These remarks from the 1989 book, *Identities on the move*, are fairly general since that book has its focus elsewhere and many information on Rendille age-set promotions and the internal strife have been excluded from it. But from Schlee’s unpublished field notes we learn that the clan Tubcha, who had been victimised in the 1976 age-set rituals, at one point threatened to change their use of arms from clubs to spears in the numerous quarrels with other Rendille clans. This would have marked the symbolic transition from a quarrel with other members of the same political/ethnic unit to inter-ethnic war, since clubs (sticks with iron nuts or gears from dismantled machinery as heads) – contrary to evidence – are classified as non deadly weapons and therefore suitable for the expression of internal dissent while spears are reserved for external enemies and wild beasts.

The high level of internal dissent may be a significant factor in the background if we now examine which particular clan groups are more likely to leave the “Rendille proper” and join the Ariaal than others.

The subsequent diagram (Fig. 1) with a rather confusing web of lines shall give an idea of the complex pathways of immigration in relation to the Ariaal. It refers to the more recent origin of Ariaal immigrants, thereby giving a more detailed mention of the Rendille background of the present Ariaal sub-clans. Those lines which are marked with an arrow at the end, refer to the direction of migration between different Ariaal clans. Emigrants from all Rendille clans (capital letters) have joined the Ariaal and there is no doubt that the bulk of migrants originates from the Rendille. Putting together the accounts of Ariaal informants 61% of those lineages, which are categorised at the present as Ariaal, were established by Rendille immigrants, 24% by Samburu, 10% by migrants which originate from other ethnic groups like the Boran, Maasai, Somali and Turkana, and finally 5% by migrants from other Ariaal clans. Although some of the lineages, which were categorised as descendants from the Maasai, Boran and other ethnic groups, may have been affiliated with the Samburu or Rendille before they became Ariaal, there can be little doubt that the Ariaal are not merely a mixture of Samburu and Rendille immigrants. Ariaal lineages were in many cases established through adoption of segments from other groups. The chart further reveals the very different composition of each Ariaal clan. Two of them, Lokumay and Lturiya, do not at the present contain any lineage which originated from the Samburu since those lineages, who had once formed the nucleus of these clans, had left the Ariaal and became Samburu again or were probably wiped out by a smallpox epidemic at the turn of the century.

In general, there is no indication that those Rendille, who are waakhkamur, i.e. without the powers of curse and blessing, and thus potential victims for despised age-set roles, are more significant in numbers among Rendille emigrants than those who

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