



Precolonial Nandi Marriage System and Household Relationships

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the precolonial Nandi marriage system and household relationships up to the colonial epoch. The study examined the indigenous Nandi family, polygamous Nandi household setup, extended family, the clan, incest, and sexual relationships, responsibilities and rights of household members. It also analyzed the relationships of production, reproduction and distribution, and an analysis of their built forms and settlement.

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1.1 Introduction

This paper examines the pre-colonial Nandi marriage system and family relationships. This section deals with the following subtopics; indigenous Nandi Kinship and marriage system, the family, sexual relationships, responsibilities, and rights of family members. It also covers relations of production, reproduction and distribution, access to factors of production, access to resources and means of biological reproduction. It includes the Nandi social and political divisions, other beliefs among the Nandi and conclusion to the chapter. This section is relevant to the study because it analyses the indigenous household practices and relationships among the Nandi. The functional approach to the household associated with Bronislaw Malinowski (1884 – 1942) assumed that all cultural traits serve basic or derived needs of individuals in society. To serve these requirements, individuals had to create appropriate strategies to realise their aims. These requirements among others were: nutrition, physical comfort, relaxation, growth, movement, safety, and reproduction. According to him, secondary needs developed in the process of meeting the basic needs.¹

Radcliffe Brown (1881 – 1955) was the proponent of structural-functional family approach. He attests that human social behaviour was a product of the cultural traits. A family then was the logical product of marriage consisting of a man, his wife, and child or children. By this, childless marriage was not a family.² It does not matter whether marital relationships were permanent or temporary, whether there was polyandry or sexual license, whether extended, one fact stands out beyond all others that everywhere the husband, wife and immature children constitute a family from the remainder of the community.³ The Nandi way of doing this was either the grouping of the so-called nuclear family where the husband, wife, and children relationship were essential but rather the gathering of the extended kindred group consisting of close relatives.

1.2 Indigenous Nandi Kinship, Marriage, and Religion.

1.2.1 The family.

The English word 'family' originates from the Latin familia, meaning 'household'. Lewis Henry Morgan attempted to trace the origin of the family and came up with a theory which views with contempt by many anthropologists. He argued that there be a close relationship between different cultural patterns and technological changes. The family according to Morgan started as a crowd living in promiscuity with no sexual regulations and inhibitions. It followed incestuous relationships between brothers and sisters. The third stage was characterised by group marriage while the fourth stage coincided with barbarism. It involved loosely paired male and female, but each could live with other people. The fifth step was husband ruling family in which the husband was polygamous, and finally, the stage of civilisation heralded monogamous family. It was an evolutionary approach which influenced the ideas of communist ideology about property and family as stipulated by Marx and Engels

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Having a family or marrying in Nandi context was an economic and social affair. A Nandi man did not marry for love, but for specific social reasons: a man must have somebody who could bear him children and help him with work which was not "man's work."⁴ There was plenty of sexual freedom before marriage and though a Nandi had a girlfriend before the wedding, this girl hardly, if ever, became

his wife. Subject to clan system, a man would marry any woman who was not a family member or a close relative.⁵

Among the Nandi, marriage (*Katunisiet*) was the term referring to all marriage rituals in total and a particular stage in marriage ceremonies. *Katunisiet* was the chief marriage ceremony among the Nandi and Kalenjin as a whole. It happened after the whole cattle dowry have been paid and satisfied. However, there were cases when a girl was eloped and married the same night after circumcision. It was a particular instance.

Oral sources confirm that Nandis have intermarried with Kipsigis, Keiyo, Terik, Maasai and other Kalenjin neighbours in ancient European settlements. It means that their marriage borrowed much from these friends or intermarriages. Geographically, Nandi lived in a more suitable place for interaction and cultural borrowing.⁶

Among the Keiyo of Kenya, *Katunisiet* was the third in a series of marriage rituals and occurred in the eighth or ninth month of the woman's first pregnancy. Among the Marakwet, *Katunio* was the second and primary stage which took place after the birth of a child.⁷ Similarly, the Kipsigis way of marriage was a bit different; *Katunisiet* was a beer and food festival which took place many months and possibly years after the giving of the cattle which in turn took place three or much more after the initial binding of the couple.⁸

1.2.2 Polygamous Nandi household Setup

Polygamy is a general term referring to multi-spouse relationships for both men and women, but in this study, it means one man is marrying more than one wife (Polygyny). It was prestigious among the Kalenjin peoples and up to 1970's, and 1980's married Nandi people still practised it. Each wife had her field, cattle, and house within the family compound. A Nandi proverb asserts *Mawendi songo chepyoso!* "No woman will be unmarried in her lifetime."⁹ The first wife is the chief wife¹⁰ in the family. The other women were meant to expand the family.¹¹ Polygamy assisted in the realisation of this proverb as the tribe knew not bachelors or spinsters. It was a bad idea for one not to get married; it is like a curse. The unmarried were only the barren ones.¹²

A Nandi man could marry many wives as much as his wealth could afford. For a man to have two or three wives was familiar, and three and more was relatively rare. Hollis in his works records that he knew a Kipsigis *Laibon* to have had twenty-eight women and wealthy Nandi reputedly as many as forty wives.¹³

A man sought the approval of his chief or first wife before marrying the second or subsequent wives. It was one woman who chose another one. This practice was meant to cultivate a quiet and peaceful systemization of the family. The eldest son of the chief wife is the senior son of the household. Each wife had her house and wealth from which she brought up her family and the husband visited his wives consistently.

According to an oral interview with Francis C. Ruto, the researcher collected the following information:

'Polygyny was part of Nandi culture. Its origin dates back to the Stone Age period about five hundred years back. The reason behind many wives was wealth. Acquiring wealth was a prestigious issue. The more wives one had was a sign of richness. This richness was regarding cattle, sheep,

and goats. Another reason which led to many women had its origin in early childhood up to the late adolescent stage when a handsome boy could be followed and loved by many girls. The boy could have been a good singer, good soloist, the best hunter, and warrior or able-bodied regarding physical appearance'.¹⁴

When one was ready for marriage, this was at the age of 30 - 35 years of age; his father prepared an auspicious occasion for his son. The father paid all the dowry, and in some cases, if this son had acquired some personal wealth (cattle) one cow could be added to the father's dowry.

The ceremony for the first wife was vital to this family. This woman was given a unique name in the household as *Jepkorek kutwo*. *Kutwet* or *kutwo* was a kind of special hat that warriors wore on their heads. It meant that this wife changed the young hero and made him a husband and king post of his house. All the tools associated with heroes, wars are put aside, and this was the woman who could make him down the tools officially.

The downing of *kutwet* with its associated tools signified that one had become *boiyo* or *manong'ot*. It meant that one was now a man or husband in his house. The husband now could be given a bed referred to as *itogut*. *Itogut* made one to sire his children according to the tradition. *Itogut* was a traditional bed or sleeping place of dignity situated within the front section of a Nandi hut.

The newly married wife could command the husband while downing the tools to sit down and start bearing children; she said that '*tebe yu ak isigisie*' meaning 'sit here and take children'. This command was honoured and made one respectable in the society. This first wife was branded more names denoting her significant responsibility in the home. Another name was *Jepnyogat*; this meant that the lady who was the first to step the homestead. This first woman founded the family, and all family affairs originated from this house. Even her first son was next to the husband, and the husband walked hand in hand with this firstborn son. The couple shaved their hair when they got married as a sign of legitimacy of the marriage.

The second was known as *chemining'wet*, this meant younger wife, the third and all the other women identified as '*bo bororiet ak oret*', ladies of the clan or the community. In Nandi, this was illustrated well when an age-mate paid a visit to his friend; the friend could leave his house and goes to sleep elsewhere. During this time the age mate could enjoy everything in the house officially including this wife. However, the first wife was not shared but respected. Sometimes when the husband was not around, the age-mates could come in and share these ladies.

There was a saying in Nandi which supported the above statement: '*mabo chi korgo eng' nandi*' meaning that a woman belonged to nobody but the community.' Sometimes this second wife was married due to her cleanliness and was given a name as *kerotet*, meaning the 'clean one'. Many times the husband could spend more time in this house than the other houses.

During ceremonies of family rituals, the firstborn son of the first wife should be present in all occasions as he was deemed next to his father and could take over the seat of his father when the father was absent or in case he dies. He eventually becomes the chairperson or overall manager of his

parents' estate and hence he became the father of all the other children in case the birth father died.

Each wife had her property, and no house could use wealth belonging to another house. The Nandi saying goes that: '*ma amei go, go!*' this meant that no home ate another house. Literary this said that each house was self-contained for it to

exist; it had its wealth. Each house should have its cattle *boma* and a farm for sorghum and millet.

The Nandi did not borrow polygyny but was part of their culture, and it had its reasons. Apart from being seen as a form of wealth and prestige, it was a way to increase family members so that in a time of raids, one family could have more members to enhance security. Sometimes when the first wife did not bear children, the husband was advised to marry another woman as children were imperative in the community. Sometimes the first wife could leave the man and go out of the family, and this could lead to marrying the second wife. The first one could be left to go for any number of years as much as she could afford, but later on, when she was old, she could come and be welcomed into the family. A married woman in Nandi was permanent, and marriage was deemed indissoluble.¹⁵

Also in case the first wife, *Jepkorek kutwo*, did not have children, she could stay up for a period when she had used all the medication but did not bear any fruit, then the second wife could now come to relight the fire of the family. After the marriage of the second wife, the first son of this second wife was given to the first woman to bring warmth to this highly respected wife. Now the first female could be seen to have children like the others community members. This second wife was a blessing to the first one in case there were no children in the first marriage.

The third and the fourth and all other subsequent wives were for prestige and also for the community in case one could afford to pay dowry and raise these families. These wives had no other reason apart from leisure, luxury, and fame; they had no proper cause.¹⁶ On the other hand, the Nandis were few in numbers, and polygyny was a way of increasing tyranny of numbers.¹⁷

1.2.3 Extended Family

The extended family was a household that expanded beyond the nuclear family, including grandparents, aunts, uncles, and other relatives, who all lived nearby or in one household. Among Nandi households, the family of an individual man includes not only his parents, siblings, and children but also all members of his similar group. A man's cohort was his sisters and brothers and counterpart cousins referred to as *tupchet* and their spouses *bamuru* while the sister's husband was known as *sandanaa* or *sandet*. Mama is a mother's brother's son and his wife while the brother's daughter was called *kamet* and her husband *kwan*. A woman's father and his brothers were referred to as *kapyugoi*, while the woman's mother and her sisters were *korucho*; a woman's father's sisters were called *bamuru* and wife's mother *abule*.

Among the Nandi, an uncle played a significant role, particularly during the initiation ceremony. The boys sought consent from their uncle before going through initiation rituals referred to as *tumdo*, in the plural.¹⁸

The aunts together with uncles were equally crucial during special ceremonies. For example, during the engagement ceremony, the aunt played an integral role without which the occasion could not be a success minus these two relatives.

The relative is known as *senge*. This relative could even pronounce a curse if not pleased. The aunt could demand a gift before she could proclaim her blessings.¹⁹

The traditional Nandis were not interested in staying together as an extended family up to 1900. They posed more value on wealth acquisition regarding cattle than anything else. Their culture raised more importance on a cow than anything else.

No man was a man without a cow. As much as cattle acquisition was concerned, there was a need to expand the territory in search of pastures for their animals. Every man could move far away from his fellow man so as get more grass for his animals. They enjoyed a scattered lifestyle as this was a way of expanding their territory.²⁰ This notion made them even to appreciate being squatters on European farms as long as they went there with their animals; they continued to labour for the white man even without payment.

They used polygyny as a way of expanding the community as each wife married was relocated away from her co-wife to acquire more wealth. Each homestead was in a different location. Wealth was necessary, but the idea of staying together as a group did not exist. The Nandis did not like the idea of crowding in one place. They enjoyed scattering themselves as they believe that is a way of expanding their territory and also acquiring wealth. A saying supported this that a man could become a *manong'ot* only when he had wealth regarding livestock. *Manong'ot* was a term referring to a respected Nandi elder with his family. Power and supremacy were regarding livestock. The land was valueless unlike nowadays. They deemed that God gifted them with the land, and anyone could acquire as much land as he could, and this depended on one's effort.²¹

During this period, the year 1900, other Nilotic tribes started moving closer to their territory, and cattle theft began. They also raided the neighbouring tribes, and thus enmity brewed slowly. Hostility then prompted them to adopt this fashion of extended family. To them, the question of the extended family was borrowed from the Masaai, Luo, and Luyha communities to enhance security.

The extended family was therefore adopted so that during raids, the whole family could guard their property in one place. Clustering led to clanism. Identification of the clan membership was simple when they lived in a single location. The clan could not mix up with other clans.²² This notion of clanism is illustrated well on Map 1.7 Nandi Reserve of 1925 showing locations and names of military division (clans) or *pororiet*. For example, *Kapchepkendi* clan occupied locations 6, 4, 2, 17, and 13 respectively while *Kaptumois* clan occupied locations 9, 10, and 16 among other clans.

This joint kind of living also assisted in guarding their crops against monkeys and other wild animals like leopards, lions, tigers which could attack their livestock.²³

Beer among these people brought up friends and taking part in a beer festival. When they stayed together as a community, they achieved this activity quickly. The Nandi enjoyed beer drinking as a way of bringing community members together, tabled and sorted out issues related to the community. On the other hand, living together in clan setting enhanced the population. The group's strength was its members. Tribalism and clanism were paramount those days. Identifying oneself with a substantial group with much wealth was prestigious.²⁴

1.2.4 The Clan

There were seventeen groups among the Nandi. Five of them used more than one totem. The Nandi clans lived sparsely throughout the Nandi territory. The family took its name in a patrilineal descent group from a common ancestor. All Kalenjin had patrilineal clans, which did not pose cooperative functions apart from those governing marriage with various rules. Tracing appropriate patrilineal links occurred for only three to four generations then, from there, the same clans could intermarry or interweaved to strengthen the group or bring the family nearer. The terminology used in bringing more adjacent the relationship was called *keng'wal tiliet*, meaning to weave the relation and thus brought it nearer after three or four generations.²⁵ Patrilineal clan membership and members of every group sparingly lived throughout the Nandi County. Today most of the younger generations tend to forget their groups due to cultural changes. The subject of the group has to be brought forward before the commencement of any marriage negotiations, and hence Nandi tradition followed. Intermarriage between some groups was prohibited and the question of totems aroused.²⁶ Clans among the Nandi performed some tasks including the following:

- i) Distribution of group land
- ii) Determining property boundaries
- iii) Regulating marriage
- iv) Presiding over essential functions like marriage and initiation
- v) Settling disputes within the group and outside the clan

These clans were not localised, but their members spread throughout the district. *Koret* is their local organisation meaning their land or country. Their names and animals associated with them were as follows:²⁷

The animal was considered a man's brother, and in the case of multiple totems, they were brothers to each other and so to the clansmen. The clan members were never allowed to kill the animals unless they did some harm to its brother, and its death associated with its damage caused. A long time ago, these clans did not exist. They came into existence as a way to regulate marriage. Some clans did not marry from other clans, and so the use of animals to control who to marry or not to marry came into existence. Also, it was a way of regulating incest within the members of the same clan.²⁸

1.2.5 Incest among the Nandi

The Nandi had three categories of exogamic groups, the tribe, the age-set and the related group. Any sexual intercourse between the members of the same group was incestuous, and thus there was family incest, age-set incest, and akin incest. A man was not allowed to marry a woman from his tribe, not unless the same group possesses more than one totem and thus this union was forbidden. A woman from one's similar group or age-set group referred to as 'your daughter', and thus marriage of such persons was prohibited. Marrying from one's age group was like marrying one's daughter, and this was incestuous. They viewed this incest as a serious offence and dissolved any marriage between the two relatives.²⁹

Also, any sexual intercourse between any similar groups considered incestuous attracted some punishment. Sometimes the relationship could not be that leading to marriage, but if a man was found sleeping with his mother, sister or father with his daughter or mother in law, such incidences were serious offences. The victim could be called in the village or elders' meeting and penalised a cow or at other times a sheep to

punish. There was a specific song accompanying the punishment such that when people could hear such a song, they could know that there was somebody somewhere that had wronged the society and punishment administered.

It was a shameful act to be caught and punished in public. The elders moved the victim to the village singing a particular shaming song with the victim in front. Such person was not welcome in any beer drinking ceremony for his bad behaviour. Incest could also extend to animals; if a man was caught having a sexual relationship with an animal, the elders equally punished him like that who had intercourse with a relative.³⁰

1.3 Sexual Relationships

The Nandi had eight categories of sexual relationships namely: premarital sex, extramarital sex, rape, homosexuality, wife inheritance, woman to woman marriage, marriage into the house, and child marriage.³¹

1.3.1 Premarital Sex

Young warriors after circumcision were free to engage in sexual activities with young uncircumcised girls in their public house. However, it was a shameful act for these heroes and their uncircumcised sweethearts in case a lover got pregnant. The child born of such illicit union was termed illegitimate and was either killed before it could take its first breath of life by its mother or taken to the cattle doorway so that the cattle could step on it till it died.

If a young uncircumcised girl got pregnant, the child was put into the mud and left to die; and if by chance one of these single girls had a child by a warrior during this intercourse, she strangled it as soon as it was born. On the other hand, the young hero who is the biological father of the kid was fined a goat to give to the girl. In many cases, such illicit children were strangled by their mother and buried, and the young warrior who is the father was commanded to present the mother of the illegitimate child with a goat and her father with another goat. Such impregnated girl attracted names like *Chesorbuchot* or *Cheburiotot*.³² Such girl was unclean the rest of her life and lost respect in the society.³³

1.3.2 Extramarital Sex

A married woman in Nandi may continue enjoying a sexual relationship with her old sweetheart from the communal hut, but this was in secret. A married man may give hospitality to another man of his age set and was to abandon his house for his visitor since there were no extra rooms as is today and allowed him to spend the night in his room. These included having sex with his wife; this was the second, the third or subsequent wives and not the first one. The first woman was respected and never shared with age mates or any other member of the community. Apart from the above individual cases, no married woman was allowed to have extramarital sex. In case a woman was got in this act, her husband could punish her by beating or sometimes punished by divorce. This kind of offence was called *chor-konget* meaning the stolen woman.³⁴

1.3.3 Rape

Rape was considered an outrage on the female sex. Snell asserts that a warrior guilty of such offence was punished by beating by members of his age-set and denied certain privileges such as jumping and dancing during circumcision festivals. However, the age-set members punished an elder severely. The punishment was termed as *Njoketab Chepyosok*, meaning punishment of the women, meted out to male offenders as described by G. S. Snell.³⁵ Oral sources revealed that such rapist commanded names like *kipyatgo*,

chelesos, and was a vice in the society. A man was fined a cow or a goat if found guilty of raping or sleeping with his mother in law. Such person brought shame to his age-set.³⁶

1.3.4 Homosexuality

From the oral sources, offences of this nature were rare. People caught in this shameful act were beaten, and some even killed. The members of the offender's age set were responsible for punishment. The offender was called *kipsuguit*, and such person never earned respect in the society. Everyone could ridicule him whenever seen. If the offender was considered uncorrectable by beating alone, he was cursed by the elders from the neighbourhood and held up to social ridicule. They administered *Njoket* meaning punishment of the women to an offender of this category.³⁷

1.4 Wife Inheritance

Marriage according to Nandi customs was permanent and indissoluble even after the death of a spouse a widow will not remarry. The Nandi practised wife inheritance, calling it *Kandiet* meaning inheriting, or *Kindi* meaning to inherit. In the event of the death of a husband, the widow was not left to stay alone or remarry. However, the eldest brother took the responsibility.³⁸ When a man died, his elder brother took his all wives and property, but the eldest son inherited the arms. Wife inheritance among this community involved physical protection of the widow, her children, and property; it included the maintenance and rebuilding of her house, cultivation and fencing of her land and cattle sheds, care of her livestock and real representation in any family or neighbourhood discussion or festival. The family members were responsible for the actual naming or choosing of the person in charge of inheritance. No one could just step in without the approval of the household members.³⁹

From the oral sources wife inheritance according to the Nandi customs did not equate to remarriage, but it was meant to only care for widows; their personal life, family or domestic, sexual and procreative needs within the context of the related group into which they got married.⁴⁰ By this belief, there was no compulsion for any widow to seek protection from her brother-in-law. They did so if the widow was wealthy and also if she had sons to inherit property. She lived independently, and eventually, her youngest son called *towet* who built his house assumed headship responsibility. The eldest son was named *kiboretiet*. If the deceased left more than one wife, only the younger or junior woman might be expected to cohabit with her dead husband's brother. The primary reason for wife inheritance among the Nandi was to procure children, care or security of the family property and the widow, family work and representation during family and neighbourhood meetings.

However, since the circumcision of the *Sawe* towards *Kipkoimet* up to *Kaplelach* and *Kipnyigei*, wife inheritance had been seen as overtaken by events. This practice had since been discouraged by the onset of diseases like HIV/AIDS and more STDs. Also, the current era has witnessed more women empowered with skills such that in the event of the death of a husband the wife still proceeded on well with her normal life.⁴¹

1.5 Woman to Woman Household

Woman-woman household or marriage was present among the Kalenjin group, especially the Nandi, Kipsigis, and, since about the mid-twentieth century, among Keiyo. It was not customary among other Kalenjin sub-tribes. Both women and men were active in negotiating marriages and reconciling separated couples. Husbands were dominant, with

the right to beat wives for certain offences. Women were publicly deferential; private relations were more nearly egalitarian. Leisure was spent with same-gender companions more than with one's spouse.

They practised woman to woman marriage for '*lighting the fire*'. They did this after the wife failed to bear children and had reached menopause and could no longer receive monthly periods any longer. They performed this after the death of the husband, and if the widow was rich enough with livestock to bring up her family. At this stage, she qualified to marry another woman or women to bear her children. They believed that at this stage the woman marrying was no longer sexually active so that she could not attract another man into the house. They found that she became a man of the house and respected as a man like the other men. The children born of such marriage inherited the name of this woman in case the woman was not married, but if once married, they named the children after the old man or their father. Names like *Arap Kogo* were used to signify that the son belonged to a grandmother. At times the names could be associated with the bulls which the tribe celebrated so much.⁴²

Oral sources revealed that on the marriage day, a man from the related group was identified to be responsible for the relighting of the fire. The man was to be the husband of the newly married woman to the bridegroom who was another woman. However, in case the person to relight the fire was not available on a real day, the bride was married to a bull in place of the bridegroom. They viewed this marriage like that of a man to woman marriage in nature and rituals. The woman marrying was then taken through some rituals to qualify her to assume the responsibilities of a man. The ears could be pierced to correspond to those of the old men and some unique earrings belonging to the people were put on. Even the men's clothing of skin referred to as *kiboet* worn by this woman. She could also participate in the beer-drinking festival with other old men and respected like other people in beer drinking festival. She was also invited to male initiation ceremonies as a man and not as a woman. The community recognised her the same way as a man.

It was interesting to note that some of the women in this category could even be polygamist because of their elevated status in the society as people. They could marry even two or three to four wives as long as they were rich enough to pay dowry and provide for all family necessities. Sometimes a barren woman could adopt a child from a relative or bought from the neighbouring tribes like Kavirondo or Gusii to relight the fire of the family.⁴³

Apart from igniting the fire of this family, this marriage was put in place to get an heir to inherit the land and property including the livestock. Many questions raised included; who would perpetuate the lineage? In this respect a childless couple, a childless woman widowed, or childless wife took a woman younger than her to bear children for her or the husband's clan. The genitor was an approved visitor by the childless woman or her husband's family. The genitor was either a married man or unmarried man. They fully followed the rules and regulations governing marriage as the two women went through a full wedding ceremony. According to Nandi customs, this marriage was between the two women only.⁴⁴

1.6 Marriage into the house

This kind of marriage is not common nowadays as it seems most Nandis at the moment have both sons and daughters. The practice was common with the age sets of

maina, *nyongi kimnyingei* and beyond about seventy years ago. This kind of marriage was meant to ensure that the inheritance was maintained within the family lineage and in particular in to that household with daughters only. Also apart from family wealth inheritance and expansion of family members but at least to have sons in this house who were to relight the clan's fire. The eldest, the youngest or the most beloved daughter could remain at home while the other siblings got married outside the family.⁴⁵

Oral sources revealed that the daughter who stayed in the home got married in to the house and the marriage ritual done in this respect. They celebrated this engagement like any other engagement. This type of engagement was unique as it involved the mother of the child giving out her child and the receiving bridegroom was the king post (*toloita*) of the house. They negotiated the dowry process, and all the bride wealth belonged to the father of the daughter alone. While the dowry of the other married girls belonged to the family and more so the mother had more say about the dowry as she believed the daughters were hers, but this one married in-to-the-house, the entire dowry belonged to the husband alone. He was privileged to use them the way he wishes without consulting anyone.⁴⁶

The married daughter was allowed to raise sons in the family, and at some later stage, she could willingly or was free to get married and leave the homestead. It was because no man was allowed to live with her on the homestead; the ancestral land was family's property and kept within the family and the clan's jurisdiction. The genitor was from outside the family and was her choice.⁴⁷

1.7 Child Marriage

As revealed from the oral sources, this type of marriage was not common but only practised under some strict conditions. This marriage was for socioeconomic reasons. There were cases like when a low-income family had a son ready for the wedding, and this family headed by a man could arrange for an early marriage for their young daughter with a married man who was willing to pay a dowry for his son. After this wedding, the young girl was sent to be under the custody of now the first wife till she attained the age of circumcision when she was given her house to start a family.⁴⁸

Another interesting case related to the above was when in a time of hunger and famine, a poor man could give out her daughter to be married to an old man who was rich. An old man was approached to give some food to salvage the family from dying of hunger. So the old man could supply food enough for the whole family, and the young daughter was left under the custody of her parents till the age of circumcision then given to the old man and hence referred to as *kiwandererto*. It meant 'given to an old man'. They told the old man that *bae ni chu, tun keetuch makarkar inyo*. It meant that 'use this one to feed the others till such time when they will survive of tapeworms'. The marriage for such a child was not complete as the whole wedding. Under this, the marriage ended by tying a knot without performing all the other rituals.⁴⁹

1.8 Responsibilities and Rights of Household Members

Every person performed a specific duty to ensure that the household procures an improved regular life according to their traditions. They ridiculed anyone who did not work or perform his or her role well in public. They classified traditional roles according to gender. However, because of changing trends in life, the roles were to a greater extent

shared in some cases.⁵⁰ Some of the traditional responsibilities of family members were as discussed below:-
1.8.1 Husbands/Men

Men or husbands were expected to be role models and be responsible for providing all the basic needs of their children and wives. The caring of family property was for both men and women including children. The father was expected to love, care, listen to, guide, and advise their children on ways of participating in cultural activities. The father was responsible for everything. His name *kon* or *konut* signifies that he was the giver of everything. He made sure that he possessed wealth regarding cattle so as his sons used them as dowry and as a sign of a responsible man. The people were responsible for preparing initiation ceremonies for their children; organised any cultural activity like marriage, dancing, engagement, raids, community security, and beer drinking festivals. A Nandi man was seen as the leading provider holistically.⁵¹

1.8.2 Wives/Women

Among the Nandi, women were confined in the home performing household chores only. They did not show much of the duties except for cleanliness of the homestead, looking after the young children, milking the cows and cutting grass for house construction. Women were expected to advise and guide girls on good morals. They also participated in cultural activities like dancing, engagements, marriage, and initiation. However, they were expected to be passive. They waited upon their husbands to give them commands. Most of Nandi men were a bit dictatorial, and the women were, therefore, to be seen and not heard.⁵²

Many times, women were the heads of households. The household duties were known as '*inside-the-house*' chores. Men were never allowed to interfere with household chores. These were referred to as women's department and independent of any outside interference. This type of division of women and men works was seen even during identification of children during childbirth. In case a baby girl was born in a family, the father received a notice that the child born was '*kibo go*', '*go*' meant inside the household, this meant that the baby born was of '*inside gender*' involving a girl. Whereas when a little boy was born, he was referred to as '*kibo sang*', '*sang*' meant outside the household. Boys were raised up knowing that they belonged to outside while girls belonged to the inside of the house.⁵³

1.8.3 Children

Children had a responsibility to help their parents in carrying out their family chores. It was their duty to respect and obey their parents and also trained to take care of the family property. Other siblings were also to be respected and cared for their younger siblings. The boys were trained to look after the sheep, goats, and calves in their tender age. They started learning how to herd cattle as they grew up and eventually, they assisted their father on other duties like hunting.

The girls, on the other hand, were trained on household chores like cleaning the house, milking the cows, fetching firewood, lighting the fire, preparing of milk gourds and decorating them with cowrie shells, beads, and animal hides. Weeding of the family garden and harvesting of millet and sorghum also taught to children. Fetching water was a responsibility of both children up to some level then it became strictly for girls only.

They taught both children, male and female good manners and behaviour. The parents taught children how to

greet elders and also how to speak in a respected language without abusive words. They were taught to obey any other community elder even who was not related to them. Children according to the Nandi culture belonged to the community.⁵⁴

1.8.4 Religion

Langley (1979) asserts that for Nandi traditionalists, all of life is religious. Every aspect of the cultural framework, material and spiritual, is a tightly interwoven, direct response to the physical environment in which the people find themselves.⁵⁵ Hollis argues that Nandi religion was somewhat vague and unformulated with *Asista* being the supreme deity.⁵⁶ *Asista* was believed to dwell in the sky, the world, man and beast belong to him, prayers addressed to him, acknowledged as the giver of all things, and offerings made to him. The Nandi people also believed in the existence of *oiik* (dead spirits) to whom they appealed to with milk, food, and beer; this was because they may cause death and sickness if insulted.

There were structures in place to act as forms of defence against evil spirits. There were *kimonjokut* and *kot ap musambwanik* (house of spirits). *Kimonjokut*: Was a stick on the apex of every Nandi hut which projected about 12 to 18 inches above the thatch. They believed that this *kimonjokut* kept the evil spirits away from entering the house through the roof. On the other hand, *kot ap musambwanik* was a hut found mostly in the *Terik* border, South West of Nandi country. This shed was erected close to the front door of the family cabin and served as a place to give offerings to the spirits. It was also a place where the evil disease spirits lodged instead of going into the family hut to cause illness (Hollis 1905).

1.9 Relations of Production, Reproduction, and Distribution

The relationships discussed are the following categories:

1.9.1 Access to Factors of Production

Further, the elements subdivided into the following sections.

1.9.1.1 Land

The land question in colonial Nandi was a highly skewed system of land ownership up to independence in 1963. British colonialism was accompanied by the massive and widespread alienation of arable land for the benefit of settler agriculture. As a result, the most arable land was taken from the Nandi without compensation and parcelled out to white settlers. The Nandi lost valuable land that was occupied by them for generations to the British. The land ownership system which the Nandi knew interfered. The registration of land supplemented the standard or customary land tenure system under which the Nandi had guaranteed claims over the land to individual holders under the colonial system.

The pre-colonial Nandi owned land communally. The land was plentiful and never held permanently by the community. Individual land ownership was a creation of colonialism and inherited after independence in 1963. Each clan occupied a section of land, and no other group could claim another clan's land. At this epoch, the land had no physical borders or something similar to fences. The trees, valleys, hills, rivers or other physical features marked area boundaries. Each clan settled in one place although the same family could occupy other locations depending on the population of the tribe. The reason behind this kind of settlement in clans was for security reasons. There were wild animals which could attack their livestock, or some other neighbouring communities could raid them.

1.9.1.2 Labour

The Nandi people were semi-pastoralists, and much of their labour was in the form of herding. They planted millet, sorghum, sweet potatoes, cassava, and traditional vegetables namely: *mitiat*, *isakyat*, *nderemiat*, *mborochet*, *imbokiat*, *bobek*, *isochot*. The men were responsible for most of the work assisted by the women and children. It was the work of women to weave the baskets, make the milking gourds, sewing the skin garment known as *Jepkaiyet*, *Kiboet*. During farm cultivation, the women and men did the real land tilling, while the children could assist in herding and firewood and water fetching.

In general, women did the cultivation work and all domestic chores such as looking after children, prepare food, fetch water and firewood, wash milk gourds, clean huts and cattle *boma*, cut grass, make clothes and pottery work. While the men, on the other hand, the men herded the cattle and went to war; they also cleared the ground of the bushes and stumps, cut trees, work iron, make wooden objects, take animals to the salt lick and went to war. Both women and men milked cows, herd animals, plant, weed, and harvest crops. Other part-time specialised occupations included rain-making, tooth-extraction, piercing earlobes, cattle-doctoring, and circumcising. Tools used in the home to facilitate various kinds of labour and professions included hoes, axes, knives, bows, arrows, shields, and spears.

1.9.2 Products of Labour

Products of labour among the Nandi are discussed categorically as under:

1.9.2.1 Harvested Crops

Crops harvested by the Nandi community included millet, sorghum, sweet potatoes, cassava and maize which chipped in during the colonial era. During dry seasons, their harvest was not adequate, and so they went to buy additional food from Kavirondo (Luiyha). It was known as *kesumet*. Men were responsible for most of the farm work assisted by the children.

1.9.2.2 Milk and gourds

They stored milk in gourds. There were several milk bottles. Others for storing in a partition similar to a cupboard referred to as *lengut*. Boiling milk was prohibited; however, charcoal from a particular tree known as *itet* and stored. This charcoal forms a distinctive flavour believed to be an appetiser. Milk was used either in the fresh state or left to ferment (sore milk), and some blood from cow or bull was added to fortify and make it more traditional.

Sotet (Gourd) *sotonik* (plural) obtained from pumpkins planted for that purpose known as *silagonik*. Gourds served as cups and jugs for serving milk and blood and were of assorted sizes. Each gourd had its mark to identify its owner, and the warriors' gourds were ornamented with cowrie shells and were never allowed to drink from a new gourd.

1.9.2.3 Honey

Honey was harvested late in the evening or at night. Daytime harvesting was deemed dangerous on children and livestock. It was stored in the granary and not in the hut. There was a kind of skin bag known as *Kipsigot* used to store honey after harvesting. Honey was used together with some traditional medicine. The beehives were made of wood logs and located far away from the homestead for safety reasons. Not everybody was able to harvest the honey. Some exceptional people perfected the art of harvesting honey.

1.9.2.4 Meat and Skins

Meat among the Nandi was used as food as well as for sacrifices. It was taken boiled or roasted. Clothing materials at the time were skins. This skin came from either domesticated or wild animal. The meat was not taken together with milk. If somebody decided to drink milk, the same person could not taste the meat. The meat was roasted and stored in a dry form known as *sirigenik*, this meat was mostly from a dead cow, or a slaughtered cow in a family and the members could not consume it within two days, the remaining were either partially boiled or stored by hanging on sticks above the fireplace. Meat from hunting was not enough to be eaten for many days and thus never stored. The animals hunted were small animals like antelopes, hares which were relatively small.

1.9.3 Access to Resources/Ownership

Many informants agreed that men are entitled to control all the family resources in the home. If a woman had some income or acquired some cattle through small business, it was the husband to control such income. Some informants said that the man managed even the chicken and vegetable income if it was significant. All the control of resources originated from the man then down to wife or wives.

1.9.3.1 Livestock

The nandi accumulated cattle, goats, and sheep as wealth dominated by cattle inheritance, raiding or theft, or purchase. Anything else was not property, e.g. weapons, ornaments, and chicken. A married woman owned cattle which could not be relocated by her husband to other co-wives. Husbands and wives shared rights of owning animals seen as the most prime property of the Nandi family. The husbands or the men predominantly controlled the most significant means of production.

It was the duty of men to allocated cattle to particular houses and those not assigned to any house belong to him alone and could not jointly with his wives own them. On the other hand, the wife could also own some wealth in the form of sheep or goats were given to her during engagement of her daughters or given to her by her parents on the wedding day. She had absolute rights over these animals, and the husband could not interfere. The children were not entitled to any property except the young warriors who could acquire their cattle through raiding.

1.9.3.2 Salt licks, Grazing and Water Points.

There were various salt lick points in different parts of the Nandi country. These salt lick points called *ng'omwo*, *ng'omwet*, *ng'eny*, *ng'enda*, or *sugutek* were paramount. They used salt licks for deworming cattle and supplementing minerals. The following were principal salt licks located throughout the district as early as 1907:

1. Kapkoimur
2. Kapkenyelo
3. Ng'enyin Lel
4. Arara Nyukie
5. Lelmokwo
6. Barton
7. Amai
8. Kiptoros
9. Ingonyek
10. Choimim
11. Ollesos
12. Cheripo
13. Chematich

Each clan had their salt lick point which was shared by the group members.

1.9.3.3 Security Tools

Security or war tools were stored by men only. Women were never entitled to handle such devices. They derived these devices from particular craft people referred to as *kitong'ik* (blacksmiths). They produced weapons like spears, knives, swords, arrows, hoes, axes, cowbells, and arm clamps among other traditional tools. The *kitong'ik* created different tools, but the war tools included only the spears, arrows, swords and knives. Storage of these instruments was in a special place in the house near to sleeping position for easy access by men in case of an emergency. There was also a particular poison known as *ng'wonet* used together with war tools like arrows and spears to catalyse the death of an enemy. This poison could kill even if it comes into contact with a drop of blood. This poison was stored far away out of reach of children and women.

A spear, shield, a sword, and a club located with a nandi warrior were a tradition. Four different types varied in shape and sizes as follows:

Ndirit: This type of spear came in two separate forms, i.e. the first had a small blade and a long shaft. It was mostly carried by the western country referred to as *Chesumei*. The second kind was different from the first one as it had a short socket and a short shaft. The spear mostly used by the eastern, southern and northern countries (*Soiin*, *Wareng'* and *Aldai*) had a long shaft and a small blade.

Ng'otit: It had a short and broad blade and used mostly by the central country people: *Emgwen*.

Erengatit: It had a short, small leaf-shaped blade with a long socketed shank and was used by the elders.

Among the Nandi, spears were used for stabbing, not for throwing. To remember the experiences of wars, they would tie a knot of feathers belonging to a plantain eating bird on the end of their spear and never allowed to sleep with a woman.

Long'et: Is a shield from a buffalo's, elephant's or giant pig's hide fabricated to an oval shape with a narrow piece of wood that went around the edges while a broader at the centre. The centrepiece acted as a handle. The overall work was in red, white, black and grey or blue colours and finished artistically. Each country had a different mark on their shield that represented them differently.

Rotuet ap chok or *rotuet* (sword) was a long, slender and unbalanced knife. It was narrow to the hilt and broad to the tip while the sheath (*choket*) worn around the abdomen. The sword was attached to a leather belt ornamented with cowries. *Rungut/Kirungut* (club) was used to attack an advancing or retreating foe and to give an enemy a coup' de grace. They fastened it into a leather fastening referred to as *torokeyuot* of the sword belt. *Sharit/Siarit* was a kind of a club with a long handle and was used by old men only.

Kwanget was a warriors' bow, and *kotiek* were arrows and about twenty to thirty in one quiver known as *mootiet*. The same *mootiet* was used to carry fire stick referred as *pionik* and a needle called *katet* together with a spare arrowhead.

1.9.4.4 Dowry

According to Nandi culture, girls engaged when they were already circumcised. They did this when aged between 14 and 18 years in groups of 5 to 8 girls.

The standard dowry according to the informants⁵⁷ was four animals. The animals were never less than four or more than

eight according to the tradition. Nine animals were known to be for a dead person from the family who killed to clean the way and family fire.

1) The first one was called *Chemwai* meaning oil. It was a cow which should be under lactation (*teta ne abai*) (be accompanied by a calf.)

2) The second one was called *kimwai* should be an ox or bull (*eito*)

3) the third one was named *kanyiyet*. It was usually a heifer (*roriat*).

4) the fourth named *teta ne bo njor, iyumi nego*, it is usually a bull or a mature cow. (*eito anan ko iywoget*) If a bull was not available at that moment, it substituted with at least four or more sheep.

5) the fifth one was a sheep which was explicitly for mother in law. It was called *Chepng'abait*. The sheep were usually from the mother of the son to the mother of the daughter to be married.

Currently, things have changed. They paid dowry payment through money and real animals. Moreover, the number is no more extended strictly four or eight. Recently on November 27th, 2015, one suitor broke traditions when one engagement stirred Kurgung' village in Nandi North sub-county in the former Nandi district when he spends 13 million in a meeting. This dowry negotiation was done in a modern way never seen before in the county, and it attracted politicians and intensive security personnel. Apart from this unique case, dowry has also tended to attract economic dimension. It was a time negotiated regarding money and the level to which the son and daughter have scaled in education. Moreover, so the dowry at times is paid in an envelope. Hard cash or a banker's cheque is tabled instead of animals during dowry negotiations.

1.10.1 Traditional Buildings and Clothing

1.10.1.1 Family House (Koot, Kapsat)

Hollis in his findings states that the Nandi did not enjoy living in villages like their neighbours, but each man lived in his hut referred to as *kaita* or a group of huts called *nganaset* which was mainly near his fields of Eleusine grain and millet. The huts (Kapsat) were circular, and built of wattle and mud mixed with cow dung; the walls were roughly four feet in height, and the grass roofs were conical. They partitioned these huts into two rooms each, one called *koiimaut* used as a kitchen and living room cum bedroom for the man, small children, and a few goats, and the other room the occupants were the calves, sheep, and the remaining goats referred to as *injoor* or *injurut*. This hut had two entry doors one to *koiimaut* and the other to *injoor* or *injurut* with a partitioned doorway joining the two sections of the house. Each wife had her hut built at a distance in another district.

Koiimaut: This was the front part of the hut which served as the principal family living room which encompasses the kitchen and sleeping areas. Above the sleeping place, approximately four feet from the floor was a loft made of strips of wood called *tabut* which was for storing drying firewood, and storage for utensils, gourds, tobacco and grain. A few inches of the loft and above the fireplace was a tray made of rope slung used for drying grain called *sainet*. There was a small compartment built out of the wall used for storing milk. The *kaplengut* housed milk gourds. Some depression in the floor (*Kilonget*) was made near the central pole (*toloita*) to accommodate beer pot. Milk bottles were hanged around the *kaplengut* while some pegs along the partition wall were used to suspend arms and also some other gourds. These

wood screws were called *ireusiek*. There were two earth moulds raised on one end to serve as a pillow, which acted as a bed space for the parents separated by a mud shape in the centre and covered with an ox hide. They performed a special inaugural ceremony before erecting a house.

The elders poured milk and beer together with some salt in to the hole prepared for the reception of the central pole (*toloita*) and prayed God to give them life and health, milk, give them power, everything which is good, give them children, millet and sorghum, cattle and to protect them. The construction work of *koot* was carried out by men up to the skeleton level so that the women would take over to finish it. The people gathered building materials, i.e. the posts and poles. A piece of a cooking pot or a wreath of grass passes over the apex of the roof, and the king post bound round with grass.

The top of the central pole (king post) was called *kimonjokut*. When the house was complete and occupied, during the first four days, the occupants could not mention the name of the ground-hornbill by name (*cheptiibit*); also the owner of the house may not sleep with his wife for this first four days. They believed that if this infringed; the house would always be draughty and cold. Also one month later, some charm was installed near the front door. This charm was made up of the *tepesuet* (*croton sp*) tree put in the ground in the form of a circle, and bound round with some cord of a tree called *chepnyaliliet*. This charm was to bring good luck to the family and renewed it after it caught destroyed. However, for those who had their roots in Lumbwa (Kipsigis) replaced theirs (Hollis 1905). The charm was called *mabwaita*. The thatching work was done by men while naked as if by the customary requirement. The front door was referred to as *kurket ap serem* while the back door was called *kurket ap injoor*.

1.10.1.2 Superstitions of the households.

The Nandi believed in some superstitions regarding the family set up thus:

One was not allowed to stand upright in a house or sit at the door or on the threshold. If a person enters a room through one door, he must not exit through the next door. Otherwise, the visiting person must pose for some time then he may now leave the side. It was mandatory for one to exit through the point of entry.

A man would not touch the threshold of his hut or any other thing other than his bed at a time when his wife was breastfeeding. Peeping into a cabin and leaving was strictly forbidden. If such happened, then the person was to cross the threshold before moving. Warriors would not exit the family hut at night, and if he wanted to do so he was to notify his mother or any other person in the shelter thus '*ilal mat*' meaning 'light the fire'. During the famine, women left for long journeys to get food for the family while the children embraced doorposts during mothers' absence and said: '*a-a-sai, eiyo, ip-u amdit*' which meant 'I pray for the mother, bring food'.

1.10.1.3 Warriors' House (*Kai tap murenik*)

This hut likens a clubhouse or a standard house where several warriors would occasionally meet to share their experiences. Women were not allowed to enter in to this kind of house. It usually had depressions (*kilongosiek*) around a central pole for the storage of beer pots as the elders would also meet in this room at times to discuss some issues of drink beer.

1.10.1.4 Warriors' Hut (*Sigiroinet*)

It was built a little to the rear of the family's cabin and was for the unmarried warriors, although the young boys would sleep there and run errands for them. Men were associated with the cold and rain; while the women related to the warmth of the family hut (Oboler 1985). The exterior of this house resembled the ordinary shed in appearance, but the interior was different as it did not house any animals like the family hut which housed goats and calves (Hollis 1905).

1.10.1.5 Warriors' Hut (*Ekoruek*)

This kind of a house is likened to the slaughterhouse. It was built in the woods and was only used by warriors to slaughter oxen from time to time (Hollis 1905)

1.10.1.6 Hut for initiated boys/*tarusiek (Menjet)*

They erected this kind of a house in secluded spots where young initiated boys lived near a river bank by the kids expected to be circumcised together with their patrons (*motirenik*), and this would be their home for six months.

1.10.1.7 Granary (*Choket*)

According to Nandi tradition, it was a rule to build one or two granaries near the huts. The roof was conical and thatched. These circular structures have been constructed on poles about two feet from the ground and made from wattle and daub mixed with cow dung. The granary had its superstitions thus: a *chesorbuchot* meaning a woman what had conceived before marriage was never allowed to look in to a granary as believed that her sight would spoil the grains (Hollis 1905).

1.10.1.8 Cattle Kraal (*Piut/Peut*)

The nandi built this cattle enclosure near the dwelling huts. A few counts of animals were kept here as a large part of the herd was often on grazing grounds in a distant venue.

1.10.1.9 Cattle Kraal at grazing points (*Kaptich*)

The kraal is of thorny bushes kept in place by wood poles with two entry points such that the calves and cows had free entry points respectively. Traditionally, this kraal could host up to between 50 to 100 heads of animals at any given time. Various families could keep their cattle in this kraal referred to as *kaptich* and were managed by warriors of such households. Girls would usually accompany these warriors (Huntingford 1932).

1.10.1.10 Hut built in *Kaptich/cattle kraal (Chepkimaliot)*

This kind of shed was constructed within the cattle kraal/*kaptich* and partitioned into two rooms, one for calves and the other for herdsmen with two to three warriors and girls to sleep. The roof of this house was flat and covered with cow dung, unlike the other houses whose roofs were conical in shape and thatched. The walls were about five feet high and made of wattle trees and daub mixed with cow dung. Every morning, the girls would sweep the enclosure and throw the refuse on one side which formed a large mould with time.

1.10.1.11 Hut built in the grain fields (*Keriet*)

This hut was a small thatched house with a conical roof constructed in the cornfields and used as a shelter by the people responsible for driving away the birds and monkeys.

1.10.1.12 Huts for pottery (*Korik ap terenik*)

They resembled ordinary dwelling houses, but the interior design was different as it was not partitioned to accommodate the *injurut* and *koimaut* sections. Goats and people could not sleep in these huts. They prohibited the storage of utensils or grains in this hut. They never installed bed mould and goat pegs in this hut. It was designed only for those particular groups of women who did make pots. They

likened this hut to a production unit or a manufacturing factory. They worked inside or outside this premise, and no other person apart from these women was allowed to either watch or go near this place while the pot making was under process.

1.11 Clothing and ornaments.

Nandi men and women dressed differently with each other. Each gender had their apparels and ornaments. Like the Maasai people, Nandi had a tribe mark which was a small hole bored in the upper part of the rear and both boys and girls fixed small pegs on or reeds in it called *soliat, solik* (plural). Young boys wore *ingoriet, ingoroik* (plural). These were garments made of goat's skin and *sonoek/sonaiek* (necklace made of black beads). It was a taboo for boys to wear any of the girls' garments. The boys wore wooden earrings called *kipalpaliot* which was polished, ornamented and cut into different artistic shapes. Girls, on the other hand, wore some dresses referred to as *ingoriet ap ko* made of skin or cloth at a later stage. *Ingoriet ap ko* covered the entire body like an apron called *osiek* adorned with seeds of a *Murguiyuet* tree. They wore *osiek* made of leather strips and fastened onto a belt ornamented with cowries. Other embellishments included an iron chain necklaces called *asing'aiit* and *sirimwagik*, metal wire bracelets called *makirariot*, armlets called *indinyoliet*, leglets referred to as *tapakwet*, head armlets called *sonaiek/sonoek* and anklets known as *kipkarkarek/ingibiliek*. *Kitit ap it* (pieces of wood) was used to stretch the earlobes for both boys and girls.

Warriors in the same vain wore a unique garment referred to as *kipoet* made out of up to three pieces of hides from goats or calves. They sew the garments together and loosely fixed by a strip of leather over one shoulder ornamented with white or coloured beads. They wore these garments with wired bracelets called *samoiyot*, iron wire or chains on their fingers known as *tamokyet*, an ivory arm ring and a fur skin cap called *chepkulet*.

Twins would wear a special ornament referred as *samoiyot*, boys, girls, and women wore this delicate ornament on their necks while the men on the other side wore it as an armlet. If a person's limb got injured, he was instructed to bring a chain bracelet or leg let, and if he suffered from rheumatism, or itching in one of the ears, he put on an ostrich eggshell armlet, earring or bracelet. However, if his head ached further, he strapped a piece of wire called *sengwetiet* on his forehead.

In the Nandi community, if a sibling died, the next younger sibling would wear an ornament for the rest of his life. This ornament signified as a preventive measure against the evil spirits or diseases from attacking the next sibling in this household. Little girls wore an arrangement of beads known as *songoniet* which was attached to their hair and hangs over their foreheads and nose. Both girls and boys wore a necklace made of chips of a gourd called *sepetaik* while at other times the boys wore a garment made of colobus monkey skin instead of goat's skin. In the same vain women wore a distinctive necklace called *karik ap teget* and the men an iron armlet called *asielda*. Men and females could frequently wear a claw or a piece of lion's or leopard's skin. They wore unique ornaments as follows:

Kelelik: Was worn when the arm felt painful;

1. **Sepeaik:** Worn by the boys and girls of the Talai clan and children whose younger siblings sibling had died;

2. **Muit ap sonai:** Women's necklace;

3. **Lapuonik:** Worn by children and calves to protect them from the evil eye;
4. **Karik ap teget:** Worn by girls who have lost their next elder brother or sister;
5. **Asingaiit:** Worn by men;
6. **Samweet:** Worn by old women.
7. Was worn when the arm felt painful.

1.12 Hair, Teeth, Tattoos, Pottery and Musical Instruments

1.12.1 Hair:

Hollis (1905) in his book narrates that the Nandi people observed certain practices even with their hair which was differently treated depending on age and sex. In this case, the women and children shaved their hair once a month for old men and boys once a quarter. The boys would occasionally twist the seeds of a *murguiyuet* tree into their hair and at times a hawk or a vulture's feather down the back of their heads. Some women did not shave the whole head but would rather shave over the temples, ears and the back of the neck leaving the crown covered with a little hair. This practice did not extend to the young girls. They referred this practice to as *piur*. While on the other side, the warriors never shaved their hair but left grow long and plaited cloth or wool into the hair to give them big long tail.

For the Nandi, it was customary to shave the hair as a sign of grief; and such cut hair was thrown or hidden in the grass to the east or to where the sun rises. They shaved their eyebrows and for the beards, armpits, pubes and shins whose hair was plucked out and not shaved. In the same vein, a prisoner's head was cut once caught by his captor, and the hair retained until the captive ransomed. When a man adopted a child, he cut his hair and threw it to the east or where the sun rises.

1.12.2 Teeth:

All the Nandi people had their two lower incisors removed as soon as the milk teeth had all been replaced by the permanent teeth. When a child removed his tooth, it was mandatory that the same be thrown away towards the direction of the rising sun and say: *Asis, ee kelek che muruonen, konoo che lelach aluote chepomoi*. The notion translates to 'God, take the brown teeth and give me a white one, so that I may drink a calf's milk'. This procedure of removing the lower incisors was carried out using a large needle called *katet* or an arrow used to bleed the cattle known as *long'net*. Adult teeth extracted and milk teeth of young ones had to be hidden or buried in goats' dung.

1.12.3 Tattoos:

Girls obtained these marks by cutting horizontal lines in their cheeks below the eyes or by drawing a line down the forehead and nose or by making a pattern around the eyebrows. Warriors burnt six scars on the front of their thighs, on their wrists and made cicatrices on their shoulders. A black dye was rubbed into these marks or tattoos to make them more permanent.

1.12.4 Pottery:

Nandi had some cooking pots and other kinds of containers which were the handiwork of women referred to as *cheptereniot* (singular) *chepterenik* (plural). These women worked in different houses built for this purpose only. These houses resembled ordinary houses but had no partition inside like the residential houses which had the *injoor* and *koima* respectively. No man may go near this house or watch women at work. People could not sleep in such built forms nor may grain, or utensils kept in them. *Kamenon* was a

pottery works area. Implements used by potters were a handle of a hoe used to pounce and stir the clay and a shoulder-bleed of an ox, stone, a seed pod known as *cheptaipesiet* and some plaited *taparariet* grass, and three pieces of straw known as *saatyet* with which the pots were smoothed and ornamented. After the pottery work was complete, the potters recited the following prayer:

Asis! Koonech koweit (God! Give us strength)

Ingekwang'e kikoch piich (Let us cook in them, that they may like them, men).

The Nandi principal earthen pots, jars, and cups were as follows:

<i>Loet:</i>	Pot used for roasting malt.
<i>Kipkorotit:</i>	Cooking pot for blood.
<i>Kipanyinyit:</i>	Cooking pot for vegetables only.
<i>Kipungut:</i>	Cooking pot for vegetables and meat.
<i>Kimwanit:</i>	Cooking pot for fat.
<i>Kipiitinit:</i>	Cooking pot for meat.
<i>Kipteregit:</i>	Pot used for boiling malt (large size).
<i>Riseiyuot:</i>	Pot used for boiling malt (small size).
<i>Tapokut:</i>	Pot used to store beer.
<i>Teret ap pei:</i>	Pot used to store water/water jar.
<i>Teret ap kimoi:</i>	Pot used for cooking porridge.
<i>Target:</i>	Men's drinking cup.
<i>Mwendet:</i>	Women's drinking cup.
<i>Tapet:</i>	Cut used for eating porridge.

1.12.5 Musical Instruments

The pre-colonial Nandi people did not have any advanced music culture and thus had very few tools as stated below:

Kipokandet: this was a five-stringed lyre with an extra one string which was put in place in case one of the five breaks.

Ndurerut: This was a musical pipe.

Serengwet: A horn made of wood used by young boys who blew it when taking cattle to salt licks.

Kudo Horn: This was an antelope horn use by warriors specifically for war purposes.

Ketet: This was a small wooden storage barrel for old men and was used to store old men's garments and sometimes employed in ceremonies as a drum.

There were no drums among the Nandi, but they referred to those of their neighbours as *sukutit*. At other times, at dances, women would accompany dances by scraping their metal bracelets against each other.

1.13.1 Birth and Naming

Every child had a right to a name according to the Nandi traditions. The naming was based on seasons, time and sometimes claims of ancestral intervention through dreams by pregnant women. The boys would retain their baby names only until they reached warrior age which was after their circumcision whereas girls kept theirs only until marriage.

Girl's birth names were dropped at marriage and took on their father's names. The married girls never took their husband's names. On the other hand, they dropped the boy's birth name, and their father's name adopted. Instances would occur when a name would still refer to a man even after warrior age instead of his father's name; mostly it would be that the family has had a particularly illustrious ancestor. In that case, he carried his birth name to perpetuate his memory. A widow with sons would adopt names belonging to their

children, for instance, if a boy's name is *Kipkosgei*, the mother will refer herself as *kobot Kipkosgei* (mother of *Kipkosgei*). Women were never allowed to refer to their husbands by their names nor even mention them, but would refer them by the names of their sons above the name of the man would be *kwombo Kipkosgei* (father of *Kipkosgei*).

1.13.2 Circumcision

Nandi practised circumcision of both boys and girls though female circumcision was fast fading as a rite of initiation due to the government of Kenya that has banned female genital mutilation and thus the ritual has lost ground among the Nandi at the moment. Boys were circumcised every four years and at the end of every fifteen years and marked an end of one age set and the beginning of the next age-set as stated by Snell (1954). It was mandatory for the boys to put up a seclusion house known as *menjet* in the nearby forest near a stream that would be their home after circumcision ceremony. Song and dance accompanied the whole ceremony. Today the *tumndo* or male circumcision ceremony is carried out every year unlike long ago when it used to be once after four years. The initiates also take a shorter period compared to 18th and 19th century which spend more time up to six months in the seclusion hut.

1.13.3 Other Beliefs and Practices among the Nandi

Other beliefs and practices among the Nandi are discussed below.

1.13.3.2 Funeral Rites

According to Nandi customs, people did not bury their dead ones like it is done today except the old and children. The hyenas ate corpses thrown in the bush. Males laid on their right side and females on their left side. They buried children and the aged people under a manure heap in the cattle kraal known as *piut/peut* because children and the old ones were closer to the spirit world. When a man died, his wife/wives would remain in their house then perform ceremonial ablutions at the end of three days. The deceased's weapons and personal ornaments were anointed with oil, laid out for display and beer made from new millet were drunk; then one of the oxen belonging to the deceased was slaughtered for the festival. The stick forming the apex of the house (*kimonjokut*) was cut or broken off, and some of the family utensils chipped as stated by Snell (1954).

1.13.3.2 Witchcraft – (*ponisio/ponisiet*)

Specific people in the Nandi society practised witchcraft and sorcery, and it had several forms thus: *bonindet*, *sakutiindet*, *kimetindet*, and *chebusuriot*. *Bonindet* could practice magic although not born with this ability. *Sakutiindet* was a barren woman believed to cause the death of a newborn baby due to jealousy. *Kimetindet* was a male member of certain clans who possessed an innate ability that could harm others. *Chebusuriot*, on the other hand, was a woman who bewitches her husband using magic as stated by Oboler (1985). In his accounts, Snell (1954) asserts that the use of witchcraft among the Nandi was only allowed if the user had legitimate grievances and the offender for some reason could not be brought to justice as could be hiding or concealing his/her identity.

1.14 Nandi Political Divisions

The Nandi country divides into districts, and each of the districts managed by two men: representative of the chief medicine man the *Orkoiyot* and one representative of the people referred to as *kiruogindet*. The country was generally under the governance of circumcision age sets called *ipinda*⁵⁸ in singular and *ipinwek* in plural which circulates every seven

years. *Orkoinotet* or the leadership of the *Orkoiyot* (leading medicine man) was a strange idea borrowed from the Maasai people whose medicine man was called *Ol-oibon*. Before the era of *Orkoiyot*, *Kiruogik* (plural) or *Kiruogindet* (singular) meaning councillors headed the Nandi country.

This new leadership of *Orkoiyot* or *Orkoik* (plural) coined their clan referred to as *Talai* and their leader was called *Orkoiyot*. This position was hereditary and believed that the members of this clan possessed some supernatural powers which enabled them to foretell the future and interpret omens, something which no other officers from outside this clan could do. The *Orkoiyot* appointed his representative referred to as *maotiot* (singular) and *maotik* (plural) in each *pororiet* council. The people elected their representatives called *kiruogik* who were answerable to *Orkoiyot* through *maotiot*. *Orkoiyot* and his team of *maotik* had no particular authority over *ipinda* system but due to their position as mighty men, possessed a certain degree of influence in their activities.⁵⁹

1.14.1 Emet/Emotinwek

Emet (singular) *emotinwek* (plural) was the most significant territorial division. *Emet* translates to land or country. Nandi country subdivides into six *emotinwek* as at the beginning of the 20th century namely⁶⁰:

1. Wareng': To the North. This word means the desolate land where grass could not burn without restrictions. The name belonged to the Nandi before settlement in this part early 19th Century.
2. Soiin: To the South and South East. This land was mainly a flat country at the foot of the escarpment (South) and hilly bordering on Tinderet forest. This name was derived from the word *soi* to mean grazing ground with prefix *-in* to mean grazing ground.
3. Chesumei: To the West. This area constituted a vast forest. The name was a derivative of the word *sume* which means hairy or forest.
4. Mosop: to East.
5. Aldai: To the South-West of the country. The residents cultivated corn (*alde*) therefore the name was derived from that.
6. Emgwen: Centre of the country. The word *emgwen* is derivative of *em* in and *kwen* or *gwen* – centre.

1.14.2 Koret

The basic unit comprised of 20 to 100 homesteads and referred to as *koret*. Determination of the group was by population size and virtue of topography. Each one of these units had an unusual name derived from names of animals, birds or trees. The *kokwet* was a place for the governing council responsible for the *koret*. The council of *kokwet* elders was the most important one among the Nandi. It was mandatory for all men from a *koret* to attend this assembly.

This Council held their meeting under a fig tree or any other species of fig tree found in Nandi. This place for *kokwet* was called *kapkiruok*, or *kapkiruoket*. *Kokwet* was the only legal and binding assembly for the people as there was no other tribal court for the whole community. Social ties and issues were tabled in this assembly only. There was no hereditary or elected chief to head the *kokwet*.

1.14.3 Pororiet

The Nandi were divided geographically into districts or divisions called *pororiet*, pl. *pororiosiek*, and subdivisions, *siritiet*, pl. *siritoiik*, and geographically into clans and families, *oret*, pl. *ortinwuek*. Each clan had one or more totems or sacred animals.

Pororiet was formed out of all the *korotinwek* and their *kokwet* councils and thus forming a more substantial group referred to as *pororiet*. Its mandate was to handle matters affecting all *korotinwek* within its jurisdiction, which included wars, planting of crops, and circumcision. This larger Council called *kapkiruoket ap pororiet* made decisions on issues affecting *korotinwek*. Such board consisted of elders called *boisiek ap kokwet*, or *boisiek ap kok* of the *pororiet* area presided over by two representatives of the *Orkoiyot* known as *maotik*. These representatives of the *Orkoiyot* were not *orkoiik* or same as *Orkoiyot* but ordinary men elected by the members of *pororiet* from among themselves.

This council could decide to go to war on its own although they first sought blessings from *orkoiyot*. *Maotik* would convey this message to *Orkoiyot* in the company of one old man from the *pororiet* council. The council brought a pot of beer to *Orkoiyot* before they sought blessings or sanctions. If the *Orkoiyot* approved the request, then the leader was given magic to protect the warriors going to war. *Pororiet* Council was always in touch with the *Orkoiyot* for its operations, unlike the *kokwet* which was independent in its operations.

1.15 Nandi Social Divisions

The Nandi social system was divided into five thus; male group into boys, warriors, and elders; female group into girls and married women (Hollis 1905). The social groupings consisted of families, the related group often called *tiliet* meaning relative and clans. Boys aged 15 -25 years were circumcised and admitted to an age-set group called *ipinda* (age-sets) or *ipinwek* in the plural.

1.15.1 Age Sets (*Ipinwek*)

The Nandi conducted circumcision ceremonies every fifteen years. Hollis states that the age set system came into place every seven and a half years but the findings from Langley (1979) and some Nandi elders differ in that it was a cycle of 15 years which means a complete cycle would take up to 105 years. All the boys circumcised together belonged to the same age set called *ipinda* up to date although its mandate to lead the Nandi country has ceased to exist. The Nandi possess seven age sets namely: *maina*, *nyongi*, *kimnyingei*, *kaplelach*, *kipkoimet*, *sawe*, and *chumo*. The age set makes a total period of one hundred and five years for a single cycle to be complete. Each *ipinda* progressed to a new age set after a handing over ceremony called *saket ap eito* (Langley 1979). The circle made it almost impossible that no age set would come into existence while the same age set was still alive. If alive then the victim should be over one hundred and five years old. Each *ipinda* had further subdivision within itself thus the eldest was called *chonginiek* or *chongin opir*, the middle class was referred to as *tetagat* or *kibal kong*, the lower were called *kiptoinik*, *kiptaitoinik* meaning young bulls. A man and his son should not belong to next age sets; if a man, for example, is of *maina* age set, his eldest son should be a *sawe*.

The handing over ceremony was called *saket ap eito*. The main feature of the service was the slaughter of a white ox to mark the climax of this event. In this event marked the change-over as Oboler (1985) states that the initiates became warriors, warriors became elders while a new age set begun for boys about to be initiated. Hollis (1905) on the other hand describes the ceremony as necessary in the handing over process over the country from one *ipinda* to another. All adult male were to attend this ceremony except married warriors whose wives were not to leave their huts while the

ceremony was underway. For this occasion to proceed on well, it was mandatory for the *Orkoiyot* to be present as the chief celebrant. The Warriors brought the bull.

They slaughtered a bull, and after eating the meat, the fighters would form a circle before the *Orkoiyot* who stood near a traditional stool heaped with a cow dung studded with fruits of *lapotuet* shrub (*Solanum campylanthum sp*). All the old men and the members of the age set immediately preceding the age of the one in power stood up, while the warriors to receive control of the country sat down. On the signature of the chief medicine man, all the members of the other age set took off their warrior garments and put on the old man attire. Moreover, once the ceremony adjourned, each member was required to leave for home and never sleep by the wayside under whatever circumstance.

IPINDA (AGE-SET)	PERIOD/EPOCH
CHUMO	1810 - 1824
SAWE	1825 - 1839
KIPKOIMET	1840 - 1854
KAPLELACH	1855 - 1869
KIMNYIGEI	1870 - 1869
NYONGI	1885 - 1899
MAINA	1900 - 1916

One Complete cycle (105 years)

Source: Author

1.16 Conclusion

This paper presented pre-colonial Nandi Marriage system and household relationships from the late pre-colonial up to imperialist epoch. On Indigenous Nandi kinship and marriage system, this chapter examined the family, polygynous Nandi household setup, extended family, the clan, incest, sexual relationships, premarital sex, extramarital sex, rape, and homosexuality. It showed that, having a family or marrying under Nandi context was an economic and social affair and that men did not marry for love but specific reasons. Polygyny was prestigious among the Nandi and was practised by married men. A man could marry many wives as much as his wealth could afford. On extended family, Nandis were not interested in staying together as an extended family up to 1900 AD due to their culture of wealth acquisition regarding cattle; the community enjoyed staying scattered as a way of expanding their territory through polygyny. This community had seventeen clans dispersed throughout their territory, and five of them had more than one totem.

Internally, they had three categories of exogamic groups, the tribe, the age-set and the kindred group. Any sexual intercourse between the members of the same group was incestuous, and thus there was clan incest, age-set incest, and the kindred incest. These people had eight categories of sexual relationships namely: premarital sex, extramarital sex, rape, homosexuality, wife inheritance, woman to woman marriage, marriage into the house, and child marriage. Young warriors after circumcision were free to engage in sexual activities with young uncircumcised girls on condition that they do not impregnate their sweethearts. However, married women may continue enjoying a sexual relationship with their old lover from the communal hut but in secret. Also, a married man could give hospitality to another man of his age-set and allowed him to spend the night in his house including having sex with his wife.

Rape and homosexuality were considered a severe offence and an outrage on the female sex and was punishable by beating by the members of his age-set, and the offender was denied some privileges during communal festivals.

The Nandi practised wife inheritance in the event of the death of a husband and this could not equate to remarriage as marriage according to Nandi customs was permanent and indissoluble even after the passing of a spouse. Woman to woman marriage was also present to light the fire of the clan alongside the wedding in to the house. They believed in fire lighting which meant 'to have children' specially the boy child who inherited the wealth of the family. Child marriage was not typical but practised for some strict economic reasons.

Each member of the family had a role to play to ensure that the family procured an improved standard living according to their traditions. They ridiculed in public a person who violated his roles.

In total, some of the cultural beliefs as derived from the study show that; *Orkoiyot* was a later introduction in to the political system of the Nandi adopted from the Maasai in the 19th Century. Warriors defended the community and would engage in wars and raids with approval from the *Orkoiyot*. They practised circumcision for both male and female among these people. The ways of life of a Nandi was centred on their cattle before and after the turn of the 19th century when they began practising the cultivation of crops such as finger millet. Their god was known as *Asis*. They also believed in the presence of *oiik* (evil spirits), and the power of lightning (*ilet*).

An analysis of Nandi built forms showed a more or less evenly settlement than being in organised villages. All Nandi people built their huts with the front doors facing Mt. Elgon or *Sabaot* which was the North of Nandi land as they believed they came through Elgon area. *Sabaot* belongs to the more significant Kalenjji group of people, and today most of them still live in Mt. Elgon area. Clan system influenced the location of one's homestead and sitting in the hut/*koot*. Cattle were essential to the Nandi. Therefore their animals were kept near the main hut in a circular cattle kraal/*piut/peut*. They also had a *kaptich* located in the grazing grounds away from the homestead where animals were taken care of by warriors.

Koot and *sigiroinet* had subtle implications; women associated with the warmth of the heart, while the men with the cold and rain outside. The cooking area in the *koot* was symbolic that symbolised both domestic roles of the wife and her position in the property system. They discussed marriage negotiations in the back room of the family hut referred to as *injurut/injoor* at the bride's home. They conducted circumcision ceremonies in the open grounds for the boys, but male initiates were circumcised and secluded in a seclusion hut called *menjet*, while the girls remained in the shelter.

¹ Carol Ember and Melvin Ember, *Cultural Anthropology*, 2nd Edition, Prentice-Hall Inc. Englewood-Cliff, N.J., 1977, p. 40, para. 6.

² David Schulz, *The Changing Family: Its Function and Future*, 2nd Edition, Prentice-Hall Inc., N. J., 1976, p. 19.

³ T. B. Bottomore, *Sociology*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1962, p. 62.

⁴ G. W. B. Huntingford, *The peoples of Kenya – No.11, The Nandi*, Nairobi: Ndia Kuu Press, 1944, p. 16

⁵ John Kimitei, aged 75 yrs., Interviewed on 1st June 2015, at Kapkoros, Kurgung Division, Christine Jerotich Teigong, aged 70 yrs, Interviewed on 1st June 2015, at Kapkoros, Kurgung Division

⁶ Arap Bartile, aged 110 years, Arap Leting Kwombo Baras aged 108 years, interview carried out on 10th August 2015 at Kapserton.

⁷ B. E. Kipkorir with F. B. Wilbourn, op. cit. p. 51; see also pp. 49 – 53 on Keiyo Marriage.

⁸ J. G. Peristiany, *The Social Institutions of the Kipsigis*, London: 1939, pp 56 – 75, and I. Q. Orchardson, *The Kipsigis*, Nairobi: 1961, pp. 73 – 82, on Kipsigis Marriage.

⁹ In Nandi: *Mawendi Songo Chepyoso or mami tie ne makituni*.

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¹¹ Kitur Chepkendi, aged 80 yrs., Interview carried out on Thursday 4th June 2015 at Kaiboi Sub location, Kabiyeet Division.

¹² Arap Bartile, Op Cit.

¹³ A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 64,

¹⁴ Francis C. Ruto, aged 98 years, Interview carried out on 11/8/2015 at Samoei Village, Nandi Hills.

¹⁵ Edward Birgen, aged 85 yrs., Clement Chekwony, aged 75 yrs., Mathias Tabot, aged 74 yrs., William Chepkwony, aged 78 yrs., Kipkolum Birgen, aged 82 yrs., joint interview carried out on Sunday 14th June 2015 at Kurgung.

¹⁶ Barnaba Chepkwony, aged 79 yrs., Interview carried out on Sunday 14th June 2015 at Koisolik.

¹⁷ Bot Chebichii, Chemalan, Interview carried out on 20th June 2015, at Kibelio Village, Nandi North.

¹⁸ A. C. Hollis, op. cit., p. 94 and G. W. B. Huntingford, loc. cit.

¹⁹ Salina Birgen, aged 79 yrs., Interview carried out on Saturday 13th June 2015 at Baraton.

²⁰ Paul Chela, aged 100 years, interview carried out on 12th August 2015 at Ng'echek, Chesumei.

²¹ Bot Sitienei Cheptilda, aged 104 years, interview carried out on 15/8/2015 at Chemelil, Tinderet.

²² Kogo Kapkisorio, aged 98 years, interview carried out on 15/08/2015 at Chemelil.

²³ Kogo Tamabul Selia, aged 95 years, interview carried out on 15/08/2015, at Chepsangor.

²⁴ Ernest Kogo, aged 81 yrs., Kittur Kili, 80 yrs., Kipng'etich Chelugui, 76 yrs., Interview carried out on Sunday 14th June 2016 at Kabiyeet.

²⁵ Jonah Sono, aged 86 yrs., interview carried out on 15th Monday, June 2016 at Kaptel.

²⁶ A totem is a natural object or animal believed by a particular society to have a spiritual connection and significance and adopted by it as an emblem.

²⁷ G. W. B. Huntingford, *The Peoples of Kenya, The Nandi*, Nairobi (1944) Ndia Publishers.

²⁸ Raphael Arap Kemboi, aged 89 yrs., interview carried out on 20th May 2015 at Kaiboi village.

²⁹ G. S. Snell, op. cit., p 32- 33. For a description of the punishment meted out on such occasions.

³⁰ Rosa Boen Bot Some, aged 93 yrs., Interview carried out on 20th June 2015 at Chepterwai.

³¹ Agui Cheptaiwa, aged 90 years, Surungai village, interview carried out on 20th August 2015.

³² Magdalena Melly, 80 yrs., Interview carried out on 21 June 2015 at Kapsabet, Namgoi village.

³³ Raphael Arap Kemboi, op. cit.

³⁴ Pius Melly, 83 yrs., Interview carried out on 21 June 2015 at Kapsabet, Namgoi village.

³⁵ Myrtle S. Langley, p. 71.

³⁶ Edward Birgen, Op. Cit.

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- ³⁷ Raphael Arap Kemboi, Op. Cit.
- ³⁸ G. S. Snell, *Nandi Customary Law*, p. 34.
- ³⁹ Barnaba Chepkwony, Op. Cit.
- ⁴⁰ A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde (eds), *African Christian Marriage*, London: (1977), pp. 78 -80.
- ⁴¹ Magdaline Melly, Op. Cit.
- ⁴² Arap Mwei Birirchok, aged 104 years, interview carried out 31/08/2015 at Kamanyinya.
- ⁴³ Barnaba Chepkwony, aged 79 yrs., Interview carried out on Sunday 14th June 2015 at Koisolik.
- ⁴⁴ Myrtles S. Langley, *The Nandi of Kenya, Life-Crisis Rituals in Period of Change*, (1979) London: C. Hurst & Company, p. 73.
- ⁴⁵ This ritual refers to *kitunchi go*, or *kitunchi toloch*; this means to be married into the house or to be married by the kingpost in the house.
- ⁴⁶ Magdalene Melly, Op. Cit.
- ⁴⁷ Kipsugut Arap Chelulei, aged 98 yrs., Interview carried out on 21st June 2015 at Olmaroroi.
- ⁴⁸ Arap Muge Aroun, aged 90 years, interview carried out at Kamasuru, on 31/08/2015.
- ⁴⁹ Barnaba Keino, Op. Cit.
- ⁵⁰ Kitur Kili, Op. Cit.
- ⁵¹ Edward Birgen, Op. Cit.
- ⁵² Mary Tabusambu, aged 98 years, interview carried out on 1/9/2015 at Koilot.
- ⁵³ Magdalene Melly, Op. Cit.
- ⁵⁴ Raphael Kemboi, Op. Cit.
- ⁵⁵ Langley (1979), *The Nandi of Kenya*, pg. 9.
- ⁵⁶ *Nandi Culture and Folklore*, pg. 40.
- ⁵⁷ Bot Lucia Kapbalos aged 107 yrs, Kipkemboi Moso aged 90 yrs, Kipkerebet Arap Kuto aged 85 yrs, Kogo Kap Machi aged 106 yrs, Kogo Kap Muraria aged 109 yrs, Arap Bartile aged 110 yrs, and Arap Maritim Muzee aged 94 yrs, Arap Chepng'ok Kitur aged 108 yrs.
- ⁵⁸ *Ipinda* in singular or *Ipinwek* in plural was an age set system and one age set governed the country's affairs every seven years marked by a major ceremony called *saket ap eito* as described by Hollis folklore and culture (1905).
- ⁵⁹ Huntingford 1927.
- ⁶⁰ *Tribal Control in a pastoral society* by G.B.W. Huntingford 1951.