SISALA MARRIAGE

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ABSTRACT

SISALA MARRIAGE is similar to marriage among other tribal groups in Northern Ghana (cf. Fortes 1949, Goody 1967). The agnatic lineage is the important unilineal descent group vis-a-vis marriage and marriage payments are paid by the groom's lineage to the lineage of the bride. This is not only a structural ideal, but a reality of social organization. Patrilocal residence facilitates the unity of the agnatic descent group while it strains a woman's patrilineal ties (cf. Murdock 1949:202).
SISALA SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The Sisala live mainly in the Tumu District in Northern Ghana. The environment is African savanna which is primarily bush due to the relatively low population density. The Sisala show cultural uniformity with the other tribes of the Ashanti hinterland; that is, they are patrilineal with a Guinea-type social structure and they practice hoe-horticulture to produce a subsistence diet of millet, sorghum, maize, yams and rice. Cattle are kept in small numbers for sacrificial and marriage purposes.

Agnatic kinship is the keystone of Sisala social structure. Their society is divided into a number of patri-clans (-viara) which form localized ritual units having a common interest in a parish. The clan is an exogamous unit made up of several villages or sometimes village segments. The village (tang or jang) is the important focal point of identification for an individual. Patrilocal residence dictates, therefore, a divided sense of identification for the woman, while men remain firmly rooted in their natal villages. A village is normally divided into a series of lineages (jechiking) which is arranged to form two reciprocal burial groups; viz., the village is divided into two halves. While the entire village considers itself to be one body of kinsmen, kinship increases in intensity as the units of the segmentary system become smaller and therefore the reciprocal burial groups are felt to be "brother" groups. The lineage (jechiking) is the important corporate unit. It is the subsistence-residential homestead or walled enclosure inhabited by an agnatic extended family. This unit is further divided into compounds or yards (kaala) made up of joint families who farm together. Each kaala is divided into houses (diasang) and rooms
(Dia). In this segmentary system the developmental cycle is a continual enlargement of the single room (Dia), due to marriage and childbirth, into higher order units which may eventually result in fission and the repetition of the process.

Today the Isalung-speakers are governed by a paramount chief (the Tumukuoro) and various village chiefs (Kuoro) of which twelve are divisional chiefs. This system was initiated by the British during their colonial efforts in Northern Ghana and although these political units did not correspond to traditional ones they have become realities since. The most important Pre-Colonial political unit was the village (Jang) under the leadership of the village Tinteintina (custodian of the earth) and the elders (Nihising). Since there were no "chiefs," the Tinteintina wielded politico-ritual power based on his control of the ancestral shrines. Today the village chief (Kuoro) has taken on the political functions while the Tinteintina has remained concerned with ritual matters such as the fertility of the earth and the fecundity of women.

Sisala society is a gerontocracy and life is a series of age-based stages or grades. There are two important rites de passage for a man or woman; namely, marriage (Jaanung) and death (Suunung). The first allows the passage from the status of small boy (Hemmie; girl-Hantolowie) to adult (Niwang). This transition is further enhanced when the marriage produces living offspring. The second rite of passage comes at a person's death, necessitating the performance of elaborate funerary rites marking passage from the status of living adult or preferably elder (Nihiang) to a remembered ancestor (Lelung).
Marriage

It is the dream of all bachelors to get a wife. They are derided in many stories which point out their lonely deficiencies and when, e.g., married men hear the cry of the rock-pigeon (jempuriwe) in the night it is said they laugh and insult the bachelors since the cry of the bird is thought to sound like the phrase, "a bachelor sleeps without anything covering his anus." The bird insults the bachelors every night and the married men are happy that they do not have to sleep alone. It would, of course, be in bad taste for a married man to actually ridicule an unmarried man, but the story points out the fact that to be married is one of the most important events of life.

Because of polygyny, there are often young men in the lineage who do not have wives while older men have several and thus the period of jural-minority is extended for men, while women enter into the marriage arrangement quite young, sometimes before, but usually after the first menstruation (cf. Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1. AGE OF FEMALES AT MARRIAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGE IN YEARS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEFORE BIRTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 486</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As soon as a girl begins to develop breasts (yilaa) and pubic hair (mengpunaa) she may begin to entertain lovers (helaa). Attractive girls attract many lovers very soon, but no girl goes long without some sort of suitor. Young men are always on the lookout for marriageable girls and it is one of the functions of the market (yobo)
AND THE FUNERAL (YOMO) TO PROVIDE MEETING PLACES IN CROWDED
CONDITIONS FOR THE YOUNG LOVERS. A BOY MAY ROAM IN SEARCH OF A
WIFE (A DUURUNG HAAZA NE) AND WHEN HE SEES A GIRL HE IS ATTRACTION
TO, HE ASKS A MALE OF THAT TOWN, "IS THAT GIRL A DAUGHTER OR A
WIFE?" IF HE REPLIES THAT SHE IS A DAUGHTER, THE BOY APPROACHES
HER AND TELLS HER THAT HE HAS BEEN WATCHING HER AND NOW LOVES
(CHONG) HER (CF. MARRIAGE HISTORY I). IF SHE HAS RECIPROCAL
FEELINGS SHE ACCEPTS A SMALL GIFT HE PRESENTS TO HER, FORMERLY
A FEW PESEWAS BUT NOW ONE OR TWO CEDIS, AND RECIPROCATES WITH A
SMALL GIFT OF HER OWN, USUALLY OF LESSER VALUE. THEY ARE NOW
LOVERS (HELAZA) MEANING THAT AT A FUNERAL OR MARKET THEY CAN MEET
AND TALK. IF THE CHANCE PRESENTS ITSELF, OR THEY MAKE PREPARATIONS,
THEY WILL HAVE SEX (PENG HAAZA). THIS IS NOT THOUGHT TO BE IMMORAL
AND PREGNANCIES THAT RESULT ARE NOT CONSIDERED UNFORTUNATE UNLESS
THE GIRL MUST LEAVE SCHOOL. HOWEVER, THIS APPLIES MAINLY TO TUMU
AND LARGER VILLAGES WITH SCHOOLS. IN SUCH A PLACE THERE ARE MANY
MORE MARRIAGEABLE PARTNERS LIVING IN CLOSE PROXIMITY TO EACH OTHER,
WHEREAS IN THE RURAL VILLAGE, EXOGAMY Dictates THAT THE MAN MUST
SEEK HIS WIFE FROM OUTSIDE THE CLAN. FOR THE VILLAGE OF BUJAN,
THIS MEANS A YOUNG MAN MUST TRAVEL SEVERAL MILES TO SEE HIS LOVER,
CONSEQUENTLY THE NUMBER OF SUCH CONTACTS IS MUCH LESS FREQUENT THAN
IN A PLACE LIKE TUMU WHERE A BACHELOR ONLY HAS TO WALK ACROSS TOWN
TO THE ZONGO (STRANGER'S PLACE) TO FIND LOVERS.
Marriage History I. The Marriage of Cedu.

Name: Cedu
Lineage: Fuojang of Bujan
Age: ca. 50
Condition: Going blind, but still able to farm.
1st Wife: Hatonmje
Her village: Vanjang
Marriage date: ca. 1951 before time of Independence.
His age at marriage: ca. 30
Her age at marriage: ca. 15
How acquired: He accompanied his brother to that same village while he was in search of a wife and met Hatonmje. He took her as a lover and later went back with the Haalakiaa "many times."
Age first pregnant: Straightaway.
Children: Six living. Five died.
Bridewealth: paid

As time passes the relationship develops to the point where the boy wishes to marry (jaa) the girl. If he can persuade his father to provide the marriage payments (Haalakiaa) he can begin to present them. If he has some money of his own, which is highly unlikely, he can use this, but in most cases he is dependent on the will of his father, or lacking a real father, his Kaalatima (compound elder) whose permission to marry is mandatory since he, in most cases, is the only source of the Haalakiaa.

The Haalakiaa are paid in a series of installments over approximately a year's time. If a girl's father is anxious to marry his daughter off (Buge) he may let her go after two or three months, but this is not the norm. The payments are made by the young man, who is accompanied by a kinsman of his village and the sipatoro (go-between) for his village. When the party arrives at the bride's village they are given water and food. The Haalakiaa installment is paid directly to the Jechikintina (lineage elder) but must not be paid directly to him if he is the father of the bride, in which case one of the bride's brothers
WILL RECEIVE IT FOR THE JECHIKINTINA. THE FATHER SHOULD NOT RECEIVE
IT DIRECTLY SO AS NOT TO APPEAR TO SELL (YALLE) HIS DAUGHTER, WHEREAS
IT IS ACCEPTABLE FOR A BROTHER TO BE CONCERNED WITH THE MARRIAGE OF
HIS SISTER. LIKewise, WHEN THE FINAL PAYMENT IS MADE AND THE GIRL
IS COLLECTED TO HER HUSBAND'S VILLAGE, THE FATHER DOES NOT GIVE HER
AWAY; IT MUST BE ONE OF HER BROTHERS WHO PERFORMS THIS CEREMONY.

The Haalakiaa payments have changed through the years (cf.
Rattray 1932:500), and today it is felt that each installment should
include between fifty and one hundred kola nuts (Guouri), some native
gin (Apetishi) and tobacco (Toba). The following is an actual
accounting of the items brought as a fifth and final marriage payment
to the lineage of Fekkojang in Bujan. They were brought by a man from
Manduong, who on his next visit was given the girl. The items were
received by the girl's brother, Dajan, who distributed them to the
other members of the lineage:

Fifty kola nuts
1 large bottle of Apetishi
Large container of tobacco

These items were distributed as follows: One-half bottle of gin went
to the Jechikintina and the other half went to the eldest man of the
lineage who is the Tinteinta of the village. The kola nuts were
divided amongst the classificatory fathers of the girl, with the
largest amount going to the Jechikintina, and some went to the girl's
classificatory brothers. Pains were taken to make sure every adult
male in the lineage received some of the tobacco but none of the
Haalakiaa left the limits of the Jechiking.

The next day the prospective groom and his party goes to the
father's farm and works there and the following day this is repeated.
On the third morning the groom begs (sul) to take his leave and returns to his home village. He returns again several times and repeats the process and if he is lucky, for there may be other suitors doing the same thing, after four or five journeys he is given permission to return for the girl, and only then does a marriage ceremony take place.

If a man pursues a girl and makes several payments of the haalakiaa and the girl's father is greedy or stubborn, the young man may decide to abduct the girl (cf. Marriage History 2). The couple will take up patrilocal residence as is normal, and the husband will send a message to the wife's father informing him of the whereabouts of his daughter.

Marriage History 2. The Marriage of Baton

Name: Baton
Lineage: Forkorjarg
Age: ca. 35
Condition: Healthy farmer.
1st wife: Nimuna
Her village: Jana
Marriage date: ca. 1962.
His age at marriage: ca. 26
Her age at marriage: ca. 15
How acquired: Collusive capture. He had taken the girl as a lover, but the parents were against the marriage. So he arranged with one of the girl's brothers to steal her away. Later Baton returned to her village with placation gifts and eventually paid the full hajarikiaa.
Age first pregnant: Straightaway, but she has great difficulty in childbirth.
Children: Two living, one died.
Bridewealth: not yet paid.

Often the husband will have enlisted the aid of one of the girl's brothers in the elopement, and he will act as mediator in the affair.
Unless a father is definitely against the union, he only asks for
the remaining Haalakiaa and the performance of the customary sacrifice
of the girl's natal compound shrine. Sometimes a mother aids her
daughter to escape with the man she loves over and against the wishes
of the father. A mother is thought to understand her daughter better
than the father, and to understand "love" (chono) better. Once, while
discussing this with an old man in the village, I asked him if this
was acceptable, viz., for a man's wife to side with her daughter in
such a case, and he understandably said, "No, she should always
support her husband." However, just then his wife stuck her head
out from her room and said, "Oh yes she can!"

Marriage and sex within lineage and clan are ideally forbidden.
Ego's mother's clan is also taboo for marriage purposes. A man cannot
marry into any kaala (compound) from which his father has a wife or
from the kaala of his father's mother. He should also not take any
wife from a kaala into which his daughter has married. This is viewed
as an exchange of daughters in marriage, which is expressly forbidden.
Informants always stressed this point; that a man cannot exchange a
daughter for a wife. Ideally one should not marry any person with the
same totemic taboo, even if they are not from the same clan. Also when
a village is composed of many clan segments, members of those clan
segments should not exchange marriage partners within the village limits.
These are all ideals. In actual fact, I found cases of breach in every
instance, though most community members follow the rules. Today the
most firm rule seems to be village exogamy, where the members of that
village are all from one clan and the majority of persons marry outside
their own clan. The exceptions to this rule seem to be persons of
dubious genealogical background such as descendants of slaves (yomo)
AND STRANGERS (NIHUORO). THE OTHER DOCUMENTED EXCEPTIONS ARE CHIEFS, WHO OFTEN ABUSED THEIR POWER IN A SEARCH OF LARGE NUMBERS OF WIVES. IT HAS BEEN KNOWN TO HAPPEN THAT A CHIEF HEARING A COURT CASE OF A MARRIAGE DISPUTE, SETTLED THE AFFAIR BY TAKING THE PRETTY YOUNG WIFE FOR HIMSELF. APPARENTLY IN THE RUSH FOR WIVES SOME OF THE RULES WERE BROKEN, BUT, BY AND LARGE, MOST PERSONS OBSERVE THE RULE OF EXOGAMY FOR THE VILLAGE AND CLAN.

THERE ARE NO PREFERRED FIRST MARRIAGE PARTNERS AND A MAN WILL SEEK ANY GIRL WHO IS NOT IN A PROHIBITED CLASS AND WHO IS PROXIMATE AND ACCESSIBLE (MEN TEND TO MARRY INTO THOSE NON-PROHIBITED VILLAGES IMMEDIATELY SURROUNDING THEIR VILLAGE OF BIRTH (CF. MARRIAGE HISTORY 3 AND MAP).)

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Marriage History 3. Marriage History of the Extended Family of Baadi

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  2
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/   \ 
1    4
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   3
  
   6  12
       ---
       5
       
   13  15

  1
/   /  
/   /   
  ES  9  10 11

  ESS  8

  5
  
  14
```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Baadi's Kin</th>
<th>Village of Kin</th>
<th>Clan of Kin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. FM</td>
<td>Nansijang*</td>
<td>Gangachomo?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. MM</td>
<td>Jana (Nabiewale)</td>
<td>Weme We Tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. M</td>
<td>Dolbizan (Kpang)</td>
<td>Gangachomo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. F</td>
<td>Bujan</td>
<td>Nyiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Baadi</td>
<td>Bujan (Resided Chincham)**</td>
<td>Nyiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. EW</td>
<td>Natolo</td>
<td>Kasena Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Esew</td>
<td>Tumu</td>
<td>Gilingang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Esesw</td>
<td>Pina</td>
<td>Kampo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Esew</td>
<td>Tumu (Katiing to #7)</td>
<td>Gilingang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Es3w</td>
<td>Kowie</td>
<td>Gangachomo and Nyiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Esew</td>
<td>Kowie (Katiing to #10)</td>
<td>Gangachomo and Nyiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. 2w</td>
<td>Natolo (Katiing to #6)</td>
<td>Kasena Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. 3w</td>
<td>Tumu</td>
<td>Gilingang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Sw</td>
<td>Pina</td>
<td>Kampo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. 4w</td>
<td>Kowie</td>
<td>Gangachomo and Nyiba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Defunct Village

**Baadi was born in the village of Bujan but was brought to the village of Chincham by his father. Chincham was Baadi's FFMB village.

However, for second marriages, and subsequent ones, wife's younger sister is the most preferred union and often she will come at a very early age to be a katiing or "servant" to her elder sister (cf. Tables 2 and 3).

** Table 2. Katiing Marriages **

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Katiing Marriages</th>
<th>Non-Katiing Marriages</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>66.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Table 3. Age of Becoming a Katiing **

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in Years</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This normally occurs after the elder sister has borne a second child and needs help with the children and the domestic chores. If after the girl has spent a number of years as a katiing in that kaala and her elder sister's husband wishes to marry her, he presents the maalakiaa and takes her as a formal wife. If the girl is old enough to have sex at the time she comes as a katiing, the husband may take her as a lover (hela) and sleep with her in his village but never the village of her father. If she has sex with one other than the husband of her sister, it is a bad thing (bizont). Tauxier (1912:345) notes that the husband could demand a payment of 10,000 cowries from the lover which indicates that a man holds rights in uxorem over a katiing. If there is a man in that same kaala in need of a wife, the husband of her sister may give her to the man when she is grown. Conflicts over the affections of a katiing are sometimes a source of intra-lineage conflict. She should obey her elder sister in every way and to cause trouble in the kaala is a grave wrong. If such a thing happens and the elder sister wants to get rid of the katiing she will blow ash (tworung) on the girl, driving her out of the husband's kaala. The Sisala believe that such an act will cause the katiing to be a sterile woman (hapurung), or to suffer some other unfortunate fate. When a Fuojang woman drove away her katiing, and died herself shortly thereafter, only to be followed in death by her katiing within a few days, the people interpreted this as due to the blowing of ash. Sometimes the katiing runs away with a lover to be married in another village, but the relationship still remains in theory unless the ash is blown on her by her elder sister.
Rattray (1932) reports that another preferred secondary marriage partner is a wife's brother's daughter. This ideal was confirmed by my informants, but Table 5 shows no such marriages. The husband calls this girl "my wife's servant" (mi haal katiling) and in the absence of a younger sister to come as a katiling she may be substituted (cf. Tables 4 and 5). The wife's sister's daughter is a prohibited marriage partner, and the husband calls her daughter (tolo).

Table 4 WOMEN WITH KATIING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women with KATIING*</th>
<th>Women without KATIING</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Of the 116 women with KATIING, 109 had one, 7 had two.

Table 5 RELATION OF WIFE TO HER KATIING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KATIING Status</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>YZ, same lineage</th>
<th>YZ, same village</th>
<th>WBD</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although most men cannot afford many wives sororal polygyny is seen as a preferred form of marriage (cf. Marriage History 4). Some men feel this leads to extra trouble in the kaala. They say that an elder sister will tend to be more severe with a younger sister-wife and beat her causing conflict in the kaala. They also say that if the senior wife decides to divorce the man, that the junior wife will most often
LEAVE TOO, THUS A MAN HAS A CHANCE OF LOSING TWO WIVES INSTEAD OF ONE. A MAN WITH SORORAL WIVES MAY SEEK ANOTHER WIFE FROM A DIFFERENT PLACE AS INSURANCE AGAINST BEING LEFT ALONE. INFORMANTS TOLD ME THAT IN THE OLD DAYS THE MARRIAGE PAYMENTS (HAALAKIAA) AND PROGENY-PRICE (HAJARIKIAA) WERE REDUCED BY HALF FOR A SORORAL WIFE, BUT TODAY THIS IS NOT DONE. WHEN I ASKED THEM WHY THE CHANGE HAD TAKEN PLACE, THEY COULD ONLY ANSWER THAT "TODAY MEN ARE GREEDY AND WANT A FULL HAJARIKIAA." IF THIS WERE THE CASE IN FORMER TIMES, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A BIG FACTOR IN MAKING SORORAL POLYGNY A PREFERRED FORM OF MARRIAGE DESPITE THE FEELING THAT SISTERS QUARREL MORE READILY.

THERE ARE NO ELABORATE MARRIAGE CEREMONIES AMONG THE SISALA, BUT MARRIAGE (JAANUNG) IS AN IMPORTANT RITE OF PASSAGE NONETHELESS. OFTEN WHEN I WOULD ASK INFORMANTS IF THERE WERE ANY CEREMONIES TO MARK THE PASSAGE OF A YOUNG MAN OR WOMAN INTO ADULTHOOD THEY WOULD ANSWER, "NO, ONLY IF A PERSON IS GROWN, THEN THEY GET HIM A WIFE." BECAUSE OF POLYGNY, FINDING A MARRIAGE PARTNER IS DIFFICULT FOR A YOUNG MAN. IT IS THEREFORE POSSIBLE TO ASK FOR A VERY YOUNG GIRL IN MARRIAGE OR EVEN TO ASK FOR AN UNBORN CHILD, VIZ., IF A MAN IN SEARCH OF A WIFE SEES A PREGNANT WOMAN HE MAY APPROACH HER AND SAY, "IF YOUR CHILD IS A BOY, LET HIM BE MY FRIEND. IF IT IS A GIRL, LET HER BE MY WIFE." IF THE WOMAN AGREES HE WILL GIVE HER A SMALL GIFT, USUALLY 10 TO 20 PESEWAS. IF IT TURNS OUT TO BE A GIRL THE MAN BRINGS A BASKET OF MILLET (MIA) AND SALT (YISING) FOR THE MOTHER WHEN THE GIRL IS ABOUT FOUR YEARS OLD. THIS IS REPEATED THREE TIMES AND THE GIRL IS INFORMED OF HER "HUSBAND'S" CALL EACH TIME. WHEN THE GIRL IS OLD ENOUGH TO GO AWAY WITH THE "HUSBAND," HE WILL BEGIN TO BRING THE FORMAL HAALAKIAA PAYMENTS AND EVENTUALLY TAKES THE GIRL TO HIS VILLAGE.
Older informants remembered the old days when the Sisala bought wives (Yo Haala) from the slavers. They would even check the health of the wife and especially check her teeth and her limbs to see if she could carry heavy loads, but today even hint that a man would buy a wife is to insult him. If one suggests that the payment of Haalakiaa constitutes wife purchase, one is in for a heated discussion.

Marriage History 4. The Marriages of Brema-Luri

Name: Brema-Luri
Lineage: Forkorjang (he is Jechikintina).
Age: ca. 65
Condition: Blind and old
1st Wife: Kadua
Her village: Pina
Marriage Date: ca. 1926
His age at marriage: She had married his elder brother at the age of seven years. Brema-Luri inherited her at the death of his elder brother. Her age at this time undetermined.
Her age at marriage:
Children: Two alive, many died.
Bridewealth: Paid

2nd Wife: Bodongochu
Her village: Pina
Marriage Date: ca. 1926
His age at marriage: ca. 22
Her age at marriage: ca. 7
How acquired: She came as a Katiing to the first wife.
Age first pregnant: ca. 15
Children: Three living
Bridewealth: Paid during World War II.

3rd Wife: Banyeafi
Her village: Tumu
Marriage Date: ca. 1930
His age at marriage: ca. 24
Her age at marriage: ca. 15
How acquired: He saw her at Tumu market and asked if she was a daughter. Then he took her as a lover. Later he married her.
Age of first pregnancy: Straightaway
Children: Two living. Many dead.
Bridewealth: Paid after World War II

4th Wife: Haluri
Her village: Chinchan
Marriage Date: ca. 1945
His age at marriage: ca. 39
Her age at marriage: ca. 15
How acquired: He saw her in Chinchian and took her as a lover.
Age of first pregnancy: Straightaway
Children: Two living. Many dead.
Bridewealth: Paid ca. 1961
5th wife: Basemini
Her village: Pieng
Marriage date: ca. 1951
His age at marriage: ca. 45
Her age at marriage: ca. 15
How acquired: Saw her in her village and took her as a lover.
Age first pregnant: doesn't know. She had difficulty becoming pregnant.
Children: Four living
Bridewealth: Not yet paid. He was reluctant to discuss this. He said, "She is not really my wife yet because I have not paid the bridewealth (Hajarikiaa)."

Marriage by capture was also known in former times. Older informants remembered these times, but said that such behavior was risky business. Rather than outright theft of a wife, it was better to arrange for her brother, or sometimes mother, to aid in her "capture." Since a brother is thought to be able to give away his sister, he is the most likely person to "steal" her from her father. Rattray (1932:502) reports that it was most common for the brother to be of a different clan settlement or from another village altogether. It would be arranged for him to steal the daughter, and later make peace between the husband and the girl's father. For this he would demand a payment of one thousand cowries from the husband. This payment was called Banduokiaa, but the husband still paid the Haalakiaa and Hajarikiaa to the father.

In all marriage transactions there is a go-between (Sipatoro) for each side. He is present at all negotiations between husband and girl's father and will be called to account all payments in the case of a dispute. He is ideally a clansman of the groom who is
matrilaterally related to the girl's father (cf. also Manoukian 1951:38 and Rattray 1932:501). Most often he is a son of a woman from the girl's clan who has married into the village of the groom. Each village has a sipatoro in every village with which frequent marriage transactions occur. This sipatoro is known by all members of a village as a go-between, and his room (dia) is neutral territory. In case of a dispute a person from a different village may flee to the room of his sipatoro for safety. If a woman is about to deliver a child in her father's house, she will be moved to the house of the sipatoro of her husband's village if possible. It is also often the case that when a husband brings his new wife to his village, she is housed for about a week with the sipatoro of her village. He prepares her to move in with her husband and may formally escort her to her husband's bedchamber on the first night they sleep together.

An incident that happened in Bujan clearly shows the fact that the Sisala think in terms of a sipatoro as a link between villages. A small boy from the village of Nakpowie was visiting my kaala in Bujan one day. While I was doing some work in another part of the village, he climbed through my window and was hiding in my room when I returned. A small child had seen him enter and came to inform me. When I returned I found him hiding under my bed. He had been trying to steal the food and I was content to drive the boy away, but the leaders said he should be taken to the Nakpowie sipatoro. It was about dark and the boy could not make the journey to his village that night, and so after much palaver, he was taken to Bapula of the lineage of Yeliwiejang who is the sipatoro to Nakpowie since his father's mother had come from that village and because he is the eldest male with matrilateral links to Nakpowie.
Once the *haalakiaa* payments have been completed to the satisfaction of the girl's father, he informs the groom to come for his wife on a given day. The groom, accompanied by the *sipatoro* and possibly some of his brothers or friends, journeys to the bride's village and taking gifts of tobacco (*toba*), kola-nuts (*guori*) and gin (*apetishi*) they will be expected to work on the farm of the girl's father for one or two days before receiving the girl. After this the husband will tell the *sipatoro* to beg (*sul*) the father for the girl, but the father can only give his consent, he cannot actually hand over his daughter. In fact, most of the time he puts on a show of being unconcerned or hostile to the affair. In the one such transaction that I watched, the actual father was not even present, but stayed in his room or on the periphery of the ceremony. If the father has a younger brother he may give the girl away, but it is better for a brother of the girl to do it. When a Manduong man came to claim his wife from Bujan it was not Tiawang, the father, who gave her away but Dajan, a classificatory brother to the girl. He had handled all the *haalakiaa* transactions, had taken the Manduong people to his farm to work and finally actually handed the girl over to the husband. When it came time to give away the girl all her brothers from her *jechiking* gathered for the ceremony. The girl was dressed in her finest clothes and sat on a skin opposite the husband and the *sipatoro*. Dajang then took the girl by the arm and handed her to the *sipatoro* saying, "Here is your wife." The men took the wife and returned to their village. As the girl is being taken, any clansman of the girl can stop the party and say, "Where are you taking my daughter?" Whereupon a mock battle is often staged. In any case the husband must give the clansman a few cowries or pesewas to allow them to pass.

Upon arrival at the husband's village the party gives the men's war
cry, which is loud and shrill. It does not matter what time of the night they return. Once a party returned to Bujan at 2:25 a.m., and began to give the men's cry at the edge of the village which they continued till they reached their homestead. When the other lineages heard this cry, they responded with like cries because "now Bujan has one more wife." It was explained to me that with more wives they have more children, which means the village will prosper.

Shortly after a new wife comes to her husband's village, she is given a new name by the Jechikintina or an old woman of the lineage. Members of her husband's clan cannot address her by her natal name, and therefore, she is given a marriage name. This naming ceremony is often accompanied with much feasting, drinking and dancing if the family can afford it.

If there is a Daluno (medicine) shrine in the Kaala to which the girl comes, it is sacrificed as soon as possible so that she will be able to take some of the medicine and be thereby protected, as are the rest of the compound members. This is a ritual of incorporation which symbolizes her transition from being a stranger to being a member of the Kaala. When Fati came to the lineage of Kpejang in Bujan, Gbenmie sacrificed his Daluno shrine two days after her arrival. She was given some of the medicine (Dalusung) "to make her strong," and I was told that the medicine was to "protect her from any harm that doesn't come from God."

The wife is exempt from work for four days after arriving since during this time she is on display. All members of the village visit and greet (Lolle) her, and, in particular, friends of the husband are required by custom to present a gift to the husband upon seeing her for the first time. She is taken to greet the chief of the village by an old woman of the Kaala. After this period the new wife takes up her
chores under the direction of the senior wife, or the senior woman of the kaala. On the morning of the fifth day the new wife cooks food for her husband for the first time. She may have cooked for him before as a sign of acceptance of his marriage pledge, but this is the first time as a wife.

A wife is expected to be a good cook and worker and must do her share of the work in the kaala and avoid fighting with the other women there. She must at all times take a submissive role with regard to men, and comes directly under the authority of the husband and the kaalatina. This authority is enhanced by the belief in the power of shrines to punish a disobedient wife. If she acts wrongly or otherwise counters the authority of men, she is liable to the wrath of the ancestral shrines of the lineage and village. The following case shows how this belief in shrine sanctions can reinforce male authority: A certain man from Bujan had several wives and kept one in the village of Tumu. After an argument she ran away in the night and was making her way towards her natal village of Manduong. When she came near Bujan it was already day so she left the road and attempted to skirt around the village. She knew that if she were seen she would be detained as a "runaway wife" (kaala fa viri). She was unfortunate in that while going through the bush she chanced upon a group of Bujan women on the way to the river to fetch water. They recognized her immediately, and realized what she was attempting, since she had begun to run upon seeing them, but they chased her and caught her. They were women from the chief's lineage, so they took her to the chief who put her up for the night and then informed the jechikintina of her husband's lineage to fetch her. When I talked to several of the wives who had helped capture her I asked them why they did such a thing.
Was she not a fellow wife and woman? Why did they return her to her husband if she wanted to flee? Every woman said the same thing: Since the woman had a "child of Buwan" on her back, the clan shrine would kill them if they allowed her to escape with the son.

Marriage creates a bond between a man and a woman as well as a juridical bond with prescribed rights and duties between the two descent groups, but at the interpersonal level man and wife are not close. Polygyny is a factor in this, but, even where there is only one wife, a man does not spend much time with his wife nor concern himself with her affairs. She operates in a separate domestic sphere while his domain includes the activities of other men, especially brothers, viz., the sibling bond is much stronger than the tie of marriage.

The Sisala themselves view marriage as a procreative arrangement. They say la jaa la lul biring ne (we marry to give birth to children). They usually follow with the corollary, "and we own the children because we have married their mothers" (la ne ti la biring we la si ti la ne jaa ba naang ba). This is one of the main reasons why polygyny is highly valued since a man with many wives will have a greater chance of leaving many offspring when he dies. It is also seen as good to leave many wives. When one old tinteintina died and only left one wife the villagers said it was not good because he was an important figure in the community. Chiefs are especially supposed to have many wives, as well as other big men (kiaatina). Polygyny is permitted in any household that can afford to take another wife and is only limited by economic factors, although some wealthy men choose to remain monogamous (cf. Table 6). Christianity has had little influence among the Sisala and has not, as yet, affected their ideas about plural marriage.
Table 6. Polygynous Marriages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Wives</th>
<th>Over 10</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>155</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>78</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pressure to secure another wife may come from the first wife. After the birth of one or two children she sometimes finds the domestic tasks required of her burdensome and often begs her husband to take a second wife. This is most often done by securing a wife's sister to come as a katiing (cf. Tables 2 and 4). If a husband desires to take another wife he does not have to consult his first wife but when another wife is brought into the household, the first wife is the senior wife (haalahiang), and, as such, she has certain rights and duties, e.g., she is always shown deference and respect because of her seniority; she is given the first basket of millet distributed by the husband after the harvest; she is responsible for training young wives with little experience; she is expected to run the household in the absence of the husband. I have seen compounds with efficient senior wives which were always models in cleanliness and order merely because of the efficiency of the senior wife, yet other compounds were disorganized and full of quarreling because the senior wife was lazy or could not maintain order in the absence of her husband. The Sisala fully recognize the desirability of getting a good woman for the senior wife and realize that if she maintains order in the compound, the husband will be free to get on with his work without being harassed by women's problems.

A man with many wives fears quarreling and conflict within the compound (kaala), and some even possess dalundo shrines, which are for
the express purpose of preventing such conflict. Some of the reasons for quarreling between co-wives are as follows: favoritism in sex; gift giving or food distribution on the part of the husband; stealing between wives; one wife entering the room of a co-wife (haadonhung) in her absence; one wife disciplining the children of another. Often, accusations of witchcraft revolve around these conflicts within the polygynous family as well as between wives of brothers in a joint fraternal family yet there is, in everyday interaction, much sharing of work. Reciprocity and accommodation are the norms. Most of the time, but occasionally grudges come to the surface causing a break in the harmony of the family. There are two things that co-wives rarely share; cooking and eating utensils and firewood. Food is ideally shared, but in fact women prepare food separately for their own children and give a portion to the husband. Women express fear that a co-wife might try to poison her children and there are many stories of such incidents which serve to reinforce their beliefs.

Divorce is relatively simple, but, in general, men desire wives and reconciliation is much preferred to divorce (cf. Tables 7, 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7. Number of Different Marriages per Woman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 8. REASON FOR MARRIAGE TERMINATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Divorce</th>
<th>Husband Died</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the male standpoint, the biggest problem is wives who run away (Haala fa viri) from their husbands (cf. Marriage History 5). A woman can always find another husband, but it is difficult and expensive for a man to find another wife. Tauxier (1912:344-5) says that women may inform their husbands of divorce by placing the leaves of the tree from which they select their pubic coverings at his door, and then returning to their natal village. Today leaves are not worn, and the woman just runs away (fa viri). One woman informant said that a clever way is to purposefully displease the husband causing him to beat his wife and then justify leaving on these grounds. If the husband wants to get rid of his wife he can merely tell her to go, but if he too wants to be subtle, he will not allot her enough food from the granary. One woman said, "And who will sit in hunger?" Her alternative is to return home (cf. Table 9). Ideally the husband should divorce his wife for adultery or being a sterile woman (mapurung). Lack of fecundity on the woman's part is often the cause of divorce, but usually a fiction must be created rather than openly sending her away for that reason.
MARRIAGE HISTORY 5. THE MARRIAGE OF BAYBOKO

NAME: BAYBOKO
LINEAGE: KPEJANG
AGE: CA. 55
CONDITION: BLIND, LEPER, CRIPPLED
1ST WIFE: NAME UNKNOWN
HER VILLAGE: KASENA VILLAGE OF TASI
MARRIAGE DATE: CA. 1936
HIS AGE AT MARRIAGE: CA. 20
HER AGE AT MARRIAGE: CA. 15
HOW ACQUIRED: WHILE TRAVELING THROUGH KASENA-COUNTRY HE TOOK HER AS A LOVER. LATER HE SENT A PARTY OF HIS KIN WITH THE HAALAKIAA AND THEY BROUGHT HER BACK. HE CONSUMMATED HIS MARRIAGE BUT SHE RAN AWAY AFTER ONLY ONE MONTH. HE AGAIN SENT HIS BROTHERS TO TASI TO BRING HER BACK BUT SHE REFUSED TO RETURN.

CHILDREN: NONE
BRIDEWALTH: OF COURSE NONE IS PAID IN A CASE LIKE THIS.
MARRIAGE FUTURE: NIL, DUE TO ILLNESS.

A WIFE CAN ALSO BE DIVORCED FOR PUTTING HER HAND INTO THE HUSBAND'S MILLET GRANARY (BAALA VIRI), BUT IN FACT MOST DIVORCES ARE OVER PERSONALITY INCOMPATIBILITIES EITHER BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE OR BETWEEN A WIFE AND HER CO-WIVES (CF. TABLE 9). ONE MYTH THAT IS TOLD ABOUT ADULTERY AS A CAUSE OF DIVORCE IS AS FOLLOWS:

Once there lived a man in the old days at the village of Nabulo called Bukari. His wife was called Hamina. One day when this man had gone to the farm his wife ran away to her village of Du. So Bukari followed her to see what was the matter. Her father told him that his daughter had returned but would not say what the matter was. Bukari returned to his village and in three days' time returned to Du with some tobacco, kola-nuts and some drink for the wife's parents as is the Sisala custom. When he had given these things he asked for his wife back. The woman's father called her out and asked her what the matter was. But she refused to say anything. On the way back to Nabulo the husband also questioned his wife, but could not get her to give the reason for her return to her natal village. Upon arriving at the village Bukari called two of his friends to inquire of his wife what the problem was. They did so, but were unable to find out the cause of her distress. In about a week's time someone told the husband that his wife
had had sexual intercourse with a man and ran home because of shame. This is because it is taboo for a man to have sex with a woman in her husband's own house. So he divorced the woman that same day sending her to her village. If he had not done this and had sex with her again, he would die.

Table 9. Reasons for Divorce Given by Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N = 23</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Exact Cause of Divorce</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wife-initiated</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>Got no food; did not look after me</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I didn't want him any more</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He forced me to be a Pagan instead of Moslem</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He sent me away</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Husband left her</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband-initiated</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>He refused to pay bridewealth; father collected her</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He refused to come when my father called him and father collected her</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiation undetermined</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>Quarrel</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He tried to steal her away</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Trouble&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stories such as these reveal the ideal, but in actual fact when a woman is caught in adultery the husband most often beats her and lets it go at that. Some men in the village of Bujan were aware of their wives' adultery and just ignored it while others chose to ask the lover (hela) to bring gifts and a sacrifice to receive institutionalized rights to the sexual capacity of the woman. This makes all offspring of the union legitimate and creates an institutionalized "menage à trois." The lover also receives rights; e.g., after the payment, he may beat his lover whereas before this would not be permissible; he can enter her room and even have sex with her in her husband's household, something unheard of in any other instance. The lover also
INCURS DUTIES AS WELL; WITH REGARD TO THE HUSBAND, WHOM HE CALLS
MI HILA BAALA (MY LOVER'S HUSBAND), HE MUST TREAT HIM WITH RESPECT
AT ALL TIMES. IF THE HUSBAND, WHO CALLS THE LOVER MI HAALA HILA
(MY WIFE'S LOVER), WANTS THE LOVER TO WORK HIS FARM, FIX HIS GRASS
ROOF OR HELP BUILD A WALL, ETC., HE CAN RIGHTFULLY EXPECT FULL
COMPLIANCE. ALSO, BETWEEN THE LOVERS, RECIPROCAL DEMANDS CAN BE
MADE ON LABOR AND RESOURCES AND AT THE FUNERAL OF EITHER LOVER,
THE OTHER MUST BRING COWRIES AND A CHICKEN AND LEAVE THEM AT THE
FUNERAL BENCH (DAAPALANG). ALL THIS NOTWITHSTANDING, ADULTERY MAY
STILL BE USED AS AN EXCUSE FOR DIVORCE. ONE INFORMANT WITH WHOM I
WAS VERY CLOSE TOLD ME THAT HE HAD ASKED ONE OF HIS FRIENDS (NANDONGO)
TO SPY ON HIS WIFE WHOM HE SUSPECTED OF SLEEPING WITH ANOTHER MAN. HE
COULD NEVER ASK ONE OF HIS BROTHERS, HE SAID, SINCE THEY WOULD NOT
CONSENT TO A DIVORCE. HIS FRIEND HAD BEEN UNABLE TO FIND ANY
INCRIMINATING EVIDENCE AND HENCE MY INFORMANT DID NOT DIVORCE HIS
WIFE, AND IT MIGHT APPROPRIATELY BE MENTIONED THAT HE WAS A LOVER
HIMSELF TO TWO OTHER MARRIED WOMEN IN THE VILLAGE.

MARRIAGES TEND TO BE UNSTABLE IN THE FIRST YEAR OR SO, BUT WHEN
THE WIFE BECOMES PREGNANT AND BEARS CHILDREN THERE IS MORE PRESSURE
ON HER TO STAY EVEN IF CONDITIONS ARE LESS THAN DESIRABLE (CF. TABLES
10 AND 11). IT IS SO COMMON FOR A YOUNG WIFE TO RUN BACK TO HER NATAL
HOME THAT IT IS ALMOST EXPECTED AND WHEN IT HAPPENS THE PROCEDURE IS
WELL KNOWN FOR RETRIEVING HER. I RECORDED THE FOLLOWING CASE IN THE
VILLAGE OF BUJAN: HABA OF THE LINEAGE OF FOKORJANG WAS A YOUNG AND
NUBILE GIRL OF FIFTEEN YEARS OR SO. EARLY DURING MY STAY IN THE VILLAGE
THE HAALA KIA PAYMENTS WERE COMPLETED AND I WAS FORTUNATE TO BE PRESENT
AT THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY. HOWEVER, HER CHARACTER WAS SUCH THAT MANY
PEOPLE EXPECTED HER TO CAUSE TROUBLE FOR HER HUSBAND AND WE WERE NOT
### Table 10. Age at First Coitus & Pregnancy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in Years</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>21</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>23</th>
<th>24</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>26+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Coitus</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pregnancy</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 11. Length of Interim Between First Coitus and First Pregnancy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in Years</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>9 Months to One Year</th>
<th>Two</th>
<th>Three</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N*486</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>100</td>
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</table>
surprised when she returned in about two months' time. While her husband and his yard people (kaalaniaa) went to the farm they left Haba in the kaala to pound some millet, but as soon as they had gone, she began to walk back to Bujan. She went to her father's compound and told him that she had come on a "visit." The very next day her husband and the sipatoro arrived from the village Manduong and told the story of how Haba had run away and asked for her back. Everyone in the lineage, and even the village, reproached Haba when they saw her after that. People would impress upon her the need to be faithful to her husband and not to cause him trouble, especially during harvest time when he should be at the farm. It was agreed that she would remain at her natal home for a week and then would meet her husband at Nabugubeli market which is halfway between the two villages. The husband presented some tobacco and kola-nuts to the father and returned to Manduong to await Nabugubeli market-day. Haba returned to her husband to try again.

Marriage with other tribes such as the Kasena is quite common, and also the Sisala to the west intermarry with the Dagarti but the Sisala abhor marriage with the Mossi or the Fulani, but apparently other tribes are acceptable, especially the Fra Fra and Gonja with whom the Sisala have joking relations. Goody (1970:133) says "in the past, the Isala (or "Grunghi") were often raided for slaves and so form a significant, though mainly concealed, portion of the population of Gonja, as of Ashanti. These groups have, therefore, a strong incentive to assimilate and the Gonja do not reject their advances." He found the Sisala to have a high propensity towards marrying outside of the Bole zongo. This is seen as indicating a lack of homeward identification;
THE PERMANENCY OF THEIR MIGRATION; AND A DESIRE, OR AT LEAST
WILLINGNESS, TO INTERMARRY WITH THE LOCAL PEOPLE.

CHILDREN ARE THE LEGITIMATE OFFSPRING OF THE JECHIKING AS A
GROUP, AND THE HUSBAND (BAALA) AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THAT GROUP
SINCE THE JECHIKINTINA OR THE HUSBAND'S FATHER HAS SUPPLIED THE
MARRIAGE PAYMENTS (HAALAKIAA) AND WILL LATER PAY THE PROGENY PRICE
(HAJARIKIAA) WHEN THE WOMAN HAS BORNE CHILDREN FOR THE LINEAGE.
ANY TIME AFTER THE WOMAN HAS BORNE CHILDREN, SHOULD SHE DIE, THE
HUSBAND'S LINEAGE IS LIABLE TO PAY THE HAJARIKIAA AT HER FUNERAL
AND THEY MUST PERFORM HER FUNERAL BEFORE HER NADIMA BRACELET CAN
BE PLACED ON THE LELE (ANCESTOR) SHRINE OF HER HUSBAND'S LINEAGE
WHICH IS SYMBOLIC OF THE PASSAGE OF HER ROAMING GHOST (NEDIMA) INTO
A REMEMBERED ANCESTOR (LELE). MARRIAGE ESTABLISHES RIGHTS AND DUTIES,
AND MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL IS THE RIGHT TO REAR LEGITIMATE CHILDREN.
IF A WOMAN RUNS AWAY WITH A CHILD SHE WILL BE ASKED TO RETURN, BUT,
IF SHE REFUSES, THE RETURN OF THE CHILD IS ALWAYS DEMANDED AND SHE
MUST GIVE UP HER CHILD, WHO WILL BE RAISED BY ANOTHER WOMAN OF THE
HUSBAND'S LINEAGE. LINEAGE SOLIDARITY, WITH REFERENCE TO A WIFE, IS
SEEN IN THEIR TERMINOLOGY. ANY YOUNGER BROTHER OF THE HUSBAND IN
THE LINEAGE CAN CALL HER MI HAALA (MY WIFE) AND SHE CAN BE INHERITED
BY HIM UPON THE DEATH OF HER HUSBAND (CF. TABLE 12). OFTEN ONE HEARS
THE TERM, IN REFERENCE TO ANY GIVEN WIFE OF THE LINEAGE, LA HAALA
(OUR WIFE). ONCE THE GIRL'S FATHER CONSENTS TO THE MARRIAGE BY
ACCEPTING THE HAALAKIAA PAYMENTS, THE MARRIAGE IS LEGITIMATE AND
THE RIGHTS IN UXOREM AND RIGHTS IN GENETRICEM PASS TO THE CORPORATE
LINEAGE OF THE HUSBAND.9 IF THE HUSBAND DIES AND THE WOMAN IS INHERITED
BY HIS YOUNGER BROTHER OR SON, HE INHERITS THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE
FORMER HUSBAND INCLUDING THE DUTY TO PAY THE HAJARIKIAA, IF UNPAID.
Even if the woman chooses to marry elsewhere, or chooses not to marry at all, the lineage is still liable to pay her hajarikiaa if she has borne a living child to the lineage. A legitimate child is one for which the marriage payments (haalakiaa) and the progeny-price (hajarikiaa) have been paid. An illegitimate child (mengmoribie lit. "child of the vagina") is one whose mother has stayed in her father's house and for whom no marriage payments have been made. Such a mother is buried by her father's people and her nadina bracelet is placed on her father's lele shrine. I had several long discussions with Sisala about this point and one informant remarked that even if a young girl slept with many men and was obviously pregnant when she finally married a man who had never had sex with her, the child belongs to him because it is he who has paid the haalakiaa and will eventually have to pay the hajarikiaa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status of Subsequent Husband</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>Real YB</th>
<th>Compound YB</th>
<th>Lineage YB</th>
<th>Real Son</th>
<th>Not Remarried</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>100</td>
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</table>

Upon the death of her husband a wife can be inherited by a younger brother of her husband, or lacking that, a son of her husband, other than her own son or the eldest son (cf. Table 12). Tauxier (1912:339, 341) says that the eldest brother always took the youngest wife and that the rest were divided among the members of the kaala, but I found none of this. In fact, this is what the Sisala seem to be avoiding; i.e., the abuse of authority by the senior male when they
RESTRICT WIDOW INHERITANCE TO JUNIORS. THE WIFE HAS A CHOICE IN
THE matter since she can refuse to marry any man, but if she wishes
to marry a junior brother or son of the deceased he must marry her,
and, if he does not, the dead husband will kill him. If the woman
chooses not to remain in that lineage and marries outside the
JECKIKING the new husband has to pay HAALAKIAA for her but if she
is inherited by anyone inside the lineage, no such new payment is
needed. Informants differed as to who should receive the HAALAKIAA
in this case. Some said the woman's father's lineage should receive
it, but if the HAJARIKIAA was to be paid by the first lineage, they
should receive the payments. If the widow wants to remain in her
husband's lineage even though she chooses not to marry anyone her
own age, she can marry a small child of the JECKIKING and this is
common for very elderly widows (cf. Table 13). This was the case at
the death of Bachene of the lineage of Fuojang in Bujan. His elderly
widow, Yiriderungde, did not want to marry anyone, so chose to marry
her husband's classificatory younger brother's son, named Batie. She
is ca. 70 years of age and he is thirteen or so. In any case of widow
remarriage the widow must observe strict avoidance of sexual
intercourse after the death of her husband until she has boiled
water for a man, which is the ritual act symbolizing remarriage.
She boils water and prepares a soup of black fish (CHENFILEBENI)
and the new husband, even if a small boy, eats the soup and bathes in
the water and they are considered married. If the woman has sex with
a man before this act he will automatically die and she will obtain
the evil eye; i.e., any sick person that she would look upon from
that time forth would die. An informant from the village of Lambusi
told me that there they marry the woman to the post or prop (DOLLO)
which holds up the roof of the house. This is done if she is a troublesome wife and no one wants her, thereby freeing her to leave the lineage.

**Table 13. Relative Age of Inheriting Husband to Inherited Wife**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Husband Relative to Wife</th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>Older</th>
<th>Younger</th>
<th>Small Boy</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2. THE VERB "TO LOVE," (A CHONG) IS USED IN MANY CONTEXTS. A MAN SAYS, Mi Chong Ne (I LOVE YOU) TO A GIRL FRIEND, MOTHER, WIFE, DAUGHTER OR EVEN ANOTHER MAN.

3. To MARRY A WIFE (A JAA); TO MARRY OFF A DAUGHTER TO ANOTHER MAN (A BUGE).

4. THE MAN HAD BROUGHT FOUR PREVIOUS SIMILAR INSTALLMENTS.


6. AT THE TIME OF FIELDWORK, 1 PESEWA = 0.8 CENTS. THERE ARE 100 PESEWAS TO ONE CEDI.

7. RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1950:49) SAYS THAT SUCH INSTANCES OF PRETENDED HOSTILITY "ARE RITUAL OR SYMBOLIC EXPRESSION OF THE RECOGNITION THAT MARRIAGE ENTAILS THE BREAKING OF THE SOLIDARITY THAT UNTIES A WOMAN TO THE FAMILY IN WHICH SHE HAS BEEN BORN AND GROWN UP." AT SUCH CEREMONIAL TIMES, CLAN SOLIDARITY IS GIVEN SYMBOLIC RECOGNITION.

8. MEDICINE SHRINES THOUGHT TO HAVE MAGICAL EFFICACY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher, Location</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fortes, M.</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>The Web of Kinship Among the Tallensi</td>
<td>London: Oxford</td>
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<td>Rattray, P.</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland (Two Vols.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tauxier, L.</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Le Noir du Soudan</td>
<td>Paris: Emile Larose, Libraire-Editeur</td>
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