

**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 p roverb is a pithy well-known e xpression t hat g ives advice o r 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, 10<sup>th</sup>, 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 10<sup>th</sup>, 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**

