

**Challenges of translating folk stories  
from Runyankore-Rukiga to English**

**BY**

**Zabajungu Boniface Kerere (Rev. Fr.)**

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## **DECLARATION**

I, Zabajungu Boniface Kerere, hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work, which has not been submitted before for any award of a degree at Makerere or any other University.

Signed .....

**ZABAJUNGU BONIFACE KERERE**

Date.....

**APPROVAL**

Signed .....

**ASSOC. PROF. MANUEL J.K. MURANGA**

**Supervisor**

Date.....

Signed.....

**Dr. SUSAN NALUGWA KIGULI**

**Supervisor**

Date.....

## **DEDICATION**

To the memory of the late Benedikito Mubangizi, a philologist, to-date the most profound writer in Runyankore-Rukiga language, literature and music, though most of his work is still unpublished.

To the loving memory of my late father, Luke Kerere; and that of my youngest sister, the late Dr. Dona Asimwe.

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## OF CONTENTS

Eby'okucondooza oku omu Runyankore-Rukiga omu bugufu (Executive summary in Runyankore-Rukiga).....	xi
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### CHAPTER ONE

1.1	Background to this study.....	1
1.2	Statement of the research problem.....	5
1.3	Scope of the study.....	6
1.4	Definition of key terms.....	8
1.5.	Objectives of the study.....	11
1.6	Major research questions and assumptions.....	12
1.7	Review of literature.....	14
1.8	Significance of the study.....	17
1.9	Theoretical framework of the study.....	19
1.10	Research methodology.....	19
1.12	Conclusion.....	22

### CHAPTER TWO

#### BACKGROUND TO THE FIVE STORIES

2.1	Introduction.....	23
2.2	Summaries of the five stories for this study.....	25
2.3	Major themes and related sub-themes .....	29
	Monogamous marriage.....	33
	Marriage by siege.....	34
	Marriage by elopement.....	34
	Widow inheritance.....	35
	Polygamy.....	36
	Cultural process leading to marriage.....	38
	Pre-marriage scrutiny.....	38
	Significance of courtship visits.....	39
	Significance of bridewealth.....	40
	Labour instead of bridewealth.....	42

Getting a wife without giving bridewealth.....	42
Bridewealth is a social and not an economic exchange.....	43
Endowing the bride with dowry and giving her away.....	46
Conceptions about a witch doctor’s role.....	46

## LINGUISTIC & LITERARY CHALLENGES TO TRANSLATION

2.4	Idioms and idiomatic phrases.....	50
2.5	Proverbs and proverbial language.....	51
2.6	Ideophones and onomatopoeia.....	52
2.7	Names bear meaning.....	53
2.8	Discourse by persons in joking relationships.....	53
2.9	Conclusion.....	55

## CHAPTER THREE

### TRANSLATION OF FIVE FOLK STORIES

3.1	Muhuuba and the Monster.....	56
3.2	Kaanyonza’s Daughter.....	63
3.3	The Untrapping Trapper.....	70
3.4	Maguru the Out runner of Rain and Wind.....	82
3.5	Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor.....	97

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CHALLENGES OF TRANSLATING LITERATURE

### ACROSS CULTURALLY UNRELATED LANGUAGES

### WITH REFERENCE THE FIVE STORIES IN THIS STUDY

4.1	Introduction.....	120
4.2	Linguistic challenges to translation.....	121
	Challenge of translating Runyankore-Rukiga names.....	121
4.3	The problem of translating gender markers.....	129
4.4	Challenge of translating idiomatic phrases.....	130
4.5	Challenge of translating proverbs and proverbial language.....	132
4.6	Challenge of translating ideophones and onomatopoeia.....	153
4.7	Choosing an appropriate narrative tense.....	138
	The today past/historical present tense.....	138

	The far-past plus the today past/historical present.....	139
	Another use of the today past/historical present.....	142
	The event-time plus the habitual present.....	143
	The future narrative tense.....	143
	Mixing tenses.....	145
4.8	Literature should be pleasurable.....	146
4.9	Conclusion.....	158

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1	Introduction.....	148
5.2	Cultural challenges to translation.....	149
	Hard to translate culture-specific expressions.....	150
5.3	Language-related challenges to translation.....	152
	Need for a formal knowledge of the source language.....	152
	Need for a formal knowledge of the receptor language.....	153
	Challenge of translating proverbs and proverbial phrases.....	154
	Challenge of translating ideophones/prosodic expressions.....	156
5.4	Ending folk stories.....	156
	A happy ending for a good folk story character.....	156
	A contrived happy ending for a bad folk story character.....	158
	An unhappy ending for a bad folk story character.....	159
5.5	Appropriate folk story narrative tense.....	161
	The far-past plus the today-past/historical present tense.....	162
	The today past/historical present tense for an event about to happen.....	162
	The far-past plus the habitual/universal present tense.....	163
	The future narrative tense for what will happen.....	164
5.6	Conclusion.....	164



<b>5.7 RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	
Culture related and need for interdisciplinary study.....	165
Language related recommendations.....	165
Promoting writing, translation and dissemination of literature.....	168
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>170</b>
<b>APPENDICES</b>	
Appendix A: Translation testing on students: questionnaire and data.....	176
Appendix B: Questions for interview with language& literature teachers .....	202
Appendix C: List of respondents.....	203
Appendix D: Uganda Ministry of Education policy on native language use.....	205

## **ABSTRACT**

Translation requires assessing and interpreting the meaning of a source language text and expressing the same meaning faithfully and idiomatically in the receptor language. This study has examined the cultural and linguistic challenges of carrying out literary translation between two unrelated languages, on the basis of a sample of five folk stories from Runyankore-Rukiga to English. The former has agglutinating features, which make it semantically and syntactically versatile through the use of derived affixes. English uses inflectional grammatical categories, such as tense, case, gender, number and mood. Where there have been no near equivalents in the receptor language, descriptive phrases have been used to convey the source text's intended meaning. The "today past/historical present tense, marked with a long vowel, mostly "-aa-/-ee-," is popularly used in Runyankore-Rukiga to narrate folk stories. This tense makes the narrated succession of events seem to be closer and more appealing to listeners and readers. The English simple past tense, mostly marked by the suffix "-ed," has been used to translate the narrative clauses of the source today past/historical present tense. The challenges encountered have been noted and applicable generic abstractions drawn out from them. Recommendations have been made towards promoting further literary translations and disseminating literature. Folk stories and literature in general creatively deal with themes about human life.

The five folk stories for this study depict the cultural view of the Banyankore and Bakiga about marriage for promoting, not only the nuclear family, but also the extended family through collateral kinship. The fifth story seriously challenges the traditional regard for a witch doctor's claimed supernatural power of *emandwa*, i.e. idols, and talismans/amulets to provide divination, healing and protection to life; or negatively to harm a client's adversaries. Through oral re-telling, radio and television broadcasting as well as through publishing of folk stories as books their didactic and

entertainment value can benefit the source language speakers: by fostering a reading habit, literacy and laying a base for development. Through translation the same values can be shared across cultures and languages and thereby add a human factor to the on-going process of globalisation.

**EBIFUNZIIBWE OMU RUNYANKORE-RUKIGA  
OKURUGA OMU MURIMO GW'OKUCONDOOZA  
OBUREMEEZI BW'OKUHINDURA<sup>1</sup> EBIGANO KUBIIHA**

**OMU RUNYANKORE-RUKIGA KUBITA OMU RUNGYEREZA**

**AHABWA DIGURII YA M.A. OMU NDIMI ENFIRIKA  
ZABAJUNGU BONIFACE KERERE (2005 HD03/1634U)**

**1. OKWANJURA**

Ekigyendererwa kikuru ky'okucondooza oku kibaire kiri okumanya oburemeezi oburikushangwa omu kuvunuura nari okuhindura ebiganu nari ebindi bitebyo ahagati y'endimi ezitarikushushana. Ekyo kikoziawe nikyema aha kuhindura ebiganu bitaano kubiiha omu Runyankore-Rukiga kubita omu Rungyereza. Oburemeezi obushangirwe omu kukora ekyo bushwijumirwe kandi oburyo obwejunisiibwe kuburengaho

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<sup>1</sup> **Okuhindura:** ekigambo eki nikikomooka aha muzi gw'engambi “-hindur-” ekirikumanyisa okwiha ekintu omu muringo gumwe kukita omu gundi. Ekirikugirwa kityo kyaba kiri ekigambo, ekibazo, ekitebyo nari ekindi ekihandiikirwe, obwo okukihindura nikumanyisa okukiiha omu rurimi oru kihandiikirwemu kukihandiika omu rundi. Omu kukora ekyo ekirikuhindurwa n'orurimi; amakuru go nigaguma nigashushana omu ndimi zombi. Ekirikuhindurwa kishemereire kuteebwa omu bigambo n'ebirenzyo ebirikukirayo oburungi eby'orurimi orurikukyakiira, orurimi orwakiizi. Orikuhindura ekihandiikirwe naayetwa omuhinduzi. Kwonka ekirikuhindurwa kyaba kigambirwe nari kitebiibwe omu kanwa, kitahandiikirwe, obwo okukihindura nikwetwa okuvunuura. Omuhinduzi waakyo naayetwa omuvunuuzi. Kwonka nabwo ekitarikuhindurwaho nikiguma kiri amakuru. Omu kucondooza oku, ebiganu ebyo byombi, okuhindura n'okuvunuura, nibikozesibwa nk'oku kirikwetaagisa.

bwayorekwa n'ebihaburo byaheebwa. Ebyo bikoziwe ahabw'okumurikira ogu n'abandi bahinduzi kwemaho kukora omurimo gw'omugasho gw'obuvunuuzi n'obuhinduzi bw'ebigano n'ebindi bitebyo, ngu bishohozibwe nk'ebitabo bihurirwe nari bishomwe, reero ekyo kihwere kukuza omu bantu baingi omucwe gw'okushoma, ekyo kihamyeye obwegyese n'entunguuka.

## **2. EBIGANO BITAANO BY'OKUCONDOOZA OKU**

Omucondoozi ogu ahindwire ebigano bitaano ebirikushangwa omu butabo bushatu obwarundainwe Benedikito Mubangizi, oburikwetwa *Nkuganire* (1982/1983). Abiihire omu Runyankore-Rukiga yaabita omu Rungyereza. Ekitebyo eky'okubanza, ekya "Muhuuba n'Orukooko," nikyoreka oku okukoresa kubi amaani kurikwita emigabo y'abandi bantu; kandi bwanyima kukahindikana kigakoresa kubi. Ekitebyo kya kabiri, ekya "Muhara wa Kaanyonza," nikyoreka oku eihari ririkora kubi abandi bantu hamwe n'oku ririkuhindikana kirwana-ihari. Ekitebyo ekyo kandi nikisingiza omutima gw'obuzaire n'obuntu ogwayorekirwe Kaanyonza, enyonyi eyaayandwire, ekoorora omwana w'omwishiki, owaabaire anagirwe mukaishe omu kibira kugwayo. Kandi ekitebyo ekyo nikihamiiriza obwengye bw'enfumu egi, "Oshwera/oshwerwa abuuza." Ekitebyo kya kashatu, ekya "Rutega rwa Nteguura," orubaju orumwe, nikihamya amakuru g'enfumu egi, "Enkora-birungi, ebizimuurirwa." Orundi rubaju, nikikyeena omutima mubi gw'obutasiima n'obunyagi, nk'ogwayorekirwe ekicuncu n'Abacwezi. Ekitebyo kya kana, ekya "Maguru-Gatsiga-Enjura-n'Omuyaga," nikyoreka ku omuntu okuhuruutuka aho akairuka akakora ebya mangu-mangu, ebi atabandize kwetegyereza gye, kuri okw'akabi munonga.

Ekitebyo kya kataano, ekya "Kaaremeera ka Karagura", kyo nikihaaha, kinyooma emiteekateekyere y'Abanyankore n'Abakiga ey'akarande aha bikwatiraine n'okwesiga nari okutiina abafumu, emandwa n'engisha. Nikyoreka ku emiteekateekyere egyo etaaha egwire: ahabw'okuba eyema aha bishuba n'obugobya bw'abafumu. Kandi nikyoreka ku eyema aha kutiina nari aha kwesiga kw'abaraguza omu bafumu. Nikyoreka ku emandwa n'engisha zo zonka zitagira buryo nari bushoboorozi bw'okumanya ebisherekirwe: yaaba ebyo ebikora gye nari ebikora kubi abantu, ebiturukwaho endwara nari rufu. Kwonka ekigano ekyo nikirengyeza ku okutiina emandwa n'engisha kurikububaasa kukora kubi abantu abu kirikukwataho. Ekigano

nikyo kimwe nikihaahuza okushwerera eryo, kyoreka ku kutaine ibanga ry'okwihwaho ruzaaro n'eka mpango, ehamire.

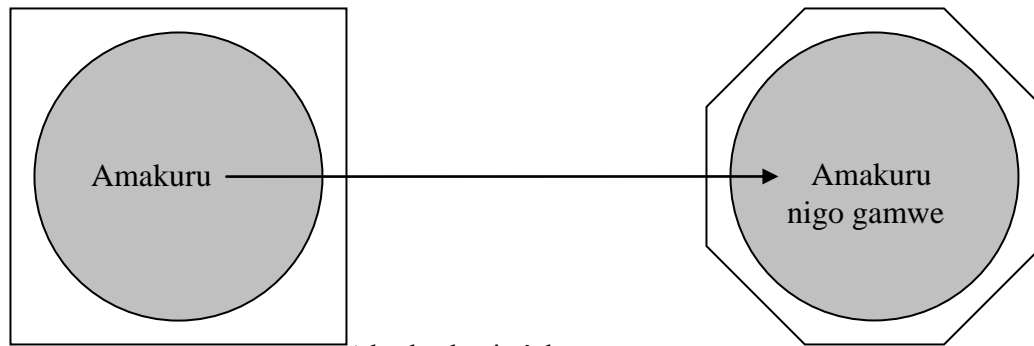
### 3. OKUVUNUURA AHAGATI Y'ENDIMI EZITARIKUSHUSHANA

Okuvunuura nari okuhindura ekigano narishi ekindi kitebyo ahagati y'endimi ezitarikushushana, nk'Orunyankore-Rukiga n'Orungyereza, kugumire. Kwonka nikubaasa kukorwa: ahabw'okuba omu kukora ekyo endimi nizo zihinduka. Amakuru n'ebyegyeso, ebiba bigambirwe nari ebiba bihandiikirwe omu rurimi orurikwihwamu go tigatahindukaho. Amakuru, ebiteekateeko n'ebindi ebirikugambwa omu rurimi rumwe nibibaasa kugambwa n'omu zindi ndimi. (Barnwell, 1986:30; Nida & Taber, 1974:105; Larson, 1984:3, 9-10).

#### Okuvunuura /okuhindura amakuru gamwe omu ndimi zitarikushushana:

**orurimi orurikwihwamu**

**orurimi orwakiizi**



(akashushani n'aka Barnwell, 1986:30)

Omu kuhindura nari omu kuvunuura okuhikire, amakuru go gaguma nigashushana; tigahindukaho. Endimi ahabw'okutashushana, nizo zonka ezihindurwa. Orurimi orurikwihwamu amakuru agagambirwe nari agahandiikirwe ruhindurwa orurimi oru amakuru ago garikuvunuurirwamu nari garikuhi-ndurirwamu, nari oru gaarikuhandiikwamu. Eky'okubanza kukora nikwo okushwijuma gye orurimi rw'ekigambirwe nari ekihandiikirwe ahabw'okwenda kumanya gye amakuru agaagyendereirwe kibanza-kugamba nari kuhandiika, agatindikirwe enyima nari omunda y'ebigambo n'ebirenzayo by'orurimi enshuro.

Ekyo kabiri n’okugamba nari okuhandiika amakuru nigo gamwe omu bigambo n’ebirenzyo ebirikukirayo oburungi eby’orurimi oru garikuvuunurirwamu nari garikuhindurirwamu, oru garikuhandiikwamu. Ekyo kihikire kukorwa n’obwesigwa, nikyema aha ki owaabandize kukigamba nari kukihandiika yaagyendereire ngu kimanywe, ngu kigire eki kyakora ahari boona abarikihurira nari abarikishoma. Omuvunuuzi nari omuhinduzi tarikwikirizibwa kwongyerera nari kutuubya aha makuru agaagyendereirwe owaabandize kugagamba nari kugahandiika. Naaragiirwa kugooreka n’obwesigwaomu rurimi orwakiizi, nk’oku gari omu rurikwihwanu.

Omu kuhindura ebigano nari ebindi bitebyo, hahindurwa ebigambo, ebirenzyo,<sup>2</sup> n’ebibazo. Amateeka g’orurimi hakoze sibwa ag’orwo orurikuvunuurirwamu nari orurikuhindurirwamu. Ekikuru n’okuhanya ngu ekyavunuurwa nari ekyahindurwa kyashoronga gye ahabw’abarikukihurira nari abarikukishoma omu rurimi oru kyahindurirwamu, kitarikushusha nk’ekihindwirwe.

Omurimo mukuru omu kucondooza oku gubaire guri okumanya obureemezi oburikushangwa omu kuhindura ebigano, kubiiha omu Runyankore-Rukiga kubita omu Rungyereza, endimi ezitaine buzaare, ezirikushushana omuri bikye byonka. Ebikozirwe okurenga aha bureemezi obushangirwemu nibyorekwa omu kucondooza oku, ngu ekyo kiyambe ogu n’abandi kuhindura ebindi bigano n’ebitebyo. Ekigyendererwa n’okwenda ngu ebitebyo n’ebindi ebiraahindurwe bikanye, bishohozibwe nk’ebitabo, binurire kandi bigasire abantu baingi kwega omucwe gw’okushoma okukira aha bagambi n’abashomi b’orurimi oru byabandiizemu.

### **Okukozesa obuhamiko<sup>3</sup> ahabw’okuhindura aha makuru**

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<sup>2</sup> **Ekirenzyo**, omu Rungyereza ekyetwa *idiom*, nibyo ebigambo engyenda-kumwe omu rurimi nanka, ebi amakuru gaabyo ag’aha iguru goorekyeza, nari garengyeza agandi, ag’omunda nari ag’enyima. Haza amakuru g’ekirenzyo ag’omunda nigo gaba gaagyendereirwe omugambi nari omuhandiiki owaabandize kugashohoza, naakozesa ekirenzyo ekyo. Omu kuvunuura nari okuhindura ekyagambwa nari ekihandiikirwe, amakuru ago ag’omunda nigo gahikire kuguma gari gamwe omu rurimi enshuro n’orwakiizi. Endimi nizo zihinduka. Amakuru, go tighinduka.

<sup>3</sup> **Obuhamiko**: ekigambo “akahamiko” kikagunzibwa Benedikito Mubangizi (1977: 65-67). Nikimanyisa *affix* omu Rungyereza. Nk’ezindi ndimi eza Bantu, Orunyankore-

Orunyankore-Rukiga ruri omu kika eky'endimi eza Bantu, ezeetwa empamikano. Zeetwa zityo ahabw'okuba zikozesa munonga obuhamiko: obw'orugyero rw'obutandikirizo, obukugiirizo nari obushonshoreko. Endimi ezo obuhamiko zibuta aha mizi nari aha bitsintsi by'ebigambo kuhindahindura aha makuru gaabyo omu kukora enginga z'ebigambo, ebibazo n'ebicweka byabyo (Mubangizi, 1977:65-67).

Orungyereza rwo rugira obuhamiko bukye obukozesibwa nk'obw'endimi eza Bantu. Obuhamiko bw'Orungyereza burimu obwo obworeka engambi omu bwire, niyo tensi, obworeka oku ekyakorwa nari ekyabaho kyaba kiri, niyo asipekiti<sup>4</sup>; obworeka enamba aha maziina n'entsigwa, obuhanya nari obuhakanisa, okuranga nari okubuuza, hamwe n'okutangaara. Orungyereza ruri omu kika eky'endimi empindura-ha-bigambo,<sup>5</sup> orwongyera aha muzi nari aha kitsinsti ky'ekigambo, kuhindura aha nyatura yaakyo kworeka omurimo gwakyo omuri sintakisi.<sup>6</sup>

### **Okukozesa gye amateeka g'orurimi**

Buri rurimi rugira amateeka gaarwo, yaaba gaba gahandiikirwe nari gatahandiikirwe, agagyenderwaho omu sintakisi na guraaama yaarwo. Amateeka ago nigo gagyenderwaho omu kwatura n'omu kuhandiika ebigambo kubikoramu ebibazo nari ebicweka byabyo ebiine amakuru, obwo nibirengyeza ebintu, ebiteekateeko n'amakuru omu buteeka bw'ebigambo birikukozesibwamu omu kibazo. Buri rurimi rugira

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Rukiga rukozesa obuhamiko aha mizi n'aha bitsintsi by'ebigambo kuhindura aha makuru g'enginga, ag'ekibazo nari ekicweka kyakyo. Ahabw'enshonga egyo, zeetwa endimi empamikano (*agglutinative languages*).

<sup>4</sup> **Asipekiti:** ekigambo eki nikirugiirira omu ky'Orungyereza, *aspect*, ekiriku-manyisa omuringo ogu ekikorwa ekyabaireho, ekyabaho, nari ekiriba kibaireho oku kibaire kiri; oku kyabaire kiri; nari oku kiriba kiri omu magingo nanka. Eby'okureeberaho mbibi. Nshangire omushaija ogwo aruhire, kwonka atarwaire. Nkashanga yaagugireyo, tinamureeba. Omu myaka ikumi omuhara aryaba yaakuzire, ari empangare, yaaherize emishomo ye.

<sup>5</sup> **Endimi empindura-ha-bigambo** nizeema aha mizi n'ebitsintsi by'ebigambo kutaanisa aha makuru g'ebigambo. Zeetwa empindura-ha-bigambo *inflectional languages*). Zirimu Orugirimaani, Orungyereza n'ezindi (Lyons, 1981:100-112).

<sup>6</sup> **Sintakisi:** eki n'ekigambo engunjano ekirikurugiirira omu ky'Orungyereza *syntax*. Sintakisi nikimanyisa omuringo ogu ebigambo bihikaanisibwamu omu rurimi nanka kubaga ebibazo, ebicweka byabyo n'enginga zaabyo ebihikire, okwema ahari guraama y'orurimi nanka. Buri rurimi rwema aha mateeka agaarwo omu kukora ebyo.

eby'omutaano ebirutaanisa aha zindi ndimi. Tihariho rurimi na rumwe orukira ezindi nari oruzihita. Mpaho omuvunuuzi nari omuhinduzi naaragiirwa kumanya gye amateeka ag'orurimi oru eki arikuvunuura nari eki arikuhindura kigambirwemu nari kihandiikirwemu. Kandi naaragiirwa kumanya gye n'amateeka ag'orurimi oru arikukivunuuriramu nari kukihinduriramu.

### **Okumanya amakuru agatindikirwe omunda nari enyima y'ebirenzyo**

Buri rurimi rugira ebirenzyo byarwo, nibyo bigambo engyenda-kumwe ebimanyisa amakuru, kaingi agaba gatindikirwe enyima nari omunda yaabyo. Omuvunuuzi nari omuhinduzi w'ekigano nari ekindi kitebyo naaragiirwa kuma-nya gye amakuru ago agagyendereirwe, agatindikirwe omu birenzyo by'orurimi enshuro oru kibandizemu.

Kandi omuhinduzi nari omuvunuuzi ashemereire kumanya gye, akabona kucooka ebirenzyo ebihikire, ebirikukirayo oburungi omu rurimi orwakiizi, oru arikuhinduriramu nari oru arikuvunuuriramu ekigano nari ekindi kitebyo. Ashemereire kumanya amakuru g'ebirenzyo ebyo ag'omunda, mpaho akabikozesa kumanyisa abahurikizi nari abashomi amakuru g'omunda y'ekigano nari ekitebyo, nk'oku garikushangwa omu rurimi orw'enshuro. Ebyavunuurwa nari ebyahindurwa bishemereire kunurira kandi bikamurikira ab'orurumi enyakiizi. Ashemereire kugyenderera kwegyesa nk'ebi owaabandize kukihimba yaagyendereire kuhitsya aha baribihurira nari abaribishoma boona, ahantu hoono.

### **Okwejunisa enfumu omu kugaaniira n'omu kutebya**

Omu kugaaniira n'omu kutebya Abanyankore n'Abakiga bakunda kwejunisa obwengye bw'akarande obutindikirwe omu nfumu. Beejunisa enfumu kworeka nari kushoboorora amakuru, ebigyendererwa, ebyetengo, okushemererwa, nari esiime. Bazeejunisa kworeka okushaasha; nari kuhaaha omu bwengye, kitabiihiize nari kitahemwire kigambwaho nari kirengizibwa. Kandi, munomuno abantu abakuru beejunisa enfumu kuha obuhabuzi n'okwegyesa eby'oburyo abantu abatoho aharibo (Okpewho, 1992: 226-27; Finnegan, 1970:299-413). Orungyereza tirukozesa nfumu nari rurimi



rw'enfumu munonga. Enfumu ezaarwo ezirikwenda kushushanisa amakuru n'ez'Orunyankore-Rukiga tiziri nyingi. Enfumu z'endimi ezo ezirikushushanisa amakuru, ezejunisiibwe omu kucondooza oku hariho nk'ezi: "A good turn deserves another," erikushushana n'egi, "Enkora-birungi ebizimuurirwa." "Haste makes waste," erikushushana n'egi "Bugu-bugu etoroozya." "Language is the best dress of thought," erikumanyisa "Orurimi nikyo kijwaro ekirikukirayo oburungi ky'ebiteekateeko." "Every horse thinks its pack is the heaviest," erikushushana n'egi, "Omwirima ogureeba omwawe." "Actions speak louder than words," erikushushana n'egi, "Ebikorwa bigamba okukira ebigambo." Enfumu ezitarikushangwa mu rurimi orurikuvunuurirwamu nari kuhindurirwamu nizibaasa kuhindurwa omu kukozeza ebicweka by'ekibazo kumurika amakuru gaazo, nk'oku kyakorwa aha ruguru n'ahandi omu kucondooza oku. Kandi enfumi nk'ezo nizibaasa kushoboororwa omu fuutinooti.

### **Okukozeza eiraka kuhindura aha makuru g'ebigambo**

Omu migambire eya burijjo n'omu kutebya, endimi eza Bantu zikozesa obwaku bw'eiraka kumurika amakuru g'ebigambo, nari kunuza ebigaaniro n'ebitebyo. Eby'okureeberaho by'ekyo omu Runyankore-Rukiga mbibi: enju, ekigambo eki ku kyaturwa omu iraka ryanguhi kimanyisa *house*; omu kwinamuka kimanyisa *grey hair*. Enda, omu iraka eririkwinamuka aha kutandika kimanyisa *lice*, omu ririkwinamuka kimanyisa *stomach/womb*. Omugongo, omu iraka eririkuguma ahansi kimanyisa *hill*, omu ririkwinamukahaho ahagati kimanyisa *back*. Omu kuhandiika ebyo bigambo byonshatu enyairaka yaabyo eguma eri emwe, ahabw'okuba hariho eiteeka ry'obwombeka n'enyatura y'enginga z'Orunyankore-Rukiga eririkhinda okwebembeza enyairaka ndaingwa enteta empasha, zaaba ziri enyaanyindo (Mubangizi, 1977:17-18).

Orungyereza n'endimi ezirikurushusha zo zaaturwa aha rurengo rumwe, zitarikuhindura ha iraka kutaanisa amakuru g'ebigambo. Shana ruhindura aha iraka kutaanisa aha makuru ag'ebibazo, eky'okumanyisa n'eky'okuragiira.

Orunyankore-Rukiga rugira ebigambo ebirangwa-bwaku,<sup>7</sup> ebi amakuru gaabyo agaaba nigarengyezibwa, gamanywa baakibigambirwa nari abazaariranwa b'orurimi (Okpewho, 1992:92). Kandi orurimi orwo rukozesa ebirangwa-bwaku, munomuno ebirikutebibwa byaba nibitongyererwa nari nibyevugwa. Obwo eiraka ritemba kandi rishuuma. Okutebya omu rugyero rw'okutongyerera kukira kugyendera aha mitsindo y'ebijumeera, munomuno ey'omukuri, enanga n'engoma, otaireho okwehuuba

kw'omwevugi n'abaakiizi be. Okwihaho ekirikutebibwa kyaba nikyeshongorwa kandi nikizinwa, kyaba kiri eky'orugyero orwa *opera*, Orungyereza n'endimi ezirikurushusha tizikira kukozeza iraka n'ebijumeera nk'okwevuga okw'Orunyankore-Rukiga nari ezindi ndimi eza Bantu. Eky'okureberaho kirungi n'ebyevugo by'Abahima ba Uganda n'ebitebyo by'abahiigi Abayoruba ba Nigeria, ebyetwa *Ijala* (Morris, 1964; Okpewho, 1992:128; Finnegan, 1970:224-26). Eky'okureberaho ky'ebirangwa-bwaku kiri omu kigano ky'okucondooza oku ekya "Muhara wa Kaanyoza," ahi empangare erikutongyerera neekiniika munyaanyayo, egumize eti, "*Ninniora kahara ka Nniora*," ekirikumanyisa, "Ninshwera kahara ka nanka." Ekindi kibazo nk'ekyo kiri omu kitebyo ekya "Maguru-Gatsiga-Enjura-n'Omuyaga," "*Ebiniora byawe byaza kunniora*." Ekirangwa-bwaku eki nikimanyisa, "Ebishuuga byawe byaza kuunyita." Omu Rungyereza tikirikwanguha kukoramu ebibazo ebirangwa-iraka, eby'akatoorezo k'okukiniika, nk'ebyayorekwa aha ruguru. Nikyo omuhinduzi ogu arikushoboorera amakuru gaabyo omu fuutinooti.

Kandi hariho ebirangwa-bwaku ebimwe ebitari bigambo ebiine amakuru omuri byo byonka, kureka ebigaheebwa obwaku bwabyo n'obuteeka bw'ekibazo eki byejunisibwamu. Ebirangwa-bwaku nk'ebyo birimu eki, ekirikushangwa omu kitebyo ekya "Muhuuba n'Orukooko:" "*Tuku-tuku, tuku-tuku, tuku-tuku*." Nikyejunisibwa kumanyisa ekirikukorwa abaheesi, bariyo nibeebuyanga, nibajugutisa omuriro gw'ekirubi obwira ngu baheeshere Muhuuba emyambi kuza kurasha orukooko (Mubangizi, 1983:20). Nk'oku amakuru g'enfumu egi garikugira, "Okweshongora kuba orurimi orukyengwa ahantu hoona." "*Music is a universal language*" (Prochnov &

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<sup>7</sup>**Ebirangwa-bwaku:** omuhinduzi ogu agunzire ekigambo "ekirangwa-bwaku," kumanyisa ekigambo ekirikukomooka omu Rugriiki, ekyetwa *onomatopoeia*, ekirangwa amakuru gaakyo, nikyema aha bwaku bw'ekibaho, reero nyabwaku bukaranga amakuru g'ekirikubaho (Finnegan, 1970:384-85; Okpewho, 1992:92; Niyi Osundare, 2002:122).

Prochnov Jr., 1970:457). Mpaho, ebirangwa-bwaku ebimwe, ebiri omu rubu rw'ebyeshongoro, nibibaasa kwihwa omu rurimi orw'enshuro biteebwe omu rurimi orwakiizi bitahindwirweho. Ekyo kikozirwe ahabw'ebirangwa-bwaku ebirikushangwa omu bigano by'okucondooza oku; reero ebi birikumanyisa byashoboorwa omu fuutinooti.

### **Amakuru g'amaziina omu Banyankore n'Abakiga**

Amaziina g'Orunyankore-Orukiga n'ag'omu zindi ndimi eza Bantu, nk'Oruyoruba, orurikugambwa omuri Nigeria eya Burengyerwa-izooba bw'Afirika ag'abantu, ag'emitwe y'ebitebyo n'agandi goona gagira amakuru (Mubangizi, 1963:121; Finnegan, 1970: 471; Karwemera & Kaanyonza, 1994:2-33; Karwemera 1994:111-19; Niyi Osundare, 2002:116). Okuhindura amakuru g'amaziina gakaguma gari nk'amaziina kugumire: ahabw'okuba agamwe omurigo, obariiremu ag'ebigano by'okucondooza oku, nigaba nigarenga aha kigambo kimwe. Obumwe amaziina nigaba gari ekibazo nari ekicweka kyakyo. Amaziina agamwe nigaba gaine amakuru ag'orugyero orw'ebirenzyo. Nk'ago, amakuru gaago nigaba gari enyima y'ebigambo byago. Omuvunuuzi nari omuhinduzi ashemereire kumurika amakuru g'amaziina nk'ago, nk'oku kikozirwe ahabw'okucondooza oku.

## **4. OBUTASHUSHANA BW'EBY'AKARANDE**

### **Okumanya gye eby'obuhangwa ebi ekirihindurwa kyabandizemu**

Omuvunuuzi nari omuhinduzi w'ebigano nari ebindi bitebyo ashemereire kumanya gye ebikwatiraine n'emiteekateekyere n'emitwarize y'akarande y'eby'obuhangwa eby'abantu b'orurimi oru ebigano ebyo byabandizemu. Omu kuhindura ebigano eby'okucondooza oku, hariho eby'akarande by'Abanyankore n'Abakiga, ebyo ebikwatiraine n'obushwere n'okuraguza omu bafumu, ebimwetaagiise kubicondoozaho omu bitabo n'okubyehabuzaho abarikubimanya.

### **Obukuru bw'obushwere omu Banyankore n'Abakiga**

Abanyankore n'Abakiga bagira emiteekateekyere yaabo ehamire aha bikwatiraine n'obushwere. Ekigyendererwa ky'obushwere ekikuru bakitwara kuba okuzaara

n'okukuza abaana baingi b'okwihamu omuhunguzi n'abandi b'okugumizamu eka, ekika, oruganda n'okuhanya emikago ahagati y'ebika eby'obukwe.

Omwishiki, n'obu ashwerwa omu rundi ruganda, hoona aguma naabarirwa omu ruganda rwa ishe, oru azaarwamu. Kandi enjugano ye neebaasa kwejunisibwa kushwererera munyaanya nari ishe, mpaho omu rugyero orwo egasire oruganda oru nyamwishiki azaarwamu. Reero, omu rugyero orwo, omu Banyankore n'Abakiga omwishiki aba omuntu w'omugasho: ahabw'okuba naabaasa kuyamba ekika ki azaarwamu kugumizamu oruzaaro rwakyo. Nikyo abaishiki obumwe beeterwa eiziina Boonabaana, obwo nirirengyeza ku abaishiki, nk'abaana b'eka, buzima bagira omugasho nk'aboojo.

Nikitwarwa nk'ekirikuzira omutsigazi nari empangare Omunyankore nari Omukiga kugumira aho atashweire nari atashweirwe. Nikyo akare abashaija abamwe, abaabaire baba baremirwe kushwera omu buteeka obw'okugamba obugyenyezi, baabaire bashwerera obw'okujumba. Abaishiki abaabaire baba bagwire aha mahega, abaabaire bahangaire, abafaakazi nari abashenzirwe, bo bakaba baza kushaaka, nikwo okwetaasya nari okweshagara omu bushwere, batajugirwe, batahingiirwe. Omuri ebyo byona ekigyendererwa kikuru kikaba kiba kiri okwanga kufa bucwekye, batatsigire ruguru ruzaaro.

Orundi rubaju, omu Banyankore n'Abakiga omwishiki okutwara enda y'endaaro, ataine iba, kikaba kitwarwa nk'ekihemu aha ka ya ishe. Ira, munomuno omu Bakiga, omwishiki nk'ogwo akaba abonabonesibwa, abingwa omu ka ya ishe, nari aitwa (Karwemera 1994: 104-106).

Kwonka kandi, omwishiki owaabaire ahangara, akafeera atyo aha mahega ga ishe, akaba agyerwa empango omu bukazi atakaziikirwe. Omutumbi gwe bakaba batagushohoreza mu muryango, nk'endiijo yona, kikaba nikizira. Bakaba bagufumurira ejuuri! (Mubangizi 1963:136).

Omu buteeka, obushwere omu Banyankore n'Abakiga bukaabaire nibutandikira aha kugamba obugyenyezi, hakurataho okuhuuta n'okujuga, batakahingiire. Kwonka hariho

emiringo endiijo y'okutandikamu obushwere. Hariho ogw'okusigura n'okwetaasya. Ira hakaba hariho okushwera okw'orugyero rw'okujumba, okuteera oruhoko, n'okuhungura. Haza emiringo y'obushwere egyo yoono ekigyendererwa kyayo ekikuru n'okutunga ruzaaro. Ira hakaba habaho n'obushwere obw'omushaija kuhungura omuramu nari mukaishe, iba yaaba afiire ogwo omukazi akiri muto. Ekyo kikaba nikiikirizibwa: ahabw'okuba kihungura na kihungurwa bakaba baba bataine buzaare, batari b'oruganda rumwe. Kandi obushwere nk'obwo bukaba buhamiza aha njugano eyaabaire ebandize kuheebwa; kandi buri obw'okuzaarira nyakufa abahunguzi, akajunwa okuguma ari encwekye, ataine muhunguzi weena n'ow'okuterekyerera omuzimu gwe. Kwonka eriigyenda okuhungura n'okuhungurwa tikwakyegombwa

Banyankore na Bakiga ahabw'okwerinda endwara n'ahabw'okurinda obugabe bw'abu kirikukwataho.

Abanyankore n'Abakiga bagira emigyenzo mingi ekwatiraine n'obushwere. Erimu okubanza kukyenguuza aha birikukwata ahari ogwo ou omuntu arikwenda kutaaha nawe omu bushwere, kuhamya ngu taine shonga mbi, ngu okutwariza hamwe ari gye. Erimu okugamba obugyenyi, okuhuuta, okujuga, okuhingira, okushagarira, okutuura ekikuruza nari okutwarira, hamwe n'okwaruka. Emiteekateekyere y'akarande ey'Abanyankore n'Abakiga ahari ebyo terikushushana n'ey'Abangyereza nari ey'Abanyaburengyerwa-izooba abandi. Eya banu yo eyebembeza okurigirana kw'abarikwenda kushwerana bombi, okwetongora kw'eka ey'omushaija n'omukazi we n'abaana baabo babiri nari bashatu. Omuhinduzi w'ebitebyo by'okucondooza oku naashoboorera omu mutwe gwa kabiri n'ogwa kana hamwe n'omu fuutinooti amakuru g'emiteekateekyere, emitwarize n'emigyenzo y'Abanyankore n'Abakiga ey'akarande ahabw'okumurikira ahabw'abarahurire ebigano n'abaraabishome omu Rungyereza.

Ebirikushoboororwaho bityo birimu ekigambo enujagano, ekirikushangwa omu bigano bishatu. Abanyankore n'Abakiga bakunda kujugisa bahara baabo ente, empiiha, nari byombi. Omushaija ojugire omukazi we, buzima kimuhaisa ekitiinwa omu bantu. Kandi kyoreka ngu naabaasa kureebereera amaka ge. Nangwa n'omukazi ojugirwe kimwesiimisa, kimuhaisa eibanga n'ekitiinisa omu bantu. Omukazi otajugirwe nari

otajugirwe bihuriire, ahabw'enshonga egyo, obumwe ku aba naatongana na iba akimuboorera.

Kwonka, kihikire kumanywa ngu, nk'oku enfumu egi erikuhamiiriza, "Omwana w'omuntu taguranwa igana." N'obu baakumujuga bya muhendo ki, hoonu ente, empiiha nari ebintu tibikaagyeranisibwa na mugore, nk'omuntu. Manya omwishiki ojugirwe, akashwerwa, aba ataguzirwe n'akakye. N'ekyabuzima, omu buteeka bw'akarande k'Abanyankore n'Abakiga enjugano eha kishwera obushoboorozi bw'omutaano aha mukazi we n'aha baana abu azaara omu bushwere nawe. Kwonka hoonu, temuha bushoboorozi obw'orugyero rw'obwanyine-kintu aharibo. Manya okujuga tikuba kugura mukazi nari kugura baana abu azaara omu bushwere. Ekigyendererwa ekikuru ky'abazaire n'abanyabuzaare omu kujugisa muhara waabo n'okubagana aha by'enjugano ye kiba okuhama omukago n'obuzaare bwabo n'abekika eki ashwerwamu.

Omu buteeka bw'okutebeekanisa gye eby'obushwere omu Banyankore n'Abakiga, habanza okukyenguuzanaho obugyenye butakagambirwe. Akare okushwera okw'okujumba, okw'okwetaasya nari okweshagara, kukaba kuboora. Mpaho, kukaba kugiibwamu abashaija abaabaire baba baremirwe kushwera omu buteeka, n'abaishiki abaabaire baba bagwire aha mahega, abashumbakazi nari abafaakazi. Omu kitebyo ekya "Kaaremeera ka Karagura," empangare nungi, Bugongoro, muhara w'omufumu, ahabw'okutiina kugwa aha mahega, ahabwa ishe okuguma amuremeise abashwezi, ahabw'okubacwera enjugano erengire, egyo mpagare neecwamu eyeshagara, eshwerwa mutabani wa Rwamunyoro. Omuri ekyo, ekigano nikihaaha okujugisa ebirengire. Kandi nikuza ekigano, kyongyera entebeekanisa yaakyo omu maisho.

Okusigura n'okweshagara nikuha omutsigazi n'empangare abaahikize emyaka obwetwazi bw'okushwera nari kushwerwa ou beekundiire, ahi bendeire, batarikutwaririzibwa bazaire na banyabuzaare baabo. Eriigyenda Abanyankore n'Abakiga baingi, bataishukire aha ky'okutandika obushwere, nk'oku kyakubaire omu buteeka obw'akarande. Baingi omu batsigazi n'empagare abaahikize emyaka 18 y'obukuru nibacwamu bo bonka batandika kutuura kumwe, nangwa bazaara kumwe n'abaana. Bwanyima ahi baayendera bashemeza obushwere bwabo, bajuga, bahingirwa kandi bagaitwa, yaaba mu diini nari mu gavumente. Emicwe y'ensi omu Banyankore

n'Abakiga etandikire kwakiira entwaza nsya egyo ey'okutandikamu obushwere. Entwaza nsya egyo etandikire kumanyiirwa, tekyangwa bazaire, tekiboorwa munonga bandi bantu. Ediini Enkuru nazo tizirikwehanga kuhindura ha muteero ogwo; kureka nizihabura abu kirikukwataho kurahuka kushemeza obushwere bwabo.<sup>8</sup> Omu ntwaza ensya egyo, ey'abatsigazi n'empangare kutandika obushwere nk'oku barikwenda, obwo nibeema aha kurigirana n'okukundana kwabo, emiteekateekyere n'emitwarize y'Abanyankore n'Abakiga etandikire kushushana n'ey'Abanyaburengyerwa-izooba. Ekindi ekirikushushana n'okuha abagore emihingiro n'ebirabo, kukwatsizaho okwombeka eka yaabo nsya. Omuri ebyo byombi, okushushana kw'emiteekateekyere n'emitwarize y'abantu omu nsi nikweyoreka.

### **Okwesiga nari okutiina abafumu, emandwa n'engisha**

Omu miteekateekyere yaabo ey'akarande Abanyankore n'Abakiga bataaha, orumwe rubaju nibeesima, kandi orundi rubaju nibatiina abafumu! Bataaha nibaikiriza kandi nibeesima ngu abafumu nibabaasa kuragura endwara; nari kuzihinda, obwo nibeemunisa obushoboorozi bw'emandwa n'engisha enungi. Kwonka, omu mazima ebyo n'ebitarikubaasika. Shana omufumu naabaasa kuha emibazi mirungi, erikutamba nari erikutsirika endwara (Mubangizi, 1963:20).

Orundi rubaju, Abanyankore n'Abakiga bataaha nibateekateeka ngu abafumu nibabaasa kwejunisa obushoboorozi n'amaani g'emandwa n'engisha embi kukora kubi nari kwita abazigu ba kiragurirwa. Kwonka, omu mazima, okukoresa emandwa n'engisha, ebyombiby, n'ekitarikubaasika. Nk'oku ekitebyo ekya "Kaaremeera ka Karagura" kirikubita aha mushana, emandwa n'engisha z'omufumu, ziba amahembe buhembe, nari ebindi bintu nyabantu, nk'ebiti by'emisheeshe n'emibarama. Mpaho tizigira maani ag'okukora kubi nari kwita abantu. Baiburi nayo nehaahuza etyo emandwa (*Zaaburi* 115:2-7; 135:15-18).

Kwonka ekirikubaasa kurugiramu abantu abu kirikukwataho akabi, baaba barwaire, nikwo okufa aha mukyeno bahugiire omu kwesiga eby'abafumu, bakakyererwa kuza kare aha bashaho ab'amarwariro kuceberwa gye n'okuragurirwa (Dr. Clarke, *The New*

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<sup>8</sup> Omucondoozi ogu ebi abimanyisiibwe atyo abariisa b'Ebigombe by'Abakristo omuri Kigezi n'Ankole, abu ayebuurizeho (Frs Banyenzaki na Katararwa, 9 na 13 Apuri 2007).

*Vision*, Vol, 14, No. 25, June 24, 2007:10). Ekindi eky’akabi, abantu abamwe nibabaasa kukorwa kubi nari baitwe okutiina n’okweraarikirizibwa okukorwa kubi emandwa n’engisha. Omu kitebyo ekya “Kaaremeera ka Karagura,” omufumu Kaaremeera, naashungisibwa okutiina ekitari kwo, okuteekateeka ngu Rwamunyoro aine emandwa ezirikweshumbya eze amaani, ezirikubaasa kumukora kubi nari kukora kubi omuhara. Okutiina eki arikweshushaniriza nikuhitsya Karemeera aha kugonda, naanaga emandwa eze omu nyanja. Haza ekyo nikyoreka ku nyamufumu, Kaaremeera, nawe wenka atarikwesiga bushoboorozi bw’emandwa n’amaani g’engisha ze. Nikirengyeza ngu naamanya ku kwokwo ziri ebishuba. Eky’omugisha murungi omu kuhenderwa kw’ekigano, Kaaremeera naahika aha kumurikirwa munywani we Rwamunyoro, naikiriza ngu kwokwo eby’abafumu biba ebishuba. Mpaho, naahika aha muheru murungi, naarekurira kimwe eby’obufumu amaririize, naarahira okutaribugarukamu bundi.

Ekyo kashatu eky’akabi munonga ekirikubaasa kukorwa omufumu nikwo okurogyesa omuntu omubazi mubi, ogw’orugyero rw’obutwa, munomuno gwaba gutairwe omu byokunywa nari ebyokurya. Emibazi nk’egyo eyetwa amarogo, buzima n’ey’okutiinwa: ahabw’okuba neebaasa kukora kubi omuntu nari kumwita (Mubangizi, 1963:15-32).

## **5. OBWIRE OMU NGAMBI:TENSI Y’OKUNUZA EKIGANO**

### **Tensi eranga ekyabaireho kare, ei akamanyiso kaayo kaba “-ka-”**

Omu kugana kw’Orunyankore-Rukiga tensi habanzaho erikuranga ekyabaireho kare, neerengyeza obunaku obu kyabanza kubaho. Tensi egyo akamanyiso kaayo ni “-ka-.” Eyejunisibwa omu kibazo ekiigura ekigano. Kandi egarukwamu rimwe na rimwe, munomuno aha kwigura ekicweka kikuru kyakyo. Ekibazo ekiigura ekigano kiba kiri nk’eki, “Iranaira hakaba hariho omushaija...;” nari nk’eki ekirikwiguraho ekitebyo ekya “Muhara wa Kaanyonza,” “Omushaija akaruga aho yaashwera omukazi. (Mubangizi, 1983:31). Tensi ey’ekyabaireho kare, egyo ekaabaasize kwejunisibwa yo yonka omu kutebya ekyabandize kubaho n’ebyakuratsireho byona. Kwonka ku yaakwejunisibwa etyo, ekyabaireho bikaashusha nk’ebyahingwire ira munonga, nk’ebiri hare n’abarikubihurira hati, abaribihurira nyensya, n’abaribishoma. Bikaabaire nk’ebitarikubakwataho. Kishemereire kwijukwa ngu ebiganu byona bishemereire



kuguma nibinurira kandi nibyegyewaho abantu ab'enzaaro zoonna n'obusingye bwona, abato n'abakuru. (Tolkien, 1966:65; Okpewho, 1992:105-108; 216. Mubangizi 1983:5-6). Mpaho ebiganu bishemereire kutebibwa omu tensi erikuguma neebinuza, kandi neebiiriza haihi na buri baakiizi baabyo, ab'amagingo goona.

### **Tensi y'obwire obwabaire buriho ekirikutebibwa kiriyo nikibaho**

Omu kutebya ebyabaireho omu kukuratana kwabyo, tensi egyenda gye n'ey'ekyabaireho kare, erangwa “-ka-,” eba ey'obwire obwabaire buriho ekirikutebibwa kiriyo nikibaho. Omu Rungyereza tensi egyo eyetwa “*today past/historical present*.” Omu Runyankore-Rukiga akamanyiso kaayo kaba enyairaka endaingwa, munomuno “-aa-” nari “-ee-,” haaba hatariho iteeka rya guraama eririkugihinda (Taylor, 1985:35, 152). Tensi ey'ekyabaireho obwire obwabaire buriho eyejunisibwa munonga omu kugana n'okutebya, ahabw'okuba niyo enuza ebitebyo. Kandi amakuru g'ebitebibwa n'ebyegyeso byabyo niyo egairiza haihi n'abarikubihurira nari kubishoma ab'amagingo goona. Tensi egyo neeyorekyerwa omu by'okureeberaho ebiri ahaifo, omu bibazo ebirikukurata ekirikwigura ekigano ekya “Muhara wa Kaanyonza.” Enyairaka ndaingwa ezirikworeka tensi egyo zishazirwe omusitaari ahansi yaazo. “Omukazi ku yaizire tiyaikara yaabaka enda, yaakuza. Yaakora omu nda, yaatsiburaho omujigaijo gw'omwojo. Yaamwonsya, yaamucuusyaa (Mubangizi, 1983:31). “[Omushaija] akagabwa aine ente nyingi. Yaabugamba obugyenye, baamujugisa, baamuhingira, omugore yaamutaasya omu nju. Abakazi omu ka baaba babiri.”

Tensi ey'obwire obwabaire buriho ekirikutebibwa kiriyo nikibaho, kandi neebaasa kwejunisibwa kumanyisa ekikorwa ekitakabaireho, ekiri hakeye kubaho, haaba hatabaireho kindi kukihinda kubaho. Omuhinduzi naayetaaga kumanya ngu ekikorwa ekirikugambwaho kityo nk'ekyabaireho, omu mazima nikiba kitakabaireho, kandi ngu nikibaaasa kuhindwa okubaho. Eky'okureeberaho ky'ekyo kiri omu kitebyo ekya “Maguru-Gatsiga-Enjura-n'Omuyaga,” ahi nyina Maguru arikwekanga, obwo eibabi ryaheza kumugwa aha ibeere, nk'akamanyiso k'okuranga ku omutabani obwombubwo ari omu kabi k'okufa. Nyamukazi naayekanga ayeraarikiire, naagira ati, “Ebishu omwana wangye yaafa!” Ekirikumanyisa, ngu ago magingo omutabani, Maguru, ari omu kabi k'okufa, yaaba atungire kijuna ahonaaho (Mubangizi, 1983:41).

Eby'okureeberaho bya tensi egyo ebindi mbibi: omuntu yaaba ayemereire aha muhanda gw'egaari y'omwika, obwo eriyo neereetana, kwonka uwe yaaba atagihuriire, naayehanangirizibwa bataahi be bati, "Rugaho, egaari y'omwika yaakwita." Nibaba nibamurabura ngu arahukye ahungye egaari y'omwika, etamushangaho ekamutomera, ekamwita. Omunyankore nari Omukiga ku arikugira ati, "Enjura yaasya," kaingi naaba naamanyisa ngu eriyo neehwayo kusya. Omuntu oyemereire ahi omuti ogurikutemwa gwinamiire kugwa, naaraburwa bataahi be, bati, "Irirayo, omuti gwakuteera." Nibaba nibamanyisa ngu ahungye omuti oguri hakyе kugwa gutaakaamugwera.

### **Okutebya omuri tensi ey'ebibaho buriijo nari kaingi**

Tensi endiijo erikubaasa kwejunisibwa okutebya ebyabaireho bikurataine omu kigano nari ekindi kitebyo niyo ey'ebibaho buriijo nari kaingi. Tensi egi tegira kahamiko kaayo omu ngambi. Omu mwanya gwako habamu busha nari zeero (*nil morpheme*), nk'oku eby'okureeberaho ebiri ahaifo birikworeka. Kandi tensi egyo eyejunisibwa omu kushwijuma n'okushoboorora ekitebyo. Ahandi tensi ey'ebibaho buriijo nari kaingi eyejunisibwa omu kucwa enfumu, ekyoreka ku ebi enfumu zeegyesa biba nibikwata aha bantu boona ab'obusingye bwona. Eby'okureeberaho n'enfumu ezi, "Orurimi ruba ekijwaro ekirikurayo oburungi ky'ebiteekateeko, erikumanyisa "*Language is the best dress of thought.*" Mpaho omugambi ashemereire kuguma naayegyendesereza, naasherura ebigambo birungi by'okuha ebiteekateeko bye. "Entanda ehiire ogiiha omwawe," erikumanyisa "*You take a cooked/ready provision from your home.*" "Otari nyoko takureeba ha nda," erikubasa kuhindurwa eti, "*Whoever is not your mother does not bother to notice that you are hungry.*" "Amagara gakira amagana," erikumanyisa eki, "*Life is worth more than wealth.*" "Omwana [w'omwishiki] taguranwa igana," erikumanyisa "*However much bridewealth is given, it does not purchase a daughter;*" "Ruhanga akunda abantu boona," erikumanyisa "*God loves all people.*" "Abazaire bakunda abaana baabo," erikumanyisa "*Parents love their children.*"

Omu kitebyo ekya “Muhara wa Kaanyonza,” harimu eby’okureeberaho bya tensi egyo ebi: “[Omwojo] ku ataaha, agambira ishe, ati, “Aha buseeri hariya naareebaho omwishiki... niinyenda ngu mmushwere... [Abazaire be] ku barugaho nabo bazayo... bamanya ku ariwe, [muhara waabo owaabuzire]” (Mubangizi, 1983:34-35). Tensi egyo eri omu ngambi ezi: “ ataaha, agambira, barugaho nabo bazayo... bamanya.” Eky’okureeberaho kya tensi egyo ekindi kiri omu kitebyo ekya “Maguru-Gatsiga-Enjura n’Omuyaga, omu bibazo ebirikugamba aha mbwa za Maguru, ziriyo nizahaanyaguza kumujuna orukooko. Nyina Maguru atyo aigurira embwa ze, azishunika kumukurata omu ishwa akaanya ako. Zityo, “Ibuzamu oburari... amaguru igashaba ebibunu. Akacuucu kahemberera... Orukooko ku ruhurira ebishuuga byareetwa omu nkiro... empango rugigarura aha kishaata, rwiwayo enkanda yaarwo n’ekitooma, rubijwara; rugaruka ruba omuntu, aza aho aba omukazi.”

Okutebya ekigano kyona omu tensi ey’ebibaho buriijo nari kaingi, tikuri kurungi; ahaw’okuba nikuhinda ekiritebibwa okwenda kushusha nk’ekyabaireho. Kwonka tensi y’ekibaho buriijo neebaasa kukoze sibwa gye okutebya eky’omutaano, ekirikutangaaza, ekiriku himbya ekigano, ekibaho aha magingo g’akatungutungu (*climactic moment*). Akacu nk’ako kashangwa aha kuhenderwa kw’ekicweka ky’ekitebyo, ahi ebintu bitandikira kuhindikira okundi, reero okwiha obwo abaaba nibasingura ebintu bikatandika kubagyendera kubi, baturukirirwa okushobangiririrwa n’okusingurwa, ekitebyo kitunga omuteero ogundi. Haza ekyo nikyongera ekihika orikuhurira nari orikushoma ekigano ky’okumanya ekiraakurateho. Kandi akacu nk’ako kabaho haihi n’okuhenderwa kw’ekigano. Ey’okureeberaho ky’ekyo kiri omu kitebyo ekya “Maguru-Gatsiga-Enjura-n’Omuyaga, ahi orukooko rurikuremesibwa akanyonyi, kikaha omugisha embwa za Maguru kuhikaho omu bwire zikarumukwatsa, akabona kurwita (Mubangizi, 1983:41).

### **Tensi y’obwire oburiiija**

Tensi ey’obwire oburiiija kubaho, ei akabonero kaayo kari *-dya/-rya-*, eyejunisibwa omu kutebya ebyarangirwe nk’ebiriiija kubaho nyensya. N’obu ekigano kyona kitebibwa omuteero gumwe kikahwayo, hoona obwire obu ebirikutebibwa bitwara kuza kubaho bikahwayo, bwo buba buri buraingwa, obundi buba buri emyaka mingi. Ebiba birangirwe kwija kubaho nyensya, nabyo bihika aha kutebibwa nk’ebiba byabaireho

ekigano kyaza kuhenderwa. Eky'okureeberaho ky'ebya nyabeene-ebyo, nikishangwa omu kigano ekya “Maguru-Gatsiga-Enjura-n'Omuyaga.” Nikikwata aha bi orukooko rwarangire, ebikwatiraine n'okwehoorera enzigu ahari Maguru, obariiremu okwija kwarwo rwehindwire omukazi orikushusha murungi, kwonka rugyendereire kumutega ngu rumwite (Mubangizi, 1983:37-38).

## **6. OKUHENDERA EKIGANO**

Ekigano kihenderwa n'omuheru murungi ahabw'abarungi ababa bakirimu. Ekyo kiba endongoorano y'ebigyendererwa n'emitwarize yaabo mirungi. Kandi ababi ababa bari omu kigano bo bagira omuheru mubi, kaingi baitwa. Ekyo kiba ekiheneso ky'obwinazi n'obubi obu baba baashaagiizemu abarungi. Ebyo byona bishemereza abarikuhurira nari abarikushoma ebigano. Bananurwa okureeba ngu oburingaaniza, kwokwo bwayorekwa kandi bwakorwa. Orumwe rubaju, biba eby'okwegyerwaho abantu okutoya aburungi bw'abarungi. Orundi rubaju, biba eby'okwemwaho ababihurira n'ababishoma kuhiga kuguma nibeehara okukora nk'ababi nari kuba nkabo, ahabw'okutenda kuhemurwa nari kuhenwa nkabo.

### **Omuheru murungi gw'ekigano**

Omuheru murungi gw'ekigano guhikwaho abamwo ababa baine emiteekatee-kyere, ebigyendererwa n'ebikorwa birungi. Nk'abo, omu kitebyo nibo baba bamazire omwanya muraingwa nibashaagizibwa enyabibi z'omu kigano, nibakorwa kubi. Kwonka haguma nihabaho ebitanga akabi n'okufa kw'abarungi. Baguma nibahonera ahari bugyengye, mpaho ekigano kigumizamu. Ekyo kiguma nikiteera ekihika abarikukihurira nari abarikukishoma. Baguma baine ekihika ky'okumanya ekiraakurateho n'oku biraagyende. Reero aha muheru gw'ekigano habaho empinduka mpango: ekiteetegirwe, ebintu biba okundi, obwo abarungi bahona okufa. Reero ababi baba nibo baabonabonesibwa nari baitwa. Ekikurataho, byona ebi abarungi baba bafeereirwe babigarurirwa, nangwa bongyererwaho n'ebirikukiraho. Kandi abarungi ababa baitsirwe enyabibi bazooka.

Omuheru murungi gw'ebigano eby'okucondooza oku gurimu ekya Muhuuba naita orukooko wenka, kandi naiha ebye byona omu kaara kahera kaarwo: ente ze n'abaana be, ebi rwabaire ruriire! Omuheru murungi ogundi n'ogw'ekigano ekya “Rutega rwa

Nteguura.” Ahabw’embabazi ze aharibo kareho, Rutega rwa Nteguura naarongoorwa banywani be esiime, nibamuyamba ayaka Abacwezi eisyoy’ente ze; abaaka omukaamwana n’amatungo g’emihingiro ye. Kandi omukaamwana ogwo naamwihaho ruzaaro, eka ye neehinda.

Ogundi muheru murungi n’ogw’ekigano ekya “Muhara wa Kaanyonza,” ogurikworekyerwa omu kwanduurwa Kaanyonza kw’omwishiki, ou mukaishe yaanagire omu kibira ngu afe. Kaanyonza egyo neemworora emukuza. Reero nyensya, nyamwishiki naakora kikuru, atanga akabi k’okushwerwa munyaanya, omu kushuuruura akakwate ke nawe. Ekyo nikhwera eka yaabo kushwererera munyaanya ogwo omu rundi ruganda. Mpaho eka yaabo neetunga abaana ab’eshagama nungi, etari y’obutembane, b’okugumizamu gye oruzaaro rwa ishe. Reero, ekyagabirwe kiri ekyetengo kikuru kya Rutega nikhikiirizibwa. Nyamwishiki nawe naatunga omugisha gw’okushwerwa gye omu rundi ruganda.

Omuheru murungi ogundi n’ogw’ekigano ekya “Kaaremeera ka Karagura” ogw’okumurikira Abanyankore n’Abakiga, ngu bataishuke aha kuguma nibatiina nari nibeessiga eby’abafumu, emandwa n’engisha. Manya ahabwazo zonka tizigira kabi nari mugasho. Ekindi ekirikwegyesibwa omu kurengyeza n’okumanya ku okutiina n’okweraarikirizibwa eby’abafumu kurikubaasa kuturukwaho omuraaro mubi. Ekindi, abafumu nibabaasa kuta omu byokunywa nari omu byokurya emibazi mibi, eyetwa amarogo, erikurwaza nari erikwita abantu. Shana ebirungi bikye ebirikubaasa kukorwa abafumu n’okuha abantu emibazi y’obuhangwa erikutamba, n’obumwe okuha okuhabuzi.

### **Okugyema omuheru murungi enyabibi zomu kigano tikuhikire**

Maguru, orikwebembezibwa omu kigano ekya “Maguru-Gatsiga-Enjura-n’Omu-yaga,” naajunaanwa okuba ekibuza-buryo, akaguma naayeshoka omu nshobe z’akabi k’okufa, naakora nk’otaine bwengye. Enshobe ye emwe n’okutaahirira orukooko, obwo naayesiga amaguru ge, akajakuraho ekicumurwa ky’omuriro. Endiijo n’okutafa ha makuru g’enfumu egi, “Oshwera abuuza,” akahika aha kushwera orukooko, rwehindwire omukazi oyerungirikire, atafiireyo kwijuka eki nyarukooko rwarangire aha mukazi nk’ogwo. Enshobe ya kashatu ni Maguru okwegayisa, akeehindura nk’embwa ze, naaza omu mpaka z’okwiruka nazo, naateera obuyaga, ngu oraasingye ayite

oraasingwe. Embwa ze zo ahabw'okutamanya by'obuteera-buyaga, nizikyenga ngu tiguri muzaano. Mpaho aha kumusinga, nizikora ekitari ky'obuntu, nizimutaanyaguza, zimurya, pe!

Omuheru murungi gwa Maguru ogw'okutanakwa embwa zikamugarurira amagara, ekyo n'ekigyemano ekigumire okwikiriza. Okurugiirira aha kitebyo ky'amagara ge, Maguru takaabaire w'okugira omuheru murungi, kureka omuheru mubi, nk'ekiheneso ky'obuteegyendesereza, obuheeheesi n'obufa-mutima bwe. Ebyo bikaarabwire abarikuhurira n'abarikushoma ekigano ekyo, babyegyeraho okuhata kubanza kushwijuma ebikumire, bakaranzya akabi kaabyo, batabye-shokiremu, kubikora nk'abataine bwengye.

### **Omuheru mubi ahabw'enyabibi eziba ziri omu kigano**

Hariho ababi abashangwa omu bigano, ababa baine emiteekateekyere, ebigyendererwa n'emize mibi, abashaagiza abandi, nibazinda emigabo yaabo, n'obundi nibabaita. Omu bigano eby'okucondooza oku enyabibi nk'ezo zirimu ezi. Omu kigano ekya "Muhara wa Kaanyonza" harimu omukazi ou eihari ryagiire omu mutima, akahika aha kunaga omuhara u ari mukaishe omu kibira agyendereire ngu afeereyo kitaamaywa. Aha muheru, okushuuruurwa kw'ebigyendererwa bye by'obwitsi ogwo mukazi nikumurugiraho okushendwa. Omu kigano ekya "Muhuuba..." orukooko orwariire ente n'abaana ba Muhuuba, aha muheru nirwitwa. Ebi rwariire byona nibigarurirwa nyinabyo, obwo nibiihwa omu kakumu kahera kaarwo. Orundi rukooko empoora-nzigu, orurikushangwa omu kigano ekya "Maguru-Gatsiga-Enjura-n'Omuyaga," nirwitwa akanyonyi, embwa hamwe na Maguru. Omu kigano ekya "Rutega rwa Nteguura," ekicuncu, bwengye-bukye kandi entasiima, nikikiikwa obwengye embeba, kyegarura omu mutego, kigwitirwamu mutabani wa Rutega rwa Nteguura. Abacwezi abanyagi nibakiikwa obwengye, bahemurwa orutangura n'akashuha, akeetwa enyonyoozi. Kandi nibaakwa eisyo ry'ente, ri baabaire banyagire ahari Rutega. Nibaakwa muhara waabo n'ente z'enshagarirano ye, ebi baabaire banyagire ahari Rutega rwa Nteguura n'omutabani.

Eby'okuhemurwa nari okwitwa kw'enyabibi omu bigano ebyo nibyoreka ku okukozesa kubi amaani, obushoboorozi n'oburyarya kuzinda emigabo y'abandi kuba kubi. Kandi

omu buringaaniza, enyabibi ezi kirikukwataho zihikire kuhenwa. Omuhuru mubi gw'enyabubi nigushemereza abarikuhurira nari abari- kushoma ebigano ebyo. Ekindi, nigubeegyesa okuhiga kwehara ebya nyabeene-ebyo n'okuguma nibakora eby'obuntu n'oburyo.

Ebigano bigira emigasho mikuru ebiri: okushemereza ababihurira nari ababishoma; n'okubeegyesa emicwe mirungi y'obuntu. Okwita omubi, okwihaho kyaba nikikorwa ahabw'okwerwanaho, buzima ti tiba kiheneso kihikire, ahabw'okuba nakyo kiita amagara. Ekiheneso eky'okutsibamahitsi omwitsi, nari okumutsiba emyaka mingi y'amagara ge nari yoona, nikyo kyakubaire ekiheneso kihikire ky'okujuna abantu enyabibi enyitsi.

## **7. EBIHABURO AHA KUHINDURA EBIGANO N'OKUBUZYA EBITABO**

(1) Okuvunuura nari okuhindura ebigano nari ebindi bitebyo ahagati y'endimi ezitarikushushana kugumire. Kwonka nikubaasa kukorwa ahabw'okuba ekihindurwa ziba endimi; amakuru g'ebigano nari ebitebyo go nigaragiirwa kuguma nigashushana omu ndimi zoon. Amakuru agarikubaasa kugambwa omu rurimi rumwe, nigabaasa kugambwa gaty gatahindwirweho, gatahirweho nari gatongyeirweho, n'omu zindi. Ebyagyendereirwe ahabw'abarikuhurira n'abarikushoma ebigano omu rurimi orw'enshuro nibibaasa kuhikibwa ab'endimi ezi birikuhindurirwamu, nabo bibagasire nka bari. Ekirikwetaagwa n'omuvunuuzi nari omuhinduzi kushwijuma gye ekigano nari ekindi kitebyo omu rurimi orw'enshuro, akazoor amakuru gaakyo ag'omunda, reero akagata n'obwesigwa omu rurimi orwakiizi. Ahabw'okwenda kukora gye ekyo, omuvunuuzi nari omuhinduzi naaragiirwa kumanya gye eby'akarande eby'abantu abu ekigano kyabandiizemu. Ahabw'okucondooza oku, ebintu bikuru by'akarande bibiri ebicondooziibweho, nibikwata aha miteekateekyere n'emitwarize y'Abanyankore n'Abakiga aha by'obushwere n'aha kuraguza omu bafumu. Kwonka, okushoboorora ebigumire okuhindura tikuri kw'okushokwa mu kihindwirwe. Nikubaasa kuteebwa aha muheru nari aha ifo yaakyo, nka fuutinooti.

(2) Omuhinduzi w'ebigano n'ebindi bitebyo ashemereire kumanya kurungi endimi zombi, orw'enshuro n'orwakiizi, omu bikwatiraine n'ebizitaanisa nari ebizishushanisa.

Omuhinduzi w'ebigano n'ebitebyo kuruga omu Runyankore-Rukiga n'ezindi ndimi eza Bantu, ashemereire kumanya ku ziri endimi empamikano (*agglutinative languages*). Ashemereire kumanya ku Orungyereza ruri orurimi empindura-ha-bigambo (*inflectional language*). Aha ntaaniso nkuru ezo niho amateeka ag'enyatura, n'empandiika y'endimi gahamiza omu kukora enginga, ebigambo n'ebicweka byabyo n'okubikoresa ebibazo. Kandi ashemereire kumanya amakuru ag'omunda y'ebirenzyo, enfumu, n'endangwabwaku, eby'endimi zombi.

(3) (a) Omuvunuuzi nari omuhinduzi ahikire kumanya engambi omu bwire, niyo tensi, munomuno egyo ekira kukoze sibwa kunuza ebigano n'ebitebyo omu ndimi zombi. Omuvunuuzi nari omuhinduzi w'ebigano n'ebitebyo, orikubiiha nari okubita omu Runyankore-Rukiga ashemereire kumanya ku tensi ey'obwire obwabaire buriho ekirikutebibwa kiriyo nikibaho, ei akamanyiso kaayo kaba enyairaka endaingwa, nka “-aa” nari “-ee,” niyo ekira kutebya gye ebiba bikurataine, ekanuza ekigano. Tensi egyo ekira kwejunisibwa omu kugana n'okutebya ahabw'okuba eshusha nk'erikwiriza haihi ebirikutebibwa n'abariku-bihurira nari kubishoma, ngu beeshushanirize oti nabo nibibakwataho buzima. Kwonka omu kuta ekitebyo omu Rungyereza, omuvunuuzi nari omuhinduzi ashemereire kumanya ku tensi erikuhindura gye entebya ey'Orunyankore-Rukiga, eri ey'obwire obuhingwireho juba (*simple past tense*), ei akamanyiso kaayo omu Rungyereza kaba “-ed.”

(b) Tensi ey'ebibaho buriiho nari kaingi (*universal/habitualpresent*), ekaabaasize kukosebwa omu Runyankore-Rukiga n'omu Rungyereza kutebya ekigano nari ekindi kitebyo kyona. Kwonka tekaakinuza gye nk'ey'obwire obwabaire buriho ekirikutebibwa kiriyo nikibaho, eyaayorekwa aha ruguru. Omu Rungyereza, tensi ey'ebibaho buriiho terikworeka gye ebyabaireho bikurataine, okashusha oti bibaireho obwire obuhingwireho juba. Shana tensi egyo neebaasa kukoze sibwa okutebya eby'aha kaku ak'akatungutungu k'ekigano. Kandi eyejunisibwa omu kucwa enfumu n'okushoboorora okw'obushwijumi bw'ebigano n'ebindi bitebyo.

(4) Enshoboorora y'orurimi (*linguistics*) hamwe na guraama erikukwata aha Runyankore-Rukiga, ekaatebeekanisiibwe, eshohozibwa nk'ebitabo by'okwe-gyesa orurimi orwo. Nikihaburwa ku Ekitongore ky'Endimi ekya Yunivaasite ya Makerere, omu Itaagi ryakyo ry'Orunyakitaara, kishabwa kandi kiheebwa emikono Minisitire



y'Obwegyese, kukora murimo gw'obufundi bw'okushu-gaanisa amateeka g'orurimi orwo. Ezindi ndimi za Uganda nazo nikwo zaakugiriirwe. Ekya kikaabaire oburyo burungi bw'okutebeekanisiza ebitabo by'okutendeka abeegyesa b'endimi enzaarwa omu Purayimare n'aha ndengo ez'ahaiguruho.

(5) Endimi enzaarwa enkuru omuri Uganda zikaateirwe omu ntebeekanisiza y'ebirikwegyesibwa kandi ebirikugyezibwa omu Purayimare n'aha ndengo ezindi.

(6) Ministure y'Obwegyese emazire okurenga aha myaka ikumi neegyezaho, kwonka eremirwe kutaho Enkiiko z'Endimi Enzaarwa. Enkiiko ezo, aha burungi enkiiko ezo tizikateirweho ahabwa buri disitirikiti, kureka ahabwa buri kyanga ky'orurimi. Ekitongore ky'Endimi ekyagambwaho aha ruguru, nari nyensya ebya yunivaasite ezindi ebiriba nibibaasa, bikaakwatsiibwe obujunaanizibwa bw'okumurikira n'okuhabura Enkiiko z'Endimi Enzaarwa, okushwijuma gye n'okuta aha murembe amateeka gaazo.

(7) (a) Abarundaani, abahandiiki n'abahinduzi b'ebigano n'ebindi bitebyo n'ebihimbo abarikubiiha omu ndimi za Uganda n'ez'atheeru yaayo, hamwe n'abahandiiki b'ebitabo ebishwijumi bya biri n'ab'okuteerwa omuhimbo. Abashohoza bitabo (*publishers*) nibahigwa kuteera abarundaani, abahandiiki n'abahinduzi b'ebitabo omuhimbo, mpaho ebitabo birungi bikashohozibwa, reero Abanyayuganda bakahwerwa kwega omucwe gw'okushoma.

(b) Ebirikukirayo oburungi omu bitabo ebyo bikaateirwe omu rubu rw'eb'okushomesa, kandi bigyezibwa aha rurengo rwa Sekendere, ow'Amate-ndekyero g'Abeegyesa n'orwa Yunivaasite.

(8) Bimwe omu bitabo ebyo bikatebeekansiibwe gye, biihwamu eby'okubuzya ahari zaaraadiyo na tereviijooni, ezi abantu baingi eriigyenda barikukira kwehugizaho, bari aha bitarikwombeka nari kugunjura. Ebitabo ebyo bikaabashemereize kandi bakaabyegyeireho eby'omugasho n'oburyo bw'okwega kukozeza gye endimi enzaarwa n'emicwe y'obuntu, nk'oku obunyakare kyabaire kikorwa omu kugana.

## **8. EBIRIKUSHANGWA AHANDI OMU KUCONDooZA OKU**

### **(1) Ebitabo n'ebindi ebyehabwirweho n'ebirikujurizibwa**

Ebitabo n'ebindi bihandiiko ebikozesiibwe n'ebijuriziibwe omu kucondooza oku nibishangwa aha peegi 177-192.

**(1) Enyongyeserezo**

- (A) Ebibuuzo n'ebyagarukirwemu abeegi 200 ba Senior III abaashomire ebigano by'okucondooza oku omu Rungyereza biri aha peegi 183-208.
- (B) Ebibuuzo aha beegyesa b'orurimi biri aha peegi 209.
- (C) Amaziina g'abantu abu omucondoozi ayebuurizeho gari aha peegi 210.
- (D) Enkora nsya ya Minisitire y'Obwegyese aha baana ba Purayimare I-III y'okwega n'okwegyesibwa omu ndimi enzaarwa eri aha peegi 212.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This research has dealt with discovering and dealing with language and culture-related challenges of translating folk stories from Runyankore-Rukiga, a Bantu-language, to an inflectional language, English. Three published, but out-of-print folk story books in Runyankore-Rukiga, entitled: *Mutebya* (Mwhangaani, 1935/1966), *Tebera* (Rutaru, 1966) and *Nkuganire* (Mubangizi, 1982/1983), which all together contain over 100 folk stories have been read. This research is based on a translation of a selection of five folk stories from *Nkuganire*.

Traditionally, among the Banyankore and Bakiga folk stories used to be preserved orally by frequent re-telling from one generation to another. The practice of folk story telling, known as *okugana*, used to be done mostly at night by the hearth-fire at home, and with the introduction of formal education, during the day at Primary school. Folk stories were a form of entertainment in the absence of other handy types of leisure activities, especially at night. Narrating stories was a significant medium of promoting informal education, especially with regard to imparting skills in language use, social and moral formation. The entertainment and didactic heritage in those stories is worth preserving, utilising and sharing across different cultures and languages.

Unfortunately, the traditional practice of re-telling folk stories across generations has declined among the Banyankore and Bakiga. Today there is a strong tendency in favour of concentrating upon listening to the radio in the evening and night. But so far traditional stories have not yet become a regular feature on radio programmes. Under “Appendix A” to this study the data from the questionnaire for ascertaining the respondents’ prior knowledge of the folk stories selected for this study shows that 77% of those who read stories 1 and 4 had heard them before; but less than 40% of those who read stories 2,3 and 5 had heard them before.

Apprehension about the future of the heritage of traditional literature should be seen in the context of a more serious and more worrying trend. This is the declining appreciation of native languages, which are pejoratively referred to by many people as “the vernaculars” or “the local languages.” The name “mother tongue” can be used, however, it is not so gender sensitive, considering that the first language is learnt from both the father and the mother. “Home language” would be a more suitable designation. From an interview with Bukenya (17 November 2006), the researcher found a favourable name, “native language,” which he has adopted in this study. An ambivalent attitude towards native languages has its roots in the non-African attitudes, spread mostly by a European type of education, which has not been considered by this study (Finnegan, 1970:1-25; Okpewho, 1992:17). Those attitudes include, for example, regarding native languages as inferior to foreign languages, especially English and French, though no language is superior to others; or regarding European ways of cooking as superior to African traditional ways of cooking.

The re-introduction of native languages, with effect from the beginning of the School Year in February 2007 by the Uganda Ministry of Education and Sports National Curriculum Development Centre as the teaching medium in Primary 1 to 3 is a most welcome development. That is a significant way forward: because, as recommended by specialists in education, the native language is undoubtedly the best medium for children to start their informal and formal educational process. The Ministry’s policy referred to here directs that in a multilingual context the native language of the majority of the school children should be adopted and used to teach all the pupils in the Lower Primary classes (“Appendix D”).

Another setback is that, despite the accepted recommendation that the native language is the best learning medium for children, there are many Ugandan parents who prefer their children to use English as their first medium of learning. Such parents argue that their children would be better prepared for the Upper Primary 4-7 classes in which English is the learning and examination medium. Moreover, many Ugandans who have had some formal education of up to Ordinary Level Secondary School prefer speaking and reading English to their native language. Such people freely speak a mixture of their native language and English, whilst attempting as much as possible to naturalise many of the borrowed words. They regard that trend as a mark of being school-educated and

of prestige. Without condoning the mistaken “superior status” accorded by some people to English as a language, this researcher considers that it would be worthwhile to take advantage of the popular preference for that language and translate folk stories from native language to English, for broadcasting on radio and for disseminating as books. That would make the social, moral educational as well as the entertainment values of those stories accessible to a wide audience and readership. It is regrettable that there are a few books available to Ugandans for promoting literacy and education.

Another argument of this study is that the translation of stories from particular native languages to other native languages and to English would help to reduce the existing linguistic and cultural barriers and promote inter-cultural and inter-lingual sharing of the heritage enshrined in literatures by wider audiences and readership. It is notable that some translation work done in Uganda since the 1890s has been from English to native languages, especially with regard to Bible translation. A translation of the New Testament into Luganda was first published in 1893 and that of the whole Bible into Luganda was published three years later during the first few decades of the introduction of Christianity. Those were followed by a translation of the whole Bible into Runyoro-Rutooro in 1912 and by translations of various portions of the Scriptures into other Ugandan languages (Mojola, 1999:140). From the 1960s onwards, more translations of the Bible into other Ugandan languages were published, sponsored by the United Bible Societies.

Regarding literary translation into Ugandan languages the following are a few examples of the works that have been translated. Chinua Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart* was translated into Luganda by Cranmer Kalinda as *Ebyedda Bisasika* and published in 1971; and Stevenson’s *Treasure Island* by J.B. Nsimbe as *Nketta Mu Bizinga* published in 1995. Though still in manuscript form, Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* was translated into Runyankore-Rukiga by Benedikito Mubangizi. Some translation work from English to Runyankore- Rukiga has been done by M.A. students at Makerere. It includes Ngugi’s *The Black Hermit*, translated by Mark Musinguzi; John Ruganda’s *The Burdens* by Margaret Kabanywezi; Chinua Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart* translated by E. Rwomushana. But these dissertations are still unpublished; they would need to be re-worked by their respective authors in order to convert them into books and make them more available.

Translations from Ugandan native languages to foreign languages are still very few. A pioneering effort, made by Okot p'Bitek, who translated his own long poem, then still in manuscript form, from Acholi to English, was first published in 1966, entitled *Song of Lawino*. In the introduction to its 1972 impression Gerald Heron notes that the Acholi version of *Song of Lawino* was first published in 1969, entitled *Wer pa Lawino*, and a new impression of it came out in 2005. John Kintu has translated T.B. Bazarrabusa's novel *Ha Munwa gw'Ekituuro*, from Runyoro-Rutooro to English, for an M.A. dissertation, entitled "The Problems of Translating a Novel from Runyoro-Rutooro to English: a Study Based on *Ha Munwa gw'Ekituuro* by T.B.Bazarrabbusa," submitted to Makerere University in 2004. Deogratias Emuron translated from Ateso into German Stephen Akabway's novelette *Ekote Nen*, for an M.A. dissertation entitled "Die linguistischen und kulturellen Probleme der Uebersetzung von Ateso-Literatur in die deutsche Sprache: Eine Studie am Beispiel von Stephen B. Akabways Novelle *Ekote Nen*," submitted to Makerere University in 1999.

There is a notable dearth of literary translation from Runyankore-Rukiga to English. This study is an attempt towards filling up that gap. Doing literary translation from Runyankore-Rukiga, a Bantu language, to English poses cultural and linguistic challenges. The latter challenge is to change the form and convey the message of the selected Runyankore-Rukiga literature into a syntactically correct, idiomatic and natural English translation (Larson, 1984:3, 9-10).

In translation care must be taken to reflect something of the source language text's culture specific-flavour, especially its skilful use of language and its aesthetic quality. Fortunately, it is acceptable to have a form of English that reflects some of the original author's language features. It can be justifiably argued that as there is an American English, there can also be a form of English which reflects, for instance, some Ibo, Luganda or Runyankore-Rukiga linguistic and cultural features. Chinua Achebe affirms that a certain degree of enduring influence by the source language upon its translation into other languages is inevitable (Achebe in Egejuru, 1980:49).

The researcher has selected the five folk stories for this study from the best of three published, but out-of-print sources. One of those sources is the *Mutebya I-VI* series,

containing 159 stories, compiled by a Catholic missionary under a pseudonym, Mwehangaani (1935/1966). The second source examined is a collection of 28 folk tales, entitled *Tebere: Emigane omu Runyankore-Rukiga*, compiled by Rutaro (1966). The third source checked is a four-part series of 20 folk stories, entitled *Nkuganire I-IV*, compiled and edited by Mubangizi (1982/1983). It is from the latter source that the stories for this study have been taken. In terms of syntactical correctness, conciseness of language use, narrative style and literary delightfulness, the stories from this series were assessed by his principal supervisor and the researcher to be the best of the three selected sources.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEACH PROBLEM**

There is a need to translate literary works from Runyankore-Rukiga to English; and in the process of doing so to assess the challenges involved, form them into generic abstractions and suggest solutions to them for promoting further translation.

It is argued that the preservation and use of Runyankore-Rukiga folk literature for its didactic, linguistic and pleasure-giving values is in jeopardy, mainly because the traditional practice of folk story re-telling at home and at Primary School is in decline. It is notable that many Banyankore and Bakiga parents encourage their children to learn and use English from the earliest classes, in order for the children to be better prepared to further learning and pass examinations in that medium. Many Ugandans, including Banyankore and Bakiga, especially those who have had formal education for some years, almost involuntarily prone to speaking English, or a mixture of it and their native language, rather than the latter only. Not surprisingly, many people's knowledge of and consequently interest in their native language use is declining. No wonder, the three noted published sources of folk stories in Runyankore-Rukiga are out-of-print. Radio and television media in Uganda still lack significant language and literature programmes.

The researcher contends that on the basis of the noted popular preference for English by Uganda, especially with the fast rising level of literacy,<sup>9</sup> there is a potential wide

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<sup>9</sup> The level of literacy is reported to have risen from 54% in 1991 to an estimated 69% in 2007, "The State of Uganda Population Report 2007" (*The Daily Monitor*, 28 June

readership of literature in English. Translation of literature from native languages to that language would make the heritage accessible in it available to people of various native languages and cultures within Uganda and beyond.

This study furthermore claims that translating literature, particularly folk stories, from Runyankore-Rukiga and from similar languages to English is challenging, because the languages are culturally and linguistically unrelated. The former being an agglutinating Bantu language, whilst the latter is an inflectional language.

### **1.3 SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

For this research five folk stories have been translated from Runyankore-Rukiga to English. In the process of doing so the challenges involved have been identified, some solutions have been found and applied. From those challenges and solutions some generic abstractions and conclusions have been made. Some recommendations have been made towards guiding further literary translations from native languages to English and from other foreign languages into native languages.

Although originally composed and transmitted orally, it is in their written version in the *Nkuganire* series from which the five stories for this research have been taken. It is significant to note that direct translation from an oral version of those stories is not feasible, because of the fluidity in form of orally transmitted folk stories. Unless given fixed form through dramatic performance and electronic sound-recording or filming, the textual and other external features of an oral folk story remain elusive, liable to vary with every re-telling of it. Secondly, basing this study on a dramatised oral source would have required unavailable resources: in terms of time, equipment, technical expertise, high field and stage production costs

The five folk stories for this study have been selected from one of the three published, but out-of-print, sources of folk stories in Runyankore-Rukiga. Here is an overview of those sources. The first one is a six-part series compiled by an anonymous Catholic

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2007:1) (Please note that in order to keep the background information and explanatory notes close to the translation, q.v. chapter three, footnoting rather than endnoting has been adopted; and for consistence all the notes to this study are presented as footnotes.)



Missionary, under the pseudonym Mwehangaani. That series, entitled *Mutebya*, was used to promote reading in the Primary schools of South-Western Uganda especially between the 1930s and 1960s. It is notable that some of the stories in *Mutebya* are not folk stories in the strict sense, but creative short stories, probably authored by the compiler of the series, or translated and adapted from some unspecified foreign sources. Many of those stories are overtly burdened with didactic and openly moralising objectives, which lower their literary quality. The didactic function of literature can best be served when it is left to make an implicit impact upon the hearers and readers, as they enjoy listening to or reading the literature.

The second published source of folk stories examined is a collection of 28, compiled by Rutaro (1966), entitled *Tebere: Emigane omu Runyankore-Rukiga*. The stories in this set are longer, syntactically more idiomatic, and from the literary point of view more delightful than those in *Mutebya*. The narrative style of the folk stories in *Tebere* is captivating, especially the choruses meant to be sung by the narrator and the audience.

According to the assessment by this researcher, under the guidance of his main supervisor, the best published source of folk stories in Runyankore-Rukiga is a four-part series entitled *Nkuganire*, comprised of 20 stories. The five stories for this study have been selected from *Nkuganire I-III*. The literary quality of the stories in this series is much higher than that of those in *Mutebya* and *Tebere*, respectively. Credit for the stories in *Nkuganire* is due to their compiler and editor, Mubangizi,<sup>10</sup> in the mid-1960s, and first published in 1982/83. His literary style and skill in writing Runyankore-Rukiga is unequalled, with regard to his choice of appropriate vocabulary and idiom, economy of expression, grammatical correctness, use of the most apt narrative tense and overall delight conveyance. These qualities make the folk stories in the *Nkuganire* series an appealing medium for informally imparting cultural wisdom and promoting social and moral values.

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<sup>10</sup> Benedikito Mubangizi (1926-1995) is acclaimed to be the most gifted and the most practised writer in Runyankore-Rukiga, having published works of unmatched literary quality in: folklore, fiction, poetry, grammar and music in that language. His creative works include two novels, *Rwakyekoreire Buhano* (1982) and *Abagyenda Bareeba* (1969/1997). His unpublished works include manuscripts in anthropology, history, his over 500-page autobiography and an excellent translation of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*.)

## 1.4 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

**Allusion:** an indirect or an implicit reference to a deeper meaning of an uttered or a written expression. Outside the folk story genre, allusion can be made in history, discourse and other forms of communication between teller and addressee.

**Audience:** a group of listeners, viewers or spectators of an audio-visual performance of a speech, a story, a play or a film, a game or sport, a radio or a television programme. A well-rendered folk story performance can elicit spontaneous audience participation, manifested through clapping, dancing and chorus singing. It can also challenge the performer through interjecting positive or negative remarks.

**Characters:** human or personified non-human participants in a story, depicting the thinking, feeling, speech, behaviour, and motives simulating those of human beings.

**Deictic:** forms or demonstrative expressions such as: this, that, here, there, whose use, meaning and interpretation depend on the interaction of the speaker and the addressee in a discourse. In translation, demonstrative deictic pronouns representing persons, objects, events and ideas may have to be specified, in order to avoid ambiguity. It is notable that the Runyankore-Rukiga deictic expression “*ogu*,” which literally means “this one,” can also be reciprocally used as a phatic expression by husband and wife in addressing each other endearingly, deliberately avoiding to say out each other’s personal name. Another phatic expression similarly used is “*owangye*,” simply meaning “my/my own,” implying “my husband/my wife.” According to the culture of the Banyankore and Bakiga a married woman has to refrain from calling out her husband’ sir name. However, a husband can call out his wife’s marriage-status name, normally given soon after they are married (Kaanyonza, 1994:22-32).

**Descriptive phrase:** use of a few words highlighting a hard-to-understand culture-specific concept, symbol, image, word or another expression that has no equivalent in the receptor language. In translation, a textual descriptive phrase should avoid adding an explanation or any new meaning to the receptor language text.

**Didactic value:** moral, social or any other lesson that can be learnt informally from hearing or reading a work of literature. Literature is not only meant to entertain, but also to edify.

**Discourse:** a unit of utterances exchanged between speakers, equivalent to a written paragraph. According to the Gricean cooperative principles, discourse should be informative, truthful, and relevant and clear (Leech, 1980:11).

**Divination:** the art or practice by which a witch doctor claims and is believed by clients to foresee and foretell future events; or to discover hidden knowledge and facts, usually through the claimed intervention of supernatural powers (*Webster Dictionary*).

**Folk tales:** traditional, culture based short stories, whose authorship, date and place of composition remain unknown, hence their ascription to the folk or community. Folk tales include, particularly, fables, fairy stories, and recitations.

**Folklore:** traditional cultural heritage of a particular people, in form of: material crafts, artwork, beliefs, practices, riddles, proverbs, figures of speech, music, dance, recitations, poems, myths, legends, fables, fairy tales and folk stories.

**Hermeneutic exegesis:** a close reading and analytical study of a text in order to discover and explain its inner textual meaning, beyond its literal sense.

**Humour:** a pleasure-giving metaphorical utterance, whose meaning is not meant to be taken literally; whose comic form and meaning are intended to evoke delight and laughter. Humour can be shared between persons who stand in a reciprocal joking relationship, such as parents-in-law, cross cousins, grandparents and grandchildren.

**Idiom:** an expression or a set of words collocated to form a phrase, whose real meaning is not in its lexical meaning, but in the speaker-intended deeper sense or meaning.

**Idiomatic translation:** a translation involving the use of words and expressions, which are natural, clear and fluent in the target or receptor language. In translation, it is the form or idiom of the source language text that is changed into that of the receptor language, with the common and transferable factor, between the two texts remaining the original author's intended meaning (Nida & Taber, 1974:105; Larson, 1984:3, 9-10).

**Implicit meaning:** the meaning that lies behind the literal sense of an utterance, especially where idioms, metaphors, proverbs and other figures of speech are used in the context of an utterance or a discourse. See also, the definition of allusion, above.

**Literary translation:** translation of literature, which can be in the form of a folk story, fiction, drama, poetry or any other literary genre.

**Literal translation:** a word for word or surface structure translation, not a deeper meaning-based translation. Literal translation is cannot be idiomatic in the receptor language.

**Meaning-based translation:** the transference of the author's intended meaning from a source language text to a target or receptor language text. What is transferable is not the literal meaning of the form or words, phrases and sentences, but the implied or deeper meaning. What is said and meant in one language, i.e., the content or meaning, can be equivalently said and meant in another language (Nida & Taber, 1974:105; Larson, 1984:3, 9-10).

**Metaphor:** a culture specific figure of speech whose intended meaning lies deeper than what the literal sense of the words and phrases suggests.

**Onomatopoeia:** words or prosodic forms whose meaning is in the sound they make. They communicate by their phonological impact or sound effect. Onomatopoeic words, such as “buzz, splash, hiss,” audibly communicate their meaning or sound effect. Onomatopoeic forms, such as “hmm, hmm, shss-shi, shss-shi, tuku-tuku, po-po, po-po,” which are not lexemes, convey messages prosodically, i.e., by their sound effect. Onomatopoeic expressions can be used to produce phonological effects in recording for radio and television broadcasting (Niyi Osundare, 202:122).

**Oral literature:** literature composed, memorised and transmitted through re-telling by word of mouth (Finnegan, 1970; Okpewho, 1992, Bukenya et al., 1994).

**Phatic expression:** a culture specific phrase, consisting of collocation of words used to express or reciprocate sentiments, such as a greeting or sympathy. Examples of such expressions are: Good morning! Good day. Safe journey. How are you? Good night.

**Prose:** a narrative similar to conversational discourse, which is not set in metre or rhyme, or poetic form.

## **1.5. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The general objective of this study is to identify the challenges of translating folk stories from a Bantu language, specifically from Runyankore-Rukiga to English, and to devise solutions to them for encouraging translation as a means towards increasing literature for promoting literacy, education and development.

The specific objectives of this study are: (a) to translate a sample of five folk stories from Runyankore-Rukiga to English, and produce a syntactically correct and idiomatically appealing version of them in the latter language; (b) to reflect a flavour of the literary source language in the English text; (c) to assess the peculiarities of language and culture of the Banyankore and Bakiga: their view of life, as reflected in their beliefs and practices in various images, concepts, words, idioms, proverbs and other figures of speech; and to devise some ways of probing their contextual deeper meaning. Further specific objectives of the study are: (d) to get some experience in translating literary work from Runyankore-Rukiga to English, in order to subsequently undertake further translation and promote the literary pleasure-giving and educational values enshrined in folk literature; and (e) to reach certain conclusions and evolve abstractions from the challenges and use them to propose guidelines and recommendations to guide this and other translators of literature from Runyankore-Rukiga and similar languages native languages to English or some other foreign languages.

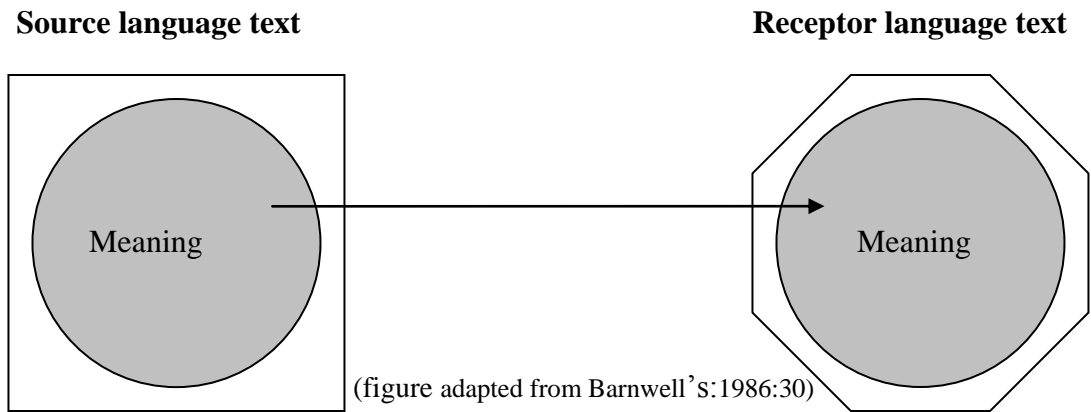
How can the translation of folk stories promote literary entertainment, the sharpening of thinking and language use for promoting reasoning skills? In translating the five folk tales for this study, besides the value of the content or message care has been taken to find from the wide paradigm of idioms, metaphors, proverbs and descriptive natural phrases to convey in English the near equivalent values intended by the Runyankore-Rukiga version. Where no equivalents could be found, textual descriptive phrases have been used. It is notable, especially in his novel, *Arrow of God*, that Chinua Achebe quite significantly uses meaning-based translations and descriptive phrases of Ibo proverbs, phatic expressions, idioms and other culture-specific expressions to convey in English something of the beauty and other values of the Ibo culture and language (Achebe, 1964/1986). Elsewhere, Achebe recognises that English can and has started being Africanised by speakers and writers.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> “I quickly came up with a different kind of English, different from the kind of English a British or [an] American writer would use. And I think the beginning of this English was already there in our society, in popular speech... The English language seems quite capable of this kind of extension... there is a possibility for a lot more Africanization or Nigerianization of English in our literature” (Achebe in Egejuru, 1980:49).

## 1.6 MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS

### The process of translating the same meaning in different languages/forms



**Step 1:** Make a close reading of the source text and probe the language or form of the source text exegetically and contextually, in order to discover its intended inner meaning.

**Step 2:** Interpret and re-express the same source language text meaning faithfully, naturally, fluently and idiomatically in the receptor language or form.

Is it possible to make a literary translation across two languages, such as Runyankore-Rukiga and English, given the fact that there are major cultural and linguistic differences between them? It is possible because translation involves the transfer of meaning from the source text form or language to that of the receptor text.<sup>12</sup> What can be said in one language can also be equivalently said in another language (Larson, 1998:3, 9-10). The following proverb in English implies the same thing: “Language is the best dress of thought,” (Prochnow et al., 1965:457).

Through translation, the original author’s intended inner meaning can be transferred from the source language to the receptor language. The same meaning can be faithfully expressed in various forms or languages. The same social and moral lessons can be conveyed by versions of the story translated into different languages. Through

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<sup>12</sup> “The theoretical basis for such adjustment... lies in the essential distinction which must be made throughout between the form of a message and its content. If we assume that language is a device for communicating messages, then it follows that language and linguistic forms are a means to an end, rather than an end in themselves (Nida & Taber, 1974:105).

translation a certain degree of the source language text's potential to evoke a dynamic impact can be shared across culture and languages. With these assumptions, it is possible and worthwhile to undertake cross-cultural, cross-lingual literary translation.

Can the implicit and deeper meanings of the concepts, metaphors, idioms and proverbs that are specific to Runyankore-Rukiga, that have no exact equivalents in English be conveyed in the translation? They can be conveyed in it, because there are some words and expression in English which have similar or partially similar semantic value to those in Runyankore-Rukiga. Where near equivalents do not exist in English, textual descriptive phrases can be used within the translation to express the meaning of the source text. However, in order to remain accurate and faithful to the source text meaning the translator must avoid intruding any new meaning or interpretation into the receptor text. Footnotes or endnotes can be provided to supplement the translation.

What is not transferable from a text in one language to another, in this case from the folk stories in Runyankore-Rukiga to English, is the form, i.e., the language itself. It is significant to note that prosodic or phonological features of a particular language, especially those in the form of tone and onomatopoeia, convey meaning, but that they are not translatable (Niyi Osundare, 2002:118-130). This researcher has opted to retain the form of the untranslatable source language prosodic and onomatopoeic expressions in the translation, and used descriptive phrases to convey their equivalent meaning, supplementary footnotes, as necessary.

## **1.7 REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

### **Translation should be meaning-based**

The sample of the literature consulted for this study in general stresses that because languages differ, particularly in their form, translation involves changing of the form or language of the source text for that of receptor, but keeping the message the same. Through faithful translation different languages can be used to express the same content or message. It is important to note that it is not the literal, but the original author's

intended, contextual deeper meaning that should remain the same in both the source and the receptor languages (Nida, & Taber, 1974:104; Larson, 1984: 3, 9-10).

Furthermore, since every language has a wide paradigm of lexical items, words, phrases, idioms and metaphors, which have literal and deeper meanings, it is the latter that have to be discovered and conveyed in translating the source language text to the receptor language text.<sup>13</sup> Attempting to copy or to imitate the form or literal meaning of the source language to the receptor language would not convey the author's intended deeper meaning. A translator has to carry out a close reading and hermeneutical analysis of the source-language text, in order to discern and convey the inner and implicit meaning enshrined in the words, idioms and other figures of speech (Larson, 1984:11, 36-45, 104; Gutt, 1991: 84-90). A translator has to be alert to the rhetoric of the source language text and to its probable effect on the audience and readers. Implicit or implied meaning usually lies behind the surface structure in the form of: words, onomatopoeia, idioms, metaphors, proverbs and other figures of speech must be discovered for conveyance to the translation.

### **A translator should project the author**

In his work entitled, *The Translator's Invisibility: a History of Translation*, Venuti (1995:7) emphasises that a translator "is not supposed to express himself or herself, but to express the author." He/she is expected to convey the message intended by the source text author. On the other hand, Venuti acknowledges that a translator has a creative role to play. Translating literary work across unrelated cultures and languages entails choosing the most appropriate idioms for creatively and dynamically conveying the source language text's inner meaning in the receptor language, whilst remaining syntactically correct and aesthetically appealing (Venuti, op. cit., :42; 314). It is not easy to remain faithful to the source language text meaning, on the one hand, and to equivalently convey its message and reflect its literary qualities in a foreign language, on the other. An example of such difficulty is pointed out by Taban lo Liyong, who

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<sup>13</sup> "The fact is that a language is a complex set of skewed relationships between *meaning* (semantics) and *form* (lexicon and grammar). Each language has its distinctive *forms* for representing *meaning*. Therefore, in translation, the same *meaning* may have to be expressed in another language by a very different *form*" (emphasis is by Larson, 1984:9).



undertook to re-translate *Wer pa Lawino* in 1974, when its author, Okot p'Bitek, was still alive, and had it published as *The Defence of Lawino* Lo Liyong (2001) contends that he undertook the re-translation, because p'Bitek had deliberately or otherwise not translated it faithfully.<sup>14</sup>

A more realistic view, however, is that it is possible to produce an equivalent translation of a literary text from one language to another. That is so because languages are different from each other. A receptor language has an extensive paradigm of words and idioms with overlapping semantic values, from which a translator can select the most appropriate ones to use. What is possible is to produce in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent to the meaning or message of the source language (Nida & Taber, 1974:72-73).

### **A translation should be dynamic**

A translator is expected to produce a version of the original text that is capable of evoking a dynamic impact upon the audience and readers of the receptor language version, comparable to that anticipated by the author upon their source language counterparts (Nida & Taber, 1974:3, 14, 22, 24, 91). Unaffected by cultural and linguistic differences, the sameness of the source text message as that of the translation should be the basis for their comparable impact. The major themes of African literature extol social and moral values, such as the centrality of the family for ensuring the continuity of the descent line and harmonious collateral kinship (Okpewho 1999:1-19). Unfortunately, emerging “Westernised trends” are gradually undermining some of those values, not realising, for example that the family, which should be respected by people of every culture, as a vital human value. Literature in the source language and in translation is expected to have a morally uplifting impact upon its audiences. Another dynamic impact from a good translation is learning some new skills of language use, which can foster self-expression in informal and formal education (Mubangizi, 1983:5).

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<sup>14</sup> “*Song of Lawino* is not a faithful translation of *Wer pa Lawino*. It is a version, if you like, of *Wer pa Lawino*, in which whatever was topical, striking, graphic and easy to render in English, received due prominence. But the darker, more ponderous, more intricate parts, or those nuances that only the best *nanga* (harp) players know how to reproduce, suffered summarising or mutilation, [sic.] new recasting” (Lo Liyong, 2001:xi).

## **Oral literature**

In her major work, *Oral Literature in Africa*, Finnegan (1970) underlines the importance of oral literary genres in general and those in Africa in particular. She stresses the folk or communal factor, assumed to be significant in the composition and repeated performance or re-telling of folk stories. Folk stories contain a valuable cultural heritage, which is worthwhile preserving for the benefit of the people of the culture in which the stories emerged, and for those of other cultures (Lindfors, 1977; Okpewho, 1992; Bukenya et al., 1994).

Ideally, folk stories should be orally performed, with some parts of them chanted and danced, accompanied with musical instruments, especially the drum, the harp, the flute and others. The audience can also participate in such performance, particularly through singing choruses, clapping and dancing (Okpewho, op. cit., 130-162). Translation of folk stories from Runyankore-Rukiga and from similar languages to English could also be performed, but with lesser impact, for lack of equivalent prosodic features. Electronic audio and visual recording of such performance would provide great entertainment and foster its dissemination and preservation.

Translations of some of the best African folk stories could be adapted and aptly choreographed for dramatising as musical narrative performances. Cosma Warugaba successfully did that with a Runyankore-Rukiga folk story, known as *Omuhiigo*, meaning “the Hunt.” It was performed repeatedly in the National Theatre in Kampala in the 1960s. The Nigerian Yoruba *Ijala*, or hunting songs, are another example of folk stories suitable for dramatic performance. The *Omuhiigo* and the *Ijala* have the advantage of exploiting the tonal and other prosodic features of Runyankore-Rukiga and Yoruba, respectively, which an English translation would lack (Okpewho, 1992: 13, 23). Moreover, the written translation of a folk story in a foreign language is unlikely to evoke in a solitary reader pleasure, comparable to that an oral source language narrative can evoke in an audience. It is significant to note that reading literature is mostly a silent, dull, solitary affair, without social or audience interaction.

## **1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

This study focuses on the idea that folk stories, even fables which also portray inanimate and animal characters including monsters concern human affairs and life. Their themes and plots deal with issues and aspects of human life and relationships. That is why in the “folk story world” all fictional characters, even those which appear rather contemptible, such as frogs, rats, and monsters, reptiles and birds, despite their natural features, are personified and endowed with normal human attributes. The ascribed human attributes include feeling, emotion, thought, speech and the capacity to hold purposeful discourse and carry out wilful, motivated action. The feelings, emotions, thoughts, intentions, motivations, and actions of fictional characters represent probable human types in real life. The moral and other didactic lessons, the emotional associations and the delight evoked by the stories are all intended for the benefit of human beings, not only those of the source culture but also those of other cultures and languages. The latter is possible through translation.

It is wrongfully assumed by many people that folk stories are meant for children! As one of the most respected authors of fairy stories, Tolkien (1966:65), underlines, such stories are not to be associated with children, because they are children, but because they are human beings. That is also underscored by Okpewho (1992:105-118). It should be borne in mind that young as well as adult audiences and readers of folk tales are aware that the characters in those tales are created imaginatively, that they are symbolic of, and representative of human types. Folk stories are not to be taken literally. Young and old people can duly discern the deeper meaning and relevance of the lessons which folk stories and folktales, including proverbs and allusions, are meant to convey and to promote in society. In that way, folklore can foster a critical sense in the listeners and readers and promote competence in native language use, which can enhance effective participation in discourse. They can also foster informal and formal education and provide real entertainment.

Preserving the cultural heritage enshrined in folk stories can be done by producing quality sound and visual-recordings of them for radio and television broadcasting. Those mass media are ideal, in that they can appropriately preserve not only the textual, but also the non-textual visual, audible and other features of the tales.

Translation of folk literature from Runyankore-Rukiga and from other languages can make the heritage in them accessible to wider English audiences and readership, and in book form or radio and television broadcasting. Children in Upper Primary School classes and students at higher levels as well as school-leavers in Uganda and elsewhere in Anglophone Africa would benefit from reading such books. Such books would promote cross-cultural and cross-lingual literary enrichment, which together with music can add a human factor to globalisation. A pioneering effort in that regard was made by the late Okot p'Bitek, who translated his own poem, "Wer pa Lawino," published (1966) as *Song of Lawino*. Such literature could help to increase their readers' comprehension skills, stock of vocabulary, competence in self-expression and participation in discourse in their native languages and in English. The literature could also contribute towards enjoyment of reading, forming and sustaining a much-needed reading habit. The availability of such literature would also enable its listeners and readers to appreciate and emulate the cultural wisdom, the moral and other values enshrined in African folk stories. As can be seen from the data in "Appendix A" to this study, translation can promote the objectives of providing pleasure from reading literature, comprehension skills, vocabulary building and appreciation of formative didactic lessons.

## **1.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY**

Translation should be faithfully meaning-based. What can be said in one language, can be said in another form, i.e., in another language, as emphasised by Larson.<sup>15</sup> The constant factor in translation is the message or content, not the variable form or wording of the source language text and that of the receptor language. In that respect, it is possible to produce a meaning-based translation of the five folk stories for this study

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<sup>15</sup> "Translation consists of transferring the meaning of the source language into the receptor language. This is done by going from the form of the first language to the form of the second language by way of semantic structure. It is the meaning which is being transferred and must be held constant. Only the form changes. The form from which the translation is made will be called the source language; and the form into which it is to be changed will be called the receptor language (Larson, 1984:3).

from Runyankore-Rukiga to English, making sure to make the latter as idiomatic, as natural and as fluent as possible. Where there are no equivalent or near equivalent English idioms, the source language's intended meaning can be conveyed through textual descriptive phrases. Furthermore, footnotes can be provided to briefly explain the hard-to-translate culture specific concepts and expressions (Okombo in Bukenya et al., 1994: 23).

Another assumption is that folk stories have no known authors and no fixed dates of composition; thus their origins remain hidden in the indefinite past. In Runyankore-Rukiga the far-past tense, whose marker is “-ka-,” can be used in the formulaic opening phrase of the story and repeated at section openings. A formulaic opening of a folk story in that language is: “*Ira munonga, hakaba hariho...*” An example of an equivalent opening formulaic phrase in English is: “Once upon a time there was...” Here the indefinite past tense is indicated by the expression “once upon a time.”

It is also assumed that because folk stories are set during the pre-literacy time, and before the availability of audio-visual recording equipment, the medium of their transmission and preservation must have been oral narration and re-narration across generations. Inevitably, for every oral re-telling, the form of any folk story was liable to change according to the talent and skill of the narrator, to the varying context of rendering and the extent of audience participation. A further assumption, therefore, is what Okombo (in Bukenya et al., 1994:23) refers to as “oral literature texts” can only have a transitory existence. It is the use of electronic sound and image recording media that can give an oral text a reliable fixed form. The print media can give an oral story a permanent script form, but without the prosodic aspects of its oral performance.

## **1.10 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

The following is an outline of the methodology and processes followed in carrying out this study. Firstly, the researcher under the guidance of his main supervisor selected the five folk stories for the translation project. Secondly, the Runyankore-Rukiga culture-specific images, symbols, concepts and expressions in the selected stories, such as those about customary marriage and the witch doctor's activities were identified. Thirdly, Social Anthropology, Runyankore-Rukiga and English language sources, as well as

purposefully selected respondents were consulted, and notes were taken for providing descriptive phrases and footnotes to the translation. (Kombo & Tromp, 2006:82). Those notes have also been used for writing chapters two, as a background to the cultural and linguistic of the folk stories for the study. In translating culture and language specific features, which lack equivalents in English descriptive phrases have been used, taking care to keep the phrases precise and textually integrated, so as not to disrupt the flow of the translation. Additionally, supplementary footnotes have been provided to highlight difficult-to-translate or untranslatable expressions.

Fourthly, the translation of the five stories into English was carried out as presented in chapter three of this study, with in-text descriptive phrases and explanatory footnotes of the hard to translate expression.

Fifthly, the challenges encountered in the processes of doing the translation have been identified and analysed; workable solutions and applicable have been found. Generic abstractions have been made on the basis of the challenges and solutions.

Sixthly, the translation was tested on a conveniently chosen sample study population of 200 senior three students from five schools, each story being read by 40 students from each school. The sampling design type adopted was that of the “non-probability sampling/convenience sampling” (Kombo & Tromp, 2006:78-82). The sample study location included three urban boarding Secondary Schools and two rural day/boarding Secondary Schools. The data from testing the translation is shown in the tables and pie graphs under “Appendix A.”

The instrument used to analyse the data from the questionnaire is the “Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) Version 12.0”. The objectives of testing the translation were mainly to assess: the readers’ enjoyment of each story, their comprehension of its message and appreciation of its didactic and moral lesson. It was also to gauge the extent to which new vocabulary could be learnt from the translation. The data from testing the translation in those respects, as shown under “Appendix A,” indicates that it is worthwhile to promote further literary translations. The research instruments used also include native language and English dictionaries and thesaurus,

Social Anthropology, Language and Literature sources, especially those on African folklore.

### **1.11 LIMITATION TO THIS STUDY**

Firstly, ideally, folk stories should be narrated orally. For this study it was not possible to translate the five folk stories from an oral version of them in form of sound and of picture recording. Instead, a written version, Mubangizi's *Nkuganire* (1982/1983), was used, with the inevitable lack of the prosodic features and audience participation that an oral version would have provided.

Secondly, the inevitable linguistic idiosyncrasies from his native language, Runyankore-Rukiga, must have exerted some impact upon the translator's effort to produce a natural and idiomatic version of the folk stories in his second language, English.

Thirdly, for testing the translation, the researcher would have liked to have had the English version of the folk stories rendered orally to the respondents as the participating audience. However, the one 90 minutes period allowed by the schools concerned, would not have sufficed to undertake such an exercise. Instead, each respondent read a story silently and answered the questionnaire on it in writing.

Fourthly, by the time the Uganda Ministry of Education's decision to implement the use of the native languages as a teaching and learning medium in Primary 1-3 with effect from the beginning of 2007 scholastic year, was confirmed, it was too late for this study to review the new policy. A new approach, referred to as "thematic curriculum," is to be followed in teaching various subjects in native languages at that level of Primary School. The implication of that approach is that the native language would be indirectly learnt through being used as teaching and learning medium. Assessing the problems involved in doing that is left for other researchers to undertake.

### **1.12 CONCLUSION**

Chapters four and five of this study analyse the translated folk stories. Some recommendations are made, based on generic abstractions and solutions made from the

challenges encountered and the solutions applied in the translating the selected stories. The purpose of the study is to suggest guidelines for this and other translators of literary works from Runyankore-Rukiga and from other Bantu-languages into English and culturally different languages. The aim is to promote original and translated literature for its didactic and aesthetic values.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **BACKGROUND TO THE STORIES FOR THIS STUDY**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

Folk stories are imaginative narrative tales, which depict major themes and motifs about issues, problems and affairs of human life. They creatively organise the story plots along a time continuum and present characters through experience, speech or action, backed by linguistic description and analysis. Characters in folk stories, including symbolic and figurative characters, animals and inanimate objects are all personified to simulate people in real life. Some aspects of folk stories are cast in fabulous geographical setting and in unspecified past time. The figurative language of folk stories



should be exegetically probed for their deeper meaning. The plots of folk stories trace a succession of creatively imagined events, interconnected by cause and effect. Folk stories are narrated mostly in a tense, such as the historical present tense, so as to make the narrated event seem to be closer to the time of narration. Folk stories are found in all cultures of the world. The five for this study are set in that of the Banyankore and Bakiga, who mainly live in South Western Uganda. Humour, especially that in the form of irony, sarcasm and skilful use of language can make folk stories pleasurable to hear or to read. When orally rendered or performed, folk stories can evoke lively audience participation, especially in the parts which are sung, accompanied with musical instruments, clapping and dancing.

After the introduction of literacy in Runyankore-Rukiga from the early 20th century, some of the folk stories in that language were compiled and published in book form, notably in a series of six entitled *Mutebya* (1935/1966) *Tebere: Emigane omu Runyankore-Rukiga* (1966), and in a series of four, entitled *Nkuganire*. Although the five folk stories for this study are taken from a written, and therefore a fixed source, *Nkuganire*, compiled in 1967 and first published in 1982/1983, it can be assumed that their competent compilers took much care to render them as faithfully as possible, especially with regard to their content or message, for by then there were, compared to today, many more people who could re-tell the stories. Story telling was still part of

everyday life, unlike now when Westernised formal education, mainly in English, has generally eroded traditional culture. However, it can also be assumed that the literary compilers and editors, like oral narrators, exercised some freedom in creatively fixing the form of the stories. It is also evident from some stories in *Mutebya* and in *Nkuganire*, particularly the story of “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,” that there is a degree of Christian influence and bias against some culturally revered beliefs.

A narrator or performer of a folk story can give it a transitory oral textual form. A folk story for which there is no sound or electronic sound and image recording lacks a fixed textual form, and actual existence. From a sound-recorded or filmed version, a transcriber can give an oral folk story a fixed scripted form, without its prosodic aspects. A significant assumption is that the written form, unlike the sound or filmed version, puts the the scripted version of the stories one stage farther away from their oral form. It

is notable that the folk stories translated for this study, taken from the *Nkuganire* series, published in 1982/1983, lack the full impact of the extra-textual audible and visual features of their oral version. The missing features in the written version also include the narrator's body movements, dramatic use of pauses and duplication of certain phrases, tone and pitch modulation. They also include lack of the lively and spontaneous audience interaction through interposing provocative remarks, participation by dancing, clapping of hands and, where applicable, chorus singing.

Despite the above limitations to cross-cultural translation, the valuable content, especially the time-tested heritage of social and moral wisdom contained in the stories is transferable cross-culturally and trans-lingually. Although the full beauty of the form of the source text language cannot be transferred to the translation, something of it, such as the tactful use of proverbs and proverbial phrases, the humour of its irony and other forms of allusion, can be shared across cultures and languages within and outside Africa. The problem for the listeners and readers of the English translation of those folk stories, who lack the cultural background to the source text, can be eased by using descriptive phrases as well as the explanatory footnotes to shed some light on the meaning of the hard-to-translate expressions. This chapter is also meant to provide the listener or readers of the translation with additional helpful background information about the culture and language-specific features of the folk stories.

The themes and sub-themes of the five folk stories for this study include denunciation of wickedness in the form of misuse of physical strength, social position and authority or superior knowledge to undermine other people's rights. They underscore the significance of marriage, especially its motive of bearing and raising children; protection of life through self-defence and seeking out witch doctors. Another set of themes concerns the importance of humane conduct, especially respect of life and the virtue of gratitude. Folk stories serve didactic functions of informally fostering social and moral values, practical wisdom and discouraging vice in society. Humour especially that in the form of irony, sarcasm and skilful use of language makes folk stories pleasurable.

## **2.2 SUMMARIES OF THE FIVE FOLK STORIES FOR THIS STUDY**

The first story entitled “Muhuuba and the Monster,” depicts a confrontation between the main character, Muhuuba, and an aggressive, gluttonous giant monster. The monster intrudes daily into Muhuuba’s home, devours all his cattle one by one and sadly cannibalises all his children, save for the baby still suckling. Fortunately, in the end Muhuuba succeeds single-handed to overpower and kill the dreadful monster with a barrage of arrow and spear shots. By the denouement of the story Muhuuba fabulously recovers all his cattle and children from the monster’s last finger. That happy ending satisfies poetic justice and delights the audience and readers of the story. The moral lesson from the story is that the consequences of wickedness in the end rebound upon its perpetrator, the villain.

The second story, entitled “Kaanyonza’s Daughter,” explores the motive and consequences of marrying polygamously in the hope of raising a desirable family, including sons upon whom the extension of the descent line and lineage relies. The motive of ensuring the continuity of the descent line is a major concern amongst patrilineal societies in Africa, such as that of the Banyankore and Bakiga, in which the story is set. Unfortunately for the main character in this story, his second wife not only turns out to be barren, but she is also murderous, being intent upon killing her husband’s two children by his first wife, a son and a daughter. In order to execute her wicked intention, the woman dumps her stepdaughter in the forest. Luckily, the child is rescued by a very benevolent bird, Kaanyonza, which brings her up to marriageable age. The maiden, aware of her true lineage links, intervenes to avert an unintended incestuous marriage: by disclosing that she is her suitor’s lost sister! Under the guise of getting her as a bride her natal family joyfully retrieves the girl. Subsequently, her brother marries exogamously and raises a healthy family, including sons for continuing his father’s descent line. This aspect of the happy ending satisfies the grandfather’s initial desire. It is notable that a daughter is portrayed as playing a significant role in ensuring the healthy survival of her father’s lineage. The murderous stepmother, as a consequence of her jealousy and murderous motive, is divorced. That satisfies poetic justice, teaches a moral lesson, and gives pleasure to the listeners to readers.

The third story, entitled “The Untrapping Trapper,” illustrates the theme underlying this proverb: “A good turn deserves another,” the Runyankore-Rukiga equivalent of which is “*Enkora-birungi ebizimuurirwa.*” The main character in the story is a renowned

hunter, called The Untrapping Trapper, who hunts, not for game meat, as expected by his family, but only as a sport. Thus, out of empathy, he keeps releasing any victims he finds caught by his traps. Nearly all the freed animals the term “animal” being used to cover all animate creatures, including flies and spiders duly thank The Untrapping Trapper and pledge to sooner or later help him, if ever he is in need or falls in serious trouble. Unlike all the other animals, a lion he has reluctantly just set free from his trap so ungraciously turns against the hunter, threatening to devour him and his son. Luckily, a wise rat, which The Untrapping Trapper had earlier on set free, intervenes and lures the foolish lion back into the re-set trap, thereby enabling the man’s son to spear the beast fatally. The irony of that sudden turn of events, with the outwitting and defeat of the mighty lion satisfies poetic justice and delights the audience and readers.

Subsequently, the freed friends of The Untrapping Trapper donate to him a herd of cattle, making his family wealthy and appreciative of his long hunting career.

Unfortunately, a mysterious type of supehuman, but wicked people, called the *Bacwezi*, steal his whole herd of cattle.<sup>16</sup> The man’s friends, a firefly and a spider, both of which he had earlier on set free from his traps, assist him to recover all his cattle. Furthermore, the firefly helps his son to get back his wife and the magic gourd containing her rich dowry from her *Bacwezi* relatives. The story underscores the virtues of empathy, gratitude and mutual help. By implication, it condemns the vices of ingratitude and fraudulence. Besides the moral lessons it teaches, the story provides pleasure, especially that in the wit exhibited by the rat, which tricks the foolish, ungracious lion; as well as in the humiliation of the *Bacwezi* swindlers, through the ingenuity of the grateful firefly and spider.

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<sup>16</sup> The *Bacwezi* were believed to be a legendary type of people, considered to possess some superhuman powers, especially the ability to appear and disappear mysteriously, especially at night. The origins of the *Bacwezi* remain unknown. One conjecture is that they were not real people, but mere illusions, mirages, that appeared to the senses of some people to be real. Another theory is that they were early immigrants from somewhere in the Middle East to the Great Lakes Region of Eastern Africa through ancient Abyssinia. Another theory is that the *Bacwezi* were ancestors of the royal clans in Burundi, Rwanda, Mpororo, Nkore, Tooro, Bunyoro and Buganda.

The fourth story, entitled “Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind,”<sup>17</sup> depicts some incidents in the life of the main character, called by the same name as the story title. The character is also symbolically called by his first name, “Maguru,” literally meaning “Legs.” Ironically, that name suggests that its owner is a flawed character, who relies more upon his running power, symbolised by his fast-running legs, than upon his brain-power. He is also prone to involving himself in hastily doing unpremeditated, lustful and dangerous actions. Maguru’s first serious error of judgment is trespassing and snatching a live coal from a hearth, ingeniously set on a monster’s leg. Luckily, he dashes off and escapes the raging monster. Maguru’s next serious error of judgment is ignoring one of that monster’s predictions, and without first making the culturally recommended scrutiny, hastily marries a strange, physically-beautiful woman. Not surprisingly, she turns out to be the predicted monster in disguise, which not long thereafter almost kills him. Fortunately, a small bird he had just set free from a trap casts a magic spell that hinders the monster to fell the tree in which Maguru is climbing, saves him. That enables his dogs to arrive just in time to overpower the “woman-monster,” making it possible for him to spear it to death.

Next, Maguru oddly engages himself in a bizarre racing contest against his dogs, probably meant as a joke, pledging that whoever wins the race shall kill the loser! Not surprisingly, the dogs win the race; and taking his joke literally, they pounce upon him, maul and devour him completely.

Surprisingly, despite committing those successive serious errors of judgment, Maguru’s flesh and heart are regurgitated; his body is moulded by the dogs and fabulously restored to life! Maguru’s cannibalistic dogs are spared and allowed to return home with him. Such a forced happy ending is not credible, even for a fable.

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<sup>17</sup> The title and the full name of the main character of this story is rendered as “Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind,” with the definitive article “the” used derisively to characterise Maguru. His running ability is illusory, for he cannot even run faster than his dogs! He acts on rash judgment, hastily, but disastrously. For this study, the shorter version of the main character’s name, as it is used in the source text, has at times been rendered as “Maguru,” a name that symbolises his erratic character. He relies more on his leg-power than on sensible reasoning.

The fifth story, entitled “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,”<sup>18</sup> exposes and criticises the career and role of Kaaremeera, a witch doctor, and by implication the genuineness of the career of other witch doctors. Rwamunyororo, posing as a client, outwits Kaaremeera and succeeds in demystifying his claim that a witch doctor’s *mandwa* idols and fetishes possess lethal magic power. Ironically, the story depicts Kaaremeera scared by his imagined fear that Rwamunyororo possesses more powerful *mandwa* than his own. Kaaremeera, apprehensive about his own life and that of his only daughter, complies with Rwamunyororo’s disrespectful order and casts his *mandwa* bag into a lake.

Subsequently, Rwamunyororo duly gives Kaaremeera bridewealth for his daughter, who had eloped with the former’s son. Next, Rwamunyororo engages Kaaremeera in a long, serious discourse in which he leads the latter to concede that his career, and by implication that of other witch doctors, is fake and fraudulent, and that it is not at all conducive to genuinely becoming prosperous and raising a desirable happy family. Kaaremeera concedes that his career as a witch doctor is illusory: and out of conviction decides to abandon it altogether. The big moral lesson from this story is that people should reject the false claims that witch doctors possess supernatural power by which they can provide divination and healing or pernicious services through their *mandwa* idols and fetishes. With the myth of their supernatural power shattered, the damaging psychological effect upon society from undue fear of witch doctors and their *mandwa* is dispelled. However, the positive dimension of the role of witch doctors in society, which has been overlooked by this story and which cannot be explored by this study, is that, besides their fraudulence and make-believe rituals, witch doctors may provide helpful counselling and genuine healing herbal medication to their clients.

### **2.3 THEMES/SUB-THEMES IN THE FOLK STORIES FOR THIS STUDY**

Although folk stories are imaginatively set in the indefinite far-past time and in unspecified space and involve human, non-human and at times inanimate characters, they deal with themes and issues that have a bearing upon people in real life. Characters

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<sup>18</sup> The title and full name of the main character of this story has been translated as “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,” intentionally including the definitive article “*the*”, before “witch doctor.” The definitive article is meant to stress the significant relation of Kaaremeera to his father, the famous witch doctor, Karagura. The shorter version of the main character’s name in the source text and here is Kaaremeera.

in literature and those in folk stories in particular, are intended to represent and to simulate human types in real life, both the virtuous and the wicked. The portrayed positive dimension of the moral of the folk story is meant to be emulated. Conversely, the wicked and the negative sides of life are meant to be shunned by the audience and readers of the story. In the stories for this study, the irony of the sad ending in the defeat of two mighty and dreadful monsters, the killing of a ferocious lion and the humiliation of the *Bacwezi*, satisfies poetic justice and gives pleasure. Through characterisation, provision of delight and didactic lessons, literature in source languages and in translation can evoke a dynamic impact upon its audience, readers and wider society (Mubangizi, 1983:5; (Okpewho, 1992:108,116, 182; Nida & Taber 1974:3).

One recurrent theme in the stories selected for this study emphasises that it is wicked to use one's social position to exploit other people, especially the weak. The story of "Kaanyonza's Daughter" exposes the hatred of the barren woman towards the son and daughter of her co-wife. Jealousy drives that woman to dump her stepdaughter in the forest! The source language uses the expression, "*eitima ryamuza omu mutima,*" is translated as "envy filled her heart," to depict the woman's deep-seated villainy. The punishment of the jealous woman is being divorced, *okushendwa*. This Runyankore-Rukiga word is analogically related to the expression "*okwata eiju rya kashenda,*" which means, "to cast away wood ash," from the family hearth. Ash is cast out because it has become an obstacle to the proper functioning of the hearth for reserving fire for cooking family meals and keeping the home warm. Likewise, the villainous woman has to be cast away from the family, because she has become an impediment to the family's future. Her punishment emphasises the point that wickedness does not only harm other people, but is also self-defeating, for it hurts its perpetrator.

A second theme in the story is that superior knowledge and power should not be misused to exploit other people. Traditionally, the Banyankore and Bakiga held superstitious beliefs that the *Bacwezi* were people possessing extraordinary powers. Some *Bacwezi*, such as a female called Nyabingi and a male called Ndahura, were even worshipped as deities. The story of "The Untrapping Trapper," exposes and condemns

the wicked and unjust acts of the *Bacwezi*, who use their superior power to steal the main character's entire herd of cattle. The *Bacwezi* also arbitrarily withdraw the man's daughter-in-law and her dowry-containing gourd, despite the fact that he had given as the equivalent of bridewealth, the six heifers required by the maiden's guardian, an old *Mucwezi* woman.

A third theme is that "might is not right." Some folktales depict huge characters, such as an elephant or a lion, being duped by smaller characters, such as an ant, a chameleon or a hare. In this study the story of "The Untrapping Trapper," the lion's ingratitude and misuse of its physical power by threatening to kill the trapper and his son, results into the beast itself being outwitted by a wise rat and speared to death. The same theme is underlined in the story of "Muhuuba and the Monster," in which a giant monster behaves as though it had the right to feed upon Muhuuba's cattle and to cannibalise his children! In the end, ironically, single-handed, Muhuuba kills that monster and recovers his cattle and children.

The fourth theme, which is common to folktales, stresses the importance of the virtue of mutual gratitude, and by implication condemns the vice of ingratitude. In the story of "The Untrapping Trapper," the foolish lion, not only overlooks to thank the empathetic Trapper for setting it free, but also threatens to devour him and his son! Outwitted by the man's grateful friend, a rat, the ungracious, vicious lion, is re-entrapped and killed. The Runyankore-Rukiga proverb, "*entasiima teyongyerwa*," meaning, "an ungrateful person does not deserve to get more favours," illustrated the point that ingratitude adversely affects the ungrateful person. A close equivalent to that proverb in English is, "a good turn deserves another." This also emphasises the point that a favour received should eventually be duly reciprocated. In the story of "The Untrapping Trapper," this is illustrated by the main character's empathy in setting free the victims he finds caught in his traps. The freed victims pledge to reward him sooner or later. Subsequently, they actually do so by collectively donating to his family a large herd of cattle.

Furthermore, a firefly and a spider that he had set free help him to find out where his stolen herd of cattle is; and to recover it all from there. The firefly also helps The Untrapping Trapper's son to recover his wife and dowry-containing gourd from his cunning *Bacwezi* in-laws. In the story of "Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,"



Rwamunyoro rewards Kaanyonza with a cow for detecting that Kaaremeera, the witch doctor, he was engaging had just buried some sticks by Rwamunyoro's gate, intending to claim they were lethal fetishes laid there earlier by the enemies of the family. That betrays the witch doctor's intended false claim. Rwamunyoro subsequently rewards the same Kaanyonza with a cow for luring Kaaremeera's beautiful daughter to elope with Rwamunyoro's son.

The fifth theme is a challenge to the culturally upheld belief that a witch doctor can solve people's problems and protect their lives by using magical *emandwa* power: to carry out divination and to remove harmful fetishes. Many Banyankore and Bakiga believe that witch doctors possess supernatural powers, symbolised by their *emandwa*, which are considered to have occult means of detecting hidden facts, causes of illness and other problems, particularly those that harm life; and that they possess the magic power to solve such problems. The Banyankore and Bakiga also believe that *emandwa* and talismans/amulets can prevent harm to life. This story aims to dispel such belief.

The story of "Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor" exposes the antics of the main character, Kaaremeera, and by implication, the tricks of other witch doctors. The story shatters the myth that a witch doctor and his *mandwa* possess magical power for detecting hidden causes of illness and other misfortunes, and for healing them. In the long discourse between Rwamunyoro and Kaaremeera, the witch doctor's fraudulent exploitation of his unsuspecting clients is exposed and condemned. Finally, out of genuine conviction, Kaaremeera gives up his career as a witch doctor.

The dynamic impact of the moral lesson from the story is that with the myth of the imagined power of their *mandwa* shattered, the damaging psychological effect from fear of witch doctors and their *mandwa* would be reduced for some people. However, for others the long-standing ambivalent fearful attitude and undue trust in the power of *emandwa* will most likely persist.

The sixth major theme in the stories for this study is the importance of thinking and judging sensibly before acting. This is underlined in the story of "Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind." The main character, Maguru, learns the hard way that it is fatal to rely upon the illusion of running fast and of acting rashly. Maguru's neglect of proper

thinking and of common sense judgement before acting, are serious flaws, which inevitably have grave consequences. The English proverbial phrase “look before you leap,” underscores the wisdom of first thinking and reasoning before acting. Another proverb in English, “haste makes waste,” also warns people against the dangers of rash action, which is not duly preceded by proper thinking and reasoning. In the story, Maguru commits a succession of serious errors of judgment. His fabulous restoration to life by his dogs does not flow from the plot, and thus, it is not credible. It is a contrived happy ending to a tragic life. A sad ending to Maguru’s story would have been more appropriate.

The seventh theme, which recurs in four of the stories for this study, and takes up most attention, is marriage motivated by the desire to bear children and raise a family. In the culture of the Banyankore and Bakiga, as in that of many other African societies, which have patrilineages and exogamous clans, apart from providing conjugal companionship, another major purpose of marriage is to raise a family of many children, including at least several sons for ensuring the continuation of the lineage.<sup>19</sup> With that motive those cultures encourage many forms of marriage, namely: monogamy, polygamy, widow inheritance in form of the levirate and stepmother-stepson marriage, marriage by siege and by elopement. It is also regarded as a disgrace for a marriageable Munyankore or Mukiga man or woman to remain single. That was one significant reason why in the past senior spinsters and senior bachelors would resort to marriage by elopement, despite the fact that the culturally-favoured way of getting married was through the courtship process.

### **Monogamous marriage**

It is significant to note that monogamy is the most common form contemporary form of marriage for most non-Muslim Banyankore and Bakiga. This is so, not only because many men cannot afford to raise bridewealth for more than one wife, but also because of other factors. These include a great reduction in family land-holdings, the high cost of raising a large family and of providing all the children with adequate formal and

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<sup>19</sup> It is worth noting that in matrilineal societies, such as those of the Nyakyusa of Tanzania and of the Ashanti of Ghana, descent is traced through the matrilineage. In such societies, marriage is expected to raise at least several daughters.

professional education. Another reason is that Christianity, which most Banyankore and Bakiga have embraced, prohibits polygamy.<sup>20</sup> Monogamy is, moreover, predictably more conducive to engendering greater harmony in family life than polygamy.

### **Marriage by siege**

In the far past the Banyankore and Bakiga used to have a form of marriage called *okujumba*, i.e., marriage by a sort of “siege.” Without prior notice, the suitor’s party would go before dawn with a generous offer of bridewealth cattle and literally “besiege” a particular home, which had a number of nubile daughters. Culturally, “a siege for marriage” was superstitiously believed to put one of the “besieged” family’s daughters automatically into an irrevocable marriageable state. Her family had to make the necessary, *ad hoc* preparations and perform a shortened ritual of her give-away to the pressing suitor. The *kuhingira*, i.e., the ceremony of giving away the bride, had to be carried out in the course of the day of the “siege.” The reasons for a man to resort to such a course of action might be his repeated failure to make a marriage proposal successfully, owing to his unfavourable character or to his unpleasant demeanour (Mubangizi, 1963: 49-52; Karwemera, 1994: 97-98).

### **Marriage by elopement**

Another form of marriage, which in the past occasionally took place among the Banyankore and Bakiga, was that by elopement. Prior to women’s currently emerging emancipation, marriage by elopement would be embarked upon by a senior spinster, a widow or a divorcee, who had had little hope left of getting married through the culturally-preferred courtship process. In the story of “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,” the maiden Bugongoro, whose father, witch doctor himself, had made it hard

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<sup>20</sup> ”Whereas marrying more than one wife is not a crime, it is not in line with the Anglican Church moral codes,” This was stated by Rev. Canon John Kaabushenyi Babiika, Diocesan Secretary for Education, West Ankole Diocese, under the following article: ‘West Ankole Diocese threatens to sack polygamous teachers,’ which appeared in “*The New Vision*, 10 May 2007:4; (cf. also *The 1983 [Catholic] Code of Canon Law*, canons 1085-1086).

for suitors to marry her: by demanding too much bridewealth, resorts to marrying by eloping with Rwamunyoro's son.

It is interesting to note that nowadays marriage by elopement has become a common practice among the Banyankore and Bakiga. Some marital unions which start that way get regularised, sometimes years later: by giving bridewealth to the wife's natal home; and by going through the Christian sacramental rite of Holy Matrimony,<sup>21</sup> the Islamic marriage rite, or the civil marriage registration procedure.

### **Widow inheritance: the levirate and stepmother-stepson marriage**

These two forms of marriage used to be accepted by the culture of the Banyankore and Bakiga in the past. The motive behind them was for the inheriting husband to bear sons for continuing his deceased brother or father's descent line, respectively. The context for the levirate or stepmother-stepson forms of marriage was created when the husband concerned died young, leaving no sons to survive him. The following Runyankore-Rukiga proverb condones stepson-stepmother marriage. "*Omwana mukuru ayozya nyina omu mugongo/ayoga na mukaishe.*" This literally means "A grown-up son washes his mother's back/bathe with his stepmother." The expression "washes" is a euphemism for "bathes with," and "mother" here is to be understood in the classificatory sense to mean "stepmother." For a man to bathe with a woman presupposes close intimacy between them. Thus, the implied meaning of the above proverb is that it is culturally acceptable for a grown-up stepson to marry his father's young widow (Karwemera, 1994:102, 148)<sup>22</sup> Stepson-stepmother marriage was culturally permitted, because it did not breach the consanguinity or the clan exogamy proscription, as the couple involved would not be related in either of those respects.

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<sup>21</sup> The information about Catholics was obtained from interviews with two pastors: Fr. Banyenzaki of Kabale Diocese (9 April 2007) and Fr. Katararwa of Mbarara Archdiocese (13 April 2007), respectively).

<sup>22</sup> Two respondents interviewed (12 February 2007) Kaibuuza and Rutsina gave this researcher first hand information about the stepmother-stepson marriage, which took place in their family in 1922 and lasted till the woman's death on 9 February 2007, aged 104. It is interesting to note that among the Nuer of Southern Sudan, stepmother-widow inheritance was, by the 1950s, also permitted, "but usually only in the case of an old man who dies leaving a young widow" (Howell, 1954:80).

Although widows and widowers are, as a basic human right, free to remarry, the practice of widow inheritance by a close affine, especially a father-in-law, a brother-in-law or a stepson, has almost completely died out for various reasons. One is the fear of contracting probable sexually transmitted diseases, particularly HIV/AIDS, by being bound to such a relationship. Another is that Christianity and Islam,<sup>23</sup> the two

established religions that most of the Banyankore and Bakiga have embraced, forbid widow inheritance. The advancing bid for women's liberation is another factor against widow inheritance. Moreover, widow inheritance curtails the freedom of the persons bound to it. Widow inheritance is one of the unworthy practices, which used to be culturally condoned in the past, but that should now be outrightly discarded.

### **Polygamy**

Although the Banyankore and Bakiga, like any other people, as a basic human right, marry for conjugal companionship, another major motive in their culture for marrying is to bear and raise children, as noted above. Failure to achieve that objective is culturally regarded as a justifiable reason for a man to take another wife. However, it is worth noting that some Banyankore and Bakiga wealthy men are more likely to marry polygamously than their materially poor counterparts are, even when they already have several male heirs. That is because rich men can more easily afford to raise the culturally prescribed bridewealth than poor men can. A polygamous man's wives can serve as trusted custodians of his wealth, though each one of them may be more inclined to safeguard the interests of her own children.

The Runyankore-Rukiga idiom "*okushwera eihari*,"<sup>24</sup> literally means "to marry jealousy." However, its deeper meaning is "to marry many wives concurrently." This

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<sup>23</sup> "You shall not marry the women who were married to your fathers. That is an evil practice, indecent and abominable... Forbidden to you also are the wives of your own begotten sons. (*The Quran*, sura 4:22-23).

<sup>24</sup> It is worth noting that for a woman, concurrently married with one or more co-wives, the Runyankore-Rukiga expression used is the passive form of "*okushwera eihari*", which is, "*okushwerwa aha ihari*."

culture specific expression is aptly used in the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter.” Polygamy is a form of marriage that is prone to be adversely affected by jealousy between the co-wives and their mother-households. However, despite the probable risk of having to face such a problem, even today, polygamy is still regarded by many Banyankore and Bakiga as a worthwhile option to take. That is because of the greater probability it offers, compared to monogamy, for bearing and raising sons, for ensuring lineage continuation. The following are examples from the stories for this study to illustrate that point.

In the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter,” in spite of having two children, a son and daughter by his first wife, the main character is worried that in case his only son died, his descent line would become extinct. He decides to marry a second wife, after pondering upon the implications of the following Runyankore-Rukiga culture specific expression: “*tinkaafa ndi encwekye*,” which means, “Would I not die without a male heir!” The root verb *-cwek-a*, meaning “cut/break/discontinue,” is the base from which the noun *encwekye* is derived. *Encwekye* means “a person whose descent line is predictably going to become extinct for lack of progeny to ensure the continuity of his genealogical line.” Unfortunately, in this story, the man’s second wife turns out to be murderously jealous of his children by the first wife. Her villainous attitude, especially her murderous motive and intent in dumping her stepdaughter in the wood, constitutes a sufficiently grave reason to justify her divorce. This satisfies poetic justice and pleases the story’s listeners and readers.

Kaaremeera, the main character in the story of “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,” marries four wives in the hope of raising a desirable family by them, including at least several sons. However, the irony is that he ends up by having only one child, a daughter, set to marry exogamously to bear children for a different lineage. The witch doctor’s major problem is to have ignored making the culturally recommended pre-marriage scrutiny about each of the four women he married, so as to gauge the probability of each one’s reproductive potential. Kaaremeera divorces two of his wives: one, because she is barren; the other because she is an *epa*, i.e., without breasts, and thus, unable to breast-feed any children she might bear. It is notable that among the Banyankore and Bakiga, a baby had to be suckled to weaning stage, set at up to two

years after birth. Kaaremeera divorces another one of his wives, because she is a barren divorcee.

The divorce of the jealous, murderous stepmother in the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter” is justifiable. However, the story of “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor” overlooks the injustice involved in the traditional culture-condoned practice of divorcing a wife for failure to bear and raise children, which, gynaecologically, may not be in her power to control. The reaction of the modern audience and readers to this story is not likely to approve of the witch doctor’s reason for divorcing the two wives.

### **The culturally prescribed process leading to marriage**

According to the culture of the Banyankore and Bakiga, formal marriage should follow set procedures, the climax of which should be the *kuhingira*, i.e., the give-away of the bride from her natal to be transferred to the marital home. The process of getting married according to the culturally prescribed customs is concluded at the end of the bride’s seclusion period, when she and the bridegroom pay a formal visit, known as *okwaruka*, to her natal home (Mubangizi, 1963:58-110; Karwemera, 1994:85-96).

### **Precautionary scrutiny about a prospective spouse’s background**

Among the Banyankore and Bakiga, it is culturally recommended that anyone intending to get married should first verify his or her prospective spouse’s background. Discreet, but thorough precautionary scrutiny should be carried out to ascertain the suitability of the family background, the character and conduct of a prospective partner. The Runyankore-Rukiga proverb, “*Oshwera/oshwerwa abuuza*,” underscores the wisdom of doing that. It means, “Anyone intending to marry should first make precautionary scrutiny.” Those scrutinies are intended to guard against making avoidable serious mistakes in choosing a marriage partner. The scrutiny should be carried out prior to the marriage proposal or at least prior to the transfer of bridewealth, but in any case, before the give-away of the bride, the civil and/or religious rite, or at the very latest, before the consummation of the marriage. If the existence of a prior impediment can be established, it is possible under civil law, and under even the rigid Roman Catholic Church law, to annul a marriage (*The 1983: [Catholic] Code of Canon Law*, canons 1697-1698).

It is significant to note that three of the five stories selected for this study include cases of divorce, partly owing to the men concerned not having bothered to make recommended pre-marriage scrutiny about the women they married. The main character in the story of “Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind,” by ignoring to make the recommended pre-marriage scrutiny, marries a strange woman, disguised as monster that soon after lures him into the bush and attempts to kill him! In the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter,” a young man is on the verge of incestuously marrying his own sibling, owing to having ignored to make the culturally recommended pre-marriage scrutiny about her true ancestry. The moral lessons from these examples underscore the importance of the culturally sanctioned wisdom of making pre-marriage scrutiny for vetting the suitability of a prospective spouse in time.

### **The significance of making courtship visits**

According to the culture of the Banyankore and Bakiga, subsequent to making a marriage proposal, there is a series of courtship visits, called *okuhuuta* or *oruhuuturo*, which are prescribed to be made by the suitor’s party to the prospective bride’s home. *Okuhuuta* or *oruhuuturo* are both nouns derived from the root verb *-huut-*. This literally means, “to audibly drink from a bowl, a mug or from a wide-open gourd, *successive sips* of hot liquid, such as soup or porridge. The expression “*okwehuuta ahantu*,” which is derived from the same verb root, means, “*to frequent a place*.” In the context of traditional marriage, the word *okuhuuta* or *oruhuuturo*, means “to make a series of courtship visits to the home of the prospective bride,” led there by a mutually respected go-between. Some of those courtship visits should precede and others should follow the transfer of bridewealth to the prospective bride’s natal home. However, all the courtship visits should be made before the *kuhingira*, the grand ceremony of endowing the bride with dowry and giving her away. At the occasion of each courtship visit, the suitor’s group take to the home of the prospective bride presents, significantly in the form of drinks, notably of beer, most of which the visitors consume together with representatives of their future in-laws and members of the local community. The traditional pre-marriage courtship visits, ideally, should be spread out to cover a period of between four and six months. The visits are culturally intended to enable the prospective bride’s people and those of the bridegroom to gradually be acquainted with each other (Mubangizi, 1963:63-64).



Shortening or omitting the traditional courtship process would be like returning to the obsolete practice of marriage by “siege.” Nowadays there is a trend amongst the Banyankore and the Bakiga to shorten the courtship period and reduce it to about one month and to one or two visits. In the latter case, the marriage proposal, the giving of bridewealth and the give away of the bride are all carried out on the same occasion. In

such a case, inevitably, the respective in-laws are deprived of the culturally recommended opportunities of gradually getting acquainted with each other.

However, in case a suitor has a valid reason, as is the case in the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter,” to shorten the process of *okuhuuta*, or *oruhutuuro*, and get the bride transferred to him sooner than later, a culturally recommended substitutive gift, in the form of a goat or a cow, has to be given to the home of the prospective bride. In that story, Kaanyonza, in good faith, accepts such a request, unaware of the other party’s genuine, but secret, motive (Mubangizi, 1983:35). Nonetheless, the maiden’s parents are depicted as being ungracious, since they do not even thank Kaanyonza for benevolently saving their daughter from death by exposure or by being devoured by wild beasts, and bringing her up. They do not even show any desire to form a bond of friendship between their family and his. If the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter” were not a fable, in which the focus is on one major theme, but fiction, such as fiction in form of a short story or a novel, the failure to develop the Kaanyonza sub-plot further would have been a literary flaw.

### **The significance of bridewealth**

Among the Banyankore and Bakiga, traditionally, for every marriage, including that by elopement, bridewealth, however small, should be given to the bride’s people. In any case a sheep for the bride’s paternal aunt, known as “*kyaiishenkazi*,” must be given (Mubangizi 1963:58-59). In the story of “Kaaremeera, Son of the Witch Doctor,” as the bride’s father, speaking proverbially, Kaaremeera firmly asserts the basis for claiming bridewealth from Rwamunyororo, thus: “*Omwana w’omuntu tatwarirwa busha*,” meaning “One’s child [daughter] is never taken [married] for nothing,” meaning, “without bridewealth being given for her” (loc. cit.).

In the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter,” the Runyankore-Rukiga expression “*baamuju-gisa*,” is the passive form derived from the verb root *-jug-*. It means “they made him [the suitor] grudgingly yield to give the set quantity of bridewealth.” Semantically and syntactically, the expression can be analysed into the following morphemes: *ba-a-mu-jugis-a*, literally, “they made him bellow/bleat;” but idiomatically it means, “They [the prospective bride’s people] made the suitor accept to give the set bridewealth.” The pronominal prefix, *ba-* means “they [the bride’s people].” The *-a-* is a past tense-marker, which means “made.” The *-mu-* is an object pronoun meaning him [the suitor]. The *-is-* is a causative case-marker, to which the final vowel “-a” is suffixed, to mean “to be made to give bridewealth.” At the occasion of their transfer the bridewealth cattle, almost inevitably bellow whilst struggling to resist their displacement from their home environment. Metaphorically, but significantly, the bridewealth cattle is personified and said by the Banyankore and Bakiga “to marry the wife,” implying that they are the form in which her bridewealth is given. (Mubangizi, 1963:93). Many Banyankore and Bakiga men analogically bellow whilst working hard to raise bridewealth in form of the traditionally-preferred form of livestock: lambs, goats and cows,<sup>25</sup> or of money.

It should be noted that among the Banyankore and Bakiga, ownership and control of the major family assets, particularly of land and livestock, vests in the head of the family, who is normally the husband and father of children. A son is regarded as a minor, until he gets married, builds his own house and is formally allocated part of the family land and part of the family herd of cattle. As the culturally recognised legal holder of the main family assets, a father has the duty of providing the required bridewealth to enable his son to marry. The following Runyankore-Rukiga expression

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<sup>25</sup> It is significant to note that in Karamoja of North-eastern Uganda the culturally prescribed bridewealth can go up to 80 adult head of cattle. That is a major reason accounts for the hazardous practice of cattle-rustling that has persisted in that society: for if all the bridewealth-cattle had to be taken from the suitor’s natal family-herd, the herd would be depleted. Fortunately, the bridegroom’s close collateral kin and friends can make contributions in cows towards his bridewealth. This information was obtained from an interview by the researcher with two Makerere University students hailing from Karamoja, Longole and Polar (4/12/2006). A similar practice of soliciting contributions towards bridewealth-cattle and smaller livestock from relatives is also found amongst the Turkana, of North-western Kenya, where about 50 head of cattle and about 100 goats and/or sheep constitutes bridewealth (Gulliver, 1955:229).

“*okushwererera omutabani*,” means, “a man [the head of the family] getting his son a wife.” He fulfills that duty mainly by giving the prescribed goats, sheep, cattle and/or cash, set for the bridewealth of his son’s wife; or at least by providing a significant part of it. Two of the stories under this study, “Kaanyonza’s Daughter,” and “The Untrapping Trapper,” depict respective fathers discharging that culturally prescribed duty.

### **Labour instead of bridewealth among the Banyankore and Bakiga**

It is interesting to note that in the past among the Banyankore and Bakiga, a materially poor young man, for example an orphan, who was unable to raise the culturally prescribed bridewealth, could seek allegiance with a wealthy man, who had a number of daughters. He could diligently work for that man with filial devotion for a number of years, keeping to his best conduct, and gradually win his guardian’s favour to the extent of meriting to be given one of his daughters as a wife. The specific Runyankore-Rukiga name for such a marriage is “*okutendera*” (Mubangizi, 1963:90; Karwemera, 1994:98-99). A respondent, Bikuzibwa, interviewed by the researcher (13 June 2007), testified to a personal experience of that. The faithful labour service rendered by such a young man would be duly regarded as an adequate substitute for the culturally prescribed bridewealth. After marrying as a reward for the rendered labour service, the man concerned could be allowed to establish his marital home next to that of his father-in-law. As his foster father, he could even give his son-in-law/foster son substantial inheritance, especially if the foster father had no sons to inherit his property. The children born to such a marriage would most likely to be absorbed into the lineage and clan of their maternal grandfather, who, to all intents and purposes, was their recognised father’s father.

### **Getting a wife without giving any bridewealth**

It is interesting to note that among the Batooro of Western Uganda, a well-behaved man, but who is materially poor, can marry without paying any bridewealth. A bride given without giving bridewealth is known in Rutooro as “*omugole owa busa*,” literally meaning “a bride for nothing,” but idiomatically meaning “a bride married without bridewealth from the bridegroom,” (Perlaman, 1963:37). The following related Rutooro expression is noteworthy “*N’omunaku nawe aswera*.” It means, “Even a poor man can

also marry.” The underlying meaning of that expression is that a man who is too poor to raise bridewealth can also get married.<sup>26</sup> What is proverbially implied in the two Rutooro sayings noted above concurs with Perlman’s observation.

A significant implication of the above exception to the culturally prescribed bridewealth is that if a marriageable man falls in love with a nubile maiden, they can freely marry, even without him giving any bridewealth to her people. A further implication is that the basic human right to marry supersedes the culturally prescribed practice of giving bridewealth. Though significant, especially for the cultural legitimisation of a marriage and the children born to it, bridewealth is not essential to marriage, whether according to civil or church marriage laws.

Although marrying without giving bridewealth is culturally tolerated among the Batooro, socially, a man who has failed to raise bridewealth is likely to be looked down upon in society (Perlman, 1963:37). This is because a man’s ability, even when aided by his relatives and friends, to raise the prescribed bridewealth, is regarded as a sign of his capability to start and manage his own family. Conversely, failure to raise bridewealth casts serious doubts about a man’s ability to succeed in that regard. In case he hurts the wife, she may threaten to quit the uncertain cohabitation, making such a derogatory remark as, “*Naaza kukutsigaho; okagabwa onjugire ki?*” Meaning “I am going to sever my relationship with you: after all what did you ever give as bridewealth for me?”

### **Bridewealth is a social exchange and not an economic exchange**

Despite the intrinsic substantial economic value of the major items of bridewealth, it should be appreciated that its main significance is not economic, but social. Bridewealth is a major factor in defining collateral relationship. Culturally, bridewealth is one of the signs that two families are willing to form and maintain intense and long-lasting social relationships. According to the cultural norms of the Banyankore and Bakiga and those of many other African societies, the transfer of bridewealth cattle, money and/or other

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<sup>26</sup> This interesting information was obtained by this researcher (10/11/2006) from an interview with Bwango, a higher degree student at Makerere University, hailing from Tooro.

prescribed items to the bride's people formalises and confirms the suitor's intention to marry. The transfer of bridewealth from the suitor to the prospective wife's natal home

marks a significant stage in the marriage process. The ceremonial transfer of bridewealth constitutes the legal basis for a man's culturally recognised claim over the prospective wife and the children she might bear to the marriage (Howell, 1954:71).

It is significant to note that even in case a couple has cohabited indefinitely and even had children together, the process of their getting married remains incomplete, until bridewealth has been duly transferred to the woman's natal home. Strangely, the transfer of bridewealth may be required even after the woman's death, as a condition for her natal relatives to attend her funeral; and for the children born to the cohabitation union to be accorded legitimacy. It is interesting to note that Kategaya, after giving ten cows as bridewealth, was reported as saying: "Clearing the bride price [sic] has given me comfort in my marriage with my new wife, Diana" (*The New Vision*, vol. 22 No, 152 of 26 June 2007:1-2). Bridewealth is, essentially, a form of social exchange, which culturally legalises and stabilises marriage.

A Munyankore or a Mukiga married woman regards it as a socially recognised mark of her respectability and social legitimisation to have bridewealth duly given for her marriage. Bridewealth, prescriptively shared between the bride's paternal and maternal relatives creates and sustains collateral kinship bonds (LeClair & Schneider, 1968:271-82). That is why reference to it as *brideprice* by some early Social Anthropologists was discarded in favour of *bridewealth* (Comaroff, 1980:49-92). The non-economic significance of bridewealth is underscored by the following Runyankore-Rukiga proverb, applied in the story "Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor" "*Omwana w'omuntu taguranwa igana.*" This literally means "One's child [i.e., one's daughter] is not purchasable, not even with a hundred head of cattle." Besides the exaggeration, underlying this proverbial language, its deeper meaning is that a daughter is not at all exchangeable for any sub-human economic resources, not even with a large herd of cattle, or for a huge sum of money. In the cultural understanding of the Banyankore and Bakiga, bridewealth is not a commercial transaction of livestock and/or money for a wife. It is basically a form of social exchange.

Bridewealth is a form of social exchange with far-reaching social consequences for its providers and its recipients. It is notable that even in the past, when the barter system of economic exchange was prevalent there was no reference among the Banyankore and the Bakiga to bridewealth as “wife-buying and wife-purchasing.” The husband’s legal rights in the wife and in the children born to the marriage are not to be regarded as property rights, but as close kinship rights. The giving of bridewealth should not be an excuse for a husband to exploit or maltreat his wife and/or children. Moreover, when a wife raises children to the marriage her rights in the marital family become incomparable to the bridewealth given for her.

The social significance of bridewealth can be seen under another perspective: a married woman’s natal family may use the bridewealth given for marriage to get a bride for her brother, or even for her father, by whom children, including sons, may be born. In that way, the use of the bridewealth of a daughter can facilitate the extension of her father’s lineage. That is one reason among others, why female children are cherished by the Banyankore and the Bakiga. This is also why a daughter can be given such a personal name as “*Boonabaana*,” implying that sons and daughters are all precious children. That is also why, even after marriage, a woman retains her identity with her natal family and father’s lineage and keeps certain rights there. In case of temporary separation, or in the event of termination of her marriage by divorce, as was the case with the jealous stepmother in the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter,” and with three of Kaaremeera’s wives in the story of “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,” a divorced woman has the right to return and live in her natal home.

### **Endowing the bride with dowry and giving her away**

In Runyankore-Rukiga the ritual and lavish banquet at the give-away of the bride by her natal home before being transferred to the bridegroom’s home is called “*okuhingira*”. Literally, the expression means “to dig/cultivate for.” However, in Runyankore-Rukiga cultural terminology, it means “endowing the bride with dowry and giving her away to be transferred and live with her husband, to form and establish their marital home.” The bride’s collateral kin and friends join in the *kuhingira* ceremony, in which they metaphorically “dig for,” i.e., provide the bride with a start-up capital towards establishing her new family. The items of dowry are collectively called “*emihingiro*,” a

noun derived from the verb-root *okuhingir-a*. In the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter,” the culture-specific expression *baamuhingira*, also derived from the stem-verb *-hingir-*, is used. It means, “they [the bride’s people] endowed her with dowry and publicly gave her to the bridegroom.” The passive form of that verb *-hingirwa*, is used in reference to the bridegroom, and means, “to be given the bride, duly endowed with dowry, ready to be transferred to the bridegroom’s home.”

Among the Banyankore and Bakiga, dowry consists of articles of dress, which formerly were cowhides and backcloth, some household items plus some money and, for the families that can afford it, several cows. Prior to the introduction of church and civil marriage forms, the elaborate cultural rite of *kuhingira* constituted the socially and legally recognised form of sealing the marriage bond. Under customary law, after receiving her bridewealth, the bride’s people are bound to ceremonially endow her with dowry and give her away to be transferred to the bridegroom’s home. Thenceforth the legal authority over the wife and the children she might bear vests in the prospective husband.

Though they go to opposite directions, and have different meanings, bridewealth and dowry are both intended to foster affinal and collateral kinship. Bridewealth and dowry are practices, which show that family relationships among the Banyankore and Bakiga and other African societies are determined and fostered culturally (Mubangizi, 1963:58-99; Karwemera, 1994:86-94; Gulliver, 1955:228-243).

### **Culture-specific conceptions about a witch doctor’s role in society**

For a translator, a listener or a reader to appreciate a story like “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,” it requires him or her to know the Banyankore and Bakiga’s cultural conceptions and attitudes about the positive role of a witch doctor, in providing diagnosis through divination; and healing through the claimed supernatural power of *emandwa* and fetishes/talismans/amulets. It also requires knowing about the witch doctor’s negative role of claiming to use those elements and harmful drugs. Many Banyankore and Bakiga, as well as people from other African societies suspect that serious illness, death and other misfortunes may be caused by *emandwa*, witchcraft, or ill-will issuing from the victim’s known or unknown adversaries. Such a view explains

why some people, when faced with illness, instead of or besides going for medical check-up and treatment also seek the services of witch doctors. As the story of “Karemeera son of the Witch Doctor” demonstrates, a witch doctor depends upon his clients’ mistaken belief and trust in his claims to diagnose, heal and/or prevent illness or some other misfortune by using the influence of his *mandwa*, and the magic power of his fetishes and talismans (Mubangizi, 1963:26-27; 1988:48; Clarke, 2007:10).

In the story of “Kaaremeera, Son of the Witch Doctor,” there is a set of a hard-to-translate symbols and concepts pertaining to the activities of a witch doctor. One of them is *emandwa*, which has various meanings. One is a supernatural being, a kind of lesser deity, which can be represented by an idol, such as a horn or the tip thereof. *Emandwa*, or as the Banyoro aptly call it, *embandwa*, as noted by Kanyonza, in an interview with the researcher (14 January 2007), can also be a spirit medium, i.e., a human being, a male or a female, who has been initiated into the cult of a deity or an ancestor-spirit to act as the *mandwa*’s spokesperson and priest or priestess. It is notable that much of the ritual for initiating a spirit medium is shrouded in secrecy (Lugira, 1970:23-26; Mubangizi 1963:12-15; 39-41). Through its symbol, *emandwa* can be claimed by a witch doctor and regarded so by clients, to possess and to exercise supernatural powers of carrying out divination and of doing good or harm.

Another Runyankore-Rukiga hard-to-translate symbol used by witch doctors is *orugisha* (*engisha* in the Bantu R-N noun class plural), which can be a material object that is believed to possess either lethal or benevolent power. *Fetish/talisman/amulet*:<sup>27</sup> these three words in English correspond to *orugisha*. Depending on context, any of those words can be used in both languages to mean an object used for its imagined protective or harmful purposes.

However, as the story of “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,” depicts, *engisha*, such as the two *mibarama* and *misheeshe* sticks are in themselves harmless objects. It is the impact of the fear of their imagined lethal power that can cause real psychological harm.

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<sup>27</sup> A fetish is: “an object ([such] as a small stone carving of an animal) believed to have magical power to protect or aid its owner; broadly: a material object regarded with superstitious or extravagant trust or reverence.” A talisman is “an object held to act as a charm to avert evil and bring good fortune; [or] something producing apparently magical or miraculous effects (Merriam Webster 11<sup>th</sup> Collegiate Dictionary).



Conversely, because talismans or amulets are also neutral objects, they can only have a psychological good effect upon the people who trust in them.

The Runyankore-Rukiga expression “*okuragura*,” in general relates to numerous activities by a witch doctor. Besides its general meaning, “to treat illness,” *okuragura* means the ritualised claim by a witch doctor to discover the nature and cause of a client’s illness or of any other problem. It is claimed that the *mandwa* power’s power operates through the witch doctor’s casting of a dice. “*Okuragura*” is a long, ritualised process, involving a witch doctor (1) offering an initial animal sacrifice; (2) interviewing the client to discover and use some pertinent hints about the latter’s problem; (3) casting a gambling-like dice with one of the following objects: pumpkin seeds, a piece of split wood, five straws, certain insects called *entondo*, the entrails of a chicken, cowrie shells, and flower-balls called *entarahondo* (Mubangizi, 1963:17-22); (4) imaginately suggesting the cause of the client’s problem; (5) prescribing a solution, which often involves extracting fetishes, offering another sacrifice, the secret administration of lethal drugs to harm the client’s adversaries; (6) exacting a big recompense. The English translation of the expression “*okuragura*,” as “divination,” does not fully render above noted source language meanings, hence the need for explanatory footnotes.

In the story of Karemeera, Son of the Witch Doctor, as the old witch doctor, Karagura, implies in his final instruction to his son, the success of a witch doctor’s career hinges upon using appropriate language to make clients believe in the power of his or her *mandwa*, fetishes/talismans/amulets and traditional medicine. Karagura tells his son to remember that *emandwa* know how to speak, but only if the witch doctor knows how to do so. Regarding herbal medicine, Karagura alerts his son not to ask him about particular herbs, for the bush is wide open and full of shrubs any of which can be made to work as medicine, depending on the witch doctor’s tactfulness in using language with craftiness. The implications are that healing can be attained through the clients’ trust in the imagined power of the *emandwa*, fetishes/talismans, in the truthfulness of the *mandwa* language mumbled by the witch doctor, and in the end in the imagined potency of any herb given as traditional medicine. A more serious implication is that real

problems, such as illness, cannot be effectively solved by belief in the imagined power of the *mandwa*, talismans, amulets or any sort of herbs.

There is also a problem on the part of witch doctor's clients and that of wider society, stemming from a culturally backed mentality of mistaken trust in what the witch doctor can offer. It is believed that a witch doctor can detect the causes of illness by divination through the supposed supernatural capacity of the *mandwa*; and provide healing through the curative potency of fetishes/talismans, and traditional medicine. By going first to witch doctors, or nowadays also to preachers, who promise to provide miraculous healing, some people delay or miss getting timely medical diagnosis and proper treatment, often to their detriment.<sup>28</sup>

It is notable that the plot of "Karemeera Son of the Witch Doctor," presents a predominantly negative image of the career of witch doctors. They are depicted as being fraudulently harmful to clients. The career of a witch doctor is not likely to bring about happiness to the practitioner, especially with regard to raising a desirable family. The story reflects a bias against the role of witch doctors in society. The bias is intended to be adopted by the listeners and readers: through shunning the traditional view, and shun the ambivalent fear of witch doctors and trust in their services. This researcher does not condone the traditional mentality which accepts the witch doctor's make-believe, ritualised divination through *emandwa*. He does not accept that fetishes, talismans or amulets can have any positive or negative potency, nor does he support the crafty side of the witch doctor's counselling services.

However, it would be good to appreciate that a witch doctor can provide some genuinely curative and preventive medicine. Though imaginary, the fear by many people that a witch doctor's *mandwa* are able to detect and expose hidden facts can

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<sup>28</sup> "When people get sick, they are vulnerable and it is natural to reach out, to ask for prayers and to hope for a miracle. However, there is also the downside to their situation ...they sometimes place too much emphasis on this type of solution and pay no attention to what is rational and could actually cure them... By the time they came to us [the medical doctors], they had already been to the witchdoctor, or the herbalist, or tried anything which promised healing... the result of much of this miracle-seeking was that patients came too late, and more often than not died as a result. And a side effect of this was that the community's belief in the witch doctor was actually strengthened, since they saw us [the medical doctors] as failing, not him [the witch doctor] (Clarke, *Sunday Vision*, 24 June 2007:10)

serve as a stabilising deterrent factors against serious misconduct in society, especially deception and theft. From their knowledge and experience of how people think and behave, witch doctors can provide some useful counselling and guidance to their clients. It would be good for genuine researcher to be undertaken about the positive role of witch doctors in African society. There is the related challenge of researching into and improving the processing, preservation and distribution of African traditional medicine. should also be dealt with more systematically than is the case today.

## **2.4 IDIOMS AND IDIOMATIC LANGUAGE**

Because translation should be meaning-based, it requires exegetical probing of the surface structure of the source text for the deeper meaning embedded in it (Larson 1984:3-11.48). There is a four-dimensional challenge in carrying out literary translation. The first is to discover the meaning implied by the idiomatic, metaphorical, proverbial and other figurative expressions, some of which could be specific to the source text language. The second is to convey the same meaning as the source language text in the receptor language as idiomatically, fluently and naturally as possible. The third dimension is to make the translation as delightful as possible in the receptor language. The fourth is to ensure that the translation can evoke in its listeners and readers a dynamic response comparable to the social and moral lessons as intended by the original author.

To be natural, all discourse should be carried out idiomatically; and idioms are language-specific. A translator has to be very conversant with the receptor language. Where there is an idiom in the receptor language, which has an equivalent meaning to that of the idiom of the source text language, then it should be used. However, where there isn't one, a syntactically correct descriptive phrase can be used to convey the

source text intended deeper meaning. Exemplification and application of a way to translated Runyankore-Rukiga idioms is shown under chapter four of this study.

## 2.5 PROVERBS AND PROVERBIAL LANGUAGE

Authors and translators of Runyankore-Rukiga folk stories must know the cultural, linguistic and aesthetic background of proverbs. Okpewho offers a helpful definition of a proverb.<sup>29</sup> In ordinary social intercourse and in literature, many African authors naturally use proverbs and proverbial language. That is the case with Chinua Achebe in his novels, especially in *Arrow of God* (1964/1986) and Benedikito Mubangizi in his two novels, *Rwakyekoreire Buhano* (1982) and *Abagyenda Bareeba* (1969/1997), Runyankore-Rukiga, like other Bantu languages, make frequent use of proverbs and proverbial language to convey meaning, especially in making points or giving counsel pragmatically. They use proverbs implicitly; in making critical comment discreetly, but without causing offence. There is a challenge in translating proverbial phrases, because, like idioms and metaphors, their wording or surface form is specific to the source culture and language. Only a few of the Runyankore-Rukiga proverbs have equivalents or near equivalents in English. Moreover, the original author's intended meaning in proverbial language to some extent depends a lot on the discourse context. Interpreting

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<sup>29</sup> “What is a proverb? Put simply, a proverb may be defined as a piece of folk wisdom expressed with terseness and charm. The ‘terseness’ implies a certain economy in the choice of words and sharpness of focus, while the ‘charm’ conveys the touch of literary or poetic beauty in the expression” (Okpeweho, 1992:226). The same author cites Seitel (1976), as saying that “Proverbs are indeed metaphorical statements, since they reflect a general truth by reference to a specific phenomenon or experience” (ibid., 227).

and translating proverbial meaning has been done for this study mostly by using textual descriptive phrases, supplemented with footnotes.

## **2.6 IDEOPHONES AND ONOMATOPOEIA**

Ideophones,<sup>30</sup> which are also known as prosodic or suprasegmental features, are significantly used in tonal languages, especially Bantu languages. They function through skilful modulation of speech-sound, especially tone, pitch, loudness, and vowel lengthening, rhyme and rhythm control particularly in chanted or sung utterances<sup>31</sup> (O’Grady et al., 1996:731. Rendering a folk story orally in a tonal language can be done in a drama-like performance, by exploiting the phonological effects of its suprasegmental features. A popular style of rendering a folk story is to chant the whole story or parts of it. The chanting or reciting style is known in Runyankore-Rukiga as

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<sup>30</sup> “An ideophone is a stylistic technique that relies on sound. Simply defined, it means ‘idea-in-sound,’ in the sense that from the sound of the word one can get an idea of the nature of the event or the object referred to. Ideophones are not like normal words to which meanings are readily assigned. They are simply sounds used in conveying a vivid impression (Okpewho, 1992:92). “The images created by using ideophones help the audience to see, hear, feel, smell, touch and enjoy the narrative,”(cited by Okpewho from Muvula, 1982:62: Okpewho loc., cit.; cf. also Linbdfors. 1977:139; Finnegan, 1970: 384-85).

*okutongyerera*. Chanting a story does not only convey its message, but it can also add a delightful musical impact to the rendering. What Niyi Osundare observes about the Yoruba language<sup>32</sup> is also true of Runyankore Rukiga, with regard to using prosodic features for supplementing the impact of the message of a narrated story. Dramatic body movement and dancing which normally accompany chanting a folk story and playing of some musical instruments can make the performance of a folk story a musical event, more enjoyable to the listeners, than would be the case by merely narrating or reading it out in ordinary discourse style.

Certain expressions, called onomatopoeia, convey meaning and message through the impact of their phonological effect.<sup>33</sup> Examples of such expressions, found in the stories for this study, include the following: “*tuku-tuku, tuku-tuku,*” which is used in the story of “Muhuuba and the Monster,” to convey the sound of the bellows being pumped to fan the fire in the smith’s forge, as they hurry to make arrows for Muhuuba. Another onomatopoeic expression is “*shss-shi! shss-shi!*” It is used in the story of “Maguru Outrunner of Rain and Wind” to attract the attention of the dogs before dispatching them to the bush to save Maguru from his “monster-wife.” The same story uses the onomatopoeic expression, “*kuruti-kuruti, kuruti-kuruti*” to depict Maguru’s palpitating heart at noticing his monster-wife is and cutting down the tree, he is climbing, intent on killing him.

## 2.7 Names bear meaning

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<sup>32</sup> “In Yoruba language and communicative pragmatics, sounding is meaning and meaning is sounding. In the realm of incantatory poetry, it is words –or rather their sounding –which provoke the universal sympathies, make things happen or unhappen, intrude the chanter’s will upon the universe...and convert that will into a demand and that demand into a command which insists on fulfillment” (Niyi Osundare, 2002,116; cf. Lindfors, 1977:138).

<sup>33</sup> “Onomatopoeia...are all sound images which transmit their meanings by evoking the drama of the referential process. These are words which name (*onoma*) poetically (*poeia*) by conjuring up the physicality of the referring scene. They take us ...from aural reality to visual imagination. They are abstract symbols with concrete underpinnings...Also significant here is the indirectness, the suggestiveness of the communicative process (Niyi Osundare, op. cit.,:122).

According to the culture of many African societies, including that of the Bnyankore and Bakiga, every person and everything should have a meaningful name. A Translator of literature set in such culture should find out, particularly the inner meaning of the names of characters, things and events relating to the text being translated. Chapter four of this study shows the challenges involved in translating names and titles.

## **2.8 DISCOURSE BY PERSONS IN JOKING RELATIONSHIP**

The Runyankore-Rukiga expression *okushanzirana*, means “to exchange counter jokes” (Karwemera, 1994:103-04). It is a double-causative form, derived from the verb-root –*shanz-*, literally “to expose/to spread about.” Metaphorically, “*okushanzirana*” means two people standing in mutual joking relationships to humoulsously engage in joking discourse, exposing each other, but without causing or taking any offence. Each joking utterance should not be taken literally, but as a joke, and should be responded to with a counter-joke, or simply laughed off. The listeners or readers, who know the source language culture, are also expected to regard the exchange between the two persons, as humorous, entertaining jokes.

In some cultures there exist certain pairs of persons between whom there exist recognised joking relationships. Persons who stand in joking relationships must be in culturally recognised as such, and can engage in mutual obtrusive discourse. From the verb-root –*shanzir-* is derived the plural noun, *bashanzire*, which falls under the MU-BA Bantu noun class. *Bashanzire* are “collateral in-laws at the social rank of father-in-law and mother-in-law, i.e., the parents of the wife and those of the husband.” Another pair of equal *bashanzire* consists of two men, hailing from different families, who have married siblings from the same family. Other pairs of persons who stand in joking relationship, though they are unequal, are grandparents and grandchildren (Mitchell, 1979:108). Besides parents-in-law, cross cousins, called “*abazaara*” in Rukiga, also stand in joking relationship, the exercise of which is called *okuteera obukumbi*. A cross cousin can utter a mocking remark, or even take punitive action against his or her counter-part, who may for instance, be found doing something inappropriately, such as wearing a sweater inside out: the penalty would be confiscating it. In such a case, joking relationship can serve a corrective social function (Karwemera, 1994:103-104).

Another pair of persons who stand in socially recognised joking relationship is grandparents and their grandchildren. Grandparents and grandchildren normally relate with each other intimately. Amazingly, children appreciate that some utterances made towards them by their grandparents are meant for jokes, and they do not take them literally or seriously, but simply laugh at hearing them.

The sharing of jokes between persons who stand in joking relationship is meant to provide humorous pleasure, in a teasing manner. In the case of equals, who stand in symmetrical joking relationship, such as parents-in-law, the addressee of the joke is expected, either to laugh it off, or to make an equally or a more humorous reciprocal joke. In case of joking relationship between unequals, such as that between a grandparent and a grandchild, the lesser is culturally expected to respond by not taking the joke seriously, but to laugh it off, or remaining silent, without taking offence, or uttering any counter joke.

In the story of “Kaaremeera the Son of a Witch Doctor,” Rwamunyoro and Kaaremeera, as fathers-in-law of their son and daughter, stand in joking relationship. Thus, they can engage in serious discourse; or in humorous, though sometimes literally insulting joking utterances. Because joking utterances and discourses are not meant to be taken literally or seriously,<sup>34</sup> that is why, in the course of the long discourse between Kaaremeera and his *mushanzire*, Rwamunyoro, the former at one point wonders whether the latter is joking! He remarks thus, “*Shana oyenzire kugira eby’okushanzirana, nangwa kutabaire kunjuma!*” This means “Perhaps you mean these utterances to be jokes between us, as parents-in-laws, or else you mean to insult me!”

Rwamunyoro makes it obvious that his utterances are intended to be taken seriously, not as mere jokes. Kaaremeera then begins to grasp the meaning underlying the metaphorical language in which Rwamunyoro is sarcastically, but truthfully speaking. He grasps the genuineness of his in-law’s criticism, and concedes that his career as a witch doctor is illusory and fraudulent. Consequently, he decides there and then, to abandon that career altogether. If the discourse between the two men were a mere joke,

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<sup>34</sup> It is interesting to note that similar joking relationship exist in some other African cultures, such as the Ibo of South Eastern Nigeria, as found in Achebe’s novel, *Arrow of God* (Achebe, 1974/1986: 96).



it would not have evoked such a dynamic impact upon Kaaremeera. The moral lesson from the story would also not be that *emandwa* idols, fetishes, talismans and the claims of witch doctors are false and, therefore, not to be trusted at all.

## **2.9 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has provided a cultural and linguistic background study to the major social anthropological concepts, beliefs and practices featured in the translation of the selected stories selected for this study, especially those about marriage and the role of witch doctors in society. A translator should know the distinctive features and forms of the source text language, in order to comprehend their intended inner meaning and translate the same message into the receptor language idiomatically, naturally and fluently.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **TRANSLATION OF FIVE FOLK STORIES FROM RUNYANKORE-RUKIGA TO ENGLISH**

#### **3.1 MUHUUBA<sup>35</sup> AND THE MONSTER**

Once upon a time there was man called Muhuuba, who had a wife and children, owned a large herd of cattle and his family was prospering. However, one morning a monster, in the form of a gigantic bird that was to dispossess him, intruded, jumped over the kraal and entered Muhuuba's home. It came staring hard at him menacingly baring its

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<sup>35</sup> The name *Muhuuba* literally means, "a man who swings something about." In this story Muhuuba swings himself, in and out of the forge, urging the uncaring smiths to make him the arrows he so urgently needs to kill the ravaging monster. There is no equivalent word or short phrase in English to translate the name Muhuuba. That is why the source text name has been retained in the English translation and supplemented by this footnote. (This and subsequent footnotes are intended to briefly highlight and comment upon the source text's hard-to-translate culture and language specific word phrases, that is why they have been kept close to the translation, and not farther away as endnotes.)

teeth!<sup>36</sup> When the cattle saw the monster they got scared and almost broke out of the kraal. When the children looked at it, they yelled at the top of their voices, running to hide in the inner room. It is only their father and mother who took courage to stay on and watch out for what the monster would do!

The monster stood by, blocking the entrance to the house, licking its cheeks. It demanded of Muhuuba, “What am I to eat? Hunger is killing me!” Muhuuba gave the monster a bullock, which it snatched, avariciously devoured it<sup>37</sup> and then vanished.

The monster returned early the following morning when the cattle were still in the yard outside the kraal. It once again demanded, “Muhuuba, what am I to eat?” He took an old cow from his herd and gave it to the monster, which it killed and gluttonously ate up, tearing it up and pulling hard at the unslaughtered carcass. After that the monster retreated to its unknown abode.

On the third morning the monster returned! The cows had just gone out to their resting place outside the kraal. The monster threateningly shouted out its demand. “I want some meat, Muhuuba; if the meat is not there, I will eat you.”

Muhuuba was very frightened. He took out a calf-bearing cow from his herd and gave it to the monster. After seizing and devouring the cow, with its stomach visibly distended, the monster retreated to its unknown abode.

Every morning the monster kept returning and demanding for more meat from Muhuuba. When he realised that the monster would eventually consume his entire herd of cattle, he thought of a way to kill the monster. He told his wife, “I am going somewhere beyond that horizon to have some arrow-shafts and arrow-heads forged by the smiths for us to use and kill the monster, which is ruining us.”

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<sup>36</sup> The monster came staring at him, bearing its teeth. The key words in the source text are: “*amaisho rugamuzooreire, amaino rugasinikire.*” These phrases convey a visual, terrifying spectacle of the monster’s protruding eye-balls, gravely pointing them at Muhuuba, whilst frighteningly baring its teeth. This sets the scene for the horrifying experience Muhuuba’s family was to face in the story.

<sup>37</sup> The monster avariciously devours the cow (*orukooko rugishonshomera*). The Rukiga name for a monster, *ekinyungusi*, which is different from the Runyankore one, *orukooko*, is more expressive. The former name is derived from the verb *okunyungutira/okunyungutura*, meaning to greedily swallow a big lump, such as a whole banana finger or a piece of meat, without first chewing it. In this context, such a manner of eating depicts the monster’s excessive gluttony. The prefixes *eki-* in *ekinyugusi* and *oru-* in *orukooko*, both pejoratively connote the hugeness, ugliness and dreadfulness of the monster.

Muhuuba went beyond the horizon on that urgent mission. However, when he got there the negligent smiths took far too long to attend to him. They did not forge the arrow-shafts and arrow-heads for him to return home soon. One day passed, a second day passed, then a third day, a fourth and a fifth day, and many more days went by, and yet Muhuuba was still at the smiths' courtyard, anxiously waiting.

During the time, Muhuuba was waiting to have arrow-shafts and arrow-heads made, the monster kept returning to his home. It would first ask his wife where he had gone to and for what purpose he had gone there:

- The monster: "Where did Muhuuba go?"  
The woman: "He went somewhere beyond the horizon,  
Huge Bird of Muhuuba."<sup>38</sup>  
The monster: "What did he go there for?"  
The woman: "For arrow-shafts and arrow-heads,  
Huge Bird of Muhuuba."  
The monster: "Arrow-shafts and arrow-heads are for what use?"  
The woman: "Whether they are for killing or not, I don't know,  
Huge Bird of Muhuuba."  
The monster: "And what am I to eat?"  
The woman: "Pick up any cow from the herd and eat it,  
Huge Bird of Muhuuba."

After that, the monster would go into the herd of cattle, pick out any cow it wanted, kill it savagely, and as previously, rapaciously eat it and then depart. Every morning the monster would return and similarly devour another cow! It kept on coming and eventually killed and consumed all the cattle!

Deplorably, the monster started cannibalising Muhuuba's children one by one! It began with the oldest who had been herding the cattle! Then it ate the second child and

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<sup>38</sup> Huge Bird of Muhuuba (*Kinyonyi kya Muhuuba*): this is a prosodic, i.e., an expression that communicates by sound effect, used here to fill the musical line and sustain the rhythm of the chanted discourse between the monster and Muhuuba's wife; and to implicitly deride the monster for misusing its physical strength to commit aggression upon Muhuuba's family. In this context, the woman's response in the chanted dialogue wisely alludes to the danger the monster might face, but the foolish monster does not take heed of the woman's hints at its own risk, as the end of the story will tell.

the third. Subsequently it ate up all the children! The only one left was the baby still suckling. For the whole day and night the mother cried, groaning at the loss of her children. Her eyelids were swollen and sagged over her cheeks. Grief-stricken, frightened and not knowing where to escape to, she awaited the dreadful monster's return the following morning to devour her and her baby mercilessly!

When her eyelashes had been won down by a continuous flow of tears, there appeared a small brown bird, a robin, which sympathetically asked her, "What are you crying for, Mrs Muhuuba?"

She sceptically replied, "If I told you why I am crying, would you solve my problem?"

The robin answered, "You simply tell me."

The woman told the robin, "My husband went somewhere beyond that horizon. He went to have some arrow-shafts and arrow-heads forged by the smiths. He left home when a monster had started devouring his cattle. It has since consumed them. It has deplorably eaten all our children as well! When the monster returns next, it will inevitably eat me!"

The robin said, "Why don't you let me go to summon your husband back?"

She said, "And how will you call him back?"

The robin said, "Just promise what you will pay me, and I'll call him back."

The woman asked, "What would you like me to give you?"

The robin said, "I am setting a very small charge for my services. Just give me two portions of butter now; and with that I will set out. When I have accomplished the task my main recompense<sup>39</sup> shall be two measures of millet."

The woman gave the robin two portions of the butter that the bird asked for as an inducement; and agreed to give it two measures of millet after fulfilling the vital mission.

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<sup>39</sup> It is notable that the main payment for a life-saving service rendered, is specifically called *entaashuro* or *entaashurano* in Runyankore-Rukiga. The robin is going to render a vital service to Muhuuba's family, but asks to be given a small *entaashuro* of two measures of millet, probably a few kilogrammes. A similar word, *entaashurano*, is used in reference to a witch doctor's main payment: in form of money, livestock, or both. Long ago, if the client-family failed to raise the required payment in cows, a daughter would be taken instead, as was the case in our fifth story, "Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor." This shows the extent to which witch doctors could go in exploiting their vulnerable clients.

The robin asked the woman for a pair of ankle-bells. She took the bells off her baby's ankles and tied them to the robin's legs. Immediately, the bird flew off, with the leg-bells tinkling. It went beyond the indicated horizon and started perching from house-top to house-top. Whenever the children in the village of the smiths saw the robin and marvelled at its tinkling bells, the bird would rattle them repeatedly, making some music, thus: "*caca, cacca, cacca, cacca!*"<sup>40</sup> The children would then alternately chant with the robin, as follows:

The children: "See a little bird for killing: *Kutiikiri!*"<sup>41</sup>

Oh! See a little bird: *Kutiikiri.*"

The robin: "I am not a little bird for killing: *Kutiikiri.*

I am the little bird, coming as a messenger: *Kutiikiri.*

I am searching for Muhuuba: *Kutiikiri.*

He left a monster attacking his home: *Kutiikiri.*

The monster has eaten up his cows and children: *Kutiikiri.*

The monster has eaten up his cows and his children.

There was only his wife and a baby left: *Kuniiniri.*

Whether the monster has by now eaten her or not,

I am not sure: *Kutiikiri, Kuniiniri.*

I am not so sure: *Kutiikiri, Kuniiniri*"

The robin kept on similarly chanting as it perched from house to house. Finally, it got to the courtyard of the smiths beyond the horizon, where Muhuuba was still waiting impatiently. It perched upon the roof and children came out to admire and chant with it, as other children had done earlier.

When Muhuuba heard the crucial message from the robin and the children's chant, he urged the smiths on, saying, "Haven't you heard what I have been telling you?"

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<sup>40</sup> This is an onomatopoeic expression rhyming with the chattering bells tied to legs of the flying robin. Those bells attract the attention of the children, provoking their crucial message-conveying chant with the robin. Traditionally, a baby would carry ankle-bells, so that their sound would encourage it to enjoy learning to walk. It is notable that hunting dogs would also carry bells round their necks, so that their sound would scare a hunted prey out of its hiding. The main bull could also carry neck-bells, so as to lead a herd out to pasture or to the watering point by the sounding bells.

<sup>41</sup> This is an onomatopoeic expression that is without any meaning; here it is used only for its rhythmic sound effect in the chant.

The monster has consumed all my cattle. It has also killed and eaten up my children. My wife is also likely to be devoured before I get to her! Hurry up; complete my order, so that I may go home now. I am dispossessed.”

Realising the urgency, the smiths at last hurried to the forge with charcoal, metal scrap, hammers and got out their anvils. The forge fire was lighted and quickened with bellows fanning it continuously: *tuku-tuku, tuku-tuku tuku-tuku*.<sup>42</sup> Pieces of scrap metal were heated up in the forge fire and soon the arrow-shafts and arrow-heads were made ready.

Muhuuba hurriedly returned from beyond the horizon and reached home the same day. Fortunately, his wife and baby were still alive. The wife narrated the ordeal she had gone through, seeing the monster consume all their cattle and children in her presence!

Muhuuba was very upset and saddened by all that had happened since he left, but confidently reassured his wife: “Now that I am back, take courage; you’ll see what I’ll do to that dreadful monster.”

The next morning the monster returned, as it had repeatedly done. It asked where Muhuuba had gone. The woman wisely answered as she had been doing previously. Meanwhile, Muhuuba opted to keep out of sight, eavesdropping upon their exchange. However, growing impatient, he burst forth and confronted the huge monster, threatening it, “You devoured my cattle and cannibalised my children when you did, but now you are doomed, now you are done for!”

From his quiver Muhuuba pulled out some arrow-heads fixed on arrow-shafts, straining the first arrow on the bow he bravely confronted the monster and gave it hell.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> “*Tuku-tuku, tuku-tuku, tuku-tuku,*” is a duplicated, or repeated prosodic expression, which is an untranslatable Runyankore-Rukiga onomatopoeic expression, used in this context to convey the rhythmic sound made by fast-pumping the bellows to fan the charcoal fire in the smith’s forge and heat up the metal. In translation, such an expression can be shared across languages.

<sup>43</sup> He confronted the monster and gave it hell. This English idiom depicts the rage with which Muhuuba confronts the monster. (*Aruha omwambi, arwongyera ogundi, aruha ogwa kashatu.*) This source language idiom literally means, “he gave the monster one arrow, and then a lot more arrows.” But the meaning underlying the sarcastic figure of speech, “*aruha omwambi, arwongyera ogundi,*” is that Muhuuba single-handed

Successively, he fired the second and the third arrow into the aggressor. When the monster was about to counter-attack, he thrust his spear through its lower abdomen. The blow he struck was so heavy that the spear went right through to the backside of the monster! Thereafter, Muhuuba alternately shot more arrows and more spears into various parts of the monster. Finally, the monster was overcome! Before dying it said to Muhuuba, “Come and cut at my last finger and recover whatever I have eaten that belongs to you.”<sup>44</sup>

Muhuuba cut at the monster’s last finger, and behold from there poured forth all his children and all his cattle, as they had all been before! He and his family rejoiced greatly. He called upon his relatives to assist him to cast away the carcass of the monster.

After witnessing that Muhuuba’s family and possessions had been fully restored, and that his wife was going to duly remunerate the robin with the pledged two measures of millet, I departed from the scene.<sup>45</sup> I plunged into the forest and came out of it with a bundle of firewood for my father to light fire with and warm himself up.

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successively shoots many arrows into the monster, allowing it no chance of counter-attacking him. That graphic scene is credible and delightful to the listeners and readers.

<sup>44</sup> “Cut at my last finger and recover whatever belongs to you that I have eaten (*oshare akaara kangye kahera oihemu ebyawe ebi naariire*.” This is a typical ending of a folk story involving a marauding giant monster character. The irony is that despite its hugeness, considering that its small finger alone was big enough to contain cows and human beings, the monster is, nonetheless, so easily overpowered and killed by Muhuuba, single-handed! The defeat of the monster and the recovery of what it had eaten satisfy poetic justice. This also delights the hearers and readers of the story.

<sup>45</sup> This is a typical style of ending a Runyankore-Rukiga folk story narrative. It is like a “*coda*” to a syllable. “A coda signals the ‘sealing off’ of a narrative, just as an abstract announces the ‘opening up’ of one...There seems to be two most common devices within codas. One is the explicit declaration that the narrative proper is over, so that for an addressee now to ask ‘And then what happened?’ would be absurd.... [Conventional folk story codas in English are:] 1) And that is the end of the story. 2) And that was that. 3) And that –that was it, you know” (Toolan (1988:161-62).

### 3.2 KAANYONZA'S<sup>46</sup> DAUGHTER

A certain man had married a wife and in the same year she gave birth to their first-born son. She breast-fed him until the weaning stage. She conceived once again and her second-born was a daughter, whom she also breast-fed to full term. Thereafter the woman failed to bear any more children! Their son and daughter grew up together, started calling out to each other, running around and joyfully playing about in the courtyard.

Realising that he had only one male child, the man was worried, "I have only one little son; if he died, what would happen to me? Would I not die without a son to continue my descent line?"<sup>47</sup>

Since the man was rich, owning a large herd of cattle, he arranged to marry a second wife, hoping to beget by her at least another son. He successfully made a marriage proposal.<sup>48</sup> He was asked to give bridewealth.<sup>49</sup> Thereafter was given his

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<sup>46</sup> *Kaanyonza* means "chirping bird." It is a beautiful, medium-size, three-coloured bird, with an orange hue along its chest, dark-grey along its wings and tail, and a white band along its head. There is a light saying that "*kaanyonza egamba nk'abantu*," meaning that the chirps of that bird seem to mimic human speech." In this story a bird called *Kaanyonza* plays the role of the character of a foster father to the girl child who was dumped into the forest.

<sup>47</sup> "Would I not die without a son to continue my descent line. (*Tinkaafa ndi encwekye!*)" In patrilineal societies, like that of the Banyankore and Bakiga in which this story is set, successful marriage is expected to bear many children and raise a family, including at least several sons, for ensuring the survival of their father's descent line and lineage.

<sup>48</sup> He made a marriage proposal. (*Yaabugamba obugyenyi*.) Among the Banyankore and Bakiga, making a marriage proposal at a publicly-witnessed ceremony, is the most respectable manner of manifesting a man's intention to start the process leading to formal marriage.

<sup>49</sup> He was asked to give bridewealth (*baamujugisa*). The expression *baamujugisa* means "they [the bride's people] made him [the suitor] give bridewealth. Bridewealth in the



bride,<sup>50</sup> whom he took home and married. He then had two wives at his home. Long ago rich men like him used to marry polygamously, despite the jealousy liable to ensue between the co-wives.

When the bride came to his home, she kept indoors until the culturally prescribed seclusion period<sup>51</sup> ended. Thereafter, she started doing some domestic chores and other work. One year went by, two years passed and the woman was unable to conceive at all! The man wondered why he had married a second wife!

Long ago people were not wrong to regard polygamy as “marrying jealousy.”<sup>52</sup> When the man’s second wife saw the two children of her co-wife, whilst she herself had none, jealousy filled her heart. She contrived secretly to kill those children. However, for long she could not find an easy way to accomplish her murderous intention.

The woman started inviting the two children over to her house and doing all sorts of nice things to entice them. The children quite innocently believed that their stepmother loved them sincerely. However, deep in her heart, she was scheming to kill them! Whenever the children went to her house, she would say, in pretence, “Welcome my beloved ones. Thank you for visiting me.” However, as soon as they went back to

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form of cows, money, or in both forms, is prescribed among the Banyankore and Bakiga. The verb *-jug-a*, means “bellow;” its passive form is *-jug-is-a*. Although it is the cows that bellow, metaphorically, the suitor, in a sense, also “bellows,” whilst working hard to raise the cows or/and money to give as bridewealth to his prospective wife’s people.

<sup>50</sup> He was given the bride, endowed with dowry (*baamuhingira*). The root verb *-hingir-a* literally means “cultivate-for.” But, in the context of marriage among the Banyankore and Bakiga, it specifically means “endowing the bride with dowry and giving her away to the bridegroom.” Metaphorically, “cultivating-for” is symbolised by the giving of dowry to the bride, as a start-up capital towards the establishment of her new family.

<sup>51</sup> The culture of the Banyankore and Bakiga prescribes that on being transferred to her marital home, a bride should spend a period of up to several months, staying mostly indoors, being well catered for and doing only light work, such as weaving baskets and knitting. “*Okwaruka*,” means to conclude the bridal seclusion period, when the bride making a formal visit to her natal home, accompanied by her husband and a few other guests.

<sup>52</sup> *Okushwera eihari*, this Runyankore-Rukiga idiom, literally means, “to marry jealousy; but metaphorically it means “to marry polygamously.” The element of truth in its lexical meaning is the association of polygamy with jealousy, in the high probability for jealousy to ensue between co-wives and their mother-centred families, competing for the attention of the same husband and father and for an equitable share in the family estate.

their mother's house, the jealous woman would toss her head about, cursing, thus, "How can I find a way to get rid of these children, so that I may not see them around again?"

At one time, the mother of the children had to pay a visit somewhere far away from home. She entrusted them to her co-wife, saying, "Please take care of the children for me. In case I fail to return home today, provide them with their meals." The mother naively believed that she was entrusting her children to a kind person. The co-wife seemingly accepted to take care of the two children in the absence of their mother. However, in her heart she was contriving, "If only you would go off, then I would be able to gratify my heart's desire."

As soon as the jealous woman ascertained that the mother of the children had gone away on her long visit, she sent the little boy on an errand, saying, "Go and fetch me some live coal for me from the neighbouring home." When the boy had gone off, the woman hurriedly snatched his little sister, of whom she was more jealous, because the girl was very pretty, and dumped her into a wooded valley. The woman hurried back home to pretend that she did not know how the child had disappeared!

The boy returned from where he had been sent to fetch live coal. He looked around, but failed to find his sister! He asked their stepmother, but she lied to him, saying, "Your sister was here a short while ago!" In pretence, the woman started searching for the girl at the back and front of the house. In a make-believe manner she wailed and exclaimed, "When my co-wife returns what will she think has happened to her daughter?" The woman acted as though she were genuinely shocked at the disappearance of the little girl!

In the evening, the head of the family returned, bringing home the cattle, which he was herding himself for lack of a male child old enough to undertake that task. Sadly, his second wife quickly reported to him that his daughter had disappeared, and that she herself had searched, but failed to find her anywhere.

The man personally made enquiries from the neighbouring homes, but there was no trace of the child. Next, he searched around the banana plantations and the surrounding bushes, but still the girl was nowhere to be seen! Finally, the frustrated father called off the search, having lost all hope of finding his beloved daughter, alive or dead!

When the mother of the girl returned home the next day, she was stunned at the news of the disappearance of her only daughter! She burst into loud cries, wailing for long. Finally, after some time she too resigned herself to enduring her deep grief. Fortunately, Kaanyonza, a bird that chirps a lot, rescued the little girl from the wooded valley into which her stepmother had dumped her. That kind bird kept nourishing the rescued child on goats' milk. In the course of time she grew up into an adolescent and then into a beautiful marriageable maiden.

Simultaneously, her brother also grew up into an adolescent and then into a marriageable young man. One day, when that young man had taken his father's cattle out to pasture, he saw a maiden going to fetch some water from a well in the wooded valley. He did not know that the wooded valley was the place where his stepmother had dumped his own sister in the past. There was a river in that valley, which was too deep to wade across. The young man admired the maiden and desired to marry her.

However, the maiden recognised the young man to be her own brother; but she was unable to cross the river for the two to meet and greet each other appropriately. She, moreover, feared to disclose the secret of her life to him, lest Kaanyonza should hear of it and get annoyed with her.

The young man treasured his desire to marry the pretty maiden. At the next occasion, he initiated a cross-river chanted discourse with her, calling out:<sup>53</sup>

The boy: "You girl, where is your home?"

The girl: "My home is up here."

The boy: "Who is your father?"

The girl: "My father is Kaanyonza, who chirps a lot."

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<sup>53</sup> Chanted a discourse (*okutongyerera*), one meaning of the sense in which this source language text word is used is "to recite" or "to sing a discourse in high-pitched tonal style." The musical style is favoured in the delivery of folk stories, especially in the chorus parts. Such a style is also used when the speaker and the addressee stand far apart, as is the case of the young man and the maiden in this story. A third sense in which *okutongyerera* is applied is in reference to the ritual chanted by a witch doctor, invoking his *mandwa* to speak. However, in reality, it is the witch doctor himself who mumbles out the chant in a make-believe manner. That is why most rituals by witch doctors take place at night, under dim light, in order that the dramatised illusion may remain concealed, as our fifth story shows.

When the young man returned home he told his father, “I have seen a maiden over there in the wooded valley. I had seen her at an earlier occasion going to fetch some water from the well. She is extremely beautiful. She is lovely. I desire to marry her.”

The young man’s father enquired, “Whose daughter is that girl?”

He answered, “When I asked her about that, she told me that she is the daughter of Kaanyonza, the one who chirps a lot.”

The young man’s father wondered how Kaanyonza, a bird, could have fathered such a daughter. All the same, he told his son rather sarcastically, “We shall see how to go and marry that girl you admire so much, the daughter of a bird!”

Later on, the man and his son went and cut long poles and laid them across the river in the wooded valley. They crossed over and went to make a marriage proposal at Kaanyonza’s home. The bird readily accepted the young man to marry its daughter. Kaanyonza subsequently sent emissaries to the suitor’s home to collect the customary bridewealth cattle. Later the suitor’s party made a formal courtship visit and requested for the transfer of the bride from Kaanyonza’s home.

The maiden knew that the intended bridegroom was her real brother, but kept it secret! When next she saw the young man take the cattle along the wooded valley, she intentionally also went to fetch some water and chanted this revealing message:

You, you, you, you little boy,  
I was born with you, you little boy.  
When we were playing, you little boy,  
My stepmother sent you off, you little boy,  
To fetch her pieces of live coal, you little boy.  
She then snatched me, you little boy;  
Dumped me into the wooded valley, you little boy.

Kaanyonza rescued me, you little boy.  
Kaanyonza nourished me, you little boy:  
I fed on goats’ milk, you little boy.  
And now, you say, you little boy,  
“I am marrying the daughter of Kaanyonza”  
You say, “I am marr.....ying...

Marr.....ying the daughter of Kaanyonza!”<sup>54</sup>

When the young man reflected upon the message chanted by the maiden, he was happy to realise that she was his real sister who had disappeared many years ago! He went and disclosed the astounding news to his mother and father. At first, they were incredulous, remarking, “Those are mere words. Do not mock us. Our child died long ago.” However, their son remained resolute about the truth of what he was telling his parents. He pressed them to go and verify it for themselves.

Later on the parents secretly went down to the wooded valley and hid close to where their son was grazing the cattle. The maiden once again turned up, going to fetch some water. She repeated the above chant. The parents then realised that she was truly their lost daughter; but controlled their emotions.

At that time Kaanyonza came by and summoned the girl to hurry back home with the water. Kaanyonza also scolded the suitor’s parents for spying on the maiden their son was engaged to marry.

The young man’s parents, considering that they had no better alternative of retrieving their long lost daughter, than through pretending to be genuinely getting her married to their son, took two cows to Kaanyonza in order to shorten the remaining part of her courtship process.<sup>55</sup> Unaware of their hidden motive, Kaanyonza readily accepted to give them their bride sooner than later. She was duly transferred, like any other bride. It was in that dramatic manner that the girl returned to live in her natal home. Later on, other suitors presented themselves, asking for her hand. She was eventually given away in marriage to one of them and married happily.

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<sup>54</sup> “*Ninniora kahara ka Niora*.” this sarcastic Runyankore-Rukiga ideophone is used by the maiden to provoke her admirer to reflect and realise that they are not free to marry each other. The cynical meaning implied by the unspecified tonal expression, “I am marrying the little daughter of Kaanyonza.” However, this English rendering, which, for lack of a better option, uses an elliptical phrase, is too explicit, and does not bring out the impact of the sarcastic nuance of the source language text.

<sup>55</sup> Giving a compensatory fine for shortening the courtship process (*okwita oruhuutiro*), is allowed in the culture of the Banyankore and Bakiga, in order to reduce a number of the visits or to shorten the period before or after the giving of bridewealth, prior to the give-away of the bride. The visits should normally be spaced-out and made within four to six months. Courtship visits are not wasteful, but meant to enable prospective in-laws to gradually get acquainted with each other (Mubangizi, 1963:63).

Back in the wooded valley, her foster father, Kaanyonza, having waited in vain for his “daughter” and her bridegroom to pay him the customary post-bridal visit, eventually gave them up!

In another development, the man’s second wife, who, out of jealousy had dumped the little girl into the wooded valley, was summarily chased out. She was divorced.<sup>56</sup> Downcast, she returned to her father’s home

The man remained with only his first wife. He vowed never again “to marry jealousy,” that is, polygamously. He got his son a wife,<sup>57</sup> who fulfilled his cherished initial desire of bearing many grand children, including several sons, set to make his extended family large, prosperous and happy.

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<sup>56</sup> She was chased out; she was divorced (*baamushenda*.) This Runyankore-Rukiga expression means they [the husband’s family] divorced the jealous stepmother. The root-verb “-shend-a,” literally means, “cast out.” The idiom, “*okwata eiju rya kashenda*,” means “to cast away wood-ash from the family hearth.” The jealous wife is an obstacle to the welfare of the family, being intent upon killing the two children on whom the future of the family hinged. She is cast away, like wood ash from the family hearth.

<sup>57</sup> He got his son a wife. (*Yaashwererera omutabani*.) The man facilitated his son to marry: by providing him with the cattle required for bridewealth. Culturally, among the Banyankore and Bakiga, the head of the family is the legal holder of the family’s main assets, especially cattle and land. He is duly expected to provide some of the family’s resources to his marriageable sons to give as bridewealth for their marriages.

### 3.3 THE UNTRAPPING TRAPPER<sup>58</sup>

There was a man called The Untrapping Trapper, or in short, The Trapper, who was a famous hunter. He used to trap all kinds of animals and other creatures successfully, though he might never have eaten their meat or dried their skins. He knew how to set all sorts of traps, hunting, not out of greed, but as a sport. He would set traps in such a way as not to cause too much suffering to the victims. He would lay traps in various places, as though he were laying the trap to catch himself. Some of the entrapped animals would cunningly keep lying low, waiting to ensnare and kill him. However, he would always emerge as the victor from such cross-trappings.

At the beginning of his hunting career, The Untrapping Trapper set up a simple trap into which a spider fell. He let the spider out of the trap, because it was earnestly pleading, “Please set me free from this trap. In future I will also save you.”

The second trap set by The Trapper was an overhead snare, meant to crush upon the victim at the slightest jerk, and a rat got caught under the trap. He found the rat groaning, and it pleaded with him, “The Untrapping Trapper, please set me free. In future, I will also set you free.” He responded empathetically saying, “I feel sympathy for you, and so I’ll set you free.” He let the rat out of the trap and left it to go free.

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<sup>58</sup> This English version of the title of this story and name of its main character, in the source language text is *Rutega rwa Nteguura*. This noun phrase could mean “trapper, son of the untrapper;” or “the trapper who habitually untraps.” The sense in which the phrase is used in the context of most of story, favours the latter sense. There is only one reference to the man’s father as a trapper. The first name “*Rutega*,” means “the skilled trapper.” The conjunctive marker “*rwa*,” generally means “*of*.” But in the context of this story, it also means “the one who;” or simply, “who.” The expression “*rwa*,” is a relative conjunction, suggestive of someone who is powerful, experienced or well-known, because of his great skill and habit. In the noun phrase “*Rutega rwa Nteguura*” the stress is on the relationship of the first name to the second one. *Rutega* has a peculiar relationship to his occupation, “untrapping the victims in his traps.” He has a peculiar empathetic relationship towards all the victims that fall prey to his traps, even a lion! The contextual meaning of the name phrase “*Rutega rwa Nteguura*,” is “The Untrapping Trapper,” with the definitive article “*the*” used to qualify and emphasise his habitual, peculiar practice.

The third trap, which he set up, was in the form of a rope-mesh trap. It caught a firefly,<sup>59</sup> which pleaded with him, “My friend, The Untrapping Trapper, I beseech you to set me free, as befits the name of your father. In future, I will also save you.”

Thinking aloud, he said to himself, “Since I do not trap for meat or for greed, why don’t I set this firefly free?” He set the firefly free, letting it fly off, happily twinkling like a star.

Before returning home, The Trapper laid a very strong rope trap. A lion, which the Baganda call the roarer,<sup>60</sup> stepped into the trap which instantly gripped its right foreleg very tightly. The beast started wailing, writhing in agony.

When The Untrapping Trapper went over to the bush with his son to check on his trap, he was astounded to find a huge lion caught in it, desperately writhing with pain. When the lion saw him, it softly asked, “Are you The Untrapping Trapper?” He replied, “I am the one.” The lion pleaded with him earnestly, “Please kindly set me free. You see how breathless I am.” The man had some misgivings, pondering hard, “Since a lion cannot be safely held by the hand, how I can safely untrap it?”

His son unhesitatingly suggested, “Let me spear the lion.”

The Untrapping Trapper restrained him, saying, “I don’t normally set traps for meat or for greed. Moreover, what should we kill the lion for?”

The lion kept on pleading with the man, “I beseech you, please untrap me my friend. In future I will also save you.” However, The Untrapping Trapper remained

apprehensive, still expressing some misgivings, “It is likely that if I set you free, you may turn against us and eat us!”

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<sup>59</sup> A firefly (*enyonyoozi*) is a small night insect, which flies about, flickering like a star in the sky. The literal meaning of *enyonyoozi* is a star, that is, one of the very remote stars, seen at night up in the sky. A firefly and a star both appear small, shine and flicker at night, which is why the Runyankore-Rukiga word for both is the same. In English, the word *star* can also be figuratively used to mean a person who excels, or shines by doing something skilfully, such as singing very well; or acting very well in a film. The semantic variation in the usage of the word “star” in both languages is determined by the textual context. In both languages, *enyonyoozi* and *star*, are polysemous words, they have several meanings, depending on context (Lyons, 1981:146).

<sup>60</sup> A lion, the Baganda call *empologoma*, means the roarer, a similar name for it by the Banyankore is *okibubura*. The Bakiga and the Banyankore also call a lion *entare*, a name derived from the verb-root *-kwetar-a*, meaning to run about freely. In the bush, a lion normally moves about freely, unperturbed, being feared by most other animals. It is notable kings of a dynasty of the defunct monarchy of Ankole were called Ntare.



The lion retorted, “How would I be so heartless as to kill the person who would have saved me from such grave danger as this one!”

The Untrapping Trapper yielded to the lion’s earnest pleas, remarking, “Let me set you free. If you turn against me, the disgrace will be yours.”

His son re-cautioned him, “If you set the lion free, it will eat us.”

He said, “Since it has so passionately pleaded with me,<sup>61</sup> let me untrap it.” He quickly let the lion out of the trap!

As soon as the lion got its leg out of the trap, it unwisely reprimanded The Untrapping Trapper, roaring threateningly, “This is my pathway, how dare you set your ensnaring trap in it, you foolish trouble-maker?”

He responded tremulously saying, “I did not set the trap to catch you, but for some other animals.”

The lion, very ungraciously roared out its threat, “Now I am going to eat you and your son for trapping me. You have only yourselves to blame!”

Just when the lion was about to execute its threatened action, a rat, nicknamed “the dodger-of-arrows,” the same one that The Untrapping Trapper had earlier on set free turned up. The rat affirmed that it had come over for the sake of arbitrating between the lion and the man. The rat then asked the lion to state its case first, and to do so while demonstrating exactly how The Trapper had aggrieved it, “This man who sets his ensnaring traps, as if the whole bush belonged to him!”

The lion, shaking its mane, boldly re-asserted its claim, “This is my pathway, through which I usually go freely. But this man laid his trap across it, and as I was moving along it caught me.”

After hearing the lion’s side of the story, the rat said, “Before hearing what the man has to say, I would like to first see how the trap had been set; and how you got caught by it.” (At heart, the rat was contemplating, “How can I save this man, who in the past rescued me from a trap. How can I reward him now?”)

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<sup>61</sup> Since it has pleaded so passionately with me, let me untrap it (*kyanteireho amaago ka nkiteguure*). This source language phrase depicts better than its near equivalent English the desperate condition, which induces the lion to humbly beseech the man to free it. The drama in the helpless, huge lion’s incessant pleas with The Trapper is delightful to the listeners or readers of this story.

The rat instructed the man, thus, “You re-set the trap exactly as it was, so that we can see and assess your injustice to the lion.” Assisted by his son, the man carefully re-set the trap.

The rat then turned to the lion, “Now you demonstrate to me how you came along, and how you stepped into the trap and got caught by it.” The lion, starting from some distance away, retraced the steps it had taken earlier, demonstrating how it had been moving along, unaware that there was a trap. Then the rat instructed the lion, “Now put your right foreleg into the trap, so that we can see exactly how it caught you.” The lion, naively, thrust its right foreleg into the trap to demonstrate how it was caught. “Is this not how I stepped onto the trap.” As soon as the lion put its leg into it, the trap instantaneously went off; the lion sprang high up, with the rope firmly tightening its leg!

The rat triumphantly remarked, “My friend The Untrapping Trapper, some time back you untrapped and set me free. That is why I have come over today to save you from this brute, which you had just set free and it so ungraciously<sup>62</sup> turned against you. The rest is now up to you.”

The Untrapping Trapper, a man who never trapped out of greed, said, “Mr. Rat, thank you very much for enabling me to overcome this brute, which was on the verge of killing me. Now leave the rest to me.”

When the man was still puzzling out what to do to the ungrateful, callous lion, his son unhesitatingly took up his spear and struck the beast with a heavy blow, right under its armpit, killing it instantly!

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<sup>62</sup> The Runyankore-Rukiga expression *enfura-nkye* pejoratively means a person who shows very little or hardly any generosity and hospitality. In this context, it means that the lion lacks due gratitude to The Untrapping Trapper. The Runyankore-Rukiga proverb, “*Entasiima teyongyerwa*,” meaning “an ungrateful person receives no more favours,” expresses the pejorative sense underlying the compound word *enfura-nkye*. Owing to its ingratitude, the raging, but foolhardy lion does not deserve any further mercy. It is pleasurable and satisfying to poetic justice to see the lion end up by being speared to death by The Untrapping Trapper’s son. This underscores a major point in folk stories that it is dangerous to rely upon physical strength, rather than upon wisdom and virtue.

The Untrapping Trapper ridiculously remarked, “I usually trap and un-trap all sorts of victims that get caught by my traps; but now we have killed the lion!”

His son pitilessly remarked, “You would have had mercy upon this lion a second time, had it not so ungraciously turned against you, threatening to devour us! As the proverb aptly puts it, ‘Since death does not shy away, the people charged with undertaking the burial should not hesitate.’”

Subsequently, The Untrapping Trapper kept on laying more traps. Whatever they caught: be it an insect, a bird or an animal, he would unreservedly set it free.

One day he returned from a hunting errand, as usual empty-handed. Wearing down by fatigue and hunger, he made his usual request to the people at his home, “Please give me something to eat and to drink, before I take a rest. I am totally exhausted.”

His wife scornfully remarked, “You always return home worn out, asking for something to eat, something to drink. However, we never see the outcome of your frequent hunting! We don’t know whatever you go hunting for? In future, whenever you return home, we shall simply ignore your requests; after all, you bring us nothing from your hunting. Look, the poverty which has beset our home is about to ruin us!”

The Untrapping Trapper started reflecting, “What shall I do, since I do not hunt for food or for greed. I take no pleasure in killing any prey I find caught in my traps. Whenever I find one, I get overcome by empathy and set it free.”

When The Untrapping Trapper’s wife was reproaching him for hunting for nothing, some of the victims that he had set free were eavesdropping upon those reproaches. They went and convened a special meeting to which they invited many others of their kind and others and conferred on how to improve the fortune of their liberator, The Untrapping Trapper. They wanted him to possess some wealth like other men, and not have to regret that he kept setting free the victims of his traps.

So, when The Untrapping Trapper woke up one morning, he found a herd of cattle; he found servants; he found all sorts manifestations of wealth abundantly placed around his homestead. He remarked, “Oh my Provider, whoever you are! I have suddenly become so wealthy!” However, on reflection, he became sceptical and scared by it all, and remarked, “Maybe this herd of cattle belongs to someone else. If I take possession of it the owner may think that am a thief and kill me for it!”

Whilst he was still puzzled about what to do, a bush-buck came along, and speaking on behalf of many other animals said, “Our friend, The Untrapping Trapper,

you freed us from your traps; now this herd of cattle is our reward to you. So, don't be afraid to own this herd of cattle, it is for your family.”

Next, a bird perched upon the bush in front of his courtyard re-affirming, “This herd of cattle which you are admiring here is all yours, The Untrapping Trapper. We have donated it all to you for the empathy you showed towards us.” A toad also came by and affirmed, “You rescued us, and now this herd of cattle is a reward for your kindness.”

With such assurances and re-assurances, The Untrapping Trapper happily took possession of the herd of cattle. He milked the cows and his family from then on had plenty of milk to drink. They had a surplus to churn into butter for flavouring meals, and for making delicious traditional white sauce called *eshabwe*, made of thick butter and smoked beef. Apart from having spare butter to use as condiment to their dishes, they had some left over to use as liniment. His family started appreciating The Untrapping Trapper's long hunting career as being more rewarding than those of other men.

However, some *Bacwezi*,<sup>63</sup> a legendary type of fairy-like people, came along, intent upon dispossessing The Trapper of all his cattle. Among those mysterious men was Kyamufunda, son of Ndagara; and one called Ruhiiga, also son of Ndagara, a notorious robber. They got to his herd of cattle and drove it all away, taking it up to their abode in the sky.

The Untrapping Trapper was perplexed! You can imagine a man who had got used to having plenty of milk for his family all of a sudden to be left without a single cow!

After his herd of cattle was stolen, a firefly visited him. It enquired, “My friend The Untrapping Trapper, a hunter who never traps for food or for greed, you seem to be baffled. What's the matter with you?”

He dejectedly replied, “I had a large herd of cattle here, which some kind people had given me; but the *Bacwezi*, who dwell somewhere in the sky, have now snatched all

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<sup>63</sup> The *Bacwezi*: were believed to be a legendary type of people, vested with some superhuman powers, especially the ability to appear and disappear mysteriously, especially at night. Their origins remain unknown: one conjecture is that they were not real people, but mere mirages, that appeared to the senses to be real. Other theories about the *Bacwezi* are shown chapter two of this study.

the cattle from me. They have dispossessed me! I do not know what to do, as I am not so sure which *Bacwezi* to pursue.”

The firefly assured The Untrapping Trapper, “I am going to show you where your herd of cattle is; except that I cannot take you up there myself.” The firefly flashed its light skywards. The man looked up, saw and confirmed that his cattle were indeed up there.

At that moment, a spider came along and wondered, saying, “The Untrapping Trapper, you’re so downcast; what is puzzling you?”

He answered, “What can I say! The herd of cattle I was given by some donors have all been seized and taken away by the *Bacwezi*. I can see the cattle up there in the sky. But, I don’t know how to climb there and reclaim them.”

The spider confidently assured him, “My friend, you saved me; can I now fail to try to reward you, by helping you?” The spider wrapped him in its concealed web-storage chamber, and climbed with him skywards to the abode of the *Bacwezi*. The latter were very surprised to see The Untrapping Trapper arrive in the sky. Dumbfounded, they remarked, “Eh! Man, how have you managed to climb up here, you enigmatic fellow!”

The Untrapping Trapper asserted, “I followed the trail by which you brought my stolen cattle here.”

A leading *Mucwezi* known as Kyamufumba kya Ndagara challenged The Untrapping Trapper, saying, “Let us first go back to the earth and ascertain how you climbed up here. If I get to the earth before you, you will forfeit the cattle. But if you get there before me, we shall then return your whole herd of cattle to you.”

The Untrapping Trapper unhesitatingly agreed to face the challenge, confidently saying, “Let’s go right away. You will see that I’ll not fail to arrive there before you.”

Ruhiiga, son of Ndagara, scornfully exclaimed, “You hopeless fellow, there is no way you can reach the earth before us’

The Untrapping Trapper re-asserted, “Just let’s go straightaway.”

Meanwhile the spider was eavesdropping upon their bold assertions. It whispered to The Trapper, “I will devise the means and ways,<sup>64</sup> to ensure that you my friend will reach the earth before them.”

The spider wrapped up The Untrapping Trapper and all his cattle into its hidden web-chamber. It quickly unwound its web and slid downwards to the earth. The man and his cattle landed safely, conveniently close by his home!

Shortly afterwards the *Bacwezi* also landed from the sky. They were dismayed to find The Untrapping Trapper standing shoulder-high, amongst his cattle, his bearded chin triumphantly raised up. Humiliated, the *Bacwezi* conceded defeat and retreated to their home in the sky, without the recovered cattle.

Thereafter, The Untrapping Trapper exclaimed, “Now that I am assuredly wealthy, what is this prosperity for? This is a herd of cattle, which was given to my family as a donation by some donors, why don’t I use some of it to get my son a wife!”<sup>65</sup> He encouragingly suggested to his son, “Scout around for a suitable maiden, and I will assist you to marry her,<sup>66</sup> in order that you too may raise a family.”

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<sup>64</sup> I will devise means and ways of helping him (*mmucwere obwengye*). This Runyankore-Rukiga idiom suggests that the spider was thinking hard about the means and ways to enable The Untrapping Trapper to win the challenge of climbing down from the sky, so as to reclaim his stolen herd of cattle. In the word *mmucwere*, the first of the double *m-* is pronoun, standing for “I”, which is the subject of the phrase; the second one is also a pronoun, standing for “him”, and is the object of the phrase. The next morpheme, *-cwere*, is the verb, which in the context means, “devise.” The English phrase does not bring out the element of the quick, wise thinking that the spider engages in, so as not only to defeat the *Bacwezi* in descending from the sky, but, to do so whilst bearing the stolen herd of cattle in its web-chamber. Though highly fabulous, such a feat provides great delight to the audience and readers of the *Bacwezi* episodes in the story.

<sup>65</sup> Why don’t I use some of it [of the cattle] to get my son a wife, (*[ente] zirondesezemu mutabani wangye omukazi*): meaning, “use some of the cattle as bridewealth to get my son a wife. Culturally, cattle constitute the most favoured item of bridewealth among the Banyankore and Bakiga. The causative form of the verb in the phrase, “*-nzimuronde-sezemu*,” the cattle are referred to metaphorically, as the means with which a wife is married.” It is notable that in the praise songs by the bridegroom’s sisters and kin on the occasion of the transfer of the bride to his home, there is one specifically sung in praise of the cattle that was given as bridewealth to the bride’s people (Mubangizi, 1963:93).

<sup>66</sup> “So that I may assist you to marry;” the Runyankore-Rukiga expression, *okushwererera omutabani* denotes a man enabling his son to marry a wife: by providing him with the required bridewealth, as noted above.

One day, when his son had gone out to graze the cattle the weather suddenly changed, and the sky was overcast. It threatened to rain. He left the cattle far enough from people's gardens and ran to take shelter in a lonely hut which belonged to an old woman. When he was entering the hut he noticed that the old woman was gently touching a gourd, well placed in her inner room. Sitting by the entrance to the inner room, he observed that out of that gourd emerged a maiden, who went about arranging things. She was extremely beautiful! When the maiden cast a glance at the young man, she quickly turned her face away and entered into the gourd.

On returning home, the boy implored his father, "I have seen a very nice gourd with the old woman who lives alone over there. I would like you to buy that gourd for me. However much the old woman charges, please pay for the gourd and bring it over for me."

The Untrapping Trapper apprehensively remarked, "The old woman is a sister of the *Bacwezi*: do you want to get me into further confrontation with those very strange people!"

The young man did not disclose to his father what he had seen emerging from and re-entering the gourd. He kept pestering him to the extent of emotionally threatening to commit suicide, "If you don't get that gourd for me, I will take my life. You will then have no heir." In the days that followed, surprisingly, the young man started building himself a house next to that of his parents.

The Untrapping Trapper eventually yielded to satisfying his son's strange desire. He and his son went over to the old woman's home and asked to purchase her gourd.

At first the old woman seemed oblivious of what they were after, remarking, "What sort of gourd are you talking about?"

The young man said, "The gourd which I saw you gently touching in your inner room, when I came here to take shelter from rain."

The old woman stated her terms for releasing the gourd to them, saying, "In order to take my gourd from me you have to first bring me six heifers in calf."

The Untrapping Trapper and his son returned home. The next morning they took six heifers in calf to the old woman. She was satisfied and duly gave them the gourd, coveted by the young man. However, on their way home his father kept regretting that his six heifers had all gone for a mere gourd, which his son craved after, as though it were something worthwhile.

The young man very confidently assured his father, “You will see something precious emerging from this gourd. You wait and see.” The young man kept the gourd in his own house. At night he would secretly sneak to his house, and the maiden would then come out of the gourd and join him. She accepted to secretly marry him, but under strict conditions warning him, “Please never dare to disclose my presence here to anyone.”<sup>67</sup> For a while the young man tried hard to guard his wife’s impossible-to-keep secret.

However, his parents became suspicious. They believed that they were hearing him conversing with someone in his house at night. His mother wondered, “With whom does our son talk at night?” His father concurred with her, “I also keep hearing the talking. But, I wonder whom he talks to!” Finally, the parents asked their son, “Where do you sleep at night?”

The young man lied to his parents, saying, “Do I not sleep in the same house where you sleep?”

They retorted, “We hear you every night talking from the house you built. With whom do you talk?”

He lied to them again, “I light a fire there to keep the house warm. But I don’t sleep in it; and there is no one I talk with from there.”

The parents were incredulous, insisting to know the truth, until he disclosed it to them saying, “In the gourd there is a maiden! She has cattle in there and all sorts of other things.”

However, as he was disclosing that secret, the woman was eavesdropping upon everything he said for a *Mucwezi* can hear supernaturally.

By the time, the young man returned to his house that night, his bride and her gourd had disappeared! He was dumbfounded! Early in the morning, he lamentably

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<sup>67</sup> The Runyankore-Rukiga expression *otaringamba*, means “do not ever reveal the secret about me.” The expression can be used to demand total secrecy from a trusted friend. But, in the context of this story, this demand is virtually impossible to comply with; it is also unfair. The young man cannot marry the *Mucwezi* woman and keep it secret, even to his parents. He cannot make any use of her rich dowry, which includes cattle, without his parents and other people knowing about it! Moreover, marriage cannot remain the concern of the married couple alone, for it has a social dimension. The demand to keep the marriage secret is a wicked trick by the *Bacwezi*, a pretext for retracting their daughter and her dowry from the man. The man has rightfully acquired them both, after giving six heifers to the *Mucwezi* old woman, the guardian of the maiden. Those cows serve for bridewealth, which under customary law duly confers upon him a husband’s rights over the wife and the children likely to be born to their marriage.



disclosed to his parents that his spouse and the gourd both disappeared. The young man and his father went to the old *Mucwezi* woman and reported that her daughter and the gourd had vanished.

The old woman soon convened a meeting of the *Bacwezi* to settle that serious issue. They met and set a big challenge to the young man, anticipating he would not succeed. In pitch darkness they brought his wife forward together with all her siblings and put them all before him. They said to him, “From all these girls before you choose<sup>68</sup> the one who has been your wife. At first the young man got perplexed. However, at that moment a firefly softly whispered into his ear, the same firefly that his father had earlier on set free from a trap, “The one upon whom I settle is your wife. The gourd I settle upon is the one in which she was.” Immediately, the firefly settled upon the ear of one particular woman. The young man then gripped that one and jubilantly exclaimed, “This is my wife.”

The *Bacwezi* lit the fire and were astounded to see him gripping her!

The young man assertively made his second claim, “I also want to get back my gourd.” Once again in pitch darkness, the treacherous *Bacwezi* put before him, ten similar gourds, and challenged him, expecting him this time to fail. They said, “Now pick out your own gourd.” The firefly, without anyone suspecting it to be involved, flew and settled upon one of the gourds. The young man very confidently pointed out, “And this is my gourd.”

The *Bacwezi* conceded total defeat and gave back The Untrapping Trapper’s son wife and fabulous gourd. On reaching home, the man and his son opened the gourd and from it poured out cattle, maids, servants and slaves. They put the cattle together with those of the family herd. The maiden settled in well as a wife. When The Untrapping Trapper had raised a large extended lineage, going to several generations, I left him and came over here to narrate the events that I had witnessed.

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<sup>68</sup> “From these siblings before you choose the one you had married?” (*omu baishiki okwatemu owaawe, ou obaire oshweire.*” The key phrase in the source language text is “*okwatemu owaawe.*” It literally means, “catch hold of your own [wife].” The *Bacwezi* expect the young man to fail to identify her from her siblings in pitch darkness. The irony is that, assisted by his father’s friend, the firefly, he quite easily identifies his wife. Similarly aided, he identifies the magic gourd containing her rich dowry. The young man’s victory is due to his father’s kindness, delights the audience and readers of this story. *Owaawe*, can be used in Runyankore-Rukiga as an endearing phatic expression, meaning “your wife” or “your husband.”

### 3.4 AGURU THE OTRUNNER OF RAIN AND WIND<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> This compound name, used for the main character and title of this story, is hard to translate into English. The Runyankore-Rukiga version of it is written with hyphens by Mubangizi (1983:36) as *Maguru-Gatsiga-Enjura-n'Omuyaga*. It literally means “legs which run faster than rain and wind.” Idiomatically, it means “fast runner.” But neither the literal nor the idiomatic meaning sounds like a proper name in English. Alternative renderings of it in English are: “Maguru, the man who could run faster than rain and wind;” “a man who could outrun rain and wind,” or “the outrunner of rain and wind.” The last option sounds more natural for a name. But, in order to retain its link to the source language text, this study has retained the first component of it, “Maguru;” and rendered the whole title and name, as “Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind.” The definitive article “the” is used to qualify the noun “outrunner,” but cynically, because there is no justification in distinguishing Maguru as a fast runner. The point of the story is that his name is a mockery. Fast running that is not preceded by fast thinking and reasoning, can have fatal consequences.” Moreover, Maguru cannot even run faster than

There was a man called Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind. As his name suggests, he was very fast runner, who relied too much on his running speed. At times, he would simply be called by his first name, “Maguru,” which means, “Legs.” Whenever he went out hunting and roused an animal from its hiding, he would chase it until he caught up with it. He would only miss a prey upon which he had not set his eyes. He possessed a number of fierce hounds, which were also fast runners and enhanced Maguru’s hunting career.

One day Maguru prepared to go hunting as usual, took up his spear and flung his bag of fire-smelting flint upon his shoulder. He called out his dogs, which followed him to the bush. He alerted other hunters to join him and three of them followed, hoping to come back with some game meat. When they got to the bush, they tracked and closed in upon an animal in a thicket. They urged the dogs forward, intending to force the animal out of the bush and kill it.

However, the day, which had started brightly, suddenly changed. Dark clouds closed in and soon the sky was overcast! The hunters were in a dilemma, whether to run away from the impending rain, or to continue with hunting the animal they had encircled and were about to kill. At first, they tried to brave the hostile weather conditions and continued the hunt, but soon the storm became too much for them, pouring down upon them in incessant torrents.<sup>70</sup> The men said, “Let’s go and find somewhere to take shelter against this heavy down-pour upon our backs.” As there was no house near by for them to run to, they had no other option than to improvise a makeshift shelter in the bush. However, their makeshift shelter soon became a washout. The rain beat them so much that their light clothes got soaked through. The men felt the cold right through to their abdomen! They started involuntarily moving their chins about, gnashing and clattering their teeth, like someone shaping a small upper grinding-stone with another stone!

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his own dogs. He runs faster the monster; but is not fast enough to re-call its prediction to deceive him and lure him to marry it, disguised as a beautiful-looking woman.

<sup>70</sup> Rain poured upon them in incessant torrents (*enjura ebasaho oburo n’omugusha.*” This is Runyankore-Rukiga metaphor, which likens the hunters to a grinding stone, upon which millet and sorghum are ground successively. This figure of speech depicts the hard conditions the men have to endure under the long, abrasive, torrential rain.

The cold made the hunters so numb that their spears began to fall from their shivering hands, as they were unable to keep a firm grip of them. It appeared that even after the rain ceased, the sky would remain gloomy without being followed by any sunshine. The dogs' backs were bent, making them seem as if they were sick from plague!

The hunters said, "Let's smelt some fire from our flint and warm ourselves, so that we may be ready to resume our hunt after the rain." Those, including Maguru, who had carried some flint and fire-smelting boards and had kept them dry, tucked under their armpits, took them out and tried to smelt some fire. They rubbed hard, taking turns at rubbing the fire-smelting stick, placed in a hole on a smelting board,<sup>71</sup>. Although for long a few short sparks and in between some bigger ones went off, the wet conditions and the cold temperature hindered the flint from heating up to the point of igniting into the much-desired fire.

When the hunters were still shivering under extreme coldness, which was like the sort that drove someone to touch some untieable filth,<sup>72</sup> they saw some smoke rising up from somewhere far away, far out the bush. Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind said, "I am going over there to fetch some live coal."<sup>73</sup> He immediately dashed off, leaving the rest of the hunters and his dogs waiting, shivering.

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<sup>71</sup> Flint for smelting fire (*oburimbi bw'okusingaho omuriro*): *oburimbi* is a kind of inflammable powder, which when placed in a hole on a piece of easily inflammable board and a stick, called *orusingo*, is rubbed in it hard between both hands at high speed. The ensuing friction can produce sparks and eventually ignite into fire. Traditionally, that is how fire used to be smelted among the Banyankore and Bakiga, prior to the introduction of safety matches and gas lighters.

<sup>72</sup> To touch some untieable filth (*amanga-kubohwa*): this unspecified Runyakore-Rukiga polite speech expression is a euphemism for "faeces." Its near equivalent English phrase, "untieable filth," is vague, for filth could be of different kinds, not only faeces. The source language text expression gives the sense of the effects the chilly weather conditions had on the hunters, making them unable to wilfully control their limbs.

<sup>73</sup> To fetch live coal (*kuguha omuriro*): in the past, prior to the introduction of safety matches and lighters, the Banyankore and Bakiga aimed to keep fire continuously smouldering in the family hearth. Occasionally, when fire went out, someone, especially a sensible child, would be sent to fetch fire in form of a live coal, from a neighbouring home. The idiom "*okuguha omuriro*" literally means to fetch fire. In this story Maguru Outrunner of Wind and Rain, ventures to fetch fire from what turns out to be the home of a monster. In the story of "Kaanyonza's Daughter," the heroine's brother is sent by their jealous, murderous stepmother to fetch live coal from a neighbouring home.

When Maguru got close enough to the rising smoke, peeped in and noticed that it was the home of a monster! That recognition notwithstanding, he daringly intruded, and was astounded to find that the monster had lit the fire upon its own leg! Maguru boldly leapt once, snatched a piece of wood with fire at its outer end, and dashed out. The monster, taken by surprise, awkwardly sprang up, intending to pursue and kill him. However, Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind, skipped away, racing rapidly. He was soon seen a long way off, but still within hearing distance. He soon went over the horizon and escaped the raging monster's wrath!

The monster was so enraged that the signs of its irritation were visible at the crown of its head, with massive, bitter rage, virtually tearing away at its neck.<sup>74</sup> Before Maguru completely disappeared over the horizon, he heard the monster shouting out its curses, predicting the disguised forms under which it would sooner or later emerge and avenge itself upon Maguru.

Before the monster retreated to its abode, it loudly shouted:

You have escaped me now,

Later, I will catch up with you.

I will come as a beautiful woman:

You will marry me, and I will kill you!

I will be an axe, being vended by smiths,

You will purchase me, take me home, and I will kill you!

I will be a stick in the bush, suitable for a nice walking cane:

You will cut me from the bush, shape me, and I will kill you!

You will find me as a spear, being vended by smiths:

You will purchase me, and I will kill you!

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<sup>74</sup> *Ekiniga kiruri omu ihahaara, kasanga neecwa amaraka,*” these source language phrases, literally means that rage went to the crown and neck of the monster, depicting the frightful spectacle and bitter mood the monster is in. [*E*]ihahaara is a rarely used word, which means the crown of the head.

You will buy me as a beautiful wooden milk vessel:<sup>75</sup>

You will take me home, and I will kill you.

Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind kept sprinting forward, seeming as though he had plugged his ears with sticks,<sup>76</sup> pretending not to hear the monster's threats. He arrived with the live coal and found his companions still shivering from the cold. They held some sticks over the live coal that Maguru had snatched from the fire on the monster's leg. The men blew hard at the live coal until fire was lighted. They added more wood to it and got the fire burning well. The hunters gladly warmed themselves, sincerely thanking Maguru. Thereafter, they took up their hunting instruments and returned home without any game meat. By then it was too late for them to resume the hunt. The men were so dejected that they could have been pushed over with one finger. Not long thereafter, certain smiths came to Maguru vending a beautiful hunting spear. He thought to himself, "I shouldn't miss buying such a good spear." However, just then he remembered the predicted warning of the monster and let the spear go.

On another occasion, when Maguru was out hunting he saw a stick that could be shaped into a nice walking stick. He cut it, intending to take it home and shape it well. However, just then he recalled the monster's warning regarding such a stick, and cast it away.

Later on when Maguru was returning home, he met some people vending a very good axe. When he was about to buy it from them, he remembered the prediction of the monster about such an axe, he gave up buying it.

Although he was a cultivator, Maguru also kept some cattle. At one time, he met some people vending a beautiful a wooden milk vessel, offering at it at fair price. When

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<sup>75</sup> A wooden milk vessel (*ekyanzi*): this Runyankore-Rukiga word means a small, beautifully shaped wooden milk vessel, normally dyed in black. Cattle keepers, especially the Bahima, use it, as the culturally preferred vessel for keeping and drinking milk. *Ebyanzi* (plural for *ekyanzi*) form part of dowry items, tied together along a staff called *omugamba* for a Muhima bride, as her dowry would include several cows.

<sup>76</sup> *Amatu agahenderamu ebiti*: this Runyankore-Rukiga figure of speech literally means "he plugs his ears with sticks." The contextual metaphorical meaning is that although Maguru hears the monster, he remains undeterred by its threats. In the subsequent episodes, Maguru remembers to avoid the snares predicted by the monster, except the crucial one about the predicted beautiful woman. The irony is that Maguru plugs his mental faculties, acts fast, but irrationally and lustfully to his own detriment.

he had just taken the vessel into his hands to examine and purchase it, he recalled the monster's warning and gave it up.

However, as it is proverbially said, "whatever keeps nagging at you eventually breaks up your knife," and "persistent illness can consume your property."<sup>77</sup> Thus, one time, as Maguru was returning home from visiting a friend, there on the side of the path, close to his home was seated a smashingly beautiful-looking woman, dressed in a nice, well-perfumed cowhide.<sup>78</sup> The fragrance from her dress filled the air. She was also donning a large mantle of a new, well-perfumed backcloth. She had a collar of beautiful beads covering her entire neck. The woman's shins were decked with a double-layered cluster of fine copper lace. She also had a set of well-polished bangles on her wrists. Her hairstyle was in the form circular strips, which made her head look like a cone shaped thatched roof. Her teeth were sparkingly white, glossy and shiny like hailstone. There was a gate-like gap between her front upper teeth row, which whenever she smiled let through a gust of air.

When Maguru cast a glance at that woman, and when the nice scent from her dress reached his nostrils, in his heart he felt, "Come what may, such an amazingly beautiful woman should not to be missed. I will disappear with her!" When he saw her, it was love at first sight! He eagerly asked her in a succession, "You woman, where do you come from? Where are you going?"

She replied, "I am coming from home. I am searching for any available man to marry me."<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> The Runyankore-Rukiga equivalents of these proverbs are: "*Akeezingiriire omuhoro gwawe kagucwa.*" and "*Endwara etakizire ekumarahho ebyawe.*" Their similar, implied meaning is that "whatever keeps besetting you, will sooner or later destroy you."

<sup>78</sup> Cowhide dress (*enkanda*): this single Runyankore-Rukiga word means a married woman's cowhide dress. Long ago, prior to the introduction of cotton and synthetic fibre cloth, skins and hides were used as dress. In order to provide adequate cover needed by female modesty, cowhide was the culturally prescribed dress for married women. A number of *nkanda*, (plural of *nkanda* in N-N Bantu noun class), used to form part of the essential items of dowry for a bride on the occasion of her *kuhingirwa*, or give-away to be transferred to her marital home. In the past, cowhide dresses used to be softened with regular smearing with butter and perfuming under controlled heat. In Runyankore-Rukiga that process was called *okwoteza*.

<sup>79</sup> I am searching for any available man to marry me (*ninza kushaaka*.) The Runyankore-Rukiga verb-root *-shaak-*, which is also found in Runyarwanda and in Ruhaya, means to go searching for something. *Okushaakiira*, derived from the same verb-root, means "to search through the bush for a particular herbal medicine." A witch

Maguru delightfully said to her, “Well, if you are searching for any available man to marry, I am available. I have instantly fallen in love with you.”

The woman readily responded, “That is my desire too. You take me to your home and marry me.”

Maguru did not hesitate. He invited her up, “Arise! Let’s go!” They went following each other and soon reached his home. He joyfully announced to his mother, “See, I have brought home a wife. I am marrying her. Please cater for her during her period of bridal seclusion.”<sup>80</sup>

When the people at Maguru’s home saw the rare, beautiful woman, they all encouragingly remarked, “If you don’t marry such a pretty woman, whom else do you marry?”

Unsuspectingly, Maguru married the woman. Her mother-in-law devotedly catered for her throughout the bridal period of seclusion. When it was over, the woman came out and started doing some domestic chores. She appeared to settle in well, making it seem to everyone at Maguru’s home that there was nothing amiss about her.

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doctor can demand for a down-payment, known as “*ez’obutera kishaka*,” before beginning the process of searching (*kushaakiira*) by divination for hidden causes of illness or other problems besetting his client; and for some herbal medicine. In the context of this story, the expression *kushaaka* is used metaphorically by the strange woman, meaning “to search for a man to elope with.” Normally, it is desperate spinsters, widows or divorcees that go searching for any man to elope with. Similarly desperate men are the ones likely to marry such women, but at their own risk. In this story, the folly is that Maguru is oblivious of the monster’s predicted consequence of marrying such a woman as the one he is lured by. His serious error of judgment is also that he overlooks the cultural wisdom of making pre-marriage precautionary scrutiny for verifying the prospective marriage partner’s background.

<sup>80</sup> Cater for her during the bridal period of seclusion (*omwarikye*.) This is the agentive form of the verb root “-*arik-*”, which literally means, “*incubate*.” The related expression “*enkoko eyarikire*,” means, “a hen is sitting on its eggs to incubate them till they hatch out.” The Runyankore-Rukiga metaphor “*omwarikye*,” means, “you cater for the bride during her bridal period of seclusion.” Culturally, the end of the bridal seclusion period should be marked by a formal visit by the bride and bridegroom accompanied by some other guests, to the natal home of the bride. In this story, the omission of that visit helps to keep the mystery about the woman’s real identity unravelled, and to develop the plot about the consequence of the folly of flouting with cultural norms and practices.



As the proverb says, “Whatever is liable to kill a dog, first blocks its nose!”<sup>81</sup> Maguru had remembered in time all the other warnings by the monster, but the most dangerous one eluded him: the one concerning a beautiful woman.

At one time the “beautiful woman” politely called out to Maguru, Darling,<sup>82</sup> please come and accompany me to the bush I wish to go there and cut some flowered branches from a certain tree. I need the flowers for preparing some fragrant perfume for my cowhide dresses.”

Maguru felt that he could not refuse his wife’s request, considering it to be genuine and wanting to please her. You can very well imagine the impact of the infatuation between a bride and a bridegroom!<sup>83</sup>

Before they set off for the bush errand Maguru wanted to call out his hounds to accompany them. However, his wife restrained him, saying, “What are the dogs for, since we are not going hunting!”

Just then, Maguru had a premonition<sup>84</sup> of some probable danger that might befall him. As a precaution, he secretly alerted his mother, “If you see a leaf appearing

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<sup>81</sup> This proverb underlines that whatever is likely to become fatal, first obstructs its victim’s main protective mechanism, which may be the senses or the intellectual faculties. In this story, it is Maguru’s thinking and reasoning faculties that are get obstructed by his lust and rash actions. His sense of judgment is seriously flawed, and liable to plunge him into grave danger.

<sup>82</sup> Darling (*ogu*), this deictic expression in the source language text is a pronoun, literally meaning “this one,” which literally in English does not make sense. But in this context, in Runyankore-Rukiga it is an idiomatic phatic endearment expression, used by a husband or a wife in addressing each other. The two deliberately avoid mentioning each other’s personal name, as a mark of mutual respect. Culturally, a wife is not expected to say out her husband’s name; nor he hers. Another phatic expression, mutually used between husband and wife is, *owangye*, meaning “mine.” This nice expression conveys a sense of mutual claim that married spouses have upon each other; as well as of their endearment and commitment towards each other. The near to the equivalent English expression, “darling,” is not as expressive as the Runyankore-Rukiga “*ogu* and *owangye*.”

<sup>83</sup> Infatuation of a bridegroom towards his bride (*akahararo k’omushaija aha mukazi muto*): such an emotional attachment is normally characterised by sentimental, mutual attraction between spouses, recently married. The probable risk from such sentiments is due to the fact that those involved do not know each other enough. The risk is even greater between Maguru and the strange woman he so hurriedly married. Not long after she lures him to the bush, turns into a revengeful monster and nearly kills him.

<sup>84</sup> He had a premonition (*orwekyengo*): this means having a feeling that something seriously bad or ominous is likely to happen to oneself. In the case of Maguru, the surprising restraint by his wife not to let his dogs accompany them to the bush causes

and settling upon your right breast, know that something sinister is happening to me in the bush,<sup>85</sup> then quickly release and despatch my dogs to follow me there.”

Maguru and his wife set off on the dubious bush errand to get the fragrance-producing flowers at the top of the tree. When they got far into the bush the woman purposely showed him a very tall tree, as the one bearing the fragrance-producing flowers she most desired, saying, “There they are high up in that tree. Please climb it and cut the flower-bearing branches for me. I will remain down to gather the branches and pluck off the flowers which I need.”

Maguru innocently climbed the tree, taking with him a big knife to cut the flower-bearing branches. He climbed the tree very skilfully, like a monkey, and soon got to the top branches. He began cutting the branches and throwing them down for his wife, who aimlessly, plucked off some flowers, with her mind turned elsewhere.

Suddenly, seeing that Maguru was busy so high up in the tree, what had just been a woman, quickly discarded the cowhide and backcloth dresses, and turned into an awful monster! The monster, waving its snout towards Maguru, loudly and ferociously exclaimed, “That time when you trespassed into my home and recklessly stole my fire, you escaped from me, trusting your fast-running legs. You escaped, thinking that I would never catch up with you. But, today you are done for!”<sup>86</sup>

Faced with such unexpected turn of events and grave danger to his life, Maguru’s eyes became blurred.<sup>87</sup> His heart missed a beat. It then started palpitating: *kuruti kuruti*.<sup>88</sup>

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him to instinctively feel that something gravely dangerous might befall him during that errand.

<sup>85</sup> Know that then something sinister is happening to me (*biri haine ekyambaho*). On the basis of that premonition, Maguru wisely alerts his mother that in case he faced any serious danger, he would send her a mysteriously flying leaf, as an SOS distress signal, for her to send his hounds over to the bush. The conditional clause Maguru uses is set in the present tense, implying that at the time of sending the signal, the danger would still be in the process of happening, and that it could still be halted, hence, would be the urgency of sending him the dogs to save him.

<sup>86</sup> Today you are done for! (*Eriizooba waza kwata*.) Maguru faces the disgraceful consequence of his serious error of judgment. The strange woman he marries without bothering to first verify her background, turns out to be the vengeful, disgustful and murderous monster, from which he had earlier snatched a live coal.

<sup>87</sup> His eyes were blurred (*amaisho gaamuba ebizooro*). Literally, one meaning of the word “*ekizooro*” is a blurred, full moon that is beginning to appear. Another meaning is the iris of the eye. In this story, *ebizooro* is the plural form of *ekizooro*, in the KI-BI

The monster put its hand to its arse,<sup>89</sup> from which it removed an axe, and in raging haste started cutting down the tree in which Maguru was climbing!

Fortunately, on their way down to the bush, Maguru had mercifully set free a small bird that had fallen victim to a hunter's trap. As the proverb says, "A good turn deserves another;" so when the same bird saw that the tree in which he was being held at ransom, would soon fall, it intervened by casting a magic spell upon the tree the monster was cutting down saying, "Be fully restored to wholeness."<sup>90</sup>

The monster got very annoyed and started chasing away the interfering bird. By the time the monster went to resume cutting down the tree, it found that the bark and the chippings it had already chipped off had all been fully restored, making it look as if the

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Bantu noun-class. The Runyankore-Rukiga descriptive expression "*amaisho gaamuba ebizooro*," depicts a visual impression of Maguru's shock, which causes the iris of his eyes and his sight to become blurred with tears and his mind blurred with fear. This scene adds to the point of the story, that Maguru's mental vision is actually blurred.

<sup>88</sup> It [Maguru's heart] started palpitating (*ekitima kye kiza omuri kuruti-kuruti*). Instead of using the usual noun prefix "Mu-", "in reference to Maguru's heart, *omutima*, an animate object, the Runyankore-Rukiga text uses the "eki-" prefix, from KI-BI Bantu noun class, to denote that his heart as "*ekitima*" suggesting that Maguru's heart got out of its normal state, out of fear of impending death, and missed a beat. The expression "*kuruti-kuruti*" is an onomatopoeic ideophone, depicting Maguru's palpitating heart, out of his sudden fear of impending death. The ideophone has been kept so in the translation.

<sup>89</sup> Arse (*ekihaata*): this Runyankore-Rukiga, word literally means the exposed, ugly-looking back quarters of a baboon. In that language and in English, the words *ekihaata* and arse, respectively, are used metaphorically as a slang, intended to insult their addressee. The Runyankore-Rukiga idiom, "*Ihaho ekihaata kyawe*," means "remove your arse." The equivalent idioms in English are, "cover your arse;" or "move off your arse." Another, rather strange English idiom, is, "kiss my arse." The irony in this episode is that Maguru has insulted himself by marrying a monster, which inevitably involves direct contact with its disgusting arse. On the other hand, the punitive consequence of the monster's wickedness in disgracing a man and of its revengeful conduct is being mauled by Maguru's dogs, thus enabling him to kill it. That sudden turn of events against the monster satisfies poetic justice; it gives pleasure to the audience and readers of the story.

<sup>90</sup> Be fully restored to wholeness (*shugaana*). This source language text word metaphorically means, "become completely integral, leaving no cut-marks." A Runyankore-Rukiga noun-derived from the root verb *-shugaan-a*, is *obushugaane*, which literally means virginity. Used metaphorically in this context, it gives the sense of the intended meaning about "the restoration of the tree to wholeness," and the safety for Maguru.

tree had never known any axe at all! The monster resumed cutting down the tree furiously and more energetically, intending to fell it soon.

Meanwhile Maguru remembered to send home a magically flying leaf, to alert his mother about his predicament. Soon, the leaf reached his home and settled upon his mother's right breast. She exclaimed, "Oh! My child has died!"<sup>91</sup> Maguru's mother then hurriedly opened the kennel, and releasing his dogs, urged them forward to go and rescue him in the bush.

She released Rukwitsi of Rugorogoro, whose teeth could split like an axe. She released Rweramikono of Rutuukana, whose nose could sniff at what is in Karagwe, that is, very far. She released Rukamba, which had come from Bwamba, and whose eyes could flash ahead and see far in pitch darkness. She released Rwirima of Rucwerengyere, which could grab firmly, tear up and swallow up bits of its victim whilst it is still alive. She lastly released the small Rwakabwana, which slowly trailed behind the faster dogs. Maguru's mother hurriedly urged his hounds forward, saying,

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<sup>91</sup> Oh! My child has died! (*Ebishi omwana wangye yaafa!*) This exclamation is made by Maguru's mother on receiving his distress signal through the mysteriously flying leaf. Although her exclamation is set in the immediate past tense, the action it is referring to, strictly speaking, has not yet occurred, as the subsequent narration of the story discloses. When she gets the fabulously flying leaf signal, Maguru's mother does not think that her son has actually died. She utters the exclamation only apprehensively, fearing for his life, which by then must have been in grave danger, but could still be saved. That is why she hurriedly dispatches his hounds, which dash off and actually thwart the monster's threat to kill Maguru. They succeed to save him, and enable him to kill the monster.

The immediate past tense, similar to the today-past/historical present tense, can be used in Runyakitara, that is, in Runyoro-Rutooro and Runyankore-Rukiga, for an action that is set to happen, or that has started happening, but which can still be averted or halted, respectively, if something else intervenes just in time, is illustrated by the following three examples. (1) A housekeeper can be alerted thus, "*Yanura emyenda, enjura yaagiteera,*" literally meaning, "Take in the laundry, the rain has drenched it." But, the intended message to her is that unless she takes in the clothes, they will soon be soaked by the impending rain. (2) A person standing at a railway-crossing can be warned thus, "*Rugaho, egaari y'omwika yaakwita,*" literally meaning, "Move off, the train has killed you." The implied meaning is, "Move off the railway crossing, else the advancing train will kill you. (3) When a tree which is being cut down is about to fall, a person standing in the direction towards which it is inclined to fall can be warned, thus, "*Irirayo, omuti gwakuteera,*" literally warning, "Move farther away, the tree has fallen on you;" but implying, move off, else the falling tree will hit you."

“*Shss-shi! Go! Shss-shi! Go!*”<sup>92</sup> The dogs dashed off, trailing their master. They run very swiftly, straining their buttock muscles hard for leg-power,<sup>93</sup> leaving a cloud of dust behind them rising to the sky! In no time the hounds would reach the tree of the so-called fragrance-producing treetop flowers.

When the monster heard the bells round the necks of the hounds clattering<sup>94</sup> from the horizon, it quickly returned the axe to its arse. It then hurriedly put on the cowhide and bark-cloth dress, reverted to human form, re-posed as a woman. It desperately started pleading earnestly, “Oh! My darling, please climb down quickly and save me. Your dogs are going to maul me! Please save my life.”

However, Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind, this time could not be hoodwinked. This time he made a quick right decision, and acted as if he had not understood the message of the monster’s appeal. He scornfully mimicked the monster, thus, “Your what ...? Are going to what ... me!”<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> *Shss-shi! Shss-shi Go! (Shss-shi! Shss-shi Mwiroomo!)*: this is an onomatopoeic utterance used by Banyankore and Bakiga to attract the attention of a dog. It is usually accompanied by pointing at a certain target or to a certain direction and inciting the dog to attack it or to go there, respectively. The alerted dog will understand the intended message and act accordingly. In this story, Maguru’s mother releases his dogs, pointing to the bush where he had gone with his wife, saying, “*Shss-shi! Shss-shi! Mwiroomo,*” that is, “*Shss-shi! Go!*” A similar onomatopoeic expression, “*Shss-shi! Shss-shi! Mugire,*” meaning, “*Shss-shi! Do it/Attack,*” is subsequently used by Maguru, whilst inciting his hounds to attack and mercilessly maul the bewildered monster.

<sup>93</sup> They [the hounds] strain their buttocks to gain running power (*amaguru igashaba enio.*) Running is an exercise that inevitably strains the buttock muscles. The Runyankore-Rukiga word *enio/kabunu*, means “buttocks.” In this context, the buttocks are personified and asked beseechingly, “to provide the legs with running-power.”

<sup>94</sup> The dogs’ neck-bells were clattering (*amajugo nigaconcana*). As the hounds sped up, their neck-bells were oddly clattering. The Banyankore and Bakiga used to tie small bells round the necks of hunting dogs, so that the clattering sound could scare a hunted animal out of its hiding. Similar bells used to be tied round a child’s ankles, so that their clattering sound would encourage him or her to enjoy the exercise of learning to walk. Such were the kind of bells that Muhuuba’s wife, in our first story, removed from her baby’s ankles and tied to the legs of the robin, so as to facilitate its mission of searching for and summoning back her husband. The main bull in a big herd of cattle would also have neck-bells to enable it to audibly lead the herd to pasture or to the watering point.

<sup>95</sup> “Your what ... are going to what ... me! (*Ebiniora byawe byaza kunniora!*)” This ideophone, sarcastically mumbled by Maguru, mimics the monster-wife’s impassioned pleas to him to restrain his hounds from attacking it. The anger and disgust of Maguru mimicry implies that he has no motive for saving the treacherous, double-dealing monster. There is no equivalent phrase in English to convey the source language text

By then his hounds had arrived at the scene, just in time to save their hapless master. Before coming down, Maguru first incited the hounds, pointing at the fiend, and urging them on, thus, “*Shss-shi! Go ahead. Shss-shi! Go ahead.*” When incited to act, the dogs did not hesitate. They hurriedly dashed upon and menacingly attacked the “so-called wife,” the monster in disguise, and savagely mauled it.

When they had overpowered and were tearing up the monster to pieces, Maguru safely climbed down the tree, took up his spear, which had been placed a little further away, aiming well he plunged it into the lower abdomen of the treacherous double dealer. He struck it with such force that the spear went right through to the back side of the monster, killing it instantly.

However, when Maguru was returning home, he opted to enter into a playful, but fateful racing contest with his hounds, saying to them, “You take this way; I will take the other way. We shall meet at the crossroads close to our home. If I get there before you, I’ll kill you. If you reach there before me, you kill me.” He proudly trusted in his legs, with which he thought he would run faster than rain and wind, forgetting, the wisdom of this proverb, “Over-confidence caused the toad to lose its tail.”

Maguru had hardly finished what he was saying; when the dogs taking literally what they thought he meant, especially the implications of losing that race, immediately dashed off. The hounds went by the path he had just pointed out for them. They ran, as though their legs were not touching the ground, as if they were flying, with their neck-bells clinking oddly.

Moments later, Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind, also took to his heels, along a parallel pathway. He ran as fast as he could, with his legs also seeming not to touch the ground,<sup>96</sup> straining his buttock and back muscles hard, to get extra running power!

Whoever met him and whoever met his hounds remained speechless. If you had been at the crossroads to witness the odd dramatic event, you would have seen that there

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ideophone’s sarcasm, conveyed by the tonal features in the expressions “*Ebiniora byawe byaza kunniora.*” A similar prosodic expression is used in the story of Kaanyonza’s Daughter, “*Ninniora Kahara ka Nniora.*” The implied meaning is partially given, by using elliptic dots in the English phrase, leaving it to the audience and readers to guess and fill in the missing syllables to convey the intended meaning.

<sup>96</sup> “Running, with legs seeming not to touch the ground:” this is a translation of the following hyperbolic Runyankore-Rukiga idiom: “*okwiruka-bugurubutakora-hansi,*” literally “to run with legs seeming not to touch the ground,” meaning “to run very fast, as if flying, to run very fast.”

were still some very fast runners in the world. And who got to the crossroads first? It was the hounds! Who arrived there last? Ironically, it was Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind! His dogs had outrun him by many minutes!

Perplexed, Maguru plunged his thick fingers into his nostrils and fell to the ground, extremely exhausted. He naively thought that the racing game was over. However, that was not so for the hounds, which took the stated terms of their challenger literally! Consequently, after winning the race the dogs instinctively did the next thing. They pounced upon Maguru and began to savagely maul him! You were not there to behold the bizarre spectacle that ensued. The hounds started tearing him to pieces.<sup>97</sup> He kept groaning helplessly, as they were devoured him rapaciously. You were not there to behold the melodrama, how they finished him and started licking their cheeks! Soon, it seemed as though Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind had never existed at all!

Thereafter, the hounds sluggishly went home. When they got there, they were asked where they had left their master. However, they kept dead silent as if nothing sinister had happened to him!

However, Maguru's cows sensed the tragedy that had befallen him. From then on the cows refused to drink any water and even refused to go out to pasture. The cows that had calved totally refused to suckle their calves or even to be milked! The cattle actually went into real mourning over their master's dreadful death. Do not ask me how those animals knew about it, and how they could behave so humanely. Instead, go and consult the witch doctors of the place.

Because of the cows' boycott, the young and old people at the late Maguru's home had no more milk. The dogs, which had been used to consuming large quantities of curdled milk,<sup>98</sup> regretted what they had done to their master. Maguru's people tortured the dogs and ordered them off. "Go and bring back your master. If you can't, then vanish from here and perish!"

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<sup>97</sup> *Niimutaanyaguza*: this Runyankore-Rukiga expression implies "tearing him to pieces in a haphazard manner." The source language expression conveys a graphic spectacle of Maguru's dreadful end.

<sup>98</sup> Used to gulping large quantities of curdled milk (*kweyeshera amacunda*): this Runyankore-Rukiga figurative expression implies that Maguru's dogs had been used to drinking plenty of milk, as freely as cows drink water. The simile is implied by the word "*kweyeshera*," when cows get to the water, they drink to their satisfaction. When milk has been churned up and butter taken out of it, what remains of the milk is called *amacunda*.

The dogs were greatly perturbed! They went back to the crossroads where they had devoured their master from looked at each other but remained perplexed,<sup>99</sup> not knowing what to do in order to restore their master back to life. Finally, they started regurgitating Maguru piece by piece! Whichever dog had eaten a piece of his tissue or organ brought it forth. Whichever had eaten an eye of his brought it out. They regurgitated all the parts of Maguru's body that they had devoured.

Next, the dogs collected all his bones and moulded Maguru's body and tried to make it stand. However the body could not stand at all! They tried repeatedly to revive him, but all in vain. They were more bewildered. At last, the dogs remembered that Rwakabwana, which had swallowed Maguru's heart, had not brought it out. They pleaded with Rwakabwana to bring forth the heart. It did so. The heart was put back into the moulded body.

Haa! Haa! Maguru was instantly revived. He stood up, appearing like Maguru himself four times, Maguru five times over!

When I realised that Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind had truly been brought back to life, fully restored to life, and that he had returned to his home; and when I noticed that his cattle had accepted to return to pasture, and that those with calf had accepted to be milked as before, I set off and came back<sup>100</sup> to my own nest to eat my sweet potato, called *magabari*.

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<sup>99</sup>The dogs were perplexed (*zaagaaragaarirwa*). This source language expression underlines the dogs' perplexity, not knowing what to do next to solve their insurmountable problem to restore Maguru to life!

<sup>100</sup> This is one typical style of concluding a storyline of a folk story. Being imaginative and about real life, which goes on, a folk story, could go on and on adding new episodes developing the theme and plot further. But a particular story must be kept to an appropriate length, and be aptly concluded Toolan (1992:152,160-162).



### 3.5 KAAREMEERA SON OF THE WITCH DOCTOR <sup>101</sup>

There was an old, well-known witch doctor<sup>102</sup> called Karagura. Before he died, he bequeathed the elements and basic strategy of his trade to his son, Kaaremeera, saying, “My child, have these bags<sup>103</sup> of my career as a witch doctor. They are the resources

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<sup>101</sup> The Runyankore-Rukiga title, which is also the name of the main character of this story, is a noun phrase “*Kaaremeera ka Karagura*,” literally meaning “the powerful son of the witch doctor.” “*Kaaremeera*” means the powerful; and “*ka*” is a conjunctive possessive-marker, meaning “of,” which in the context of this story, means “son of.”

<sup>102</sup> This compound noun can be spelt in three different ways, as, “witchdoctor, witch-doctor or witch doctor.” This study has adopted the third option, following the Oxford English Dictionary. A witch doctor (*omufumu*) is a person who claims and is believed by clients and other people in society to ritually offer divination and healing services. A witch doctor claims to render such services by use of supernatural mediums, known as *emandwa*, which can be in the form of idols, notably, small horns or tips thereof, and by magic objects, fetishes/talismans/amulets and through the agency of spirit mediums.

<sup>103</sup> A witch doctor’s bags (*enshaho z’omufumu*) are animal-skin bags in which are carried the main elements of a witch doctor’s trade. The bags contain the horns or other objects, which are the symbols of the claimed supernatural and magical powers, called *emandwa*. The bags carry cowrie shells, used for casting as a divining dice; they also contain castor oil seed or some other seed, used for plugging the witch doctor’s nostrils to enable him to mumble out *emandwa* language incantations (Mubangizi, 1963:44).

upon which you will depend, as I have depended upon them myself. It is from them that I married your mother. It is by them that I obtained the wealth, which you see around here. They are the means by which I got all the servants in this household. Do not ask me about raising a family.<sup>104</sup> We witch doctors amass material wealth, but we hardly ever succeed in raising desirable families. If you are lucky to have one child, as I have had you that would be your good fortune.”

Karagura gave his final tutorage to his son about the crafts of his trade. He directed him, “Take the *mandwa*<sup>105</sup> idols out of their bags one by one, so that I may tell you their respective names and roles.”

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The bags also contain what are claimed to be lethal fetishes, and protective amulets or talismans. Collectively fetishes and talismans/amulets are called *engisha* in Runyankore-Rukiga. Additionally, the witch doctor’s bags contain various traditional medicines, mostly herbal. A witch doctor usually goes along with a porter to carry his bags. Apart from doing some good: by providing helpful counselling and medicine, generally, the name witch doctor, “*omufumu*,” as an occupational name, bears a degree of pejorative connotation, for its association with fraudulence and extortion.

It is significant to note that the Runyankore-Rukiga respectable name for a scientifically trained medical doctor is not “*omufumu*,” but “*omushaho*. Literally meaning “a bag carrier,” “a bag owner,” or simply “a bagman.” The word is derived from the noun “*enshaho*,” which literally means “a bag.” A medical doctor normally carries a bag, with a stethoscope, a blood pressure checking instrument, a thermometer and a few basic drugs, especially when going to attend to a patient far away from any pharmacy.

<sup>104</sup> Raising a family (*kugira ruzaaro*) this Runyankore-Rukiga phrase means raising children, which constitutes a major purpose of marriage. The opposite expression “*okuburwa ruzaaaro*,” means to fail to bear children. By itself the word *oruzaaro* means children. Bearing children and raising a family is a major concern in the culture of many African societies, being the key motive for marrying. Marrying in order to realise that motive features in four of the stories for this study.

<sup>105</sup> Take the *mandwa* idols out of their bags, so that I may tell you about them (*nzikugambire*). This source language text expression is a euphemism, alluding to the old man’s intention to emphasize the pertinent aspects of a witch doctor’s antics, as part of his bequest to his son. The word *emandwa* is in a noun the M-M Bantu noun class that has the same form for the singular as for the plural. The first meaning of *emandwa* is a spirit or a minor deity, vested with some supernatural powers. *Emandwa* can also mean a material object, such as a horn, or the tip thereof, claimed by a witch doctor and regarded by clients to possess supernatural powers. Some of the *Emandwa* were believed to be the progenitors of the *Bacwezi*. Among them there was a woman, called *Nyabingi*, who was worshipped a goddess in Rwanda and South-Western Uganda (Mubangizi, 1963:11-13). A fourth meaning of *emandwa*, known, “*embandwa*” in Runyoro-Rutooro, is a spirit-medium, i.e., a human being, a male or female, who has been ritually initiated to become the spokesperson, agent, priest or priestess of particular deity or even of an ancestor spirit (Mubangizi, *ibid.* 38-45; Lugira, 1970:23-24; also

Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor started taking the horns, called the symbols of the *emandwa*, out of the skin bags. His father directed him, “Hold them out one by one, so that I may tell you their names.” When the young man held out the first one, the old man said, “That *mandwa* is Karengutuko. It is by venturing out to various places that your witch doctor’s bags will be of beneficial to you.”

Next, Karagura told his son, “Take out the second one.” Kaaremeera took out the second *mandwa* horn. His father told him, “This one is Ruhiigirokuniga. Wherever you go to carry out divination and healing rituals, first make sure to get a big ewe or a big goat slaughtered. First touch some blood before performing any ritual. Thereafter, in case the ritual situation goes sour, you will at least have had a hind-leg portion of the slaughtered animal put aside for you to run off with.” To ascertain that his son was following and grasping the intended meaning of what he was teaching him very well, Karagura figuratively remarked, “But, do you have ears?”

To assure his father that he was fully attentive and comprehending what he meant to teach him, the son humorously replied, “My ears are not borrowed; they are not blocked with wax either.”

Karagura then instructed his son to take out the remaining two *mandwa* horns. The young man took them out of the bag and showed them to his father. The latter said, “These two *mandwa*: one is Kaabwamba the elder, the other is Kaabwamba the younger.” The old man alerted his son to always remember this crucial trick, “These and any other *mandwa* horns can speak, but only if you, the witch doctor, know how to

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from the researcher’s interview with Vincent Kaanyonza on 14/7/2007)). It is interesting to note that the Ibo of South-Eastern Nigeria, as shown in Achebe’s novel, *Arrow of God*,” believe in a pantheon, considering that every human being is said to have a personal god, “*chi*” in Igbo cosmology (Achebe, 1964/1986).

speak.<sup>106</sup> My son, remember that all the *mandwa* prefer operating in the dark. They can never be friendly with fire or sunshine.”<sup>107</sup>

Karagura, furthermore, warned his son, “Do not ask me to show you which herbs you need to treat your clients. The bush is wide open. Whichever herbs you collect will heal, provided they are accompanied with appropriate language. However, if the language you use lacks some element of craftiness, then your medicine will be deficient.<sup>108</sup> Let me stop here. As the following proverbs underscore, ‘The hands can only grasp and grip for their owner. Wisdom benefits its owner.’”<sup>109</sup> When the old man had concluded these final instructions, he breathed his last.<sup>110</sup> Thereafter, he was buried.

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<sup>106</sup> These and any other *mandwa* horns can speak, but only if you, the witch doctor, know how to speak (*emandwa nizimanya kugamba, naiwe waaba noomanya kugamba*). Karagura alerts his son to note that the *emandwa* can speak, provided that the witch doctor knows how to speak for them. The implication is that the so-called *emandwa* language, which is dramatically mumbled or chanted under cover of darkness, is simply the witch doctor’s very own. The truth is that the *mandwa* idols are incapable of speaking or of acting by themselves. A witch doctor has to act like a dramatist, and give his clients the impression that it is the *mandwa* speaking and acting through him (cf, *Psalms* 115:4-7; 135:15-17).

<sup>107</sup> They [the *emandwa*] can never be friendly with fire or sunshine (*emandwa n’omuriro nari omushana tibyendana*). Karagura implies that *emandwa* are tactfully friendly only with darkness. Dark conditions offer an ideal setting for a witch doctor’s make-believe drama. An episode in this story bears this out (Mubangizi, 1963:28; 1988:48).

<sup>108</sup> The bush is wide open. It is full of herbs, but the effectiveness of herbal medicine depends upon the language a witch doctor uses (*emibazi: ekishaka ni kihango, ebi orikushaakiiramamu byagira orurimi rurungi biryatamba*). Karagura intends his son to appreciate that a certain degree of craftiness; or the lack of it, in the witch doctor’s language can make any herb effective or ineffective as medicine, respectively. Pre-payment for a witch doctor’s service is called [*entaashurano*] *ez’obuteera kishaka*. It is significant to note that searching through the bush for particular herbal medicine is known as *okushaakiira*. That can be a hard task, especially as some medicinal herbs are very rare (interview with Koyekoma, 9 December 2006).

<sup>109</sup> The hands can only grasp and grip for their owner; and wisdom benefits its owner (*obwara n’okwekwatira; obwengye n’okwemanyira*). This proverbial language implies that it is up to each person to fend for himself or herself, in order to be successful in life. Thus, it is up to Kaaremeera to establish himself as a successful witch doctor.

<sup>110</sup> Karagura breathed his last (*guhwa aha mbaju*). The pronominal marker *gu-* stands for *omwisyo*, that is, “breath.” The source language text idiom means “there was no more sign of breathing noticeable from the movement of the old man’s ribs, over the chest cavity from which the lungs function.” The idiom visually describes the event of the old man’s death.

Thus instructed, Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor took up the witch doctor's bags, which his father bequeathed him and embarked upon his career in earnest.<sup>111</sup> Wherever he went, he would return home with ten cows. Wherever he went next he would acquire more cows, not to mention the innumerable goats and sheep. Before long, he had amassed great wealth at his home.

However, Karemeera was not correspondingly successful in raising a desirable family!<sup>112</sup> His first wife, whom he had taken when she was a spinster, far senior to him in age, bore him only two sons. The two children, unfortunately, died young and she was too old to bear him any more children.

As Kaaremeera had no shortage of resources, he then married a second wife. However, that wife was found to be a real *epa*, that is, completely breastless,<sup>113</sup> discovering which he divorced her.

He married yet again, bringing in an obese divorcee, who turned out to be completely barren. When she failed to conceive, he divorced her also.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> The expression “took up the bags [the witch doctor's bags],” means “he undertook the occupation of a witch doctor. Taking up those bags means going out to do a witch doctor's activities of divination, healing or protecting the client's lives, which, according to a witch doctor, involves mainly: giving well-paid-for counselling, counteracting the witchcraft claimed to be laid by the client's enemy; giving curative and protective medicine and talismans/amulets.

<sup>112</sup> However, Karemeera was not correspondingly successful in raising a desirable family. (*Hoona oruzaaro rumugyendaho kubi.*) Despite acquiring much wealth, despite claiming to possess powerful *mandwa* and fetishes/talismans/amulets, Kaaremeera fails to raise a desirable family. He has only one daughter. He has no male heir through whom to hope to ensure the continuation of his descent line.

<sup>113</sup> *Omugore omusya aija ari epa nyakabara...amushenda.* The new bride turns out to be completely breastless, so he divorces her! Kaaremeera was marrying polygamously in the hope of raising a large family. Thus, the absence of breasts, which are essential mammary organs, for ensuring one to two years of the culturally preferred baby suckling, was regarded as a sufficient reason for divorcing that wife. The Runyankore-Rukiga expression *amushenda* is derived from the verb-root *-shend-a*, meaning to cast away, specifically an undesirable wife, as one casts away wood ash from the family-hearth. Applied to casting away a married woman from the marital home, the expression *-kushenda* means, “to divorce her.” She was an obstacle to the welfare of the family.

<sup>114</sup> He marries yet again, bringing in an obese divorcee who turns to be completely barren. (*Ayongyera ashwera, areeta omushumbakazi, kwonka aba engumba kashushsu!*) “*Omushumbakazi*” means a woman who had been previously married, either a widow or a divorcee. Obesity is excessive fatness, which is an unhealthy condition. It can be brought about by eating too much fatty and other high calorie foods, and by not making enough physical exercises. Although Kaaremeera desires to raise a large family, he does

Next, as a debt-settlement for major witch doctor's services he had rendered to a certain poor family, Kaaremeera acquired that family's daughter and took her home for a wife. She bore him a daughter, whom he called Bugongoro. With that, the young woman's contractual debt service obligations were over. He could lay no further claim upon her as his wife.<sup>115</sup> She left him and opted to return to her natal home.

Later on Kaaremeera went to a Muhima, called Ruteeganda, whose family was beset by some illness. He said, "I have come to solve your family problems." He performed certain divination rituals for which he demanded three cows as payment and took them home. Along the way he went rejoicing in his heart, thinking, "I will enrich myself from such people as these, even though I have failed to raise a large family."

Later on, Kaaremeera met another man, called Rwamunyoro, a shrewd fellow, who had at one time practised as a witch doctor. The latter enquired to make sure, but sarcastically, "Are you Kaaremeera Son of Karagura, the witch doctor I hear is so famous at divination that he can even extract the veins of a fly?" He confidently and proudly assented, "Yes, I am the real one. I am the one who can forge the earth into a pointed spear and a metal shaft-end; and who can stretch the earth like a distended bow."

Rwamunyoro asked Kaaremeera, "Can you come over to my home and carry out some divination ritual?" Kaaremeera readily agreed, "Of course I am ready to come and do anything to save your family, since I can even extract a chicken's claw, when it comes to divination."

Rwamunyoro enquired about the kind and amount of recompense the witch doctor would expect for his services.

Kaaremeera arrogantly replied, "If you have some ghosts haunting your family, to remove them you would have to pay me three cows. But, if I extract lethal fetishes, laid around your homestead, you would have to pay me at least one cow."

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not heed the cultural wisdom of making pre-marriage scrutiny to ensure marrying women with the potential to fulfil his desired goal. The irony is that, though he claims to be a wise man, Kaaremeera lacks common sense and justice. He is also unjust to his daughter by expecting too much for bridewealth; and to the women he marries and divorcing them for reasons beyond their own control.

<sup>115</sup> As a debt-settlement for major witch doctor's services he had rendered, Kaaremeera acquired a young wife. (*Akaba amushweire ahabw'okumu-taashurwa.*) When she bore him one child, a daughter, the debt service obligation was over, and the young woman left him and returned to her natal home.

Rwamunyoro asked the witch doctor when he would be able to go over to his home, which he said was facing serious problems, and help in solving them.

“Tomorrow night I will be there,” Kaaremeera assured Rwamunyoro.

Rwamunyoro decided to employ the services of Kaanyonza, the “witch doctor of all birds,” to spy for him. He instructed the bird, “You perch over there in the branches of the trees in front of my courtyard and monitor to know who is harming my family.<sup>116</sup> When you notice who the real enemy is, do not alert the culprit. Keep silent, but immediately inform me, so that I may know. You will need both of your hands to hold the reward that I shall give you.”

The following day Kaaremeera went to the bush and prepared several sticks from *emibarama* and *emisheeshe* trees. He went home and placed the sticks in his *mandwa* bag. He called upon his porter, the man who usually escorted him, to carry the bag, sarcastically remarking, “Hurry up; let’s go ‘to fiddle about for some wealth from our clients.’ It is only a person without teeth who can fail to eat. It is only the unwise that fail to make himself rich.”

That day the porter carried Kaaremeera’s *mandwa* bag; they went along and intentionally arrived at Rwamunyoro’s home at dusk. Under cover of dim light, Kaaremeera personally buried the *mibarama* and *misheeshe* sticks into the ground by the gate to the courtyard, assuming that nobody was seeing him.<sup>117</sup> Then the two men proceeded to enter Rwamunyoro’s house.

However, Kaanyonza, “the witch doctor of all birds,” was up in the tree observing all that took place, and immediately reported to Rwamunyoro that the incoming visitor had just buried certain objects in front of his house. Kaanyonza reported

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<sup>116</sup> Monitor to know who is harming my family. *Ondeebere orikwita eka yangye*: literally, “see who is attempting to kill my family,” implying “discover who is laying lethal fetishes to harm my family.” Whenever a family is beset, particularly by problems of illness or misfortunes in other forms, many Banyankore and Bakiga suspect that an enemy may have set *emandwa* or laid some *ngisha*, i.e., fetishes, to cause the harm. A solution is usually sought by engaging a witch doctor’s services, as Ruteeganda and Rwamunyoro do in this story. The subject of this story is to challenge the genuineness or otherwise, of the witch doctors’ claims and of the culture backed trust in them.

<sup>117</sup> Kaaremeera personally buries the *emibarama* and *emisheeshe* sticks into the ground by the gate to Rwamunyoro’s home. Those are the two harmless sticks, which the witch doctor intended to claim to be lethal fetishes, buried there in the past by enemies of the family. A witch doctor can never fail to pretend that he has discovered the root-cause of the client’s problem. That is how witch doctors deceive their unsuspecting clients (Mubangizi, 1963:26-29).

thus, “I’ve heard him tell his companion that the objects he was laying there are sticks from *emibarama* and *emisheeshe* trees. Rwamunyoro reminded Kaanyonza, “Keep quiet about it. In the course of this night the scoundrel will be exposed.”

Unsuspectingly, Kaaremeera proceeded to Rwamunyoro’s house. However, before going in he remarked, “Although I’m entering the house, it appears that I’ve left the problems affecting your home over there by the gate.” He then took out one of his *mandwa* horns, Kaabwamba the elder, placed it in the eaves above the lintel and covered it with some grass.<sup>118</sup> Without anyone observing it, Kaaremeera then plugged a pair of castor-oil seeds into his nostrils and started mumbling his ritual chants, pretending to be the *mandwa* speaking. That is how a witch doctor acts in his make-believe ritual drama: for if he did not employ such confusing tricks, how else would he enrich himself?”

However, when Kaaremeera was about to start invoking his *mandwa* to begin chanting in the so-called special language, saying, “Speak Kaabwamba,” Rwamunyoro boldly intercepted him, scornfully demanding, “Let me see what the speaking horn is like.”<sup>119</sup>

The witch doctor, realising that his tricks were about to be exposed, shrewdly interjected a procedural objection, saying, “Before seeing the *emandwa* horn, why don’t you first rid your family of those dangerous things buried by your gate!”

Rwamunyoro sceptically remarked, “What are those things buried by my gate, which you are referring to?” Who buried them there? Who is our real enemy?

Kaaremeera said, “If you wish to know them, you first bring out the prerequisite animal for ritual slaughter and some beer.”<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> He places the *mandwa* horn in the eaves. (*Eihembe aritsimba omu kitsatsi.*) From such a strategic position, the witch doctor would invoke the horn and pretend that it was his *mandwa* idol, speaking supernatural language from above.

<sup>119</sup> When Kaaremeera was about to start invoking his *mandwa* to begin chanting (*ku aba naaza kutongyerera*), so as to pretend that the *mandwa* idol is the one speaking, Rwamunyoro intercepts him, demanding to personally inspect the contents of the *emandwa* horn. Rwamunyoro’s bold action is a real turning point in the process of exposing and demystifying the illusion underlying a witch doctor’s claims about the powers of *emandwa* and fetishes, and consequently in the development of the plot towards undermining the career of witch doctors and society’s trust in it. That crisis sets a new direction for the subsequent episodes and progression of the plot of this story.



Rwamunyoro complied and presented him with a ram, a very big one, which was slaughtered. As a witch doctor normally likes to obtain his portion of such an animal, Kaaremeera got a back leg-portion of the slaughtered ram, had it tied up and put aside. Much of the remaining meat was cooked. Some portions of the heart, kidney and chest were roasted. Many spikes of delicious meat were sizzling by the roasting fire.

For his main payment Kaaremeera, was shown four goats, which he contemptuously rejected. He was promised a cow, to be shown him at dawn: he then expressed satisfaction, thus, “Yes! That will do.”

By that time, the ritually prescribed beer had been brought in and poured out into calabashes. Straws were thrust into them and everyone present drank profusely.

Kaaremeera then took his *mandwa* horn from the eaves and, as witch doctors usually do, began to ritually dance about, his ankle-bells and rattles making odd sounds.<sup>121</sup> He then directed Rwamunyoro, thus, “Send out sensible children with a shovel to unearth the fetishes buried by the gate, which are harming your home.”

The children went over, but soon loudly and sarcastically exclaimed, “But, as we dig, the soil here is so soft and fresh. It seems that the fetishes have just been buried here a short while ago!”

However, to heighten the drama, Rwamunyoro, insisted, though cynically, “You children don’t be so obstinate. Just do what you were sent out to do. Extract the man’s *mibarama* and *misheeshe* fetishes cautiously. Do not scratch his things and put us into trouble.”<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> The witch doctor averts the immediate crisis by demanding for the prescribed slaughter-animal and beer (*banza oreete embaagwa, oreete amaarwa.*) Culturally, those items must be provided by the client before the witch doctor’s ritual can proceed. The drinking and eating, in which everyone present participates, provides a distracting setting for the witch doctor’s dramatic performance of his nocturnal make-believe ritual.

<sup>121</sup> Kaaremeera then takes his *mandwa* horn from the eaves, whilst chanting and dancing about ritually (*agikoraho emandwa ye, ateera orunyegye.*) This Runyankore-Rukiga phrase means that the witch doctor chanted an invocation to his *mandwa*, whilst performing a ritual dance. Such an odd solo-dance, normally, forms part of a witch doctor’s conjuring tricks, intended to mystify and distract the clients, in order that they may not notice exactly what is going on.

<sup>122</sup> Extract the man’s *mibarama* and *misheeshe* fetishes cautiously. Do not scratch his things and put us into trouble. (*Mutimbe kurungi emibarama n’emisheeshe y’omushaija, mutagihutaaza tukaba obuhano.*) By disclosing the real identity of the two sticks which Kaaremeera himself has just secretly buried by the gate, Rwamunyoro appears to have occult knowledge, and, therefore, to possess superior knowledge in witchcraft matters.

When Kaaremeera heard Rwamunyoro specifically naming the *mibarama* and *misheeshe*, knowing very well that those were the very objects he himself had just buried by the gate, believing that nobody from the household was observing him, he then got visibly scared. Though apprehensive, as a seasoned witch doctor, Kaaremeera took courage and continued performing his, by then ruined make-believe ritual, unsure of what Rwamunyoro would say or do next!

The children unearthed and brought in the *mibarama* and *misheeshe* sticks. They exposed them, sarcastically remarking, “These are the fetishes that had just been buried by our gate!”

Kaaremeera confirmed that those were the fetishes. However, pretending to be afraid of them himself, “Do not bring those things close to me. They are lethal. Put them over there. My *mandwa* will remove them in due course.” Later on, when the witch doctor realised that the people in the house were distracted by the drinking, he signalled to his porter, who was not a *mandwa* medium<sup>123</sup> himself, to hide the sticks in his magic bag.

Noticing their absence, Rwamunyoro seriously asked Kaaremeera, “And where have your magic objects gone to?”

He replied that his *mandwa*, Kaabwamba, had magically removed them.

Rwamunyoro sarcastically remarked, “Your *mandwa* horn has removed those objects whilst my eyes were blurred and my ears blocked with wax!” He furthermore reproached Kaaremeera, “Now that your horn has taken those useless fetishes away from here, you are going to use them to defraud other families, as you have done mine!”<sup>124</sup>

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To make matters worse, and with a touch of superiority complex, and derisively, Rwamunyoro refers to Kaaremeera, not as a witch doctor; but as “the man, to whom those sticks belong.” The implication is that Kaaremeera is an ordinary man with no superhuman powers. The impact of the encounter between the two men has far-reaching consequences, especially upon Kaaremeera, as the ensuing episodes and further plotting of the story shows. It is an anti-climax that enables the plot of the story to advance.

<sup>123</sup> As a sign that the fetishes were harmless, the witch doctor’s porter, who is not himself a *mandwa* medium, fearlessly handles and hides them.

<sup>124</sup> Fetishes (*engisha*), such as the *mibarama* and *misheeshe* sticks referred to above, are in themselves harmless, despite the claim to the contrary by the witch doctor; and despite the fear of such things by many people. However, what can be really harmful are the effects of fearing the imagined danger in the client’s minds. That fear can cause

With a degree of noticeable annoyance at being snubbed like that, Kaaremeera interjected, “I trusted that you had called me here, as a witch doctor, to save your family. But, it now appears that in your drunken stupor you are insulting me!”

Rwamunyoro retorted, “If I have called you to vent my stupor upon you, then you have also come here to defraud me. My beer and my ram have gone merely for your *mibarama* and *misheeshe* sticks!” He challenged him further, by demanding,

“Show us your sticks, and observe their rawness, a sign that you yourself fraudulently buried in front of my home on your way in to night, intending to deceive me that my enemies had laid them there much earlier as fetishes.”

When the witch doctor’s porter realised that the confrontation between the two men was growing nastier, he made ready to jump out of the house and escape with the ram-leg meat. But Rwamunyoro guessing his intention restrained him, “Let’s first eat, then you two scoundrels can quit.”

Next, Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor shook himself up sidewise, as though he were poised to fly off, exhibiting some obvious signs of shame and fear. He was nervous and apprehensive, wondering what would happen next.

Rwamunyoro fearlessly snatched the *mandwa* horn from Kaaremeera, insisting to inspect its contents, “I want to look inside it.” He looked into it and discovered that the horn was clogged up with clotted, darkish, stinking blood.

Whilst Rwamunyoro was distracted by observing with disgust the contents of the idol horn, Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor, unceremoniously jumped out of the house, leaving behind his *mandwa* idol, called Kaabwamba, the one he claimed to be

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real psychological serious illness, and aggravate the impact of his/her real disease (Mubangizi, 1963:23-24).

However, what are intrinsically harmful are lethal medicines, called *amarogo* in Runyankore-Rukiga. *Amarogo* are charms, which can harm or even kill a person. Whereas there are some good herbal medicines, called *emibazi*, the *marogo* are chemically harmful substances, some of which are quick-acting; others slow-acting poisons, especially when ingested in drink or food. It is suspected that sorcerers and witch doctors at times use *amarogo* to harm or even to kill their enemies and those of their clients, and then falsely claim the harm or the death to be magically caused by fetishes. In case that happens, a witch doctor can claim double recompense, one from the initial client (*kirogyesa*); and another from the family of the victims (*kirogwa*) (Mubangizi, 1963:24).

the most potent. However, he wisely dashed out with his magic bag. His porter hurriedly followed suit, running fast. They kept glancing over their shoulders, checking out whether or not they were being pursued. They were shaken up, and kept remarking to themselves, “We have been doing witch doctor work agreeably in various places, but today it has been another thing altogether!” They got to their home exhausted and in very nasty mood.

Rwamunyoro regrettably exclaimed, “That witch doctor, after slaughtering my ram has now absconded, without me inflicting something unforgettable upon him. What can I do to him, since he has run off so unceremoniously? He has escaped, as the proverb says, “Like a small dog after it has set a house on fire.”

Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor had only one child, a daughter, who was already grown up to marriageable age. Her name was Bugongoro, a pretty and well-behaved maiden. Many suitors had tried, but failed to marry her and given up, mainly because Kaaremeera had kept demanding bridewealth that was deterrently high.

Rwamunyoro thought to himself, “What can I do to take Kaaremeera’s daughter away from him, and see what his *mandwa* would do about it.” When Rwamunyoro’s friends heard about what he intended to do, they warned him, “If you kidnap that powerful witch doctor’s daughter, he will magically kill you.”

Rwamunyoro scornfully remarked, “You really pamper the lame, don’t you!<sup>125</sup> How can Kaaremeera kill me with his *mandwa*! The other day, when he pretended to solve my family problems, and I snatched his little *mandwa* horn from him, the one he claims to have come from Bwamba, in the foot hills of the Mountain of the Moon, and to possess highly lethal magic powers, am I not still here with you, without any harm having befallen me at all?”

It so happened that as they were talking, Kaanyonza was eavesdropping upon their interesting discourse, unnoticed. Rwamunyoro had previously rewarded the same bird with a cow for spying so well for him upon the same witch doctor, Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor.

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<sup>125</sup> You really pamper the lame, don’t you! (*Ebishi mushunga ebimuga*.) Rwamunyoro implies that his relatives, like many other people, mistakenly regard witch doctors to be very powerful. But, in fact, all the *mandwa* idols, even the one Kaaremeera claims to be exotic, to have come from Bwamba in the foot hills of the Rwenzoori Mountains, do not possess the magical powers ascribed to them.

Kaanyonza then came forward and pledged to Rwamunyoro, “If I got you the maiden you want, Bugongoro, what would you reward me with?”

Rwamunyoro firmly promised to reward Kaanyonza generously, saying, “If you brought that maiden to me, I would give you a cow.”

Kaanyonza set out and found Kaaremeera at home, very busy attending to the many clients, who were all over the place. Some were bringing him presents; others were making payments for the services he had rendered them earlier. Some other clients were imploring the witch doctor to call at their homes. Kaaremeera’s courtyard was full of people. He was like a chief. As the proverb says, “It is the person who owns wealth that is called ‘our master.’” His numerous cattle were jostling against each other for space around the grounds outside his courtyard.

Kaaremeera’s daughter, Bugongoro, was all by herself in the backyard, bathing. Kaanyonza skirted around the homestead and got to the back quarters quite easily, as there was no one bothering to restrain a bird’s movements. Kaanyonza got close to where the maiden was bathing from and started calling out to her in its characteristic chirpy, musical manner, which you very well know, thus:

Kaanyonza    Bugongoro, Bugongoro,  
                  I want some water to wash with.  
                  Bugongoro, Bugongoro,  
                  I want some water to clean wash myself.

Bugongoro    The one who whiles away the time is speaking:  
                  I want some water to wash with.  
                  The one whose hammer squeaks is speaking:  
                  I want some water to drink.

When Kaanyonza heard Bugongoro responding to its song, it flew and perched at the roof-top of Kaaremeera’s house and repeated its chant. The maiden came out to see the beautiful bird and once again hear and admire its song. Kaanyonza next flew and perched beyond the gate of Kaaremeera’s homestead, but within hearing distance. Thereafter the maiden followed Kaanyonza from one perch to the next, the two of them

alternately chanting the same song. They kept on doing likewise until they eventually reached Rwamunyororo's home!

On catching sight of the maiden, Rwamunyororo exclaimed with utter amazement and great satisfaction, "Haa! Haa! How fortunate am I to have you here, the maiden whom so many suitors have tried, but failed to marry!" He took her in and presented her to his son. The latter gave her his hand and married her.<sup>126</sup> A bridal enclosure was erected around the couple's hut to provide Bugongoro with due privacy during the customary bridal period of seclusion.

On the other side, Kaaremeera eventually got to know that his missing daughter had eloped into Rwamunyororo's household. However, he remained puzzled as to how that man had managed to get her. Kaaremeera then imagined that Rwamunyororo must therefore, be a witch doctor whose *mandwa* are magically more potent than his own are.

Kaaremeera, took courage, this time not acting as a witch doctor, but as a parent, went over and planted his spear in Rwamunyororo's courtyard, and as the father of the bride, assertively demanded of him, "Where is my daughter?"

Rwamunyororo evasively remarked, "Man, you slaughtered my ram and drank my beer, and went away without solving the problems besetting my family, now what have you returned here for?"

Kaaremeera firmly stood his ground, and specified his demand, "I have come so that you may give me bridewealth for my daughter. As the proverb says, 'A man's child is never taken away for nothing.'<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> The latter gave her his hand and married her. (*Amuta aha mukono, amushwera.*) The Runyankore-Rukiga idiom "*amuta aha mukono,*" is specifically used in reference to a man taking in a woman and marrying her. But marriage cannot be contracted so easily. Culturally, it is by paying bridewealth that a man can legally claim a woman as his wife; and can be socially recognised as her husband. The sub-plot in the next episodes of this story hinges upon Kaaremeera's rightful demand to have bridewealth given him for his daughter, who has eloped with Rwamunyororo's son. After bridewealth is given for her, Rwamunyororo and Kaaremeera's new relationship as affines disposes them to discourse as equals, as *bashanzire*, the impact of which is Kaaremeera's appreciation of Rwamunyororo's truthfulness, as the final episode and denouement of the story portrays.

<sup>127</sup> "Give me the bridewealth for my daughter. (*Njugira, 'Omwana w'omuntu tatwarirwa busha.'*") This means, "One's child [daughter] is never taken away [married] for nothing," that is, without bridewealth being given for her! Under customary law and practice, bridewealth, among other functions, legitimises marriage and the children born to the marriage; it confirms affinal and collateral kinship relationships.

Rwamunyoro put up the following hard condition, “Before you can become my affine, the father-in-law of my son,<sup>128</sup> you have first to go and bring out all your *mandwa* and show them all to me, naming them one by one.”

Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor was puzzled, unaware of the motive behind such a demand. He silently went away, seriously pondering within his heart, “If I do not comply with this man’s demands, he may cause me serious trouble! He may also do harm to my daughter, since he has more powerful witch doctor’s bags than mine;”<sup>129</sup> since he is a more powerful witch doctor than I am!

Kaaremeera retreated to his home and carefully considered his next moves. He first appealed to his kinsmen, “Come and join forces with me, so that we may confront that man, Rwamunyoro, who has kidnapped and married our daughter to his son, so that we may retrieve her from him, since he has refused to give us bridewealth.”<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> My affine, the father-in-law of my son (*mushanzire wangye*), the plural of which is *bashanzire*, which in this context means an affine at the rank of parents-in-law. “*Okushanziranana* idiomatically, means “to exchange mutual jokes,” which is culturally done by persons standing in joking relationship.

<sup>129</sup> Since he has more powerful witch doctor’s bags than mine, i.e., since he is a more powerful witch doctor than me (*obu arikunkiza enshaho*). Kaaremeera, imagining Rwamunyoro to be a more powerful witch doctor than him, becomes apprehensive that he might harm him or his daughter. It is interesting to note that believing that someone “possesses more powerful witch doctor’s bags than oneself,” implies, not only having more powerful *mandwa*, but consequently, also being regarded as a more powerful witch doctor. The delightful irony is that Kaaremeera initially complies with Rwamunyoro’s demands, out of such imagined fear. However, by the denouement of the story, the latter succeeds to convince him to acknowledge the futility of a witch doctor’s career, which leads him to freely abandon it.

<sup>130</sup> Come and assist me to face that man who has taken away our daughter, but has refused to give us bridewealth. (*Mwije muze kunkwatsa oriya mushaija otunyagiire omwishiiki, tumumwiheho; ayangire kunjugira.*) Expecting his kinsmen to be interested in having bridewealth given for their daughter, Kaaremeera appeals to them to join him in demanding for it from Rwamunyoro; or else assist him in retracting her. Culturally, the relatives of a marriageable daughter are expected to take a keen interest to ensure that bridewealth is duly given for her marriage. Certain relatives are entitled to get a share of the bridewealth, notable the aunt and maternal uncle. But, because Kaaremeera’s kinsmen imagine that, as a witch doctor he is dealing with another witch doctor, they dare not get involved in confronting the latter. The irony, however, is that in fact Rwamunyoro is not at all a witch doctor, as Kaaremeera and his kinsmen imagine him to be! The kinsmen’s reaction, like his own, is based on imagined fear. The wider irony is that many other Banyankore and Bakiga similarly fear witch doctors. Witch doctors depend on such false impressions people have of them. The didactic purpose of the story of “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor” is to evoke a dynamic

Kaaremeera's kinsmen retorted, thus, "Since you are a witch doctor dealing with your counterpart, we are not so certain whether or not you may have exchanged your daughter for a new *mandwa*; or whether you have given her away as a tribute. What shall we go to Rwamunyoro for?" Karemeera's relatives all totally refused to get involved, saying, "This problem is of your own making, you, therefore, have to solve it by yourself."<sup>131</sup>

The Witch Doctor finally yielded to Rwamunyoro's radical demands and agreed to expose his *mandwa* idols. He tied them up and took them over to Rwamunyoro, apprehensive about what would follow!

Rwamunyoro authoritatively said to him, "First of all, count and name your *mandwa* idols one by one. In case you have deliberately left any of them behind, it will cause you serious trouble, for attempting to deceive me."

Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor, so belittled by Rwamunyoro, started exposing his *mandwa* idols in broad day light, naming them one after another. "This one is Karengutuko; this one is Ruhiigirokuniga; and this one is Kaabwamba the younger. Kaabwamba the elder, you remember, was snatched away from me by you."

When Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor's *mandwa* idols had all been exposed Rwamunyoro scornfully directed him, "Right now tie up your filthy objects. I will show you where to put them, so that they may not harm my family."

Out of imagined fear, Kaaremeera, though very dismayed, complied with Rwamunyoro's directives. He tied up and personally carried his *mandwa* idols and followed Rwamunyoro towards an undisclosed destination, a long way off. When they

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reaction in its audience and readers against the fraudulence of witch doctors. But that function is overtly emphasised by the story.

<sup>131</sup> Since you have created the dubious problem, you better solve it yourself. (*Oru waayesigisiire orweshomere*.) This Runyankore-Rukiga expression is based on the proverb, "*Orwesigisiire arushoma*." It literally means, "a person who has boiled a dubious concoction for himself/herself should be the one to drink it." The implied concoction is a metaphor for any unspecified problem that a person brings upon himself or herself. In the context of this story, one aspect of the problem is that Kaaremeera is responsible for hindering his daughter from marrying formally: by demanding too much bridewealth from her many suitors, thereby turning them away. He should be the one to solve the problem of getting bridewealth, following her marriage by elopement with the son of Rwamunyoro. In the past, before women's emancipation, elopement, though culturally despised, accorded a maiden freedom from her natal family to marry whomsoever and whenever she chose to.



reached a lake, Rwamunyoro authoritatively directed him to cast all of those *mandwa* idols and all the other witchcraft elements in the bag into the water. With a ponderous heart and perplexity Kaaremeera gave in and dumped his *mandwa* idols and their bag into the lake!

Rwamunyoro asked Kaaremeera, “What have you dumped into the lake?”

The latter replied, “I have thrown away my precious supernatural powers.

Rwamunyoro retorted, “You haven’t thrown into the lake your precious supernatural powers. You have got rid of the instruments of fraud, which your father bequeathed to you. You have cast away the perfidious elements that have ruined your family,<sup>132</sup> hindering you from raising a desirable family like other men do. You have discarded the fraudulent symbols by which you have been indulging yourself at the expense of many unsuspecting clients.”

After that momentous event, the two men returned from the lake, with hardly anything mutually agreeable to say to each other. Rwamunyoro fulfilled his promise and immediately gave bridewealth to Kaaremeera for his daughter. He also slaughtered his sterile fattened black cow and hosted a banquet in celebration.

The two men sat together and started conversing, whilst sipping some beer and enjoying delicious, well-salted roasted kidney, heart and chest-rib meat. Meanwhile more meat was being cooked for dinner. A child was warming up some water for hand-washing. Rwamunyoro then intimated to Kaaremeera his desire to turn to more serious matters, such as mature persons should discourse about. He called out, “Kaaremeera!”

Kaaremeera responded, thus, “Eh!”

Rwamunyoro asked him, “Whenever a cow, like the one here today, is slaughtered, which parts of it are usually cast away, according to the culture of the Banyankore, not considering the cultures of other peoples, which I do not know?”

After some hesitation, Kaaremeera replied, “There are many parts of a slaughtered animal that are not edible, which of them shall I mention, which shall I not.”

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<sup>132</sup> You haven’t thrown into the lake your precious supernatural powers (*Tiwanagamu mandwa*.) This implies that Rwamunyoro cynically regards Kaaremeera’s *mandwa* idols, not as being vested with supernatural powers; but as being illusory, intrinsically harmless elements of fraud. You have cast away perfidious elements that have ruined your family (*ebishuba ebiitsire eka yaawe*). Rwamunyoro regards Kaaremeera’s *mandwa* as despicable: by referring to them as perfidious or fraudulent elements, whose false claims have undermined the witch doctor’s own hopes to raise a desirable family.

Rwamunyoro said, “Simply name the parts that you know.”

Kaaremeera said, “I normally see people who slaughter animals for meat, throw away the brain, the gall-bladder, the endomentrum, which is the thin membrane linking up various organs in the abdomen. They also throw away the penis, if the slaughtered animal was male.”

Rwamunyoro wondered, “Are those the only non-edible parts of a slaughtered animal that you know?” Kaaremeera conceded that those were the only ones he could

remember. Kaaremeera suspiciously interjected, “Maybe, as my in-law, you are simply joking with me; or else your comments are intended for insulting me!”<sup>133</sup>

Surprised that he had mentioned a few parts, Rwamunyoro reminded his companion about other parts that are thrown away after slaughtering. “Horns are only eaten by ants and moths. The meat from the tail is edible; but the tail-end itself is either thrown away, or used to frisk about by some people.”

Rwamunyoro remarked, “I have not yet begun to insult you; let me now start doing so in earnest. Remember that, as the proverb says, “A person who does not get insulted, never gets helped.”<sup>134</sup>

In baffled anticipation, Kaaremeera cynically remarked, “Let’s see how you are going to help me by insulting me! I can now guess why reference to meat portions is featuring in this conversation.”

Rwamunyoro commented, “You have told me about the parts of a slaughtered animal that are not edible: such as the brain, the eyes and others. However, there are some people who eat the brain; and others eat the eyes of a slaughtered animal. The gall

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<sup>133</sup> Maybe, as my in-law, you are simply joking with me. (*Shana oyenzire kugira eby’okushanzirana, nangwa kutabaire kunjuma.*) Among the Banyankore and Bakiga mutual joking relationship exist between certain categories of people. One is the category of affines at the rank of parents-in-law. In this story Kaaremeera wonders whether Rwamunyoro, as the father-in-law of his daughter, is joking; or else he is grossly insulting him. Utterances by persons in joking relationship are normally intended to provide humour, and not at all meant to be taken seriously by the parties concerned and by the audience and readers. As the plot of this story develops, Rwamunyoro concedes that he is not joking; but intentionally insulting his counterpart for the sake of constructively criticising him. His derision of Kaaremeera’s career is purposely intended to evoke his reaction and hopefully lead him to quit the witch doctor’s ruinous trade and start leading a morally upright and happier life.

<sup>134</sup> The Runyankore-Rukiga version of this proverb, “*Owaabura kijuma niwe abura kijuna,*” implies that a person, who lacks being constructively criticised, misses being helped. The didactic point underscores the wisdom of accepting constructive criticism.

bladder is not edible because it is bitter; the penis is not an appealing part to eat. People do not eat such portions, especially when plenty of decent meat is available.”

Rwamunyoro turned, glancing at Kaaremeera, only to find the latter simultaneously glancing at him, their eyes met! The two men were seated all by themselves some distance away from other guests at the banquet. Rwamunyoro told Kaaremeera, stressing his point, “The witch doctor’s trade, which you have learned from your father, is like the parts of a slaughtered bull, that we have talked about, the parts which people do not eat, the parts which are cast away and picked up by the ‘animal which you know.’”

He, furthermore, remarked, “Your witch doctor’s trade is fraught with fraud and extortion. You thrive upon cheating and betraying the trust of your clients. You indulge in gluttony, acquisitiveness and sometimes in homicide. In that way, with your life hanging in a balance, between life and death, I don’t see what good you can gain from a witch doctor’s trade, even if your father bequeathed it to you; even if there are some people like you, who crave after it! Most of the things sought after by witch doctors are similar to those which are cast away after slaughtering an animal for meat. They are like the parts that are cast away to be picked up by a dog, which has no sense of distinguishing between the good and the bad. In addition, if I have insulted you today, I am justified in doing so. You are like a dog, which rummages through slaughter places, scavenging for discarded parts. Instead of carving out the good meat portions, you instead rummage for whatever has been dumped away by other people!”

Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor urged on Rwamunyoro, saying, “Since you have insulted me thus far, you’d better snub me to the full, detailing how I am like the dog, which rummages through slaughter places, so that I may suppress the habit of sniffing around.”

Rwamunyoro said, “This world is like a fattened cow which the Creator has given us to slaughter. The good meat portions are the works that we do in the world for our own food and for that of other people. Some people do cultivation work and reap rich harvests, bringing satisfaction to their homes. Other people undertake carpentry work, others weaving. All of those and other activities are the works by which various decent people and their families earn their living. Some other people take to hunting and eat the meat that they sweat for, not that which they snatch from other people. They eat their meat peacefully, without anyone knocking down their fists in resentment towards them. But how much more can I say: you impostor. Of what use is your witch doctor’s

trade, being merely for stuffing your own belly, like the type of animal I have referred to, disregarding other weightier matters that wise, decent men are concerned about?”

Kaaremeera thoughtfully responded, “I have attentively listened to all your scolding, to all the insults you have hurled upon me. However, how can the witch doctor’s trade not have its worth? And what is it that wise, decent men concern themselves about that I have overlooked?”

Rwamunyoro said, “Let me sum up before we go for our dinner, I notice that the food is being taken to the eating place. What you get out of being a witch doctor are many material things. However, of what lasting value are they, beyond your own consumption and wastefulness? Which cow can anyone point to as an offspring of your own cow? When would you have had the time to arrange for keeping a heifer with the herd of a trusted friend?”

Kaaremeera conceded, “What you have said is the truth. My possessions tend to come in easily, but they also vanish anyhow. As the proverb says, ‘Whatever comes out of nothing, likewise easily reverts to nothingness.’ But what is it that a responsible man should be concerned about that I have neglected?”

“Let us first eat; I will tell you that afterwards,” said Rwamunyoro.

After their dinner, the two men returned to their own place to conclude their serious discourse.<sup>135</sup> For the sake of his son’s father-in-law’s family, now firmly linked to his own, Rwamunyoro emphasised, “Besides amassing the great wealth that you bring home, bustling like fire in dry banana leaves or in dry papyrus, the vital matter that you have overlooked is none other than raising a family. Now that I have taken your only child from you to be my daughter-in-law, your family has remained childless. You are going to die without a son to bear you descendants.<sup>136</sup> How will you ever get a daughter-in-law, without having any son to bear you an heir for us to see?”

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<sup>135</sup> To conclude their long discourse (*kunogyereza eby’ekigaaniiro kyabo*): the word *kunogyereza* is a passive form, derived from the root-verb *-nozy-a*, literally meaning “to finish crushing to the finest point.” In the context of a discourse the metaphorical expression means “to conclude a long discussion.” It is significant to note that the pragmatics involved in the long discourse between the two men has gone from implicature to the intended meaning and purpose of the conversation, and of the plot of this story (cf. Grice’s cooperative principles of discourse, in Leech, 1908:11-15).

<sup>136</sup> You are going to die without a son to bear you descendants. (*Waaza kufa ori encwekye*.) The implication is that Kaaremeera’s descent line is going to be extinct. The

Kaaremeera interjected, “I have not married fewer times than need be. Do not think that I am impotent either.<sup>137</sup> It is raising children from among whom to expect a male heir that has eluded me. I have born children, but unfortunately, they have kept dying young. We witch doctors are usually not so lucky in raising desirable families.”

Rwamunyoro said, “You witch doctors should realise that you fall victims to your own predicaments. Do not blame it upon Providence<sup>138</sup> as denying you the blessing of raising families like other men. The way you marry: By simply picking up any woman, you come across, without first making any pre-nuptial scrutiny, is what undermines your prospects for raising desirable families. As you know, a cultivator, normally carefully selects suitable seed and proper ground to cultivate. He does not cast his seed anywhere he finds and then consider that he has duly cultivated.”

Kaaremeera interjected, thus, “Without interrupting what you are saying, it is quite true that among the women I have married until now, there was none who could have left me with many children. My first wife was already a senior spinster when I married her. Had she had more years to the end of her reproductive span, she might have left me with more children, some of whom might have survived. My second wife

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brief Runyankore-Rukiga phrase, especially the key word in the idiomatic expression, *encwekye*, implies all that is said in the much longer English rendering.

<sup>137</sup> Do not think that I am impotent either. (*Otagira ngu nkafa ebigyere.*) The Runyankore-Rukiga idiom, “*okufa ebigyere*,” literally to die the feet, but as a metaphor, it means to be sexually impotent, and is applied only to a man. The expression *okuburwa oruzaaro* is the one applied to a woman, who has failed to conceive and bear children. *Engumba* is another word used to mean a sterile woman or female animal.

<sup>138</sup> Do not blame it upon providence as denying you the blessing of raising families like other men. (*Mutakaabeisherera bugingo ngu niyo ebaima ruzaaro, ei eheereza abandi.*) It is the way you witch doctors marry that undermines your prospects for raising desirable families (*emishwerere yaanyu niyo ebainaza*). Rwamunyoro notes that witch doctors tend to ignore the wisdom of the proverb, “*Oshwera/oshwerwa abuuza*,” meaning, “the person who intends to marry, makes due pre-nuptial scrutiny,” so as to ascertain the suitability of the prospective spouse, especially with regard to raising a family. Do not blame it upon providence (*otakijunaana bugingo*). The Runyankore-Rukiga word, *bugingo*, means life itself; or the personification of Providence, which then means the Creator, the source, the Provider and Protector of all life. It is notable that prior to the introduction of Christianity and Islam, the Banyankore and Bakiga knew of, and occasionally recognised and worshipped a rather remote supreme deity, by offering certain portions of sacrificial animals to it. That supreme deity was variously referred to as *Nyamuhanga*, *Mukameiguru*, *Ruhanga*, *Rugaba*, and *Bugingo* (Mubangizi, 1963:9; 33).

proved to be hopeless as a woman, being, without breasts, which are essential mammary organs! I had just randomly picked her up, as one picks up some dry grass with which to fetch live coal. My third wife was a barren widow. I had overlooked to make the culturally recommended pre-marriage scrutiny about the suitability of her background, as should normally be done by anyone intending to marry sensibly. The woman who bore me your daughter-in-law, if only I had married her normally, as other men do, and not had her provisionally mortgaged to me like a goat, as debt settlement for my services as a witch doctor, she would have remained in my home. I might have had more children with her, among whom some boys might have survived. I am now left with the option of marrying the type of women, likely to bring me bastards to nurture other men's sons. Such will perpetuate the descent lines of their own genitors, leaving mine to get extinct!

Rwamunyoro concluded his serious challenge to Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor, thus, "Now you have realised that my reprimands to you are truthful and meant for your own good?"

Kaaremeera conceded they were so. "Indeed. Yes, they are truthful and genuinely intended for my good and that of my family. Rarely does a person get someone like you to criticize him or her positively. Oftentimes, a person gets someone to pamper him or her; but only to subsequently mock him or her."

Kaaremeera took the bridewealth cattle given him by Rwamunyoro, which confirmed him as his daughter's father-in-law. He resolutely pledged before the latter, thus, "The ruinous *mandwa* idols, and other, so-called magic objects,<sup>139</sup> which my father bequeathed me, you yourself was an eye witness when I dumped them all into the lake. Henceforward, if you ever hear that I have reverted to a witch doctors' trade, let the Royal Drum of Ankole<sup>140</sup> be sounded to expose me!

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<sup>139</sup> The ruinous *mandwa* idols and other magic objects, which my father bequeathed to me (*amainaro gu tata yantsigiire*), the Runyankore-Rukiga word *amainaro*, meaning unspecified "ruinous elements," is a noun derived from the root-verb *-inar-a*, which means "be ruined." In the context of this story, the *mandwa* idols and other objects were in the witch doctor's bag, which Karagura bequeathed to his son Kaaremeera. As Rwamunyoro's challenge demonstrates, *mandwa* idols and fetishes provided by witch doctors are ruinous, not by themselves, but through people's imagined fear of them, which should be dispelled.

<sup>140</sup> If you ever hear that I have resumed practising as a witch doctor, let the royal Drum of Ankole be sounded to expose me. *Bagyendanwa* was the royal twin-drum of Ankole Kingdom. The phrase "*banteerere engoma ya Bagyendanwa*," implies that Kaaremeera

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has resolutely abandoned the witch doctor's career. This conclusion, as the denouement of this story, credibly follows from its plotting. As a designation of a role, "*omufumu*" generally, has a pejorative connotation, as stressed by this story, which depicts a witch doctor's career as fraudulent; and fetishes and amulets as worthless. The major didactic purpose of this story is to evoke and dispel the traditional fear many people have of the *mandwa* and fetishes, as likely to cause harm to life or even to kill; and the trust they have in the falsely claimed power of the *mandwa* and talismans to heal or protect life.

The positive role of witch doctors, as psychological counsellors and providers of useful herbal medicine has not been portrayed by this story. It has not been explored by this study either, leaving it for other researchers. In the following citation, Mubangizi (1963:20) implies that there are positive and negative dimensions of a witch doctor's role in society. "*Omu kutendeka omuntu obufumu bamwegyesa ebishuba n'emigyereko ebi araagume akakora ahabw'okuhuzya abandi. Kandi bamwegyesezaho n'emibazi eriku-baasa kutamba omu mazima, ei araache abantu bakakira, bakabona kumugumyamu obwesigwa, nk'ey'okunywa n'ey'okwesiiga.*" This can be translated as: "In the initiation of a person as witch doctor, they [the mentors] teach him or her, the falsehood and conjuring tricks for deceiving his/her clients. Positively, the initiators also teach the new witch doctor about some medicine to be injected or rubbed on the body, which can genuinely heal, and thereby sustain the clients' trust in the witch doctor's power."

The intended moral lesson from the story of "Kaarmeera Son of the Witch Doctor," is to denounce the fraudulence connected with the witch doctors' rituals, *mandwa*, fetishes and talismans. However, there are many Banyankore, Bakiga and other people, who continue to trust in witch doctors and in the potency of their elements. On the other hand, society should know that there other people, who are not witch doctors, but who can provide helpful psychological counselling and genuine herbal medicines. There are also many science-trained doctors, who can properly examine and treat patients with predictably effective counselling and medication. However, in spite of those significant options, some people still resort to witch doctors.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### **CHALLENGES OF TRANSLATING FOLK STORIES ACROSS CULTURALLY UNRELATED LANGUAGES WITH REFERENCE TO THE FIVE STORIES IN THE STUDY**

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

Language and culture are interrelated. The non-material dimensions of culture: such as attitudes, behaviour and ways of doing things, observations and practices, can be abstracted into norms, principles and generalisations, which can be transmitted through oral or written literature. Language is the most significant form in which those aspects of culture can be expressed. As the following proverb metaphorically stress “Language is the best dress of thought” (Prochnow, & Prochnow Jr, 1965:457). Various genres of literature, including folk stories, are outfits for thoughts or thought processes. It is the generalisations and abstractions formed in the context of a source culture and language that constitute the content, topics, themes, messages and didactic values enshrined in literature. A language is inevitably linked to a particular culture, and so are any original works of literature produced in it. For instance, in order to translate literature from a source language, such as Runyankore-Rukiga, into a culturally unrelated language such as English, the most important challenge is to know the source culture and the language well enough. There are certain beliefs, practices, concepts, images, symbols, names, proverbs, idioms, or their dimensions, which may not be found in the cultures of the



listeners and readers of the translation. There are also certain distinctive features of the source language, dominant cultural patterns and practices that may not be found in the receptor language and culture, or that have no exact equivalents in it. Understanding the source language culture is required for a translator to appreciate the worldview depicted in the literature written in it. Knowledge of the receptor culture is similarly required.

#### **4.2 LINGUISTIC CHALLENGES TO TRANSLATION**

Making a meaning-based translation requires the transfer of the meaning embedded in the surface structure or form of the source language text to that of the target language. Translation should not be literal, but meaning-based, idiomatic, natural and fluent (Larson, 1984:9-10). That entails a double-sided challenge: understanding the meaning behind the source language lexical, grammatical, idiomatic metaphorical and other peculiarities; and rendering the same meaning in the distinctive features of the receptor language. A translation should be accurate, idiomatic and natural in the receptor language. The Runyankore-Rukiga version of the five folk stories for this study contains some specific lexical, semantic and syntactical features, which have no equivalents in English and which are not easy to translate. The challenges of doing translation include lack of equivalents for names, titles, gender markers for the pronouns of non-human characters, idiomatic phrases, metaphorical and other figurative expressions and proverbial language, idiophones, onomatopoeia and interjections, an appropriate narrative tense.

#### **The challenge of translating Runyankore-Rukiga names and titles**

According to the traditional culture of many African societies of giving personal and proper names, every name should have a meaning: whether it is a name of a human being, an animal, a plant, an inanimate object, a magic element, a spirit, or anything else.<sup>141</sup> As it is for the Yoruba of Western Nigeria, so it is for the Banyankore and Bakiga, finding the meaning of a particular name should not be difficult, for normally, any traditional name bears a distinctive meaning. A proper name can be a pointer to the identity, genealogical relationship, character or occupation of its bearer. For instance, a personal name can be given to a child in connection with the time, place and manner of his or her birth, or in affirmation of the child's genealogical connection. A personal name can be given for thanking the Creator; or for entrusting the child to protection of divine Providence. In the latter category are such names as, "*Asiimwe, Tumusiime, Kaaruhanga, Kaamukama,*" meaning, "Let Him (the Creator) be thanked," "Let us thank Him," "The Survival of the Child depends on the Creator," "The Survival of the child depends on the Lord." Banyankore and Bakiga parents take great care to give meaningful personal names to their children. In the past, a bridegroom and his natal family also used to take care to find a suitable marriage-status name for his bride. Names can be used for identification and other purposes<sup>142</sup> (Kaanyonza, 1994:1-33; Mubangizi, 1963:111,121; Karwemera, 1994:112-119).

For a Runyankore-Rukiga name to be appropriately, meaningful it can consist of a word or a collocation of several words, which is a syntactically well-formed meaningful phrase or a sentence. The derived morphological constituent affixes in a name word or name phrase can be markers of various grammatical meanings. That is possible, because the agglutinating features of a Bantu language, especially affixes, can be exploited to constitute a semantically significant compound name, consisting of a verb or noun root/stem, plus a tense or an aspect-marker. Translating such a name from Runyankore-Rukiga to a language like English, which lacks agglutinative features, is not easy. An

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<sup>141</sup> "The Yoruba believe that to endow something with a name is to give it life beyond subsistence... To live is to have a name; to have a name is to live" (Niyi Osundare, 2002:116).

<sup>142</sup> "Names are also often used to express ideas, aspirations, sorrows, or philosophical comments, grief and an awareness of the ills of life are frequent themes... Names contribute to the literary flavour of formal or informal conversation, adding a depth or succinctness through their meanings, overtones, or metaphors. They can play a directly literary role... they can bring sense to allusiveness and sonority, not easily expressed in other forms. (Finnegan, 1970:471-72).

equivalently meaningful descriptive phrase can be used, but that may become too long for a personal name or of a title in English. This problem can be illustrated by analysing into their semantic and syntactical constituents two of the titles and names of the main characters of the stories for this study. By carrying out such an analysis, first of all, the meaning of the morphological constituents of a name can be established. Secondly, a hermeneutic assessment of the contextual, syntactical deeper meaning of a name of title word or phrase can be done in order to convey its meaning in the translation.

The agglutinating features of Runyankore-Rukiga make it possible to affix various concords and derivatives upon roots and stems, enabling it to convey various meanings with precision. In that way, a single word can syntactically serve as a well-formed phrase or short sentence. This is illustrated below by making morphological analyses of the noun phrases and other components of two of the story titles and names of the main characters for this study. Runyankore-Rukiga names convey meanings alluding to or commenting upon their bearer's distinctive characteristics, such as genealogical relationship, shape, size, colour, conduct and so forth. Some names reflect the naming authority's attitude towards other people, especially his/her family's adversaries or towards some unfavourable factors, such as insults, illness, evil spirits or death. A Runyankore-Rukiga name can also signify an ontological reality or an historical event prevalent at the time of the bearer's birth (Mubangizi, 1963:121; Finnegan, 1970:471; Kaanyonza, 1994:2-33; Karwemera, 1994:111-119; Niyi Osundare, 2002:116). The following are examples of some challenges involved in translating Runyankore-Rukiga names.

In the folk stories for this study the Runyankore-Rukiga full titles and names of the main characters, or their constituent parts are noun phrases, which syntactically function

as subject or object noun phrases. Such phrases can be made up of nouns or pronouns, especially subjective prefixes, objective, agentive, possessive suffixes, modified with affixed morphemes. This can make the noun phrases meaningful and syntactically correct (Taylor, 1985:195). Below are two examples taken from the source language titles and names of the main characters. One of them is “*Muhuuba n’Orukooko*,” which we have translated as “Muhuuba and the Monster.” The second is “*Maguru-Gatsiga-Enjura-n’Omuyaga*,” rendered as “Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind.” Two other examples, namely, “*Rutega rwa Nteguura*,” i.e. “the Untrapping Trapper,” and “*Kaaremeera ka Karagura*,” i.e. “Kaaremeera, Son of the Witch Doctor,” have been analysed in chapter two of the study. Some of these nouns in the Runyankore-Rukiga names are derived from verbs. Those name phrases syntactically function as subject or object phrases.

In the story of “Muhuuba and the Monster” (*Muhuuba n’Orukooko*) the first name, *Muhuuba*, can be analysed into its morphological components. *Mu-* stands for “the one who”; *huuba* for “tosses about/swings to and fro/frequents,” both literally meaning, “the one who swings, e.g. a string, a flag, a hand, a handkerchief, a person in a hammock, or swings oneself to place back and forth.” However, as a proper name, “*Muhuuba*” could simply mean “the self-swinger.” A clue to that is suggested by the following Runyankore-Rukiga idiom, “*okwehuuba ahantu/aha muntu*”, meaning “to frequent a place,” or “to repeatedly call upon someone.” In this story, Muhuuba frequents the forge, urging the nonchalant smiths to make him the arrows he so urgently needs to kill the aggressive monster. He persists in urging the smiths, going in and out of their forge frequently. There is no equivalent noun phrase in English to translate the

full sense of the Runyankore-Rukiga name, *Muhuuba*. That is why the same name has been carried over to the English translation, and its implied meaning highlighted in a footnote and by this morphological analysis.

The second name in the same story, “*n’orukooko*,” has been translated as “monster,” which is a near equivalent to the source language name. It is notable that both the Runyankore and the English terms are rather vague. The Rukiga equivalent “*ekinyungusi*,” is more precise. The “*n’-*” is a prefix with a conjunctive marker, meaning “and.” *Orukooko* can be analysed into the following morphemes: “*-o-*” is an initial vowel to the noun; “*-ru-*” is a pronominal infix under the RU-N Bantu noun class. In this context, *-ru-* is suggestive of “something huge and ugly,” and “*-kooko*,” means “an unspecified, two-or more-legged, huge-winged, walking or flying creature.” The name “*orukooko*” means “an unspecified, grotesque, dreadful creature.” In the story, the monster is depicted as a gigantic bird, capable of devouring an adult cow in a day. This suggests that the monster must be a much bigger creature than an adult cow! Fabulously, the extreme end part of its claw, its little finger, is depicted as being large enough to contain all *Muhuuba*’s cattle and children that it had devoured.

The compound name of the main character and title in the story of “*Maguru-Gatsiga-Enjura-n’Omuyaga*,” (the hyphenation in the source text is left as given by the compiler/editor, Mubangizi, (1983:36), is a syntactically correct, meaningful phrase in Runyankore-Rukiga. It literally means “legs that run faster than rain and wind.” However, translated into English as such, it does not appear natural for a proper name. Alternative renderings of it in English are, “Maguru, the man who could run faster than rain and wind;” “the man who could outrun rain and wind;” or “the outrunner of rain

and wind.” The last alternative sounds the most natural for a name. That is why it has been adopted for this study. However, in order to retain its link with the source language text, it has been rendered as “Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind.”

The definitive article, “the” has not been used to qualify the title and name of the main character, because in the context of this story, Maguru’s running ability is not at all definitive, but illusory and destructive. The contention that Maguru could run faster than rain and wind is ironical and farcical, for he could not even run faster than his own dogs. His rash judgement and hasty actions are ruinous. He does not heed the wisdom of the following English proverb, “haste makes waste,” which warns against acting too fast, without proper thinking, and consequently making disastrous mistakes. Thus, there is no justification in qualifying the name “runner,” with an undeserved distinction.

The following are some idiomatic phrases with a bearing on the meaning of the name Maguru. The Runyankore-Rukiga expression, “*Ongyendere maguru makye,*” literally means, “For my sake, please take shorter strides, move deliberately slowly.” The implied message is, “Please go slowly, so that I may be able to catchup with you.”

In the source text, the name *Maguru* is the subject in the phrase “*gatsiga-enjura-n’omuyaga.*” The phrase literally means “legs that run faster than rain and wind.” However, the implied deeper meaning is “a fast runner.” Morphologically and syntactically analysed, *Maguru-Gatsiga-Enjura-n’Omuyaga*, the *Ma-* is a prefixed morpheme, a plural-marker in the Ku-Ma noun class. The morpheme *-guru* is a root noun, meaning “leg.” The final vowel *-u* is suffixed to constitute the noun *Maguru*,

meaning “Legs.” In the word *gatsiga*, the *ga-* is a plural pronoun prefix, which together with *Ma-* stands for the noun *Maguru*. The verb-root *-tsig-* and the final vowel *-a*, which is an agentive-marker, means “those (legs) which run fast,” implying “the man who runs faster.” As a name phrase, “*maguru-gatsiga-enjura n’omuyaga*,” is a Runyankore-Rukiga kind of figure of speech, which is used to derisively characterise illusion of its bearer, because in reality, no person can run faster than rain and wind.

The word *enjura*, literally means rain; but the expression “*maguru gatsiga enjura n’omuyaga*,” implies a fast-running stormy rain. Such a storm at times breaks down branches of trees and removes some roofs. Maguru believes that he can run faster than such a storm! Ironically, that implies that implies attempting to do the impossible. It exposes him as a weak character, prone to acting rashly, with disastrous consequences. In the next part of the name, “*n’omuyaga*,” the “*n-*” is a conjunction, which means, “*and*.” The word *omuyaga* means “wind,” which when combined with rain, is suggestive of a stormy rain. As the events of the story show, Maguru is a character who acts hastily, without first thinking, and that consequently lands him into disaster, like that caused by stormy rain. As a proper name in Runyankore-Rukiga, *Maguru* could imply another meaning, namely that its bearer was a breach birth, seeming as if rushing to come out, “legs-first.” Metaphorically, Maguru’s proneness to making rash judgments and to taking unconsidered actions is precarious as a breach birth.

In the story of “The Untrapping Trapper,” the Runyankore-Rukiga title and name of the main character, *Rutega rwa Nteguura*, is a noun phrase, which can be analysed into the following morphological and syntactical units: *Ru-teg-a rwa N-teguur-a*. In *Ru-teg-a* the prefixed morpheme *Ru-* is a pronominal prefix, which is the opposite of the diminutive prefix *ka-*, used in such a name as *Kashaija*, meaning “small man.” The

morpheme *Ru-* means “the big one the/powerful one/ the skilled one.” In *Rutega*, the prefix *Ru-* suggests that the named person is “a skilled trapper.”<sup>143</sup> The next morpheme is a verb-root *-teg-*, meaning, “trap.” The next morpheme is the final vowel *-a*, which together with the prefix and the root form the verb-derived noun *Rutega*. As a designation of an occupation, *Rutega* means “the man who traps,” or simply, “the trapper.”

The word *rwa* is a possessive conjunction, meaning “of,” which syntactically serves a similar function to that of “*ka*,” between the components of the compound name, “*Kaaremeera ka Karagura*.” (More will be said later about the use of “*ka*.”) Semantically, *rwa* is suggestive of “great size/power/ strength,” in relation to the noun of which it is a possessive, in this case, *Nteguura*. The noun phrase *Nteguura*, can be analysed into the following morphological segments: *N-teguur-a*. The prefixed morpheme *N-* is a pronominal subject-marker, standing for “I.” The next two morphemes form a verb-stem *-teg-uur-*, derived from the verb-root *-teg-* noted above, meaning, “untrapping.” The second of the two morphemes *-uur-* is a causative marker of a repeated habit -untrapping. The last morpheme is a suffixed final vowel *-a*, which turns the prefix *N-* and root-verb *-teguur-* into a verb-derived noun, *Nteguura*, meaning, “I usually untrap.”

The Runyankore-Rukiga noun-phrase *Rutega rwa Nteguura* is vague, for it could mean, “trapper, the son of the untrapper;” or “the trapper who untraps.” However, in the context of most of the story, the latter is the appropriate meaning, and that is what has been adopted for this study. This researcher’s translation into English of *Rutega rwa Nteguura* is “The Untrapping Trapper.” The definitive article “the” is intended to emphasize the character’s peculiar habit of empathetically untrapping whichever victim he finds caught up in his traps. He is characterised by doing the opposite of what a hunter would normally do – killing the prey found caught in his traps. The English phrase “the untrapping trapper,” obviates the vagueness of the source language phrase.

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<sup>143</sup> In Runyankore-Rukiga *Ru-* and its variant *Rwa-* are used as a prefix to a man’s name, stating a relationship to a person, a place, an action, an idea or an object, suggested by the suffixed verb. Examples of that are underlined in the following names: *Rugamba*, or *Rutaro*, each meaning, a boy born during the war; *Rwanyekiro*, meaning a boy born at night; *Rwamunyoro*, such is found in this story, meaning the son of a famous Munyoro.



The story title and name of the main character in Runyankore-Rukiga, *Kaaremeera ka Karagura*, has been translated into English as “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor.” The definitive article “the” has been used to emphasise an occupational relationship Kaaremeera has with his father and mentor, *Karagura*, a name which itself means “the well-known witch doctor.”

*Kaaremeera* is a compound name, which can be literally interpreted as, “hard, heavy, powerful, important or fearless.” The word can be analysed into the following morphemes: *Ka-a-re-mee-r-a* and interpreted as follows. The morpheme *Ka*<sup>144</sup> is used as a pronominal prefix, standing for “he.” The next morpheme *-a-* is an aspect-marker, meaning, “is.” The next morpheme *-remeer-* is a root verb. The final vowel *-a*, completes the derivation to constitute the personal noun, *Kaaremeera*, meaning “He, who is hard, powerful, important or fearless.”

In the title and name-phrase “*Karemeera ka Karagura*,” the word “*ka*” is a relative possessive prefix, meaning “fittingly of.” *Kaaremeera* is related to his father, occupationally, as a witch doctor. The name *Karagura* can be segmented into the following morphemes: *Ka-ra-gur-a*. The *Ka-* is a prefixed morpheme similar to the *Ka-*

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<sup>144</sup> In other Runyankore-Rukiga names, the prefix *-ka-* can be used to indicate a diminutive relationship, but without any pejorative connotation. Three examples of names in that category are: *Kashaija*, meaning “small man;” *Karungi*, meaning “little pretty girl;” and *Karuhanga* meaning “[a boy/man] whose survival depended on God’s protection.” The auxiliary verbal prefix ‘*Ka-*, meaning “let me/us,” can also be used as a prefix to such personal names as: *Kansiime*,” meaning “let me give thanks [to God];” “*Katwesigye*,” meaning “let us trust [God.] Another context in which the prefix *ka-* can be used is to indicate a relationship to a place, an event or time. Examples of that are the following names: “*Kanyarutookye*,” meaning “one who was born in the banana plantation; or “*Kajura*” indicating, a time relationship, namely about a male born during the rainy season; “*Korutaro*,” meaning a female born during war.

Although each of the above names should syntactically be written as two words, with the prefixed pronominal and possessive morphemes “*ka/ko-*” on one hand, and the verb-root or noun-stem and final vowel, on the other hand, the accepted practice is to write them as one word. The possessive apostrophe marker is also not infixed in names denoting relationship, such as *Korutaro*, *Kaaremeera*. When the conjunctive “*ka-*” is used in a name for expressing ‘emphasis, a wish or a curse,’ it is not written separately, but joined as a prefix to the verb-root and final vowel, in names like *Kasingye*, *Katungye* (Morris & Kirwan, 1972:161; Taylor 1960:74).

in *Kaaremeera*, as noted above. The next morpheme *-ragur-* is a verb-root, which together with the prefix *Ka-* and the final vowel *-a* constitute the verb-derived noun *Karagura*, literally meaning “He who is well-practised in divination and traditional healing.” However, as a Runyankore-Rukiga culture specific expression, *Karagura* means an experienced witch doctor. The full name *Kaaremeera ka Karagura* literally suggests “one who is powerful, like his experienced witch doctor father/mentor,” and can be called ‘*Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,*’, or in short “*Kaaremeera.*”

However, the irony in the story of “*Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,*” is that, as a witch doctor, *Kaaremeera* does not live up to the denotation of his name; or to the expectations of his clients. He is so easily shaken-up by his imagined fear of *Rwamunyoro*, who is not even a witch doctor; and who does not even apply any magic power to overcome him! *Kaaremeera* betrays his vulnerability by giving in to *Rwamunyoro*’s demands, merely out of his own imagined fear that the latter’s *mandwa* must be more potent than his own; and that, consequently, he must be a more powerful witch doctor, which he is not. The mystery surrounding *Kaaremeera*’s career as a witch

doctor, when seriously challenged by *Rwamunyoro*, begins to crumble. By the denouement of the story, *Kaaremeera* concedes that his *mandwa* idols and fetishes do not possess the supernatural and lethal power he has hitherto claimed them to have. He also agrees with *Rwamunyoro* that the claims of all other witch doctors are likewise, fake and fraudulent. Finally, *Kaaremeera*, out of conviction resolutely abandons his materially lucrative witch doctor’s career altogether. That radical decision portrays him well as a genuinely changed man, firmly determined thenceforth to lead an entirely new, decent life. The dynamic impact likely to be evoked in society from hearing or reading *Kaaremeera*’s story, is an awareness that *emandwa* idols are illusory, and that consequently the services which witch doctors claim to render through the use of *emandwa* idols, fetishes and talismans are also illusory and not to be trusted by anyone.

### **4.3 THE PROBLEM OF TRANSLATING THE GENDER MARKER**

All non-human characters in fables: whether animals, birds, insects, monsters or spirits, are given anthropomorphic characteristics, such as emotional feeling, thinking,

reasoning, speech, loving. In English, personal pronouns and gender forms can be applied to all characters. However, reference to the personal pronouns and corresponding gender markers of non-human characters in fables and other folk stories in Runyankore-Rukiga or translations into that language, is problematic, particularly gender. That is because there is no distinctive pronoun form to designate a masculine or feminine in the discourse or literature in that language. In that language the personal pronoun marker “-a”- can be used for a noun representing a human being, a male or a female. The pronoun marker used for all animates is the neuter, the marker for which is “-e-” or “-ki,” meaning “it,” according to the noun class to which the referent belongs. The pronoun marker “e-” can be used for nouns in the N-N Bantu noun class, such as *e\_nyonyi*, *kaanyonza*, *enyonyoozi*, *ente*;” or it can use “ru-” for those in the RU-N class, such as *o-rukooko*, *o-rutangura*. Considering that some inanimate characters in fables can play human roles, it would be logical to ascribe to them personal pronouns. For example, in the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter,” Kaanyonza, a bird which plays the role of “foster father” to the girl dumped in the forest by her jealous stepmother, could be represented by a personal pronominal marker, “a-”, which in English stand for” *he*.”

However, Mubangizi (1983:35) the compiler of the source version of that story used the neuter pronoun marker –“e.” The translation has also used the equivalent English neuter pronoun “it.”

#### **4.4 CHALLENGE OF TRANSLATING IDIOMATIC PHRASES**

Because translation should be meaning-based, it requires exegetical probing of the surface structure of the source text for the deeper meaning embedded in it (Larson 1984:3-11.48). There is a four-dimensional challenge in carrying out literary translation.

The first is to discover the meaning implied by the idiomatic, metaphorical, proverbial and other figurative expressions, some of which could be specific to the source text language. The second is to convey the same meaning as the source language text in the receptor language as idiomatically, fluently and naturally as possible. The third dimension is to make the translation as delightful as possible in the receptor language. The fourth is to ensure that the translation can evoke in its listeners and readers a dynamic response comparable to the social and moral lessons as intended by the original author.

To be natural, all discourse should be carried out idiomatically; and idioms are language-specific. A translator has to be very conversant with the receptor language. Where there is an idiom in the receptor language, which has an equivalent meaning to that of the idiom of the source text language, then it should be used. However, where there isn't one, a syntactically correct descriptive phrase can be used to convey the source text intended deeper meaning. Below are seventeen examples of idiomatic expressions used in the source version of the stories for this study to illustrate the problem involved in translating idiomatic phraseology from Runyankore-Rukiga to English.

In the story of "Muhuuba and the Monster," the following four idiomatic phrases are used. (1) "*Nyowe ninkucwera bikye*," idiomatically meaning, "I charge you little for my dues;" The robin means that it is not going to charge Muhuuba's wife too much for undertaking the mission of summoning back her husband in time to save her from the monster. (2) "*Ahi twagambira ni'ira*," i.e., "sooner than our just ended utterance," meaning "moments ago." (3) Muhuuba threatens the monster, thus, "*Ebi waariire*

*okabirya, mbwenu n'omwosho,*” meaning “you consumed whatever you did in the past, henceforth you’ll have no more.” (4) [*Obuta*] *abunanuura, orukooko aruha omwambi, arwongyera ogundi, aruha ogwa kashatu,*” literally Muhuuba “stretched his bow, gave the monster the first arrow, then the second, and the third,” idiomatically meaning that he aggressively struck the monster with a rapid succession of arrow shots, overpowering it unexpectedly, which makes his victory credible.

Below are three Runyankore-Rukiga idiomatic phrases used in the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter.” (1) “*Yaakora omu nda yaatsiburaho omujigaijo gw’omwojo,*” literally, “she put a hand into her womb and put down a first born boy;” or “she touched in her stomach and untied from there a first born boy.” Idiomatically these mean, “She gave birth to her first born boy.” (2) *Tinkaafa ndi encwekye,*” near idiomatically “Would my descent line not cease at my death?” More idiomatically, this means, “Would I not die, leaving no descendant behind for extending my decent line?” (3) “*Yaabugamba obugyenyi,*” literally, “He announced the wedding;” idiomatically, “He made a marriage proposal.”

Other idiomatic phrases used in the same story include: (4) *okushwera eihari,* literally, meaning “to marry jealousy,” which is semantically absurd. However, as a Runyankore-Rukiga idiom, the expression means, “to marry polygamously.” This is a form of marriage, which almost inevitably implies jealousy, especially between the co-wives and their matricentric-families. (5) “*Oruzaaro ruti ndahi!*” This means, “child-bearing eluded him,” implying that, contrary to the man’s expectations, there were no children born to his marriage with his second wife. (6) “*Eihari ryamuza omu mutima,*” literally, “jealousy went into her heart.” Ironically, the jealous woman turned the heart, a symbol

of love, into that of hatred, meaning “the barren co-wife’s jealousy was based on deep seated ill-will.”

#### **4.5 CHALLENGES OF TRANSLATING PROVERBS/PROVERBIAL PHRASES**

Authors and translators of Runyankore-Rukiga folk stories must know the cultural, linguistic and aesthetic background of proverbs. Okpewho offers a helpful definition of a proverb.<sup>145</sup> In ordinary social intercourse and in literature, many African authors naturally use proverbs and proverbial language. That is the case with Chinua Achebe in his novels, especially in *Arrow of God* (1964/1986) and Benedikito Mubangizi in his two novels, *Rwakyekoreire Buhano* (1982) and *Abagyenda Bareeba* (1969/1997), Runyankore-Rukiga, like other Bantu languages, make frequent use of proverbs and proverbial language to convey meaning, especially in making points or giving counsel pragmatically. They use proverbs implicitly; in making critical comment discreetly, but without causing offence. There is a challenge in translating proverbial phrases, because, like idioms and metaphors, their wording or surface form is specific to the source culture and language. Only a few of the Runyankore-Rukiga proverbs have equivalents or near equivalents in English. Moreover, the original author’s intended meaning in

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<sup>145</sup> “What is a proverb? Put simply, a proverb may be defined as a piece of folk wisdom expressed with terseness and charm. The ‘terseness’ implies a certain economy in the choice of words and sharpness of focus, while the ‘charm’ conveys the touch of literary or poetic beauty in the expression” (Okpeweho, 1992:226). The same author cites Seitel (1976), as saying that “Proverbs are indeed metaphorical statements, since they reflect a general truth by reference to a specific phenomenon or experience” (ibid., 227).

proverbial language to some extent depends a lot on the discourse context. Interpreting and translating proverbial meaning has been done for this study mostly by using textual descriptive phrases, supplemented with footnotes.

In the story of “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,” before his death, Karagura, the old witch doctor concludes his instructions to his son by proverbially emphasising that it is up to the young witch doctor to fend for himself: “*Obwara n’okwekwatira; obwengye n’okwemanyira*” (Mubangizi, 1988:49). This set of proverbs has been translated as, “Hands grasp for their owner; knowledge benefits its owner.” In the same story, in order to authoritatively press his demand to be given bridewealth for his daughter, Kaaremeera warns her father-in-law proverbially, “*Naahotoka ku onjugira: omwana w’omuntu tatwarirwa busha.*” This literally means, “I have returned so that you may give me bridewealth, ‘for one’s child is never taken for nothing.’” He implies

that one’s daughter is “normally not married without bridewealth being given for her.” The proverbial component is shown in the second part of the phrase. It is notable that the Runyakore-Rukiga proverb uses the word “child”, which is an endearing expression. However, the implied contextually intended idiomatic meaning of the word “child” is “a marriageable daughter, viz. an adult.”

In the same story the witch doctor’s relatives prudently refrain from getting involved in his confrontation with Rwamunyoro, cynically remarking, “*Oru waayesigisiire orweshomere.*” Literally translated, this proverb means, “You had better drink the hot, dubious concoction you have boiled for yourself.” The implied meaning can be

translated as, “It is up to you to solve the double-edged problem you have brought upon yourself.” The expressions “*Oru*” and the infixed pronoun referring to it “-*rwe-*”, in the verb-phrase “*orweshomere*,” imply “a dubious, complex problem,” in the context of this story, a problem involving two witch doctors and, predictably, the intervention of their *mandwa*. The English translation does not convey enough of the cynicism implied in the source text proverbial metaphor, which in oral rendering would be uttered with visual and tonal contempt towards its addressee. It would most probably also be accompanied with departure of its speakers, marking an abrupt end to the discourse and speech event.

For this study, the challenge of translating idiomatic and proverbial phrases has been dealt with, first by assessing the literal or preferably the near-idiomatic meaning of the expression used. The key expressions in the-hard-to-translate expressions have been analysed morphologically and syntactically, in order to establish their idiomatic meaning, and convey it in the translation. In that process it has been realised by the researcher that literal translation can distort the deeper meaning intended by the source language text, or even be absurd; and thus it should not be adopted in the translation. The following are examples of absurd literal translations. One is the idiom used, in the story “Kaanyonza’s Daughter,” “*okushwera eihari*.” Literally, it means, “marrying jealousy;” but idiomatically it means “[a man] marrying polygamously.” Other examples of the absurdity of making literal translation have been given above under challenges of translating idioms.

In the story of “Muhuuba and the Monster,” there is the idiom, “*Orukooko aruha omwambi, arwongyera ogundi, aruha ogwa kashatu*,” literally, “He gave the monster



one arrow, a second one and a third one.” The literal meaning is absurd, for Muhuuba could not have risked giving arrows to the ferocious beast. Instead, the idiomatic meaning is that he shot three arrows into the monster in rapid succession, allowing no chance to counter-attack him.

The absurdity of literal translation is underscored by Larson’s view that translation should not be literal: because literal translation cannot communicate the deeper meaning of the source text.<sup>146</sup> The same author recommends that the process of translation should be “a continuum,” moving away from the literal, through the near idiomatic to the idiomatic meaning (Larson, 1984: 10, 16-17.) It is the deeper or implied meaning behind the idiomatic or proverbial phrase, intended by the source text, which the researcher has endeavoured to convey in the translation. The main challenge encountered has been to find appropriate, near equivalent idiomatic language in English in order to produce a natural and fluent translation of the Runyankore-Rukiga version of the selected folk stories. Where no equivalent idioms and proverbs could be found in the receptor language, English, descriptive phrases have been used. Additionally, footnotes have been supplied for the purpose of analysing and interpreting hard-to-translate expressions.

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<sup>146</sup> “A literal translation does not communicate the meaning of the source text. It is generally no more than a string of words intended to help someone read a text in its original language. It [a literal translation] is unnatural and hard to understand, and may even be quite meaningless, or give a wrong meaning in the receptor language. It [a literal translation] can hardly be called a translation” (Larson, 1984:10; 16-17).

## 4.6 CHALLENGES OF TRANSLATING

### IDEOPHONES<sup>147</sup> AND ONOMATOPOEIA<sup>148</sup>

Prosodic features, in the form of ideophones and onomatopoeia are not easy to translate across languages. Particularly those from tonal languages, in which orally rendered some of those expressions can be phonologically modified through modulation of tone, pitch and lengthening of syllable pronunciation, duplication, chanting or sung to convey meaning and/or entertainment. Notable, in meaning by shortening or lengthening of tone. In that respect the following words in Runyankore-Rukiga are notable: *enda* which can mean stomach/womb or lice; *omura*, which can mean gigger or womb; *enju*, which can mean house or grey hair. In narrating a folk story prosodic expressions can be chanted to enhance the sensory impact of a story, especially its descriptive aspects.<sup>149</sup>

Translating the suprasegmental properties of ideophones and other prosodic expressions

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<sup>147</sup> “The ideophone is a stylistic technique that relies on sound. Simply defined, it means ‘idea-in-sound,’ in the sense that from the sound of the word one can get an idea of the nature of the event or object referred to. Ideophones are not like normal words to which meanings are readily assigned. They are simply sounds used in conveying a vivid impression” Okpewho, 1992:92).

<sup>148</sup> “Sounding is meaning...onomatopoeia are “sound images which transmit their meanings by evoking the drama of the referential process. These are words which name (*onoma*) poetically (*poeia*” (Niyi Osundare, 2002:121-122).

<sup>149</sup> “A form of onomatopoeia is often used to add elegance and vividness to the narration. A style plentifully embroidered with ideophones is one of the striking characteristics of an effective storyteller. We can actually hear the sound” (Finnegan, 1970:384-385).

is not easy (O'Grady et al., 1966:731). The following are examples of that taken from the stories for this study.

In the chant between the robin and the children in the story of “Muhuuba and the Monster,” the lexically meaningless expression *Kutiikiri and Kuniiniri*, provides a rhyming rhythm to the chanted lines in dialogue. In the story of “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor, the expression *omutsikimbya-nyondo*, is used in the chant between Kaanyonza and the maiden Bugongoro. Literally, it means “the one who makes the hammer squeak.” But the maiden, most probably, implies her trust in the clever bird to help her achieve the difficult task of letting her out of her father’s control and to marry by elopement. As an ideophone the expression provides a rhythm to the chant. A similar function is served in the chant between Muhuuba’s wife and the Monster; and that between the robin and the children in the same story.

In the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter,” the ideophone, the maiden in her dialogued chant with her admiring young man uses “*Ninniora kahara ka niora*,” across the river. She scornfully mimics that utterance with an implicit meaning, which the addressee can easily guess. Translated into English the insinuated, mimicked meaning is, “I am marrying the little daughter of Kaanyonza.” The maiden’s sarcastic mimicry is intended to shock her admirer out of his naivety in believing that she is the daughter of Kaanyonza, a mere bird. The implication is that she is speaking metaphorically, implying that her real father cannot possibly be Kaanyonza, a bird! The implication is that she must be the daughter of an undisclosed man. The ideophone serves to heighten the suspense in the storyline and to complicate the plot regarding the real parentage of the maiden. Her remarks underscore the wisdom of the proverb, “*oshwera/osherwa*

*abuuza*,” which means, “Whoever intends to marry should make pre-nuptial scrutiny.” The purpose of such scrutiny is, in this case, to obviate the likelihood of an incestuous marriage, such as might have happened, had the maiden not disclosed her true sibling-relationship with her admirer. The maiden is portrayed as heroine, as a custodian of the welfare and integrity of her lineage.

In the story of “Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind”, the ideophone “*ebinniora byawe byaza kunniora*,” is sarcastically used by Maguru to manifest his resolve to punish his contemptible, “so-called wife, by leaving her” or rather it, the monster, to be mauled by his dogs. The message of his ideophonic, mimicked utterance can be guessed by its addressee and by the native speakers of the source language version of the story. Those ideophones have no equivalents in English, so, in order to overcome the challenge of translating their implied meaning, it has been specified as “Your hounds are going to maul me.” However, the tonal and contemptuous sound effect of the rhyming, rhythmic utterance in the source language is lost to the translation in English, which lacks similar tonal features.

In the story of “Muhuuba and the Monster,” a duplicated onomatopoeic expression “*tuku-tutu, tuku-tuku*” is used to convey the sound of bellows hurriedly pumped to fan the charcoal in the smiths’ forge, hurriedly making arrows for Muhuuba.

Another duplicated onomatopoeic expression, “*shss-shi, shss-shi*,” is used in the story of “Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind” by Maguru’s mother to attract the attention

of his dogs, so as to dispatch them to save him. It is an onomatopoeic utterance, which the Banyankore and Bakiga use to call a dog to attention. They do that intending to incite a dog to move and attack a pointed out target. The expression has no equivalent in English; and since it communicates by sound effect, it can be used in translation across languages. Thus, it has been retained in the English translation for this study. Collocated with the imperative expression “Go”, the prosodic utterance forms a meaning conveying phrase, “*shss-shi, shss-shi! Go.*”

Another onomatopoeic expression is the musical sound made by the bells on the robin’s legs, “*caa, caa, caa, caa, caa,caa,*” in the story of “Muhuuba and the Monster.” The significance of that musical sound is to attract the attention of children, with whom the robin chants its message of summoning Muhuuba back home that is crucial to storyline.

However, the problem of onomatopoeic expressions, which lack lexical meaning, is that the same or similar expressions can be used to convey different meanings in different cultures and languages. It is only in the context of conventionally standardised sign language, such as that used for and by deaf people, that signs can communicate the same message across cultures and across languages. In translation, descriptive phrases and explanatory notes can be used as has been done to highlight the meaning of the onomatopoeic expressions in the stories translated for this study.

Ideophones, onomatopoeia are used as utterances to give tonal emphasis to particular points in a discourse in the Runyankore-Rukiga texts, as noted above. Some prosodic expressions communicate meaning by implication; others serve merely to make the

narrative vivid: by evoking pleasure, especially those used in dialogued, chanted or sung discourses. In oral rendering of folk stories in the source language, participation by the audience can be spontaneously elicited, whenever the chanted portion recurs. As they have no equivalents in English, in order not to miss the whole impact of their sound effects, some of the onomatopoeia and interjections in the stories for this study have been retained in the translation, followed by textual descriptive phrases. Additionally, explanatory footnotes have been provided to highlight their meaning according to the culture and language of the source text.

#### **4.7 CHOOSING AN APPROPRIATE NARRATIVE TENSE**

Some aspects of folk stories are highly imaginative, with some of their aspects being fabulous. Folk stories are not realistic in the sense that fiction is, or factual as is history. Their characterisation, content, setting in time and place, is highly imaginative. There is no certitude about the date when a folk story happened. That is why the event-time, when the narrated action or event is said or supposed to have happened, is marked by an opening narrative clause in the indefinite far past tense, in a formulaic phrase, such as: “*Ira munonga hakaba hariho...*” the equivalent of which in English is “*Once upon a time there was...*” or “*Long, long ago, there was...*”

Re-telling a folk story requires using a lively narrative tense to make the action in the storyline of the narrated events appears to be developmental and close to the real/actual time. The narrated event should not seem to be static. The verbs used should not only be sative of aspect, but they should also be a tense depicting the sequence of plot-connected events and actions in the narrative structure (Toolan, 1988:3-7; 18, 34, 48-49). The didactic purpose of re-telling the same folk story across generations is better achieved the closer to the listeners and readers the story seems to them. Furthermore, a lively narrative tense can make the humour in the story more appealing to the listeners and readers. On account of those reasons the choice of an appropriate narrative tense is

a big challenge to the compilers, and narrators of folk and other narrative stories in Runyankore-Rukiga and similar languages. In translating from that language the best strategy is to use the far past tense to indicate the time of the event in conjunction with either the today past/historical present tense; or the habitual/universal tense. The habitual/universal present can be used to narrate events at the climactic moment in the narrative. When appropriate, the far future tense can be used, e.g., in narrating events which at the event time were predicted to happen subsequently. An example of this is in the story of “Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind,” in the scene in which the monster predicts that it would sooner or later avenge itself against Maguru (Mubangizi, 1983:37-38).

### **The far past tense used to mark the event time**

The event time, that is the time when a folk story action is imagined or assumed to have happened, is indicated by the far past tense, which in Runyankore-Rukiga is marked by “-ka-”, syntactically infixes between the subject prefix and the verb-root. The far-past tense is normally used in the story-opening clause. It can be repeated now and again in the opening and at section openings. Besides the aspect stative and commentary clauses, a series of action phrases, separated by commas and semicolons, can be used to depict the progressing storyline, and advance the plot structure.<sup>150</sup> Although it would be syntactically correct to narrate a whole folk story in the far-past tense, marked by “-ka,” such a style would make the depicted event seem to be too far-removed from narrating time, and irrelevant to its audience and readers. A better alternative is to use the far past tense in conjunction with the narrative tenses for most of the storyline, as illustrated below.

### **The far past tense plus the today past/historical present**

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<sup>150</sup> “The storyline expresses the sequence of events which are the core of the story. In a verbal narrative there is a distinction between clauses which carry the storyline and clauses which do something else (such as giving circumstantial information) (Fabb, 1997:169). There is also the view that a story is a sequence of developing actions and events, connected by a common motivation or plot through cause and effect, crisis and resolution (Toolan, 1988:3.7-10).

The far past tense is used in the story's opening clause, stating when the narrated event is supposed to have happened. The tense for the sequence of subsequent action/event clauses, known as the narrative tense, can be set in the today-past/historical present tense. That tense referred to as "the narrative past tense" by Morris and Kirwan.

(1972:78). In Runyankore-Rukiga the today past/historical present/narrative past tense is normally marked by a long or a double vowel, mostly "-aa-" and "-ee-", unless hindered by a phonotactical constraint, such as a subsequent nasal compound consonant. The long vowel tense marker is infixes between the subject prefix and the verb-root/stem (Taylor, 1985:35-36, 152-53,166). The English equivalent of this tense is the present participle, marked by the suffix "-ing" (Morris & Kirwan, op. cit., 133). However, in translating from Runyankore-Rukiga to English, it is more natural to use the simple past/near past tense instead, which when no grammatical rule prohibits it, is marked by the suffix "-ed" as has been done for this study.

According to the Banyankore and Bakiga's view of time, an action or an event that has happened between the indefinite past time and the very near past, even up to a very short while ago, can also be narrated with the "today past/historical present," whose marker is a long vowel similar to that shown above. A narrative in such a tense allows for syntactical and semantic precision, for many clauses can be grammatically collocated without breaking them up into separate sentences. Those factors can aid memory and comprehension; and give the narrative more vividness, advancing the plot



and making the storyline<sup>151</sup> more fascinating to the listeners and readers (Toolan, 1988:xiv).

The following is an example of the far past tense used in conjunction with the today past/historical present tense in the source text, taken from the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter and its translation in English.” The first clause indicates the event time, by the far past tense marker, “-ka.” Starting from the second clause, the verbs showing the narrative tense in the sequence of actions and events is underlined. “[*Omushaija*] *akagabwa aine ente nyingi; yaagyenda yaaza kushwera omukazi wa kabiri...Yaabugamba obugyenyi, baamujugisa, baamuhingira omugore, yaamutaa-sya...Abakazi omuka baaba babiri.*” In the translation the corresponding simple past tense, is also underlined. “Since the man had a large herd of cattle, he went to marry a second wife, made a marriage proposal, was made to give bridewealth, and was given his bride, whom he took home and married.” It is notable that the opening clause, “*Akagabwa*” indicates the event time, which is set in the indefinite far-past tense, the equivalent of which in English is “*had.*”

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<sup>151</sup> The storyline expresses the sequence of events which are the core of the story. In a verbal narrative there is a distinction between clauses which carry the storyline and clauses which do something else (such as giving circumstantial information). (Fab, 1997:167). There is also the view that a story is a sequence of developing actions and events, connected by a common motivation or plot through cause and effect, crisis and resolution (Toolan, 1988:3.7-10).

Another example to illustrate the use of the today past/historical present tense, as a narrative tense, is the following, taken from the story of “Maguru the Outrunner of rain and Wind,” “*Orukooko ku ruhurira ebishuuga byareetwa aha nkiro, empango rugigarura aha kahaata; ruihayo enkanda yaarwo n’ekitooma rubijwara, rugaruka ruba omuntu, azaaho aba omukazi*” (Mubangizi. 1967:41). It is notable that an adverbial phrase is used in the opening clause “*Orukooko ku ruhurira,*” translated as “when the monster heard,” which states the event time of the scene. The typical today past/historical present tense marker is a long vowels, *-ee-* in *byareetwa*; and *-aa-* in *azaaho*. The above can be translated into English, with the simple/near past tense, as follows: “When the monster heard the hounds coming over the horizon it returned the axe to its arse; put on the cowhide and backcloth dress; reverted to human form and reposed as a woman.” The translation of the five folk stories for this study has mostly used the simple/near past tense. The equivalent simple/near past tense used in the translation of the stories is underlined above.

In Runyankore-Rukiga, within a discourse, a set of clauses and sentences forming a paragraph, mostly use the today-past/historical present. Their translation into English uses the simple/near past tense. The narrative clauses in the source language narrative and in the translation are marked off with commas and semicolons. Such a style can be adopted, regardless of the number of clauses forming a sentence or sentences within the same paragraph forming a discourse. That can be done, whether the clauses are syntactically conditional upon each other or not. However, in order to keep to the Gricean cooperative principles of discourse (Leech, 1980, 11-12), a paragraph in which the narrative clause is used should not be kept short. For the sake of naturalness and clarity, only a few clauses may be stringed together. Clauses that can syntactically be

turned into separate meaningful sentences can be treated as such. In that case the pronominal subject prefix markers or forms can be replaced by the referent nouns. Such restructuring can be illustrated with the following example, which is purposely the same as the one above, to show the contrast. “*Orukooko ku ruhurira ebishuuga byareetwa*

*aha nkiro, empango rugigarura aha kihaata. Rwihayo enkanda yaarwo n’ekitooma rubijwara. Rugaruka ruba omuntu, azaaho aba omukazi*” (Mubangizi 1967:41). That can be translated as, “When the monster heard the hounds coming over the horizon, it returned the axe to its arse. It put on the cowhide and barkcloth dress, and reverted to human form. The monster then re-posed as a woman.” The addition of pronouns and noun in the translation, for the sake of clarity, is notable. The deictic pronoun has to be replaced by the noun it represents, to avoid ambiguity.

### **Another use of the today past/historical present**

The Runyakitara today/historical present tense, which is equivalent to the English simple or near past tense, can be used in reference to an action which is poised to happen in the immediate future, unless something else intervenes to avert it. A translator has to realise that although the source text uses the today past/historical present tense, it is the immediate future time-event that is implied. A descriptive phrase has to be used in the translation to indicate that at the narration time, the event or action referred to by the verb in the tense, would be still pending, with the probability to be averted. A typical example of such tense usage is found in the story of “Maguru Outrunner of Rain and Wind.” On getting his emergency message through the mysteriously flying leaf he has sent, Maguru’s mother exclaims, thus, “*Omwana wangye yaafa*,” literally “My son has died.” But, in reality, she is not stating a fact; she simply means, “My son is in danger”

clxxix

of death.” That is why she hurriedly dispatches his dogs, with the hope that they can still save him, which they actually do: by overpowering and mauling the monster, and enabling him to kill it.

The following are other examples of the historical present tense in Runyankore-Rukiga and the near past tense in English, indicating an impending action or event that could be averted. A person standing at the rail-crossing can be warned, thus, “*Rugaho, egaari y’omwika yaakwita,*” literally, “Move off, the train has killed you,” but implying, “Move off now, otherwise the on-coming train soon will kill you.”) If someone is set to start a journey, at any time from the time of speaking, he or she can say in Runyankore-Rukiga, “*Naagyenda* or in Runyoro-Rutooro, “*Naagenda*,” literally meaning “I have gone,” but implying “I am set to go off now.” If signs are that rain is about to cease, it can be said in Runyankore-Rukiga: “*Enjura yaasya,*” literally meaning, “The rain has ceased,” but idiomatically meaning “the rain is now in the process of ceasing.”

### **The event-time tense plus the universal or habitual/simple present tense**

Another narrative tense that can be used in re-telling a folk story or any other prose narrative is a combination of the event-time with the habitual/universal or simple present tense (Taylor, 1985:35,152, 166). The event-time is the far past or indefinite past tense, as noted above. The habitual present/universal/simple present tense is used to indicate an action or an event that happens always, habitually, recurrently, or often. In Runyankore-Rukiga and Runyoro-Rutooro, that tense has a *nil or zero* morpheme. The tense is illustrated by the underlined verbs in the following examples. “*Ruhanga akunda*

*abantu boona. Abazaire bakunda abaana baabo boona.*” In English, these respectively mean, “God loves all people. Normally, parents love all their children” (Ndolieriire & Oriikiriza, 1996). Proverbs are also set in the universal or habitual present tense, in order to highlight their general, universal, or timeless applicability. The following are three examples of that. *Amaizi goosya munonga, kwonka tigeebwa wa beene-mbeho; Akakye okarya n’owaanyu; Orurimi ruba ekijwaro ky’ebiteekateeko.*” In English, these proverbs respectively mean, “However hot water maybe, it can never disassociate itself from coldness; However small the provision, you should always share it with your relative; Language is the best dress of thought.”

### **The far future narrative tense**

Another mode of narrating a folk story is by using “the far future narrative tense,” also known as “the consecutive sequence tense” (Taylor, 1985:154, 166). That tense is suitable for narrating episodes of a story that are set or predicted to happen later than the real or supposed event time. By the real event time, the predicted event or action would not yet have taken place. However, by the time the story is actually narrated, the projected event or action would have occurred, as the final episode of the story portrays at the end of the narrative. The Runyankore-Rukiga tense marker for the future narrative tense is “-*dya-/rya-*.” An example of its usage is *N-dya-/rya-kwita,*” meaning “I will “[sooner or later] kill you” (Morris & Kirwan, 1972:157). Another example of the future narrative tense, given below is taken from the story of “Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind,” in which the monster predicts how it would sooner or later avenge itself on Maguru (source text, Mubangizi, 1967:37-38):

[Orukooko] rumuhayira, ruti

The monster warned him thus:  
clxxxix

Hoono ontsigye hati,	You have escaped me now,
Ndyaruha nkukwate.	Soon or later, I will get you.
Ndyaija ndi omukazi murungi,	I will come as a beautiful woman,
Oryanshwera, nkwrite.	You will marry me and I will kill you.
Ndyaba ndi empango, nkuteme ofe.	I will be an axe and cut you fatally.
Oryangura, ontemese nkwrite.	You will purchase me and I will kill you.
Ndyashangwa ndi enkoni nungi,	I will be a beautiful stick,
Oryancwa, oncweregyerere, nkwrite.	You will shape me and I will kill you.
Oryanshanga omu baheesi ndi eicumu,	I will be a nice spear vended by smiths,
Oryangura onkwate, nkwrite.	You will purchase me and I will kill you.
Oryangura ndi ekyanzi kirungi,	You will buy me as a nice milk vessel,
Oryantwara owaawe nkwrite.	You will take me home, I will kill you.

The future narrative tense is suitable for narrating a series of actions/events constituting part of the storyline that is set to happen subsequent to the event-time indicated by the far past tense in the first verb, as shown above. The today past tense/historical present tense and the near past tense work well in Runyankore-Rukiga: by exploiting the agglutinating derivational features of that language, through the use of affixes to form short, precise narrative clauses, sentences and paragraphs. However, a challenge to the translator is that the today-past tense does not work equivalently well in English, which is not similarly endowed with agglutinating features. Although the habitual/universal present tense can be used in both Runyankore-Rukiga and in English narratives, except at climactic moments, it reduces the illusion of the imagined actuality of the narrated

events. There is less difficulty in translating the future narrative tense into English, as the above example has shown.

In social intercourse some misunderstandings can arise owing to misinterpretation of utterances. A remedy to being misunderstood and misinterpreted, would be to follow the Gricean cooperative principles of appropriate discourse, which recommend that a speaker should strive to be clear, and that a listener should grasp the speaker's intended meaning and implied effect, beyond the literal sense of the expressions used (Leech, 1980:11-12). Discourse is an event in which a message is communicated for the purpose of evoking a dynamic impact. "One of the essential, and yet often neglected, elements [in discourse] is the expressive factor, for people must also feel as well as understand what is said" (Nida & Taber, 1974:25). A good example of an appropriate discourse is found in the story of "Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor." The long episode depicting discourse between Rwamunyoro and Kaaremeera depicts the latter initially as unsure of the former's meaning, and suspicious of his motive. However, gradually he appreciates Rwamunyoro's truthfulness and constructive criticism and good motive which lead Kaaremeera to renounce the witch doctor's career out of conviction.

### **Mixing different narrative tenses in the same narrative**

The event time can be used in conjunction with various narrative tenses. It would be ideal not to mix the today-pas/historical present, the simple/near past and the habitual/universal present tense in the same story. However, it is a big challenge to avoid mixing those narrative tenses in the same discourse, paragraph or story. For this study, the narrative tense combination that has mostly been used for the translation is the event time plus the simple/near-past tense. As shown above, the latter corresponds to the Runyankore-Rukiga today-past/historical present tense. The universal/habitual present tense, also known as the simple present in English (Taylor, 1985:35), is not so

natural to use in English as a narrative tense of the successive events and actions in the storyline. By combining the real or supposed event time, which may be the remote on the one hand, or far past and the narrative tense, or on the other hand, the listeners or readers naturally conceive the narrated event to be set some time in the past. They expect to know what successively happened, and what kept happening next, until the plotted end of the storyline is concluded. The tense used in the footnotes to the translation for this study is the universal/habitual present tense, which is the simple present in English. That is the tense which is also conventionally used in literary criticism. That tense has been used in the footnotes, which are a form of literary criticism to the translation of the five folk stories to this study.

#### **4.8 LITERATURE SHOULD BE PLEASURABLE**

Literature in the source language and in translation should provide entertainment.<sup>152</sup> The data from the questionnaire to assess the enjoyment of the stories translated into English for this study shows that the readers found them pleasurable (Appendix A). The task of producing a cross-cultural translation of folk stories, which is idiomatic, natural and delightful in the receptor language, is hard. This is mainly because language or form is not transferable, especially the humour embedded in the idioms and metaphors of the source language version. The audience and readers of a Runyankore-Rukiga folk story translated into a language like English, lack the background to the proverbial and metaphorical expressions used in folk stories, to elicit pleasurable humour comparable to that of the source text language. They also lack closeness to the oral, prosodic features of such a language.

Rendered orally before an audience, folk tales can provide real audible and visual entertainment, especially when it is accompanied by the performer's artistic body

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<sup>152</sup> “One major usefulness of any form of literature is that it offers delight, and so relieves us of various pressures and tensions both physically and mentally” (Okpewho, 1992:106).



movements, gestures and mimicry, instrument playing, notably the drum, harp or flute; or by artistic spear or stick swinging (Finnegan, 1970:1-25). Such features can rouse spontaneous audience attention and participation, which can enhance the impact of the oral rendering of the story. Communal participation in folk tale performance can be attained through refrain singing, clapping and dancing. Rendering a folk story can become a performed event. Some forms of oral literature, such as recitations, known as *ebyevugo* in Runyankore-Rukiga, depend a lot on the tonal features of that language and on audience response, taking advantage of the high and low prosodic features of that language, accompanied by dramatic body movement and musical instrument

playing. *Ebyevugo* are normally performed to provide live entertainment in the context of a social event, such as a marriage ceremony. A translation of such recitations into English, which lacks such features, may not be equivalently entertaining. Similarly, the verbal aspects of ritual performance by witch doctors, known in Runyankore-Rukiga as “*okuteera orunyegye*,” such as that by the main character in one of the stories for this study, “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,” could be translated into English. But performing the translation would not be as dramatic as the source language version, which uses some of its prosodic features to enhance the mimicry involved in such ritual (Mubangizi, 1963:27-29; 1983:51).

#### **4.9 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has explored and analysed the cultural and linguistic challenges of translating folk stories from Runyankore-Rukiga to English. The selected stories for this study have been shown to depict the cultural heritage of the source culture and language, pertaining to the significance of names, the motivation for marrying, respect for the right to life and property. The fact that the source language of the stories is a Bantu language, with agglutinating features, idiomatic, proverbial and prosodic forms

that have no equivalents in English, has been a major challenge. Another major challenge is choosing an appropriate narrative tense to translate the favoured Runyankore-Rukiga today past/historical present tense. Its equivalent in English is the present participle, whose regular marker is –ing. But using this as narrative tense would not be so natural in that language. The more natural one is the simple past/past participle, whose regular marker is “–ed,” and which keeps the narrated event close enough to the narrative time.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

# **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE CHALLENGES OF TRANSLATING FOLK STORIES FROM RUNYANKORE-RUKIGA TO ENGLISH**

## **5.1 INTRODUCTON**

Five selected folk stories have been translated from Runyankore-Rukiga to English, as presented in chapter three, together supplementary footnotes to the hard to translate or untranslatable expressions. Chapter two has provided an anthropological background to the major cultural features pertaining to the stories; and chapter four has particularly shown how to deal with hard to translate expressions. Folk stories have been shown to feature human, animal and in-animate objects as characters. Besides the fabulous aspects, all folk story characters, including non-human characters are also personified, so that their portrayal may simulate the feeling, thinking and behaviour of good or bad people in real life. From testing the translation for this study, two major values of folk

stories have been underscored by the data from the responses, namely provision of literary pleasure and promotion of didactic social and moral values (“Appendix A”). That concurs with Tolkien’s view (1966:65) and that of Okpewho (1992:106,115-119) about the enduring value of folk stories and literature in general for the good of young people and adults. The literary heritage is not only meant to benefit the audiences and readers of the source text culture and language, but also those of others. In the latter purpose lies the significance of translating folk stories and other genres of literature across African and other cultures and languages. However, it is a big challenge to produce a literary translation that is meaning-based, idiomatic, natural, and delightful and dynamically uplifting (Nida 1964:120-123; Nida & Taber, 1974:22-28; Bassnett, 1980:26).

This study has assessed and identified the major culture and language related challenges of translating folk stories from Runyankore-Rukiga to English. From the encountered challenges the study has reached some conclusions and drawn some generic

abstractions. These are intended for encouraging further literary translation. The study has also made some recommendations for wide dissemination of for promoting translation and original writing of literature for promoting literacy and development.

## **5.2 CULTURAL CHALLENGES TO TRANSLATION**

As emphasised by this study, it is expected that a translator of folk stories and of other genres of literature, should have an adequate knowledge of the social and cultural anthropology of the society in which the source-text is set.<sup>153</sup> This is because literature in the original language is influenced by a particular society and its culture. Literature can be used to express the thinking, attitude and world-view, in short, to express the culture of a people about the basic aspects of human life (Kroeber, 1963:7). The content or message, which constitutes the inner form of literature, normally concerns basic

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<sup>153</sup> “In order to communicate the meaning of the source [language] text accurately and effectively in the receptor language, it is necessary to study carefully the culture of the area where the receptor language is spoken: in particular, the meaning of the words and expressions that refer to traditional beliefs and to the supernatural world” (Barnwell, 1986:78; cf. also Finnegan, 1970:48; Okpewho, 1992:10).

human affairs and life. That is why the valuable heritage enshrined in all good literature, though based in particular cultures, can through translation be disseminated across cultures and languages, thereby exerting a global impact (Mubangizi, 1983:5).

The following are examples of literature originating from particular cultures and languages that has universal appeal, judging from the numerous translations done from that literature for books and film scripts. That literature includes: Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid*, which are classics set in Greek and Latin cultures, respectively. The novels of Leo Tolstoy and Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky originally set in Russian culture. The fiction of Charles Dickens and of other 19th century novelists is set in the English culture of that period. It also includes the novels, poems and plays of the 20th century African writers in French or English such as Leopold Senghor, Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka, the late Sembene Ousmane, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and others, which though written in English or French, they are set and influenced by their respective authors' cultures. Translation of literature requires a background knowledge of the respective social, cultural, native language, historical contexts in which the literature was originally set. In the past, some foreigners, who lacked adequate background knowledge of the source culture and language, carried out the earliest translations of African oral literature. Not surprisingly those early translations, often distorted the deeper meaning, and were not idiomatic enough, nor as delightful as their source language versions (Okpewho, 1992:5-19; Finnegan, 1970:26-30). For such reasons, the early translations of the Bible have had to be revised (Mojola, 1999:174-176).

### **Hard-to-translate culture specific expressions**

Hard to translate culture specific images, symbols, beliefs and practices have been encountered in the translation of the five folk stories for this study. This translator has had to consult Social Anthropology works and to interview some knowledgeable respondents about various points. The outcome from that consultation is reflected in the background chapter, in the textual descriptive phrases and in the footnotes to the translation. Such descriptive phrases and interpretative footnotes are intended to help the listeners and readers of the translation, especially the young from the source culture and those from other cultures.

The themes and sub-themes of four of the five stories for this study concern marriage and family life. Accordingly, there are numerous images, idioms and other expressions in Runyankore-Rukiga, about marriage and family life. Examples of those expressions include the following: *okugamba obugyenyi*, meaning to make a marriage proposal; *okujuga*, meaning to give bridewealth; and *oruhuuturo*, meaning a set of courtship visits. Another marriage-related cultural expression is *okuhingira*, which means to validate a marriage by ceremonially endowing the bride with dowry and giving her away to be transferred to the bridegroom's home. Further examples are *okwarika*, which means to cater for the bride during her period of seclusion at the bridegroom's home; *okutwarira* or in Rukiga (Karwemera, 1994:94) *okutuura ekikuruza*, meaning to present substantial quantities of foodstuffs from the bride's natal family to her marital home during her seclusion.

Another hard-to-translate marriage-related Runyankore-Rukiga expression is *okushenda*, which means, "to divorce a woman." It is worth noting that the English expression "to divorce" does not refer only to a woman, for in Westernised culture a wife can also divorce her husband. However, in the traditional culture of the Banyankore and Bakiga only a husband can divorce (*okushenda*) a wife, Analogically, the term "*okushenda*," suggests, the woman is cast out of the marital home, as wood ash is cast out of the family hearth. In case a wife has a valid reason to initiate her severance of the marriage bond, such as when the husband is found to be impotent, then the Runyankore-Rukiga expression used is, "*okubenga*," which means "to reject a husband completely and manifest it by going away from the marital home for good."

In the story of "Kaaremeera, Son of the Witch Doctor," there is a set of hard-to-translate symbols and concepts pertaining to the role of a witch doctor in society. One of those is "*emandwa*," which is believed to be a kind of supernatural power: a minor deity, or even an ancestor spirit. The power of *emandwa* is claimed by witch doctors to be present in the form of an object, such as a small horn or the tip of it; or in an initiated human medium (Mubangizi, 1963:12-15; Lugira, 1970:23-26). *Emandwa* can be claimed by a witch doctor and regarded as such by clients, to possess and to exercise supernatural powers negatively or positively. Such powers are claimed to be used for carrying out divination for doing good harm.

Another hard-to-translate Runyankore-Rukiga expression relating to a witch a doctor is “*orugisha*” (plural *engisha*), equivalent to “fetishes/talismans/amulets” in English. Negatively, these are claimed by witch doctors and believed so by clients to possess lethal power. However, as the story of “Kaaremera Son of the Witch Doctor,” demonstrates, *engisha*, such as the *emisheeshe* and *emibarama* sticks, laid by Rwamunyororo’s home, are harmless objects. The effect of fetishes does not lie in objects themselves, but in the client’s mind, based on the fear of the fetishes’ imagined lethal power. It is that imagined fear that can cause real psychological harm.

Positively, *engisha* in Runyankore-Rukiga, or talismans/amulets in English, are claimed by the witch doctor and believed so by the clients to have benevolent power. But, in reality, the *engisha* and talismans/amulets being neutral objects. They can only have a psychologically good effect upon the people who trusts in their imagined healing and protective power.

The Runyankore-Rukiga witch doctor-related expression “*okuragura*,” is another hard-to-translate expression. A witch doctor’s intricate activities include the following: (1) interviewing the client to obtain some crucial information to use; (2) demanding a down-payment; (3) demanding an initial sacrificial animal and drink for creating a distracting setting for ensuring a good reception; (4) performing a ritual solo dance, intentionally in dim light, whilst speaking in a make-believe mumbled, the so-called *mandwa*-language; (5) casting a sort of dice and claiming to reveal through divination the hidden nature and cause of a client’s illness or some other problem through power of the *mandwa*. A witch doctor’s divinational activity also include (6) prescribing a remedy to the problem, which may include offering a bigger sacrifice, provision of some medicine, and claiming to set the *mandwa* in action; and finally (7) demanding for a big recompense, such as cow, or in the past, even a daughter of the client-family for the witch doctor to take home and marry! It is not easy to translate into English the source language expression “*okuragura*,” so as to cover all those activities. That is why the reader of a translation of a story like that of “Kaaremera Son of the Witch Doctor,” needs to have background information about the above elements. For this study textual descriptive phrases have been used to highlight the hard to translate expressions; additionally, explanatory footnotes have also been provided to ease those problems.

### **5.3 LANGUAGE RELATED CHALLENGES TO TRANSLATION**

#### **Need for a formal knowledge of the source language**

The researcher has realised that being a native speaker of a language is not enough to enable one to undertake literary translation from it. Besides having a mastery of the source language in general, a translator needs to have a formal knowledge of its distinctive phonological, morphological, syntactical and pragmatic features, such as those taught Makerere University degree programmes in Linguistics and African Languages. For example, a translator of Runyankore-Rukiga literary works has to know that that language frequently makes use of agglutinating features to affix derived morphemes and achieve various syntactical functions. In order to probe their contextual, idiomatic meaning, the key terms and expressions, symbols and images used in the source text have to be analysed into their morphological and syntactical constituents. Such analyses have been done with regard to the names and titles of the stories for this study.

#### **Need for a formal knowledge of the receptor language**

Translation requires having a thorough knowledge of the receptor language in general and of its linguistic features in particular, because translation entails the transfer of the source language text's intended meaning. The translation text should render the same meaning idiomatically,<sup>154</sup> fluently and naturally and faithfully (Larson, 1980:10; Barnwell, 1986:183). A translator should be conversant with the receptor language to able to choose from the wide paradigm of the receptor language the most suitable idioms, metaphors and figures of speech or descriptive phrases to convey the source text meaning. The meaning conveyed in the translation is expected to evoke a dynamic didactic and entertainment impact in its listeners and readers comparable to that of the source text.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> “According to idiomatic approaches, a text has ‘surface structures,’ which are the grammatical, lexical and phonological structures; but it also has ‘deep structure’... ‘The surface structures’ constitute the ‘form’ of the text, and the ‘deep structures’ constitute its meaning, which is what the translator is to convey” (Gutt, 1991:81).

<sup>155</sup> “If we assume that language is a device for communicating messages, then it follows that language and linguistic forms are means to an end rather, than an end in

### **The challenge of translating proverbial phrases**

A translator should have proper understanding of the meaning underlying proverbs and proverbial phrases, as contextually applied in the source text so as to convey the original author's intended meaning. A translator should act as a faithful interpreter of the contextually intended meaning of the source text, in order to re-express it in the receptor

Language faithfully, naturally and idiomatically. Quite often, Runyankore-Rukiga proverbs and proverbial phrases are used to pragmatically make serious points and thereby enhance the impact and humorous quality of the discourse. Such expressions are purposely used to convey meaning obliquely, especially in making critical comment, or giving counsel on sensitive issues. Proverbs can play a didactic role: by describing the culture-approved or disapproved behaviour, in culturally established phraseology, leaving interpretation and application of the implied moral to the addressee and public (Finnegan, 1970: 399-415; Okpewho, 1992:226-29).

The deeper meaning of proverbs can be conveyed with wit and humour, through allusion or insinuations, but due care should be taken not to cause offence to their addressee or hearer, especially when the proverbs are uttered in the presence of a critical audience. A pertinent proverb can be used to highlight a theme or a sub-theme of a story, or to make a point, as exemplified by this one, "*enkora-birungi ebizimuurirwa*," which is equivalent to the English "a good turn deserves another." This proverb has been used in this study in a footnote to emphasise the theme of mutual help, depicted in the story of "The Untrapping Trapper." It should be noted that a proverb and a proverbial phrase, like an idiom, is constituted by a fixed collocation of words. Some proverbs are not straightforward, but metaphorical, and like any other figure of speech, it is their inner meaning that is to be translated. The following is an example to illustrate

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themselves. The content is the conceptual intent of the message, together with the connotative values the source wishes to communicate; it is what the message is about. The form, on the other hand, is the external shape the message takes to effect its passage from the source's mind to the receptor's mind. And it is almost invariably true that for any content, a language makes available numerous forms, which could equally well convey the message. In transferring the message from one language to another, it is the content, which must be preserved at any cost" (Nida and Taber, 1974:105).



that point. In the story of “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,” the proverb, “*omwana w’omuntu tatwarirwa busha*,” literally, “one’s child is never taken away for nothing,” but the intended meaning is that one’s nubile daughter is not married without bridewealth being given to her natal relatives. Their metaphorical form makes proverbs and proverbial language hard to translate across cultures and languages, especially where there are no equivalents in the receptor languages. In such cases, textual interpretative descriptive phrases and footnotes have to be used.

### **Translating ideophones, onomatopoeia and other prosodic expressions**

Suprasegmental features, which are also called prosodic properties, can be effectively used in tonal languages, like Runyankore-Rukiga, especially in oral discourse and in re-telling of stories through modification of tone, pitch and phonological syllable length modulation. Chanting, a story accompanied by bodily movements, clapping, dancing and playing of musical instruments, notably the drum, the harp and the flute, can enhance the phonological effect of onomatopoeic and other prosodic features further. A combination of such factors can turn a Runyankore-Rukiga narrative into a lively musical performance, which can attract audience participation.

There are some hard-to-translate ideophones<sup>156</sup> and interjections in Runyankore-Rukiga, which are lexically and phonologically meaningful. The following are two examples of such ideophones as: “*Ninniora kahara ka niora*; and *ebiniora byawe byaza kunniora*,” respectively, uttered in the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter” and that of “Maguru, the Outrunner of Rain and Wind.” The addressees and the speakers of the source language phrases can easily guess the insinuated sarcastic meanings. In translating those ideophones into English, their insinuated meaning has been interpreted and specified, respectively, as, “*I am marrying the little daughter of so and so*,” and as “*your fierce hounds are going to maul me!*” However, specification of the implied meaning reduces the impact of the mimicry and phonological effect of the source language expressions.

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<sup>156</sup> “The ideophone is a stylistic technique that relies on sound. Simply defined, it means ‘idea-in-sound,’ in the sense that from the sound of the word one can get an idea of the nature of the event or the object referred to. Ideophones are not like normal words to which meanings are readily assigned. They are simply sounds used in conveying a vivid impression ... The images created by using ideophones help the audience to see, hear, feel, smell, touch and enjoy the narrative” (Okpewho, 1992:92).

There are some untranslatable ideophones in the form of interjections and onomatopoeic expressions, which are not lexemes and, thus, not in themselves meaningful (Lyons. 1981:101). The following are two examples of the latter. One is found in the story “Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind,” the expression “*tuku-tuku, tuku-tuku,*” is used to convey the state of Maguru’s palpitating heart, when he realises that, what he regarded as his wife, is, but a real monster, which is now intent upon killing him! A similar expression, “*puku-puku, puku-puku*” is used in the story “Muhuuba and the Monster” to convey a sense of the hurry urgency by the smiths, hurriedly pumping the bellows to quicken the forge-fire and urgently make arrows for Muhuuba. Since the above onomatopoeic expressions have no intrinsic lexical meaning, but work phonologically by producing sound effects, the same expressions can be carried over to the translation. The form and phonological effect of onomatopoeic expressions can be adopted and naturalised by the receptor language proper phonetic pronunciation by the narrator. A descriptive phrase can be used to convey the contextually intended or implied meaning of such expressions. Outside the translation text, footnotes can be used to explain the meaning of the onomatopoeic or ideophonic expressions. This is what has been done with such expression in the folk stories translated for this study.

#### **5.4 ENDING OF A FOLK STORY**

It is conventional to give a folk story a happy ending, usually set in a formulaic form, such as, “and they [the good characters in the story] lived ever happy after” (Toolan, 1988, 161-163). However, for a story to have a credible happy ending, its storyline or plotting should have kept developing towards the happily ending.

##### **A happy ending for a good folk story character**

There should be a credible relationship between the characters of a folk story, the development of its storyline and plot towards its ending. A good character that has been a victim of protracted harassment by the villain in the story should normally develop towards a happy ending. A good main character, referred to as the hero in literature, who in the course of the story has courageously suffered gross injustice and victimisation at the hands of the villainous characters, should normally end up happily. A folk story happy ending should meet three objectives: satisfying poetic justice, underscoring clear didactic lessons, and providing pleasure to its audience and reader. A

happy folk story ending can be portrayed through the restoration, consolation and joy, which comes after a hard struggle or even death of the victim. A happy ending to a folk story offers a resolution to the sustained suspense to know what finally happened, and how it happened by the denouement of the story (Toolan, 1988:152, 161). A formulaic folk story happy ending can be: “and they [the people portrayed as the heroes and heroines] lived happily ever after.” Four of the folk stories selected for this study have credible happy endings; but the fifth one, “Maguru the Outrunner of Wind and Rain,” has a contrived happy ending. The following are examples of folk story happy endings.

Kaanyonza, a bird, in the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter,” is depicted as manifesting greater respect for human life by providing benevolent parental protection unlike the

Jealous, stepmother. The story has a multiple happy ending. The first is the discovery and recovery and rehabilitation of its daughter from her kind guardian, Kaanyonza. The plot hinges upon the survival of that daughter, whose intervention averts an unknown, but potentially dangerous incestuous marriage between her and her sibling. That sets the stage for a grand denouement of the story in a desirable happy ending, in which the only son of the family appropriately marries from another family, lineage and clan and bearing several geneacologically healthy sons to satisfy his father’s initial desire of having heirs to extend his descent line. The daughter herself gets happily exogamously married. Another aspect of the happy ending for the family is the divorcing of the jealous, murderous second wife, because her removal is like ridding the family of an obstacle. Such a severe sanction satisfies poetic justice, and teaches social and moral lessons.

The happy ending to the story of “Muhuuba and the Monster,” lies in the hero, Muhuuba’s overpowering and killing the monster single-handed and recovering from its last finger all his cattle and children whom it had devoured.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Cutting at the small finger and recovering all that the monster had eaten is a conventional form of folk story happy ending in Runyankore-Rukiga. When this researcher (on 17 March 2007) interviewed a Mukiga folk story compiler from Kabale, Mr. Fred Geoffrey Kamugisha (65), the respondent thought that the vanquished monster lets its victor recover whatever it had eaten, so as to avoid dying with the burden of guilt and shame for stealing.

The story of “The Untrapping Trapper,” has a series of connected happy sub-endings. The first one is that through the clever intervention of a wise rat, The Untrapping Trapper and his son are saved from being devoured by the ungracious lion. The second sub-happy ending lies in The Untrapping Trapper’s recovery of his herd of cattle from the *Bacwezi*. However, he succeeds in both respects through the intervention of his small, but wise and loyal friends, the firefly and the spider. The final dimension of the happy ending is the recovery of The Untrapping Trapper’s daughter-in-law and her rich dowry from the *Bacwezi* swindlers, thanks to the timely, wise intervention of the friendly firefly. Subsequently, the *Mucwezi* wife settles in and bears many grandchildren to the family of The Untrapping Trapper.

The happy ending to the story of “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,” lies in the irony of seeing the seemingly invincible witch doctor’s unexpected submission to Rwamunyoro’s daring challenge to expose and cast his *mandwa* idols into the lake. Kaaremeera complies out of imagined fear that Rwamunyoro has more powerful magic than his own! Another aspect of the happy ending is that Kaaremeera concedes to the fraudulence surrounding his career as a witch doctor. Thirdly, another dimension of the story’s happy ending is that Kaaremeera the son of Karagua, the renowned witch doctor, finally gets convinced and freely renounces his career. Didactically, another aspect of the happy ending is the shattering of the myth about the culturally backed popular belief of the Banyankore and Bakiga that *emandwa* and their mediums, especially witch doctors and idols, wield supernatural and magic powers of doing good or to do harm.

However, besides the make-believe ritual aspects and harmless fetishes and talismans, there is a positive dimension to a witch doctor’s role in traditional society. A witch doctor can act as a counsellor and a provider of effective herbal medicine. This dual role

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However, this researcher’s own conjecture is that cutting at the monster’s last finger to recover whatever the monster had eaten is simply a conventional folk story fabulous and humourous way of underlining the happy ending in the recovery process for satisfying poetic justice; and giving pleasure to the audience and readers of the story. Regarded as a representation of the conduct of greedy, unjust people in real life, another dimension of the monster’s admission of guilt and concern for restitution is the lesson implied. There are some people, especially Christians who believe in the resurrection of the dead that can attain last moment conversions, motivated by the fear of retribution in the after-life; and a desire to be saved.

is not considered by the story of “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor.” This study cannot go into it either. It would be worthwhile for other researchers to undertake that task.

### **A contrived happy ending for a bad folk story character**

When the episodes, the storyline and the plotting of a folk story do not credibly tend towards a happy ending, then the story should have an unhappy ending, like that of a tragedy. Giving it a happy ending would be contrived and not credible. In the story of “Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind”, the major episodes and plot depict the main character, Maguru, as committing a series of serious errors of judgment, which are not at all consonant with a happy ending. One of those errors of judgment is Maguru’s bold intrusion into a monster’s home and recklessly snatching a live coal from a fire, fabulously lit on the monster’s leg! Maguru commits a further serious error of judgment by ignoring to make precautionary enquiries before marrying a strange woman, who turns out to be the vengeful monster. Maguru’s escape of the monster is attained through the intervention of a small bird, he had rescued earlier on, whose miraculous spell prevents the monster from cutting down the tree he is climbing in, and allows for the arrival of his dogs, which overpower the monster and enable him to kill it.

However, subsequently Maguru sinks to sub-human level by engaging himself in a bizarre racing contest against his dogs, jokingly pledging that the winner of the race would kill the loser! Magur’s fatal error of judgment is to joke with those he has no mutual joking relationship, those figuratively represented by his dogs. He jokes with those likely to misunderstand and take him literally. The dogs win the race; and taking his word at its face value, maul and devour him completely! Maguru is a victim of his own grave error of judgment. He should be left to face the consequence of his foolhardy joke and of his earlier successive errors of judgment. However, there is an inappropriate happy ending to the final episode in the story of “Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind.” Lessons would still have been learnt from a sad ending to Maguru’s life. One would have been that it is fatal for a person to rely upon his or her fast running ability and upon rash judgment and unpremeditated action, not backed by due thinking, reasoning and sound judgment. Another lesson would have been that it is unwise to joke with those one has no joking relationship.

### **An unhappy ending for a folk story character**

The consequences of the thinking, motive and actions of a particular character should be left to determine the eventual ending of the story. Despite their physical might and dreadfulness, apparent wisdom, especially of the tricksters and transient success, it is typical of villainous characters in folk stories to be duped, outwitted, and humiliated and to face disastrous or fatal endings (Finnegan, 1970:342-56). The plotting of stories depicting such characters should show the wicked their gradual degeneration, similar to those tragic heroes or heroines. Tragic characters inescapably have to face the consequences of their grave errors of judgement. In the early episodes, a villainous

character tends to triumph over the virtuous that have seemed to be invincible. The progression of a folk story hinges upon a series of crises and counter crises, each of them being averted through the intervention of an unexpected positive happening that delays the final ending. However, by the denouement of the story, usually a greater and irreversible turn of events or change of fortunes occurs, in which the villain is overcome and vanquished by its weaker victim. That delights the hearers and readers of the story.

In the story of “The Untrapping Trapper,” the episode involving the lion character has an unhappy ending, with the lion being tricked by the clever rat and getting re-trapped and killed owing to its ingratitude. In the same story, the *Bacwezi*, despite their claim to possess superhuman knowledge and power, are also out-witted and put to shame by being exposed as swindlers through the intervention of the spider and the firefly. Despite its hugeness and dreadfulness, the gluttonous monster in the story of “Muhuuba and the Monster,” is over-powered and killed by Muhuuba, single-handed. He also, fabulously recovers his cattle and children from its last finger. In the story of “Maguru Outrunner of Rain and Wind,” through the intervention of a small bird and of his dogs, Maguru overcomes and kills another monster. That monster is justly punished for posing as a beautiful woman and seducing a human being into marrying it; and for enticing him to accompany it to the bush with a murderous intention. Despite their size and dreadfulness, the respective defeat of the monsters by the two men is an enormous feat, which satisfies poetic justice. Likewise, is the defeat of the lion and the *Bacwezi*. The irony in the victory by the weaker over the mightier is a mockery of the folly of relying on mere physical strength and seeming invincibility. Besides the didactic value,

the underlying irony in the unhappy ending is delightful to the audience and readers of such stories (Okpewho, 1992:118; Finnegan, 1970: 346-56; cf. also Appendix A).

The villainous human characters in the stories for this study include the smiths, featured in the story of “Muhuuba and the Monster.” They neglectfully take too long to attend to Muhuuba’s pleas to have arrows made. The consequence of their delay is that the monster gets enough time to consume all of Muhuuba’s cattle and cannibalise his children, one by one, save for the last-born. The smiths are guilty of abusing the power of their monopoly of technical skill: by not putting it to the timely service of those who

need it. In the story of “Kaanyonza’s Daughter,” the barren stepmother is exposed as a murderous character. In the same vein, the *Bacwezi* in the story of “The Untrapping Trapper,” are depicted as swindlers, who misuse their superior ability to usurp the rights of other people. In the story, of “Kaaremeera Son of the Witch Doctor,” the main character, prior to renouncing his career, is exposed by Rwamunyororo as enriching himself through fraudulent make-believe rituals and practices, using his fake *mandwa* idols and harmless fetishes. The witch doctor is not portrayed favourably, as healing or giving helpful counselling or medicine.

The major moral lesson from the sad endings of the villainous animal and human characters in folk stories is that evil benefits no one: because it hurts both its victims and its perpetrators. From the characterisation of the five of folk stories for this study, human, animal or non-human, it is expected that listeners and readers can draw out some pertinent lessons, applicable to themselves and to other people in society (Finnegan 1970: 346) In their didactic and entertainment values lie the justification for preserving and transmitting folk stories in their source language. That is also a reason for translating them across languages and cultures, through translation.

## **5.6 APPROPRIATE FOLK STORY NARRATIVE TENSE**

Folk stories and fiction in narrative prose require a vivid narrative tense to make the sequence of the narrated events seem to be progressively happening, and to make their delight and didactic message more appealing and dynamically applicable to their

listeners and readers.<sup>158</sup> The narrative tenses available include: an obligatory far past tense for the event time in the clause opening the story, which can be occasionally repeated at the opening of subsequent and sections. The far-past tense can be used to state the time when the event is set. That should be followed by the today past/historical present tense that narrates the events that successively followed. The habitual or universal present tense may be used to describe the climactic moments of the storyline. The far future tense can be used to narrate predicted events. In Runyankore-Rukiga narratives the today past/historical present is the most commonly used tense.

### **The far past plus the today past/historical present tense**

In translating folk stories and other narrative prose literary works, it is recommended to use the event-time tense in conjunction with the today past tense/historical present. The Runyankore-Rukiga far past tense is marked by “-ka-.” The today past/historical narrative tense is marked by a long or a double vowel, mostly “-aa-” or “-ee-“, unless there is an overriding grammatical rule. The tense is infixes between the subject prefix and the verb-root/stem (Taylor, 1985:152). The today past/historical present tense can also be used in reference to a past event; or to an event set to happen in the immediate future, unless it is averted just in time. Commas or semicolons, as exemplified below can separate a series of narrative clauses in that tense. The event time can range between the far past, from the time immemorial to the immediate past. The latter could be the immediate past, even as close as few moments ago. The underlined tenses in the following example, taken from the story “Kaanyonza’s Daughter,” illustrate the today past tense usage. “[*Omushaija*] ***akagabwa*** *aine ente ze...yaabugamba obugenyi; baamujugisa, baamuhingira, yaataasya omugore omu nju*” (Mubangizi, 1983:31). The event time in the opening clause is indicated by the far past tense “-ka-” as shown by the bold typeface above. The English equivalent of the source language today past/historical present tense is the near past/simple past tense. This is shown in the translation of the above sentence. “As the man reared a herd of cattle he made a marriage proposal, gave the bridewealth, had the bride given him and took her home.”

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<sup>158</sup> “We require a narrative to contain a sequence of events involving change, and prefer those changes to involve or affect individuals with whom we can sympathize or identify. The establishment of an identifiable setting is a strong psychological preference in most readers. We like, in our reading of narratives, to know where we are, and look for clear spatiotemporal indications of just where and when a thing happened” (Toolan, 1988:103)



In both the source text and its translation, a comma or a semicolon marks the end of each narrative clause, as exemplified above. The number of such clauses can be indefinite, but it is recommended to keep the paragraphs to appropriate length.

### **The today past for an event about to happen**

It is significant to note that the today past/historical present can also be used to narrate an event that is likely to happen, unless something else intervenes just in time to avert it. The event referred to is likely to happen in the immediate future, relative to the narration time. For example, a Munyankore, a Mukiga, a Munyoro or a Mutooro, unaware that a tree which is being felled is inclined to fall in his or her direction, can be warned, thus: “*Rugaho, omuti gwakuteera.*” Literally, “Move off, the tree has fallen on you;” but implying “Move off, the tree is about to fall on you.” A near equivalent of that tense in English, with regard to an action, set to happen immediately, unless halted, is the present continuous tense. For example, a person who is set to go away can say, “*Naagyenda,*” literally meaning “I have gone;” but implying, “I am ready to go now.” It does not mean that the person has actually gone, but that he/she is just set to go. Other examples of the usage of this tense have been given in chapter four of this study.

### **The far past tense plus the habitual or universal present tense**

The habitual or universal present tense is used to depict an action that happens always, recurrently or habitually. It is notable that this tense has a nil or zero morpheme. Three examples of that tense are the following: “God loves all people. Parents love their children. “Winds always blow from high pressure areas to low pressure areas.” The habitual or universal present tense can be used to narrate folk stories and other prose narratives. Such a usage is illustrated by the underlined tense in the following example, taken from the story of “Maguru Outrunner of Rain and Wind.” “*Orukooko ku ruhurira ebishwaga byareetwa aha nkiro... empango rugigarura aha kihaata, rwihayo enkanda yaarwo n’ekitooma rubijwara, rugaruka ruba omuntu; aza aho aba omukazi,” (Mubangizi 1983:41). This can be equivalently translated into the English habitual/universal present tense, as, “On hearing the hounds emerging from the horizon... the monster returns the axe to its arse, takes up and hurriedly puts on its cowhide and back-cloth dress, reverts to human form and poses again as a woman.” A*

comma marks the end of each narrative clause in both the Runyankore-Rukiga text and in its English translation.

However, the problem with using the habitual universal present as a narrative tense is that it does not vividly bring out the impact of the sequence of the narrated actions and events. It does not give the fictional illusion that the events narrated have sequentially actually happened. The habitual/universal tense tends to make the narrated action seem to be more like aspects, than like a sequence of the developing storyline events. But the habitual/universal present tense can be used to narrate what happens at climactic moments in the story. That tense is normally used in making comments or in literary criticism, which can be regarded as a fixed entity apart from the critiqued story (Toolan, 1988:147-151). This study has used that tense in the footnotes for highlighting and commenting upon hard to translate aspects of the translated folk stories.

### **The future narrative tense**

The future narrative tense is used in reference to a series of events set to happen after the event time. This is illustrated by the example from the story of “Maguru the Outrunner of Rain and Wind,” the incident depicting the monster’s prediction of a number of forms under which it would appear, catch-up with and revenge itself against Maguru (Mubangizi, 1983:37-38). The future narrative tense can be indicated by either the far future tense, marked by “-*dya*-/*-rya*.” It is significant to note that the events and actions referred to by the future narrative tense are set in future, relative to, or as seen from the stand point of the event time, which by the ending and resolution of the story, such events and actions would have all altogether taken place.

## **5.6 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter conclusions have been reached from dealing with the challenges encountered and the solutions applied in translating the five folk stories for this study, generic abstractions have been made. This study has made a start by translating five folk stories from Runyankore-Rukiga to English; hopefully, further similar translations by him and other people, especially teachers, will follow. The following are some recommendations towards encouraging further literary translation from native

languages to English and from other languages, so as to promote literature widely for its entertainment and didactic values.

## **5.8 RECOMMENDATIONS ON DISSEMINATING LITERATURE**

### **Culture related and interdisciplinary study recommendation**

(1) A translator of folk stories and other genres of literature should be knowledgeable about the cultures of both the source and receptor languages. Culture is a matrix of the symbols, beliefs, practices, social structures and the culturally favoured literary styles. The deep meaning of the culture specific features depicted by the source language text, as intended, implied or presumed by the original composer or author, should be known by the translator. Correspondingly, the equivalent in the receptor language should be known by the translator.

(2) A translator should undertake to do an interdisciplinary study of literature related components of the: social anthropology, sociology, religion, language, literature, economics and politics of the source and receptor language cultures.

(3) Promoting literature in its original language and in translation is worthwhile doing, because of the literary pleasure it can give in both forms; and because of the social and moral informal education it can foster amongst the listeners and readers across cultures and languages. Literature normally simulates real life: with the fiction plotted to extol uprightness, as a factor that leads to a happy ending; or conversely, plotted to denounce avoidable wickedness that tends towards a sad ending. Through translation, the didactic and pleasure-giving heritage embedded in literature originating from various cultures and languages can be shared globally for the good of humanity.

### **Language related recommendations**

(4) a) Besides a mastery of both the source and the receptor language grammar and syntax, a writer or a translator of literature should have a basic knowledge of the linguistics of the two languages, especially their phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicology and pragmatics. A translator should know, for instance, that a Bantu language, such as Runyankore-Rukiga, can agglutinatively use what appears like a single word or a phrase as a syntactically correct phrase or sentence. In the process of translating from such a language the morphological segments of the key words can be analysed in order to compare their literal with their deeper meanings, which is to be conveyed in the translation.

(b) English, like other inflectional languages, has a few affixes to mark, for instance: variations in tense, aspect, mood, number, affirmation or negation. In translating into English, when no equivalent to the source language text word can be found, then a descriptive phrase can be used. An untranslatable source language word can be kept as such in the translation, but italicised, in the translation. However, such words be kept to a minimum. Meaning must not be lost in the process of translation. But the descriptive phrases used within the translation to highlight the source text meaning should not intrude any new meaning or explanation into the translation text (Nida & Taber, 1974: 111; Barnwell, 1986:35). Where necessary a footnote can be employed, as has been done for this study, to interpret the meaning of the source text hard to translate expressions.

(5) A translator can play a creative role by skewing from the wide paradigm of similar lexemes and expressions in the receptor language to discover the most appropriate words, idioms and other expressions to convey the original author's intended meaning idiomatically, naturally and fluently (Muranga, 1992:3; Barnwell, 1986: 23). The receptor language text should sound and/or read as natural as possible. It should not appear like a translation (Venuti, 1997:42, 314; Larson, 1984: 6, 9; Nida & Taber, 1974: 15-28). It is recommended that a translator should become an avid reader of literature in the languages from which and into which he/she translating, so as to learn from the styles effectively employed by experienced writers and translators, and to increase his/her stock of lexicon.

(6) It is recommended to foster the writing and publishing of grammar and linguistics manuals of the native languages of Uganda. The Makerere Institute of Languages and other Universities in the country could take a lead in the writing and/or editing of authoritative manuals. In that respect, Ndoleriire and others (1996) made a basic study of the linguistics of Runyakitara. That study requires reviewing so as to make it ready for publishing in book form. More of the Makerere University higher degree students in Linguistics and African Languages could be encouraged and supervised to do some research directed towards the development of the linguistics of Uganda's native languages.

(7) The Uganda Ministry of Education has for over ten years unsuccessfully tried to establish District Language Boards. Today there are so many districts in Uganda, some of them in the same language area; district language boards would be wastefully duplicative. It would be more cost-effective for the Government to entrust the Makerere University Institute of Languages with the role of reviewing and standardising the orthography and linguistics of the major native languages in the country. That Institute could be commissioned and facilitated to organise Area Language Conferences, like "The 1954 Mbarara Language Conference," which standardised the Runyankore-Rukiga orthography, which, though now is due for revision (Taylor, 1960: iii).

(8) (a) The Uganda Ministry of Education's policy of having native languages taught used as teaching medium in the lower forms of Primary School, effective from 2007, should be encouraged. It would be helpful for the Ministry to make native language a required, examinable subject at Primary and at least an optional subject at Secondary School levels. The Uganda National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) in conjunction with the Makerere University Institute of Languages should produce appropriate syllabus and course designs for the teaching the major native languages of Uganda at various levels.

(b) The teaching of native languages from Primary School to University should be encouraged and effectively promoted by all the stakeholders: parents, teachers, the state and private sector. The bias against native languages in favour of using English as a teaching medium in Primary Schools; and in favour of speaking English or mixture of it and the native language, should be discouraged. Parents should be made aware that the

native language is a recognised basis for a child to acquire foundational skills for learning how to think reason and express himself or herself. These are basic for all further learning.

(c) However, a major handicap is still the dearth of native language teachers. It is recommended to the Government to provide preferential sponsorship for promoting the training of native language teachers at Teachers Colleges and Universities in Uganda.

### **Promoting the writing of original literary works and translation**

(9) (a) The objective for increasing the availability of literature is to promote a much needed reading habit, necessary to foster education and development. Disseminating folk and other genres of literature, originating from a native language and in from translation into it, is a worthwhile undertaking for the sake of preserving, promoting and sharing the didactic and entertainment values in the literature.

(b) It is recommended to translate some of the best folk stories and other genres of literature from our native languages to English. As this study has shown, it is possible to translate such literature into idiomatically and syntactically correct English, whilst reflecting something of their source language linguistic and literary qualities. In that way the literary, social and moral values enshrined in those stories can be shared across cultures and languages. It is encouraging to note that the language and literature teachers interviewed for this study expressed willingness to participate in workshops for training in translation skills in view of later forming literature translation teams (Appendix B).

(c) With the introduction of Universal Primary and Secondary Education in Uganda, the level of literacy is set to rise, and, hopefully, so is the demand for books in native languages and in English. It is recommended that writers, translators and publishers gear up to effectively meet that potential big demand. Availability of enjoyable literature would significantly help to foster the formation of a much-needed reading habit in Uganda.

(d) In writing original narrative stories and in translating the best of those from other languages into native languages, it is recommended to use the most appropriate narrative tense. The today past/historical present has been found by this study to be the most favoured narrative tense to narrate stories in Runyankore-Rukiga, because it enlivens the story and draws its dynamic impact closer to the listeners or readers. In translating folk stories from that language to English, the habitual/universal present could be used. But the simple/near past tense, whose regular marker is “-ed,” has been found by this study to be the most natural. The former is best suited to doing literary criticism, hence the study has used in it in the footnotes.

(e) The writing of original works and translations of various genres of literature by local Ugandan authors and translators can be encouraged, by among other things, the NCDC setting some of the best of them in the syllabuses and course designs at various levels.

(10) It would be worthwhile to appropriately script some of the oral and written native language literature for serialisation by the print media, and for broadcasting by the increasingly popular F.M. radio and television media. Radio and television can become powerful media for preserving and disseminating, not only the message, but also the beauty of verbal and prosodic features of oral literature, made more entertaining by the accompanying music and dramatisation. It is absurd that, for lack of better alternatives, many Ugandans and probably other Africans, especially the youth, spend a lot of their valuable time idling about loitering, or watching some unedifying foreign soap television programmes.

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## **DISSERTATIONS AND THESES**

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## **APPENDIX A**

### **RESULTS FROM TESTING THE TRANSLATION FROM RUNYANKORE-RUKIGA TO ENGLISH ON 200 SENIOR III STUDENTS, 40 PER STORY**

#### **The statistical instrument used**

The purposive method of sampling was used in selecting Senior III as respondents. Students at that level should be able to appreciate stories in English. The statistical instrument applied to analyse the data from the following questionnaire is the “Statistical package for Scientists (SPSS) Version 12.0.” The following formula was used to compute category percentages. Category percentages are equal to category frequency divided by total frequency, multiplied by 100. For example, as we have two categories under Question 9 on Story 1, with 32 respondents who enjoyed the story and 9 who did not enjoy it, the computing of the two percentages is as follows: the percentage of those who enjoyed the story:  $31/(31+9)*100 = 40/39*100 = 77.5\%$ . The percentage of those who did not enjoy the story is obtained this way:  $9/31+9)*100 = 9/40*100 = 22.5\%$ .

#### **STORY 1: “MUHUUBA AND THE MONSTER”**

**Answered by 40 SIII male students of St. Joseph’s Voc. S.S. Barbara**

##### **A. Questionnaire: please tick only one response per number. Thank you.**

1. The monster in this story was larger than a cow. (a) Yes. (b) No.
2. Muhuuba’s wife disclosed where he had gone to: (a) Yes (b) No.
3. She disclosed why he had gone there. (a) Yes. (b) No.
4. The monster anticipated trouble at Muhuuba’s return? ( a) Yes. (b) No.
5. Were the smiths too busy to attend to Muhuuba’s order? (a) Yes (b) No.
6. What influenced the smiths to act when they did? (a) Muhuuba’s repeated pleas.  
(b) the robin’s and the children’s chanted message.
7. Muhuuba single-handedly killed the monster (a) with one arrow shot.  
(b) with many arrow and spear shots.
8. Muhuuba’s cattle and all his children were consumed by the monster.  
(a) Yes. (b) No.

9. The joy of this story is in the irony of the defeat of the giant monster by one man; and in the restoration of his cattle and family. (a)Yes. (b) No.
10. The greater moral lesson from this story is that (a) might does not confer right over the property and life of other people, especially the weak. (b) greed harms more the greedy person.
11. How many new English words or expressions have you found in this story?  
 (a) 0 ( b) 1-3 (c) 4-6 (c) 7-10 (d) more than 10
12. Had you ever heard this story before? (a) Yes. (b) No.
13. Where did you first hear it? (a) at home. (b) at primary school.  
 (c) at secondary school.
14. Can you re-tell this story in your native language? (a) easily.  
 (b) not so easily. 15. Which is your native language? \_\_\_\_\_

**B. Questions 1-8: Comprehension of the plot and message of the story**

Comprehension of the plot and message of this story was assessed by questions 1. The proportion of respondents who passed the comprehension test is summarised per question in table 1 below.

**Table 1: Distribution of respondents to the comprehension of questions**

<b>Comprehension questions</b>	<b>Frequency passed</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	31	77.5
2	18	45.0
3	13	32.5
4	11	27.5
5	14	35.0
6	36	90.0
7	38	95.0
8	7	17.5
<b>Total:320</b>	<b>Total :168</b>	<b>Average: 52.5</b>

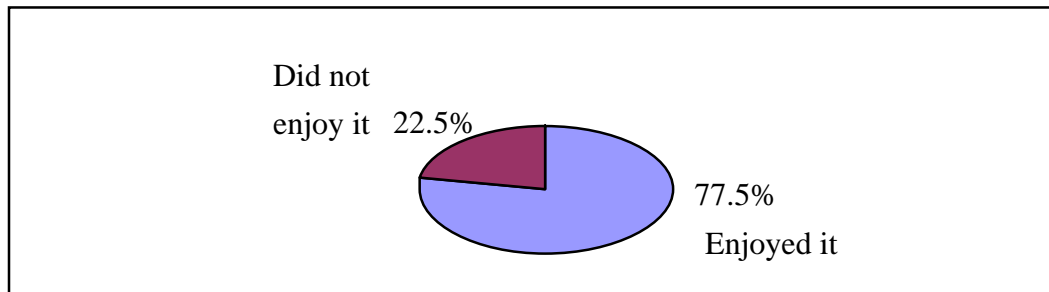
Question 7 was the best comprehended, by 95% of the respondents; while question 8 was the least comprehended, by 17.5% of the respondents. There were 3 comprehension questions out of 8 (37.5%) passed by more than half (at least 77.5%) of the students. On average, more than half ( $168/320 \times 100\% = 52.5\%$ ) of the students passed the

comprehension questions. However, this would give the wrong impression that each comprehension question was passed by more than half of the respondents. It is notable that the questions did not pose equivalent comprehension difficulty; as stated above, there were some questions passed by nearly all the students, which is what raised percentage of scoring per question.

**C. Question 9: Enjoyment of pleasure from reading the story**

Pleasure from reading the translated story was assessed by question 9. The majority, 31 out of 40 (77.5%), of the respondents enjoyed the story. This is encouraging, because a major function of literature is to provide pleasure (Okpewho, 1992:106). The distribution of the respondents according to the percentage of delight enjoyed from reading the story is shown in figure 1, below.

**Figure 1: Distribution of respondents according to enjoyment of the story**



**D. Question 10: Appreciation of the didactic lessons from the story**

The major lesson of the story, as assessed by question 10, was appreciated by 87% of the respondents.

**E. Question 11: Vocabulary learnt from reading the story**

**Table 2: Distribution of respondents by number of new vocabulary found**

New words learnt	Frequency of respondents	Percentage
1-3	3	7.5



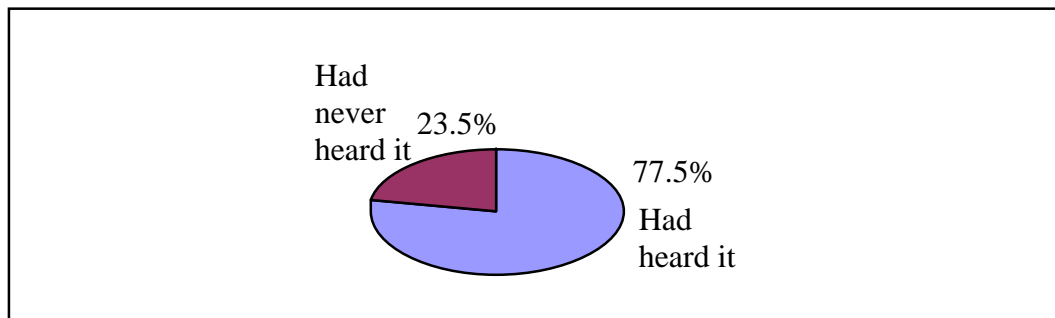
4-6	2	5.0
7-10	9	22.5
10+	26	65.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Every respondent found at least between 1 and 3 new words in the story. The majority (65%) of the respondents found over 10 new words from the story. Thus, it can be assumed that the translation can help readers to build up their vocabulary and promote their literacy.

**F. Question 12: Had you ever heard this story before?**

There were 31 out of 40 or 77% of the respondents who had heard this story before. This corresponds to the percentage of those who most enjoyed the story, which implies that the story is worth re-telling. The distribution of respondents who had had prior knowledge of the story is shown in figure 2 below.

**Figure 2: Distribution of respondents' prior knowledge of this story**



**G. Question 13: Where did you first hear the story from?**

**Table 3: Source of the prior knowledge of this story**

First heard it the story at	Frequency Number	Percentage
Home	16	40.0

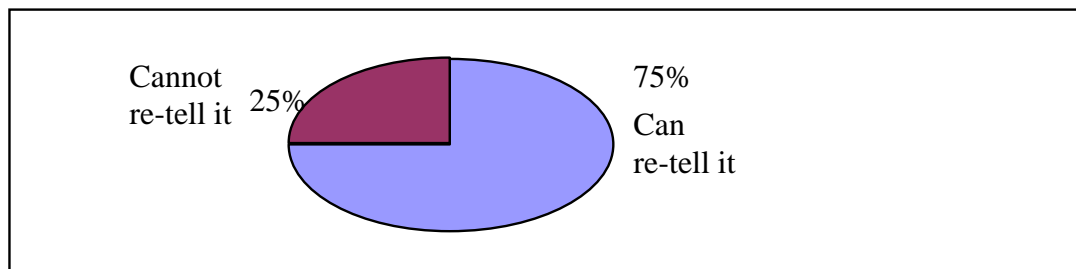
Primary school	11	35.5
Secondary school	4	12.9
Had never heard it	9	22.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The distribution of respondents by source of their prior knowledge of the story is shown in table 3 above. The first source of prior knowledge of the story was at home (40%), followed by primary school (35.4%), and by secondary school (12.9%).

#### H. Question 14: Can you re-tell the same story in your native language?

There was 75% of the respondents who could re-tell the story in their native language, irrespective of whether they had heard it before or not. The distribution of the scores on this point is as shown in figure 3, below. It is encouraging to note that making a translation of folk stories like this one can help to preserve the traditional practice of re-telling stories.

**Figure 3: The distribution of respondents' ability to re-tell the story**



#### I. Question 15: Native language of the respondents

**Table 4: Distribution of respondents by native language**

Native language	FrequencyNumber	Percentage
Luganda	3	7.5
Rugisu	1	2.5

Rukiga	3	7.5
Runyankore	29	72.0
Runyarwanda	3	7.5
Rutoro	1	2.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The majority (72%) of the respondents were native Runyankore speakers. None of the other groups of native speakers constitutes more than 7.5% of the total number of respondents.

## **STORY 2: “KAANYONZA’S DAUGHTER”**

**Read by 40 SIII female students of Mary Hill High School, Mbarara**

**A. Questionnaire: please tick only one response per number. Thank you.**

1. The man in this story married a second wife because (a) he was rich.  
(b) he had only one son.
2. Bridewealth is given by the bridegroom’s side. (a) Yes. (b) No.
3. Dowry is given by the bride’s side to the bridegroom’s home. (a) Yes.  
(b) No.
4. The second wife became jealous because (a) she failed to bear children.  
(b) her co-wife’s children were nice, especially the daughter.
5. The second wife was divorced because she was (a) barren. (b) murderous.
6. Kaanyonza was (a) the real father of the maiden. (b) the guardian of the maiden.
7. The maiden did not wish the young man to marry her because  
(a) she did not love him.  
(b) she knew that he and she were not free to marry each other.
8. Where do you find most satisfaction in this story? (a) In the survival of the girl  
that the jealous woman dumped into forest to die.  
(b) In the punishment of the jealous woman by divorce.
9. The moral lesson of this story is that jealousy is (a) anti-social and anti-life.  
(b) harms other people and is also self-defeating.
10. How many new English words or expressions have you found in this story?  
(a) 0 (b) 1--3 (c) 4--6 (c) 7--10 (d) more than 10
11. Had you ever heard this story before? (a) Yes. (b) No.

12. Where did you first hear it? (a) at home. (b) at primary school,. (c) at secondary school.
13. Can you re-tell this story in your native language? (a) easily. (b) not so easily.
- 14 Which is your native (vernacular) language? \_\_\_\_\_

**B. Questions 1-7: Comprehension of the plot and message of this story**

The comprehension of the plot and message of this story was assessed by questions 1-7, and the responses are as set out in the table 5, below.

**Table 5: Distribution of respondents by comprehension of questions**

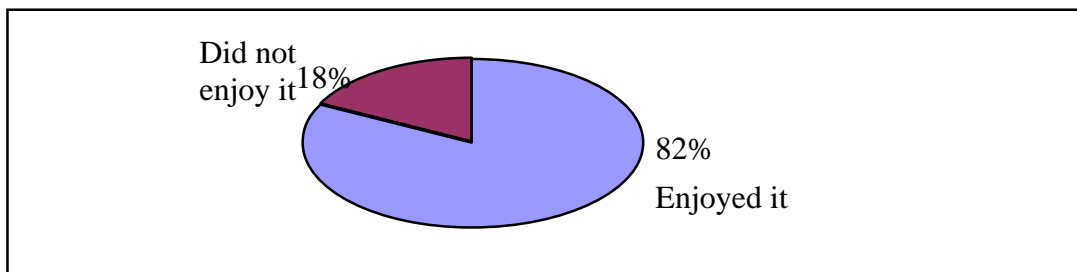
Comprehension question	Frequency passed	Percentage
1	39	97.5
2	37	92.5
3	26	65.0
4	36	90.0
5	37	92.5
6	38	95.0
7	39	97.5
<b>Total:280</b>	<b>Total:252</b>	<b>Average:90.0</b>

Questions 1 and 7 were the best comprehended by 97.5% of the respondents; while question 3 was the least comprehended with 65% of all the respondents. Overall, all the questions were comprehended by more than half (at least 65%) of the respondents. On average, nearly every respondent ( $252/280*100$ ), which is equal to 90%, passed every comprehension question.

**C. Question 8: Pleasure derived from reading this story**

Satisfaction from reading this story, assessed by question 8 (a), was attained by the majority (82%) of the respondents. The distribution of the enjoyment of the story is shown in figure 4 below.

**Figure 4: Distribution of respondents, by their enjoyment of the story**



**D. Question 9: Appreciation of the major moral lesson of the story**

The major moral lesson of the story, assessed by question 9, was appreciated by the majority (75%) of the respondents.

**E. Question 10: Vocabulary learnt from reading this story**

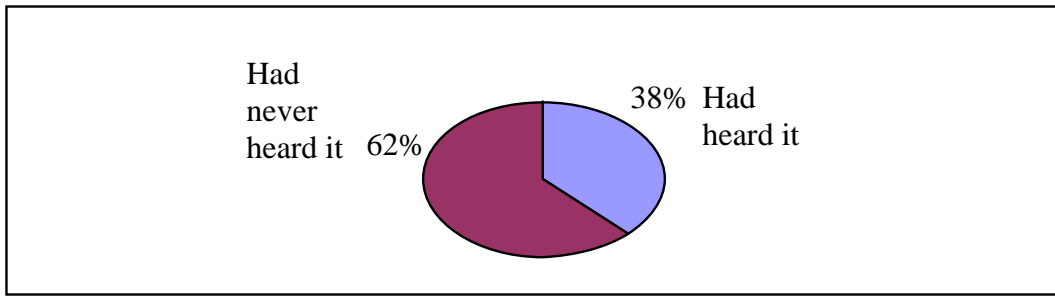
**Table 6: Distribution of respondents by number of new words learnt**

New words learnt	Frequency of students	Percentage
0	3	7.5
1-3	9	22.5
4-6	10	25.0
7-10	10	25.0
10+	8	20.0

Observations from table 6 show that the majority (70%) of the respondents found at least 4 new words; with 20% learning at least 10 new words; and only 7.5% of the respondents did not learn any new word from the story.

**F. Question 11: Had you ever heard this story before?**

**Figure 5: Distribution of respondents' prior knowledge of this story**



Only 38% of the respondents had heard the story before. Disseminating the story would be worthwhile doing. The distribution of respondents by prior knowledge of the story is shown in figure 6 above.

**G. Question 12: Where did you first hear this story from?**

**Table 7: Source of the respondents' prior knowledge of this story**

First heard it at	Number	Heard the story before (%)
Home	5	12.5
Primary school	4	10.0
Secondary school	0	0.0
Had never heard it	31	77.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The distribution of the respondents by the first source of the story is shown in table 7 above. The main source (12.5%) of the prior knowledge of this story was at home, followed by primary school (10%).

**G. native language of the respondents**

**Table 8: Distribution of respondents by their native language**

<b>Native language</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Luganda	6	15.0
Lusoga	1	2.5
Rukiga	5	12.5
Rukonjo	1	12.5
Runyambo	1	2.5
Runyankore	18	45.0
Runyarwanda	2	5.0
Rutoro	5	12.5
Rusamia	1	2.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The majority (45%) of the respondents were native Runyankore speakers. The other native speakers each contributed less than 13% of the total respondents.

### **I. Can you re-tell the story?**

#### **Figure 6: The distribution of respondents' ability to re-tell the**

There were 52.5% of the respondents who could re-tell the story, irrespective of whether they had heard it before or not. The distribution is shown in figure 6.

## **STORY 3: "THE UNTAPPING TRAPPER STORY"**

**Read by 40 male/female SIII Students, Namirembe Hill High School, Kampala**

**A. Questionnaire: please tick only one response per number. Thank you.**

1. The Untrapping Trapper (The Trapper) hunted (a) for sport. (b) to be thanked by the victims (c) to attain wealth.
2. The Trapper's family all expected him to hunt for (a) game meat. (b) wealth.
3. All the freed victims of The Untrapping Trapper were grateful (a) Yes. (b) No.
4. The lion behaved (a) justly. (b) ungratefully. (c) very foolishly.
5. The Untrapping Trapper's son reacted (a) unmercifully. (b) wisely.
6. The Rat's intervention was (a) one-sided. (b) appropriate. (c) unjust.
7. The Bacwezi were (a) the owners of the cattle. (b) thieves of the cattle.
8. Which of these proverbs summaries this story well: (a) Man/woman eats where he/she works. (b) A good turn deserves another.
9. The pleasure of this story is in the changed fortunes of The Untrapping Trapper, based on the goodness he helps to create in society through mutual kindness (a) Yes. (b) No.
10. The major moral lesson from this story is that it is good to be motivated by (a) gaining profit from our work (b) by forming mutual friendship.
11. How many new English words or expressions have you found in this story? (a) 0 (b) 1--3 (c) 4--6 (d) 7--10 (e) more than 10
12. Had you ever heard this story before? (a) Yes. (b) No.
13. Where did you hear it? (a) at home. (b) at primary school. (c) at secondary school.
14. Can you re-tell this story in your native language? (a) easily (b) not so easily.
15. Which is your native (vernacular) language? \_\_\_\_\_

**B. Questions 1-8: Comprehension of the plot and message of this story**

Comprehension of this story was assessed by questions 1 to 8. The number of respondents who passed the comprehension per question is set out in the table 9.



**Table 9: Distribution of respondents by comprehension of questions**

<b>Comprehension question</b>	<b>Frequency passed</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	39	97.5
2	23	57.5
3	19	47.5
4	37	92.5
5	31	77.5
6	17	42.5
7	38	95.0
8	36	90.0
<b>Total: 320</b>	<b>Total: 240</b>	<b>Average: 75.0</b>

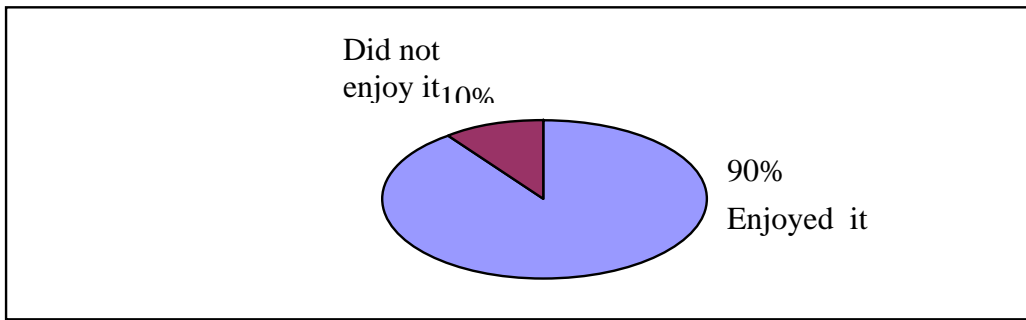
Question 1 was the best comprehended by 97.5% of the respondents while question 6 was the least comprehended with only 42.5% of all the respondents.

Overall, more questions were comprehended by students. That is, 6 out of the 8 (75%) questions were comprehended by more than half (at least 57.5%) of the students. This implies that the questions in this story do not present the same comprehension difficulty. On average ( $240/320*100$ ), equivalent to 75% of the students passed every comprehension question. However, this would give the wrong impression that each comprehension question was passed by 75% of the respondents. As stated above, there were some questions passed by nearly all students, which pushes up the percentage of the lever of passing per question.

### **C. Question 9: Enjoyment of pleasure from reading this story**

The enjoyment of the story was assessed by question 9. The majority (90%) of the respondents enjoyed the story. The distribution of the respondents according to their enjoyment of the story is shown in figure 7 below.

**Figure 7: Distribution of respondents' delight from reading the story**



**D. Question 10: Appreciation the didactic lesson from the story**

The major moral lesson of the story, as assessed by question 10, was appreciated by all the respondents.

**F. Question 11: Vocabulary learnt from reading the story**

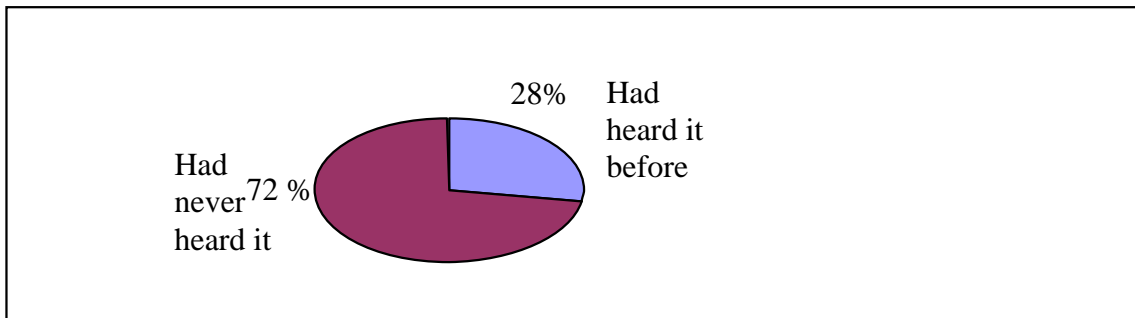
**Table 10: Distribution of respondents by number of new words learnt**

New words learnt	Frequency of respondents	Percentage
0	1	2.5
1-3	3	7.5
4-6	10	25.0
7-10	10	25.0
10+	16	40.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Only one respondent indicated knew all the words used in the story. In particular, 90% of the respondents learnt at least 4 new words from the story. The majority, equivalent to 65%) of the respondents, learnt over between 7 and 10 new words from the story, suggesting that the story is worth disseminating.

**H. Question 12: Had you ever heard this story?**

**Figure 8: Distribution of respondents by prior knowledge of the story**



There were only 28% of the respondents who had heard the story before. It is, therefore, worthwhile making this story available in the source language and translation into other languages. The distribution of respondents by prior knowledge of the story is shown in figure 8 above.

**I. Question 13: Where did you first hear this story from?**

**Table 11: Source of respondents' prior hearing of this story**

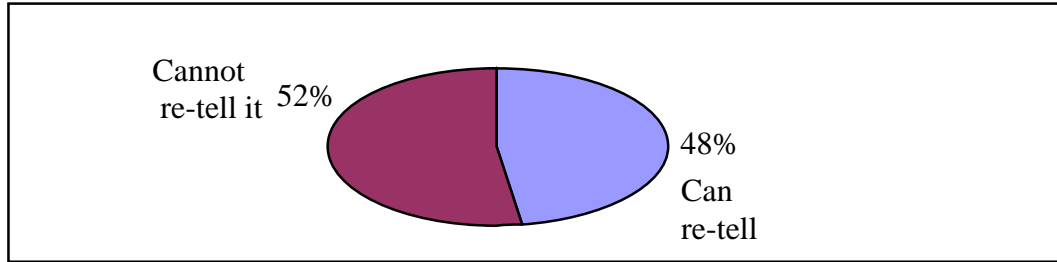
First heard the story at	Frequency	Percentage
Home	10	25.0
Primary school	1	2.5
Secondary school	0	0.0
Had never heard it	29	72.5

The distribution of respondents by their first source of the story is shown in table 11 above. A major source (90.9%) of the prior knowledge of the story was the respondents' home. There were 9.1% of the respondents who had first heard of the story at primary school; and no respondent had earlier on heard it at secondary school.

**I. Question 14: Can you re-tell this story in your native language?**

There were 48% of the respondents who could re-tell in their native language, irrespective of whether they had heard it before or not. The distribution is shown in figure 10 below.

**Figure 9: The distribution of respondents by ability to re-tell the story**



**J. Question 15: The native language of the respondents**

**Table 12: Distribution of respondents by native language spoken**

Native language	Number	Percentage
Acholi	1	2.5
Lango	1	2.5
Luganda	9	22.5
Lusoga	1	2.5
Rugisu	1	2.5
Rukiga	1	2.5
Runyankore	14	35.0
Runyarwanda	4	10.0
Runyoro	3	7.5
Rutoro	5	12.5
		<b>100.0</b>

**STORY 4: “MAGURU THE OUTRUNNER OF RAIN AND WIND”**

**Read by 40 girls of SIII, St. Bridget High School, in Isingiro District**

**A. Questionnaire: please tick only one response per number. Thank you.**

1. Maguru the Outrunner of Wind and Rain (Maguru) was (a) a very fast runner.  
(b) not a very fast runner and a very slow thinker.
2. Maguru's bold action of snatching a live coal from the hearth on the monster's leg was (a) a daring, brave act. (b) an unwise act.
3. Maguru married the eloping woman because (a) he loved her. (b) she appeared nice. (c) he did not link her with the monster.
4. Falling in love (a) is enough to get married. (b) with a stranger is harmful.
5. Maguru incited his dogs to kill (a) his wife. (b) the monster.
6. Maguru was eaten up by his dogs, because (a) of his own error of judgment.  
(b) his dogs became cannibalistic.
7. The cows went into mourning and boycott (a) to punish Maguru's killers.  
(b) because there was no one to take them out to pasture.
8. The most vital part of the body, according to this story, is (a) the body.  
(b) the heart. (c) the brain.
9. The development of the plot of this story is tragic, because of its main character's grave errors of judgment; it should have had a sad ending (a) Yes. (b) No.
10. The pleasure of this story is in the realization that rash action without corresponding quick thinking and reasoning is dangerous. (a) Yes. (b) No.
11. The major lesson from this story is (a) to think and reason before you move to act.  
(b) to move fast and act quickly. (c) to first see, judge and then act.
12. How many new English words or expressions have you found in this story?  
(a) 0 (b) 1--3) (c) 4--6) (c) 7--10) (d) more than 10
13. Where did you hear it? (a) at home. (b) at primary school.  
(c) at secondary school.
14. Had you ever heard this story before?
15. Can you re-tell this story in your native language? (a) easily.  
(b) not so easily.
16. Which is your native (vernacular) language? \_\_\_\_\_

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**B. Questions 1-9: Comprehension of the plot and message of the story**

Comprehension of the plot and message of the story was assessed by questions 1-9; the responses to each question are set out in the table 13, below.

**Table 13: Distribution of respondents by comprehension of questions**

<b>Comprehension questions</b>	<b>Frequency passed</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	36	90.0
2	10	25.0
3	11	27.5
4	36	90.0
5	21	52.5
6	36	90.0
7	5	12.5
8	12	30.0
9	33	82.5
<b>Total: 360</b>	<b>Total:200</b>	<b>Average: 55.5</b>

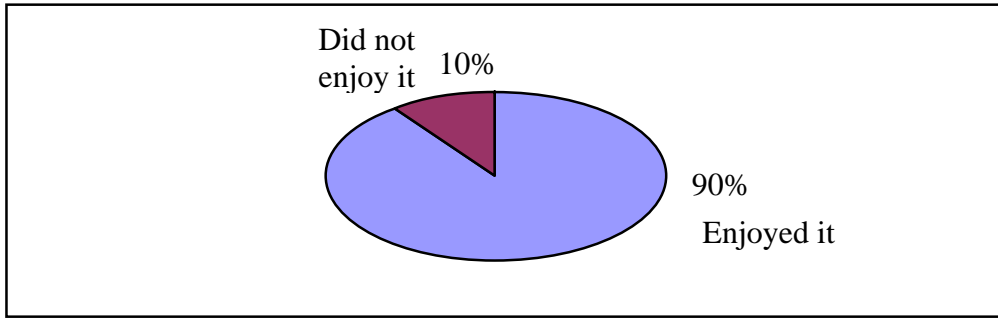
Three questions 1, 4 and 6, were the best comprehended by 90% of the respondents; while question 7 was the least comprehended, by only 12.5% of all the respondents. Overall, more questions were comprehended by students, considering that 5 out of the 9 (55.6%) questions were comprehended by more than half (at least 52.5%) of all the students. The varying scores reflect that the questions did not present the same comprehension difficulty.

On average, 55.5% of the students passed every comprehension question. However, this may give the wrong impression that each comprehension question was passed by 75% of the respondents. As stated above, there were some questions which were passed by nearly all the students, raising the percentage of score per question.

**B. Question 10: Enjoyment of the story**

The enjoyment of the story was assessed by question 10, and the majority (77%) of the respondents enjoyed the story. The distribution of the respondents by enjoyment of the story is shown in Figure 11 below.

**Figure 10: Distribution of pleasure from reading this story**



**C. Question 11: Appreciation of the major didactic lesson from the story**

The major lesson of the story, assessed by question 10 (a): “think and reason before you move to act,” was appreciated by 75% of the respondents.

**C. Question 12: Vocabulary learnt from reading the story**

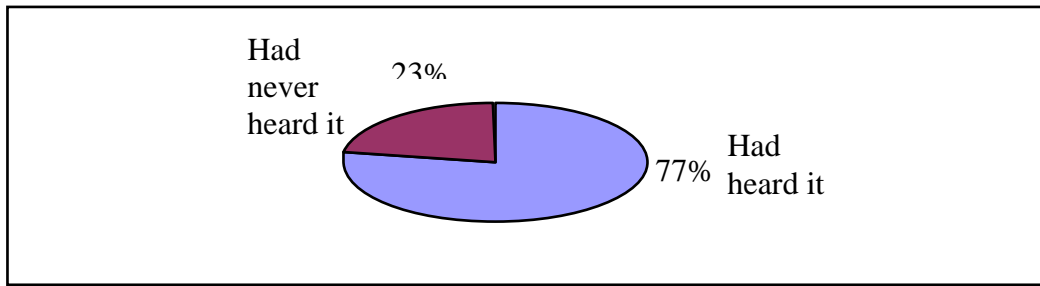
**Table 14: Distribution of respondents by number of new words learnt**

New words learnt	Frequency of respondents	Percentage
1-3	3	7.5
4-6	2	5.0
7-10	9	22.5
10+	26	65.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Every respondent learnt at least between one and three new word from the story. In particular, 92.5% of the respondents found at least 4 new words (4 to 10+ new words). The majority (65%) of the respondents learnt over 10 new words from the story.

**D. Question 13: Had you ever heard this story?**

**Figure 11: Distribution of respondents’ prior knowledge of the story**



There were 77.5% of the respondents who had heard this story before. The distribution of the respondents' prior knowledge of the story is shown in figure 11.

**F. Question 13: Where did you first hear this story from?**

The distribution of the respondents by the source of the prior knowledge of the story is shown in table 15, below.

**Table 15: Source of the respondent's prior knowledge of the story**

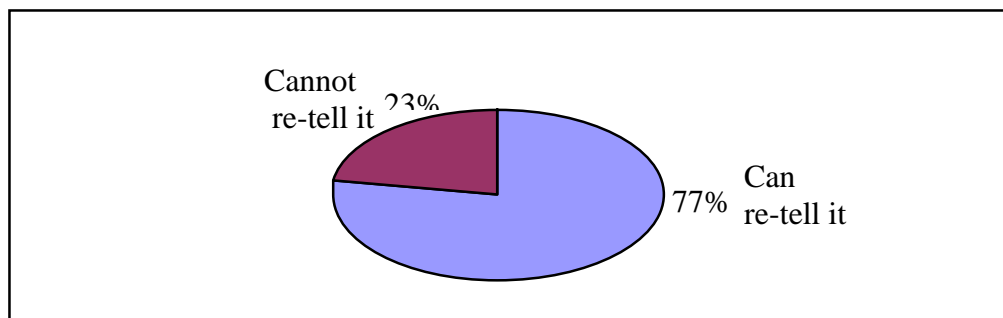
First heard the story at	Frequency	Percentage
Home	14	45.2
Primary school	13	49.1
Secondary school	4	12.9
Had never heard it	9	22.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The major source (49%) of the prior knowledge of the story was primary school, followed by home (45.2%) and by secondary school (12.9%).

**Question 15: Can you re-tell this story in your native language?**

**Figure 12: The distribution of respondents by ability to re-tell the story**





There were 77% of the respondents who could re-tell the story in their native language, irrespective of whether they had heard it before or not. The distribution is shown in figure 13 above. This implies that making such stories available would serve to promote the cultural heritage embedded in them.

#### G. Question 16: The native language of the respondents

**Table 16: Distribution of respondents by native language spoken**

Native language	Number	Percentage
Luganda	3	7.5
Runyankore	27	67.5
Runyaruguru	1	2.5
Runyarwanda	2	5.0
Rukiga	5	12.5
Not indicated	2	5.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### STORY 5. “KAREEMERA SON OF THE WITCH DOCTOR”

Read by 40 SIII male students of Ntare School, Mbarara

**A. Questionnaire: please tick only one response per number. Thank you.**

1. A witch doctor depends upon (a) the power of his *mandwa*, fetishes (*engisha*) and medicines. (b) his make-believe words and action. (c) the quality of his medicines. (d) the unawareness and blind-trust of his clients.
  
1. A goat or a lamb must first be slaughtered, with a leg of it put aside for the witch doctor to take away; and beer must be served before his ritual can begin, because (a) of the witch doctor's claim that his *mandwa* would refuse to work. (b) eating and drinking provides a good setting for his magic activities.
  
2. A witch doctor's main payment can range between a goat and a cow. Long ago in case of a major problem, it would even be as precious as a daughter of the client's family, because: (a) the *mandwa* power requires it so, in order to work (b) of the witch doctor's deception.
  
4. The *mandwa* and fetishes are feared because (a) they actually have dangerous powers. (b) they are claimed to be so by the witch doctor and believed by his clients to be potent.
  
5. Rwamunyoro discovered Kaaremeera's deception because (a) he possessed more powerful *mandwa* than the latter's, (b) he had spied upon Kaaremeera. (c) he tested and found out that his horn, claimed to be a potent *mandwa*, called *Kaabwamba*, was, in fact, powerless and harmless.
  
6. Fetishes, such as the *emibarama* and *emisheeshe*, in this story (a) are very dangerous. (b) are mere make-believe, harmless ordinary objects.
  
7. Kaaremeera surrendered his *mandwa* idols and magic objects because: (a) they were powerless. (b) He feared that Rwamunyoro's more powerful magic might inflict harm upon him or upon his daughter.
  
8. Rwamunyoro convinced Kaaremeera to give up his *mandwa* and the witch doctor's career altogether: (a) by reasoning away the claim that horns and other objects used as *emandwa* and fetishes, possess real magic powers for doing good or harm. (b) by convincing Kaaremeera that a witch doctor's career is fraudulent, unhappy and not at all suitable to raising a family.
  
9. The pleasure in this story lies in discovering that witch doctors are fraudulent, that their *mandwa* are mere idols and their fetishes (*ngisha*) totally are harmless objects. (a) Yes. (b) No.
  
10. Witch doctors should be feared: because their *mandwa* possess real supernatural power, by which they can carry out divination to detect and cast out evil spirits; heal disease and illness; and can cause or prevent ill-luck. (a) Yes. (b) Those should not be grounds for fearing witch doctors, because they are all falsely claims.

11. How many new English words or expressions have you found in this story? (a) 0  
 (b) 1 --3) (c) 4--6) (c) 7--10) d) more than 10
12. Had you ever heard this story before? (a) Yes. (b) No.
13. Where did you hear it? (a) at home. (b) at Primary School.  
 (c) at Secondary School.
14. Can you re-tell this story in your native language? (a) easily.  
 (b) not so easily.
15. Which is your native (vernacular) language? \_\_\_\_\_

**B. Questions 1-8: Comprehension of the plot and message of this story**

Comprehension of the plot and message of this story, tested by questions 1-10 was assessed as set out in the table 17, below.

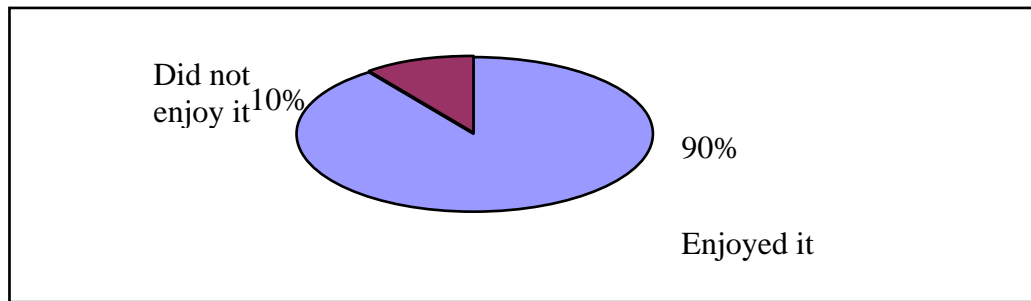
**Table 17: Distribution of respondents by comprehension of questions**

Comprehension questions	Frequency passed	Percentage
1	31	77.5
2	32	80.0
3	32	80.0
4	39	97.5
5	39	97.5
6	40	100.0
7	35	87.5
8	40	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>320</b>	<b>90.0</b>

Questions 4, 5, 6 and 8 were the best comprehended by (97.5%) of all the respondents; while questions. Overall, all the questions were comprehended by at least 77.5% of all the students.

**C. Question 9: Enjoyment of pleasure from reading this story**

**Figure 13 : Distribution of respondents by enjoyment of the story**



The distribution of the respondents by enjoyment of the story is shown in figure 13 above. The enjoyment of the story was assessed by question 10, and shows that the majority (90%) of the respondents enjoyed the story.

**D. Question 10: Appreciation the didactic lesson from the story**

The major lesson of the story, as assessed by question 10, was appreciated by 36 or 90% of the respondents.

**Question 11: New vocabulary learnt from reading this story**

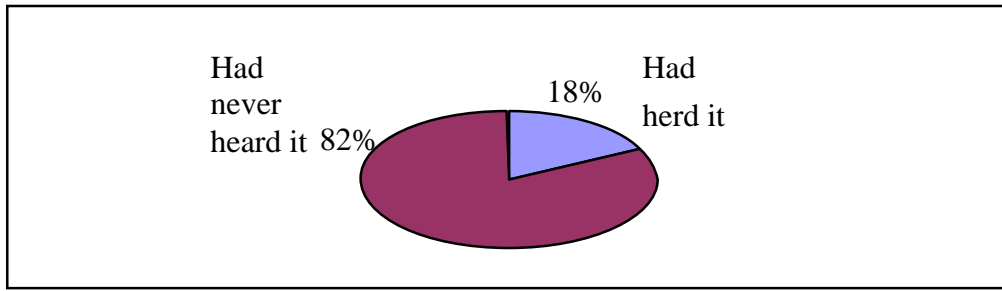
**Table 18: Distribution of respondents by number of new words learnt**

New words learnt	Frequency of respondents	Percentage
1-3	3	7.5
4-6	15	37.5
7-10	8	20.0
10+	14	35.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Every respondent learnt at least one new word from the story. In particular, 57.5% (4 to 10+ new words) of the respondents learnt at least 4 new words while 35% of the respondents learnt over 10 new words from the story.

**E. Question 12: Had you ever heard this story?**

**Figure 14: Distribution of respondents by prior knowledge of the story**



There were only 18% of the respondents who had heard the story before. Disseminating the story in the source language and in translation is worth doing. The distribution of respondents by prior knowledge of the story is shown in figure 14 above.

**J. Question 13: Where did you first hear this story from?**

**Table 19: Source of respondents' prior knowledge of the story**

First heard the story at	Frequency	Percentage
Home	3	7.5
Primary school	4	10.0
Secondary school	0	0.0
Had never heard it	33	82.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The distribution of the respondents' first source of this story is shown in table 19. The main source (10%) of the prior knowledge of the story was at primary school, followed by home (7.5%). No respondent had previously heard the story at secondary school.

**F. Question 14: Can you re-tell this story in your native language?**

There were 77% of the respondents who could re-tell the story irrespective of whether they had heard it before or not. The distribution is shown in figure 13.

**J. Question 15: The native language of the respondents**

**Table 20: Distribution of respondents by native language spoken**

Native language	Number	Percentage
Japadhola	1	2.5
Lango	1	2.5
Lugbara	2	5.0
Rukiga	2	5.0
Rukonjo	2	5.0
Runyankore	26	65.0
Runyarwanda	4	10.0
Rutooro	2	5.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>

The majority (65%) of the respondents were Runyankore speakers; with other native speakers, each not being more than 10% of the total respondents.

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT STORIES 1---5

**Table 21: General observations and conclusions on stories 1---5**

	Items	Story				
		Story 1	Story 2	Story 3	Story 4	Story 5
1	Comprehension test	52.5%	90.0%	75.0%	55.5%	90.0%
2	Enjoyment of stories	77.0%	82.0%	90.0%	90.0%	90.0%
3	Moral appreciation	87.0%	75.0%	100.0%	75.0%	90.0%
4	Vocabulary-building	92.5%	70.0%	90.0%	92.5%	92.5%
5	Had heard the story	77.0%	38.0%	28.0%	77.0%	18.0%
6	Cannot re-tell the story	75.0%	52.0%	48.0%	77.0%	77.0%

#### A. Comprehension

The percentage distribution in Table 16 represents the average proportion of students who passed the comprehension. Overall, all the stories were well comprehended. The best comprehended stories were story 2 and 5, ased by 90% of the students. However, the least comprehended of the stories was story 1. Reason may be attributed to the nature of the school.

#### B. Enjoyment of stories

Overall, all the stories were enjoyed by at least 77.0% of the students. In particular, stories 3, 4 and 5 were the most enjoyed (90.0%).

### **E. Moral lessons appreciation**

The didactic or moral lessons of all the five stories were appreciated by at least 75% of the students who read them. In particular, story 3 was appreciated by all the students who read it.

### **F. Vocabulary-building**

More vocabularies were built by students who read all the students. It was observed that at least 70.0% of students who read each story built at least 4 new vocabularies. Generally, students built more new vocabularies from reading the stories.

### **G. Prior knowledge of story**

There were variations in the levels of the respondents' story on the part of the students. It was observe that 77.0% of the students who read stories 1 and 4 had had r knowledge of the story they read. However, less than 40.0% of the students who read stories 2, 3 and 5 had prior knowledge of story.

### **H. Cannot re-tell the story**

Generally, more than half of the students who read the stories could re-tell the stories. The stories that were easier to re-tell were story 1, 4 and 5. About half of the respondents found stories 2 (52%) and 3 (48%) hard to re-tell. This may be explained by the proportion of native readers.

## **APPENDIX B**

### **GUIDING QUESTIONS ON FOLK STORY TRANSLATION**





1. Ahimbisibwe Frieda, B.A. Dip. Ed. teacher of English and Literature,  
St. Joseph's Vocational Secondary School, P.O. Box 120 Mbarara.
2. Amodoi Simon Peter, Dip. Ed. teacher of English Language and Literature,
3. St. Bridget High School, Isingiro, P.O. Box 1529 Mbarara.
4. Asiimwe Rovian, Dip. Ed. teacher of English Language and Literature,  
St. Bridget High School, Isingiro, P.O. Box 1529 Mbarara.
5. Atuhairwe Fred, B.A., Dip. Ed, teacher of English Language and Literature,  
St. Joseph's Vocational Secondary School, P.O. Box 120 Mbarara.
6. Barungi Nice, B.A. Dip, Ed. teacher of English and Literature, Namirembe Hillside  
High School, Kampala.
7. Banyenzaki, Aloysius, Assistant parish priest, Christ the Kinga Parish, Kabale.
8. Betunguura Amos (Bishop Emeritus of East Ankole Diocese), Runyankore-  
Rukiga promoter: by writing and radio broadcasting.
9. Bibangamba Peter, Radio West promoter, Mbarara Municipality.
10. Bikuzibwa Stephen, Rukungiri Town.
11. Bukenya Austin, M.A. retired senior lecturer in English and Kiswahili,  
Makerere University.
12. David, Ph.D. researcher in Traditional Religions across Kigezi.
13. Bwango Jessy, a Mutooro M.A. student in Economic Policy & Management  
at Makerere University.
14. Dalzell Gareth, Language Programme Manager, Summer Institute of  
Linguistics, Entebbe, Uganda.
15. Gumoshabe Gilbert, M.A. African Languages, lecturer in Runyakitara,  
Makerere University.
16. Kamugisha Fred Geoffrey, Rukiga folklore compiler from Kabale District.
17. Kansime Rosemary, B.A, Dip. Ed. teacher of English Language and  
Literature, Maryhill High School, P.O. Box 380 Mbarara.
18. Kanyonza Vincent, Ph. D. Theology, writer in Runyankore-Rukiga.

19. Katarwa, Longinus, parish priest, Rushanje Parish, Mbarara.
20. Kemba Kenneth, B.A. Dip. Ed. teacher of English language and Literature Maryhill High School, P.O. Box 380 Mbarara
  
21. Kennedy Jumayol, B.Sc. 9 (Educ.) MStat., lecturer in Statistics, Institute of Statistics & Applied Economics, Makerere University.
22. Kiiza Hilary, Ph. D. lecturer in the Department of Religious Studies, Makerere University, Promoter of Namirembe Hillside High School
23. Kobusheeshe Polycarp, B.A. Dip. Ed, retired teacher of English and Literature, from Rukungiri District
24. Koyekoma Alex, Vice-Chancellor, Mbarara Archdiocese.
25. Longole James, a Karimojong, M.A. student in Sociology at Makerere University.
26. Polar, Opio, a Karimojong, M.A. student in Economic Policy and Management at Makerere University.

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