would seek him out and beat him soundly. In a court case I attended, a brother accused his sister's husband of excessive beating, which asserted his concern for her in familial terms over his jural interest in seeing the marriage and its bridewealth arrangements survive.

The sibling tie shows its strength primarily in opposition to other ties. The brother-sister relationship contrasts markedly with relations of husband/wife (and parent/child), and sisters are more nearly the equal and intimate of brothers than wives can ever be.

Brothers, Sisters, and Affinal Relationships

In jural terms, bonds between sisters entail few formal duties. Brothers, for their part, are bound by common jural interests in property, which are a potential source of conflict and often exacerbate rivalry between them. But brother and sister, as male and female offspring, have different but balanced jural rights that only partially overlap, and are most salient in the creation of affinal ties.

A sister's most important jural obligation to her brother is to bring in bridewealth which then enables him to marry. The brother who uses her bridewealth cattle thus is legally obliged to look after her and her offspring, and provide her with one of the lineage plots. From a moral point of view, all brothers are responsible for their sister, since the cattle she brings in increase the family's prosperity in which all members share.

In the rituals surrounding marriage, brothers and sisters play important parts. An older sister is the one who makes initial, informal contacts with the family of her brother's prospective bride, seeking out information about the girl's character and the family's reputation (official negotiations are formally made by representatives of the groom's family, including the sister and both agnatic and matrilateral kin). If a sister disapproves of a brother's love interest and tells him so, he is expected to listen and desist. A sister, along with other kin, is the ideal family member to "fetch" the bride for the traditional wedding ritual (*fingirwa*) and to help teach the new wife her duties in the homestead.

For his part, a brother should be the one to perform *kukoma mburi* (tell the [ritualized] story of the journey) that opens the traditional wedding ritual at the groom's homestead. In the 1920s Kotz recorded that "the bride's brother carries her out of the farm on his back and gives her to the bridegroom who stands outside" (1922: 90). Today the bride walks to meet her groom, escorted by her brother who demands a final payment from the groom (above and beyond the agreed-upon amount) before releasing her. In the past, a father gave his daughter a gift known as *kidisa* when she was married, which consisted of heavy iron rings worn around the neck. Both the payment and *kidisa* symbolize the natal lineage's enduring jural authority over, and ongoing familial concern for, their daughter and sister, and "reminds" the groom that his bride "has her clan to whom she is more closely attached by traditional relationships than to her husband" (Dannholz 1989: 51). Before the bride leaves her natal homestead, her father publicly asserts her right to return home if the marriage fails.

Pare do not consider a couple to be married unless they go through the traditional *fingirwa* ritual. A church or civil wedding, recognized by Tanzanian statutory law, is not enough. Bridewealth must be transferred, for it "creates kin," (*kuhareha ndughu*) and "a woman without a bridal price is considered to be the same as the common prostitute" (Dannholz 1989: 49). In South Pare, bridewealth is fixed, unlike some areas in East Africa where bridewealth, increasingly in the form of cash, is linked to and inflated by a woman's educational achievement. Bridewealth consists of 4 cattle (2 bulls, 2 cows), 2 goats, blankets for *enga* (father's sister) and a pair of *kanga* for mama, as well as gifts of sugar, tea, meat, and milk which initiate the transaction.

Bridewealth is usually spread out over time, though additional installments are not required to accompany the birth of children (as among the Chagga and other patrilineal peoples of eastern and southern Africa). Pare account for delayed payments by pointing to the enduring responsibilities that bind affinal kin. As one informant put it, the "kinship does not finish." Concerns about bridewealth typically continue into the next generation, as transactions are rarely completed within the father's lifetime. Brothers become superordinate to sisters in lineage affairs as they replace fathers and father's brothers as senior agnates. An elder brother assumes his father's responsibilities, debts, and jural authority upon the father's death. A brother's jural interest in seeing his sister's marriage last is shared by affinal kin. Thus, divorce is rare and strongly discouraged. Should it occur, bridewealth must be returned, an elder brother assumes jural responsibility for his sister, and must tend to her upkeep and well-being. All brothers who "ate" the cattle she brought in – that is, who gained from it – are responsible for repayment.