

# THE MOIETY DIVISION AND THE PROBLEM OF REN'DILLE UNITY

BELEL ICHOOW SAGI REN'DILLE IS LIIKEENO  
AF REN'DILLEKA KIIYE TORRO AF INGEREZA LIILAABE

[Text and Translation by Isir Schlee, Beleysa Hambule, and Günther Schlee]



A DISCUSSION AMONG ELDERS  
KORR, 21<sup>ST</sup> JANUARY, 2008  
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface by Isir Schlee .....	iii
Introduction by Günther Schlee .....	v
THE DISCUSSION IN ISIR'S HOUSE (DISC I)	
KORR, 21 <sup>ST</sup> JANUARY 2008	
Rendille Transcription and English Translation	
Beleysa Hambule with Letiwa Galboran .....	1
THE DISCUSSION IN ISIR'S HOUSE (DISC II)	
KORR, 21 <sup>ST</sup> JANUARY 2008	
Rendille Transcription and English Translation	
Beleysa Hambule with Letiwa Galboran .....	47
Index .....	89
Bibliography .....	91
Sources (2 CDs with Discussions) .....	93
Recent Publications .....	97

# PREFACE

(ISIR SCHLEE)

On January 31, 2008, the national crisis in Kenya was at its peak. It had started with the contested presidential elections of December 27, 2007, and had led to massacres and expulsions in the southern parts of Kenya. The period became known as the post-election violence.

Among the Rendille of northern Kenya there was no violence but the Rendille had split along party lines, and an old line of fission, that between the moieties, the “halves” of the community into which the clans are grouped, continued to be virulent and had become linked to electoral politics.

Elders of the two moieties had not been on speaking terms. So I decided to make them meet. My father, the former County Councillor and chairman of the County Council of Marsabit District, Hassan “Turkana” Musa, a Somali trader with a Rendille mother, who had grown up among the Rendille and was now in his late 70s, was very helpful for this enterprise. With his Landcruiser pick-up he drove to the Saale clan settlement at Ballah, about 20 kms away, and collected two elders, Hirkeena Imodi, and Iturrinya Segelan.

I sent my driver in the opposite direction to collect Monte Wambile, the representative of the seniormost family in the Rendille order of seniority at Namarey. He found him herding his camels. A boy was brought to replace him and my driver came back with Monte and another elder of the same clan Dubsahay, Dogo. He also collected Machaan from the Nahgan clan settlement.

From the Korr trading centre, where our house is located, they were joined by Torare Segelan (Saale) as well as three ladies, the inn-Keeper Mama Safi, Gudaso, and Guyyaato Gaalworsi (Uyam).

The elders of the two seniormost clans of the two moieties, Saale (“Eastern” moiety) and Dubsahay (“Western” Moiety) were not aware that they would meet each other. So for them, this was a surprise meeting.

The meeting place was the house which my husband, the anthropologist Günther Schlee, and myself had built for our stays at Korr, a simple structure of cement blocks with a tin roof.

In the following section, the Introduction, Günther who was not present on that day elaborates on the historical background of the moiety division among the Rendille. The main part of this booklet consists of the full transcription and translation of the discussions we held on that day in our house. Transcription and translation were first done by our field assistant and co-organiser of the meeting, Beleysa Hambule, and later revised by Letiwa Galboran, one of the authors of a Rendille Dictionary (Pillinger and Galboran [1999]). Günther and I have added some footnotes and eliminated some remaining inconsistencies, leaving others because we failed to notice them and yet others intentionally. We do not perceive it as our job to eliminate all variations and idiosyncracies in the use of the Rendille language and to push the level of standardisation of that

language beyond the level it has reached so far. Even without pushing, Günther has had an influence on how that language is written today (Pillinger and Galboran 1999, Schlee and Sahado 2002 and texts in 'Identities on the move'). Such influences on what one studies only add complexity (vulgo: headaches) to what one primarily just wants to describe and analyse.

# INTRODUCTION

(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

That stateless societies, which are organised in groups and subgroups, at some high level are subdivided in two is a very widespread phenomenon. The products of such major divisions in two are called moieties, from the French word for “halves”. In northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia such moiety divisions are widespread. The Gabra have them at the level called “phratry” by Torry (1973), i.e. the Gaar, Algauna, Sharbana, Galbo, and Odoola are split into moieties, called Jiblo and Lossa in the case of the first four and Guba Deera and Guba Gababa (long and short brand) in the case of the latter (Schlee 1989: 14–20). The Sakuye and Boran have similar divisions, the one among the Boran, between Sabbo and Gona, being notorious for the political rivalry associated with it.

The Rendille thus are neither alone by being divided into moieties nor by being ridden by rivalries along moiety lines. The discussion which will form the bulk of this booklet renders the state of the discussion about these matters at a given moment, though a very significant one when the rest of the county was in turmoil. In this introduction I want to contextualize this moment by adding some time depth to the conflictual relationship between the Rendille moieties. When I did the research for my PhD thesis (Schlee 1979) in 1974–76, the conflict reached a violent escalation. I included a chapter called “The chronology of the conflict about the marriage rites of the age-set Ilkilichi (1976)” (Schlee 1979: 365–425). Here I render excerpts from this chapter in English translation:

“Prior to the wedding of an age set, the warriors of Dubsahay and Rengumo have to seize a warrior by force, who is afterwards subjected to a series of ritual acts believed to render him stupid.

While this sacrifice is absolutely necessary for the fertility of the women of Belessi Bahay, Belessi Beri consider it less important. Crucial part of the ritual actions is drilling a fire on a shoe on the victim’s right thigh. This is why this warrior is called *dablakabiire*: he on whom fire was drilled. [...]

In theory, every *waakhkamur*, i.e. every warrior not having the *iibire* curse at his command, can be captured as *dablakabiire*. But since the persons responsible for selecting and subduing this warrior belong to Belessi Bahay, the unfortunate man almost always belongs to Belessi Beri.

A very similar “office” is the *arablagate*, the man at whom the horn is pointed. The horn is that of the Wambile family, Dubsahay and therefore Belessi Bahay, but the victim is almost always from Belessi Beri, although there really are enough *waakhkamur* in Belessi Bahay who are, theoretically, eligible for this office. Like the *dablakabiire*, the *arablagate* is also ritually more important for the wellbeing of Belessi Bahay than for that of Belessi Beri.

As these victims were regularly selected from Belessi Beri and the institution was habitually used by Dubsahay to satisfy personal desires for revenge, a growing bitterness had built up for decades among Belessi Beri.

In the age set of Desmaala (marriage year 1892), the *ḍablakabiire* had been of Alyaro, Uyam, and the *arablagate* of Burjogaadi, from the Keele subclan of Gaalḍeylan.

Irbaanguḍo, marriage year 1906,

*ḍablakabiire*: Gaalwaab, Tubcha

*Arablagate*: Gaalworsi, Uyam

Deefguḍo, marriage year 1920,

*ḍablakabiire*: Waajjo, Issandaab, Urowween

*Arablagate*: Alyaro, Uyam

Irbaallis (Ilkilegu), marriage year 1934,

*ḍablakabiire*: Maḍaacho, Gaalḍeylan

*Arablagate*: Issandaab, Urowween

As in the previous three age sets one office each had been filled with a warrior from Uyam, in Irbaallis [Ilkilegu] Uyam asked to be admitted to Belessi Bahay in order to escape further persecution by defecting to the persecutors. (The only case in history in which a clan has ever changed moieties.) Although this request was rejected at first by Dubsahay (*koloo nokhda, liidah* – go home for now, they were told), Uyam’s intention was rewarded by not choosing a warrior of Uyam as either *ḍablakabiire* or *arablagate*. Not until Libaalle [Ilmeuri] was Uyam formally admitted to Belessi Bahay.

Libaalle [Ilmeuri], marriage year 1948,

*ḍablakabiire*: Urowween

*Arablagate*: Gaarguule, Rengumo

Later, the *ḍablakabiire* injured a man of Dubsahay on the head with his spear in an act of revenge.

Irbaandif [Ilkimaniki], marriage year 1962,

*ḍablakabiire*: Malaboot ’Deḍdeeti, Urowween

*Arablagate*: Maḍaacho, Gaalḍeylan (The individual name must not be mentioned as the man is dead now.)

When the *naabo* ceremony of Irbaandif approached, many *waakhkamur* of Belessi Bahay wanted to stay away from the ceremony because they were afraid of the “horn being pointed” at one of them, which had, for once, happened in the preceding age set. So Dubsahay announced that no man of Belessi Bahay would become *arablagate*. (Usually, no such communiqués are issued; every-

thing is kept strictly secret.) Thereupon all the *waakhkamur* of Belessi Bahay attended (except for Ongoom in Rengumo because almost the entire subclan of Ongoom live as Aryaal in Masula and substitute the *ilmugget* of the Samburu for the Rendille age-grade ceremonies). From Belessi Beri, only the subclan of Ma'daacho from Gaal'deylan had stayed away because they were afraid one of them could be proclaimed. And indeed this was what happened: The *arablagate* of Irbaandif [Ilkimaniki] is from Ma'daacho. This warrior had incurred Dubsahay's displeasure by beating up a member of this clan.

The anger that had made Dubsahay choose Malaboot 'De'ddeeti as *dablabakabiire* was much older. Malaboot's father had once as a warrior treated an age mate of Dubsahay very badly. *Albe isleemarante* – they fought over girls. He had pierced his rival's nasal septum with the point of his spear, pulled a rope through the hole and walked him around on that rope like a donkey. This man's son being appointed *dablabakabiire* suggests that, occasionally, elders also exert an influence on the filling of these negative age-set offices. This suspicion proves true in Ilkichilli.

#### 4.6. Marriage rites of Ilkichilli

*dablabakabiire*: Leekuti Eysimgaabana, Tubcha  
*Arablagate*: Long'orri 'Dirgel, Tubcha

The reason for this selection of two warriors from Tubcha takes us a little further into the past. Dubsahay is said to have attempted to exert some pressure prior to the parliamentary elections of 1974 to make Tubcha vote for their candidate, Mark Kawab Bulyar, while Tubcha sided with the (then and present [time of writing: 1976]) MP Haji Muhammed Kholkholle Adicharreh (Gaal'deylan).

*Chi atin nah sooraahteen, kura Kawab gudubteen, kola ma atin laidaaro. Koli atin kura Kawab igu'ddin, kolaas la a laarga.*

“If you follow us, vote for Kawab, then nobody will touch you. If you do not vote for Kawab, we will see.”

Tubcha did not give in to this threat.

The choice narrowed down to Eysimgaabana because his father had beaten up a (grown-up) “boy” of Timado (Wambile, Dubsahay) and locked him into his house because he suspected him of spying out the whereabouts of potential *dablabakabiire* candidates. Although the other elders of his settlement had interfered and set the boy free, this incident was enough to make Leekuti Eysimgaabana *dablabakabiire* and this way drive him to murder and suicide.



#### 4.7. Capture of the *dablakabiire*

Time: Beginning of April, 1976

Kargiyo from Dubsahay, an elder, is employed as supervisor of the Itinga well on the road to Logologo. In the vicinity of this well, the salty waters of which are used mainly for camels, to the west in the direction of Illim (more correct: Ellem) Mountain, there is a cluster of settlement groups of the clans of Dubsahay and Rengumo.

Leekuti Eysimgaabana is a warrior (Ilkichilli age set) of the *waakhkamur* part of Tubcha, i.e. he belongs to those Tubcha who do not have an *ibire* curse. He is staying in a settlement group of his clan. His father is said to be wealthy, and he is his mother's eldest and only son. For several days Leekuti tries to water the dairy camels of his settlement at the Itinga. But Kargiyo keeps sending him off under various pretexts like the pump being out of order. Finally, Kargiyo makes an appointment with him and tells him to come on the following day. Kargiyo is certain that Leekuti will show up because the watering of the camels is overdue.

Kargiyo tells warriors of Dubsahay and Rengumo of his appointment with Leekuti. The warriors arm themselves with the required objects: They are not allowed to carry spears, only swords. Furthermore, they take *gumoyyo* with them, the ritual sticks which are also used for the *soorriyo*. Fire-sticks (*magto*), the hair of an elephant's tail and a white cloth also belong to their equipment.

Leekuti is tall and skinny, but of extraordinary physical strength. The warriors ambushing<sup>1</sup> him hardly manage to overpower him. Finally, after a prolonged scuffle, he is knocked unconscious. The attackers stretch him out on the ground and start to perform the ritual on him.

They remove an ear plug from the stretched ear-lobe, take off his necklaces and replace it with the elephant's hair, then they remove his hip cloth, take his right shoe off, put it on his thigh and drill a fire on it.

Taking part in this turbulent scene was also a warrior of the Dokhle lineage in Dubsahay. One year before, in May, 1975, this warrior had raped a girl from Urowween whose boyfriend was from Nebey. For this he had been beaten up with clubs by a group of Nebey warriors. So he still bore a grudge against the Belessi Beri moiety to which Tubcha as well as Nebey belong.

This warrior Dokhle is rumoured to have taken advantage of the general turmoil and Leekuti's unconsciousness to take his personal revenge on him. He is said to have taken one of his thick sandals made from car tyres, laid it underneath Leekuti's testicles, and then pounded on the testicles with his other

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<sup>1</sup>The *dablakabiire* is always attacked from an ambush because he has the right to defend himself with spear and sword, i.e. with military weapons. (This is the only situation in which the use of these arms is permitted among tribe mates.) If he injures one of the attackers, they should leave him be and look for a different victim.

sandal. The person who tells me this story compares this procedure with the method used to geld smallstock (the testicles are wedged between two sticks which are then pounded on with a rock). The similarity is considerable, which, apart from the physical harm, increases the humiliation. “*Idi aduu a latume*. – Like a piece of smallstock he was hammered.” Whether this episode is true I do not know, it probably is not, but the mere existence of this rumour shows how high the emotions surge up.

Leekuti’s spear, his hip cloth and the shoe are burnt. He is dressed in the white cloth the Rengumo clan has provided for this occasion. Then he is left lying there.

In a correct version of the custom he should have been carried to Dubsahay, namely to the settlement group of Wambile, where he should have been given milk and prayed for by the elders. But all this is disregarded.

Later Leekuti regains his consciousness, tears off the elephant’s hair and the white cloth and walks the 12 kilometres to Korr.

On this day, the camels will not be watered either.

Since he is naked, Redento, the Italian missionary, gives him a cloth, a blanket, shoes. Then he tends to his wounds. Leekuti is badly bruised, not only because of the blows he received but because the whole scene took place on a lava field covered with big rocks which left their marks on him.

In that same night Leekuti sets out and walks to the Itinga well. He does not find Kargiyo there. But he gashes head and back of Kargiyo’s wife with his sword.

A girl of the Chawle line in Dubsahay whose brother took part in capturing Leekuti is also present. She suffers the same treatment.

The next four nights Leekuti spends in his own settlement group. Then he sets out and goes to the Hafarre region where the camel camps are. He spends the night near a camel camp of Rengumo. On the next day he tracks down Delmo Tilliyya Arbele, a warrior of Rengumo, who is sleeping under a tree. One of the warriors who captured Leekuti was of Arbele. Leekuti wakes Tilliyya up and listens to him begging for his life for a while. “*Walaalaaw, iigaasan* – my brother, don’t kill me.” Then he stabs him in the stomach with his spear and cuts his throat with his sword. He takes all the jewellery off the body. “The only thing he left him were his genitals. Apart from that he treated him like an enemy [*chiy* – someone from a different tribe].”

Leekuti walks all night and in the morning presents Tilliyya’s spear and his beads to the administration police in Korr. “*Enenyet a igis* – I have killed a man.” When the police reach the scene of the crime, there are only bones left (hyena).

Leekuti makes a full confession and is taken into custody in Marsabit to await his trial. Asked about the reason for his conduct he says he, too, was killed and had to retaliate like for like.

#### 4.8. Summary of the situation after Leekuti's arrest

Although he could, in theory, also be from Belessi Bahay, it had long been the habit to select the *ḍablakabiire* only from Belessi Beri. So within Rendille society, two oppositions enter into the choice – the one between *iibire* and *waakhkamur*, and the one between the two moieties. The custom, *hugum*, is served by the man being *waakhkamur*. After all, this is the purpose for which the *waakhkamur* were separated from the *iibire* in the first place – so the custom can be performed on them. [...] But due to the balance of power the *ḍablakabiire* time and again has a second characteristic: he is from Belessi Beri.

This is even more provoking for Belessi Beri as, in their view, they themselves do not even have a need for the custom of *ḍablakabiire*. The clan of Saale, so they say, could perform a ceremony called *orisoomoot* with its Belel, after which the warriors of Belessi Beri would be free to marry without any part of this procedure being *bidir*, unlucky. Only the warriors of Belessi Bahay depend on a *ḍablakabiire* being captured before their weddings to prevent their wives from becoming infertile, Belessi Beri say.

So it is understandable that Belessi Beri are not pleased with this custom. Why this displeasure has never before found an expression in resistance to the custom, I do not know.

The first act of violence happened 28 years ago when the *ḍablakabiire* of the Libaalle [Ilmeuri] age set injured a man from Dubsahay on the head with his spear.

The age set marrying now, the warriors of Ilkichilli, the unlucky age set (*kholoti bidire*), have made the conflict break out more openly. Long before the *ḍablakabiire*'s capture the warriors of all *waakhkamur* subclans of Belessi Beri had announced that, should one of them be seized, there would be bloodshed. So Leekuti Eysimgaabana only kept a promise made long ago. The warriors of Dubsahay are said to have been relieved when Leekuti killed the Rengumo warrior. Someone was going to die, that much was clear, and everybody had been afraid it would be one of them (or at least this spiteful version of the story was told among Belessi Beri).

After Leekuti's arrest the greatest fear was he might be executed. In that case the custom of *ḍablakabiire* would have been considered not completed so that another warrior would have had to be found. But that would not have solved the problem because – at least if this second *ḍablakabiire* had also been from Belessi Beri – this would have resulted in more bloodshed.

Should Leekuti have to stay in prison for a long time this would also cause harm because the *ḍablakabiire* should be given the chance to marry as the “first” man of his age set (which is in fact not possible because a number of marriages by elopement have long taken place), and to marry a girl of his own choosing.

The optimal solution to this dilemma at this moment (April, May, June,

1976) seems to be the following course of action: Leekuti is released from prison and returns to his clan. The entire married part of the tribe is summoned (complete attendance is, of course, not expected) and Leekuti's father provides a fat camel gelding (*foolas*) which is slaughtered. The elders are given milk. A head of smallstock is slaughtered and its stomach contents are smeared all over Leekuti's body (*ladikha* – he is washed). The elders pray for him. The meat is cooked and distributed. This cleansing rids Leekuti of *ogooos* (sin, blood-guilt). No compensation in the sense of a *wergeld* is paid to Arbele. In the month of *Soondeer*, Leekuti will marry a girl of his own choosing and build his house in an honourable place, in the first position of the seniority order. Whatever happens to him after that is – ritually – of no consequence. In any case nobody will ever listen to what he has to say anymore for the rest of his life. He will *pro forma* be invited to the discussions of the elders in the *naabo*, but his contributions will be ignored. His children, however, will not be tainted with any kind of evil.

This solution is still possible, for influential Rendille like Kholkholle Adicharreh, MP in Marsabit, are trying to have Leekuti acquitted. But as court proceedings are very lengthy, this acquittal will probably happen too late.

Furthermore, some Rendille – among them Lengewwa, an influential diviner – by now hold the opinion that the entire custom of *'dablakabiire* was irreversibly ruined. The following facts ran counter to the custom:

1. The man was beaten and maltreated.
2. He was not taken to the *naabo* of Dubsahay *goob* Wambile and prayed for.
3. He is the eldest son of a rich man, which is said to never before have been the case.
4. The man's name has no positive meaning. "Leekuti" means "he with whom they moved on" and is neutral.

This, it is argued, makes it necessary to repeat the custom and capture a different *dablakabiire*.

#### 4.9. The *naabo* ceremony of Ilkichilli

According to the ritual calendar, the *naabo* ceremony was scheduled for July, 1976. This is the last big age-grade ceremony before the weddings which usually start to take place immediately afterwards in large numbers. A central element of this ceremony is the blowing of the ivory horn of Wambile, by which the *arablagate*, the "man of the horn", is proclaimed in a mocking song (*geeyi arab* – song of the horn).

Rengumo had given Dubsahay to understand that they insisted on selecting a Tubcha warrior for this office as well, in revenge for the *dablakabiire*

Eysimgaabana's killing the Arbele (Rengumo) warrior.

Even if this intention was kept secret, the warriors of Belessi Beri did not have much to expect from this ceremony. The bitterness towards Belessi Bahay had grown so severe that it was decided to let them do their ceremony on their own, which, however, is impossible because the inauguration of the *gudur* from Saale (Belessi Beri), of the ritual leader of the younger elders' age set who is very important for the women's fertility, is another central element of the *naabo* ceremony. Without *gudur* – and therefore without Belessi Beri – no *naabo*. All signs pointed to a boycott.

Instead of the *naabo*, Belessi Beri considered performing a ceremony called *orisoomoot* in which a black ram is slaughtered and from which members of Belessi Bahay are excluded.

*Orisoomoot* is an alternative to the *naabo* with serious consequences. It is, however, only an alternative for Belessi Beri, not for Belessi Bahay.

The last *orisoomoot* took place in the age set of Kipeko, around 1850. Information provided about this space of time must not necessarily be taken at face value because everything dating back more than one *daajji* (84 years) is not of much interest to the Rendille any more as it has no immediate prognostic value. [...] In this age set (which also was an unlucky one as the fact that it is only known by its Samburu name shows<sup>2</sup>) no agreement could be reached as to where the *gaalguulame* [...] was to be held. The quarrel escalated because of *dablababiire* and *arablagate*. People say that this *orisoomoot* and the omitted *naabo* had disastrous consequences for Belessi Bahay. All the women of this age set had become infertile; only one girl was born.

As for what became known of the discussion, however, it was not yet about the *orisoomoot*. This idea was at that time only a theoretical possibility. In the beginning, Saale engaged in a power struggle with Dubsahay over a rather marginal point. They suggested performing the *naabo* ceremony in a different place than the one suggested by Dubsahay. When Dubsahay refused, Saale had a good reason to stay away from the ceremony, defiantly.

This boycott decision was made very inconspicuously. If any elders were involved in this decision at all, then it was those of Kimogol (Saale) and Nebey (Saale). The elders of Gaal'deylan, among whom I had my confidants, did not know for sure whether the *naabo* would take place or would not until the very last minute. Therefore, I had no idea, either. When I asked warriors whether they were attending the *naabo*, I was given answers like: "No, only people who have a ram for slaughtering go there, and I don't have one."

So on July 12, the eleventh day of the "white" (*dakhnaan*, first half of the moon) of the first *Soondeer* moon, many warriors and elders of Dubsahay had gathered near a settlement of Nahgan-Machaan at the *Orotti Hafarre or Orotti Kármo* (*Orot* – lava plateau, *Hafarre* – name of a region, *Kármo* – water pan after rains). The "mother" of the man who was to be installed as *gudur*,

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<sup>2</sup>Cf. Spencer, 1973, p. 33.

was there, too, bringing the ritually necessary components of her house as well as the camel bull on which they were transported. But who was still missing in the afternoon were the future *gudur* (in this age set from *Guiduro* (Saale)), his companion from Saale-Kimogol and Garawwahle (Nebey), who has to symbolically raise the knife to the future *gudur*'s head before it is shaved. These people were still 40 kilometres away each in their own settlements, and there was no chance of them arriving in time on the following day. They were all necessary for the ceremony.

The *gudur*'s "mother" (really the woman his father had married after his mother's death, a daughter of Gaal'deylan) had probably only come to give Nahgan and Dubsahay a false sense of security and to prevent them from exerting timely pressure on the absent men.

At this moment, help from outside came to the rescue of the *naabo* ceremony. A film team of British television had already invested a considerable amount of time and money to film the *naabo* and to broadcast this film as part of a programme called "Disappearing World". These people were, understandably, afraid their plans could be thwarted. So they sent their interpreter, Mark Kawab Bulyar (who had lost the parliamentary elections to Kholkholle Adicharreh two years before), off by car to go and fetch the required people. Kawab took four elders of Nahgan along, who have a curse over the *gudur*. (The Nahgan-Machaan subclan plays an important part in the *gudur*'s inauguration, and the relationship between the two clans is one of respect and fear. – *Gaalooroyyo ichoow Nahgaan weyti iskarooro*, "they fear each other very much", a formula otherwise used only if there is a formal clan brotherhood.) With the help of these people it was possible to fetch all three warriors on that same evening.

The *naabo* ceremony really is a ceremony for all Rendille warriors. But instead of more than a thousand warriors, only roughly one tenth was present. As the necessary actors had arrived in time, however, the filming could start. The only unsolved problem was that the Machaan elder leading the inauguration of the *gudur* as ritual expert had been passed over when the gifts necessary to obtain the filming permit were distributed and now made a big fuss when the cameras started to whirl on the next day. After a while Wambile, who had not been passed over, managed to persuade him to be quiet.

On that evening, my adoptive older brother Baaroowwa asked the future *gudur* what would have happened without Kawab and the car. He answered he had intended not to go so that the *naabo* ceremony would have had to be postponed and held in the second *Soondeer* month in the place Saale had suggested – which may only have been half the truth.

#### 14. *dakhnaan ti soondeer (hogdeer)*, July 13

Only one day late as compared to the normal timing, and on the very last

possible date the preparations for the ceremony were started in the morning.

All the warriors had carefully painted their faces and carried their ritual sticks (*gumo*, pl. *gumoyyo*) like they do for *soorriyo*, *ori lagoorraho*, weddings.<sup>3</sup> [...] The ones who owned one wore an antelope hide, a symbol of transition imparting good health. Lion killers wore strips of lion hide. All the man killers wore their metal bells on their lower legs (*'aamam* or *nyoor*) and the white ostrich feather (*welya*), like they do during the *rib* phase after killing. None of them had a spear; the only weapon carried was the sword, and that was not so much a weapon in this context, but a tool: it is used to slaughter the sacrificial animals.

About three thousand camels of the clans whose warriors had come had been driven to the site on the day before. (Only a fraction of the number of camels which used to be present for previous *naabos*.)

These camels are now slowly driven up to the lava plateau and will graze there until late afternoon.

At about 11 o'clock the house of the *gudur's* mother, which was set up for the night here in Nahgan, is untied. (The *min guduro* can, on its way to the *naabo* site, spend the night only in a camel camp of Nahgan or in a Nahgan settlement, in the latter case by the first house in the seniority order.)

This house is not loaded onto a camel gelding, but on a bull, *jenteti uidelo*, "because it is fertile". Only few bulls are trained for this kind of purpose (weddings, transport of *jibaanjib* (*dabeel*)). This bull wears the insignia of a breeding bull around its neck: bell and rope (*heeraar*).

Now the *gudur's* mother also walks up to the lava plateau with her loaded pack camel and approaches the ritual site. Shortly before she reaches it, a small boy from her family of *Gu'duro* is sat on the camel. And so it was done: A boy had to ride a short distance on the camel (symbolically, therefore, a boy rode it all the way). (In the next two age sets, whose *gudur* will be from Saale-Kimogol, the boy will also be from this family.)

When the house has arrived in the *naabo* site, a warrior of Wambile blows the ivory horn. This will be done continuously during the whole ceremony, whenever something special happens or a Wambile warrior feels like blowing it.

At this time (about 1.30 p.m.), the big stone circle of the *naabo* had already been laid out. This is the *naabo* the ceremony is named after, and, symbolically, it is identical to the round enclosure in every settlement which is the centre of the life of the elders and also called *naabo*. After all, the purpose of the ceremony is to prepare the participants for their life as elders.

The warriors of the individual clans were setting up their *kullal*, their resting places, analogous to the camel camp inside the enclosure according to the seniority order. For this purpose, a small enclosure for camel foals is fenced in,

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<sup>3</sup>The meaning of the ritual objects mentioned in the following will be explained in the chapter on "context-comparing symbology" [of Schlee 1979]. At this point I will focus on the chronology and for the sake of brevity neglect comparisons with other rituals.

next to which a resting place is cleared of rocks.

In Dubsahay-Kullali *oraat*, the first *kullal* of Dubsahay, Wambile, a fire had been drilled. This was then taken to the *naabo* in order to start the *naabo* fire with it.

This fire is of an entirely different nature than any fire these warriors had ever drilled before. The fire of the camel camp can be started with *ūduhi gaango*, zebra dung, and an old piece of cloth, in fact it does not even have to be drilled with fire-sticks (*magto*), but can be lit with matches. But this, now, is a *naabo* fire, like the one that will be drilled in every settlement site where the group settles. It is started with elephant dung (*saali arab*; elephants do not have *ūdu*, like other animals including humans, but *saal*) and cedar bark (*nyirinti haru*).

The warriors who had come to the ceremony mainly belonged to only four clans: Dubsahay (divided into *Kullali oraat* (Wambile), *Kullali daheet*, the middle *kullaál* (Bulyar) and some of *Kullaeli mischoot*, the last *kullal* (Teylaan)), Rengumo and Nahgan. From Nebey, the first clan of the seniority order of Belessi Beri (a half-autonomous subclan of Saale), no more than eight people attended, whose task it would be to call out a counter-curse against Dubsahay during the proclamation of the *arablagate* (see below). From Matarbah there was only one warrior present whose family settles in Nahgan, and another one from Uyam. And, of course, the *gūdur* (Gaalooryoyo, Saale) and his companion (Kimogol, Saale) were present.

Dubsahay and Rengumo were also not complete. Rumour had had it that, if all members of Belessi Beri were to attend, a violent fight might break out. This seemed to lower the attractiveness of the event.

Ideally, the house of the *gūdur*'s mother is erected in the first position of Belessi Beri. The first part of the arc of the circle, from west via north to east, is designated for Belessi Bahay, the second part, from east via south to west, for Belessi Beri. Although this time the *gūdur*'s mother's house was built exactly in the east of the circle, like usual, there was one Nahgan *kullal* south of the house because hardly any members of Belessi Beri had come and Belessi Bahay had been able, therefore, to expand beyond its own section of the arc.

The earthen cooking pot (*diri*) for this house is a loan from Nahgan-Machaan.

Apart from that the *gūdur*'s mother's house is no different from other Rendille houses, except for its being a minimal version which can be transported on one single camel and which consequently is rather small and not entirely windproof.

The hide of a camel calf that had died was fixed to the front of the house. The smell of these hides is used to encourage the mothers to give milk. In this case, the hide could serve no such function because no camels of Gaalooryoyo were present (apart from the above mentioned bull). The hide, rather, served to emphasise that this was an old house, the house of a different generation, because no hide of an animal that died of natural causes can be put into the



houses Ilkichilli would be building on their weddings or into any marriage house in general.

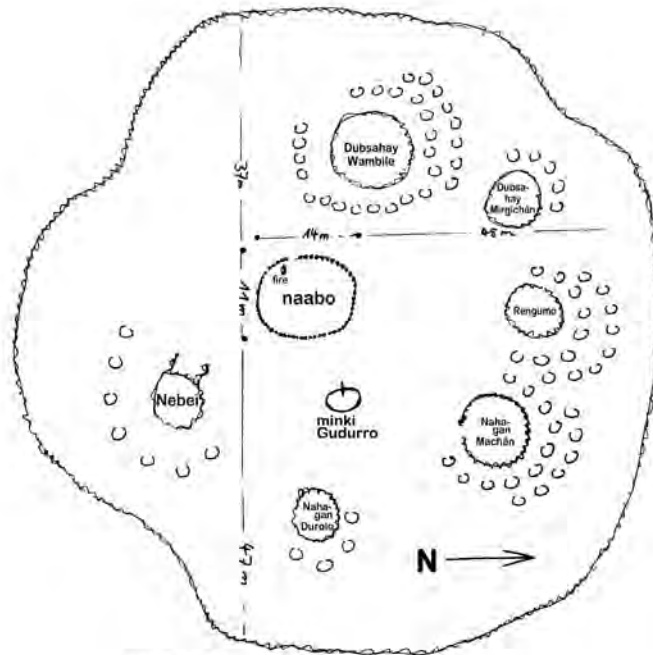
*Chirrinkiiyye naffiiyye yumuy, chi' minki dakhan utukkiis lagesse, yombuu dakhamba naffi yamuut ma lawaayo. Jeentetaase worran liikalaaba.*

“When an animal has died, if its skin is put into a white house [marriage house], an animal that dies will never be missing [animals will die continuously]. For that reason the skins of animals which died of natural causes are usually kept away [from the marriage house].”

So this hide demonstrates that it is not the house of the *gudur* but that of his mother, that all this is not part of the wedding yet but of the preparations for the wedding. (This skin is, however, not a necessary component of the furnishings but a dispensable accessory.)

While the *gudur*'s mother erects her house, the warriors are busy cutting thorn bushes and joining them to build the outer fencing.

The erection of this fence follows an exact ritual schedule: First of all, Khalawkhaalle from Uyam cuts a bush called *dowwahadaado* (*Commiphora flaviflora* Engl., Buseraceae, also used as a laxative and as carving wood).



**naabo site**  
(after a sketch of Anders Grum, altered.)

Uyam possesses many lucky characteristics and is, for that reason, often chosen for such tasks. [...] Uyam as non-*iibire* are particularly harmless and free of sin. And there is a second reason why Uyam start the cutting of the bushes: In the mythical ancient times it was Uyam who “came out” with the axe (*gidib*).

Next, a warrior of Dubsahay cuts *andiikha* (*Euphorbia cuneata* Vahl). *Andiikha*, like other *Euphorbia* plants, has white “milk” and, like them, is used ritually as a milk-bringer by sympathetic magic.

Now the fire can be drilled up. Afterwards, the other warriors also take part in cutting and bringing all the bushes suitable for erecting the fencing.

At around 3.30 p.m. the warriors each carry a piece of *dollo* (a small *Euphorbia* species) on a branch of *dahargaab* (a small acacia plant) to the site.

*Dahargaab* symbolises *dele lakadoona* – “with its help you want birth” (fertility). This plant is also used at births and weddings. *Dollo* also secretes white “milk” when it is cut which makes it a milk-bringer like *andiikha*. (It is furthermore used as a drug, which is not of any significance in this context, however.) These two plants are used later, when small stone ovals as “houses” are built, as additions to the “house” (see below).

*Succha* (*Barleria eranthemoides* C. B. Cl., Acanthaceae) branches are also fetched. Sucha a geeyi mindischo. “*Succha*” is the marriage tree”. [...] Later the meat of the sacrificed animals will be spread on these branches. When, finally, everybody leaves the site of the *naabo* ceremony, these branches will not simply be left behind but will be stuck into the fencing of the foal pen (*sunki nyirkhoot*).

After all these preparations are completed, the camels are driven into the enclosure between 4 and 5 p.m. This is accompanied by occasional horn blowing.

After the camels arrive, first of all a she-camel of 'Durollo (Nahgan) is milked for the *gudur*. *Haru* (cedar; as I have not watched this scene I don't know whether leaves or bark are used) is sprinkled into this milk. Then the warrior of Garawwahle (Nebey)<sup>4</sup> takes the shaving knife and, symbolically, brushes over the right side of the *gudur*'s head twice with it. Then an elder of Nahgan shaves the *gudur*'s head. After he has been shaved, the *gudur* is taken to a place outside the enclosure until the camels (at least the ones of Nahgan) have lain down.

Around 5 p.m. a camel of the *goob* Wambile (Dubsahay) is milked. Its milk is poured into a *tuhum* (a miniature of the *murub* milking container). This *tuhum* was made by little girls from Uyam. What can be more harmless than little girls of the *waakhkamur* clan of Uyam? *Uyam a waakhkamur; uskeel ma khabto*. – “Uyam are *waakhkamur*, they don't have any badness.” Apart from this it was the Uyam clan who brought the Rendille the *murub*.

<sup>4</sup>Actually, a warrior of Birriga is entitled to this role. But as the mother of the only Birriga warrior had died he was not suited for this positive role and Garawwahle took his place. In the sub-unit of Ilwaas Garawwahle is subordinate to the Birriga lineage.

*Uyame muruub leesoobahte. Ren'dille deerka ka'hele.*

Uyam came into being with the *muruub*. The Ren'dille received it from him.

The *tuhum* is set into the ground on the eastern side of the *naabo*. The origin of the *tuhum* already suggests that what happens now is a purification from sin (*hadaab*): First, all the *hosoob* enter the *naabo* (through the stone circle's opening in the west, obviously, although the rocks of the size of a cattle's head do not present a real obstacle). They dip the *ul* (herder's staff) and *gumo* (ritual stick) into the milk and brush the wet ends of the *gumo* upwards over their foreheads. Then the other warriors come and do the same.

Before, during and after these proceedings (from about 4.30 to 6.30 p.m.) everyone builds a *singiro* for himself. *Singiro* usually means a "house" made from any kinds of materials which small children build to play "husband and wife", "wedding" or similar games in. The *singiro* built by the warriors now are ovals of lava rocks. Their doors are, correctly, in western direction and they are built around the respective *kullal* of the individual clans following the seniority order. Even the hearth stones are not forgotten, although some *singiro* only had four hearth stones instead of the usual six which is possible when building a ritual house without much practical purpose (*minki gu'duroot*, *soorriyo* houses for mothers who have died, etc.). But most of them had six hearthstones and an additional small seventh one which is also found in "real" Ren'dille houses: the *daakki rubeyeet*, the stone of the heart used by women to balance the pots. This heart stone is the only object of a household which is thrown away after a woman dies: so it "is" the heart of the woman.

Furthermore, two elongate stones, a larger and a smaller one, are leaned against the back wall of the house: wife and child. Later, "wife" and "child" are given milk (it can, obviously, only be poured on them). To this eastern side of the house the piece of *dollo* mentioned above (the "milk-bringing" Euphorbia) and the *dahargaab* branch granting the woman fertility are fixed.

Now each warrior starts a fire in front of his "house". The embers for it he fetches from the *naabo* fire. (Let us recapitulate the way of the fire, which is analogous to the settlement: *kullal* of Wambile (= first house of the seniority order) – *naabo* – individual households.)

After this, the billy goats (Gaalorra would take rams for this; but because of the boycott no Gaalorra warriors were present) are "washed" with milk in *soorriyo* manner. [...] and touched with *ul* (herder's staff) and *gumo*. Subsequently they are slaughtered. So the warriors perform a *soorriyo*. This *soorriyo* differs from the one in the settlement in only few elements: the men stick their fingers into the mouth of the goat and wet their foreheads with the saliva, they often use the sword instead of their fingers for blood blessings (these are all forms of *dikhnaan*, purification from sin). No camels are marked with blood either.

After this *soorriyo* everybody skins, cuts up, roasts and eats his goat. Everyone takes a leg to the house of the *gudur* where these legs are distributed to the few elders present. European guests<sup>5</sup> also made their rounds. But we were exhorted to not throw away the bones as they have to be burnt (cf. the final ceremony of killers when a whole sacrificial animal has to be eaten and nothing must be left over. The bones of this animal are also burnt). On the next morning there was nothing left of the meat although there had been almost as many sturdy goats as people.

Around 8.30 p.m. most of the camels on the side of Nahgan have lain down. Now Nahgan warriors go and fetch the *gudur* who has been waiting outside the enclosure since the afternoon. The *gudur* is wrapped first in a blue *ruuf* cloth [...] and then in a big white cloth; his arms and legs are tied in, too, so that no part of him is visible. Then he is carried into his mother's house by four warriors of Nahgan and unwrapped. The *moor* (the fatty tissue covering the intestines) of a ewe of Gaalgi'deelle, Nahgan, which was slaughtered for him, is put on his head in a way as to cover it entirely. Its most important part *moor* plays in birth rites. So a symbolism of rebirth is apparent in this whole scene.

Now the *gudur* is given milking containers (*murubbe*) filled with milk. Each clan brings one – as there were only four clans present, there were only four *murubbe* this time. The *gudur* drank, symbolically, from the *murubbe* of Nahgan, Nebey and Rengumo, but he refused to drink from the Dubsahay *murubbe*. First he insisted on being told who would be proclaimed *arablagate* on the next morning. (A refusal and request of this kind was quite normal in previous *gudur* initiations, too.) When he was (incorrectly) informed by the Nahgan taking care of him that the *arablagate* would not be from Belessi Beri, he also took a symbolic drink from the Dubsahay *murubbe* (*haanu a kaboroodiche*)<sup>6</sup>.

The meat of the *moor* sheep is then cooked for the *gudur* by his mother in the pot because he – like other people undergoing transitional rites (circumcision candidates, killers) – is not allowed to eat roasted meat.

Around midnight all the *hosoob* come and throw cedar leaves (*haru*) into the fire of the minki *guduroot* and pray.

On the next morning (in Rendille counting it has been the 15. *dakhnaan* of the first *Soondeer, gooban*, since the previous evening, for the Europeans it has been July 14, 1976, since midnight) the camels are milked and driven out of their enclosure. After that the ivory horn (*arab*) is blown by Wambile. The 38 warriors of Belessi Bahay gather around the Wambile warrior blowing the horn and sing the *geeyi arab*, the song of the ivory horn<sup>7</sup>. At a few metres' distance

<sup>5</sup>Apart from the film team there were: Anders Grum, Nairobi; Paul Spencer, London; Anne Beaman, Boston; Stephan Toth, Elisabeth Hoerner, Günther Schlee, Hamburg.

<sup>6</sup>The Machaan (Nahgan) elder present told Baarowwa Adicharreh of this deception. The *gudur*'s mother confirmed this information later.

<sup>7</sup>To understand the threat emanating from this ivory horn see the section on the elephant under „Context-comparing symbology“.

the eight Nebey warriors start singing their own version of the song. Everyone tries to drown out the other, but only when Belessi Bahay proclaim the *arablagate* in their song the horn is blown and this way the curse made more effective. More for form's sake, the Nebey people curse a warrior from Dubsahay who is assumed, at least by Belessi Beri, to lose his mind, too.

Belessi Bahay had agreed among themselves to proclaim Long'orri 'Dirgel, Tubcha. In the *geeyi arab*, the mocking song, his identity is paraphrased in encoded abuse.

[... The full version of the mocking song can be found in Schlee 1979: 418–420]

At the same time, the eight Nebey warriors sang a song in which a warrior of Kirab (Dubsahay, Teylaan, i.e. a *waakhkamur*, of course) was proclaimed *arablagate*. This warrior's father had already been proclaimed *arablagate* of the Irbaallis age set unilaterally by Belessi Beri. He is said to actually have lost his mind, too.

[...]

In spite of the formal resistance expressed in the counter-song there is no mistaking who the real *arablagate* of this age set is: it is Long'orri 'Dirgel, for every time his name was said Wambile's horn sounded.

So Rengumo had asserted their claim against Dubsahay to make a man of Tubcha *arablagate*, in revenge for the murdering of Tilliyya Arbele by the *dab lakabiire* – although with regard to internal tribal politics, it was probably most unwise to deepen the wound any further.

But why had Dubsahay's wrath fallen on Long'orri of all Tubcha warriors?

Long'orri's older brother, Akeena 'Dirgel, once had a *maamirte* (girlfriend, concubine) from Bakha (Bulyar, Dubsahay).

This girl ran away from home and went to the house of 'Dirgel to urge Akeena to marry her. (Usually it is regarded as flattering if a girl makes such a spectacular move and the man protects her from her "fathers" and tries to persuade those who, truly or only in pretence, resist this "girl theft" to grant her permission to marry.) But Akeena did not want to marry this girl. So her father dragged her out of the house by her legs and beat her.

The reason why this girl was rejected was that she had had an abortion. (The embryo had been fathered by Akeena 'Dirgel himself.) Due to the ritual importance of the 'Dirgel patriline, who provide a ram for a *soorriyo*-like sacrifice performed by the warriors of Tubcha in the Wednesday year after their circumcision, 'Dirgel cannot marry a girl polluted by an abortion. [...]

After the *arablagate* had been proclaimed, warriors and elders came together to "count the camels". The camels in question are the ones which will make up

the herd assembled for the *guḍur*. The difficulty was that the camels intended for the *guḍur* of a *teerya* age set may only be provided by *teerya* families, i.e. families whose members have always been circumcised in *teerya* age sets. The last *naabo* ceremony of a *teerya* age set dated back as far as 42 years which is why it proved difficult to remember all these families, who have no other salient functions, in order to make up a list. What made the task even more difficult was that almost no members of Belessi Beri were present so that nobody could be asked about the *teerya* families of this moiety. I could not follow the entire discussion because the scene was to be filmed and I had to get out of the picture. My “ear”, Baarowwa Adicharreh, also had to leave because he wore a shirt and for that reason did not look sufficiently authentic for the film team. After a while, however, the men involved in the discussion gave up and postponed the problem.

The essential parts of the *naabo* ceremony were completed now. The warriors stayed for another two days. During this time, two more sheep were slaughtered for the *guḍur*, one provided by Gaaldaayan (Nahgan) and one by Galhay (Dubsahay).

The fat tail of this last sheep must not be roasted. When the *guḍur*'s mother moves away with her house it is tied to the top of the camel's load. The day she moved on was the 2. *Mugḍi* of the 1. *Soondeer*, July 16, 1976. The fat tail dangling up there meant the end of the warrior period (*'Dubaas iche herroon massicha*).

#### 4.10. Consequences of the *naabo* ceremony

Never before had *ḍablakabiire* and *arablagate* been from the same clan in one age set. Particularly Tubcha was very upset about this happening now, especially as, in the eyes of Belessi Beri, the other side was entirely to blame. Shortly afterwards it became known that Leekuti Eysimgaabana, the *ḍablakabiire*, had strangled himself in prison in Marsabit. He had tied a bed sheet around his neck with a simple knot and pulled at both ends with his hands. Some people took this as yet another proof that Leekuti had been “a bull of a man” (*oori mejel*) because only few persons would be resolved enough to kill themselves in this manner. Others believed in rumours that Leekuti had been poisoned and the noose had been placed around his neck only after his death. But who should have committed the murder and why, nobody had any idea. The doctors in Marsabit, incidentally, had determined suicide by strangling as cause of death, too.

Long'orri 'Dirgel set out with his brother and knocked down a warrior of Dubsahay with a club. *L'histoire se repète.*

Apart from that, Tubcha, the clan of circumcisers, considered never again circumcising boys of Belessi Bahay.

By now plans for ritual countermeasures by Belessi Beri had become more

concrete. They wanted to pray for Long'orri 'Dirgel in a ceremony so that the magic performed by the horn (*tibaato*) will not come into effect.<sup>8</sup>

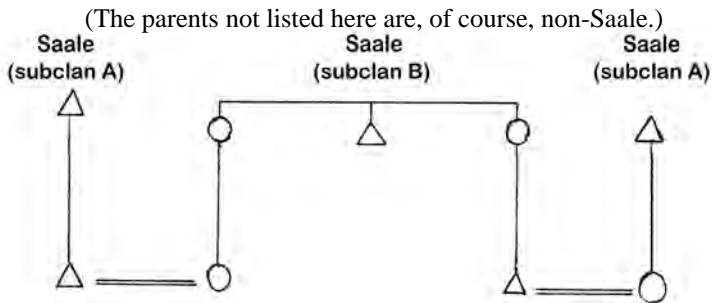
They also considered performing the *orisoomoot* ceremony, in which the *gudur*'s inauguration was to be undone and the *gudur* reinstalled this time only for Belessi Beri, on the *hogdeer* of Furam, i.e. three months after the *naabo*. This ceremony would avert all harm from Belessi Beri and direct it against Belessi Bahay. The result would be – if God helped – that in Belessi Bahay no children are born to the Ilkichilli age set.

[...]

## POSTSCRIPT

When I returned to the Rendille in March, 1977, the *orisoomoot* had already been postponed two times because the scheduled dates had each become unpropitious due to the death of women from Saale.

The marriages of Ilkichilli presented a pattern which ran counter to previous marriage behaviour. Belessi Beri did not marry any girls from Belessi Bahay. In Gaal'deylan only three marriages of this kind had taken place (Gaallagaaddo Taarween, Guuto Eysimfeechea and Eysimmoonte). All the others had practiced Belel endogamy. In order to make this possible, an agreement with the elders of Saale to further relax marriage rules had been reached: All subclans of Saale are now permitted to marry classificatory mother's brother's daughters and father's sister's sons (*eysim*), respectively, of each other.



This marriage boycott forced Belessi Bahay to also marry chiefly endogamously because Belessi Beri's own need of brides was too great. ””

<sup>8</sup>Apart The *arablagate* of Irbaallis, Issan'daab, Urowween, is said to have been prayed for in this manner. As a result, only Kiraab (Dubsahay), who had been proclaimed by Belessi Beri, but not Issan'daab had lost his mind, people say.

Now, thirty-five years later, another postscript is required because history has moved on. The customs of “negative age set roles” or symbolic human sacrifice (*dablababiire* and *arablagate*) were dropped. When the age-set Ilkorooro (circumcised 1979) were about to marry, communal prayers were held so that the change of custom might not have negative consequences. As the she-camels and the woman continued to give birth and milk, it could be concluded that God had given His consent to this change of ritual. Belessi Beri never again considered to “revive” the custom of *orisoomoot*. Replacing *dablababiire* and *arablagate* by other customs was no longer necessary. They were simply dropped without replacement.

Elections continued to be affected by moiety loyalties. As in the following discussion transcript the names of the Members of Parliament of earlier decades frequently occur, I finish this introduction with a list of their names and periods in office which may provide some orientation to the reader.

#### MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT OF MARSABIT SOUTH SINCE INDEPENDENCE

- 1963 – 1968 Elisha Godana (non-Rendille: Burji)
- 1968 – 1974 Kurungu (Saale)
- 1974 – 1988 Adicharreh (Gaal'deylan)
- 1988 – 1992 Sammy (Ntotoy) (Dubsahay)
- 1992 – 2002 Robert Kochale (Urowween)
- 2002 – 2006 Titus Ngoyaon (Saale) (accidental death)
- 2006 – present Joseph Lekuton (Norugushu)



# THE DISCUSSION IN ISIR'S HOUSE (DISC I) KORR, 21<sup>ST</sup> JANUARY 2008

(REN'DILLE TRANSCRIPTION AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION  
BELEYSA HAMBULE WITH LETIWA GALBORAN)

## BELEYSA

*Nahe atin wahne, wihi nah atin iwahne la a nebey on. Wihi nah atin iwahne, chele doodi ittaawenye isleehawwoonne, yeerarka enenyet wahne, isleehawwoonne, ichoowka urura toolla inno nahe inno iyitah. Wihi idaas yeelo la, a ila toolla inno kajirro.*

We are the ones who called you, and we called you for peace. What we called you for is, yesterday we had discussions with many people, in separate groups we called people and had discussions, so that we became this gathering. What makes it so is (because of) this country (Kenya).

*Uus goorat kurayyoha laguðde, kurayyoha inkarnyassi buurenye leesoobaheene, sinati buure enenyet isoobahte, ichoowka toolla lakajira. Enenyet uus goorat kurayyo saggi us iguðde iguðde, us yeerarrowe, ilal tuummanka a ida toolla inno kajirro on. Walah liiskadagcho mele, a ida ino nahe on; a layeerarrowe seley labahe, ichoowka ilassohooka diho laka enenyet ititahye, weyli iskuul iskuul ma irti, golol gato miigowte, toro iloo laka lawaaye ichoowka anki inno idullo dakkhan lawaaye.*

Since this election exercise, many quarrels have cropped up, people are now facing with many problems; until today people are in these problems. People all over have voted in this same manner which we are in, with differing opinions, and have thus differed. Frankly, (people) everywhere are the same as we are now. People have become estranged to each other, resulting in violence in some places, school children discontinue with their classes, also hiking of food prices, and in some places there is no foodstuff, until we have lost direction.

*Ila Kenya layadeeh, cha'an idaaru an soogaabicho, kootte nakhaaballetoo nah isleehawwoonne, ankeeyka miigeet iloo Ethiopia layadeehe jira. Ankeenkala ili Dafara Soomaliya jirta. Ankeenkala Sudan iche jira. wahaas tuumman ilassohoo ideeenye eheneete, kurayyohoo idane, iche liiskadihe ichoowka dood icho maganti ilossohoo addan (refugee layadeehe il dakkhan kijiro) iche kajiraan kacchicho. Toolla enenyet dakkhan a orronte liiswarsata liisicheeka ebba geeddi us yahe ka. Keenki toolla inta, maalinka deerka chi' Rendille liidah, a Dubsahay ichoow saalle.*

Kenya is bordered by countries – to cut short a discussion we had earlier today – like Ethiopia to the north. To that side of us [northeast] is Somalia. And to that side [northwest] is Sudan. All those were countries like ours (Kenya); fights occurred because of such election differences like this one, until most of their people sought refuge elsewhere in the world. Now as we discussing

here, the whole country is in the process of a peaceful solution and discussions are underway, at all levels. Our discussions today here, if we say Rendille, is Dubsahay and Saale.

*Atinla toolla a liisidihin on menye, idaas on uuriin goya uluba suuj iche kijirto. Atin laka deeka wihi Kenyatan addan kajirto ma kadeer. Wihi sagga kasoobahe, ati laka ma kaankhataan. Gaabika wihi nah atin iwahne inno is-worsanni, arran enenyet a {lachaguwa}, enenyet Kurayyo baabul gudda dee enenyet toro liisikeena, lahawoocha, enenyet isleereyta, toro guu chan la-massicha. Wihi nah atin iwahne, atin laka wihi atin nah worsattaan worsattaane, nah laka wihi nah atin worsanni atin worsanna ichoowka dee intoo kaldach namiit. Yaafeey wihi na atin iwahne a geeddaas. Chirri weeyla wohoo kasookhayo ma gardi.*

But for you, although there is no physical fight between you, there is bad blood between you. You too are not far from what the rest of Kenyans are experiencing. What happened there will affect you (the Rendille) too. In brief, why we have called you for this gathering is, normally people, they vote for different candidates and then they come together, and they laugh together, till the five year term elapses. Why we called you is for an open discussion of all of us, until we reach an agreement. My people, that's all unless Isir has something to add.

#### ISIR

*Aa, a geeddaas on.*  
Yes, it's that much.

#### BELEYSA

*Sinayyoha toolla ila kajiro, geeddi inno eleelle ichoow mehe yeello, eti an worsadi a matakki Dubsahay ichoow Saalle, toolla koloo doo da ubbaarre iche miinicha, uur la isifurro, Tooraare, iche kasookhabda, bal sinata Kenya kijirto bal nah sii!*

The problems in these country, how far we have reached and what can we do to solve them; my questions are directed to the Head of Dubsahay and of Saale, but first I will direct it to shirt people, and lets be open to each other, may I begin with Mr Torare; can you please tell us the problems facing Kenya?

#### TORARE

*Chaamayohi inta kijiro deerka, wihi intaka weyti mimmiige a P.N.U ichoow O.D.M: yaani aranki Injaalluwo ichoow ki weene Ilkokooyo. Iluuska toolla wihi doo daas iskadiho, uluba Gaal Rendille ma sooeleelin, amehe Gaal Rendille foga on ka isbiinga menye, i diiyye enenyet fool issiicho ichoowka isyagiis hakuna! Ma jirto, a nebey on, a Waakh wahaas inno buucho, uluba ma inno soo'heleelin. Wihi hatto a jiraan. A liihate, omollaka sarme laka jirta. Wihi toolla Kenya goya chiidda keene a sarme. I di iyookkoti kootte at nah siisse, ki*

*addan 'baataaya buure, essi, ki addan la i di sadakhatiiyye labaaysti u, ichoow tigtu labaaysati u, baa soobaaysate, geeddi us iskasookasoka, do odiiski us buur imuro, iche rucchulaate. Kaas 'deerka eti T.V. 'deydooche, a arge goon; omol-laka a lasoome. Ulla mehe essaya, annaka uluba a mejele sarmeti idaase ma kubbaalo. Ila toolla wihi liiskadiho i 'daas! Toolla intaakka liiskarooro, kolos-sohoo chi' intoo lakaasoo 'heleele taah goorrah on menye, walah addan mele.*

The two strongest political parties we have are P.N.U. (Party of National Unity) and O.D.M. (Orange Democratic Movement). I mean the led by the Luo man and the one led by the big man of Kikuyu. What those people in those areas are fighting for has not yet reached the Rendille people; because, although the Rendille differ in politics, but they will not confront each other to fight and kill each other – God forbid, those kinds of things have not reached us of yet. The stealing of elections is there, and taking power by force. What brought the problem in Kenya is taking of power by force. Like the example you gave us, one of them claiming that his people are the majority, and the other one gathered all the other people to his side. The one who thought his people were the majority, was wrong. Anyone who watched the news on Television must have seen it; or you must have read it in newspapers. But he (Raila) is saying he is still a man and cannot accept such force. And so that is what is causing this war. As a result there is fear, if you are found in a wrong place, you will definitely be slaughtered.

*Toolla wihi jiro, jitat toolla a lahide, gololleetoo intoo inno ikasoogesso meel iche leetamiit meele. Wahaas, iche toolla ilasuhuus ka suujowe, lakini ili Rendille a Waakh inno buucho, wihi i 'daase ma sooeleelin. wihi weyti toolla inno khuccho a khoorkhaaniwaayyo, amehe, khoorkhaanihi goorat ila lakeeno amehe, iloo addan iche liilaabe. 'Doo 'di goorat isdihe gaasoo harratoo addane ifirde. Rendille wihi 'dee chiidda iyateehe an argo, chirri nabhayye titahye hoola urmo kabeheen, a khoorkhaaniwaayyo. Inti 'dee weyti inno uloonni anki Rendille ka a intaas.*

*Etooo addan 'deerka a yeyyeedo. Lakini dihoti jirto a tiiyye kura enenyet lasare, enenyet isidaagin. Kenya la arran a iloo yeedasahi i 'daase weyti ikajirine il tuumman ka weyti liinkaanyito toro laddoono – ili dakhnaneetka laka, ??ee ??kasinyeto arran iskuulle liirti ma jirto; ti iskare laka ma isihaaggan, amehe, yaafo yaafo igoonnante, mehe essaan ya, a i 'doh 'doodenyo liibakkicha. Wahaas iche toolla harra gele ankuuska. A kaas.*

The situation now is, the public roads are now closed and some foodstuff we expect from other areas cannot reach us. God forbid, ugly insecurity situations like other areas have not yet reached the Rendille country. The real problem facing us is food shortages; because food that was meant to come to us is now sent to other areas. Those people who were at war with each other, some of them have fled to other places. The problem that I foresee which will affect the Rendille is food shortage, when the drought persists and livestock move away in search of pastures. That is our fears.

So let someone else speak. But the war has started because of the stealing of votes, and people differed. In Kenya such things were not there before, Kenya was respected and liked by other countries for that – even by Europe. Now even our schools to date have not reopened, and even our military and security forces are divided among tribal lines, each claiming their people being killed by the other party. That is the problem which has occurred in other places (of this country). That is it.

## ISIR

*Toolla Kenya a agarre i di iche tahe, ankaka deerka a buur menya? Rendille buur mele, lakini toolla intaka laka ma anzina? toolla bilal menya lakajira? A i do kaldach on.*

Now we have seen Kenya, and the situation now, but Kenya has a large population. But Rendille are few, and have problems not began even here? Now aren't people divided into moieties? Is just the same (as the other part of the country).

## BELEYSA

*I di Isir elatti u, an ila laka ma fiddiyo, wahaanyeyyohi goorat atin kura igu-datteen laka ma gardi weyti. Lakini toolla inta gooyaka uus ani imiy, hawweesi lakahawwocho, enenyet a meel lamma. Intoo biccheyyohoo lakayabhuub laka enenyet a meel lamma. Gaarihi lakoro laka enenyet a meel lamma. Gargaari liisgargaaro laka enenyet a meel lamma. Kan guruubeen menye kan akhaatin, enenyeti lakhaato mee! A bina laka a daage! Ma liisgargaaro. Kura kaldach mee goorat Rendille isleekhabo. Hugum laka a jira, chiito addane goorat Gaal Rendille dihto liisleediho laka a jirta. Wihi nool iche Rendille isleekhabta.*

*Toolla cha'an yeyo, wahaas laka a sooyeerarrowaan, sababu chi' etoo lagudde mehe layadeeh ya, "kaas diicha a laguiddo guruubeen menye!" Kaas laka a daage.*

*'Deerka a titah. A laguiddo. Gaal Rendille, atinhi kootte nah atin wahne, nakhaabaloo chele mehe yidahya, yeeda kola ewween on imale. {iche yidah} Eweenki Rendille, chirri lammatiinta inta kijirtaan, enenyet tuum ma lasookulmicho gone, matahka anika a geedda on. Baal ewweenki Rendille waha atin daagtaane uluba saggaas liitoollo, mehe layeela? Waha an eldi a beena bal a rum?*

The way Isir has said, I don't even stay around, and I really don't know how and who you voted for. But here amongst you, since the time I came here I hear the stories people talk about, people are divided into two groups. Even in places of drinks (bar) people are divided into two groups. Even boarding vehicles people are divided into two groups. Even when supporting each other people divided into two groups. This one does not belong to our group therefore don't offer him a lift! I hear he is wild! People don't help each other. It

is not only during election times that the Rendille used to share social norms. There are other customary events that hold the Rendille together. Rendille use to collectively defend themselves against their enemies. There are many other things that Rendille did together.

But the way I see it now, all these norms are at the verge of separation. This is because (for example) if one is hit, the others don't help but say, 'let him be hit, because he is not a member of our group!' I have heard that being said too.

Now it has happened. People have voted the way they did. Dear Rendille, the people who we have called here today: an old man told us yesterday, that now the only people who can settle this matter are the elders. According to me, the quorum is full if both of you are here – because it is not possible to bring everyone together. Elders you have heard all these, and still people are separated, what is the solution? Am saying the truth or false?

### SEGELAN

*'Do o'doo 'deerka i 'daas on yiidah.*

Yes some people say it is so.

### BELEYSYA

*Aa'heey, 'doo'di ubbaarre nah wahne, yeeda kola ewween on menye, ma khab-attamo, iche liidah. Ewweenki Rendille.*

Yes the shirt people we called, they told us that this matter can only be solved by the elders. The elders.

### ISIR

*Ewween worso koloo.*

Ask the elders.

### KANA

*Alley bal! Kootte yeedi Nairobi menye lakeene? Bal Idaas me? Nah laka inta ka, a idi 'doo'di Nairobi kijiro on; sababu reediyoyyo a latangaza, alla etoo leefdita, chirrinkiyye, O.D.M a layagis liidah etoo ooya koo la hamaada. Intaka, koo la a bolkha, 'doo'daas la ma garanni! Etoo koloo kaldach laka 'doo'di goorat watchmaaneny Nairobi kijiro i 'doh nidaahe yedeeh ma jiro, omollaka ma agarto eti worsati laka!*

*Geeddiyye nah Nairobi ieleelin, lazima nah kwanza inta isyeyno uram goya, kwa sababu ilbaanga kaldache intaka liikhatin – i 'di 'doo'di Nairobi!*

*Rendille alah a kol geeddoh: Rendille ka ani a Koorro, toro weyti fiddiye alah. Rendille maanti goorat Adichaarreh ichoow dabaroo ka koo Bulyaar, siasa goorat a i 'doh? Sasa siasa imekuwa ... labda Rendille baabul iche siasa gele kwa sababu ma gartaan. Kitu ya kwanza kiyye Rendille sigeera ikeente, eti lachaaguwe tuumman ma yamiite enenyet ma isikeen{t}o. Eti lachaaguwe tuumman, ma yamiite, atin meekaayo, eti goorat kura isiiche, ichoow ki isiin a*

*ḍoo ḍaaya, ilkaassi isleehaagginno yadeeh ma jiro.*

Just wait let me tell you! Before this you brought issues of Nairobi. Or is it not so? We are also like the people in in Nairobi; the reason is that we hear over news, while we are seated together, if we hear one person of O.D.M. has been killed, one of us cries and the other celebrates. Here, someone gets bitter and yet none of those people are known to us! No one inquires about the watchmen working in Nairobi, and we are totally not concern about them! Before we talk about Nairobi, we must first address our problems at home, because it is near the time we have picked arms against each other – just like Nairobi people!

Renḍille are divided into how many groups? According to Renḍille, I am Samburu, and I have stayed with you for a long time. Renḍille during the time of Adicharreh and Bulyaar, politics was different. Now politics is just so different and I believe Renḍille have a wrong concept about it, they really don't know what it is all about. The first thing which brought this disease to the Renḍille is every elected person does not come back and bring people together. None of them comes to the people and address both his supporters and opponents as his own constituents.

#### ISIR

*Mehe ḍdaas keena?*

What brings about this?

#### KANA

*Ni hile dereva anaendesha hiyo gari, a derefahiiyye gaarihaas woyo on keena. Kolossohoo chele a Ngoyyooni, ankoo tabe, bal i ḍdaas me? Kukuton ankoo a tabe. Unafikiri ḍoo ḍdaas keley on meel tabaan bal a liitakha? A liitakha! 'Deerka kol tuumman.*

*Chele maanti siasa ḍdood mehe yidahya, Leyye Renḍille i ḍdiyye luh lam-mati enenyet on; chirri too lagoоче ti addan ma sohatti alah. Bilassi bahay ichoow wihi beri a ḍdi luhlohaas etoo kaldach khabo. Lakini a koo kaldach on. 'Dee chirrinkiiyye too lagoоче, too iche a sohatta? 'Deerka i ḍdaakka enenyet a sohata? Nairobi ayeyina, Nairobi koloo ḍdoodiiyye O.D.M. kurchumaanḍele ayeyina. Koloo inta bal yeyno. Yeedi maalinka nah yeyyeeno la lazima tuweke nguvu zaidi; kwa sababu, Renḍille kurati soosohatti, toro ani ma gardi, kwa sababu kiasi kura lagoочо, iche weyti ankaa buuraata.*

*Rumanka alah, toolla aryaal ḍdood a gele, lakini aryaal sugeeraas uluba ma gelin. Lakini uum uluba irtaan, iche laka kola a eleel.*

*Koloo geeddi Nairobi inno isooeelin, bal kaaleya aytoo kaldach a nitaathe, nah a yaaftoo kaldache.*

*'Dee sahta wohoo miigenye i ḍdaase, iyookkoka Renḍille maanti goorat Kakir, Renḍille goorat, aranta kaldach hol lakadowe ichoowka layigis. Renḍille goorat i ḍoo kaldach menya maantas? Bal i ḍdaas mee? Waha laka toro a Kakir. 'Dee saahta Nairobi kasoosohata, halaassane gelaan ḍab khabaayi.*

*Ilkokoyo layagiise ila laka a soogelaan; sababu ayyo golol khaba laarge; ayyo naf khaba laarge, adi lakaarga: atin gon! 'Dee saahta a layamiite hoola lad-owa, omaar lagessa; waha dakkhan alah a golol on. 'Dee toro diho intoh liirta ... Lazima yaaf isiorrommatti, leyye mehe yeello siasa deerka a kutee? 'Dee chirrinki {nah} inno maalinka iyeyyeedin, 'dee saahta, etoo addan ma iri inanti gooboo addan ma daaho. 'Dee saahta layamiite gaal lakaadowa, 'dee saahta barihi at gooboo addan bariito ma lakidoono. Rendille uluba siyasaka a leyley! Uluba ma gartaan.*

*Koorro a yaaf tuumman on. Belessi bahay ichoow belessi beri a jiraan. saahuus dakkhan ichoow ti daayan a jira. Toro, icho maanti icho meel tabaan, intoo kaldach iche tabaan. Lukumay ichoow Masola ma khabaan. Lakini {ati} 'doo di 'dubiin kijiro nugleega a Dehees kaldach; toro atin on weyti isriftaan. Eti mujembeenyee ati chaguute 'dee yamiite min kidiso ma jiro. Eti yamiite gaal kisoogato ma jiro. Chirri lawaho 'yaafe wahane 'doonta' liiyadeeh on menye...*

*Ki Gabra chele mehe lakadiide: yaaf iche seley gooche, Gabra yeedas-sahaas a 'diidde gon. Ichoowka irka nah i 'da ma 'doonno gone, eti enenyet tuumm"an woyo iche 'doonna. Kaaleya koloo {minkenyo} miinkeen a dikhno koloo. Nairobi eeleelina, koloo intaka mehe yeello saathi yomboot waha inno daagno soodowaateen {nah} inno la intoh tabno, a i 'daas.*

It is the driver who is driving the motor car. Maybe the other time it was Ngoyoni, he went another direction, or is it not like that? And Kukuton also took another direction. Do you think they willingly take those directions or they are forced into it? They are forced to, and all the time!

During the elections it was said; Rendille are like the two legs of man. If one is cut off, the one will not walk alone. The east and west moieties are like the two legs of one man. If one leg is cut off, will the man walk with one leg? Will the man walk with one leg? Don't look at Nairobi, and don't listen to O.D.M. or this and that propaganda. Let's look (at matters of) here first. What we are talking here today, we must strengthen it; because in the coming elections, I don't know what will happen, because the more we vote the more hunger will come. Truly Aryaal are getting into you, but they don't have this (segregative) disease that you have. But the smoke (symptoms) has reached them.

Before we talk about Nairobi, let's be united and be one, because we are one. To give an example, during the time of the legendary Kakir, the Rendille were united till they defeated and killed her, is it not so? [Cf. Schlee & Sahado 2002: 30f] Even this matter is like that of Kakir. Soon, they will come from Nairobi, with guns they will reach these mountains. They'll kill Kikuyu and will also spread to here – because they see you have food, goats and sheep. Soon they will come and drive away all your animals into the forest, because all is about food. And if war comes where would we go? It is a must that the tribe sit to settle this and discuss what to do. If we don't talk today, tomorrow no one is going to marry from the other group. Even camels will not be loaned to each other and staying for the night in other villages will be difficult. Rendille are

still new in politics, they still don't know what it is all about.

Samburu are in both the west and eastern moieties. They are known as the white cow and the black one. But when they decide on issues they all go for one. It is not a matter of Lukumai or Mosola. But you Rendille in minority tribes in Kenya are second smallest to Elmolo; and yet you hate each other the most. There is no member of parliament you elect, that will come and build your house for you. No one of them will come and buy camels for you.

Why did the Gabra reject theirs? It is because he split the tribe into two, and Gabra have refused (to conform to) those ideas. They told their leader that they wanted a leader who will unify them but not to separate them.

So let's come and clean our house first. Let's leave Nairobi for the time being. Let's ask each other what to do, if what we are hearing reaches us.

### BARCHUMA

*Ee nakhaaballe, an kootte ma hawwoocho laka, wihi kootte an 'doono inno kahawwoonno, a i 'di chele kura titah! Chele kaldach la inno kura ma guddan. Kol tuummamba a lagu 'dda on. 'Deerka toolla wihi inno kahawwoonno, a i 'di chele eheneet. Maalinka 'deerka siasa inno kura iguddanni mele.*

*Ki lammaatteet, idi titah. I 'di seyyahnaatteet a i 'di sootateeh inchenka. Walah seyyahtaas iche inchenka kahawwoonna. Idi tahe, hilinyetiyye siasa lakahaaggicho. I 'di iche tahe, i 'di iche {sujo} eheneet. Yeedi inno kahawwoonno {garanka} gaabika a i 'daas. A wohoo idaase on 'deerka. I 'di eheneet tumman a inno kahawwoon, amehe, i 'daas iche yomboka laka inno gargaarta. 'deerka wihi i 'daase on kahawwoocha 'deerka.*

Elders, I don't want to talk much, but what I want us to talk about and discuss is what happened during the just ended general elections. This was not the first time that we held elections. Elections are held all the time. So let us discuss what happened during this last time. Today, there is no election that requires our decision.

The second one is what really happened. Thirdly, what is the way forward. These are the three issues that we should discuss. Let's talk about what happened because these discussions will help us at a later stage, Let us talk on those line.

### BELEYSA

*Abiyyo Moonte ichoow nakhaabala, koloo ani atin worsada ...,*  
Uncle Monte, and Segelan, let me first ask you ...

### ISIR

*Bal iche on a yeyyeeden.*  
Just let them tell us.



MONTE

*Ejji Barchuma ati maanta mehe tidah?*

And Barchuma, what did you just say?

BARCHUMA

*Abiyyo, wihi kootte an argo inno kahawwoonno, kura kol tuumman ma la guddo?*

Uncle, what I want us to talk about is: don't we vote all the time in general elections?

MONTE

*Aa a agarte gon.*

Yes, you have seen it.

BARCHUMA

*Aa deerka maanti laguuddati, idi il eheneet, wihi leesse, idi chele iche eheneet, idi iche titah, ichoow i di 'dee iche sootateeh, deerka jiroteenka deerka; toro inokho idah chi' yeed kigelin.*

Yes, during the voting time, what happened, what was talked about, how things were yesterday, how it all happened, and what will happen in the future, I mean our future; if you did not understand just ask me to repeat.

MONTE

*Leyye, tolola ejji yeediyye weyti arrankate chirinkiiyye doo'doo walah enenyet worsati, wihi il kajiro, geeyi harra; wohoo idaasenyee arran il kajira. Maanta yeedi inno ifiddiino, a yeedi jiroti ibeenka goya. Ki siasa.*

*Yeeda maanta koo Kaana koloo diinno essi Nairobi, walah addane inno kay-eyyeeno mele gone, toro saggi liidiicho laka mele, Nairobi rubeyti arrankate Gaala Rendille kanoolyahe, nyaakhut gaaso lakawoywoyo, intaas iche taal.*

Guys, now sometimes, many times when some people come and ask us things, they tell us to talk about what is in the ground, about trees; such are the things that are discussed. But the talk we are having here today, is about the current matters at hand. It is about politics.

This talk about Nairobi; that Mr Kana says we should not discuss or talk about, there is no way we can leave it, because Nairobi is the source of the income which all these Rendille people rely on.

*Nairobi, ilkaassihiiyye arran weyli enenyet 'helo, faida toolla ka'helo, a Nairobi. Nairobi khookhaanihiyye arrankate, enenyet foolasiiyye goorat us gati diiche, ebelhi goorat us uuriis orronti diiche, inti arran khookhaani kayamiit, a Nairobi. Chu'us sohte wahaas dakkhan waaye, Rendillela eti nool maamba wohoo arga yadeehe, eti nool. Enenyentiiyye guuwassa kute, Kenyati nebeyenye, nyaakhutiche anfakhatti, ilkaassihiiyye harraka lakhabo, goya oganeet.*

Nairobi, many of our people work and get profit in Nairobi. The food that made us to stop selling our male camels, and which caused many to stop depending on others, the source of that food is Nairobi. If all this (food) goes, and Rendille have a saying that says: a living person lives and sees many different things, a living person. The older people have seen the previous years, must have seen a peaceful Kenya that people work to feed their families and people have jobs.

*A ibeenka inno isleeyeyyeeno: Kenyati uskulaatte toro soogesse. Inti arankate walah dakkhan lakatiriinsati la a intaas. Chirri liiranne etoo liileeyeyyeedin laka, ida deerka atin tidaheen u, a geeddi yeediiyye layeyyeedo, worti us kasookoro wortaa tehe. Yabari il sookhaato yabaraas yahe gon. Eti wor goya kijire serey gon isookora, yabaar chirriiyye lajiite, a lajiita gone intuus lakihida. sinatiyye il soogesse, minki arran enenyet itoollo a minki arran tirrime, chi' tirrim bukkhe eti dee anki u' tabo garti, saggi u' isookaho dee garti mele, anka ka. Et dogo ikhabin mala gon. Issoo walah agarto walah worso laka a jirta.*

But this day we are in: it is Kenya with problems that we see. And Nairobi is the pillar that supports many things. And even if you don't go there to talk to somebody, as the way you have said earlier – it is okay – the talks we talk, the well it can climb from is that one. The rope that brings out things is that one. A person who is inside the well will use that rope to come up, and the rope is pulled and tied to somewhere. The problems which entered the country is that the house which represents the people, is the pillar house, and if the pillar is removed, no one knows how and where to go. Each one of us has ears to hear. It is said: 'ask the eye which has seen'.

*I diiyye yaafohi goorat isdiho Ethiopia illehe u, Haldaayan lakooto, reemassiiyye heemayyo liidise inta haldaayan goyaka, doodi buure a arge. Inahaka laka, eti sina hele deerka, kaache gon! arran la mehe leessey, sirkaali borboorane harra kijiro tuumman, Kenya kaldache nebey khabta. Tolola iche maanta nebeye ikajirin. usu yeedi etoo kaldach ida yeelo, usu duuniyati goorat campaign seley kakharradde idaas yeesso, inti an seley igaran a intaas.*

Like the tribes in Ethiopia, who were fenced in Mt. Marsabit and they built for them tents, just here in Marsabit, many people have seen it. Even within us here, that is what a person with problems is all about. And people normally say Kenya is the only peaceful country in the region. But today it is Kenya that has no peace. I don't know if it is only one person who is causing this or if it is caused by people who split apart during the campaign.

*Chi' atin garataan ma garanni, toro chi' layeyo, waha a idi enenyeti kulman on. A idi baati goorat kartoo kaldach tabte dakkhan tahe on. Goorat chu'us yeedi etoo kaldach tahe, dee a iskabahaan gon. Kaas deerka idiche a i daas gon. kan, kan, kan Rendilleha: a rum Rendille a rucchulyahe, gaala Rendille aflamma khaba gon. Bal gaala Rendille Rendille layadeeh, Korr ichoow Kargi Yaal. Ki addane Rendille magah Aryaal iche layadeeh. Ulla Laisamis*

*iche sooyaale, Farakkore kasoogowa, etoo ðiri jiro addan ma lakhabo. Ma rucchula?*

I don't know if you know (the answer) but it seems to be all the people. It seems to be a group which split during elections. If it was caused by only one person, it can be resolved. That one is so. This, this, this one facing the Rendille: it is true that the Rendille are very few, the Rendille people have two mouths. People who called Rendille live only in Korr and Kargi. The name of the other Rendille is Aryaal. And they live in the area of Laisamis and end up at Farakoren. No others beyond that point. Is that not small?

#### BELEYSA

*A rucchul yahe.*

They are few.

#### MONTE

*Nucchuleel alah a geeddaas on gon. Nucchuleel a geeddaas on. Ebbaaw arran igaranne, ebbaaw garti ka! Eheet: ïdi kootte eta yidah u, kura la maanti iche timiy, baati goorat iche goya timiy, toolla et ila kijiro mele. Baati goorat kurata, Adicharreeh ka – Kurunguhi nabah on lakhate ði cha – Adicharreeh ka liisoogure loorronte, iorrommatte, ichoowka ibahte. Toolla et toollo mele, a guurte iche dakhan, jiro a seebi herya cheere. Maanti iche tateeh sirkaal goorat dood abche, et seyyah reem a soosiicha, affar a soosiicha, ðee maanti ladise lakagoggowe ka, ebba tomonki us 'hele 'hele, meelee ðee ti etoo on tateeh. Tan toolla sigeer keente, sina sirkaal goya gelisse, raayya laka ðee sina kasoo'hesso, laka ðaas on.*

To be few is no more than that. To be few is no more than that. For those who know and those who don't, it is like that! However, the way this guy has said, when elections first came, those people who voted at that first time, no one of them is alive today. These elections during Adicharreh's time – leave alone Kurungu who only took the small ear of it – people gathered and declared Adicharreh and passed him. No one of them is alive today, they have all gone, because life is like a leaf of a plant. The government have taught us about this before, three to four people are given clearance, and during elections people split into groups and support any one of these people, and each one gets the ten that supported him, but only one will come out the winner. Even this one today, which caused problem in the government and which will pass on the problem to the people, it too is like that.

*Bal kurata innoha minka kajirro, eydo at a Reengumo, lahawi rummaat inkaanyit ma yagiis. Wohoo la a reera Saalle, wohoo la iltorobanka; wohoo la a ani, wohoo la a ilborrootihaas Nahgaane: bal kurata sinaticheti gaala Rendille, ya, soocheeka? Inti iche kajirto soocheeka!*

This election, those of us in this house, you are Rengumo, and we say the truth does not destroy respect. And others these men of Saale, and the other is this Ndorobo fellow; and the other one is me, and this Nahgan man: tell us where the problems of these elections of the Rendille people are.

**TORARE**

*Arrache! Ati rum iche yeedde. Kootte mehe tidahya, Rendille kola a Korr ichoow Kargi kaldach.*

Cousin! You have spoken the truth. Earlier you said that Rendille are now in Korr and Kargi only.

**MONTE**

*Aa, intoo addan ma lakawoho.*

Yes they cannot be identified within anywhere else.

**TORARE**

*Ti addan laka a Rendille one toro a Aryaal. Kurata lammeenye issoorahte, inno injire dig margine, omollaka ti liiskayagiise diig liiskakhubo ...,*

Also the others are Rendille even though they are Aryaal. The last two general elections, we have never seen blood, or people killing each other and spilling each other's blood ...,

**MONTE**

*Wahaas laka magah awihin. Wahaas laka Waakh meessenyo buucho, bujiyye, diig uus inno idaahan ya inno a aramme! Aa, dalanka intuus kajiro, sagguus inno igelo, ya, isworsanni.*

Don't even mention that. May God forbid, let us not mention blood, because we are elders! Yes, about this madness which is there, and how it will affect us, let us ask each other this.

**TORARE**

*Ankeey ka deerka, dalanka goorat maanti chele ilkimmayta, dalanki idaase goyteen a kabehe. Wihi toolla toro goyteen gele, a wihi goorat inno diinno ni dah. Ichoow toro oori toolla gaal kajiro inno woyo, iche waha inno kawoya. Dabanki kootte Aryaaleete Koorro a tichooda, innohi Rendille meel lamma la toro inno igoggoocha. Wihi toolla toro lasoowoyo toro sigeer meel soogelo, a wahaas. Kaas deerka awtaaya, enenyet deerka matah isekka menye.*

As I see, during the time of the late so-and-so ..., such madness has been removed from our midst. What we have embraced today is that same one which we decided to do away with. And also the bull which is leading the camels now is the one who is leading us that way. And the Aryaal, Samburu are theirs, and again divides us the Rendille into two. That is what is going on now and that the disease which is in us now. That is my personal opinion and human beings have different levels of thinking.

**MONTE**

*Ebba saggoo walah iarga.*

Yes every one of us sees things differently.



4323.jpg: Two Dubsahay elders: Dogo and Monte Wambile (on the right). Monte Wambile is the first man in the seniority order of all Rendille. (PHOTO: ISIR SCHLEE)

## TORARE

*Ani saggi an iargo a i daas. Mjumbehi Rendille, a Waakh meessiis Khoboocho, Ntotoy illeh, kura khaata gaal Rendille goya tamiite, enenyet isisoojahta. Kan la toolla a khaata, hay saagaassi chele inno agarre, yaaf seley goggoocha. Gooboo ma la daaro, inti goorat khoodenye kura siiisse, taas kaldach iche goya gela. I daakka wihi goorat bahe, iche goyteen isoonokhta. I daakka haag lasoowoyo mele Arrach. Aa, ani saggaas iche iarga.*

The way I see it is that way. The Rendille MPs like the late Ntotoy, he won the elections and came back to unify people. But this one, the nine months he was the MP, as we have seen, he divided the tribe. He will not visit some clans, he goes only to the side that voted for him. In that case, what we earlier got rid of will come back again. Cousin, in that way there won't be any good coming forth. Yes, that is how I see it.

## MONTE

*Ara Kaanna! inno campaign a isleejirre tiriibi oraat ka. I danganso ya: Chirri goorat inno campaign isleejirre, usuhi an meelbaaw an tolossade etoo Rendille uskulaacho, at a garatta. Anna chirri goorat ati uskulaasso, etoo daarto, ani a garda. Tolola an injire gooboo ma iran. Ati inti at iratte tuumman woraah a khaba, ati ayedin ba fiddi!*

Mr Kana! We did campaign together in the first trip. Listen to me: During that time we campaigned together, wherever I was, you are a witness if I soiled the

name of any Ren'dille. And I know if you soiled my name or touched other people. I have not gone to any village, but I have information about all the places you went, so you better don't talk, just be silent!

SEGELAN

*Baar!*

Brother-in-law!

MONTE

*Baar.*

Brother-in-law.

SEGELAN

*Is a 'da 'ddaarina atin. Inno kootte yeeda ma ogeynan. Nah ma ogeynan yeeda, 'doodi lasoowahe ma eheyman. A 'doodi awtiison u sooeyasabe. Nah uu' goorat kura lagüdde injirte inta ma imaatane, ichoowka kootte maalinka. Maalinka iche inta nimi. Mehe lakaroore? A idoh liimaatan: Kowdoyyohi Ren'dille on lakaroora. koloo arantoo a riirta, kolossoohoo wahaas iche diidna. {alislleya-he} reem alah Ren'dille walah us iskakhabo mele. Kura chele bebel laka ma eheyman. Bilal ma eheyman. Baabul iche on lagüdde. Baabul on lagüdde. Ti soosahatti daddaboot ma gardi.*

*Tan baabul on eheneet. Dubsahay chele engineer kura ma igüddina? Rengumo la?*

Do not provoke each other. We were not informed about these discussions, we were not among the people who were invited. We just came on our own. Since we voted in the general elections, we never came to Korr centre, this is the first time. This is the first time we come here. What is the fear? Why did people stay away: The fear is the noises of Ren'dille. Sometimes a woman can shout at you, we hated that. We belong to each other, you know this, the Ren'dille are one and have nothing against each other. The just concluded elections were not voted along moiety lines. People voted in a mixed way. I don't know how the next voting will be done.

In this last elections people voted not in moieties. Didn't Dubsahay vote for Engineer? What about Rengumo?

MONTE

*Ullaka a igüdde.*

Yes they voted for him.

SEGELAN

*Matarbehela?*

What about Matarbah?

MONTE

*Iche laka.*

Even them.

SEGELAN

*Uyame la?*

What about Uyam?

MONTE

*Iche laka.*

Even them.

SEGELAN

*Saalle la et ki addan ma kijirina? Kukuton ma kijirina? A kijire on 'dah, Saalle intoo kaldach iche sooyuubissaa! Suujoonka gaala Rendille, intoo kaldach iche on kajira. Chiidatiis a inta on. Inta eta goorat kombor khaateba seley sassaaho, intaase kijirta. Chiiddata {intan} etoo laka us wohoo iyeeline, toro inta a kijirta on. Uur 'doo'd on robta, uuri toolla 'doo'd robnamo, a inta gaala Rendille seley lasassaaho on. Ati ebel tehe kan la ebel yahe, inta on menyewalah addane jireba mele.*

*Maanti goorat Adichaarreh,sassaahnaan ma khabina? Eti garti deerka a garti.*

And Saale, were they not in the side of other person? Were they not with Lekuton? Just say they were there, because you think of only one place if Saale is mentioned! Its problem is only in one place. It is in that place which the person who won the elections keeps dividing. And he has not caused any problem personally to anybody. It is really disturbing. The most disturbing thing is the issue of segregating the Rendille. You are so and so and I am so and so, that is the only thing, there is nothing else. During the time of the late Adicharreh was there no division? Those of you who know, let them know.

MONTE

*Intaas gon el kayimiy.*

That is the place the problems began.

SEGELAN

*Mele, ma khabin on a? {haya} Ntontoy, wohoo a kagaranna? Etoo 'doo'd sassaaho eheneet geeddi us leebarye? Lebokhole, iloo sassaahnaan a khabe? Urufe a kijirte?*

No, did we not have it? Ntontoy, did we have anything against him? During the time he was there, was he a person who was dividing people? Lebokhole, was he dividing, even a little?

MONTE

*Mele.*

No.

SEGELAN

*Etoo garta? Eneyet tuumman iche ireyta, kuulla on. Et us 'diido omollaka us 'doono laka mele, et us walah iyele laka mele.*

Was he biased? He laughs to all, he is totally not hating anybody or liking anybody, or he did not harm anybody.

ISIR

*Us saggoh isaaha?*

How does he (Lekuton) divide people?

SEGELAN

*A isoosohda, ki addane sookhucchiche a Ngoyoni. Eti hanti il goya kijira ki 'doono la jira. A kaankhate, ma buuhsamin. Inte lakasuhubo 'deeka,*

I am coming to that; the next one was the late Ngoyoni. Now he is dead, there were some who did not like him and some who liked him. Before we knew what he really was, he passed away.



4222.jpg: From left to right: Kana, an elder of the clan Gaal'deylan, Ilturrinya Segelan (Saale) and Mohammed Hassan Musa (holding the camera). (PHOTO: ISIR SCHLEE)



## MONTE

*Usu ðiicha on a ankhatee!*

Just leave him, he has passed away.

## SEGELAN

*Ki addan a Kukuton. Kura khaate, hay saagaal iche kijire, hay saagaassaas injire ile ma argin. Chirri ðooidoo argo ma gardi, ðo ð oo ma rgin. Hugunkoo kola soobehe lahaaggicho laka gaali Kooreet ma argin. Era bal mejel {bal} tol a yimaate, mukutano khaba, Korr amiita! hedikotateen a Korr menya inno? Amiita mukutano khabna laka ma laargin. Iche etaas, eti ðeerka yeed khabo a ðdaas menya? Gaal Rendilleki addan mehe iskakhaba? Eti baa woyo menya baa isðiidicho? An ðeerka a kabahe a geeddaas.*

The other one was Kukuton. He won the elections, and was on for nine months, but for those nine months no eye has seen him. I don't know if other people saw him,

But some people did not see him. There is a custom this days which people do, but people of Korr did not see. Gentlemen, there will be a public baraza, I have an agenda, come to Korr! Is Korr not our headquarter? There was no a time that a meeting was called for. Is such a person not the one with problems? What do the other Rendille have against each other? Is it not the leader who is breeding hatred among the people? Mine is over and is that much.

## MACHAAN

*Abiyyo, a rum. Yeed, Rendille mehe yadeeh ya, rume yeed kakhabbattama. Ee eta hay saagaal menya kura kijire nidah? Hay saagaassaas us kura kijire ma largin menya nidah? U' laka ibeenki laarge koloo a large on. Yeed saaggaas menya liisikawoyo? U' laka ibeenki laarge a large on.*

*Mujumbeyyo wihiiyye nah yeedicho sooeleelle, inno yeedicho khabno a et seyyah on: Adichaarreh, Ntontoy, ichoow Kochaalle, ilkamaytahiiyye a Waakh meessiis khoboocho chele ijirin, ichoow kan toolla. Goorat maanti inno mujumbeyyohi oraat inno khabno, mujumbeyyo goobab iche baraza kabahchaan bal toon goya enenyet iwahaan?*

Uncle, it is true. The Rendille say the truth holds the talks together. Did we not say that this man has been an MP for nine months? And the nine months he was, we said was not seen? But he was seen for the few times he showed up. That is the way we bring the talks together. He too has been seen in the few occasions.

The members of parliament that we saw their terms, and know there stories are three: Adicharreh, Ntontoy, and Kochale, the late Ngoyoni, may God rest him in peace, and the present one. At the time of our previous MPs, did they make barazas in manyattas or did they ask people to come to the town?

## TORARE

*Toon goya iche enenyet iwahaan.*

They asked people to come to the town.



4324.jpg: Torare Segelan (Saale).

(PHOTO: ISIR SCHLEE)

## MACHAAN

*Ee, maanti goorat Alate 'daate yeerti buure 'deeka soodaato, makhaabalaas toolla mujumbeheene ibeen seyyah inta barye, inno mukutano kijire, usu menya inno wahe? Hirkeena a garta gon gorat. Aa, a inno wahe on. Wihi maantiiyye diig 'doo'd bullachnowe suuje 'doo'd goya gesse, waha on harra goya gele. Mujumbeheen laka et addane us irte leeabaarrame laka mele, u' laka a inno wahe one inno on imaatan wayne.*

*Kaaleya innoha, innohane diig haanu inno bullachnowe, kaaleya bal inaha saggiiyye inno isiwahno inno imalanni, bal yeediyye eti kharaat kaldach kasootabno, inno keen kaldach gello, ee, a yowanni.*

*Chele maanti cheletteete inno kura gu'dubne, a iskaleejirre, inno nebey iche kurateen kagu'dubne, lammateen etoo addan dahteen a kijire? Lammateena on menya isgarbo fiddiine? Inta inno kura kagu'dubne haag chinni on kagu'dubne, bal woho addan a jireen? Ichoowka saha'd geeddoh intaas kasookahne ino: saha'd saagaassi ibeen.*

*Intaas nebey on gu'ddanne, toolla mehe nabah isuuna ya, yeedi saga. Yeediyye toolla Raila ichoow Kibaki iskawoyaan, inno toolla ankaas on nabah isuuna. Kaaleya kan a diinno keen a khabanni, a khabanni nebeyteen a yowanni.*

During the short rains of Alat and followed by the heavy rains, when this man

who now is our MP staid here for three days, was he not the one who called for baraza? Hirkeena knows it. Yes, he did call us. The time which blood got sour (when people started to hate each other), bad feelings came into people. Our MP did not go to insult anybody, he called us but we did not come.

Come now, it is us who don't like each other, let us plan how to come together, let us stop talking of outside people, lets us look at our differences. When we voted in the general elections, it was only both of us, and we voted in peace. Were we not seated next to each other, Hirkeena? When we voted, was it not a peaceful and sweet process? Up to what time did we sit there: until three a.m. in the morning.

We voted peacefully. Now we are paying attention to the problems of the other side (of Kenya). We are paying attention to the struggle between Raila and Kibaki. Let us keep that aside and pay attention to our issues, we come together and find our peace.

#### SEGELAN

*Goorat maantaas icho Hirkeena isleegartaan a maanti usu goobabka amiita inno liiyidahya?*

That time which is known to you and Hirkeena, was it that time they told us to come in villages?

#### MACHAAN

*A maantiiyye yeer matakkeche sooḍeyo, Kiboran kaldach meel kijire.*

Yes it was the beginning of short rains, and it was only Kiboran who was there.

#### TORARE

*Aa, us itolossada esse.*

Yes, he asked them to stop.

#### SEGELAN

*Kiboran kaldach meel ma kijirine nahi ittaawe on kijirre.*

It wasn't only Kiboran who was there, many of us were present.

#### BELEYSA

*Nakhaabala kootte yeed a mujjumooche, mehe iswarsatteen ya: mehe jira? Yeeda a ki etoo kaldach iche yidah. Ani kiworsada ḍeerka toolla, etoo kaldach iche yaaf seley bahche? Maanti bilaloot Adichareh a wahte, rum on issiinna: hay saagaal kan kifiddiye, ki lammatiin a atin warsadi, usu enenyet saah; Rendille la ati ichoow ati, mehe isworsatteen lammatiin? Kaas a koow.*

*Ki lammaatteet, kaas toolla atin elattaan, lachaguwe, enenyet dakhhan toolla sina khaba, a liisiyimi? Walah iche liisworsata mujumbeyyo laka a isworsataan. Uu' goorat atin kura guḍubteen, kaaleya i ḍa ichoow i ḍa a atin iyidah? Kaaleya waha leenimaate a kakhabteen? Chi' atin ikhabin, lammatiin mehe*

*yeesseen Rendille, sababu, Gaal Rendille a lammatiinna? Teey a lammataas. Sina a lammatiinna bal a mehe? Aranka atin aranka elettaan, walah us yahe mele chu'us ati kikhabin. Aronkoo kaldach walah us yeelo mele. Sina a lammatiinna sinatiin soocheeka! Lammatiin a inno i'da elan.*

This elder have made our talks straight, you asked each other is: what is the problem? He said the problems were created by only one person. Now if I may ask you, is it only one man who has divided the tribe? During the division in Moieties you mentioned Adicharreh, and let us talk the truth: The nine months he [Lekuton] was the MP, okay he divided the people; and Rendille is you (Monte) and you (Segelan), did both of you ask each other any question? That is one.

Secondly, one point is what you are now saying, about the elected one; everybody is now in problem, did people meet? People question each other, even the MPs question each other. After the elections, did he ever call you together and give you advice? Did he have a dialogue with you? And if you didn't have, what did you two do on the same, because both of you are the Rendille's representatives? Those are my two points. Or does the problem lie between the two of you? This man you keep mentioning is nothing if you aren't at his side. One only will cause no harm. Speak up because the problem is with you two!

#### MONTE

*Segelan, aranka ayyo Rendilleenye toolla harrab kakhaba, intaas yer gaabi ka a worsadi?*

Segelan, in short may I ask, who in the whole tribe anything against this man?



4326.jpg: Guyyaato Gaalworsi (Uyam), wife of "Mreefu" Dabalén, Dubsahay.

(Photo: Isir Schlee)

## SEGELAN

*Wohoo rucchele us yeele, ---- us yeele, ma kakhabno. koloo isii, a iworsatee. Toro yeedi nah iyamiit, inti dowka nah iyamiit, mehe, chi' inta Saalle latuse, wihi u' yeedo a yeeda on – eti goobenye la ma dagin. Anah iyamit la. 'Doo 'di meel kijiro a nah ikeena. Mehe, ma dagto? Goobi kiinenye u' yamiit wihi yeedo a yeeda on. Harrabi nucchule nah kakhabno a geedaas on. Et us wohoo yeele mele, ebel wahaas yeele {ichos waha} ma khabo.*

There is not the slightest thing against him. Give me time to talk and answer you. But his talks reach us. If Saale is mentioned near him, he utters at least something negative – but no one from our clan who has heard him. But we are told (by others). People who were present will tell us what he said. That is all we can accuse him of. I have not heard any individual who have anything against him.

## MONTE

*Wohoo idaase ma jiraan. Kaaleya 'deerka: enenyet, leyye enenyet chirri usu isiyimiy, us walah iswarsate, us arangate uroo kaldache, usuhi wihi rummaat iswarsati haaggan. Usu wihiiyye ebba chirrinkiiyye layidah wihi u' garti, saggi us igarti on ikhaatti. Ey'do (Segelan), waha inno: aa aram nah goob iro a inadeeh. Baatuus iro inadeeh. Usu iiran, usu irte, an ma gardi. Chu'us iiran mehe yadeeh ya, 'doodi idiido i 'doh idaahe yadeeh.*

There is nothing of the kind. So come now: When people come together, as brothers and discuss something, it is good to ask each other the truth. It is good if each one says things according to the way he really knows, and takes it that way. Age mate Segelan, these are both of us: we always tell the man to visit the village. We tell him to visit those people. But don't know if he has visited or not. When he did not visit, he tells us that, why should I visit the people who don't like me?

## SEGELAN

*Rume taache gon, ti kootte an daage an ka ankhade.*

That is the truth that I did not mention, and I didn't want to mention.

## MONTE

*'Doodi idiido, eta laka afa a garta. 'Hayye, et 'deerka a etoo kaldach. Et Dub-sahay mee. Et Saalle la mee. Jiro a tan inno kijirro on. 'Dee inno toolla huleesi irti iokhsamin tuumman inno kore. Lammateen, iokhsamin, duhi inno khabno la a kiiyye gaaliyye omaar gele. Sinatane layowta. Wihi gaala Rendille bararooche layowta. Wihi gaala*

*Rendille kholkhollokhiche layowta. Sinata ati kajirta (meaning Segelan). Eti sinata gaala Rendille kakhabo a ati. Mehoo: mujumbeyyo tuummamba, Adichaarreh on eheet. Gaali dooban on itossat "e. {diese,} eti goorat Leygwanani a ur'da layidaha, gaal goya kijiraayi wihi soobahe dakkhan soobeheen.*

*Saggi sinata taah itahe, kutoka amba intiiyye gaabane fissan leeamiite, u'us an deeranne, eti kombor isoobaho, {eti} doodi addane soobaho kileenenyet menyee, kilee-Rendille mee. Garo bal chi' arran ati igaran: kilee Rendille menyee kileenenyetla mee. Adichaarreh chu'us bilassi beri yahe a ladise. Alla etiiyye Adichaarreh bahche la, a eysinkaahha, geeddi at leejirte, at kayo'hatte ichoow at ikayo'han a isgaranna taas. Eti koloo kaldach weyli Rendille addan iaminin, --- iaminin, a ati. Mujumbe nyaakhut mee dood igololicho – a garda ma sooadah la; hoola mee ersim iyateehe, dood igololicho. Hugum mee ki gaal khabo, gaal liihaaggicho, ommos uram liihaaggicho mee. {dood kadakht} meessiis a too rucchule a too fogaat. Inta la barari Rendille dakkhan kayamiit, intane wihi etoo kasohti eti adan kaarga, kholkhollokh kayamiit. Eti baati addan diig igelin a ati, ati idoh lakiyadeeh? Amba yeed goocha idi lakiyadeeh soocheek.*

People who hate me, that is something he knows as well. Okay, he is only one person. He is not Dubsahay. He is not Saale. Our life is what we are in now. So now we are carrying a very heavy load which is very hard to lift. And both of us are emaciated like sick camels with *omaar* [trypanosomiasis]. People are bringing themselves this problem. Rendille are against each other. The problem between the Rendille must be addressed. This problem is with you (Segelan). The man who is causing this problem to the Rendille people is you. Why: of all MPs, the true MP was Adicharreh. All the Rendille clans agreed on him. For Leingwanani, he was said to be sleeping, while he was the sitting MP, whatever happened has happened to him.

Why (I say) you are the cause of these problems is because, let me come straight to the point by not going far. Any person vying for this seat who is not a member of Saale clan, to you he is not a human being, and is not a Rendille. If (this fact) is not known to you, then please take it from me: to you he is not a Rendille. Adicharreh is from the eastern moiety yet he was supported by all. And the man who ousted Adicharreh is your nephew, and if you supported him or not we know – we know each other. The person who will not trust any other Rendille is you. The MP is not there to feed children for anyone – I know this although I don't speak about it; he is not the shepherd of the livestock, nor the caretaker of the livestock. He is not the ritual for the livestock nor the ritual for the homestead. His responsibility is small and is far away. But this is the main split in the Rendille, this is the place where we see people and leaders who do wrong, this is where crookedness begins. The person who does not agree with the other people is you, what can be done with you? Let me make it short, tell us what we can do with you.

#### SEGELAN

*Ee kootte incheenka toolla mee sootadeeh. Kan kootte at sootadeeh lamma-teenna on isleejirra, wihi inno isworsanni isworsanna geeyeenka. Kaas to-loli! A tololo. Ani laka geeddi an gardi, ma inno imalin maanta intaka. Kii-yye maanta il kijiro, kaas on soodah. Toolla Kukuton kura a igudubne, kura*

*a khaate. Toolla koo inno kura igudubno mele. Toolla nebeytiyye nyaakhut toolla goyaka inno downo, on toolla doonna menye, ki wihi daiddaboote goorat inno iskakhabne kurchumandele i daas maanta at elattuula, a yombo.*

Ee, it could have been good if you didn't say this here today. It will have been better if only both of us would discuss at our tree. Stop that! Leave It. If I am correct, this gathering is not the right place for that discussion. Just talk about issues currently at hand. We have voted and Lekuton has won. The election is over.

Now we are looking for peaceful solution for our children and our future. What we did together some time back, and things like that and what you have just said are issues to be discussed later.

## BELEYSA

*Abiyyo, ani kiworsada: inno chirinki kootte inno isinimiy, at laka cha'at nah ikhabin, at dooda ikhabin, lammatiin kaldach, gaangoyyo mee itolossaane orcho sohataan. Eneyetiyye atin leejirtane, atin laka waha atin gossaan raaho laatin inkaanyito. Wihi kootte inno isinimiy: a mehe waha keene? Mjumbe kasoolaabne ichoowka lammatiinta isikeene, mehe lammatiin atin ikasoolaabne: Atin gon Rendillee. A ayyo Rendille? Ati Rendillee. Mehe liidah chele: ewween. At la toolla mehe tidahya waha toolla intaka ma isworsanni. Lammatiin kaldach iche isworsataan. Nah kootte mehe doonna ya, I di maanta nakhaabala yidahu, ati yidahye soodakhnaache. Ati taabu khabta, mehe kiidahya, ati keley on isidoonta. Chi' atin maalinka yeeda ma kaayyeeno dee lammateen keley kaayyeeno tidaaheen, wahaas wohoo ladagcho yateehiine, yombuu laka ma massataan. An kootte mehe doonaya, i di maanta kan soodakhnaachuu cha'at taabu khabto, kolossohoo ma khabto kolossohoo a khabta, lasoocheeko kileemaro, deerka ati mehe tadeeh?*

Uncle, I am asking you: when we came together, when you don't have us, and this other people, only two of you cannot decide for you are not representing zebras. You must have people who will follow your decisions and respect you as well. What brought us together: What is the cause of these? We took the blame from the MP and placed it on you two. Why we blamed both of you is because you are the Rendille. Who is the Rendille? You are the Rendille. Yesterday in another forum, it was said that this issues can only be resolved by the elders only. And you are saying here now that this issue cannot be discussed here. It'll be discussed by only you two. This elder (Monte) said clearly that you are the problem causer. He said the problem is you, and you are self-centred. If you say we cannot discuss it here but two of you will discuss it alone, that will look as if you are hiding some things, and this problem will never end. My suggestion is, we better make it clear like this elder did, you too do the same and tell us your problem, because sometimes you can have problems caused by yourself or you may not be the cause of this problem that you are accused of. What do you say?

## TORARE

*Aa, a rum; nakhaabal (Moonte) kuus mehe iyidahya, taabu a Saale. Segelan iche khaba, eti taabu khabo a laworsata. Usu injire worsate 'a i 'doh an kol tuumman kisooraaha ati la isooraahin', usu woraste ani ma gardi, yeed a i 'daase. Ki lammaatteet, inam addane Dubsahaye koo Waambile soowoye Saale lee'diide laka nah ma argin. Eysinkaanya a Waakh meessiis khoboocho Ntotoye chi' kura liisiin laka mehe weysi kuta? Weysi lasiiche, eti weysi lasiiche kura a lasiiche. Amehe, kurayyohi chele nah sooeleelle, nah agarre a wihiiyye Ilmoolika, Adichareh laka nah a sooeleelle, a garanna. {Akey} inanki lab ibeenki us desse kaldach iche us igaranne, mujjum on sooeleelle a garanna. Ti mwisho illeh a sooeleelle.*

*Intaas la mehe sooraahya, Lebokhole. Kaas laka baabul lakagu'dde on; bial on eheneet. Wahaasla atinhi isworsatteen la ma garanni. Nah iche alah il-iin kajirra atin rifna, 'doodoo ubbaare geeddaba atin rifo la jira. I'da dah ebba I'doo orey {lishai}. Koo a Lesas. Ati Lesas ma raahin. Ani isooraahye walah addane inno iskakhabno ba mele. Geeddaabba, chirri Dubsahayhi addan Ar-rache nah sooraahye laka, alla a kholkhollookh on. At laka*

It is true, that elder (Monte) have said the problems is Saale. The problem is Segelan, and it is good to ask the person with problem. I don't know if you ever asked him why you always support him and he never did so even one time. Secondly, Wambile has not approached Saale with a Dubsahay candidate to see if Saale will reject. Our nephew (the late Ntotoy) even though he was not given votes, he got our blessings, and what is greater than prayers? He was given blessings and if one is given blessings, is like he has been given votes too. The elections we participated at the age of Ilmooli, are like those of Adichareh and we know well. We have participated in especially the last one. After that was Lebokhole. During his time too people voted freely but majority of people voted on moiety along moiety lines. But I don't know if you have discussed that. All this time, we the shirt people, are always trying to influence your decision and mislead you. One of them is Lesas. You did not support Lesas. You supported me, but even though the Dubsahay supported us but you Monte in person was not straight.

## MONTE

*Awtaaya bal?*

Me in person or?

## TORARE

*Goob matakkiisla a ati, inti kuratiiyye soomarto ati ikhollokheyman ma jirto. At laka, Saalle albe a iskidisatteene, a soyyohe, a abti, gaal a iskakhabtaane, ati ichoow Kiboran kaldach on intuus irattaane wohoo isworsattaan; iche nah lidowa – ichoowka wahaanyeyyohoo goorat hugum ieheyman laka hugum kay-esseene, magah bahsatteent lammatiin. Ati ichoow etaas boorraahha magah*



*bahsatteen gaal Rendille goyaka. A daagta? Sohanne ichoowka kurayyohoo chele uus goorat Adichaarreh, Ntontoy, a Lebokhole, a Ngoyoni a Waakh meessiis khoboocho, tulasiiyye enenyet bilal kabahche chele ati kaagare. Oori deerka kootte gaal woyo, atinhiiyye bilassi bahay ankuus atin lagate, nah laka ankuus nah lageeche. Eti kootte mejele, goorat gaal khaate, rumanka goorat gaal Rendille uur kakhabe, America kayimiyye, soome, haach! woy yaaftaan-ya! Yidah, cha'an diide an kura isiin, lazima a mujumbe haaya on uluba. Usu kootte enenyet isisoohossa. Ullaka injire Saalle goya ma jirine ma lasoorihin. Injire intaas a irte lasoorihe?*

The head of the Dubsahay clan is you, yet you were not straight in every election. You and Saale marry each other, and you are in-laws, you are uncles, and you owe camels to each other, and you only take Kiboran aside and decide things with him; this is what we are told – you went as far as making some things which are unlawful to become lawful, both of you became outspoken. You and your age mate became outspoken among the Rendille, you hear that? We went on until the election time of Adicharreh, Ntotoy, Lebokhole, Ngoyoni (may God rest his soul) , the separation of people into moieties we saw from you. So the leaders took the western moiety on one side, and the eastern moiety on one side. But the gentleman who have taken over the leadership of the people, and who loves the Rendille in his heart, who studied in America and was full of motivation to serve his people, cannot reject me for the reasons that I did not vote for him, nevertheless is still my member of parliament. He is supposed to bring us together. Has he ever been to Saale village, and got rejected?

MONTE

AYYO?

Who?

TORARE

*Mjumbe.*

The MP.

MONTE

*A koh? Kaana?*

Which one, this current one?

TORARE

*Injire baata Saalle goya a irte lasoorihe? Ommollaka nabehe a kidaagte? A I idoh foga on ka chirri kura liisiin laka Saalle ma idoono, goya ma irdi kiidah, alla isooholin atihi kootte jiroti gaal Rendille doonto?*

*Shida ankoo kaldach mee. Usu laka a kijirta. Weyti toro kijirta. Eti kootte shida gooba kargo a irta worsata, 'ebel shidata a idoh kol tuumman gaal Rendille iyeessa? Daagin waaya, leedaaga. Jiro laargo toorar latarbati mee toro.*

Yes did he ever go to the Saale community and was rejected? Have you ever heard? Why does he just keep saying Saale do not like him, they did not vote for me, and tells you that he will not go there, and you did not correct and advise him, and tell him to go – you who love the community?

The problem is not in one side. He too is a part of the problem. If someone has a problem with this manyatta the right way is to go and ask them directly, and question the problem maker why he should treat the Ren'dille like that? Let him deny or let him confess. We see life and yet still we are throwing spears.

#### BELEYSA

*Lamachooda tidah bal koo kaldach?*

You said the problem is with one of them or both?

#### TORARE

*Lamacho.*

Both

#### MONTE

*Arrache, ati menya maanta at maan dakkhan a khollookh tidah? Ani alah rumanka keey a dow on. koo lakolkoossi mee. Koo ooyo meessiis igaran la mee. Yeedi an kaakhaba a geeddaas. A kakhaba, reera on kakhaba, line ki kasohti iche iskhaba, iche khaba ma daagto, cha'an a jenteticheeda kiadeh. Ani kaas koloo geeddiis a geeddaas.*

Cousin, is it you who said I am crooked all the time? But mine is straight forward and not hidden in any way. The owner does know its place. That is all that I accuse you of. The people I blame is the Saale, and the line they use in politics, and they don't listen to me, and I am doing this in response to what they are doing. Mine today is that much.

#### DOGO

*Tooraare, kura inno maanta kaldach ma guddin. Geeddaas kootte ati ili nool sooraahate, uus huru la'hele, Leygwanani ka, Adichaarreh ka, Bulyar ka, atin ilassoo raahaan dakkhan, kura enenyet a ida on (two fingers). Leygwanani-hiiyye inno igaran 'dii. Adichareh ka tuumman inno meel lama on eheneet. Ti yomboot ka laka inno sagga on ma igaanneynana? Chi' inno yeerar eheet maanti deerka eti khaate khaate, eto a is diida?*

Torare, we did not vote only this time. All this time when you were narrating the past events since the time of Kenya's independence, Lengwanani, Adicharreh and Bulyar, when you were narrating issues of those periods, people were still divided into two. Leave alone Lengwanani because we know little about him. Adicharreh during his time, we were in two groups. And even the one

which followed, were we not divided? Although we were divided, after elections, do we hate each other?

#### SEGELAN/TORARE

*Ma eheyman*

It wasn't so.

#### DOGO

*Etoo on minya fiirinno saggoo ifiirinno saggoo iagarro, ya?*

Were we not observing one candidate and deciding on one person?



4328jpg: Dogo (clan Dubsahay).

(PHOTO: ISIR SCHLEE)

#### SEGELAN

*Nahoo 'deerka ma garanni on nadeeh. Wihi at igaran ma garanni gon tadeeh.*

Some of us will say we don't know, because what you don't know you say I don't know.

#### DOGO

*Alley, cha'at igaran 'doodi garti a jira gone. Ilkimaytahi Adichaarreh u' laka haag on ma sohanne ichoowka ibeenkiis ma leekutin. Usihi lahanti ham khabo, ee, cha'at haag kagaratti anna haag ma kagardi, chi' maanta tan haag garatti nah haag ikagaran, idaas ka yeedeen a isgela? Alla waha uur kidoono on garatta, anna wihi us i' doonine garda, i' daakka maanta yeedeen a isgela?*

*Soosoho: a koo Bulyar, a Lebokhole: gaal lo Rendille bir isikhaatti isdiho,*

*geeyo isigelo issuujuuche a kaagarteen? Etiinkoo a cheeka?*

Wait, if you dont know, there are some people who know. The late Adicharreh, was not clean until the day of he passed away. He passed away when people were backbiting him. If you say he was good but we say he wasn't, are we in agreement in that case? You just say what you like about him, but I know what he hates; in that case how can we agree?

Then came Bulyaar and later Lebokhole: did you see any Rendille people take arms against each other and argue with each other under trees, did you see? Can any one of you tell us?

**SEGELAN**

*Hawwooy on at 'deerka.*

Just go on.

**DOGO**

*Magah etoo kawawwahtey, a koo ilbaattile elatteey, a i 'da arrankate Rendille on. Etiinki Rendilleenye wohoo cheekti, ee, a jira? Toro koo Adichaarreh la etiinkoo ma garti. Kasookute, eti garti a garta, eti igaran la ma garti. Wohoo a ilkimayta. Bal ilkimaytaha Ngoyoni, a isleegaranna, a Waakh meessiis khoboocho, et geeddiyye inno khurkhuda katololle a garattaan. 'Doo'd koo Sas iche leejira, 'doo'd koo laka usu leejire, 'doo'doo laka Kochale on leejira. 'Doo'doo laka usu a leejire on (Adichareh). Saggoh goorat 'doo'daas ikatololle manta? Etoo maantoo 'deeka etoo wohoo suuje kaargo a jira?*

Even if you call someone names, and say it is so and so, it is still the same way of the Rendille. Is there any of you the Rendille who has any accusation this time? And you don't know about Adicharreh. Let's leave this aside because whoever knows it knows it, and those who don't know, they don't know. The other one is the late Ngoyoni, God rest his soul in peace, we all know how many we were who stood by him at this same plain. Some people supported Lesas, others supported him, and others supported Kochale. Don't you remember the way we diverted alongside these people? Is there anyone who hated another person at that time?

**SEGELAN**

*Mele.*

No.

**DOGO**

*Charchaar baabuleny isgoya kijirra, etoo 'dee etoo 'dee wohoo sooworsati a jira? Maanti us khaate, wohoo suujenye inno isworsanne a jiraan?*

We were a spotted crowd, arbitrarily mixed (with no one blaming the other), is there anyone who will ask why? After he won, was there any bad thing we asked each other?

## SEGELAN

*Ma jirin; a ibeen seyyah on gon!*

There wasn't; it was only three days you know!

## DOGO

*At teebataas ka inti ilkaassihi nuus haaggiche diiche, ki inno gello, i di ki cheletteet u, woywoyno, kura jahno, enenyetoo wohoo suuje iskawoywoyo isleeabaarramo laka a agarte? Saggoo haaggan on menya idisanne, saggoo haaggan on menya ikabahne? Yomboka maanti us khate ka, maanti us inno iyimiyye a khaate, idi kootte at tadeeh u, us yimiyye kaaleya, eti goorat idise, eti goorat idisin – atin dakkhamba a kaaya – us yidah, eteenkoo idaagin a jira? Maantoo on menya arran layamiite dee i daas layadeh?*

*Maantaas maanta Hirkena a kijira yidah, ani Segelan on Garda, Maamirhaaya garda kan yeyyeedo. Saahta mjumbe yamiite amiita layidah a jira. Rendilleheenka addan la a daage, mehe fiddiyicha? Walahbaaw goorat inno geeyaka worsanni ka, usu maantaas inno itoolla, walahbaaw goorat inno geeyaka worsanni – a Kukuton deerka alah ki deerka khaate. Saahta a yamiite amiita la inno liiyidah. Maanta deerka doodi doono soobahe – ati gon Idaas tidahye – mabbatiha buuhiche, yaafteentan addane us i doonin la mehe fidiiche goobabka? Inti dee waha suujenye toolla ati ani iworsatti, inno kaworsanni la, chi' at darraawte inno kaworsanni a inti i daase. Alla goorat mehe goorat goob kiorrommiche?*

For that one week he was there, not mentioning the work he did, but were there – like the just completed elections – people blaming each other, abusing each other, did you see that? We voted peacefully, and completed the election nicely. After he won, he came to us, like the way you said, and told us, “the people who supported me, and those who did not are mine”, was there any of us who did not hear him say this? Is it not only one day someone comes and says such things.

This day that Hirkeena said he was there, I only recall Segelan, my (friend), who is speaking now, was there. They said the MP is coming tomorrow so let everyone come. All the rest of Rendille have heard this, and you: why did you stay behind? We could have asked him whatever we what at that tree, because he is our leader at this time, whatever we want – this is now Kukuton. And we were told he'll come tomorrow. So that day, those who wanted to see him went to see him and covered all these area but – as you say – but these other clans who don't like him, why did they not come? And yet that is the right place to ask anything that you are not satisfied with, and you what caused you to stay back in your village?

## SEGELAN

*Ani iworsatta deerka?*

Are you asking me?

## DOGO

Aa.

Yes.

## SEGELAN

*Alley deerka amba kisoolaaba. An tol ma kijirine goobenyo et lih iche timiy. Et geeddoh: lih, iche tolaas kijirte.*

Yes, wait I'll answer you now. I was not in the meeting but from my village there were six people in that meeting. How many: six.

## HIRKEENA

*Et lih menye a et siyyeet.*

Not six people but eight.

## SEGELAN

*Mejeli buureenye yimiy. Ee, alleya chuunkeen agelinna, et geeddi kijirte a kijirte. Mehe nah liikeenaya, doodi yimiy, ani laka goob on kijire, mehe nah liikeene ya, toolla saah, Kukuton kootte koloo goobab iche atin ikayamiit koloo liidahye deerka sugno a yamiite. Leyye, saha'd teeba iche kereene oboorri khabnaayi eji Kukutone sugnaa. Saha'd geeddoh Teebati ibeen nabah on suuna. Nabah on suuna Gaari yamiite, Kukuton iche yamiite kootte goobab iche leesoomara, tol kootte a bahche. Walahbaaw us yeyyeede walah suujenye nah kadaagne mele, emeetti dee us goobab yamiit sugnaayi ichoow uluba! Ichoowka siyyeet ka kahne reene.*

Many people came. Let's not make jokes of this, a number of people were there. The report we got was that Kukuton said, he will visit us at the villages – that was what reached us before. We waited for him to come, and went to sleep at around one o'clock, both men and women because we were waiting for Kukuton to come. The whole night, we're alert and listening, and our ears were alert, because Kukuton will come to all the villages – he said this when he gave his meeting this morning. Whatever he talked about, there was nothing bad that we heard. We just knew that he will be coming but to date he has not come. We went to sleep at two in the morning.

## MONTE

*Ati la mujumbe injire goobab leemaro tol bahcho a agarteen?*

And have you ever heard a member of parliament, going around the villages to have barazas?

## SEGELAN

*Koloo daganso, usu iswahe. Eti kootte iswahe, cheeke buurti goobab tuumman a irta yidah, us ma iswahine, usu menyha ischeeke? Cha'at kasugte {bat} waayite mehe yeessa? 'Deerka ma imaatan gon. Chi' wihii goorat nabahe daddaagto*

*toro waha agarte, toro daddaagto, ma ichiiyeysatti? Etaas deerka ma ichiiyeysatti deerka etaas?*

*Kaas kut: ejji Saalle I 'doh? Saalle etan 'doona chi' kootte liiskasoochibe, oorassi 'dee isikuto isyham la jira. Ki gaale laka, a liiskasoochiba foolaso gir'daamaane, 'dee oorar isisookutaan. Ma iskasoo 'hadaane isyamhiin. Saalle maan at enenyet isoobihisseba mele, at kaaleya eta a disno at itidahba mele. Ntotoy ullaka ma soowoyine, jenteti nah kura isiinne, jenteti eysinkaanya. Ati ma soowoyin. Ati ma soowoyin. Ichoowka Saalle iswaaye. Chirri us gaal tume laka geey ma isileeorromman; nah isfalle.*

*Ntotoy maanti gaari Adichaarreh karte gele, a isfalle ichoowka gaari karte gele. Ntotoy chi' kootte gaari tomon seyyah sooside, tomon teeba goob kaadde, nah iche 'hadinne. Falohaanya gaarihaas karte gesse goorat.*

*Kaas kut: {Okolla laka goorat mehe yidahya, wahe atehe ilabta atinla toola wihi atehe isolabte intaka, iswarsanten kote ten yoombo jirta 'dee akiwarsada ankiidah inta miino imalin ankiidah, wihi atehe nah isolabta ati ichow Hirkena isukuta derka amba goocho}*

Listen to me, he is the one who called for it himself. If a person announces that he will go round the villages, is that not his own announcement? What do you do when he fails to turn up? Anyway, he never came. On top of the rumours that we heard before, if he has failed to come will he not be your enemy?

That aside, you said Saale is what? If camel herds are put together, the bulls will later find each other, and a fight will follow. After the young bulls playfully chase each other, the bulls will at last find each other and fight. Not even a day did you have your candidate and Saale refuse to support him? No day did you tell me to support any candidate and I refused. Even the late Ntotoy you did not bring him to us, we supported him because he is the son of our daughter. You did not bring him. Saale disagreed with each other over voting for Ntotoy, even after driving the camels out for pastures, we sat at separate places at our tree and cursed each other.

When Adicharreh's vehicle stuck in the mud, it was us who cursed it to get stuck. The vehicle carried 30 people but 70 were left at the village; we did that purposely. It was our curse that stuck the vehicle in the mud.

That aside: {you blame me here now, what I said was not for discussions here, and I said we shall do it at a later stage, both of us, now you are blaming us for what you are, you now continue with Hirkeena, let me stop}

## **HIRKEENA**

*Tola kootte ayyo waheya, weyla ichoow ilborrootiha. Inno dakkhan orran inta on kijirra. Walah inno alo wawwahno kurchumaandele elanni mele. Eta ichoow weylan toolla, weyla inti us fiddiyo laka ma gardi, tola ichehiiye orrankate Korta on goya kijirto – ma kijirto gone – ila orran iche fiddiito ka, ee, geeddi iche fiddiito ma gardi. Il alah Kenya iswaayte. Urura toolla inno fiddiino ka, Kenya iswaayte. Kenyatala iswaayte, inta goya laka a kajirta toolla.*

*Koote ilborrootiha mehe yidahya, et lama toolla meel isleemaranta: Injaluwu, kikuyu. Toolla inta goya la et lama meel isleemaranta: ani ichoow Moon-te. Toolla Kikuyu ombor kafiddiita. Ayye, Injaluwola 'doo'd dihta. Intala toolla Moonte ombor khaate, anna toor ee ikaleetoolla inancho korcha, a chamati toolla legela.*

*Saggiyye inta liineybicho iche ba'he yowatta. Usu alah iloo addan leeyayyamiit 'dii: Ani alah bir iche af dowda, Moonte waadeere goocha! An geeddaas yer on yeeda. Inta saggi iche ihaagsatti, iche allah koote sooyowatteen. Goob lamatala dihta. Ani ichoow Moonte, Rendillehi koote ati tidahla a goob lama ta on.*

This meeting was called by this girl and this lad [meaning Isir Schlee and Beleysa Hambule]. All of us are always here in Korr together. We don't have to sing songs now saying this and that. This man and this girl, I don't even know where she stays, she is not normally in Korr, and the country she is staying, and how long she is going to stay here I don't know. The issue here is misunderstandings in Kenya. This gathering is because Kenyans are fighting. The same violence experienced elsewhere is here with us.

Earlier, this lad said that there are two people struggling with each other: the Luo and Kikuyu. But in this area, there are two of us struggling with each other: me (Saale) and Monte (Dubsahay). Currently it is the Kikuyu who are seated on the throne, and the Luo are fighting them. In the same way, here in Korr, Monte has won the elections, and I am with my spear ready to spear him; it is the party we now are entering.

People are now looking for ways of bringing peace. Let us hit the nail on the head: I am busy sharpening my spear, to spear Monte by the leg! That is all I will say. You have come together to look for the solution of this matter. It is these two clans which are fighting. And the Rendille are grouped with these two clans.

## MONTE

*Rendilleha doobane disan, sinatiyye wihiiski lookkhicho, wihiiski il liidiicho, wihiiski baabicho, wihiiski noolaacho, Rendille goorat mehe yidahya, gaal chu'us suujowe a liisliilallaaba, chirri us haagsate la, arantoo laka bihin iche kagu'dubta. A rum on. Oboorri{hi} goorat waraab irti, kan toolla jif kagolosati menye, intaka inti deer biche kiirti ichoowka gaali geleb soogelo leesogelo – haanu hal tahar gessati, saggi us ileeyamiit khabo – kaase ee bihin khaba ullaka.*

*Leyye gaala usu dakkhan mejel on dela, usu dakkhan a Rendille on. Yeeda maanti goorat usu ida yitah, saggi sina liijeysati lakhabe. 'Doo'da mee baa woywoyo hoola 'doo'd idakho. Saggi hugumme liihaagsati etaah gar liikhaatti, iche goorat lagisme inti orran ba'he goob lamata katehe. Intaas tolola chirinkiiyye il i 'da yitahye ibeen gaaldakhno yahe, il mosongoka char-char yahe, ati ichoow etuus fiddiyo ichoow kan, 'doo'di goorat geeysi jed gurte*



*ichoowka toro geeyiyye baar sartiis guro tihine, tamiitiine ilaka doodi geey uriis ogsiicho itamiitiin, dakh a futeetnowa. Futeetnowinwaay: ma futeetnowo. Intaas iche dibta. Wihi liigaranne dood liikeena, I di sirgaali chirinkiiyye ki walah iskulaache toro khar imaahuu, atin la ilkaassi inokhattaan. atiha, sinata reera uus girmeyasan. Goorat rera, eti Rendille lasoobahche I di baati addan u' charchaar khabe ka, gaal i da ma yateeh. Talla menya fiddiita? Gaal i da ma yateeh. Wihi gaala I da yeelo, yeedaas kootte ani inanka iworsate a rum. Anna wihi an keeleelo jira. Etoo la mee yeedoo kakhabo. Inti Adichaarreh barakh kagele, araar seley goonnaan kiyimiy, intaase 'hela iche keente.*

*,Kawab sookhaatte ichoowka inta tissil. Sinata uus maantaas a tan on. Keley irda garda bal! koloo inno isiargin isworsada! Et wohoo layeele mele. Era, innoha orrankate waha inno iargin, eydo atiha iro isworso! Cha'at orran serey on kasohatti, iro wihiiyye saggi at jit ibujjo ... Reenka alah, I da a haaggantahe maanta liisworsati a haaggantahe. Ejji aram mehe inno iyidah? us min mehe inno iyidah? 'Dee alah a I daas. Inno waha weyna? Aa. Mehe illehe weyna? Iro intaas isworso cha'at orran injire isiworsan.*

All of these Rendille people, how to tuckle their problem, how to spoil their unity and all these: A Rendille saying goes: If the camels go bad, people blame each other but if they become good, even a woman claims to have contributed. That is true.

Women who use to go and fetch water from far distances, not these women who eat in comfort; those women who went for long distances in search of water and come back in the night at that time when the camels come back from pasture – they used to pack guardfuls of milk at the side of the camel and know how to come back with it – they are the ones who ought to claim to have contributed to the well-being of camels.

Gentlemen, all the Rendille community do bear sons, and they are all Rendille. When this problems became what it is today, there were ways to solve it. It is not this people who take care of our animals and take care of the community. Long time we shared our customary beliefs and how to celebrate traditional ceremonies and that is where we are in two moieties that we are, [and we are in white camel nights], and in the western world the world is so coloured. You and that gentleman seated there are the people who ate all the fruits from the (jed) tree and now you are picking from the top of the dum palm, you come to those who are seated under the shed of trees resting from the heat of the sun, you come to them to ease their social problems, but in reality it is not eased but creates more problems, because you bring what we don't know. Like a government, people when they spoil things in their country, they run away to other countries leaving their people behind. And you too go back to your places of work. Let this people not get surprised with these problems. If we were mixed in our politics then we could have been better than what we are today. They are here seated in front of me! What made the Rendille this way, and which you asked me is true. And I have a reason to say it. And it is not because I have any

problem with someone. It was during the time of Adicharreh that a rift began, and the result was a split into moieties, this was the origin of this problem.

They brought Kawab and placed him there. Since that time this problem is persistent. That is the truth you must know! In some places where we aren't together, ask yourselves if this is not true! There is no one that was hurt. You guys, if you have not known this before, please go back and ask yourselves! If all the time you walk at the top, and just see where you have gone wrong, and you guys who brought about this meeting, you did a good thing. What did the man tell us? What did the house tell us? What did they tell us? It is us who are the cause of these? What have we caused? Go and discuss that if you have never done before.

### BARCHUMA

*Alleya ani wohoo a worsadi ma hawwoocho laka. Ati a mehe tidah? Saalle eti lasootooliche ettiissa on menye, iche tidah. Wihi an kiworsadi, mujumbeyyo tummamba, ki chele maanti marehemu Ngoyoni, Saalle a sookhaate ani ikeene, ati kikeene, kan ikeene, kuus igeече? Ayyo bahsanni, I'doh mujume? kan bahsanni! At laka a garte ani laka a arge, tan laka a agarte.*

*Injire Ngoyoni ka, Rendille injire mjumbe saggas ma ibahsan. Ulla a Saale. Saalle on soomhe, I'daas ichoow I'daas yidah. Ati injire, ani era Saalle kaaleya kan a wahte, kan a wahte, era kaaleya kan ileeyeya a tidah? Arame laka goorat kar a magan eyyo iche tidah.*

Wait, let me ask something, I am not going to talk much. What did you (Monte) say? You said Saale will not support other people's candidate except their own. May I ask you, all the MPs, during the time of the late Ngoyoni, did Saale introduce him to me (Rengumo), or to you (Dubsahay), or to those and to him? Who can we elect, who is good for us? Let us elect this one! All of us have agreed on him.

During Ngoyoni's term, never before have the Rendille agree on one candidate like him. But he is from Saale clan. It was Saale who proposed him. Have you ever taken your candidate and asked for the Saale to support him? Even the dog, the elders used to say, is under the owner's protection.

### MONTE

*Aa, ani, alleya gide: mele.*

You are asked me: the answer is no.

### HASSAN T.

*Maanti goorat Rendille ombor isiwaho, enenyet lawaho kaale omborta ati koorrommo maanta, layadeeh a maanti goorat koo Leyngwanani – Kurungu – il haagganyahe nebey yahe, enenyet tuumman isdaago. Maantaas enenyet kombor a liiwaha. Toolla eti kombor liiwoho ma jiro. Kombor do o'di laworsati a Dubsahay ichoow Saalle. Dubsahay ichoow Saallela ayyo sookhataan: Dub-*

*sahay kichooda sookhata, Saallela kichooda sokhaata. Kichoka us sookhato, Dubsahay mehe sookhataya: Nahgaan, Matarbah, Rengumo.*

*Intaas on 'doo'da abtinyeteeyela 'doo'd us sookhaataan a 'doo'daas on. Toro buurka laka atin on raahaan. Atin on siissaan. Iche, ki 'dalame laka ankuus fool ma tuso.*

*Maanti goorat Kurungu ombor liiwaho, arankoo D. Cenye Damster laye-deeh, iche omborta arankoo Burji kakhane – Elisha Godana. Omborti oraat atin laka abda matah gessada! Anki kolooraat, omborti Rendille kifiddiye, a aranki Burji Elisha Godana layadeh. Mehe, etwaayyo. Kaas lakajiraayi, hay lih, maanti goorat chamati ee N.P.PP ichoow tan timiy toro yomboka ki D.C. aa Rendille omborta iidoh a lakhaanyo. Ani ichoow Rendillehoo ittaawe nah wahe,*

Long time ago, when people are asked to occupy the seat is long gone, and it was during the time of Laingwanani – Kurungu – when the world was good and peaceful, when people were one. Those days people are asked to occupy the seat. But now no one is asked to become the MP. It is Dubsahay and Saale who make the decision. And who do Dubsahay and Saale select: Dubsahay selects their own and Saale also does the same and they bring along their [followers]. Dubsahay's followers are Nahgan, Matarbah, and Rengumo.

It is that [other] place that my uncles too select their candidate. But many times it is you (Dubsahay) who support them. It is you who give them (votes). For them, even their fool will not support you.

When Kurungu was asked to become the MP, there was a District Commissioner whose name is Damster, he helped to unseat a Burji man called Elisha Godana. That was the first MP, I want you to learn and put into your heads! The first person who became the Rendille MP was a Burji man called Elisha Godana. Why: because the Rendille had no one to take that post. It took six months, during the time of N.P.P.P. (Northern Progressive Peoples Party) and when this one came, it was then that the D.C. (District Commissioner) said: Why is this Rendille seat occupied by a Burji, he said it was shame, and he called me and some other Rendille.

#### HIRKEENA

*Aranki Ilmaassay a?*

Was that the Maasai man?

#### HASSAN T.

*Mele. A koo dakhan. Ee wihi layeelo, etoo karaaneeny khabna, 'doo'di maso-omoti buure khabo laka ma khabno. Eta karaanee a District clerk, Moyale kijira, nahba eta Moyale kakeenna 'dee omborta eta a siinno. Atin I 'daasu a garataan? Atin goorat mantaas yeele eheten.*

No. He was a White man. What we told him was that, we had a clerk in Moyale who they believed could replace Elisha. We shall bring him from Moyale and

make him the MP. Do you know this? That time most of you were lads.

*Yeelo menye nah nyakhut iche ehenete, hawooy!*

Not lads, but we were children, go on!

**HASSAN T.**

*Maantas I'dis idas iche eheet. Toolla la enenyet masomo ittaawte walah a liisl-eemarma. Waha la 'doodi isleemarmo 'doodoo a ki walah igaranne 'doodoo la a ki I'daaru walah gaarti. Sagga kayamiite, iche hooyicho enenyet seley gog-goocha. Yeedi rummaat chi' atin 'doontaan, ti Saalle intoh katamiit: Nakuru, Eldoret, Kisumu. Ti Addan la intoh katamiit: Kiambu, Embu, wahaas ichoow wahaas. Tuus kicheeda soobihissa, tan la kichooda soobihissa, ichoowka ti goorat walah igaran tuumman mehe yeessa: issi suujeka isyeyta.*

*Kurati chele suuje, too Lesas laka a leenimiyye, too Adichaarreh laka a leenimiyye, inti Ren'dille bilalka seley gowe, a maanti goorat Adichaarreh soogele; iche bahe seley bahte. Ee toolla kootte wihi I'daase tuumman a lakadaba.*

*Saahta eti Uyameete khaata, ommolla eti Tubcheenye khaata, ommolla eti Matarbahenye khaata. Yaafteen kootte wihi I'daase ma iskawaayto. Atin tuumman laka kootte, chirrinki kootte atin wihi I'daase kayeyyeeddaan, kootte mehe mujjume: khuf a liistusa, 'ey'do an maan geeddoh kisooraaha: geeddaase isooraaha. Intaka a isooraaha, intaka a kisooraaha. Aa at wohooba isooraaha? Mele.*

*Barchuma, maanti goorat Waakh'deye Adichaarreh nah sookhaanne, goorat lakeehsati Riirima nah kijirro, ati ichoow Barchuma illeh nyaakhut tihiiine, lakeehsati, Serey liikoro, Riirima a garatta menya, chele maantoo laka inno kahawwoonno?*

It was that way. But now we have very many educated people who are struggling to get the seat. Some are those who don't know anything but some are those who know a little. They come and, separate people. If you want the truth, Saale elite come from Nakuru, Eldoret, Kisumu. The others come from Kiambu, Embu, this and that. Those come up with their candidate, and these ones with their own, until those who don't know about this look at each other with bad intent.

The bad elections – we have seen Lesas too, we seen also Adicharreh – we came through, where Ren'dille separated along moieties was the time of Adicharreh; that is the time when people went adrift. It is better if we forget all those.

Tomorrow let Uyam take it, or Matarbah, it is not proper for our tribe to misunderstand each other on such issues. All of you, it is good if you talked about it and show each other where and who went wrong. You ask: how many times have I supported: these many. You supported me here and you there. Did you ever support me? No.

Barchuma do you remember during the rains when we brought Adicharreh, that time when people fled from Ririma to the Lava? You know it for one day

we talked about it.

**BARCHUMA**

*Aa, chele maantoo inno kahawwoonne, 'a garatta uluba' ati idowte!*

Yes recently, and you asked me if I could still remember!

**HASSAN T.**

*Maanta wihi idaase a jiraan? Kan a koh, kan a koh, a jiraan? Abtinyeteey inti Idaaseka, ichohi dood isikeento, toolla dood isikeenaane, 'mehe yeello' layadeehe liisworsati walaal layateeh.*

*Uu' nah saggi Raila ichoow saggi Kibaki itaahan. Yaafteen a nugussahe, kaha ino tuumman toro I daas abanni. Wihi Idi cheletteetu girdaam loudspeaker lagesso, koo sagga lagesso liiskofo, liisleeabaarramo, dee saakta chirri enenyata et chan yahe laka etan kaldach Rendille yahe, an a kabahe.*

Today are there such things? Which one is, which one is that, is there such things? My uncles ought to make peace between people, so that people talk and ask each other, and people become brothers.

Let us not become like Raila and Kibaki. Our tribe is small, let us all be aware of this fact. Things we saw yesterday, people put loud music in big loudspeakers, and the others put theirs on the other direction, and use them to abuse and insult each other, and tomorrow if those people are five people, the Rendille will be only one, I have finished.

**SEGELAN**

*A kabahte menya? Alleya deerka ayu lama on yeeda laka. Ee Hassan!*

Okay have you finished? I will not talk for long. Ee Hassan!

**HASSAN T.**

*Ilturunya!*

Ilturunya!

**SEGELAN**

*Chi' gaal Rendille islijaho ati is ujahta. Ati ichoow koo Waambiile chi' wohoo dahcho kasoobeheen lamatiinna dahcho kasoobihissaan, ebbaaw addane atin khabtaanka. Maanta atin on inta fiddiitaan gone, dood ki ittaawe inta ma fidiyaane icho la ma adeeh. Atine baa isijahtaan.*

If there is anyone who makes the Rendille to fight each other it is you. You and Wambile. If there is any trouble between the Rendille society, the cause is both of you, plus those others who are with you. You two are the main trouble makers. The others are not seated here so I will not mention them. It is you who are making people fight each other.

HASSAN T.

*Adaagin!*

Do not listen (to him)!

SEGELAN

*Ki adaheet ma woho alah. Lamatiinna isijahtaan. Etiyye Kukuton laka funduso, funduse 'baata iiran, baata iiran' iyidah laka a lamatiinna. Toro toolla lamatiinna nah itolissaan! Toli atin nah itolissaan, immarahe il nah kabooris-saan – nyirkhohi kootte nah soodowno laka nah tirtaan.*

*Amahe, mehe, et goorat goobab atiratteen, toro toolla mehe elattaan: toolla nebey a khabna, Rendille alah nebey a khaba. Nah nabah on suuna menyenebey on khabna, et la ee atin on iswarsada. 'Idoh eta line igelinno? Isworsada, 'deerka maanti 'dee atin line gelisseene, atin baangiteen, nah waha!*

I will not mention those who are not here. It is the two of you who are making people fight. You are even the ones who told Kukuton not to go to some clans and villages. And now again today it is the two of you who are leading today's discussion! You are wasting our time – delaying us from bringing home our camel colts.

You stopped him from visiting villages, and now you say we have peace, Rendille has peace. We'll only listen and we do have peace, but for the man, you discuss between yourselves. How to put him in line, and when you have put him in line you arrange and call us.

HASSAN T.

*Et goobiin menya?*

Is the man not your clan?

HIRKEENA

*Et a Rendille chu'us mjumbe yahe a Rendille, goob mee. Kaaleya, wihi jiro, Barchuma! Maanti goorat Adichaarreh kasootaba, wahaas a guwassohoo kute. Wahala a guwassohoo, guwassihii Goorat Adichaarreh ichoow Ntontoy, ichoow Lebokholeyyo, il maantaas tuumman a nebey on. Toolla wahaas tuumman iche iskulaate ibenka. Waha on atin worsada: koo Ngoyoni cheleti 'diri inno mjumbe kooganeete, innohi Rendille a kakulanne. Anki goorat bilassi bahay layedeehe, ombor Adichaarrehka islabiingo, ee ki addanka islabiingo meel lama inno itolollo, katabno.*

*Ayyo deefa isworsanni geeyoka. geeyi Saalleka ichoow geeyi Dubsahayka; ama bal a been koli oraat? Kaas geeddaas geeyo lagelo, gaala matakkiis a Moonte. Moontela ma kajitin. Yeedi us woyo a kan one, eti malinkaas tuumman kharrada saggoth idibno Rendille isworsati ikajirin a usu. Anka yooh lachichibaayi ulla anka khuto, a usu. Toro toolla mehe essaya, reerane yowda! Mehe yowta, usuba a layowta, usuha lumam khuto toro 'doode yowda yadeh a koo i 'dohe? Geey lama Balahka dise, geey lama Burri Haraamiyaka lagele, intoh jira? Bal inti us jiro nah isoocheek. Reer lamatiis, kooba meessiiska kii-*

*yye goobi Balah la goob ma kajiro, ki Burri Haraamiya laka goob ma kajiro.*

*Sigeera iche woyto a kohe, toro tolaka, reerane worsada? Kaas kola atin on isworsada gaal Rendille goyaka. Kaas geeddiis a geeddaas. Gaal Rendille dahtiis kabah! Gaal Rendilleka at walah at yeyyeedo mele Hassan. At gam-madi! Goorat gaal Rendille sombob ibihisse, aram haw goya kaleebah! Haw goya kabah! Haw kabah ati.*

The man is a Rendille because he is representing them, not to be identified with one clan. The point is, Barchuma, let's not talk about Adicharreh because that is history. Those are past and we are in present. The time of Adicharreh, Ntooy and Lebokhole, all those years we had peace. This time everything has gone wrong. I ask you one thing: the late Ngoyoni who left us the other day, he was elected by all the Rendille. Let us stop the division between the moieties, because that is how people opposed each other at Adicharreh's term and the one after him. Let us forget this period.

Let's ask ourselves who is better, in both the Saale and Dubsahay trees, or am I saying false?

All that time when people met, you (Monte) were not present. When we are trying to fill the holes with sand, you are busy unearthing on the other side, making holes in pretence of looking for people, how is such a person like? Two trees we built in Ballah, and two trees at Burri Araamiya, people discussed, in the Ballah tree you (Monte) where were you? Can he tell us where he was? In both meetings he was away.

Which is this disease they are spreading, and they keep asking these men? It is better if you discuss amongst yourselves only. That is the end of that. Please leave the Rendille alone! You have nothing to say within the Rendille, Hassan. Stop talking! Leave with your man out of the Lagga! You get out of the Lagga [river].

**HASSAN T.**

*Aram haw a soomaaho.*

Yes let the man cross the Lagga.

**HIRKEENA**

*Aram hawo a maaho.*

Yes let the man cross the Lagga.

**MONTE**

*Dereja kijira, aa.*

Am I blocking the bridge? Yes!

**HIRKENA**

*Aram hawo a soomaaho, kola ma isleemaranno. Kan kute ombor khabo, iche isleemaranna. Ombor gaal Rendille goyaka etoo on khaba. Et la khorojebisi ortiis kalagdame.*

Let the man cross the Lagga, we are not fighting over him. The present man on the throne is the one we are fighting over. There is only one MP for the Rendille as a whole. And a python is lying across in front of him.

#### MONTE

*At toro ba'h goya ma soogesso toro a gossa?*

You are not joining people but separating them?

#### HIRKEENA

*Alley et khorojebisi ortiis kalagdame, et la goorat ati kaldach mee ombor kukhaate; gaal Rendille tuumman, Semeydeero kajirto, iche ombor ikhaate. Eta {an} goobassaha ma doono yidah, minkaah goya ani ikayidah innohi kulman. A idoh kan worso liidah eti goorat maantaas worso liyidah atiha rubeytaahha, toro kuus iidaahan.*

There is a python is lying on his way, and he is not an MP for you alone but for the Rendille as a whole including Turkana. This man said he doesn't like these clans, he said it to me in your house, and there were many people who heard it. He told us to ask Monte the reason, you in person, don't say the other person.

#### BELEYSA

*Abiyyo wihi an kiworsadi, eta toolla a haagganyeye hawta us isoomaahin on kasuujaawe?*

Uncle, may I ask you, do you say the man is good, but he is bad because he does not cross the Lagga?

#### SEGELAN

*Inkaabiyyaay et, et walah lakakhabo mele.*

My nephew, we have nothing against this man.

#### BELEYSA

*Eta a mujjume hawta ortiis lakareye on us isoomaahin on kusuuj yahe?*

This man is good, but the problem is he refused to cross the Lagga the crossing of which was blocked?

#### HIRKEENA

*Anika ma haaggan; usuhi arran biccheyyo arran liibahcho walah dakkhan liyeelo ka la a mujumba; anna walah liyeele mele a wohoo on.*

To me he is not good, but for him who he gives water and gives everything, to him he is good; but for me I got no benefit so he means nothing to me.

#### SEGELAN

*Maanti chele walah la'hele, wihi walah lakahaaggiche la'hele, inno daagne, sibtaala goorat uus koo Ngoyoni kayumuy mehe lakadisinwaaye?*



The day when people got things, got the finances to do things, this Ballah hospital, since Ngoyoni died, why did they not continue?

BELEYSA

*Aa, wihiiyye us uskulaache at kadiiddo soodah.*

Yes, tell us where he went wrong that made you hate him.

SEGELAN

*Sibtaalaas a ki Saalle bal a ki Kenya tuumman?*

Is that hospital for Saale or the whole Kenya?

BELEYSA

*Sibtaala a ki intoh?*

Where is this hospital located?

BARCHUMA

*A ki Balah!*

It is at Ballah!

BELEYSA

*Ni pesa gani? [Swahili]*

Who funded it?

BARCHUMA

*Ni C.D.F.*

It was the C.D.F. [Constituency Development Fund]

SEGELAN

*'Dee saahita maantoo jitaase tabta a agarta, ma massan uus goorat koo Ngoyoni kayumuy. Lakhucchichaayi koo Kukuton la wihi lakahaaggicho a 'hele a I 'doh liihaaggin?*

One day you will pass that road and see that hospital, it has not been completed since Ngoyoni died while it was being built, and Kukuton had C.D.F. fund and why didn't he complete it?

BELEYSA

*Yeedaas kootte eti laworsati a committee-ti C.D.F.; ma kijirtaana goobiin?*

The people to be asked about this is the C.D.F. committee, do you have any members from your village?

SEGELAN

*Etoo kaldach laka ma kijiro.*

Not even one member from our village.

BELEYSA

*Ayyo kijira, toolla inta fiddiya?*

Do we have any member, who is seated here?

SEGELAN

*Alley, reeri kijiro a Gaayerre illehe.*

Wait, Gayere is one of them!

TORARE

*Alleya Gayere ofisaas ma kijiro a Waambiile, H.T. laka weyti ma kajiro, arache kalday me.*

Wait a minute, Gayere is not in that office, it is Wambile, and Hassan Turkana is not a very active member, and not my cousin (Monte).

BELEYSA

*Mehe atin worsade ya, Saalle etoo kaldach laka ma kijiro?*

What I am asking is don't you have any member from Saale?

TORARE/SEGELAN/HIRKEENA

*Koo kaldach laka ma kijiro.*

Not even one person is a member.

HASSAN T.

*Waha a maantoh toolla?*

Which time is that?

SEGELAN

*Hassan ati khaatte, iikakhaatin. Ati ayeedinba meessaah an kootte alah a mas-siche, bal sibtaalaas mehe lakadisin waaye, walah la a la'hele?*

You have interrupted, don't interrupt. You keep silent, I have already finished you, why is that hospital not built, and yet funds are there?

TORARE

*Sibtaala, Saalle kalday ma khannati.*

This hospital will not serve only Saale.

SEGELAN

*Saalle kalday ma khannati Saalle kalday ma gelo. Weyli Kenya tuumman iche yamiite gela. Etoo on latusa alah; a us wawwaho, alah a us wawwaho, ati gon lakiworsta (Moonte).*

It is not only Saale who will fall sick and the hospital will not serve only Saale. All people of Kenya will be served there. And this praises we are hearing is you (Monte) to be asked.

MONTE

*Ayyo ani?*

Who me?

SEGELAN

*Ki kootte at nah worsatti diiche, ati kiworsanna. Kootte alah eysinkeye mehe yidahya (Beleysa), hawta us soomaahin waaye on kadiiddaan bal mehe ka-diiddaan: sibtaal a kisoowahe, mehe, ichoow haw goya kabah nah nidah yeed ma atin gelo menya? Et 'dee chu'us soomaahes sibtaalaas arge, chu'us Saalle arge, diiddoti ladiido, arge a nokhta.*

Leave alone what you have been asking, we are now asking you. Earlier my nephew Beleysa asked us if we disliked Kukuton just because he could not cross the Lugga, or do you have another reason: I have mentioned the hospital, and we told you to cross the Lagga, don't you understand things? If he crosses the Lagga and sees the unfinished hospital, and sees that the Saale people hate him, he will go back.

BELEYSA

*Abiyyo, wihi an kiworsadi yeedi minkaas goorat, a ladise menya? Ngoyoni menya goorat chilimmetiyye C.D.F. kadise? Enenyetoo menya goorat liibahche ilkasihaas haaggicho? Enenyetaas a ayyo?*

Uncle, what I ask you is, the hospital during the late Ngoyoni must have had a contractor, and funded by C.D.F. who is this Contractor?

SEGELAN

*Ee, Mohamed Hassan Dahir.*

Ee, it is Mohamed Hassan Dahir.

BELEYSA

*A Idoh imassin, chilimme liikagutin bal a Idoh liimassin?*

Why didn't he finish the work, was he not paid?

TORARE

*Chilimme deerka I di eheneet, goorat alipatiwa milioni Mbili. Lamataas maanti us minkaas diso laka 'helnaanki us 'hele, lawyer iche liisikhabte, ichoowka Kotini. Saggoh chilimmetiistaas laka i'hele: saggaa.*

*Chilimme inta on kijirta, il on lakamarmarcha. Kolossohoo, Kukuton laka hadaab ma korinno, usu laka mee. 'Doo doo goorat ofisiinyetaas lagesse, iche I daas yeela. Ichooowka maanti kotini magah lawahe, orjaam lawyer dahan gessate ka, maantoh chilimmeta lasoobahchte. Toro 'hakiiski goorat lakachire ma lasiinne lakagooche. Ti addan, min goorat ma massanne, taas deerka committee iche orrommata. Wihi kootte endeleo, intaas la goorat ankhate ma lamassin uluba. Rendille kootte a isworsata.*

The money he was paid was two million. Even those two million the time he was working he got it through difficulties until through a lawyer and court. That is how he got paid this money.

The money was there but they are just disturbing him. It may not be Kukuton who did that to him, we don't even want to blame Kukuton for this. There are some other people who were put into those offices, they are the ones who did this. Until the matter was mentioned in court and the contractor got a lawyer, that is when they paid him. But they did not pay him in full, they paid less. The project is not yet complete, so it is the committee who will deal with it. That project is incomplete up to now. The Rendille will address that matter.

#### BELEYSA

*Ati a worsatte injire?*

Did you ever ask?

#### TORARE

*Ee, Loltome a worsanne. Wahaas kootte wihi laworsati mee. Wihi maanta ofiis kachiiran, indo khabto at soonnaan garatti, ankhantahe liimassin ma argo. Cha'at garatti inti kootte kolooraat lamassicho koloo a taas. Ilkasinyetoo mee toro hol laleedowo.*

Ee, we asked Loltome. This is not something that people can ask about. It is something written and is in the office files and any person in the office unless he is illiterate, should see the uncompleted projects, and begin from there, not starting new ones.

#### GAYERE

*Beleysa, intoo rucchul iche kakhaya. Minka chilimmeti goorat lagute a milion lama eheneet. Chilimmeti dispensary-hi Balah liikucche, a milion lama. Chi' miliontaas lama lareemooche ka, minassi goorat ladiso a min lama. Intiiyye staff quarters inti nurses urdaane layadeh. Mpangota goya ma kijirin.*

*Maantiiyye marehemu intiiyye dood urdo disa yidah, aranki orran sibtaali Haldaayan iweene M.O.H. layadeh, iche 'chirrinkiiyye inti luurdo ijirin, sibtaalaas chi' atin massisseen laka, nurse-hoo kaldache ani intaas isooergo ma jirto' yidah. Marehemu la yeeda goorat u' sooyidah, af on ka sooyidah (end of cassette one)*

Beleysa, I want to add little to that. This building was allocated two million shillings. The budget was for the Ballah dispensary and the nurses' house.

When the late Ngoyoni said, that the staff quarters is to be built, it was from the orders of the medical officer of health Marsabit District Hospital, who said that if the dispensary is complete without the staff quarters, he will not send his staff there, and the late Ngoyoni said this just verbally.

# THE DISCUSSION IN ISIR'S HOUSE (DISC II) KORR, 21<sup>ST</sup> JANUARY 2008

(REN'DILLE TRANSCRIPTION AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION  
BELEYSA HAMBULE WITH LETIWA GALBORAN)

BELEYSA

*Abaayya Moonte, nakhaabala a I'doh ati haw ortis gesse at goobab tiratti?*  
Uncle Monte, why are you denying this man to cross the Lagga and visit other villages?

MONTE

*Reer goorat koloo et looyyo kawahe. 'dubicheka chu'us hawta soomaawe a nagiis iche yidah. Et la goorat ani ileeyimiy: ogoos iche I'diicha chan isoojeyin, reer la goorat a nagiise yidaheen – kalla la fiddiya. Iiran gon idowa, a icho kiigaasane. Bal Hirkeena a soolaabo.*

This people first likened this man with cattle and called him the black calf. And later they said if he crosses the Lagga they will kill him. And this guy came through me, will I let him to die? If I don't stop him, and they are here seated, they said they will kill him. Yes I am the one who is telling not to go, because they want to kill you. Let Hirkeena respond to this.

HIRKEENA

*Alleya ani kootte yeed af kakhabe. Eti Reerinnanye holoo liisikakhbine, inkaabiyyaay, yagiis ma jiro. Walah maanta wihi yeedi gafla on kigele i'doh tadeh? A jeysamaan? Gaflatoo ila gesse, gaflata la et lama menye etoo kaldach on gaflata gaal Rendille gessa. Mehe, at laka deerka a agartaan gon. Kootte koloo {ala nakamasate}, geedda enenyet magah ma lawaho.*

*Waha on jira: marehemu goorat, a Waakh meessiis khoboocho, iliiyye shidayyo khabo biccheyyo lawaaye, iche nah liiwahe Kulale laka kijirto. Ilaas iloo rucchul iche ankhan. Bicche, icho lakanoolyehe, kolooraat biiche menya harra ka lakanolyahe? Bicche yela ichoow Burri Haramia dirihis ichoowka Hafarre, bicchehi goorat nah ikhabin Waakh a yimiy one nah idese. Bicchehi goorat nah ikhabin, sirgaal mee: Elnino a timiy one harra dakkhan bicche kadesse.*

Wait and let me finish what I was saying. There is no Rendille person, my nephew, who will kill him because there is no cause to fight. If you are caught up in a situation without notice, what do you do? Can you avoid it? There is something which has come to us without notice, and the cause of this is only one man, not two. And you also can see this. We don't have to mention names so many times.

This is a fact: The late Ngoyoni, may God rest his soul in peace, mentioned places with water problems water, Mt. Kulal is also included. Most of that was

completed except a few. And water is our basic need, is water not everyone's basic need? The hill of bandits and beyond up to Hafare, the water that we did not have, God gave us through El Niño rains [1997]. Not the government but as a result of El Niño we got enough water all over the place.

#### MONTE

*Woro ka? Ay, aaa!*

Shallow wells? O' yes!

#### HIRKEENA

*Leyye, weyli enenyet, goorat maantaas Elninotaka la, sigeer il gele geleb ichoow saah, weyli enenyet on yamuut. Inti goorat intoh atin ideefta sibtaal ka? Nah ichoow Kore isleemaranne, Balah layidah. Balakkaas iche shida kasoobahte. Koloo cha'at igaran, bicche il a lagesse, bicche sina ma khabno. Bicche la wihi harra kijiro on lagesse.*

*Sibtaal toolla alif lih iche intaka gunna gaari chi' nah khaanno Kor ka-geenna. Hassan usu a eysinkaanya, chi' nah seyanne alifoo ichoow kud chane nah kakhata. Kalla fiddiya gaari khaba, usu on gon gaari khaba inta kijira, sibtaala toro mehe nah kakhaata michen, ya alif chan; enenyet la a argab on. Mgonjo ititahye, sibtaali goorat Balahka nah liidise ayyo jejjebche: nah koo Kukuton ma nadeehe, sigeer kalla (moonte)!*

Folks, human beings, during the time of El Niño, a disease came with it and people were dying morning and evening. And what was better that time was a medical facility and when this funding for a dispensary came up. We at Ballah and Korr competed for it, and Ballah won, and the problem arose from that Ballah, for if you do not know. Water was put in place, we don't have water problem, and what makes water which was there in the earth.

We are charged six thousand shillings as transport to Korr dispensary. When we hire the catholic mission ambulance, for Hassan Turkana, because he has a vehicle, and because he is our nephew and so he gives us a commission, so he charges us one thousand five hundred for the same service. But the catholic mission charges us that amount even when one has only common cold. And that becomes a very big disease and the dispensary people we got in Ballah could have saved us this.

#### MONTE

*Baati addan la gaarinye mehe kasookhaatatta?*

What do they charge others?

#### HIRKEENA

*Sigeeri toolla gaal Rendille toor kabaabicho toro baa ilallaabo la a kan.*

The disease that has penetrated the Rendille like spear, and then blame others is this one (Monte).

## MONTE

*Baati addan la chirri iche gaari sibtaal ikhaatto mehe bihissa?*

The rest of the community, if they want to hire the same vehicle to hospital how much do they pay?

## SEGELAN

*Il a ibeennowe, alleya. Ey do yeed tuumman ati on khabta, atiha kootte nah wahto isooraahine toro geeyohaas dowatti, gaal Rendille chi' goorat atin tunteene ichoowka herroon ka atin ooyonyetiin dub khabatteen, ichow uluba goya on kafaddaan. A ararrowteen la isigudubteen la, dub on kabahna a atin garanna on alah.*

It is getting night, wait gentlemen. You are the one with all the blames, you the one who called us and instead listening to what I said, and saying what we just heard when you had made the Rendille since you were warriors, taking over from your fathers, till today you are still creating problems for them, and make them clash against each other. You are now old and you have made us fight each other, and we know you.

## MONTE

*Mehe yeessaaneey deeka wihi lahaaggicho walah atin sooyeessaan la mele?*

Then what will you do because, you are not capable of doing things that we do, and can do nothing about it.

## SEGELAN

*Alley ma nabuud gide a rume. Mehe doodi goorat soosesseho I da sooyadeh dakkhan dahan kayuubatteene dahantiinna kajira. Etiimba geeddiis uram kaleejiro ka reeri sesseeho tuumman dahan a kayuubatteen I di maanta reemeet u, eti sooshti dakkhan la atine atin leeyamiit. Ma daagto?*

*Chi' kootte atin yeed nah iwahteen, Isir mee Chirri kootte iche yeed nah iwahte tapasa ortenyo orrommisse, tape gessa reera yeed gessa! Gaal Rendille reerane dahtiis kijira. koo ma leejiro toolla, kan tola Rendille ibeenka khuchicho a kan on. Lakini gaal walah us iskakhabo mele, toolla ibeenka walah goya kijiro mele, ibeenka walah goya kijiro mele. Ibeenka a kukuton on, usu gon kura khaate, oor a usu on ki gaal sugo, darneetteey, chi' etoo darsiche koo iche darsiche a Wambile. Chu' khumanaate koo Wambile khumanaache, usu i da ichoow i da dah iyadeh. Inti us igaran tusa, ulla bedeli usu, inta ichoow inta us yadeh a kareye bal tabala iyye goorat maanto isooraahteen worassahaas a tololeen maanto goorat inankoo Dubsahay ommos laka inankoo Rengumo ma soowoyine, kaas geeddiis a geeddaas ani a kabehe.*

Wait, it is true, we are not capable, because you have influenced all the capable people in the community, and they are in your hands, and whoever comes to us must pass through you. When you have called us for talks and, where is Isir, if she has called for talks and placed this tapes in front of us, record what we

have said against this people. It is these guys who are between the Rendille. One is not here now. Rendille community has nothing against each other, this particular time they have nothing against each other. At least for now, this time the problem is only Kukuton, because he won the elections, he is the leader of all the people, and if there is anybody who made him weak it is Wambile. And if he will be good it is still Wambile to make him so because he will show him what he does not know, and tell him to do this and that. He has sat on him, leave about telling us long time ago there was-----? And we came together! Forget about all those stories, for there was no one time you came up with a Dubsahay or a Rengumo boy and missed support from us. That much is just that, and I am out for the next speaker.

#### MONTE

*Waha kaldach on yeela:*

Just do this one thing:

#### GAYERE

*Ee Beleysa, a mejel tuumman: chirri deerka inno yeedi rummaat isicheek-no eteen alah iloo addan kiyimiy mele. Eti wihiiyye harrata kijiro omolla eti mokosa khabo ichoow ki addan laka igaran ma jiro, seley ibihin la mala rumanka.*

*Chi' rum layeyyeedo Saalle Kukuton a diida, diidya, Moonte la makosa a khaba on.*

*goorat chirri kolossoo Saalle kura waayo kolossoo ichoowka Saalle Kukuton doonicho inchenka kootte usu ullaka kaas ma yeelin. Saalle la diiddo ka rumanka Kukuton a diida. Kaas eticho makosa ikhabin mala. Toro makosati buure dood ki goorat waaye ka a too Moonte zaidi. Goorat eti kootte kelee doodi kootte waaye inchenka doonicha ichoowka baataas isikeena. Ullaka deerka taas ma yeelin – kakunno.*

*Saalle ichoow Dubsahay iche orran magah lawaha. Kola magah a soos-eyyahaawa. Ki dee toolla liisinokhti di. Kwa sababu Dubsahay ichoow Saalle, geeddi deer iche afiche waayne. Saalle inankichooda on yadehe Dubsahay laka goyaka chi' inankiche isootolossan; nahi addan a kalmo menyee ullaka ???huub ma nah ikhabo. Titah, nahi addan kola Saalle ichoow Dubsahay woricho a kabahna, kalmo iskhabta, Saalle ichoow Dubsahay reenta ka'helaan iche a isinokhteen. 'Dee maanti iche isinokhteen, yeedenyo dee geeyo kaldach on kamasata. Ma iselina, yombuu la reem ma nuuhsattaan. keey a geeddaas on.*

Ee Beleysa, it is meant for all of us gentlemen; if we have to tell each other the truth, just know that no one of us came from elsewhere. No one us who doesn't know what is happening around us in our areas.

To speak the truth, Saale truly hates Kukuton, even so, Monte too has mistakes.



He should have reconciled Saale and Kukuton after Saale's candidate had lost the elections, but he has not done that. Saale truly hates Kukuton, so both of them are in the wrong. The biggest mistake is Monte's because the other side have lost the elections and the winners are supposed to extend the hand to the losers and make peace with them. Let's leave that aside.

Normally it is Saale and Dubsahay that lead in the Rendille politics. But the way I see it now the third name will appear. There will be no unity. It is a long time that these two clans ruled us and we could never understand them. Saale will nominate their boy, and Dubsahay too only nominate their boy, but if they have no candidate of their own, they would not support us who are their allies. They don't value us too. We the other Rendille clans want to join and leave Dubsahay and Saale to themselves. Let them join to choose their candidate. As soon as they do that our problems will be over in only one tree discussion. But if they don't do that they will never see this seat again for the rest of lives. And mine is just that much.

#### MONTE

*Aa iekkeysatta gone chirrinkoo.*

Yes you are cheating me sometimes.

#### GUDASO

*Yaafeyy Nebey on addeen? Goytiin a nebey on ma isargine inno injirte? Ayye, eteenki maanta inno soowahe inno isiorrommiche kalaide ilaabna; ichoow kamureenna, sababu intoo kaldach on naalle u' inno goorat juu chini inno elanne inno seley tabne, ijirte ma isargin. Hoola kijeychaan ichoow uskeeloo kijeycho ma gardi, toro injirte ma isargin. Kalaid iche ilaabna inanteentiyye inno wahte inta orrommatte waha mehe jira inno worsatte, kalaide ilaabna. Yeed la kootte orey a tumheen.*

*Yeed chirri kootte orey layuhumye maansoti kolooraat lakasooanso at 'hesse, aytoo kaldach kootte wihi at garatti kaadillatti ma jirto. Toolla la ortenyo a yeyyeddeen. Sirkaaleen la goorat mejel ichoow deyyeho a iskachibe, ma iskoohinno, goorat a iskoohinnaa. Mehe yeela: masomoti nyaakhuteenna yeessa.*

*Waha deeddaar an sooelele, Moonte ichoow Saalle, gooba orran buurenye magah khabo, a Saalle ichoow Dubsahay. Nah a 'darnaannetoo miskiinene maamba ankoo raahto on. Toro 'darnaanneta mamba ankoo raahto, cha'an gelebtoo Saalle raahe a arge, chan gelebtoo Moonte raahe a arge.*

*Kurata goorat dakkhan nah inta on kijirra. Kutoka Adichaarreh, nah 'doodi kurata guddo on eheneet. Yeeleta tuumman intaas ma kijirin. Eti addan a Hassan. Intaas yer, goorat Adichaarreh kabila kabila a lakeene, toro geedda ma ehynan. Kabila kabilata geedda ma ehynan. Intiyye Ntontoy kasootolossate ka laka a too samacchaarenye, 'dalam on 'dood yeelo ma gardi, a samacchaar. Toro maantaas dakkhan ebba kichooda on leetirriinsata. Kichoka at leetirriin-*

*satti la bilal iche keenta. Saalle Saalle diso, Dubsahay la Dubsahay diso laka, bilal a keenta keley on bilal tusa anika.*

*Maantoo goorat Looto ichoow Ntotoy iche isleesootolossate. Ki seyyah-naatteet a Lebokhole. Aa, aye: chi' inno hawwoonno la, a inno iskahollowin. Maari daayan heeri looyyo Saalle yidahye, Saalle kasoobahe. Intaka iskajj-ebne, gaasoo Looto dise, Gaasoo Ntotoy iche disa, Lebokole enenyet waaye. Makhaabala Lukhum Deer layadeh, bicchatiis et seyyah ommos laka affartoo leetolossa. Geey korch! Geey korch! Liidah. Walah atin dissaan mele, bicchataas a too rucchul. Bicchataase 'deeka, ee, 'dirihi ween 'dub dessa. Looto ichoow ki addan 'deerka iliilikheen. Lebokhole intaka lalug'de, ulla bahayha on taabe soobukhsate, a ti intaka toro kura Lebokhole titah.*

Have you spent the afternoon in peace my people? Are you all alright? We haven't met for a long time. To the person who called us today and made us sit together, we are so grateful, plus to our Lord too. Although we live in one area, since the time of election when we chanted so and so up and so and so down, we went different ways and never met. I don't know if it is as a result of too much work or otherwise, but we never met. We are grateful to our daughter who brought us together, and made us sit and ask each other what have gone wrong. I am grateful to her. And you have discussed this issue before I came.

If you know the start of the discussion, you will certainly know what to answer. But you have started discussing before we arrived. And our government have put together men and women in meetings, and it is no longer strange. Why is this: it is the education of our children.

Monte and Saale, the big clans which are superior, are Dubsahay and Saale. The rest of us are just nothing, we keep identifying with all sides. I have supported both Saale and Monte, I know both.

This politics, we know them. Even at Adicharreh's time we were voting. All of these boys were not there. The other one is Hassan. At that time of Adicharreh clan differences existed, but not to this extent. The clan differences have not escalated to this level. Even at the time of Ntotoy that was still not an issue. I don't know if it was foolishness which made people to be so, but it was not an issue. But even that time every one had their own candidate, and that only escalated the moiety differences. Saale supporting the Saale and Dubsahay to support Dubsahay, this is what brings about the moiety division in my opinion.

There was one time Ntotoy and Loto vied for the seat. The third one was Lebokhole. And when we discuss, let us not get angry. Saale called Kukuton the 'black calf'. At that time we fought each other in competition. Some supported Loto, others supported Ntotoy. Lebokhole had no supporters. This elder called Lukhundeer had only three or four people behind the picture of Lebokhole that he was holding up. People shouted saying place it on a tree, place it on a tree, because there is nothing you are supporting! That picture was small but it is the picture which punctured the big pot. So Loto and Ntotoy were in the lead. When they put him down in Korr, Lebokhole went west and became the winner.

## SEGELAN

*Loto alah lalug'de meessiis intanka so'hadde lalug'de, Lebekhole ichoow ki addan iche isleeduume.*

It was Loto who was dropped, and he lost, Lebekhole and the other one went ahead to the general elections.

## GUDASO

*Menya? Aa'heey. 'deerka a yeeleteenti goorat kurayyo gu'ddatte. Kuratiiyye addane sookhucchisse, eta chele ijirine Ngoyoni. Eta Ngoyoni chele saggi Rendille af isliidaago, munnyanye inno dakkhan kura ikagudubne. Lakini a amuri Waakhe, Waakhe Kiis yeesse, usu deeddoo inno geen leheet ma garanni, usu inno igeen la ma garanni a lakagooche.*

*Kurata nakhaabala ichoow Kukuton isleeyimaateen, gu'hiche laka maantaas menye, a wohoo Waakh amuriis yeesse, a wohoo wereerenye kuleelenye khafta. Bal i 'daas mee?*

Was it so? Yes, those were our boys who vied for the elections. The other general election which followed is the one on which the late Ngoyoni won. This Ngoyoni all Rendille voted him with one voice and with blessing. But it was the act of God, he was cut short, we don't know if he could have taken us far, or if he could not.

This election which this man Kukuton vied for, it was not even the election time, it was an act of God, it was sudden, hot and done in rush. Or is it not that way?



4332.jpg: Gudaso Guyyo Liban, daughter of Halo, Rengumo

(PHOTO: ISIR SCHLEE)

HASSAN T.

*I'daase eheet.*

It was like that.

## GUDASO

*Ee, guddanne inno soobahne laka, injirte Saalle kalday a guddati i diinno ma liidahaane, Dubsahay idiinno ma liidaahane, an et lamata on isleesookaskasa, 'dee koo 'hela, 'doo'deen 'deerka saggi orran hugum ijiro on isoobahsane.*

*'Doo'deen mehe yidahya, Ilmo hiyyaaya. Ki buurenye bilassi bahay makhaabal Ngoyoni kura igu'dde. Ayye, chi' kootte innoha tuumman kichimmanne 'doonno laka, 'dee intoo a inno lagoocha on; inti chele inno lagooche one, kaaleya 'deerka a kutte Kukuton 'hele. Madaakkino! Ma haagicho la, afi suuje 'deerka ittaaween. Maari daayan a Koorro, a booraanto. A idaas on gon; kura a i'daas on. Ma ladagansati, kura a i'daas on.*

*Deedda maanta sibtaala Balah, eta inno weyti khufiis far iyoogin, intaas goyaka, inta a deediyye hay siyyeetoo, hay saagaassoo on u' laka alah kifidiye. Deeka alah a ki liisooshti on. Balah ma gaane, Balah a Kore.*

*Ayye, maantoo goorat hawweesoo goyaka, ani Nturinya mehe iidahya: 'Nturunya kaale a hawwoonna.' Inkoo 'deerka maari daayan 'hele. Kurata a too rucchule kaaleye a 'haddo one, fool 'diri agatine kura a khadiide, ebba ibeenko 'hela, kaale hawta soomahe aranka jiit. Aranka jiite baal sukkuula bahay itololi. Bal sukkuula inti el khabto aranka a kibuu'hicho. Ti 'daddaboot Waakh inno leesugo, iche eheneet. An goorat maantaas reege ma keelamba rumon keelde. Ayye, chele 'dulle, il on kafa, il on kafa, inta gudda. Ila goorat taabuti goorat maanti kuchukuchu, Nturinya idelan harrata gesse.*

*???'hay Nturunya chi' Moonte leeyeedinwaaye, kootte hugum ka a maahicha tusa. Nturunya us suge waaye. I da mee yadehe ma orronti. Ee majumbe ma khabo ma yadehe ma orronti. Nturunya yamiite jiita, etaas i'daas ma imalin.*

*Ayye, harra chirriyye oor suujowe, alohi deddeyyah inta on toollaane 'deerka jilakh rorrogaane, siyyeet ka et bahcho mele. 'deerka il on kafa, inta gudda wohoo yeela. Ichoowka toro kurati buurenye yeeleteen isleekaskaasso toro timiy. Ayye a khadiide, ee, a lookhsate, eti okhsate iche enenyet dakkhan woya.*

*Nturinya inta ati ichoow Moonte isikanyannyaantaane, rume la a afafe, isikanyannyaantaan, atin dakkhan anika, Saalle u'us goorat kura waaye, i da iyeyye; iskatakha kenyo menye. Ki addan la hawtiis afi beri ka khabay. Anna kootte mehe 'doona ya, Nturunyahiiyye, a waaye arge, yamiite Moonte kaxhaato 'doona. Irka gooba mehe kaajeycha, ommos la 'deerka, bahassi laka ooreey gardaayi geey kasookoolda yadeehe, ee, a sooeleelinwaaye, kodeysahoo igele, usu a weyli enenyet; ayye ommos laka kodeysa kijeyinwaaye, kura a guddanne at a mjumbe, soomahe taabuta inta kijirto isootolosso.*

*Kootte 'deerka meel icho irtaan mele, owwar 'deerka a Nturinya ichoow inanka; nah a alohoo deddeyahe 'deerka baa raaho, intoh intoh maanta deefta*

leenyanno, kaldach essi, a inno iskahollowine a reege majumbe Waakh a inno siiche, chu' suuj yahe, chu' haggan yahe, a keen dakkhan. Kaaleya karibuni daha, 'dol iskakhabanni. Inta at toolla cheekatte, a hay siyyeete, chi' Waakh kabariiste, guu chane buurenye, kaale soomahe jii. Chi eta kikeenin waaye, kaale soomahe, Nturinya yeede, a lakidiido ommos laka et makosa a isilaabo.

Ki lamatteet, Nturinya u' deedda Lebokhole kura guddati, orran lebokhole a bilassi beri menya, menya nadeh? Maantiiyye usu inankeenkuus leesoobahe, Loto leesoobahe, Lebokhole bilassi beri maantaas iche kabahe. Nturinya, 'dubiissa on rarraahne chu' kelee u' rucchulaateka, nah Loto iurgiine. Mehe, maantaas toro Loto yaafe.

A deeraade, heeri looyyo idaas layadeh gaal kora. Heeri looyyo maantaas toro a lakhaate, ichoowka bey lamaahiche. Icho, Nturinya ati, atiha u' inno goorat soobahne mjumbe ati on eheneet. Bilassi beri on keenna on eheneete bilassa bahay a kaloo'idda one, walaalaaw, ati a idoh maantoo kaldach laka Kotobhaah kura ikagu'din? Ati a I idoh Kotob laka baabul baata igelin?

An alah ati kidisa kan laka disa, et an kiis ahe mele. A 'darnaanmetoo maamba inti deefito on raahito; cha'at igololisse laka kisooraaho on. Nturinya, yaaf ma khabno a kalmohoo lolloodo on. Kalmo la inti deefito raahaan? A i idoh atiha nah kol tuumman kidisno, at la maantoo kaldach laka nah idisin?

Ayye, ee bidii a khabta gon ati. Ati bidii iche khabta, cha'at kura kawaayte laka bidii a khabta. Ma daagto? Gooboo buurenye lakaaekkaacho, ya: ati ka bidiiye khabta. Ani ka deerka, anihiiyye gar laabo, kaale deerka kura cha'at waayte, Kukuton a Mjumbehaahha. Ussi walaal laka walaal iche lakatuma layadeh.

Kutoka kukuton maan lama Goytaah kura kagu'ddate, injire harrabi Saalle suujenye layeyyeedo ani ma daagin. Chiiyye Kargi yamiite goyteen i da yadeeh, inno ma kajirin; at ma kajirto ani laka ma kajiro. Kargi weyti maari daayan a 'diida. Chi' wussa lakatumo eta hawta lasoomaaho latirti on menye, harrab addane Saalle Korta goyaka lakhabo ma jirto.

Intoo maanta kootte ati, ee et a sugne, sugne, a yamiite, sugne nah waayne at tidah, an tolas goya a kajire, intaas goya on ka yeed lama kuleele isgoon-gite. An a kajire, mehe liidah ya, bilassi beri kootte tol Kukuton a yamiite, iimaatana liiyidah. Intaaska yeedoo a liiyidah. Indo leeraahe doodoo takkay on kijira. Kwanza Kibooran a kajire.

Intiiyye Garawahle kan orran liikawoho, kah tolosso weyso tol af fur liiyidah, ma doono ma yadeehe ma kaho la. Kiboorane kahe weeste tol affure. Toli haaggane uur doono on affure. Intaaska deerka mehe yidah ya, an goobab a amiit. Ebba goobichooda amiit, iche yidah.

A rume, inno dakkhamba seley kagelle. 'Dee berri mwisho town kamassicha, iche yidah. Maantaas maanta goorat Waakkhi buure ma inno dowina? Aa.

Ever since we can remember, there was no time we agreed on only one Saale candidate, or only one Dubsahay candidate, it's just two people who compete and the winner is always one, and we did that according to the laws.

Our people said let us wipe her tears. Many from the western moiety voted for Ngoyoni's wife [widow]. But even if all of us joined to support her, we shall still be cut the same place they cut us in the last elections. So it came to pass and Kukuton won. Immediately the opposition welled up. 'The black calf' is a Samburu, is a Boran. Yes it is so; that is politics. It should not be taken personally, that is the way of politics.

This issue of Ballah dispensary, let us not point accusing finger at Lekuton, because he was there only for eight months. It will be completed; Ballah cannot be separated from Korr, it is a part of it.

One day in a discussion, I said to Nturunya: 'Nturunya come let us talk'. That is after the black calf won the elections. 'This by-election is only for a short time, do not turn away, election is just a game which people win in turns, cross this Lagga and pull this man by the hand. Take him and show him that school in the west. Let this man help you to sort out the school's problems. When I said this, I meant it and was serious. I was telling him the truth. The problems is we are saying this and that, some of these problems we had them even before Nturunya was born.

If Monte did not tell him, Nturunya should have taken him and shown him. Nturunya has waited in vain. Therefore he should not have given up and sit like this. He should not say he has no MP and sit back.

When the lead bull camel falters, the female herd will have no leader and so will be scattered.

Until the main election time came and our boys competed against each other. And because it is like a game, whoever wins will be the leader of all the people.

Nturunya, this struggle between you and Monte, in my opinion, since Saale lost the elections they went that way. They say he is not theirs. The others also went their way. I would like Nturunya, because he lost, to come and take the MP from Monte. And ask the MP 'what has caused you not to come to this village?' Let him give his excuse because he too is human and can make mistakes. And tell him, elections are over, you are the MP, come and see this problem. Let us not be angry with each other, God has given us the MP, whether he is good or bad he is the MP for all of us. If this man could not bring the MP to you, you would have approached him yourself.

Secondly, we usually say Lebokhole is from east moiety. Nturunya voted for him until Loto entered the race and Lebokhole seized to be a member of east moiety.

Nturunya, we supported him till when he got very few people, we turned to Loto, because that time it was Loto again that is our kinsman. I have gone far, and they said a cattle bull cannot mate with a camel, but the bull won, and he was lifted up until they made him cross Lake Turkana.

But you Nturunya since we came about, the leader came from the eastern moiety. The western moiety were just struggling, and were hanging on. Why is even a mad person like Kotob not vote for the others? You know I support you

and support the other one too. I don't belong to anybody. I am just an associate, who follows where I see better at the time; and if sometimes you give me food I follow you. We have no tribe, ours is just a supplement. But you came from a big clan and you are working hard, even though you have lost the elections you are working hard. And if I have to decide between you two, Kukuton is your member of parliament, and the faults of a brother is bared by the other brother, so our saying goes. Since Kukuton came twice to seek elections I have never heard him say anything bad against Saale. And if Kargi will come and put problems between us, we were not that way, Kargi really hate the Black Calf. If he has to be blamed for anything, is just because he did not cross this Lagga. Saale have nothing bad against him in Korr.

The place you said you waited for him the whole night: I was there, they said Saale wanted to come to the meeting but they were told not to go. I heard this and followed with my eyes to see who were present and I saw few people from Saale.

When Garawahle, who is named after me, was asked to say the prayers, he did not refuse but he did not stand up to pray, until an elder known as Kiboran, stood up and said the prayers and the meeting started well. It is here that he said he will be going to the villages until I will finish at the east of the town. But that night, wasn't there a big rain that fell that? Yes.



177.jpg: From left to right: Torare Segelan (Saale), Hirkeena Imodi (Saale), Kana (Gaaldeylan). (PHOTO: ISIR SCHLEE)



186.jpg: Gayere Mindaye (Nahagán), Barchuma Arbele (Rengumo). (PHOTO: ISIR SCHLEE)

#### MONTE

*Gudaaso hir ma inno kabaryina, ibeen deerka inno seley ma tabina? Ibeen on deerka walahbaaw layeyyeede layeyyeede. Hoolahi goorat bahay jiro, iche iskar khabaayi irta liiyeyye. Gaari deerka sookkah. Chu'us jit leeyimiy ka isoobahne. Gaari deerka inti us tabo waay.*

Gudasoo, did the rain not fall the whole night, and did people not disperse? That night people talked whatever they talked, and people talked and said that he will go with soldiers to visit the livestock in the west. So the car started the journey. We met them on the road. The car didn't make it because of rain.

#### BELEYSA

*Wihi an kiworsadi, Adda zaidi wihi toolla inno kaayyeeno, a yeedassihi bilal bilal, ichoow Kukuton. Bilal, Kukuton, goorat Kukutone sookhaate bal a wihi goorat 'horey jire?*

Aunt, what I am asking you is what we are talking so much about, is about the moieties and about Kukuton. Was these moieties brought about by Kukuton or were they there even before?

#### GUDASO

*A wihi orey jiro on; ma sookhaatin. 'Horey laka a jireen on.*

It was there even before; he did not start it. It was there even before.



## BELEYSA

*A wihi goorat tuumman Rendille khabo on. Bolokkha toolla atin khabtaan, Kukuton toolla on soogele menya? A wihi goorat orey jiro on. Saggi orran atin isohattaan on isohatteen. Saggaas iyeyyeena menya? Kukuton toolla wihi kootte inno intaka yeyyeeno, a idoh Kukuton ida mee, ida mee isikadowna, ulla toolla iloo addan iche fiddiya, innoba toolla awteenu ma iskhabno.*

*Kenya tuumman ma iskhabto. Kweli, enyeti magah lawoho a etiiyye meel kafiddiyo. Kalla sinatiissa on cheekta. Maantoo Urowweenhoo sootolossate laka, magahoo 'special Saalle' iche soobahe. Dubsahay laka a idaas on. Walah liisilallaabo mele.*

*Lakini chele mehe liidah: yeeda saggoh ihaaggino? Ewween, chi' Rendille layidah, a kan ichoow kan. Kootte orey mjumbe a ergaano layidah. Eta iduu inno magah wawwahno a ergaano. Us ergaanota at ergatte toro toolla kaaweynaate, toolla toro ati usu yowatti, ati ergatte menya? Lamatiinna.*

It was what the Rendille had all the time. This bitterness that you have now, Kukuton only came recently. It was there even before him. You just did what you normally do. That is how to say it, is it not so? Kukuton now, what we were saying here earlier on, why are we saying he is like this and like that? He is not even here now, and we ourselves are not united.

Kenya as a whole is not united. True, the person to be blamed is always the leader. And this man speaks of his own problems. There was one time when an Urowween man vied for the seat, a name 'Special Saale' emerged. Dubsahay too is just the same. Let's not blame one another.

Yesterday what was said: How can we resolve this matter? Elders, if we say leadership, is you (Segelan) and you (Monte). It was said earlier that the MP is a messenger. But this messenger whom you sent has now become your master, is not you that he is serving? Both of you.



187.jpg: Monte Waambiile, Isir Schlee.

(PHOTO: BELEYSA HAMBULE)

## MONTE

*A idi weylaahha gon.*

He is like your child.

## BELEYSA

*Chi' lamatiin deerka hugummetiyye Rendille isleehaaggicho, bilassihaas laka hugunkoo, ki hugumenye atin isleehaaggissaan buur menya? Daawe ma jirto? Wihi nool ma jiraana? Kukuton maantaas a lawaha?*

*Toolla inti Rendille isohti, daaw laka 'dee kola enyet a isleekhollokhta, wihi nah agarro, deerka a idoh lamatiin la toolla isilallaabtan? Kan la kan essa, kan laka kan iche essa. Kurayyo maalinka kaldache bilal lakagu'dde? Bilal lakagu'dubyeey, ebba anki u' doono kagu'dubyeey, at laka eti at sookhaatte guruuba ma kubbaalo. Icho laka ma kubbaalaan. Saalle a irte guruubaas kalday toro seley bahe, affar iche tolola toolla.*

If you two are the custodians of the Rendille customs, the traditional customs that Rendille practice together, moieties is also a part of the tradition. The rituals that you do together alone, are they not important? Don't we have our customs? Aren't there much more? Is Kukuton consulted when rituals are performed?

Where Rendille are heading, is, they will oppose each other in their own rituals and why are you two blaming each other now? You say it is him and he says it is him. It is not only this time that people voted on moiety lines. If you voted along moiety lines or you voted where you want to, this other group will not accept your candidate. Saale has now split into four groups.

## HASSAN T.

*Urowween ichoow Saale.*

Urowween and Saale.

## BELEYSA

*Saale, special, wahaannyeyyohoo I'daase lesse, idi kootte nakhaabaluus cheeko, ubbaare wahaas tuumman keene.*

*Kan at toolla elatti diiche, awtaah goya dee saahta 'dee ma iskhabto ti yomboot ka sababu seley a bahta.*

*Gaabi ka wihi nah doonno, lamatiin saggoh ewweenki Rendille a ati, chi' Rendille ijirin, idi kootte etuus yidahu, ebba saahta 'dee intoo gudda cheriatoo husub iche soobahta. 'Dee hugummetiyye atin haaggissaane Saalle ichoow Dubsahay haaggichaan, 'dee kola an ma gardi I'di lasooyadeh, mehe yeessaan ati?*

Saale Special and things like that, as that elder has said, it is people with the shirts who brought this problem.

Tomorrow you will split even within your own moieties in the coming general elections.

In short what we want, if there is no Rendille, as that man has said, everybody will go his way, and new laws will emerge and the traditional customs you do together as Saale and Dubsahay, I don't know how they work, what will you do?

#### SEGELAN

*Alley Moonte koloo a riha one wohoo ilaaba, a riha la. Kootte wohoo kaayyeede, etuus iche laabe menye, ki kootte addan ma liilaabin. Guḍaaso asante, iḍaas at tidah a haaggantehe. Mehe tidahya, ati chirri goorat Kukuton ati kiḍoonin, ati isḍoonissa. Kukuton chirrinki goorat us idooinin, an a ḍondoone, min Wambile leegele. Cha'at rum ḍoonto, enyeti an katoollo alah a Wambile. Min Wambile leegele walah tuumman worsade. Ulla mehe yidah ya, Wambile worso.*

Wait Monte don't rush him, let me answer, for you rushed, and I said something, and that elder replied. I haven't answered the first one. Gudaso thank you what you have said is good. You said if Kukuton does not like me, I make him like me. If Kukuton does not like me, I looked for him; I went into Wambile's house with him. If you want the truth, the person I am blaming is Wambile. I entered Wambile's house with him and asked him everything. But he told me to ask Wambile.



189.jpg: Torare, Hirkeena Segelan, Kana.

(PHOTO: ISIR SCHLEE)

#### MONTE

*Worso?*

Ask?

## SEGELAN

*Aayye alley; Kukuton toolla a yumuy? Koo Ngoyoni maanta mehe worsanna?*  
Wait, is Kukuton not alive today? What do we ask Ngoyoni?

## GUDASO

*Walahba.*  
Nothing.



192.jpg: Gudaso, Barchuma.

(PHOTO: ISIR SCHLEE)

## SEGELAN

*Eti nool la, chubbaha alah fooli haaggane iskawarsana, 'dooda worso. An kalla, wihi an yeedo daganso ya: Kukuton iche idah ma gardi, koloorat nahi kulmane 'dee itusa idah. Ma argine uus goorat kura khaate ma argin. Itusa! A maantoh ya, a maanti us Barsenti soowoye, a garataan? Barsenti us indege soogesse a garataan; Waakh inno 'deyo? Min Wambille leegele mehe worsade ya: ara Kukuton, Lemaratang afi Rendille a daagta bal a lakilaaba? Ati a kijirte bal ma kijirin? Dagansada: afi Rendile a daagta bal a lakilaaba? A daaga yidah. Barsenti laka a fiddiya, asante ilaabne. A daagta? Aa. Eta kootte 'dood' icheeke 'dooda dakkhan a garata? A Dubsahay yidahye yisisil. Reera dakkhane minka kijiro garattaayi minka kijiro? Meza kaldaye dahtenyoye kijirte, ombortane kifiddiya anna tan iche kafiddiya. Nahi Saalle 'dooda goya kijiro a et geeddoh:*

The person who is alive, keep quiet and wait, we are discussing in good faith. I am here, please listen to what I am saying: the first time we were together in

a full quorum, you are saying Kukuton or is it not? I said in that gathering, I don't know Kukuton and I have not seen him since he won the elections and ask you guys to point to him so that I can know him. Barsenti brought him, do you know that? He brought Barsenti on a plane do you know that? I entered with him in Wambile's house, then I asked him, 'Kukuton, my mate, do you speak Rendille or you need an interpreter?' Were you there or not? Listen: Do you speak Rendille or do you need a translator? He said he spoke Rendille. Barsenti was seated. I thanked him. Do you listen? Yes. The person who introduced you said you were all Dubsahay. Kukuton said these and stood up. I asked him if he knew all the people in the house. That time there was only the table between me and him, and we were seated next to each other. I asked him how many Saales are here?

### GUDASO

*Et seyyah.*

Three people.



193.jpg: Dogo, Isir Schlee (with camera).

(PHOTO: BELEYSA HAMBULE)

### SEGELAN

*Nah kootte nah tusa menya nidah? 'Dooða a ðooðaahha garattaayi? Aa. I'ðuu nah yeye. Rumanka dirisha a fahantahe, iðuu nah yeye, ichoowka iðoh yidah: ma gardi yidah. 'Dooða a Saalle gone a ðooðaahha garo giðe, liyidah. Chi waha a Saalle layadeh, serey inyaame. Abtihaaw abugtowin!*

*Mehe yidah ya, wihi Saalle layadeh goorat ani ma idisine, ee cha'an walah*

*’dood’ siicha laka soda siicha, yidah. Far ida isooyidah (pointing finger). ’Deydooche mare. ey bal soolaaba bal yidah. Bal soolaaba.*

*Cha’at rum doonto, ara Kukuton sonokho idah; inta orrommo iidah. Ruman-ka an a Saalle ma kidiso, ma kisooidiso la. Wihi an kiworsadi kalday isoolaab bal: inam Kukutonki goorat kharare on desse, kharare on kasoomo, Kenya massiche, goorat America imaahe a ati ona? worsade.*

*A ani on, yidah.*

*A ati ona?*

*Aa.*

*Ati on Amerikatiiyye at goya soonte, at Kenya ikasooabahte kura a gu’datta, bal ma gu’datti? A gu’ datta, a gu’datta, yidah. Et geeddoh: et tomon, ayyo et tomon magah wahe: usu.*

*Et geeddoh khaatta?*

*A koo on.*

*Kenyati toro at goya ikasoonokhatte la, et geeddoh Kura gu’datta?*

*Iche laka a idaas on.*

*Et geeddoh khaatta?*

*Koo on.*

*Bal ati kura a khaatte, doodi goorat kidisin ma doono a tadeh? I di u’ yahe isoocheek.*

*Ulla chirrinkaase laabe, tan worso yidah (meaning Dubsahay and Moonte). Tan worso tane elattaa – ati alah a kulasantahe alley, walalaw, uram goyaka la worso. Daganso: wahaas a min Wambile.*

*Min Wambile kabahne, chi’ nah min Wambile kabahne ka min eyya gelle: min Hassan. Kalla fiddiya a hande maanta kalla fidiya?*

*Afoh kola liidaagin? Kingereza kaldach iche liidaagin. Toolla inohi isoomin laka, orjaanka la kiswahilihi us kaleeyeyyeede ka, kan fiddiyo (H.T.) mehe yidah: anka katab! Maanta a hande abaayaheey?*

We earlier asked people to show us Lekuton. Do you know all these people? Yes. He looked at us. The window was open and truly it was, he looked at us this way (strange face). He said he doesn’t know. They told him they are Saale and they are your people and know them. Immediately he heard we are Saale, he jumped up, and said all Saale never supported me, and if I have to give people something I will give them soda! And he pointed his finger at us. I looked at him and he said while going round the house, ‘answer me’.

I told him son of Kukuton if you want the truth come back, and sit here (where he was seated before). Truly I am Saale and I did not support you, and will never. But just answer what I ask you: ‘Are you the one who was born in Karare, started his schooling in Karare, completed his education in Kenya and went to America for further studies, is it really you?’ I asked him. He said yes.

*Are you the one? I asked.*

*Yes.*

*The America where you studied, and your country Kenya, do they vote or*

they don't? He said they vote.

And in one place how many winners do you have? And the Kenya you came back to, how many people vie for a seat? He said it is the same as America, they can be ten!

How many win?

One.

Because you are the winner, will you say you don't want those who opposed you? Tell me.

Then he pointed at them (Monte and Dubsahay) and said ask them. Just listen my brothers, we were all there in Wambile's house.

We left Wambile's house and went to Hassan's house. He is seated here in front of me, I did not backbite him.

Which language don't we know these days? It is only English we don't speak. Even those of us who did not go to school, the Kiswahili Hassan talked to him, he told him, 'forget these ones!' Did I now backbite my uncle?



195.jpg: Torare, Hirkeena, Hassan T. Musa, Kana.

(PHOTO: ISIR SCHLEE)

## MONTE

*Aa, goorat, irka ðooda a garatta yidah a ayyo? A koo Sanchir, a ayyo?*

Who asked him if he knew you, who is it the son of Sanchir or who?

## SEGELAN

*Leyaron.*

Leyaron.

MONTE

*Haach.....yeyyeed 'deerka chi' yeed idaas yahe!*

Eeh, carry on talking now!

SEGELAN

*At min ma kijirine, alley bal!*

You were not there, wait!

MONTE

*Ani gon sootolossade, bal gammadi giide a kisoosheeko.*

It was me who came in while you were talking, so let me tell you what happened.



197.jpg: Gayerre Mindaye, Gudaso.

(PHOTO: ISIR SCHLEE)

SEGELAN

*Alleya, ani a kabaho. Ki yeed 'dub gooché intoh kijira: at nebey on maanta yowatta? Nahe is'diidne idaas menya yowatti? 'Diiddo daganso giide: anka katab; anka katab. Anka ayeyin. Ankaah kalla – kan rubeytiissa yidah!*

*'Deydooche 'deerka, kura toro nah daaha, kan rubeytiissa! 'Dey'doonne, ki addan buug yidahye bahe. Ati laka anka katab inidah. Saggaas maanta at ileeyeedde, ee at laka anka katab inidah. Anki kootte at ki addan gate, ankaas gat. Chi' iche makosa tahe, a geeddaas.*



Wait, let me finish. The one who cut our talks short is who: (Pointing to Hassan Turkana) Are you surely looking for peace? We now hate each other, and is that not what you want? Listen to the true hate: forget about that side; forget that side (Moiety). Don't have any hope in that side. Your side is this other one – it is this man himself who said this!

And at the same time he was asking us for votes! As we were watching, then the other man did this to his book and went out. And we answered him, “In the same way you just spoke, you too don't expect any votes from our side.” The side which you advised Kukuton to take just go there too. If it was a mistake, let it be.

**BELEYSA**

*Abiyyo (Segelan), wohoo kiworsada, yeed Kukuton a atin kasoojeycha one toro a geseen menya: Kukuton a gooboh?*

Uncle (Segelan), let me ask you something, I am trying to stop you from discussing about Kukuton but you continue to do it: Which clan is Kukuton?

**SEGELAN**

*Aa Rendille.*

He is Rendille.

**BELEYSA**

*Rendille ka?*

Where in Rendille?

**SEGELAN**

*Norugishu.*

Norugushu

**BELEYSA**

*Norugushu intoh liiekkaacha?*

Where do the Norogishu belong within the Rendille?

**HIRKEENA**

*A Norugishu on gon; iche on liiekkaacha.*

He is just Norugushu and he is counted there.

**MAMA SAFI**

*A idoh rum ma cheektaana? Ee a Nebey!*

Why don't you say the truth? He is Nebey clan!

**BELEYSA**

*Rume taache: aa Nebey. A i 'doh isoo'diidda? Nebeye Saalle menya?*

That is the truth: he is Nebey. Why are you denying? Are Nebey not Saale?

**H.T./GUDASO**

*A Nebeye, aa Saalle uu' inno rum 'diidin.*

He is Nebey and Saale, let us not deviate from the truth.

**BELEYSA**

*Kukuton a Saalle bal a been?*

Is not true that Kukuton is a Saale?

**MAMA SAFI**

*A daagne a garanna.*

We heard it and we know it.



198.jpg: Gudaso, Mama Safi (3rd from left).

(PHOTO: ISIR SCHLEE)

**SEGELAN**

*Inam inantenyo: Kukuton a Neruguchu, Nebey iche diste? A abiyyo eyya tool-  
la?*

The son of our daughter: Kukuton is Norugushu, he married the Nebey? He becomes the uncle of who now?

**BELEYSA**

*Norugushu a belessi bahaya, bal a belessi beri? A keyya?*

Are Norugushu the western or the eastern moiety? Who does he belong to?

SEGELAN

*A koo Kukuton gon.*

He is the son of Kukuton.

BELEYSA

*Belessi beri orran a ayyo, ati menya?*

Who is the western moiety, is it not you?

SEGELAN

*A ani.*

It is me.

BELEYSA

*A ati menya? Inankaahha torro eta kisara?*

It is you? It is your own son that this man has snatched from you?

SEGELAN

*Aa, me'de'ddeel iche leeyahe, eti me'de'ddeel leh ichoow eti et waaye, etoo khaatta weel kayeessa.*

Yes, he is a slanderer, the person who is good at slandering and the person who has no people of his own, he chooses to be a child of other people.

BELEYSA

*Kwa hivyo, usu 'daran, inankiinna 'daran?*

Then do we say your son is weak?

SEGELAN

*Aa inankaanya 'daran.*

Yes my son is weak.

BELEYSA

*Aa inankiinna 'daran. Kaas geeddaas kagoonno 'deerka. Et a kiinna, a Nebeye usla Norugushu a bilassi beri, 'dood kan laka etaas on dise, kolossohoo la a kisare, eti kootte at leeyeeddo haw soomaahicho kan mee. Ati soomaahissa.*

Yes your son is weak. Let us stop that at that. The man is yours, he is Nebey and Norugushu, and from the western moiety, and these other people from the western moiety supported the same man, and the person to make him cross the Lagga is not him but you.

HIRKEENA

*An kootte a soomaahicha usu gon khorojebisi yitah.*

I could have made him cross the Lagga but it is this man who has become a python and is in my way.



199.jpg: Iturrinya Segelan, Moh. Hassan.

(PHOTO: ISIR SCHLEE)

#### MONTE

*Chubbahaya bal baaro!*

Just keep quiet for a moment, my in-laws!

#### BELEYSA

*Koo Kukuton a Norugushu a bilassi beri, a Saale, geeddiis a geeddaas.*

The son of Kukuton is a Norugushu, and from the western moiety, and that is the fact.

#### MONTE

*Leyye waha bilal leessi sarta maanta a kijirta? Ooyo dahanta a dahantoh, chi' lakuune, irka dahan a liiune iche tadeh. Dahanta gurro bal kudakka iyey. Wahaas sarti ooyo menya? Waha bilal leessi a wahaas one chubbaha ya! Wahaas wohoo miige menye, bal reera aranka ortiis latolossati, reer deerka eliis kalla. Yera ela bal, kootte alah mehe idahya, iro iswarso. Reera bal mujumbeyyoha noole lakhabo, koh goobab irta?*

Guys this thing called moieties, is visible on our bodies? The owner knows which hand it is, if one hand is pierced, you say my hand is pierced. You ask someone to check the left hand and remove the thorn. Is that hand not a part of the body? This thing called moiety is the same, and please listen! This is difficult to understand, these guys who say this man is blocking my way, this where they went wrong. I said earlier on, go and ask yourselves. I ask these men: all the members of parliament all over, which one goes to villages to make barazas?

#### HIRKEENA

*Abti, mujumbeyyo tol a bahchaane, kan ati min goya leegesse toliissa waaye.*  
Uncle, members of parliament make public barazas but this one you hid in a house, and he cannot make it.

#### MONTE

*Tol maanti u' jire a atin lawahe, a ðiiddéen.*  
The day there was a meeting, you were called but you refused to attend.

#### SEGELAN

*Ayta kaldach iche Guðaaaso ilaaba: Guðaaaso waha kaldach on abo; kootte mehe tidah ya, 'haw soomaawe et khaat', iche tidah. Waha on ikaabo: an Kukuton ma sooyowdi, intaka ma amiite ma khaato. Chirrii us iyimiy la ma ðiido.*  
I want to ask Gudaso just one thing: Gudaso, be aware of one thing; earlier on you told me to cross the lugga and take the man. Just learn this from me: I will not look for Kukuton, and will not come and take him. But if he comes to me I will not refuse him.

#### HASSAN T.

*Chu'us yimiy a'idiidin.*  
If he comes to you don't refuse him.

#### SEGELAN

*Chu'us yimiyye isooyowte, ma ðiido, maan an ðiideba mele. Chi' Hassan sooraawe a riha. Ommollaka etoo Dubsahaye sooraawe, a soorihna.*  
If he comes to me, I will not refuse to accept him, and there was no one time I refused him. But if Hassan comes with him, or any other person who is a Dubsahay comes with him, we will not accept him.

#### HASSAN T.

*Ma sooraahno atin on asoorihina.*  
We shall not come with him so don't reject him.

#### GALMAGALEH

*Chele maanti Kukuton Nebey goya irte, Iltiinga khaate Nebey goya irte, goob Fooffeen eta a worsate, inam toolla goob geeddoh eta ilaabne: Norogushu, et a Nebey. Jenteti atin i ðiidaanu et Nebey mee ielatta.*  
Recently when Kukuton went to Nebey village, Iltiinga took him there, and the Fofen clan asked him, how many clans did we say Kukuton belongs to: Norogushu, the man is Nebey. Just because you hate him why do you say he is not Nebey.

## TORARE

*Nebeye Saalle ma disatti gone.*  
Nebey clan do not marry Saale.

## GALMAGALEH

*Intaakka Nebeye mehe itidahya, 'ntuutu inkannache gooba kiin menya? Ayyo hawta asoomaahin kiidah?'*

There Nebey told him, "You silly man, is this not your clan? Who told you not to cross this Lagga?"

## SEGELAN

*Nkaabiyo, yeedaas ka mee.*

My nephew, it is not that referring to that talk.

## GALMAGALEH

*Ejji iidaas menya? Goob a lakirtirte a garanna. Ombortiiis gaari goya lakasoo-bahche, iidaanu fiddiya, a garanna goobab. Goobab affarcho magah lawahe: Matarbah, Nahgaan, Rengumo, Dubsaha. Wihi hawta asoomaahin kiidah alah a garanna.*

*Ulla chu' tolossate mehe yidahya, 'atin a walaalinyetaaya. Eta yeya Ittinga; chele maanti an kura isooissil, a idisa, chaamatoo kaldach iche kijirra? Chilimmeti campaign a kisiiche bal ma kisiin?'*

*'A isiisse, 'yidah.*

*'Idisyey, mele, a walaalaaya. Jenteti walaalaaya kisiiche. An toolla laka weyli Rendille ortey leeyamiit tuumman, goobab kasonokhda ya; goobab hawta asoomaahin ma iyadeehiin. Eti haw soomaahnaan itirte a ati. Etoo goorat ki Korteenye, kaahenye ween, u' yeedo mehe yadeehya, ee an cha'an Garawahle arge, Kukuton arge, lahawi risaassi kabariiticha. Nabahtaaya isidaagte.*

*'Ki lamaatteet, a wihi nah Nebeyti atin nah isoolaabtaan kaayyeeno. Ki lamaatteet, ee nakhaaballeti lihenye, idi orgeyi riyootu daballe liihaadine, dabbal sooloo'do, Kukuton maalinki nool fasso, iche jirta. goobassaha atin elattaan la kura daaha, an et ani iimiy mele, kura daah imiyye, maanti an daahekala, dahantoo kaldach ma ikakhabanne dahano lamacho ikakhabteen. Ati la an ma kidiido, eti ortey yimiy tuumman weyli enenyete an diido ma jiro. Eti ortey yimiy tuumman a etaaya, eti gargaar daah yimiy etoo kaldache Rendilleenye an igargaarin ma jirto.*

*'Wihiyye hawta soomaahit itirte, ee a ingeeddaas. Lamacho haaggicha 'dee haw a soomaaho, 'dee a atin iimaate.' A maanti chele inno kura soogudubno.*

You say it is not like that? They said, "We know you blocked to come to this village." They brought his chair from the car, and I was seated there. They said, "We know the villages," and the four villages were mentioned: Matarbah, Nahgan, Rengumo, Dubsahay, "We know who told you not to cross this Lagga."

And when he stood up he said, “You are my brothers. Look at this man called Ltiinga; he asked me for support and we were not in the same party and did I not give you the money for the campaign?”

“Yes, you gave me,” he said.

“Whether he supports me or not, because he is my brother, I gave him because he is my brother. Any Rendille who comes before me for support, I do help and on the issue of not crossing the Lagga, stop blaming these clans. It is you who have made me not cross the Lagga. There was one person who is from these Korr, who said if I see Garawahle and Kukuton I will greet them with a live bullet. This I heard with my own ears.

Let’s talk about the Nebey that you are blaming me for. Secondly, there are six long bearded men who looked like he goats, with long unshaven beards, busy cursing Kukuton. But these clans you are talking about, I came to ask for votes and these clans you are talking about did support me fully and with both hands. Also you, I don’t hate you. Any person who comes before me I don’t hate anyone. Anyone who comes to me is mine, and will give help to any Rendille who came to ask me.

“What made me not to cross the Lagga is that. You solve those two issues and I will cross the Lagga, and I will come to you.” That is the time we were close to elections.

#### TORARE

*Gaal Rendille, goobi isdisti a Rengumo kaldach. Saggi us Saalle iyahe toro Saalle idisti, kaas a been. Nakhaabal a Norugushu on.*

In the Rendille community the clan that marry each other is the Rengumo only. There is no way he is a Saale and marries a Saale, that is a lie. The man (Kukuton) is Norugushu.

#### BELEYSA

*Saallehoh diste?*

Who in Saale did he marry?

#### MAMA SAFI

*Iri kura daaha kidiiddaan menya, iri a Nebeye?*

You may hate him because he is asking for votes, but he is surely a Nebey!

#### TORARE

*Mbaambahiis Goob Orre diste, kwa hivyo aram a eysinkaanya. Ki lamaatteet, maanti goorat Kukuton .... Ati goorat Mary raahte, goob Maacchaan iche diide, ichoowka hol, atinhi gaarihaas goya kijirteen. Kukuton uus inno weyti usu laka suujoon korkorin. Yeedaas leessi ichoow magah awihina at elati, ati illeh, us suujoon ma khaboba Maacchaan walaalaah menya? At ma diidina? Haki ma kakhabo?*

His Father married Goob Orre, so the man is our Nephew. Secondly, before Kukuton, you supported Mary Ngoyoni, the Machaan family disagreed; fight nearly broke out in that vehicle. Let us not just blame Kukuton. These things that we are not mentioning and is Machaan not your brother, and did you not reject him? And do I have no rights?

**HASSAN T.**

*Intaas iiran.*

Don't go that far.

**BELEYSA**

*kola a riirteene ani atin worsada; Tooraare ati gootat Kukuton a 'diidde, wihi at Kukuton at ka'darraawte ati kabiingite soocheek, chi'iche Saalle ieheyane at walaalaah iraaHin?*

Now you are all shouting and it is me to ask you; Torare you opposed Kukuton, tell us what reasons can you give to justify these?

**TORARE**

*Wihi an kibiinge, usu eti lasoobahsate I 'di etiye takhsi sido. Usuha yeedi arankoo raaho ejji gooba lahaawe lakaagana iiran! I 'doh liigane, liisowine, 'dee yaafe 'deerka 'a irte maantoo lagane, Waakh soobahche issi bukhurcha kasookhaduudiche,' idagiin. Yeedi etoo raaha. Kukuton a eti some, walah geeddi iche iitaahan on, a kiyeela 'dabbale ororoo.... Kaas a been. Chirri us Saalle 'doono weyli enenyet nabah ma isudo iiran liidoweyeyka laka usu a mjumbe.*

*I 'di kootte aaddateey tidahu, chirriiyye 'deerka chilimme hay siyyeekka ieleelin, Idoh ikasootolosanne, indo ka laka iargin? Haya, idangaso: goobi nah intaka iskhuchinno a Goob orre. Kukuton goya a jire, ewweenki goobaas gooba goya iro a iyidah. Amehe 'diidiche? Nah mee 'diidne. Inam chu'us ki'doonin idoh layadeh?*

Why I opposed is that he is the elected head with lots of responsibility. And he follows the advice of only one person, and he is told you will get shot if you go to this manyatta! Why has he not been shot to date, or an attempt to do so was never heard. Kukuton is an educated person and he is following the advice man, and the issues of the cursing old bearded old men are not true. And if he hates Saale or advised to do so, he is supposed not to listen to this but instead he is supposed to serve all as an elected member representing all.

As earlier on my aunt has said, if for the eight months the money was not enough, why didn't he even come and visit the place? Please listen to me: the village we neighbour here is Goob Orre. Kukuton was there one time, and the elders advised him to visit us. Why did he not go? It is not us who hate him. If your son does not like you, what should you do?



BELEYSA

*Usu atin diide atin ma diidin?*

So it is him who doesn't like you, but you like him?

TORARE

*Injire Saalle goya a yimiyye, nyaam iro ma kidoonno a liiyidah?*

Torar: Is there any one day he came to Saale Manyatta and he was told to go away because they did not like him?

HIRKEENA

*Kukuton injire kura ma idaaahin.*

Kukuton never asked me to vote for him.

BELEYSA

*Wihi at Engineer karaahte la, ommollaka at kijilhaatte?*

And why did you vote for Engineer?

TORARE

*Wihi an kajilhaade Injiniya chirri kootte rum layeyyeedo laka, gaal Rendille dakkhan a iirte kura a daahe. Chi' us soonnaan tahe, dirihiis la a soome, chi' rum layeyyeeddo. Ki addan, bal goobi us igeline us kura idaaahin a koh? An deerka gooba kuus ladaaho koo la ladiido, iche raaha ani eti idaahe, ani a isororicha 'kaale a kisiicho' idowa?*

Why I liked Engineer is because if we have to talk the truth, he went to all the Rendille and asked for votes. And if it is education he is educated, he is educated more than Kukuton. The other reason is, did he not go to all the villages and seek for votes? I cannot sell myself to a candidate who does not like me, and bow down to him asking him to come for me.

BELEYSA

*Barchuma ati mehe karaahte?*

Barchuma, why did you support Harugura (Engineer)?

BARCHUMA

*Ani wihi an kijilhaade, Injiniya district-hi Haldaayane Injiniya eheneet. Barabarayyo ichow ilkaassihii us haaggiche, ani kaldach menye, Booraanto lakhabaayi, jilhaanne. Inta tuumman barabarayyoha tuumman usu haaggiche, enenyet ichihiro kan a kaanya wahaas ikhabin, a kajilhaade.*

*Ki lamaatteet, been ma khabo. Ma khabo, toro a soome, toro a eti ilkaassi elewo.*

Why I like Harugura is that when he was the person in charge of roads in Marsabit district, all the roads in the district were worked on so well, and it was not only me who liked his job, all the district including the Borana liked him.

He worked on all the roads in the district and employed all the staff without prejudice, and I liked him for that too.

Secondly, he does not lie. He does not lie and he is educated and knows his job so well.

#### BELEYSA

*Kukuton la mehe kaðarraawte?*

And why did you oppose Kukuton?

#### BARCHUMA

*Kaas wihi an kiðiiðe la a jiraan. Wihi kolooraate ba an kura iguðde an kaarge, nakhaaballeta laka immarah on ilallaaabna, isinonnokhatta. Kaas iche laka ma idow ba baahatte! Garanwaayyo kijirteey, laðarraawyeey kuukkaba, gu-ruubiiyye kukuton anti ???iti Bungeenye jira – walah tummamba anti, 'dooð argintiis laka. Nakhaaballeta wihicho tuummanka laka, waha maanta intuus liiran tuumman, C.D.F, walah tuumman khabto, 'dooði wahas tuumman Kukuton leebaabicho jira.*

*Ki lamaatteet, Kukuton iðaaas ichoow iðaaase yeela, toro ankhaataan; a been kaas ðeerka.*

*Ki seyyahnaatteet, weyti ulooda intooka. Weyti. Intala atine atin yeyta; atin tuumman; i ði biriikhiyye kootte chaayi inno tuumman danne, chirri wohoo kijiraan, inno tuumman a inno khaataan. Kura chele hay saagaal ka bal tomon menya kura kifiddiye? Hay tomone a buura? Hay tomon goyaka 'dooðiiyye constituency-hiiyye Laisamis ieheynane kura guðde a alif chan – kud affar kaldach iche goya ikajirin, ommollaka kud lih. Constituency-ta ma kiimaatan. An toolla mehe arga ya, 'dee saahta chirriiyye guu chanta goyaka chi' kolosohoo kura kol affar, kol chan illeh lagoocho, saahta nakhaaballeta ???wa a wohoo nunnucchule, saahta a isessa, nakhaaballeta wihi iche hol leedowte iche haaggisse – tan toolla inno leefiddiino, a Waakh gargaaro – ichoowka maantoo atin koo kaldach titaahen. Waha toolla a wohoo nucchul toolla.*

*Chi' Waakh atin leegargaare atin haaggiseen, 'dee saahta chirri iðaaruu marah laka atin massiseen, abiyyoheeyka Saalle meeke icho inankane khaba, i ði chele Ngoyoni 'ðeerka iyookkoka: inankane kura iguðubna iyookkoka atin tidaahen, iskhabatteey laka kura ma 'hessaan.*

There was a reason why I did not support Kukuton. The first reason is that, these two elders too are themselves fighting for nothing and blaming each other. These blames are far away from them. I don't know if it is ignorance that makes it so, but it is a pity it is far away from them. He belittles all of us, have you seen a member of parliament representing people, and you really don't see him? And why people don't want to go to him is that the C.D.F. the (Constituency Development Fund) that has everything. Kukuton is being advised so wrongly.

The second one is that Kukuton promises things that he does not fulfil, and that is to say he lies all the time. The third one is like the tea we took all of

us, and if there was poison in it we could all die at one time. Kukuton was on the seat for only eight months or nine months and in those months the registered voters who were not originally from Laisamis constituency, and voted in Laisamis were about five thousand – just five hundred less. All of them are not from this constituency. After the next five years more registration of voters will be done more than four or five times this old men. Your differences is something so small, you will very soon compromise among yourselves. My fear is, even if you agreed on one candidate in future, like Ngoyoni, you will still not win.

#### BELEYSA

*Gaal Rendille a baabe.*

The Rendille community will disappear.

#### GAYERE

*An 'deerka intoo rucchul iche leeamiit: by-elections-hiyye Mary tolossatte, mehe liidahya, Mary ilmo hiyyaayno, 'dee chi'iche gu'ha kaldach sahaniha tuhum, koo Maacchaan yeyno.*

*Maacchaan rumanka kura a 'doone, 'doo'di goorat Mary sootoolliche, iche on goorat idaas yidah. Ilturiyaha illeh laka meel kijiraan.*

*Yeedad lawoye ichoowka injiniya Maacchaan lakakucche. Teey gaabika, Kukuton mee jilhaade: Kukutone bilassi bahay disa an bilassaas on raaha. Kuus laka walahbaaw us yahe ka injinia faidatiis ma yeyine, inti bilassi bahay disso on dise, jenteti wihi goorat,*

For me I want to say something little: during the time of by-elections which Mary Ngoyoni stood, people said let us give her sympathy votes and then after one year, then we consider Machaan.

Machaan truly wanted to vie for it, and the same people who asked Mary to vie are the ones who said these. Also Ilturunya was there.

But later when the time came, Engineer was taken and Machaan dropped. In short, I did not like Kukuton. Kukuton was supported by the western moiety and I followed that moiety's side. I did not consider Engineer at all but because of issues, which were there.

#### MONTE

*Chubbaha ya atinhi addan! Leyye, yeeda inno yeyyeeno, iranna a deeraanne il a ibeennowe. Waha Kukuton atin elattaa, ee Kukuton walah us inno kuusku-laache mele, uskeel a inno on; uskeel a inno on. Eji at Kukuton a iorrommatte idi eti luhlo hidanu, Kukutonhi lakikeeno sugta? Ani la, ani gon isiissee, usuhiiyye haw soomaaho tirda. Idaakka toolla uskeel etoo addan a khaba? Inno on inno yeya.*

*Wahaas tuumman kasootabno. Wihi kute a kuteen. Looyyoti cheleti diri naf lama naf seyyah chan, kasoo'hadde toolla a is'hosse. Maanti goorat iche 'dood*

*tuhum la 'dood a gaameerte, toolla toro a la'hole a la'hele. Jiro yombo on jirta menye, ti kutte faida mele, mis kajiryeyey, 'hoole kajirteey, a Waakh inno lagti iche a ti kutte.*

*Kaaleya: gaala, maanti goorat us sohte us hugum khar'dabte ichoowka hugum il yissil, inta on yiil. doodi dakhti la kan on eheet. Tola walah us khabo mele, tola idi goorat liiyeyeede, lakawoye, eti ideenye mujumbee, hugume lakayeeraarooche, oorar 'dood ibaange, wihi leessi mee.*

*Wihi ani ichoow eta goya kijirre ka, kan fiddiyo, intaas irte Rendille kharidd abte, maanta wihi u' delo a laarge. A lasoowoye hugum laka 'diiche, wihi 'daar laa agarteen. Tolola wihi 'daar laa a mehe: idi maanta gaalaas oor laa. Injire gaal Rendille ida ma lakaargin.*

*Ki addan, mehe gaal soojeycha? Oot ma daago, taf ma daago, intuuuntu menye ooyenye alah a tan. Waha gir'daam kasootabno. Aram, ee, yeeda kootte eta koo Sanchiir yidah, a isootolossade, haayich! Hirkeeno, eydo kan a atin a?*

*'Eydo at reera a garatta?'*

*'Mele'*

*'Deerka reer isgarcha Sunguron,' yidah. 'Eydo reeraas abo', iche idahye atin kabahe. Ma atin isoonokhan. 'haye, wahaas dakkhamba, ee suujoon goya yabattaane, toro, leyye ilkimaytahi chele atin tuumman disseene nahoo rucchul koo Sas disne, atihoo rucchule koo Kochale leejirte, goboo a irte? Wohoo goobenye irte? Etoo orran woriis a yaham? Etoo uuuka?*

*Chubbah 'deerka. Tol laka, tol maanta chi' liibihin, etoo abihin yadeh ati ka? Et yadeh mele, il a ibeennowe, hoola lasoolaabta gon. Inta ma bariitaan.*

*Wihi kute a kuteen. Sirgaal laka a huleesnowe, a khasaare, usu atin ma haaggissaane Waakh ichoow usu ishaaggicha, uluba la foga jirta inno ka. Sina-taas chi' iche foga jirto, a taal. Ti sirgaalaas laka, waha orran intaka atin kahosso, waha orran a indigir. Ila dakkhane baabe.*

*Wihi atin yeessaan a inno walah isilallaabin. Il taabota khabto mele, nabah dakkhan la bicche on 'diidda, nyaama, ee, saggi liisohti isohanni.*

*Chiri maanta, chirri kura lagu'ddo Saalle eti addan sootolossati dakkhan kagowe liiargo, ya, dib menya? Chirri kurati ladiso dakkhan Saalle i 'di wihiiyye segenge lakagooche yateh, Rendille orran ma argo? 'Doodi addan la ma argo, kura la'helyeey ichoow kuukkaba? An orran wihi an biingo a wahaas.*

*Chubbaha ya: ayeedina alah. Wihi an orran biingo a wahaas. Gaasoo la ma sooadeh. Nyaama ballaaddi a 'dullo. Chi' inno ballaaddi 'dulle, ilkaassi dakkhan a nabuud. Ki lamaatteet, mede'deela la 'diicha. Kan ilmarhaatteet la katabno, hulees a inno khabte, huleeseen a nimaate hol a leedowno.*

**Keep quiet and listen to me! Guys, we have taken too long in this discussion, and it is getting late. This man you call Kukuton, Kukuton have done nothing wrong against us, we ourselves are wrong. The problem is us. You have sat down for Kukuton like a person with no legs, both legs tied together, and you are waiting Kukuton to be brought to you? And if it as that way who is wrong,**

the hatred is within us, let us look at ourselves, let us leave all. I, because you have mentioned me, blocked him from crossing the Lagga. In that case it is not any other person but us who are in the wrong.

Let us leave all this behind. What has passed has gone. The cattle which survived the drought, if they were four or five, now they have multiplied. That time the drought was severe, but now the numbers have grown again, and the future is promising. The past would not help us today, whether it was time of plenty or drought, may God help us, it is a past thing.

These Rendille people, when they trodded on and neglected their own customs, and put it aside, we are just those same people. And now they have nothing, and the way people talked and were followed, so somebody like that Member of Parliament people separated his leadership from the customary traditions.

And it is not an hearsay but what me and these guy witnessed, these guy seated, (pointing at Hirkeena) they went there and stepped on Rendille, we have seen the results of that. The Rendille community has never seen anything like this before, this is completely new. And what is this new thing: It is like the camel herd without a bull leader. This has never happened to the Rendille in the past.

So what can keep these camels together? Fence cannot do it, neither does the firewood place hold the firewood together. Remember we are the people to deal with this. Let us stop these jokes, these issue raised by Sanchir, I was present and heard it, and I said, 'hi, Hirkeena, are these you?'

'Do you know these people?'

'No, I don't.'

And so Sunguron told them to introduce themselves to the man. I told him to know these men and I left you there and went away, and I never came back. All these time you are stepping on the wrong path, but the late MP, who you all supported except few of us supported Lesas and few of you supported Kochale, did this MP go to any *manyatta*? Did he go to any *manyatta*? Does anyone talk about it? Is anyone jealous?

Now listen: if a *baraza* has not been called for, is someone behind it? No, no one is against it, and so it is getting late and we need to attend to our evening chores. We are not staying here all night.

What has passed has passed, even the government is heavily laden and not settled, and is not fully in control. You cannot help it, it is only God and the system itself that help it. But this problem has not yet reached us. This problem is still far away from us so let us leave it there. The government normally gives you security, and all these and many benefit we use to get from the state is lacking. Let us not blame each other. No other place has such a problem, so let us start living as we are supposed to live.

For all the time elections are around, any other person who is not a Saale is side-lined, and I always see these; is it not a serious problems? Don't we see

that Saale are divided from the rest all the time? Is this not seen by all? This is what I oppose all the time.

Keep quiet and let me speak out. That is what I normally oppose. And I will not say some in this forum. Let's unite and move united. If we stay united, we can achieve everything. Secondly, stop this backbiting. Let us not waste time on this nonsense, we have a work to do, let us deal with it.

#### BARCHUMA

*Intoo nucchul torro: wihi toolla Kukuton kura ka'helo a 'helo a keennaa. Wihi inchenka kootte inno doonno, isworsanni a wahno a yeello.*

Something small I add: what makes Kukuton to win? And let him win for he is ours too. What we really want is to call him and raise these issues with him.

#### SEGELAN

*Eydo chirri kootte ani yeeda inta ma imalin an kiidah, lumfar a gelisse ichoowka sookhaatte, ichoowka inno kiibeennoosse. Mehe, a iskasohane gon. Chirri dee oorar chirri iche isiyimaateen deerka, meel on isleemarmaane ichoowka il ibeennowa.*

*Yeed iskagoonno gaabinno. Kukuton la Barchuma, nah ma wahno, ma wahno, goobenyo la ma geenno. Chu'us keley yamiit a yimaate. Yimiyyeey, ma imaataneey, reeriiski orran us leefiddiyo on a leefiddiyo. Chu'us yimiy la a yimiy.* My age mate (Monte), when I said earlier that this discussion is not for this forum, you have put your hands into the hole and you have pulled it back, and you are still on it until it is late now. When the bulls meet they will obviously challenge each other, until the night will fall.

Let us cut it short. Barchuma, we shall not call Kukuton, we shall not ask him to come to us. If he wants he can come on his own will. Let him come if he wishes and if he doesn't come, let him be with those he has always been. But if he came, that is still fine.

#### BELEYSA

*Koo Kukuton intuus assil; ki gaal Rendille i doh tadeehiin? Ati ichoow Moonte mehe tadeehiin?*

Leave Kukuton aside; what do you do with the other Rendille issues?

#### SEGELAN

*Kaas dahan a kakhabna.*

That one is in our own hands.

#### BELEYSA

*Kaas dahan a khabta? Ati wihi toolla Barchuma yidah a daagte? Mehe yidah?* You have that in your hands? Did you hear what Barchuma has just said? What did he say?

SEGELAN

*'Deerka a yidah.*

Yes he said what he said.

BARCHUMA

*Ayta at tidah ka, ichoow idaas maanta at tidah ma isiyamiitiin – a Hali Sirwa ichoow toro Hali Barreh. Intiiyye Balah, a awtaahha, kaas dii yeer a eheetti. Intaas laka 'nyaame baataas iro a lakiigaase' laka ma jirin. Inta kootte ani idah balladdihiinkiiyye inno darraawno, doode inkoo aram leeyeedo inno chirri awteenu inno darraawne, inno isworsanni, inno awteenu dee wahno.*

The point you just said and what you have just said don't agree – they are far apart as Halisurwa is to Hali Barreh. Regarding Ballah, that is your personal matter to deal with. About the unity which I spoke about earlier, let us discuss it ourselves, and then we call him.

MONTE

*Afeen koo kaldach yateehiine, chi doodoo baabul woyo, dee inno ma abanna? Chubbaha gon idah ichoowka kurata a kutto, inno mee dee Saalle on iumhan.*

We are in agreement, but if some others are leading us badly, shall we not perish? Yes, I said we should keep quiet until the elections are over, not us but is only Saale who will not eat up.

BELEYSA

*Waha gaasoo lamatiinna kaayyeeddaan, iche tidaaheen. Ki gaal Rendille, chi lamatiin on koo titaahen, enenyet ki addan tuummaan dee koo on yateh menya nidah? atin a isitamiitiin?*

Some of these issues you said are to be discussed by you two. If you two unite the rest of the Rendille will all unite, is that what you said? Will you two unite?

SEGELAN

*Maanti hugunki gaal Rendille yitah, a isisoobahna.*

When our traditional customary rituals are done we shall be together.

BELEYSA

*Hugunka husube toolla baa seley bahchela?*

What about these new rules that caused us to disagree?

SEGELAN

*Kan dooda on haaggicha ommolla suujoocha. Wih laworsate, koo a hugunki Rendille, anna mehe idahya, kaas meessiis a garanna keley on isinamiit. Tool-la laka nah ma isdiidno ba, at laka toolla hooyi nah kaayyeeno a garta, af a isbujne etoo enenyetoo, koo a hollowa?*

This one can only be corrected by these people and it is only they who can also destroy it. What was asked, one is the Rendille customary practice, and I said that part we know its limits and we shall automatically come together. And even now we don't hate each other, even you can hear our tones in the conversation and see that it is peaceful, is there any person here who is annoyed with another one?

**BELEYSA**

*Mele.*

No.

**SEGELAN**

*Waha on jira: ki gaal Rendille, us a ki gaal Rendille, us meel on yaal; usu ibeene khaba. Kan husube toolla Rendille iyimiy, maantoo addane guwassohoo ma gardi, intaka goya ma isworsanni. Gaala seley baabakki an Balah koorronde ichoowka Guḍaaso ikawaayte, ee kura leh. Kura la a lakhaate, kura chi' lakhaate, ooyo a khabta bal? A khabta, reeme la a lama bal a too kaldach? Bas, ooyohaas menya toolla suujoon us nah ikayimiy? A iskiinaafna, ani ichoow Moonte a iskiinaafna, chirriyye nah iskiinaafno, a yimaate il a haaggicho.*

The fact is: the Rendille customs are obvious and are laid out; it has its calendar. This new one which has come to the Rendille, I don't know another day or some other years, but we cannot discuss it now. The separation which made me stay in Ballah until Gudaso noticed my absence, is caused by the elections. Elections are over and the winner is one only. We shall never have two winners, it has one owner, and it is that owner that me and Monte want to get closer to and end up in conflict, so it is his responsibility to come and settle our differences.

**MAMA SAFI**

*Ani laka wohoo ma laabeey?*

Can I respond and contribute?

**BELEYSA**

*A laabta Mama Safi.*

You will respond Mama Safi.

**MAMA SAFI**

*Ani wohoo nucchul on laaba. An chirri kootte ani inta imiyye foolassihii 'dooda tuumman arge, uureey ka a nahe toro a hamaade. Uus goorat 'dooda seley gowe, annaka baatuus ma iran. Toro, wihiiyye an daddaago il goyaka daddaago, an tawonnetaka daago, 'dooda alah anka a hollowe, uus maanti kura la-waaye a lahollowe, 'deerka et inta soodaaro mele. Rumanka inti baaheey ka*



*laka an dooða ma argin. Kutoka kura massatte, kura ukkuriche on ka, ee inti baa ka laka an dooða ma argin. Reera Saalle orran a kastomataaya, ma argin. 'Deerka uureey ka kolossohoo mehe idahya, kura menya lawaaye? Toro mehe idahya, dooð a hollowe ichoowka seley ta'he.*

*Toolla la chirrinkiiyye an imiyye an abaayaheeykuus arge, ilbarrootiha Hirkeena, oorar tuumman a arge. Sagbaaw orrankate dee, geey baidda dee geeyo, uskulaasso la kajirto, dooðoo huleese iche arge. Abaayyaheeyka ichoow, ee abaayyaheeyka lamache la walah addane iche tagiis la mele. 'Dooða la sarka geeya kuyan on arga, bina kijira essa. Geey la bina ma khabin. Etoo nucchul la kola nguvu a khaba? Harrabka laka, kol affar tuumanba dooða dubicho, at dubicho sooraachte, a agaafatte, ichoowka islabuja. Toollaka goobi Saalle mehe yadehya, nakhaabal kenyo mee. Nah la mehe nadeh ya, nakhaabal kenyo mee. Nakhaabala chirri layeyo, dubiis a Saalle, anki us kayamiit a Norugisho.*

*Waha Kura leessi, kooba goobiissa khaba. Koorrotan orran a Koorro leessi, too keley fiddiito mele: ki Gaaldeylane, ki Saallee, Bisigishu toolla idaas. 'Deerka iche tuumman, il dakkhan a idaas.*

*'Deerka asante atin ilaaba, mejel dakkhan a arge, fooliis a arge a hamaade. Chirri atin doodeenka laka isdaagteen, nah laka saggi nah isohanni a khabana. Nahi toolla walah 'helle goorat Kukuton disne, nahaas iche toolla toro af waayne, Kukuton mee. 'Dooðan la uluba hol iche khaba, us ma nokhti. Nah la a burdowne, a hamaane toro burdowne. Haayich, dooðeenkuus ???and ma inno doono, dooðeenka ma inno doono.*

*'Deerka toolla la, saggi inno koo kaldach inah, walah laka chirri kootte layeelo laka, wihi mujumbeyyohi Rendille laka'helo la ani ma gardi. Chirriiyye wohoo idi sibtaalletaas on menyaay; iche menya maana khabo? Ichooow i di wihi iskuule. Wohoo addan maana a khabaaney? Chirrinki etoo liioogo, maana a khaba? Wahaas menya deerka rume?*

*Wahaas la kootte chirriiyye liidage, dooði kootte orey wihi idaase liikucho a dooði walah kawaaye. Idaas menya?*

*Chirri kootte isladaago, dooði goorat ilbuul labolkhiche mee toro orronti usu on toro keley yahame ommollaka dahammooti. U' laka koo fogaate kichee, iche waha saggaas gon mujjume; dee enenyet koo kaldach yateh. Toolla la walaalinyeteenta, kootte inno daagte ka, ommollaka dooða la alah, inno enenyet kayeelanni inno weyweyno laka alah, kola enenyet mee lasooyuubicho. Wohoo on lasookkhicha. ???gooya a deefa ebelhoh deefa, gaal Rendille ommolla geedda dooð geecha, layadeh laka kola ma lakhabo. Incheenka a kaanya ichoow chilinkoor deerka, latakha deerka meel mehe layeela: lagessa, walhbaw us kayateh ka.*

*Wahaase deerka sina dakkhan kharkharradiche ichoowka liiseleelinwaaye.*

*Ki lamaatteet, inanka wohoo cheeke: mehe yidah ya, dooðiyye goorat, ki meesseen ieheynane toolla inno lakasoochibe. A buur, rumanka la a buur. Rendille la a koo rucchul.*

*Walaalinyeteentoo toolla goorat intaka inno a Koorro elanni, inta a kakhaatte*

*kola la a atin kahataatte. Geedda iche atin kijirta, chi' geedda rucchul toro atin dahano isikhabanne, 'deerka isliikhaban, a kawaaytaane ichoowka laan orrommataan, saggi an iargo ka.*

*Sababu bicche buur iche 'dood kakhaataan. Bicche buur menya: chi' icho sooballaasateen, enenyet ma khaataana? 'dood la a ballaasate gon. 'dood na-faas Rendille a ka'hele gon. Kola, ???erege idaas. Mehe yidaheen ya, nguvu.*

*Maantoo an daage mehe yidahya, nah ichoow Rendille a isisoobahna. Rendille geeddi deer iche kafiddiye nah ombor ma khabno ba, nah ma sooto-lossanni, nguvunye isyeyna.*

*'Deerka nguvu ma inno layeyinaay? Geeddi 'deerka toolla inno nahe inno yeyteen.*

*Toollaka asante sana, chirri ani Hirkeena, abaayyahaaya, ichoow inanki toolla inta fiddiye: asante sana. Inno dakkhan rumanka wihi hooloolo, uus inno hooloolotoo kaldach 'dab ichoow bicche kakhabin. Isfurro, 'deerka saggi weyli enenyet, inno a walaalinye, isleefiddiino.*

I am going to say just a few things. When I first came here and saw the faces of all these people, I was frightened and was also delighted in a way. Since this people separated after elections, I too never visited this other manyattas. But what I hear in whispers in Korr town, these other people (eastern moiety) are not happy since they lost the elections, and since then they have stopped coming to Korr centre. I have not seen them at my bar for a long time. Since the just concluded general elections I have not seen them. These Saale are normally my customers in my bar, and since then I have not seen them. And I thought maybe it is because they lost elections, and they were not happy about the results.

But when I saw that uncle of mine and I saw Hirkeena, and so I saw all the political bulls seated together at one table. All who were fighting and caused the separation were today seated together, I saw very heavy and important people. Both uncles (Monte) and (Segelan) have not caused murder, but the other people see a green and dark tree and they suspect a wild animal is hiding in it. But there was nothing hiding in the tree. Is there anyone nowadays with strength? It is four times that we have supported the eastern moiety, that we can no longer agree, till we separated. So the Saale say Kukuton is not from their clan. And we also say he is not ours. But if we seriously look at him, he originates from Saale but he is a Norugushu.

This thing called election everyone has their own clan. These Samburu people here, each one is identified with a Rendille clan. Some are Gaal'deylan are Saale etc. Even the Bisigishu is like that. All of them are like that.

I thank you all, I have seen all the men, seen their faces and I am happy. If you unite like now, then we have a clear direction to move. Those of us who supported Kukuton and won are the ones who have no mouth today, it is not Kukuton. And our other brothers are still not happy with the result and will not retreat. But we won and we were happy, but soon we begun to have fear. Truly, these other people of ours don't like us, they don't like us.

I really don't see what benefit people get from members of parliament in the Rendille. May be things like that dispensary, or building of schools. Other things like hand-outs are not important. And truly if you will agree with me, the first people to be considered should be those who lost. Is it not so?

It is not right if those who are doing the roasting to serve themselves first. They should invite their brothers out there in the cold, that should be the right thing if people want to genuinely unite. But this days it is true that some people we elect them as leaders are not really playing their role, and they are not really gentlemen. We don't really look for good leaders, we just pick up a person, we don't consider who can deliver and take the Rendille a step further. We elect our own person and the one who gives a shilling; he is elected to position without thinking what will happen next. That is what brings about all this problems we are experiencing today, until people no longer respect and love each other as before.

Secondly, this boy has raised a point: the people who were not ours but for the purpose of winning the elections were registered in our constituency are now too many. Truly they are many but the Rendille are few. Some brothers of ours that we call Samburu have outnumbered us. If we don't unite, even the little hope we have will vanish and we shall be strangled to death. This is so because the more the water the stronger the current. The people have outnumbered the Rendille and they have seen their strength and want to use force to win. One day I heard them say they are out to challenge the Rendille, for the Rendille had these seat for a long, long time but they stayed without a representative, we never vied for any political seat, and if they are saying so is it not true if I say they have checked our strength and are out for a challenge. If we are truly one and not having fire in one cheek and water in the other, let's be open to each other and let's stay as human beings who are brothers.

MONTE

*Saggi weyli enenyet ijiro, ijirro.*

Let's be and stay like human beings.

BELEYSA

*Mehe 'hade?*

What is left?

HIRKEENA

*Weysi.*

Prayers

BELEYSA

*Golol la kootte a jira il laka a ibeennowe, abiyyo Segelan inno iweyso.*

We are all invited for dinner so uncle Segelan pray for us.

## SEGELAN

*Mehe maanta suujenye inta kajira? Walah suujenye inta kajiro mele, haag on menye mehe jira? ???bebet en inno kaankhate, waha kootte semina-ti baariito eheet ka, a soonokhattaan. Kola sag inno isikasoonokhanni mele, 'dooda gon guuramenye, ma daagtaana? A guurame mali an argo ka, ma daagin laka, a Waakh inno bariisti, nebey kulanno, haag kafiddiino, mjumbe laka a yimaate, usu laka eti usu 'doono a argo, ki usu idoonin la a katabo one, mjumbe-hiis la a usu one, 'deerka cha'at orran at cheematti, cheemo.*

Was there anything bad here today? I don't see anything bad in here, is it not just good? A follow up of this meeting is very important, and if it was seminar for peace mediation it is good you come back again. if you have the means to come back again, for we have no time now, and the way I see it these people are travelling, I have not heard it, God be with us all, let also the MP come, and let whoever wants to see him let him do so, and those who don't like to see him, the truth is he will remain the MP for all.

## GAYERE

*Ani, Isir ichoow Beleysa kalaid iche ilaaba. Kalaidi an soolaabo chu'us mas-siche, naaboti berengee'di, goob addan lawaho mele, naabotoo chaatinye la a jirta. Iche la chi' nakhaaballeta isitimi, tamiite nakhaaballeta dahcho gessa, seley baabissa, ichoowka wihi goorat iche goosse laka, leebaabisso. Jent-tohu: jentetiyye miskiinu, ebba wohoo ikajiraanu.*

*Nah la kalaid weyti atin isoolaabna, chi' maalinka la atin wakatihi buure ikhabin, chi' Waakh atin side toro atin sooside, bal naabota, geedda a nah kadarteene, ti orran tibicchawenye weyti golossatti, guruubi l'daase kijiro, atin laka wohoo idee kahawwoocha.*

I thank Isir and Beleysa, I am really grateful to them. If he has achieved that the assembly (*naabo*) of the blanket is in full forum today, but the shirt team are the ones who come and mislead these elders, and separate them and distort their decision, why? It is because of ignorance and extreme poverty. We are grateful today and we don't have much time now, if you go and come back safely, please bring the shirt people in a similar discussion.

## HIRKEENA

*Abarteeyta weyti kalaid ilaaba yeedi haaggan iche yeedde, iche mehe ulootte manta: baati layagiis. Asante.*

I am very grateful to this mother of mine (Mama Safi) because she raised insecurity concerns.

## SEGELAN

*Allah soodeylama, Allah soodeylama, gaal soodeylam, et soodeylam, Kamuraanyaaw, wihi nah doonno nah leekhabo. Toliyye iriir laa dahtenyo soogeliche, wihi nah doonno nah le'doon. Dubsahay la nah isdaagi. Tolenyo iriir mele,*

*nakhaaballeta la, matakkiye, a tolola, Hal Meyteet, ginido khuyyan, iche tahe, uummat dakkhan isobahte iche tahe, igololicha, nebey cheekda, darag cheekda.*

May Allah bring them back,  
May Allah bring them back  
Bring back the Camels  
Bring back the people back  
Our lord, bless our wishes,  
Give us a meeting with good results.  
What we like, like it as well, and bring peace between us and Dubshay,  
And our meeting has no complain,  
And these elders, their heads firmly stand,  
The mountain of Moite, always wet at the base, is what they are,  
Lived and seen by all generations, is what they are, feed me  
Talk peace, talk satisfaction.

#### BELEYSA

*Asante saana.*

Thank you very much.



4350.jpg: Clockwise from bottom left: Monte Wambile, Hirkeena Ilmodi, Ilturrinya Segelán, Dogo. (PHOTO: ISIR SCHLEE)

# INDEX

**A**dicharreh vii|xix|xiii|xxi|xxiii|  
6|11|15|17|20|22|24–26|28|31|  
34|36|39|52  
America 25|64–65  
Arbele ix|xix–xxi|xx|58  
Aryaal vii|7|10–12

**B**allah iii|39|41|44|48|56|81–82  
*biḍir* x  
British television xiii  
Bulyar vii|xiii|xv|xx|26–27  
Burji xxiii|35

**C**D.F. 41|43|76  
Chawle ix

**D***aajji* xii  
Disappearing World xiii  
District Commissioner 35  
Dokhle viii  
drought 3|79  
Dubsahay iii|v–xiii|xv|xvii|xix–xxiii|  
1–2|13–14|20–22|24–25|27|32|  
34–35|39|49–52|54–55|  
59–65|71–72|87  
'Duroollo xvii

**E**lection iii|1|5|8|11|23|25|29|  
52–53|56|84  
Elisha xxiii|35  
Ethiopia v|1|10  
*eysim* xxii  
Eysimgaabana vii–viii|x|xii|xxi

**F**ilm team xiii|xix|xxi  
food shortage 3

**G**aalḍeylan vi–vii|xii–xiii|  
xxi–xxiii|16|57|84  
*gaalguulame* xii  
Gaalooroyyo xiii|xv

Galhay xxi  
Garawwahle xiii|xvii  
*geeyi arab* xi|xix|xx  
government 11|33|48|52|79  
*guḍur* xii–xvii|xiv–xviii|xix|xxi–xxii  
*gumo* xiv|xviii

**H***aru* xvii  
*hosoo* xviii–xix  
*hugum* x|24|54|78

**I***ibire* v|viii|x|xvii  
Ilkichilli vii–viii|x–xi|xvi|xxii  
Ilkimaniki vi–vii  
Ilmeuri vi|x  
*ilmugget* vii  
Irbaandif vi–vii  
ivory horn xi|xiv|xix

**K**argi 10–12|55|57  
Kargiyo viii–ix  
Keele vi  
Kholkholle vii|xix|xiii  
Kibaki 18–19|37  
Kikuyu 3|7|32  
Kimogol xii–xv  
Kirab xx  
Korr iii|xix|10–12|14|17|32|48|52|56–57|  
73|84  
Kukuton 6–7|15|17|22|29–30|38|41|  
43–44|48|50–64|67–78|80|83–84  
*kullal* xiv–xv|xviii

**L**aisamis 10–11|76–77  
Lebokhole 15|24–25|27–28|39|52|55–56  
Lengewwa xi  
Lesas 24|28|36|79  
Libaalle vi|x  
Luo 3|32

**M**aḍaacho vi–vii  
Mark Kawab Bulyar vii|xiii  
Kawab 33–34

Marsabit iii|ix|xi|xxi|xxiii|10|45|75  
Masula vii  
Matarbah xv|14|35–36|72  
Moyale 35  
*muruub* xvii–xix  
*muruubbe* xix

**N***aabo* vi|xix|xv|xvii–xviii|  
xxi–xxii|86  
Nahgan iii|xii–xv|xvii|xix|xxi|11|35|72  
Nairobi xix|5–10  
Ndorobo 11  
Nebey viii|xii–xiii|xv|xvii|xix–xx|  
51|67–69|71–73  
Ngoyoni 7|16–17|25|28|34|38–39|41|  
43–45|47|53–54|56|62|74|76–77  
N.P.P.P. 35  
Ntotoy xxiii|13|15|24–25|31|39|52

**O**.D.M. 3|6–7  
*ogoos* xi|47  
Ongoom vii

**P**.N.U. 3  
prison x–xi|xxi

**R***aila* 3|18–19|37  
Redento ix  
Rengumo v–xii|xv|xix–xx|11|14|34–35|  
49–50|53|58|72–73

**S***aale* iii|x|xii–xv|xxii–xxiii|2|  
11|15–16|18|21–22|24–26|31–32|  
34–36|39|41–43|50–52|55–57|  
59–61|64|67–68|70|72–75|79–81|  
84

Samburu vii|xii|6|8|12|56|84–85  
seniority iii|xix|xiv–xv|xviii|13  
shirt people 2|5|24|86  
*singiro* xviii  
Somalia 1  
*Soondeer* xi–xiii|xix|xxi  
*soorriyo* viii|xiv|xviii|xix–xx  
Sudan 1

**T***eylaan* xv|xx  
Timado vii  
Tubcha vi–viii|xix–xxi

**U***l* xviii  
Urowween vi|viii|xxii–xxiii|59–60  
Uyam iii|vi|xv–xviii|15|36

**W***aakhkamur* v–viii|x|xvii|xx  
Wambile iii|v|xvii|xix|xix|xiii–xv|  
xvii–xx|13|24|37|42|49–50|  
61|63–65|87

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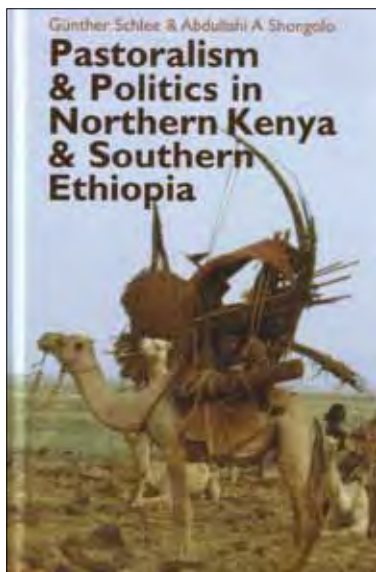
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