

both how to behave towards a person, and also what behaviour towards himself he may expect from the other. The result of the relationship system is that society is stratified into categories with definite rules of behaviour between them.

A further reinforcement of the *tiliet* structure is the system of reciprocal rights and duties which are due between certain people, and cannot be evaded, though performance of them may be excused if there is a good enough reason. Certain of a man's near relatives have the right to expect certain duties from him, in return for which they have to give him a measure of reciprocity. Parents have the right to claim help and support from their children in return for what they gave them when young; this claim is admitted and, with very few exceptions, honoured by the Nandi. No Nandi would let his aged parents starve or leave them uncared for unless he was a very bad man indeed. Even if one child was unable to help, another would take on the responsibility. It is, in fact, the eldest son upon whom this duty falls. When I asked an unmarried man of my acquaintance with two younger brothers who lived much nearer to their old father than he did, he answered: 'Well, Ceporiot (the next brother) is married, and Matero (the youngest) has no cattle. I am the eldest and I have cattle, so it is for me to feed the old man.'

The rights which a mother's brother can claim are extensive and must be attended to, since this person can curse (*cup*) an undutiful nephew, and the effect of *cupisiet nepo mama* 'the mother's brother's curse' is believed to be death (see below: III,2). The mother's brother can make big demands on a nephew, like asking for a cow or an ox, and the nephew will not dare to refuse. But although all the mother's brothers are *mama*, it is only the eldest *mama* who can do this, and if a younger *mama* tried to enforce a demand for a cow by cursing, the nephew would go to the eldest *mama* and ask him to intervene. The father's brothers are on a different footing. They not only do less for their nephews, but they cannot curse them; they might be annoyed at a refusal to grant a request, but unless they were known to be witches, their curses would be laughed at. The absence of any right, however, does not prevent mutual aid.

Brothers generally help each other in many ways. The same applies, though to a lesser degree, to relations between a man and his father's brother's and sister's children, though here the help required and the reciprocity, depend largely on proximity, and on how well the people know each other, how often they exchange visits, and how much *comiet* there is between them.

