



The Past and Present of Hunter-Gatherers in Kenya

by Daniel Stiles

Kenya is famous for its variety of environments and its magnificent herds of wild animals. There are the coastal mosaic forests and mangrove swamps, the *nyika* thorn bushlands, the northern lowland deserts with their forested mountains, the highland plains and forests, and the Alpine mountains. Each of these ecosystem types harbours its own mix of plants and animals; and each, except the Alpine, was inhabited by hunter-gatherers in the past. The history of hunter-gatherers in Kenya is yet to be determined, but

enough is known to present an outline of whom they were, what they did, with whom they interacted, how they changed, and what has become of them. There are still remnants of hunter-gatherer groups in the country.

Background

Until about 5,000 years ago, all East Africa was peopled by hunter-gatherers. They intimately knew the behaviour and habitats of the animals that provided meat, skins, horns,



These Okiek girls from the Mau Escarpment resemble Maasai in dress due to their close interaction with them

Courtesy of Roderic Blackburn

hooves and bones. They also knew where and when to find the plants that supplied them with tubers, grains, berries and nuts; with cordage, netting and bark cloth; with incenses, dyes, cosmetics, medicines and ritual substances. The bands of people moved around the land to harvest their resources and others, such as stone for tools. The travel was not haphazard, but based on a sophisticated knowledge of where to find what was needed and available at the time. Some movements were for socio-economic reasons, such as to join large gatherings at which ceremonies, dancing, mate-seeking and trade took place. For each type of ecosystem, the people adapted to the assortment of plants and animals found in the territory in which they lived.

From what has been seen and recorded, it would appear that hunter-gatherers in East Africa were not socially stratified. There were no chiefs nor headmen, nor even wealthy people. Food and possessions were shared and distributed according to need. Strict social rules enforced compliance. The male elders, with advice from their wives, made decisions by consensus on community matters such as the next move. Certain individuals, both male and female, could gain prestige and influence within the band by having unusual skill in such things as oratory, wisdom, hunting, or curing. Their reward was not material possessions, but favoured access for their families to food and other resources from the redistribution system.

Things began to change in northern Kenya between 4,500 and 4,000 years ago. From the Rift Valley of Ethiopia and the Nile Valley to the west, people herding cattle, sheep and goats began trickling into the areas east and west of Lake Turkana. Archaeological remains show that before this time there were people around Lake Turkana who used 'Wavy Line' pottery, fished with bone harpoons and hunted on the lake's littoral using stone tools. Grindstones show that wild grains were gathered for food. This life style, with similar pottery types, was seen in the southern Nile Valley and all across the Sahara between about 6,000 and 10,000 years ago.

The new pastoralists also depended on hunting and fishing at first, but as time went on they migrated south and became more dependent on livestock. They reached the Central Rift Valley and Highlands, that is the areas around Lakes Nakuru-Naivasha and Mount Kenya-the Nyandaruas, about 3,000 years ago or a little earlier. Their pottery decorations were similar to those found further north and dated a thousand years earlier, so it is thought they were descendants of that northern people.

The pastoralists lived in the plains, and the hunter-gatherers lived on the mountain slopes, usually along the lower edge of the thick forest. The hunter-gatherers established exchange relationships with the pastoralists, and to facilitate trade and peaceful relations they commonly adopted the language and cultural traits of their more powerful neighbours.

We cannot define the hunter-gatherers and first pastoralists of that period in terms of the ethnic groups we see today. Too much mingling with other peoples and cultural change have taken place over the centuries. But, based on historical linguistic work, we can guess what language they spoke, and that can give us a 'macro-historical' reconstruction. The hunter-gatherers of Kenya probably spoke languages related to Sandawe and Hadza, heard today only in Tanzania. Some Hadza are still hunter-gatherers, and the Sandawe were in the recent past. The classification of these languages is debatable, but because they contain clicks most linguists think they are distantly related to Khoisan, the language of the Khoi and San ('Bushmen') in southern Africa. The pastoralists descending the Rift Valley probably spoke Southern Cushitic. Those coming in from Sudan and Uganda presumably spoke Southern Nilotic that later gave rise to Kalenjin.

Subsequent immigrations into Kenya by herders and farmers took place: Eastern Cushites from the north about 3,200 years ago, Eastern Nilotes from the northwest roughly 1,500 years ago, Bantu from the west and south beginning a little less than 2,000 years ago. As these groups spread out and began to divide into 'tribes', new relationships began to form with their hunter-gatherer neighbours and between themselves. There were many migrations and contacts between various groups. There were wars and intermarriages. Internal disputes might cause a faction of one tribe to seek independence. Drought, disease, raiding, and social sanctions could cause individuals or families to leave their group and join another. All these resulted in tribal intermixture. The hunter-gatherers were also affected. They sometimes absorbed destitute or outcast pastoralists or farmers into their ranks. At other times some of them might join an agricultural group.

Since these phenomena have been happening in Kenya for the last 3,000 to 4,000 years, there is no such thing as a 'pure' tribe. Except for the most recent immigrants, it is safe to say that all tribes in Kenya contain a mixture of Bantu, Kalenjin, Eastern Nilotic and Eastern Cushitic elements, with a small amount of Southern Cushitic and Hadzan thrown in. Linguistics and comparative ethnography bear this out, as historical evidence of language and cultural borrowings from one group to another is unmistakable. The process is still going on today, and it is a normal one that happens everywhere in the world.

It is difficult today to define what a 'hunter-gatherer' is. The term can be viewed from the perspective of what the group is doing *now* to make a living, or from the perspective of what a group *over time* does as a subsistence economy. At times, hunter-gatherer people are known to have taken up stock-rearing and cultivation to various degrees. Under harsh circumstances, agriculturalists and pastoralists have turned to dependence on non-domesticated foods. Both return to their usual pursuits when conditions go back to 'normal'. I think the ultimate classification rests with the people themselves. If the group in question and their neighbours agree they are not 'of the wild', they are not hunter-gatherers. If there is a distinction between themselves and their neighbours, based on a dichotomy of wild and domesticated, then

they are hunter-gatherers. If there is disagreement, one has to look at history, and the current situation, in the light of past and present realities and attitudes.

Hunter-gatherers of Kenya

It is possible to present here only a summary of the remnants of hunter-gatherer groups, a 'micro-history' of each group would amount to a thick book. Each group and its history is briefly described and related to the macro-historical linguistic and archaeological reconstructions. The hunting groups are classified according to their ecosystem adaptations of recent times.

The nomenclature applied to foraging groups is problematic. They are usually known by what their more powerful neighbours call them. The terms used are generic ones and refer not to specific cultural groups, but to the hunting-gathering adaptation. The most common generic terms are:

Sanye/Sanya (Wa-) - Swahili, from *kusanya*, 'to collect', as in plants and animals.

Ariangulo/Langulo - Mijikenda (Giriama, Digo, Duruma, and six others)

Wata - Oromo (Boran, Orma, Gabbra)

Dorobo (Iltorobo, Wandorobo) - Maasai and Samburu; also used commonly by everyone for hunter-gatherers or destitute pastoralists in the interior of Kenya.

Bon (Waboni) - Somali

The above terms could refer to any cultural group. Wata is retained below because they use the term to refer to themselves.

Coastal and Hinterland Forests

Dahalo - The name originated with a neighbouring foraging group of Aweer. It refers to worthless people because, according to the Aweer, they lived without houses and did not know how to trade properly. Dahalo call themselves *guho garimaani*, 'people of the outside', or simply *guho*, and they speak the only Southern Cushitic language remaining in Kenya. They live in a small area circumscribed by the towns of Kipini-Witu-Mkunumbi in Lamu District, and sharecrop on Swahili farms (see Map). These people are called Wasanye in Swahili, Wata by the Orma, Wata-Juan by the Wata, and Dahalo or Juan by the Aweer. Some Aweer also talk of two Dahalo groups, Dako and Denk, the former a Pokomo term for Dahalo, along with Mudhalo (Mdahalo from Aweer).

The Dahalo have one type of click in a few words of their language, evidence of previous contacts with a Hadzan (Khoisan?) people long ago. Linguistic evidence suggests these contacts took place in central Kenya and along the Tana River some 2,000 years ago. About 1,000 years ago the contacts between Dahalo ancestors and people in central Kenya ceased, and the Dahalo were restricted to the lower part of the Tana and the coast. The Bantu and Aweer were also there, and possibly some other Southern Cushitic-speaking foragers as well. The Dahalo are the last remnants in Kenya of the Pastoral Neolithic peoples who entered Kenya over 4,000 years ago. They turned from hunting-gathering to agriculture when hunting was banned in 1977, and as their



This man is headman of the Aweer (Boni) village of Basuba. Until recently, he was a proficient hunter

Courtesy of Daniel Stiles

traditional territory was taken over first by Swahili and Pokomo farmers, and then by resettlement schemes. They number less than 1,000 people today.

Aweer - Commonly called Boni, these Eastern Cushitic-speaking people live north of the Tana River in Lamu District and extend into Somalia as far as the Juba River, where they call themselves Kilii. There are about 2,000 Aweer in Kenya and maybe another 1,000-2,000 in Somalia. They are called Wasanye or Waboni in Swahili and by the Wata, Wata by the Orma, Bon by the Somali, and Oгода by the Dahalo. They were divided into 10-11 groups in Kenya and four dialect groups, which probably were territorial bands in the past. At least one of them, the Kijee, is of Oromo origin. Since the 1960s they have lived in Pandanguo and villages along the road to Kiunga. They practise slash-and-burn cultivation and seasonal labour in Kenya, and pastoralism in Somalia.

The linguistic ancestors of the Aweer migrated as camel pastoralists from northern Kenya/southern Ethiopia towards

the coastal forests about 2,000 years ago. While the main body developed into the Somali and Rendille peoples, the Aweer split off and entered the Juba-Tana mosaic forests some 1,500 years ago. The linguistic evidence seems to show that they did not absorb previous Hadzan or Southern Cushitic hunter-gatherer groups, but, over time, did have relations with various Bantu, Dahalo and Eastern Cushitic peoples. I think a section of the migrating Somaloid pastoralists took up hunting-gathering in response to developing trade opportunities along the coast as Bantu farmers and maritime Arabs, Persians and Indians arrived. At first, around 500 AD, the Bantu and proto-Aweer exchanged mainly grain for wildlife products. Later, wild products such as ivory, rhino horn, cat skins, bushmeat, tortoiseshell, beeswax, wild rubber, gum copal, medicinal plants, etc. were desired by the overseas traders. The Swahili people and civilisation evolved from this trade after 700 AD, spreading down to Mozambique and northern Madagascar, and the Aweer became full-time specialist forest-product suppliers for them.

The Aweer were probably relatively independent up to the late 16th century, interacting with the Bantu-speaking Bajun and Swahili in an area called Shungwaya, but the expanding Oromo (Boran/Wardai, later called Orma) pastoralists then took over the Juba-Tana hinterland. The Aweer adapted to the new situation by adopting superficial Oromo cultural traits and establishing institutionalized exchange relations. In the 19th century the Aweer were again in contact with their Somali cousins, as these people pushed the Oromo south and west. The Aweer established trade relations with the Somali, but no institutionalized relationship appears to have developed in Kenya.

Wata - There are several Oromo-speaking (Eastern Cushitic) subgroups of Wata living along the western side of the Tana River and on the coastal-hinterland down to northern Tanzania. They are called Ariangulo by the Giriama and Langulo by the Duruma and Digo, Wata by the Orma and themselves, Juan by the Aweer, and Oriothotanyi by the Dahalo. They are the famous elephant hunters recounted in Dennis Holman's *The Elephant People*, who, with the Aweer, were the main suppliers to the coast of ivory for export. The hunting ('poaching') bands of the Taru-Tsavo area were broken up in the 1950s-60s by the colonial government, and today the Wata scratch out a living on small farms or work for Mijikenda farmers. They are being assimilated by the Bantu Mijikenda ('Nine Tribes') through inter-marriage, and have lost much of their interdependence with the Orma.

The origins of the coastal Wata are unknown, but their ancestors are probably made up of a root group of Southern Cushitic-speaking hunter-gatherers, referred to in oral traditions as Laa near the coast and Asi in the interior up to the Taita Hills, with additions from Wata who followed the Orma on their migrations south from the Tana. The Laa/Asi made a language shift to Oromo as they established trade and

cultural relations with the more powerful pastoralists, and mixed with or became absorbed by the immigrant Wata between the 17th and late 19th centuries. They also took in various Orma and Bantu people who were destitute, outcasts or runaway slaves.

Degere - Even less is known about these people than the others, as they have only recently been 'discovered' still to exist. They speak an unstudied dialect of Oromo and live in the hinterland of the Kenya-Tanzania border area. They number 1,000-2,000 people, practise agriculture, and now are merging with the Mijikenda, speaking mainly Digo and Duruma. The Mijikenda call them Degere, Langulo or Vuna, the latter because they used to show up at harvest (*vuna*) time to trade wildlife products for grain. They call themselves Degere. It is possible that a 'pure' group of Degere live around Mutsuziwani in northern Tanzania.

The Taita and Sagala Bantu peoples speak of a Ndigiri people who lived in the hills of those names before they arrived, and research has shown that Southern Cushites influenced the Taita and Sagala languages. It seems plausible to suggest, then, that the Ndigiri were an Asi-related group who migrated towards the coast after being displaced by the Bantu around 200-500 AD. They were probably distant relatives of the Laa and Dahalo, all of whom had ancestors in the Central Highlands between 3,000 and 2,000 years ago, one group migrating towards the Taita Hills, the others down the Tana River to the coast. The Taita group (Asi/Ndigiri) converted to Wata after the 17th century as did the Laa, but they have kept a version of their Bantu ethnonym.

Lowland Nyika

The *Acacia-Commiphora* thorn bush area inland from the coast was traditionally the home of the Wata and Degere described above, and before them various Southern Cushitic groups who no longer exist in Kenya, except the Dahalo.

Northern Deserts and Mountains

Wata - The Boran and Gabbra pastoralists, Oromo-speakers, have low caste foraging peoples living in symbiosis with them in southern Ethiopia and Marsabit District. They are called Dorobo by the Rendille, Fuga by the Gura, and Manjo in Kafa, the last two in Ethiopia.

They number only a few hundred in Kenya. Wata groups shift from *ola* (nomadic settlement) as it suits them, and they look after others' livestock and perform social and ritual duties, such as buttering and braiding women's hair, circumcision, animal sacrifices and digging graves. When living with a Gabbra group, they adopt a Gabbra phratry and clan affiliation, and if they move to the Boran they switch to Boran affiliations. They cannot, however, intermarry with pastoralists as they are considered ritually impure, thus they can never assimilate to these people. Proscriptions relating to livestock ownership are relaxing, though, and Wata are beginning to acquire livestock of their own. They are feared for having the 'evil eye' (*buda*) and are famous for their knowledge of medicinal plants. Their houses are always to the west of the others in an *ola*.

Very little is known of their origins and history, but they seem to be more of an Oromo caste than a separate cultural group. They are distantly related to the Wata of the coast in that some Wata were undoubtedly with the Oromo migrations from southern Ethiopia towards the coast in the 16th and 17th centuries, but there is no direct link today, according to informants I have interviewed in both areas. I believe a link existed not long ago in the past, represented by the Garre and Ajuran pastoralists, both Somali/Oromo mixtures, to whom they could formerly have been attached. Linguistic evidence also suggests a connection between the northern and coastal Wata, as they share unique language features.

Elmolo - They are popularly referred to as the smallest tribe in Kenya, numbering about 200 people and living in a small area to the north of Loiyangalani on the eastern shore of Lake Turkana. Today most Elmolo speak Samburu, but their original language was an Eastern Cushitic one most closely related to that of the Dassenech and Arbore people who dwell around the northern end of Lake Turkana in Ethiopia. Historically, they have lived from fishing and the hunting of hippopotamus and crocodiles. They represent a modern variant of the Late Stone Age 'Wavy Line' pottery people of 6,000 to 10,000 years ago. They keep a few goats, but an increasingly important business for them these days is selling trinkets and charging tourists for photographs. Eastern Cushitic linguistic ancestors of the Elmolo, called 'Baz', are thought to have been around Lake Turkana from as early as 2,500 years ago. They subsequently split into Dassenech, Arbore and Elmolo. The Elmolo used to live along the southeastern shores of the lake, with the Dassenech along the northeastern shore. Incursions of Gabbra, Samburu and Turkana have forced the Elmolo into a tiny area, and the Dassenech into Ethiopia, though they still come into the Ileret-Koobi Fora area to fish, and further in to raid the Gabbra. In the late 19th century the Elmolo absorbed many destitute Samburu following the cattle epizootics that hit eastern and southern Africa. That explains their superficial Samburu cultural traits and language. When Teleki, the first European to see Lake Turkana, visited the area in 1886 the Elmolo were living on offshore islands. They have little contact with the Samburu today.

Ngiwakinyang - Living along the west and southwest sides of Lake Turkana, this small group of Turkana-speaking fishing people also hunt hippo and crocodile. They derive from a people that lived in the area before the arrival of the Turkana in the 18th century, and their ancestors might be related to the Eastern Cushitic Elmolo and Dassenech, who have the same lake adaptation. The Ngiwakinyang used to have a taboo against eating goat meat, but today they keep goats and eat the meat. Very little is known of these people.

Ik - Called Teuso by their Eastern Nilotic neighbours (Teso-Turkana group), the Ik were made famous by Colin Turnbull's *The Mountain People*. They were called Wandorobo by early colonial administrators, who remarked that they were smaller than their Nilotic neighbours and that their skin was redder, observations substantiated by Turnbull. They live mainly in northern



This Dorobo man from the Matthews Range in northern Kenya is carrying a special skin bag and axe for collecting honey

Courtesy of Daniel Stiles

Uganda, but sometimes enter western Kenya to trade or herd the goats of the Turkana. They are hunter-gatherers and practise a little sorghum agriculture and bee-keeping, an adaptation similar to the Okiek. Their language is Eastern Sudanic that is related to Nilotic, and classed in a tiny group with only one other language, Nyangiya. They are remnants of a pre-Nilotic migration, which began in that area 3,000 years ago.

Ngibotok (Nkebotok)- This Turkana clan are hunter-gatherers in the upper Turkwel river basin. They also practise some agro-pastoralism, but probably find foraging in the thick bush in the Turkwel Gorge area more rewarding. With the dam and reservoir now in existence, their life will change considerably. No study of them has ever been made, though their existence has been known since colonial times.

Dorobo - These originally Kalenjin (Southern Nilotic) speaking Okiek foragers live, or lived until recently, around the mountain areas of the Matthews Range and Maralal in northern Kenya. They are called Dorobo by the Samburu,

Rendille and themselves, and today speak Samburu. They used to live in the mountains, hunting and collecting honey, but now they are quickly assimilating to the Samburu and are often reticent to talk of their origins. Many have become pastoralists, but there are still specialist potters and collectors of honey and plants.

Southern Nilotic speakers first came to these highlands around 2,500 years ago, probably pushing south earlier 'Yaaku' Eastern Cushitic speakers. The Eastern Nilotic Maasai ancestors replaced the proto-Kalenjin 1,000 years ago, but at least four Okiek groups remained in the mountains. Over time, the Okiek forged exchange relationships with the Samburu and were acculturated to them, becoming Dorobo.

Central and Western Highlands

Yaaku - Also known as the Mukogodo, because they live in the Mukogodo Forest near Don Dol on the Laikipia Plateau, the Yaaku are called Dorobo by the Maasai and local European farmers. They speak an Eastern Cushitic language called Sieku. They resemble the Maasai today because of intermarriage with them, and they herd cattle, but still practise bee-keeping as in former hunting-gathering days. Only older people still know Sieku, with others speaking Maasai as their first language. By the next generation, the Yaaku will be a people of the past.

Their linguistic ancestors moved to the Central Highlands about 2,000 years ago. Since 'Yaaku' is supposedly a Southern Nilotic term for hunter, they probably had some sort of contact with the Okiek ancestors in the Matthews-Maralal area before migrating to the Laikipia Plateau. There is linguistic evidence that the Yaaku were in contact with both Hadzan and Southern Cushitic speakers in the Central Highlands 2,000 years ago. In the past, some Yaaku were pastoralists as well as foragers. Stone cairn graves on the Laikipia Plateau could have been built by their ancestors.

Digiri - Nowadays, these people speak Maasai and live near the Mukogodo Forest. They call themselves Digiri, probably derived from what the Kikuyu called them, as some Digiri groups used to live south towards Nyeri and in the Nyandarua (Aberdares). The Maasai call them Dorobo. They are herders and employees on Laikipia Plateau ranches today, though in the past they were Kalenjin-speaking Okiek who were interrelating with Bantu in the Mount Kenya-Nyandarua forests and Maasai in the plains. Some Digiri went with the Laikipiak Maasai in the early 20th century when they were moved south by the government, and remnants of them can be found today on the eastern side of the Mau Escarpment and in the Loita Hills.

How they relate to the Degere of the coast and the Taita Ndigiri of oral traditions is not known. That the Kikuyu also have the term Athi for a group of hunter-gatherers suggests the Southern Cushitic Asi, particularly since a 's' for 'th' sound shift is common with Kikuyu. A hypothesis is that

Southern Cushitic Asi/Athi hunter-gatherers lived south and east of Mount Kenya-Nyandarua 2,000 years ago, having been pushed out of areas to the north by incoming Southern Nilotes and Eastern Cushites. They called themselves Asi and Bantu called them Digiri/Degere. Southern Nilotic Okiek lived to the southwest, west and north of Mount Kenya, and started acculturating to the Maasai-Samburu about 1,000 years ago in areas where they lived together. Thus the Mukogodo Digiri would be mainly a mixture of Southern Cushitic Asi and Southern Nilotic (Kalenjin) Okiek, with some Maasai and Bantu.

Leuaso - This group also lives near the Mukogodo Forest, and speaks Maasai today. They are also known as the Dorobo Mputano and Lograla, and claim to be descended from the Iloogolala Maasai, a section that was destroyed by the Purko Maasai in the early 19th century. It is more likely they derive from an Okiek group attached to the Iloogolala, as today they are the most committed bee-keepers in the area, with many hives. Originally located on the Leroghi Plateau, south of Maralal, they migrated to the Laikipia in the late 19th century. Little is known about them.

Ngwesi - Known as Mwethi to the Meru, this group speaks Maasai today but was once closely linked to the Meru people on Mount Kenya. They inhabited the northern slopes of the mountain and the Ngare Ndare and Lewa areas to the north, but now live around Mukogodo Forest. One Okiek/Dorobo section in the Matthews Range also is called Ngwesi, and there is probably a connection. Originally foragers, they gradually took up pastoralism after linking themselves with the Laikipiak Maasai, and bee-keeping has lost its importance.

Okiek - The main concentration of Okiek is in the Mau, with some 15 named groups, although in recent times another five groups lived to the north in the Elgeyo Escarpment area. There are over 30,000 Okiek today and, though they are taking up farming, honey is still central to their culture. Most are bilingual in Maasai and Kalenjin and, depending on which neighbouring tribe they interact with the most, they take on their cultural traits. Some also associate with the Kikuyu in the Molo area. The Maasai and most outsiders call them Dorobo.

Linguistically, the Okiek are remnants of the Southern Nilotic immigration into the Kenyan highlands some 2,500 years ago. Until the arrival of Maasai speakers, including the now extinct Sirikwa, Okiek were Kalenjin speakers living in interaction with Kalenjin groups such as the Nandi and Kipsigis. It has been proposed that their way of life, and presumably some genetic input, reaches back to the Eburran Later Stone Age culture dating from about 9,000 to 3,000 years ago. The Eburran people might have spoken a click language similar to Hadzan. Over the millennia there has been intermixture with incoming Southern Cushitic, Southern Nilotic and Eastern Nilotic peoples.

Conclusions

All the above groups have been, and still are, highly active in terms of the cultural change involved in shifting from imitating one neighbouring community to another. Their ethnic membership is variable, while their land boundaries are very fluid, which is why it has always been difficult to pin down definitions and descriptions of whom they are. In micro-historical terms, one can usually say that any one group under examination only came into its present composition in the last 100-200 years.

Five hundred years ago we would have observed quite different specific groups in terms of cultural appearance and practices, but the languages they spoke and the hunting-gathering adaptations would have been familiar. Some could easily have been classified as Southern Cushitic Asi or Dahalo, Eastern Cushitic Yaaku, Wata or Aweer, the Southern Nilotic Okiek, Eastern Nilotic Dorobo, or Bantu Digiri—at a specific time. For example, when a Digiri group (which might originally have been an Asi group), moved to live in proximity to Maasai, it became a Dorobo group. Because hunting is illegal in Kenya today, these peoples are quickly turning to cultivation and livestock rearing for a living, and they are being irrevocably absorbed into larger cultural entities. By the end of the 21st century it is likely that they will be witnessed only as clans or sections of the agricultural tribes—unless hunting and gathering makes a comeback.

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