

Polygamy in Shariah Laws by Sunni School of Thought: Classical Approaches

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Abstract:

Marriage is rendered as a core stance for social life to secure mental harmony and security in social relations. Islamic notion of marriage is regarded as a civil covenant and also identifies as a devotional act "Ibadat". It validates a corporeal relationship between man and woman which upholds love and union and gives protection to the human race for constructing a healthy family institution. This study deals with Maratib Nikah as categorized by Islamic Jurists as "fuqaha". These show diversity among the jurists' opinions of different Islamic schools of thought in a manner of the Arkan needed for the solemnization of the marriage contract. Islamic law interpreted certain prohibitions due to which man and woman couldn't be liable to marry. Islam possesses the eternal law for all the nations, all people and all ages to embrace. Permitting polygamous marriages can eradicate fornication and adultery. This research is qualitative in a descriptive approach has been employed. The article aims for understanding the notion of polygamy through Shariah's stance on the Sunni School of Thought. It also illustrates the true essence and wisdom behind the permissibility for polygamy marriages which discriminates against the pre and post-Islamic forms of polygamy. Furthermore, this study concluded that polygamy marriages are permissible under certain strict conditions by sustaining the notions of being just and equal among his wives.

Keywords:

Marriage, Polygamy, Maratib-e-Nikah, justice and equality, Islamic Sharia, Sunni Polygamy Laws

Introduction:

Marriage is the oldest foundation of human civilization that creates bonding and a unique matrimonial relationship among opposite genders. In Islam marriage is considered a civil contract rather than a sacrament between a man and his spouse. Quran itself denoted it as a covenant "*Mithaq*" an institution of socially and legally sanctioned union among man and a woman for procreation. (Tahir, 2013), Islamic jurists ordained it as it protects oneself from chastity and aims at fulfilling one's desire and urge in a lawful means, it is a step towards happier and purer life both in this worldly life and in the hereafter. Marriage's consequences are to sustain love, mutual peace, understanding, cooperation and affection. In Islam, it is declared to be one-half of an individual Muslim's faith. It can make an incomplete person into an appropriate one.

It safeguards one's faith to restrain himself from immoral acts. Unfortunately, though, Islam even emphasizes much over the importance of this sacred matrimonial institution, most people are still not able to acknowledge its consequences. A mutual bond among them should indicate that spouses are already prepared to endure each other, ready to sacrifice for one another and be able to accept the rights and duties of each other, as it has been continued since the days of Adam and will prolong in heaven as well. ⁱ

Orientalists and Missionaries treat the notion of polygamy as it is an obligatory duty, a desirable practice and among the mandatory rites in the Islamic creed. So, it is a misconception or an inaccuracy. Islam itself doesn't promote polygamy but declared it a permissible act for Muslims depending upon their choice of having more than one wife and sets some regulations to sustain balance and harmony in the society. Quran and Sunnah being primary sources elaborated on this notion as this practice was legalized to save widows and orphans, it was neither permitted for the luxurious nor lust means. Sometimes a person marries but he realizes that her wife isn't able to produce kids, in this stance if Allah hasn't legitimized getting married to a second woman then probably he divorced his first wife. To live happily by being fair to each other Allah has made polygamy a permissible act.

(Yusuf, 2013), Anyone who wanted to commit polygamous marriage must be remained his treatment with all of his wives in terms of emotional, and physical means and have to provide maintenance and all other living expenditures. It is an act to sustain social balance

but is neither obligatory nor recommended if one is living a happy life. Man, usually remembers this choice of getting married is legible by Allah if one feels so but simultaneously, they forgot other aspects that are concerned with polygamy. ⁱⁱ

In most of the cases, they didn't pay Mahr to their first wife while being unfair to the children of both wives. Most of them don't take into consideration some essential aspects like maintenance of the first wife and children, Mahr, dower, custody, inheritance and other living expenses while moving towards second marriage. It has been made clear that in Islam while lacking any of the integral constituents any form of marriage will be rendered unlawful. Any form of defect in a marriage contract will make the marriage annulled Given of jurists either for second marriage one has to fulfil requirements like reliable witnesses, guardian, dower, presence of spouse and Mahr.

Research Objectives:

- To analyze the Juristic interpretations of polygamy with all its essential elements from the cause of revelation to the principle of justice.
- To analyze the prohibited relationships to whom marriage isn't permissible.
- To find out the essential requisite of justice and being impartial for polygamous marriages.
- To illustrate the wisdom behind the permissibility for plural marriages.
- To explicit the debate of classical scholars concerning the notion of polygamy.
- To understand the manners and requirements for committing polygamy.
- To explore the Traditionalist and Modernist Debate over Polygamy.

Research Questions:

- What are the Shariah stances on Polygamy?
- How Shariah's justice and loyalty are essential factors for polygamy?
- What are the manners and requirements for solemnizing polygamy?
- To what extent do classical scholars' debate over a maximum number of wives for polygamy?
- What are the prohibited relationships to whom marriage isn't permissible?
- Why did polygamy evolve in Islam?
- What is the Traditionalist and Modernist Debate over Polygamy?

Scope of the Research:

This research is significant as it has been illustrating the true essence and wisdom behind the permissibility of plural marriages. It has elucidated the prohibited relationships to whom polygamy isn't permissible under the parameters of Shariah. This study clarified the diversity among the jurists of different schools of thought in a manner the Arkans needed for the solemnization of the marriage contract.

i. Marriage's Juristic Approach:

(Mansoori, 2006), Supposedly, marriage is obligated as being a civil indenture as other contracts have certain regulations and rules to follow. It emanates as a result of offer and acceptance among the parties. Marriage is considered the cornerstone for the development of any virtuous communal life for instance it is an effectual cause of the human family. In Islam, marriage is observed as worshipping Allah and pleasing Him, upon His directives couples feel love and affection for one another and they ease each other for the continuance of "case" and to raise them as righteous practising Muslims. Shariah has placed down its directives, rules and regulations by granting its elucidation that how to retain this institution indissoluble as it legitimately bind the couples to perform their duties and to avail rights.ⁱⁱⁱ

From a jurist perspective, Nikah is an agreement that is productive of the rights for enjoyment; it only endorses those who are not legally prohibited and can enjoy by accompanying each other. In technical terms, it is regarded as a contract which must possess the appearance of two witnesses by having a proposal and a notion of acceptance. Whereas in Shia's perception the two witnesses are not an essential condition but at the time of agreement these must have an acceptance and proposal for contracting.^{iv}

a) Maratib Nikah:

(Sham, 2016), he discusses the classes and ranks categorized by all jurists and they use Arabic terminology for these ranks are as "marital nikah". Their grasping and understanding of the diversity require deep insight understanding and juristic ability other than that in Quran and Sunnah the fact is that every human being has been created to incline toward the marriage contract. The essential categories defined by the fuqaha are as follows:

• Nikah Is Obligatory:

(Abdur-Rehman, Kitab-al-Fiqh, 1977), According to Mālikī, Shia and Ḥanafī are there are certain circumstances in which marriage is regarded as an obligatory act. Initially, when there is a fear of uncontrollable and intense sexual urge and

one couldn't restrain him from adultery then marriage is mandatory for him.

✓ From Ḥanafī's perspective another mandatory condition for marriage is that if a person can provide food and he can pay for a dower either then he must marry. Furthermore, if one possesses not have much money and has a fear of indulging himself in sinful acts then he must borrow some reasonable money to pay the dower and provide food through legal means to get himself married to keep himself away from adultery, then Nikah becomes essential for him.

As stated in Quran: "But let them who find not [the means for] marriage abstain [from sexual relations] until Allah enriches them from His bounty...." ^v

✓ Imam Shāfi'ī states that if anyone either man or woman wants to save him from unlawful relations even then Nikah is obligatory for them.

✓ In Hanbalī's viewpoint whether a person is capable to bear the responsibilities or not he should try to find the lawful means to get married, that can be useful for him through the blessings of Allah Almighty.^{vi}

i. A woman who couldn't retain herself and is not able to safeguard herself, at the same point she worries that this could lead her towards fornication.

ii. A man who can pay dower, having no mental and physical illness, able to maintain children and wife and fears that self-denial could lead him towards Zina.^{vii}

✓ From In the standpoint of Malaki's jurists Nikah becomes compulsory even for those who are not in a stable situation to earn a living. The conditions are as follows:

i. A person who fears that by not getting married he will indulge himself in adultery.

ii. If he is not able to restrain himself even after keeping fast to stay away from major sins.

2. Polygamy:

It is a state of having more than a single spouse simultaneously. The foremost forms of polygamous marriages have been rendered as polyandry, a matrimonial state in which co-husbands share a wife while for polygyny husband shares co-wives. However, the terminology polygamy is frequently used as an alternative expression for polygyny and is globally recognizable.^{viii} Technically, it is a practice to get married to multiple spouses. Globally, this was practised by keeping into consideration it as a legal act. Any form of polygamy either polyandry, polygamy, group marriages, exchange marriages and same-sex marriages all are viable in western and European countries. Contrary to this polyandry is not permissible in those countries that follow the path of Islam, while even they

practice polygyny under restricted conditions. The similar grounded notion in polygamy either its practice in the west is an aspect of justice and loyalty.^{ix}

(Mabaso, 2018), Before the advent of Islam, this was exercised without any limits and conditions but was considered a viable act to give protection and safeguard widows who have lost their spouses in wars. But Islam limits this practice by permitting the number of co-wives to four, by imposing a condition of justice among them. Islam categorizes each permitted deed into three degrees: obligated one, recommended and allowed. So, polygamy falls to a degree which is allowed or permissible. Besides this, women's experiences in polygamous marriages vary by socio-cultural perspectives. Historically, most factors are believed to have perpetuated, included as satisfaction with sexual desire, desire for more children and higher morality level of men etc. Consequently, polygamous marriages have been accompanied generally by patriarchal societies.^x

Does the notable question are whether there is still a need for polygamy in society? Marriage is the only permissible way to eradicate fornication and adultery to sustain a peaceful society. Furtherly stated as living in a current situation, within every country there arises political, militant try wars which turn into several martyred leaving behind single women and widows who will never get a possibility to married. Sometimes a person marries but he realizes that her wife isn't able to produce kids, in this stance if Allah hasn't legitimized getting married to a second woman the probably, he divorced his first wife. To live happily by being fair to each other Allah has made polygamy a permissible act. Polygamy is a matter of equity and impartiality in dealing with co-wives as to food, accommodation, expenditure etc. If he perceives that he will not be able to observe such a notion of equality, then it isn't permissible to exercise this choice.

It is an act to sustain social balance but is neither obligatory nor recommended if one is living a happy life. Man, usually remembers this choice of getting married is legible by Allah if one feels so but simultaneously, they forgot other aspects that are concerned with polygamy. In most of the cases, they didn't pay Mahr to their first wife while being unfair to the children of both wives. Most of them don't take into consideration some essential aspects like maintenance of the first wife and children, Mahr, dower, custody, inheritance and other living expenses while moving towards second marriage.

(Tabiu, 1992), From Shariah's perspective, any form of marriage either monogamous or polygamous marriage, even if it's a devotional act but became void by not

observing such conditions and requirements. It has been made clear that polyandry is prohibited in Islam while lacking any of the integral constituents any form of marriage will be rendered unlawful. Any form of defect in a marriage contract will make the marriage annulled. . Given jurists either for second marriage, one has to fulfil requirements like reliable witnesses, guardian, dower, spouse and Mahr. In addition to this polygamy consent of first t wife is not mandatory in Shariah but one has to pay dower, Mahr, living expenses and maintenance to his kids and wife. One must keep in mind the circumstances of the woman in which he wanted to marry, similarly, if a female is in her waiting period after divorce, either completing her Iddah or in her regular menstruation cycle. In these circumstances one is not liable to marry, he has to wait till the period will terminate

Permitting polygamy is essential to sustain balance in a society, as Allah wants his creatures to live happily by providing them equal rights. Equally to a man, a woman has the right to get a divorce if they are unhappy, similarly, a man has a right to re-marry either living with his former wife or divorcing her. In all circumstances, she has a right to ask for the divorce either she desires to re-marry or for other probable reasons. As interpreted by Quran; she has a right to divorce him even without his assent. From an Islamic viewpoint, it is for the betterment of a person to remain married until his last breath as marriages through lawful means are the symbol of "*sakīnah, mawaddah, and Rahman*"

2.1 Sunnah and Hadith Approach:

(Husain, Ahmad, Kara, & Alwi, 2019), Islamic Shariah through Hadith literature inferred similar terms and conditions for polygamy practice as stated in Quran, by highlighting the core element of justice. A person who desires to practice this act must consider equality in terms of both material and immaterial perspectives. Justice reflects as being fair and impartial among wives and children. And if a person wishes to marry a widow then he is liable to provide living expenses, shelter, food and other living essentials to orphan children. Being just among wives isn't an easy practice but if a person fears or possesses a doubt about being fair then he should restrain to monogamy. Given al-Khattabi, a man must sustain impartiality in terms of *mua'asyarah's* "promise to gratify sexual need" and *khutbah's* "accompany".^{xi}

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ " مَنْ كَانَتْ لَهُ امْرَأَتَانِ فَمَالَ إِلَى إِحْدَاهُمَا جَاءَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ وَشِقَقُهُ مَائِلٌ " .^{xii}

Abu al-Walid has told us, Hammam has told us

from Qatadah from ibn al-Nadr ibn Anas from

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Narrated Abu Hurayrah: The Prophet (SAW) said: When a man has two wives and he is inclined to one of them, he will come on the Day of resurrection with a side hanging down."

- a) Firstly, this matter was answered as if a guardian was attracted by the property and by the beauty of an orphan female and desired to marry her however was reluctant and not able to pay dower, for this instant a narration was narrated by Aisha as: "if any guardian intended to marry an orphan girl by attracting her property and beauty than he must provide the lowest dower. And if you wouldn't be able to treat fairly by not paying a dower than marry another female you like."^{xiii}
- b) Secondly, a person who intended to marry an orphan girl simultaneously on another hand doesn't want to be her guardian, in a similar way he fears not being fair but having fear not indulging in the sin of adultery. In this regard, he is liable to marry any other woman to whom he is permissible to marry.
- c) Thirdly if a man exercises polygamy and protects the rights of orphans but at the same time has taken some property of the orphans to fulfil the needs of his wives by observing a strict condition of justice. So, in this regard, it has been stated that if a person is willing to fulfil the needs of his wives but can't deal justly with the orphan's wealth so polygamy is prohibited for him.
- (Fatima, 2007), Sunnah has given prime importance to the notion of marriage by referencing the injunctions of the Messenger of Allah stated in terms that "*Nikah is my Sunnah*"^{xiv}. He furtherly emphasizes by stating that whoever will obey my Sunnah and act upon it, surely, will be rewarded. By declaring *Nikah* as an obligatory act, one must consider that it is the way of life which keeps oneself restrained from fornication, adultery and unlawful means. On one occasion a companion of the Messenger of Allah asked Him, to stay away from unlawful acts I should abolish sexual organs and spend my life worshipping Allah's path to attain higher ranks in Jannah. He further replied, "whoever doesn't follow my Sunnah he is not among from us, I sleep, I observe fast, I married to more than once by keeping justice in every manner and I offer to pray". So, His words are for all of mankind belonging to any religion or race and Muslims should obey Him in every manner of their lives. From Shia's perspective, all Imam's belonging to *Ahl ul Bayt* (أهل البيت)^{xv} inspired or encouraged their people for *Nikah* as it is a religious and devotional deed which fulfils the desires without thinking about unlawful ways.

Messenger of Allah has given importance to *Nikah* upon various occasions:

قَالَ لَنَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ " يَا مَعْشَرَ الشَّبَابِ مَنْ اسْتَطَاعَ مِنْكُمُ الْبَاءَةَ فَلْيَتَزَوَّجْ فَإِنَّهُ أَغْضُ لِلْبَصْرِ وَأَحْصَنُ لِلْفَرْجِ وَمَنْ لَمْ يَسْتَطِعْ فَعَلَيْهِ بِالصَّوْمِ فَإِنَّهُ لَهُ وَجَاءٌ " ^{xvi}

"O young men, those among you who can support a wife should marry, for it restrains eyes from casting (evil glances). And preserves one from immorality, but those who cannot devote themselves to fasting for it is a means of controlling sexual desire.."

حَدَّثَنَا قُتَيْبَةُ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ وَهَبٍ، عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْجُهَنِيِّ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو بْنِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ " يَا عَلِيُّ عَلِيُّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ لَهُ ثَلَاثٌ لَا تُؤَخَّرُهَا الصَّلَاةُ إِذَا آتَتْ وَالْجَنَازَةُ إِذَا حَضَرَتْ وَالْأَيْمُ إِذَا وَجَدَتْ لَهَا كُفْرًا " . قَالَ أَبُو عِيسَى هَذَا حَدِيثٌ غَرِيبٌ حَسَنٌ ^{xvii}

"Ali bin Abi Talib narrated that: the Prophet said to him: 'Ali! Three are not to be delayed: Salat when its time comes, a funeral when it (a prepared body) is present, and the (marriage of a) single woman when a suitable match is found"

2.2 Juristic Approach: Islamic Law And Fiqh:

(Syamsuddin, 2018), Historical records depict that polygamy is an ancient practice that existed even before the emergence of Islam. Its practice remains controversial as its pros and cons are popping out in the societal life of a Muslim community. While addressing polygamy practice Islamic public sphere is segregated into four groups: Initially, those who have mutual consent but they don't carry it out. Secondly, those who do not agree with this practice. Thirdly, who openly refuses this practice but secretly performs it. Lastly are those who are not in favour of this practice by totally disagreeing with it but simultaneously being tolerant of those who did this practice. Furthermore, Islam being a comprehensive religion possess a set of regulations concerning various notions of human life embodied in the Quran and Hadith as the primary source of Islamic doctrines. Epistemologically, it is acknowledged that Quran itself permits this practice but distinction occurs when we are talking about its conditions through the perspective of Jurists and scholars, as some are moderate, some are fundamentalist while others are liberal in their perspectives.^{xviii}

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while for polygyny husband shares co-wives. However, the terminology polygamy is frequently used as an alternative expression for polygyny and is globally recognizable.^{xix} Technically, it is a practice to get married to multiple spouses. Globally, this was practised by keeping into consideration it as a legal act. Any form of polygamy either polyandry, polygamy, group marriages, exchange marriages and same-sex marriages all are viable in western and European countries. Contrary to this polyandry is not permissible in those countries that follow the path of Islam, while even they practice polygyny under restricted conditions. The similar grounded notion in polygamy either its practice in the west is an aspect of justice and loyalty.^{xx}

(Mabaso, 2018), Before the advent of Islam, this was exercised without any limits and conditions but was considered a viable act to give protection and safeguard widows who have lost their spouses in wars. But Islam limits this practice by permitting the number of co-wives to four, by imposing a condition of justice among them. Islam categorizes each permitted deed into three degrees: obligated one, recommended and allowed. So, polygamy falls to a degree which is allowed or permissible. Besides this, women's experiences in polygamous marriages vary by socio-cultural perspectives. Historically, most factors are believed to have perpetuated, included as satisfaction with sexual desire, desire for more children and higher morality level of men etc. Consequently, polygamous marriages have been accompanied generally by patriarchal societies.^{xxi}

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- e) Secondly, a person who intended to marry an orphan girl simultaneously on another hand doesn't want to be her guardian, in a similar way he fears not being fair but having fear not indulging in the sin of adultery. In this regard, he is liable to marry any other woman to whom he is permissible to marry.
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whose man lost their lives in battles.

(Fatima, 2007), Sunnah has given prime importance to the notion of marriage by referencing the injunctions of the Messenger of Allah stated in terms that "*Nikah is my Sunnah*"^{xxv}. He furtherly emphasizes by stating that whoever will obey my Sunnah and act upon it, surely, will be rewarded. By declaring *Nikah* as an obligatory act, one must consider that it is the way of life which keeps oneself restrained from fornication, adultery and unlawful means. On one occasion a companion of the Messenger of Allah asked Him, to stay away from

unlawful acts I should abolish sexual organs and spend my life worshipping Allah's path to attain higher ranks in Jannah. He further replied, "whoever doesn't follow my Sunnah he is not among from us, I sleep, I observe fast, I married to more than once by keeping justice in every manner and I offer to pray". So, His words are for all of mankind belonging to any religion or race and Muslims should obey Him in every manner of their lives. From Shia's perspective, all Imam's belonging to *Ahl ul Bayt* (أهل البيت)^{xxvi} inspired or encouraged their people for *Nikah* as it is a religious and devotional deed which fulfils the desires without thinking about unlawful ways.

i. Rights And Obligations:

Islamic Shariah emphasizes upon the obligations, rights and duties of the spouses regardless the fact that marital relation is monogamous or polygamous. All conjugal relations required these rights and duties. Each relation requires love, affection, secure and emotional bond, loyalty, justice fair and kind treatment, mutual trust bond and intimacy etc. Husbands are mandated to treat their wives equitably. It is essential to kept in mind that equality is only prior aspect upon which man is permitted for having more than a single wife. They have to provide maintenance to all of his wives equally by being impartial. Being head of the family, he is financially responsible to maintain his family in good manners. While obligations for wives are to be loyal and honest with their husbands. Furthermore, Islam talks about the notion of fidelity as most superior element for marital relationship. It expresses in terms as to being loyal and faithful with him, guard and protect her chastity and honor him. Moreover, it also includes to protect his secrets, as due to retain a conjugal relation a wife knows the most concealed facts of his life. Lacking of any obligation doesn't prosper the healthier environment of the family.

ii. Custody Rights and Guardianship:

In an Islamic law it is the right that each legitimate child should possess. All schools of thought unanimously agreed that mother should be the first priority or precedence over children either separated or married. For polygamous marriages it must be taken into consideration that who will be entitled as custodian. Despite the fact that these marriages lead to the separation and divorces it must be demonstrated that who have a right for child's custody. It must be given prior importance to maternal relatives initiating from mother than in the absence these custody's right dissolve for nearest paternal relatives.

Conclusion:

According to Islamic Shariah polygamy is permissible but must be obeyed within set bounded requirements. Shariah perspective of justice and loyalty are essential factors for polygamy. The marital knot among Muslim spouses could lawful only if it is conducted through Allah's invocation. They come nearer to each other as it removes all the barriers among them. Allah bless their relationship with love, affection and trust. They become more responsible as being life partners. However, marriage being a sacred contract intimate them as it is done by invoking in the name of Almighty. Being constituents of society, they should play vital role by abiding Allah's injunctions. By connotes it with polygamy one has to set an example for rest of the mankind. Societal perspective in a modern era discourages polygamy while by following the injunctions and regulations of Allah one can affirm its positive notions. Being real, just, fair and loyal to your wives is the only requirement demanded from polygamous marriages. Man and woman these are the Allah's creation who can elevate side by side can demote any society or any norm in a society.

This research is based upon Juristic stances regarding polygamy. Through Shariah stance polygamy is the matter to equity and impartiality in dealing with co wives as to food, accommodation, expenditure etc. If husband perceives that he will not be able to observe such notion of equality, then he isn't permissible to exercise (polygamy) this choice. It is an

act to sustain social balance but neither obligatory nor recommended if one is living a happy life.

Furthermore, it has been assumed that polygamy safeguards and protects woman in this manner. Besides this it also protects man from adultery as if he lives alone, in order to protect him from major sin Islam permits this practice. For instance polygamy also benefits to man along with woman.

Recommendations:

After conducting this study, the researcher endorses that

Although polygamy is an act that is permissible deed within the framework of Islamic Shariah laws but it has been recommended that the need of time is to elucidate the psychological effects of wives and children while experiencing the polygamy. It has to be illustrates the essence and wisdom behind permitting polygamy as valid act as to protect the chastity of widows and to safeguard orphans rather than taking this permissible choice for own pleasure. In this present era, sustaining the notions of being just and equal among his wives might be practically somewhat challenging. To overcome the problematic concerns for polygamists in the recent day, justice and equity as the core points in a family ought to realistically be assumed well as what the Prophet Muhammad Peace Be upon Him (PBUH) had practiced. So a positive atmosphere is likely possible to acknowledge in a polygamous household.

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