

RENDILLE AND ARIAAL

A LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL AFFILIATION CENSUS II

[Isir Schlee and Günther Schlee]



THE WESTERN REACHES
(SOUTH HORR,
LOIYANGALANI, HARO,
KULAL, NGURUNIT)

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MAX PLANCK INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
DEPARTMENT 'INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT'
FIELD NOTES AND RESEARCH PROJECTS XIII

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Rendille and Ariaal: A Linguistic and Cultural Affiliation Census II:
The Western Reaches (South Horr, Loiyangalani, Haro, Kulal, Ngurunit)

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SERIES EDITOR'S PREFACE

(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

ABOUT THE SERIES

This series of *Field Notes and Research Projects* does not aim to compete with high-impact, peer reviewed books and journal articles, which are the main ambition of scholars seeking to publish their research. Rather, contributions to this series complement such publications. They serve a number of different purposes.

In recent decades, anthropological publications have often been purely discursive – that is, they have consisted only of words. Often, pictures, tables, and maps have not found their way into them. In this series, we want to devote more space to visual aspects of our data.

Data are often referred to in publications without being presented systematically. Here, we want to make the paths we take in proceeding from data to conclusions more transparent by devoting sufficient space to the documentation of data.

In addition to facilitating critical evaluation of our work by members of the scholarly community, stimulating comparative research within the institute and beyond, and providing citable references for books and articles in which only a limited amount of data can be presented, these volumes serve an important function in retaining connections to field sites and in maintaining the involvement of the people living there in the research process. Those who have helped us to collect data and provided us with information can be given these books and booklets as small tokens of our gratitude and as tangible evidence of their cooperation with us. When the results of our research are sown in the field, new discussions and fresh perspectives might sprout.

Especially in their electronic form, these volumes can also be used in the production of power points for teaching; and, as they are open-access and free of charge, they can serve an important public outreach function by arousing interest in our research among members of a wider audience.

INTRODUCTION

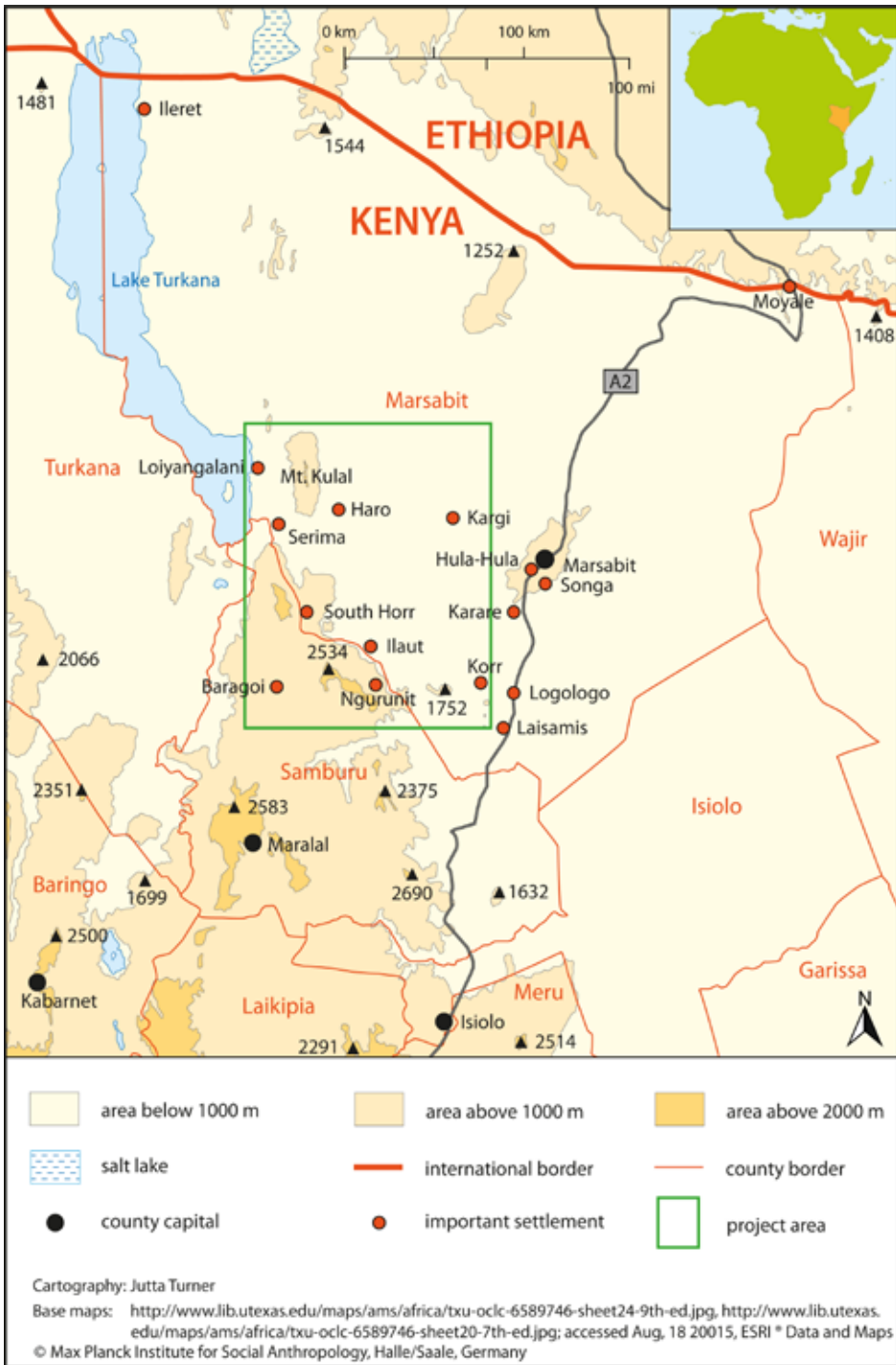
This is the second volume of results of the language and cultural affiliation census we have conducted in the contact zone of Rendille and Samburu languages in northern Kenya. The first volume (Schlee and Schlee 2014) has combined findings from quite different locations, Logologo in the east of the Rendille speaking area, Laisamis in the south, Namarei in the west, in order to have a preliminary broad overview of the dynamics going on between the two languages, because it was foreseeable that the full evaluation of the substantial materials gathered in the form of questionnaires would take years. We now proceed with the presentation of the fuller data and have decided to do so area by area. The present volume is about the western reaches, where actually we did not expect Rendille to be transmitted to the younger generation to a significant degree because these areas are west of what appears to be the Rendille-Samburu language boundary and Samburu here is in a clearly dominant position.

Still we are able to show that there are interesting variations from place to place.

A factor which cannot be illustrated by the results of the 10 page questionnaire but which is clear from everyday observation is the effect of new media on the exposure of people to language and languages. At Haro, in a largely Samburu speaking environment, we overheard a warrior who was listening to the songs of Karaba Sahado, a Rendille singer from Korr, on his smartphone. These portable technologies provide a simultaneous presence of all sorts of languages and music styles.

For the research questions which motivated us to do this census and to some introductory information about the region, the reader should refer to the introduction to the first volume (Schlee and Schlee 2014).

One matter which we reported there but which may be subject to recent change is the relative lack of importance Rendille attribute to language as a matter and symbol of collective identity. We also pointed to recent political developments which are likely to change this. The picture of the cover does depict a manifestation of language-based identification. T-shirts like that were for sale on the ‘Rendille Night’ in Nairobi in December 2012.



Map 1: The green square corresponds to the area represented on the overview map to the right.



Map 2: Overview map. The blue GPS track for the round trip from Aug. 3 to Aug. 6, 2015, on which the interviews at Haro and Kulal were done and many of the photographs in this volume were taken. The interviews at Loiyangalani, South Horr and in and around Ilaut were done on earlier trips.

SOUTH HORR

The interviews were conducted on August 19 and 20, 2014.

There is a total of 57 filled questionnaires plus an incomplete one (first page missing) which has been excluded from the analysis.

These questionnaires stem from South Horr town and neighbourhoods around it, namely Lmermeji, Kurungu, Evergreen, “NDI” (New Direction International, a Christian Church which has given a name to the neighbourhood it), Ilkirne, and Tungu. All those are located within a 5 km radius.

South Horr has a Catholic Church, a primary school built by that church, two secondary schools (one for girls, one for boys) and offices of a number of NGOs and projects like the Lake Turkana Windpower Project.



Photo 1: Fenced irrigated garden land north of South Horr, at Kurungu.

(G. SCHLEE, 585.JPG)



Photo 2: Homestead near South Horr



Photo 3: The football field of South Horr

(G. SCHLEE, 594, 602.JPG)



Photo 4: South Horr



Photo 5: City View Hotel, South Horr

(G. SCHLEE, 606, 607.JPG)

As both the Rendille and the Samburu have a social organization which to a large extent is based on male age-sets (classifying women as wives or daughters of men of a given age-set) like in the first volume of this census evaluation (Schlee & Schlee 2014), also in the present volume we do sub-sampling according to age-sets. These represent approximate age brackets and comparing them allows to discern developments over time. The alternative would have been to take actual age-brackets, like 18 to 30, 31 to 41 etc., as Ngure (2012: 96, 155) has done, but age-sets are the actual communities of fate, being circumcised in the same year (as far as first marriages are concerned), having the peak in the numbers of births of their children in the same period etc.

In the first volume, which dealt mainly with people who regard themselves as Rendille, irrespective of whether they speak Rendille as their first language or even of whether they speak it at all, we have given the following years for the circumcision of the living age-sets (with first marriage ideally taking place 11 years later):

- Ilkimaniki 1951
- Ilkichili 1965
- Ilkororo 1979
- Ilmooli 1993
- Ilmetili 2007

We need to keep in mind that the Samburu tend to have their age-set promotions one year earlier, so in South Horr, which is, as we shall see, a location where Samburu ritual practices clearly dominate, we would expect most people to have followed the Samburu cycle of rituals, so we assume that those who state here that they belong to the age-set Ilkimaniki, have been circumcised in 1950 rather than in 1951 etc.

In the South Horr sample we have the following distribution of heads of households (or, in the case of widows, husbands of women who now head a household) by age-set:

- Ilkimaniki (circumcised 1950) 8
- Ilkichili (circumcised 1964) 5
- Ilkororo (circumcised 1978) 17
- Ilmooli (circumcised 1992) 16
- Ilmetili (circumcised 2006) 7

For reasons to be discussed below, 4 households could not be attributed to an age-set.

ILKIMANIKI

The following is an attempt to represent the language competencies of the elders of Ilkimaniki in a table of the kind we used them in the first volume of our report.

	Perfect Samburu	Samburu not perfect	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect	2			
Rendille not perfect				
Poor Rendille				
No Rendille	6			

At one glance we see what happens: The columns ‘Samburu not perfect’, ‘Poor Samburu’ and ‘No Samburu’ become superfluous because everyone is perfect in Samburu. We shall therefore, in the evaluation of the South Horr sample, not discuss degrees of competence in the Samburu language. No mention will be made of Samburu unless the answers to the questionnaire in a given case state limited or absent knowledge of that language. In all other cases the fact that Samburu is not mentioned implies that it is spoken as the mother tongue or with first-language competence. We will therefore focus on other languages or of traces of change to Samburu from another language in the answers to the questionnaires.

In the box which stands for the combination ‘Perfect Samburu / No Rendille’, one of the six respondents actually claimed that he knew the expressions

‘*bicche isii*’ – ‘give me water’

and

‘*haanu isii*’ – ‘give me milk’

in Rendille. We have not judged that to be even ‘Poor Rendille’ and have therefore included this statement in the category ‘No Rendille’.

We proceed with the two elders who speak perfect Rendille. They both belong to Rendille clans, one to Tubcha, one to Gooborre. The former had performed both Ilmugit and Gaalgulamme, i. e. participated in both the Samburu – and the Rendille style age-set ceremonies (the first such case we have come across so far). The first person(s) in his family to perform Ilmugit were of the age-set Ilmauri, i. e. one age-set (one 14-year cycle) senior to himself and that was because of the Rendille practice to choose a *dablakabiire*, i. e. a negative age-set office (cf. Schlee 1979: 396–406, Schlee, Hambule and Schlee 2012: V-XIII). They did not want to be victimized in such a way and changed their affiliation to Samburu in terms of age-set rituals. He had left the Kargi area in the seventies, after his *maal* camels (a form of camel loan, Schlee 1989 56–60, Schlee 2012) had died in a severe drought. He had re-

mained with six *maal* camels he decided to give back to those to whom he owed them, nine cows and two goats. In South Horr he found work with a Somali shop keeper. He is now considered rich.

The Gooborre man was circumcised by a Tubcha man (the Rendille clan of circumcisers) at Laisamis. Both have Rendille speaking wives one from the clan Gooborre, one from Uyam.

The clan distribution of all elders is

Rendille clan names	Samburu / Ariaal clan names
Gooborre	Lukumay
Tubcha	Lparsipia (2)
	Maasula (2)

As explained earlier (Vol.1 of this census report = Vol. IX of this series), Rendille clan names are an indicator of Rendille origin in the patriline, while Samburu clan names, and in particular those Samburu clan names often found among Ariaal, like Maasula, are not an indicator of Samburu patrilineal origin. Rendille who join Maasula may use Maasula as their clan name, sometimes or always.

Their wives are from the following clans

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Uyam	Maasula (3)
Gooborre	Nyabarai

The right column contains information about one widow. So there are eight households belonging to Ilkimaniki, but only seven living men. On the other hand, one of the elders has not given any information about his wife.

The religious affiliation of these households is stated as

Catholic	2
'No' to all questions about religion	2
PCEA (Pentecostal Church of East Africa)	1
'Ilmugit'	1
Sadakha; church member but not yet baptized	1
Converted from ATR to Islam	1

The two instances of “‘No’ to all questions about religion” can probably be explained by the answers to the questions about participation in specific rituals like *sooriyo* and *almoo’do*. These respondents did participate in such rituals and probably belonged to what the interviewers like to call ATR (African Traditional Religion) of the Samburu kind. So the sample comprises three Christian households, one Muslim household, three households holding Samburu beliefs and engaging in Samburu ritual practices, and one which in on the way of Christianization.

In terms of occupation, these elders and their wives tend to be herders/housewives respectively. Apart from that, at earlier phases of their lives, one elder once worked for a shopkeeper (as mentioned above), one of the wives fetches water for a “hotel” (*hoteli* = inn or simple lodge), and one elder has been in the army.

In this generation, apart from Samburu and – in the case of the two couples – Rendille, the following language competencies have been recorded:

- Fair Swahili 1
- Basic Swahili 2
- Basic Swahili and good Turkana 1
- Little Swahili, a bit of Somali, Turkana greetings 1

This means that in most semantic domains the vast majority of the elders of Ilkimaniki and their wives are monolingual in Samburu.

Their children are invariably reported as speaking Samburu with each other. For some who have gone to school ‘perfect Swahili’ and ‘excellent’ English has been reported. The children of Ilkimaniki tend to be grown up, although there are a number of children among them who still go to school. The following information has been recorded about their activities.

	M	F
Deceased		2
Teacher	1	
No formal education, housewife		6
Secretary		1
Completed primary, housewife		1
Labourer at Maralal / Nakuru	2	
Pastoralist	3	
Educated, drug addict	2	
Cattle rustler in Maasai area	1	
Now at secondary school	2	
Now at primary	4	5
Nursery	1	1
Inconclusive information		2

ILKICHILI

The age-set Ilkichili, circumcised 1964, in this sample is represented by five households and four elders. One of the husbands is absent and the children have changed from using the name of his clan to that of the clan of their mother.

All these elders are Samburu speakers. In addition, one of them speaks fluent Rendille, which is his mother tongue. Of the others, one claims basic Swahili, one fair Swahili.

Also all the wives are fully competent in Samburu. In addition, two of them, comprising a second wife, are fluent in Rendille, their mother-tongue. One of them rarely has the opportunity to use it, the other one speaks it with her husband. The former also speaks a bit of Swahili. Also another wife claims to speak basic Swahili. One third wife is a Samburu monolingual. This reveals the following pictures (both genders combined):

- Bilingual Rendille / Samburu 2
- Bilingual Rendille / Samburu, some Swahili 1
- Samburu, some Swahili 3
- Samburu only 5

All elders have participated in the Ilmugit age-set ceremony of the Samburu.

The following religious affiliations are given

- Catholic 1
- Pentecostal Church (PCEA) 1
- Traditional, has performed sooriyo 1
- ‘No’ to all questions about religion 1

Again, we have to note, that the ‘no’ to all questions concerning religion probably indicates adherence to traditional Samburu beliefs and practices.

The wife which is separated from her husband is a Catholic, mentioning the help she received from the church.

All other wives have the same religious affiliations as their husbands.

In terms of clan origins, we find the following distribution (both genders combined):

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Saale	Maasula (4)
Rengumo	Lorokushu
Urawen	Ong’eli
Dubsahay	
Nahagan	

In two cases, wives who originated from Rendille clans state that their fathers performed the Rendille-style Gaalgulamme age-set ceremony.

In terms of occupation this subsample is entirely composed of pastoralists. Only the woman with the absentee husband has occasionally done some wage labour for the church. One of the men has acquired his ‘fair’ Swahili when he was in the K.P.R. (Kenya Police Reserve, aka ‘home guards’. They carry licensed guns to protect their herds and settlements and normally do not receive wages, unless someone hires them on an informal basis.)

Their children speak Samburu to each other and have acquired some English and Swahili to the extent to which they have gone to school or been employed. Their occupations include:

	M	F
Housewife, completed Teachers' Training College		1
Unemployed, completed secondary school		1
Pastoralist	1	
No formal education, "at home"		2
Migrant labourer Maralal / Nakuru	2	
Now at college	1	
Now at secondary school	1	3
Now at primary school	6	2

ILKORORO

The 17 households of Ilkororo, circumcised in 1978, are headed by 16 elders and one widow, who will be counted among the "wives".

3 of these men are monolingual Samburu speakers. The others speak, in addition to Samburu:

- Perfect Swahili 3
- Fluent Swahili 5
- Fair Swahili 3
- Basic Swahili 2

- Perfect English 1
- Fluent English 5
- Basic English 1

- Fluent Rendille 2
- Basic Rendille 2
- Poor Rendille 2

- Fair Turkana 1
- Basic Turkana 2
- Poor Turkana 1

The variation in second language competence goes from zero languages (in the case of the 3 Samburu monolinguals) to 4 (in one case). The total of the second language competencies listed in the above table is 30. Divided by the number of men, this gives an average of 1.87 second languages per person, or, including Samburu which is spoken by all, 2.87 languages.

In terms of religious affiliation, at first glance one is struck by the frequency of Christian names in contrast to the older age-sets. These names

include Sebastian, Raphael (2), Antipas (used with a Samburu name), Peter (2), Alex, Joseph, Patrick.

One of these elders is a Muslim. He is a businessman and stays with Somali traders. He apparently converted to Islam from Christianity, but also practices Samburu rituals.

The others are:

- Catholics 12
- Catholic, not yet baptized 1
- No church affiliation 1
- ATR 1

Only one of the Catholics states that he was already born into a Catholic family. All the others have been converted to the Christian religion at one stage of their lives. School attendance was given repeatedly as a circumstance of conversion, work for the mission in one case¹.

Apart from the ‘businessman’ already mentioned, the following occupations are given:

A number of them have or have had administrative posts: There is a retired Assistant Chief who has invested in livestock, a bar, and lodges, an Assistant Chief who also has livestock and two small farms, and an Assistant Chief who has formerly been a forest ranger. Then there is a policeman and an Administration Policeman (AP). There are two watchmen who also keep livestock, one teacher, one wage labourer. Only three men give ‘herder’ as their only occupation. Three more state that they are herders in combination with something else: one of them states that he is a livestock keeper and small farmer but formerly was a teacher and a chief, and one of them was a catechist for the Catholic Church but had to retire when he married a second wife (not the only person with such a biography).

Their levels of formal education are:

- Teachers Training College 3
- Police College 1
- High School 2
- Primary Certificate through Adult Education 1
- Primary 1
- 7 years of Primary, Catechist training 1
- 4 years of Primary 1
- No formal education 6

¹ The section ‘Acceptance and Rejection of Christianity and Islam annoy the Rendille in Northern Kenya’, Schlee with Shongolo 2012: 89–109.

Apart from one, who has participated in Gaalgulamme and one where the information is missing (the interviewee was his wife and she did not know) all these elders have taken part in a Samburu-type Ilmugit age-set ceremony.

Here is their distribution by clan:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Nahagan	Maasula 6
Saale	Maasula/Rengumo 3
Urawen	Lorokushu / Matarbah
	Nyabarai
	Lorokushu
	Ilwara

Note that four of the respondents who have identified themselves primarily with a Samburu / Ariaal clan, have stated also their earlier Rendille clan affiliation (Rengumo and Matarbah, respectively).

The wives of these elders (including one widow, three second wives and one third wife) speak the following languages in addition to Samburu:

- Perfect Rendille 2
- Fluent Rendille 2
- Basic Rendille 1
- Poor Rendille 1

- Perfect Swahili 2
- Fluent Swahili 3
- Fair Swahili 4
- Poor Swahili 1
- Basic Swahili 1

- Perfect English 2
- Fluent English 2

- Fair Turkana 1
- Basic Turkana 1

Seven of these wives are monolingual Samburu speakers. Their total number is 21. The second language capacities number 23. This gives an average of a bit over 1 second language per person or 2 languages counting Samburu, which they all speak.

Of those who speak Rendille, two state that this is their mother tongue and that they learned Samburu only after marriage from her neighbours. Their husbands also speak Rendille.

Another one states that her mother tongue is Rendille. She learned Samburu from neighbours at Ilaut and Swahili only after her marriage, at South Horr.

A third also states that Rendille is her mother tongue. As her husband is also a Rendille speaker she learned Samburu “through interaction” with others.

The fourth has a similar story: She learned Samburu only after her marriage, at South Horr. Her husband does not speak Rendille. So now she uses that language very rarely.

Of the fathers of these Rendille speaking wives one participated in Ilmugit, which implies an Ariaal rather than a “white” Rendille identity, and two participated in Gaalgulamme. Of the others, who are second wives, this information was not obtained.

These three originate from “Lorokushu / Matarbah” (i.e. Ariaal with awareness of Rendille origin) and two Rendille clans, Rengumo and Nahagan respectively.

Back to the whole subsample: In terms of religion, the wives share the affiliation of their husbands. In one case a Muslim girl has converted to Catholicism at marriage. In another case a woman who had been baptized as a Protestant now is the wife of a Catholic man.

With regard to clan origins of the wives of Ilkororo, the following distribution was found:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Tubcha	Ong’eli
Rengumo (2)	Maasula (7)
Nahagan	Surutoi
	Nyabarai
	Ilpisikishu
	Lukumay
	Lorokushu / Matarbah

The children invariably speak Samburu with each other. Those who go to school learn English and Swahili. Some Swahili can also be picked up informally.

We first focus on the exceptional cases of children of Ilkororo who do speak Rendille.

One Rendille speaking couple has given detailed information about their children. The first two speak “fair” Rendille, the third and fourth no Rendille at all. This is what one would expect taking into account that first children interact more with their parents and subsequent children more with siblings.

A Rendille speaking widow reports that her first daughter speaks “very poor” Rendille and her subsequent children none.

The career data which were obtained about the children of Ilkororo reveal the following picture:

	M	F
No formal education, married		2
Educated, married		1
Pastoralist / at home	3	4
Teacher	2	
Unemployed teacher	1	
Watchman	1	
University student		1
At police college	1	
Completed secondary, waiting for University intake	1	
Completed secondary last year	1	
School dropout, at home		1
Disabled	1	
Of school age, herding		
Of school age, at home	1	1
Now at secondary school	9	8
Now at primary school	13	13
Nursery	1	2
Infant	1	

In 4 cases it is not clear from the answers whether a child with a history of schooling is still pursuing education or has dropped out.

A new development in comparison to older age-sets is the frequency with which literacy in Samburu is claimed for these children.

The answers to the question about “level of literacy and use for reading and writing” with reference to the children of Ilkororo show the following distribution:

- Can read and write 20
- Can read but not write 2
- Elementary knowledge (beginner) 1
- Can neither read nor write 14

ILMOOLI

This subsample consists of 16 households. The age-set Ilmooli was circumcised in 1992. All men are alive.

These 16 men, in addition to Samburu, speak the following languages:

- Fluent Rendille 4
- Poor Rendille 1
- Fluent Swahili 7
- Poor Swahili 2
- Fluent English 6
- Basic Turkana 1

Five of the respondents were monolingual in Samburu. The 21 second language competencies counted mean that the average per person is 1.31 second languages or 2.31 languages including Samburu.

A closer look at the answers of those who claim fluency in Rendille reveals the following details. One of them, who gives a Rendille clan as his clan affiliation, claims mother-tongue competence for both Rendille and Samburu. He is married to a Rendille speaker, likewise originating from a Rendille clan. He has performed Ilmugit, but his wife's father has performed Gaalgulamme.

The second fluent Rendille speaker in a somewhat contradictory way claims Samburu as his mother tongue but Rendille as the language of his parents. He belongs to a Rendille clan and so does his wife whose mother tongue is Samburu but who learned Rendille at Korr and now speaks it fluently. He has performed Gaalgulamme, his wife's father Ilmugit. Their children speak Samburu.

The third such speaker claims Rendille as his mother tongue. He is from a Rendille clan but his wife from a Samburu/Ariaal clan and does not speak Rendille. Both he and his wife's father have participated in Ilmugit.

The vast majority of these men of Ilmooli have done likewise: they have performed Ilmugit. One of them, as already mentioned, has participated in Gaalgulamme. Two men have not participated in either of these age-set rituals. They are educated and have been Christians for a long time. One was baptized as an infant, one at the age of nine. This may (or may not) be the reason for their non-participation.

These are their religious affiliations:

- Muslim, (but), has performed *sadakha*, *sooriyo* 1
- Catholic 8
- King's Orthodox (A Christian church) 1
- Catholic, not yet baptized 1
- Traditional 5

The following clans are represented among them:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Nahagan (2)	Lukumay
Gooborre	Maasula (8)
Rengumo (2)	Lmaraato
	Surutoi

The wives of these men are of the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu	Kalenjin
Tubcha	Maasula (5)	Kapsokwany
Gaaldeylan	Ong'eli (2)	
	Lukumay	
	Lparsipia	
	Ilmoisiat	
	Ilpisikishu	
	Lesurikan (a place name)	
	Lorokushu	

In addition to Samburu, they speak the following languages:

- Fluent Rendille 2
- Fluent Swahili 4
- Good Swahili 3
- Basic Swahili 1
- Fluent English 2
- Fair English 1

The assumption that all these women speak Samburu needs to be qualified. One Rendille speaker states that her Samburu is only “fair”. Another wife, of Kalenjin origin, speaks only “poor” Samburu. The two fluent Rendille speakers both claim Rendille as their mother tongue. Seven of the women are Samburu monolinguals. In addition to Samburu, on the average they speak 0.81 languages.

As Swahili is learned before English, all those who speak English also speak Swahili.

The two Rendille speakers have husbands who likewise have Rendille as their mother tongue.

13 of them have not undergone any formal education, three have been to primary school. The latter speak English and, of course, Swahili. Five women have learned some Swahili without having gone to school.

The religious affiliation of the wives corresponds to that of the husbands. The wife of the Muslim is also a Muslima, possibly since before her marriage. She states that she adopted Islam when working for Somali traders at Korr.

The following activities of the children of Ilmooli have been recorded:

	M	F
Of school age, not at school	1	2
Secondary school	1	
At primary school	12	9
Nursery	5	8
Infant	8	6

All these children speak Samburu with each other. To the extent that they have learned other languages, they use them “at school” only.

ILMETILI

The age-set Ilmetili has only been circumcised in 2006 (for Rendille: 2007), and their marriage should take place in 2017. Just like their age-mates further east, however, in the case of Ilmetili this schedule has been disregarded (cf. the first volume of this census, p.70, 98). We therefore have already seven households belonging to this age-set in our sample.

The married men of this age-set speak the following languages in addition to Samburu:

- Poor Rendille 1
- Fluent Swahili 2
- Fair Swahili 1
- Basic Swahili 1
- Poor Swahili 1
- Fluent English 1
- Fair English 1

Two of them are Samburu monolinguals. On the average, the men of Ilmetili speak 0.87 languages in addition to Samburu.

Only three of these men are just herders. Another one combines herding with buying and selling goats. A fifth just characterizes himself as a business-

man. A sixth works as a watchman at Nakuru, and the last one characterizes himself as a “seasonal labourer”. All of these four men with non-pastoral activities have some knowledge of Swahili and two of them of English. One of them has gone to Primary School, one even to Secondary School.

Those you give “herder” as their activity have not gone to school.

The religious affiliations are:

- ATR 4
- Muslim 1
- Catholic 1
- Catholic, not yet baptized 1

The two who state affiliation or proximity to the Catholic Church are those who have undergone schooling.

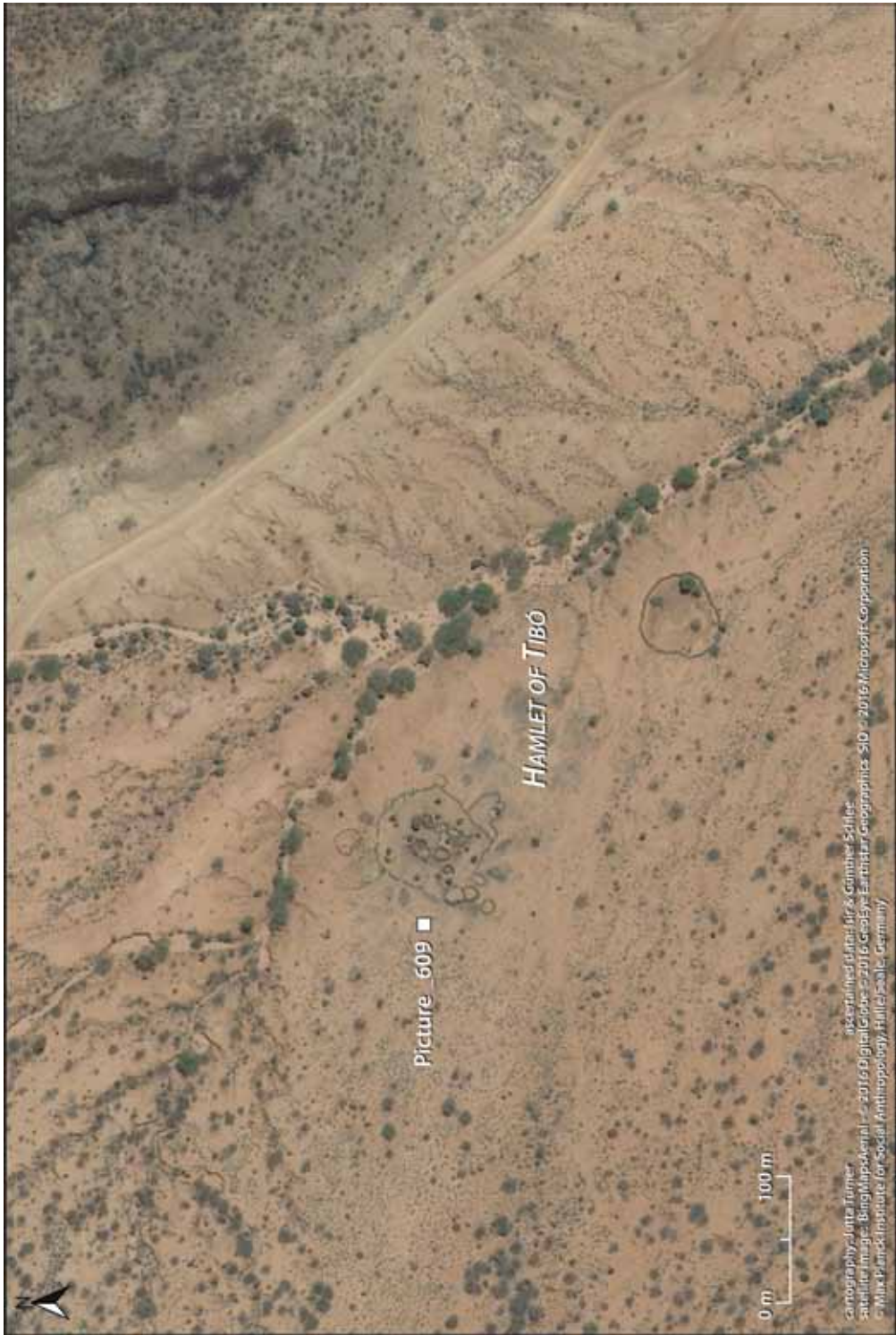
Their clan composition is:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Nahagan	Maasula (3)
Gooborre	Ilmoisiat

One respondent, an English-speaking school leaver, responded ‘don’t know’ to the question about his clan.



Photo 6: Hamlet of Tibó, between South Horr and Ilaut, waypoint 696, see map on the right (G. SCHLEE, 609.JPG)



Map 3: Hamlet of Tibó

Their wives are active in the fields of household and livestock. Only one generates some monetary income by collecting firewood for other households. In four cases the questionnaire explicitly states that the woman in question has never been outside the district.

Their religious affiliation largely corresponds to that of their husbands. The wife of the Muslim converted to Islam after marriage. One wife of a man who has no Church affiliation has undergone Catholic baptism.

These households comprise the following children:

	M	F
Nursery	1	1
Infant	4	

WITHOUT AGE-SET AFFILIATION

The questionnaires comprise one which contains information about a divorced woman (“divorcee”). In Samburu custom there is no such institution as divorce, so the question about her status and that of her children might be open to debate. Her father is of the age-set Ilkichili, so her husband might have been of Ilmooli (men of a given age-set tend to marry women whose fathers are one age-set below their own fathers). She is Catholic, speaks Samburu and basic Swahili, reports no extra-domestic activities and has a daughter in Nursery school.

A “Single Mother” likewise has a father of the age-set Ilkichili. She has a one-year old son and collects firewood for neighbours. She only speaks Samburu.

Another “Single Mother” is a daughter of the age-set Ilkororo. She has been to Primary School, is a Catholic and has a two-year old daughter.

Unlike Ngure (2012) whose data are only about people who claim to be Rendille, we have included everyone who lived in a given neighbourhood. So the South Horr sample also comprises a Somali trader without formal education who, in addition to Somali, speaks good Swahili and good Samburu. His wife is a Rendille speaker who learned Swahili and Samburu only after she joined her husband at South Horr. She has picked up Somali from her husband and his relatives (which is not difficult on the basis of Rendille). She claims “good” knowledge of all three of her second languages. She has four married children who speak Samburu with each other. The first of these has “fair” Rendille which she learned from her mother, the second child does not know Rendille. In the course of the day they use Samburu, Swahili and, in one case, English.

LOIYANGALANI

Loiyangalani trading centre is an attractive tourist destination located on the shore of Lake Turkana. An annual cultural festival is conducted there. In addition, it is an administrative centre on the level just below the county.

Marsabit County is subdivided into six districts, or sub-counties, namely Marsabit Mountain (Saku), Laisamis, Loiyangalani, North Horr, Maikona, and Moyale. The number of constituencies is only four, because Laisamis and Loiyangalani together form one electoral district for parliamentary elections, and North Horr and Maikona are similarly combined. Only Saku and Moyale are represented by their own members of parliament, whom they do not share with another district, at the national level. These two districts at the same time are parliamentary constituencies.

Loiyangalani thus is an administrative district on the same level as Laisamis, but in electoral politics it comes “under” Laisamis. In terms of language politics, this circumstance is one of the causes which leads to a minority position of Rendille: Samburu speakers from both extremes, Laisamis in the south-east and Loiyangalani in the north-west, outnumber Rendille-speakers around Korr and Kargi.

The town of Loiyangalani is a vast settlement. According to the entry ‘Loiyangalani’ in Wikipedia (accessed Dec. 25, 2015), already in 1999 had a population of over 1,000. The predominant local language of the Elmolo fishing community has died out in the 1970s because of a shift to Samburu, and now Samburu is losing ground to Turkana. Elmolo was an East-Cushitic language closely related to Rendille, while Samburu and Turkana are mutually unintelligible Nilotic languages.

9 interviews with members of different households were conducted in Loiyangalani town. They are not a representative sample but those households which looked interesting to our topic of language shift from Rendille. They are all in the same neighbourhood known to the researchers as consisting of (former) Rendille speakers. Typically, they consist of impoverished nomads who lost the means or the motivation to move on when their hamlets or satellite camps moved away. Often they then engaged in occasional wage labour. Significant sedentarization of this kind started in the mid-1960s and peaked in the 1970s.



Photo 1: Fishermen on the lakeshore near Loiyangalani.



Photo 2: Tourist lodge at Loiyangalani

(I. SCHLEE, 1010750, 710.JPG)



Photo 3: Houses at Loiyangalani



Photo 4: Palm fibre mats for sale at Loiyangalani

(I. SCHLEE, 705, 698.JPG)



Photo 5: Turkana woman at Loiyangalani



Photo 6: A group of houses at Loiyangalani

(I. SCHLEE, 610, 620.JPG)



Photo 7: Boats on the shore of Lake Turkana at Loiyangalani (I. SCHLEE, 623.JPG)



Photo 8: Banner of the Lake Turkana Cultural Festival, May 29, 2015 in front of the Titus Ngoyoni Memorial Primary School at Loiyangalani (FABIANO WAMBILE, 2015-07-31, 908.JPG)



Photo 9: The school is named after the late Titus Ngoyoni who was the Member of Parliament for Laisamis from 2002 to his death in 2005. With a number of other figures he was the victim of a plane crash in Marsabit Mountain.



Photo 10: An exhibit at the Cultural Festival. (FABIANO WAMBILE, 2015-07-31, 909, 910.JPG)



Photo 11: Visitors to the Cultural Festival go for a boat trip on Lake Turkana.
(FABIANO WAMBILE, 2015-07-31, 918, 921.JPG)



Photo 12: The Cultural Festival provided the occasion for politicians to give speeches. In the background there is the shade built for guests of honour.

LOIYANGALANI TOWN

Of the 9 households, one belonged to a man of the age-set Ilkichili, circumcised in 1965, 5 to Ilkororo, circumcised in 1979, and 3 to Ilmooli, circumcised in 1993.

The man of Ilkichili is an assistant chief, has a Rendille clan affiliation, was circumcised by a man of Tubcha (the Rendille circumciser clan) and participated in the Gaalgulamme age-set ceremony of the Rendille. His wife stems from Korr, is likewise of a Rendille clan, and her father has participated in Rendille age-set promotion rituals. She has not undergone formal education and, apart from a little Swahili, only speaks Rendille.

He, the Assistant Chief, manages to speak Swahili on duty. In a predominantly Turkana- and Samburu speaking environment he speaks neither of these two languages. Apart from Rendille, with his five years of primary school education, he speaks, reads and writes “fluent” English and “fluent” Swahili. They are Christians.

Their children, 3 girls and 3 boys born between 1989 and 2007, are said to speak Swahili to each other, and to have learned English at school. It probably went without saying that they also speak some Turkana, because that is what all children at Loiyangalani do.

The younger children are still at primary school while the older ones have finished or are still undergoing secondary school education. One daughter is studying in the USA.

Of the five men of the age-set Ilkororo, one has died. The interview was carried out with his widow.

The deceased man, a business man and temporary member of the county council, was raised by a clan sister who was the wife of a Somali trader. The family is polyglot, having spent periods of their lives at Marsabit. The widow speaks fluent Rendille, Swahili, good Boran and fair Turkana. The children speak Rendille with each other and a similar range of languages in other contexts.

Among the 4 living men of this age-set, one is a herdsman, while the other 3 have urban professions (lodge owner, driver, postmaster). Three of them have participated in Ilmugit, one in Gaalgulamme.

They speak the following languages:

	Fluent Samburu
Fluent Rendille	2
Basic Rendille	1
No Rendille	1

Other languages they speak, comprise:

- Perfect/fluent English –2
- Perfect/fluent Swahili –3
- Fluent Turkana –1
- Little Turkana –1

The man who speaks no Rendille is a Samburu monolingual.
 Their wives speak the following languages:

	Fluent Samburu	No Samburu
Fluent Rendille		1
Fair Rendille	1	
No Rendille	2	

Other languages:

- Fluent English –2
- Fluent Swahili –2
- Little Swahili –1
- Fluent Turkana –2
- Poor Turkana –1

Three of these four families are Christian, for one no religious affiliation is stated. The clan distribution (living husbands and wives/widow combined) are:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Matarbah	Lukumay (Dubsahay)
Nahagan	Maasula (2)
Tubcha	Ong’eli
Gooborre	

In one household, the children speak Swahili with each other, in the three other cases that language is Samburu.

In addition, the following languages are mentioned as being used by the children in other contexts:

- Samburu 4
- Swahili 4
- English 2
- Turkana 2

Only in one case any knowledge of Rendille is reported (“poor”).

School attendance of these town children is high. The following activities are reported:

	M	F
Beyond school age, no formal education	1	2
Completed college		1
University student	1	3
Finished secondary	1	
Now at secondary	2	3
Primary school	3	2
Of school age, not at school	3	

None of the school leavers or university leavers has found work. The question “Where is the child now?” is answered: “at home”.

ILMOOLI (TOWN)

The six people of this age set (three monogamous men and their wives) speak the following languages:

	Fluent Samburu	No Samburu
Fluent Rendille	1	2
No Rendille	3	

This language distribution already shows that other languages than Rendille and Samburu are needed for these people to communicate with each other. This is the case between couples since within couples one of these languages is shared.

Other languages spoken by these six men and women are:

- Fluent Swahili 2
- Fluent English 2
- Fluent Turkana 1

Two of the men were circumcised in Loiyangalani, which points to a longer residence (the circumcisions of Ilmooli were in 1992/1993). The third man circumcised at Kargi by Tubcha and performed also the later age-set rite Rendille style by participating in Gaalgulamme. The two long-time residents are herdsmen and have not undergone formal education, while the third man has undergone secondary education and is an officer with the Administration Po-

lice. Two of the families are Catholic Christians, one has no church affiliation (not undergone baptism) but Protestant leanings (African Inland Church).

The following clans are represented:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Urawen	Ong'eli
Saale-Goobanay	Maasula
Dubsahay	

The children are reported to speak the following languages with each other:

Samburu – 2 households

Rendille – 1 household

The children who speak Rendille at home speak Swahili in other contexts. In the other cases Samburu is spoken with neighbours, Swahili at school.

The children are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
Primary school dropout	1	1
Primary school	2	3
Below school age	2	1

LOIYANGALANI SURROUNDINGS

57 interviews have been carried out in the surroundings of Loiyangalani, where the hamlets have a more pastoral character. The number of locations was 3 at a distance of approximately 1.5 to 2 kms north of the town. The age-set distribution is:

- Ilmauri 2
- Ilkimaniki 5
- Ilkichili 5
- Ilkororo 14
- Ilmooli 20
- Ilmetili 9
- Single mothers 2

Houses in each location were all approached one by one as they stood roughly in lines (the circular pattern of Rendille settlements was not found here). About one in four houses was found empty, so again there is a slight bias towards people who were present during the first and only visit.

A full linguistic and cultural census of the Loiyangalani area would have revealed a clear dominance of Turkana and Samburu, but as the topic of the research was language change from Rendille (versus maintenance of that language) the researchers went to “Rendille” neighbourhoods. Within these neighbourhoods, however, no further selection by linguistic or cultural criteria was practiced. So the sample also comprises some Elmolo who settle among Rendille.

ILMAURI (CIRCUMCISED 1937)

Of the two interviews with elders from Ilmauri, one had to be excluded from the analysis because of inconsistencies: The wife of the man was said to be a daughter of a man of the same age-set, Ilmauri, and thus a “daughter” of her husband. Such a marriage is unheard of among Rendille¹. There were also other shortcomings.

The other man of Ilmauri, born 1911, speaks both Rendille and Samburu fluently. His wife, born in 1947, is a daughter of the age-set Iliterito, circumcised in 1909. She may not have been his first or only wife. In addition to fluent Samburu and only basic Rendille, learned from her husband and neighbours, she speaks good Swahili and very good Turkana. Three of their four children, born in the 1980s, have undergone formal education and professional training (nursing, masonry, *kindergarten* teacher), and two of them working in their professions. The wife at one point converted to Catholic Christianity, while the husband has no church affiliation. They perform *sooriyo*, but in the absence of a *naabo* no *almoōdo*. Their grown up sons have taken over with *sadaka* (milk libations). There are detailed data about three of the children: They speak

- Fluent Samburu 3
- Fluent Swahili 2
- Good Swahili 1
- Fluent English 2
- Very good Turkana 1
- Fairly good Turkana 2

The clan affiliation of this family is Ong’eli, the old mother is a daughter of the clan Gooborre.

ILKIMANIKI (CIRCUMCISED 1951)

The five men of Ilkimaniki have the following levels of knowledge of Rendille and Samburu:

¹ They can marry women of age-sets younger than their own daughters, so, contrary to some interpretations, this rule has nothing to do with limiting the age difference between husbands and wives (cf. Hazel)

	Fluent Samburu	Good Samburu	Basic Samburu	No Samburu
Fluent Rendille	2	1		1
Good Rendille				
Poor Rendille	1			

In addition, they speak the following languages:

- Fluent Swahili 1
- Fair Swahili 1
- Little Swahili 1
- Fluent Turkana 1

Their seven wives (two of them have a second wife) show the following pattern:

	Fluent Samburu	No Samburu
Fluent Rendille	3	1
Poor Rendille	1	
No Rendille	2	

Apart from these languages, they speak good Swahili (1), very good Swahili (1) and fluent Turkana (1)

Three of the five elders have participated in an Ilmugit ceremony, two in Gaalgulamme. The wives' fathers show the inverse distribution: 2 Ilmugit, 3 Gaalgulamme.

The following clans are represented among the husbands:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Tubcha	Ong'eli
Rengumo	Lorokushu
Matarbah	

Their wives are from:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Tubcha	Lorokushu
Saale / Ong'eli	Maasula
Urawen	
Dubsahay	
Gooborre	

Three of these families are Catholic. In one of these cases the husband states that he has not yet undergone baptism. The two other households have no church affiliation. They are all pastoralists. Of the two composite families (the ones with two wives) one belongs to each of these categories.

Their children speak mostly Samburu with each other, but in the case of one sibling set the language of internal communication is Swahili. Their activities are:

	M	F
Senior government official	1	
Policeman	1	
Army	1	
Lodge owner	1	
Secondary school dropout	2	1
Pastoralist; no formal education	7	5
College	1	
Secondary school	1	1
Primary school	2	1
Below school age	2	

About six of the (adult) children the following additional information about language capacity has been obtained.

Rendille fluent 2
 Samburu fluent 6
 Swahili fluent 2
 Swahili good 1
 Swahili basic 1
 English fluent 2

Turkana good 3
 Turkana basic 1

ILKICHILI

The sample comprises four men, their wives and one widow, i.e. five women. The men speak the following languages:

	Fluent Samburu	Poor Samburu
Fluent Rendille	3	1
Poor Rendille	1	

In addition, they speak:

- Poor Swahili 1
- Fluent Swahili 1

Three of them have participated in Gaalgulamme, one of them in Ilmugit. They have no formal education nor church affiliation. They all perform *sooriyo* but due to the absence of a *naabo* they do not have *almoodo*.

Their clans are:

- Urawen (2)
- Nahagan
- Saale

The women speak:

	Fluent Samburu	Poor Samburu
Fluent Rendille	2	1
Very little Rendille	2	

In addition they speak:

- Very good Swahili 1
- Very good Turkana 1
- Fluent Turkana 1

The women stem from the following clans:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Gooborre	Lorokushu
Nahagan (2)	Maasula

Their fathers participated in Ilmugit (3) or Gaalgulamme (2). The places of circumcision of their fathers are:

- Ngiro (by Samburu)
- Kinya (east of Archers Post, by Tubcha)
- Loiyangalani (by Samburu)
- Kargi (by Tubcha) (2)

Only the locations Ngiro and Loiyangalani are indicators of a longer residence among Samburu speakers.

Their children speak the following languages with each other

- Samburu (3)
- Samburu and Rendille (1)
- Samburu and Swahili (1)

In one set of siblings the children also know some Rendille. The same is reported about one young man of another family. The children of two of the families speak good/fluent Turkana. At school, Swahili and English are spoken.

The following activities of these children have been reported:

	M	F
Pastoralist	7	4
Administration Police	1	
Pastoralist, secondary school dropout	1	1
Primary school dropout	1	
Watchman	1	
Now at secondary school	4	1
Now at primary school		3
Of school age. Not at school	3	
Nursery		1

ILKORORO

The sample comprises 12 men of the age-set Ilkororo, circumcised in 1979 and two widows of such men, bringing the number of households = questionnaires up to 14

The men speak the following languages:

	Samburu fluent	Little Samburu	Very little/basic Samburu
Fluent Rendille	6	2	2
No Rendille	2		

In addition, these men speak:

- Fluent Swahili 4
- Little Swahili 1
- Basic Swahili 1
- Fluent English 4
- Little Turkana 2

They have the following religious affiliations:

- No world religion 4
- Catholic 5
- African Inland Church 1
- Muslim 2

Three of the Catholic men state that they were baptized while at school. One of the Muslim men said he converted to Islam when he married his first wife, a Sakuye.

The sample comprises two locally employed watchmen and one Administration Policeman. One man works at his herding activities. Four of these men have completed Primary School, one dropped out of class 4.

Six of the men have participated in Ilmugit, the other six in Gaalgulamme. They represent the following clans:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Nahagan (4)	Maasula/Gaaldeylan (an Elmolo claiming that affiliation)
Urawen	Ong'eli
Tubcha 3	
Gooborre 2	

The sample comprises two widows and one second wife. This brings the number of women in the parental generation to 15. These women speak:

	Fluent Samburu	Very little Samburu	No Samburu
Fluent Rendille	9	1	1
Poor Rendille	1		
No Rendille	3		

In addition, they speak:

- Fluent Swahili 4
- Good Swahili 2
- Fair Swahili 2
- Little Swahili 2
- Fluent English 1
- Very little English 1
- Very good Turkana 1
- Fluent/good Turkana 4
- Little Turkana 1
- Mother tongue Boran 1

These women stem from the following clans:

Sakuye	Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Beere	Tubcha 2	Ong'eli 2
	Urawen 3	Lorokushu 3
	Saale	
	Dubsahay	
	Matarbah	
	Gooborre	

In terms of formal education one reports two years of schooling. She dropped out in the third. Some engage in other activities in addition to pastoral and domestic ones: Two are cooks at different schools. Three are cleaners, all at the same lodge. One has a kiosk and another one states more generally that she is doing “business”. Those who have travelled at all have travelled within the district or to Marsabit or Laisamis, except for one who once was hospitalized in Nairobi and another one who went there for shopping.

The question whether her father participated in Ilmugit or Gaalgulamme does not apply to the woman of Sakuye origin. The Sakuye are Muslims (Schlee with Shangolo 2012: 71–89).

In the case of the other fathers, the distribution is:

- Gaalgulamme 7
- Ilmugit 5
- Not known 1
- No participation 1

Their children speak Samburu with each other (9 responses), or one of the following combinations (1 response each): Samburu, Turkana and Swahili / Samburu and Swahili/Swahili, Samburu and Rendille / Samburu and Rendille. In one case the children are said to speak Swahili to each other.

The 29 children about whom more detailed information is given, speak:

Fluent Samburu 28
Fluent Rendille 4
Little Rendille 4
Understands Rendille 1
Very good/perfect Swahili 3
Fluent Swahili 9
Good Swahili 5
Basic Swahili 4
Very good English 2
Fluent/good English 11
Fair English 2
Fluent Turkana 4
Fair Turkana 2

The following information has been obtained about the whereabouts and activities of these children:

	M	F
Pastoralist	5	5
Single mother at home, completed primary, professional college		1
Completed college, at work		2
Completed college, unemployed	1	
Sells in father's shop		1
School dropout, at home		1
Completed primary, at home		1
At secondary school	5	2
At primary school	12	17
Of school age, not at school	1	1
Of school age, herding	4	
At nursery	3	2
Below school age, at satellite camp	1	1
Infant	1	1

ILMOOLI

The 20 men of the age-set Ilmooli (circumcised in 1993) speak the following combinations of Samburu and Rendille:

	Fluent Samburu	Good Samburu	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille fluent	9			3
Rendille good	1			
Poor/little Rendille	1			
No Rendille	6			

From this pattern of distribution it is clear that Rendille and Samburu do not enable all of these men to communicate with each other, as six of them speak Samburu but no Rendille and three speak Rendille but no Samburu.

Presumably, Swahili fills the gap. In addition to Samburu and/or Rendille, these men speak the following languages:

- Fluent Swahili 4
- Swahili, good/fair 4
- Swahili, basic 1

- Fluent English 3
- Turkana, very good 1
- Turkana, fluent 6
- Boran, basic 1

When it comes to Rendille and Samburu, these men speak an average of a bit less than 1.5 of these languages (11 know both, 9 one of these languages). Counting the other languages as well we have an average of 2.65 languages per person (53 language competencies among 20 persons).

Four of these men have participated in Gaalgulamme, the other 16 in Ilmugit. Among their fathers-in-law, the proportion is:

- Ilmugit 13
- Gaalgulamme 7
- “don’t know” 1

(The 20 men have 21 fathers-in-law, because one of them has two wives).

There is no correlation between the choice of age-set ceremony by these men and their wives’ fathers.

13 of these households are Catholic, 5 have no church affiliation, one belongs to the AIC (African Inland Church), one man is a Muslim whose wife leans towards the AIC but has not (yet) been baptized.

The men belong to the following clans:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Gooborre 3	Ong’eli
Tubcha 5	Lukumay 1
Gaaldeylan 1	Maasula 1
Matarbah 1	Lorokushu 2
Urawen 2	
Saale 1	
Naligan	

Their wives (n = 21) speak the following languages:

	Fluent Samburu	Good Samburu	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille fluent	4		1	2
Rendille good				
Poor/little Rendille	2			
No Rendille	12			

In addition, they speak:

- Very good Swahili 1
- Fluent Swahili 4
- Fair Swahili 1
- Basic Swahili 1
- Poor Swahili 2

- Fluent English 2
- Fair English 1
- Little English 1

- Fluent Turkana 2
- Good Turkana 1
- Basic Turkana 1

Their children speak the following languages with each other:

- Samburu 16
- Swahili / Rendille 1
- Rendille 2
- Swahili 1

The following information could be obtained about the whereabouts and the activities of these children:

	M	F
Of school age, not at school		2
Of school age, herding	2	1
At primary school	14	12
Nursery	10	9
Below school age	12	14

Those of the children about whom the respective tables have been filled reveal the following picture:

	Fluent Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille fluent	1	
No Rendille	13	2

In addition, they speak:

- Fluent Swahili 3
- Fair Swahili 4
- Very little Swahili 1

- Fluent English 1

ILMETILI

The nine men of the age-set Ilmetili, circumcised in 2006/7 who are already married, speak the following languages:

	Fluent Samburu	Good Samburu
Fluent Rendille	4	1
Basic Rendille	1	
Poor Rendille	1	
No Rendille	2	

In addition, they speak:

- Fluent Swahili 2
- Good Swahili 1
- Fair Swahili 1
- Poor Swahili 2

- Fluent English 2
- Fairly good English 1

- Fluent Turkana 3
- Basic Turkana 1

One of them was circumcised at Kargi, the others at Loiyangalani. They all have participated in Ilmugit. Their fathers and the fathers of their wives show the following distribution of participation in alternative age-set promotion rituals:

Ilmugit (Ariaal, Samburu)	6
Gaalgulamme (Rendille)	11
Not specified	1

This table allows the conclusion that the parental generation still had a much higher rate of participation in Gaalgulamme.

The nine men represent the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Tubcha 4	Maasula 1
Urawen 2	Ong'eli 2

They are all traditional pastoralists without a church affiliation. Two of them sympathize with the A.I.C. (African Inland Church) but so far have not been baptized. Seven of them have not undergone any formal education. Two are primary school dropouts, one in standard 5, the other in standard 6.

Their wives speak the following combinations of Rendille and Samburu:

	Fluent Samburu	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Fluent Rendille	2	1	2
Basic Rendille			
Very little / poor Rendille	1		
No Rendille	3		

In addition, they speak the following languages:

- Fluent Swahili 1
- Little Swahili 1
- Fluent Turkana 2

These women stem from the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Tubcha	Maasula
Nahagan	Lorokushu
Saale (2)	Ong'eli
Saale-Gaabanayo	
Elegella	

Counting eleven years from the circumcision year 2007, these couples should not be married yet but only get married in 2018. Their children, in a regular enrolment of the age-set system, should be born in 2019 and the following years. In fact, by the time the interviews were taken in September 2014, four couples were (still) childless, while two couples had one child, two others two, and one three children.

Early stages of education dominate among these children who are born in 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 (2) and 2013 (3):

	M	F
At primary school		1
At nursery	1	1
Below nursery age		4

SINGLE WOMEN

The sample comprises one childless woman in her early thirties who in one place states that to be a “widow”, in another to be “divorced”. Divorce is an institution which does not exist among Samburu and Rendille, so the legal implications of such a “divorce”, e. g. for the clan affiliation of any future children is far from clear.

She speaks fluent Turkana and fluent Samburu.

The sample also comprises a single mother who speaks fluent Rendille, Samburu and Turkana and a little Swahili. She is Catholic. She has two daughters, one at nursery, one at home, who speak Samburu with each other.

One of these women stems from a Rendille clan, the other one from an Ariaal / Samburu clan.



Map 4: Overview Haro area

HARO

Haro is a small location with an Assistant Chief which has come into existence in 1976, when the KARI (Kenya Agricultural Research Institute) project drilled a borehole here. It has a depth of 16 pipes (four metres each?). Haro now has an Administration Police station and a primary school, built in 1990. There also is a dispensary which is funded by CDF (Constituency Development Fund), built in 2007–2008. The people who settled here were in many cases originally employed by the project and also received some stock, like cross-bred camels (Rendille x Somali) and improved small stock from the project.

A former Chief, Lpararan Lenaikoy, and a former KARI worker, Tullu Kamusiide (who originates from Kargi, schoolmate of Isir, who came here to work for UNESCO), fill in the following details: Among the oldest inhabitants of the area there were people of Urrich (Nahagan), Sirankang'o (Ong'eli), and Ledaany (Ilmarrato < Maasula). Later Rendille-speaking arrivals include people of the lineages Inde (Gooborre), Iltarrakino (Saale-Gaabanyo), and Galoro (from Korr in 1994). They at first had mobile, nomad type houses covered with mats (R: *dulbe*). Later the way of building houses changed and much wood (relatively abundant in the area) and cardboard was used, when the dwellings no longer were moved about.



Photo 1: From left to right: Chief Lpararan Lenaikoy, Isir Schlee, Tullu Kamusiide, Fabiano Wambile. In the background there is a house which takes up elements of traditional Samburu architecture (the broad, flat shape) but obviously, unlike nomadic dwellings, is not meant to be disassembled and relocated. For that it is too big and consists of too much heavy wood. (G. SCHLEE, 534.JPG)

As more and more people aggregated here, the settlement grew. Now it consists of about 300 households, a considerable increase from 1992 when there were ten. Many Rendille speakers came from Kargi, but they were outnumbered by Samburu who came down from nearby Mt. Kulal. Still there are new arrivals of pastoralists from Kargi, Loiyangalani, and South Horr.

Unlike Kargi, this place provides conditions to keep some lactating stock in the settlement all year round, so that the children at no time are without milk. We can see some camels around, mostly taller than the Rendille camels because they derive from cross-breeding with Somali camels, which browse the acacia trees along the nearby riverbed of the Haro seasonal river. Generally, this area, which has a permanent water source, seems to support improved breeds. Most of the Rendille area in the dry season has little pasture in the vicinity of water and requires longer trajectories to and from the water and longer watering intervals which would adversely affect more demanding high performance breeds. (cf. Schlee 1988) But there seems to have been some decline. The grass cover has receded since people first settled here permanently.

Not all stock is in the settlement. There are satellite camps in which camels and small stock are kept together, with the camels providing milk to the herders when the small stock have dried up, as they regularly do in the dry season. These camels then will also come to the water with the small stock, i. e. once in three or four days, unlike Rendille camels kept in the traditional way, which are taken to the well once in fourteen days or so. Camels tolerate extreme conditions, but like all other living beings, they do better when they are not exposed to them. The people at Haro seem to be among those who are braking up traditional forms of livestock keeping, making it more flexible, and who adopt diversified strategies. West of Ilaut we have also seen some flocks of small stock with a handful of she-camels and their calves on the move. Also Rendille clans who do keep large combined camel herds of a thousand or so animals (*gaali foor*), belonging to many owners, in one satellite camp with a pasture regime and watering intervals suitable only for camels, now have changed and keep some she-camels with their herds of smallstock (as we heard at Korr). His argument against combining camels and smallstock in one herd is that camels might feel molested by sheep and goats. They can kill them with one kick.

Camel keeping continues to be associated with Rendille culture, although many Samburu now also have camels. Of the Rendille periodic rituals, *al-moo'do* has not survived here, presumably, like in other cases, because the settlements no longer have a central assembly place, *naabo*, and *al-moo'do* rituals have a strong focus on the *naabo*. (Schlee 2014 [1979]: 79–97)

The *sooriyo* sacrifices, four per year, held in specific months, are other rituals which are important for the wellbeing of the camels. The camel keepers of Rendille origin used to hold these sacrifices, the ones of Samburu origin not. The Rendille then convinced their Samburu neighbours that these sacri-



Photo 2: Haro, at the water tank fed by the borehole

(G. SCHLEE, 525.JPG)

fices are important for the camels and that all real camel people need to have *sooriyo*. Thus a Rendille custom has spread to Samburu.² In one version of this account the motive of the Rendille to convert their Samburu neighbours to this part of camel oriented ritual life was that they did not want to share the meat of the sacrificial animals (sheep or goats) with their Samburu neighbours. Now, with everyone slaughtering an animal at the same time, the need for sharing with neighbours who do not have any meat is no longer there.

The water of the borehole dug by UNESCO is no longer rationed at 20l/household but it is still reserved for local residents. Herds coming in from other areas may be given access to some of the shallow wells people have dug in the riverbed and framed with cement so that they are not silted during the seasonal flows of the river. There is a water committee taking care of the allocation of water. Further afield there is a well at Kaahi, which is used for camels, half way up Mt. Kulal.

The two shops of Haro are in ordinary houses. There is also a ‘canteen’ which provides beer.

The school was originally built by UNESCO workers for their own children. These workers were a substantial part of the early settlers here and many of them remained when the project was over. Originally the school had no Government support. The first helpful institution which came in was the Catholic Church.

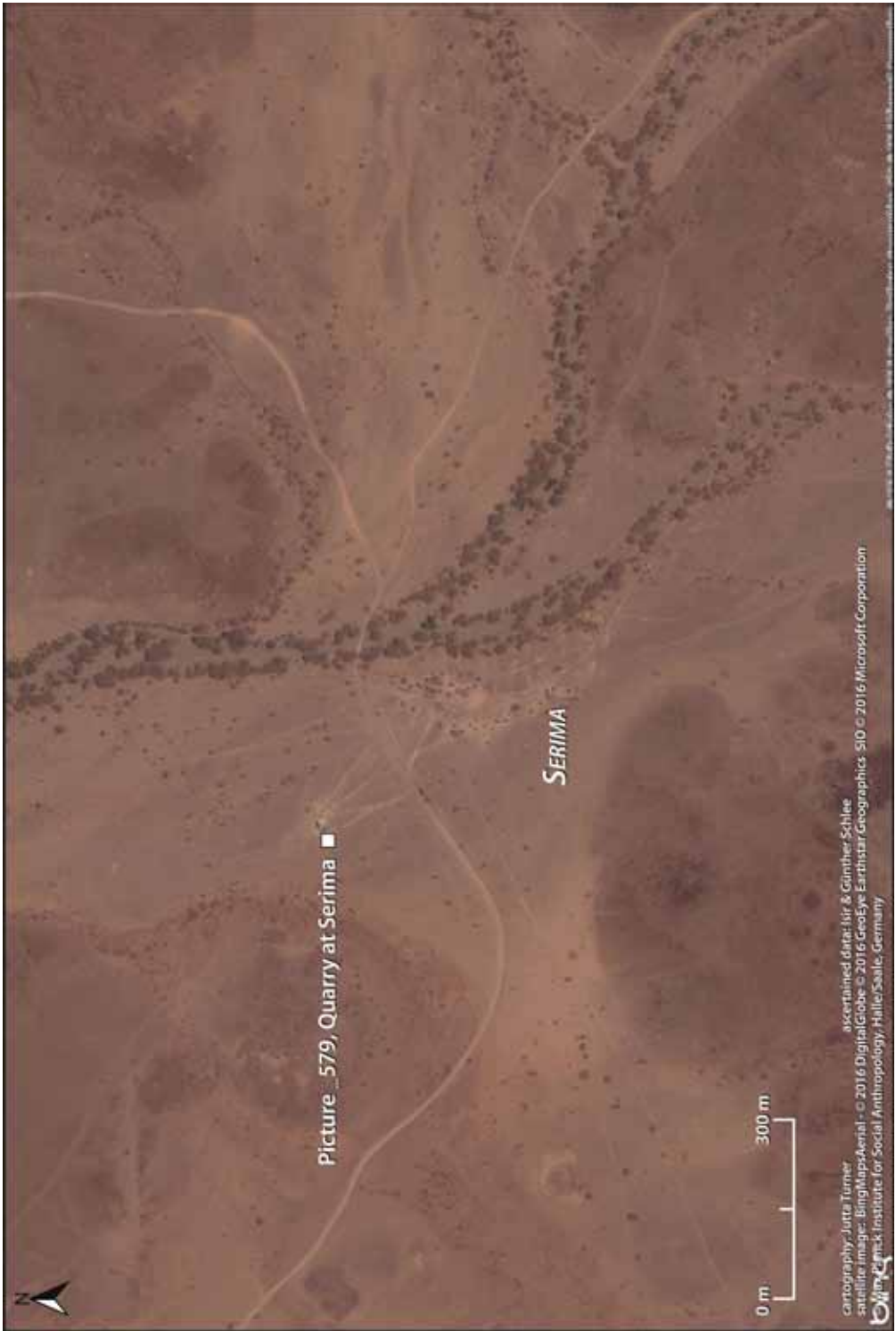
² This must have happened many times before. It is quite usual for camel keepers of Samburu origin to hold *sooriyo* (Schlee with Shongolo 2012: 99, on the basis of an earlier publication from 1982)



Photo 3: The abandoned secondary school at Luwaay, waypoint 694



Photo 4: Quarry at Serima, waypoint 695. Material for road construction in connection with the development of wind-power stems from here. The firm operating the quarry is called Civicon, operating on behalf of Lake Turkana Windpower. (G. SCHLEE, 578, 579.JPG)



Map 5: Overview Serima area

For secondary education children have to go to Marsabit or Meru. One boy is at Korr, Tirrim, where a secondary school has opened in 2009. A newly built secondary school at Luwaay, on Mt. Kulal, has been given up for security reasons, when a lorry full of people going from Haro to Loiyangalani for a wedding was attacked by Turkana on April 2, 2015. That school had been built with CDF (Constituency Development Fund) money (Schlee and Shongolo 2012: 117, 150).

Many men now have found work with a company which is setting up a wind-power plant at Serima. Chief Lpararan Lenaikoy explains the implications this project may have for the development of pastoralism in the area.

Contrary to fears raised by some educated Rendille, Chief Lpararan Lenaikoy does not think that much land needs to be given up for this project. The wind-power installations do not interfere with the use of the area as pasture land. On the contrary, pastures might be opened for Rendille, Ariaal and Samburu because the security provided by the wind-power company, which of course has the primary purpose of protecting the installations, may also have a beneficial effect on the security situation in the whole area and reduce the Turkana threat. These security forces are not only composed of Rendille and Samburu, but also of Turkana, but the Turkana guards only operate to the west of the installations. The company maintains a vehicle for security patrols.



Photo 5: Civicon camp at Serima

(G. SCHLEE, 580.JPG)



Photo 6: Civicon camp near Ilaut, waypoint 699, see map 6 (G. SCHLEE, 611.JPG)

On the issue of language change, Chief Lpararan explains that he does not share the fear that the administrative order which combines Kargi with Loiyangalani in one district and Korr with Laisamis in another and thus each cluster of Rendille settlements with a Samburu speaking centre and in settings in which Rendille is a minority language, will lead to a decline of the number of Rendille speakers. (Cf. Schlee and Schlee 2014: iv) He considers this administrative division beneficial, because the combination of this area (Haro) with Kargi prevents the Turkana from having a majority position, and that is beneficial for Rendille and Samburu alike, whichever language they speak.

He, himself a Samburu speaker (speaking Swahili to the Schlees), is not so pessimistic about the continued presence of the Rendille language in the area. He explains that the *kindergarten* teacher is the daughter of Baltor (Matarbah, whom Isir and Günther met at the Gaalgulamme ceremony in 2008). She is bilingual and speaks Rendille to some children and Samburu to others. The Church service is in Samburu with translation into Rendille.

In a settlement some hundred metres south of the main agglomeration there is a group of houses all of which belong to the clan Nahagan. These have been evaluated separately.

THE NAHAGAN SETTLEMENT AT HARO

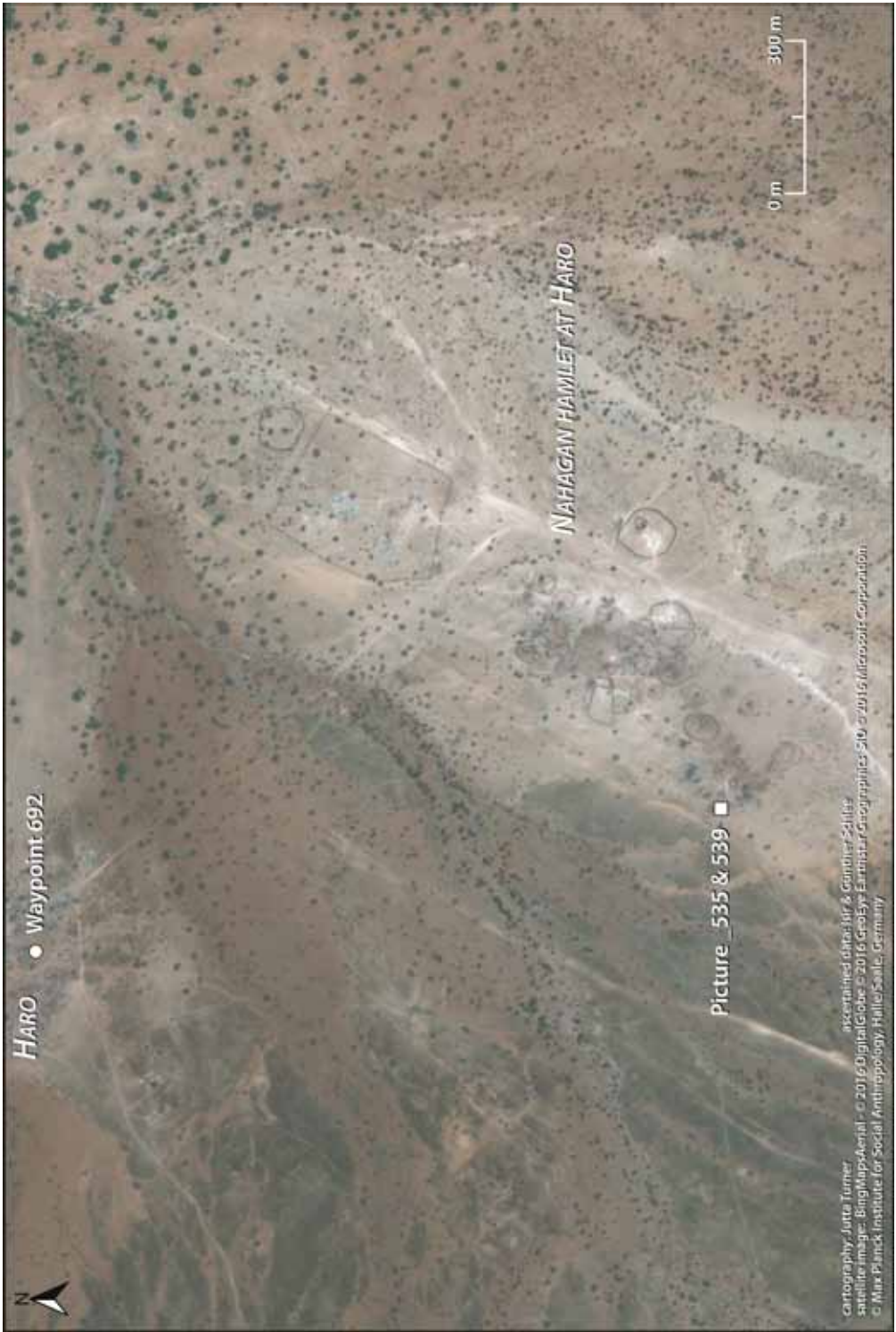


Photo 7: Fabiano Wambile at the Nahagan hamlet at Haro.



Photo 8: Nahagan hamlet at Haro

(G. SCHLEE, 535, 539.JPG)



Map 7: Overview Nahagan hamlet at Haro area



Photo 9: Nahagan hamlet at Haro

(G. SCHLEE, 540.JPG)

HARO (OLTOROT) - NAHAGAN

The cluster of Nahagan houses in the neighbourhood of Haro comprises one household of the age-set Ilkororo (circumcised 1978, assuming the Samburu timing which is one year earlier), four of Ilmooli, circumcised in 1992, and one of Ilmetili, circumcised in 2006.

The man of Ilkororo speaks fluent Rendille and so does his wife. The man speaks only basic Samburu while his wife is fluent in that language. They speak no other language.

Culturally, they are traditionalists without any affiliation to a church or universal religion. They give “naabo” as religion. And have performed not only *sooriyo* but also *almooḍo*. He has participated in *gaalgulamme*, his wife’s father, of the clan Lorokushu (Samburu) in *ilmugit*.

There are nine children, the first four, born between 1993 and 2000, from a deceased first wife. The children of the present wife are born between 2002 and 2009. The children speak Samburu with each other.

The following information could be obtained about the whereabouts and the occupation of these children:

	M	F
No education, herder in the satellite camp	2	
Married		1
Secondary school dropout	1	
Now at primary school	1	2
Of school age, herding in the satellite camp		1
Below school age		1

Detailed information has been given about the first three of these children. They speak:

	Fluent Samburu	Good Samburu
Fluent Rendille	1	1
Good Rendille	1	

It is specified that Rendille is their mother tongue, used within the family, and that they speak Samburu in the neighbourhood.

One of them, the school dropout, in addition speaks fluent Swahili and fluent English.

ILMOOLI

Of the four households of the age-set Ilmooli, one is of the clan Saale, another of Rengumo.

So this cluster of houses is not as homogeneously “Nahagan” as its name suggests.

These men speak:

	Fluent Samburu	Good Samburu	No Samburu
Fluent Rendille	2	1	1

They are all culturally “Rendille” in that they have been circumcised by the clan Tubcha and have participated in *gaalgulamme*. They have performed *sooriyo* and *almooïdo* and have no church affiliation.

Their wives speak:

	Fluent Samburu	Good Samburu	No Samburu
Fluent Rendille	1		1
Basic Rendille	2		

Their clan origins are:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Rengumo	Pisikishu
	Ong'eli (2)

Two of their fathers have participated in Gaalgulamme, two in Ilmugit.

The two women who speak basic Rendille have learned that from their husbands and use that language within the family, although not exclusively since Samburu is their mother tongue and other family members also understand Samburu.

The answer to the question which language their children speak with each other was answered with:

- Rendille (1)
- Samburu (2)
- No answer (1)

In the neighbourhood they speak:

- Rendille (3)
- Rendille and Samburu (1)

The following information was obtained about the whereabouts and the activities of these children:

	M	F
Over 16, no formal education		1
Of school age, herding	6	3
Now at primary school	4	1
Of school age, at home	1	3
Below school age	5	2

The more detailed information about of the older among these children shows the following distribution of language skills:

	Mother tongue proficiency in Samburu	Fluent Samburu	Basic Samburu	No Samburu
Mother tongue proficiency in Rendille	1	2	1	3
Fluent Rendille		4		
Good Rendille	1			

In addition, they have the following language competencies:

- Fluent Swahili (3)
- Basic Swahili
- Fluent English (2)

ILMETILI

The man of the age-set Ilmetili has got college education and works with the wind-power project. He is fluent in Rendille, Samburu, Swahili and English. He has been circumcised at Korr, by Samburu, and has participated in *Gaal-gulamme*. He is a member of a smaller Protestant church.

His wife is Turkana, a form three drop-out, and speaks fluent Swahili, Turkana, English and Samburu, the language she uses in the neighbourhood.

They have an infant son who has not decided on a language yet.

THE MAIN SETTLEMENT AT HARO

There were no given sub-divisions or distinct neighbourhoods at this settlement, and it was too large for a comprehensive survey. So some sort of sampling coming as close as possible to random sampling was required. This was done by the five interviewers starting at different ends of the settlement and then proceeding house by house. No specific characteristics have been discovered in different neighbourhoods and on the whole the interviews done seem to be representative for the whole settlement.

HARO (TOWN)

n = 41

Broken down by age-set affiliation of household head:

- Ilkimaniki 6
- Ilkichili 3
- Ilkororo 7
- Ilmooli 13
- Ilmetili 13

ILKIMANIKI

Of the six households of the age-set Ilkimaniki (circumcised in 1950 (Samburu) or 1951 (Rendille)), two are headed by widows. The four surviving husbands speak:

	Fluent Samburu	No Samburu
Fluent Rendille	2	1
No Rendille	1	

One of them has been in the army and is a former chief. He speaks good Swahili and a little English.

The others only speak Rendille or Samburu or both.

The former chief is a Muslim (presumably since his army time), the others show the following combination of features:

	Holds <i>sooriyo</i>	No <i>sooriyo</i>
Church affiliation	1	
Christian orientation, not baptized		1
No church affiliation	1	

These men belong to the following clans:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Nahagan (2)	Ong'eli
Saale	

Their wives and the two widows speak:

	Fluent Samburu	No Samburu
Fluent Rendille	1	2
Poor Rendille	1	
No Rendille	2	

With the exception of one of them, who is Boran and speaks Boran, they do not know any other languages.

They are of the following clans of origin:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu	Boran
Nahagan	Maasula (3)	Qarchabdu
	Ong'eli	

Four of their fathers have participated in Ilmugit, one in Gaalgulamme. The father of the Boran woman has, of course, participated in neither of the two.

The children of these couples of the age-set Ilkimaniki speak Samburu with each other (3 cases), or Samburu and Rendille (1), or Rendille (1). In one case there is only one child and (with perfect logic) the answer to the question which language these children speak “with each other” has not been filled in.

The following information has been obtained about where these children are now and what they are doing:

	M	F
Teacher at Kargi	1	
Pastoralist	5	3
Driver	2	
Unemployed	1	
Locally married, herder	1	
Completed secondary school, married, unemployed	1	
Now at secondary school		1
Now at primary school	3	1
School dropout	1	2
Of school age, not at school	4	2
Below school age	1	1

Those about whom the forms at the end of the questionnaire were filled, typically the first children, speak the following languages:

	Fluent Samburu
Fluent Rendille	1
Basic Rendille	2
No Rendille	2

In one of the cases, a fourth child, who speaks fluent Rendille and Samburu it was explained that he learned Rendille when staying with his maternal relatives. His five siblings who grew up here only speak Samburu.

In addition, these children speak fluent Swahili and fluent English (in 3 cases).

ILKICHILI

Of the three households of the age-set Ilkichili one is headed by a widow. The two Ilkichili men of this sample both speak fluent Samburu. One of them speaks also fluent Rendille, the other one only poor Rendille but good Swahili, which he learned as a wage labourer in town.

They are both now looking after their herds and families, but one of them is a former Chief and Councillor. One is Catholic, the other one belongs to the “Full Gospel Church” but has not been baptized. The same applies to his wife.

The three Ilkichili households belong to the clans Gooborre, Saale, and Maasula respectively.

One of the men has three wives. This brings the number of women to five. They speak:

	Fluent Samburu	No Samburu
Fluent Rendille		1
Good Rendille	1	
No Rendille	3	

They are daughters of the clans Gooborre, Maasula (2), Dubsahay and Ong’eli.

Their children speak Rendille to each other (1 case), or Samburu (3), or Rendille and Samburu (1).

Here is more information about them:

	M	F
University, works with 'Windpower'	1	
Uneducated, married, works with 'Windpower'	1	
Completed primary school, works with 'Windpower'	1	
Completed secondary school, in the Army	1	
Married, pastoralist	1	
Pastoralist	1	1
Policeman	1	
NGO worker	1	
Now at secondary school		2
Now at primary school	2	1
Of school age, not at school	2	1
Under school age	1	3

ILKORORO

Of the seven households of Ilkororo, two are headed by a widow. The five living men speak the following languages:

	Fluent Samburu	Fair Samburu
Fluent Rendille		2
Basic Rendille	2	
No Rendille	1	

In addition, they speak the following languages:

- Fluent English 2
- Poor English 1
- Fluent Swahili 2
- Good/fair Swahili 2
- Basic Swahili 1

These additional languages were acquired at school (in 3 cases) or, to various degrees (good, basic, poor) during stays in urban areas and/or wage labour (three cases).

They are of the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Urawen	Ong'eli
Matarbah	Maasula (2)

The late husbands of the two widows belong to Urawen and Maasula.

Two of them have participated in *gaalgulamme*, three in *ilmugit*.

One of these men holds a master's degree and is a high County officer, one has completed primary education and has work experience with KARI and UNESCO, one has no formal education but a job as a driver, the other two are herders, one with a licensed gun (KPR – Kenya Police Reserve).

Two of them are AIC (African Inland Church) members, one is Catholic, one is a Muslim and one has no affiliation to a world religion.

One of the men has two wives. Together with the four wives of the four other men and the two widows, this brings the total number of women in the Ilkororo subsample to eight.

These eight women speak the following languages:

	Fluent Samburu	Fair Samburu	No Samburu
Fluent Rendille	3	1	1
No Rendille	3		

In addition they speak good Swahili (2), basic Swahili (1) and poor English (1).

None of them has experience with wage labour or other activities outside the domestic and the pastoral spheres. With the exception of one, a primary school drop-out at standard five, they have not undergone formal education.

They are daughters of the following clans:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Nebei	Nyabarai
Gaaldeylan	Ong'eli
Saale	Maasula
	Maasula / Nebei

Clan origin	Language competence		
	Fluent / fair in Samburu and Rendille	Rendille, no Samburu	Samburu, no Rendille
From a Rendille clan	2	1	
From a Samburu /Ariaal clan	1		3

This cross tabulation shows a clear complementary distribution of language competencies by clan origin. The ones from Rendille clans speak Rendille, and the ones with Samburu clan names speak only Samburu, with the exception of one, who also speaks fluent Rendille. This one woman is from Ong’eli, the one big Ariaal clan which is predominantly speaking Rendille, also in the domestic sphere. (Schlee & Schlee 2014: 30–42).

In most cases the children of these women speak only Rendille with each other. Exceptions are the two wives of a man of Matarbah, one from Ong’eli, the other one of an unspecified clan but from the Kargi region. The former says that her children speak Samburu and Rendille with each other, the latter claims that only Rendille is spoken in the family. Another exception is the family of the former chief of Kargi in which everyone speaks Rendille.

These are the activities of these children:



Photo 10: Haro

(G. SCHLEE, 523.JPG)

	M	F
Finished secondary school, Administration Police	1	
Technical school educated, works with "Windpower"	1	
Finished secondary school, married		1
Finished secondary school, "at home"	1	
School dropout, herder	2	
School dropout, "at home"	3	1
Finished primary school, works with "Windpower"	1	
Not educated, security guard for "Windpower"	1	
Not educated, married		1
Not educated, "at home"		1
Not educated, herder	1	
Now at secondary school	2	4
Now at primary school	1	7
Of school age, not at school	3	6
Nursery	1	1
Below school age	1	3

ILMOOLI

There are 13 households of the age-set Ilmooli in our sample from "Haro Town". This age-set has been circumcised in 1993 or, in the case of Samburu, 1992.

The 11 living men of these households speak:

	Fluent Samburu	Basic / fair Samburu	Poor Samburu
Fluent Rendille	6	3	1
Good / fair Rendille	1		
Only passive Rendille	1		

What strikes about this table is the high incidence of full bilingualism (6) or incomplete bilingualism (fluent in one language, "good" or "fair" knowledge of the other) (4). There is no speaker of one language who does not know at least a bit of the other.

One of the men who speaks only "fair" Samburu is a man from Kargi who settled here with his wife's relatives. The one who speaks no Samburu has arrived here less than a year ago. Earlier he had lived at Korr, where he

picked up some Samburu from schoolmates, and Kargi (where he performed *almooḍo* in 2014).

In addition, these men speak:

- Very good Swahili 1
- Fluent Swahili 1
- Fair Swahili 3
- Basic Swahili 2
- Poor Swahili 2

- Good English 1
- Poor English 1

- Good Boran 1

Five of them participated in Gaalgulamme, seven in Ilmugit. We can cross-tabulate with language competence:

	Rendille perfect (“fluent”)	Rendille less than perfect
Participated in Gaalgulamme	5	
Participated in Ilmugit	5	2

From this we can conclude that, in this sample, the participation in age-set rituals (the Rendille-type *gaalgulamme* or the Samburu-type *ilmugit* is no predictor or only a weak predictor of competence in Rendille.

It may be that it predicts competence in Samburu to some extent. This question deserves trying another cross-tabulation:

	Samburu perfect (“fluent”)	Samburu less than perfect
Participated in Gaalgulamme	1	4
Participated in Ilmugit	7	

Participation in *gaalgulamme* seems to correlate with levels of knowledge of Samburu which are only “fair” or even “poor”.

These men are of the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Saale (2)	Maasula (2)
Matarbah	Ong'eli
Urawen (3)	
Nebei	
Nahagan (2)	

Two of the three representatives of “Ariaal / Samburu” clans are fluent speakers of Rendille and Samburu. Six of these men have not undergone formal education and are pastoralists. The other six have the following combinations of education/ wage labour outside the pastoral sector:

1. Completed primary school / watchman in Nairobi
2. Standard 4 dropout / no wage labour (herder)
3. No formal education / “homeguard” (KPR = Kenya Police Reserve)
4. Standard 3 dropout / no wage labour (herder)
5. No formal education / labourer with Civicon (a contractor of “Windpower”)
6. Standard 6 dropout, herder

Those who have experience with wage labour tend to know Swahili.

	Some knowledge of Swahili	No knowledge of Swahili
Presently or formerly engaged in wage labour n = 3	3	
Pastoralists n = 9	5	4

While all of the three wage labourers know Swahili, only a little over a half of the herders do so.

Eleven men of this sample have leanings to one or the other Christian Church. Some (6) are already baptized, others (5) not. One is a Muslim.

The wives of these men, and the widow, speak the following languages:

	Samburu fluent	Fair / good Samburu	Poor or basic Samburu
Fluent Rendille	3	1	3
Fair / good Rendille	1		
Poor Rendille			
No Rendille	5		

The five women who do not speak any Rendille all have fathers who have performed *ilmugit*. For the others the relation *ilmugit/gaalgulamme* is 5:3. Represented in the form of a cross table, these results look like this:

	Speaks Rendille	Does not speak Rendille
Father participated in <i>gaalgulamme</i>	3	
Father participated in <i>ilmugit</i>	5	5

For this small sample the following findings can be summarized:

1. Not speaking Rendille indicates that the father has participated in *ilmugit*.
2. Fathers who participated in *gaalgulamme* have Rendille speaking daughters.
3. That a woman speaks Rendille does not allow conclusions about the kind of age-set ceremony in which her father has participated.
4. Fathers who have participated in *ilmugit* may have daughters who speak Rendille or who do not (no predictor).

These women are daughters of the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Dubsahay	Ong'eli 2
Urawen 3	Maasula 3
Saale 2	Loimisi (Nahagan)
Nahagan	

One may ask whether stemming from a Rendille clan correlates with speaking Rendille

	Speaks Rendille	Does not speak Rendille
Comes from a Rendille clan	6	1
Comes from a Samburu / Ariaal clan	2	4

There seems to be such a relation, however a far from deterministic one, unless one counts Ong’eli as Rendille. As repeatedly observed, Ong’eli people tend to have Rendille as their first language.

In addition to Rendille and/or Samburu, these women speak the following languages:

- Fair Swahili (2)
- Basic Swahili (1)

Like the other women, the three women who know some Swahili have not gone to school. Two have learned her basic Swahili “in town”, meaning the Haro settlement, the other her fair Swahili when she spent time with her sister in Marsabit.

In the cases of nine households the children speak Samburu with each other, in three cases Rendille and in one case both Rendille and Samburu. The households which preserve Rendille in the younger generation are all of Rendille clans. In one case two of three children of a set of siblings who are said to speak Rendille with each other actually live with their grandmother at Kargi.

These children are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
Now at secondary school	1	
Now at primary school	7	12
Of school age, not at school	10	4
Nursery	7	8
Under age	7	6

The numerous boys who are of school age but do not go to school are said to be herding or at the *foor* (satellite camp).

The following observations have been made about individual children (the tables at the end of the questionnaire):

In the case of a Samburu speaking set of children, two have learned some Rendille from their grandmother.

The one sibling set in which the children speak Rendille only is the one which came here less than a year ago.

On the whole, there is a good chance that children in Rendille speaking households maintain Rendille (unlike in many other places, including Laisamis) and then acquire quite good Samburu from neighbours and the wider environment. Children from Samburu speaking households would, under the conditions prevailing at Haro, not learn Rendille. The capacity of these two languages to influence an interethnic neighbourhood is not symmetrical.

ILMETILI

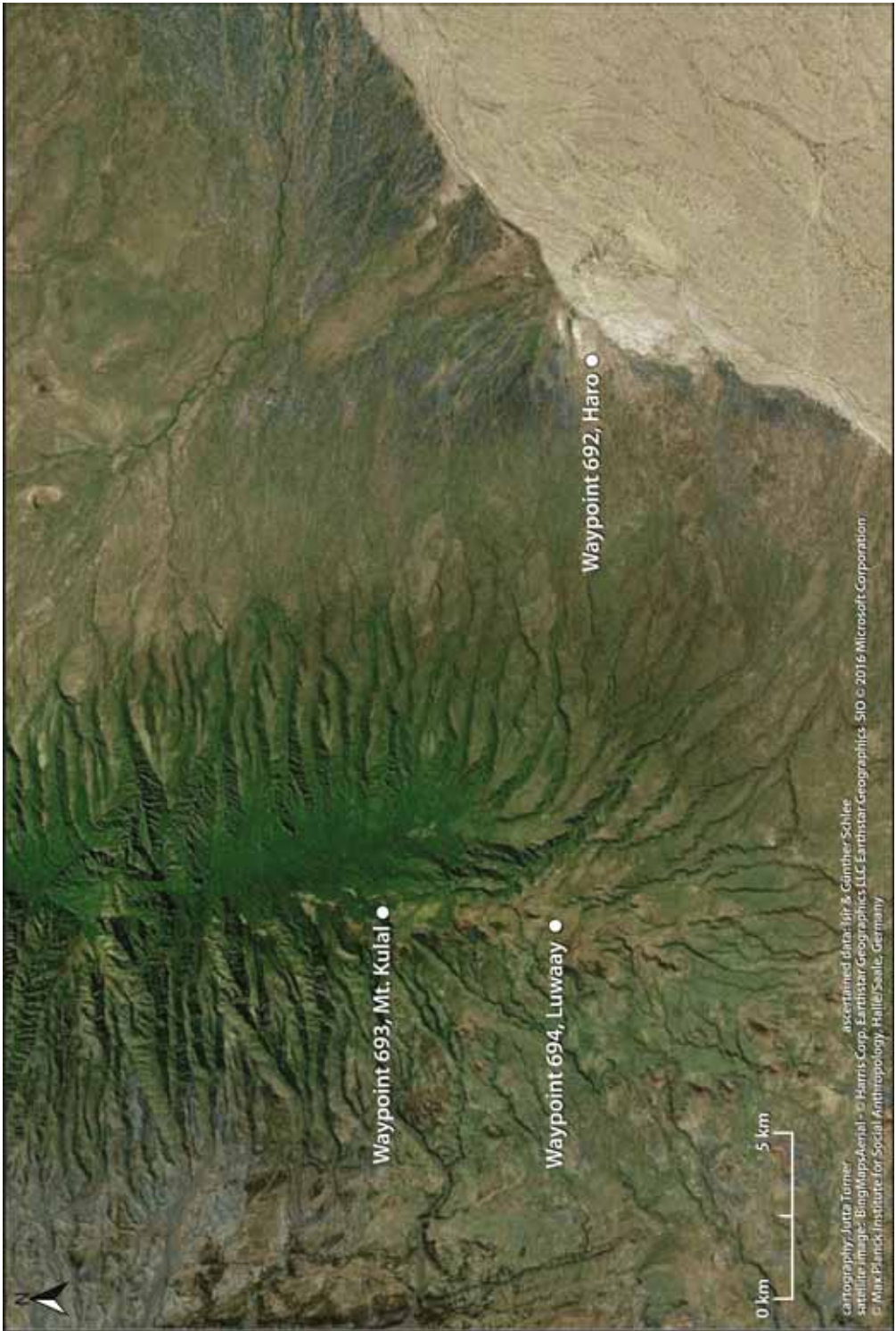
The 13 questionnaires filled by members of the age-set Ilmetili have got lost.



Photo 11: Haro



Photo 12: The silhouette of Mt. Kulal seen from Haro (G. SCHLEE, 527, 511.LPG)



Map 8: Overview Mt. Kulal area

MT. KULAL, GATAB

The Gatab settlement on Mt. Kulal, like Haro, has come into existence through heavy involvement of modern institutions. The African Inland Church (AIC), especially the missionary Anderson, based in the 1970s at Logologo, has set up a church and a hospital here and has encouraged the sedentarization of nomads and the development of agriculture. The environment is suitable, because at altitudes around 1,700 metres there is sufficient rainfall.

In the late 1970s and 80s also the KARI/IPAL/UNESCO project had a base here (see above, Haro).

Before, the region has been used by mostly Samburu cattle herders, but some Rendille who were rich in cattle and therefore drifted into the higher reaches suitable for cattle rather than camels had joined them. This is the case for representatives of the lineages Ogom (Urawen), Mosor (Saale) and Marro (Ong'eli).

Wealth in cattle is reflected by polygyny. One of our interlocutors had three wives and could not remember the names of some of his children. The area is almost exclusively Samburu speaking and children who grow up here invariably end up as Samburu speakers, mostly with no command of Rendille at all. Exceptions are some men who had been herders in satellite camps who stayed close to their Rendille relatives or the satellite camps of other Rendille. In one case such a man spoke fluent Rendille while his full brother, who had not herded animals but gone to school, spoke no Rendille at all.



Photo 1: Mt. Kulal. Project archaeology: The house of KARI (G. SCHLEE, 548.JPG)



Photo 2: Mt. Kulal



Photo 3: Mt. Kulal

(G. SCHLEE, 557, 564.JPG)



Photo 4: A homestead on Mt. Kulal

(G. SCHLEE, 568.JPG)

There are some cases in which the children had to speak Rendille because their mother would not understand Samburu. This was the case with one family who arrived here after 2000. The children born here learned Samburu faster than their mother, so they had to speak Rendille to their mother if they wished her to understand them. In all other cases children would respond in Samburu if addressed by their elders in Rendille, if their comprehension of Rendille permits them to react at all.

The sample we drew here is not representative at all. It consists only of people who are Rendille in one sense or another and who came to see us for that reason. But even these interviews show the clear dominance of Samburu and the inclusion of more Samburu speakers of Samburu origin would not have changed the picture.

ILKORORO

n = 3

The tree men of Ilkororo speak:

	Fluent Samburu
Fluent Rendille	1
Very poor Rendille	1
No Rendille	1

In addition, they speak:

- Fluent Swahili 2
- God Swahili 1

They all have performed *ilmugit*. Two of them perform *sooriyo* but not *almoo'do*, one of them has dropped both rituals. They have affinities to different Christian Churches, but two of them have not (yet) got baptized. The three of them have not gone to school, but they all have had some exposure to modernity. Two of them have been watchmen at local institutions, one is an activist who wants to set up a conservancy group.

They represented the following clans:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Urawen	Maasula (Tubcha)
Saale	

One of them has one wife, another two and the third three. This brings the number of wives to six.

These women speak:

	Fluent Samburu
Fluent Rendille	1
No Rendille	5

In addition, these women speak:

- Fluent Swahili 1
- Poor Swahili 1
- Good English 1
- Poor Boran 1

With the exception of one, who went to primary school for seven years (i. e. the full period according to the old system), these wives have not had any formal education.

They stem from the following clans:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Saale	Maasula (2)
	Ong'eli (3)

As they all speak Samburu, which is what one would expect in this place, it might be worthwhile to have a closer look at the one who additionally speaks fluent Rendille. She is the one who stems from a Rendille clan and as a girl she has been herding animals around Kargi.

Their children speak Samburu to each other and are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
University education, stays at Meru	1	
Maid in Nairobi		1
School dropout, works with Civicon	1	
Locally married		4
Married in the country		1
Pastoralist, agro-pastoralist		5
Now at secondary school	2	1
Now at primary school	4	7
Of school age, not at school	1	
Nursery	1	1
Under school age	1	2

ILMOOLI

n = 8

The eight men of this age-set speak the following languages in addition to fluent Samburu:

- Fluent Rendille 1
- Basic Rendille 1
- Little, passive Rendille 1

- Fluent Swahili 4
- Basic Swahili 1

- Fluent English 2

Two of them are Samburu monolinguals. The one who speaks fluent Rendille has migrated here from the Ilaut area with his cattle after 2000. His wife is from Kargi.

Except for one, who has participated in *gaalgulamme*, all these men have performed *ilmugit*.

Their occupations include:

- Pastoralist 2
- Pastoralism and small business 1
- Agropastoralist 1
- Health centre assistant 1
- Watchman 1
- Herder and watchman 1
- College educated, unemployed 1

They represent the following clans:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Matarbah	Maasula (2)
Rengumo	Ong'eli
Urawen (2)	
Elegella	

Three of them have participated in *gaalgulamme*, five in *ilmugit*.

One of them has two wives. These and the other wives speak the following languages:

	Fluent Samburu	Good Samburu
Fluent Rendille	1	2
No Rendille	6	

In addition, they speak:

- Fluent Swahili 5

- Fluent English 5

Four of these women have undergone formal education:

1. Class seven (Loiyangalani)
2. Completed secondary school
3. Completed primary, Mt. Kulal
4. Completed standard seven at Haro

In this environment, which is almost exclusively Samburu-speaking, it may be worthwhile to have a look at the characteristics of the three women who have nevertheless acquired and preserved fluency in Rendille. They are daughters of Rendille clans (O'doola, Saale, Rengumo) and their fathers have participated in *gaalgulamme*.

In total, the following clans of origin are represented by these women:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
O'doola	Maasula (3)
Saale	Lorokushu (2)
Rengumo	Ong'eli

These families have been exposed to missionary activities and mostly have a church affiliation, generally the same for husband and wife. In one case the husband belongs to the AIC and the wife has remained a practicing Catholic, with the effect that the marriage has never been solemnized.

About their children, who invariably speak Samburu to each other, the following activities have been recorded:

	M	F
Herder		1
Now at primary school	5	6
Of school age, herding	2	
Of school age, at home		1
Nursery	5	4
Under school age	2	6

ILMETILI

There is one household of the age-set Ilmetili, circumcised in 2006/7, in our sample. According to traditional ideas, the time for marriage for this age-set has not arrived yet, but this couple already has two children under school age.

They are Samburu speakers, belonging to clans with Samburu names. The man is a school dropout while the wife has not been exposed to formal educa-

tion. Her Swahili is basic while he claims fluency in both Swahili and English. They are members of the African Inland Church (AIC).

ILAUT TOWN

Ilaut is the oldest fixed settlement in the area, situated at the border between Samburu and Marsabit Counties which is part of the boundary between Rift Valley Province and Eastern Province. It has a primary school, started in the 1950s by the Catholic church at South Horr, an AP (Administration Police) camp on the Samburu side, a dispensary and since recently a Civicon camp (see above, Haro).

n = 14

Ilkichili 2
 Ilkororo 3
 Ilmooli 6
 Ilmetili 2
 Somali 1

ILKICHILI

The two men of Ilkichili who have answered our questionnaire in Ilaut town speak Rendille, one poorly, the other fluently. Both of them speak fluent Samburu and one of them additionally some little Swahili.

One of them is from Ong'eli, the other from Maasula. Both have performed Ilmugit and have not enjoyed modern education. They are herders and one of them is also a traditional healer. They do not belong to a church.

Their wives are both fluent in Rendille and somewhat less competent in Samburu (basic; good). One is from Maasula, one from Rengumo.

Their children speak Samburu to each other but also have different degrees of competence in Rendille. Those, about whom detailed information has been given, show the following combinations of the two languages:

	Fluent Samburu
Fluent Rendille	1
Basic Rendille	3
Poor Rendille	1

They are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
Herder	2	
Locally married	1	2
Jobless	1	
Now at secondary school	1	
Now at primary school	1	

ILKORORO

In addition to fluent Samburu, the three men of Ilkororo speak fluent Rendille (2) or poor Rendille (1). One of them also speaks basic Swahili. They all have participated in *ilmugit* and are from Ariaal / Samburu clans (Maasula (2), Ong'eli). They perform *sooriyo* and *almoodo*. Two of them are herders, one works as a watchman at the local dispensary.

Their wives speak:

	Fluent Samburu	Good Samburu	Basic Samburu
Fluent Rendille	1		1
Poor Rendille		1	

They are daughters of the clans Ong'eli, Maasula and IIngwesi.

Two of these families are Christian. In one case no religious affiliation was stated. Their children speak Samburu with each other and are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
School dropout, married		1
Now at secondary school	1	
Now at primary school	2	1
School dropout, herding		1
Of school age, already married, herding		1
Below school age		1

Two more children have been enumerated, but the information about them is inconsistent.

ILMOOLI

n = 6

The six men of the age-set Ilmooli, circumcised in 1992/3, speak Samburu fluently, and in addition:

	Fluent Swahili	Good Swahili	No Swahili
Fluent Rendille	1	1	1
Poor Rendille			3

In addition, one of them speaks good English.

Three of these men are Rendille mother tongue speakers. They state to have acquired their Samburu – in all three cases “fluent” – at Ilaut town and in their respective immediate neighbourhoods (“in the village”).

The three Samburu mother tongue speakers also know a little (“poor”) Rendille but explain that they do not use it. Ilaut seems to be an environment strongly dominated by the Samburu language.

The level of Swahili depends on school attendance. The two respondents (both incidentally Rendille speakers) state that they have acquired their Swahili at school. The one who also knows English (also from school) uses it for “official meetings”.

The three Samburu speakers are illiterate herdsmen and so is one of the Rendille speakers. The other two Rendille speakers have attended primary school at Korr. One of them, in addition to keeping livestock, has a shop.

They all have performed *ilmugit* and represent the following clans:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Nahagan	Maasula (3)
	Ong’eli (2)

The Rendille mother tongue speakers comprise the one from Nahagan and, on the Ariaal side – not difficult to guess after what we have learned so far – Ong’eli.

Their wives all speak fluent Samburu and poor Rendille which – as they explain – they actually do not use.

They all come from Samburu/ Ariaal clans other than Ong’eli, namely Lukumay (3), Maasula (2) and Lmosiat. None of them has gone to school or knows any Swahili.

All of these households have performed *sooriyo* but not *almoodo*. One of them is Catholic. The husband was baptized while at Korr Primary School.

The children all speak Samburu with each other. They are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
Now at primary school	3	
Of school age, not at school, herding		5
Of school age, not at school, married (age 11)		1
Nursery		1
Under school age	2	1

ILMETILI

The Ilaut sample comprises two interviews with households of the age-set Ilmetili (husbands circumcised in 1992/3).

One of the husbands, from Ong’eli, claims Rendille as his mother tongue but states as “degree of proficiency” only that his Rendille is “good”, while his Samburu is “fluent”. The other one, from Lorokushu, speaks fluent Samburu and poor Rendille. They both have high school education and “no” occupation. They both are Catholic, have performed *ilmugit* and practice *sooriyo* but not *almoodo*.

Their wives have the same degrees of proficiency in Samburu (fluent) and Rendille (poor). One of them has been to primary school and speaks good Swahili. One of them is from Ong’eli and states that Rendille is her mother tongue, but that is have become “poor” by disuse. The other one is from Lorokushu. Each of these households has an infant child.

SOMALI

The Ilaut sample also comprises one Somali household. The husband, a business man, has been to school and university in Somalia, the wife has been to primary school at Laisamis. They both speak perfect Somali and state that their Swahili is good. The husband also knows English. The wife uses her Swahili for business in Ilaut town, selling *miraa*.

They have three daughters, one of them still an infant, the others at Laisamis primary school. They both know some Somali but have acquired literacy only in Swahili.

What is remarkable in this case is that for no member of this family any competence in Samburu is claimed. This may be due to underreporting (which would show an attitude) but it may also be an indicator that one can get rather far these days even in these remote rural settings with Swahili (the language the children speak to each other).

In Isir Schlee’s generation, Somali families in northern Kenya, of which her family of origin is one, would be fluent in the local language (Rendille in her case, Samburu in the case of the Ngurunit branch of her family ...) and the local language (in addition to Swahili and Somali which played a lesser role) would also be used within sets of Somali siblings.

GOOB CHAULE, NEAR ILAUT

Four questionnaires have been collected from a hamlet named after the lineage Chaule (Dubsahay) near Ilaut. One is from a widow of a man of the age-set Ilkichili, the other three from young couples/families from the age-set of the children of Ilkichili, Ilmetili, circumcised 2006/7.

The widow has recently moved here from Korra and speaks Rendille and Samburu fluently. Her four children (born between 2003 and 2012) speak Rendille with each other but are now picking up Samburu.

The men of Ilmetili comprise two Rendille mother tongue speakers (from the clans Dubsahay and Ong'eli) and one monolingual Samburu-speaker (from the Rendille clan Dubsahay). They are all illiterate and pastoralists. They all have participated in Ilmugit, perform *sooriyo* and *almoo'do*, and are not members of any church. The wives speak the languages of their husbands. The monolingual Samburu speaker also has a monolingual Samburu speaking wife, also from a Rendille clan (Urawen). The two Rendille speaking wives are from Ong'eli.

There is no information about the languages of the children, because these families are too early in their reproductive cycle. One of them has no child, the others one infant child each.

Rendille is repeatedly mentioned as the language spoken "in the village". So this seems to be a Rendille niche in an otherwise largely Samburu-speaking environment.

SUKUROI VILLAGE

In the Sukuroi village near Ilaut, on the way westwards towards South Horr, 10 interviews have been carried out. One has been excluded from analysis because of inconsistencies (age-set affiliation of the husband was inconsistent with his year of birth and his wife's father was of the same age-set; an impossibility among Samburu and Rendille, because the daughters of men of one's own age-set are like "daughters" and one cannot marry them).

There was one interview about a household of the age-set Ilkimaniki, two from Ilkororo and two from Ilmooli. The general picture is that all these people are fluent in Samburu and all of them also speak Rendille, to varying degrees and that their children speak Samburu with each other. The only subsample large enough for some meaningful internal comparison is that of the age set Ilkichili.

ILKICHILI

n = 4

All these four men and their wives speak fluent Samburu, mostly in combination with poor or basic Rendille. Two of the men are also fluent in Rendille. What distinguishes them from the others? One observation which might be relevant here is that their wives had learned Rendille as their mother tongue, although they have lost proficiency in that language since. One states that her Rendille is "basic", the other one even that it is "poor". The former's father has participated in *gaalgulamme* and is of the Rendille clan Tubcha. The other wife is from Maasula (not an exogamous unit) like both Rendille speaking husbands. All the men have participated in Ilmugit, all of them have held *sooriyo* and *almoodo*, so there is nothing but the fact that their wives grew up as Rendille speakers which distinguishes the two Rendille speakers from the other two. All four men are from Maasula and also their wife's fathers, with the one exception mentioned, are from Samburu / Ariaal clans (Maasula (2), Loimisi). They do not belong to a Christian church.

The children of these people invariably speak Samburu with each other. Apparently their enumeration is not complete, because the interviewer only listed four (presumably the first four) for every family. These children, born between 1973 and 2000 are mostly illiterate and pastoralists (8 m, 4 f). They also comprise one university leaver who works at Baragoi, one college student, one secondary school student, and one primary school pupil, all male.

FARAKORE

Farakore is about 14 kms north-west from Ilaut. It was a grazing area mainly occupied by Maasula. It has had a primary school for some years now, which has the only permanent buildings of the location.

n = 16

- Ilkichili 3
- Ilkororo 5
- Ilmooli 7
- Ilmetili 1

ILKICHILI

The three men of Ilkichili are all of the clan Maasula and all speak Rendille as their mother tongue, although one of them now only claims basic knowledge of Rendille. They all use Samburu, in which they are all fluent, in the neighbourhood now having acquired it “from friends” or “from friends and in the neighbourhood”. They are all pastoralists without any formal education, they have participated in *ilmugit*, they perform *sooriyo* and *almoodo*, and they do not belong to a church.

Two of their wives have Samburu as their mother tongue, one Rendille. They are also all Maasula by clan.

Of their children, one, a boy, is now at secondary and one has college education and is now a teacher at Farakore primary school. The other 9 (4 m, 5 f) are in the pastoral sector. They all speak Samburu to each other.

ILKORORO

The five men of the Ilkororo age-set speak fluent Samburu and in four cases also fluent Rendille. In one case the Rendille is “poor”. One speaks also basic Swahili.

Culturally, educationally, ritually, they share the characteristics of their Ilkichili seniors. They are of the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Tubcha	Ong’eli (2)
	Maasula (2)

The proportion of Samburu mother tongue speakers is higher among their wives. Three of these claim Samburu, two Rendille as their mother tongue. These state Maasula (2) and Lorokushu as their clan of origin. The Samburu mother tongue speakers stem from the clans Maasula and Lukumay.

While the Samburu mother tongue speakers have only “poor” knowledge of Rendille, the Rendille mother tongue speakers speak “fluent” Samburu.

As all clan names given are Samburu names and refer to groups which – unlike Ong’eli – are not known to speak Rendille, the high proportion of Rendille “mother tongue” speakers may be due to a narrow understanding as “language of the mother”. These people may have had Rendille mothers but that might not have made Rendille the prevalent language in their childhood.

The answer to the question “Which language do your children speak to each other?” was:

- Samburu (3)
- Samburu and sometimes Rendille (1)
- No answer (1)

Two of their male children are at primary school, the others (7 m, 6 f) are in the pastoral sector.

ILMOOLI

Of the seven men of Ilmooli in our sample, five are Rendille mother tongue speakers. The questionnaires state explicitly that Samburu (in all cases fluent) was acquired only later, as the person “grew up”, “from friends and neighbour”, and, in one case, only as an adult.

About one of the wives the respective page is missing. Of the other 6, four are Samburu mother tongue speakers, one of whom has remained a Samburu monolingual, one acquired “good” Rendille after marriage, one had learned fluent Rendille as a child at Laisamis (!), and one only has poor Rendille and does not use it.

We shall come back to possible correlations between clan origins shortly.

The children of these families speak Samburu to each other. The following information could be obtained about their activities and whereabouts:

	M	F
Herding	1	1
Now at primary school		3
Of school age, herding	2	
“at Laisamis”		4
Nursery		1

To test whether there is any connection between clan affiliation and “mother tongue”, we combine the samples of both males and females (in the parental generation) in Ilkororo and Ilmooli and cross-tabulate clanship and mother tongue.

	Mother tongue	
	Rendille	Samburu
Clan (Samburu)		
Maasula	5	5
Lukumay		4
Ong'eli	2	
Lorokushu	1	
Clan (Rendille)		
Dubsahay	2	1
Matarbah	1	
Nahagan	2	
Tubcha	1	

ILMETILI

The sample also comprises a young couple of Ilmetili, yet childless, both Rendille mother tongue speakers who are also fluent in Samburu. He has been to Ilaut primary school and also has good Swahili. He is from Maasula, she from Ong'eli.

NGURUNIT

NGURUNIT TOWN

Ngurunit is a location on the fringe of the Mathew's Range, where the mountain open to the plain. It has a primary school, a Police post, and a secondary school. It is a beautiful location which attracts projects. There is a base of KARI (Kenyan Agricultural Research Institute). In the late 1970s and 80s also the KARI/IPAL/UNESCO project had a base here (see above, Haro).

Like Ilaut and South Horr, Ngurunit is located on the boundary between Samburu County and Marsabit County (Rift Valley Province and Eastern Province respectively).



Photo 1: A Somali trader in his compound at Ngurunit with a Rendille/Ariial visitor
(G. SCHLEE, 2001, 301_26.JPG)



Photo 2: Somali traders and their Rendille/Ariial visitors pose for a photograph in the same compound
(G. SCHLEE, 2001, 301_37, 301_34.JPG)



Photo 3: The same scene. Note the goat in the sack and the different types of footwear (tyre sandals/factory made plastic sandals)



Photo 4: Ngurunit is a place of great natural beauty, including impressive rock formations with natural water ponds.
(G. SCHLEE, 2001, 301_12.JPG)



Photo 5: A giant tree at Ngurunit

(G. SCHLEE, 2001, 301_20.JPG)



Photo 6: The rich natural environment is suitable for the production of honey. Note the bee-hives in the tree. (G. SCHLEE, 2001, 301_24.JPG)

NGURUNIT AREA

In the Ngurunit area, interviews have been carried out in four locations. Proceeding from east to west these are:

1. Ngurunit Dubsahay
2. Ngurunit Town
3. Ngurunit Ntepes E Rangi
4. Ngurunit AIC / Najoola

NGURUNIT DUBSAHAY

n = 30

- Ilkimaniki 1
- Ilkichili 9
- Ilkororo 9
- Ilmooli 9
- Ilmetili 2

ILKIMANIKI

The age set of Ilkimaniki, circumcised in 1951, is represented by one widow. Her husband, a herder, was from the clan Saale and the sub-clan Galoro, had participated in Gaalgulamme.

Like he was, she is a monolingual Rendille speaker. She has never been outside the district. She has a married daughter at Korr and a married son at Ngurunit, born 1968 and c. 1970 respectively. Both speak Samburu and Rendille, having learnt it – in the case of the son only in basic fashion – from neighbours. Both languages are used every day. The son has finished primary school and also speaks fluent Swahili and good English. He is said – unusually – also to be able to read and write Rendille.

ILKICHILI

The nine men of the age-set Ilkichili circumcised 1965 (Samburu name: Ilkishili, year of circumcision 1964) speak the following combinations of Rendille and Samburu:

	Perfect Samburu	Basic Samburu	No Samburu
Perfect / fluent Rendille	2	1	6

Other languages:

- Perfect Swahili 1

The largest group, those who speak only Rendille, represent the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Rengumo	
Nahagan	
Dubsahay (4)	

Those who have perfect or basic knowledge of Samburu state as their clans:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Dubsahay	Maasula
	Lukumay

The two who state Ariaal/Samburu clan affiliation have Samburu as their mother tongue and have learned Rendille from neighbours. The man of Dubsahay is a Rendille mother tongue speaker who has picked up some Samburu at Ngurunit.

The men with Rendille clan affiliation all have participated in Gaalgulamme, the man of Maasula and the one of Lukumay have participated in Ilmugit. All these men participate in traditional rituals, have no church affiliation and have not undergone formal education.

Of the wives of the two Samburu mother tongue speakers one is also a Samburu mother tongue speaker, who, however, in this largely Rendille speaking environment has come to speak also Rendille fluently and uses both languages on a daily basis. About the other one we only learn that she speaks Samburu.

The total picture of the language competencies of the wives of Ilkichili is the following:

	Perfect / fluent Samburu	No Samburu
Perfect Rendille	1	6
Very good Rendille	1	
No Rendille	1	

The clan origins of these wives are:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Rengumo (2)	
O'doola	
Saale (Gaabana)	
Matarbah	
Dubsahay	
Saale	

The language the children of these couples speak to each other is stated to be:

- Samburu 3
- Rendille 2
- Rendille and Samburu 2

In the neighbourhood they speak:

- Samburu 8
- Rendille and Samburu 1

This looks like quite a dramatic difference to the parental generation. While among their parents Rendille clearly dominates, for the use within the sibling sets in the filial generation Samburu slightly predominates. It even more clearly dominates as the language used “in the neighbourhood”. Ap-

parently this “neighbourhood” consists of relevant others other than their parents and the parents of their age mates.

About the careers and activities of these children the following activities have been reported:

	M	F
University student	1	
Married, not educated		6
Married, secondary education		1
Married, primary education		2
Herder	12	1
Finished or partial primary education, now “at home” or “at Ngurunit”	4	2
Now at secondary school	3	
Now at primary school		2
Of school age, herding	4	1

The language competencies of these children comprise:

Fluent Samburu 16

Good Samburu 1

Basic Samburu 1

Fluent Rendille, including reading (and mostly writing) 8

Fluent Rendille 10

Fluent Swahili 5

Basic Swahili 4

Fluent English 4

Basic English 2

Typically, the children about whom these more detailed information have been obtained were first, second, or third children, since the interviewers made use of the three empty forms at the end of the printed questionnaire and left it at that. (In the case of other settlements also these three forms had often been left blank.) The total number of forms filled (= children of whom all language competencies have been listed) is 20. The number of language competencies is 53. This is 2.65 language competencies per person, with a variation from one to four. This is in stark contrast to the often monolingual or just bilingual parental generation. In the parental generation 24 language

competencies were held by 18 persons, which gives an average of just 1.33 languages per person.

ILKORORO

The 9 men of the age-set Ilkororo, circumcised in 1979, speak the following combinations of Rendille and Samburu:

	Perfect / fluent Samburu	Basic Samburu	Very little Samburu
Perfect/fluent Rendille	4	4	1

Other languages:

- Very good Swahili 1
- Fluent Swahili 1
- Good Swahili 2
- Perfect Swahili 1
- Basic Swahili 1

- Very good English 2
- Fluent English 1
- Fair English 1

In the column “Level of literacy and use for reading and writing”, the answer “can read and write Rendille” has been recorded in 4 cases.

They represent the following combinations of clan origins and participation in Samburu (Ilmugit) or Rendille (Gaalgulamme) age set rituals:

	Gaalgulamme	Ilmugit
Rendille clan names:		
Dubsahay 5	4	1
Saale Itturriya		1
Rengumo 2	1	2
Matarbah		1
Samburu clan names:		
None (one person who has given an Ariaal and a Rendille clan name has been counted above)		

One person of Rengumo actually has participated in Gaalgulamme and Ilmugit. He still speaks very little Samburu and may have come here as a “warrior” (= circumcised but yet unmarried man) and have participated in one of the Ilmugit sacrifices which people perform in the later stages of warriorhood. This interpretation is supported by the fact that his circumcision (one year before Gaalgulamme) was carried out in a Rendille context: at Korr by a man of the Tubcha clan.

Four of these men are pastoralists, participants in traditional rituals, have no church affiliation and have never been to school.

The five who deviate from this pattern include:

1. Two pastoralists who have been to primary school for five years and were baptized as Catholics in that period.
2. A Muslim since childhood who finished primary school and then joined the Kenya Army.
3. One ethnographer with college education who works at the National Museums of Kenya as a senior collector. He is Catholic, baptized while he was at Kargi primary school
4. One man who has – without formal education – made a career in the Administration Police where he became a corporal

The wives of these nine men number ten, because they include a second wife. These wives speak:

	Mother tongue Samburu	Fluent Samburu	Samburu basic
Mother tongue Rendille		4	1
Fluent Rendille			
Basic Rendille	3		
No Rendille	2		

What is conspicuous about this table is that the mother tongue speakers of Rendille among these wives all have managed also to acquire fluent Samburu, with the exception of one whose Samburu is “basic”, while the Samburu mother tongue speakers among them speak only basic Rendille or no Rendille at all.

In spite of the preponderance of Rendille among their husbands, who all have full competence in Rendille and speak Samburu to different degrees, Samburu seems to have a stronger assimilatory power than Rendille on in-marriage women in this particular linguistic environment.

Other languages reported to have been mastered by these wives include:

- Perfect Swahili 1
- Fluent Swahili 1

- Perfect English 1
- Fluent English 1

The responses

“Can read and write Rendille” (1)

and “Can read and write Samburu” (1)

suggest that the two wives who have been to school also apply the techniques of reading and writing acquired there to their respective mother tongue.

These wives are daughters of the following clans. The columns to the right indicate whether their fathers have participated in Gaalgulamme or in a Samburu-style Ilmugit age-set ceremony:

	Gaalgulamme	Ilmugit
Rendille clan name		
Saale, Galoro	1	
Rengumo	2	
Dubsahay / Lukumay		2
Saale / Ong'eli		1
Samburu clan name		
Maasula		2
Maasula/ Rengumo		1
unnamed		
Turkana group (1)	-	-

When, in the case of Ariaal of Rendille origin, two names were given, the classification Rendille / Samburu clan name was decided on the ground of the name given first. So “Dubsahay / Lukumay” has ended up in the category “Rendille clan name” and “Maasula / Rengumo” as a “Samburu clan name”. It can be seen that Rengumo, who are now boycotting Rendille age-set promotion rituals and do Ilmugit, still participated in Gaalgulamme when the fathers of these wives were young. (They are of the age-sets Ilkilegu and Ilkimaniki respectively.) As Gaalgulamme participation of the father has been found elsewhere (above: South Horr Ilkororo, Haro town, Mt. Kulal – Ilmooli, cf. also below: Ngurunit town – Ilmooli) to be an indicator of the competence in Rendille of the daughter, we may try to test this hypothetical connection by the following cross-tabulation:

	Father participated in Gaalgulamme	Father participated in Ilmugit
Daughter has full competence in Rendille	3	2
Basic Rendille		3
No Rendille		1

The sample comprises one woman less, because the father of the Samburu-speaking woman of Turkana origin has neither participated in Ilmugit nor in Gaalgulamme.

The cross-tabulation confirms our findings about the wives of the Ilmooli age-set of the main settlement at Haro (above). All women whose father has

participated in Gaalgulamme are fully competent in Rendille. But as some Rendille clans, and, of course the Rendille-speaking Ariaal clan Ong’eli, practice Ilmugit, also fathers who have participated in Ilmugit may have Rendille speaking daughters. The other way round (trying language competence as a predictor of age-set ritual participation of the father) one can say that in this contact zone it is a good guess that a woman who speaks little or no Rendille has a father who has participated in Ilmugit.

The children of these women speak Samburu with each other in 7 cases, Rendille in 2 cases and “Samburu / Rendille” in one case. The mothers of these three sets of siblings who partly or exclusively speak Rendille to each other, comprise two women who are Samburu mother tongue speakers and learnt basic Rendille only from their husbands and neighbours after marrying into Dubsahay Ngurunit.

The activities of these children are:

	M	F
College educated, married		1
Primary dropout, at home	1	1
Just finished primary, at home	1	
Herder	4	
Now at secondary school	3	1
Now at primary school	7	6
Of school age, not at school, herding	4	2
Nursery	2	2
Under school age	3	4

The mother of one of these is deceased and he has been listed with the children of the woman who has come to replace his mother (*mingessi* – ‘the one who has entered the house’).

Those of these children about whom forms in the questionnaire have been filled, speak the following combinations of Rendille and Samburu.

	Mother tongue Samburu	Fluent Samburu	Basic Samburu	No Samburu
Mother tongue Rendille		7		
Fluent Rendille				
Basic Rendille	4			
No Rendille	13			
Knows Rendille, level not specified	1			

In addition, they speak:

- Very good Swahili 2
- Fluent, good Swahili 8
- Basic Swahili 2
- Little Swahili 1

- Very good English 1
- Fluent, good English 8
- Fair English 1

Even more clearly than among their mothers (above) the following pattern emerges: The mother tongue speakers of Rendille all also speak Samburu fluently, while Samburu mother tongue speakers sometimes acquire basic Rendille, but mostly no Rendille at all.

ILMOOLI

The 9 men of the age-set Ilmooli, circumcised in 1993, speak the following combinations of Rendille and Samburu:

	Mother tongue Samburu	Fluent Samburu	Basic Samburu	No Samburu
Mother Tongue Rendille		3	3	
Fluent Rendille	2			
Basic Rendille				
No Rendille				

In addition, they speak the following languages:

- Very good Swahili 1
- Fluent Swahili 3
- Basic Swahili 2
- Swahili, level not specified 1

- Very good English 1
- Fluent English 3

These men do not confirm the pattern that mother tongue speakers of Rendille also acquire fluency in Samburu but not vice versa. Four Rendille speakers only know basic Samburu and the two Samburu mother tongue speakers are fluent in Rendille. As their number is only two, this may not be very significant.

One of the men explains that he has acquired his Swahili when working as a watchman at Marsabit. Another one, who likewise has not undergone formal education, learned some Swahili when he worked as a driver. He now runs a shop and a bar in addition to livestock production. He can recognize the names stored in his telephone but does not know how to write.

Only two of these nine men are traditional pastoralists without any exposure to schooling, adhering to local custom.

One has been a watchman with KARI, the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute which maintains a station at Ngurunit.

One has completed primary school at Korr and is a community health worker as well as a livestock producer.

Another one has even enjoyed secondary education (at Marsabit) and works as a driver.

A man who has been to Korr Primary School for two years, since has worked as game ranger, in addition to livestock production.

We have already mentioned to man who runs a shop and a bar in connection with his level of literacy (above).

Another man is an assistant in research on livestock in addition to being a pastoralist. He has finished secondary school at Moyale.

Another alumnus of that school in addition to his pastoralist activities is a shopkeeper and livestock trader.

These careers show that these men have not spent all their lives at Ngurunit. We can find out about the influence of regional origins by cross tabulating the places where these men have been circumcised with their level of competence in Samburu.

	Mother tongue Samburu	Fluent Samburu	Basic Samburu
Circumcised in central or northern Rendilleland			
at Korr	1		2
at Kargi			1
Circumcised in the south and the west			
at Ngurunit	1	3	
at Laisamis	1		

This table shows that all those who have been circumcised in what we may hypothesize as the Samburu speaking belt in the south and the west are fluent in Samburu, whether it is their mother tongue or not. Of the four central and northern Rendille who reside here, three speak only basic Samburu. They all state that they learned it from neighbours, in one case specifically “at Ngurunit”.

These men represent the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Nahagan	Maasula
Dubsahay (5)	
Saale	
Uyam	

The man of Maasula is, as expected, a Samburu mother tongue speaker but he also speaks fluent Rendille, like everybody in this sample (see the first

table under “Ilmooli”, above). The variation is between different levels of Samburu and that co-varies with regional origins, not with Rendille versus Samburu clan origins.

Most of these men have participated in Gaalgulamme, two in Ilmugit. The latter comprise the man of Maasula and one of the men of Dubsahay, likewise a Samburu mother tongue speaker but fluent in Rendille.

The wives of these men number ten, because they comprise one second wife.

They speak the following combinations of Rendille and Samburu:

	Mother tongue Samburu	Fluent Samburu	No Samburu
Mother tongue Rendille		8	1
Fluent Rendille	1		

The sample comprises one woman whose mother tongue is Boran, she has learned basic Samburu from neighbours at Ngurunit, but no Rendille, although linguistically Boran is much closer to Rendille than to Samburu. At school she has acquired fluent Swahili and fluent English.

In addition to Rendille and Samburu these women speak the following languages. (Not counting the Boran speaker mentioned above)

- Very good Swahili 1
- Good Swahili 1
- Basic Swahili 1

- Very good English 1
- Fair English 1

All women in this sample, except one, speak fluent Samburu in addition to fluent Rendille. All but one are Rendille mother tongue speakers. That Rendille mother tongue speakers who join a settlement at Ngurunit as wives invariably end up speaking also Samburu with fluency points to a strong regional effect.

As there is so little variation there is no need for cross-tabulations with non-linguistic explanatory factors. Cross tabulation is about explaining variation and is superfluous in the absence of it. Suffice it to say that these women who are almost invariably fluent in both Rendille and Samburu come from a variety of Rendille and Ariaal clans.

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Dubsahay	Ong'eli
Rengumo/ Maasula	Lukumay
Matarbah (2)	
Rengumo	
Tubcha	
Saale/ Ong'eli	

The Boran speaking woman stems from an unspecified Gabra clan.

The children of these families invariably speak Samburu with each other. In one case Swahili is mentioned in addition to Samburu. They are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
Now at secondary school	1	
Now at primary school	6	6
Of school age, not at school	6	3
Nursery		2
Under school age	5	6

Interestingly, about the children about whom forms have been filled, we learn that all of them are “mother tongue” speakers of Samburu although their mothers may have Rendille as their mother tongue and the same applies to their fathers. In such cases in the column “Language acquisition” it is explained that Rendille has been “learnt from parents”. The following table summarizes these statements.

	Mother tongue Samburu	Fluent Samburu
Mother tongue Rendille		
Fluent Rendille	3	
Basic Rendille	7	
No Rendille	16	

This means that all children have mother tongue competence in Samburu and the only variation there is between levels of Rendille. The majority speak no Rendille at all, and only three are fluent in Rendille, all from the same set of siblings. About those who speak basic Rendille it is explained in several

cases that they picked it up from their grandparents and use it only rarely, mostly with their grandparents.

That they all speak Samburu as their “mother tongue” is a dramatic shift from their mothers who were almost invariably as fluent in Rendille as in Samburu and were almost exclusively Rendille mother tongue speakers.

In addition, these children speak:

- Fluent Swahili 4
- Basic Swahili 5

- Fluent English 3
- Good English 1

ILMETILI

The two men of the age-set Ilmetili, circumcised in 2006, are both Rendille mother tongue speakers who have learned Samburu “from neighbours”. One is married to a Samburu mother tongue speaker who has no Rendille, the other one to a Rendille who has learnt Samburu from “neighbours”. They have one infant child each.

NGURUNIT TOWN

n = 11

- Ilkichili –1
- Ilkororo –6
- Ilmooli –3
- Ilmetili –1

ILKICHILI

The man of Ilkichili is a monolingual Rendille speaker of the clan Ong’eli (or his knowledge of Samburu has not been recorded) married to a mother tongue Rendille speaker who is also fluent in Samburu, which she “learnt from neighbours at Ngurunit after marriage”. Their four children speak Samburu with each other. Three of them have not had any schooling, while one has finished university and holds an elevated office in the civil service – a clear diversification strategy: Monetary resources are concentrated and invested in the education of just one person, while the rest of the family remain pastoralists.

ILKORORO

The six men of the age-set Ilkororo, circumcised in 1993, speak the following combinations of Rendille and Samburu:

	Mother tongue Samburu	Basic Samburu
Mother tongue Rendille		1
Fluent Rendille	2	
Basic Rendille	2	
No Rendille	1	

The younger the people we look at become – in the preceding sections comparing parents and their children, now progressing from age-sets circumcised in 1965 and 1973 to the one circumcised in 1993, the more often Samburu is the first language and any variation there is, in the level of Rendille these people may or may not speak in addition.

Apart from Samburu and whichever amount of Rendille, these men speak:

- Perfect Swahili 1
- Excellent Swahili 1
- Fluent Swahili 1
- Basic Swahili 1

- Perfect English 1
- Excellent English 1
- Fluent English 1
- Good English 1

As these self-assessments suggest, these men are not traditional pastoralists but have had quite a degree of exposure to institutions like church and state.

One is the Assistant Chief of Ilaut. He has finished primary school. At school he was baptized.

Another of the men has enjoyed tertiary education at a church seminar and now works as a Catechist.

A third and a fourth are college trained teachers.

A fifth has finished primary school. No information about subsequent employment is given.

The last one has not undergone formal education but has been engaged in wage labour as a watchman at the church.

They are all Catholics. The Catholic Church is tolerant about performing traditional rituals, often preferring to give them a Christian meaning over abolishing them. Four of these men have recently held *sooriyo* sacrifices, two have dropped this custom.

They represent the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Saale / Gaabana	Maasula
Tumal / Dubsahay	
Tumal / Ilpisikishu	
Nahagan	
Tumal / Saale Galoro	

Tumal/ Dubsahay and other such combination of “Tumal” with a Rendille clan name means that these people stem from blacksmith families who have lived in a long association with the respective Rendille clans. (About blacksmiths see Schlee 2015 [1979] a: 162-163, b: 215–217) Tumal were among the earliest converts made by Catholic missionaries. This relationship has also been described in the first volume of this census report (Schlee and Schlee 2015: 73ff).

Only one of these men has performed Gaalgulamme (the chief who has been appointed here), all others Ilmugit.

Their wives speak:

	Mother tongue Samburu	Perfect / fluent Samburu	Basic Samburu
Mother tongue Rendille		3	1
No Rendille	2		

The pattern is clear: At Ngurunit, Rendille mother tongue speakers learn Samburu, but not the other way round.

In addition, these wives speak:

- Excellent Swahili 1
- Perfect Swahili 1
- Fluent Swahili 3
- Basic Swahili 1

- Excellent English 1
- Fluent English 3

Of these women, only two have no activities outside the domestic and pastoral sphere. Of these, one has primary education, the other one no formal education.

Two are teachers, one apparently at the primary school, the other one at the nursery (“early childhood teacher”).

One is a cook at the nursery school, apart from her domestic role. Her education comprises only three years of primary school.

The last one has finished primary school. She is not involved in wage labour, but apparently in the NGO scene, because she has gone to seminars in Nanyuki, Narok, Nairobi and Nakuru.

As language use is so uniform and no variation to be explored, we mention their clan affiliations only for the sake of completeness.

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Gooborre (2)	Ong'eli
Tumal / Matarbah	
Nahagan	
Rengumo	

The children of these families unsurprisingly speak Samburu with each other. The exception is the family of the chief which stems from Korr and speaks Rendille. In one case Swahili and English are used in addition to Samburu.

These children are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
University graduate	2	1
No formal education, married		1
Secondary school dropout	2	1
Completed secondary school, married		1
Completed secondary school	1	
Completed secondary school, at home	3	
Now at secondary school	2	2
Primary school dropout	1	1
Completed primary, at home	1	
Now at primary	4	2

ILMOOLI

The three men of the age-set Ilmooli, circumcised in 1993, speak

	Samburu mother tongue	Fluent Samburu
Rendille mother tongue		1
Fluent Rendille	1	
Basic Rendille	1	

In addition, they speak:

- Perfect Swahili 1
- Fluent Swahili 2

Perfect English 1

Fluent English 2

Two have participated in Ilmugit, one in Gaalgulamme. Their places of circumcision are Mpagas, Kargi, and Lepindira. They represent the following clans:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Saale-Galoro	Ong'eli
	Maasula

One of them is a college trained teacher who was baptized as a Catholic when he went to primary school.

The second is a livestock trader who went to primary school at Kargi, where he was baptized as a Catholic and who later completed secondary school at Marsabit.

The third went to the same secondary school but dropped out in form 3. He now works as a volunteer teacher.

The wives of these men speak:

	Mother tongue Samburu	Basic Samburu
Mother tongue Rendille		1
No Rendille	2	

In addition, they speak:

- Fluent Swahili 1
- Basic Swahili 2

▫ Basic English 1

The Rendille speaker stems from a Rendille clan, Rengumo, has a father who participated in Gaalgulamme. She has not been to school and converted to Christianity (Catholic) only after marriage.

The other two are from Ariaal clans (Ong’eli, Maasula) and have fathers who participated in Ilmugit.

One of the latter has not enjoyed education, the other one dropped out of primary school.

The children speak Samburu with each other. Rendille has been added to the answer referring to the children of the Rendille speaking woman. One of them is now at Kargi, presumably with the grandparents.

The children are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
Now at secondary school		1
Now at primary school	1	3
Nursery	2	
Under age	1	2

ILMETILI

A man of the age-set Ilmetili, circumcised 2006, is a Samburu speaker. His wife is bilingual in Samburu and Rendille. Both of them have gone to school. He is a secondary school dropout who now works as a catechist for the Catholic Church. She has completed primary education. They have two small children. The first speaks Samburu. The second is still an infant.

NGURUNIT – NTEPES E RANGI

n = 13

- Ilkimaniki –2
- Ilkichili –5
- Ilkororo –6

ILKIMANIKI

The sample comprises three filled questionnaires, two of which belong to different households (wives) belonging to the same men.

The two men are Rendille mother tongue speakers. One of them speaks fluent Samburu, the other one basic Samburu. The one who speaks better Samburu is from a Rendille clan and has participated in Gaalgulamme. He learnt Samburu from age-mates when herding animals in the satellite camp. The

other man also gives an Ariaal clan name (Maasula) in addition to a Rendille clan name (Rengumo) and has participated in Ilmugit, but is less proficient in Samburu. General trends do not always show up in individual cases.

Their wives (n = 3) are all Rendille mother tongue speakers who have learnt fluent (2) or basic (1) Samburu from neighbours at Ngurunit.

Their children, born between 1965 and 2004, all speak Samburu with each other.

	M	F
Studying at university		1
Completed secondary, County level politician	1	
Uneducated, married		5
Pastoralist	1	
Primary school dropout, married		1
Now at secondary school	1	
Of school age, not at school	1	1

Those about whom more detailed information has been obtained, show the following combinations of competence in Rendille and Samburu.

	Samburu mother tongue	Samburu fluent
Rendille mother tongue		6
Rendille fluent		
No Rendille	3	

The sibling set for whom Samburu was given as the mother tongue did in fact have a mother whose first language was Rendille. What this table shows clearly that everyone here learns Samburu, whatever they state to be their mother tongue.

In addition, those who have gone to school speak:

- Fluent Swahili 3
- Basic Swahili 1
- Fluent English 3

ILKICHILI

The five men of the age-set Ilkichili, circumcised in 1965 (1964 for Samburu) speak the following combinations of Rendille and Samburu:

	Samburu mother tongue	Samburu fluent / perfect
Rendille mother tongue		1
Rendille fluent	2	
Rendille basic	1	
No Rendille	1	

One of them in addition speaks basic Swahili, which although he has, like the others, not gone to school, he picked up while working for the Administration Police and as an Assistant Chief.

All these men have participated in Ilmugit and none of them has a church affiliation. They represent the following clans:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
	Maasula 2
	Lorokushu
	Lukumay
	Ong'eli

Their wives speak:

	Samburu mother tongue	Fluent Samburu
Rendille mother tongue		1
Rendille fluent	2	
Rendille basic	1	
No Rendille	1	

One of these women also speaks basic Swahili.

They represent the following clans:

Rendille	Samburu / Ariaal
Uyam	Loimusi
	Ong'eli (2)
	Ong'eli / Saale

All their fathers have participated in Ilmugit, except one who has participated in Gaalgulamme.

If the reader now conjectures that the participant in Gaalgulamme is the man from Uyam and that his daughter is the only Rendille mother tongue speaker in this subsample, he or she is right.

The children of these couples invariably speak Samburu with each other.

Their activities comprise:

	M	F
University student	1	
Not educated, married		1
Herder	5	
Completed secondary school, at home	2	
Primary school dropout, whereabouts unknown	1	
Now at primary school	3	3
Of school age, not at school		1
Nursery	1	
Under age	1	

The older ones (=the ones for whom forms we filled) of these speak the following combinations of Rendille and Samburu:

	Samburu mother tongue	Fluent Samburu
Rendille mother tongue		
Rendille fluent	4	
Fair/basic Rendille	2	
No Rendille	7	

The “Samburu mother tongue” speakers comprise the child of the woman who is the only Rendille mother tongue speaker in the subsample.

In addition, they speak:

- Fluent Swahili 3
- Good Swahili 1
- Basic Swahili 3

- Fluent English 3
- Good English 1
- Basic English 2

ILKORORO

The six men of Ilkororo, circumcised in 1979, all are fluent in both Samburu and Rendille. Those whose mother tongue is one, will also fluently speak the other:

	Samburu mother tongue	Samburu fluent
Rendille mother tongue		2
Fluent Rendille	4	

One of these men also picked up some Swahili while working in Nairobi as a watchman.

They all have participated in Ilmugit. They represent the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Dubsahay	Maasula / Rengumo
Gooborre	Lukumay
Rengumo / Maasula	Maasula

Five of them are pastoralists and have not experienced modern education or conversion to Christianity. One of them is a carpenter and mason at Sererit and is a Catholic. He has participated in adult literacy programmes and technical training.

Their places of circumcision include

- Lepindira
- Lekushula
- Ilaut (2)
- Korr
- and a hospital in Nairobi

Apart from Nairobi, all these places, although in two cases (Lepindira and Lekushula) they are just a little east of Ngurunit, have a higher proportion of Rendille speakers and are more bilingual. So, like in other cases, also in Ngurunit one has to reckon with the possibility that in spite of many people changing from Rendille to Samburu, the numbers of Rendille speakers are filled up by immigration from other areas.

The wives of these men speak:

	Samburu mother tongue	Fluent Samburu	Basic Samburu
Rendille mother tongue		2	1
Fluent Rendille	2		
Basic Rendille	1		
No Rendille			

There is evidence that also these women come from areas closer to the core of Rendille-phony. Two of them have been baptized at the Catholic Mission at Korr. One has a father who has participated in Gaalgulamme. One stems from Mt. Kulal. Unsurprisingly, she is the one who only speaks basic Rendille.

One of them speaks also basic Swahili.

They represent the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
Uyam	Maasula (2)
Tubcha	Lukumay/ Tubcha
Saale-Gaabana	

The clan name in this case neatly reflects the mother tongue but not the language proficiency, since, as we have seen all but one of these women are fully competent in both languages.

	Rendille clan name	Ariaal / Samburu clan name
Mother tongue Rendille	3	
Mother tongue Samburu		3

The clan name in this case neatly reflects the mother tongue but not the language proficiency, since, as we have seen all but one of these women are fully competent in both languages.

	M	F
University student	1	
Pastoralist	5	
Uneducated, married		1
Completed secondary, at home	1	
Now at secondary school		1
Now at primary school	3	6
Of school age, herding	3	1
Of school age, works as maid at Marsabit		1
Nursery	2	2
Under age		1

Those about whom more detailed information has been given, speak the following languages:

	Samburu mother tongue	Fluent Samburu
Rendille mother tongue		5
Fluent Rendille	1	
Basic Rendille	1	
No Rendille	9	

In the case of one set of siblings the Rendille competence was explained by the earlier place of residence. It was acquired “through neighbours at Korr”. In another case it was acquired from “parents and grandparents”.

In addition, as a result of schooling, these children speak:

- Very good Swahili 2
- Fluent Swahili 2
- Good Swahili 2
- Basic Swahili 1

- Very good English 2
- Fluent English 2
- Good English 1
- Fair English 1

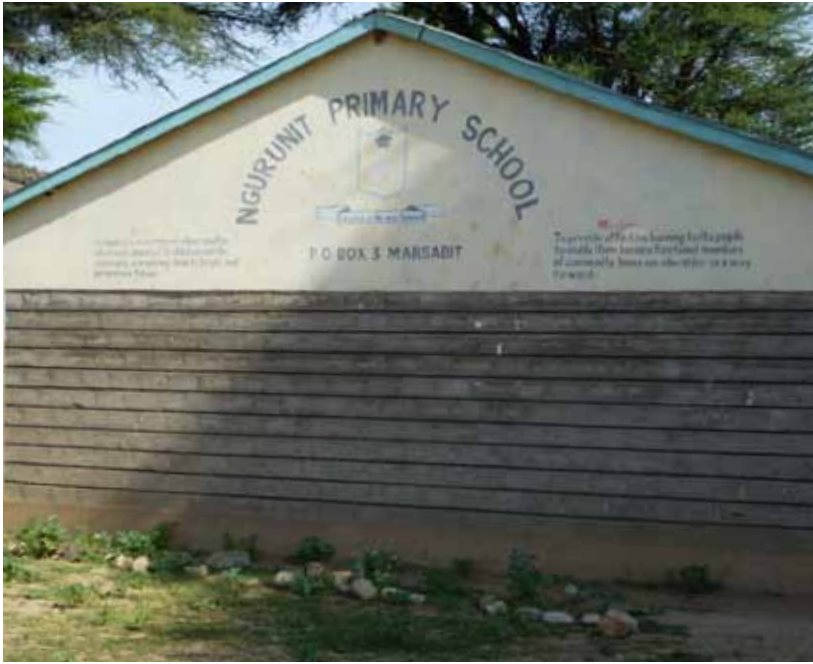


Photo 7: Ngurunit Primary School



Photo 8: Ngurunit Primary School

(F. WAMBILE, P1060094, 092.JPG)



Photo 9: Ngurunit Administration Police camp



Photo 10: Ngurunit Health Centre

(F. WAMBILE, P1060096, 101.JPG)



Photo 11: Ngurunit Health Centre



Photo 12: Cattel through at the seasonal Ngurunit River (F. WAMBILE, P1060102, 106.JPG)



Photo 13: Samburu type houses near the African Inland Church at Ngurunit
(F. WAMBILE, P1060111, 110.JPG)



Photo 14: Rendille house at the Dubsahay Adiyaakhiche homestead

n = 19

- Ilkimaniki –5
- Ilkichili –6
- Ilkororo –1
- Ilmooli –5
- Ilmetili –2

Of the 5 households of Ilkimaniki, two are headed by widows. The 3 surviving members of this age-set, circumcised in 1951, speak

	Samburu perfect, mother tongue	Good Samburu
Rendille 'perfect', mother tongue	1	1
Good Rendille		
No Rendille	1	

They are all members of the African Inland Church (A.I.C.), which does not prevent them from performing traditional practices (*sooriyo*, pouring milk libations). They have not had any formal education but one of them has had experience with wage labour for the Ministry of Water.

They are of Ariaal / Samburu clans (Ong'eli (2), Loimisi). The ones who speak Rendille are of Ong'eli.

The wives and widows of Ilkimaniki speak:

	Samburu mother tongue	Little Samburu
Rendille mother tongue		1
Good Rendille	1	
No Rendille	3	

They stem from the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal / Samburu
O'doola	Maasula (2)
Matarbah	

On one of the questionnaires this question was not answered. The ones who speak Rendille are from O'doola and Tubcha.

About the children of these women, the following information has been obtained.

The language they speak with each other is

Language	No. of sibling sets
Mostly Rendille, also Samburu	1
Samburu	2
Rendille / Samburu	2

The children sets who mostly or partly speak Rendille include those with Rendille mothers (by clan of origin) and the children of one of the mothers from Maasula who does not speak Rendille herself. Their father is a Rendille speaker from Ong'eli.

The activities and whereabouts of these children are the following:

	M	F
Nurse, married		1
Kenya Air force	1	
Kenya Wildlife Service	1	
Herder	4	
School dropout, herder	1	
Completed primary, at home		
Now at primary school	5	5
Of school age, herding	1	1
Nursery	1	

Those of these children about whom forms have been filled come from only two households. This may have caused a heavy bias in favour of Rendille. They speak the following combinations of Rendille and Samburu:

	Samburu mother tongue
Rendille mother tongue	2
Poor Rendille	2

From this we can conclude that also those children who have a Rendille speaking mother have now been classified as having mother tongue competence in Samburu.

In addition, these children speak:

- Perfect Swahili 4
- Perfect English 2

ILKICHILI

The six men said to be of the age-set Ilkichili include two whose year of birth is given as 1970, i. e. five years after the circumcision of the Ilkichili age-set. In two more cases no year of birth is given, but, untypically for Ilkichili, the first child was born in 2010. (The marriage year of Ilkichili was 1977).

There is one man born in 1954 who could actually be Ilkichili if he was circumcised at the unusually early age of nine years. His first child was born in 1996, so either he has married late or had a long period of childless marriage.

The sixth questionnaire is also not convincing in terms of age-set affiliation. The year of birth is not given and the first child was born in 1994.

This entire subsample had to be excluded from analysis because of incompleteness or inconsistency of the data.

ILKORORO

There is only one questionnaire about a household belonging to this age-set. No year of birth is given for this man, but the age-set of the father of his wife and the age of their children are consistent with Ilkororo age-set affiliation.

The couple are Rendille speakers. Their children speak Rendille with each other but Samburu in the wider environment.

ILMOOLI

The five men of the age-set Ilmooli, circumcised in 1993, speak the following combinations of Rendille and Samburu:

	Samburu mother tongue	Good Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille mother tongue			1
Fair Rendille		1	
No Rendille	3		

One of them, the one who claims neither mother tongue competence in Rendille nor in Samburu, speaks good Swahili. He is a Pastor from Meru. It can be assumed that he also speaks English and Meru, but these languages have not been listed.

They all have Samburu /Ariaal clan affiliations:

- Iltoiso
- Loimisi (2)
- Ong’eli
- Ong’eli / Saale

The Rendille mother tongue speaker is the one who gives “Saale” in addition to “Ong’eli” as his clan affiliation.

In case of one of the Loimisi men, this clan affiliation is given as a sign of local integration. The person in question is the pastor from Meru.

Apart from the pastor and one man who has had seven years of primary education and has worked with KARI (the local project of the Kenyan Agricultural Research Institute), all others are pastoralists without additional training or wage labour experience.

One of them is a Catholic, two state A.I.C. as their church affiliation, one is a Lutheran, and one does not state his religious affiliation.

The wives of these men speak:

	Samburu mother tongue	Little / poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille mother tongue		2	1
Little Rendille	1		
No Rendille	1		

If we cross-tabulate their language competences with their clan origins, the following picture emerges:

			Competence in Rendille		
			Mother tongue	Little Rendille	No Rendille
Clan of origin	Rendille	Saale	1		
		Uyam	1		
		O'doola	1		
		Dubsahay		1	
	Ariaal /Samburu	Maasula			1

These women have not undergone formal education. Their religious affiliation corresponds to that of their husbands, except that the wife of the man who does not state a religious affiliation is an A.I.C. member.

The children of these families speak Samburu with each other (3 cases) or Rendille plus some Samburu, or Samburu plus some Rendille (one case each).

They are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
Now at primary school	4	3
Nursery	3	1
Under age	1	1

ILMETILI

The two men of the age-set Ilmetili, circumcised in 1993, are Rendille mother tongue speakers with Rendille clan affiliation and limited knowledge of Samburu. One of them is unmarried, which raises the question why he was included in this survey which proceeds household by household. The other one has a Samburu-speaking wife from a Samburu clan and two children, one in the nursery, the other still at home who are said to speak both Samburu and Rendille with each other.

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A SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

ABBREVIATIONS

AIC/A.I.C. = African Inland Church

AP = Administration Police

ATR = African traditional religion

IPAL = Integrated Project in Arid Lands

KARI = Kenyan Agricultural Research Institute

PCEA = Pentecostal Church of East Africa

KPR/K.P.R. = Kenya Police Reserve

CDF = Constituency Development Fund

OLTOROT

WAMBILLE

YURAT

3/8/2015

Interview Guideline on linguistic and cultural affiliation

For Isir Schlee and helpers

General order of proceeding with the interview:

Start by explaining the purpose of the interview. Assure respondents that real names will not be used in the publication of the results.

As a general rule, follow the order below. If a different entry point turns up in a conversation, this order can be changed for opportunistic reasons. Go back to this guideline before finishing an interview for the sake of completeness.

1. Questions concerning head of household, in the case of widows the deceased husband. Always start with the male head of household, even in the case of matrifocal households with absent or dead nominal heads, for getting the correct affiliation in clan, ethnic and age set terms.
2. Questions concerning wife of head of household
3. Questions concerning first child
4. Same questions for subsequent children by the same wife
5. Questions concerning second and further wives, if any. ?
6. Like 3 and 4 for each set of children by junior wives

If the entry point of the conversation is one of the junior wives or her children, the chronological order of the interview can be changed. But please present the results in this order.

1- Questions concerning the head of household

1. Lineage name
[REDACTED]
2. Personal name
[REDACTED]
3. Clan
Sale
4. Age set
ILKIEHLI
- 4a. Participation in age set rituals.
 - Circumcised where and by whom (Tubcha or Samburu) Tubcha
 - Ilmugit or Gaalgulamme or none or other? (Other) Sugaret

4b. Age set affiliation of father of head of household. Same questions about age set rituals as in 4a. *Ilkileku*

5. Year of birth (use names of years and known years of age grade initiations). You may consult ID cards but ask whether the year given there is correct. *1939*

6. Education. School from when to when. School and type of school (Like: Korr Primary)

No

7. Occupation. Types of livestock. Any wage labour, including temporary labour migration? Note details and collect narrative accounts.

Herder / pastoralist

8. Language proficiency and language use. Note data in the following form:

Language	Degree of proficiency	Level of literacy and use for reading and writing	Language acquisition	Use (oral)
Samburu	Fluent	Some reading knowledge since the adult literacy course. Has got a Bible in Samburu. Not used for writing	Mother tongue	Every day use in family and neighbourhood
Swahili	Fluent	Elementary after two years of schooling. Uses it for letters to son in Nairobi. No books or newspapers.	At school. Some practice when he was a watchman in Nairobi from 1979 to 1981.	Rare. Last used when he was intercepted by the police when trying to ship some goats to the market by lorry. Tends to insert Swahili words when talking about his urban experience
Rendille	Basic	None	Heard it from grandmothers (both MM and FM) when he was a child	Greetings for Rendille visitors. Soon changes to Samburu if the interlocutor has some knowledge of that language
English	Basic	Elementary. No recent use of literacy in English	School	None

Make sure to include all languages of which the respondent has some knowledge. Make additional notes if examples of use or stories about language acquisition or other kinds of information which exceed the tabular form. General form. Use one for each respondent. Make clear to which household and person the table refers.

Name of head of household: [REDACTED]

Name of respondent:

Language	Degree of proficiency	Level of literacy and use for reading and writing	Language acquisition	Use (oral)
Rendille	fluent	No	Mother's tongue	use to the family member
Samburu	fluent	No	neighbourhood	to the neighbourhood

9. Ritual and religion

~~Catholic~~
When have you last participated in

- sooriyo
- almoodo 3 last year.
- other communal rituals, which and when?

Are you a member of a Christian Church? If yes, year of baptism, history of conversion ...

No
Are you a Muslim?

No
Have you ever converted from one religion to another?

No

2. Questions concerning wife

1. Lineage name, lineage name at birth (her father's lineage)

[REDACTED]
2. Personal name

[REDACTED]
3. Clan, clan at birth (daughter of which clan)

Masulla
4. Age set of her father
ILKORORO

4a. His participation in age set rituals.

- Circumcised where and by whom (Tubcha or Samburu) Samburu
- Ilmugit or Gaalgulamme or none or other? Ilmugit

5. Year of birth (use names of years and known years of age grade initiations).
You may consult ID cards but ask whether the year given there is correct.

1987

6. Education. School from when to when. School and type of school (Like: Korr Primary)

No

7. Occupation. Has she been herding livestock (*foor*)? Any wage labour? Has she been outside of the district? When? Where? For which purpose? Note details and collect narrative accounts.

house wife

8. Language proficiency and language use.

General form. Use one for each respondent. Make clear to which household and person the table refers.

Name of head of household: [REDACTED]
 Name of respondent:

Language	Degree of proficiency	Level of literacy and use for reading and writing	Language acquisition	Use (oral)
Samburu	fluent	NO	Mother tongue	to the family members
Rendile	good	NO	neighbourhood	to the neighbourhood and some of the family members

Make sure to include all languages of which the respondent has some knowledge. Make additional notes if examples of use or stories about language acquisition or other kinds of information which exceed the tabular form.

9. Ritual and religion

When have you last participated in ^{Catholic}

- sooriyo
- *almoodo* } Last Year
- other communal rituals, which and when?

Are you a member of a Christian Church? If yes, year of baptism, history of conversion ...

Are you a Muslim?

Have you ever converted from one religion to another?

Her children:

Name of child in order of birth	Male/female	Year of birth	History of schooling	Where is the child now?
[REDACTED]	Male	2004	No	fora
[REDACTED]	Male	2006	No	fora
[REDACTED]	female	2008	No	fora
[REDACTED]	Male	2010	No	fora
[REDACTED]	female	2012	No	at home
[REDACTED]	female	2014	No	at home

Expand list if necessary. In the case of grown up children collect data about where they are and whether they are married or not. Ask general questions about the set of children like:

Which language do your children speak to each other?

Samburel & Rendille

first alive children

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|------------|----------|---------------------|--------|
| part | 1 | [redacted] | - male | Education
Casted | } died |
| | 2 | [redacted] | - female | No | |
| | 3 | [redacted] | - female | from four years | |
| | 4 | | | | |

Which languages do they speak in the neighbourhood?

^{Samburu}
Which languages do they speak in the course of a day (school, work ...)?

^{Sushili & English}
Then proceed with details about each child along the same patterns as with the parents.

In the case of polygynous household head then move on to other wives of the same man and their children.

first wife died

General form. Use one for each respondent. Make clear to which household and person the table refers.

Name of head of household: [REDACTED]

Name of respondent: [REDACTED]

Language	Degree of proficiency	Level of literacy and use for reading and writing	Language acquisition	Use (oral)
Kiswahili	fluent	Yes	Mother tongue	to the family members
Samburu	fluent	Yes	neighbourhood	to the neighbourhood
Sushili	fluent	Yes	in school	friends &

General form. Use one for each respondent. Make clear to which household and person the table refers.

Name of head of household: [REDACTED]
 Name of respondent: [REDACTED]

Language	Degree of proficiency	Level of literacy and use for reading and writing	Language acquisition	Use (oral)
Rendille	fluent	No	Mother tongue	to the family members

Make sure to include all languages of which the respondent has some knowledge. Make additional notes if examples of use or stories about language acquisition or other kinds of information which exceed the tabular form.

General form. Use one for each respondent. Make clear to which household and person the table refers.

Name of head of household: [REDACTED]

Name of respondent: [REDACTED]

Language	Degree of proficiency	Level of literacy and use for reading and writing	Language acquisition	Use (oral)
Rendille	fluent	Yes	Mother's tongue	to the family members
English	fluent	Yes	school	in school and friends
Samburu	fluent	Yes	neighbourhood	to the neighbourhood
English	fluent	Yes	sch	school

Make sure to include all languages of which the respondent has some knowledge. Make additional notes if examples of use or stories about language acquisition or other kinds of information, which exceed the tabular form.

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