

L. CONCLUSION

It was stated in the theoretical section that access to the underlying paradigmatic structures can be attempted only through perceptible syntagmatic structures. It was postulated that there are certain ordering principles characteristic of the human mind which lay basic rules for all classification.¹ It was further assumed that this human propensity to form categories is modified in ways characteristic of each culture. This again is an outcome of ecological adaptation in a long historical perspective and is constantly influenced and reformulated by syntagmatic structures, which at the same time are also its products.

What I have been carrying out so far is the analysis of s-structures in the hope that it would yield significant information about p-structures and also the selective system (culture) which allows some structures to be realized and suppresses others. The analysis of each of the structural entities, such as economy, circulation of property, age-set structure, kin organization, ideological structure, classification of nature etc., contains indications of a coherent system which governs all of them. What is ahead of us now is to infer from these s-structural data those p-structures, to which the apparent diversity of s-structures can be reduced. Therefore, we have to first compile and compare the structural arrangements of each of the s-structures already analysed. In addition to this, secular and ritual symbolism will provide material for understanding a people's thought systems which are reflections of p-structures. Unfortunately space here allows only a very condensed exposition of ritual symbolism.

55. DUALISM IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURES

Dualism in kinship structure

The local kraal is divided by the cattle gate (*enkishomi*) into two halves (*olgilata*) with corresponding house arrangements of the first, third, fifth etc. wife on the right side and of the second, fourth, sixth etc. on the left side of the gate. This spatial arrangement creates a dual division within the kraal with relations of alliance and competition between groups and their members. The kraal composition is also a model of clan structure, the origin of which is mythically etymologized to the 'first Maa-sai'. The son of his first wife was the founder of the right-hand moiety (*Iloorokiteng*), and the junior wife's son was the initiator of the left-hand moiety (*Iloodomong'i*). It has not been possible, however, to establish a clear dualism in clan and sub-clan divisions, although tendencies to this are to be found. The clan structure of the Arusha seems to be more clearly structured in this respect.²

It is significant to note that the Enkidong sub-clan of diviners and healers is placed to the senior, right-hand moiety, 'those with black cattle'. Seniority, divinity and black are grouped together as if they were of the same family of categories. Although the *iloibonok* were adoptees of Mbugu origin, they were located in the 'appropriate' category. It must be reminded, however, that the categorization senior : junior :: right : left :: black : red does not entail the dichotomy superior:inferior. It is rather a matter of complementary opposition (Rigby 1973:265-66; Needham 1973:116), where differing roles complement each other. The efficacy of diviners and healers entails a degree of mystery and obscurity, and therefore the society accepts their distinct role, although at times they are able to manipulate their privileged position for private ends. It is not self-evident, however, that ritual experts should necessarily belong to the right-hand moiety. The *oloiboni kitok* of the southwestern Parakuyo section is a member of the *Ilkerinkishu* clan of the *Iloodomong'i* moiety.³ He is, however, subordinate to the *oloiboni kitok* of the north-eastern section in major issues, and therefore can be 'fitted' into the model without violating it.

The moiety division could, of course, have more profound functions than it actually has, e.g. in regulating marriages. Although moieties are not units for creating boundaries for endogamous or exogamous marriages, their existence gives the members of the society a sense of a structured society with sub-groups of identification. This distinction was formerly physically realized in the warriors' emanyata constructions. It is still functioning in payments for homicide, when cattle for compensating the spilled blood are collected from the moiety of the killer. The relations between moieties are not those of hostility and aggression. Killing a fellow Parakuyo is a serious offence irrespective of whether a kinsman or a member of the opposite moiety is in question.

The dualist principle more or less fades away when we come to the level of clans and sub-clans. They are not found grouped in even numbers, and an ongoing process of splitting sub-clans into smaller units is observable.⁴ On the level of family compounds, dualism is again clearly realized. The cattle gate (enkishomi) divides the kraal conveniently into two gate posts (olpahe) with houses on each side. In kraals with more than one family the structure is more complicated, but also in those each cattle gate and its two posts represent spatially the dual family structure. In practice the ideal model of house placing is often affected, for example, by the need of building dwellings for inherited widows and their descendants. The real wives have, however, priority in house placing.⁵ The gate-post groups are functioning entities in terms of cooperation. The cattle of the right-hand group (olpahe le'tatene) are specially ear-marked to bear a sign of the kraal owner, while the cattle of the left-hand group are differently marked. There are tasks carried out together by both gate-post groups, e.g. herding, but some tasks, such as milking, are carried out separately by both gate-posts. In case of inheritance, one's own gate-post group has preference over the opposite group. Similarly, one's own gate-post group is responsible to collect cattle significantly for bride-wealth when a son from that gate-post marries.

In kin terminology, on the other hand, no distinction is made between the relatives of these two gate-posts. The variation of terminology is richest in one's own generation and the distinctions decrease the further upwards or downwards in generational scale we move.⁶ Classification is ap-

plied profusely, as is also sex difference, but the distinction of seniority/juniority more seldom.

Kin terminology reflects patrilineal descent and inheritance groups, although also matriliney is being recognized increasingly.

Names of addressing are of two types: those expressing child/father or child/mother relationship and those expressing a created bond between affines. The former are prescribed relations, the latter purposefully created and reinforced. Through ritually exchanging animals between affines, social relations are visualized and reinforced by material exchanges between parties.

Dualism in age-set structure

In age-set structure dualism is still more clearly realized than in the kinship system. It has been shown earlier that classifying people according to age and generation has taken several forms of varying kinds in African societies. What appears to be common to all these alternatives is the application of the dual principle in structure. In Maa-speaking societies the age-set structure is quite homogenous, the ethnographic differences being mainly due to the different orientations of researchers.⁷ The systemic structure has been differently illustrated by various authors. The average age difference between age-sets in those societies is 13-16 years, being shorter in Samburu society than in others.⁸ What is consistent throughout is the primacy of corporate age-sets over generation. The Maasai-type age-set system with long periods between sets makes the formation of a strong defensive force possible. Although alternatives of forming an age-set system are numerous, only two types of set formation are significant.

One is the system where recruitment into age-sets takes place in only one period with a period of several years of closed circumcision before the initiation of the subsequent age-set. This is in fact the mode of recruitment of the Parakuyo, and it has become increasingly common also in the Kisongo Maasai and Arusha area.⁹

In the other system, recruitment into age-sets takes place in two periods, with a period of closed initiation between the initiation of these sub-groups of the same age-set. These sub-groups are conceptually termed *emurata etatene* (right-hand circumcision) and *emurata ekedyenye* (left-hand circumcision). In the first type of system this distinction is not emphasized.¹⁰

Although the mode of recruitment in these two systems is different, structural variations concern primarily the spacing of recruitment rather than functions. Even where recruitment takes place in two phases, these two warrior groups will be cemented into one corporate age-set in the *olng'eher* ritual with one name and it will remain so for the life-time of its members.

What is interesting within both modes of recruitment is the tendency to form initiation groups according to the dual principle. In the second type the groups are temporarily spaced and they proceed with separate eunoto rituals until the common *olng'eher* ritual. In the first type, there is only one recruitment period¹¹ with three sub-groups, which sometimes are uneasily thought to form right/left divisions at the same time.

More important than the dual sub-groupings within each age-set is the *olpiron* relationship between alternate age-sets. This relation divides the society into two halves, where a member is either *olpiron obo* (i.e. of the same firestick line) or not with ego. Those who are *olpiron obo* are on friendly terms, while the other age-set line is a rival and cooperation with it is limited. Therefore, we should not be surprised to also find age-sets being grouped according to the dual principle. Dualism within age-sets and between age-sets is illustrated in Figures 6 and 7, p. 141.

Also different ideal characteristics of these *olpiron*-lines are recorded in mythology, the senior line being arrogant and warlike, and the junior being peaceful and prosperous (Ole Sankan 1973:31-35). In practice, of course, no qualitative differences are found between age-sets. Still the differences exist on the ideal level, and they are the means of giving a comprehensible form and structure to variations of people's characters.

The dualistically constructed age-system corresponds fairly well with the generation system. The *olpiron* link is ideally a relation between fathers and their eldest sons. Therefore, kinship and age-set structure reinforce one another. For this reason, the time span between age-sets is not arbitrary; it is linked with the organic generation system, so that one generation includes two age-sets. But it must be remembered that generations are not grouped into formal sets, and that age is given preference over generation where they are in conflict.

Dualism in economic transactions

The dual principle is reflected in economic transactions in the way that material transfers are part of an egalitarian exchange system. In the same way that the social structure is not one of superior/inferior or oppressor/oppressed type, the material transactions emphasize essentially the egalitarian nature of material flows. Everyone in the society has equal rights to accumulate wealth, although in practice some are in a better position to do so than others. Although man is likely to manipulate the available means for his own benefit (Douglas 1975:131), he is socialized into an egalitarian attitude particularly during his warrior-period.

Reciprocal social relations are linked to material transactions in the way that the former are made concrete and reinforced by the latter. If the social relations have a dualistic and reciprocal structure, the same should be expected of the material transactions. In marriage prestations, for example, this is clearly the case. The bridewealth cattle are a 'token' of the new relationship established between the two parties. But they are also a material substitute transferred in place of the lost bride, and through this transfer a balance is achieved.¹² There is no indication either that the amount of bride-wealth would fluctuate according to the wealth. Each case is a place of open bargaining, open to all except the girl's father's and mother's sub-clans.

Also economically less significant transactions are realizations of the reciprocal principle. The *Olkiteng lo 'lbaak* ritual, gifts to affines and relatives, for example, are events of two-directional exchange, which is the very constitutive principle of the society. Most of them are institu-

tionalized, and deviations are subject to communal sanctions. The institutional character is evident also in the ideal numbers of cattle to be transferred in each case. Earlier the number of bridewealth was four cattle and possibly two sheep. In the erikoto o'lkerra ritual the husband is expected to transfer ideally eight cows to his wife. The same is ideally the number of cattle given to the new bride at her arrival in her husband's home. Duplicated and triplicated dualism is here applied as in numerous other symbolic representations.

In intersocietal circulation it is questionable whether the relations are based on full equality. It was stated earlier that cattle sales on external markets were not earlier part of built-in exchange. They are becoming, however, increasingly more important, the more dependent the pastoralists will become on supplies of monetary markets. How these will develop, how much the equivalence of livestock will fluctuate with demand and supply or government regulations, is an open question.

56. DUALISM IN IDEOLOGICAL STRUCTURES

On the ideological level we find classifications, which reveal the same tendency as in socio-economic structures. Enkai has been thought to have two different representations, Enkai Narok (Black Enkai) and Enkai Naado (Red Enkai). These terms are derived from natural phenomena, the former from black rain clouds and the latter from the hazy sky, and they are directly linked to the general colour symbolism of the society.¹³ These representations enclose the opposite qualities of man's experience when he confronts natural phenomena: the benevolent and hope-inspiring 'black' Enkai, and his 'red', punishing quality when sun burns grass and dries water ponds and rivers.

There is also dualism in the classification of the first human beings. A Maasai and a Dorobo play a part in many Maasai myths. When these myths were constructed at some stage in the remote past, there must have been recognition of other ethnic groups also, but these two, a Maasai and his polar counterpart, are structurally important, and therefore they are given roles in myths. The Maasai is portrayed as an authentic pastoralist, and the Dorobo, although given an equal chance to practise pastoralism, has

a role of a hunter and honey-collector. This dualism emphasizes the distinction: Maasai : non-Maasai :: pastoralism : non-pastoralism.

Circumcision is thought to be a menial task and yet crucially important.¹⁴ Why it is performed by a Dorobo, a man of another ethnic group, is problematic. It is probably linked with another phenomenon. Namely the healers (iloibonok) are not originally Maasai either but adoptees from different ethnic groups, among the northeastern Parakuyo from the Mbugu. Like healing, circumcision is a ritual activity, detached from the normal life situations. To perform these special tasks they use specific people, who are to some degree detached from profane pastoral activities.

Similar dual categorization is found in relations between the Parakuyo and agriculturalists. These relations are of a different order and do not involve traditional ritual activities. Rather, they are relations based on mutual services in everyday life.

Thus we get a model of reciprocal relations between ethnic groups: Parakuyo : Dorobo :: profane : ritual, and: Parakuyo : cultivators :: pastoral economy : agricultural economy.

All vegetation is classified according to the relative size in two nominal classes with the following connotations: masculine : feminine :: big : small :: plants associated with male activities : plants associated with female activities. The basic dichotomy is based on the linguistic classification of nouns into two genders, but also the above connotations are present. Some plants have the distinction primarily on the axis big/small, others emphasize the dichotomy between male and female. It depends entirely on the situation which one of these two types of connotations is present in each case. Even the same species may fall into either class according to its size and use.

Nouns signifying natural phenomena associated with fertility and secured continuity of the society are normally provided with a prefix of female gender: e.g. enkai (clouds, heaven, rainy season), encan (rain), enkolong' (sun), enkop (soil). In a male-dominated society this is the same as recognizing the crucially important female factor in the existence of society.

57. ENENAUNIR - A MONSTER BETWEEN NATURE AND CULTURE

Much of the above discussion on dual symbolism can be summed up by introducing a curious creature, *enenaunir*, which is known already from very early sources.¹⁵ While it is commonly known in the Kisongo Maasai area and around Arusha, and many claim to have personally seen it, in the Lugoba area it is known mainly as a piece of tradition. A member of the oldest age-set (*Ilkijaru*) thought that the concept 'enenaunir' was brought by Arabs prior to the arrival of the Germans to frighten people with invented stories. Since the German occupation, it is said, nobody has seen it.¹⁶ However, he mentioned a cave near Mombo (Map 2, p.11) at the foot of Usambara Mountains, where twinkling lights are seen at night and where too curious people are said to have been eaten by *enenaunir*. In the Arusha area I met several people who claimed to have seen *enenaunir*, and one such beast had been even killed in Monduli, and Europeans had taken pictures of it.¹⁷

Enenaunir is a monster, which has the right side like a human being and the left side is like stone¹⁸ or a wild beast¹⁹. It has four legs (sometimes only one) but walks upright and is very tall.²⁰ It is dangerous to people who walk in the forest, for it does not attack them right away but tempts them by asking, for example, to help to lift firewood.

It is dangerous, because it is said to drink human blood and eat the liver and the heart, and leave other parts untouched. It is fluent in the Maa language and claims to belong to the Ilaiser clan.²¹ Sometimes it is said to pass through Maasai kraals and ask for milk, and nobody would refuse to give.²²

In *enenaunir* many central Maasai ideas of classification are crystallized. The right/left dichotomy divides the body into two halves; the right, human, domesticated, culturized side, and the left, non-human, wild, unculturized side. The fact that the left side is thought alternatively as stone (*osoit*) or a beast (often *olowuaru*, a lion) does not make any difference, because both represent the undomesticated and dangerous, the opposite of culture. Linking *enenaunir* with the Ilaiser clan is in accordance

with the fact that Ilaiser is the senior clan, which includes the sometimes awe-inspiring iloibonok. The skill to cure contains often also the power to destroy.

Although *enenaunir* is a fictive monster and serves primarily as a means of control of children, still many believe in its existence. From the analytical viewpoint it clearly communicates the message that culture and nature are categories to be kept apart. Any attempt to mix them is dangerous and brings about monsters who defy classification. Part of *enenaunir* is human but it lives in forests. Another part is nature but it drinks human blood and eats the liver and heart, the producer and circulator of blood, where the very essence of man is. The 'transformation' of nature into culture by means of mixing categories brings about disaster.

The monster has clearly Maasai characteristics, although its model has been probably adopted from the traditions of Near East (Merker 1910: 308). It has either four legs, a symbol of perfection, or only one, which is its total opposite. Four legs stand for order and culture, one leg for abnormality and nature. Right side, the ritually pure one, represents the human, and at the same time cultural, sphere of existence. The non-cultural sphere of existence is represented by the impure side, left, and has a form of a beast, often of a lion, or of the inanimate nature, stone. Despite these peculiarities it behaves like a true Maasai, without being a Maasai, however. It behaves like a man, without being a man. It is a monster whom all people should abhor and fear.

Viewed on a higher level of abstraction, the typically Maasai idiosyncracies of this figure disappear (A. Cohen 1969:220-21). The warriors are not here linked with nature and women with culture,²³ but all human beings are linked with culture and placed in opposition to nature. Although man is part of nature, and although it is through his activities that nature is transformed into culture, there is nothing truly human in nature. Man has created a human sphere of existence, which is qualitatively different from that where other creatures live, and this man-made world is placed conceptually into opposition with nature. *Enenaunir* is one conceptual means of illuminating the need of keeping these two categories apart.

The Parakuyo of the Lugoba area are not at present commonly concerned with *enenaunir*. Instead, they talk much of *mumiani* and *majini* (Arabic *jinn*), both common among the Kwere and other surrounding ethnic groups. These have, in Parakuyo thought, some features common with *enenaunir*. A couple of my field experiences may illuminate the ideas linked with these figures.

When I was going with my car to a kraal close to Mindu Tulieni school, I met on the way two women, whom I knew very well and who knew me. A couple of hours earlier I had talked with them in Lugoba and told them where I was going. I knew that they were going to the same ritual as I was and I offered them a lift. They hesitated a bit, and when I again invited them in Maasai, they instantly started to run away towards a Kwere house as fast as they could, falling down on thorns and running again and screaming all the time. After waiting a moment I continued alone and after a while I met a warrior bathing in a cattle watering place and explained what had happened. He told that the previous day there had been a *mumiani* in Lugoba who sucked human blood and apparently the women had identified me with it.

When the women later arrived at the kraal, they behaved again normally and laughed at the incident. But while in the forest, they could never be sure, because *mumiani* can change its appearance. They, together with other women in the kraal, told wild stories of western-type hospitals, where especially white people cut the bodies of dead people in order to prepare medicine from stomach contents. They also use human brains to prepare medicine, and cut the knees to prepare very valuable medicine.²⁴

It seems that *mumiani* and *majini* (evil spirits inhabiting remote places and thickets) have taken the place of *enenaunir*, due to the proximity of other ethnic groups who have such beliefs. It was told that the fear of *mumiani* had increased during the years of villagization. This was not only because of insecurity in face of the future, but also, so the Parakuyo claimed, due to the activity of the Kwere in spreading such rumours in hope of getting employment as guides. The Parakuyo women would not risk to walk alone after sunset in fear of *mumiani*.²⁵

Structurally, *mumiani* is less revealing of the thought structures than *enenaunir*. This can be credited to the late borrowing from the Muslim Bantu. But also *mumiani* represents destructive, counter-cultural forces.

People are dark but *mumiani* is white. People never eat anything of human origin; this subsists only on human blood.

The frequent witchcraft eradication rituals and spirit exorcism among the Kwere made the 'existence' of evil spirits, often referred to as *majini*, known also to the Parakuyo. Although witchcraft has not traditionally been a major issue among them, its effects were felt in 1976 to the extent, that money was collected from each cattle owner to invite the Kwere experts to perform the rituals. These refused, however, because the pastoralists had not moved to the proper village, and the collected money was returned.²⁶ It is probable that witchcraft and spirits are becoming more frequent as rationalizations of various unwanted and harmful phenomena, the more permanent and close-set the settlement patterns will be. This trend is to be noticed also among other ethnic groups.²⁷

58. MEANINGS OF SYMBOLS

The above analysis has resulted in mapping out a number of structures on the syntagmatic level. By comparing the structural properties of various institutions and thought systems it was possible to demonstrate one governing principle of ordering: dualism and its derivatives. Only in passing have we touched on the other side of the issue, i.e. the referents of these structural configurations. The question of function becomes particularly important in the analysis of symbolism, which always has these two facets, form and function. The crucial difference between symbolic forms and functions (A. Cohen 1969:218-20) was seen in the diverse ways in which different symbolic forms were used to symbolize the one and same function (A. Cohen 1969:219) and how one symbol was made to stand for several significations.

Identity

The most general level on which symbolism conveys messages is that of ethnic identity. It is naturally a common object of symbolization, but the Parakuyo seem to emphasize it more than usual. The identity of a pastoral

Parakuyo is symbolized by a number of secular symbols, which often have also other significations than the symbolic one. The almost uniform clothing with decorations is a part of the information system (Douglas 1979:10) which visually differentiates them from other groups.

The pastoral identity²⁸ is symbolized by the urge to subsist on pastoralism whenever possible. The occasional change of economy to cultivation in the face of necessity is considered temporal and a deviation from the pastoral ideals. It is pastoral culture that is meaningful (Dalton 1969:76) to them. The reluctance to change the base of economy has to be seen from the symbolic viewpoint, as a question of identity. Livestock stands in the centre of the Parakuyo culture, forming its backbone, which supports all other aspects of the society. It creates the base for the mode of production and for the relations of production. The social structures as they stand, e.g. the kinship and age-system, have to be seen as derivatives of the economic base (Ellen 1978:299). They have developed to meet the economic-cultural needs. The fact that the Parakuyo elders are always seen to carry a cattle stick and a whip is an indication of their pastoral identity.

To the group of symbols of identity belong also the selective food categories. Because of pastoral identity they value highest the foods obtained from the pastoral economy. For the same reason blood and meat are central items in ritual symbolization. Abstaining from eating fowl, fish, and the meat of several wild animals is linked with the question of identity. The different modes of preparing food, such as roasting for males and cooking for females, are means of demarcating group boundaries according to sex. A similar effect is achieved by separating the killed animal into right (male) and left (female) sections. Furthermore, the meat of the killed animal is divided according to age-sets and eaten in groups of age-mates.

Among the permanent symbols of ethnicity are the circumcision of males and the clitoridectomy of females, which are performed in a uniform manner. Also worthy of note is the extraction of two lower incisor teeth and the acquiring of ear decorations in a fixed order (males: top right, top left, lower right, lower left, middle right, middle left; females: top right, top left, lower right, lower left).

In discussing identity, several levels of groups can be distinguished, the ethnic identity being only one of them. A grown-up Parakuyo has at least the following levels of identities, or, in other words, is a member of the following boundary systems (Y. Cohen 1969)

mother's house	group
gate-post	group
kraal	group (a compound family)
sub-clan	group
clan	group
moiety	group
ethnic	group (Parakuyo)
extended ethnic	group (Maa-speakers)
national	group (Tanzanians)
continental	group (Africans)

In addition, men are members of an age-group, age-set, age-grade, and of a stream of alternate age-sets. Each warrior age-set has a feature in their decorations, which distinguishes them from other age-sets. Senior warriors have a spear with a black handle (*embere sirwa*) while juniors still use a spear with an ordinary handle (*embere sero*). When being out of the area of Maa-speakers, a Parakuyo may emphasize his identity as a Maasai. Within the society there is no need to symbolize clan differences,²⁹ because people know each other; cattle have their clan marks. For the same reason there is no need to symbolize kraal identities or gate post identities. Here again, cattle of distinct gate-posts are differently marked.

Yehudi Cohen has argued that there seems to be an "inverse relationship between the firmness of a unit's boundedness and its ability to tolerate sustained outspoken dissent by any of its members" (Y. Cohen 1969:110). It seems that if the Maasai generally are more homogenous than many African societies (Burton and Kirk 1979:870), the Parakuyo emphasize more clearly their identity than many Maa-speakers around Arusha and in many parts of Kenya. It is tempting to suggest that the emphasis of identity of the Parakuyo, e.g. through uniform clothing, is an attempt to demarcate clear boundaries between themselves and others in a situation where they are a minority group surrounded by more populous groups of other ethnic origins. Not only in the Bagamoyo District, but also in most areas where they live they are in a minority status, and they are distinguished by their rich and colourful decorations and clothing.³⁰

Difference

The pervasive, all-embracing dualism is, in addition to being the most simple mode of ordering, an effective means of creating a tangible sense image of difference. A thing is something only in comparison with, or in opposition to something else. Enkai Narok (lit. 'Black God') is a good and beneficial representation of Divinity because there is Enkai Naado (lit. 'Red God'), his malevolent representation. The opposite qualities are conceptually attached to the same divine being.

By applying a simple dual classification to relations between groups (ethnic, kin, age, sex etc.) a sense of difference is created. In the simplest mythical form, there existed in the beginning only two ethnic groups, represented by their first ancestors: the Parakuyo and the Dorobo (Ole Sai-bull and Carr 1981:17). These came to be drastically differentiated from each other with regard to economy, ecology, social structure etc. (Huntingford 1951; 1955). It seems as if the differentiation on the ideological level would increase the difference on the operational level. Therefore, because the Maasai are herders by supranormal calling, they do not hunt or cultivate. By analogy, the Dorobo live in or close to forests (Huntingford 1951:3), where hunting and honey collecting is a viable mode of economy.

The same trend towards creating a sense of difference is in making conceptually a qualitative distinction between the right and left initiation groups (emurata etatene and emurata ekedyenye). Ilmanki and Ilmaina divisions (Ole Sankan 1973:31-33), originally age-set names,³¹ are conceptual categories, where the former represents bravery, arrogance, willingness to fight and destruct (male qualities), while the latter stands for a love of peace and prosperity (female qualities). While in actual life these two qualities are distributed in all age-sets and age divisions, they are conceptually attached to distinct groups, and in this way the difference will be apprehended more clearly. A regular alternation of these qualities creates also a sense of secured order.

The difference between sexes seems to be one of the central objects of

symbolism, and it is emphasized through different patterns and colours in clothing and decoration. It is tangible also in the division of labour, property relations, the enturuj prohibitions, and in identities on the nature-culture axis. The modes of preparing food (men : roasting :: women : cooking) emphasize the same difference.

Also the ritual transvestism, the institutionalized modes of inverting roles temporarily, ultimately has the function of perpetuating different roles. Although the women are allowed to beat their menfolk for four days during the olkiteng lo 'lbaak ritual, and the girls are supposed to beat their mothers when a girl is taken by force to initiation, these rites in fact reinforce the existing structure, where role differences are clear. A similar purpose is achieved when a boy is dressed in woman's clothing in the enkitupukunoto rite prior to circumcision, or when women are allowed to wear spears, swords and clubs in spirit possession curing rituals. The psychic distress of the participants may be alleviated, but at the same time the sex difference is reinforced.

In kinship categories, on the other hand, the emphasis of dualism on difference is less clear. Moieties are conceptually different, though not in practice, and the same ambiguity also applies to clan and sub-clan categories. Only the Enkidong sub-clan (that of iloibonok) of the Ilwarakishu (Ilaiser) clan can be considered to be clearly different from other clans. Therefore, Enkidong : other clans :: supranormal powers : normal powers. By kin terminology, social categories and their differences are expressed, particularly in matters concerning distinctions between generations.

The referents of symbolism on the ideological level can be summarily shown with the following equations:

Parakuyo : Dorobo	:: herder : non-herder
Enkai Narok : Enkai Naado	:: fortune : misfortune plenty : scarcity blessing : disaster
Oloiboni : ordinary person	:: supranormal powers : normal powers foreigners : Parakuyo sub-clan of healers : other clans

olaunoni : age-set	:: seniority : juniority femininity : masculinity bad luck : good luck short life : long life
nort/east : south/west	:: origin of Maa-] : [origin of speakers] : [others familiarity : non-familiarity good luck : bad luck rising sun : setting sun life : death
waxing moon : waning moon	:: good luck : bad luck ritually good] : [ritually bad time] : [time life : death
edible animals : non-edible animals	:: culture : nature pastoralism : non-pastoralism
linguistic : linguistic masculinity femininity	:: big trees : small trees trees : grasses trees used] : [trees used by by men] : [women moon : sun masculine sex : feminine sex
black : red	:: seniority : juniority maturity : immaturity peacefulness : arrogance prosperity : poverty, disaster sacred know-] : [profane know- ledge] : [ledge
black/red : white	:: normal time : ritual time profane : sacred normal : abnormal

The list of correspondences between tangible items and phenomena with their symbolic referents could be extended further without exhausting the subject. Although the symbolism is dualistic, the correspondences cannot be reduced to one series only, because the referents vary according to context (Leach 1972), and one has to be careful in establishing links.

The symbolic system of the Parakuyo is nevertheless simple, consistent and comprehensive at the same time. Whether its dualism is based on linguistic dualism (the masculinity and femininity of the nouns; cf. Lebeuf 1977:185) or on the mode of economy and the social structure congruent with it, is not clear. Leaving the question of causality aside, one can say, in congruence with the conclusions of Kamau regarding the Yoruba (1977:386-87) and of Lebeuf on the Kotoko (1977:190), that the symbolic

system of the Parakuyo is consistent and that it places man in total contact with the universe.

Particularly the dualism of the Parakuyo realized in numerology is remarkably similar with that of the above societies. Like these, the Parakuyo utilize the number two and its multiplications extensively in symbolism and taxonomy whenever applicable. The principle applies to remarkably many contexts thus making it useful. Pastoralism as the economic base is not a prerequisite for dualism, but it fits well to a pastoral polygynous society. It enables the living compounds to be built according to dual divisions, which are models of moieties. It also necessitates a creation of a defence system (Radcliffe-Brown 1980:127), which is a central function of the dualistically ordered age system.

The whole taxonomic scheme bears the imprint of pastoralism with periodic migration, and it is this economic base which creates a degree of coherence for the culture. Therefore, women are associated with culture and men with nature, and not vice versa (Ravenhill 1978:70, 74-75; Ortner 1974); the benevolent Enkai is associated with black; there is no hierarchy of the spirit world, no emphasis on mortuary rituals, or ancestor worship, etc. The metaphors for classification have been drawn from the natural world (Fox 1979:140), and the social structure is made to maintain a balance in ecological adaptation (Swift 1982:167). The same classificatory scheme, encoded in the minds of people and experienced as what we call a culture, seems to emphasize specialization rather than assimilation of different peoples (Bates and Lees 1977:825-26), although the incorporation of grain production into the economy might also be successful, as experienced by the Karamojong (N. Dyson-Hudson 1966; R. Dyson-Hudson 1972) and the Kipsigis (Peristiany 1939).

Essence

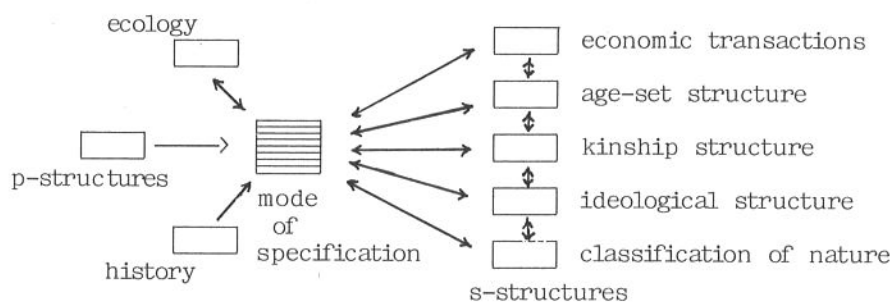
In addition to symmetrical order represented by duality, there is also symbolism which designates the 'essence' by means of distillation. Galaty (1983) identified a decreasing scale of social signification in the symbolism of the *eunoto* ritual of the Pastoral Maasai. The village constructed for the *eunoto* represents at the same time the unity and complementary opposition of two maximal divisions of which it is constituted. These divisions were composed of a number of minor groups which had been living in age-set villages (*emanyata*, pl. *imanyat*). The construction of the age-set villages also exhibits the social and cosmological order, with the right-hand clans (*Illoorokiteng'*) living on the northern side and the left-hand clans (*Iloodomong'i*) on the southern side of the east-west axis of the village (Jacobs 1965c:305). While the *eunoto* ritual symbolizes the unity and internal divisions of politically autonomous localities, the *emanyata* construction visualizes internal relations of the kinship structure. Although the Parakuyo no longer build warrior villages, the information about their structure is transmitted as a collective tradition.

To follow the theme of distilling the 'essence', we find the clan structure represented in the ideal kraal (*enkang'*) structure, with gate-posts representing moieties and individual houses standing for clans. In a sense, a kraal is an image of the entire Parakuyo/Maasai society, a construction built for pragmatic purposes, but at the same time it is a powerful symbol of the social structure on a higher level. Among the most distilled symbols of 'essence' are perhaps the 'kraal' with two entrances formed by the cut hair-tufts on the stool (*olorika*) in ritual hair shaving (p. 219) and the dark blue bead string on the head of the initiate's father, signifying individuality (single beads) within totality (the string). Visual symbolic images serve to help the comprehension of what otherwise exists only as concepts.

59. EVALUATION OF THE THEORY AND METHOD

Among the advantages of the theory of symbolic anthropology and the methodology applied in it are comprehensiveness and holism, which allow a society to be viewed from a variety of viewpoints. In this study, the diversity of ethnographic detail was reduced, however, to the general structural principles which were found to recur in a variety of phenomena. The following figure will illustrate the relations between the theoretical construct to be discussed here (Fig. 15).

Fig. 15. Relations between structural entities.



Economic transactions, the age-set structure and the political organization facilitated by it (Jacobs 1965c), the kinship structure, and the ideological structure with its classificatory systems were analysed. It was found that in all of these syntagmatic structures there is a theme of dualism, realized in various degrees. Hence the twin-pointed arrows connecting these structures. These are connected by similar arrows with the 'mode of specification', which is more or less a different abstraction of the same phenomena as the s-structures (Geertz 1957:33-34). It is actually through the 'mode of specification', the culture, that realization structures become interdependent and achieve a degree of similarity.

It may well be asked whether there are, in addition to dualism, other underlying p-structures. The above analysis does not deny this obvious possibility. Yet it shows that dualism is one of them, and probably

the most central one. It is not only that the choice in this study was made between "the French love of logical order" and "the English love of empirical detail" (Leach 1967:XI); the ethnographic data led to it.

The relation between ecology and culture is two-directional. Ecology provides the basic constraints for the evolution of social, political and economic structures, but does not determine them. Also the society may choose its ecology, and the Parakuyo have done so purposefully, of course within given limits.

The role of history was taken into account as a significant time dimension for understanding various structures. Especially the experience of pastoralism of perhaps over 2000 years in Parakuyo history has enabled them to experiment with a number of adaptive alternatives and to develop the most effective ones. What we observe at this time is the present stage of development of the society, where also the culture, the modifier of events, is subject to development (Steward 1972:31), although it tends to perpetuate itself (Steward 1972:37; Appelbaum 1970:65-75). Thus the culture, with its roots in history, has helped the Parakuyo to maintain their pastoral identity.

As a limitation of the preceding analysis has to be mentioned that, because of its structural approach, it did not yield much on the emotional content of symbolism. However, it is important to know what is the affectual import of the messages transmitted in symbolism. Penetrating to the emotional level, however, is extremely difficult, and this is possibly one of the areas where 'indigenous' anthropologists, those who study their own societies, could contribute more than a foreigner.

There is also a danger that the theory guides to select such data which seem to support the hypothesis and to leave a part of equally important data unaccounted for. Through conscious rigour, I think, also the deviations from the rule can be analysed within the same scheme. By taking also the deviations into account (Fletcher 1981:77) it can be evaluated how fully the ordering principles are realized in practice. It was noted above, for example, that the clan system was less clearly structured than the age-set system, although both are an outcome of the same struc-

turing process. It would be interesting to compare different societies cross-culturally³² and try to find out to what extent and how consistently they employ structuring principles. The ancient Yoruba of Nigeria (Kamau 1977) and the Kotoko of Chad (Lebeuf 1977), for example, show striking similarities with the Parakuyo and other Maa-speakers, although there certainly are differences in the pervasiveness of classification.

Regarding the options available for the development of the Parakuyo, a wise and insightful summary was given by Paulo Moreto, the brother of *oloiboni kitok*. He emphasized that the Parakuyo culture and identity stand on two pillars: *olaji* and *enkishomi*, the age and kinship systems, based on a pastoral economy. The whole system revolves around these institutions, and other institutions receive their rationale through these. When new adaptive changes are necessary, they should not endanger the basis of the pastoral identity.

NOTES to Chapter L

- 1 It is assumed that, using E. Gellner's terms, there is only one kind of man, and that there are shared human 'universals' which unite rather than separate all men. Underneath the social and cultural variation there is a unity on the level of 'hidden' structures; Gellner 1981:1-2. In discussing symbolism, Sperber thinks that the unity of people may rest on the level which he calls 'tacit knowledge', and that the symbolic mechanism of human beings is part of the innate equipment rather than a product of experience; Sperber 1975.
- 2 Gulliver has formulated a rather coherent clan structure for the Arusha. From moieties downwards he has found a dualistically dividing structure of clans and sub-clans. In addition to this, also the territorial system of the Arusha tends to be dualistically structured, first into two sub-tribes (*oloshu* or *engirua*) and then branching through parishes (*embalbal*) into several parish-divisions (*engashata*), many of which are unidentified, however. Recurring names of clan divisions are interestingly two well-known trees, *oloirien*, pl. *iloriendo* (*Olea africana*) and *oldulelei*, pl. *ildulele* (*Solanum campylacanthus*). The former is used as a firestick and fumigating agent and the latter as medicine against fever and for extracting shield dyes. Gulliver 1961:24-30; Carlston 1968:333-36.
- 3 UTaf 1976/02/84.
- 4 UTA 1982/17.1./B1.

- 5 Chaparisi ole Mdomwa (the Iltwati) age-set) had three of his total of nine wives left at home in 1982 with the houses in appropriate places on both sides of the gate. Also his son Paulo of the seventh wife had built a house for himself and his only wife on the right side of the gate. Instead, three houses left by former Kwere agriculturalists nearby were inhabited by one of Chaparisi's married sons and two widowed wives of his sons with children. These houses were not, of course, dualistically placed; UTaf 1982/13.1./11.
- 6 UTaf 1982/14.1./24-25, 29-30, 35.
- 7 Although the ethnographic data are those of Jacobs on the Pastoral Maasai, those of Gulliver on the Arusha, and those of Spencer on the Samburu and are not easily comparable, they nevertheless exhibit the main structural features. Stewart has found it extremely difficult to compare ethnographic data of similarly trained ethnographers, because of different perspectives and conceptual unclarity; Stewart 1977: 146, 154, 157-58.
- 8 A shorter interval between sets in Samburu society is probably linked with the rule, that the olpiron elders of a set should belong to the second set above and their fathers to the third one. Shorter intervals between sets makes this rule easier to apply. The Arusha system follows the transition rhythm of the Kisongo Maasai, and therefore the time span between sets (12 years) as presented by Stewart on the basis of Gulliver's data is too short; Stewart 1977:149.
- 9 Re. Kimirei's kind assistance in collecting information of the Kisongo Maasai and Arusha age-set recruitment and promotion phases has convinced me of my earlier opinion, that the system with only one recruitment period has become more common than it was before among the Pastoral Maasai.
- 10 If a division into right- and left-hand circumcision groups is made in the system with only one recruitment period, it is made between those circumcised first (right-hand group) and those initiated later (left-hand group). The boundaries between these groups are, however, difficult to define. More significant than dual division in this system is the triadic sub-group structure: Iljangenopir, Ilparing'otua, Ilkerimbuot. See UTaf 1982/18.1./37.
- 11 In fact, also in this type of recruitment there is a tendency to form sub-groups of initiation. Between these groups is left a short period of closed initiation. However, the total period of initiation is ideally four years, in practice, however, among the Parakuyo at least until the eunoto ritual.
- 12 This should not lead to the conclusion that the bridewealth would be an equivalent of the bride's value. This is apparently never the case, and there is actually no need for it to be so, since lineages are simultaneously wife-givers and wife-takers. Here the analysis of Peltola concerning the functions of bridewealth are particularly illuminating; Peltola 1949:102-14.

- 13 Sometimes also double dualism is applied in characterizing Enkai's qualities, but these cases are occasional and they cannot be viewed as representative.
- 14 Ole Kulet has given a vivid picture of the expected behaviour of the Maasai when they are searching for a circumciser. There is ritual mocking and threatening from the part of the Maasai, and the Dorobo plays the role of a coward and resists the order to come with the Maasai. Their supremacy is exaggerated, and the Dorobo has no choice; Ole Kulet 1972:90ff.
- 15 Accounts of *enenaunir* were given by Krapf (1854:9), Hollis (1905:265-66); and Merker (1910:210). Because it was believed to be dangerous to people, it was translated as 'devil' by Krapf and Hollis, and as 'demon' by Merker.
- 16 UTaf 1976/03/35.
- 17 A man called Marikino was fortunate to kill *enenaunir* in the Monduli Mountain forest and he was given Tshs 200.- as a reward; UTA 1976/39/9.
- 18 UTaf 1976/03/64; Hollis 1905:265; Wincza 1970:19.
- 19 Hollis 1905:265; UTA 1976/39/9; UTaf 1976/03/36; Merker 1910:210.
- 20 The Nandi know a similar monster called *Chemosit*, which is half man and half bird, has one leg and nine buttocks. Its red mouth is said to shine at night, and to be particularly dangerous to children, who, after seeing a shining light and hearing a song in forest, are tempted to find out what it is; Hollis 1909:41.
- 21 UTaf 1976/03/64; Hollis 1905:265.
- 22 UTaf 1976/03/64.
23. In the Wan society of Ivory Coast the symbolism is opposite. Women are associated with nature and man with culture, supposedly because of the women's roles as provisioners of the bush products; Ravenhill 1978:70-74.
- 24 In one version of the myth of origin, the first man had a swollen knee which burst and three boys came out of it; Hollis 1909:98.
25. UTaf 1976/08/14.
26. *Majini* are not felt to be so dangerous as *mumiani*. The Parakuyo know also the name *endiamasi* which is thought to be a strong animal-like creature resembling the lion; UTaf 1976/03/36. Also merker recorded this name and identified it with the Babylonian *Tiamat*; Merker 1910:308.
27. During the villagization process, there was considerable opposition against plans to move people to the southwestern part of Lugoba village, because people feared a named person claimed to be in contact

with evil spirits; UTAF 1976/06/17. It is also evident that witchcraft accusations are linked rather with social relations of neighbouring peoples than of persons living far apart. This concerns also ethnic and cultural affinity; Beidelman 1964:75; Gray 1964:171-73.

28. In this respect the remarks of Huntingford (1953:111) and Jacobs (1965c: 31-36) that the Parakuyo are 'agricultural Maasai' are misleading.
29. Except for the Enkidong sub-clan members, both men and their wives, exhibit their identity through clothing.
30. The equilibrium theory of society and its special form, the cultural lag theory, seem to be applicable here. The cultural code system seems to attempt to perpetuate itself, but is, however, transformed by pressures towards change. Therefore, culture changes lag behind economic and social changes, but through this function culture stabilizes society and maintains a degree of integrity within it; Appelbaum 1970:73-75; Barth 1978: 69-71; Bonte 1978.
31. Ilmanki and Ilmaina occur as age-set names in ancient Southern Nilotic age-set cycles of eight age-sets; Ehret 1971:45, 64. The Dorobo had seven sets in a cycle (Huntingford 1951:31-32; Langley 1979:8) the above names included, although in a slightly different form (Nyongi and Maina).
32. Instead of the term 'cross-cultural' a new term 'holocultural' has been used in some recent comparative studies. E.g. Levinson and Malone 1980; Bourguignon and Evascu 1977.