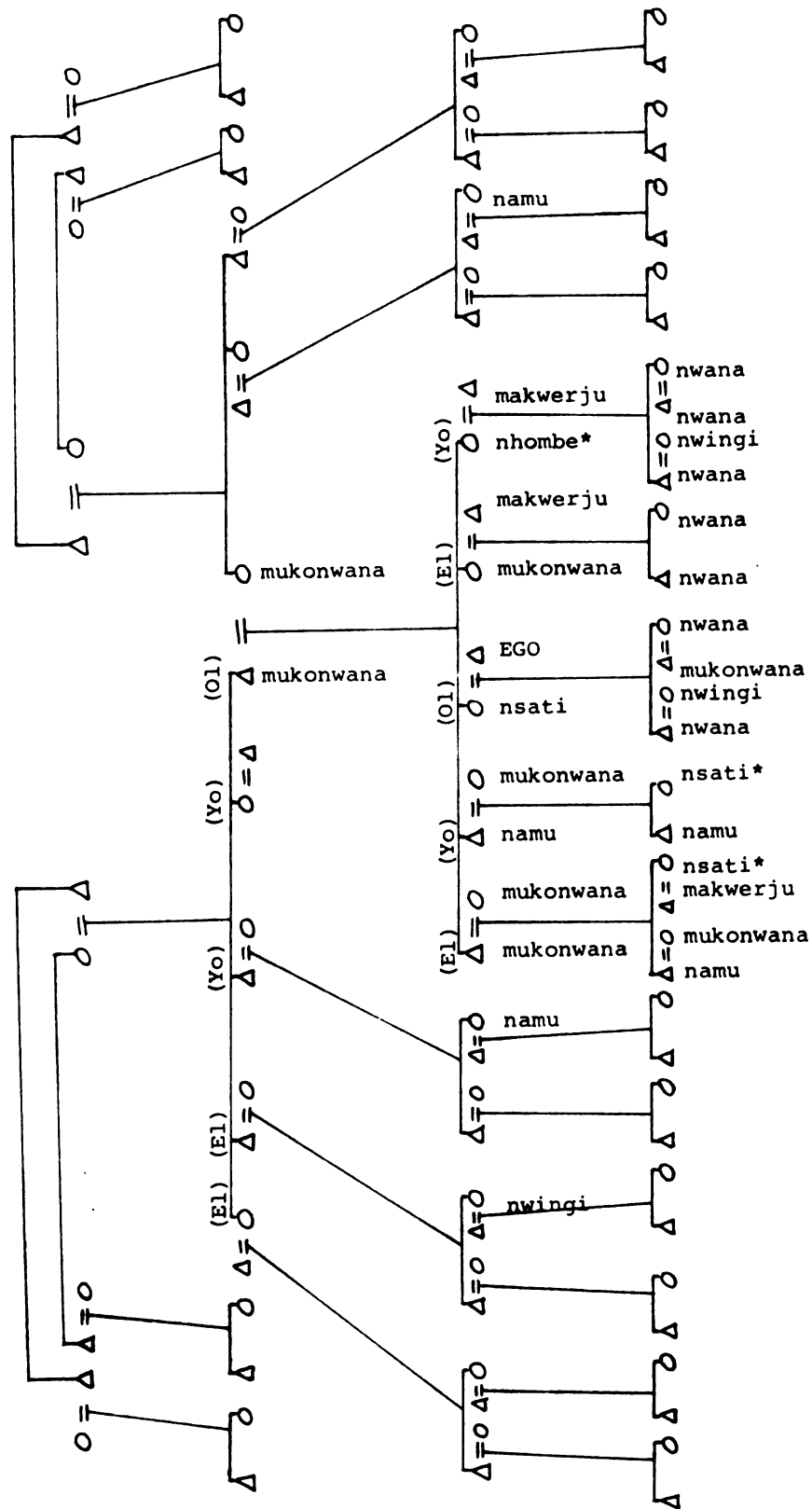


Figure 11.--Male ego's terms of reference to wife's family (1927).

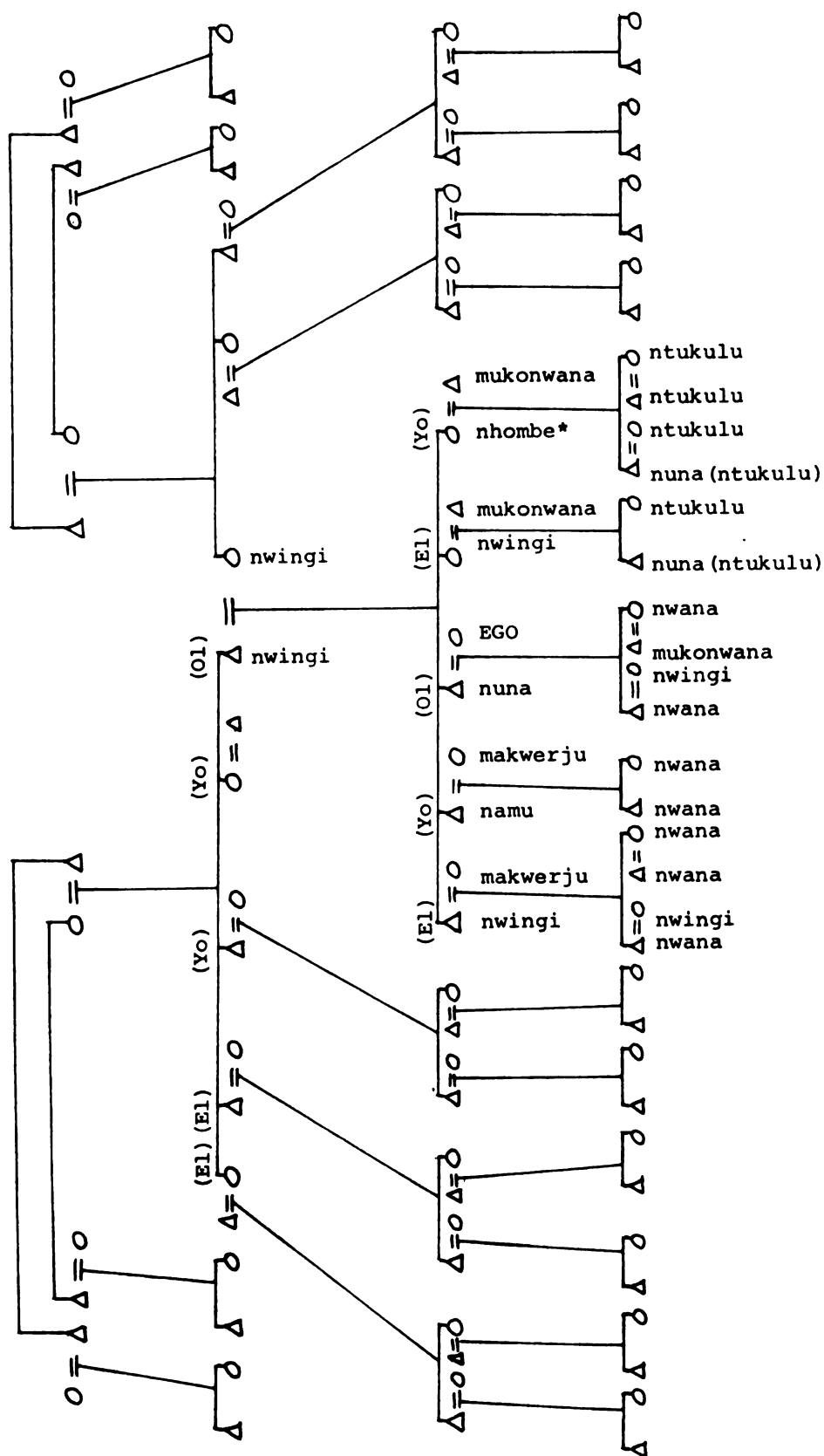


Figure 12.--Female ego's terms of reference to husband's family (1927).

