

G. SOCIAL STRUCTURE: KINSHIP SYSTEM

Kinship forms another central network of social relations and economic cooperation, and it is even probable that it is the kin relations that have the main significance in socio-economic relations in Parakuyo society, as opposed to the relations based on the age-set structure among the Pastoral Maasai (Rigby 1976). Yet the systems themselves in both societies are basically similar. Because of this I shall make references to the literature which discusses Pastoral Maasai kinship systems.

34. MOIETIES, CLANS, AND SUB-CLANS

The Parakuyo clans are grouped into two moieties, *Iloorokiteng* ('those of the black ox') and *Iloodomong'i* ('those of the red oxen'). The former includes the connotation of seniority, right hand, and, and it is also possibly related to divinity in some sense. The latter contains the qualities of the other polar end, those of juniority, left hand and secularity.²⁸ Contrary to what could be expected, these moieties are not exogamous units, although they function as corporate units in some instances, as we shall see later. Beckwith and Ole Saitoti claim that among the Pastoral Maasai "...it is recommended that the right pillar (viz. moiety) should marry the left pillar, but if marriage does occur within one pillar of clans, the prospective husband may pay a heifer to the family of his bride to wipe out the incest" (Beckwith and Ole Saitoti 1980:28). This interesting view may mirror an old and more widely spread practice, which still is discernible in some Maasai sections in the form that an extra heifer is demanded from a man who marries a girl of his own moiety. This practice is not found, however, at present in Parakuyo society.

The origin of the moieties is mythically traced back to the original Maasai progenitor, whose two gate-posts are supposed to have given rise to the moieties. As one cooperates more with the members of one's own gate-post than with those on the opposite side, similarly members of one moiety cooperate in certain situations. When the *emanyata* construction as a training camp of warriors was still in use among the Pastoral Maasai, the houses (*enkaji*, pl. *inkajijik*) of warriors were so arranged that the members of the clans of each moiety were spatially separated (Beckwith and Ole Saitoti 1980:116). Thus the arrangement of houses in *emanyata* was reminiscent of the imagined first kraal with two gate-posts.

I came across one situation only where moieties function as corporate groups, i.e. in the case of homicide. Killing a member of one's own tribe is considered a serious offence, and 10⁴ cows were said to be needed for compensation.²⁹ In case the person killed is from the same moiety as the killer, the cattle will be collected from the latter's kinsfolk, while the other half of the society is free from responsibility. But in case the killer and the killed are members of different moieties, the killer's moiety is responsible for collecting the 10⁴ cows as a compensation for homicide and these cows are transferred to the offended moiety. Otherwise the significance of moieties in regulating marriages is very limited.³⁰

These two moieties are subdivided into several patrilineal non-localized clans and sub-clans. No unanimosity exists as to the number of the main clans, but five is given by some authors, two for *Iloorokiteng* and three for *Iloodomong'i*.³¹ In addition to this, there is confusion as to the seniority of these divisions. These five clans trace their mythical origin to the two wives of the Maasai progenitor, one of whom had two and the other three sons. Which one of these two is to be senior, ideologically, depends on the premises adopted. If the wife who had more sons was senior, then the *Iloodomong'i* moiety is senior and associated with the right hand, because the *Ilmolelian*, *Ilmakesen* and *Iltaarrosero* clans belong to the *Iloodomong'i* moiety. On the other hand, if blackness and the clan of diviners and healers are associated with seniority, then the *Iloorokiteng* moiety with the *Ilaiser* and *Ilukumai* clans is associated with seniority and right-handedness.

There is, indeed, no reason to view these divisions in terms of superiority/inferiority or dominance/subdominance, because the divisions are merely devices for ordering descent groups.

Although the existence of these five main clans³² may be accepted, with certain reservations, to be common to all Maasai sections,³³ the sub-clan division differs considerably from section to section. Jacobs has counted 68 named sub-clans for the Pastoral Maasai, and many more could be identified. Although the clans and sub-clans are in principle non-localized, only a fraction of the sub-clans can in practice be found in all areas. The clan names also differ to some extent between the Parakuyo, Pastoral Maasai and Arusha societies, but many of them are directly identifiable. Because of intertribal marriage practice the corresponding clan names in other societies have to be known, and the danger of confusion is eliminated by identical cattle branding among all the Maa-speaking communities. Thus, through cattle brands a man of the Parakuyo Ilmo-serenge sub-clan, for example, is able to infer, that the Ilmamasita of the Pastoral Maasai are of his sub-clan and therefore he may not marry from this sub-clan. Without cattle brands the identification of sub-clans might be difficult.

The segmentation of clans and sub-clans is an ongoing process. The necessity to split sub-clans is emphasized in areas where only a few clans and sub-clans are substantially represented. In the Lugoba area, for example, the Ilaiser clan, known also as the Ilwarakishu, is populous, and it is divided into six sub-clans: the Ilwarakishu loo 'loibonok, Ilwarakishu ilkindeti, Ilwarakishu loo 'ljorelai, Ilwarakishu loo 'lmasingani, Ilkushon and Ilwarakishu loo 'ltilian.³⁴ The Ilwarakishu are generally well-to-do people and therefore likely to increase in number through large polygynous families. It was decided in 1979 that these sub-groups be recognized as real sub-clans, so that intermarriage between these groups became possible. A similar development is also going on in other expanding clans.³⁵

The clans are not evenly distributed throughout the Parakuyo area. The Ilwarakishu and Ilmosilya are said to be most common in the Kaguru

area, while the Ilkerinkishu sub-clan of the Ilmwoziokoite clan is said to be populous in the Iringa area (Beidelman 1960:260).³⁶

There are two clans more populous than the others in the pastoral economic area of Lugoba (Table 14): Ilwarakishu (known as Ilaiser by the Pastoral Maasai) and Ilmwoziokoite. They have also more sub-clans than the others, and among them further splitting of sub-clans has taken place. The table includes only the married Parakuyo men in 1983. There

Table 14. Distribution of Parakuyo kin groups in the pastoral economic area of Lugoba, 1983.

MOIETY	CLAN (enkishomi)	SUB-CLAN (olgilata)	NUMBER OF MEN	
Iloorokiteng	Ilaiser or Ilwarakishu	Iloibonok	10	
		Iltilian	7	
		Ilmasingani	6	
		Ilkushon	3	
	Ilmoserenge	Ilkiamba	4	
		Ilmulloi	1	
	Ilmosirare (?)	-	3	
		Ilparsipeli	2	
	Iloodomong'i	Ilmwoziokoite	Ilkashima	10
			Ildanak loo	
'nkonyek			4	
Ilkonyokio			2	
Ilkalita			1	
-			5	
Ilmopian		Ilkilalia	3	
		Ilpartayo	2	
		Ilamalama	1	
Ilmooge		-	3	
		Ilmooge	Iloiborkishu	1
		-	5	
		-	-	-
Ilmosilya	Ilkerretini	3		
	-	1		
Ilmosieku	Ilkerinkishu	1		
	-	3		

is no information of the clans of those women who have come from other areas through marriage. In a patrilineal system only immigrating men can bring new clans to the local society, because the children follow father's kin.

In a survey of women with spirit possession experiences (1976) it was found, that in a total of 30 cases 10 were from the Ilwarakishu, five from the Ilmarumai (not found in Table 14), and four from the Ilmwosio-koite clan.³⁷

35. DUAL ASPECTS IN CLANSHIP

Starting from the first mythical ancestor, Maasai (and Parakuyo) society is dualistically subdivided into minor kin groups. Duality is, however, an ideological principle of dividing, and it is not found fully realized in practice. Although the dividing process has apparently followed the ideal pattern of splitting a large kin-group into two sections, this has not been realized equally in all clans. Some have grown faster and caused the splitting earlier than others; fighting, inter- and intra-tribal, has diminished some sections etc. (Ole Sankan 1973:4-7). The historical result of various disturbances in the evolution of clans and sub-clans is therefore that of a partially realized duality, where the total pattern of clan evolution is obscured. In principle, the Parakuyo make a distinction between clans (*enkishomi*, pl. *inkishomin*, lit. 'cattle gate') and sub-clans (*olgilata*, pl. *ilgilat*, from *agil* = split), whereas both kin groups are called *ilgilat* by the Pastoral Maasai (Jacobs 1965c:195) and *inkishomin* by the Arusha (Gulliver 1969:236-38). Even the Parakuyo who make a terminological distinction between clans and sub-clans are sometimes unsure whether a particular named kin-group is a clan (*enkishomi*) or sub-clan (*olgilata*).

On the higher levels of segmentation the dual structure of kin groups is more marked than on the lower levels. The moieties which represent the highest level of segmentation and which are regarded as the initial kin groups form a clear dyad. The sub-clans and their sub-groups which belong to the latest phase of segmentation are least clearly structured.

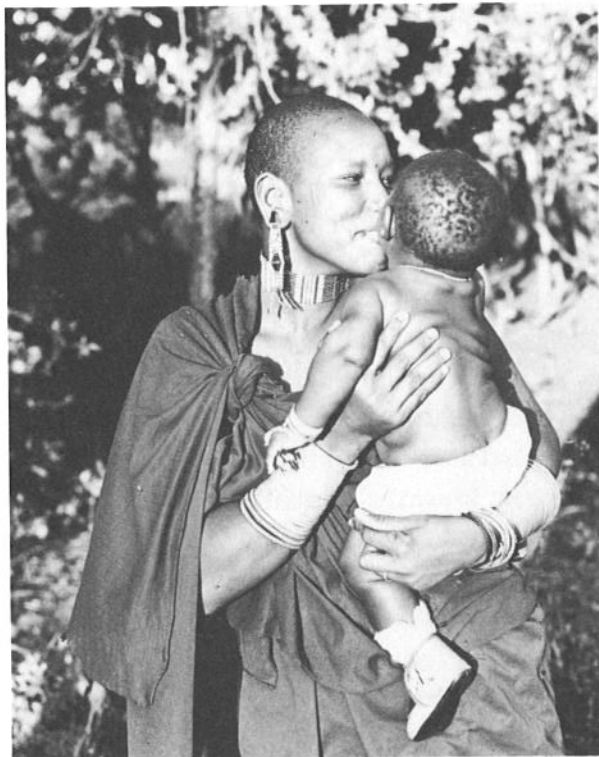
In comparison to this, in the Arusha kinship structure dualism is more profoundly realized also on the level of the sub-clans (Gulliver 1963: 146). There is no ready explanation to the differences in these related ethnic groups. One can only hint to the possibility that the different historical conditions of these peoples contain part of the explanation. If the process of segmentation among the Arusha does not date further back than to the 1830s, when they began to emerge as a distinct ethnic group (Gulliver 1969:224), the pressures towards sub-dividing the kin-groups in an 'unorthodox' manner have been limited. The Parakuyo system has gone through a considerably longer process of segmentation, where demographic factors have been decisive.

The Parakuyo live in rather small round kraal camps with usually one family head in each. The son may settle at his father's camp for some years after marriage, until he can afford to construct his own independent camp. The kraal outlay is quite different from that of the Pastoral Maasai, who favour large kraals with several family heads in each. Central to a Parakuyo kraal is the cattle gate (enkishomi, pl. inkishomin), which divides the kraal into two halves. The wives of a polygynous man build their houses (enkaji, pl. inkajijik) alternately on both sides of the gate, starting from the right gate post, and extending the location of the houses so that the houses of the youngest wives are always closest to the gate. Thus two gate post divisions (olpahe, pl. ilpaheta) are formed, termed *olpahe le'tatene* (right-hand division) and *olpahe le'ke-dyenyne* (left-hand division). When moving to another area the order of the houses is preserved. Thus, the construction of a kraal exhibits immediately the order of marrying and the relative status of each wife and her descendants.

A man building a polygynous family may take wives of any clan-group except his own or his mother's sub-clan. There is no rule of preference in the order of marriage.³⁸ Marrying several wives of one clan is acceptable as well as marrying always from different clans. For example, the marrying order of Chaparisi ole Mdomwa's (Ilmosyieku clan) nine wives was the following: the first wife from the Ilmwosiokoite clan, the second from the Ilmoserenge, the third from the Ilmoserenge, the fourth from the Ilmoserenge, the fifth from the Ilwarakishu, the sixth



Picture 18. An elder with two of his wives. The cattle stick (engudi) and the whip (enjipishipi) are inseparable symbols of the elders.



Picture 19. The relationship between mother and child is normally intimate. A mother holds a son of her husband's son.

from the Ilmosilya, the seventh from the Ilwarakishu loo'lkindeti, the eighth from the Ilmooge, and the ninth from the Ilemai clan.³⁹ It is prohibited, however, for me as a man to marry two daughters of the same father, although my brother may marry a sister or half-sister of my wife. Still the statement of Jacobs on the marriage practice of the Pastoral Maasai may hold true also for the Parakuyo, that in order to establish wide affinal links an elder tends to marry from different clans (Jacobs 1970:28-29).

The dual division of the houses of the wives creates a social boundary, where the cattle gate stands as a dividing point. As is the case with the moiety division, these gate-post groups are symbolically linked with dual notions of right-handedness/seniority :: left-handedness/juniority. They are distinct social groups supposed to cooperate or function separately, as the customary law prescribes. From the viewpoint of social relations and economic cooperation, the nuclear group is a house (*enkaji*, pl. *inkajjik*), composed of a wife and her descendants. The place of the *enkaji* in relation to the other *inkajjik* reveals the relative status of the house owner in the kraal and in the gate-post (*olpahe*). The formal status of the wife is predetermined through the strict order of seniority, and a wife can achieve very little to improve her position through her own efforts. Good procreative capacity is valued and may be a basis for status elevation (Rigby 1980:53).

Enkaji is the domain of each individual wife. Traditionally house building and maintenance has been a duty of wives, although hired labour is nowadays generally used. This shift in the work force used in building houses is reflected in the change of house types, while the old flat-roofed low *oltribe* (pl. *iltriben*; or: *oltirbe*, pl. *iltirben*) still used as initiation houses has been substituted by houses with ridged roofs (*olkiringo*, pl. *ilkiringoni*). It is obvious that while the shift from Maasai-type conical houses to *iltriben* (Swahili: *tembe*) was probably a result of an adaptation in new ecological and economic conditions where trees are plentiful and cow dung scarce (Beidelman 1961a:58-63), similarly it is likely that the shift from *oltribe* to *olkiringo* is due to the change in the work force used for constructing houses. The general construction of the *olkiringo* is similar to that of surrounding Bantu houses, although the interior is different.

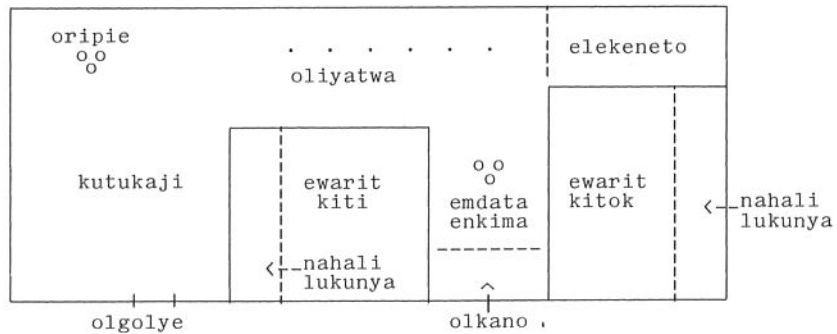


Picture 20. A Parakuyo house is rectangular, constructed of poles and branches and plastered with clay and cow-dung on both sides of the walls. In the Bagamoyo District the roof is normally ridged, but for initiation rituals and old-type house (oltribe, pl. iltriben) with a flat roof is often constructed.

Picture 21. A type of Parakuyo house at present common in the Lugoba area. The flat roof has been replaced by a ridged roof of the local type.



Fig. 9. A Parakuyo house ground plan, drawn according to a sketch of Paulo Chaparisi in 1982.



Explanation of Parakuyo words:

Olgolye	- house entrance, sometimes provided with a grass door
Kutukaji	- lit. 'mouth of the house'; foreroom often with unplastered walls, used as shelter for calves overnight, also sometimes for milking cows
Oripie	- cooking place, used when the weather is very hot
Oliyatwa	- place where small goats and sheep are tied to poles overnight
Elekeneto	- place for big goats and sheep during the night
Ewarit kiti	- small sleeping room, used by children
Ewarit kitok	- big sleeping room, used by parents
Nahali lukunya	- place for storing gourds
Emdata enkima	- principal cooking place, fire kept burning on cool nights
Olkano	- place for storing cooking utensils

Figure 9 gives the ground plan of an enkaji drawn by Paulo Chaparisi. In a polygynous family the role of a wife as the owner of the house is strongly emphasized; her husband is only a visitor, supposedly a regular one, in the house. The children, male and female, live in the mother's house until they marry. The girls marry regularly by the time they reach puberty but the boys may stay at home well into their 20s. Except during the periods of olupul-rituals the young warriors sleep most often at home, although during daytime they carry out various

duties connected with cattle or loiter in a closeby population centre. In a polygynous family the rights of the wife concern principally the household maintenance and the education of children.

The house ground plan reveals also that the security of weaker domestic animals during the night is the responsibility of wives. The strong and healthy animals sleep overnight in the fenced kraal, the cattle in the large one and sheep and goats in a smaller pen inside the large one, but ewes, young goats and calves are tended inside the house in an orderly fashion. The children literally grow with domestic animals day and night, and this custom creates a permanent and deeprooted emotional bond between people and animals. Although the animals of the whole kraal graze together during daytime, the night guarding is the responsibility of their 'owners'. Ultimately the kraal head is the owner of all the animals of the kraal, but the right to control the produce of the animals is vested in each house owner (see Rigby 1980:passim).

The dual character of the kraal composition is expressed not only by the spatial arrangement of houses; the gate-post groups are real social groups with networks of rights and loyalties. A member of a gate-post group feels more affinity towards other members of the same gate-post. Full brothers and full sisters are the closest relatives, but the half-brothers and half-sisters of one's own gate-post are felt to be more close than those of the opposite gate-post. This derives not only from the spatial proximity of the dwellings, but it is reflected in the extent of cooperation in daily tasks, in obligations towards other gate-post members and expectations directed towards them.

In addition to branding the cattle with sub-clan marks (olmishire, pl. ilmishiren), the Parakuyo cut ear markings (olponoto, pl. ilponot) on the cattle differently depending on the gate-post. The cattle belonging to the wives and children of the right-hand gate-post get the ear markings of the kraal owner, but the left-hand division marks its cattle differently, so that the cattle of different gate-posts can be identified when necessary. In fact, there are cattle bearing the marks of the kraal owner also in the custody of the left-hand group and they are milked by the wives of that group, but are not 'earmarked' to the left-hand group.⁴⁰

When, for example, cattle are collected for bride-wealth in order to marry a son of one of the wives of the right-hand gate-post, it is the responsibility of the other wives of the same gate-post to contribute significantly, while the wives of the opposite gate-post are supposed to give only a token, eventually one heifer each. Correspondingly, there is gate-post preference in the succession of inheritance. A wife who dies without male issue will be inherited by her gate-post members, seniority of wives having preference. The inheritance does not go to the other gate-post as long as there is an heir on the gate-post of the deceased.⁴¹ The other gate-post is then next in the order of inheritance before the husband's brothers and other relatives.

The next level of cooperation is between gate-posts. The arrival of a new wife to the kraal is recognized by the wives of both gate-posts by donating a cow each to the bride. And when a child is born gifts to the newly born are given from both gate-posts.⁴² In herding the mature cattle on distant pastures both gate-posts participate; actually it is the responsibility of the kraal owner to arrange turns in herding. All the cattle of the kraal irrespective of the number of gates graze as one herd, but cooperation in herding between different kraals is not usual. It is not even practical; the separation of cattle in the evening for milking (the women milk their 'own' cows) and other services would be a tedious task.

36. KINSHIP CLASSIFICATION

An entirely different and hopefully rewarding approach to the analysis of primary social groupings is the investigation of kinship terms. It is assumed that the way how a member of a society classifies his kinspeople stands for more than the mere formal classification. Through kinship terms one separates his kin into units, where each unit covered by one kinship term represents a type of relationship which is different from relationship with other units (D. Schneider 1977). Although the classification is formally linguistic, it reflects, and is in fact a channel into understanding the ordering principles of these relations.

There is a limited number of ways of categorizing kin groups. Such are for example: differentiation of sex, seniority/juniority, differentiation of generations, and the principle of 'classification'. The Parakuyo use all these principles in distinguishing kin categories.

The kinship systems where certain lineal and collateral relatives are grouped under one single term have since Lewis Morgan⁴³ been called classificatory systems. It has been common to assume that many archaic kin systems, like those of Africa and the American Indians, are classificatory and western systems non-classificatory or descriptive. Societies use, however, both systems,⁴⁴ although the emphasis on either system may be marked. In a descriptive system the exact genealogical distance is expressed by using terms: father, mother, son, daughter, brother, and sister. By use of these terms all kin relations can be exactly described. For describing affines, two more terms, husband and wife, are needed. In many societies, in addition, seniority and juniority are distinguished, and specific terms for elder and younger brother, for example, are used.

A kinship term can be said to be classificatory when the term covers two or more genealogically different relationships. For example, 'father' in English is not a classificatory term, because it means only one's genitor. The term *menye* in the Parakuyo language is classificatory, because it signifies one's genitor, i.e. father, but also father's brothers.

The Parakuyo apply the classificatory principle to kin members of all generations in the father's and mother's line. In the chart of kinship terms it can be seen that the members of one's own generation are grouped into four categories: *entawuo*, *enkanahe*, *aramenye*, and *arang'otonye*. *Entawuo* (lit. 'heifer') is used of the full brothers but also the general term for brother, *olalahe*, can be used. The male cousins on the father's and mother's side are termed by using partially descriptive expressions, *aramenye* (lit. 'the one of the father') and *arang'otonye* (lit. 'the one of the mother').⁴⁵ The terms are not fully descriptive, however; *arang'otonye* is used of the father's sister's son, the mother's sister's son, and the mother's brother's son. In short, only the male parallel cousins on the father's side are called *aramenye*, while all other male cousins

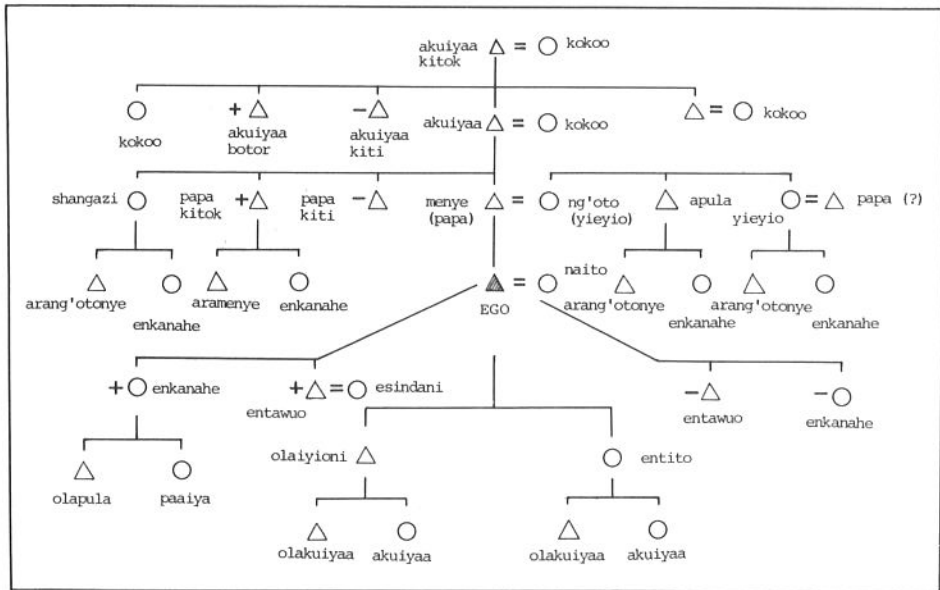


Fig. 10. Parakuyo man's terms for cognates

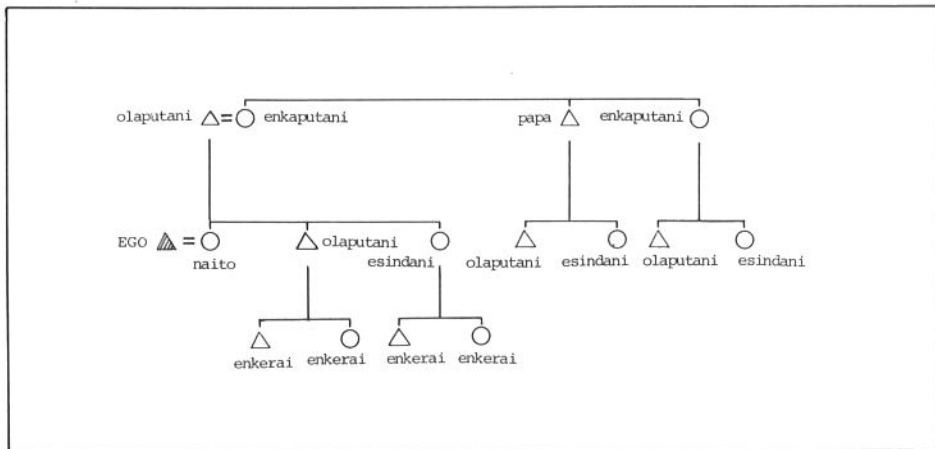


Fig. 11. Parakuyo man's terms for affines

are arang'otonye ('those of the mother'). This distinction reflects the rules of inheritance; one's coheritors are the male members of his patriline, i.e. the father's brothers' sons. All the rest are not coheritors and they are therefore arang'otonye.

The lack of emphasis on the maternal line is reflected in the kin term used of one's sisters and all female cousins. None of them is one's coheritor and no terminological distinction needs to be made between them; hence all are called enkanahe ('sister'). The genealogical chart also shows that no distinction is made between parallel cousins and cross-cousins.⁴⁶ These distinctions would have no part in regulating marriages in Parakuyo society. There is, thus, no need for a terminological distinction here.

In the first ascending generation the male kin is divided into two groups, menye and apula, while the female kin is termed ng'oto in both lines. The father and his brothers are all menye, although seniority is recognized by calling the father's elder and younger brothers as papa kitok and papa kiti in addressing. The father's sister is simply ng'oto, but also a Swahili term shangazi is used. The mother and her sisters are ng'oto. These terms for females are terms of reference, while in addressing they are called yieyio. The mother's brother is apula, i.e. a relative through marriage, therefore an affine.

In the second ascending generation a distinction is made only between sex. The father's father and his brothers are called akuiyaa, but again seniority is recognized by terming the elder and younger brothers akuiyaa botor and akuiyaa kiti. All the female kin in this generation are kokoo. These are the paternal grandmother, the father's father's sister, and the father's father's brother's wife. The same term kokoo is applied also to the paternal great-grandmother. The paternal great-grandfather is called, however, akuiyaa kitok.

The members of the first descending generation are so grouped that one's children and one's brother's children are similarly termed; i.e. olaiyioni for boys and entito for girls.⁴⁷ The sister's children belong to a distinct category and are called olapula and paaiya. This shows again that they

are counted as apu-relatives, that is, relatives by marriage, although the real genealogical tie is close.

The terms for relatives of the second descending generation resemble those of the second ascending generation. The male members are olakuiyaa (lit. 'the one of the paternal grandfather') and females are akuiyaa, which is literally the same as the term for the paternal grandfather. The second ascending and descending generation are therefore counted to be in some way similar. This observation can be made in fact of many societies, and the similarity lies in the equal genealogical distance and also in similar attitudes to both of these kin groups. The relations between alternate generations are supposed to be intimate and cordial, as is the case between alternate age-sets. The opposite attitudes - cordial between alternate generations and antagonistic between proximate generations - are not, however, here so marked as they are between age-sets. This is self-evident, because the relations of fathers and sons, i.e. of proximate generations, are often also relations between alternate age-sets which are by definition intimate olpiron relations.

A man's affines in his wife's generation (Fig. 11) are olaputani for males and esindani for females. The wife's siblings and her mother's brother's children and her mother's sister's children belong to the same male and female categories. The wife's mother and the wife's mother's sisters are classified to the same group termed enkaputani, while the wife's father is olaputani as are her brothers. The members of the first descending generation in the wife's line are called enkerai (lit. 'child') without making difference in sex.

From the above analysis a few general inferences can be made. First, the network of social relations with the members of one's own generation is wide, and therefore the number of kin terms within this generation is rich. All the ordering principles - classification, sex, and seniority/juniority - are applied here. Second, the further forwards or back we move from one's generation, the fewer the ordering principles and the less the kinship terms. Classification is found in all generations, being the most general ordering principle. The seniority /juniority distinction is found in the father's and the paternal grandfather's generation but

only in terms of address. Sex difference is found in all six generations in the father's line, but it is little emphasized in more distant generations.⁴⁸

Third, the kinship terminology reflects kinship structure, where patrilineal descent and inheritance and patrilocal residence are emphasized. The terminology is rich in the patriline, and the significance of the matriline is less emphasized, although by no means nonexistent. The kin system of the Parakuyo is not purely unilineal (patrilineal), although this has been claimed of the Maasai kinship system. Radcliffe-Brown (1970) has taken the Maasai kinship system as an example of a unilineal system, where patriliney dominates. The authenticity of his source material has been questioned, because his main informant Justin Olomeni was probably a Parakuyo elder and not a Pastoral Maasai.⁴⁹ The terminology presented by Hollis and reviewed and analysed by Radcliffe-Brown is unilineal, and if it is a Parakuyo system, it is quite different from that recorded by myself. As the preceding analysis shows, the Parakuyo recognize the maternal line as kin, particularly in one's own generation, and not as affines only, i.e. relatives through marriage. The fact that in the maternal line there are proper kinship terms and affinal terms constructed from the apu-root may reflect change in the kinship system, where matriliney gains more recognition. No marked changes in functioning kin relations, however, have been recorded.

In addition to ordinary kinship terms there is a set of names used only in addressing. Some of these are mentioned in Fig. 10 (e.g. *papa yieyio*), but many more are used after a bond has been formally created between two persons by donating a cow, bull, heifer, bullock, ewe, sheep etc. to the other. Because these names are directly connected with the institution of material transfers, I have discussed them in another context.

37. SUMMARY OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The Parakuyo social structure was discussed above in terms of two governing institutions: age-set and kinship. The former creates coherence to the society by means of horizontal stratification; i.e. the male members of the society are divided into groups on the basis of age, and the

juniors are subordinated to the seniors. In addition to facilitating the maintenance of defence forces, the system favours equality, because all male members of the society go through all the age-grades as corporate age-sets.

Kinship system divides the society vertically into groups, where some tend to be more numerous and influential than others. The trend towards hierarchization of clans is reduced, however, by the rules which favour exogamous marriages from various clans. These internal mechanisms and rules of conduct do not prevent economic inequality, because each family is rather independent in accumulating wealth. Still the group solidarity in relation to other ethnic groups seems to outweigh the significance of economic inequalities.

From the structural viewpoint, the governing theme is that of dual organization. In the age system, dualism is realized clearly in ordering age-sets through the *olpiron* link into two parallel streams of age-sets. From this follows that alternate age-sets are in friendly and proximate sets in antagonistic terms. Less clearly emphasized is dualism within age-sets. The three age-groups within an age-set are dichotomically conceptualized in the Parakuyo society. More clear is the dichotomic arrangement in some Pastoral Maasai sections, where two sub-sets are formed within one age-set. The Parakuyo do not have an organized system of genealogical generations; but the relations between alternate age-sets are in ideal cases also relations between proximate generations. Thus, the dual streams of age-sets are at the same time streams of two parallel generation lines.

Dualism is realized also in kinship structures, particularly on the highest level. A member of the society belongs to one of the two moieties, which are subdivided into clans and sub-clans. The dual division is not as clear in ordering the Parakuyo clans and sub-clans, although there is tendency to it. The family compound (*enkang*) is the mythical base for kinship structure. This conceptualization links the parts of the society into one totality, which has its representation in each *kraal*; gate-posts standing for moieties, and houses for clans.⁵⁰

The analysis of the kinship terminology shows a clear patrilineal tendency,

but it is not strictly unilineal. Classificatory kinship terms are common and each term defines the range of people who have similar social relations to ego. The similarity can be in terms of inheritance, rules of behaviour, mutual obligations and rights, genealogical distance etc. Dual aspects are also realized in such principles of classification as juniority/seniority, male/female, and proximate generations/alternate generations.

In Parakuyo society scattered to a wide area, the described social system facilitates the continuity of the sense of coherence and pastoralist identity, despite the lack of strong centralized leadership, traditional or modern.

NOTES to Chapters F and G

- 1 It was the effectiveness of the Maasai warriors in the battlefield which impressed many of their neighbours and made some of them, such as the Kikuyu, Kamba, and Chagga, for example, adopt certain forms of the Maasai social and political system, particularly their military organization. Although the Maasai age-set system was borrowed into these groups in greatly modified forms, it helped them to become less vulnerable against raiding groups. Lawren 1968; Tignor 1972.
- 2 Age-set recruitment, promotion and graduation in Parakuyo societies is very similar to that of the Pastoral Maasai. Therefore I shall use comparative data from them, and from the Samburu of the Northern Kenya as well.
- 3 UTA 1976/99/1-4.
- 4 This is said to be the ideal, but in practice the coordinated timing does not fully function. For example, the Kisongo section of the Pastoral Maasai opened the initiation period of the Ilmakaa age-set in 1968-1969 (UTAf 1983/14.2./23; UTAf 1983/14.1./99), and the Parakuyo in 1971 (UTA 1976/99/1). Also the promotion ritual (eunoto) of the Ilmakaa was in 1978 in the Kisongo Maasai section (UTAf 1983/13.1./1; UTAf 1983/14.1./99), and in 1979 in the Parakuyo society (UTA 1982/16.1./6). The elders may also use their power to control the activities of the warriors by speeding up or postponing age-grade rituals; Tignor 1972:283-84; Bernardi 1952.
- 5 UTAf 1976/09/36.
- 6 The initiation ritual may include more than one initiate if there are more than one son of the same father in the age of initiation. Also maturing girls may be initiated in connection with the same ritual, although some of their rites are different. In one case, there were two sons and two daughters of the same father initiated simultaneously; UTAf 1976/06/45-86.

- 7 A detailed analysis of initiation rituals is in my unpublished Licentiate Thesis "Baraguyu Initiation: An analysis of status passage", University of Helsinki, 1980. - The functions of initiation have been explained from several viewpoints. The most commonly applied theoretical frame is that of Arnold van Gennep (1960), who saw rituals primarily in terms of transfer in status. Having three phases, the separation, the marginal phase, and the incorporation, they have a central purpose of making the transfer of status effective, public, and irreducible. Leach has developed these ideas further and brought them more clearly to the structural framework; Leach 1971a:132-36. Attention has also been paid to the specific character of the marginal phase; Leach 1971b:22-48. Turner has further analysed this boundary condition and extended the category to cover also such groups as 'communitas' which live 'outside' or in the margins of the dominant society; Turner 1974:80-118; 1967:185-86. Whiting, Kluckhohn and Anthony (1958) have presented a different approach to that of van Gennep and claim that male initiation rituals strengthen the masculine identity in societies where the mother-son relationship before puberty is strong. Koch has supported this interpretation with data from the Jalé society, the Central Mountains of Western New Guinea; Koch 1974. Cohen has challenged this view in some points. He has emphasized that the initiation rituals "help to establish a sense of social-emotional anchorage for the growing individual" (Cohen 1964:533), and he differentiates two stages in puberty, both of which may be ritualized. See also Brain (1980) who has emphasized the psychological and sociological aspects of the initiation rites.
- 8 Ole Saitoti reports about the Pastoral Maasai that one source of friction is the fear of the senior warriors that their girlfriends might turn their eyes towards the new emerging warrior class who are their age-mates. The junior warriors are not easily given credit by the seniors, and the former try to prove their skills and strength by carrying out lion hunts. The mistrust of the seniors is embodied in a saying "Meel ilbarnot engene" (The newly circumcised youth do not oil the rope, i.e. when returning the borrowed leather rope to the owner); Beckwith & Ole Saitoti 1980:114.
- 9 The senior warrior age-set (Ilmedoti) resigned and handed over the responsibilities of warriorship to the junior age-set (Ilmakaa) in 1974, after only three years had passed after opening of the initiation period in 1971. According to the brother of oloiboni kitok, the olng'eher of Ilmedoti should have been in 1972, but it was dropped off, because the recruitment of the new age-set was delayed and began only in 1971; UTAf 1976/08/31.
- 10 UTA 1982/15.1./A6.
- 11 It has to be pointed out, however, that this conceptual division into right-left divisions is less significant than the triadic division.
- 12 It means that the system has not been in operation for 70 years in the area surveyed. It is not known whether the system of subsets is in practice in any area. The system of one initiation period is presently in use in the Pastoral Maasai areas south of Arusha, as well as among the Parakuyo. Information from Mzee Loselaini, Simanjiro, December 1981. The system presented by Hollis (1905:

- .262-63) comprises two sub-sets (olporror pl. ilporori) which together form what he calls generation (olaji, pl. ilajjik). This is what I have called age-set. The analysis of Fosbrooke (1948:24) presents a similar scheme, although he uses the term 'age-set' instead of 'generation'. See also Whitehouse 1933:150.
- 13 Cf. Ole Sankan 1973:31-35.
 - 14 Beidelman is trapped into structural neatness in applying dual classification into the Parakuyo age-set classification: junior warriors : senior warriors :: junior elders : senior elders; Beidelman 1968:81. There is a clear structural dualism within the age-set organization, but not in the manner proposed above. It is between age-sets, but the above titles are age-grade names, and even in that sense partially misleading.
 - 15 Except 'retired elders', who can be considered as a single and 'final' age-grade irrespective of the age of death of its occupants.
 - 16 See particularly Jacobs 1968:16. It is clearly indicated in his age-set chronology that in the beginning of each initiation period there is a time span of about 4 - 5 years, when members of two consecutive age-sets are warriors simultaneously. Handing over takes place after the skills of the emerging junior warrior class have been tested and approved. It is significant to note that this is not a development of recent years. The same system is recorded from the earliest known age-sets, i.e. since 1791. This overlapping period is nowadays somewhat shorter among the Parakuyo, about three years, but functionally the system is exactly the same.
 - 17 The names Ilmanki and Ilmaina echo the cyclical age-set systems of Kalenjin societies. They had a fixed order of eight age-sets, which recurred in cycles. Ilmanki and Ilmaina are the sixth and seventh sets in this system; Ehret 1971:45, 64.
 - 18 Esosian has a feminine prefix e-, thus indicating that it is associated with female qualities and activities. In fact, esosian reeds are commonly used for cleaning calabashes, which is an activity of females.
 - 19 Oloirien takes, as the majority of Maasai tree names, a masculine prefix ol-. It is associated with masculine qualities and is used for making spear shafts and clubs, both being implements valued by warriors; cf. Huntingford 1976:426.
 - 20 The Nuer, for example, have an age-set system with open and closed initiation periods, which are timed in coordination with the adjacent neighbouring groups. These sets are named but not organized in a cycle, and they are together with kinship relations structural determinants of the behaviour; Evans-Pritchard 1940:288-91.
 - 21 An example of cultural borrowing of an age and generation system is the So society, which has adopted the system in a modified form from the Karamojong. The system engenders the means of political authority and control of property and it establishes power relations according to the gerontocratic seniority. The system of the So is, however, significantly simplified from that of the Karamojong; Laughlin & Laughlin 1974.

- 22 There are also other societies with similar systems, such as the lua generation system of the Sidamo. Identity with generation is emphasized at the cost of age. Typically these two systems create contradictions, and it is estimated that the lua system may be about 150 years of age in the Sidamo society; Hamer 1970:55-58.
- 23 This logically inferred assumption is in fact substantiated by ethnographic data. The Jie and Labwor have not vested defensive power in age-sets; Abrahams 1978:55.
- 24 Also Gulliver has referred to the same phenomenon in the Arusha society. Instead of using the term 'generation-set', which of course would be inaccurate in this context, he speaks of two 'streams' formed by alternate age-sets; Gulliver 1961:31.
- 25 E.g. Spencer 1978; Baxter 1978; Abrahams 1978; and Hinnant 1978.
- 26 UTA 1982/16.1./A7.
- 27 UTA 1982/16.1./A7.
- 28 It must be noted that these oppositions are not moral categories giving possibly rise to inferences such as superiority/inferiority and therefore claims for one's right to control the other, although this could theoretically be inferred.
- 29 The compensation for homicide used to be 49 cows, but because of inflatory trends the amount was increased in 1978 by oloiboni kitok to 104 cows, 24 of which have to be paid immediately, and the rest after the collection among clans involved has been completed; UTA 1982/15.1./11.
- 30 UTA 1982/15.1./A11. For dividing raided stock see Fox 1930:457.
- 31 Ole Sankan 1973:1-2; Beckwith & Ole Saitoti 1980:27-28.
- 32 According to Jacobs, the number of the main clans among the Pastoral Maasai is seven; Jacobs 1965c.
- 33 Cf. Ole Sankan 1973:1-7; Beckwith & Ole Saitoti 1980:27-29.
- 34 UTA 1982/17.1./B1.
- 35 Rigby mentions, for example, that the Ilmwoziokoite clan is subdivided into the Ilkashimani, Ilkonyokio, and Ildana-loo'nkonyek sub-clans; Rigby 1980:51. It is not known whether these sub-clans are already in the stage of development that they can intermarry. The sub-groups of the Ilmwoziokoite clan are not found in the lists of Beidelman (1960:269), neither are they mentioned by Lelingo Lusekere (UTAf 1975/01/66) nor by Paulo Chaparisi (Uta 1982/17.1./B1), while all or some of the sub-clans of the Ilwarakishu are mentioned by all of these.
- 36 The oloiboni kitok of the southwestern Parakuyo section belongs to the Ilkerinkishu clan, which is somewhat odd, because it belongs to the Illoodomong'i moiety; UTAf 1976/02/84. The oloiboni kitok should logically belong to the Ilaiser (Ilwarakishu) clan of the Illoorokiteng moiety.
- 37 In naming their clans women were sometimes hesitant, because they might mention the clan of the husband instead of their own. Legally the wife belongs to the clan of her father.

- 38 There is no such institutionalized system where a group of clans would be wife givers to another group of clans. Even where such groups exist, there is controversy concerning the superiority between these two. See Black 1972:1247; Bernardi 1955:317.
- 39 UTA 1982/16.1./A9. For marriage rules see Leakey 1930:199.
- 40 UTA 1982/15.1./A10.
- 41 UTA 1982/15.1./A9-10.
- 42 UTA 1982/13.1./A1-2.
- 43 Lewis Morgan published his comparative study of kinship terminologies in "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity", 1871.
- 44 Radcliffe-Brown 1970:13-18; D. Schneider 1968; Forde 1970.
- 45 These forms should be properly spelled *ole'menye* and *ole'ng'otonye*, as is the case in the ordinary genitive.
- 46 Parallel cousins and cross cousins are terminologically separated in many Bantu societies, where these relatives are divided into groups with different social roles in relation to the person referred to. See e.g. Wilson 1970:111-39; Kuper 1970:101; Tuupainen 1970:33-37.
- 47 *Olaiyioni* (pl. *ilaiyiok*) and *entito* (pl. *intoiyie*) are also general terms for male and female children under the age of puberty.
- 48 In fact the terms *kokoo*, *akuiyaa*, and *olakuiyaa* are derived from the same root, which rather emphasizes distance from the EGO than sexual difference.
- 49 See Beidelman 1968:78-79; Hollis 1910:473-82.
- 50 Fortes emphasizes the strict rules followed in the segmentation of lineages, whereby "every segment is in form a replica of every other segment, and of the whole lineage"; Fortes 1953:32. Similarly, according to him, the model for lineage segmentation is obtained from the paternal family. Therefore, "a lineage segment (is) conceptualized as a sibling group in symmetrical relationship with segments of like order"; Fortes 1953:32.