

SYMBOLISM IN ORAL NARRATIVES OF THE SAMBURU OF BAAWA LOCATION

ABEL MUGO MOTE

University of NAIROBI Library

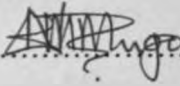


0404835 1

**A project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the M.A degree of the University of Nairobi**

Declaration

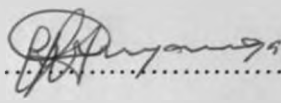
This project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in another university

Signature:..........

Abel Mugo Mote
(Candidate)

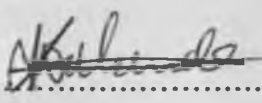
Date:.....22/9/2004.....

This project has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors

Signature:..........

Dr. Peter Wasamba
(First Supervisor)

Date:.....22/9/2004.....

Signature:..........

Kimingichi Wabende
(Second Supervisor)

Date:.....22/9/2004.....

Contents

Declaration.....	i
Table of Contents.....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgement.....	iv
Abstract.....	vi
CHAPTER ONE	
Introduction	1
CHAPTER TWO	
Methodology	16
CHAPTER THREE	
Symbolism	35
CHAPTER FOUR	
Conclusion	74
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	78
APPENDICES.....	81

Dedication

To the spirit of my late father James Wakaria Mote: I now understand what you meant by “The University of Life” To my teacher and mother Beth Wambui: your belief in my capabilities has seen me weather storms. To my lovely wife Margaret Wambui, my oasis in the desert of life; and to the incarnates: Sharon Sonnie, Denzel Wakaria and Betty Wambui, the meanings of life.

Acknowledgement

It is doubtful that this project would have materialised without the selfless input of my supervisors, Dr. Peter Wasamba and Kimingichi Wabende. I extend my gratitude to Dr. Wasamba and Prof. Henry Indangasi who recommended me for a partial sponsorship by KOLA to attend an oral literature researchers' retreat in Kwale which greatly informed my methodology and research design.

The chair, Dr. D. H. Kiiru and the faculty members at the Department of Literature were quite resourceful. The amiable and intellectual environment that they provided went a long way in facilitating this work. I offer them my gratitude.

It is to Dr. Fugich Wako of Egerton University, that I first floated the raw idea of this project and his first reaction was to give me a book that greatly assisted me in shaping my thoughts into a meaningful idea. Said Wabera provided insights into pastoralist life, and provided video documentaries that assisted in giving me focus. "Galatom" is all I can say.

George Chomba sent me his dissertation from Leeds, I am grateful. Our discussions over the internet were very refreshing and informative. The books that Muhia provided from his library opened up my mind.

I am much indebted to my brother Ephantus Mote and his wife Njeri who found a warm space for me in their home during the first part of the course. To them I can only say, "Noo Ngai".

Paul Ojil, his humour and ideas on life cannot go unmentioned. He provided his camcorder at a very short notice. I am in debt.

My fellow sojourners in this course were of immense support: Peter Mbugua, Jairus Omuteche, Beatrice Masibo, Ann Barasa, Lucy Mwangi, Obed Machogu, Peter Onyancha, and Larry Ndivo.

The M.A.1 2003 class, Omutiti, Omufila, Mwairumba, Mwai, Esther, Velma, Maitho, Hadullo and Lydia were a good company during the hard times.

It is Mwai Karekia provided his camera for the field work. Mr. Mwangi was kind enough to give me his tape recorder. I am very grateful to them.

I cannot forget Solomon Leseewa and his wife Christine who hosted me during the field work. Leseewa found time in his busy schedule to ferry me to the field on his motorbike. Philip Lematambach was good company; he entertained me and helped ease the pressure from the fieldwork. The countless breakfasts and dinners prepared by his wife replenished my energy. To them I say “Aache oleng”.

I am indebted to my wife Maggie for assisting in the transcription and translation of the texts at a time when it seemed impossible. I am immensely grateful to her and the children for gracefully bearing with my absences during the first part of the course.

Abstract

An analysis of the oral narratives of the Samburu of Baawa location exposes a rich employment of symbols. These symbols are either generated within the performance or imported from the community's culture. Symbolism enhances the aesthetic and cognitive qualities of an oral narrative as this study affirms.

The study revisits the debate on methodology in oral literature. It looks at the terms, research techniques, methods and methodology. A researcher should provide a justification for the choice, development and employment of the instruments in the research. The study further gives an in depth narration of the methodology employed in the research.

The study avails itself of deconstruction. At the core of the theory is the difference in meaning as determined by context, and the existence of binary oppositions in a text. Cohesion in a text is dismantled by the internal logic of the text. The very elements that construct a text contribute to its deconstruction.

This study inquires into the influences of space, audience and the narrator. The performance space becomes the space upon which the psyche and the community engage in negation and negotiation to create a consciousness. As the study reveals, symbols are read at different structural levels and at each level a symbol makes a different representation. This deference is the source of aporia and cohesion in the text.

Abel Mugo Mote

12th August 2004

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background

Samburu are nomadic pastoralists of the “olmaa” or Maa speaking group comprising of the Maasai, Njemps and Samburu - this is a Nilotic group though culturally they are allied to Cushites (Kipury, 1). They rely on cattle, sheep and goat and to a lesser extent camels for their livelihood. Referred to by the Maasai as “‘ilooibor-kineji”, the people of the white goats” (Kipury, 1), they use the term “loikop”, of the earth, in reference to themselves.

They are the main inhabitants of Samburu District which is located in the rift valley. The district is a semi arid to arid region (Herlocker, 96). They border Turkana to the North Borana, Rendille and Somali to the East and Pokot to the West. They captured Mounts Kulal, Ng'iro and Marsabit from the Boran which together with Kirisia hills mark out the Lerroki plateau where a huge part of their population is concentrated.

The community is organised in two major divisions or moieties based on common descent; people of the black cattle (“nkishu narok”) and people of the white cattle (“nkishu naibor”). Each moiety consists of four phratries. The eight phratries are, Lmasula, Lpiskishu, Lngwesi, Nyaparai, Loimusi, Lorokushu, Long'ieli and Lokumai. The phratries are divided into clans, clans to sub-clans. The sub-clans consist of what Spencer calls “hair-sharing group” (74). This is a group that shares an ancestor and who shave off their hair when one of them dies- a process known as “keng'ar lpapit”. This group is made up of lineages identified by family names.

A new age set is initiated every 14 years. Each age group has particular roles and functions at different stages of its life cycle. Girls do not have an age group in this patrilineal community; they assume the age group of the husband upon marriage.

No migration pattern emerges in their history. This could be due to the fact in the 1880's they lost almost all their cattle to a great disaster, thought to be rinderpest. The disaster ("e-mutai") made them scatter among the surrounding communities. After the disaster, there was a small pox epidemic in the 1890's (Spencer, xviii) which greatly reduced their population. The conflicts with the Turkana –which exist today - worsened the situation. Otherwise myth has it that the first man Samburi descended from heaven at Malalua, a perennial spring located in the Lerroki plateau in what is now known as Kisima location.

The Samburu do not enjoy the legend that surrounds the Maasai of being aggressive, and domineering. This according to Spencer is because the Maasai live near sedentary communities that they used to invade whereas the Samburu neighbour other nomadic communities who are aggressive in nature. (xvii) One social value that stands out as a form of identity for this community is "nkanyit" which encompasses various meanings to refer to a sense of respect, honour, duty and decency. "Nkanyit" is expected of a mature Samburu person.

The foregoing inspires a study of this community. Since literature reflects society, its values, philosophy and history, the study of their oral literature is of great import. Analysing the style employed in the oral narratives of the Samburu is a further attempt to open up their world; and

see it from their own perspective. More importantly, the study of symbolism in oral narratives of the Samburu is intended to be another effort at expanding the study of literature, filling gaps in its body of knowledge and opening new avenues for future studies.

Statement of the Problem

This study investigates the employment of symbolism in oral narratives among the Samburu of Baawa location. It also examines the interplay between the symbols. By assessing the cultural relevance of the objects or actions appearing in the texts as symbols, the study examines the relationship between the text and the symbols. It further inquires into the role of symbolism as a cohesive device in oral narratives.

Justification

The study takes off from the rationale that there is a dearth of literary studies of oral literature of the Samburu. Emphasis has been placed on anthropological collections. This study therefore, fills this gap in literary scholarship by studying oral narratives of the Samburu.

According to Bernth Lindfors, oral literature should be treated to an interpretative investigation of its “artistic functions or aesthetic implication” (230). This study examines symbolism as an aspect of style in oral literature thus giving oral narratives of the Samburu an interpretative study.

The semantically open-ended nature of symbols means that symbolism plays a part in universalizing a literary text. This makes symbolism an important unit of a text and therefore justified to be studied.

Symbolism transcends language and at times culture. This makes it ambiguous. The different layers of meanings that a symbol has means that the audience's interaction with the symbols is at different levels. According to Nicholas Kamau, these layers are of "contrasting meanings" (28). A text that has symbols therefore is deconstructable.

The study is further justified because a stylistic approach to oral literature provides a foundation for future studies of the same nature.

Objectives

This study shows the extent to which symbols in oral narratives act as pillars that hold a narrative as an artistic whole.

The study demonstrates the interplay among symbols; and between the symbols and the text during a performance.

Hypothesis

This study is guided by the assumption that the interplay among symbols gives narratives aesthetic and cognitive qualities. Symbols do not appear in a narrative in isolation rather they interact to enhance cohesion.

Literature Review

Symbols are objects or actions which make reference beyond their literal meaning. A symbol according to Bergman and Epstein is “an ordinary object charged with additional significance.” (173). This means that a symbol has different levels of meaning and these levels “appear simultaneously in a story and consequently with great force and economy” (Bergman and Epstein, 174).

Bergman and Epstein further classify symbols into two: traditional and representative symbols (174) traditional symbols are those that have become ingrained in the culture of a community. These symbols exist independently outside the literature of the community. An artist therefore imports them into his performance. Representative symbols on the other hand are created by the artist and are used to “symbolize an entire group of similar or related objects or actions.” (174)

Drawing from these definitions, the study investigates symbols from the performance in totality. The context, accoutrement, properties, gestures are also considered in addition to the narratives themselves.

Paul Hunter highlights the various elements that give symbols their significance: the context, the audience and the artist. (143). The audience assess the details in a narrative and the artists’ “attitude” towards “a particular tradition or body of knowledge”. (143) Symbolism therefore is very elaborate in oral narratives because these elements are present at the time of performance.

Artists foreground symbols in a subtle way so as to alert the audience to the symbols' presence. This is achieved according to Bergman and Epstein, by placing them in key locations, repetition, giving them oddity that calls attention to their 'unrealistic' nature and description. (175). The orientation and location of a symbol should concern a scholar since they influence its symbolic significance (Cirlot, liii)

Naomi Kipury who collects the oral literature of the Maasai, identifies the symbol of the "oreteti" tree which among the Maasai symbolises long life "because of its strong sturdy nature" (1). Kipury collects the oral literature of the Maasai. This study, inspired by Kipury, analyses the oral narratives of the Samburu who according to her, have dialectic and cultural differences from the Maasai (1).

Sultan Somjee says that the fine art of a community is expressed in their oral literature and it appears as "art symbols". (48) He says that an element of art appearing in a narrative aids the audience to associate the "visual with the oral experience" (48) Somjee's premise is that the community interacts with their fine art be they sculptures, paintings or colours like the maasai's red ochre and in the process attach certain emotions to their art. Therefore, when the art appears in a narrative, it evokes the same emotions, "When principles and elements which are used to judge an art object are fixed into cultural conventions, they become symbols signifying economic and social values (Somjee, 45). The "aesthetic emotions" that are experienced by the artist and the audience are the "result of the interrelationship of the arts" which culminates into "aesthetic sensitivity" (Somjee, 48).

Somjee also identifies sound symbols and says that there is a relationship between sounds and colours in a culture. Sound and colour influence the senses in an “experience of pleasure” and pain. According to Somjee this is achieved through literary inferences as language itself, is not rich enough to transmit the fullness of emotional components in works of art (48). Objects of art carry with them aesthetic emotions and these emotions are transmitted by oral literature through its “richness of metaphors and symbols” (Somjee, 48). Our study draws from Somjee’s essay in identifying and analysing symbols.

Parita Trivedi says that an artist uses “objects that can form effective mental and concrete images” (5). This can only be achieved when the objects have cultural relevance. This is because, having the tendency to evoke emotions, imagery conveys attitudes and values accepted by the society

Symbolism is a defamiliarising device and, according to Trivedi a key to unravelling the “meaning of the story (23).” It also serves a “cognitive function by delighting the aesthetic sensibilities of the audience” (Trivedi, 23). The artist attributes human feelings and intentions to objects and other phenomena; this awakens the audience’s imagination which forms “a mental impression that can acquire a life of its own” (Trivedi, 27). Echoing Somjee who says that symbols influence the senses, Trivedi says that the “sensuous quality” of imagery has the power of exciting emotions of empathy or antipathy from the audience” (3).

Nicholas Kamau says that symbolism is “a vehicle of many interconnected and even conflicting ideas”. This brings into focus the different levels of meaning and associations in

symbols. We have the literal meaning which is always already present and the figurative meaning whose presence depends on the context, artist and audience. Kamau gives us the example of the spear in Song of Lawino as a symbol of manhood. He says that "it derives its force from the Acholi culture" (60) where it is used by men to hunt and to battle. When we bring into consideration that hunting and battling are violent acts then we associate the spear with violence. To take it further, violence brings death; therefore the spear can be read as a symbol of death. This however, is incongruous with manhood which connotes at some level of meaning security and preservation of life. I therefore agree with Kamau when he says that symbolism carries not only interconnected but even conflicting ideas. This means that symbolism maintains and at the same time interferes with cohesion of a narrative.

The study grounds itself on the foregoing literature to analyse symbolism and interrogate its role in creating cohesion in oral narratives of the Samburu.

Theoretical Framework

"Criticism is the enlargement of response, the enrichment of experience and the re-education of perception." (Wheeler, 226) With this guiding principle, this study aims to achieve its objectives using the deconstructionist literary theory.

According to Jonathan Culler.

The effect of deconstructive analyses... is knowledge and a feeling of mastery.....deconstruction attempts to understand (the) phenomena of textuality – the relation of language and metalanguage, for example, or effects of externality and internality, or the possible interaction of conflicting logics. (225)

Deconstruction emphasizes interpretation that is not limited or closed up. According to Makaryk, it celebrates “an unrestricted semantic play” (26). This is brought about by what Paul de Man identifies as the grammatical and rhetorical (literal and figural) levels of meaning in language. In his essay ‘Semiology and Rhetoric’, de Man says that rhetoric excludes logic and therefore allows for limitless possibilities of “referential aberrations” (614). Meaning is indeterminate.

This study looks at performance of oral narratives as language and as texts. The term text is used in this study to refer to more than just verbal representations. Deconstruction looks at language not as a system of signs referring to an ultimate referent but as a text of limitless boundaries and indeterminate meanings. It emphasizes the metaphoricity of language. In their book Re-Thinking Theory: A Critique of Contemporary Literary Theory and an Alternative Account, Freadman and Miller identify what they call “Derridean features” that a deconstructive critic must take for assumption. One of these features is that language is “radically metaphoric” (137). This is echoed by Kathleen Wheeler who says that, “Deconstruction denies the referentiality of language and of texts in order to focus upon their figurative, metaphorical, (and) rhetorical nature” (138). Deconstruction therefore is an appropriate tool for studying symbolism

This study does not just study symbolism, but also the role it plays in creating cohesion in a text. The use of deconstruction is justified here because the theory focuses on cohesion (and lack of it) in a text. Greig Henderson and Christopher Brown write that “deconstruction insists on the paradox of structure and event” (2). Shifting between structure and event results in a

point of impasse or aporia. This undecidability in a text is brought about by the rhetorical nature of texts. It is the clash between the referential and rhetorical levels of discourse that produces aporia. According to Coyle et al, "The meaning we think we find, is not compatible with the specific linguistic structures that make up the text" (784).

Deconstruction thus, demonstrates that a text is self-subverting. However, as Coyle et al write, "deconstruction is thorough going scepticism" (782); therefore, a text that deconstructs itself must also reconstruct itself. Put in another way, a text constructs itself first before it can deconstruct itself. This study examines symbolism as an aspect of structure and event, and its impact on cohesion of a text.

Scope and Limitation

This study provides a focused and comprehensive analysis of the oral narratives of the Samburu of Baawa Location in Samburu district. Other genres are studied when they occur within the narratives

The study limits itself to ten oral narratives.

Methodology

The study relies on fieldwork, interviews, library and internet research.

The fieldwork employs the sociological theory's snowball approach to identify the oral artists. After an artist had performed he or she was asked to recommend another artist. Care was however be taken to avoid antagonisms within the community. Where the choice of an artist

threatened to bring about antagonism, an alternative artist was sought with the help of the research assistant. Artists were chosen on the bases of age and gender.

The stories were collected using tape recorders and video recorders. Research assistants were employed to assist in the collection. Every aspect of the performance was collected since the costumes, props, gestures, participants and context were significant. Meaning according to Deconstruction is dependent on time and space, therefore, the space of performance and all other elements present in the space at the time of performance were considered during the collection. Deconstruction's principle of shifting positions enables us to consider all aspects of performance including the researcher as participant. Deconstruction is sceptical of the concept of a "master text" and considers every text a master text in time and space. Our study therefore, considers each performance as a master text.

After every performance the artist was interviewed. The interviews were flexible and informal. The audience and other members of the community were also interviewed.

Library and internet research was employed before and during the analysis of the texts.

Chapters

The study is divided in the following chapters.

Chapter 1

This chapter serves as the introduction to the study. It comprises of a background study of the Samburu, statement of the problem, hypothesis, justification, literature review, theoretical framework, methodology, scope and limitation budget and work plan

Chapter 2

This chapter includes methodology. The research design and methods employed in the field are discussed. The actualities in the field and their influence on the decisions made in the field are reflected upon. The profiles of the artists and synopses of the collected texts are outlined in this chapter

Chapter 3

This chapter is subdivided into various sections for a focussed analysis. The sections include:

Symbolism in Performance

This section analyses the performance of the narratives as symbolic acts. As a post structuralist theory, deconstruction emphasises the importance of context. Meaning is determined by the context. In this section, the spaces upon which the performances took place are studied as the point where the narratives are realised.

Reading the Vocal Writer

Under this section the role of the artist in the community is interrogated to ascertain whether (s)he is representative of any aspect of the community through his/her art. The way the narrator relates to the space, audience and the narrative is studied

The role of the audience is discussed in this section. The relationship between the narrator and the audience is investigated to reveal their influence in the narrative.

Symbolism and Aporia

This section investigates how symbols create their own identity in time and space. The effect of symbols on cohesion of the texts is also investigated. The displaced symbols are analysed to assess their effect on the meaning and cohesion of the text.

In this section, the interplay among symbols is discussed. Focus is also given on whether symbols in a text make reference to other symbols in the text and how this is achieved. The reference made by symbols to other parts of the text also investigated.

Chapter 4

This chapter sums up the study and assess whether the objectives have been achieved. It also gives suggestions for future studies of the same nature

Works Cited

- Bergman, David and David Mark Epstein. The Heath Guide to Literature. Lexington: D.C. heath, 1987
- Cirlot, J.E. Introduction. A Dictionary of Symbols. By Cirlot. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971 x - lv
- Coyle, M et al (eds.) Encyclopaedia of Literature and Criticism. Detroit: Gale Research, 1991
- Culler, Jonathan. On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism. New York: Cornell University, 1982
- De Man, Paul. "Semiology and Rhetoric". Criticism: the Major Statement Ed. Charles Kaplan. New York: St. Martins, 1986. 606 – 622
- Freadman, R. and S Miller. Re-Thinking Theory: A Critique of Contemporary Literary Theory and an Alternative Account. London: Cambridge University, 1992
- Henderson, Greig E. and Christopher Brown. 'Glossary of Literary Terms' <http://www.Library.utoronto.ca/utel/glossary/Deconstruction.html>
- Herlocker L. Rangeland Ecology and Resource Development in East Africa. Nairobi: GTZ, 2000
- Hunter, J. Paul. The Norton Introduction to Poetry. 2nd ed. New York: Norton, 1981
- Kamau, Nicholas I. "A Stylistic Analysis of Okot p'Bitek's Song of Lawino, Song of Ocol and Song of Prisoner" M.A. Thesis University of Nairobi. 1992
- Kipury, Naomi. Oral Literature of the Maasai. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1983
- Lindfors, Bernth. "Critical Approaches to Folklore in African Literature". African Folklore Ed Richard M. Dorson. New York: Anchor, 1972. 223 – 237

- Makaryk, I. R. Encyclopaedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1993
- Somjee, Sultan. "Interviewing on Aesthetics" Reflections on Theories and Methods in Oral Literature. Ed. Okoth Okombo and Jane Nandwa. Nairobi: KOLA, 1992
- Spencer, Paul. The Samburu: A Study of Gerontocracy in a Nomadic Tribe. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.
- Trivedi, Parita. "Imagery and Children's Literature in Kenya: A Case Study of Four Selected Texts" M.A Thesis University of Nairobi. 1991
- Wheeler, Kathleen M. Romanticism, Pragmaticism and Deconstruction. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

In the previous chapter the methodology proposed for this study was briefly explained. This chapter picks up from there and explains the methodology that was employed in the field. There is a debate over the meaning of methodology in oral literature more so when the other related terms, methods, technique and research design, are considered. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias define methodology as “a system of explicit rules and procedure upon which research is based” (13). The terms rules and procedure give methodology a clinical feel. According to Clough and Nutbrown, the process of arriving at decisions and justifying them is what defines methodology (17). This means that all aspects of the research fall under methodology. The systematic process of solving the research problem and the logic behind the procedure (Kothari, 10) is what constitutes methodology. Kothari differentiates between methods and techniques. According to him, research technique refers to the “behaviour and instruments (used) in performing research operations” (9). Methods on the other hand refer to the process of “selecting and constructing” (9) these techniques. Methods and techniques fall under methodology, which has a wider scope that includes the justification of the two (11). In line with these definitions, we take methodology to refer to all decisions made concerning the study, the methods employed to perform specific tasks, the layout of the research process and the entire research experience. In this chapter therefore, we describe the methodology employed in the field including the logistical actualities that were faced. It is for this reason that this chapter is narrational in nature.

Baawa location was decided upon as the locus of field work due to its accessibility and the fact that since some farming takes place in this area, we were sure to find artists of both genders due to the semi sedentary lifestyle the inhabitants are adopting. Kisima location, a shopping centre within the area, is more accessible but it was avoided because after having lived in this area, I assumed that my familiarity would interfere with the research, however as it will emerge later this familiarity became an advantage at some point in the field work. The distance between Nairobi and Baawa is about four hundred kilometres and the roads are poor from Rumuruti. Landline telephony is almost non existent. One mobile telephone network spills over to Kisima and its environs. This however is not dependable. A big section of Baawa does not have any telephone services.

It is for these reasons that Solomon Leseewa was asked to assist in coordinating the field research. Solomon Leseewa has university education and teaches at Kisima Girls Secondary School. He has worked with a local NGO and is a director of a group ranch in Baawa, his home. His education, experience in research and the influence he has in Baawa enabled him to coordinate the various logistical issues on the ground. Pius Lekaso Lepiriring and Peter Milton Lelelit, both teachers at Baawa Primary School, were recruited to assist the researcher. When I went to the field it was easy to pick up from Leseewa.

On reaching Kisima, some members of the community were interested to know what I was doing. Having been a teacher, it was easy for them to reconcile my previous role as a teacher with my present role as a researcher. It was while having a chat with Kwantan Lelelit about

the research that she offered to organise a performance. It was as a result of our familiarity that she went out of her way to organise a performance during her working hours

The snowball approach of identifying artists that had been proposed proved inadequate as most artists felt that any Samburu adult could perform narratives hence no outstanding artist was known. Since narratives are usually performed by parents to their children, the general feeling among the Samburu of Baawa is that any elder can perform narratives. This however was not the case as some elders could not perform even after their memories were jogged. At some instances it was not possible to access the recommended artists. For example Kirais Lelelit, a moran, recommended young boys as artists. He advised me to wait till evening when the boys return home from herding. This however would not have been possible due to the time and other logistical issues

Pius Lekaso Lepiriring proved a very useful assistant. We used a combination of the snow ball and the "cold canvassing" approaches. What I term "cold canvassing" approach entails "accosting" a member of the community with a request to perform. A description here will suffice. On being dropped off at Lekaso's manyatta by Leseewa on his motorbike, we met Apaaiya Lchikwan Leparmorijo. After greetings and exchange of niceties Leseewa "ordered" him to perform to which Apaaiya Leparmorijo visibly surprised responded "Mayolo ngatini" (I don't know any stories) Leseewa repeated the "order" with a gentle finality then turned to me and told me, "Mugo, this old man must give you a story" then he rode off leaving Apaaiya Leparmorijo protesting. Lekaso picked up from there and gently "dismissed" Apaaiya Leparmorijo's protests and told him that a man of his age cannot lack narratives.

Lekaso probed his memory then guided him through a rehearsal. Although his memory failed him, he managed to recollect himself and perform two narratives. This approach is quite tricky since there is a high risk of offending the prospective artist. Apaiya Leparmorijo is an elder and strict cultural norm dictates the respect that should be accorded to him; he should therefore not be ordered or dismissed especially by younger men who are his "sons". The way Leseewa and Lekaso handled it however, was within the culturally accepted liberties that young elders can take with elders; this, coupled with the respect they command given their education levels and professions made this approach effective.

Apaiya Leparmorijo then recommended Apaiya Ledilan Lesilele. After Lekaso probed his memory and rehearsed with him, Apaiya Lesilele performed some very entertaining narratives that left Apaiya Leparmorijo in stitches especially the tale "The Thorn". The rehearsal involved Lekaso identifying tales in his repertoire that would act as signifiers to the artists' own repertoire. The signifiers would ignite the artists' own repertoire; Lekaso would guide them through excerpts from their repertoire before identifying the ones that they would narrate effectively. This method is effective and it is the one we used with Peter Lelelit. The idea of going through a rehearsal before the artists perform proved quite useful for the artist and the audience as it gave the audience an opportunity to create the kind of narrative that would entertain them. Watching him during the rehearsals, Lekaso struck me as a gifted artist so I requested him to perform but he declined. My feeling was that he did not want to mix the roles of an assistant and an artist. Peter Lelelit on the other hand was able to perform.

The performances were recorded using a tape recorder, a camcorder and a camera. A notepad was used sparingly to record other observations, inferences and interviews that were done after the performances. Ideas that came up during casual chats with the artists or research assistants were not recorded as it would have been cumbersome to start writing in the middle of a casual chat. These ideas were recollected later and written in the note pad. I noticed that most respondents were cautious during the formal interviews but more relaxed during the chats and therefore gave more information during the informal sessions. I proposed to hire a professional camera man but this was not possible as most of those who were approached declined due to the distance; those who accepted quoted very high rates that were unaffordable. I therefore carried and operated the gadgets, and was assisted by the research assistants and at times members of the audience. The operation of these gadgets (especially the camcorder) made it difficult for me to be a participant-observer in all performances as had been proposed. I would therefore participate in some performances and concentrate on recording in others.

The spaces of narrations differed. At the Lekaite manyatta there are various traditional Samburu houses and one modern house. I was welcomed into Kwantan's manyatta and waited as she rehearsed the pieces she was to perform. She had written them down in a piece of paper the previous night. After the rehearsal, she led me to the modern house of Mr. Joshua and Alicia Lekaite. Alicia was one of the artists. We all sat round a table and the artists performed from where they were seated.

Apaaiya Leparmorijo and Apaaiya Lesilele performed at the space under a thorn tree situated just outside Lekaso's manyatta. We sat in a circle such that we were all facing one another. At the Lalaikipiani manyatta, the performances took place under a big thorn tree situated in the middle of the manyatta which comprises several households. The importance of the shade of the thorn tree as a meeting space emerged when Lekaso stood there and asked the women to come and welcome a visitor (me). They appeared from their houses, and proceeded to sit down; and soon after, children from within and without the manyatta, came and sat under the thorn tree. The women- there were no men at the time though one old man came but did not join us- and children sat in a semi-circle facing Lekaso and I. This is the normal sitting format in this patriarchal community: the women sit down on the ground facing the men (Lekaso and I) who sit on stools. The artists performed from where they sat. This format of occupying space put the researcher in focus, I felt like the one performing; it also brought into focus the technological gadgets which became a source of entertainment to some of the audience.

A conscious decision was made to have a variety of artists in terms of age and gender. The artists who performed ranged between the late twenties to seventy years of age. Attempts to have a ten-year old girl, Sania Lekaite, to perform failed mainly because the adults did not give her a chance. My requests to have her perform were not heeded. After the performances I went to her and told her to perform but she could not perform an entire narrative since she was helping her mother in the kitchen. It was apparent that she is a gifted narrator from the way she actively participated in the narrations.

Ochieng Anyona writes, “verbal art categories are interwoven...(and) Verbal art is never simply a spoken art; it is an enactment, an event, a ritual, a performance.” (31) This was confirmed to me by the performance at the Lekaite manyatta. During my chat with Kwantan Lelelit a day before the performances I told her that I was interested in narratives only. The general understanding by scholars is that “ngatini” is the Samburu word for narratives, so I informed Kwantan that I was interested in “ngatini”; she confirmed this by asking me whether I meant “stories” to which I agreed. However, when they started performing, they performed various genres: riddles, tongue twisters, play songs and narratives. Later during the interview, it became clear that the term “ngatini” refers to the performance or occasion of oral literature. This performance enabled me to get a glimpse of the wider context within which narratives are performed.

Performing Identity

Dan Ben Amos in “Two Benin Storytellers” says that “Once a storyteller starts he is spellbound by his own art, completely removed from the tribulations of daily life. Consequently, he is likely to neglect all his other duties”. (111). The performers in Baawa were different. They were fully immersed in the art but at the same time conscious of their roles outside the narrative and performance spaces. In this section, we give the profiles of the performers



Picture 2.1: Mother-narrator

Alicia Lekaite is in her mid to late twenties. She is a house wife and a mother. Alicia traversed the roles of mother, hostess and narrator with great ease. She would take her baby the moment it started crying in the middle of the performance and continue performing. She would then nurse the baby while performing. Performing the role of a mother meant that she could not use her hands in performing the art thus she used her upper torso and head to gesticulate. Since the performances were being staged at her house, she had to coordinate the cooking in the kitchen with the help of her ten year old daughter Sania. The daughter would call her during a narration to ask for guidance in the kitchen in the kitchen. Alicia would pause, very quickly issue instructions and continue with the narration.



Picture 2.2: Contesting Marginality

Kwantan Lelelit is forty-two years old. She is a matron at Kisima Girls' Secondary School. She had a piece of paper on which she had written the pieces she had planned to perform. She held this paper throughout the performance. Before the performances she went to her manyatta and rehearsed the genres she had planned to perform. It was as a result of our familiarity that she went out of her way to organise a performance during her working hours. Kwantan Lelelit confidently traversed the roles of assistant, artist and coordinator. She assumed the role of coordinator because at Lekaite's manyatta she had organised a group of three women artists including herself.



Picture 2.3: Consciousness

Tooyie Lelelit is in her late forties. She is a mother and a grandmother. In the midst of Tooyie Lekaite's performance, an elderly man paid a visit and Tooyie had to pause to welcome and brief him on the occasion then proceeded with the performance.



Picture 2.4: Narrator and narratee

Apaaiya Ledilan Lesilele is in his mid sixties. He is in the Nkishili age group.

Lesilele was conscious of the tape recorder and would in some instances address the tape recorder directly. The recorder, to him represents an(other) audience Lesilele is a member of a local Baptist church mission that occasionally hosts missionaries from out of Kenya. He is therefore accustomed to explaining Samburu culture to the missionaries



Picture 2.5: Claiming space

Kinau Lalaikipiani is in her sixties. She sat down during her performances, away from the other women who are much younger than her. She gave the image of a matriarch.



Picture 2.6: Collective narration

Kalasta Lalaikipiani (in white) is in her mid thirties. She sat down during the performance. Her narrations were collective as she would surrender the role of the artist to the other women then reclaim it.

Synopses

Out of this process and experience, sixteen oral narratives were collected. Some of them had similar plots. Ten different narratives that reflected varieties were selected.

1. The Thorn

Lion and Monkey live together. A thorn pricks Lion's foot and he is bedridden. It becomes Monkey's responsibility to nurse him. Hyena comes along and becomes envious of Monkey. He wants to be the one to eat the leftovers; he therefore decides to interfere with the relationship

Hyena goes to Lion and tells him that Monkey is a medicine man and a prophet, and he is withholding his healing skills. Monkey, who has been basking overhears this. He comes to Lion and tells him that he has been to the medicine man who has prescribed the use of a strip of hide from the back of a grey animal, to remove the thorn

Hyena attempts to evade his death by claiming to have come across a dying grey animal. But by this statement he traps himself. Lion pounces on him.

2. Ostrich's Chicks and Lion's Cubs

Lion's children contract scabies and so he grabs Ostrich's children and claims they are his. Unable to convince Lion to return his children, Ostrich asks the other animals to intervene but they refuse because they fear Lion.

Mole however, offers to help. He climbs on top of the highest anthill and points out the difference between Lion and Ostrich. By agreeing with Mole, the other animals pass judgement against Lion. Mole, fearing the wrath of Lion, escapes into a hole but is grabbed by Elephant who wants to punish him for his dissenting views. He however tricks Elephant into releasing him and escapes. Lion is forced to return Ostrich's children and take his scabies-infected ones.

3. Lion, Leopard and Hyena

All animals live together and drink milk. When cows stop producing milk, they slaughter a bull. Humans hold a meeting and decide to trick the animals into closing their eyes so that they cannot see how they slaughter a bull.

Hyena closes his completely but Lion and Leopard peep through their paws and are able to see the entire operation. This explains their skills in hunting. Hyena opens his eyes and finds Humans cutting the legs of the carcass and this explains why he hunts by going for the prey's leg.

4. Elephant

Elephant is on his way to visit his mother-in-law. He carries on his back, a gourd with food for the mother-in-law. On the way, he meets Hare who pleads with Elephant to carry him. Elephant offers to help. While riding on Elephant's back, Hare notices the gourd and eats the contents. He then escapes.

Elephant is angered when the mother-in-law finds an empty gourd. He retraces his footsteps in search of the thief. Hare disguises himself and meets Elephant seven times. At every meeting, he tricks Elephant by claiming to be a different Hare. Elephant however realises the trick and on the seventh meeting he grabs Hare and ties him to a tree. He then goes to the forest to fetch canes with which to beat Hare.

While Elephant is in the forest, Hyena comes along and wonders what Hare is doing tied to a tree. Hare takes advantage of Hyena's greed and tricks him into taking his place. When Elephant comes back, he finds Hyena tied to the tree and he proceeds to mete out the punishment meant for Hare.

5. Hare and Hyena

The two characters live together. They go on a raid and come back with lots of cattle. Hare tricks Hyena into taking what seem to be bulls as they do not produce milk. Hyena goes to look for a medicine man to find a cure for his herd but does not find him. Hare offers to go and he comes back with a prescription: they should drown their mothers. Hyena drowns his but Hare does not. In the course of time, Hyena notices that Hare talks with somebody in his house; and on investigation, he realises that Hare's mother is still alive. He kills her.

Hare vows to avenge his mother's death. He goes to the medicine man and comes back with another prescription: they should light a fire over which Hyena should jump four times. Hyena jumps over the fire three times and on the fourth attempt falls into it. His pleas to Hare to save him fall on deaf ears.

6. Shodom

Shodom is a moran who escapes an attack by an ogre that kills his fellow morans. He organises a party of other morans who slash the ogre to death. The ogre vows to revenge. It reappears in different forms in its attempts to trap Shodom and eat him but every time Shodom outwits it and it is killed. It then reappears as a big tree in whose shade many ceremonies are held. During a wedding that takes place under the tree, Shodom is convinced to take part in a dance despite his protests. As he sings, a leaf falls from the tree and on touching his head; he disappears together with the tree into the ground.

7. Lekinyeisho (The Man Eater)

Lekinyeisho is a very rich moran who, as the name suggests, eats people. When a group of girls returning home from a wedding passes near his home, he asks them to spend a night and they accept the offer.

The girls soon discover that he eats people and they escape. On the way, one of them realises that she has left her mother's wedding beads. She decides to go back alone after the others refuse to take her. Lekinyeisho catches her and asks her to choose marriage or death. The girl opts for marriage. Koonyek, an intelligent ogre, is born out of the marriage.

One day, Koonyek's aunt who is pregnant pays her sister a visit when Koonyek and his father are away hunting. As evening approaches, Koonyek's mother asks her sister to leave before the ogres return. On the way however, she is caught by the ogres who eat her. Koonyek finds twins in her womb and takes them to his mother to cook them. His mother hides the twins and

cooks rats instead. Koonyek realises they are rats when the food is served but his father admonishes him. As the twins grow, Koonyek notices their footprints but his mother claims they are hers. When the twins are grown up, Koonyek's mother tricks the ogres into carrying heavy luggage and in their helpless condition calls the twins to avenge their mother's death.

8. Kiminchil

A young girl escorts her moran. On her way back she meets an ogre that asks her many questions. On being asked the name of her moran she replies "Kiminchil" which means thrasher. This opens a floodgate of questions. On being asked the names of her mother, father and even herself, she gives the ogre praise names. At last she is fed up and abuses the ogre which attempts to grab her. This is when Kiminchil the moran appears and slays the ogre. As it dies, the ogre blesses Kiminchil and the girl.

9. The Small Girl and the Ogre

Morans go to their hideout and their girlfriends who include a small girl, decide to follow them. On the way, they meet a handsome moran and they ask him to accompany them. Soon, the small girl sees the moran eat a fly with a mouth at the back of his head. She pretends to have hurt her foot and when one girl stops to attend to her, she informs her of the discovery but the girl dismisses her. She does this again but the other girls dismiss her. They believe when they see it themselves.

The small girl asks the party to stop walking and she starts singing. The moran is engrossed in the singing and he starts dancing. The girls escape as he is dancing. On realising they have

escaped, the moran follows and catches up with them. The scene is repeated. Unbeknown to the ogre, the girls have reached near their morans' hideout. So, when they sing and the ogre starts to dance, they run off and call their morans who come and kill the ogre.

10. Maarasas

People migrate and accidentally leave a spotted calf behind. When Hyena comes along, he is excited to find the calf. He asks the calf whether he should eat or spare it. The calf advises Hyena to let it grow fat before eating it. Hyena agrees. When the calf is big and fat, Hyena decides to eat it. However, as he is struggling to kill it, some men come to its rescue. In anger, Hyena vows to bite off the calf's udder whenever they meet.

This chapter has narrated the decisions, structure, methods and the experience in the field. This exposes the actualities that governed the collection of the texts. The chapter has, at length, attempted to capture as close as possible, the field experience in its entirety. The limitations of the written word however cannot capture the actual experience. There are some events which have not been included that are remotely related to the research but still influenced it. This therefore cannot be said to be the "real experience" but being a narrative, it is merely a representation of the experience. It is this experience that governed the collection of the texts that are recorded in the appendix. As explained in the previous chapter, since the study employs deconstruction theory, we will be referring to this experience in the analysis of the performances. Reference will also be made to other experiences not included here that affected individual performances.

Works Cited

- Anyona, Ochieng'. "Oral Literature for Development's Strategy for Change" Drama and Theatre Communication in Development: Experiences in Western Kenya. Ed Loukie Levert and Opiyo Mumma. Nairobi: KDEA, 1997. 26 – 35.
- Ben-Amos, Dan. "Two Benin Storytellers" African Folklore Ed Richard M. Dorson. New York: Anchor, 1972 103 – 114.
- Clough, Peter and Cathy Brown. A Student's Guide to Methodology: Justifying Enquiry. London: Sage, 2002
- Frankfort-Nachmias, Chava and David Nachmias. Research Methods in the Social Sciences. Fifth edition. London: Arnold, 1996.
- Kothari, C.R. Research Methodology:Methods and Techniques New Delhi: Wishwa Prakashan, 1990

CHAPTER THREE

SYMBOLISM

This chapter contains the analysis of the collected texts. We make a stylistic analysis in an attempt to arrive at the meanings of the oral narratives. Meaning according to Derrida cannot be “determined out of context” (81). In oral literature this context includes the narrator, audience and the physical environment in which the performance takes place. The analysis of the context is in no way conclusive for as Derrida further states, “no context permits saturation” (81). The chapter looks at the factors that influence the performance and the symbols that emerge from these factors, and from the narratives. The first section analyses the context of the performances. In this section we look at the physical space and its effect on the narration. The second section analyses the narrator both as the vehicle and as a signifier within the narration. The third section looks at the narratives as entities in themselves.

Symbolism in Performance

Evan Mwangi in his M.A thesis recognizes the presence of dramatic and narrative spaces. He posits that while dramatic space includes the physical space on which a drama text is performed; narrative space is restricted to the ideological level of the written text (46). In oral narratives there is physical space, but not clearly defined as in drama; and there is also the ideological space of the tale. Oral narratives transcend these two spaces and it is for this reason that we consider oral narratives to occupy what we call “performance space”. In other words performativity and narrativity are interlaced in the performance space. This section forms the first part of the analysis of the oral narratives collected. In this section we analyse

the various aspects of performance and their contexts. We look at the physical space and its effect on the narration.

Ngatini takes place in different settings depending on the participants. For children, it is done around the fire place or the shade (“loip”) of the thorn tree; and for morans, it is done out in the dark when they hold their special dancing sessions. As described in the previous chapter, the performances in this study took place in different spaces during the day. At the Lekaite manyatta, it was done in the sitting room of the only modern house. This clearly reflected the importance of the performance. My presence as a researcher enhanced the importance of the performance. Apaiya Lesilele, Apaiya Leparmorijo, Kalasta and Kinau Lalaikipiani, performed under a thorn tree. The shade of the thorn tree is an important space among the Samburu. It is the spot where important meetings are held; it is where elders (“Lpaiyani”) at times congregate for a drink and it provides a cool resting space against a violently hot environment. It is also the place where mothers sit and watch the children as they play. At the Lalaikipiani manyatta, the thorn tree is situated in the middle of the entire homestead signifying its centrality in their lives. The thorn tree under which Apaiya Lesilele and Apaiya Leparmorijo performed is situated just outside Lekaso’s homestead but this does not suggest that it is not important. Unlike Lalaikipiani’s manyatta which comprises of several homesteads all within the same compound, Lekaso’s manyatta comprises of one home whose small compound is fenced off leaving a large portion of the land for farming. It is just outside this compound; far enough not to be interrupted by any noise from the house yet close enough to see the house, that the thorn tree is situated. Although it is physically located at the periphery of the manyatta, the commanding view of the homestead that it gives makes it a

space of authority hence reclaiming its centrality. Lekimargor and Lelelit performed at the hearth, a central space in human life. It is in this space that women in a patriarchal society claim their authority; it is also the space where elder women perform ngatini to the young in the evening. The performances therefore took place in spaces of power.

The artists felt that ngatini is threatened by encroaching modernity and formal education and therefore a non Samburu showing interest in their art was encouragement for them to perform. Recording the ngatini was a sure way of subverting its erosion. Ibrahim Lenengwesi, James Lenaiyarra, and Leretin Lesorogol, also expressed these sentiments. Other members of the community expressed the same feelings. This study therefore gave them space to contest what they feel is an erosion of their culture and ngatini.

The Samburu are among the marginalised communities in Kenya therefore an opportunity to showcase their art and culture to the “other” was seen as a way of contesting marginality. The performances therefore symbolise the community’s contestations with modernity. In the modernity/tradition binary opposition, the respondents felt that modernity was dominating traditional culture. The residents of Baawa find themselves in the same situation as that one represented in Henry ole Kulet’s novel To Become a Man. Modernity appears to be opposing their traditional way of life making the two, tradition and modernity, diametrically opposed. We take tradition here to refer to the established mode of living that gives the community an identity in relation to other communities; and we take modernity to be the new or contemporary mode of living that attempts to swallow the identity of the community and replace it with that of the nation-state. In typical Derridean philosophy, modernity attempts to

dominate tradition. This is clearly reflected in the fact that tradition uses the opportunities presented by modernity to subvert it. It is formal education that has necessitated the researcher to undertake this kind of study and the gadgets used to record ngatini are products of modernity. There is, as a result of modernity subverting tradition, a need to have a source from which the community can gain its identity (Anyona, 30). To the community therefore, the performance of ngatini is an assertion of their identity as Samburu in the face of encroaching modernity. In this case performance becomes a symbol of the Samburu identity.

The Samburu suffer double marginalisation. As pastoralists and a community that has not embraced modernity in the levels that, other communities in Kenya have, they are considered "backward". Indeed pastoralists are represented in narratives and discourses as being ignorant. The popular television comedy "Vioja Mahakamani" features Maasai and Samburu characters who frequently end up in court for inadvertently breaking the law after wrongly mishandling a symbol of modernity. Among the "olmaa" speaking community, the Maasai have interacted more with modernity than the Samburu and given the aggressive nature, they tend to overshadow the Samburu. In some instances the Samburu have been misconstrued to be Maasai. As a result of these marginalisations, the Samburu feel an urgent need to reclaim their space

This urgency is signified by discourses from members of the community. One is by Jacob Lesorogol who explained to me that the Samburu are Cushites and not Nilotes like the Maasai as attested by their Cushitic features. According to him, the Samburu were once colonised by the Maasai hence the cultural similarities. The other one is by Apaaiya Lesilele who during

his performances digressed from the narratives to give explanations about the Samburu. When I asked him why he digressed, he told me that “people need to know I am narrating about the Samburu.” Performance therefore is the space where the Samburu deconstruct the Maasai and other communities. We are thus invited to read its symbolism of the negation of liminality.

Kwantan Lelelit said that narratives relate actual events that happened a long time ago. Apaaiya Leparmorijo began his performance by authoritatively telling me that long ago animal used to talk. This clearly signifies that the performances are an attempt to repeat a past. Given the binary of absence/presence, the performances are a representation of a past that is presently absent but at the same time present in the liminal space of the Samburu conscience. Prior to the performance, the narrative is absent; the performance therefore becomes a creation that results in the presence of the narrative. In other words the performance space is a site of ambivalence, undecidability and aporia. It is split between the two spaces of absence and presence; it creates the presence of a narrative that was absent. Time in the performance is deferred; it represents a time that is not here. This displacement and differentiation between absence and presence, or the narrative as a representation and repetition, creates aporia in the performance.

As stated earlier, the performance at the Lekaite manyatta were interwoven. They started with the song “Apaaiya Lese”. This is a prayer to the old man Lese as he pours his blessings not to forget the mountains of ngaisialsial (mirage). His blessings will make the mirage turn into the movement of the long grass in the prairie that bow to the wind in waves near an oasis. After every line the audience respond by saying “maa-a-a”. Even though as a song it falls

outside the purview of this study, it is important to read the effect of the song on the performance. The refrain "maa-a-a" signifies the aspect of speech that identifies the entire "olmaa" language group. It makes reference to "maa" a unit of discourse that a speaker uses to capture the attention of a listener. In this performance it serves to signal the attention of the audience and at the same time invites us to read the term "yaa?" that is used by a listener in everyday discourse to draw attention to the fact that they (listener) have not heard what was said; in other words the audience demand a performance.

Several symbols are read in the song: that of the mountains of mirage, the long grass, wind, oasis and Apaaiya Lese. These symbols contextualise the entire performance and outline the roles played by the participants. Apaaiya Lese's act of blessing is meant to bring forth certain events just like the artist's narration is meant to actualise the performance. The mountain which is big and revered is beyond the immediate reality in the same way the narrative is absent. It is in a periphery that cannot be attained in the same way the mirage is. For the narrative to be present, it must be concretised; it must be brought to life as symbolised by the wind blowing the grass. Its presence transforms it from the mirage to the oasis which nurtures the long grass in the same way the audience benefits from the performance. The mirage and the oasis symbolise the spaces of absence and presence which are perpetually shifting in a constant attempt to deconstruct each other. The narrative becomes present during the performance but at the end it is absent. Its absence at the end of the performance leaves a palimpsest that suggests a presence. To put it succinctly, performance is an "entre" that sows confusion between the past and present; it stands between and at the same time transcends the two.

After the performance at the Lekaite manyatta, I had a chat with Leleruk a middle aged Samburu young elder. I started by teasing him to perform. He claimed not to know ngatini. Kwantan took over and cajoled him. (Leleruk is an acquaintance so we could take liberties with him). I then decided to play back the performances recorded at the Lekaite manyatta. When he had the song "Apaaiya Lese" he visibly became excited and he became conscious of himself as a Samburu. From this point onwards, every time he heard a narrative from the tape recorder he, in what to me was a mixture of pride and excitement nodded his head saying "Kayolo" (I know). The sight of Leleruk riding into the sunset happily singing the song gave the picture of a man who had come face to face with himself as a Samburu.

At the Lalaikipiani manyatta the respondents said they did not have ngatini but the moment Lekaso gave the narrative markers they came "alive" and there was excitement among the children who were present. Ngatini clearly provided the language of consciousness. It is in reference to the ngatini that the respondents referred to their community as Samburu, and not "lokop" as they did when outside the discourse of ngatini. Consciousness as Homi Bhabha in The Location of Culture puts it "gives the sign (of the Self) a sense of autonomy or solitariness 'as if it stands by itself in the world' (49). This autonomy or solitariness brings into focus the existence of other communities that have been locked out of the immediate space and time for the self to reflect upon itself. The conscious self visualises itself from within and without itself, this explains why in the discourse of ngatini the respondents use the term Samburu as they are referred to by other communities. Performance provides a mirror for the psyche and the community to reflect each other and the resulting difference is

consciousness. In other words people see themselves as individuals and members of the community; and the community sees itself as comprising of individuals and being an entity in itself. They both possess each other and at the same time deconstruct each other as they claim their space. When we take “ngatini” to represent consciousness, we read consciousness as symbolic of a community’s attempt to capture its own dynamism.

Fumagalli in his PhD thesis, “A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-cultural Processes among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya” states that the Samburu “maintain a deep distrust in anyone who holds a position of power” (94). It is for this reason for example that the “loibon” (medicine man/prophet) does not hold as much power among the Samburu as he does among the Maasai. This is reflected in the performances of ngatini; however what Fumagalli terms as “distrust” appears to be an ingrained culture of collective participation in any activity. An individual takes the lead in an activity- in this case performance- and the others feel obliged to assist him; not out of distrust but out of responsibility, duty or what in Samburu is called “nkanyit”. Due to this cultural trait, it becomes normal for the Samburu to subvert any one who attains power above the others. This explains the tendency of the audience to take up a narration so that they can all own it collectively and subvert the power acquired by the artist. As it is elaborated in the next section that discusses the artist, individual performers subvert this collective participation in an attempt to claim power.

I have, in this section analysed the performance of ngatini and their context. The symbolism that emerges from the performance has been analysed in an attempt to capture the aesthetics and other functions of the symbolism. It has become apparent that the performance space

represents the consciousness of the community and individual participants in the performance. It is a space upon which tradition and modernity negate and negotiate with each other. In the next section, the artist is analysed as an integral part of ngatini and as vehicle of its creation.

Reading the Vocal Writer

This section analyses the narrator both as the vehicle and as a signifier within the narration. Although deconstruction is a text-bound theory, we analyse the narrator as part of the text and not as the creator since “Every story teller has an influence on the story he tells” (Njeru, 14). The narrator in oral narratives does not occupy the same space as the author but transcends that of the author and the narrator; but as we discuss in this chapter, these shifts are a source of conflict with the audience who also attempt to instil their authority over the narrative

According to Jonathan Culler in On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism, speech, like writing is made up of signifiers whose play of difference creates meaning (108) writing therefore can be classified as vocal and graphic writing (Culler, 101). By upsetting the speech/writing dichotomy, speech is considered a form of writing and in this case, oral narration becomes vocal writing. Using the same logic, we overturn the audience/reader binary and consider the audience as a reader. This therefore means that there are two types of readers: “armchair readers” and “participatory readers”. The audience in oral literature are participatory readers.

The first reaction of all those who were asked to perform was either “Mayolo ngatini” (I don’t know any stories) or “Maata ngatini” (I don’t have any stories), but once the discourse

markers that identify narratives were put into place the same respondents would start narrating. These “narrative markers” are inherent in the language and they act as signifiers to the narrative; as Heidegger posits, “Language is the house of being” (qtd by Clark, 117). For example Lekaso would mention “Nchipeiyo” (Hare) or “Lkonoi” (Hyena) but the respondents would not think of game but characters in oral narratives. This clearly signifies that the tales exist in the language.

The narration of *ngatini* is a hybrid of two systems: collective and tandem narrations. The two systems of narrations though closely related, are distinct. Collective narration involves more than two narrators performing one narrative. Although one artist takes the lead by introducing the narrative (s)he is swallowed up in the narration and loses his identity to the collective identity of the artists. Tandem narration on the other hand involves two artists who narrate in turns and retain their identity but one narrator retains prominence. In collective narration the narrative dominates the artists while in tandem narration the narrative and the artists share space. Female artists preferred collective narration while the male artists were more at ease with tandem narration. At Lekaite and Lalaikipiani *manyatta*, one female artist would begin a narration and the others would infuse texts into the narrative, the main narrator would respond by agreeing with the new text. At times a discussion would ensue over the new text and they would all reach an agreement on the path the narration would take.

A narrative is realised by the performer and the audience in the performance space. We perceive the performer on two levels: as an agent or a vehicle through whom the signifiers are themselves signified, making him a signifier; and as an individual who brings his/her

idiosyncrasies to a performance. Although he is a creator of a performance, we do not perceive him in the same way as an author of a written text. The audience are considered, like the performer, as signifiers within the performance, and also reader of the performed text.

It is of import at this stage to distinguish between “audience” and “narratee”. Audience refers to the live readers of a performance. Their presence necessitates, facilitates and actualises a performance. Narratee on the other hand is the recipient of an address, the addressee of a narrator’s utterance (Genette, 172). As it will emerge in this section, a performer at times addresses himself or herself to an “other” (object or person) but remains conscious of the audience to whom (s)he is performing. For example Apaiya Lesilele and Kwantan Lelelit would address the tape recorder during their narrations.

The vocal writer occupies two shifting spaces. (S)he occupies the space of performance and that of the participatory readers. It can be argued that narration is the narrator’s way of reading a narrative; and in this reading (s)he constructs an experience that is deconstructed by the audience who read the narrator as part of the experience. The narrator moves the audience to the imagined space of the narrative and the audience “re-move” him to their space. Since both moves are not complete, they both occupy a third space; that of the performance. At the performance space, the narrator/audience binary finds itself in a constant deconstruction as the two, struggle to own the narrative.

The vocal writer in *Baawa* symbolises cultural difference and brings into focus the binary division of tradition and modernity. Kwantan Lelelit had modern dressing but her body bore

marks of traditional Samburu culture. In terms of age, she is in between Tooyie and Alicia Lekaite. Tooyie, is the eldest of the three; she dons traditional Samburu dressing, body marks and bead necklaces. Alicia dresses in a modern fashion and has very few traditional marks. She, like kwantan and Tooyie has a traditional Samburu bracelet made of beads. Like Kwantan, Apaaiya Lesilele signifies hybridity. He is dressed in a shirt and blazer and ties a wrapper round his waist. His feet don the traditional tyre sandals (“namuka”) and he carries an elder’s stick (“sobwa”).

The manner in which the elder male artists handled the elder’s stick brought it into focus as a prop and a symbol. Apaaiya Lesilele would hold the stick when narrating and put it down when imitating a character. The stick thus symbolises his change of character. As a symbol of authority imported from the Samburu culture into the performance, the stick signifies his authority over the narrative. This authority however was deconstructed by the narrative when it became imperative for the artist to put it down to facilitate dramatisation.

The paper that Kwantan Lelelit had served as a symbol of authority as it determined what was to be performed. The other artists contested this authority by performing texts not included in the list. As a symbol of modernity imported into the performance space, the paper became a symbolic space upon which the contradiction between tradition and modernity was performed. It occupied what the artists and audience considered as traditional Samburu space, but its attempt to dominate this space was deconstructed by its serving the performance.

The Narrator in the Audience Space

The relationship between a narrator and an audience is one of subtle conflict. They occupy different spaces within the performance space, yet they are at the same structural level. The narrator narrates the narrative and assumes ownership but the audience contest this by participating in the formation and narration. On being asked to perform, the narrators at first said "I don't have a story," then later performed. In their performance therefore, we read their "having" it. The audience on the other hand direct and redirect the narration. When the narrative takes a turn different from their expectation, they move out of their space to the narrator's space and move him/her to what they take to be the "master narrative" by introducing a text. When the narrator narrates according to the "master narrative" they move to his space to acknowledge it. Thus they assume ownership of the performance. The narrator would agree with the new text and infuse it in the narrative thus reclaiming ownership.

At other times the narrator moves to the audience space and asks a rhetorical question. Since a rhetorical question is restrictive in nature the narrator thus has a predetermined answer. By giving the answer that the narrator expects, the audience confirms the narrator's authority in the performance. For example in the narrative "The Thorn" Hyena pretends to be so concerned about Lion's sickness that he is ready to sacrifice himself for him. The narrator asks, "Do you think that Hyena loves Lion more than he loves himself?" The audience's answer to the negative confirms the narrator's power over them and the narrative. The narrator's power is at the same time subverted for this is a point of aporia. Lion urgently requires a strip of hide from a grey animal to remove a thorn lodged in his paw. Hyena shows his readiness to sacrifice himself. This portrays Hyena as a virtuous character a contradiction

with the narrator's earlier characterisation of Hyena as greedy. The narrative here is taking a different direction from the narration, resulting in undecidability. To relocate Hyena, he asks the rhetoric question. By answering the rhetorical question, the audience rescues the narration from disintegration and in the process claim power over it and the narrator. The participants in a performance are therefore "performing power"(Outa, 1). Outa defines performing power as "crude or naked display of power" (1). In this study, however, we consider it to be the show or exercise of power.

The narrative that we read from the performance is neither the narrator's nor the audience's. The concept of the "master narrative" is dismantled by the narrative constructing itself on the fusion of the narrator's and the audience's texts. The narrative thus claims power by dismantling the power imposed on it. The narrative therefore symbolises power; the narration symbolises the performance of power and the subtle conflict between the participants symbolic of power struggle.

This section has discussed the narrator and his audience. We have seen the two to be involved in a contest to own the narrative and by so doing usurp power. Narration is a performance of power and this explains why the two parties invade each other's space during a performance. We have also seen that underlying the performance of a narrative is the narrators' performance of their identity. The next section studies the narratives with a focus on symbolism and its effects on cohesion.

Symbolism and Aporia

This section looks at the narratives as entities in themselves. Once the space, narrator and audience have brought in their influence over the narrative, they lose their authority over it and the narrative attains a life of its own. We consider narratives as texts whose cohesion is constantly deconstructed by the narrative's own logic or the lack of it. These moments of aporia within a narrative are analysed as backgrounds to symbolism in the narrative. Symbols are considered as elements that facilitate and at the same time threaten cohesion in narratives. The interplay between the symbols and the influence of the symbols on cohesion and aporia are analysed in this section.

"The Thorn" (see appendix a 1.) begins with the formula "Long ago when animals could speak" this introduces an interesting play between time and space. By stating that in past animals could speak, the narrator is suggesting that presently they do not speak therefore thus the narrative makes reference to a time and space that is not present. This is a case of logocentrism that the narrative dismantles by being performed in the present. If as Kathleen Wheeler says "meaning is not present outside words and language" (131), then the past that the narrative assumes to refer to is absent; the only presence is that of the present time and space. By upsetting the past/present binary in the narration we are invited to read the past tense as present tense hence animals can speak.

Blamires posits that "interwoven chains of meaning emerge whenever we try to pin down the relation between signifiers and signified" (363). The chains of meaning are not always interwoven but also conflicting. This emerges when we focus on the past tense in the

narratives. Why do the narrators insist on the past? The use of the past tense signifies the removal of the audience from the present. The narrative experience is an experience that the audience has undergone in the past. Thus it is the time of the performance that is deconstructed not the time of the narrative. The formula "Long ago" therefore becomes representative of the narrative contesting its effacement by suggesting permanence. It further symbolises the audience's experience. At the beginning of the narrative we assume that the audience has no prior experience of the narrative but then again the past tense suggests that they have it. The phrase "long ago" therefore suggests a palimpsest of the narrative as being in existence even before the narration; and that the narration embosses one narrative upon another that is under erasure

"The Thorn is a narrative that introduces us to contradictions within it. We are introduced to a sickly Lion who cannot help himself. He is nursed by Monkey who cooks his food, fetches firewood and sets the fire. This notwithstanding, Hyena calls him "the feared one". The narrator asserts this characterisation by stating that Lion was so big and feared. He then says that we cannot compare Lion to the president. His negation of the simile is itself a simile that completes the character of Lion as "the feared one". This narration does not solve the contradiction. The narrative has not yet accounted for the fear Lion inspires. This is aporia. The same situation prevails in regard to Monkey who is called "witty one" yet at this point his wit has not been displayed. The fact that the audience ask the narrator to account for Hyena nickname but not Lion's and Monkey's, invites us to read their agreement with these characterisations. This further intensifies the aporia. The narratives undecidability is solved by reading the characters from another level of meaning- that of symbolism.

As a symbol of power and authority, highlighted by the comparison with the president, Lion justifies the awe he inspires in other animals. This symbolism also accounts for the reason Monkey has to nurse him and Hyena becomes envious. Being in the presence of power and serving an authority is beneficial, as symbolised by the leftovers that Hyena assumes Monkey to be eating; and since the text does not contest this, we can take it to be true. The thorn, a symbol of weakness, dismantles the power of Lion which relocates to the fire and food. Setting the fire and preparing food for Lion becomes for Monkey, a performance of power; and power rests on the one who performs it therefore Monkey, a symbol of subversion, usurps power. This explains Hyena's envy.

According to Lee Haring, characters in an oral narrative are "paired in a scene as antithesis" (176). The oppositions in these characters are based on what they signify. The concepts that they signify are binary oppositions that Alan Dundes calls *motifemes* (qtd by Haring, 173). At the beginning of the narrative "The Thorn" we are introduced to two characters who at one level look like friends and they have no quarrel. This threatens the concept of the binary oppositions; however from the symbolic level we find a trickster text within the narrative. Monkey has taken advantage of Lion's misfortune to usurp power. He feigns sympathy- that prepares us to the false sympathy that Hyena will exhibit later- and nurses Lion but in actual sense he has tricked Lion out of his power. Lion therefore is the dupe in this case. When the narrator begins the narrative and says, "Lion and Monkey lived together" he has introduced us to the binary of the trickster and the dupe.

The entrance of Hyena into the narrative introduces another trickster. The presence of the two tricksters threatens the internal logic of the narrative and creates instability in the text. For the narrative to regain stability and cohesion the two must conflict. To win the conflict, one character must push the other to the position of the dupe. Trickster dominates the trickster/dupe binary and as we shall see, the characters constantly upset this binary in a hide and seek kind of scene in an attempt to trick the other into the position of the dupe.

Undecidability in the text is also brought about by the narrator's and the audience's comment that Lion and Hyena are of the same family. The narrator says this in a matter of fact manner and the audience agree, "you know that Hyena and Lion are from the same womb (Audience: yes they are of the same lineage)," making it a foregone conclusion. Nevertheless, this creates confusion for if they are brothers: why doesn't Hyena live with Lion? Why are they so different (Lion is powerful; Hyena is greedy)? The narrative regains stability in the scene where Lion and Hyena are alone in Lion's den. Lion has an injured foot and cannot walk, that is why Monkey nurses him; Hyena on the other hand is referred to as the lame one, the two characters are the same: they are from the same womb. This explains Hyena's reference to Lion as "son of my mother" which carries an intimacy that is different from "son of my father". Lameness becomes a symbol of powerlessness something common between the two. Power rests with Monkey who at this time is basking in the sun. When we read the sun as a symbol of power it means that this is another instance of parallelism in the narrative.

In a bid to move Monkey to the position of the dupe Hyena asks Lion why Monkey cannot heal him and yet he is a witchdoctor and a prophet. This is an attempt by Hyena to subvert the

trust and relationship that exists between Monkey and Hyena. Monkey who overhears Hyena moves into the den to subvert his relocation. The conflict that ensues is heightened by the use of the formal titles Mr. (“ara”) and Hyena’s use of the diminutive form of Monkey (“Leturate”), “Turate”. Monkey takes up Hyena’s narration and uses it to dupe him.

Monkey claims to have been to the medicine man’s home and he prescribed the use of a strip of hide from a grey animal that resembles Hyena to remove the thorn. Monkey thus launches his attack and has Hyena duped. Hyena evades this attack by shifting Monkey’s description to another animal that he describes as dying. By a strange twist of events, Lion introduces a philosophy that traps Hyena: “have you ever had a dead animal being used to treat a live one?” Hyena’s defence that the animal is not dead does not prevent Lion from instructing Monkey to “ensnare the red thing.” Two things happen at the end of the narrative; Monkey has won the battle by managing to dupe Hyena and Lion has regained his power as signified by his pouncing on Hyena and using the strip of hide to remove the thorn. At the subtextual level, by developing its identity, the narrative has performed its power. The narrator however subverts this power by claiming that the narrative explains a Samburu method of treating wounds.

The narration that Monkey does, to explain his trip to the medicine man’s place, seems to be at first a false story. We are told that Monkey was all the while basking in the sun but when Hyena comes with claims of him being a medicine man, he gives a prescription that he says has been given to him by a medicine man. The surprising thing is that the prescription works. We therefore pose the questions: is Monkey indeed a medicine man or does he consult a

medicine man? When we assume that Hyena was saying what he knows to be a fact, then we can argue that, Monkey was deliberately withholding his healing services from Lion so that the relation of dependency could prevail and he (Monkey) would retain power. This clearly enhances the trait of Monkey as a trickster and emphasises the motifeme at the beginning of the narrative.

Monkey's narration on the other hand suggests that he goes to a medicine man, but the narrator does not reveal this to us, he says instead that Monkey was basking in the sun. At some level this suggests that there is a subplot that has effaced itself; that of the journey to the medicine man. This subplot is only suggested in the palimpsest we read in Monkey moving out of the den to sit in the sun. The sun therefore, symbolises the medicine man and Monkey's act of sitting symbolises the journey to the medicine man. The symbol of the sun in the narration, as the medicine man in the palimpsest solves a case of aporia that threatens to dismantle the text.

The interaction of the symbol of the sun and the medicine man is also constructed in "Hare and Hyena" (see appendix a 5). Hare tells Hyena that he is going to see a medicine man and, "Look towards the west, when you see me coming from the horizon with my ears glittering, start singing, 'Chaiai has got the medicine.'" The ears glitter when they are struck by the rays of the setting sun. While in the "The Thorn" Hare basks in the sun and claims to have been to the medicine man, in this narrative he pronounces his visit and returns with the sun shining on him. The glitter of the ears as the rays descend on him constructs the image of the halo. This image alludes to Hare being the medicine man.

Monkey states that it is the hide of a grey animal that will heal Lion, but before pouncing on Hyena, Lion refers to him as the red thing. This play with colours suggests their symbolism. Red and Grey have been used to refer to Hyena. Lion refers to Hyena as the red thing because Hyena is the medicine he needs, therefore red is a symbol of healing and life. Grey being a hybrid of white and black, symbolises the ambivalence that is present in living creatures; that of life and death. This ambivalence is domiciled in Hyena whose entrance into the den signifies his first step towards death. He shifts this identity to the animal he claims to have met on the way: an animal that is not dead but “about to die”. Oblivious to Hyena is the fact that he is referring to himself for he is about to die. Grey therefore symbolizes the transition from life to death and the ambivalence of dying yet not dead.

The narrative takes the structure of a riddle. The challenge is that Lion has a thorn stuck in his paw; Hyena and Monkey must provide a way of removing the thorn (a solution to the challenge). What the two (Hyena and Monkey) do not seem to realise is that the one who gives an illogical response will be killed and the hide from his back used to remove the thorn. Monkey and Hyena thus get into the word play trying to outwit the other with Lion as the judge. This explains why Lion interrupts Hyena’s narration when he makes a statement that is not logical in the animals’ philosophy, that dead animals cannot be used to heal live ones.

Ambivalence in structure is also witnessed in the narrative “Kiminchil” (see appendix a 8). The girl, who is returning home after being with her moran, meets an ogre that poses questions to the girl. The questions are challenges that the girl must content with. Although it

does not emerge on the surface of the narrative, there is a “silence” of fear that if the girl does not give the “correct” response she will be eaten. The ogre asks her the names of various people and she gives their praise names: her moran: “the one who thrashes”, her mother, “scramble”, and herself, “one who satisfies”. However, she does not give her father’s name as “he is not called by name like a child”. Is this the main challenge in the riddle? If we take it to be then the ogre becomes a symbol of the father. The father and the daughter in Freudian terms are attracted to each other. Using this line of thought, we deconstruct the hatred that underlies the exchange between the ogre and the girl to be an attraction. To complete the Freudian picture, the moran comes and kills the ogre: before it dies the ogre instead of cursing the moran blesses him and the girl: “A withering object has water and the earth is full of grass so let the calves graze.” The ogre as the “withering object” is elderly and an elder (including a father) has blessings symbolised by water, to give. This water causes the grass to grow and the calves, a symbol of the moran and the girl can graze. Reading the calves as symbols of the young people who are in love then grazing becomes a symbol for marriage. This reading rescues the narrative from dismantling itself since the action of the ogre blessing the moran after he strikes it is almost meaningless at the surface level. The structure of the narrative therefore reveals a palimpsest of a riddle that attempts to dominate the narrative.

This narrative, “Kiminchil” is constructed by praise names. Peter Amuka posits that praise names “provoke response, to initiate drama” (68). This is demonstrated in the narrative since the names that the girl uses to praise her moran, mother and herself excite the ogre and make it ask more questions. In a clear deconstruction of praise names, the girl suggests that not praising somebody is praise in itself, for as she says of her father, “My father is not called by

name like a child.” The moran/ogre binary introduces another deconstructive way of praising somebody; denigrating the other. The young girl by calling the ogre a “rotten thing” that can be thrashed by the thrasher expands the praises she heaps on the moran. Amuka further states that “Names entail deliberate manipulations of language by reducing stories to a brief expression” (69). In these praise names therefore, we read texts that have been effaced leaving palimpsests of the praise names. It would be a parallel narrative to narrate why the girl says “I satisfy the ravens when they eat me” in praise of herself.

The structure of poetry is also evident in this narrative. The answer response dialogue between the ogre and the girl makes the performance recital. The heavy imagery also suggests poetry. Thus we have praise names, a poem and a narrative in one performance. This makes it a collage of genres, each attempting to dominate the others and at the same time being effaced.

Lion in “The Thorn” is a symbol of power and authority but in “Ostrich’s Chicks and Lion’s Cubs” (see appendix a 2) it is a symbol of brute strength, arrogance and buffoonery. He grabs Ostrich’s children because his have contracted scabies. He disregards Ostrich’s pleas and fails to see the glaring difference between the children that Ostrich points out to him. Ostrich, the symbol of meekness decides to appeal to other animals. Unfortunately for him the animals are fearful of Lion and therefore cannot help him. It takes a small bodied animal Mole to solve the impasse. Symbolising wisdom and courage, Mole ascends an anthill that elevates him to a symbol of justice. From the anthill, he points out the glaring evidence that prove that the children are Ostrich’s. He then manipulates the assembly of animals to convict Lion. In an

oppressive system, justice is driven underground. This however does not mean that it is obliterated. Like Mole, it emerges and subverts the oppressive system. The absence of justice necessitates its presence. The symbolism in Mole is reflected in the small girl in “The Small Girl and the Ogre” (see appendix a 9) whose wisdom and courage saves the other girls from an ogre.

Elephant in this tale is at a similar structural level as Lion. He grabs Mole as he disappears in a hole. The reason why Elephant grabs Mole cannot be fully explained by the fact that he fears Lion, because the other animals fear Lion too. This is a moment of undecidability in the text; however when we read him as also a symbol of brute strength, like Lion, we realise that Elephant displaces Lion and represents him. It is logical for Elephant to displace Lion because he has a long “hand” that can reach for Mole inside the hole. The two Elephant and Lion are thus a representation of one and the same character. In Elephant we read the palimpsest of Lion.

As a narrative that upsets the strength /intellect binary it subverts physical strength and portrays the dominance of the intellect. An intelligent and wise being is “bigger” than a strong one. This is symbolised by Mole standing on the high anthill and systematically guiding the animals by use of logic to realise that Ostrich is the aggrieved party and Lion the guilty one.

“Is there any winged one who gives birth to haired ones?”

All the animals replied, “There isn’t!”

Then he said, “How many legs, do the children with scabies have?”

The crowd replied, “Four.”

Then he said, "How many legs do the children of Lion has have?"

The crowd answered, "Two."

"Then the children who have no scabies belong to Ostrich"

Mole's logical statement is symbolic of the cohesion in the narrative. This is a narrative that has a short and compact plot with limited instances of aporia. It begins *in medias res*, "A long time ago Lion's children contracted scabies" without introducing us to the characters or explaining the relationship between Ostrich and Lion that necessitates Lion taking Ostrich's children. It thus focuses on the events more than the characters as opposed to "The Thorn".

The ending of this narrative displays a breakdown in its logic. Lion who grabs Ostrich's children returns them without any resistance once judgement is passed; but if the animals feared Lion, why should he fear them? When we consider arrogance/meekness binary that is represented by Lion and Ostrich, we realise that this opposition has been upset and Lion has realised the virtue of meekness. He therefore swallows his arrogance and bows down to justice, and thus the narrative reclaims its cohesion.

At the core of the conflict in "Lion, Leopard and Hyena" (see appendix a 3) is intellectual space. The narrative portrays a conflict between man and animals over the possession of hunting skills. Man's claim for intellectual space becomes evident when the narrator says, "Long ago when everything used to speak, and all animals used to live in one homestead with humans. And you know in those days there were no shops where people could buy things." Speech as a symbol of intelligence is portrayed as having been practised in past by every

creature, meaning that presently it is practised exclusively. When we take speaking to be the verbal performance of language then in the entire narrative it is only humans who speak. Leopard, Lion and Hyena speak to themselves in the same manner as thinking to themselves. The present intellectual distance between man and animals is enhanced by the narrator introducing, in a digression, another symbol of intelligence that did not exist in the past: shops. While in the past humans and animals lived together in one homestead, in the present there are shops. If the present has something (shops) that the past did not have then we are invited to read that the past has something that the present does not have. In other words humans and animals, no longer live in one homestead like they did in the past, and animals in the present do not speak as they used to in the past. The past and the present are spaces upon which the symbols play a game of presence and absence.

Even as humans and animals live together, humans drink milk from cows. When the narrator says, "Now people would stay and drink milk..." the text excludes animals (the narrator uses "oltung'ana" meaning humans as opposed to "louwarak" which means animals). And when the cows fail to produce milk they are eaten. Cows in this narrative are not animals, they symbolise a source of food

The narrator clarifies that in the past humans did not talk of slaughtering (as they do in the present?) but of eating. This is an intelligent manipulation of speech to efface the violence in eating. Eating is not a euphemism for slaughtering but a symbol of survival as opposed to the symbol of violence that slaughtering is. Eating for survival negates and at the same time negotiates for the violence in slaughtering.

When the cows stop producing milk they would slaughter an "ota" bull. "ota" is a Samburu term for a young man who is ready for circumcision. The use of the word "ota" as a metaphor for a bull ready for "eating" destabilises the negation of violence that would have been suggested by the use of the word slaughter. Reading the introduction of "ota" as an aspect of intertextuality, we realise the negotiation of violence in eating. By alluding to the circumcision ritual which as a right of passage gives a person more liberty and responsibility, then the violence performed on the bull is meant to improve it- make it food.

The negation of the bull as an animal is read in when humans say, "Since we do not want the animals to see where we strike the bull, some people should go before the animals and close their eyes." This negation of the bull as an animal makes it a symbol of food. The symbolism of cow as a source of food and bull as food creates cohesion in the narrative since animals and humans live together in one homestead.

To assert their intellectual superiority humans decide to trick the animals by telling them to close their eyes as they "eat" the bull. Hyena closes his. Lion and Leopard close theirs but peep through their paws and watch the entire operation. Hyena opens his eyes when the operation is almost through. He is therefore only able to see humans cutting the leg of the bull. These animals deconstruct their intellectual inferiority.

What these animals see in the past informs their present hunting habits. Humans have been duped and their secret is no longer a secret. To subvert their being duped, the narrative

negates its genre as a trickster narrative and assumes an aetiological one: it explains the hunting habits of various animals. Humans have retained their intellectual dominance by “teaching” animals how to survive.

This intellectual dominance of humans is deconstructed in “Maarasas” (see appendix a 10). Hyena finds a deserted calf and in a display of buffoonery asks the calf “Should I eat you or should I spare you?” The calf responds, “Oh please spare me, spare me now, and then look after me so that when I grow fat you can eat me up” so Hyena spares it. When the calf grows into a big cow and Hyena decides to eat it but by *dues ex machina* humans appear and rescue the cow. Hyena promises to always be going for a cow’s udder. In “Lion, Leopard and Hyena” Hyena learns to hunt by watching humans but in “Maarasas”, Hyena decided to be going for the udders not the hind legs as humans taught it in “Lion, Leopard and Hyena”. Have the humans in “Maarasas” learnt from Hyena to be going for the udders when they want food?

In what Jonathan Culler terms “the paradox of structure and event,” a concept defines itself by exhibiting qualities of its opposite (95). This paradox is read in the narrative by the events portraying humans as intellectually inferior: they have been duped and their skills taken; but the structure claims the opposite: animals learnt their hunting skills from humans. By claiming intellectual superiority therefore, we read humans’ intellectual inferiority. From this we see the palimpsest of a narrative where humans learn the skills from animals

The action of killing the bull suggests slaughtering, defined as the killing of an animal for food,

“... one man stabbed the nape of the bull. Some other men held the mouth of the bull to prevent it from shouting. The only sound that the bull could produce was a low rambling sound mprrrrr. The bull died and one man took a knife and cut the neck. When it died, they lay it down and turned it over so that it lay on its back. They skinned it starting with the chest, the front legs and then the hind legs.”

However, the text denies this for as the narrator says, “Now those days they never used to talk of slaughtering but eating.” This again demonstrates Culler’s paradox of structure and event. The event in this case negates what the language says. From what the narrator says, slaughtering and eating are at the same structural level differentiated by time. What in the past was called eating is called slaughtering in the present.

This ambivalence punctuates the action as a symbol of the performance of power. Owning the knowledge and skills to slaughter a bull is to own power. In what Eva Hunt would term as the “multivocality” (41) of symbols, the bull as a symbol of food symbolizes power. The action of overpowering and slaughtering it becomes symbolic of the performance of power. The sound “mprrrr” therefore becomes symbolic of the struggle for power. At one level, the struggle is between humans and the bull. The physical wrestling with the bull signifies human wresting power from the bull. At another level it symbolizes the contest going on between humans and the animals. As they wrest power from the bull, humans are oblivious of the same power being wrested from them by animals that are peeping to see them slaughtering the bull.

This "mprrrr" sound is similar to the sound Maarasas makes when being killed by Hyena. As Hyena kills Maarasas she makes the sound "orrr, orrr". This sound, like mprrrr, symbolises displacement and shifts in position. Hyena has been displaced by Maarasas; he now occupies the space that was occupied by the calf - that of the "spotted and emaciated one," (Maarasas). This displacement means that the description of being spotted and emaciated is a symbol of marginalisation.

Strength and virtue are symbolised by Elephant (see appendix a 4) when he offers to assist Hare by carrying him following Hare's plea: "My big uncle, carry me because my eyes are aching and I am so tired." Hare a symbol of vice (theft) finds a gourd on Elephant's back that Elephant is taking to his mother-in-law, and eats the contents.

Elephant arrives at his mother-in-law's home and the mother-in-law is shocked when she reaches for the gourd and finds it empty. This annoys Elephant and he turns back to retrace his footsteps in search of Hare. The journey back becomes a motif, symbolic of a quest for justice. In "Lekinyeisho" (see appendix a 7), the girl journeys back to Lekinyeisho's house to get her mother's wedding beads that she has forgotten. The wedding beads serve to foreshadow her own marriage to the ogre.

Elephant meets Hare who has sewn eight cowries on his face as a disguise and on being asked whether he is the one Elephant had carried on his back, Hare answers "Ai! It's not me. We are eight in our family. And all the eight of us have eight cowries sewn on our faces." What follows is a piling up of the same scene as Hare rushes ahead of Elephant and on meeting

Elephant, he asks the same question and Hare gives the same response. The events at the surface seem like mere repetitions, but underlying these repetitions is Elephant's gradual realisation that these are not different but the same Hare. This realisation emerges at the sixth meeting between the two: "But now Elephant had become wise and realised that this was the same Hare since he was not smaller or bigger than the others he had met and they were of the same colour. He also looked into his eyes."

Elephant grabs Hare and ties him to a tree to punish him. In a moment of *dues ex machina* Hyena appears and Hare takes advantage of Hyena greed to trick him into taking his position. Hyena therefore ends up receiving the punishment intended for Hare. This "unexplained" appearance of Hyena is understood when we take it as a case of intertextuality. Hyena appears because as the audience have experienced in other narratives, Hyena is a greedy character. This intertextuality is also suggested by the narrator in "The Thorn" when he tells the audience. "Hyena wanted to be the one to live with Lion so that he could eat the food." And the audience respond, "yes because he is greedy". The audience is obviously importing a character trait of Hyena into the text from another text.

The figure eight heavily suggests the eight phratries in the Samburu community, hence universalises Hare's character within the community. The figure eight reappears in "Shodom" (see appendix a 8) as the eight morans whom an ogre with eight heads and eight mouths wants to finish; and the eight days in which Hare and Hyena are supposed to fetch firewood in "Hare and Hyena" (see appendix a 5). The eight morans suggest, like Hare's eight cowries the Samburu phratries; the ogre in this case symbolizes a catastrophe that descends on the entire

community. We are here invited to read a reference to the great disaster ("e-mutai") described by Spencer (xviii)

The gourd stands out as the object that links Elephant to the mother-in-law and Hare. It is symbolic of something valuable and intimate to Elephant that by Hare eating its contents he has defiled this valuable object. Elephant being masculine; as symbolized by the use of the Samburu word, "nkautani" which is used by a man in reference to his mother-in-law, then we are invited to read the gourd as a feminine symbol; of a wife.

The cowries that Hare uses as a mask to disguise himself are meant to negate what he is. Therefore since he took something from Elephant, the cowries are meant to portray him as one who gives. As a symbol of vice, the cowries "de-vice" him and this is why he is able to trick Elephant.

The ending of the narrative poses a philosophical question on punishment. Hare has escaped punishment and Elephant is satisfied after punishing Hyena. Has justice been achieved? Is punishment different from justice? Punishment emerges as a mere release of anger by a wronged party. This release of anger heals the punisher regardless of who receives it; but this is not justice. The text deconstructs punishment as an aspect of justice.

Every time Hare and Hyena meet they call each other "chaiai" or my tea which suggests an intimacy that goes beyond the text to another text. It seems as if they were once very great

friends before they parted ways, but traces of the intimacy still remain. This explains the employment of *deus ex machina* and is a case of intertextuality.

The narrative "Hare and Hyena" (see appendix a 5), focuses on this intimacy and constructs a tale of a friendship gone sour. Hare tricks Hyena into killing his mother and when Hyena realises he has been duped he kills Hare's mother. What appears to be a complete text of revenge is deconstructed by the narrative placing Hare in the position of the victim rather than a villain. When Hare comes home and realises his mother has been killed he starts crying. He cries for a long time. This crying symbolises a shift in the focus of the tale. The audience is meant to sympathise with Hare. Hyena has been displaced as the victim and is now the villain; Hare is the victim. The narrator says, "Now they continued living together but Hare was thinking of a way to revenge." This statement erases the previous text of Hyena's revenge and begins a new text of Hare's revenge. This signifies a presence of two texts contesting for the narrative space. What appears to be the end of one text is in fact the beginning of another.

The logic in this tale is that Hare did not kill Hyena's mother Hyena himself did, Hare only tricked him. Hyena is responsible for his actions. Trickery is not a vice; being tricked is. The audience is tricked into accepting this philosophy by the harmless tricks that Hare initially plays on Hyena. Hare divides the livestock into two and invites Hyena to choose. Hyena chooses the ones with "big teats", but these do not produce milk. Hyena goes to the extent of pricking the teats with thorns all in vain. Does Hyena in his buffoonery choose bulls? At this point, the audience laughs and indeed cheers Hare for the trick. When he tricks Hyena into killing his mother, we are unsure of ourselves. We cannot endorse this act but at the same

time we have been trapped in Hare's trickery; we have been duped into being tricksters. Thus when Hyena kills Hare's mother we must sympathise with and him cry for revenge with him. It is this ambivalence in the audience that necessitates the continuation of the narrative after Hyena has avenged his mother's death. The ambivalence in the text is symbolic of the ambivalence of the audience.

This narrative deconstructs the narrative of "Elephant". While Elephant portrays the trickster as the villain, this one portrays the trickster as the hero. Hare as the trickster symbolises wit and Hyena as the dupe symbolises buffoonery. We should abhor the buffoonery in the dupe and celebrate the wit in the trickster. Both tales however, demonstrate abhorrence for buffoonery as symbolised by Hyena.

The moran/ogre or the human/ogre binary opposition features prominently in the ogre tales. The ogre a symbol of death, insecurity and oppression has its dominance deconstructed by the moran, a symbol of life, security and liberty. The two are mutually exclusive that when an ogre turns into as a moran, the disguise is not complete. In "Shodom" (see appendix a 6) an ogre turns into a moran and meets other morans but Shodom is able to see through the disguise. We are not told how Shodom realises this but we relate this incident to the one in "Elephant" where Elephant "unmasks" Hare by looking at his eyes. Lekinyeisho (see appendix a 7) is a handsome moran but when hosting girls in his homestead; he cannot resist eating the hand of a woman; an act that gives him away. In "The Small Girl and the Ogre" (see appendix a 9) the moran who accompanies the girls cannot avoid eating flies with the

mouth at the back of his head. Although the ogre attempts to occupy the moran's space, his attempt is deconstructed by his identity as an ogre.

Ogres prey not only on young girls but also married women as shown in the scene in "Lekinyeisho" where the ogre is "eating a roasted human hand with metal bracelet worn by married women." This construct of the ogre as a man-eater, is deconstructed in "Lekinyeisho" whom we see eating a human hand and then later marries a girl with whom they bear Koonyek. Koonyek a symbol of hybridity displays man eating tendencies of the ogre and the intelligence of humans. It is he, for example, who notices the footprints of the twins.

The mutual exclusivity of humans and ogres is deconstructed in "Lekinyeisho" when the ogre marries a human. This destabilises the text as it renders meaningless, the escape of the other girls who were with the girl Lekinyeisho marries. But the symbolism of the ogre as oppression, signified by the option it gives the girl ("Do I eat you or marry you?"), reclaims the stability of the narrative. Marrying under duress is not marriage; it is death. In a community where a girl does not choose a partner but has one chosen for her by her father, this marriage is not a Samburu marriage; therefore we do not expect it to survive

The twins who are born out of the symbolic death of their mother symbolise hope and liberty for Koonyek's mother. For Koonyek's mother to be free, the ogres must die in the same way the twins' mother had to die for them to be strategically placed in the narrative to rescue their aunt. Koonyek, a symbol of hybridity is killed by his own mother and cousins as a deconstruction of hybridity. Deconstructing the ogres' death, we read symbolism of the

rebirth of Koonyek's mother, who all these years has been dead. Her death is read by deconstructing the options she was given by the ogre. In this case marriage to an ogre, an "other" is death.

In "The Small Girl and the Ogre", art (song and dance) is used as a symbol of pure humanity that is used to subvert the ogre's hybridity. As the girls are walking with the ogre disguised as a moran, the small girl sings in praise of the moran's long plaited hair.

The song,

Oh hair that bounces hair that bounces

Bounces off till it reaches the heels

Bounces, bounces, Bounced long till it reached the heels.

Oh hair that bounces"

describes the long plaited hair that dons the heads of morans. The bouncing of the hair is a deferred description of the proud springy walk of a moran. This deference is captured by the description of the hair as having bounced and elongated till it reaches the heels. The verb "bounces" and the noun "heels" accentuate each other. It is the heels which cause the bouncing that is manifested on the hair. The hair touching the heels suggests the springy walk of the moran. The hair therefore becomes the object that represents the true identity of a moran. The song is a deconstruction of the ogre's claim to moranhood.

The moran gets engrossed in the dancing that he fails to notice the girls running away. This scene is repeated three times. In "Shodom" the ogre deconstructs pure humanity by using art and aesthetics to lure Shodom to his death. It turns itself into a very beautiful girl whom

Shodom marries. After the morans strike it dead a second time and a third time, it reappears as a big tree, a symbol of strength and victory, in whose shade weddings and singing takes place. In a tragic end to the story it manages to take Shodom with it underground: a death that is not death. The tragedy in this tale is deconstructed by the audience not experiencing the act of Shodom's death but the mere suggestion.

This chapter has demonstrated symbolism as a style in oral narratives collected from Baawa location. We have analysed the performance space, the performer and the audience, and the narratives. We have delved deep into the play between the symbols and how this constructs or deconstructs the narratives. Symbols occupy strategic positions in the oral narrative from where they subtly control the text. These positions also make them vulnerable to their own deconstruction and culprits in deconstructing the text. In the next chapter we conclude the study by reviewing the entire research and critical experience.

Works Cited

- Amuka, Peter S.O. "The Play of Deconstruction in the Speech of Africa: The Role of Pakruok and Ngero in Telling Culture in Dholuo" Ed. Okoth Okombo and Jane Nandwa. Nairobi: KOLA, 1992
- Anyona, Ochieng'. "Oral Literature for Development's Strategy for Change" Drama and Theatre Communication in Development: Experiences in Western Kenya. Ed Loukie Levert and Opiyo Mumma. Nairobi: KDEA, 1997. 26 – 35.
- Bhabha, Homi K. The Location of Culture. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Blamires, H. A History of Literary Criticism. London: Macmillan, 1991.
- Culler, Jonathan. On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism. New York: Cornell University, 1982
- Derrida, Jacques. "Living On: Border Lines". Ed Harold Bloom et al. Deconstruction and Criticism. New York: Seabury, 1979, 75 – 175.
- Fumagalli, Carl T. "A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-cultural Processes among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya" PhD State University of New York, 1977
- Genette, Gerard. "Voice". Narratology. Ed. Susana Onega and Jose Angel Garcia Landa. London: Longman.1996 172 - 189
- Haring, Lee."A Characteristic African Folklore Pattern". African Folklore Ed. Richard Dorson. Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1972.165 – 182.
- Hunt, Eva. The Transformation of the Hummingbird. Ithaca: Cornel, 19771
- Mwangi, Evan Maina. "The Stylistic Reciprocity Between Textual Errancy and Cohesion in David Maillu's Broken Drum" M.A. thesis University of Nairobi 1998

Njeru, George Chomba. "The Re-invention of Storytelling as a Methodology for Political Pedagogy" M.A dissertation Leeds University, 2004

Ole Kulet, Henry. To Become a Man. Nairobi: Longman, 1972

Outa, George Odera. "Performing Power in an African Postcolony: Drama and Theatre in Modern Kenya" PhD thesis University of the Witwatersrand, 2002

Spencer, Paul. The Samburu: A Study of Gerontocracy in a Nomadic Tribe. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.

Wheeler, Kathleen M. Romanticism, Pragmaticism and Deconstruction. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

This study set out to investigate symbols as elements that give narratives aesthetic and cognitive qualities. Our focus has been on oral narratives of the Samburu of Baawa location. We have demonstrated that oral narratives contain symbols and that these symbols are strategically placed in the narrative. We have further analysed the context of the performance.

It is of great importance for a researcher to conceptualise the fieldwork and decide on the design and methods (s)he will employ in the field. This conceptualisation serves only as a reference to the researcher and not as the blueprint. For research to be successful, it must adapt itself to the field. A researcher therefore, must be flexible to accommodate the unexpected in the field. (S)he should bare in mind that what they proposed to do may not be actualised in the field. The texts that are collected in the field are dependent on the logistics and other actualities on the ground. A researcher must respond to these logistics and actualities and decide on the most appropriate approaches. Methodology, as it has emerged from the study, refers to all the responses to and decisions made about one's research.

The choice of the performance space reflects the role performances play in a community. Ngatini takes place in spaces of power. It is on these spaces that the community performs its identity and subverts its marginalisation. The performance space symbolises the community's consciousness; it is from this consciousness that the community derives its identity. The Samburu have an urgent need to reclaim their space that is denied by their double marginalisation. Their identity therefore, as Samburu, is symbolised by the performance.

The performance space is also a place of conflict. Since the performances take place in spaces of power, there emerges a subtle power contest between the performer and the audience. They both attempt to own the performance and the space as a way of possessing power. This power is not meant to be possessed by an individual, but collectively by the community. In the individual/community binary split, the Samburu negate the dominance of the individual over the community. They uphold collective responsibility and this explains why the audience felt the need to subvert the power acquired by the artist.

It has emerged in this study that narratives are not owned by individuals but that they exist in the language and the individual performer is the agent of narration. The narrative therefore has its own identity. However, during a performance the narrators, apart from performing the narrative, also perform their identity.

The study has established the relationship between a narrator and the audience. The fact that they occupy different spaces yet they are at the same structural level becomes a cause for conflict and dependency. The audience want to own the performance by introducing new texts to it. The narrator takes the new texts and infuses them into the performance hence reclaiming his/her power. At this level, the narrative symbolises power, the narration symbolises the performance of power, and the conflict symbolises power struggle.

It has become apparent from the study that the intertextual nature of oral narratives makes individual narratives subplots of one narrative. The phrase “Chaiai” (my tea) that Hyena and

Hare use to call one other gives us the impression that a narrative is a continuation of another narrative. The text does not explain why they use this term but it exposes the palimpsest of another narrative.

The study has demonstrated that symbols, as elements in a text that represent ideas, occupy spaces in a text where cohesion is threatened. They hold the text and prevent it from disintegrating, and at the same time contribute to aporia. Symbolism is brought about and negated by the ambivalence of the text, which at some levels contradicts the symbol. As a result of this ambivalence, a narrative is self deconstructing. It has blind spots that render the narrative meaningless. Meaning in such instances is rescued by symbols, for it is by reading the text at the symbolic level that we encounter the meaning it is attempting to disseminate. This is a clear demonstration of symbols playing aesthetic and cognitive roles in the text.

Symbols represent effaced narrations. They occupy the space that a text should have occupied for example, the symbol of the sun in “The Thorn” and “Hare and Hyena”. By symbolising the medicine man, the sun effaces Hare’s journey to the medicine man. “Kiminchil” also demonstrates the effacement of narratives that are represented by the praise names. In such instances symbolism transcends to the palimpsests.

The study has shown the interplay between symbols. The image of the setting sun shining on Hare making his ears glitter, in “Hare and Hyena” serves to represent this interplay. It is Hare who suggests the symbolism of the sun by claiming to go to the medicine man; and it is the

sun that highlights Hare's symbolism by creating a halo on his head. The beauty of this description assists in disseminating meaning.

This study has ably demonstrated that an analysis-based theory can be employed in the study of oral literature. The deconstructionist concept of the influence of context on meaning has enabled us to analyse the subtexts in the performance. This therefore means that a text in oral literature goes beyond the narrative and refers to the entire performance. The Samburu term "ngatini" refers to an entire performance that includes several genres. This identifies the need to consider other genres as part of the context of the specific genre under study.

This study does not in any way claim to be exhaustive. It in fact recommends other approaches to the same subject for comparative purposes. There is need to study individual oral artists to demonstrate how age, gender and socio-economic positions influence their performance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amuka, Peter S.O. "The Play of Deconstruction in the Speech of Africa: The Role of Pakruok and Ngero in Telling Culture in Dholuo" Ed. Okoth Okombo and Jane Nandwa. Nairobi: KOLA, 1992
- Anyona, Ochieng'. "Oral Literature for Development's Strategy for Change" Drama and Theatre Communication in Development: Experiences in Western Kenya. Ed Loukie Levert and Opiyo Mumma. Nairobi: KDEA, 1997. 26 – 35.
- Ben-Amos, Dan. "Two Benin Storytellers" African Folklore Ed Richard M. Dorson. New York: Anchor, 1972 103 – 114.
- Bergman, David and David Mark Epstein. The Heath Guide to Literature. Lexington: D.C. heath, 1987
- Bhabha, Homi K. The Location of Culture. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Blamires, H. A History of Literary Criticism. London: Macmillan, 1991.
- Cirlot, J.E. Introduction. A Dictionary of Symbols. By Cirlot. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971 x - lv
- Clough, Peter and Cathy Brown. A Student's Guide to Methodology: Justifying Enquiry. London: Sage, 2002
- Coyle, M et al (eds.) Encyclopaedia of Literature and Criticism. Detroit: Gale Research, 1991
- Culler, Jonathan. On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism. New York: Cornell University, 1982
- De Man, Paul. "Semiology and Rhetoric". Criticism: the Major Statement Ed. Charles Kaplan. New York: St. Martins. 1986. 606 – 622

- Derrida, Jacques. "Living On: Border Lines". Ed Harold Bloom et al. Deconstruction and Criticism. New York: Seabury, 1979, 75 – 175.
- Frankfort-Nachmias, Chava and David Nachmias. Research Methods in the Social Sciences. Fifth edition. London: Arnold, 1996.
- Freadman, R. and S Miller. Re-Thinking Theory: A Critique of Contemporary Literary Theory and an Alternative Account. London: Cambridge University, 1992
- Fumagalli, Carl T. "A Diachronic Study of Change and Socio-cultural Processes among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya" PhD State University of New York, 1977
- Genette, Gerard. "Voice". Narratology. Ed. Susana Onega and Jose Angel Garcia Landa. London: Longman, 1996 172 - 189
- Haring, Lee. "A Characteristic African Folklore Pattern". African Folklore Ed. Richard Dorson. Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1972. 165 – 182.
- Henderson, Greig E. and Christopher Brown. 'Glossary of Literary Terms' <http://www.Library.utoronto.ca/utel/glossary/Deconstruction.html>
- Herlocker L. Rangeland Ecology and Resource Development in East Africa. Nairobi: GTZ, 2000
- Hunt, Eva. The Transformation of the Hummingbird. Ithaca: Cornell University, 1977
- Hunter, J. Paul. The Norton Introduction to Poetry. 2nd ed. New York: Norton, 1981
- Kamau, Nicholas I. "A Stylistic Analysis of Okot p'Bitek's Song of Lawino, Song of Ocol and Song of Prisoner" M.A. Thesis University of Nairobi. 1992
- Kipury, Naomi. Oral Literature of the Maasai. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1983
- Kothari, C.R. Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques New Delhi: Wishwa Prakashan. 1990

- Lindfors, Bernth. "Critical Approaches to Folklore in African Literature". African Folklore
Ed Richard M. Dorson. New York: Anchor, 1972. 223 – 237.
- Makaryk, I. R. Encyclopaedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars,
Terms. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1993
- Mwangi, Evan Maina. "The Stylistic Reciprocity Between Textual Errancy and Cohesion in
David Maillu's Broken Drum" M.A. thesis University of Nairobi 1998
- Njeru, George Chomba. "The Re-invention of Storytelling as a Methodology for Political
Pedagogy" M.A dissertation Leeds University, 2004
- Ole Kulet, Henry. To Become a Man. Nairobi: Longman, 1972
- Outa, George Odera. "Performing Power in an African Postcolony: Drama and Theatre in
Modern Kenya" PhD thesis University of the Witwatersrand, 2002
- Somjee, Sultan. "Interviewing on Aesthetics" Reflections on Theories and Methods in Oral
Literature. Ed. Okoth Okombo and Jane Nandwa. Nairobi: KOLA, 1992
- Spencer, Paul. The Samburu: A Study of Gerontocracy in a Nomadic Tribe. London:
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.
- Trivedi, Parita. "Imagery and Children's Literature in Kenya: A Case Study of Four Selected
Texts" M.A Thesis University of Nairobi. 1991
- Wheeler, Kathleen M. Romanticism, Pragmaticism and Deconstruction. Oxford: Blackwell,
1993

APPENDICES

Appendix a

1

Lng'atuny, Lotim ooLkonoi

Narrator: Apaaiya Ledilan Lesilele

Age: 60's

Gender: Male

Kore apa ero Ingwesi, neboita, lng'atuny oo lotim near lng'atuny lkukwai nkeju. Kore etii nkapune neaku ele otim oitibiraki lng'atuny ndaa ayaki nkaare, neyaki lkeek, nenuaki nkima neitibiraki na ana daa aiyaraki. Neboitaie taa apaake, mperot kumok ake nolotu taata Lkonoi naa kore Lkonoi iyololo ajo kengaar ochua Lkonoi o lng'atuny nkaji nabo ninche. Nelotu taata Lkonoi eata eata Lkonoi nkibakunoto teneuwon aaku Lotim oboitere lng'atuny neaku ninye ouwon anya kuna sorota naingwa lng'atuny. Keiyeu Lkonoi naa ninye oboitere lng'atuny paiye etum ninye aapake atama ana ndaa. (audience:amu kelubonaa lakatama nkop) tangaraki naa ntoki nalubo naa keata naa nkibakunoto pee euwon aboitere Lotim nelotu taata eeh Lkonoi alotu arem ninye, aisur taata Lotim

Nalotu tasiran, najo alotu, eipungo sii ninye Lotim aake alo anya ldama tooriong nkapune ake teinie. Nejingu, nakoore taa keji lng'atuny apa nkarna "Louriekilami" amu ntoki naurie naa kerishoi lkitok naa. Atuwana dei menyunyakore "president" keikitok lng'atuny oleng too soro too ntokitin elngwesi louriekilami neji Lkonoi nkarna Parlkursaei (audience: aanyo?) tenkaraki ntooki natutwana lkursaei, neji Lotim letirate (laughter). Kore taa eboitae nelotu Lkonoi tasiran, eipungo elde nejoki "Eh louriekilami," nejoki "Lparkursae, supa?"
Nejoki "Oiyee"

Nejo "Aich oilayeni leiyeyo, kore nkeju natining' o ajo kiteremo lkukwai?"

Nejoki, "Nana"

"Euwon ake kitii lkukwai"

nejoki "Euwon ake aatii"

"Aa kore chi ltung'ani liboitere tene?"

Nejoki "Maiyolo dei neipungo alo."

"Amaa ele ltung'ani, liboitere tene, naa lais, naloiboni, aanyo apa pimikintomuai?"

Nening Lotim, notum ajo aitayaki nanu tene

Nejoki, "Maiyolo naa,"

Nekwetu Lotim nejingu nkaaji nejoki "Ara Lparkurusae"

Nejoki "Ara turate,"

Nejoki, "Supa?"

Nejoki "Inia nijo,"

Neingwaa Lotim lomon le Lkonoi, nejoki, "Eeh Louriekilami loiboni dei aing'uaa, loboini dei aing'uaa taata tookuna kejek. Ashomo ajoki ikiata ltung'ani otara lkukwai nkeju netanya apa elotu. Naa nyonaa nkopito, nikienie ele ltung'ani nkeju pee epuku dei ele lkukwai?" Naajoki Loiboni ima ene, ilo taata nkapune nitii, etii Loning'iro ong'uro kiya, entaitu kinto enkoriong enchom enteenie ltung'ani nkeju

Koore pee ening Lkonoi ana naji loning'iroo, ilotaatum, eton loning'iro taatua inia apune neiyolou ajo naanu erii.

Nejoki inia kata "Eeh Louriakilami meeye pae laiyei leiyeyo naa, keitaini, keiyari nkopito."

Aah lng'atuny echam Lkonoi paa koon eiba? (audience: mara) nejoki "Eeh keiyari" kore dei

duo alotu, natum tenkoitei loning'iro oper otua. Naa kajo nanu, ninye naa epoi aitai nkito enkoriong. Nejoki Lng`atuny, amu Lng`atuny taa apa lotiaka "Ara Lparkurusae keatae daapa lotua oitibirieki lochu?"

Nejoki. "Eti dei eye keirasa, katungaiye eirasa"

Nejoki "Araturate iriiki lochi onyokie lamanok"

Nengamarii Lkonoii ana Kirmyanyii emurt neikurnyinyi mpito eti nkiringo meshomo Lkidongoe nedungo taa. Neri Lkonoii.

The Thorn

Long ago when animals could speak, Lion and Monkey lived together. One day a thorn pricked Lion's foot while he was in the den. It was therefore Monkey's responsibility to look after him. He would cook his food, fetch firewood and set the fire. They lived like this for many days. Now one day, Hyena came and you know that Hyena and Lion are from the same womb (Audience: yes they are of the same lineage). Now Hyena came and Hyena was envious of Monkey. He felt that Monkey continued to live with Lion hence enjoyed the leftovers of Lion's meals (Audience: yes that is delicious food). Lion would also share the food with Monkey. Hyena wanted to be the one to live with Lion so that he could eat the food. (Audience: yes because he is greedy) this is because of something called greed and this is the cause for the envy. This is why Hyena came to interfere with the relationship between Lion and Monkey.

One morning when Monkey had gone to bask in the sun, Hyena came from behind the den and went in. Now you know that Lion used to be called "Loriekilami" (the feared one)

because he was so big and feared that you cannot even compare him to the president. And Hyena was called "Lparkursae" (the one who limps) (Audience: why?) because he resembles a lame person. Monkey was called "Letirate" (the witty one) (Audience laugh). So Hyena went into the den and called "Loriekilami?"

Lion answered. "Lparkursae?"

"How are you?"

"I'm fine"

"Wooi son of my mother, where is the foot that I hear was pricked?"

"Here it is"

"Is the thorn still in the foot?"

"Yes it is"

"And where is the person with whom you live?"

"I don't know he has just gone out shortly."

"And why is it that the person with whom you live is a medicineman and a prophet and yet he cannot heal you?"

At this point Monkey and he knew Hyena's plan.

Lion said, "I don't know"

Monkey came into the den very fast and said "Mr. Lparkursae?"

Hyena answered "Mr. Turate"

"How are you?"

"That which you have said!"

Monkey decided to disregard Hyena and turned to Lion and said, "Loriekilami, I have just left the witchdoctor's home. Eeh I have just left the witchdoctor's place right now. I told him that

I have a patient whose foot was pricked by a thorn and I would like to know which rope we shall use to tie the foot so that the thorn can come out. The medicine man told me to come straight to the den and I will find a grey animal whose ears are torn. Remove the stripe of hide that covers the back all the way to the tail. Use this as a rope to tie the injured foot.”

When Hyena heard about the grey animal that would be found in Lion’s den, he knew it was him. He told Lion, “Loriekilami, the son of my mother cannot die. That special rope will have to be found.” Do you think that Hyena loves Lion more than he loves himself? (Audience: no) Lion said. “Yes the special rope must be found.”

Hyena said. “When I was coming here I came across a grey animal that was dying by the roadside.”

“Lparkursae, have you ever heard a dead animal being used to treat a live one?” Lion asked.

“It is not dead, he was only about to die but he is certainly not dead.”

Lion told Monkey, “Get up and ensnare this red thing!” then Lion sprang at Hyena and got hold of his back and ripped off his hide from the neck to the tail. He then tied his foot with the special rope. This why when a Samburu is pricked by a thorn he chews the bark of a tree to make a rope then ties the wound overnight and the following morning the thorn comes out.

2

Lkwoo leSidai oo neLng'atuny

Narrator: Tooyie Lekaite

Age: mid forties

Gender: Female

Kore naa teapa nkatini eapa, nanya Lkuoo, Lelng'atuny lpepedo, koore peenya lkuoo lelng'atuny lpepedo, ee nelotu Lng'atuny aisimaa lkuoo LeSidai na kutiti lkuoo lelng'atuny neikutiti sii neSidai. Nelotu aisimaa, nejo naa Sidai tojo mara ninono kulo Lkuoo naa kearr na Lng'atuny Sidai amu meitoshana naa, meidimare naa, keurie. Neipirie taata Sidai nolo aipot sii ninye Lngwesi aiya msaada tee ntokitin naaret sii ninye. Nejo mpootu, naaku meata ltung'ani oiyeu nelo mbata e Sidai keji ake ne Lng'atuny Lkuoo, amu keurieki naa Lng'atuny, Simba naa Louworu, Keresho.

Kore paiye edol taata Sidai ajo etaa eisimaiyie Lng'atuny Lkuoo enyena, neimeitoki nairukoki. nolotu Susq neisaidiaa Sidai. Nejo "Enteyakaaki Lchuu oodo amu kara kiini, tanairoo naanu tenkiji eeltung'ana naa meitoki naadol, maadol ltung'ana otii oriong naa kaiyeu lchuu odo metaa kila ltung'ani naingoor ake naanu arumaki ltung'ani pooki kop"

Basi neiyekini taa Lchuu oodo netii udoto nkeper, nadir Susuq Lchuu nelo keeper urumaki ltung'ana pooki kop.

Nejo taata Susuq pointi Ongwean amu etojo "Keatai noopir naiyuu nelpapit"

Neji pooki, "Meatai"

Nejo. "Aja nkejek naata kunda kuoo elng'atuny naatama lpepedo?"

Neji "Ongwan"

Nejo. Aja nkejek naata kuunda nkule?"

Neji. "Aaree"

Nejo "Ne Sidai naa Lkuoo," Puu neirokino udoto. Mpiriu Ltome iriiki nkaina atua udoto (audience: ajo irashaii naa nelu Susuq) neibung Susuq nkeju. Nejo Susuq "Eibung'a ntanai eitaa naanu!" neingwaki Ltome neibung ntanai neng'eru nejo Susuq "aapiyo kitigila!" koore peeng'eru nelu Susuq.

Neaku naa etaa eiwokoaiye Susuq Sidai Lkuoo enyena. Neiya na Sidai Lkuoo lenyena neiyaa Lng'atuny Lkuoo lenyena ootama lpepedo.

Ostrich's Chicks and Lion's Cubs

A long time ago Lion's children contracted scabies. Now when they contracted scabies Lion grabbed Ostrich's children because they were as young as his. Now when Ostrich told Lion that the children he had taken were not his he threatened to eat him. Ostrich pleaded with him and told Lion that the children were not of the same size. Every time Ostrich told Lion that the children were his and pointed out to him that they were of different sizes, Lion threatened to eat him.

So one day Ostrich ran to seek the other animal's assistance in the matter. Now no animal was ready to assist Ostrich, they all said that the children belonged to Lion. This is because they feared him Now Ostrich started giving up. Now Mole decided to help Ostrich. He said, "Look for an anthill that is very high. You see, I am so small that when I speak in the middle of a crowd, no one will see me even the person behind me cannot see me. So I want a high anthill

which when I climb I will look down at the animals assembled on the ground below.” An anthill was found that had a hole at the top. Mole climbed to the top and looked at the animals below. He pronounced the following points,

So he said, “Is there any winged one who gives birth to haired ones?”

All the animals replied. “There isn’t!”

Then he said, “How many legs, do the children with scabies have?”

The crowd replied. “Four.”

Then he said, “How many legs do the children Lion have?”

The crowd answered, “Two.”

“Then the children who have no scabies belong to Ostrich”

And pu! He dropped into the hole. When Elephant saw this he rushed and put his hand into the hole (Audience: yes to catch Mole). He got hold of Mole’s leg. From inside the hole Mole started saying, “Ooo! He has held a root thinking it’s my leg!” elephant released him and groped around the hole and got hold of a root. On noticing that Elephant’s hand gripped a root Mole cried “Ooh my uncle, you are breaking me.” On hearing the cry Elephant tightened the grip and pulled out only to find that it was a root. Meanwhile Mole escaped and judgment had already been passed. Mole had helped Ostrich repossess her children. Ostrich took her children and Lion had no alternative but to take her scabies-infected children.

3

Lng'atuny, Louworu mara oo Lkonoi.

Narrator: Apaaiya Ledilan Lesilele

Age: 60's

Gender: Male

Korea pa ewon ntokitin pooki, eboita louwarak naake, temanyisho (nkang) oltung'ana.

lyololo naake iniakata ajo meatae ldukai nepoi ainyangunye ntokitin (addressing the audience) "meatae taa" (the audience agree). Neweni ake ltung'ana koree peei nkishu metaa nekure eatae kule. neweini ake neiyengi Imongo ota. (ota nkarna elaiyeni mbotor oibung nkityasho oshomo naing'ure) basi, neji naake ikibekisho (explains keji apa matebekisho mara mateyiengisho) basi, neigwanae taa neji kore taa amu ikiata Louwarak tene nimikiyeu nedol nikiteng, ootu naa mbata eisiapa nkonyenk entoduaki pootum Louwarak aisiapa nkonyek pikitum atar nkiteng. Basi neponu ltung'ana ene, neibungi nkiteng, nereki neeji taa eisiapa taa nkonyek. Basi, neisiap ltung'ana nkonyek kuldo lemeibungita nkiteng neisiap sii Lng'atuny, neisiap Louworu mara, neisiap sii Lkonoi.

Nchoo taa kulo angine ee kulo ouwarak aare Lng'atuny oelde ouworu mara, neimunye akongu terishaat lkumojik lengejek, neduaki ake ltung'ani meteromo mpiding, neibungg lkule nkutuk metaa kore ake nejo nkiteng "mprrr". Nedol ajo eibunga nkutuk pee meigwar, eteremo mpiding neri nkiteng nesiipi. Neibelekenyi nkiteng aawun adaaya naaduo lguoo, neibaari nkaik pukura aare, neibaari muroshi. Kore taa ebaaritae muro nejokini entobolu nkonyek, nejo Lkonoi tobolu nkonyek, nejo Muro eremitoi, nejo ooh ene deishi eremi pee eri? iniatoki pee

emir Lkonoi nkishu tesiedi metaa Muro ake eibung ee ana murtee, oo nyawa iniake lkasi kanye. Kejo ninye iniakeoshi eremi nkiteng paiye eye.

Koree kulo aingeni, etisiputua ninshe meipar ltung'ana neibung'a, neikoni nkiteng' peeri naaku iniatoki tanaaku Lng'atuny anaa ele ouworu kerii puss mpiding' aake erem onkutuk iniepukurare ake esar, metaa mining ake ear.

Lion, Leopard and Hyena

Long ago when everything used to speak, and all animals used to live in one homestead with humans. And you know in those days there were no shops where people could buy things. (Audience: yes there weren't). Now people would stay and drink milk and when the cows gave no more milk, they would stay and then slaughter an "ota" (young man ready for circumcision) bull. Now those days they never used to talk of slaughtering but eating. Humans held a meeting and said that, "Since we do not want the animals to see where we strike the bull, some people should go before the animals and close their eyes. The animals will then close theirs too and then we can strike the bull." So the Humans went and got hold of the bull and forced it on the ground. Some humans who were not holding the bull went before the animals and closed their eyes." Lion closed his eyes; Leopard closed his and Hyena too.

Now these two animals, Lion and Leopard are very clever. They used their paws to close their eyes but left an opening from which they peeped. They saw one man stabbed the nape of the bull. Some other men held the mouth of the bull to prevent it from shouting. The only sound

that the bull could produce was a low rambling sound mprrrrr. The bull died and one man took a knife and cut the neck. When it died, they lay it down and turned it over so that it lay on its back. They skinned it starting with the chest, the front legs and then the hind legs. As they were skinning the hind legs the animals were told to open their eyes. When Hyena opened his eyes, he saw a man cutting a leg and he said to himself, Ooh, so a bull is killed by cutting the leg!”

This is the reason why Hyena hunts a cow by biting the hind legs or the udder. But the other animals saw everything and discovered the secret of hunting. This is why Lion and the leopard hunt from behind, pounce on the cow with their teeth sinking in the nape of the cow and their paws holding the snout; and on killing it, turn it over and start eating from the chest.

4

Ltome

Narrator: Kwantan Lelelit

Age: 42

Gender: Female

Basii. kore aitoki aapa eti nkae atini eltome. Nelotu Ltome, enapitaa Lpaut olo ayaki nkautani. Koree peelotu, netumore Nchipeiyoo. Nejoki Nchipeiyo “Aapiyo kitok, tanapaaki amu kaaya nkonyek nainaura.” Neiteleki nkeper, enkoriong metoboitata o Lpaut. Neruko taa Ltome alo ayaki nkautani Lpaut. Nedaa ake Nchipeiyo, ainy Lpaut ometumtuta. Naaku ore peitutoo Ltome lcheni, neibung Nchipeiyo lcheni. Neruko Ltome aloo, nelo naake Ltome ana metabaki nkautani nowuon aajo siap, amuu keodoo naa peebaki nkautani aitaii Lpaut.

Nejoake ntaii “Nyo dei natii ene? panijo meitoki natii ene?”

Nejo aake Ltome inguraai nejo “Taaba! Naduo changuto ake natumuta, amu meetii nkae tooki aatidira nkoriang!” Neibelekenya Ltome aibung riaata. Neloo ake Ltome ana mechomo anang’are Nchipeiyoo. Echomo duo Nchipeiyoo neripaki sikiraa isiet nkomom.

Nejoki, “Nchipeiyoo!”

Nejo, “Aapiyo kitok”

Nejoki “Iye dei duo atanapua teinie?”

Nejo “Ai maara nanu kiimu chi yoo nkera enkaji ang’ isiet neripakino iyoo sikiraa nkomom pukura isiet.”

Nerepaa. neshumokimo Ltome.

Mpirio Nchipeiyoo amu keneneng naa, naa ngen (sungura mjanja naa) mpirio ninye chomo tumuruto taa Ltome metaa kolotu aibung nkoitei anang’are, nenang’ae aitoki.

Nejoki, “Nchipeiyoo!”

Nejo, “Aapiyo kitok”

Nejoki “Iye dei atanang’are aitoki teidie?”

Nejoki “Ai maara naanu. Kiimu iyoo nkera enkaji ang isiet neripakiino iyoo sikiraa nkomom pukura isiet.”

Neitoki arepaa.

Impiriu aitoki Nchipeiyoo, mbelekenyaa iima tembata eltome, chomo aitoki tekwe tanangaare.

Koore pee elotu nenang’are Nchipeiyoo, ne uni taa inia nelotu nejoki, “Nchipeiyoo!”

Nejo, “Aapiyo kitok,”

Nejoki, “Iye dei duo atanang’are teidie?”

Nejo. "Maara! Kiimu iyoo nkera enkaji ang isiet neripakiino iyoo sikiraa nkomom pukura isiet."

Nerepaa

Neitoki aipiriu nelo aamurut, neitoki anang'are taata sapari eongwan. Neitooki aiparishere "Nchipeiyo! Iiye dei duo atanang'areteidie?" Nejoki, "ai maara naanu. Kiimu iyoo nkera enkajiang isiet, neripakiino iyoo sikiraa nkomom pukura isiet."

Neelo Ltome ake aibung ake riata lenye. Inyiaki ake Nchipeiyo. iima tembata Ltome, chomo teidie mbung'a nkoitie tanang'are metaa neimiet, nyakino ake ntooki natiuu neiija nerepa. Iiye dei atanang'are teidie? Maara, kiimu iyoo nkera enkajiang isiet, neripakino iyoo sikira nkomom pukura isiet, neing'wari aitoki. Neitoki inia eimiet areepaa, neipita, koore paiye eloo nenang'are metaa Nchipeiyo eile. Nelotu neng'are nejo "Nchipeiyo,"

"Aapiyo kitok

Nejo. "Iiye dei duo atanang'are?"

Nejo. "Maara kiimu chi iyoo nkera enkajiang isiet neripakino iyoo sikira nkomom pukura isiet."

Eteng'ena Ltome netumoki aake Ltome ajo naduo Nchipeiyo ake ana, Modou aaraa kiini, nemeilep. naduo mwo ake ana, neing'orita sii Ltome nkong'u ee Nchipeiyoo nerepa.

Mpirio Nchipeiyoo sapari esapa, nelo aitoki tekwe eltome nenang'a

Nejoki, "Nchipeiyo,"

Nejoki, "Aapiyo kitok,"

Nejoki. "Iiye dei atanang'are duo teidie?"

Nejo, "Ai maara naanu, kiimu chi iyoo nkera enkajiang' isiet, neripakino iyoo sikira nkomom
gukura isiet."

Neng'amaa Ltome atumoki qaab taata nejoki, "Owu amu iye duo inia." Neyen ayeniki lcheni.

Nedoki aatua ltim aitai lng'udisin (aalotu naduo aidong') peelotu aidong.

Koore taa ewon etioyoo Ltome te ntim, nekwetu Lkonoi nolotu netum nkae eena

Nejoki, "Chaii!"

Nejoki, "Chaii!"

Nejoki, "Nyo intibirita tene?"

Nejo, "Aapiyo kitok dei laateena amu kaajoki, amu kaisimaki asimaaki ajoki iishu ake
namaishu naa nanu amu kara kini

Nejoki, "Ntasho naa mataala pikien naanu."

Nelaak neenikini taa Lkonoi metoiyo. Neisiq Nchipeiyo arem saar. Nolootu Ltome.

Nejoki "Lkonoi!"

Nejo, "Aapiyo kitok"

Nejoki, "Koore duo Nchipoeyo naena tene?"

Nejoki, "Ataala amu eji kajoki meregeshi aisimakini (Audience: "Oo") naa maishu"

Nejoki, "Naa iishu iye"

Nejoki, "Ee"

Neishori taa Lkonoi miishu. Neidong ake neidong ake nejo "Aapiyo kitok kaishu, oi tapaalaki
amu kaishu." "Nyo iishu?" tapaala naa ishu kuna mushi. Neidong ake, neidong ake neishu
neing'waa ake etua teinie.

Elephant

Once upon a time there was a story about an elephant. Now Elephant came carrying a gourd that he was taking to his mother-in-law. Now when he came, he met Hare. Now Hare told him "My big uncle, carry me because my eyes are aching and I am so tired." Elephant took him and placed him on his back near the gourd and he continued with his journey to the mother-in-law. Now Hare opened the gourd and ate all the food that was in it.

Now when Elephant bended to avoid a branch that was hanging low, Hare got hold of the branch and remained on it as Elephant walked on. Elephant walked until he reached his mother-in-law's home. He knelt down so that his mother-in-law could reach the gourd on his back. His mother-in-law wondered, "Why isn't there anything in this gourd?" elephant exclaimed, "Taaba! It is that small thing that ate it! Nothing else climbed my back." Then he made an about turn and followed his foot steps. He went until he met Hare. Now Hare had gone and taken eight cowries shells and sewn them on his face. Elephant called "Hare!"

"Yes, my big uncle"

"Are you the one I had carried on my back?"

"Ai! It's not me. We are eight in our family. And all the eight of us have eight cowries sewn on our faces."

Elephant left him and continued with his journey. Now Hare took a different path and ran ahead of Elephant. Now Hare is small and fast ("Sungura mjanja"). He ran very fast and appeared ahead of Elephant so that they could meet each heading in the opposite direction. Elephant called him "Hare!"

"Yes my big uncle."

“Are you the one that I have just met?”

“Ai! It’s not me. We are eight in our family. And all the eight of us have eight cowries sewn on our faces.”

Elephant went on; again Hare took a different path and ran fast. He ran very fast and appeared ahead of Elephant so that they could meet each heading in the opposite direction. Elephant called him “Harc!”

“Yes my big uncle.”

“Are you the one that I have just met?”

“Ai! It’s not me. We are eight in our family. And all the eight of us have eight cowries sewn on our faces.” Elephant passed him. And Hare did the same thing so that they met for the fourth time. Elephant called him “Hare!”

“Yes my big uncle.”

“Are you the one that I have just met?”

“Ai! It’s not me. We are eight in our family. And all the eight of us have eight cowries sewn on our faces.” Elephant continued with his journey following his footsteps. Hare took a diverging path and ran very fast till he got back to the path that Elephant would use. They met and Elephant asked him the same thing and Hare respond in the same way that they were eight in the family all of them had eight cowries sewn on their faces. Elephant passed and this made it the fifth Hare Elephant had passed.

So he went and met Hare and Elephant called him “Hare!”

“Yes my big uncle.”

“Are you the one that I have just met?”

- Ai! It's not me. We are eight in our family. And all the eight of us have eight cowries sewn on our faces." But now Elephant had become wise and realized that this was the same Hare since he was not smaller or bigger than the others he had met and they were of the same colour. He also looked into his eyes. Hare took a path that would lead him ahead of Elephant and for the seventh time, they met and Elephant called him "Hare!"

-Yes my big uncle."

-Are you the one that I have just met?"

- Ai! It's not me. We are eight in our family. And all the eight of us have eight cowries sewn on our faces." But this time Elephant stretched his hand and quickly grabbed Hare Kap! And told him, "Come here! You are the one." He tied him with a rope and fastened him round a tree. He then went into the bush to fetch canes. (Audience: yes to come and beat him) So that he could come and beat him. When Elephant was in the bush, Hyena came running and found Hare tied to a tree. Hyena called Hare, "Chaiai" (My tea) and Hare responded "Chaiai" (My tea)

Hyena asked him, "What are you doing here?"

"It is my big uncle who has tied me here to force me to finish a lot of soup that has a fly inside, and I am too small to finish it."

Hyena said, "Then let me untie you and you can tie me instead."

Hyena untied Hare and Hare tied him tightly on the tree. Hare ran into the forest.

Elephant came and called "Hyena"

-Yes my big uncle"

-Where is Hare that I had tied to that tree?"

Hyena responded, "I untied him because he told me that he was being forced to eat rams and he cannot finish them."

Elephant asked him, "And will you finish?"

"Yes I will."

Okay then, Elephant gave it to him to finish. He beat and beat him. Hyena cried "Wooooi, my big uncle don't beat me I will finish" Elephant said, "What is it you will finish? Then finish this bunch of canes." Elephant beat Hyena until all the canes were finished. He left him there to die.

5

Nchipeiyo oo Lkonoi

Narrator: Kalasta Lalaikipiani

Age: Mid thirties

Gender: Female

Etii na apa Lkonoi naa keboita oo Nchipeiyo neata Lkonoi nkishu neata sii Nchipeiyo nejoki Lkonoi Nchipeiyo nkishu sapuki iyeu tanaa nkishu lkunini.

Nejo Lkonoi "kaiyeu naanu nkishu sapuki". Basi neorii naa nkishu, neya Lkonoi nkishu sapuki (na iyololo ajo melepo nkishu sapuki) neya Nchipeiyo nkishu kunini naalepo. Naa kelepu Nchipeiyo kule naaku keyaki ng'otonyemetamata. Neyaa Kenya ng'otonye Lkonoi, amu nkolong meitoki elepu ninye. Nemetatita ake nkotonye Nchipeiyo kule amu kelepo ninye nkishu naa kepir naa ng'otonye Nchipeiyo naisasu ng'otonye Lkonoi. Nejo "Chaiai, kalo loiboni, naa aiparu anyo pemelepo nkishu ainen". Basi nelo, nelau loiboni.

Nelotu nejoki ncipeyo atala loiboni. Nejoki Nchipeiyo “tapala naa mashomo nanu. Nchoo taa unido! nkiyaa ainen eilu nijo, Eetumo chaiai naibon.” Nelo neisudori mpaka teipa basi nengasu aalotu.

Nedol lkono! Nchipeiyo eilu nkiyaa nejo “etumo chaiai naibon.” Nejo “chaiai” “Chaiai” “Itumo naibon?” nejoki Nchipeiyo “ee”

Nejoki “kejoaa”

Nejo “ketojo mawaita oo yeiyo, mateen te nkasotok nikipuo aitaya nkare te sere”. Basi neyen Lkono! ng’otonye, neyen Nchipeiyo nkasotok aita! ng’otonye. Neji naa maape aituraa. Basi nepoi naa aituraa, enapita taa Nchipeiyo nkasotok, nenapita taa Lkono! ng’otonye. Basi neitayai taa nkare.

Naa kelo na Nchipeiyo aritisho kore pee elotu teipa nelepisho neyaki nkotonye kule. Eisudo!ye naa apa taatua nkaji. Nening mpari nabo Lkono! Nchipeiyo eirorie ng’otonye nejo “Chaiai” “chaiai”

“aa, ng’ae dei irorie?”

nejoki Nchipeiyo, “ae lng’enche lenkajiai ake airorie.”

“aa keiro shi lngenshe lenkaji ino?”

nejoki “ee keiro shi!ke lainen amu kaipundiso dei apa naanu”. Nejoki naa keiye neja, naara umi ana naara ongwan. Neikenyu na mpari e nchipeiyo nkishu. Nelo Nchipeiyo airitisho. Nolotu lkono! naar ng’otonye Nchipeiyo nelo aituraa. Nolotu taade Nchipeiyo neiyiaya ngotonye nelau, neiyolou ajo etaraki duo ngotonye metua. Neichir taake Nchipeiyo nelotu Lkono! nejo, “Chaiai nyo dei nikinyeita?” nejoki, “Oi mpuro na nyaita.”

Nejoki “Ou naa laale lelachao.” Nelootu eishirita naa aitoki te laale.

Nejoki. "Chaii, nyo dei nikinya abaki telaale lelachao/"

Nejo. "Oi. lachao lang laidashita."

Nejoki "Mpungu naa ou ene nkutuk enkaji"

Nelotu neuon aake aishir aitoki teinie. Nejoki "Chaii nyo dei nikinyaita?"

Nejo. "Oi mikiyolo ana kulo ajing'a ouweni ake ajo nzwii ninshe lanyaita."

Nejoki "Ou taa amu atukurwa duo nkeju nikiya amu ng'utunyi dei duoatara naaku inia toki nikinyaita" nasi neweini aake tenebo.

Kore mpari nabo neri naa nkiteng. Nejo maape naa agilu lkeek. Kore pee iyengi nkiteng neiput Nchipeiyo nkaji enye nkiri neiput loik oo laibela nkaji elkono. Kaake neeruki nkiri naapir tenkut enkaji elkono neeniki nemepir te nkutuk enkaji enye.

Nejoki Nchipeiyo, "Napir kutuk iyoi tana nemepir kutuk"

Nejo Lkono "Napir kutuk". Amu kelubo naa Lkono. Nejo Nchipeiyo kaji aiko na paar ele Lkono? Nejoki "Chaii, shomo irita nkishu amuu kaalo naa loiboni. Nchoo tajo aewo aipungu nkiyaa teidia ndikir tojo etumo chaii naibon. Nolo ake, nolo naaki iyolo take penyiku nkishu nolo taa itupuku nkiyaa teidia dikir"

nolotu taa Lkono ejoito etumo chaii naibon!

"Chaii kitiakaki dei aa?"

nejo, "Katiakaki."

Nejo, "Ooh"

Nejo "kashiakaki entigilu lkeek mperot isiet. Enuu nkima koore piinoknok nkima niid iye nkatitin ongwan ewuon epuru nkima niid Lkono nkatitin ongwan eiluu". Neim taa Nchipeiyo

~~nana~~ ongwān ewuon epuru. Kore ake pejo nkuma puk neim Lkonoi. Kore ake paiye ejo tiido
~~sapan~~ ongwān nedoki ninye nkuma. Nejo "Oi chaiai rashwaki"

Nejoki. "Kaiyiaya ntoki nagol naibelbelekenyaki iye" nanya Lkonoi nkima neishu.

Hare and Hyena

Once upon a time there lived Hare and Hyena. One day they went for a raid and brought back
 cattle. They drove the cattle home and built a kraal and then built a house for each of them.

They both brought their mothers to live with them. They lived there for a long time. One day

Hare called Hyena. "Chaiai (My tea)"

Hyena responded, "Chaiai"

"Which cattle do you want, the ones with big teats or the ones with small teats?"

Hyena said he wanted the ones with big teats. Hare said that he would take the ones with
 small teats.

Now during milking time, Hare would milk his and drink the milk with his mother.

Hyena tried to milk but no milk would come out of the teats, he fetched thorns and pricked the
 teats and still no milk came out. His mother became hungry. Hyena told Hare, "Chaiai, I will

go to a medicine man to find out why my cows do not produce milk." He went to look for a
 medicine man and came back.

He told Hare, "Chaiai, I did not find a medicine man."

Hare told him, "Chaiai you stay here let me go and look for him since my mother is sick.

Look towards the west, when you see me coming from the horizon with my ears glittering,

start singing, 'Chaiai has got the medicine.'" Hare got up and went. He went somewhere and

hid. Then when the sun was setting he started going back. From a far Hyena saw his ears

glittering in the horizon and started singing. "My Chaiai has got the medicine." The he called Hare. "Chaiai"

"Chaiai," he responded.

"Chaiai, did you get the medicine man?"

"Yes."

"What did he say?"

"He has told us to take our mothers and drown them in the river."

Hyena agreed.

The next day Hyena tied his mother and carried her. Hare took the barks of a tree, tied them together and carried them. They went to the river. Hyena threw his mother and Hare the barks he had tied together. They went back home. Hare dug a hole near the kingpost of his house and hid his mother. Now, he would go and milk then come back and drink the milk with his mother as they talked.

Now everyday Hyena would hear Hare talking. So one day he asked him,

"Chaiai?"

"Chaiai," Hare responded.

"Who do you talk with?"

"The cockroaches in my house."

"Is it only the cockroaches in your house that talk?"

"Mine talk because I taught them how to."

Hyena went back into his house, got cockroaches and tried talking to them but they did not talk. He went back and told Hare that his cockroaches do not talk. Hare gave him a cockroach from his house but when Hyena talked to it, he did not get a response. Hyena became interested in seeing the talking cockroaches.

The following day Hyena told Hare that it was his turn to go herding when Hare went, Hyena went into his house. He dug and found Hare's mother. He killed her and threw her in the river. Now when Hare came back, he milked and on looking for his mother he did not find her. He started crying. Hyena called him, "Chaiai"

"Chaiai"

"Why are you crying?"

"It is smoke getting into my eyes."

"Then come and sit here in the calf pen."

Hare sat in the calf pen but continued crying.

"Chaiai, why are you crying in the calf pen?"

"Oi, the calves are stepping on me."

"Then come and sit at the door."

He went and sat at the door. He again started crying. Hyena asked him,

"Chaiai, why are you crying?"

"It is the flies that keep on saying 'zzzz'. They are eating me."

Hyena said, "Oi, Come here, I know what is eating you. It is because I killed your mother!"

Hare cried and till he stopped. Now they continued living together but Hare was thinking of a way to revenge.

One day as Hare was herding, Hare slaughtered a cow and took the good fatty parts and put them in his house. He took the lean pieces and hung them on the door. He hung other good fatty parts on Hyena's door. When he saw Hyena coming back he went to him and asked, "Chaiai, which house do you want, the one with the fatty meat on the door or the one with the lean meat?" Hyena chose the house with fatty meat on the door.

The next day Hare said that he wanted to go to the medicine man. He told Hyena "Look towards the west, when you see me coming from the horizon with my ears glittering, start singing, 'Chaiai has got the medicine.'" Hare got up and went. He went somewhere and hid. Then when the sun was setting he started going back. From a far Hyena saw his ears glittering in the horizon and started singing, "My Chaiai has got the medicine." Then he called Hare, "Chaiai"

"Chaiai." he responded.

"Chaiai, did you get the medicine man?"

"Yes."

"What did he say?"

"He has told us to fetch firewood for eight days then light a big fire. I should then jump four times while the firewood is smoking. When the firewood catches fire, you should jump over them four times. So they went to fetch firewood. They fetched firewood and came back to set fire. Hare jumped over the firewood while they were smoking. When the flames broke out, Hyena started jumping over the firewood. He jumped once, twice, thrice... When he attempted to jump over the fourth time, he fell into the fire. He cried out to Hare, "Chaiai, please save me." Hare responded, "I'm going to look for something with which turn you in

the fire. You killed my mother remember.” He left him to burn till he died. And thus Hare avenged his mother’s death.

6

Shodom

Narrator: Apaaiya Ledilan Lesilele

Age: 60’s

Gender: Male

Korea pa naa kopuo Imuran loikarr aanya Ing’wesi o suom. Nolotu nkolong nabo nopuu Imuran isiet aanya suom to loikar. Kore paiyie ebaki, neiyengi Imongo, neidipi, nengasuni aayierisho. Kore inyeitai nkiri nelotu nkampit. Naata nkweshi isiet onkutukie isiet, eitakino Imurani neishori Ing’amati lenkiring’o, nejoki ele Imurani, “kore amu kaata lchekuti naa kalo angarie ele ng’amati”. Kore paiyie elo nejoki Shodom lkulikai, “Loiye, maisiga amu nkampit duo inia naa kelotu nkampit anya iyioo?” nejoki lboitei lenyana, “Ero, tapala ng’uretisho.” Nolo shodom a peny nedir lsheri alo nkeper.

Nesagunye naduo amnpit alotu anya laaduo Imuran, kore paiyie ebau neiken nelau shodom, nejo kanya taake amen amu Maiyolo neima lobo. Nanya inia ampit lolo Imuran sapa kake neaku shodom muro.

Kore paiyie eikienyu nodou Shodom tolkeni neisig alo nkang’ Neiyiaya lkule Imuran paiyie epuonuni aayiaya ana ampit aar. Kore mpari euni notumi nkampit tolouwa. Neitaakino shodom paiyie meiyiolou nkampit, neishop lkila orok, negilnkoongu, neitongonjino kake

eiylolou nkampit minye, nejo, keishopo lkila orok meata apa, negil nkongu megil, eitingonjino meingojine.

Nesapaki Imurani inia ampit paiyie ltum aatar, neiniakirinkiringo, kore taa eibung, ninye nkiringo, noumiap Imuran lalema nodungoo nkweshi pukura isiet. Kore ake paiyie edung'o ltau nejo ntoki. "Kanya kenyaake shodom talari oishiuna" nening shodom lolomon lootejo iniatoki.

Nolo inia toki natejo nejia neaku ntito supat nemeata neikunai. Nejoki Shodom papa lenye "iemisho naa inia tito iyem" nejo "Shodom maayem nanu inia tito". Kaake neisimakini mpaka neem. Nei mpari nabo naaku Keiwoti. Nening inia partut ee Shodom ajo keiwuotittoi. Nejo, "Kaji aiko paanya shodom" neitaakino komwai, nebiik shodom, aanyu mpartut meishiu, nejoki Shodom Imuran emupuo amu kaanya ale ouwurui. Neisudori Imuran taaulo.

Kore taa paiyie eiylolou ana partut ajo eshomo naidura nelakwa neinyototo neiru o lng'ajepa kumo onkonyek naanyokie, nejoki ninye Shodom "Nchiru moduo eenkishu nchi mukutong'oro?" Nobuak shodom ajo "moduo enkishuang erashuaki!" Nokuatu laaduo Imuran neri nesipi, nesigi aingua. Kore epuo Imuran nejo aitoki ltoilo "Kanya kenyaake shodom talari oiushiwa"

Nolo inia toki naaku lengoti supat oleng. Nolo ng'otonye Shodom lkeek notum inia lengote nong'uar, neyeu nkang. Kore teipa nepiki nkima naaku menya nkima. Neishori nkerai kule tolturen nejoki aua lengoti nkerai, "Nchooki kule," neliki nkerai ngotonye, kake eitu etemaa

dua tasat ajo kedede kulo omon kore ake iniakata neitoki ajoki Ipaiyan, tangarieki kula neingasia Ipaiyan, neliki mpartut enye. Nerapu ilo paiyian inia lengoti alo anangaa nejo tanangai nenangari ninye aamie wuata. Nejoki shodom tanangai neeny ninye kaake neiwuoti aingua inia lengote.

Nelo inia lengoti naaku reteti sapuk oleng tambata einiang nashomoki aamany. Naaku ale reteti eperie suom. noiwenie Itung'ana parkiji, naranyie Imuran.. Nenyae latim teiniang ee Shodom. nopuo Imuran aarany teilo oip kake neany Shodom elo arany. Neisimakini ninye ranyata ana meshomo emen. Kore paiyie elotu tabata ielo oip, nejp "Itung'ani pookie laasham nchiraki. naa pooki ngai laiba tokwenia." Nolo shodom arany, kore ake eranyita nodou mbeneiyo ereteti nenang ninye rkwe neisugari lkeni o Shodom. Naaku napa ampit natejo kanya kenyaake Shodom talari olshiuwa.

Shodom

Once upon a time morans would go to their hideout to eat game and livestock. A great drought hit the land. Now eight morans went to their hideout with a bull. They slaughtered, skinned and cooked it. Now as they were eating the meat an ogre with eight heads and eight mouths came turned into a moran. The morans gave the ogre a piece of meat. The ogre took the meat and told the morans, "Since I have my herdsmen with me, let me go and share this meat with them." When he went, Shodom told the others, "Let's run away because that is an ogre and it will eat us." The other morans dismissed him as a coward. At night, Shodom went to sleep on top of a tree. Now, he saw the ogre coming. It came and went into the hideout where the other morans were sleeping. The ogre counted and got seven. He told himself "No,

they were eight. Let me eat them first although I am sure they were eight.” He swallowed them. In the morning, Shodom descended from the tree and ran home. He got other morans to look for the ogre and kill it. Morans came and looked for the ogre and on the third day, the morans and Shodom saw the ogre on top of a hill. Shodom disguised himself by wearing a black skin, closing one eye and pretended to be lame. The ogre saw him and realized he was disguising himself. Now the morans offered the ogre meat. They threw meat at him and as he bended to pick it they drew their swords and slashed the eight heads. As he was about to die, a piece of his flesh jumped and fell where Shodom was standing and said, “I will eat Shodom during the rainy season. Now only Shodom heard this.

The piece of meat remained there for some time then turned into a very beautiful girl. His father told him to present his suit to the girl but Shodom refused. His father insisted until Shodom gave in and married the girl. One day as they were planning to migrate, Shodom's wife overheard. She thought to herself, “How can I eat Shodom?” she then pretended to be sick. This forced Shodom to remain behind with his wife as the others migrated. Shodom pleaded with morans to remain and hide as he was sure the ogre would come to eat him. The morans accepted. Now Shodom's wife pretended to be asleep until she was sure the others had gone far away. She woke up and turned into an ogre with long tongues and red eyes. She told Shodom, “You can cry out to the cow dung to help you.” Shodom shouted, “Our cattle's cow dung, come and help me!” the morans came out, drew their swords and killed the ogre. Just as it was about to die a piece of its flesh jumped to some plants and said “I will eat Shodom during the rainy season.” Only Shodom heard.

The piece of flesh stayed there for some time then turned into a nice log. Now Shodom's mother went to fetch firewood and came across the log. She took it home. At home she put the log in the fire but it did not burn. In the house there was a child. Shodom's mother milked and gave some milk to the child. When the child was given the milk, the log told the child, "Give me the milk." The child called its mother and told her about the log. Shodom's father came and he was given some milk. The log told him, "Give me some milk." The man told his wife then took the log and went with it outside to throw it away. When he was about to throw it away the log got hold of him and threw him. Other people came to throw the log but it threw them instead. Shodom was called and told to throw the log but he refused and told the people to migrate from that place.

The log went and turned itself into a big tree near Shodom's new home. Now livestock and people would rest in the shade of the tree. It is also under this tree that morans would sing and weddings performed. Now one day, there was a wedding that was to take place under the tree. Morans told Shodom to accompany them but he refused. They pleaded with him until he accepted. When they reached near the shade of the tree, Shodom said, "All those who love me can start crying and all those who despise me can start rejoicing." He then went in the shade to sing. While he was singing a leaf dropped from the tree and as it was falling, it touched his head. When it touched his head, Shodom and the tree disappeared into the ground

7

Lekinyeisho

Narrator: Alicia Lekaite

Age: mid to late twenties

Gender: Female

Kore apa to nkop elokop naa keatai Imurani onyeisho neji nkarna Lekinyeisho. Keata apa Lekinyeisho mali kumo, nkishu, ntare, nkeria, ngiron. oo ntamesi.

Nolotu mpari nabo neyeimishoi tankang e Leparlempeu. Nopuo ntoiyie aanya latim, neimutie. Neponu ninche era ongwan. Kore paiyie enyikaki nkang elekinyeisho, neipot ninye ntoiyie nejo, “Nakera, nkera elparlang, ootu enteperi nkangai amu ketaa kuarie?” Nepuo nena olionto iniang kake meiyolo duo ninshe aajo kenyeisho ilo ltung`ani.

Kore paiyie ejingi atua nkang nerik nkolionto nkae aji naitoomonie eshi ninye lomom lenyana. Neraki lker opir oleng, kore paiyie eidip ateyianga elo ker nemanaa ninye alo nkaji enye. Nejo kuna o lionto euteiyishi moti naiyierie nkiri nelau nelu ntito nabo aamon ake Imurani moti eenkulupo, neisagari ninye ejo paiyie meirashu Imurani enyeita ndaa. Neirumrum, nejo ake rumuruma neingasia, neibung nkutuk enye, nedol Imurani eibeleyenakita nkima nkaina eltung`ani namuata. Neingasia nerinyo akini ana metabaki neti nkulikai, neliki nkulie kake eitu sii etemaa ninshe aajo imaniki edede, nerik nkulie, neduaki pooki ate nopuonini naduo aji neiguana. Neji matar nkaji kweshi aaim paiyie moduayaya yioo. Neri nkaji, kore taa eritai nening Lekinyaisho, nelotu nkutuk enkaji nejo, “Nakera?” Neirukusho nkera aajo “Lamurani”

nejoki. “Nyo dei iritata aikonyi?” nejo ntito na botor, “Nkwe elker kirita.” Nejo Imurani “Ee kedede entar dei amu kogol kulo kerra lainen nkweshi” nolo ninye anya naduo aina napejito.”

Neidip ntoiyee aatar nkaji neitai mpo eidosie norukokino pookin akini ana meima, neisig ninche aapuo nkang’ite enshe. Kore etikiy nkop naado neparu ntito nabo ajo ketirikine mporro eng’otonye. “Ntoiye epapa lai, atirikine mporro eiyeyo.” Nejoki nkule “mirinyo maape ake tapala nana mporo” neany nerinyo ninye apeny alo naduo aang elekinyeisho. Kore ake paiyie ejing, naduo aji neirashu Lekinyeisho ninye neibung nejoki. “Kaanya ana kaayem?” nejoki ntito “Oi yemaaki,” neem Lekinyeisho ninye.

Nonutai ana tomononi neiu laiye ni nejo nkama Koonyek. Neji ninshe ngoto o nenyee Koonyek. Nebulu Koonyek naaku kopuo o papa, lenye aar ltung’ana aanya tenebo kake menya ngoto Koonyek ltung’ana.

Kore mpari nabo nolotu nkanashe ng’oto Koonyek asaaya nkanashe. Kore paiyie ebau neishirakino onkanashe enye newieni ana metinyiku ngamata napuonu ookoonyek nejoki ngoto Koonyek nkanashe siga amu kenyeisho loopeny anaang. Kore eimiita ninye nkoitei nodol Koonyek opapa lenye nedir nkeper eltepes kake nosuluni ninye neiyiengi nedanyuni lmao waare oishu. Ne nyei ng’oto Lmao neuapaa Koonyek kulo mao ayaki ng’otonye metepejoki. Kore ake paiyie eyaki Koonyek ng’otonye kulo mao neiyilou ng’oto Koonyek neukunaki nkanashe oo Koonyek o papa lenye. Neishir neibung lolo mao neya nkaji neisudoo, nolo aar ldero waare nepejoki Koonyek.

Nenya Koonyek lolo dero emen, kake eisudoiyee duo ng'otonye nkera entito eng'otonye. Kore paiye esapukukiua kena naaku keipungu aiguran tonopuo ooKoonyek opapa lenye aanya Itung`ana. Kore ake tonolotu Koonyek nkang nodol riata lee nania kera, nejo “lenyo ale riata lotuwuana le dapash keju?” neisimaki ng'otonye. Ajoki, “aamudol iyie ajo nanu duo airikita lkuo?”, kake kemenisho ake Koonyek. Kore mpari nabo nejoki ng'oto Koonyek, nkera enkerai engotonye, “kaa kias lkisig ana ikiyiya nikingo paiye kiar Koonyek omenye paiye kiya kuua suom?” nejoki lai yok lkiar, kore lnia siran nejoki ng'oto Koonyek menye Koonyek, “Kalo loibon amu Maiyolo ajo nyo nanyeita suom ang aikonyi?” nejoki menye Koonyek “Ninye shomo naa ntomononi ai” nolo ng'oto Koonyek l mari auwuon momuto nolotu. Nejoki, “Ninye menye Koonyek ketejo loiboni entuu tana mijoni naa entanap ntokitin pookin mpaga nkuku.

Kore paiyie eikienyu neiroti Koonyek ana metaa meinyototo neitokitin papa lenye. ng'oto Koonyek nairoto pukuraare. Neipot laapa mao lentito eng'otonye nejoki “lkurikuri lentito eiyeiyo, ootu entalak sile eng'utunyi” neipungu ninche neri Koonyek opapa lenye nesipi. Nerewi suom pookin neiwiati.

Lekinyeisho (The Man eater)

Along time ago in the land of Loikop there lived a moran who used to eat people, his name was Lekinyeisho. He was a very rich man with a lot of livestock. He had cattle, goats, sheep, donkeys and camels.

One day there was a wedding in another village so the girls went to that village but on their way back they passed near the home of Lekinyeisho. When he heard them he went out to

greet them. He called, "My ladies why don't you come and spend the night at my house since it is already late?" The girls could not refuse so they accompanied him to his manyatta.

Now in that manyatta, there were two houses. Lekinyeisho led the girls to one house and he then slaughtered a ram for them to eat. He left them there and went to sit in the other house. When the girls tried to look for a pot to cook the meat, they could not get any. One girl was told to go to Lekinyeisho to ask for a pot. So she went to the other house. She decided to peep first so as not to get the moran eating food. When she peeped she saw the moran eating a roasted human hand with metal bracelet worn by married women. She ran and told the others what she had seen they did not believe it so they went to see. When they saw they wondered what they would do as they could be spotted running away. One of them said, "Let us drill a hole on the wall and escape through it. So they started drilling a hole. Lekinyeisho heard them and called, "My ladies."

"Yes moran."

"What are you hitting?"

One girl responded, "We are breaking the head of the ram."

"Hit harder, the heads of my rams are usually very hard." Lekinyeisho said and continued eating the hand. The girls finished drilling and escaped through it. They ran as fast as they could. On the way, one girl said, "Oh, I have left my mother's wedding beads. My sisters please take me back." They refused and pleaded with her not to go back but she insisted and went back alone. When she entered the house, Lekinyeisho caught her and asked her, "Do I eat you or marry you?" "Please marry me," she replied. He married her.

She became pregnant and gave birth to a boy whom she named Koonyek. Koonyek grew up and started going with his father to hunt for humans and eat them but his mother never ate humans. Now one day Koonyek's aunt came to visit her sister. She stayed with her sister till late when Koonyek and his father usually returned. Koonyek's mother told her sister, "The owners of this manyatta eat people so you have to go back home." As she was going back home, she saw Koonyek and his father returning home. She climbed a nearby big tree. Koonyek and his father came and rested under the tree; then they saw her. They took her, slaughtered and ate her. Now she had twins in her stomach whom Koonyek took to his mother to cook. When she saw the twins. Koonyek's mother knew that her sister had been eaten. She took the twins, hid them and got two huge rats and cooked them. Now Koonyek asked for his meal and he was given the rats. He said, "This is not the meat I brought." His father scolded him and reminded him that his mother never ate the meat they ate. Koonyek decided to eat the meat.

Now the twins grew up and started walking. Koonyek's mother would remove them from their hiding place whenever Koonyek and his father went to hunt. When they returned in the evening Koonyek would ask, "How come there are small footprints that resemble those of the flat footed beings?" but his mother would tell him, "Don't you see that I do a lot of work in this homestead and I therefore have to walk to and fro, these are my footsteps." The children grew up and each day Koonyek would notice something strange and ask questions but his mother would find an explanation.

One day the twins asked their aunt what they would do. They discussed and decided to kill Koonyek and his father and take the livestock. The next morning Koonyek's mother told her husband, "I am going to the medicine man to find out what is affecting our livestock." Her husband allowed her to go. She went and sat some where then came back. On being asked what the medicine man had said, she said, "You should buy two swords, two spears and two clubs and then we should migrate, with you and Koonyek carrying the luggage." Koonyek's father agreed and did as he was told. The luggage was tied on his back and Koonyek's mother asked him, "If we are attacked, how would you defend us?" "I would do this and this and this.." on noticing that he could still move, Koonyek's mother added more luggage and asked him. "If we are attacked, how would you defend us?" he answered, "I would do this and this and this..." Koonyek's mother added more luggages and asked him the same question. This time round Koonyek's father could not move any part of his body. She did the same with Koonyek. When they were both unable to move, she called out, "My sister's twins come and avenge your mother's death!" the twins came out and killed Koonyek and his father.

As they were being killed, Koonyek said, "Father I told you, the meat did not belong to the twins!" his father responded, "Ooh! I didn't believe you my son." The twins killed them and took their livestock and went home.

8

Kiminchil

Narrator: Kinau Lalaikipiani

Age: 60's

Gender: Female

Eiwo naa nkampit nenangare na ntito. Eshomo naa ntito airukrukore, arik naa Imurani, arik naa nkusula (aisindikishaa) neshukunye naa nejoki nkampit,

“Naito kaji dei ing’waa”

Nejoki ntito, “Kaing’waa nkusula e Imurani”

Nejoki “Nyo eji Imurani, kejuae nkarna?”

Nejo, “Keji ake ninye Kiminchil.”

Nejo, “Aminchil nyoo?”

Nejoki “Amunchil ntokitin esoro.”

Nejo, “Ati naanu?”

Nejoki, “Ee iti abaki iye nkititoki nang’u.”

Nejo, “Hee kejuae papalino nkarna?”

Nejo “Meipoti papa ana nkera.”

Nejo, “Kejuae ng’utunyi?”

Nejo, “Kejiake yeiyo naworoi.”

Nejo, “Naoro nyo?”

Nejoki, “Naoro sakerin mayog nooro lpayani teneem.”

Nejoki, “Ikejuae iye?”

Nejo, “Kaaji nanu Naitemu.”

Nejo, "Naitemu sakerin tenenya."

Kejuae duo Imurani mara nejoki Kiminchil ati naanu mara nedek naa ntito, nebaki nkampit ntito ejo tara nolotu Imurani near nkampit nejo, "Ntashotin matilimu lobo paiye aye." Amu kebore lomanira nkaare neboore nkujit ana kop ntama na lashao." Near taa Imurani nkampit ee neishunye taa.

Kiminchil

Once upon a time there was a girl who went to escort her moran. On her way back she met an ogre. The ogre asked her, "Young girl where are you from?"

The girl answered, "I have been with my moran."

"What is a moran? Does he have a name?"

She replied, "His name is Kiminchil (thrasher)"

It asked her, "What does he thrash?"

She replied, "He thrashes wild animals"

It asked, "Am I included?"

She said, "Yes, even you rotten thing."

It asked, "Eeh! And what's your father's name?"

She replied, "My father is not called by name like a child."

It said, "Okay. What about your mother?"

She said, "She is called Scramble."

It asked her, "What is scrambled for in her?"

She said, "The ravens scramble for her offal and men scramble for her after marrying her."

It asked, "And what is your name?"

She said, "The one who satisfies."

It asked, "What do you satisfy?"

She said, "I satisfy the ravens when they eat me."

It asked, "And what was your morans name?"

She said, "Didn't I tell you he is called Thrasher."

It asked, "What did you say he thrashes?"

She said, "I told you wild animals."

It asked, "Me included?"

The girl abused the ogre and it attempted to grab her. Kiminchil appeared and slashed the ogre. Just before it died the ogre said, "Let me say something before I die. A withering object has water and the earth is full of grass so let the calves graze." Kiminchil then killed the ogre.

9

Ntito Kiini oo Lmurani Lenkampit

Narrator: Alicia Lekaite

Age: Mid to late twenties

Gender: Female

Nopuo naa Imuran loikar nopuo ntoiyee aijipaa Imuran eatal naa nkae nkini tito, nkini titoo naa naisho likae Imuran sen. Nepoiy naake etii naake kuna toiyee nkule. Nepooiy nenang'areki likae Imurani tenkoitei. Nenyae naa lomom naaku keirukuruko koree epoito tenkoitei nedol ana kini tito nkae kutuk ele Imurani enyaita lajungani. Lmasi naa loisiapita ana kutuk.

Nengasu ana tito kiini ashir nejo. Eh, eh, oi aatara lkukwai nkeju.” Nejokini “Nchoo kiai! Nchoo kiai amu itanya duo iwon.”

Neitashe naa ntito nabo mbotor aing’uraa. Nejoki ana tito kiini, “Ngura ja ele Imurani ajo keata nkutukie aare.” Nejo inia tito botor, “lih ele Imuran supat aikony ijo iye ajo keata nkutukie aare?” asi nepoiy aake nepoiy aake nepoiy aakeeee. Neishir aitoki ntito kiini nejo, “oi aatara nkeata Nelotu nkae tito aing’uraa. Nejoki ntito kiini, “Ng’ura aja ele Imuran ajo keata nkutukie aare.” Nepoiy aakee, nepoiy aakee, nepoiy aakeeee. nejo tama lajung’ani nedol inia tito ajo kedede keata nkutukie aare. Neliki nkule. nejo, “Kore taa nikinko maapetin taa, enchoo take mataranyaki naanu ...” “Ooh” “..nisgsig ntae.” Aasi newuon taa aranyaki. Nejoki taa Imurani, “Ntasho mataranyaki iye.” Nejoki Imurani “Idoldol idia aang nalioo teidie naata ntaare naibor...” Ooh” “..inia dei nkangai naa ninye naa ipuopuo enteperi.”

Naa iyolo taa ajo maara ntare naibor nalioo loik loltung’ana oibor. Aasi neranyaki taa ntito kiini ilo Imurani,

Lolmasi oiliang’a, lolmasi oiliang’a

Eiliang’aite apa Itoipo metabaki lailela

Oiliang’a, oiliang’a, eiliang’aite apa

Ntoipo metabaki lailela

Lolmasi, oiliang’a

Neipiri aake ele Imurani leenkampit neipir aake neipir akeeee. Ooppyoh! Nepuo kuna toiye nkule kutuaa nepoiy aake nepoiy akeeee. Metaa merekure elioo. Eranyakita aake ana tito kiini.

Lolmasi oiliang'a, lolmasi oiliang'a

Eiliang'aite apa ltoipo metabaki lailela...

Neisho ake metutumoki.Oopyoh! Nekwet aitoki ninye. Nekwet aake, nekwet aake nekwet aakeeee mpaka meirashu nkule. Nejo ade Imurani todou aikonyi, nejo eshomoki aapa! Nekwet, nekwet aakee nekwet aakee nekwet aakeeee. Tana meshomo nelo anashu. Nejo, "Nakera kaji dei iyosas?" Nejokini "Insho mara Imurani lee laji lang, ijo mara nkop aake nikitamanaiye, panjo laduo lkeni aake ele likitasheiyee." Aasi nejo, "Eeh ijo mara nakera! Amu aapa da abaiye ranyata." Netoki aaranyaki,

Lolmasi oiliang'a, lolmasi oiliang'a

Eiliang'aite apa ltoipo metabaki lailela

Oiliang'a, oiliang'a, eiliang'aite apa

Ntoipo metabaki lailela

Lolmasi. oiliang'a

Neipiri naaduo ele Imurani, neishori ake aitoki metutumoki Oopyoh! Nepuo kuna toiye kutuaa.

Nowuon ake ana kiini ananyaaki,

Lolmasi oiliang'a, lolmasi oiliang'a

Eiliang'aite apa ltoipo metabaki lailela

Oiliang'a, oiliang'a, eiliang'aite apa

Ntoipo metabaki lailela

Lolmasi. oiliang'a

Netumoki, oopyoh! Neidos ailoki inia nepoiy aake nepoiy aakee mpaka metinyikakini taa inia ng'oji naa netii Imuran. Aasi nejo todou nejo eshomoki aapa nekwetu tututututu neirashaa.

Nejo. "Nakera kaaji dei kinkoko?" neji "Imuran lee laji lang' nkop dei nikitamanaiye panjo

naduo ng'oji daake ene nikitii.” Netoki ntito kiini aranyaki neranyaaki aake nekwet nkule nepuo aipotu Imuran.

Koore aake ewuyon aranyakita, nepwoni Imuran Opwuu! Neremi te mpere neishuni. Neidapashari taa nishe.

The Small Girl and the Ogre

Along time ago, the Morans went to their hideout from where they eat. Some girls who were beaded by some of those morans decided to follow them. Among them there was a small girl also beaded by one of the the morans. They went on and on until they met another moran on their way. He was very handsome and after greetings they asked him to accompany them

On their way the small girl saw this moran eat a fly using a mouth at the back of his head which was well hidden by his long plaited hair. The little girl stopped and started crying out saying “Oh! Oh! a thorn has pricked my foot!”

The others replied “Let it prick you. Why did you refuse to be left at home”. One girl stopped to attend to the young girl. The small girl whispered to her “Eeh this handsome moran has got two mouths”. The other one shut her up saying “Hush! How can you say that about such a handsome looking Moran?” So they continued with their journey.

They went and weeeent. Then the small girl started crying out once again. She said “Ooh a tree splinter has pricked my foot”. One of the other girls stopped to attend to the small one.

The small girl whispered “Look! This moran has got two mouths”. They continued with their

journey until the other girl saw with her own eyes the other mouth of the moran. She whispered this to the rest. They started wondering what to do. The small girl said “ This is what we will do, let us go and when I start singing to this moran you can run away and I will be left behind to continue singing to him”.

So the girls said to the moran. “Stop; let us sing for you”

The moran said “Fine you see that manyatta with many white goats, that is my home and that is where I think you should rest and spend the night.” Now those white goats were actually human bones. So the small girl started singing to the moran

Oh hair that bounces hair that bounces

Bounces off till it reaches the heels

Bounces, bounces, Bounced long till it reached the heels.

Oh hair that bounces”

The handsome moran started jumping high dancing to the song. He jumped and jumped and off went the big girls. They ran and ran until they disappeared to the horizon. The small girl continued singing

Oh hair that bounces hair that bounces

Bounces off till it reaches the heels

Bounces, bounces, bounced long till it reached the heels.

Oh hair that bounces”

While the moran was busy dancing the small girl also ran off. She ran and ran and ran till she caught up with the others.

The moran looked around and found he was alone. He ran off after the girls and caught up with them. He said "My ladies what are you doing?"

They said "May be it is you who is confused, why, this is the same tree under which we were singing"

"Yees I think so. May be it is because it is such a long time since I last danced."

They started dancing again as the small girl sang.

Oh hair that bounces hair that bounces

Bounces off till it reaches the heels

Bounces, bounces, bounced long till it reached the heels

Oh hair that bounces"

When he got engrossed in the dance again the older girls took off. They ran and ran and raan. Meanwhile the small girl continued singing to the ogre. When they had gone a long distance she also ran off. She ran and ran and ran until she caught up with them and they ran and ran. Now the ogre discovered once again that he had been left alone. So he ran after the girls until he caught up with them. He said "My ladies why are you doing this to me?" They said "Our dear moran, it is you who is confused and lost, for we are still at the same spot we were before"

The small girl started singing to the ogre again. Now the girls were now not far off from their morans' hideout. So once again when the ogre got engrossed in the dancing the big girls ran off and called the morans. The morans came and killed the ogre by stabbing it with a spear while the small girl was still singing to it. So the ogre got killed and the ladies were saved.

10

Maarasas

Narrator: Kwantan Lelelit

Age: 42

Gender: Female

Koore apa neiwoti neingwari likae nkashe te mijoni. Neiwoon anaa aashe naya nkolong naaku nkini Maarasas. Nelotu Lkonoi, nelootu mijoni aajo owu naa tama lchonito naa temijoni. Natuyeki. Netum nkaashe nejo, "Aiyai yai yai! Naana Maarasas, oiaishoo nkai Maarasas ai." Nejo, "Nkai tanaa shi iye nikinshorita ndaa, mikitoki aisho amu nana Maarasas." Basi nejoki, "Maarasa"

Nejo, "Yoo!"

Nejoki, "Kaanya tana kaapal."

Nejo, "Oi tapalaaki, oi tapalaaki angas maa... ritaaki matipiro pirkinya."

Neiritia taa Lkonoi Maarasas. Nerita taa Lkonoi Maarasas enye. Keloo naa Lkonoi anyaya lchonito neshukunye alotu aboitere Maarasas.

Neipirwu Maarasas, neipirwu naa, naa keiyeu Lkonoi nanya Maarasas. Nolotu taa Lkonoi ajo naa peiye enya. Nejo, "Nkai taanaa shi iye likinchoita ndaa mikingil aisho." Nejo imbung'a nkiteng' nejo nkiteng neisig. Neibung arumaaki wuata nejo nkiteng oor ooor. Neji, "Oroh! Neorunii." Nejo Lkonoi "Maarasas mincho keenyaake atum. Koree ake paatum naanger myawa."

Inia toki peenger Lkonoi nkiteng nyawa.

Maarasas

Long ago when people migrated, they forgot and left behind a young calf. Now this calf stayed in that empty manyatta until it starved. So it became very small in size and weak too. One day Hyena came to that empty manyatta to eat the hides and skins left behind. It found the small emaciated calf. It said "Aiya yah yah! Here is a spotted and emaciated one. Oh my God has given me a spotted and emaciated one." Hyena was very happy. He said "God if it is you who usually gives me food, then don't because here is the spotted and emaciated one". Then he called out. "Maarasas"

The calf replied back "Yes".

"Should I eat you or should I spare you?"

"Oh please spare me, spare me now! Look after me so that when I grow fat, you can eat me up". The calf replied.

So Hyena looked after Maarasas. Hyena would go in search of his food including hides and skins. After feeding he would then come back and look after Maarasas. So maarasas grew big and fat and Hyena longed to eat him.

One day Hyena came back with the intention of eating Maarasas. Then looking at the fat big Maarasas, he said "God if it is you who gives me food, then don't for here is Maarasas". He leapt on the cow and forced it to the fence. The cow started to groan "Oorr! Oorr!. People passing by heard and came running shouting to Hyena and rescued the cow. Then Hyena said "Maarasas pray we never meet because if we ever do, then I will bite off your big udder."

Now that is why Hyena always goes for the cow's udder.

Appendix b

Budget for Fieldwork

<u>Item</u>	<u>KShs</u>
Transport (Nairobi – Baawa) 2 trips @ Ksh.2,000	4,000
Tape recorder	2,800
Cassettes 4 @ Ksh.100	400
Camera	1,800
Film 2 @ KShs. 160	320
Film development	1,200
Video Camera (rental) 10 days @ KSh. 800 a day	8,000
Video Cassettes 3 @ KShs. 250	750
Research Assistant	2,000
Artists 5 @ KShs. 500	2500
Stationery	1,000
Internet	5,000
Data analysis and Project write up	10,000
Contingency	5,200
<hr/>	
Total	44,970

Appendix c

Work Plan

Activity	Time
Proposal research and write up	October 2003 – April 2004
Collection of Data, Transcription and Translation	1 st - 10th June 2004
Review of data	11 th - 15 th June 2004
Data analysis and project write up	17 th June – 14 th July 2004
Submission of draft	15 th July 2004
Discussion of draft	21 st July 2004
Final corrections	22 nd July - 2 nd August 2004