

HONEY IN OKIEK PERSONALITY,
CULTURE AND SOCIETY

by

Roderic Hall Blackburn

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

1971

71-31,161

BLACKBURN, Roderic Hall, 1941-
HONEY IN OKIEK PERSONALITY, CULTURE AND
SOCIETY.

Michigan State University, Ph.D., 1971
Anthropology

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ABSTRACT

HONEY IN OKIEK PERSONALITY, CULTURE AND SOCIETY

By

Roderic Hall Blackburn

This thesis describes the partial results of ethnographic field work among the Okiek tribe of Kenya. The Okiek are a hunting and gathering tribe living in the high forest regions of central Kenya. To a degree not found in other societies, they have elaborated honey as the central theme in their existence. In fact, the Okiek cannot be adequately understood without first studying the role of honey in their beliefs and behavior. Because of the logical priority of the theme of honey, the purpose of this thesis is to analyze the relationship of honey to Okiek personality, culture and society.

Although honey is a secondary food source for the Okiek, it has value far beyond its intrinsic worth. This thesis attempts to explain why honey is very important to the Okiek by showing how it integrates various systems in Okiek life and why it is supported in beliefs and behavior as the central symbol in Okiek culture.

The role of honey, in the form of honey itself, honey water, and honey wine, is discussed in the context of the Okiek personality, cultural and social systems. Honey is first analyzed as an object of orientation and as a cathected mode in Okiek personality. The psychological basis for the unusual Okiek interest in honey is described in terms of the relationship of honey to experiences of

child development and adult personality characteristics. Specifically, hypotheses are presented and tested which link personality characteristics to the relatively heavy indulgence in honey wine.

Honey is analyzed in its role as the central symbol in Okiek culture. The significance of honey derives from the multiple meanings which are attached to it and these meanings integrate all categories of culture at the highest level of abstraction. The maintenance of honey as the central symbol in Okiek culture is explained in terms of the apparent believability of the truths which the Okiek ascribe to honey. The manner by which honey as a cultural symbol supports the personality and social systems is also discussed.

Honey is also an important instrumentality in social relations. Honey is frequently utilized as a means for articulating relations between persons, both Okiek and non-Okiek. A number of cases are described to support the contention that honey is a significant variable in the maintenance of social relations and especially of social control.

Honey is central to Okiek ethos. It is a major part of what the Okiek feel is their distinctive character and quality of life. Because the theme of honey is a major part of the principles which direct Okiek thought and behavior, it is the most appropriate illustration of how the Okiek personality, cultural and social systems relate to each other, and how these systems, in turn, relate to the natural environment. The Okiek use and belief in honey satisfies both intended and unintended functions for the maintenance of each of these systems. The use and belief in honey, per se, exists because the

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system of meanings which the Okiek impute to honey is self-fulfilling, and therefore these meanings confirm in their minds the truth of honey's value. But this thesis also suggests that the use and belief in honey is maintained by the capacity of honey's multiple uses and meanings to satisfy personality needs and drives of the Okiek.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude all my teachers who have contributed to my graduate education. I am especially indebted to Drs. Marc J. Swartz and Ralph W. Nicholas for the high standards of scholarship which they demand for their students and which they set by their own example. No student could ask for more than their inspiration, nor should they settle for less.

Dr. William Appell, Deputy Director of the Columbia County Mental Health Clinic, Hudson, N. Y., graciously consented to evaluate the psychological material which I collected in the field. His perceptive understanding of human nature has been an indispensable addition to this thesis as well as a personal benefit to me.

Dr. Alan H. Jacobs, Senior Research Fellow, The University of Nairobi, is largely responsible for my field work in Kenya. It was his suggestion which determined my choice of studying the Okiek, and it was largely through his efforts that I was granted permission to do that study. I am especially thankful for the many conversations we had during my field work, about the Okiek, the Maasai, and Kenya pre-history. To both him and his wife I am indebted for their hospitality and kindness on my visits to Nairobi.

Field work is exhausting but that exhaustion gives heightened appreciation of those friends who, by their hospitality, revived and encouraged me to do as well as I may have done. I am especially

appreciative of the kindnesses of Father's Voshaar, Hoban, O'Neil and Cronin of the Catholic Mission, Narok. Mende and Bev Solak of Nairobi were superb friends and hosts, who made our trips to Nairobi most enjoyable. Dr. and Mrs. Paul Brandley were enjoyable company and hosts, and to them I am especially indebted for their efforts on my behalf in a difficult situation.

Dickson Odera is a man of rare integrity and talents. As my camp manager, driver, and cook he was indispensable. Rarely does one ever find a friend in whom trust can be so well placed. Joseph Mapelu was my Okiak assistant who deserves special recognition for his cheerful willingness to work even in the most difficult circumstances. To Joseph, to his family, and to all the Okiak with whom I stayed I give my sincerest thanks for their hospitality which they gave without recompense. The Okiak understand kindness as few others do, and it is largely through them that I now know what "respect" really means.

My wife, DeGuerre, was able to accompany me throughout most of my stay in Kenya and shares with me the gratitude that I have for all those mentioned above who made our field work enjoyable as well as possible. DeGuerre is largely responsible for my understanding of individuals; she is a fine teacher. In those difficult early months of field work her encouragement was especially important, her company indispensable. My thanks also to Jogginda for making field conditions seem less arduous for DeGuerre.

I should like to acknowledge with gratitude the financial support of the National Institutes of Mental Health for the fellowship and grant which made this field work possible.

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INTRODUCTION

The Okiek people have traditionally been a hunting and honey collecting tribe scattered in groups throughout the highland forests of Kenya. They speak a Kalenjin dialect (excepting a few who recently have become Maasai speakers) and, therefore, linguistically are related to the Kalenjin speaking Kipsigis, Nandi, Tuken, Marakwet, etc. They are Negroid in their physical appearance, as are their neighbors, but to the experienced eye, there are certain features among many Okiek which are infrequently noticed among other tribes. Among these are more slender features and build. The Okiek claim to be, and by their neighbors they are said to be, the earliest inhabitants of the region. Despite linguistic affinities to neighboring tribes, Okiek differences in subsistence, culture, social organization, physiognomy, and history, have militated against assigning them a definite origin and history. Consequently, the Okiek are one of the most visible anachronisms in East African ethnological history. Virtually every early travel account dealing with interior Kenya comments on the uniqueness of the Okiek. Recent attempts to reconstruct precolonial history in East Africa have suggested several hypotheses about Okiek origins. A discussion of this literature on the Okiek is pertinent to placing this thesis in proper perspective.

Literature on Okiek History

The first account published on the Okiek that I have been able to locate is that by the Rev. J. L. Krapf in his Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob (1854). He speaks of them as the "Wandurobo," a name by which they are universally known by non-Kalenjin speakers. In fact, the term Wandieroko (Wandorobo, Andorobo, Ndorobo, Dorobo) is the Swahili derivative of the Maasai term Il-Torobo (Ol-Toroboni, sing) meaning a poor person, that is, a person who has no cattle and, therefore, for meat must eat the flesh of wild animals, a regrettable state of life in Maasai eyes. Europeans, such as Krapf, coming from the East, contacted the game-hunting Okiek through Maasai interpreters. Because the Okiek spoke to these interpreters in the Maasai tongue, using the Maasai word for themselves, they became known as Dorobo. The use of this name continued and is common today. Herein lies the problem of using the term Dorobo in lieu of Okiek. As early as 1903, Hobley acknowledged that these people called themselves Okiek and they are so called by other Kalenjin speakers. The Maasai call anyone Il-Torobo who gains his meat by hunting game. There are other people in East Africa who hunt, and the Maasai refer to them by the same name as they do the Okiek. Even the Maasai have among themselves a group who hunt whom they call by this term and who are unrelated to other hunters. The generalized use of the term has resulted in other hunters' being lumped with Okiek in the ethnographic literature, much to the confusion of historians attempting to reconstruct the precolonial history in the area. Had Europeans entered Kenya from the west through Kalenjin speaking tribes, no doubt

the word Dorobo would be infrequently encountered in the literature.

Krapf spoke of these "Wondierobo" as "poor people, eating anything they may obtain, they eat the meat of the elephant, and all other game. They cover their huts with dry grass, not with skins, as the Wakuafi (Maasae) do, who therefore boast of their own superior houses. These poor people speak the language of the Wakuafi, but it appears they have also a language of their own, the knowledge of which would undoubtedly enrich the treasury of African philology."

Krapf is speaking of Dorobo living near Maasai in which is now Tanzania. What is unclear is whether these "Dorobo" are the Kalenjin speaking Mosiro Okiek in that area or the Southern Cushitic speaking Asa hunters in Maasailand. A description of the Asa in Merker (1911) is congruent with Krapf's brief comment. Thus the confusing implications of using the term "Dorobo" are already evident in the earliest account of these people.

William Chandler explored central Kenya in 1888-1890 and in his published account (1896) describes in some detail some camps he encountered near the Mathews Range. He speaks of some who live in the plains, others who live in the Mathews Range on honey and trapping, and others without hives who hunt mostly elephants. At least two groups were half starved from lack of being able to kill any animals for several days because the rains caused their bow strings to come apart. Another group, living in the mountains, were well fed. Chandler remarked on their features being different from other tribes, having "regular" features, full rounded chin, fine bold eyes, brown skin, not black. They had their own language [unspecified] in addition to Maasai. Noting that the women greatly

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outnumbered men, the "Dorobo" told him that women can survive longer without food. Apparently these Okiek had experienced starvation over a period of time. Chandler's description of their artifacts and the use made of them accords very closely with those I found in use today on the Mau Escarpment, some 200 miles away. His descriptions of these people indicate they were true Okiek.

Spencer (1965), doing field work among the Samburu adjacent to the Mathews Range, had opportunity to learn about the same Okiek Chandler had visited years before. The Okiek of this area call themselves Suiei, in accordance with Okiek custom of naming what I call "local group," and are living in the Mathews Range. They came in contact with the Samburu in the plains in 1880-1890, at which time Chandler refers to some of them as living in the plains, while subsequent to that, Spencer describes them as living in the hills. Chandler comments that the Maasai (in this case the Samburu) section drove the Okiek to the mountains and that the Okiek subsequently expressed distrust at the suggestion of settling with other tribes. In fact, their camps were carefully hidden in inaccessible places for fear of attack (p. 275). It is apparent from Spencer's account that at least some Okiek living in the plains came under increased pressure from Samburu late in the nineteenth century and, for this reason in part, moved out of the plains which the Samburu needed for their cows and into the hills which are useless to pastoralists.

Hinde (1901) describes "Dorobo" as living as "practically slaves" to the Maasai, as hunters and carpenters, "making shields and preparing skins, but being paid. Like other explorers, he took

special note of Okiek technology, singling out their characteristic elephant spear, a weighted wooden shaft with detachable poison head.

Boyes (1911) claims to have spent some months ivory hunting with Okiek on Mt. Kenya and Ewaso Nyiro River. Despite or perhaps because of this experience, he comments mostly on the dirtiness of the Okiek and the flies that pervade their camps.

Anthropological interest dates from 1903, when Hobley published an account of the "Eldorobo," called Oggiek by the neighboring Nandi, but called Omotik by themselves, who lived near Mt. Tinderet. In appearance they had "redder complexions than the majority of the Nandi; and had very peculiar eyes, which reminded one somewhat of the Mongolian type. In height they averaged 5 feet 8 inches to 5 feet 10 inches." Hobley was under the impression that they spoke another language, as well as a Nandi-like Kalenjin. There is possible significance in the fact that south of this group of Okiek I found another group who also call themselves Omotik, among whom even today the elders speak a language as yet unrecorded or unidentified by linguists.

In 1905 Hobley recounts his first contact in 1891 with this tribe in the form of "a few specimens of a bearded race of men who were said to live in the depths of the forests on that mountain (Mt. Kenya)." He identified these at a subsequent date as "The Digiri clan of the Oggiek tribe." These he finds using "many Nandi words when practically the only languages spoken in that region are Maasai and Kikuyu." For the first time in the literature Hobley focused attention on the wide distribution of the Okiek in Kenya. He lists

ten "clans" and their "chief's" name. In fact, what he calls "clans" are groups of co-resident lineages and the names for them are actually names of the groups. They show that Okiek groups, living in highland areas, are largely separated from each other by pastoral tribes in the plains between. An appended wordlist (1905:40-43) gathered from one Dorobo group called El Mogogodo clearly show that this group, unlike the others, is non-Kalenjin speaking.

In 1906 Hobley adds to this account three more "clans." He describes a Digiri legend of how they met the first Maasai, who came down from the north. Also he relates accounts of the Sirikwa, precursors of the Maasai, and of a race of dwarfs called Mwaiswai Chiana. The Kikuyu have very specific accounts of a dwarfed people whom they called Agumba.

Dundas (1908) records legends of Okiek living in what is now Kikuyu Reserve. Accordingly, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Kikuyu had penetrated so far into the forests of that region that the Okiek occupying them were displaced. According to this account, the Okiek dispersed throughout Kenya, thus accounting for their common tongue. This legend, however, does not account for the reason why the Okiek living in what is now Kikuyu areas spoke Nandi, a tribe living much farther away. Furthermore, this hypothesis is incongruent with the obvious length of time most Okiek groups have been in their present locations.

What is interesting, however, is the idea that the Agumba were a "clan" of Okiek who hunted in the plains, while the other Okiek hunted in the forests. Jacobs (1965:26) has presented evidence in support of this hypothesis. Hollis (1909) passed through the lower

part of the Rift Valley in Kenya and observed a "Dorobo" making prayers to ward off rain for the caravan he accompanied. Ironically, it is said by other tribes that the "Dorobo" are skilled rainmakers. He also met some "Maasai Dorobo" who spoke no Kalenjin. Whether they were Okiek who changed languages or Maasai who changed tribes remains unanswered.

Huntingford (1928) compared certain words from known Okiek dialects and found them close to that of "Taturu" from Tanganyika as recorded by Last (n.d.). Huntingford (1931) additionally confirms the similarity in grammar. Maguire (1928) identified the Mosiro of Tanganyika as Dorobo, showing also their Kalenjin dialect and, in addition, he gives a vocabulary for the Aramanik who, as hunters, he believes are "Dorobo."

To illustrate further the confusion endemic in Okiek historical reconstruction, one reads Huntingford's (1931) interpretation of Maguire's Mosiro and Aramanik Dorobo dialects as the former being mostly Nandi, the latter "suspiciously like nonsense," a judgment he also gives to Neuman's (in Hobley 1905) El Mogogodo dialects. As mentioned above, El Mogogodo is Eastern Cushitic, while Aramanik (Asa) is Southern Cushitic (Greenburg, 1963; Fleming, 1969).

The Asa or Aramanik, as described by Merker (1911), though hunters and gatherers, especially of honey, are culturally and socially otherwise dissimilar to Okiek, except insofar as they have both adopted certain Maasai practices and beliefs.

Huntingford (1928) considers the foregoing theories of Okiek origins but is unable to reach any conclusion. He presents three possibilities: (1) the Okiek are an autochthonous people who are

found in East Africa by the Nandi and Maasai and who assimilated Nandi language and some customs and ideas; (2) Okiiek are a part of the parent stock of the Maasai Nandi group; or that (3) Okiiek are part of the Nandi sub-group but separated earlier than other related Kalenjin speakers and the relationship has been forgotten.

Recently there has been a revival of interest in Okiiek origins within the context of East African history. Some of these sources are based on oral traditions. Lang'at (McIntosh 1969) relates a Kipsigis account of how Okiiek separated from the Kalenjin parent stock before the Kalenjins moved south separating into several tribes.

Were (1967:19) states, "originally the Dorobo hived off from the Tugen branch of the Kalenjin."

Honea (1958) believes the Okiiek belong to the same stock as the Hadzapi. This, at least, is unlikely, as the Hadzapi are non-Kalenjin speakers with dissimilar culture and social organization.

Sutton (1968), as have others, argues that many "Dorobo" are merely individuals who have lost their stock, whose crops failed, who have escaped justice or were repudiated by their kin and thus fled to the forests to hide or to live off the land.

The literature on Okiiek history clearly shows a lack of consensus about the origin of the Okiiek. Certain probabilities do emerge, however. The Okiiek appear to have been living in Central Kenya before any of the present day tribes arrived. They have always been a hunting and gathering tribe. Their linguistic affinities suggest they were all in close contact with Kalenjin speakers sometime in the past (glottochronological data suggests since the middle

of the present millenium) and, as with other Kalenjin speakers, appear to have come from North and Northwest Kenya. Presumably the Okiek lived there at one time in the last 500 years, before scattering to the high-forest areas. On the other hand, various writers have commented on certain physical dissimilarities between Okiek and all the neighboring tribes. Despite the current trend in physical anthropology against serious consideration of racial differences based on appearance only, the mere lack of ability to measure observable differences does not deny the importance of them. Vague as they may appear, there are discernible tendencies in the Okiek population which are not as frequently encountered in neighboring tribes. Huntingford (1929) noting some dissimilarities, concludes that "these characteristics tend, if anything, to indicate that they are a Nilo-Hamitic race, which has been somewhat altered by environment."

Based primarily on linguistic and cultural evidence, Ehret (1968) has reconstructed recent prehistory in East Africa. Of those people living in Kenya today, the ancestors of the Southern Cushites of Tanzania appear to have peopled the area first, as much as 3,000-4,000 years ago. Language data suggest they assimilated a previous larger group of non-Cushitic speakers. By the first millenium B.C., these had evolved into three Southern Cushitic groups: the Dahaloan, Mbuguan and Rift-Cushitic. Descendents of these today are agriculturalists and cattle keepers, with the exception of the Dahalo and the Ngonnia and Asa-Aramanik of the Rift Cushitic, who are traditionally hunters and gatherers. By the early middle first

millenium A.D., the Rift Cushites were predominant, having pushed south from the western highlands of Kenya into central and southern Tanzania. At this time, the progenitors of present day Nilotes were living to the north in the Lake Rudolf area and developing into three sections: River-Lake Nilotes (today the Luo, etc.); the Plains Nilotes (Maasai, etc.); and Highland Nilotes (Kipsigis, etc.). Adjacent to them were Eastern Cushites, who appear from cultural and linguistic evidence to have influenced the Highland Nilotes especially.

During the latter part of the first millenium A.D., the Southern Cushitic language retreated in the face of Bantu expansion from the south.

In the early centuries of the present millenium, the proto Kalenjins in the north were differentiating into their presently recognized linguistic and tribal groups: Nandi, Kipsigis, Tugen, etc. At this time, these people expanded southward. Evidence suggests they may have encountered and absorbed Rift-speaking Southern Cushites. This expansion was relatively extensive because by ca. 1500 A.D. a Kalenjin cattle culture had spread throughout central Kenya and Tanzania over the Maasai-Steppe. Within this area remain until this day pockets of the once extensive Rift Cushites. Yet by 1700, this expansion was over, being followed in that century by an equally impressive penetration by the Maasai. Presumably the Maasai incorporated a good deal of this prior Kalenjin culture, to judge by the extensive word borrowing. In this time, judging from the scant oral traditions, present day Kalenjin tribes took up occupancy of the

lands they now hold.

Where does this leave the Okiek? One of the few facts agreed upon by all is the occupancy of the Kenya Highlands by Okiek prior to present day Kalenjin and Maasai occupancy of these areas. This means they existed in the area prior to 1700. This is the time that a proto Kalenjin culture is believed to occupy the surrounding plains.

This reconstruction of East African history suggests three hypotheses about Okiek origins: (1) The Okiek were once a Southern Cushitic speaking hunting society like the Asa and Dahalo who, living in Kenya, were subject to more extensive influence from the Kalenjin expansion prior to 1700, adopting its language and certain social and cultural practices and beliefs; (2) The Okiek are descendants of the early Kalenjin expansion who remained behind in the highlands of Kenya when that expansion expired; (3) The Okiek are descendants of Kalenjins closely related to present Kalenjin tribes who expanded southward just prior to that of the other Kalenjins and the Maasai.

Until comparative linguistic studies of all Okiek groups are made, no conclusions on Okiek history appear possible.

Literature of Okiek Society and Culture

Extensive ethnographic studies of the Okiek have been done by Huntingford in 1938-39 among one group living in the Tindiret Forest area. This group, called the Kipkurerek, live near and interact closely with the Nandi. At the time of Huntingford's field work in 1938-39, this group was settled on the edge of the Tindiret Forest, subsisting mainly on honey and domestic stock. Dependence on game meat had been greatly reduced because of fewer game and legal

restriction on killing the existing game. At least in subsistence, this group had changed significantly from its traditional pattern of hunting and gathering. In a series of articles, Huntingford has briefly described their language (1931), social institutions (1951), political organization (1954), and economic life (1955).

Huntingford's writing is descriptive of the behavior and beliefs he observed during field work and is largely unencumbered by theoretical considerations. Of special interest, however, by his more extensive knowledge of Nandi, he is able to compare and contrast the adaptation of this Okiek group to this numerically superior neighbor. Living near powerful neighboring tribes is an important theme in Okiek life.

Ethnologically, the Okiek may be unique in this respect. Every Okiek group, of which there are perhaps three dozen, has lived, and is still living, in a close and often ambivalent relationship with other tribes: Nandi, Kipsigis, Tuken, Elgeyo, Marakwet, Maasai, Kikuyu, Samburu, to name the principal ones. In addition, any one group has been separated from most other Okiek groups for hundreds of years.

This long separation has resulted in a loss of knowledge of any Okiek groups beyond a person's own experience. The Okiek have become fragmented through separation from each other, with each group changing in different ways in accordance with separate adaptations to different neighbors and natural environments. This is demonstrably the case in the contrast of Huntingford's Kipkurerek with the Okiek groups of my experience. The Kipkurerek have been significantly

influenced by the Nandi in social structure (Huntingford 1954:124).

The Okiek of Mau have been affected in a similar way by the Maasai.

The Kipkurerek have adapted in a different manner to a circumscribed environment, in contrast to the Mau Okiek adaptation to a large forest extensively populated with a wide variety of game. In view of the fact that my own research dealt with an intensive study of two adjacent groups, it is not important at this time to dwell extensively on the comparative adaptations of other Okiek groups. What must be realized is that a comparatively wide variety of behavior and beliefs among all Okiek groups precludes generalizations about Okiek from the study of just one or two of them. This situation necessitates description of the Okiek in specific terms, that is, throughout this thesis real names, groups, places, etc., will be used in lieu of generalizations on a tribal level. In comparatively few areas can one generalize in the manner to which anthropologists are accustomed with more homogeneous tribes.

Okiek of Mau

The Okiek are to be found throughout Kenya inhabiting the high altitude forests (6500'-9500'). All the high forests of Kenya harbor Okiek; virtually all Okiek live in these forests. The following map and list enumerates and locates the known Okiek groups. It is quite likely that some of the groups listed here will prove to be comprised of more than one group. For example, Huntingford (1951:2) lists three groups for the Mau Escarpment, while in fact I have located 17. I have not had the opportunity to evaluate first hand the status of other groups in Kenya. The lines drawn to and from group locations indicate migrations known from oral tradition. Question marks indicate uncertainty either in the memory of

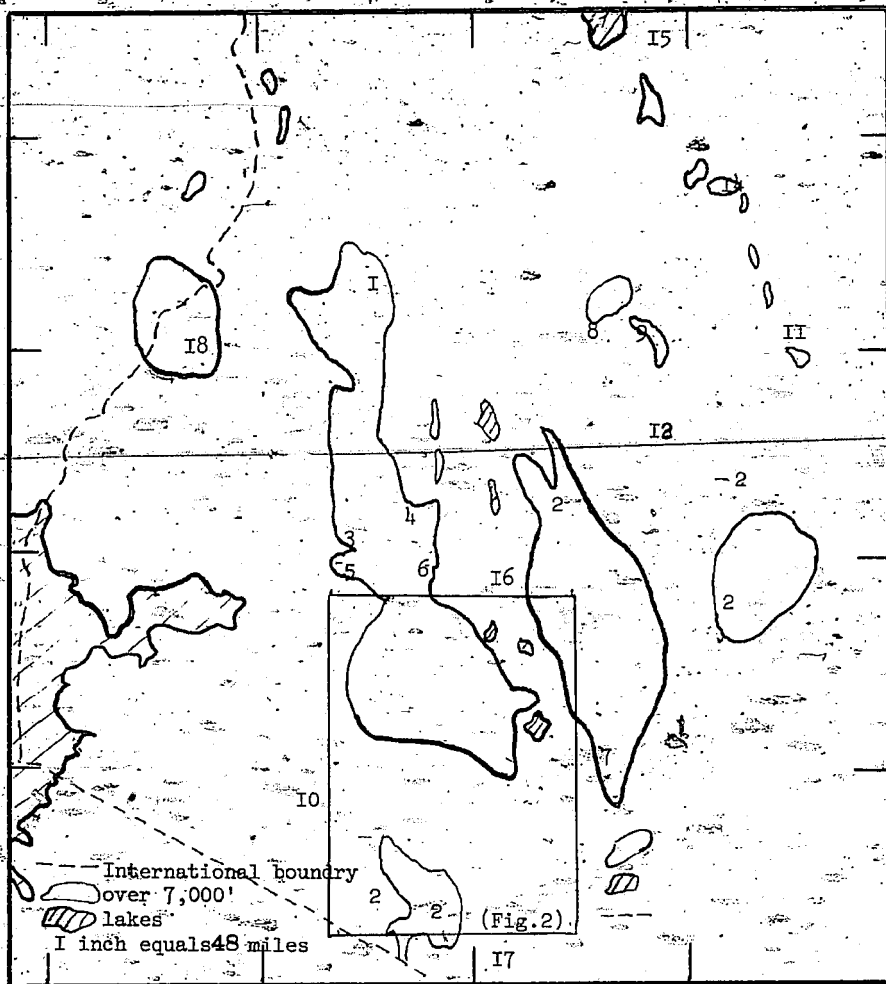


Figure I. Okiek Local Groups in the Highlands of Kenya

1. Cheranganyi
2. Digiri
3. Kipkurerek
4. Kakimengirin
5. Kipsanan
6. Koibate
(Kaivatet)

7. Kinare
8. Loliin
9. Lalaroik
10. Omotik
11. Sufei
12. Masula
13. Lanat

14. Werkile
15. El Molo
16. Dundule*
17. Mosiro
Kisankasa
Mediaki
18. Kony

*unconfirmed

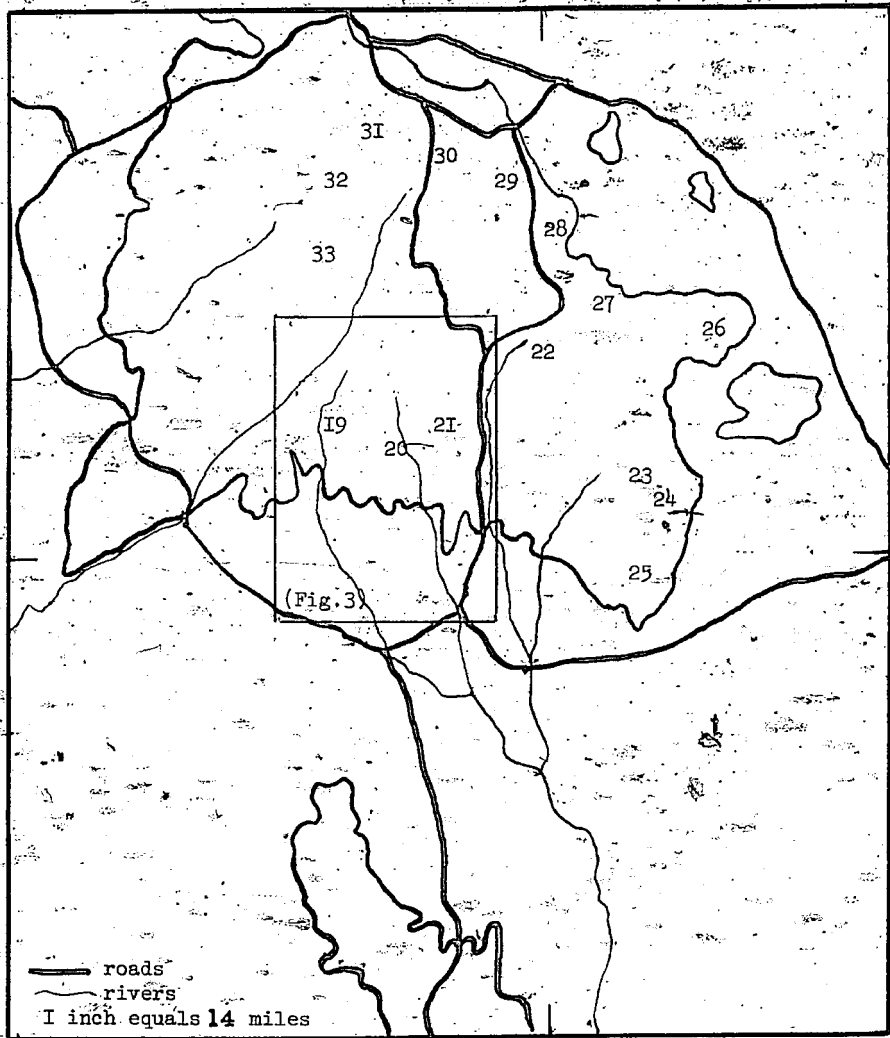


Figure 2. Okiek Local Groups on the Mau Escarpment

- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 19. Kipchornwonek I | 24. Nosubukia | 30. Mareshionik |
| 20. Kaplelach | 25. Lorkumi | 31. Kipchornwonek II |
| 21. Kapsupulek | 26. Oldönyo Purro | 32. Tinnet |
| 22. Kierisho | 27. Longinye | 33. Sisiyuet |
| 23. Saleta | 28. Narianda | |
| | 29. Chepkurerek | |

informants or in my judgment of informants' memory. Most of these migrations can be dated within the last 120 years.

Map #2 affords a closer view of the Mau Escarpment and its inhabitants. The outstanding feature is the escarpment itself, a long, wide land mass tilted, as one might a table, upward on the long side, resulting in a relatively steep escarpment on the north side, which constitutes one side of the Rift Valley. On the south side the land mass slopes gradually downward for 40 miles and 3500' elevation until it grades into the Loita Plains.

The second important feature of the Mau is its geopolitical division across the top of Mau into the Maasai Reserve on the south side and the non-reserve lands on the north (formerly alienated land known as the white highlands after its preferred use for colonial settlement). The present location of most Okiek groups on the map also represents their approximate pre-colonial location. By the mere accident of history, Okiek living on either side of the reserve boundary have been impartially affected by this division. Generally speaking, those outside the Reserve since early colonial days have come under increased pressures to modify their life style to suit the interests of white settlers and government foresters who had become the "owners" of the land. Being neither powerful nor plentiful, the Okiek went unrecognized legally. Through a series of plausible but unwarranted assumptions, they were relegated to the category of landless, tribeless peoples without rights to the lands they had occupied before any of the present Africans had arrived. These assumptions became the basis of the Kenya Land Commission's 1933

report, in which it was recommended that all Okiek not already living within a Native Reserve be so "repatriated" in hopes they might forget their primitive ways and adopt modern horticulture and pastoralism. By 1938 virtually all Okiek were transferred onto Reserves. The project, however, was a failure. To the consternation of the colonial government, their best intentions to help the Okiek were spurned. The Okiek moved back to their ancestral homes--both from desire to live where they always had lived but also in order not to live where they were unwelcome by other tribes. Huntingford's field work took place shortly after this return from the Mandi Reserve and he shows clearly how and why this "solution" to the Okiek "problem" did not succeed (1951:6). Since that time the Colonial and African government have not attempted to deal with the Okiek as a tribal unit, other than in census enumeration. Nevertheless, the Okiek groups on the north side of Mau have had to cope with expropriation of their forests for European farms or for government forest plantations. To live on a farm one had to be an employee, which was welcomed by many Okiek, since the clearing of the forests denied them their usual subsistence base. In the same manner, many Okiek became forest guards to protect the new evergreen forests against encroachment by their own and other tribes. At the same time, the area was becoming populated with laboring and subsistence Africans from other areas of Kenya, principally the crowded Kikuyu Reserve. The result of these trends has been to give Okiek on the north of Mau some opportunities in a cash economy and some education. It has also restricted their traditional subsistence base, restricted the land on

which they can live, and brought them into competition with other tribes for lands, jobs, and education.

On the south side of Mau, in the Maasai Reserve, nearly the opposite has happened. The Maasai Reserve is largely administered by the Maasai tribe who, as pastoralists, care little for the forests which can feed no cattle. This left the Okiek living in the forest largely on their own, with the one exception that the central government had jurisdiction over tax collection and enforcement of game regulations. Neither restriction, however, has had much effect on the Okiek. With inadequate transportation and communication, the central government is virtually unable to enforce these regulations on a tribe which has over 1500 square miles of forest all to itself. Recently, however, there has been some encroachment on the edge of the forest by Kikuyu settlements on the east side and Kipsigis on the west. As the Mau forest is cut by these cultivators, the Okiek will increasingly find their traditional subsistence pattern untenable. It is among the latter Okiek groups that I conducted most of my research. An accident of political geography afforded me the opportunity to study some Okiek who were still living in the manner of their ancestors.

Map 3 is an enlargement of that area of the Mau in which I did most of my research. This is the territory of the Kipchorwonok, Kaplelach, and Kapsupulek groups.

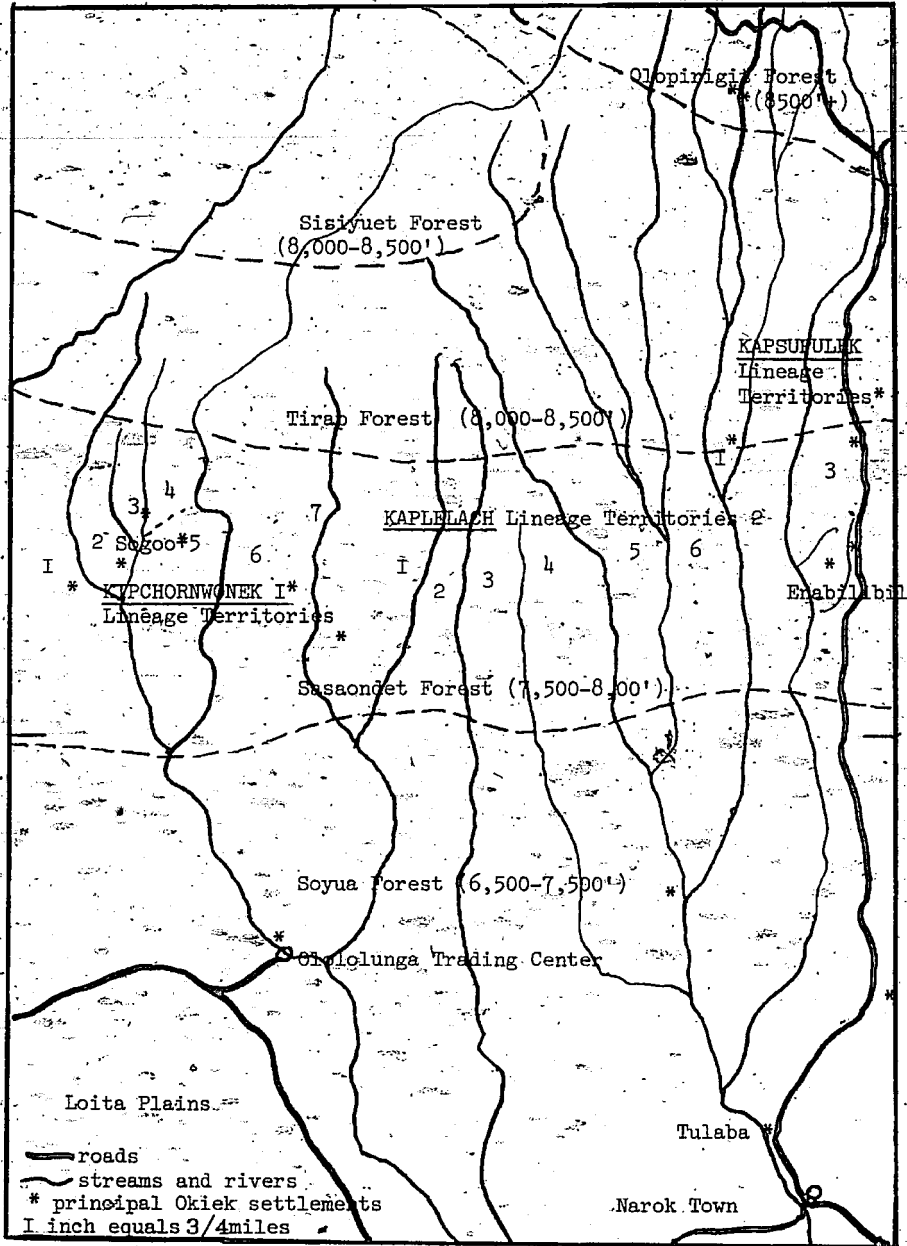


Figure 3. Local Groups and Their Lineage Territories near Narok. Illustrating rivers, streams, main roads, Okiek forest types, and principle settlements.

Intention of the Study

It had originally been my intention to study the Wallangulu, a hunting tribe in the coastal hinterland of Kenya. I was unable to obtain clearance to do that study, but at that time Alan Jacobs suggested I try the Okiek of Mau who, he had heard, were still living by hunting and gathering. I had previously abandoned the idea of studying the Okiek because I was aware that the Kenya government had removed the Okiek from the forests. A short field reconnaissance in September 1968 proved this to be untrue in the Mau forest within the Maasai Reserve. I applied for clearance and by December was able to begin work in Narok District, the administrative unit of this part of the Maasai Reserve.

I had intended to do research on the ecology of a hunting and gathering group. I was especially interested in understanding the processes involved in adaptation to a natural environment, not just with the structural-functional relationships of that adaptation. Studying a hunting and gathering group was of particular significance for several reasons: (1) this type of adaptation is disappearing from the ethnographic universe; (2) changes from one type of subsistence to another (hunting to horticulture and pastoralism) can be studied as this process takes place; (3) the relative simplicity (I assumed) of a "primitive" tribe would make the study of the process of change more manageable; and (4) a study of change in a hunting and gathering society might prove a useful analogy to the studies of evolution of early man, society, and culture.

Preconceived proposals for research are necessarily modified

by the particular characteristics of the tribe studied and the exigencies of field work itself. The Okiek were no exception, though what changes I made in my research tended to be additions rather than deletions from the original proposal. The manner in which the Okiek have adapted to their natural environment--their ecology--had important effects on virtually all aspects of their society, culture, and personality. This is not surprising, nor was it unexpected. What was not clearly anticipated, but soon became obvious, was the necessity of treating "social environment" factors as potentially equal in influence to natural environmental factors. The relationship of neighboring tribes with the Okiek, appeared empirically to be as important to Okiek ecology as the natural environment. What was empirically important had, then, to be considered potentially equal in theoretical importance. This allowance reflects the above described historical relationship the Okiek have had with other tribes. This type of relationship is not uncommon between hunting and non-hunting societies. The pygmies have a well known "client" relationship with their agricultural neighbors (Turnbull 1961). Other East African hunters are described by writers as having varying degrees of client-serf or slave relations with pastoralists or cultivators (Murdock 1959:61). The similarity in many institutions of these hunters and their neighbors attests to the importance of this type of relationship over a considerable period of time. For the Okiek, and quite probably for other East African hunters, what they can do in their natural environment is frequently not what they would prefer to do. What they wish to do is continually subject to

how it affects the welfare of their more powerful neighbors.

What early explorers believed about the Okiek--that they were "serfs" of the Maasai--reflects Maasai attitude to "Il-torobo"--poor people. In fact, as will be described further on, the relationship between the Okiek and Maasai, and also between the Okiek and Kalenjin and Bantu speakers, is far more subtle and informative. These relationships pervade Okiek life, largely because the Okiek are composed of small groups, each living in close proximity to non-Okiek. This territorial fact has further implications for understanding inter-societal relations. Ethnologists usually do field work within a relatively large homogeneous tribe, frequently avoiding fringe populations who are not "typical" of the tribe as a whole. One result is that ethnologists rarely have the opportunity to study inter-societal relations, which usually occur at the outer boundaries of their tribe. This lack of theoretical interest sharply contrasts with its theoretical and practical importance to international and racial relations today.

In fact, all East African hunters live in small groups or tribes, wherein frequent interaction with large neighboring tribes is the norm for most individuals. This accounts for some of their similarity, though as Murdock (1959:60) and Biasutti (cited in Huntingford 1929:339) suggest there may once have been a common origin. Map #1 shows the location of these East African hunters and their neighbors who, with the exception of the Sandawe (former hunters) and Kindiga, now speak the language of their pastoral neighbors.

Field Work Conditions and Procedure

In September 1968 I had visited several Okiek communities on the Mau to acquaint myself with how Okiek were now living and to select at least one group which suited my theoretical and practical requirements. Through the courtesy of Mr. Harrun, an Okiek teacher at Lengape, I had the cooperation of the elders of that community. From them I learned of many of the groups on Mau and where and how they lived. In the days that followed I visited some of these groups. It became apparent to me that the two groups who were the least accessible, not living in convenient communities, but in the forest, were the best for my research. These were the Kaplelach and Kopsupulek, near Narok; who were still nearly exclusively hunters and gatherers. Permission to study the Okiek finally was granted in November and in early December I, my wife, and a Luo cook arrived at Narok and began field work.

Narok is the administrative center for Narok District, one of two Districts which make up the Maasai Reserve. It is a small town of a number of African and Asian shops, the District Commissioner's office, a small jail, veterinary office, small hospital, police barracks, and a number of primary and secondary schools. It is reached from Nairobi on 150 miles of mostly dirt road. Narok town is at 6500 ft. at the lower edge of the Mau. Draining the Mau are four permanent water streams, each with several tributaries. One, the Narok "River," passes by Narok town. The conjunction of this river with the edge of the Mau forest and with natural "salt licks" makes this place a natural aggregating area for the Maasai and Okiek, the

two aboriginal tribes in the area. The town itself, however, is a product of missionary and government settlement.

Living on the edge of Narok town I found a small group of Kaplelach Okiek. Further north on the Mau road I found others at Lobeto, Enabilabil, Olokirkirai, and Olokurto (see map). Requests for administrative permission to set up camp near any one of these locations were denied, with no reason being given. In effect, we were restricted to Narok township for our residence. It was some time after that I understood some of the Maasai attitudes and politics that accounted for this inhospitality. The Maasai view and treat the Okiek as inferior "relatives" at best and, at worst, servile "wild men" to be pressed into service at Maasai whim. Any alteration of this type of relationship, the Maasai feel, could not benefit them. Thus it is with some suspicion that they receive a "European" who intends to conduct a study of Okiek "History and Culture" which, in their eyes, might give the legitimacy of publication to Okiek rights and grievances against the Maasai and the local Maasai government. Despite persistent efforts to allay their anxieties in this area, I never felt I gained the support of the local Maasai Chiefs and counselors as a whole. We remained camped in a bend of the Narok River until June, at which time the Catholic Mission were so kind as to let us use a vacant house for our ever expanding household.

The apparent disadvantage of not living in an Okiek community was short-lived. Among the Kaplelach, with whom I did most of my research, seasonal and regional fluctuation in honey supply

necessitated frequent changes in residence such that if we had built camp in one community, within a month or two we would most likely be living alone. What proved the best solution was what we actually did--establishing a permanent base camp from which I made daily, and ultimately weekly, safaris to one community or another.

Our initial meeting with Kaplelach Okiek was at Mutonyi, just outside Narok. A discussion of that meeting is useful for the light it sheds on Okiek attitude to outsiders and especially to Europeans, attitudes which colored the first months of field work, in which I was able to establish a satisfactory, even pleasant, rapport.

In the company of a Maasai interpreter whom I had borrowed temporarily from Dr. Alan Jacobs, and three local Maasai guides, we came to an Okiek camp at Mutonyi, at which we found one man and three women, children and dogs, sitting before four leaf-and-branch, roundish topped, elongated huts. They returned our greeting in a quiet but unfrightened manner. Without introduction, we sat and began to ask them some questions, whereupon two other men appeared, quietly greeted us, and sat. The women remained apart and gave the appearance of disinterest. To a number of my questions, they answered (it turned out truthfully if incompletely) about who they were, where others were, and how they lived. To the last inquiry, the eldest, who alone spoke, said, "We have only small shambas (gardens), we have no goats, sheep, or cattle. We would like to hunt but the warden won't let us (big laugh here by all, especially the Maasai). We want to know if you will talk to the District Commissioner about letting us hunt. One elephant can feed us for a whole month." When I explained the law against their hunting, he

went on, "When you go see the District Commissioner, would you tell him how poor we are and if he would give us a package of maize-meal." I said I would but they should not be optimistic. To further questions, they said they did collect honey, did speak Maasai, as well as a language like Kipsigis. At this point, the three men began to discuss among themselves in this Kipsigis language none of us understood. Finally the eldest said to us in Maasai that he would not talk any more, that he had to go to work now. He was noticeably less at ease than before. Then he added that he was not sure what we were. I explained that I was studying Okiek history and culture. He said he was not sure this was true and wanted him and me to go to the D. C. so he could see for himself if I told the truth. I agreed and we got up to go. At the car across the stream, the elder changed his attitude, and in an outgoing manner said he had decided that he did not want to go to see the D. C. and that everything was all right, implying he believed me. I thanked him and said we would stop soon and see them again.

This encounter was typical of the many initial encounters I had with the Kaplelach. At first they were passive, responding in only a minimal fashion to greetings and questions. Quite clearly our presence was anxiety provoking, but they chose to smother their fear in passivity, apparently fearing even more to provoke us. Only did their poverty and suspiciousness overcome their passivity. Clearly their subsistence was marginal; their garden of maize was small, insufficient for more than a month's food. Their requests for aid reflected an assumption that I was from the government and that the

government ought to be a provider, not the denier of food in the image of a game warden. Their denial of hunting, coupled with their suspiciousness, bespoke their fear of being caught by me for poaching.

On the other hand, I was impressed with their self-assurance (they did not fear to confront me with their doubts). Their passivity was not hostile, but suggested a withdrawal from outsiders founded on past misadventures with them. Their level of anxiety was lower than other Africans, insofar as their affect was low, and expressive movements less frequent; thus the impression of passivity.

My feeling at this time was of their desire to conceal something from us and doing this by encouraging us, indirectly, to leave. Thus the eldest man said he had to go to work, then seeing we did not go, he said we all should go--to the D. C. Seeing us actually going was sufficient for him, so he didn't come with us. Before going to the car, this elder had quickly ducked into the woods behind. I watched him, noticing the women, for the first time, looking at me with some concern. Only weeks later did I find, by accident, that not 50 yards in the woods several other families were living, who seemed surprised I had found them!

In the ensuing weeks, this experience was duplicated again and again in each camp I managed to find. I had very soon hired an Okiek, from another group, as an assistant. I hoped his reassurance would give me a better entre but to no avail, he was treated as myself. To add to my problems was a universal insistence on not telling me names--at first no one's--then later only telling me one's own name. Without names, field notes are impossible, so I devised a

numbering system, which worked adequately until I learned the names. To add to my frustration was my intention of studying Okiek subsistence, which quite clearly appeared to involve a great deal of hunting, yet for months most maintained they did not hunt, and some never admitted to it. My initial visits were quite disconcerting for them. I always came unannounced and frequently when only women were there. In a society where women are not entrusted with weighty matters, they had been strictly admonished by their husbands not to talk with men--a task made difficult in time by their growing curiosity about a white man and by the soon forgotten fear of their children for me, who crowded around me touching my skin, hair, and clothes.

In the first six months, I made repeated visits to most of the Kaplelach and some Kapsupulek camps north of Narok. In accordance mostly with their particular personalities, various Okiek developed a good relationship with me, while others were cooperative, if not especially outgoing. Not surprisingly, younger men, the morans, who identified me as of their own age-set, tended to become good friends, and from the start shared none of the suspiciousness of some of the elders. Fortunately, they were also the ones most active in subsistence activities, particularly hunting and trapping, and thus I was able to pursue my primary interest at an earlier date than initially appeared possible.

Mindful that the roles Okiek placed me in would affect the type and quality of data I would obtain, I paid close attention to their comments about Europeans, their expectations of me, and their fantasies about what I was, and what Americans were like. The

foregoing discussion of field experiences suggests some of their image of me. In time, I also came to understand that their generally positive feelings about Europeans were not just a result of a certain paternalism the British had toward the Okiak in the Maasai Reserve. It also was related with cultural concepts of whiteness, which is associated with power, purity, and supernatural grace.

As the Okiak see it, they are a tribe without recognized leaders in a time when they are particularly needed to represent the interests of their people in government councils. With their trust in Maasai Chiefs diminished by the prior claims of their own Maasai people, it was not surprising that they requested my supposed influence on their behalf, especially when one or another ran into legal difficulties. Advice they would seek and be given. Even if not followed, they seemed most to be appreciative of the fact that someone from outside took a personal interest in their problems. Late in my field work one Maasai, half ruefully, half in wonder, commented to me, "Now even the Dorobo have their Europeans!"

A feeling of mutual advantage came from other activities as well. A society which frequently migrates here and there on foot, carrying heavy bundles, soon learns to appreciate the convenience of a Land Rover. Whenever I went anywhere, I would pick up whoever wanted a ride, and I usually had a full load.

I was licensed to hunt game, by which I supplied my own camp with meat but without a freezer or even refrigerator, there was usually large quantities left over each time, which I gave to those whom I might be visiting in the following days. In a year which was noted for its severe dryness, when game and honey were scarce, this

intermittent supply of meat was gratefully accepted. From time to time, the game scouts had to kill elephant, rhino, and buffalo because of crop damage, at which time I transported meat home for Okiek living in the area of the kill.

In the latter months of field work, I purchased a collection of artifacts for the National Museum of Kenya, for which I paid the individual Okiek a generous, if not unreasonable fee. Also during this time, I took a large number of photographs, copies of which I distributed to the individuals involved.

All these material relations certainly contributed to the very good rapport I eventually established. Their contribution, however, was secondary to the importance of character and personality factors, which must underly good personal relations. The Okiek, obviously from long experience, were ever watchful of being "cheated." Fortunately, from the beginning, I had resolved to make a conscious effort to be absolutely consistent in what I said I could do and could not do, and to follow suit. I avoided carefully the gracious excuses and polite lies which so characterize social relations. Initially, this resulted in rejection when I politely and repeatedly informed them that I cannot pay cash, tobacco, snuff, etc., for information they told me. It is clear to me that the close personal ties anthropologists require for their best data can't be developed in "monetary" friendships. It may elicit more data in a shorter time, but there is no control on its quality nor promise of its depth. Eventually, this consistency was rewarded by personal ties and obligations, which were both informative as well as personally satisfying.

Accusations of "cheating," unfounded as they were, eventually were no longer addressed to me, and the word igenon seemed to drop from the Okiek vocabulary.

By the end of 14 months' field work, I developed a fair working knowledge of the Okiek Kalenjin dialect. My efforts were encumbered in part by Okiek use of Swahili in the expedience of just communicating with me. The use of an assistant, barely understanding English, aided my understanding of the language by the grappling in both languages we went through to understand each other. It as much hindered learning the language as the Okiek found it far easier to tell him when he was present what was, I am sure, a great effort to get me to understand. Clearly the quality of my field work suffered in proportion to my understanding of the language, how much I will never know.

As our time in the field progressed, our manner of living changed. Instead of seeking out the Okiek, they daily came seeking us at our camp. At the same time, I spent more and more time away on longer safaris, especially at the more distant communities of Lengape and Sogoo. My assistant came from Sogoo. When I first visited there in July, I expected the same reception; the same difficulties I had had with the Kaplelach. To my surprise, my apparent rapport with them was excellent without exception. In part, I credit my assistant with this fine "advance job." The Kipchorwonek of Sogoo, replying to my comment to this effect, assured me that they understood the good I was doing for them (presumably publicizing their worth as a tribe) because they were more educated and "advanced" than the backward Kaplelach. In fact, the Kipchorwonek had adopted domesticated crops some years before; some had been to school, and generally they organized their

social affairs on a more efficient scale than did the Kaplelach. Yet at the same time, they also were equally as active poachers and avoiders of tax. These and other differences between two adjacent Okiék groups were of major concern to me in the comparative study I did of these two groups.

On visiting a Kaplelach or Kapsupulek camp, usually one finds the women sitting quietly around a smoldering fire before their huts. They are quietly talking and working at a number of tasks, such as sewing skins, making beaded jewelry, or manufacturing sword sheaths and scented skin necklaces for sale to Maasai. The children, up to age eight to ten, are quietly playing among themselves. The men, if present, are gathered around their own campfire behind the huts. They quietly talk and busy themselves with making articles such as sticks or clubs, honey bags, arrows, and bows. I would usually come and sit with either group and follow their conversation, posing questions as the subject arose on areas that particularly interested me. If interested themselves, a group discussion might ensue, whereby I had the benefit of several opinions and counter opinions. If a special activity was going on which I was not well acquainted with, I observed them, usually asking questions as it went on. Usually each day I had a number of specific questions in mind which had occurred to me when going over recent notes, and where I went frequently reflected those questions and who I thought could best answer them. As often as not, I never got them answered when planned, because that person was absent or other more interesting things were going on. Throughout the year in various camps there will be some ceremonies, of circumcision and marriage principally, but also a number of lesser rites of transition.

These you are invited to by the "owners" if you are a relative or friend. The chief attraction for the elders was the honey wine, for the younger it was a chance to get together with the opposite sex. Because it was a dry year and, consequently, little honey for wine making, few of the planned ceremonies took place. I did get to two girls' circumcisions (really a clitorodectomy) and two marriages, and also to a ceremony for the naming of a child, and for one in which a married couple shared food, symbolically consummating a marriage a year after its inception. There were no boys' initiations, though many were due. I missed, either from conflicting schedule or not hearing in time, lesser ceremonies for (1) girls coming out of initiation seclusion, (2) boring of a young adolescent's ear holes, (3) funeral, and (4) the Eunoto ceremony by which morans become elders. Not for some years had a "Peace Ceremony" between feuding lineages been held, though a recent murder would eventually result in holding this ceremony.

On my visits to camps, or on trips through the forest, I ate and slept as they did, enjoying the kind hospitality and shelter of whomever I stayed with. Their food and bed, adequate and sometimes enjoyable in moderation, usually drove me back to my camp for recuperation after several days. The strain, however, was as much mental as physical, as I constantly pursued note-taking throughout the day and night, recording virtually everything I saw and heard, no matter how irrelevant it might seem at the time.

Fortunately, at this altitude, I avoided the major scourges of East Africa: malaria and bilharzia, and when sick, which was not infrequent, was only bothered with bacterial infection.

During the first six months of field work, before my wife had to return home to tend her ailing father, she usually remained in camp. Here she almost daily had visiting Okiek who happened to be in town. This afforded her opportunity to administer a series of projective tests, which the Okiek seemed to enjoy participating in. Largely through her efforts, my understanding of Okiek personality has been expanded.

In the early months of field work, my assistant accompanied me on all trips, keeping me from going astray on wrong paths and onto big animals. He was most useful as a jack of all trades, who disencumbered me of lesser obligations so I could concentrate on note taking. He also was most informative in his own comments on what others said or did: not only did I have the opinions of those I interviewed, but also my own and those of my assistant.

Doing field work among a hunting and gathering group, who live in inaccessible (by vehicle) areas and who change their residence frequently, presents quite different problems for field work, than a sedentary village tribe close to a road. This should be clear from the above comments and, in large measure, accounts for the organization I established. I found field work exhausting (though partly of my own making), but immensely enjoyable.

Theoretical Framework

Before proceeding with an introductory statement on Okiek life, it is important to state the theoretical background on which data for this study was collected and on which this work is written.

Dissatisfied with particularistic and narrow theories used by

most anthropologists to handle their particular interests in society, culture, or personality, I have drawn on a number of sources to develop a theory sufficient to account for all major sources of influence on Okiek life. Within a group, these include the social system, the cultural system, and the personality system. From without, it may include the influence of neighboring tribes and the natural environment. The causal prominence of any one is not assumed, as in many other theories. That is, no one system is necessarily considered more basic than another. Rather, in theory, each is viewed as potentially equal, though empirically there may prove to be a causal sequence. Sociologically, I have drawn on Turner (1957, 1964), Bailey (1960), and Nicholas (1966). Psychologically from Spiro (1961 a,b), and Swartz (1966). Culturally, and indeed for all systems, I am indebted to Parsons and Shils (1951).

The culture of an ethnic group is distinguished from its social system by its mental content; that is, a cultural system is a system of symbols expressing the beliefs, knowledge, ideas, values, and norms shared by members of one group. Their social system, on the other hand, is behavioral, thus it includes roles and role complexes or institutions. The two concepts are theoretically distinguished for reasons of analytic clarity though, in reality, they are interconnected and dependent on each other. Thus no role can be articulated without the values and norms which define it, nor can those values and norms be meaningful if not given expression in social relations.

The social system is made up of sub-systems which comprise institutions which ultimately rely on the correct performance of roles

for the social system's ongoing maintenance. Thus the social system is conceived as a configuration of reciprocal roles which are shared by the members of a group, in part at least, by virtue of their inheritance from a prior generation. The question of maintenance of the social system, if understood either in terms of efficient cause or functional consequences, must necessarily include personality variables as explanatory concepts, because the institutions of the social system provide culturally approved and/or prescribed means for the satisfaction of personality needs, and these, in turn, provide the motivational basis for the performance of the roles which comprise these institutions. Thus the fundamental question of the maintenance of the social system lies in explaining its operation in terms of personality dynamics, and to explain its social functions by reference to their capacity for the gratification and frustration of personality needs. This theoretical position underlies this entire thesis.

Social roles are behavior patterns which are culturally prescribed. Social roles may or may not correlate with personal roles--patterns of behavior unique to individuals. Social roles are defined by moral principles, jural rules, and technical facts. Moral principles define the culturally prescribed modes of proper behavior--what one ought to do. They are, in part, a product of values and world view. Jural rules are the "laws" of a society, customary or written, regardless of whether or not they are enforced by sanctions; i.e., from the society's point of view, these are the things which one must do. Technical facts, such as the social and natural environment, set the limits of action for a role. Thus demography, typology, natural resources, climate, and neighboring societies may preclude, by

their very presence or absence, certain behavior, or make other forms of behavior requisite to the ongoing maintenance of the society and of its members.

These three aspects of social roles can be viewed as different levels of abstraction from the social order and be treated as separate systems altogether. Thus for Leach (1954) the moral principles are structural principles to which all other rules can be reduced. Jural rules are the units of social structure for Radcliffe-Brown (1955), Fortes (1949), and Evans-Pritchard (1941). The inadequacy of these more limited approaches is that they do not account for all the factors which significantly affect social roles. For this reason, they are here theoretically formulated as parts of one system, no one being considered more basic than another, though empirically there may prove to be a causal sequence.

Okiek Culture, Society, and Personalities

The Okiek live by adapting their life to the natural and social conditions around them. They differ in this way from other tribes which remake either or both their natural and social environment to suit their preconceived needs. Thus a cultivating tribe alters its natural environment to provide itself with a stationary and predictable source of subsistence. A pastoral tribe does less to alter its natural environment but frequently, as in the case of the Maasai, aggressively alters its social environment by raiding its neighbors and acquiring new lands. The relative passivity of Okiek to the natural and social environment thus contrasts to the activity, even aggressiveness, of their neighbors. This theme pervades Okiek

values, norms, and personality.

This passive world view is reflected in their social relations to neighboring tribes; thus in the face of aggression, they try to mollify or retreat from incursions by others, which may be physical aggression (Maasai) or depriving the Okiek of their resources, principally the forest (Kipsigis, Kikuyu). Within Okiek society, the most important single value that is expressed in all types of social relations is that people should avoid disagreements, "shouting," and hence fighting, as these can ultimately lead to killing. Social control is maintained by personal controls on oneself and on those friends and relations over which a person can exert personal influence.

There are no supra-individual organizations for social control over physical aggression in traditional Okiek society. Analysis of cases indicates the Okiek appear to feel that control is best effected by avoiding confrontation, and this is usually done by glossing over differences or withdrawing from potentially conflicting situations.

Behind this anxiety over the expression of hostility are important Okiek concerns. Being openly hostile to someone is disrespectful; it is especially disrespectful to a kin relation and even more so to one's affines. It abrogates important social, and usually emotional, ties between these individuals. It also threatens close ties between others who are mutual relations or friends to the contending parties and who will therefore usually try to placate this hostility, if only for their own interests. The degree of respect due relations appears to vary directly with the potential degree of conflicting interest between the two. Thus one's spouse's parents are the most respected persons in an individual's kinship network. They

continue to have strong emotional ties to their daughter, for example, despite the transfer of most other ties, jural rights, to the son-in-law. The daughter, accustomed from childhood to investing her emotional ties in parents, now transfers some or most to her husband, a natural and universal process. Emotionally, this can only be felt as some degree of loss by her parents. An analogous transfer of cathexis takes place by the transfer of a son from parents to wife. Consciously or unconsciously, the division of a spouse's ties creates jealousy between a person and his or her spouse's parents. By extension, this may occur between the two sets of parents. Okiek norms of respect, avoidance, and hospitality clearly reflect where these emotional conflicts are and how they can be, for the most part, adequately handled. When controls do not work, the Okiek fear hostility will lead to irreparable physical harm and emotional disruption. That is, when respect (and associated norms) fails to quell hostility, the consequence is fear, fear of personal loss by death or dissension. It is for this reason that I often heard Okiek speak of fear (omweni) and respect (koonyit) either together or interchangeably when referring to their relations with various kin. Their concepts of omweni and koonyit closely approximate our own. They are two different and separable concepts, but to the Okiek they are closely identified by the nature of Okiek social control. Reflecting this passive adaptation to natural and social environments, within Okiek society they fear the consequences of assertiveness-aggression, and attempt to avoid its direct expression by norms of respect and conciliatory manners, or withdrawal.

Despite precautions, interpersonal aggression does occur in Okiek society. Its immediate inception, if not motivational cause, frequently comes with drinking rotik, the honey liquor. Though it is frequently offered to others in the conviviality of hospitality, its effect may be the opposite. In dispute cases, it is brought by the plaintiff as a supplication to influence the cooperation of the defendant, yet its effect can be just the opposite, causing the drunkenness of which lowered self-control, shouting, and fighting are the result. It tends to have this effect on individuals who are already unhappy or annoyed about their current situation, or among individuals whose personalities are such that they usually show disturbance when ordinary controls are lowered by alcohol. Such a person is spoken of as being "bad in the head" (momie metit), born that way usually, but others are thought to suffer the will of God or witchcraft (ponindet). On the other hand, for most people alcohol has the desired effect. It creates a euphoric atmosphere in which individuals enjoy themselves and the company of others. Especially age mates like to drink together, telling jokes and singing the songs of their age set, in which they recount places they have been and things they have done.

Though outbreaks of violence are comparatively rare, the consequence of even one can be unbearably damaging. The death of one person, even accidental, as in a drunken rage, has caused the retaliatory death of the initial aggressor. This, in turn, is revenged by a brother or son immediately, or even years after, and so forth. Many Okiek lineages have had a prominent history of feuding

with another lineage which stretches back beyond memory of those living today.

The consequences of feuds, the killing of another lineage's members, illustrate important aspects of Okiek culture. Individuals who have died are believed to descend into the earth as spirit ancestors (oiik) who continue to have an active interest in their living descendants. A person takes with him beyond death the memories of and feelings about his immediate kin. Much as if he were still alive, an oiik makes known his pleasure and displeasure with, principally, his children--pleasure for the care and consideration given him when an old person, and pleasure for the continuing attention paid him by his children who "pour rotik for his use" beside the fireplace in their hut (under which oiik are said to reside). When a man is about to die, he calls his family together and, if they have satisfied his needs, blesses them, commending them to God that they too enjoy long life, good health, and have many children. On the other hand, if a man feels he has been neglected by his children, he will not bless them, the children made very much anxious thereby upon his death. Some persons in senility become annoyed (konerech) despite the care of their children, who have no recourse but to accept the unpleasant consequences of their parent's wrath. Out of genuine love for their aging parents, or at the least out of fear of their retaliation, Okiek try hard to feed and care for their elders, even when food is hard to get. The question is whether that care is enough. Has it been satisfactory to the soon-to-be-oiik? One of the most prevalent causes of misfortune is the displeasure of oiik, which is expressed in such events as the birth of deformed, crippled children,

the sickness, even death, of a member of the family. The cause is diagnosed by divination and, if it is an oik, rotik is poured by the fireplace for his benefit, requesting that he desist. The belief in ancestor activities would seem to be most closely related to feelings of guilt, as such is the way Okiek express their reaction to misfortune. This is supported by the fact that the absence of misfortune, good luck, is usually attributed to the beneficence of God, not the ancestors.

High gods, cross-culturally, are usually associated with complex social systems. The exceptions to this, surprisingly, tend to be among hunting and gathering societies. The Okiek are one of these exceptions, believing in one god. There is some variation between groups as to what god is. The Marashionik use the term cheptelil for god, referring to a female sun which is invisible but in the sky, as distinct from the male sun which is visible and is not a god. They claim the Kipsigis also call god by this name. On the other hand, the related Kipchornwonek call god tororet and clearly distinguish their god from any heavenly body such as the sun, which is assista. They also say the Kipsigis call god cheptelet, though Peristiany says they use the term asis (and hence the confusion in early accounts about worshipping the sun, assista). (Peristiany 1939)

The concepts of God's powers is fairly uniform. He is a "good" God, compared to the usually harmful activities of the ancestors. It is God to whom you pray for help, good luck. God figures importantly in initiation ceremonies. To him the old men call out to grant long life and many children for those now reaching adulthood. In the morning before going to the forest, a man may face the "place where

the sun comes from" (as distinct from the sun itself) asking, "God give me meat today (or honey)." When a boy is to be circumcised, God is importuned to help him be strong, that he be brave and not cry. God also is the one who can aid those who have no other help, thus a sick person is comforted, in the absence of medicine, by being told, "God will help you." God also will help the mentally ill (momie metit, "bad in the head") as no one else can or would. God is accountable for the inexplicable, at least the non-malevolent inexplicable. Thus some years ago four albinos were born to one woman. Not understanding why, they suggested, "It is the work of God."

Drought, which causes the failure of flowers and hence honey, is attributed, by some, to the malevolence of Maasai Ol loiboni (witch doctor). This a loibon does, say the Okiek, because he and the Maasai are jealous of the Okiek who are now getting cattle. The converse of drought, rain, interestingly, is attributed to God. In fact, some Okiek may pray to God for rain.

Except for this latter case, the attributes of God, especially the helpfulness and goodness in areas of need, are similar to the expectations a child has of the care and aid he may expect from his parents. As a child, one's health, food, and comfort are largely a direct result of parental care. As one grows older, these activities are assumed by the individual himself and finally he assumes these activities for the care of his "two children": his own offspring and his elderly parents, who now depend on him for the same care he depended on from them and will eventually depend on from his own children. The attributes of God appear to me to be an extension of one's dependence on one's parents at a time when the parents have

become too old to be able to help.¹

Developing at the same time as this sense of dependence is a feeling of obligation toward those one is dependent on. If a child by rights may expect care and nurturance from his parents, he learns at the same time, by admonition, example, and in stories, that he is also obliged to care for his parents in their old age. The Okiek quite consciously desire children as their old age insurance. A widow may have difficulties in making a living today, but the greater hardship is having no children in one's old age. Usually by love, but if necessary by threat, parents raise their children in close dependence on themselves, expecting this dependence to carry through until death and, believe the Okiek, for years after.² The Okiek feel a positive reward derives from raising children, that is, care in one's old age. On the other hand, there are fewer obvious benefits to taking care of one's elders. In one's old age, a person's own children are more important than the parents he is now caring for. There is a tendency, therefore, for middle-aged Okiek to neglect their aged parents somewhat, compared to the care given their children. Anxiety about the obligation to aid parents is frequently expressed by Okiek. One person, old or young, may speak derisively of the lack of care or attention paid that person's parents; that is, he doesn't bring them nice presents of clothing, or give them much rotik when it is brewed.

¹See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the mechanisms of this transference.

²See Chapter 5 for a discussion of consequences of this dependence.

Worry about one's future care comes out, especially in talking with elders. It shows up clearly in projective tests and projective comments, such as talking about other families but really expressing feelings about one's own. If the parent-child relationship has been affectionate and close, it appears that old age-anxieties are minimal. But parent-child relations are characterized by conflicting need, and if these are not satisfactorily resolved, they contribute to later family difficulties. These may show up crucially at that time of family development when a son is old enough to care for himself and his family, and a father is beginning to lose his ability to provide for his wife and children. Conflicting expectations--a son still wishing to be dependent on his father, but a father anticipating care by his son--may result in conflicting relations and increased anxiety by an elder over his future care, and increased guilt by a son for not caring enough. These are the seeds of discontent: guilt and threat. Guilt for the obligation to care for those who cared and raised you in the world; threat to reinforce that guilt so as to assure proper performance of that obligation. Every Okiek is mindful of the wrath of his parents. It is effective because of a child's real and emotional dependence, it may also be effective in later years because of just this emotional dependence, but it is definitely effective because of the implied or actual curse that may go with it. An elder has little or no direct control over his children, on whom he depends. As an ancestor, however, he is believed to actively retaliate for the lack of care and attention he received in life, and even after life. The Okiek believe that the ancestors are primarily malevolent and primarily malevolent because of unfulfilled obligations of their

children to care for them properly. They retaliate by causing their children to have no children, deformed children, or the death of children. In this way, an ancestor threatens the future old age care of his children in a manner similar to that ancestor's loss of support in his old age.

Since all supernatural beliefs are projections of people's common personality characteristics within a culture, it appears, as previously mentioned, that Okiek concepts of ancestor spirits are closely related to feelings of guilt, while Okiek concepts of god are complementary and ontologically connected to ideas about ancestors, in that they reflect the child-parent dependence on which guilt is an outgrowth.

In Chapter 5, these relationships will be discussed in terms of the manner in which honey, honey water, and honey wine are used in each context, showing in the manner of their use, the analogy of child-parent relationship to god, and adult-parent relations to ancestor beliefs.

Okiek Society

All Okiek people identify themselves with the people they live closest to. Thus a man living at Sogoo says he is a Kipchorwonek. Such a group of people identify themselves by a common name and distinguish themselves from other neighboring or distant groups. Each group has a definable territory of forest. On and near the Mau, group population varies from about 150 to 1000.

There are no corporately organized institutions which encompass the whole of any Okiek group. There are, for example, no group chiefs

or clan leaders, nor any formally organized "council of elders." Indeed, at no time do all the members of a group, or representatives of those members, participate in formally organized activities, either economic, political, or religious.

Social Organization of Okiek Groups

The identity which members of a group feel for each other derives mainly from proximity; viz., from living together in daily face to face interactions. This is secondarily reinforced by a feeling or knowledge of a historical relationship which sets the group off from other adjacent groups. Each group is made up of lineages, called kap, whose members, either as a whole or in part, from time to time in the past, may have left their "natal" group to go and reside with another group. In time such lineages became known as members of the new group which they have joined. For this reason (as well as others), group identity is based primarily on "who you live with" and less on genealogical relationships.

The Lineage (kap)

All patrilineally-related persons belong to the same named lineage or Kap. When three or four generations separate into collateral lines within a lineage, each begins to be known by a separate senior ancestor. For example, the descendants of Meng'wari say the name of their lineage is "Kap Meng'wari." Meng'wari is best remembered as a brave man who had killed several enemies. In honor, his sons took his name as the name of their lineage. Meng'wari's brother was Olbelesit, but his descendants choose to be known by his

eldest son, Sandiko, i.e., Kap Sandiko. Nevertheless, members of both lineages assert they are the same lineage, despite the two names.

The kap is the principal social institution of the Okiek, at least for those Okiek living on the Mau. Hantingford (1951) reports that for the group he studied on the edge of the Tinderet forest, the clan (oret) was the most important social unit. For the Mau Okiek, the kap is the land-holding unit, the unit which is responsible for giving girls in marriage, negotiating and paying compensation in legal cases, and a unit of residence. Though the eldest male in the lineage acts as an informal spokesman for his lineage, decision making is a function of all adult male members of the lineage. Typically, a lineage will include a man and one or two of his father's brother's sons, plus their children and children's children. If it is a large lineage, it may include families of distant paternal cousins as well. Lineage size in most cases varies from 50 to 80 members. Most male members tend to live in the general vicinity of each other, in or near their lineage territory, though some individuals live with their wife's parents.

The Clan (oret)

Among the Mau Okiek, the importance of patrilineal clans is negligible. Among groups who live near the Kipsigis, clan names are the same as those for Kipsigis, and those Okiek identify themselves as being of the same clan as the Kipsigis of that clan. The same is true for groups near the Maasai. The usual explanation I get from informants is that clans were not indigenous to the Okiek, that those persons who lived near Maasai adopted the clan of a Maasai friend,

usually a friendship based on the convenience of trading honey for meat. Among those Okiek near Kipsigis, the explanation may be the same, but often in the past when times were hard and food was difficult to come by, many Okiek went and lived in Kipsigis country and either married into, or adopted the clan of, a friend. When they later returned to Okiek country, they retained the clan designation. Although theoretically one can expect aid from clan members in paying compensation for various offenses, especially murder, among the Okiek this function rarely if ever comes up. Other than this possibility, the Okiek claim no other function for the clan. In their eyes, it is a useful bridge by which to cement otherwise ambivalent relations with individuals of another tribe for their mutual economic benefit.

The Age-Set System (Ipinda)

The Mau Okiek, even those closest to Kipsigis, have a Maasai-type age-set system, with the same organization terminology and generally the same functions, though their term for age-set, Ipinda, is Kalenjin. The ceremony of initiation shows a superficial resemblance to both Kipsigis and Maasai ceremonies, though in neither case does it rival the elaborateness of these two tribes. The Okiek have never been exempt from inter- or intra-tribal conflict, and they conceive of their muranik, the initiated warriors, as their first line of defense. Those groups of Okiek who have cattle have to contend with raids from other tribes, even from other Okiek groups. The Okiek groups without cattle were no more immune, however. Maasai have been known to take advantage of the relative weakness of any Okiek when spoiling for a fight.

Moreover, inter-lineage feuds have occurred, sometimes extending over a period of years and resulting in the death of most of their members, male and female. Even today, fears of being attacked affects the precautions the Okiek take with their stock and families. Those fears are well founded. At one time I was staying in a village which was attacked by a number of Maasai.

If the vocation of the warriors may be primarily defensive, their avocation has traditionally been offensive, the pursuit of large game. Until recently, groups of morans would go on extended safaris out into the plains for the joy of shooting elephant, rhino, and buffalo. One group of eight morans in a seven-year period killed an estimated 50 elephants, 100 rhinos, and 300 buffalos.

These general comments on Okiek social structure provide a background for the more particular behavior and meanings subsequently discussed.

Chapter I

THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Structure and Relief

East Africa is known to geographers as Highland Africa. Its topology is a series of plateau-like surfaces, ranging from about 1200 to over 10,000 feet elevation. This pattern resulted from earth movements such as continental uplifts, faulting, and volcanicity. Kenya is particularly endowed with highland areas. This is especially a result of a great thickness of volcanic materials deposited since mid-tertiary times. Running longitudinally through the Kenya highlands is the Eastern Rift Valley. This faulting had its origin in pre-cambrian times but continued tectonic activity has resulted in later faults, the most recent being in mid and upper Pleistocene times. This last, comparatively recent faulting, has resulted in the dramatic and fresh appearance of the Rift Valley Escarpment. During this faulting, the flanking highlands were elevated, contributing to elevations of the escarpment. Accompanying this were tertiary and recent volcanics over a large area of Kenya. The prominent mountains, Suswa and Longonot, date from this period.

The result of these events is a number of high plateaux and mountain areas, the Central Kenya highlands, on both sides of the Eastern Rift Valley. On one side are the West Kenya Highlands,

extending from the Mau Escarpment on the south and northward through the Kericho Highlands, Tinderet Hills, Uasin Gishu Plateau, Mt. Elgon, and the Cherangani Hills. The Eastern Kenya Highlands are dominated by the Aberdare Range and Mt. Kenya but also extend northward to the Laikipia Plateau and the Mathews Range. In all these areas the elevation exceeds 6000 feet.

The Mau Escarpment (Map #2) is that side of a large land mass which forms the west side of the Rift Valley. At this point the Rift Valley runs northwest and southeast, and the escarpment parallels this at an elevation extending up to 10,000 feet above sea level. The escarpment is about 65 miles long. On the opposite side of the escarpment from the valley, to the southwest, the land slopes downward much more gradually for a distance of 25 to 45 miles before fading into the Loita Plains at about 6500 feet in elevation. Thus the large area known generally as the Mau Escarpment is mostly a gently tilted mass of land of about 2500 square miles. Through the Mau area are a number of parallel streams descending in a southwesterly direction, which, in draining the Mau for millenia, have carved out parallel valleys, leaving long unbroken ridges between them.

It is this gently tilted land mass which is the area of the present study, and future reference to the Mau Escarpment and Mau Forest will mean this side unless otherwise stated.

Geology

Throughout the Mau area, the tertiary and recent volcanic deposits predominate. These rocks have in time become the rich soil on which colonial farms have prospered. They are also the base on

which grows the Mau Forest. Volcanic rocks are also important as a source of minerals. Among those of use to man have been obsidian, which even in recent memory was still used by at least some Okiek to make implements. There are also on this area widely scattered small scale deposits of iron, by which for centuries tribal smiths have made tools, utensils, and weapons for the local tribes. Also in some areas are found soda deposits--mainly soda ash and common salt--significant to all tribes as a dietary supplement for humans and also for domestic stock possessed by most of these tribes. Of more recent interest have been small deposits of gold in the Moda River bed.

Climate and Seasons

There is a wide range of climatic differences in East Africa. The most important reason for this is the dominant air masses which occur in the area at different times of the year. From November to March, the main air stream is from the north and northeast which, because of its source, is a dry air mass. In April the wind pattern changes and the Indian Ocean southeast trade winds blow from the Indian Ocean, carrying in moisture. This is the source of the main rains. Where these winds converge, rain develops. Thus when the southeast trade winds enter East Africa in March, the long rains begin, lasting into May; when the northern trade winds enter, the short rains occur from mid October to December. This is usually the case in Central Kenya, while coastal areas have only the long rains.

Rainfall also varies by elevation; the higher areas receive appreciably more than the adjacent lower areas which, throughout East Africa, go for months unwatered. In Kenya, 72% of the land receives

less than 20 inches of rainfall in four out of five years. The unreliability of rainfall is as serious a problem to land use as its small average amount. In addition, the torrential nature of the rain results in high run-off and this, combined with a high evaporation rate, further diminishes the value of rainfall for human use.

On the Mau, rainfall seasons are usually as described above, long and short rains with long and short dry periods between. This varies with elevation as at higher areas some rain may fall throughout the dry periods as well. By elevation the mean annual rainfall and 10% probability of annual rainfall (amount that should be expected nine years in ten) is as follows for the south side of Mau:

	Mean Annual	10% Probability
6,000-7,000'	20-40"	10-20"
7,000-8,000'	40-50"	25-35"
8,000-9,000'	50-60" ¹	20-40" ²

(1) 60-70" and (2) 40-50" in westerly area, which correlates with the occurrence of bamboo forests.

The wide disparity between the two indices reflects the low reliability of rains in the area. This lack of reliability was dramatically evident in the year of field work, 1969, when very little rain fell all year, except initially in January and very sporadically after September. It was, by all accounts, a very dry year. Rainfall is very important to the Okiek, as it is for all tribes. If there is not enough rain for the trees to flower, then the bees produce no honey. On the other hand, if it rains into the flowering period, the rain spoils the flowers and again there is no honey or, if there is honey,

it cannot be collected from the hives in trees, as the trees are too wet to climb. What the Okiek like most is substantial rain for about a month, then no rain until the next rain season.

Temperature and Humidity

Both of these vary with altitude. The coastal areas are hot (26°C) and humid (ca. 80 per cent). The uplands are cooler and drier. At Narok the average temperature is, I estimate, about 19°C and humidity is very low except during the rain. Higher elevations on the Mau have colder night temperatures, occasionally frost. During the rains the Mau, especially above 8,000 feet, becomes very cold at night, making habitation unpleasant but bearable. The combination of rain and cold has the effect of a greater feeling of cold and, in Okiek adaptations, preference is given for living in the low altitudes during the rains so as to keep warm. On the other hand, during the dry season, the lower elevations are sometimes unpleasantly hot, while the high forests are invitingly cool.

Soils

Soils are created by the influences of climate, geological formation, topography, living organisms, and time. Climate is the most important, as it influences the rate at which other factors operate. Leaching and weathering from the heavy rains in tropical areas is intense and, as a result, soils lack nutrient salts and silica, resulting in a red color of remaining oxides of aluminum and iron. Thus in the Kenya Highlands the Maasai speak of the area north of Mau as Mau Nanyuki, nanyuki meaning red. The Mau itself and south of there is called Mau Narok, narok meaning black. The Mau and

adjacent areas have a dark soil, the product of recent volcanic overlay. Soils derived from young volcanic rocks have a natural fertility and greater durability than the other red soils, which are especially fragile and which support little vegetation. The Mau soil, protected under a forest cover, has retained and built up a fertility which is the envy of agricultural tribes like the Kikuyu and Kipsigis, who in recent years have begun to clear the east and west parts of the forest respectively for their crops. This is a progressive swidden pattern, caused by the necessity to abandon plots as infertile after about five years and to clear new plots from the forest. Increasing population further hastens this rate of forest clearing.

East African soils are more fragile than those in cooler latitudes and, as a result, are subject to erosion. Especially in recent years cultivation and grazing have become more intensive in Kenya so that the earth, in many areas, loses its protective vegetation cover and erosion has resulted. Without fertilization and greater care, soil scientists believe that East African soils cannot be maintained at a productive level. This intensive use of land is relatively recent, so the consequences of over-use are not yet clearly evident.

On the Mau, where forests have been protected and even improved by water retention and decay of organic material, tree growth has been truly phenomenal. Average tree growth of the Mau forest is seven times that of the Canadian west coast timber forests. (personal communication: A. Gordon, Canadian Forest Survey for Minister of Natural Resources, Kenya government). The wood and pulp potential for this forest is considered a major resource for Kenya, if it were developed.

Vegetation

An important reason for extensive cultivation in highland forest (or former forest) areas is that Kenya has relatively few areas which have sufficiently reliable rain to support cultivation. In fact, two-thirds of Kenya is suitable for only non-intensive pastoralism.

The Mau vegetation pattern correlates most closely with elevation and varies somewhat on its western side with higher rainfall. Thus at 6500 feet at Narok the Loita Plains begin to be displaced by a wooded steppe populated with many acacia and commiphora species. Above this level, Montane and highland communities dominate. The concentration of forests increases as grassland decreases proportionately until about 8000 feet, when no grass is visible. At 8500 feet in the wetter western areas, an extensive bamboo forest predominates, while in the eastern areas and in western areas above the bamboo, the forest gives place to undulating moorlands, interspersed with smaller forest areas.

The Okiek living on the south side of Mau, the Kipchorhwonek, Kaplelach, and Kapsupulek of this study, discriminated more closely different kinds of vegetation patterns in their area than do biologists. This discrimination reflects the differing use of several ecological zones as they define them. It is important, in fact necessary, to describe these zones, without which knowledge Okiek ecology cannot be understood, nor their view of themselves and their society and culture. I ask the reader's indulgence in the seemingly trivial details of this description, for I am sure the effort will be

rewarded in understanding the subsequent chapters.

Ecological Zones: Flora and Fauna

The Okiek of this study differentiate five (six for Kipchorwoniek) ecological zones or "forests" (timdo), which they define by the principal vegetation, usually trees, which grow in each. These forests roughly correspond to different elevation levels. Because the south side of Mau is a fairly evenly upgraded plain, these forests on a map appear to be parallel bands between 6500 and 9000 feet in elevation. Because of differences in flora in each forest, the predominance of certain fauna also tends to correlate with these forest types. These differences in forest type exist for reasons set forth in the foregoing section on climate. Rainfall, principally, varies in accordance with elevation, and subsequently different trees, plants, and vines adapt to different elevation on the Mau.

Reference to the following forest types on Map #3 will show their relationship to Okiek settlements and lineage territories.

Soyua. Soyua is a relatively dry area characterized by interspersed forest and grasslands. Elevation is 6500-7500 feet and mean annual rainfall, 25-40 inches. The trees tend to be short species as well as some tall species which at this elevation do not obtain the size they do in higher forests. Within the forests of soyua, underbrush tends to be thick, in some cases making it difficult to pass without cutting a path.

In the lower area, the Loita Plains, the northernmost extension of the Serengeti Plains, gives place to open bush country, mostly with the low lelechet tree. Along river banks the much larger acacia trees

predominate, the buds and branches being a favorite food of elephants. In fact, these shaded riverine areas are the principal niche of the largest game: elephants, rhino, and buffalo. Above the plains and lelechia bush, the grasslands intersperse with increasingly larger sections of forest. Here the underbrush is often thick, with low spreading pergeyuet trees. The other most frequently found trees are the kuriot, usuet, and olerait trees. Many other trees grow in this forest but are less numerous.

In the open plains live mostly Tompsons and Grauts, gazelles, kongoni, zebra, topi, wildebeest, and warthog. In the lelechia open bush the impala are most frequently found; and in the riverine areas, waterbuck, bushbuck, eland, elephant, buffalo, rhino. In all these areas, lions are occasionally seen. Many other animals are found in soyua but less frequently than these.

Another aspect of soyua, of equal importance to the Okiek as is the natural phenomenon, is the human population. In Narok District there are principally Maasai, though on the west some Kipsigis, Tuken, and Ewaso Ngishu, and on the east Kikuyu. More thinly scattered are government officers and stations. These human populations have an important bearing on how the Okiek utilize the soyua forest especially, but also all forests.

Loluet and Sasaondet forests. In the western areas, where the Kipchornwonek live, at some time in the past a fire burned what elsewhere is known as the sasaondet forest. Second growth in this area differs somewhat from sasaondet, especially the prevalence of the tipiwet bush and lack of the sianit tree in loluet. Other than this

apparent replacement of sianit by tipiwet as the second ranked tree after pergeyuet, the two forests can be treated as one, and are so used by the Okiek. Sasaonet extends from about 7500 to 8000 feet elevations. Mean annual rainfall is 40-50 inches. - Impressionistically, sasaonet compared to soyua has taller and more substantial trees. Underbrush is less thickly entangling and of different species because it is more shaded from the sun. Patches of grassland are small and infrequently found. Except for the predominance of pergeyuet, all other important trees are different from those in soyua. These other trees, in order of frequency, are sianit, torokwet, aconet, cheporgeyat, silipuet, maraisit, tenetuet, and anyasiat. An important characteristic of sasaonet, in fact one by which this forest is distinguished from others, is the great prevalence of the setiot plant through much of the underbrush. This spineless nettle grows for eight years to a height of twelve feet, climaxing its growth by a profusion of small white flowers. Much of sasaonet is covered with setiot; thus, in its year of flowering a tremendous amount of honey is made by the bees from this plant. For the industrious Okiek, this is the season in which he can gather many times the honey he usually gets in any other season. The opportunities this wind-fall affords affects the rhythm of Okiek life. Ceremonies, dependent on honey for wine, tend to be planned for this year. In anticipation of setiot, men busy themselves for months in advance repairing old hives and making new ones. Things dreamed of but put off for lack of money to purchase them are finally bought "in setiot." Bride price payments can be met, and for the more "modern" oriented, a start can be made at building up a herd of cows, goats, or sheep.

In sasaonet the predominant animals are nearly all different from soyua, consistent with the difference in vegetation. In order of relative numbers: suni, buckbuck, red duiker, giant forest hog, black and white colobus monkey, and hyrax (I personally suspect this to be the most prevalent, however).

Sasaonet is largely the exclusive province of the Okiek. The Maasai find insufficient pasturage, and the Kikuyu and Kipsigis have only slightly encroached on the forest by clearing lands for gardens.

Tirap. Tirap is the forest of the largest trees. At elevation 8000-8500 feet and with a mean annual rainfall of 50-60 inches, trees reach a climax growth whereby their unusual size results in choking out smaller trees, resulting in a forest of fewer but larger trees than in sasaonet. Some trees are as much as six to eight feet in diameter and 125 feet high, especially the sapteet, which is the most frequently found tree. The forest floor is mostly covered with low plants; especially sosonet, a spineless nettle related closely to setiot and distinguished from it with difficulty. Sosonet blooms about every twenty years. It and setiot are a principal food of the giant forest hog. Widely spaced trees and low underbrush result in a visual impression of tirap markedly different from sasaonet. In tirap it is possible to see 100, even 200 yards, through the open forest, while in sasaonet visibility rarely extends beyond 50 feet. Besides sapteet, the principal trees are maraisit, silipuet, kuraiyet, chelumbuut, and ketuyuet. Most of these are major honey-producing trees.

According to the Okiek, there is a heavy population of animals

in this forest, the most plentiful being the giant forest hog, followed by suni, buckbuck, blue monkey, black and white colobus, red-tailed monkey, bush-pig, porcupine, leopard, honey badger, yellow-back duiker, bongo, lion, and buffalo. Throughout, of course, is found the omnipresent hyrax.

Tirap can be considered the "deep" forest. It is the most inaccessible and, unless one follows the Okiek trails, getting through the entangling underbrush is difficult. It is also an impressive looking forest, similar to the rain forests of the Olympic Peninsula. The effect must be similar to what the virgin forests of Colonial American looked like. The Okiek speak of tirap with a certain degree of awe. A trip to tirap is not considered lightly, as one will be alone or with few others and very much isolated from others in case of injury or sickness. On the other hand, this isolation is pleasant--there is complete safety from enemies and government officials.

The Maasai fear the forest, as they have no knowledge of how to live in it. Government officials, namely game scouts, never go into the forest. They would be quickly lost. A trip into tirap is, therefore, exciting and pleasant. It is the heart of Okiek territory, and it is also the heart of Okiek feelings. Away from the claims on land and resources by other people, in tirap especially, but also in sasaonet, the Okiek feel and express their pride in themselves and their forest. One elder put it like this to me, "If a Maasai lives in the forest, he has nothing to eat, as he does not know how to get honey, so he dies. If it rains, it is very bad but then when the rain finishes, it still rains, the leaves rain again. It is very cold. If

a Maasai says the forest is very bad (taroueling) I say, 'It is good as it is where my properties are, like yours are in the grasslands. It is very good to me as I have hives and honey. I use it to kill or trap animals as there are different kinds of animals for the trap and for the chase.'

Sisiyuet. Sisiyuet is the bamboo forest which occurs at 8000-8500 feet, where mean annual rainfall exceeds 60 inches. In those areas at this elevation where rainfall is less, the bamboo does not grow but instead is found in tirap forest. On the Mau, heavier rainfall is experienced in the western regions; thus the heavy bamboo forest is extended into Kipchörnwonek territory, but only sparsely into Kaplélach territory. The true bamboo forest is very dense and difficult to pass through. Bamboo plants grow close together and to a considerable size--6 inches in diameter and 30 feet high. Visibility is consequently very low, stalking animals is impossible, and there are relatively few honey-producing trees. The principal animals, fewer in number than in tirap, though of the same species, are giant forest hog, hyrax, suni, buchbuck, black and white colobus, blue monkey, red-tailed monkey, red duiker, bongo, leopard, lion, yellow-backed duiker, and buffalo. Though relatively few of them, more of the rare and beautiful bongo antelope are found in sisiyuet than in other forests; where it eats the succulent new bamboo shoots.

Though generally an inhospitable place to live in for a short time, and impossible for any duration, the bamboo forests provide the Okiek with their most extensively used wood material. Bamboo provides at least sixteen separate uses as utensils, house construction,

medicine, and objects used in religious rituals.

Olopirigit or Mau. At 8500 feet and over the dense forests give way to open glades or moorlands, interspersed with forest patches of a type similar to tirap. There is an apparent resemblance of this olopirigit forest and moorlands to that of soyua. In fact, some of the animal species of soyua, like zebra and grey duiker, do occur on the moorlands. On the other hand, these moorlands are more consistently and more heavily watered by rain than is soyua. Yet the low night temperatures militate against grass growing quickly in response to this rain. In the forest areas, game are less plentiful than in tirap, but the species are the same.

Maasai occupy much of the moorlands. Because of the constancy of water, they remain in fairly permanent settlements, unlike Maasai in soyua, who must migrate in dry weather.

For Okiek settlement, a major problem with living in tirap or olopirigit is the intense nighttime cold, especially during the rains when the feeling of cold is greater than the actual temperature. Temperatures do go down to freezing from time to time and, not surprisingly, a higher rate of sickness is experienced by the Okiek living at these elevations--noticeably tuberculosis and pneumonia.

Some general conclusion about Okiek forest classifications are in order. There are other ways in which the Okiek could have classified areas in the Mau forest. Silviculturist categories reflect climatic and geological conditions (as well as predominant families) in which species can grow, such as: montane forest, secondary montane rain forest, highland forest, wetter highland forest, evergreen forest,

semi-evergreen forest, dry evergreen forest, heavy rainfall forest, savanna, bamboo, scrub (Dale and Greenway 1961). Conceivably, the Mau could also be divided by geological features: each ridge between parallel streams and valleys being classified as a separate forest. Forest classification might primarily reflect the tribes or Okiek groups living in them. Forests might also be primarily classified by the fauna predominant in each area, by the amount of rainfall or temperature. In other words, there are a number of equally legitimate ways of dividing up the Mau forest. The Okiek forest classification differs from the foregoing classifications in its emphasis on the predominant species of trees and plants in each area and, most importantly, the difference in each forest of important honey-producing plants and trees. This clearly reflects the dominant role of honey as the cultural symbol in Okiek life. With the exception of pergeyuet, the predominant trees of soyua are mutually exclusive of those in sasaondet. Sasaondet and tirap differ most importantly in the occurrence of the major honey producer setiot, which occurs mostly in sasaondet, while the related sosonet occurs only in tirap. Of the predominant trees, only silipuet and maraisit exist in both. Tirap differs from sisiyuet in having no bamboo, sisiyuet being mostly bamboo. Both differ from olopirigit, lacking the latter's characteristic open moorlands.

Honey is produced from at least 33 plants, vines, and trees. Since each species tends to be found at specific altitudes and flowers after a sufficient amount of rain, and since each tree is also itself characterized by the amount of honey ordinarily available from its flowering, the result is a constant fluctuation in size, location, and

time of honey production. One can only guess intuitively from what trees the most honey will come. One informant, reviewing the total amount he had collected over the years (thus not prejudicing against the plentiful but only occasional flowering of setiot, kekeyeito, and sosonet plants), gave me this rank-order list of the trees and plants, which, in the long run, produce the most honey: setiot, puputiet, kekeyeito, sosonet, maraisit, silipuet, usuet, and kuriot. Of these, four predominate in sasaonet, three in soyua, and one in tirap. This rank order of honey production by forest is in accordance with informants' statements which assert that they get most of their honey from sasaonet, then soyua, and finally tirap and sisiyuet being about the same.

Two other concepts of "forest" remain: oinda and mosop. Oinda is a forest type which occurs in scattered patches in valleys within sasaonet and tirap. It is a dense, lush, "tropical" growth of smallish trees and many green succulent plants. As such, it gives more the impression of a jungle than of other forests on Mau. The vegetation pattern accounts for the high concentration of game, especially giant forest hog, living in it. The significance of this forest type, unlike the major ones, is its importance to hunting. From the air (M. Watson, personal communication) it has the appearance of a second growth following cultivation or fire. In fact, in North America forest fires tend to travel in the valleys and not on the ridges. The loluet forest of the Kipchornwonek, as previously mentioned, is all second growth after extensive fire. Forest fires, however, are a rare occurrence in the Mau forest, despite the Okiek's casual manner of

disposing of fire smudges. Where gardens have been abandoned by cultivators on the fringes of the Mau, second growth is similar to that in oinda, but being outside the forest and unproductive for hunting, the Okiek do not view these patches in the same way they do oinda.

Mosop is a term used by the Okiek occasionally, especially in song, to refer to a "forest." While timdo means any kind of forest (timdo-op sasaonet, forest of sasaonet), mosop refers to either or both sasaonet and tirap. The connotation is not clear even to the Okiek but appears to signify what I would call the "inner" forest, those forests which are exclusively the province of the Okiek, where other tribes never go. Its use in song to the exclusion of timdo suggests an emotional quality to the term which timdo does not have.

Throughout the Mau forests trees, vines, and plants flower with the seasons. During dry periods, these flora remain relatively dormant. With the onset of the rains, buds develop and flowers open. It takes a reasonable amount of rain, however, to complete this growth. For most trees, the Okiek feel about three weeks of good, nearly daily, rains are enough. Variation occurs by species so that plants like puputiet, a major Honey producer, and its relative sikuat, will flower only after very heavy rains. Puputiet flowered in 1961 after an extremely heavy rain, then not again until 1968. The result of all these floral and climatic factors on honey production is great variability. Though the Okiek can usually count on a satisfactory supply of honey sometime during most years, the fluctuation between years is considerable, especially considering that the four most important honey producers (setiot, puputiet, kekeyeito, and sosonet)

each flower only after long periods of dormancy. The more consistent producers, however, are the smaller producers. This does not mean the Okiiek live a feast or famine existence. Traditionally, meat has been the principal and the most reliable diet staple. It is, however, true that the Okiiek are concerned with fluctuation in the honey supply and continually express anxiety over current and imagined "hunger" when honey is not available, even though other foods are providing an adequate diet. During my field work period, a time in which very little rain fell, the usual opening remarks between visitors was a comment on the "hungriness" of the people where the visitor came from and, in turn, the host would make a similar remark on his own plight. During the severest times, just before the rains finally came, I could see that people were depressed by the lack of food and the threat of even less food in the future. Conversation was hard to come by.

People were quiet, sullen, and disagreeable among themselves and with me. Movements were slow, people sitting doing very little or sleeping during the day. Yet no one was really hungry; there was enough food; just not any honey. The contrast of this with periods when there is plenty of honey is remarkable. The same individuals are expansive in their talking and generous in sharing the wine they have made. People are obviously happy and express this in the conviviality of their social life. Boys and girls gather for dances. Children can be heard for hundreds of yards, shrieking in their play. This is, of course, the time for holding ceremonies, for trading in the shops and with the neighboring tribes. In fact, all the important social, cultural, and psychological functions, of which honey is a central part, become most

obvious during these intermittent periods of plenty. I have tried to show how this period is related to a complex series of climatic, geographical, floral, and faunal factors, such that the occurrence of honey is variable and that this variation, inconsistency, and unpredictability, is the normal "rhythm" of Okiek life. Historically, this pattern may be more pronounced in at least some other Okiek groups, judging from the famine experienced by Okiek observed by Chandler (1896).

Bee Characteristics, Social Life, and Ecology

Early in my field work, one perceptive Okiek advised me, "If you want to know the history of the Okiek, you must study the history of the bees and where they go. The bees are social animals like these people." He went on to explain how the Okiek have their campfire, to which they come at night to eat and drink, and talk, and in the morning go off to the forest to collect honey. Then he explained about different ages and sexes having different things to do and how they enjoy themselves, such as in singing to each other. At the time, I was unaware of an analogy between Okiek and bees and listened to his account for what it literally meant. Only in later months did the similarity between the ecology of bee life and Okiek life become obvious to me. The Okiek themselves have some feeling about this correspondence and occasionally remarked to me how certain things are done in a similar way by both themselves and the bees. The Okiek identification with the bees is expressed in their conception of a bee hive. Hives are hollowed out sections of logs, wrapped in varying layers of torokwet (Kapelach: teet) bark, which are placed in the

high branches of a tall tree. The Okiek believe that hives in the higher and colder forests must be wrapped with more barks than usual, so as to insulate the hive, "so the bees can keep warm and be happy." The Okiek fill in their knowledge of bees with some ideas drawn from their own experiences and thus explain bees in this manner:

"Bees are the most clever of all insects. They do the most work (e.g., create the most things: combs, honey, propolis, royal jelly). There are two types of bees, the black ones (segemik chetikiken) and the 'red' ones (segemik chepir'rien, really yellow and black striped on abdomen like common American honey bees). For each there are workers (segemik chepoisiek), drones (kopurenik) and a queen (kopot segemik, "mother of bees"). The two types of bees do the same things, make the same honey, but don't interbreed. The queen for both is brown, so I don't know if bees can tell the two apart. If there are two queens in a hive (muington) they fight. A queen is so long (1-1/2 inches) and has a very bad stinger. As a young queen grows, it then fights and kills the old one."

"If bees from one hive come to another, it is for thieving honey. Then the workers defend their honey but, most of all, their queen. When they move, they swarm around the queen to protect her. Scouts are sent ahead to find a place to live. If they go from soyua to tirap, they fly very high in the air. When they return to soyua, they can go to the same hive. Bees are very clever. They are like people."

"Bees go three to five miles for flowers. They all know where they came from but will return before dark, as they can't see at night. When there are no flowers, the supply of food is low. Workers kill

the drones. Then the workers live on the remaining food. Drones are given only pollen, not honey, though if they were given it, they would eat it. Workers eat both. The bees make propolis (temeniet) to fill cracks in the hive to keep it warm and keep the cold and rain out. They make honey (komek) which they put in combs (itilik) which when full are honeycombs (kumiat--as opposed to combs for larvae). Royal jelly (tebibiot) is for food for the queen (nogik, an alternate term). They also use pollen and produce brewed isiat. The bees bite Okiek to protect their honey, so there will be enough for themselves. Some bees are so brave they sting so much and quickly that you can't reach them in the hive. A man can take 100 bites but if much more, you feel very hot and water comes in the body and you can fall down. How brave they are depends on the 'hive' (here he refers to the bees inhabiting the hive and not the physical properties of any individual hive).

Some are so brave they can sting you before you get up, the tree"

"When there are flowers, there are some bees who are singers.

These are the drones. They only eat and entertain and warm the home. The workers, who collect nectar, know by their singing that they have a home and so, they are happy. When there is little honey, the workers kill these singers, cutting them, as you find the necks are cut. The workers go on killing because the singers are supposed to sing and eat, so when there is not much honey, the workers kill them, as the singers will eat all the honey. When the queen produces young ones, the workers select the singers, who are bigger than the workers, and when they have selected enough, they leave the rest of the new bees to be workers and soldiers. Workers work some time. Other times

they guard, and they change jobs off and on. Workers will sting you, too, when they come back to the hive. A queen may move with most of the bees, leaving young ones with just a little honey, you will find. It will take three months to fill up the hive again. Whenever there are flowers, they will fill. If there is a long flowering, they can fill twice or three times. Flowers will come once a year. Some flowers bloom between the usual seasons, and you can then collect a little (honey)."

These accounts are from different informants from both Kaplelach and Kipchorwoniek but reflect the common knowledge and attitude of the Okiek toward bees and bee ecology. The Okiek make a special point about bees being "clever." This is a term they apply to, of all things, rabbits. The reason for this is the fact that rabbits are rarely caught in traps, though they inhabit areas where traps are placed. The Okiek believe only the rabbit has the "cleverness" to detect and avoid these noose traps. Rabbits are frequently protagonists in Okiek tales. The other important use of "cleverness" is in Okiek characterization of themselves in contrast from other tribes, especially Maasai. This theme is especially obvious in Okiek tales, in which Okiek cleverness outwits the numerically superior Maasai, the antagonists. What cleverness Okiek see in bees relates not only to deception but to the complexity of social life and, to the Okiek, mental processes which rank only second to humans themselves.

Without the excuse of primitive instinct to distinguish bee behavior from superior human processes, the Okiek are free to elevate

bees to a level of importance in the natural world that western nations would not imagine. Okiek wonder (but not reverence) of the bees; therefore, is something more than others could ordinarily understand. Their feelings about bees; based on their knowledge and beliefs about them, are complementary to their extensive use of their products. It is possible that their esteem for bees is related to their beliefs in the medical, supernatural, and social value placed on honey as food and drink. The Okiek have not verbalized such a connection, nor is it directly ascertainable from projective expressions, such as stories or religion and social symbolism. Though I cannot argue for this connection, I think it is probable the two complementary beliefs tend to reinforce each other: that the efficacy of bee products (belief in its food and medical value is world-wide) is consistent with the complex capabilities of bees, and vice versa. If the Okiek knew as much of bee social life as Krogh ("The Language of The Bees" 1948) has demonstrated, I am sure they would be doubly astounded. The relationship of bees to Okiek beliefs and values is discussed further in Chapter 5.

There is undoubtedly a greater density of bees in the Mau forest than in any adjacent areas, and this undoubtedly reflects the unusual concentration of trees which bear flowers from which bees can extract nectar for honey. Before the Okiek put hives in the forest, the natural hives of bees have been hollow tree trunks. Even today the Okiek will break into any tree in which bees have been found. In the dry season when their own hives have been emptied, they go searching for days on end for these natural hives, in which to get honey.

In their search for these hives, the Okiek are frequently aided by the

honey bird (indicator) which, by its chatter and flight, catches the attention of the men in the forest and leads them to a hive. The hive usually has a small opening inaccessible to the honey bird but an ~~ax~~ opens it easily, and the Okiek extract the combs. After their departure, the honey bird flies down from the upper limbs to eat the remaining bits of honey. The first time I saw this it was quite remarkable, especially for an anthropocentric. Not until I had witnessed this several times did I accept it with the aplomb of the Okiek. Perhaps they were as struck with my esteem of this bird as I was with their esteem of the bees; since they derisively referred to the bird as not knowing the difference between a natural hive and some person's hive. On occasion, the bird has led them off as much as a mile on a useless trip to some other person's hive.

There is another animal in this ecological niche of honey use--the honey badger (Kukto, Mellivora copensis) a thickset, short-legged badger-like animal about 2-1/2 feet long, closely resembling in appearance, strength, and temperament, the North American wolverine. This animal lives throughout the Mau forest but never in any numbers. Nevertheless, the honey badger's effect on Okiek subsistence is considerable. His predilection for honey is on a par with that of the Okiek and the honey bird. His prodigious strength permits him to burst open some natural hives and, for this reason, the Okiek say that he and the honey bird cooperate in finding and raiding the hives. The problem for the Okiek is the honey badger's equal proficiency in opening Okiek hives. On numerous occasions, Okiek will find that at least some of their hives have been burst open in the intervening months

since last visited. To discourage the honey badger, the Okiek always put the hives in trees, either in the upper limbs of tall trees which have a bare, limbless trunk, or hanging hives from limbs by vines. Either way, the honey badger will find it difficult, frequently impossible, to get to the hive. The same placement also discourages theft by humans, especially in areas inhabited by other tribes, as in soyia. Despite these precautions, honey badgers can and do climb these tall trees (some 125 feet high with a hive 50-80 feet above the ground) and tear off the cedar bark cover and dig a hole in the top of the hive to get the honey out. Bees will not inhabit a hive with a large opening and until the hive is repaired (not always possible if extensively damaged), no honey can be gained from it.

Because of the honey badger, extensive precautions and repairs are necessary in honey gathering, which has made the technology of this subsistence pattern more intricate and time-consuming. In areas where the honey badger is rare or non-existent, such as in the more densely inhabited Kikuyu Reserve, hives are usually hung by the Kikuyu from low limbs and are easily accessible from the ground. Broken hives are also more convenient as many can be hung in one tree, while in the Mau forest, only certain tall, mostly limbless trees with just the right kind of level double fork high in the tree is necessary for securing a hive, and these are scarce enough to be specifically sought out and claimed by individual Okiek to the exclusion of others.

Conclusion

I have gone to considerable length to describe all the important variables in the natural environment which directly affect the

Okiek exploitation of honey. This ecological niche is the most important niche in which the Okiek interact with the natural environment. It is the most important in the sense that the conditions of the niche influence Okiek adaptation more than any other niche, such as hunting or trapping. While it can be demonstrated that honey subsistence directly influences the time, place, and method of much hunting and trapping, the converse is rarely the case.

The following chapter takes up the relationship of honey to other Okiek subsistence patterns and shows how the two relate to each other and to the natural environment and honey relationship discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 2

OKIEK SUBSISTENCE

PART ONE

OKIEK DIET

Throughout this thesis when speaking of "traditional" Okiek, reference is made to the manner in which all Okiek used to live and some still do live, before the cultivation of crops and rearing of domestic stock, both of which have brought basic changes in Okiek life-style. Elements of this traditional way of life are still followed by virtually all Okiek today; that is, they all collect honey and kill animals for food. The changes which have taken place are, however, additive, not replacive. Many Okiek now have gardens and keep cows, sheep, and goats, but these are only in addition to hunting and collecting. The domestic foods, however, have necessitated some changes in emphasis from traditional Okiek ways. Thus to maintain gardens and stock, people usually live in larger aggregations, so that when some have to go to the forest, there will be others to take care of things. Food dependence alters radically. Those who have gardens depend on their crops, mostly maize, for as much as 75% of their diet, compared to relatively little maize purchased and consumed by traditional Okiek, who may depend on game meat for 75% or more of

their diet.

Diet in these two types of subsistence, traditional and domestic, also varies with season. Those who have gardens and stock tend to be permanently settled in certain locations. The women and children remain at home year around, except for occasional short trips to relatives or to the forest to carry out honey or meat. Their men also tend to be sedentary but, unlike the women, go to the forest for short trips regularly during the year but, especially in the honey season. During that season they may go for one or two days up to a week to get meat and honey to bring home. While in the forest, they depend almost exclusively on meat and honey for food, rarely taking any maize meal with them. A man, on average, may eat as much as three pounds of honey and seven pounds of meat in a day, when both are readily available. If honey is not to be had, then meat constitutes the total diet. Meat in the high forest, especially giant forest hog, is usually procurable at any time, though with bad luck one can go for two or three days without. This kind of experience, admittedly uncommon, has prejudiced many Okiek in favor of the reliability of maize gardens. Honey and meat brought home from the forest is divided with close kin and friends. Honey is the more valued commodity and most, if not all, is retained by the owner for his children, for selling or trading and for making wine. Meat is more easily procured in quantity and since it is less valued or useful in so many ways than honey, meat is usually divided among those with whom one lives--mostly male members of one's own lineage, plus occasional in-laws and friends who live nearby. Meat division varies so much with who is present

that it is difficult to formulate what would be the order of preference if all relatives and friends were present. Generally, one lives with members of one's own lineage, so the man who shot the animal gets the major portion, giving some to whoever is with him, frequently a brother. A man will then allot the first share to his father, next to his brother, then father's brothers; father's brothers' sons, then mother's brothers and sisters, father's sisters, and their children, if present. On the other hand, meat may be divided by sex, as frequently all men eat together at kook, their campfire, and women at theirs. Thus all the men will be given the "sweet" meats, such as ribs, head, heart, while children will be given other meat. Women get last priority, receiving what, if any, meat is left over, provided there is maize for them to eat. Otherwise, they get a share of the meat.

Generally, in a large settlement where more than one person may be getting meat, a person will tend to follow kin lines in distributing his meat; while in a small group, one person may be the only one to get meat, and he will make sure that everyone present gets some. In this way, fluctuations in one person's success are evened out by the fortunes of others. Unless cut in strips and dried in the sun or over a fire, meat will last four days at most and must be consumed within that period. A giant forest hog may dress out at 200 pounds of meat, which is most sensibly divided with as many as ten people to be fully utilized.

Honey in the diet differs from meat in many ways; the most obvious is that honey is in comparatively small supply. While a man may get 300 pounds of honey in an average year, he can get that much

in meat in one morning. What is not so obvious about honey as food is that, unlike meat, much of it is not simply a source of food but is used in a wide variety of ways. The honey that does end up as food is usually of two types: honey eaten by men after they have taken honey from each hive, and honey eaten in camp, mostly by children. When in the forest, going from one hive to the next, all the Okiek in a party will stop after each hive to eat one-half or one pound of honey. By the end of the day, after honey has been gotten from four hives or so, each man may have devoured three pounds of honey. Back at camp, the men will eat meat off and on all evening and even during the night, waking and cooking more.

The honey brought home is divided only minimally, usually with parents and brothers, but most of the honey, unlike meat, is retained by the owner. Of this, an average of one-third will be given to his children as food. The wife takes little or none for herself. Another third goes to storage for ceremonies, payment for a wife, or trading or selling to get needed shop goods or a sheep or goat. The last third a man will brew up as wine, which he will invite his relatives, in-laws, and friends to share with him. In this manner, honey is divided among others. Rotik is sufficiently filling that its use constitutes a meal in itself, and persons invited for drinks usually will skip eating that evening or afternoon. The social significance of drinking will be discussed in Chapter 6.

A third source of traditional Okiek subsistence is wild fruits, berries, tubers, etc. As previously mentioned, the Okiek make very little use of them, especially adults, and this appears to be a result of an environment not conducive to producing food storing seeds.

Children, old enough to go out on their own (about age ten) are the ones who make the most use of this food source. When these foods ripen, boys especially will gorge themselves during the day, coming home so full that they want no evening food. This may go on a few days, or as much as three weeks; after that no other wild foods may ripen for months. Women also may sort out and pick these foods, eating them on the spot but rarely bringing any quantity home. Unlike most hunting and gathering societies, the Okiek women and children are very much dependent on their husbands and fathers for food, and old people on their sons. In traditional Okiek society, women are of relatively little value in the production of goods. Their economic value to their husbands is in the children they bear and rear and in maintaining the household for their husband, such as preparing and serving food, supplying the fire with firewood, and drawing water from the stream.

Among Okiek who have adopted cultivation and herding, women have an important role in the production of goods. Men clear the forest for gardens, but mostly the women plant, weed, and harvest crops. They also have primary responsibility for the distribution of garden foods among kin and friends. They, of course, do the storing, selling, grinding, and cooking of these foods. Children, for the first time in Okiek society, are saddled with the responsibility that Maasai children have for herding stock. The accumulated wealth of their fathers and father's brothers are entrusted to both boys and girls from about age ten during the day, as the stock is herded here and there for grass and water. This necessitates an important emphasis on responsibility training at an early age, which is not experienced

among Okiek who have no stock.

Among herders and cultivators, almost always those who have gardens also have stock, and vice versa. The resulting diet for people residing at home is mostly maize meal, with a cup of milk at each meal and a dish of additional spinach-like food or boiled meat in the evening. Children, in the honey season, also get some honey, but it is never their primary food. In some areas, potatoes are eaten as much as, and as an alternative to, maize. Among these Okiek, meat at home is not a primary food but ranks second to maize in amount eaten.

This account should not be construed as maintaining that Okiek without gardens do not eat garden foods. On the contrary, the Okiek maintain that long before they had gardens, even beyond memory, they have always traded with maize-producing tribes like the Kipsigis.

This has especially been the case in times of drought when fresh honey and to some extent meat are not available. In fact, during the age-set of TL. Peles (ca. 100 years ago) many Kipchornwonek went to live with Kipsigis or depended mostly on Kipsigis' food to get them through a severe drought. The Kaplelach today, especially those without gardens, trade extensively with Kikuyu for maize. In the off season, while living outside the forest, these Kaplelach will eat mostly maize, as there isn't enough honey available for eating, and killing animals near other tribes is dangerous, as it may be reported.

It is evident from the above that seasonal variation in food supply, changes in residence, and the amount of domestic food raised by each family, makes it impossible to generalize about present Okiek diet. At best, estimates can, and have been, made of food consumption in smaller units of time and space, such as: forest camps vs

permanent settlements which tend to correlate with seasons and domestic food use. Traditional Okiek diet, on which traditional, and to a large extent current, Okiek society and culture developed, can be more easily estimated. Meat has constituted about 70%, honey 15%, domestic foods from other tribes 15%, and wild fruits, berries, etc., less than one percent. This is a rough estimate, not based on individual data, but rather on the Okiek's own estimate. Furthermore, it ignores the previously described temporal and spacial variations in subsistence and residence and sex-age variation, which are more important to understanding the relation of diet to Okiek life than these gross figures can convey.

Nutritional Requirements

The human body has a number of minimal dietary requirements for maintaining itself. These principal food substances are proteins, vitamins, minerals, and a little vegetable oil. In addition, fuel foods are required for energy if a person is active, though if not, the above food substances provide sufficient fuel. In other words, starches, sugars, and fats are a necessary requirement only for active people. For inactive people they are not utilized, but rather stored as bodily fat, a source of energy readily available if at some time in the future energy food becomes scarce. Thus the well-known steatopygia among Bushmen (especially women) fills an important functional requirement of storing energy against a season of inadequate food. Chandler (1896:278) found Okiek living in a state of chronic starvation, in which women survived noticeably better than men. This may be, in part, a result of women having more fat than men. Among

the Mau Okiek, I observed that men were almost always lean, while women were frequently well filled out, though not obese.

There are more than forty chemical substances required for adequate nutrition. Of these, eleven are of principal importance and if food containing these is eaten in the amounts required, these same foods tend to also supply enough of the other substances to provide a complete diet. The eleven substances are protein, calcium, iron, iodine, vitamin A, vitamin B, (thiamine, riboflavin, niacin), vitamin C (ascorbic acid), fat, and fuel foods (U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1960). These will be discussed in terms of how they are provided for in traditional Okiek diet.

Meat has been the principal source of food for the Okiek. Voluntary muscle is important, especially for the animal protein it supplies the body. Meat also contains significant amounts of B vitamins (mostly niacin and riboflavin), phosphorus, and some iron. Liver is rich in iron, vitamin A, vitamin B12, and folic acid, also some vitamin D, niacin, riboflavin, and thiamine. Kidneys have vitamin A, riboflavin, niacin, and thiamine. Heart has riboflavin and niacin.

Fat is a food substance highly prized by the Okiek. It is equally valued by the Maasai who, like the Okiek, pay four times the price of lean meat (1 vs 4 shilling per pound) for a pound of fat in the local Narok market. In a society not troubled by obesity, the extremely high caloric content of fat (264 calories per ounce) makes it an ideal energy food. Not only does it supply high energy in small doses, but the small doses are unusually filling; thus on a small

quantity of food, a person can go for hours without feeling hungry again. The Okiek also maintain that fat is a pleasant food to eat because it is sweet (anyin) like honey. The overriding value of fat was demonstrated to me at two different elephant kills. At one, the Okiek had to go seven miles from camp to get to the carcass and stayed there two days cutting and drying meat and removing the fat before the laborious job of transporting it home. At the second kill, the elephant had very little fat; seeing this, the Okiek merely took what they could carry of fat and meat and went home. They were unhappy because there was "no fat," and they abandoned most of the carcass to the vultures. That elephant was less than two miles from camp.

Fat is also used as the base of the decorative red paint the Okiek and Maasai smear in various patterns on their bodies. Fat alone is rubbed into the skin of babies for its supposed medicinal value, and by extension it is used in ritual as a vehicle for the supernatural blessing of adults and children.

The use of fat in Okiek diet extends to all ages, but primarily they conceive of fat as a necessary, healthful food for children without which a child cannot develop his full strength and health. A man will go to considerable lengths to obtain fat for his baby to supplement the mother's milk. They usually have to be forced a bit to eat fat. Fat is provided for growing children and also for adults when sick. One of the principal reasons for slaughtering a sheep when someone is sick is to be able to make a fat broth for drinking, and thus restoring health to the patient. In killing animals, preference is always given to "fat" animals like elephant, rhino, giraffe, eland,

etc. The fat is meticulously removed and taken home for the children, though persons of all ages like to eat chunks of raw or cooked fat.

Fats are primarily a source of energy, providing more calories per weight than any other food substance, over twice as much as proteins and carbohydrates, and about twice that of honey and sugars (Field 1964:12; Bauer 1965). Some kinds furnish vitamin A or D, while all fats help the body make use of these vitamins.

The third most important food source for the Okiek has been honey. Honey is eaten or drunk as a liquid by persons of all ages. Among children it is especially favored, though it is my impression that in the first year or two of life, fat is stressed more than honey in feeding babies. Honey is the obvious favorite of children, while adults give equal preference to meat and honey. Among adult women, honey constitutes a lesser percentage of the diet, partly in deference to their children's needs and partly because they do not get to eat the honeycombs their husbands eat each time they get honey from a hive.

The food and medical value of honey seems to be a lively point of contention in America. Among the Okiek, its value is unquestioned and, not surprisingly, we find it has many medicinal uses among folk America. Traditions, beliefs, perhaps even some facts which are much older than modern medicine, die slowly. In the face of this, the traditional nutritional and medicinal role of honey in American life has been sharply criticized by a number of medical and health sources.

Bauer (1965:556) states:

Because many of the old preparations contained honey for palatability, honey got a great reputation as a medicament. Actually, it is only a solution of sugar with not enough vitamins or minerals to be nutritionally important.

The National Formulary, an official drug compendium, gives honey's only medical use as "a flavoring vehicle" (in Bauer 1965:556).

The Journal of the American Medical Association states that honey "has no known therapeutic value peculiar or specific only to itself" (Bauer 1965:556). In fact it may, in one case, do the opposite, as it contains sufficient pollen to cause allergic reactions in some people.

Field (1964:182) states that honey is:

mainly concentrated fructose and glucose with flavors derived from the particular flowers the bees used to produce it. Honey has been supposed by the faddists to be a health food, but it has only traces of any substances except sugars and has no special food values over any other sugar. It is not as easily digested and absorbed as the relatively pure glucose found in corn syrup.

The U. S. Department of Agriculture's description of honey indicates that it contains 80% sugars, 16% water, dextrin, and gums. The remaining 4% includes flavoring, aromatic substances, and traces of vitamins in insignificant amounts. Minerals are not mentioned (in Bauer 1965:556).

Most of these comments must be put in perspective. They were written at a time when honey, among other particular foods, had gained a considerable amount of national prestige, an outgrowth of its long-time status in American folk medicine. In 1958, a Vermont medical doctor, D. C. Jarvis, published a volume entitled, Folk Medicine, a Vermont Doctor's Guide Book to Good Health. This became a best seller, not surprisingly, because it gave "clear, concise instructions for radiant health and long life." One of his prescriptions for a number of ailments was honey and honeycombs. Though Jarvis did not deny the value of medical diagnoses and prescription, apparently the medical

profession believed his audience would and, as a consequence, current literature on honey bends over backward to deny it any special status. The curious, however, may wonder why honey has achieved such an important status in American folk lore and, as well, throughout the world. Jarvis summarizes some of the possible reasons, citing a number of professional studies. Quite aside from what facts may apply to honey, however, it is important for the purposes of this thesis to keep in mind that what people believe about something may be of far more social, cultural, and psychological importance than the actual physiological value of the item. It is in this light that the following analysis of honey is presented.

A series of tests by bacteriologists at Colorado Agriculture College, in the Bureau of Entomology, Washington, D. C., and in the Division of Bacteriology in Ottawa, have shown that bacteria cannot live in the presence of honey because honey contains enough potassium to withdraw from bacteria the moisture which is essential to their existence. Placed in honey, typhoid fever-producing germs died within 48 hours. A and B typhosus germs died in 24 hours, a typhoid bacillus died in five hours, germs which caused chronic bronchopneumonia died in four days. Similar results occurred with germs for peritonitis, pleuritis, suppurative abscesses, and dysentery (cited in Jarvis, 1958:96).

A chemist at the University of Wisconsin is cited as analyzing honey for its mineral contents, which include some essential to nutrition: copper, iron, and manganese.

Honey is in part composed of the simple sugars, levulose and dextrose, which are more readily absorbed into the body than cane

sugar and starches, which must first be converted by enzymes into simple sugars. As such, it is less irritating to the lining of the digestive tract. For this reason also, it is more easily and rapidly assimilated and, thus, more quickly furnishes energy.

Percival (1955) ran a series of endurance tests on individuals who had eaten specific quantities of honey before, during, and after the tests. His conclusion was that honey increased performance, sustained effort and fatigue recovery. In addition, participants also claimed they felt they had more energy and felt less fatigue after using honey than without it. The impression of energy, of course, has specific significance for understanding the use of honey in a preliterate society like the Okiek.

This same study also concluded that honey was preferable to other sugars as a source of quick energy because it has greater taste appeal than others, more of it can be tolerated at one serving, it is more versatile as it can be used in many ways and in combination with other foods and beverages, and it is apparently free of bacteria and irritating substances.

Jarvis also concludes (1965:99) that honey (at least with his Vermont patients) is the sugar best handled by the kidneys, that it has a natural and gentle laxative effect, it has a sedative value, quieting the body, and has medicinal value as a cough remedy.

Honey may have some value, in addition to these, for infant feeding. Schultz and Knott (1938:465-473) report on tests on infant utilization of different sugars. They conclude:

Honey has the advantage over sugars, which contain higher levels of dextrose, since it does not cause the blood sugar to rise to higher levels than can be easily cared for by the body. With its easy and widespread

availability, palatability and digestibility, honey would seem to be a form of carbohydrate which should have a wider use in infant feeding.

Jarvis states that honey is effective in relieving at least the symptoms of certain nervous disorders such as upset stomach, bed-wetting, sleeplessness, twitching, and cramps. Presumably, these are related to the putated sedative value of honey, though no systematic studies have been made. Jarvis cites clinical evidence to the effect that eating honey and chewing honeycombs is effective as a desensitizing agent for allergic reactions like hayfever. Other nasal disorders such as colds are also susceptible to the same treatment, which Jarvis claims is effective in ninety percent of cases treated. This seems surprising in view of the fact that honey contains pollen, which ought to be the cause of hayfever.

What facts are known about honey appear to indicate that its special value lies outside the nutritional sphere denied it by current medical opinion. It is a source of convenience and quick energy. In a society such as the Okiek, where individuals are sporadically active and then inactive, honey provides the one relatively plentiful source of fuel food which is available when needed. Unlike meat, which spoils if not dried and which is not easily stored and transported, honey is compact, easily carried and, most importantly, indefinitely preservable. Fat, as a fuel food, has the disadvantage of being less plentiful and thus largely consumed by children.

For the Okiek, honey has the advantage of being safely eaten, as it is free of bacteria. Because it doesn't cause indigestion or sickness, the Okiek quite reasonably consider it a "good" food, that is, healthful, and also a medicinal substance. A number of studies

previously cited indicate that this claim of medicinal value may be correct, in that honey may indeed kill bacteria, particularly in the throat and stomach.

The possible sedative effect of honey is acknowledged by the Okiek. Like mother's milk, honey is given to the older children as a palliative for any number of frustrations and irritations. On occasion, I have seen an unhappy, whimpering child calmed by a handful of honey given by his mother to placate his irritation. This same function is clearly evident in the adult use of honey wine, the giving of which is reified as a social custom for the purpose of influencing others, the living and the dead. These important social and cultural functions are discussed in Chapters 4-6.

Finally, I don't recall ever seeing an Okiek who suffered from nasal congestion, either from a cold or hayfever, though they live in an environment of heavy pollen concentration and often cold wet weather. Their usual ailments were sore throat, stomach upset, diarrhea, and eye irritations. There were, of course, less frequent but more serious diseases such as bronchial pneumonia and tuberculosis.

The last and least important source of traditional Okiek food is wild vegetable matter and fruits. These have played a relatively small part in their diet, especially with adults. Most of these wild foods tend to be berries of various sorts. Fruits contain vitamin C and sugar primarily. These days, and to some extent in the past, many Okiek eat a considerable amount of maize, a grain rich in carbohydrates. It is less adequate in niacin and protein than wheat, and a heavy dependence on it can result in a deficiency disease common in Africa called kifoashiorakor (Field 1964:179). Maize is poor in

protein because it lacks sufficient amounts of some essential amino acids. Consequently, to avoid deficiency diseases, it is necessary to augment the diet with much protein-rich foods as milk, eggs, and meat. The white cornmeal of East Africa has less vitamin A than yellow cornmeal.

The Okiek diet of meat, honey, some fruits, and maize, somewhat surprisingly, supplies a fairly good balance of the principal nutritional requirements. Protein is supplied from meat and some from maize. Iron comes mostly from meat and some from maize. Vitamin A comes from meat and from some fruits. The B vitamins are found in small amounts in meat and maize. Vitamin C comes only from fruits. Vitamin A or D is furnished by some fats.

The two apparent deficiencies in Okiek diet are iodine and calcium. Iodine is essential to normal growth and activity of the thyroid gland. A child without iodine may grow up mentally and physically sluggish and even be unable to bear children as an adult. Iodine deficiency causes goiter, an ailment I never observed among Okiek, suggesting that they may be receiving sufficient iodine in drinking water.

The second possible deficiency is calcium. Calcium is a vital part of blood and lymph, as well as bone. Too little calcium results in injury to muscle, heart, and the nervous system. Some calcium is found in maize. Milk and milk products are the principal source but until recent decades Okiek have had little access to milk, except as they might be given some by Maasai--the usual Maasai expression of hospitality analogous to Okiek serving honey or wine.

Honey is noticeably absent from this summary of nutritional requirements. Its importance to Okiek is elsewhere than in physiological maintenance. Unlike most of the other foods whose value is in long-term nutritional maintenance, the lack of which is not readily perceived by the individual, honey, when eaten or drunk as a wine, has an immediate and obvious effect on the body, which is clearly felt by the Okiek. There is a euphoric quality to honey, which either does not exist or is less apparent with other foods. This is what people can feel in themselves and see in others; it has an immediate reality which cannot help to reinforce beliefs about its efficacy as a food or medicine. The importance of honey in American folk medicine is at least attributable to the apparent effects it has on the body, if not to any real physiological value. The Okiek credit honey with much the same nutritional and medicinal worth believed by "folk" America.

It is apparent to me from only a brief inquiry into beliefs about honey in Europe and Asia that this phenomenon exists extensively throughout the world. The similarity in beliefs about honey suggest that they must derive from a common source. American and Okiek beliefs about honey suggest that the common source is the perception of its apparent physiological effects; it is appealingly sweet, it is quickly filling, it is soothing, it is easily digestible, it is non-irritating and free of disease. To industrial societies, accustomed to all sorts of prepared foods, such as many types of sugars in various forms, the unique natural quality of honey no longer strikes us as something distinctive. But to societies living on only natural

foods, honey is a highly peculiar food. As a class of food, it ranks with all meats and plant foods. Before the advent of modern sugars, before even the sugar cane "loaf," honey to early Americans must have had something of the importance it has among the Okiek. We have lost this feeling and, with it, have overlooked what is still significant in many primitive societies. A measure of this loss was the reaction I got from an American to my intention of writing about the role of honey in Okiek life. He gave me a quizzical look, waiting for me to laugh it off as a joke.

Honey as food and medicine is but half its importance to the Okiek. If the uses it has in the maintenance of health were not sufficient to account for its importance, the use of honey as a liquor certainly will. The Okiek, as a whole, drink a lot of wine. They make it whenever there is a supply of honey. They make it in large quantities, and they make it frequently. They like to drink and they like to drink in the company of others. In their feelings, and in their work, the Okiek express a great interest in and desire for drinking. In fact, it was apparent in my field work that the average adult Okiek (assuming other basic needs are reasonably satisfied), could be more easily motivated to do nearly anything if he or she believed there was a chance of getting some drinks out of it. The close relationship of drinking to motivation makes more reasonable the discussion of drinking in the chapter on Okiek personality.

PART TWO

HONEY GATHERING IN TIME AND SPACE:

SEASONS AND LAND TENURE

Honey Distribution in Forests and by Season

The foregoing chapter described the distribution of honey-producing trees and plants in the various Okiek forests and the usual rainy seasons after which trees flower and honey is collected. The location of honey trees and plants does not vary, except as a possible consequence of a forest fire or land clearing and, therefore, presents no uncertainty to the Okiek. The rains, however, are highly variable in time of occurrence, direction, and intensity. There is a tendency for the long rains to occur in March, April, and May, and the short rains in October and November.

Climatic uncertainty, however, is the more usual condition. When I first was learning about honey seasons, I would ask the Okiek when they would be getting the next honey, to which they usually replied with such a vague answer that I began to doubt their veracity. As the months of my field work went by without any honey, I accepted the accuracy of this "inaccuracy."

This lack of constancy imparts an irregular rhythm to Okiek life. At no time can an Okiot be sure of where he will have to move next to make his living. If flowers come in tirap, he will have to move himself, sometimes his whole family, there for a few days to as much as six months, depending on the supply of honey and the number of hives he wishes to make or repair.

There are a large number of momentary conditions which affect Okiek residence and social relations within a broader pattern of seasonal honey exploitation in different forests. While at tirap, a man from time to time may have to return to soyua to sell or trade honey at the town shops or to Maasai, to purchase tobacco, cloth, pay or collect a debt, or to collect honey that has followed on a new flowering in Boyua. If a friend or relative is sick, he and his family may leave tirap to attend to this affair, or perhaps he is invited to a ceremony in another area.

The result of seasonal flowering is a tendency for related men who have hives in the same areas in a forest to plan to go together, sometimes with their families, to live in that forest while collecting the honey. On the other hand, individuals, non-lineage based needs, obligations, and social ties, tend to break up these lineage concentrations, at least momentarily.

If seasonal fluctuations contribute to irregular rhythm in Okiek life through time, the constancy of honey-producing trees and plants in specific forests largely accounts for stability in Okiek life in space. The Okiek very explicitly desire to collect as much honey as they can. This means going to each forest as the changing seasons result in flowering in one elevation or another. The Okiek forest types, each generally correlating with elevation levels, precipitation and temperature, reflect different types of vegetation. They also reflect the seasons of flowering, because the same climatic variables which permit the growth of certain species also tend to cause these species to flower at the same time. Thus heavy rainfall in tirap not only permits certain species to flourish there, but since

this rainfall comes to most of that elevation at the same times, the whole forest will tend to flower at that time. Thus one hears Okiek, on coming back from trips here and there, bringing the news that, "It is flowering in tirap" (or sasaonet, etc.). What this means is that flowering usually occurs in most areas of tirap, if it occurs at all. The Okiek classification of forests in elevational strips reflects this. If climatic conditions should favor flowering in narrow areas throughout the elevations at one time, I am sure Okiek forest classifications would reflect this.

When, for example, flowering comes to tirap, there is an obvious tendency for Okiek to leave their present homes and migrate to that forest. Thus the whole population tends to shift together to a certain elevation, but not to a specific circumscribed location. If anything, the tendency is toward dispersal from slightly greater concentration of families in dry season camps to smaller, more dispersed camps in the honey season. The widespread flowering throughout a forest type militates against compact aggregations in certain seasons common to many other hunting and gathering societies. When aggregation does occur among Okiek, it is usually a result of ceremonies in which some kith and kin and friends congregate for a few days. At no time do whole groups of Okiek, and obviously not all the Okiek, aggregate. To account for this, at the least it can be said that there are no ecological circumstances which would provide an advantage to this type of concentration. It may also be possible that such aggregations are economically impossible. It is likely, as will soon be discussed, that such aggregation would be socially untenable, resulting in the uncontrollable expression of interpersonal and inter-lineage hostility.

Okiek society, at least among those Okiek I have studied (see Huntingford 1951 for variation in another group), is divided into groups which, in turn, are composed of lineages (kap sg., keytonik pl.). These lineages, unusual for a hunting and gathering society, are unilineal, specifically patrilineal. Marital residence is overwhelmingly virilocal. The reasons men give for their residence with their natal family and male siblings reflect first a sentiment of attachment to one's own lineage, and especially to parents and siblings; it also reflects the fact that individuals in a lineage place their hives in the same forest areas and, therefore, live in these same areas. The coincidence of hive location and lineage residence is a major theme in Okiek life. The system of land tenure of the Mau Okiek (all groups appear to have this system) is closely related to major personal needs and social and cultural goals. An analysis of this system is necessary for understanding virtually all aspects of Okiek life, but especially the role of honey.

To recapitulate briefly, the south slope of Mau is transected by a series of parallel stream valleys and long ridges, which pass upward in elevation through the Okiek forest types. Thus if one hikes from elevation 6500 feet to ca. 9000 feet, one follows the top of one of these unbroken, gently rounded hills (the word "ridge" inaccurately suggests a sharply delineated crest). The area in which my research was conducted has about twelve such ridges. Each ridge "belongs" to a separate lineage, although a number of historical events within Okiek lineages have complicated this pattern. Ownership, the exclusive rights of use and inheritance, however, is particularistic. That is, within each lineage territory (konoito, sg., konoituek, pl.), a

lineage has exclusive rights to any honey found therein. This necessarily means that only members of that lineage have the right to place hives in that territory. There are several types of exceptions to this which will be discussed later. This jurial rule also means that non-members of a lineage cannot take any honey found in natural hives either. By extension, it also means that a person may not cut barks to wrap his own hives from trees in another's territory. On the other hand, there are no restrictions on residence. Any person may live in any other person's territory and, in fact, a large percentage of all Okiek actually live outside of (though usually near to) their own territory these days; at least during the off season when not collecting honey. Also, there is generally no formal restriction on hunting or trapping in another's territory among those groups on the south side of Mau, though among people who do not like each other, it may precipitate a fight, the Okiek say. The Maresionik, to the north, are an exception. Taking animals in another's territory is as serious an offense as taking honey. The Kaplelach and Kipchorwonek I have asked believe this difference was brought about in recent decades by the government's program of expropriating most of the Maresionik forests for forest preserves. As a result, they suggest, there is fewer game which, being heavily hunted, have become even fewer, so that lineages now jealously guard the animals in their small territory for themselves. The relatively recent origin of this "ownership" of animals is also suggested by the fact that the Kipchorwonek are a group which hived off from the Maresionik within the last 100 years and do not have this rule of exclusive rights to animals. They say, "How can an animal be yours when tomorrow it may wander into my territory?" This attitude

and that of the Kapelach was clearly demonstrated to me in a conversation with one of the eldest Kapelach. Earlier that day someone had been caught by a game scout shooting a couple of animals. In conversation that evening, this elder commented sarcastically, "They say he killed one of Tipis's children (Tipis is the game warden). But they can't get a man to tell when the animal was born. It is as if animals are his children or his cows. Don't give that askari (game scout) any money (as a bribe). It is not his child or cow. All the Okiek are killing, so what can they do?" In his mind, a person can claim damages for the loss of only his own child or domestic stock. To claim damages for the loss of a wild animal means either the game warden must be deranged so much that he believes himself to be the father of the animal, or he claims wild animals as property, like cows. To an Okiot, both make no sense; animals are free beings and "have no owners." The Okiek can see no point to game regulations. The Okiek have always killed animals, just as the Maasai have used the grass and the Kikuyu the earth to gain their food. That the government should come recently and arbitrarily claim game as their own stock is seen by the Okiek as grossly unfair to themselves, literally depriving them of their natural right to live.

When I asked why they have such territories, as opposed to letting anyone put their hives anywhere in the forest, I invariably received two answers. First, the Okiek believe that their ancestors established the territories going up the ridges so that each lineage would have access to all forest types in order to avail themselves of the different flowering in each forest through the year. To have established territories in small plots or strips running parallel to

the forests would mean that only some lineages would get all the honey at any one time, while under the present system, all lineages with territories have equal access to every flowering. This system is undoubtedly the most convenient as well. The shortest and easiest way to go from one flowering forest to another is along the ridge. The earliest Okiek families undoubtedly would follow one ridge up and down in their initial adaptation to the forest. In other words, there is a sufficient geological reason for adapting this form of land use. There also is the environmental reason for doing this to exploit the maximum amount of honey, and again, another reason, which the Okiek consistently give for the adaptation of family territories per se, quite aside from the way they extend along ridges through all forest types. One older woman put it succinctly, "The people of long ago were the ones who started them (lineage territories); so each kap (lineage) will follow their own place. If people were to mix together, they would fight. Well, that is not the reason; really it is that some people do not like each other, so if they meet in one konoito (territory), they will fight. If there are bees in a tree, then a person can find and cut into the tree to get honey. Then when finished he will close the hole up (so bees can keep warm and stay). But if another person comes from another konoito (e.g., lineage) and finds this tree and takes honey from it even though he sees the tree has been closed, then the first man will be mad and fight him. But if they are both of the same kap, then the second man will tell the first that he has taken honey from that tree and it is all right. But if of different kaps, they will fight and the first will tell the second not to pass his konoito again. Sometimes people do not like each other;

then one can go to the konoito of the other and take hyrax or giant forest hog. Then they will fight. But if people from different kaps are friends, then it is all right to go and take these."

* To my question of konoito origins, I have universally received this type of answer: that ancestors (probably, for no one knows for sure) established these lineage territories as a way of regulating social relations in a field of conflict over a highly valued resource. At the least, these explanations reflect the principal manifest function of these territories in the eyes of living Okiek. The numerous cases I recorded on interpersonal conflict of various types in the present, and especially the elevation of these into inter-kap lineage feuds in the past, convincingly demonstrates that the Okiek have a tenuous hold on social stability. Social relations are almost always characterized by a conscious effort on everyone's part to avoid situations and topics that would annoy anyone present. Should annoyance be expressed, the Okiek usually try to ameliorate the situation by placating the aggrieved. Much of Okiek social etiquette appears to function in this manner--regularizing otherwise uncertain interpersonal relations and providing a series of conventional actions which are designed to please one's opposite or to gloss over mutual differences. This is most explicit in meetings (kiruget) between persons with a case against each other. There is a standard procedure, a stylized form, by which the opponents initially mask their complaints in kind words and present gifts (usually some liquor). They proceed tangentially, to present their grievances. Finally, accusation may become explicit but, should either party become annoyed (konerech), the rest will attempt to close off the breach and restore, at least

superficially, cordial relations. Frequently, a meeting ends without apparent accommodation, the parties being more satisfied to, at least, leave on peaceful terms. This illustrates Okiek primary concern with the maintenance of social order in a tribe without formal authority.

Objectively, this concern is well founded, as outbreaks of temper and subsequent fighting are not infrequent. The veil of culture lies lightly on everyone's impulses; its fragility barely protected by socialization.

Okiek concern for and fear of losing control is clearly reflected in their use of land. Lineages separated by miles of forest, each in their own territory, are less likely to cause each other daily aggravations. Restricting honey collection to one's own forest relieves the temptation of robbing honey from another's territory, especially when another's territory is further distant than one's own.

This system of exclusive rights to honey collection is also, in part, replicated within a lineage territory. Within each territory, the Okiek identify numerous small areas (koret, sg., korosiek, pl.), as many as two dozen in one lineage territory, and many of the larger koret areas are subdivided again into smaller ones. These are the smallest land units of the Okiek. By these, they identify locations of hives, natural features, beginnings and ends of forest types, residences, and location of events. While a territory may be as much as fifty square miles, within it the areas (koret) may be from less than one square mile to ten square miles for the largest. Where one koret leaves off and another begins is not necessarily clear from any change in the environment. Nevertheless, the Okiek know each explicitly and where the boundaries are. Within a large lineage,

these areas are divided among collateral lines, such that each family has at least one in each forest type. As the sons of a man grow up, they are given separate areas in which to put their hives. In smaller lineages, this principle is not followed. Rather, all persons (usually they would be either brothers or first cousins only) use any areas they wish. The Okiek are far less likely to admit to others, as well as to themselves, that lineage members might fight over honey, but this division within the territory clearly reflects the same principle as pertains between lineages. In fact, I have some cases of fighting, even feuding, within lineages, which were objectively as serious as between lineages, and subjectively more serious because of the disruption of close social bonds.

If a major function of territories is to circumvent by jural rules what might otherwise result in fighting over honey resources, then the exceptions to this rule are congruent with this hypothesis.

One Okiek stated that it was all right to take honey from the hives of any member of his lineage, provided one told the owner afterward, for the reason that it would save the owner a pointless trip some day to a hive which was empty. This fellow also maintained that he could do the same with certain in-laws: father's sister's husband and son, mother's sister's husband and son, and mother's brother and son. In fact, on one trip to the forest, he took considerable honey from a hive of his mother's brother. On that same trip, three other friends accompanied us. Two, with the permission of the third, who owned the hive, took honey from that hive for their own children, while the first fellow took honey from another of this man's hives for himself. In fact, during the whole trip, no one took honey from their own hives. Yet,

in all cases, honey was being taken with explicit or tacit permission of the owner--owners who would permit this because they are either relatives or close in-laws, were of the same age-set, and/or were particularly close friends. The informality of these exceptions to a jural rule was further emphasized on another occasion by a father's actually objecting to his son taking honey from his hive. As I knew this family well, it was clear to me that his objection reflected his general inability to assume the paternal role, acting contrary to general expectations of a father to provide for his family.

These exceptions are the extreme forms and aptly illustrate that personal choice dictates legitimate exceptions to the jural rule of exclusive lineage rights to honey within a territory. The function of this rule is evident from cases which show for whom the exceptions are not made: individuals who do not have close personal ties to the owner as friend or age-mate, and persons who are related only by distant birth or marriage. It is the latter types of persons who are usually thought of by Okiek as being the most likely to disregard an owner's rights and, therefore, the type an owner would least like to find taking honey in his territory. In this sense, the exceptions to the rule support the hypothesis that Okiek territories contribute to social control.

A second type of exception to this rule concerns the forest of soyua, wherein the Okiek do not apply the rule of exclusive lineage rights to honey within their territory. Although these territories do extend into soyua, any person may place hives anywhere in that forest and search for natural hives as he pleases. During the long dry season of my stay, frequently men and boys of different lineages went

out on week-long trips into soyua, looking for these natural hives. Frequently, they went to areas which are part of the territory of lineages of the neighboring Kapsupulek group. The Okiek even maintain that any tribe can put hives in their territories in soyua. The Okiek, when questioned about this exception to the rule, state that soyua is the place where all kinds of people live (other tribes) and make their living, so it is unreasonable to claim rights in it exclusively to oneself, and also it would be impossible to enforce such a rule; as it would deny non-Okiek residents the right to put hives or collect honey anywhere. This reason points up the powerlessness of the Okiek. Faced with the encroachment on their land by Kipsigis and Kikuyu (both honey-collecting tribes), the Okiek seem to have found it expedient to gracefully withdraw, rather than suffer the embarrassment of being unable to enforce their own rights as they see them. This second exception to the rule, like the first one, suggests that the rule of exclusive rights to honey is related to social control, in that in soyua this control cannot be exercised; therefore, the rule has been retracted.

This hypothesis contrasts with a frequently heard hypothesis that territories are primarily related to regulating the supply of a scarce resource per se, so each can have an equal share. There is no question in the Okiek mind that honey is a valuable commodity and that if another person takes honey from one's territory, the owner's supply of honey will be diminished, in theory. The Okiek maintain, however, that even if there were ten times as many of them putting hives in these forests as now, the supply of honey, per man, would not diminish. They point to the many flowering trees and to the fact that probably

the overwhelming majority of bees live in natural hives, and are hence potential tenants in manmade hives. My own observations indicate that this estimation is more correct than the feeling that the honey supply is limited. There is a feeling of honey as a limited resource, however, and this is reinforced by a series of variables. Not all hives are populated with bees, as apparently bees like and dislike certain hives. If a person finds he has some hives that are empty, he begins to feel that someone has "robbed" him of his bees, either by placing other hives too near his, or has caused his bees to leave by supernatural means. On occasion, I have heard such remarks from Okiek, in the heat of frustration.

In the dry season, when no honey is being produced, and hives have already been emptied, people are hungry, if not in body, at least in spirit, and the consequent depression that settles over a camp does not help individuals to feel the lack of honey as just a consequence of climatic factors. The total lack of honey imparts the emotional feeling that honey is limited and that if another takes honey from one's territory, one will be diminished thereby. It is this emotional, non-rational quality of the desire for honey which, in part, makes Okiek feel that the quantity of honey is finite and, therefore, the gathering of honey is competitive. This feeling of competition for a seemingly scarce resource contributes to inter-lineage tension, and it is for this reason that the Okiek attribute a social control function to their land tenure system. Animals, though truly more finite than honey, appear to be infinite, as they can be killed in all forests and in everyone's territories through all seasons. It is significant, therefore, that the Okiek do not attribute their land

tenure system to the consequences of the supply of animals.

In comparison to the above quoted woman's comments on rights to honey, she remarked that hunting of animals was, in effect, not prohibited in another's territory. Rather, that the exceptions to this rule were cases in which already unfriendly persons may accost each other in the forest and use the excuse of hunting to get into fighting. Among these Okiek, the jural rule is that one has free access to any game anywhere, the exception to the rule constituting an inappropriate breach by the supposed plaintiff.

From this discussion, it is apparent that the Okiek believe that their konoito system is importantly related to the control of interpersonal aggression, which in turn is seen as the unbridled expression of competition for honey resources. Significantly, they do not see game as causing these same problems, even though game meat, traditionally, has constituted the major share of the diet. On the other hand, in all seasons, meat is a more reliable source of food. When honey is not available, game usually is. This finite quality of honey undoubtedly affects Okiek possessiveness.

What follows is an analysis of a different sort which describes how honey technology and its related territorial system affect various institutions in the social system.

Not all Kaplelach and Kipchorwonek lineages have their own konoito or lineage territory. Every lineage, however, owns or has rights in at least some "korets" (to anglicize the Okiek term for convenience) in their own konoito or in another's. Since ownership of korets is synonymous with a dependable supply of honey, it is difficult to imagine an Okiek lineage surviving in the same manner as other

lineages if it did not have at least some korets scattered in the various forests from which to get honey. Theoretically one could subsist on honey from "freeland" soyua but honey is less frequent there than elsewhere. Even the Omotik and Digiri Okiek, both important cattle-keeping groups living on the plains, have their own lineage korets in adjacent soyua forests for putting their hives. Korets; therefore, are economically important. For instance, the Okiek occasionally refer to this or that lineage as being not well off and they attribute this to their possession of few korets.

Korets are socially important not merely because of their economic value, but because they are used to satisfy a wide range of social indebtedness. This has some theoretical importance aside from its place in Okiek society. Few if any hunting and gathering tribes have elaborated a territorial system as complex as the Okiek. In addition to this I know of none who extend the use of territories from simple rules of residence and ownership for subsistence exploitation to the social sphere of involving land in a wide range of social transactions. This is worthy of elaboration, but for the present I confine remarks to various types of transactions as examples of the inter-relationship of the concepts of land tenure based on honey subsistence to the major spheres of social life.

Korets are the single most valuable commodity which an Okiek man will inherit from his father. An individual has rights of use over korets given to him by his father. A man, however, can give his koret to another person or lineage as he pleases. These types of transfer include giving a koret(s) in marriage, or in gratitude to a relation of value, and as an outright sale. A lineage can give a

koret(s) to another lineage. This is usually done as compensation for inter-lineage homicide. This type of payment usually takes place after an extended period of feuding in which deaths on both sides have exhausted the survivors to the extent that both sides agree to cease hostilities, hold a peace ceremony, and settle the deaths by paying out korets, and sometimes honey, ivory, and money.

The following are a number of cases which illustrate the range of use korets have in the two basic types of social transactions mentioned above.

Case 1. Many years ago a young woman was given to Naiyerra of the lineage of Nagul to be his wife. As is sometimes done, she was given a koret by her own lineage, a koret which would be used by her husband and later by her son(s). Dururu is Naiyerra's SoSo and he explained that if he himself gave a koret to his daughter it would be because of his personal feelings of "happiness" (-comveet) for her. He would give it to her when she had a son so that when he grows up he could put his hives in it and it would be his and his children's after him. Dururu went on to say that if a man had many daughters, however, he would still give only one koret to the daughter he liked the most. The koret given to Kururu's FaFaMo is now used by Dururu and his brother and it is in the konoito of the lineage which originally gave it out.

Case 2. Naiyetta's brother, Sapagawo, was given a woman by the Wamo lineage. He paid the customary brideprice and married her. In time it was seen that his wife would have no children and so her parents decided "it is better to give a koret to this man so that it

represents the property we have consumed." What this means is that Okiek brideprice payments of honey, blankets, and money get used up, unlike Maasai bride payments of cows. As one Okiot expressed it, "Since her parents received these things and used them up, but in the exchange you have not been able to give them children by your daughter, so you give a koret to your daughter so her husband and brother can put their hives in it." Here a koret is given as a substitute for no children, since children are perhaps the most important expectation to be produced by paying a brideprice for a wife. Such a gift is voluntary, however, in keeping with the Okiek practice of not divorcing a woman if she bears no children.

Case 3. Mpoë married Loruse's sister years ago and he paid for her with a koret. This is unusual, few marriages have been so paid for. The Okiek who told me this observed that a koret is better payment than a cow (and certainly better than honey), as "you can put hives in it and get honey and even your children can do this, so the increase can be much better than cows."

Case 4. This man also recounted that his FaFa gave out one koret to an age-mate "because they were friends."

Case 5. Four years ago, Oldegirr gave a koret to his sister's three sons for their use. Although as in Case 4, it was a personal matter based on his regard for his sister's sons, it does reflect the special MoBR-SiSo relationship in Okiek society. Next to one's own father and father's brother, one's mother's brother is considered especially close, something like a father but without fatherly

responsibility for rearing the child.

* Case 6. A long time ago, perhaps 100 years ago, Nagul came from another group and stayed with the Kaplelach lineages. As his descendants tell it, he was a very kind (mye) man; that is, if people tried to fight he stopped them, he would kill animals and give meat to others, or if he saw a boy without a father or mother he would make him his own son. In gratitude for his kindness he was given korets by others. His lineage prospered and today it is very large and has managed to acquire most of the korets in one konoito. This is unusual as all other lineages still retain ownership of most of their ancestral korets.

Case 7. The koret of Takamda used to belong to the lineage of Kaurio. Liyu of the lineage of Mapelu had arranged to marry a girl of the Kaurio lineage but even after he had paid the brideprice of honey, etc., the marriage fell through. Liyu saw that the Kaurio lineage was not paying back his brideprice so one day he told the Kaurio lineage that he would take one of their korets, Takamda, instead. Kaurio agreed.

Case 8. About the same time Liyu's brothers happened to hide their shields one day in another Kaurio koret, Chokchoik. Some Kaurio found the shields and stole them (recalling that rights over korets extend only to honey and honey-related objects). When these two brothers asked for their shields back they were not given them. So they said they would take the koret instead. Kaurio's reaction is not recalled, but today the descendants of these brothers put their hives

in that koret.

Case 9. There is a koret which once belonged to a Kaplelach lineage but it was adjacent to Kipchornwonek korets and had not been in use by the Kaplelach for a long time. So the lineage of Gemi of the Kipchornwonek took it over and now put their hives in it. The Kaplelach made no further claim to the koret, indicating that possession of a koret exists only if one's hives are actually in it.

Case 10. One Kipchornwonek lineage purchased a koret outright from another lineage a generation ago. The man who bought it did so for his lineage, Kaurio; as they did not own a koret in Soyua. For this he paid an adze, a necklace of blue beads, and a big fat sheep.

Case 11. The lineage of Kaurio has no konoito of its own. For this reason they have tried to acquire korets by one means or another. They are related by clan (oret) membership to the lineage of Mopirr who took pity on their poor clan brothers and have permitted Kaurio to put hives in their konoito. The korets of this konoito still belong to Mopirr but they give permission to Kaurio to get honey there.

Case 12. Early in this century some members of the Kaplelach lineage of Leboo killed each other. Differences so severe that they could result in killing members of one's own lineage appear to be insolvable among the Okiek. In this and one other similar case the lineage split in half, one half migrating elsewhere. In the case of the Leboo lineage, one half moved to the konoito of a neighboring

lineage with whom they had good relations, the lineage of Chongoroi. Chongoroi then gave these Leboo some korets so that they would be able to make a living. Unlike Case 11, these Leboo now exclusively own these korets and do not have to share them with the original owners, the Chongoroi.

Case 13. The lineage of Sopirot does not have a konoito and, in fact, has only one koret, in soyua. Since they are unable to make a living in the forest, the Okiek say, these Sopirot people have had to live in soyua and depend on raising cows for milk, getting diseased cows from Maasai for meat, and getting what little honey they can in soyua. The other lineages feel that the Sopirot lineage is not well off and life is more difficult for them than for those who have a konoito. This indicates that it is the Okiek opinion that a lineage cannot live an Okiek way of life if it does not have access to at least some korets in the forests. It is true that a lineage without korets can hunt in anyone's forests, but this is not a sufficient economic base without honey, even though honey contributes far less to the traditional Okiek diet than does meat. The Okiek appear to say that life is untenable in the forest without honey, but that honey's importance to that life is more non-economic than economic and is not based merely on subsistence needs.

Case 14. This final case is given in more detail because it is as important a type of koret transfer as all the previously discussed cases put together. This is a case of feuding between two adjacent lineages, Mengwari and Nagul, which has its origin prior to the memory of those now living. Recalling Case 6, Nagul came to

Kaplelach country perhaps 100 years ago. Some time between his arrival and about 70 years ago the two lineages had commenced hostilities and some had been killed. The reason for the original hostility is unknown now. Judging from other feuds it may have begun with one person being caught by another, for thieving honey from a hive in his koret and killing him, or it may have resulted from a drunken brawl in which one was killed. About 70 years ago Mengwari, the father's father of Yandet (see marriage case, Chapter 6), killed the father, sister, and brother of Rureto, a Nagul. Rureto was young at the time and so, apparently, were his siblings. After these killings, peace was made and in compensation for killing the adult and two children, the Mengwari lineage paid two korets to the Nagul lineage which were to be used by Rureto when he grew up. But when Rureto became a moran, about 15 years later, he still remembered the loss he had suffered and was determined to avenge their deaths. As Rureto told it to me, when he came out from his initiation seclusion he went and killed two brothers of Mengwari. After that people said that things were now equal as both sides had killed each other, and the people said no one should kill anymore as they would all disappear. So a peace ceremony was held in which they all promised not to fight again and they gave each other korets. Nagul gave out three korets which are now used, respectively, by each of Mengwari's sons and their children. Mengwari gave one big koret to the Naguls and this is used today by Rureto's children. In addition Mengwari gave Rureto a blue monkey cape and Rureto gave him some money. Rureto complained he was not given enough so Mengwari also gave him an elephant tusk. The Okiek say that if

these korets are not given in compensation, naunisto, a form of supernatural retribution, will continue to strike a lineage. For this reason, it is apparent that merely giving out the balance due is inappropriate; rather both sides must give the full amount even if it is equal for both, like giving a shilling and receiving one instead of calling it even and paying nothing. In this case korets take on some of the cultural properties discussed with respect to honey in Chapter 5. Korets become a vehicle for satisfying supernatural "sins" as well as social debts. This, plus the fact that korets are jurally defined only by their use for honey collecting, should indicate that korets are territorial extensions of the values associated with honey.

PART THREE

TECHNOLOGY OF HONEY GATHERING

With the background of environment and land tenure described, it is now possible to analyze the Okiek technology of honey gathering.

Compared to Okiek hunting or trapping technology, that for honey gathering is more complex and involves a far greater expenditure of energy and time. In terms of numbers, 24 artifacts are used in honey collection and honey use, of which all but five are for this activity primarily. This compares with 14 artifacts used primarily in getting animals. Of these 24, the most significant is the hive (muiynget, sg., muiyngon pl.), which is hollowed from a tree trunk of ca. one to two feet in diameter and ca. four to five feet long. It is made from a wide variety of trees which have straight, branchless trunks and are reasonably durable. The procedure is to cut down a tree

with an ax and let it season for four months, at which time the trunk is cut into ca. five-foot lengths, the ends squared, and the bark removed. Then, with the aid of wedges, this section is split open into two roughly equal halves. Each side is then hollowed out with an Okiek adze, a unique device on which the cutting blade can be turned on the handle to fit the different curves of the log as it is hollowed to 1/2 to one inch thickness on all sides and the end. When both sides are hollowed evenly, they are put back together and pairs of 1/2 inch holes are burned on either side of the junction through which bark string is passed to tie the joints together. Midway on one side a 4" x 8" hole is cut which will be the "mouth" through which a man can reach inside to take out the combs. Then one or more layers of a durable bark, usually tarakwet, are wrapped around and bound on both ends with a vine (toroklat) "rope," leaving a 6" overhang at each end to protect the hive ends from the weather. It takes one to two days to make a hive, depending on the hardness of the wood.

Though the outside ropes and barks must be renewed every other year or so, a hive can last at least eight years and, in the case of the harder tarakwet tree hives, as much as two generations, provided it isn't broken by a honey badger or by falling out of a tree. Despite the longer life of the tarakwet hives, which all Okiek admit is nice, most hives are made of soft woods. In the rush to make as many hives as possible before the next flowering season, most Okiek choose to make the quicker soft wood hives, forsaking the obvious long term advantage of making half as many tarakwet hives, which would last up to five times as long. This reflects the temporal orientation of most of these people. They plan their lives one, perhaps two, years

in advance. This usually means planning to collect as much honey as possible to be able to get a wife or to hold an initiation of a child.

A man may make a hive at home, but most are made in the forests where they will be placed. When a man has a hive finished, he carries it on his back, tied on with a long leather strap, to an appropriate tree he has selected. Climbing the tree, he pulls the hive up after him by means of this same strap. The hive is placed securely against the trunk and on two level branches. It is necessary, however, that there be branches just below the hive for convenient access to the "mouth" on the underside. At the same time, the tree must be branchless for a good distance below to discourage the honey badger. These requirements narrow the number of usable trees to the extent that Okiek actively seek out ahead of time and mark trees for their own use, of which expropriation by another is considered a redressable offense.

Most adult Okiek have at least 50 hives, while a few individuals may have as many as 200. These are scattered throughout the forest types in different korets within each person's koncito. Boys begin to make hives at age eight to ten. Their first attempts on their own, with the advice of a father or older brother, are crude and small, but they soon have one or two up in trees near where they usually live and are anxious to bring honey home on their own for the family. By mid-adolescence, boys will have ten or twenty hives throughout the forests and will continue to add to this in future years. Many Okiek are not consistent in hive making. A man may have a burst of enthusiasm and make a dozen hives or more in the months before setiot blooms, but then not make another for two or three years. Other

individuals are somewhat more consistent and make at least some each year. A few far-sighted individuals make theirs mostly of tarakwet, hives which can last them their lifetime and more. One young fellow was still using a hive made by his grandfather at least forty years ago.

In anticipation of a major flowering, such as setiot, individuals may go to the forest in the preceding months to make hives. The more usual pattern, however, is to go to the forest in the honey season to collect honey, staying there for as long as six months, during which time hives discovered to be broken are repaired and new ones made at the same time as collecting the honey.

The procedure of collecting honey varies with a number of factors, such as: the way a hive is placed in a tree; the size and characteristics of the tree, the reputation of the bees in a hive for being "fierce" or "kind," and the availability of necessary materials.

A man in search of honey goes to a hive in which he anticipates bees have produced honey since the last time he was there, perhaps a year ago. On reaching the base of the hive tree, he looks carefully to see if any bees are flying in and out of the hive. If none, then there is no honey and no reason to climb. He goes on to the next hive, which may be 100 yards or up to a mile away. If he sees bees, then he prepares to climb. If the hive is up in a tree which has no lower branches, there are three ways of reaching the first branch, which may be 20 to 40 feet above the ground. He may have selected this tree because it had a small tree adjacent to it which he could climb up, swing back and forth until he could grasp the lowest limb of the big tree, tie the smaller tree to it with his leather strap, and climb to

the hive from there. Or, if there is no such natural ladder, he has to make one. He can collect a number of sturdy torokiat vines and tie them, one three feet above the next, in a series of loops going up the trunk. From each loop, a second one dangles as a foothold. This is time-consuming and the vines, if left on the tree, rot out in a year or two. It has the advantage of permitting a person to climb any size tree. When the lower three or four loops are removed after each trip, the trunk is as nearly impossible to climb for the honey badger, or a human thief, as with no loops. Another alternative, if the lowest limb is not over 40 feet up, is to find a tall sapling, three inches in diameter, with a forking branch at its base. This sapling is cut off below this fork, and all branches except one foot of this fork are removed. When the pole is now reversed and snaked up the big tree trunk to the first limb onto which the fork, now upside-down, catches like a hook, the bottom end of the pole (originally the top of the sapling) is tied securely to the trunk near the base. Now, hand over hand, foot over foot, the Okiot can "walk" up the pole to the first limb. If the pole is not long enough, a twelve-foot log with a Y branch on the upper end, is laid against the tree at a 45° angle. Climbing this, the Okiot gets an eight-foot advantage before raising the hooked pole. When he comes down from collecting the honey, the pole and log are removed and hidden in the underbrush for later use. Another method is to place a hive in a low tree by hanging it from a limb to a torokiat vine. This is used in soyua only, as there are generally only low trees there and not sufficient rain as to rot the vine and thus break the hive in falling. Hives hung like this are

easy to get at by the Okiot but still frustrating to the honey badger. On the other hand, "enemies" (other tribes) also find it easy to steal honey from this type of hive. Honey theft in soyua is far greater than elsewhere, mostly because other tribes live there and find it easy to take the honey. One consequence of this has been hitherto described--the lack of exclusive rights to honey in soyua.

Once an Okiot has prepared his means of ascent, he returns to the base of the tree and prepares for the climb. He removes whatever equipment he is carrying. Then, if the bees have been found to be fierce in this hive, he ties his toga up around his head to give himself added protection from bee stings. He takes out his fire drill and, by rapidly turning a round stick in a hole in the base wood, he creates some hot embers which he drops into a smudge. This smudge has an inner core of finely ground tarakwet bark as a tinder, surrounded by a round mass of moss (susuek) to protect his hands from the hot, smoking bark inside. He then slings one or two leather honey bags over his back, placing the smudge in one. He then climbs the tree up to the hive, stopping every fifteen seconds or so to blow on the smudge to keep the flameless fire going inside. Positioning himself on a limb just below the hive, He hangs the two bags on nearby branches, open so as to receive the combs. He holds the smudge up to the mouth of the hive and blows on it, making a considerable amount of smoke near the mouth of the hive. The immediate bees are driven off, and he then removes the plug from the mouth. He again blows smoke, this time into the hive, for about fifteen seconds, then reaches in the hole and begins removing the layers of combs. After removing two or three combs, the smoking is repeated. This procedure goes on for

as long as an hour until most of the combs are removed and placed in the bags. A quarter hive full of combs is left for the bees. Should all the honey be taken, the bees would vacate the hive. The plug is replaced in the mouth. The smudge is dropped to the ground, and the man descends with the honey bag(s) slung over his back. At the base of the tree, he removes the pole or vines he has used to climb with, then sits down, tired, to eat his fill, sharing it with his companions, before going on to the next hive. If there is little honey, then there is only enough for eating, and he goes on to the next hive in hopes of getting enough to bring to camp for making wine and feeding the children. Although a man may eat as much as three pounds of honey a day when collecting it, he and his wife eat relatively little in camp, preferring to give it to the children and to drink it fermented.

There is quite evidently some conflict in the minds of adults as to how to divide up the honey. Their personal desire, even need, for drinking wine is at odds with the parental role of providing food for their children. On occasion, I have seen a wife quietly remonstrate her husband for being so irresponsible as to "drink up" the honey, leaving little or none for the children. On one forest trip, some of the men went each day to collect honey only for their own pleasure, and it was only on the last day of the four-day trip that they thought about bringing any back for their children. This evidence is not meant to suggest that Okiek make poor fathers, necessarily, but there is a conflict in needs with respect to allocation of honey. It does suggest that, to adults, wine is of very considerable importance, even a primary need, in the sense that the desire for it motivates considerable activity, compared to other needs.

It is difficult, however, to distinguish motivation for collecting honey based on the need for wine from that based on the many other uses of and values placed on honey.

Honey technology also applies to the artifacts of honey use. The Okiek make pottery of a singularly distinguished style, characterized by rouletting on the upper surfaces and, usually, a pair of pierced handles or lugs. Two styles of pots are used for storing of honey. One is a rather tall pot (10"-14"), compared to its width, with a narrow mouth and straight neck which can be sealed by a shaped rock. This type of pot is filled with honey, sealed, and buried in the ground out of sight and scent of the honey badger, to be dug up at some future time when needed. Another pot is circular, with a leather cap and carrying strap, and is kept in the hut for daily storage and use. The Okiek make an attractive long-stemmed spoon, usually decorated, which is appropriate for extracting honey out of this small-mouthed pot. Closely resembling this pot in form is a tightly woven basket, round with leather cup and strap, which functions in the same manner. Its advantage over the pot is its light weight and the fact that it won't break, whereas a pot can break, but potentially can last indefinitely, whereas the basket after ten years rots out. Nowadays, a U-shaped calabash, with the same leather cap and strap, is occasionally used. It has the ease of manufacture of a pot, is lighter, but breaks easily. The Okiek also make a honey barrel for storage of honey in the forest. These resemble outsized hives. They are up to 8' long and 2' in diameter of hollowed out tarakwet logs. They can be filled with many gallons of honey, then sealed with propolis (wax-like substance made by bees for sealing cracks in a hive)

and covered with tarakwet barks and heavy branches to discourage the honey badger. These honey barrels are hidden deep in the forest, so as not to be discovered by other persons. Nowadays the Okiek also * store honey in four-gallon "debbies," actually kerosene tins, which are placed in various small caves scattered through the Mau forest. Occasionally, the Okiek make very large pots for this same purpose.

Honey is made into wine by a simple process of mixing one part honey to about five to ten parts water, adding a stem of the rotik plant and seed pods of the entereboit tree. These ingredients are mixed in a large five to ten gallon leather bag, which is set up on sticks near the warmth of a fire overnight. The stem and seed pods provide the enzymes necessary to break down the glucose or simple sugar of honey into alcohol, the heat of the fire speeding this process. By morning, a drink with the strength of beer and the taste of apple cider is ready. If the concoction is set aside for two days, it develops the alcoholic content of grape wine. Unfortunately the Okiek, in their haste to get a drink, rarely restrain themselves enough to wait for the stronger brew though they prize it the most. Usually wine (rotik) made up in the evening is drunk early the next morning. Men going off on a honey collecting trip usually take along enough of the stem and pods, which are light weight, to keep them in wine each day.

This completes the list of artifacts primarily related to honey technology and thereby describes the essential technological features of collecting and using honey. To Western eyes, the apparent simplicity of these artifacts does not betray the complexity of honey in the social and cultural life of the Okiek. In terms of effect on

Okiek ecology, the most obviously dramatic aspect of honey--how you get it--is less important than where and why honey is collected.

On the other hand, the origin of these artifacts, that is, their derivation from materials in the environment, reflects the important inter-relationship of hunting, trapping, and trading with honey collection. Hives are made from at least ten different trees. Honey barrels, the base of the fire drill, and the covering of hives, all come from the tarakwet tree. Baskets and honey spoons come from other woods. Leather straps come from the hide of buffalo or bongo, while bags in various sizes are made of the hides of duikers and antelope of nearly all types. Each tree or animal is selected for the specific qualities it has for use in certain artifacts. For example, a fire drill is composed of two parts, the drill and the base. The drill is from a branch of the pinet tree, stripped of bark, straightened and dried for several days. The base comes from the white sap wood of the useful tarakwet tree. Each has precisely the right friction-producing qualities to result in both heat and a fine dust, within which the heat becomes an ember which, blown in tinder, becomes an open flame. Of the thousands of combinations of wood possible, the Okiek believe that they have the most effective, and judging by how quickly they can make fire I have no reason to doubt their opinions. This exemplifies the degree of knowledge behind just one of the simplest artifacts.

The other artifacts involve trading relations with various other people. The adze head and hive needle are iron objects bought, traditionally by bartering honey, from the Kitonik (Il konono, blacksmiths of Maasai). Calabashes are traded from Kikuyu.

Entereboit seed pods are either collected by the user or traded from Kipsigis or other Okiek. Rotik stems are either collected by the user or traded from Maasai or other Okiek who have been to the best sources in the Loita country south of Mau. The significance of these and other trading relations will be discussed in Chapter 3. For present purposes, I emphasize that before an Oklot can collect honey, he has had to develop a series of relationships with and knowledge about a wide range of fauna, flora, and other tribes. In this sense, the complexity of this technology exceeds that of a cultivator preparing and growing an African garden, for example. In this respect, the domestic revolution was a simplification, a channeling of activities along a narrow path.

PART FOUR

HUNTING, TRAPPING, AND THEIR RELATION TO HONEY COLLECTING

Traditionally, meat has been a far greater source of nutrition than has honey. While it is possible to kill as big an animal as a five-ton elephant in a morning, it would take a man's lifetime to equal that in weight in honey. In an average year, according to the individual data I collected, a man may expend as much as half his days in activities directly related to acquiring 300 pounds of honey. While the same weight of meat, if not more, is easily available in one morning of hunting. This great disparity between effort expended for food gained can only be explained in terms of the high value put on honey and honey uses, especially wine. The basis for this value will

be discussed in subsequent chapters.

The Okiek distinguish two general types of hunting, that of the chase (kopar tionik: to kill (certain) animals vs. lageet: to hunt (others)), and that of trapping (kerich: to trap). Hunting, or animals of the chase vary from elephants to the small suni antelope and, for boys, even small birds: The technology includes hunting with a bow, five types of arrows, two kinds of spears, and a pole.

Trapping occasionally includes a large animal, such as a buffalo, but most of the five types of traps are used for catching smaller animals, such as suni, red duiker, bushbuck, and occasionally giant forest hog and leopard.

As previously indicated (Chapter 1), various species of animals predominate in different forest types through the year, rather than different species migrating through different areas following seasonal climatic changes. The latter pattern prevails on the open plains to the south of Mau, where large herds of a number of species travel great distances through the year in search of fresh grass. In the Mau forest, heavier rainfall, plus sufficient retention of that water in the ground, provides enough moisture through the dry season to support vegetation and the animals which feed on it. The forest provides an umbrella covering against the water-evaporating rays of the sun and is largely responsible for developing and protecting the thick humus soil which holds the water. As the forest edges are cut by agricultural tribes, this protective canopy is lost, and the soil below is dried out by the sun and eroded by the seasonal rains. Ultimately, the water table drops to a point where rivers are only seasonal, and then animals must migrate elsewhere in search of new

water. While this pattern prevails in the plains, it does not (yet) in the Mau area. The same forest trees which provide the Okiek with honey also provide a permanent habitation for a considerable concentration of game. The differing flora characteristics of each forest type are largely responsible for the differential concentration of each species in different forests. Thus the giant forest hog and bongo, two of the more important meat sources for the Okiek, are found mostly in areas heavily overgrown by setiot and related plants, which provide these animals with an important food and the Okiek with their most important source of honey.

Because the Okiek must depend on meat to live (on honey only to live well), it is apparent that the Okiek are able to remain full time in the Mau forest principally because of the non-migration of the game population in space. If the Okiek did not live in the forest but on the plains, as apparently some other Okiek have (Chandler 1896), then by necessity they would have had to live a full or semi-migratory existence, following the herds over considerable tracks of land. Living on the plains, however, is a tenuous existence because of the close proximity to pastoral tribes, especially the Maasai.

Until recent times, the Okiek say they have had highly ambivalent relations with the Maasai: While they value the commodities which the two tribes trade with each other, accounts of Maasai aggression against individual and groups of Okiek amply demonstrate that living on the plains would be more difficult than living in the protective forest, quite aside from the desirability or undesirability of migrating with the seasons.

On the other hand, the supply of animals in the forest is more

predictable and that of honey more plentiful, and the forest provides a pleasant, cool sanctuary from more powerful tribes--the "enemies," almost by definition.

What is important here is the fact that Okiek adaptation to the high forests is made possible only by the assured presence of a sufficient game population. This is a necessary condition of inhabiting the area. It may not, however, be a sufficient condition, without accounting for the importance of honey. It, therefore, remains problematical whether the Okiek adapted to the high forests of Kenya for reason of preference or protection, or as likely, both. A corollary to this is whether the Okiek have subsisted by hunting animals because of preference or because they would lose domestic stock to Maasai raiding as soon as they acquired it. Cultivation, as well as animal husbandry, tends to be inconsistent with honey gathering. Animal husbandry requires daily attention to stock in open grassland areas, making trips to the forest difficult for some and impossible for all the family. Crops must be continually protected against weeds and predators, and they tend to ripen at the time that the forests are in flower and honey should be collected. Both types of subsistence have requirements that have undoubtedly militated against their adoption by the Okiek. But where Okiek have adopted domestic stock and cultivation, especially the Kipchornwonek, they have managed to maintain a fairly productive honey and hunting subsistence. Interestingly, where domestic subsistence has been adopted, it has nowhere supplanted the traditional subsistence; rather it is merely added to the original subsistence pattern, thereby providing, in the eyes of the Okiek, a more reliable food base, though not as desirable

a food.

The reliability of food, as suggested in the introduction, is a major theme in Okiek life. It is true that almost always one can get a giant forest hog in a day, if one has sufficiently brave dogs to bring one to bay. Yet on occasion, by "bad luck," you may go three days without getting anything. In the dry season, without honey, this is an unpleasant experience, an experience an Okiot does not forget and which lives in his memory as a constant threat to predictability in life. It is not difficult to elicit a comment like this from an Okiot wishing to caution a novice anthropologist against assuming meat is as available as it may seem. On numerous occasions, men have remarked to me that during the age-set of Il Peles, about 100 years ago, a great many Okiek died. Most attribute this to a severe drought, during which time the water in the forest dried up and the animals died, and no honey was produced. Others are not so certain that it was a drought, but offer no other explanation. Whether, in fact, it was a drought or not is less important than the fact that the Okiek believe it was a drought in which Okiek died for lack of food. This type of experience seems to have been shared by other Okiek (see Introduction), and the allusions to hunger in stories and in daily conversation indicate that the threat of going without food is a major theme in Okiek life. If and when Okiek have adopted cultivation (principally beans, maize, and potatoes), they rationalize this in terms of previous unpleasant experiences of going without meat.

Hunting within the "inner" forest is almost always done as an adjunct of the primary purpose of going there to collect honey and make and repair hives. On such trips, time is taken initially to

secure some meat, usually a giant forest hog, as camp meat which will supply the principal diet for two or four days, depending on the number of individuals. During this period, the individuals go about tending their hives. When the meat is low, some will go out and get another to tide them over the next few days. If a trip is to last some time, weeks or months, some will set a number of traps in areas adjacent to the camp. The Okiek feel that 20 to 30 traps, which can be made and set up in two days, are sufficient to supply a camp or two or three families with meat on a continual basis, that is, one bushbuck-sized animal every three days on the average. During this period of honey collection, a man may eat as much as ten pounds of food a day, up to seven in meat and three in honey.

Trapping is done with a simple trip lever platform and noose-type trap laid over a game trail. The animal puts pressure on a concealed stick platform with his foot. A trigger is released and a long, bent sapling springs up, while on its end a rope noose tightens on the foot or neck of the animal. The Kipchornwonek Okiek used to dig a narrow deep pit trap for buffalos, sufficiently narrow that the buffalo's sides were wedged at the top of the pit, thus dangling his feet in the crevasse below. Without leverage for his feet, the buffalo can't climb out. Smaller animals fell to the bottom and could not jump high enough to get out. The Okiek, especially boys, make two bird traps, one like a box trap, the other a miniature noose trap.

Junting with a bow is largely confined to soyua because the upper forests are usually so dense that coming upon an animal unawares is virtually impossible, thus the necessity of using dogs to bring

them to bay, at which time a simple spear is most effective. Without the use of dogs, it is highly unlikely that the Okiiek could get enough meat in the upper forests to survive and, therefore, it is equally unlikely that the Okiiek could have adapted to a high forest existence without the use of dogs. In a sense then, the dog has made it possible for Okiiek to specialize in honey collection, to the degree that only the high forests permit. Seemingly, in self appreciation of this role, dogs like to gulp down whatever combs and honey they can get, which isn't much, as the Okiiek don't consciously feed dogs honey, as they do meat.

Hunting in soyua is as much a purpose for itself as an adjunct to honey collection. Hunting elephants is always a special purpose hunt, as it required taking along a special type of spear, characterized by a long weighted shaft and a detachable poisoned head. Hunting other game, such as buffalo, wart hog, or several antelope, may or may not be related to honey collection, depending on whether there is honey in soyua at the time. In soyua, however, there is a tendency for game to be more plentiful during and just after the rainy season, and this correlates with the availability of honey. In fact, no matter which is the ostensible purpose of a trip into soyua, both honey and meat are as likely to result, as Okiiek keep a close watch for natural hives as well as game.

Another type of hunting is used for getting the tree-dwelling hyrax. Hyrax, like our raccoons, live in hollow trees, and the usual procedure is to climb a likely tree with a long pole, then ram the pole down the hollow tree, driving out any hyrax living therein. The hyrax drops to the ground and is quickly dispatched by the waiting dogs.

This type of hunting is really a matter of opportunity; that is, whenever one finds a likely tree and feels like trying for a hyrax, it is done, whether one is primarily out for honey, meat, or just traveling through the forest on the way to another camp.

As previously remarked, one of the most unusual facts about Okiek subsistence, compared to other hunting and gathering tribes, is the relative lack of wild vegetable foods utilized by the Okiek. This contrasts sharply with most other tribes of this type. My own opinion is that this reflects the availability of meat and honey. First, honey becomes available at the times fruits, berries, nuts, and tubers do, that is, after the rains. That might be sufficient reason for Okiek to give only secondary attention to wild vegetable foods. In addition, meat is usually available throughout the year, unlike in other tribes where meat may be seasonal or generally scarce. Finally, it is apparent to me that most edible vegetable foods tend to be types with encased seeds, so that the seed itself will have food on which to draw while establishing itself in a difficult environment. The biggest nuts and tubers appear to grow in drier climates, the better to protect and nourish seeds during dry seasons before they can establish themselves in the wet season. This may also be the case with fruits and berries--that is, their function to nourish seeds through dry periods. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a tribe like the Bushmen surviving largely on nuts (Lee 1968).

In the Mau forest there appears to be little of this type of food and what there is, is not especially palatable, according to the Okiek. In fact, the "purely" pastoral Maasai probably consume more of

this type of food than the Okiek. (A. Jacobs, personal communication).

In conclusion, there are three important connections between hunting and trapping and honey. The great value of honey becomes obvious in terms of work involved in honey collection per pound, compared to the same for meat. Behaviorally, hunting tends to be, by design or happenstance, an adjunct of honey collection. Finally, the year-around supply of game in the high forests makes possible the Okiek adaptation to the Mau forest. The primary purpose for adaptation to these forests, however, appears to be for honey collection, though the protection from enemies afforded by the forest may have been a sufficient reason for living there.

With regard to adoption of cultivation and domestic stock, especially by the Kipchornewek, these food sources add to but never replace honey collecting and hunting. Though the new and old forms are apparently inconsistent, it is possible to maintain all of them, but this requires permanent settlement in larger communities, so that when groups of men go to the forest, others will still be available at home to tend stock and gardens. This also entails more extensive social cooperation between related and unrelated families living closer together, and this pattern differs somewhat from traditional Okiek social relations, as practiced by the Kaplelach.

Chapter 3

HONEY IN THE OKIEK SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT--

RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING TRIBES

The Okiek are a scattered tribe, most groups knowing nothing of the existence of the other groups. Each group, or groups living together, therefore, has an exaggerated feeling of impotence in the face of more powerful neighboring tribes living all around them. Being small in numbers but even smaller in geographic settlement, no Okiek are more than a couple hours' walk to a settlement of another tribe. This contrasts with the experience of most individuals of larger tribes, who may live within their large tribal boundaries and have little or no contact with outside tribes, which are sometimes one or two days' walk away. In addition, the barrier of the forest reduces the understanding outsiders have of Okiek life, while the comparative open habitation of neighbors leaves little doubt in the Okiek as to how his neighbors live.

Finally, the absolute difference of Okiek subsistence, compared to all their neighbors, increases the lack of comprehension neighbors have of the Okiek. The result of these factors is a wide variety of misconceptions about the Okiek held by each neighboring tribe, and even some more distant tribes. The further away a tribe is from contact with the Okiek, the more inaccurate their conception of

them.

The Kipsigis, bordering and occupying the west side of Mau, are closest in language and customs to the Okiek. In fact, as suggested in the Introduction, they may both derive from the same parent stock. The Kipsigis are extensive horticulturalists, who also do some stock raising. They are, however, experienced at hunting and do honey collecting in a manner very similar to that of the Okiek. The role of honey in this tribe is apparently similar to, but not as important as, that among the Okiek (Peristiany 1939). A contrast of the two would be a useful study, were the data available. Their organization and ritual symbolism in ceremonies appear to be similar to those of the Okiek. On the other hand, the age-set system differs completely, except in name (ipinda), the Okiek of Mau having adopted a Maasai-type system sometime in the past.

The Kipsigis and Okiek both recognize a feeling of commonality. This is best expressed in the peaceful relations they maintain and in their willingness to intermarry, not only Kipsigis marrying Okiek girls, but also the reverse. This other tribes do not allow.

—Social relations with Kipsigis must have been extensive prior to Maasai incursion into Narok District in the last century, judging by the similarity of dialect of the Kipsigis and Mau Okiek. The Maasai, however, cut off much of this connection, though now Kipsigis infiltration into Narok has brought them in more contact with the Okiek.

Maasai relations with the Okiek are more complex than are Kipsigis relations, in part because of the dissimilarity of the two

tribes which affects their attitudes and the types of things which each can trade with the other.

The Okiek on the Mau have been in contact with the present Maasai since the latter invaded the area, nearly 100 years ago. Before that, other Maasai-like pastoralists had been living around the Mau. Today most people find it impossible to distinguish Okiek from Maasai, as their appearance, ornamentation, and dress, are very similar. This is an outward expression of the influence Maasai have had on these Okiek. Virtually all Okiek people speak Maasai and have adopted many Maasai words into their own Kalenjin dialect. This is especially true of words for places, trees, age-set names, personal names, and forms of greetings. In Okiek society and culture, Maasai influence is most obvious in clans and the age-set system and its attendant ceremonies. The Okiek children go through a series of scarifications and operations marked by small ceremonies in a manner similar to those of the Maasai. The Okiek now share the Maasai value on possession of cows and "richness" and, as best they can, try to accumulate stock, pointing with pride to their "wealth." At the same time, the Okiek still conceive of themselves as being rich if they have many hives.

The Maasai of Narok District are traditionally only pastoralists, though intermarriage with the agricultural Kikuyu has begun to change this, especially on the fringes of the forest where most Kikuyu live. As the dominant tribe, the Maasai control the local county council and section chiefships.

Pastoralism, like hunting and gathering, is essentially a passive adaptation to an environment. Instead of reworking the land

for their interests like cultivators, the pastoralist accepts the natural conditions and moves in response to them from place to place, seeking the best water and grass for his stock. Hunters and gatherers are essentially the same, a difference being that their "stock" (wild animals) decides when and where to go and not vice versa. This passive responsiveness to nature and the migrations it entails contribute to the Maasai attitude that "progress," e.g., development, building, and its necessary base--education, is irrelevant and also inconsistent with their need to seasonally change residence. If others wish to come and build or to cultivate a few acres here and there, it is no great threat to the Maasai, as a few acres lost to grazing in one place is minuscule compared to the hundreds of miles of plains. If the Kikuyu, for example, wish to clear forests for gardens, there is no loss at all to the Maasai, who have no use for forests. The Maasai can afford to be tolerant of the incursions and development of other tribes, as they feel little threat to their own life. Even the Kikuyu admit, and would like to emulate, the wealth and ease of living that the Maasai enjoy. Since children herd the stock and women milk them, a Maasai man's day is pretty much his own. It must appear to many Maasai silly to send their children to school--children he needs as herd boys--to learn facts unrelated to pastoralism, so he can get a job and work all his life, when at home he can be rich and "permanently retired" most of his life.

Retirement, however, is relative. The Maasai, in the past, have filled the void of inactivity with an organized warrior age-grade in an age-set system. These warriors, or morans, as they are even now called in English, have been involved in cattle raiding and the

protection of home against counter raids. Cattle raiding, the Maasai "national sport," is the quickest, yet most gloriously dangerous way of becoming richer.

Both the environmental passiveness and personal aggressiveness of Maasai life are two themes which directly affect Okiek life. The third aspect of Maasai-Okiek relations derives from mutually complementary needs which can be satisfied only by material trade between the two tribes. The combination of these three factors has resulted in a complex relationship between Maasai and Okiek. Anthropologists, with some exception (Leach 1954), have ignored the study of inter-tribal relations, despite the practical and theoretical importance of them, especially when projected on an international level. A small tribe like the dispersed Okiek compels such a study because relations with other tribes are a major part of day to day living.

The fundamental reason Okiek, as a tribe, have survived the waves of pastoral invasions in central Kenya, when all previous tribes have been decimated, scattered, or merged with their conquerors, is that pastoralists have no use for forests. In fact, unequipped with the knowledge to live in the forest, they avoid them, and consequently the forest-dwelling Okiek have generally been unmolested. The corollary to this is that the Okiek had no stock, so the Maasai had little reason to be actively aggressive toward the Okiek. It is also this reason (plus the desirability of their women as wives, and of their beer) that accounts for the tolerance the Maasai have toward the recent incursions of Kikuyu into Narok District. In contrast to the Kikuyu, the cattle-owning Kipsigis have had a more difficult time getting into Narok. In 1965, the Maasai defeated the Kipsigis, forcing

most of them back into the Kipsigis Reserve. Since then, the Kipsigis have begun to infiltrate again, with a resulting series of raids and counter raids in 1969.

If the Maasai are tolerant of Okiek, as a whole, on an individual level the relationship is more ambivalent. Maasai morans view their role as essentially aggressive and, therefore, they have vented their aggression on individual or small groups of Okiek, as they might meet them by chance along the way. Thus one occasionally hears how Maasai beat and abuse the Okiek into doing things for them, such as slaughtering and cooking a cow for Maasai morans, or making a shield. The Okiek, aware of their numerical weakness, have been chary about retaliating for fear of far worse retribution. An exception was an age-set of the Maresionik, who had a reputation among Okiek for beating the Maasai. The fact that the Maresionik live on the outer fringe of Maasai territory and outnumber the Maasai in their area, may help explain this.

Maasai conceptions about the Okiek help to explain their ambivalent attitude toward them. The dominant attitude is that the Okiek are an inferior class of people. They are inferior because they are different, especially in their poverty. The Maasai derisively refer to anyone who has no cows and must eat wild animals to get meat as "Il Torobo," literally a "poor person." This also implies that a "Dorobo" is a person without the sense to develop and care for possessions. The Maasai are confirmed in this belief by the fact that in the past any cow they have sold to Okiek has been slaughtered for food. To the Maasai this is tantamount to killing the proverbial golden-egg-laying goose. To Okiek, however, there are at least three good

reasons for doing this. One, they can't care for cattle if they live in a forest. Secondly, if they attempted to keep cattle, the cattle would undoubtedly be stolen from them by Maasai. Third, what few * cows they could afford would tend to be those which they would have to purchase for specific ceremonies at which the cattle, but especially sheep, must be slaughtered for food and for symbolically important fat. Though Okiek desire as much as Maasai to be rich, they don't find the Maasai any more likeable for it. One day I was driving up the Mau when some Maasai were walking home and waved to me for a ride. An Okiek riding with me sternly said, "Go on. Don't pick them up. They give no thanks. They are rich."

Many of the Maasai I talked with about Okiek were not candid, reflecting their assumption that I had a vested interest in the Okiek and their real opinion of them would not please me. When I did get some comments out of Maasai, their actual knowledge of Okiek was slight, compared to their opinions and misconceptions. In fact, Okiek life is a mystery to the Maasai. They know Okiek kill animals and collect honey, that they are similar to Maasai in appearance and in some ceremonies. Maasai are, however, curious about the Okiek. They feel there is something mysterious, unknowable about them. They bring up the subject of the Okiek more in hopes of learning some dark secrets from me than to divulge anything themselves. No doubt the fact that Okiek life is largely hidden by a forest the Maasai fear to enter in part accounts for the curiosity and exaggerated misconceptions the Maasai have about Okiek.

According to Jacobs (1965, and personal communication) the Maasai view the Okiek as being poor because they are gluttonous and

stupid. They "eat the heifer," that is, they are profligate. They are such gluttons that they eat fowl meat. Also, they say, the Okiek easily lose their tempers and "get physical," fighting among themselves and beating their wives--behavior the Maasai find shameful. The Maasai say the Okiek have no sense of honor, that they will do things for aggrandizement without any sense of shame, such as sorcery. In the presence of Okiek, Maasai will act brave, as they respect an Okiot's ability to fight with another, but unlike Maasai, the Okiek are not organized for large-scale combat.

Spencer (1965:285) reports similar attitudes about Okiek among the Samburu (actually Il Kitoip, a branch of pastoral Maasai): "They are Dorobo; they have no sense of respect; their girls make notoriously bad wives, and marriages with them generally do not last. And, above all, the Dorobo know the secrets of sorcery and will not hesitate to use it against their personal enemies." "The Dorobo make honey-beer and drink it regularly; this frequently leads to quarreling among them and this, possibly more than anything else, confirms the Samburu view of them that they have no sense of respect." "They are people who are prepared to use any mystical powers at their disposal for their own ends."

In the Maasai origin myth, an Okiot figures prominently as annoying god by his profligate behavior (some versions say jealousy of Maasai) resulting in no more cattle being lowered from heaven. This denied Maasai more cattle. At the same time, however, god condemned the Okiek to live only by wild animals thereafter. The story, with various forms, both rationalizes Maasai hostility to Okiek and also confirms a feeling that Okiek are neither able nor deserving of

keeping cattle.

During my field work, I sponsored an essay contest at Narok High School, requesting students to submit a short paper on what they thought the Okiiek were. The essays generated considerable interest among the students and from the many I received, I drew some conclusions. The students were mostly Maasai, Kipsigis, and Kikuyu, and the affective behavior they imputed to Okiiek, usually inaccurate, did tell me something about their own tribe's view of outsiders. In a way, the essays were projective devices, expressing some of the cultural values of the students' tribes. Thus the Maasai tended to express Maasai feelings of superiority toward "laboring," i.e., non-pastoral, people. Kipsigis responses tend to be non-affectual, rather descriptions of Okiiek life without negative value judgments, which is consistent with the fact that Kipsigis do many of the same things Okiiek do. Kikuyu, who have little or no close contact with Okiiek, tend to impute the most inaccurate attributes to the Okiiek: that they are selfish, sly, secretive, deceptive, and unfriendly. In fact, these are terms I have on occasion heard Okiiek and Europeans use to describe Kikuyu.

Even more distant tribes, with no contact with Okiiek, have more bizarre ideas about them. Kisii believe Okiiek give dogs as bride payment. Luo believe Okiiek live in trees, don't wear clothes, that they don't eat "proper" food (maize meal). I have heard Kikuyus outside Narok say Okiiek are pygmies or, quite seriously, that they are monkeys with tails. One Okiot who had been to school told me his class went to Nairobi to give a singing concert at which the audience, hearing there was an Okiot amongst them, asked him to come out and show them his tail.

Other ideas, shared by some Europeans, are: Okiek eat only raw meat, are wild men, live in forests because they want to hide, are merely a conglomeration of criminals and runaways from other tribes, are the II Konono blacksmiths of the Maasai, build houses in trees, eat anything, are merely a clan of the Maasai, cause forest fires while hunting honey, kill bees to get honey, they revere dogs, have unusual magical powers, especially medicines and the power of rain making, and they worship the sun. All of these are gross misconceptions. It is in the context of these ideas, however, that the Okiek have somehow managed to survive mistreatment and even flourish.

Okiek relations with Maasai, however, are not entirely begrudged tolerance or active abuse. The Maasai, in a number of ways, are dependent on the Okiek. The most obvious way is the fact that Maasai use honey and do not get enough on their own from occasional natural hives to satisfy their needs. Honey is useful as food, and especially as wine. It is also a necessary part of ceremonial ritual, much as it is among the Okiek. The Okiek barter honey directly with the Maasai or, these days, usually sell it to the shops in trading centers, from which Maasai and others subsequently purchase it as needed. There is another way by which some Maasai get honey, and this is by friendship relations between individual Maasai and Okiek. Most Okiek men have at least one Maasai, usually of their own age-set and often of the same clan (in either case they are terminologically "brother") with whom they have a convenient, sometimes close, personal relationship. The Maasai establish friendship relations by giving a heifer or cow to another, the value of the present influencing the type of friendship. This in turn is acknowledged by use of one of three grades of terms of

address between the two friends. The origin of these friendships is most fortuitous. Thus one Okiot has made friends with a Maasai who happened along when other Maasai were about to beat him. His soon-to-be friend took pity on him and managed to extricate him from his misfortune. Since then, as the Okiot told me, whenever his friend has slaughtered a cow or sheep, he brings a leg to him while he, in turn, brings him some of the honey he gets each season. The Okiek recognize that the usefulness of these relations can extend beyond occasional gifts of meat. If a man, for example, has to hold a ceremony, such as an initiation for his child, he can go to his friend for a gift or credit for a sheep to slaughter, if he hasn't one then or hasn't the money to buy one. If a cow dies of disease, a Maasai is as likely to call his Okiek friend to see if he wants it for eating. (Okiek believe that the disease will not be transmitted to the consumer.) If either is holding a ceremony, he will invite his opposite to come and enjoy the liquor and food. Occasionally, having a Maasai friend is politically useful for gaining a favor or dismissing a complaint. Thus one lineage of Okiek of the Lugumoi clan used their "relationship" to an influential Maasai chief of the same clan to help them deal with Maasai who had stolen some of their property. This type of relationship, however, is not primarily based on friendship and exchange of goods, though it may be reinforced by such transactions. Rather, it is a fictive kin relationship, connoting "brotherhood" in the same clan. Within memory, various Okiek lineages have adopted Maasai clan names. The primary purpose, they say, is to cement friendship relations by making them kin relations and thus transferable through generations. Thus early friendships of the kind discussed here were reified as kin

relations while the original friendship basis is now beginning to be forgotten, as it originated when the present Maasai came to this country about 100 years ago. Maasai would comment to me that those Okiek of such and such a place are related to them, "somehow," and indeed the Maasai will feel some sort of bond with those Okiek, addressing them as "brother" or "sister."

Trade between Maasai and Okiek can involve an astonishing number of items, each produced by both in excess of their needs for items they themselves need but don't have. Honey and domestic stock are the two most important items. In addition to these, I have heard of or seen the Okiek trade the following items: shields of buffalo hide, tobacco containers of ivory and buffalo horn, fly wicks of giraffe and wildebeest tail hair, lion manes, ostrich feathers for headdress, colobus monkey skins for leg bands, kudu horn for trumpet, rhino horn and ivory for chief's club, eland skin for leather thongs, eland meat in extreme necessity for food, ivory to trade with caravans, various animal hides, sword sheaths, and decorative skin necklaces (the latter two are currently manufactured by Okiek in considerable numbers). On occasion, I have seen an Okiot fashion house poles and thatch a house for a Maasai who desired a Kikuyu-type house. Arrows and bows recently have been actively traded as more Maasai see their utility in defense and for hunting. (Less traditional Maasai now eat the meat of antelope and the fat of most wild animals.)

In addition to trading goods, the Okiek perform services, the most important being that of circumcising Maasai boys. The Maasai and

Okiék both say that Okiék have been the circumcisers of Maasai for as long as they can remember. Despite the importance placed on circumcision and the payment of a heifer for his labors, it is not an esteemed position and Maasai almost always will seek out the inferior "Il Torobo" or Arusha to perform the operation. There is also a certain amount of personal risk to the circumciser, for if he performs a faulty operation, he can be beaten (Jacobs, personal communication). Some Okiék suggest that their prominence as circumcisers is a result of the Maasai's first learning of the ritual from the Okiék and, not knowing how to perform it, they had the Okiék do it for them. Maasai don't agree with this. Interestingly, most sources credit the Cushites with having "given" circumcision to the Nilotes (Murdock 1959:337). In view of the apparent fact that the Okiék were the earliest Nilotic speakers to enter central Kenya at a time when Cushites still predominated there, it is quite possible they adopted the rite before the Nilotic Maasai entered the area.

Up until recent years, Maasai morans would forcibly impress an Okiót into their service to slaughter and cook for them an ox in the bush. What meat might be left over, the Okiót would get, but the abuse he received clearly indicates that his services were involuntary. The Okiék rarely speak of the abuses they have suffered. The experience of it must have been quite ego-deflating. Another service, ostensibly voluntary, was for a young Okiót to attach himself to a Maasai family as a herd boy, for which he received his keep and an annual heifer (Jacobs, personal communication). These services, though more dramatic and hence more often spoken of, are less important in Maasai-Okiék

relations than the more frequent and more substantial exchange of goods. In return for the wide variety of items traded to the Maasai, the Okiek receive fewer but usually more substantial items, especially cows, sheep, and goats. The Okiek have no use for Maasai donkeys. The Maasai use donkeys for transporting households when migrating. They are not eaten, not even by Okiek.

Both Maasai and Okiek, especially the more fastidious morans, have generalized the Maasai taboo against eating donkeys to not eating zebras. I have never received a consistent rationalization for this, but one is of particular interest to understanding Okiek feelings about animals and people. One day a man replied to this question, saying that zebras are not eaten because they are like donkeys, and donkeys are not eaten because they are beasts of burden. Since donkeys carry things as do women, the two appear to be equated and since women are not eaten, the idea of eating a donkey, and hence a zebra, is repulsive.

Okiek have always purchased domestic stock for food. They have also adapted it for use in ceremonies. Thus a cow supplies meat for visitors, since the supply of wild meat is unpredictable, especially outside of sasaonet and tirap. A cow or sheep also supplies fat, a highly valued energy food, especially for children. It commands from Maasai and Okiek four times the price per pound as honey or meat in the Narok market place.

The Okiek maintain that they have always made use of domestic animals for these reasons, at least for as long as memory recalls. In the use of these animals, the Okiek have followed similar Maasai

traditions, apparently adopting Maasai concepts of the medicinal and supernatural value of meat, and especially of fat. This would not deny, however, the equivalent belief in and use of wild animal meat and fat for these same purposes. Even today, animal fat is eagerly sought, even if it comes from animals otherwise untouched for food, such as cats, birds, and snakes.

Domestic animals are the principal items of trade sought from the Maasai, in large part because the Maasai produce little else. They are not a craft tribe; in fact, they despise such work as the only means by which lesser people, not fortunate enough to have cows, have had to make their living. Occasionally, Okiek will get milk from Maasai, as milk is valued by all ages as a healthful food—alone or mixed with "tea" (made from tea leaves, burned sugar or, traditionally, blood and honey). The Okiek use the thin throat tissue of cows to make their unique scented necklaces. Impregnated with little cups tied in this skin are small amounts of the sokomik plant, a sweet smelling forest plant which Okiek morans like to wear to be alluring to the girls. The Maasai morans feel the same way and so pay one shilling and 50 cents per necklace in Narok. In this transaction, the Maasai have sold throat tissue, which comes back to them in the form of a necklace. Okiek, at least those who happen to be camped in soyua, will buy, for a few cents, the hoofs and lower legs of butchered Maasai cows. There is some edible fat therein, but also there is marrow for eating and thick leg tendon, which is chewed and then tied on arrows as a binding for holding the arrow head in the shaft. Okiek will also buy cow heads which when boiled make, they say, a delicious

soup. Head soup has also been a European and American delicacy, at least up until recently. Cow horns are made into drinking cups, and head skin is used for making sword sheaths which, like necklaces, are actively traded to the Maasai. Cowhides these days are bought from Maasai, both for making sheaths and for making a sleeping skin; that is, the dried and stretched skin is used in Okiek (and Maasai) huts as a sleeping mattress.

All of these items received from Maasai, however, are not essential, as all can be duplicated from wild animal products. Fat is especially found on the large animals, and skins of eland, bongo, and buffalo closely approximate that of cow, while skins of bushbuck, red duikers, yellow-back duikers, resemble those of sheep and goats. Milk is only essential to babies and is usually available from the mother. What this means is that the Okiek, in their traditional manner of living, are not dependent on Maasai for specific goods or services. They have traded with Maasai because they can make use of Maasai stock. They may also trade with Maasai for the purpose of creating friendly relations, that is, encouraging Maasai economic dependence on them (at least for honey), in the hope that it would nourish emotional dependence. Certainly I found that the Okiek are clever manipulators, in that they know the ways of pleasing people so as to get them to do what they want. After the initial-distrust of me wore off, I became a frequent object of manipulation for all sorts of things, but especially rides. The Maasai get "conned" in the same way, usually being invited as an honored guest to partake of some wine. Following the Maasai's statement of thanks, the host would carefully slip in a request for this or that. In fact, one of the most important functions

of honey in social relations is the use of wine to create rapport and facilitate manipulation (see Chapter 6). Individual Okiek-Maasai friendships may be created, but are certainly encouraged, by wine in this manner. From the Maasai view, on the other hand, Okiek may not need to trade for domestic stock, but undoubtedly the Okiek must see the value of stock and desire it very much, especially as it is the essence of Maasai wealth and prestige. Therefore, an Okiek who wanted to be able to buy a cow, would have to be especially considerate to his Maasai acquaintance, to get the opportunity to purchase the cow. Hence the need for courteous hospitality and respect deservedly due a rich Maasai.

The Maasai like wine. It is sweet and an effective alcoholic drink. The Okiek drink far more than the Maasai (hence, in part, their reputation among Maasai as "hot-tempered and physically belligerent"), but this, in part, probably reflects the greater supply available to the Okiek. Certainly the Maasai I have observed express as much desire to drink as the Okiek, perhaps the more because they get less of it. In this sense, the Maasai are more dependent on the Okiek than the Okiek are on any product of the Maasai. Though Maasai can make themselves do without all other Okiek trade articles, they cannot substitute for Okiek honey. It is true they occasionally find bees living in the ground out on the plains, or in trees in soyua, but if that honey were enough for the ritual use in ceremonies, it is not enough for the very important use of honey as wine for hospitality in ceremonies, in meetings, and among friends. It should be borne in mind that these are the conditions I found in Narok District. It is quite possible these generalizations do not hold for Maasai in other

areas, especially those not living adjacent to Okiek. For example, in Kajiado District, where no Okiek live, the Maasai manufacture their own sheaths and necklaces. What they do for honey I am not aware.

There is a good deal more to Okiek-Maasai relations than stated here, especially relations between members of the same age-set, marriage between Okiek women and Maasai men, politics of land-claim controversies, and relationships to animals, but this brief account of the role of honey in their relations, especially trading, should indicate that the inter-societal relations are more complex than the usually blithe generalizations "servitude" and "overlords" would indicate. Furthermore, I have tried to indicate that Okiek-Maasai relations are not only affected by honey trading, but these relations are important conditions affecting Okiek adaptation in general, that the conflicting needs and dispositions in Maasai society are as important "technical facts" in Okiek adaptation as the natural environment. To a lesser extent, this can be said of Okiek relations to other tribes and organizations in Narok. The Kipsigis, the most similar to Okiek, have been discussed, while those more dissimilar than Kipsigis and Maasai follow.

Economically related to the Maasai is a social class of people known to the Maasai as Il Konono and to the Okiek as Kitonik. These people are socially distinguished because of their economic specialty, blacksmithing. They are not Maasai, but have lived with them sufficiently long that their origin and cultural identity have become problematical. Though they are usually conceived of as Maasai blacksmith, they also produce iron instruments for other tribes. Thus Okiek and Kipsigis in Narok District have had trading relations with

these smiths for as long as memory can recall.

Before the introduction of European iron in the late nineteenth century, the Okiek say they used to take a bag of "hard soil" (apparently magnetite) to a Kitonik, who would then smelt it into iron and forge it into the desired implement. The Okiek depended on these smiths for all their iron tools: hive-hole borer, adze, knives, swords, spears, bracelets, and a heavy ax-like instrument (moruet) resembling a long but narrow meat cleaver, used for cutting heavy things. Arrow and elephant spear heads were reworked from knife blades. Before that, and even up until the age-set of Il Dareto (90 years ago) obsidian had still been used by Okiek for smaller implements. One elder showed me what he called an obsidian knife, given him by his grandfather. It appeared to be a core from which a number of blades had been struck. He kept it as a memento and would use it to tell his children of the ways their ancestors lived.

Items purchased from the Kitonik were paid for with honey. A small bag (average 12 pounds of honey or 12 shillings worth now) bought a knife. A medium-size bag (about 20 pounds) bought an adze head or a spear, moruet, or sword. I asked my informant why a simple adze head would cost as much as a spear. He said that in fact it was much less work, but the Kitonik knew the Okiek depended a great deal on their adze, for it has many uses, especially for cutting trees and making hives, so they charged the Okiek much more. Finally, enough iron bracelets and necklaces to outfit an entire lineage cost a large bag, or about 50 pounds of honey. This thin iron decoration is worn by most men. The bracelet is given by a man at the time of his death to his sons, if he so chooses to bless them and wish them a long life,

an honor the son may expect only if he has cared for his elders properly. The necklace is symbolic of longevity, an amulet intended to represent the blessings of god and ancestors on the health of the wearer.

The Okiek are certainly more dependent on the Kitionik but, like the Maasai, they consider the Kitionik inferior people. The Maasai depend on these people in the same way, a dependence more obvious than the honey they derive from the Okiek. For the Maasai, the Kitionik (Il Konono) are even more despised than the Okiek. No Maasai would consider marrying a Il Konono girl, nor even sleeping on the same side of the bed mat as the Il Konono host, rather turning it over if he finds he must spend the night at the smith's house. For both Maasai and Okiek, the more the dependence on the other and on the Il Konono, the greater the social distance placed between them, as if to deny that dependence.

As a result of a treaty with the British Government early in this century, Narok District was set aside as a Maasai reserve for Maasai and others already living there, mostly Okiek. Since that time, the colonial, and now the independent government, has insured this protection for the Maasai by making Narok (and Kajiado) District a "closed area," wherein no outsider may go without an official permit. Much of Narok District is relatively underpopulated, compared to the densely settled native areas around it. The Kikuyu especially have desired to relieve their crowded reserve by settling in the fertile Mau area. A preliminary attempt to ease this pressure was the establishment of the Oleanguruone Settlement Scheme in the Mau Forest just outside Narok District. This was populated by Kikuyus in the early

1940's. Their stay there raised problems for the government, as the Kikuyu did not cooperate with government policy. This came to a head in the early 1950's, with the killing of a missionary there and the forced extradition of the Kikuyu population. The Mau Mau revolt developed after this incident (Narok District Records 1940-1952, and Rev. Bisset, personal communication). Up to this time, Kikuyu had managed to enter Narok by way of special Maasai permission, usually granted for the marriage of a Kikuyu girl to a Maasai. Relatives tended to follow the daughter. Some Kikuyu are said to have been permitted entry on the assumption that they would handsomely reimburse their sponsor. All of these were interned in detention camps during the "emergency," but now have returned to their farms in the eastern areas of the Mau Forest, where they have cleared thousands of acres. As mentioned previously, this has caused considerable alarm to the Okiek, if not to the relatively unaffected Maasai. Okiek-Kikuyu relations, like Okiek-Masai relations, are characterized by a general antipathy, studded with numerous personal exceptions between individual friends.

Compared to most Okiek in eastern Mau, the Kikuyu are more persevering in their desire to develop their resources. They are diligent cultivators and traders. They value the education their children can use to get well-paid jobs. This attitude may be approvingly encouraged by the central government as "nation building," but to the Okiek it is destructive. The Okiek are most alarmed at the destruction of their forest. They are also annoyed by what they consider the deceptive manner which Kikuyu use to further their "selfish" ends. The Okiek feel that the Kikuyu are more apt to maliciously cheat them, compared

to the Maasai, who at least have a sense of honorable conduct. What this means is that the Okiek and Maasai share certain values in interpersonal dependence and obligation which the Kikuyu do not. * "Cheating" (igenon) among Okiek and Maasai is a hotly disapproved miscreant behavior, while among Kikuyu, it appears to Okiek, it is an acceptable practice, even within the group. A local missionary, who had considerable experience teaching Kikuyu, supported this idea, saying that he found the hero among Kikuyu children was the person who could best get away with cheating his comrades; it was acceptable, if annoying, behavior. The experience of Mau Mau, in which numerous Okiek, especially from the Saleta group, were killed by Kikuyu, has only reinforced their distrust of them. In 1969, prior to the national elections, Kikuyu again began to take the oath that preceded Mau Mau. This activity alarmed the Okiek and brought out their otherwise controlled hostility. On numerous occasions, they told me what they had done in Mau Mau (many men were scouts for government troops, since they knew the forests in which the Kikuyu were hiding) and asked me whether (sometimes "when") the British were going to return.

Given the Kikuyu attitude toward the Okiek, it is little wonder Kikuyu have little to do with them. I have heard of only one attempted marriage of a Kikuyu girl to an Okiek man, and none of an Okiek girl and Kikuyu man. A considerable amount of trading and services takes place between them in areas where both are adjacent. Thus Okiek do purchase maize from Kikuyu, especially in the dry season. This may be done directly by bartering honey, but more frequently Okiek will go to the nearest trading center and purchase

maize for cash. In times of need, Okiek will agree to harvest and clear Kikuyu gardens for payment in maize. Also the prominent African work-party, in which anyone may come and work someone's garden for drinks after work, is quite eagerly accepted by Okiek as a way to have some drinks. My experience at these events is that the cost of materials and time in making the maize-beer is not compensated by the short and lackluster work put in by those who come to drink. This, of course, points up the fact that this event is only in part economically motivated.

If Okiek are not dependent on Kikuyu for any essential foods or services, the same is just as true for the Kikuyu. The Kikuyu are a honey-collecting tribe who maintain hives for honey and have no need for Okiek honey, especially since the Kikuyu can get ample beer from their maize as well as their honey. In addition to this, Okiek-Kikuyu relations in Narok are relatively recent, and the type of complex relationship existing between Okiek and Maasai has not had the opportunity to develop, even if it could. A contrast to this is the Okiek-Kikuyu relations that took place over the last 100 years in the Kikuyu Reserve, especially near Kidong. There progressive Kikuyu expansion resulted in more extensive (and more equal) relations with the forest-owning Okiek (as opposed to the forest "owning" Maasai in Narok), whereby the Kikuyu intermarried with Okiek and purchased the forests (Kenya Land Commission Reports 1933) in a manner similar to Maasai-Kikuyu relations in Narok.

The last important group the Okiek of Mau have relations with is the Central Government. This was largely British before independence. For the Okiek, one of the most obvious representatives of the

government was the District Game Warden, the late Major Temple-Borman, who had been in Narok from the early 1930's up until his sudden death in May 1969. I had met him briefly in April and found him an impressive, considerate gentleman in the best British tradition. I was not surprised that the Okiek, who all knew him, shared this feeling. They respected him, if not the law he enforced against them. When he died, they genuinely felt sad, even though he had put some of them in jail before. He was the first and only European they had ever known well, and it was natural that they tended to view me, their second "European" of close acquaintance, in comparison to him. Perhaps because of him, though possibly because they had always been treated kindly, even protectively, by Europeans, the Okiek in Narok had a positive feeling toward all Europeans. After the Okiek decided I wasn't a game warden, this attitude was helpful in my working with them.

The government, however, is not all European, especially now, and the lower echelon officials most likely to be in contact with Okiek have always been Africans. These are the administration police, who arrest Okiek for criminal offenses. From genealogies it is evident that death by individual murder is now rare, and death by retribution in feuds has not occurred for a generation. Lesser offenses, usually drunken brawls, the Okiek are reluctant to report to the government, preferring to handle these cases in a manner which will not deprive dependent families of their heads, who would otherwise languish in jail for years.

Okiek are more careful these days to pay their taxes. Adult males pay a minimum of 24 shillings to the central government and

15 shillings to the county council. Since hospital care is available only to taxpayers, and Okiek very much appreciate medical care, married men are especially careful to pay their taxes so they and their family can be cared for in an emergency. There are still a number who do not pay, or at least not on time, and they risk being checked by police, who always seem to be going around to houses and the markets to check for receipts.

Although Narok Prison has something of the reputation of a country club, to the Okiek, unaccustomed to physical restraint, the internment is unpleasant, especially latrine duty. To be put in prison, however, is considered unfortunate, a bit shameful for being careless and thus caught, but never guilt ridden. Not understanding or not seeing the value of many of the European imposed laws, the Okiek do not see their illegal behavior as unreasonable, and certainly not morally reprehensible. Just making a bare living invariably means doing things that are contrary to statute. Thus living with the government gets to be a game of chance--taking the chance of being caught by doing that which everyone else does and approves. When someone is caught, it is accepted with a sad shrug, sort of an expected payment on a mortgaged existence.

The Okiek tend to project their parental expectations onto the government. Thus they expect services--to be "taken care of"--for their shillings, but see none forthcoming to them, except the 15 shillings paid to the county council for health services. This, like the irrationality of some laws--especially game laws--only contributes to the lack of belief in and hence respect for "the law." Respect (koonvit), for an Okiek, is almost coexistent with fear (omweni).

Thus when an Okiek speaks of respect for his wife's parents, he also can say "fear" interchangeably. The terms mean two different things but when applied to a person or thing, they usually coexist. Thus it is with the government. An Okiek fears the power of the government and therefore respects it, but this is not the respect founded on internalized common values which produces guilt and, thus, conforming behavior. This is undoubtedly a major problem for law enforcement in nations of diverse ethnic groups, urban America being no exception. The kind of internalized conformity so prized by middle-class America (and African Nationals) isn't transportable to ethnic or class groups who do not share the same values and norms.

Unlike most Okiek living outside the sanctuary of the Maasai Reserve, those inside enjoy the use of extensive tracts of land without fear of being displaced by the government. The attempted resettlement of other Okiek in Kenya into Native Reserves in the 1930's deprived many Okiek of the right to claim tribal lands. Land expropriated from them was sold to European settlers, or reserved by the government for forest plantations. This has dramatically affected the life of Okiek groups living on the Mau but in Nakuru District. Those within the Maasai Reserve have felt none of this. Their virgin forests have not been cut, nor have they been ordered to settle in compact villages outside the forest. This does not mean the government does not covet the Maasai part of the Mau forest. They do, and for years have unsuccessfully attempted to get the Maasai to agree to turn over its use and management to the Forestry Department. Although the Maasai make no use of the forest, they are reluctant to lose control of a sizeable, and potentially valuable, part of their

reserve, all to the benefit of the Okiek.

The Okiek are thankful for the large forest they still have, and point with empathy to those who have lost theirs. The Okiek in Narok District, however, are just now realizing what a tenuous hold they have on their ancestral forest. All the parties of their social environment appear to be bent on clearing that forest for their own gains. The Maasau give land to Kikuyu and may yet let the government lumber it. The Kikuyu are systematically clearing the eastern part, while Kipsigis clear the western part of the forest. The government would like to extend their lumbering over the entire Mau forest. These events would provide a considerable short-term profit, or would assuage for some time increased population pressures. But the long term consequences suggest that the Mau's important function as a water catchment area providing all season water for much of southwestern Kenya may be lost and the drainage areas become drier, perhaps uninhabitable half the year and flooded the other half. The fertility of the soil, greatly decreased by swidden farming, would be further decreased by erosion and greater dryness in the dry season. In contrast, the present forest supports a small population (though it could support more), affords no profit to the government, and is of no aid to over-population in other areas. It is, however, maintained as a renewable resource, in no way permanently damaged by its Okiek inhabitants, who harvest no more than the annual increase in organic matter, fauna and flora, while returning to the soil only decomposable materials. The forest is maintained indefinitely and, therefore, helps to maintain the habitability of areas much larger than the forest itself.

For Okiék adaptation, the Maasai have had as much effect on how and where they live as the natural environment. In the future, the Kikuyu and Kipsigis will have an even greater effect, the consequences of which may be seen in what has happened to other Okiék displaced by the government in the past.

Chapter 4

HONEY IN THE PERSONALITY SYSTEM

Introduction

From the basic premise that all behavior is motivated, the inescapable corollary is that understanding behavior requires the study of those psychological principles which underly human motivation. For some people, these principles derive ultimately from psychoanalytic theory which holds that personality attributes derive largely from early childhood experience, especially from the type of relationship a child has to his or her parents. Following this position, this chapter is concerned with explaining a variety of Okiek personality characteristics which have a relation to, and which support, the use of honey in Okiek society and culture. These personality characteristics both reflect and are reflected by aspects of Okiek cultural and social systems. The three systems interpenetrate each other such that the resulting behavioral patterns are explicable in terms of all three, no one system having theoretical priority, though empirically such may prove to be the case with regard to a given problem. The relationship of these three systems is briefly discussed in the first section of this chapter and again in the conclusion. The second section of this chapter is concerned with documenting Okiek childhood experience.

Data are presented which are relevant to evaluating the effect of these experiences on personality development. The theoretical basis for this evaluation derives from Erickson's (1963) discussion of states of childhood personality development, and a summary of this is presented in the second section. Erickson is used because he has attempted to place personality development within a social framework and thus his discussion aptly fits the theoretical basis of this thesis.

The third section is a discussion of the implications of Okiek childhood experience for the development of adult personality characteristics. Two hypotheses relating the two are proposed:

1) that Okiek childhood experiences are conducive to a well-developed oral fixation and 2) that Okiek patterns of aggression socialization result in a fear of others and a fear of expressing hostility. Both hypotheses are supported by cross-cultural studies of childhood experience and adult personality (Whiting and Child 1953).

Section four presents a different kind of datum to support the hypotheses explained in section three. In this case projective data, both cultural and psychological, are used. Twenty-four Okiek stories suggest, by their content, that oral concerns are an important theme in Okiek life, and the results of one psychological projective test administered to forty adult Okiek support the hypothesis that the Okiek have a relatively low level of impulsivity or willingness to express hostility directly, yet have a relatively high level of underlying hostility. The resulting passive-aggressive personality type, it is argued, with supporting studies, is consistent with strong aggression socialization and a disposition for heavy drinking. The

latter, it is argued, is a primary support for the emphasis the Okiak place on honey wine.

The fifth section incorporates literature which is related to explaining excessive drinking. Horton's (1943) study of the psychological and social functions of alcohol is discussed in the light of Okiak data, with the intention of specifying motivations which Horton referred to as a generalized form of anxiety. A study by Bunzel (1940) is similar in method to the present one on the Okiak, and her conclusions, though brief, tend to confirm my observations about why Okiak drink as much as they do. Holmberg's (1950) study of the starvation-prone Siriono suggests that hunger anxiety alone does not account for high incidence of insobriety. Field (1962) presents cross-cultural evidence in support of social structural "causes" for insobriety. Major theoretical objections to his study are discussed, which suggest that his conclusions are suspect.

In the conclusion it is argued that the two hypothesized unconscious processes account, in part, for the unusual support honey has in Okiak life. It is also shown that these same processes tend to support certain functional requirements for the maintenance of the social system. The latter conclusions are amplified in Chapter 7.

The type of psycho-cultural analysis presented in this chapter is related to, but is distinguishable from, studies of modal personality. The latter type of study, often called "national character" studies, had some vogue in anthropology during the 1930's and 1940's. Like the present chapter, those earlier studies relied to a large extent on psychoanalytic and psychoanalytically derived theories. On the other hand, this chapter does not deal with a "whole personality"

analysis of the Okiek, but rather with only those aspects of personality which are hypothesized to be related to the use of honey. In this sense the present chapter avoids some of the shortcomings associated with modal personality studies. A short discussion of problems involved in modal personality studies, however, is relevant to the hypotheses and data presented herein. Inkeles and Levison (1954) have reviewed modal personality studies and the theories on which they are based, and they offer constructive criticisms which I paraphrase below.

These studies ought to include three types of data, though few actually do. These should include individual data on 1) behavioral traits, 2) personal meanings related to behavior, and 3) cognitive-motivational characteristics. In the present chapter I have presented data on behavioral traits by a discussion of Okiek adult behavior which is relevant to the use of honey and honey wine. I include data on personal meanings through a discussion of how the Okiek see their relationship to honey in terms of cultural beliefs and social behavior. And thirdly, I include hypotheses that, it is argued, help to account for the motivational characteristics involved in support for honey and honey wine.

Modal personality studies should have a standardized analytic scheme, that is, "a universally applicable system of concepts and descriptive variables in terms of which modal adult personality structures can be described and compared" (Inkeles and Levison 1954: 988). Most such studies do not have a system which is applicable to comparative study largely because of the clinical orientation of the researchers. In this chapter I present a theory of personality based

largely on Erickson (1963), which is intended to reflect universal personality processes and is thus amenable to comparative analysis.

The third basic problem of modal personality studies has to do with their methods. Three types of methods have been used: 1) individual personality assessment based on projective tests and clinical interviews, 2) psychological analysis of collective adult phenomenon such as institutional practices and folklore, and 3) psychological analysis of child-rearing systems. Most modal personality studies have tended to extrapolate adult personality characteristics from child-training variables without a direct analysis of individual adult personalities. The assumption in many of these psychogenic studies is that, following psychoanalytic theory, childhood experiences largely determine adult personality. Inkeles and LeVison (1954:988) cite more recent studies to indicate that late childhood and adolescent experiences have a greater effect on personality than had heretofore been assumed, though they do not deny that early childhood experience is a basic source of adult personality characteristics.

In this chapter I present data from these three types of methods. The two hypotheses concerned with explaining Okiek interest in drinking derive from child-rearing experiences. Individual personality assessments based on a projective test are used to support one of the hypotheses, while two forms of "collective adult phenomenon" (folktales and theories of medical diagnosis and cure) are psychologically analyzed to present data in support of the second hypothesis.

The exclusive emphasis in this chapter on two child-rearing variables as a basis for adult Okiek motivation for drinking is in no way intended to negate the influence of other factors as determinants

of adult personality characteristics. In fact, there is a range of experiences during late childhood and adolescence which affect Okiek dispositions toward drinking, and these are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. These experiences tend to enhance what I believe is an already well-established predisposition for oral gratification deriving from early childhood experience. In fact, it is the basic argument of this thesis that an explanation of Okiek use of honey is dependent on cultural and social as well as personality factors operating throughout a person's life, no one system being sufficient to account for the unusual elaboration this food and drink receive in this society compared to other societies.

The Personality System, A Theoretical Background

Personality has been a central concern of many American anthropologists for over forty years. Under the label of "Culture and Personality" extensive work has been done, primarily on the manner in which culture affects personality development. This is, however, only half the importance of personality for anthropological studies. Since all behavior is motivated by needs and drives, culturally constituted social systems must provide roles which are sufficiently gratifying for the needs and drives of individuals to insure the role's performance and thereby the maintenance of the social system. This is the most important justification for including personality studies in anthropological research on social and cultural systems. If the explanation of behavior is viewed as a primary goal of anthropology, psychology must be an indispensable adjunct of social and cultural anthropology. Because the implications of this position are not well understood by

most anthropologists, I present in this chapter some theoretical background for the subsequent use of data on personality.

For the purpose of this thesis personality is defined (following Parson and Shils 1951:7) as "the organized system of the orientation and motivation of action of one individual actor." In describing a personality system it is necessary to be aware of the characteristics of the system of interaction of two or more individuals (the social system), noting those conditions which the interaction imposes on the actors. Understanding a personality system also entails accounting for cultural tradition in two ways: as objects of orientation and as cultural patterns which are internalized as cognitive expectations and cathectic evaluative selections among possible orientations. That is, to an individual, culture is a system of symbols embodying the ideas, beliefs, knowledge, norms, and values transmitted by learning through generations to members of his social system. These are the things he knows and to which he "orients" himself in daily living. Many of these aspects of culture, in addition, may have become cathected parts of his personality, internalized and, therefore, the basis on which he understands and evaluates all those things outside his personality to which he is oriented. Thus ideas and beliefs are primarily characterized by cognitive interest (the basis for a person's discrimination among and assessment of objects in his field of orientation), expressive symbols as cathectic interest (what he likes), and values as evaluative interest (what he feels is good or bad). As internalized categories these are the basis of motivational orientation. Thus culturally constituted social systems provide an important motivational basis for individual role participation in the institutions which form

the social systems. In this way the functional prerequisites for the maintenance of social systems are met by their capacity to provide roles which gratify the needs and drives of individuals.

* The importance of this fact is aptly stated by Spiro (1961b: 472):

In short, culture is both an instrument and an object: it contributes to social adaptation and adjustment and at the same time it constitutes an object of adjustment. Hence, any analysis of human, that is, culturally constituted, social systems must explain how man adapts to the demands of culture--with all the conflict attendant upon the process--at the same time that he uses culture for the purpose of adaptation. Analyses which ignore or are unacquainted with the dynamics of behavior including such unconscious mechanisms as psychological defenses--cannot perform this task satisfactorily.

Understanding the role of honey in Okiek society likewise requires that the social role of honey be understood in terms of its cultural meaning as an object of orientation and as a catheted part of Okiek personality. Without reference to the psychological importance of honey, as culturally defined, it is not possible to understand the full range of its function in social and cultural systems.

Furthermore, as a source of nutrition, honey affects physiological requirements (see Chapter 2) which, as innate drives, become differentiated into need-dispositions whereby they are included in motivational and evaluative elements which are not a part of the original physiological need (hunger). This process of development begins with the discrimination between need-gratifying and need-blocking objects in the field of orientation. This sensitivity applies to non-social objects (in the present context, honey), but it is especially significant where interaction is involved; thus the

significance of honey enhances and is enhanced by those human objects most closely associated with it, usually parents. Gratifying experiences with an object engenders a positive attachment. This object then becomes cathected through attributing to it significance for direct gratification of needs. At the same time the object becomes cognized, discriminating it from others and assessing its properties (Parson and Shils 1951:8-10). In the present context, honey becomes an object of gratification to a child, associated with the persons who provide it, each enhanced by the cathexis and the cognizing associated with the other. By stimulus generalization, a child learns to associate an important food with persons he is primarily dependent on for all basic needs. The pattern of orientation and cathexis of honey and honey wine in Okiek society has its ontological beginning in early childhood.

Early Experience and Development of Okiek Children

Childbirth among the Okiek is a relatively simple affair. A woman in labor retires to her house and is attended by one or two other women, often her mother or husband's mother. Of the births that occurred while I was with the Okiek, none had any special complications except a baby born with a caul, for which his father was soundly scolded by his own mother for having intercourse with his pregnant wife. Such is the Okiek belief, and it reflects a general Okiek belief that there are certain things an expectant mother and a nursing mother must abstain from in order to insure that her child's health will not be impaired. Thus intercourse during pregnancy and nursing is forbidden. Likewise the drinking of alcoholic beverages such as honey

wine is conceived by the Okiek as being detrimental to the health of an embryo and a baby. These things are believed to cause sickness, weakness, and lack of normal physical development. The Okiek are very concerned that children grow up to be strong and well. As previously explained (p. 46) the Okiek frequently project physical deformities, sickness, and death of children onto the malevolent intentions of ancestors. In other words, bringing a child into the world is fraught with difficulties which must be avoided by proper behavior. These precautions and others related to a mother's cleanliness reflect a well-founded Okiek anxiety about the chances of a baby surviving. Infant mortality is undoubtedly high. I recall hearing of many more children dying during my field work than adults. I have no statistics, however, on current mortality rate for children. There are a number of accountable diseases, but the Okiek tend to project the death of young people onto ancestors, witchcraft, and naunisto (roughly the supernatural consequence of having killed somebody), though nowadays they admit that disease is more prevalent than it used to be.

A child nurses at his mother's breast for at least two years. During the time of nursing, for the sake of her child's health and growth, a mother is supposed to desist from intercourse and drinking alcohol. The Okiek believe these substances enter the body and mix with the mother's milk, causing it to lose some of its healthful quantities. As some husbands have related to me, this two-year period is flexible--especially the younger men claim they do not wait so long to resume sexual relations with their wife. This appears from genealogies to be evident as many children are born less than two

years and nine months after the previous one. On the other hand, I have occasionally seen a woman still carrying and nursing a child who must have been at least three and a half years old, old enough to talk fluently and climb small trees. This occurs only with older women who don't anticipate being able to have more children. During this period of nursing, a child enjoys almost constant contact with its mother. If it cries, becomes disruptive, is hungry, or gets hurt, the mother nurses it and, in fact, gives her breast whenever it wishes and whenever the mother finds it useful for controlling behavior. For example, if a child crawls too close to the fire, a mother will prefer to distract its attention by nursing it rather than frustrate or chastise the child. Okiek mothers make every effort to avoid frustrating the whims of their infants, and nursing is the most frequently used method of controlling an infant without causing crying. In this way, at a very early age, Okiek infants begin to associate pleasures, assuage frustration, and learn to control anxiety by taking in things (in this case, milk) orally.

During this period of the first two years a mother frequently plies her infant with fat, a food, like milk, considered by the Okiek indispensable to healthful growth. Honey is also given for the same reason, though it appears that honey is not considered as necessary as fat at this stage. Unlike fat, however, babies tend to like being fed honey; it appeals to their taste, where fat does not at first. More frequently, as an infant approaches age two, the mother begins to use honey in the same pacifying way she uses her breast.

During this period a mother's control over her child is immediate but gentle. She does not chastise her baby as she tries to teach

it not to do things. This is a period of passive restraint. The mother is careful to keep her child within easy reach. Not surprisingly, the Okiek verb for caring for a child (konom) is the same as used for catching an animal in a trap, of holding a dog with a rope, or caring for a domestic animal. The common connotation to these is the element of "holding" and "control." What this word does not connote in mother-child relations is an emphasis on the early independence of a child from its mother. The nursing period is best characterized by the absence of frustration and a continued dependence on mother. This contrasts sharply--in abruptness and degree--with the mother-child relationship that follows on the birth of the next sibling.

Although Okiek mothers do try to completely satisfy their infants' hunger, early accounts (Chandler 1896, Neumann 1898) stress chronic famine among Okiek, at least among those living north of Mount Kenya. "They are usually in a state of semi-starvation, indeed it is a puzzle to me how they manage to live at all" (Neumann 1898:79). Between honey seasons and between elephant kills, camps regularly went hungry. This discontinuity cannot help but contribute to Okiek anxieties about food. For infants and children, the inconsistency of highly nurturant parental care, contrasted to occasional deprivation of food during famine, should create highly ambivalent feelings, according to Erickson (1963), during a period of psychosexual development associated with a sense of trust vs. mistrust, love vs. loneliness, oral security vs. insecurity. On the one hand, an infant who experiences oral (food) gratification for any agony, no matter what the cause, or is breast-fed for an excessively long period, tends to

develop, according to Erickson (1963), a feeling that food is all-important, that he need never worry, that he will always be cared for. Such an attitude of taking a dependent position toward society is laid down in the oral period. On the other hand, if a baby has had to go hungry or his needs for food are not taken care of, then in later childhood or in adult life he may have undue anxiety about food. He may react by eating too much or have a pressing clinging attitude toward others, demanding attention and assurance all the time. He fears he will not have enough to eat, or enough recognition and love (English and Pearson 1963:21-22).

Both these types of personality traits of dependency and insecurity are found frequently in adult Okiek men and women, suggesting that the observable experiences of infancy--feast and famine, consistent nurturance but inconsistent food supply--may be tied to these personality traits.

During my period of field work, Okiek persistently expressed concern about going hungry. It is important to note, however, that this reflected anxiety more than reality, as somehow everyone got enough to eat--though on some days not much. Historical experiences with real famine are documented by early travelers and attested by present Okiek. Unlike many hunting and gathering societies (Lee and DeVore 1968), the Okiek traditionally have had a relatively insecure subsistence base, Neumann and Chandler both speak of seeing various Okiek individuals appear emaciated, or sleek and fat, depending on the season. Neumann (1898:15) quotes an Okiot as saying that the importance of fat in their diet is directly related to building up the body fat of an individual,

apparently in anticipation of leaner days ahead: "Oh! If I could but feed on elephant's fat, my wife would not know me when I went back, so sleek and plumb should I become." Despite its high value, fat has not the great symbolic value of honey because it lacks honey's multiple forms and uses, as explained later.

Thus by the end of the first period of life, about age two, a child has developed a response to a high degree of maternal nurturance, but at the same time a relatively high degree of subsistence uncertainty expressed either in a mother's anxiety over the food supply or by an actual lack of food.

If the mother does not become pregnant again, the child will continue in close contact and dependence on its mother for, as mentioned, as long as three years or so, though gradual weaning usually seems to take place about age two when a mother sees the child can walk and respond to her calling. A child will still remain close to its mother until about age six to eight, when peer groups begin to form and children begin to explore the world outside the camp without their mothers.

On the other hand, most children are followed by younger siblings, and their relationship to their mothers is altered by this biological fact. The model spacing between children is three years, with two and four years following this. This means that most children experience displacement between age two and four. In the case of the Okiek, this displacement is sudden and dramatic. If a child has been nursing, it is forthwith denied its mother's breast from the time the next child is born. Furthermore, the amount of attention it has become used to is considerably reduced by the mother's preoccupation

with a new baby's survival requiring all the care she can give it. The result, I have observed, is a frequently disgruntled two- or three-year-old child who whines, cries, and hangs onto its mother in hopes of attention. The Okiek mother continues to be tolerant with the first child as she has been in the past, but this tolerance is not accompanied with the nurturance previously given on demand. She may ignore its pleas or try to distract its attention with other things or other people. Older siblings and father may try to amuse the child, but usually it tries to return to mother for support. In reality, there is no return to the constant comforts now enjoyed by the second baby.

The child of three or four, literally if not figuratively, is now off its mother's back, can walk well, and talk on a minimal level. He or she has entered the second period of development and now begins to relate to others instead of just his mother. By this age, a boy or girl has expanded the radius of contact from his mother to other siblings, father, cousins, and other children of his own age who may live nearby and come to visit with their mothers.

This second stage is initiated socially by the naming ceremony in addition to physically and culturally by the birth of the next sibling (In the absence of this birth the transition is gradual but still marked by a mother's increasing lack of attention as she resumes other duties). A child's range of contacts extends beyond mother to the family, and by age five he or she has developed friendships with other children of the same age. The dependence on mother persists, however, and is exemplified by the fact that even by age five a child does not wander far from his mother. Rather there is an approach-

avoidance, an oscillation, between the secure presence of mother and the stimulating activities away from her. Apparent feelings of insecurity alternate with a desire to explore the new world as a child first plays with others, then runs back to mother, then ventures forth again.

During this period, the child comes more and more under the control of elder siblings who relieve their mother of the need to watch the child. In America toilet training is usually initiated earlier in this period, or even in the first period, but with the Okiek it is not an issue. Even as late as two years of age, a nursing child has no bowel control and the mother makes no effort to train her child to control his soiling of her clothes. In the second period there is even less necessity for control and, from my observations, children learn this control on their own with the occasional help of an older sibling to show him where to go.

About age six or seven a girl or boy enters a third period of development. The outward expression of this is the piercing of the upper ear with a thorn, the resulting hole being a point of attachment for decorative beaded jewelry. This is not a ceremony but an individual affair requested by the child as he or she feels the desire. This reflects the child's awareness of himself as an object of attraction, hence approval. It also reflects his identification with older people, especially his parents, and a desire to emulate them. This is a period in which friendships develop and peer activities take precedence over mother-child activities, especially with boys. Boys play at making hives and hunting animals. Girls remain closer to home

and begin to do the things their mothers do: building huts, making string, sewing clothes, doing bead work, and collecting firewood and water. This period lasts until the onset of adolescence.

* Throughout these years a child's diet changes from a preponderance of milk and fat, in the first period, to meat and honey in subsequent periods. However, from the earliest years it is apparent that children develop the strongest desire for honey. No one would want a diet of only honey or meat or milk, but assuming there is some of each, Okiek children consistently prefer honey. Apparently the sweetness appeals to them, as sugars do to American children, as they also like the candy I sometimes gave them and easily equate it as being sweet (anyin) like honey. I once asked a boy of seven, whose father had been away for some time, what he would like most for his father to bring him. He didn't think a second; his reply was automatic: "Honey." This little incident, more than pertinent but undramatic data, conveys the strong personal feeling and cultural value which the Okiek have for honey. It is well established at an early age on a conscious level. Subsequent discussion will show that it is apparently established on an unconscious level as well.

During childhood, a person's emotional dependence on his parents is complemented by his biological dependence. The epitome of his dependence, of course, is the honey which forms such a desired as well as nutritionally substantial part of his diet. Children of age three to twelve consume a greater ratio of honey in their diet than any other sex-age category in Okiek society. Most of it comes from their father and elder brothers but usually fed to them by mother. Some,

however, comes from other people and with these a child begins to realize the significance of certain kith and kin. A family may desire their son to marry a girl who is yet only eight or ten. Honey is brought one day and given to the girl's mother, an understanding is established, an intention, but not yet a contract. The honey the girl eats that night has a new significance; she now realizes more fully than she could have before that someday she will be part of another family. The honey makes vivid and real what before was a childhood fantasy. Or a boy of eight struggles with his identification with father by making a crude little hive. Some weeks later he proudly brings home to his mother his first honey, his first gift to his parents, his first demonstrated proof that he is as good, or almost as good, as his father--that he is a man. These are two of a number of examples of how honey takes on a central role in childhood development. Actually, honey pervades virtually all the realms of Okiak life: physiological, psychological, social, and cultural.

One of the most remarkable behavioral traits, from the point of view of an American, is the almost total lack of interpersonal aggression between children. In a camp, the children, like their parents, are generally quiet and subdued. They play together but rarely with the "school playground" loud excitement of American children. I have never seen Okiak children get involved in a real fight. Sometimes two children want the same object and will both try to pull it from the other, but this ends in either a face-saving compromise, one taking part of it, or one getting all but soon leaving it with apparent disinterest or guilt. There is no pleasure or pride in

beating another. There are no competitive games. Parents quietly admonish their children not to fight with others. A child's immediate neighbors are usually his real or classificatory brothers and sisters, and with these, the Okiek say, a close and friendly relationship is important. These are the people they will grow up with and depend on; the enemies they fight with are elsewhere. This early training to control hostile impulses will be shown to be closely related to Okiek drinking and hospitality.

In summary, Okiek parents are generally very tolerant of their children's natural impulses. Initial indulgence in the first period of each type of behavior--oral, anal, sexual, and dependence--is high. Aggression, however, is the one factor which is not indulged, initially or subsequently. Children must become adults, however, which universally means that their childhood impulses must be socialized. Societies differ in the degree of severity of socialization for each behavior type. With the Okiek, anal and sexual socialization is not stressed and thus subsequent childhood anxiety in these areas is low. On the other hand, the Okiek expect children to alter the oral-dependence behavior of the first period of development quickly, especially when the next sibling arrives. There is also a quiet but effective emphasis on curtailing aggressive impulses.

Before proceeding further, it is useful at this point to backtrack with a discussion of personality development. The close relationship between early childhood experience and subsequent personality characteristics is well established in psychological theory. A discussion of this relationship is presented here as a prelude to the

hypothesis that certain personality tendencies in adult Okiek are related both to childhood experiences and to the high interest in and consumption of alcoholic beverages, especially honey wine.

* The development of a normal, healthy personality in a person in any society required that he successfully resolve a series of psychological conflicts which occur in successive stages of childhood. Emerging from each of these stages, a healthy personality develops an increasing sense of inner unity, good judgment, and ability to do well. In this discussion I rely on Erickson's (1963) concepts of personality development.

Stages of Child Development

In each stage of child development, there is a primary problem which must be adequately dealt with by a child if he is to proceed with the resolution and accomplishment necessary for dealing with the next problem stage. Each stage must be taken at the proper rate and in the proper sequence for normal personality development. The omission or insufficient resolution of any one problem impairs the functional harmony of other personality strengths, often permanently.

The three stages of early childhood described by Erickson are associated most closely with: (1) a sense of basic trust, (2) a sense of autonomous will, and (3) a sense of initiative. The use of the word "sense" is to convey the meaning of each stage as a development of components of mental health within the individual. Thus, a sense or basic feeling of trust in others is what a child first experiences, or should experience in normal personality development.

These three stages generally correspond to the well-known

Freudian psychosexual stages: oral, anal, and genital. The differing emphasis given these by Erickson reflect his greater concern with a child's physical and social growth within his family and social structure.

A sense of basic trust derives from experiences in the first year of life. A baby is helpless and dependent on others, usually his mother, for his needs, the most obvious being the need for food. Food is taken orally, hence the "oral" stage, but this incorporativeness extends to other objects; hence, a baby tends to hold and suck all sorts of objects. The absolute dependence on others, coordinated with the intention and ability to satisfy these first needs, is the basis for a basic, that is, unconscious and pervasive trust in others and also in one's self.

This, as Erickson says, is the cornerstone of a healthy personality. The impairment of this basic trust comes out as a basic mistrust in adults who, in their defense, withdraw from others, some into psychotic states in which they refuse comfort, companionship, even food. The crisis of this stage comes, at least in American Society, in the latter part of the first year when a child's basic trust is shaken by the feeling of loss, most obvious in the mother's apparent, if not real, withdrawal from the child at weaning. Also the mother, who gave up so much time during the early months of child care, must now return to the other activities of her role. This experience leaves a residue of basic mistrust in the child. Mistrust may also be engendered by the lack of quality in a mother's care for her child.

Without proper substitutes for this feeling of abandonment, a

child's basic trustfulness can give way to acute infantile depression and to a depressive undertone for the rest of a person's life. On the other hand, a more successful handling of this conflict can result in a personality which emphasizes giving and receiving, and a sense of faith (trust), of which religion is one expression.

Another expression of oral trauma is addiction, of which alcoholism is the most obvious expression of unresolved oral dependency needs (Navratil 1956:516). This is significant of Okiek life, as will be shown shortly.

In the next year a child has grown to a point where physically he begins to feel the control of his body and mentally to differentiate himself as a being apart from others. He begins to stand, to take things, to be self-willed. He is also self-willed in that he begins to reject things, too. He may cry for his mother's comfort one minute, and the next, inexplicably, push her away. This is a stage of retention and elimination, that is, a period of autonomy in which a child begins to exercise an autonomous will. The most obvious expression of this is the fact that by this age a child begins to experience the pleasure and willfulness of controlling his own elimination organs. Hence, the Freudian term "anal" period.

How important this stage is in personality development is very much a function of the culture's beliefs and norms about child-training in the control of bowels and bladder. Certain classes of our society take this matter seriously, while many other societies let "nature take its course." Though this training may not be important in all societies, the stage itself still becomes a "battle" for autonomy in

other areas. Willfulness in other areas may require the exercise of parental controls.

Exercise of controls too early and too severely leaves a child defeated by his yet incapable body, and again by his powerful parents. Satisfaction may be found only in regressing to the earlier oral stage (sucking thumb, whining, demanding) or pretending an autonomy and ability not really there, expressing it in hostility, willfulness, and attempts to be non-dependent.

A child who can deal with these problems adequately develops a sense of self-control, but without a loss of self-esteem. This takes a delicate balance of parental control, such that hate does not overcome love, and willfulness is tempered with cooperation, self-expression with suppression.

Out of this stage a child should have a lasting sense of autonomy and pride, not a feeling of loss of control from feeling physically impotent, nor a sense of doubt and shame from parental over-control.

Shame, an infantile emotion in which a person is degraded in the eyes of others for misbehavior, is especially used by some primitive peoples in lieu of an emphasis on guilt, to control child behavior. Ironically, this begins at the very stage when a child is experiencing the uncertainty of feeling his own autonomy, his "bigness." Too much shaming can result in a secret determination to try to "get away" with things when unseen. There are limits to how much lack of self-worth a person can take. In response he may turn things around and become oblivious to the opinions of others, and to consider those opinions evil, and not the action they are aimed at. Character disorders, in

people who had not instilled the values and norms of his society, may be traced to this type of experience.

Also, overcontrol by parents may create a childhood need to overmanipulate himself; that is, self mastery becomes an end in itself leading to compulsive neurosis: repetitiveness, doing things "just so," obsessiveness, and ritualism.

Erickson suggests that the normal expression of a sense of autonomy and self control in adulthood seems to be related to the function of "law and order." That is, the relationship of a child to his parents in this stage is a prototype for a person's later relationship with other authority figures: employer, police, and political figures.

By the age of four or five, the child who has a firm solution to the problem of autonomy is ready for the next stage and the next crisis. He now walks well, and in a rudimentary way can do physical things like his parents, whereas before he was mostly sedentary and could not. There is an accompanying awareness of self in comparison to others, and this comparison becomes an increasing preoccupation. He begins to envision himself as occupying other's roles, imitating their activities; in short, he has developed a sense of initiative.

Accompanying this period is an infantile sexual curiosity, with an occasional preoccupation and overconcern with sexual matters. While a child may now feel he is almost the "junior" equal of his parents, he receives a setback in his fantasies by the obvious fact that he is genitally much inferior, and further, that not for a long time will his fantasies of being the sexual opposite to his mother (opposite to her father for a girl). The deep emotional consequence

of this insight and the magical fears associated with it constitute the Freudian concept of the Oedipus complex. This anticipatory rivalry is accompanied by even more secret fantasies.

* The inevitable failure of these fantasies leads to guilt and anxiety, epitomized in those fantasies by the fear of one's life, or at least loss of genitalia, as punishment for feelings of infantile genital excitement. If guilt tends to stifle this initiative, it can constructively give rise to a conscience wherein the norms of social conduct of a society are instilled in a person's superego.

Discussion

The foregoing has been an account of Okiek childhood experience and Erickson's synthesis of psychological and anthropological literature on universal processes of child development. In the following discussion I relate the two and present conclusions about basic Okiek needs and drives deriving from early experiences which are expressed in adult personality and which, it is argued, are significant to understanding the supports honey has for its role in Okiek life.

Since this thesis is concerned only with honey-related aspects of Okiek life, certain personality factors will be stressed and not some others which may be important to other spheres of behavior and belief unrelated to honey.

In the course of this discussion reference is made to Whiting and Child (1953), who utilized similar concepts and theory to show the cross-cultural relationship of child-training practices to adult personality. Their interest was in the extent to which personality

can "determine the integration of culture" (1953:3). They show how child-training practices and customary responses to illness are two aspects of culture which are mediated by principles of personality development; that certain socialization practices affect personality development and that these are causally related to certain adult projective behaviors and beliefs.

In this discussion I follow a similar causal chain in which it is hypothesized that Okiek cultural values placed on honey affect some aspects of child socialization, that these experiences are an important source of personality anxieties about dependence which are conducive to adult oral indulgence, especially in relation to honey wine. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that Okiek values related to the role of honey, honey water, and honey wine in social and supernatural relations are also closely related to Okiek personality dynamics and that these same values influence the use of honey as food and meaning in the feeding and socialization of children. This means that honey is intimately involved in a social, cultural, and personality cycle which affects virtually all areas of Okiek life. It is especially obvious in child rearing, rites related to life-cycle transitions, social etiquette among kin, friends, and neighbors, and supernatural beliefs and practices.

Relative to other societies (Whiting and Child 1953:69) newborn Okiek children experience an unusually high initial indulgence of oral interests--the primary need disposition during this first period. Closely related to this is an equally high initial indulgence of a child's dependence. Thus a child is immediately pacified, usually with food or drink, in response to any needs whether related to hunger

or not. On the other hand, a child cannot continue through life following a pattern of complete dependence and oral interest. Socialization must take place at the end of this period, as Erickson points out, in a way consistent with maintaining a basic sense of trust and personal well-being. This means that the inevitable feeling of loss when a child is weaned and encouraged into independence must not be so traumatic as to result in a dominant feeling of loss, hence mistrust.

When an Okiek child is followed by a second child in its second or third year, as most frequently occurs, the switch from dependence to independence is, compared to other societies, unusually sudden and severe. Weaning is immediate and maternal comfort is now directed to the needs of the new child. The consequent feelings of apparent rejection, expressed in whining, crying, agitating, and prying, are clearly evident. The mother may try to pacify this first child by giving it food. Significantly, honey is the food the Okiek see as most effective. In this way, honey, but also other foods, become the symbol of a lost dependence, regained. It is the substitute for mother's breast and for the comfort she used to provide for every need.

This contrast between high initial indulgence and high subsequent socialization appears to be on the extreme end of a continuum of other societies (Whiting and Child 1953:341). Because of this deviation it is realistic to look for certain characteristics of personality development which depart from the more usual patterns. One such type of pattern characteristic of sudden or severe socialization during any one of the psychosexual periods of development is

called fixation. By fixation is meant that psychic energy remains attached to an earlier phenomenon of psychosexual development instead of passing on to the next period. Thus traumatic experience in the oral period frequently leads to an "oral fixation," that is, a persisting preoccupation with oral matters beyond the period of its normal socialization. Persons with oral fixations exhibit such behavior as smoking or chewing tobacco, chewing gum, candy, an exaggerated concern for the quality of food eaten, a persistent tendency to use food as a means of alleviating tension and anxiety.

One of the most obvious expressions of the latter is the use of alcohol. In fact, a consistent causal factor in alcoholism is a disruption of the mother-child relationship (Knight in Zwexling and Rosenbaum 1959:627). Alcoholism is associated with a psychosexual development which has been arrested at a pregenital stage. It is a response of a weak ego to frustration and anxiety. It satisfies oral, passive-dependent, and narcissistic drives. As a consequence of the pregenital trauma, resolution of Oedipal problems are also inadequate and the alcoholic expresses immature modes of sexual behavior. The attachment to mother is an over-attachment, a passive dependent relationship (Navratil 1959:516). Such a personality finds it difficult to cope with problems and relate to people, so in response copes with tensions by alleviating them with alcohol, which in itself is repressive and auto-erotic (Levine 1955:690). The attachment to the drinking, so to speak, substitutes for an attachment to people.

This discussion is presented as the theoretical context for the hypothesis that frequently encountered personality characteristics of the Okiek show an oral fixation. It might be argued that this is a

result of hunger fixation brought on by actual experiences of food deprivation. It is argued, however, that food deprivation among the Mau Okiek is relatively rare and largely confined to adults as children are given priority in feeding and, in fact, no data exists to support the idea that these children have gone hungry. On the other hand, the heightened emotional quality of oral interests among these Okiek suggests an early childhood trauma such as severe socialization during the first childhood period of development, the oral period. This hypothesis does not deny an important, but secondary, influence of hunger-related experiences. But the obvious emotion-laden quality of Okiek concern with a wide range of oral matters does suggest an emotional basis, as Whiting and Child (1953) have demonstrated. This is demonstrable in childhood behavior by a primary concern with eating, especially eating honey. In adults a continuing concern for oral matters is evident in their high interest in food and eating, regardless of supply of food, and their addiction to chewing tobacco and drinking honey wine. This is clearly observable in their own statements about what they want and like and in what they do. In projective areas, oral preoccupations are prevalent in concepts of disease and its treatment, relation to ancestors, and themes in stories. And finally, personality characteristics associated with alcoholism are found to be prevalent in Okiek personalities as judged from projective tests administered to a sample of Okiek. These types of evidence in support of the hypothesis will be presented in subsequent discussion.

Previously it was shown that the Okiek experience strong socialization training in aggression as well as oral dependence, while

socialization during the anal and genital period is not stressed. Psychoanalytic theory suggests that aggression socialization is causally related to the development of a fear of others. This arises when aggression socialization prevents direct aggression against the original object of hostility (parent, sibling, etc.), resulting in this drive motivating other less direct aggressive responses. Indirect aggression assuages this drive in a manner which avoids the fear of consequences that would result from direct aggression. One form of indirection is the projection of one's own aggressive tendencies onto other agents. In this way one can fantasize aggression in other people, spirits, or other agents without the personal anxiety entailed in directly acting out these aggressive impulses.

A second form is the displacement of direct aggression from the original object to another less threatening object. Both mechanisms of defense redirect aggression away from the original agents of aggression socialization, resulting in a generalized fear of others. In fact, Whiting and Child (1953:276) find confirmation of this hypothesis among a sample of 32 societies in which socialization anxiety in the aggressive system is highly correlated to fear of human beings and overall fear of others. In addition they find that among a number of possible hypotheses, fear of others is primarily associated with anxieties about aggression (1953:318).

It is not surprising, therefore, that among the Okiek a persistent effort to avoid aggressive confrontation is associated with a specific fear of others. This fear is partly grounded in reality with respect to neighboring tribes and the government. It is prevalent, however, in projective areas, such as the fear of ancestors and of

certain relations, especially affines.

Aggression socialization, therefore, has at least two ways of functioning. It directly inhibits aggressive actions against others and, in addition, the fear of others it engenders supports the respectful behavior that constitute the norms of social relations with living kin, ancestors, and affines. In other words, there is more than just the obvious in the Okiek expression that "you respect those you fear." It is precisely the persons and spirits who are feared and respected that are the major recipients of gifts and offerings of honey and honey wine on formal social and cultural occasions.

Pouring wine to the ancestors is the necessary expression of respect which a descendant must perform to alleviate the annoyance which he believes his deceased relatives feel toward him. A son who fears his father's displeasure will best insure his father's good will by bringing him honey. Cases of marital conflict usually result in a meeting of the two concerned lineages at which honey wine is given out as a symbol of good will and as an inducement to cooperation.

Aggression socialization has other implications for personality development. Unlike the oral and anal periods, aggression by children is not given any initial indulgence. Children are expected to be nice and quiet among themselves and to those who are older. Certainly there are sources of anxiety, such as ambivalence toward a mother who seems to care more for the younger child, and of the displacement of this anger onto the younger siblings. In learning to control this anger, children are aided by the adult models they are always near. Were they to learn by example only, Okiek children would learn, at

least most of the time, that proper Okiek behavior is exercising sufficient control over one's hostility impulses so as to appear courteous and agreeable.

For the Okiek, however, this control is an over-control. In response to high anxiety from frustrating experiences, such as oral socialization, aggression socialization comes early and, to be effective, requires strong personal controls over one's impulses. This control over one's emotional tension appears to generalize to other emotions because Okiek adults in all areas of emotional expression can only be described as "controlled." These controls do break down, however, at certain ceremonies, in the heat of hunting, at drinking parties, and in disagreements. Impulsivity, especially with women, breaks through normally intact controls, and shouting, crying, or fighting results. Outbursts of these types are very stressful to the Okiek. Others present try to quiet, cover up, and rationalize away ("They do not mean it, they are drunk") the expressed anger. The Okiek are well aware of the importance of controlling emotions--shouting leads to fighting, and killing and, until recently, killing was a prelude to lineage feuds in which all ages and sexes were killed. For the same reason, controls were necessary to avoid incidents with neighboring tribes. Hence the passive withdraw stance the Okiek take toward the Maasai.

Unexpressed hostility is frustrating. Denying themselves direct expression of hostility, the Okiek sublimate in a number of ways, but especially in hunting and in drinking. The cathartic experience of hunting is obvious. Not so obvious, but more important as it involves all adults, is the role of drinking in assuaging

hostility. Studies of alcoholics in the United States have shown a pervasive tendency for alcoholics to have a high degree of hostility which, because of personal experience and training, they feel unable to direct outward. Rather, alcohol becomes an instrument for directing their hostility outward and inward as self-punishment. Hostility in part is dissipated in personal fantasies stimulated by drinking. Hostility also has a more direct way of causing self-punishment. By drinking, the alcoholic lowers his productivity and the consequent feeling of failure confirms his low self-image, an image he temporarily hides by further drinking.

Thus aggression socialization, by inhibiting the outward expression of hostility, contributes to Okiek fixation on drinking in a way that complements the same result which had already begun as a consequence of oral socialization. This theoretical discussion of alcoholism should not be construed as implying that most Okiek are alcoholics, that is, persons who drink so much that their capacity for fulfilling their usual roles is seriously impaired. On the contrary, most Okiek can drink a lot and still take care of their obligations. On the other hand, Okiek role requirements are simpler and more flexible than the equivalent American roles. I have no doubt that an American who drank as much as the average Okiot would have trouble fulfilling his job requirements, requirements which are set by the performance of a certain amount of productivity in a given time period. The Okiot is self-employed and his hours flexible to fit his inclinations and capacity for work.

The foregoing discussion has attempted to show that in the

areas of highest socialization anxiety, Okiek personality development is closely interrelated with the need for oral gratification and the belief in malevolent intentions of others. The former helps provide the high value on honey and honey wine which, in turn, helps maintain harmonious relations with the latter.

In the ensuing discussion further corroborative data is presented in support of these hypotheses. These data are in the form of Okiek stories and also projective tests administered to a sample of Okiek. The stories and tests make possible an assessment of the range and distribution of relevant (to the above hypotheses) personality characteristics in adult males and females.

Cultural and Psychological Projective Data

Thus far I have presented a description of relevant Okiek childhood experiences and an analysis of those experiences in terms of psychological theory which postulated adult personality traits developing from these particular experiences of oral trauma and strong aggression socialization. In this section are presented projective data, both cultural and psychological, which tend to support the personality traits imputed by the psychological theory.

A preliminary analysis of fifty Okiek stories suggests that oral fixation is an important theme in Okiek life. A second form of cultural data supporting the hypothesis of oral fixation is the fact that Okiek medical concepts usually specify that ailments and their cures are associated with oral ingestion and regurgitation. Finally, results of a psychological projective technique are presented which support the hypothesis that Okiek have a relatively high level of

hostility coupled with a relatively low level of impulsivity or willingness to express hostility directly. In terms of psychological theory this passive-aggressive personality trait is consistent with strong aggression-socialization and a disposition for heavy drinking.

These are all forms of projective data, whether ordinarily defined as aspects of cultural or psychological systems. Projection, in psychological usage, refers to the attribution of traits or motives formerly conceived as belonging to oneself but now ascribed to another. Psychoanalytic usage usually is concerned with projection as a mechanism of defense against anxiety whereby unacceptable impulses or wishes in oneself are "projected" onto others, thus sparing oneself the discomfort of self-admission. In a wider sense projection can include more than just its function as a defense mechanism. Much of what people believe or have learned to believe reflects their personality, their needs and drives, and the frustration they face in trying to satisfy them. Thus I take the position that much of a society's cultural system is a projection of significant parts of most members' personalities (Kardner 1945). This is, of course, a two-way relationship. Culture is learned by each generation and significantly affects the development of personality. Looking either way, it is altogether likely that a society's culture and the personalities of a society's members should reflect each other (they do not exactly and therein lies a discontinuity which is an important source of culture change and personality change). For example, I have argued that the Okiek conception of god (tororo) reflects the physical and psychological needs of the dependent children vis-a-vis their

parents. Also that conceptions of ancestors reflect a sense of obligation which grows out of the dependent care a child receives from his or her parents. In this section Okiek stories and concepts of disease are presented as projective data in support of the hypothesis that the Okiek show a relatively high degree of oral fixation.

Fifty stories were collected during field work. Some are variations of others, while a few are clearly Maasai in origin. Eliminating duplication and Maasai stories, twenty-four compose the sample on which the following analysis is made. First, however, it is useful to present some of these stories. What follows are five stories which are representative of the range and variation of the Okiek stories collected. These are stories told by older persons to boys and girls. They are told on an informal basis, such as at home in the evening after eating. The Okiek are not great story tellers. It is not the sort of thing you find them doing frequently. Actually the average adult may remember only six to ten stories. It is not surprising, therefore, that by the time I had recorded the fiftieth story, most of the new ones were actually versions of those I had previously recorded. It is likely that the sample of twenty-four stories represents the majority known to any of the Okiek in the area in which they were collected. On the other hand, because of the way they are transmitted and because invention of stories seems rare (only one contained reference to a modern development: a shop), it is likely that these stories and the themes they portray have been a part of Okiek culture for a long time. People remember those stories told to them which are most closely tied to their personal needs and drives.

These are the stories which Okiek have remembered best through many generations.

(4) The story of two Maasai morans (warriors) and the Okiot

* There was once an Okiot who went to fetch honey in the forest. When he had gotten the honey and was returning home, he met two Maasai morans. They shouted to him, "Stop where you are Okiot, and pray for your family, for you will die."

The Okiot replied, "Wait, I must eat my honey first; then I will be satisfied and ready to die." He took his honey and began to eat it. "Do you eat honey?" he asked the morans.

They replied, "We eat honey," and they held out their cupped hands to receive some. While they were eating, the Okiot quickly tied up his bag of honey and washed his hands with soil. He then, quick as a flash, grabbed the moran's sword and speared him. The second, seeing what was happening, reached for his sword but it slipped from his sticky hands. The Okiot speared him, too. When they were both dead the Okiot, with his honey, disappeared into the forest.

(9) The Okiek morans and the Giant

A long time ago there were some Okiek morans who had gone to buy a cow from the Maasai. After they bought the cow they started away because they did not want to eat where there were flies. They looked in many places before they found a suitable place where there were no flies. When they had found such a spot, they looked for a place to build a shelter for the people. When they had found such a place, some of them began to skin the cow while others built the shelter. When they had finished they prepared the meat for the fire. While they were eating, a giant came and sat down near them. This giant had two mouths and when they gave him a foreleg he ate it with one mouth and said with the other, "Give me more." The morans feared this giant and could not eat while the giant was eating. When the giant finished the foreleg, he left. Then the morans ate and then slept through the night. The next morning the giant returned. He was given the other foreleg and he ate it. When he finished he said, "I am going now but tomorrow I will come with many."

The morans said to one another, "If he comes tomorrow with many giants they will finish all the meat and then eat us. Let us go away from this place."

Then one moran said, "If we go we must leave the meat behind (the others agreed), so I will stay behind and eat meat while I wait for the giants."

The others then boiled the fat to take with them. The one moran told them: "Give me all your spears and put all your things--meat, spears, water, and pots--up in the tree."

Then they cut the meat up into small pieces and hung the pieces high up on a rope. Then they went. Animals tried to jump for the meat but could not reach it. After all the others had gone, taking the fat with them, this one moran climbed the tree.

In the morning the giant returned, leading his children. When he reached the spot where the morans had been, he saw that they were all gone, and he said to himself, "I could have eaten them all yesterday but now they are gone."

The moran, hearing this, called down to the giant, "I am still here." Now the giant was pleased. The moran added, "First, giant, eat the meat hanging in the tree. Then you can eat me."

So the giant began to eat with all his eight heads. When he was satisfied he decided to rest and he told his children to jump for the meat. First one tried and the moran shot him dead with a spear. The giant, seeing this, said, "Ah! Now there will be more meat for me!" Then another jumped and was also killed with a spear. The big giant, seeing this, said, "My meat has again multiplied!" Each smaller giant tried and was killed by the spear until even the smallest was dead. The giant then said, "There will be much meat for me today."

And he began to jump for the meat himself. First the Okiot shot off one of the giant's heads, and as the giant continued to jump for the meat, the Okiot continued to shoot his heads off until they were all gone. Then he shot the giant through the heart and the giant died. The Okiot waited in the tree until the Maribou stork came and took out the giant's eyes. Then he came down from the tree with all of his things. Then he gathered firewood and made a big fire. All the giant animals he threw on the fire. When he had finished this he gathered all the things and started home.

When he reached home, all the people came to him and said, "You have returned! You were not killed!"

"Yes," he said, "the giants came and I killed all of them with our spears. Then I made a big fire and burned them. Now I have returned home."

(11) The Okiot who cut the rope that brought the cows

Long ago the Okiek herded cows. There was an Okiot who looked after cows every day. One day many other people came while it was raining. He wanted to go to the forest but couldn't as he was looking after the cows. One day the silipuet trees flowered and produced a lot of honey. Another day he became annoyed and cut the leather rope (that let the cows down from heaven). The rope went up high and disappeared. He did not see where the cows he was looking after had gone. Then he started to go to the forest to look for honey and animals. He went every day to the forest to find honey. He continued to do this until there was no more honey; there were just animals. He survived on animals but sometimes went two days without eating. Meanwhile there were fruits of the forest he could eat, as sometimes he did not get meat of animals. One day he said to himself, "What was wrong with me that I cut that rope? I could have been rich like all the other people; I could have had enough for when the bees are not making honey."

(13) How Kipingot killed himself

Long ago there was a person whose name was Kipingot. He usually killed animals and found honey in the forest. He usually went with the people every day to the forest. Then another day there was no more honey and the people became hungry. It was only the animals they could live on. He went sometimes to kill animals and sometimes he didn't kill any. One day he went two days without killing an animal. The third day he killed a rhino. He was alone. After he skinned it out he made a fire and cooked the meat until it was ready to eat. After it was ready he placed it beside the fire on a stick to cool. He put his sword down and told his hungry stomach, "You eat this meat yourself because I won't hold it for you." His stomach didn't take it because it was always fed by his hands. He asked his stomach why it didn't eat the meat. He himself was very hungry, so he picked up his sword in anger and cut open the stomach saying, "You are the cause of my problems!" He didn't die. He stood up then and went home.

After he reached home he was asked what happened. He told the people, "I am the one who cut myself because after I killed a rhino and cooked the meat I told my stomach to eat but it didn't so then I cut it open. Then I came home." He told the people where he killed the rhino and they went to bring the meat. He himself slept. In the morning he died. That is how Kipingot came to kill himself.

(40) The story of the child and the grandmother

There was a grandmother of a child who lived in another place. The parents of the child said to him, "Go and see your grandmother."

When the child reached there the grandmother told the child, "Get in here (a bag) and hide yourself so as not to be eaten by the giant. I am going for firewood; then I will come back."

When he got into the big house-bag he found some fingers of people there. He saw them and when he saw them he said to himself, "Grandmother is eating people!" He cut the bag open and got out. He climbed up a tree. He had his quiver and arrows.

When the grandmother came back and called him, the lowisto in the bag answered (lowisto is a hollow tree nut used for divination). So the grandmother answered, "Stay until I come." She thought the child was answering, but it was lowisto. The grandmother went and prepared but when she came to eat, no child was in the house-bag. She said, "Oh! Where is my nice, fat meat?"

She went off and ate her body sores. She saw the child's shadow under the tree. She looked up and said, "Ah, this is the child, up in the tree." And she said to him, "Child, my grandchild, come down now."

The child replied, "I can't come down because I heard you say, 'I could eat you' that time."

When the child refused to come down, she went and got an ax to fell the tree. When he saw his grandmother cutting the tree he shot her with arrows until she went and died. Then a bird came and took out her eyes. That child came down and went away.

In these stories and in seventeen of the twenty-four stories in the sample, what is striking is the primary emphasis placed on food, hunger, and eating. Repeatedly the theme stressed is the divisive consequences of personal hunger. The extreme is cannibalism, the most threatening expression of the desire to eat. Even in moderation, as these stories portray, the desire to eat and be satisfied can result in distraction, lack of caution, and the consequent loss of

life or property. In some cases the latter theme works for the protagonist (he escapes the Maasai) and in other stories it works against him (he loses his cows). Seventy-five per cent of all stories stress oral needs, and of these stories, seventy per cent have outcomes determined by the consequences of these needs.

Stories from both the Kipchorwonek and the Kaplelach are essentially the same and both emphasize this oral theme equally. The Kipchorwonek, because of their cultivation and animal husbandry in addition to hunting and gathering, have not experienced chronic food shortages in the last two or three generations, as have the Kaplelach. Yet the Kipchorwonek stories have the same emphasis on oral needs as do the Kaplelach. It is therefore suggested that the undue anxiety over going hungry (expressed in stories and in everyday life especially) is more directly influenced by an oral fixation arising from the trauma of severe oral socialization. The feeling of going hungry, if not the fact, is reinforced by the periodicity of honey seasons in which all Okiek go "honey hungry" during certain months of the year. Frequently in conversation an Okiot will say, "There is hungriness at such and such a place," but really meaning that all that is lacking there is honey, even though meat may be plentiful. Thus the prevalence of this theme in stories is not dependent on actual experiences of hunger, but on anxiety about hunger.

Okiek theories of medical therapy also reflect an oral fixation. Like stories, their native theories are projective systems which reflect the personalities of the culture bearers. Whiting and Child (1953:121) cogently state the case this way:

Our supposition is that those customs which survive continual change, or emerge from it, will tend to be those that are best learned or most often created because they resemble the fantasies to which the members of a society would individually be led by the personality characteristics they have in common. It is to the extent that these customary responses to illness do represent uniformities resulting from common experience, that we may hope to make use of them as indices of personality characteristics of members of a society.

The Okiek have a number of natural medicines which they employ for all types of internal disorders. Significantly the vast majority are administered orally with the desired result being to cause the patient to vomit up the "cause" of sickness. Despite the fact that the illness may be in the muscular tissues, lungs, lower intestine, or parts other than the upper alimentary tract, the Okiek affirm that the locus of infection is in the stomach and must be regurgitated. It is little wonder that they have adapted easily to modern medicines which are orally ingested. It would appear that Okiek theories about medical diagnosis and therapy support the hypothesis of oral fixation because they reflect more closely beliefs related to oral anxiety rather than the actual cause and location of an illness.

The second hypothesis, that the Okiek have a relatively high level of hostility but because of effective aggression socialization do not usually display this hostility, is tested by means of a psychological projective technique amenable to measuring hostility, impulsivity, and ego organization--the principal personality traits related to this hypothesis.

This part of the section presents psychological data based on a projective technique administered to a sample of adult Okiek, and then relates this data to personality traits which were hypothesized

as resulting from Okiek childhood training experiences discussed in the second section. These psychological data are then discussed in terms of their functional relationship to social behavior and cultural beliefs, that is, the capacity of these personality dispositions to fulfill motivational requirements for maintaining prescribed social behavior and cultural beliefs.

Projection, in psychological usage, refers to the attribution of traits or motives which in reality are part of oneself but are now ascribed to another. Psychoanalytic usage usually is concerned with projection as a mechanism of defense against anxiety whereby unacceptable impulses or wishes in oneself are "projected" onto others, thus sparing oneself the discomfort of self-admission.

Projective techniques are based on the same theory: that an individual will project his own personality traits into the test stimuli, be it an ink blot, an interaction setting, a human figure, or an incomplete sentence. Thus in a TAT picture of some individual the subject is asked to make up a story about what is going on. His responses are projections of his own motives and traits.

Projective techniques offer a comparatively quick and efficient method for getting at certain personality traits. They have some disadvantages as well, as discussed elsewhere (Kaplan 1961). Briefly, each type poses certain problems for anthropologists, either because the content is culture bound (such as a TAT), administration in the field is difficult, subject responses are fragmentary or irrelevant, or interpretation is specialized and difficult or inaccurate.

Anthropologists have made use of the Rorschach and TAT especially, but

also the Stewart Emotional Response Test, Sentence Completion, and some others.

In field work among the Okiek I did not employ the Rorschach because of serious problems with interpretation and validity which other researchers have discovered (Kaplan 1961). The TAT was not used as I had no pictures which were congruent with Okiek life. Rather, I experimented with another technique which heretofore, to my knowledge, has not been used by anthropologists. This is the Figure Drawing Test. Material from this technique can give information relating to such factors as the subject's level of psychiatric disturbance, self-concept, anxiety, impulsivity, sexual identification, attention to details, relationship to people, alertness to immediate stimuli, ego and superego organization, hostility, and passivity. Most of these personality attributes affect a person's motivation and ability to function in social roles, and, therefore, are relevant to a central theme in this thesis.

The test is easily administered. The subject is asked to draw a person on paper with a pencil and, on completion of that figure, he or she is asked to draw a person of the opposite sex from the first figure. A series of questions about the figures follow, beginning with a TAT-like question about what is going on in the picture. These questions deal mostly with affective responses, such as "What does this person fear?" or "What would make this person happy?" and help to give added depth to the data derived from interpretation of the figures themselves.

As to the validity of figure interpretations, Shaffer

(1953:223) points out: "There can be little question of the merit of the projective theory on which the test is based, that the human figure drawn by an individual...related intimately to the impulses, anxieties, conflicts and compensation characteristics of that individual...." Interpretation of figure drawings is a specialized area of training which few psychologists have. I have been fortunate to have had the interpretive help of Dr. William Appell¹, a psychologist who has made extensive use of this test in clinical diagnostics.

Projective tests, including the Figure Drawing Test, the Bender Gestalt Test for brain damage, the Stewart Emotional Response Test, were administered to Okiek individuals on a random basis; that is, as opportunities for giving the tests arose they were administered to whoever was available and not to a preselected random sample from a known population. The total number of tests in both the Kapelach and Kipchorwonek Okiek groups was over a hundred, ranging in age from 6 to about 75 in both sexes. From this total two samples were drawn so as to consist of ten men and ten women from each group. The purpose of having a sample by group and one by sex was 1) to see if there is a tendency for Okiek to have a common set of personality attributes, 2) to see if women and men have significant differences, and 3) to see if there is significant variation between the two Okiek groups. Children, that is girls and boys under the ages of about sixteen and eighteen respectively who have not been initiated, were excluded from these samples so as to eliminate maturational factors in personality which would complicate understanding Okiek personality attributes.

¹Dr. Appell is Deputy Director of the Columbia County Mental Health Clinic, Hudson, N. Y.

Okiek receptivity to the tests was very good from the start. They liked expressing themselves, especially with a pencil, which most had never used before. Compared to adjacent tribes, the Okiek do more graphic representations on such items as pots and calabashes and this apparent interest carried over to the figure drawings. Occasional reluctance to draw was almost always a result of feeling unable to do a "good" drawing. Encouragement by way of saying the quality of the drawing was not the important thing was usually enough to insure participation. Interestingly, no one ever asked why we wanted this specific information; there was no apparent suspiciousness of distrust. The psychological implications of the figure drawings were not explained.

Certain types of psychological material were expressed by the Okiek in their figure drawings. For each type of personality attribute a score was given to each individual based on a 1 to 5 scale. The ratings were done by Dr. Appell without prior knowledge of the subjects or their way of life. Scoring on a variable, such as "level of anxiety," ranged from a 1 or 2 for a low level of anxiety, to 3 for moderate level, and 4 or 5 for a high or very high level of anxiety. Tabulations of individual scores showed that there was a definite tendency for males or females of both groups to "cluster" in their ratings in certain variables. Thus, in the variable "attention to details," women and men scored as follows:

	Ratings				
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
women	5	5	7	3	0
men	2	5	1	2	10

Women tend to be low and men high. For the present purposes this type of data is simplified in the table below to show the average scores in each category. In the above variable the averages are 2.4 for women and 3.2 for men. With these variables it is useful to present separate averages for both sex and Okiek group affiliation as significant differences can be shown for each category.

Two variables were scored in a manner different from the others. Sexual identity in the figure drawings can only be judged as either good or poor without finer discriminations on a 1 to 5-scale. For this variable, therefore, a fraction is given, such as 6/4, indicating 6 individuals scored "good" and 4 individuals scored "poor." Degree of brain damage, as measured by the Bender Gestalt Test, is rated on a binary scale of either "none" or "moderate to high" and the fractions presented reflect this ratio.

From these figures a number of conclusions can be drawn for the variables with respect to sex and/or group differences. Differences between groups are not significant. This conclusion, in fact, holds true for all 11 variables with the possible exception of brain damage. What differences appear to exist between the groups, as listed in the first two columns, when broken down by sex, prove to be a product of sex differences. This is of considerable importance. It lends support to the idea that despite differences in degree between the two groups in past history and present subsistence adaptation, they both retain similar personality patterns, at least in the variables studied.

If there is a group difference it appears to exist in the

Table 1

Figure Drawing Test Ratings

	<u>Ki</u>	<u>Ka</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>KiF</u>	<u>KiM</u>	<u>KaF</u>	<u>KaM</u>
Relationship to people	3.1	2.8	2.5	3.5	2.7	3.5	2.2	3.4
Level of anxiety	3.5	3.1	3.2	3.5	3.4	3.6	2.9	3.3
Level of impulsivity	2.8	2.5	3.1	2.2	3.1	2.5	3.0	1.9
Attention to details	2.1	3.0	2.4	3.2	1.9	3.3	2.9	3.0
Alertness to immediate stimuli	2.1	2.7	1.8	3.0	1.0	3.1	2.5	2.9
Ego organization	3.4	3.0	2.7	3.7	2.9	3.8	2.4	3.5
Superego organization	2.3	2.6	2.0	3.0	1.9	2.7	2.0	3.2
Degree of hostility	3.1	3.2	2.6	3.7	2.2	3.9	2.9	3.5
Degree of passivity	2.5	2.6	3.1	1.9	3.1	1.8	3.1	2.0
Sexual identification	14/6	12/8	10/10	16/4	7/3	7/3	3/4	9/1
Degree of brain damage	15/5	8/12	8/12	15/5	6/4	9/1	2/8	6/4

Ki = Kipchornwonek Okiek group

Ka = Kaplelach Okiek group

F = females

M = males

variable of brain damage which, unlike all others, is not a personality variable per se. Kaplelach men and women have ratings of greater brain damage than their Kipchornwonek counterparts. Brain damage may be caused by a wide range of factors such as pre- and post-natal diet, birth or subsequent injury, and alcoholism. The Kaplelach have a more unsure subsistence base (though not subject to starvation), and they drink more than do the Kipchornwonek. Kaplelach women especially drink more than Kipchornwonek women.

These ratings suggest that there are no significant differences between males in either group while between females of each group there are clear differences. Kaplelach women have higher brain damage and poorer sexual identification compared to Kipchornwonek women, who are themselves relatively low in attention to details, alertness to immediate stimuli, superego organization, and degree of hostility.

With respect to the hypotheses presented in the prior sections of this chapter, three personality variables measured by the Figure Drawing Test are especially relevant, though virtually all variables can be related in some manner to this thesis. To recapitulate, the average ratings for the three variables are listed again:

	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Level of hostility	2.6	3.7
Level of impulsivity	3.1	2.2
Level of ego organization	2.7	3.7

The range of average ratings for all categories was 1.8 for the lowest to 3.8 for the highest. Thus, while a rating of 3.7 for "level of hostility" for men appears only moderate compared to a potential of 5, it actually is quite high compared to ratings in all

variables, second only to 3.8. Likewise a rating of 2.2 for "level of impulsivity" for males is low compared to ratings in all variables where the lowest is 1.8. The tentative conclusions based on these ratings are that men have moderately high levels of hostility but that this hostility is fairly well controlled by a low tendency for impulsive outbursts of aggression. The low impulsivity ratings reflect their relatively high level of ego organization. These ratings reflect accurately observations of Okiek conduct in the field.

These ratings support the hypothesis presented above which was based on anticipated adult personality characteristics as outgrowths of specific childhood socialization experiences. Strong aggression socialization, it was argued, is associated with 1) fear of others (of which hostility, in psychoanalytic theory, is but the outward expression of a defense against this fear); and 2) fear of expressing hostility. The combinations of both syndromes in a personality is clinically known as a "passive-aggressive" personality type, that is, a person who may have a high degree of hostility but who feels compelled to express it only covertly. This personality type has a more difficult time coping with adversity since its range of responses are circumscribed by inhibitions against confrontation. The discussion of how the Okiek relate to the more powerful Maasai (Chapter 3) illustrates the fact that this personality type copes with human adversity often inadequately by avoiding direct confrontation in favor of retreat and deviousness ("cleverness" as the Okiek put it). This type of defensive reaction to confrontation works well only as long as there are deeper forests to retreat to, an option the Okiek will soon find is no longer open to them.

A diminished ability displayed by the Okiek in confronting problems has been associated with personality characteristics common to alcoholics (Levine 1955:690). Likewise it has been shown (Nayratil * 1959:516) that alcoholics tend to have oral and passive-dependent drives which are assuaged by drinking. I have argued for a similar oral anxiety among the Okiek derived in part from a disruption in the mother-child relationship, a disruption that has been found to be a consistent causal factor with alcoholics (Knight, in Zwerling and Rosenbaum 1959:627).

With respect to the figure-drawing ratings, an apparent inconsistency would appear to exist from the difference in ratings for women compared to men. Women have a weaker ego organization and, therefore, it is not surprising to observe that they have a higher rating for impulsivity. On the other hand, they have less hostility (2.6 compared to 3.7 for males) to vent impulsively. Passive-aggressive components of the personality are less obvious among Okiek women, and this is congruent with the observation that Okiek women drink less than Okiek men in either group. This apparent inconsistency between the sexes, therefore, does support the hypothesis.

Related Literature

At least three anthropological sources are relevant to the specific psychological hypotheses presented in this chapter to account for the Okiek emphasis on oral concerns generally and drinking in particular. Horton (1943), in a classic study, dealt with the psychological and social functions of alcohol in primitive societies. Holmberg's (1950) monograph on the hunting and gathering Siriono

discussed the psychological, social, and cultural consequences of hunger anxiety. Field (1962) has more recently treated drinking behavior in cross-cultural perspective using methods similar to Horton.

* Each of these studies are relevant to the foregoing psychological hypotheses and are discussed in this context below.

Horton (1943:294) concludes that cross-culturally there is significant support for the theorem that "Insobriety varies directly with anxiety as measured indirectly in terms of the anxiety-provoking conditions of subsistence insecurity and acculturation." When the societies in his sample were grouped together on the basis of similarities in systems of interrelated variables, Horton found three distinctive patterns of drinking behavior related to specific constellations of social behavior and cultural beliefs. One of these patterns aptly describes the Okiek (p. 297):

The second pattern is marked by high subsistence anxiety, but an absence of sorcery, or the belief in sorcery is relatively unimportant. Insobriety is invariably excessive but is accompanied by only moderate aggression in most cases. The anxiety motive is too strong to be countered by sexual anxieties.... Drinking can be unrestrained and aggression does not become excessive. There are, however, in several societies, ritual and practical precautions, and provision is made for the care of drunken men.

Horton believes that subsistence uncertainty has a sufficient effect on personality to create a degree of anxiety which accounts for the motivation for heavy drinking. His primary concern was to test the hypothesis that anxiety in general is related to alcoholism.

There is no question that this hypothesis has been supported by subsequent research and is now considered a basic assumption. The use of subsistence uncertainty as an objective index of anxiety is plausible.

Horton assumes (p. 263), however, "...the more primitive a society's

food-getting techniques, the greater the danger of food shortage, the more difficult the conditions of life generally. Under such conditions anxiety should be high." Hunting and gathering societies, therefore, are scored as high in subsistence uncertainty and, hence, high in anxiety. Recent studies (Lee and DeVore 1968; Dumas 1969) convincingly demonstrate that this time-honored generalization about hunters and gatherers is inaccurate in most cases, that generally they do not lack for food. Horton's correlation between hunger anxiety and drinking may be inaccurate. This thesis, on the other hand, argues that the primary anxiety associated with heavy drinking is related to childhood socialization experiences and only secondarily to hunger anxiety. It is informative to note that Horton cites Bunzel's (1940) comparative study of two Mexican Indian communities in which she describes one community as having an overall pattern similar to Horton's second pattern, a pattern which I have identified as similar to that of the Okiak. Bunzel's explanation for this community's drinking pattern is paraphrased by Horton (p. 302) as follows:

...she interprets the character of Chamila drunkenness as manifesting a regression to the warmth and helplessness of infancy. Due to conditions of character formation in Chamila, its people are unable to cope successfully with the responsibilities of adult life. Their culture offers them no adequate substitute for the lost gratification of infancy.

This conclusion is essentially the same as the hypothesis presented in this thesis concerning the ontology of oral anxiety.

Holmberg's description of the Siriono (1950) is a good test for the hunger vs. socialization origin of oral anxiety. The Siriono are an extreme example of a society living with persistent hunger.

The drive of hunger is so constantly frustrating as to have become the dominant motivating force in shaping habit and custom. (p. 93)

The nursing infant is almost never deprived of food; whenever he cries his mother offers him the breast. He is greatly loved. He is exposed to almost no punishment... he can express aggression freely; he is not forced to work or talk early; weaning is not a traumatic experience... After weaning, however, conditions change, and somewhat abruptly... his food supply becomes uncertain, he begins to feel his first serious hunger pangs. (p. 95)

...to survive he must be aggressive, individualistic, and uncooperative. These are the outstanding personality traits of the adult Siriono. (p. 98)

These brief quotations summarize Holmberg's conclusions.

Compared to the Okiek, the Siriono differ in several significant respects. Although the Okiek express hunger anxiety, it is more for imagined reasons than real and it is usually related to the lack of honey and not to the lack of all food, as with the Siriono.

Secondly, the Siriono differ from the Okiek in child socialization in two important ways: the Siriono children experience little oral trauma and aggression socialization. The Okiek experience the opposite. Thirdly, the outstanding Siriono adult personality characteristics tend to differ from those of the Okiek. The Okiek stress non-aggression, interpersonal ties, and cooperation. Finally, the Siriono do not compare in any way in respect to the emphasis on drinking found among the Okiek.

Holmberg concludes his discussion with a list of seventeen characteristics which he suggests would be common to any society with "high hunger problems" such as the Siriono. By these criteria the Okiek could not be classified as a "high hunger problem" society. Though the Okiek I studied on the Mau are occasionally low on food,

they have not experienced real starvation for a century. Expressions about food supply more frequently indicate concern about just the supply of honey. Those who express this "hunger" anxiety are adults, *the very persons who consume most of their honey in the form of wine. The lack of a primary hunger anxiety helps to explain the non-elaboration of meat as a cultural symbol, and to some degree the relatively small role fat plays in Okiek culture compared to honey. Hunger, however, is a primary drive and is expressed symbolically by all cultures in accordance with each culture's particular patterns. With the Okiek, honey is an important symbol expressing this drive but because of the coincidence that honey can be an alcoholic drink which satisfies very strong motivations, its symbolic significance as both food and drink is heightened, each drive contributing to the significance of the other.

Field (1962) presents "A new cross-cultural study of drunkenness" in which he trades scientific induction for deductive guessing, which is to say, instead of proposing hypotheses and then testing them by correlations between indices of drunkenness and the hypothesized variables, he presents the reader with a number of correlations which he has found to be significant and then proceeds to "invent" explanations for their occurrence, and does this without regard to a systematic theory. He finds that "strong insobriety," that is, drinking to unconsciousness, drinking for hours or days, or getting excessively drunk, is correlated most closely to hunting and gathering societies, but also significantly to every other type of subsistence except pure animal husbandry. He presents a number of social organization variables which significantly correlate to drunkenness or

sobriety. Thus insobriety is associated with patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, clan-communities, bride-price payments, and complex villages and towns. Conversely, drunkenness is associated with "informally structured" social systems, such as those which have bilateral kin groups, bilocal, neo-local, or uxori-patrilocal marital residence, and sibs and lineages. He concludes that "...kin group and residence factors may be important causal elements... [in degree of drunkenness]" (p. 65). His four possible explanations do not explain why certain tribes drink a lot but how other tribes may be kept from drinking by authority roles: "To summarize, drunkenness increases markedly if the authority of the man in the household is lessened or diffused, and if the nuclear family is less integrated into larger kin structures through bilocal or neo-local residence" (p. 60-61).

Field's argument is inconsistent. He first suggests structural causes for individual behavior, a position that anthropologists have, or ought to have, avoided since the excesses of structural-functionalism. Secondly, his intention is to explain why certain tribes drink to excess and others don't, yet his explanations are all negative--explaining only what may prevent excessive drinking in some types of tribes. On the other hand, significant correlations are presented and, ostensibly, they reflect causal relationships between drunkenness, sobriety, and antecedent variables. Horton proposed psychological hypotheses, and indeed Field cites many psychological studies relating drinking to personality variables. He tests these psychological theories and finds little which significantly correlates to his index of drunkenness. Thus he finds no support for the interrelated variables of paranoid fears, hostility, latent homosexuality, and oral

fixations with alcoholism, which he himself cites from the psychological literature, literature based on psychoanalytic theory and clinical studies.

* Field does cite the contrast between such "father-centered ethnic groups" as the Jews and Chinese, who have low rates of alcoholism and, on the other hand, the Irish, who have a high rate of alcoholism. Bales (1946) and Opler and Singer (1956) account for the Irish alcoholism in terms of a close mother-son dependency, noting that the fathers tend to be "shadowy and evanescent" (Opler and Singer 1956). This suggests that what may appear to Field to be a structural relationship to alcoholism actually masks a psychogenic motivation for drinking based on a child's relationship to his parents.

Conclusion

In this chapter it was suggested that to the individual Okiek honey is both an object of orientation and a cathected part of his personality. It is an object of orientation in the sense that Okiek cultural values emphasize the "goodness" of honey as a food, commodity, and as a vehicle of social and supernatural communication. These aspects of honey are dealt with more extensively in Chapters 5 and 6. In this chapter, however, the emphasis has been on the cathectic mode of honey. First, evidence was presented describing the manner in which a child learns about honey, and under what circumstances the values placed on honey become internalized in the individual's psyche. A child experiences honey as a pleasant pacifier of any number of frustrations, hunger being only one. These individual experiences carry over to adult life and this process of internalization is

reinforced by the positive cultural values placed on honey. This evidence alone may account for the positive value placed on honey by the Okiek, and to some extent by other neighboring tribes. It has been argued, however, that there are unconscious processes which affect Okiek motivation and which may help to account for the unusually great preoccupation this tribe has with honey. These unconscious processes, it has been argued, have their origin in early childhood experience. Because of some subsistence requirements, some cultural beliefs about health and child development, and some necessities related to social control and inter-tribal relations, the Okiek have found it expedient to train their young children in certain ways. One characteristic of their child-training is abrupt oral socialization after a relatively long period of initial indulgence and dependence. This oral trauma, it has been argued, contributes to a condition of oral fixation. This condition is also reinforced by anticipation of periods of low food supply among the Okiek. There are periods of anxiety, brought on by a low supply of honey, experienced by parents, which is transmitted, by design or not, to the children. Evidence in the form of cultural projective data is presented to support this position. Other sources are cited relating this type of child-training to oral fixation, and this type of fixation with a high alcoholic indulgence.

A second characteristic of Okiek child-training is the strong socialization of aggression. Other studies are cited to show that this type of socialization is associated with 1) the development of a fear of others which may be projected outward (such as the Okiek exaggerated fear of certain kin and ancestors) and 2) a passive-

aggressive personality type (in the case of the Okiek, psychological projective evidence supports this hypothesis) which in other studies has been associated with high alcoholic indulgence.

While these two socialization practices appear to be associated with the emphasis the Okiek place on drinking honey wine, they are especially significant in Okiek social relations. Fear of others does have the effect of inducing greater conformity to norms of respectful conduct between individuals who otherwise might express considerable competition and hostility (such as in-law and parent-child relations). Secondly, strong aggression socialization has the same effect of curbing hostile impulses between potentially hostile relationships with other Okiek groups and also between the Okiek and their more powerful neighbors.

This chapter has been narrow in its focus on hypotheses for the explanation of drinking among the Okiek. In fact, this narrowness is necessary in order to record the wealth of data which support (and sometimes contradict) just these hypotheses. On the other hand, there is a much wider context which must be considered. When an Okiot raises his cup to drink, it is foolish to speak of but one or two "causes" for his motivation, let alone causes emanating out of his earlier childhood. The immediate context itself harbors a wide range of stimuli that affect what a man does or does not do. Likewise his social conscience and cultural attitudes impinge on when and why he may drink. And in the widest sense his personality, the well from which emerges his reasons for doing everything, is formed out of a continual process of experience throughout his life. These are considerations which cannot be ignored, yet on the other hand most are

beyond the purview of this thesis, and therefore can only be mentioned. Within the narrow limits of what I have intended to do, it would be sufficient to show only that the Okiek do show an unusual interest in and consumption of alcoholic beverages. This alone would be enough to help explain the elaboration of honey as a cultural symbol and social instrumentality in Okiek life. I have, however, presented additional data to show the psychological motivations on which this interest in honey is based. The childhood association of honey with maternal care and the satisfaction of hunger might be sufficient to account for honey as a significant food, even a cultural symbol. On the other hand, I argue, its dominant position in Okiek life can only be explained, in terms of motivation, by its function as an alcoholic beverage.

Chapter 5

HONEY IN THE CULTURAL LIFE

Introduction

In this chapter I present data on the meaning of honey in Okiek culture; that is to say, I will describe the Okiek symbolic system whose meanings embody the beliefs, knowledge, ideas, values, and norms which relate to honey. In this chapter only those cultural data are presented which are relevant to understanding the meaning and use of honey and its derivations, honey water and honey wine.

It is instructive at this point to review a conceptual distinction embodied in the theory used in this thesis. The concepts of culture and society are used by many anthropologists interchangeably. It is heuristically useful, however, to distinguish between the two just as both are customarily distinguished from the concepts of personality though in reality all three are embodied in every human action. A cultural system is distinguished from a social system by its mental content as opposed to behavioral content of a social system. A cultural system is a pattern of meanings embodied in symbols which is shared by the members of a society and transmitted by learning through generations. As Geertz (1966:3) states this:

[Culture] is a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.

It is in the context of this definition that honey is treated as a cultural symbol in this chapter, in fact, as the cultural symbol of Okiek life. Honey is also an instrumentality in Okiek social life. The role of honey in Okiek social life-- how it facilitates the relationships among persons acting in different roles-- is the subject of the next chapter.

Obviously some economy must be exercised in presenting these data since the pervasive importance of honey in Okiek life prevents its being fully explained in only one chapter. I have chosen, therefore, to illustrate in detail the kind of meaning honey has in Okiek life rather than present the extent of honey's importance in all spheres of life. This is most clearly and advantageously done by the analysis of certain rites. Rites have the advantage of giving outward and obvious expression to otherwise covert (at least to the ethnographer) beliefs. Rites also reveal, on analysis, relationships among symbols and their meanings, which are not necessarily obvious in secular social life or in an ethnographer's interviews. Thirdly, rites reveal the relative importance of certain values to individuals and the group. Feelings about what is important for a person or a group to be, to believe in, to have, and to do become clearer during rites. Also the relative importance of these values is more convincingly demonstrated by an analysis of rites than by an analysis of every day activities.

The Okiek have a number of rites, most of which are transition rites demarcating social and cultural stages within the continuum of the life cycle. The first rite occurs about the time a child is between age one and two and is called a naming ceremony (Kainet op toroynet op lakwet, literally: name of shaving of child, or the naming of a child at

its first shaving). The next rite takes place when a girl or boy enters puberty, about age twelve. At that time a father or father's brother will cut a hole in the lower part of each ear of the child. This hole is subsequently distended by increasingly larger plugs to create a large looped ear lobe (Tumdo op parbarek op lakwet: ceremony of boring of child). When a girl is about 16 or a boy 16 to 20, they undergo their initiation into adulthood (Tumdo op Tipik or Tumdo op werik: ceremony of boys). Following such a ceremony a girl marries (kotunisie). Before a man marries he participates in the ceremony of becoming an elder, that is, when his age-set is "cut" and promoted to elderhood (about seven years after its initiation) and a new, younger, age-set is formed (Eunotoit op murenik, which is an expression adopted from the Maasai "Eunoto moran," for the promotion of the moran age-set). When a couple has been married for at least six months or a year, a ceremony is held, at which time a wife is granted the right to cook for and eat with her husband who, until that time, relies on his mother (Tanar tahta: sharing, eating food together with wife). Sometimes when a person, especially newly married, establishes a new home and has built a new house, a small rite is held to seek the blessings of god (tororo) on the husband and wife that they may enjoy good health and that things go well for them.

The procreation of one's own child nearly completes the cycle of transition rites among the Okiek. From that time on no ceremonies are specifically held for older people. Death, however, is the most important transition, in terms of the amount of adjustment individuals must make in response to this change in a person's status from the living to the ancestral spirit. When a person feels his time has come, he calls

his children around him (or her) and gives them his blessings if he has been satisfied with the care they have given him in his old age. When he dies his body is removed by his sons and placed in the forest some yards from home where the hyenas will devour the corporal remains if not the spirit (oichu sg., oik pl.), which descends into the ground, the dwelling place of the spirits.

Besides the "house warming" rite, there is one other which is unrelated to transitions in status. This is the peace ceremony (Tumdo op naunisto: roughly: ceremony of sins or retribution). When an Okiot has killed another, or when lineages have been feuding but the loss of life is more than either side wishes to tolerate, the opposing lineages will agree to meet and hold a ceremony to make peace. Naunisto is a concept of supernatural retribution, not related to god or ancestors, which automatically causes death to members of a lineage if one or more members of the lineage have killed some other Okiot, even if generations before, and the peace ceremony has not been held to placate the feared retribution. In this ceremony each side pledges: "We leave the bad things we have done; we cut naunisto."

In the sense that the Okiek mean "tumdo" (ceremony) they say that only the boring of the ears, the initiations, and the peace ceremony are true ceremonies, while the others are lesser events which, correspondingly, are not referred to as "tumdo." The boring of the ears is sometimes not a "tumdo" if it is a small affair without many people and without a lot of liquor. Initiations and, reportedly, the peace ceremony are, socially, big affairs with much drinking, while the other rites have considerably less liquor and fewer guests. The significance of the term "tumdo," then, is in its social magnitude and that, as will

be shown, is largely dependent on the quantity of honey wine anticipated.

Of these ceremonies or events, I witnessed two naming ceremonies, two girls' initiations, two marriages, one elder's blessing of his children, and part of one sharing-of-food ceremony. Boys' initiations take place about every seven years as age-sets are promoted. The next set was due to be formed the year following my stay. The boring of ears ceremony took place probably several times, but I either heard of it too late or was due at another place at that time. The peace ceremony has not been held in several years, but one would probably take place as a result of a recent homicide.

In this chapter I present data on a girls' initiation because the events and symbolism involved show most clearly the relevance of honey to cultural beliefs. It also happens to be the ceremony which I was best acquainted with and which I understood better than the others, in part because I had followed closely its preparation over several months and knew the participants well. The events of the initiation are presented first and an analysis follows.

This initiation took place among the Kaplelach in September 1969, at a camp not far from Narok town. The activities of the ceremony took place over two days, though months were involved in planning it and getting materials. Two girls were initiated, Nasite and Tete, both distantly related members of the same lineage of Kap Nagul. The sequences of activities of cultural importance are described here, while those more associated with social functions are described in Chapter 6.

Early in the morning of the first day the adolescent girls and boys and some morans (men most recently initiated) have gone off four

miles to a place where they can collect saplings of the korosiet tree.

I had slept that night in one of the dozen huts scattered here and there under the trees inside the woods near a long clearing.) During the night bags of honey water have been hung near the house fires, and in the morning the contents have fermented into a mild rotik or honey wine.

Two men set one bag up on the sleeping platform and pour themselves a drink each. The older one pours half his cup over the fireplace stones, mumbling something to his dead father. He then drinks the rest and fills a large calabash with the rotik, obviously pleased with being given so much to drink by the "owner" of the ceremony, Nasite's father.

Outside two women are preparing maize meal to make maiyeuk (beer) with, since not enough honey for rotik had been collected for the ceremony. Nasite's father passes by in front of his wife's hut. Today he is dressed as the "owner" of a ceremony, a blue bead necklace encircling his forehead and a long skin cape draped over his shoulders; he carries a tegat and olerenit stick in one hand and a honey basket full of rotik and with a stopper made of susuek grass in his other hand, all symbols of his present status.

Kulangash comes by with a large bundle of susuek grass which he has gathered in the forest, and he leaves it in Nasite's mother's hut. He is the elder brother of Tete and, since their father died some years before, Kulangash now acts as her father and is "co-owner" of the ceremony of her initiation. On this grass the girls will sit when operated on the next morning. Pianoi, the old man who had poured rotik on the fire hearth stones, comes over and I ask him why he did that. He replied:

It is poured to the dead ancestors, asking them to bless those living. If you have not treated your father or mother

properly when they died [when they were old] then they can cause you trouble, like a child getting sick or bad in the head like Nasite the other day; she fainted, so her father slaughtered a sheep for her to get well. So you can go to the loibon [Maasai witch doctor] and he can tell you why this is. If it is your ancestors who are annoyed, then he says you must brew rotik and give it to the ancestors to make them happy.

Just before eleven in the morning there is a stir of excitement out on the clearing, the children and morans are returning through the forest. The girls' whistles can be heard a long way off. All the women are assembled in the open to greet the "children of kurosiot." They are all decked out in their fanciest clothes and jewelry. Even the old men, in their own way, are dressed for the occasion. Chereret, Nasite's MoFa, has shaved his hair and covered his body with orange powder. The men tend to congregate on the west side of the clearing, the women on the other. At the far end, 100 yards south, the long line of returning boys, girls and morans come singing, and at this time the women near the huts begin their song. A great feeling of expectancy pervades the camp. The line comes up the clearing, each person holding high a kurosiot sapling giving the impression of a moving forest. The line comes in front of the ceremonial hut at the north end of the clearing, which is Nasite's mother's hut, which she had built extra large for use as the place where the two girls will stay in isolation after the ceremony. Twenty feet in front of the hut and to the left of the door is the mabwaita shrine, a bush-like structure about eight feet high, composed of a number of saplings from particular tree and plant species tied together and planted in the ground. All the people join the procession as it winds clockwise around the mabwaita, all singing and moving their kurosiot saplings up and down in step with the song.

This goes on for some minutes; then the procession, now a circle, stops and widens out until it makes a single long circle of individuals shoulder to shoulder. After a long discussion among the owners and elders, the two mothers step forward carrying horns of fat and begin their respective blessing of all those present. Each going in opposite directions, they silently step from one person to the next anointing their foreheads with a dab of fat until all have been anointed by both mothers. Within the circle Nasite and Tete stand together, both holding their own kurosiot saplings. They are dressed, for the first time in their lives, in the fancy leather-and-bead woman's skirts worn by all the adult women at the ceremony. For months they and their mothers have been working on these in preparation for this event.

When the two mothers are finished, some elders, the oldest able-bodied men (chito niyoo: an important person, lit.: person big, as certain animals are niyoo, e.g., big and important such as elephant, rhino and buffalo) who are present step forward and begin their round of the people, blessing them as did the mothers. These men, however, hold honey baskets out of which they spray rotik or honey water (lokomek) by dunking susuek grass into the rotik and flinging the rotik onto all those in the circle. At the same time they chant the blessing "tororo-toret tumi" (god help this ceremony). The Okiek say that they "throw to god (esen tororet), that is, they throw (or splatter, or spit) the rotik or lokomek as a gift from god so that he may bless the ceremony, meaning that he will bless all those present so that they may enjoy good health, long life, and have many children. When the four elders have completed their rounds, the procession around the mabwaita begins again; then finally it breaks up, some taking their saplings with them to their

own hut to be set up on either side of the entrance to "show that there is a ceremony here;" others leave their saplings against the ceremony hut (ko-t-op tumdo). The blessing of the ceremony (piteet op tumdo) is ended. Activities through the afternoon are largely social in significance and are described in Chapter 6.

In the evening the two girls are brought to and seated before the mabwaita, and their mothers prepare to shave their heads. Their jewelry is removed, though they still hold their kurosiot saplings. Teje's mother places a simple wire necklace around her daughter's neck. The Okiek say that this type of necklace, a very old form, is supposed to help a person reach an old age, as contrasted to a wide variety of bead necklaces which are for decoration only. From a honey basket the mothers pour a concoction of honey water and "paek" seed (used in fermenting maize beer just as rotik stems are used in fermenting rotik honey wine) onto the heads of their daughters and then commence to shave all their hair off, including the eyebrows. Shaving the head is a significant part of all transition rites. It signifies the transition from one status to the next.

Later in the night an even less conspicuous event takes place, a "confession" in which the two girls are asked what "sins" (chepkondok) they have committed. No women happen to be present; rather two or three morans and an old man seem to take special interest in asking the girls what they have done wrong. The answers are mostly of the "I didn't get firewood for my mother once when she asked" variety. After this, each moran blesses the girls by rubbing spit (a manner of blessing akin to the elders spraying rotik) and fat (as the mothers had done to the guests) in his hands and then smearing it down the face and chest of each

girl. When the men are done, the women now come over and do the same. As when the mothers blessed all the people, now all the people bless the girls, a personal blessing as distinct from the use of rotik when the blessing is from god, though even in this personal blessing the idea expressed is not only that each individual blesses the girls but that "god will help them" as well. After this a hide is placed below the mabwaita and the two girls are seated and, as before, are fed honey, then retire to the ceremonial hut. At this time inside the hut the age-set of the fathers of these two girls are giving their own blessing; in this case they are anointing the girls with rotik. Dancing and singing by boys and girls, which has been going on all day, continues through the night up until first light.

Early in the morning, before the sun has risen, most people have fallen asleep. Inside the ceremony hut where the women and two girls stay, there is a stir of activity. Two women first come out, take a sapling each, and begin to sing as they proceed around the hut. It is a new song to the men. The women sing: "Girls, it is now morning; whether you fear or are brave, it is the time now." Women from all around begin to gather near the mabwaita; the few men there retreat to the other side of the clearing as this is now the women's place. It is now quite light, but cold as the sun is hidden in low clouds. The woman who is to perform the operation comes out of the hut, setting aside the skin which covered the door. She is ready. The two mothers stand nearby, each holding a number of olerenit leaves. All other girls are told to leave, as they "are not to see girls cut." The women tell the men to go, but some refuse, while others prefer to leave for personal reasons. There is no jural rule against men's presence, but most men are reluctant to

view the operation on a girl's private areas. Nasite's mother's mother beats on the hide door for a minute; inside whistles are blowing and finally they come out, an older woman, first, waving olerenit leaves, then Nasite and Tete, blowing whistles in time to their slow dance and waving fly whisks up and down as they slowly proceed around the mabwaita twice. A second woman follows. At the end of the second cycle the girls are seated in front of the mabwaita, one woman behind each girl to hold her around the chest so she does not move in pain. Two women operate; one is Tete's mother. They kneel before their respective girl and begin, while all the women crowd around to see. The clitoris and labia minora are removed with sharp knives. It is crucial that the girls be brave, that they do not cry. One woman, in anguish, throws herself to the ground as the girls are cut. Shortly, however, the operation is over. Some of the women grab saplings and trot down the clearing and back, wailing in triumph for the bravery of the girls, because they have not cried out. The operators pour honey water over the vagina to wash away the blood, to clean the wound, and, they believe, to hasten its mending. Most of the women now parade around the mabwaita singing "we are happy because the girls are brave. . . ." The two girls now stand and sing and dance, gently, in place facing the rising sun. It is cold and blankets are brought and put over the girls as they wear no clothes. Soon the singing stops and the two girls are carried by the women into the hut. Other women carefully scrape up all blood and remains of the operation, to be thrown away in the forest. Inside the girls are fed honey. The girls now begin a seclusion of up to six months, during which time they are kept out of sight of and communication with all adult males, but do live with, and are visited by,

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all others, the uninitiated girls and boys, and the women. They spend most of their time sitting each day in the sun, in a secluded spot in the forest, returning each evening to their hut. Most of the time they occupy themselves with making clothes, beading decorations which they will wear when they "come out." During this time there is a certain amount of motherly advice given each girl concerning what she may expect as a married woman. The "coming out" part of the initiation is a rite similar in ritual and social importance to the initial rite of initiation. In fact, the Okiek conceive of the two rites and the liminal interstice as one long ceremony or tundo. By the end of my field work no "coming out" part of the ceremony had been performed, the girls were still in seclusion; so I report here only on the first part.

Later in the morning after the two girls have been operated on and gone into seclusion, two blessing rites take place involving the two owners of the ceremony. In one, those elders present who are of the same age-set, as Kulangash's deceased father, come to Kulangash. The first elder holds in his hands a honey calabash filled with rotik and stopped with grass. Next to him two other elders hold two five-foot sticks, one of tégat (bamboo) and one olerenit. The first elder incants to Kulangash in Maasai: "god help you and give you a wife, children and health. . .," and the other elders reply "meru kengoi" (god has heard). At this point the two sticks and the honey calabash are handed over to Kulangash. The second elder takes a drink of the rotik and spits this on the two sticks, chanting the same blessing on Kulangash; the others replying as before. This procedure is followed by each elder, the last adding ". . . so that the Maasai, Okiek, and Europeans may like you." Kulangash has now been invested with the most

important articles which represent his status as owner of the ceremony. Olerenit and tegat are both prominent species in the mabwaita, symbolizing strength, perseverance, and the grace of god. They are also important species in Okiek technology. The blessing is in Maasai among the Kapelach, reflecting the fact that Maasai have similar phrases and symbolism in their blessing procedure. Among the Kipehornwonek, however, the same blessing is said in Kalenjin and varies somewhat in content.

If Kulangash's father were alive he would be the one blessed, but he would be blessed by an older age-set who would be the oldest age-set alive.

Shortly thereafter Sinderr, Nasite's father, is also blessed, this time by the ones who did Kulangash, but also, and principally, by Mailengish, the oldest member of Sinderr's lineage and one age-set older than the other elders. Reflecting the bond of age-mates across tribal lines, a Maasai of Mailengish's age-set commences this rite by presenting the two sticks and a honey basket to Mailengish, who in turn presents them to Sinderr, saying, "god grant to you children to bear [children] night and day. God grant that you reach our age." The other elders present reply "Nai" (roughly: ahmen). In this rite, however, the blessing by spitting is omitted; instead, Sinderr is the one who drinks the rotik from the honey basket. This variation is due to the fact that Nasite is Sinderr's first child to be initiated, while Kulangash initiated another sister two years before and in this initiation it is not his own child who is being initiated. This distinction is also reflected in the use of a glass bead necklace presented to each "owner" by the elders, along with the two sticks and honey basket. Sinderr wears his around his forehead while Kulangash has his draped around his

honey basket, the former in recognition that he has children, the latter that he does not.

Discussion

* The Okiek say that no ceremony can be held without honey. In the case of a girls' initiation honey is used in two, sometimes three forms: honey (komek), honey water (lokomek), and honey wine (rotik); and it is used in three ways: honey itself is used as a food, honey water or honey wine is used as the essential ingredient in ritual relations with the supernatural, and honey wine is used as a liquor in social hospitality. Certain meanings attach to each of these forms of honey, and to each of its uses. The meaning of honey as food has been discussed in the section on Okiek diet and in the previous chapter on personality, and will be discussed further here and in the next chapter on social relations. Honey water is usually important only in ritual contexts, though children sometimes drink it as a beverage. Its significance, as well as that of honey wine previously discussed, will be dealt with in this section.

Literally and figuratively the center of the initiation is the mabwaita shrine. Those rituals which deal with all the persons present and with the initiates themselves are performed around the mabwaita. Lesser rituals, such as the blessing of the owners of the ceremony, the blessing by the age-sets, and blessings upon the girls by individuals, may take place elsewhere. Thus the ceremony opens with the parade of all the people around the mabwaita, singing and carrying kurosiot saplings. The blessing of all those present follows, and this closes with a second parading around the shrine. Later the initiates are

brought before the mabwaita for their shaving and later for their confessions and blessing by everyone. Finally the culmination of this rite includes parading around the mabwaita, the operation beside it, and the final parading.

The mabwaita consists of a number of saplings, plants, and vines, depending on which forest the ceremony is taking place in and thus on the availability of certain species. All of these species are characterized by one particular quality in common--their strength (kiminotet), that is, their ability to withstand certain forces, the most important and dramatic of which, the Okiek say, is to be able to resist the ravages of lightning (ilet). The torokiat tree, for example, despite its extensive and intensive use by the Okiek (they could hardly live in the forest as they do without it) is never found in the mabwaita. It is a tall tree and hence unduly susceptible to lightning (though the Okiek do not believe height is the reason for being struck), but it is also a brittle tree; its wood can be split by hand without even an ax. Thus, when it is struck by lightning it splinters and breaks up more than do other trees. Many other trees when struck by lightning are not so extensively damaged or are not killed. By analogy the Okiek equate strength in trees to strength in individuals, the strength to resist debilities such as disease, deformation, and death. One perceptive elder stating the consensus of Okiek opinion, put it this way:

This pole of the hut, it is the one which makes the hut stand. So mabwaita is the one which makes the children to be like this pole of the hut . . . so the hearts of children will be strong, so children will be strong until they [grow up and] make ceremonies. People [like you] who go to church to pray to god so they can be strong. So Kalenj'in [all

tribes have mabwaita] it is the same way---to pray to god to make us healthy and strong so we can stand like the mabwaita to get children so they [in turn] can make the same ceremony. The ceremony is made so our children's children can have these things and follow the same ideas as their mothers and fathers. . . . All these types of trees [of mabwaita], they are good trees, like when the rain comes they don't break. Torokiat breaks in lightning, Siliquet is not bad but it doesn't last long in the mabwaita. [leaves discolor and drop off].

Certain plants, of course, are not subject to lightning. Their appeal to the Okiek for inclusion in the mabwaita, as above suggested, has to do with another type of strength---the ability to endure like a live plant despite being cut, despite the lack of nourishment. This directly parallels Okiek concern with their ability to survive drought and food deprivation. In cases of some mabwaita vines and trees, the Okiek attribute to them exceptional tensile strength or hardness, and consequently they are used also in many technological articles.

The significance of lightning, however, extends beyond the concept of kiminotet (strength) to its relationship to god. God to the Okiek, is a kind and helpful (despite admitted capriciousness) being, the kind of helpful being an Okior child conceives his father to be. Thus where needs outstrip the ability to directly satisfy them, one asks tororo, as a child would ask his father for this or that, for whatever he is unable to get himself. The kinds of needs Okiek have are largely "benevolent" needs; that is, their satisfaction obtained through god's help does not impinge on the welfare of others. If a man asks god for honey or meat or for good health or rain, none of these would harm another person if they were realized. There is, however, one area in which "help" means help against, rather than for, another and that is in witchcraft, whereby to withdraw the evil of

bewitching may require the death of the witch. A witch who does not admit to nor repent nor withdraw the harmful forces he is accused of unleashing on someone, must be killed so that the victim's prayers can be answered. The Okiek believe that lightning is the vehicle of god's retribution. Witches, they say, are killed by lightning, according to god's will. What lightning does in general, it appears to me, is a reflection of god's will. If certain trees suffer more than others from lightning, the Okiek feel it is because the trees are not favored by god; they are "bad" (ya) trees. On the other hand, trees which are not struck or which suffer less from lightning, the Okiek feel must be favored by god; hence they must be "good" (sino).

Symbolic of this goodness, this strength, therefore, certain species are selected out by the Okiek and put in their mabwaita. The shrine is created in the image of a tree, partaking of all the qualities of the best species. The Okiek very specifically identify themselves with mabwaita, not only for its strength but for its tree-like form, that "stands" as a person stands.

Unlike many other societies, the Okiek do not impute supernatural significance to the strength of the big animals they are so closely involved with. The bear ceremonial complex of northern Eurasia and North America is an interesting contrast to the lack of elaboration of animal qualities in Okiek culture. This is especially significant because traditionally the Okiek have been dependent on animal products for the subsistence to a degree rarely equaled by other hunting and gathering tribes. What it may reflect is the fact that the Okiek, largely because of their honey technology, are intimately concerned

with all species of the forest per se, not just with food-bearing plants, or the animals that live in the forest. All kinds of trees and plants are symbolically important to the Okiek, perhaps more so than with most tribes. Trees and plants are the sources of nectar for honey, they provide the places of storage of the honey, and they are the technological base for extracting and using honey. In this sense, I believe, the mabwaita may reflect, though perhaps not generate from, Okiek concern with honey.

Below the shrine the ancestors are believed to dwell in the earth, and in fact honey wine is poured at the foot of the mabwaita by individuals in the same manner as pouring it on hearthstones. Thus, spatially, mabwaita relates the supernatural forces in a vertical juxtaposition: god above in the sky, the ancestors below in the earth. In the middle the mabwaita signifies the living who are born by the grace of god ("may god grant you children") and who die (sometimes at the hand of ancestors) and descend as spirits into the earth. The strength, durability, and luck of the living is the gift of god and contrasts to the (frequently) opposing forces of ancestral annoyance which cause sickness, weakness, deformity, insanity, and bad luck. The Okiek pray for god's blessings through the vehicle of honey water or wine and also placate their ancestors by giving them honey wine. The health and longevity the Okiek pray for through offerings of honey water or wine is, of course, expressed more directly through the use of honey as food, which (like fat) is considered by the Okiek to be the best food for acquiring strength and health. The use of honey in supernatural relations reflects Okiek conceptions of honey as the highest symbol of

gratitude and hospitality. This derives most directly from honey's ability to be transmuted into an alcoholic drink, and less so from its professed nutritional value. When a man wishes to please an elder in the best way, he gives honey wine, not honey. When he wishes to please a young person or a child, he gives honey. God and the ancestors are more closely identified as projections of a person's relationship to his elders, and, therefore, the significance of honey in supernatural relations is more closely associated with honey wine than honey.

If the role of honey and honey wine is closely correlated with physiological and social matters (ancestral relations are actually an extension of living social relations), the role of honey water is less definite. This liquid partakes of the attributes of honey and honey wine but it is really neither. It is honey with water, like honey wine but without the alcohol. It is sugar-like honey but without its consistency. It differs from honey in form, but from honey wine in quality. Linguistically, it (lokomek) is like honey (komek) but only, perhaps, because honey wine happens to be named after the stem which is used as the fermenting agent (rotik). Lokomek partakes of some of the medicinal qualities of honey (cleansing the wound of the initiates), while being a beverage (especially for the uninitiated who are denied wine) in the same way as honey-wine. This "between" quality is appropriately reflected in its "between" use: god's blessing is an intermediary force between the Okiek's own efforts to maintain their physical selves and the ancestors' and physical world's tendency to hurt them. The apparent contradiction between a projective parent's (god) desire to help and perpetuate his children and a dead parent's apparent tendency to hurt his children indicates a dichotomous

opposition between a concept of a good parent (god) and a bad parent (ancestors). Significantly, the good "parent" (god) can be taken for granted in the one area in which the bad parent cannot: providing oral gratification. God will help you without regard to offerings or thanks, but ancestors will hurt you if there isn't sufficient regard for offerings or thanks, in the form of honey wine (they also may cause harm to those who do not uphold other norms of kinship behavior). God is to all the Okiek as a nurturing father should be to his dependent children, while ancestors are to their children as the dependent aged are to their, hopefully, nurturing children. The two systems complement each other by reflecting the major problem of the life cycle: how adequately can the adult Okiot satisfy the dependent needs of both his children and his dependent parents as well as his own needs? The latent conflict between grandparents and grandchildren (latent, as the Okiek maintain that the relationship is always close and friendly, despite my observations that they are not always that way) appears in projective material, such as the often told tale of a grandmother who tries to eat her grandchild and must be killed by the intermediate generation. Since grandchild and grandparent are both dependent on the intermediate generation, which must also satisfy its own needs even when food is short, it is not surprising to find that Okiek stories in general are mostly about children eating parents (or parent surrogates) and parents eating children (or child surrogates).

The pervasive oral anxiety existing in Okiek personalities is reflected clearly in the cultural system by the importance attached to honey, honey water, and honey wine in supernatural relations, and by the projective expressions which constitute so much of the beliefs in

the cultural system. Much of what the Okiek believe about god, ancestors, kin, other tribes, health, sickness, and procreation--their central concerns--reflect oral functions. Not surprisingly, therefore, substances which are orally incorporated and which give immediate physiological satisfaction--like honey and its derivatives--are significant in most Okiek beliefs, values, norms, ideas and knowledge.

Chapter 6

HONEY IN THE SOCIAL CYCLE OF LIFE

Introduction

This chapter is a discussion, by way of selected examples, of the role of honey in Okiek social relations. Reference should be made to the theoretical context of social relations previously presented in the Introduction (p. 34). In this chapter emphasis is placed only on the social use of honey. The cultural and psychological significance of honey in any given behavioral context may be extrapolated from discussions presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

Honey and its derivatives are, to varying degrees, significant in virtually all types of social relations within Okiek society and between the Okiek and other social groups (see Chapters 2 and 3). The total number of such relations existing between individual statuses, between groups, or between individuals and groups amounts to perhaps several dozen. For instance, one individual has different relations with a large number of kith and kin, and additionally relates to groups and categories such as the nuclear and extended family, the lineage, age-sets, age-grades, the opposite sex, witchdoctors, chiefs, the sick, the insane, and so on. The Okiek are a simple society compared to others with levels of social organization characterized by

political and social stratification and occupational differentiation. Still the variety of Okiek relations is beyond the scope of this thesis and, therefore, selected examples from different fields of social relations are presented. Three ceremonies are described: the first being a child's naming ceremony; the second, the social relations of the hitherto described girl's initiation; and the third, a marriage ceremony. The first two illustrate the norms of relations between certain individuals (the child or girl and the parents) and other individuals (kin, neighbors, and friends), groups (lineages and age-sets), and other categories (sex and age-grades). The use of honey and honey wine in each relationship is discussed.

The third ceremony is a marriage in which a child, his mother and their lineage are involved in a long process of developing relationship with another lineage, culminating in transferring most jural rights over a daughter from one lineage to another. The reverse (though not discussed here) also happens frequently--inappropriate conduct between spouses leads to separation or divorce. In both processes honey and honey wine are used in a number of ways to establish or influence social relations between parties.

This selective approach to describing the social system should indicate the degree and kind of importance honey plays in Okiek social relations.

The Child's Naming Ceremony

In the first months the life of a baby is uncertain and, as a reflection of this, the Okiek do not invest the child with the status of a social being. Not until a year or two has successfully passed do

the Okiek give formal recognition to the social, as distinct from the physical, reality of the child. At this time a small ceremony takes place for the naming of the child (kainet op toroynet op lakwet: lit. name of shaving of child, or the name of a child given at his first shaving). The ritual of shaving accompanies all Okiek transition rites, symbolizing, among other things, the successful end of a liminal period and assumption of a new status. Unlike most other occasions where men control the distribution and use of wine, this is a "woman's" ceremony and hence women manage the social relations. They invite and serve the women guests, and it is their task to shave the child and its mother, and then to choose a name. For most of those present, the formal shaving and naming is secondary to secular drinking and socializing, secondary in the sense that most express more interest in and concern about the drinking than about the ceremony proper, which is a short, semi-private affair held in one hut. In fact, at one such ceremony the guests arrived after the shaving rite, the hostess having made no special point to invite anyone earlier for the rite. With respect to the present interest in the role of honey, this ceremony ushers the child into the world of social beings, a world which extends to not only kin but neighbors. The Okiek frankly state that the principal reason they, as neighbors, come to such a ceremony is for the drinking, without which, it appears, a social gathering would be difficult to achieve. In addition, the Okiek tend to be preoccupied with the adequacy of their generosity to guests. Should even one guest go home unsatisfied, the Okiek say, the host will be concerned for the health of her child lest it become sick

as a result of the ill-will borne by any unsatisfied guest. Therefore, honey wine, in part, is responsible for making this a social event commensurate with the range of social significance implied by giving a child its first name, his social being. Also honey wine is responsible for satisfying the guests, thus insuring the approval and good faith of those who make up the social groups into which the child is now accepted. The social status of a child is retained by an individual until he or she is initiated into adulthood, at which time an analogous ceremony of shaving and re-naming takes place. The physical and psychological state of a newly named child, of course, changes gradually with his maturation.

Of the two naming ceremonies I witnessed, one in the Kipchornwonek group, and one in the Kaplelach group, the most striking social phenomenon was the overriding interest of the guests in their drinking and the virtual lack of interest in the sacred aspects of the rite itself. I include this data on the naming ceremony primarily because it most clearly illustrates the degree of importance the Okiek place on drinking, in this case at a sacred event which is also a formal social gathering. This emphasis on drinking honey wine occurs in all other events of this type, such as the initiation and marriage to be discussed but, in these events, the social emphasis on drinking appears submerged in a series of cultural rites and formal, social events.

A Girls' Initiation Ceremony

The second case is that of Nasite's and Tete's initiation, the first, pre-seclusion, phase. In Chapter 5 this same initiation was

partially described with stress on its cultural content. What follows is a description of the use of honey among those persons who participated, including their relationship to one another and the reasons for their engaging in specific activities.

In anticipation of the ceremony, but for their own additional reasons as well, families had been tending to accumulate together at Tulaba during the year prior to September when the initiation would finally take place. The principal reason it was held here at all was the fact that Sinderian and her children, Medekia (uncircumcized boy of eighteen) and Nasite, happened to be living at Tulaba at that time. About a year before they had been at Benedabashe, several miles to the north deeper in the forest, but when Sinderr had severely beaten his wife in a drunken quarrel, the children had to bring her to the government hospital at Narok for treatment. While she was recuperating her son had cleared a half acre of scrub forest near their huts in which his mother planted maize. Evidently they anticipated staying near Narok for some time and thus attempted to provide themselves with some food by means of a garden since game was scarce here and hunting near Narok involved the risk of being caught. Like some other Kaplelach families, they had tried making gardens before but with the usually poor results. This garden was no exception, as the crop turned out to be small and of poor quality, affording only a few days' food supply and some maize for beer used in the ceremony.

On the other hand, Sinderian obviously felt no desire to return to her husband, and staying near Narok had certain advantages. By making and selling sokomek necklaces and sword sheaths to Maasai in Narok, Sinderian insured herself a very modest but adequate income by

which she could purchase maize from Kikuyus and articles in the shops for the initiation. Perhaps most important, most of the Okiek in the vicinity knew that Sinderian had a considerable thirst for liquor and, unlike a proper Okiek wife, would go to town frequently to drink, sometimes spending the night with whomever she met in the bars. In fact, I concluded that most of the Okiek who habitually lived near Narok were consistently heavy drinkers who frequently went to Narok to drink.

Sinderian's own explanation for her residence at Tulaba, of course, omitted the last motivation.

It was about twenty years ago that Sinderian married into the Nagul lineage, whose traditional home was Lobito, four miles northeast of Tulaba. But in recent years most of the Naguls were living elsewhere in family groups in other parts of their lineage territory (konoito). This impeded Sinderr's ability to arrange his daughter's initiation. One brother lived fifteen miles away, another forty miles away, and a large number of Naguls, including Mailengish, the oldest, lived thirty miles away at the upper end of the territory. These distances aggravated the job of seeking help and getting kin to come to the ceremony.

Sinderr invited most of his own lineage. Also all persons living nearby were invited, even some Kikuyu and Maasai friends. Sinderr invited one Maasai on the strength of having met him only once and having been given a drink by him; so for that reason alone they were now friends. Giving out liquor is the most acceptable way of making friends. Sinderian's kin were also invited, especially her

brother who, as Nasite's mother's brother, was important as he represented her mother's lineage and, next to one's own kin, they are most important in a young person's life.

Sinderr had sent word via Kichuru (the moran who hoped to marry Nasite) for a specific woman to come who would do the operation. She lived thirty miles away and when asked she said she could not and gave some appropriate excuse. The woman who does the operation is usually given a large calabash of rotik at the ceremony, but apparently this was not sufficient incentive. Three days before the ceremony, however, another suitable woman was found in Narok. She had come to the nearby hospital for medical attention and agreed to help. She was a Kaplelach but from a distant lineage and was not well known to most of those present. She had a good reputation for operating well, however.

Sinderr had also sent his son to get a fat sheep from some Maasai up at Mau. When Medekia got there, he couldn't find a good (fat) sheep and had to go out into soyua to find one.

Sinderian had also managed to accumulate some maize which she had ground and fermented for beer to help compensate for the shortage of Sinderr's honey. Even with Kichuru's gift of about three gallons, Sinderr had only half the honey deemed necessary for the ceremony (ca. 25 gallons).

By September 18, all the necessities had been settled and the ceremony could begin. Mailengish, the oldest Nagul, had come. This was important as he was the person most appropriate for blessing the ceremony, he was the one closest to god and the ancestors (no doubt he would be one soon), and thus the one who could best intercede for the

benefit of all those present. Significantly, many Naguls did not come. Some who were invited could not or did not want to come, for practical and personal reasons. Others were not invited. Among these were the more distant members of the lineage who did not have a close affectual relationship to the principals, persons who rarely visited each other. Once a lineage gets so large that collateral lines are more than three generations separated, the closeness of ties between individuals becomes more a function of accidents of co-residence and friendship. Though a common kin tie is recognized and hives are placed in the same territory, the personal ties which are so important in day to day socializing may be nearly absent. For example, Dururu and Ladaru are brothers and are distant relations to Sinderr, but they don't live near Sinderr and I never observed them visiting each other, nor speaking of each other. Dururu and Ladaru didn't come to the ceremony, and whenever they came to Narok they conspicuously avoided stopping at Tulaba. They lacked a personal friendship.

On the other hand, Sinderr had invited more non-Naguls than Naguls. There was an assortment of personal friends, Maasai, Kikuyu, and unrelated Okiek. Then there were those who were members of Sinderr's own age-set, his peer group with whom he, like most Okiek men, had the closest personal, non-kin, friendships. These were the persons Sinderr had grown up with from the time he was a young boy. As adolescent boys and later as morans, these persons had spent a great deal of time together as a group, despite the fact that their families often lived miles from each other. In a society in which men show considerable psychological and social ambivalence toward women (women are viewed as incompetent in "important affairs" and are

excluded from much of male socializing), the close affectual as well as social ties between men of the same age tend to compensate for the comparative lack of these ties with women.

* Other persons present at the ceremony were persons who happened to reside at or near Tulaba, and because of their co-residence and subsequently closer ties to Sinder and his family, they were invited to attend.

Finally, in addition to his own kin, Sinder's wife's kin were present. Some of them happened to be residing at Tulaba anyway because of negotiation of a marriage but their attendance was seen as primarily kin based. This was the Mengwari lineage composed of Sinderian's siblings, parents, and father's siblings.

One other family deserves special note. Nasite's future husband, Kichuru, was living next to Sinderian so as to help that family. His own family came along, too, so as to help insure that the marriage would proceed smoothly. In Okiek marriage arrangements, a man is never completely sure he will get his wife until he actually marries her; hence the careful effort by him and his family to cultivate the affection of the future wife's parents.

Nasite was not the only girl being initiated. A distant relation, Tete, also a Nagul, was to be initiated with her. In the absence of Tete's dead father, her elder brother, Kulangash, handled the arrangements. His family had traditionally lived near Tulaba, so it was convenient to hold the initiations of the two girls together. The fact that they were of the same lineage was irrelevant.

Kulangash also found it convenient to reside here at this time as he wanted to marry Kichuru's younger sister, Ninonai. Ninonai was a

close friend and age-mate of Nasite and Tete and wanted desperately to be initiated along with them. Her brother had not collected enough honey, however, and her parents preferred she be initiated later when the family returned to their own place of residence. Incidentally, Kulangash's younger sister, Naisarisaru, was due to marry a moran age-mate of Kulangash and, for the same reason, the residents of Tulaba also included this man. Actually most of the families who had taken up residence at Tulaba well before the ceremony had come there because of arranging for their son's marriage to a girl who happened to be at Tulaba.

Kulangash had been away for several months during the previous year and his preparations were even more meager than Sinderr's. He had less honey and maize, but then he didn't invite so many people either. Many kin, prospective in-laws, co-residents whom he might have invited on his own, were also those invited by Sinderr. Tete had not been spoken for as yet, so there was no helpful soon-to-be in-law to aid her initiation, though Kulangash was getting help from the fellow who wanted to marry his other sister. Kulangash's problems were added to by a brother and mother who had been less than diligent in accumulating necessities while he was away. No arrangement had been made for a woman to operate on Tete, so her mother had to perform this function despite her inexperience. The sheep Sinderr got for Nasite had to do for Tete as well.

This was the state of affairs in the days just before the ceremony. By then fifteen family huts were built and occupied in the woods adjacent to the clearing. In addition most of the men slept

away from the huts at their kook or camp fire. The following is a description of the ceremony as it occurred:

In the afternoon of the first day Medekia, Sinderr's son, has returned with the sheep his father was given on credit by a Maasai friend. Quietly in the woods, away from others, Medekia strangles the sheep and others help him skin it. It is strangled so no blood will be lost. As some men like to drink blood, during the skinning the blood was poured off for them. The fat is accumulated and carefully set aside while the meat parts are cut up.

Afterwards, everyone returns to the huts. At this time Sinderr gives out the first calabash of rotik of the ceremony to three specific guests, friends who have been especially helpful to him in preparing the ceremony. He cautions the friends that these drinks are for them only, and not to be shared. When an Okiot gives a drink or a calabash to a friend, it is expected that it is only for that person to enjoy and no one is to beg a part of it, lest the value of the gift be diminished. On the other hand, Okiek feel strongly that when there are drinks available, those present should be made satisfied because a guest who leaves unsatisfied, shames his host. In this case, the three special guests each did manage to share a little with whomever they had a close relationship. In contrast, outside the hut sat some uninvited Maasai, hoping for a drink. Sinderr tells them strongly, "You go; we don't want shouting here; this is not the day for drinking." But the Maasai still wait for drinks. Sinderr realizes he hasn't enough rotik for even the invited guests and is, therefore, especially annoyed by the presence of uninvited people, especially as

they obviously want drinks and also because they are not Okiek. One of the special guests; Chumindet, in his generosity, gives drinks out from his calabash to some elders who have none yet; one is Nasite's MoFaBr; another, a lineage member and age-set mate of Sinderr. Chumindet is about to give drinks to some uninvited Kikuyu-Maasai half-breed neighbors but Nasite's MoFaBr says, "No, don't give drinks away." One other special guest, Ole Maina, wants to give out some of his drinks but another elder, who had not received any says, "The owner of the ceremony knows who is to get and who is not; so don't say that."

The responsibility of the owners becomes taxing as more people ask for drinks. Sinderr and Kulangash have agreed that, since Sinderr has three times as much rotik and maize beer, he will serve 3/4 of the people present regardless of who are his guests and who are Kulangash's. Ngushosho, Kulangash's brother, presses him for drinks and is refused, "Tomorrow is the day for drinking." On the other hand, Kulangash invites his future mother-in-law to "taste" his drinks to see if she "wants" some. Kulangash's mother has hidden the calabashes of rotik and Kulangash asks her for some drinks for "them," a euphemism he uses as it is grossly impolite to speak the name of your (future) wife's mother.

In another hut one fellow is getting worried as he is told it is bad for one's health to drink if one has just had injections for disease at the hospital. He is noticeably relieved to hear from another that this is not so, that, as explained later, "they are cheating him so he will leave the rotik alone."

Ole Maina still has some of his rotik left and an older woman friend asks him for some. He refuses and she complains, to which he replies, "Do not shout at me, as I am a man and you are [just] a woman." He gives her a little. It is evening now and the men of each age-set retire to huts specifically set aside for them. The women and children go home to sleep.

Despite the impression that the Okiek are a simple society with few status distinctions, the above transactions begin to show how subtle distinctions between individuals and classes of individuals (sex, age-set, close or distant lineage member, affinal lineage member, types of friendships) are made. These distinctions become most obvious when there is strong common interest in a scarce object (in this case rotik) which must be allocated in divisible units, the basis of allocation reflecting the scale of values placed on these relationships.

During the night the adolescent girls and boys sing, dance, and play. In their respective huts the men and women sing the songs of their age-sets until they tire and lie down to sleep. In the morning, the first day of the ceremony proper, most of the adolescent girls and boys and the morans have gone to get the kurosiot saplings. In the huts, the rotik which has been fermenting in bags beside the fires is taken down and poured into calabashes. When the boys and girls have returned and the ceremony has been blessed, then will be the time of drinking.

The social significance of the blessing of the ceremony is evident from the fact that it is the four eldest men present who each, in turn, perform the ritual of blessing on all guests. It is also

socially significant that the owners of the ceremony and the two girls are the only persons omitted from the specific ritual of anointing with fat and spraying or spitting honey water. They will receive their special blessing later. This initial blessing is therefore associated with the present and future well-being of all the guests. Following the blessing the owners and elders of each age-set meet and decide how the rotik is to be divided among them. For those who do not drink (the uninitiated and, usually, the younger women) honey is served in the huts.

Later in the afternoon the two girls go to the river to bathe, and the women go to the forest to get olerenit saplings. In the age-set huts men of each age prepare a special platform for their bags for brewing rotik that night, the older ages showing the younger ones the technique. The younger age-sets know how to do it, but there is an overriding consciousness of passing on this tradition through succeeding age-sets which accounts for the pedagogical emphasis. In this way they quite consciously dramatize their indebtedness to the "Okiek of long ago" for having made possible the manner and means of making and using rotik. Though no Okiek would say age-mates drink together because it is ritually important, they do symbolize in their drinking, however, the common social bond amongst them, built up over a lifetime, and by their drinking they feel and express the affective ties which make that bond significant. The importance of drinking, per se (discussed in Chapter 4), appears to be a primary support for the maintenance of age-set relationships, especially since age-sets in this society have no specific, acknowledged function such as an offensive, defensive, organized warrior system such as the Maasai have.

In the early evening the two girls are shaved by their mothers beside the mabwaita (Chapter 5). This is the first act in which the two girls are symbolically removed from their peers. Shaving occurs in all transition rites and signifies the assumption of a new status. In an initiation ceremony (the most complex transition rite) the first shaving actually marks a transition from the class of "childness" to that of "inbetweenness," a liminal status between being a child and being an adult. Actual adulthood is recognized when the girls come out of seclusion and are shaved a second time, after which they marry as full adults.

Some time later in the evening the girls are put through a confession of their "sins" (chiepkondok) which amounted to recounting incidents in which the girls have not been helpful when asked by their mothers, sister, brother, or a neighboring woman to do something.

This is followed by an anointing of the girls with fat by all those present "so that God will help them." The fat is given out to each person in turn by the girls' mothers. Appropriately this blessing by all adults present is congruent with the range of adults the girls may have sinned against (sins against children are not considered). The rite constitutes absolution of all the girl's sins by all those who now or in the past may have been transgressed against. This blessing constitutes the approval of the girls by all those present at the initiation as distinct from each of the other blessings which represent approval of the girls or all the people by specific types of persons.

Following this event the girls are led into the ceremony hut and are seated before the men who are of the same age-set as their father, that is, the men who are classificatory "fathers" (baba and

kwanda) of the girls. This is a semi-private affair (partly because the hut will not hold many people) during which each "father" in turn speaks to the girls saying why they have come, admonishing the girls to be brave in their operation, and giving them a present in thanks for being invited. One fellow put it this way:

I didn't come, really; it was you who asked me to come. You give us rotik but you must be brave so the rotik will be happy for us. You be brave because all the people here are like you [have been initiated] and no one has died because of this operation. You will be cut until you see blood, but you won't die. So I give you five shillings so you can buy what you want. Even if you see the money, it won't make you brave; only you can be brave in your heart. No one can give you his heart to make you brave.

This short speech, similar to that given by most of the men, indicates certain social processes which are not necessarily obvious to the observer of the ceremony. First, in Okiok society, inviting someone to share your liquor is an adult prerogative. By stating that the girls have invited their "father" to take liquor acknowledges the new status of the girls as adult women. Secondly, the persistent emphasis on bravery--not crying out in pain during the operation--is reinforced by certain pressures. If a girl does cry the men who have been given liquor by her will refuse to drink because of their disappointment in her inability to be brave, that is, her inability to act like the adult she is supposed to be. By being brave, the girl "proves" her right to be a woman. Refusing to drink liquor which has been given is one of the most serious insults or expressions of disapproval or hostility that an Okiot can make. In a passive way, it is tantamount to cursing.

The girl's bravery is also stressed by comparison to her

present of shillings (formerly it was honey which was given). Five shillings is a lot of money for a girl who has been dependent on her parents for the few cents she may ever have of her own. Despite the very considerable inducement money may have for her to be brave, the elders emphasize that bravery really comes from the "heart" and thus is difficult to achieve and cannot be "bought" by money. It must be a part of you, "in your heart." That is, anyone who can be brave under these trying circumstances must be, therefore a brave (e.g., adult) person in all respects, hence constitutionally worthy of being an adult.

Finally, as a last symbol of adulthood, the girls are now allowed to chastise their own father for whatever misconduct they feel their father has at sometime visited upon them. Until this time a girl is expected always to be obedient to her father. Actually she is expected always to be obedient to him throughout her life, but at this point, the roles are momentarily reversed, apparently emphasizing the significance of the change of status. It may also help to cope with the loss of dependency. This blessing, like the previous event in which the girls sang good-bye to their young male friends and relations, is also emotionally choking. These "fathers" find it equally difficult to address their daughters, frequently wiping away tears or becoming overcome by not being able to finish what they want to say. For the fathers as well as the boyfriends and brothers, it is a time of loss. They have known each girl for sixteen years as a "girl" and her comparatively sudden change to a new status requires a good deal of psychological as well as social reorientation by all the people she has known, especially her real and classificatory fathers.

Finally at the conclusion of this event the girls are anointed with honey-water on their head, symbolizing the blessings of their fathers' age-set as a whole, wishing each good health, long life, and many children. They then leave the hut and, as after every such event, are given some honey to eat.

It is late in the evening. In the huts for the different ages the men have been drinking and singing. Most of the women, but especially the older ones who tend to be the drinkers, are together in one hut and carry on in drunken singing and shouting as loudly or more loudly than the men. Into the early hours the women stay up and are active while most of the men and children have gone to sleep.

Interestingly, this shift in activity to the women coincides with a shift of responsibility and ritual activity from the male "owners" and the male age-sets on the first day, to the women on the second day. As the sun-rises this shift becomes quite obvious. The men remain asleep or inactive in the huts, out of sight of the impending operation which only the women are now preparing the girls for. While the first day's activities stressed the transition of a girl from childhood to adulthood, the second day's activities, for the first time, stress the femaleness of the girls, to the extent that from this day forth they are completely isolated from all adult males and are under the supervision of only women until the time of their "coming out" in about six months.

The operation which takes place at sun-up has been adequately described in Chapter 5. Socially what stands out as significant is the shift to a female exclusiveness which takes place at the moment of operation. Men avoid the scene, not because they must, but because,

as they say, they "fear to see the girls cut" and, more especially, to see their private parts. Actually all the adolescent boys are present and watch from their nearby hut. Other young girls, however, were specifically excluded by the women; they are "not to see other girls cut." Shortly after the operation the two girls are carried into the ceremony hut and are forbidden to be seen or spoken to by any circumcised male for the duration of their seclusion. They have unrestricted relations with all other age-sex categories, however. In this exclusiveness from adult males, the Okiek differ from the Maasai, whose girls are excluded from no one.

Following later in the morning is the previously described blessing of the two owners of the ceremony. Socially this rite is of interest because of the emphasis the Okiek place on age-grades in lieu of other social categories (such as kin relationship) for the maintenance of proper relations with the supernatural. It is functionally consistent that a belief in the closer relationship of the oldest Okiek to the supernatural is expressed in an age-set system which recognizes social categories on an age criterion. The Okiek always bless on the basis of age-set affiliation, never on the basis of kin relationship. This cross-cutting age-set distinction clearly dramatizes the pan-Okiek significance of a commonly held belief in one god. On the other hand, propitiation of ancestors is based on a kin criterion only, signifying the fact that a person's welfare is dependent only on that person's own ancestors, and not ancestors as a single class of beings relevant to all Okiek.

By mid morning all the men have come around the ceremony hut, hoping that there will be liquor. They persistently ask the women for

liquor and are usually refused. While the day before the owners of the ceremony had charge of giving out rotik to the age-sets, today control over the liquor resides with the women, just as control over the two girls also resides with them. The thirst for liquor is quite obvious in the men's eagerness to get whatever is still available. There is no more. The ceremony is concluded and as the day wears on each departs for home.

The initiation consists mostly of a series of blessings, interspersed by status-change rites (shaving and the operation). The former are characterized by the use of honey water (or rotik) or fat as the vehicle symbolizing the beneficence granted by one party to the other. The latter status-change rites use honey water (or rotik) in a medicinal fashion, the symbolic value of the substance being less obvious. The blessing rites which use honey water are those in which blessing is given by 1) god (via the oldest men) to everyone, 2) god (via age-set of their fathers) to the initiates, and 3) god (via age-set of fathers or eldest men) to owners of the ceremony. The blessing rites which use fat are those in which 1) the mothers of the initiates bless all persons, and 2) all persons bless the initiates.

The distinction between honey water and fat reflects a distinction between god's grace and mortals' approval. The ritual use of honey water is always and only associated with insuring the blessings of god on individuals through the intermediary of those who are, temporally (and therefore actually), closest to god; they are the ones who are soonest to join the other world. Honey water is a beverage for all ages, while rotik is the exclusive province of adults; therefore, it is appropriate that honey water is associated with the blessing

of all ages, while rotik is associated with ancestral relations. Fat is an important infant food and its use in ritual context is congruent with the nutritive origin of its use. In feeding, fat is associated with caring for and attachment to a child by an older person, usually mother. In ritual use, fat has an analogous function. It represents the same approval and forgiveness of children or child-like figures by mother or parental figures. Thus it is the mother of the initiates who anoints all the guests of her ceremony, and later it is all the adults who anoint the two initiates. One might wonder why honey itself would not have the same ritual status as fat in this rite. Unlike fat, honey is an inappropriate substance with which to anoint anyone. It is sticky and, the Okiek say, unpleasant to get in your hair and on clothes. Thus the most important function of the capes men wear in the forest is to keep the honey in the honey bags (which they carry on their back) from touching their skin and clothes and not for warmth or to shed rain.

In the series of rites which occur in this ceremony, almost all utilize some form of honey as the principal symbolic vehicle associated with the most important Okiek values: health, procreation, and sociability. The form of honey in the ritual contexts used reflects the prescribed social usage of each in everyday secular affairs. Changes in social relations within the ceremony are made explicit by changes in the right to use or to disperse rotik held by men, women, owner, elder, and initiates. Finally, it has been shown that even the location and timing of the ceremony are closely determined by the supply of honey and motivations for drinking.

Marriage

The role of honey and its derivatives in an initiation ceremony is primarily concerned with the relationship of the living to the supernatural. The use of honey in a marriage, however, contrasts with this because honey in this case is primarily concerned with facilitating relationships between members of two lineages who become related through the marriage of their members. Honey figures prominently in the initiation of marriage agreements, in the establishment of that agreement through payments of brideprice, in the ritual of the marriage itself, and in the meetings called for resolution of marital difficulties. In pastoral tribes, such as the Maasai, cows carry some of those functions, but not all the functions which honey and honey derivatives have for the Okiek. For the Okiek virtually every material and social transaction which takes place between lineages united in marriage is accompanied by some form and use of honey. Its range of social usage is wider than in initiation ceremonies. This reflects, in part, the multiple characteristics of honey as food, valuable commodity, and liquor. Its significance, of course, extends to other functions, cultural and psychological, described in previous chapters.

In this case, I present data only on aspects of marriage which are associated with honey use. A brief account of marital arrangements is given, followed by data on one marriage ceremony which took place shortly after the above described initiation. This marriage is between Yandet, a moran of about 26 who is of the Mengwari lineage and who is the younger brother of Sinderian, Nasite's mother. The bride

is Musone, a girl of about 18 who is BrDa to Sinderr, Nasite's father, and, hence, of the Nagul lineage. There are certain complications in this case which must be described. Musone was initiated in 1968. Ordinarily an Okiek girl is married right after she comes out from her initiation seclusion. For reasons to be described Musone was not married then, though it had long been arranged that she would marry Yandet. In the middle of 1968 she became pregnant by Yandet and gave birth in early 1969, six months before her marriage actually took place. This birth was not considered undesirable by the Okiek since Musone was already initiated (it is a great disgrace to become pregnant before one's initiation, necessitating a prompt initiation even though the girl may be considered too young). This birth altered some of the usual procedures of Okiek marriage, necessitating efforts on Yandet's part for the care of his future wife that otherwise would be up to her parents if she had not had a child. Secondly, this marriage was complicated by the absence of Musone's father, who had died some years before, and the assumption of that role by her FaBr, whose interests did not coincide exactly with what would be expected from Musone's genitor. Third, Musone and Yandet were related and technically the marriage was incestuous since Musone was Yandet's FaFaSiDaDa. They called each other "mama," the same term and type of relationship as that of a woman to her Mo Br So. In this case the relationship was sufficiently distant that in early negotiations the problem was deemed unimportant.

At least ten years before now Yandet's mother had gone to Musone's parents with the intention of arranging a marriage between Musone, a girl of about 6 or 8, and her son, who was then about 12 or

14. In accordance with Okiek custom in these matters, a mother may follow her son's choice of a mate but in any case, she decides on one girl who has not already been spoken for by another mother, and whom she likes and thinks would be good for her son. A mother first indicates her choice to the girl by placing a light chain necklace around the girl's neck (kasin orpisiat: to put the chain of betrothal) one day. After that nothing happens; the deed is done and, ostensibly, the girl is claimed to the exclusion of others. However, it may be seen that another mother has intended to do this for her son. So the first mother, hastening to insure her claim, sends within a month or two her son to collect a small bag of honey, which the next day she takes to the mother of the girl. The latter receives this boy's mother and if she is unaware, asks, "Who asked you to bring this?" and she is assured, "No one; everyone does this work for the marriage of her son." Then the girl's mother goes and calls together the women of her camp, especially other women married to her husband's lineage. They come and sit, and the bag is opened and eaten by them. The boy's mother sits on the other bed, saying nothing, holding the two bamboo sticks she has carried on this mission, the same sticks carried by an owner of an initiation ceremony. These sticks symbolize that this person is acting in the capacity of responsible parent or elder for a person who is involved in one of the transition rites.

Nothing of consequence is said at this first meeting, and the boy's mother soon returns home. Regardless of whether another mother wishes to claim the girl, this first meeting must take place at some time within a couple years after the first meeting to initiate a claim to the girl and to have it at least acknowledged, if not consented to,

by the girl's mother. Even if the girl's mother does not approve this boy for her daughter, she would not refuse this "first honey" (esiretit--from the Maasai, eseret: "first things brought"), though theoretically, the Okiak say, she could. It seems no one refuses a gift of honey.

Some time after (the duration is variable) this mother feels it appropriate to tell her son to go look for more honey to be brewed by her husband into rotik and taken by both parents to both parents of the girl. This is the first meeting of the rotik (engeroretit, Okiak for "first talking rotik"). This meeting is for seeing what the girl's parents have to say about the proposed marriage. One bag of rotik is made, poured into calabashes, and carried by the mother and one other woman, such as a HuBrWi. Carrying a bamboo stick and this time wearing their ceremonial skirts, they set forth with the father and any other man of his lineage. When they reach the girl's house, her father asks the boy's father, "What is this rotik for?" feigning ignorance. The boy's father replies to the effect that "this is for wanting your daughter to be married to my son." He is then told, non-committedly, "All right, we have seen it is so." They then sit and drink together, making small talk about other things, until the rotik is finished and they return home, without actually confronting the issue, despite the phrase for this meeting being "talking rotik."

Later the parents and relations go again, this time with two bags of rotik for a second meeting (rotik op koito: rotik of marriage). This time they are told something like, "The first time you brought rotik we said nothing, so now we shall give you the girl, but wait until she is circumcised, then bring more things." On the

other hand, it is as likely that no commitment will be made at this meeting either. So a third visit is made with more rotik, perhaps even a fourth, at which time they are told "yes" or "no." If "no," this is the end; there is no compensation for all the rotik brought. If "yes," the next meeting is held during the girl's initiation seclusion and more rotik is brought in the same manner. In this meeting, representation has expanded to include the girl's father's brothers, their sons, and any other men and women who happen to be there. This meeting is concerned with settling the brideprice (rotik chigimaunen tuguuk chiyichezi: rotik for "telling things for finding." Note the use of rotik as synonymous for "meeting.") In this meeting, as in other meetings involving most or all of the lineages in a lineage-wide concern (which marriage is), the elder brother of the girl's father is the spokesman. He is the first to speak and he announces decisions. Though an older member of the lineage, even the girl's FaFa, may be alive and present, being the spokesman is not considered his business, though he may speak in turn when others do. The elder brother is, first of all, the son who inherits parental responsibilities for the other siblings on the death of his father. Thus the elder brother may already be the "grandfather" of the girl to be married. This is quite likely because, by the time a younger brother has children old enough to be married, his father has probably become old and has died. Secondly, the girl's FaBr is a classificatory father, and being the elder brother, he is considered a "senior" father. The exclusion of the girl's FaFa from this important role may quite incidentally reflect the enfeebling consequences of old age, if not death.

At this meeting the FaBr announces the decision already reached by his lineage concerning the amount of brideprice. Up until recently, an Okiek moran who anticipated marrying someone's daughter spent a good deal of his waiting years living with and helping the girl's parents in whatever way he could. In addition to this, he was expected to pay a considerable quantity of honey (several big bags), money, sheep, blankets, and bluemoney and hyrax capes. Among the Kaplelach, honey is still the major portion of the brideprice, while among the Kipchornwonek cows have been substituted for but do not completely displace honey. Today among the Kipchornwonek, then, the standard amount of brideprice requested at the meeting is four blankets to be divided among the principal males of the lineage, one sheep for the mother, five cows, and "a lot of rotik" (ca. fifteen gallons). The latter is not, strictly speaking, part of the brideprice, nor is any of the rotik given out at prior meetings, nor the honey of the first meeting.

The following case of Yandet's marriage to Musone followed this pattern but with, as previously mentioned, some exceptions. He had spent many years bringing rotik for an unreasonable number of meetings, never being told if he could get Musone, only told to brew more for "just one more meeting." Musone's father was dead and the surviving elder brother was Sinderr, Yandet's SiHu, father of Nasite. Sinderr was aggravated by his poor relationship to his wife and this apparently extended to her family as well. He was not inclined to be cooperative to Yandet and he put off Yandet's desire for an answer. His other brother was more cooperative, but he liked to drink a lot.

Sangolingola, another man of this lineage, blocked Yandet's request repeatedly, even once threatening a curse. Years before Sangolingola had been married to and then spurned by Timbian, Yandet's eldest sister. This rankled Sangolingola especially because Timbian had had many children who, technically, were his since her parents had never returned his brideprice. Another complication was Musone's mother, a widow who was closely dependent on her daughter and very reluctant to give her away. She delayed the marriage as much as she could. In addition, her brother, Salatun, who had no jural claim over his sister's children as his lineage had married her off to the Nagul lineage, exerted his negative influence by way of his lineage friend and drinking companion, Sangolingola. If there was a way to get more liquor out of it, Salatun was all for delaying the marriage. Finally, two years after her initiation and six months after the birth of her child, it was agreed that Yandet could marry her and the wedding was scheduled to follow Nasite's initiation as that was a convenient time since everyone concerned was already present for that ceremony.

The day before the anticipated wedding, Yandet is collecting honey, bags and stems to brew up some rotik to be taken to Musone's mother. He is somewhat anxious, commenting to another moran, "Sangolingola says I will not be married if he does not get a blanket." Sangolingola knows this is the last time he has the right to claim anything; once the marriage takes place, nothing more can be asked for brideprice. Sangolingola had said if he didn't get the blanket, Yandet was to "go forever." Yandet really does believe Sangolingola can stop the marriage and this is because Sangolingola is a member of the same lineage as Musone, but also he is related to Musone's mother

via his MoSi, who is Musone's MoMo. Although the patrilineal Okiek stress the rights and obligations to one's paternal kin, any form of close relationship, even through two female lines, is utilized for what it is worth in case of need. The second moran explained Yandet's problem this way:

So no one will let the marriage be if someone is not satisfied because when the wife is going to her husband's hut [the wedding procession], he can put a stick down. Then she will fear to pass as she knows something bad can happen as when she gets sick or her child gets sick. It is like ponindet [witchcraft].

In this way humans, by magical processes akin to cursing, can cause the same types of harm for the same reason as do ancestors. Anxiety over a guest going away unsatisfied in drink or food, is in part based on this fear. Yandet did, however, manage to get credit from Chumindet and bought a blanket for Sangolingola.

Two unrelated women who are here for the ceremony are helping Yandet by drawing water from the stream for brewing the rotik that night, four bag-fulls. Yandet had stored away a big bag of honey months ago for this particular occasion of rotik making. He had his mother keep it, hiding it in the leafy wall of the hut so the boys would not find it. Boys would not be able to resist eating it if no one was around to prevent them, Yandet says.

Without Musone's father alive to manage and take responsibility for these marriage negotiations, other lineage members can make any kind of demands they want on Yandet. Even a boy of seventeen asks for a blanket. Four blankets is the standard payment, but for Yandet the demands have gone beyond this. Yandet tries to cope as best he can, not wishing to lose his temper and say anything rash that would cause

Musone's lineage to reject him. Despite years of frustrations and large quantities of rotik given out, Yandet controls his urge to give up this quest for Musone, knowing well he would have to wait at least ten years until an unspoken-for girl could grow up. Despite years of planning, marriage is always problematical until the last days. Failure is a constantly aggravating threat since it means years of effort and many goods lost.

In the evening the rotik bags are set up in Yandet's parents' house. Timbian, Yandet's eldest sister and one-time wife of Sangolingola, has shown up, chastising Yandet for not having told her he has a marriage coming up. She has come several miles with her children to help Yandet in his preparations. This is the first time she has visited her family in the forest for years, as she has lived in Narok town, eschewing the bush ways of her family, exchanging it for a reputation as a "loose woman" of the town, apparently to her satisfaction.

Yandet has brought a sheep to camp so that he may present it to Musone's mother in the morning. In the early morning those staying at Yandet's family's camp prepare to go the 75 yards to Musone's mother's hut. Red ochre is put on each person's head as decoration, and everyone dresses in his best clothes. Yandet, like the owner of a ceremony, wears a cape over his shoulders and carries olerenit and bamboo sticks. His mother also wears a cape. The procession begins with Yandet leading the sheep and accompanied by his "best man," Kichuru, a close moran friend and the fellow who is to marry Yandet's SiDa, Nasite. (Kichuru had cultivated his relationship to Yandet for what benefit it would bring him in his negotiations for Nasite.

Yandet, as Nasite's MoBr, was the chief spokesman for Nasite's mother's lineage and would carry some informal influence in the negotiations, except for his poor relations with Sinderr, Nasite's FaBr.)

* Following them comes Yandet's mother wearing a blue bead necklace around her forehead in the manner of Sinderr, who was the owner of his daughter's initiation two days before. Then comes Yandet's next oldest sister, Sinoi, and Kichuru's mother, both carrying bags of rotik, then Yandet's Fa and FaBrs, and finally Timbian.

When they arrive at Musone's mother's hut, they are, in jest, confronted by a woman who challenges: "As you are taking the lady, you just stand a minute." Two minutes later the women are let into the hut with the rotik. There is a lot of chattering going on inside, and the excitement mounts. Only women are inside. Shortly Sinoi puts her head out and advises the collecting knot of men to move off as Musone is about to remove her clothes so as to be anointed with fat, so men are "not needed." This goes on for a long time as the women continue drinking the rotik that has been brought. The men outside are impatient, impatient to be given drinks. One drunken woman comes out, sees Sinderr standing near, and yells out, "It is ours today." Since it was Sinderr who, as owner of his daughter's initiation, was passing out drinks two days before, the comment seems an appropriate expression of a certain amount of competitive antagonism between the sexes over the control of rotik.

After some time and derogatory comments from the men, some of the women begin to come out. Musone's mother comes out carrying her daughter's baby. She has a sad expression on her face and walks off away from everyone. Losing her daughter seems to be depressing,

especially as she has finally had to resign herself to this, not being able to postpone the marriage any longer.

The hut is too small, so everyone gathers outside the entrance for the rite. First Musone's mother takes a horn filled with fat and plugged with grass, and goes from one to the next placing a dab of fat on everyone's forehead. The procedure is identical to that done by the girls' mothers during the initiation. Next, the important members of Musone's lineage, the men who substitute for her deceased father, each in turn, address Yandet and Musone. Sinderr begins; "You [Musone] are given to this man, so you are to take care of his mother and father as they are old." Sangolingola, wearing his new blanket, entones, "I was angry but now I am happy with the blanket. So [Musone] respect all people in that camp. You are given to your husband; so if you play you will be beaten. So don't go around to [other] houses when your husband is not in, or go for drinks and come in at night so your husband has to make the fire." (This was Sangolingola's complaint in another context, against his ex-wife, Timbian.) Sinderr's FaBrSo cautions Yandet, "You have been given a lady so you and your father are not to leave her alone. Even your father will see to her if you are not in. Now you [Musone] take care of all the people of their lineage. So if a man comes and you don't give him food, that is bad." Advice by various other male members of this lineage is given until all are done.

Sinderr then takes a honey basket of rotik and begins the blessing, spraying the liquid on everyone as he speaks, "Let god help you to live a long time until the age of the old age-sets," to which all reply "Nai" (Amen). Sangolingola then gives the blessing, saying,

"If I was angry, I am now happy. So may you have many children, cows, sheep, everything." The blessing is concluded and immediately a line forms for the procession back to Yandet's camp, led by Kichuru, Yandet, a child, Musone and baby, another child, Timbian, and others, but no men. The placement of the child before and after the bride is customary. Musone is decked out in a fancy skirt and cape, beaded necklaces, earrings, bracelets, and a tiara.

The Okiek say that the procession must be as slow as is necessary to take the whole day for the bride to reach her new home. In this case, the home was only 75 yards and progress was slow, though no one wanted to spend more than an hour. At this slow pace, Musone could take a slow step and stop for three or four minutes, her head bent down, her hands to her lips, as if in meditation, holding a bamboo stick. To encourage her, the young men and boys make her promises of hives they will give her if she will come along ("I know a nice hive in a sapeteet tree"). Each promise is signified by Musone tying another knot in her long, dangling bead strand necklace. She moves even more slowly as she comes near Yandet's family hut where most of the procession, friends, and other relatives are patiently waiting. The promises made one after another on the way are not for real. They are for fun. It is a happy time for all those present except, apparently, Musone, who remains with her head down, not looking at anyone as she advances. This behavior is, however, the prescribed custom at marriage. For the bride to show reluctance at leaving her own family by purposefully holding back on her way to her new home is appropriate in the same way that Yandet and his family were momentarily barred from coming into Musone's mother's hut at the beginning of the

marriage. Although these customs do not necessarily indicate reluctance on the part of the bride and her family, in this case it was demonstrably so.

As Musone approaches the hut, her husband sits casually on a log, uttering promises of one hive after another to encourage her. She barely moves. Even Yandet's father, a bit intoxicated, makes some promises, but all these are false promises. Musone has not come to the place of "real" promises, four feet before the door. The situation is comic; one child entones proudly: "There is a hive at kuriot ...;" then shyly adds, "I don't know if the honey badgers have spoiled it, but it is for you." A moran playfully offers to carry Musone up to the door.

Now the time has come. Yandet and his best man line up before Musone and the two enter his parents' hut. Musone remains outside as adult members of Yandet's lineage and friends enter and sit down.

Yandet's father passes out calabashes of rotik to all those present.

At this time also, each guest tells Yandet's father what he pledges as a gift to the newlyweds for being invited, usually a few shillings.

Musone stands just outside the door, not entering. Yandet's father now tells her the real hives he is giving to her. "I give you (a hive in the tree) sapteet." Musone moves a step closer to the threshold.

"I give you ketuyuet." She comes halfway in. "I give you another sapteet." She is now just inside the hut. Three more hives are given as Musone advances to the bed on which her husband sits. At this point Yandet gives her hives; at each one mentioned, she advances a step toward the bed and finally sits beside Yandet. Now Yandet's mother gets up and goes over to Musone, unties Musone's cape so her

child can come down from off her back and cool off. Now the women outside crowd into the hut. Yandet's father pours drinks for everyone. Everyone is talking. Shortly Yandet and his best man leave, then all the men leave as they are not to be present for the next event. From accounts from the women present, Yandet's mother partially disrobes Musone. For this reason, the men say, adult males are excluded, saying, "It is bad to see them do like that." Next Yandet's mother tells Musone of a hive of her own she now gives to her. Finally, she feeds Musone honey four times with a honey spoon, much as a mother would feed her child. With the completion of this ritual the marriage ceremony is complete. The guests are fed food and later depart for home. The marriage, however, is not truly complete until the sharing-of-food ceremony (tanar taita) which takes place a half a year to a year later, at which time Musone will be given the right to cook for her husband who, until then, has continued to eat elsewhere, usually in his mother's hut.

Discussion

This case aptly shows the degree to which honey in various forms pervades formal and informal social relations. As in the girl's initiation, rotik is used as the vehicle of blessing upon the principals. It is also given in hospitality to guests. In these ways its role in all Okiek ceremonies is the same. In marriage, however, honey takes on a new importance. Its range of social significance extends beyond the persons who are the object of the ceremony to include their respective lineages, which other ceremonies, excepting the peace ceremony, do not. In a marriage the significance of honey

also extends to the value placed on these inter-lineage ties. Thus rotik is the principal vehicle for establishing good inter-lineage relations. Honey is the most important part of the brideprice which, * the Okiek say, is exchanged for a woman who is given to her husband's lineage. The "giving" of a woman entails the transfer of certain rights and conditions from one lineage to the other; among them the most important is the right to all her offspring, that is, rights to bring up the children in the husband's lineage (regardless of genitor) and rights over the child's status as a social being (for a girl, rights to give her out in marriage and collect the brideprice). The transfer of rights also includes rights over the wife as a corporal being. The Okiek maintain (there are no cases) that if brideprice has been paid, a husband could kill his wife and not pay compensation to her natal lineage. On the basis of analysis of numerous cases of marital discord, it is apparent that a wife's lineage will only support (in words but not actions) a wife against her husband in cases of only severe abuse, preferring to reason with the husband, but always sending the wife back to him. Divorce does occur but only in cases where a wife consistently deserts her husband such that he initiates the divorce, that is, the return of the brideprice.

Ritually honey is significant in the marriage ceremony in a way that it is not in any other ceremony. Quite obviously, when the husband's mother feeds her new daughter-in-law honey she symbolizes the transfer of responsibility of her care from the girl's own lineage to that of her husband's. Thus the transfer of rights over her are accompanied by the transfer of responsibility for her well being (to an Okiot this is primarily seen in terms of food). This transfer of

rights and responsibility was given verbal expression at the time the men of Musone's lineage gave their blessing to the marriage. Thus one man admonished, "You have been given a lady, so you and your father do not leave her alone." The symbolic meaning given honey in this context--representing a dependent, nurturant relationship--is consistent with the secular use of honey in the parent-child relationship, just as the ritual use of rotik in blessing of the people by god is an extension of the secular value of rotik as a substance worthy of being given to other kin and friends as a token of hospitality and, hence, good will.

Finally, honey-oriented values are extended to include certain honey-related objects, in this case, hives. In Okiék explanations of the role of hives in social relations, and in stories about honey collecting, hives are equated with sheep. As one fellow put it, "Hives are the sheep for the Okiék." By this is meant that the Okiék view hives as analogous to the role of sheep in Maasai society. Both are valuable, sizable objects which produce a major source of food. Both are important objects of their respective tribes' subsistence patterns. Both are individually owned. And both, mostly because of their economic value the Okiék feel, are valued objects for giving substance to social ties. Thus they figure prominently in marriages. In a Maasai marriage a sheep is given by the husband's mother to her daughter-in-law, while the Okiék mother gives a hive.

It came as some surprise to me that Okiék women owned hives, because it is unheard of for a woman to collect honey. In fact women can and do make hives; at least they can do most of the work of making a hive. It is their husbands, however, who place it in a tree and

collect the honey, honey which belongs to his wife and is for her exclusive use. Her hives are placed in her husband's lineage territory for the convenience of his collecting the honey for her, the * Okiek say. On the other hand, the Okiek are uncertain as to whether her hives, in terms of jural rights, ought not to be in her father's lineage territory. This uncertainty reflects a general Okiek uncertainty about the jural position of a married woman. On the one hand, she is still a descendant of her father's lineage, yet by marriage she becomes attached to another lineage which now possess important rights over her. I have asked various Okiek women, "to what lineage do you belong?" Some will say their husband's and others their father's. Actually, Okiek women usually own few hives, most of them given to them in certain formal contexts. Thus Yandet's sister Sinoi has one which was given to her by her husband. Musone already had one given to her by her father's brother when she came out of initiation in 1968.

With respect to female ownership and inheritance of hives, the Okiek differ significantly from the analogous Maasai rules governing right to sheep. The contrast extends further. Maasai women have ready access to food (they do the milking of cows) while Okiek women are to an extraordinary degree, compared to most societies, dependent on men for food. Because they do not collect honey nor hunt, fully 95% of their traditional diet is derived from the work of men alone. Although I have no way of substantiating this, the exceptional rights of Okiek women to own hives may appear to be palliative to an otherwise anxiety-provoking helplessness. Further analysis of projective cultural and psychological data may afford a test for this hypothesis.

In concluding these remarks on the role of honey in Okiek marriage, I should emphasize that marriage in Okiek society is as much a long and carefully developed relationship between two lineages as between the prospective husband and wife. In fact, the formal aspects of this development are nearly all centered on lineage-lineage relationships while the young man and woman may hardly know each other at all by the time of their marriage (this is directly related to an admittedly high rate of conjugal, of not marital, instability). The length of marital negotiations between lineages as well as their formality and elaboration reflect the difficulties involved in in-law relations. Norms of behavior between a person and his spouse's close relations are the most distant and formal of all relationship dyads in Okiek society except perhaps the avoidance of informal relations between young women or girls and the men of their father's age-set. The Okiek feel the greatest "fear" (omweni) of and behave with the greatest "respect" (koonyit) toward their in-laws. This is especially true between a man and his wife's sister (or husband's brother). Hence, the sororate and levirate would be considered bad (ya) by the Okiek. The extensive quantities of rotik produced for the negotiation meetings between lineages, I suggest, is directly related to the Okiek belief that only such generosity, coupled with respectful manners, can overcome the persistent reserve of a girl's lineage about giving out their daughter. One important thing her lineage members consider crucial in their decision is how generous with drinks and food the prospective husband and his parents have been in the past toward the girl's lineage members and to others in general. Assured of a young man's hospitality and his good conduct, the girl's lineage is usually

well disposed to granting their consent, eventually. Appropriately, the largest quantity of the best rotik is expected to be given to the bride's parents when she is taken away. For the Okiek, a good long drink appears to be the most satisfactory way to handle feelings of loss over the departure of a daughter.

This analysis of a naming ceremony, an "initiation," and a marriage are sufficient to show the degree of significance of honey in Okiek social relations. These three cases by no means exhaust the various uses of honey but do serve as examples of its pervasiveness in the age-set system, in the lineage system, in certain kin roles, and for the Okiek as a whole.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

Introduction

The last chapter was primarily concerned with the social system as distinct from the cultural and personality systems discussed in the preceding two chapters. In each of these chapters, digressions into data of the other two systems is necessitated by the functional interrelations which obviously exist among the three systems. The extraction of each system from the others is heuristically necessary to present the data in an orderly (at least for anthropologists) fashion, bearing in mind that this distinction does not necessarily present the world view that the Okiek themselves see. On the other hand, this thesis does present a major category in Okiek life, honey, which the Okiek themselves say is central to their existence. By presenting the social, cultural, and psychological reality of honey as the Okiek see it and interpreting this data in the light of field experience and theoretical concepts, I hope I have accurately and fairly presented the single most important category in Okiek life in a manner that conveys to the reader an understanding of and also a feeling for what is significant to the individual Okiot.

There are other categories which can be analyzed in a similar manner with profit. Some of these are: hunting and trapping, domestic

animals, the age-set system, the lineage, the group, the nuclear family, kinship relations, god, ancestors, and land tenure. Honey, however, is the most important of these, at least in the sense that it affects all other categories to a greater degree than does any other category. For example, kinship relations and the lineage are more closely associated than is honey to either, but neither is as closely related to all other cultural and social categories as is honey.

In addition to cultural and social categories, there are also psychological variables, distinctive personality characteristics which are found frequently among Okiek individuals. In Chapter 4 some of these characteristics which appear to be associated with honey have been described both in terms of their etiology and subsequent effect on behavior. Other personality characteristics could be discussed and related to other cultural and social categories. It has been one of the purposes of this thesis to show how the three systems interrelate, suggesting that an understanding of one requires an explanation of its relationship to the other two systems. This emphasis, as discussed in the Introduction, is relatively unexplored by anthropologists, who usually are content to analyse the functional interrelationships of social and/or cultural systems only. This exclusive preoccupation ignores the theories of Ego Psychology which demonstrate the interdependence of cultural beliefs, social behavior, and psychological dispositions. If, as I believe, a primary task of anthropology is the explanation of human behavior, then explanations of that behavior are dependent on psychological data as much as on cultural and social data. In this thesis I have tried to show that the emphasis given honey in

cultural and social systems is not wholly reducible to the principle of those systems alone but is dependent also on psychological needs and drives. With honey, as opposed to other Okiek themes, this is especially true since its role in Okiek life is considerably out of proportion to its contribution to subsistence and trade.

Honey as a Culture Complex

Some years ago Herskovits (1947:195) drew special attention to what he called a "culture complex" and distinguished his concept from the "culture area" concept already current in American Anthropology. He stressed that "...it is the preponderant rôle of a complex that, for the people who live in the area, gives point and reason to their ways of life, and is a dominating, integrating force in their existence."

He goes on to give examples of this type of cultural phenomenon drawing particular attention to the East African "cattle complex." The important rôle of cattle in many East African societies has been attested by numerous ethnographic accounts. Evan-Pritchard's (1940) The Nuer is a classic account of what Herskovits later called a "cattle complex." A paragraph from this monograph clearly dramatizes the importance of cattle to the Nuer (1940:40):

Cattle are not only an object of absorbing interest to Nuer; having great economic utility and social value; but they live in the closest possible association with them. Moreover, irrespective of use, they are in themselves a cultural end, and the mere possession of, and proximity to them gives a man his heart's desire. On them are concentrated his immediate interests and his farthest ambitions. More than anything else they determine his daily actions and dominate his attention. We have remarked on the over-emphasis on cattle produced by their wide range of social and economic uses. So many physical, psychological, and social requirements can be satisfied from this one source that Nuer attention, instead of being diffused in a variety of

directions, tends, with undue exclusiveness, to be focused on this single object and to be introverted, since the object has a certain identity with themselves.

With but minor transpositions, this paragraph, as far as it goes, conveys the same meaning as honey does for the Okiek. In fact, the Okiek are another relatively "pure" case of the "Culture complex" phenomenon, heretofore undescribed in the literature as such.

Ethnographers have invariably remarked on the evident psychological emphasis given that aspect of a culture which gives rise to its being characterized as a culture complex. Benedict's Patterns of Culture is a prime example, an attempt to show, among other things, how cultures mold the personalities of the people who adhere to it.

Like culture and personality writing of her day, Benedict is concerned with culture personality causation. In this thesis, however, I have presented a variety of data to show a cyclical chain of causation among social behavior, cultural norms and beliefs, and psychological needs and drives, each affecting the other and vice versa. I have argued that Okiek behavior, at least with respect to the honey complex, is intelligible only when psychological data is integrated with cultural and social data. The exclusion of psychological data from analysis results in a degree of emphasis on honey and honey-related values which would be inexplicable in terms of just cultural and social data. Furthermore, I suggest that this inadequacy applies to other culture complex analyses such as Evans-Pritchard's The Nuer, wherein the projective expressions of cattle have greater effect in personality and greater emphasis in culture than can be accounted for by the subsistence, economic, political, and social (kin) roles of cattle. This elaboration in the projective areas, therefore, remains

unaccounted for, a task that ought to be within the scope of anthropological inquiry.

The Okiek as a Hunting and Gathering Tribe

Anthropologists have traditionally classified tribes, following a nineteenth century evolutionary bias, in terms of levels of subsistence: gatherers, hunters, fishers, pastoralists, and agriculturalists. The Okiek closely fall within the categories of hunters and gatherers. Unlike most other hunters-gatherers, however, the Okiek are in an anomalous position because of their emphasis on honey collecting. They are gatherers in the sense that they collect honey from the forest. On the other hand, gathering has always been associated with vegetable foods while honey is technically the product of an animal. Furthermore, the Okiek could be considered a tribe which harbors at least semi-domesticated animals--bees--and hence, by definition, something like pastoralists. I have already discussed the proposition that Okiek hunting and Maasai pastoralism share much more in their ecology than either does with other domestic food raisers, such as the cultivating Kikuyu. Finally, the Okiek differ dramatically with the majority of hunters-gatherers by their virtual lack of gathering of vegetable plant foods.

In recognition of a long overdue rethinking of the category "hunters and gatherers," undoubtedly propelled by other problems of classification and adaptation like those of the Okiek, two recent conferences have been held, resulting in monographs edited by Dumas (1966) and Lee and DeVore (1968). No significant reformulations have resulted, as yet, from the discussions and questions arising at these

conferences. In part, I believe, this results from the relatively few ethnologists with experience and theoretical interest in this area. Hunters and gatherers, despite widespread general curiosity over a long period of time, still remain the least understood "type" of tribe. As they continue to "disappear" as ongoing entities, so, too, will a very rich source of anthropological data, data which admittedly has importance to theories of human development and behavior. Any generalizations about human behavior must take cognizance of all the types of social "experiments" which man has indulged in, hunting and gathering being among them.

My principal reason for discussing the honey complex in this thesis is its theoretical and practical priority. There is a wide variety of theoretical interests current in anthropology which Okiek data can be applied to constructively. However, Okiek data on such areas as the functions of initiations and brideprice, marriage and divorce, territoriality, feuding, inter-tribal relations, and ecology can be presented in an intelligible manner only if the significance of honey in Okiek life is already understood. Apparently Evans-Pritchard had this priority in mind when he published first a monograph dealing mostly with Nuer ecology. Where one aspect of a tribe's life is singularly important, the data compels this sequence of presentation.

There has been a tendency for ethnographers of hunting and gathering societies, especially in Africa, to romanticize in writing the people they have lived with. Living in close dependence on others and in an uncertain environment results in experiences much like a novice has in an initiation ceremony. A feeling of commonality, a feeling of in-group allegiance develops among those who suffer

together. My experiences among the Okiek were no different. I believe, however, that to let these feelings intrude on the equally real interpersonal antagonisms among Okiek is a disservice to objectivity. Many Americans have a secret dream world of a primitive utopia, a tribal world devoid of those anxieties which they experience in day-to-day living. By vicariously existing in this utopia they avoid their own anxieties. Since they cannot understand the seriousness of the native's own anxieties about witchcraft, food supply, ancestors, or whatever, the primitive world takes on a certain charm. What was surprising to me, however, was how easily those same, seemingly unimportant, native anxieties become one's own--I began to feel that which I would not consciously believe. On the other hand, some of the pleasant feelings Okiek have about their life I came to feel as well. For example, repeatedly in conversation the words, timdo, tumdo, tumda, are heard. I am sure it is no linguistic accident that these similar words are important to them and that their meanings are, in the Okiek view, closely intertwined. Timdo is forest, the Okiek's own country, their shelter, larder, and home. Tumdo is ceremony, the quintessence of Okiek happiness, the expression of all their needs satisfied (especially drinking) and beliefs fulfilled. Tumda is the giant forest hog, the most frequent and most reliable source of forest food in the Okiek diet. The forest provides the Okiek with meat to subsist on, and honey to make possible the ceremonies which give social and cultural meaning to Okiek life.

Symbolic Categories of Okiek Culture

Before presenting conclusions about the way honey integrates the personality, cultural and social systems of the Okiek, it is informative to discuss the meanings of honey in the context of other categories of Okiek culture. What are the distinctive features by which honey, honey water, and honey wine are distinguished in Okiek culture? That is, what are the basic components which underly the meanings of each of these symbolic categories, and also what are the distinctive features which distinguish the meanings of these three categories from other ritually important categories, such as fat and the mabwaita shrine? Some discussions of the distinctive qualities of honey has been presented in Chapter 5. To begin with, a restatement of those distinctive qualities is useful to putting honey in its wider context as one system of symbols related to others in Okiek culture.

Honey is categorized by the Okiek in three forms: pure honey (komek), honey water (lokomek), and honey wine (rotik). Physically honey and honey water are distinguished by the presence or absence of water, while honey water and honey wine are distinguished by the presence or absence of alcohol. Physiologically these distinctions reflect the Okiek feeling that honey and honey water on the one hand are nutritionally good for the body, while, on the other hand, honey wine may be enjoyable but under some circumstances (pregnancy, nursing, and doing responsible work) it is deleterious. Socially this same dichotomy exists between honey and honey water as food and drink for children (mostly) as opposed to honey wine as a drink for only the initiated: adults and the ancestors.

Culturally this same distinction reflects the belief that honey and honey water signify individual good health, strength (in the sense of growing up physically strong and healthy) and longevity, while honey wine, in contrast, represents inter-personal qualities: friendship, hospitality, and respect and their opposites. Culturally, then, the distinction is between concern for individual well-being vs. concern for group welfare. The distinguishing quality which underlies the use and belief in honey and honey water vs. honey wine (an alcohol/non-alcohol distinction) is, therefore, an opposition between "self" orientation and "other" orientation, between a person's self-concern and his concern for others.

A second type of distinction among the categories honey, honey water, and honey wine is made by the Okiek: a distinction between pure honey and watered-honey (honey water and honey wine). Understanding the opposition of these last two categories will elucidate the meanings of the first opposition discussed above. The physical difference between thick, sticky honey and honey as a watery drink is obvious. The Okiek especially call attention to this difference. They see honey as an easily transportable but unpleasantly sticky substance, whereas, on the other hand, honey water and honey wine are difficult to carry around but are "clean"; that is, they don't cause a sticky mess as does pure honey. In rituals the Okiek use honey water and honey wine for blessing individuals and groups by spraying these watery substances over the persons, symbolizing the blessing of those persons by god. Using pure honey in the same way, or even in the way fat is used in blessing--by dabbing it on--is considered messy and inconvenient. The distinction between those two aspects of honey

(watered and non-watered, alcoholic and non-alcoholic), therefore, reflects a distinction between pure honey as an individually eaten food vs. honey as a liquid used in supernatural blessing. The distinctive feature in this case is self-orientation vs. supernatural (god) orientation as compared to the alcoholic vs. non-alcoholic opposition reflecting a self vs. other person orientation.

While the distinction between pure honey and honey wine is evident both in its form (watered vs. non-watered) and in its content (alcoholic vs. non-alcoholic), the position of honey water is different. Honey water is physically and symbolically a "betwixt and between" substance and category. It partakes of some of the content and quality of both pure honey and honey wine but is distinguished from either one by its partial similarity to the opposite one. This "between" relationship is reflected on a cultural level by the association of honey water with god's blessing. God, through the medium of honey water, is an intermediary force between the individual's own efforts to maintain himself (symbolized by eating pure honey) and the individual's efforts to keep his ancestors and outside people from hurting him (symbolized by the pouring of honey wine for the ancestors and serving honey wine to other persons). The tripartite distinction in forms of honey and their relationship to the triangular relationship of a person, god, and other persons (living or dead) reflects the two overlapping sets of oppositions discussed above such that the intermediate forms of honey, honey water, symbolizes the betwixt and between nature of god as an intermediary between the conflict of self-preservation and the necessities of tempering self-interest for the good of the social group. Honey in its various forms

symbolizes this basic conflict in Okiek society, a conflict which is common to all humans living in social groups. The normative aspect of behavior--the proscription of socially dysfunctional behavior--in fact, is the distinctive quality of what we call culture.

It is worth noting at this point another related tripartite distinction drawn between man, god, and social persons (especially ancestors), which was elaborated upon in Chapter 5. In this case the mabwaita shrine represents certain qualities of "strength" in man which are related to the blessings of god (who resides above in the sky) and the sometimes malevolent actions of the ancestors (who reside below in the earth). The mabwaita symbolizes the living who are born and grow up to be strong and healthy by the grace of god but who may also become sick and die because of the annoyance of ancestors. As was shown in Chapter 5, the meanings of the three forms of honey are closely integrated with this analogous tripartite relationship such that these correlations in meanings exist:

man (mabwaita): pure honey: self-interest

god (in the sky): honey water: intermediary

ancestors (below): honey wine: general welfare

Besides the mabwaita and honey, fat is a third significant symbol used in Okiek ritual. Physically fat is most closely similar to pure honey. The Okiek conceive of fat as nutritionally valuable food like honey. This reflects the fact that both are concentrated food sources with high caloric content and thus both give a sense of energy and satiation when eaten. Thus both are correspondingly highly valued. Then why are they ritually distinguished, one being used symbolically in circumstances different from the other? Actually

the meanings attached to pure honey and fat are similar. It is the multivariate qualities of honey which are the distinguishing aspect between the two substances. Fat, like pure honey, is associated with nurturance, that is, the feeding and caring relationship between a mother and her child. A mother feeds her child fat and honey, she also rubs fat all over her child's body in the belief that it is good for the child's health. By analogy (as described in Chapter 6), when a man marries, his wife is symbolically accepted into his family by his mother, who feeds the bride honey and then anoints her upper body with fat. Likewise in an initiation ceremony it is the initiated girl's mother who symbolically anoints all guests with a dab of fat in recognition of her acceptance and blessing of those who have come to the ceremony. Conversely, during this ceremony one rite consists of all the adults present anointing the girls who are to be initiated with fat, meaning that they approve of and accept the girls as adults into the "family of adults," so to speak. What distinguishes honey from fat is that honey symbolizes nurturance per se, the willingness of one person to care for the other, while fat symbolizes not only caring but also the acceptance of that person into a new group, be it the ceremonial group, the family, or adulthood. Acceptance, however, still implies nurturance: that if one is accepted into a group he must himself accept the responsibility for caring for those he joins just as they in turn accept the responsibility of caring for him. Thus, for example, a wife is accepted into a family and is expected to care for her husband, his relatives, and the family's children which she will bear. In turn, the husband and his parents accept their obligation to care for the new wife.

These symbolic categories, honey, mabwaita, and fat, all reveal in their "deep-structure" an opposition between concern for self and a concern for others. This opposition appears in all spheres of social life and is articulated by the use and belief in these symbolic categories. The pronounced emphasis on honey as the central symbolic category derives from its multiphasic attributes. Because of its wider range of forms (three as opposed to one), it tends to be similar to, and thus encompasses, other symbolic categories (such as fat) and thus partakes of those qualities and meanings which other categories may have. Honey's significance also derives from its analogous integration with the relationships of individuals, god, and other persons as symbolized in the mabwaita shrine; that is, the meanings of mabwaita reflect the meanings associated with honey, honey water, and honey wine, but also the meaning of mabwaita is expressed in ritual by the use of these three forms of honey. Each of these forms of honey expresses the central problem of social life--the conflict of self-interest and social necessities--more fully and in more contexts than does any other symbol in Okiek culture. From a cultural perspective the central role of honey in the lexicon of Okiek symbols derives from this fact, although the reason why honey persists as the central symbol is in large part dependent on the satisfaction honey provides for Okiek personality needs and drives. The latter relationship of honey as a cultural symbol to honey in the social and personality systems will constitute the discussion in the last and concluding section of this chapter.

Honey in Okiek Personality, Culture and Society

If culture is a set of symbols which constitute a system in which the meanings of symbols have a coherence one to another, then honey must be considered the central symbol in Okiek culture since its meanings integrate all categories of culture at the highest level of abstraction. In Chapter 4 the meaning of honey was discussed primarily with respect to how it integrates Okiek religious beliefs and practices. In a wider sphere honey is also central to Okiek ethos; that is, it is a major part of what the Okiek feel is their distinctive character and quality of life. Since honey is a major part of these principles which direct Okiek thought and behavior, it is the most appropriate illustration for this thesis of the interpenetration of Okiek social, cultural, and personality systems, and the relationship of these systems to the natural environment.

Each chapter in this thesis has described the role of honey in the principal categories of Okiek life: the natural and social environments, personality, culture, and society. Describing the role and function of honey in any system may explain how it works, but it does not completely explain why it works or why it exists at all. There are different levels of explanation. In this thesis I have presented, so far, a structural-functional explanation for the role of honey. With the exception of the discussion on personality, nothing has been said about more basic levels of explanation. The present section will attempt to do this by answering three types of questions which relate to why honey is important:

- 1) Why does honey exist as the central symbol in Okiek culture? Why does honey have such a high cultural significance, rather than, for instance, the animals from which the Okiek derive most of their subsistence?
- 2) Why are the meanings imputed to honey believed in by the Okiek?
- 3) Why do the Okiek believe in the truth of their conceptions about honey?

These questions ultimately require an explanation of the psychological functions by which the beliefs and practices relating to honey maintain themselves by their ability to satisfy needs and reduce drives. The locus of this type of explanation, of course, is in individual personalities. Significantly the personality system is also the locus of culture, that is, that bipartite aspect of culture which is the internalized norms, values, beliefs, and knowledge shared by members of a society. Understanding interrelationships of culture and needs and drives on the level of personality is the basis for explaining the "believability" of the meaning of honey in Okiek life. In the following discussion I am indebted to Geertz (1966) for posing general explanations to the questions listed above, which are applicable to the specific question of honey in Okiek life.

The first part of the explanation deals with meaning, as opposed to needs and drives. Geertz (1966:4) has demonstrated how meanings given to symbols such as honey are believable because a society's religion, a major category of culture, is:

(1) a system of symbols which act to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.

Stated in another way, a meaning becomes believable because what people want to believe in appears to be the truth because of their particular world view. This is important to understanding why the meanings attributed to honey are believed in by the Okiek and, therefore, it is necessary to restate this explanation in terminology relevant to integrating this explanation with psychological theory. Thus, what the people of a society believe is the "good life," their ethos (or, as Geertz puts it: "conceptions of a general order of existence"), represents a set of commonly held goals which are desirable to attain. These goals, however, in order to be feasible, must be congruent with reality. A major function of a society's culture, especially that part of culture which is religion, is to restructure objective reality by way of a world view which the society's members grow up believing is the "correct" perception of that reality. This world view also serves a double purpose: it makes people believe that their goals (ethos) are right since they appear to be uniquely congruent with "reality." As Geertz expresses this: "... clothing these conceptions (goals) with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic." Thus, cultural goals and world view perpetuate each other by confirming the seeming "realness" of the other. This functional circularity works on a psychological level, though rarely on a sociological level, and therefore, it is possible to discuss how these meanings are necessarily

supported by needs and drives. In the following discussion of the relationship of cultural meanings and psychological needs and drives, I am indebted to Spiro (1966).

* The fundamental basis of behavior is that individuals strive for the satisfaction of needs and reduction of drives. Social life, however, requires a channeling of behavior into predictable roles. A society's culture functions, in part, to mediate between the needs and drives of individuals and the functional requirements for the maintenance of the social system. By providing common goals, a common world view, but also a variety of cultural beliefs and practices, a culture functions to satisfy both individual needs and drives, and social necessities. This is accomplished in at least three principal ways: (1) A world view helps individuals to adjust to a complex and often inexplicable reality by offering plausible explanations for their need to know the "what, why, and hows" of their existence. (2) Individuals must also adapt to reality, and for this an ethos provides realizable goals so that people can satisfy their desire to attain goals. Finally, (3) individuals must be able to accommodate their more idiosyncratic needs and drives; that is, they must be able to integrate themselves into society without letting their repressed impulses disrupt social functions. Variety in cultural beliefs and practices provide for, and also reflect, the expression of many types of otherwise unacceptable personal impulses. These three types of functional relationships between cultural meanings and psychological needs and drives show how needs and drives are both molded to the necessities of social life and are satisfied by the opportunities that a society and its culture provide for their expression. Taken

together, it may be concluded that

(1) the meanings of cultural symbols such as honey are believable because the unique congruence between an ethos and a world view makes these meanings convincingly "real," but

(2) these meanings exist because they satisfy needs and reduce drives.

They do not exist because they satisfy certain functional prerequisites for the maintenance of the social system as traditional structural-functional assumptions would have us believe. On the other hand, cultural beliefs and practices with their constituent meanings do support the social system but necessarily through the intermediation of the personality system.

Thus the three types of psychological functions explained above (adjustment, adaption, and accommodation) all happen to support sociological functions as unintended consequences of their own satisfaction. First, the need for explanation, as Hallowell (1955) has pointed out, provides society with a common behavioral environment or world view which satisfies a set of minimal requirements for the existence of a society: a common object, spatiotemporal, motivational, normative, and self-orientation. Secondly, the desire for the attainment of goals also provides for social stability because the cultural system provides common goals which direct behavior into common patterns of behavior. Thirdly, the need to express unacceptable impulses serves a sociological function when potentially disruptive behavior can be canalized into socially constructive attitudes and activities, such as when an aggressive person finds satisfaction and approval by serving in an army. These three sets of interdependent

psychological and social functions illustrate Spiro's (1966:120) point that not only are psychological variables necessary for the explanation of cultural phenomena but they also may be necessary for understanding some social functions which otherwise would go unnoticed.

It is useful at this point to present a number of examples drawn from Okiek data to illustrate the foregoing statements. These are presented in such a way as to show

- (1) why the meanings imputed to honey are believed in by the Okiek.
- (2) what psychological needs and drives are satisfied by the use of honey and, by so doing, help to maintain certain cultural beliefs and practices and certain social roles.
- (3) on the most abstract plane, why the Okiek are convinced of the truths of their beliefs about honey.

The Okiek share certain acknowledged views and unacknowledged feelings about the world they live in. They are sometimes quite explicit about what they believe exists in the "world" (including such apparent intangibles as supernatural beings and forces) and what is good and bad about the world. At other times their feelings on the subject are inarticulate but emerge to the observer in a whole range of projective areas, most notably culture, which I view as a system of symbols whose meanings reflect shared projections of common experiences which have become a cathected part of individual personalities. That is, culture has two major aspects: it is both an object of orientation for individuals and an internalized set of ideas, beliefs, values, and expressive symbols within the individual's personality (Parsons and Shils 1951:21-22).

On the most abstract plane, the Okiek see the world as unpredictable to the extent that natural and social changes occur with

sufficient irregularity as to create apparent discomfort and anxiety. A good example, because it is always on the Okiek tongue, is the unpredictability, if not actual lack, of food sources. The Okiek are forever commenting to one another on how much food (most frequently expressed in terms of honey supply) there is at this or that place and how the people there are faring as a consequence. As shown in Chapter 2, honey production is dependent on a bewildering combination of natural forces to which the Okiek add the influence of supernatural forces affecting whether or not there will be much flowering in one forest or another at a certain time. Asked when they expect flowering in such and such a forest, the Okiek respond in the vaguest terms and, if pressed, merely shrug and mumble something about "god's will." On the other hand, if the flowering fails to appear for a long time or over a wide area, the Okiek sometimes interpret this as a result of the malevolent vengeance of a person. Thus, when the flowering failed to appear through most of 1969, many Okiek said it was caused by Maasai Oi-loiboni (witchdoctors) who were jealous of the cows Okiek were now accumulating. In such a case the procedure for normalizing the situation is for a group of Okiek to take up a collection of honey (or money since there was no honey then) and take it to the Oi loiboni as an offering, requesting that he remove the curse. This is what the Okiek did in 1969 and the flowering came again later in the year.

In this example Okiek world view is, in part, constituted by a feeling that many phenomena are unpredictable but that this unpredictability, in hindsight, is explicable in terms of certain natural and supernatural forces. These forces are more or less susceptible to

influence by mortals. In this case the Okiek world view satisfies certain psychological requirements (1) for adjustment, by explaining the unpredictable lack of honey, (2) for adaptation, by providing procedures for realizing the goal of getting honey, and (3) for accommodation, by assuaging feelings of anxiety, caused by the frustration of getting no honey, by participating in an activity which was viewed as leading to a satisfactory conclusion to the problem. The satisfaction of these psychological needs happens to result in behavior which contributes to the maintenance of the social system. By paying the witchdoctor and subsequently finding the flowers in bloom, the Okiek reinforce their common belief that what they thought caused their troubles, really did. This sort of fulfilled prophesy reinforces common cultural beliefs, ideas, values, and norms, another necessary prerequisite of predictability in social relations for the maintenance of the social system. In a similar manner their activities dramatize the existence of common goals which are also functional requirements for social stability. Finally, by venting their anxiety over no honey into a "constructive" goal-oriented activity, impulses which were potentially disruptive to social order were satisfactorily assuaged.

An analogous situation deriving from the same perception of the world is the belief that god is ultimately responsible for the conditions which bring about the flowering of trees. God is a positive or neutral force in terms of human needs, as opposed to the negative forces sometimes unleashed by witchdoctors, ancestors, and naunisto. Thus an Okiot hoping to get a lot of honey on a trip to the forest will offer a short prayer to god asking to be granted his

desire. On a social level this same system of beliefs is expressed collectively in a ceremony, such as an initiation, when the elders beseech god to bestow his blessings on all those present that they may have good health, long life, and many children. Significantly the symbolic vehicle of that blessing upon the people is the honey water sprayed or spit on everyone by the elders as they encant the blessing as the intermediary between god and the Okiek. Again, the beliefs and practices of this rite tend to satisfy those psychological needs explained above, while also supporting certain functional requirements of the social system.

A corollary principle of Okiek world view is that a person's physical ability to survive is jeopardized by certain forces which cause sickness, birth deformation, personal misfortune, and untimely death to oneself or to one's family. Disease, deformity, and death, the Okiek believe, may be caused by supernatural forces as a consequence of one's neglect of prescribed norms of conduct toward certain persons. If one fails to "respect" a deceased relative by not pouring him honey wine, then sickness, deformity, and death may visit one's family, those living and those yet to be born. Death by naunisto may stalk a family for generations if a homicide remains uncompensated. And, as already mentioned, in the case of a witchdoctor causing the absence of flowers, misfortunes of a personal or general nature may be caused by witchcraft.

Under this same principle may be included much of the recognized force behind the proper performance of forms of conduct between kith, kin, and other categories of relationship. Respect is a

cardinal ingredient of most norms of behavior between all people and especially between persons of different age-sets and in-laws. The ultimate threat supporting prescribed behavior is the fear that causing displeasure in others may lead to their retaliation by magical means which would result in, usually, sickness or death, but also other personal misfortunes. As indicated in Chapter 6, both in the proper maintenance of social relations and in procedures for re-establishing otherwise estranged relations, honey is the central symbolic vehicle.

Again, it can be seen that the satisfaction of psychological needs also supports social functions. This is evident also in another principle of Okiek world view, which is that the world is inhabited by "other people" (enemies, almost by definition) who are basically aggressive and hostile to the Okiek and Okiek interests. The basic posture the Okiek take to these people is to placate the enemy by, apparently acceding to their demands while being "clever," as they say, in outsmarting the antagonists in such a way as to avoid and escape them. Recalling the discussion in Chapter 3, honey is the principal instrument as well as commodity for establishing and maintaining Okiek-Maasai relations. Furthermore, this passive Okiek life-style is consistent with the passive-aggressive (e.g., expressing aggression in an indirect manner) Okiek personality described in Chapter 4.

Offering the above explanations for how honey contributes to the maintenance of personality and social systems is only part of explaining why honey is central to Okiek life. Since the psychological functions of honey discussed above are mostly unintended and unrecognized (e.g., latent) they ignore other important motivations for the

belief in and practices associated with honey. The most obvious are substantive explanations, the intended, recognized, manifest functions which the Okiek offer as their own explanations for their use of honey in rituals contexts. Drawing on their beliefs, Okiek say that honey is the substance they use in rituals because it is the "right thing" for praying to god and ancestors. The "rightness" of honey is explained in Chapter 4, that is, how honey is symbolically related to other categories of culture. More frequently Okiek will merely state that the reason they use honey is "that is the way from long ago." The implication of this phrase is discussed in Chapter 4 and indicates a feeling that goals which are affected through the intervention of the supernatural are more likely to be realized if continuity in ritual is maintained through generations. This is not unusual; in fact, it may be characteristic of all people's attitude toward religious ritual.

Another type of motivation which helps to account for the role of honey is affective motivation which is unintended but may or may not be recognized. This may include all three types of psychological functions discussed above. These functions have a common motivation in the desire to reduce fears and anxieties. To use a Western analogy, average church-goers are unlikely to claim that they attend church services to alleviate their fears, but they frequently acknowledge that the religious experience has a "calming" and "reassuring" effect, though such feelings may be couched in terms of actual supernatural events taking place which "cause" these results (e.g., "God entered my soul").

Explaining behavior in terms of immediate needs and drives is

only half a satisfactory answer. Needs and drives take their individual form in childhood familial experience, and it is for this reason that Chapter 4 explores extensively the psycho-genic basis for certain aspects of adult Okiek personalities which, it is argued, are most closely related to the belief in and use of honey as a ritual symbol and as a form of food and alcoholic beverage. It is in the context of honey as an intoxicating drink that evidence is presented to account for a second type of explanation: why are the Okiek convinced of the value of honey instead of something else as the central symbolic category of Okiek culture?

The broadest answer to this question is that honey, unlike other substances, has unusual properties (in its various forms) which uniquely confirm its role (1) in fulfilling needs which are particularly evident in Okiek personalities, (2) given these psychological needs, honey's real and imputed properties lend it more easily than other possible categories to being the central symbolic category in Okiek culture, that is, the one symbol which relates the meanings of most other cultural objects to each other in a coherent manner, and (3) honey is the most important instrumentality in Okiek society for reasons derived from (1) and (2); that is, it provides a vehicle for satisfying psychological needs in roles whose performance helps to maintain the necessary functional requirements of the social system and, secondly, its role in Okiek culture provides a model for norms of social relations as well as reflecting a model of ideal social relationships.

The third and final type of explanation deals with the most abstract conception of honey: why are the Okiek convinced of the

truth of their beliefs about honey? Geertz (1966:3) has argued that, on a cultural level, religious beliefs and practices are believable because they are rendered uniquely realistic by "...sacred symbols which function to synthesize a people's ethos--the tone, character, and quality of life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood--and their world view--the picture they have of the way things in sheer actuality are..." In this thesis I have presented data to substantiate the argument that the Okiek believe in the truths they ascribe to honey because the beliefs appear to have a face validity, and this validity appears obvious to the Okiek because the way they have been brought up to understand the world happens to be consistently congruent with what they "know" is good or bad, and pleasing or displeasing, about their way of life.

This cultural analysis of honey as a symbol suggests that there is a high degree of consistency between the relationship of the meanings of honey to other categories of culture. On a cultural level this is reasonable to expect; one of the primary functions of culture is to provide a consistent set of explanations for an otherwise inexplicable reality. Because of its consistency and high value on the cultural level, honey is also uniquely suited to being the most important cultural symbol used as an instrumentality on the social level. Precisely because of its commonly believed value, honey is the most appropriate instrument for articulating otherwise conflicting social relations. The Okiek do not have formal statuses, such as headman or chief, which could wield sufficient influence or power to resolve or close off conflicting social relations. As a consequence

the Okiek have, of necessity, relied on informal means of effecting social control. Honey literally and figuratively "lubricates" social relations. The use of alcohol for this type of purpose, of course, is common to many societies, but it is among the Okiek, however, that it reaches into the widest range of social relations with the greatest intensity of use. The marriage case presented in Chapter 6 aptly describes how honey and honey wine is used at each stage of the developing relationship between two ambivalently motivated lineages.

In concluding this thesis, honey can be said to have three major aspects: psychological, cultural, and sociological. Within each of these three systems honey has at least two modes. Psychologically it operates on conscious and unconscious levels. Culturally it operates on analogous levels: as an object of orientation and as an internalized cathected mode. Socially honey operates on the level of behavior. It also operates on another social level analogous to the unconscious level. This is the most difficult aspect to understand, largely because it is relatively unexplored in the anthropological literature (excepting a traditional preoccupation with this area by French sociologists). Recently Turner (1969:94-130) has discussed this type of aspect in terms of "liminality" as a social expression of a "sentiment of human kindness" which he calls *communitas*. "Sentiment," of course, is a sociological euphemism for what is really a psychological motivation. Although Turner does not treat *communitas* as a psychological phenomenon expressed on a sociological level, it is clear to me that the quality of status vs. equality, property vs. communality, is essentially an expression of a

universal psychological dilemma: the conflict between trust and mistrust as a basis for personal security (Erickson 1963:247). This psychological aspect of social relations deserves more attention than it has received in the past. In the present context this aspect relates to the use of honey as a ritual symbol in such liminal periods as the transition rites of initiation, marriage, and death.

In summarizing, I have attempted in this thesis to analyze the role of honey in Okiek personality, culture, and society. I have done this by showing the processes by which honey becomes significant for individuals (and thus for society as a whole) and the roles in which honey operates and by which it satisfies a wide range of functions. The fulfillment of these functions, it has been shown, not only maintains the support for honey's use but also supports certain requirements for the maintenance of the social, cultural, and personality systems. The interrelationships of honey and these three systems can be expressed in this way:

Children are born and grow up to bear their own children and when they are old they become as dependent on their children as their children's children now are on their own parents. And when they die they still "live" for the care their living descendants should give them, a type of care they always have needed but also personally desired, a type of care derived from the most fundamental principle of living: staying alive, which to the Okiek most of all means being fed and being given drinks. These are the things which they believe are the conditions of living. The gratification of oral needs becomes associated from birth with love (but also rejection) and with caring

(but also self-reliance) and persists beyond the memory of the oldest ancestor. How one relates to others as a child, as an adult, and as an ancestor is contingent on establishing significant relationships, in large part through the most obvious expression of caring for others: feeding and drinking. An object or action becomes a symbol when it conveys more than its objective qualities. Honey, honey water, and honey wine convey a multiplicity of specific meanings in social relations and cultural beliefs and practices, but also a common meaning in all relations and beliefs; by giving honey or honey wine an Okiek symbolizes what he feels, but cannot articulate: that he wishes to overcome his usual sense of self-preserving mistrust of others and join in a sense of trust with others, a feeling of *communitas*—the essence of real social life and the "religious experience." It is most significant that this fundamental personality conflict of trust vs. mistrust is rooted in the same phase of early experience which determines a person's and a society's response to oral functions. The role of honey in Okiek society, culture, and personality is uniquely suited to the dispositions of both personal and interpersonal needs, by providing the symbol and substance in a single object by which one disposition appears uniquely coherent with the other, and thus confirming in the Okiek mind the truth of their beliefs about honey.

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