

**ANYUAA ORAL PROSE NARRATIVES;
ETHNIC GENRES AND SOCIAL
FUNCTIONS**

*A THESIS
PRESENTED TO
THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY*

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

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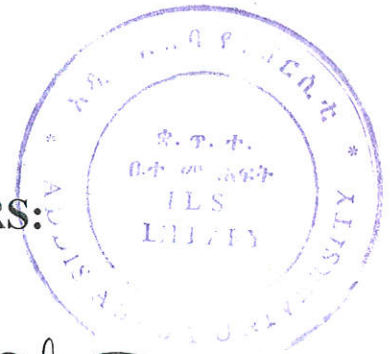


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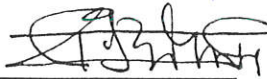
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**BY
BAYLEYEGN TASEW**

**APPROVED BY
BOARD OF EXAMINERS:**



**FEKADE AZEZE (Dr.)
Advisor**



**ALULA PANSHURST (Dr.)
Examiner**



**Berhanu Matthews (Dr.)
Examiner**



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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with studying the oral prose narratives of Anyuaa society, one of Ethiopian Nilo– Saharan groups bordering the Sudan. The major problem of the research arises from the need for paying due attention to study and appreciate the indigenous ways of categorizing folklore in general and oral literatures in particular in various parts of the country. Thus, identifying the logical principles underlying the Anyuaa systems of generic classification of oral prose narratives, describing the distinctive features of genres and showing their most recurring social functions in the society are the main objectives of the study attained through descriptive methods of literary analysis. By so doing, the research contributes to the future tasks of categorizing oral prose narratives on national level or a larger scale. Folklore data within their social contexts are made apposite to the goals to be achieved and problems formulated. Therefore, the study depends primarily on extensive fieldwork. A total of 118 narratives have been recorded using the methods of observation, interview and focus group discussion through survey, depth, local and incidental research projects. With the purpose of maintaining the contextual meanings conveyed by the source language, “word-for - word,” “free” and “dynamic equivalent” translations have been employed and then validated by knowledgeable natives. After a close examination, selection, and interpretation of data, the research come up with the following original findings. (1) Three genres of oral prose narratives exist in their own rights as integral parts of the whole system of Anyuaa culture sharing common social functions identified as perpetuating culture, justifying social norms, controlling deviations, maintaining societal value systems, enculturating the youths through entertainment (2) Generic names are designated as the “ Leere” , the “ Wae” and the “ Angade” in their local language. (3) The research also arrives at three indigenous principles with which the natives themselves make use of in delineating genres of oral prose narratives identified as (a) cultural meanings of generic names (b) narrative contents , and (c) performer’s age. (4) Genres are actualized in seven natural contexts determined by the purposes of institutionalized or incidental social actions.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE THESIS.

The Anyuaa like most of the groups of people in the country, is an oral society. Its culture : beliefs, worldviews, history, customs, traditions and age long experiences are transmitted orally from generation to generation. However, no scholarly attempt has been made so far to study various oral literatures of this society. The thesis, therefore, attempts to bring forth the governing laws of categorizing genres of oral prose narratives in Anyuaa traditional mode of communication.

The thesis has four main chapters. The first provides the problems, objectives and the scope of the study. It also includes sections on review of literature methods and field experiences. The section on field experiences describes problems tackled during the fieldworks. The second chapter deals with the people. It gives a considerable account of historical background, livelihood and settlements. The chapter also includes sections on the Anyuaa worldviews, belief systems and socio- cultural institutions in which principles of delineating genres are deeply ingrained. Therefore, some basic information about modes of living of the people, their religion, views on justice, and rites of passage they practice are also discussed in connection with the worlds of the narratives.

The third chapter focuses on issues related to the performance occasions of genres. This chapter demarcates seven performance occasions that give favorable grounds for the actualization of genres. The overall strategies for performance situations have also been presented based on observations. The fourth chapter is dedicated to identify the indigenous ways of classification of the Anyuaa oral prose narratives. The chapter provides a detailed account of the distinctive features of genres within the indigenous frame of reference or set of principles. Since genres have functions to fulfil basic needs of the society, a close examination into their social functions is also discussed in the fourth chapter. The chapter also attempts to show the nature of intergeneric influences.

And finally the thesis includes a brief conclusion, bibliography, a list of key informants and appendices.

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1. The Study

The thesis is concerned with oral prose narratives in Anyyuaa society with the intent to discover the indigenous ways of generic classification. The Anyyuaa (pl. people) are one of the Ethiopian Nilotes who live in the Southwestern part of Ethiopia in Gambella Region. They inhabit the hot savannah plain along four major rivers. The Anyyuaa are sometimes called people of beads (Bahru, 1976:12) and riverine group (Kurimoto, 1996:29).

“Anyyuaa” is a self-name derived from the word “ñyua” which means “to share” anything one owes with the other members of the society (Lusted 1976:495; Kurimoto 1996:29; Petner, 1990:53; Caam, 1996:3). Their livelihood is predominantly based on agriculture supplemented with fishing and hunting. The Anyyuaa are afraid of spirits and the evil-eye. They believe in one creator, “Jwφk” (God), conceived as consisting two opposing forces- “*Jwok-Nyingaala-Bwoo*,” and “*Jwok-Dugu-Nyingaala-Bwoo*”.

Anyyuaa practise polygamy. The Number of wives is unlimited in so far as an Anyyuaa (sing. Anyyuaa man, or the tribe) is rich enough in *Dimui* (type of beads) and *Thong* (*spears*). As it is one of the hottest regions, nights in Anyyuaa land are much more pleasant than the day times. In the evening, boys and girls together with their mothers or the household in general eat porridge mixed with fish paste and then start dancing or narrating about wonderful stories sitting around *Wi-Maac* (fire place)

Water is thought of not only as the source of life but also as the origin of justice. “*Occuudho*”, a devine hero who is believed to be living in water, gave the forefathers of the Anyyuaa laws of order. Based on those laws issued by him,

traditional social institutions such as “*Nyieyi*” (kings) and “*Kwaari*” (chiefs) continue functioning up until today so as to maintain peace and order. The Anyuaa can be explained as a purely oral society. Though uncharted in folklore field of study till now, items of oral literature in it are very much interesting and inciting. Culture bearers are open, co-operative and considerate. Keeping in mind these inviting conditions, the research set on to attain the goals of discovering the indigenous principles of generic categorization of oral prose narratives and to identify their common social functions.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Anyuaa belief systems, worldviews, outlooks, philosophy of life, ways of living and thinking, indigenous lore and life experiences which are handed down from generation to generation through oral literature have not yet been studied. Folklore in general and items of oral literature in particular as integral parts of the whole cultural system as well as their literary and utilitarian values in the society still remain hidden from folklore field of study. As in the other parts of the country, the Anyuaa logical principles of categorizing genres of oral prose narratives are not investigated and systematically arranged or preserved in a way that they can contribute to the future tasks of generic classifications on national levels. Thus studying systems of generic classification and social functions of Anyuaa oral prose narratives become the major problems of this thesis by tackling the following specific questions:

- *Do Anyuaa people classify their oral prose narratives in genres? If so, on what logical bases? What are the designations of these native genres? What cultural meanings do they offer to the native speakers?*
- *How do the native people themselves conceive and perceive the genres?*
- *Do genres over-lap with each other? In what ways?*

- *What are their appropriate performance occasions? Is there any restriction on performance in relation to social positions? What is /may be the reason for that, if there is any?*
- *What are their common social functions?*

1.2. Significance of the Problem

Studying generic classifications of oral prose narratives in a purely oral society like Anyuaa which is until now little known in the academic sphere is of paramount importance in folklore and literary fields of study. The study contributes to open up the originality of genres as integral parts of the culture in Anyuaa society. It also initiates folklore researchers to carry out comparative studies on a national level or a larger scale. The study may also be considered as an increment to the growing interest and knowledge in folklore and literary studies going on in the country. Moreover, collections of folklore materials of various peoples in the country is meant to record cultural wealth and to preserve human history in general. Thus, based on the reasons stated herein, the study has tried to attain the following objectives.

1.3. Objectives

The main purposes of the study are to discover the indigenous principles underlying the native systems of generic classification of Anyuaa oral prose narratives and to identify their common social functions by fulfilling the following specific objectives:

- *Identifying logical principles underlying the Anyuaa systems of generic classification of oral prose narratives and showing distinctive features of genres through descriptive methods of literary analysis based on the indigenous ways of categorization.*

- *Demonstrating the most common social functions of native genres.*
- *Giving an insight to researchers for further investigations into the area.*

1.4. The Scope of the Study

The study is conducted in a homogenous society except for an insignificant number of nationals from other parts of the country living in the centre of the **Region** and in small towns as government employees and retailing traders. The Anyuaaland is made up of five districts (Weredas) known as **Jore, Gok, Abobo, Gambella and Itang**. Among the districts, Itang remained uncovered in the study for security reasons.

Gambella was the central area of the study. Anyuaa is rich in items of oral literature such as oral prose narratives, songs, proverbs, dirges, hunting, fishing and harvesting poetry, lullabies, games, nursery rhymes and forms of oratory, war and praise verses, curses and prayers etc... To cover all these items of oral literature within a short period of time and little budget allocation becomes unfeasible. Thus, the study has been limited only to the indigenous systems of generic classification and social functions of oral prose narratives.

1.5. Literature Review

The review evaluates works related to the study area and folklore studies associated with the topic of the thesis.

As stated earlier, we scarcely find written sources on Anyuaa culture, let alone on its oral prose narratives. Still, a few scholars such as Evans-Pritchard (1941), Kurimoto (1992, 1996), Bahru Zewdie (1976), linguists like Lusted (1976) and Reh (1996) give some accounts on Anyuaa's ways of life, traditional political

systems, historical and linguistic descriptions. In addition, Erastus Ojo Arewa (1980) classifies some eleven Anyuua tale synopses in his study entitled “A Classification of the Folktales of the Northern East African Cattle Area by Types.” Aboneh Ashagrie and Peter Haropp (1984) survey the “Dramatic Traditional Ceremonies Among Four Ethnic Groups of Ethiopian Nilotes”. Petner (1990) also attempts to explain the consciousness of the Anyuua in relation to language.

Among the studies mentioned above, Evans-Pritchard, (1941) gives a general picture of the study area. He shows the ways of life of the people, social organizations and traditional politics with the perspective of functional-structural approach. He points out symbolic objects and traditional institutions. “The Anuak Kingship”, he writes, “is a commonly accepted value and is a good example of the ritual character of African kingship. ...The royal emblems have only a ritual value. Their composition symbolises some of the more important objects in Anuak culture such as beads, spears and drums...” (p.138). Traditional politics could perpetuate functioning though they were repressed for the past twenty years.

Bahru’s concern is on the relationships between the Sudan and the Western Ethiopian frontiers. Nevertheless, he traces some important historical events influencing the traditional ways of life of the Anyuua people. According to him, following the establishment of the trade post at **Gambella** and **Itang** in 1904, the Anglo-Egyptian Government of the Sudan strongly insisted on missionaries to enter **Itang** and **Gambella**. The Ethiopian government on its side encouraged businessmen to go to the lowlands and deal with traders coming from the Sudan. The trade items from the Ethiopian side were ivory, cotton, tiger and lion hides that brought out culture contacts. For example, missionaries started christening the Anyuua and other groups in the Region (Bahru 1976: 223-224).

In stating the Anyuua experiences of culture contacts with variety of the outsiders for the last hundred years, Kurimoto writes, “these experiences of the past

have certainly shaped the Anyuua views on history which are expressed in narratives” (Kurimoto 1992:7).

Aboneh and Peter Haropp (1984) refer to some important elements of Anyuua customs. They enlist four types of marriage practices in the society and give some information on superstitious practices and beliefs. However, the report seems to lack full information. For instance, it reads, “The Anuak are first and foremost fishermen... Fish provides the staple diet. The main crop, if it can be described as such, is sorghum” (p.33). This seems to be misinformation so long as the primary livelihood of the Anyuua is mainly known as agrarian on a subsistence level.

Erastus Ojo Arewa (1980) indicates the chronic problems of classifying African folktales in line with Aarne-Thompson’s Index Types that had originally been designed to cover North West European folktales. Though Ojo Arewa makes us aware of the problem in his introduction, he himself classifies East African folktales into four major categories adhering to the Aarne-Thompson’s models. Of course, Ojo Arewa discovered 31 new recurring motives in the area that have not been included in Aarne-Thompson’s Motif Index. Among these newly discovered motifs, we find one Anyuua folktale identified as “unnatural cruelty” (Ojo Arewa 1990; Ojo Arewa and G.M. Shreve, 1980).

When moving to the related folklore studies in Addis Ababa University one has to consult Fekade Azeze’s “Ethiopian Oral Literature: A Preliminary Review and Bibliography” prepared in 1984. This work indicates the growing interest in folklore studies in the country in general and in Addis Ababa University in particular. In this work, 432 writings, research papers and books are listed down categorically. But, unfortunately, not a single article or writing on Anyuua oral literature is found in it. The bibliography includes B.A. degree senior papers which are large in number concerned with various items of oral literature. These

senior papers may serve as important sources of information for further investigations.

Since 1982, a few graduate school theses in Addis Ababa University have been written on folktale studies. These are Melakneh Mengistu's "The Major Theme and Motifs of Southern Agaw Folktales (1990), Tesfaye Gebremariam's "A study of Major Themes in Jablawi Folktales" (1990), Abdulkadir Haji Jama's "Some Cultural Elements as Reflected in Somali Folktales" (1982), Sahilu Kidane's "Borana Oromo Prose Narratives: A Contextual study" (1996) and Yihene Jembere's "A Generic Classification of Amharic Oral Prose Narratives in Western Gojam" (1996).

To start with both Melakneh's and Tesfaye's theses, thematic analysis is taken up as the main concern. Melakneh analyses about 60 folktales and classifies them into eight thematic sections. Tesfaye's classification is also the same as that of Melakneh's. He attributes to Jablawi tales universality of motifs and themes that focus on general human needs and aspirations. But before he reaches this conclusion, he has used up 72 out of 115 folktales for the purpose of his thematic analysis, which as a result shows "no discrimination against any social positions in reaction to performances" in a way that "Anyone, a child, a woman or a man young or old could act as a narrator. Besides, there is no restriction made with regard to the type of subject that can be treated by various narrators irrespective of their age or sex" (1990:2).

This seems to be a hardly acceptable generalization, for the researcher tells the readers that he doesn't apply contextual approach in his methods. Moreover, analyzing text within context effectively illustrates the necessity of relating oral traditional texts to the circumstances in which they are employed a priori to arriving at such a generalization. And the very selection of themes as adequate for folklore expression depends upon social context of apposite expressions (Lindfors 1977:17;

Beissinger 1988: 401; Dan Ben-Amos 1982:47). As a result, Tesfaye contradicts himself, when he notes, "children favour animal tales and social contexts vary "(1990:234).

Melakneh and Tesfaye focus on thematic studies based on "analytic models." Therefore, their studies do not deal with principles of indigenous ways of categorization of oral prose narratives.

In the same ways to Tesfaye and Melakneh, Abdulkadir tells us, "The collection of tales was not made by going into the rural areas, ... this was not possible due to reasons beyond my control because of interruptions, comments and laughter." He further admits, "I used to record shutting in a hut for hours" (1982:23). In fact, one may say that his purpose is to point out cultural elements reflected in oral prose narratives. However, without data with its full meaning reinforced with contexts, one may become uncertain to arrive at substantial findings. "Limiting his activity only to Jijiga town", representing it for the whole study area and "shutting" himself with his informants "in a hut" for about four hours, Abdulkadir collected data as "facts". Then he classified about 80 Somali tales into eight thematic sections as "Explanatory", "Wit", "Wisdom", "Justice", "Religiousness" and "Morality", "Marriage", "Women and Jealousy", and "Natural Calamity" (36). As we may understand, Abdulkadir's study is thus limited to classifying folktales based on thematic elements deprived of their contexts. Moreover, the study gives attention to "analytic models" rather than the local systems of categorization.

As to Yihenew and Sahilu, both of them seem to give attention due to contextual approaches as to their studies. In their studies, we also notice a swift shift from thematic to contextual studies of folktales. Both are seen formulating their objectives to classify narratives in terms of cognitive levels, expressive and social features. But, the problem enmeshed in them seems to be declining to device

methods of obtaining data pertinent to the nature of problems stated clearly in the opening chapters of their theses.

Interview methods are crucial and impassable means for folklorists (Dorson, 1972: 407-428; Goldstein, 1965:76:104; 269-270; Harring, 1972: 386). But, Sahilu doesn't inform his reader whether he uses interview methods for his data collecting. He has classified "Borana Oromo Oral Narratives" though he doesn't identify the indigenous principles of generic categorization. Indeed, Sahilu has given us native designations of genres in a fascinating manner and their meanings conducting observation-methods. Names of genres identified in his study are the "Duri-Duri", the "Mamaksa" and the "Arga-Ageti".

And Yihenew emphasizes the importance of classifying oral prose narratives based on indigenous knowledge. He writes, "it enables us to understand the narrative type in depth and the role they play in the society" (1996: 13). On the contrary, Yihenew classifies Amharic narratives into "Folktales", "Legends" and "Genealogies" based on "analytic models."

In general, theses above-mentioned do not give attention to the indigenous principles of delineating genres of oral prose narratives. Thus, my thesis attempts to fill this gap by investigating into the indigenous systems of classifying oral prose narratives, by describing the distinctive features of genres, by showing their functions and by bringing out original findings in an area nurtured only by oral literature to the academic spheres.

1.6. Methods and Field Experiences

The problems stated demand for folklore data in their cognitive, expressive, and social features falling into four types of data collecting projects. These

projects are "*survey*" and "*depth*", "*local*" and "*incidental*" (Goldstein, 1964:24-25) so as to carry out successful field-works and keep up close contacts with the study area in the research duration. Using these complementary projects, three major and interrelated data collecting methods are designed.

1.6.1. Observation Methods

These methods are used to observe performances, to capture and describe non-verbal responses of the audiences, and social contexts, to formulate meaningful questions on interview sessions and focus group discussions with other culture bearers. Observation methods are also helpful to obtain data and transcribe impressions into paper in two levels of contexts: **natural** (social) in which narratives actually function in particular situations; and **social-natural context induction** that comprises some characteristics of recreating artificial context into a near natural level based upon full information on performance situations.

1.6.2. Interview Data Collecting Methods

Context is also determined with interview data so far as it includes "information on what the informant knows, believes, expects, feels, wants, does, or has done, or which explains or gives reasons for any of the preceding" (Goldstein 1964:104). Therefore, interview methods are used to supply, enrich, and illuminate data with an insider view of culture bearers, with deep-rooted symbolic meaning, with the very essence of native genres, and with the attitudes of the people towards genres. It also helps to record details of background stories, spatial-temporal dimensions and audience situations, rejections and interjections so as to interpret symbolic representations inherited within narratives

1.6.3. Focus Group Discussions

The field-work for this project includes focus group discussion as a supplementary method of data collection. Focus group discussion is useful to cross-check and validate the data collected and to have clarity on cultural elements. It is also useful to avoid bias and favouritism and to control inconsistencies of information. The method is also needed to obtain data inaccessible due to some constraints and norms that demand for qualifications and the nature of performance occasions that may not be attained during the time of field-work. Moreover, as an aspect of depth project of collecting data, it helps to give full understanding of the spiritual life of the people.

When one deals with folklore study, there often arises a question in association with the methods of arriving at conclusions. Regarding this question, various folklorists have stressed on extending and making use of methods of literary analysis to oral literature so long as folklore and literature as verbal arts are interwoven with each other (Propp. 1985:39-41; Finnegan, 1989:350; Jason, 1969:413). Moreover, this thesis gives a descriptive analysis of genres from the perspectives of the indigenous systems of generic categorization as perspicaciously expressed by Ben-Amos (1982).

1.6.4. FIELD EXPERIENCES

From the outset, the field operations were planned in three phases: the first is survey study, the second involves intensive activities that comprise depth collecting data project as the third focuses mainly on validating and cross-checking the transcribed and translated data. Hence, using observation methods based on these collecting data projects I collected 118 oral prose narratives in their contexts from 47 narrators and have conducted 17 interviews and 11 focus group discussions.

1.6.4.1 First Phase

The main objectives of this field-work operations were: (1) to identify and select efficient and knowledgeable guide, (2) to specify natural contexts and incidental performance situations of oral prose narratives so as to plan either artificial or induced natural contexts for the second phase of the field-work, (3) to determine the area to be covered during depth data collecting activities, (4) to familiarize oneself with the social-natural environments of the study area and (5) to know the actual situations of the field-works.

With these objectives in mind, the first phase of the field-work was commenced on Jan. 20, 1998 impeded with some problems. Transportation shortage to move from place to place and to get to the scattered villages settled along the four major rivers crossing Anyuaaland seemed at first practically impossible. This happened because of the shortage of local transportation. Transportation on mule or horse back is not also employed in the area due to tse-tse flies. Thus, to avoid the problem I consulted the president of Gambella Region and succeeded in getting a car with fuel and a driver for 22 days. This achievement made the first phase of the field-work a promising start.

The other most decisive factor for the success of the study was getting a responsible, purposeful, concerned, knowledgeable and respected native guide. Therefore, after a three day of assessment I was able to associate with two known Anyuaa, Philip Opiew and Haileselassie Nyigwo.

Philip Opiew, a graduate from Kotebe Teachers Training College, had taught English language for about 15 years. He has also worked as a vice administrator of "Sore and Geb" awraja in Illubabour Province. After some time, he was raised as a

principal administrator of Baro Awraja that includes his native place. During my field-work Philip was working as an expert in the Bureau of Social Affairs in Gambella Region. Born in Pyinudho, Philip grew up in Abobo Wereda. He is a highly respected Anyuaa.

The second native I consulted was Haileselassie Nyigwo, a son of a Nyieya (king), was brought to Addis Ababa when he was young and learned with the support given to him by Emperor Haile-Selassie I. Soon after he completed his high school education at Teferi Mekonnen High School, Haileselassie was employed by Ethiopian Shipping Lines where he was able to become a Captain for twenty five years. Haileselassie is also a multilingual person: he speaks English, Arabic, Italian, French, Tigrigna, Amharic, Oromiffa, Nuer and his mother tongue. Haileselassie turned back to his native place in 1991, displaced from Eritrea, Mistiwa. Though he is highly exposed to the outside world because of his profession, the Captain is fond of talking about the Anyuaa customs and ways of living rather than the experiences he accumulated in Asian and European ports and cities. Due to his family origin and experiences, Captain Haileselassie has become one of the respected persons among his native people.

Between the two, I decided to choose Philip for he is widely known person by Anyuaa people and deeply soaked native in his culture. Right after I consulted them, Haileselassie informed me about a "**Rony**" (coronation ceremony) in **Abobo Woreda** at **Ukuna** village on 26 Jan., 1998. Since he was invited to participate in the **Rony**, I went with him and we arrived at Abobo town at 8 a.m. Then we walked on foot 10 kms eastward to **Ukuna** village. A "**Bull**" (big drum, also used in war situations) gave out long and echoing sound. The more we proceeded towards **Ukuna** the more the beat on the **Bull** was heard loudly. "That is bull" said Haileselassie. "It is beaten starting from dawn to sunset" he continued. Many Anyuaa from Abobo and Gambella towns were flowing to the "**Rony**" along a narrow foot path to **Ukuna** with us.

The **Kwaaro** (the chief) to be coronated on the day was Philip Nyaye who graduated from Alemaya College with a diploma in Agriculture. He was working as a government employee in Gambella town. His late father, a **Kwaaro**, passed on his will (also called **Rony**) to Philip before he died. The place of the **Rony** was behind a hut thatched with grass and encircled by a fence made of wood- stalks. The hut is the burial place of the late **Kwaaro**. A strong, well-postured, dexterous and serious middle-aged person continued beating the **Bull** rhythmically with his palms and elbows sitting on a big log of wood nearby the hut, the burial place of the late **Kwaaro**. The occasion is filled with mixed sounds of songs in groups, dances with leg amber and sets of drums, pitches of **kräärs** and toms, trumpets and utterances of joy etc.... Men and women in the dance groups marked and decorated their bodies with spots of white and clayish colours and wore various types of feathers round their heads and waists. Some wore horns of antelopes, bufallos and cows etc.,

The **balabats** (nobles) sat on tiger hides smoking **thaaba** (tobacco), sipping traditional drinks, talking solemnly and sometimes observing dances. Groups of elderly people also sat on the other side of the **Rony** under the shadows of trees just on the bare soil (and of course not on the tiger hides). "Those who are not from the noble '**balabats**' lineages are not allowed to sit on tiger and lion hides. It is forbidden" said Haileselassie when he explained to me about the norms of the society. The rest of the participants especially youths, most of them in blue jeans from Gambella town, watch women and men dancing in groups with elation. They watch attentively to the skips and jumps, steps and sequences of the lively dramatic and mimetic performances as an outsider like me.

It was about 4 a.m. The mixed sound of the ceremony came to a halt and the gathering fell in silence as soon as the **Wuloo** (stools used as thrones) were arranged for the new **Kwaaro**. He stood up with his uncle in front of the **balabats**. Then the uncle put strings of beads round Philip's neck. After the strings of beads

were put round his neck the new **Kwaaro** sat on one of the stools placed in between the others. Then, the new **Kwaaro** sat on the stool and the people started shooting their rifles. Meanwhile, the **bull** was beaten giving resounding echoes mixed with shoutings of joy ululation, penetrating tones of trumpets brags and boasts in ancestral praise-names. This moment, I thought of the event to be the main ritual act of the **Rony** and asked Haileselassie about that. He said, "putting strings of beads round the **Kwaaro's** neck and sitting on the **Wuloo** are the vital acts of the **Rony**."

After the coronation ceremony, Haileselassie led me to the place where the new **Kwaaro** sat alongside the noblemen and women. The **Kwaaro** invited both of us to sit on the tiger hide beside the **balabats**. But the culture would not allow me to sit on it as Haileselassie had just reminded me of the norm. Thus, I sat on the the ground. As I was very much fascinated with the genuine tradition I observed, the new **Kwaaro** also seemed to be surprised of the opportunity I got to participate. "You are so lucky!" said the new **Kwaaro**. He was right! Because **Rony** doesn't occur frequently in a given locality. As I learnt from the discussion, the purposes of the **Rony** are to confer a **Nyieya** or **Kwaaro** with kingship or chieftainship respectively. But this doesn't happen unless the people accept the will.

At this moment, the questions that came into my mind were "When was the **Rony** established? Who found it? Is there any oral prose narrative that perpetuates or institutionalizes the **Rony**?" So I asked Philip Nyaye and the **balabats** who sat with him. Haileselassie suggested "**Cawai**" as the founder of "**Rony**." But surprisingly Philip said it was "**Occuudho**." And in association with the founder of the **Rony**, Philip continued telling us about the **Leero** (see chap. 4, 4.1) of **Occuudho**. While he was narrating, helped by the **balabats**, I started recording the story in its natural context. After Philip stopped narrating the **Leero** about **Occuudho**, he added, "knowing about **Occuudho** is knowing about our culture".

Next to Abobo, I went to **Itang**. However, I found the area inaccessible due to security problems. For that reason, I couldn't cover the area during the first phase of my field-work. Philip Opiew, my guide, got a leave for 25 days. Then, we arranged a tentative program. Based on the program, he sent messages to the elderly people around Pyinkyaw and Openo (Baro) villages. In addition, the Education and Culture Bureau of Gambella Region dispatched letters to its zonal branches in order to help me facilitate my field-work activities.

Thus, in Pyinkaw and Openo villages, we could easily arrange artificial contexts under shades of trees near the banks of Baro River and in the compounds of the homesteads. As I saw for myself, the Anyuaa are cooperative so long as a respected and a known native guide is along with a researcher. The society is simple and open. The young and women are not shy. They listen when one speaks and give responses about whatever they feel. They came willingly when Philip informed them, gathered under pleasant shadows of trees and started telling stories. As a result, I collected 21 **Wae** (see chap. 4, 4.1) and **Leere** in these villages.

The other important place given due attention during the first phase was Gambella Teachers' Training Center. In the Center, there were 51 Anyuaa trainees who came from various places (Woredas) of the study area. Thus, using artificial contexts I also collected 17 **Wae** in the institute. In actual sense, data collecting in the first phase of my field-work may be explained as: " 'Shotgun collecting' (describing the situation in which a collector attempts to collect as much folklore from as many people in as many places as it is possible to do it in the least amount of time" (Goldstein, 1964:25).

But as the actual field-work situations were becoming fruitful, security men caught me near Baro River. Snatching my camera and recorder, they drove me to the police station at the center of the town. Fortunately, the driver had witnessed the incident. He brought a man whom I didn't meet before. This person talked to the

police sergeant and he ordered me to go with him leaving my camera and tape recorder behind. I went out of the station with his help.

In the next four days, I had appointments at **Pyinudho** and **Abobo** towns. Since my field instruments were in the hands of the policemen, I was impelled to cancel the appointments. Thanks for my guide! he could let me have my camera and recorder back after five days of unexpected impediments though the policemen took out the film from my camera.

1.6.4.2. The Second Phase

In the first phase of the field-work natural contexts and incidental occurrences for performances such as **Wii-Maac** (fire place) and **Jendai** (market place for thaaba and traditional drinks) and areas to be covered were identified. Thus, the second phase of the field-work concentrated more on recreating natural contexts, on organizing willing participants, and by so doing on intensive data collecting activities.

In Anyuaa society, **Wii-Maac** is an everyday natural context which brings about favourable situations for performances. Therefore, my guide arranged an appointment at Othow Adier's homestead and his son, Opiew Othow, took me there just before 6 p.m. On the opportunity, I learnt about the role of **Wii-Maac**. It is ideal socio-cultural institution for performances of items of oral literature on daily basis at every homestead in Anyuaa society at large. **Wii-Maac** includes participants of all age groups. At Othow Adier's homestead, I recorded 15 narratives of different genres in their natural contexts and observed audience performer interactions. Using that conducive situation, I interviewed Othow Adier about the importance of **Wii-Maac** in the society (see chap .3 "**Wii-Maac**" for details).

Jandai is a market place for selling traditional drinks and **thaaba** (tobacco). People come to the **Jandai** starting from 6 a.m. The **Jandai**, which I observed near **Gambella** is surrounded by big trees. There are clusters of small huts around which people sat like swarms of bees holding cups of traditional drinks such as **ogole**, **beer**, **waccaththa**, **araki** and **borde**. Women on the other side stir paste with sticks boiling in barells supported by three big stones over burning wood. The smoke from the stoves and from the boiling paste rose and covered the **Jandai** like morning mists. On the one side, mostly women and youths, drink **borde** (fermented drink prepared from sorghum and maize in gourds. Some others, sitting under shelters, bargained on the price of the sun-tanned and dried rectangular or conical shaped **thaaba**. And others smoked it in exultation with "**Akoyo**" (a gourd used for smoking **thaaba**). So the intermingled odour with the traditional drinks, puffs from the **Akoyo**, the smell of the sun-stanned **thaaba**, the smoke from the boiling paste and from the burning wood gave a distinctive atmosphere to the **Jandai**. People come to this place daily to smoke, drink and to chat with their friends. Thus, **Jendi** produces conducive situations for performances of **Wae**, jokes, **Angade** (see chap. 4, 4.1), etc.. As a result, I recorded 35 **Wae** using the situations occurring at **Jandai** in induced incidental contexts.

Pyinudho, 150 kms from the center area of the research, includes **Gok**, **Pucala**, **Thaatha** and **Jore**. The second field program was carried out in winter season. Unfortunately, **Gilo** and **Alwero** Rivers overflowed their banks and thus flooded most of the plain area. Therefore, travelling from place to place was not found easy as usual. Nevertheless, the Zonal Education and Culture Bureau of **Pyinudho** assisted me in organizing artificial contexts by gathering willing natives from **Gok**, **Thaatha** and **Pucala**. Thus, by arranging artificial contexts, I was able to collect 15 **Wae** in **Pyinudho**. In addition, a friend of my guide, **David Akway**, helped me in arranging an interview session with **Muoe Thaatha** (a spirit guardian). But, unfortunately, I caught malaria and my field-work was jeopardized for a week. When I recovered, I planned to cover **Itang** area. But, unluckily a bridge

between Itang and Gambella town was inundated with flood. Therefore, the area remained uncovered for the second time due to natural constraints.

During the second field-work program, I could consult translators like Caam Adhom with the help of my guide. He started translating soon after he promised to me to do the translation. At this time, the study became fully promising, because Caam agreed to translate, cross-check and validate collected data in Anywaa language into English during the third phase of the field-work.

In general, using survey and depth data collecting projects, descriptive information that cannot be incorporated with tape recorder has also been captured through note taking. This accompanying descriptive information include observations such as situations, occasions and social positions. It also includes background stories, gestures and physical appearances of material cultures, beginnings and endings of performances.

Especially in the second phase of the field-work, 14 interviews and 9 focus group discussions were conducted in order to have full understanding of symbolic interpretations, to comprehend the indigenous logical principles of generic classification, to penetrate into the value systems of the society, to have good understanding of the conceptions, perceptions and attitudes the native people have of the cultural meanings of genres to collect functional data of genres and to identify their natural contexts, as well as performance situations.

1.6.4.3. The Third Phase of the Field-work

The main purposes of the third phase of the field-work were to translate and validate data designed to be actualized from the very inception of the study both in depth and local projects. As mentioned above, the transcription and translation

activities were already started by Caam Adhom (a translator and an editor in the Bureau of Education and Culture in Gambella Region) during the second field-work. These activities continued using local research project as of October, 1998 by Ojom Ujulu and James Omot (Anyuaa students in the department of Educational Administration in Addis Ababa University). But translations done by Ojom and James had to be validated and cross-checked by Caam Adhom there in the study area. As a result, validating and cross-checking the data in the third phase of the field-work were carried out by Caam Adhom for a month (from Jan. 18, 1999-Feb.18, 1999). The translation was done in **Formal and Dynamic** equivalent approaches as suggested by Fine (1984:149-153). "Formal equivalence focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content... the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language.". Formal Equivalence is preferred to let the reader fully know the values, beliefs, customs... of a given culture. It is helpful to avoid overloading external elements of information and doing the opposite. In order to achieve equivalence between the source and the receptor languages, formal equivalence has three interlinear steps and is much preferred to translate folklore materials in their contexts." Steps of formal equivalence are a word-for-word correspondence, free translation and dynamic equivalence. Therefore, I employed these steps of translating data in their contexts including transcription as shown below.

First, a recorded text is transcribed in the local (source) language as in:

Jiy dangø mobëédø nidhaanhø ciel dhaanhø kicië.

Dhaanhø mayya ena nguu. Dhaanhø mayya ena dhaanhø.

Gena nywøl kijiy mo cïpjwøk.---

Secondly, a word-for-word correspondence is given in English language following the grammatical rules of the local language aiming at knowing the meaning of each word in the internal structure of a given native narrative as given below:

Jiy dangø mobëëdø nidhaanhø Ciel dhaanhø ki cïë.
People were lived human being one person with wife
Dhaanhø mayya ena nguu. Dhaanhø mayya ena dhaanhø.
Person another he lion. Person another he person
Gena nywøl kiji mo cïpjwøk.....
They born children who twins.....

In the third level of the formal equivalence, there comes "free" translation in English following its own grammatical rules colored with expressions and meanings conveyed through the local language.

Jiy dangø mobëëdø nidhaanhø Ciel dhaanhø ki cïë.
People were lived human being one person with wife
There were wife and husband living together.

Dhaanhø mayya ena nguu. Dhaanhø mayya ena dhaanhø.
Person another he lion. Person another he person
One of them was a lion. Another was a human being.

Gena nywøl kiji mo cïpjwøk...
They born children who twins
They had got twin children....

As we may observe, "free" translation has its own weakness. This short-coming is of "literal obscurity". Therefore, in order to avoid 'literal obscurity' I have employed **Dynamic Equivalence** as proposed by Fine(1984: 150).

'In contrast, the dynamic-equivalence translation 'does not insist' that the receptor 'understand the cultural patterns of the source- language context in order to comprehend the message.' Aiming at 'complete naturalness of expression,' it tries 'to relate the receptor to modes of behavior relevant within the context of his own culture...'

Hence, to produce equivalent effects, to avoid weaknesses, the translation process has also taken up dynamic equivalence as in:

Jiy dangø mobëädø nidhaanhø Ciel dhaanhø ki cïë.
People were lived human being one person with wife
There were married couples living together.

Dhaanhø mayya ena nguu. Dhaanhø mayya ena dhaanhø.
Person another he lion. Person another he person
The husband was a lion whereas the wife was a human being.

Gena nywøl kijiy mo cïpjwøk....
They born children who twins
After sometime, they procreated twins....

In sum, out of 118 native narratives collected in the field, 75 of which are recorded in their language, 21 in Amharic and the rest in English. Thus, all narratives collected in the local language have been translated with the methods provided above. Thereupon, each narrative could be classified based on the indigenous principles of generic categorization of oral prose narratives, as we shall see in the coming chapters.

2. The Worlds of Anyuaa Oral Prose Narratives

This chapter focuses on describing the settlements and livelihood, history and worldviews, belief systems and traditional institutions... in which the inside worlds of Anyuaa oral prose narratives and logical principles underlying the indigenous systems of classification are deeply ingrained. An item of oral literature is a metaphor of a society in which it exists. It is a part of the whole socio - cultural amalgam. Thus, in real sense one will not fully understand a genre in detail only in its artistic values, but also in understanding its outside world that paradigmatically resembles the elements contained in it (Kirks, 1970: 24). The prominent folklorist Ben-Amos (1982:134) indicates the importance of decoding essential cultural concepts reflected in genres in order to understand folklore communication in the ways the native people themselves do.

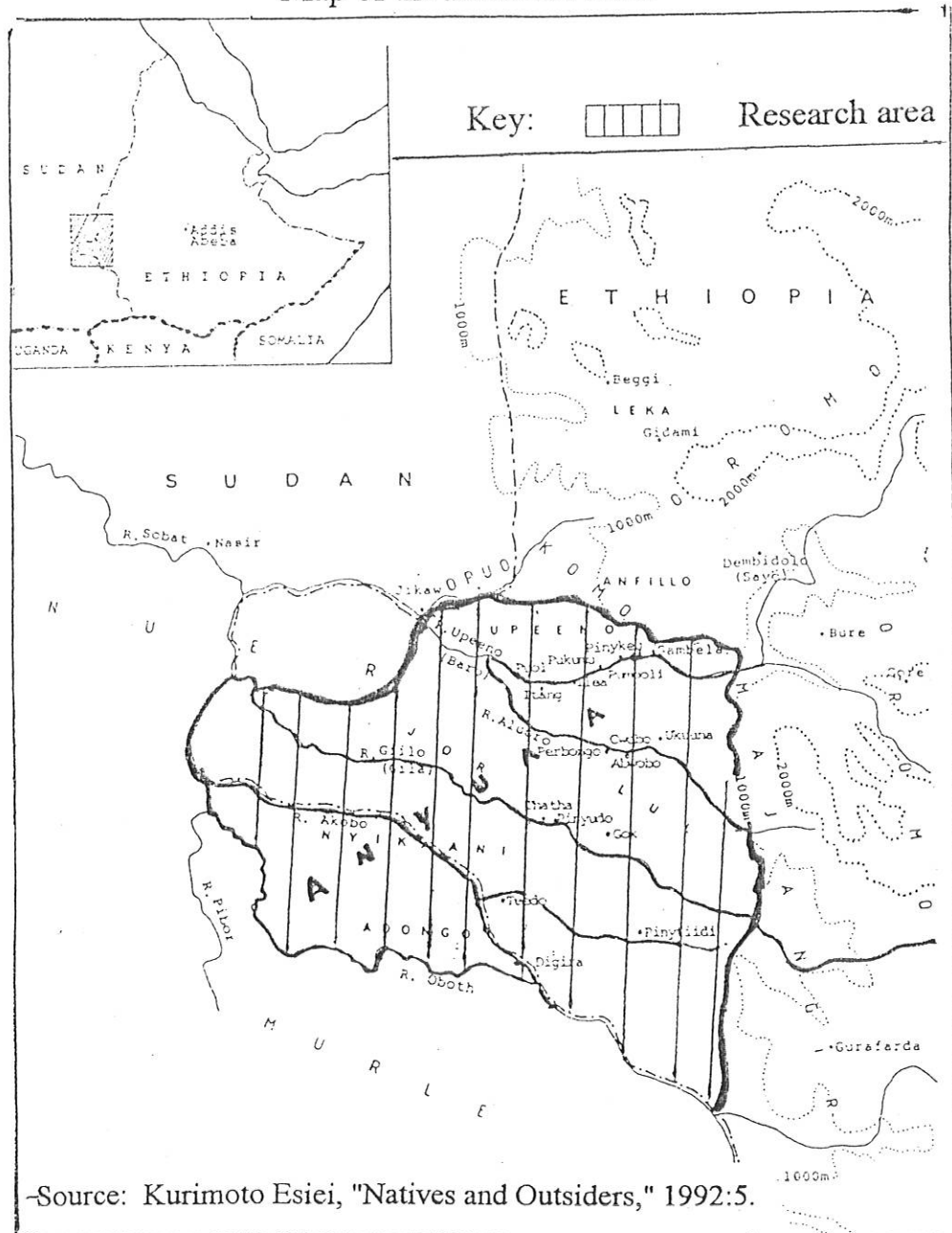
The differences in names of genres, in classes of verbal behaviour, and in their symbolic meaning reflect essential cultural concepts. Deciphering their significances may provide us with the key for understanding folklore communication the way its speakers do.

As narrative "truths" are metaphorical consciousness of a society, worlds inside them are archetypal representations of human needs, relationships, characteristics, systems of values and historical events of the past (Livo and Rietz, 1986: 15 - 17). Hence, without an attempt to give a considerable descriptive accounts of the socio - cultural contexts of the Anyuaa society, understanding the reasons behind the indigenous principles of ethnic generic categorization, depicting the very existence and distinctive characteristics of genres and the patterns of performance occasions in the culture would remain open to questions. Therefore, this chapter deals with the world in which narratives are produced and exist in their own right as parts of the whole system.

2.1 Settlements and Livelihood

The Anyuaa inhabit the hot Savannah fertile plain, though rampant with malaria, along the Openo (Baro), Alwero, Gilo and Akobo Rivers, occupying an area of about 115 sq.kms.

Map of the Research Area



The Anyuaa land is located East of the Pibor River, North of Ajibur (Agwey) River and west of the 30°E longitude, neighboring the Nuer to the East, the Shilluk to the North, the Murle to the North West, the Oromo and the Koma to the South and South West. The Anyuaa land lies at an altitude ranging from 400m to 500m with considerable ecological variations: dense forest, flat savannah, wood and grass land, and riverine land or seasonal swamps subject to flooding during the rainy seasons. This classification of the ecological variations seems to correspond with the multiple subsistence economy of the society (Kurimoto, 1996).

The Anyuaa of Ethiopia are believed to have occupied a wider geographical area in earlier centuries, but they have been pushed continuously by the successive raid of the Nuer and Murle. A small group of the Anyuaa, the Pari or the Jo - Ponyuaa, still remain trapped in Malakal near Torit, West of the Naser in Southern Sudan, (Bahiru, 1976: 12; Petner, 1990: 1 - 2).

There is some difficulty in getting the exact size of the population of the Ethiopian Anyuaa due to the unreliability of data. For instance, fifty years ago, Evans Pritchard (1941) assumed the number about 41,000. Lusted (1976) estimates it at 75,000 depending upon the government census of the region carried out in the late 1960s whereas a report of the government census conducted in 1994 puts the figure at 41,556. As these figures read considerably different, Kurimoto (1996), on his part, estimates the number of all the Anyuaa to be 100,000 ---.

The Anyuaa have settled and built their villages on the right and left banks of the four major rivers: Openo (Baro), Gilo, Alworo and Akobo. The villages are surrounded with big trees. Homesteads are separated with thick fences of tall grasses connected with narrow foot paths. The compounds are closely perched and wedged together leaving a clear circular space at the midst of the small thatched huts. Cultivations are done bordering the villages clustering along the edges of river banks. Agriculture is the chief form of livelihood, supplemented with fishing,

hunting, and gathering of edible plants. As regards domestic animals, the Anyuaa do not seem to have many, but a few tsetse fly resistant cattle known as "Bula Caule", sheep and goats. However, the Anyuaa make fun of the "reason" why they are not cattle raising people like their neighbors. They say, humorously, "In the beginning of the world **Jwøk** (God) gave cows to the Shilluks, the Nuer, the Anyuaa and the Dinkas. Then we killed our cow, shared the meat and ate it while others nurtured and bred their own cows carefully. That is why we remain poor in cattle."¹ Virtually, this seems to be told as a fun. But it expresses the meaning of the term "Anyuaaness" which is derived from the root word "Nyuaa" denoting sharing" anything one has with the members of his group (Petner 1990: 24; Lusted, 1976: 495; key Informants²).

Kurimoto (1996) has given us a splendid description to the economical life of the Anyuaa that coincides with my observations. He says, the Anyuaa's staple food are maize (**abbai**) and sorghum (**beel**) which are of different varieties. Maize is classified as "**abbai - amara**", "**abbai - gaala**" and "**abbai - america**". Varieties of sorghum are also identified in relation to their assumed origins. Pumpkin (**ukonno**), sesame (**Nyimmo**) and tobacco (**thaaba**) are cultivated for regular consumptions. "Agricultural work in the fields is considered to be men's domain." Scaring away birds from farms is of children's job. The tasks of gathering edible plants, and to some extent, fishing in using baskets are those of women. The Anyuaa's important agricultural tools are hoe (**kweri** or **cala**) and machete. The hoe is used for scratching the surface of the field. A digging stick (**apiidi**) is also employed for sowing crops. The land is thus tilled with such hand tools. Pestle (**lek**) and mortar (**pany**) are used to pound maize and sorghum. As expected, women winnow the pounded flour with "**luur - Anyuaa**" (a boat - shaped basket) and "**luur - gaala**" or "**luur - amara**" (an iron sieve). The meal is a kind of thick porridge (**kwon**) made with maize flour, sorghum and fish. A lump of porridge is then soaked in soup (**kado**). The Anyuaa do not eat with their hands, instead they use a large shell (**apaal**) as a spoon (Kurimoto, 1996).

Whenever there is a scarcity of salt, the Anyuaa prepare traditional seasoning made of plants such as "tui - tui", "alwaata", "lye," etc. As I have observed during my fieldwork trips that seasonings are still in use. Both fishing and hunting are practised during the seasons when the water level decreases and the fish return to the main streams from the tributaries. The fishing devices commonly used among the Anyuaa include: spears (**didhi**), baskets (**rwok**), harpoons (**Aroc**, **ubeec**), and hooks. There are, techniques used on individual or collective basis. They include wier (**keek**) with which big logs of wood are put across rivers; a type of fence(**diemma**) used to impel fish into it and then catch it with net or spear. Fish are usually dried and preserved. Surprisingly such dried fish are used as some kind of currency among the Anyuaa. With such dried fish called "**peeto**" an Anyuaa can barter: grains, tobacco and traditional drinks: mead (**ogoli**), beer (**koongo**), **acoopa**, **abutheera**, **waacaththa** and **atharboop** which are sipped with pipe like grass stalks (Kurimoto, 1996).

In addition to fishing, the Anyuaa were and still are satisfying their craving for meat by hunting with spears, gravity traps and rifles. Othow Adier, a ninety seven year - old ex-hunter told me that **bush - buck, white ear - cob, gazelle, pig, antelope, etc.** are found everywhere in Anyuaa land. "Buffalos, giraffes and elephants were plenty in the past. Of course, they are still found but indecreasing number. In Anyuaa", says Othow, "when a hunter kills an animal like a buffalo, giraffe or an elephant, the meat is shared and dispensed to all the villagers but its skin and tusks are reserved to the **kwaaro** (chief) or **Nyieya**." With a sense of nostalgia, continues Othow, "In those old days everyone was allowed to hunt, but today, there are stiff regulations".³

In brief, the Anyuaa livelihood is derived from the dual subsistence economy: agriculture supplemented with fishing and hunting. Land is tilled with hand tools that are very simple and traditional. Ways of living and benefits they get

from bees, game animals from farming and harvesting, from rivers and fishing, etc. are to a large extent reflected in their oral prose narratives.

2.2 Historical Background

As noted by writers, the Anyuua of Ethiopia are linguistically, culturally and socially akin to the Acoli of Uganda, near Lake Victoria, and to the Luo of Western Kenya. dha Anyuua (the Anyuua Language) is part of the Shilluk cluster, but it is more closely related to the Acoli and Luo of the Nilotic people of East Africa than to its immediate neighbours: the Nuer, the Dinka and the Koma (Evans - Pritchard, 1941: 5; Lusted, 1976; Reh, 1996:3).

As indicated before, the Acoli of Uganda is assumed to be the Anyuua's home origin. However, their history has not yet been written. Evans - Pritchard (1941) and Caam Adhom (1996) attempted to trace back the common origin of the Anyuua clusters using oral sources. As to Evans - Pritchard, the ancestor of the Ethiopian Anyuua is said to be Nyigiilo, while the Shilluk are believed to have been descended from Kwar Nyikango, the elder brother of the Nylgiilo. He refers to two reasons based on oral sources for their separation. The first is noted as "a quarell over a woman" while the second is referred to as "skins of sheep." In this later case, Nyikango ordered Nyigiilo to skin two black sheep. But the way he put the order offended Nyigiilo. As he was getting angry, Nyigiilo damaged one of the skins. Then, they quarrelled over who should take the clean skin. As a result, Nyigiilo migrated to Ethiopia according to Evans-pritchard (1941:9).

Caam Adhom, on his part, writes the following about the first ancestors of Ethiopian Anyuua. He says that the first ancestors of the Ethiopian Anyuua were led by Gilo, the younger brother of Nyikango. According to him, the two brothers fought against each other for unspecified reason. We are simply told about Gilo's

defeat. After Gilo was defeated, he led a group to Abujoub, near Malakal in Southern Sudan. After some time, Nyikango and Daak followed Gilo and attacked him severely for a second time. Finally, Gilo was impelled to migrate east ward to Ethiopia following the source of River Sobat. "As I have been told by many elders of Anyuaa", says Caam, "the original place where they settled was Wii-Adooro. Which is now known as "Adoongo village." The name "Adoongo" derives from "Adoong " meaning "I remain there" (Caam, 1996:2). As the cause for the quarell between the three brothers is not indicated, the time of the arrival of Gilo and his group at Wii – Adooro in Ethiopia is also unknown according to Caam.

In "an old talk of the ancestors", termed in dha Anyuaa as "Leero", we find some historical accounts about the quarell and migrations of the three brothers mentioned by Evans - Pritchard and Caam Adhom. According to the "Leero", the causes for the quarell and the long civil war among the ancestors of the Anyuaa are important cultural objects such as "Wang-Leic", which literally means "an eye of an elephant" and metaphoricaly representing a single "Dimui", a type beads, and "Thong" (a spear). A small boy lost the "Thong" and a girl swallowed the Wangleic.

As the "Leero" goes on, Omot, Gilo's son, took Nyikango's spear, and went hunting animals like elephants. Nevertheless, as soon as he speared an elephant, it ran away with the spear stuck in it. Though Omot tried to look for the spear, he couldn't find it. At last, he turned back to his village and reported the sad news to his uncle, Nyikango. When Nyikango heard the loss of his thong, he compelled Omot to go back and bring it at any cost. Omot earnestly begged his uncle to take another similar spear in place of the lost thong. But that was in vain. Omot's only option was to get the lost thong back to Nyikango even if it meant losing his life. Consequently, he exposed himself to immeasurable dangers and sufferings. So much so that, he ate earth (soil) and he put himself in a situation of life and death. Eventually, he managed to trace the lost spear and gave it back to his uncle,

Nyikango. As Nyikango's remonstrance with Omot created abomination among the brothers, his little daughter, Awiili, gulped down Omot's wang – leic unconsciously. In relation for what Nyikango did to him, Omot on his part challenged his uncle to give him his own wang - leic to compensate for the swallowed one. Omot refused and finally opened Awiili's belly up and took out the wang – leic. As a result a war broke out among Gilo, Nyikango and Daak and brought them over from their home origin to the different directions of East Africa. "Gilo came here in Ethiopia. Missing his direction, Daak went to Western Kenya. Nyikango remained in the Sudan near Naser. Others lived there in their original place - Uganda..." said the performer of the "Leero".⁴

Many Anyuaa elders agree on Gilo and his followers to be their primordial ancestors who first settled at Wii - Adooro, near River Pibor. Then, through time, the population grew more and more till it became very difficult to administer under one or more clan leaders (Kwai Lwak). Therefore, many groups were formed. They gradually moved and occupied areas for better cultivations following rivers and their own Kwai - Lwak that eventually developed into Kwaari (chiefdoms) and Nyieyi (kingships) with sets of traditional rules in the form they are seen today (Caam, 1996: 2 - 4).

2.3 Anyuaa Worldviews

Since an indigenous system of generic classification is interwoven with the world views of a given culture, this sub-chapter focuses on describing the Anyuaa traditional religion, belief system, outlook and conception towards the creation of the world and life in it, origin of man and social orders, etc...

2.3.1 Traditional Religion: In Anyuaa society, the creator of the universe and life on it is referred to as Jwϕk (God). Jwϕk abides by the sphere of the

sky with mediators living on earthly and human world. **Jwφk**, the uncreated creator, is believed to have two diametrically opposing forces termed as "**Jwφk - Nyingaala - Bwoo**" and "**Jwφk - Dugu - Nyingaala - Bwoo**". "**Jwφk - Nyingaala - Bwoo**" is conceived of as a deity with the power of creation and sustaining the orders of the universe with eternal life. He is the central cause, the fountain and the sustenance of all living things and objects he created on earth as well as in the celestial body "**Jwφk - Nyingaala - Bwoo**", the supreme creator, is also believed to be the **Jwφk** of light, the life giver, the beneficent and the dispenser of all good, the provident, the merciful ...part of **Jwφk**. He doesn't destroy and distrust what he has once created according to the Anyuaa convictions.⁵

Destroying all things and killing living beings created by "**Jwok - Nyingaala - Bwoo**" is the work of "**Jwok - Dugu - Nyingaala - Bwoo**", the "devil" or the "evil" aspect of **Jwφk**. He is thought of as **Jwφk** of darkness. In Anyuaa conception, "**Jwφk - Dugu - Nyingaala - Bwoo**" is the fomenter of conflict, contention, fighting, disaster, calamity and catastrophe. He is the source of misery, agony, grief, sorrow and anguish, sickness and death. He is also believed to be the cause of starvation, thunder bolt, inundation, volcano, earthquake and bloodshed. "While thunderbolt is the howling din and babel of his devilish nature, whirlwind is his breath" according to the Anyuaa views. The Anyuaa believe that all these opposing forces of **Jwφk**, in the sky, have mediators charged either with the constructive or the destructive power in the earthly world. In line with the charges they possess, agents act the role of "**Jwok - Nyingaala - Bwoo**" of the sky are often regarded as friends of men, sympathetic and benevolent. In contrast, malevolent agents playing the role of destruction on earth are generally termed as "**Ci - Jwok**" meaning "wives of **Jwok - Dugu - Nyingaala - Bwoo**". (Petner, 1990.: 7-11). The equivalent meaning for "**Ci - Jwφk**" is "Evil eye" in English "**Buda**" in Amharic. According to the Anyuaa belief, **Ci- Jwφk** always seeks to devour and demolish human beings.

Jwφk of the sky in duality is also imagined as an anomalous and imperfect highest being. He is believed not to be involved in sexual affairs for he is assumed not to possess a sexual organ. At the same time, this creator of the universe is conceived as having anthropomorphic qualities. He hopes, desires, fancies, gets disappointed, loses temper and so on.

Jwφk as irrational and rational, as destructor and creator, as wicked and prudent, as injudicious and sensible,... is represented in the **Leero** about the “**Creation of Twins of Human Beings**”, male and female, that combines Anyuaa perception towards the world and its creator. In the **Leero**, **Jwφk** is conceived of as an imperfect and injudicious but imaginative and creator (chap. 4, sec.4.2, No.1).

First, he created the celestial and the terrestrial bodies, and all living things. Then, he fancied to create the most beautiful creatures of all he had created before. But contrary to his imagination, he created the most ugliest twins of whom he thought unapt to the general order of nature which let him bristle with disappointment. Then, **Jwφk** decided to eliminate the twins by hurling them into the abyss of water. Nevertheless, the saviour, **Dog**, stole out and brought them up in a secret place in the earthly world. The **Leero**, as an embodiment of Anyuaa world view, also depicts the most disastrous attempt of **Jwφk**. The moment **Jwφk** was aware of the theft done by the **Dog**, he fumed with anger. Then, he again decided to bring the "doomsday" by flinging away the "**Kid - gur**" from heaven into water. "**Kid - gur**"(a spherical-precious - blue - black stone) is the sustenance of life in the world. It must always be in the hands of the supreme creator or exist out of water in order to keep up the vitality of life. Enervated with the dog's theft of the innocent beings, **Jwφk**, however, threw "**Kid - gur**", the centre of the world, into water. But the **Dog** again managed to save the world by catching the "**Kid - gur**" up with its paws while moving in the air and then put it on earth far from the shore.

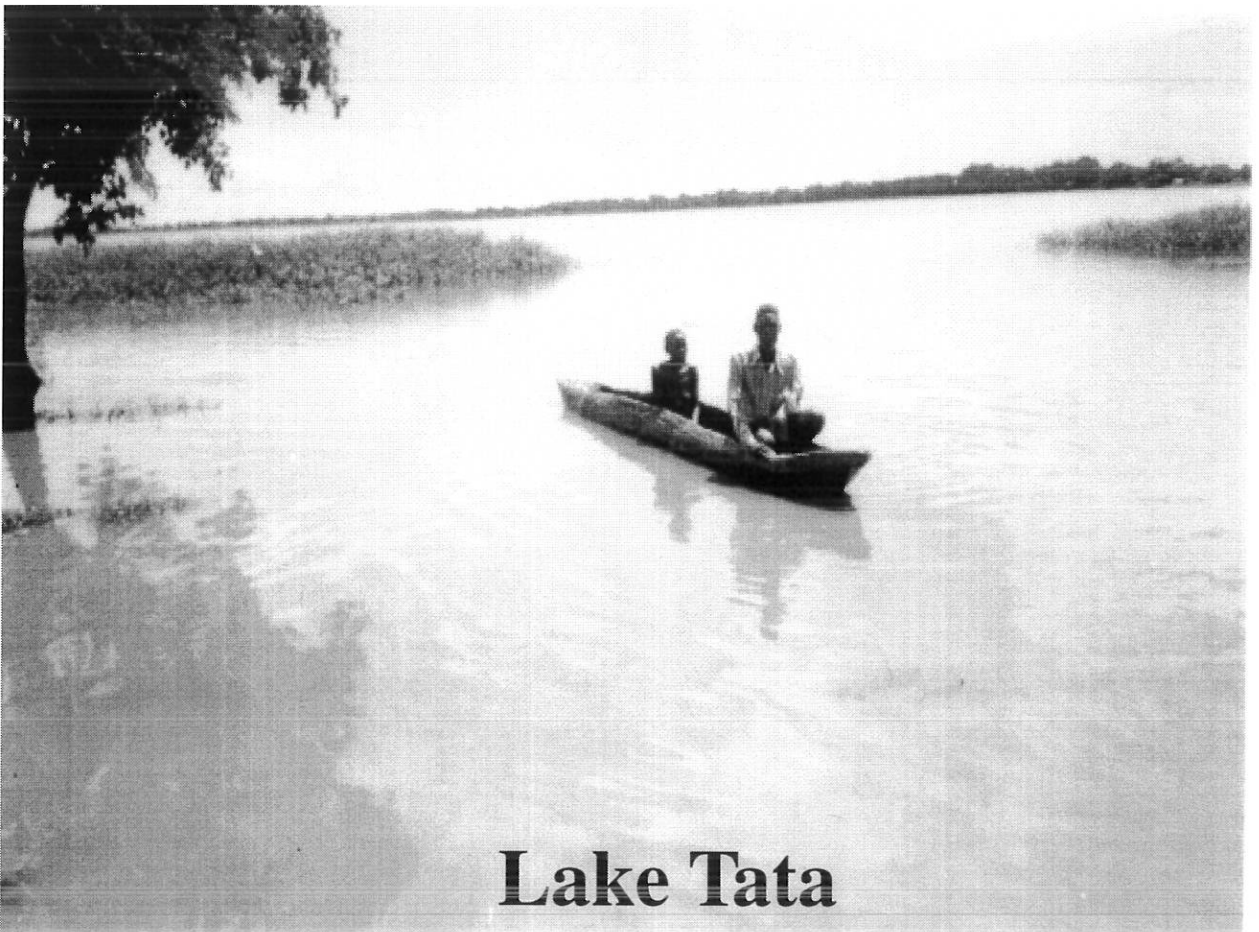
In Anyuaa belief, **Jwφk** of the sky also resides in the sphere of the earth working through his agents either usefully or harmfully. Agents are identified with the name of the supreme creator, " **Jwφk** ". In a focus group discussion at **Thaatha**, Western Pyinudho, participants enumerated about thirty-five patronizing **Jwφks** abiding in lakes, rivers, springs, animals, trees, hills, big black-rocks, **bull** (drums), and so on. For example, the **Jwφk** or the spirit acting as the mediator of **Jwφk** of the sky possessing a big round shaped black rock in the South eastern Anyuaaland is called "**Abula**". "**Olieng**" is referred to as a spring spirit, **Ocuudho** (River God), and "**Thwol**" (a snake spirit). "**Thaatha**" is the other spirit working in **Lake Thaatha**.

Thus, patronizing spirits have responsible wardens termed as "**Abouri**" for men and "**Moue**" for women. The **Abouri** (sing . **Abour**) and **Moue** are believed to be possessed by spirits and regarded as playing roles of mediating between the believers round the sites and the spirits. Believers are also called "**sons**" and "**daughters**" of the spirits. Through dreams, spirits reveal themselves to their believers when they are also thought of speaking through their "**Abouri**" or "**moue**". Female spirits have female guardians (**moue**) while spirits regarded as male own male wardens (**Abouri**). The "**Abouri**" or "**Moue**" are given particular hereditary positions at sites abided by spirits. The "**Abour**" or "**Moue**" of each site are called "**Abour - Abula**", "**Abour - Ucuudho**", "**Abour - Thwol**", "**Abour - Olieng**", or "**Moue Thaatha**", etc. Each of these spirits on earth possessing either aspects of **Jwφk** in the sky has got its own story of creation or origin. This may become clear with some examples.

Abula's origin is reconstructed in association with a cruel experience of the physical and spiritual sufferings of the Anyuaa from famine and plague that occurred in Gok Woreda at Abba village according to my informants.⁶ A tortoise is referred to as the cause of the famine. As the story tells us, there was a tortoise living in the



Muoe Thaatha



Lake Tata

cave at Abula hill. One day people of Abba village ate that tortoise as they usually did. But, on the day they ate that tortoise, a spirit revealed itself through a dream and told about its decision to punish them severely with famine and plague for what had been done to the tortoise which the spirit claimed as its own possession. Consequently, the famine occurred, and people perished. Since then **Abula** has installed itself on a protruding black rocky hill and is believed to be an agent of **Jwφk**.

The other example is that "miraculous" event believed to have created the existence of **Thaatha** spirit in **Lake Thaatha**. "**Moue - Thaatha**", whose personal name is Akot Ujulu⁷, reconstructs the creation of the belief and the story of consecration as follows:

" My great grand mother, Amot, was suffering from cancer on one of her legs. She wondered restlessly from place to place in search of a cure. No witch - doctor, no spirit, no spring and no medicine could cure her contusion. She became desperate. Her lot was death. But incidentally, she arrived here at **Thaatha** and unknowingly she rubbed her inflicted leg with a soft mud of the lake. Soon after she rubbed her leg with the mud, she became relieved of the disease. On that miraculous day, the spirit revealed herself to my great grand mother through a dream and told her, 'from now on, you and your descendants shall be my **Moue**'. So my great grand mother became the first **Moue - Thaatha**.... Now I am the fifth inheritor."

Being surprised of what she has told me, I asked her if the people around **Lake Thaatha** believe in the spirit the way she has told me. Then, **Moue Thaatha** glanced at me. She chuckled and then said "Yes!!"forcefully.

In this regard, we may conclude that the Anyuaa believe in **animism** and in **polythiesm** that explain the acceptance of animate and inanimate objects in which

independent spirits are supposed to possess abilities of making living and non - living things their abodes.

2.3.2. Worshipping Ancestral Spirits

In Anyuaa society, worshipping ancestral souls seems to be a prevalent phenomenon combined with the belief in various **Jwɔks** living on earth. In this regard, ancestral souls intervene invisibly in the affairs of their offsprings. The “living” dead are believed to continue as members of a clan demanding reverence and sacrifice to protect the living from all inhuman acts of the "Ci - Jwɔk".

The living dead are feared, shunned, respected and solicited for help. The Anyuaa believe that ancestral spirits are responsible for the fertility of the soil, dispensing of the rain, reaping of plentiful harvest, maintaining peaceful life etc.. Their souls are thought to be communicating with the clan members through dreams. Therefore, if one has dreams about the ancestors' needs, the village offers sacrifices at their funeral place or on river banks, etc..

For the Anyuaa, the dead ancestors are believed to transform themselves into different animals such as buffalos, giraffes, lions, tigers, etc... Some clans think of their ancestors' souls dwelling on their funeral places, forests or in and under water. Those who believe in the transformation of their ancestors' souls into forms of animals respect such animals with adoration. For that reason, members of those clans never hunt, kill or eat the meat of an animal which they have regard it as having blood ties with them which is the basis for the belief in **totemism** in the society.

For the Anyuaa, eating a totemic animal results in **Acieni**. It is strictly forbidden lest the wrong doers and their offsprings are believed to become deformed, epileptic, insane, thieves, and so on.

In sum, the Anyuaa worship ancestral spirits. They fear, dread, and give them sacrifices as well. **Jwφk** standing at the centre, clan cult and totemism are widely practised. For example, descendants of **Gilo** worship the soul of Gilo. Offsprings of **Occuudho** believe in his spirit and those of **Openo** adore his soul, etc... But if they neglect respecting and fulfilling their ancestors' needs **acieni** (curse) may fall upon them.

2.3.3 Afflictions of **Acieni** and **Ci - Jwφk**

Death is conceived of as an effect of either **Acieni** or of **Ci - Jwφk** (wife of **Jwok**) rather than as a phenomenon of natural causes. "The only natural death to Anyuaa", says Petner, "is the death in fighting for it can be explained in human terms" (Petner, 1990: 20). With this exception, death is thought of as a result of afflictions caused by "**Acieni**" or "**Ci - Jwφk**". The causes of **Acieni** are regarded as negligence of ancestral spirits, killing and eating the meat of animal that are regarded as transformed living deads, disrespect to the wishes of varieties of agents of **Jwφk** on earth, and violence against "**Kwor**" (principles of justice) which we shall see sections ahead.

Anyuaa also believe that "**Jwφk - Dugu - Nyingaala - Bwoo**" marries human beings, who cause sickness, physical suffering and death. In relation to this, Petner also says, "the alternative name for **Jwφk** is the word 'sickness' " (Petner, 1990:20).

An insult with the phrase "**Ci - Jwφk**" is a provocative act that results in quarell, or killings even between brothers. The word upsets and puts fire in a

person's inmost recesses of heart as if it greatly threatens the very essence of one's existence (Petner, 1990: 24). A number of **Leere** (narratives) reaffirm this explosive effects of insulting a person in associating with the word "**Ci - Jwɔk**". A **Leero** (see Chap.4, 4.2, No.4) tells us about two brothers called Ujulu and Omot. Ujulu insults his elder brother "**Ci - Jwɔk!**". Then, Omot accuses his brother of menacing his life to the **Kwaaro** who consequently beat on a "**bull**" to convene the villagers and the **Jo - dongho** to discuss the matter and propose a solution for the quarell. As the **Leero** goes on, the **Jo - dongho** (elders council) proposed compenstaion for Omot. But we find him unsatisfied with it. As a result, he killes his younger brother.

The Anyuaa give names of local spirits to their children whenever they claim having dreams during pregnancy. But, when they do it, they must not cut or shave the hair of their children before they offer the necessary sacrifices to the spirits with whom they associated. "Unless people respect and strictly follow this norm, children given the names of the spirits are believed to be inflicted by **Ci - Jwɔk**".⁸

Ci - Jwɔk in Anyuaa society in general seems to mean a question of purity and impurity, life and death. Old women at Ginina told me that the discriminating criterion between purity and impurity is examining a person whether he/she is non - human, "**pa dhangho**" or human (**dhangho**). According to informants, there are people who look like human beings inside whom **Ci - Jwɔk** works. "These are non - human, impure. They get satisfaction by torturing and killing pure ones."⁹ Therefore, the culture has established a mechanism to discriminate between the "**Ci - Jwɔk**" and the pure ones by means of examining a baby's sexual organ as soon as it is born. If it is found "afflicted" by the devouring nature of **Jwɔk**, it is put in a calabash (gourd) and flung into water.

The Anyuaa erect poles made from dry trees at the entrance of their homesteads to protect themselves from "**Ci - Jwɔk**" and "**Acieni**". They use the poles as scarecrows to chase away evil spirits. Those dry poles symbolize

"**Cuudho**", a dry log on which "**Occuudho**" "the River god" (see 2.3.4 and 4.4.2, No. 2), is said to be sitting when he first revealed himself to the people. The Anyuua also erect a sort of forked horn like wooden poles with sharpened upper ends, termed as "**Dikwieri**", on both sides of a "**Wii - maac**" (fire - place around which members of a homestead gather every night) for the purpose of protecting themselves from the malevolent aspect of **Jwɔk**. As we shall see later, "**Dikweire**" symbolizes the spear - rest of "**Occuudho**" who is regarded as a friend of man.

The other object used as a scarecrow to chase away evil spirits is a kind of thorn termed as **Koodho** (Pl . **Koodhi**). "**Koodhi**" are hung upon a peg in order to warn a pregnant woman not to enter a hut in which a nursing baby and its mother are found. According to informants, this fear is very much associated with the "impurity" of the foetus for it is impossible to know whether it is possessed or unpossessed by **Ci - Jwɔk** in its mother's womb. If **Ci - Jwɔk** works inside it, the foetus is believed to have a power of killing the newly born baby. And if a newly born child dies of sickness after a visit of a pregnant woman and her husband, ignoring the warning symbolized by the "**Koodhi**", they will be accused of murdering the child with **Ci - Jwɔk** working inside them.¹⁰

2.3.4 Views on Justice

An essential conception of the creation of justice as the tenet of Anyuua worldview, social order, traditional administrative institutions that works in the society from the time immemorial is of **Occuudho**'s instruction. In relation to this, Petner(1990: 9) writes, "the entire Anyuua worldlife is rooted in this belief in justice as the principle of creation, in its material aspects." Justice as a tenet of Anyuua social life is institutionalized through a "charter" **Leero** told about **Occuudho** (See 4.1, No.2). **Occuudho** is imagined as a demigod and is regarded as an idol of the Anyuua.

When Philip Nyaye, **Kwaaro** mar Ukuna (Chief of Ukuna) narrates about **Occuudho**, he says that the Anyuaa ancestors were living in a state of chaotic social situations before he came out of a river. Rivalry among members of the society was very strong. Glory was won by snatching the other men's wives, daughters, cattle and even lives. Blood feuds and revenge were non - stoppable phenomena among individuals, groups and clans. The injured took revenge against his rival. Consequences were murder and mutilation. A man who won enjoyed and was applauded by his followers. The defeated migrated to places they didn't know. Feuds and disputes were not settled in reference to the wrongs and the rights of them. Men before **Occuudho** took justice into their own hands. Nevertheless, that chaotic situations came to an end after the teachings of **Occuudho**.¹¹

Occuudho is believed to be the founder of **Nyieya** (kingship) in Anyuaa society. Evans Pritchard (1941: 76) describes that "The essential act of investiture of the king is the placing of the **Ucuok** necklace round his neck. Its peculiar virtue is derived from its association with... **Occuudho**, the founder of the line of nobles. All Anuak even those living far from the area occupied by nobles, know the myth of his origin".

As represented in the **Leero**, **Occuudho** came out of the river wearing **Ucuok** beads round his neck, carrying in his hands the **Ucala** spear, **Dikweiri** (spear - rest), **Udeege** strings made of **Dimui** beads and **Harpoons**. These cultural elements are functioning today as (1) insignia of power, (2) as symbols of identity and, (3) as protections from evil spirits since the time **Occuudho** is said to have been "turned back to water".

According to the Anyuaa views, basic principles of social order have been contrived and prescribed by the divine hero, **Occuudho**. These are (1) **Rony** (coronation ceremony), (2) "**Cere a Cibe**" (surrendering oneself to a **Nyieya** or **Kwaaro**), (3) codes of behaviour to be followed, (4) ways of settling disputes

among members of the society, (5) **Kwor** (principles of justice), (6) extraditing criminals for trial, and (7) prohibiting adultery, etc.. These basic rules play immense roles in the day today life of the society.

"**Kwor**" seems to be the centripetal principle among the other rules prescribed by **Occuudho**. It demands every Anyuaa to obey moral codes respected by the society. For instance, if one commits murder, mutilation, adultery or any other felony, he must surrender himself to a **Nyieya** or **Kwaaro** and report about the happening soon after the incident has taken place. The more the wrong - doer delays the more he becomes unprotected by the law from his enemy. Thus, if his enemy avenges him before he surrenders, he dies a dog's death.¹²

A criminal who confessed to a **Nyieya** or a **Kwaaro** gets the protection of the law. Revenge against a confessed criminal is a strictly forbidden act, for it is regarded as resulting in "**acieni**". The traditional legal code "**Cere a Cibe**" provides him the right to join his family after the date of negotiation is set at rest in the presence of the **Jodongho** (elders council). Subsequently, the **Jodongho** investigate the case and report their findings to the **Nyieya** or **Kwaaro**. Based on the **Jodongho's** propositions the **Nyieya** or **Kwaaro** speaks of the verdict.

"In Anyuaa society, there is no punishment or imprisonment. Punishment is to give **Kwor** in material terms for committed mistake." (Petner, 1990:24). The degree of the **Kwor** may vary in accordance with the seriousness of the felony and the status the felon has in the society. This means if the felon is rich he pays the **Kwor** in terms of **dimui** or **thong**; if he is poor, he is obliged to give his daughter. But if he hasn't begotten a daughter, he pays his son. And if he has not procreated a daughter or a son he gives himself as a manservant to the victim's family, especially to his maternal uncle.¹³

2.4. Traditional Administrative Institutions

The **Nyieyi** and **Kwaari** get their positions by coronation ceremonies, "**Rony**". A **Nyieya** or **Kwaaro** passes his will to be replaced by one of his sons or family members. After three months the friend of the late **Nyieya** or **Kwaaro** summons the community to a general meeting and publicizes the will of the late **Nyieya** or **Kwaaro** which he kept a secret till that day comes. The gathering may approve the will and install the nominee or reverse it. The gathering discusses on how far the will desired by the late **Nyieya** or **Kwaaro** fits to sets of criteria (personal qualities) for conferring the nominee with Kingship or chieftainance. If the will is approved, the gathering invests the candidate with the position by putting "**Ucouk**" beads round his neck and by giving him the other emblems of power: the **Ucala Spear**, the **Bull**, the **Dckweiri** and the **Wuloo** (stools used as thrones) and by blessing him to be a man of his forefathers.

In contrast, will reversal may occur when the community finds the personal qualities of the nominee unfit for the **Wuloo** (throne). "A nominee considered as adulterous, greedy, coward, infamous, poor in expressing himself in front of people, etc. is not elected. So, the gathering replaces such a nominee by another person from the noble lineage who fits better that particular position."¹⁴

On the day of **Rony** the new **Nyieya** or **Kwaaro** is expected to announce the names of seven deputy chiefs with their posts and his "**Nääro**" (special uncle, a person to be buried with him), (see also chap. 4, 4.2). In a similar way to that of the **Nyieya**'s or of the **Kwaaro**'s coronation, the public may or may not approve the appointees. The seven deputies are elected among the **Jodongho** of the locality and the positions assumed by the newly elected deputies are named as:

- (1) Kwacwuwak (chief of defence),
- (2) the Nyikago (chief of foreign affairs),
- (3) Nyitwiel (chief of message and administration),
- (4) Nyibatboogo (chief of the residence),
- (5) Nyitheeno (chief of food-stuff),
- (6) Nyikeego (chief of cookery), and
- (7) Dhaayo (chief of justice and advisor).*

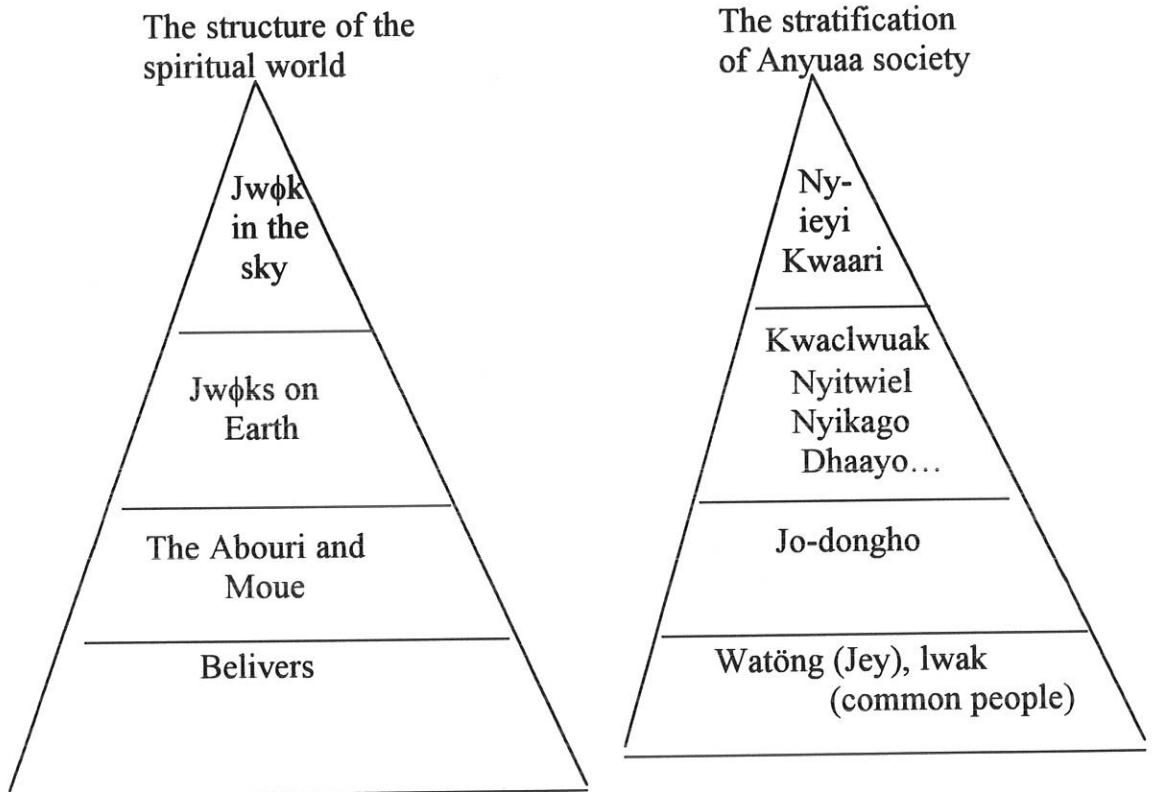
Deputy chiefs function in accordance with their posts and responsibilities under the Wuloo of the Nyieya or Kwaaro. Nevertheless, the Nyieya or Kwaaro with his deputy chiefs seems not to have roles as decisive as that of the Jodongho in the society. Surprised with this democratic political culture, Ellman (1985:45) says, "...the power of the chief as an individual is more apparent than real as in any democratic organization, his position depends on the support of the majority..., this seems to be true now as it was."

Similarly, Evans - Pritchard (1941:41) metaphorically expresses that "despite an apparently powerful head, among the Anuak it is the tail that wags the dog." Illustrating the metaphorical expression of Evans - Pritchard, Caam Adhom (1996:6) writes, "the tail of the dog" is the people who govern. The people have the power to choose another candidate from the royal lineage through Agem (rebellion against a Nyieya or Kwaaro).

According to the belief these forms of administrative institutions and principles underlying them have been introduced by the divine hero, Occuudho. Moreover, the social stratifications of the society resembles the structure of the

* I have got an opportunity to observe the ceremony of Rony at Ukuna village in Abobo woreda when Philip Nyaye was conferred with chieftainship. On electing deputy officials, the prime concern of the tradition is to make fair representation of the various clans.

spiritual world as perceived in Anyuaa minds. The parallelism between the conceptions the Anyuaa have of the structure of the spiritual world and the social layers may be illustrated in the following diagrams.



As we may observe, the highest social position in Anyuaa society is Kingship and chiefdom. The next is the status of the deputy chiefs whereas the third is that of the **Jo-dongha**. As the "aburi" play the role of mediation between spirits and believers the function of the **Jo-dongha** is also mediating between the common people (Jey) and the upper classes.

In Anyuaa outlook spirits of all sorts are thought of to be unsleeping, asexual and living without taking any food. Similarly, some spiritual characters are also attributed to the Nyieyi (like **Occuudho**). For example, whenever a Nyieya or **Kwaaro** dies, he is said to be "turning back to water" and "living after death" metamorphosing himself into any type of animal. Mourning is, therefore, taboo

when he dies. Instead, people eat, drink, beat on bulls, dance, sing, blow trumpets and boast in their ancestral praise-names. But when a watong (common man) dies, he is simply taken as "dead." His soul doesn't turn back to water "for eternal life". So people cry, mourn and show deep sorrow. A Nyieya is also regarded as living without taking food like Jwφk. Regarding this Penter(1990: 30) says,

Unless a person is so much greedy and unusual, an Anyuaa doesn't eat alone. Normally people simply do not eat alone except some greedy persons who do not want to share their food with other people; they are called evil and isolated themselves socially, for nobody will offer them in case of urgency.

But on the contrary, a Nyieya eats alone behind the curtain. As a rule, he ought not to be seen eating in the presence of people. He eats alone because he is "regarded as a spirit in human shape" (Evans - Pritchard, 1941:79).

A Nyieya should not have sex with any of his wives before mid-night, before people sleep, since children born as a result of such sexual contacts are not considered as pure persons. Therefore, if such a child is a boy born in such an unaccepted way he will be compelled to live with his mother's clan. And if the baby is a girl, she is prohibited from having sex throughout her life and lives confined to her father's homestead till she dies.¹⁵

According to the Anyuaa conventions, a Nyieya or a Kwaaro needs to be generous, judicious and courageous, etc... . He is to pay due respect to his people, especially to the Jo-dongho. Before the Jo-dongho go through and arrive at conclusions on disputes and forward propositions to him ,a Nyieya or a Kwaaro shall not speak a verdict rashly. If he does so, he himself ignites the flame of "Agem", a powerful popular movement which bubbles over as a consequence of an "ignoble" conduct of a leader.¹⁶

A Nyieya or a Kwaaro is expected to prepare "Agwaaga (dance festivals) in intervals of time and call his people to eat and drink. He has also to fight courageously in battle and equally share properties (booties) captured from enemies with his followers. Meanwhile, people must till farms, cut and gather in crops of their leaders. Hunters shall give skins of lions, tigers, giraffes and tusks of elephants to him. This is not done by enforcement but by conviction. On the contrary, if a Nyieya or a Kwaaro neglects preparing "Agwaaga", he will be considered greedy. This means the basis of common existence, "Anyuaaness", is no more in him. So he must prepare Agwaaga and invite his people at intervals of time (four to five times a year) in order not to upset his people and lose his power sooner or later through Agem (Caam,1996: 7-8). Such social norms of the society are frequently observed inside the Anyuaa oral pose narratives. For instance, a Leero (a narrative) about a hero of tradition, widely known as "Othiero", is found leading a powerful "Agem" and superseding a Nyieya called Gilo (see 4.4.2, No.5).

According to the tradition, the people give advice to the deviant acts of a Nyieya or Kwaaro through the Jo-dongho. The Jo-dongho convey the advice through the "dhaayo" repeatedly. If he doesn't improve his weakness the Jo-dongho with the people continue fomenting on the "Agem." When it is fully matured, ripe, the Nyieya or the Kwaaro is captured, flogged, cursed and the emblems of power are kept in the hands of the Kwacwuwak. Then, his properties and all his wives, but one, are confiscated and given to the superseding Nyieya or Kwaaro. He is forced to cease residing in his locality once and for all. His descendants will be deprived of the position, since it has been abused by their father. Moreover, they join the watong class from the moment their father is flogged and ousted from his position and his blood ties are cut off from the royal lineages.

"Agem" in general is not only a means of ousting a deviant leader and prohibiting his descendants from claiming for power but also functions as a cultural

instrument to control injustice, maintain social order and secure moral standards: mores and ethos of the society which are frequently told in Anyuua oral prose narratives as we shall see later.

2.5. Rites of Passage

Rites of Passage are perilous changes of status of members of a society. "The life of an individual in any society is a series of passages from one age to another and from one occupation to another." (Gennep, 1960: 2-3). "Series of passages" in Anyuua society are many. Some have already been mentioned above that are occasions for **Rony**, ousting a **Nyieya** or **Kwaaro** from power through **Agem**, **Jodongho** and **Kony**. Demarcations as to their purposes, occasioning principles and favourable grounds they give for performances of genres are also described in the coming chapter.

Now I shall mention briefly a few but important critical moments of transition from childhood to death in Anyuua society. Anyuua perilous passages of life begin with birth rites. Birth rite means more than an entry into a biological life. Infants enter into the natural world at birth, but its status and incorporation into a human family are assured after the confirmation of its "purity" from the afflictions of the devouring aspect of **Jwϕk**. Therefore, the newly born baby is examined by old women endorsed as knowledgeable in sorting out **Jwϕk** working inside a human body and then to declare whether the baby is "**pa dhangho**" or "**dhangho**". This rite is a critical passage to a child heading from the status of a foetus to that of a member of the society. If the child is accepted as **dhaangho** (as pure person) it will be incorporated and thereon socialized with an identification designated in accordance with older age range in a given family. If it is rejected, it will be made to "turn into water."¹⁷ Thus, if accepted, the first born baby boy is inevitably named "**Omot**". Similarly, if the first baby to a family is a girl her name is expected to be

"Amot". As a matter of convection, "Ujulu" becomes the identification of the second baby boy and "Ajulu" is of a second baby girl. "Obong" is a prescriptive identity to the third baby boy in an Anyuaa family whereas "Abong" is that of a third baby girl.

Here after, the culture permits parents to give whatever names they wish unless a spirit (Jwφk) dwelling on earth interferes or orders them to give its own name to their child through dreams during pregnancy. If so happens, the child is thought of as consecrated by that particular spirit. So it owes its name indebted for sacrifices. When parents get free from such binding obligations, their child may be identified with any concurring phenomenon at the moment of its birth. Thus, if a child is born while it is raining, its name becomes "Koth" (rain) or if its father or a villager kills a game animal, the child bears the name of that victim animal, or if a guest comes from far off village, the name of that guest becomes the name of the child.¹⁸

The next major passage following the rejection by incorporation into Anyuaa society is the transition from childhood to adolescence. Between the ages of 10 - 13, boys and girls are initiated by up-rooting the lower front six teeth painfully as a condition for passing through the threshold of and to the privileges as well as to the responsibilities of adulthood. In another sense, this initiation rite is the rule rather than the exception for it is regarded as a mark of identity, a sign of "pek" (bravity) "pluar" (courage) and of "miru" (beauty).

By passing the initiation stage to adulthood or failure to accomplish puberty rites results in identity crises for a boy or a girl is mortified and insulted as "Aguyga" (shapeless) on every occasion and may not able to find a wife or a husband in his/her life time. As a result, adolescents decorate themselves by stripping their foreheads and parts of their body above their waists especially with

hen-claw strips. Girls decorate round their breasts and the lower parts of their abdomens so as to show maturity.¹⁹

Youths at the age of twenty assume social responsibility by joining the "Jobura" (militia) to defend the locality from any enemy raids. The Jobura consists of mainly an age group ranging from 20 - 38. The installation of the Jobura is a status elevation - reversal rite. A candidate Jobura is ritually given power over his predecessor Jobura by beating him on a ceremonial contest (fighting). Thus, if the candidate wins the contest, he takes over the position occupied by his predecessor and elevated to new social roles. In contrast, the defeated loses out his position and joins the group of the "Jodongo".

Caam Adhom states some features of the Jobura rite in connection with the Openo clan. According to him, goats or cows are killed. Preparation of food and drinks are done only by girls at the age levels of 18-20. On the day of the Jobura rite, youths and the Jobura of the villages gather to participate in the ceremony. Food and drink are served by girls. Then, the Jobura start provoking the youths to contest with them in physical strengths: wrestling and fighting skillfully with sticks by poking at them in front of girls. Thus, if the youth lack courage to contest, each is taxed a goat, a cow or some amount of *dimui* by the Jobura. But on the other hand, if the youths contest and defeat the Jobura, they are elevated by replacing the positions of their opponents while the defeated members are installed to the Jodongo soon after they are defeated (Caam, 1997:3-5)

Regarding marriage: In Anyuaa society a man can have more than one wife. There is a proverb of Anyuaa which says, "Dhaagϕ aciel abööth." This means "A man with one wife is a bachelor." The culture allows its members to have many wives. It is also a sign of high status. As much as a man is rich in *dimui* and "Deme" (see 4.4.2, No.5) or Othieno's spear to pay as bride price, he can marry as many wives as he wishes. Co-wives are co-workers. As old women told me, each

co-wife has her own status and role to direct and administer the other.²⁰ Accordingly, the first wife is entitled as "Moue" (mother) to the second married. The second, on her part is called the "Nyi" (daughter) to the first married. And the "Moue" of the third is the second wife. The "Moue" is responsible to instruct her "Nyi". Co-wives eat together, sleep with their man in turn only if he is "a judicious husband". They also prepare food for him in shifts. According to the norm, the one who prepares food gets a chance to sleep with her husband on that day while the rest sleep either in the same hut or in their own.

In Anyuaa custom, there are about eight forms of marriage mostly realized with the payment of **dimui** as bride - price. The bride - price is offered to the bride's parents. And parents are expected to transfer the bride - price to the bride's brother so that he uses it for his marriage. Forms of marriage practised in Anyuaa are: (1) "**Biil**" (exchanging a girl for **dimui** or **thong**). This form of marriage is practiced only by nobles: the Nyieyi, the **Kwaari**, the **Kwaclwuak**, the Nyitweil, etc... A balabat orders a rich person to marry his daughter without taking his age into account. And the person who is ordered to do so pays a large amount of **dimui** for the bride - price without complaint and marries that girl. (2) "**Dimo**" (inheritance of women). A son inherits his father's wives while the father is living or dead. Similarly, a man inherits his brother's or uncle's wives when he dies. Children born of inherited mothers are regarded as the children of the deceased (3) "**Miek**". "**miek**" is marriage through engagement. According to informants, this is the major form of marriage widely practised. It is realized after the consents of both families of the couple. So the boy pays the bride price in terms of **dimui** and arranges the marriage. (4) "**Coth**" (marriage based on mutual love). A boy finds a girl and rightly marries her. If both fall in love with each other, they exchange strings of beads tied round their waists from the time of childhood as symbols of unision. At age eighteen, the girl who has set her heart on a boy must inform her parents about her beloved. She will be flogged if she doesn't do what is expected from her. Meanwhile, the boy discusses over the matter with his parents so that

they pay the bride-price. (5) "Akwato dhagho" (elopement). Elopement takes place when one of the families disapproves the "Coth" of the lovers. Thereupon, the couple flee to a place where they can get asylum for safety. Soon after they get a place for shelter, they must report to the Nyieya or Kwaaro of the locality of the asylum and the story of the elopement. Consequently, the Jo-dongho mediate between the couple and their parents to arrange the marriage after the bride-price is paid to the girl's family. (6) "Kwor" (Compensation). "Kwor" serves as a form of marriage that takes place when a girl is paid as compensation for a victim's family in association with what is described in detail in section 2.3.4. Such a Kwor girl is married by one of the members of the victim's family without bride price. (7) "Wir" (replacement). This is practised as a form of marriage when a woman dies without procreating a child. One of her sisters is obliged to marry the deceased's husband with no bride-price. (8) "Deere a beelee bill" (adopted son). A poor man with no means of paying bride-price for a woman gives himself to a rich person as a son. "Deere a beelee bill" is used as a way of obtaining a wife. Accordingly, a rich person requested to accept somebody as such must adopt and allow him to be his daughter's foster brother. So when she marries, the bride-price paid for the bride's parents will be transferred to the adopted son (deere a beelee bill) so that he can pay it and marry a wife.

In general, the real circumstances of Anyuaa social life described so far in this chapter is metaphorically represented in the inside the worlds of narratives. As we shall see later, reasons behind the indigenous principles of generic classification, definitions, expressions, and the purpose of performance occasions of genres as well as their social functions are deeply rooted in the socio-cultural values and modes of living of the people. The next chapter concentrates on the contexts and the reasons for narratives are employed to fulfil the basic needs of the world in which they live.

3. Anyuaa Performance Occasions

Defining performance occasions of Anyuaa oral prose narratives in light of the patterned social interactive ground rules, norms, institutional contexts and systems of belief discussed in the preceding chapter is the main purpose of this part of the thesis. By so doing, the study comes up with "institutional" and "incidental social actions" in Anyuaa society that often foreground appropriate settings for the performance of genres of oral prose narratives. Institutional social actions include rites, ceremonies, gatherings, feasts, observances, etc. that are expected in times or seasons by culture bearers when incidental social actions denote unspecified, in temporal and spatial dimensions of folklore, communication events as stated by Vansina (1985: 39-46, 95-98, 108).

As we shall see in this section, "Wii-maac" and "Agwaaga" are considered as institutionalized social actions that are expected at definite and specified times and places. "Rony", "Kony", "Nyoom", "Jodongho", etc. are demarcated with incidental social actions since they occur in unfixed, or unspecified times and places.

3.1. "Wii-maac": Wii-maac is a part of a homestead. It is located at the center of the compound either under a shelter or in the open air. "Wii" refers to "headmen" when "maac" means "fire". "Wii-maac", in its literal sense, is a "fire place for headmen".²¹ And its underlying meaning signifies sharing food, ideas and any other thing among one's kind. Its occasioning principles, its social purposes, seem to have been ingrained in the following social life:

"A person who eats alone is like a fish drawn out of water. He who eats alone and alienates himself from a **Wii-maac** will no more expect help from others in time of importunity. Rather, he will be labeled with

'ci-Jwɔk' which without exaggeration threatens his very existence."²²

The purpose of **Wii-maac** is interrelated with what natives are doing on everyday basis around it. In Anyyuaa ways of living, **communalism** is largely experienced through the **Wii-maac**. As members of the community share food and drink, they also share ideas among themselves around the **Wii-maac**.

The people attend the **Wii-maac** every night for a long duration starting from 6 p.m. in the dry season and 5 p.m. in the rainy season and every morning for a short while at dawn. It is regarded as a symbol of oneness, identity, a center of belongingness and a warrant to one's own existence. "**Wii-maac** is the eating place of men" and at the same time "the spiritual hearth" of the Anyyuaa people. (Petner, 1990:30).

At Ginina village, I had the opportunity to observe how the Anyyuaa gather everyday round the **Wii-maac** and how the appropriate settings for performances of the **Leere**, and **Wae** evolve out of those situations.

As men arrive at the **Wii-maac**, they rest their spears, pointed up to the sky, on one of the horn-shaped "**Dikweiri**" that are erected on both sides of the fireplace. They greet the elderly people with salutations by gripping their wrists and by making their fingers point to the sky. The elderly in their turn spit saliva on palms of the saluters so that they may rub it on their heads, chests or shins wishing for transferring graces on them. After salutations, men take seats around the **Wii-maac** in accordance with the seniority of their ages. The Anyyuaa, both men and women, are very much fond of smoking **thaaba** with a simple instrument called as **Akoyo**. **Akoyo** is simply made from a bulb-like dry gourd containing little water. A very small circular apparatus is also fixed with the bulged side of the gourd so as to hold pieces of live coal for burning portions of dried "**thaaba**".

The more the gathering around the **Wii-maac** swells up, the more the atmosphere becomes smokey. Every moment people draw in the smoke from the burning **thaaba**, the water in the **Akoyo** bubbles and produces vibrating sounds like snorings of pythons in deep sleeps.

Meanwhile, women keep their eyes on the **Wii-maac** to make sure of the presence of all of their men. If all headmen are present, they bring porridge and drinks crawling on their knees and turn back to their huts in the same position as they came to give food to the men. In Anyuaa tradition, women do not eat with men. By the same token, girls do not eat with their brothers. As women eat in groups, girls also do the same in clusters separately from boys.

The moment dinner is over, silence breaks. The headmen's whole attention is drawn to smoking **thaaba**. Drinking **araki** and smoking **thaaba** in delight, conversation between headmen goes on in a relaxed atmosphere. On the other side of the **Wii-maac**, women talk washing up dishes and smoking **thaaba** as well while children chat in groups.

The **Wii-maac**, as the centripetal force of all the groupings in the compound, pulls children, boys and girls towards it as bright light attracts moths, wasps and mosquitoes from distant places. Women come crawling on their knees drawn by the atmosphere created suitable for performances. Thus, one may imagine that performance occasions centering the **Wii-maac** of every homestead in Anyuaaland evolve into reality out of such natural human situations.

The more the number of the audience increases, the more the daily performance becomes enriched with variant compositions of age and sex. At the **Wii-maac** I have participated at Othow Adier's homestead, the number of the audience was 21 with age variations ranging from about 10 to 97.



Othow Adier's Homestead



Interview with Abala Nyigwo

The weather seemed to have been superseding the hot or hostile temperature of the day time. The air was breezy and modest. Though it may be ordinary to the natives, the hub-hub of the hawling dogs, singing birds and croaking frogs at the edges of the river near the homestead were intermittently heard as the performance was going to be actualized.

It was at this stage that Opiew, the son of Othow and my guide for that particular occasion, enticed boys and girls into telling **Leero** and **Waac**. Of course, some children tried to recite their family genealogies. But they were unable to perform properly. As a result, it produced laughter and enjoyment on the parts of the adults, especially from the women and youths. It also brought out contests among children.

Eventually, the mood developed into its natural context for performing stories as usual. Othow Adier, craning his neck towards the audience started narrating about the past history the of Anyuaa. Then he went on glorifying the heroes of tradition like "**Gilo and Othieno**", "**Occuudho**", "**The Son of Jay and the people**", etc. As he was starting telling about "**Gilo and Othieno**" (See 4.2, No. 5) the audience fell silent. His sister, an 81 year old woman, sitting on her knees beside him was assisting him recall episodes he had forgotten. Other participants, especially the adults, were listening attentively to his performance by giving delightful and sometimes distressed expressions. They chanted together with him when he started singing shaking his head gently to the right and left sides at the middle of his narration. As **Othow** was singing engrossed, the audience was also impressed deeply. The song was short. So he continued narrating about "**Gilo and Othieno**" up to the end. Then his whole attention diverted to smoking **thaaba** and sipping **araki**. At this moment, **Opiew** began telling **Leere** about Anyuaa custom of marriage and norms of naming children. And then he went on telling about "The Creation of the Twins of Human Beings" (4.2, No.1). In these performances I observed adults participating with full attention when boys and girls seemed to be

bored. But when a woman, Abong Omot, in the audience took over the performance about "Thwol who cheated a Nyieya" by changing an ashfull of a container to flour, children were seen to be awake and active. The atmosphere became heated and eventually changed into interactant performance situation since it brought out negotiation between the adults and the youths. The gathering continued up until 11 p.m. in the evening.

The duration of performances at **Wii-maac** depends largely on changes of seasons. In the long dry season, it can be started from the moment of sunset up to mid-night. But in the rainy season, people, particularly those inhabiting the swampy area come to the **Wii-maac** early, starting from 5 p.m. They eat their dinner, wait for some hours and then depart to go to beds. They do this because of the changes of natural settings of performances. In my observation around Pinydho (August, 1998), the **Wii-maac** were largely infested with clusters of blood sucking insects flying chiefly at night with irritant stings. These insects are easily attracted by firelight. Natives call them "**Beyo**" (pl. **Bäär**). The "**bäär** attracted by the firelight of the **Wii-maac** hover over every head with humming sounds produced by their quivering wings. People try to keep off the hovering **bäär** by chasing them away with leaves. But they cling onto their naked bodies inflicting them with exasperation. Hence, the more the duration people spend around the fire place, the more the population of the **bäär** and the performance situations become impeded. As a result, people tend to leave the **Wii-maac** and go into their dark small huts to sleep early in the evenings. Thus, in rainy seasons the duration of performances at **Wii-maac** is observed less frequently than during the dry season.

Wii-maac is an institution in which the Anyuaa assure their collective and individual wellbeing. It is a symbol of unity and survival. It is the vehicle of communal ways of living. Food is shared at **Wii-maac**., knowledge is also shared at **Wii-maac**. The Anyuaa enculture their children around the **Wii-maac**. In general

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occasioning principles of **Wii-maac** produce appropriate social settings for performances of oral prose narratives in particular and oral literature in general.

3.2 Agwaaga: **Agwaaga** is a dance ceremony celebrated for three days at the quarter of a **Nyieya** or **Kwaaro** at least four times a year. As indicated in the second chapter, its functions are to sustain power by fulfilling the spiritual needs of the people. According to the tradition, **Agwaaga** is regarded as a symbol of oneness and integrity among members of the society. It is also considered as one of the opportunities to justify whether the **Nyieya** or **Kwaaro** is a man of his “forefathers” whether he is concerned or heedless, generous or greedy. If a leader is found weak in such moral values, he will be swept away by a flood of anger burst out of the **Jey**(common people). He will be flogged, overthrown from power and chased away from his village expropriated. Thus, the ceremony occurs expected in time and place serving a definite purpose in the society.

Unfortunately, I was not able to observe the ceremony. But, as participants in focus group discussions²³ have told me about it, all villagers are invited to eat, drink and dance. On the day of **Agwaaga**, bull is beaten starting at dawn. Food and drink is prepared and served only by men. Women are not allowed in preparing and serving food and drink.

The **balabats** sit on tiger hides in one side. Elders have their seats in accordance with their ages. Women also sit on their knees on the side of the **Agwaaga**. If they want to move around, they have to walk on their knees for it is regarded as a sign of showing great respect to the public.

The **bull** and sets of drums continue giving wonderful accents to Anyuua traditional dance with groups at other spots of the ceremony. Some boast mentioning their ancestral praise or bull-names. They brag about their bravery in

hunting and vaunt of the heroic deeds of their forefathers, and the generosity and guts of their leaders. And on other scenes, people satiated with drinks and food exchange ideas either about the past events, or about the current situations. Respected elders make speeches to the gathering by glorifying heroic deeds and by citing the wisdom of "the dead ancestors."

On the second day of the ceremony, the Nyieya or the Kwaaro makes a speech in an artful and graceful manner by seasoning his presentation with the **Angade**, parables or pieces of **Leere** related to social orders, stability, history, moral values, traditional polities, beliefs, etc..²⁴ Thus, all these social actions during **Agwaaga** bring about favorable grounds for performing the **Leere** and **Angade** within their natural social contexts.

In sum, "**Wii-maac**" and "**Agwaaga**" are institutionalized socio-cultural contexts recognized and expected by the Anyuaa in specified spatial and temporal dimensions in falling together with appropriate moments for performing oral prose narratives. Next, I shall turn to identify some of the unspecified incidental social actions that often bring about suitable grounds for performances. Among those unexpected situational contexts are: (1) the **Jodongho**, (2) **Jendai**, (3) **Rony** (4)**Kony**, and (5) **Nyoom**.

3.3. The Jodongho (Elders' council): The **Jodongho** is considered as an important unit in Anyuaa society for settling or solving all sorts of disputes, conflicts and disagreements. The **Jodongho** is a traditionally accepted institution of jury that mediates between the nobles and the watong (the common people). It plays the role of maintaining peace, order and social security. With such definite roles in the society, its activities in every village bring about favorable situations, especially for the actual realization of the **Angade** and **Leere**. In a number of narratives collected in Anyuaa Woredas, the *dramatis personae*, be they animals or

human beings, are frequently observed submitting cases accusations, grievances, injuries, etc, to "the **Jodongho**" or to "all assembly of animals". These events are metaphorical representations of the real world of Anyuaa social life. They depict the **Jodongho** involved in all affairs of the society; the **Jodongho** receives disputants, investigates cases, mediates between negotiators, decides **Kwor** to the victims; etc. Convincing people to come to good terms, handling social and psychological problems become true through advice or persuasive utterances drawn from related life experiences. Such experiences are embedded in narratives, especially in the **Angade** and the **Wae**. Therefore, the **Jodongho** makes use of narratives with didactic and instructive values that best help develop ideas whenever needs arise either in the form of digression, exigency or juxtaposition. According to my informants²⁵, the **Jodongho** takes place in every village frequently. Thus, the more the elders council acts, the more appropriate situations are created in which narratives are performed.

3.4. Jendai (Market): **Jendai** is a place at which **thaaba** and traditional drinks are sold for some sorghum, maize, dried-fish or coins. "Anyuaa sip fondly **atharboop**, **wacaththa**, **agoli** and **araki** at **Jendai**". As people drink together in villages at **Wii-maac**, they also sip at **Jendai** in groups. "In Anyuaa views, drinking alcohols and smoking **thaaba** are regarded as spiritual values, as sources of imagination, modesty and delight" writes Petner (1990: 29). Of course, the Anyuaa appear at **Jendai** daily not to tell or listen to stories but for the purpose of getting satisfaction with sipping **ogoli**, **araki**,... and getting relaxation with their age groups.

I had got several opportunities to observe activities going on at **Jendai** near Gambella. As explained before (1.6.4.2.), **Jendai** is not simply a combination of circumstances, but also a source of oral data. For instance, I have collected at **Jendai** 35 entertaining narratives told by natives sipping **ogoli** (mead) and **borde** in

groups. Naturally, conversations, chats, exchange of ideas, and talks among intimate friends and relatives in a relaxed atmosphere bring out junctures of moments suitable for performing **Wae**, **Angade**, joke, etc... Therefore, incidental activities at **Jendai** serve as motivating situations for telling entertaining stories in their natural contexts.

3.5. Rony: **Rony** is a coronation ceremony occurring in undetermined time and place. Its purpose is conferring **Nyieyi** and **Kwaari** based on set of criteria. I have observed **Rony** in Abobo Woreda at Ukuna village when Philip Nyaye, a graduate of Alemaya College, was conferred with **Kwaaro** (chieftainship) (1.6.4.1.)

It was on this occasion I learned about a living oral document embodying Anyuaa principles of justice and reasons behind the traditional institutions, polities, functions of **Kwor** and roles of **Nyieyi**, **Kwaaro**, deputy chiefs and the **Jodongho**. This life guiding oral document performed in that occasion so as to validate **Rony**, was "Occuudho" (The River god.). The balabats, together with the elderly people, were exchanging ideas about Occuudho's wisdom, his teachings of social laws and administrative bodies established in Anyuaa society.

In general, the **Leero** about Occuudho is regarded as the cause of **Rony**. Thus, on the coronation ceremony the **Leere** (narratives) **Angade** embodying contents related with the purpose of the **Rony** are also told in their socio-cultural contexts. Therefore, **Rony** is identified as incidental but vital occasion for performances of the **Leere** and **Angade** in Anyuaa culture.

3.6. Nyoom (Wedding Ceremony): Anyuaa is basically a polygamous and homogenous society. It practices eight forms of marriage. Agreements between families, negotiations on the amount of bride wealth and

arrangements for marriage ceremonies are done in presence of mediators whose role is chiefly to persuade the negotiators to become on good terms. In this social interaction, "the mediators and negotiators recite genealogical trees, tell about ancestral spirits in relation to their patronizing powers, the effect they produce on fertility, rain, plenty of harvest, health etc..."²⁶ Therefore, this course of argument also provides grounds for performing the **Wae** and **Angade**. The moment motivates the use of narratives with persuasive values that facilitate the main purpose of the social interaction. **Nyööm** lasts for three to five days. On this occasion, participants of different age levels entertain themselves with humorous stories, jokes, anecdotes, dances, etc...Hence, **Nyööm**, as an incidental social activity, renders appropriate moments on which narratives are told in their natural social settings.

3.7. Kony (Funeral Ceremony): In Anyuaa tradition "**Kony** takes place for three weeks." According to informants, the ceremony has two aspects: The death of a **watong** and the "turning back of a **balabat** to water." If a **watong** (common man) dies, people mourn, cry, and feel deep sorrow. So, they express their feelings with mournful song and tears.

But when a member from the **balabat** lineage dies, it is taboo to utter words like "he/she has died. It is strictly forbidden."²⁷ For that reason, people say "**he/she has turned to water**". In Anyuaa belief, the death of the **balabats** is regarded as the date of birth of the **watong** section of the society. The reason behind it is that belief in life after death. The soul departs from its massive body. The body decays when the soul lives an eternal life either by wondering invisibly or by transforming itself into any kind of totemic animal. Thus, in Anyuaa conceptions, one ought not to feel sad when a member of the society from the **balabats** lineage dies. Instead, people beat **bulls**, blow trumpet, play with **toms** and **kraars**, share food and drinks, entertain themselves with humorous stories, amusing narratives,

jokes, pans, etc²⁸... The duration of **Kony** is about 21 days and it takes place at the homestead of the deceased. “On this occasion, people tell **Leere** about life and death, creation and origin, ancestral souls and spirits, sacrifices and so on.”²⁹ Therefore, **Kony**, though not fixed in time and place, affords favorable situations of performances for narratives in their real contexts.

To sum up, **Wii-maac**, a common fire place located at the center of a homestead, is an ideal institution at which members of the community share food and ideas among themselves every evening starting from 6 p.m. onwards. **Wii-maac** is a decisive part of social interaction through which communalism as a philosophy of life is realized. It is fixed in time and place. Thus, **Wii-maac** is demarcated as an ideal occasion for performances of oral prose narratives in Anyuaa culture. Though **Agwaaga** is not a frequent ceremony as **Wii-maac**, it appears seasonally, four times annually, at leaders’ homesteads for a duration of three days. As an expected gathering, it causes appropriate social settings for performances of narratives.

The rest, **Rony**, **Kony**, **Jodongho**, **Nyööm** and **Jendai** fall into incidental socio-cultural interactions that take place in specified temporal and spatial dimensions of performances. In Anyuaa society, as in other societies, there are many diverse combination of circumstances which bring about grounds for telling stories such as coffee ceremonies and situational interactions coming out of daily routines of life.

Occasions for performances identified in this chapter are those deeply ingrained in or anchored to the value systems of the society possessing their own peculiar or common purposes. They also shade light on Anyuaa systems of generic classification and functions of genres as we shall see in the coming chapter.

4. The Anyuaa Oral Prose narratives: Indigenous Classification and Social functions.

Deeply rooted in ways of living and systems of belief of a people organized in its own ways, genres are “ particular points of view towards the world”. Particularly in Africa, systems of ethnic classification “are valuable guiding posts” to identify “folktale types and clusters.” Genres consist of “means and methods for conscious control” and possess: (1) principles of selection; (2) definite forms of understanding and conceptualizing reality; (3) scope and depth of penetration of phenomena. Moreover, they are angles of perspective with which we categorize and name things in a way they can relate to each other (Dorst, 1983: 413 – 428; Tucker, 1980: 356).

Cultures differ from each other in their worldviews and in the classification systems in which the phenomena of message are categorized (Vansina, 1984:81). As integral parts of a culture, genres are closely interconnected each other. They do not exist as “single entities” (Voigt, 1980:171).

In defining “folklore genres” Ben-Amos (1982:65) says “The terms for genres are integral parts of any language. They are the words for speaking about speech and for conceiving of categories of tradition”. In his view, genres are taken as “modes of traditional communication” and as angles of conceptualizing realities. Ben-Amos also gives us a description of the differences and relationships between the purposes and characteristics of analytical categories and ethnic systems of classification of “folklore genres.” According to his description, analytical categories (1) serve as models for various research activities, (2) have external objectives, and (3) are employed as means for organizing texts. Ethnic generic classifications on the other hand are: (1) characterized by internal purposes and values; (2) qualitative or subjective ways of order; (3) meaningful to the members

of the society; (4) subjected to indigenous logical principles that are used to categorize genres and mirror rules of folklore communication. According to Ben-Amos's description (p.48), indigenous logical principles that are employed to classify genres "are reflections of the rules for what can be said, in what situations, in what form, by whom and to whom".

Showing the differences between the two categories, Ben-Amos (1982) also reminds us not to evaluate the one as "more logical ... than the other" system. "Because", he says, "the grammar of each language is unique and has its own logical consistency, so the native categorization of oral literature is particular and does not need to conform to any analytical delineation of folklore genres (P.48). In every culture", says Vansina (1985:81), "genres are given names in their own languages."

NicolAison also explicates the significance of names of genres and narratives in the following perspectives. He says that we understand names as: (1) points of narratives; (2) narrative causes, condensations and focuses; (3) verbal icons; (4) metaphors; (5) truth locations of the past; and (6) texts and texts within texts. And finally he states, "Names help us to re-establish the native text as a window on the past and its narration as the true creation of the past" (NicolAison, 1984:261-271). In addition, generic names as elements of cognitive features are also employed to discover or identify logical principles of local categorization.

As elucidated by Ben-Amos (1982:132-160), folklore study in Africa with the aim of identifying indigenous principles with which ethnic genres are delineated needs to be examined in terms of the following points; (1) the attitudes and conceptions natives have of the genres and the underlying symbolic meanings behind their names; (2) expressive features within the native narratives themselves, and (4) situational social contexts of performance occasions.

In light of these theoretical perspectives, the study has come up with three Anyuaa logical principles of categorizing oral prose narratives. These native principles of defining or delineating genres may next be given as:

(1) Meanings of Generic Names, (2) Narrative contents (3) Age of performers

Based on these principles, the Anyuaa delineate three genres of oral prose narratives termed in their language as: **(1) The Leere, (2) The Wae, and (3) The Angade .**

Above, theoretical perspectives, the indigenous principles of delineating oral prose narratives and the local generic names are disclosed and established. Next, I shall describe the three native genres in terms of the indigenous principles.

4.1. Names of Genres and Their Meanings

The Leere: The word Leere is a plural form of “Leero”. In its literal sense, the term “Leero” denotes “a star”. And its underlying meanings represent “a true story”, “history”, “wisdom”, “true old talks of the dead ancestors” and “genealogical recitations”³⁰. Hence, the name given to the genre, Leere, is ascribed to all of the above literal as well as the underlying cultural meanings of its root word, “Leero”. In its deep sense, “Leere” represents the celestial and the terrestrial bodies of the universe. Denoting glittering stars in the sky, it also symbolizes cultural conceptions of human kind in the terrestrial world. Internalizing the imagery of points of light in the heavenly sphere towards themselves, the Anyuaa designate their history, views on the creation of the world and the place they have in it and heroic deeds of the past as brilliant constellation of Leere, stars. Thus, based on the symbolic meanings the name of the genre gives to them, the Anyuaa use to delineate some of the narratives within the Leere.

The Wae: The **Wae** is a plural form of the word “**Waac**”. In contrast to “the **Leere**”, **Wae** denotes “conversation”, “play”, “discussion”, “dialogue”, “exchange of ideas among people”, “chatting”, etc..³¹ But in its underlying cultural meaning **Wae** means “fictitious tales”, “creative story”.³² As conceived by natives, “**Wae** seems false, but true representations of human relationships. What they show is what we see in our own real lives. Though they seem false, they are true so long as they mirror our true characters. In **waac** we see ourselves”³³ says Caam Adhom. The other participant in a focus group discussion recognizes the genre in relation to its functions in the society. For example, he says, “Our children love the **Wae**. They enjoy it and learn the good and the bad from the people in the stories”.³⁴

In general, these meanings, the name gives to the natives, and the attitudes they have towards the proper social uses of the genre are considered as indigenous principle of delineating the **Wae** from the other genres existing in Anyuua culture.

The Angade: The **Angade** is the third genre possessing its own peculiar characteristics. The term given to the genre is also a plural form of the root word, “**Angado**”. In its general sense, the word denotes “**proverb**.” But when it is closely examined “**Angade**” includes the following forms.

The first type illustrates its title often put in the form of a proverb. Sometimes it refers to a human or animal character so as to clarify the idea condensed within the title as in “**Oneng Ngweec**”, which means “**A land lizard doesn’t fully close its eyes**”. Forms of the **Angade** similar to “**Oneng Ngweec**” often go on referring to the voluntary actions of the land lizard in order to relate its character to that of the speaker’s or of his/her listener’s condition. Opening the **Angado** with the title, the speaker continues, “landlizard always pretends to have been closing its eyes. But it watches what is going on around with its half closed eyes. Likewise, I am doing my part in ... such and such activities...” We observe

in this **Angado**, the character of the land lizard is cited to give details about the nature of the proverb in association with the idea it advances.

The second form of the **Angade** is a proverb delivered without any illustration as in “**Gwɔk ba Guny Jaak**”, which means “**A dog doesn’t bark without reason**”. If the speaker doesn’t find it necessary to give details about the proverb cited to the listeners, he/she shifts quickly to the main point of the discourse. This type is also recognized by the native people as **Angado**.

But distinct from the above forms of the **Angade**, the third type which is a point of interest to this study, consists of structural elements of a “tale” such as setting, episode, conflict, *dramatis personae* and resolution. In this case, the name **Angade** stands for “proverbial narratives.” Natives, for example priest Akway **Ocuudho**, explains the characteristics of this genre in relation to its designation. He says, “The topics of this type of **Angade** is often put in a form of proverb. Following the proverb, the speaker tells to his listeners its background story.”³⁵ Caam Adhom also says, “The **Angade** are words like prescriptions in the Bible. They are also tales entitled with proverbs.”³⁶ A knowledgeable culture bearer, Philip Opiew, adds to the meanings of the third type of the **Angade** in association with its values by describing it as “spices of speech” and as “devices of developing ideas. In general, people who are able to make use of the **Angade** in their speech are regarded as wise men.”³⁷

Thus, one may understand that the **Angade** is easily identified with its title formulated in a form of proverb. The implications the title provides for the culture bearers and the importance they give to the genres social use are also taken as factors of delineation.



4.2. The Genres In terms of Narrative Contents

The Leere: Cultural meanings and definitions given to the name of the genre are found as parts of contents of the native texts. They are also indications of subgroups within the genre. Thus, subgroups can be pointed out as **Leere** about “**Creation**” and “**Origin**”, “**Historical Happenings**” and “**Heroic Deeds**”.

According to my observation, natives cite contents of narratives to show whether they are in **Leere** or in the **Wae**. For example in a focus group discussion, Opiew Othow, Abala Nyigwo and Caam Akway have cited contents in “**Occuudho**”, “**Othieno and Gilo**” and “**The Creation of the Twins of Human Beings**” as evidence of defining the genre. Hence, I shall verify this indigenous principle of demarcating the genre with illustrations of a number of representative texts from each subgroup.

Creation: “**The Creation of Twins of Human Being**” (No.1) shows the way how Anyuaa conceive of the existence of one ultimate power in the sky, the creator of the world, **Jwϕk** (God). **Jwϕk** is characterized with two diametrically opposing forces termed as “**Jwϕk -Nyingaala – Bwoo**” and **Jwϕk – Dugu – Nyingaala – Bwoo**”. The former aspect is benevolent and is regarded as the creator of the universe as well as the sustenance of life in it, whereas the latter is considered as the destroyer of what the positive character has created (see also chap 2. Sec. 2.3). As the story goes on, **Jwϕk** creates the sky and the earth and then makes living things: animals and plants. Next, he intends to create the most beautiful beings of all he had created before. These beings are twins of people: male and female. Then, **Jwϕk** creates the twins. But, he finds them being the ugliest of all beings. So he becomes disappointed with his craftsmanship and decides to eliminate them by throwing them into water and to create other twins of people as

beautiful as he had fancied. Knowing what **Jwφk** is going to do, a **Dog** saves the innocent twins by stealing them from his studio. It brings the twins down to earth and keeps them up in a secret place. But when **Jwφk** learns about the **Dog's** act, he gets so much enervated and loses his consciousness. This leads him to another disastrous move of throwing the "**Kid - gur**" (the symbol of the sustenance of life) into water that must always be kept in the hands of **Jwφk** so as to continue and maintain the flow of life in the universe.

This synopsis of the narrative show some essential thematic values that define the characteristics of the **Leere** as the genre reflecting (1) the creation of the Universe and life in it, (2) the relationship of the creator and human beings, (3) the underlying interpretations behind symbolic representations of throwing the sustenance of life, the "**Kid - gur**", into water. In this respect, both of the opposing powers constituting **Jwφk** are reflected as representations of the views natives have of the outer world.

Secondly, "throwing life into water also represents the belief of Anyuaa in life after death under water. Moreover, "**Kid – Gur**" seems to symbolize concepts like "**Lul**" in Geez, as well as "the Navel of the World" standing for "the center of the World" as noted by Campbell (1956:32-33,138,213).

As **Leero**, No.1, tells us, the **Dog** catches the "**Kid – gur**" thrown away by **Jwφk** with its paws, before it sinks in the water i.e. before life on earth is eliminated. After catching it, the **Dog** puts the "**Kid – Gur**" on dry land far from the shore of water. By so doing the **Dog** saves life on earth. Thereupon, it continues feeding the twins and brings them up till they become mature, adults. Finally, the twins take over the rule of the lion over all animals on earth with the help of the **Dog**. The contents of the narrative are deeply rooted in to the belief systems of the people. Giving answers to the basic question of human being about

the creation of the world, it is categorized in Anyuaa society as Leere, as “a true age old talk of ancestors.”

The other narrative about the origin of social order in Anyuaa society is represented in Leero No.2, “**Ocuudho**”, “**The River God.**” The name “**Ocuudho**” is a blend of two words, “**Cuudho**” and “**O**”. Its main word “**Cuudho**” represents “a dry – log – of wood” and the prefix “**O**” denotes “a man”. The literal sense of the name “**Ocuudho**” is “a man sitting on a dry – log of wood”.⁸ As Dorst (1983) has explicated the importance of names, they indicate “core images” of narratives. Names serve as “causes” of stories and place themselves as “texts within texts”. Therefore, the underlying cultural interpretation of the name “**Ocuudho**” is an iconic symbol of a Nyieya sitting on “a **Woolo**” (a throne). A “**Woolo**” is made of a dry big log of wood. As conceived by the natives themselves, **Ocuudho** is a prototype of an ideal Nyieya who is, judicious, wise, benevolent, courageous, and spiritual.

“**Occudho**” is thought of as the primordial ancestor of the royal lineage. He is believed to be the first divine hero who abolished the chaotic society in the remote past. According to the natives belief, **Occudho** founded administrative bodies such as kingship and chiefdom and established principles of justice so as to maintain social order, security and peace for the first time in Anyuaa history.

Principles of justice prescribed by **Ocuudho** are generally termed as **Kwor**. **Kwor** is a cultural institution used to settle all sorts of disputes and conflicts among the members of the society (see chap. 2, sec. 2.3.3). Moreses, norms, ground rules, codes of behavior and moral standards working in the real world of the Anyuaa are interwoven with the systems of **Kwor**. “Knowing about **Ocuudho** is knowing about our tradition and culture” says Philip Nyaye, chief [Kwaaro] of Ukuna.”³⁹ It is true so long as it is an archetypal representation of the spiritual as well as the material lives of the Anyuaa. The Leero about **Ocuudo** is a living document in the

day to day relationships of the members of the society. It is perhaps for this reason that Evans-Pritchard (1941:76) explains that “almost all the Anuak seem to be aware of the myth” about **Ocuudho**. **Ocuudo** is regarded as a “demi – god.” He is portrayed as a divine hero, creator and wise.

As reflected in the narrative, **Ocuudho** reveals himself in a chaotic social situation represented by the two quarreling brothers. He emerges out of water and sits on a dry big log of wood rooted deep in the midst of it. The relationship between **Cuuddho** from which the name **Ocuudho** is derived and its place being in the water is paradoxical. Sitting on that dry log, **Ocuudho** instructs the quarrelling brothers. He teaches them about justice. There on, he is seen in changing himself into a lion, tiger, bull, an elephant and then into a human being again.

Changing the minds of the ancient Anyuua and incarnating them with thoughts of better social and cultural lives, he sets up kingship and **Kwor**. As represented in the Leero, it is not only **Ocuudho**'s illuminating ideas put in the minds of the people, but also his properties becoming symbols of identity, sovereignty, cohesion, and power (Evans - pritchard, 1941.: 54). When **Ocuudho** comes out of the water he is observed tying **ucuok**, (type of beads) round his neck, **strings of dimui**, (another kind of beads) round his waist, **ucala spears** and **Dikwiery**, spear rests, with his hands. These objects are the most valuable and symbolic material cultures in Anyuua society. They function as emblems of power. The Nyieyi (kings) and the Kwaari (chiefs) are conferred with kingships and chieftaincies with **Ucuok, Ucala, Dimui, Dikwiery, Woolo and Bull**. Therefore, the divine hero, **Ocuudho**, himself is not the only a prototype of human behaviors but also the objects he uses are taken as the iconic representations of insignia of power, unity, identity and sovereignty.

In addition to the above socio – cultural systems of values, “**Rony**” (coronation ceremony) and the traditional practices of election of the Nyieyi and

Kwaari are believed to have been set up by **Ocuudho**. People elect their leaders only if they agree with the qualities of the candidates judged with some sets of criterion. According to the narrative, **Ocuudho** procreates a son called Gilo and then “turns back to water” without being noticed. He “turns back to water” under which his people, family and cows are living. This also denotes the belief in life after death in or under water in Auynaa society. In short, “**Ocuudho** is one of the greatest literatures” the Anyuaa “inherited from” their forefathers.⁴⁰

Such kind of “conceptions the members of the community have of the subject” are indicative of thematic contents for a particular genre. And “the particular view a culture has of the subject determines its qualification for inclusion. The division of knowledge and experiences into thematic domains is directly related to cultural conceptions of nature and society.” (Ben – Amos, 1982:148). In this regard, the Leero about **Ocuudho** can be put as the representation of social relationships and symbolic values in the culture. Moreover, the narrative is regarded as “a true old talk” (Leero) about the origins of kingship, **Kwor** and **Rony**.

Historical Leere: In this subgroup narratives are concerned with events of wars, migrations and recitations of genealogical ties, indigenous technology, naming of places and so on. For instance, **The three Brothers: Nyikango, Gilo and Dak''** (No.3) is a typical representation. It reflects the origin history of Anyuaa of Ethiopia and of the Sudan, Luo of Western Kenya and of the Shilluk people. According to the narrative the group led by Gilo is the first settler in Ethiopia. The genealogical roots of clans in the society are recited starting from this group. And the narrative traces back to the reasons why Gilo and his brothers were forced to migrate from unspecified deep Southwestern direction to different parts of Eastern Africa. **Wang Leic** (An eye of Elephant) or a **dimui** (type of bead) swallowed by a little girl and a **thong** (spear) lost by a boy are mentioned as the causes of war among brothers which eventually results in continuous migrations. Thus, the

Anyuaa consider this narrative as "a true" account of their history. Narrative No. 3 also represents the most important symbolic objects such as "dimui" metaphorically expressed as "Wang Leic" and "thong". Particularly "dimui" is used as exchanging values whereas "thong" is used for defense and hunting. Both "dimui" and "thong" serve for payments of bride prices. As Anyuaa are referred to "as riverine people" they are also regarded as "people of beads". Thus, for these historical values embedded in it, natives define it as "true old history" and categorize the narrative with in the Leere.

In Anyuaa narratives, the conception natives have of **Ci-Jwɔk** is frequently told. The negative power of **Ci- Jwɔk** is believed to have been working inside human beings as its agents (**Ci - Jwɔk**). **Ci - Jwɔk** is thought of as the causes of all sorts, of trouble, sickness, and death. **Ci - Jwɔk** is "pa dangho" (non - human). An insult with the phrase "**Ci- Jwɔk** " results in fierce quarrels or killings among members of the society (See also 2.3.1) What we observe in the Leero about "Omot and Ujulu" (No.4) is such a reality happening in the real world. According to the Leero, Ujulu informs his brother of his being suspected a "**Ci- Jwɔk.**" Omot accuses Ujulu of threatening his survival and then submits the case to the **Jodongho**. The **Jodongho** decide compensation for the injury, Omot is seen satisfied after killing his younger brother. The event is said to have been taking place in Pinyudho. Therefore, deeply grounded in the belief systems of the society the contents of the narrative are regarded as suitable for delineating the genre as Leere.

Heroic Deeds: The Leero about **Othieno and Gilo** (No.5) focuses on the struggle for self - assertion and the question of survival through "Agem" against a dehumanizing view of the culture. The narrative also gives emphasis to the indigenous technology and knowledge. Anyuaa culture forbids circumcision and clitoroctomy. A circumcised member of the community faces a challenge getting

lovers or wives. This cultural restriction is also embodied in No.5. At the beginning we are told about the family ties of the two heroes, Othieno and Gilo. They belong to one family. Othieno, the cousin of Gilo, is depicted as wise and intelligent, but born circumcised and ugly in his physical appearances. As a result, the community is observed rejecting him; it doesn't accept him as its normal member or "pure" human being. Girls run away when they see him. Women despise and consider him as worthless. They warn him not to touch household utensils. If he touches food or corn they throw it away as garbage, as worthless material.

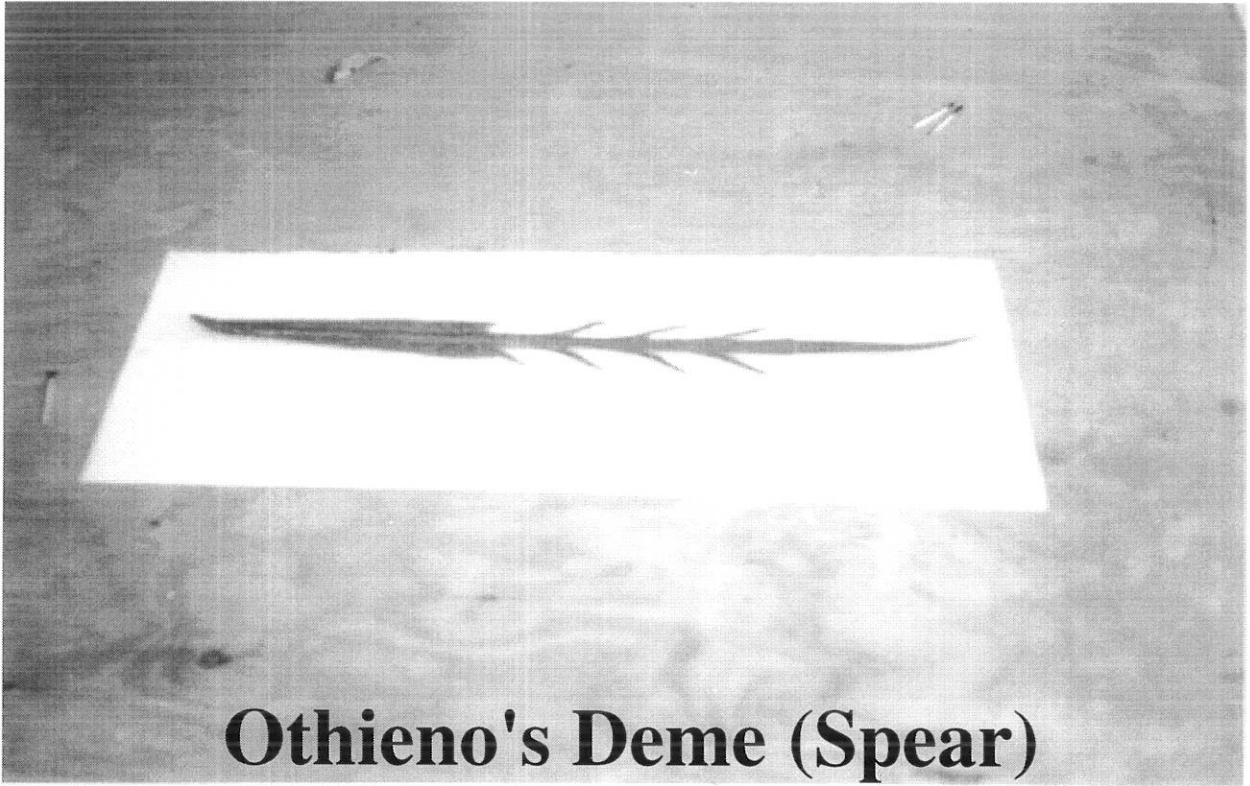
On the contrary girls and women show love to Gilo, easily attracted by his beautiful physical appearance. Furthermore, the people elected Gilo as Nyieya even if they know that he is not as wise and intelligent as Othieno.

Rejected and despised by the community, Othieno is observed suffering from psychological torment. Then, he starts realizing that his existence is being threatened by the dehumanizing circumstances. As a result, he rebels against it and asserts himself as a true member of the community. Thus, the struggle against the dehumanizing culture begins with the killing of the Nyieya, Gilo, with which Othieno falls into melancholy, repentance and grief. So we observe him lamenting for Gilo. He suffers from loneliness inflicted with a profound sense of "Agem" against the traditional formula that refused to accept his inborn quality. Placed in such a condition, Othieno is seen unable to purge the deep sorrow he felt for Gilo from his mind. Then, he finds his lament insufficient only with his voice to console his wounded heart. Therefore, he invented musical instruments called "Tom" and "Kräär" to accompany his grief with melodies. As Othieno was in such contrition, members of the community come after him to take revenge on him for he has killed Gilo without any reason. So war breaks out between him and the people. As the story recounts, Othieno defeats the people by inventing a new weapon made from iron. The weapon he made is called "Deme" which is said to

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Othieno's Deme (Spear)



Othieno's Tom and Krar

have been the first thong (iron spear) in Anyuaa culture. Then he inherits the wives of Gilo and rules over Anyuaa land for some time. By so doing, Othieno could prove to the society his true human quality.

But, after some time, the people imitate Othieno's technology and produce "Deme"* more in number. At last we observe the people fighting against and killing the ostracized Othieno using the **Deme**, his own invention. Towards the end of the Leero, the hero undergoes an amazing metamorphosis. The speared Othieno transforms into a circumcised lizard which sets every place it reaches on fire to terrorize his enemies. Though he is metamorphosed into a lizard he does not give up his relationship with human beings. So, at last, Othieno, the lizard, tells his aunt Akaango, Gilo's mother, to put him into a calabash and throw into water. Akaango throws Othieno the Lizard in a gourd into Openo (Baro) River that takes him Westward. After a long time, Othieno, the lizard, once again changes himself into "a white man" and appears near the Ethio - Sudan boarder.

Since the Anyuaa believe in life after death the narrative about Othieno, is conceived of as a true happening or story in the past. Thus, the Anyuaa categorize it as **Leere** based on the subject matter it deals with.

The Wae: Contents in narratives falling under the **Wae** are used as factors for delineating the genre from the other forms of oral prose narratives in Anyuaa society. Almost all participants of various focus group discussions recognize subject matters with which the **Wae** is concerned. For instance one of participants explains,

* As a matter of fact, "**Deme**", the first iron spear that is believed to be the invention of Othieno has been preserved recently in Gambella museum. In rural areas "**Deme**" is used for bride price. "**Tom**" and "**Kraar**" are also believed to be his inventions.⁴⁰

Wae deals with stories about animals. Animals in the stories act and speak like men. Their actions and views are actions and views of men. They show men and teach men moral values through humour. In **Waac** we find bad and good, weak and powerful, rogue and deceived, wise and foolish people. In this regard stories about **Acɔk** are good examples.⁴¹

My guide on his part says, "**Wae** is full of humour, comic and entertaining.--
- It deals with different types of human behaviour. It tells about greed, loyalty, betrayal, deception, in a manner **Acɔk** is doing to the other people."⁴²

Similarly **Caam** says, " **Waac** is mostly concerned with day to day human relationships in our real life".⁴³ In general, conceptions natives have of the subject matters in narratives indicate that contents expressing the distinctive characteristics of the genre as opposed to that of the other forms. Natives also point out the presence of subgroups within the **Wae** though they have not been identified with names like the major categories in the local language. But, however, identifying the presupposed subgroups for the purpose of validating what they know about the suitable subject matters characterising the genre based on contents within texts becomes convenient for close examination. Thus, dominant subgroups as perceived by the culture bearers themselves may next be given as:

- (1) Deception (Nos. 6,7 and 8)**
- (2) Judgement on Betrayal (Nos. 9 and 10),**
- (3) Belittling (Nos. 11 and 12),**
- (4) Vengeance (Nos. 13 and 14),**
- (5) Love and Hatred (Nos. 15 and 16),**
- (6) Human Folly and Stupidity(Nos. 17 and 18),**
- (7) Cruelty(No. 19),**
- (8) Marriage (No. 20).**

Out of 118 narratives collected in Anyuaa society, 68 fall under the **Wae**. When examined closely in contents, inherent with in them, 31 narratives fall under Deception, 8 within Judgement on Betrayal, 5 under Belittling, 7 into Vengeance, 4 under Love and Hatred, 4 under Human Folly and Stupidity, 3 stand for Cruelty and 6 into Marriage.

Among the 34 narratives under Deception, for instance, 26 deal with **Acφk** which means "the Deceiver". **Acφk** is a dramatis persona who lives in the world of Anyuaa fictitious narratives. He seems to be known almost by every Anyuaa for his ability in making tricks on children, women as well as men. **Acφk** is a witty character who reads the minds of people at a glance. " **Acφk** is so fast and clever that no one surpasses his ability" says a 35 year old Anyuaa after listening to eight stories about **Acφk** delivered by Ocala Obang at Gambella **Jendai**. According to my observations, **Acφk** is regarded by many natives as a paradigm in defining the characteristics of the **Wae**.

Hereunder, a few number of narratives from each subgroup have been taken up and illustrated so as to verify native principle of delineating the **Wae** interms of contents. To begin with, the first subgroup, **Deception**, No.6 focuses on wanton acts through transferring ill doings to innocent people for the purpose of keeping oneself safe from punishment.

In this narrative, we observe **Acφk** eating all the cooked meat put in a pot. Thereafter, he daubs the mouths and hands of sleeping children with the alligator's fat meat. As a result of his trick, the owners are seen blaming the innocent children for stealing the meat. No. 7 asserts that he who knows the weak points of others could get what he wants to get from them. So we observe **Acφk** deceiving one of the beautiful wives of a Nyieya (King). He wants to have sex with her. But she refuses to share his desire. Instead, she goes to a church to pray to God for

mercy. As soon as she starts praying, Aϕk climbs up on the dome of the church and addresses to her loudly, "I, God, the omniscient, shall never forgive you as long as you are in defiance of giving alms for the man who has begged of you before you come to pray!" Soon after "God" is "revealed" to her through "His" voice, we see the woman rushing out of the yard of the church to give alms to Aϕk.

Animals also play the roles of Aϕk with in this subgroup. For instance, No. 8 shows the Rabbit deceiving her friend, the Hyena, by taking in all the meat they got by hunting. But at another scene the Rabbit, the deceiver, is found deceived, by its best friend, the Squirrel. The moral lesson it gives to the listeners seems that one must do away with that he doesn't like to be done onto him by others.

The second subgroup of narratives deal with Judgment on Betrayal. In narratives under this subgroup we find thematic values denoting the importance of loyalty and faithfulness in human relationships. Infidelity is often stressed as a punishable conduct of behaviour. At initial stages of narratives in this subgroup the dramatis personae emerge with normal human relationships. Like men in the real world, a character accompanies with the other either in hunting, farming, fishing or doing other things. But the crisis develops and betrayal takes place whenever they get a good beast of prey, harvest or any other emotional gratification. For example, No.9 gives us accounts of the **Judgement on betrayal** done by the Hare.

The Hare and Giraffe entered a farmer's garden at night to eat ripe fruity. As soon as they entered opening the gate, the Hare thinks of preparing an opening through the fence to escape if the farmer would perhaps become aware of them in his garden. So she makes the hole quickly and turns back to eat the fruit till its belly gets full. After a while, the Hare becomes satisfied with the fruit and tells the Giraffe her habit of singing after eating sweet fruits. But, the Hare's habit makes

her friend, the Giraffe, so much annoyed and he strongly opposes to her derogatory behaviour. So, he warns the Hare not to sing before he gets satisfaction. Nevertheless, the hare starts singing loudly and runs right away into the hole living the Giraffe behind. Eventually, we find the giraffe beaten severely by the farmer. Being offended by the Hare's infidelity, the injured Giraffe deliberately throws the Hare into water when they cross a river.

Both the Giraffe and hare are punished. Beaten severely, the Giraffe is seen injured. The reason for that is its thievery, its excessive desire for food. The Hare is punished with death for its lack of concern. Therefore, this type of entertaining and instructive animal stories are recognized as the **Wae** by natives themselves.

The other variant with the same content is No.10. The Rat shows disloyalty to her friend, the Monkey, by depleting the maize they harvested and stored in granary for drought time. Of course, the key has been with the Monkey. In spite of that the Rat bores a hole into the ground to the granary. Using the underground hole, the Rat eats all the maize. Meanwhile, there happens drought in their village. In this testing time, the Monkey asks his friend to take his own share before his little ones die of hunger. But, the Rat bluffs the Monkey to keep his share for the future that might perhaps be worse than the present one. However, the Monkey gives her deaf ears. She can't convince him. At last, the granary is opened. But, unfortunately, he finds it empty. Then, we observe them accusing each other in front of the assembly of all animals. The assembly gets the case so much difficulty to identify who the offender was. This time, the Rat proposes a solution. The solution is that if one were found safe in a burning granary, he must be free from the charge. Then the assembly asks the Monkey whether he agrees with the Rat's idea or not. He consents to the proposal. So the Rat's idea is put into action. Both come into the granary and the assembly sets the granary on with fire. The Rat's intention was to escape through the hole she made before. But we find the monkey defended by nature. As soon as the granary starts burning, a rain storm

extinguishes the fire at once and at the same time fills the hole with deluge that kills the Rat.

Narratives regrouped under **Belittling** show other conducts of human behavior. These types of narrative represent inward and outward images people have of towards themselves and of others. They also stress on passing judgements on merits or abilities rather than depending at face values. Dramatis personae in this cluster of narratives are depicted in incongruity. The largest contests with the smallest animal; the most powerful with the weakest. By so doing, they carry instructive values of the advantages of astuteness, knowledge and wisdom over huge physical appearances and strengths. Virtually, the incongruity induces laughter and pity for the troubles of the weakest on the part of the audience as one may judge in the following illustrations which verify natives conceptions of delineating the genre based on narrative contents.

For instance, the Rat is presented standing against the Lion. One day, she informs him of her power to set him free if he gets in trouble. But such an utterance from a small creature is no little despising to the Lion. He felt as if his pride was despised. So he wished to kill her. But she makes him cool down in no time using her cunning power. On another scene, we find the Lion trapped. If it were not for the Rat's formidable power proved with her very small but sharp teeth that let the Lion free from the deadly trap, it would have cost him his dear life. Another similar theme is No.12. The Elephant moves toward a pond to drink water. He was almost stepping on the Frog at the pond's edge. His heedlessness inflicts her with a rage. So she nags and tells him not to be proud of his hugeness. Getting surprised of her "nonsensical" talk, he laughs at her. When he looks down on her loathesomely, she urges him to contest with her in finishing the water full of the pond. Thereupon, the Elephant consents to contest. But, he dies for the sake of pride when the Frog wins by sipping and by spilling out the water from its mouth at the same time.

In narratives under **Vengeance**, one observes a return of revenge for revenge, "**Ocīro Ki bīm**", the Tortoise and the Monkey", No.13, is a good example of showing such vengefulness. The Monkey prepares "Agwääga" to be held on a big tree and then invites his friends including the Tortoise though he knows about his inability to climb a tree. When the Tortoise arrives at the Monkey's tree, he discovers the place at which the Agwääga is to be celebrated. Then, he considers the invitation as much demeaning and derisive act deliberately done by the Monkey. So the Tortoise, turning back to his house, plans to prepare his own Agwääga with a pre condition for participation. The pre condition is cleanliness which creates torture on the Monkey with anxiety.

No.14 also focuses attention on how Omal could achieve in revenging his enemy, the Hyena. First, the Hyena eats Omal's stolen goats and then devours his children. At last, the Hyena takes Omal to his home to share his flesh with his children. But when Omal finds the Hyena together with his children, he kills all of them with spears. In general, stories in this cluster present painful experiences, events and realities of ordinary life. Thus, the Anyuaa classify them in the **Wae** depending on their subject matters or contents.

Some narratives categorized under subgroup Love and Hatred deal with family relationships. For example, "**Gir ObwÖrë**", The story of two Orphans (No.15) shows the importance of attending to children (family members) equally. In the narrative, the grandmother feeds to the one whom she loves with popped sorghum whereas she gives to the child she dislikes the unpopped, parched part of it. But, on the contrary, the child who is fed with popped sorghum gets thin, weak and feeble whereas the other one grows fat and strong.

In this subgroup, the other example that verifies Love and Hatred is No.16, "The Husband and His wife". The wife misunderstands her husband because her manner leads him to hate and neglect her. Then, the woman gets into confusing

state of mind. She always asks herself for the reason why her husband changes his attitude toward her after sometime. As she is not able to find out the cause, she tells her problems directly to the Jodongo. Instead of asking her husband to tell the reason why he hates and neglects his wife, the Jodongho instructs the woman to bring strands of hair from a Lion's mane. Then, the woman fulfils the mission given to her by the Jodongho using her wonderful cunning and exhibits the hairs she has brought from the lion's mane. Surprised with her cleverness, the Jodongho advises her to treat her husband in the same way as she has done with the Lion.

The above narrative, as one can observe, provides a simple but very important instruction resulting in love between the couple.

Narratives within the subgroup, **Human Folly and Stupidity**, depict some human qualities such as foolishness, stupidity and irresponsibility. For example, No.17, Ngaagäae persuades his brother Obang to climb a tree to look for a beast of prey around the area. Soon after Obang climbs up to the top of the tree, Nyaagäae stirs up a snake sleeping in a hole bored on one side of the trunk of the tree which he saw just before he asks Obang to climb. The snake glides toward the top of the tree where Obang is standing on to scan the area. But when he becomes aware of the snake moving towards him, Obang gets frightend. At this moment, Ngaagäae shouts at Obang to leave hold of the tree. Obang falls from the top of the tree and crushes on the ground till he gets concussion. As a result of that foolish and irresponsible act, we find Nyaagäae departing from his family once and for all.

"The Nine Brothers" (No.18) is an other example of stupidity. Those brothers are seen unable to find the exact number of their group. Each cries for his missing brother due to inability to count including oneself.

The other group of narratives deal with cruelty. For instance, No.19, presents the story of a greedy man who kills his sister's daughter for he suspects of her eating a stalk of sorghum.

Marriage is also another dominant theme natives recognize as a subgroup. Some of the narratives give emphasis to the importance of the "cϕth", a marriage based on the choices of lovers. Narratives which focuses on the significance of the first impression of partners are also included in this subgroup. In association with this theme "The Monkey and the Tiger" (No.20) is good evidence. The Monkey wishes to marry the Tiger's daughter. But before taking her hands, the Monkey woos the Tiger according to the custom. As the Tiger shows a sign of willingness, the Monkey asks onions to the Tiger as a payment of bride-price. The Tiger gets angry at the Monkey's lack of common sense because he never eats anything except meat. Finally, the Tiger refuses the marriage to take place.

In general, a number of narratives under dominant subgroups illustrated above validate the Anyuaa conceptions of generic classifications based on contents embodied in them. Narratives contents falling under the **Wae** represent the day to day social activities, human needs and relationships. They display the most basic human qualities: loyalty versus infidelity, kindness versus cruelty, amity versus enmity, double-dealings versus trust-worthiness, etc. which happen in everyday human experiences. Hence, these subject matters reflected in narratives are classified in the **Wae** in Anyuaa culture.

The Angade: As conceived by natives the **Angade** are appendant narratives that occur to advance the main ideas of other ongoing courses of discussion on any subject matter. They refer to events of the past, systems of belief, world views, ideas and structured patterns of social actions. Their performance opportunities are subjected to the existence of events of discussion realing on a

priori to their appearances. In an attempt to give its particular defining features natives like Priest Akway express, "The **Angade** deal with subject matters appertain to what we talk about."⁴⁵ Besides, they are very short in form and their headings are proverbs. The **Angade** teller retraces events and reminds of back-ground experiences from which the proverb seems to have been engendered. They are restated with brevity. Listeners decode messages in analogous ways of interpretation since contents are parallelly delivered in association with the core ideas of the host subject matters. These conceptions and experiences, the Anyuaa have of the **Angade** is employed to distinguish it from the **Leere** and the **Wae**. In discussing the importance of giving attention to the indigenous knowledge of folklore genres Ben-Amos(1982: 39) writes:

For the demarcation of genres to be culturally communicable, they need to be conceived and perceived as distinct verbal entities; such a recognition has to be linguistically expressed, and validated both by the text itself and the social context of its performance. (Ben-Amos, 1982:139).

Thus, the **Angade**, recognized by native people themselves as a distinctive genre existing on its own right and as defined in terms of its symbolic meanings is also verified with the following description of contents in narratives within their cultural contexts.

1. The Angado "**Akëëno Athow Ko Omari**", **Akeeno died together with her stepbrother**" tells us that:

There was a woman called Akeeno. She loved her stepbrother. He also fell in love with her. In love, they lived together and then died together. So it is said that "Male and female died together".

The topic is put in a proverbial form. Characters are Akeeno and her step-brother and the plot is very simple. Events restate the origin of the title.

The point to be taken in mind here is that the paradoxical meaning it transmits. It indicates love without sexual relationship due to family ties and death by chance or necessity on the one hand and the reality of love affair between opposite sexes on the other as remarked by the proverb at the end.

2. The Nyieyi and Kwaari chooses one of his maternal uncle(Nääm) to be buried alive when he dies. On the day of coronation, on the **Rony**, he familiarizes the people with his nääm. According to the custom, the person who is chosen to be buried with the Nyieya or Kwaaro is rewarded a cow on the **Rony** in front of the people. The acceptance of the reward symbolizes the acceptance of death with the Nieya or Kwaaro.

The Angade "Unynya Adɔk", Adɔk eluded after boasting" and "Boor Kaa Ri Wän", "Incision is done on the abscess", justify this ground rule. "Unynya adɔk" shows how adɔk, the Nyieya's special uncle, escape from death by violating the tradition. In Anyuaa custom, boasting with ancestral bull-names (praise names) on ceremonial occasions such as **Rony**, **Kony** and **agwäägaa** is regarded as a sign of pride, courage, determination, or of achievements against an enemy etc. Special uncles of the Nyieyi or Kwaari also show boasting on the moments of **Kony** mentioning their ancestral bull-names just before a little while their legs are broken and then put into graves so as to accompany the souls of the Nyieya or Kwaaro.⁴⁶ As one may imagine the practice seems terrible. Nevertheless, culture requires and qualifies its members to do so. In addition, life is believed to be existing after death. So Adɔk must fulfil what is expected from him. He must be buried with the Nyieya so long as he has accepted the reward on the **Rony**.

But when he knows the Nyieya's death, Adϕk disappears from his village, and at last, he is caught and brought to the Kony. It is on this moment that Adϕk starts showing his bravery, courage and determination to get into the grave "gladly" by boasting in the bull-names of his ancestors. He boasts as if he were the right and brave nääm of the Nyieya to accompany his soul. So he boasts beating the "Ocala" and wearing "the Gare" (cloth made of feathers) till the people gathered at the Kony become much impressed with it. Then, Adϕk moves freely here and there. At last, he throws "the Bull" and "the Gare" away and eludes from being buried alive. So the people use this proverbial story, "Unynya Adϕk", sarcastically in association with any course of discussion having similar ideas.

Unynya Adϕk eluded After Boasting)

This angado is told because of Adϕk's tricks. He eluded after boasting before he was buried with a Nyieya (king).

Long time ago a Nyieya died. There was also a man called Adϕk. Adϕk was the Nyieya's special uncle (nääm). As Adϕk heard of the Nyieya's death, he disappeared from his village. Then, people started searching for him. They searched for him for many days. At last, he was caught in a hiding place and brought to the Kony. As Adϕk was brought to the Kony to be killed and buried with the Nyieya, he stated boasting. He boasted of his bravery. He boasted as though he had accepted death with the Nyieya. So Adϕk boasted, "I, Adϕk is not afraid of turning back to water. I accepted thϕw (death) gladly." Then he said, "Leave me alone! Let me move freely. Let me boast freely. Let me praise my ancestors before I am buried with the Nyieya. Leave me alone..." he said.

People let him move and boast freely. Then he hold ocala (drum) and wore the gare. Adϕk then continued boasting about his forefathers' bull-names running here and there till the people became impressed with his acts. As the people became impressed with his acts, Adϕk threw the ocala and the gare away and then eluded by jumping over the fence. It is said that "Adϕk eluded after boasting."

(Priest Akway Occuudho)

3. The other thematic variant of "Unynya Adɔk" is "Boor Kaa Ri Wän". Characters in this **angado** are the Nyieya and his nääm(special uncle) who is assigned to die with him like Adɔk. As we may observe in the story, the Nyieya gets painful swelling on his body. The Nyieya makes his nääm's healthy body incised with sharp knife in lieu of his abscess. However, the Nyieya finds the incision on his uncle's body helpless. Thereafter his own swelling body is incised and becomes healthy. And "Boor Kaa Ri Wan" is performed as an appendage to any idea of the main course of discussion.

4. In some **Angade**, the strong enjoys life at the expense of the weak. Deceivers mistreat and cheat the innocent. Such experiences of living in the real world are also depicted in "Riek Wang Cilwiek Nan Käl Wang Okɔɔlo", which means, "The bird took the eyes of the millipede" as follows:

Long ago, the bird and the millipede were living friendly. But, one day the bird asks the millipede to lend him his blinking eyes only for a duration of an Agwaaga (a dance festival). "Your gleaming eyes are so attractive. You know they are easily shut and opened. How beautiful they are for a dance party! Please lend me your blinking eyes for one day my friend," asked the bird. The millipede hesitated. Then he said, "Don't worry about it. You can take them with you. Don't worry. But you must bring them back soon after the party is over." The bird took the eyes. It didn't turn back the millipede's eyes till today. So it crawls in the dust without sight. Therefore, people say that "the bird took the eyes of the milliped."

(Priest Akway).

Appertaining to the main course of a discussion, the story focuses attention on morality. The bird maliciously injured the poor millipede with blindness. So it indirectly condemns wanton acts that harm the weak of the society. And the audience is advised to refrain from committing moral offences.

Some Angado, for example, "Waragöoy Ongφφk Olwaki" shows the conflict between the belief and the philosophy of life of the Anyuaa in communalism. In Anyuaa convictions, an insane, mad, epileptic or crazy, etc. person is thought of as Ci-Jwφk. As noted before, Wii - maac is the ideal socio-cultural institution where communal life is often practised. At Wii - maac members of the society eat food, share ideas and solve all sorts of problem they encounter. So grounded into these social realities the "Waragöoy Ongφφk Olwaki" depicts the "insane", isolated from the Wii-maac with which the very essence of Anyuaanness is practically manifested. We observe the insane person deprived of sharing food with his own kinds. The reason for the isolation is the belief of the society in Ci-Jwφk which is blamed for all sorts of human trouble: sickness, death, insecurity and so on. The story, therefore, depicts the damaging activities done by "Ci-Jwφk", the insane person, against the community. The stealing of the lizard stew (roasted meat) and tools for catching fish on which the livelihood of the society depends are actions that show the harmful effect "Ci-Jwφk" plays in the society.

"An Insane Eats the Stew"

Once upon a time there were people sitting around Wii-maac. They were cooking lizard meat. After they cooked the meat they started eating excluding their insane nephew.

One of his uncles asked the others to invite him. "Let him come and eat with us" he said. But the others refused. They said

“No!” The insane listened to them when they were talking about him. So, he went out to the bush to bring thick stick to beat up his uncles. After a while, he came back to the Wii-maac quietly and slowly. The people were eating the sweet lizard meat sitting around the fire place and talking about him. Then, the insane came in the darkness without being noticed by his uncles. He came nearer and nearer. After he came close to the Wii-maac, he threw the stick aiming at them. All Terrorize, ran away leaving their spears and the sweet lizard stew. Scaring away the people from the Wii-maac, the insane ate all the stew and took away their fishing spears.

For this happening, people say that “An insane eats the stew”

(Caam Adhom)

4.3. Delineating Genres By Age

Constitutive elements of social position are regarded by folklore scholars like Ben-Amos (1982: 155) as having possible relationship to genres of folklore in a given culture. "The age of speakers" ,he says, "has a direct bearing upon the forms which they know and are able to use properly and which the cultural rules permit them to employ." Finnegan (1981: 70) also states the importance of "experience" and "ability (*funun*) in story-telling" based on her observation in Limba society. She says "everyone is potentially able to tell stories" but "The stories told by children tend to be more sketchy and less complex, sometimes more emphasizing the basic plot or the joke or just one incident... rather than... the moral or explanatory aspects sometimes favoured by the older men." The case with the Anyuaa systems of classifying genres are also interconnected with knowledge, ability and experience

of the performer. Of course, there is not any cultural rule that forbids members of Anyuaa society from performing narratives in relation to social position. But on the contrary, the culture encourages its members to express themselves and to pass comments on ideas in accordance with the conducts of behaviour as expected by the society (Petner, 1990: 32). This fact is testified with a large corpus of data collected during field work programs. For example Peter Opitii says, "There are no restrictions on age, sex, and rank in association with telling and listening to stories, riddling and dancing in our tradition."⁴⁷ So one may ask that if there is not any cultural restrictions on age in relation to performing narratives, what is then the main reason for delineating genres based on age in Anywaa traditional modes of communication? The reasons behind the determinative factors for distinguishing genres in relation to the age of performers may be put in brief as (1) competence, ability in performing properly or fitness of delivery to the needs of the audience, and (2) experience and knowledge about the society. These factors together with the attitudes, ideas and beliefs that the native people bring with them into performance situations of genre are the underlying reasons behind the age of storytellers as delineating principle in Anyuaa culture (see chap. 3, 3.1). Natives regard **Leere** as "true old talk: **Angade** is also perceived as a storehouse of wisdom. For instance, stating about the characteristics of the **Leere**, Caam Adhom⁴⁸ puts;

... the old people are more interested in telling the **Leere** to children and young whereas children and the young are incapable to perform it for the adults. Boys and girls are very much interested in telling as well as listening to the **Wae**. The **Wae** involves mixed age audiences and performers at **Wi-maac**.

The other interviewee, Mother Thaata, gives attention to the **Leere** and the **Angade** as "a sign of adulthood" when she regards the **Wae** as "a favourite to children and youngsters."⁴⁹ Priest Akwai, on his part, puts the **Angade** exclusively to "knowledgeable and wise men" "who can make use of them in "their speech". According to his view, the reasons for the exclusion are indicated as "knowledge

about the culture, history, custom and belief" of the society as well as "ability in using them properly."⁵¹

Age as a variable in defining genres is best explained by Philip Opiew.

The Wae is told conjointly by children and adults every night at the Wii-maac. Head men initiate children to tell Leere as they can do with the Wae. But ideas in it and use of Angade are practically beyond their scope of knowledge and ability.⁵²

These indigenous views indicate the existence of a logical principle of generic classification based on the age of performers in Anyuaa culture which is also illustrated by the following table reflecting my observations on performance interactions during field work activities.

Performance Behaviours of Genres

Generic name	Age of Performers	Number of narratives collected
Leere	43-97	24
Wae	11-87	63
Angade	50-78	31

The table shows that levels of cognitive development and competency of the performers as points of view towards defining genres as "age - bound" entities existing in their own right within the culture. This leads us to another important point which deserves mention. The point is that logical consistency between the three indigenous principles of generic classification described so far.

In sum, this part of the thesis has come up with the **three** genres and **three** indigenous principles of generic classification in Anyuaa culture. These indigenous

principles are meanings of generic names, narrative contents and age of performers. The genres are identified as the **Leere**, the **Wae** and the **Angade**. Attitudes, conceptions and perceptions the indigenous people have of the cultural interpretations behind generic names have been verified by ways of illustration of contents inherent in narratives. And subject matters within native texts that express the distinctive features of genres are directly related to the age of performer as a principle of delineating genres. In this case age is explained in terms of competence in performing properly, experience and knowledge about the society.

4.4. Social Functions of Genres

This section focuses on the most common social functions belonging to all genres of oral prose narratives in Anyuaa society in light of the socio-cultural contexts, native definitions of genres and the worlds they represent as discussed so far in the preceding chapters and "functional data" collected in the field. Genres involve in common social functions and are fully understood through functional data as stated by Dundes (1965:279) in his introduction to Bascom's writing on "Four Functions of Folklore." He says,

Different types of folklore can share similar, if not identical, functions.... It is equally important to realize that any one item of folklore may have several functions... . One cannot always tell from form alone what the associated contextual function is.

According to Dundes, "functional data" require knowledge on (1) the reason why a particular genre is used, (2) a particular situation in which a particular genre is employed, and (3) a particular need a genre fulfils in a society. In this regard, the description given to the outside worlds of Anyuaa oral prose narratives sheds light on "the associated contextual functions" of genres in Anyuaa society. Natural performance situations identified as **Wii-maac**, **Agwaaga**, **Jodongho**, **Jendai**, **Rony**, **Kony**, **Nyööm** and other unspecified daily routines of life exhibit favourable

situations in which they are employed. The attempt to discover the underlying indigenous principles of generic classifications and the description given to the distinctive characteristics of genres also depict what narratives are serving to the society. As discussed in the preceding section, cognitive aspects of the genres are also indicative of their “associated contextual functions.” For instance, the **Leere** is understood of as a record of history, heroic deeds, as a guide for actions and as embodiment of culture: belief, tradition, custom, outlook, etc.. It is perceived as a “true old talk” of the ancestors.

The **Angade** is regarded as a means for direct or indirect advice for ornamenting speech and as stamp of wisdom, whereas the **Wae** is encountered as a means for teaching the young through entertainment.

Social need narratives fulfil in Anyuaa society are inferable from the illustrative narratives (Nos.1-20) and from some **Angade** incorporated in this chapter (sec.4.2). Thus, each is briefly stated as follows.

No.1 perpetuates culture: beliefs and outlooks towards the creator and the created. It upholds conceptions of life and death whereas No.2 validates and idealizes traditional institutions and the reasons behind them. It maintains social order, laws and codes of behavior and serves as a guide to social actions in the form of “**Kwor.**”

No.3 records historical events of the past as No.5 justifies dissatisfactions with social norms on the one hand and admires indigenous lore and man’s dynamic role in changing his world on the other. The Educational needs of Anyuaa society are also met with narratives with didactic values. For instance, Nos. 6-20 carry several moral values. In these narratives, thievery, betrayal, senselessness, deliberate acts of destruction, deception and cruelty do not remain unpunished while bravery, cunning ability, knowledge, generosity... are seen rewarded.

Nos. 6-8 ridicule cheating, deceptions and making tricks on others, while No.9 and 10 promote moral values such as loyalty and faithfulness on the one hand, and strongly despise false friendships, and betrayals, on the other. Nos. 11 and 12 teach the importance of passing judgements based on merits rather than at face values. They stress on the advantages of wisdom, ability, astuteness and cunning over physical strength.

Nos. 13 and 14 instruct listeners not to let vengeful acts unpunished. These narratives afford moral lessons through bitter life experiences as we may also observe in Nos. 11 and 12. No. 15 directs the audience on to the need for tending family members on equal footings when No.16 teaches the society the value of common understanding. It shares the wisdom of the ancestors that works in the real situations of the listeners. In addition, the narrative encourages human relationships based on love. Nos. 17-19 strongly denounce senselessness, lack of concern, foolishness and greediness. It also curses cruelty while No.20 encourages the importance of winning the interests of others.

The **Angade**, “**Unynya Adϕk**” and “**Boor Kaa Ri Wän**”, perpetuate social norms, customs and beliefs. “**Riek Wang cilwiek Nan Käl Wang Okϕϕlo**” (The bird took the eyes of the millipede) denounces senselessness and prescribes not to injure the weak in society. It curses wanton cruelty and deliberate harm. And finally, “**Waragööy Ongϕϕ Olwaki**” upholds communal life and condemns the malevolent acts of **Ci-Jwϕk**. By so doing, the **Angade** is observed maintaining belief and upholding philosophy of life.

Based on this background, the most commonly recurring social functions involving the various functions of genres can be summarized in (1) **Perpetuating culture**, (2) **Validating institutions**, (3) **Justifying social norms** (4) **Recording**

history, and (5) Educating and entertaining listeners that are made clear by using an exemplifying narrative from each genre.

4.4.1. Dhaagø Bull Agøøe (A Woman Beat the Bull)

(Ngatta Leero (Leero performer): Ocala Obang, 46, a guard at Bureau of Justice; place: Ginina, at Othow Adier's Wii-maac; 9 p.m. (in the evening), Aug 29, 1998, number of audience 21).

A long time ago, there was a woman who beat the bull. There was a woman called Awiili. One day, the village she was living in had been attacked by enemy raids from the forest. As soon as the enemy started to attack suddenly, all men went out to protect their village. They went to fight against the enemy. But, Awiili's husband fell in terrible cowardice as immediately as he heard the alarming beats on the bull at the Kwaaro's post. He was scared of fighting against the enemy from the wilderness. Then, he told his wife, Awiili, "I am afraid of fighting. I would rather like to search for a hiding place till the battle is over."

At this moment, Awiili became ashamed of his cowardly act. Of course, she tried to encourage him to go and protect his village from the raid and begged him to behave like those men of his village. But he couldn't control his fear.

At last, he threw away his thongs (spears) and shield and then ran off to find a hiding-hole for himself till the fighting came to an end.

Ashamed of her husband's cowardly behavior, Awiili went out boldly to die in battle. She fought bravely against the enemy with the thongs and shield abandoned by her husband. She fought fiercely like a tiger. Then, the enemy was defeated and dispersed into many directions.

Thereafter, Awiili's husband came out of his hiding place. She looked down on him when he came from his hiding-hole. Awiili hated him and decided not to live with him as his wife. Therefore, on the day he came to his house, she went to

the Kwaaro's post at night and captured the bull. Then, she started beating. She beat it continuously. After a while, the villagers arrived at the Kwaaro's residence in alarm and gathered around his compound. The people then asked to know the reason why the bull was beaten. They asked, "What happened to our village? Did our enemies come back? So what is the reason for beating the bull. Tell us the problem!" The people asked the Kwaaro showing readiness to fight.

The Kwaaro answered in a shout, "The Bull is beaten by a woman! It was Awiili who seized it and beat it suddenly for the reason I have not yet known. It is something of oddity! Let her tell us about it herself."

At this time, Awiili stood up in front of the people. She stood up and spoke of her husband's shameful acts. She told the people all that he had done when the enemy invaded the village. Awiili said, "I found my husband to be a coward. He threw away his thongs and shield and got into a hole to hide himself. He is cowardice. From now on, I will no longer be his wife. His cowardly act forced me to beat the bull."

The people got very much surprised. They laughed at him. They cursed him. And, at last, his relatives took their thongs and killed their coward brother.

(Ngatta Leero: Ocala Obang)

In Anyuaa tradition, a woman is not allowed to beat a bull. As we have seen, the topic of the Leero is entitled as "A woman beat the bull." The opening sentence also gives emphasis to the topic. "A long time ago, there was a woman who beat the bull." This may sound odd to an adult culture bearer as the Kwaaro himself told the people: "It is something of an oddity!" There are many repetitions in the Leero stressing on that unusual happening.

Of course, the audience laughed when Ocala started telling the Leero. It is a common phenomenon in performance events. So, I was not fully aware of the culture perpetuated by "Dhaagϕ Bull Agϕϕe". I became fully aware of its contextual

function at the moment when I observed the effect it imparted on one of my data validator and translator, Caam Adhom, an intellectual and a native deeply soaked into his culture.

At that time, he was very busy in cross-checking the transcribed narratives in the local language and their translated versions in English. He was cross-checking “Dhaagϕ Bull Agϕϕe”, he burst out laughing suddenly. I gazed at him questioningly. He put his pen down on his desk. Laughing and shaking his head he stood up. He was much surprised. So, I asked him to know about what the narrative he was dealing with did to him. Then he said, “I have known a woman who beat a bull and who stood up and spoke in front of a gathering!” He laughed again sarcastically.

Imagine. He didn't refer to the corporal punishment done on Awiili's husband. What made him so much surprised were those actions of Awiili.

“So what made you surprised that much?” I asked him.

“For Anyuaa, these happenings are very much surprising because in our custom women do not beat the bull at all. Not only that, they also do not stand in front of public gatherings. These things are taboos. A woman is forbidden to beat a bull for it is feared of bringing chaos to the society. If a woman has to speak in front of a gathering, she ought to sit on her knees.”

I asked him, “Will a woman be punished if she is found deviating from the norms like Awiili of the Leero?”

“Yes! She will be punished indirectly because the society regards her as an insane woman.”

To be labelled as “insane” is a terrible experience in Anyuaa society. If it happens, a person is regarded as Ci-Jwϕk which results in a question to his/her

survival. But Awiili is not found punished in the Leero in one way or another because of her heroic deeds. She is portrayed as “a tiger” in protecting her village from the enemy. This being so, she has taken the place of her husband in the society. Her deviant behavior is redressed by the approval of what she had achieved in fighting against the enemy. Thus, the Leero justifies that she, who dies for the causes of the society as men may do or do not dare to do, can surely attain the status men are supposed to achieve.

Note also that Awiili’s husband falls prone to corporal punishment by his relatives for he is witnessed coward. As it is regarded as a disgracing act to the souls of his dead ancestors and members of his clan, no one is seen showing pity for him. Therefore, one may deduce that “**Dhaagϕ Bull Agϕϕe**” perpetuates beliefs and customs. It justifies social norms to the native people. The Leero idealizes heroism, upholds “true” happenings of the past and instructs listeners on the need for defending the sovereign, the greatest good for people’s existence exerting impacts on the current situations.

When we come to the **Wae**, it is dramatized in presentation. It induces laughter, delight and pleasure to its audience. The **Wae** teaches participants through entertainment as du Toit (1979: 316) indicates the social uses of tale.

Virtually all the literary works have a clearly defined social function. This function is highly developed in the case of the tale. Indeed the story-teller always begins his tale by telling the public that he or she is about to tell a fictitious story thus acquiring the license to tamper with the content according to his set strategy. The strategy is simple enough; it is to teach about social laws. Thus he or she can do effectively only by simultaneously entertaining the audience .

This, to a large extent, explains that the **Wae** inculcates in the young with didactic values through entertainment, humor and pleasure. It serves people to get

purgation from the hard boring daily work such as tilling land with hand tools, mowing crops, hunting and fishing, pounding maize, grinding sorghum, fetching water and so on in a hostile hot temperature of Anyuaa land in the day time. Thus, people meet in bored feelings around the Wii-maac due to the tedious daily work. So they entertain themselves either with playing “tom” or “Kraar”, clapping and chanting in group, or with telling and listening narratives. The Wae enhances communication skills and socialization processes through which individuals are able to conform to the accepted rules and norms of their society as we may look at in the following waac.

4.4.2. Jey Adäk Ma Mengnge Bëët (The Three Deaf people)

(Nyatta Waac (Waac-teller): Ujulu Obang, 28; place: at his home (Pyinudho); time: 11 a.m., 3 Aug., 1998; number of audience:8)

A long time ago, there was a woman living by breeding goats. She was rich enough. But one day, she lost her goats left alone to graze in the field. Then, the woman went out to look for her missing goats in the surrounding villages. As she was searching for her goats, the woman saw a man tilling his land. Then, she thought of asking him if he had seen goats passing near by his farm land.

“Would you please tell me if you have seen goats around this area?” asked the woman. Of course the goats had passed near by his farming land. But the farmer didn’t see them because his attention was directed onto tilling his land. He also didn’t listen properly to what the woman asking him about. He spoke to her indicating with his hand, “I tilled it all from here up to there.”

The woman didn’t listen to him properly as well. She simply saw the farmer’s hand moving to one direction. Then, she went following the direction the farmer’s hand pointed to. Fortunately, she got her goats. So, she thanked the farmer very-very much as though he had indicated to her the whereabouts of

the goats. She thanked him for his cooperation and then decided to give him one goat.

Then, the woman informed him about her decision. She said to him. "You are a good person. You showed me the whereabouts of my goats. If it were not for your kind help I would not have got my goats. So, please choose one of the goats and take it. Your help deserves it. If it were not for your help, my goats would have been stolen by someone, please take..."

The farmer gets angry at her suddenly. "Do you expect me to take a goat you have stolen from someone? Am I your accomplice, then?" he shouted at her.

The woman became shocked. "No! I haven't said that please! The goats are mine. What I have said is that you take one goat for your kind help..."

"For what help? For your thievery?" he barked at her again.

"The goats are not stolen. They are my own property." said the woman disgusted with the farmer's obstinate manner.

"No, no, no.... You told me of your thievery. So, you will not be let free. I want to take you to Löögö (justice). That may bring out the truth. I must take you to the Nyieya for Löögö." Then, they quarreled because they couldn't understand each other. Finally, the woman agreed to go to the Nyieya for Löögö. They started going, driving the goats.

On their way, the woman wanted to bring her child she left behind when she went out to look for the goats. So, she brought the child carrying it on her back. Then, they went to the Nyieya's quarter and reached there after some hours.

Soon after they arrived, the Nyieya asked the woman to tell him about her complaints. She told him and his followers about the happenings. She, carrying her child on her back, said, "My goats were lost. When I was searching for them, I came across this person tilling his land. So, I asked him if he had seen my goats. Then, he showed me the direction to which they had gone. Following that direction, I went and got them and thus decided to give him a goat for his kind help. But, unfortunately, he accused me of stealing my own goats. Though I tried to

convince him, he couldn't understand the truth and what I wished for him."

Next, people with the Nyieya asked the farmer "Do you have a claim on these goats? What is the problem with you?"

The farmer replied, "When I was tilling my land, the woman came driving the goats and told me that she had stolen them from someone I do not yet know. Then, she tried to persuade me to take a goat. I refused because the goats are stolen. And at the same time, I don't want to let her go with the goats which are not her own. Therefore, I have brought her here for löögö."

At this moment, men asked the woman to hold her child in her arms. They said, "Take your child off your back. You may feel tired. Please carry it in your arms."

The Nyieya didn't keep his mind on the course of the dispute. Thus he pricked up his ears to the words the men told the woman. Then, he repeated what they said. "Yes! Take your child off your back. Carry it in your arms." He didn't follow attentively what was presented to him from the start. That is why he missed the point and asked the farmer, "What is the reason for your denial? Is it fair to deny a child of one's own? If it is not your offspring, from whom is it born of? That is disgracing. What motivates you to deny it? Tell us!"

Things became mixed up and disorderly. People couldn't understand one another. And the farmer remained calm in confusion. The dispute seemed to the Nyieya a disagreement between a husband and a wife. So, he went on judging "You, woman, carry your child! You, man why do you deny your child. Go to your home and bring up your child from now on!"

Men misunderstand one another and things become mixed up because of the three deaf people.

(Nyatta-waac
Ujulu Obang)

The basic social function that the "Jey Adäk Ma Mangnge Bëët" serves may be noted as instilling the value of mutual understanding in the minds of the members of the society. Justice is regarded as an ideal factor for social stability.

But, however, we observe it to be unattainable because of the absence of common understanding between members of the community.

“**Jey Adäk Ma Mangnge Bëët**” inculcates discipline into listeners. It educates children about the importance of listening attentively, affords direction on what is despicable and praiseworthy, sharpens appreciative and evaluative capacities. With this role, the narrative enhances the socialization process through which members of the society adjust to the real situations of their society and acquire full personality.

The narrative serves many contextual functions. It gives approval for goodness, shows social control, despises theft, tells how to act and live and entertains listeners.

Narrative proverbs... function as images, metaphors, and symbols and advance the meanings and formal qualities of the narratives in which they occur... . The story when used as a proverb is drawn... as a means of giving shape to experiences... Such narrative proverb is a vital tributary to the main flow of the narrative, or to use a botanical metaphor, a substantial branch on the main stem of the giant tree (Obiechina, 1979:316).

This applies to the **Angade** in Anyuaa tradition. Because the main idea of conversation that give appropriate ground is often validated by the **Angade** being presented side by side in analogous form. One observes an autonomous principal idea linked to the storehouse of wisdom in the form of the **Angade** as described in 4.2 and 4.3 in this chapter. The genre serves the society to supply analogous interpretations maintaining politeness. It provides illustrative understanding and evaluates a point of view, a perception or an attitude in a discourse as we may also observe in “**Dhangho Da Girë**” (Everyone has his own property).

4.4.3. Dhangho Da Girë (Everyone has his own property)

(Story-teller: Priest Akway, 67, Occupation: Preacher and translator in Mekana Yesus Church in Gambela; Place: at the compound of Mekana Yesus Church; time: around 9 in the morning, 5 Aug., 1998).

“Everyone can attain his own property.” This is told because everyone can achieve success in his life time even though he may be contemptible in the eyes of others as an inferior person. The Angado is told somehow as follows:

Once upon a time, there was a king whose younger brother was living with him. His brother was called Okelo. Okelo was a poor person who simply depended on his brother’s properties. He was living idly, without work but sharing food with the king’s family members. Therefore, he was despised and neglected by every body including his own brother and his relatives because he ate without having his share in the work.

But one day, Okelo caught a big fish in his life time and brought it to the king’s family. The fish was cooked. Every member of the king’s family enjoyed it. When the king tasted the fish, he found it very much delicious and sweet. So, he asked his Nyikeego (chief of cookery), “Who brought this delicious fish? Who caught it? It has good flavour.”

When the Nyikeego told him that it was Okelo who had brought it, the king got very much surprised of it. He couldn’t believe of what he heard. Then he wondered and said, “Oh! Everyone can attain his own property though he is regarded as a poor person.”

(Priest Akway Occuudho)

The Angado denounces idleness and laziness. It stresses the importance of work. As we may realize, it contains didactic value that promotes the basic need of social life. Work is regarded as the source of honour and respect when idleness is counted as a threatening factor to the well-being of members of the community. It also notes of that ability of the human being in changing negative attitudes of others into positive conceptions so long as he or she engages in productive

activities. By so doing, the Angado inculcates in listeners the necessity of work. As we may observe, it is highly didactic and instructive.

4.5 Genres Overlap

As might be expected, the outcomes of the investigation conducted on the distinctive characteristics and social functions of genres lead to notice common features of intergeneric influences. In this regard, functions of genres overlap in fulfilling a certain social need. Genres also share common situational contexts for their actual realizations. In addition, genres involve one another in what they represent. Thus, this section briefs those points drawn up from the results of the investigation attempted so far. Further more, Dorst (1983. 414), in relation with the nature of generic overlappings, states:

Genre is a question of delimitation and a question of finding common denominator of a kind or its shared literary qualities for others instead of emphasizing distinction.... As effective social forces of rhetoric and idiology they engage one another actively. Any given genre is overcast to some degree by the shadow of other genres in its cultural environment and the nature of these intergeneric influences... is open to investigation.

As discussed in the preceding part of the thesis, genres are conceived of as point of views of a group of people towards the world. They are used to categorize consciousness and knowledge, function in transmitting worldviews, history and accumulated human experience etc.. . In an oral society like the Anyuaa some narratives are regarded as models for actions where the others serve as vehicles for indigenous ways of enculturation. Socializing processes whereby members attain inner worths are at large facilitated through the roles genres play in the society. These functions become visible with the every dayness of the gathering in every

homestead ruond the **wii-maac**. At the **wii-maac**, **Leere** is told to teach the young about their societal ethos, moreses and codes of behavior. The **Wae** is also told to instruct children through humor. The **Angade** is often picked up to advance or to spice one's argument in discussions. Having these roles in the society, function of genres thus overlap one another so as to fulfil basic societal needs.

The **Leere** perpetuates culture. It records history, validates socio- cultural instituions. It also justifies social orders, norms and changes. The **Leere** inculcates in the young generation with systems of values. The **Wae** and the **Angade** also accomplish these same functions in various degrees. All genres also interact in exerting pressure on anarchic actions, smooth conflicts, control diviations and promot ideal activities. For instance, subversive tendencies of belief towards human nature in **No. 5** cast on the **Angade** "**Unynya Adok**" and on "**Waragook**" **Olwaki**. The didactive values of narratives **Nos. 6-10** shed despicable acts and desires on the **Angado**- "**The Bird took out the Millipede's Eyes**".

Narrative **No.2** casts to some extent tenets of justice for actions and ways of thinking of the *dramatis personae* in **Nos. 6-20** and in other narratives in the **Wae** and the **Angade** in the same way as it does with human activities and relationships in the real world. In actual sense, we look at *dramatis personae*, be they animals or human beings, overlook damages or compliants to negotiate on the basis of **Kwor**. Human characters submit their cases to the **jodongho** where as animal characters on their part appeal to the assembly of all animals. For example, in **No. 16** the Woman submits her grievances on her husband to the **jodongho** where as the Monkey and the Rat (**No. 10**) forward their cases to the assembly of all animals. All of them accept and obey the council's or the assembly's judgements. In this case, the woman is found venturing in life demanding risks. She plays with the most ferocious beast, the Lion, so as to accomplish the verdict of the **jodongho**. The Rat and the Monkey in their turn accept death willingly after the assembly discussed on

the proposition forwarded by the Rat. Thus, these facts show how a function of a genre shares those of the other genres within their cultural milieus.

The **Angade** is the most intermingled genre of all the others. If it hadn't been proverbial and an appendage to a host discourse going on a prior to its occurrence, the **Angade** might have been classified either into the **Leere** or the **Wae** governed by the laws of the indigenous system of categorization. In brief, the utility services of a genre cast colours to some degrees on the functions of the other genres.

All genres share literary qualities or of aspects of event sequence patterns to be more specific and behaviour of presentations in common even if they differ in number of episodes they involve and in twists of logic.

As encountered by Boswell and J.Russel (1962: 117-118) and stated by Fekade (1991 E.C. : 65-67) as well as illustrated by Livo and Rietz (Ibid: 27-40) these aspects are (1) styles of presentation, (2) repetition or parallel structure in phrases and event to create suspense and to give fullness, (3) contrasting characters representing virtue and vice, (4) simple plote and dialogue, (5) two characters in a scene (6) introducing settings and dramatis personae in problem or conflict establishment, (7) the weakest among characters is discovered often to be the best, (8) the plot develops in a direct simple line without sub-plots: the first event leads logically to the second, the second to the third, and the last to the problem solution, (9) characterrization employs only human qualities relevant to the story, (10) didactive remarks at the end and initiative actions at the beginning.

Aspects of event sequence structure enumerated above are found common characteristics of the **Wae**, **Angade** and **Leere**. For example, the **Wae** and some narratives in the **Angade** are more dramatized in their presentation than that of the

Leere because of its respective contents. The later genre deals with serious subject matters.

As conceived by the speakers themselves, the **Leere** is regarded as the storehouse of knowledge and history of the past. So its nature doesn't favour more dramatized style of presentation. Some narratives falling into the **Angade** also share this characteristics. But, the way the genre is employed induce laughter for it simultaneously presents similar images through analogy that come together into the minds of the listners.

The **Wae** is highly dramatized in its delivery. Moreover, favourable situations for its realization accomodate mixed age participants. Adults see their past experiences through what the children and the young try to present. The style of presentation of the genre is predictable from its content and characterization. Most of the narratives in the **Wae** deal with themes such as: tricksters, deceptions, false friendships, cunningness and foolish acts etc. Characters are portrayed in incongruity: weak and strong, huge and small, etc. Thus imitations of characters produce more dramatized presentations of the genre.

Some of the narratives in the **Leere** and **Angade** employ background introductions. Except the **Angade**, the **Wae** and the **Leere** have opening formula which is often put as "Nyatta-Waac" + the name of the performer or "Nyatta-Leero" + the name of the performer. This means he/she who is going to tell you "Waac" or Leero" is (the name of the Performer).

All genres also open by exposition that introduces settings within the worlds of the narratives and characters to listners. Events in the **Angade** are few in number and in some narratives in the **Wae** too. But the size of events in the **Leere** outnumber that of the other genres. The **Wae** and the **Angade** more often end up with didactive statements. All this evidence in general, show the nature of casting the shadows of a genre on the others.

5. Conclusions

This thesis is concerned with studying oral prose narratives in a purely oral society uncharted until now in folklore field of studies. Thus, discovering logical principles underlying systems of Anyyaa generic classification, describing distinguishing characteristics of genres and revealing their utilitarian values in the society were the goals set out to be attained by defining them in light of ethnic categorization.

In an effort to achieve these goals, (1) presupposed problems to be solved in the study area, (2) specific objectives arising from the goals and derived from the problems, (3) relevant data for the study, (4) appropriate methods and effective research projects for obtaining facts within their contexts had been determined at the very outset of the research work.

In three phases of field work operations, each of which lasting for 30 days of duration, 118 native narratives were collected in three languages: 75 in their language, 21 in Amharic and 22 in English from 47 performers occupying different social status with age levels ranging from 11 to 97 year old culture bearers situated in varied human and physical settings. 17 interviews and 11 focus group discussion had been also conducted with the aim of penetrating the socio – cultural value systems, understanding symbolic or representations of verbal icons, comprehending ways of living and patterns of thinking reflected in oral prose narratives.

Most of the texts recorded in Anyyaa language were transcribed, translated and then cross-checked and validated by knowledgeable and experienced natives there in the study area during the second and the third phases of fieldwork. The tedious transcription and translation work has also be done using local and incidental research projects to facilitate and assist operations of depth study in the

study area. Data obtained from the field work has been translated in three levels of translation approaches: **word-for-word, free and dynamic equivalence.**

Among literary features of genres “content” is employed as one of the delineating factor in Anyuaa traditional modes of communication. Thus, the better the translation work progresses examining, interpreting and illustrating the contents and deciding on thematic interrelationships between narratives, as they exist in their own right, becomes the more crucial process. There followed the process of selection in order to determine on each narrative to which genre it would fall under. This has not been done arbitrarily but based on the logical consistencies of the indigenous principles. Symbolic interpretations generic names give to the native people or cognitive aspects of genres are vividly verified with contents within the narratives.

Moreover, generic names as “texts” involve as “texts within texts”. Therefore, the process of grouping narratives to which genre they fall under has been determined based on these logical consistencies of the indigenous ways of classification.

As the close examination into the large corpus of data illuminates, the origin home of Ethiopian Anyuaa is supposed to be the Acoli of Northern Uganda, near Lake Victoria. According to oral documents, the first settlers of the Anyuaa primordial ancestors are said to have been led by Gilo who first arrived at Wii-adooro, crossing River Pibor.

Regarding the worldviews, the creator of the universe and life in it is conceived of as **Jwφk**. **Jwφk**, abides by the sphere of the sky constituting two diametrically opposing forces termed as **Jwφk – Nyingaala-Bwoo** and **Jwφk – Dugu – Nyingaala - Bwoo**. The first aspect of **Jwφk** is believed to be the creator,

the sustenance of the orders of the universe with eternal life, and the dispenser of all good. In contrast, **Jwφk – Dugu – Nyingaala – Bwoo** is thought of as the devil aspect of **Jwφk** who foments disaster, sickness, death, starvation, and thunder **Jwφk** is conceived of as an ultimate power and at the same time as an anomalous and imperfect highest being. He is also characterized with anthropomorphic qualities.

In Anyuaa minds, **Jwφk** in the sky works on the earthly world through his multiple mediators that are believed to be residing in and under water, rivers, ponds, lakes, forests, caves, on mountains and animals etc.... These agents are regarded as having either the benevolent or malevolent acts of **Jwφk** towards human beings. The Anyuaa also believe in **animism, polytheism, totemism ancestral spirits** and eternal life after death. These conceptions, beliefs, and outlooks of the Anyuaa are to a large extent embodied, perpetuated and transmitted through the **Leere**.

As the corporeal and living beings are thought of the creation of **Jwφk**, social orders and principles of justice, **Kwor**, guiding for social actions and human relationships are also believed to be the creations of a demi – god, **Occuudho**. He is regarded as a prototype, an idol of Anyuaa. According to Anyuaa views, **Occuudho** prescribed social rules and laws; he established systems of administration. Imitations of symbolic objects imagined as his own properties are also regarded as emblems of power, sovereignty integrity and identity. Such norms in the society are justified, and institutionalized by the roles genres play in the society. Worlds inside genres resemble realities in the real social life of the people. Events, human qualities, behaviors, needs, and relationships, ways of living and thinking in the real world are metaphorically represented through genres as revealed in the entire body of the thesis.

Social actions in the framework of Anyuua ways of living that often bring about appropriate contexts for the performances of genres are broadly demarcated as “institutionalized” and “incidental” occurrences. Expected in spatial – temporal dimensions, institutionalized social actions include **Wii-maac** and **Agwaaga**. **Wii-maac**, a common fire place located at the center of every homestead, is not the place only for sharing food and drink but also regarded as the “spiritual hearth” for the Anyuua. It is at **Wii-maac** socialization process takes place every evening in every village through the **Wae** and to some extent in the **Leere** by affording favorable homely atmosphere for mixed – age participation. Occurring at least four times in a year, the **Agwaaga** produces favourable natural contexts for the actual realizations of the **Angade** and **Leere** by the adult people.

Incidental social actions consist of **Jodongho**, **Jendai**, **Rony**, **Kony** and **Nyööm**, each with its own particular purpose. Unspecified in time and place, **Jodongho**, **Jendai** and **Nyööm** yield suitable situations for the adults to perform the **Angde** and **Wae** having didactic and instructive values. Similarly, the **Leere** is told on the ceremonies of **Rony** and **Knoy** to a large extent.

Genres are points of view towards the world. They belong to a single worldview. And each culture has its own angles of perspectives of conceptualizing realities and categorizing knowledge and experiences.

Genres are defined either in analytical models or in ethnic systems of categorization. This study concentrates on the systems of Anyuua generic classification and have come up with the following findings. In the first place, the research has discovered three logical principles of delineating genres of oral prose narratives in Anyuua society. These indigenous logical principles underlying Anyuua systems of classification are (1) the indigenous generic names and cultural meanings they give to the native people, (2) narrative contents and (3) age of performers.

Secondly, the Anyuaa recognize three genres of oral prose narratives named in their language as (1) the **Leere**, (2) the **Wae**, and (3) the **Angade**. As conceived and perceived by the speakers, the central meanings of the **Leere** signify “true old talks of the dead ancestors”, “true history”, and “wisdom” whereas the **Wae** connotes “fictitious tales”. The meaning of the name of the third genre, the **Angade**, is understood as “proverbial stories.”

These features of the genres defined by the native people are verified with illustrative contents inherited within a number of representative narratives falling under each genre. Distinguishing genres from one another is also investigated in terms of age in performance interactions. In Anyuaa conceptions, no cultural rule restricts anyone to perform narratives. However, some genres demand for competency in performing properly as expected by the audience, knowledge about the culture and life experiences. Thus, the **Angade** and the **Leere** are largely presented by the adult people.

As a narrative doesn't exist in a society with no function, genres identified in the study function to express human experiences, to promote normative systems, to crystallize prescriptive rules of conduct and to idealize heroic deeds. Genres also function to develop the competence of members of the society with a role they play in enculturation process. Though genres have several contextual functions, they involve in the most common utilitarian values. These are expressed as in **perpetuating culture, validating institutions, justifying social norms, upholding historical events of the past and educating listeners through entertainment.**

Genres also overlap with one another. They engage in fulfilling basic social needs, share in common natural contexts for their actualizations, influence one another on what they embody and transmit. They also interlap one another by the shadows of their event sequence structural patterns.

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REFERENCES TO KEY INFORMANTS:

1. Caam Adhom
2. Philip Opiew, Camm Akway and Ocala Obang
3. Othow Adier
4. Haileselassie Nyigwo
5. Opiew Othow
6. Abala Nyigwo
7. Akot Ujulu (Muoe Thaathu)
8. Philip Nyaye
9. Akot Adhom
10. Utay Uguwo
11. Philip Nyaye
12. Philip Nyaye
13. Haileselassie Nyigwo
14. Othow Adier
15. Philip Nyaye
16. Caam Adhom
17. Utay Uguwo
18. Akot Adhom
19. Utay Uguwo
20. Nunu Haileselassie
21. Othow Adier
22. Othow Adier
23. Caam Akway, Ocala Obang and Philp Opiew
24. Haileselassie Nyigwo
25. Caam Adhom, Peter Opitii, Abala Nyigwo
26. Utay Uguwo
27. philip Opiew

28. Philip Opiew
29. Philip Opiew
30. Philip Opiew
31. Abola Nyigwo
32. Caam Adhom
33. Caam Adhom
34. Philip Opiew
35. Priest Akway Occuudho
36. Caam Adhom
37. Philip Nyaye
38. Philip Nyaye
39. Caam Adhom
40. Camm Adhom
41. David Akway
42. Philip Opiew
43. Caam Akway
44. Sunday Caam
45. Priest Akway Occuudho
46. Othow Adier
47. Peter Oppitii
48. Caam Adhom
49. Akot Udulu (Muoe Thaatha)
50. Priest Akway Occuudho
51. Philip Opiew
52. Philip Opiew

Appendix I

Cross-reference to key Informants

This cross-reference has been provided in accordance with the alphabetical chronology of the names of informants.

Abala Nyigwo, 87, resides in Gambella town. He was a hunter in Gok woreda. He participated in focus group discussions with Opiew Othow and Caam Akway for two sessions at his home. Topics were discussed on cultural objects such as "Kid - gur", "Bull", "Woolo", and other symbolic objects.

Akot Adhom, 58, is living in Gambella with her daughter. She was one of the co-wives of a Kwaaro in Abobo woreda. Akot participated in three focus group discussions at Nunu's house. She was much interested in the discussion and told me three Wae related to ci-jwøk.

Akway Occuudho, 67, is a priest who serves in Mekana Yesus Church in Gambella Region. He is a preacher and translator. Priest Akway seems more interested in uses of Angade. This interest might have a relationship to his preaching activities in the area.

Caam Adhom, 73, was an English teacher in Gambela, Kenya, Kartoum and in Addis Ababa. He has graduated from Beirut University in journalism. Caam has also translated the Bible into Anyuaa language. During my fieldwork, he was working in Gamella Education and Culture Bureau as an expert in translation and in editing education materials. Caam has also conducted some research on Anyuaa tradition and culture. He has translated and validated data collected during the second and third fieldwork programs. He has also given me valuable information in focus group discussions and interviews. Caam is quick, witty and very much considerate person.

Caam Akway is a 56 year old person who administers five co-wives. He is a farmer. He has participated in two focus group discussions at his homestead and at Abala Nyigwo's house.

David Akway, 53, lives in Pyinudho town. He is a learned person. In an interview on the indigenous ways of delineating genres he afforded me important points. He speaks Amharic and English fluently. He also helped me in organizing interview session and artificial contexts for performances. David seems to have deep Knowledge in Anyuaa culture. He had been an administrator of Pyinudho area before eight years.

Haileselassie Nyigwo, 67, was a captain for 25 years in Ethiopian Shipping Line. He is a son of a Nyiea and very much respected person. Haileselassie is an exposed Anyuaa to the outside world because of his profession. He has been displaced from Eritrea, Mistwaa, in 1991. Then he was elected as a parliament member of the central government of Ethiopia in 1994. Haileselassie is conscious of preserving culture and thus helped me in facilitating my field activities. He is also a multilingual person. He speaks Arabic, Amharic, Italian, French, English, Tigrigna, Oromiffaa and his mother tongue.

Nunu Haileselassie, 43, lives in Gambella. She had been head of Women's Affairs in Gambella Region. She seems conscious of collecting and preserving folklore, culture and history of the people. Nunu showed me data she collected on the culture of the Komas and the Anyuaa traditional marriage. She participated in three focus group discussions conducted with Akot Adhom and Utay Aguwo on polygamous ways of marriage, on ci-jwøk and ancestral spirits.

Ocala Obang, 46, Works in justice Bureau of Gambella Administrative Region as a guard. He is very much interested in telling Wae and Leere. Ocala is born in Itang woreda. He participated focus group discussion with Caam Akway and Philip Opiew at Caam's homestead. Ocala was active participant in the discussion on performance occasions.

Ojom Ujulu, a 28 year old Anynaa, transcribed and translated the collected narratives in da Anyuaa into English. Ojom is a second year student at Addis Ababa University in the department of Educational Administration. Translated data by Ojom and his friend James Omot have been validated by Caam Adhom during the third field work. Ojom translated narratives in word for word and formal equivalent ways.

Opiew Othow, 56, lives in Jore area bordering the Sudan. His living is based on farming and fishing. Opiew is a witty, gentle and eloquent speaker. He had been a member of the Council in Gambella Administrative Region for three years. Opiew also tends to tell historical deeds of the past and ways of life of the Anyuaa like his father, Othow Adier.

Othow Adier, 97, lives in Ginina village near Gambella town. He was a hunter and farmer in Jore area bordering the South Eastern Sudan following Pibor River. Othow likes telling the past history and culture of the Anyuaa nostalgically. He also narrates heroic deeds of the ancestors in deep senses. I have interviewed Othow about hunting and uses of the "Wii-maac" in the society.

Peter Opittii, 52, was working in Ras Theatre 20 years ago. Now he lives in Gambela. I interviewed him about the importance of Wii-maac and the way how

natives delineate genres. He seems to have good understanding about the uses of oral prose narratives in the society.

Philip Nyaye, 53, is a Kwaaro of Ukuna in Abobo woreda. I got an opportunity to observe his coronation ceremony during the first phase of the fieldwork. He is a learned person. He graduated with diploma in Agriculture from Alemaya College and is working as a government employee. In an interview on the occasion of his coronation ceremony, Philip afforded me valuable information on the **Anyuaa** traditional administration systems and cultural institutions. He also narrated the **Leero** about **Occudho**.

Philip Opiew, 63, a graduate from Kotebe Teachers' Training College, taught English in Addis Ababa and in Gambella highschools for about 15 years. He had been a principal Administrator of Baro Awraja during the Derge regime. During the fieldwork he assisted me in guiding, organizing contexts, providing information. Philip is a highly respected and knowledgeable person. I have conducted interviews and focus group discussions with him. He has also helped me in validating data. Philip is conscious of collecting and studying oral literature.

Sunday Caam, 35, is a driver in Health Bureau of Gambella Region. He participated in performance events at **Jendai**. Caam was impressed with the results of the performances delivered by **Ocala Obang**.

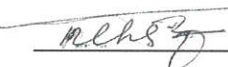
Utay Aguwo, 65, participated in focus group discussions conducted for three sessions. She is a respected and knowledgeable woman. During the focus group discussions she was correcting and paraphrasing participants' ideas.

Declaration

The thesis is my original work. It has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been dully acknowledged.

Name: Baylegn Tasew

Signature:



Addis Ababa,

June, 1999

