

みんなのポジトリ

国立民族学博物館学術情報リポジトリ National Museum of Ethnology

Two Iraqw Marriage Rituals

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 和田, 正平 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15021/00003429

Two Iraqw Marriage Rituals

SHOHEI WADA

National Museum of Ethnology

In the Iraqw marriage (*duxo*), there are two types of ritual: *harawatliingw*, (lit. "carrying off") and *liffit* (lit. "mutual consent"). Why have these two types of procedure developed? The purpose of this essay is to discuss this problem by clarifying the *liffit* ritual, and comparing it to the *harawatliingw*, on which I reported in 1971 [WADA 1971].

Liffit is conducted in the following stages: *liffit*, *haragasa*, *kolaqo*, *laqwali*, *tlesa*, *tsungqa hanmis*, *barsi kwahha*, *qutsai*, *qarar*, *dawagamis*. When the practices of the two types of ritual are compared, they are found to overlap and have common social features. It is clear that one form was derived from the other and that this process was closely related to the territorial expansion of the tribe. The two Iraqw marriage rituals are a product of acculturation resulting from contact with the Datoga. We may consider that the use of the *harawatliingw* ritual indicates a respect for earlier Iraqw traditions.

INTRODUCTION

This is my second article on the Iraqw marriage rituals. I have already described the various conditions connected with the marriage institutions of this people: the sequence of the preparatory process from falling in love to the marriage proper, marriage rituals and practices, and the changes that have occurred in these customs [WADA 1971]. In addition, I dealt with the entire subject of Iraqw marriage as a problem of the interweaving of agricultural and pastoral elements into a cultural complex. Finally, I noted that there are two types of Iraqw marriage (*duxo*), and limited my explanation of rituals to the *harawatliingw* ceremony, which is carried out without the formal consent of the bride's parents. In discussing Iraqw marriage, however, it is necessary to deal also with the other mode of marriage, commonly called *liffit*. The word *liffit* itself means "marriage proposal", and the term is often used when a couple are married officially in accordance with the will of both sets of parents. In other words, while the *harawatliingw* (called *Baba gana leehh*: 'Father took her') is a secret system by which the marriage is established when the bride is carried off at midnight, the *liffit* (called *Baba gana haniis*: 'Father gave her') is an openly public system where the marriage date is announced in advance and a magnifi-

My field research among the Iraqw was made under the financial sponsorship of the Japanese Ministry of Education.

cent banquet is served. The decision about which type of procedure to choose depends on the people and circumstances involved, but in general the former is carried out according to the will of the young people, centering around the couple in love, whereas the latter is grounded in the will of the two sets of parents. Consequently, the elders favor the second type of marriage (*Baba gana haniis*), and it was their great pride to supervise this ritual. Why, then, have the two types of marriage procedure developed? I will discuss this problem by clarifying the *Liffit* ritual and comparing it to the *harawatlingw*.

1. METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

Research on this subject was conducted during intermittent visits to the Giting Sub-Division of the Hanang District of Northern Tanzania between 1964 and 1970. As a result of widespread propagation by Christian missions (Catholic, Pentecostal, Lutheran and others), there was a growing trend during this period toward viewing the western style wedding ceremony as progressive; the village officials and teachers, as well as many people with upper primary school education or higher, were celebrating love marriages with ceremonies attended mainly by their fellow church members. In the 1960's, however, the traditional forms of marriage ceremony still enjoyed numerical predominance, and not a few elders as well as young people considered the Christian marriage ceremony a frivolity.

When I visited Giting in December, 1974, I found that this village had been designated as a 'developing village' (*Kijiji cha Maendoleo* in Swahili). Accordingly, all the traditional Iraqw dwellings had been torn down and the appearance of the place was totally changed. All the land had been readjusted, and the newly built dwellings were of the rectangular type characteristic of the so-called inland Swahili. Because of the limited space in this kind of dwelling, the government had instructed the people to make separate barns for the domestic animals. For the Iraqw, however, keeping the animals in the homestead has been a part of the traditional way of life, and they have maintained this custom even when it meant decreasing the number of cattle. Nevertheless, owing to the policy for concentration of dwellings, the front courtyards are small, there are no more outdoor areas in which to carry out rituals as in the past, and the elders say that the traditional Iraqw lifestyle is coming to an end.

Owing to these circumstances, the following ethnological data regarding Iraqw marriage are based mainly on several examples observed through direct participation during the two years from October 1964 to September 1966 supplemented by information which came to my attention on later visits.

This investigation was carried out mainly using the Swahili language, with the cooperation of informants Mzee Izudori Qwamara and Mzee Oroo Marando. In addition, the camping journal of Dr. K. Fukui, who was doing joint research with me during the first year, proved to be a very effective research material. To these people, I wish to express my warmest gratitude.

2. RITES AND CUSTOMS

Liffit

In general, the negotiations for the *liffit* type of marriage arrangement are carried out by the young man's father, who begins by going around the neighborhood in search of a suitable bride for his son. When he finds a girl to his liking, he makes several trips to her homestead to negotiate with her father. Among the Iraqw, marriages are seldom arranged between families living far apart, and in general the bride is sought within a radius of one day's journey. In-laws often live quite close to each other [WADA 1971: 38].

To start the marriage negotiations, the father who has come to pay his respects at the homestead of the prospective bride faces the front of the house and approaches the entrance from the left side, where he stands his staff against the wall and places his rubber sandals beside it. For the Iraqw, this procedure represents the most courteous way to begin a formal visit. If there is sufficient rapport between the two fathers, it must next be established whether or not the son and daughter may be permitted to marry according to the exogamous standard. To do this, the father of the young man first explains his son's maternal kin group (*daawi*), and then clarifies his own patrilineal lineage (*tlahay*). The father of the girl next follows the same procedure for his daughter's maternal and paternal relationships, after which both fathers question each other regarding the genealogies of their kinsmen and affines. The discussion continues with the exchange of various information necessary for a betrothal agreement. If they find that the match will not violate any traditionally established norms, the two fathers agree privately to the betrothal.

When agreement has been reached, the suitor's side first sends the *piisamo* (messenger) to eulogize the prospective bride's family, after which it is understood that formal negotiations will begin the next day. Then the *lihhitusmo* (go-between) is sent several times during a period that usually ranges from about six months to a year. When the go-between comes it is proper for the prospective bride to keep out of sight, and she is informed of all proceedings by her mother. When the suitor's father has ascertained the correct time and received the approval of the kinsmen of both families, he asks the prospective bride's father to set a date for the *haragasa*, a ceremony for the meeting of the relatives of the two families, which must take place before the wedding can be held.

Haragasa

The guests invited to the *haragasa* consist of the bride's maternal uncle, the elders and old women of his neighborhood, the groom's father and his attendants, and others. When the two groups of relatives and other participants have assembled in one room they clarify the genealogies of the relatives and then eat a meal provided by the groom's father and his attendants. After the meal the women are sent to fetch the household utensils from outside. When they are brought in, an old, used hoe (*muski*) is presented as well. The future bride will later take the hoe to the

blacksmith to have it made into a razor (*taawo-r xafa*) used to produce tanned leather. In other words, the *muski*, having been changed functionally into a tool used for making leather clothes and bags, is taken with the bride to her new family.

From the afternoon following the *haragasa*, young people who have received news of the wedding assemble in their neighborhoods and come in groups to celebrate the departure of the bride. Sometimes young relatives of the bride come from afar (e.g. a full day's walk away) with their company, to lead the young people's celebrations.

From about sunset, two or three young girls stretch their leather skirts tautly between their thighs to use as drums, and begin to beat out a slow rhythm. For drumsticks, they use small sticks given to them by the young men, who pick them in the bush and cut them to a length of about one-and-a-half times the distance between the thumb and middle finger. The actual congratulatory dancing, however, begins at about ten o'clock that night, when the mood created by the drum-beating is augmented and the order of the dancers decided. The bride (*dena*) remains seated in a room at the back of the house, and does not let herself be seen by the celebrants. Then, two of her age-mates, preferably her closest friends from her neighborhood, come to be her attendants. These attendants, called *dena-geiwtinangw*, sit on a new mat made by the father's sister (*aisiiga*) from a grass called *hhafta*. The space prepared for the bride on this day is especially referred to as *tlaafi*. There are some differences according to the structure of the house, but the special area built for the rituals of this day is generally made as shown in Figure 1. The young village people wait in the area to the left of the entrance, and the area to the right is reserved for guests coming from outside the village. Usually there is a partition between the two sides, but on this day it is removed for the sake of the guests. The left side of the back of the room becomes the dancing area, which must be quite large to accommodate the several rows of dancers who line up next to the young men and women. The drummers sit in a row in front of the dancers. The back right area is partitioned into an upper and lower section. The bride's father and his kinsmen are seated in

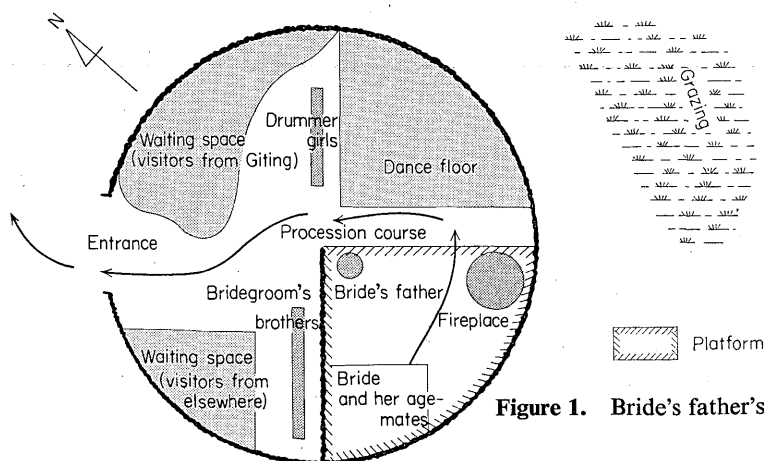


Figure 1. Bride's father's house

a row on the upper level. The bride's waiting space (*tlaafi*) is constructed in one corner of the lower level, and no man is allowed to approach this area. The envoy from the groom's side, who comes to escort the bride, waits in the area opposite the bride's partition.

Kolaqo

The congratulatory dancing continues throughout the night, and sometimes lasts for two days and nights. As the time for the bride's departure draws near, her age-mates leave the dancing and go to join the bride and her attendants (*dena* and *dena-r geiwtinangw*) in the bride's space, where they ritually lament the coming separation with the expression *hy ay ay ay hy ay ay ay*. They then rejoin the dancing. At this point, a song called *koya* is sung for the bride, in which the groom is severely maligned with the words "*Bir darimi law waxawe amera! O mana fantso o dige-r sagware!*" (He is not the type of person to cultivate a field, he is man who only loiters about. Since he was born, he has never worn an ornament around his waist).

On the last night of the dancing, four young men and two young women come from the groom's side to escort the bride. Each member of this party, called *warae*, wears a crown made from a grass called *tsawa*, and carries a bag of millet (*tlako di'i*), a small bow, and two arrows. They are immediately recognizable as a *warae*. When they arrive at the place of the congratulatory dancing, the young women celebrants rush up to the entrance and form a human fence to bar the newcomers' way. Two of the young men of the *warae*, however, break through this barrier by force and fight their way fiercely to the back, where they hang the bag of millet on a post. This action signals the defeat of the bride's age-mates in their attempt to keep the bride with them, following which the members of the *warae* open the bags and gradually scatter the millet on the floor as if sowing seeds. During this time, they meet considerable resistance from the bride's age-mates, who continue to push and shove them about, preventing them from moving freely. The age-mates thus demonstrate opposition to the marriage and noisily annoy the *warae* as part of the ritual behavior for this occasion. Finally, a member of the *warae* says, "*Mao degeno! Saray ngw ohiye*" (Hey mothers! Receive these presents!), and hands over the bow, arrows and millet bag to the bride's father's sister or some corresponding person. This series of actions carried out by the *warae* is referred to as *kolaqo*, and it is said that the greater the resistance put up by the age-mates, the higher the value of the bride becomes, and the more the celebration is heightened.

When the *kolaqo* is finished, the dancing continues as if nothing had happened, and the bow and arrows are taken to the back area where the bride is waiting. These objects are carefully preserved, to be returned to the groom at a later date.

Laqwali

After these events, preparations are made for the bride's purification ritual; at this time the young girls form a human barrier and a cloth hides the proceedings from the eyes of the men. Some warm water is brought in, and the bride's attendants

(*dena-r geiwtlinangw*) wash her body. After this ritual comes the announcement of the dowry (*laqwali*). Following the customary law, donations of livestock are made by the following people:

- father: one calf
- mother: one calf
- elder brothers: one adult ewe
- younger brothers: one female kid
- maternal uncle: one ewe
- paternal aunt: one ewe

Finally, the father makes a second presentation (*nanai*), this time of one ewe.

Not all these animals are brought and presented immediately on the wedding day, and only the *nanai* is indispensable to the formal departure of the bride. When the announcement of the dowry items has finished, the spokesman of the *warae* says to the bride's mother and the others, "We have a long way to go, and must hurry..." In so saying, he tries to bring a quick end to the celebration, but the dancing continues.

Tlesa

The *tlesa* is a ritual to bring out the bride. The bride's father's sister puts her arms around the seated bride, lifts her to her feet, and takes her out in front of the celebrating guests. During this time, when there is a tacit understanding that the bride will depart for the groom's home, she has taken off her an undergarment (*tayti*) shaped like an apron. Until the 1930's, this leather cloth was a traditional undergarment worn constantly by young women as a necessary part of their grooming after they had undergone the girls' initiation (*marmo*). Since the abandonment of this initiation rite, however, the *tayti* is no longer a usual part of a young woman's garb, but is made especially for the marriage ritual and has thus become a simple ritual object.

To replace the *tayti*, which symbolized the girlhood now to be left behind, a leather coat necessary to the grooming of a married woman is put on the bride by her maternal aunt. Now, however, the use of leather clothing has been virtually abandoned, such garments having been replaced by *mgurori* (in Swahili), made from a single piece of cloth. That *mgurori*, however, should be the bride's brother's garment.

When the bride turns toward the exit, her friends stand and line up to send her off, while the *warae* waits at the doorway. Before the bride goes outside, the *nanai* is led out to walk at the head of the procession, as part of the departure ritual. A crossbar (*pindomo*), used for bolting doors, is placed on the ground across the doorway as a threshold; and once the bride has crossed over it she may not return under any circumstances. That she is not permitted to re-enter her father's house even to get out of a bad thunderstorm or to avoid an attack by wild animals is indicative of the severity of her father's will; for according to Iraqw custom stepping across the bar is a sign of rejection, meaning that she has lost her membership in her father's household.

When the bridal procession has come out of the house, it takes on the following

basic form: the *bei-r nanai* (ewe) walks at the head, followed by the young men of the *warae* in two lines, followed in turn by the bride who walks between the two young women of the *warae*; the people sending off the bride walk at the end of the procession.

Tsungqa hanmis

The word *tsungqa* means 'spittle', and for the Iraqw spitting is an action equivalent to a prayer or vow. It is the custom for the people who have come to celebrate to give the bride farewell presents; in this case, *tsungqa hanmis* refers to the action by which a person hands the bride her gift, spits into her right palm and shakes hands with it. In the past, the presents consisted of necklaces made from beads and other items, but gradually these have been replaced by money. On the day of her formal departure the bride receives gifts from a large number of guests inside the house, in the front courtyard, and along the way. At the time of parting, the mothers send the bride off with joyful noises (*ururumis*) made by vibrating the tongue to make a sound like *roh roh roh roh*, as if they were amusing a child. The bride's age-mates join the procession for a while, but they say good-bye and drop off in small groups until after about 2 km only two friends are left. Called *eharmuuse*, these two friends are the only members from the bride's side to accompany her all the way to the homestead of the groom.

When the procession has left the homestead and reached the path, the bride stops and refuses to move. This ritual act is called *sihhimito loohi*. A member of the *warae* urges her on by promising to give her a cow. This ritual is repeated at each intersection along the way. The spokesman of the *warae* has his hardest time at the crossing of a river, when the bride stops and refuses to take a single step. Using the bride's friend (*eharmuuse*) as an intermediary, he promises to make a donation of the biggest bull in order to obtain her consent for the crossing. Since it is tabu for the bride to get wet, he must then carry her on his back across the river. The words spoken by this member of the *warae* along the way are only ritual expressions used to keep the bride moving, and do not mean that she will actually receive the cattle. I have already described this aspect of the marriage ritual in my report on the secret marriage [WADA 1971]; it is carried out in exactly the same manner in both marriage types.

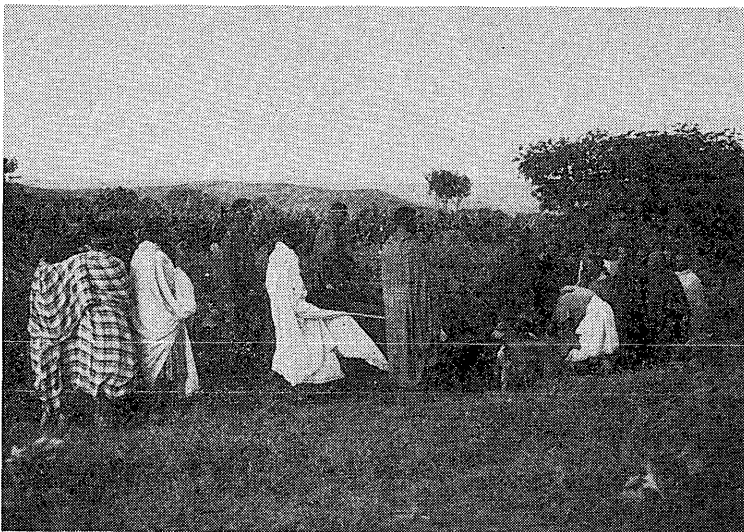
On the way the bride's body is covered to the heels by her coat (*mgurori*), and the young women of the *warae*, on either side of her, drape their own coats over her shoulders for protection. For this reason, none of the bride's personal ornaments (*paroti*) can be seen, except for her tri-colored beaded hairband. Nevertheless she is adorned with various beautiful objects including necklaces, abdominal ornaments, bracelets and anklets. Traditionally, a proper bride was expected to wear hidden under her coat a long leather skirt called *tlaw aluutlay*, which married women wore to hide their thighs. Now, however, these have largely given way to embroidered cloth skirts sold in the stores, and examples of brides wearing the traditional leather skirts are rare. Furthermore, it is said that according to the ancient custom, brides usually wore their hair in the *himbay* style reaching down the neck, or in the *guhale* style with

the hair tied back and hanging down. At present, they clip their hair at the sides and arrange the top at an even length; I have never seen an example of the traditional hairstyle.

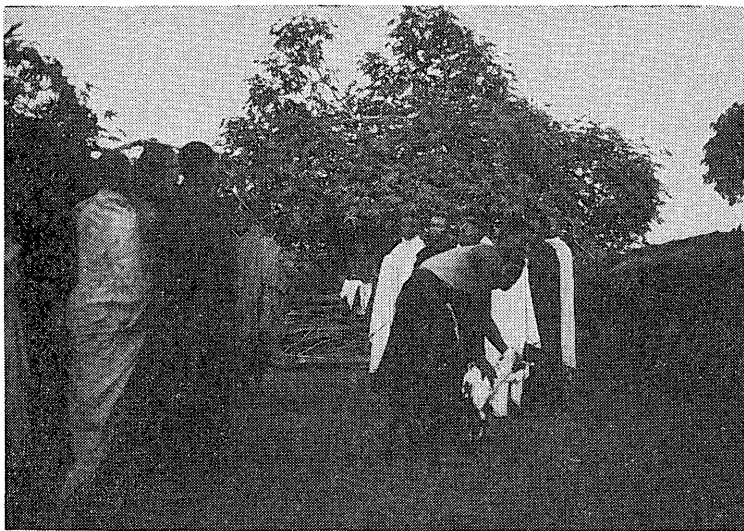
Barsi kwahha

As the bridal procession approaches the bush fence blocking off the front courtyard of the groom's father's homestead, the mothers from that homestead come out to welcome it. The mothers form a line headed by a sheep and a goat; and making the "roh roh roh roh" sound of blessing with their tongues, they throw the sheaves of green grass they are carrying at the bridal procession. This act, called *barsi kwahha*, is carried out in various situations, but in this case it includes the feelings of welcoming the bride and of praying for heaven's blessing. The grass for the sheaves must be picked from the right side of the house, since for the Iraqw the green grass is a sign of good fortune, and the right side represents purity. For this latter reason, it is the custom for the bride, too, to enter the house by coming around from the right side (*bihha iyay*). The preference for the right hand is given its most obvious expression in the course of the marriage rites.

The mothers surround the bridal procession and call out, "*Warae! Qatsawahung?*" (Have you succeeded?), to which the members of the *warae* answer, "*Aya ngwa aye*" (We have just now arrived successfully). This ritual exchange of words is similar to a greeting. Next, forming a screen with their cloaks (*mgurori*) to shield the proceedings from view, the mothers examine the bride's body. The purpose of this examination is probably to determine whether or not she is pregnant. When this has been done, the bride, in the embrace of the mother of the groom, begins to walk behind the ritual ewe (*bei-r nanai*) toward the entrance of the homestead. Before



Photograph 1. Bridegroom's mothers welcoming bride's procession



Photograph 2. Bride's procession entering bridegroom's father's house

(photos. by K. Fukui, Giting, March 1965)

entering, the mother-in-law promises the hesitating bride one cow, and then brings her inside. The bride first proceeds to the cattle enclosure (*matlaangq*) which on this day is converted to serve as the wedding dance area. As the dancing is already in progress, the bride makes her way through the drummers and dancers to a room called *tleva* at the very back of the house. Here, near a fireplace, the same kind of mat (*tlaafi*) which she used during the wedding party at her own house has been

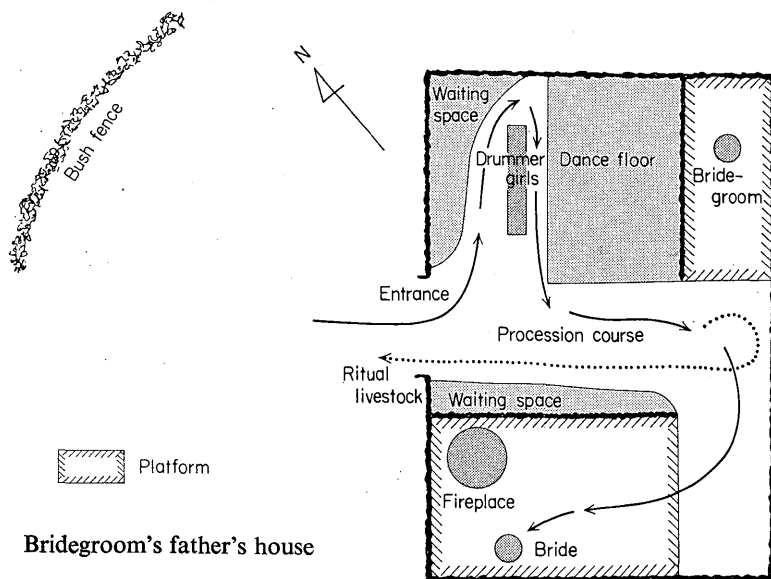


Figure 2. Bridegroom's father's house

spread out for her. Upon hearing the words, "One head of beef cattle will be given to you", she may sit down.

Toward evening, the dancing becomes more vigorous, and soon a group called *aya tata* arrives. This group consists of young people from the bride's neighborhood, who will be served a meal and then join in the dancing.

As mentioned previously, a large number of cattle are offered verbally to the bride between the time she sets out from father's house to the moment she sits down on the *tlaafi* in her husband's home. These promises, however, are nothing but ritual words, and the actual donations (*laqwali*) are announced by her father-in-law after her arrival, as follows:

- to bride from her father-in-law: one calf
- to bride from her mother-in-law: one calf
- to groom from his father: one bull
- to groom from his mother: one bull

Finally the *nanai* is presented to the bride, the ritual ends, and the young people's dancing reaches its climax.

Qutsai

Qutsai is the ritual by which the bride (*dena*) formally becomes a wife. After all the people have left, a small earthenware jar is put on a fireplace (*akweso*) made from three stones, and two women pour water twice each into this jar. Next, sitting across from each other with the fireplace between them, the two women make porridge together, taking turns putting in the corn flour and stirring. As they do this, they sing the following song: "*Oo hiyo hee! Torero lakambero kainam!*" This song is dedicated to the groom, and its words are repeated twice. Next, the same procedure is repeated, from the placing of the jar on the fireplace, but this time the song is dedicated to the bride, as follows: "*Mao oo hiiya hee! Mao oo hiya hee! Mao ga urare-r ar guruntlo hhekwa ta!*"

When this "cooking ritual" is over, four brass bracelets (*quturmo*, pl. *qutur*) are placed two each on the bride's arms. Two of these bracelets have been given to her by her own mother, and the other two by her mother-in-law. The former symbolize the consent of her kinsmen and the latter indicate her husband's family's approval of her formal reception as a wife. When the bride has had these four bracelets put on her, she is considered to have formally become a wife and a member of the adult community, according to Iraqw common law. This bracelet ritual is carried out in the back room called *tlera*, and when it is over the bride, naked from the waist up and supported by her mother-in-law, is led very slowly out to the *matlaangw* (main space). In order to display her healthy body to the people, she walks twice around the pole near the entrance, and then retires again to the back room. This procedure is called *qwalalahhay*.

Qarar

The word *qarar* refers to the consummation of the marriage on the wedding night.

The right to consummate the marriage belongs to the brothers of the groom, one of whom is designated by their father to carry out this role on the particular occasion. As I have mentioned in my previous article [WADA 1971], the brother who precedes the groom in sleeping with the bride is called *qararsmo*, and the privilege is rotated among the brothers in a certain order.

The *qararsmo* first moves the bride from the *hhafta* where she has been sitting to a different mat called *goyongi*, and sweeps the *hhafta* to make it very clean. He then moves the bride back onto the clean *hhafta*, and unties the waist cord of her leather skirt. Whether or not they have intercourse depends entirely on the will of the *qararsmo*, who apparently sometimes does nothing but go through the gestures. Furthermore, it seems that there are subtle differences in the role of the *qararsmo* from clan to clan, and it is said that in some cases it is the new husband who first sleeps with the bride. In any case, when the consummation ritual has been carried out by the groom or his brother, the father of the groom is informed that all has gone smoothly.

During this time, the *warae* sings a song celebrating the first night ("*Hondoo si mare hoho! Hondoo si mare hoho!*"), while beating the ground with a long, thick stick called *saray* which is reserved for this purpose. The *qararsmo*, too, comes out from time to time to participate in this ritual, singing and dancing as an encouragement to the newly wedded couple to complete the procedure of the first night. All the singing and dancing ends at dawn, at which time the young men and women from the bride's side (*aya tata*), as well as the mothers (*kumbai*), form groups and set out for home. The father of the groom presents the *eharmuuse* (the two young women in the bridal procession) with arrowheads for use in handiwork.

Dawagamis

On the morning after the first night, the new husband borrows a razor from his sisters and shaves his wife's head, placing the hair on some cow manure. Next, the new wife, with the help of her sister-in-law, shaves her husband's head and places the hair on top of the manure as well. These hairs are then kneaded together, and the mixture is smeared on the wall. This procedure, symbolic of a happy life partnership, is carried out in the case of the secret marriage as well.

After this ritual, the bride's sister-in-law introduces her to the tasks necessary for daily life. The sister-in-law first helps her sweep out the cattle stalls. When they have finished this job, they grind corn together and make a stiff porridge from the flour. Next, they take hoes and set out for the fields, where they cultivate one section and return home. When the new husband comes home in the late afternoon and stands in front of the house holding his spear, his wife comes out cheerfully, takes the spear, and puts it in the house together with his sandals. Finally, she and her sister-in-law take a hatchet and go out to a nearby bush to collect wood. In thus carrying out this ritual performance of a series of chores (*dawagamis*), the bride demonstrates her will to serve her husband as a good wife.

During this time, the *warae* makes a small wooden enclosure in the back of the

house to serve as a room for the new husband and wife. It is in this enclosure, called *kenda*, that the couple will spend the coming night. Next, the members of the *warae* go out hunting and bring back a wild fowl. This fowl is to be cooked as a soup for the ritual meal (*dawagamis*). If it is difficult to get a wild fowl, they may instead collect a few corncocks, hang them on their staffs, and bring them back to give the new wife.

When all the rituals have been duly performed, a meal is served to the four members of the *warae* and the two young women who had accompanied the bride from her father's home. The people who serve this meal are called *slawnay*. The meal is carried to the men and women separately; both the vessels and the place for eating are divided according to sex. This meal represents the completion of the ritual functions of the people involved, and when they have finished eating, they set out for their respective homes after bidding farewell to the members of the host family.

DISCUSSION

It is difficult now to determine accurately the period of time during which the Iraqw marriage rites became divided into two different forms. It is clear, however, that one form was derived from the other, since in several aspects the two sets of rituals display overlapping, common features. It is quite likely that the process was closely related to the territorial expansion of the tribe.

In order to escape the attacks of the nomadic Masai and Datoga, the Iraqw adapted themselves to a fairly closed-in existence in the hilly area of Kainam, which fits intricately into the terrain of the Rift Highland. They remained confined to this area until about 120–130 years ago. During that time they were few in number, and there was little necessity for group rituals to become differentiated. Accordingly, we can imagine that the marriage ritual of that time took only one basic form. The Iraqw territorial expansion began about 1880, when they ventured outside the narrow bounds of Kainam to live commensally with the Datoga. According to historical tradition, it is said that prior to this time some Datoga people, whose kraal (*bome* in Swahili) had been destroyed by the Masai, had already escaped to Kainam and intermarried with the Iraqw. It was only after a part of the Iraqw moved out of Kainam, however, and began to participate in the Datoga pastoral rituals, that the two peoples came to live together as a group in an intimate symbiotic relationship. The first among the Iraqw to start this migration were people inclined towards cattle-raising, who pushed into the Datoga territory expanding to the north and south of the Rift Highland. These people, who were dependent on the Datoga medicine man, proceeded to develop a commensal regional society incorporating pastoral elements.

Since intermarriage provides the foundation for commensalism between different tribes, it is presumed that the second form of marriage rite developed as a result of the close contact and interchange with the Datoga. In particular, there was frequent intermarriage between the Iraqw and the Gisamijanga sub-tribe of the Datoga; later,

as the Iraqw expanded their territory to the foot of Mt. Hanang, intermarriage with the Barabaiga sub-tribe increased as well. Klima [1970] informs us that in the Barabaiga form of marriage procedure, the bride was carried off before dawn with the co-operation of a group of young people. This "carrying off" was actually a ritual, since the arrangements were made beforehand and the bride had prior knowledge of what would happen. Since this form corresponds to the Iraqw *harawattingw*, it is probable that at the time of their territorial expansion the Iraqw adopted this system as they attuned themselves to the Datoga culture.

According to my deduction, the Iraqw marriage form involving the carrying off of the bride is a product of acculturation resulting from contact with the Datoga, and it can be considered that in the usage of this ritual the previous Iraqw traditions are respected. From a functional point of view, this type of marriage provides a convenient form for the consummation of a love attachment, and is often used as a publicly approved system for forcing the father of the bride to recognize a marriage to which he has been opposed. This form serves also as a means by which young people may have their marriage recognized with a minimum of expenditure.

At present it has become almost impossible to observe these two types of marriage rituals. Until the end of the 1960's, however, they had a truly important function in the life of the people, for only the members of the tribe could experience them as their own particular rites of passage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

KLIMA, George J.

1970 *The Barabaiga*. East African Cattle-Herders. Holt Rinehart and Winston.

TOMIKAWA, Morimichi

1970 The Distribution and the Migration of the Datoga Tribe. The Sociological Distinctions of the Datoga Society in Mangola Area. *Kyoto University African Studies* 5: 1-46.

WADA, S. (和田 正平)

1971 Marriage Ceremonies and Customs Among the Iraqw of Tanzania. *Kyoto University African Studies* 6: 31-52.

1973 『スワヒリ語対照 イラク語基礎語彙集』 (Iraqw Basic Vocabulary with Swahili Equivalents) Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

