

MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE POKOT IN KENYA: With Special Reference to Circulation of Articles

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ABSTRACT This paper presents the report on the circulation of material culture and foodstuff among the Pokot people in western Kenya. More than half the articles of the families studied are made by the family members, while about 40% are produced outside Chesegeon, the study area. Metal and cloth made articles make up most of what are obtained at market, shops or outside Chesegeon. More than 70% of all kinds of material culture can remain in good condition for more than ten years, though more than 80% of all articles are actually renewed within ten years. Material culture of the Pokot is composed of many quickly rotating articles and a few durable articles.

INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose

Previous studies on material culture were primarily concerned with the social uses of the articles employed in the people's lives, or the raw materials from which they were made. Circulation of the articles in the livelihood of the people has not been fully studied. This paper describes circulation of the articles from the viewpoints of the durability and means of acquisition of articles.

This study was carried out from August 1980 to January 1981 at Chesegeon Village in Rift Valley Province, Kenya (Fig. 1). The natural environment, subsistence and market activities of this area have been reported elsewhere (Kurita, 1982).

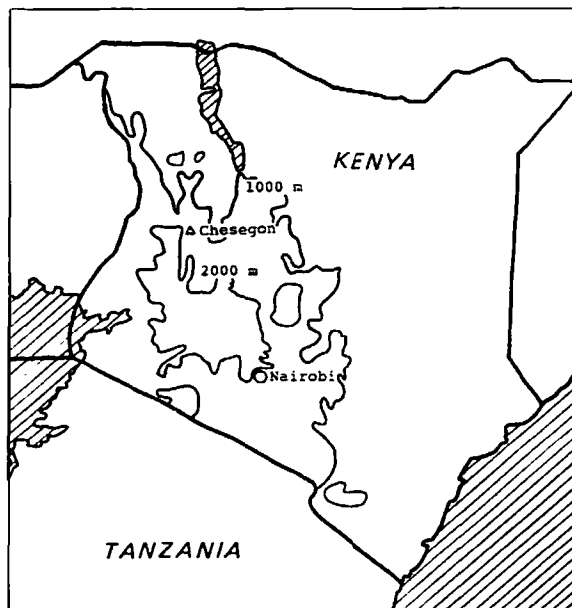


Fig. 1. Study place.

Table 1. Material culture of the agricultural Pokot.

No. ¹⁾	Type	Material ²⁾		Source ³⁾	Number of articles ⁴⁾		Durability ⁵⁾	Vernacular name	Size and other remarks ⁶⁾
		P	A	S	M	I			
A) Manufacturing									
1	awl	+	+	+	0	1	× × × ×	parparkotu	L 19.5, W 35. Haft: <i>Ehretia cymosa</i> .
2	awl-2	+	+	+	1	2	× × × ×	soitok	L 32, W 40.
3	glue		+	+	0	1	× × × ×	tamancha	Made from propolis to be used to repair breaks of calabashes.
4	knife	+	+	+	2	2	× × × ×	rotwa	L 25, W 95. Haft: <i>Ehretia cymosa</i> , sometimes covered with cattle skin.
	industrially made rope			+					
	needle			+					
	nail			+					
	thread			+					
	slaughtering knife			+					
	scissors			+					
	kapi knife*			+					
	razor			+					
B) Agriculture									
5	hoe	+	+	+	1	1	× × × ×	jembe	L 44 (stick), W 535. Haft: <i>Tamarindus indica</i> .
6	traditional axe	+	+	+	1	1	× × × × ×	oiwo	L 61 (stick), W 1135. Haft: <i>Olea europaea</i> . (Fig. 3)
7	hatchet			+			× × × ×	panga**	L 55, W 695. Haft is sometimes covered with cattle skin.
8	industrially made axe			+	1	1	× × × × ×	shoka	L 65, W 1500.
9	granary	+	+		2	—			
	traditional hatchet	+	+	—					
	industrially made hoe			+					
C) Stock raising									
10	pen of kids	+	+	+	2	3	× × ×	somu	Constructed in the corner of a house using branches of <i>Acacia tortilis</i> , <i>Berchemia discolor</i> , or <i>Terminalia brownii</i> .
11	fence	+		+	2	2			
12	plant fiber rope	+		+	1	1	× ×	porkoy	L 170, W 60. Used to tie livestock. Made of tree fiber.
13	brand iron	+	+	+	0	2	× × × × ×	machei	L 60, W 60.

14	arrow for bleeding	+	+	+	1	1	× × × × ×	terema	L 48, W 17. Shaft: <i>Odontella fischeri</i> . An arrowhead is tied with bark fiber of <i>Basananthe banningtoniana</i> .		
15	stock raising hut	+		+	1	1	× × × ×	sopoto	Made of <i>Odontella fischeri</i> , <i>Terminalia brownii</i> , or <i>Acacia kirkii</i> .		
16	milk receiver	+		+	1	6	× × × × ×	alept	H 20, W 600. Made of <i>Lamea</i> sp. People hang this cylindrical receiver on their left thumb by its skin loop and milk a cow with right hand (Fig. 4).		
17	ox-bell		+	+		+	2	2	× × × × ×	kadongot	H 10, W 420.
D) Honey collecting											
18	smoking wood	+		+	0	1		taghnyan	<i>Ficus sycomorus</i> .		
19	beehive	+		++	—	—		moghhen	L 126. Made of trunk of <i>Ficus sycomorus</i> .		
20	grass	+		+	1	1	× ×	sollion	L 170. Used to cover beehives with fiber of <i>Hippocratea africana</i> .		
21	chisel	+	+		+	0	1	× × × × ×	kolomogh	L 54, W 720. Used to make beehives. Haft: <i>Cordia simensis</i> .	
E) Dwe'ling											
22	door	+		+	3	4	× × × × ×	sopoghion	H 121. Trunk of <i>Ficus sycomorus</i> or <i>Terminalia brownii</i> is used.		
23	hanger	+		+	4	4	× × × × ×	matunkul	Twigs to hold calabashes.		
24	shelf	+		+	0	2	× × × × ×	saana			
25	skin mat		+	+	2	3		menyoon	L 170. Wi 140, W 2800. Cattle skin made.		
26	traditional bed	+		+	2	2	× × × × ×	porroy	Branches of <i>Berchemia discolor</i> .		
27	hearth		+	+	2	2	× × × × ×	nakogh			
28	besom	+		+	2	2	×	kapuchon	L 52, W 60.		
29	portable stool	+		++	2	1	× × × × ×	ngatchal	H 14, W 125. Made of <i>Ziziphus mauritiana</i> .		
30	house	+	+	+	++	2	2	× × × × ×	Made of <i>Berchemia discolor</i> , <i>Odontella fischeri</i> , <i>Terminalia brownii</i> , or <i>Acacia kirkii</i> .		
31	stool	+	+	+	—	—	× × × × ×				
	timber	+		—							
	cement			+		—					
	mattress			+		—					
	lock			+		—					
	steel bed			+		—					
F) Cooking and eating											
32	<i>ugali</i> scraper	+		+	1	1	× ×	kantala	L 7.5, W 15. A fragment of calabash. Used to scrape off <i>ugali</i> remaining in the clay pot.		

Table 1. (continued) Material culture of the agricultural Pokot.

No. ¹⁾	Type	Material ²⁾		Source ³⁾		Number of articles ⁴⁾		Durabil- ity ⁵⁾	Vernacular name	Size and other remarks ⁶⁾
		P	A S M I	F T M S O	L	T				
33	fermenter	+		+		0	—	× × × ×	rotion	L 20, W 150. Fruits of <i>Kigeria africana</i> cut in half vertically. Two to three peices are put in a big calabash (cf. No. 40) with other material to brew beer.
34	ugali knife	+		+		2	2	× ×	saita	L 20, W 20. A spatula made of <i>Croton dichogamus</i> or <i>Odontella fischri</i> .
35	dipper	+		+		1	2	× ×	tuwan	W 60. Made of calabash.
36	wooden plate	+		+		1	1	×	perta	L 68, W 1500. Used to serve <i>ugali</i> . Bark of <i>Ficus</i> sp.
37	skin plate	+		+		0	1	× × × × ×	ropka	L 40, Wi 59, W 550. Used to serve <i>ugali</i> .
38	tobacco grinder		+	+		0	1	× × × ×	kaugh pe taba	L 54, Wi 30. People make snuff tobacco by grinding with the stones, mixing edible oil and soda ash to improve taste.
39	empty can			+	+	4	5	× × ×	kimbo*	
40	beer fermenting calabash	+		+		0	1	× × × ×	roo	A big calabash with two openings, which can brew 20 to 30 litres of beer. The lower and bigger opening is for putting material in and the higher and smaller one is for pouring beer out of it (Fig. 5).
41	ugali maker	+		+		2	2	× ×	mukang	L 76, W 245. A wooden pestle to cook <i>ugali</i> in clay pots.
42	mortar and pestle	+	+	+		1	0	× × × × ×	konoo (mortar)	mortar (wood), H 36, W 4565; pestle (stone), H 34, W 3115.
43	wooden vessel	+		+		0	1	× × × ×	otupo	L 50, W 1415. An oval-shaped wooden vessel. People serve <i>ugali</i> , soup or water with this. Its volume varies much (Fig. 6).
44	calabash cleaner	+		+		2	2	× ×	merusuwa	L 80, W 35. A leafstalk of which one terminal is crushed to be brush like. People insert this terminal into a calabash to clean it.
45	shallow bamboo basket	+	+	+		3	2	× × ×	ksa	L 86, Wi 60, W 1560. On this, people serve <i>ugali</i> , and carry or dry crops. There are two types; one is plastered with cattle dung on the outside of the base and the other is not (Fig. 7).
46	deep bamboo basket	+	+	+		1	1	× × ×	ptaswa	L 34, W 350.

47	clay pot	+	+	3	3	× × × × ×	tor	H 36, W 5700. Used to cook <i>ugali</i> .	
48	small clay pot	+	+	2	1	× × × × ×	towt	H 20, W 1970. Used to cook vegetables.	
49	aluminium cooking pan	+	++	2	3	× × ×	sufuria**		
50	metal spoon	+	++	10	8		kijiko**		
51	metal bowl	+	+	2	1	× × × ×	pakuli		
52	metal dish	+	+	0	2	× × × ×	sani		
53	meta cup	+	+-	—	—				
54	glass	+	+	0	2				
	liquor cup	+	--						
	wooden bowl	+	---						
	wooden spoon	+	---				sa tangiyon		
	stirer	+	---				kipiret	A stick of which ohe terminal is propeller shaped used to stir flour in boiling water.	
	<i>ugali</i> mucker-2	+	---				mwiko	A spatula used to cook <i>ugali</i> in aluminium cooking pans.	
	tea strainer		+		-				
	kettle		+		-				
	nursing bottle		+		-				
G) Carrying and keeping									
55	calabash holder	+	+	2	1	× × × × ×	asacha	H 41, W 72. Two oval wooden frames, over which a rough net is stretched. Net is made of bark of <i>Odontella fisheri</i> or <i>Acacia totolis</i> . People put calabashes between the two frames and hang them in the house, or sometimes carry calabashes with them on the back (Fig. 8).	
56	cylindrical case	++	+	0	1	× × × × ×	apriyon	Oil or feather container. A scooped branch with cattle skin at its ends.	
57	honey container	++	+	0	2	× × × × ×	tokogh	H 31, W 1420. A scooped out trunk with cattle skin on its ends (Fig. 9).	
58	skin rope	+	+	2	1	× × × ×	anwa	L 216, W 150. Made of cattle skin.	
59	oil container	+	+	1	3	× × × × ×	kuyogh	W 20. Cattle hornes.	
60	tobacco case	+	+	—	—		akudong		
61	goat skin bag	+	+	2	4	× × × ×	sukun	D 44, W 199.	
62	goat skin bag-2	+	+	1	1	× × × ×	sonbulu	D 51, W 450.	
63	honey collecting bag	+	+	0	—		takalu		
64	liquor carrier	+	+	1	2	× × × ×	ptarka	H 22, W 210. Made of calabash. Cord is made of <i>Hippocratea africana</i> or <i>Sansevieria robusta</i> .	
65	milk container	+	+	2	5	× × × ×	mkoo	H 30, W 100. Made of calabash.	
66	empty bottle		+	0	1	× × × ×	chupa**		

Table 1. (continued) Material culture of the agricultural Pokot.

No. ¹⁾	Type	Material ²⁾		Source ³⁾		Number of articles ⁴⁾		Durability ⁵⁾	Vernacular name	Size and other remarks ⁶⁾		
		P	A	S	M	I	F				T	M
67	small basket	++						1	1	× × × ×	korop	D 19, W 235. Used to contain <i>ugali</i> (Fig. 10).
68	cloth bag		+		+			—	—			
69	jerrycan		+		++			2	2	× ×		Made of plastic.
70	trunk		+		++			1	2		sanduku**	
	cattle skin bag		+		--						muroot	
	water carrier		+		--						sot	
	ca'abash holder-2		++		--						lokolo	
	sack			+		—						
	18-liter oil can			+		—					debe**	
	coin case			+		—						
	big metal bowl			+		—					kalaya	Di 60. A round bottom bowl. Used to carry or wash things.
H) Clothes, shoes and ornaments												
71	skin skirt		+		+			3	2		kerotoi	
72	apron		+		+			2	1		atiro	
73	ornament feather		+		+			0	2		songulu	
74	earing			+	+			—	—			
75	necklace		+++		+			—	—		lokepel	
76	bra elet			+	++			—	—		kalun	
77	tire made sandals			+	++			—	—		kwegh	
78	skirt			+	++			1	1		marinda	
79	sheet			+	++			3	2		siti**	
80	one-piece			+	+++			1	6			
81	socks			+	++			0	2		socks**	
82	be't			+	+			0	1		anwa	
83	gym shirt			+	+			0	1		vesti**	
84	slip			+	+			0	1		kamizi	
85	handkerchief			+	+			1	2		kitanbaya**	
85	blanket			+	+			1	3		blanketi**	
87	short pants			+	++			5	3		surwali	
88	long trousers			+	++			2	2		sirtut	
89	shirt			+	++			8	6		shati**	
90	shoes			+	++			—	—			
91	underwear			+	++			6	6			

92	shoe polish		+		+	0	1			
93	s oebbrush		+			+	0	1		
	skin one-piece		+		--				auriya	
	cape		+		--				ar cho	
	head band		+ + +		--					
	inner tube of tire			+	--					Used to repair sandals made of tire.
	scarf			+	--					
	beads			+	--					
	safety pin			+	--					
	printed sheet			+	--				leso	
	dyeing powder			+	--					
	hairbrush			+	--					
	school uniform			+	--					
	towel			+	--					
	sandals			+	--					
	button			+	--					
	umbrella			+	--					
	brassiere			+	--					
	hat			+	--				kofia**	
	coat			+	--				ko..**	
I) Weapon										
94	stick		+		+	1	2		lungu	
95	string of bow		++		+	1	2	× ×	nyien	L 236, W 25. Cattle tail hair with resin.
96	spear cover		+		+	1	1	× × × ×	malyan	L 22, W 15. Cattle skin made.
97	quiver		++		+	1	1	× × × × ×	mlongit	L 84. Cattle skin is used (Fig. 11).
98	bow		+		+	1	3	× × × ×	kwant	L 155, W 600. Made of <i>Odontella fischeri</i> .
99	stick-2		+		+	4	10	× ×	lukup	Made of <i>Odontella fischeri</i> .
100	arrow		++	+	+++	--	--			
101	spear		+	+	+	2	2	× × × × ×	ngat	L 240, W 875. Shaft: <i>Odontella fischeri</i> .
	shield		++		--				longo	
	feather of arrow		+		---					
J) Magic and ceremony										
102	bamboo pole		+		+	0	1	× × × ×	seasu	L 123, W 515. Used in magic against human disease and livestock death.
103	apron for dancing		+	+	+	0	1	× × × × ×	pemoi	W 735. Made of goat skin with bells and ivory ornaments.
	milk sprinkler			+	--				laal	Made of cattle horn.
	traditional medicine		+		---					

Table 1. (continued) Material culture of the agricultural Pokot.

No. ¹⁾	Type	Material ²⁾				Source ³⁾		Number of articles ⁴⁾		Durability ⁵⁾	Vernacular name	Size and other remarks ⁶⁾
		P	A	S	M	F	T	L	T			
	red-brown soil		+			---					katiwut	Rubbed on the mother's face when her child is sick.
	circumcision knife	+	+			-						This has a curved blade.
	bell		+			-					kurkuriyon	Attached on ankles or legs when people dance.
K)	Music											
	flute	+				--					kurel	
	guitar	++				-					pukan	
L)	Chemical substance											
	medicine-1					+						There are two brands.
	medicine-2					+						There are seventeen brands.
	nursery powder					+						
	pomade					+						
	cosmetics					+						
	insecticide					+						
	mosquito coil					+						
	toothpaste					+						There are two brands.
	toothbrush					+						
	soap					+						There are seven brands.
	skin cream					+						
	soap for animal skin					+						
	cleanser					+						There are two brands.
M)	Miscellaneous											
104	fire drill	+				+		2	2	× ×	pion	
105	flashlight					+	+	1	1		tochi**	
106	notebook					+	+	0	8			
	goat skin	+				--						
	cattle skin	+				--						
	letter paper					+						
	fountain pen					+						
	pencil					+						
	ballpoint pen					+						
	eraser					+						
	ink					+						

velope	+	-
chok	+	-
wire brush	+	-
mirror	+	-
battery	+	-
candle	+	-
lighter flint	+	-
matchbox	+	-
lamp	+	-
lamp chimney	+	-
kerosene	+	-
bicycle tire	+	-
radio	+	-
record player	+	-
wristwatch	+	-
bicycle	+	-
sunglasses	+	-

-
- 1) Articles of numbered types were possessed by at least either of the two families in the sample, while unnumbered articles were possessed by other Agricultural Pokot living around Chesegeon.
- 2) P = Plant, A = Animal, S = Stone, M = Metal, I = Industrially made.
- 3) F = Family member made, T = Tribe member (Agricultural Pokot) made, M = Obtained at Chesegeon market, S = Obtained at Chesegeon shops, O = Obtained outside Chesegeon, + = Actual acquired place in the case of the two families, - = Obtainable place.
- 4) Possessed articles' number of each type. L = The Lokortete family, T = The Tuktuk family.
- 5) $\times \times \times \times$ = more than 20 years, $\times \times \times$ = 10 to 20, $\times \times$ = 5 to 10, \times = 1 to 5, \times = 1 and less years.
- 6) Size (cm) and weight (g) measurements were made on one typical article of the two families. L = Length, D = Depth, Di = Diameter, H = Height, W = Weight, Wi = Width.
- : Uncountable or unknown number.
- *Brand name.
- **Swahili, English or apparently comes from them.

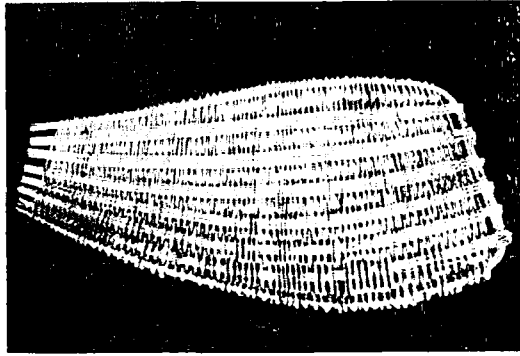


Fig. 7. Shallow bamboo basket (No. 45 in Table I).

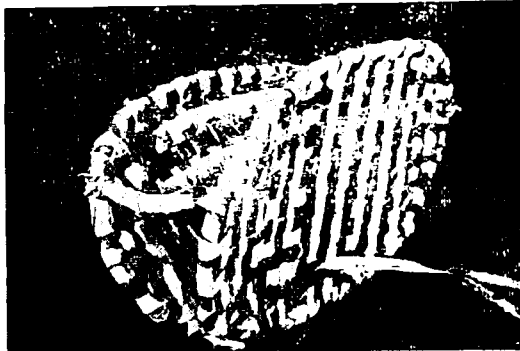


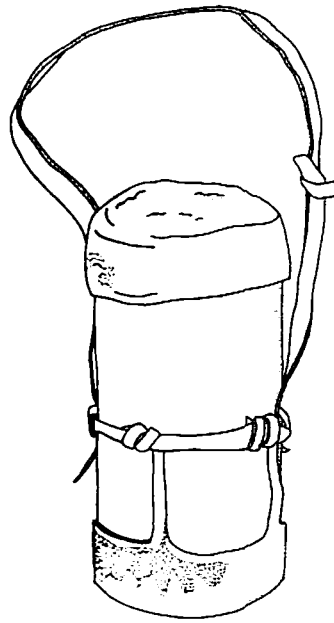
Fig. 8. Calabash holder (No. 55 in Table I).

families have 334 articles composed of 106 different types of material culture. Other salaried persons in Cheseгон such as teachers, government officers, and store employes have modern industrially made articles. These are steel beds, wristwatches, record players, radios, etc. Including these articles, there are 201 different types of material culture.

The two families have some articles heavier than one kilogram. These are a clay pot (5700 g), mortar and pestle (3115 g), skin mat (2800 g), small clay pot (1970 g), shallow bamboo basket (1560 g), axe (1500 g), wooden plate (1500 g), honey container (1420 g), wooden vessel (1415 g), and traditional axe (1134 g). Moreover, they have other heavy articles which were not weighed in this study such as beds, shelves, stone made stools, etc.

Composition of raw materials is shown in Table 2, referring to the case of the Mbuti in Zaire tropical rain forest and the San in the Kalahari desert, both of them hunter-gatherers. The total amount of material culture of the Pokot is more than that of the Mbuti and the San because the Pokot lead sedentary agricultural lives. The numbers of the Mbuti's and the San's material culture are not those of the sampled families but of the whole studied band. Some heavy articles like mortar and pestle, and cooking pan are usually common properties of the band (Tanno, 1981). Therefore, family properties of the hunter-gatherers are less than what are shown in Table 2.

Among the three peoples, only the Pokot have apparently factory made articles. Disregarding these industrially made articles of the Pokot, the ratios of plant, animal and metal as raw material are intermediate between the two hunter-gatherer groups. The Mbuti's material culture is characterized by its heavy use of plant material; they live in rain forest, have an

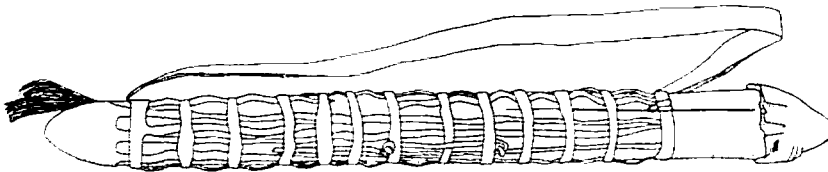


10cm

Fig. 9. Honey container (No. 57 in Table 1).



Fig. 10. Small basket (No. 67 in Table 1).



20cm

Fig. 11. Arrow container No. 97 in Table 1).

Table 2. Composition of raw materials.

Material	Agricultural Pokot		Mbuti*(%)	Central Kalahari San**(%)
	A(%)	B(%)		
Plant	52 (38.8)	52 (51.0)	69 (69.7)	41 (41.4)
Animal	25 (18.7)	25 (24.5)	14 (14.1)	32 (32.3)
Stone or clay***	8 (6.0)	8 (7.8)	4 (4.0)	8 (8.1)
Metal	17 (12.7)	17 (16.7)	12 (12.1)	18 (18.2)
Industrially made	32 (23.9)			
Total	134 (100.1)	102 (100.0)	99 (99.9)	99 (100.0)
Total number of items	106	74	83	69

A=Including all items, B=Omitting industrially made items.

*Tanno (1981), **Tanaka (1980b), ***Including beads.

abundant store of plants, and many articles are spontaneously made and discarded soon after use. On the other hand, the San living in the desert frequently use animal products.

Means of acquisition are shown in Figure 12 for each type of material culture. More than half of all types (56 of 106) are made by family members, while only 15.1% (16 of 106) are obtained at the market. Almost all the types obtained at the market are handcrafts, especially those made of metal. Part-time handcraftsmen sell their products by themselves at the market; traditional metal articles are made and sold by Marakwet blacksmiths.

Types of material culture obtained at shops and those outside Chesegeon largely overlap. Most of them are made of metal and cloth. Many metal and cloth articles are now necessities in Pokot lives. These are not produced by family or tribe members but are obtained at the market, shops, or outside Chesegeon. Few goods are dealt with by traders and hawkers. Hawkers never directly visit individual inhabitants, but come to Chesegeon market every two to three months.

Durability in ideal condition and actual life of articles are shown in Table 3. With regard to

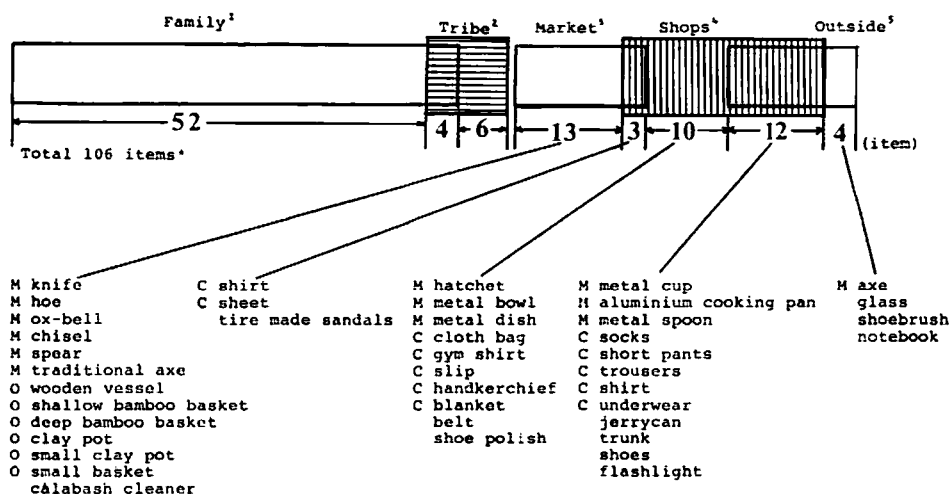


Fig. 12. Means of acquisition.

¹Two sampled families, ²Agricultural Pokot, ³Chesegeon market, ⁴Chesegeon shops, ⁵Outside Chesegeon. M = Metal made, C = Cloth made, O = Other handcraft. Two items are not illustrated in this figure. One is obtained at market, shops, and outside Chesegeon. The other one is family and tribe member made, and also obtained at Chesegeon market.

Table 3. Durability and actual life.

Durability (year)	Actual life (year)				Article total	Item total
	1 and less	1 to 5	5 to 10	more than 10		
1 and less	6 (articles)				6 (articles)	2 (items)
1 to 5	17	29 (articles)			46	11
5 to 10	5	13	8 (articles)		26	5
10 to 20	10	33	11	2 (articles)	56	23
more than 20	6	15	20	30	71	26
Total	44	90	39	32	205	67

the actual life, 15.6% (32 of 205) of articles have been being used more than ten years, while 21.5% (44 of 205) less than one year. With respect to durability, 62.0% (127 of 205) of all articles or 73.1% (47 of 67) of all types of material culture remain in good condition for more than ten years. Even articles lasting twenty years are not the properties for inheritance. Figure 13 shows rotation rate of the articles derived from Table 3. The abscissa shows numbers of years before present. The ordinate shows the ratio of renewed articles to the whole from the time shown in the abscissa to the present. A total of 21.5% (44 of 205) of articles has been used less than one year; which means at least 21.5% of articles have been renewed from one year before to the present. Also from five years and ten years to the present, at least 65.4% $[(44+90)/205]$ and 84.4% $[(44+90+29)/205]$ of articles have been renewed. As there is no article renewed during a moment, the ratio of renewed articles to the whole at the moment of the present is zero. This figure also predicts articles' rotation in the future. As time passes, the currently used articles are renewed one by one. Many articles will rotate quickly, while some will rotate slowly to remain several tens of years. Presence of both quickly rotating articles and slowly rotating articles is confirmed.

Table 4 shows the durability of the articles in relation to raw materials. Plant made articles are not always discarded quickly; some are thrown out within one year and some last more than twenty years. Articles made of other kinds of raw material last longer in good condition, especially animal or stone articles last at least ten years. For the articles made of composite materials, one main material is represented in the table. For example, although an axe has a metal blade and a wooden haft, it is considered a metal article which lasts more than twenty

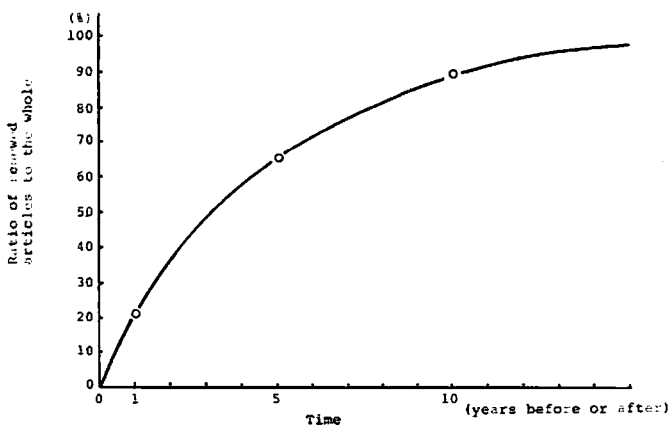


Fig. 13. Ratio of renewed articles to the whole.

Table 4. Durability and raw materials.

Durability (year)	Principal raw material				Total
	Plant	Animal	Stone or clay	Metal	
1 and less	2 (items)				2
1 to 5	11				11
5 to 10	3				5
10 to 20	10	5	1	7	23
more than 20	10	5	4	7	26

years in Table 4. Durability and actual length of use were studied in 67 out of 106 types. Of 39 types of which the durability is unknown, 13 were cloth made. These are considered to wear out within a few years.

2. Foodstuff

All kinds of foodstuff sold at the market, shops, and lunchrooms were recorded. In the seven Agricultural Pokot families in the sample, monetary flow was recorded to reveal actual amount of expenditure on foodstuff and non-foodstuff. Each family was recorded from 85 days to 132 days, totalling 4611 person-days.

The places where each foodstuff is available are shown in Table 5. About three fourths of all

Table 5. Available place of foodstuff.

Item	M	L	S	Item	M	L	S
tobacco	+			cooked beans		+	+
milk	+			<i>ugali</i>		+	+
bananas	+			meat soup		+	+
sugar cane	+			milk tea		R	+
maize	+			chapati			+
cassava	+			salt	+		+
leek	+			goat meat	+		+
cabbage & kale	+			kidney bean	+		+
mango	+			egg	+		+
papaya	+			beef	+		+
liquor	+			chili pepper	+		+
lemon	+			baking soda	+		+
sorghum	+			potato	+		+
dried meat	-			mutton	+		+
tomato	+			camel meat	+		+
guava	+			biscuit	R		+
honey	+			cigarette			+
spinach	+			candy			+
<i>mandazi</i> *	+			instant cocoa			+
ground nuts	+			coffee			+
<i>kunde</i> *	+			instant coffee			+
finger millet	+			chewing gum			+
dried fish	+			cola			+
<i>aron</i> *	+			condensed juice			+
unidentified vegetable	+			edible oil			+
sweet potato	+			maize flour			+
pumpkin	+			margarine			+
orange	+			powder milk (three brands)			+
boiled maize	R			skim milk			+
boiled cassava	R			rice			R
wild animal meat	R			sugar			+
				tea leaves (three brands)			+

M = Chesegon market, L = Chesegon lunchrooms, S = Chesegon shops including butcher shops, R = Rarely observed. *See Kurita (1982).

Table 6. Seven Agricultural Pokot families' expenditure (Sh*).

	Amount	Place	Subtotal	Item	Amount		
Expenditure on foodstuff not from market	899.3 (27.1%)	Shop	730.25	sugar	338.7		
				edible oil	198.7		
				maize flour	107.25		
				salt	50.5		
				cola	23.8		
				biscuit	7.6		
				cigarette	2.2		
				tea leaves	1.5		
				Butcher shop	156	meat	156
						Lunchroom	13.05
				cooked beans	5		
				<i>ugali</i>	4.05		
				milk tea	4		
Expenditure on foodstuff from market	605.53 (18.3%)						
Expenditure on non- foodstuff	1810.1 (54.6%)						
Total expenditure	3314.93 (100.0%)						

Each family budget in the sample was recorded on 85 to 132 days from September, 1980 to January, 1981. Records are available for 4611 person-days.

*Kenya Shilling; One U.S. Dollar was roughly equivalent to 7.5 to 8.5 Kenya Shillings during the study period.

kinds of foodstuff (46 of 63) can be obtained at Chesegon market. Foods sold at the market are grown near Chesegon and not imported from distant places (Kurita, 1982).

Shops also supply the people with many kinds of food. Table 6 shows the seven Agricultural Pokot families' total expenditure on foodstuff. Expenditure on sugar, edible oil, and maize flour is large. Most of the sugar is used to brew beer. Edible oil is used to cook vegetables. Maize flour is cooked as *ugali*, the staple food of the farmers. Industrially made luxuries such as cocoa, tea, and cola are also supplied by shops but in small amounts. Omitting the industrially made foodstuffs, only baking soda, potatoes, and rice are imported from distant places to be sold at the shops.

The ratio of expenditure at lunchrooms to the whole expenditure of the seven families is only 0.07% (Table 6). The lunchroom menus are poor, offering only four things. Moreover, only milk tea is common to the two lunchrooms; one lunchroom serves milk tea and cooked beans, while the other serves milk tea, *ugali* and meat soup.

Expenditure on foodstuff occupies 45.4% of the total expenditure of the seven Agricultural Pokot families. The remainder is mainly spent on cloths.

CONCLUSION

1) A total of 106 types of material culture were recognized; this is more than the hunter-gatherers' material culture. Some industrially made articles and heavy articles are found in the material culture of the Agricultural Pokot.

2) More than half of all types of material culture is made by family members. The market supplies about 15% of all types of material culture, many of which are handicrafts. Metal and cloth articles account for most articles obtained at market, shops and outside Chesegon.

3) Material culture of the Agricultural Pokot is composed of many quickly rotating articles and a few long lasting articles.

4) Durability of plant made articles varies much, while that of animal and stone made articles is at least ten years.

5) Market, shops and butcher shops supply much foodstuff, while lunchrooms only a little. The main food obtained at shops are sugar, edible oil, and maize flour.

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NOTE

(1) A total of 247 articles of the Pokot were collected and kept for research and exposition in the Little World Foundation (Ref. No. F-63-1~247).

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