

THE NATURAL SEMANTIC METALANGUAGE OF WAR AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN KALENJIN

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Abstract

This paper addresses the issue of war and conflict resolution in Kalenjin and is motivated by the quest to understand the cultural perspectives surrounding war and the resolution of conflicts as evidenced by the Kalenjin language. This is done against the backdrop of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage, which aims to provide a culture-free understanding of cultural norms through the use of a universal metalanguage. Data for this study were sourced from interviews, narratives and other secondary sources such as books. From the data and interviews, we unravel the cultural terms, phrases, practises and metaphors that relate to war and conflict resolution in some Kalenjin communities. From the study it is observed that the Kalenjin notions of war are expressed as *pò:ɾjé:t* 'warfare' and *lùyé:t* 'raids', where the former is undertaken for protection and reprisals against the enemy, while the latter is undertaken and sanctioned spiritually for community growth and expansion. In this, the cultural script of *mùré:n* 'warrior' is very important, and all males have to be prepared for this role through circumcision. In war, various weapons were used, and elders participated in blessing or sanctioning raids. Conflict resolution, meanwhile, was overseen by *kì:rùðyík* 'adjudicators' and it only involved rival community members and not outsiders. This was undertaken under special trees known as *kà:bù:rw ó* 'place of shade'; in this resolution, elderly women could also participate through the use of *nò:yirwé:t* 'staff', which symbolized their authority. Most wars among the Kalenjin were undertaken through *lùyé:t* 'raids' where the community raided other communities to acquire livestock and for territorial expansion.

Keywords: war, conflict resolution, natural semantic metalanguage, metaphors, cultural scripts

1. INTRODUCTION

War and conflict resolution are pervasive practices in human existence. War involves actions that are geared to subdue an enemy, while conflict resolution is an attempt at bringing harmony between the protagonists. The process of war and conflict resolution is expressed through language in terms of words, phrases, idioms and other linguistic elements which form a semantic domain. A semantic domain is an area of meaning or a topic and words that are used to talk about it. It is used to analyse words with related meanings in language. In Natural Semantic Metalanguage theory (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2014), semantic domains are specific areas or categories of meaning that words and concepts relate to. The

words or phrases in a domain share a common meaning or a relationship. All words in language carry some aspects of culture. That is why Natural Semantic Metalanguage is able to explain the relationship between word meanings and culture in a particular domain, such as warfare. This means that when we study words and their meanings, we get a glimpse of the thought patterns and material culture of a particular culture.

Traditional practices of war and conflict resolution differ from one culture to another. This means that different cultures have different ways of perceiving and of speaking about war and conflict resolution. They do this through the use of language in various ways. In this paper, we delve into the semantic domain of war and conflict resolution by looking at the words, phrases, metaphors and vocabulary that are used in the description of war and conflict resolution with a view to unravelling the cultural underpinnings of war and conflict resolution in some Kalenjin communities.

Studies of meanings of words in semantics have been handled through componential analysis (Lounsbury 1956, 1964, Katz and Fodor 1963), semantic field analysis (Lehrer 1974) and recently through Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2004). Allwood (1999: 4) did a semantic field analysis of conflict and conflict resolution in Swedish and identified different semantic dimensions of analysis, such as general- particular, part-whole, evaluation, manner, instruments, institutional setting, etc. These dimensions apply to Swedish and other related Swedish languages in terms of how conflict occurs. Through these dimensions he was able to identify various lexical items used to express them.

Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) is a perspective on semantics and pragmatics. It argues that all human languages have a finite number of innate concepts that are lexicalized in all languages. These concepts can be used to decompose the meanings of other words in language. NSM argues that it is not easy to decompose the meanings of culturally bound terms without being biased. So, in order to avoid this bias and difficulty, a simple universal vocabulary can be used to decompose the meanings of culture-bound terms. These semantic primitives (primes) or universal vocabulary combine to form the syntax of a language. NSM, therefore, is a language for talking about semantics and the semantic primes are taken to be a subset of natural language. NSM uses a finite set of innate concepts (primes) to paraphrase or explicate the meaning of a word, phrase or lexicogrammatical construction, thus making culture-specific terms accessible to all. Goddard (2002) and Goddard and Wierzbicka (1995, 2004) developed this small set of simple meanings (primes) that are expressed in words and bound morphemes and that are expressible in all languages. In decomposing the meaning of the culture-specific words or phrases, the term “cultural scripts” is used as defined below by Goddard and Wierzbicka (2004):

Cultural scripts refer to a powerful new technique for articulating cultural norms, values and practices in terms which are clear, precise and accessible to cultural outsiders and cultural insiders alike (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2004: 155).

Cultural scripts are formulated using the semantic metalanguage, which has simple words and grammatical patterns which have equivalents in all languages. Cultural scripts are representations of cultural norms widely held by a given society and reflected in language (Wierzbicka 1997: 93). Wierzbicka goes on to say that they are part of the ways of speaking. Cultural scripts exist at different levels of generality and may relate to different aspects of speaking, thinking, feeling and activity. Some cultural scripts capture values that are relevant to interaction; the cultural scripts are not about actual behaviours in interaction, but are about shared understanding, assumptions and expectations amongst the participants in a conversation, which are culture-specific. Ameka and Breedveld (2004) say that cultural scripts are shared by members of several distinct communities which may belong to a cultural area. In this paper, the cultural scripts referred to relate to the cultural area of war and conflict resolution in the Kalenjin languages in question.

Goddard and Wierzbicka (2004: 153) say that different ways of speaking in different societies are linked with and make sense in terms of different local cultural priorities as far as values are concerned. However, the conventional metalanguage often used to describe the cultural norms of communication consists of an open-ended set of technical terms such as those for expressing directness, formality, politeness, face, etc., which often are culture-specific, but cultures differ on what to be indirect about, how to be indirect and why to be indirect. For this reason, the language often used in describing these behaviour patterns is seen as being ethnocentric. For this reason, NSM proposes the use of a metalanguage that is universal and free from cultural biases to explain cultural scripts.

Goddard (2011) says that cultural scripts pay particular attention to linguistic evidence, i.e., routine ways of thinking and speaking. In NSM, cultural values can be expressed through the semantic analysis of actual words of the language of the people concerned.

Below is the Natural Semantic Metalanguage set of universal primes as developed by Wierzbicka (1972, 1992, 1996) and Goddard and Wierzbicka (2004: 155).

Table 1: Universal Primes

Category	Primes
Substantives	I, YOU, SOMEONE, SOMETHING/THING, BODY
Relational substantives	KIND, PART
Determiners	THIS, THE SAME, OTHER ELSE, ANOTHER
Quantifiers	ONE, TWO, ALL MUCH/MANY, LITTLE/FEW
Evaluators	GOOD, BAD
Descriptors	BIG, SMALL
Mental Predicates	THINK, KNOW WANT, DON'T WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR

Category	Primes
Speech	SAY, WORDS, TRUE
Actions, events, movement	DO, HAPPEN, MOVE
Existence, possession	BE (SOMEWHERE) THERE IS , BE (SOMEONE/ SOMETHING)
Life and death	LIVE, DIE
Time	WHEN/TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, ALONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, SOME TIME, MOMENT
Space	WHERE/PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR, NEAR, SIDE(CONTACT)
Logical concepts	NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF
Intensifier, augmentor	VERY, MORE
Similarity	LIKE/AS/HOW

In this study, we use some semantic universal primes which relate to substantives, evaluators, determiners, mental predicates, actions, space and existence to explicate some culturally bound words relating to war and conflict resolution in Kalenjin. The substantives refer to people and things in general which participate in warfare, and these can be specified using determiners whose English equivalents are *this*, *another*, *the same*, etc. These substantives participate in actions which involve happenings, movements and actions in space, which are specified in terms of words whose English equivalents are *where*, *near*, *here*, *above*, etc. The actions may also use speech to express mental predicates in words whose equivalents in English are like *thinking*, *knowing*, *seeing*, *feeling*, etc. All these are universal to human languages, even though they may be expressed by different words in different languages. The use of these words may be tied to culture, which explains the worldview of a community. More explanations of these are provided where the examples are given.

2. THE KALENJIN LANGUAGE

Kalenjin is a macro language of several interrelated languages of the Southern Nilotic phylum. The languages within the Kalenjin group include Nandi, Kipsigis, Keiyo, Pokot, Sabaot, Terik, Tugen and Marakwet. In our study, we focus on data sourced from four of these languages, i.e., Nandi, Keiyo, Kipsigis and Tugen, which are in close proximity geographically and whose words and cultural aspects are largely similar but differ minimally in some aspects such as vocabulary and pronunciation. However, in this paper we use Tugen in the transcription of the data because of the differences that the four languages have in terms of tone and pronunciation.

In analysing the domains of war and peace in Kalenjin, we rely on data sourced from narratives, books, dictionaries, social media posts and interviews. Most of the

proverbs are sourced from secondary sources, while the data on war strategies, tools and meanings of the various cultural scripts are sourced through elicitation from four speakers of the languages. The data were verified through interviews with a select group of eight speakers above the age of 50, two from each of the languages (Tugen, Kipsigis, Nandi, Keiyo). Data are divided into various domains of usage with regard to war and peace and presented using the Tugen language, of which the author is a native speaker. In this analysis, we will use the English semantic primes and exponents as developed by Goddard and Wierzbicka (2004). Cultural scripts are explicated as advocated by the NSM. However, some words relating to substantives and events, movements and actions have not been explicated as this would be beyond the scope of the paper.

3. THE LANGUAGE OF WAR IN KALENJIN

War is both a concept and an action. In Kalenjin, the concept of war is referred to as *lùyé:t* and *pò:ɽjé:t*. *lùyé:t* refers to an expedition for seeking wealth, and seems to have been derived from term *lòyé:t* 'hunting'. The difference is that *lòyé:t* is perceived to be an action without harm to the people involved, while *lùyé:t* is considered to involve some harm to the subjects in question. *lùyé:t* 'raid' is therefore equated to raiding in the quest for wealth and for protection. The Kalenjin community raided other communities for territorial expansion as well as for gaining wealth. All men were required to participate in *lùyé:t* 'raids' in order to gain wealth and to pay bride prices. This was done through raiding other neighbouring communities. Some of the informants in this study recalled that some of their relations were conscripted into *lùyé:t* 'raids' during the 2nd World War by the British colonizers. The community gained wealth through *lùyé:t* 'raids', and as such, this was a means towards the growth of the person and the community. This is exemplified in such proverbs as:

1. *ám-éí* *tʃi:-túyúl* *ki:-t-áp* *kùjá:ndá-jín.*
eat-IMP person.SG/INDEF something-SG/DEF-POSS bow-SG/DEF-GEN
'Everyone eats from the fruit of their bow.'

This means that every person gains from their sweat. The synonym for *lùyé:t* is *sè:té:t* 'to seek for wealth/livelihood. However, *sè:té:t* broadens to include ingenuity. This is seen in the Kalenjin proverbs in (2):

- 2(a) *kí-sé:t-é:n* *táí* *ák* *lét.*
 PASS-seek-LOC front and back
 'One seeks from all fronts, from the front and the back.'

This means one tries all ways in order to succeed.

- 2(b) *kérké:j* *kíp-sé:t* *ák* *kíp-tép.*
 similar M-seek and M-stay
 'The man who goes for raids is the same as the one who stays behind.'

This means that those who are brave enough to go out for raids are similar to those who stay behind because attacks can happen anywhere. This is used to encourage all to venture out and to banish cowardice.

- 2(c) *kí-sé:t-éí* *sí* *kò-sóp* *kàá.*
 PASS-seek-IMP SO PST-thrive home
 'People seek out a home to thrive.'

It is only through expeditions that homes and communities become wealthy. These proverbs explain the importance of hard work and using all means to gain wealth for the benefit of the family and the individual.

The other term used in reference to war is *pò:rjé:t*, which is derived from the verb *pó:r* 'to get a harvest'. This is the art of a duel with an enemy with the intention of vanquishing them and gaining wealth. The Kalenjin engaged in *pò:rjé:t* 'warfare' with enemy communities. This was for revenge over the loss of life or property, defence against external threats and also for the acquisition of cattle. This was, however, uncommon and was not something that was welcome in the community. It happened mostly between the Kalenjin, Maasai and Kisii, who were rivals, enemies and neighbours. In order to understand these two cultural terms, we use the cultural scripts to explicate them as follows:

3(a) Cultural script for explaining expeditions for wealth

[People think like this in the Kalenjin speech community:]

If people from the Kalenjin speech community want something good, these people from the Kalenjin speech community must go somewhere outside this community and take this something good from some other people outside the Kalenjin speech community.

In doing this, these people from this speech community must do something bad to these other people from outside the Kalenjin speech community.

This is because these people from the Kalenjin speech community think that doing this is good for them.

These people say they are doing this something because these people from the Kalenjin speech community want something good from others outside the speech community.

If we want to go and take something good from other people outside the Kalenjin speech community,

We say we are going *lùyé:t /sè:té:t* 'raiding/seeking'.

This cultural script explains the quest for wealth in the Kalenjin community. In this cultural script when the substantives relate to people from the Kalenjin community's desire to get wealthy, they organize raids which involve something happening to other communities. For them this is a natural course of action and not a bad thing. This stems from the mental predicate of belief that all cattle are theirs for taking. When they organize raids they attack, kill and take the cattle from the rival community. This is different from *pò:ɾjé:t* 'warfare'.

3(b) Cultural script for explaining *pò:ɾjé:t* 'warfare':

[People think like this in the Kalenjin speech community:]

Sometimes when people from the Kalenjin speech community want to get back at something /someone outside this speech community,

These people from the Kalenjin speech community have to go somewhere outside the community to do something to other people from outside the community.

This is because these other people from outside the community did something bad to these people in the Kalenjin speech community.

When going to do this something, something bad or good can happen to all people from the Kalenjin speech community and to those outside the Kalenjin speech community.

These people may live and gain something or they may die.

When this happens, they say there is *pò:ɾjé:t* (warfare).

This cultural script explains how *pò:ɾjé:t* 'warfare' is conducted. When people want revenge for attacks from a rival community, they go and conduct *pò:ɾjé:t* 'warfare' against this other community and in this warfare, they may gain some cattle, and they may escape alive or may be killed.

Warfare which involves actions against the enemy can have serious consequences that involve life and death. This cultural script shows that in this warfare, though it is necessary, one must be strong enough to prepare for the worst. The NSM here involves the substantives 'actions' and 'life and death'. In Kalenjin, the art of *lùyé:t* 'raiding' or *pò:ɾjé:t* 'warfare' was highly organized through

warriorhood. It is therefore necessary to explain warriorhood in Kalenjin in the next section. Warriorhood is organized and expressed in a coded language.

3.1 The code of warriorhood in Kalenjin

In Kalenjin, *lùyé:t* or *pò:ɾjé:t* was carried out by warriors. Warriors were *mùréńík* ‘circumcised men’. A *mùréń* (SG) is very important in the Kalenjin society. To be a *mùréń* is to be a protector, a fighter and a provider. A *mùréń* must be brave, fearless and must command respect. The *mùréńík* (PL) ‘warriors’ heading to war were organized based on *ípíńdá* ‘age set’. Age sets were formed during circumcision; those born within a particular period formed a single age set. In Kalenjin there are eight age-sets: *màíná*, *ɸù:mó*, *sò:wé*, *kòró:ńgóró*, *kìpkòímét*, *kà:plé:láɸ*, *kìppí:yéí* and *ɸò:ńgí*. These age-sets succeed each other after a 100-year period.

A *lùyé:t* ‘raid’ could be done by one age-set. Each age-set had 3 regiments: *kà:psírwoń* ‘the seasoned warriors’, *kà:psó:ńék* ‘the warriors with some experience’, and *kìpárnó:tík* ‘initiates being newly introduced to war expeditions’. One age-set or *àltímít* ‘a small battalion’ could go for raids or join others to form a *kò:kwé:t*¹ ‘whole council of warriors’ for *lùyé:t* ‘raids’. *pò:ɾjé:t* ‘warfare’, on the other hand, would be undertaken by up to three age-sets or a whole *pò:ɾríét* ‘battalion of all men’. The term *pò:ɾríét* is also a metonym for warriors. Young boys became *mùréńík* ‘warriors’ after having undergone circumcision, which was mandatory. While at war, they were metaphorically referred to as *tòrí:tík* ‘birds’. This is because no one knew their fate while they were out on raids. This is exemplified in the following proverb:

4. *mà-kípò:r-ɸ-í-ní* *tòrí:t* *kùàńg-óí*
 NEG-PASS-SHOW-DAT-IMP bird.PL/INDEF bow-PL/INDEF
 ‘You do not show bows to birds.’

This means that you do not show bows to warriors because they will fight back.

The warriors fought against the *pù:ɸó:* (SG) or *pù:ńík-*(PL) ‘enemy’. Prior to an expedition, the warriors sought the blessings of the *òrkòjót* ‘diviner/seer’. The *òrkòjót* had the ability to *ńò:r* ‘predict’ the fate of the expedition. He did this by

¹ *kò:kwé:t* is also a metaphor for ‘council of elders’.

consulting the *pàrpàrí:k* 'oracles'. From this we can see that war or raiding in Kalenjin was spiritually sanctioned. Women also participated in war/expeditions through the use of the *lèyètíét* 'belt'. They wore them as a sign of protection for their sons when they were out for raids and also to bless them before expeditions. In instances where they did not agree to the expeditions or when they wanted to deter conflicts, they would refuse to wear them, and this would deter warriors from going to any raids or any furtherance of any conflict between warring factions. The central role of *mùrén* 'warrior' in the community is seen in the following proverbs:

- 5(a) *mùrén-ò:ndí:t* *kó* *kè:-rí:p* *émé:-t*
 man.SG/INDEF-NML.DEF be INF-take.care country-SG/DEF
 'Warriorhood is about protecting the country.'
- 5(b) *mùrén-òté:* *kè:-fjé:ŋ-én* *mòkòrnót.*
 man.SG/INDEF-NML-INDEF PASS-search-INS wealth.INDEF
 'Warriorhood is for getting wealth.'
- 5(c) *té:n* *mùrén* *tù:k-wái.*
 equal man.PL/INDEF cattle-POSS
 'Warriors are equated to the number of their cattle.'

This means a man's status is measured by the animals he has.

In these proverbs, we can clearly see the premium place in the Kalenjin community of the status of warriorhood, that of seeking wealth and of taking care of the country, while the only way an excellent man can be measured is through the cattle they own. This is because cattle are the mainstay of the economy of the community.

In order to fully understand the meaning of *mùrén* the following cultural script explicates it:

6. Cultural script for the importance of warriorhood in Kalenjin:
 [People think like this in the Kalenjin speech community:]
 For someone to become somebody in the Kalenjin speech community,
 Sometimes when they become big, something must be done to a part of
 this someone's body.
 Then this person from the Kalenjin speech community feels that they have
 become somebody in the speech community.
 Then this somebody from the speech community must go somewhere
 outside the speech community for something.
 This something is good for the speech community.
 Someone feels that going for this something outside the Kalenjin speech
 community may make them live or die.

If I want to become this somebody in the Kalenjin speech community, then I must be a *mùrén* 'warrior'.

This cultural script explains how one becomes a *mùrén* 'warrior' in the community. First, when they are of age (usually at puberty, they have to undergo circumcision and training in the art of war and how to live as an adult. To become a respectable *mùrén* 'warrior', they must then go out on expeditions in order to bring wealth to the community, or they must wage warfare in the quest to protect the community. This was expected of all men in the community; there were no exceptions. The NSM used here involves substantives and actions that affect their mental predicates in order to feel complete as a *mùrén* 'warrior'.

The warriors used various strategies in war to ensure that their war expeditions were successful, as explained in the next section.

3.2 The language of strategy and tactics of war

Warfare was undertaken as a means of acquiring livestock from the enemy camp. In Kalenjin, raids were undertaken under the cover of darkness. This is because the ambush was key. War expeditions started with *sèyè:ík* 'spies' who went to *ímá:r mùí* 'survey' and report back to elders. *pàjǝp kò:k* 'elders' sanctioned war expeditions after consulting the *àrkàjǝt* 'seer'. After getting the report from the spies, three regiments were sent to the battlefield. These were the *sàyàitíf* 'wrestle the cattle', who were responsible for wrestling out the cattle from the enemy; the *sàyàitíf* handed over the livestock to *pìrùtíf* 'drive out the cattle', who were responsible for driving out the animals and taking them to a hiding place before handing them over to the elders.

In these raids, guerrilla war tactics of ambushing, raiding and retreating were used together with the scorched earth policy, where, once a community was raided and captured, the entire village was burnt - *kípé:léí* - to chase the enemy away. Once the place was desolate, they would take it up as part of their territory. In the domain of strategy and tactics, some of the words express actions such as movements, happenings and doing something, as seen in the following verbs:

- 7(a) *kè:-tǝ-ndǝí*
 INF-pounce-3SG
 'to ambush someone'

- (b) *kè:-sà:p-tfí*
INF-creep-3SG
'to approach someone stealthily'
- (c) *kè:- sjè:p tfí*
INF-waylay person-SG/INDEF
'to waylay a person'
- (d) *kè:- mú:t pìík*
INF-surround person-PL/DEF
'to surround people'
- (e) *kè:-kè:r-tfí*
INF-close-3SG
'to drive one into a place of no escape'
- (f) *kè:-sàkà:-ntfí*
INF-drive into a gully-3SG
'to drive someone into a gully'
- (g) *kè:-pà:k-tfí*
INF-invade.swiftly-3SG
'to invade someone in the fastest manner'

These words show actions that involve subduing the enemy by putting them in a situation from which they cannot escape. This was done through the art of spying and attacking. Some words, mainly verbs, show the use of weapons, such as:

- 8(a) *mwók* 'shoot'
(b) *tòr* 'pierce'
(c) *rút* 'stab'
(d) *pùsú:j* 'prick'

Some words show actions that involve fleeing or avoiding the enemy. These include:

- 9(a) *kè:-tè:l-dá*
INF-move.quietly-ALL
'to sneak away'
(b) *tfwè:t* 'run away swiftly'
(c) *kì:rán / ñgímí:t* 'run while jumping over obstacles'

- (d) *rjəl* 'avoid, dodge'
- (e) *mwèi* 'flee'
- (g) *ʃɛʃɛ:j* 'disperse following an order'
- (h) *ʃí:wén* 'turn to avoid something'
- (i) *pì ʃó:yén* 'keep at a distance'
- (j) *àrpú:pén* 'evacuate'
- (k) *àwèn* 'rescue'

These actions show that war involved fleeing or avoiding the enemy. Some words also show the outcomes of raids, such as in the following verbs:

- 10(a) *péŋ* 'impasse/deadlock'
- (b) *pù:rjét* 'be wrecked'
- (c) *pórkóʃf* 'to destroy/dismantle'
- (d) *àrà:n* 'flee in terror'
- (e) *rjá:p* 'dance for victory'

Other words show the outcomes of the raids, such as the following nouns:

- 11(a) *sìyó:n* 'wealth from raiding'
- (b) *mòtwó:rín* 'prisoner/one who was captured by the enemy'
- (c) *pàntàék* 'women and children abducted in raids'
- (d) *kipsíkàá:n* 'coward'
- (e) *pèŋíndé* 'traitor'
- (f) *ʃɛ:pká:tút* 'fierce person'

From these we can see that once the enemy was subdued, cattle were taken. *sìyó:n* means something one gets and, in this way, it is not viewed negatively but positively. Positive expeditions led to *rjá:p* 'victory songs' which involved the whole community. The raids were aided by the use of various traditional weapons, which are shown in 3.3.

3.3 The language of weaponry

Kalenjin warfare involved the use of rudimentary weapons for cutting, stabbing, beating and spearing. The weapons shown in the Table 1 below involve the semantic metalanguage of things:

Table 2. Weapons used in warfare

No.	Weapon (SG)	Gloss
(a)	<i>rù:ŋgút/sjà:rít</i>	'clubs'
(b)	<i>fjè:mú:tkéj</i>	'pen-knife' (for carving/skinning)
(c)	<i>rò:twé:táp fjò:k</i>	'dagger'
(d)	<i>lò:ŋé:t</i>	'shield'
(e)	<i>kìptfábé:t</i>	'whip' (made from hide)
(f)	<i>kìptfì:mít</i>	'small spear' (for hunting smaller animals)
(g)	<i>ŋòtút</i>	'spear' (for hunting and raiding)
(h)	<i>pè:mtá</i>	'barbed poisoned arrow' (used by seasoned warriors)
(i)	<i>kò:té:</i>	'arrow' (for distal attacks)
(j)	<i>kùjá:ŋtá</i>	'bow'
(k)	<i>fjò:ýé:</i>	'sheath'
(l)	<i>pè:né:t</i>	'dagger for drawing out blood'
(m)	<i>kìptfò: fú:rjét</i>	'dagger with blade sharpened on both sides'
(n)	<i>rò:twè:</i>	'nife' (for cutting)
(o)	<i>sòŋgé: / mò:tjé:t</i>	'quiver' (for carrying or storing arrows)
(p)	<i>fjè:lóísít</i>	'ooden arrow' (for training)
(q)	<i>sìnçìljé:</i>	'blades used to make arrow heads'
(r)	<i>mbè:ré:rú:t</i>	'arrowhead used for raids'
(s)	<i>àrúmét</i>	'spear handle'

These traditional weapons were used mostly for non-contact raids. They were meant to injure the enemy and facilitate the quick acquisition of livestock and flight from the enemy or the hunting of wild animals. They were not necessarily meant for killing people but rather for scaring them; where the fight became fierce, then more dangerous weapons such as *lò:ŋé:t* 'spear' and *pè:mtá* 'poisoned barbed arrows' were used for subduing the enemy.

Cattle raiding in Kalenjin as a means of wealth creation was spiritually sanctioned and considered a positive and brave act, assisting in economic growth, and, because of that, issues of conflict resolution with enemy communities did not arise. The maintenance of peace and conflict resolution only happened between warring community members.

4. DOMAIN OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

There are also some words which are used to talk about the domain of peace and conflict resolution within the Kalenjin community. Peace in Kalenjin is rendered as *ka:ljé:t* 'harmony, calmness'. *ka:ljé:t* is derived from the verb *ká:lján* 'idling or doing nothing'. This is not equated to the absence of conflict or the issue of reconciliation after war with other communities because such things did not happen in the Kalenjin community. Harmonious existence within the Kalenjin community is guided by *kìréník* 'taboos' and other virtues. The chief virtue that guided community behaviour is *kò:pít* 'respect'. Respect for everyone is highly valued in the community. This is well established, as seen in the proverbs alluding to it, such as:

- 12(a) *kò:pít* *kó* *té:n* *t-è:tá* *ák* *mùrén*
 respect be equal COW-SG/DEF and man.PL/DEF
 'Respect is equal to a cow and a man.'

Livestock as a form of wealth is highly valued, as is a *mùrén* 'warrior' who protects the community and brings wealth through raids. Livestock gives the owner value and respect in the community because with the livestock they are able to fend for their families and marry many wives. A man with many livestock therefore commanded respect just like the *mùrén* 'warrior', and that is why respect is attributed to livestock and to a *mùrén*.

- 12(b) *kò:pít* *kó* *té:n* *ɲwòɲ* *ák* *tòròrót*
 respect be equal ground and heaven.SG/INDEF
 'Respect is equal to the earth and the heavens.'

This metaphor explains the central importance that is given to respect in the community. The place of respect is stated to be great as the space between the earth and the heavens because when one grants respect to others, one can be also be respected, and from this respect one is able to get favours from everyone in the community, both the lowly and the mighty. In 12(a) and (12b) the importance of respect in the community is expressed clearly in terms of what the community

values, the cow and the man, and it is also shown to be as vast as the space between heaven and earth. The Kalenjin community members are guided by respect in all they do with their fellow community members.

12(c) Cultural script for *kà:nít* 'respect':

[People think like this in the Kalenjin speech community:]

If I am someone in the Kalenjin speech community,

I must know how to be good to other people of my Kalenjin speech community.

These other members /people from my Kalenjin speech community must say I am good.

This is because other members/ people from the Kalenjin speech community know how to be good to other members of this community /people.

Being good to other members of the Kalenjin speech community/people is good.

Being good is a must for everyone in this Kalenjin speech community.

If I want to be someone in Kalenjin speech community, I must have *kà:nít* 'respect'.

The cultural script on respect shows that this is an important virtue for all community members. All community members must be seen to act and to be good to each other. This cultural script uses the NSM of substantives, evaluators and mental predicates that involve feelings and thoughts.

Other than mutual respect, there were taboos that controlled and guided behaviour in the community, and these included an abhorrence of the shedding of blood of a community member. Whenever there was a breakdown in the observance of taboos between members of the community, conflict resolution between the warring parties was undertaken to ensure a peaceful coexistence.

Conflict resolution was undertaken by a special group of elders known as *kì:rùðyík*² 'adjudicators or negotiators'. These were elders who mediated and adjudicated cases in any case of conflict. The adjudication was geared towards getting the warring factions to resolve their conflict through *ɲà:étáp kà:t*³ 'forgiveness'. The offenders were to ask for forgiveness after the case was heard. This was after the elders castigated those in the wrong. This was known as *pwó:ɲ*

² Sergon (2021:28) says this operates at the highest level and deals with appeals from *kà:kwé:t*, which is the main dispute resolution mechanism amongst the Kipsigis, and is comprised of elders.

³ *ɲà:étáp kà:t* is a metaphor meaning 'smoothing of the neck'. A person who is rigid is seen as having a stiff neck in the community.

'to castigate'. Before the case was heard, the warring factions were forced to swear to tell the truth. This was done by the use of the metaphor *kè:ám pò:j* 'to eat the shoulder'. The shoulders do not have much flesh on them, so this metaphor is used to express the notion that one must be truthful in the sense of not having anything to hide or being bare.

Elders sat under special trees with shade known as *kà:bùrwó* (Satia and Maritim 2022). The trees were chosen depending on the severity of the case and as such were considered to be some kind of special witnesses. Elderly women also participated in the adjudication of cases. Those who were beyond child bearing age were given the same status as the elders, who were mostly men. When there was conflict either in the family or in the community, these women would wear the *lèyètiét* 'belt'. The belt was seen to possess some special charm and would command respect and obedience. If they wore the belt, any ensuing conflict would cease, and during war, if the women refused to wear it, then the warriors would not go to war. Women adjudicating cases would also carry *nò:yìrwé:t* 'staff'. The staff, which is a stick made from a special tree, would be used to judge cases. When it was placed before the adjudication panel, it signified the end of conflict. If drawn out when warring partners are fighting, the fighting is stopped immediately. Men, on the other hand, carried *kìròktó* 'stick' all the time as a symbol of their authority. This commanded obedience to their position in society.

During the adjudication the elders sat on *ηètfèrè:* 'three-legged stool'. This signified the authority of the *kì:rùdγík* 'adjudicators'. In sealing agreements in the resolution of conflicts, some payments were made in terms of material substance. If there had been killing, then *làbái* 'blood price' would be paid as compensation for the life of a victim. This was in the form of livestock. *ifè:γó* 'milk' would also be drunk from a common gourd by the warring factions, together with the elders, to seal agreements. For severe offences, milk mixed with *kù:mpá:* 'honey' was given to the warring factions to drink in order to signify the gravity of the matter. The *kì:rùdγík* 'adjudicators' would be given *mwàità* 'butter' as compensation for their role in the adjudication of the case. The term *mwàità* 'butter' is also used to refer to other forms of compensation, such as milk, honey, beer or livestock. *mwàità* 'butter' was also given to elders when they sealed marriage negotiations. This is now given in terms of cash.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have discussed the concepts used in the description of war and the language used in the organization and execution of war in the Kalenjin

community. We have also looked at some of the weaponry used and the cultural terms used in talking about conflict resolution. We have used the Natural Semantic Metalanguage framework to unravel the meanings of cultural terms used in the domain of war and conflict resolution. We have found out that in Kalenjin, *lùyé:t* 'raids' were originally expeditions for the acquisition of property or wealth by raiding neighbours. This was spiritually sanctioned and not equated to theft or cattle rustling. Young men were prepared right from circumcision to become *mùréník* 'warriors' in order to procure wealth for their families and the community and to protect their communities against external aggression. Cattle raiding expeditions involved the use of rudimentary weapons such as bows and arrows, spears and shields. Raids were conducted against homesteads and not whole communities except for retaliatory or defence purposes.

Conflict resolution only applied to members within the community who offended one another. *kì:rùðyík* 'adjudicators' reconciled warring factions. These adjudication meetings were held under special trees known as *kà:bùrwó*. Women also participated in conflict resolution, where they used *nð:yìrwé:t* 'staff' and *lèyètiét* 'belt' to stamp their authority. Both warring parties took *mù:má* 'an oath' never to engage in retaliation against each other and to abide by the resolution of the *kì:rùðyík* 'adjudicators'.

Generally, therefore, the domains of war and peace in Kalenjin show that *lùyé:t /sè:té:t* 'raiding expeditions' were culturally sanctioned as a means of expansion and wealth creation, while *pð:rjé:t* 'warfare' was not welcome save for protection or retaliation. *kà:ljé:t* 'peace', as a concept of coexistence after war or reconciliation as we know it today, did not exist because raids were part of the existence of the community and, as such, retaliatory attacks were expected anytime. Enemies who attacked the community were not reconciled with, but repulsed or revenge taken against them at a later date in case they overpowered the community. The concept of *kà:ljé:t* 'peace' was derived later on in the language from the verb *ká:lján*, which means not doing anything or idling.

In this paper we have seen that the cultural scripts of *mùréń* 'warrior' *lùyé:t /sè:té:t* 'raid expedition' and *kð:nít* 'respect' are very important in the Kalenjin community. Their importance is reflected in the way that they have been codified in metaphors that are used as a means of passing on education and values from one generation to the next. Metaphors in the Kalenjin community are an important educational vehicle. We have seen the central role of warfare in the advancement and protection of the community through the metaphors in examples (1) and (2). The central role of warriors and their importance in wealth acquisition and the

protection of the community is exemplified in the metaphors in examples (4) and (5), while respect as a virtue that holds the society together is codified in the metaphors in (12). The values in these metaphors are further explained through the cultural scripts.

Cultural scripts in this case are able to provide a glimpse of Kalenjin community cultural values through their exemplification using the universal semantic primes of Natural Semantic Metalanguage, which makes it easier for others to understand and appreciate the values associated with war and conflict resolution.

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