MARRIAGE AND BRIDEWEALTH NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE TURKANA IN NORTHWESTERN KENYA

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ABSTRACT This article first provides basic information on kinship structure, livestock ownership, the process of arranging marriages, and amounts of bridewealth transferred among the Turkana of northwestern Kenya. It then describes an actual case of bridewealth negotiations that took place on September 6–7, 1998, and details how people behaved during face-to-face negotiations and how they obtained mutual agreements on numbers of bridewealth animals.

Among the Turkana, the amount of bridewealth is not fixed, but is rather determined after long negotiations between the families of the groom and bride. A large number of livestock is transferred, sometimes amounting to two-thirds of the property of the groom's family. Although people talk about the number of bridewealth animals in advance, final figures are settled at public meetings in which harsh words are often exchanged in heated negotiations. However, those involved in bridewealth debates also try to appear generous. The groom's side tries to give out enough animals to satisfy their future in-laws. The bride's side also withdraws their demands gracefully when necessary. Before they start bridewealth negotiations, both parties are usually firmly confident that they will reach an agreement, although their serious negotiation is a "game" played in earnest.

Key Words: East Africa; Face-to-face negotiation; Livestock transfer; Pastoralism; Wedding rituals.

INTRODUCTION

On the morning of September 6, 1998, about 100 Turkana men gathered under shade trees along the Tarac River in northwestern Kenya. A marriage was going to take place and members of both families, as well as people of the area, were coming together to conduct bridewealth negotiations. Among the Turkana, the amount of bridewealth is always determined through long negotiations.

Most of the Turkana people live in the Turkana District, which had a population of 450,000 in 1999 (Government of Kenya, 2001). They lead a pastoral way of life, keeping cattle, camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys. Although I have been conducting anthropological research in the northwestern part of the Turkana District intermittently since 1978, I had not yet had the opportunity to attend bridewealth negotiations and subsequent wedding rituals from beginning to end. This is because most weddings take place under the particular and uncommon conditions of good rainy seasons. The opportunity to examine how the Turkana people conduct these negotiations and rituals is therefore rare.

The Turkana transfer livestock as bridewealth. The number of animals some-

times amounts to two-thirds of the property of the groom's family.(1) There are no other events in which so many animals are given out in bulk. Both the groom's and bride's families seek support from all of the people with whom they have established social relationships. People also pay great attention to the future relations with their in-laws at the time of bridewealth negotiations. This is one of the most important and serious social events among the Turkana. They spend much time and energy in the negotiations, and the bridewealth transfer is the fruit of their collective efforts.

Bridewealth transactions have been a central theme in anthropological studies (e.g., Comaroff, 1980) because important social relationships, especially those of agnates and in-laws, are expressed in the transactions. Gulliver (1951, 1955) conducted a comprehensive survey of the Turkana, concerning who contributed the bridewealth animals on the groom's side, and who received them on the bride's side. Through these transactions, people create, confirm, and revitalize their social relationships.

However, I will not consider these functions of bridewealth in depth in this article. Instead, I will focus on the process of bridewealth negotiations: how people behave in face-to-face negotiations and how they obtain mutual agreements on the numbers of bridewealth animals. This is because, in these negotiations, the essential characteristics of the social relationships that people try to construct are vividly expressed.

OUTLINE OF MARRIAGE AMONG THE TURKANA

I. Kinship Structure and Marriage

Each Turkana belongs to one of 28 patrilineal clans (Gulliver, 1951). Each clan has its brand marks for livestock. Clan members follow specific ritual rules that are unique to their clan when they conduct *rites de passage* (Barrett, 1998). A clan, however, does not constitute a local group, and there are no opportunities for its members to come together. In short, a clan does not have any political or economic functions. The most important role of clans is that they are exogamous units. People cannot marry members of their own and their mother's natal clans.(2)

Turkana trace the genealogy of their ancestors only two to three generations from the oldest living man of their family. The descendants of a common ancestor maintain actual cooperative relationships of an economic, political, or religious nature. These people also take part in the bridewealth transactions together. I refer to this group of people as a "lineage" in this paper.(3) However, it is important to note that genealogical distance (e.g., X's grandfather and Y's grandfather are full-brothers) does not prescribe the social relationships among the lineage members, i.e., the social relationship of X and Y is not prescribed by genealogical distance. Individuals cultivate and maintain their relationships through continuing cooperation including livestock management, gift exchange, or assistance in con-

flict settlement. That is, each individual has his/her own social networks. Those people associated with the valid patrilineal network are reciprocally entitled to the bridewealth of women who belong to the network. In addition, they go into mourning when a member of the network dies and observe certain restrictions, such as the prohibition of livestock transfer, while they are in mourning.

II. Livestock Ownership and Marriage

Marriage is the most important step towards becoming an independent livestock owner under the Turkana system of livestock ownership, as well as towards acquiring in-laws as principal partners. Among the Turkana, all livestock belong to the "women's hut,"[4] although they are individually owned. A "woman's hut" is a physical space in which all of the married women build their huts after they give birth to their first child. At the same time, a "woman's hut" signifies a social unit of full-siblings together with their mother.

The Turkana clearly define their right to the milk of female livestock by allocating each animal to a certain "woman's hut." The milk of the animals of a "hut" is put into a single gourd after milking and then shared by its members after fermentation into yoghurt. When they slaughter livestock for meat, it is skinned and dissected at the related "woman's hut," and distributed to other members of the family from that "hut." To designate which "hut" should do this, all the animals are allocated to certain "huts" in advance. Each animal has its individual owner, but members of a "woman's hut" also have a certain collective right to the animals that belong to their "hut."

Young men obtain "their own animals," given by their relatives and friends. However, these animals also belong to their mother's "hut." Because of this, it is difficult to distinguish them clearly from siblings' animals. On the death of their mother, one of their sisters will play the role of the mother. It is not until a man gets married that he sets up a clear distinction between his livestock and those of his siblings by allocating his livestock to the "hut" of his wife. This principle also applies to women.

It is a basic ideal for Turkana to become independent by establishing their own livestock herds, although it is difficult to build a separate homestead even after getting married due to the shortage of labor to manage livestock herds of several species, all with different ecological and physiological needs. The average age of the first marriage for male Turkana is 31.8 years old, while that of women is 22.7 years (Leslie *et al*., 1999: 283). To get married, a huge amount of livestock should be transferred as bridewealth, and it is not easy to accumulate enough animals. Turkana are polygynous, and the number of wives increases over the life course of men (Leslie *et al*., 1999: 291). The average number of wives is 1.8 (Gulliver, 1955: 243).

Not all women get married. Even when a woman gives birth without getting married, she is not socially ostracized, although in general promiscuity is bitterly criticized and avoided. In such cases, the father or elder brother of the woman will act as the social father of the baby. In the northwestern Turkana

district where I conducted intensive surveys, about one-third of all women gave birth before getting married. While some of them get married afterwards, others remain unmarried throughout their lives. Although the Turkana do not socially stigmatize unmarried mothers, these women are dogged by a subtle nuance of "not carrying out their lives properly." The ideal goal for young girls is to get married. When I gave papers and pencils to Turkana children to draw what they wanted, most of the girls made pictures of the front aprons of married women, which are different from those of unmarried women. Boys drew pictures of oxen emphasizing huge humps and horns.

III. Process of Gaining Consent for Courtship: Informal Meetings

After a young man and woman decide that they like each other, they may then try to gain the consent of their kin to get married. In other cases, the male suitor may directly approach the woman's kinsmen, especially her father, to secure their consent, without talking to the woman. In these cases, the suitor tends to be much older than the woman.

In all cases, it is not easy to obtain the consent of the woman's kinsmen. The suitor, together with his brothers and friends, will visit the woman's homestead at frequent intervals. They typically sit down in the shade of trees located about 25 to 30 m east of the homestead, so as to clearly declare their intent. Among the Turkana, the main entrance of the homestead always faces east. People of the woman's homestead may give them food and tobacco, and the suitor's party may spend nights there. At first, women of the woman's homestead may go there to talk to them, and then men may do the same, thereby confirming the intention of the suitor's party. In this process, both parties try to attain detailed knowledge of each other to ascertain whether they could be adequate partners. During this process, the suitor may withdraw his proposal, or the women's kinsmen could decline the offer.

The suitor should obtain the approval of his patrilineal lineage members as well, who will assist him in negotiations with the woman's kinsmen. Then, when the suitor decides to make an earnest effort to obtain the consent of the woman's family, he will take an ox or a castrated camel to the woman's homestead and slaughter it as a gift. Kinsmen of the woman, especially her parents, may take advantage of this opportunity to ask the suitor for numerous gifts, starting with such small gifts as tobacco, sugar, and tea leaves and then requesting more substantial gifts such as clothes, blankets, and cooking pans and reproducing he-goats and rams.

When both parties are favorably inclined toward marriage, they start to talk about the bridewealth payment. In this process, the father of the suitor, his elder brothers, and his father's brothers will play important roles in cases where the suitor is still unmarried. If he is married, he will represent himself. The woman's father will explain important members of his lineage to the suitor and designate the number of bridewealth animals that each member should receive. As noted

above, among the Turkana, the number of bridewealth animals is always decided through negotiations. The woman's father has an approximate idea of the livestock holdings of the suitor's family, including his close kinsmen who will assist him, and he voices his demands based on this idea. However, the suitor's side does not enter into negotiations at this stage. Nor do they make any promises. The final number of bridewealth animals must be fixed by negotiations at formal public meetings, attended by all the important kinsmen of both sides.(5)

IV. Public Bridewealth Negotiations

When, after repeated informal meetings, both sides decide that they will be able to reach an agreement, they take steps to convene bridewealth negotiations at public meetings. From now on, I will refer to the suitor as the bridegroom and to the woman as the bride.

First, people of the groom's lineage visit the homestead of the bride's father. They wait under the shade of a tree, located about 25 to 30 m east of the homestead. People of the bride's lineage also assemble under another shady area, just outside the main entrance of the homestead of the bride's father. The distance between the two groups is about 15 to 20 m. Then, each side will take turns sending a man to the area between the two groupings to make a negotiation speech. No women from either side take any direct part in these negotiations, which proceed as follows.

(1) Negotiations for gifts

For women of the bride's side who are very closely related to the bride, such as her mother and the mother's co-wives, men of their side demand items such as cooking pans, blankets, and skirts of goatskin (typical female clothing) when they feel that their demands in the informal meetings were not satisfied. These gifts are usually given in the form of he-goats. Reproducing he-goats and rams and donkeys as pack animals are also demanded at this stage.

(2) Negotiations for camels

Negotiations next focus on camels, which the groom's side gives out as a total number. In the case of goats and sheep, as well as cattle, the number of animals that should be transferred to each specific recipient is negotiated one by one. However, in the case of camels, only the total number of animals is negotiated. When these camels are brought to the home of the bride's father, they are then allocated among the close kinsmen of the bride.(6) The groom's side is not involved with how the camels are allocated.(7)

Initially, the bride's side may make a demand, saying, "You should bring 20 camels." The groom's side may reply, "We have only two camels." Then, they will try to negotiate a compromise. When the groom's side cannot afford enough camels, they give out cattle and donkeys as a substitute to meet the demand of the bride's side. That is, people regard these cattle and donkeys as "camels."

(3) Negotiations for goats and sheep for the "core members" of the patrilineal lineage of the bride's father

The names of the father, mother, and co-wives of the mother, in cases where the bride's father is polygynous, are declared by the bride's side, and the number of animals that should be transferred to each person is negotiated one by one. When they reach an agreement for all these members, the same kind of negotiation is then conducted for the full-brothers of the bride's father, his half-brothers, his patrilineal parallel cousins, as well as his sisters.[8]

Among the Turkana, the above three-part process is called *eloto*. It is supposed to take place at the homestead of the bride's father.[9] After this, the men of the bride's side visit the groom's homestead and continue bridewealth negotiations there. At the groom's homestead, people of the bride's side sit under the shade of a tree to the east of the homestead. All the livestock of the groom's family will be kept in the enclosure until the negotiations are over. The following process of negotiations is called *aki-uta* (or *aku-uta*) in Turkana, meaning "to marry" or "marriage."

(4) Transfer of camels, goats, and sheep

First, the groom's side hands over the "camels" they agreed to give out on the previous day to the bride's side. Then, the groom's side hands over the bridewealth of goats and sheep for the above-mentioned "core members," declaring the names of the recipients one by one. The transferred animals are chased to the bride's side and are kept nearby until the entire transfer of bridewealth is complete.

(5) Negotiations for and transfer of goats and sheep for the bride's sisters

Bridewealth of goats and sheep for the bride's full-sisters, and then for her half-sisters, is negotiated and transferred by listing their names one by one. In general, only married women are entitled to a share of the bridewealth, although there are many exceptions.

(6) Negotiations for and transfer of goats and sheep for other members of the patrilineal lineage of the bride's father

These negotiations are also done by listing the recipients' names one by one.

(7) Negotiations for and transfer of goats and sheep for the natal family of the bride's mother

Negotiations of bridewealth for the bride's mother's mother, her mother's brothers, and her mother's sisters are also done by listing their names singly.

After finishing this process, the negotiations for and transfer of goats and sheep come to an end. Then, the negotiations for cattle start, again listing all the recipients on the bride's side singly.

(8) Negotiations for and transfer of cattle for the "core members" of the patrilineal lineage of the bride's father

(9) Negotiations for and transfer of cattle for the bride's sisters

(10) Negotiations for and transfer of cattle for other members of the patrilineal lineage of the bride's father

(11) Negotiations for and transfer of cattle for the natal family of the bride's mother

The above-mentioned process of negotiations is not always followed strictly. For example, although Turkana people say that steps (1) to (3) should be done at the homestead of the bride's father, in both cases that I participated in, people could not come to an agreement in step (3) at the homestead of the bride's father. They continued step (3) after they moved to the groom's homestead. Moreover, the negotiations for goats and sheep [steps (3), (5), (6), and (7)] and those for cattle [steps (8) to (11)] were somewhat jumbled together in the following case study.

V. Wedding and Subsequent Rituals

Immediately after all of the bridewealth has been transferred, the wedding rituals are carried out. Men of the groom's patrilineal lineage bring an ox to the homestead of the bride's father, spear and butcher it inside the enclosure for goats and sheep located at the center of the homestead, and take its meat into the house of the bride's mother. This ox is sometimes called "a wedding ox" (*ekumae* in Turkana), and, according to the Turkana, its slaughter signifies the final formalization of the marriage. On this occasion, women of the groom's lineage travel together with the men and spend a few days constructing a temporary homestead to the east of the bride's father's homestead. In return for the wedding ox, the bride's father provides another ox or castrated camel to be speared and butchered by the men of the bride's lineage. Neighbors assemble for the feast, and take part in several rituals. After a few days, when people finish the rituals and feast, the groom's family members take the bride to their homestead. Upon their arrival, a ritual is performed in which the bride changes her clothing from that of an unmarried woman for that of a newly married wife.

While in Western societies the wedding ceremony and marriage registration finalize the marriage, for the Turkana, marriage at this stage is still not considered complete. Among the Turkana, when a newly married wife gets her menstrual period for the first time after the wedding rituals, the family members of the wife's father visit the husband's homestead, taking livestock with them. People of both sides perform a ritual together and then slaughter the livestock. The Turkana conduct this type of ritual repeatedly; for example, when the wife becomes pregnant. When a newly married wife becomes a mother, she is gradually incorporated into the husband's family by repeating these rituals. Among the Turkana, marriage is a progressive process that follows the wedding rituals.

Which rituals should be done and how they are conducted differ according to the husband's clan. However, the final ritual of this process is common for all the clans of the Turkana. This ritual is called *ngasuban* (*aki-sub* means "to do, to accomplish"), in which people of the wife's natal lineage visit the husband's homestead taking livestock with them. By conducting this ritual, the woman

"accomplishes" the transformation and is transferred completely from one lineage to the other. This ritual is usually performed within three to four years after the wedding rituals, but can take more than 20 years.[10]

AMOUNT OF BRIDEWEALTH

In order to get married, the groom's family should give out a large number of livestock. The Turkana have an expression of *ngibaren lu a akiuta* or simply *ngibaren a akiuta*, which, translated literally, means "livestock of marriage." It includes the following four categories of livestock, although the Turkana do not categorize them explicitly.

(1) Animals that are transferred alive from the groom's side to the bride's side

"Livestock of marriage" indicates animals of this category in the narrow sense. These livestock are often called *nabarat* (*aki-bar* means "to become rich in animals"). A person's share is called *anok* (literally "livestock enclosure") or *ekimar* (*aki-mar* means "to count").[11] The numbers of livestock in this category for 29 marriages are shown in Table 1. In general, richer people give out more livestock among the Turkana. On average, 22.0 cattle, 7.2 camels, 1.2 donkeys, and 110.5 goats and sheep were transferred. The total of the three large animals was 30.4.[12]

(2) Animals slaughtered or sold by the groom's family to buy gifts to obtain consent of the bride's family members

The suitor sometimes brings an ox or a castrated camel to the homestead of the woman's father and slaughters it for a feast. People of the bride's side also ask the suitor (or the groom) for many gifts, such as food, tobacco, blankets, cooking pans, and goatskin skirts, in the process of courtship and bridewealth negotiations. The groom's side sells or gives out between 5 to 15 goats and sheep to buy these gifts.

(3) Animals slaughtered for feasts and rituals

During public negotiations of bridewealth and wedding rituals, the groom's side slaughters 10 to 45 goats and sheep and one or two cattle or camels.

In contrast to the livestock of category (1), those of (2) and (3) are called *akiring* ("meat") or *nanyamat* (*aki-nyam* means "to eat") because they are actually eaten or sold to buy gifts.

(4) Animals transferred alive to people other than those of the bride's side

When a marriage is close at hand, the groom's kinsmen and friends visit him to ask for livestock, saying, "[Not only the people of bride's side, but] we are also hungry." The Turkana say that these people can enter the livestock enclosure of the groom's family and take out goats and sheep without securing the owner's consent.[13] Animals of this category number between 10 and 80. Interestingly, this group of people includes the groom's close agnates and friends, who either contribute their animals to the groom's bridewealth payments or give out their animals to

Table 1. Examples of bridewealth transfer

Case No.	"Large" animal				Goat & sheep
	Cattle	Camel	Donkey	Total	
1	0	2	2	4	430
2	4	3	0	7	63
3	1	5	2	8	78
4	0	8	2	10	212
5	5	1	6	12	211
6	6	3	3	12	58
7	1	10	2	13	47
8	8	3	3	14	130
9	6	8	3	17	114
10	9	5	5	19	188
11	12	9	0	21	172
12	10	12	0	22	4
13	25	1	1	27	37
14	17	3	9	29	104
15	18	8	3	29	146
16	23	6	0	29	68
17	20	11	0	31	105
18	20	12	0	32	80
19	28	6	0	34	31
20	25	10	1	36	40
21	35	1	0	36	151
22	28	10	0	38	146
23	27	13	0	40	152
24	46	0	0	46	147
25	38	10	0	48	110
26	42	7	0	49	35
27	37	23	0	60	96
28	69	0	0	69	30
29	77	13	0	90	20
Average	22.0	7.0	1.4	30.4	110.5

the new wife after the wedding rituals. In short, people give numerous animals to one another in a relatively short period. People are in a festive mood and display their generosity during bridewealth payment and the wedding rituals.

Gulliver (1951: 206) hypothesized that the number of livestock actually transferred as bridewealth might be fewer than planned because when he questioned both the bride's and groom's sides concerning bridewealth payment following a wedding, those of the groom's side always told him a higher number of animals. However, it seems that while the bride's side mentioned only animals of category (1), the groom's side counted animals of not only category (1) but also categories (2), (3), and (4), because all of them were "livestock of marriage" for them.

Gulliver (1955: 233) also stated, "The group of recipients [of bridewealth] is

not so large as the group of contributors. Only close agnates (e.g., the bride's extended family), close maternal kin and close affines may claim shares in the bridewealth." He also claimed, "In collecting contributions to bridewealth a prospective groom approaches upwards of forty or fifty people" (1955: 231) and "as a very general rule all of a man's stock-associates contribute something to his bridewealth" (1955: 238).(14)

However, Gulliver's statements are at odds with my research findings. According to my observations, the recipients of the bridewealth are members of the bride's patrilineal lineage, members of the natal family of the bride's mother, and in-laws of the bride's father.(15) The number of these people rarely exceeds 30. On the other hand, the number of people who contribute to the bridewealth payment is much smaller, never more than ten persons, including the groom's father, full- and half-brothers, patrilineal parallel cousins, and mother's full-brothers.(16)

However, after the wedding rituals, the groom undertakes several journeys together with his new wife to the homesteads of his "stock-associates" to ask for livestock for the wife. It is prohibited for the groom's family members and stock associates to call out the name of the newly married wife before they give her some animals. On the morning after the wife comes to the groom's homestead after the wedding rituals, each member of the groom's family, i.e., the groom's father, mother, mother's co-wives, brothers, and sisters calls out the name of the new wife at the gate of the livestock enclosure and gives her their contribution of livestock. Then the groom visits his stock-associates with his wife to ask for livestock "[for them] to call her name." They typically spend several years conducting these expeditions, and all the stock-associates of the groom are approached to give animals.(17)

Among the Turkana, if a couple divorces, all the bridewealth livestock is returned to the husband's family, including the offspring of bridewealth animals. As one can imagine, it is almost impossible to return so many animals given to so many people. During my research, I encountered only one case of formal divorce in which bridewealth was returned. It appears that divorce is very rare among the Turkana.(18)

It is necessary to make some annotations on the timing of the bridewealth payment. Gulliver (1951: 209) stated that bridewealth payments by installments were possible, although they were not very common. McCabe (2004: 192) stated, "Bridewealth may be transferred all at once… or over an extended number of years involving multiple payments…." Johnson (1999: 101) also remarked, "Such large transfers of stock [as bridewealth] usually occur over an extended period of time…." According to his data, some Turkana men "have yet to give (and may never give livestock) bridewealth for their wives" (Johnson, 1999: 102). Wienpahl (1984: 212–213) presented an example of a man who recently started to pay the bridewealth of his second wife. At the time of study, this man had finished transferring only five camels and three cattle. Wienpahl's data also included a man who married a woman but had yet to transfer any animals.

It is only after a Turkana man accomplishes transferring *all* the bridewealth to his in-laws and kills the "wedding ox" that he can "legally" claim that he is married and that the children of the couple belong to his patrilineal family.

Therefore, it appears strange that a man may be already "married" without accomplishing payment of *all* the bridewealth, as they should logically be regarded as unmarried.[19]

For those Turkana men who seem to be halfway towards transferring their bridewealth, outsiders might assume that they first made an agreement with the bride's kinsmen regarding how many animals should be transferred in the end and started their payment little by little. However, such contracts are highly improbable. Because a person's livestock holdings fluctuate drastically due to droughts, animal diseases, and raiding by neighboring peoples, nobody can make promises regarding the number of animals that will be transferred in the future. This prompts the question: how can a Turkana man start to transfer bridewealth without making any prior arrangements with the woman's kinsmen?

The clue for answering this question is as follows: a Turkana man can acquire a girlfriend before he marries. He can even take her to his homestead to live with him, should her father agree to this arrangement. When she becomes pregnant, he is expected to pay a certain amount of livestock to her father.[20] This payment could be interpreted either as an advance payment of bridewealth or a penalty fine for impregnating the woman, depending on the subsequent relations among the persons concerned. When the suitor is serious and able to maintain harmonious social relations with the woman and her kinsmen, he might declare that he will marry her and that this payment is a part of the bridewealth in advance. This payment actually can become a part of the bridewealth when both parties agree.[21] However, should their relationship subsequently break up, the payment becomes nothing but a mere penalty. This strongly suggests that examples (Wienpahl, 1984; Johnson, 1999; McCabe, 2004) that seemingly represent bridewealth payment in installments require more thorough analysis.

A CASE OF BRIDEWEALTH NEGOTIATIONS

I. The People Concerned

The following describes a case of bridewealth negotiations that took place on September 6–7, 1998 near Kakuma town, located about 120 km northwest of Lodwar, the capital of the Turkana District. This case study vividly shows how the Turkana cope with this most important event.

Figure 1 shows the genealogical relations of important people on the bride's side. Man-A had three wives (a, b, c). When I visited them first in 1978, all of the people in Fig. 1 were living together in one village, although Man-A and his wives were already deceased.[22] However, among the Turkana, the descendants of each wife form an independent group that inherits animals that belonged to their mother. When the marriage took place in 1998, the descendants of Woman-a, Woman-b, and Woman-c lived in three villages, divided along genealogical lines. Man-B, Man-D, and Man-E acted as the representatives of their respective groups.

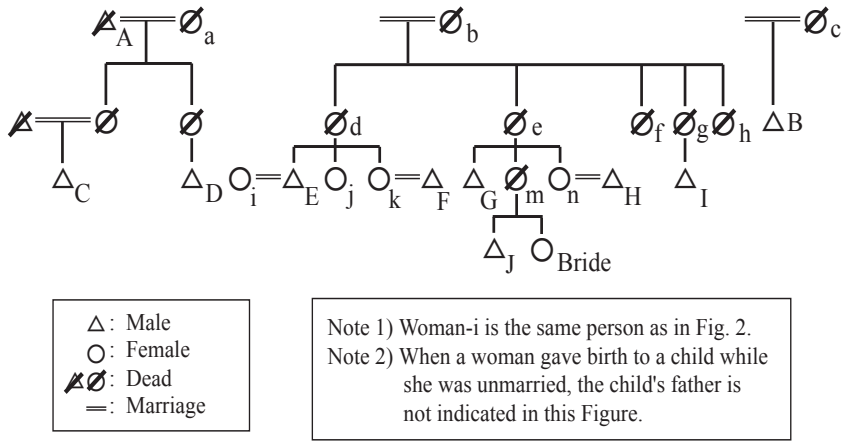

Fig. 1. Genealogy of the bride's family

Woman-a, Man-A's first wife, had three sons and three daughters. But Man-D, grandson of Woman-a, was the representative of Woman-a's descendants. D was born when his mother was unmarried, and he was socially considered to be Man-A's son.[23]

Woman-b, Man-A's second wife, had five daughters (d, e, f, g, h). Although none of them had married, they each had several children. Man-E, like Man-D, was therefore also socially regarded as Man-A's son, and he played the role of bride's father in this marriage, with Man-B and Man-D playing similar roles. The bride grew up at Man-E's homestead. Before they launched public bridewealth negotiations, the groom's side consulted closely with Man-E, who they regarded as the representative of the bride's side. The wife of Man-E (Woman-i) was a daughter of the groom's full-sister. Woman-j, an elderly unmarried woman with grandchildren, played the role of the bride's mother. Woman-k was married, and her husband, Man-F, was a key figure on the bride's side during bridewealth negotiations.

Woman-e's son, Man-G, was unmarried. His deceased sister, Woman-m, had been unmarried when she gave birth to her two children, the bride and her elder brother. This means that in a formal sense, the bride's social father was Man-A, because both her mother and grandmother were unmarried. This further means that Man-A's three wives were also firmly considered to be the bride's mothers.

Woman-n was married, and her husband, Man-H, like Man-F, appeared to be an important person on the bride's side during bridewealth negotiations. Women-f, g, and h each had several children, but all the children were unmarried at the time of this marriage.

Man-B was the oldest male among Man-A's descendants, followed by Man-D, and then Man-E. However, Man-B belonged to the same generation as Man-D and Man-E, i.e., that of Man-A's "sons." Socially speaking, Man-D and Man-E were considered senior to Man-B because their mothers were senior to Man-B's mother, who was the third wife of Man-A. Man-B sometimes acted as the rep-

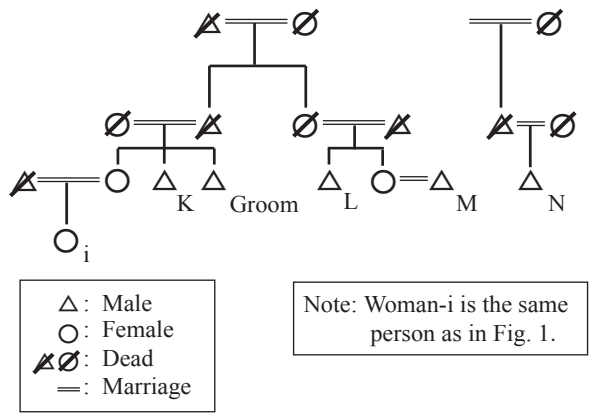

Fig. 2. Genealogy of the groom's family

resentative of the bride's side in the bridewealth negotiations.

Figure 2 shows the genealogical relationships among the groom's side, which were not as complicated as those of the bride's side. The groom's grandfather had three wives, although only Man-N, grandson of his second wife, played a minor role in the negotiations; the descendants of his third wife did not participate at all. The groom's elder brother, Man-K, was the central figure in this marriage because their father was already deceased. Their father's sister had married, and her son, Man-L, as well as L's sister's husband, Man-M, played very important roles in the negotiations. The groom's sister was also married, and her daughter, Woman-i, was married to Man-E, shown in Figure 1.

II. Negotiation Process: The First Day

The bridewealth negotiations were conducted over a period of two days, September 6–7, 1998. On September 5, kinsmen and friends of the groom, including women, came to Man-E's homestead, located about 10 km north of Kakuma town. They spent a night under a tree east of the homestead. In the morning of September 6, before negotiations began, the groom's side offered a nulliparous ewe to the men of the bride's side; the ewe was then speared, roasted, and eaten. This ewe is called *lokiruoret* (*aki-ruor* means "to talk").[24] In return, a castrated he-goat was given to the men of the groom's side; this animal was also speared and consumed. In general, any Turkana men can join these feasts and share the meat. In this case, about 60 men joined in the feast of the bride's side, while 40 men joined the groom's side. More people sat with the bride's side because the bride's family had many kinsmen and friends among their neighbors.

When people were waiting for the meat to be roasted, an elder (Man-C in Fig. 1) stood up among the men of the bride's side and took the lead in a men's prayer for their collective welfare. After they finished eating the meat, men of the groom's side took up their position in the shade of a clump of trees about

50 m east of the homestead. Men of the bride's side gathered in another shady area, about 30 m east of the homestead. The two groups were separated by a distance of about 20 m. This central space constituted the arena for negotiating, where men of each side would take turns improvising speeches.

At 10:26 in the morning, Man-B of the bride's side (Fig. 1) stood up from his group and walked out of the shade to the arena to start the negotiations. When he finished his speech, Man-N of the groom's side (Fig. 2) stood up and gave a speech of rebuttal. The bride's side accused the groom's side of having brought the *lokiruoret* (that is, the gift of the ewe) too early, without consulting the bride's side thoroughly. Then the bride's side insisted that the groom bring a he-goat for each wife of the four central figures on the bride' side (Men-B, D, E, F) so that they could make new leather skirts. It took about one hour to settle this issue, which involved 40 speeches (see Table 2).

When they reached an agreement on this issue, the bride's side made a demand of 20 camels. Man-B also raised this demand. The groom's side first replied that they had no camels at all. Then men delivered speeches in turn for about half an

Table 2. Number of speeches in the bridewealth negotiations (first day)

Speaker	Number of speeches				%
	Negotiation for gifts	Negotiation for camels	Negotiation for goats & sheep	Total	
Bride's side					
D	17	6	1	24	40.0
B	4	6	1	11	18.3
E		5	5	10	16.7
F		5		5	8.3
H		5		5	8.3
C		1		1	1.7
G			1	1	1.7
Man-1		1		1	1.7
Man-2		2		2	3.3
Sub-total	21	31	8	60	100.0
Groom's side					
K	3	11	2	16	37.2
M	7	2	1	10	23.3
Man-3	5	2	2	9	20.9
L	2	3	1	6	14.0
N	2			2	4.7
Sub-total	19	18	6	43	100.0
Total number of speeches	40	49	14	103	
Time	10:26-11:22	11:23-13:31	13:32-14:15		
Duration (minutes)	56	128	43	227	

For the symbols (alphabets) of individuals, see Figs. 1 and 2.

hour, until at 11:57 a.m., the groom's elder brother made a compromise saying he could give out two camels. However, this did not come close to fulfilling the demand of the bride's side. Consequently, they continued negotiations for about half an hour, until at 12:24 p.m., the groom's side made a concession, offering three donkeys as a payment of camels (a total of five "camels") because they had no more actual camels. However, the bride's side was still not satisfied.

While the men continued their heated negotiations, at around 12:30 p.m., the women of the bride's side took a ram to the women of the groom's side, who had assembled in a shady area east of the negotiation scene. The women of the groom's side had spent the previous night there, and this ram was for their meat, given in return for the "rams for the bride's mothers" (called *lokimul*) that the groom's side had brought the day before.[25] This shows that even though negotiations on the bridewealth were not going smoothly, other exchanges cementing the marriage alliance continued to take place.

Meanwhile, the men's negotiations on camels appeared deadlocked. The bride's side simply repeated that they should be given more camels, without indicating a compromise or plan that could clear up this issue. Similarly, the groom's side merely reiterated that they had no more camels.

At 12:52 p.m., when about an hour and a half had passed in the camel negotiations, the groom's side conceded that they would give out two oxen as "camels," raising the total number of "camels" to seven. Then they proposed to put an end to negotiations on camels. However, the bride's side was still not satisfied. Negotiations ground to a halt when the central figures of the bride's side, Man-D and Man-E, returned to E's homestead, saying, "You [the groom's side] made us sick and tired elaborating a lie. We are thirsty." They returned after about ten minutes.

At 1:21 p.m., Man-E of the bride's side indicated a definite figure for the first time saying, "You should give us ten camels, adding three more." Then after further negotiations, at 1:31 p.m., the groom's side agreed to make an addition of three donkeys. Finally, the number of "camels" had reached ten.

During the two hours of negotiations on camels, 49 speeches were made, 31 from the bride's side and 18 from the groom's side (Table 2). When the groom's side could not meet the demands of the bride's side, they did not make speeches at all, leaving the arena clear for the men of the bride's side to repeat their speeches.

Having reached agreement on camels, they then commenced negotiations concerning goat and sheep payments, dealt with collectively in bridewealth negotiations. As in the camel negotiations, Man-B (Fig. 1) stood up first from bride's side and indicated their demands, saying, "Firstly, 10 goats for Man-A, 10 for Woman-a, 10 for Woman-b, and 30 for Woman-c." Everybody knew well that Man-B made an excessive demand for Woman-c because he was the actual recipient of Woman-c's share. The groom's side, however, answered that they had no goats at all and that the bride's side was well aware of this dearth. When about 15 minutes had passed, men of the bride's side began to discuss among themselves that they should put an end to the negotiations for that day and should continue by visiting the groom's homestead. After conveying their

idea to the groom's side, negotiations were interrupted at 1:53 p.m., resumed after 13 minutes, and then broken off again at 2:15 p.m. Negotiations ended informally, without closing remarks. People of the groom's side went back to their homestead in the evening.

Table 2 shows the central players of these negotiations. On the bride's side, Man-D made speeches most frequently, occupying 40% of the total negotiating time. However, he concentrated 70% of his speeches in the first stage of the day's negotiations, which was concerned exclusively with gifts. Before they launched these public bridewealth negotiations, the groom's side had consulted closely with Man-E and clearly regarded him as the representative of the bride's side. This obviously displeased Man-D. He expressed his dissatisfaction in the day's negotiations by causing delays and repeatedly insisting that the groom's side was not conducting matters properly. Nonetheless, Man-B, Man-D, and Man-E were all central figures on the bride' side, although Man-F and Man-H, in-laws of the bride's family, also played important roles.

On the groom's side, Man-K, the groom's elder brother (Fig. 2), was a leading figure. In the negotiation for camels, his speeches occupied more than 60% of negotiating time. In the end, the groom's side agreed to give out ten "camels." To recap, after first promising only two camels, they gradually made concessions, adding three donkeys, two oxen, and three donkeys as the payments of "camels." With the exception of the last three donkeys, Man-K announced all of these payments. Compared to the bride's side, the number of patrilineal agnates of the groom who participated in these negotiations was few because the second and third wives of his grandfather did not have many descendants. Instead, the groom's kinsmen, Man-L and Man-M, as well as his close friend, Man-3 (Table 2), assumed important roles. It is also noteworthy that the groom did not make any speeches.

III. Negotiation Process: The Second Day

On the next day, September 7, 1998, participants moved the arena of negotiations to the groom's homestead, about 10 km north of the bride's homestead. Men of the bride's side set out on their journey the previous day, spending the night at a kinsman of the same clan's homestead and feasting on his goat. They arrived at the groom's homestead at around 7:00 a.m. the following morning and once again took up positions in the shade of a tree, about 40 m east of the groom' homestead.

At this time, the groom's side was busy with the work of branding their livestock. Among the Turkana, each clan has its own livestock brands, and all livestock transferred as bridewealth must be branded. After they finished this work, all the livestock was put together in the enclosure, not to be released for grazing until negotiations were complete.

At 8:25 a.m., the groom's men removed two oxen and six donkeys from the enclosure and chased them to the bride's side, saying, "They are livestock of yesterday [camel payments]." A young man of the bride's side received them

and kept a watch nearby. All of the livestock transferred on that day were kept together until negotiations came to an end and then taken to Man-E's homestead. After giving out the "camels," men of the groom's side sat together to the east of their homestead. Like the previous day, the owners of the homestead and their guests took up their positions.

At 8:30 a.m., Man-D stood up, stepped forward and demanded that the goats for Man-A and Woman-b should be transferred. He did not declare the specific number of goats. The groom's men stood up silently, went to the livestock enclosure, took out five goats, and chased them to the bride's side, declaring, "[They are] for Man-A." They then retired to their position.

Man-D stood up again and said, "Add one more goat to Man-A's share, and give out Woman-b's share as well." When the groom's men stood up, Man-M of the groom's side said that there were no goats, meaning that an additional goat for Man-A could not be given out. The groom's men then returned to the livestock enclosure, took out five goats and chased them to the bride's side as the share for Woman-b. In this way, negotiations of the day did not take the form of an exchange of speeches from both sides, but rather involved actual transfers of livestock.

The bride's side insisted again that some more goats should be added to the shares of Man-A and Woman-b. The elder brother of the groom responded, "We cannot add animals to one person's share because we have only a few animals. If we do so, other people will not get any share at all." After stubbornly continuing to negotiate, the bride's side eventually gave up on the idea of additional payments.

Next, they started to demand the share for Woman-a, and two goats were given out that Man-D would actually receive. Seeing that the groom's side really had only a few goats left, Man-D decided to demand cattle as a goat substitute. In general, among the Turkana, goat payments should be completed for each recipient on the bride's side before the payment of cattle can begin. However, in this case, Man-D had asked for cattle to be regarded as goat payments.

At 8:50 a.m., the groom's side went to the enclosure and took out one cow, declaring that it was the additional share for Woman-a. Man-D immediately tried to confirm that the cow was given out as a goat substitute. However, the groom's side replied, "It was transferred as a payment of cattle, not of goats, because we have no goats." The groom's side seized this opportunity and tried to skip all the remaining payment of goats and move directly into the payment of cattle. The bride's side persistently opposed, but the groom's side refused firmly saying that they only had a few livestock left.

At 9:08 a.m., Man-D gave up on his quest to procure additional payments for himself (in the name of Woman-a) and demanded, "Ten goats should be given to Man-B," emphasizing that he wanted to continue goat negotiations instead of moving on to cattle. The groom's side gave out a young bull. Then Man-B stood up in his group for the first time that day and demanded that one more cow should be given out for himself. The groom's side repeated their assertion, "Only a few livestock remain with us, and there are many people left unpaid on the bride's side. We cannot add anymore." Man-B twice repeated his speech, in

which he claimed additional payments. At 9:18 a.m., the groom came on stage for the first time since the day before and asserted that they had no more animals to give away. Then, a minute later, when Man-B stood up for the third time, he conceded to the groom's side, saying, "You can ignore my demands. Go to the livestock enclosure and take out the share of Man-E."

In this manner, negotiations gradually made headway. When Man-X's share was given out, he requested additional payments for himself, and other people made supportive speeches. However, when people considered that this demand deadlocked negotiations, Man-X withdrew his demands by himself to move the process forward, going on to demand the next man's share.

Table 3 shows the number of speeches made on the second day of negotiations. People spent two hours and 14 minutes making a total of 35 speeches. Compared with the first day, there were relatively few speeches. The groom's side in particular made comparatively few speeches, because, while the bride's side made concrete demands, the groom's side usually handed over the livestock without saying a word.

Table 3. Number of speeches in the bridewealth negotiations (second day)

Speaker	Number of speeches	%
Bride's side		
D	7	30.4
B	5	21.7
E	5	21.7
H	3	13.0
F	1	4.3
G	1	4.3
I	1	4.3
Sub-total	23	100.0
Groom's side		
K	4	33.3
Groom	3	25.0
Man-1	2	16.7
L	1	8.3
M	1	8.3
Man-2	1	8.3
Sub-total	12	100.0
Total number of speeches	35	
Time	8:27-10:41	
Duration (minutes)	134	

For the symbols (alphabets) of individuals, see Figs. 1 and 2.
Man-1 and Man-2 are different from those in Table 2.

Table 4. Number of animals transferred as bridewealth in the case study

No.	Nominal recipient	Actual recipient	Number of animals				Actual animals transferred as "camels"
			Goat & Sheep	Cattle	Donkey	"Camel"*	
1	A	E	5				
2	a	D	2	3		1	1 donkey
3	b	G	5				
4	C	C				3	2 donkeys, 1 camel
5	c	B		1		1	1 donkey
6	d	j		1			
7	E	E		1		2	2 cattle
8	e	G	1				
9	F	F		1			
10	f	f's children			1		
11	G	G		1			
12	g	I			1	1	1 donkey
13	H	H		1		2	1 donkey, 1 camel
14	h	h's children		1			
15	J	J	1	1			
Total			14	11	2	10	

For the symbols (alphabets) of recipients, see Fig. 1.
*Number of animals transferred as “camels.” See, the text.

Table 4 shows the number of livestock that the bride’s side received. A total of 23 large livestock (camels, cattle, and donkeys) and 14 goats and sheep were transferred. Fourteen people were designated as recipients. Man-C (see, Fig. 1) received three of the ten “camels” that were transferred without specified recipients. The total amount of bridewealth transferred was not particularly large when compared to other cases shown in Table 1.

The day after bridewealth negotiations were completed, people of groom’s side brought the wedding ox to Man-E’s homestead and slaughtered it. The day after that, the bride’s side provided another ox in return. People of both sides conducted several rituals in collaboration. The groom’s people spent three nights building a temporary homestead to the east of Man-E’s homestead and then returned home together with the bride.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Some characteristics of the bridewealth negotiations among the Turkana are summarized below. Most importantly, people of both sides try to appear generous during negotiations. Because the number of bridewealth livestock is not prescribed, but decided by negotiations, an outsider may naively assume that people would bargain with each other. That is, the bride’s side would demand more animals,

while the groom's side would try to beat down the payment. When we adhere to this image, bridewealth negotiations might as well be shrewd bargaining between cunning merchants trying to maximize their profits. The Turkana acknowledge that the groom's side sometimes entrusts their animals to friends and kinsmen before they start bridewealth negotiations so as to pretend that they have fewer animals. This lends credence to the cutthroat bargaining view of bridewealth negotiations.

However, it is also true that the groom's side tries to give out bridewealth generously. Among the Turkana, those considered to be wealthy are expected to give out larger amounts of bridewealth. Indeed, bridewealth always attracts a great deal of public attention. When news of a marriage spreads, bridewealth quickly becomes a central topic of conversation. When the groom's people act generously by giving away numerous animals, their reputation improves, and they accrue self-esteem.

Not only the groom's and bride's lineages are involved in a wedding including bridewealth negotiations. People in the area also come together and play important roles at feasts and in wedding rituals. When the negotiations are bogged down by either hard bargaining by the groom's side or by excessive demands from the bride's side, people of the area will accuse those involved of bad manners. In other words, the bridewealth negotiations are conducted in public and are therefore part of public life, a fact that contributes to the pride of the parties concerned.

By transferring livestock generously, the groom's side gains the trust of potentially important partners, in particular, the bride's father and brothers. On the other hand, while the bride's people may make heavy demands of the groom's side, they may also withdraw these demands gracefully when necessary. If a person were to adhere to undue demands, he could lose his reputation and be thought greedy. Conversely, the bride's father and brothers also consider the groom's side to be an essential party with whom an alliance should be forged.

The next distinctive feature is that bridewealth negotiations are destined never to result in a rupture between the participants when the negotiations are brought to a formal and public arena. Indeed, the second half of the bridewealth negotiations is aptly called "marriage" among the Turkana. In the above case study, on the first day of negotiations, the bride's side offered a ram to the women of the groom's side while men of both camps were engaged in heated negotiations. This ram was given out in return for the "rams for the bride's mothers" which the groom's side had brought the previous day. That is, as formal negotiations continued, other events indicated an auspicious final outcome.

In general, the groom's side is always eager to complete the negotiations successfully without leaving the bridewealth recipients dissatisfied. On the bride's side, the father of the bride tries to forge agreements, moving the negotiation process forward by controlling the excessive demands of the bride's side and persuading the groom's side to give out as many animals as possible to satisfy the bride's side. In this case study, Man-E obviously played this role. Because of these factors, together with both sides' desire to appear generous and the participation of people living in the area, it can be safely said that both parties were firmly confident of reaching an agreement before starting bridewealth negotiations.

However, this negotiation is a "game" played in earnest. When deadlocked, the groom's kinsmen or friends sometimes extend impromptu assistance, declaring, "I will offer my own animals to support the groom." The Turkana verb for this act is *a-ikin* which generally connotes "to assist one's close fellow (e.g., one's brothers) spontaneously and physically when he/she is fist-fighting with others." The Turkana have another verb, *aki-ngarakin*, which means "to help, to assist" in general, but this verb is not used when one assists bridewealth payments of somebody else. This strongly suggests that bridewealth negotiations are real "fights."

When negotiations heated up, I always became concerned that real friction between the parties could result. However, my apprehension was unnecessary. Among the Turkana, negotiations are everyday affairs, resolving all kinds of conflicts of interest (Ohta, 1996, 2001). Kitamura (1997, 2002) considered how the Turkana maintain social order and concluded that they observe the fundamental principle that people should collaborate and compromise, while acknowledging the other's interests. In terms of upholding the social order through compromise, the practice of bridewealth negotiation is indeed a serious "game."

NOTES

(1) According to Leslie & Dyson-Hudson (1999), the average amount of bridewealth is similar to the average livestock holdings of a patrilineal family.
(2) A man cannot marry or have sexual relations with women of a patrilineal group, from which he, his full-brothers or their sons have found wives already. Gulliver (1955: 225) states that this rule does not have legal or supernatural grounds. However, it is a violation of rules, as serious as committing incest taboo, to have sexual relations with more than two women at the same time who are classificatory sisters.
(3) Gulliver (1955: 183) referred to this group as "FAMILY" in capitals, and stated that it is an "effective group." The Turkana do not have any term for the lineage. *Awi* (pl. *ngawiyei*) means physical homestead, as well as several levels of patrilineal groups. That is, *awi* means a lineage in some contexts. Members of a lineage have a latent right to the bridewealth when a woman of the lineage marries. In this context, they are described as *eiyanasi* (those who "know" one another), *enyamasi* [*emujasi*] (those who "eat" with one another), and *emasasi* (those who "drink" with one another).
(4) *Ekal* (pl. *ngikolya*) in the Turkana language.
(5) Gulliver (1951, 1955) did not detail these public meetings clearly. He stated, "The final number of animals actually transferred results from a lengthy series of discussions between suitor and girl's kin on the one hand, and amongst the girl's kin themselves on the other" (1955: 238). However, these discussions seem to be informal, judging from his descriptions. He also stated, "The suitor, or the head of his house, hands them [bridewealth animals] over directly to each of these people [recipients] on the day of the wedding" (1955: 233), but he did not state that people negotiate on this occasion. Johnson's record (1990: 140-141) of an example of a marriage of a wealthy herd owner roughly corresponds to my description of bridewealth negotiations presented in this volume.
(6) These close kinsmen of the bride are called *tooma na awi,* meaning "inside the family."
(7) The Turkana began to raise camels only two hundred years ago (Lamphear, 1976). The unique way of camel transfer in the bridewealth payments might be the outcome of this brief history.

(8) This order represents their social distance from the bride.
(9) The number of days people spend in *eloto* varies, depending on how long it takes to reach agreement. The shortest I have heard of lasted one day, and the longest took three days. In the latter case, people negotiated the gift on the first day, and camels on the second and third days. On the third day, the bride's father expressed their expectations regarding goats and sheep, but the people involved could not reach an agreement. On the fourth day, they moved to the groom's homestead to continue the negotiations.
(10) Gulliver (1955: 227) stated, "the process [of marriage] is completed between two and three years after the actual wedding (i.e., the formal acceptance of bridewealth) when the first child of the union has been reared to the walking stage." This does not agree with my research findings.
(11) When a person obtains a considerable number of animals at one time, his/her friends and relatives come to ask for a share of these animals. In their language, *aki-dier* means to "ask somebody who has obtained a lot of livestock for some animals." It is a socially approved action to ask for a share. This also occurs when animals are acquired by raiding. *Aki-sidier* means "to give out a part of one's profit" in this context. On the other hand, people often try to avoid these demands for sharing by entrusting the animals obtained to friends or relatives. This action is *aki-dokar* (*aki-dok* means "to put something on another thing") in the Turkana language.
(12) These data were collected by asking how many animals were given to each of the bridewealth recipients. That is, to improve the precision of the data, I excluded data collected when I obtained only the total number of bridewealth animals transferred. These data include marriages from the late 1970s to 1995, covering about twenty years. Gulliver (1955: 229), who conducted field research in 1948–50, stated that, based on 35 bridewealth samples, the average number of cattle and camels was 47 (range was 5 to 80), and that of goats and sheep was 88 (range was 0 to 300). Wienpahl (1984: 211) reported bridewealth amounts similar to those of Gulliver's study. Johnson (1999: 102) stated that the average bridewealth transfer for each of the 22 herd owners was 69 large animals (10 goats and sheep = 1 camel and cattle). Leslie & Dyson-Hudson (1999: 236) stated that the mean bridewealth in a sample of 127 marriages was the equivalent of 72.6 cattle (1 camel = 1.7 cattle, 1 goat and sheep = 0.1 cattle).
(13) To take animals away in this style without gaining the groom's consent is *aki-rumun* in the Turkana language. This term means "to take away by force, to snatch away" in general. It also means "to inherit."
(14) Each person has his/her own cluster of relations peculiar to himself/herself, and with each of these people he/she maintains well-recognized reciprocal rights to claim gifts of livestock in certain circumstances. These people are his/her "stock-associates" (Gulliver, 1955: 196).
(15) In-law's bridewealth is sometimes transferred by the names of bride's classificatory sisters who have been married already.
(16) Wienpahl (1984: 211) also stated that "the proportions contributed by the groom himself were larger in my sample" than in Gulliver's data. In Wienpahl's data (1984: 212-213), most of the contributors to the bridewealth were the groom's close agnates.
(17) The Turkana word for this kind of asking for animals is *a-buakin* ("to return, to restore"), that is, to ask to compensate the groom for the livestock he gave out as bridewealth. Gulliver (1951, 1955) made no mention of this practice.
(18) Men of such clans as the Ngisiger and the Ngingoleloto do not demand the return of bridewealth animals, even if they "divorce" their wives, although the Turkana say that the wife's agnates and their livestock will get sick and sometimes die.
(19) The Turkana say that by spearing this "wedding ox," the marriage is formally finalized.

Gulliver (1951: 209) stated that after the wedding rituals, the woman becomes "legally the suitor's wife." He also mentioned that when her father claims the rest of the bridewealth afterwards, he can do it only "by moral right" (Gulliver, 1951: 209). According to my research, it sometimes happens that at the public bridewealth negotiations, the groom's side promise to transfer some bridewealth animals later, but their number is very small. It also happens that after the wedding rituals including spearing of the "wedding ox," people of the bride's side ask for and obtain some animals from the groom's family on various occasions. However, for the Turkana, these animals are not "livestock of marriage."

(20) The amount of this payment, called *ekicul*, is 30 animals (10 large livestock and 20 goats and sheep) for the first child, and 11 animals (1 large livestock and 10 goats and sheep) for the second and subsequent children. "Large livestock" means cattle, camels, or donkeys. The composition, however, is not strictly observed, and sometimes only 30 goats and sheep are paid for the first born.

(21) The Turkana have a specific verb, *aki-teek*, that means "to make an advance payment of bridewealth."

(22) Actually they separated themselves into several livestock camps at that time, and managed their livestock together.

(23) In the Turkana's age-system, all the men belong to one of two alternation sets, that is, Ngirisae (Leopards) and Ngimor (Mountains). All the sons of a man (X) belong to the set other than that of their father. Genealogical (not biological) precedence is clearly demonstrated by making all the grandsons of X belong to a different set than X's sons. When an unmarried woman gives birth, her father becomes the social father of the newborn child, and the child belongs to the same generation with his/her mother.

(24) When people conduct bridewealth negotiations, the groom's side always offers this animal to the men of the bride's side. It should be a nulliparous ewe.

(25) To make a return gift is called *aki-nyakakin* ("to return") or *aki-luny* ("to exchange") in Turkana. The rams of *lokimul* (pl. *talokimul* or *ngikumula*: *ngakimul* means "saliva") are usually given to the bride's mother and co-wives of the bride's mother once people reach an agreement on the payment of camels, although in this case the rams were transferred and slaughtered in the morning of the first day of negotiations. A nulliparous she-goat, which is called *akale a lokimul* (*akale* means "nulliparous ewe or she-goat") is sometimes given to the bride's mother. This goat is not slaughtered but is kept by the mother.

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