FROM RENDILLE TO SAMBURU: A LANGUAGE SHIFT INVOLVING TWO MUTUALLY UNINTELLIGIBLE LANGUAGES OF NORTHERN KENYA"
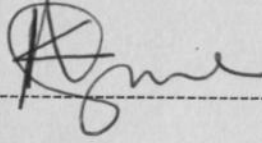
BY

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
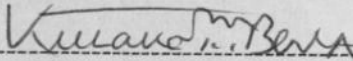PHILOSOPHY IN LINGUISTICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF
NAIROBI

2012

DECLARATION

This Thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other University.

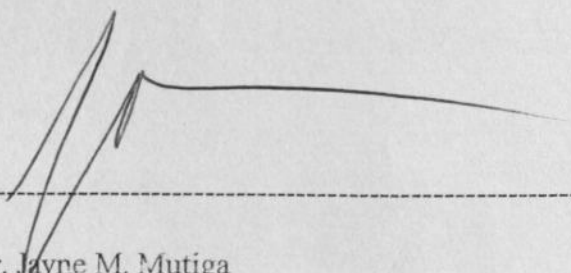
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This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University supervisors:

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DEDICATION

TO: My parents, **William Ngure Mugwe and Charity Wangari Ngure**, who took the decision (for me) that I needed formal education and, consequently, (they) took me to school.

And

Susan Nyokabi Njukia , my nursery school teacher at Ndibithi Nursery School, who unrelentingly and with a lot of patience took me through the rigours of learning how to read and write the English orthography- what a difficult task it must have been!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

And lastly, to our children, Abigail and Myles, for they always reminded me that my place was in the study room and not in the living room.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIC – African Inland Church

ACK- Anglican Church of Kenya

BATR- Boran African Traditional Religion

BTL-Bible Translation and Literacy

ECD(E)- Early Childhood Development (and Education)

FM- Frequency Modulation

GATR- Gabra African Traditional Religion

KBC-Kenya Broadcasting Coperation

LUAQ-Language Use and Attitude Questionnaire

MOE- Ministry of Education

MRD- Mixed Research Design

NFD- Northern Frontier District

NGO- Non-Governmental Organisation

NPPP- Northern Province Peoples Progressive Party

PAG- Pentecostal Assemblies of God

PEFA- Pentecostal Evangelistic Fellowship of Africa

RATR- Rendille African Traditional Religion

SIL-Summer Institute of Linguistics

TIQET- Totally Integrated Quality Education and Training

TSC- Teachers Service Commission

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Abandoned Language (AL):   A language that is no longer used by those who are supposed to be the native speakers of the language. The supposed native speakers have shifted to another language.

Attrition: A gradual process in which a language recedes as it loses speakers, domains, and ultimately structure; vocabulary is lost and the structure simplified without any additions in the form of borrowings or newly created structure (Thomason 2001:12, 227).

Language death: The complete disappearance of a language as a result of either:

    a) Language shift or

    b) The elimination of an entire speech population as in the case of genocide or disease outbreak.

Other terms used for language death are: language extinction and language obsolescence (Brenzinger 1992:3).

Language decline: A situation in which there is a decrease in the use of a language in domains that it was predominantly used.

Language maintenance:	Refers to relative language stability in number, the distribution of its speakers, its proficient usage by children and adults, and its retention in specific domains (Baker 2001:59).
Language revitalization	Restoration of a language, that had declined or died, to the state where it is used again as the means of communication.
Language shift	The progressive process whereby the language of a speech community is replaced by the habitual use of another language (Buda 1992).
Lingua franca	A language of wider communication among persons with different first languages.
Linguistic identity	The shared characteristics of members of a group or community. These characteristics are often, but not always, expressed through language.
Target Language (TL)	A language spoken by its native speakers and by others who have abandoned their language.
Terminal speaker (TS)	The last generation speaker of a given language.

ABSTRACT

This study is an investigation of the factors responsible for the linguistic shift from Rendille to Samburu by persons who claim a Rendille identity and are, therefore, expected to speak Rendille language. The two languages belong to different language classification groups; the former is Cushitic while the latter is Nilotic.

The study had four objectives: to investigate the motivation(s) behind the Rendille-Samburu language shift; to identify discernable stages (phases) in the Rendille-Samburu language shift; to assess the impact of the language shift on the structure of Rendille language; and to establish whether or not ability to speak Rendille language is a useful factor in determining the Rendille identity.

In order to address the research questions and the objectives of the study adequately, we adopted an eclectic approach that comprised of Giles, Bourhis and Taylor's (1977) Model of Language Shift and Vitality and Fishman's (1980) Bilingualism vs. Diglossia Model. Each of these models played an indispensable role in the study.

The study took the form of a field work survey with a mixed research design. Six settlements located within the Rendille territory in Marsabit District were identified from which we picked respondents mainly through stratified and judgement sampling techniques. The settlements included Hula-hula, Karare/Songa, Log-logo, Laisamis, Kor and Kargi. Data collection was done using questionnaires, interviews, observations and focused group discussions and analyzed by use of simple frequency tables and thematic analysis.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study on Language Contact

Studies on language contact reveal that whenever two cultures or speech communities with different languages come into intense contact, language shift is a possibility. The shift is mostly by the 'weaker' group, but there are also records of the more powerful groups shifting to the weaker ones (Patrick 2008-online). Language shift takes many years and an almost definite pattern to be complete. Before a speech community abandons its language and shifts to another language, bilingualism or multilingualism is often noticeable in the community. It is, however, important to point out that societal bilingualism or multilingualism does not always lead to language shift.

In a stable multilingualism set up, for example, language shift may not occur if the languages involved exist in a diaglossic relationship, where each language is ascribed defined domain(s) of use. In the words of a renowned sociolinguist by the name Fishman (1972: 115-116),

> If a strict domain separation becomes institutionalized so that each language is associated with a number of important but distinct domains, bilingualism may well become both universal and stabilized even though an entire population consists of bilinguals interacting with other bilinguals.

In an unstable bilingualism/multilingualism a language may suffer the fate of losing its speakers to another, a loss of proficiency in the language by those still speaking it and a decrease in the use of that language in the domains traditionally 'assigned' to it. When

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this happens, the speakers of the language are said to be shifting to another language. The last stage of language shift is called language death. A dead language is no longer used by any community as an indigenous language.

Language shift may, however, be intercepted or even reversed. When this happens a language may be revitalized and therefore salvaged from death as is the case with Irish (Dorian 1992:110) and Suba (Rottland and Okombo 1992:280).

The question of language revitalization and the promotion of linguistic/cultural diversity are two areas in which linguists have lately demonstrated keen interest. This is because language death, to linguists, is viewed as a catastrophe comparable only to the extinction of an animal species.

Crystal (2000) in underscoring the importance of upholding linguistic diversity advances the following arguments:-

i. Languages express identity. Identity concerns the shared characteristics of members of a group, community or region. Sometimes identity is via dress, religion, beliefs, rituals, but language is almost always present in identity formation and identity display. Language is an index symbol and marker of identity.

ii. Languages are repositories of history. Languages provide a link to a personalized past, a means to reach the achievement of knowledge, ideas and beliefs from the past.

iii. Languages contribute to the sum of human knowledge. Inside each language is a vision of the past, present and future so that when a language dies, its vision of the world dies with it.

iv. Languages are interesting in themselves. Language itself is important, each language having different sounds, grammar and vocabulary that reveal something different about linguistic organization and structure. The more languages there are to study, the more our understanding about the beauty of language grows (Crystal 2000).

1.2 Background to Rendille and Samburu Languages

1.2.1 Rendille language

The Rendille language (here after simply referred to as Rendille) belongs to the Eastern Cushitic subfamily of the broad Afro- Asiatic family of languages (Heine & Mohlig 1980). In that subfamily also are Somali and Boni (the three comprise the group known as the Sam languages). The speakers of Rendille live in an arid land in Marsabit County which is, administratively, in the Eastern Province of Kenya.

The Rendille territory covers about 50,000 Km (Sato 1977:1). It borders Lake Turkana in the North –West, Mount Marsabit in the East, the Chalbi desert in the North, the Merrile River in the South- East and the Ndoto mountains in the South West (Swanepoel & Pillinger 1985:1). The Rendille people are mainly pastoralists whose livelihood depends on camels, goats, sheep, and lately few cattle.

The last Kenya National Census (conducted in 2009) revealed that the Rendille population in the country is 60,437. The report of the national census conducted in 1989[1] presented the population of the Rendille people as 23,585 in Marsabit District and 26,536 in the country. These figures represent 18.25 and 0.12 percent of the inhabitants of Marsabit District and Kenya respectively.

Other than Rendille speakers, Marsabit County is home to the speakers of a number of other Cushitic and Nilotic languages. Below is a list showing six of such languages together with the population of their speakers in the district (the figures were extracted from the Kenya National Census report of 1989):

a) Borana - 28.2%
b) Gabra - 23.37%
c) Turkana - 5.6%
d) Samburu - 4.55%
e) Burji - 4.35%
f) Garreh - 3.49%

1.2.2 The Samburu Language

The Samburu language (here after simply referred to as Samburu) is identified as a dialect of Maa (spoken by the Maasai) in the Eastern Nilotic group of Chari- Nile languages of the Sudanic family (Vossen 1982). The Samburu people predominantly occupy the Samburu District in the Rift Valley Province of Kenya. They comprise 74.6 per cent of the inhabitants of the district and 0.50 per cent of the Kenyan population (Kenya population census report vol. 1(1989)). The percentage representation of people who claim a Rendille identity in Samburu District (according to the census report) is 1.25 per cent. Below are tree diagrams showing the linguistic affiliations of Rendille and

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Samburu languages (note the trees are not exhaustive as they only highlight the linguistic consanguinity of the two languages).

Cushitic
Eastern Cushitic — Southern Cushitic
Yaaku   Dassanach   Burji   Galla   Elmolo-Somali   Dahalo
Elmolo   Rendille   Somali   Boni

Nilotic
Western Nilotic   Southern Nilotic   Eastern Nilotic
Teso-Turkana   Maa Group
Maasai   Njemps   Samburu
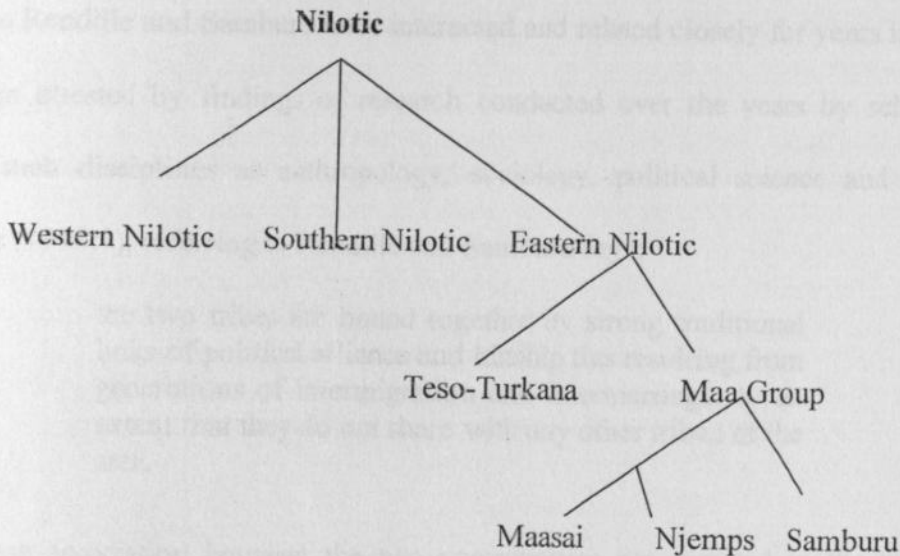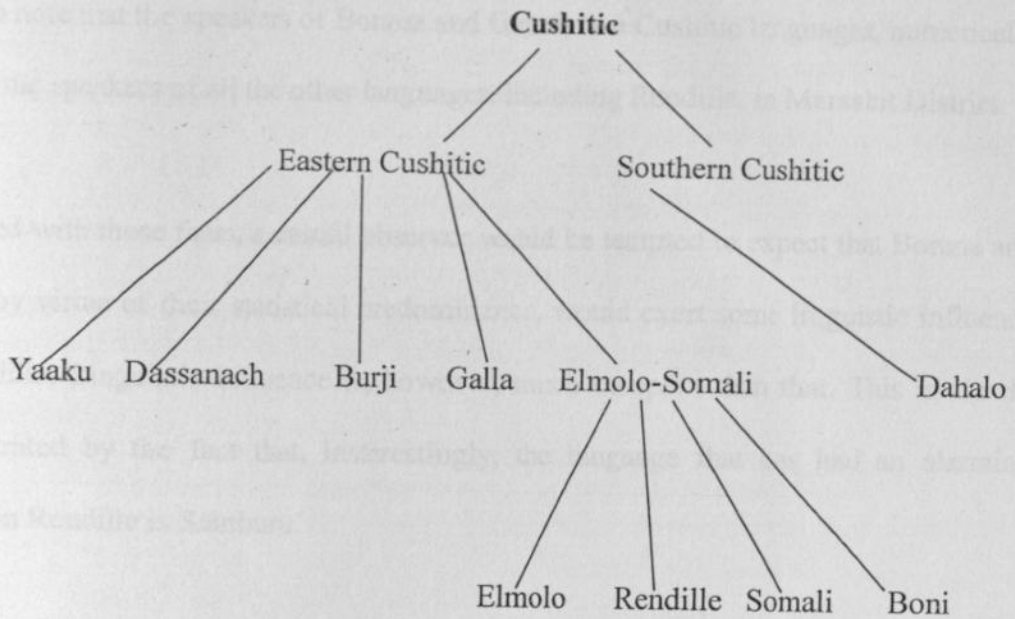
Adapted from Fedders and Salvadori (1994: 162)

From the fore-going statistics and tree diagrams we draw some crucial demographic and historical insights regarding the speech communities in the geographical area of our

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interest. We note for example, that the Rendille people are concentrated in Marsabit District and that they constitute a significant percentage of the inhabitants of the district. We also note that the speakers of Borana and Gabra, two Cushitic languages, numerically surpass the speakers of all the other languages, including Rendille, in Marsabit District.

Presented with these facts, a casual observer would be tempted to expect that Borana and Gabra, by virtue of their statistical predominance, would exert some linguistic influence on Rendille. Linguistic influence is, however, much complex than that. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that, insterestingly, the language that has had an alarming impact on Rendille is Samburu.

That the Rendille and Samburu have interacted and related closely for years is a fact that has been attested by findings of research conducted over the years by scholars from across such disciplines as anthropology, sociology, political science and linguistics. Spencer (1973:1), referring to Rendille and Samburu says:

> the two tribes are bound together by strong traditional
> links of political alliance and kinship ties resulting from
> generations of intermigration and intermarriage, to an
> extent that they do not share with any other tribes of the
> area.

The close association between the two communities has resulted in the "birth" of a distinct subgroup of the Rendille community known as Ariaal Rendille (here after simply referred to as Ariaal) (Sobnia (1980:155), Spencer (1973:134), Fratkin (1987:55), Swanepoel and Pillinger (1985:1). Sobania (1980:155) commenting on the genesis of the Ariaal says:

Recent research on the histories of northern pastoralists has shown that Ariaal are a relatively new group formed by the destitute Samburu and Rendille faced with draught, famine, and warfare...

While Fratkin (1987:2) describes the Ariaal as:

a mixture of both Samburu and Rendille societies not quite Rendille, not quite Samburu, yet forming a cultural bridge between the two.

Fedders and Salvadori (1994:31) give it an interesting dimension when

they state that:

The uninitiated observer looking at Rendille (people) [2] can easily see a greater resemblance between the Rendille and Samburu than between the Rendille and their fellow Somali-speakers.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The Ariaal defer from Rendille proper in that they share many cultural features with the Samburu. They have adopted much of Samburu social organization, including initiation of their age- grade of warriors into the Samburu age-set (Fratkin 1987:2).

Linguistically the Ariaal are more of Samburu than Rendille as they are fluent speakers of Samburu and a good number of them are bilingual in Rendille and Samburu (Heine 1976:183-184), Spencer (1973:2). In terms of identity, however, the Ariaal claim a Rendille identity.

Economically, the Ariaal are deemed to be more endowed than their Rendille proper counterpart since they have cattle, camel, and small stock (goat and sheep) to fall back on

in time of hardship as opposed to only two types of stocks (camels and the small stocks) relied on by the Rendille proper (Fratkin (1987:2), Spencer (1973:1)).

The situation emerging here is a case of language shift whose direction of shift is known but the motivations for the shift are not obvious.

We may suspect, like Spencer (1973:34), that the Samburu economy (cattle economy) could be a significant attraction to the Rendille and therefore behind the shift but this is just a suspicion. The suspicion must be verified in order for us to make reliable inferences or conclusions. In any case, the Samburu are not the only community that relies on cattle economy in the Rendille neighbourhood. The Borana, too, are pastoralists who rely on cattle economy but have apparently not attracted the Rendille to themselves. And even if the Samburu economy is found to be a strong attraction to the Rendille, we need to find out whether it is the sole motivation, or there are other motivations and factors that predispose the Rendilles to the shift and are hitherto obscure but can be revealed by a systematic investigation of the phenomenon.

The questions we intend to answer in this study are:-

i.   Is the Samburu economy a significant factor in the Rendille – Samburu shift?

ii.   Are there other factors (attractions) behind the shift?

iii. Are there discernable stages (phases) in the Rendille – Samburu shift?

iv.   What effect does the shift have on the structure of Rendille?

v.   Does language play any role in defining the Rendille identity?

1.4 Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

1. To investigate the motivation(s) for the Rendille – Samburu shift.

2. To identify the stages (phases) that are discernable in the Rendille – Samburu shift.

3. To assess the impact of the shift on the structure of Rendille.

4. To determine whether or not Rendille language is a useful factor in defining the Rendille identity.

1.5 Hypotheses

The hypotheses tested in this study are:

i. The three cluster factor model of language shift and vitality accounts for both the direction and motivation of the Rendille – Samburu shift.

ii. The Rendille people have not shifted uniformly to Samburu. There are discernable phases in the shift.

iii. The shift has some significant effect on the structure of Rendille, particularly in the vocabulary and sound system of the language.

iv. Language is not a significant factor in defining the Rendille identity.

1.6 Rationale and Significance

The exact number of languages in the world is difficult to determine. This is partly due to the challenge of defining a language (so that it is different from a dialect), and logistical problems of gathering reliable and comprehensive information about languages

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in large expanses such as Africa, South America and parts of Asia where an enormous percentage of the world's languages are confined (Baker 2001: 49). Grimes (1996) quoted in Baker 2001) lists 6703 living languages in the world, while Moseley and Asher (1994), in their atlas of the world's languages in danger of disappearing, estimate the existing languages of the world to be 5000-6000.

The variation in the exact number of the world's languages notwithstanding, there is a growing agreement among linguists and anthropologists that many of the world's languages are dying. According to Michael Krauss (1992) 20%-50% of the world's existing languages are likely to die or become perilously close to death in the next 100 years. In Africa alone, the languages that can be referred to as either extinct, in the process of extinction or threatened by extinction are all together about 170 (Sommer, 1992).

Now coming to the local scene, Kenya has a significant number of languages that are threatened by the language and culture of their neighbours. Among these are Elmolo, Suba, Njemps, and Terik (Okombo (1993:14); Heine and Mohlig (1980); and Dimmendaal (1989)).

The reality of language loss has dawned on linguists, anthropologists and others from related disciplines with immense gravity that has aroused need for action towards preservation of linguistic and cultural diversity. It has become increasingly clear that when a language is lost the culture it expressed goes with it also. This is because the

"degree of interdependency between language and culture is such that none of them can be healthy when the other is unhealthy" (Okombo 1993:1).

The dawn of the 21st century has witnessed a marked interest in safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage of communities. During its general conference held in Paris (September-October 2003), UNESCO categorically stated its intention to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage and of ensuring the mutual appreciation thereof (UNESCO (2003). In this conference, language was highlighted as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO 2003 P.2).

Kenya subscribes to the UNESCO's resolution on safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage. This is demonstrated in its cultural policy statement that obtains in part:

> The government shall establish the Kenya endangered languages fund to which it will make regular subvention. Its purpose shall be to study, support and teach the endangered languages and dissemination of literature in indigenous languages.
> (Kenya Cultural Policy-draft)

And also,

> The government shall encourage the establishment of a national body or council to research, develop and popularize Kiswahili and Indigenous languages as communication tools and vehicle through which culture is transmitted and preserved.
> (Kenya Cultural Policy-draft)

In consideration of the foregoing observations, it is reasonable to suggest that this study is being undertaken at an opportune moment when, globally, the need to articulate the linguistic rights of the minority communities and the urgency to revitalize endangered languages is strongly felt (Fishman 2001). In the local scene, the Kenya government is putting in place legislation (in form of a cultural policy) to see to it that its cultural heritage (which includes its over 40 languages) is preserved.

Another reason why this study is occurring at a critical point in time is that today, (2011), there are people still speaking Rendille language. The fact that there are people speaking the language would make it easier to revitalize it since there are people who can be challenged to discover or develop some basis for increased self regard in order to withstand pressures for abandonment of their language (Dorian 1998: 12). The timing of language revitalization programs is crucial in determining the success or failure of such programs. As Dorian (1998) warns:

> having narrated too long before undertaking to rally support for threatened languages we may find ourselves eulogizing extinct languages whose living uniqueness we had hoped instead to celebrate.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The investigation of language death is a relatively new undertaking which has "emerged as something like [an] independent sub discipline of linguistics, towards the end of the seventies" (Sasse 1992: 7). Over the last two decades, however, a lot has been done in the area of language endangerment and revitalisation to the point that this field can no longer

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be considered to be in its 'embryonic' stage. There are a number of models from which one interested in venturing into the field can choose.

It is, however, important to point out that, a number of the theories postulated on language shift, death and language maintenance are still being tested in 'linguistic laboratories' with linguists grappling with the question whether or not the generalizations (in these models) are sufficiently general in order to serve as models of language shift/death and language maintenance (Sasse1992: 9). We are not sure whether the theories we intend to use (discussed below) offer an affirmative answer to the question, but we deem them suitable in this study for a number of reasons, which we discuss below. The models we intend to use are:-

(i)   Giles, Bourhis and Taylor's (1977) model of language shift and vitality.

(ii)   Fishman's (1980) Bilingualism vs. Diglossia Model.

1.7.1 Giles et al. (1977) Model of Language Shift and Language Vitality

Giles et al. (1977) propose a three-cluster factor model in which various factors combine to give more or less minority language vitality. The three-cluster factors are status factors, demographic factors, and institutional support factors.

In status factors, linguists concern themselves with the economic, social and symbolic status of a language. When the economic prospects of the speakers of a given language are poor, the pressure to shift to the language whose speakers are better off is high. This means that "a minority language may be sacrificed on the altar of economic progress"

(Baker 2001: 69). Similarly, when a language is seen as giving higher social status and more political power, a shift towards that language may occur.

A minority language may, however, retain its vitality if it is threatened as a heritage language in a case where the speakers of that language have a strong recognition of the language as a symbol of their ethnic identity.

In demographic factors, the points to be considered are the geographical distribution of the speakers of a language, the number of speakers of the language and their saturation within a particular area. The question of inter-language marriages is also addressed under the demographic factors. A general observation often made in such marriages is that the higher status language will usually have the best chance of survival as the home language.

Institutional support factors relate to the use of a language in a wide variety of institutions such as in national, regional and local governments, religious and cultural organizations, mass media, commerce and industry, and in education. Languages that are used in the mass media are generally regarded as prestigious in comparison to those not used in the mass media. Similarly, the language that is used to provide administrative services is perceived to have higher status. It is also the case with the language used within educational institutions.

This model will be particularly useful when we examine the nature and extent of contact between Rendille and Samburu. Using this model as our framework, we shall identify the relevant factors that are at play in the shift from Rendille to Samburu.

1.7.2 Bilingualism vs. Diglossia Model

The bilingualism vs. diglossia model was propounded by Fishman (1980). In the model, Fishman combines the terms bilingualism and diglossia to portray four language situations where bilingualism and diglossia may exist with or without each other (Baker 2001:45). The first situation envisages a language community in which both individual bilingualism and diglossia are evident. The subjects in this situation are able to speak both languages (varieties) but each language (or variety) has a set of functions for which it is used. In this situation, therefore, the languages are relatively stable with none exerting assimilatory pressure on the other.

The second situation outlined by Fishman (1980) is diglossia without bilingualism. The context captured here is two languages used within a particular geographical locality. One group of inhabitants will speak one language exclusively, while another group will speak the other. In this situation, fluent speakers of both languages may be the exception rather than the rule (Baker 2001:45).

The third situation is bilingualism without diglossia. The people in this situation are bilinguals but have not assigned the languages a specific set of purposes for which each is to be used. Either language may be used for whichever function.

The fourth situation is where there is neither bilingualism nor diglossia. The community in focus here is monolingual. One language is used exclusively for all functions.

Since in our study we needed to identify and examine the stages discernable in the shift, this model was extremely useful. We related the stages in the Rendille - Samburu shift to the situations envisaged in the four-fold typology model. As we set out in our investigation we recognized that there was a possibility that the phases in the shift under focus may not perfectly correspond with the four situations outlined in the Fishman (1980) model. We therefore exploited the strengths of the model while remaining conscious of its limitations in our study.

The choice of these theories was not arbitrary. Each of them had some indispensable value it added in the study. The Giles et al. (1977) model, for example, which was the dominant one in our study, enumerates the factors that are relevant in determining the vitality of a language. Since the study involved an examination of the diminishing vitality of Rendille, the model was extremely useful. The model provided us with an important framework through which we were able to identify the motivation(s) behind the shift. The Fishman's (1980) bilingualism vs diglossia model was useful when we examined the stages/phases that were discernable in the shift. The model provided us with a platform on which to examine the synchronic phases in the the Rendille-Samburu shift. The Giles et al. (1977) model was not able to assist us achieve this objective. The second theory came in handy to mitigate for the limitation of the first theory. Sections 6.5 and 6.6 provide a detailed analysis of the language situation in the six settlements and the distinct phases as discussed within the framework of Fishman's (1980) bilingualism vs diglossia model. The two theories therefore, in this study, complemented each other.

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1.8 Scope and Limitation

We did not pay much attention to the role of other languages, besides Rendille and Samburu, spoken by our subjects. We were only interested in the shift involving Samburu and Rendille.

We, however, took cognizance of the fact that, in a language shift situation the structural effect of the shift may be noted on both the target language (the one being shifted to) and the source language (the one being shifted away from) Patrick L.P (2008).

In the study we limited ourselves to the structural effect of the shift on Rendille (the language being shifted away from) but recognized that an examination of the structural effect of the shift on Samburu would also be worthwhile.

1.9 Literature Review

In our examination of the available relevant literature, we covered the following areas:

i. Theoretical literature on language shift and reversal

ii. Literature on the anthropological and linguistic analyses of Rendille

iii. Literature on case studies of language revitalization

1.9.1 Theoretical Literature

Although the field of language endangerment is regarded as relatively new, and that theories in this field are at the stage of testing, there are a number of theories linguists have employed remarkably to explore the phenomenon of language endagerment. Edward (1992), for example, puts forth a theory that is useful in the typology of minority language situations and which Grenoble and Whaley (1998) modify to come up with a model of language endangerment. Among the notable features of Edward's theory is that,

a distinction is made between features of an individual speech community and features of the broader context in which the community is located (Grenoble and Whaley (1998: 27). The general assumption made is that in an endangerment situation, there are certain factors that contribute to the endangerment of a language which are internal or attributable to the group speaking the language and there other factors which are external to the community speaking the threatened language.

This approach is slightly different from the one by Sasse (1992) in whose theory of language death the interaction of all the relevant phenomena is given much emphasis. Sasse's (1992) Gaelic-Arvanitika model of language theory (GAM) shows the interactions and causal relations of the broad types of phenomena which are deemed relevant to the study of language death. These include the external setting (ES), speech behavior (SB) and the structural consequence phenomena (SC) (Sasse 1992: 9-10). This theory is comparable in many respects to the theory we intend to use for our study (see 1.7 for the theoretical framework) except for the structural consequences phenomenon. The Giles et al model (1977) seems not to give serious considerations to the structural consequences of language shift on a language. All the other factors identified by Sasse (1992) as consequential in language shift are addressed in the Giles et al (1977) model under three main clusters of factors, that is, status factors, demographic factors, and institutional support factors.

1.9.2 Anthropological and Linguistic Analyses of Rendille Language

An interesting fact about the Rendille language is that out of the many northern Kenya minority languages, it has received a fairly more reasonable scholarly attention than the others. A number of Ph.D dissertations and seminar papers have been written on Rendille by scholars from such disciplines as anthropology, sociology, and linguistics.

One of the earliest accounts of the Rendille language is by Spencer (1973) who gives a detailed description on the way of life of the Rendille people as a distinct ethnolinguistic community.

Spencer provides a detailed account of the contact between two linguistically different communities, namely Rendille and Samburu of Kenya. Elliot Fratkin, an anthropologist, who has lived among the Ariaal Rendille (and considers himself a son of the Ariaal) has written extensively on a variety of topics relating to the lifestyle of the Rendille. His works are relevant to our study as they demonstrate an indepth understanding of the Rendille people and their traditional neighbours. In Fratkin (1987), for example, he examines the organization of labour and production among the Ariaal Rendille. He extends the discussion in Fratkin (1989), in a paper featured in the *American Anthropologist Journal*, where he provides the results of a time allocation survey conducted among the Ariaals and which highlights household variation and gender inequality in production. Fratkin and Smith (1995) is insightful as it provides useful information regarding the impact of sedenterization on the Rendille culture and, by extension, the Rendille language.

The work by Gunther Schlee, (himself a fluent Rendille speaker) was invaluable in this study. Schlee (1989) provides a detailed analysis of the historical, cultural and linguistic

situation of Northern Kenya, Southern Ethiopia and Western Somalia. He shows how ethnic groups from the three countries have interacted over the years and the consequences of the interaction on the cultures and languages of the communities involved.

The work of Sobania (1980) is also significant to our study as it looks at the historical traditions of the peoples of the Eastern Lake Turkana Basin in the period 1840-1925. The available linguistic analyses on Rendille language are mostly by linguists working with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and a few from the University of Nairobi. The works by Steve Pillinger, a linguist who worked in the Rendille project (an initiative of the Summer Institute of Linguistics) were quite useful. In Swanepoel and Pillinger (1985) and Pillinger (1987), the sound system of Rendille is adequately discussed. In the latter, the author zeroes in on the tonal system of Rendille. The works by these authors do not attempt to compare or contrast the Rendille phonological system with any other language but provide a comprehensive examination which we found useful in this study since, at some point, the study juxtaposes the Rendille and Samburu phonological systems. The works by Oomen, (1977) and Hudson, D. (1977) were relevant in the study because they address the grammar of Rendille. Oomen, (1977) examines certain aspects of Rendille grammar giving special emphasis to the focus structure. This was important to us because one of the study's objectives sought to investigate the impact of the Rendille-Samburu shift on the structure of Rendille language. The "structure" was inclusive of the domain of phonology, morphology, Syntax and the lexicon. The work, however, that proved invaluable, where structure of the Rendille language is concerned,

was the one by Pillinger and Galboran (1999). The section on grammatical outline in their *A Rendille Dictionary* was quite informative. It provided insightful details about the Rendille morphology, syntax and phonology.

The literature reviewed above is part of the body of literature available on Rendille which covers a wide range of topics and disciplines. We did not, however, encounter any work that explicitly acknowledged that not only was the overall number of the speakers of Rendille declining, but also the domains in which the language was traditionally used. This is part of what the present study endeavours to illustrate.

1.9.3 Literature on Case Studies of Language Reversal

Stabilizing weak languages, without even thinking about reviving the dead ones, is quite an enormous task. This is why Fishman (2002) admits that in the effort to stabilize the weak languages, there have been more failures than successes. However, there have been some inspiring success stories. One such story is that of the Hebrew language (see Section 7.2.1 for more on the 'resurrection' of Hebrew).

This language had not been spoken for two thousand years but was revived (Thomason 2001: 224). Irish, a Northern European language, had declined to the status of a peasant language until the late Nineteenth Century Irish Nationalism came to its rescue (Dorian (1992: 110).

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The case of Suba, a Kenyan Bantu language threatened by Dholuo (a Nilotic language), is a noteworthy case. According to Rottland and Okombo (1992: 280), Suba had reached the stage of language death on Rusinga Island, the Suba people having shifted to Dholuo. There has lately been great effort towards the revival of the language. The Government of Kenya, in the spirit of championing for the 'recognition of the rights of minority groups', and in collaboration with Non-governmental organizations and the community initiated a Suba revitalization programme (Obiero 2008:252). Following this initative the language has been written and and a considerable amount of literature in the language produced. A bible in the language is nearly complete.

There is a marked increased ethnolinguisitic consciousness among the Suba (personal communication with the SIL staff working with the Suba project) (see Section 7.3.2 for more on the renewal of Suba).

1.10 Methodology

1.10.1 Research Design

The study at hand is sociolinguistic in nature. The research questions, objectives and the theoretical approach guiding this investigation influence a great deal our choice of data collection, analysis, presentation and interpretation procedures. According to Johnson (2002:5) the choice of what type of research to carry out depends on factors such as the purpose of research, the research questions, and the kind of data being required. The data we require in our case will have to be a mixture of both qualitative and quantitative data. Our research design will therefore be a mixed research design (MRD). MRD, according to Johnson and Onwegbuzie (2004) is a research method which applies both qualitative

and quantitative techniques. It is treated as a third alternative to a purely qualitative or quantitative research. In MRD, the two techniques are mixed in a single study.

The MRD is defined by Johnson and Onwegbuzie (2004:17) as:

> the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts, or language into a single study.

While Creswell et al (2003:212) define mixed methods as "the collection or analysis of both quanitative and qualitative data in single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, are given a priority, and involve the integration of data at one or more stages in the process of research".

In MRD, a researcher is able to harness the benefits of the two techniques in that the weakness of one is mitigated by the strength(s) of the other. This is expressed by Patton (1990) as "such an approach allows strengths to be combined to correct the deficiencies of any single source or method". In order to appreciate the merits of MRD consider the following strengths and weaknesses of qualitative and quantitative research (based on Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004: 19-21).

Quantitative Research Strengths

i. Generalizations can be made on research findings when the data is based on random samples of sufficient size.

ii. Data collection and analysis is relatively quick.

iii. The results are relatively independent of the researcher's personal bias.

iv. It is useful for studying large numbers of people.

Weaknesses

i.   The researcher's categories and theories may not reflect the local constituencies' (respondents')[3] understanding.

ii. Data generated might be too abstract and general for direct application to specific local situations, contexts and individuals.

Qualitative Research Strengths

i.   Useful for studying limited number of cases in depth.

ii. Ideal for describing complex phenomena.

iii. Provides understanding and description of people's personal experiences of phenomena.

iv. Can describe, in rich detail, phenomena as they are situated and embedded in local context.

v.   Data is usually collected in naturalistic settings.

vi. The researcher is especially responsive to changes that occur during the conduct of the study and may shift focus of their study as a result.

Weaknesses

i.   Knowledge generated might not be generalized to other people or other things.

ii. It is more difficult to test hypotheses and theories with large participant pools.

iii. It generally takes more time to collect the data when compared to quantitative data collection.

iv. Data analysis is often time consuming.

v. The results are easily influenced by the researchers' personal biases and idiosyncrasies.

Mixed Research Strengths

i. Can provide quantitative and qualitative strengths.

ii. The strengths of an additional method can be used to overcome the weaknesses in another method by using both in a research study.

iii. Can answer broader and more complex range of research questions because the researcher is not confined to a single method or approach.

iv. Words, pictures and narrative can be used to add meaning to numbers. That is, they can be used to interpret quantitative figures.

v. Can provide stronger evidence for conclusion through convergence and corroboration of findings.

vi. Can be used to increase the generalizability of results.

vii. Quantitative and qualitative methods used together produce more complete knowledge necessary to inform theory and practice.

Weaknesses of Mixed Research

i. It is difficult for a single researcher to carry out both quantitative and qualitative research, especially, if two or more approaches are expected to be done concurrently.

ii. It is expensive.

iii. It is more time consuming.

The decision to adopt MRD for this study was influenced to a large extent by the research questions as well as the objectives the study aimed to answer and achieve respectively. The questions and objectives had a direct bearing on the type of data we needed. A good number of the research questions exhibited the potential of eliciting data that were exclusively neither quantitative nor qualitative but a conglomeration of the two. In answering the questions regarding the motivation(s) responsible for the shift and the discernable stages in the shift, for example, we needed to obtain data on the pattern of language choice in a variety of speech situations by respondents from the settlements identified. These data were mainly based on numbers and 'facts', the two of which constitute the core of quantitative research. While answering some of these questions, however, some qualitative comments were made by the respondents (see a sample of the questionnaires used in the appendix). The comments in the open ended sections of the questionnaire, those obtained during interviews and focused group discussions and the observations made using informant-aided participant observation provided what we considered as the quanitative data in the study. In our application of MRD we adopted the position that quantitative and qualitative approaches were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Hanson et al. (2005) (cited in Gray 2009:204) suggest "that using mixed methods allows researchers to simultaneously generalize from a sample to a population and to gain a richer, contextual understanding of the phenomenon being researched". This is the understanding we needed in the examination of the phenomenon at hand since it is complex. As Karanja (2006:146) puts it:

> Language shift and death are very complex phenomena that involve very many dynamic social, cultural, linguistic, psychological and economic factors acting together in a ...dynamic continuum.

1.10.2 Survey

Fishman (1991) (cited in Karanja 2006:159) says that the most reliable method of studying language shift would be to compare demographic patterns of language use over different points in time. This, however, would depend on availability of reliable data in terms of accurate population censuses covering aspects of language use. Such information is not easily available in Kenya. The last Kenyan population census that provides a relatively detailed description of the respondent's ethnicity was conducted in 1989. This census, however, was not conducted using sociolinguistic techniques hence it does not provide useful insights in matters to do with the pattern of language use of the respondents. Even when techniques that are exclusively sociolinguistic are employed, population censuses are seen to exhibit problems in such matters as:

> asking too few language-focused questions, changes over time in how the language questions asked have been worded, and changes in the surrounding social/ cultural /political contexts such that respondents may have been led to overclaim (a language) on some occasions and to under claim it on others (Fishman (1991:40)).

In view of the foregoing complications, and challenges posed by constraints of funds and time, we decided not to use the census approach but instead take a survey approach. According to Sapford (2006) (quoted in Gray (2009:219), a survey is "a detailed and quantified description of a population- a precise map or a precise measurement of potential".

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1.10.3 Data Collection

The objectives of the study played a critical role in determining the tools that were to be used in data collection as well as in data analysis. Since we needed data pertaining to language use patterns and respondents' opinions and perspectives on a number of issues, it was necessary to use more than one data collection technique. Beside each technique providing data that were peculiarly obtainable using it, the use of a number of techniques also helped to enhance credibility and validity of the results, which are the main ideas in triangulation. The main techniques that were used for data collection included:

i.   In-depth interviews

ii.   focused group discussion

iii. informant –aided participant observation

iv.   language use and attitude questionnaire

v.   secondary data

1.10.3.1 Interviews

In-depth interviews were used to elicit information from community/opinion leaders and relevant government officials. The respondents were asked a set of predetermined questions with the potential of eliciting information regarding:

i.   The diminishing vitality of Rendille.

ii.   The attitude of the Rendille people towards their language and the Samburu language.

iii. The level of ethnolinguistic consciousness among the Rendille people.

iv.   Lexical borrowing from Samburu to Rendille

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This tool was also useful in providing information regarding the oral traditions of the Rendille. Since as, we will demonstrate in Chapters 4 and 5, the incidence of use of Rendille in some settlements was very low, interview proved a successful tool in eliciting information about the linguistic, demographic, political and social history of the residents. It provided us with opportunities for probing for information whose importance was not predetermined. While using this tool, we were able to access highly personalized data, what made us to concur with Arksey and Knight (1999: 32) in their observation that,"Interview is a powerful way of helping people to make explicit things that have hitherto been implicit-to articulate their perceptions, feelings and understandings." Interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder. Permission was first sought from the interviewee before recording the interview session. The recorded interview was later transcribed for ease of analysis.

1.10.3.2 Focused Group Discussion

Focused group discussion was used to supplement indepth interviews. It was used on groups of peers, e.g. young men (morans), elders and women. Getting these groups was not a difficult task since the Rendille community is known to organize itself into certain homogeneous groups for socio-cultural reasons. The elderly people, for example, are often seen seated under the shade of some customary tree deliberating on issues that affect their village (manyatta); young men (morans) are found in the grazing fields with the livestock while women would be in the waterhole drawing water or building a hut among other duties. A note book was used to record relevant matters that came up during these discussions.

1.10.3.3 Language Use and Attitude Questionnaire (LUAQ)

The language use and attitude questionnaires were used mostly with the literate respondents. This technique provided data that were used in addressing three of the four objectives of the study. These are objectives One, Two and Four. The first two objectives required data that was personal (biodata) and one that would provide information on demographic as well as language use patterns. This information was the target of Sections I and II of the Questionnaires. Sections III and IV of the Questionnaire sought information regarding the opinions and perceptions of the respondents towards Rendille and Samburu. This is the information needed to cater for objective Four. We relied on this technique to provide a bulk of what constituted quantitative data in the MRD. We found the tool useful in reaching out many respondents within a limited time.

1.10.3.4 Informant-Aided Participant Observation

Since the investigator speaks neither Rendille nor Samburu, the services of a multi-lingual informant (competent in both Rendille and Samburu) were inevitable.

We used two reliable informants who were fluent in Samburu and, also, had some functional knowledge of the Rendille language. The two were used on separate occasions. In the company of one of the informants, the researcher would visit public places and make observations, with the help of the informant, regarding the language in use by the persons in that place and the activities in which they were engaged. Initially, we intended to use this technique in such places as the grazing fields (fora), churches, market places and water holes. We were, however, not able to visit all these places but managed to

collect some substantial data using the technique. In those places where the physical presence of the researcher was deemed to potentially pose some ambiguity and obstruction in the data elicitation process, the informant was asked to collect the required data, which would, initially, be stored in memory and later recorded on the researcher's note book.

By use of this technique, the language(s) spoken by the respondents and the speech domain(s) were identified. This was needed in pursuit of objectives One, Two and Four. The technique is referred to as informant–aided participant observation since it was collaboration between the informant and the researcher.

1.10.3.5 Secondary Data

In addition to the primary data collected through the afore-mentioned techniques, secondary data were also used in the study. To get these data, we did an extensive examination of available archival/library records. The archival/library research yielded invaluable information pertaining to the historical, political and economic connections between the Rendille and the neighbouring communities. These communities included the Somali, Borana, Gabra and Samburu. It is this data that provided information pertaining to the diachronic linguistic status of some of the settlements in the study. The library research, in addition, exposed us to some information that enriched our discussion of literature related to the study in focus.

1.10.4 Sample Size

The exact number of the respondents used in this study is a bit difficult to determine given the variety of the data collection tools used. While it is easy to tell the number of respondents who filled in the questionnaires and those who were interviewed, it is difficult to tell the exact number of those who participated in the focused group discussions and those on whom informant-aided participant observation was used. It was particularly difficult to keep track of the number in the latter as respondents could flactuate even before the session was over. When making observation in the water hole, for example, data was meant to be collected in an informal manner and the respondents were, therefore, not constrained to remain at one point till the end of the observation. We held four group discussions the smallest of which had three members while the largest had over 20 members. On average, the focuss groups had eight members.

Using the questionnaires, we collected data from 180 respondents. 120 of this comprised the respondents referred to in the study as young members of the community while the rest, 60, comprised the older members of the community. The number of respondents interviewed was six. All the persons who were interviewed had filled in the questionnaire as well. Data obtained using interviews were therefore used to supplement the data collected using LUAQ. When talking about the sample size in our study, therefore, we would like to work with 180. With this sample size, we expect to have an error range of less than ±10.

Moore and Parker (2004: 368) provide a breakdown of the various sample sizes and their corresponding error margins in the table below:

Table 1: Sample Sizes and their Corresponding Error Margins

Sample size	Error margin (%)	Correspondent range (percent point)
10	±30	60
25	±22	44
50	±14	28
100	±10	20
250	±6	12
500	±4	8
1,000	±3	6
1,500	±2	4

1.10.5 Sampling Technique

As we mentioned in Section 1.9.2, the study took a survey approach. The respondents picked were selected through a combination of random sampling and non-random sampling techniques. In research random samples are often preferred to non-random samples as they potentially give each unit that is a member of the population an equal chance of being selected. Practical or other reasons, however, make it difficult to do random sampling exclusively and instead settle for non-random sampling or a combination of the two. Gray (2009:151) says:

> In an ideal world, you would have sufficient time and resources to choose completely random samples. In the real world, due to practical constraints, you may have to choose other types of sampling techniques.

In this study we used stratified random sampling, purposive (also known as judgement) sampling and snowball sampling.

We considered the settlements occupied by the Rendille community as strata. We did not use all the Rendille settlements, owing to constraints of time and funds, but identified six

settlements; two settlements are situated far from the Isiolo-Marsabit road, while four are situated near the Isiolo-Marsabit road. The settlements are Kargi, Kor (situated far from the Isiolo-Marsabit road), Laisamis, Log-logo, Karare/Songa and Hula-hula (settlements situated near the Isiolo-Marsabit road).

Since this study was interested in examining the intergenerational transfer of language, we needed to collect data from the younger members of the community as well as the older ones. The young members comprised school-going children, those in primary school and secondary schools. Those in college were considered a bit advanced in age and were therefore treated as older members. The ages of the younger members ranged from 10 to 20 years, while the older members were above 20 years.

The younger members were sampled from the primary and secondary schools known to be attended (not necessarily exclusively) by children who hail from the Rendille settlements. The schools were:

i. Marsabit Boys Secondary School

ii. Moi Girls Secondary School- Marsabit,

iii. Bishop Cavallera Girls Secondary School

iv. Hula-hula Primary School

v. Parkishon Primary School

vi. Laisamis Primary School

vii. and Kargi Primary School.

Schools were particularly useful because as Karanja (2006:161) puts it:

> Schools are rich sites for children and youths. From the
> schools it is easier to get information on language use in
> a variety of domains.

Purposive Sampling was used in selecting the respondents who were in Secondary schools bearing a linguisticaly heterogeneous population. It was also used in Laisamis Primary school which has pupils from other linguistic groups. Purposive/judgement sampling is a type of non-random sampling in which:

> the researcher deliberately selects the subjects against
> one or more trait to give what is believed to be a
> representative sample. (Gray 2009:152)

Older members were selected using purposive sampling and snowball sampling.

Snowball Sampling is also a type of non-random sampling in which:

> the researcher identifies a small number of subjects,
> who, in turn, identify others in the population (Gray
> 2009:153).

1.10.6 Data analysis, Interpretation and Presentation

The data analysis technique that was used exhibited the traits of both qualitative and quantitative techniques. This is because the study employs a mixed research design. Gray (2009:449) points out that,

> in a survey the data gathered can be purely
> descriptive in design, but on the other hand, the
> gathering of respondent profile data provides an
> opportunity for finding associations between
> classifications of respondents and their attitudes or
> behavior, providing the potential for quantitative
> analysis.

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The questionnaires were first sorted out to detect any obvious deviations that could render the data unreliable. The variables in the LUAQ were then quantitatively analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences. Calculations for frequencies and percentages of occurrences were done. The use of percentages rather than absolute figures was preffered mainly because of the ease with which they can be interptreted. This was in agreement with Sapsford (1996:184) who says that:

> In terms of components, proportions and percentages are often more usable than absolute numbers…Actual numbers may be useful for planning purposes, but percentages are more interpretable and lend themselves more easily to useful comparison.

Records on the individuals' interviews and focussed group discussions were examined with a view to establishing patterns of language use and attitudes. The qualitative data from the interviews and observations were grouped into themes which were formulated in accordance with the study objectives and the theoretical framework.

SPSS was used to generate tables and graphs that were used to present the language use and attitude patterns emerging from the analysis. The theories adopted in the study were used in the interpretation of the results.

NOTES

[1]The population censuses conducted in 1999 and 2009 did not provide comprehensive details on ethnolinguistic distribution in the Country.

[2]The word in brackets is mine.

[3]The word in brackets is mine.

CHAPTER TWO
LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY

2.1 Introduction

The number of bilinguals and multilinguals in the world is estimated to be between half and two thirds of the world's population (Baker 2001:43). The rest of the population is made up of monolinguals. The number of bilinguals and mulitilinguals will continue to rise as a result of improved communication network, emigration and a liberal global economy. When people speaking diverse languages interact in the course of daily life, the impact of the interaction is likely to be reflected, in one way or the other, in the languages involved. Some languages are strengthened by the interaction, while others decline and, even, end up dying.

This chapter provides an overview of the distribution of languages across some regions which correspond to the geographical continents of the world. It reveals that people and languages are not evenly distributed across the continents. Some regions are endowed with many languages but with few speakers, while others have few languages but with many speakers. The chapter also addresses the possible outcome of contact between languages. It precisely highlights the threat posed to linguistic diversity by language contact and the effort put by some organizations towards safeguarding linguistic diversity. The chapter comes to its close by examining, albeit in a general way, the factors that encourage language shift, on one hand, and those that encourage language maintenance on the other.

2.2 Language Diversity

The sum of the discrete languages in the world is hard to determine. There are a number of reasons that make it difficult to accurately enumerate the languages of the world. One of them is the challenge involved in making a distinction between language and dialect (Crystal 2000). This may lead to a double counting or omission of some languages. Another reason is the question of logistical problems in gathering reliable, valid and comprehensive information about languages in large expanses such as Africa, South America and some parts of Asia where an enormous percentage of the world's languages are confined (Baker 2001:49). In Africa and Asia, for example, linguists suppose that there are many languages that have not been 'discovered' and others that are yet to be described (Karanja 2006:2).

An additional reason that makes it difficult to keep a reliable inventory of the world's languages is the language death phenomenon. That languages are dying in a shockingly faster pace than new ones are being born is a fact generally appreciated by scholars in the field of linguistics. This translates to some languages existing on record but with no living speakers. Such languages are technically dead because languages have no existence without people (Baker 2001:49).

The above challenges notwithstanding, a number of linguists have come up with estimates that can be used to provide a general impression of the statistics of languages in the world. A UNESCO Atlas of the world's languages in danger of disappearing (Wurm 1996) estimates that there are 5,000 to 6,000 existing languages in the world. This figure is close to 5,900 specified by another Atlas of the world's languages by Mosely and

Asher (1994). Lewis (2009) provides a relatively recent estimate which puts the languages in the world at 6,909. The languages are distributed across the continents as follows:

Table 2: Linguistic Distribution across the Continents

Area	Living languages		Number of speakers	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Africa	2,110	30.5	726,453,403	12.2
America	993	14.4	50,496,321	0.8
Asia	2322	33.6	3,622,771,264	60.8
Pacific	1,250	18.1	6,429,788	0.1
Europe	234	3.4	1,553,360,941	26.1
Totals	6909	100	5,959,511,717	100

Source: Adapted from Lewis (2009)

The statistics presented in Table 2 above show that Asia, Africa, and the Pacific region are home to over 80 per cent of the world's languages. The remaining less than 20 per cent are found within the confines of Europe and the Americas. Asia, which is the most populous continent with 61 per cent of the world's population, is also the continent with the highest number of languages. Europe has a population nearly half that of Asia and only 3.5 per cent of the world's languages within her territory. This implies that there are a few languages in Europe but spoken by many people.

Looking at the number of languages in every continent vis-a-vis the population in each, one is able to make important deductions regarding the 'sizes' of languages and patterns

of language choice and use. Consider the following figures in Table 3 below showing the population-language mean in the five territories enumerated in Table 2.

Table 3: The Population-Language Mean in the Five Territories

Area	Living Languages		Number of languages	
	Count	Percent	Count	Mean
Africa	2,110	30.5	726,453,403	344,291
Americas	993	14.4	50,496,321	50,852
Asia	2,322	33.6	3,622,771,264	1,560,194
Europe	234	3.4	1,553,360,941	6,638,295
Pacific	1,250	18.1	6,429,788	5,144
Total	6,909	100.0	5,959,511,717	862,572

Adapted from Lewis (2009)

As can be seen in Table 3, languages vary in 'size' depending on the number of people who speak them. Most of the languages (over 60 per cent) have less than one million speakers each. Numerically, the people who speak these languages are by far less than those who speak the less than 40 per cent which have at least one million speakers each. The situation that obtains here is that of a few languages with many speakers and many languages with a few speakers. Africa, for example, with 2,110 languages spoken among 726,453,403 people has a mean of 344,291, while Europe with only 234 languages spoken among 1,553,360,941 has a mean of 6,638,295. Clearly, then, based on numerical

considerations it is reasonable to deduce that Africa has many 'small' languages while Europe has few but 'big' languages.

The foregoing deduction is important to us because later in this thesis we shall demonstrate that there is a correlation between the number of speakers of a language and its maintenance. Language endangerment is largely viewed as a minority language phenomenon.

2.3 Language Distribution across Some Countries

The disparity in language distribution witnessed in continents above is also observable in the individual countries that constitute the various continents. Some Asian countries have many languages while others, still in the same continent, have few. The same trend is replicated in Africa. In Europe, however, there are minimal margins in the number of languages between the countries; they all generally have few languages.

Below in Table 4 is a list of the top ten countries with the most languages in the world:

Table 4: The Top Ten Countries with the Most Languages

Country	Number of Languages
Papua New Guinea	847
Indonesia	655
Nigeria	376
India	309
Australia	261
Mexico	230
Cameroon	201
Brazil	185
Ex-Zaire (DRC)	158
The Philippines	153

2.4 The Future of Language Diversity

The future of language diversity is not promising. Languages are dying at an alarming rate. A number of linguists and ethnologists working separately have provided corroborative accounts that point to an undesirable fate for most of the world's languages. According to Krauss (1992), between 20% and 50% of the existing languages are likely to die or become perilously close to death in the next 100 years. A similar view is expressed by Wurm (1996) who estimates that 50% of the world's languages are endangered. The U.S. Summer Institute of Linguistics provided startling statistics that showed that in 1999 fifty-one languages in the world had only one speaker, 500 had fewer than one hundred speakers and 1,000 were spoken by 100 to 1,000 people (Baker 2001:50, Grenoble & Whaley, (2006:18). The latest edition (2009) of Unesco's Atlas of the world's languages in danger lists 2500 languages as endangered. This figure includes 230 languages considered to have been extinct since 1950. Gordon (2005) provides a list of 516 languages which are regarded as "nearly extinct". They are distributed as follows:

Pacific languages	- 210
American languages	- 170
Asian languages	-78
African languages	-46
European languages	-12

2.5 Intergenerational Language Transmission

The passing of a language from one generation to the next is a critical factor in ensuring the vitality of a language. When languages are not being reproduced among children, chances are very high that they will die with the last persons who speak them (in this case

the parents). To illustrate the link between the 'life' of a language and its (the language's) transmission from one generation to the next Crystal (2000:11) asserts:

> A language is said to be dead when no one speaks it any more... a language is effectively dead when there is only one speaker left, with no member of the younger generation interested in learning it.

Linguists consider that a language is in danger of extinction when more than 30% of the children in a language community cease to learn it. This then means that the number of speakers of a language is a less important pointer to the survival of a language than the age distribution of the speakers. In Indonesia, for example, there are languages with as many as two million speakers but all of advanced age, their children having shifted to other languages, while the Hawaiian language which has about 1000 speakers is spoken by children as a language of instruction in school (Ethnologue 2005). On the strength of intergenerational transmission therefore, the Hawaiian language has a securer future than the Indonesian languages.

2.6 Linguistic Diversity vs Biological Diversity

Nettle and Romaine (2000) hold the strong view that cultural diversity and biological diversity are inseparable; where biodiversity and rich ecosystems exist, so do linguistic and cultural diversity. In examining the subject of language endangerment it is inevitable to take recourse to ecology. It is widely agreed that ecological diversity is essential. Crystal (2000) cited in Baker (2001:51) arguing for language diversity says:

The concept of an ecosystem is that all living organisms, plants, animals, bacteria and human beings survive and prosper through a network of complex and delicate relationships. Damaging one of the elements in the ecosystem will result in unforeseen consequences for the whole of the system... Diversity contains the potential for adaptation. Uniformity holds danger for the long-term survival of the species.

In the language of ecology, the strongest ecosystems are those that are the most diverse. This therefore suggests that there exists a proportional relationship between diversity and stability; the more variety there is the higher the chances for long-term survival.

It is because of this crucial and delicate relationship between diversity and survival that ecological conservationists are engaged in a number of programs aimed at upholding ecological diversity. Officially 7.5 % of mammals and 2.5 % of birds are listed as endangered or threatened. There are consequently enthusiastic conservation measures (Baker 2001:50). Linguists too should be engaged in more aggressive programs if 90 % of the world's languages declared as vulnerable are to be salvaged.

2.7 Efforts Made Towards Promoting Linguistic Diversity

In the words of anthropologist Bernard (1992: 82),

> Linguistic diversity . . . is at least the correlate of (though not the cause of) diversity of adaptational ideas — ideas about transferring property (or even the idea of property itself), curing illness, acquiring food, raising children, distributing power, or settling disputes.

He goes on to add that:

> By this reasoning, any reduction of language diversity
> diminishes the adaptational strength of our species
> because it lowers the pool of knowledge from which we
> can draw. We know that the reduction of biodiversity
> today threatens all of us. I think we are conducting an
> experiment to see what will happen to humanity if we
> eliminate "cultural species" in the world. This is a
> reckless experiment. If we don't like the way it turns
> out, there's no going back (Bernard 1992: 82).

2.7.1 Efforts by the United Nations

Commendably, the United Nations is implementing measures meant to 'protect, promote

and preserve all languages'. The initiative is particularly aimed at preserving linguistic

diversity as a prerequisite for the fostering of cultural diversity (UNESCO 2005c:1,

UNESCO 2005c:4). Towards this end UNESCO engages in:

i.   Awareness-raising of language endangerment and of the need to safeguard
     linguistic diversity.

ii. Local capacity-building for the safeguarding of endangered languages and
     promotion of appropriate language policies.

iii. Mobilization of international cooperation (UNESCO 2005b:11).

On 13th September 2007, the general assembly of the UN adopted an important resolution

meant to safeguard the rights of the indigenous people. The language of the indigenous

people was squarely addressed in the resolution (Resolution 61/295). In Article 13 the

resolution provides that:

> 1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and
>   transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral
>   traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to
>   designate and retain their own names for communities, places
>   and persons.

2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also to ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means.

This article implies, therefore, that a member of an indigenous community should not be denied the right to fully participate in societal/state activities on the grounds of language. Interestingly, a few months after the resolution was adopted by the UN assembly the speakers of Yu'pik, an endangered language spoken in America, instituted a lawsuit against the State of Alaska and the city of Bethel demanding further support in translating voting materials into Yu'pik (Pyatt 2008:9).Although the ruling by the court did not turn in favour of the Yu'pik speakers, a strong point had nevertheless been made regarding the extent of linguistic space which speakers of indigenous, and indeed minority, languages wish to be allowed.

The 14th article of the resolution is also concerned with the domain of language use. It is however, very categorical about the language of education. The article declares:

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.

2. Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the state without discrimination.

3. States shall, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language.

The above article is supported by the succeeding article (15) which, still addressing the language of education, says:

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information.
2. States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among indigenous peoples and all other segments of society.

The foregoing articles no doubt provide an appropriate framework for the preservation of linguistic diversity. These articles, and the entire Resolution 61/295, should serve as an impetus to the effort put by champions of cultural and linguistic diversity as well as the speakers of endangered languages who wish to see their languages revitalized. The spirit of the resolution seems to acknowledge the position held by linguists that all languages have the potential of adequately serving the socio-cultural needs of their speakers. All languages, including those spoken by the minority communities, can be elaborated and 'challenged' to perform a great deal of functions. This was well put by the speakers of an American Indian language, the Northern Ute Tribe, whose Tribal Business Committee passed resolution 84-96 in 1984 declaring:

> the Ute language is a living and vital language that has the ability to match any other in the world for expressiveness and beauty. Our language is capable of lexical expansion into modern conceptual fields such as the field of politics, economics, mathematics and science.

It should therefore not appear like asking too much when article 16 (of Resolution 61/295) says that:

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish their own media in their own languages and to have access to all forms of non-indigenous media without discrimination.

2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that State-owned media duly reflect indigenous cultural diversity. States, without prejudice to ensuring full freedom of expression, should encourage privately owned media to adequately reflect indigenous cultural diversity.

2.8 Language Death: The Causes

When language maintenance does not occur the most automatic result is language death. This is a phenomenon that may take place abruptly or persist for a long time before it gets completed. Abrupt language death is rare and when it happens it is occasioned by the annihilation of the speakers of a language by catastrophic natural causes such as earthquakes, draught, famines, epidemics or genocide. Gradual language death is common and is suspected to be the main 'route' that the endangered languages today are following. In this type of language death, the speakers or communities do not die; they become a subset of another language. The end result is language shift for the entire population. Since language shift leading to language death is the problem facing language diversity in the current century, we shall examine the phenomenon in details later in this chapter.

2.8.1 Abrupt Language Death

Dramatic accounts of the extinction of languages abound in literature. A case in point is Tasmania, once upon a time spoken in Australia. The language was first contacted by a Captain Abel Tasman, a Dutch national, in 1642. At some point the speakers of Tasmania had reached a population of 8000 people. Between 1802-1833, disease and genocide by English settlers reduced their population to about 300 people. By 1847 all the 300 had died. Only place and people's names remain of Tasmanian language today

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tasmania_Aborigine).

In South Africa /xam is a good example of a language that came to an abrupt end as a result of the death of its speakers. /xam speakers had their society shattered by warfare, starvation and disease; their women and children enslaved; the men were wiped by their enemies (Trail 2002:37), cited in Karanja (2006:38)).

2.8.2 Gradual Language Death

When Krauss (1992:4) predicts that in the long run 90% of mankind's languages will become extinct or doomed to extinction, he definitely does not imply that the speakers of these languages will all die and therefore perish with the languages. What he suggests however is that a considerable number of the world's languages will be abandoned by their supposed speakers in favour of other languages. The abandoned languages will have no one to propagate them which will ultimately lead to their death. This type of language death is brought about by shift. Language shift is not a new phenomenon; it has been going on since time immemorial. Whenever there is a close contact between two communities with different languages, shift is often a possibility. It can happen rapidly or slowly.

Before we examine the phenomenon of language shift, it would be prudent for us to highlight some pertinent points regarding language contact and its relevance to language survival or death.

2.9 Language Contact

Garret (2006:48) says that language contact occurs:

> whenever and wherever two or more human groups
> with different languages- and in most cases, different
> cultures and worldviews as well- encounter one another
> and attempt to engage in communication.

The encounter may take a variety of shapes and lifespan. To use Garret's words:

> these encounters may be intended or unintended;
> fleeting or enduring; relatively egalitarian or marked by
> significant asymmetries of power; peaceful and
> mutually beneficial or coercive, exploitative and
> otherwise detrimental to one or more of the groups
> involved (Garret 2006:48).

Studies on language contact have shown that any given instance of language contact can have a wide range of potential outcomes. The outcome of such encounters can range from the 'birth' of a new code, through stable bilingualism or multilingualism to the 'death' of one of the languages involved.

The 'birth' of a new code as a possible outcome of language contact is a rare occurrence. In sociolinguistics and anthropological linguistics, new codes that have emerged as result of language contact have been analyzed under various labels. Contact language is one such label. Contact languages are traditionally defined as:

> those languages and language varieties of varying
> degrees of stability and historical depth that are known
> historically to have emerged from situations of social
> contact of varying durations and degrees of intensity,
> among speakers of two or more previously existing
> languages(Garret 2006:48).

The best known examples of contact languages are pidgins and creoles. It is worth noting however that there are lots of controversies among linguists and anthropological linguists regarding such fundamental matters as the definition of the terms pidgin and creole, how the two differ from each other, and whether or not pidgins and/ or creoles constitute a 'special' type of language that can meaningfully be distinguished from the rest of the world's languages (Garret 2006:48).

The foregoing controversies notwithstanding, pidgins are said to generally emerge from extended or repeated (yet limited) social contact between members of two or more groups that have no language in common. Mbaabu (1996:20) describes pidgins as:

> simplified language varieties meant to be easily
> understood by the different communities in contact,
> that is, people who have no common language and
> whose native languages …are so different that they are
> mutually unintelligible.

2.10 Language Shift

As pointed out in 2.8.2 language shift is not a new phenomenon. It is a type of change that should be viewed in the same light with climatical changes. Languages are in a constant state of change. Baker (2001:58) referring to this change says " …language shift may be fast or slow, upwards or downwards, but never absent." In language planning literature, however, the term language shift is used to refer to a downwards language movement. This means that,

> there is a reduction in the number of speakers of a language, a
> decreasing saturation of language speakers in the population, a
> loss in language proficiency, or a decreasing use of that language
> in different domains (Baker 2001:59).

Language shift is brought about by a variety of factors. The set of factors that create the shift from a given language to another may not be responsible for all other cases of language shift. Brenzinger et al. (2003:10) suggest that in evaluating and measuring the level of endangerment for any language, no single factor should be considered in isolation because a language may appear relatively secure in terms of one factor but require "immediate and urgent attention due to other factors".

Conklin and Lourie (1983) compiled a list of factors that may bring about language shift and maintenance. Looking at the list however, it is apparent that the language shift in focus is one that involves immigrants rather than indigenous minorities. A lot of factors in the list are, nevertheless, common to both groups (Baker 2001:59). The factors are categorized into three broad divisions: the political, social and demographic factors: the cultural factors; and the linguistics factors. Below is the complete presentation of the factors in the three categories:

Table 5: Showing Political, Social and Demographic Factors that Enhance Language Shift and Maintenance

FACTORS ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE	FACTORS ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE LOSS (SHIFT)
1. Large number of speakers living closely together.	Small number of speakers well dispersed.
2. Recent and/ or continuing in-migration.	Long and stable residence.
3. Close proximity to the homeland and ease of travel to the homeland	Homeland remote or inaccessible.
4. Preference to return to homeland with many actually returning.	Low rate of return to homeland and/ or little intention to return and/ or impossible to return
5. Homeland community intact	Homeland language community decaying in vitality.
6.Stability in occupation	Occupational shift, especially from rural to urban
7. Employment available where home language is spoken daily.	Employment requires use of the majority language.
8. Low social and economic mobility in main occupations.	High social and economic mobility in main occupations.
9. Low level of education to restrict social and economic mobility, but educated and articulate community leaders loyal to their language community	High levels of education giving social and economic mobility. Potential community leaders are alienated from their language community by education.
10. Ethnic group identity rather than identity with majority language community via nativism, racism and ethnic discrimination	Ethnic identity is denied to achieve social and vocational mobility; this is forced by nativism, racism and ethnic discrimination

Table 6: Showing Cultural Factors that Enhance Language Shift and Maintenance

FACTORS ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE	FACTORS ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE LOSS(SHIFT)
1 Mother-tongue institutions (e.g schools, community organizations, mass media, leisure activities.	Lack of mother-tongue institutions.
2 Cultural and religious ceremonies in the home language.	Cultural and religious activity in the majority language.
3 Ethnic identity strongly tied to home language	Ethnic identity defined by factors other than language
4 Nationalistic aspirations as a language group	Few nationalistic aspirations
5 Mother-tongue the homeland national language	Mother tongue not the only homeland national language, or mother tongue spans several nations
6 Emotional attachment to mother tongue giving self identity and ethnicity.	Self-identity derived from factors other than shared home language.
7 Emphasis on family ties and community cohesion	Low emphasis on family and community ties. High emphasis on individual achievements.
8 Emphasis on education in mother tongue schools to enhance awareness	Emphasis on education in majority language.
9 Low emphasis on education if in majority language.	Acceptance of majority language education.
10 Culture unlike majority language culture	Culture and religion similar to that of the majority language.

Table 7: Showing the Linguistic Factors that Enhance Language Shift and Maintenance

FACTORS ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE	FACTORS ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE LOSS(SHIFT)
1 Mother tongue is standardized and exists in a written form	Mother tongue is non-standard and/ or not in written form.
2 Use of an alphabet which makes printing and literacy relatively easy.	Use of writing system which is expensive to reproduce and relatively difficult to learn.
3 Home language has international status	Home language of little or no international importance.
4 Home language literacy used in community and with homeland.	Illiteracy (or aliteracy) in the home language.
5 Flexibility in the development of the home language (e.g. limited use of new terms from majority language).	No tolerance of new terms from majority; or too much tolerance of loan words leading to mixing and eventual language loss.

(Adapted from Conklin and Lourie 1983, cited in Baker 2001:59).)

The foregoing lists of factors (presented in Tables 5, 6 and 7) provide a general enumeration of the factors that are important in language shift and maintenance. The factors have not been presented in terms of their relative importance. This is because (to use Baker 2001:59 words) 'the factors interact and intermingle in a complicated equation'.

The lists do not also address questions to do with duration, processes and mechanisms of language shift.

2.10.1 Mechanisms of Language Shift

As pointed out earlier (in 2.9.0), language shift can be slow or fast. The development of Caribbean Creole languages, for example, is said to have taken a century. This is a short duration relative to the period that other recorded cases of language shift have taken. Scots Gaelic was outlawed in Scotland after the 1745 Jacobite rebellion and has been on decline ever since. It survives today mainly in religion, folklore and folk medicine, traditional occupations (farming, fishing and crafts), story telling and singing (Patrick 2008).

A typical language shift involving immigrants takes three generations to complete. Baker (2001:61) calls this a 'three generation shift'. The first generations of immigrants are vibrant in their native language but begin to learn the majority language. The second generation begins the shift to the majority language by using the native language in increasingly few times with parents and the majority language in the other domains. The third generation completes the shift by using the language of the majority in exclusively

all the domains of language use. The shift is regarded effectively complete when most of the third generation immigrants are monolingual in the majority language.

The three generation shift is, though common, not the only possible pattern. There are records of other patterns. The Greeks in Pittsburgh are noted to be experiencing a four generation shift while the one time speakers of Quechua in Peru took five generations to shift to Spanish (Baker 2001:62-3).

2.11 Conclusion

In this chapter we have shown that the over 6000 languages in the world are not evenly distributed in the regions of the world. Some regions have more languages than others. We have also noted that some regions have few languages but spoken by an overwhelming majority. We have suggested that the overall number of speakers of a given language is an important indicator to the vitality of a language. It is, however, not the only one. In the chapter we have highlighted the grim reality facing linguistic diversity. We have explored some effort by various nations and organizations aimed at reversing the assault on linguistic diversity.

We have ended the chapter by juxtaposing the factors that encourage language maintenance, on one hand, and those that encourage language loss, on the other.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL FRAME OF NORTHERN KENYA

3.1 Introduction

Northern Kenya is isolated and, arguably, the least developed region in the entire country as far as basic infrastructure is concerned. The region is vast and generally dry with low rainfall and few rivers. Ominde (1965:8) describes it as:

> a region that suffers from serious moisture deficit and conditions unsuitable to agricultural activities. Over the greater part of the period the annual rainfall is likely to fall below 10 inches.

All together, there are nine county headquarters in this region which, during the colonial period and shortly after independence, was referred to as the Northern Frontier District (NFD). The counties include Garissa, Wajir, Mandera, Moyale, Turkana, Isiolo, Samburu, Marsabit and West Pokot. Geographically, the region covered by the nine counties occupies what is considered the northern and north-eastern boundaries of Kenya. The road network to a considerable section of this region is not in good condition. During rainy seasons the roads become impassable and make accessibility to the three border points a nightmare[1]. The government of Kenya, thankfully, recognized the disparity in development between the region and the rest of the country and in 2008 created a ministry that was exclusively meant to spearhead the development of Northern Kenya.

Although the region has lagged behind in development, its linguistic significance in the country is unrivalled. The region is home to a variety of linguistic groups, mainly pastoral nomadic groups, who are said to have inhabited the terrain for centuries (Schlee

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1989:31). These include Turkana, Sakuye, Gabbra, Boran, Dasenech, Somali, Samburu, and Rendille. Reports by explorers, mostly European, and studies conducted in the region by linguists, ethnographers, anthropologists and geographers reveal that Northern Kenya has had an interesting linguistic history where linguistic groups have forged and renegotiated alliances for decades. The affirming and, sometimes, the shifting of allegiance between the different ethnic groups have bolstered the survival of some languages, on the one hand, and undermined the survival of others, on the other hand.

It is because of the linguistic dynamism of Northern Kenya and the fact that the region lies in what might be considered 'migratory' entry points that, in this chapter, we deem it prudent to provide a historical examination of the region. We specifically focus our interest on the interaction between the Cushitic communities and the Nilotic communities. To begin with, we examine a prehistoric account of Northern Kenya going as far back as available literature can allow us. We, at this point, investigate the genesis of the Rendille-Samburu alliance, the birth of Ariaal Rendille, regarded as a product of the mixture of Samburu and Rendille cultures (Schlee 1989:40, Spencer 1973:130) and the dynamics of the relations between Ariaal and Rendille-Samburu. This is followed by a discussion of the situation after entrenchment of the colonial administration which brought about, among other things, confinement of some ethnic groups into separate administrative districts. The effect of independence and the resultant policies targeting the region is highlighted. One policy that will be particularly useful to us, and will therefore be accorded much attention, is one that blocked the cessation of part of Northern Kenya into Somalia.

We bring the chapter to a close by providing a 'bird's eye view' of the effect of sedentarization on language with specific reference to the pastroral Rendilles of Marsabit District.

3.2 The Precolonial Era

The precolonial history of Northern Kenya, unlike that of Southern, is not easy to 'piece' together. This is largely because of scanty written material about the area. The available written material is noted, using Spencer's (1973:146) words, to be "vague and ... quite contradictory". In the absence of reliable written history, however, historians, anthropologists, ethnologists and comparative/historical linguists resort to alternative techniques at their disposal to draw conclusions about historical processes from their results (Schlee 1989:31). One such technique, which is heavily exploited by historical linguists, is historical reconstruction.

Using the technique:

> features which cannot be explained by independent
> development serve to group languages according to the
> number and closeness of the correspondences between
> them and postulate proto-languages for groups of similar
> languages (Schlee 1989:31).

With a well executed reconstruction, it is possible to postulate certain characteristics of speakers of the proto-language and draw insightful conclusions about the geographical origin of the speakers of the language. Language is, however, not the only material used in reconstructing common origins. There are other subsystems of culture that are equally useful. Oral traditions, for example, have been used by ethnographers and anthropologists to provide fairly accurate deductions of common origin.

Gunther Schlee, an anthropologist who has worked with tribes of Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia, underscores the need to use evidence from observable cultural and linguistic facts but supplement the same with the collection and interpretation of oral traditions. To illustrate the importance of the two operating together, he envisages this scenario:

> Where, for example, a complex of ritual prescriptions and a calendar of festivities and other types of culturally conditioned behaviour mark a group as belonging to cluster X, while the language and traits of the political organization correspond to cluster Y, it seems probable that the origin of the group is to be sought in the domain of proto-X, and that the politically dominant Y have imposed their own form of political organization and their language (Schlee 1989:31).

In Northern Kenya, adoption of the language of others by members of different linguistic groups in the neighbourhood is a common phenomenon. The incidence of bilingualism/multilingualism is generally high in the region.

Deductions from available literature, archeological artifacts and interpretations of oral traditions suggest that the hot dry lowland from Lake Turkana in the west to the Juba River in the east and beyond was, and still is, inhabited, by pastoral nomads and hunter-gatherers for the last five hundred years. Ochieng (1985:1) claims in his book, <u>A History of Kenya</u>, that, as early as before the beginning of the Iron Age the people who roamed the plains and plateaus of East Africa were mainly hunters and gatherers as well as fishermen. In Kenya today, ethnolinguistic groups that are associated with a hunting/gathering lifestyle are found in areas with a considerable forest cover. They include Boni, who speak a Cushitic language and live between the lower Tana and the

Juba; the Okiek who inhabit the forests of the Eastern Rift Valley and speak a Nilotic language; the Yaaku who once spoke a Cushitic language and later shifted to a Maa language and live in Mukogodo forest in Laikipia District (Brenzinger 1992:213-218); and the Ng'wesi, said to have been speakers of Meru, a Bantu language, when they were still living in the eastern side of Mt. Kenya before relocating to Mukogodo where, like the Yaaku, they adopted a Maa language. These groups are often collectively referred to as the 'Dorobo' which is a Maa derogatory term for communities that subscribe to a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. Since, among the East African pastoralists, hunters are perceived as occupying the lowest rung in the socioeconomic ladder, the label 'Dorobo' is quite undesirable. Brenzinger (1992:2140 puts it aptly "Hunters are looked upon as being "poor", "primitive", "living like animals" etc. by the cattle herders, with all these prejudices being included in the term "Dorobo"".

As demonstrated by the foregoing cases, linguistic fidelity among the hunter-gatherer groups is a difficult affair to uphold. This is because in order to survive, members of the hunter-gatherer have had to be:

> very adaptable, trading peacefully with their neighbours,
> adopting their languages and withdrawing into areas which
> are not too popular with others (Macgoye 1986:3).

Apart from those who relied on hunting and gathering as their major means of production, there were those who depended upon fishing. In the south-eastern corner of Lake Turkana, for example, the Elmolo tribes, who live in semi-permanent villages on the beach or islands of the lake, have depended on fishing and, to some extent, hunting hippopotamus, crocodile and tortoise for their livelihood for years (Sobania 1980: 47).

An interesting fact about most hunter-gatherer groups is that politically they had no acknowledged leader and economically there were no classes among them as "nature owned all means of production in trust for everybody" (Ochieng 1985:4).

The next known people to arrive in Northern Kenya, after the hunter-gatherer groups, are Cushitic- speaking groups, particularly the southern Cushites, who were mainly pastoralists and also had some agricultural knowledge. Regarding these new comers, a Kenyan historian says:

> These pastoralists seem to have lived in East Africa for a very long period of time, perhaps as much as 3000 to 4000 years or more. They came from the Ethiopian Highlands and they brought with them their language and their pastoral skills (Ochieng 1985:4).

Elements of the culture of Cushitic herdsmen are still conspicuous today in the lifestyles of Somalis, Rendilles, Gabras, and Borans. The most notable element of this culture is a cycle of sacrificial festivals meant for the wellbeing of the livestock (Schlee 1989:32, Spencer 1973:57, Swanepoel 1985:5). These festivals, known by the name 'sorio', are conducted in accordance with the lunar calendar and are observed today by the Rendille, who maintained adherence to the Rendille African Traditional Religion (RATR); the Gabra, who speak Boran and with sections of the population practicing Gabra African Traditional Religion (GATR), Islam and, lately Christianity and by the Garre, a Somali group. The Sakuye, a community of Boran-speaking Muslims are said to have been performing the festivals until recently (Schlee 1989:32). The fact that these festivals are performed by groups with different religious affiliations and languages that, although belonging to the same broad linguistic group, are different, one may safely conclude that

they (the festivals) are pointers to a common cultural substratum which may have preceded the advent of Islam and Christianity in Northern Kenya. In articulating the claim that this aspect of the culture of nomadic pastoralists of Northern Kenya is older than Islam in the region, Schlee (1989:32), makes an observation (which might be contentious) that:

> In recent centuries pagan groups have often copied elements of Islamic culture but rarely have Muslims borrowed pagan rituals- their self awareness is too strong for this.

Fig 1: **Rendille Elders Preparing a Goat for Sorio Ceremony (Photo adopted from Fratkin 1991:27)**

The common culture is what Schlee (1989:32) calls proto-Rendille-Somali (PRS) and whose bearer spoke the Somaloid language, closely related to the Baiso languages most of which are found in Southern Ethiopia (Fleming 1964:35-96, Schlee 1989:32). Some of

the Baiso languages are spoken both in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia. The languages found both in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia are Oromo (Galla), Konso, and Burji while those found only in Southern Ethiopia include Gidole, Gato, Arbore, Warazi, Gawata, Tsamai, Geleb, Sidamo, Kambata, T'ambaro, Hadiya, Alaba, K'abena, Marak'o and Darasa (Lewis 1966:39, Schlee 1989:32). All these languages belong to the Eastern Cushitic sub-family of the broad Afro-asiatic macro-family of languages.

The Somaloid language covered quite an expansive area, what, naturally, provided a conducive 'environment' for dialect differentiation. The Gabra language is an example of what may have started off as a dialect of the Somaloid language many years ago before its speakers shifted linguistically to Borana. Rendille's differentiation, unlike Gabra's, is a relatively recent phenomenon. This accounts for the reason why, today, there is generally a considerable degree of mutual intelligibility between Rendille and Somali.

It is important to note, however, that the process of dialect differentiation was slowed by the frequent contacts between the pastoral nomads as they ranged through wide terrains in what is now part of Northern Kenya, Southern Ethiopia and Somalia (Mohlig 1976: 699ff; 1979: 115-16). Since pastoral nomads traverse hundreds of kilometers in a year, it is possible, as Schlee (1989:33) puts it, that:

> new contacts in fresh neighbourhoods occur continuously and with them new alliances and antagonisms, new links by fraternization, marriage, adoption, capture, vassaldom, trade and so on. These lead to linguistic approximation and cultural exchange.

Andrzejewski (1964) supposes that owing to the high degree of reciprocity of linguistic influence among the languages of the Eastern Cushitic group, it is difficult to convincingly isolate regular phonetic equivalences between the single languages in the group.

Below in Table 8 is an interesting attempt by Spencer (1973:146) at comparing some languages of East Africa using lexical items.

Table 8: A Comparison of Some East African Languages (adapted from Spencer 1973:146)

	Dasenech	Elmolo	Boran	Somali	Rendille	Samburu	Maasai	Turkana	Bari	Pokot	Yaaku	Linguistic group
Dasenech	—	28	15	14	20	6	5	2	1	3	7	Cushitic
Elmolo	28	—	20	14	25	4	3	2	1	2	7	
Boran	15	20	—	18	19	3	2	4	2	0	6	
Somali	14	14	18	—	38	5	4	6	1	2	5	
Rendille	20	25	19	38	—	5	4	4	2	2	7	
Samburu	6	4	3	5	5	—	95	25	19	13	8	Nilo-hamitic
Maasai	5	3	2	4	4	95	—	23	21	11	9	
Turkana	2	2	4	6	4	25	23	—	20	8	5	
Bari	1	1	2	1	2	19	21	20	—	10	6	
Pokot	3	2	0	2	2	13	11	8	10	—	6	
Yaaku	7	7	6	5	7	8	9	5	6	6	-	
Linguistic group	Cushitic					Nilo-hamitic						

The comparison in Table 8, above pits languages from two very distinct linguistic groups found in East Africa, and particularly in Northern Kenya, the Nilo-hamitic and the Cushitic group. Spencer (1973:146), a renowned anthropologist bases his comparison on the number of similarities in a sample of 100 'commonly' used words. He, however, does not shade light on the criteria used to determine that the vocabulary used in the investigation is what is commonly used by the speakers of these languages on a day to day basis. We assume that the procedure used to identify these vocabularies is what is used in both historical linguistics and anthropological linguistics. In these studies, a set of cognates[2] is obtained from what is regarded as the basic vocabulary. In every language, there are words that are known to exhibit more resistance to such forces of change as borrowing, obsolescence and analogy than other words in the language. These words constitute the basic vocabulary, also known as the core vocabulary. The core vocabulary can be obtained from five sources, these include:

i.   Kinship terms (words used for father, mother, siblings, uncles, aunts, etc.)

ii.   The terms for lower numerals (this is usually numbers 1-9)

iii. Names of body parts (e.g. head, hand, leg, neck, etc.)

iv.   Names of seasons (e.g. day-time, night, rainy season, dry season, etc.)

v.   Names of natural and supernatural phenomena (names of deity, lightening, sky, death, etc.)

Now going back to the comparison depicted in Table 8, we note that for languages that are within each group, the incidence of similarity is higher (generally above 10) than is

the case in languages across the two linguistic groups (the incidence is below 10). It is

only Yaaku that does not seem to clearly fall into either group. From the figures in the

table, it is noteworthy that the incidence of similarity between Samburu and Maasai is

remarkably high. It is the highest in the table followed by the incidence of similarity

between Rendille and Somali. Regarding the similarity between Samburu and Maasai,

one would be justified to qualify the two as dialects of one language since the degree of

dissimilarity is only five percent. This reinforces the belief held by the Samburu that they

were at one time a branch of the Laikipiak Maasai (Spencer 1973: 147).

The closeness between Rendille and Somali as depicted in Table 8, above while

suggestive of a history when the two were varieties of one language, also indicates that

the two have been apart for a considerable time during which period each variety

acquired some significant uniqueness. The two may not now be reckoned as dialects of

one language.

A significant language group that seems not to have captured the attention of Spencer

(1973: 146) in his comparative analysis is the Warra Daaya (in some literature also

known by the names Wardeh or Warday (Schlee 1989:35). The Warra Daaya, who are

affiliated to the Oromo people, are said to have been pushed from their original

homeland in Southern Ethiopia by the Boran, also an Oromo group, into Kenya where

they are believed to have occupied an expansive portion of northern and eastern Kenya.

They were, however, killed and others captured by the Somalis in the late Nineteenth and

early Twentieth Century. The remnants of these atrocities were, for safety reasons,

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restricted by the colonial administration along the banks of River Tana, where some of them are found to date.

Regarding the Warra Daaya's presence in Northern Kenya, Schlee (1989:37) asserts:

> It was the Warra Daaya who drove the first wedge into the settlement area of the proto-Rendille-Somali, which had been continuous, and separated the Rendille in the west from the Somali in the east.

He also adds:

> In the period of their widest extension the Warra Daaya inhabited- although presumably not alone and not permanently- the whole country from the Ethiopian highlands down to the ocean and from Marsabit to beyond the Juba (Schlee (1989:37).

Two major phenomena that shaped Northern Kenya and whose impact is still felt to date began in the Sixteenth Century. The first is the Oromo expansion. The Borana aggressively advanced their influence, beginning from Dirre and Liban in Ethiopia which are regarded as the cradleland of Boran, to the surrounding areas and to the point of assuming a hegemonial position in northern Kenya. The Borana succeeded in establishing a network in which diverse tribes of different origins were kept in "a loose internally peaceful association" whose undisputed centre of ritual power was the Boran through their two priest-kings (Schlee (1989:37).The tribes that were under the Boran hegemony paid livestock tribute to the priest-kings. Not all ethnic groups, however, submitted to the Boran hegemony. Oral traditions among the Sakuye, the Garre, and the Ajuran suggest that at some point there was a massive exodus out of the triangle Moyale- Wajir-Mandera to the south-east. Similar tales are also recounted among the Gabra and Rendille who moved to the opposite direction. It is noted that:

These migrations are of great importance for the genesis
and scattered distribution of the present-day ethnic groups,
in the Garre's case from Moyale to... Mogadishu (Schlee
(1989:38).

The Boran federation was defeated and ousted from their position in the late Nineteenth

and early Twentieth century by two groups; a group from northern Somalia and the

British.

The second phenomenon is the islamisation of the proto-Somali. This is assumed to have

taken place mainly through immigration of the Muslim Somali, possibly from

Mogadishu, who upon getting to northern Kenya easily identified and affirmed local

lineages. During the Boran hegemony, however, mass conversion into Islam was not

common as the Boran were not enthusiastic about the 'new' faith. The Boran "may not

have been against Islam but certainly they did not favour it either" (Schlee (1989:40).

This position is still noticeable today among the Boran who mainly subscribe to the

Borana African Traditional Religion (BATR). Lately, however, there have been incidents

of conversion into Islam and Christianity among the Boran.

It was after the Boran domination was ousted that Islam showed signs of thriving in

northern Kenya. Among the ethnic communities that embraced Islam during this period

are Ajuran, Garre, and a few Gabbras.

Interestingly, as the two processes, Boranisation and Islamization, were affecting the

region, the Rendille remained virtually unscathed. Unverified oral narratives, however,

abound among the Rendille that suggest that the Rendille and Somali once shared a common religion, Islam, but parted ways when the former dispensed with Islam and abandoned the Quran on a hill named in Rendille Hali Lukhum Deer and in Samburu Loodo Murt. The English translation of the name of the hill is the "the long neck hill (personal communication with Alice). The hill is situated around Laisamis which is now one of the districts in the Rendille territory. In the early and mid seventeenth century, the Rendille community began to experience a significant influence from Maa speakers. During this period two offshoots of Rendille developed around the same time but from different Maa speaking groups. Schlee (1989:41) provides an account of the genesis of one of the off-shoots:

> In perhaps about 1830 a settlement cluster of Rendille which contained different clans- call it a cross-section of Rendille - ventured far in search of pasture and water and for four or five age-sets (some sixty years) lost contact with the Rendille. They settled to the west of the Mountain with the White Neck (Mount Kenya) in the low-lands and ...lived in close association with an alien people (the Laikipiak or other Maasai?). This offshoot of the Rendille came to be called Kirima.

The foregoing account is corroborated by Spencer (1973:153) who refers to this offshoot of the Rendille as Kirimani and observes:

> The close relationship between the camel-owning Rendille-speaking Kirimani and the cattle-owning Maasai-speaking Laikipiak is thought to have been very similar to that between the Rendille and the Samburu today.

It is noteworthy that the Kirimani off-shoot, unlike the other offshoot which we shall examine shortly, seems to have had a strong sense of language loyalty; they did not lose their language in spite of heavy contact with the Laikipiak Maasai. The Kirimani

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Rendille, however, did not exist for long because they suffered annihilation from a tribe related to them. There is no consensus regarding who, between the Rendille proper and the Ariaal Rendille, decimated the Kirimani Rendille. We have Schlee (1989:42), for example, on the one hand, who claims that it is the Rendille (presumably, Rendille proper) who killed most of them and reincorporated the survivors. Spencer (1973:153), on the other hand, claims that the Kirimani Rendille were utterly routed by another offshoot of Rendille who, like the Kirimani, were cattle-owners but, unlike them, were bilingual in Rendille and Samburu. The Rendille proper are said to have preferred not to be associated with the rout of their kinsmen and did not therefore take part in it (Spencer 1973:153). The Rendille offshoot purported to have killed the Kirimani Rendille is known as Ariaal[3].

3.2.1 Genesis of Ariaal[4]

Anthropologists who have investigated the genesis of Ariaal as an offshoot of Rendille seem to agree that the group became distinct in the nineteenth century (Fratkin 1991:18; Spencer 1973:153; Schlee 1989:40). What lacks consensus, however, is the circumstances and the linguistic groups that contributed to the 'birth' of Ariaal as a socio-cultural group.

Fratkin (1991:18), for example, says that Ariaal is a social formation:

> created by immigrants from Rendille and Samburu (as well as Boran, Dasenech, Maasai, and Turkana) who came together in western Marsabit during the period of draought, warfare, and disease of the later 19th century.

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Spencer (1973:130) who was among the first anthropologists to report the existence of Ariaal claims that the group is made up of a mixture of people some of whom descended from Rendille proper and others from Samburu. Schlee (1989:40), apparently, shares a similar view with Spencer regarding the groups that played a pivotal role in the formation of Ariaal when he says:

> In the area between the Ewaso-Ngiro in the south, a mixed culture developed among the ancestors of the Samburu and the Rendille: the Ariaal, bilingual and interested in both camels and cattle.

Nick and Lynn Swanepoel (1983:2) describe Ariaal as:

> Rendille who claim to have left Rendille proper clans to form six new clans. Five of the six clans speak Rendille while one... speaks only Samburu. They have all adopted some Samburu customs, mainly with regard to the circumcision ceremony. Whereas the Rendille are by and large camel herders, the Ariaal have now become predominantly cattle keepers.

From the foregoing accounts it appears that in recounting the beginnings of Ariaal it is unavoidable to mention Samburu. The Rendille and Samburu have been allies for many generations. Spencer suggests that this closeness is based on the non-competitiveness of the herding strategies of the two groups; camels graze in lowland deserts while cattle need the water and grasses of the highlands (Spencer: 1973:5; Fratkin 1991:23).

Interestingly, although the Ariaal may have descended from the alliance of Samburu-Rendille they perceive themselves as a distinct society but are fully aware of the ambiguity in their identity. They are neither fully Samburu nor Rendille, but a mixture of the two. They exploit this ambiguity to their advantage. They can access the resources of

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the cattle economy such as grazing fields and water, controlled by the Samburu, as well as the camel economy and the rituals associated with it which are controlled by the Rendille (Schlee1989:9). The two groups are not ignorant of the ambiguous identity of the Ariaal either. This dilemma is well captured by remarks made by an Ariaal elder (recorded by Fratkin (1991:24):

> We're really something in between Samburu and Rendille. We are not something different, we are really both things together. We live in Rendille country, keep camels, and follow camel rites like *soriu* (sic.) and *almhado*. Although we stay away from the *galgulumi* (Rendille age-set initiation ritual) as we do not think the Rendille want us there, we do send our camels there to be blessed. Our houses are Rendille and we speak both languages. Yet we also keep cattle, we follow the Samburu *mugit* (age-set rites), and speak in Samburu language. If I was in Nairobi and someone asked me who I was, I would say Samburu. But when I'm in Maralal (the capital of Samburu District), they call me "filthy Rendille", and when I'm in Korr (a Rendille centre), they call me Ariaal.

A similar sentiment is expressed by Fratkin in one of his recent publications,

> The Ariaal are affiliated with the Samburu clans and age-sets and are considered Samburu by the Rendille, yet because they also speak Rendille and keep camels as well as cattle the Samburu treat them as Rendille. (Fratkin 2004:5).

Below in Table 9 are age-set names and the year of initiation for the Samburu, Ariaal, and Rendille.

Table 9 Showing Age-Set Names and the Year of Initiation for the Samburu, Ariaal, and Rendille. Adopted from Fratkin (2004:47). See also Spencer (1973:150-165); Schlee 1989:76).

Samburu		Ariaal		Rendille	
Kipayang	c. 1823	Kipayang	c. 1824		
Kipeko	c. 1837	Kipeko	c. 1838	Kipeko	c. 1839
Kiteku	c. 1851	Kiteku	c. 1852	Libaale	c. 1853
Tarigirik	c. 1865	Tarigirik	c. 1866	Dibgudo	c. 1867
Merikon	c. 1879	Merikon	c. 1880	Dismala	c. 1881
Terito	c. 189	Terito	c. 1894	Irbangudo	c. 1895
Merisho	c. 1912(delayed)	Merisho	c. 1910	Difgudo	c. 1910
Kiliako	c. 1921	Kiliako	c. 1922	Irbaalis	c. 1923
Mekuri	c. 1936	Mekuri	c. 1937	Libaale	c. 1937
Kimaniki	c. 1948	Kimaniki	c. 1951	Irbandif	c. 1951
Kishili	c. 1962	Kishili	c. 1964	Difgudo	c. 1965
Kororo	c. 1976	Kororo	c. 1978	Irbangudo	c. 1979
Moli	c. 1990	Moli	c. 1992	Moli	c. 1993

Looking at the table above it is apparent that the three groups have a similar interval within which they conduct their initiation rites; they all name a new age-set after approximately fourteen years. The Samburu are the first to initiate boys into warriorhood followed, usually in the succeeding year, by the Ariaal and after, approximately, one year the Rendille carry out their initiation. The close association between the Samburu and the Ariaal is clearly demonstrated by shared names for the agesets. The Rendille have different names for their agesets except for two instances when they shared names with the Samburu and Ariaal; the Kipeko and Moli agesets are used by the three groups in naming the agesets whose years of initiation were 1837-1839 and 1990-1993 respectively.
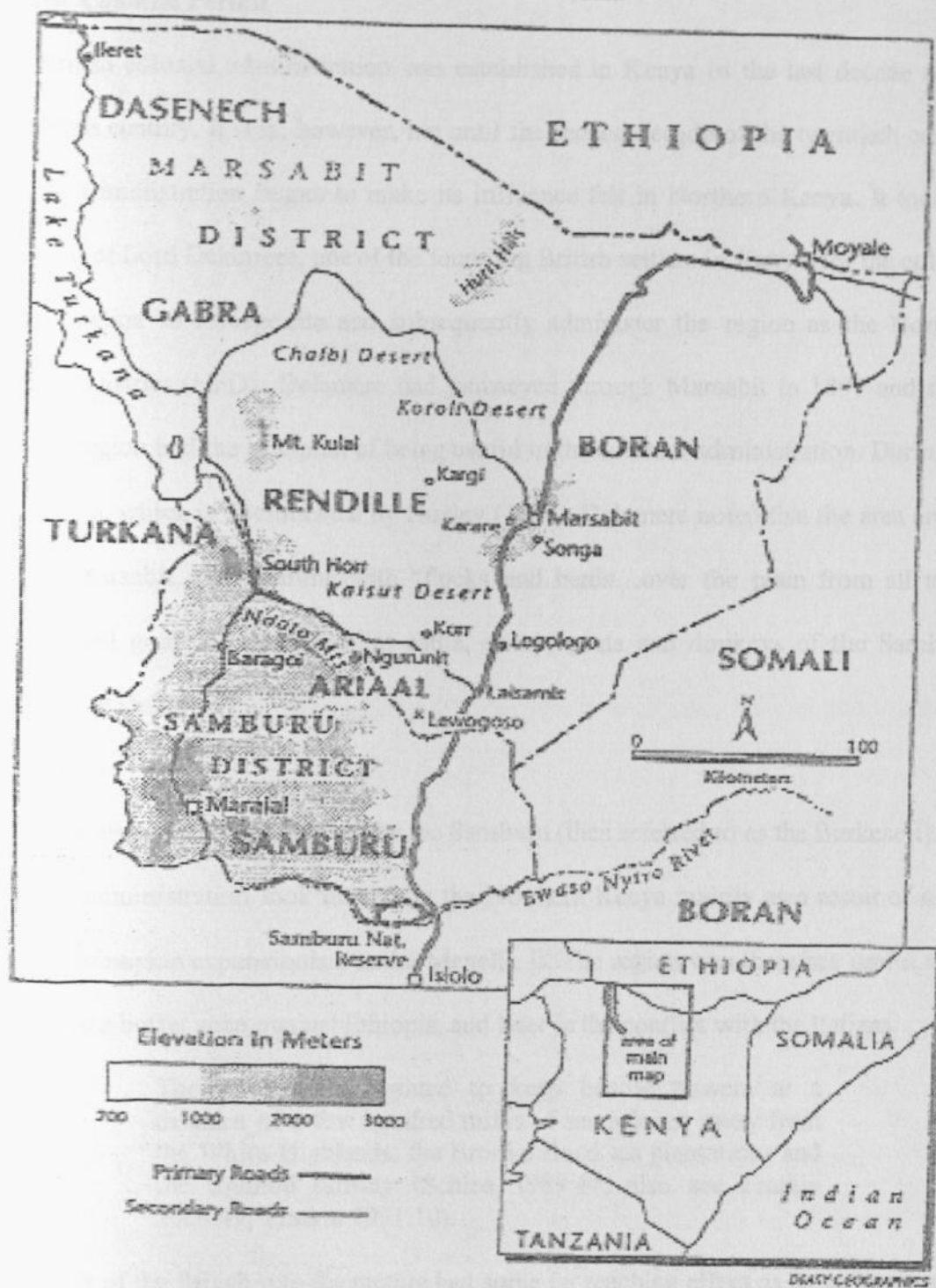
Fig.2 A Map of a Section of Northern Kenya Showing the Location of Rendille, Ariaal, Samburu, Borana, Dasenech, Turkana and Somali (adopted from Fratkin and Smith 1995:437).

3.3 The Colonial Period

The British colonial administration was established in Kenya in the last decade of the nineteenth century. It was, however, not until the second decade of the twentieth century that the administration began to make its influence felt in Northern Kenya. It took the appraisal of Lord Delamere, one of the founding British settlers in Kenya, for the colonial administration to incorporate and subsequently administer the region as the Northern Frontier District (NFD). Delamere had journeyed through Marsabit in 1897 and noted that the region had the potential of being useful to the colonial administration. During the expedition, which is documented by Huxley (1935), Delamere noted that the area around Mount Marsabit was teeming with "flocks and herds...over the plain from all sides- camels and goats of the Rendille; cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys of the Samburu" (Huxley 1935:37)

Marsabit was virtually possessed by the Samburu (then referred to as the Burkeneji). The colonial administration took interest in the Northern Kenya mainly as a result of a race against Ethiopian expansionism under Menelik II. The region was therefore useful to the British as a buffer zone against Ethiopia, and later in the conflict with the Italians.

> The government wanted to keep hostile powers at a
> distance of a few hundred miles of semi-desert away from
> the White Highlands, the Brooke Bond tea plantations and
> the Uganda railway (Schlee 1989:44; also see Fratkin
> 2004:49; Fratkin 1991:10).

The entry of the British into the picture had some far reaching effect as far as the struggle for power in the region was concerned. The Somali, particularly the Islamic Darood, had been advancing steadily encroachingly on territories controlled by the Boran hegemony.

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The British joined forces with Boran against the Somali. This alliance, however rather than serving as a blessing to the Boran turned out be a curse to their cause. The British sought to curtail the endless conflict over pasture and water between the pastoral communities by drawing tribal boundaries which initially distinguished between two major categories: 'Somali'and 'Galla'. The 'Galla' territory accommodated the Boran, Gabra, Ajuran among others while the 'Somali' portion accommodated such tribes as the Degodia and other subgroups of Somali. Maintaining the Galla-Somali line was a difficult task; there were numerous cases of boundary violations especially during dry seasons. Interestingly, whenever there was a renegotiation of the Galla-Somali line, it is the Galla (Boran) who were on the losing end while the Somali gained. In 1932, for example, the Boran had to give up the wells of Wajir, at the behest of the British, and were compensated with what is now Isiolo District, much farther west (Schlee 1989:47). The British had to push the Samburu from Isiolo to create room for the 'new comers'. By trusting the territorial guarantees given by the British the Boran's supremacy kept dwindling. This was made worse when the colonial administration outlawed possession of guns and horses by those under the British protection. Horses were reckoned as weapons of warfare and giraffe poaching. The Boran were known traditionally to use horses in their raids which made them to be tactically superior since,

> they could stampede a camel herd by beating against their
> shields and drive them away at a gallop in broad daylight,
> without any fear that the the Rendille would catch them.
> The panicking camels would simply follow the horses
> (Schlee (1989:47).

The British were, however, successful in enforcing such prohibitions only among their 'friends' (Boran being one of them) and not among their adversaries. This measure by the

colonial administration resulted in an indirect furthering of Somali interests (Schlee 1989:47). By 1930s the relative strength and military prowess of the Boran-centred alliance had waned while the Somali continued to gain more ground.

3.3.1 The Rendille and Samburu under Colonial Rule

With the entrenchment of colonial rule in Kenya, the lifestyle of many communities was disrupted. This was very conspicuous especially among the pastoral communities occupying parts of central and northern Kenya. Regulations were imposed upon the Rendille, Samburu, Turkana, and Boran regarding their grazing culture. They were "confined to specific "tribal grazing areas" and prohibited from moving onto other groups' lands". The Rendille herding range was reduced from 57,600 km^2 to 8000 km^2 (Fratkin 2004:39).

Another pastoral group that suffered extensive loss of important grazing lands is the Maasai. Through carefully crafted treaties (in 1904 and 1911) by the colonial administration the Maasai were moved from the rich savannas around Lakes Nakuru and Naivasha to south of the railway line into present day Kajiado and Narok Districts. The Samburu were forced in 1934 to surrender the Laikipiak plains to the European cattle ranchers and settle in the Leroki Plateau in present day Samburu District (Fratkin 2004:27; Kyle 1999:9).

The Samburu and Rendille were confined to separate districts by the colonial administration in 1921. The boundary shared between the groups was demarcated by

drawing lines on the map taking due consideration of the water points shared by both groups. The boundary drawn, however, was not water tight and the colonial administration was fully aware of this. This is because as Spencer notes:

> The close affinity between the two tribes had long been recognized, and it had been agreed by past administrators to adopt an essentially permissive policy towards the boundary ...which both tribes shared. Members of either tribe were officially allowed to take their stock to graze across this line, but were not permitted to build settlements on the wrong side Spencer (1973:193-194).

In 1934 the government transferred the control of the district occupied by the Samburu to the Rift valley, leaving Rendille in the Northern Frontier District (NFD). This separation did not, however, have any consequence on the Samburu-Rendille relationship; intermarriages between them continued as well as the traditional linking of the age-sets (Spencer 1973:165).

Below in Table 10 is an illustration of incidence of intermarriages between Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille during that period.

Table 10: Incidence of Intermarriage between Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille

Tribe of husband	Tribe of wife				Sample size
	Samburu	Ariaal	Rendille	Others	
A. Samburu (past generation)	78	5	16	1	110
B. Samburu (present generation)	83	8	7	2	149
C.Samburu (ex-Rendille families)	72	11	13	4	75
D. Well established Ariaal	9	16	74	1	70
E. New Ariaal (ex-Rendille)	3	47	43	7	30
F. Rendille proper	1.5	15	82.5	1	121

Adopted from Spencer (1973:138)

From the table above it is apparent that while most grooms seem to have a preference for brides from their own cultural groups, there is a significant number that gets their brides from the other groups. The Ariaal men, to be precise, seem to exhibit a remarkably higher propensity for Rendille girls than their own girls. The Samburu grooms too demonstrate a liking for the Rendille brides only second to brides from their own cultural group. Clearly, then, from the statistics presented in the table, out of the three groups, the Rendille are the ones losing their women more to the other groups than the other groups are losing to Rendille or to one of the other groups. Spencer (1973:138) attributes this state of affairs to two factors. The first one has to do with the Rendille custom of delaying marriage for men coupled by the fact the Rendille are largely monogamous. This creates a situation in which there is a surplus of marriageable women but with few available suitors among the Rendille. The second one has to do with the Samburu's, and by extension Ariaal's, custom of polygamy. Spencer (1973:138) observes that any shortage of marriageable women owing to polygamy among the Samburu and Ariaals is readily mitigated by the surplus registered among the Rendille. The same view is held by Fratkin (2004:38). This explains why in the table the incidence of Samburu and Ariaal men marrying Rendille women is relatively higher than the incidence of Rendille men marrying women from the two groups or the two groups marrying from one another.

3.4 The Post Colonial Period

As noted earlier the colonial administration did not have a serious agenda regarding the northern Kenya; the region was only used for security reasons, specifically, as a buffer zone to guard against attack by the Italians who 'owned' Somalia then. The colonialists' apathy for development of northern Kenya was discernable to the residents of the region.

The politics and efforts by the Africans towards emancipation from the colonial rule did not seem to articulate the interests of the "northerners' either. The notable leaders of trade unions and major political parties agitating for the country's independence were largely from central and western Kenya. The people from NFD were apprehensive and consequently formed political parties that would articulate their interests. One of the leading parties in the region was Northern Peoples Progressive Party (NPPP) whose headquarter was in Wajir (The Standard,Saturday 6th Nov. 2010: 10).

During the count down to Kenya's independence the political leaders from northern Kenya increasingly expressed their wish to break away from Kenya and be reckoned as part of Somalia. One of the strong advocates for the secession, Muhamed Stanbul Abdi Ibrahim, in an interview with a newspaper reporter said that one of their motivations in the struggle for secession was:

> We wanted to avoid being assimilated and to emancipate ourselves from British discrimination that would have manifested itself when the country got independence (the Standard, 6. November, 2010).

3.4.1 The 1962 Referendum

In what might be interpreted more as a further demonstration of the British disinterest in the northern Kenya than a case of yielding to pressure, a referendum was organized in 1962 to determine the fate of a huge section of northern Kenya where secession matters were concerned. The team overseeing the referendum was mandated "to ascertain and report public opinion in the NFD regarding the wish to break away from Kenya" (Schlee

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1989:51; Standard, 6. November, 2010:1). The referendum was carried out in August 1962 in form of public hearing meetings.

According to a report, which was not made public, by the then Secretary of State for Colonies, Duncan Sandys, the pro-secession won with a landslide; 87 per cent supported secession while the rest opted to remain in Kenya. Those who opted to remain in Kenya were mostly from Marsabit and the communities living along the river Tana. The Rendille were among the communities that voted against secession. For thwe Rendille not support secession may appeared ironical given that one of their own, in the person of Alex Adichare, was serving then as the vice-President of NPPP. Mr Adichare later became one of the longest serving members of parliament representing the Rendille community.

In 1963, Sandys made an announcement that would impact heavily on the destiny of "independent" northern Kenya. He said that the results of the referendum revealed that the people were against secession. This announcement was made on the brink of Kenya's independence. Regarding the referendum and its purported outcome the anthropologist Gunther Schlee observes:

> It would have been better if the referendum had never been held. To hold a referendum and then to act contrary to its results is asking for trouble: trouble not for the British who withdrew but for the Kenyans who took over. Because of the referendum, central Kenya knew exactly what to think about northern and war was the immediate result (Schlee 1989:51).

Following the announcement by Sandys, a team comprising of six leaders from NFD who were pro-secession sought audience with the British government in London to argue for their secession case but their efforts bore no fruit. This disappointment compounded by a series of frustrations from the authorities sparked what came to be referred to as the "shifta"[5] war that lasted for about five years.

Fig 3: A Meeting (baraza) Convened to Discuss Secession Issues in Northern Kenya in the Early 1960s (photo: the Standard, Saturday, November 6, 2010)

3.4.1.1 Effect of the Shifta war on languages in Northern Kenya

Kenya attained its independence from the British on 12th December 1963. It was in the same year that guerrilla actions from the pro-secessionists began targeting the

government of the day for dishonouring the wishes of the majority of northern Kenya population. The new republic had barely recovered from the atrocities of colonialism when it embarked on this war with a section of its population. The Somali community was in the forefront in this war which they largely perceived as the only way to liberate themselves from the discrimination that had been started by the British and was certainly being inherited by the new republic.

It is worth noting, however, that while not all communities from northern Kenya participated in the war, almost every community in the region bore the brunt of the war, in one way or the other. The armed insurrection steered by Northern Kenyan guerrillas destabilized operations in the region as the guerrillas would mine major roads with sophisticated explosives, attacking government officials and missionaries, and halting the economy in many parts of the north (Fratkin 1998:35). The Kenya government making use of the machinery at its disposal, in what is perceived to date by some human rights activists as use of excessive force, tried to quell the uprising. Fratkin (1998:35) describes the Kenya government's reaction in the following terms:

> The Kenya government responded with force, aided by the British air support stationed in Nanyuki. Muslim populations including Somali, Sakuye, and Waso Boran were settled in fifteen "strategic villages" (or "daba") enclosed by barbed wire. Camel herds were shot as "supporting the enemy," and residents found a mile outside the villages were considered *shifta* and arrested or shot.

What caused Kenya's first civil war

Sultan who opposed break away idea

By BONIFACE ONGERI and ADOW JUBAT

Forty six years ago, Omar Shuriye Hassan said the only good thing coming out of Somalia is sun. Shuriye was one of the people vehemently opposed to North Eastern Province's bid to become part of Somalia.

Shuriye was the Sultan (King) of the Abdalla sub clan of the larger Ogaden. He had called a baraza in Ijara in 1964 and was taken to task over his refusal to join others in the province agitating for a breakaway.

Bille Mohammed, 74, said Shuriye had predicted Somalia would one day fall because of civil strife.

"He urged the community to remain in Kenya so that when Somalia collapsed they would not be left desperate," Bille recalls.

He was killed soon after in his palace in Ijara, which was then the headquarters for those opposing the secession, was captured by members of Abduwak sub clan.

His bodyguard and two people who had come to rescue him were also killed. He was shot in the chest after a fierce battle with the killers. When he was killed, one of his bodyguards, Corporal Ahmed Korio Nut, ran 55 miles from Ijara to Lamu to report the matter. After Shuriye's death, those in his Abdalla clan opposed to the agitation to join Somalia

GSU officers on guard with their rifles and sten guns in the North Eastern region in 1964.
BELOW:
The 1963 letters by NPPPP to the Colonial government demanding for immediate secession to Somalia that set the stage for the bloody shifta war that ended in 1968.

[PHOTO: FILE/STANDARD]

Fig 4: A Section of Kenyan Paramilitary Officers on Guard in 1964 During the Shifta War in Northern Kenya (photo: the Standard, Saturday, November 6, 2010).

As all this was happening, interestingly, the Borana, Rendille and Sakuye were not in good terms with the Somalis and would have easily joined sides with the government had the latter solicited for their support. The government on its part, however, could not envisage any allies from northern Kenya because it "mistrusted everybody who lived as a nomad" (Schlee 1989:51).

As a result of the mistrust by the government, on the one hand, and the general feelings of enmity between them and the Somali, on the other, some communities found themselves in a rather precarious situation. The Sakuye, for example, were suspected by the government to be supplying the guerrilla fighters, mostly Somalis, with food and shelter. This could not have been the case because the same Sakuyes were regarded as enemies by the Somalis and were frequent subjects of Somali raids. The Sakuye consequently, suffered a heavy loss which was brought about partly by raids from the Somalis and attacks executed by agents of the government. In order to bring an end to the purported supply of food and shelter to the guerrillas, the government "machine-gunned" the Sakuye camel herd. The effect of this atrocity is still felt among the Sakuye today, many years after the war, because camels have a very low reproduction rate and therefore building their herd again has been a difficult task. No wonder, then, a considerable percentage of the Sakuye live as peri-urban paupers around Isiolo and other towns (Schlee 1989:51; Fratkin 1998:35).

The experience during the shifta war weakened Sakuye to the extent that identifying oneself as a Sakuye is deemed no longer attractive. The community identifies itself with and speaks Boran, a language that was originally unrelated to Sakuye (Schlee 1989:3).

One would have expected peace and calm to return to northern Kenya with the ending of the war in 1968. This was, however, not the case. The region remained unsafe for about three decades long after the war. There emerged a gang of marauders who

obtained guns from Somalia in the pretext that they were joining the Somalia government in the fight against the Ethiopian government over the contested Ethiopian Ogaden. They diverted the guns into northern Kenya where they used them to rob, initially from non-Somalis and later, indiscriminately. Security in northern Kenya was at it lowest ebb in 1980 when:

> Isiolo District was flooded by pastoral Somali from Wajir and Mandera who were fleeing from constant harassment by their fellow Somali, who roamed about robbing and raping at gunpoint (Schlee 1989:52).

The period between early eighties and the beginning of the twenty first century witnessed increased involvement by the government towards securing the region by bringing an end to banditry activities. Through massive campaigns involving the provincial administration, mainly chiefs and assistant chiefs, and use of security escorts to vehicles visiting the region, highway robberies have reduced drastically. Also contributing to the improved security on the highway is the tarmacking of some sections of the major roads in the region. The tarmarcking of the Mwingi-Garissa road was completed in 1993. The road is significant administratively as it is the shortest route that links Nairobi, the country's capital city and political headquarters, with Garissa, the headquarters of the North-Eastern province.

Another important road the tarmacking of which would go a long way in enhancing security and opening up the region for development, is the Isiolo- Moyale road. This road constitutes part of the Great North Road[6]. The government of Kenya in partnership with the African Development Bank (ADB) has successfully funded the first phase of the road from Isiolo to Merrille River. Work on this first phase was completed at the end of 2010.

The continued development of infrastructure as evidenced by construction of roads is certainly going to have some impact in the way the nomadic people of northern Kenya go about their lives. The region is going to open up for increased trade. There is certainly going to be an influx of investors from other parts of the country as well as international investors. This is predictably going to bring about growth of the existing urban centres and establishment of other centres. The urban economy and other 'niceties' associated with urban life are likely to tempt a good number of people, previously given to a nomadic lifestyle, to consider a sedentary lifestyle[7].

3.5 Sedenterization and its Effect on Language in Marsabit District

Events in Marsabit district following the shifta war and a series of droughts which occurred in quick succession provide us with a snap shot of what is likely to be witnessed among the nomads of northern Kenya when sedentarization is fully entrenched in the region. Marsabit district is one of Kenya's largest and least populated districts located between Lake Turkana and Mt. Marsabit and bordering Ethiopia (Fratkin and Smith 1995:437). Among the earliest inhabitants of Marsabit district are the Rendille, Borana and Gabra. These communities are known to practice pastoral economies and a nomadic lifestyle since time immemorial. The Rendille are said to have started sedentarization in the early 1960s when Northern Kenya experienced civil war and social dislocation following the Somali-led secession movement (Fratkin and Smith 1995:438). The small towns in the Rendille territory are relatively young. Most of these towns began as famine-relief food distribution centres following severe droughts in the first two decades after Kenya's independence.

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About the growth of small towns among the Rendille, Fratkin (1989:39-) says:

> The towns that developed after the 1970s initially attracted the poorest Rendille- those impoverished and wiped by both the 1973 and 1984 droughts, as well as a few enterprising shopkeepers and livestock entrepreneurs (mainly Somali). Those Rendille with livestock continued to remain in the pastoral economy. While stock owners (i.e., senior males) preferred to keep their animals at some distance from the towns, using the traditional methods of mobile livestock camps for non-milking animals, the towns were attractive for women and small children owing to mechanized pumps, schools, and dispensaries.

Settlement in towns provided the Rendille with additional economic strategies; a good number of those living in towns earn their living as shopkeepers, household servants, livestock brokers and wage earners with the government, non-governmental organizations, and the construction industry. These alternative strategies of eking a living offer the Rendille an opportunity of interacting with speakers of other languages. Increased contact between different speech communities may result to, among other outcomes, individual/societal multilingualism and, in some cases language shift. In a subsequent chapter we shall demonstrate that individual multilingualism is higher among the Rendilles living in or near towns than among those living in rural areas and that language shift is less noticeable among the Rendilles living in rural areas than those inhabiting towns.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have pointed out that the earliest inhabitants of northern Kenya were communities that subscribed to a hunter-gatherer lifestyle of subsistence. They, however, did not remain in the region for long as hordes of nomadic pastoralists, mainly from

southern Ethiopia, invaded the region and jostled with each other for supremacy. The hunter-gatherer communities were either absorbed into the pastoral economies, where some even lost their languages, or pushed further south to the forests in central Kenya. We noted that the apparent symbiotic relationship between the Samburu and Rendille dates back to pre-colonial times and that the Ariaal are a mixed culture whose identity is rather ambiguous. We further noted that the presence of the British in Northern Kenya contributed a great deal to the decline of the Borana hegemony but had no consequence to the close relationship between Samburu and Rendille. We looked at the effort by a section of the northerners in their wish to be reckoned as part of Somalia and not Kenya leading to a referendum in 1962 whose outcome was 'contentious'. We examined the effect of the civil war, named shifta war, on the communities in northern Kenya, particularly on the language of some northern Kenyan and found out that a number of languages lost a considerable proportion of its population through death and that other languages were shunned by their speakers because of fear of the penalty meted out on those associated with the languages.

We have ended the chapter by examining the possible impact of sedentarization and the economic strategies that go with it on language, precisely the Rendille language.

Notes

[1]Northern Kenya borders three different countries; Somalia in the north eastern border; Ethiopia in the northern border; and the Sudan in the north western border.

[2] Cognates are words that have a similar pronunciation and meaning obtained from different languages for purposes of ascertaining a common ancestry shared by the languages involved.

[3]The Ariaal are alternatively called Masagera/Masagara (which in Samburu roughly means "those Rendille who follow Maasai"), Turia (Samburu for "mixture") (Fratkin 2004:50).

[4]The term Ariaal is suspected to have been derived from the Boran word arjara which means "mobile livestock camp". The term denoted, in the early part of the twentieth century, the mixed groups of Rendille, Boran, and Samburu who moved with their animals along the mountain bases (Fratkin 2004:50).

[5] The term "shifta" is an Amharic word for "bandit".

[6]The Great North Road is a major road in Africa that stretches from Cairo, in Egypt, to Johannesburg, in South Africa.

[7] Sedentary lifestyle refers to a way of life characterized by settlement in one point without having to move to other regions as witnessed among nomads.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRIMARY DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS (FROM YOUNGER MEMBERS)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter constitutes a presentation and analysis of the fieldwork data collected from persons who hail from our geographical area of study; namely, Marsabit County. As pointed out in Chapter One, we singled out six settlements within the Rendille territory where we used self-administered questionnaires, informant-aided participant observation, interviews and focused group discussions to obtain primary data. Four of the settlements are situated along Isiolo- Marsabit road while two are situated far from the road.

In this chapter, our analysis will exhibit a bias towards quantitative data owing to the fact that the lengthy sections of the tool used, Language Use and Attitude Questionnaire (LUAQ), focused on data that was factual and, therefore, quantitative. As we pointed out in Section 1.10.3.3, we used LUAQ to elicit data from the literate respondents. This tool proved invaluable because it furnished us with data required to address three of the four objectives of the study; objectives One, Two and Four. The Data captured using informant-aided participant observation, interviews, and focused group discussions are presented along with the overall data discussion in chapter 6.

Two types of LUAQ were used; one for school-going pupils/students (the pupils were drawn from class seven and eight, and in very few cases from classes four/five, while secondary school students were drawn from form one to form four); and the second one

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for adults. For purposes of our presentation and subsequent discussions, we shall refer to the first category as young(er) members of the community while the second category as adults or older members of the community. Since the study is essentially an investigation of language shift, it was deemed prudent to juxtapose the linguistic behaviour of the younger members with that of the adults. This is because one major indicator of language shift and which may ultimately lead to language death is the lack of intergenerational transfer of language between the younger and older generations. We begin by looking at the data collected from the younger speakers before presenting what was obtained from older members.

4.2 The Sample

As pointed out in chapter 1 (Section 1.10.5), the respondents from the category of younger members were drawn from six settlements located within the Rendille territory. They were all together 120. The settlements were Hula-hula, Laisamis, Kargi, Log-logo, Karare/Songa and Kor. For each of these settlements, we obtained data from 20 respondents. The total number of respondents from the category of adults/older speakers was 60. Like the case of the younger members, the respondents in the category of adults were drawn from Kargi, Karare/Songa, Laisamis, Kor, Log-logo and Hula-hula. The data from the younger members and the ones from the adults/older members were examined separately. The data from each of these two categories were, further, examined separately depending on the settlements of the respondents. This was done for three reasons. First, we noted that there existed glaring disparity in the number of respondents from the category of younger members vis-à-vis the one for the older members. The second reason

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emanated from our research objectives. In objective No.2 (see Section 14.0), we stated clearly that in the study we were interested in finding out the discernable phases in the shift. To achieve this, we deemed it appropriate to examine the results from each settlement first before looking at them together. And third, we anticipated that we would obtain varied information on certain issues from the two groups; the questionnaires used to elicit data from the two groups were not identical.

We analysed the responses to the questions featured in the LUAQ and presented the outcome under various subtopics which were derived from the questions. Tables displaying frequency percentages were used.

4.3 Primary Data Analyses from Younger Members

As mentioned in the preceding section, in this section we analyse the responses of the young speakers. Most of these respondents were found in schools. Schools, as Karanja (2006:161) points out, 'are rich sites for children and youths'. He also adds that:

> It is from the school that the education domain can be studied. From the schools, it is also easier to get information on language use in other domains that the children and the youth participate in, including the home-community-neighbourhood setup.

4.3.1 Respondents' Biodata

The respondents' biodata includes information pertaining to age, gender, class/form, place of birth, religion, first language and other languages spoken by the respondents. While we acknowledge that not all information contained in the biodata may be directly

addressing a particular research question or objective we reckon that much of the information is useful in our investigation, even if in an indirect way.

4.3.1.1 Age

All the respondents answered this question. The information on the age is useful when we juxtapose the linguistic behaviour of the younger members with that of the older members. The ages of the respondents from the six settlements are as shown in the table below:

Table 11: Respondents' Age

Respondents' Age	Log-logo %	Laisamis%	Kargi%	Kor %	Karare/Songa %	Hula-hula %
Below 10 years	0	0	5.0	0	5.0	0
10-15 years	25.0	85.0	30.0	20.0	30.0	60.0
16-20 years	70.0	15.0	65.0	75.0	65.0	40.0
Above 20 years	5.0	0	0	5.0	0	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

4.3.1.2 Gender

In sociolinguistics gender is recognized as one of the variables upon which contrast in linguistic behaviour among persons can be exhibited. In our study gender will be extremely important especially when we shall be considering the linguistic behaviour of the older members of the community. For the younger members, however, we did not place much premium on this variable. We, nevertheless, endeavored to ensure that there was parity between the genders for reliability's sake. In some schools we found that the number of girls was slightly more than that of boys. We suppose that since the Rendille community is largely pastoralist, a considerable number of boys of school-going age spend their time herding livestock and are therefore hardly in school. Fratkin (1998:82),

who conducted time allocation surveys of pastoral division of labour among a section of the community under our investigation, noted that:

> Most herding tasks are performed by adolescent boys and warriors, who spent the most time in livestock tasks (eighty-three percent and seventy-one percent of their daytime, respectively), while adolescent girls also spent a considerable time in herding and livestock activities (forty-four percent).

Looking at Table 12, below, it is apparent that there was no settlement which registered gender disparity that was alarmingly conspicuous. In three settlements the number of boys is almost at par with that of the girls. In the other three the disparity is not obnoxious.

Table 12: Respondents' Gender

Respondents'Gender	Log-logo %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Karare/Songa %	Hula-hula %
Male	50.0	65.0	55.0	40.0	50.0	40.0
Female	50.0	35.0	45.0	60.0	50.0	60.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

4.3.1.3 Class/Form

As indicated earlier we collected a substantial amount of data from school-going children. Since the questionnaires were self-administered, we were particular about the academic level of the respondents. Informed by his experience as a high school teacher in the district for about five years, the researcher regarded pupils from class 7 and above as capable, with little help from the researcher/research assistant, of comprehending the questions in the LUAQ and providing intelligible answers. The schools that we visited were:

i.   Hula-hula primary school

ii.   Parkishon primary school

iii. Laisamis primary school

iv. Kargi primary school

v. Marsabit Boys Secondary School

vi. Moi Girls Secondary School

vii. Bishop Cavallera Girls Secondary School

The primary schools are located in the Rendille 'territory' and are Day Schools. Most of these schools are situated in a 'rural' setting. Given that the pupils came from the vicinity, they were expected to exhibit comparable linguistic disposition. Linguistic homogeneity is the rule, rather than the exception, in most rural day Kenyan schools. Laisamis Primary school was, however, exceptional since it is situated in an urban centre, the district headquarters of the recently created Laisamis District. The pupils in the school are from different linguistic groups since a considerable number of them are children of businessmen/women, government officers and persons working with NGOs. The Government of Kenya deploys personnel to work in any part of the country regardless of the district of origin of the officer. There are no established private primary schools (academies) in the Laisamis urban centre.

The situation in secondary schools is different. The three secondary schools we visited are boarding institutions and draw students from the larger Marsabit district and the neighbouring districts. These are Moyale, Isiolo and Samburu Districts. Linguistic heterogeneity is therefore a conspicuous characteristic of these secondary schools. Linguistic homogeneity/heterogeneity is an important factor in determining language use

patterns in an institution. Whereas the language(s) of use as medium of instruction is (are) clearly determined by the Ministry of Education (MOE), language of use outside the classroom is dependent on the linguistic repertoire of the interlocutors and or school-specific language policies.

The distribution of respondents' classes/forms from the six settlements is presented in the tables below:

Table 13: Class/Form of the Respondents

	Log-logo[1]	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Karare/Songa	Hula-hula
Primary school	0	80.0	50.0	25.0	50.0	65.0
Form One-Four	100.0	20.0	50.0	75.0	50.0	35.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

4.3.1.4. Place of Birth

The requirement to state the place of birth was significant because in our study we were interested in examining the suspected language shift involving Rendille and Samburu languages. It was crucial for us to ascertain the place of birth of the respondent relative to Samburu 'territory' and the major road(s) that facilitate(s) interethnic migration. For our case the Isiolo- Marsabit road received our attention. One of the hypotheses we set out to test suggested that the Rendille have not shifted to Samburu uniformly. This implied that whereas some areas have been affected by the shift fully, others have been affected partially. Other areas, still, have remained untouched. Another reason that made us include the place of birth in the data elicitation tool was the question to do with the rural-urban dichotomy. According to Landweer (2000) (Quoted in Karanja 2006:114)):

> Position on the urban-rural continuum covers not only the
> physical location of a speech community relative to an
> urban area (or area where speakers of different and more

prestigious languages congregate), but also what access speakers of the vernacular have to urban communities, and how many people take advantage of that access.

As a researcher in the assessment of ethnolinguistic vitality of languages, Landweer came up with what she terms as 'indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality'. Regarding the rural-urban continuum, the overriding principle is that the further a community is located from the nearest urban centre, the less frequent contact it is likely to have with other speech communities and, consequently, the more vital it is likely to be (Landweer 2000 in Karanja 2006:114).

Taking cognizance of the fact that the terms urban and rural may be perceived in certain respects as relative and therefore call for definitions, we would like to sparingly subscribe to the rural-urban perspective and instead consider the six settlements in relation to the Isiolo-Marsabit road. Hula-hula, Log-logo, Laisamis and Karare are situated near the Isiolo-Marsabit road while Kor and Kargi are located far from the Isiolo-Marsabit road. This therefore means that out of the 120 respondents 40 came from settlements far from the Isiolo-Marsabit road while the rest, 80, came from settlements located near the Isiolo-Marsabit road. This is presented in the table and pie chart below:

Table 14: Respondents' Place of Birth

Respondents' Locality	Percent
Near Isiolo-Marsabit Road	62.5
Far from Isiolo-Marsabit Road	37.5
Total	100.0

The table is expressed in the form of a pie chart below:

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Far from Isiolo-Mars

Near Isiolo-Marsabit
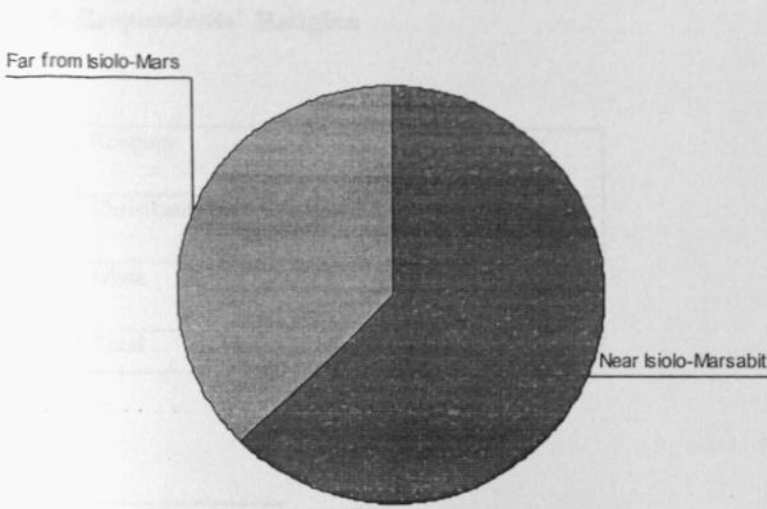
Fig 5: Respondents' Place of Birth

4.3.1.5 Religion

In many religions, the language of worship is considered sacrosanct. This explains why the religious discourse is characterized by archaic forms. This question was a prelude to another one which comes later and seeks to establish the language used to perform religious rites. Through the responses to this question, we found out that majority of our respondents subscribe to the Christian religion. Islam had a significant number especially in Hula-hula and Log-logo where out of 20 in each of these settlements, 5 respondents subscribed to Islam. This was the highest number of Muslim adherents in the six settlements. The general distribution of the responses to the question is as presented in the table and the chart below:

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Table15: Respondents' Religion

Religion	Percent
Christianity	85.8
Islam	14.2
Total	100.0

Islam

Christianity
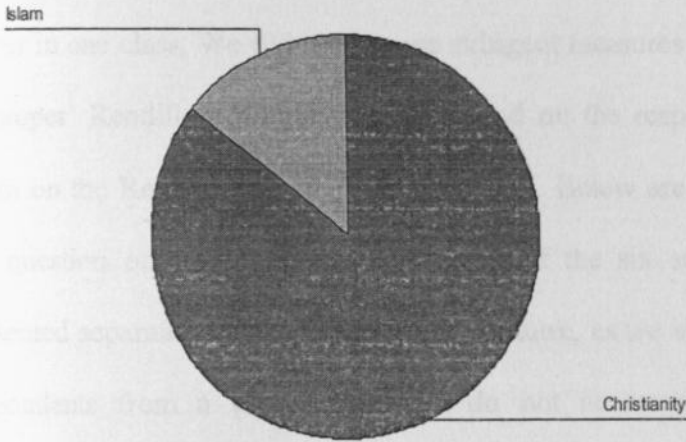
Fig 6: Respondents' Religion

4.3.2 Respondents' Personal Linguistic Data

In this section we present information regarding the respondents' first language, the number of languages spoken by the respondents (self reported language proficiency) and the languages used on different speech domains. The domains include the home, school (inside the classroom and outside the classroom), neighbourhood and religious engagements that involve speech.

4.3.2.1 Respondents' First Language

As pointed out in Chapter 1, the sampling was largely purposive since we were interested in data from persons who regarded themselves as Rendille and not necessarily the persons who spoke Rendille. With the help of cooperative teachers, especially in primary schools, we served the questionnaires to only those persons who had been born in one of the six settlements and had been residents of the settlement for at least six years. In secondary schools, we requested the students who belonged to the Rendille community to gather in one class. We did not impose stringent measures to determine whether one was a 'proper' Rendille or otherwise. We relied on the respondents' testimony where the claim on the Rendille identity was concerned. Below are the respondents' responses to the question on first language from each of the six settlements. The responses are presented separately for each settlement because, as we shall discuss later in Chapter 6, respondents from a given settlement do not necessarily exhibit uniform linguistic characteristics.

Table 16: Respondents' First Language

First language	Log-logo	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Karare/Songa	Hula-hula
Rendille	60.0	20.0	100.0	80.0	10.0	85.0
Samburu	40.0	75.0	0	20.0	90.0	5.0
Kiswahili	0	5.0	0	0	0	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100	100	100	100

From the table above it is apparent that the settlements with the highest number of respondents whose first language is Rendile are Kargi (100%), Hula-hula (85%), Kor (80%) and Log-logo (61.7%) in that order. The majority of respondents from the rest of the settlements had Samburu as their first language. These are Karare/Songa (90%) and

Laisamis (75%). Interestingly, from the table, it appears that all the settlements with the highest number of respondents having Samburu as their first language are situated near the Isiolo-Marsabit road. The only settlement that is situated near the Isiolo- Marsabit road but with a majority speaking Rendille as their first language is Hula-hula. We shall discuss the reason for this in Chapter 6.

It is worth noting from the foregoing tables that the presence of Kiswahili in the Rendille territory is not negligible. In Laisamis, for example, 5% of the respondents indicated Kiswahili as their L1 while in Hula-hula 10% did. As pointed out earlier on, Laisamis is a growing urban centre and was recently made a district headquarters. It is the only centre in the Rendille territory with fairly good representation of diverse linguistic communities from the country. This cosmopolitan quality of Laisamis town could be the reason for the significant number of respondents citing Kiswahili as their L1. The 10 % incidence of Kiswahili as L1 in Hula-hula could only be attributed to proximity of the settlement to Marsabit town which is highly cosmopolitan. Hula-hula is located about 10 kilometers from Marsabit town. The town serves as an important market for residents of Hula-hula where they sell milk and livestock. A considerable number of residents of Hula-hula commute from Hula-hula to Marsabit town to earn their wage as cooks, watchmen, construction workers among other manual occupations. The contact with speakers of other languages may have resulted to interethnic marriages creating families (as will be shown later in this chapter) whose home language is Kiswahili. This accounts for the Kiswahili L1 speakers in Hula-hula.

4.3.2.2 Respondents' Linguistic Repertoire

The respondents were required to provide an account of the languages they spoke beginning with the one they were most proficient in to the least. Since this question was interested in self-reported language proficiency, the respondents were free to list down all the languages they spoke. The data elicitation tool did not impose any restrictions as to which language should or should not be included even when we knew that almost all the respondents commanded some proficiency in Kiswahili and English. Kiswahili has been the national language of Kenya since independence and serves as the lingua franca for interethnic communication in most parts of Kenya. In most urban centers, it is often the one used to introduce children to formal education in preschool and lower primary school. The policy of MOE provides that the language of the catchment area be used as the medium of instruction in lower primary school classes and be replaced by English in upper primary school classes (Koech 1999)). Given that a good number of Kenyan urban centers are linguistically heterogeneous, Kiswahili easily scoops the privilege of serving as the language of the catchment area and is therefore used for education in Early Childhood Education Centers (ECECs). English, on the other hand, has enjoyed the prestige of being the country's only official language for many years. The respondents' answers to the question are as displayed in the tables below:

Table 17: Respondents' Number of Languages (%)

Language	Log-logo	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Karare/Songa	Hula-hula
Three	25.0	20.0	80	50	80	50
Four	55.0	60.0	20	50	20	30
Five	20.0	20.0	0	0	0	20
Total	100.0	100.0	100	100	100	100

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Looking at the foregoing table it is quite clear that most of our respondents are proficient in at least four languages. In four out of the six settlements, the numbers of those who speak more than three languages fall between 50% and 80% of the respondents in each of the four settlements. These settlements are: Laisamis 80%; Log-logo 75%; Kor 50%; and Hula-hula 50%. When we examine keenly the statistics from these four settlements we notice that Log-logo, Laisamis and Hula-hula present the respondents with the richest linguistic repertoire; 20% of the respondents from each of these three settlements speak five languages.

As noted earlier these respondents, by virtue of being pupils/students in Kenyan schools (drawn from class 7/8 and form 1-4), command some proficiency in Kiswahili and English. The two languages, therefore, constitute the respondents' inventory of the languages they speak. What this means is that for the respondents who indicated that they spoke four languages, for example, the languages included Kiswahili, English and two others. The two others are Rendille and Samburu. Those who indicated that they spoke five languages, the five were Kiswahili, English, Rendille, Samburu and Borana.

The incidence of Borana in the linguistic inventory of the respondents from Hula-hula can be explained by what we mentioned in Section 4.3.2.1; proximity to Marsabit town. Borana is a language to reckon with in northern Kenya. It has a considerable number of native speakers in three districts in northern Kenya. These are Isiolo, Marsabit and Moyale. Other than Kiswahili the language that suffices as a trade language in Marsabit

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town is Borana. People who want to effectively participate in trade in Marsabit town find themselves having to learn Borana.[2]

Until 2008 Laisamis was a division of Marsabit District. People from Laisamis who wished to obtain any services from the district headquarter had to travel to Marsabit. This meant that they were exposed to Borana. Another reason that could account for the high incidence of Borana among the respondents from Laisamis is the numerous transfers of government officers to Laisamis from Marsabit following the creation of Laisamis District. A significant number of Rendilles who were working in government offices in Marsabit opted to move to Laisamis upon creation of the new district because it was deemed home or nearer home. They had to move with their families. It is possible that the children of these officers picked the Borana language while the parents were working in Marsabit town and they (the children) were learning in schools in Marsabit.

4.3.2.3 Language of the Student to the Grandparent vs Language of the Grandparent to the Student

When we consider the grandparent in relation to the respondent, we perceive a continuum that comprises of three generations; on one extreme, we have the grandparent, on the other extreme the respondent (grandchild) and at the middle is the parent of the respondent. The use of language between the grandparent and the respondent denotes linguistic contact between the oldest and youngest living generations. Being well aware of the fact that there is a possibility of the members of these two generations engaging in a meaningful conversation with each of them using a different language, we required first the respondent to state the language he/she uses while talking to the grandparent. In the

question that followed we required the respondent to first state the language the grandparent uses while speaking to him/her. The information regarding any disparity in the choice of language used between the two was used alongside other information derived from responses to the subsequent questions to make deductions regarding the genesis of the shift in focus.

The responses to this question varied with settlements. In Kor it emerged that the languages used by the respondent to the grandparent were the same ones invariably used by the grandparent to the respondent. This is shown in the table below:

Table 18: Language of the Respondent Speaking to Grandparents/ Grandparents to Respondent – Kor

Lang. of the Respondent to Grandparents	Language of Grandparents to the Respondent	
Language	Percent	
Rendille	70.0	70.0
Samburu	30.0	30.0
Total	100.0	100.0

The table above reveals that there is a reciprocative use of Rendille among majority of the respondents and their grandparents. We, however, have a few who use Samburu.

In Log-logo, just like in Kor, the language used by the respondents and the grandparents when one group was talking to the other was more or less the same. Some used either Rendille or Samburu exclusively while others interchanged between Rendille and Samburu or Kiswahili. This is what is expressed in Table 19, below.

Table 19: Language of the Respondent Speaking to Grandparents/ Grandparents to Respondent - Log- logo (%)-

Lang. of the Resp. to Grandparents (%)		Lang. of Grandparent to the Resp. (%)
Rendille	60.0	65.0
Samburu	20.0	20.0
Ren_Samb	15.0	10.0
Rend_Kisw	5.0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

In Kargi we note that all the grandparents use Rendille exclusively when talking to the respondents and an overwhelming percent of respondents use Rendille when talking to the grandparent. It is only 5 percent that uses a combination of Rendille, Kiswahili and English when speaking to the grandparents. It is clear from the tables below that in Kargi, Samburu does not feature any where in the speech interaction between the respondents and the grandparents.

Table 20: Language of the Respondent Speaking to Grandparents/ Grandparents to Respondent (%)-Kargi

Lang. of the Resp. to Grandparents (%)		Lang. of Grandparents to the Resp. (%)
Rendille	95.0	100.0
Rend_Kisw-Eng	5.0	0
Total	100.0	100.0

In Laisamis we see that the language that is commonly used among the respondents and the grandparents is Samburu. The numbers of the respondents who use Rendille exclusively when talking to the grandparents is 20 % while that of the grandparents who use Rendille exclusively while talking to the respondents is 30 %. We also note that in

Laisamis there are relatively high numbers of the grandparents who use both Rendille and Samburu when talking to the respondents than the number of the respondents who use the two languages when talking to the grandparents. This is quite evident in the table below:

Table 21: Language of the Respondent Speaking to Grandparents/ Grandparents to Respondent (%)- Laisamis

Lang. of the Resp. to Grandparents	Lang. of Grandparents to the Resp.	
Language		Percent
Rendille	20.0	30.0
Samburu	70	55.0
Ren_Samb	5.0	15.0
Missing[3]	5.0	0
Total	100.0	100.0

Unlike what we have in Laisamis, in Hula-hula the language commonly used by the respondents and grandparents when one group is talking to the other is Rendille. In both cases the number of those that use Samburu exclusively is 5 %. While there is no case noted in Hula-hula of respondents using both Rendille and Kiswahili to communicate with the grandparents. Interestingly, 5% of the grandparents were noted to use both Rendille and Kiswahil interchangeably when communicating with their grandchildren. This is fully displayed in the table below:

Table 22: Language of the Respondent Speaking to Grandparents/ Grandparents to Respondent - Hula-hula

Lang. of the Resp. to Grandparents	Lang. of Grandparents to the Resp.	
Language	Percent (%)	
Rendille	95.0	90.0
Samburu	5.0	5.0
Ren-Kisw	0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

In Karare/Songa the predominant language is Samburu; it is used equally by the respondents when talking to the grandparents and by the grandparents when talking to the grandchildren. In both groups, however, as shown in the table below, there is a small percentage of those who use Rendille and Samburu interchangeably when communicating to the other group.

Table 23: Language of the Respondent Speaking to Grandparents/ Grandparents to Respondent-Karare-Songa (%)

Lang. of the Resp. to Grandparents (%)	Lang. of Grandparents to the Resp. (%)
Rendille	15.0	10.0
Samburu	80.0	80.0
Ren-Samb	5.0	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0

4.3.2.4 Language of the Respondent to the Parents

The language used by a parent when talking to his/her children may not necessarily be the one used by the children when they (children) are talking to their parents. In some Kenyan urban centers, for example, a parent may initiate a conversation or ask a question using his/her native language but may receive responses from his children in Kiswahili,

the national/official language. In families that comprise of spouses from different linguistic backgrounds, it is possible for children to use one language when talking to their mother and a different language when talking to their father. Acknowledging that such disparities may exist among our respondents, we included in our questionnaire the questions on what language(s) is/are spoken by the respondent when talking to the mother and the father and also the language(s) used by the mother and father when talking to the respondent.

In Log-logo, as is shown in the table below, we noted that 50% of the respondents indicated that they use Rendille when speaking to their mother and only 30% use that language when speaking to their fathers. We noted further that, in Log-logo, the number of children who use Samburu when talking to their fathers is higher than that of those who use the same language when speaking to their mothers (35% and 25%, respectively). The incidence of use of Kiswahili by the children when speaking to their fathers is higher (20%) compared to when they are speaking to their mothers (15%).These results imply that the propensity by the children to use a language other than Rendille when speaking to their fathers is higher than when speaking to their mothers.

Table 24: Language of the Respondent Speaking to the Mother/ the Father (%)- Log-logo

Lang. of the Resp. to the mother	Lang. of the Resp. to the father
Rendille	50.0	30.0
Samburu	25.0	35.0
Kisw	15.0	20.0
Ren-Samb	5.0	5.0
Samb-Kisw	5.0	0
Kisw-Eng	0	5.0
Missing	0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

In Laisamis the results contrast sharply with what we have in Log-logo. The respondents indicated that an overwhelming 65% use Samburu exclusively when speaking to their mothers while the remaining percentage is shared by those who use Kiswahili exclusively and those who interchange between Kiswahili and Samburu. There is no respondent who indicated that he/she uses Rendille exclusively when talking to the mother. Only 5%, however, indicated that they use Rendille, Samburu and Kiswahili interchangeably when speaking to the mother. A good number of the respondents indicated that Rendille is an important language when speaking to the father and not the mother. From the tables below we deduce that Samburu is the language that is preferred by children when speaking to their parents. On average, the second most useful language in Laisamis homesteads is Kiswahili.

Table 25: Language of the Respondent Speaking to the Mother/ the Father (%)- Laisamis

Lang. of the Resp. to mother (%)		Lang. of the Resp to the father (%)
Rendille	0	30.0
Samburu	65.0	40.0
Kisw	25.0	20.0
Samb-Kisw	5.0	0
Rend-Samb-Kisw	5.0	0
Missing	0	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0

In Kor we found out that Rendille is used almost uniformly by the respondents when talking to their parents. 75% of the respondents use Rendille when speaking to their fathers and 65% when speaking to their mothers. There was a notable discrepancy, however, in the use of Samburu by the respondents when speaking to their mothers, on one hand, and the fathers on the other hand. 15% of the respondents use Samburu when talking to their mothers and only 5% use it when talking to their fathers. When we examine the table below, it is apparent that Kiswahili has not gained much ground in the home domain in Kor.

Table 26: Language of the Respondent Speaking to the Mother/ the Father (%) - Kor

Lang. of the Resp. to mother (%)		Lang. of the Resp to the father (%)
Rendille	65.0	75.0
Samburu	15.0	5.0
Kisw	5.0	0
Samb-Kisw	5.0	5.0
Rend-Kisw	10.0	10.0
Missing	0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

In Kargi the respondents were apparently unanimous in the language of use when speaking to both parents; they use Rendille. There is not a single respondent who indicated Samburu. Even when they used either English or Kiswahili, they did not use them exclusively but interchanged with Rendille. This is displayed in the table below:

Table 27: Language of the Respondent Speaking to the Mother/ the Father (%) - Kargi

Lang. of the Resp. to mother (%)		Lang. of the Resp to the father (%)
Rendille	90.0	95.0
Rend-Kisw	5.0	0
Rend-Kisw-Eng	5.0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

In Karare/Songa the respondents chose between Rendille, Samburu and Kiswahili when speaking to their mothers; 80% of the respondents used Samburu, 15% Rendille and 5% Kiswahili. When speaking to their fathers, the respondents chose from a richer inventory that consisted of Samburu, Rendille, Kiswahili, English and interchanges of Renndille-Samburu,and Rendille- Samburu-Kiswahili. The choice that was frequently made was that of Samburu (by 80% of the respondents). The distribution of the other choices is as displayed below:

Table 28: Language of the Respondent Speaking to the Mother/ the Father (%)- Karare/Songa

Lang. of the Resp. to mother (%)		Lang. of the Resp to the father (%)
Rendille	15.0	5.0
Samburu	80.0	80.0
Kisw	5.0	0
English	0	5.0
Rend-Samb	0	5.0
Rend-Kisw-Eng	0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

For the respondents from Hula-hula there was no variation in language choice between what the respondents use when talking to their mothers, on one hand, and their fathers, on the other hand. The table below shows the distribution of language choice during communicative interactions involving the respondents and their parents. The preferred language is Rendille followed by Kiswahili. Samburu has few persons who use it at home in Hula-hula as seen in Table 29.

Table 29: Language of the Respondent Speaking to the Mother/ the Father-Hula-hula

Language(s)	Percent
Rendille	85.0
Samburu	5.0
Kiswahili	10.0
Total	100.0

4.3.2.5 Language(s) Used by Respondents' Parents at Home to talk to Each Other

In this particular question, we relied on the respondents' observation. We expected them to furnish us with details pertaining to the language choice made by their parents when they (parents) are talking to each other. This information is important to us because it has the potential of providing useful insights regarding interethnic marriages. The table below provides the respondents' account from the point of view of an observer.

Table 30: Language of the respondents' Father to the Mother/Mother to the Father (%)- Log-logo

Lang. of the Resp.father to mother (%)		Lang. of the Resp. mother to father (%)
Rendille	30.0	45.0
Samburu	30.0	25.0
Kiswahili	20.0	10.0
English	5.0	5.0
Rend-Samb	10.0	10.0
Rend-Kisw-Eng	5.0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Looking at the responses from the respondents in Log-logo as displayed in the table above we note that Rendille, Samburu, Kiswahili and English are used by parents at home when they are talking to each other. There appears to be no much discrepancy in the choice of either Rendille or Samburu between husbands and wives. From the tables we can tell that the two languages are almost at par in the incidence of use by spouses. This state of affairs is subject to a number of possible interpretations. Firstly, that in Log-logo there is a considerable number of cases of intermarriages between Rendille and Samburu speakers. Where the incidence of use of Samburu is high it could be as result of the influence of the Samburu partner. Since, as we noted earlier, multilingualism is generally rampant in the region, it is quite possible for a person proficient in both Rendille and Samburu to use Samburu when talking to a spouse who speaks only Samburu. The second interpretation is that the couples who use Samburu are, possibly, only proficient in Samburu and not in Rendille at all. If these two are descended from a Rendille heritage, it could suggest that they did not 'inherit' Rendille from their parents. Another interpretation of the use of Samburu is that the couples speak Samburu in spite of being proficient in Rendille because they live in a neighbourhood that predominantly

uses Samburu. From our interviews with persons from Log-logo we established that in some villages, in Log-logo, Rendille is used predominantly while in others the language of day to day use is Samburu. Language choice could be determined by the specific location of ones residence within Log-logo. From the table we noted that some couples use English when talking to each other. This shows that literacy level in Log-logo is appreciable.

In Laisamis the situation is not different from what we witnessed in Log-logo. The notable difference is the increase in incidence of use of Kiswahili among couples. This may be attributed to a number of reasons. We explore two of these. The number of interethnic marriages involving a speaker of Rendille and a spouse from other ethnic groups from Marsabit District and other parts of Kenya is high. As we noted earlier, Laisamis is relatively cosmopolitan and an important urban centre politically and administratively. The likelihood of interethnic marriages involving spouses from as far as central and western Kenya is high. When these spouses settle in marriage, they use Kiswahili or English for communication. This accounts for the high incidence of Kiswahili. The other reason has nothing to do with interethnic marriages but the influence of urbanization. In a number of Kenyan urban centres, it is considered trendy to use Kiswahili at the expense of ones ethnic language even in domains that have traditionally been exclusively reserved for the ethnic language. The table below provides details of the distribution of language choice by spouses in Laisamis.

Table 31: Language of the respondent's Father to the Mother/Mother to the Father (%)- Laisamis

Lang. of the Resp.father to mother (%)		Lang. of the Resp. mother to father (%)
Rendille	30.0	25.0
Samburu	40.0	45.0
Kiswahili	20.0	20.0
English	5.0	5.0
Rend-Samb-Kisw	5.0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

In Kargi we found out that all the husbands use Rendille exclusively when talking to their wives and about 95% of the wives use Rendille when talking to their husbands. Only 5% of the wives use Kiswahili when talking to their husbands. This means that husbands invariantly use Rendille to talk to their wives even when a small section of the latter uses Kiswahili. We note that the cases of interethnic marriages are apparently negligible in Kargi and those few that are there do not influence language choice between spouses a great deal. Rendille loyalty among the couples in Kargi is strong. This is well portrayed in the table below:

Table 32: Language of the respondent's Father to the Mother/Mother to the Father (%)- Kargi

Lang. of the Resp.father to mother (%)		Lang. of the Resp. mother to father (%)
Rendille	100.0	90.0
Kiswahili	0	5.0
Missing	0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

The responses from the respondents from Kor revealed unanimity in the language choice pattern by the respondents parents when talking to their spouses. The table below shows that 90% of couples use Rendille when speaking to each other. 5% of the respondents use Samburu exclusively while the remaining 5% use Samburu and Kiswahili interchangeably.

Table 33: Language(s) Used by Couples (Husbands and Wives) - Kor

Language	Percent
Rendille	90.0
Samburu	5.0
Samb-Kis	5.0
Total	100.0

The results from the respondents from Karare/Songa show that most couples use Samburu for communication between them. There is, however, a significant incidence of use of Rendille exclusively or interchangeably with Samburu especially by the husbands. We deduce from these results that there is a higher propensity among wives to use Kiswahili exclusively or interchangeably with either Samburu or Rendille than is the case with husbands. This could be attributed to the fact that a considerable number of women from Karare and Songa are businesswomen who sell milk and vegetables in Marsabit town. Fratkin and Smith (1995:445) conducted time allocation surveys of pastoral division of labour among the Ariaal/ Rendille and noted that "...women from both agricultural Songa and cattle keeping Karare village average 3.4 selling trips to Marsabit town per week." Since the women are relatively mobile and interact with 'customers' from diverse linguistic backgrounds they end up mastering Kiswahili. Their proficiency

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in Kiswahili is occasionally manifested in their communication at home with their husbands.

Table 34: Language of the Respondent's Father to the Mother/Mother to the Father (%)-Karare/Songa

Lang. of the Resp.father to mother (%)		Lang. of the Resp mother to father (%)
Rendille	10.0	0
Samburu	80.0	75.0
Kiswahili	0	5.0
Rend-Samb	5.0	5.0
Samb-Kisw	5.0	5.0
Rend-Kisw	0	5.0
Missing	0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

In Hula-hula, just as we found in Kor, there was no variation in the language(s) used by husbands when speaking to their wives and what is used by wives when talking to their husbands; 90% of couples use Rendille; 5% use Samburu; and 5% use Kiswhili.

Table 35: Language(s) Used by Couples (Husbands and Wives)-Hula-hula

Language	Percent
Rendille	90.0
Samburu	5.0
Kiswahili	5.0
Total	100.0

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4.3.2.6 Language of the Respondent with His/Her Sibling

We included in the questionnaire the question regarding language used by the respondent when talking to his/her siblings because we took cognizance of the fact that the language used by the respondents when talking to the parents may not necessarily be what they (respondents) use when talking to their siblings. In Log-logo we noted that respondents who spoke Rendille with sibling almost equalled those who spoke Samburu; they were 20% and 30%, respectively. Those who spoke Kiswahili exclusively were 35%. There others, however, who used the languages interchangeably. The incidence of these interchanges and the languages involved are presented below in Table 36.

Table 36: Language used Mostly with Siblings -Log-logo

Language(s)	Percent
Rendille	20.0
Samburu	30.0
Kiswahili	35.0
Rend-Kisw	5.0
Samb-Kisw-Eng	5.0
Rend_Kisw_Eng	5.0
Total	100.0

In Laisamis, there was a conspicuous absence of incidence of exclusive use of Rendille by the respondents when talking to their siblings. The closest they came to this is by using it interchangeably with Samburu and Kiswahili, these were only 5%. Majority of the respondents indicated that they used Samburu (45%) and closely followed by Kiswahili (40%). The fact that there are some respondents, who indicated, as is shown in the table below, that they spoke English with their siblings at home reinforces the

observation made earlier on that Laisamis is cosmopolitan and therefore exhibiting some effects of urbanization.

Table 37: Language used Mostly with Siblings -Laisamis

Language(s)	Percent
Samburu	45.0
Kiswahili	40.0
English	10.0
Rend_Samb_Kisw	5.0
Total	100.0

The linguistic behaviour of the respondents from Kargi is more interesting. While not a single respondent indicated that they used Samburu, quite a number indicated that they used Kiswahili exclusively and others used Kiswahili interchangeably with Rendille and or English. What these results reveal is that although Rendille is the language used by most children when talking to their siblings at home, its position is highly threatened by Kiswahili and English. See the complete distribution of language choice by the respondents from Kargi in the table below:

Table 38: Language used Mostly with Siblings -Kargi

Language(s)	Percent
Rendille	50.0
Kiswahili	25.0
English	5.0
Kisw-Eng	5.0
Rend-Kisw-Eng	10.0
Rend-Kisw	5.0
Total	100.0

The findings obtained from Kor and those from Hula-hula are comparable in that most responds from the two settlements indicated a high incidence of the use of Rendille, 65% and 75%, respectively. In these two centres we also noted that the language that registered the second highest incidence is Kiswahili. Interestingly, in Hula-hula the respondents who did not speak Rendille spoke Kiswahili; there were no cases of interchanges. In Kor, we noticed that some respondents used Samburu but interchangeably with Kiswahili and English. For a detailed comparison examine the tables below:

Table 39: Language used Mostly with Siblings -Kor   Table 40: Language used Mostly with Siblings - Hula-hula

Language(s)	Percent
Rendille	65.0
Kiswahili	10.0
Samb-Kisw	5.0
Samb-kisw-Eng	5.0
Rend-Kisw	15.0
Total	100.0

Language	Percent
Rendille	75.0
Kiswahili	25.0
Total	100.0

The respondents from Karare/Songa exhibited a variety of language choices ranging from the exclusive uses of Samburu, Kiswahili and English to using the three interchangeably. The complete inventory of the language choices and the distribution of the same are presented in the table below:

Table 41: Language used Mostly with Siblings-Karare/Songa

Language(s)	Percent
Samburu	55.0
Kiswahili	15.0
English	5.0
Samb_kisw_Eng	10.0
Rend_Kisw_Eng	10.0
Samb_Eng	5.0
Total	100.0

4.3.2.7 Language used by the Respondent when Talking to Adults in the Neighbourhood

The respondents were asked to indicate the language they used in the neighbourhood. We took note of the fact that children do not interact linguistically in the same way with fellow children and adults. Karanja (2006:200) says "... children relate to both fellow children and adults in their neighbourhood in different ways." We asked the two questions following each other. First, we asked them to indicate the language they used with the adults in their neighbourhood and, in the following question, the language they used with fellow children outside school. We juxtaposed the answers to these questions in order to portray the comparison or contrast in language choice by children when communicating with the two groups.

In Log-logo the languages used by the respondents when talking to adults are Rendille and Samburu. 45% of the respondents use Rendille exclusively while 25% use Samburu. The two languages are not used interchangeably. Interestingly, none of the respondents indicated that they used Kiswahili when speaking to adults. When speaking to fellow

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children, however, the situation is totaly different. Some respondents indicated that they used Rendille, Samburu and Kiswahili exclusively (20%, 20%, and 20% respectively) while others indicated that they used two or three languages interchangeably. The languages interchanged are Kiswahili and English; Rendille, Kiswahili and English; and Rendille and Kiswahili. See the table below for the complete distribution.

Table 42: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Adults/Agemates (%)- Log-logo

Lang. of the Resp. to adults (%)		Lang. of the Resp to agemates (%)
Rendille	45.0	20.0
Samburu	25.0	20.0
Kiswahili	10.0	20.0
Rend-Samb	10.0	0
Kisw-Eng	0	10.0
Samb-Kisw	0	5.0
Rend-Kisw	5.0	5.0
Rend-Samb-Kisw	5.0	10.0
Rend-Kisw-Eng	0	5.0
Samb-Kisw-Eng	0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

The results from Laisamis reveal that there is no significant variation in the language used by the respondents when they are talking to adults, on one hand and when talking to fellow children, on the other. The respondents choose a language from the three and use it exclusively. The three languages are Samburu, Rendille and Kiswahili. The distribution of the three is as shown in the table below:

Table 43: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Adults/Agemates (%)- Laisamis

Lang. of the Resp. to adults (%)		Lang. of the Resp to agemates (%)
Rendille	15.0	10.0
Samburu	70.0	70.0
Kiswahili	15.0	20.0
Total	100.0	100.0

In Kargi, the respondents indicated that they invariably used only Rendille when speaking to adults. When speaking to agemates, however, the respondents from Kargi indicated that Rendille was the most commonly used language followed by Kiswahili, which was a distant second. As displayed in the table below, a few respondents used Rendille, Kiswahili and English interchangeably.

Table 44: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Adults/Agemates (%)- Kargi

Lang. of the Resp. to adults (%)		Lang. of the Resp to agemates (%)
Rendille	100.0	70.0
Kiswahili	0	15.0
Rend-Kisw	0	10.0
Rend-Kisw-Eng	0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

When we examine the distribution of language choice in Kor as displayed in Table 45 below, we note that while the incidence of use of Rendille when talking to adults is high, there is remarkable reduction in the incidence when talking to agemates. It is also apparent from the results that cases of use of two or three languages interchangeably are relatively low when speaking to adults and higher when speaking to agemates.

Table 45: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Adults/Agemates (%) – Kor

Lang. of the Resp. to adults (%)		Lang. of the Resp to agemates (%)
Rendille	70.0	40.0
Samburu	20.0	25.0
Kiswahili	10.0	5.0
Rend-Kisw	0	25.0
Samb-Kisw-Eng	0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

The results we obtained from the respondents in Karare/Songa, as displayed in Table 46 below, are comparable to what we found in Laisamis. The languages used by the respondents when talking to the two groups are Samburu, Kiswahili and Rendille in that order of prominence. The incidence of use of Samburu and Kiswahili interchangeably is relatively high when speaking to agemates and low when speaking to adults.

Table 46: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Adults/Agemates (%) – Karare/Songa

Lang. of the Resp. to adults (%)		Lang. of the Resp to agemates (%)
Rendille	5.0	5.0
Samburu	70.0	60.0
Kiswahili	20.0	15.0
Samb-Kisw	5.0	20.0
Total	100.0	100.0

The respondents from Hula-hula make a choice of language from only two languages. An overwhelming percentage of the respondents (95%) used Rendille predominantly when speaking to adults and only 5% Kiswahili. When speaking to their agemates, there was a slight change; 80% used Rendille and 20% used Kiswahili.

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Table 47: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Adults/Agemates (%)- Hula-hula

Lang. of the Resp. to adults (%)		Lang. of the Resp to agemates (%)
Rendille	95.0	80.0
Kiswahili	5.0	20.0
Total	100.0	100.0

4.3.2.8 Respondents' Language when Speaking to a Shopkeeper

The question on language used by the respondent when talking to the shopkeeper was meant to elicit the language considered to be the 'trade' language. This is the language used when persons are engaged in commercial transactions. It was important for us to determine the language that is preferred by the respondents when it comes to matters pertaining to 'money' because in sociolinguistics there is a certain prestige known to accompany the language that is often used in the economy.

Our findings revealed that Kiswahili is the language preferred by most respondents from the six settlements. We, however, noted that the incidence of use of Kiswahili varied depending on the location of the settlement relative to the Isiolo-Marsabit road; the settlements that are situated near the Isiolo-Marsabit road recorded a higher incidence of use of Kiswahili than those far from the road. As pointed out earlier the settlements situated near the Isiolo-Marsabit road are Laisamis, Log-logo, Karare/Songa and Hula-hula. Those situated far from the road are Kargi and Kor. The table below shows the distribution of the language choice by the respondents in the four settlements when speaking to a shopkeeper.

Table 48: Language Mostly used by the Respondent when Speaking to the Shopkeeper in the Settlements situated near the the Isiolo-Marsabit road (%)

Language(s)	Laisamis(%)	Log-logo (%)	Karare/Songa (%)	Hula-hula (%)
Rendille	0	5.0	0	10.0
Samburu	5.0	15.0	10.0	0
Kiswahili	80.0	50.0	65.0	75.0
English	0	5.0	5.0	0
Rend-Eng	0	0	0	5.0
Kisw_Eng	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0
Samb_Kisw	5.0	5.0	0	0
Samb-Eng	0	0	5.0	0
Rend-Kisw	0	5.0	0	0
Rend-Samb-Kisw	0	5.0	0	0
missing	0	0	5.0	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In the settlements situated far from the Isiolo- Marsabit road, Kor and Kargi, the incidence of use of Kiswahili was relatively higher than the use of the other languages but lower compared to the incidence recorded in the other four settlements above. Consider the table below showing the distribution of language choice in the two settlements:

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Table 49: Language Mostly used by the Respondent when Speaking to a Shopkeeper in the Settlements off the Isiolo-Marsabit road (%)

Language(s)	Kargi (%)	Kor (%)
Rendille	25.0	15.0
Kiswahili	35.0	40.0
English	15.0	0
Kisw_Eng	10.0	5.0
Rend-Samb	0	5.0
Rend-Kisw	5.0	25.0
Rend-Kisw –Eng	5.0	5.0
Missing	5.0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

From the table above, we note the incidence of use of Rendille exclusively or Rendille interchangeably with another language is relatively higher in comparison with what we have in Table 47 above. The reason for this high incidence of Rendille in these two settlements situated far from the Isiolo-Marsabit road may be related to the homogeneity of the inhabitants of the two settlements. There is a high likelihood that the remoteness of the two from the Isiolo-Marsabit road does not attract traders from the neighbouring ethnic groups and those few who venture into the settlements are forced to learn Rendille so as to effectively transact business with the residents. Consequently, Rendille comes a close second as the language of preference for business in the two areas. We can contrast this state of affairs with what is observed in Hula-hula. In the preceding responses to questions featured in the data elicitation tool, we noted that there is a generally high degree of Rendille maintenance among the respondents from Hula-hula (See Tables 40 and 46). However, when it comes to the language used for the shopkeeper, we get 75% using Kiswahili and only 10% using Rendille. This could be explained by the location of

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Hula-hula relative to Marsabit town as well as the Isiolo-Marsabit road. In Section 4.3.2.1 we pointed out that the high incidence of Kiswahili in Hula-hula is attributed to the cosmopolitan influence of Marsabit.

4.3.2.9 Language Used in Education

The language used for education in Kenyan institutions of learning is a matter largely determined by the Ministry of Education than individual preferences. As pointed out earlier in Section 4.3.2.2, the language of instruction in lower primary classes is often the language of the catchment area and is replaced by English beginning from upper primary classes to tertiary level, except in the teaching of Kiswahili and foreign languages.

In the responses to the question of language(s) used in classes, we did not anticipate much variation given the schools are in Kenya and therefore the staff are coordinated by the Ministry of Education. The table below shows the responses to the question in the six settlements:

Table 50: Language Mostly Used by the Student when Speaking to the Teacher in Class

Language(s)	Log-logo (%)	Laisamis (%)	Kargi (%)	Kor (%)	Karare/Songa (%)	Hula-hula(%)
Kiswahili	25.0	5.0	0	0	15.0	15.0
English	25.0	85.0	40.0	35.0	30.0	60.0
Samburu	0	0	5.0	0	0	0
Rendille	0	0	10.0	0	0	0
Kisw_Eng	50.0	10.0	45.0	65.0	45.0	25.0
Missing	0	0	0	0	10	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100

From the table above, it is quite clear that English and Kiswahili are the two prominent languages in the classroom. Of the two languages English is used exclusively more times than Kiswahili. Most respondents, however, indicated a propensity to use English and Kiswahili interchangeably when speaking to the teacher during class times. The only settlement that registered a low incidence of use of Kiswahili either exclusively or interchangeably with English is Laisamis. In this settlement only 5% of the respondents indicated that they used Kiswahili exclusively in class and only 10% said that they used Kiswahili and English interchangeably in class. The rest of the respondents indicated that they used English only. This exclusive use of English by a huge proportion of the respondents in Laisamis could be attributed to two possible factors. The first one is the effect of the urban lifestyle.

Since Laisamis 'town; is the headquarters of Laisamis District and therefore the home of the 'elite' from the region, it is expected to exhibit some of the linguistic characteristics of Kenyan urban centres. In major Kenyan urban centres such as Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret, Nakuru, e.t.c., the population is fairly linguistically heterogeneous and literate. The languages used for interethnic communication are either Kiswahili or English. In the Kenyan rural areas, the languages used for intraethnic communication are the indigenous languages of the area while Kiswahili is used mostly for interethnic communication. English is rarely used in Kenyan rural setups.

The second factor is the proximity of the schools to the local Ministry of Education offices. While the MOE officers at the district level are not the direct employers of

teachers, they are certainly responsible for monitoring the enforcement of education polices as well as the quality and standards of education in the district. The closer they are located to a school, the higher the likelihood of the school adhering to the laid down policies. The use of English as the medium of instruction in upper primary school classes is one of such policies. Laisamis primary school, from where we drew 80% of the respondents from the Laisamis settlement, is situated less than 500 metres from the District Education Oficer's (DEO) office.

4.3.2.10 Language for Socialization outside Classroom but within the School

In this section we display the responses to the question that sought the information regarding the language used by the respondent when socializing with classmates, agemates and schoolmates in general outside the class but while still in school. At a glance, this question may appear to be a repetition of the question addressed in Section 4.3.2.6 but a closer scrutiny will show that the concerns of the two questions are different. The language used by the respondents when talking to agemates outside the school, for example, in the playfields, grazing field and water points may be totally different from the language used by the respondents when talking to the same agemates outside of the classroom but within the school compound.   To appreciate clearly the difference between the demands and expectations of the two questions, we juxtaposed the responses elicited by the two questions. In Section 4.3.2.6 we displayed the responses to the question on language used with agemates outside the school. We include that information in Table 51 below for purposes of ease of contrasting/comparing.

Table 51: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Agemates Outside Class/Outside School (%) - Log-logo

Lang. of the Resp. to agemates within the school (outside class) (%)	Lang. of the Resp. to agemates outside school (%)
Rendille	0	20.0
Samburu	5.0	20.0
Kiswahili	25.0	20.0
English	15.0	0
Rend-Samb	0	0
Kisw-Eng	55.0	10.0
Samb-Kisw	0	5.0
Rend-Kisw	5.0	5.0
Rend-Samb-Kisw	5.0	10.0
Rend-Kisw-Eng	0	5.0
Samb-Kisw-Eng	0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

From the table above which provides us with details pertaining to use of language by the respondents outside class and outside school, we see a glaring contrast in the responses. When we look at the responses to the question on the language(s) used outside the classroom but within the school, we see Rendille and Samburu almost missing but in the responses to the question asking about the language(s) used outside the school, the two languages feature prominently. We also note that the number of the respondents who use English and Kiswahili interchangeably is higher outside the classroom, but in the school compound, than outside the school.

Looking at Table 52 below, we note that in Laisamis half of the respondents indicated that they used English outside the classroom while a considerable number (25%) used Kiswahili. Those who indicated that they used Samburu are only 10%. This number is a

drastic reduction from 70% who indicated that they used Samburu language outside school.

Table 52: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Agemates Outside Class/Outside School (%) - Laisamis

Lang. of the Resp. to agemates within the school (outside class)		Lang. of the Resp. to agemates outside school
Rendille	5.0	10.0
Samburu	10.0	70.0
Kiswahili	25.0	20.0
English	50.0	0
Kisw-Eng	10.0	0
Total	100.0	100.0

The situation in Kargi, Kor, Karare/Songa and Hula-hula are even more interesting. Whereas Rendille is by far the language predominantly used outside school (70%) in Kargi, it has little place within the school compound (examine the Table 53 below). In the same settlement, Kiswahili was portrayed as the language that is mostly used by the respondents when socializing outside the classroom in the school compound. The only other language that is used, but interchangeably with Kiswahili, is English.

In Kor, as we can see from Table 53, we note that while there is no respondent who indicated that he/she uses Kiswahili exclusively, 65% revealed that they use Kiswahili and English interchangeably and 25% use English exclusively to talk to their friends outside the classrooms in school. Considering that Kargi, and Kor are situated in rural set ups off the Isiolo-Marsabit road, we would have expected the use of Rendille, and Samburu outside classroom but within the school compound to be higher than what we got. We attribute this low usage of Rendille outside the classroom to school specific language policies. In a considerable number of Kenyan rural primary schools, and some

urban schools, the teachers prohibit the use of other languages apart from English and Kiswahili within the school compound. They encourage the use of the two languages because they are examinable and it is assumed that the more the students speak them the more proficient they become in them and, consequently, the better they perform in the examination.

Table 53: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Agemates Outside Class/Outside School (%) - Kargi

Lang. of the Resp. to agemates within the school (outside class)		Lang. of the Resp. to agemates outside school
Rendille	5.0	70.0
Samburu	5.0	0
Kiswahili	35.0	15.0
English	5.0	0
Kisw-Eng	45.0	0
Rend-Kisw	0	10.0
Rend-Kisw-Eng	5.0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 54: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Agemates Outside Class/Outside School (%) - Kor

Lang. of the Resp. to agemates within the school (outside class)		Lang. of the Resp. to agemates outside school
Rendille	0	40.0
Samburu	0	25.0
Kiswahili	0	5.0
English	25.0	0
Kisw-Eng	65.0	0
Rend-Kisw	0	25.0
Samb-Kisw-Eng	0	5.0
Rend-Kisw-Eng	10.0	0
Total	100.0	100.0

The results from Karare/Songa and Hula-hula displayed in the tables below show that Kiswahili and English are the two commonly used languages outside the classroom but

within the school compound. Nearly all the respondents from the two settlements, which are less than ten kilometers apart, indicated that they use the two languages either exclusively or interchangeably when socializing in school outside the classroom. However, these respondents use different languages for socializing outside the school premises; those in Hula-hula use Rendille while a big percent of those in Karare/Songa use Samburu.

Table 55: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Agemates Outside Class/Outside School (%) - Karare/Songa

Lang. of the Resp. to agemates within the school (outside class)		Lang. of the Resp. to agemates outside school
Rendille	0	5.0
Samburu	0	60.0
Kiswahili	35.0	15.0
English	25.0	0
Kisw-Eng	35.0	0
Samb-Kisw	0	20.0
Samb-Kisw-Eng	5.0	0
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 56: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Agemates Outside Class/Outside School (%) - Hula-hula

Lang. of the Resp. to agemates within the school (outside class)		Lang. of the Resp. to agemates outside school
Rendille	0	80.0
Kiswahili	45.0	20.0
English	35.0	0
Kisw-Eng	20.0	0
Total	100.0	100.0

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4.3.2.11 Language Used by Spiritual Leaders when Conducting Worship

In order to find out the language(s) used in the domain of religion, the respondent were asked to indicate the language(s) used by the religious leaders to conduct worship. This question elicited a variety of responses ranging from the exclusive use of Kiswahili, English, Rendille, and Samburu to the use of two or three of these languages interchangeably. The responses of the respondents from the six settlements are presented in the table below:

Table 57: Language(s) Used by Spiritual Leaders when Conducting Worship (%)

Language(s)	Log-logo	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Karare/Songa	Hula-hula
Rendille	0	0	5	0	0	5
Samburu	5	5	25	0	10	0
Kiswahili	30	60	10	30	55	65
English	5	10	5	0	0	5
Ren-Sam	0	5	0	0	0	0
Kisw-Eng	10	5	35	35	10	15
Sam-Kisw	10	10	0	0	5	0
Ren-Kisw	10	0	0	15	5	5
Ren-Samb-Kisw	10	0	0	0	0	0
Samb-Kisw-Eng	10	0	0	0	10	0
Samb-Eng	0	5	0	0	0	0
Ren-Kisw-Eng	0	0	15	0	5	5
Ren-Samb-Kisw-Eng	10	0	5	20	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Looking at the results shown in the table above it is apparent that the two languages that are preferred by most spiritual leaders when conducting worship are Kiswahili and English while the language that is least used is Rendille. It is noteworthy, from the table, that where two or more languages are used interchangeably, Kiswahili is almost always one of them.

It is important at this point to remember that when we talk of the language used in religion, we are largely referring to the language used in Christianity. In Section 4.3.1.5, we found out that nearly 90% of the respondents indicated that they were Christians while the rest, about 10%, indicated that they were Muslims. When traveling along the Isiolo-Marsabit road from Merrile to Hula-hula, the presence of Christianity in the region is noticeable; huge church buildings with Crosses well displayed are seen from afar especially at Merrile, Laisamis, Log-logo and Hula-hula. The main Christian denominations in the region include the Roman Catholic, the African Inland Church (AIC), the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK), the Pentecostal Evangelistic Fellowship of Africa (PEFA), and the Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG).

The choice of Kiswahili and English by spiritual leaders when conducting worship may be attributed to several factors. We examine the two notable ones here. The first one is the availability of Kiswahili and English translations of the Bible. In some churches the Bible is read in English and the sermon is delivered in Kiswahili. People who have attained some basic level of literacy can read and possibly explain the scriptures in English. In most churches, however, the language used in reading scriptures and

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preaching is Kiswahili. There are no complete translations of the Bible in Rendille and Samburu. Through the effort of Bible Translation and Literacy (BTL) and the African Inland Church (AIC) translations in the two languages are in progress. In the meantime the people choose to access the scriptures through Kiswahili and English.

The other reason is that the church is considered a public facility where people from all walks of life, including those with different linguistic backgrounds, are free to come for spiritual nourishment. As noted earlier, in some of the settlements there were people from different parts of the country deployed by the government to work and others from other nations working with non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Kiswahili and English therefore sufficed as the languages for church considering the linguistic diversity of the congregations.

In Kargi, however, we note that 25% of the respondents indicated that Samburu, not Rendille, is used by the religious leaders in conducting worship. This is rather confounding because in almost all the questions we have addressed above Samburu did not feature in any of the responses by the respondents from Kargi. The observation triggers our curiosity since the use of Samburu in Kargi, going by the previous responses, is unexpected. We shall address this matter in Chapter 6 when we discuss the findings presented in this chapter and in Chapter 5.

4.3.3 Respondents' Attitude on the Importance of Certain Languages in Various Domains

In this section we provide the respondents' judgment regarding what language they considered important in certain domains that were provided in the questions. The responses to these questions were treated as observations of the respondents which may be subjective and therefore biased. Some of the respondents were drawn from primary schools and may, therefore, not be able to provide an authoritative position regarding which language was important for what domain. We nevertheless requested them to indicate without giving reasons the language(s) they considered important for: education, getting a job (employment) within the district, trade, cultural identity, socializing and general usefulness.

4.3.3.1 The Language Considered Important for Education

On the question regarding the language(s) they considered important for education, respondents' responses are presented in the table below:

Table 58: Language(s) Important for Education (%)

	Log-logo	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Karare/Songa	Hula-hula
Rendille	0	0	0	0	0	0
Samburu	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kiswahili	20	0	0	5	5	5
English	45	80	55	15	55	50
Ren-Sam	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kisw-Eng	35	20	40	65	35	45
Ren-Kisw	0	0	5	5	0	0
Ren- Eng	0	0	0	5	0	0
missing	0	0	0	5	5	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

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The respondents from the six settlements were apparently unanimous in the view that English was the most important language for education followed by Kiswahili. A considerable number of respondents indicated that English and Kiswahili were equally important for education.

4.3.3.2 Important language for Getting a Job within the District

We asked the respondents to indicate the language(s) they considered important for getting a job within the district. In this question we did not expect the respondents to draw from their experiences since they were still in school, and therefore not searching for jobs, but from their observations as members of their community. Pupils in classes 7 and 8, who were the youngest respondents, may have a fairly good idea about what the older members say concerning the language(s) the employers in the locality are interested in. The responses to the question are presented in Table 59 below.

Table 59: Language(s) Important for Getting a Job within the District (%)

	Log-logo	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Karare/Songa	Hula-hula
Rendille	0	0	0	10	0	10
Samburu	5.0	0	0	0	0	0
Kiswahili	50.0	20	5	5	20	20
English	0	60	40	40	55	50
Ren-Sam	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kisw-Eng	45	20	40	40	25	20
Ren-Kisw	0	0	-	5	0	0
Ren- Eng	0	0	5	0	0	0
Ren-Kis-Eng	0	0	5	0	0	0
missing	0	0	5	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

In the responses tabled above it is clear that most respondents consider English and Kiswahili to be the languages that are useful for one to secure a job within the district. The results in this table are comparable to the ones displayed in the preceding table except for the fact that in the above table, Table 59, some respondents (from Kor and

Hula-hula) indicated that Rendille is also an important language that can enhance ones chances of getting a job within the district.

4.3.3.3 Important Language for Trade within the District

We also asked the respondents to state the languages they considered important for transacting trade within the district. Like in the question in Section 4.3.3.2 above, we did not expect the respondent to rely on their experiences as traders (most of the respondents were minors) but their observations and general knowledge gathered from their seniors by virtue of sharing the same residence and village. The responses to the question are as presented below.

Table 60: Language(s) Important for Trade within the District (%)

	Log-logo	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Karare/Songa	Hula-hula
Rendille	5.0	0	10	20	0	10
Samburu	15.0	10	0	10-	0	0
Kiswahili	45.0	40	55	25	55	65
English	0	15	5	0	5	5
Ren-Sam	0	5	0	0	0	0
Kisw-Eng	20	5	25	40	20	15
Ren-Kisw	5	0	0	5	0	0
Samb-Kis	0	15	0	0	10	
Ren- Eng	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ren-Kis-Eng	0	0	5	0	0	5
Samb_kisw_Eng	0	0	0	0	5	0
Ren-Samb-Kis-Eng	0	5	0	0	5	0
missing	10	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

From the table above, it is clear that most of the respondents regard Kiswahili and English as important languages of commerce. In Log-logo, Kor, Kargi and Hula-hula there is a significant percentage that considers Rendille to be important for trade in the district. Samburu was indicated as important for trade by some respondents from Log-logo, Laisamis and Kor.

4.3.3.4 Important Language for Socializing

The respondents were required to indicate the language they considered important for socializing with friends, agemates and other people. The results from this question can be compared or contrasted with what we got in Sections 4.3.2.6 and 4.3.2.10. The responses to the question are as presented in the table below:

Table 61: Language(s) Important Socialization (%)

	Log-logo %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Karare/Songa %	Hula-hula %
Rendille	5	0	5	30	0	20
Samburu	10	10	0	10	0	0
Kiswahili	30	30	40	5	40	35
English	5	30	10	5	20	25
Ren-Sam	10	10	0	0	5	0
Kisw-Eng	20		15	25	20	10
Ren-Kisw	0	0	0	15	0	5
Samb-Kis	5	15	0	0	5	0
Ren- Eng	5	0	5	0	0	0
Ren-Kis-Eng	5	0	20	10	5	5
Samb_kisw_Eng	0	0	0	0	5	0
Ren-Samb-Kis-Eng	0	5	5	0	0	0
Missing	5	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Looking at the results presented in the table above, on the one hand, and the results presented in Section 4.3.2.10, on the other, we detect irreconcilable disparity. Taking Kargi as a case in point, we note that in the table above 40% of the respondents listed Kiswahili as the language that is important for socialization and 20% indicated that the interchange involving Rendille, Kiswahili and English was important for socialization. The irony in this response lies in the fact that when asked the language they used when talking to their friends and agemates outside school and adults in the neighbourhood, these respondents indicated that they used Rendille, (70% and 100% respectively) (see Section 4.3.2.6 and Section 4.3.2.10, Tables 43 and 51 respectively). A similar phenomenon is witnessed in Laisamis where the respondents indicated that the language

they used mostly when talking to adults and agemates in the neighbourhood is Samburu but in the table above only 10% indicated that Samburu is an important language for socialization. 30% identified Kiswahili and another 30% indicated English as the languages that are important for socialization. This lack of corroboration in the responses to these closely related questions suggests that either the respondents did not understand the question asked (which would imply that the tool used to elicit the information allowed some ambiguity) or the respondents do not use the language they 'consider' important for socialization when they are socializing. We shall address this dilemma when we analyse the responses to the same questions by the older speakers.

4.3.3.5 Important Language for Cultural Identity

The respondents were asked to identify the language(s) they considered as important for cultural identity. The results for this question are tabled below:

Table 62: Respondent's Attitude towards Use of Rendille for Cultural Identity (%)

	Log-logo	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Karare/Songa	Hula-hula
Rendille	55.0	40	80	80	10	65
Samburu	30.0	45	0	20	60	0
Kiswahili	0	5	0	0	10	15
English	0	0	5		5	10
Ren-Sam	5.0	10	0	0	5	0
Rend-Kisw	0	0	0	0	5	5
Rend-Eng	0	0	0	0	0	5
Samb-Kis-Eng	0	0	0	0	5	0
Missing	10.0	0	15	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

In the results presented in the table above, Rendille is rated highest as the language that is important for cultural identity. It is only in Laisamis and Karare/Songa where Samburu surpasses Rendille in popularity as the language for cultural identity. It is not surprising that Rendille gets lowly rated in Laisamis and Karare/Songa for as we noted in the

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findings presented in Section 4.3.2.1 (see Table 16), Rendille has few speakers in these two settlements.

4.3.3.6 Important Language for General Usefulness in Life

The general attitude of the respondents towards the languages they spoke was assessed with the question which required them to indicate the language they considered important for general usefulness in life. English was highly rated and was followed by Kiswahili. The two indigenous languages, Samburu and Rendille, were accorded the same rating with each getting 35% of the respondents (from varied settlements) indicating that they were important for general usefulness in life. The details of the rating are presented in the table below.

Table 63: Important Language for General Usefulness in Life (%)

	Log-logo	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Karare/Songa	Hula-hula
Rendille	0	0	15	5	0	15
Samburu	15	10	5	0	10	0
Kiswahili	20	35	25	15	20	25
English	30	40	25	45	45	50
Kisw-Eng	15	5	15	20	15	5
Ren-Kisw	0	0	0	5	5	0
Samb-Kis	0	0	0	0	0	0
Samb-Eng	0	5	0	0	0	0
Ren- Eng	5	5	0	0	0	0
Ren-Kis-Eng	0	0	5	5	0	0
Samb_kisw_Eng	0	0	0	0	5	0
Ren-Samb-Kis-Eng	0	0	5	5	0	0
missing	15	0	5	0	0	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

4.3.4 Respondents' Opinion Regarding a set of Questions about Rendille and Samburu

The respondents were given the set of statements below and asked to indicate their opinion regarding the statements. They were expected to express their opinions by

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choosing from four options. That is, Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Agree and Strongly Agree. The statements were:

1) Many people who speak Rendille also speak Samburu.

2) Samburu is used more often than Rendille in day to day life.

3) Adult speakers of Rendille are not transmitting the language to children.

4) Rendille should be taught to children.

The respondents' opinion to some of the statements revealed some interesting patterns. Regarding the first statement, for example, we note that the respondent seem to be divided in to two, though unevenly, those who affirmed (combining those who strongly agree and those who agree) and those who declined (combining those who strongly disagree and those who disagree). Looking at the table below which shows details of the responses, it is apparent that the highest numbers of respondents who declined came from settlements that are located far from the Isiolo-Marsabit road. These are Kargi (70%) and Kor (45%). The respondents Hula-hula, located near the Isiolo-Marsabit road, also had a significant percentage (40%) indicating that they did not subscribe to the perception articulated in the statement. The 80% of respondents from Laisamis and Karare/Songa affirmed the view expressed in the statement.

Table 64: Respondents' Opinion Regarding the Statement "Many people who speak Rendille also speak Samburu" (%)

Many people who speak Rendille also speak Samburu		Log-logo %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Karare/Songa %	Hula-hula %
	Strongly Disagree	5	5	40	25	10	15
	Disagree	15	15	30	20	10	25
	Agree	55	70	10	45	35	55
	Strongly Agree	25	10	20	10	45	5

The pattern portrayed in the responses to the first statement appears to be repeated in the second statement, which is presented in the table below:

Table 65: **Respondents' Opinion Regarding the Statement "Samburu is used more often than Rendille in day to day life" (%)**

Samburu is used more often than Rendille in day to day life		Log-logo %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Karare/Songa %	Hula-hula %
	Strongly Disagree	25	20	0	15	15	30
	Disagree	50	10	75	70	35	45
	Agree	25	25	25	5	30	15
	Strongly Agree	0	45	0	10	20	10

From the table it is clear that in four out of the six settlements the highest number of respondents were of the opinion that Samburu was not used more often than Rendille in day to day life. The four are Log-logo (75%), Kargi (75%), Kor (85%) and Hula-hula (75%). That the respondents from the four settlements seem to be unanimous on their opinion regarding the second statement is not surprising considering that, from preceding questions, we have established that most, if not all, of the respondents who indicated that they spoke Rendille came from one of the four settlements.

The third statement elicited convergent opinions from the respondents across the six settlements. Looking at the table below, we observe that in all the settlements the higher percentage of respondents expressed their reservations with the admissibility of the claim made in the statement. The only appreciable percentage that affirmed the claim in the statement came from Kor and Kargi (45% and 40% respectively) but was, nevertheless, a minority compared to the other respondents from the same settlements.

Table 66: Respondents' Opinion Regarding the Statement "Adult speakers of Rendille are not transmitting the language to children"(%)

Adult speakers of Rendille are not transmitting the language to children		Log-logo %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Karare/ Songa %	Hula-hula %
	Strongly Disagree	10	25	10	20	20	35
	Disagree	55	65	50	35	60	40
	Agree	15	5	35	30	10	20
	Strongly Agree	15	5	5	15	10	5
	Missing	5	0	0	0	0	0

In the last question we noted a strikingly high convergence rate in opinion among the respondents from the six settlements (see the table below). We saw, for example, that the number of respondents, regardless of settlement, who indicated 'Strongly agree' were 35% while those who indicated 'Agree' were 42.5%. This translates to 77.5% of the respondents concurring on the claim that "Rendille should be taught to children"

Table 67: Respondents' Opinion Regarding the Statement "Rendille should be taught to children" (%)

Rendille should be taught to children		Log-logo %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Karare/ Songa %	Hula-hula %
	Strongly Disagree	10	30	5	5	5	5
	Disagree	5	5	10	10	10	10
	Agree	70	35	30	40	50	50
	Strongly Agree	15	30	55	45	35	35

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter we devoted our effort exclusively to the analysis of data obtained from the respondents we referred to as the younger members of the community. We began by considering the respondents' biodata before examining the respondents' linguistic repertoire and language choice by the respondents when speaking to various persons in different speech domains. Regarding the respondents' biodata we established, among other things that about 60% of the respondents live in settlements that are located near the

Isiolo- Marsabit road and that the rest, about 40%, live in settlements located far from the Isiolo- Marsabit road. We found out, also, that about 90% of the respondents subscribe to Christianity while 10% are Muslims.

Concerning the linguistic repertoire of the respondents and language choice, we found out that most of the respondents spoke more than three languages and that language choice was dependent on a number of factors. The factors included the domain of language use, the locality and the person(s) involved in speech. It emerged from the analysis that respondents did not exhibit uniform linguistic behaviour across the six settlements. In Kargi, Kor and Hula-hula, for example, we noted a higher incidence of use of Rendille in the home domain than was observed in Laisamis and Karare/Songa where the language mostly used was Samburu. Log-logo presented an interesting scenario where choice of language for use in the home domain was limited to Rendille and Samburu. The two have equal stakes as home languages in this particular settlement. In almost all the six settlements, we found out that the incidence of use of Rendille is declining; the incidence of choice of Rendille by the respondents when speaking to their parents is lesser than when they (respondents) are speaking to grandparents and least when they are speaking to their siblings. In a number of settlements, we discovered that the place of Rendille is steadily being taken over by Samburu and, to some extent, Kiswahili in a number of domains. In the following chapter we consider the data obtained from the older members/adults. When dealing with these data, like we did with the data from the younger members, we shall first examine the respondents' biodata and then proceed to language choice patterns.

Notes

[1] As pointed out earlier, data collection in Log-logo, especially among the younger members of the community, was faced with a serious logistical problem. What we got was not obtained from respondents on site, that is Log-logo, but from persons who hail from Log-logo but were in boarding Secondary schools in Marsabit. This accounts for the apparent low number of respondents who were of ages 10-15 years.

[2] The influence of Borana in the region is so compelling that the Burji community is steadily shifting to Borana (Sommer 1992:325). The Gabra community, too, has been influenced a great deal by Borana. The Gabra are said to be a distinct community from Borana but, ironically, having lost their own language, they speak Borana.

[3] The term "missing" in the table implies that the respondent did not provide a response with regard to the information solicited by the particular question in the data collection tool.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRIMARY DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSES (FROM ADULTS)

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter four we analyzed the quantitative data obtained from the younger members of

the community. We used tables to present the information gathered from the respondents

who were sampled from six settlements within the Rendille territory. In this chapter we

shift our attention to the adults. In our analysis, just like it was in Chapter 4, we shall

examine data that exhibits quantitative characteristics in that it is rather factual. The

research tool used to gather information from the adults was slightly different from the

one used for the younger members in that it had some questions that were not included in

the LUAQ used for the younger members. It had, for example, questions regarding

marital status, the language of the spouse, the language used when talking to the spouse,

among others which were not in the LUAQ for the younger members (see the two

questionnaires in the appendix). As pointed out in Section 4.2, in the category of

adults/older members we collected data from 60 respondents who were drawn from six

settlements within the Rendille territory. These were Laisamis, Kargi, Kor, Log-logo,

Karare/Songa and Hula-hula.

As explained in Section 1.10.5, we used purposive and snowball sampling to identify

respondents from the six settlements. A good number of them were in formal

employment working as teachers, officers with Governmental agencies and others

working with non-governmental organizations. There were some, however, who were not

in formal employment but were in the informal sector eking a living in private business. There was a small percentage, still, that was neither in formal nor informal employment but were in colleges and therefore not in any income generating engagement.

The data from the 60 respondents were analysed and presented under various sub-topics emanating from the questions used to elicit the data. The questions were formulated with the objectives of the study in mind. The information to be obtained using the questionnaires, as we pointed out earlier in Section 1.10.3.3, was meant address objectives One, Two and Four. Tables showing percentage of frequencies were used to display the findings.

5.2 The Respondents' Biodata

In the questionnaire the respondents were asked to provide information pertaining to their lives by responding to questions regarding their age, gender, place of birth, occupation, marital status, religion, highest level of education and the number of languages they spoke. The variables encapsulated in these questions were deemed useful, as we shall demonstrate in chapter 6, when examining the factors and motivations behind the language shift in question.

5.2.1 The Age of the Respondents

The question of age was pertinent in our study because, as we pointed out earlier in section 1.9.5, our study is interested in examining intergenerational transfer of language. The adults represent the intermediary generation that falls between the younger speakers whose data we analysed in chapter four and the grandparents of the younger speakers

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(and who are treated as the parents to the adults). The data from grandparents were obtained indirectly through the younger speakers and the adults.

The question on age was answered by all the respondents. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 68: Respondent's Age (adults) (%)

Age	Percent
18-30 years	41.7
31-40 years	41.7
41 years and above	16.7
Total	100.0

From the table it is apparent that over 50% of the respondents were over 30years old. Persons of this age are expected, in most Kenyan communities, to be married and are generally reckoned as responsible enough to be leaders. According to the latest Kenya's demographic and health survey conducted by the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics in conjunction with ICF Macro (2010), the median age of first marriage among Kenyan women is 20 years while that of men is 25.1. According to Fratkin (2004:56) Rendille (inclusive of Ariaal) boys get circumcised at the age of between 10 and 25 years and remain in moranhood for about fourteen years before they are allowed to marry. This translates the marrying age to between 24 and 39 years.

5.2.2 The Gender of the Respondents

The number of men was nearly twice the number of women. This was not advertently schemed. As mentioned in the introduction above, the adult respondents were

purposefully selected. Among other considerations we looked at respondents who could fill the self-administered questionnaire with little help from the researcher. We reckoned that such persons would be found in schools, offices and, to a lesser extent, in the market. We, however, did not find many female teachers in the schools we visited. The same challenge was witnessed in the offices. This discrepancy is mitigated, albeit imperfectly, by the data obtained through observation and interview which will be discussed in chapter six.

Table 69: Respondent's Gender-(adults)

Gender	Percent
Male	63.3
Female	36.7
Total	100.0

5.2.3 The place of Birth of the Respondents

The question about the respondents' place of birth was considered important in this study because it deemed as having the potential of addressing one of the research objectives, specifically the one relating to the phases discernable in the shift. As we stated in section 4.3.1.4, since the investigation in question concerned Rendille and Samburu, two languages that share a geographical boundary, it was considered important to ascertain the location of the place of birth of the respondents relative to Samburu 'territory' and the Isiolo-Marsabit road which has the potential of facilitating interethnic migration. Viewed in relation to the Isiolo-Marsabit road, the places of birth of the adult respondents, like that of the younger speakers, are divided into two: the places situated near the Isiolo-Marsabit road and those situated far from the road.

As already the settlements situated near the Isiolo-Marsabit road are four (Laisamis, Log-logo, Karare/Songa and Hula-hula) while two (Kargi and Kor) are situated far from the main road. Expectedly, the respondents from the settlements near the Isiolo-Marsabit road numerically surpassed those from the settlements situated far from the road. This variable will be extremely useful when we shall be considering the linguistic repertoire and the pattern of language use of the respondents from these places.

5.2.4 Occupation of the Respondents

In section 5.2.2 above, we intimated that the respondents we identified through purposive sampling were mainly found in their places of work and social gatherings frequented by generally literate persons. The question about the occupation was important because, in sociolinguistics, language use pattern is known to be influenced to a certain extent by the occupation people are involved in. The table shows that a significant number of the respondents were students. The students and farmers/pastoralists tied in the second position after the persons in formal employment. The breakdown of the responses to the question is as displayed in the table below:

Table 70: Respondents' Occupation- (adults)

Occupation	Percent
student	13.3
Business	5.0
Formal employment	56.7
Farmer/Pastoralist	13.3
Not working	11.7
Total	100.0

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5.2.5 Level of Education of the Respondents

Related to the question on occupation of the respondents is the one that sought to find out the highest level of education of the respondents. In the responses shown in Table 70 above, we noted that students comprised 13.3% of the respondents. All these students were enrolled in tertiary institutions where some were pursuing degrees and others diplomas. The responses to the question on highest level of education revealed that most of the respondents had been to a tertiary institution.

Table 71: Respondent's Level of Education- (adults)

Educational level	Percent
Primary School	3.3
Secondary School	18.3
Tertiary level	63.3
Iliterate	10.0
Missing	5.0
Total	100.0

The question eliciting details on the highest level of education does not provide a direct answer to any of the research questions but furnishes us with useful information when we discuss the sociolinguistic status of Rendille using the three factor model in Chapter Six.

5.2.6 Marital status of the Respondents

We requested the respondents to provide us with the information pertaining to their marital status. This question was critical in the study because it served as a prelude to other questions that sought to examine language use in the home domain. The question was answered by 96.7% of the respondents; 3.3% of the respondents did not answer the question. The number of the respondents who were not married was 31.7%. This figure, although smaller than the one for the married (see Table 72 below), is remarkable

considering that the ages in question are over 18 years. This is in tandem with the observation by Spencer (1973:44) that Rendille men generally marry at an advanced age due to the rigid cultural traditional restrictions that regulate matters relating to marriage.

Table 72: Respondent's Marital Status- (adults)

Marital status	Percent
Single	31.7
Married	65.0
missing	3.3
Total	100.0

5.2.7 Religion of the Respondents

In section 4.3.1.5 we pointed out that language is treated seriously in religion. We considered it important to get information about the religion of the respondents since in another section in the questionnaire the respondents would be required to state the language used in the domain of religion. For this particular question the answer we got from adults was comparable to what we got from the younger members. The number of respondents who subscribe to Christianity was 71.7% while those who indicated to subscribe to Islam were 25%. 1.7% of the respondents indicated that they subscribed to the Rendille Traditional Religion. We had a few respondents, however, who did not indicate their religion.the latter were 1.7%. The respondents who profess the Muslim faith were mostly found in Kargi, Laisamis, Kor and Loglogo. All the respondents from Karare/Songa indicated that they were Christians. Below is a chart displaying the respondents' religious affiliations.

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Islam

Missing

African Traditional

Christianity
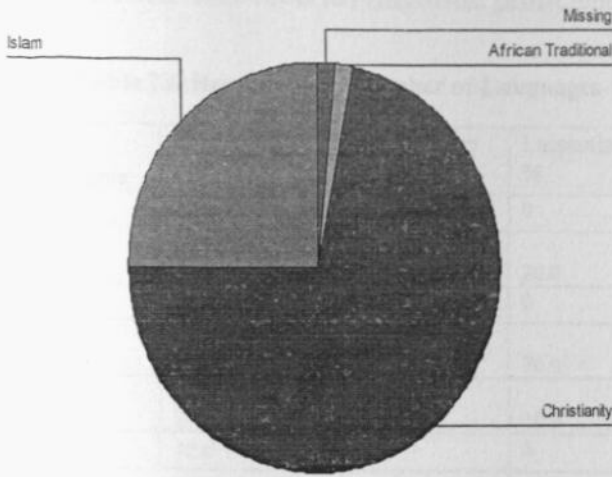
Fig. 7 : Respondents' Religion (adults)

5.3 Linguistic Data

In this section we present the responses of the respondents to questions regarding their linguistic repertoire (self-reported proficiency), the language of their parents, spouses and the languages they use when communicating at home with their parents, spouses and children. We shall present this information in tables that juxtapose the respondents from the five settlements. In tandem with our second hypothesis we do not anticipate uniform linguistic behaviour of our respondents across the settlements; we expect variation that is suggestive of different degrees of influence by the Samburu language. It is therefore worthwhile to show how the respondents from each settlement fare in as far as the variables identified in this section are concerned.

5.3.1 Respondents Linguistic Repertoire

The respondents' self-reported linguistic proficiency is displayed in the table below:

Table 73: Respondent's Number of Languages- (adults) (%)

No. of Languages	Log-logo %	Karare/Songa %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Hula-hula %
One	0	0	0	0	0	10.0
Two	0	30.0	20.0	40.0	30.0	50.0
Three	20.0	0	0	0	0	30.0
Four	50.0	60.0	70.0	40.0	60.0	10.0
Five	20.0	10.0	10.0	20.0	10.0	0
Missing	10.0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Looking at the table above we make a number of deductions. In five settlements, over half of the respondents speak at least four languages. The settlement with the highest number of respondents (60%) who speak less than three languages is Hula-hula. We also note that, in five out of the six settlements at least 10% of the respondents speak five languages. Kargi and Log-logo have the highest number of respondents who speak five languages, at 20% each. When we examined the specific languages enumerated by the respondents in Kargi and Log-logo, it was interesting to note that there was a discrepancy in the languages listed by the respondents from the two settlements. The languages listed by the respondents from Kargi included Rendille, Kiswahili, English, Borana and Somali. The respondents from Log-logo indicated Rendille, Samburu, Kiswahili, English and Maasai. When we consider this outcome, it is puzzling to figure out how the Kargi people, situated further from the Borana community end up adopting Borana while the residents of Log-Logo, who are geographically nearer, do not. This puzzle is unraveled when we look at incidence of intermarriage.

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The overall picture of multilingualism among the adults in the six settlements is well expressed in the table below which is a summary of Table 73 above. The table shows that 70% of the respondents spoke more than two languages.

Table 74: Respondent's Number of Languages - (adults) (%)

No. of languages spoken	Percent
One	1.7
Two	8.3
Three	30
Four	43.3
Five	15.0
Missing	1.7
Total	100.0

5.3.2 The Respondents' First Language

When the respondents were asked to indicate their first language, 81.7% indicated that Rendille was their first language while 18.3% indicated that their first language was Samburu. It is important to point out at this juncture that, the 18.3% were persons who claimed a Rendille identity although they did not speak Rendille as their first language. Some of them did not speak Rendille at all. In order to determine the distribution of the respondents whose first language is either Rendille or Samburu, let us examine the table below which shows responses from each of the settlements:

Table 75: The Respondents' First Language- (adults)

First Language	Log-logo %	Karare/ Songa %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Hula-hula %
Rendille	70.0	50.0	90.0	100.00	90.0	80.0
Samburu	30.0	50.0	10.0	0	10.0	20.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

From figures displayed in the table above, we deduce that the highest number of Samburu first language speakers is found in Karare/Songa, followed by Log-logo. In the two settlements, Karare/Songa and Log-logo, the number of respondents who indicated that they spoke Samburu as their first language was 50% and 30%, respectively. In Kargi 100% of the respondents indicated that Rendille was their first language. Rendille first language speakers were also found in high numbers in Kor, Laisamis, Hula-hula and Log-logo where they were 90%, 90%, 80% and 70% respectively.

5.3.3 The First Language of the Respondents' Parents

The respondents were requested to indicate the first language(s) of their parents. Naturally, children are expected to pick their first language from their earliest and nearest socializing agents who in most cases, in the home environment, are parents. It was necessary to inquire about the parents' first language in order to assess parent-to-child language transmission. Another reason why we sought this information is because of the fact that, as we pointed out in section 5.2.1, the parents to this category of respondents constitute the first generation in our study. We are therefore using the adults to provide us with data regarding the linguistic behaviour of the first generation. The data is later compared with what we got from the younger speakers who, too, were requested to supply information regarding the language used by their grandparents. We begin by looking at the language(s) of the respondents' fathers.

Table 76: Father's First Language- (adults)

Fathers' first language	Percent
Rendille	81.7
Samburu	16.7
Any other	1.7
Total	100.0

When we look at Table 76 above, the general impression we get is that most fathers spoke Rendille (over 80%) and that Samburu was spoken by less than 20% of the fathers. The table does not, however, provide us with such pertinent information as the settlements with the highest number of parents who speak either of these languages. This information is provided in Table 77 below.

Table 77: The Respondents' Fathers'First Language in the Five Settlements- (adults)

First Language	Log-logo %	Karare/ Songa %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Hula-hula %
Rendille	80.0	50.0	100.0	100.00	70.0	90.0
Samburu	20.0	50.0	0	0	20.0	10.0
Any other	0	0	0	0	10.0	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

When we examine the content of the table above viz-a-viz the contents in Table 75 showing the first language of the respondents, we note that there is some discrepancy. We note, for example, that in Laisamis the respondents' fathers' first language is Rendille exclusively but in the same settlement 10% of the respondents indicated that their first language is Samburu. We detect a similar scenario in Log-logo. This 'inconsistencies' are useful because, as we shall discuss in chapter 6, they are indicative of language shift in progress.

Table 78: The Respondents' Mothers' First Language in the Six Settlements- (adults)

First Language	Log-logo %	Karare/ Songa %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Hula-hula %
Rendille	80.0	30.0	80.0	90.00	70.0	80.0
Samburu	20.0	60.0	10.0	0	30.0	20.0
Borana	0	10.0	10.0	10.0	0	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The mothers of the respondents came from three different communities. These are Rendille, Samburu and Borana communities. From the table above we deduce that in all the six settlements there are cases of interethnic marriages. 10% of the respondents' mothers in Kargi, Laisamis, and Karare/Songa appear to have hailed from the Boran community since Boran was their first language. The respondents from Log-logo, Karare/Songa, Laisamis and Kor had 20%, 60%, 10% and 30%, respectively of their mothers speaking Samburu as their first language. This could imply that either the Rendille men acquired their brides from the neighbouring Samburu District, which is home to the Samburu community, or these Samburu-speaking brides were drawn from the Samburu-speaking Rendille (Ariaal) living within the Rendille territory or a combination of the two.

The three languages spoken by the respondents' mothers can be expressed in a chart as shown below:

Borana
Samburu

Rendille
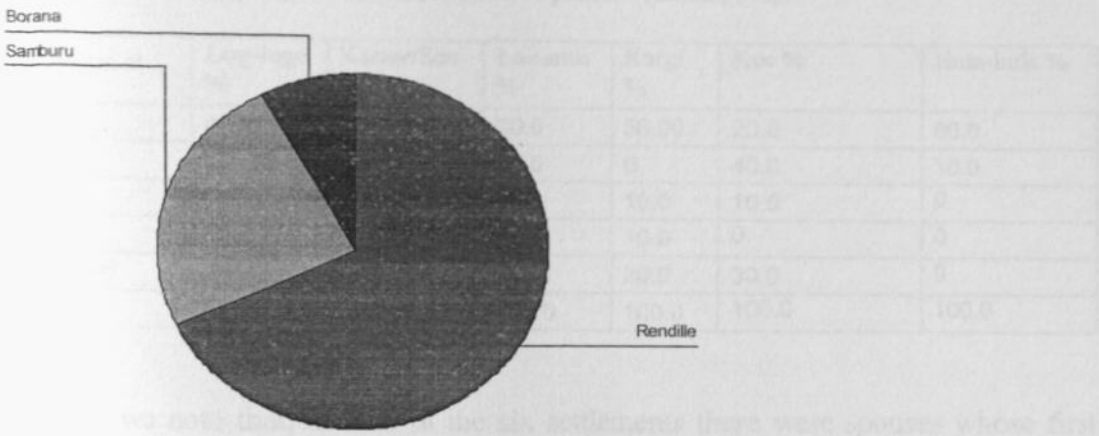
Fig 8: Respondents' Mothers' First Language

5.3.4 The First Language of the Respondents' spouses

After gathering information regarding the language of the respondents' parents, we were also interested in finding out the first language of the respondents' spouses (Table 72 shows the breakdown of the marital status of the respondents). As we had noted in an earlier section a considerable percentage of the respondents were not married and did not therefore answer this question and subsequent questions regarding marital situation. We, nevertheless, got some useful responses to this question from the married respondents. Like we did in the section on language of the parents, we present the answers in a table showing the distribution in the six settlements.

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Table 79: The First Language of the Respondents' Spouses - (adults) (%)

First Language of the spouse	Log-logo %	Karare/Songa %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Hula-hula %
Rendille	40.0	20.0	20.0	50.00	20.0	90.0
Samburu	20.0	30.0	20.0	0	40.0	10.0
Borana	0	0	0	10.0	10.0	0
Any other	20.0	0	0	10.0	0	0
Missing(single)	20.0	50.0	60.0	30.0	30.0	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In the table we note that, in each of the six settlements there were spouses whose first language was Rendille. It is also apparent that in five out of the six settlements there were spouses who spoke Samburu as their first language. When we examined the questionnaires used critically, we established that the specific languages spoken by the spouses appearing in the table under 'any other' were Burji, Maasai and Gikuyu.

5.4 Language Use Pattern

In this section we look at the choice of language made by the respondents when they are engaged in conversation with their parents, siblings, spouses and their children. The domain of language use focused in this section is the home. Taking cognizance of the fact that individual polyglottism is rife among persons in the geographical area of our study (see sections 4.3.2.2 and 5.3.1 above) we deemed it fit to examine the language(s) used by the respondents when talking to different members of the family. The language choice in this domain is critical when examining language shift.

5.4.1 The Language Used With Parents

Table 80: The Language Used with Parents - (adults) (%)

Language	Log-logo %	Karare/Songa %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Hula-hula %
Rendille	60.0	30.0	30.0	90.0	60.0	90.0
Samburu	20.0	70.0	70.0	0	30.0	10.0
Borana	0	0	0	10.0	0	0
Kiswahili	10.0	0	0	0	10.0	0
Missing	10.0	0	0	0	30.0	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The answers to the question about the respondents' language when speaking to parents displayed in the table above reveal that Rendille is used at home in all the six settlements by the respondents when talking to their parents but in varying degrees. In Kargi and Hula-hula, for example, 90% of the respondents use Rendille while in both Laisamis and Karare/Songa, the respondents who use Rendille are 30%. Samburu is a language to reckon with in most homes; it is spoken in five settlements out of the six. The only settlement where Samburu is not spoken is in Kargi. It would be interesting to examine these results along with the responses on the question regarding the language used with the siblings presented in 5.4.2 below.

5.4.2 The Language Used With the Siblings

Table 81: The Language Used with Siblings - (adults) (%)

Language	Log-logo %	Karare/Songa %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Hula-hula %
Rendille	50.0	20.0	10.0	90.0	60.0	90.0
Samburu	30.0	80.0	80.0	0	30.0	10.0
Kiswahili	10.0	0	10.0	0	10.0	0
Borana	0	0	0	10.0	0	0
Missing	10.0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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When we interpret the results displayed on the table against the information contained in the preceding table, we make some useful deductions. The first one is that the incidence of use of Rendille by the respondents has decreased in three out of the six settlements. It is in Kargi, Kor and Hula-hula where the use of Rendille by the respondents has remained invariable at 90%, 60% and 90% respectively. The second observation we make is that the incidence of use of Samburu has increased in the three settlements where the incidence of use of Rendille has decreased. The three are Log-logo, Karare/Songa and Laisamis. It appears, then, that while Rendille has registered a decline in the incidence of use in the home domain, Samburu has gained some considerable ground in the same domain. A final observation regarding the results displayed above is that Kiswahili is also gaining some grounds in the home domain.

To get a comprehensive account of the status of the three languages in as far as the home domain is concerned, we need to consider the language choice made when talking to spouses and children.

5.4.3 The Language Used with Spouses

Table 82: Language Mostly used at Home with Spouse- (adults)

Language	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	40.0	20.0	10.0	50.0	10.0	100.0
Samburu	10.0	30.0	30.0	10.0	20.0	0
Kiswahili	10.0	0	0	0	0	0
Borana	0	0	0	10.0	0	0
Any other	10.0	0	0		0	0
Missing	30.0	50.0	60.0	30.0	70.0	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As expected, the questions regarding the language used by the respondents when talking to spouses and children were answered only by those respondents who had indicated in an earlier question that they were married. The table above presents the results to the question regarding the language used by the respondents when talking to their spouses. From the table, it is apparent that in all the five settlements there were homesteads in which Rendille and Samburu were used by couples when talking to each other. Since there was uneven distribution of numbers of married respondents across the six settlements, it would not be in order to comment about which settlement had the highest number of couples using a certain language. We anticipate a similar outcome in Table 83 below which displays the language choice made by the respondents when they are speaking to their children.

5.4.4 The Language Used when Speaking to Children

Table 83: Language Mostly Used at Home with Children- (adults) (%)

Language	Log-logo %	Karare/Songa %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Hula-hula %
Rendille	40.0	10.0	10.0	50.0	20.0	100.0
Samburu	10.0	20.0	20.0	10.0	20.0	0
Kiswahili	10.0	20.0	10.0	0	10.0	0
English	0	0	0	10.0	0	0
Any other	10.0	0	0	0	0	0
Missing	30.0	50.0	60.0	30.0	50.0	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

From the table, we note, just like we found out in Table 82 on spouses, that Rendille and Samburu are the two languages mostly used by parents when speaking to their children. However, when we compare the results in the two tables we notice that while the use of

Rendille remains unaffected, the use of Samburu is reduced when the respondents speak
to their children. It appears that Kiswahili gains more usage at the expense of Samburu.

5.4.5 The Language Used with Agemates in Social places

In the previous section we looked at language choice in the home domain. We now focus
our attention to yet another important domain, the social place(s). Social places are areas
or points in the society where people congregate with informal agenda. The agenda may
be varied but generally characterized by lack of strict regulations regarding the choice of
language to be used, as is often the case in formal setups.

The question in the elicitation tool requested the respondents to state the language they
use when conversing with agemates in such social places as clubs, pubs, churches,
markets among others. The responses to the question are presented in the table below:

Table 84: Language Used Mostly with Agemates in Social Places - (adults) (%)

Language	Log-logo %	Karare/Songa %	Laisamis %	Kargi %	Kor %	Hula-hula %
Rendille	50.0	20.0	40.0	20.0	50.0	100.0
Samburu	40.0	50.0	50.0	0	10.0	0
Kiswahili	0	10.0	10.0	70.0	30.0	0
English	0	10.0	0	10.0	0	0
Borana	0	0	0	10.0	10.0	0
Missing	10.0	10.0	0	0	0	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

It is clear from the table above that Rendille is used in all the six settlements when people
are talking in social places. Samburu is used in four out of the six settlements while
Kiswahili and English are each used in two.

A keen scrutiny of the table reveals that respondents in Kargi and Kor recorded the highest incidence of use of Kiswahili and that respondents from these two were the only ones who indicated that they used Borana. This outcome is rather confounding considering that the two settlements are located off the Isiolo-Marsabit road and are a bit further from the Marsabit town than the other settlements. Marsabit, Isiolo and Moyale are the major towns predominantly occupied by the speakers of Borana. We expected, going by the previous outcomes as displayed in a number of tables, that the use of Rendille when socializing with friends would be higher in Kargi than in the other settlements but, ironically, it recorded one of the lowest incidences. We would have expected, also, that the incidence of use of Kiswahili to be higher, than what we have, in settlements that are situated along the Isiolo-Marsabit road because this is the road that is used to facilitate interethnic migration. However, this is not the case. Log-logo, for example, recorded 0% incidence. Karare/Songa and Laisamis recorded 10% each. This 'unexpected' outcome, like the other one we pinpointed in section 5.3.1, will provide us with useful raw material for discussion in chapter 6.

5.5 Frequency of Use of Rendille, Samburu, Kiswahili and English in various domains of language use

Given that multilingualism is rampant in the six settlements, we sought to find out the frequency of use of the various languages by the respondents and persons related to him/her in various speech domains. We presented the respondent with four languages, Rendille, Samburu, Kiswahili and English. Against each language was placed a frequency range with **Never** on one extreme and **Always** on the other; **Rarely** and

Sometimes appeared in between the extremes. A variety of speech situations were put forth and the respondents requested to indicate the frequency of use of the given languages.

5.5.1 Frequency of use of the four languages in the home domain

In multilingual societies where languages exist in a diaglossic relation, persons make decisions voluntarily, and sometimes involuntarily, regarding the language to use when speaking to whom, about what and in which situation. The language that is chosen for the home domain is often one that, in addition to sufficing as a code of communication, fosters some intimacy that goes with kinship. With this in mind, we requested the respondents to indicate the frequency of use of the four languages in certain situations within the home domain.

5.5.1.1 Frequency of use of the four languages by parents when talking to the Respondent

The language used by the parents when talking to the respondent was examined. The respondent was asked to indicate the frequency with which the parents used the four languages when talking to him/her. This question is slightly different, although related, to what we have in 5.4.1 above which deals with the language the respondent mostly uses when talking to parents. The table below shows the frequency of use of the four languages by parents.

Table 85: Frequency of Use of the Four Languages by Parents when Talking to the Respondents- (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Never	10.0	40.0	20.0	0	10.0	0
	Rarely	20.0	20.0	50.0	0	10.0	0
	Sometimes	20.0	10.0	20.0	0	0	0
	Always	50.0	30.0	10.0	100.0	80.0	100.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Never	40.0	30.0		90.0	60.0	90
	Rarely	0	0	11.1	10.0	0	0
	Sometimes	30.0	10.0	22.2	0	10.0	0
	Always	30.0	60.0	66.7	0	30.0	10
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Never	57.1	37.5	25.0	85.7	42.9	88.9
	Rarely	0	50.0	25.0	0	14.3	0
	Sometimes	14.3	12.5	25.0	14.3	28.6	0
	Always	28.6	0	25.0	0	14.3	11.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Never	66.7	100.0	75.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Rarely	16.7	0	25.0	0	0	0
	Sometimes	16.7	0	0	0	0	0
	Always	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0

From the table it is clear that in every settlement there is a percentage of parents who use Rendille always when talking to their children (the respondents). The bulk of those who use Rendille *Always* are from Kargi and Kor. Those who use Samburu *Always* are from Laisamis and Karare. A significant number of those who use Samburu *Always* are also found in Log-logo and Kor. It is also noteworthy that Kiswahili is used *Always* by an appreciable percentage of parents in Log-logo, Laisamis and Kor.

5.5.1.2 Frequency of use of the four languages by parents when talking to each other

The respondent was also requested to provide a witness' account of the language used by his parents when the two are talking to each other. The frequency of use of the four languages by the parents is provided in the table below:

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Table 86: Frequency of Use of the Four Languages by Parents when Talking to Each Other- (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Never	22.2	50.0	11.1	0	11.1	0
	Rarely	11.1	0	22.2	0	0	0
	Sometimes	0	10.0	22.2	0	0	0
	Always	66.7	40.0	44.4	100.0	88.9	100.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Never	44.4	30.0	33.3	100.0	71.4	90.0
	Rarely	0	0	11.1	0	14.3	0
	Sometimes	22.2	10.0	11.1	0	0	0
	Always	33.3	60.0	44.4		14.3	10.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Never	83.3	75.0	37.5	85.7	100.0	88.9
	Rarely	0	12.5	12.5	14.3	0	0
	Sometimes	16.7	0	37.5	0	0	0
	Always	0	12.5	12.5	0	0	11.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Never	80.0	100.0	75.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Rarely	20.0	0	12.5	0	0	0
	Sometimes	0	0	12.5	0	0	0
	Always	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The table reveals that Rendille is used always by parents when they are talking to one another in the six settlements. This is particularly so in Kargi, Kor, Log-logo and Hula-hula. Samburu is used more often by the parents in Karare/Songa than in any of the other settlements. The high percentage of parents who never use English when talking to each other is indicative of the generally low literacy level in the region.

5.5.1.3 Frequency of use of the four languages by children when talking to their parents (the respondents)

In 5.4.4 we looked at the language(s) of the respondents when talking to their children. In this section, we look at the language of the children when talking to their parents (the respondents). The responses to this question are summarized in the table below:

Table 87: Frequency of Language Use between Respondent and Children - (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Never	55.6	60.0	33.3	14.3	75.0	0
	Rarely	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Sometimes	11.1	40.0	33.3	14.3	0	11.1
	Always	33.3	0	33.3	71.4	25.0	88.9
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Never	33.3	40.0	20.0	88.9	80.0	88.9
	Rarely	11.1	0	0	0	0	0
	Sometimes	33.3	0	80.0	11.1	0	11.1
	Always	22.2	60.0	0	0	20.0	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Never	14.3	0	0	83.3	0	55.6
	Rarely	0	0	0	0	0	11.1
	Sometimes	42.9	75.0	33.3	0	33.3	22.2
	Always	42.9	25.0	66.7	16.7	66.7	11.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Never	50.0	100.0	0	20.0	33.3	100.0
	Rarely	0	0	33.3	0	0	0
	Sometimes	33.3	0	66.7	40.0	66.7	0
	Always	16.7	0	0	40.0	0	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0

Looking at the results displayed in the table above, it is apparent that the frequency of use

of Rendille is relatively lower in all the six settlements compared to what we saw in the

last two tables. It is also noticeable that the frequency of use of Samburu has drastically

declined. Kiswahili, on the other hand, has increased in frequency of usage. Deriving

from these results, it seems that children exhibit a higher propensity to use Kiswahili and

English more than their parents. This is easily explainable given that in the country,

accessibility to formal education has relatively improved and children get exposed to

English and Kiswahili at a relatively early age in schools.

5.5.2 Frequency of use of the four languages in the neighbourhood

The neighbourhood is another important domain in which language choices have to be made. The choice made in this domain is dependent on a number of variables. They range from the ages of the interlocutors, linguistic homogeneity/heterogeneity of the neighbourhood to familiarity between the interlocutors. Since the settlements in this study exhibit some characteristics of a multilingual society, we deemed it necessary to determine the frequency of use of the four languages in the neighbourhood domain. The respondents were asked to indicate the frequency of use of the four languages when talking to neighbours and to people they had not met before in the in the neighbourhood.

5.5.2.1 Frequency of use of the four languages by the respondents when talking to neighbours

The use of language by the respondent in the neighbourhood was investigated. By 'neighbour' the question implied a person known to the respondent and resides within the periphery of the respondent's residence. The respondents were asked to indicate the frequency of use of the languages given, when interacting with their neighbours. From the table below, which provides a summary of the responses, we note that in Log-logo, Kargi, Kor and Hula-hula, Rendille is used more than in the other two settlements. In the four, we see that the frequency of use of Rendille is not below 50% (*Always* + *Sometimes* = 50% Log-logo; 90% Kargi; 60% Kor; and 100% Hula-hula).

Samburu is used often for interaction with neighbours in Karare/Songa and Laisamis (Always + Sometimes = 77.7 and 88.9, respectively). It is important, at this juncture, to point out that in the frequency score it is possible to encounter cases of ties. In the table below, we note, for example, that the scores for use of Rendille and Samburu in Log-logo

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are 50% and 66.7, respectively. This implies that the two have more or less equal standing in this particular domain and are therefore used almost interchangeably.

Table 88: Frequency of use of the Four Languages by the Respondent when Talking to Neighbours - (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Never	40.0	30.0	22.2	10.0	10.0	0
	Rarely	10.0	40.0	55.6	0	30.0	0
	Sometimes	10.0	20.0	22.2	20.0	20.0	22.2
	Always	40.0	10.0	0	70.0	40.0	77.8
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Never	33.3	22.2	11.1	80.0	62.5	70.0
	Rarely	0	0	0	10.0	12.5	0
	Sometimes	11.1	33.3	0	0	12.5	30.0
	Always	55.6	44.4	88.9	10.0	12.5	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Never	14.3	12.5	0	0	16.7	50.0
	Rarely	14.3	12.5	11.1	0	16.7	37.5
	Sometimes	28.6	50.0	55.6	77.8	33.3	0
	Always	42.9	25.0	33.3	22.2	33.3	12.5
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Never	71.4	33.3	37.5	25.	33.3	100.0
	Rarely	14.3	33.3	0	25.	16.7	0
	Sometimes	0	33.3	50.0	25.	50.0	0
	Always	14.3	0	12.5	25.	0	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0

Referring to the same table, still, we note that there seems to be a consensus among the respondents in five settlements regarding the use of Kiswahili when talking to neighbours. When we put together the scores obtained from the use of Kiswahili *Sometimes* and *Always* we get that in each of the five settlements, Log-logo, Laisamis, Karare/Songa, Kargi and Kor, we get a score of over 60%. This outcome therefore suggests that the language that is generally used for interaction with neighbours across the settlements is Kiswahili. In Hula-hula, however, Rendille still preponderates as a language for use with neighbours.

The result from the question on use of language with neighbours is closely related to the one on language used with strangers in the neighbourhood whose outcome is presented in Table 89 below.

5.5.2.2 Frequency of use of the four languages by the respondent when talking to strangers in the neighbourhood

The respondents were asked to indicate the language they use when talking to strangers in the neighbourhood. Although it was not explicitly stated, the question was interested in the language the respondent uses when he/she initiates a conversation with a stranger and not vice versa. It is often the practice, in multilingual societies, that when a conversation is initiated in a given language the other interlocutor(s) will follow suit using the same language. For this particular question, we found out that there was a general decline in the use of Rendille and Samburu in most of the settlements, except in Karare/Songa and Kor, and a remarkable rise in the use of both Kiswahili and English. Kiswahili asserts itself as the national language by having a clear edge over the other languages in this domain. Table 89 below provides a complete account of the frequency scores of the languages in the domain in focus.

Table 89: Frequency of Use of the Four Languages by the Respondents when Talking to Strangers in the Neighbourhood- (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Never	40.0	50.0	75.0	25.0	25.0	0
	Rarely	10.0	10.0	0	12.5	12.5	0
	Sometimes	20.0	30.0	25.0	25.0	50.0	66.7
	Always	30.0	10.0	0	37.5	12.5	33.3
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Never	55.6	25.0	25.0	90.0	62.5	80.0
	Rarely	11.1	0	12.5	10.0	12.5	0
	Sometimes	22.2	62.5	37.5	0	12.5	20.0
	Always	11.1	12.5	25.0	0	12.5	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Never	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Rarely	0	0	0	11.1	12.5	22.2
	Sometimes	12.5	50.0	33.3	66.7	37.5	55.6
	Always	87.5	50.0	66.7	22.2	50.0	22.2
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Never	50.0	62.5	0	0	16.7	100.0
	Rarely	0	12.5	0	0	16.7	0
	Sometimes	16.7	0	55.6	80.0	66.7	0
	Always	33.3	25.0	44.4	20.0	0	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0

5.5.3 Frequency of use of the four languages in the domain of religion

As we pointed out in 4.3.1.5 and 5.2.7 above, language is an important tool in the expression of ones faith. In some religions of the world, a given language or variety is invariably synonymous to the religion. Realizing that language is such an indispensable asset in religion, we sought to establish the frequency of use of the four languages by our respondents in this domain.

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5.5.3.1 Frequency of use of the four languages by the spiritual leaders

We asked respondents to indicate the frequency of use of the four languages by the religious leaders during worship. We expected to get answers to this question from the respondents' account as participant observers in the place of worship. Later, in the next subsection, we shall consider the respondents use of language in religion. In 4.3.1.5 and 5.2.7, we found out that the respondents who subscribe to Christianity were 85.8% and 71.1% respectively while those who indicated that they subscribed to Islam were 14.2% and 25% respectively. The adherents of Rendille African Traditional Religion were 1.7%. We anticipated getting a good number of adherents of the Rendille African Traditional Religion (RATR), but we only got a few respondents, mainly from Hula-hula. When supplying the respondents with a list of the languages to choose from, when answering this question, we omitted Arabic. We did this, although, still, taking cognizance of the fact that Arabic is the main language of Islam, because our investigation is mainly interested in Rendille and Samburu and to some limited extent, Kiswahili and English. The responses to the question are presented in the table below:

Table 90: Frequency of Language Use by the Spiritual Leaders- (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Never	40.0	40.0	62.5	0	50.0	0
	Rarely	0	20.0	12.5	11.1	12.5	0
	Sometimes	30.0	30.0	25.0	22.2	12.5	55.6
	Always	30.0	10.0	0	66.7	25.0	44.4
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Never	37.5	33.3	37.5	80.0	75.0	88.9
	Rarely	0	0	25.0	0	0	0
	Sometimes	37.5	33.3	12.5	10.0	12.5	11.1
	Always	25.0	33.3	25.0	10.0	12.5	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Never	0	12.5	0	12.5	0	11.1
	Rarely	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Sometimes	50.0	25.0	12.5	62.5	50.0	66.7
	Always	50.0	62.5	87.5	25.0	50.0	22.2
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Never	14.3	0	12.5	25.0	16.7	100.0
	Rarely	14.3	14.3	25.0	0	33.3	0
	Sometimes	42.9	71.4	37.5	25.0	33.3	0
	Always	28.6	14.3	25.0	50.0	16.7	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0

In the table, we see that the gap in the use of Kiswahili and English, on the one hand, and Rendille and Samburu, on the other, has widened further in this domain. It is only in Kargi and Hula-hula where we note a language other than Kiswahili recording a high frequency score of use by the respondent (*Always+Sometimes*= 88.9%and 100%, respectively, in favour of Rendille). In all the other settlements, Kiswahili scoops the leading position, followed by English, as the preferred language for use by spiritual leaders during worship. It is also worth noting, from the table above, that Samburu is featured, albeit with low scores, in all the six settlements.

5.5.3.2 Frequency of use of the four languages by the respondent when engaged in a religious discourse

The respondents were asked to indicate frequency of use of the four languages, this time not as observers, but as participants in various activities involving language during worship. The activities included singing, praying and delivering talk/testimony/summon.

Table 91: Frequency of Language Use by the Respondent in a Religious Setting- (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Never	30.0	57.1	25.0	10.0	11.1	0
	Rarely	10.0	0	25.0	0	22.2	0
	Sometimes	20.0	42.9	50.0	50.0	33.3	40.0
	Always	40.0	0	0	40.0	33.3	60.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Never	37.5	14.3	0	80.0	50.0	77.8
	Rarely	12.5	0	28.6	20.0	12.5	0
	Sometimes	50.0	42.9	57.1	0	25.0	22.2
	Always	0	42.9	14.3	0	12.5	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Never		0	0	11.1	14.3	22.2
	Rarely	28.6	0	0	0	0	0
	Sometimes	28.6	57.1	25.0	66.7	28.6	66.7
	Always	42.9	42.9	75.0	22.2	57.1	11.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Never	12.5	0	12.5	0	33.3	100.0
	Rarely	12.5	12.5	25.0	0	33.3	0
	Sometimes	12.5	50.0	25.0	25.0	16.7	0
	Always	62.5	37.5	37.5	75.0	16.7	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0

From the table above, we see that most respondents, apart from those in Hula-hula, prefer Kiswahili and English to Rendille and Samburu in this subdomain. We suspect that part of the reason responsible for this is the fact that, most of the respondents are generally literate (refer to section 5.2.5). In spite of the high frequencies recorded in favour of the two languages, we still have an appreciable percentage of respondents who use Rendille in Hula-hula and Kargi and those who use Samburu in Laisamis.

5.5.4 Frequency of use of the four languages in the official domain

I n Chapter 4 section 4.3.2.2, we pointed out that in Kenya, English has been the sole official language since colonial times until August 2010 when the country entered into a new constitutional dispensation. The new constitution, which was promulgated on 27th August 2010, elevated the status of Kiswahili to an official language along with English. The data for this study were collected prior to the promulgation of the new constitution. We sought the respondents' responses to the question on language of use in the official domain. We first asked them to indicate how often they used the four languages when they were in a government office and later how often they used the languages when they (themselves) were in their place of work working and when they were in their place of work but in a temporary break from work.

5.5.4.1 Frequency of use of the four languages by the respondents when in a government office/in their places of work

The responses to the first question regarding the language use in the official domain are presented in the table below.

Table 92: Frequency of Language Use by the Respondent in a Government Office - (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Never	77.8	85.7	75.0	66.7	100.0	0
	Rarely	11.1	14.3	0	0	0	0
	Sometimes	0	0	25.0	22.2	0	30.0
	Always	11.1	0	0	11.1	0	70.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Never	85.7	57.1	62.5	900	75.0	77.8
	Rarely	14.3	0	12.5	0	12.5	0
	Sometimes	0	28.6	25.0	0	0	22.2
	Always	0	14.3	0	10.00	12.5	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Never	0	14.3	0	11.1	0	0
	Rarely	0	0	0	0	0	11.1
	Sometimes	37.5	42.9	22.2	66.7	66.7	77.8
	Always	62.5	42.9	77.8	22.2	33.3	11.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Never	14.3	0	0	12.5	0	100.0
	Rarely	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Sometimes	14.3	25.0	0	62.5	28.6	0
	Always	71.4	75.0	100.0	25.0	71.4	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0

From the table it is clear that English has edged out the other languages in this sub-domain. In five out of the six settlements, the respondents indicated that English was often used when they were in a government office. English is followed by Kiswahili. The results presented in the table above are comparable to what we got from the closely related question on the language used by the respondents when they were in their places of work working. The responses are displayed in the table below.

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Table 93: Frequency of Language use by the Respondent during Working Sessions - (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Never	55.6	71.4	75.0	55.6	85.7	0
	Rarely	22.2	0	12.5	0	0	0
	Sometimes	0	14.3	12.5	22.2	14.3	20.0
	Always	22.2	14.3	0	22.2	0	80.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Never	71.4	42.9	50.0	100.0	75.0	66.7
	Rarely	14.3	0	12.5	0	12.5	11.1
	Sometimes	14.3	0	25.0	0	12.5	22.2
	Always	0	57.1	12.5	0	0	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Never	0	14.3	11.1	12.5	0	0
	Rarely	16.7	0	0	0	0	44.4
	Sometimes	33.3	42.9	11.1	75.0	33.3	44.4
	Always	50.0	42.9	77.8	12.5	66.7	11.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Never	11.1	0	0	14.3	12.5	100.0
	Rarely	0	12.5	11.1	0	0	0
	Sometimes	22.2	25.0	0	42.9	12.5	0
	Always	66.7	62.5	88.9	42.9	75.0	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In 5.2.4 we provided a breakdown of the respondents' occupation where we established that 56.4% of the respondents were in formal employment. This explains the high frequency of use of English in the place of work.

5.5.4.2 Frequency of use of the four languages by the respondents at the place of work but on a temporary break from work

When asked to state how often they used the four languages when on a temporary break from work such as during tea and lunch breaks the respondents did not seem to exhibit a significant distinction in their use of Kiswahili and English; the two languages were used equally on this sub-domain. There is, however, a remarkable improvement in the use of Rendille and Samburu in this sub-domain. Rendille is *Sometimes* used in this sub-domain

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in all the settlements. Interestingly, the frequency of use of Rendille *Sometimes* by respondents from Karare/Songa is 42.9%. This is relatively high considering that Rendille has been fairing dismally in this settlement in most of the domains of language use. The complete picture of the respondents' use of language in this sub-domain is presented in the table below:

Table 94: Frequency of Language use by the Respondent During Break Time - (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Never	33.3	42.9	50.0	37.5	57.1	0
	Rarely	11.1	0	25.0	0	14.3	0
	Sometimes	22.2	42.9	25.0	25.0	28.6	33.3
	Always	33.3	14.3	0	37.5	0	66.7
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Never	50.0	42.9	25.0	90.0	62.5	62.5
	Rarely	16.7	14.3	12.5	10.0	25.0	12.5
	Sometimes	16.7	14.3	37.5	0	0	25.0
	Always	16.7	28.6	25.0	0	12.5	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Never	14.3	14.3	0	12.5	0	20.0
	Rarely	0	0	0	0	0	60.0
	Sometimes	28.6	0	12.5	50.0	50.0	20.0
	Always	57.1	85.7	87.5	37.5	50.0	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Never	0	0	0	16.7	14.3	100.0
	Rarely	0	12.5	12.5	0	0	0
	Sometimes	42.9	50.0	12.5	50.0	28.6	0
	Always	57.1	37.5	75.0	33.3	57.1	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0

5.6 Respondents' Language attitude

In the study of language endangerment and language shift, language attitude is regarded as a crucial factor. When discussing the effect of language attitude to the survival or death of a language, Tsunoda (2006:59), identifies two dimensions of the phenomenon; attitude towards a community's own language and attitude towards other group's language. Language attitude may be classified using such terms as negative attitude,

positive attitude and indifferent attitude (Tsunoda 2005:59). In this section we undertook to examine the attitude of the respondents towards Rendille, Samburu, Kiswahili and English in the context of some domains in which language is used. It is worthwhile to make it clear, however, that although we included the four languages in the questions, our interest was particularly skewed towards Rendille and Samburu. This is because this study is an investigation of the diminishing vitality of Rendille occasioned by the influence of Samburu. We did not, however, expect the respondents to indicate the attitude by using the terms negative, positive or indifferent but they were required to choose from the four options given. The four were: Not important, Slightly important, Important, and Very important. The respondents were supplied with statements regarding language use in certain domains and were asked to indicate the importance of the given languages in the domains enshrined in the statements.

5.6.1 Education

Education/school is an important functional domain in which language choice is carefully made. In Kenya, as we pointed out in 4.3.2.2, the MOE has an explicitly stated language policy that spells out the languages of use in the education system beginning from pre-school (ECD), through primary school and secondary school to tertiary institution. The policy notwithstanding, we needed to establish the respondents' perception of these languages where education was concerned. The responses to this question are as presented in Table 95 below.

Clearly, looking at the table, it is apparent that in the domain of education, English is rated more highly than the other languages in all the five settlements. It is followed by Kiswahili. When we look at the ratings of Rendille and Samburu, however, we note that Rendille is generally regarded more highly than Samburu. We can see, for example, that while we have three settlements in which Rendille has over 60% of the respondents rating it as important (Important + Very important), we do not have any settlement in which Samburu has such a rating.

Table 95: Attitude of the respondents towards the Languages: Education- (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Not important	0	33.3	25.0	0	22.2	25.0
	Slightly Important	11.1	33.3	0	0	22.2	75.0
	Important	22.2	22.2	12.5	37.5	33.3	0
	Very Important	66.7	11.1	62.5	62.5	22.2	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Not Important	37.5	50.0	50.0	33.3	44.4	75.0
	Slightly Important	0	16.7	0	16.7	33.3	0
	Important	25.0	16.7	25.0	16.7	22.2	12.5
	Very Important	37.5	16.7	25.0	33.3	0	12.5
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Not Important	0	25.0	0	0	0	25.0
	Slightly Important	0	0	0	0	12.5	0
	Important	66.7	25.0	0	33.3	12.5	75.0
	Very Important	33.3	50.0	100.0	66.7	75.0	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Not Important	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Slightly Important	0	0	0	16.7	0	0
	Important	0	14.3	0	16.7	11.1	71.4
	Very Important	100.0	85.7	100.0	66.7	88.9	28.6
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0

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5.6.2 Employment

The respondents were asked to rate the languages in terms of importance when searching for and, by extension, getting a job within the district. The results for this question, tabled below, were almost a replica of what we obtained from the question on the domain of education. English was highly rated followed by Kiswahili. Samburu trailed Rendille in terms of importance in the domain of job searching.

Table 96: Attitude of the respondents towards the Languages: Employment/Job Search - (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Not Important	22.2	37.5	0	16.7	11.1	0
	Slightly Important	0	0	0	0	11.1	0
	Important	55.6	25.0	42.9	16.7	44.4	62.5
	Very Important	22.2	37.5	57.1	66.7	33.3	37.5
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Not Important	37.5	0	0	40.0	22.2	0
	Slightly Important	12.5	42.9	20.0	20.0	33.3	75.0
	Important	37.5	28.6	20.0	0	33.3	12.5
	Very Important	12.5	28.6	60.0	40.0	11.1	12.5
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Not Important	0	12.5	0	0	0	0
	Slightly Important	0	12.5	0	20.0	0	0
	Important	100.0	37.5	0	20.0	25.0	50.0
	Very Important	0	37.5	100.0	60.0	75.0	50.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Not Important	0	14.3	0	0	11.1	0
	Slightly Important	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Important	57.1	28.6	0	33.3	11.1	66.7
	Very Important	42.9	57.1	100.0	66.7	77.8	33.3
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0

5.6.3 Trade

We sought the respondents' judgment pertaining to the language(s) they considered important for trade within the district. In the domain of business, the respondents rated Kiswahili highly in four out of the six settlements. It was only in Kargi where Kiswahili

was surpassed by Rendille as the popular language for business. In Hula-hula, the respondents indicated that they considered Kiswahili and Rendille almost at par in terms of importance in the trade domain. Rendille was, generally, the second highly rated in this domain while Samburu was the least rated.

Table 97: Attitude of the Respondents towards the Languages for Trade- (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Not Important	11.1	12.5	0	0	0	0
	Slightly Important	11.1	12.5	0	0	20.0	0
	Important	22.2	25.0	42.9	11.1	30.0	60.0
	Very Important	55.6	50.0	57.1	88.9	50.0	40.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Not Important	42.9	14.3	12.5	60.0	11.1	60.0
	Slightly Important	14.3	14.3	0	0	33.3	10.0
	Important	14.3	42.9	50.0	0	33.3	30.0
	Very Important	28.6	28.6	37.5	40.0	22.2	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Not Important	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Slightly Important	0	12.5	0	16.7	16.7	0
	Important	57.1	62.5	33.3	33.3	33.3	75.0
	Very Important	42.9	25.0	66.7	50.0	50.0	25.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Not Important	0	20.0	0	0	12.5	0
	Slightly Important	40.0	40.0	16.7	33.3	25.0	0
	Important	20.0	20.0	16.7	33.3	25.0	100.0
	Very Important	40.0	20.0	66.7	33.3	37.5	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0

5.6.4 Socialising

We asked the respondents to indicate the importance of the languages given when socializing with friends in settings that were not formal. The settings included public utilities like hotels, pubs, churches/mosques and markets. The responses we got from the question revealed that Kiswahili and English are generally considered useful for socializing with friends in all the six settlements. When we examine the ratings of

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Rendille and Samburu, we note that in five settlements, Log-logo, Laisamis, Kargi, Kor and Hula-hula, Rendille outperforms Samburu in the ratings with substantial margins. It is also noticeable, from the table below, that Samburu outperforms Rendille in the ratings in Karare/Songa and registers impressive ratings in Log-logo, Laisamis and Kor.

When we juxtapose the results for this question and those presented in 5.5.2.1 which provided the outcome of actual use of language with neighbours, we note that there is a general corroboration in the results. This suggests that the attitude one has towards a language will have a direct bearing on the actual use of that language.

Table 98: Attitude of the Respondents Towards the Languages : Socializing- (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Not Important	0	25.0	0	0	0	0
	Slightly Important	22.2	12.5	14.3	0	0	0
	Important	22.2	25.0	28.6	0	40.0	60.0
	Very Important	55.6	37.5	57.1	100.0	60.0	40.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Not Important	37.5	14.3	12.5	75.0	11.1	60.0
	Slightly Important	0	14.3	12.5	0	22.2	10.0
	Important	12.5	28.6	37.5	0	55.6	30.0
	Very Important	50.0	42.9	37.5	25.0	11.1	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Not Important	0	0	0	20.0	0	0
	Slightly Important	16.7	0	0	20.0	0	0
	Important	66.7	50.0	28.6	0	62.5	75.0
	Very Important	16.7	50.0	71.4	60.0	37.5	25.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Not Important	0	20.0	0	0	12.5	0
	Slightly Important	50.0	20.0	14.3	20.0	12.5	0
	Important	0	60.0	14.3	0	25.0	100.0
	Very Important	50.0	0	71.4	80.0	50.0	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0

5.6.5 Cultural Identity

The respondents 'unanimously' agreed that Rendille was the most useful language for expression of cultural identity. Table 99 below, shows that in each of the six settlements, over 80% of the respondents indicated that Rendille was useful (important + very important) for cultural identity. Samburu came second, with a considerable number of respondents, especially from Laisamis and Karare/ Songa, indicating it as useful for cultural identity.

Table 99: Attitude of the Respondents Towards the Languages: Cultural identity - (adults) (%)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Not Important	0	11.1	0	0	0	0
	Slightly Important	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Important	0	0	11.1	0	40.0	30.0
	Very Important	100.0	88.9	88.9	100.0	60.0	70.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Not Important	42.9	14.3	16.7	50.0	44.4	85.7
	Slightly Important	0	0	16.7	0	0	14.3
	Important	28.6	42.9	0	25.0	22.2	0
	Very Important	28.6	42.9	66.7	25.0	33.3	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Not Important	60.0	20.0	0	25.0	71.4	66.7
	Slightly Important	0	60.0	25.0	0	0	0
	Important	0	0	50.0	0	14.3	11.1
	Very Important	40.0	20.0	25.0	75.0	14.3	22.2
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Not Important	60.0	80.0	0	25.0	71.4	0
	Slightly Important	0	20.0	40.0	0	0	0
	Important	0	0	40.0	0	0	100.0
	Very Important	40.0	0	20.0	75.0	28.6	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0

5.6.6 General usefulness

After soliciting for the respondents' judgment in the various domains, we requested the respondents to rate the languages in terms of what they considered important for life in general. The language that was indicated to be *Very important* by the highest number of

respondents was Rendille followed by English. Samburu had the least number of respondents indicating it as *Very important*. A big proportion of those who expressed confidence in Samburu as *Very important* came from Log-logo (50%) and Laisamis (60%). It is worth noting that although not many respondents from Karare/Songa rated Samburu as *Very important* (14.3%) for life in general, an impressive percentage (57.1%) rated as important. Table 123 below provides a detailed distribution of the respondents' responses in the six settlements.

Table 100: Attitude of the Respondents towards the Languages: General Usefulness- (adults)

Language	Frequency	Log-logo	Karare/Songa	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Hula-hula
Rendille	Not Important	0	12.5	14.3	0	0	0
	Slightly Important	0	12.5	0	0	0	0
	Important	22.2	37.5	14.3	0	66.7	40.0
	Very Important	77.8	37.5	71.4	100.0	33.3	60.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Samburu	Not Important	25.0	14.3	20.0	60.0	11.1	75.0
	Slightly Important	12.5	14.3	0	0	22.2	12.5
	Important	12.5	57.1	20.0	20.0	44.4	12.5
	Very Important	50.0	14.3	60.0	20.0	22.2	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
Kiswahili	Not Important	0	0	0	0	14.3	0
	Slightly Important	0	14.3	0	0	0	0
	Important	57.1	42.9	20.0	20.0	28.6	33.3
	Very Important	42.9	42.9	80.0	80.0	57.1	66.7
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0
English	Not Important	0	16.7	0	0	0	0
	Slightly Important	0	0	16.7	20.0	0	0
	Important	28.6	50.0	16.7	20.0	37.5	0
	Very Important	71.4	33.3	66.7	60.0	62.5	0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.	100.0

Referring to the table above, it is apparent that in Kargi, Rendille was perceived by all the respondents to be *Very important* for life in general. A substantial number of respondents from Log-logo (77.8%) and Laisamis (71.4%) shared a similar perception with their colleagues from Kargi. In Kor, although only 33.3% indicated that they valued Rendille as *Very important* for life in general, 66.7% declared it as *Important*.

5.7 Opinions about a Set of Statements Regarding Rendille

Further to the questions in 5.6 above that sought to establish the respondents' attitude towards the given languages in the domains identified, we set out to find out their opinions on some statements made specifically concerning Rendille and the threat posed to it by Samburu. For each of the statements, the respondents were required to make a choice from four options. The options were:

i.   Strongly disagree

ii. Disagree

iii. Agree

iv. Strongly agree

The statements were:

1) Many people who speak Rendille also speak Samburu.

2) Samburu is used more often than Rendille in day to day life.

3) Adult speakers of Rendille are not transmitting the language to children.

4) Rendille should be taught to children.

5.7.1 Respondents' opinions regarding the statement "Many people who speak Rendille also speak Samburu"

The responses of the respondents on the first statement revealed that in all the five settlements there was a general agreement that many people who speak Rendille also speak Samburu. The table below shows that in the five settlements the percentage of those who affirmed to the statement (that is, *Agree + Strongly agree*) were 62.5% in Log-logo; 100% in Laisamis; 88.9% in Kargi; 62.5% in Kor and; 60% in Karare/Songa. It is important for us, at this point, to observe that in most of the responses to the previous questions by the respondents from Kargi and Kor, the respondents have exhibited a higher degree of Rendille loyalty than those from the other settlements.

Table 101: Respondent's Opinions Regarding the Statement that "Many people who speak Rendille also speak Samburu"- (adults) (%)

Many		Log-logo	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Karare/Songa	Hula-hula
people who speak Rendiile also speak Samburu	Strongly Disagree	25.0	0	11.1	25.0	10.0	50.0
	Disagree	12.5	0	33.3	12.5	30.0	0
	Agree	37.5	66.7	55.6	37.5	40.0	50.0
	Strongly Agree	25.0	33.3	20	25.0	20.0	0

5.7.2 Respondent's opinions regarding the statement that "Samburu is used more often than Rendille"

On the second statement we found out that an overwhelming percentage of respondents from Kargi (77.8%) expressed their opposition to the statement. The respondents from Log-logo were divided into two with one half affirming to the truth of the statement while the second half opposing. Expectedly, the respondents from both Laisamis and Karare/Songa affirmed highly to the assertion in the statement. Against traditional trend respondents from Kor expressed their affirmation to the statement that Samburu is used more often than Rendille.

Table 102: Respondent's opinions regarding the statement that "Samburu is used more often than Rendille"- (adults) (%)

Samburu is used more often than Rendille in day to day life		Log-logo	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Karare/Songa	Hula-hula
	Strongly Disagree	12.5	11.1	22.2	12.5	20.0	50.0
	Disagree	37.5	11.1	55.6	12.5	0	40.0
	Agree	12.5	44.4	11.1	62.5	40.0	10.0
	Strongly Agree	37.5	33.3	11.1	12.5	40.0	0

5.7.3 Respondent's opinions regarding the statement that "Adult speakers of Rendille are not transmitting the language"

The opinion of the adult respondents was required concerning the statement on transmission of Rendille to children by adults. We were interested in finding out the adult's opinion on this since it appeared in form of an accusation leveled against them. Looking at the table below it is clear that the majority of the respondents from all the settlements were agreed on the claim made in the assertion. It is only in Kargi where we have a relatively high number (44.4%) of respondents who do not endorse the claim in the statement. The rest as displayed in the table, admit that they (the adults) are not handing the language down to the children.

Table 103: Respondent's opinions regarding the statement that "Adult speakers of Rendille are not transmitting the language"- (adults) (%)

Adult speakers of Rendille are not transmitting the language to children		Log-logo	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Karare/Songa	Hula-hula
	Strongly Disagree	25.0	0	11.1	0	11.1	0
	Disagree	0	11.1	33.3	25.0	11.1	0
	Agree	37.5	44.4	44.4	37.5	55.6	20.0
	Strongly Agree	37.5	44.4	11.1	37.5	22.2	80.0

5.7.4 Respondent's Opinions Regarding the Statement that that "Rendille should be taught to children"

The last question appeared to ask for the obvious. However, the responses elicited by the statement revealed otherwise. When we refer to the table below we discover that contrary

to our expectations a considerable number of respondents from Kargi expressed their reservations with the proposal contained in the statement. We also note, though not surprisingly, that 34.4% of the respondents from Karare/Songa are not in favour of the transmission of Rendille to children. In nutshell the respondents from Karare/Songa and, by extension, the 22.2% from Kargi seem to articulate their doubts about the viability of transmitting Rendille to children.

Table 104: Respondent's Opinions Regarding the Statement that " Rendille should be taught to children"- (adults) (%)

Rendille should be taught to children		Log-logo	Laisamis	Kargi	Kor	Karare/Songa	Hula-hula
	Strongly Disagree	0	0	11.1	0	22.2	50.0
	Disagree	0	0	11.1	0	11.1	10.0
	Agree	25.0	22.2	0	22.2	22.2	10.0
	Strongly Agree	75.0	77.8	77.8	77.8	44.4	30.0

In this section we have examined the opinions of the respondents with reference to a set of claims made regarding Rendille and Samburu. The contact between the two languages and the effect of the same constitute the subject of our study. We used tables to display the outcomes from each settlement and for every statement. Below, we provide charts that summarize the opinions of the respondents about the four statements.
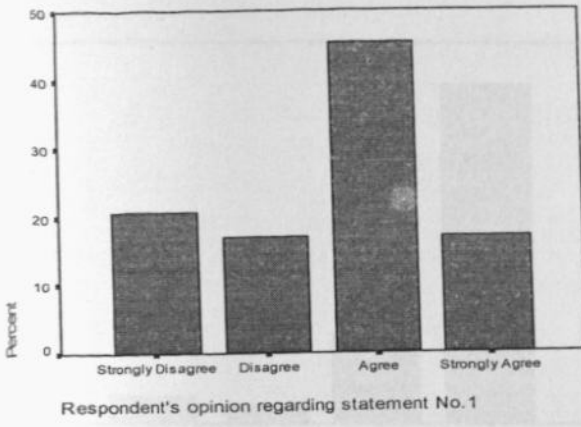
Fig 9: Respondents' Opinion Regarding Statement No. 1
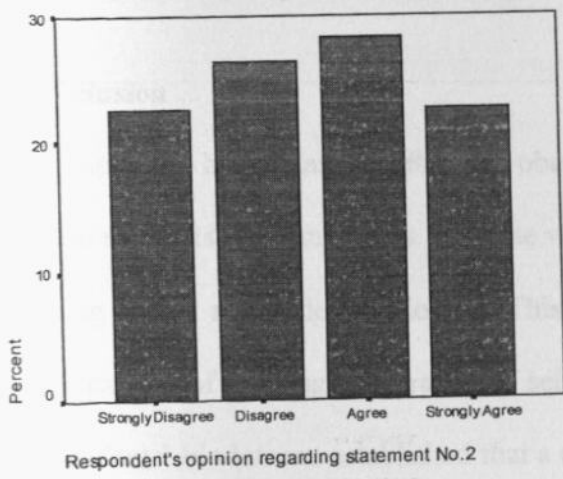
Fig 10: Respondents' Opinion Regarding Statement No.2

Fig 11: Respondents' Opinion Regarding Statement No. 3
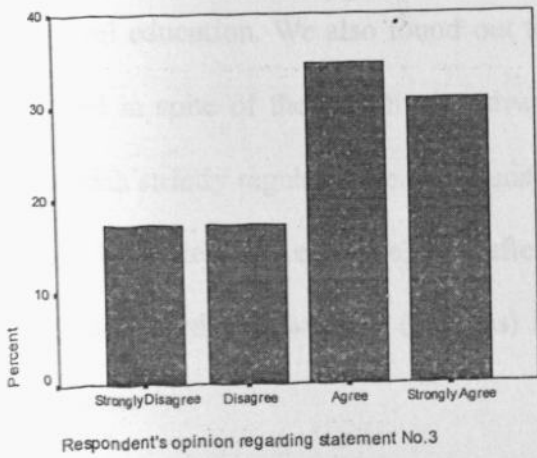
Respondent's opinion regarding statement No.4
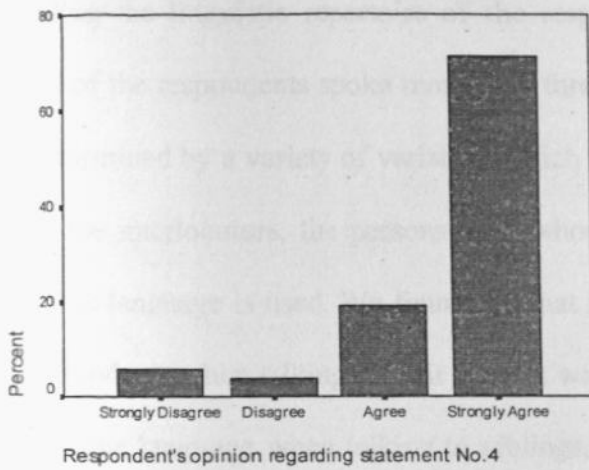
Fig 12: Respondents' Opinion Regarding Statement No. 4

5. 8 Conclusion

In this chapter we have examined the data obtained from the category of respondents we referred to as adults/older members. Just like we did with the younger members we began by looking at the respondents' biodata. This was followed by an examination of the respondents' use of language in a range of selected domains of language use. Regarding the respondents' biodata we established that a considerable percentage of our respondents were in formal employment and were therefore literate; most of them had acquired tertiary level education. We also found out that a good number of the respondents were not married in spite of their relatively advanced age. This is attributed to the Rendille culture which strictly regulates the communal observance of the rites of circumcision and marriage. We noted, for example, that after circumcision the initiates are required to serve the community as worriors (Morans) for about fourteen years before they can be allowed to marry.

Regarding the linguistic repertoire of the respondents, we established that over fifty percent of the respondents spoke more than three languages. The choice of language use was determined by a variety of variables which included the domain of language use, the age of the interlocutors, the persons with whom the language is used and the place in which the language is used. We found out that in five settlements the use of Rendille by the respondents when talking to their parents was relatively high in comparison to the use of the same language when talking to siblings, spouses and children. We noted, further, that except for Kargi, Rendille is conceding more grounds to Samburu and Kiswahili in a number of domains in the settlements we sampled.

In the succeeding chapter, we shall address the question regarding the motivation behind the decreasing use of Rendille in the various speech domains and the increasing use of Samburu in the domains that were traditionally a preserve of Rendille. To assist in analyzing these motivations, we shall consider the quantitative data gathered from the Rendille territory.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION BASED ON THE ANALYSES OF QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE DATA

6.1 Introduction

In Chapters 4 and 5 we examined the quantitative data obtained from two categories of respondents, the younger and older members (adults) of the community in focus. In the two chapters the analyzed data were presented in the form of tables labelled after sub topics drawn from the data elicitation tools. While presenting the findings, we advertently restrained ourselves from making detailed comments which we reserved for the current chapter. We deemed it appropriate to discuss the findings in this chapter because we would benefit from the insight and additional related information contained in the qualitative data, which we examine in this chapter.

In this chapter, therefore, we discuss the findings we presented in Chapters 4 and 5 and also consider the qualitative data we obtained from respondents mainly through interviews, focused group discussions, and informant-aided participant observation. The discussion is organized in themes and sub themes that are derived from the three-cluster factor model of language shift and vitality by Giles et al. (1977). As pointed out in 1.6.0 the Giles et al. (1977) model is one of the theories that we adopted to provide direction to the study and whose adequacy in accounting for the Rendille-Samburu shift is tested (refer to1.4.0 on hypotheses). We shall, specifically, consider each cluster and examine the factors therein in the light of the shift in focus. The three clusters are:

i.   status factors (which include economic, social, historical and symbolic status)

ii. demographic factors (which comprise the population of the community, distribution of the population and incidence of interethnic marriages and migration patterns)

iii. institutional support factors (encompassing the use of the language in a wide variety of institutions such as national, regional and local governments; religious and cultural organizations; mass media; commerce and industry; and in education).

6.2 Status Factors

In 1.6.1 the Giles et al (1977) model of language shift and language vitality is briefly discussed. In the model, Giles et al (1977 identify a cluster of factors which are considered crucial in determining the vitality of a language and whether or not the community that speaks (or is supposed to speak) the language is likely to shift to another. In this section, we look at the first cluster of factors which they refer to as the status factors. The status factors encompass such considerations as the economic standing of the community, the social position of the speakers of the language and the sociohistorical and symbolic status of the language.

6.2.1 The Economic Status of the Rendille

The economic prospects of a community is said to play a significant role in matters relating to language maintenance and language shift. It is often the case that the fortune of a given language always follows that of its speakers (Halle 1992: 215; Baker 2001: 69;

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Appel and Muysken 1987:33; Grenoble and Whaley 1998:38; Nettle and Romaine 2000:30). It follows that if the economic prospects of a given community is high, the vitality of the language is likely to be high and, therefore, the language is likely to be maintained. In a number of documented cases of contact-induced language change and language shift the language that gains additional speakers and exerts influence on the other(s) is the one whose native speakers are politically and economically superior to the speakers of the language that suffers a loss of speakers owing to the shift. In Africa, for example, the languages that are exerting influence on other languages are the ex-colonial languages (Batibo2005:19; Nettle and Romaine 2000:31). These languages were assigned roles, by virtue of being the languages of the colonialists, in a variety of domains which included administration in the local government, in education and in the legislature. The languages we are focusing on in this study do not, however, fall in this category. Neither Rendille nor Samburu has had the 'prestige' of being a colonialists' language.

The two communities, however, have enjoyed interesting economic fortunes at different times. According to Chanler (1896:316), an intense contact between Rendille and Samburu communities was witnessed in the late 19th Century at a time when the Rendille were considered to be the wealthier partner. The Samburu had just suffered a series of misfortunes; their stock having been decimated by rinderpest and a considerable percentage of their human resource killed by the Laikipiak Maasai. They turned to the Rendille who welcomed them. The Samburu were however

> Forced into semi-serfdom to the Rendille-watching their
> flocks, and performing other menial services for them. In
> return for this they were protected in their persons and
> possessions   Chanler (1896:316)

The above account is supported by the testimony of an elderly Ariaal, Lekati Leaduma who, in Fratkin (2004:48), says:

> During this time, and of the Merikon age-set (1880-1894) before them, Samburu were living as Dorrobo (sic.) (poor hunters-gatherers), even eating elephants. Some stole camels from Rendille as thieves (tombon), others worked for Rendille as herdsboys, to be paid in small stock, camels, or cattle.

Over time, however, the Samburu who were mainly inclined to keeping cattle as opposed to camel became powerful and wealthier surpassing their benefactors, the Rendille. The relation between the two communities remained cordial but the power equilibrium had been altered somewhat. As Arkell-Hardwick (1903: 241) recounts:

> ...the Burkeneji [Samburu] were perfectly willing to protect the Rendili (sic.), but in return they considered that they ought to be allowed the right to help themselves from the Rendili (sic.) flocks whenever they felt so disposed...

The two communities have been allies for a long time. Spencer (1973:1) observes that:

> In economic terms, the Rendille depend on camel herding and the Samburu on cattle. In administrative terms, the two belong to different provinces of Kenya...

This state of affairs still obtains. Camel keeping is practiced mainly in Kargi, Kor, Laisamis and Log-logo. There is, however, an increasing tendency to keep cattle and the small stock by a considerable proportion of the Rendille population, especially those living in the mountainous regions like Karare/Songa and Ngurnit and in the lowlands, like Log-logo and Laisamis. Following a series of famines, notably, the Sahelian Famine

of the 1970s and the Ethiopian Famine of 1984, a number of small "towns" sprang up in the Rendille territory and contributed to sedentarization of the pastoralists (Fratkin 2004:2). The towns were the centers of Relief operations by the churches and NGOs. The growth of the "towns" brought with it additional strategies of income generation in the form of business and urban wage. In some centers, especially around the mountain, sedentary agriculture was started. Karare/Songa has illustrious agricultural activities taking place to date. Regarding the farming in Songa, Fratkin and Smith (1995:439) observes:

> ...households have gardens irrigated from forest reservoirs and produce market vegetables including Kale, onions, peppers, tomatoes as well as corn, beans, and chickens for domestic consumption.

The Rendille economy therefore can be analysed into:

i.   Camel pastoralism

ii.   Cattle pastoralism

iii. Sedentary agriculture

iv.   Urban wage

In this study we established that a considerable number of the people who keep cattle within the Rendille territory live in Karare/Songa, Laisamis, Log-logo and Hula-hula. Looking at the tables in Chapters 4 and 5 (see Sections 4.3.2 and 5.3.0), showing the linguistic behaviour of the persons from these settlements, we note that, except for Hula-hula, a significant proportion of the respondents speak either Samburu exclusively or are

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bilingual in Samburu and Rendille. The keeping of cattle by the Rendille is , therefore, indicative of internse Samburu influence on Rendille.

In the pastoralists' economy, keeping of cattle is generally deemed more lucrative than camel keeping. Although camels are known for their remarkable ability to withstand harsh desert conditions and the fact that they have a relative high milk production, they are known to exhibit a very low growth rate of 1.5% annually owing to a combination of low birth rate and a high mortality rate. Fratkin (1991:44) did a comparative examination of the reproductive life of camels and cattle and said:

> A camel dam drops her first calf in her sixth year, following a long gestation period of 12-13 months. A long lactation period averaging 12 months contributes to a 26-30 month birth interval.

Cattle, on the other hand,

> ...have a high reproductive rate, twice that of camels, with 9 months gestation, 8 months lactation, and a year round mating period. A cow can be expected to reproduce after 17 months while a camel has a birth interval of 24 months (Fratkin 1991:45).

Beside the low reproduction rate, the growth of a camel herd is undermined by the numerous diseases that plague the camel population and this is also compounded by insufficient veterinary services in the region (Fratkin 1991:44).

In view of the foregoing considerations, we expect that the overall population of cattle in the Rendille territory is higher than that of camel. Expectedly, the Ariaal are wealthier than their non- Ariaal counterparts because they keep cattle as well as camels; cattle is herded in the forested highlands while camels are kept in the dry low lands.

The Ariaal cattle are used mostly for trade and rituals. Fratkin, commenting about the use of cattle by the Ariaal observes:

> This high birth rate produces a surplus of large animals that contributes to their use for trade and rituals. Eight cattle are the ideal Samburu and Ariaal bridewealth, and steers are ritually slaughtered at weddings and age-set ceremonies. A main economic role of cattle …is as a traditional exchange medium for wives, and Ariaal… will try to build up their cattle herds to gain additional wives in polygyny. Cattle are also increasingly becoming the main source of cash income… providing more than half of their cash needs through trade and livestock auctions (Fratkin 1991:44).

The relative economic strength of the Ariaal plays a significant role in the shift under focus. We are convinced that the non-Ariaal Rendilles are being attracted to a herding strategy practiced by Ariaal that underscores species diversity, that is, keeping different types of livestock rather than specializing in one type of animal (Fratkin 2004: 76;Schlee 1989:49). In the process of learning this strategy, the non-Ariaal Rendille are adopting Samburu which is one of the languages spoken by the Ariaal. In Dimmendaal's (1989:21) words, "knowledge of the language of the stock owner facilitates acquisition of material advantages, or it may even be a prerequisite to social mobility."

6.2.2 The Social Status of the Rendille

The social status of speakers of any language is closely related to the economic status of the group. It is often the case that the group that has a high economic status is likely to perceive itself as having a high social status, and the converse is also true. The social status of a speech group is, like the economic status, an important factor in determining

the maintenance of a language or language shift. The speakers of a language who generally consider themselves as having a low social status will tend to shift to the language they regard, either consciously or unconsciously, as having a high(er) social status (Appel and Muysken 1987:33). The social status of a group mainly refers to the group's self esteem. A group's self-esteem is a product of the group's attitude towards itself, the attitude of other groups towards it, as well as, the group's attitude towards other groups.

The Rendille community is not stratified along class lines. According to findings obtained from interviews conducted with some members of the community and corroborated by the work of Gunther Schlee, a German anthropologist who has done extensive research on the Rendille, the Rendille community has nine clans which they regard as the clans of the Rendille 'proper' or 'white' Rendille as they call themselves and are called by their neighbours (Schlee 1989:9). These clans are divided into two moieties, Belesi Bahai and Belesi Berri (the 'western' and 'eastern' moieties respectively). There is however a tenth clan, the Odoola clan, which is treated specially as it does not belong to any of the moieties. The clan is also found among Gabbra and the Sakuye (Schlee 1989:9). The Ariaal are also considered a part of the Rendille speech community although their clans are said to have Samburu names. Belesi Bahai consists of five clans (they include, D'ubsahai, Rengumo, Matarbah, Nahagan and Uiyam). Belesi Berri, on the hand, consists of four clans (they are Saale, Urwen, Galdeilan and Tubcha).

All the clans, with the exception of Rengumo, are exogamic. They are generally cooperate groups who tend "to rely on one another economically...mobilizing local pressures and arriving at important decisions by debate and consensus" (Spencer 1973:29). A clan is composed of between two and seven sub-clans. Each sub-clan:

> Can either be the product of fission of a common group of origin or can be of totally different origins but joined together in an adoptive association, using patrilineal relatives (Schlee 1989:11).

Socially, the clans are treated equally except for certain ritual contexts when one moiety can claim superiority over the other. During age-set ceremonies, for example, Belesi Bahai can claim superiority because it is often the first to perform in the ceremony. In other contexts, the Belesi Berri, too, can claim superiority if the ritual leader comes from one of the clans in the moiety. Outside the ritual contexts, the question of superiority does not arise. It is important, however, to point out that there is one ceremony, held after every fourteen years, that is decisive where the Rendille social identity is concerned. The ceremony, known as gaalgulume[1], is what the Rendille 'Proper' use to define themselves. According to the account of an informant we interviewed in the field:

> The Ariaal are not allowed to the gaalgulaamme since they do not have a hut in the large circle which is constructed by the joint effort of the clans that belong to the two moieties.

This account is corroborated by Schlee (1989:9) who observes that:

> The criterion used to distinguish Rendille and Ariaal is the initiation rituals: there are differences in the circumcision rituals but more importantly, the Samburu and Ariaal hold various ilmugit[2] sacrifices while the Non- Ariaal Rendille, in the year after circumcision, hold the gaalgulamme ceremony.

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The *Odoola* clan, too, suffers some 'discrimination' during the all important ceremony (gaalgulamme) as they are not allowed to get into the circle since the clan is not aligned to either of the moieties. The clan is, however, allowed to participate but from outside the perimeter of the circle. Other important ceremonies that are exclusively Rendille and for which the Ariaal and *Odoola* clan are allowed to participate fully are *Almado*[3] and *Sorio*[4] (Schlee1989:9: Fratkin 1991:24).

The most conspicuous form, however, of unfavourable treatment of a section of their own by the Rendille is the fate endured by the blacksmiths. Blacksmiths, known as *Tumaal,* are believed to possess some power to bless and to curse "especially in relation to dangerous iron objects, circumcision razors, spears, etc" (Spencer 1973:63). According to Spencer (1973:63),

> There is a general notion of pollution attached to blacksmiths: their food and hospitality is generally avoided, and the Rendille prefer not to intermarry with them. Thus they form, in a sense, an endogamous caste within the tribe. Nevertheless economically and ritually they are an integral part of the total society. Economically, the tribe depends at all times on their ironwork; and ritually they have a prescribed role in the slaughter of stock at each marriage, after each death and at the soriu festivals.

A portion of the members of the Rendille community claim that *Tumaal* were originally from Samburu. Their genealogy notwithstanding, two points are clear. First, they play a crucial role in the social life of the Rendille since they are the only ones who forge iron implements and perform critical tasks in some ceremonies. The second point is that the apparent repulsive treatment accorded to *Tumaal* has nothing to do with their suspected Samburu descent but their occupation.

It is interesting to note that among some Samburus, especially those from Maralal, the Rendille are also treated with some unpleasant disposition. We asked an informant, a lecturer in a Kenyan university, and whose first language is Samburu to describe the attitude the Samburu have towards Rendille. He responded in one word, "condescending". The overall impression that emerged from the response is that the Samburu relate with the Rendille with an elevated sense of self-worth. This attitude is discernible in a remark made by an Ariaal elder when asked by Fratkin (1991:24) about his identity. He said:

> If I was in Nairobi and someone asked me who I was, I would say Samburu. But when I'm in Maralal (the main urban centre in Samburu District)[5], they call me "filthy Rendille", and when I'm in Korr (a Rendille centre)[6], they call me Ariaal.

6.2.3 The Sociohistorical Status of Rendille

The sociohistorical status of a language is a derivation of the history of the speakers of the language. When the speakers of a language are confronted by circumstances that threaten their ethnic identity and liberty, an instinctive resolve to safeguard their identity is likely to be awakened. The challenges that seek to undermine the identity and, sometimes, existence of a language group serve as an impetus for group solidarity. This is what Appel and Muysken (1987:32) refer to when they say:

> Historical instances can be viewed as mobilizing symbols which inspire individuals to struggle for common interests as members of an ethnolinguistic group.

In Kenya this has been witnessed amongst marginalized communities when their ethnic identity was threatened by dominant communities or the state. The 'Shifta' war (discussed in 3.4.1 above) that pitted, mostly, Somalis against the state, helped to create

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a strong sense of ethnolinguistic consciousness among the Somalis. A similar sense of self-consciousness was witnessed, although this did not involve much violence, when the Ogiek were forcefully relocated from the Mau forest by the government in the 1990s. The disturbance of their 'peace' awakened a significant sense of ethnolinguistic consciousness which is vital for language maintenance.

The Rendille community has not had remarkable historical incidents that would have threatened its ethnic identity. It is worth noting, however, that as consequence of the imposition of the British rule in Kenya, there was interference with the grazing land of many pastoralist groups in the region, the Rendille were not an exception. The British imposed 'tribal' boundary lines which instigated intertribal conflict as the various pastoral groups jostled for grazing resources. After independence and with the entrenchment of the provincial administration in Marsabit District, intertribal wars reduced significantly, although sporadic attacks motivated by a need to even scores for past atrocities do occur.

6.3 Demographic Factors

The second cluster of factors in Giles et al. (1977) model is what they call demographic factors. This label puts together a variety of factors that include size of the ethnic group, density of the population, ages of the speakers, marriage and settlement patterns.

6.3.1 The Size of the Rendille Ethnic Group

The question of the number of speakers of a language and its significance to the survival of the language is another important subject of discussion among linguists working with endangered languages. They grapple with the question "How many speakers guarantee life for a language?" (Crystal 2000: 11; Yamamoto1997:12; Appel and Muysken 1987:32). The general assumption is that given two languages, one with a vast population of speakers and the other one with a small number of speakers, and other factors being equal, the one with many speakers is likely to be in existence for a longer period than the one with few. While this assumption may be supported by common sense, it does not accurately reflect the situation on the ground. Breton, a language spoken in France, for example, was estimated to have 1.4 million speakers in 1905 but in 2000 the number had reduced to about 250,000. If we were to ignore others factors, such as the number of the speakers of the language to whom Breton lost its speakers, the drop from 1.4 million to 250,000 in less than a century would be quite phenomenal.

To draw a contrast, a survey conducted among speakers of Karitina, spoken in Brazil, revealed that the language had, at the time of the survey, 185 speakers of all ages and while the total figure of the entire community was 191. This translates to 96 percent of the population speaking the language (Crystal 2000:12-13). These illustrations may not be representative enough, but through them we note that population size alone is not a watertight indicator of the security or otherwise of a language. Crystal 2000:88 says:

> Languages are not like people, in this respect: it is
> not possible to write a single cause on the death
> certificate for a language...there are so many
> factors involved...

Regarding Rendille population, we only have the figures of the people who claimed that

they belonged to the Rendille ethnic community but not the speakers of the language.

Reports of the latest Kenya National Census, conducted in 2009, revealed that 60,437

persons indicated that their ethnic affiliation was Rendille (Kenya National Census 2010:

397). The report, however, did not provide information regarding the distribution of the

60,437 persons across the administrative units in the District and in the Country[7]. Ariaal

was not featured in the list of ethnic labels in the enumeration tools. It is possible,

therefore, that the Ariaals were enumerated under either Samburu or Rendille.

The census conducted in 1989 showed that the Rendille were 26,536 in the country with

23,585 of them living in Marsabit District.

6.3.2 Marrital Pattern

Interethnic marriages are perceived as contributing a great deal to the decline in the

number of the languages of the world. The language that is lost is often, not necessarily

the one spoken by the wife or husband but, the less prestigious of the two (Appel and

Muysken 1987:32; Mohlig 1992:178; Tosco 1992:141; Brenzinger 1992: 222; Rotland

and Okombo 1992:216). It is not, however, always the case that every intermarriage must

endanger a language. Tsunoda (2005:51-52) provides an account of intermarriages

involving members of aboriginal languages that left the two languages unscathed. This

led to his conclusion:

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> It seems that marriage involving dominant and subordinate languages... is likely to induce language endangerment, and that marriage involving languages with equal status...is less likely to do so.

The Rendille and Samburu have had a longer history of interethnic marriages involving the two communities than they have had with any other community in the area (Spencer 1973:1). While the interethnic marriages between the two ethnic communities have strengthened the bond between them, it has impacted negatively on the Rendille population and language. In Chapter 3, we presented Table 10 showing the incidence of intermarriages involving the Rendille, Samburu and Ariaal. What emerged from the breakdown is that the propensity to marry a Rendille girl by either the Samburu or Ariaal is relatively higher than that of the Rendille marrying from either of the two; the Rendille seem to marry women from their community. It appears, then, that, in terms of population, the Rendille are on the losing end. A number of reasons may be pointed out to explain the apparent 'loss' of Rendille men and women to other communities, specifically the Ariaal and Samburu.

The Rendille culture has rigid provisions regarding the marriage rite; grooms, who in most cases have been warriors (morans) for not less than 12 years, are not free to marry unless their leader is married first. Because of the delay in marriage, compounded by the fact that Rendille are generally monogamous, there is usually what Spencer (1973:53) describes as "a shortage of young men looking for their first wives rather than a shortage of girls suitable for marriage". The Samburu, whose young men also

take a lengthy duration in warriorhood after circumcision, practice polygamy. This practice is also common among the Ariaal.

The surplus of the marriageable women among the Rendille is well taken care of by Samburu and Ariaal whose custom of polygamy creates a shortage of marriageable women (Spencer 1973: 138). Certain aspects of the Rendille culture have contributed to the continued 'loss' of Rendille girls to the Samburu.

Among the Rendille, it is considered dishonourable for an uncircumcised girl (one on whom clitoridochtomy has not been performed) to conceive. Traditionally, the pregnancy was not allowed to full term, and the girl was driven away from her father's homestead. Such girls ended up as second wives or concubines to the Samburu (Spencer 1973: 42). This meant another loss to the Rendille.

The institution of Sabade (or Sapade), when it was strictly adhered to, greatly contributed to the decrease in the population of the Rendille. This was a custom that imposed a delay in marriage on a section of Rendille girls until members of a certain age-set of men marry. The temporary prohibition translated to a mandatory delay of up to ten years over and above the years taken before marriage after circumcision (For a comprehensive explanation of the institution of Sabade see Spencer (1973:35). This custom undermined the potential population growth of the Rendille because "women who might otherwise marry and bear children are prevented for a time from doing so" (Spencer 1973:35). The misery of the Sabades was further complicated by the fact that

when they were finally free from the cultural restriction and were allowed to marry, they could not readily get suitors among the Rendille owing to their advanced age as the suitors preferred younger brides. A number of Sabades, therefore, fearing that they might be condemned to a life of solitude, ran to the neighbouring communities where they got married as first wives or second wives.

From an interview with a middle aged member of the Ariaal residing in Songa, we gathered that the Sabades were preferred as wives by the neighbouring communities because they were physically strong, brave and could perform difficult household tasks. Their brawn was, possibly, as a result of delayed onset of child bearing.

The other bottleneck that has played a role in the dwindling numbers of the Rendille is the stringent requirement relating to bridewealth and the wedding procedure. The bridewealth is "…invariably four female camels (known as *deyeheo)* and four ox-camels (known as *foolas).*

According to an informant from Log-logo, the Rendille marriage rite is 'a very expensive and complicated affair' and is therefore avoided by those who do not have the resources and patience to go the whole way, choosing instead to marry the Samburu way. In an interview with an informant who is an opinion leader among the Rendille we gathered that:

Respondent: ... If you want to do a Rendille wedding, it takes seven days, from a Sunday to a Sunday ... but then there is a short version borrowed from Samburu, it is just like a one day event. They just slaughter the cow or goat and it is done.

Researcher: And it is still recognized by the Rendille?

Respondent: Yes, it is, but they call it the lazy man's. It doesn't involve a lot of things.

But it is not the complexity of the procedure that has led to a significant number of Rendille young men crossing over to Samburuland and where they eventually get spouses; it is the question of bridewealth. As we shall see in the next section, 6.3.3, the inheritance laws of the Rendille favour the first born sons and sideline the others, a situation that places the other sons in a very precarious position. In order to raise the required number of camels, whose growth rate is almost imperceptible, the younger sons are often at the mercy of the eldest son or other relatives. However, when these sons cross over to their Samburu neighbours they easily raise the required number of cattle (not camels) to acquire a Samburu bride. Looking at the table in chapter 5 (Table 82) we note that among the respondents who indicated that they were married, most of the spouses spoke either Rendille or Samburu as their first language. This attests to the fact that there has been significant incidence of intermarriage between the two language groups.

6.3.3 Migration Pattern

Throughout history, individuals and communities have moved from one locality to the other. Reasons for movement are diverse. Some of these reasons include economic pursuits, displacement by natural catastrophes, wars, and forceful evictions. While it is not always the case that every movement translates to the loss of a language, a good

number of such movements have ultimately resulted in the loss, through shift, of one of the languages of the groups involved.

The migration or, to use Spencer's word, intermigration, involving the Rendille and Samburu (pointed out in Chapter One (1.2.0)) is an example of a case where language shift is a possibility. In Section 6.3.2, we mentioned that the Rendille young men are known to cross over to the Samburu territory where they are hired to look after the cattle of Samburu owners and in return they are given a heifer after some duration. This way, they are able to raise their own herd. One of the main reasons behind the migration to the Samburu territory by the Rendille is the primogeniture inheritance rights upheld by the Rendille. The rules which are not debatable (and appear like an open will) provide in part,

> The son of a man's first wife should be his sole inheritor, and the rights of the younger sons are strictly limited to nominal gifts from the herd at their circumcision, their marriages, and to one female beast at the death of either parent.
> Spencer 1973:36

When the junior sons immigrate to the Samburu territory, they are treated favourably and provided with an opportunity to raise their own herd. The outmigration of the junior sons is not limited to the Samburu territory which is administratively in Maralal District, in the Rift Valley, but also to the Ariaal's, who though at times reckoned as Rendille, do not uphold primogeniture inheritance rules. The language used between the emigrants and their hosts is inevitably Samburu since the Samburu are mostly monolingual and a considerable number of the Ariaal, though bilingual, are more proficient in Samburu than in Rendille.

As we close the discussion on the demographic factors it is important to point out that it is apparent that a claim by Schlee (1989: 50) that Rendille "is a society which is very easy to leave and very difficult to join" is credible when the foregoing factors are examined critically.

6.4 Institutional Support Factors

The third and final cluster incorporates those factors that relate to the use of language in a wide variety of institutions. These institutions include national and regional governments, religious and cultural organizations, mass media, commerce and industry and education.

6.4.1 The Use of Rendille in Official Setups

The newly promulgated constitution of Kenya recognizes two official languages, Kiswahili and English, which are also used, alongside the Kenya Sign Language (KSL), as the languages of the Kenyan parliament. The Constitution recognizes the linguistic diversity of the country and pledges support for the same. Regarding language and the modes of communication, Kenya's constitution, Chapter Two, provides the following:

(1)   The national language of the Republic is Kiswahili.

(2)   The official languages of the Republic are Kiswahili and English

(3)   The State shall respect, promote and protect the diversity of language of the

   people of Kenya and shall promote the development and use of indigenous

   languages and sign language.

(4) The State shall promote the development and use of Braille and other appropriate modes of communication for persons with visual and other impairments. (The Constitution of Kenya (2010:14).

Rendille is one of the many indigenous languages without any regional status but used for intraethnic communication. In Tables 92 and 93 (5.5.4.1), Chapter 5, we displayed the language choice of respondents in an office and established that Rendille and Samburu are seldom used in the office while English and, to some extent, Kiswahili preponderate in this domain.

While interviewing a respondent in an office in Laisamis, we witnessed an interesting sociolinguistic episode.The episode was as follows:

Two elderly men walked into the officeintending to talk to the officer but upon realizing that the officer was a stranger, one of them initiated a talk in Samburu. However, when the interlocutor detected that the language was unintelligible to the officer, he looked at his colleague as if to signal him to take over the conversation, which he did, but in Rendille, which turned out to be the officer's first language.

It emerged that one of the two elderly men was bilingual in Rendille and Samburu while the other one was monolingual in Samburu. In most districts in Kenya with a significant linguistically homogeneous composition of personnel working in offices, indigenous

languages are tolerated in offices during work. We noted this tolerance to Rendille and Samburu in Laisamis District too.

6.4.2 Use of Rendille in Religious and Cultural Set-ups

In Sections 4.3.1.5 and 5.2.7, we presented the data on the religious affiliations of our respondents and established that the Rendille are almost predominantly Christian. The questionnaires, also elicited information to the effect that the Rendille also subscribe to an indigenous religion, Rendille African Traditional Religion. We were able to gather additional information on this through interviews and observations. When asked about the religious affiliations of the Rendille in Kargi, this is what a respondent said:

> **Researcher:** In terms of Religion, would we say that Kargi
> is predominantly Christian, Muslim or African Traditional
> Religion?
> **Respondent:** I would say that Kargi is... I think African
> Traditional Religion but we tend to practice Chrisianity.
> Well...we tend to practice Christianity and African
> Traditional Religion side by side, they are parallel. The two
> go together. For instance if you were to look at some of the
> cultural practices, if you are a modern woman or a modern
> man and you do a wedding in church, they don't recognize
> that if you haven't done the traditional one. So I think they
> practice both but the strongest, I think, is ATR.

The Rendille African Traditional Religion is manifested mostly during weddings, birth and death rituals and in various other ceremonies offered at some prescribed interval in the Rendille calendar. One conspicuous symbol of the religion is the "naabo" which is a small enclosure within a Rendille homestead, accessible to men only, and upon which the head of the household offers libations. The language traditionally used during the three notable ceremonies, Almado, Sorio and Galgulaamme, is Rendille. However, Samburu is

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encroaching on this domain. As we pointed out in 6.2.2 above, the Ariaal participate in Almado and Sorio where they may use Samburu. It is only in Galgulaamme, which is exclusive to the 'white' Rendille, where Rendille remains the only language of the ceremony.

On the language used in the churches and mosques (refer to Tables 57 and 90), we found out that Kiswahili and English are the two most preferred languages for use by religious leaders. In section 4.3.2.11 we pointed out some of the reasons responsible for this state of affairs. In addition, we take cognizance of the fact that these religions are relatively new in the region compared to other parts of the country such as Central and Western Kenya. A good number of churches in the Rendille territory are still presided over by missionaries from other parts of the country. Listening to the clergy in Marsabit and Laisamis Districts describing the general condition of the church in Rendilleland, one gets the impression that Christianity is still grappling with innumerable challenges in that part of the country.

In Table 91 (Section 5.5.3.2) we noted that most of the respondents use either Kiswahili or English during worship. We also noted that some respondents, specifically from Kargi and Laisamis, indicated that they use Rendille and Samburu, respectively when they are engaged in a religious discourse. This is, however, a small percentage and suggests that Christianity is yet to be fully indigenized in the Rendille territory.

We need to point out at this juncture that, Samburu is doing relatively well compared to Rendille in this domain. In Section 4.3.2.11 we found out that 25 % of respondents from Kargi indicated that religious leaders used Samburu, not Rendille, during worship. Unexpected as it might be, this shows that Samburu is steadily advancing and spreading its tentacles to the main Rendille stronghold.

In an interview with a university student from Kargi, we learnt that Samburu songs preponderate in the night dances held by warriors, even, at Kargi.

> The songs are imported from Samburu and are quickly learnt by the warriors. There are some people who are known for their quick ability to learn songs and teach others.

On 27th November 2010, we attended an event dubbed 'Rendille cultural night' held at the Kenyatta International Conference Centre in Nairobi and made some useful observations.

6.4.2.1 Rendille Cultural Night

The Rendille cultural night was an initiative of a group of Rendille women living in Nairobi, who concerned about the plight of their culture and specifically their language, came up with the idea of organizing for an event that would create awareness of the looming danger to their language. The group is called Halimoitet Women Group and meets at some determined interval in Nairobi to deliberate matters pertaining to their culture.

On the night of 27th November 2010, the Rendille community in Nairobi converged at the Lenana Hall and the excitement in the faces of the over a thousand participants was quite conspicuous. The spirit of brotherhood pervaded the hall as they watched and participated in the various activities. For the uninitiated, there was no way of telling whether the person one saw was an Ariaal or a 'white' Rendille. They were all Rendille. The activities in the event included dances by various groups, cat-walks and speeches.

We were interested in the language(s) of use in the event. The Master of Ceremony used mostly Rendille but could occasionally code-mix with Kiswahili and English. The opening prayer was conducted by an elderly man, about 60, in Rendille and in conformity with the Rendille African Traditional Religion. Others who spoke included the chief guest, Hon. Mohamed Elmi, the Minister for Northern Region Development, and the chairlady of Halimoitet Women Group, Madam Raphaela Bulyar. The Minister addressed the gathering in Kiswahili and commended them for the effort geared towards safeguarding their culture. He pledged that his ministry would support the initiative.

On her part, Mrs Bulyar used Rendille for the better part but occasionally mixed it with English. In her speech, it came out clearly that the Rendille women living in Nairobi were concerned that their language was not being transmitted to the younger generation. She observed that "most Rendille youth are speaking either Samburu or Maasai and can not construct even a single sentence in Rendille".

Inside and outside the hall the young people could be heard conversing, some in Rendille, others in Samburu, and others, still, in Kiswahili. Those who spoke in Rendille came

either from Kargi or Kor while those who spoke in Samburu were from such places as Laisamis, Log-logo, Karare, Songa and Marsabit town.

Outside the hall souvenirs with inscriptions about the Rendille culture were displayed and sold at reasonable prices. One T-Shirt that caught our attention had these words ' **I am proud to be Rendille**'. Another one had the Rendille words '**Haguumkeen a tirrim kenna**' whose English translation is '**My culture is my Strength**'.

Fig 13: Rendille Women Performing a Dance During the Rendille Night
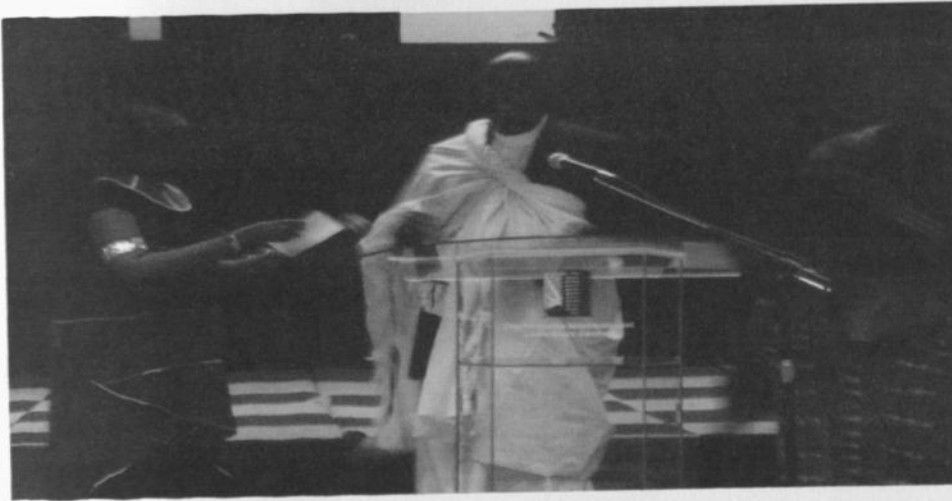
Fig 14: Hon. Mohamed Elmi, the Minister in Charge of the Ministry of Northern Kenya Development being Adorned for the Occasion by Ms Alice Kureiya (one of the organizers of the Rendille Night).

6.4.3 Use of Rendille in the Mass Media

The use of a language in the media, be it print or electronic, plays a critical role in enhancing the prestige of a language. The prestige attached to a language is considered a useful trait in language revitalization efforts. This is what Baker (2001:71) refers to when she says "Strong representation in the mass media ...gives a minority language both status and a feeling of being modern".

The task of making members of a speech community to realize the prestige of reading their language, not just reading about their language, is quite arduous and expensive. This is because it must first involve writing down the language.

6.4.3.1 Written Rendille

Rendille is among the minority languages in Kenya that are fortunate to have a functional orthography, thanks to the effort by Bible Translation and Literacy (BTL). The orthography, however, is relatively young and not frequently used. Some of the reasons for its infrequent use are the low literacy level among the Rendille and, for the literate members, a preference for the orthographies traditionally associated with 'education' and wider use, in this case English and Kiswahili, respectively. The latter reason has to do with motivation. The literate members of the Rendille community acquired formal education through English and, for that reason, it is the language to whose orthography they are accustomed. Kiswahili is the lingua franca used for interethnic communication among the different ethnic groups, not only in Marsabit but, in the entire country. The situations that favour the use of Rendille orthography in both day to day activities and in official transactions are few. The orthography in current use was devised by BTL and

adopted by the Rendille community in the late eighties after thorough consultations with

the Rendille community (Pillinger and Galboran 1999:9).

The following table provides the Rendille orthographic characters with their phonemic

(IPA) equivalents:

Table 105: The Rendille Phonemic and Orthographic Representation

Short		Long	
Rendille Alphabet	Phonemic Transcription	Rendille Alphabet	Rendille Alphabet
A a	a	A a aa	a:
B b	b	Bb	bb:
Ch ch	tʃ	cch	tʃ
D d	ɖ	dd	
'D 'd	ɗ	'dd	ɗ:
E e	ɛ	Ee ee	ɛ:
F f	f	ff	f:
G g	g	gg	g:
H h	h	hh	h:
'H 'h	h	'hh	h:
I i	i	Ii ii	i:
J j	dʒ	Jj	dʒ:
K k	k	kk	k:
Kh kh	x	kkh	x:
L l	l	ll	l:
M m	m	mm	m:
N n	n	nn	n:
Ng' ng'	ŋ	nng'	ŋ:
Ny ny	ɲ	nny	
O o	o	Oo oo	o:
R r	r	rr	r:
S s	s	ss	s:
T t	t	tt	t:
U u	u	Uu uu	u:
W w	w	ww	w:
Y y	j	yy	j:
'	ʔ		ʔ:

Adapted from Pillinger and L. Galboran (1999:8)

It is important to note that most of the letters of the Rendille alphabet are pronounced in, more or less, the same way as those of English. There are, however, some letters whose pronunciation is remarkably different from the English ones. Pillinger and Galboran (1999:9), provide a detailed explanation of these letters and their respective pronunciation. We provide a summary of the explanation as follows:

The letter **d**, in the Rendille alphabet, represents a voiced alveolo-palatal retroflex plosive /ɖ/ and not a voiced alveolar plosive, as is the case in English.

The letter **h** represents a voiceless pharyngeal fricative and not the voiceless glottal fricative which, instead, is represented in Rendille by **'h.**

The Rendille velar sounds /x/ and /ŋ/ are represented by the **kh** and **ng'** respectively.

The combination **ny** represents the palatal nasal /ɲ/.

What, however, presents a complete departure from the English orthographic convention is the manner in which long (also referred to as geminate) consonants are portrayed. In Rendille the long **ch**, for example, is written as **cch** and not **chch**. The geminate **'h** and **'d** are written as **'hh** and **'dd** respectively and not, as one would expect, **'h 'h** and **'d'd**. The same treatment is accorded to long **kh, ng'** and **ny** (which end up being realized as **kkh, nng'** and **nny** respectively).

6.4.3.2 Rendille in the Electronic Media

Some of the numerically dominant communities in Kenya enjoy the prestige of having their languages being used in some FM radio stations as the exclusive languages for broadcasting. Such communities include Gikuyu, Dholuo, Luhya, Kikamba and Kalenjin.

Rendille is one of the languages with no FM station that uses the language exclusively for broadcasting.

The Kenya broadcasting Corporation (KBC) which is owned by the Government, however, recognizing the need to promote linguistic diversity in the country, allocates some languages time in one of its radio channels. Each of these selected language groups is assigned two hours at a specified time daily during which period they can broadcast in their language matters that are of interest to the country as well as what touches the specific community. The broadcasters are employed by the government.

The time assigned to Rendille is 5 P.M. to 7 P.M. daily.

In an interview with one of the Rendille broadcasters, Mr. Tullu Galgithele, we established that the daily broadcast is well received by the community as evidenced by the numerous call-ins that they handle. The two hours are utilized in relaying the news bulletin, advertisements, greetings, songs and special programmes. The special programmes are based on a variety of themes that are relevant to the pastoralists. They include matters on:

i.   Livestock husbandry

ii.   Crop farming

iii.   Marketing of livestock and farm produce

iv.   HIV and AIDS

v.   Education

vi.   The Rendille culture

The fact that the language is heard on air is, by itself, an important step towards raising the profile of the language among its speakers. One of the listeners told us that:

> The Rendille are very happy when they listen to the broadcast in Rendille. Even those (Rendille) who don't speak the language are excited when they hear the language on air. (Kamaya- personal communication).

According to Galgithele, the Rendille broadcaster, the residents of Kor and Kargi are not able to participate easily in call-ins because the two places are not adequately covered by mobile telephone networks. They have to walk for long distances to access the network. The radio waves, however, get to them clearly.

6.4.4 Use of Rendille for Commerce and Industry

The importance of language in commerce and industry can not be over emphasized. Crystal (2000:31), examining the significance of language from the viewpoint of 'human capital theory' says, "language is part of the resources people can draw upon in order to increase the value of their potential contribution to productivity". Nettle and Romaine (2000:30-31) seem to share a similar view in their observation that:

> Those who control particular linguistic resources are in a position of power over others. Linguistic capital, like all other forms of capital, is unequally distributed in society. The higher the profit to be achieved through knowledge of a particular language, the more it will be viewed as worthy of acquisition.

Entrepreneurs, who want to have an edge over their competitors in the market, take the trouble to 'learn' the language of the potential consumers of their products. The perception that language exercises considerable influence on the economy is well

articulated in the statement by Arcand (1996:119), (quoted in Crystal 2000:30) that "languages are the lubricant of trade".

The question of language choice in commercial transactions among the Rendille is critical; the choice is dependent on the settlement where the discourse is taking place and the commodities being traded. From the results displayed in Tables 48 and 49 (in Chapter 4) which constitute data from younger members of the community, it is clear that Kiswahili is generally preferred as the language of use when talking to the shopkeeper. The incidence of choice of Kiswahili in this domain is particularly conspicuous in the settlements located near the Isiolo-Marsabit road. In the settlements that are situated far from the Isiolo-Marsabit road, however, we note an increase in the incidence of use of Rendille.

This outcome is, seemingly, replicated in the data from the adults. In Table 97, we displayed the results to the question that sought to find out the adults' verdict regarding the language they considered important for trade within the district. In four out of the six settlements, Kiswahili was highly rated as the language most suitable for trade. The respondents from Kargi, however, indicated that Rendille was the most popular language for trade within the district. Although, from the tables above, Samburu does not command a clear lead in any of the settlements in as far as use in trade is concerned, we note that it still has a considerable population that uses it. This is mostly during trade that involves iron implements since majority of the people who forge iron wares speak Samburu.

6.4.5 Use of Rendille in Education

In Sections 4.3.3.6 and 5.6.1 we alluded to Kenya's Ministry of Education language policy. We specifically pointed out that, in theory, indigenous languages may be used as medium of instruction in the lower primary school classes if they are the languages of the catchment area. This policy is, however, religiously adhered to only in public schools with a fairly linguistically homogeneous population and, mostly, situated in rural set-ups; in schools situated in urban areas and with a linguistically heterogeneous population, the language used for instruction in lower primary classes is Kiswahili.

The Rendille territory is a conglomeration of both rural and urban outfits. Laisamis, for example, exhibits characteristics of a typical Kenyan urban centre. The language of instruction in lower primary classes in Laisamis primary school is, therefore, Kiswahili. We established that the teacher handling class one in the school, although hailing from Marsabit District, spoke neither Rendille nor Samburu as her first language. In Log-logo, where we ascertained that the school-going respondents from the locality were 'split', almost equally, into either Samburu-speaking or Rendille- speaking (see Table 16), the language of instruction in lower primary school classes was Kiswahili.

Following an interview with Mr Sujo Ildaani, a MoE officer in charge of Early Childhood Development and Education (ECDE) in Laisamis District, we gathered that it was only in Kargi where Rendille was used for instruction in lower primary school classes. In all the other schools the language was exclusively Kiswahili or, like in the case of Karare/Songa, a mixture of Kiswahili and Samburu. In Kor, we took note of a

remarkable initiative by a local entrepreneur who started a private primary school in the area and, against the norm in private schools in the country, emphasized on the use of Rendille as the language of instruction in the lower classes.

6.5 Examining the Rendille-Samburu Situation in the Perspective of the Four-Fold Typology Model

In Section 1.7.2 we provided a general discussion of the bilingualism vs diglossia model where we identified four language situations in which bilingualism and diglossia may exist with or without each other. The idea behind the use of this model in the study was mainly because of the suspicion that the Rendille people have not shifted to Samburu uniformly. One of our hypotheses suggests that there are discernable phases in the Rendille-Samburu shift. The model therefore provided a basis for isolating and describing the phases discernable in our case.

The term diglossia was initially used by sociolinguists to refer to two varieties (dialects) of one language that were functionally distinct. Fishman (1972,1980), however, extended the scope of the term to include two languages existing side by side within a geographical location but each having an identifiable function in the society. Where three languages are involved we refer to it as triglossia.

The term bilingualism is typically used to refer to two languages that make the linguistic repertoire of an individual or society. We shall use the term bilingualism to limit ourselves to a linguistic repertoire that comprises of only Rendille and Samburu.

This is in spite of our knowledge that the subjects of our study exhibited a high incidence of polyglottism. When we examined the use of Rendille and Samburu in the six settlements, we noted conspicuous patterns which we broke down into some classes.

6.5.1 Bilingualism without Diglossia among the Rendille

The first class comprises a situation where the two languages, Rendille and Samburu, exist alongside each other. This state of affairs obtains in Log-logo and, to some extent, in Laisamis. For purposes of the present discussion, we shall highlight the Log-logo case. Looking at Tables 17 and 74, displaying the statistics of linguistic repertoire of the younger speakers and the adults, respectively, it is clear that in the two groups 70 percent of the respondents speak at least four languages. In Sections 4.3.2.2 and 5.3.1, we found out that among the languages indicated by the respondents as constituting their repertoire were Rendille and Samburu. The two languages were, however, not used interchangeably.

There was a noticeable trend towards the use of Rendille by the younger members when speaking to the elderly and the increasing use of Samburu when speaking to agemates and younger persons. In Tables 18 and 42, for example, we note that 70 percent of the respondents use Rendille when talking to their grandparents and other adults within the locality while 30 percent use Samburu. When speaking to their parents, however, there is some remarkable change; while 50 percent and 30 of the respondents use Rendille and Samburu repectively when speaking to their mothers, 25 percent use Rendille and 35 percent Samburu when speaking to the fathers (see Table

24 in chapter 4). The incidence of use of Rendille decreases further when the respondents are speaking to their siblings and agemates within the village. In Table 36 (in Chapter 4) we saw that the respondents were split almost equally in the use of Rendille and Samburu when speaking to their siblings. Table 42 (also in Chapter 4), shows that only 20 percent of the respondents use Rendille when speaking to their agemates, the rest use exclusively either Samburu or Kiswahili or interchange Kiswahili with the other languages at their disposal. The findings obtained from the data collected from the younger speakers are replicated in the data from the adults, which are presented in Chapter 5. We see, for example, that 50 percent of the respondents use Rendille when speaking to their parents while 30 percent use Samburu (see Table 80). However, when speaking to their siblings, 50 percent use Rendille and 30 percent Samburu (see Table 81). The language choice made when speaking to agemates is more or less the same as when speaking to siblings (see Table 84).

The situation in Log-logo, therefore, is one in which Rendille and Samburu are coexisting almost at an equal footing with each other and where each language is playing an important role in the social life of the community. The decision about when to use either Rendille or Samburu is not determined by the speech domain, as either can be used for any function, but by age of the addressee. The language preferred for an elderly addressee is Rendille while the one for an agemate or someone younger is Samburu. There seems to be power equilibrium between the two languages with none enjoying the prestige of being reckoned as the dominant one.

6.5.2 Diglossia without Bilingualism

The situation in Kor and Karare/Songa is different from what we have in Log-logo. In these two settlements, we have an insignificant number of persons who are bilingual in Rendille and Samburu. Majority of the respondents in Kor are speakers of Rendille and do not speak Samburu while in Karare/Songa majority speak Samburu and do not speak Rendille. When we examine the pattern of language choice across the speech domains in the two settlements, we do not see a reduction in the incidence of choice of one language that is occasioned by a shift to the other. The decline in the choice of one language does not necessarily translate into increase in the other. The reductions noted are as a result of lingua francas such as Kiswahili and English. To illustrate this point, consider what we presented in Tables 45- 46, which we reproduce below:

Table 45: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Adults/Agemates - Kor

Lang. of the Resp. to adults		Lang. of the Resp to agemates
Language	Percent	
Rendille	70.0	40.0
Samburu	20.0	25.0
Kiswahili	10.0	5.0
Rend-Kisw	0	25.0
Samb-Kisw-Eng	0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 46: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Adults/Agemates- Karare/Songa

Lang. of the Resp. to adults		Lang. of the Resp to agemates
Language		Percent
Rendille	5.0	5.0
Samburu	70.0	60.0
Kiswahili	20.0	15.0
Samb-Kisw	5.0	20.0
Total	100.0	100.0

In Table 45 we see that 70 percent of the respondents use Rendille when speaking to adults while 20 percent use Samburu. When speaking to agemates the use of Rendille decreases to 40 percent. The decline, however, is not brought about by a shift to Samburu but by an interchange of Kiswahili and Rendille.

A similar phenomenon is seen in Karare/Songa, where in Table 46 the percentage of those using Samburu when speaking to adults is 70 percent which decreases to 60 percent when speaking to agemates. The discrepancy is not brought about by an addition to Rendille but the interchange of Kiswahili and Samburu. We have similar findings in Chapter 5 where in Tables 80 and 84, we display the language choice of the adults when speaking to parents and the respondents' agemates. In Kor and Karare/Songa, we are presented with a scenario described by Fishman (1972, 1980) as diglossia without bilingualism. In this situation, as we have pointed out, two languages exist in one locality; one language is spoken by one group of inhabitants, the other group speaks a different language. Bilingualism in the two languages is negligible.

6.5.3 Neither Bilingualism nor Diglossia

Kargi and Hula-hula present us with a situation typical of monolingual societies. In Chapter 4 where we provided findings of the data from younger speakers, we found out that in Kargi, Samburu was hardly indicated by the respondents as the language of use in any of the speech domains. The same scenario is witnessed in Hula-hula, except that in the latter 5 percent of the respondents made mention of Samburu in some speech domains. The 5 percent are probably due to the proximity of Hula-hula to Karare, where Samburu is predominantly spoken (Karare and Hula-hula are 10 kilometers apart and are situated near the Isiolo-Marsabit road). The high incidence of use of Rendille in most speech domains by the inhabitants of Hula-hula and Kargi reveals a solid sense of language loyalty that is exhibited across the generation continuum. In Tables 44 and 47 (in Chapter 4), we displayed the language choice made by the respondents when speaking to adults and agemates in their neighbourhood. We reproduce the findings below:

Table 44: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Adults/Agemates- Kargi

Lang. of the Resp. to adults		Lang. of the Resp to agemates
Language		Percent
Rendille	100.0	70.0
Kiswahili	0	15.0
Rend-Kisw	0	10.0
Rend-Kisw-Eng	0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

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Table 47: Language of the Respondent when Talking to Adults/Agemates- Hula-hula

Lang. of the Resp. to adults		Lang. of the Resp to agemates
Language		Percent
Rendille	95.0	80.0
Kiswahili	5.0	20.0
Total	100.0	100.0

From the results above, it is clear that among the inhabitants of the two settlements Samburu is not accorded any attention in their language choice decisions. If we were to limit ourselves to only Rendille and Samburu, we would consider the two settlements as being monolingual. In monolingual societies the term diglossia can only be applicable if functional domains are assigned to dialects of one language. For our present case, however, we do not have dialects on sight.

6.5.4 Bilingualism and Diglossia Together

As we examined the Rendille-Samburu situation within the perspective of the four-fold typology model, we discovered that there was one fold that did not have an equivalent situation in our study. Fishman (1972, 1980) describes a situation in which in a community there is both bilingualism and diglossia. This implies that almost every member of the community is able to use the two languages. Each of the languages, however, has a set of functions and the speaker is able to determine and use each accordingly. We did not identify a situation in any of the six settlements that fits this specification.

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6.6 Discernable Phases in the Rendille-Samburu Shift

The situations presented in the foregoing section provide us with a platform on which to discuss the salient phases in the shift from Rendille to Samburu. In discussing the phases, we shall move systematically from the areas/settlements unaffected by the shift to those 'worse hit' by the phenomenon. In this discussion, we use the term phase with some reservations. This is because we are convinced that the term 'phase' is suggestive of a process that has a definite beginning and ending. That is why we can talk about phase 1, phase 2 and the like. It does not seem to leave room for the indeterminate cases which are often noticeable in studies on language change and dialect geography. We shall use the term interchangeably with another term that exhibits similar problems, that is "stage".

We identified three stages: stage 1, stage 2, stage and 3 .

6.6.1 Stage 1

The first stage represents a stable condition. The language is vibrant and is used in all speech domains. It is used across the generational continuum; grandparents use the language when talking to their grandchildren and vice versa; parents use it when talking to their children and vice versa and; siblings use it when talking to each other. In monolingual settings, the language is used by members of the community in every facet of their lives.

This stage is reflected in Kargi and Hula-hula. When we refer back to the findings presented in Chapter four and five, it is clear that Rendille is enjoying the monopoly of the language of choice by grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren. To

illustrate this, consider the information we presented in Tables 20 and 22 showing language choice by both the grandchildren and grandparents. We reproduce the tables below:

Table 20: Language of the Respondent Speaking to Grandparent/ Grandparent to Respondent-Kargi

Lang. of the Resp. to Grandparents	Lang. of Grandparent to the Resp.	
Language		Percent
Rendille	95.0	100.0
Rend_Kisw-Eng	5.0	0
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 22: Language of the Respondent Speaking to Grandparent/ Grandparent to Respondent-Hula-hula

Lang. of the Resp. to Grandparents	Lang. of Grandparents to the Resp.	
Language		Percent
Rendille	95.0	90.0
Samburu	5.0	5.0
Ren-Kisw	0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Clearly from the tables, we note that Rendille is the language predominantly used across the grandparent-grandchildren generation link. In chapter 5 we examined the language use pattern among the elderly respondents. In Tables 80 and 83 we displayed the incidence of choice of language by the respondents when speaking to parents and their children, respectively. Looking at the two tables, it is apparent that in Kargi and Hula-hula, Rendille is the language preferred for communication by this category of respondents when they are speaking to their parents and children. We established further that, in the two settlements, Rendille is the language mostly used by the respondents when talking to their siblings (see Tables 38, 40 and 81). However, we

noted that when speaking to siblings Kiswahili was posing some considerable competition.

The Rendille spoken in these two settlements is robust. The language is being transmitted to the younger generation and being used in a variety of functions and domains. One of the major indicators of the vitality of a language is intergenerational language transfer. A language's vitality is bolstered if it is being passed on at home. Languages that are not in use at home but are promoted in other domains, such as in school and religion, usually end up being symbolic and ceremonial (Nettle and Romaine 2000:178). A word of caution is given to linguists and persons involved in language revitalization efforts that,

> Without safeguards for language use at home sufficient to
> ensure transmission, attempts to prop the language up
> outside the home will be iike blowing air into a punctured
> tyre (Nettle and Romaine 2000:178).

6.6.2 Stage 2

The second stage is one that is characterized by general instability. This stage is equivalent to the situation we described 6.5.1, bilingualism without diglossia. The stage is exemplified in Log-logo. Before we examine the details of this stage, it is important to point out the existence of what appears to be a gray area between stage 1 and stage 2. We may perceive this as the posterior end of stage 1 and the onset of stage 2. This is depicted by the situation in Kor. In this settlement, we noted that a remarkably big percent of the respondents uses Rendille in the home domain while a small percent, but not negligible, uses Samburu. In 6.5.2, above, we pointed out that in Kor, the number of persons who are

bilingual in Rendille and Samburu is negligible and reduction in the incidence of use of Rendille in various domains is not brought about by a shift to Samburu but Kiswahili.

Acknowledging that both Samburu and Rendille have people who indicated that they spoke these languages as their first language and, yet, all identified themselves with Rendille, we undertook to investigate further about the origin of the Samburu-speaking Rendilles in Kor. We got two theories. The first one, by the Rendille speakers in Kor, was that the Samburu speakers in their midst were recent entrants from the neighbouring Samburu County. The second was that, the Samburu speakers were immigrants from Laisamis and Log-logo and therefore Ariaals. We did not want to devote more resources in trying to verify which of the two was more credible. We, however, had a bias for the second one since as indicated in 6.2.2 above, the Samburu (from Maralal) rarely identify with the Rendille label but a section of the Rendille (the Ariaal) does embrace the Samburu label.

In stage 2 we have bilingualism as the norm rather than the exception. The society in Log-logo is split into two, almost, equal halves with one group speaking Rendille as their first language, while the other group speaking Samburu. In Table 16, Chapter 4, we saw that 60 percent of the respondents from Log-logo indicated Rendille as their first language while 40 percent indicated Samburu. We need to point out here, however, that most of the respondents were capable of speaking the two languages. This is why, as we noticed in 6.5.1 above, the respondents exhibited an interesting language choice pattern in the home domain when speaking to various members of the family. We noted, for

instance, that when speaking to grandparents 70 percent of the respondents use Rendille while 30 percent use Samburu. The number of the respondents using Rendille decreases when speaking to parents and decreases further when speaking to agemates and younger persons. Although the two languages suffer similar assault by the lingua francas, Kiswahili and English, it is worth noting that Samburu enjoys better prospects among the young people than Rendille.

The second stage therefore is one in which the telltale signs for shift are conceivable. The direction of shift is clear. There is steady abandonement of Rendille and an increasing use of Samburu. The arena is set for the next stage-the stage of complete abandonment of Rendille and adoption of Samburu.

6.6.3 Stage 3

In stage three, bilingualism has been dispensed with. The community is reverting to monolingualism, only that, in this case, the language involved is not the one that was used initially as the community's first language. This scenario is witnessed in Laisamis and Karare/Songa. Rendille is no longer used by the majority. The language mostly used across the generation continuum is Samburu. Although we still have a significant use of Rendille especially between the grandparents and grandchildren and, also, between some parents and children, the incidence is remarkably lower than what we had in stage two. In Laisamis, for example, the respondents who indicated that they used Rendille when speaking to their grandparents were 20 percent against 70 percent who used Samburu. In Karare/Songa, the situation was not different; 15 percent used Rendille while 80 used Samburu. When speaking to parents (see Tables 30 and 33), we still found an

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overwhelming percentage using Samburu with a small percentage using Rendille. In Table 83 we displayed the frequency of language choice by adults when talking to their children (who in this study are in the category of younger speakers) and noted that Samburu was dominant in the home domain in Karare/Songa and Laisamis. It is, however, when the younger respondents are speaking with their siblings that we note an almost complete absence of use of Rendille and a strikingly high incidence of use of Samburu. We presented the analysis of the use of these languages in Chapter 4. We provide the information contained in Tables 37 and 41 in one table below:

Table 106: Language Used Mostly with Siblings in Karare/Songa and Laisamis

	Karare/Songa	Laisamis
Language(s)	%	%
Samburu	55.0	45.0
Kiswahili	15.0	40.0
English	5.0	10.0
Samb_kisw_Eng	10.0	0
Rend_Kisw_Eng	10.0	0
Samb_Eng	5.0	0
Rend_Samb_Kisw	0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

From the foregoing observations and tabulated facts, the third stage emerges, therefore, as a culmination of a steady abandonment of ancestral language by preceding generations. The linguistic situation in Karare/Songa and Laisamis is not an age-grading phenomenon but a complete loss of the language; the younger members will

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not begin to speak Rendille as they advance in age but will lose, even, whatever little (Rendille) they might have picked from adults.

When we consider the incidence of use of Rendille vis-à-vis Samburu in the six settlements, as presented in Chapters Four and Five, it does not strike us as a surprise that a good number of residents of Marsabit District regard the home of the Rendille community to be Kargi and Kor. While we partly agree that the two settlements are important Rendille strongholds, we do not subscribe to the implied view that the Rendille speakers who once occupied the areas around mount Marsabit, the lowlands encompassing Log-logo and Laisamis retreated to Kargi and Kor and their places taken over by the current occupants who are mostly Samburu speaking. Our stance is that the current occupants of Log-logo, Laisamis, Karare/Songa are not Samburu, the ethnic community predominantly settled in Samburu District, but are originally Rendille, and still regard themselves as Rendille, but reeling from the impact of contact with Samburu. We also hold the position that the increasing abandonment of Rendille and adoption of Samburu is not brought about so much by continued contact between the Rendille community and the Samburu community from Samburu District, but, rather by the continued contact with fellow Rendilles who speak Samburu (Ariaal).

6.7 Structural Effect of the Shift on Rendille

In Section 1.3.0 we outlined the objectives of this study. One of them was to assess the impact of the shift on the structure of Rendille. This undertaking was deemed necessary because studies on contact-induced language shift have revealed that in a number of

cases the abandoned language first loses some features in its structure and adopts those of the target language before it is totally replaced by the target language (Sasse 1992:59; Thomason 2001: 85; Thomason and Kauffman 1988:100). In trying to account for language change (and language shift is regarded as one of the extremes of language change) a number of scholars have proposed what they refer to as Borrowing Scales. The Scale is used to predict which types of borrowed elements can be expected to appear in increasingly intense contact situations (Thomason 2001: 69). One extreme of the Borrowing Scale envisages a casual contact situation in which the borrowing involved is that of nonbasic vocabulary while the structure of the receiving language remains intact. The other extreme presents a situation of intense contact characterized by heavy lexical and structural borrowing. The lexical borrowing, at this level, is in all sections of the lexicon (for more on the Borrowing Scale see Thomason (2001: 69-71); Thomason and Kauffman (1988:77-107). When examining the effect of contact-induced change on the structure of a receiving language, three basic outcomes are likely: a receiving language feature may be lost without replacement; or a new feature may be added to the recipient language's inventory of linguistic material; or a new feature may replace one of the recipient language's original feature (Thomason 2001: 85).

Following analysis of the interview with informants who were native speakers of Rendille and a linguist working among the Rendille, we established that there was no evidence of loss of a linguistic feature in Rendille that is attributed to the contact with

Samburu. We, however, noted cases of addition of features into Rendille and some attempts at replacing existing ones.

6.7.1 Lexical borrowing

The effect of the Samburu-Rendille contact is clearly noticeable in the lexicon. While we acknowledge the possibility of the two languages affecting each other lexically, we have not shed light on cases of Rendille words infiltrating Samburu (as this is not within the mandate of the study) but have devoted our interest to the Samburu words that have gained entry into Rendille. In an interview with Mr Sujo Ildaani, a Rendille elder and an officer working with the Ministry of Education in Laisamis, we gathered that most Samburu words borrowed into Rendille are drawn from limited social domains. The two notable domains in which borrowed words preponderate are marriage and circumcision.

6.7.1.1 Vocabulary Items Related to Marriage

The vocabulary items borrowed from Samburu into Rendille in the area of marriage are mostly proper nouns denoting marriage relationships. These nouns include:

Table 107: Borrowed Words Denoting Marital/Family Relationship

Borowed word	Gloss
Pakiteng/Bakiteng	father- in-law
Paker/Baker	Mother-in-law
Parsintar, Patauwo	The second wife of youR father or the wife of your brother
Pankerra	The name used between the bride and any person who gives her a goat during her wedding
Apiyo	Uncle
Apaayia/abaya	Brother to your father (especially the elder brother)
Pakine	The name for a person who is given a goat as a sign of honour
Rikoret	The name of the bull killed on a wedding ceremony

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An interesting aspect of the Samburu culture and which is also adopted by the Rendille is that, some of the names in the table are only applicable after a gift, usually in form of a goat or sheep, is given to one of the parties. A bridegroom, for example, is only allowed to refer to his mother-in-law as Paker after giving her a sheep.

6.7.1.2 Vocabulary Items Related to Initiation

As noted in Chapter 3 Section 3.2.1, the Rendille and Samburu conduct their male circumcision initiation ceremonies around the same time. They also have similar age-grading ceremonies. Following the intense contact between the two communities a number of words from Samburu have infiltrated the initiation terminology of the Rendille. Below in Table 108 are some of the words widely used by the Rendille but whose origin is Samburu.

Table 108: Borrowed Words Relating to Initiation Rites

Borrowed word	Gloss
Saroi, Mpirian/mbirian	The name used by boys of the same ageset
Nkiyieu/ Nkiyow	The name given to an initiate by a senior moran upon receiving a special piece of meat given to him by the senior moran
Nkwenyi	A close friend with whom you partook in the circumcision ritual
Lkulosi	A type of dance performed by the warriors
Lmuget	A cultural ritual practiced by the morans (used by the Ariaal)
Nchipi	A type of bead-work hang on the head and spread to the back of an initiate during circumcision

Apart from the words related to marriage and circumcision, there are other borrowed words from other social domains. These words include:

Nkaiweli - a type of chain worn by women

Nkolos- a piece of skin worn by girls

Naisigi- snuff (tobacco)

6.7.2 Morphotactical Adjustments on the Borrowed Words

It is important, at this point, to note that when some of these borrowed words get into

Rendille, they are modified to fit to the morphotactics of Rendille. A good number of

the borrowed nouns will take the Rendille {–yo} suffix to denote plurality. Consider

the examples below:

Table 109: Morphotactical Adjustments on Some Borrowed Words

Samburu		Rendille	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nchipi	Nchipi(remains as in singular)	Nchipi	Nchipiyo
Nkaiweli	Nkaiwelin	Nkaiweli	Nkaiweliyo
Lmuget	Lmugeti	Lmuget	Lmugetiyo
Naisigi	Naisigin	Naisigi	Naisigiyo

The morphological adjustment in the words above is comparable to what happens in

some Bantu languages. Examine the data below showing morphological adjustments on

borrowed words in Kitharaka (Mberia (1993:199-208):

Kitharaka word	Kiswahili word	Gloss
Mokɔndɔrɔ	gɔdɔrɔ	mattress
Morengetɪ	blaŋkɛtɪ	blanket
Moβɪra	mpɪra	football

In the above data, we note that the borrowed words acquire a prefix {mo-} which is a

class 3 marker[7]. What emerges from the foregoing illustrations is that, while in

Kitharaka the adjustment is done by introducing a prefix, in Rendille the adjustment is

done by use of suffixes.

In Table 105 in this chapter, we displayed the Rendille phonemes and their respective

orthographic representations. In Table 110 below, we present the consonantal inventory

of Samburu (we have deliberately avoided vowels because the discrepancy in pronunciation of words between the two languages is mostly noticeable in consonantal sounds.

Table 110: the Consonantal Sound System of Samburu

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	alveolar	Alveolo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
plosive	p b			t d			k g	
Prenasal-ized plosives	mp mb			nt nd		nc	nk	
Fricatives				s	ʃ			h
Nasals	m			n		ɲ	ŋ	
Affricates					tʃ dʒ			
Tap/Flap				ɾ				
Trill				rr				
Lateral				l				
Approxim ants						j		

Adapted from Mbugua (2008: xv-xvi)

We have reproduced Table 105 below in order to have a close up comparison of the two sound systems.

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Table 105: The Rendille Phonemic and Orthographic Representation

Short		Long	
Rendille Alphabet	Phonemic Transcription	Rendille Alphabet	Rendille Alphabet
A a	a	A a aa	a:
B b	b	Bb	bb:
Ch ch	tʃ	cch	tʃ
D d	ɖ	dd	
'D 'd	ɗ	'dd	ɖ:
E e	ɛ	Ee ee	ɛ:
F f	f	ff	f:
G g	g	gg	g:
H h	ħ	hh	ħ:
'H 'h	h	'hh	h:
I i	i	Ii ii	i:
J j	dʒ	Jj	dʒ:
K k	k	kk	k:
Kh kh	x	kkh	x:
L l	l	ll	l:
M m	m	mm	m:
N n	n	nn	n:
Ng' ng'	ŋ	nng'	ŋ:
Ny ny	ɲ	nny	
O o	o	Oo oo	o:
R r	r	rr	r:
S s	s	ss	s:
T t	t	tt	t:
U u	u	Uu uu	u:
W w	w	ww	w:
Y y	j	yy	j:
'	ʔ		ʔ:

There are some consonantal sounds which are in Samburu but are not found in Rendille. They include:

i.   the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/

ii. prenasalised stops /nt, nd, nc, nk/

iii. voiceless alveolo-palatal fricative /ʃ/.

When Samburu words bearing sounds that are not found in Rendille are borrowed into Rendille, they are subjected to one of two possible treatments. The first one is that, they are absorbed into the Rendille lexicon in their 'foreignness' without any phonotactic modification. The second treatment involves subjecting the new word to a phonotactic modification where the 'new' (Samburu) sounds are replaced with their corresponding counterparts in the Rendille sound system. Some of the words that have been absorbed in their 'foreignness' are those with voiceless prenasalised stops. The words nchipi, nkaiweli, for example, have their prenasalised stops intact, making them conspicuously 'foreign' in the language whose sound system does not have these combination. For words with the voiceless bilabial stop, however, the word is either adopted with the sound, therefore sounding 'foreign, or the sound is substituted for with the voiced counterpart which is present in the Rendille consonantal system.

Referring to Table 107 above, we note that in some cases we gave a set comprising of two words, one that begins with /p/ and the other one beginning with /b/. When one listens to the speakers of Rendille articulating these borrowed words, the voiceless sound will be heard in the speech of some speakers, while others will replace it with the voiced one.

The 'new' sounds from Samburu have both phonemic and phonetic implications on the sound system of Rendille. Phonemic because there are sounds that have been added into the Rendille sound system and have not replaced any sound. This is what the prenasalised stops have done. The phonetic implication is perceived in the light of the bilabial plosive

which is realized in the speech of some people as voiced while in the speech of others as voiceless. The sounds /p/ and /b/ therefore seem to be in free variation in that there is no set of conditions that favour the realization of either[8]. This development is comparable to a phonetic change addressed in Ngure (2005) in which the loss of the nasal onsets in the prenasalised stops in some dialects of Gikuyu has led the realization of stops /b, d, dʒ, g/ which were not in the language's sound system prior to the change.

Listening to some Rendille speakers articulating words with the voiceless prenasalised stops, one notes that the stops are realized as their voiced counterparts. We illustrate this phenomenon as follows:

/ɲtʃIpI/ is realized as / ɲdʒIpI/

/ŋkaIwɛlI/ is realized as /ŋgaIwɛlI/

The voicing of the voiceless /tʃ/ and /k/ is a result of a phonological process referred to as progressive assimilation where a segment acquires some or all the features of the segment that precedes it. For our case, the feature acquired is that of voicing since the two sounds neighbour nasal sounds, which are voiced. We can express this change in form of rules:

a) /k/→ /g/ / ŋ—

b) /tʃ/→/dʒ/ / ɲ—

6.7.3 Morphological Effect on Rendille

In the morphological domain, Samburu's prefix {Le-} is steadily gaining entry into the Rendille nomenclature. In Samburu, the prefix is attached to masculine names to denote

'son of'. Example of Samburu names with the prefix are, **Lemoosa, Lesingiran,** **Leshore, Lenges** and **Lepakio.** The prefix is being adopted by some members of the Rendille community[9]. Some Rendille names with the prefix include, Lesamana, Lenayaba, Lekaldale, and Lesamberia. The Rendille prefix that serves the role performed by the Samburu prefix {Le-} is {Ako-}. Ako- , however, is rarely in use.

6.8 The Symbolic Status of Rendille

Tsunoda (2005:160) poses the question "is it possible to be Xmen without Xish?" (The terms Xmen and Xish are taken from Fishman 1991:11. The former stands for the members of the community while the latter for the name of the language). The question is a subject of a raging debate not just among linguists but also community members with one group holding the view that one can not claim to be a member of a given speech community when he/she does not speak the ancestral language while the other group says that one does not need to be a speaker of an ancestral language to be reckoned a member of that speech community.

Interestingly, even among members of the same community, the view on whether language is an important determiner for ethnic identity is not necessarily unanimous. Dorian (1998), quoted in Tsunoda (2005:164) says,

> I found that when I asked speakers of Scottish Gaelic whether Knowledge of Gaelic was necessary to being a 'true highlander', they said it was; when I asked people of Highland birth and ancestry who did not speak Gaelic the same question, they said it wasn't.

Noonan (1999), quoted in Thomason. (2001:240), says, "villages in Myagdi used to speak Chantyal until relatively recently or are now losing it, since their language is not seen as a key feature of their Chantyal identity".

Among linguists, the debate is even more interesting with some, such as Duenhauer and Duenhauer 1998:76) claiming that language is merely one of the many "badges of ethnicity" and not the sole indicator for ethnicity. A similar view is shared by Rigsby (1987:370) who argues that speech is a mere external trait, like dress and appearance, which may not count for much but it is the inner values and principle which guide people's lives and make up the real substance of their social and personal identity. It is for that reason that he challenges the view that "one cannot be a real Indian unless one can speak an Indian language (Tsunoda 2005:165).

Miyaoka (2001:8) represents the linguists on the other side of the divide, who hold the view that language is at the core of a people's identity. He says,

> Once an ethnic group loses its own language, even if some
> fragments of its material culture (e.g. ethnic costumes,
> crafts, or whatever) live on, they may represent little more
> than a lingering twilight: the culture may possibly have
> been lost or, at least, may not be functioning as an organic
> whole any longer. In this sense language may be said to be
> the last stronghold of culture".

The debate notwithstanding, it is generally agreed that languages function as important symbols of ethnic identity (Crystal 2000:36; Thomason 2001: 22; Tsunoda 2005:164).

Where ethnic identity is concerned, a peoples' attitude towards the language they speak comes into play. Attitude, however, can be a very delicate and fuzzy affair as Thomason (2001:22) puts it:

> ...the most salient thing about a people's attitudes is that they cannot be predicted with absolute confidence. Some robust correlations can be found between certain factors and certain attitudes, and between particular attitudes and particular types of linguistic behaviour...

This observation aptly captures the Rendille situation. In Sections 4.3.3.5 and 5.6.5, we provided the respondents' responses to the question that sought information about the language they considered important for cultural identity. As can be seen in Tables 62 and 99, most of the respondents rated Rendille highly as propitious for cultural identity. A closer scrutiny of the tables, however, shows that the respondents from the adult/elderly category rated Rendille more highly as the language of cultural heritage compared to the young respondents.

The results provide the views of the respondents, most of them residing in the Rendille territory, who were selected for the study without thorough scrutiny as to whether they belonged to the 'white' Rendille or otherwise. We suspect that if the same respondents were served with the questionnaire while in Samburu territory, we would have some variation in the responses with a considerable number choosing Samburu as a cultural language. Possibly, this is because of the Ariaal whose linguistic loyalty may depend on location and opportunities in the offing. This is expressed by Schlee (1989:210) as:

> The Rendille, for all practical matters except age-set promotions and certain marriage customs, make no distinction between themselves and the Samburuised Ariaal, who, in turn, regard themselves as Samburu whenever it is convenient to do so.

It is for the same reason that Fratkin (1991:16) refers to the Ariaal as an "opportunity oriented" society.

6.9 Conclusion

This was a discussion of the quantitative data presented in Chapters Four and Five. In discussing the findings, we also made use of the qualitative data which had not been presented in the two chapters. We examined the factors responsible for or that abet the shift from Rendille to Samburu within the framework of Giles et al (1977) language shift and language vitality model. It came out clearly that the Rendille community is on the losing end with a significant proportion of its population 'crossing over' to their Samburu-speaking neighbours for marriage or economic pursuits. We noted that some Rendille cultural practices have played a contributory role in the shift. The Rendille primogeniture inheritance custom, for example, where the first born son inherits everything from the father, has contributed a great deal to the migration of the younger sons into the Samburu territory. When these younger sons are among the Samburu, they are treated favourably and allowed the opportunity to raise their own herd. The predictable outcome of this is that they (immigrant Rendilles) end up learning the benefactor's language and marrying from them.

In this Chapter, we also looked at the mechanism of the shift to Samburu where we identified some discernable stages. It was apparent that the shift has not affected the Rendille settlements uniformly. We noted that some settlements, specifically Kargi and Hula-hula, had not been affected by the shift and the language was still robust as evidenced by intergenerational transmission. In some settlements, however, Rendille is barely spoken. In these settlements a person who speaks Rendille exclusively would have to use the services of an interpreter (one who is bilingual) or use a lingua franca, such as Kiswahili or English, in order to engage in any meaningful discourse with the residents. The scenario was witnessed in Karare/Songa and Laisamis. Log-logo is a good example of an 'in-between'; the settlement is characterized by a high incidence of bilingualism in the two languages.

We ended the chapter by examining the structural effect of the shift on Rendille language. We pointed out, using appropriate illustrations, that there is a significant incidence of lexical borrowing from Samburu into Rendille. Some words borrowed into Rendille are adopted in their 'foreignness' thereby introducing new phonemes into the language while others are modified to comply with the phonotactics of Rendille. We, therefore, noted that the shift to Samburu has had some phonemic and phonetic effect on the Rendille sound system. We, also, established that the morphological domain has not been spared either; the Samburu prefix {Le-} is increasingly infiltrating the Rendille nomenclature.

In, a nut-shell, this chapter has confirmed our hypothesis that Rendille language is steadily losing ground to Samburu. To linguists and the speakers of the language, this should be a matter of grave concern. Consequently, in the following chapter, we make recommendations on the way forward in the question regarding bolstering the vitality of Rendille.

Notes

[1]*Galgulume* (also variously referred to as *gaalgulamme, gaalgulaamme, galgulaamme*) is a Rendille ceremony performed in one vast settlement on the eastern shore of Lake Turkana.

It is often held in the year following circumcision (which takes place after every fourteen years). It is during this ceremony that each age-set is given its name.

[2]*Ilmugit* are series of ceremonies performed by Ariaal and Samburu warriors in the course of their moranhood.

[3] *Almado* (also variously referred to as almhato, almodo or olhdalmhato) a festival that is held annually and does not entail unmarried youths or boys.

[4]*Sorio* or soriu is a family festival celebrated four times a year

[5] the words in brackets are ours

[6] the words in brackets are ours

[7] Kitharaka, like many other Bantu languages, is a class language, whose nouns are categorised into classes denoted by a prefix.

[8]This development is comparable to an ongoing phonetic change addressed in Ngure (2005) in which the loss of the nasal onsets in prenasalised stops has led to the realization of stops /b, d, dʒ, g/ in some varieties of Gikuyu. These sounds are therefore in an allophonic relationship with their prenasalised counterparts, /^{m}b, ^{n}d, ^{ɲ}dʒ, ^{ŋ}g/

[9]Some Rendille masculine names have {L-} prefix but which is not followed by the vowel –e-. This is not a simplification of the Samburu prefix but it is inherent in the Rendille morphology.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary of the Chapters

The main objective of this study was to ascertain the factors behind the linguistic shift by members of the Rendille community, from their ancestral language, Rendill, which is a Cushitic, to Samburu, a Nilotic language, spoken by the Samburu people who neighbour the Rendille on the South-west boundary. The study is presented in six chapters. Chapter One provides an overview of the linguistic and geographical background of the two languages, as well as the speakers of the languages, statement of the research problem, the objectives of the study, the hypothesis being tested in the study, the theories guiding the study and review of related literature. The Chapter also gives a description of the research methodology adopted. The description includes details on research design and data collection, analyses and presentation techniques.

Chapter Two addresses the phenomenon of language contact and its effect on linguistic diversity. It provides a general impression of the distribution of languages in the five continents of the world. From the breakdown, it emerges that languages are not evenly distributed across the continents; some regions have a few languages but spoken by a vast population while in other regions, there are numerous languages which are spoken by few people. In the Chapter, contact between languages is portrayed as having the potential of impoverishing some languages and enriching others. Some languages are known to have died as a result of their speakers shifting to a language in their neighbourhood. The

vitality of the target language is bolstered since the overall number of its speakers and, possibly, the domains of use increase. The Chapter comes to a close by examining some efforts put by organizations and countries geared towards safeguarding linguistic diversity.

Chapter Three concerns itself with the historical frame of Northern Kenya. It explores the linguistic, cultural and political situation of the nomadic communities that have related historically with the Rendille. It emerges from the exploration that while the Rendilles are known to have closer linguistic ties with the Somalis than any other linguistic group in the neighbourhood, the two do not make allies because of religious differences; the Somali are Muslims while the Rendille are mainly adherents of the Rendille African Traditional Religion (RATR) (lately some have converted to Christianity and a few to Islam). The Borana are portrayed to have had some significant control over the Northern Region when the Borana hegemony was intact. It was during this time when the Gabra community shifted linguistically to Boran. The Rendille, however, have had a generally hostile relationship with the Boranas and have therefore not interacted closely; cases of intermarriages between the two are still few to date. The Chapter traces the initial contact between the Rendille and the Samburu and the forging of a close alliance between the two. This alliance is what forms the basis of the linguistic shift focused in the study.

Chapters Four and Five are the data analyses chapters. Chapter Four examines the quantitative data from the younger members of the community while Chapter Five deals with the data obtained from the older members of the community. The respondents were

selected from six settlements within the Rendille territory mainly through judgment sampling. The data were collected using Language Use and Attitude Questionnaires and analysed using simple frequency and thematic analysis tables. From the two chapters we established that most respondents spoke more than two languages and that language choice was dependent on a number of factors. The factors included the domain of language use, the locality and the person(s) involved in speech. The analysis revealed that respondents did not exhibit uniform linguistic behaviour across the six settlements. In Kargi, Kor and Hula-hula, for example, we noted a higher incidence of use of Rendille in the home domain than was observed in Laisamis and Karare/Songa where the language mostly used was Samburu. Log-logo presented an interesting scenario where choice of language for use in the home domain was limited to Rendille and Samburu. The two have equal stakes as home languages in this particular settlement.

In almost all the six settlements, we found out that the incidence of use of Rendille is declining across the generation continuum; the incidence of choice of Rendille by the respondents when speaking to their parents is lesser than when they (respondents) are speaking to grandparents and least when they are speaking to their siblings.

Chapter Six was a discussion of the findings of quantitative data analysed in Chapters Four and Five. The findings from qualitative data collected in the study were also incorporated in the discussion which was organized under subtopics derived from the Giles et al. (1977) language shift and language vitality model. The crux of the discussion entailed examination of the factors responsible for the shift from Rendille to Samburu. It

came out clearly that the Rendille community was on the losing end with a significant proportion of its population 'crossing over' to their Samburu- speaking neighbours for economic pursuits. The Chapter also looked at the mechanism of the Rendille-Samburu shift, where it was demonstrated that the shift had not affected the Rendille settlements uniformly since discernable stages were identifiable. Deductions from findings were examined within the context of the study's objectives and hypotheses. We provide a summary of the deductions and conclusions made in the study below.

7.2 Conclusion

The objectives of this study, as enumerated in Section 1.4, were:

i) To investigate the motivation(s) for the Rendille – Samburu shift.

ii) To identify the stages (phases) that are discernable in the Rendille – Samburu shift.

iii) To asses the impact of the shift on the structure of Rendille.

iv) To find out whether or not Rendille language is a useful factor in defining the Rendille identity.

In pursuit of the first objective, it emerged that the Samburu economy is the main motivation behind the shift. The Rendille rely traditionally on camel for milk and attach a lot of cultural importance on it. The Samburu, on the other hand, diversify their stock; those living in the drier lowlands keep camels while the rest keep cattle and the small stock (goats and sheep). Cattle reproduce faster than camels and have more economic benefits than camels. The small stock comes in handy during draught as it is either used

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as food or sold to provide money for buying food or a combination of the two. The Samburu are, therefore, perceived to be wealthier than the Rendille. The apparent economic advantage of the Samburu notwithstanding, it was noted that there were some cultural practices among the Rendille that predisposed the community to the influence by the Samburu. The primogeniture inheritance custom, for example, which accords the first born son entitlement to all of his father's wealth, contributed a great deal to the migration of the younger sons into the Samburu territory. When these younger sons are among the Samburu, they are able to raise their own herd and predictably marry Samburu women. The prolonged stay among the Samburu will automatically result in the immigrant Rendilles learning the benefactor's language. Migration and intermarriages were, therefore, pointed out as significant factors in the Rendille-Samburu shift. The non-competitiveness of the herding strategies of the two groups allowed a peaceful coexistence between the two communities since camels graze in lowland deserts while cattle need the water and grasses of the highlands (Spencer: 1973:5; Fratkin 1991:23).

Following our pursuit of the second objective, we determined that in the linguistic shift to Samburu, the Rendille community has not shifted uniformly. We noted the existence of something akin to a continuum with one extreme represented by the regions that had experienced a complete shift and the other extreme represented by the regions that remained unaffected. The other regions that had experienced the shift partly fell in between the two opposite ends. Kargi and Hula-hula were the two settlements that had not been affected by the shift and where the intergeneration transfer of the Rendille

language was robust. Laisamis and Karare/Songa, on the other hand, exemplified the Rendille settlements that had been grossly affected by the shift and where intergenerational transfer of Rendille was virtually abscent. Log-logo represents the settlements that are bilingual in Rendille and Samburu; the population is split almost into two, between those who speak Rendille and those who speak Samburu as their primary language. Kor is also a representative of the settlements that fall in between the two extremes but tending more towards the end of those not affected by the shift. Apparently, Kor is experiencing the onset of the Samburu influence.

In line with the requirement of the third objective, we undertook an examination of the impact of the shift on the structure of Rendille. We found out that the shift had some significant impact on Rendille structure as there were several elements of the Samburu language that had gained entry into the Rendille language. The domains affected were the lexicon, phonology and morphology. The influence on the lexicon was realized in the form of borrowing where lexical items were absorbed into Rendille from Samburu. Most of the borrowed lexical items were drawn from the vocabulary that pertains to marriage and initiation. Borrowed lexical items from other spheres, other than the two, were few. The Rendille phonology was affected by the shift in that some of the lexical items gained entry and were entrenched into the language with 'foreign' sounds which were not replaced with their Rendille equivalents. Consequently, the phonological inventory of Rendille was enriched as new sounds got into the system as either phonemes or allophones. The prenasalised segments are examples of new phonemes that got into the language through borrowed words. The voiceless bilabial plosive /p/

got into the language as an allophone; it did not replace the existing voiced bilabial plosive /b/ but the two coexist as they are heard in the speech of some Rendille speakers.

Evidence of infiltration of Samburu morphology into the Rendilles is exemplified by the adoption of the preffix {Le-} which is attached to masculine names to mean 'son of'. The preffix has gained acceptance among the Rendille and is being used with Rendille names.

The last objective required that we establish the importance of the ability to speak Rendille in determining the Rendille identity. We found out that the Rendille identity is not defined by the ability to speak the language. To be reckoned a Rendille one did not have to be a speaker of the Rendille language. The Rendille identity is defined by such considerations as membership to one of the nine clans and partaking in certain rituals. Rendille identity is in two levels. There is being a Rendille in the general sense of the word and there is being a Rendille in the strict sense of the word. A Rendille in the general sense of the word is one who can trace his/her lineage to one of the nine clans of the Rendille while a Rendille in the strict sense of the word is one whose clan is eligible to partake in the Galgulaamme ceremony. In both cases, the ability to speak Rendille is immaterial.

7.3 Recommendation

7.3.1 Revitalisation efforts

In Section 2.7 of Chapter 2, we highlighted some efforts towards promoting linguistic diversity carried out by the United Nations, groups of countries working jointly, as well as individual countries. Promotion of linguistic diversity is mainly concerned with providing the necessary environment required for language maintenance. It also has to do with putting in place strategies and mechanisms that slow and possibly hamper language death. However, when languages have suffered the unfortunate fate of losing speakers to another language, the action or series of actions required to salvage such languages are best described as language revitalization. Spolsky (1995: 178) describes language revitalization as "restoration of vitality to a language that has lost or is losing this attribute." In other literature on the subject, the phrase Language Revitalization is regarded as synonymous or inclusive of such terms as language revival, language renewal, language resurrection and language reclamation (Tsunoda (2005:165); Crystal (2000: 162); Rottland and Okombo (1992:280); Thomason (2001: 224); Nettle and Romaine (2000: 188).

7.3.2 Language Resurrection and or Reclamation

Looking, on the face value, at the terms language resurrection and language reclamation and how they relate to language revitalization, one gets the impression that they are suggestive of the continuum that is language endangerment. A language that requires resurrection, for example, is not at the same point of endangerment with one that requires renewal. Tsunoda (2005:168) describes language renewal as restoration of the vitality of

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a language "in situations where there is no fluent speaker left, but a significant amount of the language is known within the community". He describes language resurrection/reclamation as restoration of a language's vitality "in situations where the language is no longer spoken and little is known orally within the community".

Hebrew presents one of the widely known examples of a successful language resurrection/reclamation initiative. For centuries, Hebrew was not used for ordinary everyday communication within any speech community. However, since the language is associated with a major religion, it was always learned for religious purposes during the period the Jewish people were in exile. The Jewish people had shifted to Yiddish and/ or the language(s) of the countries they lived in and used these languages for ordinary everyday communication. Hebrew is now Israel's main spoken language (Thomason 2001: 224). Another classical example of language resurrection is the Kaurna language of Adelaide area, South Australia. The language had been extinct for about a century but, fortunately, it had been well documented in the nineteenth century (Tsunoda 2005:211; Crystal 2000:162). According to Tsunoda, who has been involved in a number of programs for documenting endangered Aboriginal languages in Australia:

> Attempts have been made to restore the Kaurna language, including the sounds, on the basis of the written documents and of the sounds of other Australian languages, and even a CD of the language, including the sounds, has been produced (Tsunoda 2005:211).

The Kaurna case is considered a success story because it has been embraced fully by the wider Aboriginal community, including children. It has also fostered a sense of identity and pride amongst Aboriginal people. Although communicative fluency is still

something that the people are grappling with, it is commendable that the Kaurna people have been able to reacquire their ancestor's language.

As we celebrate these successful cases, it is important to bear in mind that a reclaimed language is usually not an exact replica of the original language. A reclaimed language lacks, what Crystal (2000:162) refers to as "the breadth of functions which it originally had". The language also exhibits a deficiency of some of the old vocabulary. These shortcomings are, however, insignificant, compared to the 'joy' of salvaging an ancestral language. In any case, as Crystal (2000:162) puts it, the 'new' language,

> ...as it continues in present-day use, it will develop new functions and new vocabulary, just as any other living language would, and as long as people value it as a true marker of their identity, and are prepared to keep using it, there is no reason to think of it as anything other than a valid system of communication.

7.3.3 Language Renewal

As for language renewal, Suba, a language spoken in Kenya and parts of Tanzania adjacent to the Kenyan-Tanzania border, is a lively example. A sociolinguistic survey conducted in 1985 by Franz Rottland and Okoth Okombo revealed that the Suba community, especially those settled on the Kenyan side, had 'suffered' Luoization from as early as the nineteenth century and, consequently, were steadily abandoning their language in favour of Dholuo. The shift from Suba to Dholuo was complete, particularly, in Rusinga Island, where the language had reached the language death stage.

The assimilation to Dholuo was catalyzed by the colonial administration. The first colonial chief of Rusinga and Mfangano, appointed in 1900, who was a fluent speaker of Dholuo often conducted his meetings in Dholuo thereby forcing the monolinguals (in this case the Abasuba) to learn Dholuo. Christianity and western education, perceived to be pillars of colonization, were obtainable chiefly through the medium of Dholuo since they were 'served' from mission stations established in Luoland (Rottland and Okombo 1992:280).

At the time of the Survey, Suba had neither been written nor standardized. The Suba territory was still administered from South Nyanza District. The mid-nineties, however, witnessed a change in the fortune of Suba. Administratively, a new district was created that encompassed the areas traditionally considered Suba. Through the efforts of Bible Translation and Literacy (BTL), a Christian non-governmental organization, the language was standardized and put on print. A Bible in Suba is now read in some churches in Suba District. Aggressive campaigns geared towards raising Suba awareness were mounted which included the use of the print and electronic media. These efforts have yielded some degree of success since the language is now used in some homes, in Early Childhood Development and Education Centres and Suba literacy classes are conducted in some parts of the District (BTL staff-personal communication). Suba language is back on its way to full life.

7.3.4 Strategies for Language Revitalisation

Reflecting on the available data on language maintenance and revitalization programs that are deemed successful, such as those discussed in 7.3.2 and 7.3.3 above, one may want to isolate factors that are propitious for a vibrant language revitalization program. These factors may serve as a basis for a theory on language revitalization. In this section we are not outrightly examining what might be considered as postulates for such a theory but we are going to examine the strategies and some programs that may be applicable in revitalizing Rendille and other languages sharing a similar fate in the endangerment continuum. We begin by focusing our attention on the six "ifs" of David Crystal. According to Crystal (2000:130), an endangered language will progress to vitality, evidenced by use of the language in the home and neighbourhood as a tool of intergenerational communication, if:

  i. Its speakers increase their prestige within the dominant community.

  ii. Its speakers increase their wealth relative to the dominant community.

  iii. Its speakers increase their legitimacy in the eyes of the dominant community.

  iv. Its speakers have a strong presence in the educational system.

  v. Its speakers can write their language down.

  vi. Its speakers can make use of electronic technology.

When we consider the foregoing factors casually, one may wonder why, then, is Rendille still diminishing in vitality yet most of the enumerated factors are already at play. Rendille has a functional orthography; it is recognized as one of the indigenous Kenyan languages; and it is allocated airtime in the national broadcasting station, Kenya

Broadcasting Corporation (KBC). This points us to the factors on prestige and involvement in the educational system. We discuss these under the following sub-headings.

7.3.4.1 Use of Lobby Groups

Prestige has a lot to do with esteem, which is also related to attitude. An endangered community needs to make its presence felt in the wider community. It should begin by fostering positive attitude towards itself. This is of paramount importance before embarking on aggressive lobbying and vigorous activism geared towards raising the profile of the community before others. For as Crystal (2000:100) says, "...without prestige, and the power which this brings, no language movement can succeed".

Brenzinger and Dimmendaal (1992:4) express the same idea by saying,

> The minority language has to be valued highly by members
> of a speech community in order for it to survive a generally
> hostile environment.

Awareness and concern of the language's endangerment has to be fostered through a variety of media. This can be in the form of writing letters to the editor or a regular column in a daily newspaper or an occasional programme exposing the language on radio or television, such as a cultural celebration or a religious festival (Crystal 2000).

The community can also make use of non-expensive channels within its settings such as churches, social gatherings (like weddings, burials and markets) and schools. When engaging in this venture, the lobbyists should take heed of Crystal's counsel that:

> ...people do not change their minds, or develop positive
> attitude about endangered languages, just by being given
> information; the arguments need to capture their emotions.
> Crystal (2000:99)

To engage people's emotions, such forms of artistic expression as songs, dances, sculpture, paintings, plays and other genres should be used.

Where lobbying is concerned, the Rendille community has not done much but there are, however, some noticeable significant impressions. The Halimoitet women group, comprised mainly of Rendille women living in Nairobi, is at the formative stage of rolling out serious awareness campaigns. This initiative should receive the backing of Rendille men without which, the community being patriarchal, the task can be quite herculean.

The situation on the ground in Rendille land is that few have an idea of what it means to lose their language. The community is complacently and unsuspectingly giving over their birth right[1]. One of the main reasons for lack of defiance in the shift is because Samburu did not impose itself on Rendille the way, say, Norman French or Latin sought to impose itself on Old English, in the British Isles. Samburu came in as an ally with no 'airs of power'. For the community to realize the gravity of the implication of losing their language, there is need for some advocacy and thorough enlightening targeting the members of the community. This calls for leadership. Burnaby (1997:298) says:

> Every successful program seems to have an individual or a
> group of core individuals with a vision for the program,
> who are determined, committed and dedicated, and who
> exercise strong leadership.

The effort by Nick Swanepoel, a missionary based at Kor is commendable. He is involved in the Rendille Bible translation project as well as Rendille literacy program. Swanepoel is known in Kor and other parts of Rendille territory for advocating for the use of Rendille at home and in the neighbourhood by members of the community. For a non-native, such as Swanepoel, it is often not easy to initiate language preservation measures, especially, in circumstances where the members of the community whose language is endangered do not share the person's passion or are pursuing alternative goals (such as learning the more economically lucrative language) (Crystal (2000:105). The efforts of 'outsiders' notwithstanding, the idea of core individuals from the Rendille community spearheading the campaign has the potential of guaranteeing success as it happened in Ugong of Thailand, Ainu of Japan and Irish in Belfast, to mention but a few (Bradley 1989: 33-34,39-40; Sawai 1998:180; Maguire 1991). The need for the direct involvement of the members of the community is aptly underscored by Crawford (1996:64) in the observation that,

> ...it is the people of the community, and not outsiders such
> as language activists, linguists, educators, government
> officers, etc. who must do the job.

Among the issues that should be addressed during campaigns and, owing to the sensitivities involved, are best handled by members of the communities, are aspects of the Rendille culture that abet the Shift. The primogeniture inheritance laws, for example, should be confronted as they have contributed a great deal to migration of junior sons to Samburu-speaking communities where they settle and eventually adopt the hosts' language. The question of diversifying their animal husbandry is another matter that

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should be accorded attention. As a community, the Rendille people should consider cattle keeping as a viable means of creating wealth. Since cattle reproduce faster than camel, a cattle herd will grow faster than a camel's. The adoption of cattle should be accompanied by its recognition in the Rendille cultural practices such as in weddings (as bridewealth), initiation and funerals. This will not be easy since as we noted earlier, the Rendille community is very conservative in certain elements of its culture, especially where the camel is concerned.

7.3.4.2 Practical Teaching of the Language

The work that is done by lobby groups merely prepares the ground for a rigorous and more practical engagement. This is the actual teaching of the language. There are several approaches that can be used to achieve this end depending on the degree of endangerment. We shall focuss our attention on three approaches. These include the bilingual approach, the immersion approach and the master-apprentice approach.

7.3.4.2.1 The Bilingual Approach

The bilingual approach entails the use of the minority language (the endangered language) as the medium of instruction along with the dominant language (the language endangering the other). This involves teaching through the language, rather than teaching of or about the language (Tsunoda 2005:204). This approach is suited for weakening languages whose threat is posed by a dominant language that is already entrenched as a language of education. For the Rendille case, the method may not be suitable since the

threat is posed by Samburu which is an indigenous language and therefore not enjoying any privileged position in as far as use in education is concerned.

7.3.4.2.2 The Immersion Approach

The immersion approach entails providing learners with an environment in which the language they hear and speak is exclusively the endangered one. This approach is also known as 'language-nest' and has been used with remarkable success in the revitalization of Maori (New Zealand), Hawaiian (Hawai) and Mohawk (Canada) (Thomason 2001:244; Tsunoda 2005:202). The environment, in this approach, may be organized in a pre-school, a school, a one-week residential course, a week-end or a one-day trip (Tsunoda 2005:202). This method is ideal for Rendille since there are teachers in the community who are fluent in the language. Children from Karare/Songa and Laisamis may be put into one 'nest' with children from Kargi and Hula-hula and while under the watchful eye of an adult, be instructed to communicate in Rendille only. The challenge, here, would be to control the use of Kiswahili and English.

7.3.4.2.3 The Master-Apprentice Approach

Closely related to the immersion approach is the master-apprentice approach. Strictly speaking, this is also a type of immersion. The approach was developed for revitalization of Californian languages. Hinton (1994:231) provides the following explanation about the method:

The idea is to fund the living expenses of teams of elders and young people with grants, so that they do not have to work for several months, and can thus isolate themselves ...and become immersed in traditional culture and language. It was estimated that three to four months in an immersion situation would go a long way towards the development of proficiency, especially for people who already have some passive knowledge.

This approach is plausible in the Rendille situation. Children from the settlements affected by the shift either grossly or mildly could be paired with a senior person from the settlements that have not been affected by the shift. Kargi and Hula-hula could be the ideal source for these 'Masters'. The duration of stay can be adjusted to take care of realities on the ground like school terms, grazing and farming seasons among others.

7.3.5 The Question of Funding

Some of the approaches outlined above are undoubtedly labour intensive and expensive. Possible sources of funding for these programs could include:

i. Community fund-drives (Harambees[2])

ii. allocation from the County's coffers

iii. Allocation from the Constituency Development Fund (CDF)

iv. The government of Kenya can be approached to fund some of these programs through the Ministries of Northern Kenya Development, and Culture and National Heritage.

v. Non-governmental organizations working within the region

vi. International organizations dealing with language endangerment.

In this chapter, we have provided a summary of the content of the six chapters that precede this final chapter. We also revisited the studys's objectives and presented the outcome yielded from each of them. We ended by making recommendations regarding the possible approaches to revitalizing Rendille. In the suggestions put forth, it was clear that since the Rendille settlements have born the brunt of the Samburu influence unevenly, no one approach would appropriately apply to all the settlements; there are approaches that are suitable for the settlements where the shift to Samburu is (almost) complete and others that would be suited to settlements that have barely witnessed the onset to the shift. The need for a systematic, possibly vociferous, activism geared at raising awareness of the looming danger posed to the Rendille language by Samburu was, however, underscored and should be executed without further delay.

Note

[1] this is an allusion to Genesis 25:29ff, an account of how Esau sold his birth right to Jacob for a meal.

[2] Harambee is a term used in Kenya to refer to fund drives organized by persons from the community and which mainly target fellow community members for source of funds.

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APPPENDIX I: INTERVIEW WITH AN ELDER FROM LOG-LOGO

The respondent is a 45 year old man working with a Christian NGO in Marsabit town. He hails from Log-logo and, due to the nature of his work, travels extensively traversing the wider Marsabit District and the neighbouring Districts. He is reputed to have a fairly good knowledge of the Rendille-Samburu contact. He was suggested to us by some of the respondents from whom we collected data.

Researcher: I am Kenneth Kamuri Ngure, a student at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting research on the contact between Rendille and Samburu languages. I got your name from some people whom I interviewed and who felt that you were in a position to provide information regarding this matter. To begin with, is it true that some members of the Rendille community have abandoned their language and are now speaking Samburu?

Respondent: Yes, it is very true that the Rendille language is being swallowed by the Samburu language. It is something that began long time ago and is gradually spreading. More and more of the members of the Rendille community are taking up the Samburu culture,and not just the culture but, it is serious, even the language.

Researcher: ...even the language..

Respondent: Yes. As we now talk, we have more Samburu speakers than Rendille speakers among the Rendille. These are people who claim they are Rendille and can trace their origin from Rendille but they speak Samburu more than they speak Rendille.

Researcher: What do you think has contributed to this, considering that Rendille is Cushitic while Samburu is Nilotic and that the Rendille also neighbour fellow Cushitic speakers yet they are not adopting their languages?

Respondent: One, the Samburu are more friendly to the Rendille than the neigbouring tribes. They could not go to other Cushitic speakers because they consider them as enemies. The borans are not friendly to Rendille.The same with Gabras. The Somalis are supposed to be closer to the Rendille because they (Rendilles) are considered to have come from the Somalis but they can not go to them because of religious reasons.
Researcher: the Somalis are....

Respondent: the Somalis are more Islamic than the Rendille. The Rendilles are not islamic but are animistic (meaning that they are adherents of the African Traditional Religion)...
Researcher: Aha..
Respondent: ... for that reason they can not go to Somalis... they can not go to Boranas because they fight with them and they can not go to the Gabra because the Gabra speak Borana language and they have fought many times.
Researcher: Okay...

Respondent: Samburus are friendly, and two, they have intermarried a lot with the Rendille. And three, their culture is not as strict as the Rendille's.

Researcher: Strictness as in …

Respondent: Strictness is tied to the camel… the way they keep the camel.

Researcher: Like…

Respondent: Like… Ok..if you lose camels, you can hardly rebuild the herd. It is like impossible to rebuild the herd. But… even if you are going to work as a herdsman, taking care of someone else's camels, it is impossible…you can not get a camel in return for your services. They can only loan you. Whereas if you went to the Samburu people, work and stay with them, they can give you cattle and that way one is able to rebuild on

Researcher: Not loaning…

Respondent: Not loaning, giving you straight …you can rebuild your life again, economically.

Researcher: And camels are what are needed when one is marrying…

Respondent: camels are the most important animals to the Rendille. They are needed when one is getting married, for dowry. You need them when draught strikes, you can slaughter them but you can not slaughter a lone animal. You can sell them if they belong to you. They call it halali. So if they are not halali to you, you can not sell them.

Researcher: That word **halali**, is it Rendille?

Respondent: Halali, the word halali is Rendille, it means that it belongs to you. The animal belongs to you. It is your own

Researcher: you can do whatever you want with it…

Respondent: you can do whatever you want with it. Whereas, mal animal, we call it mal. It is a Rendille word also. Mal is an animal given to you, to take care of it. To get the milk out of it but you can not own it…

Researcher: Okay…so you can not slaughter it…

Respondent: you can not slaughter it, you can't sell it, you can not do what you want with it, even if you have a problem.

Researcher: So raising a camel herd is very difficult…

Respondent: Very difficult..

Researcher: so economically, does it appear like those who keep cattle are a bit superior to those who keep camel…

Respondent: no, a cow you can easily get…if you come to me, for example as a casual labourer… taking care of my cattle for one year, I will give a heifer. That is yours and if you want to extend the labour for one more year, you will get the second heifer and you will continue getting more and more. In that way you will be able to build your own herd and you will become self-dependent. … in Rendille land it is like impossible. One thing that takes away people from Rendille is the issue of first born.

Researcher: Aha..

Respondent: Emphasis is placed on the first born son.

Researcher: the first born son…

Respondent: Yes, if you are the first born son, obviously, the family animals all belong to you. The inheritor is you. The other siblings, eventually, will depend on you…

Researcher: they are at your mercies…

Respondent: Ya, they are all at your mercies.

Researcher: Okay… and when they move over to Samburuland…

Respondent:they can build their own herd and will no be compelled to kneel down to the first born for survival.

Researcher:okay...

Respondent:and in that way... that's why many people prefer to herd the Samburu cattle and adopt a different culture.

Researcher:and now, this term Ariaal, what does it mean?

Respondent: Ariaal is a Rendille word.

Researcher: A Rendille word...

Respondent: Ar- is out. Ariaal means someone who has moved out of the tribe to a neigbouring tribe and adopted a different culture but still belongs to Rendille.

Researcher:Oh... still belongs to Rendille but has moved out and embraced a different culture?

Respondent: Yes... basically for survival.

Researcher: For survival... Okay..

Respondent: For example if a family has six sons, only the first born has access to family inheritance. The rest will be dependants of the first born son...

Researcher:Yes...

Respondent: So in order to build their own herd and become self-dependent, they will have to survive somehow and the easiest place to move is to Samburus...

Researcher: Okay..

Respondent: ...and in the process they lose their language.

Researcher: And what is the attitude of those who speak Rendille towards the Ariaal?

Respondent: Well...they would...they are now sensing the danger of losing their language. They can trace their next of kins in Samburu but they can not bring them back because of demand. Because if they make a condition ... if they have to come back they should be given something, and since the Rendille can not fulifill the condition they can only trace back and recognize that they belong to them but they can not bring them back.

Researcher: Okay...

Respondent: During political campaigns the Ariaal are recognized and treated as Rendilles... you know Rendilles are divided into two blocks, we call them the Belesi Beri and Belesi Bahai. That is, the people of the West and the people of the East.

Researcher: aha... and each of these blocks has a number of clans...

Respondent: Yes. And they can trace the members of their block even from among the Samburus because they are known.

Researcher: Why did they end up being divided in to two blocks?

Respondent: That is something that originated long time ago. We do not know the exact reason but it is for political reasons.

Researcher: and when a candidate is vying for an electoral post, do the Rendille consider the language spoken by the candidate?

Respondent: Language is not a factor. What counts is the idea of belonging. If you belong to the larger block ... the larger block will always take advantage of the smaller block.

Researcher:ohm...

Respondent: obviously the Belesi Beri is much larger than the Belesi Bahai...

Researcher:Because it has many clans...

Respondent: ...because it has many clans.

Researcher: And how many clans are there among the Rendille?

Respondent: Eight.

Researcher: They are eight?

Respondent: Yah... Eight...Ok... ideally they are nine but eight are the recognized ones.

Researcher: the eight, we are talking about Saale...

Respondent: Talking about Saale, Dubsae, Uruwen, Rengumo, er...

Researcher: Matar...

Respondent: Matarbah eh...

Researcher: yah, I remember writing a list of the clans.. I'll show you. It is somewhere, you will confirm...Now, is there one clan that is known for producing leaders, for example Members of parliament...

Respondent: Yes, there are two main ones. One is Dubsae and the other one is Saale. Those are the two main ones.

Researcher Are there dialects in Rendille...

Researcher: well, the Rendille language is similar to that of Somali and ...they have their own alphabet while Samburu do not have their own alphabet...

Researcher Aha...

Researcher: ...they are beginning to write their own language...yes especially at BTL. BTL is the Bible Translation and Literacy...

Researcher: At Kor...

Respondent: Yes, at Kor ...they are coming up with materials to read and ...er..it is a particular language, you can hear it when they speak.

Researcher: now...if a person from Kargi spoke and another one from Kor spoke without disclosing where they came from would one be at a position to identify, by listening to them speak, that this one is from Kargi while this other one is from Kor?

Respondent: No, the Rendille from Kargi and those from Kor speak the same language and in the same way.

Researcher: Is there another group that speaks Rendille in a slightly different way?

Respondent: the Ariaal, because of Samburu language ...like I can't speak fluent Rendille now, a Rendille speaker could tell that this is an Ariaal because of the way they pronounce words...

Researcher: So it is mostly in pronunciation...and are there some words which are in your Rendille but are not in the Rendille of a person from Kargi?

Respondent: ...it is because of my inability to speak Rendille correctly since I have been carried away by Samburu... and can't even read some Rendille words, because it is a very difficult language.

Researcher: Someone was saying that the Rendille language is difficult and that Samburu is easier, so faced with a choice between the two one would go for Samburu, is that true...

Respondent: well, I wouldn't make a judgement on that because it would depend on who the person and which language he places importance on...

Researcher: Now are there some words you know that are in Rendille but were borrowed from Samburu.

Respondent: Yes.

Researcher: could you give me some...okay I will give you some time... but I have some here which I got from some students and wanted you to confirm whether they are really Samburu in origin(hands over the paper with the names to the respondent)

Respondent: (Reading from the list) Paker... the name of the mother in-law

Researcher: Paker, it is written P-A-K-E-R and not B-A-K-E-R.

Respondent: Yes, P-A-K-E-R and not B-A-K-E-R. Ngiyou means a close friend. When you are graduating from childhood to warriorhood, there is a ceremony where you slaughter a bull and you have a close friend with you there.

Researcher: he must be there...

Respondent: Yes, the ceremony is called ilmuget and you must have a ngiyou. Ngiyou is Samburu.

Researcher: and it is used in Rendille...

Respondent: Yes, it is in Rendille. Pakiteng ,also. It is father in-law.

Researcher: Pakiteng.

Respondent: Nkwenyi is also a name for a friend. In Samburu when boys are circumcised, they kill birds and make adornments with the feathers. When you give someone a bird you will call each other Nkwenyi

Researcher: So it is a friend but associated with the...

Respondent: Yes... Saroi is the same thing...during circumcision...the second day after circumcision the boys drink a mixture of milk and blood and the first boy you share that mixture with, you will call him Saroi, meaning friend.

Researcher: Oh, the first boy... so it is still connected to the...

Respondent: Ritual... connected to that ritual. Nakerai (pausing a bit to think)... nakerai has to do with the way you approach a girl as a warrior.

Researcher. Approaching a girl...

Respondent: Yes...Pakine... is the name for the wife of your brother or your younger wife of your father. You call the younger wife of your mother Pakine or Parchit but you have to give her the kid of a goat before calling her that name.

Researcher. Even the wife too your brother, you must give her a goat.

Respondent: Yeyow means Mom in Sambur and in Rendille we call her ayow. parsitar is a common Samburu name for a woman friend.

Researcher. A woman friend...

Respondent: not that indepth friendship.

Researcher. So it is a a neutral word for a female and has nothing to do with affecction

Respondent: yes, it has nothing to do with affection.

Researcher. how about mbirian?

Respondent: Mbirian is used by boys of the same age at the time of healing after circumcision when they are shooting birds together. If you want to call someone that name, you give him an arrow.

Researcher. And patauwo...

Respondent: Patauwo is like pakine. When you give her a goat, you call her Pakine, when you give her a heifer, you call her Patauwo. Patauwo means heifer.

Researcher. Paparoy

Respondent: this is the name given to the wife of an elderly man who supports the back of the boy undergoing circumcision. To call her that name the boy must give the woman something.

Researcher. Those are some of the words I got from some students. Now tell me, you have a good knowledge of what is happening between the two languages, do you think there is something that can be done about the Rendille or we should let nature take its cause?

Respondent: I think we should... there is something we can do. One is to introduce Rendille to school-going children in the lower primary school classes. May be teach them in Rendille because it is much easier for them understand things at a younger age in their language than trying to teach them English.

Researcher. Yah...

Respondent: And that way they can learn their language.because the moment you lose your language, you are also losing your culture.

Researcher. Yes, it is true...

Respondent: You can imagine how rich the Rendille language is. It goes back to millions of centuries...

Researcher. Yes, and if it goes, it has gone completely.

Respondent: Gone like that.

Researcher. Do you think parents need to be sensitized on the need to preserve their language?

Respondent: Yes, if somebody...the Kenya government ... is sensitive about the peoples culture, the way the constitution is saying, then they should support the survival of this language.

Researcher: Recently, the Rendille were given their own district. Do you think the creation of he new district will haqve any impact in as far as saving the language is concerned?

Respondent: You mean the Laisamis District?

Researcher: Yes.

Respondent: No! It won't even touch anything about it.

Researcher: Why?

Respondent: Because, Okay... for one, everybody is looking for survival and as I said, people think that it is much easier to survive in the Samburu culture in the Rendille's. This is because of the Rendille's strictness when it comes to inheritance. The Rendille mainly keep camels and the first born son inherits everything that belonged to the father and the other sons can only receive a camel upon the death of their father and this is if the first born son is willing.

Researcher: So he is not forced by the culture to give?

Respondent: No, he can only give if he wants to give. You ...he can give a cow or a goat but the camel is considered prestigious. And for that, many people will choose to take the way that offers a better opportunity for survival.

Researcher: Do the Rendille have any problems with intermarriages?

Respondent: No, a Rendille man can marry a Samburu girl but that girl must learn Rendille in order to survive.

Researcher: And how do they treat intermarriages with other tribes, say Borana and other communities around?

Respondent: Well... if we had say ten thousand people one thousand or five hundred would marry from other tribes.

Researcher: How would the other members of the community treat that, do they consider this person to have gone out of the norm?

Respondent: Yes, they do not feel good at all. Like my brother married a Boran and up until now my mother says that my brother has not married.

Researcher: He is yet to marry...

Respondent: yes... although we still have some cases, of intermarriges that have survived. According to the Rendilles this people have not married.

Researcher: I Know this interview has taken a bit of your time. I am very grateful for the time you have allowed me and the information you have shared with me. As a researcher it is my hope the information I have obtained will be useful as we, the researchers and other stakeholders get to think of how best to safeguard Rendille and other languages faced with the threat of extinction. Once again, I thank you.

Respondent: you are welcome.

APPPENDIX II: INTERVIEW WITH A RENDILLE WOMAN WHO IS AN OPINION LEADER

The respondent is in her mid-thirties born and raised in Kargi. She is one of the first two women from Rendille to attain university education. She studied, for undergraduate, English and literature at a Kenyan University and later pursued a postgraduate degree in communication.She works as an editor with one of the publishing firms in Kenya and also serves as a board member of the National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA). She is by virtue of her education and national responsibilities an opinion leader. She is also a member of the the Halimoitet women group that is steering efforts geared towards creating awareness for the need of safeguarding the Rendille language and culture.We got her name and contacts from other respondents from whom we collected data.

Researcher: I am Kenneth Kamuri Ngure, a researcher in the discipline of Linguistics. I am conducting research on the contact between Rendille and Samburu languages. As I was gathering data, I came across some people who pointed me to you. They talked of one of their own who had done some studies in language and that happened to be you. I am happy to be here. I know you wear a number of huts, would you kindly tell us something about yourself.

Respondent: My name is Kulamo...and as you said I am a Rendille by birth and marriage. I have grown up among the Rendille, in Kargi specifically, and am delighted to know that you are doing some Research on the Rendilles and the language because, although, currently, am not in that field as such, but it has been of interest to me to see what is happening to our language and the rate at which people who claim to be Rendilles are not speaking the language yet we know how key language is when it comes to identity. We are beginning to wonder what will happen soon when we lose our identity and culture. We see the need to conserve that language... I have been interested but I have not, of course, gone into the area of language and linguistics. I did that for my undergraduate. I am supposed to be a teacher of English and literature but did not practice this in the classroom. I am, however using that knowledge in editorial here, where I work as an editor of language books, English specifically. I am also a part-time lecturer in one of the local universities where I teach communication... I zeroed in on communication, which is also a part of language. I am very keen on what needs to be done regarding the Rendille case and I am very excited that someone has taken an interest and I was wondering what do we need to do to be able to preserve this language ...at least people who are speaking it so that they don't lose it in its entirety. We even have plans of, probably, having a mobile school here in Nairobi because quite a number of us are settled in this area and our kids don't speak the language. we insist that they speak the language but because of the cosmopolitan set up they are in they are forced to speak Kiswahili and English. We were thinking that, if we had a holiday school in which we had a basic curriculum, they would be taught some basic language skills so that this kids ...will have a foundation in their native language

Researcher: Yes, that's very important. Do you yourself speak the language?

Respondent: Yes, I do speak the language. I come from one of those small areas that at least have not been infiltrated ... so me I speak fluent Rendille.

Researcher: I know there are a number of clans in the Rendille community...you belong to which one?

Respondent: The Saale.

Researcher:(on a light note) that's the clan that produces leaders... and how about your husband?

Respondent: My husbad is also a Rendille. He is from Kor. They originally came from Kargi but moved to Kor awhile back. So he is also Rendille, pure Rendille (repeats but jokingly) 'pure'. So, all of us do speak the language fluently.

Researcher: Does the Rendille language have dialects. Is the Rendille spoken in Kargi the same as the one spoken in Kor?

Respondent: As far as I know, I think the Rendille language doesn't have dialects. It may bear some semblance to the Somali language... there may be a few words here and there that people can pick if you are speaking and may be intonation but in terms of dialects, we do not have dialects...it is just one.

Researcher: As I was gathering data I encountered this word, Ariaal, do you know who this Ariaals are?

Respondent: Well... my history may not be too good but I think the Ariaals are there...that's what we're hearing now. When I was growing up we didn't hear that there were some Rendilles who are called Ariaals but these days we hear there are some who are called Ariaals who tend to speak Samburu but they are not Samburus entirely,neither are they fully Rendille in the sense that they do not speak Rendille they don't, probably,follow some of those standard practices tha the Rendille practice like the Sorios and Almadhos. I have not seen but Ihear that they don't practice those things. They are in-between. So whether it is a generation that has grown out of the assimilation... and intermarriage between Rendille and Samburu, I don't know. Historically, I do not know...

Researcher: Now, in Kor I learnt that there is a group who may have been speakers of Samburu because they, possibly, came from Samburu. They are known as Tumaal. Are there Tumaals in Kargi?

Respondent: Ah...no, in Kargi we do not have Tumaal. Well, Kargi is not that mixed as such... we do not have speakers of other languages other than Rendille...er.. what we used to have may be one or two people who are like... blacksmiths, they are not Rendille but there is someone who will be preparing the spears for the morans and all that...they are just assimilated, they don't belong to any of the groupings, the clans. The Tumaals in Kor and Laisamis... I wouldn't call Rendille because we don't even have... I would say we have eight clans and then we have the ninth one which we call Odhola because I discovered we share that clan with the Gabra. The Gabras have the Odola. So the ninth one is not ...they are still Rendille but they are not in the mainstream. So have eight clans plus Odhoola, the ninth clan. We do not have Tumaal at all.

Researcher: Now about marriage, does the Rendiile community prohibit marriage to spouses from other communities?

Respondent: Er... for lack of exposure...cases of marriages to 'external' communities are still limited. However, what we have is that, within there are internal systems which

determine who can marry from where so that issues of close family intermarriages are avoided. So clans will marry from other clans and they know how the systems follow...

Researcher: Aha...In my reading, I learnt that the clans are divided into two...what brought about this division?

Respondent: Well...that also is an aspect of history for which am not well informed. But it, probably, has to do with origin. There are two versions to this. They are said to have used different entry routes, that's what I gathered...

Researcher: But they can marry from one another?

Respondent: Yes, there may be preferences owing to existing stereo types but there are no prohibitions, you can marry from either of these blocks.

Researcher: In terms of Religion, would we say that Kargi is predominantly Christian, Muslim or African Traditional Religion?

Respondent: I would say that Kargi is... I think African Traditional Religion but we tend to practice Chrisianity. Well...we tend to practice Christianity and African Traditional Religion side by side, they are parallel. The two go together. For instance if you were to look at some of the cultural practices, if you are a modern woman or a modern man and you do a wedding in church, they don't recognize that if you haven't done the traditional one. So I think they practice both but the strongest, I think, is ATR.

Researcher: So if you did a church wedding but you did not perform a traditional one, you are regarded like one who is not married?

Respondent: Yes, the legitimacy of the marriage is given by the traditional one because that is where you go through the process, ours is not a one day affair...it takes several days and you have to go through all those processes in order for you to be recognized as formally married. The church is something by the side.

Researcher: I lived in Marsabit for some time and I learnt that the communities there fight, at times, each other, have you ever heard of a fight involving the Rendille and Samburu?

Respondent: Well, no. I have not, actually.

Researcher: So then, that tells me that there has been a friendly coexistence between the Rendille and Samburu.

Respondent: I think so. Considering that they have lived next to each other for long and the rate of intermarriages between the Rendille and the Samburu, especially the ones that border each other and of course looking at how much of that culture also...I mean we are on the receiving end. I don't see Samburu practicing the Rendille culture but I see Rendille borrowing so much in terms language in terms of those other cultural practices from the Samburu. So we have a very good relationship

Researcher: now, while we are at it, do you have some Rendille words which were borrowed from Samburu?

Respondent: well...they may be there...

Researcher: May be I should have given you enough time.have you had of the word paker

Respondent: Yes, that is used, we say (correcting the pronunciation) Baker and I think that has originated from the Samburu language because there is a way they do the wedding and we say originally the Rendille wedding was long and there is a short version called Lugaret and I think even the word Lugaret must have been borrowed from the Samburu. It is a short version where you don't go the way of a whole week of a wedding.

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That is entirely borrowed from the Samburu. If you want to do Rendille wedding, it takes seven days, from a Sunday to a Sunday … but then there is a short version borrowed from Samburu, it is just like a one day event. They just slaughter the cow or goat and it is done.

Researcher: And it is still recognized by the Rendille?

Respondent: Yes, it is but they call it the lazy man's. It doesn't involve a lot of things.

Researcher: In your view, what do you think is the reason behind the reason for section of the Rendille community shifting specifically to Samburu and not to one of the neighbouring Cushitic communities?

Respondent: Well, I don't know… that is something that really…for some us are also wndering what could be the issue but I think in my own observation I tend to think thsat it easier to learn the Samburu language…I have not looked at the syllable structure and all these may be at an advantage than the Rendille language.. because I think the way we speak… it just as difficult as it is to speak the Somali language…may be another aspect to look at is …if I closely look at the social life of the Samburu,they tend to be loud about it, they love life, enjoying it, having fun. Rendilles are a little bit conservative, they don't show off, they don't talk with pride and all these…I think the Rendillles who are adopting Samburu are attracted by the social life of the Samburu. The Samburu are very flexible in their lifestyle. That may be a push factor.

Researcher: Now, about the inheritance traditions, how is it carried out among the Rendilles, to be specific, among the sons who inherits the fathers property?

Respondent: Ohm…it is usually the first born but they make sure that the others are not left empty handed, just like that…so as kids grow up… of course the ladies have nothing. It is the first born who gets the bigger proportion but the others also get something.

Researcher: I encountered a number of people who said that the non-first born sons cross over to the Sambur territory where they go to start off life since they are not entitled to any inheritance as the first born is the sole inheritor, is that so?

Respondent: Well, not really, the first born may exercise massive control of the wealth but the other sons certainly do have something they get, especially during such ceremonies as circumcision…of course there is that talk that the Ariaal came about from the second born sons but I don't know whether that angle is the true angle…

Researcher: Among the Rendille the camel is the main livestock, are they also beginning to raise cattle?

Respondent: Well, not so much…in some areas yes, I think part of it is also the location. We still don't talk cattle as serious animals but of course ther are some Rendilles who live in mountaneous ares like Songa, Karare and those areas which are good for cattle.

Researcher: I also wanted to find out about the status of education, what would you say about the status of education and especially where the girl child is concerned?

Respondent: Well the situation is tricky, so many things are happening; I think the intake of education is still quite low among the Rendille. So if it is generally low, then it is even worse for the girlchild, but I think things are improving because the Rendilles who have traditionally been nomadic are beginning to settle in towns. Families are stting their base in towns and if schools are within their reach the children get access. However, knowing the kind of life they have lived, they don't value education so much. They have not seen much fruit from education so they will kind of say that if I have six kids, I will take two to school and those two may be a boy and a girl or two boys but they will not

entirely say that I will take the girls because they will need to do one two things...The other thing has to do with early marriages. The other day I visited my former primary school and, out of interest, I looked at the records and discovered that from class one to five, the girls were more than the boys. From class five to eight the numbers of the girls goes down such that by the time they are in class eight they are probably two to three girls against thirty boys. So what happened, I tried to find out, is the issue of early marriages because we still practice that...

Researcher: Yes...

Respondent: ...Traditionally the Rendille will choose the boy to go to school. Should there be a choice that is to be made between taking a boy or a girl to school, they will choose the boy because it is believed that the girl will find her own family...so why invest in her while the boy, it is believed, will carry the name of the family?

Researcher: I noted that the Rendille seem to be more monogamous than polygamous, is polygamy conspicuous among the Rendille?

Respondent: Well, polygamy is there but it is for those who are able. It is your status in the society that will privilege you to a polygamous life...are you able to ... like myself I am from a plogamous family because my Dad was one of those chiefs in the olden days so he was able to acquire many wives, so was it for my grand father and great grandfathers. Now my brother has picked it...because they say my family is 'royal'. So it is not something that is done anyhow...

Researcher: Now, do you think something can be done to save the language?

Respondent: Yah, I believe there is a lot that can be done. I am not a psychologist but I believe we need to learn the psychology of the people and we need to identify why is it that it is easier for the Rendille to switch to Samburu while we have not had Samburus who actually speak Rendille. And we find that when they speak Samburu they don't say that they are Samburu, they still identify with Rendille. So the point of beginning is that, the people see the value of being who they are but they are disadvantaged, especially the young generation, because they have grown in a society where they find their parents speaking Samburu so they also pick the language of the catchment area. What we are thinking is, as I mentioned earlier, this small women's group that we have formed in Nairobi and we are actually thinking how we can overcome this problem. We are still at the initial stage but we are thinking of documenting our language. we need to pick up our culture...our stories and record them. We are also thinking of some school, especially for urban kids, so we begin from ourselves with our selves and see how we can impact those other...ares where they have lost their language. we are in the process of producing a chart where we have parts of the body and we have them written in Rendille...we are lso thinking of Radio programs, thankfully we deo have a KBC Rendille radio program that runs every day, Monday to Friday... we three young Rendilles who are running the program. It is a call in ...people call in to send greetings and messages. We are at the discussion point, to see how we can use this to raise agenda... to have a session where we probably have a reading session because I think a lot of people down there listen to this radio.

Researcher: How about the work by BTL at Kor?

Respondent: It has been very very nice, actually some of the people who are now good at documenting and transcribing have been trained at the BTL centre.they have been very useful but they need to enlarge their cathment area. I think Kor is not so much like an

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area that has been affected although the impact is coming… but I think we need to go to areas like Songa where people, all of them, say they are Rendille but getting someone who speaks Rendille is just…not there and even places like Log-logo…we might just say they are on the edge, I wouldn't e talk about Laisamis because I don't even know what to say about it.

Researcher: I am very happy to note that something is happening and now that you are thinking of coming up with a school to take care of the children in town and also have been allocated time in the national broadcaster…that is something. Thank you so much for your time and for the information. I know it will go a long way in helping us, linguists, in thinking of ways how to revitalize the language because as linguists we feel that when we lose a language it is like a zoologist losing a whole species of an animal and we don not want to find oureselves in that situation. Thanks a lot.

Respondent: thank you very much Mr Ngure, I think this is of interest to me also… one time I was asking myself, what do I need to know about language preservation, do I need to know about transcribing…until at one point I am asking myself may be I need to learn more about languages and so on. Of course, I have that background but not exposed to the extent that I know how to go about preserving a language. I think you have just come at the right time and even as we look at how we can work towards ensuring that the language does not disappear, I think there is room for us to partner together and to learn from each other so that we can have something. Our achievement will be measured on what we have been able to do in the short life that God has given us. It is a kind of calling.

APPENDIX III: LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE (LUAQ) FOR STUDENTS

I am a researcher based at the University of Nairobi's Department of Linguistics and Language. I am undertaking a research on Rendille and Samburu languages. Your kind response to the following questions will help a lot in the study.

Any information you give in this questionnaire will be held with utmost confidentiality.

Kindly answer as fully and as honestly as possible.

Section I

1. Age (Tick appropriately in the box)

   ☐ Below 10

   ☐ 10-15

   ☐ 16-20

   ☐ Above 20

2. Gender (Tick appropriately in the box)

   ☐ Male

   ☐ Female

3. Class/Form _____

4. Place of Birth (write the names in the spaces)

   Village/Estate _____

   Location _____

   District _____

5. Religion

   ☐ African Traditional Religion (ATR)

   ☐ Christianity

   ☐ Islam

   Any other (State in the space provided below) _____

6. What is your first language (mother tongue)

- ☐ Rendille
- ☐ Samburu
- ☐ Borana
- ☐ Kiswahili
- ☐ English

7. List in the order of confidence the language you can communicate in

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Section III

Indicate using a tick (√) how often you or other people use the languages in the situations given below:

Situations	Languages			
	Rendille	Samburu	Kiswahili	English
8. When you are speaking to your grandparents, you use				
9. When your grandparents are speaking to you, they use				
10. When you are speaking to your mother, you use				
11. When you are speaking to your father, you use				
12. When your father is speaking to you, he uses				
13. When your mother is speaking to you, she uses				
14. When your father is speaking to your mother, he uses				
15. When your mother is speaking to your father, she uses				
16. When you are speaking to your brothers and sisters, you use				
17. When you are speaking to adults in your manyatta (village), you use				
18. When you are speaking to your age mates in the grazing fields, waterholes and while performing domestic chores together, you use				
19. When you are speaking to the shopkeeper, livestock buyers or sellers etc, you use				
20. When you are speaking to your teachers in class, you use				
21. When you are speaking to your friends in school during break time and games, you use				
22. When your spiritual leader (e.g. Pastors, Catechists, Imams, Oloibons, etc) while leading worship, they use				

Section IV

By use of a tick (√) in the appropriate box, please indicate your views on importance of the following languages for:

Areas	Languages				
	Rendille	Samburu	Kiswahili	English	Other (specify)
23. Education					
24. Setting a job within the district					
25. Trade (business)					
26. Socializing with friends					
27. Cultural identity					
28. General usefulness life					

Section IV

In the scale provide below, indicate your opinion regarding Rendile

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
29. Many people who speak Rendille also speak Samburu				
30. Samburu is used more often in day to day life than Rendille				
31. Adult speakers of Rendille are not transmitting the language to children				
32. Rendille should be taught to children				

Thank you.

LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE (LUAQ) FOR ADULTS

I am a researcher based at the University of Nairobi's Department of Linguistics and Language. I am undertaking a research on Rendille and Samburu languages. Your kind response to the following questions will help a lot in the study.

Any information you give in this questionnaire will be held with utmost confidentiality. Kindly answer as fully and as honestly as possible.

Section I

1. Age (Tick appropriately in the box)

   ☐ 18-30

   ☐ 31-40

   ☐ Above 40

2. Gender (Tick appropriately in the box)

   ☐ Male

   ☐ Female

3. Place of Birth (write the names in the spaces)

   Village/Estate _____

   Location   _____

   District   _____

4. Occupation (Tick appropriately in the box)

   ☐ Student

   ☐ Businessman/lady

   ☐ Formal employment

   ☐ Farmer/pastoralist

   ☐ Not working

   Any other (state in the space below) _____

5. Marital status (tick appropriately in the box)

- ☐ Single
- ☐ Married
- ☐ Widowed
- ☐ Divorced

6. Religion

- ☐ African Traditional Religion (ATR)
- ☐ Christianity
- ☐ Islam
- ☐ Any other (State in the space provided below)

_____

7. Highest level of Education (tick appropriately in the box)

- ☐ Primary school
- ☐ Secondary school
- ☐ Tertiary institution (college, university etc)
- ☐ Illiterate

8. Languages

List in the order of confidence the language you can communicate in

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Section II

9. What is you first language (mother tongue)

- ☐ Rendille
- ☐ Samburu
- ☐ Borana
- ☐ Kiswahili
- ☐ English

Any other (state in the space provided below)

_____

10. What is your father's first language?

_____

11. What is your mother's first language?

_____

12. What is your wife/husband first language?

_____

13. What language do you use mostly at home with:-

a) Your parents? _____

b) Your brothers and sisters? _____

c) Your husband/wife? _____

d) Your children? _____

14. What language do you use with your age mates in social places (e.g. markets, hotels/pub, places of worship etc? _____

Section III

Indicate using a tick (√) how often you or other people use the languages in the situations given below:

Situations	Rendille				Samburu				Kiswahili				English				None of these
	Never	Rarely	Some times	Always	Never	Rarely	Some times	Always	Never	Rarely	Some times	Always	Never	Rarely	Some times	Always	
15. When your parents are speaking to you, they use																	
16. When your parents are speaking to each other they use																	
17. When your children are speaking to you they use																	
18. When you are speaking to your neighbours, you use																	
19. When you are speaking to people you have not met before, you use																	
20. When your spiritual leaders (catechist, priest, pastor, Imam etc) is leading worship he/she uses																	
21. When you are singing, praying or engaged in religious talk, you use																	
22. When you are speaking in government offices, you use																	
23. When speaking with your workmates during work sessions, you																	
24. When speaking with workmates during breaks etc tea, lunch, etc you use?																	

Section IV

By use of a tick (√) in the appropriate box, please indicate your views on importance of the following languages for:

Areas	Languages															
	Rendille				Samburu				Kiswahili				English			
	Not important	Slight y impor tant	Impor tant	Very important	Not important	Slight y impor tant	Impor tant	Very impor tant	Not impor tant	Slight y impor tant	Impor tant	Very impor tant	Not impor tant	Slight y impor tant	Impor tant	Very impor tant
25..Education																
26.Setting a job within the district																
27.Trade (business)																
28.Socializing with friends																
29.Cultural identity																
30.General usefulness life																

Section IV

In the scale provide below, indicate your opinion regarding Rendile

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
31.Many people who speak Rendille also speak Samburu				
32.Samburu is used more often in day to day life than Rendille				
33. Adult speakers of Rendille are not transmitting the language to children				
34. Rendille should be taught to children				

Thank you.