

**ORALTURE AROUND RITUALS CONCERNING TWINS IN
JOPADHOLA CULTURE**

BY

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A DISSERTATION

**SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND ARTS
OF UGANDA CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD
OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN LITERATURE**

AUGUST 2012

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to identify and critically analyze the orature products associated with the rituals concerning twins among the Jopadhola.

The study was guided by the following objectives: to establish the successive stages in the life of twins among the Jopadhola and the rituals which accompany them; establish the nature or categories and functions of the orature produced around these rituals; and establish the content and the literary features of these orature products.

This research used mostly qualitative approach, thus descriptive or verbal rather than numeric or statistical approach. It involved mostly verbal interviews with twenty seven respondents. The researcher listened to them as they sang the songs in response to the designed interview schedule.

The findings reveal that orature around rituals concerning twins among the Jopadholas are rich in literary features like imagery, kenning, personification, metaphors, symbols, satire, hyperbole, repetition, similes and structure with numerous functions, categories and features that pertain to them. Songs proved to be more utilized than all other literary products and the least used are the sayings and folktales.

The researcher recommends that the Jopadhola writers begin to write literature on the performance of rituals concerning twins with the orature products reflected. More research is needed on the songs that different clans sing whenever twin rituals are performed. The information obtained should then be stored in form of written texts or electronically. This would help in preserving the original rituals concerning twins and the literariness therein.

DECLARATION

I here by declare that to the best of my knowledge, this piece of work is my original work and that the resources that have been used have been acknowledged and referenced accordingly. This piece of work has never been presented to any university or institution for any degree or any other award.


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APPROVAL

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my husband Joseph Jakisa Owor and my daughters Hope, Neema and Anneliese who have been an encouragement to me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“Thus far has the Lord brought us” (1 Samuel 7: 12). May all the Glory, Honour, Praises and Exaltation be to Our God who has done great things!

I sincerely appreciate the support of Professor Timothy Wangusa for his tireless supervision, advice and encouragement in the process of writing this dissertation.

I wish to thank the following people: Susan Khaita for editing the work, Kevin Kezabu, Florence Athieno, Ethel Joy Namboozo for their generous support and love.

I deeply thank my husband for his moral and financial support and especially for editing the vernacular part of my dissertation. In addition, I thank my children for typing my work.

I wish to thank my mother Mrs Loy Toma Obbo and my Dad Mr. Solomon Toma Obbo for linking me to the people I interviewed.

May the Almighty God bless you all and reward you abundantly.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Among the Jopadhola, twins are believed to be a blessing to the family if they are properly handled with all the appropriate rituals carried out, but if not, they can turn out to be a curse to that particular family and the clan as a whole. This is the reason why the rituals around the twins must be taken seriously by both the family concerned and the society. Various rituals are carried out at different stages of development of twins: at birth, naming, puberty, marriage, and death.

In Padhola, when a Traditional Birth Attendant (TBA) finds out that the woman pregnant is expecting twins, she does not tell her because it is not right for the TBA to do so. This is because the revelation would make the expectant mother afraid as people fear the rituals concerning twins, and yet, if the rituals are not performed, bad luck would befall the family.

At birth, the medicine man is given a white hen to sacrifice before cutting the twins' cord and administering medicine to both the twins and their parents. After that, he or she bathes the twins in local herbs, which are mixed in water, as a sign of appeasing them. The medicine is administered to cleanse the family from bad omen. The parents of the twins and a nephew are kept in the house, away from the community for four days if the twins are girls and three days if they are boys. The traditional drum, called *buli*, is sounded and accompanied with cultural songs to alert the community about the birth of twins. Special ululations (*Kigalagasa*) are also chanted to announce their arrival.

In addition, a sheep must be brought to the home where the twins are born. This sheep acts as part of the medicine and artifacts that differentiate the home where twins are born from other local homes where there are no twins. This sheep is received with ululations (*Kigalagasa*) and a special song as it enters the home where the twins are born, to cleanse away any bad luck that comes as a result of their birth.

When the rituals are over, the father of the twins looks for a special knife called *athero*, and sends the nephew with it to the home of the mother of the twins. On reaching there, he pierces the knife on a store of food called *dero*, and he shouts, "Your daughter has given birth to twins, I have gone", and then he runs away. He is not supposed to talk to anyone he meets on the way because that person will get bad luck which will affect him or her for the rest of his or her life.

Furthermore, the placentas of the twins are buried at the entrance of the house of the parents and marked with a small stone. This ritual is done in the evening, after sunset. When a twin child dies, he/she is buried next to the spot where the placenta was buried.

The father of the twins has to look for a special pot with two openings called *Agulu rut*. This kind of pot is also one of the artifacts that must be in a home where twins are born. This pot has many functions. If the family is going to plant millet, millet beer is put in this pot, and the twins sprinkle it in the garden before planting. When they want to brew millet beer, they must honour the twins first by performing this ritual of putting beer in this pot. In this way the beer will not get spoilt.

This takes us to the next stage which is the naming rituals. The twins and the parents are brought out of the house and made to sit directly at the door, then the medicine-man or woman sucks millet beer from the *Agulu rut* and spits on them. After, he or she puts a bangle on the hands of the twins while making some chants. The names of the twins are usually pre-determined, depending on the sex and order of birth; for example, if the first child to come out is a male, he is named *Opio* but if the child is a female, she is named *Apio*. The name given to the second child also depends on the sex of the child, for instance, *Odongo* is given to the male child and *Adongo* is given to the female. The parents also acquire special names. The father of the twins becomes *Ba-wengi* and the mother becomes *Min-wengi*. These names set them apart from ordinary parents.

These names are so special that they are only reserved for the twins. The rituals done during the naming of both the twins and their parents distinguish them from ordinary people. There are a lot of songs and oral literature around this ritual because the naming of the twins is supposed to be a happy moment.

Later, the nephew brings some special herbs called *Luwombele* and ties it around the twins and their parents. He also ties the herbs on the hands of both the twins and the parents while saying, "*Wengi ruki mewini ee wakelo riwini.*" Meaning; "Twins, we have brought your clothes, receive them with joy." During this ritual, many people gather around the twins while rejoicing; they sing and dance around the compound, and make ululations (*Kigalagasa*).

When a woman gives birth to twins, she is not supposed to sleep in her bed. When her bleeding stops, she is not supposed to have sex with her husband until the medicine man teaches them how to do it. The medicine man mixes the medicine with millet

flour and applies it on the couple to cleanse them from having any complication when having sex and also to avoid the death of the twins. It is also believed by the Jopadhola that when a woman gives birth to twins, she must be taught how to do things afresh by the medicine man or woman, like talking, cooking, digging, fetching water, walking and many others.

The next ritual concerning twins in Jopadhola culture is performed during puberty. When twins reach puberty, they are allowed to share a small hut with their peers. This hut is called *Odi nyir* if it is for the girls and *Odi chwo* if it is for the boys. Normally, at this stage, the peers, particularly the girls, are regularly sent to visit their grandmother who trains them into womanhood. For example, they learn how to cook, talk, behave and dress up. They are also told stories like legends, myths, and folk tales, as well as proverbs and sayings.

When the girls gather to sleep every night, they discuss what their grandmother told them in turns and retell the stories. Furthermore, they talk of how to please a man with the way they dress and cook, and what to do when they are making love like screaming, what to say, and the style to use.

The twins, like all other peers, continuously visit their grandmother for training because education is a process that should be repeated. After this, the girl twin will go back to share the small hut named *odi Nyir* and to share more from what she has learnt from the grandmother. This is because the girls are not supposed to receive sex education from their biological parents or guardians; this was taboo for the Jopadhola.

The next ritual around the twins is marriage. To the Jopadhola, marriage was arranged and consented to by both parents of the bride and the groom because they believed

that marriage was for procreation. The intending spouses were not supposed to be next of kin as it was taboo. The twin girl had to be a virgin and should qualify in the entire test given to her. The groom's parents often sent delegations with some valuable gifts in form of livestock, beads, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, bangles and many others. All these gifts were to thank the parents or the relatives of the girl twin for having brought up their daughter in a responsible way, thus, an ideal housewife.

On the wedding day, the bride was escorted by her sisters, brothers, aunts, grandparents, a band of musicians and security operatives. The bride with her relatives was welcomed excitedly, with singing and dancing. The bride sat on the verandah of her mother-in-law's house for the rituals of blessing and anointing with cow butter (*moo dhiang*). This made her a married and wedded woman of that home and the clan. She was then given a goat before she took a meal which was served in a wooden tray (*wer*) and earthen bowl (*tawo*). This bowl was kept away from her until another girl got married in that home. The bowl (*tawo*) became the covenant of her lifetime in that home.

In case the above method of marriage failed, the boys of the same age group would identify a particular girl, waylay and forcefully carry her to the home of the boy who desired her for marriage. The boy would proceed to make love to her and that would be the beginning of their marriage. She automatically became his wife and further arrangements would be made to settle the matter with the girl's parents.

Furthermore, when the twins are getting married among the Jopadhola, the marriage is treated in a special way because more rituals must be performed in addition to the above. This is to differentiate their marriage from the ordinary ones. The rituals must

be performed so that the twins go to marry when they are happy. The medicine man or woman puts some medicine on the twins and blesses the one going to enter in marriage, with the agreement of the other twin, who also has to bless the sister or brother getting married. If the other twin refuses, the marriage cannot take place.

If twins die, a number of rituals are performed by the medicine man or woman. The twins are not supposed to be mourned because this will invoke the spirits of the dead twins and the ancestral spirits to anger and it might result into the death of another member of the family at any moment. The twins are not buried like local people. Their bodies are, for example, tied with mutton from the lower stomach of sheep. The skin of the sheep is placed on the chest of the dead twin and a piece tied around the hands. The same is done to any of the parents of the twins when they die.

Twins are buried late in the evening when the sun has gone down. The allocated time for the burial of twins or the parents is in the evening. The corpse of the twin is buried next to where the cord was buried.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Among the Jopadhola, there are orature products and rituals concerning twins that are associated with birth, naming, puberty, marriage, death, and planting and harvesting seasons. The oral component of all these rituals made at different stages in the life of twins are very rich in literary content and expression; but no systematic study had yet been conducted into these orature products with a view to determining their literary major.

1.3 Scope

This study specifically focused on the utterances and performances generated at birth, naming, marriage and death in Kisoko and Petta Sub-Counties in Tororo district. The study made use of informants at Kisoko and Petta. These included the parents of the twins, twins, traditional doctors, clan heads, elders, Local Council leaders, and the community at large.

1.4 Purpose

The purpose of the study is to identify and critically analyze the orature products associated with the rituals concerning twins among the Jopadhola.

1.5 Objectives

The study was guided by the following objectives:

1. To establish the successive stages in the life of twins among the Jopadhola and the rituals which accompany them.
2. To establish the nature, categories, functions of the orature produced around these rituals.
3. To establish the content and the literary features of these orature Products.

1.6 Research Questions

The following research questions were used during the study:

1. What orature products are uttered during successive rituals in the life of twins among the Jopadhola?
2. What are the categories and functions of these orature products?
3. What are the literary features of these orature products?

1.7 Justification

Kisoko and Petta are part of the regions in Uganda with rich oral products. Rituals concerning the life of twins in Jopadhola culture have not been addressed yet; moreover, they are important aspects of its culture. This research, therefore, brings to light orature around rituals concerning twins in Jopadhola culture.

1.8 Significance

The study is significant because it brings to light what has for a long time been ignored. It also makes a contribution to the orature concerning rituals around twins and the literature of Jopadhola culture. The research is also significant as it highlights how important twins and their parents are in a community compared to ordinary children and parents.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The researcher applied three literary theories: the anthropological, the ethical, and the aesthetical.

1. Anthropological theory (ethnographic) since the research explored progressive rituals performed in the life of twins within an intact traditional ethnic group of the Jopadhola.
2. Ethical theory in as much as the research dealt, with community values expressed in the selected oral performances and other utterances.
3. Aesthetic theory was because the research focused on formal elements that constitute literariness in the given oral performances and other utterances.

In this study, the following key words have the meaning that is given below:

- Oral** - Refers to what is uttered by word of mouth.
- Literature** - Refers to what is written.
- Ritual** - A religious or solemn ceremony consisting of a series of actions performed according to a prescribed order.
- Twin** - Is one of two children born at the same birth.
- Culture** - Is a powerful human tool for survival, but it is a fragile phenomenon. It is constantly changing and easily lost because it exists only in our minds.
- Song** - Is a piece of music for accompanied or unaccompanied voice or voices or "the act or art of singing".
- Utterance** - Is the ceremonial instruction, address, or even brief dialogue that is spoken in a stylized mode.
- Folktale** - Traditional stories, sayings and beliefs from a particular region or community
- Rhythm** - A clearly marked steady beat to which you can clap, drum or dance.
- Riddle** - A question that seems impossible or but has a clever or funny answer.
- Proverb** - A proverb is a pithy well-known expression that gives advice or encapsulates something that is generally true. It has a recognizable two-part structure; such that when a proverb is quoted in conversation, a speaker can pause after the first part, and the knowledgeable listeners will supply the second part.
- Saying** - Is a short, pithy expression that generally contains advice or wisdom.

Idiom - Are words, phrases, or expressions that cannot be taken literally. In other words, when used in everyday language, they have a meaning other than the basic one you would find in the dictionary.

Allusion - Is a figure of speech that makes indirect reference to people, places, events, literary work, myths, or works of art.

Humour - The quality that makes something laughable or amusing; funniness

Satire - The use of humour to criticize someone or something and make them seem silly.

Symbol - Is a sign, shape or object which represents a person, idea, value, etc.

Imagery - The use of words and phrases in literature to create a mental picture of something.

Metaphor - Is a word or phrase that means one thing and is used for referring to anything in order to emphasize their similar qualities, e.g., if someone uses a metaphor of a family to describe the role of the state.

Simile - Is a comparison between entities that are basically different. It is expressed directly through words of comparison, such as, 'like' and 'as'.

Personification - This refers to an expression in which the characteristics of a human being are given to an animal, a thing or an idea.

Foreshadowing - Is the presentation in a work of literature of hints and clues that tip the reader off as to what is to come later in the work.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter undertakes a review of the relevant scholarly studies on or around orature products on rituals within African communities, with particular focus on the Jopadhola orature.

These studies, comprehensively and representatively selected, were assessed with a view to establishing the gap that needs to be addressed or filled in by the current research.

The major part of this review chapter is organised in three sections: General Studies on Orature; Studies on African Orature; and Studies on Ugandan Orature. The final section includes a conclusion.

2.2 General, African and Uganda Studies on Orature

2.2.1 General Studies on Orature

The importance of Orature points to the fact that it lies at the heart of the African culture. A lot of orature generated is around the rituals and, as a result, the community is enabled to embrace its cultural values. According to the online Wikipedia Encyclopaedia (June, 10th, 2011):

Oral literature is a broad term which may include ritual texts, curative chants, epic poems, musical genres, folk tales, creation tales, songs, myths, spells, legends, proverbs, riddles, tongue-twisters, word games, recitations, life histories or historical narratives. Most simply, *oral literature* refers to any form of verbal art which is transmitted orally or delivered by word of mouth. *Orature* is a more recent and less widely used term which emphasises the oral character and nature of literary works.

In *African Oral Literature for Schools*, Jane Nandwa and Austin Bukenya define oral literature as "those utterances, whether spoken, recited or sung, whose composition and performance exhibit to an appreciable degree the artistic character of accurate observation, vivid imagination and ingenious expression" (1983: 1).

The two definitions above give very important characteristics of 'orature' like spoken or recited utterances, and curative chant, which are very evident in orature around twins in general and also among the Jopadhola.

In his *African Oral Literature* (329), Okpewho advises any student wishing to do fieldwork in oral literature to go to their home town or to a community whose language they can understand and can speak, whose custom is not that much different from those of their own place, and where they will not have much trouble communicating with their informants. This helps people to appreciate the importance of orature. Okpewho's suggestion here is very important to the researcher because it is the very reason why this research of orature around rituals concerning twins is taken exclusively among the Jopadhola, where the researcher is able to communicate and understand the informants.

2.2.2 Studies on African Orature

According to Wikipedia, (June 10th, 2011):

Oral literature corresponds in the sphere of the spoken (oral) word to literature, as literature operates in the domain of the written word. It, thus, forms a generally more fundamental component of culture, but operates in many ways as one might expect literature to do. The Ugandan scholar Pio Zirimu introduced the term *orature* in an attempt to avoid an oxymoron, but oral literature remains more common, both in academic and popular writing.

All Africans sing in ceremonies, whether it is death, war, marriage, or other cultural activities. Songs are a very important aspect of the way Africans live. These songs are composed according to occasions and demand. Composing songs is easily done and accompanied by simple instruments. Art, attractiveness and creativity shape part of the African songs.

Daeleman (1977: 189), in "An Exploration of Multiple-Birth Naming Traditions in Sub-Saharan Africa" observes as follows:

African twins (or multiple-birth children, in general), according to their ethnic group and gender, are traditionally given specific names. Often, the siblings who preceded and the ones who followed the twins are also given specific names. Traditional reactions to multiple baby births vary from culture to culture. However, a commonality is the subjecting of those born in multiples to ritual cleansing. Some of this cleansing can involve wild partying. Generally, such births are regarded either as bad omens, or as mysterious extraordinary happenstances, or as symbols of goodwill from God or ancestors. The births, therefore, require proper ritual cleansing for their benefits to be realized or for their possible negative impacts to be counteracted or nullified. Improper handling of multiple-birth siblings would cause the spirits to vent their anger upon the family or the community. Multiples are indeed treated with extra care, if not suspicion.

The above is similar to what happens in Lesotho among the Ngwi as Mohome (1972:178) states in the following extract:

In the Ngwi language, the twins are called *Nker*, "grave", which makes their relationship with the ancestor world very explicit: they are indeed considered to be mediators between the world of the living and the world of the dead. They are also designated as "numinous children" and compared with the bird...sent by God to guide all other birds (birds being believed to be of supernatural origin) Twins are given names that refer not only to mysterious natural phenomena, such as, "thunder" and "lightning", but also to mysterious awe-inspiring animals, such as, the "snake" or felines, such as, the lion, the leopard, the African tiger-cat, the "kingly" and "lordly" animals. The Koongo interpret them to be "sacred children" pre-existent spirits...being incarnated in the family of

their choice. Welcoming-rites aim at making them realize that they are acknowledged as spirits.

Normally, the arrival of twins is greatly celebrated in different African cultures. Twins are treated as special people. The rituals around twins are very important to their lives right from birth till they die. In a way, twins are taken to be gods. The birth of twins is always a cause of joy and anxiety, a great deal of excitement as well as concern, more so if they happen to be identical twins. They are regarded as a special gift from the ancestors.

2.2.3 Studies on Ugandan Orature

In Uganda, orature is a significant medium of social functions and the majority of the societies have a recent history on paper, for example P'Bitek (1973), Nandwa and Bukenya (1983), Finnegan (1970), Okpewho (1992) to mention but a few. According to Finnegan (1970:2), Orature depends on a performer who formulates it in words on a specific occasion and there is no other way in which it can be realised as literary product. Moreover, this is a major aspect that cannot go on unnoticed since orature is a very important force in the life of Ugandans and Africans. The rituals around twins give rise to one of the most distinguished orature products in most parts in Uganda, particularly among the Jopadhola, but no written article or work can be referred to.

Furthermore, the birth of twins has a distinct meaning in Ugandan ethnic groups, including Jopadhola, as the twins are considered to bring along a message from the ancestors to their living descendants. Their birth is accompanied by specific rituals and a carefully patterned name-giving to people and cultures of Uganda.

When writing about the Jopadhola, Nzita and Mbagwa-Niwampa (1993) say the following:

The woman would give birth in her own hut. The traditional midwives or her mother-in-law would attend to the delivery...The woman would remain confined in the house for four days, if the child is female and three days if the child is male.

This is one of the rare documents concerning the rituals among the Jopadhola that have been written down. However, this gives the general overview of a birth of a child in Padhola but it does not mention the attendant oral utterances on performances. Nzita and Mbag-Niwampa (1993) further observe the following about marriage.

In marriage, traditionally, the parents of the boy would identify a girl for him and make arrangements for marriage. The formula governing such identification took into account the girl's conduct, that of her parents, the physical strength of the girl, her beauty and the ties of the kinship between the girl's and the boys' family.

Concerning death among the Jopadhola, Nzita and Mbag-Niwampa (1993) emphasize that:

Whenever a person died, the corpse would stay overnight in the house. A long drum would be played at night and the corpse was bathed and wrapped in bark cloth. A cow was normally slaughtered near the grave in order to go with the deceased and feed him with milk in the world of the dead.

Whereas the above gives the rituals of marriage and death among the Jopadhola, they do not tackle the issues of orature around rituals concerning the marriage and death of twins among the Jopadhola. When writing about the Acholi, Okumu (1994) states the following:

A family that produces twins is closed to the visitors and the husband separates with the wife for sometime. The cord of each child was cut as in the case of other children and the placenta carried to some place near the house and buried where the sweepings from the hut might be thrown upon the spot. In the early morning, in the evening, and at intervals during the day, two small drums, one for each child, were beaten.

Okumu has made a great contribution to the study of Oralture around rituals concerning twins in the Acholi as part of the Luo; but he does not go further to discuss the Oralture around rituals concerning twins among the Jopadhola.

“After three days,” Okumu continues to write:

the heads of the twins were shaved and their nails paired, and then for seven months the father collected fowls, goats and promises of food for the ceremony of bringing the twins out for inspection. The father's parents killed a goat while the mother's parents brought fowls, and large quantities of beer were brewed. The members of the two clans gathered and danced in two parties, escorted by songs and sayings, the father leading his relatives and the mother hers. They drank beer and blew it over the members of the other party as they danced, the idea, as in other tribes, being to divert from themselves any evil which might be attached to the twins and cast it on the other clan.

The ritual of marriage, according to Nzita and Mbag-Niwampa (1993), is one of the most important ceremonies by the Alur.

The actual ritual starts late in the evening when the believers would sing to alert the people in the vicinity. The woman would be made to sit in the centre of a circle and, after showing signs of being possessed, she would be led to a place of her own choice where a goat would be given to the believers to be slaughtered and eaten. The husband and the wife were then made to lie down on a papyrus mat facing each other. The man was asked to throw one of his hands and legs on the woman and the woman was asked to assume the posture and both them were asked to proceed to play sex.

This ritual of marriage is important because it shows the value of marriage, as well, among the Alur. Whereas the ritual is documented, the writers do not give oralture products around the marriage of twins among the Alur.

The Luo of Kenya also had special names for twins. The first-born twin was called Odongo if male and Adongo if female. If one of the twins died, he or she had to be

buried behind the mother's house. There was no mourning for a dead twin. The living twin was referred to as *Abanji*. A woman who gave birth to twins was forbidden from entering any house at her original (parental) home until her husband had given her parents a heifer and the door opening ceremony had been performed. (Wako, 1985: 37-38). However, there is no mention of the accompanying literary utterances.

Among the Busoga, giving birth to twins was treated in a special way (Roscoe, 1924: 25-26).

After the birth of twins, nobody removes the children from the spot where they were born before the medicine-man performs twin rituals.

Furthermore, among the Baganda of Uganda, the twin who is given birth first is commonly named Waswa (male) or Babirye (female whilst the younger one is named Kato (male) or Nakato (female). Nzita and Mbagu (1997:153) note the following:

Twins are extra special in some Ugandan tribes and cultures. When twins are born, special ululations and ceremonies announce their arrival. The drums are then sounded to confirm the news carried by the ululation.

The drum played is called *engalabi* among the Baganda, *engaabe* among the Basoga, and *emiidiri* for Iteso. Techniques of playing drums at twin ceremonies are clearly different from when it is played during ordinary dances and the techniques vary from tribe to tribe. The dances for these ceremonies range from familiar to some which are obscene and vulgar. Most parts of western Uganda do not honour the birth of twins.

J. S. La Fontaine reports that the death of one of the twins among the Bagisu should not be mourned (1959: 40-41). There must be no mourning lest the other sicken and dies too. The body is buried inside the hut and further applications of the twin medicines are necessary. In some areas, if the twins are of opposite sexes, the death of one is believed to herald misfortune for the parent of that sex and ritual precautions must be taken.

When the twins are crawling a ceremony, in essence the same as that for bringing out the parents is performed to bring them out of the house. Copper or iron anklets are put on their feet, on the right foot for the first-born and on the left for the other.

After this ceremony, the father and mother can resume normal marital relations. Until this time, they are supposed to have refrained from sexual intercourse. Some parts of Bugisu have further ceremonies for twins at intervals during their life but, in general, there are no more until the puberty ceremonies that all boys and girls undergo. At each key stage of the life-cycle, experienced by all other individuals, ceremonies are performed for twins. After adulthood, twins and their mothers must be careful to put the yeast that is used to make beer on their forehead and cheeks when attending rituals where there is dancing, lest the music bring on the sickness of *Burhwana* - fainting and headaches. But it is to be noted that, as in the preceding cases, both Evans-Pritchard and La Fontaine do not go as far as pointing out the literary utterances that accompany those rituals in general, or rituals concerning twins in particular.

2.3 Conclusion

Whereas considerable amounts of work on rituals have been documented among Ugandan Bantu and Luo, especially the Acholi, there is hardly any substantial study on the orature of the respective ethnic communities. This is specifically true of the Japodhola: no study that exists addresses the oral products generated around rituals concerning twins among this community. This is the scholarly gap that this research seeks to fill.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section covers the methodology, including the following areas: research design, area of study, sample, research instruments, quality control, procedure for data collection, and data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

This was a descriptive survey, based on qualitative approaches because of the anthropological nature of the study and the fact that oral literature is performed practically in a specific cultural context. The qualitative approach was used mainly because the overall data was verbal and visual. Data was collected through interviews and observation.

3.3 Area of Study

The study was done in Tororo District, about 205 kilometers east of Kampala, the capital city of Uganda. Most of the people here speak Dhopadhola. The particular areas of interest are two Sub-Counties of Petta and Kisoko. Kisoko is ten kilometers from Tororo Town on Nagongera Road while Petta is almost twenty kilometers from Tororo Town off Nagongera Road. These places were chosen because they are conveniently placed, thus, easy to reach. In addition, these people still value their rituals concerning twins.

3.4 Sample

A sample in this study comprised thirty respondents, as illustrated in table 1 below. Sampling was purposively carried out to get respondents who have practical experience on the issues of literary interest with regard to twin ceremonies. These included twelve elders, two medicine men and two medicine women, ten parents of twins, and four clan leaders from Kisoko and Petta Sub-Counties. These comprised both men and women. These participants also belong to various clans and, therefore, the information obtained was considered to be representative. Available Luo literature texts were selected with emphasis on those that reflect the tradition and spiritual values of orature concerning rituals among the Luo in general and the Jopadhola in particular.

Table I: Sample for the Study (n = 30)

Target Group	Number of participants
Medicine-men	2
Medicine-women	2
Clan Leaders	4
Parents of the Twins (Couples)	10
Area Elders	12
Total Number of Participants	30

3.5 Research Instruments

The data was collected using two research instruments: an interview schedule and an observation guide. These were used in order to get detailed first hand data from the respondents and, also, because of the anthropological nature of the study.

3.5.1 Interview Schedule

A semi structured interview guide was used to collect data from area elders, parents of the twins, clan leaders, and medicine women and men who had knowledge of orature around rituals concerning twins in Jopadhola culture. This instrument was used because of the need to collect first hand, rich and detailed data through direct interaction with the respondents.

3.5.2 Observation Guide

An observation schedule was used to observe particular features in the traditional rituals and the orature therein. Video cameras were also used, particularly during the observation time when the researcher had to record both the custom and procedure of the particular rituals. The researcher also had the tape recorder during different ceremonies to capture the beautiful language used and practises, especially in smearing the twins and the narrations in other form of orature.

3.6 Quality Control

The reliability and validity of the research instruments was ensured by use of simple and clear language. The researcher also ensured that the questions were formulated in a way that ensured consistence in responses of the respondents. In order to ensure validity, the research instruments were validated through a pilot test of five respondents, who were interviewed on each item in the instruments, to ensure that the questions were clear and not ambiguous.

3.7 Procedure for Data Collection

An introduction letter, stating the purpose of the research was written to the Local Council Chairperson by the university authorities. The purpose of the letter was to get permission to carry out the research. Data collection followed; beginning with the

interviews and ended with observation. Where necessary, responses were recorded using tape recorders and video camera recorders.

3.8 Data Analysis

The data obtained in this research was recorded, edited, and refined on a daily basis, when the context of interaction was fresh in the researcher's mind. The data was grouped according to the research questions. The qualitative approach was employed in the analysis of the data. This included critical analysis of orature products around rituals concerning twins.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA:

THE ORALTURE PRODUCTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE SUCCESSIVE RITUALS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the oralture data that was collected from respondents in connection with successive stages in the life of twins among the Jopadhola. These are: birth, naming shaving twins' hair, resumption of love-making, puberty, marriage, and death.

Presentation and analysis of data was guided by the three research questions already spelt out in Chapter One, namely:

1. What oralture products are uttered during successive rituals in the life of twins among the Jopadhola?
2. What are the categories and functions of these oralture products?
3. What are the literary features of these oralture products?

4.2 Background Information on Respondents

Tab 1: No. of respondents

Interviewees	Female	Male
Mother of twins	18	-
Medicine-woman/man	2	1
Clan leaders	0	3
Elders	0	3
Total	20	7

All the respondents were married, and all of them had almost the same knowledge of the oralture products concerning the birth, naming, marriage, death, and burial of

twins. However, nine (9) respondents had forgotten the songs sung during these rituals.

4.3 The Oralture Products

In the land of the Jopadhola, the lives of twins were not only of special socio-religious significance; they also gave rise to oral products of an unmistakably literary nature. These products include stylized utterances, pithy sayings, riddles, proverbs, songs, chants, and stories.

4.3.1 Birth

In connection with birth, from her sample of 27 respondents the researcher gathered only three songs; there were no forthcoming sayings, riddles, proverbs or folktales. The outcome is as tabulated below.

Tab 2: Oralture Products at Birth

Songs	Folktales	Riddles	Proverbs	Sayings	Utterances	Total
3	0	0	0	1	0	4

Alowo, one of the interviewees, said that as soon as the twins were born, a medicine-woman was sent for to sprinkle medicine on the twins and their parents. A nephew to the father of twins was also fetched to perform certain rituals. As the medicine-woman and the nephew arrived, there were ululations and songs, such as the following, were sung.

Song 1

Soloist *Eeh Awuyo, Awuyo pa ji aryo,*
 Awuyo Awuyo, Awuyo the owner of two

Chorus: *Eeh*
 Eeh

Soloist: *Eeeh Awuyo*
Eeeh Awuyo

Chorus: *Eeeh Sambara Awuyo*
Eeeh Awuyo the owner of the two

Function: The joyful reception of the beginning of the life of twins

And if the mother of the twins was from Nyapolo clan, famous for its unity and mutual support, they would sing:

Song 2

Olwong'ani indelo
I was called from the garden

Obino mu ling
He/she came quietly

Nyapolo ger
Nyapolo is tough

Wabino yawo rut
We've come to out-door the twins.

Function: The song identifies the twins as being born into the specific highly Self-regarding clan of *Nyapolo*.

Alowo further explained that the relatives of the mother of twins would perform the rituals while singing:

Song 3

Eeeh chak chiewo
Eeeh fresh milk

Nyoro aweyo thiang sira malo
Yesterday I left the udder heavy with milk

Ongoye ja nyiedho
There is no one to milk

Kononin akelo ri win wendo
Today I have brought for you visitors

Function: The song stresses the importance of having children in a marriage.

Saying 1

A woman in labour would be told the following saying as an encouragement to push the twins.

Saying: *Dhoko nywol ri fwonji*
A woman gives birth because of teaching.

Function: It is to encourage the woman to endure the pain of giving birth.

4.3.2 Naming

The table below shows the orature products at naming that the researcher found.

Tab 3: Orature Products at Naming

Songs	Folktales	Riddles	Proverbs	Sayings	Utterances	Total
3	0	0	0		3	6

Naming of twins and releasing them from house confinement was a big ceremony as it was a way of accepting the children into the clan. There were specific utterances and songs for the occasion. One such utterance was:

Utterance 1

Paka wiyero bino I pecho me, wikiri wikeli teko, kwonyowoki bedi win gi kisagala gi kisi dhano.

Since you have decided to come to our home, be at peace with everybody.

The medicine-woman also sprinkled medicine on the twins saying:

Utterance 2

Wengi, chiemi wini ma ber.

Twins, eat well.

The above utterance was made to please the twins so that they would suckle well without refusing to do so.

Next, she would sprinkle medicine on the sheep that was going to be slaughtered so that the twins' ash could be removed. She would say:

Utterance 3

Wengi me gimewin,
This sheep belongs to you.

Wakidho kwanyo woko buru me ka.
We are going to remove this ash from here.

Wikiri witimi wan marach
Let it be well with everyone in this home

Wikiri witimi marach joma kwanyo buru me.
Please do no harm to the people who are going to remove this ash.

In addition to special utterances, there were various songs sang during the naming of twins, such as the following, in which folks from the woman's side would sing an obscene song in a jovial mood.

Song 4

Eeeee
Eeeee

Eeeee
Eeee

Bedi ki nyaran man nitye gi ng'onye ma luthi,
If it was not our daughter with deep vagina,

Di wi kinwango wengi.
You would not have got twins.

Function: It is to show pride in their daughter in giving birth to twins.

The side of the man would answer with a similar obscene song, accompanied by loud ululations of approval and merriment, which goes as follows:

Song 5

Eeeee
Eeeee

Eeeee
Eeeee

Wiwacho ango

What are you saying?

Aka bedi ki wodi wan
If it was not for our son

Ma ni gi there ma bori
Who has a long penis

Di nyari win konwango rut.
Your daughter would not have given birth to twins.

Function: This song serves as a jocular counter attack by the man's side against the proposition in the foregoing song by the woman's party.

Another provocative song that the woman's relatives would sing during the naming ceremony goes as follows:

Song 6

Eeh amama kombe
Eeh oh kombe

Eeh amama kombe
Eeh oh kombe

Julwongo nyiri ni katalang
They called a girl an insect

Function: This song informs the people that however small a woman may be, she is very important in the production of children.

Aboth told the interviewer that twins and their followers are named in a special way among the Jopadhola. The first twin is called Apio if it is a girl and Opio if it is a boy. The last one to come out will be named Adongo if it is a girl and Odongo if it is a boy.

4.3.3 Shaving Twins' Hair

Twins' hair and that of their parents was shaved by a nephew with instructions from the medicine-woman or medicine-man. As he shaved, he would say:

Utterance 4

Wengi O'nyo walonyo win. Wikiri widhawi, bedi win gi kisagala.

We are making you smart. Please do not quarrel, but be at peace with everyone.

4.3.4 Resumption of Love-making

The parents of the twins were not supposed to make love before rituals were performed and certain utterances made. This was so because the Jopadhola believed that Ba *Wengi* (father of twins) would become impotent (*lur*). When *Min Wengi* (mother of twins) was ready to be made love to by her husband, the medicine-woman had to perform some rituals. *Min Wengi* and *Ba Wengi* would enter their bed naked and the medicine-woman sprinkled medicine on them saying:

Utterance 5

"Ah, pama nyo ariwo win wibedi idel achiel. Paka wichowo kelo Wengi gini, keli wi doko man."

Ah, now I join you to become one body. As you have brought the twins, bring many more.

4.3.5 Puberty

Tab 4: Oralture Products at Puberty

Songs	Folktales	Riddles	Proverbs	Sayings	Utterances	Total
8	2	6	3	0	0	19

The table above shows the oralture products at puberty. The researcher found out eight songs, six riddles, three proverbs, two folktales and no sayings or utterances.

Nyapendi said that puberty was a very important and delicate stage in the life of not only twins, but also ordinary children. Puberty had to be treated with a lot of care, teachings, folktales, riddles, and proverbs among others, to prepare the twins for the life ahead of them. The twins did not sleep in their parents' house but at their

grandmother's when at puberty. Their grandmother's house would be called "girls' nest" (*odi nyiri*). Here, they would learn a lot of things from their peers and grandmother. The girls in the same "girls' nest" would do most of the things together like fetching water, collecting firewood, and grinding, among others.

Song 7

During the interview with Nyaketcho, she said that the girls sang many songs as they worked to sustain concentration on what they were doing. The following song is one of the songs that the twins would sing while grinding, as sung by Nyaketcho:

- Soloist: *Mudole ma wan onyiew kune?*
From where was our elephant grass bought?
- Chorus: *Mudole onyiew Iganga.*
Our elephant grass was bought in Iganga.
- Soloist: *Mudole ma wan onyiew kune?*
From where was our elephant grass bought?
- Chorus: *Mudole onyiew Iganga.*
Our elephant grass was bought in Iganga.
- Soloist: *Kiidi pa adhadha rego ango?*
What does grandmother's grinding stone grind?
- Chorus: *Kiidi rego abwa.*
The grinding stone grinds millet.
- Soloist: *Kiidi pa adhadha rego ango?*
What does grandmother's grinding stone grind?
- Chorus: *Kiidi rego abwa.*
The grinding stone grinds millet.

Function: This song encourages the girls to develop the habit of working hard at their domestic chores.

4.3.6 Visiting the Bush

One Nyadoi, who is seventy three years old, revealed that among the Jopadhola, the girls would visit the bush with their grandmothers. Each of the girls would carry a

rope for “pulling a goat.” ‘Goat’ would be used for politeness. This rope would help them to pull their labia minora and make it long.

The girls’ grandmothers would also teach them a song that was associated with pulling the labia minora.

Song 8

This song was sung in connection with the pulling of the labia minora and one of the interviewees sang as follows:

- Soloist: *Ngori mit magira*
White peas is sweet when the husks are removed
- Chorus: *Eeeh nyagori*
Eeeh white peas
- Soloist: *To ki mako oleriwa*
And if you get roasted one
- Chorus: *Eeeh nyagori*
Eeeh white peas
- Soloist: *To kodhi kafuta mere*
And if you eat when it is grounded
- Chorus: *Eeeh nyagori*
Eeeh white peas
- Soloist: *Ojang ojang*
Let it to be very long
- Chorus: *Ojang de kiri piny*
Very long up to down
- Soloist: *Onur onur*
Let it to be very soft
- Chorus: *Onur de kiri pinyi*
Very soft up to down
- Function: It is encourage young girls to undertake this cultural practice because of its importance in sexual fulfillment.

Awino revealed that if it happened that a twin getting married had not pulled her labia minora and her husband discovered after he had married her, he would go with his

wife plus his brother to his wife's grandmother to inform her. There was a song used to inform the grandmother that her granddaughter had not pulled her labia minora and the grandmother would teach her. The following song, sung by Nyabwolo to the researcher, would be sung for this purpose.

Song 9

- Husband: *Awiny odhieran*
I'm defeated by this bird Awiny
- Grandma: *Nitye kune*
Where is it
- Husband: *Nitye ka won*
It is here with me
- Husband: *Awiny kimit furi*
Awiny does not want to dig
- Chorus: *Eeeh nyagor*
Eeeh white peas
- Husband: *Awiny ki chwoyi ng'ori*
Awiny does not plant white peas
- Chorus: *Eeeh nyag'ori*
Eeeh white peas
- Husband: *Awiny ki doyi ngori*
Awiny does not weed white peas
- Chorus: *Eeeh nyagor*
Eeeh white peas
- Grandma: *To ngori mit magira*
But white peas is delicious without husks
- Chorus: *Eeeeh nyagori*
Eeeh white peas
- Grandma: *To ki mako oleriwa*
And if you eat the roasted one
- Chorus: *Eeeh nyagori*
Eeeh white peas
- Grandma: *To kodhi kafuta mere*
And if you test the grounded one
- Chorus: *Eeeh nyagori*
Eeeh white peas

Grandma: *Ojang ojang*
Let it to be very long

Chorus: *Ojang de kiri piny*
Very long up to down

Grandma: *Onur onur*
Let it to be very soft

Chorus: *Onur de kiri pinyi*
Very soft up to down

Function: It is to shame those who feared pulling and to lay blame on the grandmother for ignoring her role.

4.3.7 Courtship

There were various songs sang during courtship. Agola, one of the women interviewed, revealed that it was at this stage that a twin girl was encouraged to befriend another girl from a neighbouring home or village, where her future husband would come from. Various songs, which include the following, were sung during the visits:

Song 10

Soloist: *Agwera jolan, agwera jolan agwera jolan atundi pecho*
My friend receive me, my friend receive me so that I can get home

Chorus: *Agwera jolan, agwera jolan agwera jolan atundi pecho*
My friend receive me, my friend receive so that I can get home

Soloist: *Eeh jolan, eeh jolan eeh jolan atundi pecho*
Eeh my friend welcome me eeh that I may reach home

Chorus: *Eeh jolan, eeh jolan eeh jolan atundi pecho*
Eeh my friend welcome me eeh that I may reach home

Soloist: *Agwera jolan agwera jolan agwera jolan abende anujolin*
My friend receive me so that I can do the same next time

Chorus: *Agwera jolan agwera jolan agwera jolan abende anujolin*
My friend receive me so that I can do the same next time

Function: This song stresses the importance of friendship, which dictates that a visiting friend should be received with all the joy.

Agola also told the researcher that the hostess's aunt would get a hen and welcome the visitor and her companions to the home. She ululated while swinging the hen round the visitor's head four times. When the visitor reached the home, she would not enter the house until she was given a gift. She would again sing:

Song 11

Visitor: *Agwera oweh*
My friend

Companions: *Mere paran mere mito ayala sawa orumo*
My friend, your friend needs to be welcomed, there is no time

Visitor: *Kwon ki kelan thuwin*
Food does not bring me to your home

Companions: *Mere paran mere mito ayala sawa orumo*
My friend, your friend needs to be welcomed, there's no time

Visitor: *Ringo ki kelan thuwin*
Meat does not bring me to your home

Companions: *Mere paran mere mito ayala sawa orumo*
My friend, your friend needs to be welcomed

Visitor: *Ngweno ki kelan thuwin*
Chicken does not bring me to your home

Companions: *Mere paran mere mito ayala sawa orumo*
My friend, your friend needs to be welcomed, there is no time

Visitor: *Abusa ama kelan thuwin*
It is the cord of friendship that brings me here

Companions: *Mere paran mere mito ayala sawa orumo*
My friend, your friend needs to be welcomed

Function: The song makes the point that friendship is more important than material things. The material things are usually exchanged by friends.

The hostess and her friends would also begin singing to welcome the visitors.

Song 12

Agwera ka woni ka
My friend this is home

Eeeeeeh ka woni ka pecho
Eeeeeeh this is indeed home

Function: The soloist shows how happy she is to have the friend at their home and to assure her that this is a real home.

Agola further revealed that the aunt of the hostess would get a hen or money and give to the visitor before she would enter the house. At this stage, other members of the home would come and greet the visitors with gifts or money, including the hosting girl.

When food was brought, the visitor and her friends would eat while the door was closed. As they ate, the hostess sang:

Song 13

Host: *Agwera*
My friend

Friends: Eeeh
Eeeh

Hostess: *Ichamo munyo ingeyo*
Eat while knowing

Friends: *Eh iyo weh*
Eh iyo weh

Hostess: *Ichamo rin nyaworo woro kole dikin atundo*
You are eating greedily but tomorrow I will come

Friends: *Eh iyo weh*
Eh iyo weh

Hostess: *Ichamotin ni katakata kole dikin atundo*
You're eating *katakata* but tomorrow I will come

Friends: *Eh iyo weh*
Eh iyo weh

Hostess: *Ichamo rin nyaworo woro chulo mere to dhierin*
You are eating greedily but you might fail to pay

Friends: *Eh iyo weh*

Function: The hostess tells the visitor to reciprocate the hospitality.

When time came for the visitors to say goodbye, they would sing the song below:

Song 14

Soloist: *Min mere wa dok*
Mother of my friend, we are going back

Chorus: *Iliesa iliesa wa doki riwan*
Goodbye, goodbye, we are going back

Soloist: *Agwera kole wa dok*
My friend, we are going back

Chorus: *Iliesa iliesa wa dok ri wan*
Goodbye, goodbye, we're going back

Function: This song expresses appreciation by the visitors what they have been given and also to bids the hostess goodbye.

Folktale 1

Jopadhola were essentially polygamous, and the limit was set by age and bride wealth. During puberty, girls were told stories, such as the one below, re-told by

Adikini:

Once upon a time there lived a man who had two wives. His elder wife died while giving birth to twins so he entrusted his second wife to take care of the children. The second wife did not give birth and she was jealous of the twins because their father loved them so much.

One day when her husband was not at home, she told the children that they should escort her to the forest to gather fruits. When they reached the forest, she told them to begin gathering fruits. She was going for a short call.

Apio and Odongo gathered fruits till the basket were full and they began calling their step-mother:

Utterance 6

Mama, Mama Wachowo fwono ochwoga, adita mawan opong.

Mummy, mummy, we have finished gathering the fruits and our basket is full.

She did not respond and never went back to collect the children where she had left them. The children saw that it was becoming dark and decided to go home unfortunately they got lost. Apio saw a very nice house afar surrounded by flowers. As they worked through the flowers, they felt a cool breeze and the flowers seem to bowing down to them. As they continued through the flowers, they found a nice hut with a lion that was as huge as a mountain. They feared to enter and climbed a tall mvule tree which was near the lion's compound. During the day, Apio and Odongo could stay up the mvule tree and during the night when the lion had gone to sleep, they climbed down to look for what to eat. Apio and Odongo made friends with a fly and a mosquito. They stopped looking for food and composed music. They used to wait for the lion to prepare her food and when she was going to serve, Odongo climbed down and Apio remained up the tree with the fly and mosquito. Apio drummed, the fly and mosquito ululated and the music went like this:

Rhythmic Sound 1

Drum:	Pambutuku mbutuku, mbutuku
Fly:	Lingi lilingili liongo loliongo liolingili
Mosquito:	Ayiiiiiiiii

The lion used to leave her food immediately she heard the music and went to dance without eating and Odongo could steal the food. They did this so many times till the lion died of hunger. They tried to carry the lion out of the house but he was as heavy as a sack of stones. Apio and Odongo called the fly and mosquito to help them and they inherited everything that the lion had. They became rich and were happy.

One day, there was famine in the land. Apio and Odongo's father and step-mother began looking for food. They reached the compound of Apio and Odongo and saw so much food that they requested to see the owners of the home. They were so desperate and very poor. Apio and Odongo helped their parents. Their step mother was so afraid and he told her husband what she had done to the twins and her husband beat her and chased her away. She went back to her parents' home and became a laughing stock. The man vowed never to marry any other woman. He concluded by saying:

Utterance 7

To a weyo ran jokoro. A dongi paka olwa pa nera

And I left them there. May I grow like the Mvule tree of my uncle.

Function of the Folktale: It taught girls to be good to their co-wives and step-children.

Twin boys would also be taught by their paternal grandfathers or paternal uncles.

Below is another story used to teach twins, as told by Akumu.

Folktale 2

Once upon a time, there lived a man who married five wives. One day he called all of them and said "Whoever produces for me a baby boy first will get a cow and those who

produce girls will get a goat each.” The first wife gave birth to a girl and she told her husband who got a goat and gave it to her. The second wife gave birth to twins, a girl Adongo and a boy Opio. Because she gave birth at night and alone, she went and threw the baby girl near an old woman’s banana plantation. The old woman heard a baby crying. She went and picked her and raised her till she was old enough to begin doing work.

One day Opio went to graze while Adongo went to fetch water. As Opio was driving his cows to drink water, Adongo was also coming from the well. Opio saw that Adongo was beautiful and he wanted her for a wife but Adongo refused and began singing:

Song 15

Opio Opio tende
Opio Opio tende

Mama onywolo wani jaryo tende
Mama gave birth to the two of us tende

Mama to bolani itiendi pendi tende
Mama threw me in a banana plantation tende

Mama mito rin’go thiang tende
Mama wanted cow’s meat tende

Mama odak rin’go dieli tende
Mama did not want a goat’s meat tende

Function: To condemn the discrimination of children on the basis of gender.

Opio asked Adongo why she was singing this song to him and she told him what the old woman who picked her from banana plantation told her. Opio was so angry and he went with his sister home. He told his father what happened. Opio and Adongo’s mother was chased from home and she lost her marriage. And he concluded by saying:

Utterance 8

To aweyo ran jo koro. Adongi ran p’ olwa pa nera.
And I left them there. Let me grow tall like my uncle’s Mvule tree.

Function of the Folktale: It taught boys to teach them not to show partiality and to accept their children regardless of sex.

Riddles

The following six riddles were supplied by two women (Akello and Athieno) and two men (Olowo and Obotha). These six are a sample of riddles that are used when preparing girls and boys for marriage and future life. The six riddles with their answers and their functions are systematically given below:

Riddle 1

Riddle: *Ango ma goyo yokin to ineno?*
What beats your mother as you watch?

Answer: *Koyi*
A gourd used for churning milk

Function: It teaches the girls hard work; the energetic churning of ghee out of milk by women being an instance of such hard work.

Riddle 2

Riddle: *Ango ma mwonyo yokin to ineno?*
What swallows your mother as you watch?

Answer: *Dero*
A granary

Function: This riddle has the same meaning and function as the above, and it was also to encourage a mother to teach her daughter the value of hard work when she reached puberty.

Riddle 3

Riddle: *Muchugwa ochiek mito afwona'*
An orange is ripe and needs to be harvested.

Answer: *Nyako othiki*
A girl who has attained the age of getting married

Function: This riddle was intended to encourage the girl child to get married. Marriage carried pride and dignity with it. She was more respected in her family and clan when she got married than when she was not.

Riddle 4

Riddle: *Wachi ma kisika ki winjere gi diro*
Words from the bedroom should not be heard from the living room.

Answer: *Wacho nyigi jii*
Gossiping

Function: This was intended to encourage girls to live and work happily as a community instead of backbiting each other.

Riddle 5

Riddle: *Ango ma wotho idieri ot odyechieng gi pi, aka wori nindo isonda?*
What moves in the house the whole day and at night it sleeps in a corner?

Answer: *Ywechi*
A broom.

Function: Sweeping a house at night when the cows had been brought back to their kraal was a taboo.

Riddle 6

Riddle: *Kasik ma thuwin obar ker anga?*
When was the log in your home split?

Answer: *Nyoko othiki ripo nywomere*
A girl who is overdue for marriage

Function: It is a polite way of asking as to when a girl who is already mature is going to get married.

Proverbs

There are also a number of proverbs used in the life of twins, especially during puberty. Below are three examples supplied by two men (Obbo and Nyeko).

Proverb 1

Proverb: *Dhiang m' odong chien ama fwoyo luth*
The cow that has remained behind is the one that gets all the beatings.

Function: This proverb was intended to teach the youth that when doing work, they should avoid being lazy.

Proverb 2

Proverb: *Jafwoch kiyen'gi*
He who does not like to be sent does not get satisfied

Function: This proverb taught the youths to obey their elders and to willingly agree to be sent on errands. The significance of the proverb was to instill in the life of twins the spirit of obedience.

Proverb 3

Proverb: *Jambaka nyiewo mbiye*
He who is stubborn buys raw bananas

Function: The proverb is used to teach the girls to respect their husband's decisions and not to be stubborn.

4.3.8 Marriage

Tab 5: Oralture Products at Marriage

Songs	Folktales	Riddles	Proverbs	Sayings	Utterances	Total
4	0	0	0	0	2	6

The table above shows the oralture products at the marriage of twins. One riddle, four songs and two utterances were identified. There were no proverbs, folktales or sayings discovered at this stage.

Awor revealed to the researcher that when the marriage day came, the bride would be escorted by a band of musicians and security operatives. They would sing various songs to the bride and they would dance vigorously. She sang happily and also ululated. This is how the song goes:

Song 16

Mugole goyi ni ka ni ka ni ka
You bride walk with pride

Mugole goyi ni ka wa neno kado diel lieth.
You bride walk with pride; goats soup is hot

Function: The song encourages the bride to walk proudly to combat the impending challenges in marriage.

With the help of Awino, Awori continued to give another song that could also be sung during the marriage celebration:

Song 17

- Soloist: *Mirina Mirina oweh*
Mirina Mirina oh
- Chorus: *Eeeh Mirina*
Eeeh Mirina
- Soloist: *N'giyo ber, n'giyo beri*
Friendship is good
- Chorus: *Achamo gi ma akifuro*
I have eaten what I did not plant
- Soloist: *Kiki tedi*
If you don't cook
- Chorus: *Baba ywako dhoki pere*
Daddy cries for his cows
- Soloist: *Ka ikifuri,*
If you don't dig
- Chorus: *Baba ywako dhoki pere*
Daddy cries for his cows
- Soloist: *Ka ikiregi,*
If you don't grind
- Chorus: *Baba ywako dhoki pere*
Daddy cries for his cows

Function: The song warns the bride of the dangers of laziness in marriage.

Nyaburu said that the Jopadhola believed that girls were a source of wealth. The more girls a man had the more cows he had and the wealthier he was. In other words, girls were looked at in terms of wealth or cows. She went on to sing one of the songs which the music band escorting the bride would sing:

Song 18

- Soloist: *mawuwa*
Flower
- Chorus: *Eeeh*
Eeeh
- Soloist: *goyi ngato gi malo*
Walk with pride
- Chorus: *goyi a goya malo*
Just walk with pride
- Soloist: *agwera*
My friend
- Chorus: *Eeeh*
Eeeh
- Soloist: *Goyi ngato gi malo*
Walk with pride
- Chorus: *goyi a goyi malo*
Just walk with pride

Function: The song reminds the bride that she is the queen of the day and, therefore, she should show it to the people.

Aketch revealed that the people escorting the bride to her new home would take two chickens because she was a twin and local millet brew in *agulu rut* (a pot with two openings) which would be used to sprinkle on her as a sign of good marriage and blessings. As the bride's mother was sprinkling medicine on her daughter, she would ululate and say:

Utterance 6

Abino yiko nyaran'
I have come to bless my daughter.

Song 19

The relatives of the bride would also sing:

Janywoli k'onywolo nyathi ma nyako,

When a parent gives birth to a girl,

Wori kinindi. Wori ka keko
At night he/she doesn't sleep. At dawn

Nindo kwano lwete.
He/she sleeps while counting his/her fingers

Chingan me, dhoki abich,
This hand of mine is five cows,

Chingan me, diegi abich.
This hand of mine five goats.

Function: The song reminds the people of the benefits of producing girl children.

The prospect of wealth the girl child portends can render the parent sleepless.

Utterance 7

The bride's mother would also say:

Nyaran, amiyin silwany. Nyali nywolo nyithidho.
My daughter, I am blessing you. May you give birth to many children.

4.3.9 Death

Tab 6: Orature Products at Death

Songs	Folktales	Riddles	Proverbs	Sayings	Utterances	Total
2	0	1	1	1	0	5

The table above shows the orature products at death of twins. There are two songs, one riddle, one proverb and one saying.

One medicine-woman, Osolo Eseza, informed the researcher that when a twin dies, no one is supposed to say that the twin has died but has gone to visit. When the second twin dies, he/she is mourned. Dry banana leaves are cut and used for bedding and tying around the waist during the mourning period. In addition, a long drum is

sounded. Mourners dance, sing and cry at the same time. The following is one of the songs the mourners dance to:

Song 20

Eeeeeeh Eeeeeeh
Eeeeeeh
Eeeeeeh

Oh yago
Oh dear

Okonjo iwan'gan lowo
O' it has poured sand in my eye

Museni pa okoko
So courageous man

Olwo kere apaka bedo
O' dear, that is how it happens

Ajume moni ti kotedi ri yamo
O' dear the women will not cook for death

Okwanyo iwan'gan nindo
O' it has removed sleep from my eyes

Ereba olwo
O' look dear

Museni ku dwoko
The courageous one will not return

Chwo junindo woko diriyo
The great one has slept outside the house

Function: This song tells people how dreadful death is.

Below is another song that Achieng sang for the researcher which would be sung when a twin died:

Song 21

Eeeeh nindo ka chiemo ri yamo
Eeeeh you eat and sleep for only death

Kothi ogoyo mugole paran
It has rain on the bride

Kothi ogoyo mugole paran woko

The rain has beaten my bride

Kononi ikuruki ng'ato?

Today won't you put on your shoes?

Kononi iku kadhi tich?

Today won't you work?

Function: The song depicts the grief of the people because death has proved to be too strong for them.

According to Nyafwono, the following saying is used during death:

Saying 2

Saying: *Kikeli baliwa*

Death does not inform us when it is coming

Function: This saying warns people to be ready for death at any time

One of the proverbs used when twins die, as told by Okongo, is as follows:

Proverb 4

Proverb: *Opodho ran wangin me*

This time death has really fallen on me.

Function: It warns people that death is not selective.

Riddle 7

Also, one of the riddles used upon the death of twins is

Puzzle: *Ongoye dhano jie ma nyalo nenan to aneno kisi dhano jie.*

I am not seen by anyone but I see everybody

Answer: *Tho*

Death

Function: This riddle shows how clever death is. It is always with us even but we cannot see it.

4.3.10 Burial

Tab 7: Orature Products at Burial

Songs	Folktales	Riddles	Proverbs	Sayings	Utterances	Total
1	0	0	0	0	1	2

The above table shows the orature products at burial of twins. There was one song and one utterance found. There were no riddles, proverbs, folktales, or sayings.

Osolo and Oyuk revealed that on the day the mourning period was to officially close, everybody would run to a nearby stream singing:

Song 22

Soloist: *Eeh Awuyo, Awuyo pa jii ariyo*
Awuyo, Awuyo, Awuyo the owner of the two

Chorus: *Eeh!*
Eeh!

Soloist: *Eeh Awuyo*
Eeh Awuyo

Chorus: *Eeh, Sambara Awuyo!*
Eeh, Awuyo the owner of the two!

Function: It emphasizes that saying goodbye to life should be done in the same spirit of celebration as in welcoming it into the world at the beginning.

Amita also informed the researcher that as a twin was buried, an utterance such as the following would be made:

Utterance 8

Paka we wegi wimito kadho wendo, tundi win maber isiemi gi mar, weyi teko moroje okiri otimere ri nyawotini kodi wan.

Since you decided to go away for a visit, please go in peace, love and bring no harm to your friend and us.

4.4 Literary Features

The researcher found many literary features in the orature products generated around the rituals concerning twins in the Japadhola culture.

4.4.1 Songs

Various literary devices were identified in the songs sung during the rituals appertaining to twins: figures of speech, such as, kenning and hyperbole; imagery in the form of metaphors, similes and personification; symbolism; repetition; and poetic structure.

4.4.1.1 Figurative Language in the Songs

Figurative language involves the use of “defamiliarised” words, language that creates interest by going beyond the obvious and plain, and so, in a Wordsworthian phrase, “throwing a strange colouring” over the words.

4.4.1.2 Kenning

Kenning is a device some authors use to denote something without naming it directly. The researcher identified instances of kenning in a number of the sampled songs: in songs 1, 2, 3, 7 and 21.

Song 1

Soloist *Eeh Awuyo, Awuyo pa ji ariyo,*
 Awuyo Awuyo, Awuyo the owner of two

Chorus: *Eeh*
 Eeh

Soloist: *Eeh Awuyo*
 Eeh Awuyo

Chorus: *Eeh Sambara Awuyo*
 Eeh Awuyo the owner of the two

In the above song, *Awuyo* stands for the clan of the mother of the twins; and “the owner of the two” stands for the mother of the twins.

Song 2

Olwongan indelo
I was called from the garden

Obino mu lingi
He/she came quietly

Nyapolo geri
Nyapolo is tough

Wabino yawo rut
We’ve come to out-door the twins.

In song 2, *Nyapolo* stands for the clan of the mother of the twins. The song implies that the clan is really tough to have mothered the mother of the twins.

Song 3

Eeh chak chiewo
Eeh fresh milk

Nyoro aweyo dhiang sira malo
Yesterday I left the udder heavy with milk

Ongoye janyiedho
There is no one to milk

Kononin akelo riwin wendo
Today I have brought for you visitors

Here, kenning is present in the last line, where the twins are referred to as visitors.

Song 7

Soloist: *Mudole mawan onyiew kune?*

From where was our elephant grass bought?

Chorus: *Mudole onyiew Iganga.*
Our elephant grass was bought in Iganga.

Soloist: *Mudole mawan onyiew kune?*
From where was our elephant grass bought?

Chorus: *Mudole onyiew Iganga.*
Our elephant grass was bought in Iganga

Soloist: *Kidi pa adhadha rego an'go?.*
What does grandmother's grinding stone grind?

Chorus: *Kidi rego abwa*
The grinding stone grinds millet.

Soloist: *Kidi pa adhadha rego ango?*
What does grandmother's grinding stone grind?

Chorus: *Kidi rego abwa.*
The grinding stone grinds millet.

In song 7, the girl has been named elephant grass, that grows with vigor and that one cannot get from nearby but from a place as far as Iganga.

Song 21

Eeeh nindo kachiemo ri yamo
Eeeh you eat and sleep for only death

Kothi ogoyo mugole paran
It has rained on the bride

Kothi ogoyo mugole paran woko
The rain has beaten my bride

Kononi ikuruki ngato?
Today won't you put on your shoes?

Kononi iku kadhi tich?
Today won't you work?

In line 2 of this song, the corpse is not mentioned; instead, it is addressed as "the bride."

4.4.1.3 Hyperbole

Hyperbole is the use of exaggeration. The literary device was identified in songs 4, 5, and 19.

Song 4

Bedi ki nyaran manitye gi ng'onye ma luthi,
If it was not our daughter with deep vagina,

Di wikinwan'go wengi gin.
You would not have got twins.

Song 5

Wi wacho ango
What are you saying?

Aka bedi ki wodi wan
If it was not for our son

ma ni gi there ma bori
who has a long penis

di nyari win konwango rut.
Your daughter would not have given birth to twins.

The jocular claims that twins are a result of a deep vagina and a long penis are obvious exaggeration.

Song 19

Janywoli ka onywolo nyathi ma nyako,
When a parent gives birth to a girl

Wori kinindi. Wori ka keko
At night he/she does not sleep

Nindo kwano lwete.
Sleeps while counting the fingers

Chingan me, dhoki abich,
This hand five cows

Chingan me, diegi abich.
This hand five goats

In the above instance, exaggeration has been used to express the excitement of producing girl children, who are equated to five cows and five goats.

4.4.1.4 Imagery in the Songs

There are many instances of imagery – which is the expression of one item or attribute in terms of another that is basically dissimilar – that were identified in the sampled songs. These images take the form of metaphors, similes, and personification.

In Song 9, there are three images: a bird, gardening and peas.

Awiny odhieran
I am defeated by this bird Awiny...

Awiny kichwoyi ngori
Awiny does not sow peas
Awiny kidoyi ngori
Awiny does not weed peas
To ngori mit magira
But peas are nice when stewed

The young wife who skipped modifying her genitalia is likened to the rare small bird *Awiny*, which is portrayed as being lazy. This expression shows that getting a woman to marry, who fulfills all the rituals of the Japadhola, is not any easy thing. Also, sex education is referred to as gardening, while female genitals are implied in the two-sidedness of the pea. The meaning of this is the unpleasant sex that the twin girl offers her husband as a result of her having failed to pull her labia minora before marriage, and, therefore, her husband fails to enjoy sex with her to the maximum.

In Song 13, there is an image of a gourd.

Abusa ama kelan thuwin
A gourd is what brings me to your home

Here, close and strong friendship that two families share is likened to a big gourd containing local brew for social enjoyment.

In Song 17, there is an image of cows.

Ka ikitedi,

If you don't cook,

Baba ywako dhoki pere
My father is crying for his lost cows

Ka ikifuri
If you don't dig

Baba ywako dhoki pere
My father is crying for his lost cows

The cows which are paid as bride-wealth are an image of the worth of the wife, whose duties include those inside the house (cooking) and those outside it (digging).

In Song 20, there is an image of death.

Song 20

Okonjo iwangan lowo
O it has poured sand in my eye

Ajume moni ti kutedi ri yamo
O dear the women will not cook for death

Okwanyo iwangan nindo
O it has removed sleep from my eyes

Museni k'o dwoki
The courageous one will not return

Chwo junindo woko diryo
The great one has slept outside the house

Here, *Yamo*, the taker of life, is personified. *Yamo* is a half-animal and half-human creature that cries like a human being. It is believed that whenever *Yamo* is heard crying, someone in that area has to die. The pain that death causes is expressed in the two visual images of pouring sand into the eyes, and that of taking sleep from the eyes.

The researcher also identified personification in the expression ‘does not write a letter’ in the second saying. Death has been given the attribute of a human character of writing a letter to someone.

Other noticeable images in the songs are summarised as follows:

- In Song 3: A woman’s breast is compared to a cow’s udder. The milk here shows how fertile the girl is in giving birth to twins.
- In Song 6: A girl is given the attributes of a particular insect which is destructive to plants.
- In Song 9: Death is personified as someone for whom food can be cooked.
- In Song 18: The beauty of young bride is equated to a flower.

4.4.1.5 Symbolism

Akin to imagery is symbolism, both of which employ picture language. However, whereas the former makes use of “similarity in dissimilar items”, the latter makes use of one item to represent another, often a smaller and visible one to represent a larger and invisible one. The researcher identified several instances of symbolism in the selected songs.

A cord is a symbol in song 11, the second part of which runs as follows:

Song 11

Visitor: *Gweno ki kelan thuwin*
Chicken does not bring me to your home

Companions: *Mere paran mere mito ayala sawa orumo*
My friend, you friend needs to be welcomed, there is no time

Visitor: *Abusa ama kelan thuwin*
It is the cord of friendship that brings me here

Companions: *Mere paran mere mito ayala sawa orumo*

My friend, your friend needs to be welcomed

A cord symbolises unity that comes along with the relationship that is being established. This relationship begins as friendship but it ends up in marriage that ties the people involved together for life.

The researcher also discovered that that the twins, their names, the ritual knife, and the pot were all symbolic.

Twins, in essence, were symbolic. They could be a curse or a blessing. If the necessary rituals were not performed properly, the curse could come; and if the rituals were performed well, the result would be blessings. Also, a special knife that was used for informing the twins' relatives was symbolic of the birth of twins. The names Opio/Apio and Odongo/Adongo are ancestral names that symbolise the manifestation of the past within the present. Furthermore, the pot with two openings symbolises a womb that carries two children.

4.4.1.6 Satire

Satire is the employment of humour to criticize someone or something by way of ridiculing or belittling them, thereby making them seem silly. The researcher identified satire in song 12.

Agwera ka woni ka
My friend this is home

Eeeeeeh ka woni ka pecho
Eeeeeeh this is indeed home

Mafwodi ikibedo ilokere woni pecho
Before sitting you turn to be the owner of the home

Agwera fwodi ku jolin, fwodi ikibedo
My friend before you are received to sit

Ilokere won pecho

You have turned to be the owner of the home.

When guests failed to behave in an appropriate manner, the host sung for them this song to wittily ridicule them. They were supposed to behave like visitors and not like owners of the home. Or the host would sing:

Agwera fwodi ku jolin, fwodi ikibedo

My friend you have not been welcomed, you have not even sat down

Ilokere won pecho

You are behaving like the owner of the home

4.4.1.7 Repetitions

The researcher identified repetition of words, phrases, and lines in majority of the songs. For instance, in Song 1, *Awuyo* appears in lines 1, 3 and 4; and *Eeeh* has also been repeated in all the 4 lines.

Song 1

Soloist *Eeeh Awuyo, Awuyo pa ji aryo,*
Awuyo Awuyo, Awuyo the owner of two

Chorus: *Eeeh*
Eeeh

Soloist: *Eeeh Awuyo*
Eeeh Awuyo

Chorus: *Eeeh Sambara Awuyo*
Eeeh Awuyo the owner of the two

Repetition of entire lines may be exemplified in Song 8:

Soloist: *To ki mako oleriwa*
And if you get roasted one

Chorus: *Eeeh nyagori*
Eeeh white peas

Soloist: *To kodhi kafuta mere*
And if you eat when it is grounded

Chorus: *Eeeh nyagori*
 Eeeh white peas

Repetition, which is a key feature of the songs, is often employed for emphasis or for rhythmic purposes.

4.4.1.8 Humour

Humour is designed to amuse or interest the audience. There is use of humour in Song 13, a piece that was sung when the guests were eating.

Ichamo ri nyaworoworo chulo mere to dhierin
You are eating greedily, but you will fail to pay

Ichamo rin ni katakata kole dikin atundo
You are eating while making the sound *katakata*, but tomorrow I will also come.

The researcher was also informed that the above song was intended to amuse the guests and not to insult them or provoke them. It was an encouragement to the guests to eat what they had been given as it emphasizes sharing. Its underlying meaning was 'eat freely, because when I come, I know you will also give me.'

4.4.1.9 Sound Elements in the Songs

There is alliteration and assonance identified in the song *Awuyo*. The chorus is repeated after the soloist has sung one line. The alliterations and assonance include:

Eeeh Awuyo, Awuyo pa ji ariyo Awuyo
Eeeh
Eeeh Awuyo
Eeeh sambara

Sound element 2

Onomatopoeia has been identified in folktale 1. Onomatopoeia is a word that imitates the sound it represents, as in the following example:

Rhythmic Sound 1

Drum:	Pambutuku mbutuku, mbutuku
Fly:	Lingi lilingili liongo loliongo liolingili
Mosquito:	Ayiiiii

The sound word “mbutuku, mbutuku”, in this drum, represents the sound it makes.

4.4.1.10 Idioms

An idiom is an expression or phrase whose meaning cannot be worked out from the grammar or the dictionary sense of the words. In Song 2, there is an idiom that has been used; that is, *Nyapolo geri* (*Nyapolo* is furious). This phrase indicates how fruitful a woman from *Nyapolo* is since she could even give birth to twins.

In Song 20, there are three instances of idiomatic expressions. The second part of the song is as follows:

O dear the women will not cook for death
Okwanyo iwangan nindo
O it has removed sleep from my eyes
Eraba olwo
O look, dear
Museni ku dwoki
The courageous one will not return
Chwo junindo woko diriyo
The great one has slept outside the house

The expression “...Will not cook for death” refers to the displeasure that death brings about. Also, “The courageous one will not return” refers to the death of heroes. While “The great one has slept outside the house” refers to death.

4.4.2 Folktales

The opening and ending of both folktales conform to formulaic construction, such that the listener or reader can categorically identify when the story starts and when it ends.

Once upon a time...

To aweyo ran jo koro. Adongi ran paka olwa pa nera

And I left them there. May I grow like the Mvule tree of my uncle.

4.4.2.1 Similes

A simile compares two things explicitly by using words of comparison, such as, “like”, “as” or “as if”. The researcher identified similes in the two folktales. Examples in Folktale 1 are:

- A lion being “...as huge as a mountain”
- A lion being “...as heavy as a sack of stones,” such that Apio and Odongo could not lift it by themselves and they had to call a fly and a mosquito to help them carry it out of the house.

4.4.2.2 Interpolations of Other Literary Forms

The prose narrative of the main body of the folktales is punctuated by what may be described as “form within form”, namely, utterances, song, and rhythmic sounds. These interjected forms have each a definite structure that marks it off from the overall prose narrative, as exemplified below:

Utterance from Folktale 1

Mama, Mama Wachowo fwono ochwoga. Adita mawan opong.

Mummy, mummy, we have finished gathering the fruits and our basket is full.

Song from Folktale 2

Opio Opio tende

Opio Opio tende

Mama onywolo wani ji ariyo tende

Mama gave birth to the two of us tende...

Rhythmic sounds from Folktale 1

Drum:	Pambutuku mbutuku, mbutuku
Fly:	Lingi lilingili liongo loliongo liolingili
Mosquito:	Ayiiiii

4.4.3 Riddles

A riddle is a two-part, question-and-answer verbal construct that has a short fixed form. The posing and answering of riddles draws the participants into a spirited game of the intellect, in which a clever and funny puzzle is countered by a similarly clever and funny answer. The researcher identified seven riddles of which six are reproduced below:

'Wachi ma kisika ki winjere gi diro'

Words from the bed room should not be heard in the living room

'Muchugwa ochiek mito afwona'

An orange is ripe and needs to be removed from the orange tree

'Nyako othik mito poro'

A girl has matured and is ready to get married

'Ango ma goyo yokin to ineno?' in riddle 1

What beats your mother as you watch?

Or Ango ma mwonyo yokin to ineno?

What swallows your mother as you watch?

Ango ma wotho idieri ot odyecheng gipi aka wori nindo isonda?

What moves on the floor of the house the whole day and at night it rests in a corner?

4.4.4 Proverbs

A proverb is a pithy well-known expression that gives advice or encapsulates something that is generally true. It has a recognizable two-part structure; such that when a proverb is quoted in conversation, a speaker can pause after the first part, and the knowledgeable listeners will supply the second part.

Three proverbs that were used are as follows:

Dhiang ma odong chien ama fwoyo luth,
A cow that has remained behind is the one that gets all the beatings.

Jafwochi kiyengi
He who does not want to be sent does not get satisfied.

Jambaka nyiewo mbiye.
He who is stubborn buys raw bananas.

These proverbs are used to discourage laziness, encourage hard work and respect for one's husband respectively.

4.4.5 Sayings

Sayings are short, pithy expressions that generally contain advice or wisdom. The researcher identified two sayings:

Dhoko nywoli ri fwoji
A woman gives birth because of teaching.

Tho kikeli baliwa
Death does not write a letter.

4.4.6 Utterances

Together with those already pointed out within the two folktales, there were a total of eight utterances that were identified in respective contexts. Below are four examples.

Wikiri wikeli teko
Do not bring harm

Wengi,
Two in one

Wikiri widhawi,
Do not quarrel

Tundi win maber isiemi gi mar
Reach well in love and peace

4.4.7 Conclusion

The findings reveal that orature around rituals concerning twins among the Jopadholas are rich in orature products with numerous functions and features that pertain in them. Songs proved to be more utilized than all other literary products and the least are sayings and folktales.

This research indicates that the Jopadholas are peasants; therefore, almost all the orature products are illustrated by what surrounds them like type of food they eat, for example, oranges, bananas, and peas; the place where they store the food, that is, the granary; and the animals that bring wealth for them like cows and goats, particular birds; and types of artifacts like the gourd and the pot.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of Chapter Four by category, function, and literary features of the orature products associated with the life of twins in Jopadhola culture from conception to death. Accordingly, the core section of the chapter is structured around these three elements of category, function, and literary features.

5.2 Categories of the Orature Products

The table below summarises the categories of the orature products that were collected and analysed. It also gives the number of orature products for each category and at the successive stages in the life of twins.

Tab 8: Summary of all the sampled orature products

Category	Birth	Naming	Puberty	Marriage	Death	Burial	Total
Songs	3	4	8	4	2	1	22
Folktales	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Riddles	0	0	6	0	1	0	7
Proverbs	0	0	3	0	1	0	4
Sayings	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
Utterances	0	3	0	2	0	1	6
Total	4	7	19	6	5	2	42

In total, there were forty-two orature products. From birth to burial of twins, there were twenty-two songs, two folktales, seven riddles, four proverbs, two sayings and six utterances discovered. At birth there were four orature products found; six at naming; nineteen at puberty; six at marriage; five at death and two orature products were found in the burial rituals.

5.2.1 Songs

There were twenty-two songs that were identified. Songs have the highest number in all the categories of the orature products. This indicates how important songs are in the life of all the Jopadholas, and especially in the rituals concerning the twins.

5.2.2 Folktales

Two folktales have been located in puberty; and there are more from other stages. The opening and ending of both folktales conform to a formulaic construction that will enable the listener or reader to categorically identify when the story starts and when it ends.

5.2.3 Riddles

According to the findings, seven riddles were used as one of the devices to instruct the twins to grow up into responsible members of the community.

5.2.4 Proverbs

Four proverbs were noted. Three of them were used during puberty and one used at death. More proverbs were used during puberty to show that that is a very crucial stage in the life of the twins that require a lot of attention to be given to the twins.

5.2.5 Sayings

In this research two sayings were identified: one at birth and the other at death.

This brings the researcher to the conclusion that there are two important, memorable and painful situations in the life of the twins in the jopadhola culture that is birth and death.

5.2.6 Utterances

There are six utterances: three of them are used during naming, two in connection with marriage and one was used at burial. Naming takes more utterances indicating that this stage was very delicate and so needed special handling.

5.3 Functions of the Oralture Products

The songs and the utterances used in the stage of naming were all to make both the life of the twins and the family happy so that no one is left hurting.

The twins' hair was as important as the twins themselves. A great honour was attached to the shaving of the twin's hair that the utterance had to be made to inform them of the purpose of shaving their hair.

The utterance made during the removing of the ash was very important at this stage, for without it ash cannot be removed because of the belief that disaster may befall the twins. The ash was removed and taken to the forest before daybreak. This was

because of the belief that in case anyone skipped or stepped on it, his or her skin would peel off.

Puberty was the flourishing stage of life of a twin girl and a lot of songs were identified, because at this stage there is a lot of fun in life, enjoyment, eating and visiting. This was demonstrated by the variety of songs sung at this stage of life.

It was discovered at puberty that grandmothers played a key role in the life of twins. Grandmothers taught them how to work, the social etiquette, how to control their emotions and generally to shape their character. This was done through songs, folktales, riddles, proverbs, sayings and utterances. Therefore a lot of oral culture products are used at the stage of puberty because it was considered a very important stage in the life of twins.

The song of "pulling" encourages the girl to pull and forget the pain having in mind that her marriage relies on this. Therefore, if the twin girl gets married she will be the most loved by her husband; and the opposite is true that the one who has not done it will be hated by her husband and the marriage might break if she does not act immediately the moment she notices things are not going well in her marriage.

The numerous songs sung at puberty stimulate the people's emotions for enjoyment and they demonstrate their happiness by joining in both the singing and the dancing and then the ululation.

Folktales are used to educate the twin girl at puberty as preparation for her future life.

A total of six riddles and three proverbs were used at this stage. This demonstrates how crucial this stage is in the life of the twin girl.

Folktales were used at puberty for entertainment and to educate the twins on issues pertaining marriage.

Marriage season was usually a time of excitement, singing, dancing and rejoicing.

There were many songs sang and dances but particular to this research four songs, one riddle and two utterances were identified.

All songs sung during the marriage were songs of joy that fills the air on that day of the marriage. These songs were part of the celebration and without them there was no joy.

The orature products identified during the death rituals were as follows: two songs, one riddle, and one proverb. There were no utterances identified in the death rituals.

As they mourned, people sang and danced to sad songs. They sung and mentioned how daring death was and how it made people blind. A soloist would sing and people would join in the song with dancing and crying at the same time. This song was a sad song that invokes their emotions to mourn even louder.

The utterance made during the death rituals was for purpose of appeasing the dead twin so that she or he could not bring any disaster to the remaining twin and the family at large. This utterance was what differentiated the burial of a twin from that of other people.

5.4 Literary Features of the Orature Product

5.4.1 Imagery

Five images were pointed out in this research. All these images have been got from the songs. They all help to upload the meanings of these songs. They are also used for euphemistic purposes. Without the images, the songs would be embarrassing when sung in the midst of both the old and the young. Therefore songs use common images to reveal hidden meaning for teaching purposes to the growing twins.

5.4.2 Repetition

Repetition has been found in all songs and in the folktales. Indeed the repetition enabled the emphasis to stand out clearly in these songs and in the folktales.

5.4.3 Kenning

A total of seven instances of kenning were realised and they are mostly found in the songs. This brings out idea of the musicians being so keen in creating new words combinations when composing the songs. It also shows that these songs used here are not plain but they are all clothed heavily with a lot of meaning.

5.4.4 Hyperbole

Hyperbole was identified twice in this research, used purposely to exaggerate the power of death over life. This also indicates that no man can stop death from taking away a life at any time of day and at whatever age of an individual.

5.4.5 Similes

Two similes were noted in folktales re-told during puberty; and at no other stages have similes been identified. This indicates that it was only during puberty that almost all the literary devices are used. It is also right to say that puberty is a very fertile stage in the life of twins among the Jopadhola culture.

5.4.6 Symbolism

Altogether ten symbols were identified, most of them in songs. This reveals that songs are the major devices and so they have the most symbols.

5.4.7 Metaphor

A total of four metaphors were identified, especially in the songs. The purpose is to load the words in the song with a lot of meaning so that the ordinary man or child may not easily use it in a wrong forum.

5.4.8 Personification

One instance of personification was identified in Song 20. This particular instance of personification is used to bring out the type of pain that people go through when they encounter death.

5.4.9 Satire

One instance of satire has been identified, in Song 12. In case the girls failed to behave the way they ought to when they visited, they would be ridiculed by the hosts

through a song. When the girls visited, they were not supposed to accept anything without being given gifts. They were not supposed to reach the host home, enter the house, sit down, and accept to be greeted, or even eat food without being given money or gifts. Therefore, satire is used to groom morals in the lives of the twins as a preparation for marriage.

5.4.10 Humour

Humour was intended to amuse or interest the audience. In Song 13 there is an instance of humour where the hosts would sing for the guests humorous songs as they dined. This was to encourage them to eat because the hosts also intended to visit them and be given food. Humour was not meant to insult the guests as they ate but to entertain the visitors.

5.4.11 Idiom

Two idioms were noted: one of them indicates boastfully how fertile *Nyapolo* (a clan) is because of her ability to give birth to twins. Giving birth to twins was not a common occurrence and whoever gave birth to twins was regarded as powerful, strong and a very fertile woman. The other is *tho* (death) that shows how unkind death can be to any family.

5.5 Conclusion

Since the Jopadholas are mainly peasants, all the literary devices employed are based on things that surround them like certain type of vegetables, grasses, bananas, seeds, flowers, fruits, sand, birds, insects, animals, milk, and granaries.

Various orature products were identified and these include songs, folktales, riddles, proverbs, sayings and utterances. All the orature products are made use of objects and other items that the twins are familiar with to make them understand better. These were to mainly educate the twins so that they are well prepared for the future life that awaited them.

Various literary features were identified in the orature products surrounding the twins. These include symbols, imagery, kenning, personification, hyperbole, similes, satire, humour, repetitions, metaphor and idioms. All these literary devices are used to convey messages loaded with a lot of meaning and to make the twins ready to live to the moral code of the community that they have to emulate later on.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes and concludes the findings of the study. The research was set in motion by a research problem which was: Among the Jopadhola, there are orature products and rituals concerning twins that are associated with birth, naming, puberty, marriage, death and burial; but as yet no systematic study had been conducted into the orature products which accompany these rituals.

The purpose of the study has been realised which was to identify and critically analyze the orature products associated with the rituals concerning twins among the Jopadhola.

The study which was guided by the following objectives:

- To establish the successive, stages in the life of twins among the Jopadhola and the rituals which accompany them.
- To establish the nature or categories and functions of the orature produced around these rituals.
- To establish the content and the literary features.

6.2 Summary of Findings

These objectives have been successfully achieved. The study reveals that the medicine-woman is very important and plays a very vital role in the life of twins and

their parents, right from the time twins were born to the time they die. She is present to officiate at every ritual or ceremony in the life of twins and their parents.

In addition, the study establishes that the orature produced around the rituals associated with twins were for mostly teaching the twins manners, when and how to do work at home, be hard-working people in the community, encouraging them to be strong as married people and not to fear their new roles as a husband or a wife.

Furthermore, the study reveals that the rituals associated with the death of first twins are different from the rituals that are associated with the death of second twins and the children that follow the twins. The first twin to die was not mourned and no one was supposed to even mention that a twin had died. But the second twin and the children after him or her was mourned like any other ordinary child.

The researcher further established that rituals associated with twins among the Jopadhola are rich in orature products such as songs, folktales, riddles, proverbs, sayings, and utterances.

Particularly, puberty was rich in orature products in the life of twins compared to any other stage. There are nineteen orature products discovered. Some communications among the agemates at puberty were made through songs, folktales, riddles, proverbs and sayings but not stating the message directly.

Markedly, songs were the dominant orature product in the life of twins. They are twenty-two songs that the researcher discovered. These songs are for work, for pulling

the labia minora, celebrating the birth of twins, for marriage as the bride is being escorted to her new home, at death of the second twin and burial.

6.3 Conclusion

The study has achieved its purpose and the objectives and successfully answered its research questions. There were various orature products that were associated with the life of twins, right from the time they were born up to the time that they die and were buried. These orature products include songs, folktales, riddles, proverbs, saying and utterances. They manifest literary features that include the following: images, symbols, metaphors, similes, repetition, kenning, satire, hyperbole, personification, foreshadowing, humour and idiom.

6.4 Recommendations

The researcher has the following recommendations to make:

- That the Jopadhola should continue with the practice of rituals concerning the twins because they are rich in orature and values which are helpful to both the life of twins, youth and their families at large.
- That the original rituals concerning twins should be electronically recorded in more than one mode: audio, video and films. Through these the orality and performance will be preserved. This would save the originality of the musicality, orature, pitch and the intonation in the original art of the orature around rituals concerning twins among the Jopadhola.

- That entire Jopadhola community should embrace these values as they are rich in information for insight into the way of life in society.
- That youth should learn and take to heart what is taught in the rituals as they are useful for puberty and maturity as respectable member of the community.
- That the Jopadhola writers should write literature on how the Jopadhola lived and publish them. Literature concerning different clans among the Jopadhola should be written in form of poems and stories so that it can be accessible and read. This will also help in preserving original rituals and literature associated with twins.

6.5 Conclusion

The researcher concludes by encouraging the religious leaders to embrace parts of these oratures and developments liturgies that are gospel oriented in order to redeem the Jopadhola culture where it is deemed "evil" or unchristian for the Christians.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Schedule

Section A: Respondents Background

A1. Village-----

A2. Age-----

A3. Clan-----

A4. Gender-----

A5. Marital status-----

A6. Number of children-----

Section B: The successive stages in the life of twins and the accompanying rituals/actions

B1. What are the rituals products performed at the birth of Twins?

B2. What are the rituals products performed at the naming of Twins?

B3. What are the rituals products performed at puberty of Twins?

B4. What are the rituals products performed at the marriage of Twins?

B5. Describe the rituals products performance at the death Twins?

Section C: Nature or categories of the oralture around twin rituals

C1. Is there a **unique way** in which your particular clan handles twin rituals which is different from the rest of the clans among Jopadhola? -----

C2. Can you tell any **folktale** about Twins in this Village?

C3. a) What **songs** are commonly sung during the performance of the rituals of Twins?

C3. b) What **are the rhythms** of these songs?

C4. What **taboos** are associated with Twins?

Section D: The content or values and the literary features of oralture products

D1. Are there some proverbs, songs, folktales, saying, and riddles that are used to depict twin rituals?

D2. What is the value of the **songs** sung during **birth** of twins?

D3. What is the value of the **sayings** during **birth, naming, puberty, marriage, death and burial** of twins?

D4. What is the value of the **proverbs** said during **birth** of twins?

D5. What is the value of the **songs** sung during **marriage** of twins?

D6. What is the value of the **sayings** during **marriage** of twins?

D7. What is the value of the **proverbs** said during **marriage** of twins?

D8. What is the value of sayings and songs sung during death of twins?

Thank you very much

Appendix 2: Observation Sheet

Date:.....

Area /

Village.....

No.	Phenomena Observed	Comments
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		
10.		
11.		
12.		
13.		
14.		
15.		

Overall remarks:

Appendix 3: List of Interviewees

NO	NAME	AGE	POSITION
1	Matilda Alowo	73	Housewife
2	Gladys Aboth	68	Housewife
3	Victoria Nyapendi	60	Housewife
4	Petalina Nyaketcho	70	Housewife
5	Betty Nyadoi	51	Housewife
6	Loda Nyabwolo	38	Housewife
7	Loy Agola	65	Housewife
8	JanweAdikini	75	Housewife
9	Federika Akumu	89	Housewife
10	Rose Akello	69	Housewife
11	Christine Athieno	74	Housewife
12	Martin Oboth	76	Elder
13	Solomon Obbo	80	Elder
14	Meresiano Awori	70	Housewife
15	Anastansia Awino	81	Housewife
16	Dolotia Nyaburu	43	Housewife
17	Pankisias Aketch	36	Medicine-woman
18	Eseza Osolo	73	Medicine-woman
19	Angelina Achieng	56	Housewife
20	Nakitesia Akola	60	Housewife
21	Mirika Anyima	35	Housewife
22	Nyangel Okongo	62	Clan leader
23	Naphtali Opendi	79	Elder
24	Esau Oyuk	70	Medicine-man
25	Donosio Nyeko	55	Clan leader
26	Paul Olowo	59	Clan leader
27	Catherine Nyafwono	67	Housewife