

**TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL DYNAMICS IN SELECTED ANKOLE MYTHS  
AND FOLKTALES**

**TWASIIMA RODGERS**

**17/U/14420/GMAL/PE**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL  
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS IN LITERATURE OF KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY**

**JUNE 2021**

**Declaration**

I, TWASIIMA RODGERS, declare to the best of my knowledge that this study is a product of my effort and that it has never been presented by another person to any higher institution of learning for any academic award.

Signature .....

Date .....

TWASIIMA RODGERS

(Student)

APPROVED BY

Signature .....

Date .....

DR TUGUME BENON

(Supervisor)

## **Dedication**

This work is dedicated to all those who have keen interest in oral literature.

## **Acknowledgement**

I am deeply indebted to the many people who made this study possible. I greatly thank my supervisor Dr. Tugume Benon for the time, sacrifice, patience and encouragement rendered to me. This work is as a result of your guidance right from the initial stages. I equally acknowledge the encouragement from my lecturers as well as the members of literature department of Kyambogo University. Thank you very much.

Special thanks also go to my wife Agnes and my parents, Mr. Musiime Patrick Mugisha and Mrs. Tukahirwa Restatuta Mugisha for your encouragement as well as financial support given to me. I also appreciate the support given to me by my brothers and sisters especially Twinomugisha Brian and Busingye Olivia. I wish to thank my M.A. Literature classmates. Your co-operation and encouragement were very instrumental in my achievement.

I am very grateful to all those that spared time to avail me with information during the study. On this note, I greatly thank Owoine Sylvia for directing me to different respondents who availed me with information that made this study a success. I heartfully thank you together with all the respondents. May the Almighty God bless you abundantly.

## Table contents

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Declaration .....                                  | ii  |
| Dedication .....                                   | iii |
| Acknowledgement .....                              | iv  |
| Table of content .....                             | v   |
| Abstract .....                                     | x   |
| CHAPTER ONE .....                                  | 1   |
| INTRODUCTION .....                                 | 1   |
| 1.1. Introduction and Background to the study..... | 1   |
| 1.2. Problem Statement .....                       | 4   |
| 1.3. Definition of Key Terms .....                 | 5   |
| 1.4. Scope of the study .....                      | 6   |
| 1.5. Objectives of the study.....                  | 6   |
| 1.6. Research questions.....                       | 7   |
| 1.7. Literature Review.....                        | 7   |
| 1.8. Significance of the Study.....                | 13  |
| 1.9. Theoretical Framework .....                   | 13  |
| 1.10. Research Methodology.....                    | 16  |
| 1.10.1. Research Design.....                       | 16  |
| 1.10.2. Library Research .....                     | 17  |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| 1.10.3. Field Research .....   | 17 |
| 1.10.4. Data Analysis .....  | 18 |
| <br>CHAPTER TWO: POWER AND LEADERSHIP AS DEPICTED IN MYTHS AND FOLK<br>TALES .....                           |    |
| 2.1. Introduction.....   | 20 |
| 2.2. Source of power .....   | 20 |
| 2.3. Political issues.....   | 28 |
| 2.3.1. The clan system of governance.....  | 34 |
| 2.3.2. The coming of the British rule .....  | 38 |
| 2.4. Leadership and Administration.....  | 44 |
| 2.5. Conclusion .....  | 47 |
| <br>CHAPTER THREE:THE OORTRAYAL OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND PRODUCTION<br>RELATIONS IN SELECTD FOLKTALES..... |    |
| 1.1 Introduction.....  | 49 |
| 3.2. Rearing and Management of Livestock .....   | 49 |
| 3.3 Crop Production and Oral Literature .....  | 54 |
| 3.4. Trade relations between Bairu and Bahima .....  | 59 |
| 3.5. Work and Employment .....   | 67 |
| 3.6. Master-Servant Relationship.....  | 70 |
| 3.6. Conclusion .....  | 73 |

## CHAPTER FOUR: ETHNIC STEREOTYPING AS DEPICTED IN SELECTED

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| FKOLKTALES .....                                   | 75  |
| 4.1. Introduction.....                             | 75  |
| 4.2. Stereotypes Based on Eating Habits .....      | 77  |
| 4.3. Stereotype based on wit .....                 | 82  |
| 4.4. Stereotype in the marriage institution .....  | 84  |
| 4.5. Acts of inhumanity.....                       | 88  |
| 4.6. Conclusion .....                              | 90  |
| CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION .....                     | 92  |
| 5.1. Introduction.....                             | 92  |
| 5.2. Main Findings and Conclusions.....            | 92  |
| 5.3. Recommendations.....                          | 95  |
| References .....                                   | 97  |
| APPENDIX 1: MYTHS COLLECTED DURING THE STUDY ..... | 100 |
| Appendix 1A.....                                   | 100 |
| Ruhanga N’abaana be .....                          | 100 |
| Appendix 1B.....                                   | 107 |
| Nyakakaikuru N’orukooko .....                      | 107 |
| Appendix 1 C.....                                  | 109 |
| Nkya Nabatabani.....                               | 109 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| APPENDIX 2: FOLKTALE COLLECTED DURING THE STUDY .....         | 113 |
| Appendix 2A.....  | 113 |
| Omushaija Omunyambabazi, Omunaku, Wengumba N’omukazi we ..... | 113 |
| Appendix2B .....  | 120 |
| Rutaraaka na Gooti .....                                      | 120 |
| Appendix 2C.....  | 122 |
| Omugabe N’empitsi .....                                       | 122 |
| Appendix 2D.....  | 126 |
| Obu Ishe Katabazi Yayetenga Ente Zamutahi we .....            | 126 |
| Appendix 2E .....   | 128 |
| Abakazi babiri; Kikere na Ntuha .....                         | 128 |
| Appendix 2F .....   | 131 |
| Ndyanakabanza K’ankole N’enkurungutanitsa Yamushasha.....     | 131 |
| Appendix 2G .....   | 135 |
| Kamburimburi na Rutsimbagiza.....                             | 135 |
| Appendix 2H .....   | 138 |
| Omukazi Owiiibire Enzigye.....                                | 138 |
| Appendix 2 I .....  | 143 |
| Obu Ishe Katabazi Yarya Engundu Yente .....                   | 143 |
| Appendix 2J .....   | 146 |



|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Obu Ishe Katabazi Yarya Embwa.....      | 146        |
| Appendix 2K .....                       | 148        |
| Flora .....                             | 148        |
| Appendix 2L .....                       | 152        |
| Nkuzire a Nfunzire.....                 | 152        |
| <b>APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE.....</b> | <b>154</b> |
| APPENDIX 4: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES .....  | 155        |

## **Abstract**

The study examines the social dynamics in Ankole oral narratives specifically myths and folktales. The research gap that this study addresses arises from the fact that none of the previous studies has examined the philosophy that underpins the socio-cultural and economic development of the Banyankole as reflected in their oral narratives. The study is library and field research based. It applies qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. Libraries provide the reading materials in form of books, journal articles and periodicals. These materials provide for this research the theoretical basis needed for the interpretation of data. Field research forms the biggest portion of this study since it is the source of primary data. Data collected from the field using observation, interview guide and focus group discussion is transcribed, translated into English, classified and analyzed using the Marxist literary theory's tenets of economic base and superstructure of any given society. The study aims at establishing the characters' perception and exercise of power and leadership. The findings of the study reveal that acquisition of wealth is a prerequisite to ownership of power. This wealth is measured by accumulation of many heads of cattle. While examining the economic activities and the production relations between bahima and bairu, the study reveals that there is innate love for cattle and every new generation that comes is determined to keep the tradition of cattle keeping. As well, crop farming is an essential activity which is currently carried out alongside cattle keeping. The two activities have boosted the economic base of Ankole people. The study also examines ethnic stereotyping of the characters portrayed in folktales. The findings reveal that the bairu and bahima still live an antagonistic relationship characterized by different stereotypes against each other. Each group identifies itself with particular characteristics and hence it becomes hard for the two groups to freely mingle.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Introduction and background to the study

The study investigates the social dynamics in Ankole myths and folktales. It focuses on the bairu-bahima relations as portrayed in Ankole oral narratives. Ankole was one of the traditional kingdoms in Uganda. The kingdom is located in the South Western Uganda, East of Lake Edward. It was ruled by a monarch known as Omugabe of Ankole. The kingdom was formally abolished in 1967 by the government of President Apollo Milton Obote, and is still not officially restored.

The people of Ankole are called Banyankore (Singular, Munyankore). They speak a Bantu language called Runyankore. They inhabit the present districts of Mbarara, greater Bushenyi, Ntungamo, Kiruhura, Ibanda and Isingiro in western Uganda as stated in the Ankole district report:

The principle districts that were incorporated in the traditional kingdom of Nkole by the British at the beginning of the twenty first century were Buzimba, Buhweju, Bunyaruguru, Igara, and other parts of the former kingdom of Mpororo represented by the modern counties of Kajara, most of Rwampara and most of Sheema. (3)

People from the present counties of Rujumbura and Rubabo in Rukungiri District share the same culture. From time immemorial, Ankole has been also praised as Kaaro- Karungi (The beautiful hamlet). As Karugire asserts:

It is difficult to draw a systematic and comprehensive inventory of the sources of traditional material of Ankole society .... It is possible to gather information from place – names and incidents in the history of clans, but neither of these sources give a complete picture even in their own context. (10)

This means that it is hard to get enough information about Ankole kingdom by using their names. Using names like Buhweju, Mbarara and Kiruhura among others may not give a complete picture of what Ankole was. Even using different scenarios and incidents may not give detailed information. This is because even when all these may give some information about Ankole, they may not reveal the culture, and culture is the one that best explains the social, political and economic base of any given society. For this reason, the origin and culture of the Banyankore can best be understood through oral traditions told by the clans in form of myths and folktales. Myths hold that the first king of Ankole was Ruhanga (the creator), who is believed to have come from heaven to rule the earth. Ruhanga is believed to have come with his three sons Kairu, Kakama and Kahima who, up to present make the three divisions among the Banyankole.

Economically the original Ankole society was stratified into the bahima and the bairu ethnic groups. The bahima were pastoralists while the bairu were cultivators. A caste-like system of the bahima over the bairu existed. However, the two groups recognized a common ancestry. There was a general belief that what made a mwiru (singular of bairu) was a hoe and what made a muhima (singular of bahima) was cattle. This kind of belief was not very accurate because merely acquiring cows would not immediately transform one from a mwiru into a muhima nor would the loss of cows transform a muhima into a mwiru. A muhima who owned few cattle would be called a *Murasi*. A mwiru who owned cattle was called a *Mwambari*. The two groups lived together and they depended on each other. The bairu exchanged cattle products with

bahima and the bahima equally received agricultural goods from the bairu. This was because the bairu needed milk, meat, hides and other cattle products from the bahima, while the bahima would also need agricultural products from the bairu, including local beer.

As noted above, the origin and history of the Banyankore is told through their oral literature.

Nandwa and Bukenya define oral literature as:

.... those utterances, whether spoken, recited or sung, whose composition and performance exhibit to an appreciable degree the artistic characteristics of accurate observation, vivid imagination and ingenious expression. (1)

These utterances are a product of the environment that surrounds the people who imaginatively and ingeniously compose them for aesthetic and ethical purposes. Myths are, for example, considered pivotal in accounting for the origin of people. As Leteipa and Miruka state: “Myth is an account of the beginning of time, destiny of mankind and the occurrence of physical or socio-cultural traits in the human and bio-physical environment” (59) This is an indicator that to know the origin of mankind, there is need to delve into the myths of that group of people. In the same manner, folktales are used for ethical and aesthetical purposes. In the whole of Africa folktales have been used for instructing both the young and the old generation. They are also known for entertaining people during their leisure time. In African traditional society, these and other forms of oral literature were always narrated in the late evening around the fire. This was the time when everyone would be free after the day’s work.

It is on the basis of the above, that the Ankole myths of creation account for the origin of the physical and environmental features as well as the various economic activities the people of Ankole are engaged in. It is essential in that case to analyze the oral literature of the Banyankore

in order to understand the culture and philosophy responsible for their socio-economic and political formation as Okpewho argues that “every society must be studied in its own right and scholars must read as much of the various aspects of the peoples’ folklore as possible.” (9).

This is why the study delves much into Ankole folklore even in this twenty first century since it is the store of all the ways of living of the people. As Okpewho further asserts:

Perhaps the more lasting benefit of the latest trends in the study of African oral Literature may be in helping us answer some very fundamental questions about the nature of literature and culture. In the final analysis it seems, all knowledge aims at helping understand who we are, the value of what we do, how we have reached the stage of civilization we have achieved and what steps we can take to improve our conditions. (18).

As noted above, this study analyses the selected oral narratives of the people of Ankole to give explanation of how they relate to one another in production of material wealth; how they perceive and exercise power, as well as the ethnic relations that define their nature of living. These are the three major aspects that the study focuses on. The study focuses on the lives of characters in these oral narratives. The kind of life these characters live is compared to the life lived by the people of Ankole currently. This helps in finding out why Ankole is organized the way it is and what can be done to make the situation better for the future generations.

## **1.2. Problem Statement**

The problem that this study investigates arises from the nature of the existing studies on oral literature of Ankole. Much as many scholars such as Aaron Mushengyezi (1999), Isidore Okpewho (1992), Ruth Finnegan (1995), Bukenya, Gachanja and Nandwa (1997) have delved

into the subject of oral literature, to the best of my knowledge, there has not been a comprehensive study on the role of oral narratives in the portrayal of the exercise of power and production relations between ethnic groups of people in Ankole. Previous scholars have hardly picked examples from Ankole to demonstrate how oral literature reflects the social relations, perceptions and material conditions of the people of Ankole. This study therefore offers a new and fresh perspective on the study of myths and folktales of Ankole. It analyses the narratives' portrayal of leadership, production relations and distribution of wealth as well as ethnic stereotyping.

### **1.3. Definition of Key Terms**

Orature: This is the collective body of oral texts.

Folktales: Tales which may include human beings, animals and sometimes creatures from the non-human world.

Myth: A story of forgotten or vague origin basically religious or supernatural in nature which seeks to explain or rationalize one or more aspects of the world or society. (Doyle 1992:1)

Leadership: The act in which someone directs others with authority.

Stereotyping: Having an exaggerated or negative conception about someone.

Power: The coercive force which subordinates one set of people to another.

Ethnicity: The common characteristics of a group of people, especially relating to culture, language or ancestry.

Superiority: The act of being higher in rank.

Inferiority: The act of being lower in rank.

Social dynamics: In this study, the phrase refers to the way the people in the caste system of Ankole relate and behave towards each other.

#### **1.4. Scope of the study**

This study was carried out in the districts that made up Anokole kingdom. Specifically, the districts from where data was collected were Ibanda, Mbarara, Kazo, Kiruhura, Mitooma and Buhweju. These sample districts were selected among others because they occupy the central part of Ankole kingdom. For this reason they have not been vastly infiltrated by non Banyankore as it is with the border districts like Ntungamo and Bunyaruguru. The researcher collected data from men and women and some political leaders who occupy the remote areas of the selected districts. These areas have a big concentration of Banyankole compared to towns. This study was limited to the analysis of social dynamics in selected Ankole myths and folktales. Analysis is based on character portrayal and character relationship as depicted in the the selected myths and folktales and how these reflect the social, political and economic living of Ankole people as stated in the objectives.

#### **1.5. Objectives of the study**

The main objective of the research project is to analyze the social dynamics portrayed in selected Ankole myths and folktales.

The specific objectives are:



1. To analyze the characters' perceptions and exercise of power in the selected oral tales
2. To examine the economic activities and production relations between the bahima and bairu ethnic groups as depicted in selected oral narratives.
3. To examine ethnic stereotyping of the characters in the selected oral tales.

#### **1.6. Research questions**

1. Which characters in the narratives are leaders and how is their leadership dispensed?
2. What economic activities do the characters engage in?
3. What are the origins and images of the bairu and bahima stereotypes?

#### **1.7. Literature Review**

There is much research that has been done about oral literature generally and in particular the oral narratives of Ankole. Ogunjimi and Na'Allah present a well-intentioned attempt of African oral narratives in *Myths and folk tales*. He analyses the various functions of these oral narratives. He looks at the myths and folk tales as part of oral literature which "can be perceived as experiences and actions that link the world of the super natural and the world of man." (55) Apart from other general functions, he looks at these myths as a tool that explains the metaphysical phenomena in the life of man in society as well as connecting man with the future. In his study, the major emphasis is put on the function of these oral narratives; the myths and folk tales. He, however, does not make a detailed study of how these narratives shape a given society socially, politically and economically, though he hints on this in the functions as he states for example, that man emulates the functional components of myths like characterization, action and behavior. Even with this, he does not give this kind of characterization and actions of these characters in different tales. This study therefore characterizes these characters and shows how

their behavior influences their actions, which later impacts on the society's power and character relations, as well as socio-economic being.

More so, in Ogunjimi's study of myths and folk tales, there are other weaknesses which this study addresses. In a kind of metonymical manner, his study refers to Africa's oral literature when he really refers to West Africa. Almost all of the examples given are from West African countries especially Nigeria. This kind of universality leads to precarious essentialism since most of the Bantu speaking groups in Africa, for example, have mythologies that are not squarely parallel to those referred to in his study. This study, therefore, refers to one of the Bantu speaking communities; the Banyankore in Western Uganda.

In her study of Oral narratives, Ruth Finnegan attempts to give a detailed study on the social function of oral narratives. Among the social functions, she focuses on these narratives being the ones to guide the social relation among the people in given communities as well as acting as forms of socialization and education. This education, she asserts, is majorly arrived at from the lessons learnt by listeners from the experiences of the characters in these narratives. She asserts:

One should not be rude to one's mother in-law, that men's words are more weighty than women's, that strangers should be treated well, that it is ill advised to oppress the weak, or even that determination sometimes triumphs over. (346)

From this quotation, oral pieces are a major source of instruction in any given area. All vices that are condemned in a society are got rid of by looking at the consequences that the characters in these tales suffer after committing such crimes. She also looks at how they boost the determination of people in the society. She further upholds that these folk narratives serve as an indenture that reflects the general structures of a given society. All these are achieved through

the characters in these tales. With all the lessons that these narratives portray to the society, it is essential to find out how these lessons are achieved and how they affect some of the people in a given society. This is done by analyzing the character portrayal and relationship in a given society's narratives and how these reflect the economic, political and social being of that society which this study deals with.

Like Ogunjimi, Finnegan also dwells on the narratives from West African societies. Though her work is entitled "*Oral Literature in Africa*", Africa cannot be seen more of a universal continent with universal folk narratives. Her animal characters, for example, differ depending on the community a given narrative is picked, for example, the hare among the Ila Shona and Bemba in central Africa, the mouse among the Tetela in Congo, the tortoise among the Mpongwe in Equatorial Africa. This means there is no universality. According to Finnegan these stories from different societies "may in fact differ in tone and character even when the subject matter seems very close." (338) It should be noted, however that even when the tone and the subject matter are the same, different societies have different genealogies and even the people in these societies have their unique differences and similarities. Hence it should not be assumed that tales from a given society can help in bringing out the life of people in another society. This study therefore refers closely to some of the narratives from one of the Bantu speaking communities in Uganda so as to create a vivid reflection of what Finnegan asserts in the above quotation.

Other analysts that have done great work in oral literature are Bukenya Gachanja and Nadwa. These analyze folk tales by considering such literally features as narrative structure and stylistic devices. The function of oral literature is discussed as well as its relevance to modern society.

Major emphasis is put on oral literature as a foundation of a new progressive culture. This study expounds more on what Bukenya Gachanja and Nadwa explore. It also cites more examples from Uganda specifically Ankole which the above authors fall short of, since they cite mainly from Kenya.

In his *African Oral Literature: Background, Character and Continuity*, Okpewho analyses the social significance of folk narratives in a given society. He stresses that folk narratives act as a record of history as well as shaping a society's cultural ideology. He contends that with a society's history and ideology exhibited in these narratives, scholars as well as narrators can easily attract any foreigner as he states:

It is the duty of scholars if they truly understand the language and culture from which a piece of oral literature comes, to explain its literary qualities so that an outsider can appreciate it. (9)

In this, he compels different scholars to dig deep into the culture of different African societies with a bid to create awareness to the people who are not living in such communities so that this culture can be appreciated. He still contends that folk narratives are a major source of entertainment in any given society. To fully get awareness about any given society, one must understand its social, political and economic setting. This would require citing specific examples from that particular society which Okpewho does not do. This study cites examples from Ankole and shows its cultural ideology socially, politically and economically as influenced by their myths and folktales.

Doornbos. R Martin is also one of those who have had great interest in the ahaistory of Ankole kigdom. In his article "*Ethnicity, Christianity, and the Development of Social stratification in Colonial Ankole, Uganda,*" he contends that the "social stratification in Ankole is as a result of

colonialism.”(557). This is because of the fact that the process of structural transformation in many African cultures is attributed to colonial intervention. He states:

African societies are seen as molded to the image, or shaped, by the intention of the colonizing power into either modernizing states or the exploited reservoirs of human and material resources. (557)

He puts emphasis on the “force and consequences of colonialism and imperialism” (565). In this, he finds tradition a residual effect on the socio-economic living. It can be said that he generalizes all the African cultural groups even when some of these were already stratified before the coming of colonialism. Ankole was one those kingdoms that were already stratified. This study explores the role played by myths and folktales in the stratification of Ankole people even before they embraced colonial rule. It looks at the continuity of the Ankole culture rather than focusing only on change brought by the colonialists which Doornbos does. He observes that “in the 1901 Ankole agreement, out of ten chiefs that signed, nine were bahima and the ancestry of the tenth is not clear” (425). This made the ethnic composition unfavorable to bairu. From this it is clear that even before colonialism there was ethnic hierarchy. This study therefore examines the origin of this hierarchy, tracing it through the oral narratives specifically the folk tales and myths.

Another scholar in the same line of argument as Doornbos is Kagume. He looks at the impact of colonial rule, western religion as well as education in shaping the socio-political living of Ankole people. As an example, he looks at the purpose of the movement group called Kumanyana and asserts that “the purpose of this group was to draw together all the bairu as an oppressed group with the common purpose of liberating themselves from bahima domination” (185). This movement that was created in 1940 instilled a sense of identity and unity among the bairu who had been side lined by their counterparts, the bahima for a long time. According to him, the

notion of unity that is evident in this movement was inspired by the western religion and education. Though he focuses on this movement, he neglects the Ankole traditional religious beliefs in their god Ruhanga, who was believed in even before the coming of western religion. This western religion intensified the situation in Ankole and hence the need to analyse the factors that had caused the kind of disparity between bairu and bahima to the level that required a movement if the two groups of people had to unite. This study focuses on these factors, as they are found to be rooted in the oral literature of this Ankole society.

In analyzing the purpose of an artist, Wanjiku (1983) looks at an oral artist as one who uplifts the marginalized groups in a given society. Though she majorly focuses on gender equality, she seems to assert that the oral narratives always give priority to those with less power in the communities where these narratives are told. She states:

In most narratives created in these communities, the narrator can actually be called the artist of the little people. Such a narrator is concerned with every individual in the society not with exceptional men. He considers every individual in the society both men and women to be equally important and treats them as such. Social institutions in such communities are intended to support the weak, not to protect a few powerful individual members of the community. (2)

In the above quotation, the narrator is considered the crusador for the oppressed. However, some tales are told with the purpose of elevating some exceptional groups of people not all as Miruka asserts. Instead of according equal treatment to all categories of people in the community, these tales instead seem to create a boundary between them. This may lead to some institutions' failure to strike the balance between the different categories of people. This study looks at such scenarios in Ankole and how they have been propagated by the myths and folktales in this area.

## **1.8. Significance of the Study**

This study gives the philosophy that underlies the nature and the socio-economic organization of Ankole people. Previous studies have not collected and analyzed oral pieces from Ankole with an intention of showing the link between these oral narratives and society in a Marxist perspective. This study also creates a better appreciation and awareness of oral literature as the genesis of the current political, social and economic atmosphere in Ankole which has been, and is still based on social class. This has made Ankole a capitalistic society where few individuals own the factors of production leaving the majority as surfs leading to high levels of inequality between the two groups. This research provides a comprehensive resource material for students and scholars of oral literature of Ankole. The collected narratives are useful especially in the comparison of the style of narration by other narrators for specific purposes.

## **1.9. Theoretical Framework**

In this study the analysis of data is guided by Marxist literary theory. This theory of criticism was advanced by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the nineteenth century. Marx believed that society is primarily stratified along social classes. He stresses that economic factors and the class divisions they reflect and reinforce play a primary role in determining social institutions and actions. This study applies the Marxist theory to explain the social dynamics of the caste system in Ankole akin to the social class system in capitalistic societies.

Marxists put emphasis on the changing modes of material production, of which this fundamental mode of production effect essential changes both in the constitution and the power relations of social classes which carry on a conflict for economic, political and social advantage. For this

matter, Marxists try to reveal the ideological determinants in any given place and era. This can be best done through the literature of that specific place and culture. This means that Marxists find that culture bears some political stamps since it is expressive of social relations of class power, naturalizes the social order as an inevitable fact and obscures the underlying relation of exploitation. Barker asserts:

The political conception of culture that cultural studies employs has its roots in debates about the place of culture in a social formation and its relationship to other practice notably economics and politics. (55)

This approach therefore becomes essential in this study since it is the best way of finding out the origin of the ideological cultural setting in Ankole. A lot of controversy has come up on why the bahima and bairu in Ankole have always had political and economic differences, which have in turn affected their modes of production. In his Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, Homer states:

Mode of production would, therefore, appear to meet the requirements of the object pole articulating the unity and identity of given historical periods whilst simultaneously acknowledging their differences from previous as well as subsequent historical moments and their intrinsic diversity. (80)

According to the above assertion, the modes of production of any society can be used to reflect back to their homogeneity or difference which can help in highlighting their central conflict. The Marxist approach therefore helps in examining the basis of the differences between bahima and bairu using the folk tales and myths.

This theory also helps this study in the recognition of the existence of social classes. In a class society like Ankole, it is essential to look at these social dynamics in this place. This is where Marxists find literature as the major tool in analyzing this kind of structure. These classes have divided men and women into distinct segments known as bairu and bahima. This theory also



helps in the recognition of the profound inequalities and injustices between the two groups. These injustices cause conflicts which in turn result into different forms of stereotypes as each class wants to appear superior over the other. For this reason, this theory guides this study in finding out the different forms of stereotypes in Ankole as rooted in their folktales, something that has been done by each group to lower the status of the other.

Marxists also look at the opposition to an economic system based on inequality and on the alienation and exploitation of the majority which is majorly done by means of the wage labor system. In most cases, this kind of system helps some few individuals to obtain profits rather than satisfying the needs of all. This describes capitalism. For any society to transform, a kind of revolutionary process that will lead to a society based on cooperation and the free distribution of goods and provision of services is necessary. This helps this study in analyzing the economic base of Ankole. Thus this study applies Marxist theory in the social dynamics of Ankole oral narratives to analyze the characters' understanding of power and leadership and examine the economic activities and production relations among the characters, as Marx observes that:

The totality of these relations of production constitute the economic structure of society- the real foundation, on which legal and political superstructures arise and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. (67)

The study therefore looks at the mode of economic organization among the Ankole people and how this affects the power relations of social classes which carry on a conflict for economic, political and social advantage as the Marxists contend. This will be in direct correlation with the Marxists' assumption that the evolving history of humanity, its institutions and its ways of thinking are determined by the mode of its material production.

Another major tenet of Marxists that this study employs is that literature should not be treated in isolation of history and society. This guides this study in the use of oral narratives which bring out the culture and beliefs of the people in a given society. Marxist scholars such as Fredric Jameson and Terry Eagleton view Marxism as absolute historicism. This is because of a vivid connection between literature and history. In his preface to *Marxism and Literary Criticism*, Terry Eagleton observes that:

Marxist criticism is part of a larger body of theoretical analysis which aims at understanding ideologies....the ideas, values and feelings by which men experience their societies at various times. And certain of those ideas, values and feelings are available to us only in literature. To understand ideologies is to understand both the past and the present more deeply, and such understanding contributes to our liberation. (i)

This means that history and literature are almost inseparable since all that happen in the past are expressed through literature. In the above quotation, Eagleton observes the crucial role of history in finding out the past, contrasting it with the present in the bid to fodge the future. In Ankole there is much belief in their oral literature, especially the myths of origin and folktales which date back to their history. This makes it essential to use the Marxist theory in this study.

## **1.10. Research Methodology**

### **1.10.1. Research Design**

This study was library and field based. It was carried out using qualitative research design since data collection and analysis was based on different individuals' opinions and experiences to find out why Ankole people behave the way they do. This qualitative data came from the evaluation of the research questions generated at the beginning of the research process.

### **1.10.2. Library Research**

This research utilized books, journals and periodicals from the libraries. The researcher utilized Kyambogo University library, Makerere University library and archival records at Igongo Cultural Centre in Mbarara district and Great Lakes Museum in Ntungamo district. These materials provided the available literature on myths and folktales as well as the theories needed for the interpretation of data. The archives provided historical and cultural information about Ankole.

### **1.10.3. Field Research**

Primary data was collected from the districts that formed greater Ankole namely: Ibanda, Mbarara, Kazo, Kiruhura, Mitooma and Buhweju. The research was carried out in the rural areas of the aforementioned districts. These sample districts were selected among others because they occupy the central part of Ankole kingdom. For this reason, they have not been vastly infiltrated by non Banyankore as it is with the border districts like Ntungamo and Bunyaruguru. The researcher collected data from men and women and some political leaders who occupy the remote areas of the selected districts. These areas have a big concentration of Banyankole compared to urban centres. Prior to the main research, a pilot field study was carried out for purposes of getting familiar with the respondents in order to test the instruments and formulate appropriate approaches for this research. During the main research, the researcher had personal interaction with the informants in their homes. A sample of twenty respondents were interviewed in each district. This made a total of one hundred respondents. Whereas some of these respondents were randomly sampled, others were recommended by their ifellows as people who were well acquainted with the culture of the land. The informants were interviewed with specially prepared interview guide (here attached); the interview was recorded using a mobile phone and

the information transcribed. This interview targeted different age groups: 16-40 years and above 40 years. This was purposely done because these age groups have already entered the labour market and hence have knowledge on the economic situation in Ankole. They were grouped in two to have a clear comparison between the views of the old and the young generations.

The researcher used observation method to draw empirical deductions. This was achieved by paying attention to how different people, men and women, bairu and bahima related and reacted to each other during the interview sessions especially in focus group discussions. These observations were recorded as field notes which would also be used in the analysis of data.

#### **1.10.4. Data Analysis**

The data collected was analyzed qualitatively. The recorded data was first put in a text based format. It was then organized accordingly; separating myths from folktales as well as the individual respondent's views. These transcripts were closely read and emergent themes noted. There was also comparison of data collected; for example, data collected from the old generation (40 years and above) was compared with that of the young generation (16 to 40 years), that of bairu with that of bahima and then the views collected from different individuals in focus discussion groups. This was then analysed using the Marxist theory of literary criticism and organized under five chapters. Chapter one is the introductory chapter. It contains background information to the research. This includes the brief background of Ankole as well as its people. Chapter two examines the characters' perception and exercise of power and leadership as portrayed in the oral narratives. It analyzes the source of power in Ankole before and after colonialism. This gives a clear view on the political administration of Ankole and its impact on both bairu and bahima in this area. Chapter three analyzes production relations and distribution

of wealth in Ankole as depicted in the oral narratives. This portrays the economic structure bringing out the major economic activities carried out in this area. It also deals with the trade relations between bahima and bairu as well as how servants relate with their masters in their economic endeavors. Chapter four examines the forms of stereotypes based on ethnicity. It focuses on the two ethnic groups; bairu and bahima and how each group strives to enhance its social status. This ethnic stereotyping is discussed in relation to myths and folktales. Chapter five concludes the study and makes recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO

### POWER AND LEADERSHIP AS DEPICTED IN MYTHS AND FOLK TALES

#### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the social and political relationship of Ankole people as portrayed in their myths and folktales. It delves into the question of who owns power in Ankole and how power is exercised. The focus is on the participation of the bahima and the bairu ethnic groups in political process in as far as administration and leadership in Ankole is concerned.

#### 2.2. Source of power

In Ankole the social and political order is majorly defined by the myths. These myths are seen as the major source of socio-political divisions among the Banyankole. A close examination of Ankole myths reveals that cultural and political power in Ankole has its genesis from the cultural beliefs and practices of the people that subscribe to the myths of origin.

The common myth of origin in Ankole is the myth of *Ruhanga n'abaana be*. (Appendix 1A) This myth holds that in the beginning Ankole was not inhabited. One time Ruhanga (the creator) descended from heaven (*iguru*) and lived in Ankole with his three sons who were nameless by then. In the bid to name and give them responsibility before retiring back to heaven, he gave them a task of holding a milk pot each till morning without spilling any of the milk. Sometime before midnight, the youngest brother was overcome by sleep and spilled some of his milk. He however managed to convince his brothers, who sympathized with him and refilled his milk pot with milk from their milk pots. Just before dawn, the elder brother was also overcome by sleep and spilled all his milk. In the morning, the father called the three sons to see how each had

fares. He was convinced that his youngest son was more intelligent than his elder brothers since he had his pot full, after convincing his brothers to contribute for him when he had spilt his. The middle son had his pot half way and the elder brother had almost nothing. He then gave them names basing on this test. The youngest was named Kakama (ruler), the middle brother was named Kahima (cattle keeper) and the elder brother was named Kairu (cultivator)

This myth is an explanation of the social and political organization of the Banyankole. From it, we find an already defined status quo which, to those who subscribe to it, is to be maintained and not discarded, since it favors one group and disfavors the other. According to Auguessy, “Myths should rather be seen as an oral expression communally created to respond to the needs of that particular people.” (118)

The Ruhanga myth, however, does not create a neutral ground for all the Banyankole in as far as politics is concerned. It rather creates a class society. This is because the bahima feel they are more superior to the bairu since they feel that this myth is in their favor. The major issue to note is that the descendants of Kakama and the descendants of Kahima became one under the umbrella called bahima. This was because they were united by the rearing of cattle which the bairu were not entitled to do. This is why there are two classes of people: the bahima and the bairu. For this reason the bahima, who are the descendants of both Kakama and Kahima are all viewed to be the antagonists of bairu. They therefore find themselves nearer to the throne than the bairu. The reason for this is in direct correlation with the accumulation of wealth. In Ankole power is no doubt related to wealth. A poor person does not assume power in the Ankole society. In this the major question is on what the measure of wealth should be. In Ankole cows are the measure of wealth. This is why the bahima are at the threshold of the ruling class because they have cows, the reason why it became easy for them to have a close relationship with the ruling

class whose descendant was Kakama as in accordance to the Ruhanga myth. A rich man relates with another. A poor man is always a threat to the rich. However, the rich may help the poor by giving him some work to help him earn a living. This is why the bairu are seen as the under dogs in Ankole.

According to the myth, when Kairu spills all the milk, it is an indicator that he cannot be trusted with wealth. On the other hand, Kakama can be trusted since he is even capable of convincing his brothers to contribute milk for him after spilling his. Such a person can easily be trusted with wealth because one is sure that in case of any disaster that befalls, he is capable of regaining it. This is different with Kairu who is likely to stay without anything in case a disaster befell him. More so, a good leader should be one who is respected by his people. One form of respect is listening to someone and then the willingness to do what he desires. Basing on this, Kakama qualifies to become a leader because the two brothers listen to him and they even give him the milk wilfully.

Kahima is the one who has a special attribute. He does not spill any of his milk all through the night. This means that he is very careful. This partly explains why Ruhanga puts him close to Kakama who is the leader. He can easily be the adviser to the king. This is why in Ankole the advisers to the king were bahima. They used this advantage to get high positions of leadership leaving the bairu as their subjects. About the political space and social arena among the Banyankole, Oberg observes that:

From the stand point of political and legal states the members of the Banyankole kingdom did not form a homogeneous mass, but were distinguished by a wider range of rights and prohibitions resulting in a stratification of society into classes. At the top was the Bahima state with its growing nucleus centering on Omugabe (king)



below were the subject class of the Bairu. The caste nature of this stratification was pronounced resting entirely on racial and economic differences. (134).

This argument indicates that the stratification was as a result of superiority over inferiority as it is in the Ruhanga myth. From this quotation, even though wealth determined power in this society, there was basically a class society. A mwiru, even though he owned as many herds of cattle as a muhima or even more, would not qualify to be called a muhima and hence had less power. In fact, such a mwiru would be called a *mwambari*. In the same way a muhima who never owned cattle would not qualify to be called a mwiru but would be called a *muratsi*, who would still be in a position above a mwiru whether rich or poor. This shows that there was a clear distinction between bahima and bairu, which originated from the Ruhanga myth. One of the informants called Ntungwa, a muhima, contends that these myths which they found in existence are meant to be believed. At the opening of these myths the story teller opens it with *Obwakare nakare* (long time ago) which means it has no clear time setting and hence meant to be believed and not questioned. He further says that among the bahima the Ruhanga myth is believed not because it gives them the superiority but because it is something that one cannot refute since there are no grounds to do so.

Some individuals like Rutahigwa from Ibanda however, refute this categorization based on social class in their society with the claim that the coming of Christianity has eroded all this since it calls for unity. In an interview he state:

The only difference that is evident is the difference in religion. And this is because some are Anglicans and others catholics but apart from that there is no more categorization based bairu or bahima. They mingle like brothers and sisters and indeed they are. Unless those who find this categorization just feel and wish it could re-exist, otherwise we are now born agains.

This is contrary to Ntungwa from Rushere who claimed that power is something endowed on someone by God Himself. Such claims bring out the strong belief in the Ruhanga myth that is under discussion, since Ruhanga is the one who decreed the state of politics in Ankole by appointing Kakama to lead his two brothers; Kahima and Kairu. This order is hard to do away with since it is something their great grandfathers started. As Chidi Amuta asserts:

Literature is one of the instruments for the sharpening and mobilization of social consciousness in pursuit or negation of qualitative change, an instrument for the preservation or subversion of the existing order. (8)

From the above quotation, it can be observed that the Ruhanga myth gives an explanation to the political organization of Ankole with the intention of maintaining the status quo. However, the preservation and maintenance of this order is majorly being recognized by the bahima whereas the bairu are, by all means, subverting it. In the bid to weaken this myth, part of it has been turned into a mockery against the bahima.

In the last parts of this myth, there are two contentious issues which the bairu find outlandish about Isaza. The fact that Isaza got Nyamate as a wife would be something great for him to start a family. However, when she gets pregnant she realizes that Isaza has no interest in the family but his cows. This looks very odd to a mwiru who would wonder how one would be so obsessed with the cows than a human being especially his own family. It is worse that even when the wife goes back to her father's home (*Okwangana*), Isaza does not make a move to bring her back home (*Okwanganura*). He decides to let go of the wife and the child and stays with his cows.

The second bizarre scenario is when Ruyonga sends his two cows Ruhogo and Kahogo to Isaza's farm. After the two cows breaking loose and returning to Ruyonga's farm, Isaza is determined to get them back that when he goes for them, he is forced to stay there, in the bid to stay with the

two cows. This is very odd in the sense that a man with an established home and moreover an equivalent of a king in his area of Kitara could leave his own home to live in a strange home for cows. What makes it worse is that he is to stay at his wife's home (*ow'ishezaara*), something that is odd among the Banyankole. When he leaves his home, his gatekeeper Bukuku ruled his place. This sounds bizarre and has been used to mock the bahima as people whose decisions are based on their cattle.

Even when the Ruhanga myth was found to be common among the Banyankole, the study found that the bairu did not subscribe to this myth. In Bubweju, Karahuka Erias tells another myth: *Nyakakaikuru N'orukooko* (The old woman and the ogre). (Appendix 1B) which he says "is commonly believed by the bairu because it preaches a classless society."

In the *Nyakakaikuru* myth, it is believed that the old woman was created and put on earth with the ogre. The two were not aware of the other's presence. One day they met and the ogre chased the old woman to feast on her. God had given this old woman the three calabashes for protection: one had water, the other had mountains and forests and the third had human beings. The old woman broke one calabash at a time leading to the existence of lakes and oceans, mountains, forests which delayed the ogre from reaching the old woman. The woman broke the last calabash which contained human beings who united, beat up the ogre and buried it half dead. From then on, there is a belief that this ogre comes back and picks one human being and this is death.

From this myth there are no classes of people, instead it encourages unity, as these people unite to fight the ogre. The bairu are so inclined to this myth countering the Ruhanga myth which stratifies society according to classes. With this myth it can be deduced that both bairu and bahima have equal opportunities to the acquisition of power in the society. This is opposed to the Ruhanga myth which looks at bahima as aristocrats and the bairu as the proletarians.

In the Nyakakaikuru myth the ogre is murderous since it runs after the old woman in the bid to devour her. It later turns out to be a symbol of death that after it has been beaten by the people and buried half dead, it comes back and picks one individual at a time. This is when people say that someone has died. The irony in this story is that instead of people joining hands to fight death and its powers, they are the ones that instigate it. When the old woman ascends to heaven after other people have emerged on earth from the old woman's third calabash, they shift blame on one another for not having killed the ogre hence causing conflict. This conflict is the one that brings divisionism among people though it does not bring out the classes of bahima and bairu. However this myth also brings out the aspect of cattle keeping. As the story ends, the old woman goes back to heaven and all that is seen as clouds are believed to be the old woman's cows. This shows that the rearing of cattle is a very essential economic activity in Ankole.

Juxtaposing the two myths, it can be inferred that the myth of *Ruhanga n'abatabani* exalts the bahima and leaves the bairu in the position of serfdom while *Nyakakaikuru n'orukooko* exhibits a classless society. Analyzing the Ruhanga myth, Beatrice asserts:

In the last resort, what the myth validates is not just this or that particular kind of status differences but rather the "rightness" of all such distinctions on birth. Although in the myth the original discrimination was based on achievement, what it validates is a system in which statuses are ascribed and not achieved. (39)

This tells the reason why the bairu majority do not subscribe to the Ruhanga myth because to them it (Ruhanga myth) does not give them chance to prove their capability so as to prove their superiority in the society. Instead according to this myth one is either born a muhima or mwiru. More so, even if a mwiru proves his worth by achieving as much or even more than a muhima, he is not accorded as much respect as a muhima.

It is still very important to note that even though the bahima wielded power over their bairu counterparts, these bahima were the minority group. Doornbos calls this disparity, “perpetually lopsided balance of power in favor of the minority bahima.” (25) All this, however was caused by the fact that the bahima were viewed as the royal class since they and the king (*Omugabe*) were united by one major factor: cattle, which the bairu never had. For this, leadership ended up as a bahima affair. As Doornbos further writes:

Nkore society was based upon a single economic production .... (and) that is how the pattern of power relations related to the two main population groups. (25)

The economic production referred to in the above quotation is the rearing of cattle which was even adopted by the bairu. Doornbos finds that this activity is the one that determined the power relations in Ankole. To confirm this, it was observed during this study that the top posts in the districts of Kazo and Kiruhura were still occupied by the bahima although these areas are comprised of both bairu and bahima. The chairmen Local council five in the two districts are both bahima. However, it was still observed that in localities where bairu were the majority, the leaders there were bairu. In Kinoni Trading center in Kiruhura district and Ntambaazi village in Kazo district, for example, the leaders on local council one were bairu. This is a clear indicator that there is still too much struggle for power between the two groups and the group that has the majority people always takes it all. The bairu win these positions in specific areas mostly in trading centers because they outnumber the bahima who do not find enough land to settle with their cattle in these congested trading centers, otherwise the bahima always find themselves as the custodians of power.

The sole reason for this was that the *Omugabe* (king) was the custodian of power. He had absolute powers. His position was held in high esteem and his authority absolute. The physical

and spiritual powers in Ankole were inherent. The bahima therefore felt far more superior to the bairu since there was a belief that God (Ruhanga) determined this power and order. As Mushengezi observes:

The basis of the divine decree is meritoriously determined; ... cattle and milk (are) the symbol of power in Ankole and hence the epicenter of social and production relations among the two dominant groups, the cultivators and the pastoralists. (56)

Mushengezi's observation is in line with Kagame who asserts:

The underlying philosophy in this story was that the ethnic groupings of the bairu and bahima in the region were by choice of the creator. The story provided an ideological foundation for the bairu and bahima ethnic groups as being distinct social categories. Ideally, the bahima were by birth of higher social status than the bairu (17)

These two quotations show the impact of the myth to the social living of the Banyankole. They all affirm that Ruhanga had decreed the social class for each of them. Currently this belief is still held because the coming of the western religion did not change much. When the western religion was introduced, the one supreme God was given the name Ruhanga (Creator). This meant that there was no difference between the Ankole Ruhanga and the western God who was also named Ruhanga. For this reason, the respect for God's decree was maintained and hence the social stratification that was existing, was maintained

### **2.3. Political issues**

The politics of Ankole, from time immemorial has been intriguing. Though considered to be a community that speaks one language and has one culture, it should be noted that there has never been any unison in political ideologies. Participation in Ankole top leadership, for example, was not by a character's choice but something which was divinely designed. This is majorly because

of the belief in their oral literature which according to Amuta “is a product of people and producer of the cognitions and values of society” (8). These values are the ones that shape a society and any member of this society is bound to protect and abide by them.

For this reason, the bairu and bahima in Ankole live by their values and beliefs which by design of nature are clear to them. This follows their myths of origin which give political hierarchy to specific individuals in this society. These myths give the bahima a kind of superiority over the bairu and hence the former as the ruling class. The bahima believe in having been created politicians and rulers and the bairu created as subjects. This is because of their different achievements as illustrated in the myth of *Nkya n'abatabani* (Appendix 1C). This myth has similarities with the Ruhanga myth in Appendix 1A that one of these myths is normally referred to as the version of the other. From the similarities in the two versions, their impact on Ankole can be drawn. Okpewho states that:

...unless one version of a story is compared carefully with another version of it, a scholar will not be able to discover that each version bears stamps of character and technique that are peculiar to the narrator. (8)

According to this myth, Ruhanga and Nkya were brothers. The latter complained of boredom and requested his brother, Ruhanga to provide him with work to do. Ruhanga decided to create heaven and earth where he remained in heaven and told his brother to descend to earth if he wanted work to do. He went and lived on earth and did all kinds of works he wished to. He gave birth to four sons. The first three were referred to as *Nanka* (the other one) for they never had specific names. The last born was named Kantu. One day, Nkya wanted to retire back to heaven but wanted to make sure that all his other three sons had specific names and roles on earth. He

went to his brother Ruhanga in heaven to seek advice. Ruhanga told him to send these boys to heaven for a naming ceremony. On the D-day, the three sons of Nkya went to heaven. On arrival they found the compound untidy and they proceeded to clean it up. The first born picked a hoe, an axe and a head pad (*engata*) used for carrying heavy loads and put them in the store. The second boy picked a milk pot (*ekyanzi*), and a string used to tie the cow's legs while milking (*emboha*). The third boy, who was the youngest, picked the head of the bull which had been slaughtered for the days feast. Ruhanga was fascinated by this. Before retiring to his bed, he gave the boys a test to hold milk pots (*ebyanzi*) full of milk till morning. Ruhanga then gave them their names according to their achievements. The eldest son was named Kairu, the middle son –Kahima and the youngest son –Kakama. Ruhanga then told them to use the items they had picked the previous evening as their working tools on earth. He told the youngest boy to be the head /King since he had picked the head of the bull.

This myth seems to give awareness about political participation in Ankole. Accordingly, the descendants of Kakama are meant to fully participate in politics as heads to both bahima and bairu. However, according to the myth, Kakama and Kahima had their achievements by managing to keep their milk till morning.

In this myth, milk is a symbol of power and wealth. This is why Kakama is given the authority as the king. Because Kakama still has a milk pot full of milk, he is considered the wealthiest of the three. Kahima is ranked second to Kakama and Kairu who almost has an empty milk pot is the poorest.

Milk is the main product of cows. Anyone who mentions the word “milk” has obviously talked about cattle. However, anyone who talks about cattle has not obviously mentioned milk because



some cattle may not produce milk. This means using milk in this myth as a determinant for one to get a name indicates that one has looked at a group of people who own cattle. This explains why the descendants of Kakama and Kahima later managed to become one caste group referred to as bahima leaving Kairu to have his descendants as bairu. If it were not for milk as a major symbol, the descendants of Kakama and Kahima would have remained distant as it is with the descendants of Kahima and Kairu.

More so, before being given the milk test, the two boys pick items that are related to cattle. The middle brother picks the string used to tie the cow while milking (*emboha*) and the milk pot (*ekyanzi*) while the younger brother picks the head of the bull. Another symbol worth looking at is the milk pot “*ekyanzi*.” This is a very essential item in the home of a muhima. This vessel is made of smoked black wood, and is always covered with beautifully handmade covers referred to as *emiheiha*. It is majorly used as a milking vessel as well as a container for serving and storing milk. He who has the milk pot must be having cows because it is related to the milk, and its purpose is solely to do with milk. For this reason, the the milk pot is seldom found in the home of a mwiru. All this is because of the milk contest in which Kairu failed to handle the milk pot and the end result was that his milk was spilled. It is upon this that Ruhanga (God) gave not only roles and responsibilities but also names to his sons: Kakama, Kahima and Kairu. After this, the descendants of Kakama and Kahima started rearing cattle and the descendants of Kairu started their work of crop farming or tilling the land. With time there was unanimity between the descendants of Kakama and Kahima since they were all rearing cattle. They ended up with a unifier name as bahima. They dissociated themselves from the bairu who are believed not to have any attachment to cattle. This left the bairu as subjects and bahima as rulers, since they

believed it was a divine decree from Ruhanga. This means that anyone to be king must be divinely chosen.

In an interview with Sabiiti a resident of Kinoni trading center, he confirms that in Ankole a king was born not made. In his words:

A king was born with unique signs. He would, for example be born holding pumpkin seeds or a drum or any other thing to differentiate him from other children. At the time of coronation he would beat the royal drum *Bagyendanwa*. In case any other person not meant to be king beat this drum, it would not produce any sound.

This indicates that the Banyankole would not by all means try to struggle for kingship which was, for this case, seen as divinely selected. There was always fear of *bagyendanwa* not producing any sound at the time of coronation in case one was not divinely selected by the gods. For this reason, they had to wait for the rightful person to take on power. It was however not clear on whether the drum *bagyendanwa* would only respond to a Muhima. More so, it was not only a Muhima who would be born with unique features of being a king. One respondent called Byabagyenzi Festo narrates a folktale entitled *Omushaija omunyambabazi, omunaku, wengumba n'omukazi we* (Appendix 2A) where a mwiru assumes power.

In this folktale the poor man called Bitunta and his wife happen to host a stranger who is later known to be a soothsayer (*omuhangwa*). Bitunta's wife gives this stranger some potatoes and beans for a meal. Because of the care given to him by this couple, he blesses it and prophesies that they would give birth to a son. The soothsayer waits until this boy is born. He gives the family some pumpkin seeds which they would plant to help them in times of famine. When the

boy is born, the *Omuhangwa* looks into the right palmand finds small bows and arrows and is overjoyed. He then plans to leave and Bitunta and his wife give him porridge which would quench his thirst on his way to his home. Later in the story, when the boy matures, he meets the king and his entourage and denies them way. He later asks the king for a duel and in this duel, the king is slain by the young boy. This boy is then made king.

From this folk tale, the boy who kills the king qualifies to be called a mwiru and not a muhima. This is depicted by the kind of food they eat at home. When the soothsayer reaches the boy's home, he is fed on beans and sweet potatoes which, among the Banyankole is alleged to be food for the bairu. In fact up to present the bahima refer to sweet potatoes as *ebitsetsya'mbwa*. Ironically they mean that even dogs do not like sweet potatoes to the point that they expose their teeth while eating these sweet potatoes. For this reason, they consider this kind of food as unfit for human consumption, leaving it for only bairu who do not have any other option. Whereas the bahima always drink milk, the bairu are known for drinking porridge (*obushera*) which, in the folk tale, Bitunta gives to the soothsayer as he is leaving for his home. However, being a mwiru does not stop this young boy from slaying the king and taking over the throne. This means that whereas the bahima claim to be the custodians of power, the bairu find that through folktales, they are also entitled to power and leadership. Such a folktale counters the power superiority of bahima over bairu, showing that leadership is open to both groups, since the boy from a bairu family is born with unique features and indeed becomes king. More to this, this story gives hope to the oppressed. As the title of the folktale suggests, Bitunta is a poor man and worst of it all has become a laughing stock in the village for not having a single child. However, he has a character that helps him achieve all the success he achieves. Bitunta is a kind man. That is why he opts to help the stranger who is being taunted by many villagers. Even when he is aware that

he has little food at home, he is willing to share it with strangers. It is because of this character that he is blessed by the soothsayer.

A folktale like this gives hope to the unprivileged and teaches that any person is capable of rendering help. It is from this kind of sacrifice that one is able to achieve success. It also indicates that God chooses a leader according to his character and not ethnicity. He chooses a leader who would be kind to his subjects and even render a helping hand, in case of any trouble. That is why the young boy is capable of killing the king who is far older and more energetic. This is a sign that he will be able to provide security to his subjects. This is an indicator that leadership is bestowed upon someone who can lead people in the most right way and not based on one's ethnic group.

### **2.3.1. The clan system of governance**

In Ankole there are four main groups/roots (*ebibunu*) of clans (*enganda*). These are: The Hinda, Gahe, Shambo and Ishikatwa clans. (To refer to people who belong to these clans, a prefix *ba-* is always added) Each clan has a totem (*omuziro*). The Bahinda have their totem as a monkey (*enkyende*), the Bagahe have their totem as a brown cow with white patches in the face (*ente Ngoobe*), the Bashambo's totem is a woman with no breasts (*epa*) and pregnancy conceived before marriage (*endaaro*), the Baishikatwa have their totem as grasshoppers (*eseenene*) and a fawn grey brindled cow (*ente mbazi*). All these clans have sub clans and in some cases these sub clans may have different totems from those of the main clan.

The system of governance in Ankole was based on clans. The Bahinda clan was the royal clan as it originated from the first *Mugabe* of Ankole, known as Ruhinda. He is referred to as the first king of Ankole because he started the Bahinda dynasty. The myth of origin in Appendix 1A puts

it that “the first king Kakama was succeeded by Nyamate, who was succeeded by Ruyonga, then Isimbwa, Ndahura, Wamara and then Ruhinda.” From him came the Hinda clan. It was from this clan that the kings were selected. The study found that most of the Bahinda were in parts of Nyabushozi that is mostly occupied by the bahima and indeed most of them were bahinda. Other bahima who were not from the Hinda clan said they belonged to the Ishikatwa clan. This is because the bahima still have a very great attachment to the royal clan which was the Hinda clan. This clan was always considered the richest, since being the royals many people paid tribute to them especially the king. For this reason, the bahima still claim this royalty. Since clans are inherent, one obtains the clan of one’s great grandfathers and it may not be arguable why one belongs to a given clan.

More so, because of this divisionism among the Banyankole, the study found that these clans are distributed majorly according to their clan roots. Ayijuka Paul, in an interview said that most of the people in parts of greater Bushenyi fall under the main group (*ekibunu*) of the Gahe clan. Most of the people in this area are Bagahe, Basiita, Basheegi, Babiito, and Basingo among others. All these are sub clans which fall under the main Gahe clan. However, there are some few who share the same clans with the Hima and vice versa. Ayijuka also affirmed the kind of psychological torture that the people of Singo clan go through. People of this clan are the Basingo. Singo clan is a sub clan of the *Gahe* clan. He said that many people still believe that the king could not place his spear on the ground but instead put the ferrule (*omuhunda*) of his spear in the foot of *Omusingo*. He added that some people in Ankole still believe this story and others believe that the king’s saliva was not meant to land on the ground and hence a *Musingo* was always provided for the king to spit in his mouth. People from this clan have been marginalized

and tagged as people of bad luck up to present. In an interview with Turyahebwa Resty in Mitooma, she said:

The Basingo have bad luck and one is advised not to talk to them in the morning before one has eaten anything, otherwise one is risking lacking anything to eat the whole day. More so a Mushambo man is not supposed to marry from this clan. In fact, it was from this clan that the king would get someone in whose mouth he (king) would spit.

This is in line with what Ayijuka in Buhweju relates about the same clan. For this marginalization, anyone from this clan was not legible to become a king. However, even when other clans were not marginalized, they were not allowed to take part in the top leadership positions of Ankole. It was only set apart for the Hinda clan because of the strong belief in the Hinda dynasty. The only contradictory aspect was that the bairu who belonged to this clan were not allowed to take part in leadership. This means that leadership was meant for the Bahinda who were bahima.

This lack of harmony between the two groups prompted the bairu to fight hard since they were even aware of the support that the bahima had from the colonial masters who had taken sides with them calling them “born rulers.” The bairu, therefore, came together as a unit to fight this domination. They formed a protest group called *Kumanyana*, literary meaning “knowing one another”. In his analysis of this movement, Kagume says that such ethnic protests, alliances and reaction sought to re-adjust the newly bairu-bahima relations to a level of acceptance to the two groups. (Kagume 2014) This association was against the bahima socio-political domination of Ankole which had been further intensified by the coming of Christianity. Traditionally the bahima and bairu had accepted Christianity, with the supreme God who, up to present is referred to as Ruhanga. However having had two sections of Anglicans and Catholics, there was too

much segregation. This was like adding salt to injury since the bairu had had enough of this kind of discrimination even before the coming of the British. They formed the Kumanyana group which was spear headed by the then educated bairu like Z.K.C. Mugoonya. This movement created awareness and unity among the bairu and were determined to fight for their rights. For this, they opted to fight any kind of segregation in Ankole. This movement that was created in 1940 instilled a sense of identity and unity among the bairu who had been side lined by their counterparts the bahima for a long time. Slowly but surely, the bairu succeeded in 1946 when Z.C.K Mugoonya was taken on as the prime minster of Ankole. He was determined to bring bairu from positions of subordination and ridicule in which they had been immersed for years.As Kagume asserts:

Having a Mwiru in the county cabinet was indeed a significant step in the political advance of the Bairu. It signaled a breach of Bahima domination. It also showed that mission education was the Bairu's road to high social status and political leadership, because everyone knew that more than anything else, Mugoonya owed his appointment to his schooling". (179)

In this quotation, Kagume seems to assess that it was only education that helped Mugonya to attain this position. Besides being a mwiru, he was also from the *Basingo* clan which was, and is still the most despised clan in Ankole. This was enough to deny him this position because he was competing with other bairu and bahima who had also attained mission education. It was because of the support from his fellow bairu in the Kumanyana group, coupled with the education he had attained that Mugoonya managed to get this position.This helped people from marginalized clans, and the bairu in general to compete with the bahima on political grounds since Mugonya's position was the beginning of their political eminence in Ankole. People from the *Basingo* clan

can now easily marry in any other clan though there are some individuals who have held their misconception about people from this clan.

### **2.3.2. The coming of the British rule**

The coming of the British rule is believed to have caused much tension in the politics of Ankole. This is because it was after the coming of the white man that Ankole kingdom was expanded. Many historians like Karugire confirm that before the coming of British rule there were two kingdoms: Nkore and Mpororo which were combined to form the Ankole kingdom. (1971)

With the coming of the British rule, which was believed to have come with the democratic form of governance, the bairu still held far less influence than was commensurate with their numbers in society. The bahima together with the colonialists continued to torment the bairu who were still treated as serfs. This means that the British erroneously based their policy on the assumed existence of a rigid ethnic hierarchy in pre-colonial Ankole with the bahima as rulers and the bairu as the ruled. This is because the whites followed the political arrangement they found in existence with the bahima as rulers and the bairu as subjects. The British, for this matter, maintained this status quo and used it as a basis of divide and rule where the bahima were given top posts in their government. These were meant to rule over the bairu, though the latter were the majority. Because of this, the bairu found themselves at the side of British opposition. In 1905 one of the colonial administrators was murdered in Ibanda, and this was linked to the kind of antagonistic relationship that existed between the bairu the British. This gave birth to the folktale *Rutaraaka na Gooti*. (Appendix 2B)

In this folktale, we get to know that Galt (referred to as Gooti in the story), was the acting provincial sub-commissioner of western Uganda province. From Fort Portal through



Bunyaruguru area he comes to Mbarara giving orders on how the road would be cleared. All that way long, Galt was carried by able bodied men. He gives them orders that he wants to go to Ibanda. To avoid any disastrous consequence, these young men carry him up to his desired destination. Later that evening he is speared by an anonymous person and Galt dies instantly.

From the folktale it can be deduced that the killing of Galt is due to the kind of torture that these young men had gone through. On their way to Ibanda, he is not willing to let the men carrying him have any rest. He insists that they have to carry him up to Ibanda. The folktale shows that he uses the statement “*Paka Banda.*” This kind of torture and exploitation instigated their anger which gave them a decision of murdering him. Even after his death the people were not willing to reveal the murderer. They instead said that it was Rutaraaka. Rutaraaka was a crippled man who was unable to do anything. Pointing at Rutaraaka as a murderer, they were aware that the police would not believe that a handicapped man like Rutaraaka would commit such an atrocity. That is why, up to present it is said that the person who murdered Galt disappeared mysteriously, though the administrators knew it was a mwiru who was responsible for the death of Galt. This means that they were aware of the kind of exploitation that the bairu were going through. In his article “*The politics of Intrigue,*” Edward states:

Galt had been an exact administrator, firmly supporting the pro-British faction at court which was dominated by Prime Minister Mbaguta and nominally led by the young monarch, Kahaya. (2)

Kahaya was a muhima who at that time was at logger heads with his brother Prince Igumira. The latter was anti-British, the reason why he was one of the suspects after the death of the British administrator Galt. He is believed to have taken advantage of the bairu and bahima animosity to fulfil his political ambitions. He used the bairu in his

conflict with Kahaya because he was assured of their help owing to the fact that they were the unprivileged. They looked at Igumira as one who was helping them in the struggle for their rights and freedom. They had not benefited from the kingdom itself and the coming of the British had intensified the situation. That is why, though he was a *muhima*, the investigators believed that he connived with the *bairu* who were against the British rule to kill Galt.

The death of Galt was as a result of his impudence which he had found in existence especially among the chiefs who were obviously *bahima*. The *bairu* would be forced to carry him to and from any other kingdom he visited. He used to visit Toro, Buganda and Bunyoro. Up to today the people of Nyakatookyee in Ibanda (where it is believed the murderer came from) are tagged as murderers because they killed Galt. During that time when Galt was killed, there was a lot of torture which was spear headed by the colonial masters together with the *bahima* aristocrats who had been made chiefs by then. Many people were flogged and even forced to carry stones which were piled at a spot where Galt's blood dropped. In fact, even today this mound of stones can be seen along Ibanda-Kagongo road, and locally referred to as *amabaare ga gooti* (Galt's stones). This task of carrying stones was done by the *bairu* with close supervision of the *bahima* chiefs. This shows that even after the coming of British rule, there was no difference in political participation. Instead the situation worsened since the whites decided to follow the traditional political arrangement among the Banyankore with the *bahima* as leaders and the *bairu* as subjects. This was clearly seen through the appointment of county chiefs. By 1946, out of the nine county chiefs only one was a *mwiru*. These counties were Sheema, Rwampara, Kashaari, Nyabushozi, Buhweju, Ibanda, Kajara, Isingiro and Igara. This

study ascertained that apart from Nyabushozi and Isingiro which have been predominantly occupied by the bahima, the rest are occupied by the bairu. However, these bairu were not given chance to have bairu chiefs. The whites looked at the bahima as born rulers and hence were given the priority in leadership leaving the bairu as the underdogs, which limited their chances of political participation.

To overcome such kind of political superiority and inferiority based on ethnicity, traditional organizations were abolished. Alden Campbell asserts:

In order to overcome ethnic differences exploited by the colonial powers, many African governments systematically negated traditional social organizations in the belief that they reinforced an unwanted ethnic awareness and through their values and practices, acted as barriers to rapid growth and modernization. (66)

In the quotation above the governments found that colonialists were taking advantage of the traditional societies to enhance their methods of administration especially the divide and rule method. However, there was no effort to find out the forces behind these values and practices that the colonialist took advantage of. In Ankole, for example, without understanding their oral literature it was illusional for one to claim a clear understanding of their traditional political administration. That is why during the time when the monarchies were being restored, leaders from these different monarchies welcomed their restoration, but it was not the case for Ankole.

Different from other kingships like Buganda, Bunyoro and Toro, Ankole is one of the kingships whose majority people were not in support of the restoration of the kingships, which had been abolished in the 1967 constitution. During the constitution amendment in 1995 a commission called the Odoki commission was set up which was sworn in later as the Uganda Constitutional

Commission (UCC). One of the issues this commission was instituted to look into was whether the Ugandan monarchies would be reinstated.

In Ankole, the restoration of the Ankole monarchy met hostile reaction. This was majorly in the districts of Mbarara and Bushenyi. The views from these two districts clearly showed that there was no need to reinstate the Ankole monarchy at the time. Worth noting is that these are the districts which are majorly inhabited by the bairu caste group with the bahima occupying only parts of Nyabushozi and Kazo; the current Kiruhura and Kazo districts. In his interview with Justice Odoki in 1998, Karamura Patrick asserts:

Traditional leaders were dictatorial and oppressive in the past. They exercised absolute rule before the advent of colonialism, having power over life, which they often abused. (244)

This general view indicates that the majority of the Ankole people were in total disregard of the restoration of the Ankole kingdom with their view that they were not ready to embrace this sad historical reminder. The two districts of Mbarara and Bushenyi in their resolution to the commission argued that:

The restoration of the Omugabe would create sectarianism of having one group of the minority suppressing the majority which would undermine the social and economic development of Ankole. (Minute 23/93)

This forced the commission to deduce that the Ankole kingship was not to be restored. However, the areas that were in support of kingships got their kingships restored. As a result article 246(1) of the constitution states:

Subject to the provision of the constitution, the institution of the traditional leaders may exist in any area of Uganda in accordance with the culture, customs and

traditions or wishes and aspirations of the people to whom it applies. (Ugandan constitution 1995)

This caters for areas like Ankole whose wishes and aspirations of the majority were against the restoration of their king. Some of the republicans from Ankole supported the restoration of other monarchies like Buganda but not Ankole because of the kind of sectarianism that was created by the Ankole monarchy. The newspaper called Weekly Topic quoted Amanyu Mushega, a mwiru who said:

Although I am a republican, I support the restoration of the monarchy in Buganda provided it will enhance unity and development. And although my support is unreserved, I will be talking a different language when it comes to the restoration of the kingdom of Ankole. (Weekly Topic 1993)

This statement by Amanyu Mushega shows that the level of sectarianism in Ankole had retarded its development which was not the case with other monarchies. The fact that this monarchy was not reinstated explains why Ankole is politically organized the way it is today as discussed above with caste groups of the bairu and the bahima. Districts like Kazo and Isingiro are inhabited by Bahima majority with some few bairu who live there as cultivators. In parts of Ibanda, Buhweju, Mitooma, and Bushenyi, the bairu are the majority occupants of these areas. This is because before the abolition of this monarchy there was too much segregation based on ethnicity that these two groups could not live harmoniously in one area.

Different from the bahima who welcome the bairu in their land to use them as their servants, the bairu are not only aware that the bahima may not succumb to serfdom but are also a threat in the political arena. They fear that it may bring back the untold suffering to the bairu as it was during the times of the Omugabe's leadership. This is because the bahima are held in high esteem. As Wanjiku writes:

Here the heroes and saviors of society are the members of the emergent ruling class and virtue such as bravery, dignity, foresight and wisdom are associated with this group of people. (2)

This is exactly what is prevalent in Ankole. The bahima hold themselves in high esteem especially politically and hence claim all the virtues as stated in the quotation above. For this reason, the bairu perceive this as pride and hence do not want to politically associate with them.

#### **2.4. Leadership and Administration**

In Ankole leadership was hierarchical and hereditary. In this stable hereditary form of government, the society was unified through a stratified political structure with a king on top. He had the council of advisers in his council (*Eishengero*). *Enganzi* (Prime minister) was next to the *Omugabe* in hierarchy followed by the ministerial advisors also commonly referred to as *Emikyeeeka*, then the *Bakungu* (territorial chiefs) and lastly the sub county (*Gomborora*) chiefs (*Batwaare*).

From the Omugabe to the Batwaare, all the administrators had their different roles in the kingdom administration. The king was the overall and all powers both physical and spiritual were vested in him. For this belief, all the people of Ankole always paid allegiance to him with the fear that he was always on their watch even in his physical absence, because of the spiritual powers he was believed to have. For the case of the bahima, they had the obligation of providing enough security to the king. In return, the king provided food to the poor in times of famine. The king's intervention in helping the poor is illustrated in the folk tale entitled "*The King and the Hyena*" (Appendix 2C).

In this folktale, the king had decided to help his subjects with food. He sent the village guards to the villages to look out for people who were lacking enough food. These were to be brought to the palace to get food. The king's men came across Mr. Hyena who was starving in his cave. On

the way to the palace, Mr. Hyena was given a condition of not eating anything along the way. As they reached the first valley there was too much milk which tempted hyena to drink it but tried to keep himself till he passed the first task. The next two valleys had tempting foods including meat, but hyena passed those tests. The last and most tempting was the last valley which had big pieces of meat with big bones. Mr. Hyena requested the men to carry him and conditioned them to carry him upside down (legs up, head down). In this position, he had the chance of eating the pieces of meat. When they reached the palace, it was determined that he had eaten meat. This prompted the king not to give him food. Mr. Hyena went running back to the valleys to find the food but was disappointed not to find any meat there. He went back to his cave and after few days died of hunger.

This folk tale shows how generous the king was and always fulfilled his obligation to feed his subjects in times of need. That is the reason why he sends his men to find out all the people who are being tormented by hunger in the bid to help them get what to eat. This was the kind of administration that was expected of any leader. However, the folktale still brings out the conditions that were always given to the subjects if they had to get help. The hyena, for example is given a condition of foregoing all foods they find on their way to the palace, though Hyena fails this test. The failure of Mr. Hyena to heed to the conditions given to him is an indicator of some of the hardships that the king was always challenged with in trying to help his subjects. Some subjects were always impatient and would end up missing the King's help. Such are the kind of hardships in leadership.

In an interview with Rwantumbwe John, the chairperson local council one Ntambaazi village in Kiruhura, he says:

Leadership has its various challenges since a leader may not expect his subjects to think the same way. There are always those who may seem to be stubborn. That tasks the leader to be flexible and understanding; otherwise one may not be able to lead because different people always have different expectations from their leaders.

This shows that as in the above folktale, any leader faces challenges with his subjects because of different expectations from them.

Another point that the story highlights is the kind of security that the subjects received. The king undertook to shield the cattle of his subjects from cattle-raiders. If a client lost all of his cattle through raids or diseases, the Mugabe was obliged to help the man start a new herd. He also maintained peace amongst his subjects. No subject was permitted to raid or steal the cattle of another client or to do harm to his person or dependents. If breaches of the peace occurred, the transgressor was accused and tried before the king. He was instrumental in enabling his subjects to enlarge their herds and pasturage by raids and conquest. This was done by providing at least a cow to the victim though the number of cows depended on the position that one held in the palace. All this kind of support and protection was majorly received by bahima since they were the ones who owned cattle.

For the case of bairu, they were always coerced into paying homage to the king. Since they were in charge of cultivation of food, it was compulsory to pay homage to the king by providing enough food for the people in the palace. However, they never received enough protection and favor as their bahima counterparts. Turyasingura Sema, in an interview still held that the bairu also owned cattle which were raided by the Bahima as they had protection from the king. He showed his discontentment with this kind



of treatment and therefore with no positivity towards the Ankole monarchy in general and Bahima in particular. He said:

We were saved from the Ankore kingship and the bahima because they had personalized Nkore without anyone stopping them. They claimed all the cattle to be theirs and used the land in any way they wished. The abolition of the monarchy saved us the bairu who almost never benefited from it.

This gives a clue that even though the king was meant to have a democratic and balanced way of governing his people, he was fond of taking the side of the Bahima leaving the Bairu to suffer at the hands of their Bahima counterparts. The study deduced that from the folk tale of “*Omugabe n’empitsi*” (Appendix 2C) the hyena represents the unprivileged basing on the level of poverty and hunger it suffers. Hyna is even given condition if he has to get help from the king which he fails to fulfil leading him to lose the offer and later dies in his cave. Such population that is represented by Mr. Hyena is the one that could not subscribe to the kingship which intensified ethnic differences in Ankole.

## **2.5. Conclusion**

It can be concluded from this chapter that in Ankole leadership and politics was monopolised by the bahima and specifically the bahinda. The bairu were sidelined politically. This was because of the favors that bahima enjoyed from the king. The bairu were not favored in any aspect and hence remained as underdogs. This is reflected in the oral literature especially the myths of creation which was created by the bahima to justify their superiority over the bairu. Hence leadership positions are occupied by the bahima. Upon the coming of colonial rule, this situation did not change in any way, but was exacerbated. Instead of applying the democracy which the colonialists professed, they followed the political and ethnic divisions they found existent in Ankole. This frustrated the bairu leading to strong opposition towards the king as well as the

British administrators. Opposing the king meant that the bahima who were receiving favors from him were also to experience the bairu civil disobedience. This escalated the kind of stratification that has existed in Ankole up to the present. This partly explains why most of the people who stay in bairu communities especially parts of Bushenyi, were not showing any kind of remorse for the abolishment of Ankole kingdom as opposed to bahima who were the major beneficiaries of the monarch.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE PORTRAYAL OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND PRODUCTION RELATIONS IN SELECTED FOLKTALES**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

This chapter majorly focuses on the economic aspect of bairu and bahima in Ankole as portrayed in the folktales. It discusses the economic activities of the two caste groups that is bairu and bahima which include crop production and the rearing and management of livestock respectively. It also examines the means of production of the two caste groups as well as their trade relations and employment. These relations portray the economic basis which is a major determining factor in the shaping of a society. This chapter examines these relations as portrayed in oral literature. As Chidi Amuta asserts:

Literature is a product of people in society and a producer of the cognitions and values of society; in short a social institution, a super structural manifestation of a fundamentally material process of creation of ideas and values. (8)

In traditional Africa, it is widely known that literature, which is oral, is passed on from generation to generation by word of mouth. This is done with an intention of creating awareness to the young generation especially about the values and ideas that are upheld in any given society. Those that are castigated are condemned through the punishments that the characters in these folktales receive.

#### **3.2. Rearing and Management of Livestock**

This study found that in Ankole, cattle have from time immemorial been the major source of wealth. In Mbarara town, which is the major town center in Ankole there is a monument of a bull

which is kept in high prestige by the people from this region as a symbol of wealth. Part of Ankole has geographically been known as the cattle corridor. This includes parts of Kazo, Kiruhura, Nyabushozi and Isingiro. As a cattle corridor, it is where most of the cattle keepers are found. This study found that people in these areas are majority bahima. Their strategic location is because of vast land. In an interview with Rwamirama John, he says:

Anyone who would wish to keep cattle must strive to have enough land otherwise one may not succeed since cattle keeping needs vast lands where these cows can move freely. For those who would opt for zero grazing it becomes expensive and can't even be maintained with many heads of cattle.

This submission indicates that there is need for one to have a number of cattle which must be kept on a large piece of land. This is why in areas of Kiruhura and Kazo it is rare to find a place that is congested. Many people's homes were found to be surrounded by their vast farmlands.

Having many heads of cattle gives pride to the owner. This is because such a person is always considered wealthy, powerful, and will have supremacy over the others with few heads of cattle. Since everyone would love to have such power and respect in society, some people have cunningly acquired cattle as illustrated in the folktale entitled "*Obu Ishe Katabazi yayetenga ente zamutahi we*" (Appendix 2D).

In this folktale, Ishe Katabazi took his cows to the well to drink water. He found his neighbour with good looking cows. Cunningly, he thought of the way to acquire some of these cows. As his cows were drinking, he called them by their names and boasted of having got one of them after helping a man get rid of a disease called "*Omuhembe*." He was already aware that his neighbor whose cows were drinking water was suffering from this disease. The neighbor asked Ishe Katabazi to help him get cured of the disease. This is when Ishe Katabazi got chance to ask for

five cows if he had to help the neighbor in treating this disease. By the end of it all, the neighbor was cheated but Ishe Katabazi managed to take the neighbor's fattened cows.

This folktale describes the adventures of a cunning man whose son is Katabazi hence his name Ishe Katabazi (*Ishe* meaning "Father to"). From the story, cows are a source of prestige. This prestige does not only come by possessing cattle but by looking after them with utmost care in order to look healthy. This is why Ishe Katabazi desires the cows of his neighbor which have been carefully looked after and hence look very healthy. It was through having such cattle that one gained authority in the society and felt supreme over his counterparts because of the fattened cows one owned. In Ankole, the bahima felt authoritative because they owned cattle, hence the feeling of supremacy over the bairu. As Marx asserts:

In the social production of their inner life, men enter into definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relationships of production constitutes economic structure of society, the real foundation of which rise legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. (363)

From the quotation above, any given society always has their material forces of production which must shape its economic status. This sometimes defines the society's state of political being. This is a portrayal of what prevails in Ankole. The rearing of cattle by bahima determines their social class since cattle signifies wealth and power. This is why in the folktale Ishe Katabazi cunningly acquires more cattle from his neighbor to attain a higher status in the community. Furthermore, the aspect of calling cows by their names shows the love of his cattle. From childhood Bahima boys are taught the names of cows and are expected to know how to name all the cows according to their color. Ishe Katabazi calls all the cows by their names as they drink the water to show his experience in cattle herding.

Another point that the folktale points out is the purpose of cows for ritual purposes and in any form of transaction. Ishe Katabazi is aware of the kind of payment one should make to someone who has done any ritual activity. That is why he deceives the neighbor that he got his beloved cow from a man whom he healed the disease called "*omuhembe*". He does this because he is aware that his neighbor would be interested in getting rid of this same disease and later would pay back using his cows. The study found out that cows were used to pay any person who did a great task including healing some animal diseases and some serious human illnesses. This was normally done by local medicine men who in turn received a number of cows as agreed upon. This was done as a sign of appreciation for doing something that was hard to be done by any ordinary person.

More so, the cows are used in paying bride price. Anyone who takes on one's daughter as a wife must be in position to pay bride price which must be in form of cows. This is because the cows are very valuable, the reason why anyone without cows is considered poor. In an interview with Iremera Dianah (a Muhima), she asserts:

Cows are accorded their special respect because they cannot just be given out to anyone. In most cases herbalists get a cow when they heal ones cattle from a serious disease, the best friend can also earn one and most importantly in paying bride price as a sign of respect to the girl and her parents.

From Diana's submission, cows are very prestigious that not every person should be given one. There are special people and special cases when a cow must be given out. In her assertion she affirms that one of the people that can receive a cow is a herbalist since he is always consulted in case of any ailment. This is the reason why in the folktale Ishe Katabazi deceives his neighbor that he is a herbalist in the bid to rob him of his fattened cows. Dianah stresses the issue of bride price because even presently, anyone who must get a bride must be ready to give out the number

of cows as asked by the girls, parents. This affirms the value of cattle among the Banyankole. As Chesaina Ciarunji asserts:

Oral literature is the heart of a people's value, it expresses a given society's world view and gives them a springboard from which their day-to-day existence is propelled (85)

The quotation shows that from oral literature one can learn how a given society is organized and can further tell the reason why it is organized that way. For the case of Ankole, the major economic activity is cattle keeping. As in the folktale, Ishe Katabazi's urge to get more cattle tells that from time immemorial, the Banyankole have always kept cattle and taken much interest and pride in them.

The study found that the people who took much pride in cattle were the bahima. In an interview with Nabo Deogratius, a muhima in Kazo, he affirms that most of the folktales that praise cattle are based in the bahima community because they are the ones traditionally known for keeping cattle. He argues that it is because of this that the bahima have traditional beliefs concerning cattle like handling of milk using milk pots (*ebyanzi*) which is not with the bairu. They can easily use mugs and cups to keep and drink milk, something he says does not differentiate milk from water. He therefore concludes that such folktales that involve cattle originate from the bahima in areas of Nyabushozi, since they have always been cattle keepers.

The argument that bahima have always been the major cattle keepers is something contentious. Currently, the bairu also keep cattle where some have as many heads of cattle as the bahima or even more. Julius Bankunda, a mwiru from Ibanda, in an interview said that for a long time the bairu have always kept cattle and hence not really true to say that only bahima have always kept cattle. His argument is based on the geographical location of Nyabushozi in comparison with the

hilly areas like Buhweju. Nyabushozi is referred to as a cattle corridor and hence would not favor crop farming whereas Buhweju which is a hilly area would be fit for crop farming and not cattle keeping. Bankunda's argument is that if Buhweju was only fit for crop farming, up to present it would be hard for the people in this area to keep cattle the way they do. In the same way the bahima would not carry out crop farming as it is done currently if their land was strictly for cattle keeping and not crop farming.

Such arguments indicate that linking all cattle related folktales to only bahima is erroneous since presently even bairu rear cattle as the bahima do. This kind of conflict between bairu and bahima over the ownership of cattle is what Jones refers to as "the intellect-physical conflict"(68) The bahima and the bairu, up to present, conflict over issues of wealth and power basing on cattle. This leads to lack of mutual socialization between the two parties. The study found out that the bahima keep cattle as a tradition they cannot discard, while the bairu keep cattle for economic purposes. Cattle are used to boost their financial stand by selling milk, meat and cattle itself. This is why one cannot transform from a mwiru to a muhima and vice versa because the reasons for keeping their cattle are always different. When a muhima loses all the cattle he is called a murasi while a mwiru who owns cattle is called a mwambari.

### **3.3 Crop Production and Oral Literature**

This study shows that cultivation is a life giving aspect and is gender insensitive. Any person can participate in it regardless of sex. In some cases, a man and a woman may work together while in other instances one of the two may work as an individual to feed the family. In reflection to folktales, if one disregarded farming the family would suffer untold hunger. In the folktale "*Abakazi babiri Kikere na Ntuha*"(Appendix 2E) it is clearly illustrated.



In this folktale a man marries his two wives one named Ntuha and another one named Kikere. Ntuha is the favorite and most beautiful whereas Kikere is always neglected by the husband. One day, the man decides to go for an errand where he is likely to spend much time. He gives to his two wives each a hoe and a panga and tells them that they were to depend on the two tools till he comes back home. While he is away, Kikere tills the land and provides enough food for the family while Ntuha does not. When he returns, he is annoyed with Ntuha whom he divorces and stays with Kikere.

This folktale succeeds in telling how farming in Ankole is not gender selective. Before the husband to the two wives leaves his home, he entrusts his two wives to carry on the production of food for their respective families. It is an indicator that previously he was the one who used to do the biggest part of cultivation. Upon his departure he finds it essential to empower his two wives in providing food for the family. This shows how food production is not something only left for men but also women. For this reason, the society condemns anyone who cannot provide enough food for one's family. Every person should be in position to carry out farming. This is why Ntuha is discarded by her husband because she is considered lazy, something the society cannot condone. On the other hand, Kikere who is seen as a hardworking woman is praised. This is because she is able to cultivate and provide enough food for her family. The story therefore shows what is required of any woman in a home. She should be able to provide for the family even in the absence of a man.

Furthermore, the story is free from ethnicity. There is no mention of either a muhima or mwiru. This indicates that regardless of one's caste group, one should be able to feed ones family. In an interview with Bankunda Julius, a mwiru in Ibanda, he says: "Whether one is a mwiru or muhima, eating is compulsory; so everyone must engage in something that can bring food on the

table.” This statement indicates that both bairu and bahima must engage in food production even when different means are used. This is why currently most of the people in Nyabushozi who used to only rear cattle are now carrying out crop production. Even when most of these people are bairu it was found that they work for the bahima who have acknowledged the essence of crop farming.

The story also presents the hoe and the panga to be of great symbolic significance. When the husband is handing them over to the two wives, he says, "These tools are your everything while I'm away." This literally meant that the lives of the two women as well as their children were to depend on the two tools. Ntuha and Kikere were to use the panga for clearing the land and the hoe for tilling the land and planting. It means that failure to use the hoe and the panga one would suffer from hunger together with her children. For anyone who must depend on cultivation, the panga and the hoe are seen as tools for survival.

In an interview with Rwomwitaka, he says that it is rare to find a mwiru without a hoe in his home as it is to find a muhima without a milk pot. He further says: “It is only in these modern days where some people have resorted to education and discarded farming, though still, one would have a small garden of sweet potatoes or a banana plantation.” This is why areas of Bushenyi and Mbarara produce enough food especially Matooke. The Buhweju areas specialized in production of millet and hence Ankole having enough food for both domestic consumption as well as commercial purpose.

In Nyabushozi however, the study found that there were also plantations of millet, cassava, sweet potatoes and bananas. Though this looks habitual to a modern Munyankole, to a traditional one it is something controversial because bahima were not known for cultivation of crops. They were

only known for cattle keeping. However, the reality showed that even when crop farming is common in Nyabushozi, it is done by the bairu. In an interview with Turyasingura Rabson, he says “The bahima don’t dig. They depend on their cattle and milk.” He stresses that the gardens seen among the bahima are owned by either a mwiru or a muhima who hires the bairu to cultivate. This shows the urgent need for food and hence crop production is fundamental in Ankole whether carried out directly or indirectly.

More so, in another folktale entitled “*The poor, Childless, kind man and his wife*” (Appendix 2A) there is evidence that there were two distinct groups of people in Ankole; one group that carried out crop farming and another one that engaged in cattle keeping. When a stranger, referred to as the *omuhangwa* in the story, gives pumpkin seeds to the poor man, he plants them and this plantation yields very many pumpkins. It is later during the time of famine, that the king brings cows and milk to this family in exchange for pumpkins. This poor man does not own a single cow. The king also lacks food, the reason why he decides to visit the poor to get pumpkin as food. This folktale shows the kind of specialization among the bairu and the bahima. As bairu started doing livestock farming, the bahima were panic-stricken since they would no longer exchange their milk products with bairu for food. The bairu had enough food as well as milk. For this reason, the bahima hired bairu who had the expertise in crop production to till land and do crop farming. This is how the bahima managed to possess banana and coffee plantations, beans and maize gardens among others. The bairu then became many in the Hima-land and started hiring pieces of land for cultivation. Others bought land and became permanent residents in Kiruhura and Kazo districts. It was observed, for example, that many residents in Kinoni trading centre in Kiruhura district were bairu though this area was initially occupied by bahima.

All the above clearly indicate that oral literature is a basic element in determining the means of production of an area in which the individuals engage. Rivkin quotes Carl Marx's explanation that:

The way in which men produce their means of subsistence depends, first of all, on the nature of the actual means of subsistence they find in existence and have to reproduce. This mode of production must not be considered simply as being the reproduction of the physical existence of the individuals. Rather it is a definite form of expressing their life. What they are therefore coincides with both what and how they produce. (653)

There must always be the beginning of anything which, in the quotation above, Marx refers to as the actual means of production, which in this case was subsistence. The major question that has always not been answered is what was the genesis of this kind of means of production? Secondly, how has it influenced the socio-economic living of Banyankole? From the above discussion, it can be inferred that the genesis of all the means of production in Ankole majorly stems from the folktales which have always been referred to in case of any question concerning the economic production of this region. The small percentage of people that sells off the produce does so because there is surplus and still because of the hard economic situation. Every new generation is educated about this kind of production and it has been compelled to adapt to it. This is done by elders in these communities which Morella refers to as "diffuse education" (167) which;

occurs through immersion during the daily practice of children and adults as well, who observe, listen to and imitate peers and elders. Knowledge transfer does not go through a specialized discourse addressed to the apprentice, but it is primarily based on the observation that he/she can do." (167-8)

It is through this diffuse education therefore that the different generations in Ankole have been directed towards the two major economic activities; that is pastoralism for the bahima and cultivation for the bairu. However, as economic times changed the bairu started rearing cattle and as well, the bahima engaged in crop production. This reduced the level of interdependence on each other which was not even harmonious.

### **3.4. Trade relations between Bairu and Bahima**

The basic postulate of this research is that economic activity is the determinant factor in the formation of a given society. This goes along with the famous passage from Marx that:

In the social production of their existence, men enter into definite, necessary relations, which are independent of their will, namely, relations of production corresponding to a determinant stage of development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation which there arises a legal and political superstructure and to which there corresponds definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life. (3)

According to Marx's presentation, at any stage of development in any given society, there must be a form of cordiality among the people. This cordiality dictates the political structure and the general living of people in that society. This is most times not determined by the will of the people but dictated by the situation at hand. In Ankole, the dominant mode of production was domestic. A domestic mode of production is one where independent household units, based on simple forces of production, produce and consume their own products. However this mode of production may not be efficient in a society where the different groups have opted to

specialize in specific economic activities. For this kind of production, Marx asserts:

(It is) countered by both an economic and a political centripetal force: almost every family living solely by its own means sooner or later discovers it has not the means to live.... The economic defects of the domestic system are overcome, or else the society is overcome. (101)

With time, the Banyankole realized that the bairu and the bahima could not live without each other. For this reason, there had to exist a trade relationship. However, the relationship that existed was not because of the two caste groups' will, but the situation which dictated the interdependence on each other. Never the less, this interdependence was not a mutual one. It looked more of an imbalanced kind of symbiotic relationship. This makes the aspect of trade relations between bairu and bahima another essential aspect as portrayed by the folktale entitled "*Ndyanakabanza Kankole n'Enkurungutanitsa Yamushasha.*" (Appendix 2F)

In this folktale, Ndyanakabanza lived in Nyabushozi while Enkurungutanitsa lived in Buhweju. Ndyanakabanza wanted millet but could not get it since in Nyabushozi they were all cattle keepers. He decided to go to Buhweju where there were cultivators. He packed dry cow dung and carried his load to Buhweju with the aim of tricking one of the cultivators that he would meet carrying meat. Reaching Buhweju, he found Nkurungutanitsa also in search for meat. He was also carrying millet husks in his load with the aim of tricking whoever he would meet that it was millet. The two met and made an exchange and each of the two left happy knowing he had cheated his friend. Each one realized that he had been cheated when he reached his destination. The two men became friends because each of them realized how witty his colleague had been. They kept on visiting each other though their friendship was full of tricks until one day when Ndyanakabanza gave his friend a cow.

It is the truth universally acknowledged that in any society where there is specialization in terms of economic activities there is need to have mutual trade relations. However, in case the two groups of people have an antagonistic relationship within their characters, there is likely to be a gap which may keep the two groups at bay.

From the folktale, Ndyanakabanza is a herdsman; his major products were milk and its products, and meat. On the contrary, Nkurungutanitsa was a cultivator who owned many food products such as Matooke, millet, cassava among others. This kind of specialization would be great for the two and for Ankole in general if there was a mutual relationship. However the two characters have pride, which causes the antagonistic relationship between them. When Ndyanakabanza finds need for the millet that he doesn't have, he finds it necessary to get it from Buhweju where it is grown. Much as he thinks so, he finds it unworthy for anyone in Buhweju to get any of his cow products. That is when he thinks of carrying cow dung instead of any of the cow products. Ndyanakabanza had an intention of cheating whoever he would have an exchange with since he was aware this person had to be a mwiru.

In Nyabushozi still Nkurungutanitsa, as a cultivator could not find meat which he needed. He also resorts to using his produce, which was millet to find someone with whom to make an exchange. He decides to carry millet husks instead of real millet. He knew that whoever he was to do barter trade with was to be a cattle owner who was obviously a muhima. He therefore never wanted a muhima to taste his millet. By sheer luck the two meet and barter trade has to take place. Each of the two is convinced that he has cheated the other. Ironically, both have been

cheated: one has carried home a load of millet husks instead of millet and the other has moved away with cow dung instead of meat.

This tale shows the kind of trade relations that existed between the two caste groups of bahima and bairu. Whereas the bairu thought their work was hectic, even bahima saw it unfit for a mwiru who never knew to herd the cattle to take milk, butter and meat. The bahima took milk as something pure. Rwamirama John in an interview said “No woman was supposed to take milk during her monthly periods. Instead, she was forced to take millet porridge.” This means that they looked at millet as something to be eaten by the unclean. This is something the bairu could not stand and it caused the kind of antagonistic relationship that exists up to today. When this kind of disparity was realized, each party decided to do away with specialization according to ethnicity but have mixed farming; both crop and livestock farming.

For the mwiru to get cattle, it was a struggle as said above. In the folktale above, Nkurungutanitsa reaches a point of faking death. After being given a heifer, which he is denied to take to Buhweju, he told his people to tie him up on bed near his friend’s home. In the same way the friend tells his people to do the same to him. They realized that they are aware of each other’s tricks. This is when Ndyanakabanza decides to give out the heifer and its six calves. In that way, the Buhweju man started rearing cattle. This literally means that he would no longer go to Nyabushozi to ask for the meat, milk or its products. This is how we find much cattle not only in Nyabushozi but also in parts of Bushenyi. This being the case, Ndyanakabanza would not get food from the bairu anymore, there was need to produce own food. The bahima then engaged in crop farming though by hiring bairu to do the work. Hiring bairu for this work was for two major



reasons. First, they were not experienced in issues of crop farming and secondly they took cultivation as a job done by the serfs. By this, the bairu took advantage and established homes in areas of Kazo and Kiruhura. This is why there are more of bairu among bahima than bahima among the bairu. Even with this kind of living there would be an interdependent relationship which instead did not surface as Karugire argues:

It appears fairly certain that the economic relations between Bairu and Bahima were based on mutual exchange of the goods produced by each other and their occupations were made mutually exclusive by the environmental conditions rather than by ethnic superiority or inferiority. (33-4)

This assertion shows that either there was no close observation of the situation in Ankole or it was a deliberate attempt to give Ankole a positive outlook. As a muhima, Karugire gives an argument, which this study looks at in an egocentric perspective. This is because he was from a caste group, which was considered the favorite. Otherwise the differences between the two caste groups are evident even in economic terms as K. Oberg argues:

The exploitation between Bairu and Bahima took the form of tribute in form of food and labor, for this purpose the Bahima tended to keep them (Bairu) in subjection (154)

This is in total contradiction with the previous argument by Karugire Samuel who wrote even after Oberg. To bahima, bairu signified serfdom and hence inferior. This is why as Oberg explains, they were meant to pay tribute to the bahima in form of food; something the bahima would not do in return to have the kind of symbiotic relationship, which Karugire calls the “mutual exchange of goods and products.”

The argument that the economic activities were mutually exclusive by the environmental conditions is also something contradictory to the situation in Ankole. To a modern Munyankole, it is hard to convince him how this was so. This is because currently, though the bahima still claim that all cows belong to them, they are the ones who lose more cattle during the dry conditions than the bairu in areas of Bushenyi and Ibanda. This shows that these areas have better conditions for cattle keeping than areas of Nyabushozi. This counters Karugire's assertion, that the kind of economic activity was determined by environmental conditions. More to this, the study found out that crop farming is currently taking place in Kazo and Kiruhura. If the environmental conditions were the determinant of the economic activities in Ankole, there would be no cultivation up to date. Even the bairu who live among the bahima would only carry out livestock farming not cultivation since the conditions in these areas could only support livestock farming.

The issue of hypocrisy in this folktale is also something worth noting. When Ndyanakabanza is heading to Buhweju he packs some roasted meat for him to eat on his way. In the same manner, Nkurungutanitsa also packs millet bread in case he went hungry. When the two meet on Bukira hills, they make friends with each other and even exchange the foods they had packed. Each one enjoys the food of his friend. That is when they trust each other. However, each one is aware that what he has carried for exchange is not what he has offered his friend to eat. This depicts the kind of insincerity each one has. Even at a time of Nkurungutanitsa taking his heifer in the later parts of the story, this insincerity is seen when his friend tells him that he cannot take the heifer with its six calves lest they die. He is sure that they can not die but decides to manipulate him since he is aware of his friend's ignorance about cattle rearing. That is why Nkurungutanitsa

decides to fake death. It is very hard for two friends who have such kind of dishonesty to live together, especially in terms of trade. Since the characters in such tales represent the people in societies that own them, it means that the bahima and the bairu have, for a long time, had a discordant trade relationship.

The folktale of *Ndyanakabanza n'Enkurungutanitsa Yamushasha* (Appendix 2F) presents another issue of protest against the bahima superiority. As Oberg asserts:

Economically and apart from the “servant” minority, which was in direct Bahima employment, the economic contacts seem to have been more favorable to the Bahima than Bairu. Since Bahima controlled the market monopoly of their imperishable goods like ghee (butter), they left it to the Bairu to carry their heavier products to the Bahima kraals and hence Bahima determined whether or not to trade and at what exchange value. (14)

In this quotation, Oberg gives an insight on the kind of trade relation that was between the two groups of people. It is clear that one group was favored by its products for sale, which were imperishable leaving the other at a disadvantage. This could not bring any cordial trade relationship since one group was always taken advantage of. One faction assumed superiority over the other.

The folktale shows the bairu protest against this kind of superiority. Nkurungutanitsa who is a cultivator from Buhweju does not carry his millet to find Ndyanakabanza at his home. Instead each one moves in search of a product he does not produce at his home. This is contrary to what Oberg indicates in the above quotation where the bairu had to carry their bulk produce to the bahima who stayed in their homes. This kind of protest shows that there is a kind of uncordial relationship that is being fought especially by the bairu who are always considered to be in the

inferior position. In a bid to get out of this inferior position, the bairu worked hard to own cattle. They believed that this would relieve them of the burden of carrying food stuff to the markets in a bid to exchange it for the cattle products. Being the ones who provided labor to the bahima, the bairu opted for an exchange of their labor for a heifer. However, they would instead receive a bull. This was done with the aim of impeding the bairu from owning cattle. Even when exchanging food produce with the bahima for milk, meat, and cattle, it was rare for one to get a cow. A bull would be offered. Cross examining this situation with the one in the above folktale where Ndyanakabanza plays tricks in the bid to deny Nkurungutanitsa his heifer, it can be inferred that these folktales help in bringing out people's lifestyle in a given society. As Finnegan asserts:

But the background, say, some little story about a competition between two animals for chiefship or race between two birds to the colonial secretariat for the prize of local government office renders it meaningful to an audience fully aware of the lengths to which political rivalry and ambition can lead men. If we cannot say that such events are represented directly in such stories, we can at least see how the tales strike a responsive chord in their audience. (352)

In the same manner, the characters in folktales are representatives of the people of Ankole. Directly or indirectly, these characters represent the people of Ankole in terms of their socio-economic living. In many ways it is evident that there is a disparity between the two groups of people, whose conflicts: intellectual, psychological and physical can be traced from their shared oral literature. This means that the folktale above clearly present bairu and bahima as two distinct groups that have lived in the same geographical area and shared the language but unable to agree especially in terms of trade. This, at first was because of the existence of barter trade which was

later replaced with monetary trade. By the time monetary trade fully replaced barter trade, each group had become independent.

### **3.5. Work and Employment**

For any society, family or individual to thrive there must be a type of work one does for a living. In Ankole working is paramount. A man or a woman, a child or an adult each one has a task to perform. Children were taught to work by their parents, uncles, aunties, and elder brothers and sisters.

Women taught their daughters how to do their chores and this was done at an early age. This was done through observation, participation upon which elders would instruct and advise where necessary. Ekyatuhair Dorothy from Kazo relates that among the Bahima women had their specific work. They cooked food to be taken to their husband (who would be herding the cattle). The food prepared was predominantly meat. They were also responsible for taking care of the young children, washing milking pots and churning butter (*okucunda*). Differently, the Bairu women were always fully involved in agricultural labor. This was done alongside other household chores especially cooking and taking care of children. This is why in the folktale *Abakazi babiri: Kikere na Ntuha*, Ntuha the favorite wife is later abandoned for Kikere who was always criticized by the husband. Ntuha's laziness could not convince the husband to stay with her. Instead the husband decides to proceed with Kikere who, in the absence of the husband, can still take care of the family. The fact that Kikere who was loathed before is the one who is favored upon the return of the husband shows that all men would love to have hardworking and creative women, not those who would always wait for their husbands to solely provide for the family.

Currently among the Banyakole, the issue of house chores is paramount for women. This is because the mothers, aunties and grandmothers base on such folktales to educate young girls that there is need to accompany one's beauty with hard work. This shapes the life of a Munyankole woman.

Even after the coming of formal education, the Banyankole women have kept the trend of doing their house chores. Kamateka, an elderly woman in kigarama-Ibanda says that all her daughters though educated know how to do house chores like cooking, sweeping the compound, washing clothes among others. She says any woman who cannot do such work may not be able to sustain her marriage. She confirms that story telling method was the best method for educating the young. Though many have not had chance of being educated through storytelling, she says through instruction the young are able to do the needful. In fact, she is worried about what will happen in the future when there would be only those who have obtained the Whiteman's education. To her it means that the stories like the folktales will be discarded despite their significance in shaping the society. This shows that though some children are not told these tales, the ones who are aware of consequences of certain vices, which are satirized in various tales, are able to instruct the young ones even when the tale is not directly told. This helps the one instructed to grow in a punctilious manner. Among the bahima, a girl should know how to churn milk and do all other duties of a muhima woman. If a mwiru, she should be able to do all her duties as well as have the ability to do the cultivation. This is regardless of whether one is educated or not. All this shapes the ways of behavior because the elders who instruct and counsel the young are aware of consequences as were always told in the folktales. In fact, that is why they always advise the unmarried to make enough inquiries before getting a partner through a saying "*owashwera abuuza*" translated as "he who is to marry should make inquiries" This is

meant to avoid scenarios of marrying a wife like Ntuha in the folk tale in Appendix 2E, who is not capable of doing domestic work. .

Whereas the woman was meant to do mostly house chores, this was different for a man. The duties of a man in a home ranged from working in his own farm or garden to leaving home in search for jobs elsewhere. For the case of bahima, men who remained home worked in their farms. They had their major occupation as tending cattle. They moved long distances in search for pasture, watered their herds and the young boys were expected to milk the cows before they were taken to pasture. That was all for a muhima. The mwiru cleared the land, tilled it, planted and harvested crops. However, this was not enough to sustain his family. As in any capitalistic society there was always need to look for extra work. As Marx asserts: “Capitalism springs in when the owner of the means of production as subsistence meets in the market with the free laborer selling his labor power (167) The society, for this case, is divided into those who own capital and those who do not and therefore have to sell their labor power in order to survive. This is illustrated in the folktale entitled “*Kamburimburi na Rutsimbagiza*” (Appendix 2G) where Kamburimburi’s father is forced to go to Rutsimbagiza to find a job. This comes because of the need to look after his family. The domestic work he does at his home is not productive enough to cater for his family, but instead leaves him in abject poverty. Because of this need, the king takes advantage of him hence the kind of exploitation that is always evident in a capitalistic society like Ankole.

In Ankole, the owner of the capital was a muhima and the mwiru had to sell his labor power for him to survive. It was for this reason that it was common for bairu to work for bahima but not vice versa. The bahima however could also employ fellow bahima who were not doing well. These were specifically hired to do work relating to the herding of cattle whereas a mwiru was

meant to do other kinds of work especially clearing the farm. This work was in most cases sycophantic. This was, and still is the work done by bairu in bahima farms. Patrick Kabeireho-a Mwiru in kazo confirmed that their (bairu) major work in Nyabushozi areas was to uproot the star grass, which is a common weed in the farms. They refer to this as “*okukuura omuteete*” in the local language. It is believed whoever goes to Nyabushozi areas has gone to do such work. It has even become a common adage among the bairu that whoever looks for a job in their area in vain, will say “I will go to Nyabushozi to uproot star grass” (*ninza kuza nyabushozi kukura omuteete*). This is an indicator that in Ankole, up to present, the beliefs that Elam calls a “strong sense of Hima superiority over Iru” (5) is still held.

### **3.6. Master-Servant Relationship**

World over the issue of master-servant relationship has become a contentious issue. Where as in some societies masters have always become exploiters and servants the exploited, in other societies the servants have used the law to protect themselves from their masters’ exploitation. In Ankole, this has been a point in question. This is because from time immemorial this has been a capitalistic economy, where the bahima have always been capitalists and the bairu as subjects though with no space to agitate for communism. On the issue of rights and oppression, Kasenene asserts:

In some situations, those who are deprived refrain from objecting because they feel helpless or because they are ready to forfeit their rights for greater good or for other reasons. (8-9)

This was the kind of situation in Ankole between the bahima and bairu. The latter were oppressed, but because of the situation, had to bear all kinds of oppression with hopes of making



their lives better which was sometimes in vain. They worked for their bahima masters and gained the little that was through thick and thin. This was because the bahima even had favors from the king. As Kasenene further states:

Explaining why Abairu did not free themselves from the Abahima, Roscoe argues that although Abairu were free to leave their Bahima masters at any time, they could not set up establishments for themselves in order to live independently unless they had direct permission and sanction of the king. (14)

In Appendix 2G, we see Kamburimburi avenging his father's death. Kamburimburi's father had been exploited by the king who not only overworked him but also under paid him. With time he became weak and died a poor man. This forces Kamburimburi to fight such kind of impunity by the king. He attacks the king and kills him instantly and takes over the throne. The death of Kamburimburi's father is a clear indicator of the bairu exploitation that Kasenene refers to in the quotation above. Such was the kind of capitalism that existed in Ankole. The bahima masters took advantage of the situation that the bairu were in and exploited them as their servants. This was through hard labor, and most often they were paid little or no payment at all was given to them. Those who worked with the aim of either earning enough money for a heifer so that they may start up their own development were disappointed just as Kamburimburi's father in Appendix 2G. Some would even lose their lives. The lucky ones would be given a bull so that it does not reproduce. In line with the bairu ownership of cattle, Kangume writes:

The Bahima made the process through which the Bairu could acquire even unproductive cows and bulls very complicated. The process was overlaid with so many obligations that when and how a Mwiru obtained the cow depended on the whines of the Muhima. (15)

This shows that the mwiru was not offered a cow or bull because of the labor he provided to a muhima but just as a form of kindness to a mwiru who, according to a muhima, was indebted to provide labor and food without expecting any payment. The Bahima enjoyed the superior position to the point that they were free to shed the blood of a mwiru and go scot free, something that a mwiru could not do. As Oberg asserts:

...the most outstanding characteristic of Bairu serfdom was the rule that under no circumstance could a Mwiru kill a Muhima .... If a Muhima killed a Mwiru the extended family of the murdered man could not claim blood revenge, although it was sometimes able to exact compensation through the agency of the Mugabe. The Bahima on the other hand could avenge the death of a kinsman if he was murdered by a mwiru without consulting the Mugabe. (134)

In this, Oberg illustrates the perpetual fear that the bairu lived in among the bahima. For fear of losing their lives, the bairu rarely retaliated in case a muhima would not pay his little salary or denied his cow or bull (as was commonly promised)

The folktale *Kamburimburi na Rutsimbagiza* (Appendix 2G) shows that even when the bairu were never allowed to take any revenge to a Muhima, things changed as time went on. New generations were determined to change this kind of situation. In the folktale, Kamburimburi is the one who attacks and kills the king. In the story it is clear that even when the king is being attacked, no other worker at the palace defends him. The guards and all the house helpers are in support of Kamburimburi because they are aware that it is after the king's death that they can get freedom from the kind of slavery at the palace. This literary means that the elders had always waited for revenge though, they had not taken any move to act. It comes to the new generation

that takes up the mantle and fights back. This indicates the inimical relationship that existed between the privileged and the unprivileged, masters and servants, rulers and their subjects.

In the previous chapter, it was discussed that kingship was determined at birth and one was always born with in the royal family. However in this story Kamburimburi is not from the royal family but born with symbols that showed that he would be a future king. This means that the assertion that only bahima would be kings is something the bairu would not accept as the gospel truth. Such stories stand to surpass claims of the bahima superiority, showing that what a muhima can do, a mwiru is also capable of doing it. If a muhima can lead people as king, then a mwiru can as well be king and lead people like a Muhima or even better. That is why Kamburimburi successfully becomes king.

### **3.6. Conclusion**

It can be concluded that Ankole is defined by its major economic activity which is agriculture. This is divided in two forms namely; crop and animal husbandry. The bahima majorly focus on animal husbandry while the bairu dwell much on crop production. However, due to the current economic situation, the bahima have decided to supplement cattle keeping with crop farming. As well, the bairu have opted to carrying out cattle keeping in addition to their traditional crop farming. All this has come due to the trade relations between the two groups which have been incompatible. Whereas the bairu thought they would dupe the bahima, the latter also thought it possible to do the same to the former. Upon failing to achieve their targets, each group opted to be self sustaining. This forced the bairu to start the rearing of cattle and the bahima to carry out crop farming as it is evident today. More so, the economic struggles in Ankole have caused uncordial relationship between masters and their servants as depicted in the folktales discussed in

this chapter. Conversely, the bairu who had always been tagged as inferior people, have stood their ground to fight such kind of stigma from the traditional cattle owners who lived a life of superiority. Many of the bairu who went to bahima communities as servants have established homes there and are now living their independent lives.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ETHNIC STEREOTYPING AS DEPICTED IN SELECTED FKOLKTALES

#### 4.1. Introduction

Hornby A.S defines stereotype (noun) as “a fixed idea or image that many people have on a particular type of person or thing, but which is often not true in reality.” (1463) This definition looks at stereotype as something attached to an individual. Apart from this individual attachment, stereotyping can be any commonly known public belief about a certain social group. In most cases these stereotypes over generalize the character trait of a specific group of people. As Albarracin asserts:

Stereotypes can be random and meaningless, but they may also foster prejudice, a generally negative evaluation of, and or attitude towards members of a group (19).

This has been the case of Ankole, where from time immemorial there have been stereotypes based on ethnicity. It is easy to assume that wherever there is ethnicity there is conflict though it is still easy to forget to ask which forces and institutions politicize these divisions and structure and how they do it

This land commonly referred to as *Kaaro Karungi* (beautiful hamlet), has always been inhabited by Banyankole whose ethnicity is divided into bairu and bahima. This kind of ethnocentrism has always been a contentious issue which has caused many forms of stereotypes in Ankole. However, where as many of these stereotypes are made to crack jokes, they have become entrenched within Ankole and have been used to instigate ethnic differences and hatred between the bairu cultivators and bahima pastoralists. These stereotypes are portrayed in their oral

narratives. This chapter discusses these stereotypes with a focus on the common ones and their diverse effects on individuals in society.

Even when some writers like Samuel Karugire developed the theory of social mobility and co-existence between the two groups of bahima and bairu, it should be noted that the two groups were not in favorable terms with each other. Each group did whatever it took to look down on the other group. Some writers like Elam stressed this kind of separate nature of co-existence between the two groups. This separate co-existence led to “an existence condescending and negative attitude towards the *Iru*” (18) However the study found out that the negative attitude is not only among the bahima towards the bairu or viceversa but both castes have always stereotyped each other.

Talking about Ankole, everyone would know a munyankole is the one referred to. However, the socio-economic and political living of people in this area brings the need to specify which specific Munyankole one is referring to, either a muhima or a mwiiiru. This comes as a result of stereotyping in this land where the two have, for a long time, had a kind of antagonistic relationship though under one umbrella of banyankole. This is why they are referred to as either bahima or bairu not according to the names of their districts or sub counties. If the people of the different areas were involved in identification of social categories in Ankole, they would have called themselves according to their areas like *Banyabuhweju*, *Banyasheema*, *Banyakiruhura*, to mention but a few, but not bairu and bahima as it is. (“*Banya*” is a Runyankole word literally meaning “people of”)

The fact that they are not referred to according to their areas, sends a signal that there was something beyond their powers which caused divisionism among them that they had to retain the names they found in existence. The study found that this kind of divisionism is reflected in their

oral narratives. These folktales, as Finnegan says “are accepted on faith, they are taught to be believed, and they can be cited as authority in answer if ignorance, doubt or disbelief.” (362) This study found that different folktales in Ankole bring out different forms of stereotypes. Different folktales were found to be common and believed in some areas and not in others. Any folktale that stereotypes any given group of people is not believed in that same group. It is instead used by another group in form of an abuse or a mockery to the other group. These stereotypes depend on different social behaviors.

#### **4.2. Stereotypes Based on Eating Habits**

There are different folktales that depict this kind of stereotype in Ankole. In the analysis of these tales, it can be deduced that most of them were purportedly created to either show the life that a given group lives, or as a form of stereotype against another group of people. As said above that there are many foods that are not eaten by bahima, they also desist from eating all insects like white ants, locusts, grasshoppers among others. All these, however are eaten by bairu. This is when the folktale of “*Omukazi owiibire enzigye*” (Appendix 2H) becomes very relevant to this study.

In this folktale, the greedy bride, Ndehemura deceives that she does not eat locusts but is later found stealing them. She deceives the people in the groom’s home that she had never tasted locusts and convinces them that she would never eat them as any other woman in the society was required. Any woman who desisted from eating locusts would be respected and considered humble and respectful to men. However, because of Ndehemura’s greed, she steals the fried locusts until one day when she is known by all the family members, something that even leads to her divorce.

There are two major issues in this folktale that bring out the issue of greed; one being the issue of men denying women some kinds of food and the major one being the issue of eating insects as food. Men are represented as greedy since there were some kinds of food they never wanted women to taste. As Rutisheuser asserts:

Female Banyankole over the age of six were forbidden to take eggs, chicken, pork and goats' meat. Fish was also a taboo to all Banyankole. The bahima group had numerous taboos relating to milk, the most important being that it was not allowed to bring milk in contact with other foods, even in the stomach. Therefore when milk had been drunk other foods could only be consumed after 12 hours had elapsed or after purging. (147)

This submission is in line with what is happening in the folktale where Ndehemura is not expected to eat locusts because they are a taboo to all women. Anything that is taboo is strictly forbidden, for spiritual and cultural reasons. Those who transgressed taboos, if known would be heavily punished or sometimes excommunicated. This is why in the folktale Ndehemura is taken back to her parents because by eating locusts, she has committed an atrocity. To make it worse she steals them. By doing this she brings shame to herself as well as other women. This kind of greed has always been exaggerated by the bahima against bairu and it is used to generalize the latter as being naturally greedy. This is because the bahima believe that insects are not meant for human consumption. For this reason, the folktale pinpoints the bride, Ndehemura to be a mwiru because for bahima whether male or female no insect is meant for human consumption. For the fact that she steals locusts, all the bairu are referred to as greedy people. In present days, those who are told this folktale are made to believe that these insects were grasshoppers. This is because the tellers of these stories try as much as possible to relate the situation to the current. Since grasshoppers are the common insects, they find it fit to refer to them rather than the locusts



which most of the young generation may not know. Because of this folktale and the fact that even currently the bairu eat grasshoppers, they have been referred to as “*abarya burikamwe*” literally meaning “those who eat anything,” which ironically means that they are gluttonous individuals.

The study found that there are other foods which have been left for the bairu. In an interview with Rutabajuuka Leticia, she says that among the bahima, offals are not eaten. The bairu who live amongst bahima take this advantage and in case of any animal to be slaughtered they are always willing to give a hand. This is because they are aware that they are to get the intestines free of charge since to a muhima, animal intestines are rejects and cannot be eaten. She adds that the bahima are not supposed to eat fish and sweet potatoes. “Traditionally if a muhima eats fish, his cows may all perish due to an unknown disaster.” This has left all bahima in total disregard of fish as food. Sweet potatoes were always seen as food for the dogs. It is for the hard economic situation that has hit some of the Hima families that they have been forced to eat sweet potatoes. In fact, they were and are still referred to by some people as “*ebisesya mbwa*.” Ironically, as the dogs eat sweet potatoes, they expose their teeth meaning they don’t enjoy them. That is why the bahima believed that if one ate sweet potatoes, he was supposed to spend a given number of days without drinking milk. This was done to avoid upsetting milk. To avoid such consequences, they left sweet potatoes for the bairu. Logically, the eating of sweet potatoes and upsetting of milk are two issues that cannot affect each other, but it was done with the bid to impede all the bahima from eating such type of food which was eaten by bairu who were considered greedy.

Although the bairu have been stereotyped and stigmatized in such a manner, it should be noted that they have also retaliated in a similar manner after finding that there are some folktales that

underpin the bahima as having the same anti-social behaviors, they used them as a basis to stereotype the bahima.

Concerning the eating habits, the bahima have also been referred to as greedy people. The folktale that Bairu use to pin bahima with this anti-social behavior is "*Obu Ishe Katabazi Yarya Engundu Yente*," translated as "When Ishe Katabazi ate a Bull" (Appendix 2I). In Ankole Ishe Katabazi stories describe the comical adventures of the foolish but endearing man and his son. In this folktale, Ishe Katabazi, out of greed slaughters and eats a bull without sharing with his friends and neighbors. This is something that is abominable in Ankole society. Everyone is bound to share food especially meat, with friends and neighbors, something Ishe Katabazi does not do. This means that he does not abide by the social rules as one of the neighbors comments that "Ishe Katabazi always eats Alone".

This story brings Ishe Katabazi as a representative of the many people who are greedy in Ankole society but always determined to share what does not belong to them. It is the reason why he tricks his neighbors by rolling into the pool of blood to pretend that he is dead so that later he may come back and claim a share on the bull they had slaughtered. This share was to act as a bribe or else he would report them as murderers. This kind of behavior is not recommended and is highly discarded in any given society. The bairu use it to make fun of the bahima who are believed to love meat. It therefore becomes a generalization that all bahima are as greedy as Ishe Katabazi. This is because Ishe Katabazi was believed to be a muhima. Rwemereireho Esau, a muhima, says: "The life of Ishe Katabazi was indeed that of a muhima man. Most of his stories rotate around cows and it is why people talk about him as a muhima not a mwiru." This means that even bahima have accepted Ishe Katabazi as one of them hence giving the bairu a chance to use his stories to make fun of them.

Such kinds of stereotypes against bahima indicate that for any social behavior that is unacceptable, there is always a sarcastic way of condemning it. In Ankole both bairu and bahima not only refer to these folktales to condemn the evils in their society but also to make fun of a given caste group. This is done by generalizing a given group as having the same ways of life as a given character or characters in the story not basing on individual character in the society. In the above folktale, Ishe Katabazi is a single individual who is greedy with many other characters that are unnamed condemning greed. However, the many unnamed characters are not looked at as representatives of the bahima. Instead it is on the one character, Ishe Katabazi where the focus is put. This means that in such folktales, people tend to look for the characters that have a negative trait that taints the name of any person or group to whom the negative attribute is meant. Apart from Ishe Katabazi, the rest advocate for unity and friendship which involves giving, receiving and sharing. That is why they punish Ishe Katabazi by denying him a piece of meat to teach him a lesson so that next time he has anything he may share it with others.

The two folktales: *omukazi owiibire enzigye* and *When Ishe Katabazi ate a Bull* indicate that greed is something that is generally condemned whether by a mwiru or a muhima. Even when both groups have used such folktales to laugh at each other it was noted that the folktales are used to criticize the vice of greed. When the bride eats locusts, for example, she is forced to go back to her home. Upon reaching there Batsikana has the right of asking for his bride price again. This means that she had committed an atrocity that any society could not condone. When she reaches her home, all the women spit at her because she is ashaming them. For the case of Ishe Katabazi, he is not supposed to receive a single piece of meat. The aspect of tricking his neighbours and he gets meat from them at the end of the story brings out the comic effect which brings out the aesthetic function of literature. In an interview with Katsigazi Justus he says:

Some of these tales are meant for entertainment. Ishe Katabazi stories are usually told not only to instruct but also make people laugh. That is why most of them are short. They are normally told after a frightening tale. When the listeners laugh, then another tale may follow

This means that these tales serve both the ethical and aesthetical functions. The aspect of generalizing the negative attribute of a character to all members of the society in which the character belongs indicates that morality is everyone's responsibility. When one person does anything disgraceful, all the people around him are to blame. This is what Katsigazi Justus puts in a proverb that "*omwishiki k'atwaara aha mugongo ajumitsa boona*" literally meaning that "when a girl gets pregnant before marriage, all girls in that village are scolded." This means that every member in the society has a responsibility of correcting anyone who goes against the norms of that society to avoid the general negative criticism that may come from outsiders. When Ndehemura steals locusts in *The Woman who Stole Locusts*, all the bairu are referred to as greedy. In the same way it is because of Ishe Katabazi's greed in *When Ishe Katabazi Ate a Bull* that all bahima are generally referred to as greedy.

#### **4.3. Stereotype based on wit**

Wit deals with intellectual ability. This means that it involves the faculty of thinking and reasoning. All these can only be witnessed through one's decisions and actions. In Ankole today, the question of who is wittier than the other between bairu and bahima has always been a contentious one. Both groups have always tried to prove to their counterparts that they are wittier. All this is because each group wants to prove superior over the other. With such unanswered questions, folktales have always been the major sources of judgment amongst these

people. However, it was noted during the study that a group that finds itself favored by certain folktales always refer to these folktales as their sources of judgment.

In an interview with Byabagyenzi Festo- a mwiru, he says that bairu have for long referred to bahima as simpletons. In his words he says: "It is hard for a Mwiru to take the decisions and judgments of a muhima." The Mwiru always thinks he is wittier. All this comes because of the life that one leads which always determines ones consciousness. In analyzing societies of such a nature, Marx asserts, "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary their social being determines their consciousness" (67). This means that the life one leads is the one that determines ones sensibility and not vice versa. The actions of (a) character(s) in a given folktale usually reflect the life of different people in the society which people use as the level of their sensibility. In a folk tale entitled *Obu Ishe Katabazi yarya embwa* (Appendix 2J), Ishe Katabazi, out of hunger, eats feces which he mistakes to be millet bread. Even while eating he does not recognize that he is eating feces until his friends at home mock him. That is when he recalls that what he had eaten did not taste like millet bread. However, he does not do this once. When he goes to herd the cattle the next day, he does not differentiate between the corpse of a calf and that of a dog. He ends up eating a dog instead of a calf. Whenever Ishe Katabazi is told that he may have eaten something inedible, that is when he recalls that it indeed had a weird taste and smell. His actions signify low levels of sensibility which the bairu have attributed to bahima whom they relate to Ishe Katabazi for his lack of proper sense of judgment. For this reason, the bairu have even come up with stereotype allegations about bahima and their ways of living. Such statements are: A Muhima went with his grazing stick (*enkoni*) to board a bus, placed it against the bus and entered. After a long journey, he boarded off and went out to pick his stick with hope that it was still there. On this basis the

bairu stereotype bahima portraying them as people who lack logical reasoning. Other stereotypes of this nature are; that a muhima was seen tapping fire from the car's indicators in the bid to light his cigarette, a muhima saw a personal small car overtake a bus and said, "How will this young car run when it gets as big as this bus?" These and more are forms of stereotype statements which are said against bahima in Ankole up to present. Analyzing the reasons for such statements, Busingye William in interview says that it is all done to reduce the bahima since they had always seemed to be more superior to their bairu counterparts. In the bid to lower their prestige, they came up with such allegations. The study found that these are allegations because they do not pin any specific Muhima and neither are they told like folktale but as statements of mockery. From Busingye's observation, the study deduced that these statements are not told as part of oral literature, not believed and more so, even the bairu give them as a form of jest towards the bahima. They are said with intentions of making fun though many have based on them to look down on all bahima who had always assumed the position of superiority in Ankole.

#### **4.4. Stereotype in the marriage institution**

Marriage is an institution that is greatly portrayed in the oral literature of Ankole. It is one of the establishments that has always united people from different tribes, religions, clans or even countries. In Uganda, for example there are various ethnic groups and more than fifty-six tribes, which have been united through intermarriages. These intermarriages create a bond between the two parties bringing about a strong relationship. In Ankole, however, this has been very different. It is surprising that people who are from the same geographical sphere, speaking the same language could have a disparity and a bar between who should marry who.

In Ankole apparently, there are two factions especially when it comes to the decisions about marriage. There are the traditional Banyankole who still believe in a “Muhima marry Muhima, Mwiru marry Mwiru” form of marriage and the modern ones especially those who have attained western education who believe in the choosing of a partner from whichever caste group one desires. In societies that are relatively stable, there have been intermarriages both ways, men from different ethnic groups marry women with whom they do not share ethnicity and vice versa, thereby ending ethnic exclusiveness.

Kashambuzi Eric, in a newspaper article in 2010, attempts to show reasons behind such differences especially concerning intermarriages. He observes that for the reason that bahima dominate bairu politically and economically they have refrained from marrying outside their circles, with the aim of avoiding bairu infiltration since with this infiltration, secrets about dominating bairu and others would no longer be kept. He however observes that educated and wealthy bairu were allowed to marry Bahima women and these men would abandon their ethnic relatives who had remained poor and these would be marginalized. (6).

From this observation, it can be analyzed that the strongest reason for avoiding the bahima-bairu intermarriages is wealth. The bahima could not allow the poor bairu to marry their women because they (bairu) never had enough wealth. That is why the rich bairu men were allowed to marry from the bahima. The issue of attaining wealth is directly linked to the issue of owning cattle since in Ankole, without cows one was always considered poor. A mwiru without cattle would obviously not get enough cattle to pay bride price. Secondly, a muhima would not allow his daughter to go into a family that would not have enough milk to feed her on or even a family that would impel his daughter to dig. This is why the rich bairu were allowed to marry bahima girls. Kasenene Peter in his analysis of marriage in Ankole also observes that “when omwiru

acquired cattle, though this was rare, he was able to marry Omuhima girl” (16). This shows that the only ticket for a mwiru to marry a muhima girl was ownership of cattle. All this is attributed to the ancient belief in bahima as cattle owners and bairu as cultivators. A muhima girl had to be exchanged with many heads of cattle and had to be in a family where there would be enough milk.

Girls who are of marrying age have developed a tendency of looking out for men who are financially well, as in the folktale entitled “*Flora*” (Appendix 2K). Flora was a girl who was of a marriage age but was not willing to go with a poor man. On several days different men came to ask for her hand in marriage. Each suitor that came sent her sister to invite her for a talk. She kept inquiring “What is he wearing on his head .../what is he wearing on his face .../ what is he wearing on his arms...” (Appendix 2K) She inquired also whether any of the men was riding, driving or flying a plane. It was until the last man who had all the qualifications that Flora wanted, that she admitted to meet him and accepted his hand in marriage.

This folktale encourages young men to work hard and accumulate enough wealth before marriage to avoid issues of being stigmatized by the girls. Any young man who had not accumulated enough wealth would find it hard to get a marriage partner. That is why even parents would make sure that there is part of the property that would be given to their sons even before marriage. The girl went to the boy’s home to first check how that family was fairing materially; the process that is referred to as “*okuriima eka.*” If she found that the family was not faring well she would cancel the marriage proposal. In this case the families that never had cattle were affected. These were majorly the bairu families.

More so, the folktale gives many girls much hope to wait for a wealthy man to get married to. This waiting and asking for material wealth is in line with the notion of marrying a man who has



accumulated enough material possession. This rich man can afford bride price and even take care of the woman in the best way. From the folktale it can be noted that Flora was a girl from a well to do family which had a negative attitude towards the poor men. The family may either be a family of a mwiru or muhima. Most girls both bairu and bahima usually take pride in marrying a wealthy man. Commenting on the kind of life in the folktale “*Flora*”, Medard Kahemura in an interview confirms that a poor man, whether a muhima or a mwiru, was always marginalized and for this case any young girl was always determined to get married to a rich man. Since many bairu never possessed cattle they were the ones who suffered this marginalization and hence could not easily get a girl to marry especially from amongst the bahima. He further states:

There was a time when it was impossible for a mwiru to get a muhima woman for marriage, though a Muhima man would easily find a mwiru woman. However this changed when the bairu started accumulating wealth through rearing cattle and attaining education. There are those who are still inclined to such traditions but the educated can freely choose a husband or wife from any of the caste groups.

His submission shows that in marriage, the issue of wealth is key. It indicates that the reason why the two caste groups were not intermarrying was due to the belief that one group was wealthy whereas the other was poor. This is why, when the bairu started rearing cattle and attaining education they were considered wealthy making it easy for the two groups to intermarry. This clearly relates to the above folktale where Flora despises all men suitors except one who comes wearing expensively as an indicator of his wealth.

However the issue of wealth in marriage has also caused disastrous consequences to young girls. In this folktale, Flora ends up devoured by an ogre. The man he goes with into marriage because of his wealth ends up turning into an ogre which devours her. This is a big lesson to the young girls who always think that marriage is based on riches. Girls with such a mentality are the ones

who will always despise a poor man as Flora sends her sister to inform different suitors that she is not interested in them because she is waiting for the richest man. When sending her sister she even adds a statement that “they exchange me with cows.” This means that she does not see potential of paying enough cows in the men who are not flying an aeroplane. Her father also learns a lesson that a parent has a responsibility of advising his girl before marriage. When she tells him that she is getting married to a rich man, he gets excited because his focus is on the bride price he is yet to receive. He regrets when he gets to know that his son in law was instead an ogre.

Apart from marriage, the study still found that socialization between the two caste groups is determined by material possession. Whoever owns much material wealth feels superior over the one who is not doing well materially. For this superiority however, the bahima have tended to associate with the bambari (the bairu who own cattle). In an interview with Akankunda Shivan, a student at Makerere University, she says that in terms of economic relations, the bahima are not fond of associating with the bairu. She however noted that the only bairu that associate with the Bahima are only those who have achieved great success. Those can sit amongst the bahima because such bairu can have something to contribute in a conversation relating to wealth accumulation. The poor are stereotyped and marginalized.

#### **4.5. Acts of inhumanity**

Another aspect of stereotype that was common amongst the Banyankole was the inhumanness of different individuals in the society. Even when this applied to both bairu and bahima, the former were found to be accusing the latter of being brutal. This is a common stereotype where all

Bahima are generalized as ruthless. In a folktale entitled “*Nkunzire na Ntunzire*” (Appendix 1), this level of brutality is evident.

In this folktale, a boy named Nkunzire is adopted by a man who has a son named Nfunzire. The two young boys are almost age mates. On a given day, the two boys go to herd cattle. Nfunzire had all along waited for a chance to harm Nkunzire, whom he knew at one point would claim inheritance. He strangles him and buries him in the bush. (Appendix 2L)

This folktale pins Nfunzire as a murderer who is worried over issues of inheritance. The issue of inheritance being a major concern in Ankole has been seen as a cause of bloodshed. Among the Bahima the major property available for inheritance is land and cattle whereas among the Bairu it has always been land. The fact that Nkunzire murders Nfunzire shows the kind of attachment that people have over their parents’ property. All the hopes are vested in this property to the extent of killing anyone who tries to block the way to this inheritance.

However much as such folktales appear almost as vivid evidence of the kind of brutality in Ankole, it cannot be said that all people behave the same. It is because of such folktales that many of the bairu have had stereotypes against the bahima and vice versa. This is why in an interview with Kamihanda- a Mwiru, says that some people use such kind of stereotypes to tarnish the names of people they are not in good terms with. Others use them even to seek sympathy from other concerned parties.

Even with all this, it can be said that these stereotypes are used because these oral narratives are used in instructing the young generation. However some people use them as a source of prejudice against others. This is why during the study it was found that whereas the bahima tag

bairu as being brutal even the bairu contend that the bahima are brutal as well. This is because the two groups have always had differences that have not been harmonized.

#### **4.6. Conclusion**

The question of who is more superior to the other between bairu and bahima ignites the aspect of stereotyping in Ankole. This has led to the different forms of stereotypes against each other. The major forms to note are stereotypes based on food habits, wit, marriage and benevolence. In terms of food habits, each group identifies the other as being gluttonous because of the folktales that pin each group. This is through the protagonists in these folktales who are portrayed as greedy individuals hence being used as representatives of the rest of the people. More so, each caste group claims to be wittier than their counterparts with the bid to claim superiority over the other. This superiority is still measured by accumulation of wealth to the extent that young girls are hesitant to get married to men they consider poor. Even parents are hesitant to approve such kind of marriage since they are not assured of getting as much bride price as they would wish to get. This has left a lacuna between bairu and bahima in the marriage institution where the bairu have opted to marry bairu as the bahima also marry bahima. This is with the exception of some individuals who have attained western education who usually freely intermarry.

This kind of socialization has negatively impacted on individual people who would have lived in harmony if it were not for this social conflict. In general terms, it can be first noted from the distribution of the two groups. The bairu cover the biggest part of Ankole in areas of greater Bushenyi, Ntungamo and parts of Ibanda and Mbarara. The bahima cover parts of Ibanda,

Nyabushozi which includes Kazo and Kiruhura districts and Isongiro. This kind of settlement shows a clear picture of the kind of cold socialization that defines the two castes. This is not an open relationship that would be expected to prevail between people of the same tribe. In an open class society one would expect to have the two castes mingle and live harmoniously. In fact, words like *muhima* and *mwiru* by now would have been discarded. People would live as according to their places of residence. There would be reference to them as *Bany'ibanda* (people from Ibanda), *Banyabuhweju* (people from Buhweju), and *Banyakazo* (people from Kazo) among others. The mere fact that the two groups have remained very distant is the reason why the terms *bairu* and *bahima* are common in Ankole.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

#### 5.1. Introduction

This research set out to investigate the social dynamics in selected Ankole myths and folktales. In this dissertation, a brief background of the Ankole people known as Banyankole was given. The myths and folktales were collected and analyzed using Marxist theory's tenets of changing modes of material production, recognition of existence of social class, alienation of the majority as well as history and society. The study identified and analyzed the following aspects: leadership and dispensation of power in Ankole; economic activities and economic relations; and finally ethnic stereotyping as portrayed in the folktales and myths. This chapter presents a summary of main findings and makes recommendations.

#### 5.2. Main Findings and Conclusions.

The discussion in this study reveals that in Ankole, ownership of power is majorly based on acquisition of wealth. Anyone who is not wealthy is ineligible to become a leader. In chapter two the findings reveal that this wealth was measured by ownership of many heads of cattle. This came as a result of the milk contest in the myth "*Ruhanga n'abaana be*" (Appendix 1A) where Kakama wins his two brothers- Kairu and Kahima. Since he was appointed and blessed by his father as king to his brothers, all property in Ankole belonged to him. This means that anyone who was to be a leader had to be as wealthy as Kakama since it was decreed by Ruhanga. For this reason, whoever was to be king had to be a descendant of Kakama. This brought disparity between bahima and bairu. This was because the bairu were left in inferior positions while the bahima enjoyed all the privileges of the royal class. For this matter, the bairu started fighting for

a better position in Ankole. In the folktale “*Omushaija omunyambabazi, omunaku, wengumba n’omukazi we*” (Appendix 2A), a young boy who is a mwiru is born with a bow and an arrow in his hands. This was a sign that he would be king. In his youthful age, he bravely asks for a duel with the king whom he slays. This young boy ends up a king. This folktale refutes the claims that only bahima are meant to be leaders. It brings a notion that a good leader is chosen by God (*Ruhanga*) not basing on whether one is a mwiru or muhima. However, it was found that the coming of British rule, at first affected the bairu. This was in a way that they were not given top leadership positions. Instead these were given to bahima. This was attributed to the fact that by the time the British came to Ankole they found a kind of leadership arrangement where the bahima were superiors and the bairu inferiors. They therefore maintained this arrangement. Hence the bairu were determined to fight for a better position. The Bairu turned against the white administrators as in the folktale “*Rutaraaka na Gooti*” (Appendix 2B) where Galt, a white administrator in Ibanda was killed. Such conflicts could not build the monarchy of Ankole. With time, the monarchy was abolished and could not be reinstated like other monarchies in Uganda because the majority bairu were against it.

The study reveals that in Ankole the love for cattle is something that is inherent. Every generation that comes has that innate love for cattle. In the folktale entitled “*Obu Ishe Katabazi yayetenga ente zamutaahi we*” (Appendix 2D), Ishe Katabazi cheats his neighbor because the latter has fattened cows better than the former’s. This is a clear depiction of the too much love that Banyankole have for cows. The study also reveals that it is not only bahima that have much love for cattle but also the bairu. That is why during the study it was found that even when bahima claim the ownership of cows, the bairu have done all it takes to prove them wrong. They also rear cattle as the bahima do.

More so, the study found out that crop production is an essential economic activity in Ankole. It is not only done by the bairu but also by the bahima. Anyone who proves lazy and not able to provide enough food for one's family is castigated. This explains why Ntuha, in the folktale titled "*The Two Wives: Ntuha and Kikere*," is abandoned by her husband. For this matter both bairu and bahima carry out crop production since such folktales severely rebuke laziness.

The study further found that even when majority of the people carry out subsistence farming, many of them produce surplus for sale. Those that produce cattle products, trade with those that have crop products. However, their trade relations were found to be discordant. Each group complains of being cheated by the other as portrayed in the folktale titled "*Ndyanakabanza K'ankole N'enkurungutanitsa Yamushasha*" where both Ndyanakabanza and Nkurungutanitsa complain of being cheated.

The study also found that in Ankole bahima masters are in a disagreeable relationship with their bairu servants. This is majorly with casual laborers, for example, the herdsmen, maids and gardeners. These workers are exploited by their bosses. In some cases, some of the workers lose their lives. In the folktale titled "*Kamburimburi and Rutsimbagiza*", Kamburimburi dies at the hands of his master. By the time of his death, he had not even achieved anything in life. Although this folktale points at the master as a muhima, it was found that both bairu and bahima treat their servants in the same manner. The only difference is that the bairu were found to be working for bahima more than the bahima would work for the airu. That is why the bahima are majorly blamed for exploiting the bairu and not vice versa.

The study also found that in Ankole there are different stereotypes based on ethnicity. Both bairu and bahima have come up with various stereotypes that are negative towards each other. In so doing, each group hopes to elevate its level of superiority over the other. The bahima, for



example have formulated different stereotype names against the bairu. The bairu are referred to using the following names: *ebyatsire* (plural of *ekyatsire*), which means a rascal or one who lacks thought and understanding, *ebihira* (plural of *ekihira*) meaning the remains of a burnt thing, *amaranga* (both singular and plural) meaning the water that has been used for washing milk pots. All these defamations are used with the aim of degrading them as people of low value, status and understanding. All this was based on the fact that the bairu were poor since they never owned cattle and were not in position to become rulers. The bairu worked hard to fight such stereotypes which never gave them chance to become leaders even after the coming of British rule. The bairu worked hard to mitigate such stereotypes. This was done through rearing of cattle which was a symbol of wealth and supremacy, as well as attaining western education. With time such stereotypes were reduced though they are still common among those who have not attained education. The educated disregarded such stereotypes but they have not sensitized the uneducated to disregard such kind of exaggerated talks. The inability to discard such ancient ethnic feelings has become a significant barrier to the economic and social development of Ankole.

### **5.3. Recommendations**

On the basis of research findings noted above, the study makes the following recommendations.

Firstly, there is need for civic education about the effects of ethnic rivalry. Government and non-government organizations should take the initiative of sensitizing different Ankole communities about ethnic rivalry. This can be done in schools, churches as well as other community gatherings. In churches, for example, church leaders and other heads of different religious institutions should encourage intermarriages between bairu and bahima. With time, these

intermarriages will bring forth a generation which will be free from ethnicity. This will help bridge the gap between bairu and bahima thus creating a harmonious relationship between the two.

The second level of recommendations deals with areas for future research. This study had its scope that it could not go beyond. For this reason, it left out symbolism as an aspect of literary style evident in the folktales and myths of Ankole. The researcher recommends that further research on symbolism in the myths and folktales be carried out to determine how it enhances the understanding of social dynamics in Ankole.

## References

Albaarracin et al. "Structure and Attitudes, Judgements, Memory and Implications for Change." *Attitudes and Attitudes Change*. William D Crano and Radmilla, Priclin (Eds) New York: Psychology Press, 2008.

Ankore District Annual Report 1967-1968, reported in Uganda Argus (Kampala, 13 September 1968)

Arie, Kruglanski and Tallie, Freund. "The Freezing and Unfreezing of Lay Inferences: effects on Impression Primacy, Ethnic Stereotyping and Numerical Anchoring" *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 19.5 (1983):531 <[http://doi.org/10.1016/0022-1031\(83\)90022-7](http://doi.org/10.1016/0022-1031(83)90022-7)>

Auguess, Honorat. *Traditional African Views and Approaches*. UNESCO, 1979.

Barker Chris. *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*. 4<sup>th</sup> Edition. London: SAGE Publications, 2012.

Beatrice, J. *The Nyero State*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

Bukenya Austin, Muigai wa Gachanja and Nandwa Jane. *Oral Literature: A Senior Course*. Nairobi: Longhorn, 1997.

Burk, Kenneth. *Literature as Equipment for Living*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanich, 1971.

Byabazaire, Deogratius. *The Contribution of the Christian Churches to the Development of Western Uganda*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1979.

Chidi Amuta. *The Theory of African Literature*. London: Zed Books Ltd, 1989.

Doornobs. R Martin, "Ethnicity, Christianity and the Development of Social Stratification in Colonial Ankole, Uganda" *The International journal of African historical studies*, 9.4 (1976):555 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/217012>>

\_\_\_\_\_. *Not All the King's Men: Inequality as a Political Instrument in Ankole*. The Hague: Mouton, 1978.

Doyle, Benard. *Encyclopedia Mythica Anthology*. Temple University Press, 1992. <<http://www.panteon.org/articles/m/mythology.htm>>

Durosimi Eldred Jones, Parmes Eustance and Marjorie Joes. *Critical Theory and African Literature Today*. London: James curry Ltd, 1994.

Elam, Yitzchak. *The Social and Sex Roles of the Hima Women*. Manchester United Press, 1973.

Finnegan, Ruth. *Oral Literature in Africa*. Nairobi: Oxford UP, 1995.

Graham, Furniss and Liz, Gunnes (Eds). *Power, Marginality and African Oral Literature*. School of Oriental and African Studies: university of London, 1995.

Hoare Joan and Gell Fiona. *Women's Leadership and Participation: Case Studies on Learning for Action*. Warwickshire: Practical Action Publishing Ltd, 1996.

Homer, Sean. *Fredrick Jameson: Beyond a Marxist Hermeneutic?* (Doctor of Philosophy Thesis) University of Sheffield, (1994)

Hornby, A. S. *OXFORD Advanced Learners' Dictionary*, International Students Edition, eighth edition. London: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Kangume, Alex, Mugisha. *Widening Political Space in Ankole, Uganda: The Role of Christianity, Ethnicity and Gender*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2014.

Karugire, Samuel. *A History of the Kingdom of Nkore in Western Uganda to 1896*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2007.

Kasenene, Peter. *Religion and Politics in Ankole*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2011.

Kashambuzi, Eric. "Why Bahima Men will not Marry Bairu Women". (Accessed on 16<sup>th</sup> November 2019 <[https:// www.observer.ug/component/content/article?id=7913:why-bahima-men-will-not-marry-bairu-women](https://www.observer.ug/component/content/article?id=7913:why-bahima-men-will-not-marry-bairu-women)>

Katiiti, C. B. *Ishe Katabazi*. Kampala: Uganda Literature Bureau, 1978.

Kirindi, Patrick. *History and Culture of the Kingdom of Ankole*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2008.

Leteipa, Ole, Sunkuli and Okumba, Simon, Miruka. *Dictionary of Oral Literature*. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1990.

Marx, Karl and Frederick, Engels. *Selected Works*, Vol. 1. Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1958.

Marx, Karl. *Carl Marx: Selected Writing in Sociology and Social Philosophy*. T. Bottomore and M. Rubel (Eds). London: Pelican, 1961.

Merolla, Daniela (Ed). "African Oral Literature and Education: Interactions and Intersections" *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 25.3-4(2006):59 <<http://www.njas.helsinki.fi/pdf/vol25num3-4/introductio.pdf>>

Mushengyezi, Aaron. *Towards a Psychoanalytic Understanding of Folk myths and Legends and their influence on cultural ideology in Ankole* (M.A. Dissertation) Makerere University, 1999.

Nandwa, Jane and Bukenya Austin. *African Oral Literature for Schools*. Nairobi: Longman, 1983.

Oberg, K. "The Kingdom of Ankole Uganda" Fortes and Evans. *African political Systems*. London, 1966.

Ogunjimi, Baya and Na'Allah Abul-Rashid. *Introduction to African Oral Literature and Performance*. Asmara: African World Press Inc, 2005.

Okpewho, Isidore. *African Oral Literature: Backgrounds, Character and Continuity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.

Rivkin, Julie and Ryan, Michael. *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, second edition. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Company, 2004.

Rutishauser IHE. "Custom and Child Health in Buganda." *Tropical Geographic Medicine*. 15.138 (1962):147

Stenning, D, J. "The Nyankole" Tylor, B, Kingzett (Ed) *The Western Lucustrine Bantu*. London: International African Intitute, 1962.

Terry Eagleton. *Marxism and Literary Criticism*. Oxfordshire: Routledge. (2002)

The Parliament of the Republic of Uganda Website. Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995 (available at [http://www.parliament.go.ug/images/constitution\\_1995.pdf](http://www.parliament.go.ug/images/constitution_1995.pdf))

Wanjiku Mukabi Kabira. *The Oral Artist*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers. (1997)

Wanjiku Mukabi Kabira. *The Oral Artist*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books. (1983)

Weedon. Chris. *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*. New York: Basil Blackwell Inc, 1983.

Welleck, Rene and Warren, Austin. *Theory of Literature*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1956

## **APPENDIX 1: MYTHS COLLECTED DURING THE STUDY**

### **Appendix 1A**

#### **Ruhanga N’abaana be**

Ira munonga, Nkore ekaba etarumu bantu okuhitsya Ruhanga ubu yashumire akarunga omu iguru kutuura omu nsi nokugitegeka. Ruhanga nikwo kuzaara abaana bashatu omuri Nkore kwonka tiyabeeta amaziina. Mbweni obunaku kubwahikire Ruhanga kugaruka omw’iguru, nikwo kwenda ngu ahereza abaana be ekigyezo eky’okubeeta amazina, okubahereza obushorobozi buri omwe nkoku bumuhikire, n’okubagambira okubarakwatanise. Atyo abaana be yabagira ati mukwate ebyanzi by’amate ebi aha bibero byanyu okuhitsya omukasheshe hatagira owayata amate gye.

Mbweni kubwabaire buri omwitumbi omutabani omuto yagwejegyera yayata amate gye goona, kwonka akaba ari omunyabwengye nukwo kugira bakuru be ati amate gangye gayatika goona, mbweni mufe okumpaho ekicweeka buri omwe. Batyo bamushukiraho aha mate gaabo, ekyanzi kye kigaruka kijura. Mbweni kububa nibuza kushesha, omwojo omukuru nawe oturo tumukwata. Ekyanzi kye kimuruga omungaro kyehumuza ahansi amate gye goona gaatika.

Kubwasesire Ruhanga agabwa naija ayeta abatabani kureeba oku batwaaza. Habanza haija omutabani omuto aine ekyanzi kye kyizwire amate, Ruhanga areeba ekyanzi kye akita ahansi. Atyo mukuruwe nawe aija n'amate gye gekicweeka. Ruhanga ayakira ekyanzi kye akikwatsa ahansi. Mbweni ahamuheru, haija omutabani omukuru n'ekyanzi kye kirimu busha. Ku aheza kureeba buri omwe oku akozire ekigyezo kye Ruhanga nikwo kutandika kubeeta amaziina agabaire gahikaine n'emirimo ebashemereire ei yabaire naza kubahereza. Atyo nikwo kugira ati: okwiiha eri zooba, mutabani wangye omuto naza kwetwa Kakama ahabwokuba niwe orikuza kutegyeka ensi ya Nkore. Mukuru we yamweeta Kahima. Ati: niwe oragume noriisa ente za Kakama ahabwokuba omuhaire amate gaawe. Omutabani omukuru amweta; ati niwe orabe omwiru wabarumuna baawe ahabwokuba oyatsire amate gaawe watsigaza busha. Noiija kutungwa okukorera barumuna baawe.

Nabwanyuma abatabani abo bashatu nukwo kwija bakazara Abakama (nari Abahinda) abategyekire Nkore nk'abagabe obwo baakomooka ahari Kakama; Abahima, abariisa baazaarwa Kahima, kandi Kairu yazaara abairu. Kakama (nari shi Rugaba) akatandika kutegyeka ensi ya Nkore. Bwanyima akaija engoma yagiha Nyamate omutabani, kandi Nyamata yagiha Ruyonga. Boona abo Abagabe bakaba batarikufa nk'abantu boona kureka bakaba baza omw'iguru. Ruyonga ebigabiro bye bikaba biri Kishozi haihi na Mubende kandi obugabe bwe bukaba butwara Nkore yona na Buganda. Ruyonga yaija yazaara omwishiki yamweterera ishe Nyamate.

Obwo bunaku nibwo Ishaza yabaire nategyeka engoma ya Kitara ey'Abanyoro. Ruyonga nikwo kumwohereza entumwa ze ngu bakaanywana omukago (kusharana ahanda), kwonka Ishaza yayohereza omugaragwa we Bukuku kuba niwe wanywana omukago na Ruyonga. Onu kuyakimanyire nikwo kumwohereza omuhara Nyamate kandi ou Ishaza yakunzire akenda ngu

amushwere. Nyamate kuyagizire enda kandi ku areba Ishaza nakunda ente ze okumukira, nikwo kugaruka owaishe yazaara Isimbwa.

Ruyonga kuyakimanyire yayohereza ente ze ibiri ezi yabaire nakunda munonga – Ruhogo na Kahogo – omunte za Ishaza kandi onu yazikunda munonga kandi kuzacwire zikagaruka omunte za Ruyonga, Ishaza akacwamu kwikurata yaija yataha n’omukazi we n’omwana, obugabe bwe bwaguma nibutegyekwa Bukuku.

Engoma ya Ruhanga akaija yagitsigira omwihwawe Isimbwa, mutabani wa Ishaza. Bwanyima Isimbwa akaija yazaara omwana w’omwojo omuri Nyinamwiru, muhara wa Bukuku, kandi ogwo omwojo bamweta Ndahura. Ndahura ogu hooni niwe waizire akaita Ishenkuru, nkoku kyaragwiirwe kare na kare, atyo nikwo kwegaruriza engoma ya Kitara yooni. Mbweni Isimbwa ku yarebire omutabani Ndahura oku yabaire ari emanzi, nikwo kumuhereza engoma ye eya Nkore nayo ngu agitegekye. Ndahura atyo yakubuura ensi yooni haihi nka Uganda yooni oku eri hati, okuhitya na za Karagwe omuri Tanganyika, kwonka yaija yakwatwa Ihandiro yamusingura, atyo Ndahura nukwo kurekyera omutabani Wamara engoma ye yooni ey’abachwezi.

Ebigabiro bya Wamara bikaba biri ahari Itaba omuri Rwampara haihi na Mbarara. Engoma ye kuyabaire neza kuhwaho, Wamara akaija yatweeka akaishiki Njunaki, omuzaana we, kwo kukazaramu Ruhinda. Kwonka obwo engoma y’abachwezi ekagira ebihikirizi bingi kandi ebyareteire Wamara n’abachwezi boona kuburira omunyanja eya Wamara. Mbweni Ruhinda ku agaruka naruga kukubuura ensi ya Tanganyika ashanga ebigabiro bya ishe ahari Ntutsi omuri Bwera bitarimu muntu nomwe, kandi engoma yaishe Bagyendanwa ekaba aine ishenkuru – kizaara nyina. Engoma atyo agikwatsa Ruhinda ahungurira ishe.



Okwiiha obwo Ruhinda nibwo yatandika engoma y'Abahinda abategekire Nkore, kandi engoma eya Kitara yaguma netegekwa Ababiito ba Bunyoro, mpaho n'Abaganda bategyeka burugwa – izooba nkoku kiri hati. (By Rutahigwa Deus)

## **Translation**

### **Ruhanga and His Children**

A long time ago, Nkore was not inhabited, until Ruhanga came down from heaven to live in the land and rule over it. Three children were born to him and he didn't give them names. When time came for him to return to heaven, he decided to give his children a test in order to establish the one who should be his heir. He also wanted to ensure that his sons live in peace without disputes. The test would be the basis for naming them, allocating them responsibilities and defining how they would relate thereafter. The sons were to hold milk pots on their laps until dawn and ensure that milk does not get spilled.

Deep in the night, the youngest son dozed and spilt some of his milk but he was very wise, so he asked his brothers to contribute for him some milk. They did and so he had a full milk pot once again. Later in the night the second youngest son also dozed and spilt some milk from his already half-full milk pot. When he pleaded with his brothers to also contribute some milk for him, they all refused. Towards dawn, the eldest son slept, upset his pot and all his milk was completely lost.

So Ruhanga called them to see how they each fared. The youngest son came in first with his full milk pot, which Ruhanga examined and put down beside him. Next came the second youngest whose pot was half-full. Ruhanga also examined it and put it down. Finally, the eldest son came with his empty milk pot. On the basis of their performance, Ruhanga then decided to give them their personal names that would symbolize the roles and responsibilities he was going to give them. He therefore decreed as follows: 'my youngest son will be called Kakama because henceforth he will be the heir and ruler of the land of Nkore. The second youngest will be called

Kahima because he will be the herdsman to Kakama to whom he has given his milk. He will look after Kakama's cows and share in their proceeds.' The eldest son was called Kairu and God said to him: 'you will be a servant to your brothers because you were careless and poured all your milk and have nothing. You will labour for them and that will be your source of livelihood.'

The three sons subsequently became the ancestors of the present Bakama (Bahinda) royalty, the Bahima pastoralists and Bairu cultivators in Ankole respectively. When Ruhanga returned to heaven, Kakama (or Rugaba as he was also called), started ruling as the Omukama or Omugabe of Nkore in his place. He was later succeeded by his son Nyamate who was in turn succeeded by his son Ruyonga. None of these people was mortal, for they never suffered death but ascended into heaven at the end of their reign. Ruyonga had his capital at present –day Kishozi (or Kisozi) near Mubende and his kingdom covered the whole of Ankole and present Buganda. A daughter was born to him and he named her Nyamata after his father.

Desiring to establish blood brotherhood, Isaza, the Omukama of Kitara kingdom, Ruyonga sent messengers to the latter who tricked him and got his gatekeeper, Bukuku, to perform the ceremony instead. On realizing this, Ruyonga sent his daughter, Nyamate, whom Isaza fell in love with and soon she was she was heavy with his child. However, it soon became clear to her that Isaza loved his cows more, so she decided to return home to her father and there she gave birth to Ishimbwa.

On hearing the story, Ruhonga tried another trick. He sent his two darling cows – his bull Ruhogo and a calf Kahogo – to Isaza's herd, and the latter loved them greatly. When they later broke loose and returned to Ruyonga's kraal, Isaza decided to follow them and ended up staying in Ruyonga's home with his wife for the rest of his life. Meanwhile his gate keeper, Bukuku ruled in his place.

Ruyonga was succeeded by Ishimbwa. The latter had a son with Nyinamwiru, Bukuku's daughter, whom he named Ndahura. In fulfillment of a prophecy, Ndahura killed his grandfather, Bukuku, and thereafter ruled the Kitara kingdom. Seeing the great warrior the Ndahura was his father, Isimbwa, decided to hand over to him his Ankole kingdom as well. Through a series of military campaigns Ndahura was able to establish the Bacwezi rule over much of present Uganda and the lake region of Tanganyika. Ndahura was later captured in his campaign against Ihandiro but was rescued and he decided to hand over his empire to his son Wamara, the last ruler of the Bacwezi Empire.

During the last years of his reign, Wamara had established his capital at Itaba in present Rwampara near Mbarara town. There, a slave girl, Njunaki, bore him a son, Ruhinda. It was during this time that several misfortunes befell the Bacwezi and as a result, Wamara and his followers disappeared into Lake Wamara (or Wamala) in Singo. On returning from one of his military campaigns in present Tanzania, Ruhinda discovered that his father's capital then at Ntutsi (or Ntusi) in Bwera, had been deserted and his father's drum, Bagyendanwa, had been put under the care of his maternal grandfather, Katuku. It was then handed to him as the heir to his father.

From then on, Ruhinda the founder of the Bahinda dynasty of Ankole, ruled the southern part of the crumbling Bacwezi Empire, while the northern part fell to the Babiito of Bunyoro. To the east, the kingdom of Buganda was established.

## Appendix 1B

### Nyakakaikuru N'orukooko

Ira munonga, Ruhanga kuyaherize kuhanga ensi ya Nkore, yagitamu omukaikuru n'rukooko kugitegyeka. Ruhanga yahereza omukaikuru obusisi bwokumurinda omunsi, kwonka omukaikuru n'orukooko bikaba bitarikumanyana. Izooba rimwe orukooko rwimuka ruza kuhiiga, kurugira ruti rumureeba omukaikuru ruza kumurya. Rutyo rumwirukanyza nawe ahunga.

Mbwenu k'aba nairuka aijuka nyabusisi buri obu Ruhanga yamuhairu kwerindisa aihayo kamwe akatambika ahansi kaatika harugamu enyanja n'emigyera bimutanisa n'rukooko. Ku hahweireho omwanya orukoko rugabwa rwayehinguririze enyanja rugaruka rureeba omukaikuru. Nyamukaikuru agaruka aihayo akandi kasisi akatambika enyuma ye karugamu emiti, obunyatsi n'ebishaka byona haimuka ihamba ryazibira orukooko kureeba omukaikuru. Kwonka hoona rwaija mpora rwayogamu omw'ihamba rwagaruka rwamureeba nawe nikwo kutambika akandi kasisi karugamu enshozi n'obubungo byaremesa orukooko kurahuka. Kuyatambikire akandi karugamu enyamaishwa eza buri muringo orukooko rwazaho rwazirya rwahugaho.

Ahamuheru omukaihuru kuyatambikire akasisi akarikuheruka harugamu abantu baingi munonga bamukwatsa orukooko baruteera. Abo nibo Banyankore abari omuri Nkore hati Kubaarebire barunozya baruziika kwonka rwo rukaba rutakafiire. Nyakaikuru atyo yatemala aha kabungo karaingwa yahinduka ebicu. Nahati ku arikusheesha, enkari ye eija eri nk'enjura. Ebyo ebitureeba biri nk'ebicu n'ente ze. Okuhitsya hati orukooko niruguma nirwija omunsi omumuringo gw'orufu rutwara omuntu omukiina eki baruzikiremu. (By Karahuka Erias)

## Translation

### The Old Woman and the Ogre

Long time ago, after God had created the land of Ankole, he put there an old woman and an Ogre (orukooko) to take charge of it. Ruhanga gave the old woman some gourds to protect her as she went about her daily affairs on the earth. However, the two never met and none knew the other existed. One day as the ogre was wondering around, it saw the old woman and decided to kill her. The ogre began the chase and the old woman ran for dear life. As she ran, she remembered the protective gourds Ruhanga had given her. She pulled one and threw it on the ground. The gourd broke into lakes and rivers which separated her from the ogre. When it caught sight of her again she pulled out another gourd and threw it between her and the animal. This time the gourd produced trees and bushes which formed a thick forest that the ogre penetrated with extreme difficulty. It eventually found its way through and was almost catching up with the old woman when she threw down another, and it produced mountains and hills, which made the ogre's advance slow. When she tossed another gourd, it produced different animal species which the beast kept busy eating for some time before it finished them and begun its chase. Finally, the old woman desperately dropped her last gourd and out of it came human beings, the present Banyankore people, who beat the ogre and buried it. Hower it was buried when it was half dead. The old woman climbed one of the tallest hills and turned into the clouds. When she urinates, her urine falls on the ground in form of rain. What appear like circus clouds are actually her cows. Up to this day, the ogre still visits the world in form of death and it carries people into the grave where they collectively buried it.

And so that is how the lakes, rivers, forests, mountains, hills and the people we see today in Ankole were originally formed.

## Appendix 1 C

### Nkya Nabatabani

Ruhanga omukubanza akaba nataaha n'omurumuna Nkya omunsi eyabaire etagiramu kantu koonna eri aho etyo, etaine mutaano gw'iguru n'ensi. Nkya yaguma atagishemerereirwemu kandi aguma nagambira Mukuru we kwatashemereirwe. Izooba rimwe Ruhanga nikwo kugira ati: Reka ngire eki nahanga ekiraretere Nkya kushemererwa. Atyo nikwo kuhanga ensi n'ebigirimu yagiha Nkya, kandi yahanga Iguru rye ryokuturamu. Kwiha obwo Nkya yaguma nategyeka eby'omunsi kandi Ruhanga akaba aguma namutayayira omunsi n'ondi nawe atayayira mukuru we omw'Iguru.

Nkya akazaara abaana bana kwonka bashatu aharibo bakaba bataine maziina kureeka bakaba babeeta 'Nanka'. Omutabani omuto we akaba nayetwa Kantu. Eki tikaramushemeize ahabwokuba akaba nagira ngu nibamugaya ngu nimukye. Kantu nikwo katandika kugira omutima mubi n'obutahurira ishe nabakuru be. Kubabaire baza kytayayira Ruhanga omw'Iguru, we Kantu akaba agyenda wenka, agumize ngu ishe na bakuru be nibamukiniika. Ku ahika omw'Iguru nikwo kugambira ishe – nto ku atashemereirwe kandi yamushaba ngu amuhe aobushoroboozi bw'okutegyeka ebhangirwe byoona eby'omunsi. Ruhanga yaikiriza.

Mbwenu Nkya ku agyenda nakura yayenda ngu aze kutaha na mukuru we omu Iguru, kwonka ayenda ngu ensi atsigye eri omubuteeka kandi eine orikugitegyeka. Nkya agira ati kanze kwehanuza ahari mukuru wangye. Atyo agyenda n'abatabani bashatu abakuru. Kubahikayo, bashanga eka etategwiire, batyo bategura. Omutabani omukuru yakiriza efuka empango hamwe n'engata. Owakabiri yatwara ekyanzi n'emboha, kandi owakashatu yakiriza omutwe gw'enimi

eyi babaire baheza kubaaga aha bugyenyi. Ruhanga areeba ebi abaana bakiriize buri omwe, kyamutangaaza yakitekateekaho muninga.

Nyekiro Ruhanga atakagiire omukitanda kuhumuraho, nikwo kweeta aboojo yabaha ebyanzi by'amate ngu babikwate omungaro kuhitsya omukasheshe. (Mbwenu kyaba nk'oku twareeba omukubaza, ahaiguru). Mbwenu omukasheshe Ruhanga kwaheza kureeba buri omwe okunikimanyisa ngu mwamuha itungo ryanyu nahabwekyo naija kubategyeka, kandi naija kweetwa Kakama. Omwojo omukuru naija kwetwa Kairu ahabwokuba akabura kureberera amate gye yagaata. Kandi hoonu akatorana efuka, empango n'engata ebintu ebyabaire nibikozesebwa abairu ba Ruhanga. Mbwenu nawe Kairu akaba naija kubikozesa kukorera bene-ishe. Kandi omwojo owakashatu yamweeta Kahima ahabw'okuba akaba naija kuba omuriisa w'ente za mukuruwe ou yabaire ahaire amate gye; hoonu n'ekyanzi n'emboha ebi yatoraine nibyo byabaire nibiza kworeka omwoga gwe.

Omukasheshe, Kantu aija ashanga bakuru be baabetsire amazina marungi atyo agira ekiniga ashuma agaruka omunsi. Kakama ishe yamurage ebye byoona, Kahima yariisa ente ze, kandi Kairu yaaba omugaragwa we. Kantu we yaguma ari endeme; akaba ataine ou arikuhurira. Yagirira ihari beneishe yachuma enama yokushisha byoona ebi Ruhanga yateireho. Nikwo kutandika kureeta entongane, rwango n'entaro omunsi obwo nakozesa amani gye agu Ruhanga yabaire amuhairu. Yaretera Kakama okugwejegyera, yamutera obunyakantu n'obwinazi. Okwiha obwo ekibi kyakanya omunsi okuhitsya nahati. (Rwamirama John)



## Translation

### Nkya and His Sons

Ruhanga originally lived with his brother Nkya in a formless expanse as there was neither earth nor heaven. Nkya was so bored by the place and he kept complaining to his brother. One day, God decided to create something that would occupy his bored brother and so he made the earth (ensi) for Nkya and heaven (iguru) for himself. Since then Nkya got preoccupied with the affairs of the earth and Ruhanga would occasionally come down to visit his brother on earth, and the latter would also return the visit.

Nkya had four sons but the first three had no names and were only referred to as ('Nanka') 'the other one'). Only the youngest boy was called Kantu. This is not to please the youngest son who saw it as a derogatory. Kantu started rebelling against his father and brothers and could not take orders from anybody. Whenever there was a family visit to heaven, he preferred to go alone, saying that his father and brothers were despising him. On one such visit, he complained to his uncle how he was despised by his brothers and father, and he requested for powers to control nature; which he was granted.

As Nkya grew old, he decided to retire to heaven, his brother's home, but wanted to leave the earth in some established order, with someone in charge, Nkya decided to go and consult his brother about his plans, and he took his three older sons along. When they got to heaven, they found the compound untidy, and they proceeded to clean it up. The first born picked a hoe, axe and head-pad (engata) used for carrying heavy loads, and put them in the store. The second boy picked a milk pot (ekyanzi), and a string used to tie a cow's legs when it is being milked (emboha). The third boy picked the head of the bull which had been killed for the day's feast.

Ruhanga was impressed by what the boys had done and also intrigued by their choice of items they had picked.

Before retiring to his bed, Ruhanga decided to give the boys a test to hold full milk pots intact until dawn. (It happened as in the first tale of the myth, except that in this version the other boys complained to Ruhanga that they had given their youngest brother part of their milk, and that is why he had more) Ruhanga then proceeded to give them names and to decree as follows: first, that by giving their young brother, they had put themselves under his lordship, so he would be called Kakama. The eldest son he called Kairu or servant, not only because he failed to look after his milk but also because the objects (hoe, axe and head-pad) he had picked were those used by Ruhanga's servants. So he would use them to serve his brothers. The second-youngest boy was named Kahima because he would be a herdsman to his brother whom he had given his milk, and the things he had picked- a milk pot and a leather string – would symbolize his trade.

The following day, Kantu came around to visit his uncle only to find his brothers had been given meaningful names, and he angrily stormed back into the world. Kakama became the controller of his father's property, Kahima looked after his cows, and Kairu did menial labour. Kantu took orders from nobody; he was simply a rebel. He was so jealous of his brother Kakama that he decided to spoil the order instituted by Ruhanga. He decided to cause confusion, hatred and civil strife, using his mysterious powers over nature. He made Kakama fall under his spell, yielded to human nature and he became selfish and oppressive. From that day, evil increased on the earth.

## APPENDIX 2: FOLKTALE COLLECTED DURING THE STUDY

### Appendix 2A

#### **Omushaija Omunyambabazi, Omunaku, Wengumba N'omukazi we**

Obwakare nakare, hakaba hariho omushaija barikumweeta Bituunta. Akaba ari omunaku munonga. We n'omukazi we bakaba batwiire omubushwere bwaabo kumara obwiire buringwa kwonka bateine mwaana n'omwe. Ebyokurya byaabo bikaba biri ebitakuri n'ebihimba nkabandi banaku abibarya obutoosha.

Omwabazyo gumwe muka Bituunta kuyabeire naruga aheziba yashanga abantu beingi nibashunga omushaija 'wubabaeire batarikumanya kandi nawe atarikumumanya. Ogu mushaija akaba aine enjara nyingi munonga arikurebuka kubi ajweire akahu kengwe konka. Abantu boona bakaba baherize kumubinga aha maju gaabo. Nomugabe wenka akaba yamubingire. Okwiiha obuyahikire omuri Ankole akaba atwiire naraara aheru enjura erikumuteera ateine kiyamba.

Muka Bitunta kuyahikire omuka agambira iba ahamushaija ugu. Bitunta akeitwa enaku yagambira omukazi we kureeta omushaija ogwe omuka. Kuyahikireyo yaaza ahamuriro yayota. Bamutekyera obushera yanywa. Bitunta akamubuuza aharikuruga. Ogu mushaija akamugira ngu naruga ah'emigera yona eruga, ah'ekiro kitandikira kandi ah'orume rwomukasheshe ruza. Bitunta tarabikyengire kwonka omukasheshe akamanya ngu ugu mushaija akaba ari omuhangwa.

Omuhangwa nawe akabuuza Bituunta ebikukwata ahamaka gye. Kuyamanyire ngu Bitunta akaba ateine mwaana akamugambira ati: "Humura munywani wangye! Ninza kukuha omubazi ogurakuyambe iwe n'omukazi waawe mukazaara omwaana w'obwoojo."

Omwabazyo gumwe kubabeire nibagaaniira yabaha omubazi bagunywa. Akabagira

ngutarikwiija kutaaha batakazeire ogu mwaana. Omu myeezi ebiri yoonka muka Bituunta akaba yagizire enda. Ababeire babasheka ngu nabagumba boona bashoberwa. Obwiire bwokuzaara kubwahikire, omuhangwa yabagira ngu tiheine muzaritsa oine kuba ariho oyihireho nyina w'omukazi, owabeire natuura hareho. Bitunta akagyenda yamureeta.Omwaana kuyazeirwe, omuhangwa yamureeba omungaro ze yashangamu omwambi n'akata. Akashemererwa munonga yabagambira okwabeire nakimanya ngu nikwo kiraabe. Omungaro ya bumoshu hakaba harimu entetere. Akabagira ngu hakaba niheija kuteera enjara yamaani. Akabagira ngu kubarireeba batakayeine kyokurya, babyaare entetere ez'omwaana yazeirwe nazo. Akabagira ngu ogu mwaana akaba ateine kureebwa bandi bantu mpaka ahikize omwaaka gumwe.

Omuhangwa akabatsibura yabaraganitsa kugaruka kubataayayira.Bakamukomera entanda y'obushera byokunyweera omumuhanda kandi bashaasha munonga kureeba nabatsigaho.Omukasheeshe ako akakwaata omwaana yamuha omugisha yatandika orugyrndo rwe.Bitunta akamushendekyeza yamurenzya emigongo ebiri, yamuhoobera yamutsibura.Omwaana waabo akakura omu bwangu kandi aine amagara marungi.Kuyabeire arihehi kuhitsya emyaaka ebiri, ekaaro kyoona kyatahirirwa enzigye zaarya buri kimwe kyoona.Abantu bakaburwa ekyokurya batandika kurya enzigye.Kuzangyenzire hakaba hatariho kindi kyoona kyokurya.Bituunta n'omukazi we beikirizana okubyaara entetere zaabo.Omubwiire bukye orutetere oru rukaana ebyoozi byiingi batandika kuyamba ababeire bateine kyokurya barikubaha ebyozi.

Enzara ekatsimba mushekye n'omugabe yatsindika abakoozi be bareet'ente bazihanitsamu ebyoozi owa Bituunta. Omugabe kuyaherize yeiza n'abaantu beige kureeba orutetere. Mutabani wa Bitunta akeshereka kuhika obu omugabe yagarukireyo. Akatsiga yabaraganitsa ente ezindi.Ogu mwaana kuyahikyize emyaaka eyabatsigazi batandikiramu kuriisa ente, yatandika

kurambura ekyaaro arikugabira n’abantu ebyozi. Eizoba rimwe kuyabeire natambatambura yabugana abantu beigi bebembeirwe omugabe. Ogu mugabe akaragira ngu omutsigazi aitwe ah’abwamaryo gye. Omutsigazi akashaba ngu arwaane n’omugabe bareebe orasingye. Omugabe akasheka yakwenkwenuka arikugaya ogu mutsigazi. Kwonka abanyankore nibagyira ngu: “Agogaya nigo gabutotsa!” Omugabe akaha omutsigazi eichumu nawe yaakwaata erindi. Kubabeire batandika kurwaana omutsigazi yacumita omugabe eicumu ryomutima yafeeraho. Ababeire beine omugabe boona bainamira omutsigazi kandi yaaba omugabe omutsya. Bakareeta Bituunta n’omukazi we omu kikaari kyomugabe ngu batuure n’omutabani kwoonka baguma nibareberera orutetere rwaabo.

Ahanyuma yamasharuura abiri, orutetere rukaana ekyyoozi kihango munonga. Kubabeira nibaza kukiteeka, hakarugamu omushaija arikureebuka kubi ajweire akahu kengwe konka. Omutsigazi owabeire ari omugabe ahabwiire obwe yagyenda yagwa omukifuba kyomuhangwa. Boona bakashemererwa bamutebeza oku ebyoozi byabayambire omubwiire bwenzara n’okubabeire bayehwiire amatsiko ngu tarigaruka. Ku natsigire Bituunta n’eeka ye hamwe n’omuhangwa bari omumashemererwa neiza kubatebeza ebinareebire. (By Byabagyenzi Festo)

## Translation

### The Poor, Childless, Kind Man and His Wife

Once upon a time, there was a man called Bitunta. He was a very poor man. He and his wife had been married for many years; but they had no child. They fed on potatoes and beans like other poor people.

One evening Bitunta's wife was going home with water from the well. As she passed a neighbour's house, she found a large crowd which had, gathered to stare at a stranger. He looked old, tired and extremely hungry. But he was dirty; his hair was wild and unkempt; and he wore only an old leopard skin. So he had been turned away from house after house. He had even been to the king's court and had been refused anywhere to sleep. Since he had come to Ankole, he had slept every night in the cold and rain, since nobody would give him shelter.

When Bitunta's wife told him about the old man, he felt sorry and told his wife to bring the man in. The stranger sat by the fire and warmed himself. They brought the little food they had and made hot porridge for him. He told them his story. Bitunta was keenly interested and asked him where he came from. He said that he came from the land where all the rivers run, and the night starts and the morning mist goes. Bitunta found all this difficult to understand. But he learnt that the stranger was *omuhangwa* (soothsayer).

When Bitunta had finished asking him about himself, *omuhangwa* also wanted to know about Bitunta and his family. He learnt that Bitunta was a poor man and that he and his wife had no child. He was most concerned about this but told them not to worry. He would give them a medicine which would ensure the birth of a son. He stayed for a whole month and, one evening when they were talking, he gave a medicine to them and they drank it. He said that he would

not depart until the baby was born. Within two months the woman was pregnant; and she and her husband were very happy. People, who had laughed at them for taking in such a filthy old man, began to wonder.

The time came for the baby to be born; and the old man told Bitunta that they should have no midwife except his wife's mother, who lives some distance away. So Bitunta went to fetch her. When the baby was born, the stranger looked at the palm of its right hand and found a little bow and arrow. He was overjoyed, saying that this was what he had hoped. In the left palm of the baby were seeds of a pumpkin. These, the stranger took and gave to Bitunta, saying that the time had come for him to return to his own country. He warned them that the baby should be seen by nobody else till he was a year old. He said also that a severe famine would come to the land, when many people would die of hunger. but when there was nothing left for them to eat, they should plant the seeds which had come with the baby.

The stranger promised to visit Bitunta and his wife again; and now he bade them farewell. They made him porridge to drink on his Journey and were very sorry to see him go. But he assured them that it would not be long before he returned. So early in the morning he took the baby and blessed it. Bitunta accompanied his friend over two hills. Then they embraced one another and parted. The baby grew fast and within a few months had become a big fat boy. When he was nearly two years old, the country was invaded by locusts, which ate all the crops. In a few weeks the people had nothing left to eat, so they ate the locusts. But, when all the grass and all the crops were eaten, the locusts left the country; and the people had nothing at all. Bitunta consulted his wife and they agreed that the time had come to plant the seeds. Within a few days, pumpkins were growing on every runner on the plant. Many people came to ask for pumpkins; and Bitunta and his wife were very kind, giving pumpkins freely to the poor and

aged.

As the famine intensified, the demand for pumpkins increased. The king sent his servants with cattle to exchange for them; and they returned to him with baskets full. One day the child asked his mother to shut him up in the house, since he did not want to see the king. His mother explained that the king lived far away; but the boy insisted that the king would be coming to their house to see the pumpkin-plant. Later in the day, the king came to the house with many of his people. He promised more cattle in exchange for pumpkins; and then he returned to his court.

After a few weeks, the boy said that he wanted to go visiting in the villages. He was allowed to do so and went out with his mother. When he saw other boys and girls who had not enough to eat, he invited them to come to his home. There he gave them pumpkins and asked them to come back for more. The famine was now less everywhere and food was obtainable in limited quantities.

When the boy was nearly old enough to herd cows, he went out one afternoon and met a crowd of people carrying spears. He tried to find out where they were going. Their leader was the king; and he ordered the boy to be killed for his impudence. But the boy asked to be allowed to fight the king and see who would win. The king laughed, thinking he would kill the boy at the first blow; and all the chiefs of the army were amused that such a youngster should make a proposal of this sort. The king gave a spear to the boy and took one for himself; and, as soon as they started fighting, the boy speared the king to the heart and killed him. All the king's men knelt before the boy and paid homage to him, saying that he should be their king. So he went with his army and took his father and mother to the palace. But they went on looking after their pumpkin-garden.



After two harvests, a very large pumpkin was brought from the garden; and as they were making ready to cook it, it burst open and out came an old man, dirty, with wild and unkempt hair and wearing only an old leopard skin. When the young king saw him, he jumped up and went and fell on the old man's breast. He called his parents and they were overjoyed to see the old man again. The old man himself rejoiced to find that the false king, who had refused him shelter, was no longer king. They told him the whole story and how they had survived the famine with the help of the pumpkin. They also told him that they had given up hope of ever seeing him again.

I (the story-teller) left the young king with his parents and *omuhangwa*, happy and rejoicing to see that those who had once been so poor were now the leaders of a mighty kingdom; and I came to tell the whole story to my listeners.

## Appendix2B

### Rutaraaka na Gooti

Emyaaka yeira obu obutegyeki bwabajungu bwabeire bweijire juba, hakaba hariho omushajja owubabeire nibeeta Gooti. Gooti akaba ari omujungu owubatsindikire okurambura eitwaare rya Nkore hamwe nokubaragiira ekyokukora. Akashanga ahangoma hariho omugabe Kahaya arikukora n'enganzi Mbaguta. Aba bombi bakaba batarikukwatanitsa na prince Igumira owabiire ari murumuna wa Kahaya. Ahabw'enshong'egyo Igumira tarakwatanititse na mujungu weena. Eizooba rimwe Gooti akaza Tooro aine enganzi Mbaguta. Omukurugayo akareetwa Bunyaruguruari kubaragiira okuhinga enguuto yaabo okuhika Igara, aba Igara bahingye bahitsye Sheema, aba Sheema bahitsye Kashaari, aba Kashaari bahitsye Mbarara. Okuruga Tooro okuhika Mbarara, Gooti akaba agyenda ahekirwe abairu abu Mbaguta yabeire atoorana. Kuyahikyire Mbarara ati ninza Kamukuzi. Kwahikaaho ati ninza Ibanda. Banyakumuheeka bati: "Mukama weitu eitwe katwaruha kare katutarabaase kuhik'ibanda." Uwe ahama kimwe: "Paka Banda" Abashajja batyo batuutuka nawe baraba Bitsya, bari Rukiri, batyo bari Kagongo okuhitsya obubahikire aheisaza ery'ibanda. Kubahikaho, Gooti aza omukinaabiro kunaaba. Ahabwekiniga kiingi ekibabeire beine, omushajj'omwe akwaata eicumu, acumita Gooti amwiita. Kubaaherize kumwiita basharamu obutagamba owamwiita. Kubababurize boona bagira ngu ni Rutaraaka. Rutaraaka akaba ari omushajja w'omumuga atari kubaasa nokweyamba. Aho naho mukuru wegomborora owabeire nayetwa Kibubura aragiira ngu eshagama ya Gooti ahu yatoonya barundeho amabaare maigi. Omutumbi gukatwaarwa Bungyereza akuguziika. Oweitsire gooti yaguma abuzire kwonka baguma nibagira ngu ni Rutaraaka owa Nyakotookyee. Prince Igumira akakwaatwa barikugira ngu niwe yabeire ari enyima yokwiitwa kwa Gooti ahakuba akaba atarikukwatanisa n'omugabe Kahaya. (By Byampitsi Vereriyano)

## **Translation**

### **Rutaraaka and Galt**

Many years ago when the the British administration had just come to Uganda, there was aman named Galt. He was a British administrator sent to Ankole as the acting provincial. This was during the reign of Kahaya and Prime Minister Mbaguta. The two were were not in good terms with Prince Igumira who was brother to Kahaya. Igumira had wanted to become king but in vain. For this reason, Igumira had not supported any British administrator since these were in collaboration with the king Kahaya.

One day, on Galt's and Kahaya's visit to Tooro kingdom. On his way back he passed via Bunyaruguru, where they ordered people of this area to dig the road up to Igara, those of Igara were to dig up to Sheema, those of Sheema to Kashaari and those of Kashaari to Mbarara. From all that far Galt was carried by able bodied Bairu who were chosen by Mbaguta. Galt then decided to go to kamukuzi. From there he wanted to go to Ibanda. The men that were carrying him begged him that they were tired but he insisted that he had to go to Ibanda. With no option, they carried himthrough Bitsya, Rukiri, to Kagongo up to Ibanda sub county headquarters.

When Galt reached there, he went to the bathroom. That was when an unknown man speared him to death. All the people agreed to hide the whereabouts of the murderer. They instead said it was Rutaraaka who a handicapped man unable to even help themselves. The sub county chief by then who was called Kibubura ordered people to pile stones at a place where Galt's blood had spilt as his body was taken back to his country. The whereabouts of the murderer remained a mystery as Igumira was taken for instigations because he was like a rebel to the kingdom.

## Appendix 2C

### Omugabe N'empitsi

Obwakare nakare, hakaba hariho omugabe owubabeire nibeeta Bananukye. Eihanga rye rikaba ritaaha riine obusingye. Eizooba rimwe yaayeta abagaragwa be yabatsindika omu byaaro kurundayo abantu boona, ababeire bateine kyokurya neiga enyamishwa ezabeire ziteine kyokurya. Akaba nayenda kubaha ebyokurya.

Omwe omu bagaragwa akashanga empitsi erihehi kwiitirwa enzara omumpuku ahiyabeire netaaha. Agigambira ngu bagyendane ow'omugabe nibeiza kugiha ebyokurya ehaage obutagaruka kugira enzara. Empitsi etyo eikiriza kuza kurya ebiyabeire ehereire kurya eira nk'amate, enyama hame n'obwooki. Kwoonka ugu mushaija akagambira empitsi ku nejja kubugana ebigyeyeso bina batakahikire ow'omugabe, kandi byoona okwaine kubirabaho. Empitsi eikiriza bagyenda. Bakahika omuruhanga rwokubanza bashanga harimu enyama mpamgo zebishaju n'omuchuuzi gwazo kwonka barabamu, empitsi yagumisiriza nobwerabe yaitsirwemu eishuma. Omuruhanga rwakabiri haka hejjiwiremamu amate. Oru narwo bakarurabamu bateine buzibu. Oruhanga orwakashatu hakaba harimu enyama eyokize gye, beitu aha naho empitsi yagumisiriza barabamu. Oruhanga orwakana rukaba rurimu enyama zebishaju zeine amagufa mahango munonga ekyareteire empitsi yayanga kureng'aha. Nyamushaija agambira empitsi ngu: "Otahenda efuka omumeinamuka! Oru nirwo ruhanga rwonka orwatsigarayo." Nyampitsi etonzya okuyaruha buzima k'wetaciine gatambura. Empitsi eshaba ngu bagyihekye erikureeba ahansi amaguru ahaiguru.

Nyamushaija akakora okok'wempiysi yashabire, yo yagyenda neyeriira enyama. Okuza kuhika ow'omugabe empitsi ekaba eigutsi etakyeine njara yoona.

Kubagiteire ahansi, bashanga eine ebishaju ahaminwa. Ekigezo kyokugumisiriza kikaba kyagiremire bagibinga etarebire omugabe. Egi mpitsi terafireyo yagira ngu: “Hariyo empanga eishatu zirimu ebyokurya n’ebyokunywa byeingi munonga. Ahubiriza kuhweramu ndyaaba nakuzire neyefereire.” Empitsi etyo yayegyendera. Kuyahikire omu mpanga ezo ina ekashanga hateine kirimu, yagaruka omumpuku yaayo ahuyeitirwe enjara. (By Rwantumbwe John)

## Translation

### The King and the Hyena

Once upon a time there lived a king, whose name was *Bananukye* (Satisfaction). His country was peaceful and very rich; and all his people lived happily.

One day, he called all his headmen and told them to go into the whole country and seek out people who were starving, or animals that were short of food, for he wished to give part of his own surplus to those who were in need.

One of these headmen came upon Mr Hyena who was starving and told him that, if he came to the king, he would be given so much food that he would never be hungry again. So Hyena agreed to go to the king's palace to be fed on meat and butter and milk and all that his mouth could desire. The headman warned him that, on the way to the palace, he would meet with four temptations which, at all costs, he must resist. Hyena promised to overcome them; and so they set off together to find the king.

On their way, they came to a valley which was full of soup and fat meat. They went through it, taking no notice of the tempting food. After a few miles they reached another valley, in which flowed a river of milk. This also they crossed without difficulty. A third valley was full of roast beef; and this they negotiated successfully. But the fourth was full of meat with big bones and fat meat. Here Hyena lay down and told the headman he could go no further. The headman said that they had only to cross this valley to reach the king's palace; but Hyena swore that he was too tired and hungry to travel another inch. He asked to be carried, head-downwards, on his companion's back.

So the poor headman carried Hyena upside down. In this position, he could reach the soup and the meat without being seen; and by the time they were across, he had eaten enough to satisfy

him for a very long time. So, when the man put Hyena down, there was soup all over his lips; and the headman told him that, since he had not resisted the temptation, he would not be allowed to visit the king.

On hearing this, Hyena was not worried, since he thought, "There are still three valleys full of meat and soup and milk. By the time I have finished all the valleys, I shall be old and ready to die. The headman wished him goodbye; and he hurried back to the valley of roast beef. But, when he reached it, it was empty; and, when he came to the other two valleys, they were both dry. So Hyena lost his only chance and he slunk back into his cave, where he starved to death.

## Appendix 2D

### Obu Ishe Katabazi Yayetenga Ente Zamutahi we

Eizoba rimwe, Ishe-Katabaazi akatwara ente ze kweshera ahamugyera reero kuyaba nahikayo yareeba omushaija ayine ente nungi munonga. Ishe-Katabaazi yazetenga, yatandika kushara amagyezi oku arazitungye. Yatandika kutekyereza juba, yayijuka ngu omushaija ogwo akaba agyira omuhembe gwangire kukira. Ishe Katabazi aronda omuringo gwokumuringaringa, akabasa kutunga ente zomushaija ziboneire munonga. Atyo atandika kweshera ente ze, buri emwe arikugyiha eiziina. "Nywa'maizi gawe bihogo," "Kifefe gyend'onnywe," "Kyamate wunatungyire nakyiza omuhembe," agumizamu nayeta buri nte eiziina. Reero omushaija ahurikyiza, asharamu kumubuza oku arikumanya eiziina ryokuha ente, okukyira eyiyagambamu omuhembe. Ishe-Katabaazi amugarukamu ati, "Manya ente egyo nkagitunga obunakyiza omuntu wabaire aine omuhembe. Akampa ente eitaano," atyo azibara. Omushaija agambira Ishe-Katabaazi ku agyira omuhembe. Ishe-Katabaazi amugarukamu amugambira ku nagukiza. Omushaija amubuza ekyiyokumuha. Ishe Katabaazi agamba ente eitaano eziyokweteranira. Reero bikirizana, Ishe-Katabaazi atwara ente, agambira omushaija aharamushangye akamuha omubazi. Omwebazyo guhika, Ishe-Katabaazi afuuta eshenda nyingyi, azijwamba norwamba rwentaama. Kwaheza, agyita omukyanzi atwarira nyamushaija, amugambira kugunaabisa omukanwa kwonka atagumira. Omushaija akanwa kashariira kwonka ayehangana, nomubazi amiraho kakye, reero ebihinzi bitandika kuragara. Ishe-Katabaazi akaba yamugyizire ngu kwarareebe ebihinzi byaretwa omunyindo, amanye ngu omubazi niguza kumutambira. Atyo ashemererwa, amanya ngu yaaza kukyira. Kwonka ekyobusaasi, omuhembe tigurakizire, reero omushaija atandika kwefuuzza ente ze ziyahaire Ishe-Katabaazi. (By Kamunyu Esau)



## Translation

### When Ishe Katabazi Desired his Neighbor's Cows

One day Ishe Katabazi took his cattle to the well to drink water. Reaching there, he found another man who had good looking cattle and he desired them. He then started finding a way of taking some of these good cows. He recalled that the owner of those cows had for a long time suffered from a disease called *omuhembe*. He started looking for a way of tricking him. Ishe Katabazi then proudly called all his cows by name as he instructed them to drink the water. To one cow he had named Kyamate, he said: "Kyamate, the one I got after treating *omuhembe*, drink the water!" he cocalling all his cows as the other man listened carefully. This man decided to ask Ishe Katabazi how he got names of his cows especially the one that he mentioned with the word *omuhembe*. Ishe Katabazi told him that: "I got that cow from a man whom I treated that disease *omuhembe*. He gave me five cows." He even showed him the cows he had received. The man then told Ishe Katabazi how he had also suffered from the same disease for long. Ishe Katabazi told him that he had the herbs that could help him. The man asked him about the terms of payment. He was told that he had to part with five cows. The then agreed on where to meet and he gets the herbs. One evening, Ishe Katabazi looked for red pepper, mixed it with sheep's blood, put them in a milk pot and took them to the man. When the man tasted these 'herbs,' everything became bitter and saliva started coming from his mouth. Ishe Katabazi had told him that to confirm that the disease was getting healed, too much saliva would come from his mouth and mucus from his nose. The man became excited that he was to get better but unfortunately nothing changed. The man regreted having given his cows to Ishe Katabazi.

## Appendix 2E

### Abakazi babiri; Kikere na Ntuha

Obwiira niira hakaba hariho omushaija yashwera abakazi babiri. Omwe bakumweta Kiker ondiyo bakumweta Ntuha. Baatura baatura. Kikyere akaba ari omukazi ari kumanya emirimo, arikwakiira abantu , kwonka omubiri gweye gukaba niguhara ahabwokusiiba omu mirimo. Ntuha we akaba nayemanya ngu aboneire, akaba asiiba nayeboneza ari kwesiiga. Omushaija akaba nakunda Ntuha munonga ahakuba akaba nahumura gye kandi aboneire. Kandi Ntuha kuyabeire akora enshobi, iiba akaba atamujuma munonga ahabwoburungi bwe. Ebirungi ebi Kikyere yabeire akora, iiba akaba atabireeba ahakuba Kikere akaba ari mubi.

Eizooba riimwe omushaija yagambira abakazi be ngu naaza aharugyendo kukora kandi naaza kumarayo omwaka gwoona. Akaha buri omwe efuka n’omuhoro yabagira ati, “Ebi nibyo buri kimwe kyanyunaaba ntariho.” Kuyagyenzire atyo Kikere agumizamu nakora emirimo ye nkaburijjo. Akaba ayimuka omukasheeshe agenda omumusiri kuhinga, arkirugayo aboneza embuga, ayozya n’emyenda ye. Bwanyuma, Kikyere akasharuura ebyokurya yabiikiraho n’iiba ntuha we akaba asiba arikweboneza nka burijjo atakubaasa nokuhinga niga okuboneza embuga ye. Orutookye rwa Ntuha rwakanda, enju ye yeijura ebiyenje ahabwoburofa. Ntuha akaba ashekerera Kikere kwari kushusha kubimunonga kandi kubateine kibaramureetere.

Omwaka kugwahweireho, omushaija yagaruka. Akaba ayiniire Ntuha orushusho, atakurootanamureeba. Kuyahikire omunju ya Ntuha, yamwakiira, yamuramutsya weena ari kwemooora. Omushaija akaba aine enjara nyingi arikwenda ekyokurya kwonka Ntuha tieine kiyabeire aine ahabwokuba akaba atahinga. Omushaija kuyarinzire ekyokunywa kyabura n’ebiyenje byamuruma, yagyira ati kanze kureeba omukazi wangye ondiyo Kikere.

Kuyahikyireyo, Kikere yamwakira gye yamuretera ekyokunywa, yamugoyera akaro rarunga n'eshabwe. Omushaija akreeba n'enju ya Kikere yareeba buzima kweri enyonjo, ekitanda kikaba kyazie gye omushaija yashemererwa munonga. Kurug'obwe, omushaija akaremera owa Kikere mpaka ebiro byoona. Ntuha kuyatongine ku Kikyere yamutwaraho omshaija, yamugira ati otura oteine magyezi, nikyo kibakuteera aha bendera okanga okaremera omukishaka. (By Iremeera Dianah)

## Translation

### The two wives; Kikere and Ntuha

Once upon a time, there lived a man that had two wives, one named Ntuha (crested crane) and another one Kikere (toad). Kikere was hard working, so welcoming, but had a rough skin. On the other hand, Ntuha was beautiful, attractive, though lazy and proud. The husband preferred Ntuha to Kikere because the latter was so beautiful.

One day the husband had to go on a journey to work and was to stay there for a year. When he went, Kikere continued with her daily chores which included digging, cleaning her surroundings and even harvested the crops she planted. For Ntuha she continued to be lazy and she spent her time beautifying herself rather than doing home chores. Eventually her compound became bushy, her house was infested with cockroaches and her garden wasn't yielding any produce, for she was not attending to it.

After a year, the husband returned, he was eagerly waiting to see his beautiful wife Ntuha. She welcomed him, sat him in the chair, and started rolling her eyes instead of serving him something to eat or drink which the husband was waiting for but all in vain. He therefore decided to go and see his other wife Kikere. Kikere was so excited to see her husband that she prepared a good meal for him, more so, her compound was well swept, her bed well laid and the husband was thrilled. Ntuha kept waiting for the husband to go back to her but to no avail since the man had decided to stick to Kikere as his ideal wife. When Ntuha quarreled that Kikere had stolen her husband, the man replied to her that that, "No wonder even when they made you emblem of the country, you still remained in the bush." That is the end of the story.

## Appendix 2F

### Ndyanakabanza K'ankole N'enkurungutanitsa Yamushasha

Ndyanakabanza Kankole akaba ar'yomuhima arikutuura omuri Nkore kandi Enkurungutanitsa Yamushasha akaba ori omwiru arikutuura omu nshozi za Buhweju. Omuhima akaba atwiire nayenda kugur'oburo ahakuba bakaba batabuhinga. Omwiru nawe akaba nayenda akanyama ahakuba akaba amazire obwiire atarikukaryaho. Mbweni omuhima aronda amashe gente agakoma ekibohera kihango kyokutwaara Buhweju ahuyabeire namanya ngu oburo niyo butaaha. Akatsiba n'omukaro gwenyama aharubaju nkentanda ye. Omwiiru omuri Buhweju nawe atsiba ekibohera ky'omweziga ayehemba n'akaro aharubaju nk'entanda ye atyo ayoreka ag'ankole kuronda akanyama. Bombiri kubabeire nibahika omu nshozo za Bukiira baabugana bashutama hamwe.

'Buhoro! Buhorogyey! Obusingye!' Omuhima aramutsya omwiru.

'Buhoro! Buhorogyey!' onu nawe agarukamu.

Omuhiima abuuza omwiiru ati: "Beitu ogyema guuha?"

Onu nawe ati: "Ninza Nkore kugurayo akanyama. Kandi sh'iwe?"

Omuhiima ati: "Nyowe ninza Buhweju kugurayo oburo. Haza kandi naaba nyine enyama omu kibohera kyangy'omu"

"Haza obwe nanye nyin'oburo omukibohera kyangy'omu!" Batyo bashutama omuhima arya entanda y'omwiru y'oburo n'omwiru arya entanda y'omuhima y'omukaro gw'enyama. Ahonaho

baba ebanywaani. Omunyabuhweju abuz'omuhima ati: "Ekiri kukutwaara Buhweju kuronda oburo nenki kandi nyine oburo obundiyo nintwaara Nkore ngu bampemu enyama?"

Onu nawe agarkamuati: "Nanye naaba nintwaara enyama yangye egi Buhweju ngu bampemu oburo. Mbweni ahabwaaki tutakuhantsiz'aha tuketambira orugyendo?"

Batyo bahanitsa batashumuriire kureeba ebibarikutwaara. Kubaahikir'omumaka gaabo boona bashanga ngu bayebaiha. Omuhima akashanga atweire omweziga gw'oburo kand'omwiru yashanga atweire amasha gente. Kuhahweire akiire omwiru aza kutayaayira omuhima. Akamutwarira ebibohera by'ebiyokurya byeingi. Omuhima akashemererwa yamuha ente y'enyina kwonka yamuzibira kugitwaara owabo Buhweju. Omwiru ente yagireka omu faamu y'omuhima okuhitsya obuyazeire ezindi nte mukaaga. Kuyeizire kugitwaara omuhima amugira ati: "Tikikubatsika, shana waaba noyenda zoon zife!" Omwiru kuyaatahire yaronda amagyezi agarashare kufuna ente ze kuruga Nkore. Atyo agambira abeeka ye ati: "Naaza kwekabitsa, muntsibe omurubugo muntwaare ahamuryango gwamunywaani wangye omuri Nkore." Bakakora nokuyabagambiire. Omuhima kuyarebire ebi byoona yayebuuza akarakoore. Nawe yayekabisa bamuta aharubaju rwamunywaniwe. Ahanyuma yebiro bibiri omwiru agurukayo. Omuhima nawe arugayo amugyira ati: "Aha! Ofiire kumara ebiro bibiri mbweni hati watandika kugamba? Owobwegye nakoragana n'owobwengye." Kubayemanyire ngu nibinganitsa obwenge beikirizana omwiru yatwaara ente ze omuri Buhweju. (By Kateegaya Clesencio)

## Translation

### Ndyanakabanza Kankole and Enkurungutanitsa Yamushasha

Ndiakabanza Kankole was a Muhima, who lived in the grassy plains of Ankole. Enkurungutanisa Yamushasha was a Muiru, who lived in the hilly areas of Buhweju. The Muhima wanted to buy some millet, as he did not grow it; the Muiru was anxious to have a taste of meat, as he had not had any for some time. So the Muhima took a load of dried cow-dung from his kraal and tied it up in long grass, and set out with it to Buhweju, where he knew there was always a plentiful supply of millet. He tied a piece of dried meat for his own use on the outside of the bundle. The Muiru in his home in the hills gathered together a load of millet-husks, which he tied in a bundle of dried banana fibre, and with a little cooked millet of his own, tied to the outside, he hoisted the load on his head and set out for the Ankole plains.

When they reached the top of Bukira hill both men met each other and sat down to rest and exchanged greetings

'Where are you going?' asked the Muhima.

'I am going to Ankole to buy some meat,' replied the hill-man. 'Where are you going?'

'I am going to Buhwezhu to buy some millet,' said the Muhima; 'I've got some meat here on my load.'

'And I also have some millet here,' said the other. So they opened their packets of food, and sat down to eat. The Buhweju man ate the other's meat, while the Ankole man ate the millet, and they made friends. Then the Buhweju man said, 'Why do you go into Buhweju to buy millet when I have a load of it here, which I was going to exchange for meat in Ankole ?'

'I, too,' the other replied, 'was going to take my load of meat to exchange for millet. So if you take my load of meat I will take your load of millet, and we will save ourselves a farther journey.'

So the Buhweju man took the load of cow-dung, and the Ankole man took the load of millet-husks, each well pleased with himself at his cleverness, and they returned to their respective homes. But when they discovered how each had tricked the other they felt they could do nothing about it, since each was to blame. Some little time later the Buhweju man went to visit the Ankole man in his kraal, as they had now become friends. He took with him a load of food as a present. In return his friend made him a present of a calf; but he kept it in the kraal in Ankole until it, in its turn, had borne six calves. After the sixth calf had appeared the heifer's owner wanted to take it with the ca

So the Muiro returned to Buhweju, wondering how he should pay back his friend for this last piece of shabby dealing with him. When he had made up his mind he said to his family, 'I will pretend to be dead. You tie me up and sew me in a bark cloth. Then carry me to Ankole and put me on a bed near my friend's house.' They did so. When his friend heard that he was dead he was very sorry, but he thought, ' Ah! What trick is he playing on me now?' So he told his family to tie him up in the same way and place him on the bed beside his friend, for he would die also. So the two friends lay side by side. Suddenly the Buhweju man broke wind loudly. Whereupon the Ankole man exclaimed, ' Ah! You have been dead for two days, and yet you are making noises. How is this? A trickster is always found out by a trickster.' So each realized that the other knew, and called people to undo them and let them out. The Ankole man then gave the heifer and the six calves to his friend, who took them with him to Buhweju.



## Appendix 2G

### Kamburimburi na Rutsimbagiza

Hakaba hariho omushaija owabaire ataaha no'mukazi we. Bakazaara omwaana bamweeta Kamburimburi, haza ogo mwaana akazaarwa n'obuta, emyambi hamwe na'macumu.

Ishe Kamburimburi akaba nakora owo'mukama w'esi egyo. Ogwo mukama akaba nayetwa Rutsimbagiza. ishe Kamburimburi akaba akora eizoba ryoona, omukama ari kumushashura otusente tukye. Kuyafiire yatsiga ekaye omubwooro bwamaani. Ekyi kyikeitsa Kamburimburi ekiniga kyamaani.

Eizooba rimwe Kamburimburi akeimuka yagambira nyina ngu yaza kwita Rutsimbagiza. Agira ati: "Obu nazairwe no'buta, na'macumu n'emyambi nimba mbeireki? Rutsimbagiza akeita taata, mbwenu anyetegye."

Akagyenda natoongyera ati:

*Nyite omukama Rutsimbagiza, mpoorere taata!*

*Abaana ba Rutsimbagiza mbatwaare, mpoorere taata!*

*N'omukazi wa Rutsimbagiz mmtwaare mpoorere taa!ta*

*N'abashumba ba Rutsimbagiza mmbatwaare mpoorere taata!*

Akgyenda natongyerre ebigambo ebi okutsya obyahikire omukibuga kya Rutsimbagiza. Tihaine nomwe omubashumba n'azaana ba Rutsimbagiza

owagyerizeho kumutanga. Manya boona bakaba boshobeirwe kare ahabw'emboonabona!

Rutsimbagiza kuyamurebire akatandika kutetema arikumweshengyereza ungu ashabe akyarikwenda kwonka amurekyere amagara. Kamburimburi nawe amugyira ati: “Nkaakutsatsiire waaba nomba taata kwoonka tihaine horamwiihe.” Kambumburi atyo areega omwambi aratsa Rutsimbagiza omukwahwa omutyima agwata. Aho n’aho Kamburimburi atwaara ebintu bya Rutsimbaagiza byoona kandi aba niwe yaaba omukama wogwo mwanya. Ekitebyo kagarukir’aho. (By Kabeireho Patrick)

## Translation

### Kamburimburi and Rutsimbagiza

There lived a man with his wife. They gave birth to their only one boy they named Rutsimbagiza. He was born with bows, arrows and spears. The father to this boy was a casual worker in the palace of the king who ruled that land. That king was called Rutsimbagiza. The father to Kamburimburi used to work all day but received little pay. Upon his death he left his family in abject poverty. This angered his son Kamburimburi who decided to attack and kill the king. One day he told his mother that he was going to accomplish his mission. On his way he was reciting that:

*I kill king Rutsimbagiza, I avenge my father's death!*

*I take over king Rutsimbagiza's children, I avenge my father's death!*

*I take over king Rutsimbagiza's wife, I avenge my father's death!*

*I take over all Rutsimbagiza's laborers, I avenge my father's death!*

When he reached the palace, none of the king's palace dared to stop him since they were also going through the same life as the late Kamburimburi's father. When the king saw this he was panic stricken and asked for forgiveness. Kamburimburi told him: "I would forgive on condition that you give me my father but unfortunately you can't get him."

Kamburimburi shot his arrow at the king under the armpit and killed him instantly. There and then Kamburimburi became the new king of that area. End of the story.

## Appendix 2H

### Omukazi Owiibire Enzigye

Obwakare nakare hakaba hariho omushaija barikumweeta Batsikana. Akaza omunsi ya hare okurondayo omukazi. Akeija yafuna omwishiki owubabeire nibeeta Ndehemura. Akaba ar'yomwishiki murungi nobu araabe yabeire akuzire kukira abeishiki abaandi omukyaar'ekyo. Ku Batsikana yagambiire banywaani be, boona bakamuzibira kushweera ogo mwishiki ah'ebwemichwe mibi eibabeire nibamumanyaho. Kwonka ebyo byoona akabyiima amatu yaronda katera rume wokumuyambaho.

Akashashura enjugano bamuha omukazi we. Aheizoob'eryo hakabaho okurya, okunywa n'okushemererwa. Mpaho Ndehera yaaza omutsika okwaraama nkoku emigyenzo y'ankole eba. Kuyamazireyo obwire bukya yamanya ngu omukyaaro ekyo abantu bakaba nibarya enzigye eziyabeire ararireho. Omukuhika omuk'egyo akababeiha ngu takaryaga nzigye kandi tazendera kimwe. Akatandika nokuzeeta ebihuka. Akakikora kushemeza abomuk'egy ahabwokuba abakazi bakaba tatarya nzigye. Eizoba rimwe abomuka boona kubagyiire omumutsiri batsiga akanyungu keizwiire enzigye. Ndehemura atyo aziiba azirya enyungu agikomba.

Baramukazi be kubarugire ahamusiri bashanga enyungu hateine kirimu. Kubuuza Ndehemura ati nyowe tinkariire nzigye nshangwa ntazirya. Bamubuuza kuharaabe heine ayiiza omuka baryahamusiri, ati tiheine owunarebire. Bakateekateeka ngu nembwa yaabo kakwiisi kwooka nyinabo yabagira ngu omutwe gwembwa tigukutaaha omu nyungu.

Eizoba erindi bakatsiga akeishiki kato kuguma n'omugore omuka. Kuyagyiire kurya enzigye yaatuma akeishiki aheiziba kashanga yairiire atsigiremu nkye. Abomuka kubarugire ahamusiri

bagira ngu ni ka keishiki akazirya beitu karahira kukatakariire ahanzigye. Ishe wa Batsikana yaaza owomufumu yamugambira oku enyigye zirikubura. Omufumu akamuha orugisha ngu arute ahansi omunyungu. Akakora nkoku bamuragiire. Eizoba eryakuratsireho Ndehemura akareeba ariwenka yaaza omuri yanyungu kuyrya enzigye nkaburiijo. Kuyagitiire ahamunwa ekakwatiraho yayangira kimwe okurugaho. Akateekateeka kutaaha owaabo yatiina kugyenda n'enyungu ahamunwa. Omwe ahari baramukazi be kuyeizire, yashanga enyungu emukwatiire ahamunwa. Atyo agyenda nairuka akweshongora ati:

*Yaimweab'omu mwijje mureebe omugoreyarya enzigye!*

*E-e-e Yaryaenzigye!*

*Akagirang'uwetarya nzigye!*

*E-e-e Yaryaenzigye!*

*Abary'omumusiri mwijje mereebe*

*Omugoreyarya enzigye!*

*E-e-e Yaryaenzigye!*

Ab'omuka nabataka kubeizire boona batandika kusheka Batsikana ngu bakamugambira yayanga. Bakatwaara Ndehemura owaabo abazeire ba Ndehemura bazimuurira Batsigana. Enyungu ekagwa ahansi boona bamusheka bari kuchweera ahansi ah'abwokushwaaya abakazi. Ekitebyo kyahweer'aho. (By Kaseemiire Jenesta)

## Translation

### The Woman Who Stole Locusts

Many years ago, a man called Batsikana went to a distant land to find a wife. At last he came to a village where a girl called Ndehemura lived. She was rather older than most girls when they marry. But she was very beautiful and Batsikana returned home and told his friends what a dear beautiful girl she had found. They tried to dissuade him for they had heard that many men had already refused to marry Ndehemura on account of her bad manners, but Batsikana would not listen to them and appointed one to act as a go between to the two families.

In due course, he paid the bride wealth a day was set for the marriage. When it came, there was much dancing, drinking and feasting. Among the people of Ankole it is customary for a bride to remain in the backroom for atleast four months after the wedding. During this time, she is fed on the best dishes the family can afford and by the time her seclusion is over she is much fatter and her skin is lighter in color. Moreover, until she has born a child, she continues to be called the bride.

After a few weeks in her new home, Ndehemura found that the villagers were eating locusts. Before she got married, she had also eaten locusts and was very fond of them. But because she wanted to impress her husband and in-laws, she said she had never tasted them and, to prove her ignorance, she referred to them as 'insects.' One day, when her husband and his sisters were out, she found the pot of cooked locusts and ate them all. When her sister in laws came back they found the pot empty and wondered who had done such a thing. They thought it was their dog, Kakwisi, but when their mother came, she thought that it was impossible, since the dog's head could not enter the narrow neck of the pot. Moreover, a dog would not have had the wisdom to return the

pot to its proper place. It must have been a human being. They did not think of asking Ndehemura whether anyone had visited the place in their absence.

Next day they went off to dig, leaving the bride with a small girl whose breasts were beginning to swell. When Ndehemura saw that they had all gone, she sent the small girl to the well to fetch water for her bath. As soon as the girl had gone, she went to the pot and ate the locusts, and by the time the girl returned, the pot was almost empty.

When the others returned, they thought it was the small girl who had eaten them, but she hotly denied it. The old man, the groom's father, decided to catch the thief. So he went to the wise man and told him all about the mysterious disappearance of the cooked locusts. The wise man gave him a charm which was to be put on the ground below the pot. This was done the following morning and everybody went about his duties leaving only the bride behind.

When she was sure she was alone, she went as usual and lifted the small pot with cooked locusts in it. But as soon as she did so, the pot pushed its way up and stuck to her mouth. She tried to pull it off but she could not. She even tried to break it but she could not. She began crying and cried for a long time, all the time trying to unstuck the pot from her mouth. But all was in vain. She thought of going home to her own parents, but she was afraid of to be seen on the way with the pot stuck to her mouth. As she was still struggling, one of her sister-in-law returned and saw what had happened. She rushed out singing, in order call all the others to come and see:

*'Come from the garden and see the bride who has eaten locusts.'*

*'E-e-eh she has eaten locusts,'*

*'She said she doesn't eat locusts.'*

*'But she has eaten locusts.'*

All the family and the neighbors came to see. Some were laughing, and some cursed her while others said to Batsikana:

'we told you but you wouldn't listen' Ndehemura was taken back to her parents for she could not remain Batsikana's wife after behaving so shamefully. Batsikana received back his bridal wealth and then his father brought the charm which he placed on the bottom of the pot. The pot fell from the woman's mouth and everybody laughed at her, while some spat on the ground saying that she should never be married again.



## Appendix 2 I

### Obu Ishe Katabazi Yarya Engundu Yente

Obwakare na kare omuri Nkore, hakaba harumu omushajja owubabeire nibeetaIshe Katabazi.Eizoba rimwe Ishe Katabazi afeerwa engundu y'enimi. Atyo agibaaga, agikarika, aguma naarya emikaro y'enyama wenka.Omukazi we n'omutabani akabaha nka haafu kiro yonka eizooba eriyaagibagire, kwiih'obwe tibaragarukire kukombaho.Abataka bakanyiiga munonga ahabwokuba bakaba bataaha nibamutsiira enyama.Bakeikirizana baragaana kwiija kumwihura obwiire tutari bwa hare.

Eizooba rimwe ente ya muriraanwa efa.Ayeta abataka bagibaaga.Kubabeire nibagigabana, zireeta Ishe Katabaazi nawe eizire kugabana ah'anyama. Muriraanw'omwe ati: "Ahaaa! Kahega nirukuura, Ishe Katabazi ngugu nawe yeizire.Nagira ngu twayebirwe oku yareire engundu y'ente wenka." Boona beikirizana ngu batamuha n'obuyakuba entongo y'enyama. Ishe Katabazi ashara amagyezi goona gokufuna enyama.Kuyaahengyire baahugira ahanyama, az'omurwamba ayekuringamu ayeyekabitsa. Abataka kubamureeba bashoberwa kandi bakaba batakimumanya ngu n'Ishe Katabazi. Basharamu bamuzinga omukirago bamutwaara bamunaga omukisharara.

Kubaagarukyireyo, Ishe katabazi aimuka anaaba ajwaara gye agaruka ahubabeire nibagabanira enyama abagira ati: "Kumurayangye kumpa enyama ninza kubatabaariza ngu mwayit'omuntu mwamuzinga omukirago mwamunaga omurufunjo." Batyo boona batetema.Buri muntu ayeshengyereza Ishe Katabazi.Nawe abashaba enyama eiyabeira nayenda bagyimuha bamwongyera neiyabeire atabashabire.Ishe Katabazi abashaba n'amaarwa, nago bagamuha.Abagira ngu beine kubitwaara baka bimuhikiz'omuka. Kunatsigire Ishe Katabazi nibabitwaara nanye nejja kubatebeza. (By Sabiiti Ubaldo)



## Translation

### When Ishe Katabazi Ate a Bull

Long long ago in Nkore, there lived a man named Ihe Katabazi. One day he lost his bull. He slaughtered it and ate it the meat alone. He gave almost half a kilogram to his wife and child. His neighbors were very angry since they used to share everything with him. They planned to teach him a lesson one day.

One day, a neighbor to Ishe katabazi also lost a bull. He called all the other neighbors and they slaughtered it. As they were sharing the meat, Ishe Katabazi also came to have his share. All the people were determined to deny him even a single piece of meat since he had eaten the whole bull alone. Indeed, they never gave him a single piece of meat. When all of them were busy sharing their meat, Ishe Katabazi rolled in the pool of blood where they had slaughtered the bull and assumed dead. When they saw a man in the pool of blood, they could not recognize him and even thought that he was dead. They decided to wrap him in a mat and throw him in a swamp, lest they would be arrested for murder.

A few moments later, Ishe Katabazi left the swamp, preened up and went back to find the people roasting and eating their meat. He then told them that: "If you don't give the meat I want I will report you that you killed a person and thrown his body in the swamp." All of them were scared that they gave him all the meat that he wanted. He even asked for a calabash of local brew which they gave him instantly. Then he told them to carry the meat and the calabash to his home, which they did. End of the story.

## Appendix 2J

### Obu Ishe Katabazi Yarya Embwa

Obwakare na kare hakaba hariho omushaija barikumweeta Ishe Katabaazi. Eizooba rimwe aimuka atsetur'ente aja kuritsa. Kuyabeire ari omwiishwa aritsize, yashanga amazi omu rubungo, agarya agetsiremu oburo. Kuyaatahire atebeza ab'omuka ati: "Bantume, eshi abantu ebir'ebi bakeeza! Naaba nditsize nashanga omwaate gw'obur omurubungo nanye tinaaba mubi nagurya." Bamugira ngu: "Ishe Katabazi otaba bary'amazi ogetsire oburo." Nawe abagira ati: "Kugakwenda gaba go, ahakuba gaaba nigakaatuuka." Atyo abirugaho.

Eizoba erindi kuyabeiri aritsize omuruhiira ahangayo embwa efereireyo, atyo agibaga ayotsy'enyama agiryra. Kuyaataahire atebeza abomuka okw'abantu barikunaga encwaamutwe omuruhiira. Abagambira n'okuyagibaaga akagiryra. Bamugira ngu: "Ishe Katabazi haza okaaba waary'embwa" nawe ati "Kuyaakwenda ebayo ahakuba yaaba neshaarira" ebyo abi rugaho bihungura.

Eizoba erindi kuyabeire aritsize areeba enyawaawa efiire, agyiteeka agyiryra. Kuyahikire omuka abatebaza okuyaarya enkoko. Bamugira ngu: "Ishe Katabazi otaba wry'enyawaawa?" ati: "Kuyokwenda ebayo ahakuba n'omucuuzi gwaaba nigwiragura." Boona bamushekerera aha bw'obwengye bukye. Kunatsigire nashwaara shwaara neiza kubatebeza. (By Sabiiti Ubaldo)

## Translation

### When Ishe Katabazi Ate a Dog

Long time ago, there lived a man called Ishe Katabazi. One day when he went grazing his cattle, he found feces and ate it thinking it was millet bread. When he reached home, he told the people how he had eaten millet bread and wondered how people could waste such food they told him that he may have eaten feces. That is when he recalled that what he had eaten was not tasting like millet bread.

The next day he went back to graze, he found a dead dog, roasted it and ate it. He also told people at home who asked him whether he was sure that what he had eaten was not a dog. He then told them that it might have been a dog because it was very sour.

Next time when he was grazing his cattle he found a dead wild bird. This time he was assured that it was chicken. He cooked it and ate his meal. When he reached home he told his people and they told him that it might have been a wild bird. He told them that there were possibilities that it was a wild bird since its soup was black. They all made fun of him and called him a fool. End of the story.

## Appendix 2K

### Flora

Mbaganire mbaganire, omushaija akeimuk'aho, yashweer'omukazi we, batuura batuura, baazaara abaana.Omubaana'abo hakaba harimu oubabeire nibeeta Flora.Flora akaba ary'omwishiki murungi munonga ou buri mahsaija yabeire nayenda kushweera. Abashaija kubatandikire kuguma nibeija kumwoyeresereza, akaba ayeshereka omunju ngu bagume nibatuma murumunawe.

Omushaija wokubanza kuezire yabuuza murumuna wa Flora ati: "Flora arinkahi." Onu nawe ati: "Yaaba atarimu kwonka nimbaasa kumukweetera wangambira ekyorikumwendera." Nyamushaija amugambira nkoku yaaba nayenda kumutwaara akaba omukazi we.Nyamwishiki ayehuuta aza kweeta Flora. Kwahikayo amweeta nayeshongora na Flora arikumugarukamu bati:

Omurumuna: *Flora .... Flora..... Flora.....*

*Omurungi wangyingo Flora!*

*Omuka nibakweeta Flora,*

*Omurungi wangyingo Flora!*

Flora: *Nibanyeteera ki?*

Omurumuna: *Nibakwetera kusweerwa Flora*

*Omurungi wangyingo Flora!*

Flora: *Nooha arikunyeeta? Yiiza navuga ki?*

Omurumuna: *Nomushaija webigere Flora,*

*Omurungi wangyingo Flora!*

Flora: *Ogyend'omugambiire*  
*Ngu nyowe tinkumwenda, Flora*  
*Omurungi wangyingo Flora!*  
*Kand'omugambire*  
*Ngu nyowe bangura nente Flora*  
*Omurungi wangyingo Flora!*

Aho omurumuna agyenda nataragaza agambira nyamushaija. Omushaija ayeshengyereza kwonka byoona biba ebyabusha. Kuyabeire yarugaho heiza owegari, beitu nawe bamugambira nibyo bimwe abibagambiire owebigyere. N'owa piki aija, n'owemotoka aija beitu boona habura owa twaara Flora. Ahamuheru haija omushaija aine enyonyi, ajweir'gye agambira murumuna wa Florakumumweetera. Flora kuyahuriire ngu nowenyonyi yaija nayirukanga. Nyamushaija amugambira okwayine ente nyingyi munonga. Flora atyo aikiriza. Kuyagambiire ishe, nawe ayesiima kandi asiima n'omuhara okwari omwaana w'obwengye bwingi. Flora agyenda ashwerwa n'enzugano bagiha. Kubahikire omuka y'ogumushaija, omushaija ayehenduramu orukooko rumira Flora. Abowaabo kubakimanyire baaza kuruhiiga. Kunatsigire nibaruronda neiza kubaganira. (By Kamateeka)

## Translation

### Flora

Once upon a time there lived a man who married his wife and they gave birth to children. Among them was a girl named Flora. She was so beautiful a girl that that every man in the village and the neighborhood wished to marry her. When she reached a marriageable age different suitors started visiting her home with the hope of winning her into marriage.

The first man that came found a sister to Flora who was willing to call her provided he told her what she wanted Flora for. Flora used to hide away from people since she never wanted everyone to admire her beauty. The man opened up to Flora's sister that she wanted Flora for marriage. The sister went to call her and with Flora they exchanged in a song that went:

Sister:        *Flora .... Flora..... Flora.....*

*The beautiful one Flora*

*At home you are being called Flora*

*The beautiful one Flora*

Flora:        *Who is calling me?*

Sister:        *They are calling you for marriage, Flora*

*The beautiful one Flora*

Flora:        *Who is calling me and is he driving?*

Sister:        *It is aman on foot, Floora*



*The beautiful one Flora*

Flora: *Go back and inform him*

*That I'm not interested in him Flora*

*The beautiful one Flora*

*And also inform him*

*That I'm exchanged with cows Flora,*

*The beautiful one Flora!*

The sister went and informed the man. He tried pleading but all in vain. Next came a man who was riding a bicycle, but he was also rejected. The one riding a motorcycle and even the one driving a car were all rejected. Lastly, there came a man who was flying an aeroplane. Flora was extremely happy and even her father thanked God for the wise daughter he had since he wasted to receive many cows in form of bride price. Indeed he received them and Flora went the man into marriage. Few days later, the man turned into an ogre and swallowed up his wife Flora. When her family members heard this they decided to go and attack the ogre. End of the story.

## Appendix 2L

### Nkuzire a Nfunzire

Mbaganire mbaganire. Hakaba hariho omushaija yashwera omukaziwe, baatuura baatuura, baazaar'omwana. Omwaana bamweeta Nfunzire. Eizoba rimwe ishe w'aNfunzire kuyabiire ary'omumihandaye, yabugana omwaana owabeire nayenda kwingana n'omutabani Nfunzire. Amubuuza eizina rye, omwana agyira ngu nibamweeta Nkuzire. Kwamubuuza'owaabo, amugira ngu we tagira waabo. Omshaija asharamu kutwaara nkuzire ngu agume atuure oweehe akure Na anafunzire. Kubahik'omuka Nfunzire ashemererwa munonga ahakuba akaba atagyira wokuzaana nawe nangwa nokuritsa. Kubeizire nibakura, Nfunzire yatandika kureeba kubi Nkuzire. Embeera zaabo zitandika kuhinduka. Eizooba rimwe kubabeire baritsize Nfunzire areeba ngu nigwo mugisha oguyabeire aine okwiita Nkuzire. Amukwaata, amuniga amwiita amunaga omukishugi heihi n'iyeshereho. Omumuti ogwabeire guri heihi, hakaba harimu akanyoyi kareeba buri kimwe nkokukyabeire. Katyo kagyebta kahika abantu abikabandize kureeba keshongora kati:

*Nfunzire yeita Nkuzire, Kanyonyi kary'omumuti,*

*Yamunaga omukishugi kyeiziba, Kanyonyi kary'omumuti.*

Kukaarebire batakafiireho kaaza aha bandi haho keshongora tibakafaho. Kagumizamu okuhitsya obukahikire omuka waba Nfunzire. Kukayeshongwiire ishe Nfunzire akabuuza ati: "Iwe kanyonyi we nobaasa kuntwara ehibateeka Nkuzire?" keikiza kagira ngu nikabaasa kumutwaara. Batyo bagyenda bashangayo omutumbi gwa Nkuzire. Kubabuuza Nfunzire ahabwaaki yeita Nkuzire abagira ati: "Tingyira buzare nawe nahabweeko mbiire ntakwenda ngu abagane ahabintu bya tata." Abantu bakashaasha, barira, kunatsigire nibaza kuziika Nkuzire, nanye nti kanze kutebezaho aboweitu. (By Rwemereireho Esau)

## Translation

### Nkunzire and Nfunzire

Once upon a time, there lived a man who married his wife and they gave birth to their only son whom they named Nfunzire. One day Nfunzire's father met a young boy in the same age as his son. He asked to know the boy's name and he said he was Nkunzire. And even told the man that he never had where to stay. Nfunzire's father felt pity for him and took him to his home to live with them. At home, Nfunzire was so happy, for he had got someone he would play with and even stay with while grazing.

As they grew up, Nfunzire started growing too much hatred towards Nkunzire. One day as they had gone grazing Nfunzire decided to use the opportunity of being alone with Nkunzire to murder him. He strangled him to death and hid the body in the bush near the place where cattle always drank water from. In the nearby tree there was a bird that was watching everything the way it had happened. It flew to spread the information. Whenever it met people it stopped and sang:

*Nfunzire has killed Nkunzire,*

*The bird was in the tree.*

*He hid him in the bush near the river,*

*The bird was in the tree.*

When most of the people denied it attention, it went straight to Nfunzire's home. Upon hearing the song Nfunzire's father was concerned and asked the bird to take him where the body of Nkunzire lay. When they reached there indeed the boy was dead. When Nfunzire was asked why he had killed his friend, he said since they were not blood brothers, he never wanted Nkunzire to claim inheritance. The body of Nkunzire was then taken for burial.

## APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE

### Interviewee

- a) Names
  - b) Age
  - c) Place of the interview
  - d) Date
  - e) Telephone
- 
1. a) How long have you lived in Ankole?  
b) Would you tell me a story about the origin of the Banyankole?
  2. a) Do the people learn about the story of their origin?  
b) How does the story about the origin of the Banyankole influence your attitude?
  3. a) Would you tell me a story in Runyakore that involve the leader and people?  
b) What messages does the story give to the leaders and the people?
  4. a) Would you tell me a story that involves work and how people treat each other in the production process and consumption of the harvest?  
b) What lessons do you learn from the story?
  5. a) Would you tell me a story where the men characters are portrayed negatively?  
b) What lessons do men learn from that story?
  6. a) Would you tell me a story where the Bairu and Bahima are stereotyped?  
b) What do you think are the reasons behind this stereotype?

END

#### APPENDIX 4: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

| <b>Bairu</b>              | <b>Bahima</b>           |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Sabiiti Ubaldo         | 1. Rwamirama John       |
| 2. Turyasingura Rabson    | 2. Ekyatuhaire Dorothy  |
| 3. Rwantumbwe John        | 3. Rwemereireho Esau    |
| 4. Turyaheebwa Resty      | 4. Rutabajuuka Leticia  |
| 5. Mutatiina Daniel       | 5. Kahemura Medard      |
| 6. Bankunda Julius        | 6. Ntarweete Purunari   |
| 7. Tusingwire Sema        | 7. Kamunyu Esau         |
| 8. Rwomwitaka selestino   | 8. Kamihanda            |
| 9. Ayijuka Paul           | 9. Nabo Deogratius      |
| 10. Kamateeka Pascazia    | 10. Katsigazi Justus    |
| 11. Kabeireho Patrick     | 11. Akatukwatsa Jenesta |
| 12. Byabagyenzi Festo     | 12. Tusasiire Peace     |
| 13. Busingye William      | 13. Kategaya clesensio  |
| 14. Ankunda Shivan        | 14. Ntungwa             |
| 15. Rutahigwa Ambrose     | 15. Rutahigwa Deus      |
| 16. Karahuka Erias        | 16. Irmeera Dianah      |
| 17. Byampitsi Vereriyano. | 17. MUsinguzi Samuel    |
| 18. Kaseemiire Jenesta    | 18. Mugisha Anatooli    |
| 19. Kirabo Agatha         | 19. NNyamwiiza Stella   |

|                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 20. Ahimbisibwe William  | 20. Nayebare Judith      |
| 21. Busingye Denis       | 21. GGumisiriza Jonathan |
| 22. Hama Sulait          | 22. Tibeigana Phillip    |
| 23. Kamukama Tadius      | 23. Kabagyenyi Dina      |
| 24. Turyamureba Wilbroad | 24. Rutuuha Medard       |
| 25. Rutaremwa Shafik     | 25. Kanyonyi Dismus      |
| 26. Samanya Junior       | 26. Satade Johnbosco     |
| 27. Gareeba Valence      | 27. Busingye Mourine     |
| 28. Tumwijukye Francis   | 28. Gummisiriza Isaac    |
| 29. Kabahinda Jane       | 29. Sande Jethro         |
| 30. Twijukye Annah       | 30. Kangwagye Julius     |
| 31. Nowamaani Herbert    | 31. Rukundo Sam          |
| 32. Owembabazi merida    |                          |
| 33. Tayebwa Nobert       |                          |
| 34. Sanyu Aidah          |                          |
| 35. Babigaisa Festo      |                          |
| 36. Mucunguzi Rogers     |                          |
| 37. Mbabazi Hildah       |                          |

