

ENGLISH–TURKANA TEXTS OF A CASE OF BRIDEWEALTH NEGOTIATIONS IN NORTHWESTERN KENYA

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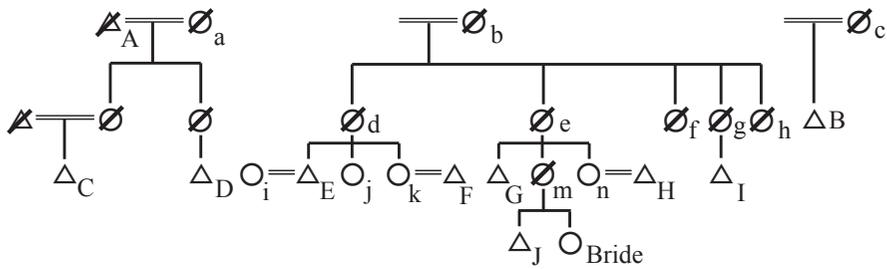
INTRODUCTION

The following texts are transcriptions of bridewealth negotiations that took place on September 6–7, 1998. The first day of the negotiations was carried out at the homestead of the bride's father, while the second day was conducted at the groom's homestead. These homesteads were located about 10–20 km north of Kakuma town, which lies about 100 km northwest of Lodwar, the capital of Turkana District in Kenya. By the end of the second day of the negotiations, all the bridewealth livestock had been transferred. Wedding rituals were then performed at the bride's homestead on September 8–10.

Part 1 of this volume (pp. 3-26) provides basic information on kinship structure, livestock ownership, the process of arranging marriages, and the amounts of bridewealth among the Turkana. Analysis of the negotiations and descriptions of the amount of bridewealth transferred in this particular marriage are also presented in Part 1. All the utterances in the following texts appear in the appended DVD video (Part 3 of this volume).

ANNOTATION

1. The main actors in these negotiations are shown in Figs. 1 and 2. Their names are listed below the figures as they are mentioned in the following texts, as well as in the appended DVD video.
2. Each utterance has its own serial number, which appears on the screen of the appended DVD video.
3. All the utterances transcribed below were recorded by video cameras.
4. The author made these transcriptions with the assistance of four Turkana men in Nairobi.
5. The right columns are in the Turkana language, while the left are English translations.
6. Literal translations are attempted as much as possible.
7. Sentences and phrases [in brackets] in the English texts are free translations.
8. Sentences and phrases (in parentheses) are additional explanations to make the speeches understandable.
9. Turkana terms in the English texts are *italicized*.
10. (Time) is indicated when it is available.
11. When one utterance was long, the author divided it into several paragraphs.
12. The following utterances are arranged in accordance with the passage of time. When the passage of time was disrupted by the author to erase unclear utterances and irrelevant scenes, the texts are divided by a double line.

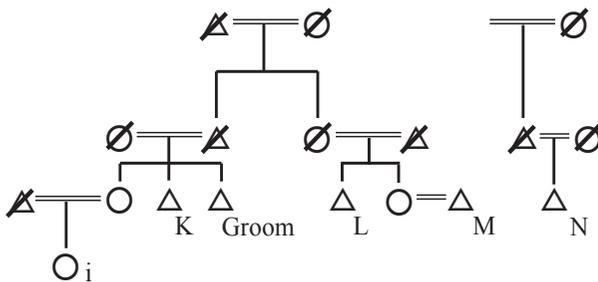


- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Men: | Women: | △ : Men |
| A: Lomeyana | a: Eelim | ○ : Women |
| B: Nakure | b: Aloto | ♣/∅ : Dead |
| C: Akwee-1 (invocation leader) | c: Nabooto | == : Marriage |
| D: Lokawo | d: Naangira | |
| E: Etoot-1 (Lotwalamoyo) | e: Naakor | |
| F: Adiaka (Apaesia) | f: Nabek | |
| G: Akwee-2 | g: Longorikit | |
| H: Ngicampa | h: Arongat | |
| I: Acakan | Bride: Adupur | |

Note 1) Woman-i is the same person as in Fig. 2.

Note 2) When a woman gave birth to a child while she was unmarried, the child's father is not indicated in this Figure.

Fig. 1. Genealogy of the bride's family



- | | |
|--|--|
| △ : Men | Men: |
| ○ : Women | K: Engolan (Lokorikamar) |
| ♣/∅ : Dead | L: Eedung |
| == : Marriage | M: Emus |
| Note: Woman-i is the same person as in Fig. 1. | N: Etoot-2 |
| | Groom: Loyaala |
| | Two other men, named Logum and Lopiding who played important roles in the negotiations were Engolan's friends. |

Fig. 2. Genealogy of the groom's family

TRANSCRIPTIONS

September 6, 1998

This was the first day of the negotiations. At around 9:00 a.m. before the negotiations commenced, those involved held simultaneous feasts. The men on the bride's side formed one group of about 60 people and ate a ewe (called *lokiruoret*)⁽¹⁾ that was offered by the groom's family. At the same time, the men on the groom's side formed another group of about 40 people and consumed a male goat that was offered by the bride's family as a return gift.

While the men on the bride's side were waiting for the meat to be roasted, one of the oldest men, named Akwee-1 (see Fig. 1), stood up and started a monologue. After his short monologue, he started to lead an invocation (*agat*).

No. 1 (Monologue)

Akwee-1: You, Lokaalimoe (one of the attendants), son of Ngirisae,⁽²⁾ of Ngirisae whom I am sitting here on [those who were buried here], who are sleeping here, who are sitting with me here, who remained here. If you [want to continue to] make a mistake with *ngapolia*,⁽³⁾ eat it over there [I will not participate]. There is no scrambling again, that we are scrambling [we will not assemble again, as we do now]. You have refused the good side [to follow my words], which I mentioned to these people of mine, [I said] "They will do like this [to assist me]." You have refused. Go and pass through the gates, which you are saying that you will pass [do whatever you have decided]. It is you who have refused long ago, and it's over.

No. 1

Akwee-1: Iyong Lokaalimoe, ikoku ni a ngirisae, a ngirisae a lu eboyoy ayong kane, a lu eperete kane, a lu kiboi ka ayong kane, a lu ngoon edongete ne. Na iseceseciareta esi ngapolia, tonyamiasi ngapolia inaa jik. Mam nabo akiruduruda kiruduruda ngoni. Ingero nikajokon ni ngoon abala ngika-tunga lu, "Kekokinete ne." Ingero neni. Kapesi kitoro lopukei lu ibalasi esi kitori. Esi ingero kolong arumor.

The invocation, *agat*, began. After the vocalization of the leader, all the other men made responses that are shown in <square brackets> in this text.

No. 2 (9:39 a.m.) (Invocation)

Akwee-1: Even its fat [of the ewe which we eat] should become cool!⁽⁴⁾ <It should become cool> Has it become cool? <It has become cool> Even *ngikumula*⁽⁵⁾ to be cool, it should become cool! <It should

No. 2

Akwee-1: Nyake-kuring dae nyayonere! <Toyon> Ayono a? <Ayono> Ngikumula dae nyayokere, toyoko! <Toyoko> Ka ngoni a? <Ee> Kikien ngoni a? <Ee> Ka ngikamurak a? <Ee> Kiriam a?

become cool> With us? <Yes> Have we laughed? <Yes> With [our] in-laws? <Yes> Have we met [with them]? <Yes> Is this thing peace? <Yes> Is this thing peace? <Yes> Is this a customary way? <Yes> Have we done? <Yes> Even the family of Nacukul (the groom's father) to become cool, it should become cool! <It should become cool> Even the family of Lomeyana (the bride's great-grandfather) to become cool, it should become cool! <It should become cool>

Have they met? <They have met> Over there? <Yes> Have they treated us [for feast]? <Yes> Even [the family] of Nacukul [treated us]? <Yes> Even [the family] of Lomeyana [treated us]? <Yes> Have they satisfied us? <Yes> Have we got satisfied? <We have got satisfied> Have we got satisfied? <We have got satisfied> Bad things to leave from those families, they should go away! <They should go away> Have they [bad things] migrated? <They have migrated> Have they migrated? <They have migrated> Have they migrated? <They have migrated> The [dust] wind [has migrated]? <Yes> The wounds [have migrated]? <Yes> To become cool in those families, it should become cool! <It should become cool> It [bad thing] has gone! <It has gone> Has it passed to the left? <It has passed> Has it gone to look for the Toposa?⁽⁶⁾ <It has gone to look for> It has gone forever! It has gone forever! It has gone forever!⁽⁷⁾

All the good things and us, we should be together! <We should be together> Laughing? <Yes> Happiness? <Yes> Dance? <Yes> Marriage? <Yes> Food? <Yes> In a good way? <Yes> Should they [good things] be together with us? <Yes> They should be together [with us]? <They should be> The sharp thorns [bad things] which should migrate,

<Ee> Ekisil ibore en ia? <Ee> Ekisil ibore en ia? <Ee> Etal ia? <Ee> Etal ia? <Ee> Asubakin ia? <Asubakin> Awi a Nacukul dae nyayonere, toyon! <Toyon> Na a Lomeyana dae nyayonere, toyon! <Toyon>

Eriam a? <Eriam> Nati ina a? <Ee> Kipeyo ngoni a? <Ee> Lu a Nacukul dae a? <Ee> Lu a Lomeyana dae a? <Ee> Kisimwoko ngoni a? <Ee> Kimwoko ngoni a? <Kimwoko> Kimwoko a? <Kimwoko> Ngakaronok nyalosit a nawiyei ka nguna, toloto! <Toloto> Awuot a? <Awuot> Awuot a? <Awuot> Awuot ba? <Awuot> Ekuwam a? <Ee> Nyajeme a? <Ee> Nyayonere a nawiyei ka ngun, toyon! <Toyon> Alot! <Alot> Aman alo kedieny a? <Aman> Asaka ngitoposa a? <Asaka> Touwot jik, Touwot jik, Touwot jik.

Ngakiro kajokak ka ngoni atotingakin! <Atotingakin> Akien ia? <Ee> Alakara a? <Ee> Edonga a? <Ee> Nyakiuta a? <Ee> Akimuj a? <Ee> A nikajokon ia? <Ee> Atotingakin ka ngoni a? <Ee> Atotingakin! <Atotingakin> Ngiikwa lukakwanak nyawosere, touwoto! <Touwoto> Ngakonyen nyalosit, toloto! <Toloto> Nyesuguru nyamudukan, tomudukan!

they should migrate! <They should migrate> The [evil] eyes which should go away, they should go away! <They should go away> The *esuguru*⁽⁸⁾ which should become blind, they should become blind [the bad things will not befall us]! <They should become blind> We alone? <Yes> In our land? <Yes> The Tarac (name of a nearby river) has recognized its people [us]? <It has recognized> It has mixed [people together]! <It has mixed> It has mixed! <It has mixed>

<Tomudukan> Ngoni makei a? <Ee> A nakwap yok a? <Ee> Be Tarac ayen ngike-tunga a? <Ayen> Emoromorak! <Emoromorak> Emoromorak! <Emoromorak>

The invocation was suspended, and the leader resumed his monologue. Hereafter, his monologues and the invocations were alternately repeated.

(Monologue)

Akwee-1: Please! Please! Where is Ewoi [who is son] of Akopongimoe? This is [the place] where the wife of Nacukul got married, you people [who are sitting under] this tree also, [who are sitting under] that tree also, [listen to me] that is where she got married, that is where she got married. [At the time of her marriage] I had a head dress, I could dance, I had undergone initiation. Don't say [that I am short], even if I am the size of a lizard [a short person], it is the God who created me like a lizard.

Akwee-1: Aayoro! Aayoro! Nyali Eewoi ka Akopongimoe? Ni eusere aberu a Nacukul, iyong itwaan, ekitoe dae lo, ekitoe lo dae ye, ni eusere neni, ni eusere neni. Etujukit ayong, edongae, asapanit. Meere nyiitama, ka tia iyele dae, akuj ca kasubunit arai iyele.

(Invocation)

Akwee-1: You the God, you the sun, the moon, the moon! Our matters of the Turkana which should become cool, they should become cool! <They should become cool> Will the Turkana eat good food? <We will eat>

Akwee-1: Aa nyakuj, aa akolong, elap, elap! Ngakiro yok a ngiturkana ayokere, toyoko! <Toyoko> Ngiturkana akimuj nikajokon kimuja a? <Kimuja>

No. 3 (Monologue)

Akwee-1: Remind me of [my] usual person, the one who makes me to come, [my] usual person... [They are] Two. Lotwalamoyo and Akoel, whom I normally look for at these *ngisekona* trees.⁽⁹⁾ This

No. 3

Akwee-1: Kisitamunae itwaan ni palem, itwaan ni palem abunene, itwaan ni palem... Ngiarei. Lotwalamoyo ka Akoel, ngesi palem asaki a losekona ka lu. Meere esei. Lotwalamoyo palem ka Akoel,

is not bragging. Usually Lotwalamoyo and Akoel, two [men]. Even a pregnant goat, even a he-goat, this is where I eat [given by the two men]. [It is] Two people whom I normally look for at these *ngisanyana* trees.⁽¹⁰⁾ Not somewhere else, here in Naatan (name of a place), [they are] two. All [of the two men] are here, all are here, all are here. All [of my kinsmen] are here lying [buried]. [The grave] Of Lorang, of Ekulan,⁽¹¹⁾ all [of them] are lying here. They are here surrounding this place. They are surrounding here, they are surrounding here, [from here] to that place where we had been quarrelling over [the meat of] a hind leg [of livestock]. They are just looking at this matter, saying, “Oh! They were looking down upon him [People are not respecting me, not following old tradition].”

ngiarei. Akine kapan dae, ekoroee dae ni anyamenia ne. Ngiarei asaki palem kane a losanyana ka lu. Meere wace, a Naatan kane, ngiarei. Daang lu, daang lu, daang lu. Daang lu eperete kane. Na a Lorang, na a Ekulan, daang na eperi ka ne na. Nyelu erekina ne lu. Erekina ne, erekina ne, kicuma ama been eburare amuro dae. Ekenyikinito ca ngakiro nu, ebasi, “Wai! Be esaraut.”

No. 4 (Invocation)

Akwee-1: Beat [chase away] bad things from the Tarac, from the Tarac, if it is the Tarac, this one, this one here, this one, if this river is really the Tarac. Beat [chase away] bad things from the Tarac, which should leave at the break of dawn, they [bad things] should leave at the break of dawn! <They should leave at the break of dawn> Right now? <Yes> Has it [bad thing] migrated? <It has migrated> The bad [thing]? <Yes> The [dusty] wind as well? <Yes> The mosquitoes as well? <Yes> Bad things? <Yes> Have they migrated? <They have migrated> Have we remained in our land? <We have remained> Have we really remained? <We have remained> We, these ones [ourselves]? <Yes> Is this thing happiness? <Yes> Jumping with joy? <Yes> Dancing? <Yes> Marriage? <Yes> Is this thing a marriage? <Yes> Is this thing *ngasuban*?⁽¹²⁾ <Yes> [Is this] *ngakejen a ngibaren*?⁽¹³⁾ <Yes> Is it this thing?

No. 4

Akwee-1: Tarama nikaronon alo Tarac, alo Tarac, kerai Tarac na, naga, naga ca na, naga, kerai ca Tarac angolol na. Tarama nikaronon alo Tarac, nyakisukakin kisuakak! <Kisuakak> Tokona a? <Ee> Aramaki a? <Aramaki> Nikaronon? <Ee> Nyekuwom dae? <Ee> Ngisuru dae? <Ee> Lu eroko? <Ee> Awuot a? <Awuot> Kidong ngoni nakwap yok a? <Kidong> Kidong ba? <Kidong> Ngoni ba lu? <Ee> Alakara ba ibore en ia? <Ee> Nyakicuro ba? <Ee> Edonga ba? <Ee> Akiuta ba? <Ee> Nyakiuta ba ibore en ia? <Ee> Ngasuban ba ibore en ia? <Ee> Ngakejen a ngibaren ia? <Ee> Ngesi ibore en ia? <Ee> Nyebarit ba yok lo a? <Ee> Iramiramitae a? <Ee> Ngakile nako nu a? <Ee>

<Yes> Is this our wealthiness? <Yes> Are the livestock taken to graze nearby and driven back home earlier because this is a rainy season? <Yes> Is milk also here? <Yes>

Beat [chase away] bad thing let it go away! <It should go away> From our land! <Yes> Hey! Spiders, what, every [bad] thing, to go it goes, has it gone to the west? <It has gone> Has it gone to look for other ethnic groups? <It has gone to look for> Has it gone to look for? <It has gone to look for> Has it gone to look for other ethnic groups? <Yes> [The bad thing will stay] Where it came from in the past! <Yes> Its place [homeland]? <Yes> Its mother's house? <Yes> It has gone! <It has gone> Has it gone to its mother's house? <It has gone>

What about the children of this land, are they here? <They are> In this river? <They are> What about the women of this land, are they here? <They are> What about us, men, are we not present? <We are> What about our livestock, are they here? <They are> Are they present? <They are> Are they present? <They are> The camels to stop having diarrhea, they should stop! <They should stop> The female camels of ours to sneeze! <They should sneeze> Have they reproduced? <They have reproduced> Are they pregnant? <They are pregnant> Have they multiplied? <They have multiplied> Hey! What about *ekacumucumu*⁽¹⁴⁾ to leave the goats, has it not left? <It has left> What about *nawosin*⁽¹⁵⁾ to leave the goats, has it not left? <It has left> Have our goats become pregnant? <They have become pregnant> Are they giving birth? <They are giving birth> This month as well? <Yes> Is the he-goat bleating [to copulate]? <It is bleating> Are they giving birth? <They are giving birth> Have they multiplied? <Yes> With us? <Yes> Are

Tarama nikaronon torotok! <Torotok> A nakwap yok! <Ee> Ei! Asimokok, inyo, tani daang, akicurokin kicuroki, alot ba nato? <Alot> Asaka ngibukui a? <Asaka> Asaka a? <Asaka> Asaka ngibukui a? <Ee> Ni kolong abunio inaa! <Ee> Ake-kwap a? <Ee> Ekol a ito keng a? <Ee> Alot! <Alot> Alot lokol a ito keng a? <Alot>

Ani ngide nakwap na, nyeya a? <Eya> Nangolol na a? <Eya> Ani ngaberu nakwap na, nyeya a? <Eya> Ani ngoni ngikiliok, nyikiya a? <Kiya> Ani ngibaren yok, nyeya a? <Eya> Eya ba? <Eya> Eya ba? <Eya> Eya ba? <Eya> Ngikaala akitub ngacin, totubo! <Totubo> Ngakaala na yok akikarisiar! <Kikarisiasi> Aureta a? <Aureta> Ekapete a? <Ekapete> Abarasi a? <Abarasi> Ei! Ani ekacumucumu aisikin ngaanei, pe aisiki a? <Aisiki> Ani nawosin aisikin ngaanei, pe aisiki a? <Aisiki> Akapa ba ngaanei na yok? <Akapa> Euriete ba? <Euriete> Elap dae lo a? <Ee> Eruo ekoroe a? <Eruo> Euriete a? <Euriete> Abarasi a? <Ee> Ka ngoni a? <Ee> Kirukit ka ngoni a? <Ee>

they together with us? <Yes>

What about the cattle to come to this river [our land], have they not come? <They have come> They have come <They have come> Return the cattle to the river, they should come back! <They should come back> They should come back! <They should come back> Will we eat oxen? <We will eat> Will we eat? <We will eat> Oxen? <Yes> Are we marrying? <We are marrying> We will be marrying continuously!⁽¹⁶⁾

(Monologue)

Akwee-1: Please, please, you person, all of you. It is only foreigners such as Ohta (referring to the author) who do not understand the matters what I am talking.

Man: Ohta understands, it is the other foreigners who do not understand.

Akwee-1: You [all of you] who are sitting, you Nameyan, you Lowosa, you Lokaalimoe, you Arimoc.⁽¹⁷⁾ Arimoc, we had eaten that lamb with a mark on the neck. And when somebody removed out...

Ani ngaatuk nyaponere nangolol na, pe apotu a? <Apotu> Apotu <Apotu> Tobuutu ngaatuk nangolol, tobongut! <Tobongut> Tobongut! <Tobongut> Tobongut! <Tobongut> Kinyami ngoni ngimongin ia? <Kinyami> Kinyami a? <Kinyami> Ngimongin ia? <Ee> Kiuta ngoni a? <Kiuta, kiuta ngoni jik>

Akwee-1: Aayoro, aayoro, iyong itwaan en daang. Ngimoe make ta Iutae ngesi nyepupete ngakiro na eyani ayong.

Man: Epupi Iutae, ngimoe luce ngul kesi nyepupete.

Akwee-1: Iyong itwaan ni iboi en, iyong Nameyan, iyong Lowosa, iyong Lokaalimoe, iyong Arimoc. Arimoc, aponi ca imesek ni a alany a emosiring tonyamae. Ani epuori itwaan...

The blood of the ewe (*lokiruoret*) was brought in a wooden vessel. People mixed some sugar and water with the blood and stirred it to drink. Then, a part of the ewe was lightly roasted on the surface and was brought to the skinning place. The meat was cut into pieces and put back on the fire.

No. 5

Akwee-1: The [he-goat was] reproducing one, which reproduces. This man, Ikaru was also snatched. I told the children, "Spear a lamb [in stead of the he-goat] and we eat. Spear and we eat."

There is nothing that I can talk. The thing called the end of the matter, "Yes," it is an ancient thing. What has ended, "Yes," it is fifty-fifty. They are [things can be] good one day, but in the other, they are made to be useless teeth [things become

No. 5

Akwee-1: Loketepan, niketepan. Ta Ikaru logo ademario. Atama boca ngide, "Kicuma imesek atonyama. Kicuma atonyama."

Mam ngakiro eruoro. Ibore be adaun a ngakiro a, "Ee," nyangorongoro ibore be adaun. Ni kolong adaunia, "Ee," engoriana. Ejok ace-kwar, ani ace kitaraunae ngikiel pas. Akonyuni ca ayong. Mam na atunit, ani boca keyakar

nonsense]. I can bite [eat a bit of meat]. There is no meat that I will grab, and if my child is present, I call [and give the meat to] the child. And the rest, it is this black one [if there are other people gathering] that I will give [the meat to them]. This one, it is this black one who will eat. I will not carry [the meat], I will not be attracted with it, even when it is white [full of fat]. I will not be attracted.

Man: Listen, somebody is standing [talking], listen, somebody is standing.

Akwee-1: Lodio! Lodio!⁽¹⁸⁾ Yes, I have killed somebody's big reproducing camel (an idiomatic phrase of expressing anger).

ikoku kang, atonyarak boca ikoku. Ani nace a, nakirion naga ainakini ayong. Naga, nakirion naga enyami. Emam nyakodi ayong, nyakaminarit ayong ekwang kia dae. Nyakaminarit ayong.

Man: Topupokinito ewei itwaan, topupokinito ewei itwaan.

Akwee-1: Lodio! Lodio! Ee, aar nyekaal a itungunan lotiketepan.

No. 6

Akwee-1: You, return it [Lodio should be generous to me as his father was]. There is something of mine [which Lodio can give to me] there, of mine, it is there. Something has stolen the bell [of livestock] and it has left [the bell] behind, and I am told, when I ask, they say, "Yes, the one that Lodio is having in the forest. I heard Lodio, 'Yes,' I heard him saying, 'Gilgilgil.'" [I heard the sound of the bell which Lodio was carrying] I said, "It is mine." Wait and I will tell you in the eye [face to face], wait and I will tell you in the eye [face to face], and someday in future, we will exhaust tape-worms from the intestines [we will reveal the truth]. I am rotting here. Because hyena ate the family of Lorukia and Lorot (something bad had happened to their families and their livestock was finished). Yes! That is where my hunger is from [because their families ruined]. That is where my leanness is from. It is there. And for Lorot, hey, Lodio! Wait and I tell you this... You came sometime ago to Namorutotio, didn't you? Me, me, it was me that you

No. 6

Akwee-1: Kinyaku iyong ngesi. Eyei ibore kang eyei neni, ni dio kang eyei neni. Ekokoyarit ibore ikadongot be ecakakinit, be ebeyo ayong, ani engita tamarae, "Ee, ni etingit Lodio a naporosit. Eirari ngesi Lodio a, 'Ee', ngesi ebala 'Gilgilgil.'" Atama "nyikang." Towaa katolimok nakongu, towaa katolimok nakongu, towaa katolimok nakongu, ani moi nacekolongit esunyutu ngipeelei a namaliteny. Abosikinit ayong ne. Na anyamia ebu awi na a Lorukia ka na a Lorot. Aa! Ni itorunit akoro na kang neni. Erogo lo kang, ni itorunit neni. Ngesi neni. Ani na a Lorot a, atige Lodio! Towaa katotiyiak na na... Ibuni ba been tolom nacurur na be Namorutotio? Ayong, ayong kisaki kaneni, kisaki ayong kaneni. Towaa kesiruor nakongu teni kiduarit emo-gira.

were looking for there. Wait and I tell you in the eye [face to face], even if you are the owner of an ox of *logira* (referring to Lodio's favorite ox).

No. 7

Akwee-1: Nameyan, Lodio, Lowosa, it is yours. This is ours [The bride comes from our family]. This is ours which we are eating [we will get bridewealth]. And when the sun sets, the eye settles on the thing called *lokimul* [we will eat its meat], we remove the cheeks [we will eat its meat] and leave the bone, they return the bone to women. You!⁽¹⁹⁾ Struggle with the soup and drink, and call also other men of different age-sets, and line them up. I will not obstruct you. Me, the father of the yellow-ox, a cow is leading a camel of this size...

No. 7

Akwee-1: Nameyan, Lodio, Lowosa, nyekus. Na kosi na. Ibore kosi kinyami sua en. Ani tokona erea akolong a, totikokin ibore be lokimul a akongu taanyu, topukucu ngamatengin, kimie akoit, kinyakarae akoit, kinyakarae kiding ngaberu. Iyong! Totikonokin ngapoko tamat, tonyaranak ngikiliok ngasapanetea, toreanak. Nyeriwokini ayong. Apa alotimong-nyang, erikit aite ekaal lo ebi ne...

No. 8

Akwee-1: This one is following the previous thing that has been left. That is why it was completed. You, this family has called you [you came here because of the marriage]. It has called you, it has called you. You, even while walking, even while looking for camels, where is the home of Lotwalamoyo? Where is [the home] of Nakure? My friend, your remains are in this family [you are related to this family], to the two huts [two men]. Wait and I show you, and tomorrow you say, "You never showed me." And when Lokawo, Lotwalamoyo, and Nakure make mistakes,⁽²⁰⁾ you all will say, "Hey, you [Lokawo and others] were shown long ago [the proper way by Akwee-1]. And the person who had a stick of *edome*,⁽²¹⁾ who was standing with the stick (referring to himself), he had just shown [you the proper way]. Maybe it is you Lokawo who has denied us? Maybe it is you Nakure who is overpowering us?" [If

No. 8

Akwee-1: Iwapit nege ibore nice nidio been kesidion. Ngesi been ejiriere. Aai, kinyar awi natina iyong. Kinyar, kinyar. Aai, ilosi dae, isaki ngikaala dae, nyaani awi a Lotwalamoyo? Nyaani na a Nakure? Lopae, eyei asidiko kon nawi na, lokolia lu arei lu. Towaa kedodik ani moi tama, "Nyidodikina." Ani esecete Lokawo ka Lotwalamoyo ka Nakure, tamasi esi, "Ekoe, be kolong bo kidodikinitae. Ani itwaan nidio kolong a aburo a nadio kolong dome, awuar aburo, be edodiunit bo kolong. Meere bo esi Lokawo ca kidemarito a? Meere bo Nakure esi ca kireito a?" Kidaru ngakiro na a apaaran ka na. Ngaarei ngatukusio eya ne. Na kang ka na a akimuj kana. Esi kisiruorete daang naarei, tonupa, todakatar.

Lokawo and Nakure do not perform well in the coming bridewealth negotiations, others will fail to get their share] Wait for today's matter [the result of bridewealth negotiations]. The gatherings are two which are here. Mine and those for this food [share of bridewealth]. It is you that all the two are talking to, so that you believe in order to live.

Akwee-1 resumed the invocation again.

No. 9 (Invocation)

Akwee-1: Camels to multiply, they should multiply! <They should multiply> Have they been given out for marriage? <They have been given out for marriage> Cattle to multiply, they should multiply! <They should multiply> Have they been given out for marriage? <They have been given out for marriage> Goats to multiply, they should multiply! <They should multiply> Have they been given out for marriage? <They have been given out for marriage> Men get used to those livestock! <They should get used to> [Livestock] Of the Turkana! <Yes> At their home? <Yes> Men at the homesteads, they are present! <They are present> Are men present at the homesteads? <They are present> Are children present? <They are present> Are they playing? <They are playing> Are women present? <They are present> Are they dancing and singing? <They are dancing and singing> Are they present? <They are present> In this land? <Yes> Are they present? <They are present>

Beat [chase away] the bad thing from all the fences [of the homesteads], from maize flour, from maize grains, beat all that thing, it should go! <It should go> The fever? <Yes> When it [bad thing] catches their donkeys, should it migrate? <It should migrate> Should it leave us? <It should leave> We eat the charcoal?

No. 9

Akwee-1: Ngikaala nyabari tabaras! <Tabaras> Eutanar ia? <Eutanar> Ngaatuk nyabari tabaras! <Tabaras> Eutanar ia? <Eutanar> Ngakinei nyabari tabaras! <Tabaras> Eutanar ia? <Eutanar> Ngikiliok nyanaikin ka ngibaren ngulu tanaikin! <Taniakin> Lu a ngiturkana! <Ee> A nawi kec a? <Ee> Ngikiliok nawiyei eya! <Eya> Eya ngikiliok nawiyei? <Eya> Eya ngide a? <Eya> Eboliasi a? <Eboliasi> Eya ngaberu? <Eya> Inyakanarete a? <Inyakanarete> Eya ba? <Eya> Nakwap a? <Ee> Eya ba? <Eiya>

Tarama nikaronon kaneni daang a-nalaarin, a-lopoco, a-lomorogo, tarama ibore ngini daang tasaa! <Tasaa> Arukum a? <Ee> Kirum ngisikiria kec taramak ia? <Taramak> Kimie ngoni a? <Kimiek> Atanyama ngatotol ia? <Ee> Atanyama ngakito a? <Ee> Kimie ngoni a? <Kimiek> Tolilimier akimuj ngirwa

[We make charcoal and sell it, then buy food and eat it] <Yes> We eat the firewood? [We sell firewood and buy food to eat] <Yes> Should it leave us? <It should leave> The food should become cool everyday <They should be cool> When we eat <Yes> To become feces <Yes> It will excrete <Yes> When we eat, we excrete <Yes> Only that <Yes> Even water [should become cool] <Yes> Nothing else <Nothing> Beat [evict] all the feces [all sorts of diarrhea], which they had said “So and so has got diarrhea,” beat even the diarrhea, it should go! <It should go> Has that thing gone away? <It has gone away> It has gone forever? <It has gone forever> Even the left-over to go away, it should go away! <It should go away> The headache to leave, it should leave! <It should leave> Everything <Yes> It has gone from us <It has gone> Has it migrated? <It has migrated> It has caught the refugee camp⁽²²⁾ <Yes> Has it migrated? <It has migrated> It has migrated forever! We [we and bad things] should not meet!⁽²³⁾

daang <Tolilimier> Ani kinyami ngoni <Ee> Tarau acino <Ee> Ibobonio ca <Ee> Na enyamere kibobonae <Ee> Neni ba bon <Ee> Ta ngakipi <Ee> Mam ba ice <Mam> Tarama ngacin daang na ngoon abei, “Eremorit ati,” tarama aremor dae, tolot! <Tolot> Alot ba ibore ngini <Alot> Ecuuar ba? <Ecuuar> Ngasekan dae akicuaar, kicuaar! <Kicuaar> Lokou dae arotokin, torotok! <Torotok> Ibore daang <Ee> Alot a niyok <Alot> Awuot ba? <Awuot> Erumuni ba ngidinkae <Ee> Aramaki ba? <Aramaki> Aramaki jik! Nyikiriamakin!

No. 10

Akwee-1: They [livestock] are grazing <They are grazing> Have they found the right grass [good pasture]? <They have found> Those good ones [pasture] of ours <Yes> The cattle? <Yes> Ours! <Yes> Beat iron beads,⁽²⁴⁾ beat iron beads of our women (iron beads used for women’s dress), even of *adwel* (women’s front apron), even of *abwo* (women’s back skirt) as well, to be furious there in the west [where other ethnic groups live], it (the iron bead = bullet) should become furious! <It should become furious> It [bullet] hits the kudu? <It hits> It hits the lion? <Yes> It hits the eland? <Yes> It hits the buffalo? <Yes> On the cheek <Yes> On the cheek <Yes> What

No. 10

Akwee-1: Edakasi <Edakasi> Eyookin nginya a? <Eyookin> Lu kosi kajokak <Ee> Ngaatuk ba? <Ee> Na yok! <Ee> Tarama edanyit, tarama edanyit lo a ngaberu a na yok, lo a adwel dae, lo a abwo dae, nyadedenger ka ina alo too, todedeger! <Todedeger> Ikenyi ca ngasarico a? <Ikenyi> Ikenyi engatuny a? <Ee> Ikenyi ewapet a? <Ee> Ikenyi ekosowan ia? <Ee> Namatengen ca <Ee> Namatengen ca <Ee> Namatengen ca <Ee> Ani ebu ngolo akurianer, tokurianer! <Tokurianer> Tarau apoo a? <Tarau> Aliwor apoo a? <Aliwor> Ebukut lo alo too a? <Ee>

about the hyena to fear, it should fear!
 <It should fear> It should become [be
 like] an hare? <It should become> Has
 it become an hare? <It has become> The
 other ethnic group of the west? <Yes>

The meat of the ewe was ready to be eaten. The men then shared the meat, consuming it while sitting in a semicircle.

After they had eaten the meat, the bride's men and the groom's men moved to their own trees and took up their positions to conduct the bridewealth negotiations. The tree used by the groom's side was about 50 m east of the homestead of the bride, while that used by the bride's men lay about 30 m east of her homestead. Between these two trees, there was an open space. From the bride's group, a man named Nakure (Fig. 1) stood up and went to the open space, where he started the bridewealth negotiations. His speech and the ensuing speeches of the men of the bride's family were directed to the groom's side, while the speeches of the groom's side were directed to the bride's men.

No. 11 (10:37 a.m.)

Nakure: There is nothing left. I gave you your wife, yours, I gave you.⁽²⁵⁾ I am looking for only food [bridewealth], only. I gave you your family [the bride], she went to your homestead... Hey! You have come, tell me the matters that you wanted formerly, tell me [like this], "Father, I wanted such and such matter. I want [to give out bridewealth] like this, like this." I have showed you the way. I said, "If you want, 'Yes,' do it in such and such a way." You have been given your wife. You have been given! There is nothing more left on this [bride's] side. It is only eating [bridewealth] that he wants [we want] this side.

No. 11

Nakure: Mam ice-bore idongit. Kainak kolong ayong iyong aberu na kon, kainak. Akimuj bon asaki ayong, bon. Kainak kolong ayong iyong awi na kon, alot nawi kon... Ei! Bu boca, kitolimok ayong ngakiro na been isaki iyong, tama boca, "Apa, asaki been ngakiro be ta-ati, asaki kona, asaki kona." Ketoodik ayong iyong erot. Atama, "Kisakit ia, 'Ee' tosubak robo lowae be ati, lowae be ati." Kiinakin iyong akon-beru. Kiinakin! Mam nabo na eya laalo. Ekimuje bon ngesi esaki laalo.

Some men from the bride's side were playing a game called *bao* in Kiswahili. In this game, the Turkana make two lines of holes on the ground, instead of using a board (*bao*), and utilize pebbles as game pieces. The leading figures from the bride's side told the men playing the game to move away.

No. 12

Nakure: (To men of his side) Don't take me to the grave [don't destroy the negotiation]... Come and sit on the grave

No. 12

Nakure: Nyikiyaa naliel... Bua, eboikin naliel a ngibaren.

of livestock [join the bridewealth negotiations].

Lokawo: (To men of his side) You! I am always uncomfortable with a deaf person [who does not listen to others]. What about this noise, who can be made to listen to the matter?

Nakure: (To men of his side) You, person, another person should keep quiet completely! This is not something to scramble for, it is something else. Hey! Keep quiet, even you, *ngikilees* (pebbles of the game). Hey! The *ngikilees* are making noise to my ears, “Thud, thud!” You, that person of *ngikilees*, you want to say [you should suggest] saying [to the players of the game], “Let us go to another tree.” Hey!

Lokawo: (To Nakure) Nakure, put [the pebbles which people use in the game] in that bag.

Man: (To men of his side) Straight-forwardly, it is this eastern side that is actually making noise, here, like this.

Nakure: (To men of his side) All of you, get to this direction, move away, all [of you], like this.

Man: (To men of his side) What is the noise for?

Man: (To men of his side) Give people the way where they are talking, move to one side.

Lokawo: Iyong a! Kakadakinit ayong itwaan nidio kinimanotin. Ani ewocwo lo, kisiirarae ngae ngakiro?

Nakure: Iyong itwaan, kililing iyong itwaan nice en ciek! Meere nabo ibore en emariao ice-bore. Eei! Kililinga ngikilees dae. Eei! Ebalasi ngikilees naki, doe, doe! Iyong itwaan ni a ngikilees, ikot atamar, akisiruor atamar, “Bua apana ece-kitoe.” Hai!

Lokawo: Kiwaak Nakure locue ngol.

Man: Kitenikisi rika, kide ne itenikinit iruoro ne, ne kona.

Nakure: Toriwo esi daang kane, kinapar, daang kane epewae kona.

Man: Nyaur nyaur nyaur, inyo?

Man: Totiakisi ngitunga ani iyaneta, kinaparosi epewae.

The first man from the groom’s side stood up in his group, came out from the shade of the tree, and started his speech in the open space. His name was Etoot (Etoot-2 hereafter, see Fig. 2). There was another person with the same name on the bride’s side (Etoot-1, see Fig. 1), who was one of the leading figures in the negotiations, while Etoot-2 of the groom’s side talked only twice.

No. 13 (10:41 a.m.)

Etoot-2: There is nothing to be said here [We have nothing to say].

Men on the bride's side: (while sitting)
Pay attention!

Etoot-2: This tree [men on the groom's side] has very little to say. It is only the blood [bridewealth negotiations]⁽²⁶⁾ that I brought sometime ago, for which we are now sitting here. The matters which are to be said, are in that tree [it is men on the bride's side who have things to say]. The reason of this journey [of ours]⁽²⁷⁾ is to meet with our fathers [men on the bride's side]. It is this blood that we are gathering. We meet to talk whatever the mouths want [We should talk and agree]. Those matters belong to the tree of our fathers, and to this tree [men on the groom's side].

No. 14

Lokawo: (while sitting) Stand up, you, Etoot, make me understand what you said now. I could not understand.

Etoot-2: I say that matter, I only brought the blood [bridewealth negotiations]. I brought the blood, with which we gather now. So that I meet with my fathers, they will tell me whatever they want to say. That is all I had. We go and meet with my fathers, to talk what we wanted to talk. I came yesterday just to meet [you], so that we can meet. This is the blood which I have now.

No. 15 (10:43 a.m.)

Emus: Fathers, have you understood? Or are you not satisfied yet?

Lokawo: (while sitting) Not yet.

No. 13

Etoot-2: Emam robo ngakiro iyanakinio kane.

Men on the bride's side: Topupokisi!

Etoot-2: Ekidioko ngakiro nadio elimuni ekitoe lo. Ngaakot ca been ayaunit, na tokona iboyere kane nu. Ni boca eya ngakiro na boca acamito alimuno, ngesi boca lokitoe lo. Nyaanyun boca been ka ta-apa kosi ngesi been elote lo. Ngaakot boca na tokona kitumunookor nu. Eriamakin boca atolimokin ngakiro na acamito ngakituk alimokin. Tarai ngakiro nguna ngaka ekitoe a lo ka ta-apa kosi ka lo.

No. 14

Lokawo: Tonyou mono iyong, Etoot, kisiirarae ngakiro na tokona ilumuni iyong. Nyiirara, nyiirara.

Etoot-2: Abala ngakiro nguna, ngaakot been ayaunit. Ngaakot been ayaunit na boca tokona kiboyo nu. Ataanyun boca ka ta-apa kang a, katolimokis boca ngakiro na acamito alimokin. Ngakiro ayakar daang nguna. Apana robo eriamakin ka ta-apa kang, atolimokin robo ngakiro na kicamit alimokin. Nyaanyun been abunit, eriamakin boca. Ngaakot atingit na tokona nu.

No. 15

Emus: Ta-apa, irasi a? Kori eringa kikadito?

Lokawo: Eringa.

Emus: Remove the wind [let's talk frankly]. Remove the wind from that side [bride's side], and it will be removed from this side [groom's side] as well. The wind which is present, move aside and blow in its place. Let people who want to talk remain [here], listen to the matter and agree. This is my coming and I want [to hear] all the matters [words] which my fathers [men on the bride's side] have. All. Those people who came here, those who came down from the God, those who are pressing [assembling] here [to feed those people]. I have suffered, you have also suffered. I now want everything concerning the thing [bride] that I took from here, it is what I want to be given. Let us tear [solve the problem] together.

No. 16 (10:45 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes! I have understood, Etoot, I have understood.⁽²⁸⁾ I have understood. You, these trees [men of both sides], listen. You!

Man on the groom's side: (while sitting) Yes.

Lokawo: I am asking you...

Man on the groom's side: (while sitting) Me.

Lokawo: Are these goats...

Man on the groom's side: (while sitting): These.

Lokawo: What for?

Man on the groom's side: (while sitting) They are *talokimul* and *lokiruoret*.⁽²⁹⁾

Lokawo: Yes, yes. That's right. You?!

Emus: Tolemasi ekuwam. Tolemasi ekuwam a lowae ka ngolo dae, elemario kane dae. Ekuwam lo eyei, tacadar min kuwamwam ani keng. Kidongo ngitunga lu esakete amidakin ngakiro, topupokis ngakiro kiirasi. Abunere kang ibore en, asaki ngakiro daang, ni eya ta-apa kang. Daang. Ngitunga lu kolong apote ni dae ne, lu kolong acakun a nakuj dae, atiko ni dae ne. Ayong dae eumiar, iyong dae iumiar. Asakit tokona akiroit ngina daang, ngina a ibore a ni kolong alemari ayong kane, ngesi asaki atamar kainakin. Atociliciliyasi.

No. 16

Lokawo: Ee! Eira, Etoot, eira. Eira. Topupokisi esi ngikito lu. Iyong a!

Man on the groom's side: Ee.

Lokawo: Kengisit, iyong a...

Man on the groom's side: Ayong.

Lokawo: Ngakinei nu a...

Man on the groom's side: Nu.

Lokawo: Inyo ni?

Man on the groom's side: Talokimul ka lokiruoret.

Lokawo: Ee, ee. Itemokino. Iyong a?!

Man on the groom's side: (while sitting)
Me.

Lokawo: Teach me the matters, you, young men, I have forgotten. You made the pus [you spoiled] by slaughtering the sheep [You did not slaughter them properly], are these sheep normally accompanied by something else? [They should be slaughtered at a later stage] You made the pus by slaughtering the sheep, are these sheep normally accompanied by something else? You made the pus by slaughtering the sheep, are these sheep normally accompanied by something else? Jump [come up] with those things, before me [before I talk]. You married and that is over, only I... It seems that you know, raise it [speak out]. Yours has finished [you have done what you wanted], I no longer say like this. Raise it for me [Speak and make me understood]!

No. 17 (10:46 a.m.)

Emus: Explain to me, explain to me whatever is going wrong, and whatever I do not know, tell me, let me understand. Tell me, let me understand. Those things, whatever is left behind, what is there with you, tell me and I will understand. The matters which I said, to tear everything [to solve the problem], that is all. The remaining thing is also just like this. There is smoke [of roasting meat] and it is as good as this [we can talk positively, as the smoke of roasting meat is pleasant for us]. This is a rainy season, not a dry season. It is good matters that we have come [here] to do.

No. 18 (10:47 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes, I understand. Like who? Who is the man to slaughter [livestock] when they are not in the enclosure [Who starts the marriage arrangement]? And

Man on the groom's side: Ayong.

Lokawo: Kitatamanakinae ro lodia lo ngakiro kemurianakis. Itongolit iyong ngaanei nu ngabulon, erukito palem ngaanei nu ka ngace-kiro a? Itongolit iyong ngaanei nu ngabulon, erukito palem ngaanei nu ka ngace-kiro a? Itongolit iyong ngaanei nu ngabulon, erukito palem ngaanei nu ka ngace-kiro a? Toporunio cantene ngakiro nguna, eringa ayong. Iuta kolong iyong arumor, ayong bon... Ikwa bo iyeni, kikeu! Asubasi ani kon arumor, nyeringa nabo ayong abala kona. Kikekinae!

No. 17

Emus: Kisiirarae, kisiirarae na icongakina dae, na nyayeni ayong, tolimokinae, eira. Tolimokinae, eira. Nguna dae, na esidieta dae, na eyakatar ni kon, tolimu iyong eira ayong. Ngakiro na abala ayong tociliciluunai daang kesi nguna. Nace na isidiete dae, ikote nabo nugu. Eyei apuru ejok ikote nugu. Akiporo ibore en meere akamu. Ngakiro kajokak kesi eponitae akisub.

No. 18

Lokawo: Ee, eira. Kwa ngae? Kwa ngae engoli pe emekina nanok? Ani erumor tongolae. Kicumae lokiruoret. Lokiruoret dae, kapaikinit iyong ayong. Akingol

then [the ritual sheep were] slaughtered. *Lokiruoret* was speared. Even *lokiruoret*, I have forced you. Even you have forced me to slaughter [the sheep]. This tongue never mentioned [You have done it without discussing with me]. Even *lokiruoret*. You should choose [make things clear], saying, “I have counted, and it is like this. I have counted and it is like this.” You all, keep quiet. Leave the reports of the matter [Don’t listen to the irresponsible statements], saying “Kok, kok, kok.” [talking a lot of nonsense]

dae kitingakinit iyong ayong. Nyelimuno angajep na. Lokiruoret dae. Kiyookin ca iyong atamar, “Esabunit ikoni ne, esabunit ikoni ne.” Kililinga mono esi. Kiapakisi mono esi eropot a ngakiro, be ebei “Kok, kok, kok.”

No. 19 (10:48 a.m.)

Logum: Yes, my fathers. I am talking the same [idea with you]. Everything belongs to you. Even if I have done something which I have done. Everything belongs to you. You, take out [speak], I have taken out what I have taken out. You, just speak your way, of which you are not satisfied with, what is missing, what you found [missing], saying, “Such and such a way is missing, usually such and such a way is like this, it is done like this.” I have done mine, which I have done. If there is something missing, something which is not accompanied, which you know that it is not accompanied, speak that point. Stop looking for the matters again [insisting again], saying, “For whom normally like these [things are done these ways], for what like these [things are done these ways].”

The year has mixed [Recent changes have destroyed] all the matters of our land long ago. It has mixed long ago until they became useless, [so that] there is nothing which is the same with those in colonial times, [the same with] what we are talking, saying, “Such and such matters are usually [done] in this way, such and such matters are usually [done] in this way.” All are mixed up [destroyed],

No. 19

Logum: Ee, ta-apa. Ngesi nipei eruorikinit. Ngakon daang. Ngakon daang, kepanyit bo ayong na epanyit dae. Ngakon daang. Tolemu iyong, alemu ayong na alemu nguna. Kiruorik ca iyong erot kon lo arai ngesi lo kikadit iyong, lo iituno, lo iyanyunit iyong atamar, “Be iituno erot be ati, be ikoni palem erot be ati, esubio ikoni ne.” Asubak ayong lo kang lo asubak. Ani keyei lo iituno, lo idekina, lo iyenit iyong atamar idekina, kiruorik neni jik. Toisik nabo asakarit ngakiro, atamar, “Kwa ngae palem ikoni ne, kwa inyo ikoni ne.”

Ngakiro a akwap yok daang, amunaaya kolong ekaru. Amunaaya kolong arata pas, mam na eringa itemosi nabo ni kolong ngorot ni a kolon, ni kiruoro ngoni atamar, “Ikote ngakiro palem be ta-ati ne, ikote palem ngakiro be ta-ati ne.” Arata daang emunaate, amunae daang lopit lo ikoni lo tokona kimunar ngoni ka ngidinkae a Natiir ka na, kinyamia ngalup dae, kinyamia ngacin dae. Arata ngakiro a

all [the matters] are mixed in the way like this, we and refugees are mixing with one another at this place of Natiir (name of the place), eating even soil and feces. Everything of our land has become rotten [changed]. What has been done, what is missing should be said, we go and do it [solve the problem], what is present, what is not present [whatever is possible].

No. 20 (10:49 a.m.)

Lokawo: It is true, I have understood. You are saying that everything has been destroyed already. Which people are having sexual intercourse? Which matters are we talking about? What is this now? Is it not sexual intercourse? I say to you this thing, you, show me. You, say “I am going like that, I am going like that [I will give such and such livestock].” Which is usually... We did not agree [on anything]! Ever since, you have been bypassing [ignoring] me. Did you come [to see me] so that we can agree?

(Talking to the men of his side) You!? Men under these trees, or did you talk with your person [with the bridegroom]? Don't throw me like a spear [Don't incite me to negotiate if you have already agreed with the groom].

(Talking to the men of groom's side) Speak out the thing, you have done it and it is over. Raise it up [speak out]. Other people are going to separate [mediate] us.

(10:50 a.m.)

Logum: (while sitting) I will not raise it up. I went on my way which I have passed before [I have already said what I wanted to say]. It is you to raise it up [speak out] what is missing.

Nakure initiated negotiations on gifts, that the bride's side asked the groom's side to give out prior to launching the bridewealth negotiations. However, the topic of the negotiations eventually returned to circular discussions of the *lokiruoret* and *talokimul*.

akwap yok daang ekabose. Ni asubakinio, tolimunoe ni eituno, tolotoi, tosubakinae neni, na ayakar, na amamakar.

No. 20

Lokawo: Iteni, eira, eira, eira. Be iba iyong, be amunae kolong daang. Emanyio ngitunga alu? Iruoroe ngakiro anu? Inyo tokona ibore en? Meere emanyit ia? Abala iyong ibore ngini, kitatakanikinae iyong ayong. Tama iyong, “Ekoni alosi nen, ekoni alosi nen.” Alu palem... Nyepupokina robo ayong ka iyong! Na kolong kinutakinea jik, kinutakinea jik. Ibu ngoon iyong, atopupokin ngoni a?

Aa!? Ngikiliok be ngika ngikito ka lu, kori robo iruorito ka ikus-twaan? Nyikiremosi robo kwa akwara.

Kikekinae ibore, isubak iyong arumor. Kikeu iyong. Be eloose ngitunga kitotiak ngoni luce.

Logum: Mam nabo nyekeuni ayong. Alot ca ayong lorot kang lo been alosi. Iyong ikeuni ni iituno.

No. 21 (10:51 a.m.)

Nakure: If you are not raising it up, they are like this [I will explain]. Don't play with the matters. Of all the marriages, there is a thing called *abwo* (a leather skirt which the groom should give out) for the bride's mother, there is a cooking pot like this way, there is a cloth that somebody may have said [demanded]. There is also something that another person might have requested for. These matters have not been mentioned in this gathering. They were still saying that you might come [We have been waiting for you]. Then we tell you the matters of your mothers' skirts [skirts of the mothers of the bride]. We tell you. Another mother of yours [is here] who also wanted a cooking pot, we tell you. You might not find [You are not able to give] some of them, and you might find some of them. It is what we told you before, you have come in the way you have come [You came to discuss with us]. Now you have come. You have come. Those matters which that person [Lokawo] is talking about, [saying that] those matters are usually done first, [saying that what should be] done while eating [talking] all the matters completely.

A person says [You should say] "I have understood, even [the matter] of *abokor* (leather skirts), [the matter] of a cooking pot." Even another person [of bride's relative] was asking for a reproducing ram, or a reproducing he-goat. That is how the marriage is supposed to be. Don't make it horn-less [Don't induce disorders]. When it is not horn-less [it is not because you made a mess], then we decide to push it horn-lessly [We will not continue to make a mess]. A marriage brings a profit for all the families [both the bride's and groom's families]. Go and bring *akwakook* (a kind of clothes). Go

No. 21

Nakure: Ani pa kikeu, eya kona, eya kona. Nyiigologol ngakiro be gol, gol gol. Eya palem ngakiutasia, eyei ibore be abwo ka ata apese, abwo ka ata be kona, eyei ibore be ace-kolo kona, eyei ibore be ece-woru, ngoon kebala itwaan. Eyei ibore be ice-bore ngoon kebala ice-twaan. Nyisisauna ngoon ngakiro nu a najore ka na. Aringa been kec ebasi kori ibuni. Atolimokisi sua iyong ngakiro na a ngabues ka ta-ito kon dae. Atolimokisi. Ito kon ace asaki akolo dae, atolimokisi. Kitongopik boca ni kingopikini, totakanu ni atakanuni. Ngesi been kibaar sua iyong, bu boca ebune lo tokona lo. Tokona, ibu boca. Ibu. Ngakiro na tokona iruorikinit itwaan ngin, isiaunio palem ngakiro nguna kipanyakinae, kipanyakinae boca tonyametei ngakiro daang jik.

Tama itwaan, "Eira. Eira na a abokor dae, eira na a ice-kolo dae." Ice-twaan bo kebala emesek-ketepan dae, ice-twaan kebala ekoroe-ketepan dae. Ikoni ibore be akiuta neni. Nyilemwao. Meere elemwana tamarae, atanangasi elemwana jik. Eya akiuta ngipaidai, lu a ngawiyeyi ka daang. Tolot min yau akwakook, min eya ngabwes ka ta-ito kon. Tolot kitwaru. Eya ngakiro nguna na asubakin a nadakar ka na? Ka naga, eya na asubakin ia? Elemwaaka! Ngesi ngakiro na kisisakinit iyong itwaan.

and bring the leather skirts of your mothers. Go and bring. [Of these things] Is there anything which was done with this family? [You didn't bring these things] Horn-less! [You made a mess] It is the matters that the person [Lokawo] is telling you.

And he is saying, "Now you have also done it in a right way [You have already taken the bride, so we need the bridewealth]." You are saying, "Tell us the matters that are present [Tell us what you want]." Those matters that you have been instructed are like those. You are saying, "Tell us the matters that are present." You are saying, "Tell us the matters that are present." That is it! People, stand up and tell him.

(To the men of his side) Hey, or this is a lie and I have made a mistake, men. Eh?

No. 22 (10:53 a.m.)

Logum: Yes, it is like that, Father! Even me, I was going the way of the matters, if they were there, and even the matters that you have said that I have done [We took the bride to our homestead before the formal marriage arrangements], I was going [following] the way of the groups which were gathering from all over, from your side and from my side [I have been looking for the livestock to give away]. At the same time, I am walking with problems, going around the land looking for the lost thing which the year hid in the bush [I have been looking for livestock for this payment of bridewealth, but the livestock became scarce because of the drought]. I watched already the thing, that people were gathering here, they [people] have gathered and got rotten [They waited too long]. I watched their hunger together with the gathering [people], I say, "This matter cannot be

Na ebala, "Tokona boca iyookin iyong dae." Ibala boca "Tolimokinae ngakiro na eya." Ibala boca, "Tolimokinae ngakiro na eya." Ikote ngakiro nguna kitatamikinitae iyong ikote neni. Be ibala bo iyong, "Tolimokinae ngakiro na eya." Nyenguna! Tonyout ngitunga kisisakis.

Ekoe, kori akiding adiak ngikiliok. Aa?

No. 22

Logum: Ee, ngesi neni apa! Ayong dae, alosi elote lo a ngakiro keya na tokona iba iyong asubit dae, alosi elote lo a ngalooso, a na kolong ediatasi awa daang, ani kon dae, ani kang dae. Ayong nabo atolose ka ngican, atolose ka ngican erimite akwap atasaki nakangopak na kolong be ejirak ekaru namoni. Esemee been ibore ni kolong be ediatasi ngitunga nege, ediatasi abos, eseme ka akidiata akoro kec, atama, "Be nyenangasi ngakiro nu, tani ewae lo tokona abala eka ngaropiyae akwaak. Be nyenangasi."

reached [solved], even the side, which I am saying, of white money [even to find coins (small number of livestock) to feed the people is difficult]. This matter cannot be reached [solved].”

The way they have got rotten [We could not gather much livestock] even on my side, and that is why I came to you [to explain our problems]. Now the way which I was going, those *ngitalio*⁽³⁰⁾ [demands of the bride’s people] that they brought, that thing cannot resist [Our livestock cannot satisfy the demands]. What is missing [now] will be missing [even tomorrow]. And that is what could be missing even before those matters come [You might have been missing livestock before this marriage, so, you had better accept even small number of livestock as the bridewealth payments]. You don’t want to agree, even your thing which you wanted to beg, talk, what will be missing will be missing, [in the same] way [as] it could have been missed before, even before this thing [marriage] arrives [Even you demand things now, we will not bring what we cannot afford]. What will be found will be found, it will be found even if this thing [marriage] came first, if it came.

No. 23 (10:55 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes! I have understood! I have truly understood it! You!? My son!?

Man on the groom’s side: (while sitting)
Me.

Lokawo: You divided it, why did you divide it? [You have brought ritual sheep, but you are not generously giving out the bridewealth] Why don’t you bring it, what I am now telling you, “Because you have already done it, do it [You took the bride home, so you should bring the

Lowae lo aboseta ani ayei ayong dae, ngesi elote lo been alosi ayong logo. Tokona elote lo been alosi ayong logo, ngitalio lu been ayauni lu, emam ibore ngini nyiratakinete. Ni angopi dae, ni angopi. Ni adikino moi engopi been tani eringa ngakiro nguna nyepona. Emam nyicamit iyong, ibore kon ni been icamit iyong atamar elipa dae, kiruor, tongop ni angopi, longope lo been adikino engopi tani eroko ibore en nyebuno. Totakanu ni atakanuni, etakanuni teni keyakunit ibore en, kebunit.

No. 23

Lokawo: Ee! Eira! Be eira bo! Iyong mono a!? Lokoku a!?

Man on the groom’s side: Ayong.

Lokawo: Be totiak bo iyong, inyo bo atiaki? Be nyiilem bo iyong jik, ni tokona abala ayong iyong, “Kwa na kolong ca kisubakine a, tosubak.” Kisiirarae, tama iyong, “Alem kona.” Eporu ayong. Meere nabo nyisiauni akituk kang, atamar “Kikok ne, kikok ne.” Erum ro ayong erot lo

bridewealth generously].” Explain to me, saying, “I have brought this.” And I jump over [I will demand more than you offer]. My mouth will not start again saying, “Do like this, do like this.” [It is not me to demand first, you should just bring things] I have caught [realized] the way of this sheep [*lokiruoret*] and that other one lying at [our] homestead [*talokimul*] [I realized that you will not marry properly]. That is the matter, my son. There is nothing else which you can say again, [Don’t say] “Give me the wife.” Don’t say it again.

No. 24 (10:56 a.m.)

Logum: Father, our well has divided, our well of this year [We cannot give out what you are demanding, because we do not have enough livestock]. Our well of this year has divided, which does not produce enough water, which has lacked water, and it is dead, which has lacked water, and it is dead. There was something you led and I grew up to get the last bit of it [You know old custom of ours and I know a little about it]. In the past, there was something, which I know now that you are not satisfied with, which you are now saying that the camels used to come first, and that *talokimul* follow them.⁽³¹⁾ You did that thing [It was done in that order in the past]. I got the last bit of it, and it disappeared. Our land is different [from what it was] these days. It is different, it has become upside down. Maybe it is in my place [only] where things have turned upside down. Your place, here, could be alive [Things might not be changed in your place]. It has become very deep, in that we dig [the well], we dig, we lick [the water], we drink, the well with little water on the mountain, it [the water] is like the tip of the finger [We don’t have much livestock].

a akine ka na, ka nace eperi a nawi. Ngakiro nguna, lokoku. Emam nabo icebore, ni erai iyong atamar nabo, “Nakinae aberu,” nyilimuni. Nyilimu nabo.

No. 24

Logum: Apa, etiakit akar yok na, a ngikaru ka lu. Etiakit akar yok na a ngikaru ka lu, na aucirian, na aucirian, na atona, na aucirian, na atona. Ayei kolong ibore ipolokinit iyong, ani ayong aosokini been atodol aidi idi. Ayei kolong ibore ni tokona ayienit atamar be iitunit iyong, ni be ibala kane, be ingarenenete kolong ibore be ngikaala, be totupito talokimul a naabor. Isubit iyong ibore ngini. Adol been ayong ibore ngini aidi idi, tongop. Agelaan tokona akwap yok ngirwa lu. Agelaan etukum ibore. Kerai bo nakwap na kang dae ngesi itukumitor ibore. Nyieyeri bo tokona a nakwap a na kus na. Etukum arau ewadio, ewadio, emidio, emasio, akar-ucir-a-emoru, etia ngaren ekimoin.

And something is missing which they say that somebody went first, he went another way of those old days, and tomorrow they return to another way, it doesn't have water like this size [If somebody in a family gets married first, the second person cannot give out enough bridewealth]. Whoever is given a donkey [as a bridewealth payment], it is all of his share. If somebody asks for camels, and when he is shown [given] the camel, it is all of his share. Some of the people who are the majority, they will miss and sit like that [without getting anything], whoever was behind that person [Important persons will get something, but others will not get anything]. The thing which makes those matters missing, it is that [lack of animals].

No. 25 (10:57 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes! Yes, it is true. I have understood! It is true, I have understood! Let's agree and see how we can do it. Let's agree and see how we can do it. And because you have already done like that [You have already taken the bride to your homestead], enter into the matter and raise it up. The matters which I wanted you to raise are those of before, which you have done before. That is the matters which I want, you, raise it up! You raise it up! Why did you decide... What are we quarrelling for? You have already brought some livestock first. Eh... Land on the matters [Go straight to the point]. Land on the matters. I don't have any matters. All are yours.

No. 26 (10:58 a.m.)

Emus: My fathers, my fathers, what is the matter? Is the fat returned into the gourd [Why are you clinging to the same issue of our mistakes]? What is the matter? Hey! Why are you returning the matters

Na angop ibore ni be ebeyo, tayaka nice, tolot ece-rot lo kolong ngolo. Be ani moi be tobongoi nice, aucirian atiau ne. Itwaan ainakinio esikiria, ake-nok jik ngina. Itwaan atama ekaal, ani idodikinio ekaal ngolo, ake-nok jik ngina. Epewae nikaalan kikanyak daang kiboikin kongina, ni ayei nabo naabor a itwaan ka ngini. Ibore ni ediakit ngakiro nguna, ngesi ngini.

No. 25

Lokawo: Ee. Ee, iteni. Eira! Iteni, eira! Atopupokin ngoni, ataanyutu esubakine. Atopupokin ngoni, ataanyutu esubakine. Ani na been ikokinea iyong neni, toloma ca nai nakiro kikeu. Ngakiro na asaki atamar kikeu iyong na been, na been kisubakini iyong. Ngakiro na asaki ayong nguna, kikeu iyong! Kikeu iyong! Kikoki been iyong o... Inyo mono kicala ngoni? Be iteyek bo been. Ee... Todo nakiro. Todo nakiro. Emam ngakiro eya ayong. Ngakon daang.

No. 26

Emus: Ta-apa, ta-apa, ikote ngakiro ai? Inyakakinitae akidietiet lotio a? Ikote ngakiro ai? Oi! Nyani ibore kalungakinitere ngakiro kona? Ebeyere kane, "Tosub, tosub, logier lo been

back to me? You are saying here, “Do, do, in the way you did before, do in the way you did before.” What is the matter? I have been talking to you saying that even the other thing [the bridewealth payment] that is left, even if it is said now [if we can agree now], it will still go to this good smelling smoke [The point at issue is the bridewealth]. Is there blood [dishonesty] in this matter?

This same matter, you are not following me to my homestead, where I took your kid [the bride] [You did not come to my homestead, I came to you because I am willing to pay the bridewealth]. And then I told you, “Sit here and I give you everything here.” Even after I carried that kid over there, and left you here, and then I came back yesterday. I have brought the matters in front of you here. Have I taken you unaware? [Have I come to see you while you are not aware of my coming to marry the girl?] And even that thing which you are saying, if it is there [if we have enough livestock], will I not take it out? Even if you count [demand livestock] now or later, even if I did it that way, will I not take it out? Again, if it is not there [if we do not have enough livestock], formerly when I came first, it is just normal talking [We will talk and agree].

Talk to me. Don't leave the issue with me [with malicious feelings]. Why are you leaving the issue with me, forcing me something which is impossible? It has been smoothened to become a thing [This bridewealth negotiation became bad], the thing has become disagreement in which people are left disagreeing, quarrelling severely like this. The heads of other people have been destroyed [They are confused]. Why are we saying like this? Show me the way. Again! Within all these matters, it is only your word which

isubea, tosub logier lo been isubea.” Ikote ngakiro ai? Be kesiruori bo abala kane, ibore nice ni edongit dae, kelimun tokona dae, napuru nakajokon na ngesi eteni. Eya ngaakot nakiro a?

Ngakiro napei tokona nu, nyikiwapunit iyong ayong a nawi a na kang a na ngoon adakari ayong ikon-kale. Ani erumor, atosodi ayong iyong atamar kane, “Kiboikin nege kainak ibore daang kane.” Na kadakaria ayong ikale ngini dae inaa, kidongio iyong nege, ani been nyolo abu lo. Ayau boca ngakiro nguna ayau ngaren kon nege. Keturiaikina a? Ani bo nibore ngini dae iba iyong ngini, na eyakar, nyelemunio a? Kimaru tokona iyong ekisidi dae, kasubit bo logier dae ngolo, nyelemunio a? Nabo kemamakar dae, kemamakar dae, been kabu ekingaren dae, nyekiruor a akwap.

Kisiruoroe ca nai, kisiruoroe. Nyikilungak. Inyo kalungakinitere, kareikinitere jik nilem nege? Eriariakin arau ibore en, arau ibore en alearit na imekinitae ngitunga jik elemarito, idiirarito kidiama kona. Apetar ngakies a ngitunga a luce daang. Inyo ebeyere ne? Kidodikinae ca nai erot. Nabo! Alo tooma akiroit na daang, akiroit na kon bon arai iteni. Akiding na kang. Akiding na kang, kadok tokona ayong kidiama lodou dae ye, na kon erai iteni. Kigol tokona iyong tama anikieni dae, ekok ayong ai? Nyenguna, kisiruoroe,

is true. Mine is false. Mine is false, even if now I climb up to that cloud over there [in the sky], yours is true. Even if you close now and decide to close completely [if you bring the negotiation to a deadlock], what will I do? That is it, talk to me, don't return to me.

No. 27 (11:00 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes, I have understood! I have understood! I have understood! The person who does the matters in a manner like this, what has he really done correctly? Don't say again what you mentioned as blood [that we will fight]. Don't say again. Don't say again. Jump up with matters [Talk about the matters] of this sheep and the other one, which... "Like this, like this," you, say, "Like this." What really divided? What divided? [Why aren't you willing to give out bridewealth generously, although you have brought these sheep?] Jump up and say, "I have done like that, I have done like this." [I have prepared to give out such and such numbers of livestock]. Then I also say, "Yes, you have taken out yours, let me also take out mine." If it is hard, we will put that blood [We will fight].

No. 28 (11:01 a.m.)

Emus: Show me if there is something wrong with this *etal*,⁽³²⁾ if it can be cleansed [if there is a way to correct the mistakes], you say, "Cleanse it." Show me if it is the normal way, which I say, "This is *lokiruoret*, that is *ngikumula* (=talokimul)." [What is wrong with them?] Count even another normal thing of that one [Point out other mistakes which we made]. Hey, even if it is there, even if it is good, it will be taken out in a good manner [We will correct our mistakes]. They have come first in the way which it was said to be first [I agree with you that

nyikilungak.

No. 27

Lokawo: Ee eira! Be eira bo! Be eira bo! Itwaan esubakini ngakiro esubakine lo ikoni lo, inyo itemokinit? Nyiilimu nabo ibore ni iba iyong be ngaakot. Nyiilimu nabo. Nyiilimu nabo. Toporunio ngakiro na a akine ka na, ka nace, na ca been... "Kona, kona," tama iyong "Kona." Inyo bo ketiaki? Inyo ketiaki? Toporunio iyong, tama iyong, "Ekok asubakinit ne, asubakinit kona, kona, kona." Atosodi boca ayong dae atama, "Ee, ilemu iyong lu kon, kime iyong atolemu ayong lu kang." Na atioketo, ewuakisi ngaakot nguna.

No. 28

Emus: Kidodikinae ani kicuangakina etal logo, kemookeneo, tama iyong "Tomooka." Kidodikinae ani kerai egier lo palem, lo abala, "Lokiruoret lo, ngikumula kwi." Kimaru ibore nice ni palem ka ai dae. Ekoe, keyei inaa dae, keyei dae, na ajokia dae, elemunio ejok. Be engarenium been logier lo erai ebei ngesi ingareni. Ekiruori akwap na akiruoria dae. Ngakiro na erai ngesi alimuni ayong kesi nguna make. Kidodikinae ngakiro, ngakiro na erai ngesi iituno lojokon.

talokimul and *lokiruoret* have come first]. It will defeat this place, even if it defeats [I will try to do what you will tell me, even if it will become impossible at a certain point]. That is the only matters which I can say. Show me the matters, the matters which are really missing.

No. 29 (11:02 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes, I have understood! I have understood! Your harvests are those of yesterday [You brought *talokimul* and *lokiruoret* but you didn't bring bride-wealth], that is why I am asking you to show me. There is nothing more. Your markings are those of this food [*talokimul* and *lokiruoret*] of yesterday [today], it is what I am telling you, its division, it is what I am telling you to show me. I follow you. I will not draw a line first for you [I will not explain you what you should do].

No. 30 (11:02 a.m.)

Emus: Write for me [Show me clearly] here, write for me, write for me and then you also tell the Turkana people [tell me clearly]. If there is a person who is also here [in my group], who talked with you before, you say here, "I have already talked [Nobody in my group talked with you before]." Talk just the thing, which is following this thing [what I said]. If not, come straight, come straight, straight. And if there is nothing which was straight before, mention it here.

No. 31 (11:02 a.m.)

Lokawo: No, no my son. No, my son, no! You, talk carelessly. I am also talking carelessly. Of where, here? I will not write for you [I will not show you]. Of my age-mate Namulen who got lost because of the stomach [hunger]⁽³³⁾ Jump up with the thing. Have you not done it

No. 29

Lokawo: Ee, eira! Eira! Ngagieriet ka kon na been, ngesi abala ayong iyong kitatakanikinae. Emam nabo ice-bore. Ngagieriet kon na been a akimuj ka na, ngesi abala iyong, ngatubet keng, ngesi abala iyong kisileerokinoi. Katotupak ayong iyong. Nyesiauni nabo ayong kegerok iyong.

No. 30

Emus: Kigirakinae kane, kigirakinae, kigirakinae ani erumor tolimok iyong dae ngiturkana. Keyei bo itwaan ni eyei ni dae nege, ni ngoon kisiruori iyong, tama iyong kane, "Be eruor ngoon." Kiruorik ca ne ibore ni iwapit ibore en. Ani kemam kidiru jik, kidiru jik, kidiru. Ani kemam ni erai ngesi ngoon idirunit, tolimo kane.

No. 31

Lokawo: Emam, emam lokoku. Emam lokoku, emam! Kiruor nalea. Eruoro ayong dae nalea. Kai kane? Nyekegirakini. Aloti kisapani ka Namulen acakari akook. Toporunio ca nai ibore. Nyesubakina been iyong nyerumoro a? Anu-kiro kisiruori iyong ayong? Meere katotupak ayong

before and finished? [You have already taken the bride to your homestead] What matters are you telling me? Will I not following you in what is remaining? [I will follow you until all the bridewealth are transferred] Hey! How is this young man? Are you being told that you come to the marriages, or...

iyong ani edongit ia? Ei! ikoni lodia lo ai? Ebei mono iyong ibuni nakiutasia kori...

Man on the groom's side: (while sitting) These [we] are young children. They step on [destroy] the matters, without knowing the head and the back [Forgive us for our mistakes].

Man on the groom's side: Ngide cicik ibore en. Ipudaate ngakiro, nyeyenete akou ka abor.

Lokawo: Hey! You seem to be stepping on [destroying] it.

Lokawo: Aa! Be ipudae.

Engolan, the elder brother of the bridegroom (see Fig. 2), rose to make his first speech. He was the most important person on the groom's side because his father had already passed away.

No. 32 (11:03 a.m.)

Engolan: It is your word [request] that I am looking for. The way in which I took even your kid [the bride], I want now your mouth [to hear what you want], it is what I want. Of all the people who are sitting here, it is you and me, who can do this thing [to make agreement on the bridewealth]. [But] We are not solving the problem one by one. We are not solving the problem one by one, while saying, "Such and such a thing is not done yet. Who told you to do like this?" Even if that is there [if there is a mistake], even if it is remaining behind [without being done], can't it be brought [done]? Why do we want to say that we talk and sprinkle words? [We want to talk about the bride-wealth] What are the many words that we are talking [Why can't we agree]? What are they [disagreements] again for, when [you say that] I made a mistake? What matters again have I made a mistake

No. 32

Engolan: Akiroit robo na kus ngesi asakunit ayong. Elemare lo kolong bo kalemari ikale kon dae, asaki tokona akituk na kon, ngesi asaki. Itwaan ni iboi en daang, ayong ka iyong kisubakini ibore en. Nyikimiranari. Nyikimiranari atamasi, "Be eringa bo ngakiro be ta-ati. Ngae abala iyong kikok ne?" Ani nguna dae na eyakatari, hata kisidiyete, meere elemunio a? Inyo bo kisakia atamar, eruorikisi eteraterasi ngakiro? Ngakainyo bo ngakiro kaalak kiruoro ngonni? Na inyo nabo anu aseci ayong? Ngakiro na arai nabo anu ngesi aseci?

with?

The thing which you are not satisfied with, which you know, [You should talk frankly as follows], “Me, I have not talked with this person.” What about this visit [of ours], which I have come, didn’t you tell me? That is the matters that I wanted to tell you.

No. 33 (11:04 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes, it is true my son, I have understood. You, do this, say again, why do you say again, even those that are remaining are like that? Why do you do matters like this, squatting on your haunches [without solving the problem]? If the matters, which are coming straight [which you say frankly], are different from those of before, let them come straight. It is some others [something else] that came first, [different] from those that we talked and agreed. And when you came before, you came following my mouth [our agreement]. And because I have started following your mouth [what you are saying], enter into the matters [tell me what you will bring]. Jump up even with those matters. Those are the only matters that I wanted.

No. 34 (11:05 a.m.)

Engolan: Which ones do you want me to jump up with? What again do you want me to jump up with? This is mine that I am bringing to you [I came to discuss about the bridewealth], and I am saying, “Tell me what you have [Tell me what you want].” What do you want me to jump up with?

No. 35 (11:05 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes! I have understood, my son, I have understood. It is what was torn into pieces [what is remaining] that I am trying to ask you here. Hey! “These ones

Ibore ni iitunit iyong ni iyeni atamar, “Ayong a, nyiruoro kolong ka itwaan en.” Ani ebune lo tokona abunio ayong lo, meere kitolimok iyong a? Ngakiro abala katolimok nguna.

No. 33

Lokawo: Ee, iteni lokoku, eira. Tolem iyong o, inyo ebeyere bo nabo be na isidiete dae ikote neni? Inyo mono ikonere ngakiro dae ne, ipajaritere akamaluot. Kegyal ngakiro na kidiiriuna na ikote na been nu, kidiiriutu jik. Tarai tokona ngace esiaut, a na kolong kiruoro ngoni atopupokin. Ani been ibuni iyong, bu erai akituk kang iwapit. Ani na aruania ayong ewapit akituk kon, toloma nakiro. Toporunio ngakiro nguna dae. Ngakiro na asaki ayong nguna maketei.

No. 34

Engolan: Nyaanu na ibala atoporunio? Anu nabo iba iyong atoporunio ayong? Be na kang bo na kainunit iyong nu, na abala, “Tolimokinae na iyakar iyong.” Isaki nabo iyong atamar atoporunio ayong, inyo?

No. 35

Lokawo: Ee! Eira lokoku, eira, eira. Nganyilinyiliyet ngesi akot ayong iyong akingit, na ka ne. Ei! “Palem nu a, ‘Ee,’ erukito ka na be ta-ati, erukito ka na be

usually, ‘Yes,’ they are always together with such and such,” in our previous agreement [*Talokimul* and *lokiruoret* should be brought together with camels]. We finished [the discussions] long ago, you also cried, I sympathized your tears. I also cried, you also sympathized with mine. And of before... Enter my son, bring me the words. And then I follow.

No. 36 (11:06 a.m.)

Engolan: Even now, we can cut into pieces [We can talk and agree], when they come out of your mouth. We can also do it, when they come out of your mouth. There is nothing we scatter [We can agree].

No. 37 (11:07 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes, my son, I have understood, it is true. Within... My mouth started again first. I raised to you saying, “This is this! This is this!” Why is it always me to talk first? [Because] You entered into matters, you, enter into matters.

No. 38 (11:07 a.m.)

Eedung: I am saying, my father...

Lokawo: (while sitting) Yes.

Eedung: Oh! What is it? Is there something lost into the bush? [There is nothing lost] The matters that somebody said now, he said, “The matters of the world have died [The world has changed and there are a lot of problems nowadays].” You were holding [livestock], and when another group [new generations] grew up, they found [that things are] lost [the number of livestock has decreased]. You don’t know what is there [the problems of the groom’s family]. There is an ear [You can learn our problems from other people]. Since you came here, how many

ta-ati,” anapupokinet ngoni ana ngoon, ana ngoon. Atomunyimunyiasi kolong, kigor iyong dae, kesieniето ayong ngakiyo kon. Egor ayong dae, kisieniето iyong na kang. Ani na been... Toloma lokoku, inunae ngakiro. Ani erumor atotupu ayong.

No. 36

Engolan: Kimunyimunyiari tokona dae, epudunete a nakituk kon. Kisubakini tokona dae, epudunete a nakituk kon. Mam nabo nakipetipetiar.

No. 37

Lokawo: Ee, lokoku, eira iteni. Eira nu. Alo tooma... Kisiau nabo akituk kang. Ekeu ngoon ayong atama, “Nugu nu a! Nugu nu a!” Inyo eraakar ayong esiaunit jiiik? Ani na ngoon ilomarea iyong nakiro, toloma nakiro.

No. 38

Eedung: Abala ayong apa...

Lokawo: Ee.

Eedung: Ei! Inyo, inyo ibore? Eyei ibore ecakara, ni ecakara moding? Ngakiro na tokona alimuni itwaan apei abala, “Ngakiro a ngalup atoka.” Itingito ngoon esi, ani been erupuni ajore nace, ariamu iidete. Nyiyeni na ka ama. Eyei akit. Na been ibunio iyong nege, ngaai ipup iyong ka ama? Mam ngakonyen na iteete, ani bo akit? Na ewaria akwap, totoka ngakonyen, kidong akit eyeri, kwaala napanan angaun ngibaren a nawi ka na, kiteto ngakonyen. Ani ta eribokini akwap, kidong akit topup ngakiro. Ikote ngakiro kalonak ai?

[problems] have you heard from there [from my side]? There are no eyes that are seeing, what about the ear? [You could not see our problems, but you could hear] When it becomes dark, the eyes die [we can't see], only the ear remains alive, during the daytime, when animals are driven out of this homestead [for grazing], the eyes see. And when it becomes dark, the ear remains, listening to the matters. How are the matters which are far off? [You can learn them]

You are told that this in-law of yours [the bridegroom] who is teasing you, where was he before? Where was he before? All the days when you have slept at this homestead, even if the days are many or few, [he was at] Lokichokio, Kakuma, and Natamakarwo, that is another thing [reason] why he is hiding his back behind this tree. Even when you called him before, saying, "I wanted to see himself," he refused and hid himself behind the tree [He didn't come to see you because he was ashamed that he didn't have enough livestock]. The journey that you make carrying a baby, there is no milk to give [to the baby], [if you make a journey] carrying an old person, who was removed away from the place he used to sleep [there was nothing to give him/her]. [The bridegroom did not have enough livestock for marriage]. The matters [reasons] that chased him away [from his home], [the reasons] which made him not to meet with you, which have caused bad relationships with you, those are some of them [the reasons].

There is no backbiting also, [nobody says] like saying, "I am afraid of another father of mine [father in-law]." He [the bride] was away [from home] and when he came back, [he asked] "Hey, what has been done here?" [He realized that] People [of the bride's side] stayed here [waiting

Ebei iyong lokamuran kon lo, lo tokona erai ngesi kirasit iyong lo, ayei been ai? Nyae ni been ayei? Ngirwa lu been ipero esi nawi na, kelalak kori kekidioko, Lokicokio, Natamakaruo, Kakuma, ngesi ice-bore itookinitor akau yaaye ekitoe lo. Been inyarit iyong dae tama, "Asaki engolik akwaan," towou kitookin yaaye ekitoe. Alosit na ilosio iyong irikit ikoku, mam ngakile alepokinio, idakit itwaan mojong, autun ani palem keng eperio. Ngakiro na erengito na erai kesi na etangase atuko ka iyong, na tokona arata eturumes ka iyong ngace, kesi nguna nu.

Be emam bo esuamit dae lo eyei, lo ebala "Akerit apa kang ece." Ela robo been ani ebuni, "Ekoe, ekokini kolong kane ai?" Iboyete ngitunga kane, arau ibore akibong. Kwa na tokona ngoni elote lo, emam emesek lo elomario kipakunae, mam amese-beru na palem erai a alakany, na

for a long time], and the thing became to go back [People went back]. Like this journey of ours, there is no ram that we can enter [the enclosure] and remove out, there is no female sheep which is usually *ealakany*,⁽³⁴⁾ which is for talking with your father [in-law], or for writing matters [making agreement]! What has gone wrong now? [As for] The *lokumul* which was driven [here] yesterday, you could not even have eaten [because it was small], these [men sitting here] are its owners [They ate it], [as for] the *lokiruoret*, these [men] are its owners. And yet, talking on the earth should be [with] fire [We can only talk when there is roasted meat]. What has come out? [We didn't hide our livestock] Is it the camels that have come out? Or the donkeys, or the cattle? Why are you sticking to this matter?

No. 39 (11:09 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes! That is true my son, I understood. Even what I am asking you is short [a little thing]. I am saying that it has been made clear. It is only the remains [what is not brought] that I am missing. I say, "Oh, this man has also done this. This man has also done this." What was separated [Why don't you do another things, when you have done this]? What was separated? You, raise, raise to me [Speak out]. Eh! What is wrong? Is it because of what I said, that has made me a bad person [Are you angry because of my words]? This is what I am telling you, "Hey, how is the matter?" This is the matter which is supposed to be listened to [We want to listen to your words]. What we are supposed to agree, to agree [We can agree each other after you talk]. You give [livestock] over there, give over there, these [livestock] will fall [Somebody will not receive livestock], these will fall, these will become fair [It is fair that somebody will get livestock and oth-

iruorere ka apa kon igirere ngakiro! Inyo tokona esecec? Lokimul lo been ametae, pe adikino iyong tani inyami, ngikulopek keng lu, lokiruoret ngikulopek ke lu. Tarai bo erai ekiyan a ngalup akim. Inyo tokona ibore ni apudo? Ngikaala kepudosi keya? Kori ngisikiria keya, kori ngaatuk? Eneikinakare ngakiro nu?

No. 39

Lokawo: Ee! Iteni lokoku eira, eira. Be euriana bo ni kengisit ayong iyong dae. Abala eriarakin arumor. Nganyilinyiliyet ngesi eitunit. Atama, "Ei, asubaki ni dae en nugu. Asubaki ni dae en nugu." Inyo bo ketiaki? Inyo bo ketiaki? Kikeu cantene a, kikiiek. Aa! Inyo aroner? Ngakiro aroniaror nu a? Ngesi abala iyong robo, "Ei, ikote ngakiro ai?" Be ngakiro palem napupon nu. Na ecamitai topupokinetei, topupokinetei. Nak iyong ama, nak iyong ama, todakaros nu, todakaros nu, kikapeleunos nu. Ani kwana ekokineta ne a... Mam ro ibore apudo moding. Ani na iyania iyong atamar "Lokiruoret dae egela, ngikumula dae." Ngakiro na kang ngesi engita ayong. Nyengita ayong ngikumula ka lokiruoret.

ers will miss]. And if it has become like this... Nothing has gone out into the bush [Everything should be distributed]. And when you know [the matter well] and say, “Even *lokiruoret* is different [not for us], even *ngikumula* [is not for us].” These are my matters that I am asking [I am only asking about my requirements]. I am not asking about *ngikumula* and *lokiruoret*.

Lokawo was sticking to the topic of *lokiruoret* and *talokimul* (*ngikumula*), while others appeared ready to move on to other topics. Adiaka, who belonged to the bride’s side (see Fig. 1), wanted to proceed with negotiations for payment of the bridewealth.

Adiaka: (while sitting) Oh, Why is someone missing to think the matters [Why can’t we go straight to the main issue]?

Adiaka: Ekoe, inyo angopea itwaan itamuni ngakiro?

Lokawo: Leave it!

Lokawo: Kiapak!

No. 40 (11:10 a.m.)

Eedung: Father, I have nothing that I can begin to split open. Don’t beat me hard with the stick, that way, in that size [Don’t quarrel with me so much]. It is you who cut the goat and pull out the stomach [It is you who can start the negotiation by saying that you want such and such number of animals]. It is you who cut, even if there is a mistake, even if there is not a mistake. I will dance over there at that usual place, where I do say that I will marry tomorrow, saying that I am rich in cattle, that there are camels to kill for you, you are blocking the gate [You are refusing to speak frankly with us]. Even if you do like that, no other person can open it [negotiation of bridewealth].

No. 40

Eedung: Apa, mam nabo ngadi, ngadi esiakini ayong atopuko. Kiyapanakinae aburo, kongina, kongina, lotiem, lotiem. Iyong ca ipuori akine, kiriunae aboi. Iyong ipuori, kicuangakina dae, kemam dae. Edongai ayong ka ama palem, abalor euta moi, abalor abarit ngaatuk, eya ngikaala apotu ni kon, itemonokin iyong lokidor. Kikok tokona iyong neni dae, mam nabo ice-twaan eringa enguari.

No. 41 (11:11 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes, it is right! I have understood! Because that of yesterday, it has already opened yesterday. You have

No. 41

Lokawo: Ee, iteni! Eira! Kotere, ni been, kepukor been kerumor. Ipuko iyong. Mam nabo a nakituk a na kang, ibore be toji,

opened. There is nothing from my mouth, the thing like fighting, like peace, to be done like this. It has been opened already. Open it completely. Follow like before. Open completely. Young man, enter into the matter, my son.

No. 42 (11:12 a.m.)

Engolan: Don't make me get lost from the way of the matters [Don't confuse me]. Don't push me to the same place, saying, "You, do in a right way." What else have I done, which you are seeing now, saying, "This person has done a bad thing," what is it? That is it, now, I am going to tell you that even if there is something remaining [which was not done properly], yes, which you are saying that it is remaining, yes, it will come out of your mouth, so that I will understand what you tell me. What about when you push me against the trunk of this *esekon* tree [insisting what we can't understand], the thing like [as you say like], "Do this, do this," what can I do in a right way? Will I not become blind?

No. 43 (11:13 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes! It is true, my son. I understood. Lokorikamar [Engolan], that is the matters, you have just entered [You talked the point]. Why do you tell me to open the mouth first again [Why should I talk first]? You didn't come to talk to me. And when you have done the matter [after taking the bride away without any agreements], you are forcing me [to talk]. What can I do to these matters? Without horns [solutions]? And when you, Lokorikamar, had come, it happened before [You took the bride home], [the matters] of this morning are different [You did different things without informing us]. What can I do now? Last time in the morning, you came round [without

be *kisilae*, *kikokinae* ne. Apukor been arumor. Topuko jik, topuko jik. Kiwapu kwana been. Tangau jik. Toloma ca edia nakiro, ika-dia.

No. 42

Engolan: Nyikitongopik robo erot a ngakiro, nyikitongopik erot a ngakiro. Nyikineik wapei, atamar be "Kiyookin iyong, kiyookin iyong." Inyo nabo ibore ni epanyit ni tokona ingolikinit iyong dae atamar, "Ipanyit itwaan en ibore nikaronon," ngesi inyo? Be nyenguna bo, tokona, kalimokini atamar, keyei ni idongit dae, ee, ni ibaa iyong idongit ia, ee, nakituk kon itoruni, sodi eira boca ayong na kilimokini iyong. Ani na tokona kinangakinia jik natorom a esekon ka lo, ibore be, "Kikok ne, kikok ne," eyookin inyo? Meere atomudukan a?

No. 43

Lokawo: Ee! Iteni lokoku. Eira. Lokorikamar, ngakiro nguna, ngakiro nguna, be iloma bo. Ekok mono nabo ayong ebeyo tangaa akituk ai? Na ngoon nyebuno iyong eruoro ka ayong. Ani been nabo kisubak iyong ngakiro, kitingakinit iyong ayong kwa lasima. Ekokini tokona ayong ngakiro nguna ai? Nilemu a? Ani been Lokorikamar kibu ca iyong ca, tosubakin been, egial tokona naka ataparacu kana. Ekokini ayong ai? Ataparacu na ngoon, bu nabo iyong ilulung, nyetaca ayong. Tosubak iyong ngakiro, ani abuni ayong, atoriamu iyong kisuba. Na tete na, tosubak iyong ngakiro, ani abuni ayong, atoriamu iyong kisuba. Nyaanu ngakiro na eraunete na kang?

preparation], I didn't answer. You did the matter [took the bride away], and when I came, I found that you had done already. This one of today, you did the matter [You killed *talokimul* and *lokiruoret*], and when I came, I found that you had already done. Which matters will be mine? [What am I going to do, while you have done everything?] Take this matter, you have already opened their way. Come and remove the thing [Bring the animals].

Tolemu ngakiro nu, ingaa kolong ekec-rot arumor. Bwa, tolemu ibore.

Nakure initiated concrete negotiations on the gifts again, mentioning that four women on the bride's side wanted leather skirts and naming each in turn. One leather skirt was considered equivalent to one male goat.

No. 44 (11:15 a.m.)

Nakure: Let me show you, when you are shown the matters, you fumble [You do not understand]. Why is your family even mentioned? This one, it is only eating [livestock] that we want. What? There are four women here without leather skirts. The wife of Etoot, she doesn't have a skirt, the wife of Lokawo, the same. My wife, since long ago, has she met with you even when you killed the ox and others? [You didn't give her anything] The wife of a man named Apaesia or Adiaka, that is what you fumble [what you can't understand], which you are saying now. [That is] What we thought, [if] you could come, we showed you [but you did not come]. The wife of Lokawo wants a leather skirt, the wife of Etoot wants [the skirt], the wife of an old man who is standing wants [the skirt], the wife of Adiaka wants [the skirt].

[It is] The normal thing of the home-steads of the Turkana [It is always given when the Turkana marry]. We can not even say [to bring] another cooking pot now, [because] you are crying, yes, you are crying. That is the thing we want, [and it is] the tradition of all families. "So

No. 44

Nakure: Ketoodik robo, be ani kitoodikinio ngakiro, igulugulosi, be gul, gul, gul, gul. Inyo elimitere ibore be awi kon? Naga, erai bo ekimuje bon kisaki. Inyo? Eya ngaberu nguomwon ne, mam ngabwes. Aberu a Etoot mam abwo, aberu a Lokawo mam abwo. Aberu kang, nakanuan bo, kiriam bo ka iyong a, emong dae iari iyong kane, inyoni dae? Aberu a itwaan be Apaesia, itwaan be Adiaka, ibore ni kisiguligulit iyong ni tokona iba iyong, ngesi ngini. Ni been kibaa sua iyong kori ibuni etoodikisi. Esaki aberu a Lokawo abwo, esaki aberu a Etoot, esaki aberu a ekasikout alo ewei, esaki aberu ka Adiaka.

Ibore ni palem sek a ngawiyeyi a ngiturkana. Nyikitamari tokona ace-kolo dae, be iiwanikinit bo, ee, iiwanikinit. Ibore ni kisaki sua ngini, etal lo a ngawiyeyi ka daang. "Arikunit ati ngabwes nawi ka ati, lokamurak keng." Na ketoodikinia ayong iyong ngakiro nguna,

and so brought the leather skirts to the homestead of so and so, to his in-laws.” When I show you those matters, the leather skirt of Lokawo’s wife, the leather skirt of Etoot’s wife, the leather skirt of my wife, and the leather skirt of the wife of a man named Apaesia, alias Adiaka! When I show you like that, count [the number of women] in your ears. How many people have I told you? Raise your fingers. Are they four? These are the people I am telling you, people of the leather skirts, it is them, people of very big he-goats [He-goats should be brought to make leather skirts]. Do you know my person called Apaesia, my son? Do you understand? Remember that person. That person, whom I want to be together with you, and us, your fathers, [we are] three.

I show you those matters. Raise that mouth [Answer to me], if possible, remove out [Speak], I will give another one [next demand] to be finished. Leave all other matters, leave them. Even this person [of my side], I made him to keep quiet, my son, I made him quiet, saying, “Leave, you have thrown [You are making them angry], I have thrown [I am making them angry].” Raise like this, the matters of the four people. I will give you other matters. Bring them one by one quickly, I don’t want to be sitting for a long time.

(11:17 a.m.)

Emus: What again? We have just accepted now what you said about the number of the people.

abwo a aberu a Lokawo, na abwo a aberu a Etoot, na abwo a aberu a na kang, na abwo a aberu a itwaan be Apaesia, be Adiaka! Na ketoodikinia ayong iyong kongina, kimarak nakit, kimarak nakit. Ngiai ngitunga lu kalimoki ayong iyong? Kikeu, kikeu, kikeu ngimoyo. Nguomwon ba? Ngitunga kalimokinit ayong iyong lu, lu a ngabwes, nyelu, lu a ngikora a lukationok. Iyeni iyong itwaan kang be Apaesia, ika-koku a? Sek, ipupi iyong a? Toyen itwaan ngini. Erai itwaan ngini, abaa kimorikinos ka iyong, kimorikinos ka iyong, ta sua ta-apa kon, nguuni.

Ketoodik ngakiro nguna. Kikeu akituk ngina kontene kipud, kainak nace torumor. Kimiekisi ngakiro nace daang nakaalak, kimiekisi. Itwaan dae en, ekilak ayong, ika-koku ekilak, ekilak, aba, “Kimie, be icaka, be acaka.” Kikeu kona ngakiro nguna na a ngitunga a luomwon. Kainak nabo nace. Kitoropu ka atipei, nyacamit ayong akiboi jiik.

Emus: Anu nabo? Be nyenguna bo tokona eikin ibala ngiai ngitunga.

No. 45 (11:18 a.m.)

Lokawo: And last time, you came again in this way [in a way which we were not expecting]. Run [Go] and bring those goats and [after bringing these goats] I will tell you those matters which you

No. 45

Lokawo: Ani been nabo bu iyong ebune lo. Tope taramu ngaanei nguna, ani ngakiro na kitibitibito iyong, kesisak, kesisak. Nyirudere nabo tani ngakiro nguna dae ni isaki iyong.

are not comfortable with. Those matters will not be brought nearby to [the place] where you want [The negotiations will not proceed as you wish].

No. 46 (11:19 a.m.)

Emus: Father, have you been told that this person [the bridegroom] is tricky? [I am not joking]. What usually makes a person tricky, which they say [If you say to a person as follows, a person is tricky], “Go and talk alone, go and talk other matters [We don’t want to listen to you].” Are you told that this person is tricky? That thing, if there is anything [if you think that] this person is tricky, you should say. It is like the way you are talking [You are right], it is like the way I am also talking [I am also right], in which I am saying that I have understood. Even if I am defeated, it is like the way you will be also defeated. Even if they [the livestock] can be found, it is like the way that they can be found at your place [If I can manage to bring livestock, it will be in the same way as you can]. The rest [of the issues] are returned altogether [You don’t want to discuss the remaining issues], until the others come to the eye [until some livestock are brought to you]. Is this the thing, in which this person can be tricky, absorbing all the matters [accepting all the demands] that he is told and those matters [what was demanded] can’t be found? [The livestock will not be brought] And have you been told about that thing?

No. 47 (11:20 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes! Yes! I have understood. I have understood, you have said and I have understood. It is like, my friend, you are disturbing another person’s marriage. Whenever you stand up, you go astray [You talk different things from what oth-

No. 46

Emus: Kilimokinitae mono iyong apa, ibore be eratana itwaan en ia? Be ibore ni palem be eratana itwaan en ngesi ibore ngini, ni ebeyo “Kape tolot kisisau bon, kisisau nace.” Ebei iyong eratana itwaan en ia? Ibore ngini, ani keyei ibore be eratana itwaan en, tolimut. Ikote ca ni iruoro iyong, ikote bo ni eruoro ayong dae, ni abala, eira. Kakuruoreta dae, ikote ni palem kikuruoreta iyong dae. Ketakanunete dae, ikote ni palem etakanuneta ani iyei iyong dae. Tobuwarae nace elulung, paka nace epote nakongu. Kwa ibore ebeyo eratana itwaan en, ijii ngakiro daang na elimokinere, nyeringa ngakiro nguna etakanunete a? Ani kilimokinitae iyong ibore ngini a?

No. 47

Lokawo: Ee! Ee! Eira. Abe eira bo, be ilimu bo, eira. Abe lopae, abe eyei ca iyong enguringur tooma a nakiuta a loce. Abe naca inyounio iyong toceret. Ani bo ngakiro na abala ayong iyong, aringa ngoni nyiruorikina. Ngakiro bo

ers are talking]. And the matters which I am telling you, that we have not talked. The matters which I am telling you, that I have been [staying] at this tree for six month [waiting for you], all my things are lost [I was away from home without knowing what was happening at home]. It is what I told you, [that] are you not like a whip? [You are not stable in your statement] It is what I am telling you, [that you should] bring first these goats! [After bringing these goats] Come and I will tell you what you are anxious about [another payment of bridewealth]. You, you will marry [You will give out the bridewealth]. You are refusing, it seems that you have been left untouched [We will not leave you untouched].

na abala iyong, ayong ngilapio ngikan-kapei ka eewoi lo, acakar kolong ikabore daang. Ngesi ni tokona abala ayong iyong, nyikoni ba akulit? Ngesi abala ayong iyong, tokopu mono ngaanei nu! Bu kesisak na kitibitibito iyong. Aai, iuta iyong. Iwounit iyong, be kilakakinitae iyong.

No. 48 (11:21 a.m.)

Logum: No, my fathers, there are not many matters to be talked from this tree [the groom's side]. It is only hands that this tree has to beg you [We are just asking your favor] within a lot of problems of today. You have talked about those leather skirts, if they will be found, or if they will not [I am not sure that we can afford them]. If there are some matters which are left [which is not discussed yet], and available on the earth [we are supposed to discuss]... Even the mistake which you are saying that I have made...

I am telling you to put out [show] all those matters for me, so that when I go to look for those leather skirts, I look for them together with others. Let me bring whatever will be available, and let it miss that will not be found. This small matters of this small day in which we are forcing each other uselessly, [when we conduct] the thing like marriage, we follow some other old tradition. The small matters of this small day will miss what can be manhood-ness [There is no way nowadays

No. 48

Logum: Emam, ta-apa, emam robo ngakiro na elalak a lokitoe ka lo iruoroe. Emam ngakiro elalak a lokitoe ka lo iruoroe. Ngakan boca bon eyei ekitoe lo akibakinit iyong, alo tooma ngican kaalak a akwaar ka na. Iruor ta iyong ngabwes nguna, ketakanunete, kemam. Ngakiro keya nace na idongito na eya ngalup... Nyasecanu ibaa iyong be asecit ayong dae...

Abala ayong iyong kipudokinae ngakiro nguna daang, kipudokinae ngakiro nguna daang, ani bo asakari ngabwes nguna dae, atasaka ka nace na arukitotor. Kimie ayau na atakanunete, tongopa na angopete. Ngikiro a nyikwaar ka en kitinganakinor ngoni pas, ibore be kiuta, be iwapit ece-tal be kolong ngorot. Engopete ngikiro a nyikwaar ka en na arai akilioko na kisikiliokonikinete. Engopete na kisikiliokonikinete.

to prove us to be real men], which can make you real men. What make you real men disappear [It is not easy to marry because the number of livestock declined today].

Nakure commenced the bridewealth negotiations for camels. He declared that the bride's side wanted 20 camels.

No. 49 (11:23 a.m.)

Nakure: (standing up) Sit down, sit down. Stop. Why are you always pressing down the matters? Why are you pressing the matters, destroying an abandoned old homestead? [talking something which is not real]

Logum: Give [tell] me all the matters if there are any [what you want to demand], to tackle properly [so that I can work on it]. Stop making me sit uselessly.

Nakure: Sit, sit down and I will give [tell] you. You are right in that you are saying that you want to tackle properly. If you have heard [accepted] the matters of leather skirts, if you have put them into the ear, ear, ear! Stand up and enter into the [discussion of] camels, which you separated from the sheep last time [You have brought the sheep⁽³⁵⁾ without making agreement about the camels]. The sheep are usually together with the camels, together with the goats. It is the thing that [is something like] you left a part of roots of *egilae*⁽³⁶⁾ in the hole. You brought *lokimul* yesterday, [but] normally *lokimul* comes together with camels, together with goats. You brought *lokimul* together with *lokiruoret*. *Lokiruoret* usually goes [is brought] alone, and for the man who is the bull... [You brought *lokimul* and *lokiruoret* together because you are arrogant]

Yes, you have come, you have

No. 49

Nakure: Kiboikin, kiboikin. Tojongo. Inyo idamidami ngakiro jiik, ibala dam dam dam? Inyo kidamidamia ngakiro, kiyesia awi yongorot?

Logum: Nakinae ngakiro daang keya na eya, ekorisia. Tojongo akisiboi akiding pas.

Nakure: Kiboikin, kiboikin kainak. Nyeguna ibaa iyong ekorisia. Ani kiirarit iyong ngakiro na a ngabwes, kiwaakinit nakit, nakit, nakit! Tonyou toloma lokaala lu been itiaki iyong ka ngimesekin. Erukito palem ibore be ngimesekin erukito ka ngikaala, erukito ka ngakinei. Ibore ni ipokokinit iyong egilae nakipany ngini. Ni been iramunia iyong lokimul, tarai palem lokimul erukito ka ngikaala, erukito ka ngakinei. Taramu iyong lokimul kituruku ka lokiruoret. Lokiruoret palem elosi a lopei, ani bo ca ekile lomaanik...

Ee, ibu boca arumor, be ibu bo, mam

come, there is now nothing that we can return [We cannot change what was done already], you are our children whom we love. You, you [sitting under] this tree, I really love you. It is you who can deny me food, me, the father of the gray ox (referring to his favorite-ox)! You, if you have understood the previous matters, give your fathers [camels]. Enter and bring twenty camels, twenty, yellow camel, twenty, twenty. I gave you [This is the number I am demanding], and [demands of] goats will follow. Talk about the camels first, which are available, and which are remaining [which you cannot bring]. Those that you separated [from the herd to pay], and those that are remaining. Yes, do like that, give this people those matters.

Lokawo: Yes! Yes! I have understood the matters which were told. Twenty. Five donkeys and five oxen. Twenty. Five donkeys and five oxen.⁽³⁷⁾

Nakure: (while sitting) Start to show the yellow camels, to be visible, to be visible. And then I will see you cry afterwards. Just put the other thing [negotiation of other animals afterwards]. Yes, do like that while following each other [in that order], not mixing. No, you should bring them in that order, bring first yellow ones [camels]. That is there, that [the number of camels] is what you wanted [to hear].

Etoot-1 stood up and made his first speech. He had played the most important role as the “father” of the bride before these public negotiations of bridewealth started. The groom had maintained close contact with Etoot-1 to arrange this marriage.

No. 50 (11:25 a.m.)

Etoot-1: You, Eedung! People have come to their matters [They declared what they want], before I and Engolan didn't twist

tokona na kinyakakini, irakasi esi ngide kosi lu kimina sua. Esi, esi ekitoe lo, kamina karika ayong esi. Esi kimikete ayong akimuj, apa-alotimosiya! Aayoro, ani kiirarit ngakiro na ta, na ta, nak cana ta-apa kon. Toloma kidesiu ngikaala ngatomoniarei, ngatomoniarei, ekaal ninyang, ngatomoniarei, ngatomoniarei. Kainakini, totupuut ngaanei. Kiruorik mono ngakiro na a ngikaala, lu atakanuut, ka lu isidiyete. Lu been ipakuni iyong, ka lu isidiyete. Ee, kikok neni, nak ngitunga lu ngakiro nu.

Lokawo: Ee! Ee! Eira ngakiro na eruorikin. Ngatomoniarei. Ngisikiria ngikan, ngimongin ngikan. Ngatomoniarei. Ngisikiria ngikan, ngimongin ngikan.

Nakure: Kisiau mono kitatakanu ngikaala lunyangayek, tatakanuut, tatakanuut. Ataanyunga a kon kikaloun alo kaku. Kiwaak boca ibore nice. Kongina, kikok neni itoropikinitoe, meere ibukeunitae. Mam, kitoropu ca iyong, yau mono lunyangayek. Nyeneni, abe ni bo isaki iyong neni.

No. 50

Etoot-1: Ati, Eedung! Apotu ngitunga nakiro kec, eringa ayong ka Engolan nyiyarakina, na eenit ekitoe lo daang,

[negotiate] each other, which is tying all of this tree [The groups of men are at this tree to discuss], I tie this one [My group is at this tree], Engolan ties this one [Engolan's group is at that tree]. He made a mistake at this homestead [of mine]. Have you just removed the cover of the wound? [You made me angry] You returned the mouth [replied] nicely. I told my father's family to sit down [and wait for the groom's family to come to discuss]. You returned [replied]. This is where you talked to me [We talked here before]. Somebody is marking camels [He started to negotiate over camels], before we talk.

You are asking to be shown the way [what to pay] before we talk. I said, "If it is like that, leave first those [livestock as it is] that are here, leave [the livestock as it is] and go to Muzug and bring [people]."⁽³⁸⁾ I diverged you again [I sent you to another place, saying], "You, pass Lokore, go and bring [people]."⁽³⁹⁾ We talked here, where you talked to me. [You said] "Help me, help me." I helped you [to bring Ngicampa]. Even [up to] now, you have not gone to look for [Adiaka and Ngicampa]. Here they are. And when Muzug [Adiaka] came, I sent a person [to Engolan]. He is here, there, he is. He is a grown-up, he has been removed some teeth. You told him, "Yes, Muzug has come, sit down [and wait for my reply]." There is nothing I am telling you to bring [I am not demanding too much]. There were problems in the livestock [I know that people have a few livestock nowadays], the way somebody has been mentioning here. And when Lokore [Ngicampa] came, Lokore, Lokore, when he came, I sent a person [to bring him]. And immediately, Lokore arrived. It is me who roasted meat for all those people [for Adiaka and Ngicampa].

ayong atoen lo, logo toen Engolan. Aseci kolong a nawi ka na. Itaka ajeme a? Tobilu akituk niti ajokon. Atama awi ka apa kang kiboikin. Tobilu boca. Ni kisiruorea ne. Be igeri itwaan ngikaala toringa nyiruorikina.

Be iba iyong kidodikinae erot toringa nyiruorikina. Atama, "Ani kikote neni a, 'Ee,' kiyapak mono lu eya ne, torotok tolotu Muzug, tocun." Katoree nabo, "Kitor Lokore, tolotou tocun." Abe bo ni kiruoror ne, ni kisiruorea ne. "Kingarakinae, kingarakinae." Kengarak, abu kengarak. Ata tokona nyisakarit. Nyelu. Ani ebuni Muzug, atomeu itwaan. Eyei ne, nyeye. Niapolon ni elokitoe. Tama iyong ngesi, "Ee, abu Muzug kiboikin." Mam ibore abala ayong iyong yau. Kicanakin kolong ngibaren lowae lo alimuuni itwaan kane. Ani ca ebuni Lokore, Lokore, Lokore, ebuni, atomeu itwaan. Ani eringa, tocakun Lokore. Ayong epeyoe ngitunga ngulu daang.

And after that, you were saying earlier on, that you put [sent] a messenger. A person who can remain here. You have put a messenger. Have you stepped [come] here? And when you sent back the child [messenger], after the arrival of Lokore, after making me to meet with Muzug [Adiaka] in the hut which is here, I sent again this man [as a messenger]. It is the only matured ones whom I do select [as messengers]. Let us compete for the messengers [We competed to send messengers] whose teeth have been removed, so that we can find who really constructed this family. You said, "Maybe [The founder of the family is] so and so." I said, "It is true. Let them [the messengers] sit. [I said to my messenger] You, stand up and run that way. Run, run, the animals have become ours. It is true that he [Engolan] is suffering. You, look after the animals [of Engolan in order to let him come to me to discuss]." He [The messenger] ran and I said, "Don't make a mistake." This is what I want to talk to you. You refused there [to come to see me]. Who mentions the disease [marriage] which comes to this family? [Who knows about this family? All of you don't know] Who can claim? [Nobody can claim that he knows] It is me who treated the disease [who arranged the marriage]. Nobody can deny, they will not deny, not at all. And when the disease of your family landed on this family... [You came to marry the bride from this family]

There is a path near that hut, [the path] which is passing beside the Ngikasikou's home. It was me who started [the path]. They said you finished [You were absent]. I told the people of this family [of mine] to go and find out this thing [marriage], to be aware of this thing [the marriage], to be aware of this thing, until it gets finished here now. Did you

Ani erumor ibaa kolong iyong ewakini erototi. Itwaan ni idongi ne. Ewakini erototi. Icak iyong ne a? Ani abilunet iyong ikoku, acakunet Lokore, akisiryamiryamet ayong ka Muzug lokol lo eyei ne, eritu nabo ekile lo. Lolokok ca alemi. Atamariata daang erototi lolokok, ataanyutu itwaan ni kolong keduki awi na. Tama iyong, "Etima ati ka ati." Atama "Iteni. Kimie kiboikinosi. Tonyou iyong lo tope kona. Tope, tope, arata ngibaren ngiyok. Icana iteni. Kiyok iyong." Tomotun ngesi, atama, "Nyiisec robo." Na abala kesiruor neni. Kimakakin iyong neni. Ngae elimuuni edeke lo abuni bu nawi na? Ngae elimuni? Be ayong bo etedeki. Topegu cane ece kaneni, nyepегunete tur. Ani etamari edeke a awi kon nawi na rit...

Eyei erot lokol ngol, lo emanunit a lowae a awi a Ngikasikou. Ayong abeluni. Tamarae iyong idita. Atama ayong ngitunga lu a awi ka na toropikisi daang toyana ibore en, toyana ibore en, paka isunyakin tanangunia ni tokona ne. Itedek iyong a? Aa? Kimie nguna. Apena ta ngitunga nakiro kec arumor.

treat [Are you responsible]? Eh? Leave that. People have been to their matters [People have talked about the marriage], and it is over.⁽⁴⁰⁾

There is a boy who is my son here, [son] of Nattoo (The boy was on the groom's side). I am going to conduct a ritual for that one [I will punish the boy] today, I will put him inside the family [of the bride], to get separated from there [I will take him back to my side].⁽⁴¹⁾ Ask about the matters which are inside the jacket [what are not mentioned]. There is again a boy who is my son here, another one. Ask about the matters which were inside the jacket. Let it come [Bring them] together with leather skirts. You refused earlier.

Lokawo: (while sitting) Come back, come back, let them speak.

No. 51 (11:31 a.m.)

Engolan: The starting [of courtship and negotiation of marriage] which he [the bridegroom] started because of the death [problem] which came to where I am... You, just say [as follows], "When he created a path to my homestead [When he stated the marriage negotiation], 'Yes,' you were sitting inside that homestead." [I was involved in this marriage although I was not at home] When the people who created that path [who started the negotiation] came [to you], did they tell you that I was at home? [I was not at home] In this visit, for instance, did they tell you that I was at home? Those people told you that I was not there [at home]. This is my arrival now, and I talked with you here now. How are you telling me about that, like those ones? [You are blaming that I didn't come to talk with you, but I was not at home]

Words are usually said [People can

Eyei edia lokoo kang ne, lo a Nattoo. Amooki ngolo akwaar na, erepakini nawi, totiakar ka neni. Kingit ngakiro eya lokot. Eyei nabo edia lokoo kang ne, loce. Kingit ngakiro eya lokot. Kirukut ka ngabwes. Iwounete kolong.

Lokawo: Tobongu, tobongu kimie kiruorikis.

No. 51

Engolan: Ebelune lo abeluni kotere akitu na abuni ni ayei ayong... Tolimu ca iyong tama, "Ani ebeluni awi na kang, ebeluni erot ngolo, 'Ee,' kibooye iyong alo tooma awi ngina." Na mono aponeneta ngitunga lu abelunete erot ngolo, abaasi mono iyong ayei ayong nawi a? Elote lopei tokona lo, abaasi iyong ayei ayong nawi a? Abaasi ngitunga ngulu iyong amam ayong ka neni. Abe adolun bo kang na tokona na, eruorikineta ka iyong ani tokona kane. Kitolimok nabo iyong ayong nguna kwa ai, na ikote nguna?

Elimunio robo ngakiro. Inyo bo tokona

just talk, it doesn't matter]. What about the matters? [There is no problem of talking] We are just in our matters. Even if there was a mistake, we can rectify by ourselves. Even if we are defeated, we do invocation while saying that let God help us to rectify. Even now, those matters are like those [We can rectify]. There is even nothing bad in our conversation. It is the way of sitting [survival] that we are opening, saying, "You, how are you usually?" Even I also show you that "I am also like this." [I am telling you my problems]

No. 52 (11:32 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes! I have understood, Lokorikamar [Engolan], I have understood. A young child has been trampling on me [making a fool of me] for so long, I, the age-mate of Namuge, who got lost because of stomach [hunger].⁽⁴²⁾ You!?

Engolan: (while sitting) Me.

Lokawo: Things of your in-laws are...

Engolan: (while sitting) Of my in-laws'.

Lokawo: Have you brought?

Engolan: (while sitting) I have not brought any.

Lokawo: Why are you trampling until it reaches this time? Hey! How are the matters? It seems that you have the matters [something hidden]. Those women are asking you that thing [leather skirts]. Do you have [bring them] now, or all is that you are asking us just to mention? [You have no intention to bring them] You have to be told the matters.

Man on the bride's side: (while sitting) Is

ngakiro? Kiya ca ngoni nakiro yok. Keyei ni kolong asecec dae, kisubakini ca ngoni ngikulopek. Kipiyosi bo dae, be atagaase atabalas, kerai ca kingarak akuj atosubakisi. Tokona boca ngakiro dae nguna, be nyenguna bo. Emam bo nidio karonon bo iruoroe dae. Erot ca lokibooyet ngesi boca tokona kinganyi atamar, "Ati, ikoni mono iyong ai?" Kedodik bo ayong dae iyong atamar, "Ekoni robo ca ayong dae ne. Ekoni robo ca ayong dae ne."

No. 52

Lokawo: Ee! Eira, Lokorikamar, eira. Kedamdami ikoku niti-kooyan, ngikias kata Namuge, acakari akook. Iyong a!?

Engolan: Ayong.

Lokawo: Ngiboro lu kolong a ngakamurak kon ia...

Engolan: A ngakamurak kang.

Lokawo: Ilemu kolong iyong a?

Engolan: Emam lu alemu.

Lokawo: Inyo kolong edamidami tanang ne? Yoe! Ikote ngakiro ai? Abe, eya ca iyong ngakiro. Abe ebasi ngakimak nguna kingita iyong ibore ngini. Iyakar kona iyong kori daang na ibala tolimutu, tolimutu tolimutu? Kitolimomonokin robo ngakiro.

Man on the bride's side: Ikeseo mono lem

that thing [leather skirts] usually argued upon? That is what usually comes first. Is it argued upon? That thing cannot be argued upon.

Lokawo: The thing which they marked [requested] to you now is the leather skirt, which your in-law [mother of the bride] had mentioned, which passers-by also mentioned, God! This one [The negotiation of camels] now follows. Why are you breaking all of them together [not solving the problem one by one]? Just try to raise [talk] those matters to the people.⁽⁴³⁾

ibore ngini a? Abe ibore bo ingareni sek ngini. Ikeseo a? Nyikeseo ibore ngini.

Lokawo: Abe ibore ni tokona kigerokinio iyong, nyabwo, ni kolong kelimunit nakamuran kon, ni alimunete ta torotoro dae, nyakuj! Totupu ni tokona en. Ikokinit iyong ibilibiliarit daang wapei ai? Kasio can tene ngakiro nguna kikiek ngitunga.

Etoot-1 tried to confirm the number of male goats that the groom's side should give to the bride's side. Then he mentioned that the bride's side was demanding ten camels, five donkeys, and five oxen, a total of 20 large animals that would be regarded as a payment of "camels."

No. 53 (11:37 a.m.)

Etoot-1: Yes! Was there an old woman who asked for a tent sheet?⁽⁴⁴⁾ I will ask you, because you are saying that you have understood the name of Esia [Adiaka]. You understood it already. Those who rely on [demand] you are two, of tent sheets. How many figures [persons] did we mention? Say like that as I am standing like this.

Groom's side: (while sitting) Four.

Etoot-1: How many [persons] did I say when I stood up [spoke]?

Groom's side: (while sitting) Two.

Etoot-1: [Total is] Six. How many are these now? Two old women [should be given] tent sheets. That tree [Men on the groom's side] knows. How many are these matters? Eight. Close these matters there [We will not discuss them again].

It seems the way [issue] of camels

No. 53

Etoot-1: Ee! Ayei kolong akimat abala akalakal a? Kengisi, kotere ibaa iyong, eira ta ekiro a Esia. Eirarit kolong. Na kinokito naarei, na a ngakalakalia. Ngiai ngimoyo lu tete kilimuni? Ngiai ngimoyo lu tete kilimuni? Tolimu kongina awei ayong kona.

Groom's side: Nguomuon.

Etoot-1: Ngiai lu ta alimuni ayong na anyounio?

Groom's side: Ngiarei.

Etoot-1: Ngikan kapei. Ngiai lu tokona lu? Ngakimak ngaarei, ngakalakalia. Eyeni ekitoe ngolo. Ngakiro nu ngaai? Ngakan kauni. Togolok ngakiro nguna ne.

Itamari iyong, erot lo isakete esi be

that you want... Those camels, which were brought to Engolan from here, have not gone out [He is keeping all of them]. They have not gone out. I will not count those [camels] that were for trade, which was the one that was brought to me now. That one has also come. It has been taken away for a walk and returned [Engolan engaged in livestock trade and obtained camels]. How many were those [camels]? They were ten when I counted. They have not been opened here [I request all of them]. They are standing [It is clear that you have ten camels], I built the enclosure. They [The camels] have been entrusted to a person in this homestead [I took care of the camels]. Don't separate [Pay all of them]. The day when the dark-gray camel died here... Those which came from Loriu (a plateau in southeast Turkana), I have put them in my hands [I have made them mine]. I will fight with anybody who will take [the camels] by force from there.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The thing which somebody [Lokawo] said, five oxen, am I not saying twenty? Five donkeys, am I not saying five? I am saying the others five, I am saying the others five, ten camels with short ears (an idiomatic phrase). The matters that I want to make you understand are those two, [that is] of camels and of tent sheets for your mothers in-law.

No. 54 (11:40 a.m.)

Adiaka: Don't shout at me, please.

Man on the groom's side: (while sitting) Apaesia [Adiaka], speak, there is nothing [to shout at]. What to shout at?

Adiaka: Engolan, you should marry, isn't this thing a marriage?

Engolan: (while sitting) I will marry.

eka ngikaala... Nyepudoro ngikaala lu kolong ainunio Engolan kane. Nyepudoro. Nyemari lu kolong e ebicar, lo arai ngesi nabo lo kainunitae lo. Abu ngolo dae. Ayaar ca elaarere abilun. Ngiai kolong ngulu? Ngitomon emari ayong. Eringa nyengaara kane. Ewaasi aduki kolong anok. Ijokokinitoe itwaan a nawi ka na. Nyiitiak jik. Akwaar na atonia akaal naangor kane... Lu kolong apote a Loriu, etemok ngulu nakan. Kijikin ka ekile lo kademari ka neni. Ibore ni ta abaa itwaan ngimongin ngikan, meere bo abaa ngitomoniarei a? Ngisikiria ngikan, meere bo abaa ngikan ia? Abaa luce ngikan, abaa luce ngikan, ngikaala lumudang ngitomon. Ngakiro na abaa kesiira ngesi naarei, na a ngikaala ta na a ngamololia a na ngakamurak kus.

No. 54

Adiaka: Nyikikilakis robo.

Man on the groom's side: Apaesia, kiyan, emam ibore ikilae. Inyo nabo ikilare a?

Adiaka: Engolan, kius ca nai, meere ibore akiuta a?

Engolan: Euta.

Adiaka: What you are told is that you have made a mistake, is it [the mistake] that you failed to come earlier so that you might talk with your fathers? The matters which people are angry at, which have gone wrong, are those. You also know that you made a mistake before.

Engolan: (while sitting) That's right.

Adiaka: That somebody said, "Is there blood [Are we fighting]?" That mentioning is bad. There is no woman that you can ask, saying, "Give me the wife," from this tree. It is the woman who is marrying, that is almost denying us the livestock [The bride can decide to be married or to refuse]. Don't say those matters. You made a mistake to bring even *lokiruoret* before coming [to discuss with us], before coming. How many times had the person been sent to you [to call you to come]? And when you came, even if you had not been available [at home when we had sent somebody], you didn't say that somebody had been sent, [you didn't say that] you couldn't come in person, in person. Those are matters which are bad, and your [way of] bringing *ngikumula* and *lokiruoret*. You have brought [them] and it is over, they have been finished [consumed]. They are not standing now.

Even of leather skirts, you have been told. Let them disappear which will disappear [Some of them may not be procured]. Bring them. Even those leather skirts will not be missing. They are for [the people] inside the family [of the bride], for your mothers. They will not be missing. That is why you were walking around before [to look for livestock]. Stand on [Clarify] the matters that somebody [Etoot-1] said, you brought ten camels and kept [them] in the enclosure. Stand up with [Talk about] that matter.

Adiaka: Ebei iyong icuangakinit iyong, meere bo nyaekun been iyong, kisiriama ka ta-apa kon ngakituk a? Ngakiro na engoitaie na icuangakina nguna. Iyeni iyong dae atamar asecit been.

Engolan: Itemokino.

Adiaka: Ngesi ebaa itwaan elimuni "Eya ngaakot a?" Erono elimune ngolo. Emam aberu iwose iyong akingita atamar, "Nakinae aberu," a lokitoe ka lo. Aberu nabo euta, ngesi tani tokona edikino kimiki sua ngibaren. Nyiilimu ngakiro nguna. Tosec iyong taramu lokiruoret dae nyebuno, nyebuno. Ameun itwaan ngaai ni iyei iyong? Ani been abunet kon, na kolong kimamakar dae, nyiitama iyong ameunitae sek itwaan, nyiiyeku iyong a akwaan, a akwaan. Ngakiro na eroko nguna, ka aramun iyong ngikumula ka lokiruoret. Iramu arumor, erikar. Emam tokona lu ewaasi.

Na a ngabwes dae kilimokin. Tongopo bo na engopete. Kitwaru. Ngabwes bo nguna nyengopete. Ngaka lo tooma nawi, na ka ta-ito kon. Nyengopete. Ngesi been ilator iyong. Towaik ngakiro na eba iyong itwaan, iramuni kolong iyong ngikaala ngitomon, tomek nanok. Tonyounio ngakiro nguna. Eyatakin boca a ngimogin a lukan, ngasikiria nakan. Ngakiro na kilimokinitae iyong daang nguna. Ngikaala lu kolong epotorete ikoku, lu kolong iramuni iyong nanok, kimarae, nyengulu. Nyiitiakatiaka.

They [The men on the bride's side] have added [to the camels] five oxen and five donkeys. Those are the only matters that you are being told [asked]. The camels that gave out the child [It is the camels which made us give out the bride], that you brought to the enclosure, that they counted, they are those [camels]. Don't divide [Give out all of them].

No. 55 (11:42 a.m.)

Engolan: The four herds [of camels] that are in the cow's teats [four], it seems that that was what I was driving [keeping] that day. The camels of this homestead [The camels that were entrusted to this homestead], those are camels of Natoo. Those are camels of a person named Isaac, son of Lokitaung. Those are the camels of a person named Lomurya, son of Lotur. Is it not a group [camels of several owners] that I was driving [keeping]? And for Nacukul, if there was one [camel] long ago that was kept, that was inside these camels [Nacukul, the father of the groom, had a few camels].

Don't take me to those matters, saying, "Or they [the camels] are his." Maybe they [the camels] are the jackets [appearance] that somebody was saying long ago, that a person has admired me of jackets [People thought that I had camels without knowing the truth]. Somebody has admired me because of a walking stick [appearance]. Maybe they are those camels? And when the matters meet like this [people insist that I have many camels], all those things are for somebody else [All the camels are not mine]. Somebody said, when he saw you [Etoot-1] keeping camels, "They [The camels] are not his? [They are Engolan's]" Those are the matters that I wanted to tell you.

No. 55

Engolan: Ngisipaan nguomuon, lu eya losikin aite, ebit ngesi ibore ni kolong kamiat ayong ngini, akolongit ngina. Ngikaala a awi ka na, ngikaala a Natoo ibore ngini. Ngikaala a itwaan be Aisak ngulu a lo ka Lokitaung. Ngikaala a itwaan be Lomurya ngulu a lo ka Lotur. Meere ajore ibore ni kolong amiata? Ka lu a Nacukul, keyei lo kolong pei amiatae ayei tooma ngikaala ngulu.

Nyikiyaa robo nakiro nguna tama "kori ngikeng." Ani meere ngikotyong kolong be abala itwaan, kesupa kare itwaan a ngikotyong. Kesupa itwaan a asoogat. Ani meere keci lukaala ngulu a? Ani tokona iriamete ngakiro kona, toliwor ibore ngini daang toliwor nyigela. Aba kolong itwaan itee imiat iyong, "Ani meere ngikeng a?" Ngakiro abala katolimok nguna.

No. 56 (11:45 a.m.)

Etotoo-1: The thing called life is hard [important], while [a person is] sick. I was sick that day, like the red clothing (an idiomatic phrase). The ears [of mine] were clever, and [I heard that] people were saying, that I would not die, that it seemed there was what was still wet [I would survive], that they should wait. The ears and eyes [of mine] were still open. Of those twenty-three camels, one camel is different [not yours], it is from the money. Two are yours. Of the [remaining] twenty, five are different [not yours], and [another] five are different, the [remaining] ten are yours. You have put them in the livestock enclosure [of mine], even when you get them out [of the enclosure], they only went to graze [and came back]. My friend, the camels by which I am giving you the family [bride] are those. You make me unsatisfied, Lokorikamar [Engolan]. The camels by which I am giving you the girl are those.

No. 57 (11:45 a.m.)

Lokawo: Yes, you, Engolan, why do you disclose [deny], when you disclose [about the camels], they [you] say, "They [The camels] belong to Natoo, they belong to Isaac," why? What is wrong? And yet I have disclosed, and [it is] also being told. It is you who said [who disclosed the number of camels]. Eh?! You were anxious before [You wanted to hear our demands]. What is wrong? Instead of saying, "They are for Isaac, they are for Natoo..." Those are my matters [what I want to say]. Those are my matters. Why are you making it [the negotiation] delay? You were telling me today, "Open, open" [to tell you what we want], [and] I have opened. I have opened. It was you who has talked with Loyaala [the bridegroom]

No. 56

Etotoo-1: Etiono ibore be akiyar ca, todeka. Adeka ayong akwaar ngina ekoni eworu loarengan. Toosok ngaki, tabaasi ca ngitunga nyatwani, abe ebit ca eyei nidio kaasikon, kiyapakinis. Toororete ca ngaki ka ngakonyen. Ngikaala lu kolong tomoni-arei ka nguuni, ekaal epei erai egela a naropiyae. Lu kon luarei. Lutomoni-arei, ngigelayek ngikan, ngigelayek ngikan, ngikon lutomon. Imek kolong iyong nanok, ani bo kingaa iyong dae, adak kolong aloose. Lopae, ngikaala lu kainakinitor nyekon-re, nyekon-re, nye ngulu. Kitakad ca iyong, Lokorikamar. Ngikaala lu kainakinitor ayong iyong apese keci ngulu.

No. 57

Lokawo: Ee, iyong robo Engolan, inyo irotunia ani kirotu, tamarae "Ngika Natoo, ngika Aisak," kotere inyo? Inyo erono? Tarai na kolong arotuni katolimokinitetei. Iyong robo iruoro. Aa?! Abe ta kitibitibit. Inyo erono? Atamarere, "Ngika Aisak, ngika Natoo..." Ngakiro kang nguna. Ngakiro kang nguna. Abe itacau bo iyong? Abe ibaa bo tete iyong ayong, "Tangaa, tangaa," kangak robo. Kangak robo. Iyong robo kolong iruoro ka Loyaala. Woe! Etamario tokona torotoro kolong eruoro a?

[You must have some conclusion]. Hey! Will they [people] say now, that it is a passer-by who was talking? [It is you who discussed about the bridewealth with Loyaala, you cannot escape now]

No. 58 (11:46 a.m.)

Engolan: What is the thing that I cheated you for? And when matters meet [become hard] like this, then I expand, I go behind [I explained about the camels, I am not cheating you]. What is there, I will not hide that thing. There is nothing bad in this family of Lomeyana (bride's great-grandfather) and that of Aboolem (groom's grandfather). The food [live-stock] that comes here is mine. And what is over there [at the bride's homestead] is also mine. What again becomes wrong which will make me to hide what I am seeing? Believe those matters that I am telling you. I am not talking you in what people call the Ngikamatak⁽⁴⁶⁾ language [I am talking straightforwardly]. And again, the mouth that is talking to you is not diverted [I am telling you the truth].

I told you earlier on that, four times, livestock of Lodoupua were also there, livestock of Natoo were also there, livestock of Lomurya were also there, and mine were also there. And the person who talked, who said, "These camels belong to him," that person will also say that it is true, these camels are mine [Somebody misinformed you that all the camels were mine]. If now that thing, when you say like that [all the camels are mine], if those matters have come out of Aboolem's mouth [if it is me who said those matters], you can say that I have deceived you [I have never said that all the camels were mine]. And if the thing has not come out of Aboolem's mouth, you met that other messenger [who told you that all the camels belonged to me],

No. 58

Engolan: Inyo tokona ibore ni kolong kengala a? Ani tokona iriomete nabo ngakiro kona, sodi atanyaia, atoten yaaye. Ibore robo ni ayei, nyedai nabo ayong ibore ngini. Mam ibore idio ni erono a nawi a na Lomeyana ka na ka Aboolem. Akimuj ebuni ni dae ne, a kang. Na eyei ama dae, a kang. Toroner nabo inyo, ni edaya ni engolikinit? Tonup ngakiro na kesiruori ayong iyong nu. Nyekesiruori ayong iyong ibore ni ebaasi ngitunga Ngakamatak. Ani erumor, nyiciarit akituk na kisiruori iyong. Nyiciarit akituk na kisiruori iyong.

Kalimok ta atamari, ngasaparin nguomuon, ngibaren a Lodoupua dae neni, ngibaren a Natoo dae neni, ngibaren a Lomurya dae neni, lu kang dae neni. Ani bo itwaan kolong kiruoro, kebala be ebei, "Ngike ngikaala lu," elimuni itwaan ngini dae ibore be iteni ngikang ngikaala lu. Kerai tokona ibore ngini, ani ilimuni iyong kongina, tarai kolong nakituk na ka Aboolem na itorunito ngakiro nguna, kibaa iyong karasit ayong iyong. Ani na nyitoruno ibore ngini nakituk na ka Aboolem na, kiriyama iyong ka lokoba loce ye, nyiinup ibore ngini. Ngakiro daang na kesiruori ayong iyong nu.

don't believe it. It is all that I am telling you.

Adiaka: (while sitting) What about your leg [What about the livestock which you supposed to have obtained while you were away from home]?

No. 59 (11:48 a.m.)

Etoot-1: What you used to look for, you find that you have put [the bride] properly in your hand [You have got the bride]. Let me divide even this one [Let me decide]. It is me on the food [I will take the livestock], you on the family [You will take the bride]. It is what we are competing for, it is only that. Me on the food, which came here, which made me give you [the bride]. I will tell you one by one like that, and I go and sit. The throat is narrow [I cannot speak loudly].

No. 60 (11:49 a.m.)

Eedung: Yes! My fathers, yes, Lotwalamoyo [Etoot-1]. It is the food that we are competing for. There is nothing wrong. You should also stand at your place [to insist what you want], you should also stand at your place. I will say like that [All that I can say is like this]. Please, you, this tree of my fathers', you are also gathering here. Come and ask for the livestock for this family [of the bride] to replace [fill the gap] where the shadow [the bride] left, which was depended on. We are also discussing there, [saying] "Can those old men not kill us?" Please, you should put these matters to some parts of your head [You should understand us]. All the matters will not be buried underground [Nothing can be hidden]. [For example] A man is seducing in the bush, somebody's wife commits adultery, it seems they [people] are talking truth somewhere before. They [The

Adiaka: Ani bo akeju kon?

No. 59

Etoot-1: Na isakia iyong iyanyunia iyong atamar etemok nakan. Kimie atotiak ni dae en. Ayong nakimuj, iyong lore. Neni jik kimariakina, neni bon. Ayong nakimuj, na kolong abuni ne, na kolong kainakinia iyong. Ngapepei kalimonokini kongina aminio a kiboikinor. Ediding edokole.

No. 60

Eedung: Ee! Ta-apa, ee, Lotwalamoyo. Ekoe, akimuj kimariae. Emam ibore erono, emam ibore erono. Towo iyong dae ani kon, towo iyong dae ani kon. Atamari neni. Aayoro, iyong ekitoe lo, lo ka ta-apa kang lo, itukosi esi dae kane. Potu robo elipakisi ngibaren nawi na kilunyokin ni been arotokinio etorube lo been amecitae nege. Ebeyo sua dae ka ama etukoi, "Ekoe, nyedikino ngikasikou lu kingolete a?" Aayoro, kiwakinito ngakiro nu ngakies epewoe. Ngakiro daang emam na enukakin nalup. Imalatoi ekile a nasekon, elomitae aberu ka ati, abe ebit been esisao ka ai naca arai iteni. Ngakalotok epegae dae jik kileereut. Naca arai akiding, ngakalotok jik toribok. Aayoro!

matters] will pass while [those concerned are] denying, they will be revealed. What is false will just go until they become dark [They will be revealed to be false]. Please!

I will not tell you to leave [give up] the matters of camels. You, just talk the matters of camels. Talk the matters of camels, camels. I will not even mention the matters of warthogs [donkeys], if they are available or not. I will not even say the matters of cattle, if they are available or not. Yes, talk the matters of camels. Please, and when it reaches another time, you should close [You should stop talking about camels] and at another time [you should] give some other matters [You should talk about livestock other than camels]. Return to camels. Please, I don't know about camels, if they [people of groom's side] are refusing, they are refusing completely [to give out camels], even if we finish all these [discussions], you will not see [the camels] again in the enclosure [Camels will not be brought]. Even if there were camels, if they were there, if they were there, the ten yellow camels, what is important on the earth? The thing which we love, it is the ten yellow camels!

Nyakatamari kimiekisi ngakiro a ngikaala. Kuruoro ca esi dae ngakiro a ngikaala. Kuruoros mono esi ngakiro a ngikaala, a ngikaala. Nyalimuni ayong ngakiro a ngiputiro dae, keya kemam. Nyalimuni ayong ngakiro a ngaatuk dae, keya kemam. Ee, kuruoros mono esi ngakiro a ngikaala. Aai, ani enangi apak ace, tomukeikis, apak ace kiyanakis ngacekiro. Tobongokis lokaala. Aai, nyayeni ayong ngikaala atamar, ani kewunitere, ewunitere lokojokon na arai kirumo ngonni na dae nu, nyingolikinete nabo esi a naweet. Ngikaala keya kolong dae, keya dae, keya dae, ngikaala lunyangayek lutomon, inyo etiono a nalup? Ibore ni kimina ngonni, ngikaala lunyangayek lutomon!

Ngicampa stood up for the first time. He was married to a women in the bride's family (see Fig. 1).

No. 61 (11:51 a.m.)

Ngicampa: Yes! Pay attention. The one named "He has come alone." (Ngicampa's nickname) This is the one named "He has come alone," from that far end, [a place] called Epuke, from the Pokot (a neighboring ethnic group). What is the matter? What is the matter? What is the thing? Is it a marriage negotiation or a courtship of a woman? It seems, you are saying that you have brought *ealakany*,⁽⁴⁷⁾ [and you

No. 61

Ngicampa: Ee! Topupok ciene. Ekiro be Abubon lo. Nyolo, ekiro be Abubon lo, a nati ka ina ibore be Epuke a loupe. Ikote ngakiro ai? Ikote ngakiro ai? Inyo ibore? Eloto ibore, kori emalas? Be ani bo esibit bo ibore be ibala itwaru ealakany, ibore be nakiruoret, angol ngikumula dae, kiburakinete nabo akisidicakin ngakiro, akisipudare etom lokaurian. Nyaanu na kolong kuruoro? Tolomaria tokona

have brought] the thing called *nakiruoret*, and you have also slaughtered *ngikumula* [You proceeded well up to half way], and yet you want to make us beat the matters [to repeat the demand], to make the elephant which gave birth trample on [to destroy the real issue]. Where are those [agreements] that we talked? You entered [started] now to bring *lokiruoret*, you entered now to bring *lokimul*. I saw, when I came first, the person named “He has come alone,” and when I left a letter [message] saying, “Call [somebody] for me,” [I sent you a message to come and see me] you refused to come. You also got a man who remained at your place [while you are away], [but] you refused [to come], you refused.

Give the people food [livestock]. Your fathers, with whom you had agreed, with whom you had said [discussed] everything. Give [them] food. I hear with the ear, the way I came here yesterday [I heard that you came here], you never came to greet me, even now, even now. There is nothing I ask you again, nothing. It is only food that I am telling you to give to your people, give your fathers, give your mothers. I am going this way like the path to that hut [I am talking straightforwardly]. You are making your fathers trample on the matters [destroy the matters]. Which did you choose [What did you agree upon], even you, which you talked to your fathers? When it reaches the point when your fathers tell you the matters [make demands], then you tended to throw the matters away, saying, “Hey.” What are they? What are they? And yet the thing called a person [the bride] seems to become hard to be gotten.

You, you have your thing [livestock]. What is now pressing [preventing] you from raising [saying] that, “I have my thing, which is this and this”? If they are

kitwarunia talokiruoret, tolomaria tokona kitwarunia talokimul. Aanyuni kolong napei abuni, itwaan be Abubon, ani alakakini abarua, atama, “Tanyarakinae,” towou atakanuun. Kirum ekedongon nados kon dae, towou, tonger.

Nakinae ngitunga akimuj. Ta-apa kon, lu kolong icamakinotor, lu kolong ibalatar ai. Nak akimuj. Atopup ayong a akit lotiang lo been abunio ne, nyebuno iyong nyimala ayong, tani tokona, tani tokona. Emam idio-bore kengisi nabo, emam. Akimuj bon abala nak ngikon-tunga, nak ta-apa kon, nak ta-ito kon. Ekeyai ayong kona kwa erot lokol lo. Be isipudae ta-apa kon eruor pudak, pudak. Nyaanu na kolong kisanete, iyong dae, nako isiruori ta-apa kon lu? Enangi nabo ebit ani kilimokinete ta-apa kon ngakiro, jo ibit ikot akiwat eruor, atamar, “Yei.” Ikote ai? Ikote ai? Tesibite bo ibore be itwaan egogong ni elemunere.

Iyong bo ikon-bore ni kiyakar. Inyo nabo kitikit iyong akikeun atamar, “Ayakar ika-bore ni be ati ta-ati”? Kerai ngisikiria, kikeu! Kerai akimar a ngituga, kikeu!

donkeys, you should raise [give away]! If it is the share of people, you should raise! How are you? It seems that you have finished the matters long ago, you finished. Eh?! Hey! What is the matter? Cook [Speak out] the matters in the way you have cooked before. I came here and started to look for you so that you can also see me, and I can also see you, so that we can eat the talk [we can talk].

Food is always small [the livestock is not enough], even if it is available, people will still miss, while we have talked. Whom did you talk with? You brought *ngikumula* to this homestead of Lomeyana, which I have not brought [I didn't bring *ngikumula* in such a way as you did]. Eh?! When you saw [got] your wife, give them food, you have just taken your wife. Don't go against what they said. You should say [like this], "Yes, it is true, Father, it is there [This is your share of bridewealth], it is true, Mother, it is there." Before I finished talking, the heat has beaten me [I got angry]. Let me go back.

No. 62 (11:55 a.m.)

Adiaka: Please, bring the thing in advance. Say the thing which is there [available]. You are an orphan, you are an orphan [Your father has died]. Your wedding is of the leg [You have walked around to get livestock for bridewealth]. The leg. I was also walking around when I was still alive [full of vigor] like a real man. That [The result of walking around] is another thing which is over there, called a family [I built my family]. It is of the leg. The sweats that you are removing like this [from the forehead], which you were removing before, which I heard from all of the world, even here [I heard that you struggled to collect livestock]. It will not be missed, it will not be missed, the fifty

Ikoni ai? Abe kirumo bo kolong iyong ngakiro, kisunya. Aa! Woe! Ikote ngakiro ai? Kipou ngakiro lotal ca lo been kipouni iyong ilope. Abuni ayong nege katasak iyong, atamar kitanyunga iyong ayong dae, katanyunga ayong iyong dae, atanyama eruor.

Akimuj ekadana, ata eyei, ekadi ngitunga, tanyami tetei eruor. Ngae mono kolong kiruorotor iyong? Ibuni iyong ilulunguuni ngikumula nawi na a Lomeyana na, lo nyilulunguuna ayong. Aa!? Na kolong iyanyungaria iyong aberu kon, nak iyong kesi akimuj, abe ilema bo akon-beru dae. Tojongo akitepeganakin ibore ni ta alimunete. Tama iyong, "Ee, iteni apa eyei, iteni ito eyei." Eroko nyiruorikina, kanangit etau. Kimie atobongo.

No. 62

Adiaka: Aayoro, kiteyeku ibore. Tolimu ibore ni ayei. Ekoki iyong, ekoki iyong. Akiuta na kon a ka akeju. Akeju. Elat kolong ayong dae eringa ayeri arai ekile. Ngesi boca ice-bore tokona ingalakina nen ebeyo awi. A ka akeju. Ngakiinyir icidi iyong kona, na been icidi iyong, na apupokinit ayong ngalup nu daang, tani nege. Nyengopi, nyengopi esimon, akiba na asaduku. Nyegopi. Ngesi inyounitor iyong.

cents which is saved in the box will not be missed [Even small number of animals, just try to bring them]. It will not be missed. That is how you are standing up [That is what made you get married].

Don't deny your brother [me] that thing [the livestock]. Even if you bring [the livestock] here, the mothers [of the bride] were saying yesterday, when they were dancing, [they want] two camels. Did you find any [camels] in the enclosure [of the bride's family]? [The bride's family doesn't have camels] Those are the camels which you will eat, which you will perform rituals [If you bring camels, you can eat or use them in future]. Don't minimize. Even if you have divided [You decided to give a part of your camel], raise [talk] those that you have taken, which you are bringing. We cut the marriage [We will finish this negotiation and the following wedding ceremony], we go and bring the ox [for wedding] and disperse [go back to respective homesteads], we go and look for some other marriage ceremonies and ask for the share of bridewealth. The sweat will not be missed. You will not die tasteless [You will get other livestock after giving away].

Nyikimik ikaato kon ibore ngini. Kiyau bo iyong ni dae ne, abe abaasi bo been ngakimak inyekunete, ngikaala ngiarei. Eya ngice ngoon irukau iyong a nanok a? Ngikaala nabo inyami iyong ngulu, kitaleete iyong. Tojongo aridit. Ani bo kitiekit dae, kikeu lu ilemu, lu ilemunit. Atotubutuboosi akiuta, apana atorujutu emong, eyalar, apana atasakasi ngakiutasia nace ta akidiera. Nyengopete ngakiinyir, ngakiinyir. Nyikikari ipena.

Engolan, elder brother of the groom, finally said that he would give two camels, although the bride's side insisted on receiving 20 "camels."

No. 63 (11:57 a.m.)

Engolan: (standing up) Apaesia [Adiaka]!

Adiaka: (going back) Yes?

Engolan: What am I hiding? You are talking at this tree, [that] there were ten camels that was remaining, which passed here and slept at this homestead of Lomeyana. If I describe the ways of these people to you, [the ways] of those animals [the camels belong to several persons], and

No. 63

Engolan: Apaesia!

Adiaka: Ou?

Engolan: Inyo nabo emunonit, emunonit inyo? Ngikaala lu ibaasi esi ikearito a lokitoe ka lo, ngitomon kolong be edongete, ngice lu kolong be etorunete neke, topero nawi na a Lomeyana na. Kacik tokona ayong esi ngirotin a ngitunga ka ngulu, a lu kolong a ngibaren

then I told you, “Mine was also inside [the camel herd].” The thing [livestock] for which you have not constructed a livestock enclosure, is it like you own something? [When you don’t make an enclosure, you don’t own any livestock] Even in yours [by your judgment], [you] old men who are sitting here, is it like you own something? [You might agree with my views] Is it not that there was nothing? The thing which something [camels] doesn’t want, which it doesn’t want to graze here, in front of you here [I don’t have camels]...

Those camels which I had, were two. I will not hide [them] in front of this family of Lomeyana. I had two. It is the thing of the bull [the groom] which is heavy [We can settle this negotiation with what we have]. There is nothing from this particular shoe [livestock], when this matter [negotiation] press you like this, you will not hope that thing [livestock] again to remain with you [When a problem like this occurs, you will not hesitate to give out livestock]. You will hope to complete this matter [negotiation]. What am I denying to this family of Lomeyana?

You, Etoot, you were [present] in the matters of Natamakaruo [where I got married]. What did I refuse to give to your family? Even now in this talk, you are angry, saying, “He (Engolan) did again another thing. What he is bringing again now to this family, is that of the other day (small number of bridewealth), which I saw him doing [giving] with my eyes, he did while I was seeing.” [Etoot-1 has nothing to get angry for]

No. 64 (11:59 a.m.)
Adiaka: (standing up) You?

Engolan: (going back) Yes.

ka ngulu, ani erumor katolimok atamar “Ayei lo kang dae tooma.” Ibore mono nyidukit iyong anak na a ibore ka ngini, ikoni ibore ngini ayakau iyong ibore a? A ni kus dae, a ngikasikou a luapolok alu tokona iboiyete ka ne ka lu, ikoni ibore ngini ayakau iyong ibore a? Meere emam dir a? Ibore ni nyecamit ibore, nyecamit adaka neke, ngaren kon nege...

Ngikaala lu kolong ngulu, ayakar ayong ngiarei. Nyemunoni nabo ayong a longaren awi na a Lomeyana na. Ayakar ayong ngiarei. Ibore robo e emaanik ngesi etiono. Emam robo ibore a amukat a na tokona ka na, ani kiminarete ngakiro na tokona nu nyisaki nabo iyong ibore ngini, atamar kerai kidong ni kon. Ibaa ca iyong kerai elulungikin nakiro nu. Inyo nabo emikit ayong awi na a Lomeyana na?

Abe iyei bo iyong Etoot nakiro na a Natamakaruo. Inyo ibore ni abu ayong emik awi na kon? Ni tokona, ani ekiruor lo dae lo, tolemarite iyong tabala, “Edia lo a, ‘Ee,’ epanyi ngoon nabo ibore nice. Ibore tokona nabo ni eyaunit nawi na, ‘ee,’ ngesi egen, ni ngoon a akwar a nace, ni ngoon eseme ayong ipanyi nakongu kang, kipany jik ete ayong.”

No. 64
Adiaka: Iyong a?

Engolan: Ee.

Adiaka: A black person [the bride] is important. You have got a wife, and you are alive [without problems]. Those camels that we are competing for, will get finished now and go [camels will die out] together with these trees. And the person [the bride] remains. Your life is [sustained by] the person [the bride]. The person will go to dig [make] charcoal. Now, that journey of yours [When you came to marry her], some children have died [Children of the bride's family will suffer] whom that person [the bride] was making charcoal for [She will not be able to feed them after getting married]. Now [every] man who has got married, even in this tree [men on the bride side], even in that tree [men on the groom's side], knows that matter.

It is influence that we are competing for [We are competing for the camels], [but] it [the camels] will go [die out] together with these trees. You should know to stand [support] the matters of a person [You should be responsible for the bridewealth payment]. Even me now, [when] I didn't have a family [when I was not married], I used to walk the same way that you have been walking [to look for livestock to marry]. I used to be in Moroto, in Jie land, in Dodoth land, in Kitale, at everywhere! When I got the thing of the leg [livestock], [after I married] I was surprised to see that person [the wife] constructing an abandoned homestead. I came to this family of Lomeyana [to marry]. I went back. I came first to Nawoto's family [to marry]. All those families [of my affine] are yours. She [my wife] constructed homestead. Those livestock that remained [after the bridewealth payment] were taken away by the year [they died because of the drought]. I got some others. I came a while ago and took [married] the daughter

Adiaka: Egogong itwaan nikirion. Iyong itwaan ni iriamu aberu iyar. Ngikaala lu kimariae ngoni lu, edaun tokona kirukosi ka ekuyen lo. Kidong itwaan. Akiyar kon ngesi itwaan. Tolot itwaan ngini akikur ngatotol. Tokona elote lo ngoon kon, ekara ngice-de lu been apeikinit itwaan ngini ngatotol. Tokona ekile lo euta, a lokitoe dae ka lo, a lokitoe dae ka ye, eyeni ngakiro nguna.

Esupa ibore kimariae ngoni en, irukorete ka ekuyen lo. Toyeni mono iyong aweikinit ngakiro na a itwaan. Tokona ayong dae, amam kolong awi ayei, elat lo kilatene lo been ilat iyong. Ayei ayong Moroto, ayei ayong Najiye, ayei ayong Dodos, ayei ayong Kitale, ayei ayong ai! Ani ariamuni ibore ni a akeju, atanangakin itwaan ngini edukokini awi yongorot. Abu nawi na a Lomeyana na. Atobongo. Esiau abu nawi na a Nawoto. Ngakon ngawiyeyi nguna daang. Todukok awi. Ngibaren lu kolong edongete tocuna ekaru. Erau luce. Abunio been atoriko na a ka Lokut.

of Lokut.

The thing has become a family [I built up my family]. [When] You go to that hut [of a wife], you will find that the charcoals are put on a fire [food is ready]. [When] You again go to that hut [of another wife, you will find that food is also ready]... You should really know the matters [the importance] of a person [the wife]. You should know. Love the livestock, while knowing the matters of a person. Release those camels, even if they are five, even if they are any number, release!

Engolan: (while sitting) I have released what are in front of me, even one will not remain. Even one is not remaining.

No. 65 (12:01 p.m.)

Emus: You! Lotwalamoyo [Etoot-1], that's it, that's it. Hold that thing [Reiterate your demands], let Engolan hold what he can hold. Because, he brought [the camels] and locked them in this enclosure, then released. There are issues here. Another group which is also here [There are two groups of men here, but], two of you can fight [the main actors are Etoot-1 and Engolan]. It is Engolan [to talk], Engolan himself, not you [Etoot-1]. You have seen [the camels] with your eye, and then he talks about this again [Engolan explains that he doesn't have camels]. You say, "If you are that person, I have already seen you, I have already seen you." [If you are really Engolan, I know the number of camels that you have] And now, he [Engolan] brought that group [of men], he also brought that other one [group of men]. You [Etoot-1] came afterwards. It is Engolan alone who has gathered these groups here, Engolan can also disperse those ones [groups]. He can disperse that one [group], even this one [He can decide

Aliwor to ibore awi. Kirimo lokol ye, torukau ngatotol epeunitoe. Kirimo lokol ye... Toyeni mono iyong ngakiro na a itwaan. Toyeni mono iyong. Tominakinite ngibaren, toyeni ngakiro na a itwaan. Tajal ngikaala ngulu, kerai ngikan dae, kerai ngiai dae, tajal!

Engolan: Ajalak lu eya ngaren kang, mam nabo epei dae idongi. Mam nabo epei dae idongit.

No. 65

Emus: Aai! Lotwalamoyo, nyenguna, nyenguna. Toting ibore ngini, toting Engolan ni etingi. Kainyo, ayauni kolong jik yau togolok nanok na, sodi angaar. Eya ngakiro ne. Akambi nace na eyei ni dae ne, akampan nace na eyei ni dae ne, isidica esi ngitunga lu arei. Tarai Engolan, Engolan akwaan, meere iyong. Iyanyu iyong ngoon nakongu, ani erumor, kiruorik ngesi nabo ibere en. Tama iyong, "Ani kerai iyong itwaan ngini a, kaanyu ngoon ayong iyong. Kaanyu ngoon ayong iyong." Ani tokona, tocun akampan ya, tocun nace dae yaga. Kisidiun iyong. Engolan bon ngesi idiasit ngajorei ne, epetari tokona dae Engolan. Ngesi epetari nada ya, nada nu. Ngesi epetari.

what to give]. It is him who can disperse [who makes the final decisions].

What you have been talking is true [It is true that you saw the camels]. What you saw with your eye, and then you did not ask [Engolan], you asked another person [and you were informed that], “Such and such [number of camels] for [belong to] so and so.” Why can’t you hold [believe] that thing? [You should not believe what the third person said] Isn’t it what you are talking now? Are you again going astray while talking? You can’t go astray, my friend. Engolan, marry. Marry, Engolan. They have known the thing, what they say, that even wives have remembered their matters of being able to feed [the family] [People know that women are important]. Small matters are old [The importance of wives is an old issue], although they are being brought here now like this [although bride’s side is insisting the importance of wife now]. All these homesteads where people are living, I have monitored all, up to the Dodoth land, up to the Toposa land, up to everywhere. There are problems in all [the homesteads], the man [husband] drives while dirty like that [he is always responsible for his family], a wife commits adultery and they bring another one [the men marry another wife]. There is no refusing to stop [The issue of adultery is continuous]. I, the owner of the yellow horn-less ox which died.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Marry please. Marry, there is nobody who can influence you [Engolan] in this tree, who can influence you, even I, your brother, cannot influence you here to refuse the animals. Why? Marry in the way you decided about this thing. The family of Lomeyana came together [here]. Even who was in Kekorongole has come here. Even who was in Lomunyanapus has come here. Even who was in Kadirkaca,

Iteni ibore ni iruoro iyong. Ibore kolong iyanyuni iyong nakongu, ani erumor, pa kingisit ngesi dae, kingit nabo nice, “Ngika ati ngingen, ngika ati ngingen.” Kainyo pa itingia iyong ibore ngini? Meere ngesi ni iruoro iyong en ia? Itwangi nabo iruoro a? Nyitwangi jik, lopae. Engolan, kius. Kius, Engolan. Be ayen ca kolong ibore be ebei be etamut ngaberu dae be etamut ngakiro kec be kitanete. Ngingorok ngikiro tani tokona etanyunitae be etia ni dae ne. Ngawiyei na elomitae nu daang, areb daang tani Dodos, tani Topos, tani aliwae. Ngakecanak, keci eya jik, tomete ekile tongoreka kikote neni kona, tolong na sodi tolunyunae nace. Mam jik awoun apalikin. Aloti nyang luk esikariwari.

Kius ca nai. Kius emam ekesupan eyei lokitoe lo, lo kisupi iyong, kori ayong lokato kon, kesupa atama kane be ebei be towounere ngibaren. Kotere inyo? Kius ca nai loger lo kolong itamunia iyong ibore en. Tocunak awi a Lomeyana. Ni ayei Kekorongole dae, abu nege. Ni ayei Lomunyanapus dae, abu nege. Ni ayei Kadirkaca dae, ni be ai dae, abu nege. Iyong bon ngesi icununi. Anu-kiro palem

even from all over, has come here. It is you alone who gathered [the people]. With which matters can you oppose your father [the bride's father]? What has he given you? [He gave you] God, the family, the family is the size of God, even when it is washed away [finished], another one will be started again. With which matters can you oppose your father? That thing [Arguing against the father] becomes tasteless [bad], in the ears of all people, or in his [ears] and yours, or somebody who remember the same [who still wants to argue against the father], the other [argument] becomes tasteless.

Marry. A wife is like a gorge [with permanent water]. A gorge, a spring, a current which never dried up. A wife is as important as this river, the Tarac, in which all the other people have died, whom we knew, they are in the past. Others have started [their lives], even the strange enemy [refugees]⁽⁴⁹⁾ from other places has come [to settle]. He [refugees] has come to survive here. He is now feeding us, and yet it is our fathers who were staying here. A wife is big [important]. You Lotwalamoyo, you Engolan, those are yours [This is what I want to say]. It is me myself who was driving the camels [I was the owner of the camels]. It is this Eedung of my mother [Eedung knows what I am saying]. The hides of those camels are in this homestead [Camels were given out to this family]. The hides of those camels are at the river called Nakalale [Some camels were given away at a marriage taken place at Nakalale]. Others are held here. Others are at Nakalale. Engolan has also eaten what he has eaten [He used some camels for his marriage].

Let me say another thing which all of you disagree with. I am saying, right from this northern river, which ends up

ipegasi ka apa kon? Lo kiinakinit inyo? Akuj, ere, ere, ibore be ere etia akuj. Arai ilabario dae, kiraunae nabo loce. Anu-kiro ipegasi ka apa kon? Topener ibore ngini a naki ka daang, kori a na keng ka iyong, kori itwaan ni itamunit nipei, topener nice jik.

Kius. Agum ibore be aberu. Agum, ecua, elelea lo nyeonene. Egegong aberu ikoni angolol na be Tarac na, adaun ngitunga lu kolong ce nabo, lu kolong kiyeni ngoni be ta poyo. Esiakis nabo luce, alom tani emoit gela lo a ngalup a nace. Abu ayariu nege. Nyolo nabo aloma akitan ngoni, tarai ta-apa yok ngoon esunyakina nege. Epolot ibore be aberu. Iyong, Lotwalamoyo, iyong Engolan, nakon nguna. Ayong amiat ngikaala akwan na kang. Ngesi Eedung lo a ito kang lo. Eya ngamunyin a ngikaala ka ngulu eya nawi na. Eya ngamunyin a ngikaala ka ngulu, eya angolol be Nakalale. Etingitae nace kane. Eya ngace Nakalale. Anyam bo Engolan dae lo anyami.

Kimie atolimu nabo ice-bore ni ipegete esi daang. Abala ayong a, angolol rika na alo kwap na, torem Mogila, edit rika itwaan

in the Mogila mountains, it is only a few people who love camels. Even in the east, and in the south, it is only a few people who love camels. Or even me, this one! This one! This one! I need camel, [but] there is a part of camel that I dislike. I dislike camel but I drink its milk a bit. I dislike camel but I eat its meat a bit. And if it becomes all these animals, the stomach is lined straight to toes [I like all other animals, and I am comfortable with them]. There is something itchy [bad with the camels], I don't know what my body has found there [why I dislike camels].

Now, this group in which Engolan is present, I will return to [I will talk to] Engolan, what is this thing called camel? I will not press it down [I will not refuse to give] even if the camel is only one, that is one point [which I want to say]. Where can the small shop of the hands reach?⁽⁵⁰⁾ Where can the small shop of the hands reach, which is being held in the hands like this? This shop, which does not have a home [hawking], which used to be like that. Do those cows have any calves? [That business doesn't have any profit] They bring and pass it over, some part is again cut off, some part is again cut off [Even when the profit is brought home, it will not remain at home, the profit will be consumed little by little]. Where can that small shop reach? Where will it reach? [There is no profit from this business]

emina ibore be ekaal. Kwa a kide, kwa kuju dae ne, edit rika itwaan emina ekaal. Kori ayong lopei tokona lo! Lo! Loko! Asaki ayong ekaal, eyei ekaal nabo ni angerit. Angerit ayong ekaal kori ngakile amasi ca. Angerit ayong ekaal kori akiring anyami ca. Ani ca erauni ngibaren luce lu daang, eruarit akook tanang lomolokony. Eyei ca esipiya lokaronon, nyayeni ni kolong icamunit akwaan ka neni.

Tokona akampan na eyei Engolan naka, ebongokini ayong ebongokinit Engolan, inyo ibore be ekaal? Nyeciamari nabo ayong ata kerai epei, pei neni. Nyani mono ni enangi nyidukan a ngakan? Nyani mono ni enangi nyidukan a ngakan ni ekoditae a ngakan kona? Edukan lo emam ere lo kolong arai ngesi lo kolong ngolo. Eya ngaatuk nguna eya ngitak a? Yaunae kisipororoe be enyilunitae neni, yaunae kisipororoe be enyilunitae neni. Nyai ni enangi edukan ngini? Enangi aliwae?

No. 66 (12:07 p.m.)

Ngicampa: He [The groom] is rich! Even this family that I have constructed myself, it is through a shop [I established my family by business]. That family has extended, it has become [big] over there. Even the year has eaten, even anything else has eaten [The droughts affected the family, but it still survives]. Give cattle

No. 66

Ngicampa: Ekabaran! Awi na tokona awat ayong lopei lo, aka edukan. Alalaar awi ngina abau inaa. Anyam ekaru dae, anyam inyo dae. Nak ta-apa kon ngaatuk, toting iyong aberu. Arai takae toyei aberu ne, toringa eyei ne, kerai ngesi elalakiyata ngakiro na kiruoro. Nabo, eringa ekiruor lomating, ngesi lo irudari nawi na kon.

to your fathers, and you hold the wife. If the wife could have been here, if she still could have been here, what we should talk could have been much [Our talk is easy now because you already took the bride to your homestead]. Again, the major talk is not yet [done], it is what will go [be discussed] to your home. What is now made hard here, you, [sitting under] this tree?

Man on the groom's side: (while sitting)
Nothing is made hard here.

Ngicampa: Even this side [There is nothing hard on the bride's side], if there is any part which they [we] disagree with, I want now that you should stand up [talk] with what you are bringing to them [us]. If now the camels have gone back [If you refuse to give camels], or if the camels also have refused, will you not just bring your matters that you have? [You can give out whatever livestock you have] If you are bringing donkeys, just say, "I am bringing donkeys." If you are bringing goats, just say, "Cattle [goats]." If it is goats, just say. The talks among Ngikamatak are always like that. What is said, "dam, dam, dam," [You are talking nonsense] and yet the matters which were happening have been finished [You have already taken the bride home].

Lokawo: (while sitting) Come back, leave him [Engolan] alone, he is the one who was burnt with the matter which he was told. He is the one who has become angry because of that. Come back. Let him find where to put [how to solve the problem].

No. 67 (12:13 p.m.)

Engolan: What are the matters we are arguing for? Are there any matters that

Inyo tokona nabo itogogongitoe kane, aa, ekitoe lo?

Man on the groom's side: Emam ngakiro itogogongitoe kane.

Ngicampa: Laalo dae, keyei ni tete apegut, asakaki tokona atamar tonyounio iyong ibore ni iinunit. Tokona ngikaala kebongito, kori ngikaala dae na kolong awounitere, meere iyauni iyong ngakonkiro na ayakasi a? Kerai ngisikiria inyounitor, kisisau atamar, "Anyounit a ngisikiria." Kerai ngakinei inyounitor, kisisau atamar, "Ngaatuk." Kerai ngaanei, kisisau. Abe ikoni eruor alo kamatak neni. Inyo ebeyo dam, dam, dam, tarai bo ngakiro na kolong asubasi erikar.

Lokawo: Tobongu, tobongu kimiek ngesi ta anomito nalimokina dae. Ngesi nabo akekesia ka nguna dae. Tobongu. Kimie taanyu ca ni iwaakini.

No. 67

Engolan: Nyanu mono ngakiro kipega dae? Eya mono ngakiro apega ayong a?

I am denying? I am just telling you, if I have the thing [livestock], I will not refuse this family of Lomeyana [I will give them]. If it is not there, let it just be missing. Let all of us miss. What I told you, those livestock that I was driving in the east, please, two are remained [I am left with two camels]. Even when the remainings are two, I will give [them to] you, I will not refuse. My second mouth [My issue is that], the man [I] really has animals. It is not the body [empty hands] that he is coming with to you. It is only the black body that he is bringing to you. It is only the black body that he is bringing to you. There is nothing now that I can say [I cannot say], “I have such and such a thing.” The side [issue] of goats, with red eyes, a goat bleats “Oee.”⁽⁵¹⁾ I don’t have any goats. They got finished, it is true.

Lokawo: (while sitting) Where are you going again [What are you talking about]? Engolan, leave the side [issue] of goats first. Let’s first go to [talk about] the camels, leave first that of the cattle also. Hey! Oh! You have just flattered [confused] me.

Engolan: There are no camels, no camels, this is true. No camels, this is true. Those camels that you told me, which you said ten yellow ones, hey! Sons of Ngirisae, and of Ngimor,⁽⁵²⁾ there are two [I have only two camels]. Two. I can’t bite my tongue [I swear].

Man on the bride’s side: (while sitting) You stood up with what [How was your plan to get married with two camels]?

Engolan: It is what I was telling you that it is only the black body that I am bringing.

Abe abala bo ayong esi, atoyakar robo ibore, nyemiki awi na a Lomeyana na. Na mamau tongop robo. Kitongopik ngoni daang. Ibore ni tete kalimokini ayong esi atamar, ngibaren lu kolong amiat alo kide, ekoe, edong ngiarei. Na edongio arai ngiarei dae, kainakini, nyawounia. Akituk kang na ngiarei, eya ekile ngibaren dir. Meere akwaan ibore nice ni ebunitor ni kus. Akwaan bon nikirion kiinunit. Akwaan bon nikirion kiinunit. Emam tokona ibore ni abala “Ayakar ibore be ati.” Ewae ka ta a ngaanei, a naarengak a ngakonyen, a na ebala akine “Oee.” Adaun kolong ayong ngaanei. Adaun dir, iteni.

Lokawo: Ai nabo ni iyaka ne? Kiapak Engolan ewae lo a ngaanei. Kapana mono atorotokisi lokaala, kiapak lo a ngaatuk dae. Etike! Ei! Abe kirwamrwam bo.

Engolan: Emam ngikaala, ngikaala, emam dir iteni. Emam ngikaala iteni dir. Ngikaala lu tete kilimokini, ibala ngitomon, lonyangayek, ekoe! Ngide a Ngirisae ka lu a Ngimor, ngiarei eya. Ngiarei. Nyakonyi angajep.

Man on the bride’s side: Tonyou ngoon a inyo?

Engolan: Ngesi nita abala akwaan bon nikirion kainunit.

Adiaka: (while sitting) These two camels, you are saying you want to bring these two camels, for whom they will be speared [How can we share the camels]?

Adiaka: Ngikaala mono luarei lu, ibaa iyong etuaru ngikaala lu arei lu kicumakinae ngae?

Engolan: If that is the only thing that I have, why should I hide, and yet I am admiring somebody's ox [the bride]? And yet it is the only thing that I have. What should I hide for? Can I mix that ox [the bride] with that thing really? [Receiving the bride and hiding my livestock cannot be compatible] When I admired somebody's ox [the bride], I should release the thing [livestock], and I go with the ox.

Engolan: Na tokona araakar ibore kang eyei ngini, edai nabo, kateminarite emong a itwaan ia? Tarai bo ibore kang eyei ngini. Edai nabo ekoki ai? Emorikini emong ngolo ka ibore nabo ngini a? Na kolong robo kaminaria emong a itwaan, atosodi atajal ibore ngini erukosi ka emong.

Adiaka: (while sitting) Are you talking in the Ngikamatak language?⁽⁵³⁾

Adiaka: Ngakamatak mono iruoro iyong a?

Engolan: I am talking in the Turkana language.

Engolan: Ngaturkana eruoro.

Akwee-1 (see Fig. 1) stood up for the first time and made a speech, in which he referred to men of the preceding generation, including the groom's father, Nacukul.

No. 68 (12:17 p.m.)

Akwee-1: Please you, Engolan, please you Engolan, please you Engolan, please you Engolan, please you Engolan. If you are a son of Nacukul, a son of Ngitelejio alias Lomoera, if you are a son of Nakui alias Apa-lometo. Please, you Engolan, please you Engolan, I did not see the wife of Ngitelejio, of Ngitelejio. I have been asking [looking for her] from here. I have just seen [her] when Ngilukumong married the child, whom Aidinyang, son of Localamoe married. I do not see now the family of Ngitelejio [I don't know where it is], the family of Nacukul and of Nabuin. That person is Nacukul, it is only Nacukul! He emptied everything [He became poor]. That is why they are saying [it is said] that Ikaru fought Nabuin

No. 68

Akwee-1: Aai, iyong Engolan, aai, iyong Engolan, aai, iyong Engolan, aai, iyong Engolan, aai, iyong Engolan. Ani kirai nyika Nacukul, ani kirai nyika Ngitelejio a Lomoera, ani kirai nyika Nakui ka Apa-lometo. Aai, iyong Engolan, aai iyong Engolan, aberu neanyuna na a Ngitelejio, na a Ngitelejio. Engitanar kane. Aanyu ca na kolong eusia Ngilukumong eusiata ikoku dae, ni eusi Aidinyang lo a Localamoe. Kangopiki tokona awi a Ngitelejio, nyawi na a Nacukul ka na a Nabuin. Nacukul itwaan ngini, Nacukul bon! Eoroki kolong ngesi iyong abere etoji Ikaru kitoji Nabuin iboi alo kinga. Tama akidal ebunit. Kiria Nabuin ngibelae a Ikaru. Kiya Loima, Loima kidiama lomuria. Kirika, kirika korot, Apa-lometo,

while outside [the homestead]. He claimed that he had come to look for milk. Nabuin pulled the stick of Ikaru [to fight with someone else]. We were in Loima, at the top of Loima, on a plateau. They finished [They broke all the sticks], Apa-lometo finished completely, Apa-lometo. He finished and made the [famous] fighter a fool, then the fighter decided to leave and go back.

Please [listen to me]. Nacukul went there, Nacukul went to where they used to say, the group looks at each other [to prepare for raiding]. Kokoi⁽⁵⁴⁾ said, “Go and raid the Pokot. You, come and raid cattle of the Pokot.” He [Nacukul] went to Tirikwel and when he reached south, he raided Ngikamatak. He raided the group of Longerenyo, he raided Longerenyo. Longerenyo was famous. You. They brought cattle of *nangura-kori* (referring to coat color of cattle), of *naluk* (horn-less), [offspring] of the bull of *longura-luk* (coat color and horn-shape of the bull). They kept them [cattle]. It is your mother [married by the raided cattle]. Your mother [was married] here, at the acacia tree of Akopongimoe, east of us here. The other child of Nabuin [was marred], it is at Arekekide where there are *eregae* trees (*Acacia* sp.) whose branches extend toward the water.

This is me [I am here]. Look at me, the father of the spotted horn-less ox (referring to his favorite ox). That is why they are saying [people refer to the group raiders as] Angura-ajore, Akiloco, Ikwa-ngipeiyok, Ngingorea. These livestock are not for Aboolem. And if it is Ngitelejio, he has tasted those of Aboolem [He might have received some share of livestock from Aboolem]. This is Nacukul, Nacukul, Nabuin. Forget about Nabuin, Nacukul [is important], Nacukul. They are two families, which you are now being told, one

Apa-lometo. Kirika kitabangania ekajion, idio ekajion asakasakakin tobong.

Aayoro. Toten Nacukul ama, toten Nacukul kolong abei isemor ajore. Aba Kokoi, “Kapesi a, ‘ee,’ toremo Ngiupe. Potu toremutu ngaatuk a Ngiupe.” Tolot Tirikwel, ani enangi kuju, torem Ngikamatak. Torem ta Longerenyo, torem Longerenyo. Erwanit be Longerenyo. Iyong. Todakut ngaatuk nangurayek-koriek, nalukoyek na a emaanik a longura-luk. Kiretakinae jik. Ngesi ito kon. Ito kon ne, lowoi ka Akopongimoe, kide yok ne. Ati, ikoku nace na a Nabuin, ngesi Arekekide, aregae napeta na eteni nakipi.

Ayong lo. Taanyungarae ayong, Apa-alotimoe-kori-luk. Ngesi abeere Angura-ajore, Akiloco, Ikwa-ngipeiyok, Ngingorea. Meere ngibaren lu, lu ka Aboolem. Ani kerai Ngitelejio, iirit lu ka Aboolem. Nacukul lo, Nacukul Nabuin. Tapalik Nabuin, Nacukul, Nacukul. Ngesi ngawiyeyi naarei, na tokona ebei iyong, ace na aka Nabuin. Tamarae na tokona kimujia sua na, aka Nacukul. Iyong a! Iyong! Toten ngaren, toten ngaren, toten ngaren, toten ngaren, isecit iyong. Abe inang bo lo Didinga dae. Ngiai ngimoe idongit?

is for Nabuin. They say this one [family], from which we are now eating [receiving bridewealth], it belongs to Nacukul. You! You! Go ahead, go ahead, you have made a mistake. You have reached even the Didinga land. How many enemies are remaining [not visited]? The Toposa, I think you have reached even the other side of the Toposa, if it is not the Lele, if it is on this southern part, where they converge [border] with the Didinga. [How about] The Dodoth? I don't know whether you have reached there. Bring the livestock and give to this family [of the bride]. Stand up and go, go and walk around among the enemies, go to the enemies [to look for livestock]. Construct an enclosure for women [create a family], for you and for Loyaala [the groom].

Man on the groom's side: (while sitting)
Just because of death, Father, is it why you need me [Do you want us to die, by sending us to enemies' land to look for livestock after giving you everything]?

Akwee-1: Yes, I was waiting for you because of death. You stood up before [You decided to marry]. Did I come to kill you at your homestead? Did I come before to kill you at your homestead? You just came outside [of your homestead to marry]. Did I come to kill you? Hey! You just came outside, I just met you while you were running on the road [looking for the bride]. How are you? Bring all [the livestock], bring all! Give camels to the people, give camels to the people, and let them [the camels] come here, those camels. You are bringing [the bridewealth] like an orphan [stingily], who is like the family of Nacukul, like the family of Nabuin, the house [family] of Ngipeyok. Ngipeyok has come from my father's family, Ngidoca clan, if she

Ngitoposa, abala kori inang Ngitoposa lokwaas lo, kerai alo Lelea, kerai alo kuju kane, ani iriameta ka Ngididinga. Ngidooso a? Nyayenit atamar inang. Yau ngibaren nak awi na. Tonyou tolot, tolot kila a lobukui, tolot lobukui, tolot lobukui. Toduk iyong ngaberu anak, na kon ka na a Loyaala.

Man on the groom's side: Kwa akitu ka apa, kiitanitor ia?

Akwee-1: Ee, akitu keitanitor. Inyouni been. Abunit bo ngoon akingol a nawi a? Abunit been ayong iyong akingol a nawi a? Abe ilomuni bo iyong nikalapatan. Abunit ayong iyong akingol a? Yoe! Abe ipudunit bo iyong katotubokin boca ikeri a lorukudi. Ikoni ai? Kicud yau, kicud yau, kicud! Nak ngitunga ngikaala, nak ngitunga ngikaala, potu ne, ngikaala ngulu, ngikaala ngulu. Nakokianut iramunit iyong, na ikoni na a Nacukul, na a Nabuin, na a ekal a Ngipeyok. Ebunitor Ngipeyok nawi na ka apa kang, Ngidoca, na ebunio ne. Ebasi ngoon kec, "apa kang."

comes [I am related to her]. They used to call [me] “My father.”

Return the enemy who will be chasing you [You can rely on the following people when you get problems]. Your wife [and] your brother will help you in searching for donkeys, searching for anything [After getting married, your wife and brother will help you], if it [a livestock] is giving birth, it will give birth [they will help you]. If it is spearing [livestock], I spear and you eat [I will spear livestock for you when you visit my home]. Then you go back boasting, saying, “I slept yesterday at my in-law’s place.” Give all camels to the people, if there are any. Give! Start [paying] the camels and don’t say that they are two. These two have become bad [Saying that you have only two camels is bad], like the trees that are between us. They have become bad like these trees that are here. Enter [Start to pay], enter, enter, please. Enter.

Tobuasi emoit lo kirengunit iyong. Akon-beru, lokato kon, tobua asakaru a ngisikiria, tobua inyo, kerai aurere euri. Kerai bo akicum, ecum tonyam. Torotoki to inisa ibala, “Aperi nawi a ngika-kamurak, aperi nawi a ngika-kamurak.” Kicidak ngitunga ngikaala, keya lu eya. Nak! Kisiak ngikaala nyiitama ngiarei. Aroketa luarei lu ekokis ngiwo lu eya na kidingos yok lu. Aroketa ekokis ngiwo lu eya nege lugu. Toloma, toloma, toloma ca nai. Toloma.

At 12:24 p.m., the groom’s side agreed to give three donkeys as a payment of “camels,” together with two camels that they had already promised.

While the men continued their heated negotiations, at around 12:30 p.m., the women on the bride’s side took a ram to the women on the groom’s side, who had assembled in a shady area farther east of the scene of the negotiations. The women of the groom’s side had spent the night there, and this ram was a gift of meat given in return for the “rams for the bride’s mothers” (*talokimul*), which the groom’s side had brought the previous day.

The negotiations slacked off because the central figures on the bride’s side, Lokawo and Etoot-1, had left the scene. They had returned to Etoot-1’s homestead, saying, “You (the groom’s side) made us sick and tired elaborating a lie. We are thirsty.” They came back after about ten minutes.

At 12:52 p.m., Engolan promised to give out two oxen as a payment of “camels.” The total number of “camels” had reached seven. However, the bride’s side was not yet satisfied.

No. 69 (1:05 p.m.)

Emus: The thing which used to be called camels, they were for the inside of the family [people who are closely related to

No. 69

Emus: Arai kolong ibore be ngikaala, ngika lo-tooma awi, meere ngika lo-moding. Arai kolong ngika lo-tooma

the bride], not for the outside. They used to be for the inside of the family, even if one hundred of them [camels] were brought, even if they were numerous, they used to be for the inside of the family [Those who are not related closely, like Ngicampa, are not entitled to argue about the camels]. You are not supposed to be sick about them [You are not supposed to argue about the camels], while saying that you are sick, you are sick [while arguing too much], saying that their matters [negotiation of camels] are made hard [You are not supposed to make it hard, you should not argue too much]. They used to be for the inside of the family which you entered [the bride's family], you saw that thing [the bride], and brought the other person also [men of the bride's family come to you to demand]. There are no animals here. Stop talking, you people, there are no animals here...

awi, keramun arai amiyot dae, keramun arai ngiai dae, ngika lo-tooma awi. Nyecamit edekae ebeyo, be edekae, be edekae, be tamarae itogongitoe ngakeckiro. Ngaka lo-tooma awi a na kolong ilomari iyong, taanyungaria ibore ngini, toriku itwaan nice dae. Emam ngibaren eya ne. Kiapakisi eruor ngitunga, emam ngibaren eya ne...

At 1:06 p.m., three women on the bride's family brought ram meat in wooden vessels. The rams (*talokimul*) had been given to them by the groom's family and boiled at the bride's homestead. The negotiations were suspended for about ten minutes while the men on the bride's side ate the meat.

No. 70 (1:17 p.m.)

Nakure: We, here [the bride's side], at the finishing [drought] of last time, [our] livestock got finished, we want the white matters [truth]. We don't have anything good. We don't have even a lactating camel. We don't have anything, we don't have anything. When we say that we want to milk these livestock of yours [which will be given as bridewealth], we shall milk them surely [We need them surely]. We can't smash and mix the fruits of *epat*⁽⁵⁵⁾ with blood [We can't mix the matters, when we discuss the payment of camels, we should do it]. Discuss among yourselves and give the livestock to the people. The thing called camels.

No. 70

Nakure: Sua kane a, edaune lo been adaun ngibaren, kisaki sua ngakiro niakwaan. Emam sua ibore kajokon. Emam akaal manangit dae. Emam inyo dae, emam inyo dae. Na kibalar sua ngibaren lu kon lu, ngesi kidali sua, edala iteni. Nyikidicanakini sua epat naakot. Kiruorikisi makei ka neni, nakis ngitunga ngibaren. Ibore ni be ngikaala.

Emus: I tell you, Father, please...

Emus: Abala ayong iyong apa, aayoro...

At 1:21 p.m., Etoot-1 told the groom's side that the bride's side wanted ten "camels." This was the first concrete number they had mentioned since their initial demand of 20 "camels."

At 1:31 p.m., the groom's side agreed to give out three more donkeys as a payment of "camels," bringing the total number of "camels" to ten. The ten "camels" consisted of two camels, six donkeys, and two cattle. Both sides were satisfied with this agreement.

No. 71 (1:32 p.m.)

Emus: Have you understood?

No. 71

Emus: Iirasi a?

Men of bride's side: (while sitting) We have understood.

Men of bride's side: Kiira.

Nakure expressed anger that the groom's side had not brought a ram (*lokimul*) for his mother, although they had brought them for Eelim and Aloto.

Nakure: My friend, are you despising me? Which part of me are you despising? I am wearing the [ostrich] feathers which men usually wear, and everything else. What kind of contempt, how are you despising this family of Lomeyana? The sheep [of *lokimul*] that are usually three, you deducted one.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Normally they are three, you deducted one. What is wrong with you? It is me whom you hate, I, the father of Alotimosili! (referring to his favorite ox) Where is the ram for my mother?! Hey, how are the livestock?! I am requesting you to beat [give out] livestock. Do you want us to stay here untill next morning? We want the livestock to be beaten like this. The person who normally mentions that... You say [You promise to do such and such], and tomorrow it is not like that [You will not keep your words]. It is livestock that we want, livestock. It has not reached traditional way [Things are not done properly yet], which we normally know. It has not reached. Even the manner that you are saying ten [camels]...

Nakure: Lopae, kimenit ia? Kimenit mono iyong aluwae? Be esibit bo, ewualit dae ngakopir na palem a ngikiliok, inyoni dae! Etia amenit, kolong imenit iyong awi a Lomeyana ai? Ngimesekin dae ani palem, erai nguuni, totiaka epei. Kalem erai nguuni, totiaka epei. Ikokinit ai? Ayong kikadakin ityong, apa-alotimosil! Etori emesek a ito kang a?! Yeyei-yei, ikote ngibaren ai?! Abe ebit abaa kideta ngibaren. Esakio atamar kiwala a lokitoe ka lo ibooyo a? Kisasi sua ngibaren kidetai kona. Itwaan ni elimuuni ebala... Tama ani moi meere kongina. Ngibaren kisasi sua, ngibaren. Eringa nyenanga lotal, nipalem kiyeni sua. Eringa nyenanga. Etiang lo tokona abeyo tomon dae...

Nakure started negotiations for the payment of goats and sheep (both are collectively referred to by one term among the Turkana). He mentioned that 10 goats should be given to Lomeyana, the great-grandfather of the bride, and 10 to Eelim, 10 to Aloto, and 30 to Nabooto, the first, second, and third wives of Lomeyana, respectively (see Fig. 1).

No. 72 (1:36 p.m.)

Nakure: Goats that bleat, that graze on these flowers. Give the person named Lomeyana 10 goats. [To] Lomeyana, give 10 goats, ten. Mention the name of Lomeyana who constructed this family, [give him] 10 goats. Even if the goats get finished, give 10 goats. Call [give animals to] the person named Aloto...

No. 72

Nakure: Nikaruon be ngakinei, na edakasi ngatur nu. Nak itwaan be Lomeyana ngaanei ngatomon. Lomeyana, nak ngaanei ngatomon, ngatomon. Tonyara ekiro be Lomeyana lo kolong awokini awi na, ngaanei ngatomon. Anadaun a ngaanei dae, nak ngaanei ngatomon. Tonyara itwaan be Aloto...

No. 73 (1:39 p.m.)

Emus: There are no matters again. That is what I wanted to show you. The camels, even if we go, even if I also go, they are ahead [The camels will be brought]. Even if I beat [send] a child now [to bring the camels], we [the child and us] will pass each other. We will just go, there will be nothing there [We will not have any problems]. I have beaten [given out] those three [camels] forever. There is nowhere we can say that their matters [the issue of camels] will go back [the issue of camels will not be renegotiated again]. They are what I made you understood here.

No. 73

Emus: Emam nabo ngakiro, emam nabo ngakiro eya. Ibore abala kedodik ngini. Ngikaala, ngikaala, kilot ngoni dae, kaloto tokona ayong dae, kingarenete. Karam tokona dae ikoku kona tolunyete na ebeyere elunyete dae, tolunyete. Atoloose ngoni emam ibore eyei neni. Aram luuni ngulu jik. Mam nabo ni ebeyo ebongete ngakec-kiro. Lu tokona ca kesiirari kane.

No. 74

Akwee-2: You, the twenty goats cannot be separated [Reduction will not be made]. If twenty goats will not come here, leave the camels also to stand [Don't bring the camels also]. Bring twenty goats here, and the camels.

No. 74

Akwee-2: Iyong a, ngakinei natomoniarei, nyetiakasi. Ani kemam, na pe nyeponeta ngakinei natomoniarei ne, kimie ngikaala dae towaa. Kitwaru ngaanei ngatomoniarei ne, ka ngikaala lu tete.

Emus: Lorionomoyo [Etoot-1], Lorionomoyo, get an intelligent person, get an intelligent person [We don't want to negotiate with Akwee-2]. Even if you are

Emus: Lorionomoyo, Lorionomoyo, kirum ekamisan, kirum ekamisan. Na ibalar bo neni dae, amin edet. Atorik, edetak.

saying like that, I go and beat [bring the camels]. I will take him [the intelligent person] and give [the camels].

Etoot-1: Go back and sit down! Listen to this thing.

Etoot-1: Tobong kiboikin! Kiira ibore en.

Etoot-1 stopped the men's negotiations regarding the payment of goats. He asked the groom's side to go back and bring the "camels" first. He also suggested that they continue negotiations at the groom's homestead the next day.

No. 75

Lokawo: You, Engolan, go and bring the camels, when you come, then we go [to your homestead]. These matters are suspended, at that point [as we agreed] like that. And if it is you, talk some other things [if you have other things to say].

No. 75

Lokawo: Iyong Engolan, min taramu ngikaala bu atoloto. Asalut ngakiro nu, ka neni bon kongina. Ani boca kerai iyong, kiruorik robo ngace.

People still continued to talk about the payment of goats.

No. 76 (1:43 p.m.)

Eedung: Lotwalamoyo [Etoot-1]!

Etoot-1: Yes. Can't we beat [give out] even that one, my friend? Isn't there a calf which is somehow like this? Isn't there a kid of this size?

Eedung: Please! You know the matters of this homestead completely [We don't have livestock]. Any of you, who mentioned those matters, it is you and your in-law who should know [decide] what you can know [decide]. I came out of a jail recently, and then we all know the jail which I came from [You know that I got married recently]. Nowadays, there is nobody who invites another person [to give livestock] who were raided by enemies or got married. [When] Whoever is drawn [in the water], who is seen with eyes, they say, "Hey, leave this boy to be drawn." [Nowadays, when somebody gets into trouble, nobody assists] And again,

No. 76

Eedung: Lotwalamoyo!

Etoot-1: Oo. Nyikirami ngolo dae a? Nyikirami ngolo dae lopae a? Emam itaok lodio ikoni a? Emam ikale lodio ikoni a?

Eedung: Aai! Iyeni iyong ngakiro na adakar ka na pupung. Esi ca dang itwaan ni tokona alimuni ngakiro nguna, esi ca ka lokamuran kus puul toyana ngakiro na iyenete. Apudun been ayong a lojaala na, ani erumor, ejaala lo been apudunio ayong, kiyen kolong ngoni dang. Mam tani itwaan eringa enyaraene itwaan, ni kolong aremete kerai ngimoe, euta kerai akiuta. Arau itwaan ni iseleari, kitekinoe ngini a ngakonyen, tamarae "Ei, kimiekisi edia dae lo kiselelea." Ani erumor, anapit ayong ekoti, iyeni iyong, nyeyenete ngikasikou luce lu. Anapit ayong ekoti, meere esei. Nyalimuni atamar karam aite, nyalimuni atamar karam ekaal, kagiel

I am wearing a jacket [I have livestock], you know [it], these other old men do not know. I am wearing a jacket, it is really a jacket, I am not boasting. I can't say that I have beaten [given out] a cow, I can't say that I have beaten a camel, or I have bought tobacco for you, this green one [tobacco], or even if I roast certain meat [I can give you tobacco and meat]...

When those matters become hard, where the huts of a woman are two, how many huts are for one woman usually? [The groom can obtain support from several sources] If this hut of his mother ends [If the livestock of his mother get finished], and [even] when the [number of] men become this size [many], they [people] say, "They have paid *ekicul* for your uncle's daughter, your uncle is paid *ekicul*," [People can obtain livestock by receiving *ekicul* for daughters of their sisters], another child [daughter] is driving a shop [doing business], they get some tobacco for mouth [from the daughter].⁽⁵⁷⁾ That is the food that makes us walk [This is how we are supported].

And because those matters [what I mentioned now] are forgotten, [but some of] you also know. Who among you mentioned those matters [Why do you demand many animals while you know the situation of our family]? The wife of Lorot, who is your in-law, she is here sleeping. Who mentioned those matters? The wife of Ekal, she is here, if she has a home. Now the cattle that you are saying they are for your in-laws' [the groom's family has cattle], are there the cattle of Ekal...

kerai etaba dae, lopus loongor lo, kape kerai ece-siep dae...

Ani na ipiyorotor ngakiro nguna, na erakar ekol lo aberu ngiarei, ngjai palem ekol a aberu? Na esalunea ekol lo a ito keng lo, ani tokona etiaunete ngikiliok ne, tobeyetei, "Ecul na a ka mae kon, iculanakinio amae kon, emeat ice-koku edukan kidiaunae etaba lo a akituk." Be, akimuj kilosio ngoni ngina.

Ani na kolong emuriarotor ngakiro nguna, abe iyeni bo iyong. Ngae ta esi alimuni ngakiro nguna? Aberu a Lorot, nakamuran kon, nyena epupunga kane na. Ngae ta alimuni ngakiro nguna? Aberu a Ekal, nyena eyei ne na, keyei ake-wi. Tokona ngaatuk na ibasi esi ngaka a ngikamurakus, eya ngaatuk a Ekal...

No. 77

Eedung: Is Ekal here? If he is good or bad [Is he dead or alive]?. Leave that, leave it like that. Please, I will not even dispute the matters of goats. The matters that normally defeat me are those, like

No. 77

Eedung: Eyei Ekal ne a? Keronu kori kejoj? Kimie neni, kimie neni kongina. Aayoro, mam ayong ngakiro a ngaanei dae apeguni. Ngakiro kepiyonorete ayong kesi na ikote na tete a ngikaala. Be

that of camels of today. You wanted to stick to the black matters [false stories]. Is it not good that the matters are a bit like this? [It is better to talk about the truth] You should know that those donkeys, even if they are five, they can be released. Aren't those livestock coming for the debt [of taking the bride away]? Those are the cattle, even if they are five, even one-hand [something very small], those animals are just ten. Even if you go to sleep, they [people of the groom] will bring [the livestock] inside [your homestead]. Isn't it [by] livestock that a person enters [builds] a family?

There are goats. An enclosure has been constructed [for the goats]. I am saying there are goats, [because] the enclosure was constructed, even if it is the size of the ferrule of a spear [even if it is very small], it was constructed.

ebeyo toneikinetei ngakiro nakirionok. Meere ejok ngakiro eyei nidio ikoni ne a? Toyeni ca iyong atamar ngisikiria bo ngulu, kerai ngikan dae, be engao bo. Meere ngibaren enyounito namica ngulu a? Be ngaatuk bo nguna, kerai bo ngikan, apei-kan dae, ngitomon bo ngibaren ngulu. Kilot iyong dae toper, kirumunae tooma. Meere ibarasit elomitor itwaan awi ngulu a?

Eya ngaanei. Abe edukitoe bo anak. Abalar eya, edukuk anak, edukuk anak, ketia erimoc a akwara dae, edukuk.

No. 78

Eedung: Leave that. What is competed for now, called camels, even if I go now [to the groom's homestead], and separate them [from the herd] like this, they [the camels] will come back this side, we will pass each other [when we go to the groom's homestead]. Hey! What else is bad? Ah? Hey! Old men! Don't shout at me, don't throw soils to me. All of the two [issues], I disagree none of them, instead of getting tired.

Akwee-2: (while sitting) You, what did we say last time? We said that camels and goats should come here. And we cut the liver into pieces [We finish everything], and the matters end, then you enter into your matters [You start your own work]. Nothing else will change these two things.

Eedung: I have understood, and then,

No. 78

Eedung: Kimie neni. Ibore ni tokona emariao, be ngikaala, kalot ayong dae tokona epaka kona, tolunyun kerai laalo, atolunyete ngoni. Ekoe! Inyo nice erono? Aa? Ekoe! Ngikasikou! Nyikikilakis robo, nyikielakis ngalup. Ngaarei daang, mam na angerit, kuliko akituburuna.

Akwee-2: Iyong a, abei tete ai? Be abei bo ngikaala ka ngakinei potu nege. Totubutuboe emany, torumor ngakiro, toloma iyong nakiro kon. Mam nabo icebore ilocokino.

Eedung: Eira, ani erumor kimiekisi

leave it first, we sit down. I have understood. Let me have a rest a bit.

eboikinos mono. Eira. Kimiekinae eyanga wadio.

No. 79

Akwee-2: (while sitting) Somebody should go and keep it [livestock] away from other person's eyes. People are tricky. They will snatch goats in the bush. Unless the goats leave that place [groom's homestead], so that a person cannot snatch them in the bush.

No. 79

Akwee-2: Tolot mono itwaan tacada a nakonyen a itwaan a nice. Erataka robo ngitunga. Irumete ngaanei a lomoding. Miti kerotokis ngaanei ka ina, nyiirum itwaan a lomoding.

No. 80 (1:48 p.m.)

Engolan: If you didn't know my dishonesty [If you trust me], [if you insist] that I am dishonest, that I deny matters to the people [I refuse to give out livestock], I could have said to you, sons of Ngrisae and Ngimor, when we finish today's matters, which we are saying this and that, this and that, even if those goats are available, the family of Lomeyana will see with the eye [You will understand that I don't have goats]. The enclosure of my livestock will not go astray [You can see it]. I started living there long time ago, even before the last small rainy season, before it met [came]. I settled there before that.

No. 80

Engolan: Kerai kolong nyiiyete ibore be amodianut kang, ibore be amodiana ayong, emikanari ngitunga ngakiro, kabala ayong esi ngide a Ngrisae ka lu a Ngimor, ani na kirumoria ngakiro na tete, kibala ibore be ati, ibore be ati, ngakinei dae nguna na eyakatar, eyanyungari awi na a Lomeyana a akongu. Nyeolit anak a ngibaren kang. Abe nyengorot ayong alomi kolong neni, eringa erupe lo been dae, eringa nyiriama. Engiala ayong jik atolom neni.

No. 81

Engolan: Even if they disperse [If the goats are dispersed to other homesteads to hide them], droppings [in the enclosure] will show you that "There was food [goats] here," that "There was surely food here before, it was surely here, and then [you will conclude that] it is this person [Engolan] who has denied [refused to give] us food" [I have only a few goats]. I am not cheating you anymore, about what you said, "Fold ten fingers" [Give ten camels]. Even if we say now, we depart in this daytime [to groom's homestead], they [the camels] will get out [of

No. 81

Engolan: Kepetar dae, kidodiknete esi ngasike atamar, "Keyei been akimuj ne," atamar "Keyei dir been akimuj ne, keyei dir, ani erumor, itwaan be ati en a, ngesi kipuko sua akimuj." Nyekengalae nabo ayong esi ani-bore ani tete ibasi esi, "Tobunak ngimoyo ngitomon." Kitama tokona ngonni, kinyouni apaaran na tokona dae na, epudunete jik erotokinete pena kilialiakin towaa ani ikoni ama. Ani erumor, atolunyakini ngonni ngakiro nace. Ibore ni tokona abala kengit, ngesi ngini. Tamasi, "Iyong a, 'Ee,' kape iyong jik kituaru," etuaruni. Tamasi "Iyong a, 'Ee,'

the enclosure] and go to stand together at a place like that [I will give you the camels]. And then, we return to some other matters. That is what I want to ask you. You, say, “You, go and bring [the camels],” I will bring. You, say, “You, all is what you have said [We believe you].” These are my words [what I want to say].

No. 82 (1:50 p.m.)

Etoot-1: You?!

Engolan: (while sitting) Yes.

Etoot-1: How do you want this matter to be discussed? How do you want this matter to be discussed again? It seems that I am saying, we are telling you that you should go there [to your homestead] and bring camels. Let the camels follow each other [Let them come in line]. [Instead of doing this] You have come back [to us to discuss about goats again]. What do you want us to do?

Logum: (while sitting) It is over if it is like that. We didn’t understand [We had not got it clearly, now we got it]. Those matters are over, Lotwalamoyo [Etoot-1].

daang na ilimu iyong.” Ngakiro kang ibore ngini.

No. 82

Etoot-1: Iyong a?!

Engolan: Ee.

Etoot-1: Iba iyong ngakiro nu kiruoroe kwa ai? Iba iyong nabo ngakiro nu kiruoroe kwa ai? Be esibit bo abala, kibala sua iyong, torotok robo tani ama, taramu iyong ngikaala. Toropuut. Ibongu robo iyong. Ebei kikokinae ai?

Logum: Arumor kikote neni. Pe ta kiirarit sua dae. Arumor Lotwalamoyo ngakiro nguna.

At around 2:20 p.m., the bridewealth negotiations finished for the day. Etoot-1 was called by the men on the groom’s side and went to talk with them under their tree. Then they stood up and left.

(The end of the first day of bridewealth negotiations)

September 7, 1998

This was the second day of the bridewealth negotiations. The people on the groom's side had returned to their homestead the previous day, which was located about 10 km north of the bride's homestead. The men from the bride's side also left their homestead that same day in the evening, and spent a night on the way at the homestead of their kinsman who entertained them by slaughtering a goat to eat. After arriving at the groom's homestead early in the next morning, about 40 men from the bride's side sat under a tree located about 40 m east of the homestead, while about 15 men were at the groom's side.

The groom's side was busy with the work of putting brand marks on their livestock. Among the Turkana, each clan has its own livestock brand, and all livestock transferred as bridewealth should be branded. Once done, all of the livestock were put in the enclosure together. They would not be released for grazing until the bridewealth payments were completed.

Before the negotiations started, ten "camels" (two camels, two oxen, and six donkeys) that had been agreed upon the previous day were handed over. They were chased to the bride's side and kept nearby.

Then, the bride's side started to name some of their people one by one, demanding the payment of goats and sheep to each (these animals were referred to as "goats" collectively). The first recipients were Lomeyana and Aloto (see Fig. 1).

No. 83 (8:27 a.m.)

Emus: The livestock, those of yesterday, which we were competing for, at that place of yesterday, are those [We are giving out the "camels" now]. If there is any [livestock] that you know that it is missing, you just know.

Etoot-1: (while sitting) Yes.

Emus: Yes, they are those, the others are these ones.

No. 84 (8:30 a.m.)

Lokawo: Enter [into the enclosure] and get out the goats of Lomeyana and Aloto. Two kraals [Share of two people] should come out.

Ngicampa: (while sitting) Hey you! The livestock ["camels" that were paid now],

No. 83

Emus: Ngibaren robo, lu been ngulu, lu been kimariae ngoni ani been, ngesi ngulu. Keyei bo lo iyeni iyong atamar nyetakani dae, toyen iyong.

Etoot-1: Ee.

Emus: Ee, keci ngulu, luce boca lu.

No. 84

Lokawo: Toloma cane kipud ngaanei na a Lomeyana ka na a Aloto. Nganokin ngaarei toloomut.

Ngicampa: Aayoro! Ngibaren a, toreunu kona.

bring [them] this side.

The men on the groom's side started to hand over the goats and sheep, calling out the name of each recipient.

No. 85 (8:33 a.m.)

Emus: Lomeyana! Lomeyana [This is the share of Lomeyana]!

No. 85

Emus: Lomeyana! Lomeyana!

Adiaka: (while sitting) Bring them [the goats] this way. Keep them.

Adiaka: Toreeu, toreeu kona. Kiretak.

Emus: Lomeyana!

Emus: Lomeyana!

Adiaka: It has been understood.

Adiaka: Eirar.

When the bride's side declared the names of those entitled to share in the bridewealth, they did not indicate the number of livestock that should be transferred. After the groom's side had given over some livestock, the bride's side started to demand additional payments.

No. 86 (8:35 a.m.)

Lokawo: One goat is still lacking for this kraal [the share of Lomeyana]. This one [is lacking], a kid of this size (showing by his hand) [One goat should be added to Lomeyana's share]. This one. And [share] of the old woman [Aloto]...

No. 86

Lokawo: Idongit anak na, akine apei. Naka, nadio-kile ca wadio kona. Naga. Ta na a akimat...

Adiaka: That [The share] of the old woman is not yet [given out].

Adiaka: Edongo na a akimat.

Lokawo: That of Aloto [is not yet given out]. You, seize [give away] one goat of this size [for Lomeyana]. Even if it comes with those ones [of Aloto].

Lokawo: Na a Aloto. Kirum iyong akine apei nadio kona. Nabo erukunioto ka nguna dae.

No. 87

Emus: Give up the thing called meat [additional payment of a he-goat for Lomeyana], all over [all of us]. There is no meat to be eaten all over, even that of teeth [There is nothing that we can eat here]. Even meat, even meat, leave it even if it is present. Let's beat the kraals [Let's give out the share of bridewealth],

No. 87

Emus: Kimiekisi ibore be akiring awa daang. Esalunit akiring nanyamat awa daang tani na a ngikel. Tani akiring, tani akiring, kimiekisi keyei dae. Edeta nganokin, ekungo nguna, tasalut ani esaluneta. Ngakiro na alimunit ayong nguna make.

we finish it to the end where it can end [we will see the results]. Those are the only matters that I am saying.

Lokawo: The matters that I also said, that...

Emus: The thing [What I am doing] is not denial. Even if it [a he-goat] is present, they have just raised saying one [we agreed to give out some goats], even if it will be missing or available.

No. 88

Etoot-1: Please! Please! Please! Hey! Leave [it] how? Please! You, you! Stop first, you, seize [give away] the four goats of yesterday. The one goat which was said yesterday, seize and get it out. These are the matters that these people have forgotten, that of yesterday.⁽⁵⁸⁾

Akwee-2: (while sitting) One [goat], even if it is a kid.

Etoot-1: Seize and take out one goat. These people are there, who were told yesterday, they are present. Goats of yesterday, four, seize one goat [which is remaining]. Hey! My red spotted ox with branched horns (referring to his favorite ox)!

At 8:36 a.m., the men on the groom's side went to the livestock enclosure to take out the goats and sheep. While they were busy, three women from their side came to the men on the bride's side to "greet" them.

No. 89

Woman: (marching) The spotted one, the spotted one. I give out the spotted one. The spotted one, the spotted one, the spotted one, the spotted one, the spotted one with a white patch on its side, the spotted one, the spotted one. I pay the spotted one...

Lokawo: Ngakiro na alimunit ayong dae, na abala...

Emus: Meere ibore apegi. Keyei dae, abe ekeun bo ebeyo apei, kengopi kori ketakanuuni.

No. 88

Etoot-1: Aayoro! Aayoro! Aayoro! Hai! Kimie kwa ai? Aayoro! Aai, aai! Towo mono iyong, iyong a, kirum ngaanei na been omuon. Akine na been pei abeyo, kirum topud. Ngakiro ta imuriakinito ngitunga lu nguna, na been.

Akwee-2: Ipei, ata kerai ikale niici.

Etoot-1: Kirum topud, akine napei. Eya ngitunga lu been, ngoomuon, kirum akine apei. Yoe! Lokapel-arengan-magal!

No. 89

Woman: Ekori-kori, lokori-kori. Aram Lokwangole. Ekori, lokoriye, lokoriye, aram Lokapel kori, kori, kori, lokiriye kori, kori. Aram Lokwangole, ekori lokoriye aram, lokori kori, aram Lokapel kori, ekori, lokori, kori...

At 8:38 a.m., five more goats and sheep were taken out of the enclosure and chased to the bride's side, that were Aloto's share (see Fig. 1).

At 8:39 a.m., one more ram was handed over as a payment of *lokimul* for Nakure's mother, Naboot. Then, the men on the groom's side returned from the enclosure.

No. 90

Eedung: Hey! Lotwalamoyo! The kraal [share] which you are saying, the three goats and a sheep are for Aloto. The spotted ram is to the matters that you were talking in the end [The ram is paid as *lokimul* of Nakure's mother]. The kraal [share] of Aloto, five. The mark [issue] which you were saying before, it is the spotted ram.

No. 90

Eedung: Yoe! Lotwalamoyo. Anok na tokona ibaa iyong, Aloto ngesi ngaane nauni nguna ka amesek. Emesek lomeri, nakiro na tete na tokona iruoro iyong ekisidi. Anok na a Aloto, ngakan. Nados nata ibaa iyong, ngesi emesek lomeri.

No. 91

Adiaka: You! Please divide the goats [and sheep] properly, I have become confused [We could not understand which goats and sheep were for whom].

No. 91

Adiaka: Esi! Totiaka kare ngaane lokojokon, ebirikakin.

Lopiding: The spotted ram is the goat [sheep] which you said one. The ewes of now and the goats that were given in the end, those are five goats [in total for Aloto]. They are six because of the ram. (To men on the groom's side) Or how?

Lopiding: Emesek lomeri a, ngesi akine nata abei apei. Amesek na tokona ka ngaane na tokona kesidiok, ngakan ngaane nguna, ngakanikapei kotere emesek. Kori ai?

No. 92

Lopiding: (after talking with men of his group) Father! Which matters are confusing again? The five goats, which are said to be for Aloto. That [share] of Lomeyana is what came first. That of Aloto came afterwards. The spotted ram goes alone which is [added to] the goats [given as *lokimul*] of yesterday that were [given] ahead. The goat of Lomeyana is those that were ahead. The other five are for Aloto. The spotted ram alone is to the person whom they mentioned yesterday.

No. 92

Lopiding: Apa! Anu-kiro nabo ibirikakina? Ngaane nakan, ngesi na ebeyo ngaka a Aloto. Na a Lomeyana na tete engarenete. Na a Aloto na tokona kesidiok nu. Emesek lomeri ngesi lopei jik lo elosi, lo a ngaane a na been engarenete. Ngaane na a Lomeyana kesi nata engarenete. Aloto nace nakan. Emesek lomeri a lopei, nitwaan ni been alimitere.

Etoot-1: (while sitting) Don't make it [the share of Lomeyana] the same with that of a woman [Don't mix up the share of Lomeyana with *lokimul* of Nakure's mother]. Seize the finger [one goat] which I told you earlier on, that of meat, seize.

No. 93

Lokawo: Please seize a goat which is somehow [of this size], to come first.

Adiaka: (while sitting) Seize it even if it is a female.

Etoot-1: Nyiitirian ka na a aberu. Kirum ekimoin lo tete abala ayong iyong eka a akiring, kirum.

No. 93

Lokawo: Kirum ca ne akine nadio nadio ca kona, toeku.

Adiaka: Kirum bo iyong erai aberu dae.

No. 94

Engolan: Let us not exhaust ourselves, you, old men. We can see clearly where the food [livestock] is standing, even when you are saying, "Take out [the share] of such and such person," we all see the food [the livestock which is available]. Let's not exhaust ourselves [uselessly because] the sun will get us [It is becoming hot]. If you could have become some other people [If you are sensible], you could have thrown [given up] those matters that you are saying about the goats, then you tell me other matters.

No. 95

Adiaka: Please! Wait, wait, do not go and refuse me. The two persons, who are called Lomeyana and Aloto, are they [their shares] those ones?

Engolan: Five [goats] to Aloto, five to Lomeyana.

Adiaka: Do the following, promise [the share of] Eelim, Eelim. Go back and promise [the share of] Eelim, Eelim, Eelim, promise.

Engolan: Apaesia [Adiaka], if it were not because of some other matters [If you

No. 94

Engolan: Nyikingedun robo esi ngikasikou lu. Etakani ni ewaar akimuj, na ani tokona ibaasi esi dae, "Be tolemutu na ka ati," eteete daang akimuj. Nyikingedun robo kitoriamu akolong pas. Kerai taraakasi ngice, kicakasi ngakiro na ibaasi esi ngaka ngaanei nguna, kitolimokis ayong ngacekiro.

No. 95

Adiaka: Aayoro! Towo, towo, nyiyaka nyikinger. Ngitunga lu ta aarei a, lu ebeyo Lomeyana ka Aloto, kec ba kui?

Engolan: Aloto ngakan, Lomeyana ngakan.

Adiaka: Tolem a, tomorok Eelim, tomorok Eelim. Tobongo tomorok Eelim, Eelim, Eelim, tomorok.

Engolan: Apaesia, ani tima ibore be ngakiro ngace a, bua iyong dae apana,

don't mind], you also come and we go [together to see the enclosure], this is your home, seize the goat that you are saying for Eelim [if there are any goats]. Let's go.

akon awi na, kirum akine na ibaa iyong a ka Eelim. Bua apana.

Adiaka: Let's go, let's go. Promise.

Adiaka: Kapana, kapana. Tomorok.

The men on the groom's side went to the livestock enclosure again. Adiaka followed them.

No. 96

Adiaka: (Coming back from the livestock enclosure) Epus [Lokawo]! [When] I seized a goat, [they said] "It is different [not theirs]," I seized another goat, [they said] "It is different." What can I do?

No. 96

Adiaka: Epus! Erum na, "Nyagela," erum na, "Nyagela." Ekokini ai?

Lokawo: You Engolan, you began to reject me a long time ago. I know. Enter into [pay] cattle, and segregate three heifers and one ox. Then, go and look for others goats...

Lokawo: Iyong Engolan, iyong Engolan, iberakin ca kolong akisalun jik. Ayeni. Toloma naatuk nu, kipaku ngaatuk natak ngauni ta emong. Tasakasi ngace ngaane...

At 8:47 a.m., two goats were handed out for Eelim (see Fig. 1). Then, the bride's side acknowledged that only a few goats and sheep remained in the groom's enclosure. They started to demand cattle as substitutes for payments of goats and sheep. The groom's side seized this opportunity and tried to skip all remaining payments of goats and sheep and move directly to the payments of cattle.

No. 97

Lokawo: Those goats, you keep them [we don't demand the remaining goats]. Separate [bring] three heifers and an ox. If you see that I am boiling [I am demanding too much], separate two heifers and an ox.

No. 97

Lokawo: Ngaane nguna a, totinga. Kipaku ngaatuk natak ngane, ngauni, ta emong. Ani kibala akula kane noi, kipaku ngatak ngaarei ta emong.

Emus: (while sitting) What name [for whom]?

Emus: Ekiro be ngae?

Man on the bride's side: Eelim, Eelim, Eelim.

Man on the bride's side: Eelim, Eelim, Eelim.

Another man on the bride's side: (while sitting) [That is for] Lokawo, Lokawo.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Another man on the bride's side: Lokawo, Lokawo.

Nakure: (while sitting) Why have you cut it [Why haven't you mentioned the name of Lokawo]? Why?

Nakure: Be itubokis bo? Ikote ai?

At 8:53 a.m., one cow was given to Eelim.

No. 98

Emus: For the person of goats, of the two goats [which were paid just now], [we give away in addition] a spotted-purple cow.

No. 98

Emus: Itwaan ni tokona a ngaanei ana tokona, a naarei, ngesi nameribok.

(8:54 a.m.)

Lokawo: The kraal [share] of cattle... The kraal [share] of goats, is the cow for it [Is the cow paid as a substitute of goats]?⁽⁶⁰⁾

Lokawo: Anok ba aite... Anok ba na a ngaanei, ngesi aite ya?

Emus: That kraal is of cattle [The cow is given out as a payment of cattle], it is there. I have not seen [the payment of] goats, even if they [the payment of goats] are there, it is the previous one [given to Lomeyana, Aloto and Eelim].

Emus: Anok ngina na a ngaatuk, nyeya. Kangopiki na a ngaanei, ani keya, ngesi na tete.

Lokawo: Oh! Where is the other one [Where is the payment of goats for the remaining people]? Loyaala (the bride-groom), Engolan, how [about them]? Take out three [Add some more cattle as a substitute of goats].

Lokawo: Yoe! Etor nace ai? Loyaala, Engolan, nyaai? Taramu nauni.

No. 99 (8:56 a.m.)

Ngicampa: (standing up) Lokorikamar [Engolan]!

No. 99

Ngicampa: Lokorikamar!

Engolan: (while sitting) Yes.

Engolan: Ooe.

Ngicampa: Hey! You are beating [paying] animals while facing that direction [not facing us]. Is the wife still there?

Ngicampa: Yoe! Abe idesi ngibaren kingoliarite lowae ye. Eringa nabo aberu eyei ama a?

Engolan: (while sitting) Father, somebody's morning sun is chasing me [It is too dazzling].

Engolan: Kereng ro apa esimakunyuk a itwaan.

Ngicampa: I will not trust you when you are looking the other way. Even if you are denying me your food [livestock], you should face me. Add [some more livestock] to that kraal of the spotted cow [the share of Eelim]. Why have you responded very quickly, how are you? Isn't it where your wife [the bride] comes from [the bride was born in that family], or somewhere else? Who has drunk water [taken the share of livestock] and who has not, when you responded so quickly? [We cannot understand it] The most senior wife of Lomeyana! [Eelim should receive more livestock] Hey! The time that you are supposed to cry is not yet reached.

Ngicampa: Etiang lo kimulenitor kona, nyakanupuni. Kerai bo ani kupukit akimuj kon dae, kiteakinite ereet. Kiyatak anak ya, na a aite a nakomoli. Abe ingela, ikoni ai? Ni elomunitor aberu kon neni kori wace? Nyaani ni emasit ka ni eronit, na ingelaria neni? Aberu a Lomeyana naapolon! Yoe! Abe eringa bo esa lo ecamit iyong dae ikalounio.

At 8:58 a.m., the men of the groom's side went back to their livestock enclosure and took out one more cow to hand over as Eelim's share. Then, Lopiding began to chase the cow away to take it for himself, although he was remotely related to the groom's side and had acted as their supporter. It sometimes occurs among the Turkana that livestock of bridewealth payments are snatched away by force on the spot. In this case, Lopiding tried to take the cow away, but young men from the bride's side ran after him and got the cow back.

No. 100

Engolan: Lopiding, son of Ekiru, is taking it [the cow] away!

Man on the bride's side: Hey! It is false, false [It should not be happened]! Hey, return it, it is false! You! You! Return it! There is ochre [It is forbidden]! Hey, return it!

Adiaka: It is false! False!

Etoot-1: Return to *etal* [It is against the rule]! Who is this person?!

Emus: The person [Lopiding] belongs to

No. 100

Engolan: Erukosi ka Lopiding lo e Ekiru!

Man on the bride's side: Aai! Alioko! Alioko! Ai, tobuutu, alioko! Aayoro! Aayoro! Tobuutu! Eyei emunyen! Ai, tobuutu!

Adiaka: Alioko! Alioko!

Etoot-1: Tobuutu etal! Ani mono itwaan en?!

Emus: Nakus ngina. Nyijjoto. Totiaka

your side. Do not fight. Separate peacefully. nikaalimon.

Lokawo resumed the bridewealth negotiations.

No. 101 (9:05 a.m.)

Lokawo: Engolan, you! I did with you something at a certain *esekon* tree a while ago [I paid the bridewealth to you]. Enter and get one [livestock], what you did to me [you forced me to pay], the way that... Break the head [Try to recall] Lokorikamar [Engolan], that of that day [what I paid to you]. Get the others [livestock]. I also married yours [Etoot-1 married daughter of Engolan's sister]. [Even] If it is a milking donkey, you should release. I also married yours. You made all kind of people to marry. What remained? [Nothing remained with me when I paid bridewealth] Seven big ones [livestock], three he-goats, totally ten [I paid them when Etoot-1 married, and you should do the same]. Enter to [pay] that thing, which I told you that we will meet there. We have met now.

No. 101

Lokawo: Engolan, iyong a! Kipanyi ngoon ayong ka iyong nyice-bore a nyice-sekon. Toloma kipaku apei, nadi ca ngoon kisubakinia iyong ayong dae, kwana ca be... Tobwang akou, tobwang Lokorikamar akou, na ca ngoon a akwaar a na ngoon. Kipaku nace. Eusi ngoon ayong dae ni kon. Kerai asikiria nati manangit, talacak. Eusi ngoon ayong dae ni kon. Kisiut iyong ngikabilae daang. Inyo abu kidong? Luapolok ngikan-kaarei, ngikora nguuni, ngitomon. Toloma nibore ngini, ni ngoon abala ayong iyong kiriamakin neni. Kiriamakin boca tokona.

No. 102

Engolan: When there is food, you shall eat, we cannot refuse it. All those things [people] that are sitting behind you, [they are] the family of Lomeyana, and some have not drunk water [not gotten any share]. If they are put together [If one person gets full share], what will you say afterwards? [Others will complain]

No. 102

Engolan: Akimuj na eyakar robo ca, enyamio nyewounere. Ibore nice iboi ka yaaye kus ngini daang, awi na Lomeyana, eringa nyemata ngice. Ani na tokona ilulungikinere wapei, tolimut ta esi inyo?

No. 103

Akwee-2: Please! Fill [Add some livestock to] that kraal [share] of Lokawo [Eelim]. Put a cow, and if there is no cows, beat [give away] a young female donkey, give out to that kraal of Lokawo. Accept me please. Give that kraal water [Add livestock to the share of Lokawo]. The senior

No. 103

Akwee-2: Aayoro! Kileleb anak na tokona a Lokawo. Kiwaak aite, ani kemam aite, taram isikiria naberu, taram nanok ya, na a Lokawo. Tacamunae esi. Kitamatae anak ya. Ekal loapolon robo lo a ekasikout, nyongolo. Nyiisec, abaa ta ngoomuon. Kiyatak aite apei bon, kerai

house [wife] of the old man [Lomeyana], is that one [Lokawo is her son]. Do not make a mistake, he had said [requested] four animals. Add one cow only, if it is a donkey or a cow [whatever can do].

No. 104

Lopiding: (To men of his side) Get up and add [some livestock] to this kraal [the share of Lokawo], not following the matters of the owner's mouth [demands of the bride's father] who is talking [It is not necessary to follow the number of livestock he said]. Even if the livestock are few, people know it [that livestock are few]. Stop staggering [disorganizing] the marriage. What is wrong with you? Open the marriage [Give away livestock]. It is the mouth [demands] of the person who owns the ox [the bride] that should be followed. [If the owner says] "Get the thing for so and so [Give animals to so and so]," you get it [You should give].

asikiria, kerai aite.

No. 104

Lopiding: Tonyoutu kiyatakisi anak na, meere iwapitae ngakiro a akituk a ilope ani iruoro. Ata kekidioko ngibaren, eyenete ngitunga. Tojongoto akigulgul akiuta. Ikote esi ai? Tangautu akiuta. Akituk na a itwaan ani e emong ngesi iwapitae, ngesi iwapitae. "Tolemu ibore ka ati," tolemu iyong.

The men of the groom's side went back to their livestock herd to give away one more calf to Eelim, which was Lokawo's share.

No. 105

Lopiding: (After one calf was given out) That is the cow of my father that had remained [that should be a share of my father]. I will take it, I will [take the calf by force]. This stupid young man [who defended the animal] is nothing, even if he has a [fighting] stick. Hey! What is wrong with the marriage?!

No. 105

Lopiding: Aite na ka apa kang na tokona edongit nging. Epakari ayong, epakari ayong. Akiding lodio lo a angatule lo, ekudit ngibelae dae. Koe! Ikoni akiuta ai?!

The bride's side gave up demanding additional payments for Lomeyana, Aloto, and Lokawo (son of Eelim). Lokawo went on with negotiations of others' shares. The next recipient was Nabooto (Nakure's mother, see Fig. 1).

No. 106 (9:08 a.m.)

Lokawo: This small old man, enter [give livestock to] this small old man, who is Nakure. Ten goats and one more which

No. 106

Lokawo: Ikasikout en, toloma cane, ikasikout en, nidio be Nakure en. Ngaanei ngatomon ta akadengoroit. Abe Engolan

you did not pay yesterday.⁽⁶¹⁾ Engolan, I said that I also wanted to wrestle you down like before [as you did to me]. Why are you shedding tears [complaining]? What about those in the past [What happened to me when I paid bridewealth to you], and what about these again? Your tears have now become small [What you are offering us is small]. This is the same time [with the day] when you pushed me to the trunk of an *esekon* tree [You caused me a big difficulty in the bridewealth payment].

Adiaka: (while sitting) [Nakure's share is the share of] An old woman, an old woman named Nabooto.

Lokawo: (to Adiaka) Leave it first, I have just told them. (To the groom's side) For this small old man [Nakure], [bring] ten goats and the remaining one that was deducted yesterday.

aba ca ta ayong kesilekakini ayong dae iyong kwana ngoon. Inyo nabo icidi ngakiyo? Anu nabo na ngoon, anu nabo nu? Abe tokona aditekuut ngakiyo kon. Be atinen iyong dae, kireikinit ayong natorom a asekon kona.

Adiaka: Akimat, akimat na ebei Nabooto.

Lokawo: Kiapakisi cane, be alimok bo. Ikasikout en, ngaanei ngatomon ta akadengoroit na been nabo atuborio.

No. 107

Eedung: Which kraal [Who's share] should be [transferred] the first, father?

Adiaka: (while sitting) Listen to those matters.

Emus: Esia [Adiaka], which kraal should be the first?

Adiaka: (while sitting) It is Nakure. He is the one following the old woman [mentioned] now [Nakure will take the share of Nabooto].

Emus: Who will follow? Make the people follow one by one like this [Mention names of the people in order]. It is getting late. There is big thirst [We will be very thirsty] here, even if there are vehicles around.

No. 107

Eedung: Nyaani mono anok ingareni apa?

Adiaka: Topupokisi ro ngakiro kwa.

Emus: Esia, nyaani mono anok na ingareni?

Adiaka: Ngesi Nakure. Ngesi iwapit akimat na tokona.

Emus: Totupak ngae? Toduputu ngitunga lu kona, todupudupuutu ngitunga. Acau. Eyei akure ne nakationon tani bo keya ngamotokae dae.

Lokawo: Take out [bring] the kraal [share] that I mentioned now, that of Nakure. Hey! Are all of you the deaf?! Shit! What is wrong with this marriage, in which there seems to be people who have closed the ears?! [you are not hearing what we are talking]

Lokawo: Kipud anok na tokona abala tolongu, na a Nakure. Yei! Esi irakasi ta naminga?! Ekoe! Ikoni akiuta esibit eyei itwaan a ngigoloki na ai?!

A cow was given to Nabooto, which was actually taken by Nakure.

No. 108 (9:11 a.m.)

Emus: Hey! That is [for] my father, Nakure.

No. 108

Emus: Eei! Apa kang ngol, Nakure.

No. 109 (9:12 a.m.)

Nakure: Please, what was I? I accept you, my children, I accept you, me, your father. Even if there are [If you have] no livestock, even when my ram [of *lokimul*] was missing [not brought] yesterday, I don't force you [to bring it]. When it was missing, I said, "My children didn't have [the ram]." Even the ram is missing! Put [add] its calf to this cow [of my share], and it will be over. I will not bother, I will not bother you, my children, put my calf to that cow, and it will be over. Then the other cows [of others' share] should follow, to come this way. It is lack of goats [You don't have goats], it is lack of goats, it is lack of goats. Leave the ram which is missing [which you don't have]. Add something [a calf], and make it [my share] become two [animals]. Add.

No. 109

Nakure: Aayoro, ekoni bo ai? Abe kacamit bo ngika-de, abe kacamit ayong apa kus, esi. Amamau bo a ngibaren dae, lomesek been kang angopi dae, nyekegugumat. Na been angopi a, atama "Angopiki ngika-de." Emesek dae tongop a! Kiwaak aite na ike-taok torumor. Nyekecani, nyekecani ayong iyong, esi ngide lu kang lu, kiwaak itaok ni kang naite ngin torumor. Toropuut ngaatuk nace potu kona. Amamau a ngaanei, amamau a ngaanei, amamau a ngaanei. Kimiek iyong emesek na engopia dae. Kiwaak ibore pena arei. Kiwaak.

Etoot-1: (while sitting) Respect this thing [the marriage] like this. It is like that.

Etoot-1: Kimaimakisi ibore en kona. Nyeneni.

No. 110

Lopiding: We also come and go away with the present thing [some livestock]. Even us who are different people [not close relatives of the interested parties], we talk about that thing, becoming your people [We are still your relatives]. You

No. 110

Lopiding: Apotu sua dae atolooso ibore ni tokona. Be ani tokona sua ngitunga lugelayek, kiruoro ibore ngini ataraakasi ngikus. Tamasi esi ibore ngini ka nege, ngakispeta nagelayek.

said that this thing is bad influence [You said that groom's side is insisting that they have no livestock, because somebody incited them to do so].

[But really] There are no animals in this homestead, since long ago. You knew it or not. You have accepted the people [the groom] right there [at the homestead of bride's father to seduce the bride], and you have released your ox [the bride] to come here, and accepted it to undergo initiation [accept them to get married]. If you are still denying [If you continue to fight over the bridewealth], it [the bride] will go back [to her natal home]. Because there is nothing [no livestock] you can see. The cattle have also defeated me [I can't find any solution], even the goats have defeated me, they are here [as you can see]. There are no livestock, even what is kept somewhere else [secretly to deceive the bride's side].

They say again that, these cattle, they include groups of animals [These cattle belong to several owners], [but] the kraals are still long there [The shares of others are not yet given]. Know [Recognize] what you can know yourselves. If you want to make this [the groom] marry, you should make him marry by yourselves. If you want to push [demand a lot of livestock], you should drive livestock alone [it will be only you who have livestock]. I have been defeated with the matters that are here. What is here is just pus [useless negotiations]. I found it long time ago here. Find yourselves [It is up to you].

Emam ngibaren eyakasi nawi na, ngikaangorot. Iyete esi, kori kemam. Na kolong icamuniata esi ngitunga napei ka ama, ilakaniata kolong emong kus ebuni nege, tacamutu kitasapana. Ani kiroko ipukete, ebongi. Kainyo na mamau ibore nakonyen. Ngaatuk dae kepiyosi, ngakinei dae kepiyosi, nyelu. Emam ngibaren tani ngice ijokitoe.

Atamar nabo ngaatuk nugu, ngisipaan tooma, toringa nganokin ka ama ewoyak. Toyana ibore ni iyete esi make. Kicamito logo akisiutar, kisiutasi arai esi make. Ani kisakete akisukumare, tometa robo ngibaren make. Kepiyorito ayong ngakiro eya ne. Ngabulon ibore eyei ne. Ngakaangorot ngoon arebuni ayong kane. Taanyutu boca.

No. 111 (9:16 a.m.)

Nakure: Me, the stomach is good, when it is cool with my children, with you [I am good to you]. It is not bad [I am not bad to you], since the time of proposal of [this] marriage. I said, "Yes, that is her man." At the time of proposal, [I said]

No. 111

Nakure: Ayong o, ejok nyakook eyono a lode a lu kang, a lu be esi. Nyerono napei kolong a lomalasi jik. Atama, "Ee, eke-kile ngolo." Alomalasi, "Eke-kile ngolo. Etoot, 'Oo,' eke-kile ikoku ni kang, ni a Nacukul." Atama "Eke-kile ngolo."

“That is her man. Etoot, her man is my child, son of Nacukul.” I said, “That is her man.” If there is no cow, [you are] saying that there is no cow, put [bring] even a gray donkey. What is bending a cow [Why are you refusing a cow]? Put even a donkey, and let it [my share] be two.

My friend, even are the goats missing? [You refused to give me goats] Even is the ram [of *lokimul*] missing? [You refused to give me the ram] Which one did you give me? I have not been given even tobacco, I have not even drunk tea [You did not give me sugar and tea]. What is it? Where is that of before... What is wrong with you? What is wrong? I have not been given tobacco, I have not even taken tea, even [while] there is no mouth [no bitter words] that I have told you.

If there is no cow, bring a donkey. Bring it here, and it will be over. [Then] Enter [Give away] the other cows [shares of others]. Those kraals [shareholders] are many. I am not admiring cattle only. Donkey, release [give out] that donkey. Bring [donkey of] this size (showing with his hands). This family of Lomeyana is good, it is moving only to one direction [without complaints], one direction, one direction. They know the poverty of these cattle [We know that you don't have many cattle]. They know the poverty of these livestock. They know. They know. They know that... Enter [Bring], and become good [person].

No. 112 (9:17 a.m.)

Lopiding: I am afraid of the matters. And again, was the man [the groom] coming there [to the homestead of bride's father] saying that he was rich? When his father died, in the year when he died, he went with the livestock [The groom did not

Na engopia aite, ibalor emam aite, kiwaak asikiria naangor dae. Inyo ekukumit aite? Kiwaak asikiria dae, pena arei.

Lopae, ngakinei dae tongop a? Emesek dae tongop a? Nyai ni kolong kipakakini? Be nyimatanga etaba dae, be nyemata ecai dae. Inyo? Nyai ni kolong... Ikokinit bo iyong ai? Ikokinit bo ai? Nyimatanga etaba dae, nyemata ecai dae, abe emam bo akituk na kalimok dae.

Na emamakar aite, kipaku asikiria. Kipaku bu ne, torumor. Toloma naatuk nace. Elalak nganokin nguna. Nyakaminarito ayong ngaatuk dae make. Asikiria, tajal asikiria ngin. Kipaku adio kona. Ejok awi na a Lomeyana na, epewoe elosi, epewoe, epewoe. Eyeni eboot a ngaatuk ka nu. Eyeni eboot a ngibaren ka lu. Eyeni. Eyeni. Eyeni atamar... Toloma, toloma tojoker.

No. 112

Lopiding: Aker ngakiro. Ani erumor, kebaa kolong ekile abunit ama abarit ia? Na kolong atonia apa keng ekaru lo kolong atonia, abu kirukosi ka ngibaren. Kidong a lopei nege, arai ipanyi ka nege, ibore a arukoo bon, ibore a ebicar pas.

inherit father's property, because the animals had died also] He remained here alone, doing here, the thing of robbery, the thing of useless business. That is why he is in the midst of people [he managed to prepare for this marriage]. That is why there are [he has] no camels here. And [he doesn't have] anything else. It is his small thing [a few livestock] that he has by himself.

And then, I am speaking out what I am afraid of the matters, saying that livestock that you are requesting to add [to one's share], nobody is refusing to add. It seems that people [of the groom's side] are afraid of the matters, saying that all the livestock [which the groom's side has] are those few ones. If there will be enough there [If somebody gets full share], how about over there [the rest of people]? The other person who has not drunk water [who has not received his share], where will he go? You are now supposed to raise [decide] those matters by yourselves, saying, "Put the animals here [Add livestock to this person], [and] that man will miss." [It is upon you to say who is to receive more and who is to miss] You know, because you, elders, who know [how to share the bridewealth].

Ngesi elomunitor kiding ngitunga. Ngesi emamakatar ngikaala dae kane. Inyo dae. Ike-bore cici robo etingit a lopei.

Ani erumor, arebunit ayong ibore be aker ngakiro, atamar, ngibaren, ngibaren lu tokona ibaa iyong kiyatakisi dae, nyengeritoe akiyatakin. Be ekeritae nabo ngakiro nguna, tamarae ngibaren daang ngesi lu dikidio. Na itemokinotor neni, ani bo yaaye? Itwaan nice ni nyemata, kitor ngini ai? Ecamitae boca tokona kikekis esi ngilopecek ngakiro nguna, tamasi "Kiwaakisi ngibaren nen, toron robo ngin." Esi iyenete, kotere esi ipolookosi iyenete.

The groom stood up for the first time to make a speech.

No. 113 (9:18 a.m.)

Loyaala: You, old men who are sitting here, what is wrong with you? You know well that I am a poor man. And [even] while I am poor, I came to your daughter, I came to beg you, saying, "Me, I don't have livestock." Of what I was ashamed? I was ashamed of the thing, whenever I kill a wild animal, there is nobody to cook [the meat] for me. [When] I kill a baboon, I have nobody to cook for me. [That is why] I came straight to where

No. 113

Loyaala: Esi robo ngikasikou lu, iboyete lu, ikote esi ai? Abe ayong bo lo iyenete esi atamar ekebootonit. Ani arai ekebootonit, ebune lo been abuni ni eyei nakoo kus, abunit akilip esi atamar kane, "Ayong a, amamakar ngibaren." Ketim inyo? Ketim ibore ni arai na aaria etiangit, tongop itwaan kedorokini. Ataar ecom, mam itwaan kedorokini. Ediru been ni iyakasi esi.

you were a while ago.

Now that this thing [the number of my livestock] is small, and you say that one person should take two [animals]. How about the other spear [the other people] which is over there? What will you do? You all know that I don't have a girl [sister], from whose marriage I can get bridewealth. The girl [sister] from whom I can get bridewealth, the enemies whom I kill, or this tobacco that I am carrying among you [I have no sisters to get bridewealth, instead, I got livestock by raiding, and by business of tobacco].⁽⁶²⁾

If you say these matters now, one place [increase share of one person], one place, one place, what about over there [other shareholders]? What about there [my home] where your daughter was taken to? [Your daughter will suffer from poverty after the bridewealth payment]

Na tokona ibore ni edit en, tamarai ipei twaan kirota a ngiarei. Ani akwara nace na eyei yaaye? Kikokis esi ai? Ayong robo lo iyenete esi atamar emam apese na keutakinere. Arai apese dae na keutakinere, arai ngimoe ameme dae, etaba lopei akodit alo tooma kus loko.

Na tokona itamareta esi ngakiro nu, wapei, wapei, wapei, ani yaaye? Ani ama ngoon arikio nakoo kus?

Nakure gave up demanding additional livestock for himself and began negotiating for payments to others. The next recipients were Etoot-1 and Akwee-2.

No. 114 (9:19 a.m.)

Nakure: You, go back and sit down, go back and sit down. Go back and sit down, I will also survive, by the name of my striped ox (referring to his favorite ox), I will survive. Do I have water? Do I have tobacco? [I don't have any, but I will survive. Don't joke at me saying that you will not survive] Enter the kraal [Bring out the share] of Etoot, of Etoot. That's it. Bring two cows. Go! Leave that cow [of my demand].

Man on the bride's side: (while sitting) Finish with two kraals [the shares of two persons].

No. 115 (9:19 a.m.)

Loyaala: Please, you Epusie [Lokawo], you old man named Looya [Etoot-1], if

No. 114

Nakure: Aayoro, tobongo kiboikin, tobongo kiboikin. Tobongo kiboikin, ayeri ayong dae, aloti-mong-sil, ayeri. Eya bo ayong ngakipi a? Eyei etaba a? Toloma nanok na a Etoot, na a Etoot. Nyeneni kongina. Tolem ngaatuk ngaarei. Kape! Kimiek aite ngina.

Man on the bride's side: Kimita nganokin ngaarei.

No. 115

Loyaala: Aayoro, iyong Epusie, iyong ekasikout lo ebei Looya lo, ani kiyenete

you know the husband of your daughter [myself], the husband of your daughter, this day is the end [our relation continues], don't mention anything bad, don't mention anything bad. There will be food tomorrow morning, there will be food this evening [I will assist you in future]. This moment is the time when food is not available, when we are sitting here. And when we stand up and enter into these *atesiro* trees, food becomes available [I will give you livestock later]. The husband of your daughter, when he is [I am] still young, he [I] will go to the Dassanetch land to look for cattle, he will go to the Toposa land to look for cattle, he will go anywhere to look for cattle. He is [I am] not old, you can't say, "This one has become old and always stays at home."

No. 116 (9:20 a.m.)

Lokawo: You, sit down first. Sit down and I will tell you about that one [issue] as well. It is you who will tear like this. If you had grown up in my hands, I could have said that it is true that there is even that of the morning [that the food is available in the morning as you said]. You had grown up in the hands of a clever person (irony) who talks twice [who is dishonest]. I have suffered a lot because of the issue of the daughter of Lorukia,⁽⁶³⁾ what will take me and throw me to the Mogila mountains will be good matters (irony). They have made me suffer. Enter here and see [Bring the share of] Etoot, see [bring the share of] Akwee. Do them [Pay their bridewealth] together. You are saying [I am demanding], bring a pair [of livestock], bring a pair.

atar mar ekile a nakoo kus, ekile a nakoo kus, emico akwaar na, nyiilimut ibore ni erono, nyiilimut ibore ni erono. Eyei akimuj moi nataparacu, eyei akimuj tokona ebong. Esaa emamakar akimuj lo tokona kiboyo ngoni lo. Ani tokona enyounio eremokinoi natesiro na, tatakanu akimuj. Ekile bo a nakoo kus, na keraakar esorokit, edengi Marile dae esakari ngaatuk. Edengi Topos dae esakari ngaatuk, edengi ai dae, esakari ngaatuk. Nyemjongit nyebeyo "Logo a, abe amojong bo aurienikin."

No. 116

Lokawo: Kiboikin mono iyong. Kiboikin, kalimokini nguna dae. Iyong o, icii kona. Kerai ngoon tarai nakan kang ipolokinit, kabala iteni iyei na ataparacu dae. Ipolokinit ngoon nakan a itwan kooson iruoro ngaarei. Keumiyarito ngakiro a na a aka Lorukia, na karikete kemasasi Mogila, ngakiro kajokak. Keumiyarito. Toloma ne, taanyu Etoot, taanyu Akwee. Kirotu. Abe ibaa bo iyong, kirotuunutu, kirotu.

At 9:21 a.m., two cattle were given out, one to Etoot-1 and another to Akwee-2.

No. 117

Emus: For Etoot, the totally gray cow, for Akwee, the yellow-humped, yellow-headed ox. Gray cow belongs to Etoot, yellow-humped, yellow-headed ox belongs to Akoriita [Akwee-2].

No. 117

Emus: Etoot naangor-kono, Akwee lonyangaluk lonyang a akou. Etoot naangor kono, Akoriita lonyangaluk, lonyang a akou.

No. 118 (9:25 a.m.)

Akwee-2: [The share] Of Etoot should be four and that of Akwee [mine] should be three. If they are now like that [as I said], bring this number of cattle (showing by his fingers). Put [Add] two cows to the white ox [to my share]. Put [Add] a cow and an ox to that cow over there [to Etoot's share], a cow and an ox. So that [share] of Etoot becomes three, becomes four, four (the speaker was confusing)...

(To his group) Wait first. This number of cattle (showing the figure with his fingers), we want them to be added to that cow. A cow and an ox...

Adiaka: (to Akwee-2 while sitting) The cattle [of the groom] are few. You, tell the people to add a cow to that [share] of Etoot, [and] add a cow to your yellow ox with bent horns. That is how you should do it. [The total number] To be four.

Akwee-2: Listen! If that is the case, get [add] an ox to that cow [of Etoot], and get [add] female cow to the white ox [of mine].

Adiaka: (to Akwee-2 while sitting) Yes, you should tell [them] like that.

Akwee-2: (coming back to his group) I wanted another cow to be added to those cows.

Adiaka: (to Akwee-2 while sitting) You started trembling while talking.

No. 118

Akwee-2: Na Etoot erai ngoomwon, na ka Akwee ngauni. Ani na ikoneta tokona neni, tolemu ngaatuk ngane. Kiwaak emong loakwaan ngaatuk ngaarei naberu. Kiwaak aite ya, emong ka aite naberu, emong ka aite naberu. Pena na a Etoot ngauni, pena omwon, pena omwon...

Kidarou robo. Ngaatuk ngane a, kisaki kiyatakinae naite ya. Aite naberu ka nakile...

Adiaka: Ekidioko ngaatuk. Tama iyong ngitunga a, kiyatakisi aite na a Etoot, kiyatakisi aite na kon emong lonyangaluk. Kikoki ikokini neni. Pena ngoomwon.

Akwee-2: Topupok! Na ikoneta neni a, tolemu emong epei ama naite, tolemu aite naberu apei kiwaak lomong loakwan.

Adiaka: Ee, kikok ilimokini neni.

Akwee-2: Asaki ta ayong atamar kiwaakinae ngaatuk kwa ace-ite.

Adiaka: Abe ipotu bo tamaranikis isiruorete.

No. 119

Man on the bride's side: What?! You people know [the situation] since you entered [gathered] here [to marry], and you are still delaying [the process of bridewealth payment]. What?!

(9:27 a.m.)

Adiaka: Please, please, Lokorikamar [Engolan], please listen [to me] a little. Beat [Give out] two cattle, and put [them] there, so that Lokwee [Akwee]'s cattle will become two, so that Etoot's cattle will become two. For those other people who are remaining, [you will give them] one cow, one cow, one cow, and even if they [you] offer donkey, the same way, one cow [one by one].

Man on the groom's side: From these cattle [which are here], or from some others that are somewhere? [We don't have enough cattle]

Ngicampa: (while sitting) Talk and come back.

Man on the bride's side: (while sitting) Come back, it is forbidden [Nobody should quarrel in this negotiation].

Man on the bride's side: (while sitting) Is it a quarrel? Is it not a woman who is being married? Is it not the cattle that we are asking for? They [Two issues] are interchanging like that. The wife of that person [the bridegroom], and [he gets] his wife. These ones [people of the bride's side], and [they get] their cattle.

No. 119

Man on the bride's side: Inyo?! Iyene esi ngitunga na ngoon jik ilomuneta ne, torubakinito jiik igulugulosi. Inyo?!

Adiaka: Aayoro, aayoro, Lokorikamar, aayoro, topupokisi kone wadio cici. Taram ngaatuk ngaarei kiwaak ama, toliwor ngaatuk na a Lokwee ngaarei, toliwor ngaatuk na a Etoot ngaarei. Ani ngitunga luce lu isidiyete, aite apei, aite apei, aite apei, ani bo eramio esikiria dae, kongina, aite apei.

Man on the groom's side: A naatuk ka nu kori a ngace nabo eya wace?

Ngicampa: Tolimu tobongu.

Man on the bride's side: Tobongu etal.

Man on the bride's side: Ibura a? Meere aberu iusio a? Meere ngaatuk ilipae a? Elunyakina kongina. Aberu a itwaan ka ngini, ka ake-beru. Lugu, ka ngakec-etuk.

Etoot-1 resolved the situation by giving up his demands of more livestock for himself and Akwee-2, and tried to carry the negotiations forward. The next recipients were Nabek and Longorikit (see Fig. 1).

No. 120 (9:29 a.m.)

Etoot-1: So and so! Let me make you initiated into adulthood (a phrase of abuse), I, the one who got initiated with Dapalo. He is a fool [harmless] in the daytime and can eat you at night (a phrase of abuse). My cow is over [My share of bridewealth is enough], it is over.

Man on the bride side: (to men of his side, while sitting) Listen!

Etoot-1: It is good that you did like that. You know that Etoot [I] will take those five goats of Lomeyana. You also know that Akwee will take those five goats of Aloto. Thank you! [You offered] Two cattle, one for Etoot [me], the other for Akwee, thank you! Leave that [share] of Akwee, don't add [any more], leave even that of Etoot [mine]. Get the names [Give out shares] of Nabek and Longorikit, who are following your mother in-law [who are sisters of the bride's mother]. My friend Akwee, even if you are a dog, even if you are eager like the fire or fuel of vehicles [you are always demanding too much, forget it], my blue ox (referring to his favorite ox)!

Adiaka: (while sitting) [Share of] The two, bring them together.

Etoot-1: Go into the matter, it seems that you do not have an eye [You are ignoring us].

No. 121

Nakure: (while sitting) Stand up and bring two cows together, come, we have accepted even those cows, one cow per person. We have accepted.

Man on the bride's side: (while sitting)

No. 120

Etoot-1: Ati! Kimie ketasapan, loti kolong kisapani ka Dapalo. Ebangaana naparan ani nakware kinyami. Arumor aite na kang, arumor.

Man on the bride's side: Topupok!

Etoot-1: Ejok iyong kikok neni. Ngaanei ngakan, Lomeyana, na iyeni iyong atamar Etoot etingi. Ngaanei ngakan, Aloto, na iyeni iyong atamar Akwee etingi. Ejok! Ngaatuk ngaarei, apei Etoot, apei Akwee, ejok! Kimie tani na ka Akwee, nyiiyatak, kimie tani na a Etoot. Tolemu ekiro be Nabek ka Longorikit, lu etupito nakamuran kon. Lopae Akwee, kirai nyiingok, kirorokana kikoni akim dae, kori akimiet a amotoka, aloti pus!

Adiaka: Naarei, kirotu potu.

Etoot-1: Kape tolot nakiro, abe ikwa emam iyong akongu.

No. 121

Nakure: Tonyou kirotu ngaatuk ngaarei, potu, kicamu sua ngaatuk nguna dae, napepei, napepei. Kicamu.

Man on the bride's side: Kwarasi ngaatuk

Protect cattle of the Turkana [Keep your a ngiturkana.
cattle = Give out your cattle].

The men on the groom's side sat in a tight circle and continued their long discussions. They seemed to be facing some difficulty in arranging their payments of the bridewealth.

Meanwhile, the men of the bride's side asked the women of the groom's family for some drinking water because they had been sitting there for a long time without any water.

After about five minutes, the men of the groom's side stood up and approached their livestock herd.

No. 122 (9:35 a.m.)

Lopiding: And who [to receive the share]?

Etoot-1: (while sitting) Those for Nabek, to be the first.

Lopiding: Yes.

Etoot-1: (while sitting) [Those of] Longorikit follow.

Lokawo: (while sitting) Bring two of them together, then you come and I give you another one [I will explain another person's share].

No. 122

Lopiding: Ka ngae?

Etoot-1: Na a Nabek ngesi ingareni.

Lopiding: Ee.

Etoot-1: Kiwapu Longorikit.

Lokawo: Kirotu arai ngaarei, bu kainak nace.

Two donkeys were handed over, one to Nabek and the other to Longorikit. Then, Acakan, Longorikit's eldest son (see Fig. 1), stood up and made his first speech.

No. 123 (9:35 a.m.)

Emus: (giving out donkeys) The purple one is for Nabek, the one with pointed ears is for Longorikit.

Engolan: Both [of them] are females, and pregnant, [they are like] camels [very valuable]. It is only the marriage ox [which is remaining] in the enclosure.

Emus: Even the stick [to beat out livestock] has got broken, Father, do it slowly [don't demand too much].

No. 123

Emus: Nyaka Nabek nakipurat, Longorikit naita a ngaki.

Engolan: Ngaberu daang, ngamanang itaalakinit, ngakaala. Edong ekumae bon nanok.

Emus: Abila bo ebela dae, apa, kiyapanakini.

No. 124 (9:37 a.m.)

Acakan: You!⁽⁶⁴⁾ I don't have even my mother, I don't have even my father. Hey! And then, I told you early that you have brought [given me livestock] and it is over (ironical statement = you refused to give me livestock), don't ask me anything else.

No. 125 (9:38 a.m.)

Etoot-1: Let me make Adupur [the bride] and Loyaala [the bridegroom] to be initiated into adulthood (a phrase of abuse). I, the father of the blue he-goat given by Akimat (referring to his favorite he-goat). There is something wrong here. It is present and I am satisfied with it (ironic expression). He [Acakan] will not miss [his share]. Increase [the number of] these cows. Bring male calf, the male one, [the total] to be two. Acakan has been watering you [supporting you] since he came here, then you came, until you came here previously [to marry the bride]. [Share of] Nabek is the first [to be increased]. Then [that of] Acakan follows. Go and add these matters, then come and I tell you the next. Leave [don't add the share of] mine, and that of Akwee, you just know that, it seems that you know.

No. 126 (9:39 a.m.)

Engolan: The little water of yesterday, that I told you yesterday, that I told you it is from a rock [I have only a few livestock, just like the standing water on a rock hollow], it has reached the point that those water from the well [rock hollow] will get finished. It seems to me that those water from the well is over. That small well dried up [We have run out of livestock]. What I told you earlier, I told you yesterday that if somebody claims two [animals], if somebody claims three [animals], if somebody claims somehow,

No. 124

Acakan: Iyong a! Mam bo ito kang dae eyei, mam bo apa kang dae eyei. Aa! Ani erumor, kalimok takae atamar iramu arumor, nyikingit ngace.

No. 125

Etoot-1: Kimiek etasapan Adupur ka Loyaala. Ayong, apa-a-ekoro aloti pus kang kainaki Akimat. Eyei epoko ne. Eyei ketemokini ayong neni. Nyeroni. Kiatak ngaatuk na tokona nu. Taram itaok nikile, nikile, pena arei. Acakan lo kitamasi esi naka ngoon abunio jik, ibunio, paka teni been bunio ne. Nabek ekengarenon. Kiwapak Acakan. Min kiatak ngakiro nguna, bu katolimok nace. Kimie iyong na kang ka Akwee, iyeni ca iyong, abe ikwa bo iyeni.

No. 126

Engolan: Anang robo ngikipi lu been, abala esi been, abala esi ngika amoru, anang robo ngikipi ngulu ni icidunotor a lokare. Esibit ayong eciduni ngakipi nguna a lokare. Ecidun nyikuja ngini. Ibore ni tete kalimokini ayong esi atamar, ika been kesiruori, kesiruor atamar, ani ketama ice ngaarei, ani ketama ice ngauni, ani ketama ice kwa ai, ipote esi ngikulepek makei toyena. Ekeari been nabo. Ekeari been nabo, kedodikini.

you will come to know by yourselves [you will understand that there will not be enough livestock]. I raised [explained] again yesterday. I raised again yesterday, I showed you.

No. 127 (9:40 a.m.)

Etoot-1: Go back and rectify that thing [solve the problem = make the payment]. You have spoiled the marriage, yet I want to do, to divide the morning and the day [to finish everything within today]. Go back and rectify that thing. You just steal this flat land, and go round repeatedly on this flat land [Try to give out livestock, even their number is small]. Steal, steal and rectify [Try to give out]. There are no matters to make noise for. It seems that you are forced the matters of this homestead [You should solve the problem].

Man on the bride's side: (while sitting) Those are kraals [shares] of your mothers. It can be goats, one for each. Things are cattle [They can be regarded as cattle].

No. 128 (9:41 a.m.)

Engolan: I will allow you to get into the goat enclosure. You will be chased away by the enclosure [You will be disappointed seeing nothing in it] and you will stop counting [demanding] what you are calling as the kraal [share] of goats. I will not double again any other kraals [I will not increase anybody's share]. I will not double again any other livestock [payments]. I am not refusing [to give out livestock], I am not refusing, it is just [because of] the water [the small amount of livestock] that I told you yesterday. As I told you yesterday, saying that this is from the rock [hollow].

Akwee-2: (while sitting) Enter and bring

No. 127

Etoot-1: Tobongo kigogok ibore ngini. Abe ikusukusak bo akiuta, atasaki bo ayong akikokin, atamar atotiaka ataparacu ka apaaran. Tobongo kigogok ibore ngini. Tokoko ca iyong aro na, kirimrim ca iyong aro na. Tokoko, tokoko kigogok. Emam ngakiro na kicala. Abe kitingakinitae iyong ngakiro na a awi ka na.

Man on the bride's side: Nganokin ibore ngini na ka ta-ito kus. Ngesi ngace-kinei dae, ace apei, ace apei. Ngaatuk nyibore.

No. 128

Engolan: Kerepakini tokona esi kerepak tooma nanok a ngaanei. Kirengi esi anak a ngaanei, tojongo nabo akimar na be iba iyong anak a ngaanei. Nyerotakini nabo ayong nganokin ngace. Nyerotakini nabo ngice-baren. Meere nawounit, meere nawounit, nakipi na been ca kesiruori ayong esi. Na been ca kesiruori ayong esi, atamar ngaka amoru nugu.

Akwee-2: Toloma taramu, Arongat.

[the share of] Arongat.

No. 129 (9:42 a.m.)

Nakure: Please, see and wait. You seem to be cutting matters short [You are not doing properly], and yet you are cutting matters short, while being instructed. You seem to be cutting the matter, and yet you are being instructed that this is the custom, custom, and you are still cutting. What is wrong with you? The cows of Acakan should be two. He is the day and even the evening [He is an important person], Acakan. Handle [Treat properly] Acakan, and Etoot, even if we will be far [even if others will be kept aside without receiving their share], we keep on knowing that they [Acakan and Etoot] are there. [Even if] Etoot cannot get anymore, Acakan should have some more.

Hey, you are cutting short. How do you want to be addressed? And yet you are told that they are inside [You are told to give livestock to the close relatives of the bride], inside, they are your mothers [sisters of the bride's mother]. What do you want us to do? Add [something to] the cow of Acakan, even if the other person with a donkey goes like that [even if the other person would not get anything else]. Add [something to] the cow of Acakan as you can. Add [some more livestock], and enter to that cow, and [the share of] the person called Arongat, Arongat. Double them as two. Hey!

Adiaka: (while sitting) Bring even if it is a small goat.

No. 129

Nakure: Aayoro, be towaa. Be itubitubiete bo ngakiro, ani kitodikinitae, totubitubiete. Be itubitubiete ngakiro ani kitodikinitae ni erai etal, etal, totubitubiete. Ikote ai? Ecamit Acakan arai ngaatuk na keng ngaarei. Ngesi arai naparan dae, ebong dae, Acakan. Totinga Acakan, ka Etoot, ani kiloka sua dae, atoyenete sua atamar eya neni. Tasal Etoot, tolema Acakan. Tasal Etoot, tolema Acakan.

Aa, be itubitubiete. Ibalasi mono esi kisiruor kwa ai? Tarai ni ebeyo esi tooma, tooma, ni erai ta-ito kus. Ibalasi esi kikokina ai? Kiyatakisi aite na a Acakan, arai kelot itwaan ni a asikiria a nace dae kongina. Kiyatakisi aite na a Acakan a lo keas kus. Kiyatakisi, tolomasi naite ngina, ka itwaan be Arongat, Arongat. Kirototu arai ngaarei. Atige, ekoe, ei!

Adiaka: Yautu kerai ace-kine dae.

The negotiations seemed to become deadlocked. The bride's side strongly demanded that two animals should be given to Acakan, while the groom's side insisted that their livestock were all gone. Emus stood up and made a very long speech in an attempt to achieve a breakthrough.

No. 130 (9:43 a.m.)

Emus: Oh! What is it again, Apaesia [Adiaka]? What defeated even you [You have witnessed by yourself that there are no goats in the enclosure]. Oh! Don't play with the matters. Which matters make [why do] you say like this? You are the one who entered there [into the enclosure to see whether there are goats or not].

Nakure: (while sitting) Get into the enclosure [and] increase [the share of] Acakan and Arongat. Stand up!

Emus: Please, all of you of this group [of the groom's side], stand up and marry, stand up and marry, hey! Stand up and marry. It is the wife who is got married [we are marrying], it is the wife who is got married, we will be sitting [at a wedding] somewhere like this again at the same time of the day. Stand up and marry. It is because the earth has died [We have problems in this negotiation because we don't have enough livestock], it is because the year has died, it is because the person who calls the [name of] wife [to give her livestock as a gift after her marriage] has also disappeared, even the friend has disappeared, who used to be called as a friend. Because the cattle have disappeared, with which the Turkana used to survive before. It is this [the marriage] that made the Turkana meet. Stand up and marry the wife, stand up and marry the wife, the thing is a wife.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Man on the bride's side: (while sitting) Marry, it is a wife to be married. People are asking for the cattle, marry the wife.

Emus: No enemies have raided the place. No year [drought] has raided the place [Bridewealth payment is neither raiding

No. 130

Emus: Ei! Atige Apaesia, anu nabo? Na tokona kisalunete iyong dae. Ei! Nyiiboliar robo ngakiro dae. Anu-kiro ebeyere ne? Iyong itwaan ni tokona ilomari ama.

Nakure: Toloma nanok, kiyatak Acakan ka Arongat. Tonyou!

Emus: Aayoro, esi ajore na, tonyoutu kiutas, tonyoutu kiutas, ekoe! Tonyoutu kiutas, tonyoutu kiutas. Aberu iusio, aberu iusio, aberu iusio, etinen moi nabo ngoni kiboi a wace kona. Tonyoutu kiutas. Ni atonea akwap, ni atonea ekaru, ni angopea ekanyaran aberu dae, angopea epae dae, lokolong ebeyo epae. Angopeta ngaatuk na tokona been, na tokona been arai ayiereta ngiturkana dae. Na esiriamariamete ngiturkana nu. Tonyoutu kiuta aberu, tonyoutu kiuta aberu, aberu ibore.

Man on the bride's side: Kiuta, aberu iusio. Ngaatuk ilipasi ngitunga, kiuta aberu.

Emus: Mam ngimoe eremito akwap. Mam ekaru eremit akwap. Eyei aberu epaida. Iusio tokona apese a nawi ka na.

nor drought]. There is a profit in wife [To obtain a wife brings benefit]. A girl can be married from this family [of the bride's father].

Man on the bride's side: (while sitting) Oh! The Ngisaali, hey! You seem to be dragging yourself. Promise [to give out livestock], contribute those two small kraals [Give out shares of two persons], bring them in line [one by one].

Emus: You, keep quiet first. Marry the woman, marry the woman, marry properly.

Man on the bride's side: (while sitting) You put [beat] those other cattle, by a stick to come out.

Emus: Keep quiet, you, these old men, hey! These people of my father, of Nacukul, are well known [to give out bridewealth willingly], they are well known. There is nothing, there is nothing sick [Nobody is refusing to give out bridewealth]. It seems, what was counted is inside of the family of Lomeyana [payment for the close relatives of the bride], inside, inside.

Adiaka: (while sitting) There is no part which is different [All of us are close relatives].

Emus: Will that thing defeat here [Payment is not difficult for us], and will you be left [without livestock] and refused [fail to agree]? Right here! In the morning, and when you are still absent minded, you suddenly hear people saying that [your] wife has brought a ram of so and so [Wives can bring livestock home through several channels]. And after sometime, she says, "They are saying that

Man on the bride's side: Ee! Ngisaali, koe! Abe isidiyoto. Kiwangakis, todututu nginokin luarei ngulu, toduputu ibore.

Emus: Kililing mono iyong. Kiuta aberu, kiuta aberu, kiuta lokejokon.

Man on the bride's side: Kiwaakisi ngaatuk nace nguna, akitoe topudut.

Emus: Kililinga, esi, ngimusei lu, ei! Iutaka ngitunga lu ka apa kang lu a Nacukul lu, iutaka, iutaka. Mam rika ibore, mam rika ibore edeka. Be esibit itamari iyong awi a Lomeyana ibore ni tokona ni arai ni tokana emariao ngini, tooma, tooma, tooma.

Adiaka: Mam wace erai igela.

Emus: Ipiyori mono ibore ngini, ipiyori ibore kane, toisikinae towounere a? Ka nege! Nataparacu ani eringa iyong itumo kona, tanangakineti aberu ebeyo ejuk emesek ka ati kane. Ani eringa kona, tama kane "Be ebeyo iusio ice-koku." Tama kori akine, tanangakineti ijukuni aite, na ikoni na tokona erengit itwaan kane.

a certain child is being married [I will go to the marriage to get some livestock].” You think maybe it is a goat [that she will bring], but you will find [that] she brings a cow, like that one which someone was chasing from here (The speaker is stressing the importance of the wives).

These children of Nacukul, these of Nacukul, they are driving meat of ration [They have a few livestock that they earned by their business]. A ration [earning] of the business [livestock obtained through business], which they wanted to take for [another] business [to increase the livestock]. The thing is different in which these matters have been done [This marriage is conducted in a different way from others]. Nobody normally brings a girl [before the formal marriage] to this family [Most of us marry formally, we don't stay with concubines]. Surely, I swear.⁽⁶⁶⁾ This thing is different which has taken place today. What somebody said yesterday there that, “Why couldn't you go out for an overnight journey?” [Why didn't you walk around to collect livestock of bridewealth?]

Adiaka: (while sitting) There are clans who cannot take away [the girls without formal marriage]. There are...

Emus: Remember [Confirm] what prevented me from going for an overnight journey. Remember that thing. Remember that thing. That thing is different [What happened was very bad for us]. [It is] The thing, when I arrived at this *esekon* tree which is here, it disturbs me at this *esekon* tree. When I just arrived at this *esekon* tree, it disturbs me at this *esekon* tree. [It is] That thing, that thing, what made us get bored of each other, what made you not to have [even] a bad talk [We cannot have a good talk and agree

Ngide lu a Nacukul lu, lu a Nacukul lu, emeto akiring arecien. Arecien na a edukan, na been anyounitotor edukan. Igela ibore ni ipanyany ngakiro nu. Mam itwaan erikiene apese a nawi ka na. Ekong ekongi! Igela ibore en, ni ipanyany akwaar na en. Ibore ni been alimuni itwaan ka ama abala kane, “Ikoni iyong aperor ai?”

Adiaka: Eya robo ngimacarin lu nyerikeenere. Eya...

Emus: Kitamutu ibore ni erai ngesi ketangasi ayong aperor. Kitamutu ibore ngini. Kitamutu ibore ngini. Igela ibore ngini. Ibore ngini ni arai napei ca adolunio ayong nasekon na eyei nege, kepurik ayong a nasekon ka na. Naca adolunio ayong nasekon na, kepurik ayong a nasekon ka na. Ibore ngini, ngini, ni arai ngesi kitepenikini ngoni, kitongopik teni ni arai eruor lokaronon. Atotiakas ngoni kingarab jik, tani tokona jik, eriami jik kikoni neni, nyeanyuna ngakiro nu. Ani eruoro ayong nugu, min ngesi

because of that thing]. We get separated roughly, even now completely, we have met like that [in a bad manner], before we see these matters [before we agree]. When I am talking about this, he [an inciter] goes and pins down something else there [to make us fight].⁽⁶⁷⁾

Adiaka: (while sitting) He puts an injection [He is inciting us to fight], you, say, “He puts an injection.”

Emus: When his wife [the bride] is raising the head while passing there [When she is becoming a bad person, doing something different from others], and yet somebody’s daughter had done the same [bad thing with what the bride has done], somebody’s daughter had done the same [The bride did something very bad, but we are going to marry her]. Eh! How will I remember that thing [what the bride has done]?

I say, if there is something to be eaten [If the bridewealth is paid once], to be eaten, to be eaten, the livestock of this family of my father, of this [family], of this [family], nobody will return [the bridewealth],⁽⁶⁸⁾ nobody of this family [of the groom] will release the thing called wives, nobody releases, even if different clans [who received the bridewealth] go and play with it [misuse the bridewealth] there and finish [the livestock].

The thing [The bridewealth] has gone now. I am even afraid of selling livestock, that is, selling them to the Government. That thing [selling livestock] is foolish. We said, “Let us make this thing [marriage],” if there is one thing [the bridewealth] which is in the family of Lomeyana that will enter there [when we give the bridewealth to Lomeyana’s family], even if the woman removes the leather skirt and leaves it here [even when

kicumak nace nen. Ani eruoro ayong nugu, min ngesi kicumak nace nen.

Adiaka: Kiwaak esindan, tama iyong kiwaak esindan.

Emus: Kikiarite ake-beru akou kitorite ama, tarai ngoon asubakinia ni ka ati, asubakinia ngoon nabo ni ka ati. Aa! Ekok ayong etamuni ibore ngini ai?

Atama ayong ani keyei ibore enyamio, enyamio, enyamio, ngibaren lu a awi a na ka apa kang a, ka na, ka na, emam itwaan elakuni, elakeene ibore be ngaberu na a awi ka ngina, mam itwaan elakeene, ngaye keloto ngimacarin min pena tolotoboliatar ka ina, kirikasi.

Alot tokona ibore ngini. Aker ibore ngini akiusaanar ngibaren dae, atamar, kimiekisi be kiusakinae nangolenyang. Abangaanut ibore ngini. Atamasi “Kimiekisi atosubakisi ibore en,” ani keyei ibore nipei, ni eyei nawi a Lomeyana dae, ni elomari neni, kelacaki aberu ngabwes neni dae, totinga ngitunga ngulu atotingeta epaalonu.

the wife is divorced], those people [of the bride's family] can retain [the bridewealth] to keep friendship [with us].

Because of the maize that was poured to the ground like this,⁽⁶⁹⁾ when it was brought to us, as that person said, Akwee made somebody bring [the maize to us]. We ate while spitting [the sand] like this, spitting like this, the matters [which happened] at the *esekon* tree. Because of the men [of bride's family], because of the men, because of the men, because of the men, because of the men, because of the men,⁽⁷⁰⁾ Not because of the girl [the bride] and her husband [We ate the maize and tried to settle the marriage]! Because of all the men of the Lomeyana's family, all of them, even others whom we do not know.

(To men of his group) Stand up and beat [give away] the livestock. Beat even the young donkeys which are still suckling, and let the bone remain [even if they die]. Beat the calf which is there, me, the owner of the white headed brown ox given by Acaan (referring to his favorite ox).

What made me not remember those matters is that one [I didn't go out to collect livestock for bridewealth because the bride poured the maize onto the ground]. It made me not to stand up [to go out], it made me not to stand up. [But] even a person from my mother's hut did the same [Humans tend to make mistakes]. If I admire you, I will marry in this flat land now, you yourself, these children [the men of the family] of Lomeyana themselves. It is not because, as you used to say, a woman was attracted by her thing [husband].

There are no livestock here [We don't have enough livestock]. There are no livestock here, and if somebody comes back here with the matters that I will say

Kotere emorogo lo abukokinio nalup kona, ani eyaunio kiinunio sua, ebaa itwaan ngin, eyauni Akwee eteyauni itwaan. Atanyama sua atoruonorete kona, atoruonorete kona, ngakiro a asekon ka na. Kotere ngikiliok, kotere ngikiliok, kotere ngikiliok, kotere ngikiliok, kotere ngikiliok, kotere ngikiliok! Meere kotere apese, ka eke-kile! Kotere ngikiliok a awi a Lomeyana daang, pupung tani loce lo pe nyeyenio.

Tonyoutu kideta ngibaren. Taram nyisikiria ni ikoongoe a nasikiria dae ngin, kidong akiot. Taram itaok dae ni eyei neni, aloti mo-ngole-arengan kainakini Acaan.

Ibore ni arai ketangasi ayong ngakiro nguna akitamun nyengini. Ketangat akiwo, ketangat akiwo. Asubakinia ngoon ni a ekol a ito kang dae. Ani na kaminaria ayong iyong, euta ayong tokona a naro ka na, iyong akwaan jik, ngide lu a Lomeyana akwaan. Meere ibore ni ibaasi esi aberu na esupar kolong ka ike-bore.

Emam ngibaren eya ne. Emam ngibaren eya ne. Emam ngibaren eya ne, ani kebongo itwaan nege, a akiroit a na eruorikini ayong, keloma nege, nyebonguni

[if somebody comes back to ask some more livestock again against what I am saying now], if he enters here [if he demands again], he will not come back [we will not offer him anything in the future]. Be wise, you Akoriita [Akwee-2], you Lotwalamoyo [Etoot-1], stay without [receiving the bridewealth], stay without completely, in the way you accepted me before [because you have already accepted me as a in-law], miss [receiving livestock] and sit. People will be left over [without getting any animals], of this length [many people], of this length. What we are counting are only full-siblings [We are giving bridewealth only to the close relatives of the bride], [even when] the shield [shareholders of the bridewealth] is still remaining, and many other things [are remained unsettled]. Those are the only matters that I can say.

No. 131 (9:48 a.m.)

Loyaala: You, old men, who are said to be my fathers, who are sitting here, you have just talked [you have shown your demands] since I came to this family of Lomeyana, [I know that] the person called Acakan, his matters [what his said] are true. The person called Akwee, his matters are true. The person called Etoot, his matters are true. Lokawo, his matters are true. If now...

Acakan: (while sitting) It is true [You are joking]. Have you not even brought a cloth [to me as a gift]?

Etoot-1 stood up and told Loyaala (the groom) to go back and sit. He made a speech in reply to Emus's statement because Emus seemed to dislike the bride. Etoot-1 also tried to carry the negotiations forward, giving up demanding more animals for Acakan. He mentioned the names of other recipients of bridewealth.

No. 132 (9:49 a.m.)

Etoot-1: Go back, go back, Emus, that's

nabo. Toosutu iyong Akoriita, iyong Lorionomoyo, torono, torono jik, kwana kolong kicamuneta, torono, kiboikinos. Ekadunosi ngitunga ni ebai ne, ni ebai ne. Inyo tokona ibore ni imario en, ngikaitotoi make, toringa ibore ni be aupal dae, toringa inyo dae. Ngakiro na alimuni ayong, nguna make.

No. 131

Loyaala: Aai, esi ngikasikou lu ebeyo ta-apa kang lu iboiyete lu, napei kolong, abe iruorikis, napei kolong, napei kolong, abunio ayong nawi na a Lomeyana na, itwaan ni tokona ebeyo Acakan, iteni ngake-kiro. Itwaan ni tokona ebeyo Akwee, iteni ngake-kiro. Itwaan ni ebeyo Etoot, iteni ngake-kiro. Lokawo iteni ngake-kiro. Kerai tokona a...

Acakan: Iteni. Abe emam bo ngoon tani ece-woru ilemu a?

No. 132

Etoot-1: Tobongo, tobongo, Emus,

it, Emus, Emus, you seem to marry twice? [You decided to marry but you are not sure of it now] You seem to marry twice? You are dividing [your] heart [into two] like the fruit of *edapal* tree? [You are not decided, you are suspecting whether the bride will be a good wife or not]

Acakan: (while sitting) Like the tongue of a Nile monitor (tip of its tongue is forked into two).

Etoot-1: While you were growing up, was there no girl [didn't you see any girl] who refused men?

Lokawo: (while sitting) What about if she bends the head down [if she accepts a man]?

Etoot-1: When she [a girl] bends the head down, there is a girl whom we can reach [persuade to accept a man]. Whoever, whoever, maybe even these white men [might be refused by girls] (by "white men", he referred to the author's group). Now we, that is what this side [we] is talking about. Some [girls] used to refuse [men] while swearing [not to be married], doing such and such [refusing in many ways]. [But later] She gets married, and settles in the homestead [of the groom] completely. [Even if] There were instigators also [to refuse to get married].

Now I have already accepted you. I tried to take the camels which I had seen with my own eyes, but you snatched [them] from me [You refused to give them to me]. I don't know about the goats, I can't tell a lie [I really don't know about the goats]. I have eaten donkeys of this family of Aboolem [I was given donkeys from the groom's family before]. Even if they are not there [Even if you don't have livestock], I have eaten

nyenguna, nyenguna Emus, Emus kwa iuta ngaarei a? Kwa iuta ngaarei a? Ipakit etau kwa edapal a?

Acakan: Kwa angajep a anakanak.

Etoot-1: Na kolong irupunia iyong, emam apese angerit ngikiliok a?

Lokawo: Ani na etiyaunia akou?

Etoot-1: Ani bo na etiyaunia akou, eyei apese kinangene ngoni. Tani ngae, tani ngae, tokona ngon tani lu akwaak lu. Tokona ngoni, ewae isisae akodet na ngolo. Angeroko kolong ngace, kikongete, kikote ai, kikote ai. Kiutae, kiboikin nawi jik. Aya ngikesupak dae.

Tokona, kacamu kolong iyong. Atoruakin ngikaala lu ete a ngakonyen kang, kitodema. Nyayeni ngakinei, nyesudokini. Anyam ayong ngisikiria, lu a awi a na ka Aboolem ka na. Tani pa keya, anyam eringa nabo...

and still [I will still consume your live-stock because of our relationship]...

No. 133

Etoot-1: It appears to me that you want to make me angry. I instigated you yesterday, saying, "Satisfy the right side [important persons in the bride's family], satisfy the heart [of the bride's family]." After you have separated them from the camels, and even the cattle [You refused to give out camels and cattle]. [I told you], "Satisfy the heart, satisfy the right side. You just give small things to each [of the shareholders], you just give small things to each [to satisfy them]." Is it this [Have you done it]? And when you stand up here [to marry], what will you do? And when you come back tomorrow [to have another marriage], what will you do? Those are over [I will not mention it again]. I am even fit in you here [I am capable to solve the matter with you].

Go back and bring this number of kraals [share of persons] (showing three by his fingers). The name called Naangira, the name called Naakor, and the name called Arongat. Three. Enter [Give out]. You just measure from my previous talk [Bring animals taking my talk into consideration]. Bring them in that order.

Engolan: (while sitting) Ngatootin [Etoot-1], you, come and make me understood [make it clear to me].

Etoot-1: Naangira is the name [the mother] of Ngijie, [and] the name [the mother] of Lomatar, who also gave birth to me. The name called Naakor, who gave birth to Imoni, Akwee, and your girl [the bride]. [Then] Arongat.

Men on the bride's side: (while sitting) It is true, make them understand and know

No. 133

Etoot-1: Itamari iyong ayong, isaki iyong ayong akitelemar. Kesup been atama "Kitojok teten, kitojok etau." Been kitiaka a lokaala, a naatuk dae. "Kitojok etau, kitojok teten. Kilim ca iyong, kilim ca iyong." Ngesi ne a? Ani tokona, inyouni iyong kane kikok ai? Ani moi ibiluni kikok ai? Arumor nguna. Ketemokino ayong iyong tani kane.

Tobongo taramu nganokin ngane. Ekiro be Naangira, ekiro be Naakor ta ekiro be Arongat. Ngauni. Toloma. Kipim iyong alolimune alo tete. Todup kongina.

Engolan: Ngatootin, iyong a, bua kisiirarae.

Etoot-1: Naangira, ngesi ekiro be Ngijie, ekiro be Lomatar, na kolong kedyuni ayong. Ekiro be ebeyo Naakor, lo idinyunit Imoni, Imoni, lo idinyunit Akwee, lo idinyunit apese na kus. Arongat.

Men on the bride's side: Itemokino, kisiira kitaanyu ngauni. Kisiira kitaanyu ngauni.

three [persons]. They are full-sisters [of the bride's mother], bring them [livestock] please. Three are over [They are already mentioned], that's it, the hut [They are full-sisters], enter [give livestock], and get meat [livestock] for them. Three, three please, show them please.

Ngakaitotoi, kisimileu kare. Arumor ngauni, nyenguna, ekol ngolo, toloma, toutok akiring. Ngauni, ngauni kare, kisimileu kare.

No. 134 (9:54 a.m.)

Lopiding: Stand up and marry, marry [give our bridewealth to] the people. Wait, wait, wait. It is you [the groom] who has made people [of the groom's side] collide with your wife [because it was the groom who started all the process of this marriage]. Stand up now and marry. Give these people livestock. Even these people are not talking matters [not demanding livestock] any more. It is only livestock that these people are asking for. You are also begging for the wife. If there are livestock here, marry, give [the livestock]. That is what I am telling you. It is only marriage that is here. Please, you, Fathers. Unless [I am not sure that] they [the men of groom's side] have lent out livestock [to others' homestead in order to hide], [if they have done it] you will make the people to be initiated into adulthood [You can punish them].

Acakan: (while sitting) Which finger is this [Which side are you allied]?

Lopiding: It is [I am] yours, this one here is also yours. I am also talking good [things], nothing bad. What again do you want me to say, when it is the hand that talks? [When I have something, I can give it to you] There are no livestock [on the groom's side]. This is just a collision [You are in bad terms because there are only few livestock]. What is cheating, with which people use to walk slowly to others, saying, "I am marrying," and

No. 134

Lopiding: Tonyoutu kiutas kiutakisi ngitunga. Towo, towo, towo. Iyong teni iturumit ngitunga luce ka akon-beru. Tonyou tokona kius. Nak ngitunga lu dae lu ngibaren. Ngitunga lu dae lu, emam ngakiro eroko iruorosi. Ngibaren esakete ngituga lu dae lu. Aberu ilipasi esi dae. Keya ngibaren ne, kiutas, nakis ngitunga. Na kalimokinit ayong esi nguna. Akiuta bon eyei ne. Aai, esi, ta-apa. Ngaye kijokitoe ngibaren, itasapanete esi ngitunga.

Acakan: Ali-kimoon mono dae lo?

Lopiding: Ekus, ekus, lo dae lo. Abe nakajokak bo eruoro ayong dae, emam naaronok. Nyani tokona nabo na ebeyo kerai atolimu na eraakar akan iruoro? Abe engopito bo ngibaren. Abe ngiturum bo ibore en ngiturum. Ibore ni kolong be alioko, be eniemeta ngitunga lotunga luce, atamar, "Be euta," ani eponio tongopa ngibaren, ngesi ibore en ni a ekaru ka lo. Ni arai meere tani ngitunga lu make esubakinito. Nyidesio bo ngibaren ngice

when they come, the livestock disappear, is this thing of this year [It is conventional lies whereby people walk slowly to others proclaiming that they are going to marry, and at the marriage, it reveals that they don't have enough livestock. This is what is taking place nowadays]. This is not done only by these people [of the groom's family]. Are the livestock not going to be beaten [be given] if there are any [that are kept] somewhere? Not these ones [These are not enough], in the eyes just like this [as you can see], even goats, even cattle. Just wait, [and see how] the owner does the way it can be done. Stand up and go there...

bo keya lu eya wace a? Emam robo lu, nakonyen kona jik, a nakinei dae, a naatuk dae. Kiteutu boca, tosub robo ilope erot lo esubere. Tonyoutu toloto ama...

At 9:56 a.m., Engolan, Loyaala, and Emus stood up, walked away from the other men on the groom's side and sat to discuss their problems among themselves. They seemed to have real difficulties giving out any more livestock.

No. 135 (10:00 a.m.)

Eedung: I have two matters. It is me who is supposed to help these men, [because] I am their brother. Even the ox with which I dance [my favorite ox], it is these people [who gave it to me]. Even the cow that my wife is milking, it is these people [who gave it to me]. I am tied [in trouble] now.

I have two matters. You, listen, you who is playing with the matter, who is doing foolish thing, me, the owner of *kol-kirion-a-ngakopoi* (referring to his favorite ox), hey! You talk to me as if I am a ghost [useless person], my age-mates of Lokwangorom (a phrase of abuse)! I married recently, and then, if these matters didn't become [too] much [if much complication was not caused], I could have gone to carry a goat on my chest to this place [to give you]. I will not beat [give] a large livestock, [because] even the camel which I beat [gave out] recently [at my marriage], that remained from my

No. 135

Ayakar ayong ngakiro ngaarei. Ayong itemokino aikini ngikiliok lu, arai lokato kec. Emong edongae ayong dae, ngitunga lu. Aite elepi aberu na kang dae, ngitunga lu. Aenen tokona ayong.

Ayakar ayong ngakiro ngaarei. Topupok iyong itwaan en iboliar ngakiro en, inyo kisipanyi dae abangaanut, aloti kol-kirion-a-ngapokoi, ei! Kisiruori jik kwa ekaramit, ngikias kata Lokwangorom! Euta been ayong, ani erumor, kerai tokona ngakiro nu nyeemito ngakiro kaalak, kalot ayong atadaku akine a atorob. Kemam ibarasit apolon arami, ekaal dae lo been aramia ayong, lo been asaluni a nakiuta a na kang, eringa enaki. Iyong itwaan ni iboliar ngakiro en. Aite dae na been akadun a nakiuta a na kang, na been aramit ayong, enaki loger lo kolong. Ngaye kerai ngaanei etioko.

marriage [that remained with me after the payment], is still suckling [so, I can't give it out]. You person, who is playing with these matters. Even the cow which remained [with me] after my marriage, which I promised yesterday [to give out], it is still suckling as before. Maybe it is goats that are hard [to give] [I don't have goats].

Now I am tied, I am tied, I am tied, and the way that you are being taken to your brother, [who is] doing some matters, and when he is beaten down, you also get a stick to prevent [the attack], you prevent by a stick [I am in a position to assist the groom, but I don't have livestock]. Hey! Why do you talk to me as if I am a ghost [a useless person]. Hey! Now leave the person [the groom], do with the [other] person the matters which you can do [solve the problem], and the thing that will remain to remain...

What matters can I tell you now, that is true [How can I make you understand our situation]? What can I say? Can I tell you to sit down and do what? If all the matters are for the eyes [If people don't admit that we have no livestock], and the matters they say [to me] to leave [to give out livestock], to leave, to leave, how should I leave? And when this enclosure [of the groom] has come to an end [become empty], the family of your uncle... The family of our uncle, Auwokol, whom you are feeding here [He is poor and we cannot depend on him]. Do you know where he sleeps? Is he here now? His home is that of your in-law [the groom], his home is that of Engolan, his home is that of mine. When he left my home recently, he is [living] in the home of Ajie's children. Where can he move [go]? The family of Nabuin is just behind you. You miss [stay without the share of bridewealth], you miss, you miss,

Tokona aenen ayong, aenen, aenen, ibore ebeyo kirikitoe ni eyei lokato kon, ebeiyo be esubi ngakiro, ani eramio etiyakinio, tolemu akitoe kigagaaria, kigagaaya a akitoe. Ei! Inyo kisiruori kwa ekaramit. Ei! Tokona kimie itwaan, tosuba ka itwaan ngakiro na isubete, kidong nibore edongi...

Anu-kiro tokona kalimokini, na erai iteni? Atamari ai? Atamari kiboikin kekok ai? Na eraakatar ngakiro daang na a ngakonyen, ani ngakiro ebeyo be kimiek, be kimiek, kimiek ekok ai? Ani na tokona esalunia anak na, awi yo ka amae kon... Awi yo ka amae kosi, ngesi Auwokol, lo itanete esi kane. Iyanyuuniete esi ni epereene a? Eyei tokona ne a? Awi yo keng na a nakamuran kus, awi yo keng na a Engolan, awi yo keng na kang. Tokona been arotokinio a nawi a na kang a, eyei nawi a ngide a Ajie. Topogu aliwae? Awi a Nabuin nyengina ka yaaye kus ngin. Kikanyak iyong, kikanyak iyong, kikanyak iyong, kikanyak iyong, kikanyak emicias, aloti-sia-arengan-kakwangan etia...

you miss, you miss, you miss so that we will have a debt [of livestock which we will pay in future], me, the owner of *sia-arengan-kakwangan* (referring to his favorite ox), like...

Acakan: (while sitting) Me, me, me, the owner of the red ox (referring to his favorite ox)!

Eedung: It is not you that I am talking to, I am talking to a different person.

Etoot-1: (while sitting) Are you talking to me or Acakan?

Eedung: I am talking to Etoot.

Etoot-1: I will miss [stay without the share], me, the owner of the striped ox, given by Dapal (referring to his favorite ox).

Acakan: Ayong, ayong, ayong, aloti-arengan-a-itaok!

Eedung: Meere karika iyong kesiruori ayong. Egial itwaan esiruori ayong.

Etoot-1: Ayong kisiruori iyong kori Acakan?

Eedung: Etoot esiruori ayong.

Etoot-1: (while sitting) Ekanyakini, aloti-ese, kainakini Dapal.

At 10:04 a.m., Engolan called Etoot-1, who stood up and went to the men on the groom's side. Engolan, Loyaala, Emus, together with Lokawo, Adiaka, and Akwee-2 from the bride's side assembled for discussions. After about 10 minutes, they reached an agreement, and at 10:15 a.m., a payment of two cattle was made, one to Naangira (Lomatar) and another to Arongat (see Fig. 1).

No. 136
Emus: [For] Lomatar, the purple-gray one, [for] Arongat, the white one.

Adiaka: (while sitting) Leave, leave and let it go back.

Man on the groom's side: The name called Lomatar, raise the voice for the child to hear, the small one, that one is almost reaching [getting married]...

No. 136
Emus: Lomatar, lobok-aangor, Arongat, ngesi naakwan.

Adiaka: Talakak, talakak, kimiek tobong.

Man on the groom's side: Ekiro be Lomatar, topooya ikoku edokole, nidio cici, aapu ngini dae, aapu a...

No. 137
Acakan: (standing up) Listen. You are saying that the white one, for whom?

No. 137
Acakan: Topupok. Ibaa iyong lo akwaan, ngae?

Emus: How many were those old women who are following each other?

Emus: Ngai ngakimak nata ewapasi?

Men on the bride's side: (while sitting) Three.

Men on the bride's side: Ngauni.

Emus: Three. The old woman named Arongat, [she takes] one, Lomatar [takes] the purple-brown one, Arongat [takes] the white one. One [person] is remaining, I know that one.

Emus: Ngauni. Akimat na ebei Arongat apei, Lomatar, nabok-ongor, Arongat, ngesi loakwan. Edong apei, ayeni ayong ngina.

Acakan: You?!

Acakan: Iyong a?!

Emus: Yes.

Emus: Ee.

Acakan: The name [person] whom you mentioned as Arongat, she doesn't have any brothers, she doesn't have any sons. I have now given the [purple-brown] cow to an ox [I give out the cow and take the ox]. I have given. Because it [the ox] is still suckling [it is too small for Arongat]. If I [we] take that thing [the ox] now [to our homestead], there is nobody to cook [to look after the ox], because I don't have any brothers, because I don't have my mother, because I don't have sons. Leave the calf [ox] of the white cow, it has become mine.

Acakan: Ekiri lo ibaa iyong Arongat, emam lokaato keng dae lo eyei, emam lokoo keng dae lo eyei. Ainak tokona ayong aite nabok emong. Ainak. Kotere eringa enaki. Na tokona ayaaria ibore ngini, emam akepon dae, ani emamakar lokaato kang, ani emamakar ito kang, ani emamakar lokoo kang. Kimie itaok a naakwan, arau a kang.

No. 138

Etoot-1: (while sitting) That's it, Acakan, that's it.

No. 138

Etoot-1: Nyeneni Acakan, nyenguna.

Eedung: Stop talking those ones [matters], you exchanged and gave it [the cow] to a person without eyes [to a useless person], [the ox] to stay this side [at groom's homestead until it becomes big enough]. Matters are always like that.

Eedung: Tojongo nguna ekiruor, tolunyak iyong ni emam ngakonyen, min laalo. Ikote ibore be ngakiro neni.

Etoot-1 proceeded with the negotiations by referring to other shareholders, Adiaka and Ngicampa (see Fig. 1).

(10:17 a.m.)

Etoot-1: [Because of the person] who is hot [important]. Those are not yours [It's not your business], is he not alerting you!? [Acakan is just informing you] You, I am just telling you again, saying, "What I told you, the one who is hot [important], who is hot, you picked it [you give him], you picked it, the one who is hot, who is hot." It is what I told you, Arongat, it is what I told you, Naakor, that is how I talked to you [They are important persons].

Leave that. Marry [Give out live-stock] please. Why are you like this? Agree with your friends and wait for scars [final process of the negotiation]. Beat [Give out] a cow of Adiaka, beat a cow of Adiaka. Beat a cow of Ngicampa whom you have gone to bring from this side [whom you invited to this marriage]. Beat a cow of Adiaka whom you have gone to bring from that green mountain, females [you should give out cows]. Even if they are males, bring which will go to a male camel [which is big enough to be exchanged with a male camel].

Etoot-1: Ni emona robo, ni emona robo. Meere nguna ngakus, meere kitaanyunit ngesi esi a!? Iyong a, abe kesiruori bo tokona nabo abala, "Ni kesiruori a, 'ee,' ni emona, ni emona, ni emona, todot iyong, todot iyong, todot iyong, todot iyong, ni emona ni emona." Ngesi Arongat na kalimokini, ngesi Naakor na kalimokini, abe kekoni bo kesiruori neni.

Kimie nguna. Kiutas ca nai. Inyo ikote ne? Tacamakin ka ngirukitos kidarut emacar. Taram aite ka Adiaka, taram aite ka Adiaka. Taram aite a Ngicampa, alo been iomi iyong ka laalo. Taram na ka Adiaka, alo been iomete alopus ka ye, nako-beru. Ani na eraakatar ngakiliok dae, taram na idirari lokaal.

A payment of two cattle was made, one to Adiaka and another to Ngicampa.

No. 139 (10:19 a.m.)

Engolan: The gray-black ox [for] Apaesia [Adiaka], [and for] the old woman [Ngicampa] who came from east, [we give] the gray-brown ox.

Etoot-1: It is over, it is over.

Emus: (while sitting) I am going to take that ox. Please! Return that gray ox this way (joking).

Ngicampa: (while sitting) Leave that one [and let it] go. I have seen [You offered me] the purple-brown one.

No. 139

Engolan: Apaesia, losia-kirion, akimat na been abuni alo kide, losia-angor.

Etoot-1: Arumor, arumor.

Emus: Ediarari ayong emong ngol. Aai! Tobilu emong lopus ngol kona.

Ngicampa: (while sitting) Kimie ngol tolot. Aanyunga nabok-angor.

No. 140 (10:22 a.m.)

Ngicampa: I have tried the different one, not mine [I assisted somebody's marriage]. I have never attempted the thing called marriage [I am not married] (actually he was married). You are just marrying. Because, let us ignore the cow [which was given to me], unless they are two [Add one more cow]. Unless they are two. The cow-bell that I told you yesterday, saying that the cow-bell dropped from the purple-gray ox [I lost the ox]. It is what you have taken [You have taken the bride]. See [Give out] that thing. Those are small matters for which I stood up [to talk]. They are small and short.

No. 141 (10:23 a.m.)

Engolan: Three cattle have remained in this homestead. You, this tree in the east [men of the bride's family]. There are three cattle in this homestead, which you are also seeing now, saying, "Somebody [men on the groom's side] is retaining cattle" [They are not willing to give them out]. I don't have goats for meat in this sitting [meeting] now [to offer you to eat now]. That old man [Adiaka] had stood up, entered [the goats enclosure] and saw [that there are really no goats].

I have two marriages [obligations] at this very moment. One is alive [this marriage], the other is dead [visiting Nacukul's grave]. I am saying I will do all those matters even if I am not standing up [prepared properly]. The spotted ox, which you see standing in this homestead, it is for the grave of Nacukul, it [the grave] is behind those trees. This is what I will do, and afterwards [after this marriage arrangement], I will go there. The yellow-shouldered horn-less ox [will be] the meat of the river as a whole [I will kill it at the wedding ceremony of this marriage to feast people], I don't

No. 140

Ngicampa: Aroit ayong nagela, meere na kang. Nyitetemikino ayong ibore be akiuta. Abe iuta bo. Kotere, kimie tokona atajamiasi nabok-angor, miti robo eloose erai ngaarei. Miti eloose erai ngaarei. Ekaadongot been kalimokini, atamar acakuni ekaadongot ngolo a ibore be lobok-ngiro. Ibore ngini ilema iyong. Kingolik ibore ngini. Ngikiro anyounitor ngulu. Ekidioko, euriaka.

No. 141

Engolan: Edong ngaatuk ngauni nawi na. Iyong ekitoe lo a lo kide lo. Eya ngaatuk ngauni nawi na, na tokona erai kesi itete esi dae, ibaasi "Iretakinit itwaan ngaatuk." Amamakar ayong akiring a ngaanei loboyor lo tokona lo. Anyouni tokona ekasikout ngol, toloma min kingolik.

Eya ayong ngakiutasia ngaarei, eboyor lo tokona lo. Akayaran apei, adaun kolong apei. Abala ayong ngakiro nguna daang asubi tani pe anyounit. Emong lokori, lo iteete esi ewei a nawi kana, eka aliel a Nacukul, eyei kaku ngikito ngul. Na asubi nu, ani erumor atolot inaa. Emong lolinganyang-lem, akiring a angolol kana, lulung. Kangopiki ayong akiring a ngaanei. Tocunak iyong ilope, akon-jore. Lokirion, ngesi lo moi kitumunor ngoni kane. Abe ngisikiria bo lu ewaasi kane, eyei nabo ece lo ite a? Ngaatuk nguna asalut.

have meat of goats. You, gather your age-mates by yourself [to come and eat the ox]. The black ox is what we comfort ourselves tomorrow here [The ox will be killed in the wedding as *ekumae*].⁽⁷¹⁾ Here are [only] donkeys standing, is there another one that you are seeing? The cattle have finished.

Ngicampa: If you have answered [like that] because of me, go back, it is alright (ironic expression).

Engolan: And again, a little bit, it's you whom I am requesting [to accept what I am saying], I have not answered those matters in a bad way. It is not you alone that I answered, I answered all the trees [to all of you]. It is what I answered. There is nothing which is...

No. 142 (10:24 a.m.)

Ngicampa: Go back, go back. You should also see [understand] what I am talking, I will also see [understand] what you are talking. Put [Give out], I was also saying even the donkey [will do], if it is available, it is alright as a count [equivalence] of the goats. I say, "They have become eleven." [A donkey is equivalent to eleven goats]. Even a cow, [even] a male one, if it is available [give it to me]. You have beaten a female [cow]. Why are you talking eloquently? Even if you beat [give] a male young donkey, I will say, "It is enough." Leave that donkey [I will take it] so that I will tie a cow-bell [to the donkey], which I told you yesterday, that the cow-bell of my ox has dropped [I lost my ox].

Nakure: (while sitting) You, come back so that I can talk. You, come back so that I can talk, a person who is wondering, come back.

Ngicampa: Ani kibusit kotere ayong, tobongo itemokino.

Engolan: Ani erumor, wadio cici, iyong kelipit, nyebusit ngakiro nguna a nikaronon. Meere iyong bon kebutokini, ebutokinit ekitoe daang. Ngesi ebutokinit. Emam ibore nyidio...

No. 142

Ngicampa: Tobongo, tobongo. Kingolik iyong dae ni eruoro ayong, engolikini ayong dae ni iruoro iyong. Kiwaak, abe abala bo ayong esikiria dae na ayakar, itemokino lokisab a ngaanei. Atama, "Aliwor ngatomon ka apei." Aite dae, nakile na ayei. Iram naberu. Inyo akutukanut na kiruoro? Kiram tokona iyong itaasikiria loti maanik dae, atama "Arumor." Kimie isikiria ngini, atoinik ekaadongot lo been kalimokini, lo been kalimokini atamar, acakun ekaadongot a emong kang.

Nakure: Tobongo mono iyong, eruorik ayong. Tobongo mono iyong, eruorik ayong, itwaan ni elari, tobongo.

Ngicampa: There is nothing, that I can say now, that I can boast of, saying, “I am the mother of the bride, I am the mother of so and so.” I am different [I am not closely related to the bride]. No. I am different.

No. 143 (10:26 a.m.)

Nakure: Please, wait first and come back. There are no matters that you are talking while we are talking [We said it already]. Is it not the livestock which I have missed here? If there could have been livestock, your livestock [Ngicampa’s share] could have been either four or three. What can I do to the flat land of outside [What can I do when the groom has only a few livestock]?

Please, please you this group [men on the groom’s side], I don’t know the matters of the land of these children of mine. I want even here [the groom’s family] to be [remain] with [some livestock], so that [while I am travelling] I can come and sleep [at the groom’s homestead] when it becomes dark. All of my father’s shields [men on the bride’s side] have been left [without their share]. It was supposed that, if there could have been goats, they [the groom] give two goats to so and so, three goats to so and so, one goat to so and so. What can I do to these matters? All the people are here sitting, surrounding the enclosure [without getting anything]. The person who roasts the ribs [of the *ekumae*],⁽⁷²⁾ the person, they will put the ribs... The roaster requires a cow. The roaster requires a cow. If you will boil regularly [If you cannot afford a cow], roast [give out] five goats. If you will boil regularly, roast five goats for the roaster of the ribs. The thing called the ribs, [the roaster of the ribs], they [he] want a cow.

Different person [who is not closely

Ngicampa: Emam teni ngakiro na tokona atamari eojuni, atama, “Ayong arai ito keng a apese, ayong arai ito keng ka ngae.” Egela ayong. Mam. Egela ayong.

No. 143

Nakure: Aayoro, towo mono iyong tobongu. Emam nabo ngakiro iruoro iyong eruorosi sua. Meere ngibaren kangopikis ayong kane a? Kerai ta toya ngibaren, pe kerai ngibaren lu kon nguomuon a, ngiuni a? Ekokini ayong atoot nikalapatan ai?

Aayoro, aayoro iyong ajore na, nyayeni robo ngakiro a akwap a ngide a lu kang dae ka lu. Acamit ayong ni dae ne engorony, ani kawarikini abu atoper. Abe edong ca aupal ka apa kang daang edong. Abe ecamit bo tani eya ngaanei, kirumakinae ati ngaanei ngaarei, ati ngaanei ngauni, ati akine apei, ati ngaanei ngauni, ati akine apei. Ekokini ayong ngakiro nguna ai? Nyena bo, erekina anak iboi na, daang, itwaan daang. Ngisepion, ngisepion, tosipok esipokinio esiep... Esakete ngisepion aite. Esakete ngisepion aite. Ani boca kikulaka, tosipok ngaanei ngakan. Kikulaka, tosipok ngisepion, ngaanei ngakan. Ibore be ngisepion, aite esakete ngisepion.

Eyaunitai itwaan nigela, itingakinitae

related to us] is brought, different person is forced, who is usually like that, he is being forced. Eh!? What can we do to those matters? Give this shield [Give some livestock to my kinsmen], these people, these people, give them goats please, give them goats. Cattle are also missing. And [to] another one, you give him a cow. That is the matters I can tell you. Raise [Speak], you, my children. Let us just drive [take away] those cows, one for each [of us which I said] now.

We will accept [the small number of livestock]. There is nothing bad. Even if we are accepting like that, we are just seeing the livestock [Some livestock will remain with the groom]. Will it be bad if we come here and sleep with food? [We should not take all the livestock of the bridegroom] It is also bad for our daughter [the bride] to be running there [to her natal homestead] frequently [because of hunger], it is bad. Those matters are like that. Wait for the matters that you can be told, and find what to do to these other people who have remained sitting [without receiving their share]. We are also not hard [We don't press you too much]. If there had been goats, they could have been given goats, [if so] I could put off the fire [I could silence them]!

No. 144 (10:28 a.m.)

Man on the groom's side: Fathers, that is the matter [You are right], which you are talking, and then, we people who are the Turkana, these black ones, these people of ours, these ones of ours sitting this side, some are children, some are not married, and they don't know the matters of the thing called marriage. Make them aware [of the proper way], people who came first [who have experiences], who are ahead, long ago who started the matters of the land.

itwaan nigela ni sek erai ngini, itingakinitae, atosipokisi, sip, torumor. Aa!? Ikokinio tokona ngakiro nguna ai? Kiruma robo aupal na, gitunga lu, ngitunga lu, kiruma robo ngaanei, kiruma robo ngaanei. Angopa ngaatuk dae. Ani bo ice tarama robo aite. Ngakiro na kalimokini ayong esi nguna. Kikeutu ngide lu ka lu. Kimiekinae ca sua, atometa ngaatuk na tokona pepei ngun, na tokona pepei.

Kicamuni. Emam niaronon. Ani kicamunit kongina, abe kite bo ngibaren. Kite. Erono bo kiponi ni dae ne atopero ka akimuj a? Erono bo nakoo kosi dae epeuuni jiik ama, erono. Ikote ngakiro nguna neni. Kidarutu boca ngakiro na kilimonokinio taanyut na a ngitunga a luce a luko edongo iboyete ka lu. Nikitioko robo sua dae. Ani ta eya ngaanei, tolemanakinae ngaanei, tolemanakinae ngaanei, etudungio!

No. 144

Man on the groom's side: Ta-apa, ngakiro robo nguna, na iyenete esi, ani erumor, ngonni ngitunga lu turkana lu kirionok luku, ngitunga nabo lu kosi lu, lu kosi iboyete ka laalo luku, ngide ngice, eringa teni ngice nyiutanara, nyeyenete tani ngakiro a ibore be akiuta. Tokienyikisi esi ngitunga lu kengaronok, lu ingarenete, lu kolong iberakinosi ngakiro a ngalup.

Etoot-1 tried to persuade the groom's side to give livestock to the remaining people on the bride's side.

No. 145 (10:29 a.m.)

Etoot-1: You!

Men on the groom's side: Yes.

Etoot-1: Be good. Be good and become cool [When you become good, you will be cool]. Although you are refusing to stay without anything [refusing to give out livestock], you are good... It is you who is lucky [because you got the wife]. And when your thing diversifies [When your wife brings several benefits], you become strong. Beat [Give away] a cow of the person called Ajjiyot. (To Ajjiyot's son) Stand up there. That is his son. Where is he?

Ajjiyot's son: (standing up within the group of men on the bride's side) I am here, my name is Agata-alopoco, I am your size [the same age with you], he is [I am] everywhere [famous] just like you.

Etoot-1: That is his son, named Agata-alopoco. [Then] Beat [Give away] that of Eleoro. He is here! Where has he gone? Eleoro, Eleoro, stand up. Stand up, let them see you. What is wrong with you?

Eleoro: (standing up within the group of men on the bride's side) I am here!

Man on the bride's side: (while sitting) Eleoro knows all the places, [he is] the size [age] of the one of this homestead.

Etoot-1: Cut [Bring] first these kraals [shares]. Be active, be active like this, go round the flat land.

No. 145

Etoot-1: Iyong a!

Men on the groom's side: Ee.

Etoot-1: Tojoker. Tojoker toyon. Tojoker, tojoker. Ingerit akiboikin kongina, be iyong bo ekajokon... Ngibunei ibore ni ekusio en. Ani ta ibore ni kon ta iceri, togogongier jik. Taram aite a itwaan be Ajjiyot. Tonyou ka neni. Lokoo keng ngol. Nyali?

Ajjiyot's son: Nyolo, ekiro be Agata-alopoco, ekon kias, eyei nalup daang kwa iyong.

Etoot-1: Lokoo keng ngol, itwaan be Agata-alopoco. Taram na a Eleoro. Eyei ne! Etor ai? Eleoro, Eleoro, tonyounete robo. Tonyounete robo dae, kingolikin. Ikote ai?

Eleoro: Ayong lo!

Man on the bride's side: Eleoro, eyenete akwap daang, ekias a lo a awi yo ka na.

Etoot-1: Topok mono nganokin nguna. Tocodokok, tocodokok kona, kirimok aro.

No. 146 (10:31 a.m.)

Engolan: Fathers, we will just beat [give away livestock]. Nobody will refuse, if it is available, we will beat. These matters are just ours [both you and us], and again they are in our eyes [we can see that there are no livestock remaining]. What else, some other matters, which are bad, it [bad matters] is not here, it is not here.

Man on the bride's side: (while sitting) Not even this side. There is nothing bad even this side [on the bride's side]. There is nothing bad even to be talked now, Lokorikamar [Engolan].

Engolan: The [herding] stick of cattle has got broken [There is no livestock remaining with me]. The water which I told you yesterday, is that of the rock [hollow], look [My livestock have finished]. It has gone [finished] as I knew yesterday, that of the rock [hollow], [the water] which I was holding, [it was] not the water of the sand [which does not dry up soon]. The [herding] stick of cattle has got broken [There is no livestock remaining]. Even those people [who have not got the share], count them so that I know, count them so that I know, show me, because, because...

The men on the bride's side continued to talk among themselves about the bridewealth payments that they had received.

No. 147 (10:41 a.m.)

Adiaka: It is the livestock enclosure which made a mistake [The groom's family had only a few livestock for bridewealth].

Lokawo: The goats that were spread to the bush [Some goats of the groom's family are hidden somewhere else].

Etoot-1: (To groom's side) Hey! Hey!

No. 146

Engolan: Ta-apa, eramio robo. Emam itwaan ewounia na eyakar, eramio. Ngakiro nu, be ngayok bo, ani erumor eya nakonyen. Inyo nabo, ngakiro ngace, nakaronok, emam na eyakare ne, eyakare kane.

Man on the bride's side: Emam ka laalo dae. Emam ka laalo dae naaronok. Emam tokona dae na iruoroe Lokorikamar naaronok.

Engolan: Abila ebela a ngaatuk. Ngakipi na been abala ayong esi ngaka a amoru, nyonu. Etemor boca ni been robo ayeni atamar ngakipi a amoru ngesi atingit ayong, meere ngakipi a asinyen. Abila ebela a ngaatuk. Ngitunga dae ngulu, kimaru atoyen, kimaru atoyen, kidodikinae kotere, kotere...

No. 147

Adiaka: Nyanok esecec, nyanok ca esecec.

Lokawo: Ngaanei na kolong kesurokinio nariyet.

Etoot-1: Yoe! Yoe! Eringa iboyete

When all [of us] are still sitting [without receiving anything]... daang ia...

Man on the bride's side: Etoot, leave it like that [Don't demand anymore]. Don't say that way. Hey! Leave and drive... Man on the bride's side: Kimiek Etoot kongina. Nyiitama neni. Yoe! Kimie tarama...

Etoot-1: The eight people [who did not get their share], what can be done for them? Etoot-1: Ngitunga lukan kauni, ikokinio ai?

The men on the bride's side finally accepted the situation that only a few livestock remained with the groom's family. The negotiations came to an end spontaneously at around 10:50 a.m.

(The end of the bridewealth negotiations)

All the livestock transferred as bridewealth were taken to Etoot-1's homestead on September 7, 1998. People from the groom's side visited the homestead the next day, and the wedding ox (*ekumae*) was speared. They spent 3 days there, conducting subsequent wedding rituals (see Part 3: DVD documantary).

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NOTES

- (1) *Lokiruoret* (*aki-ruore* means “to talk”) is a nulliparous ewe that the groom’s side offers to the men of the bride’s side, which is consumed at the place of the bridewealth negotiations.
- (2) Name of an alternation-set in the Turkana age-system which has two alternation-sets: Ngirisae (Leopards) and Ngimor (Mountains). A man automatically belongs to the set different from that of his father.
- (3) A lower part of the ribs, which should be cut off following specific traditional rules. People of this area are called Ngimampolia, meaning “those without *ngapolia*” because they do not follow these rules.
- (4) “To become cool, to be cool” designates “to be peaceful,” “to calm down,” “to be good,” or “to be harmless.”
- (5) *Lokimul* (pl. *talokimul* or *ngikumula* [*ngakimul* means “saliva”]) is a castrated sheep that the groom’s side offers to the bride’s “mothers” to eat at the homestead of the bride’s father. The “mothers” include co-wives of the bride’s mother, and the number of sheep varies according to the composition of the bride’s family members.
- (6) Name of a neighboring ethnic group.
- (7) The leader and others intoned the last words together at the end of the session.
- (8) Name of thorny plant species (*Tribulus* spp.)
- (9) Name of a tree species (*Salvadora persica*) that is very common in this area.
- (10) Name of a tree species (*Acacia elatior*) that is very common in this area.
- (11) Both of them lived in this area and died in the 1970s or 1980s.
- (12) A ritual that is performed at the end of a series of *rites de passage* after the wedding rituals.
- (13) A kind of marriage ritual.
- (14) A kind of poisonous plant species (*Chlorophytum tuberosum*).
- (15) A kind of livestock disease.
- (16) The leader and others intoned the last words together at the end of the session.
- (17) All the men mentioned here were present at the invocation.
- (18) Name of a man who was present.
- (19) He called out to the men who were mixing sugar and water with the blood taken from the slaughtered sheep to drink.
- (20) The leader is talking about the coming bridewealth negotiations in which these three men will play important roles. See Fig. 1.
- (21) A kind of tree species. The invocation leader had a stick made of this tree.
- (22) The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) established a refugee camp at Kakuma in 1992, accommodating about 80,000 refugees at the time of these bridewealth negotiations.
- (23) The leader and others intoned the last words together at the end of the session.
- (24) He was metaphorically referring to the bullets of guns that people use when raiding livestock from other ethnic groups.
- (25) In this marriage, the bride had been taken away to the groom’s homestead some time before and was pregnant at the time of these negotiations.
- (26) “Blood” means fight, dispute, strife, trouble, discord, etc. in the Turkana language.
- (27) The men of the groom’s side traveled about 10 km to the homestead of the bride, where the first half of these bridewealth negotiations took place.
- (28) Saying “I have understood” is an idiomatic expression. It does not mean that the speaker has really understood.

- (29) For *talokimul* and *lokiruoret*, see notes 1 and 5. Both are usually slaughtered after both sides have agreed in the bridewealth negotiations to a certain extent. However, in this case, the groom's family brought these animals before they started the negotiations; the men of the bride's side persistently criticized them for bringing the animals at too early a stage.
- (30) *Etal* (pl. *ngitalio*) generally means a traditional rule or a custom.
- (31) Usually, sheep of *talokimul* are given to the bride's family after people agree the number of camels in the bridewealth negotiations or after these camels are actually transferred as part of bridewealth payments.
- (32) See note 30. Here, the speaker was referring to the ritual sheep (*lokiruoret* and *talokimul*) that the groom's side had brought to the bride's family.
- (33) An idiomatic expression of anger.
- (34) When a man tries to persuade the woman's parents to consent to his marrying her, he visits their homestead taking many gifts to them including an ox or a castrated camel for a feast. This type of gift is called *ealakany* or *ekamus*.
- (35) Sheep means *lokiruoret* and *talokimul* here.
- (36) A kind of plant with an edible root (*Vatovaea pseudolablab*).
- (37) At this point, it was not clear why Lokawo mentioned "20 camels" as well as "five donkeys and five oxen."
- (38) Muzug is the name of a place where Adiaka used to stay. Etoot-1 was saying that he told Engolan to go to Adiaka's homestead to inform him about this marriage.
- (39) Lokore is the name of another place where Ngicampa used to stay. Etoot-1 told Engolan to visit Ngicampa to inform him about this marriage.
- (40) Etoot-1 was suggesting that he had been trying to arrange the marriage properly before they started these public bridewealth negotiations.
- (41) Natoo belongs to the same clan as the bride's family. His son was a friend of the groom and sat on the groom's side in this meeting. Natoo's daughter was married to Engolan who was the groom's elder brother.
- (42) Words of abuse and anger.
- (43) Lokawo tried to make sure that the groom's side would bring four he-goats for the bride's "mothers."
- (44) A tent sheet is equivalent to a large he-goat.
- (45) Some time ago, Engolan (elder brother of the groom) passed Etoot-1's homestead with some camels and asked Etoot-1 to keep them for a while. Here, Etoot-1 said that there were ten camels, and that Engolan should give them out as a bridewealth.
- (46) Ngikamatak is one of the local groups of the Turkana who are famous for "not being straightforward in conversations." Ngakamatak refers to their language.
- (47) Gifts of seduction given to a woman's parents. See note 34.
- (48) Abusive words, referring to his favorite ox.
- (49) A refugee camp was established in this area in 1992 accommodating about 80,000 refugees from Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, and other areas.
- (50) He referred to the business that the groom was engaged in. He was a small-scale trader.
- (51) Idiomatic phrases referring to goats.
- (52) In the Turkana's age-system, all men belong to alternation-sets, named Ngirisae (Leopards) and Ngimor (Mountains). The son automatically belongs to the set different from that of his father.
- (53) Ngikamatak is one of the local groups of the Turkana, who are famous for "not being straightforward in conversations."
- (54) Kokoi was a famous diviner active in early twentieth century.

- (55) Name of a wild tree (*Grewia fallax*) with edible nuts that the Turkana eat.
- (56) The groom's side brought two sheep of *talokimul*. Nakure was insisting that they should have brought one more sheep for his mother, Nabooto, a total of three sheep, because Lomeyana had three wives.
- (57) The speaker is mentioning ways of getting livestock, i.e., by receiving *ekicul* and/or doing business. *Ekicul* is a livestock payment made by the biological father of a child to the father of the child's mother, in cases when an unmarried woman gets pregnant and gives birth.
- (58) Etoot-1 was demanding the payment of four goats that had been discussed the previous day, as gifts for the "mothers" of the bride who would use them to make leather skirts. He was also referring to the payment of *lokimul* for Nakure's mother. See note 56.
- (59) Lokawo is a son of Eelim's daughter. However, Lokawo is socially regarded as Eelim's son because his mother gave birth to him while she was unmarried. Because Eelim is already dead, Lokawo takes the bridewealth transferred by her name.
- (60) Lokawo tried to confirm that the cow was given out as a substitute for goats. However, the groom's side seized this opportunity and tried to skip all the remaining payment of goats and move directly into the payment of cattle.
- (61) One more goat is *lokimul* for Nakure's mother, Nabooto.
- (62) The groom carried on a business of trading guns, buying them in southern Sudan where they were inexpensive and selling them in Kenya for a profit. He referred to this as "business of tobacco."
- (63) Lorukia is an affine of Lokawo. When his daughter got married, the groom's side did not pay much bridewealth.
- (64) Longorikit was already dead, and Acakan, her eldest son, was to be given Longorikit's share.
- (65) To state "marry" means urging the audience to make bridewealth payments. Emus also belonged to the groom's side and was talking to them ironically because he knew that only a few animals remained with the groom's side.
- (66) He mentioned the fact that the bride had been taken to the groom's homestead a while ago and had stayed there up to the day of bridewealth negotiations.
- (67) He did not talk straightforwardly, but what he meant by this speech became clear before long.
- (68) "To return the bridewealth" means "to divorce." To get a divorce, the bride's side is supposed to give back to the groom's family all the animals that they received as bride-wealth.
- (69) He finally mentioned what he was angry about. When the men of the groom's family visited the bride's homestead some time ago, maize was cooked for them, and the future bride took this maize to the guests. However, she was in a bad humor and poured the maize onto the ground. In this speech, he was criticizing that act. He said that they had eaten the maize while spitting out sand, but actually he had not been present and nobody had actually eaten the maize.
- (70) He signified that the alliance between in-laws (between men of the bride's side and groom's side) was very important.
- (71) *Ekumae* is an ox that is offered by the groom's family and speared in the livestock enclosure of the bride's father at the wedding rituals. The Turkana say that by spearing this ox the marriage is formally finalized.
- (72) *Ekumae* is an ox that is speared at the wedding rituals. See note 71. The ribs of this ox are roasted by the most senior man of the bride's family, who belongs to the alternation-set different from that of the bride's father. This man is entitled to receive a share of bridewealth.

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