

# RENDILLE AND ARIAAL

A LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL AFFILIATION CENSUS I

[Isir Schlee and Günther Schlee]



LOGOLOGO: SABAMBA, ODOOLA, MANYATTA JUU;  
NAMAREI: ONG'ELI (LOMORUT,  
HARUGURA, ILMONGOI);  
GOOB LENGIMA; KORR: BOSNIA, LORORA;  
LAISAMIS: RENGUMO; LEPINDIRA  
HALLE (SAALE) 2014

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

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Published by Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle (Saale)  
P.O. Box 11 03 51

D-06017 Halle/Saale (Germany)

Phone 491034512 92 70

<http://www.eth.mpg.de>

ISSN 2193-987X

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Cover Photo: Isir in action, May 1, 2012 (20120829, 0596.jpg) © Isir Schlee

Printed 2014 by Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle (Saale)

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Series Editor's Preface .....	iv
Acknowledgments .....	v
Introduction .....	vii
LOGOLOGO	
Introductory Remarks about the Town .....	1
Sabamba (Logologo) .....	2
Manyatta Juu (Logologo) .....	17
NAMAREI	
An Introduction to the Region .....	25
Ong'eli: Lomurut .....	30
Ong'eli: Goob Harugura .....	34
Ong'eli: Goob Ilmongoi .....	38
GOOB LENGIMA, HALIBALLADEN .....	45
BOSNIA .....	57
LORORA .....	73
RENGUMO (LAISAMIS) .....	91
LEPINDIRA .....	99
APPENDIX	
A Sample Questionnaire .....	113
Index .....	123
References .....	125
Selected Bibliography .....	126

# 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 visible 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.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

WE THANK:

- The whole community of Laisamis for their support
- Aliye Osman Orbor- catering
- Salgi Baro- assisting in questionnaires
- Emanuel Leandas Leruk- Driving and assisting in questionnaires
- Nicholas Mutembei aka Mugaka- chef and personal assistant
- Gayere Mindaye- Assisting in questionnaires
- Marian Ayan Macharia- personal assistant
  
- The village of Lengima
- Jackson Lengima- Organizer
- Ledama Lengima- security
- Shadrack Labarakwe- assisting in questionnaires
  
- The community of Namarei
- Nayaba- catering
- Barowa- facilitator
  
- The community of Korr
- Peter Amiyo aka Uncle Sam- assisting in questionnaires
- Feisa Mohammed Hassan- assisting in questionnaires and catering
  
- The community of Logologo
- Peter Kholbokha- medical care and questionnaires

and thanks to our children  
Ildision and Nora

and our father/father-in-law  
Hassan Musa Diriye



Photo 1: Isir in action

(I. SCHLEE, 20120829, 0604.JPG)

# INTRODUCTION

For the forty years our memory reaches back, Rendille have been claiming that their language is getting lost. (*Af Rendille a soo baaban.*) They mostly have said so in an unemotional, factual manner. There has not been much linguistic nationalism. Heine (1976) reports that some Rendille at Laisamis, in a mostly Samburu speaking environment, sent their children to Korr or Kargi to learn proper Rendille, but there is no evidence on how frequent this phenomenon has been. Definitely there was no linguistic nationalism in the sense of organised initiatives to preserve or promote the use of the Rendille language. The attempts to reduce the Rendille to writing have all been started by foreigners. (The Bible Translation and Literacy centre at Korr (BTL), Steve Pillinger whose work was sponsored by the Summer School of Linguistics (SIL). Also our own work (Schlee and Sahado 2002) fits this description. The Rendille themselves, with or without regret, have been limited to stating in a factual manner that their language is disappearing.

It has not happened. We are sure that now there are more Rendille speakers than ever before in history. The Kenya Population Census of 2009 gives the number of people who claim to be Rendille by 'tribe' as 60,437. In the 1970s, when Bernd Heine did his research, the figures known then were those of the 1969 Census Report: 18,729 Rendille. The ethnic affiliation given by the census are based on self-ascription. It is known that many Rendille, in particular those also known as Ariaal, speak Samburu as their first language and sometimes do not speak Rendille at all. But even if we assume that only half of those who identified themselves as Rendille in 2009 actually speak Rendille (a wild guess which must be very much on the low side), and if we assume that this proportion was much higher in 1969, say 15,000 of those 18,729, we still have an increase of the number of Rendille speakers over the last forty years by 100%.<sup>1</sup> This is not typical for a dying language.

At an interpersonal level, which language one speaks can be based on a purely pragmatic choice or values can be attached to this question. The pragmatic attitude used to prevail. Rendille speakers may give their daughters in marriage to Samburu speakers without raising concerns that they might not share a language with their grandchildren. In discussions between elders, including the negotiations preceding such a marriage, there are always some bilinguals who can act as interpreters. Rendille tend to handle such matters of language choice less emotionally than European observers who stem from a setting where language is an important marker of status and belonging might expect. Some values are attached to language choice, but these are

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<sup>1</sup> The census figure from 1969 is given by Heine (1976: 176). He estimates the number of Rendille speakers to have been below 15,000 (ibid.). The 1979 census gives the number of Rendille as 21,794 (Republic of Kenya 1981: 131).

not expressed very often. Speaking Rendille might be associated with full participation in Rendille collective rituals, which are often more demanding than their Samburu equivalents, and with purity. Samburu, being of wider currency, and itself being part of a yet wider Maa dialect continuum, has a more cosmopolitan ring to it and is also associated with a youth culture, not quite unlike English in a global context (Schlee with Shongolo 2012: 55-58).

Only in recent years has the language question entered the political sphere. In the campaign which preceded the Dec. 27, 2007, elections, the controversial results of which led to the post election violence and the “grand coalition” government brought about by UN mediation, the creation of many new districts all over the country was promised. Also Marsabit was to be split into three districts corresponding to the parliamentary constituencies. Marsabit Central or Marsabit Mountain, which the Boran prefer to call Saku (the Boran name of the mountain and the constituency), Marsabit South and Chalbi. Chalbi was meant to be the District for the Gabra (Malbe) who in turn suspected that the whole exercise was to exclude them from Marsabit Mountain where, within the new boundaries, the Boran would have a comfortable majority. Marsabit South would also be a separate District.<sup>2</sup>

In May 2008 it was decided that the seat of the district administration would be at Laisamis. This disappointed the hopes of the residents of Korr and many Rendille. Rendille speakers concentrate around Korr and Kargi. Korr was to remain a division but for any business at district level people would have to go Laisamis, where the Samburu language dominates. Kargi just has the status of a location, and its divisional headquarters are at Loyangalani, which is inhabited by Samburu speakers and some Turkana. If one has processed ones documents at the divisional level and wants to take them to the district administration, one would have to travel as far in the opposite direction, to Laisamis, where one would end up again among Samburu speakers. Hitherto Rendille had cared little about the status of their language in the context of administration and political representation. It was in the course of these debates about redrawing territorial boundaries that undertones of a Rendille linguistic (micro-) nationalism could be heard for the first time and fears of a numerically dominant coalition of Samburu speakers were articulated.

Few changes were perceived on the ground. Basically, the former divisional headquarters were just re-named district headquarters. Few, if any, new resources came in, apart from the promotions of the existing personnel who moved up in the administrative hierarchy. Confusion about who belonged where continued. In the newspaper *THE STANDARD* of Friday, July 25, 2008 there is a three-page “Advertisement for recruitment of Servicemen/women and constabularies into the armed forces”. From this document we learn that

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<sup>2</sup> Field notes, July 14, 2007 (p. 97), conversation with Choncoro Mamo.



potential recruits from the Gadamoji, Loiyangalani, Central, Tirab, Dirri and Korr divisions of Marsabit District should present themselves at Marsabit at a given date. Recruits from Laisamis Division (the only one mentioned) of Laisamis District were requested to go to Laisamis on another day. Laisamis District seems to be another name for Marsabit South. In some legal documents also “Rendille District” is used, maybe to mollify the Rendille who have difficulties in identifying with this district. Confusion is not confined to terminology. Loiyangalani and Korr according to the new order should have been listed as parts of “Laisamis” District or whatever its name, irrespective of where the recruitment of soldiers from these places is meant to take place. Apparently in this official advertisement, months after the establishment of new districts, these were still mixed up with the old ones.

The name Laisamis District remained in use until 2012. Then it was officially changed to Marsabit South. With the introduction of Counties according to the new constitution, these districts then became sub-counties. The first set of elected county leaders came into power in March 2013, and that is when the new order started to be put into practice. In practice little has changed in terms of language policy: The Rendille continue to be administered from Samburu speaking centres (20080726 Districts<sup>3</sup>).

From our preliminary findings it appears that Rendille is loosing speakers to other languages, especially Samburu, but that these losses are more than compensated by demographic growth. The southern reaches seem to be a zone of transition where Rendille speakers do not transmit their language to their children who end up speaking Smaburu (and increasingly Swahili and English in certain contexts). Rendille, however, maintains a presence even in this belt of transition because of new Rendille speaking migrants from further north.

This first volume of our linguistic and cultural affiliation report focuses on selected bilingual locations in the southern half of the Rendille area, because these may provide material which may prove useful for testing the hypotheses outlined in the preceding paragraph.

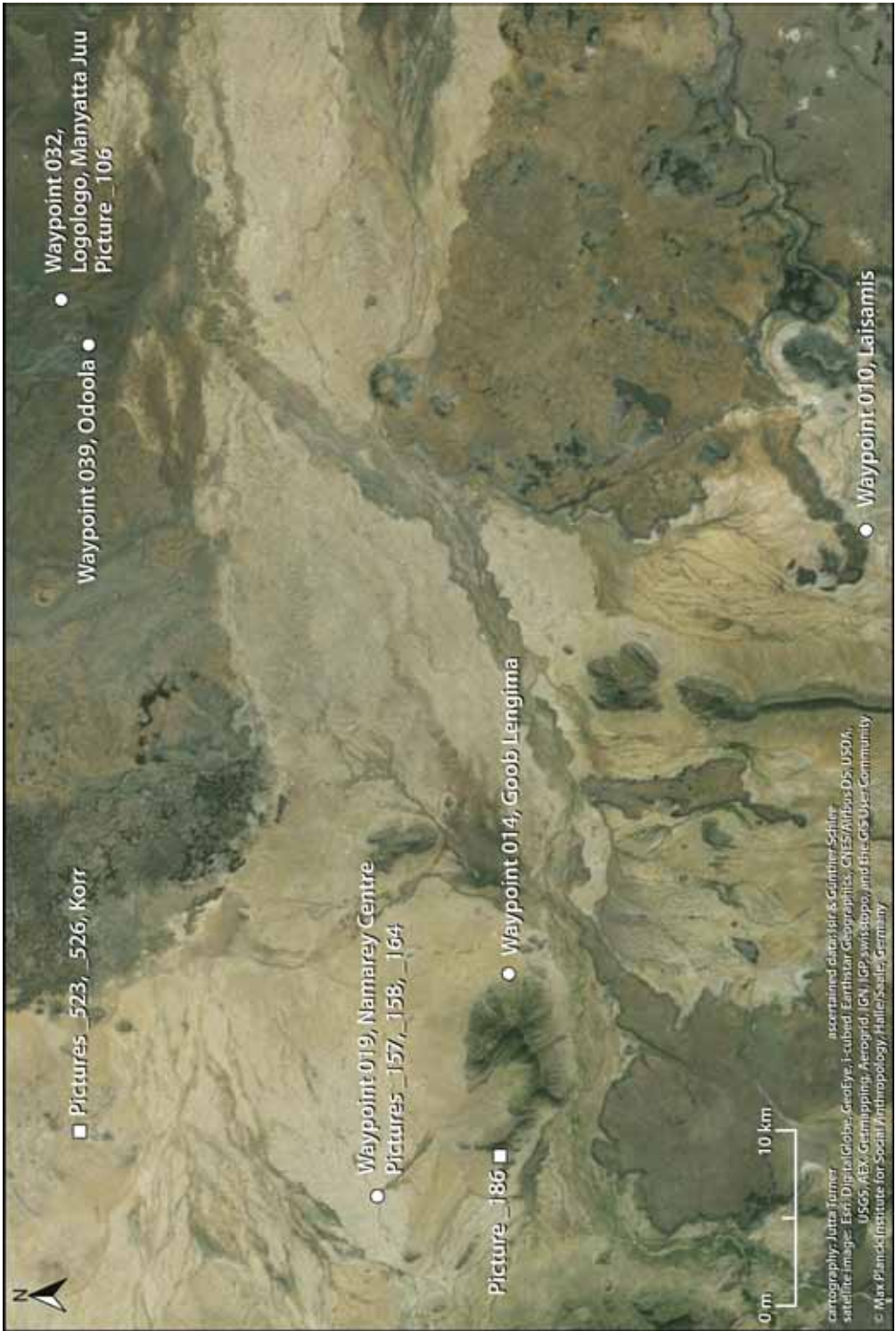
There are hundreds of questionnaires waiting to be evaluated, which is a time consuming task, and we hope to be able to present a more complete picture little by little.

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<sup>3</sup> References to this type are tp our own unpublished filednotes.



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



Map 2: Complete overview waypoints



Map 3: Logologo waypoints

# LOGOLOGO

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ABOUT THE TOWN

Logologo is located on the highway from Isiolo via Laisamis to Marsabit, 52 km south of Marsabit at the point where ground starts to rise from the semiarid plains to form the volcanic mountain range of Marsabit, a forested highland also suitable for cultivation. It has a borehole which taps a rich deposit of underground water which makes it attractive also to nomadic hamlets which cluster around it at some distance. There are two churches, shops and a school. Its administrative status is a location.



Photo 1: Street scene in Logologo

(G. SCHLEE, 20130824, 94, 106.JPG)



Photo 2: Part of Manyatta Juu, 'the upper village' in Logologo. In the background one can see the long corrugated iron roof of the African Inland Church and , to the right, the two-storied house used formerly by the American missionary Andersen.

### SABAMBA (LOGOLOGO)

The Sabamba 'village' of Logologo consists of rectangular wooden houses with a cement floor which were built by the Catholic Church in the 1970s for impoverished nomads.



Photo 3: The general location of Sabamba behind the Catholic Church in Logologo, (G. SCHLEE, 20130824, 097, 099.JPG)



Photo 4: The houses of 'Sabamba Village' have been built on a regular grid with wooden walls and corrugated iron roofs

The sample consists of 16 questionnaires with data on households whose heads belong to the following ages sets:

- 2 – Ilkimaniki (circumcised 1951)
- 4 – Ilkichili (circumcised 1965)
- 2 – Ilkororo (circumcised 1979)
- 8 – Ilmooli (circumcised 1993)

Twelve of them state Rendille clan affiliation (Dubsahay (5), Rengumo (5), Nahagan, Saale), four are Ariaal (Lukumaay, Maasula (2), Lorogushu). One of those who (in terms of equivalent age) has been classified as Ilkichili is a Somali teacher (and has not undergone any Rendille or Samburu age-set rituals. No wife or children are listed for him.) They and their wives speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect	12	4	11
Rendille poor/little	11	1	
No Rendille			

Apart from Rendille and Samburu, knowledge of the following languages was reported:

- perfect Swahili 7
- poor Swahili 4
- perfect English 3
- poor English 4

For the Somali teacher no degrees of proficiency are given, but he speaks Rendille, Samburu, Swahili and English. Somali is not mentioned. This is probably an omission.

What is conspicuous from this is the high level of Samburu throughout, while the competence in Rendille varies. Even more conspicuous is the widespread knowledge of Swahili and English. There is evidence that in everyday intercourse, Samburu is quite dominant. One of the women claims Rendille as her mother tongue, but only speaks it poorly, while her Samburu, which she learned ‘from friends’ is ‘perfect’. Under ‘use’, the form states ‘no practice’ for Rendille and ‘spoken always’ for Samburu.

Four of the elders work as drivers. One appears to have been a catechist, one is a businessman who once was trained as a catechist, another businessman has had primary education, then there is at least one acting catechist and one watchman. For the others the questionnaires state ‘village elder’ as

occupation. They all have performed *sooriyo* but not *almo'odo*. (For some-one living in a house with concrete foundations it is impossible to perform *almo'odo*, because no *almo'odo* can be performed in last year's *almo'odo* position. The settlement would have to move at least a little bit.) Apart from two men in the older age sets, they are all Ariaal in the sense of having performed the *ilmugit* age-set ritual rather than *gaalgulamme*.

One of the 'village elders' has gone to 'college', one to Secondary School, one has no formal education. One driver has gone to Primary School. The wife of the elder who once worked as a catechist was an Adult Education teacher. That is how they learned Swahili and some English.

Four households are Muslims, the wife being the daughter of a Somali trader in one case and of a Sakuye trader, the same man, in two other cases. One more Muslim is a driver, a man from a Rendille clan who is married to a Kamba woman who does some business: a Swahili speaking family. For the Somali man no religious affiliation is given. He has a Muslim name. This presumably brings the number of Muslim households to five. Two of the Muslim households state that they have performed *sooriyo*, two that they have not. This may have to do with a terminological confusion. The 'id *ul-Adha* (*Arrafa*) of the Muslims coincides with one of the four *sooriyos* of the Rendille, and is also referred to as a *sooriyo* (sacrificial ceremony). On the ritual calendar of the Rendille see Schlee (1989: 63f). The other three *sooriyos* are not celebrated by Muslims.

For the others, they are predominantly Christians:

- So stated (5)
- Catholics (5)
- Only two state '*naabo*' (traditional beliefs and practices) as their religion.

What is remarkable is the high degree of school attendance of their children, irrespective of the age-set affiliation of their parents.



	M	F
Nursing college, no employment, married		1
No formal education/herder/housewife	1	2
Secondary School education, employed		
Secondary School education, now at "some training"	1	
Primary School education, employed		
Primary School education, no employment	2	3
Now at Secondary School		
Now at Primary School	8	6
Of school age, not at school	1	
Nursery	6	
Others below school age	3	1

All the young men who have completed school are reported to stay at home. This can be taken as an indication of unemployment.

On the language use of children the following answers have been obtained:

The children speak Samburu with each other	6
The children speak Rendille with each other	1
The children speak Swahili with each other	3
Swahili is important for them in the neighbourhood	10
Swahili and Samburu are important for them in neighbourhood/at school/work	2
No answer on language use by children	3
Infant child (does not speak)	1

What is remarkable is the importance of Swahili. This may have to do with the 'urban' and 'roadside' character of Logologo which Ngure (2012) rightfully stresses.

## O'DOOLA (LOGOLOGO)

*Rendille a hubun siyyet, O'doolaka saagal* is a frequently heard saying. It translates as 'The Rendille are eight clans,; with O'doola they are nine'. In a way, this describes O'doola not as proper Rendille, but as a kind of addition. Indeed the history of O'doola relates them to the homonymous Gabra phratry and, further afield and further back in time, to the Adola section of the Garre (Schlee 1989: 147-162).



Photo 5: A view of the O'doola settlement from the roof of the car. The shape of the houses follows the Samburu pattern. In the 1970s, O'doola exclusively had semi-spherical (higher and not so broad) Gabra type houses. This change of the shape of the houses reflects the transition of O'doola from a clan straddling the Gabra/Rendille divide to an Ariaal group which rides on the Rendille/Samburu borderline.

(G. SCHLEE, 20130824, 092.JPG)



Photo 6: This picture of Baarowa Timbor was taken in the O'doola settlement near Logologo in 2007, not long before his death. The settlement then was a few hundred metres to the west of the location on the preceding picture, taken in 2013. Timbor accompanied G. Schlee on a trip to the Gabra in 1979. His household then was part of a smaller and much more nomadic settlement of O'doola which moved around to the east of Kargi. It was then at a dry river bed called Hammaleite. He then was a *dabel*, an elder with a special ritual status marked by special white headdress, *duub*, but by the time this picture was taken he had retired from this status. (G. SCHLEE, 20070720, 1685.JPG)

The first question of the census guide line is about the age set affiliation of the household head and the ritual which had been undergone to become a member of this age set. The Samburu and Ariaal for this purpose hold a sacrificial ceremony called *ilmugit* while the Rendille, in the year after their collective circumcisions in the respective clan settlements, hold a Rendille-wide ceremony called *gaalgulamme*, 'chasing the camels', which has, among many other elements, the tasks involving camels to which it owes its name. The age set system and the rituals which mark promotions within this system are the only formal organisation the Rendille share on the level above the single clans. Participation in these rituals therefore is one way of defining who is a Rendille, and the only unambiguous one. Another criterion, following the European pattern where the language map rather than referendums have often been used to delineate boundaries, is language. The problems associated with this approach, which simply defines people by the language they speak, will become apparent from the results of this census. Yet another way is clan origin, which is certainly the most encompassing, is patrilineal descent and the clan to which one belongs through this kind of descent reck-

oning. This is certainly the widest criterion for deciding who is a Rendille, since substantial parts of the Samburu society and many Gabra trace their descent to Rendille and are originally members of Rendille clans, belonging to their present Samburu or Gabra clans by a kind of adoption or the results of a slow process of de-facto integration. While clanship provides the widest definition of being Rendille, participation in *gaalgulamme* is the strictest.

The following table shows a complete transition from *gaalgulamme* to *ilmugit* and thereby from ‘Rendille’ to ‘Ariaal’.

n = 20 households

of these are 19 of the O’doola clan, 1 of Lorokushu

Age set affiliation of household head and kind of age-set ritual performed

		Gaalgulamme	Ilmugit
Ilmooli	9	1	8
Ilkororo	7	5	2
Ilkichili	4	4	

This table, which has the youngest age-set on top and the oldest at the bottom, shows that all members of Ilkichili (circumcised in 1965, Gaalgulamme in 1966) participated in the Rendille ritual of Gaalgulamme, in the age-set Ilkororo (circumcised in 1979) only five did so, while 2 participated in Ariaal style Ilmugit. Of the nine men of Ilmooli (circumcised in 1993), eight participated in Ilmugit. The one man who is not O’doola in the sample, a man of Lorokushu who lived in the O’doola settlement, is one of the eight members of Ilmooli who participated in Ilmugit. Counting him with the others or discounting him does not affect the general pattern.

‘Participation’ here does not need to be personal participation. With declining mobility, fewer and fewer Rendille households have actually moved to the site of the *gaalgulamme* the last times this ritual was held. While Spencer (1973: 47), on the basis of oral accounts, describes the *gaalgulamme* site as a giant circle of houses more than two miles across, Isir and Günther Schlee found the *gaalgulamme* settlement of 2009 to be composed of 27 houses, which represented many more households, namely all those who did not participate in *ilmugit*.

The nonparticipation of O’doola in this recent *gaalgulamme* also entailed changes for other clans, because they had mutual arrangements with specific O’doola lineages about chasing each other’s camels. The following notes stem from half a year before this *gaalgulamme* when Rendille elders were still hoping for O’doola participation.



Photo 7: The visit to O'doola to discuss the issue of Gaalgulamme,  
(G. SCHLEE, 20070831, 2487, 2996.JPG)

Baarowa Adicharreh, an elder from the clan Gaal'deylan and the age-set Ilkiminaiki, explains: *O'doola gaalgulammeka yer afurta* – ‘O'doola used to join the *gaalgulamme* forming a separate settlement outside the main circle.’ Gaal'deylan, another relatively recent addition to Rendille society (Schlee 1989: 175-191) formerly did the same. *Jentetaas goorat gaal iska-rihta* – ‘That is why they used to chase each other’s camels.’ (From the file 20080725BaarowaOnAgeSetRituals)



Photo 8: In the O'doola settlement

On Wednesday, July 30, Günther Schlee took a group of Gaal'deylan elders and three elders of Matarbá from Korr to the O'doola settlement west of Logologo. (Same settlement position as last year<sup>1</sup>, track mark 381, cf. notebook 2007: 108 – 113).

The delegation comprised

- Gaal'deylan:
  - Ilkimaniki: Baarowa Adicharreh,
  - Ilkichili: Altollo Eysimfeeche, Namogore Tanyaki
  - Ilkororo: Ngiro Sulate, Lamba Eisarboi
- Matarbá:
  - Ilkimaniki: Ilkitaba Kaato
  - Ilkichili: Dadio Gaalgidele, Koo Eysimagussa

The trip was characterized as *saamo*, like a formal request to ask for a head of large stock.

The aim was to convince the O'doola elders and in particular Karawe Makhalán, Ilkimaniki, that an old custom should be resumed, namely that Gaal'deylan on the occasion of *gaalgulamme* chase the camels of Makhalán and so do Matarbá. The last time this was practiced was in the warrior period of Ilkilegú, in the Saturday year 1924.

Another Rendille clan who used to chase camels of O'doola is Tubcha.

Rendille clan	Chase camels of (O'doola lineage)	Last done	Remarks
Gaal'deylan	Makhalán	1924	According to Gaal'deylan elders not Done for five age-set periods because of difficulties in reaching O'doola.
Matarbá	Makhalán	1924	Since then out of reach
Tubcha	Mooga	1938	Tubcha had one family of Mooga living with them and used the camels of this family.
Uyam	Bursunna	1924	Since then out of reach

<sup>1</sup> They do not even shift position to move away from their dirt (*lag labnan*). They hold the *almòdo* ceremonies of several years in the same pace, instead of leaving the *almòdo* position through the *ulukh*.

Arguments in favour of doing this are that the old custom had not been abandoned because it brought any misfortune, but because of practical difficulties. It had been impossible for the Gaal'deylan elders to arrange for the Makhalán camels to turn up, of, even if an agreement to this effect had been reached, on the day of the *gaalgulamme* they simply did not turn up. The Gaal'deylan youths then joined the ones of Saale to chase camels of Matarbá.

The counter-argument, which could not be heard from Gaal'deylan elders but by many sceptics from other clans went like this: If Gaal'deylan had not practiced this custom for five age-set periods, and the camels and people continued to multiply, there is no need to revive it. Experience has shown that practicing this custom or not has no effect on the wellbeing of the herds and the people. Misfortune brought by ritual malpractice may have occurred when in 1994 *gaalgulamme* split along the moiety line and was held in two places. Because of the rearrangement in the circle of houses this required, Gaal'deylan then ended up at the western end, where, if all Rendille had formed one circle, Dubsahay would have been<sup>2</sup>. Two years later, the Gaal'deylan camels were taken by Gabra. But surely, this had nothing to do with O'doola.

On that occasion, Gaal'deylan camels were taken in two different localities, Bul and Kirinyalle. Only some Ilturriya and Maasula camels which were in the same *foor* were also taken, but no other satellite camps of Rendille were attacked, although there were many in the vicinity. Never before had Gaal'deylan camels been raided. Gaal'deylan is the clan which has power over enemies (*harra a fuufa, chii a fala*), especially towards the north, and therefore ritual misconduct is suspected as the cause of this misfortune (on Rendille/Gabra relations cf. Schlee 1997).

#### *PROCEDURE AT GAALGULAMME:*

Only the camel calves are fenced. All other camels are just driven into the circle of houses. Then the camels of Makhalán are driven out again with the calves, but the calves are prevented from sucking. They are driven away for a distance of a few hundred metres and then driven back by four warriors of Matarbá. The warriors return singing. *Alo lawaha* – '[Mocking] verses are sung.' No calf is allowed to suck. Then four Gaal'deylan warriors do the same thing. The same evening a lamb (*subén*) of Matarbá is sacrificed and *khalli* are tied to the necks of the camels.

All other Rendille do that, but only Dubsahay do that with their own camels.

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<sup>2</sup> The ritually important positions in Belesi Berri are held by Kimogol (Saale) and Nebey. That Gaal'deylan settles ahead of the whole moiety and thus at the main entrance of the settlement to the west when Belesi Berri settle alone, may have to do with it being a later arrival. Adopted people have the seniority position of sons and sons settle ahead of their fathers.

Clan	Chase camels of
Dubsahay	Dubsahay ( <i>waakhkamúr</i> )
Rengumo	??
Nahagán	Rengumo
Matarbá	Makhalán, O'doola
Uyam	Garle, O'doola
Gaaldeylan	Makhalán, O'doola
Elegella	Bursunna, O'doola
Saale	Baltor, Matarbá
Urawen	Baltor, Matarbá
Tubcha	Mooga, O'doola

Of the clans whose camels are chased, only Rengumo are *iibir*, all others are *waakhkamúr*. On the distinction between these two categories of clans, see Schlee (1989: 10ff). (Source of the above paragraphs: field notes 20080801O'doola)

After this digression into the affiliation of O'doola in terms of Rendille versus Samburu age-set rituals we now come back to the evaluation of the language and cultural affiliation questionnaires.

#### ILKICHILI

Of the four men of Ilkichili all claim to be perfect in Rendille and to have poor (3) or no (1) knowledge of Samburu:

	Samburu perfect	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		3	1
Poor or no Rendille			

#### WIVES

Of their wives, one is perfect in both Rendille and Samburu, two claim to speak Rendille perfectly and two have no Samburu, while for one the form for language proficiency and language use has not been filled. As she is a daughter of O'doola, however, it can be assumed that she is a Rendille speaker.

	Samburu perfect	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect	1		2
Poor or no Rendille			



The forms for these Ilkichili households contain information about a total of 13 children. 8 of these are said to speak Rendille to each other, 5 primarily Rendille, but sometimes Samburu. There are vague references to more children and another wife.

All of the household heads are herdsman. Only one has been a labourer at a water dam (*salango*) in addition. Another one has gone to school for 3 years and knows some Swahili, all others have not enjoyed any formal education and speak no other languages than Rendille and the little Samburu they claim. They are all adherents of the Rendille system of beliefs and rituals. None of them has ever converted to Christianity or Islam.

Among their children are

Teachers	1
Herdsman	1
Married women	3
Unemployed	1
Secondary school pupil	1
Primary school pupils	2
Children of school age not in school	3
Children below school age	1

### ILKORORO

Of the seven households of the age set Ilkororo (circumcised 1979), all senior males (household heads) speak Rendille perfectly. Four of them claim to have poor knowledge of Samburu, one of them specifying that he could understand some, but not speak the language. The other three claim not to know any Samburu. One of them expresses a negative attitude by saying that he does not even want to learn it.

	Samburu perfect	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		4	3
Poor or no Rendille			

### *Wives of Ilkororo*

	Samburu perfect	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect			5
Poor or no Rendille			

The wives of the Ilkororo are exclusively Rendille speaking. This was recorded for five of them. Two questionnaires contained neither information about the wife, nor about any children.

The other questionnaires contain information about 24 children. Again there is a reference to one more wife and other children, so that this cannot be regarded as a complete census of the children of these households.

The children are reported to speak Rendille to each other. One questionnaire mentions Samburu as another language without qualification, two qualify that the children speak Samburu occasionally or when Samburu speakers are around.

The following occupations are mentioned.

	M	F
Herdsmen/women/housewife	9	4
Unemployed		
Secondary school pupil		
Primary school pupil	2	1
Children of school/age not at school	3	3
Children below school age	1	2

For persons no longer of school age the following history of prior schooling is given. One boy reached standard 4, one girl standard 6. Both are occupied in the pastoralist economy now.

The information about cultural affiliation show a conservative attitude. One questionnaire does not contain answers to the pertinent questions. All others report no conversions to Christianity or Islam and full participation in the rituals *sooriyo* and *almoïdo*. The person who has expressed his unwillingness to learn Samburu has also stated that he will never drop these rituals.

## ILMOOLI

About the nine men of the age-set Ilmooli (circumcised in 1993) the following information about language skills was obtained:

	Samburu perfect	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect	3	4	1
Poor or no Rendille	1		

The person who speaks poor Rendille and perfect Samburu is of the clan Lorokushu (Ariaal). One who claims to be perfect in Rendille and Samburu also claims to speak Swahili with same degree of competence. He is a herds-

man but has gone to Primary School. He now does not practice that language. Another person who speaks both Rendille and Samburu perfectly explains that he has learnt Samburu in Laisamis. The third person who claims equally perfect proficiency in both languages explains that his mother tongue is Rendille and that he learned Samburu from friends. He says that he speaks Rendille much more often than Samburu. The man who speaks perfect Rendille and no Samburu speaks some Swahili. He characterizes his knowledge of Swahili as “poor”.

The wives of Ilmooli show the following distribution of language competencies:

	Samburu perfect	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect	2	5	2
Poor or no Rendille			

The preponderance of Rendille is explained by Rendille being the mother tongue, while Samburu has been learned from friends and neighbours. While Rendille is spoken “always”, there is much less occasion to practice the Samburu language. Five of the questionnaires contain explanations along these lines. The two women who master the languages equally well also claim to speak both of them “always”.

Educational institutions and the world religions have made little progress with these women. None of them has enjoyed any formal education, only one is a member of a church (AIC – African Inland Church).

#### *Children of Ilmooli*

The children of Ilmooli seem to be equally divided between those who go to school and those who don’t. Those who do are in Primary School. Although the first children of this age-set would be old enough, no cases of children in Secondary School have been recorded.

	M	F
Secondary school pupil		
Primary school pupil	3	3
Children of school/age not at school	6	5
Children below school age	8	4
Age not stated, not at school	2	2

Rendille is generally given as the only language these children speak to each other. One questionnaire is silent on this point, in two questionnaires it is stated that children also speak Samburu in the neighbourhood, one of these specifies that this knowledge of Samburu is poor and not frequently used.

Comparing elders of the three age-sets and the members of their households it can be said that the almost complete switch from Rendille age-set rituals (*gaalgulamme*) to the Samburu style *ilmugit* is not mirrored by a change of language. Rendille has maintained a dominant position and internal communication in the O'doola clan settlement is almost exclusively in Rendille.

Only in the youngest of the three age-sets, Ilmooli, we find three men who claim perfect mastery of Samburu. Also the wives of this age-set, with two exceptions, claim different degrees of competence in Samburu. It is often stated that Samburu is used "when speaking to Samburu speakers". So it is generally not a language used within the clan settlement but in contact with outsider, who, however, do not live far, since the O'doola clan settlement is part of the cluster of settlements, including many Ariaal settlements, which surround Logologo.

One of the features which make O'doola untypical for a Rendille clan is that it is not exogamous but consists of smaller exogamous units comprising two or three named lineages each, which intermarry with each other (Makhalan, Makabolle, Timbor/Dafardai, Mooga (Adibbille)/Nurre, Keinan/Bursunna, Gaerre) (Schlee 1989: 13; this account diverges from the bonders of exogamous units depicted in Schlee 1979: 19. Further clarification is required.)

Of the wives of the 20 men of this sample, nine stemmed from inside the O'doola clan, for six of them Rendille clan names were given (Dubsahay (2), Rengumo, Saale (2), Gaal'deylan), for three of them Ariaal clans were given as origin (Lorokushu (2), Lukumaay (1)), and for two this information is missing.

Also the ones of Ariaal origin were said to be Rendille speaking, one exclusively, the other one being equally competent in Samburu.

This occurrence of clan endogamy and the strong preference for Rendille speaking brides even in the cases of the brides coming from outside may be a factor stabilizing the Rendille language in O'doola in spite of their 'political' shift from Rendille to Ariaal, indicated by the shift from *gaalgulamme* to *ilmugit*.

## MANYATTA JUU (LOGOLOGO)

n = 31 questionnaires, referring to households of the following age-sets:

- 1 Ilkimaniki
- 7 Ilkichili
- 8 Ilkororo
- 14 Ilmooli
- 1 Ilmetili

One elder of Ilkichili declined to give information unless he was paid. This request was rejected and no information received.

### ILKIMANIKI

The man of the age-set Ilkimaniki (circumcised in 1951) is a Rendille speaker. He has not gone to school but was a policeman. He retired from this work in 1959 at the age of 36 years.

He speaks Rendille, Samburu, and Swahili perfectly. The first is his mother tongue, the latter two have been “learned from neighbours, friends” [Swahili also being the language of the Police].

His wife, likewise without formal education speaks Rendille with the competence of a mother tongue speaker and claims only “poor” Samburu and Swahili.

The questionnaire contains information about four children, born between 1969 and 1974. They speak Rendille to each other. Three of them have been to High School, one, a boy, has not gone to school. Apparently most of them have reverted to pastoral life. Only one of the boys, a High School leaver, is said to be “working”.

This is a Muslim family. They have not participated in *sooriyo* or *almođo*.

### ILKICHILI

The records contain six questionnaires referring to households in which the husband/father is of the age-set Ilkichili, circumcised in 1965. One of these does not contain information about the language use of the wife nor any data on children.

	Samburu perfect	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect	4	2	
Poor Rendille			
No Rendille	1		

In addition to the combination of perfect mastery of Rendille with equally good Samburu (4) or with a lower level of Samburu (2), one respondent claims perfect mastery of Swahili, one poor Swahili, and yet another one claims complete competence in Boran, Somali, and Swahili. The elder who has no Rendille speaks good Swahili and good English. He has gone to school up to primary seven, and now conducts small business in glass beads and *miraa*.

This polyglot person has a wife with a Boran name and has worked in Garissa, a Somali town in eastern Kenya, for a period.

For the wives the following levels of linguistic competence have been listed:

	Samburu perfect	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect	2	3	
Poor Rendille			
No Rendille	1		

One of the wives explains that Rendille is her mother tongue, that she acquired her relatively poor Samburu from her husband and that that is the language she uses in her family.

Two wives claim poor Swahili in addition to perfect Rendille and slightly deficient Samburu.

Another one combines perfect knowledge of Rendille and Samburu with “not perfect” knowledge of Swahili. Yet another one combines fluency in Samburu with a good knowledge of Swahili.

The household heads comprise four Christians, three of whom belong to the Protestant AIC (African Inland Church) and one Catholic, who is one of the two who have ever been to Primary School. One household head does not belong to any church and does not perform *sooriyo* and *almoïdo* either (which the Christians easily combine with their religion). One household head is classified as an adherent of ATR (African Traditional Religion), one is the head of a Muslim family.

Four of the men have participated in Gaalgulamme, two in Ilmugit, one, who was circumcised in Kajiado (Maasailand) neither in one nor the other.

The clan affiliations are Rengumo (4), Dubsahay (2). That is that all respondents claim Rendille descent.

The questionnaires contain the following information about children:

	M	F
No formal education, now employed elsewhere	1	
Beyond school age, not educated, now in pastoral sector	1	2
High School education, not employed		1
High School education, employed elsewhere	1	
Secondary education, not employed	3	
Primary school education now in pastoral sector/unemployed		
Primary education, married in Isiolo	3	2
Primary, now employed		1
Secondary education employed elsewhere	1	
Child of school age, not at school	2	
Now in Secondary School	2	
Now in Primary School	2	1
Below school age	1	

What this table shows is that the level of formal education has little impact on the prospects of employment. In fact, Kenya is notorious for its number of unemployed school leavers. Repeatedly, Nairobi is mentioned as the present whereabouts of those who have found employment. If one does find employment, it is in more central parts of the country.

In three cases it is stated that the children speak Rendille to each other, in two cases they converse in Samburu. In one of the latter cases both parents already claimed to speak perfect Samburu. The other case is the one in which the wife had been struggling to learn Samburu because of her husband. One set of siblings communicated in Swahili. One of them has a job (policeman in Naivasha) in which he also uses English daily, another one uses English ‘only in youth meetings’.

Leaving aside languages acquired at school (English, Swahili) the patterns of language use do not seem to have changed a great deal with the generation (Ilkichili versus their children). Rendille in this subsample has maintained its dominant position, followed by Samburu as a close second.

#### ILKORORO

The Manyatta Juu sample comprises eight households of Ilkororo, circumscribed 1979. One of them belongs to a widow which is counted among the wives. The male household heads claim the following levels of language competence:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu not perfect
Rendille perfect	5	
Rendille not perfect	2	

The two who speak Rendille without perfection also claim to have some Swahili. Also two of those who speak Rendille and Samburu perfectly claims some (“poor”, resp. “not perfect”) knowledge of Swahili.

Of the others, two also claim some Swahili, one perfect Maasai, perfect Somali, perfect Boran, perfect Swahili and poor English. This polyglot person has some primary education and a history of labour migration to other parts of the country.

The others have no formal education.

#### *Wives*

	Samburu perfect
Rendille perfect	6
Rendille not perfect	1

The wives of these men with the exception of one whose Rendille is not perfect, all speak Rendille and Samburu with perfection. In addition, three of them have some Swahili, characterised as “poor” (2) or “not perfect” (1). The other one, the wife of the polyglot husband, also speaks perfect Boran, which she acquired when she lived with her husband on Mt. Marsabit. One of the questionnaires has no information about the language use of wife or children, because the respondent “had to go to work”.

In terms of the indicators of cultural affiliation, the following picture emerges:

One of the elders has participated in Gaalgulamme, six in Ilmugit. Three Rendille clans (Nebey, Tubcha Urawen) and two Ariaal/Samburu clans (Lorokushu, Ong’eli) are represented; two each of Tubcha, Urawen and Lorokushu, one household of each of the others. Six have no Church affiliation. The questionnaire has “ATR” (African Traditional Religion) as their religious affiliation in two cases. In two others the space for the answer has been left blank. The elder who has had Primary School affiliation is a member of the African Inland Church (AIC). One man has a job as a cook at the primary school. He has not enjoyed formal education himself, but he has picked up some Swahili which he uses with the school children.

The following information about the children of these Ilkororo households can be extracted from the questionnaires:



	M	F
Pastoralist, no formal education	4	2
Formerly Secondary School, now at home	2	
Formerly at Primary School, now at home	3	3
Now at High School	1	1
Now at Primary School	5	3
Of school age, but not at school	1	1
Below school age	1	

Asked, which languages their children speak, each of the following answers was obtained once:

- Rendille
- Samburu
- Rendille/Swahili
- Samburu/Swahili

#### ILMOOLI

The age-set Ilmooli (circumcised 1993) is represented by 14 household heads. These combine competencies in Rendille and Samburu in the following way:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu not perfect	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect	7	1		
Rendille not perfect	1			
Poor Rendille	5			
No Rendille				

As to other languages, the following competencies are stated:

- Swahili perfect 7
- Swahili, not perfect 2
- Swahili poor 4
- English perfect 2

Their wives produce the following picture:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu not perfect	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect	6		1	
Rendille not perfect	1			
Poor Rendille	4			1
No Rendille				

In addition they speak

- perfect Swahili 3
- Swahili, not perfect 1
- poor Swahili 6

n = 13. One questionnaire does not contain any data on wife or children.

The woman who claims to know only poor Rendille still claims it as her mother tongue. Samburu is not listed among her languages, but her Swahili is perfect and she speaks that to her husband and family. She has no formal education. Her husband has finished Primary School and is a wage labourer. This seems to be an “urban” family.

On the whole, for both husbands and wives, a contrast becomes visible to the older age-sets. While the latter invariably claimed to speak perfect Rendille, combined with some level of Samburu (perfect or not so perfect), in Ilmooli this is the other way round. About the same number as those who speak Rendille perfectly do speak it, but claim a lower level of mastery.

In terms of cultural affiliation it can be said that this entire subset of respondents consists of Ariaal, in the sense of participation in Ilmugit age-set rituals rather than the Rendille style Gaalgulamme.

11 household heads are Christians, presumably all members of the African Inland Church, although this is explicitly stated only in 10 of the 11 cases.

One has converted to Islam from Christianity; only two have been classified as adherents of “African Traditional Religion”.

One questionnaire mentions an employment, namely “evangelist”. This evangelist has not participated in *sooriyo* or *almo’do* rituals.

The questionnaires reveal the following information about the children of the Ilmooli households of this settlement

	M	F
Of school age but not at school	1	3
Special school Nairobi	1	
Now in Primary School	5	5
Children of 2 Christian households who attend a Muslim Primary School	2	1
Nursery	6	6
Below school age	4	4

The children speak the following languages with each other:

- Rendille 3
- Rendille/Samburu, with the specification that in the wider neighbourhood they only speak Samburu 1
- No answer, since the only child is an infant 1
- Samburu 4
- Rendille/Swahili 1
- Samburu/Rendille 1
- Samburu, but they use Rendille in the neighbourhood 1
- Samburu, but they also use Swahili in the course of the day 1

There is one household whose head is of the age-set Ilmetili who have been circumcised in 2007. According to the regular enrolment of the Rendille age-set system this man should not have married before 2018, according to Samburu custom a year or so earlier. Generally, more and more early marriages of this kind have been observed in the last age-sets, with a strong tendency of increase.

The person is an uneducated herdsman, has participated in Ilmugit, is a member of the AIC Church and has not performed *sooriyo* or *almoido*. His clan affiliation is Iltoiyo.

He speaks perfect Samburu, Rendille not so perfect and poor Swahili.

His wife is of the O'doola clan, has Rendille as her mother tongue but speaks also perfect Samburu and poor Swahili.

The information that their one year old daughter speaks both Samburu and Rendille “to each other” must be based on a misunderstanding.



# NAMAREI

## AN INTRODUCTION TO THE REGION



Photo 1: The Primary School of Namarei

(G. SCHLEE, 20130825, 157, 158.JPG)



Photo 2: The logos of benefactors greet the traveller as she approaches Namarei. Apart from the organisations whose signboards have been shown larger on the following pictures, these include ‘Arid Lands Resource Management Project II’, ‘Nachbar in Not’, ‘Caritas Austria’, and ‘PACIDA – Pastoral Community and Development Assistance’.

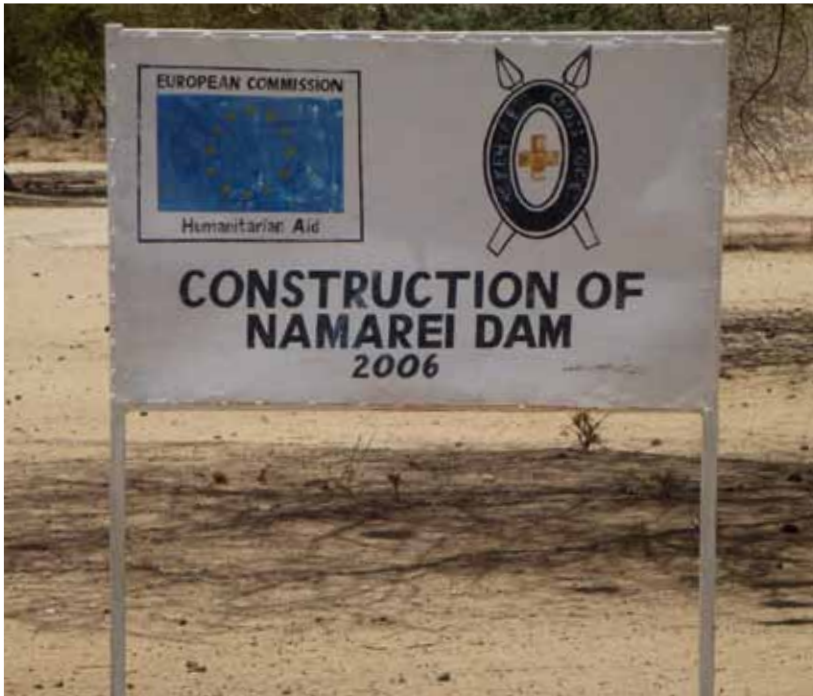


Photo 3: One of these signboards



Photo 4: Another one

(G. SCHLEE, 20130825, 159, 160.JPG)



Photo 5: The shop

(G. SCHLEE, 20130825, 64, 169.JPG)



Photo 6: Even the Government 'sponsors' its own institutions



Photo 7: Donkeys help themselves to the water at the facilities of the improved water catchment in the rocks.



Photo 8: Other donkeys have found the way over the rocks around the end of the wall and drink directly from the reservoir. (G. SCHLEE, 20130825, 186, 196.JPG)





## ONG'ELI: LOMURUT (NAMAREI)

n = 28

by age-set of household head:

- Ilkimaniki: 1
- Ilkichili: 12
- Ilkororo: 8
- Ilmooli: 7

### ILKIMANIKI

The man of Ilkimaniki (circumcised 1951) is a pastoralist without formal education, he practices the rituals associated with this way of life. Like most residents of this settlement he has participated in Ilmugit rather than the Rendille age-set ritual Gaalgulamme. He gives Ong'eli as his clan. Henceforth, for the other elders, the clan affiliation will only be mentioned if a different one from "Ong'eli" is given.

He speaks Samburu as his mother tongue and is also fluent in Rendille.

His wife speaks Rendille as her mother tongue but is also fluent in Samburu. She is of Ariaal extraction (Lorokushu). Four grown up children are listed as being married. They are dispersed from here to as far as Korr and Merille. Another wife with seven sons and five daughters who lives in the same settlement is merely mentioned.

The children speak Rendille and Samburu with each other.

### Ilkichili

The twelve elders of Ilkichili display the following language competence:

	Perfect Samburu	Fluent Samburu	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		5	2	3
Rendille not perfect				
Poor Rendille				
No Rendille	2			

No other languages are mentioned at all. The complete lack of knowledge of English and Swahili may have to do with the remoteness from the Isiolo-Marsabit road. Ngure (2012) stresses the importance of this factor.

Their wives show the following distribution of language skills

	Perfect Samburu	Fluent Samburu	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		5	2	6
Rendille not perfect	1			
Poor Rendille				
No Rendille	3			

Although information about one wife was missing, the number of wives in this table is higher than the number of husbands in the preceding one (17 > 12), because 6 second wives are included. In one case one of the wives of one man is perfect in Rendille and speaks no Samburu, while the other one is perfect in Samburu and speaks no Rendille.

Also in the case of these wives, no other languages than Rendille and Samburu are mentioned at all.

Apart from Ong'eli the following clan affiliations are mentioned:

Husbands: Uyam, Tubcha, Lukumaay, Nebey (one of each).

For the wives (wives' fathers) the following clans appear: Tubcha (4), Ong'eli (2), Nahagan, Lukumaay, Nebey, Dubsahay, Ong'eli (one of each)

The relationship of these clan affiliations to language capacity is inconclusive. Of the two men who do not speak Samburu at all, one had an Ariaal/Samburu clan affiliation (Lukumaay), the other a Rendille one (Tubcha). For the second wives who speak no Samburu no clan affiliation was given. Eight of the men have participated in *ilmugit*, two in *gaalgulamme*. None of these individuals of the parent generation (Ilkichili and their wives) has received any formal education. They have no affiliation to any Christian church and there are no Muslims among them.

The following information about their children could be extracted from the questionnaires:

	M	F
Pastoralists	20	20
No educations, watchman in Nairobi	1	
Secondary education, now working	1	
Primary education, now unemployed	2	
Now at Primary School	1	
Of school age, not at school	2	

The question which languages the children speak to each other has been answered in the following ways:

- Samburu/Rendille 2
- Rendille 2
- Rendille/Samburu 5
- No answer 2

The eight household heads of the age-set Ilkororo have the following language skills:

	Perfect Samburu	Fluent Samburu	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		3		3
Rendille not perfect	2			
Poor Rendille				
No Rendille				

For their wives, the following picture emerges:

	Perfect Samburu	Fluent Samburu	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect	1	5		
Rendille not perfect	2			
Poor Rendille				
No Rendille	1			

One of the second wives who speaks no Samburu still lives with her clan of origin (Gaal'deylan) at Korr and therefore has not been i.

Two wives have died and been replaced. Rendille distinguish between replacements for first wives (continuation of the first house) and second wives (establishment of a second house).

The children of the Ilkororo households fall into the following categories:

	M	F
Pastoralists	6	9
Now in Secondary School	2	1
Now in Primary School	2	5
Of school age, not in school	5	1
Below school age		1

School age has been counted as up to 16, since many join school rather late. Some pupils are in their early 20s. This matters in those cases where school is not attended. So a person of 16 who is not at school but is staying in the settlement or is otherwise performing pastoralist chores wherever that may be would be counted a “of school age, not in school”, while the same person at the age of 17 would be counted among the “pastoralists”.

If a person above normal school age attends school, that would, of course, determine into which category he or she is included. So a young man of 22 who is “now in Primary School” would be found there.

In terms of cultural attributes it can be said that the generation of parents is very similar in their adherence to pastoralist rituals and practices to the age sets senior to them. With their children things are changing. While only some of the younger children of the preceding age-set, Ilkichili, have gone to school, in the case of Ilkororo it is about half of them.

Of the household heads, four have participated in *ilmugit*, two in *gaalgulamme*.

#### ILMOOLI

Seven households in the sample belong to the age-set Ilmooli, circumcised in 1993.

They have the following knowledge of languages:

Rendille perfect, no Samburu	1
Rendille perfect, no Samburu, poor Swahili	1
Rendille perfect, good Samburu	1
Perfect Rendille, fluent Samburu, basic Swahili	1
Perfect Samburu, fluent Rendille	2
Perfect Samburu, no Rendille	1

The man who knows basic Swahili is the first household head in this sample who has ever been to school. He has finished Primary School. He is commercially minded, engages in livestock trade, and has a church affiliation (Catholic).

The other six represent the traditional pastoralist culture. Six of the men have participated in *ilmugiti*, one in *gaalgulamme*.

Four wives of these three men combine perfect Rendille with fluent Samburu, four others are perfect in Rendille but do not speak Samburu..

None of their children are above school age. This is the table which reflects their levels of attendance of formal educational institutions:

	M	F
Primary School	5	3
Of school age but not in school	4	2
Nursery		2
Below school age	3	3

More children are mentioned, those of the second wife of one of the men, but not characterised. If any conclusion can be drawn from these small numbers, it is that the trend of the preceding age-set to send half of the children to school, continues. These figures above are, however, made up of sibling sets all enrolled in school and a set of brothers none of whom goes to school. The more wide-spread pattern (found in other cases) is that, in a division of labour and as a strategy of balancing risks and diversifying opportunities, some children are sent to school while other children of the same families herd livestock or help with domestic chores.

#### ONG'ELI: GOOB HARUGURA

n = 37

Age-set affiliation of household heads:

- Ilmeuri, circumcised (1937) 1
- Ilkimaniki, circumcised (1951) 1
- Ilkichili, circumcised (1965) 7
- Ilkororo, circumcised (1979) 7
- Ilmooli, circumcised (1993) 21

There is one respondent of the age-set Ilmeuri (circumcised 1937), a remarried widower. He has not received formal education. Like everyone else in the sample, he is an adherent of traditional beliefs and practices, does not state any church affiliation and is an Ariaal, having participated in the *ilmugit* age-set ritual rather than in the *gaalgulamme* of the Rendille.

His wife is a daughter of the age-set Ilkimaniki, circumcised in 1951. She may have been born in the 1970s. She speaks perfect Samburu and no Rendille, her husband perfect Rendille, his mother tongue. His Samburu is 'fluent'. He uses it when he "meets Samburu speaking people" [like his wife].

Their children, girls of 11 and 9 and a boy of 4, all stay in the settlement. The girls help with herding tasks. They speak Rendille and Samburu with each other.

His answer to the question about language proficiency (Rendille perfect, Samburu fluent) is the most frequent in the whole sample, irrespective of age-set affiliation.

	All elders	Ilmooli only
Samburu perfect, Rendille perfect	6	6
Rendille perfect, Samburu fluent	9	5
Rendille perfect, good Samburu	1	
Rendille perfect, poor Samburu	1	1
Samburu perfect, Rendille fluent	8	3
Samburu perfect, Rendille good	2	1
Rendille perfect, no Samburu	6	3
Samburu perfect, no Rendille	4	2

To test the frequently heard assumption that there is a trend towards Samburu, the men of the youngest of these age-sets, Ilmooli (circumcised 1993) have also been counted separately (right column).

With all caution because of the small numbers it can be said this comparison along age-set lines does not reveal a trend towards Samburu. If anything, there seems to be a tendency in the other direction, towards Rendille.

In the whole sample no-one in the generation of parents claims any knowledge of English or Swahili.

Here is the table of language competencies about all wives of all age-set combined (left column) and of the wives of Ilmooli (right column):

	All wives	Ilmooli wives
Rendille perfect, Samburu perfect	8	6
Rendille perfect, Samburu fluent	8	4
Rendille perfect, good Samburu	2	1
Rendille perfect, little Samburu	1	
Samburu perfect, Rendille fluent	6	
Samburu perfect, good Rendille	1	
Rendille perfect, no Samburu	14	9
Samburu perfect, no Rendille	5	4

The polygyny rate of over 1.2 (45 wives of 37 husbands) is mainly due to the fact that the 7 men of Ilkichili have 13 wives, a polygyny rate of 1.86 (wives per husband).

One way to summarize the above table is to say that apart from the 8 women who speak both languages with perfection, the level “perfect” is attributed to the knowledge of Rendille of 23 women and to the knowledge of Samburu

of 12 women. Most of these have some, mostly good, knowledge of the other language, the one at which they are not so good. But 14 women are monolingual in Rendille, compared to only 5 who are monolingual in Samburu and have no Rendille at all.

This means that also the language competence of the wives shows a high degree of bilingualism and a preponderance of Rendille. This impression persists if we look at the matter age-set by age-set:

- Ilmeuri: Samburu perfect, no Rendille (1)
- Ilkimaniki: Samburu perfect, fluent Rendille (1)
- Ilkichili: Samburu perfect, Rendille fluent (4)
  - Rendille perfect, good Samburu (3)
  - Samburu perfect, Rendille perfect (1)
  - Rendille perfect, no Samburu (4)
  - Samburu perfect, no Rendille (1)
- Ilkororo: Rendille perfect, Samburu perfect (1)
  - Rendille perfect, Samburu fluent (2)
  - Rendille perfect, little Samburu (1)
  - Samburu perfect, Rendille fluent (1)
  - Samburu perfect, Rendille good (1)
  - Rendille perfect, no Samburu (1)
  - Samburu perfect, no Rendille (1)

For Ilmooli wives see the table above.

If anything can be derived from this breakdown by age-sets, it is that the incidence of monolingualism is higher among the relatively young wives of the most junior age-set, Ilmooli. The Ilmooli wives account for 13 of the 19 monolingual wives, and 9 of these are monolingual in Rendille.

One interpretation of this finding is that bilingualism may increase with the duration of the marriage and the length of stay in Ong'eli. Although more Rendille than Samburu is spoken in Ong'eli, people who stay there long enough hear enough Samburu to pick up some.

On the whole, this analysis points to a stable situation of bilingualism with a preponderance of Rendille over Samburu.

Most of the children live and work in the pastoral sector, in their own households or the ones of their parents, depending on age and status. One of the sons of the elder of Ilkimaniki is a policeman. That means that he must have received some formal education.

One son of an Ilkichili man, already 29 years old, is studying at Meru Secondary School.

The men of Ilkororo have four boys and two girls in Primary School and one girl, aged 22, in Meru Secondary School.



The junior elders of Ilmooli (circumcised 1979, marriage year 1991, or, in breach of the older rules, some years earlier) have six daughters and five sons at Namarei Primary School. Precisely the same number of each gender is of school age but not in school. They also have 27 children below school age.

This makes a total of 20 persons with any exposure to formal education out of 96 recorded children of school age or above school age.

The children speak the following languages with each other:

- Rendille/Samburu 22
- Rendille 11
- Samburu/Rendille 2
- Samburu 1

(These numbers refer to questionnaires which contain the respective answers, i. e. mostly to sibling sets, not individual children.)

In one case it was mentioned that they speak Rendille/Samburu with each other and Samburu with only a bit of Rendille in the neighbourhood. In other case the children speak exclusively Rendille with each other but both languages in the neighbourhood.

Ariaal settlements like Ong'eli are known to be composed of people of different clans of Rendille or Samburu origin. The question about clan affiliation can therefore be answered with 'Ong'eli' or with the name of the clan of the ancestor who joined Ong'eli. It can be hypothesized that those who give a Rendille clan name are more likely to prefer the Rendille language and to be more competent in it. The evidence on this point is, however, inconclusive.

Six elders claimed affiliation to Rendille clans, namely:

- Uyam 1
- Nahagan 2
- Gaal'deylan 3

Their language competencies were stated in the following form:

- Rendille/Samburu 2
- Samburu/Rendille 1
- Rendille 2
- Rendille perfect/Samburu poor 1

Three elders claimed affiliation to Ariaal/Samburu clans other than Ong'eli, namely Lukumaay (2) and Maasula (1).

Their language competencies are:

- Samburu perfect/Rendille good 1
- Rendille/Samburu 1
- Samburu 1

In the cases of those who simply gave “Ong’eli” as their clan, the language in order of competence were:

- Rendille/Samburu 12
- Samburu/Rendille 11
- Rendille 3
- Samburu 1

One may note that those who gave Rendille clan names had the highest proportion of monolingual Rendille speaker (2 of 6). Those who gave an Ariaal/Samburu clan name had the same proportion of monolinguals (1 of 3), but in this case a ‘Samburu only’ speaker. Also the Ong’eli (so stated) have a proportion of monolinguals (4 of 27, of which three speak only Rendille and one is a Samburu monolingual). The majority in all sub-samples has a high degree of competencies in both languages.

#### ONG’ELI: GOOB ILMOONGOI

n = 24

Age-set affiliation of household heads

- Ilkimaniki, circumcised (1951) 1
- Ilkichili, circumcised (1965) 10
- Ilkororo, circumcised (1979) 6
- Ilmooli, circumcised (1993) 7

The elder of Ilkimaniki speaks Rendille only and so do both of his wives. The children are also said to speak Rendille to each other.

He used to be a Rendille as defined by participation in the *gaalgulamme* age-set ceremony, but he says that his sons will participated in the Ariaal style *ilmugit*.

He has a total of six sons and three daughters. One of his wives lives in Korr. Information on 4 of the children belonging to this household was given as follows:

	M	F
Teenage herder	1	1
At Primary School	1	
Of school age but not at school		1

**ILKICHILI**

Of the elders of Ilkichili (circumcised 1965) the following language preferences were recorded:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu poor	No Samburu
Rendille perfect	1	3		6
Rendille fluent				
Poor Rendille				
No Rendille				

In spite of this strong preponderance of the Rendille language, all ten elders have participated in the Ariaal/Samburu style *ilmugit* rather than the *gaalgulamme* age-set ceremony of the Rendille.

In terms of the other ‘cultural’ indicators, none of them has undergone formal education, only one of them is a church member. They all are pastoralists with the qualification that one of them does not actually work because he is blind.

Their wives have the following language competencies:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Poor Samburu, basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect	1	3	1	7
Rendille fluent				
Poor Rendille				
No Rendille				

Five more second wives were mentioned in three of the questionnaires, but no information was given on their use of languages. So the husbands/wives relation for these Ilkichili households is 6/13 (polygyny rate: 2.18)

The children of these households have the following educational and occupational characteristics:

	M	F
Pastoralist	10	14
Married to pastoralist	16	10
At Secondary School	1	
At Primary School	2	1
Of school age but not at school	2	
Below school age	2	1

Of the adults who are pastoralist or married to pastoralists (daughters which have been married off, two men and one woman have a history of schooling.

The existence of more children is mentioned, but no information is given about them.

The children speak Rendille and Samburu (in this order) with each other (3 answers) or Rendille only (7 answers). Among these latter there is one case in which it is specified that they speak both languages in the neighbourhood.

#### ILKORORO

The six elders of the age-set Ilkororo (circumcised 1979) resemble their seniors of Ilkichili in all indicators of group affiliation and ‘culture’ (*ilmugit*, no church membership, etc.).

They show the following distribution of language competencies:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		2		4
Rendille fluent				
Poor Rendille				
No Rendille				

The answers concerning their wives reveal the following picture:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		4		3
Rendille fluent				
Poor Rendille				
No Rendille	3			

The polygyny rate of 1.66 is quite remarkable in comparison to the Ilkororo subsets of other settlements. The language preferences of these wives closely resemble those of their husbands, except for the two cases of junior wives who speak no Rendille. Both are married to men who speak no Samburu. One of them has a senior co-wife who speaks fluent Samburu.

In the other case also the senior co-wife is ‘perfect’ in Rendille but does not claim any Samburu. This may have a structuring effect on who actually talks to whom in these families.

The children of the men who belong to the age-set Ilkororo are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
Pastoral & domestic chores	5	4
Domestic chores after prior schooling		1
Primary School	5	1
Of school age but not at school	1	5
Below school age		1

The seven men who belong to the age-set Ilmooli (circumcised 1993) speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		2		2
Rendille fluent				
Poor Rendille				
No Rendille	3			

Of the three men who speak Samburu only, two are married to women who only speak Rendille. The children speak Rendille to each other in one case, Rendille and Samburu in the other.

The whole picture of distribution of language competence among the wives of the Ilmooli men is the following:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		1		4
Rendille fluent				
Poor Rendille				
No Rendille	1			

Their children show the following characteristics:

	M	F
At Primary School	4	3
Of school age but not at school	3	2
Below school age	7	4

Namarei Primary School was founded as a mobile school with funds provided by international donors. After four years, in 2005, when the first in-take of pupils had reached standard four, it was taken over by the Government and provided with fixed facilities (buildings with tin roofs and walls of concrete blocks). Since 2009 it is a complete Primary School with eight classes. It takes the children a walk of about one hour to reach it (7 km).

For the children for the Harugura settlement of Namarei the distance is about the same, for the ones of Dubsahay it is a bit shorter (5 km; 40 min.).

The children are said to speak Rendille/Samburu (3 answers), Samburu (1), Rendille (2) with each other. One questionnaire does not contain an answer on this point.



# GOOB LENGIMA, HALIBALLADAN

GOOB LENGIMA, HALIBALLADAN, OCTOBER 2012

This settlement has been in the same narrowly circumscribed area at the foot of the mountain Haliballadan for many decades. It has made use of local water sources. Because of occupying this special niche, it could afford relatively low mobility while other Rendille were still nomadic. They have been in their present location since the 1970s (Schlee 1991).

Until his death in 1988, the personality associated primarily with the name Lengima was an elder of the age-set *Ilkimaniki* of considerable wealth. Goob Lengima was pretty much “his” settlement. He had never gone to school but had nevertheless found out how to read and write Swahili. He kept an exercise book with the names of his many stock friends to whom he had given an oxen

He was of *Gaal'deylan*, but of a family which had left the Rendille to become *Ariaal* a long time ago (“ten generations”). The camels of this herd still are branded with the *ongom* mark.



Fig. 1: Gaalora, Madacho: *ongom* (Fig. 12.29 from Schlee 2012: 286)

He had four wives, and his close relatives are also polygynists. This explains the high proportion of people who claim to be *Gaal'deylan* in this settlement (Baarowa, file 20130819 Goob Lengima).

The settlement contains a mixture of Rendille and *Ariaal* type houses.





Photo 1: Rendille type house in goob Lengima (I. SCHLEE, 20130824, 0828, 0829.JPG)



Photo 2: Samburu type house in goob Lengima

Because of its relative stability, this settlement has attracted development interventions. There was no fear that the settlement would move away from any infrastructure provided for it. They have had a Primary School, a simple cement block structure with a corrugated iron roof, since about 2007 and a borehole since 2009.

During the period of interviewing in October 2012 they got into bad trouble because of battery failure which interrupted their water supply. Isir had the opportunity to show her gratitude for their hospitality by getting a new battery from Marsabit for them.



Photo 3: The water pump for which Isir has procured the battery.



Photo 4: The cement trough is filled by the water pump.

(I. SCHLEE, 20130824, 0829, 08461JPG)

n = 66

- Difgudó (Samburu Ilmerisho) 1
- Ilkimaniki 12
- Ilkichili 15
- Ilkororo 12
- Ilmooli 27

### DIFGUDÓ

There is one household belonging to the age-set Difgudó which was circumcised in 1909. The man is not alive and the information was given by his widow.

The deceased man was a Samburu speaker and had participated in the Ilmugit age-set ritual. His clan affiliation is Maasula, and in all aspects of his life he appears to have been a ‘traditional elder’: no formal education and no church affiliation.

The widow, born in 1948, is of the clan Dubsahay and her father participated in Gaalgulamme. This makes her Rendille. She speaks both Rendille and Samburu fluently, but specifies that she learned Samburu only after her marriage. Her children, 1 male, 3 female, born between 1973 and 1982 are all married and uneducated. They speak Samburu only.

### ILKIMANIKI

Of the 13 households of Ilkimaniki, circumcised in 1951, five are headed by surviving male members of this age-set while eight are headed by their widows, which in the following are evaluated in the category ‘wives’, along with the wives of the living. That is the only reason why in the parental generation there are 5 males and 13 females. No cases of polygyny have been recorded in this sub-sample.

The men speak the following languages:

Samburu	2
Samburu fluent, Rendille fluent	1
Samburu perfect, Rendille good	2

In terms of cultural affiliation, all of them have participated in the Samburu-style Ilmugit age-set ceremony. They all state that they are Maasula by clan affiliation. None of them has received any formal education. Three state that they have no church affiliation. One more makes the point in a stronger way by saying that he would not enter a church or mosque. One says that he is a Christian but also goes to the *naabo*, the assembly place of the elders which here stands for traditional beliefs and ritual practices.

For their wives and the widows of their age-set mates the following picture of language competence emerges:

Samburu fluent	9
Samburu fluent, Rendille fluent	2
Samburu fluent, Rendille basic	1

(In one questionnaire, the form to be filled with data on the wife’s language proficiencies was left blank.) This table shows a clear preponderance of Samburu. Not one of the women had Rendille as her mother tongue. It is, however, remarkable, that three of the women picked up Rendille all the same. So also this language must have had some importance in their environment. One of them explains that she learnt it from neighbours while a girl at Ilaut. Another one has acquired her (basic) Rendille “from friends and others”.

There is a clear preponderance of (other) Ariaal/Samburu clans: Lukumaay (5), Ong’eli (2), Norogushu (1), Maasula (2). Two point to the Rendille clan Gaal’deylan as their clan of birth. One of these specifies that she is a daughter of Lengima, the elder – from a Gaal’deylan family of long standing in Maasula – after whom this settlement is named. One is a daughter of Dubsahay.

The children of this age-set are invariably reported as speaking Samburu. They have the following occupations:

	M	F
Pastoralist sector	29	7
Unspecified (“at Korr”)		1
Finished medical college, works as nurse		1
Policeman	1	
Local business-man	1	
Of school age, not at school		4
At school	5	1

Of the adults now in the pastoralist sector, three have undergone some schooling (7, 6, and 3 years respectively).

### ILKICHILI

There are 15 questionnaires about households belonging to the age-set Ilkichili. In 14 cases the man through whom this age-set affiliation is established is alive, while one questionnaire has been filled out by a widow.

The men speak the following languages. The order is from Samburu only through various combinations to Rendille only:

Samburu	4
Samburu perfect, Rendille good	1
Samburu mother tongue, Rendille fluent, Turkana basic	1
Rendille mother tongue, Samburu perfect	2
Rendille perfect, Samburu good	3
Rendille fluent, Samburu basic	1
Rendille mother tongue, poor Swahili	1
Rendille	1

In one case the page about language proficiency was left empty. People who know this person say that he speaks better Samburu than Rendille. He is not counted here.

In terms of mother tongue speakers (six Samburu speakers, eight Rendille speakers, one proficient in both without specification of which is the mother tongue) among the men of this age-set the two languages here seem to be of similar strength with a preponderance of Rendille. Four Samburu speakers give no other languages and appear to manage without any Rendille. On the other hand there are also two Rendille speakers who manage without Samburu.

In view of the dominance of Samburu as mother tongue in the preceding age-set, Ilkimaniki (above), one wonders where this relative importance of Rendille among the men of Ilkichili comes from.

All men who state that Rendille is their mother tongue or whose Rendille is better than their Samburu give Dubsahay as their clan affiliation. One of them has his senior wife and his patrilineal relatives in the Dubsahay settlement not far away and comes here to visit his second wife. Another one has his first wife at Korr. The three others have married in and live here with their first wife (in one case first to third wife) here. (Additional information obtained from conversation with Fabiano Wambile, 19.04.2014, Korr) The children of these bilingual couples invariably speak Samburu with each other.

Among the six questionnaires which unambiguously give Samburu as the mother tongue of the household head, five state Maasula as their clan affiliation. In one case the clan affiliation is Gaal'deylan. All these men have also participated in the Ilmugit age-set ceremony. Of the inmarrying Dubsahay men, four have participated in Gaalgulamme, two in Ilmugit.

None of them reports having undergone any formal education. None of them has ever converted to a world religion, except one who says that he goes to "Church and *naabo*" and another one who states "Catholic/*Naabo*". He says that he and his two wives "all go to church." They are all pastoralists and one of them in addition works as watchman at the school.

Their wives speak the following languages:

Samburu	5
Samburu fluent, Rendille fluent	5
Samburu fluent, Rendille basic	3
Rendille (mother tongue) fluent, Samburu fluent	1
Rendille perfect, no Samburu	1

In one questionnaire the question about the language proficiency of the wife had been skipped. They are daughters of the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Gaaldeylan 5	Ong'eli 2
Gooborre 1	Maasula 4
O'doola 1	Lukumaay 1
Urawen 1	
Dubsahay 1	

The children are invariably reported as speaking Samburu to each other, except for one household, where they speak both Samburu and Rendille.

Some questionnaires contain more detail about individual children. This information breaks down as follows:

Samburu only	14
Fully bilingual in Samburu and Rendille	6
Fluent Samburu, basic Rendille, basic Swahili (school)	1
Fluent Samburu, basic Swahili, English (school)	1
Basic Samburu, Swahili (school)	1

The following occupations of the children have been mentioned:

	M	F
Pastoralist sector/unemployed	27	14
Completed secondary works with NGO	1	
At school	3	1
Of school age, not at school	5	1
Nursery		3
Below school age	4	3

Some of the children who are now grown-up and in the pastoralist sector or unemployed have a history of schooling. Two have completed Standard 8, one Standard 6, one is characterized as a school drop-out.

In one questionnaire the existence of a second wife is mentioned and the total of the children is given as 22, but detailed information is only given about 4 children of one wife.

#### ILKORORO

The 11 men of Ilkororo<sup>1</sup>, circumcised in 1979, speak the following languages:

Rendille perfect (mother tongue), Samburu perfect	2
Fluent Samburu, basic Rendille	4
Samburu mother tongue, good Rendille	2
Samburu only	3

They all have participated in the Ilmugit age-set ceremony and they all participate in traditional rituals (*naabo*). None of them has received any formal education. In terms of church affiliation, one of them states that he is a catholic, adding that he also goes to the *naabo* (where traditional prayers are held) every day. Another one states that he goes to church but has not been baptized.

They give the following clan affiliations:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Tubcha 2	Maasula 6
Gaaldeylan 1	Maasula 4
Dubsahay 2	

One man of Tubcha and the two of Dubsahay mention that they are also Maasula, adding the clan of long-time residence to the clan of ultimate patrilineal origin. No other occupation than 'herdsman' is given on any of the questionnaires.

About their wives, the questionnaires contain the following information concerning their language proficiency:

Rendille mother tongue, Samburu perfect	1
Rendille mother tongue, Samburu basic	3
Rendille mother tongue, Samburu 50%	1
Samburu mother tongue, Rendille basic	1
Samburu perfect, Rendille fully functional	2
Samburu only	3

<sup>1</sup> The total for most questions is 10, because one of the questionnaires is incomplete.

The five women whose mother tongue is Rendille are daughters of the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Nebey 2	
Gaaldeylan	
Regumo	
Gooborre	

The other five whose mother tongue is Samburu are daughters of the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Dubsahay 2	Maasula 2
	Ong'eli
	Lukumaay

There is nothing remarkable about being a Samburu mother tongue speaker and having a Rendille clan of origin. The two women who are of Dubsahay origin have fathers who already have undergone the Ilmugit age-set ceremony which makes them part of Samburu society in a rather formal sense.

The children of Ilkororo parents in this settlement speak Samburu with each other, with one exception where the language used is Rendille, the language of their mother. Again, information about children is not complete. In one questionnaire two wives with a total of 11 children are mentioned, but detailed information is only given about four.

The picture emerging from these data, concerning the occupation of the children, is the following:

	M	F
Pastoralist sector/unemployed	14	10
Completed form IV, volunteer teacher	1	
Of school age, not at school	2	6
At school	4	2
Nursery		
Below school age	1	1



Of the grown up children who are now in the pastoral sector, two, both males, have a history of primary schooling.

In two cases boys, born 1990 and 1992, i. e. 22 and 20 years old at the time of the inquiry, go to primary school, apparently making up for what they missed at an earlier age, the usual school age. Such educational careers have not been recorded for girls.

## ILMOOLI

Four questionnaires had to be excluded from the analysis; one because it had been filled only on the first page, three because they contained implausible information like the wife sharing name and clan origin with the husband (which is impossible because of the exogamy rules).

The remaining 23 men of the age-set, Ilmooli, circumcised in 1993, speak the following languages:

Rendille and Samburu with mother tongue competence	1
Rendille mother tongue, Samburu perfect	2
Rendille mother tongue, Samburu good	7
Rendille mother tongue, Samburu good, perfect Swahili	1
Samburu mother tongue, Rendille good	1
Samburu mother tongue, Rendille basic	2
Samburu mother tongue, Rendille basic, basic Swahili	1
Samburu only	8

Apart from the one person who claims to speak both languages as mother tongues, there are 10 Rendille mother tongue speakers and 11 Samburu mother tongue speakers. This makes Rendille quite strong as a big minority language. How does this compare to the age-sets senior to Ilmooli? In Ilkimaniki (circumcised 1951) there has been a level of competence in Rendille but no mother tongue speakers at all. In Ilkichili (circumcised 1965) there has been a slight prevalence of Rendille mother tongue speakers due to male marriage immigration (outsiders coming to marry local girls and settle with them uxorilocally). In Ilkororo, circumcised 1979, there were only two Rendille mother tongue speakers, both of whom also perfect in Samburu (above). Compared to these figures, one cannot really speak of Rendille mother tongue competence over the decades. On the other hand, these figures for Ilmooli also show that Samburu is indispensable for Ilmooli for communicating with their age-mates, while Rendille is not. There are eleven men who only speak Samburu, while there are no monolingual Rendille speakers. The Rendille speakers all have a good to perfect mastery of Samburu.

## CULTURAL AFFILIATION

In terms of age-set rituals, one questionnaire reports participation in Gaalgulamme, all others in Ilmugit. The man who has participated in Gaalgulamme is a member of a Rendille clan. His circumcision took place at Kargi. More recently he has married a girl of this settlement.

All 23 men report that they practice the traditional rituals centred around the *naabo*. In addition, 3 report that they are Catholic Christians and one that he once was a Muslim before he converted back to traditionalism.

They claim the following clan affiliations:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Gaaldeylan 2	Maasula 13
Dubsahay 4	Lorokushu 1
Tubcha 2	
Saale 1	

In some cases, two affiliations were given, like Maasula (Dubsahay) or Maasula (Tubcha). As Maasula stands for the residential unit shared by all of them, in the above list people were counted with the more specific Rendille clan names which refer to their clans of patrilineal origin, but only if these clan affiliations were actually given, not if they could only be concluded from the lineage names.

The wives of these men speak the following languages:

Rendille fluent, Samburu fluent	1
Rendille mother tongue, Samburu good	3
Rendille mother tongue, Samburu basic	1
Samburu mother tongue, Rendille good	1
Samburu mother tongue, Rendille basic	1
Rendille only	2
Samburu only	14

It needs to be kept in mind that these categorizations are based on self-assessment. The two women who claim to speak Rendille only have Samburu speaking children, the oldest in each case around 6 years old. (Response to the question ‘Which language do your children speak to each other?’: ‘Samburu’ in one case, ‘Samburu/Rendille’ in the other.) It would have been interesting to observe the actual interactions.

The women whose mother tongue is Rendille have the following clan origins (clan of birth):

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Dubsahay 2	? Le(n)kurante 1
Saale 1	Maasula 1
Rengumo 1	

The clans of origin of the women who state that Samburu is their mother tongue are:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Dubsahay 3	Lukumaay 3
Uyam 1	Ong'eli 2
Tubcha 2	Maasula 2
Gaaldeylan 2	
Rengumo 1	
Nebey 1	

There is no correlation, or hardly any correlation, between mother tongue of wife and mother tongue of husband. Of the wives of the 12 Samburu mother tongue men, 3 have Rendille as their mother tongue. Of the wives of the 10 Rendille mother tongue speakers, that number is also 3.

For the children of this age-set the following occupations have been listed:

	M	F
Pastoralist	2	1
Of school age, not at school	11	12
At school	12	2
Nursery	3	1
Below school age	13	8

Two sibling sets had to be excluded from the count because of inconsistent information (ages not fitting the age-set affiliation of their parents).

# BOSNIA

## BOSNIA

Bosnia is a recently settled area of Korr. The first houses here were built by soldiers who had served in the UN mission in Bosnia in the 1990s, hence the name. It is not a Rendille settlement with a *naabo* of the type which can also be found in a narrow radius around Korr, but it consists of permanent, semi-permanent and makeshift houses of all kinds, from cement block structures with corrugated iron roofs to semispherical huts covered with sacks. Its inhabitants represent a broad ethnic and clan mixture. As they all can be grouped according to the age-set affiliation of the head of household, this principle has also been used here for sub-sampling.

Types of houses in the “Bosnia” neighbourhood of Korr:



Photo 1:

(I. SCHLEE, 20140425, P1010523.JPG)



Photo 2: The “Korr Acacia Shade” Hotel where NGO workers and state officers tend to spend the night. (I. Schlee, 20130824, 1449, P1010512.JPG)



Photo 3: One of the more elaborate permanent houses built with cement blocks with corrugated iron roofing. 20140425



Photo 4: A semipermanent house with a wooden frame filled with stones, covered with cement plaster, and corrugated iron roofing. Note the Rendille style house in the same compound.



Photo 5: A similar combination (I. Schlee, 20140425, P1010510, P1010507.JPG)



Photo 6: Variations on Rendille type houses. The one in the foreground is a somewhat reduced version of a Rendille house, covered with sacks rather than mats plaited from sansevieria fibres. The one behind is a modernized, enlarged version with a door of corrugated iron and straight wooden ports and a large tarpaulin as a cover. The head of this household is an NGO worker.



Photo 7: Fencing plots is a new phenomenon at Korr. This house belongs to a government officer. (I. SCHLEE, 20140425, 469, 483.JPG)

n = 26

- Ilkimaniki (circumcised in 1951) 1
- Ilkichili (circumcised in 1965) 3
- Ilkororo (circumcised in 1979) 9
- Ilmooli (circumcised 1993) 12
- Ilmetili (circumcised in 2008) 1

### ILKIMANIKI

The man of the age-set Ilkimaniki speaks fluent Samburu, which is his mother tongue, and no Rendille at all. At his work place he has, however, learnt to speak Swahili fluently. He used to work as a herder in Laikipia. (Additional information by Fabiano Wambile) He is illiterate and has not received any formal education. In 1975, at the age of 27, he was baptized. He does not participate in any traditional rituals. One of these, *almodo*, would anyhow involve the *naabo*, and in the absence of such a traditional place of assembly and prayer cannot be carried out.

He has undergone the Ilmugit age-set ceremony, as his father and the father of his (then future) wife had done. So, in terms of age-set systems, both he and his wife are of Samburu families in the wider sense, but while he is affiliated to an Ariaal clan (Lorogushu), his wife is a daughter of Dubsahay. She has undergone any formal education. Her mother tongue is Rendille, she already learned Samburu in her childhood from grandparents, and she is also fluent in Swahili.

Their children, three girls and two boys, born between 1983 and 2001, have all undergone primary school education and are now married (the oldest daughter) or “at home”. They speak Samburu and Swahili with each other.

### ILKICHILI

The three questionnaires comprise one with information provided by a widow about her late husband who had died eleven years earlier in a car accident. The death of household heads may go unreported (there is no question in the questionnaire to ascertain that the person about whom information is given is actually alive and on the side of the respondents there may be hesitations on this issue). The dead person will obviously not be counted with the rest, because that would affect methodological principles (that the data should reflect the state of affairs at the time of inquiry) and the comparability with subsamples from elsewhere, which do not include deceased people.

A word about him is in place all the same, because his life and work may explain why the level of education of the children of this subsample is unusually high. He had finished secondary school, had once run for political office, has been an adult education teacher and the key informant and translator of a Danish researcher. In other words: He was a member of the first generations of Rendille intellectuals.



The other two men are another adult education teacher and a businessman without any formal education. The latter speaks fluent Rendille and Swahili and no Samburu, the former speaks English, Rendille, Samburu and Rendille (mother tongue) fluently and is literate in all these languages. He is a Christian, the businessman a Muslim who reports also the practice Rendille rituals like milk libations (sadakha) and sooriyo sacrifices. The Christians do the same: libations and fumigations (haru) at new moon are mentioned. One of the men has participated in Ilmugit, the other one in Gaalgulamme.

The three wives (comprising the widow) speak the following languages:

Rendille (mother tongue), English and Swahili fluent	1
Rendille (mother tongue), fluent Samburu and Swahili	1
Rendille only	1

They all stem from Rendille clans.

The children are underreported, as might be the case with many subsamples. Another source (Fabiano Wambile, conversation April 22, 2014) mentions the existence of a second wife with two small children, but this is not reflected by the questionnaire data.

Two sets of siblings speak Rendille to each other. For one set additionally the use of English and Swahili is reported.

The children engage in the following activities:

	M	F
Pastoralist	1	
Finished school, works in bank	1	
Finished school, left for town/city, no specific occupation reported	3	1
Works with world bank, USA	1	
Married after school education	2	2
Studies to become a nurse		1
Studies at other college		1
Unemployed after finishing Primary	1	
At school	1	2

**ILKORORO**

The nine men of the age-set Ilkororo speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		4	1	4
Rendille fluent				
Rendille poor				
No Rendille				

In addition, the following language related competencies have been mentioned:

- can read Rendille but not write 1
- can read and write Rendille 1
- English fluent 2
- Swahili fluent 6
- a bit of English 1
- Swahili not fluent 2

These are people with an urban life-style, be that at a minimal level, and urban occupations. Only one questionnaire does not state an occupation. The others comprise 2 teachers, 3 security guards, one NGO worker, one public health worker and one businessman.

The levels of education are:

Teachers training college	1
Secondary	3
Primary	1
Primary drop out	2
No formal education	2

In terms of religious affiliation, six are Christians, four of these have been baptized while young, while two regard themselves as Christians but have not or not yet been baptized. One is a Muslim, one does not belong to either of the world religions. There is a clear connection between formal education, formal employment and being a baptized Christian of long standing. The Christians all practice Rendille rituals to some extent, the Muslim does not. One of the Christians who have not (yet) been baptized has formerly been a Muslim.

The wives of these men of Ilkororo speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		3		6
Rendille fluent				
Rendille poor				
No Rendille				

In cross-tables of this type, if competence in two languages has been graded “perfect” but one of them has been stated as mother tongue, the other one has been categorized as fluent to express the difference might not actually be in fluency but in mother tongue status.

In addition, one of them speaks Swahili, although in a “not very fluent” way, and one of them can read and write Rendille, Samburu and Swahili. Only three of the wives have undergone formal education. One has had five years of primary education, another one apparently has finished primary school. One of them is a college-trained teacher. This means that the language competencies discussed in the preceding paragraph have been under-reported. These women must have a mastery of Swahili and English.

For their children the following activities have been listed:

	M	F
Never went to school	1	1
Finished school, married		2
“Married”		2
Dropped out of school, no occupation recorded	3	1
In college		1
Of school age, not at school	1	1
At school	12	11
Nursery	3	2
Below school age	4	4

In comparison to Rendille settlements outside such agglomerations, the high rate of school attendance is remarkable. This cannot just be interpreted as the effect of accessibility, because in a number of cases children and young people pursue their education in towns and cities elsewhere.

The whole composition of this age-set based subsample, comprising their children, looks like this.

	M	F
61-65	1	
56-60		
51-55	3	1
46-50	2	1
41-45	2	2
36-40	1	1
31-35	1	4
21-25	2	6
16-20	2	4
11-15	9	3
6-10	7	6
0-5	4	4

On the basis of this list, one can draw an age-pyramid (below). As there is information from another source, that very young children have been underreported on one form, we have taken the liberty of adding 1 male and 1 female in the lowest age bracket.

The males over 36 and the females over 31 reflect all of the parental generation and exclusively the parental generation (see dividing horizontal line).

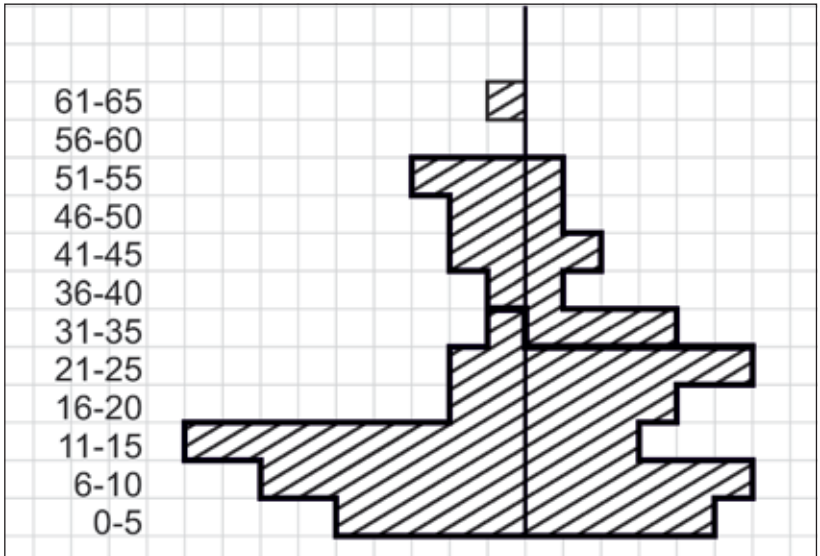


Chart 1: Age-pyramid of subsample Ilkororo

Area Councilor	1
Not working	1
No answer	1

The high level of formal employment results from the following educational careers:

University	1
Professional College	2
Secondary	6
Secondary drop out	1
No formal education	2

Seven of the men are Christians, comprising all the teachers. There are four Muslims (one policeman, one councilor, one not working, one watchman). In one questionnaire participation in traditional practices and being a Muslim are denied and the space for church affiliation left blank.

The wives of the Ilmooli men of “Bosnia” speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		6	1	5
Rendille fluent				
Rendille poor				
No Rendille				

Apart from these two languages, the following kinds of knowledge of other languages have been recorded:

- fluent Swahili 5
- can read and write Rendille 2
- fluent English and Swahili 1
- Swahili not very fluent 2
- English not fluent 1
- Swahili basic 1

These wives are of the following clans of origin:

Rendille	Ariaal/ Samburu
Rengumo	Ong'eli 4
Rengumo (Maasula)	
Dubsahay	
Nebei (2)	
Gaaldeylan	
Matarbah	
Nahagan	

Apart from the four Ong'eli fathers and the Rengumo father who lived in Maasula, who have participated in Ilmugit, all others have participated in Gaalgulamme.

So, in terms of participation in Rendille versus Samburu age grading systems, the fathers of these women correspond closely to their husbands.

The level of formal education of these women is higher than that of the women found in pastoral settlements but significantly lower, on the average, than that of their husbands.

Secondary school	1
Primary school	4
Not gone to school	7

In terms of religious affiliation, so far, in the whole census, no cases of wives who differ from their husbands have been recorded, although they would have been of special anthropological interest.

On the whole, fewer Rendille rituals, like the ones associated with the new moon, seem to be carried out by this age-set than by senior age-sets. On one questionnaire it is mentioned that *morr* (a kid of the same sex as the child) is sacrificed at the birth of a child and that *hiyi goob Ogom*, 'the root of the lineage Ogom', a fibrous string, is attached to the wrist of the child. Quantitative information, like the rate of loss of these rituals if any, is difficult to derive from the data, because the question ('- other communal rituals, which and when?) is phrased in an open fashion and often even seems to have been ignored by the interviewers.

The children of these families speak Rendille to each other.

## ILMOOLI

The 12 men of the age-set Ilmooli who reside in “Bosnia” speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Poor Samburu	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		4	1	6
Rendille fluent				
Rendille poor	1			
No Rendille				

In addition, the following competencies have been recorded:

- can read and write Rendille and Samburu 1
- can read and write Rendille 10
- fluent English and Swahili from school 8
- basic Swahili 1
- fluent English 1

2 of these have performed Ilmugit, 10 Gaalgulamme. Also in terms of clan affiliation the Rendille clans prevail:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Rengumo	Lorogushu
Dubsahay 4	
Urawen 2	
Nahagam	
Tubcha	
Saale	
Matarbah	

The following occupations have been recorded:

Policeman	2
Teacher	4
Watchman (Nairobi)	1
Public health officer	1

They are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
at school	9	7
of school age, not at school		1
nursery	3	7
below school age	9	6

As the data, including years of birth, in this subsample appear reliable and complete, they invite some more descriptive statistics.

The breakdown of the population of this subsample in terms of age and gender, including parental and filial generation, looks like this:

	M	F
41-45	3	
36-40	5	1
31-35	4	4
26-30		7
21-25	1	
16-20	1	
11-15	4	3
6-10	5	8
0-5	10	10

On the basis of this list one can draw an age-pyramid (below). It reflects rather well the age difference between husbands and wives and the lack of overlap between the generations, which are products of the age-grading system.

Everyone over 30 in this subsample is a parent and everyone under 30 belongs to the filial generation. The two boys over 15 belong to a Muslim family. According to the traditional unrolling of the Rendille age-set system, their parents should not even have been married by the time they were born.



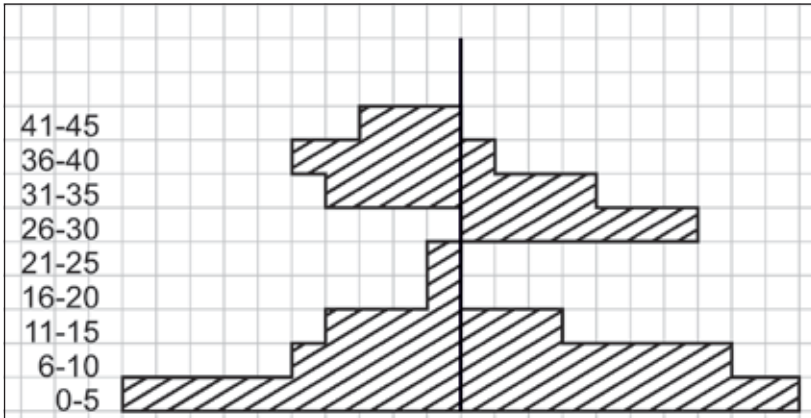


Chart 2: Age-pyramid of subsample Ilmooli

In spite of such minor deviations, this “pyramid”, which does not quite look like a pyramid because of the gaps produced by considering only one age-set and their children and not the intervening and preceding age-sets, is very similar to the age pyramids Schlee (1979: 67-76, see also Vol. VII and VIII of this series) has drawn on the basis of a still nomadic Rendille settlement which had undergone few influences by world religions and other vehicles of modernization.

#### ILMETILI

According to the Rendille rules how their age-set system should unroll, the age-set Ilmetili, circumcised in 2007, should only marry in 2016. But in many cases these rules have been stretched or broken in recent repetitions of the age-set cycle, both by early circumcisions and by early marriages. In the preceding subsample, the households of Ilmooli of “Bosnia”, we have come across a Muslim household which has obviously not followed the Rendille rules and comprises children born earlier than would have been expected according to the old rules. The phenomenon is, however, by no means limited to Muslims.

As a result of such an innovation, the Bosnia sample also comprises a one-year old baby girl. The husband is still at college, the wife is at home, having finished primary school. He is fluent in Rendille (mother tongue) and Samburu, she is a Rendille speaker who does not know Samburu. Both of course know the school languages (English and Swahili). They are Christians, he has participated in Ilmugit, as is usual in his clan (Ong’eli). She is a daughter of the Rendille clan Gooborre, but her father has also participated in Ilmugit, which is used in Gooborre. No actual participation in traditional rituals has been recorded.



# LORORA

## A PICTORIAL INTRODUCTION TO LORORA

While the “Bosnia“ sample consisted mainly of sedentarized and to some extent “urbanized” (educated, formally employed) Rendille and Rendille speaking Ariaal (Ong’eli), the neighbourhood Lorora represents another extreme. It is composed of Samburu speaking members of the blacksmith community (R. tumaal, S. ilkonono) who fit the description of a special artisanal caste (Schlee 1979:215-217 on blacksmiths among the Rendille, an account which, however, only represents the view of the pastoralists on artisanal castes in the wider region) and practice involuntary endogamy, because the pastoralists do not intermarry with them.

The settlement is close to the Catholic mission which is also a kind of patron for this community and a frequent employer of casual labour.

The Tumaal of Lorora invariably have held an Ilmugit rather than participating in a Rendille-style Gaalgulamme.



Photo 1: This house belongs to a teacher at Lorora.

(I. SCHLEE, 20140611Korr, P1010526.JPG)



Photo 2: This house combines Samburu elements, like the flat spherical ones, with modernity, here represented by the approximation to a square shape and the corrugated iron door with a wooden frame. The roofing consists of cardboard boxes.



Photo 3: A canteen with the houses of its owners in front of it. The part underneath the solar panels and the satellite dish is for TV presentations which can be watched for a modest fee. The owner also works as a teacher. (I. SCHEE, 20140611Korr, P1010528, P1010531.JPG)



Photo 4: The butchery

(I. SCHLEE, 20140611Korr, P1010532, P1010534.JPG)



Photo 5: This house, in addition to cardboard boxes, has proper mats (Rendille *dulbe*, Samburu *suut*) as a cover.



Photo 6: The house of a newly married couple, recognizable by the surrounding fence and the liberal application of red ochre to the mats.



Photo 7: This house belongs to an NGO worker. It is built entirely of corrugated iron sheets nailed to a wooden frame. (I. SCHLEE, 20140611Korr, P1010538, P1010539.JPG)



Photo 8: A house under construction



Photo 9: The smithery

(I. SCHLEE, 20140611Korr, P1010543, P1010560.JPG)



Photo 10: Another view of the smithery.

(I. SCHLEE, 20140611, P1010562.JPG)

n = 32

- Ilkimaniki (circumcised 1951) 1
- Ilkichili (circumcised 1965) 6
- Ilkororo (circumcised 1979) 12
- Ilmooli (circumcised 1993) 13

#### ILKIMANIKI

The man of Ilkimaniki is a monolingual Samburu speaker and herdsman. (The blacksmiths of Korr do have cattle.) His wife speaks Samburu as her mother tongue and is also fluent in Rendille, which she acquired at Korr from Rendille-speaking neighbours. They are Christians. The both have Rendille clan affiliations (meaning they stem from families of blacksmiths associated with Rendille clans).

The five children of this couple, born between 1970 and 1980, know Rendille to different degrees (basic/fluent) in addition to their native Samburu. They have pursued formal education to rather high levels. Three of them, all males, are teachers. Of the two daughters, one has married after completing primary school, the other one has completed secondary school and is an NGO worker. Having completed school, all of them are, of course, also fluent in English and Swahili. The three of them who were interviewed directly claim that they can read but not write Rendille and Samburu.



**ILKICHILI**

Of the six households of Ilkichili one is headed by a widow. The five surviving men of this age-set speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect				
Rendille fluent				
Rendille basic	2			
No Rendille	3			

In addition, one of them speaks fluent Swahili and one basic Swahili. Their wives have the following language competencies:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect				
Rendille fluent	2			
Rendille basic	2			
No Rendille	2			

- Basic Swahili 2
- Fluent Swahili 2

No member of the parental generation has ever received any formal education. The questions of participation in pastoralist rituals (*sooriyo, almodo*, other) are invariably answered in the negative. There are no Muslims among them either. The household of the widow has no religious affiliation. Five of the families are Catholic Christians. The experience of labour for the Catholic Mission is mentioned repeatedly in this context. Other experiences of work and travel include:

*Husbands*

- Livestock herder 3
- Watchman and herder for the Catholic mission 1
- School cook 1

### *Wives*

- Livestock herding 3
- Been to hospital in Nairobi 1
- Once visited husband who was working as a watchman in Nairobi 1
- Took mother to hospital at Wamba 1
- Never been outside the district 2

The following clan affiliations are mentioned:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Saale (Gaaloro) 1	Maasula 4
	Ilpisikishu 4
	Ilng'wesi 2

The question where the father of the wife has been circumcised provides an indication to which extent migration between the location of the census and Samburu District takes place. These locations include

- Mt Ngiro 2
- Lontolio 2
- Maralal
- Mt Kulal

Their children invariably speak Samburu with each other. In one case also Swahili is mentioned. They have the following levels of formal education.

	M	F
College	1	
Completed primary	2	1
Completed secondary		
Primary drop out	1	1
No formal education	7	3
Now at university	1	
Now at school	6	1
Of school age, not at school		1
Nursery		1

Their present occupations include:

Teacher (a male) and one female Inspector (Administration Police).

One young man is reported as having completed Secondary School and having died while working in the Administration Police.

**ILKORORO**

In one questionnaire the page with the language capacities of the head of their household is missing. The other ten men of the age-set Ilkororo, circumscribed in 1979, speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect				
Rendille fluent				
Rendille basic	7			
No Rendille	4			

Other language capacities include:

- basic Swahili 6
- fluent Swahili 3
- fluent English 2
- basic English 1

The wives of these men number only eleven because one of them has died. They show the following distribution of language skills:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect				
Rendille fluent	4			
Rendille basic	4			
No Rendille	3			

- basic Swahili 4
- fluent Swahili 5
- fluent English 2
- basic English 1
- poor English 1

This table shows that these wives on average speak better Rendille and Swahili than their husbands. To have a look at the activities of wives and husbands might help to explain why.

Male activities mentioned	Female activities mentioned
Casual labourer 3	Housewife/herder 5
Borehole attendant	Teacher
Driver and mechanic	Housewife 2
(Former) watchman	Former nurse, now assistant chief
Herder	Housewife/water carrier/washing woman
Herder/digs latrines	
Corporal of Administration Police	
Male levels of education	Female levels of education
Technical school 1	College 1
Primary 3	Primary 3
	Primary drop out 1
No formal education 7	No formal education 7

So the levels of skill and professionalism differ widely among the women. A number of them state that they have never left the district. The only time another woman left the district was when she sought infertility treatment at Wamba, Samburu District. Two of them, however, are far travelled (within Kenya), seminar going people: the teacher and the chief.

The types of employment of the men do not diverge to the same degree. With the exception of the Administration Police corporal, they all are skilled or unskilled labourers in more or less permanent employment.

The following clans have been mentioned:

#### *CLAN OF HUSBAND*

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Dubsahay	Ilngwesi
"Tumal"	Ilpisikishu 3
Saale	Maasula 2
Urawen	
Gaaldeylan 2	

*CLAN OF ORIGIN OF WIFE*

Rendille	Ariaal/ Samburu
Urawen 3	Ilpisikishu
Dubsahay	Maasula 2
Saale (Gaaloro)	Lukumaay (Dubsahay)
Saale	Ilngwesi
Gaaldeylan 2	

Again, the locations of circumcision of the men and of the fathers of their wives may give a clue to the range of mobility of this community over longer periods. These locations include:

- Korr 6
- Lontolio 4
- Ngurunit 2
- Nchoro
- Ngare Narok
- Losidan 2
- Ilaut
- Wamba
- Sereolipi
- Ngiro
- Kori
- Lonlolio

The children of these Ilkororo households invariably speak Samburu with each other. In one case Rendille has been mentioned in addition, in another case Swahili.

Their activities are the following:

	M	F
Completed primary, National Youth Service	1	
Not educated (herder)	2	2
Not educated, maid		1
Not educated, married		7
School completed, no occupation mentioned	1	1
At home after dropping out of school		1
Of school age, herding livestock	1	

Of school age, not at school	1	
At school	15	13
Nursery	4	2
Below school age	2	1

Three additional children (born after c. 2000) are mentioned without details given.

## ILMOOLI

The thirteen men of Ilmooli age-set, circumcised in 1993, speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect				
Rendille fluent				
Rendille basic	9			
No Rendille	4			

- basic Swahili 4
- fluent Swahili 7
- fluent English 7
- fluent Turkana 1

This table shows that among the men of this age set, Swahili has clearly overtaken Rendille in order of importance. Eleven of them speak Swahili, among them seven fluently, while there are only nine who speak Rendille and all of these only at the basic level. Also English holds a strong position in comparison with Rendille. The number of English speakers (7) is lower than that of Rendille speakers (9), but their level of competence higher (fluent vs. basic).

Their levels of educations are:

- University 1
- Teachers College 3
- Technical School 2
- Secondary School 1
- No formal education 6

Their occupations are:

- Carpenter/NGO worker 1
- Mason and carpenter 1
- Herds livestock, loads vehicles 2
- Herds livestock, digs latrines and wells 1
- Herds livestock 1
- NGO worker 1
- Cook at school 1
- Blacksmith 1
- Teacher 3
- Mechanic 1

So finally, we have come across a member of the blacksmith caste who actually practices this trade. It is quite conspicuous how often institutions of the Don Bosco Catholic Mission are mentioned in the context of educational careers and employment:

- Don Bosco Boys Technical School, Nairobi 1
- Don Bosco Boys Secondary School, Embu 1
- Don Bosco Mission, Korr (as employer) 1

Other church based institutions mentioned in this context are:

- Catholic University of Eastern Africa 1
- World Vision (as employer) 1
- Tirrim Primary School (African Inland Church (Protestant)) (as employer) 1
- St. Joseph Technical School, Isiolo 1

The clan affiliations of these men, i. e. the pastoralist groups with whom they have been associated as blacksmiths, are:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Gaaldeylan 2	Ilpisikishu 4
	Maasula 6
	Lukumaay

Their wives are of the following clans of origin:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Saale	Ilpisikishu 4
Saale (Gaaloro)	Maasula 2
	Lukumaay
	Ilngwesi 3

One is of Boran origin.

The wives of these men speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect				
Rendille fluent	2			
Rendille basic	8			
No Rendille	3			

- Swahili basic 4
- Swahili fluent 5
- basic English 1
- fluent English 4
- basic Boran Oromo 1

These wives have the following levels of education:

- Primary School 4
- no formal education 9

It is conspicuous that the nine women who have not got any formal education and who report never to have been outside the district – in two cases apart from one visit to a hospital – still differ in their language competences. There seems to be a correlation between their knowledge of Rendille, a language obviously not essential in their life-worlds, because many of them do without it, and their competence in other languages.

All these women are Samburu mother tongue speakers. Here we form two subsamples of those who speak no Rendille and those who speak some.



Speaks no Rendille n = 4	Speaks some Rendille n = 5
Swahili basic 1	Swahili basic 2
	Swahili fluent 2
	English basic 1

It appears noteworthy that in the subsample of women who speak no Rendille, only one other language competence is mentioned, while in the only slightly larger subsample of the women who speak some Rendille five such competencies are mentioned. (0.25 other languages than Samburu per person in the case of those who speak no Rendille, and two competencies in other languages (because for each of them we also have to count their competence in Rendille) in the case of those who do know some Rendille.)

In this otherwise so homogeneous subsample there seems to be a strong differentiating effect: Those who know a second language also know a third and sometimes a fourth. There seems to be a monolingual and a multilingual type. Languages do not coexist in the mind of a person at the expense of each other but in addition to each other. They tend to aggregate as soon as there are two of them.

We shall test this hypothesis with a larger (and therefore less homogenous sample) at the end of this section about Lorora.

With the exception of one who is an Administration Police Inspector, the wives of Ilmooli are all housewives. Before their marriage, and occasionally after, they have been herding livestock.

The children of these women are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
at school age, but not at school	2	4
at school	6	8
nursery	4	6
below school age	6	10

We now come back to the question to which extent the ability to speak Rendille as a second language predicts competence in a third language. Our hypothesis derived from the small but very homogeneous sample of Ilmooli women without formal education was that people of Lorora who speak Rendille in addition to their mother tongue, Samburu, are more likely to speak a third language than those who do not speak Rendille are to speak a second language other than Rendille (like English or Swahili)

If we count the whole population of Lorora, the following picture emerges:

	Speaks no Rendille n = 25	Speaks some Rendille n = 42
Swahili basic	6	18
Swahili fluent	6	19
English basic/poor	4	1
English fluent	2	14
Turkana fluent	1	
Boran basic		1
∑ Second language competencies	19	(Including Rendille) 95
Second language competencies per person	0.76	(Including Rendille) 2.21 (Without Rendille) 1.26

This table shows clearly that those residents of Lorora who have had the disposition to learn some Rendille are also those who are more likely to have knowledge of a third language.

The Samburu mother tongue speakers who speak no Rendille only have 0.76 second language capacities (mostly in Swahili or Swahili plus English) per person, while those who speak Samburu plus Rendille have 2.21 second language capacities per person.

If we discount Rendille and take knowledge of Rendille only as a predictor of how likely a person is to know a third language, the difference is still there. Those who speak Rendille have 1.26 capacities per person in a third language, compared to 0.76 language capacities in a second language in the case of those who do not speak Rendille. This makes clear that knowledge of Rendille (or any second language for that matter) does not compete with other languages but facilitates the acquisition of a third and further languages.

Also the level of knowledge of a third language tends to be higher among those who speak Rendille than the level of a second language among those who do not speak Rendille. The distribution of basic versus fluent mastery of Swahili is about 1:1 in both subsamples (18:19/6:6) but the difference shows more clearly in the case of English. Those who speak Rendille plus English speak fluent English in 14 cases and basic English in only one case, while those who do not speak Rendille speak fluent English in only two cases while the English of 4 others is characterized as basic or poor.



Map 8: Laisamis

# RENGUMO (LAISAMIS)

## A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO LAISAMIS



Photo 1: Customers in front of shops along the highway.

(I. SCHLEE, 20130824, P1010076, P1010086.JPG)



Photo 2: A mixture of houses built of cement blocks, sticks and cardboard boxes and corrugated iron sheets east of the highway.



Photo 3: The red-roofed house is one of few examples of a two-storied building in Laisamis. It was built by a Rendille lady who worked as a government officer.

(I. SCHLEE, 20130824, P1010083.JPG)

In the vicinity of the town of Laisamis, there are Rendille settlements which look like nomadic hamlets, consisting of the collapsible semi-spherical, mat-covered Rendille huts, but have stopped to migrate decades ago. Some of them move a few hundred yards to clean locations from time to time, others have ceased to do even that. They are still separate units because they have a *naabo*, a central assembly place where the men hold their prayers and where some communal rituals take place. Some of them also have a core of people who are patrilineally related to each other: They are clan settlements.

The present sample is from such a sedentarized settlement of the clan Rengumo.

n = 21

- Ilkilegu (circumcised 1923) 1
- Ilmeuri (circumcised 1937) 1
- Ilkimaniki (circumcised 1951) 1
- Ilkichili (circumcised 1965) 4
- Ilkororo (circumcised 1979) 7
- Ilmooli (circumcised 1993) 6
- Ilmetili (circumcised 2007) 1

### THE SENIOR AGE-SETS

The sample comprises a widow of a man of the age-set Ilkilegu, circumcised in 1923, one widow of a man of Ilmeuri (Rendille name: Libaale), circumcised in 1937, and a family of the age-set Ilkimaniki, circumcised in 1951. These three are here combined as one subsample. The people of the parental generation (2 widows, a man and his wife) all have Rendille as their mother tongue and in addition speak good Samburu. No other languages are mentioned.

None of them has converted to a world religion, none of them has received any formal education or held a job outside the pastoral economy. They all perform the Rendille ritual practices appropriate to their age and gender roles.

### THEIR CHILDREN

One set of siblings, 4 daughters and one son, are all married at Laisamis (3), Merille (1) or Logologo and speak Samburu to each other. None of them has gone to school. Another set of siblings comprises a woman married at Laisamis, a male pastoralist, a young man who still goes to school and a girl of school age who does not go to school. They speak Samburu to each other.

The third set likewise has stayed around Laisamis. A boy and a girl go to school there. Their elder brother and sister are pastoralists. Also they speak Samburu to each other

### ILKICHILI

Of the four elders of the age-set Ilkichili, two belong to the clan Uyam, the other two to the clan Rengumo which has given its name to this settlement. They speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		2		
Rendille fluent, fair	1			
Rendille basic				
No Rendille	1			

° perfect Swahili 1

One of the Rendille mother tongue speakers explains that he learned Samburu from his wife.

Three of them have participated in an Ilmugit ceremony, one in Gaalgalamme. All four practice the Rendille rituals and state no connection to a world religion, nor have they ever gone to school.

Their wives speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		2		
Rendille fluent	1			
Rendille basic				
No Rendille	1			

▫ perfect Swahili 1

None of them has undergone any formal education. They originate from the following clans.

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Dubsahay	
Rengumo 2	
Saale	

### *THEIR CHILDREN*

The children invariably speak Samburu with each other.

	M	F
Married at Laisamis		5
No occupation mentioned. Stays at Laisamis	5	
Pastoralist around Laisamis		
Pastoralist	2	
Married		1
No occupation mentioned		1
At school		
At school age but not at school	1	1

The young adults with no occupation comprise:

- High School leaver 2
- Secondary School leaver 1
- Primary School leaver 2

## ILKORORO

The men of the age-set Ilkororo, circumcised in 1979, speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		2		
Rendille fluent	1			
Rendille basic				
No Rendille	4			

One of the Samburu mother tongue speakers explains that he has learned his “good” Rendille (here classified as fluent) when herding animals in satellite camps (*foor*). One Rendille mother tongue speaker who now speaks fluent Samburu explains that he learned that language when he moved with his family from Korr to Laisamis.

The clan which has given the name to the settlement, Rengumo, in this age-set is in a minority position. The men stem from the following Rendille clans:

- Rengumo
- Saale
- Nahagen
- Uyam (4)

Their wives are daughters of:

- Saale (3)
- Uyam
- Dubsahay (2)
- Rengumo

All men have participated in Ilmugit rather than Gaalgulamme and so have four of their wives’ fathers. Two of the latter have participated in Ilmugit. In one case it was not remembered whether the father-in-law had participated in Samburu style or Rendille age-set promotion rituals. None of the men has converted to Christianity or Islam, all perform the traditional Rendille rituals.

Their wives speak the following languages:



	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		1		
Rendille fluent	2			
Rendille basic				
No Rendille	4			

One of the women who is a Samburu mother tongue speaker (perfect) and speaks fluent (“good”) Rendille explains that she learned that language after marriage to her Rendille-speaking husband. The other woman with this combination of languages has learned her Rendille already as a child from her father.

Those of their children who are old enough to speak, all speak Samburu to each other. They are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
Married in Laisamis		1
Pastoralist	8	2
At school age, not at school (“at home”)	1	2
At school age, not at school (“herding”)	1	1
At school	3	2
Nursery		1
Below school age	2	

Some of the children said to be “herding at the satellite camp (*foor*) have obviously been sent there primarily to drink milk, because they are too young for herding (2 years) or still of limited use as herdsmen.

#### ILMOOLI

The six men of the age-set Ilmooli, circumcised in 1993, speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect	2	3		
Rendille fluent				
Rendille basic				
No Rendille	1			

▫ basic Swahili 1

The man who speaks basic Swahili acquired it when he worked in Nairobi as a watchman.

One man who speaks Rendille as his mother tongue explains that he learned Samburu when he married a Samburu girl. Another man learned it after moving with his family from Korr to Laisamis.

On two questionnaires it was explicitly stated that the respondents speak both Rendille and Samburu with mother tongue capacity.

They stem from the following Rendille clans:

- Dubsahay 2
- Rengumo
- Nahagan
- Uyam
- Saale

Their wives are from:

- Dubsahay 2
- Gaal'deylan
- Tubcha
- Rengumo

All these Ilmoole men have participated in the Ilmugit age-set festival as four of their wives' fathers have. One of the latter has participated in Gaalgu-lamme and about one of them this piece of information is not remembered.

Apart from that the cultural features of the age-set senior to them, Ilkororo, also apply to these men and women: no formal education, no church affiliation etc.

Four of the women have never been outside the district. One has visited her husband in Nairobi when he was a watchman there.

These women speak:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		3		
Rendille fluent	1			
Rendille basic				
No Rendille	2			

The children of the Ilmooli parents of the Rengumo settlement near Laisamis invariably speak Samburu with each other. They are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
Pastoralist		1
At school age, “herding”/”foor”	3	2
At school age but not at school, no occupation specified	1	1
At school	2	1
Nursery	4	2
Below school age		4

Three more small children, born after c. 2008, are mentioned but no details about them given.

#### ILMETILI

Like in the case of the “Bosnia” neighbourhood of Korr (above) also in the case of this settlement one young man of the age-set Ilmetili, circumcised in 2007, has already married. According to the rules governing the Rendille age-set cycles which now appear to have started to undergo a process of dissolution, this age-set should only marry in 2016.

Husband and wife both trace themselves to Rendille clans, the husband and the father of the wife have participated in Ilmugit. They perform traditional rituals.

He is a Samburu native speaker with some Rendille. She speaks Samburu only. They have no children yet.

If we calculate the proportions of Rendille versus Samburu mother tongue speakers for the different age-sets, we get, for the parental generation, husbands and wives

- 4/0 for the “senior age-set”
- 4/4 for Ilkichili
- 3/11 for Ilkororo
- 8/6 for Ilmooli (with the men with two mother tongues counting twice)
- 0/2 for Ilmetili

Because of the small figures, no clear trend can be derived from this. But it is remarkable that, although the children of each age-set speak only Samburu, at least with each other (and, according to the literature, have done so for generations), there is still a significant proportion of Rendille speakers in every age-set.

This leads to the conclusion that there is a constant and inexhaustible (i. e. sustainable) influx of new Rendille speakers who move into the Laisamis area.

# LEPINDIRA

## LEPINDIRA

Lepindira is a big Ariaal settlement of mixed clan composition not far from Ngoronit, east of the mountain chain which marks the boundary between the counties of Samburu and Marsabit.

n = 54

- Ilmauri (circumcised 1937) 1
- Ilkimaniki (circumcised 1951) 5
- Ilkichili (circumcised 1965) 12
- Ilkororo (circumcised 1979) 12
- Ilmooli (circumcised 1993) 17
- Ilmetili (circumcised 2007) 7

## ILMAURI

The elder of the age-set Ilmauri, circumcised in 1937, stems from an Ariaal clan and speaks Samburu as his mother tongue but is also fluent in Rendille. His wife stems from a Rendille clan, has Rendille as her mother tongue and speaks only basic Samburu.

They have not gone to school and have not converted to a world religion. They are traditional pastoralists. The husband and the father of the wife have participated in Ilmugit rather than Gaalgulamme.

The wife has never been outside the district but has participated long ago in the donkey caravans (*mudal*) to Marsabit town to buy imperishable foods and other consumer goods. She learnt Samburu only after her marriage.

Their grown-up children, two young men and one woman, are all married in the region and have not undergone any formal education. They do not speak any language other than Samburu.

## ILKIMANIKI

The five elders of Ilkimaniki, circumcised in 1951, speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect			1	1
Rendille fluent				
Rendille basic				
No Rendille	3			

One of the families classifies itself as “Christian and *naabo*”. They are all traditional pastoralists, now partly retired from active herding. Three of them have participated in Ilmugit, two in Gaalgulamme. They stem from the following clans:

Rendille	Samburu/Ariaal
Saale	Maasula (2)
Rengumo	Maasula (Rengumo)

Their wives speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect			1	
Rendille fluent	1			
Rendille basic				
No Rendille	1			

On one questionnaire the page for the language capacities of the wife was left blank.

The woman who speaks only basic Samburu learned it after her marriage. The Samburu native speaker has learned her fluent Rendille from grandparents, friends and neighbours.

The wives of this age-set are daughters of the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Elegella (of Ong’eli)	Lorokushu
	Maasula 2
	Lukumaay

Their fathers have all participated in the Ilmugit age-set ceremony which is part of the Samburu age-set system.

A second wife of one of the men is mentioned but no details are given about her. The family in question are the only Christians in this subsample.

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

	M	F
Pastoralist with history of schooling	1	
Pastoralist	4	5
1 (deceased)		
Of school age, not at school	3	1
At school	4	

Some of these children are obviously grandchildren who live with the household. On the other hand older, married children have frequently been omitted, presumably because they would be counted elsewhere in the same settlement (Ilkimaniki are the parents of Ilmooli).

The questionnaires contain detailed information about some of the children. Above school age:

- Samburu only 1

Also adolescent children of school age are included in these more detailed accounts. They speak:

- Samburu only 1
- Samburu, basic English, basic Swahili 1
- Samburu, basic English, good Swahili 1
- Samburu, basic Swahili 1

These data suggest that these children turn into monolingual Samburu speakers unless they go to school and learn some Swahili and English. In all cases in which English or Swahili are spoken there is a reference to school.

#### ILKICHILI

The elders of Ilkichili, circumcised in 1965, speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		5		
Rendille fluent	3			
Rendille basic	1			
No Rendille	3			

- basic Swahili 1
- good Swahili 1
- good English 1

One of the Samburu native speakers explained that he learned his basic Rendille when working as a catechist at Korr. He learned his good Swahili and good English at school.

If there is mastery of the one of the languages (Samburu/ Rendille) which is not the mother tongue, the usual answer to the question about language acquisition is “from age-mates and neighbours”. In the case of Samburu, the dominant language here, this is no surprise. That the same answer can also refer to Rendille is an indicator that also Rendille has a certain importance in the networks of communication of these men.

One elder explains that he acquired his basic Swahili when he worked for KARI (Kenya Agricultural Research Institute).

With the exception of one, who has participated in Gaalgulamme, all these men have participated in Ilmugit. Only one of them has ever gone to school. He completed primary school at Laisamis, became a Catholic, worked for the Catholic Mission as a catechist and later quit the church (“converted from Catholic to ATR [African Traditional Religion] after marrying the second wife.” (It is not the only case in which people quit church because the church does not tolerate polygyny.)) He has also been a Marketing Officer/ Watchman for KARI, and a Councillor for the Ngurunit Ward. He is now a live-stock owner who drives his own car, an entrepreneurial type of pastoralist.

These men belong to the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Dubsahay	Maasula 4
Rengumo/Maasula	Ong’eli

Their wives speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		2	1	
Rendille fluent	8			
Rendille basic				
No Rendille	1			

Again, this table suggests that this environment, in spite of the dominance of Samburu, also provides incentives for Samburu mother tongue speakers to acquire quite good levels of mastery of Rendille.

If we combine the data about husbands and wives and look for possible connections between clan of origin and mother tongue, we get the following picture:

Clan of origin	Mother tongue	
	Rendille	Samburu
<b>Rendille</b>		
Dubsahay	1	
Rengumo (Maasula)	1	2
Nebey	1	
Saale	1	1
Saale (Ilturriya)		1
<b>Ariaal/Samburu</b>		
Maasula		11
Ilpisikishu		1
Ong'eli	2	2

What this table suggests is that “Maasula” (the dominant clan identity here) is a very strong predictor of Samburu as the first language. Rendille clan names mean little (ca. 50% chance that a person of this settlement who states a Rendille clan affiliation actually has Rendille as his or her mother tongue) because the ancestors of those people might have lived for generations among Ariaal (as indicated by the Ariaal clan names added in brackets in some cases). “Ong’eli”, though Ariaal, seems to imply Rendille speech to the same extent as a Rendille clan affiliation. We shall try to achieve more clarity by making such a list for all adults (members of the parental generation of all subsamples (age-sets) combined) at the end of this chapter about Lepindira.

*CHILDREN*

Their children invariably speak Samburu with each other.

The children of Ilkichili families are engaged in the following activities:



	M	F
Teacher	1	
Teacher, married	1	
Pastoralist, married	4	4
NGO worker, married	1	
Pastoralist	12	10
Of school age, not at school	7	4
At school	4	
Nursery		
Below school age		

One teacher has completed form 4, the other one even the teachers training college. They both teach at Lepindira, which has had its own primary school for three years now.

The NGO worker has a University degree.

#### ILKORORO

The twelve men of Ilkororo, circumcised in 1979, speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		3		3
Rendille fluent	5			
Rendille basic	1			
No Rendille	2			

▫ basic Swahili 1

One of them has participated in Gaalgulamme, the others in Ilmugit. None of them has received education or converted to any of the universal religions. They all perform their milk libations and their *naabo*-focused rituals.

They stem from the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Gooboore	Maasula 9
Nahagan	Ong'eli 1

Their wives speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		1	3	
Rendille fluent	3			
Rendille basic				
No Rendille	5			

▫ basic Swahili 1

They have not gone to school and share the traditional ritual orientation of their husbands. They stem from the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Saale 2	Maasula 5
Rengumo 2	
Nebei	
Rengumo (Maasula)	
Uyam	

Their children invariably speak Samburu with each other. They are engaged in the following activities:

	M	F
Pastoralist	9	5
Of school age, not at school	5	12
Now at school	9	5
Below school age		2

Age structure of Ilkoro and their children:

	M	F
61 - 65		
56 - 60	3	
51 - 55	8	
46 - 50		
41 - 45		5
36 - 40		1
31 - 35		5
26 - 30		
21 - 25		3
16 - 20	8	5
11 - 15	7	7
6 - 10	6	4
0 - 5		2

One of the questionnaires was excluded from this count. It contained a mother which was only 9 years older than the first child. It may have been the case that the young woman was married to replace an older sister who had died (*mingessi* – “one who has entered the house”) but as no such explanation was given the possibility of a mistake could not be excluded. This age structure can be depicted in the form of the following age pyramid:

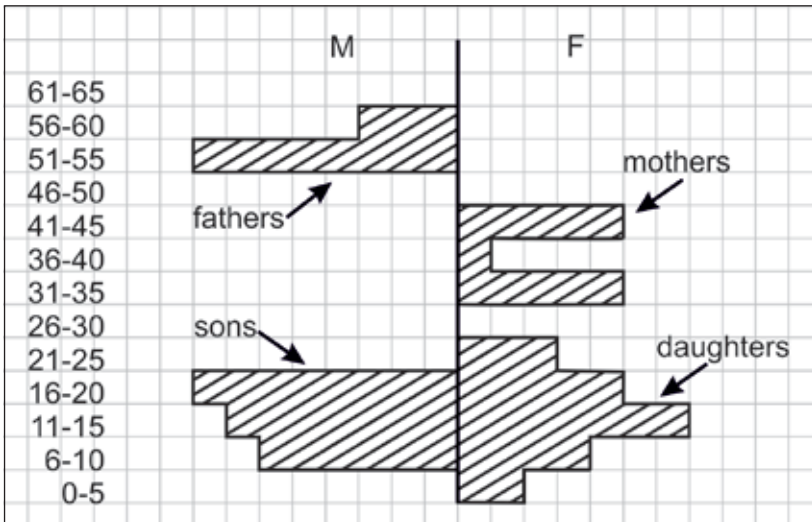


Chart 1: Age-pyramid of subsample Ilkororo and their children

**ILMOOLI**

The 17 men of the age-set Ilmooli, circumcised in 1993, speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		2	2	2
Rendille fluent	3			
Rendille basic	1			
No Rendille	7			

- perfect Swahili 1
- fluent English 1
- basic Swahili 1 (learned as watchman in Nairobi)

All those men have performed Ilmugit, except for one who has participated in Gaalgulamme. They are all traditional pastoralists except for one who has finished secondary school and works as a voluntary teacher at this settlement. He was once baptized as a Catholic but is not a practicing Christian.

Their stem from the following clans:

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Nahagan	Maasula 8
Saale 2	Ong’eli 2
	Ong’eli (Saale) 1
	Lukumaay (Dubsahay)
	Maasula (Rengumo 2

Their wives speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		1	1	
Rendille fluent	10			
Rendille basic	1			
No Rendille	4			

- good Swahili (school) 1
- basic English (school) 1

The many speakers of Rendille who are Samburu mother tongue speakers frequently explain that they have learnt their Rendille from neighbours and age mates. In one case Korr is the place where the woman has picked up her Rendille, in one case it is the neighbouring Ong’eli settlement at Namarei.

### *CHILDREN*

Their children invariably speak Samburu with each other. Here is what they do:

	M	F
Of school age, “herding”	5	4
Of school age, not at school	6	8
At school	6	4
Nursery	1	2
Below school age	8	9

In the questionnaires of this sample the forms for the language capacities of individual children have been filled in. (In other subsamples the interviewers got tired before they reached this point.) The result is that all children speak Samburu plus whatever they have picked up at school, some Swahili and English. Only two children know any Rendille. One has learned “fluent” Rendille “from neighbours and age mates”, the other one learned “basic” Rendille when staying with her mother’s brothers at Korr. So it is clear that Lepindira is a place where Rendille is not reproduced by transmission to children. Its persistence as a language – and be it of a language of minor importance – needs to be explained in other ways. The corresponding pages from the preceding subsample, Ilkororo, reveal a similar picture. Only one child of that cohort has learned Rendille “as its mother tongue” and another one learned basic Rendille from age mates at school.

### *ILMETILI*

While in locations discussed earlier members of the age-set Ilmetili, circumcised in 2007, who are already married, were exceptional cases, here we find quite a number of them. (“Bosnia” at Korr and Rengumo at Laisamis: one each; here: 7)

The seven men of this age-set speak:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect				1
Rendille fluent	2			
Rendille basic				
No Rendille	4			

They all have participated in Ilmugit. None of them has gone to school. They are all traditional pastoralists.

Their wives speak the following languages:

	Samburu perfect	Samburu fluent	Samburu basic	No Samburu
Rendille perfect		2		
Rendille fluent	2			
Rendille basic	1			
No Rendille	2			

Origin in term of clans:

#### *HUSBANDS*

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Rengumo	Maasula 4
	Ong'eli (Elegella)
	Ong'eli

#### *WIVES*

Rendille	Ariaal/Samburu
Rengumo	Maasula 3
Saale	Lukumaay
Dubsahay	

Among them, these seven couples have eight children, with a variation from zero to two. They are all below school age. To the extent that they already speak a language, it is Samburu.

We now come back to the question already briefly discussed in connection with the Ilkichili subsample. To which extent does the clan of origin allow to guess what the mother tongue of a person is? We now expand the sample to include all members of all married age-sets.

Clan of origin	Mother tongue	
	Rendille	Samburu
<b>Rendille</b>		
Dubsahay	4	
Dubsahay/Lukumaay		1
Dubsahay/Lorogushu/Rengumo	5	1
Rengumo (Maasula)	3	4
Nahagan	2	
Uyam		1
Nebei	3	
Saale	5	3
Saale (Ilturriya)		1
Gooborre	1	
<b>Ariaal/Samburu</b>		
Maasula	2	52
Ilpisikishu		1
Ong'eli	6	6
Ong'eli/Saale		2
Ong'eli/Elegella		1
Lukumaay		3

This table basically confirms what we have concluded from the smaller (Ilkichili) sample (above). If a person in this settlement identifies himself or herself as “Maasula” by clan, one can be almost certain that he or she is a Samburu mother-tongue speaker. Rendille clan names, on the other hand, do not allow the conclusion that the mother tongue is Rendille. Samburu-speaking Ariaal may keep their Rendille clan affiliations indefinitely through the generations.

For the Ariaal clan names other than Maasula one can say that no Rendille native speakers have been found among those residents of Lepindira who identify themselves as Lukumaay or Ilpisikishu. The numbers are very small, but on the basis of our general background knowledge this would hold true if tested on a larger scale.

The Ong'eli settlements in the area are generally Rendille speaking and 6 out of 5 people who claim Ong'eli as their clan are Rendille mother-tongue speakers."Ong'eli" as a clan name can, of course, also be used by people who have been in other Ariaal or Samburu settlements for generations. The original "Ong'eli" are, of course, Samburu. After all, this is a Samburu clan name.





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

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.

*IKISHILU*

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

*No Education*

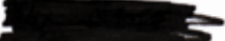
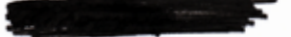
7. Occupation. Types of livestock. Any wage labour, including temporary labour migration? Note details and collect narrative accounts.

*Herdsman*

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:   
 Name of respondent: 

Language	Degree of proficiency	Level of literacy and use for reading and writing	Language acquisition	Use (oral)
Rendille	Fluent	No	Mother-tongue	Everyday use.
Samburu	Perfect	No	He learned it when he was a young boy staying with his grandfather.	Always

9. Ritual and religion

When have you last participated in - 5 months ago

- sooriyo - yes
- almoodo - yes
- other communal rituals, which and when?

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

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)

Galwaab

2. Personal name ..



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

Tubcha

4. Age set of her father - Ilkimaniki

4a. His participation in age set rituals.

- Circumcised where and by whom (Tubcha or Samburu ....) in Burt Kasha by Tubcha

- 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.

Ilkimaniki

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

NO education

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.

Herdsman.

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: [REDACTED]

Language	Degree of proficiency	Level of literacy and use for reading and writing	Language acquisition	Use (oral)
Rendille	Perfect	No	Mother-tongue	Everyday use at family & neighbourhood.
Sambur	No	No	No	No

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 - 5 months ago

- sooriyo - yes
- almoodo - yes
- other communal rituals, which and when?

Are you a member of a Christian Church? If yes, year of baptism, history of conversion ... She doesn't go to church.

Are you a Muslim? NO

Have you ever converted from one religion to another? NO

Her children:

Name of child in order of birth	Male/female	Year of birth	History of schooling	Where is the child now?
[REDACTED]	Female	26 yrs	No. Education	Mamatta Hangura
[REDACTED]	Female	24 yrs	M Education	Mamatta Hangura
[REDACTED]	Female	22 yrs	Schooling	Ngurnit
[REDACTED]	Female	20 yrs	NO Education	Ngurnit

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? Both Rendille & Samburu

Which languages do they speak in the neighbourhood?

Both Rendile & Samburu

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

Both languages

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.

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)
Samburu	Perfect	No	Mother-tongue	Everyday Use at home & village
Rendile	Fluent	No	When she was a young girl	Always



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

Name of head of household:

Name of respondent:

Language	Degree of proficiency	Level of literacy and use for reading and writing	Language acquisition	Use (oral)

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:

Name of respondent:

Language	Degree of proficiency	Level of literacy and use for reading and writing	Language acquisition	Use (oral)

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.

# INDEX

**A**frican Inland Church 1|15|  
18|20|22–23|85

African Traditional Religion  
18|20|22|102

age mates 108

*almoḍo* 4|10|14|17–18|22|  
61|79

Ariaal vii|3–4|7–8|14|16|20|  
22|30–31|34|37–39|45|47|  
49|51–53|55–56|59|61|  
65–66|68–69|73|75|77|  
80–83|85–86|93–95|97|  
99–105|107|109–111

**B**lacksmith 73|85

Boran viii|18|20|86|88

**C**hristian(ity) 13–14|22|95  
church(es) 15|18|31|33–34|  
39–41|58|50|52|67|85|  
97|102

circumcision(s) 3|7–8|13–14|  
17–19|21|23|30|33–35|  
37–41|48|52|54–55|61|70|  
78|80–81|83–84|92–93|  
95–96|98–99|101|104|  
107–108

**E**ducation 3–5|13|15|17|  
19–22|30–31|34|36–37|  
39|48|50|52|61–64|67–68|  
78–80|82|84|86–87|93–94|  
97|99|82

English viii–ix|3–4|18–21|30|  
35|51|62–64|66|68|70|  
78|81|84|86–88|101–102|  
107–108

employment 5|19|22|63|67|  
82|85

**G**aal'deylan 9–12|16|32|37|  
45|49–53|55–56|68|82–83|  
85|97

Gaalgulamme 8–9|11|18|20|22|  
30|48|50|55|62|66|68|73|  
93|95|97|99–100|102|104|  
107

Gabra viii|6|8|11

**H**eine, Bernd vii

**I**lmugit 8|18|20|22–23|30|48|  
50|52–53|55|61–62|66|68|  
70|73|93|95|97–100|102|  
104|107|109

Islam 13|14|22|95

**L**aisamis vii–ix|1|15|  
90–98|102|108

Logologo xii|1–2|5–7|10|  
16–17|93

**K**argi vii–viii|7|55  
Korr vii–ix|10|30|32|38|  
49–50|57–58|60|78|83|  
85|95|97|98|102|108

**M**aa viii  
Maasai 20  
marriage(s) vii|23|36–37|48|  
54|70|87|96|99–100

Marsabit viii | ix | 1 | 20 | 30 | 47 | 99  
mission 79 | 85 | 102  
Muslim 4 | 17–18 | 23 | 55 | 62–63 |  
67 | 69 | 70

**N**  
*Naabo* 4 | 48 | 50 | 52 | 55 | 57 |  
61 | 92 | 100 | 104  
Namarei 24–25 | 28–30 | 37 |  
42 | 108  
neighbourhood 5 | 15 | 23 | 37 | 40 |  
57 | 73 | 98  
neighbours 15 | 17 | 49 | 78 | 100 |  
102 | 108

**P**  
Illinger, Steve vii  
police(man) 17 | 19 | 36 | 67  
polygyny 35 | 39–40 | 48 | 102

**R**  
Religion 4 | 18 | 50 | 93 | 99  
religious affiliation 4 | 20 | 63 |  
68 | 79

**S**  
*Sooriyo* 4 | 14 | 17–18 | 22–23 |  
62 | 79  
Swahili ix | 3–5 | 13–15 | 17–23 |  
30 | 33 | 35 | 45 | 50–51 | 54 |  
61–64 | 66–67 | 70 | 78–84 |  
86–88 | 93–94 | 97 | 101–102 |  
104–105 | 107–108

**T**  
Teacher(s) 3–4 | 53 | 61 | 62–64 |  
67 | 73–74 | 78 | 82 | 104 | 107

**W**  
Watchman 3 | 31 | 50 | 66–67 |  
79–80 | 82 | 97 | 102 | 107

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