

Pygmées du Kivu. Les chasseurs giboyant en dehors du Parc National Albert ont conservé leur ancien genre de vie, à cela près que ceux de l'est ont passé à un régime de symbiose presque intégrale, ceux de l'ouest pour un pourcentage alimentaire assez important. Une bonne moitié des aires pygmées de l'est sont éparpillées sur les domaines du Parc, dont l'administration est régie par une législation qu'on peut dire sévère: je ne puis l'exposer dans ce court aperçu. Monsieur Van Straelen, président du Comité de Direction des Parcs Nationaux du Congo Belge, répondit comme il suit à ma question, à savoir dans quelle mesure ces règlements seraient applicables aux Batwa: 'Pour ce qui concerne les conditions d'existence des Pygmées, il a toujours été posé en principe, que le régime de "Parc National" assurerait l'intégrité des droits exercés par les négrilles nomades dans les domaines soumis à notre administration. Le Règlement d'Ordre Intérieur prévoit dans son article 18, que le Comité de Direction peut lever les interdictions prévues aux articles 7, 8 et 9 du Décret Constitutif, pour assurer les conditions d'existence des Pygmées nomades qui occupent les forêts des Parcs Nationaux. Pour le surplus, ces négrilles relèvent de l'Administration Territoriale.' (*Communication du R.P. PIERRE SCHUMACHER des Pères Blancs, Anvers*).

Joking Relationship in East Africa.

THE article by Madame Paulme in vol. xii, no. 4, of this Journal on the subject of the joking relationship in West Africa and the Soudan discusses the occurrence of similar customs in other parts of the world. As the writer points out, relationships bearing a certain affinity to the West African joking relationship have been found among the Thonga of South Africa and the Bemba of Rhodesia. It may also be mentioned that the custom among the Ila of Northern Rhodesia whereby members of the same age-group 'will curse each other always with bad curses' has been recorded by Dr. E. W. Smith and Captain Dale.¹ But in East Africa the subject does not appear to have received the same attention as elsewhere. It may therefore be of interest to place on record the following particulars regarding the custom of *utani* in Tanganyika Territory.

In 1934 a young Sukuma woman of Ngudu lodged a complaint² against a Zaramu man, stating that, one afternoon in the beer market, he had violently pushed her to the ground without provocation. He then (as was proven in the trial) knelt above her and man-handled her. The incident provoked a disturbance owing to the intervention of the woman's maternal uncle, a venerable old man who took her part against her assailant. The defendant stated, 'It is not true. The woman was sitting down and I took hold of her

¹ *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. i, p. 309, 1920. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

² Kwimba Second Class Subordinate Court, Criminal Case No. 23 of 1934.

according to the custom of *utani*. It was only a game.' The woman denied knowledge 'of any game or custom which would give a man the right to push a woman as he pushed me', and her uncle said he knew of no custom called *utani*. On the other hand, a Sukuma man who had witnessed the incident stated in evidence, 'They were doing *utani*.' 'The woman,' he said, 'was sitting on the ground. The man took hold of her by the wrists and pushed her on her back. Her final position was that of lying on hip and elbow. . . . He was only playing. He was laughing. The woman screamed, "Leave me alone, leave me alone!"' This witness said that *utani* was a custom both of the Swahili and the Sukuma. Every man and woman of the Sukuma knew the custom. It was a custom for welcoming a person. He himself could only do *utani* with a Swahili, because he was a Sukuma. He could not do *utani* with a Nyamwezi or a Ngoni. The reason was that he had been on the coast so much that the Swahili regarded him as one of themselves. A Swahili would not do *utani* anywhere—only on a road; but he could do *utani* in his own house. Commenting on the demeanour of this witness, the magistrate recorded the view that 'his brain cannot cope with so abstract a subject as the description of the custom of *utani*'.

The court then sought elucidation of the points of native custom involved by taking evidence from an intelligent Sukuma policeman, and from an educated Ngoni clerk. The Sukuma policeman explained that *utani* was a custom well known and observed between certain tribes. For instance, the Sukuma stood in *utani* with the Zaramu and the Zigua. But the Zigua had no *utani* with the Zaramu, because a yet closer bond existed between them, since they were *ndugu* (brothers). 'Long long ago,' said the policeman, 'the old men of certain tribes made *utani* with the old men of certain other tribes, and this *utani* is handed down. If a man meets another with whom he has *utani* he will pretend to fight him, and may even go so far as to throw him to the ground. This is a game. It might take place anywhere. . . . The game of *utani* can take place between a man and a woman, but it is not correct to do *utani* in front of other people. It is only when two *watani* meet, on the road or in a building, not in the presence of other people.' Under cross-examination, however, the policeman qualified his statement that *utani* might not be done in front of other people. He did not seem very sure about this point; maybe it depends on how many others are present, and whether their presence constitutes a social gathering, or is merely fortuitous.

The evidence of the Ngoni clerk was most interesting in the light of Madame Paulme's article. As in so many of the instances which she cited from West Africa, the Ngoni straightway associated *utani* with burial customs. 'If my brother or relative dies,' he said, 'some people who are not of my tribe will come and bury him. They are my *watani*. In the old days if we went to war or if we were attacked by lions, if a man saved me from being killed and he was not my relative he would be my *mtani*. As a Ngoni I have

utani with the Bemba. If I see a Bemba man in a beer market, I am bound as a tribesman to go up to him and do *utani*. Just the same with a Bemba woman. The *utani* greeting consists of pretending to fight, swearing, and doing other bad things.' This witness was quite certain that *utani* could be performed in the presence of third parties.

The accused chose to give evidence, and affirmed that he had been wont to do *utani* with the complainant every day. 'I push her about but I do not get angry,' he said, and declared that this was usual between the Zaramu and the Sukuma, ever since their ancestors began it. He suggested that the woman had suddenly felt it necessary to protest and take the case to court because she felt affronted at being roughly handled in the presence of her maternal uncle, who, as explained above, had by chance been present on this occasion. Concluding his evidence, the defendant said that he and the woman usually did *utani* together when they had had something to drink.

The woman was recalled and invited to give her comments on the subject of *utani*. She found some embarrassment in trying to maintain her earlier attitude of injured innocence. She admitted doing *utani* with the defendant on many occasions, 'but only with the mouth, not pushing about'. She said, not very convincingly, that she had been under the impression that *utani* was a fashion of greeting only used between persons related by marriage. When the defendant was given the opportunity of questioning her, a long and heated altercation ensued. She was driven to admit that she had often asked him to treat her to a drink 'because of our *utani*'. But she would not agree that she had ever chased him at a run as part of the *utani* game. She protested most vehemently (perhaps too much) that her attitude had been in no way influenced by her desire to vindicate her respectability in the eyes of her venerable uncle. She summed up her case in the words, 'I object to you doing as you did because all the people in the beer market will say, "That woman sells herself, that man is her lover".'

On the proven facts relating to the use of physical violence the defendant was found guilty of common assault, but the plea of *utani* was admitted as a very strong extenuating circumstance, and the sentence inflicted by the court was accordingly a light one.

It would be unwise to generalize, from the facts revealed by this case, about the occurrence of the joking relationship in East Africa; but, in view of the scarcity of literature on this point, it appears that an investigation of the subject might well yield some illuminating material. It would be particularly interesting to know what assistance, if any, is due from one *utani* to another. One particularly interesting feature of the evidence given in this case, is the existence of a traditional *utani* relationship between the Sukuma and the Zaramu, notwithstanding that their tribal areas are separated by 400 miles or more of difficult country. If further investigation should confirm the existence of this relationship, the question will arise,

what manner of contact had arisen between these remote tribes which could prompt the 'old men' to make the pact of *utani*? Was it perhaps a pact between Zaramu porters in the Arab trading caravans, and the Sukuma tribesmen through whose lands they passed? If so, have the stay-at-home Zaramu tribesmen of the bush country west of Dar es Salaam any knowledge of the Sukuma, or of their *utani* relationship with that people? If investigation should fail to lend support to the suggestion that the Zaramu-Sukuma *utani* originated in the trading *Safaris*, the question would arise, what other form of contact brought these tribes together in the *utani* bond. (*Communicated by MR. F. J. PEDLER, of the British Colonial Office.*)

*Mouvement Démographique au Congo Belge.*¹

LE chiffre du recensement général accuse, pour l'année 1938, une population indigène de 10.304.084 habitants, ce qui donne pour une étendue de 2.335.800 Km² une population de 4,37 habitants par Km². La plus forte densité 6,09 habitants par Km² se rencontre dans la province de Lusambo entre le Lomami et le Lac Léopold II; la plus faible de 2,10 habitants par Km² s'est révélée dans la province d'Élisabethville, la partie la plus méridionale de la colonie. Il n'y a que deux centres, Léopoldville et Élisabethville, dont la population totale — européenne et indigène — dépasse 20.000 habitants. Sur 42.036 habitants Léopoldville compte 39.721 indigènes; Élisabethville en compte 17.697 sur 20.845. Cinq autres localités ont plus de 10.000 habitants. L'origine de ces grosses agglomérations est due évidemment à l'activité européenne.

La répartition de la population indigène par sexe et groupe d'âge donne 3.036.269 hommes, 3.226.519 femmes, 2.092.007 garçons, 1.949.289 filles. Ces chiffres confirment le rapport souvent constaté en Afrique: à l'âge adulte le sexe féminin dépasse en nombre le sexe masculin, alors qu'en bas âge l'inverse se produit.

Les habitants des centres extra-coutumiers — cités indigènes, camps de travailleurs, population flottante en dehors des communautés traditionnelles — constituent 9 % de la population totale. Le pourcentage est le plus élevé, 16 %, dans la province d'Élisabethville (région minière du Katanga) et le plus bas, 3, 5 %, dans la province de Lusambo.

L'ensemble de la population indigène accuse une augmentation de 86.676 habitants sur le total enregistré en 1937. Cette différence s'explique en partie par le fait qu'un plus grand nombre d'indigènes, surtout des enfants, ont été touchés lors des dénombrements, mais elle résulte aussi d'un accroissement réel de la population.

Les effectifs du service médical se sont élevés au cours de l'année 1938

¹ Cfr. Discours prononcé par le Gouverneur Général Ryckmans à la séance d'ouverture du Conseil de Gouvernement. Juin 1939. Renseignements statistiques.