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MORRIS (H.F.R.)

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(Bantu Languages)



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THE HEROIC RECITATIONS OF THE BANYANKORE  
AN ANALYSIS OF REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.  
at the University of London.

H.F.R.Morris.  
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### ABSTRACT OF THESIS.

In the first part of this thesis, after some introductory notes on the people and language of Ankole, a description is given of the principal characteristics of the heroic recitations. This includes the manner in which they are delivered, ~~and~~ the style of their composition and the language used. An explanation is also given of the metric structure which underlies these poems and of the part which is played by tone. In the second part of the thesis seven representative recitations of the 19th and 20th centuries are quoted, translated and analysed. The conclusions reached are that the people of Ankole possess a living type of oral poetry of considerable artistic merit and also of interest to the linguist and sociologist which will well repay close study and preservation in a written form.



## CONTENTS.

	page
Explanatory Note.....	1

### PART I.

Chapter I.	Some introductory notes on the Bahima	5
	(a) Sociological.....	5
	(b) Historical.....	9/13
II.	Some introductory notes on Runyankore	24
	(a) Grammatical.....	24
	(b) Phonetic.....	51
III.	The recitations and their characteristics.....	70
	(i) General.....	70
	(ii) Representation, form and mode of delivery.....	73
	(iii) Style.....	78
	(iv) Language.....	84
	(v) Characteristics of syntax and grammar.....	88
	(vi) Metric structure.....	102
	(vii) Part played by tone.....	111
	(viii) A phonetic analysis.....	113

### PART II.

IV.	19th century ebyevugo.....	120
	(a) The invasion of Buhweju.....	121
	(b) The Beenekirenzi and the Beenekanyamuhebe.....	135
V.	Typical 20th century ebyevugo.....	154
	(a) Ekirimbi .....	154
	(b) Omusingano.....	191

	page
Chapter VI. Ebyevugo of 1945 about the coronation of Gasyonga II.....	226
Engure of Nyakaitana .....	235
Engure of Kirindi.....	252
VII. An Ekirahiro. Abatangaaza.....	282
VIII. Conclusions.....	302
Acknowledgements.....	306
Bibliography.....	307
Maps.	
Appendix.....	309
Glossary.....	310

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### EXPLANATORY NOTE.

It is usual for both Europeans and Banyankore when speaking in English to use a number of Runyankore words, particularly titles, without trying to find a translation, partly because an exact translation often does not exist. I have, throughout this thesis, followed this practice and used words such as 'abakama' and 'Enganzi', not 'kings' and 'Prime Minister'. The prefixes of these words require some explanation here since the grammar of Runyankore is not dealt with until Chapter II. There are various prefixes which are added to a stem to form a noun and which indicate whether that noun is singular or plural and convey various other meanings. The prefix mu, for example, indicates a single human being; ba indicates more than one human being; ru can indicate a language; and bu can indicate a country. The prefix may be preceded by a vowel known as the initial vowel. Below is a table showing the principal vernacular words contained in Chapter I, which illustrates this. As will be seen, some of the words contained in the table are slightly irregular in their formation.

<u>Person</u>		<u>Language</u>	<u>Country</u>
<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>		
(O)munyoro	(A)banyoro	(O)runyoro	Bunyoro
(O)muganda	(A)baganda	(O)luganda	Buganda
(O)munyankore	(A)banyankore	(O)runyankore	Nkore (Ankole)

Tribal and clan names

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
(O)muhima	(A)bahima
(O)mwiru	(A)bairu
(O)mucwezi	(A)bacwezi

Titles

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
(O)mugabe	(A)bagabe	the ruler of Ankole
Kabaka	Bakabaka	the ruler of Buganda
(O)mukama	(A)bakama	the ruler of Bunyoro, Toro
(E)nganzi	(E)nganzi	the Prime Minister of Ankole

Vernacular words for the administrative divisions of the district present a further difficulty in that these were imported

from Buganda and it is the Luganda forms which are usually used when speaking in English. I have, however, used throughout the Runyankore versions. These administrative divisions are as follows:

<u>Runyankore</u>	<u>Luganda</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Chief in charge of are</u>
eishaza	essaza	county	oweishaza
amashaza	amasaza	counties	abamashaza
eigomborora	eggombolola	sub-county	oweigomborora
amagomborora	amagombolola	sub-counties	abamagomborora
omuruka	omuluka	parish	owomuruka
emiruka	emiruka	parishes	abemiruka
ekyaro	ekyalo	village	omukungu
ebyaro	ebyalo	villages	abakungu

It is necessary, furthermore, to say something here in explanation of the terms, all of Luganda origin, used in connection with the hierarchy of chiefs who administer the divisions listed above. Each eishaza chief (oweishaza) has a title peculiar to his eishaza, e.g. the Katambara of Kashaari, the Mukwenda of Rwampara. There is also a hierarchy of titles which is applied to chiefs in each eishaza, eigomborora and omuruka which, in theory, denotes their seniority. This hierarchy is Omumyoka, Eishabairu, Eishabagabo, Eishabahaari, Omushaare, Omutuba I, Omutuba II etc. One of the muruka chiefs

of one of the amagomborora of Kashaari, for example, is, therefore, referred to as the Omushaare of the Eishabagabo of the Katambara. The titles of these chiefs are also used for the actual units they administer and there is, for example, an eigomborora which is called Omumyoka of Rwampara.

There is little consistency in the use of the initial vowel of vernacular words used in English speech or writing. The rules laid down at the Runyankore-Rukiga Orthography Conference of 1954 state that "in English writing the initial vowel shall be encouraged in vernacular titles but not in tribal names." I have in all cases used the initial vowel, where one exists, except in the case of tribal and clan names, and the names of languages, e.g.

	amashaza	not	mashaza
but	Bashambo	not	Abashambo
	Runyankore	not	Orunyankore.

I have, in general, followed the 1954 orthography rules except in certain sections of Chapter III where it has, for reasons given there, been necessary to depart from them. These rules do not provide for the marking of tone. I have, however, used tone marks throughout Part II and the Appendix of this thesis; in Part I, I have only used tone marks where tonal behaviour has a bearing upon the relevant section of the

chapter.

As far as place names are concerned, I have, in general, adopted the accepted spelling conventions. In the case of territories and districts outside Ankole I have felt that to adopt a spelling different from that which appears on published maps would not be justified and I have, therefore, used, for example, the forms Ruanda and Toro, not Rwanda and Tooro. Furthermore, where a strictly correct spelling might reduce a place name to an unrecognisable form, I have, to avoid confusion, retained the spelling at present on maps, e.g. Lake Nakivalli, not Lake Nyakibaare.

In the explanatory notes to the recitations given in Chapter IV, I have analysed the recitations word by word. As regards the later recitations, however, I have merely provided notes on points of difficulty or of interest. The glossary contained in the Appendix lists those words occurring in the recitations which are in any way unusual in themselves or in the way in which they have been used.

PART I.



## CHAPTER I.

Some Introductory Notes on the Bahima of Ankole.(a) Sociologicali) Social organisation before the  
establishment of the British Administration.

The Bahima (singular, Muhima) are thought to be an Hamitic people who at an unknown date entered the Lacustrine area of East Africa with their long horned cattle from the north east and established their domination over the indigenous Bantu inhabitants. \* In Nkore \*\* they found grazing land particularly suitable for their cattle and here they formed a larger proportion of the population than elsewhere in Uganda and managed to preserve their separate identity more completely. Here the Bahima were the cattle owners and the warriors; the more wealthy were the chiefs and the poorer were their dependants and herdsmen. The Bantu cultivators, known as Bairu, (singular, Mwiru) were not allowed, originally, to

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\* H.B. Thomas and Robert Scott, "Uganda."

\*\* Nkore was anglicised as Ankole at the end of the 19th century. It was, however, a smaller area than the present Ankole District (see Chapter I (b)).

possess female cattle and were in a position somewhat comparable to the mediaeval villein of Europe. They were by no means without rights, but they had to render services to their Bahima masters, and, in particular, to provide them with beer. In return the Muhima looked after the interests of his Bairu dependants and was responsible for their defence. As the cattle owners moved their herds periodically to fresh pasture, their Bairu dependents moved with them.

At the head of society was the Omugabe,\* the descendant of the Bacwezi, an early ruling dynasty who were also the nation's gods. In theory, his powers absolute and he was the ultimate owner of all the cattle in the country. In practice, however, his powers were restricted by the wishes of his senior chiefs who were his councillors. The principal of these was known as the Enganzi \*\* and was in constant attendance upon the Omugabe. Not only was the Omugabe the ruler and

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\* Both the titles of Omugabe and Omukama were in the past used by the rulers of Nkore though of recent years the former has completely replaced the latter. Omukama is the title generally given to the rulers of the Bantu peoples of the Lacustrine area. The word Omugabe is derived from the root -gab- (distribute or put in command) with the passive suffix 'e' and indicating one given authority by a superior. The Banyankore maintain that the superior was no earthly overlord but the Creator Ruhanga.

\*\* Enganzi means the favourite.

lawgiver of the country, but he was also accredited with certain divine powers, in particular that of making rain, and he was not permitted to grow old or feeble lest he should be unable to put these powers into effect. When, therefore, the grey hairs of old age were observed he had to take poison. His body was then carried to a sacred forest by Lake Nakivalli and left there upon a trestle to decompose and be re-born as a lion. Despite this, however, the embodiment of the nation was considered to rest not so much in the Omugabe's person as in the drum, Bagyendanwa, which was believed to have been made by the Mucwezi Wamara. This drum had its wife and attendant drums and its herds of cattle, and the ceremonies connected with it were as elaborate as those connected with the Omugabe. Sacrifices were made to it and any man taking refuge with it was safe from his pursuers. The Omugabe on his installation struck Bagyendanwa and until he had done so he was not considered the legitimate ruler, but on no occasion thereafter could he approach it.

The Omugabe appointed chiefs from among his relatives and the leading Bahima and they were given certain areas to administer. These appointments were only to a very limited extent hereditary. These chiefs had for a certain period

in the year to pay court to the Omugabe and live close by the royal enclosure. In time of war they were responsible for bringing their followers with their spears and bows to wage campaigns on the Omugabe's behalf.

There was virtually no organised religious practice. Spirits, generally connected with the Bacwezi, were thought to dwell in certain rocks and trees and to them offerings were brought by those who lived near by, whilst the emandwa, or oracle consultants, were able to foretell the future at such places by the examination of animal sacrifices. There were also the abafumu, or witch doctors, who prescribed cures for complaints, cast spells and required sacrifices.

There are among the Banyankore four main clans, the Bahinda, the royal clan, the Bashambo (originally from Mpororo), the Bagahe and the Beneishekatwa. \* Each of these is divided into numerous sub-clans. These sub-clans, but not the main clans, are exogamous. It may well be that originally there were separate Bahima and Bairu clans, but if so the distinction has long since been lost, though some of the

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 \* Roscoe in "The Banyankore," mentions three clans only but majority opinion insists on a fourth, the Beneishekatwa.

Bashambo sub-clans are fairly exclusively Bahima. It would indeed have been impossible to have retained such a division for, despite the opinions of certain writers, there was undoubtedly intermarriage between Bahima and Bairu, to which the negroid features of many Bahima bear witness. Such intermarriage resulted from two processes. A promising Mwiru who distinguished himself in battle might be emancipated by his chief and given cattle and a Muhima wife. His children would adopt the Bahima way of life and would be considered Bahima. On the other hand, a poor Muhima who had lost all his cattle and could not produce the dowry for a Muhima wife, might marry a Mwiru and take to cultivation and his children would be Bairu. Certainly by the nineteenth century the main distinction between the Bahima and the Bairu was one of social class and the adoption of a particular mode of life, rather than a rigid one of caste or race.

The Muhima's life centred round his cattle. These often meant more to him than the members of his family and to increase his herds was his main purpose in life. Milk and butter, and occasionally beef, was the Muhima's diet for only in times of famine would he consent to eat the millet of the Bairu. But it was not because his cattle provided these for him, nor on account of the social position that

they gave him, that he chiefly valued them; it was because they were his companions, each one known to him intimately.

ii) The Bahima today.

The Bahima comprise at present no more than about 5% of the Banyankore. \* Fifty years of modern administration has had a most adverse effect upon the position of the Bahima as a ruling people in Ankole. This has resulted from a combination of circumstances; the inherently conservative attitude of the majority of the Bahima upon whom western civilisation has made very little impression; the rapid spread of education among the Bairu; the general egalitarian outlook of the British administration; and the loss of the greater part of Ankole's pasture land to the tsetse fly and the consequent emigration of many of the Bahima with their cattle.

The Bahima may be divided into those who have had a

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\* Owing to the encouragement given by the Administration to the use of the term "Banyankore" for both Bahima and Bairu, it is impossible by examination of census returns to obtain accurate figures of Bahima numbers.

Mission education \* and the majority who have not. The former have, for the most part, shown themselves to be exceptionally able and capable of adapting themselves to new ideas. Though such Bahima now hold only about one half of the senior chieftainships, it is mainly due to their leadership in former years that Ankole is now one of the most prosperous and efficiently administered districts in the Protectorate. The African Local Governments Ordinance of 1949 and the District Councils Ordinance of 1955, have turned the Omugabe into a constitutional monarch and have given effective power, and with it the selection of chiefs, to largely elected councils and under such circumstances it is unlikely that these Bahima will long be able to retain their position as the nation's leaders. The educated Bahima, though they remain passionately attached to their cattle, have, in most other respects, deserted the customs peculiar to the Bahima.

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\* Virtually all Bahima who have adopted Christianity are members of the Native Anglican Church (whose Mission counterpart is the Church Missionary Society) and tend towards an extreme evangelical Protestantism known as oburokore (the religion of the saved). The majority of the N.A.C. are, however, Bairu. The Roman Catholic Mission, to which about 60% of the Banyankore belong, has practically no Bahima among its members.

It is with the Bahima who have been unaffected by modern ways and thought - although some may be Christian or have even attended for a year or two at a Mission school - that the heroic recitations are chiefly concerned. These herdsmen have changed their way of life extremely little during the last fifty years. Unable through their lack of education, and indeed unwilling, to play any part in the native administration of the district, they pay little heed to their chiefs' exhortations to improve their standard of life or to educate their families. They live a nomadic life in pursuit of pasture, constantly on the move, in so far as the veterinary restrictions on cattle movement permit, and wandering with their herds as far afield as the Eastern Province of the Protectorate. They live in beehive huts without doors or windows surrounded by their cattle in conditions which exasperate the chiefs and administrative officers. With the steady encroachment of the tsetse fly during the last thirty years, it has become increasingly difficult to find sufficient pasture for their large and uneconomic herds. The Muhima has, however, resisted almost every inducement to sell his cattle, even at the very high prices at present prevailing since he has no need for money save to pay his taxes and to buy the highly coloured cloth with which he clothes himself. So, too, he has resisted the exhortations of the Veterinary Department



to try to improve the quality of his herds, for it is the size of his herds that is the Muhima's main concern and when he considers the value of an actual beast it is the beauty and grace of its horns that he is assessing and not the quality of its flesh. Large areas of the district, including most of Isingiro, the cradle of the Abagabe, have been closed completely to cattle through the inroads of tsetse and the Bahima are now found in any numbers only in Nyabushozi and Kashaari in the east, and in Kajara in the south-west of the district.

(b) Historical

The date of the arrival of the Bahima in Uganda is unknown, but tribal traditions agree that they had already established themselves in the Western Province of the modern Protectorate by the time that the mysterious Bacwezi founded the Kingdom of Kitara. Who the Bacwezi were is a matter for conjecture and an Hamitic, Nilotic \* and Portuguese, \*\* origin has been ascribed to them by various authorities. Traditional accounts all insist that they were a superior people completely

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 \* See J.P.Crazzolara, Father, "The Lwoo" Part I. Verona 1950.

\*\* See J. Nicolet, Father, "Mucondozi" White Fathers' Press. Mbarara, 1953.

different from their subjects. According to the traditions of the Banyankore, the first ruler of the Bacwezi dynasty, Isimbwa, was the son of Nyamate, a daughter of Ruyonga, the last of an earlier dynasty, descended from Ruhanga, the Creator, which had ruled over most of what is now Ankole district. Isimbwa's warrior son, Ndahura, is reputed to have established a vast kingdom which comprised Uganda and North-West Tanganyika, and some say extended to the borders of Abyssinia. This is unlikely to have been later than the 15th Century. During the reign of his son, Wamara, the third and last of the dynasty, the Bacwezi were faced, so it is said, by a series of unpropitious omens and with disobedience from their people and, in disgust, withdrew from the land. Bunyoro, the Northern part of Kitara, was thereupon occupied by the Babiito, a Nilotic clan, which however claims descent from the Bacwezi, and in Buganda in the East, the present dynasty of Bakabaka established itself. \*

When the Bacwezi withdrew, Ruhinda, the son of Wamara

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\* The four kingdoms which have been recognised in Uganda by treaty by the British Administration are Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro. Of these Toro is of recent date, a Mubiito prince having rebelled against his father, the Omukama of Bunyoro, c.1830, and successfully wrested from him a portion of his kingdom.

and of a slave girl Njunaki, remained behind and, having procured his father's drum Bagyendanwa, made himself ruler of that part of Wamara's kingdom which lay south of the river Rwizi. Although Ruhinda is considered by the Banyankore to be the first Omugabe of the present dynasty, Nkore, or Kaaro-Karungi (the beautiful land) as it was then called, was only a small portion of his territory and the present dynasties of Urundi, Karagwe and of many other areas in north-west Tanganyika also claim Ruhinda as their founder. On his death, this large kingdom split up and one of his many sons, Nkuba-ya-Rurama, inherited Kaaro-Karungi and the drum Bagyendanwa.

Kaaro-Karungi under Nkuba-ya-Rurama and his nine successors was a small area corresponding roughly to the present county of Isingiro, bounded on the north by the river Rwizi, beyond which the Banyoro ruled, and on the south by the river Kagera, beyond which lay the allied Bahinda kingdom of Karagwe. Throughout this period, the country was on the defensive, being subject to periodic attacks from its powerful neighbour Bunyoro. The excellence of the grazing lands and the cattle of Kaaro-Karungi was famous and the Babiito Abakama of Bunyoro, who claimed that they were the heirs of the Bacwezi and therefore overlords of the Abagabe,

were always ready to seize an opportunity for plunder. According to tradition, the worst invasion took place in the reign of Nyabugaro, the fourth Omugabe. The Omukama, Olimi I, having defeated the Baganda and slain their Kabaka Nakibingi, invaded Kaaro-Karungi, drove the Omugabe into exile and plundered the country. Frightened by an eclipse, so it is said, the Omukama withdrew; but the country had been devastated. For several years cattle were so few in number that the Bahima were reduced to living on the fruits of the earth and men remember these years as "Eijuga Nyonza" (the time of the nyonza berries for bride price).

Kaaro-Karungi entered a new phase of her history during the reign of the twelfth Omugabe, Ntare, who came to the throne about the year 1700, \* and during the two centuries which followed she became an aggressive power, expanding northwards and westwards mainly at the expense of Bunyoro and Mpororo.

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\* The fixing of dates can at best be approximate. Six generations separate Ntare Kiitabanyoro from Ntare ya Kiboga who reigned c.1870-1895. Allowing four generations to a century would place Ntare Kiitabanyoro in the early part of the 18th century. According to Nkore and Bunyoro traditions, Ntare was a contemporary of Cwamali of Bunyoro. Cwamali's grandfather, Winyi II is said to have been a contemporary of the Kabaka Kateregga, Kabaka Juko's father, whilst Cwamali's son, Kyebambe I, was a contemporary of the Kabaka Kagulu, Juko's grandson. This strongly suggests that Cwamali and Ntare were one generation after Juko. If, as is generally accepted, the eclipse of 1680 occurred during Juko's reign, Ntare's accession must have taken place about 1700.

Mpororo, which lay on Kaaro-Karungi's west, comprised at the beginning of the 18th century, the south-west of the present district of Ankole, most of Kigezi district and part of Ruanda. As a young man, Ntare visited in secret the kraal of Kamurari, the Omukama of Mpororo, and the Omukama, when he discovered who he was, gave him two of his daughters as his wives. As a result of this and of a later dynastic alliance made by his son, the greater part of Mpororo was to fall under the control of the Abagabe during the 18th century.

Early in his reign, Ntare was attacked by Cwamali Omukama of Bunyoro. Utterly defeated, Ntare took refuge on the Karagwe border and Cwamali occupied the country for several years. Then the Banyoro moved on to conquer Ruanda and here they overreached themselves. Cwamali was defeated and killed and his army, retreating through Kaaro-Karungi, was set upon by Ntare and decimated, Ntare thus earning the name of Kiitabanyoro (the slayer of the Banyoro). Cwamali's mother, when she heard the news, is said to have cried: "Ebi shi! ente za Kaaro zankora omunda" (Alas! the cows of Kaaro have broken my heart). From this phrase is said to have originated the name Nkore which thereafter was generally used for the Omugabe's kingdom.

Under Kahaya I, Ntare's grandson, Nkore's boundaries

were widely extended. His maternal grandfather was Kahaya Rutindangyezi, the last Omukama of Mpororo. Embittered by the undutiful behaviour of his numerous sons, Kahaya of Mpororo, before his death, cursed them and, having buried the royal drum Murorwa, declared that his daughter's son was to be his heir and that he was to bear his name. Although Kahaya Rutindangyezi's sons managed to establish themselves in the western part of Mpororo and to found sub-clans of the Bashambo which were to remain more or less independent up to the present century, Kahaya of Nkore gained control over most of Rwampara and over Sheema. North of the Rwizi, Kashaari and Nyabushozi were taken from the Banyoro, whose power steadily declined during the 18th century until, with the loss of Buddu to the Baganda, nothing remained at its close of Bunyoro rule south of the Katonga.

Kahaya's son, Rwebishengye, and his great grandson, Mutambuka, carried on the work of expansion. Rwebishengye invaded and plundered Buhweju in the west and took Kabula from the Banyoro in the east, and Mutambuka waged wars of aggression as far afield as Busongora.

When Mutambuka died in about the year 1870, there was the customary scramble for power among the princes and it was several years before Ntare managed to defeat his brother

Mukwenda and ascend the throne. Ntare, like his father Mutambuka, is remembered as one of the great warrior Abagabe. During his reign, the Omugabe's power reached its furthest extent. The neighbouring kingdoms of Buhweju, Igara and Buzimba recognised Ntare as their suzerain, whilst further afield the rulers of Busongora, Kitagwenda and Bwera (the present Buganda county of Mawogola) would send him presents to avert invasion. The boundary with Buganda is said to have lain as far to the east as the Kyogya river.

Ntare had, however, two new factors to contend with. The first was the growing power of Buganda which, since the conquest of Buddu at the end of the preceding century, had been Nkore's eastern neighbour. During the latter years of the Kabaka Mutesa's reign, two raiding parties were sent into Nkore and returned with plunder. In 1888 the Baganda Christians, fleeing from persecution, asked for help from Ntare who allowed them to settle in Kabula. Ungrateful guests, the Baganda were later to take that country from Nkore. Ntare also allowed Baganda Muslims to settle in Bukanga, with the result that that country narrowly escaped incorporation in Buganda.

The second factor which was to have far more far-reaching consequences was the arrival of the first Europeans in Nkore.

In 1889 Stanley, returning from the relief of Emin Pasha, passed through Nkore. Messages of friendship were exchanged between Stanley and Ntare, who could not but feel well disposed towards one who had fought against his hereditary enemies, the Banyoro, and at Byaruha, some fifteen miles south of Mbarara, Stanley and Bucunku, Ntare's representative and first cousin, made blood brotherhood. Explorers such as Stanley were soon followed by administrators. Nkore lay in a strategic position controlling the main route between the Omukama Kabarega of Bunyoro's kingdom and the German sphere of influence south of the Kagera river. Anxious to prevent the supply of arms to Kabarega, or, worse still, the establishment of German influence over Nkore, Lugard, in 1891, entered Ntare's kingdom from Buddu. At Nyabushozi the ceremony of blood brotherhood was again carried out; and a treaty was made whereby Ntare accepted the protection of the Imperial British East Africa Company and undertook not to allow the passage of arms through his kingdom. A few years later, Ntare, alarmed by a German force which had passed through his country, appealed for the protection promised. In 1894, a second treaty was therefore concluded between Cunningham, on behalf of the Queen, and Mbaguta, Ntare's Enganzi or chief Minister, on behalf of the Omugabe. Ntare, however, stipulated that no administrative post should, for the time being, be established in Nkore. The treaty provided that there



should be peace between the British and the Banyankore; that British subjects should have free access to all parts of Ntare's kingdom and should have the right to possess property and to trade there; and that Ntare should not cede any territory to, or enter into any alliance with any foreign power without consent.

The last years of Ntare's reign were unhappy ones. Rinderpest had decimated the cattle and smallpox was rampant, Ntare losing his son Kabumbire from the disease. Finally, the Banyarwanda, provoked by successful Banyankore raids of a few years before, invaded the country and before they had been driven out, Ntare had died of pneumonia in the year 1895.

Ntare's death was followed by a disputed succession and the rival claimants appealed to the protecting power as arbitrator. In 1898 Macallister was therefore sent to Mbarara to establish there a civil station with the title of Collector,\* and a military force of one company was also sent to serve in this new district of Ankole. Three years later the Church Missionary Society, followed in the next year by the White Fathers' Mission, entered the district and began their work

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 \* The title, in general use in the Indian Civil Service, emphasised the administrator's vital function of tax collection. During the next decade this title was changed to District Commissioner.

of evangelisation and education.

In Ntare's reign, Nkore had reached the height of its power and neighbouring rulers in the west had been forced to recognise the Omugabe as overlord. The first Collectors were assured by the Omugabe and his chiefs that these areas were part of the kingdom and these and even more extravagant claims were accepted at face value by the British. During the first few years, therefore, the administration of the district consisted principally in establishing the authority of the Omugabe and of the protecting power over the outlying areas of the west which previously had been partially or wholly independent of Nkore. By 1901, however, it was possible for an agreement to be signed by the representatives of the Crown on the one hand and by the Omugabe and his chiefs on the other. This agreement gave formal recognition to the Omugabe's rule over practically the whole of Ankole District as it exists today. It also provided that all waste land, forests and minerals should belong to H.M. Government; that all Banyankore should pay a hut and gun tax; that no chief should levy tribute; that justice between native and native should be administered by the recognised chiefs; that the Omugabe and eishaza chiefs should receive 10% of the revenue collected; and that certain freehold estates should be granted to the signatories. This

agreement laid the foundation of the future administration of the district, whereby the administration of all local matters has been left in the hands of the Omugabe and the Native Government, subject to the advice and, in some respects, control of the officers of the Protectorate Government. Immediately after the Agreement, the Native Government was organised on the Buganda model. At the centre, the administration lay in the hands of the Enganzi (or Prime Minister \*) subject on the one hand to the wishes of the Omugabe, and on the other to the advice of the Eishengyero, or gathering of the senior chiefs which met periodically. Under the Enganzi was a hierarchy of chiefs, the Abamashaza, the Abamagomborora, the Abemiruka and the Abakungu, who were responsible as administrators, tax collectors and judges in the areas under their control. Since the 1939/45 war, however, a system of local government by means of democratic councils has been introduced. A majority of elected representatives now sit with the chiefs in the Eishengyero, which has been given increasingly wider powers, including that of the making of bye-laws; and a series of councils, each with an elected majority, now exists at each level of the chiefly hierarchy. The result has been to deprive the Omugabe of his political influence and to convert the chiefs into executive officers of their respective councils.

\* -----  
 \* Later the ministerial triumvirate, consisting of Enganzi, Omuramuzi (Chief Judge) and Omubiiki (Treasurer) was established on the Buganda pattern.

## CHAPTER II.

Some Introductory Notes on Runyankore.A. Grammatical.\*

Runyankore is a Bantu language closely allied to Runyoro and to a lesser extent to Luganda. \*\* Some of its more important characteristics are as follows:

i) The concordial prefixes.

There are nineteen main classes and five subsidiary ones and three series of prefixes, the class, the adjectival and the pronominal.

	<u>Class prefix</u>	<u>Adjectival</u>	<u>Pronominal</u>
1.	MU (o-mu-shaija, man)	mu	o, a, gu, mu
1a.	Zero (Wakame, Mr.Hare)	mu	o, a, gu, mu
2.	BA (a-ba-shaija, men)	ba	ba
2a.	BAA (Baa-wakame, Mssrs Hare)	ba	ba
3.	MU (o-mu-gongo, ridge)	mu	gu
4.	MI (e-mi-gongo, ridges)	mi	e, gi

\* For grammatical terminology I have, in general, used that employed by C.M.Doke in "Bantu Linguistic Terminology," and by E.O.Aston, E.M.K.Mulira, E.G.M.Ndawula and A.N.Tucker in "A Luganda Grammar."

\*\* In "The Classification of Bantu Languages" by M.Guthrie, Runyankore is classified as E.13, Runyoro as E.11 and Luganda as E.15.

	<u>Class prefix</u>	<u>Adjectival</u>	<u>Pronominal</u>
5.	I,RI (e-i-cumu, spear) (e-ri-isho, eye )	ri	ri
6.	MA (a-ma-cumu, spears)	ma	ga, a
7.	KI (e-ki-kungu, anthill)	ki	ki
8.	BI (e-bi-kungu, anthills)	bi	bi
9.	N (e-n-te, cow)	n	e, gi
9a.	Zero (e-kooti, coat)	n	e, gi
10.	N (e-n-te, cows)	n	zi, i
10a.	Zero (e-kooti, coats)	n	zi, i
10b.	ZAA (zaa-motoka, motor cars)	n	zi, i
11.	RU (o-ru-shozi, hill)	ru	ru
12.	KA (a-ka-tarango, newly burnt land)	ka	ka
13.	TU (o-tu-koomi, small camps)	tu	tu
14.	BU (o-bu-ta, bow)	bu	bu
15.	KU (o-ku-guru, leg) (o-ku-gyenda, to go)	ku	ku

#### Locatives

HA	ha	ha
KU	-	ku
MU	mu	mu
E	e	e

With the exception of the class prefixes of classes 1a, 2a and 10b, prefixes are all preceded, in certain circumstances

which are determined by syntactic considerations, by a vowel known as the "initial vowel" which may be a, e or o according to the vowel of the prefix (see page 60).

Of the various relationships which exist between different classes, the most important is the singular/plural relationship which is found between the following:

1/2; 1a/2a; 3/4; 5/6; 7/8; 9/10; 9a/10a; 10b;  
11/10; 12/13; 12/14 and sometimes between 14/6; 15/6.

e.g. Omugongo a ridge emigongo ridges.

Other relationships which are sufficiently widespread to warrant mention, although the correlation is partial only, are

a/b/12/13, a/b/12/14 Normal size/ diminutive size  
where a and b are any prefixes standing in a singular/plural relationship.

e.g. ekikungu an anthill ebikungu anthills  
akakungu a small anthill obukungu small anthills

a/b/11/10 Normal length/abnormal length

e.g. omushaija a man abashaija men  
orushaija a very tall man enshaija very tall men

a/b/7/8 Normal size/derogatory size

e.g. enkaito shoe enkaito shoes  
ekikaito an ungainly boot ebikaito ungainly boots

It may also be added that abstract nouns are usually found in class 14; those referring to anything spread out over an area (including liquids) are usually in class 6; and honorific titles including praise names so common in the heroic recitations are usually in class 11.

e.g.	oburungi	goodness
	amaizi	water
	Ruhanga	the Creator

ii) Formation of nouns; use of suffixes and of -nya-

a) Suffixes.

The following suffixes may be added to verb roots to form with the addition of a prefix, a noun. The principal implications of each suffix are also given.

i (i) The doer of the action

e.g. omwevugi a reciter (okwevuga to recite)

(ii) State

e.g. obwevugi recitation

o The result of the action

e.g. ekyevugo a recitation

ekirahiro a recitation about cattle (okurahira  
to recite)

a (i) The doer of the action especially in verbs with causative suffixes.

e.g. omushomesa a teacher (okushomesa to teach)

(ii) The sufferer of the action in verbs with passive suffix

e.g. Omukwatwa a captive (okukwatwa to be caught)

e The sufferer of the action

e.g. omubohe a prisoner (okuboha to bind)

b) -nya-

Certain nouns may be formed as follows:

Class prefix + nya + noun.

The noun so formed is related to the noun from which it is derived by an idea of ownership.

e.g. Omunyabuhweju	a man of Buhweju
abanyante	cattle people (ente cattle)
Runyabyoma	one who is of iron (ebyoma iron)

iii) Adjectives

Adjectival stems, that is stems which take an adjectival prefix, are very few in number.

e.g. omwana omurungi a good child (-rungi good)

An adjective in English is usually translated by a verbal stem with a pronominal prefix.

e.g. omwana orikwera a white child (-era be white)

iv) Numerals

The numeral stems 1-5 which take the pronominal prefix



are;

-mwe, -biri, -shatu, -na, -tano.

The stem -ngahi? (how many) also belongs to this series

e.g. abeevugi babiri                      two reciters

ente zingahi?                      how many cows?

#### v) Pronouns

(A)

a) On the following page is a table of pronominal stems from which pronouns may be formed by the addition of the requisite pronominal prefix.

b) The genitive stem is -a (of) and to this may be added the pronominal prefix of the class concerned

e.g. eicumu rya Bashenya    the spear of Bashenya (ri+a > rya)

enkoko za Karemba        the cocks of Karemba (zi+a > za)

c) Pronominal prefixes are also used with verb stems in agreement with the noun class of the subject or object of the verb to which they refer. The subject pronominal prefix is the same in form as the object pronominal prefix in the case of all classes except the following:

	Subject prefix	Object prefix
Class I, Ia	a	mu
4, 9, 9a	e	gi
e.g. <u>Subject</u>	omushaija <u>areeba</u>	the man sees
	ebirimbi <u>bibuzire</u>	the arrow-sheaths are lost
	ente <u>ebuzire</u>	the cow is lost

TABLE A.

Self-standing	Possessive	Demonstrative	"Other"	Exclusive enumerative	Inclusive enumerative	Interrogative	Partitive enumerative
- o it, they	-angye my, -awe your	-riya that those	-ndi other	-onka it, they only	-ona all of it, them	-ha who?	-uwe
	-e his, aitu our	-ri that those			-ombi both	which	some
	-anyu your, -abo their	-o that those			-onshatu all three		
					-onna all four		
					-ontano all five		

e.g. ekikungu kindi another anthill  
amacumu gaabo their spears

The self-standing personal pronouns nyowe (I), iwe (you), uwe (he), itwe (we), imwe (you) do not belong to any of these series, nor does the demonstrative series eki, ebi etc. (this, these) which simply consists of the pronominal prefix with initial vowel.

<u>Object</u>	omushaija <u>abireeba</u>	the man sees them (ebirimbi arrow-sheaths)
	omwojo <u>amureeba</u>	the boy sees him (omushaija man)
	omushaija <u>agireeba</u>	the man sees it (ente, cow)

d) There is also a series of relative subject pronominal prefixes. These, apart from that of class 1, are the same in form as the subject pronominal prefixes referred to in (c) above except in that an initial vowel may, in certain circumstances, be added where the subject prefix begins with a consonant. The subject relative prefix of class 1 is o

e.g.	omushaija <u>oreeba</u>	the man who sees
	ebirimbi <u>ebibuzire</u>	the arrow sheaths which are lost
or	" <u>bibuzire</u>	"
	ente <u>ebuzire</u>	the cow which is lost

#### vi) The verbal system

a) Person and number are shown by the use of the pronominal prefixes in the case of the third person (see v) c) above) and of the personal prefixes in the case of the first and second persons. The personal prefixes are as follows:

1st person singular	subject	n	object	n
2nd       "       "	"	o	"	ku
1st       "       plural	"	tu	"	tu
2nd       "       "	"	mu	"	ba

b) Negation is shown by the prefixes *ti*, *ta*. The former precedes the subject prefix:

e.g. tibagyenda      they do not go

The latter, which is always used when the verb is in a dependent or relative clause and which also occurs in praise names, follows the subject prefix:

e.g. abashaija abatakora bari aha      the men who do not work  
are here

Rutatiina      he-who-does-not-fear

c) Certain tenses are formed on a simple base consisting of the root and the suffix *a* or *e*

e.g. a-kor-a      he works  
a-gyend-e      he may go

Others are formed on a modified base obtained either by adding the suffix *-ire* to the root or by inserting *i* before the final consonant of the root and adding the suffix *-e*

e.g. -gamb-      say      -gambire  
-raar-      dwell      -raire \*

d) Most tenses are formed by the insertion of particles between the subject prefix and the stem

e.g. a-ka-kora      he worked

e) Some tenses are formed by prefixing a particle to the

\* There is a small group of verbs which have a tense indicating a continuing state formed on a base which consists of the root and the suffix *i*      e.g. abyami      he is asleep

subject prefix

e.g. ni-n-kora .

I am working

f) On the following pages is a table (B 1, B 2 ) of the Runyankore tenses showing their formation which depends upon whether the verb is in the affirmative or negative and whether it is in a main or dependent clause. The tense prefix normally follows the pronominal prefix.

g) The following affixes may be added to a root to vary the meaning.

### Suffixes

Applied ira (era)

e.g. okuhigira to make a vow on (-higa vow)

neuter or

stative ara, ika (eka), ikara, uka

e.g. okucweka to be broken (-cwa break)

TABLE B 1.

Indicative Mood

Tense	Affirmative main clause (1st person singular)	Affirmative dependent clause (singular)	Negative main clause (1st person singular)	Negative dependent clause (singular)
Present indefinite	R + a	R + a	R + a	R + a
I milk (habitually)	nkama	okama	tinkama	otakama
Present imperfect	ni + R + a (tense prefix precedes pronominal prefix)	riku + R + a	Riku + R + a	riku + R + a
I am milking	ninkama	orikukama	torikukama	otarikukama
Near Future (next 24 hours)	(Compound tense with present imperfect of -i-ja (come) )	raa + R + e	(Compound with -i-ja)	(Compound with -i-ja)
I shall milk	ninyi-ja kukama	oraakama	tindikwi-ja kukama	otarikwi-ja kukama
Far Future	rya + R + a	ri + R + a	ri + R + a	ri + R + a
I shall milk	ndyakama	orikama	tindikama	otarikama
Very near past (last 12 hours)	aa + R + a	aa + R + a	aa + R + a	aa + R + a
I have milked	naakama	owaakama	tinaakama	otaakama
Narrative and I milked				
Near past (12-48 hours or at indefinite time)	M.B.	M.B.	M.B.	M.B.
I was drunk.	nsinzire	osinzire	tinsinzire	otasinzire
Perfect I am drunk				
Far past	ka + R + a	aa + M.B.	ra + M.B.	ra + M.B.
I milked	nkakama	owaakamire	tindakamire	otarakamire
"Already" and "not yet"	aa + M.B.		ka + M.B.	ka + M.B.
I have already (not yet) milked	naakamire	does not exist	tinkakamire	otakakamire
"Ever" and "never"	ra + M.B.	ra + M.B.	ka + R + aga	k + R + aga
Have I ever (never) milked?	ndakamire	orakamire	tinakakamaga	otakakamaga

R = Root.

M.B. = Modified base.

TABLE B 2.

Indicative Mood.

Tense	Affirmative main clause	Affirmative dependent clause	Negative main clause	Negative dependent clause
<u>Still Aspect.</u>				
Present Indefinite	ki + R + a	ki + R + a	ki + R + a	ki + R + a
I still milk.	nikiama	okikama	tinkikama	otakikama
Present imperfect	ni + ki + R + a	riku + ki + R + a	riku + ki + R + a	riku + ki + R + a
I am still milking	ninkikama	orikukikama	torikukikama	otarikukikama
<u>Perfect</u>				
I am still drunk	ki + M.B. nkisinziire	ki + M.B. okisinziire	ki + M.B. tinkisinziire	ki + M.B. otakisinziire
<u>Imperative Mood.</u>				
Present	Sing. R + a. Pl. R + e	-	R + a	-
Milk	kama mukame	-	otakama	-
<u>Future</u>				
You will milk	rya + R + a oryakama	-	ri + R + a otarikama	-
<u>Subjunctive Mood.</u>				
that I may milk	R + e or kaa + R + A nkaame or nkaakama	-	R + a or kaa + R + a ntakama or ntakaakama	-
<u>Conditional Mood.</u>				
Present	kaa + R + a	aaku + R + a or ku + R + a	kaa + R + a	(does not exist)
I should milk	nkaakama	owaakukama or okukama	tinkaakama	
Past	kaa + M.B. nkaakamiire	aaku + MB or ku + MB owaakukamiire or okukamiire	kaa + MB or aaku + MB or ku + MB tinkaakamiire or tinka- kamiire or tinkukamiire	ku + MB otakukamiire

R = Radical.

M.B. = Modified base.

causative	isa (esa), ya
	e.g. okugumya to make firm (-guma be firm)
passive	wa, ibwa
	e.g. okureetwa to be brought (-reeta bring)
associative	na
	e.g. okukundana to love one another (kunda love)
reversive	ura (ora) uura uka (oka)
	e.g. okutsyamuka to return (-tsyama go astray)

### Prefixes

reflexive	e.
	e.g. okwegamba to boast (-gamba speak)

### vii) Adverbs

The following adverbial formative prefixes may be added to noun, adjective or verb stems to form adverbs.

Formatives of place		Formatives of manner
ha, mu, ku, e		ku, bu, ma, ki, ka
e.g. haraingwa	far	(-raingwa long)
kurungi	well	(-rungi good)

Formatives of place may also be added to nouns to form adverbial phrases.

e.g. omu kyare in the village



viii) Tone

Runyankore is a tonal language in which high, falling and neutral tones occur. \*

Verbs are divisible into two tone classes:

Class I verbs which in the infinitive have all syllables on a neutral tone:

e.g. okugura to buy (okugura) \*\*

Class II verbs which in the infinitive have a high or falling tone on the first syllable of the stem:

e.g. okukóra to work (okukóra)

okukwâta to grasp (okukwâta)

okuréeba to see (okuréeba)

Nouns are divisible into three tone classes:

Class I. Nouns which have all syllables on a neutral tone:

e.g. ekigaaniro a story (ekigaaniro).

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\* Tone is not shown in the Runyankore-Rukiga orthography. Where it has been necessary to indicate tone in this thesis, I have used the following conventional markings: / high tone; ^ or \ falling; unmarked, neutral tone, e.g. okukóra, okurênga, okuréeba. Reference should be made here to pages 68 and 69 where a note is given on the distinction between tone and pitch.

\*\* As will be explained later (page 47), certain Banyankore are "low tone" speakers and their speech, in certain respects, departs from the rules given in this section. A representation of each example in this section according to this "low tone" speech is, therefore, given in brackets.

Class II. Nouns which have a high tone on the first syllable of the stem if this syllable contains a short vowel and a falling tone if it contains a long vowel.

e.g. omutsígazi      a youth      (omutsígazi)  
          omusháíja      a man      (omusháíja)

Class III. a) Nouns which have a high tone on the second syllable of the stem.

e.g. omushomésa      a school teacher      (omushomésa)

b) Nouns with disyllabic stems, the first syllable of which contains a long vowel and which have a high tone on this syllable.

e.g. Ruhánga      the Creator      (Ruhanga)

I do not propose to attempt to give here a comprehensive summary of the tonal grammar of the language and the following notes deal merely with some of the features of tonal behaviour which will be most frequently met with in the recitations analysed in Part II of this thesis. I have, for example, made no reference to tenses of the verb which do not occur, or occur only rarely, in these recitations. I have, on the other hand, paid particular attention to the tonal behaviour of praise names on account of the important part which they play. I have first dealt with the behaviour of words in isolation and then their behaviour in sequence.

A. Words in Isolation.1. Tenses of the verb.\*

## a) Indicative (main clause)

	I	II
Present indefinite affirmative	agúra (agura)	akóra (akora)
with object prefix	akigúra (akigura)	akikóra (akikora)
Present indefinite negative	tagúra (tagura)	tákora (takora)
with object prefix	takigúra (takigura)	takikóra (takikóra)
Very near past (narrative) aff.	yáágura (yáágura)	yáákóra (yáákóra)
with object prefix	yáákigúra (yáákigúra)	yáákikóra (yáákikóra)
Near past aff.	aguzíre (aguzíre)	akozíre (akozire)
with object prefix	akiguzíre (akiguzíre)	akikozíre (akikozire)
Far past aff.	akagura (akagura)	akakóra (akakóra)
with object prefix	akakigúra (akakigúra)	akakikóra (akakikóra)

-----

\* The 3rd person singular (he) is shown throughout.

## b) Subjunctive.

	I	II
Affirmative	agúre (agure)	akóre (akore)
with object prefix	akigúre (akigure)	akikóre (akikore)
Negative	atagúra (atagura)	atákora (atákora)
with object prefix	atakigúra (atakigura)	atakikóra (atakikóra)

2. Praise names.

a) Praise names formed from class I verbs both in the affirmative and in the negative take a high tone on one of the syllables according to the following rules:

(i) If the verb stem is monosyllabic the Ru prefix takes a high tone in the affirmative and the ta prefix in the negative. This is the only case where a praise name from a class I verb has a high tone on a syllable which is not a stem syllable:

e.g. Rúgwa (Rúgwa)	stem -gwa (fall) (-gwa)
Rutáhwa (Rutáhwa)	-hwa (be finished) (-hwa)

(ii) If the verb is disyllabic the first syllable of the stem takes a high tone:

e.g. Rúkina (Rúkina)	-kina (gambol) (-kina)
-------------------------	---------------------------

Rutanana (Rutanana)	-nana (be stiff) (-nana)
Rujwiga (Rujwiga)	-jwiga (be angry) (-jwiga)
Rutahwama (Rutahwama)	-hwama (flicker) (-hwama)

(iii) If the verb stem is of three or more syllables and the first of these contains a short vowel, then the second syllable of the stem takes a high tone:

e.g. Rugomerwa (Rugomerwa)	-gomerwa (be stubborn) (-gomerwa)
Rutarekura (Rutarekura)	-rekura (let go) (-rekura)
Ruziriiza (Ruziriiza)	-ziriiza (be furious) (-ziriiza)
Rutashoorwa (Rutashoorwa)	-shoorwa (be rejected) (-shoorwa)

(iv) If the verb stem is of three or more syllables and the first of these contains a long vowel, then the first syllable of the stem takes a high tone:

e.g. Rutuumana (Rutuumana)	-tuumana (heap up one another) (-tuumana)
Rutahwekyera (Rutahwekyera)	-hwekyera (doze) (-hwekyera)

Exception: If the stem has in the first syllable a long vowel before a nasal plus consonant compound, the behaviour is as in (iii) above;

e.g. Rurindana (Rurindana)	-rindana (guard one another) (-rindana)
-------------------------------	--------------------------------------------

b) Praise names formed from class II verbs in the affirmative take a high tone on the penultimate syllable of the stem:

e.g. Rufúnda (Rufunda)	-fúnda (be narrow) (-fúnda)
Rukangarána (Rukangarana)	-kángarana (fry one another) (-kángarana)

If, however, the verb stem is monosyllabic, the Ru prefix takes the high tone:

e.g. Rúcwa (Rucwa)	-cwa (break) (-cwa)
-----------------------	------------------------

c) Praise names formed from class II verbs in the negative take a high tone on the ta prefix:

e.g. Rutáhwa (Rutahwa)	-hwa (come to an end) (-hwa)
Rutátiina (Rutatiina)	-tíina (fear) (-tíina)

## B. Words in Sequence.

### 1. The "carry on" high tone.

When one word is immediately followed within a phrase by another which has an initial vowel, the last syllable of the first of these words always bears a high tone which may conveniently be called a "carry on" high tone.

e.g. akabanzá omurimo (akabanzá omurimo)	he began the work
---------------------------------------------	-------------------

akareebá ahonáaho                      he saw immediately  
 (akareebá ahonáaho)  
 omushubuzí omushomésa akamúreeba \* the schoolteacher  
                                                                               . saw the trader  
 (omushubuzí omushomésa akamúreeba)

As will be explained later, there is, however, coalescence of vowels without compensation at word junctions and the examples given above are heard as:

akabanzómurimo  
akareebáhonáaho  
omushubuzóomushomésakamúreeba

I have, therefore, in the following examples in this section where coalescence occurs at word junctions placed a bracket round the first vowel and marked the high tone, if there is one, on the second vowel thus:

```
akabanz(a)      omurimo
akareeb(a)      ahonaaho
omushubuz(i)    omushomes(a)  akamureeba  **
```

When the following word has no initial vowel the carry on tone usually does not occur:

e.g.      akarwana munônga      he fought much  
            (akarwana munônga)

\* The first a of akamureeba is not an initial vowel but the third person singular subject prefix.

\*\* In most of this thesis these brackets will not be  
 used and a high tone, if there is one, will in all  
 cases of coalescence at word junctions be shown on  
 the second vowel: e.g. akabanza ómurimo  
 akareeba áhónáàho  
 omushubuzi ómushomésa akamúreeba

The carry on tone is, however, sometimes encountered when no initial vowel follows and no rules have so far been discovered to determine its occurrence in such cases:

e.g. nkasiikurá Mwaka                      I ran fast at Mwaka  
       (nkasiikurá Mwaka)

but nkasiikura Mukande                    I ran fast at Mukande  
       (nkasiikura Mukande)

As will be explained in the next chapter, in a recitation the whole of a verse is recited without pause for breath and the carry on tone is, therefore, found on certain syllables which would in ordinary speech follow a pause and would, therefore, appear without it:

e.g. Káápa na Músa bakaija na Kamoom(o)  
       Ebikara bikahinduka na Ruzambiira  
       (Kaapa and Musa came with Kamoomo;  
       the police drilled with Ruzambiira)

If read as prose, a pause would occur after Kamoomo and there would be no carry on high tone on ebikara.

## 2. Other tones in nouns.

A noun generally retains in sequence the tone pattern which it possesses in isolation apart from any carry on high tone;

e.g. omutsígaz(i) akaija                    the youth came  
       (omutsígaz(i) akaija)



### 3. Tones in verbs.

Certain tenses of verbs which when in isolation possess a high tone lose it when followed by other words without an intervening pause if the following word is, for example, the object of the verb, an adverb (including the adverbial suffix ho, yo or mu) one of the adverbial formatives omu or aha or a participle.

- e.g. náabanza                      I began              Class I  
       (náabanza)
- but    naabanz(a) ómurimo    I began the work  
       (naabanz(a) ómurimo)
- nkakóra                      I worked    Class II  
       (nkakóra)
- but    nkakor(a) áhonááho    I worked immediately  
       (nkakor(a) áhonááho)
- c.f.    nkabanz(a) áhonááho    I began immediately  
       (nkabanz(a) áhonááho)

This levelling of tone under these circumstances is not found in all tenses.

- e.g. ndyákóra                      I shall work  
       (ndyákóra)
- ndyakór(a) áhonááho    I shall work immediately  
       (ndyákor(a) áhonááho)

On the other hand, a second main verb following without a pause does not affect the tonal behaviour of the preceding verb which retains the tone it has in isolation.

e.g. ente ikajúga náíjwera      The cattle bellowed and  
       (ente ikajúga náíjwera)      he bled for them

It should be noted that where a verb begins with a subject prefix which is a vowel this vowel does not normally take a carry on high tone since it is not an initial vowel:

e.g. Omuhinda akaija      the prince came

#### 4. Tones in praise names.

a) Praise names formed from class I verbs behave in sequence as follows:

(i) Those formed from verbs with monosyllabic stems have the high tone on the last syllable. Those formed from verbs with disyllabic stems also have the high tone on the last syllable if the first syllable of the stem contains a short vowel or a long vowel before a nasal plus consonant compound:

e.g. Rugw(a) ákagura	in isolation Rúgwa
(Rugw(a) akagura)	(Rugwa)
Ruhig(a) ákagura	Ruhíga
(Ruhig(a) ákagura)	(Ruhíga)
Rutemb(a) ákagura	Rutémba
(Rutemb(a) akagura)	(Rutemba)
Rutagamb(a) ákagura	Rutagám̐ba
(Rutagamb(a) ákagura)	(Rutagamba)

Exception: Those formed from monosyllabic stem verbs in the negative have the high tone on the ta prefix:

e.g. Rutágw(a) akagura	Rutágw̐a
(Rutágw(a) akagura)	(Rutágw̐a)

(ii) Those formed from other stems remain unchanged:

e.g. Rutúuman(a) akagura	Rutúumana
(Rutúuman(a) akagura)	(Rutúumana)
Rukumbágaz(a) akagura	Rukumbágaza
(Rukumbágaz(a) akagura)	(Rukumbágaza)
Rutamwér(a) akagura	Rutamwéra
(Rutamwér(a) akagura)	(Rutamwéra)

b) Praise names formed from class II verbs in the affirmative in sequence all have the high tone on the last syllable of the stem:

e.g. Rukwat(a) ákagura	Rukwáta
(Rukwat(a) akagura)	(Rukwata)
Runyigimb(a) ákagura	Runyigímba
(Runyigimb(a) ákagura)	(Runyigimba)

Exception: Those formed from monosyllabic stems have the high tone on the Ru prefix:

e.g. Rúcw(a) akagura	Rúcwa
(Rucw(a) akagura)	(Rucwa)

c) Praise names formed from class II verbs in the negative in sequence remain unchanged, that is to say the high tone is on the ta prefix:

e.g. Rutáf(a) akagura	Rutáfa
(Rutáf(a) akagura)	(Rutáfa)
Rutátiin(a) akagura	Rutátiina
(Rutátiin(a) akagura)	(Rutátiina)

It will be seen above that certain praise names have a different effect on the pronominal prefix of a verb if it is

a vowel from ordinary nouns in that a high tone may be heard on this vowel.

The tonal notes given above can be taken as a general guide only and there are many exceptions to these rules of tonal behaviour particularly in so far as the praise names are concerned. Furthermore, there are very considerable tonal variations in the speech of different Banyankore depending chiefly upon the area of the district from which the speaker comes, and the Banyankore can broadly be divided into high tone and low tone speakers. \* The tonal notes given above are based upon the speech of high tone speakers who probably still form the majority of Banyankore and low tone speakers will replace certain of the high tones in the examples with neutral tones.

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\* In using the terms "high tone speakers" and "low tone speakers" I have followed the introduction to a "Runyankore Dictionary" by C. Taylor (in the course of publication), the relevant passage of which states: "there is a large class of people living in the towns of Ankole and Kigezi, in Mpororo, and in the counties of Kashaari, Sheema and Rwampara, who pronounce a large number of words in Tone Z (all syllables on a neutral tone). This intonation is steadily gaining ground as a kind of "received pronunciation." We will call these people "low speakers" as opposed to those who adopt what seems to be the older pronunciation, whom we will call "high speakers." "

I have, therefore, in each of these examples added in brackets the representation of the word or phrase as it would occur in the speech of a low tone speaker. The principal differences as far as the recitations analysed in Part II are concerned are as follows:

1. Low tone speakers pronounce all syllables of class III (b) nouns in isolation on a neutral tone. In sequence, however, a high tone occurs on the last syllable.

	<u>High tone</u>		<u>Low tone</u>
e.g.	abóójo	the boys	aboojo
	abóójo bakajä	the boys came	aboojó bakajä

2. In certain tenses of the verb low tone speakers pronounce all syllables on a neutral tone, whereas in isolation there is a high tone in the speech of high tone speakers

	<u>High tone</u>		<u>Low tone</u>
e.g.	agúra	he buys	agura
c.f.	agura munônga	he buys much	agura munônga

3. The majority of praise names formed from class I verbs with disyllabic stems in isolation have all syllables on a neutral tone in low tone speech. This also applies to certain of those formed from verbs with trisyllabic stems, particularly in the case of the applied form of the verb.

	<u>High tone</u>		<u>Low tone</u>
e.g.	Rukina	he who gambols	Rukina
	Rusiimirwa	he who is admired	Rusiimirwa

In low tone speech some of those praise names which have no high tones in isolation, take a high tone on the last syllable in sequence. Some, however, preserve the level tone.

	<u>High tone</u>		<u>Low tone</u>
e.g.	Rujwíga	he who is angry	Rujwiga
	Rujwíg(a)	akagura	Rujwig(a) ákagura
but	Rutém̃ba	he who attacks	Rutemba
	Rutemb(a)	akagura	Rutemb(a) akagura

4. Praise names formed from class II verbs in the affirmative in isolation, have all syllables on a neutral tone in low tone speech.

	<u>High tone</u>	<u>Low tone</u>
e.g.	Rugangááza	Rugangaaza

In sequence, however, most of these praise names will take, in low tone speech as well as in high tone speech, a high tone in the last syllable.

	<u>High tone</u>		<u>Low tone</u>
e.g.	Rurúúza	he who prepares to strike	Ruruuza
	Ruruuz(a)	ákagura	Ruruuz(a) ákagura

The recitations analysed in Part II of this thesis are tone marked as they were recited by Patrick Kirindi who is a

low tone speaker. \*

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\* Throughout the explanatory notes to the recitations analysed in chapter IV, I have given the alternative high tone rendering of each word where this would differ from Kirindi's.

B. Phonetic.i) Orthography.

Runyankore has several phonetic peculiarities, more marked in the speech of the Bahima than of the Bairu, which are not found in the neighbouring languages. The rules governing vowel length at word junctions are also different in Runyankore from those in Luganda and Runyoro. The orthography which was laid down at the Runyankore-Rukiga Orthography Conference of 1954 is unable, in certain respects, to represent accurately the spoken word. The most important of these divergences are as follows:

(a) The centralisation, devoicing and elision of vowels cannot be represented.

e.g. Omwishiki girl (the second i is centralised and the third is devoiced)

(phonetically omwiiʃʔhi)

(b) The orthography rules direct that a double vowel is to be written where one is pronounced, except at the beginning of a word. This rule is, however, subject to the general proviso that, because vowels are always long before NC and NN \* and are usually long after C+ semi-vowel, only a single vowel should be written in such cases except after ny.

-----

\* C = consonant.  
N = nasal.



e.g. ekintu	thing	(the i is long)
bonna	all four of them	(the o is long)
ekyaro	village	(the a is long) (eki + aro)
ekyevugo	recitation	(the e is long) (eki + evugo)

but yaanyaata he ate without relish (here the length  
is shown after ny)

There are, however, certain cases in which the vowel is short after a C+ semi-vowel combination and the spelling is unable to indicate this,

e.g. akagwayo he fell there (the third a is short)

Furthermore, an e may be short after ky and gy spellings where the y represents the palatalisation of k and g before e and not a semi-vowel as in ekyevugo (above)

e.g. okukyena	to curse	(long e)
okukyena	to suffer from neglect	(short e)

## ii) Vowels.

Runyankore has five vowel phonemes, each of which has a long and short variety.

a	usually similar to the Swahili.				
e	"	"	"	English berry.	
i	usually	"	"	"	lit.
o	"	"	"	"	doll.

u	similar to the ou in courier.			
aa usually	"	"	"	a in German Vater
ee	"	"	"	French é.
ii	"	"	"	English ee.
oo	"	"	"	French eau.
uu	"	"	"	English oo.

The vowels a and i have variations within each phoneme. This is most noticeable in the case of the i phoneme in which there is a centralised version of the vowel. \* This centralised i is only found as a short vowel and only in medial positions and between certain consonants.

e.g. empikye	anthill	(centralised i-)
okuzina	to dance	( " )

There are varying degrees to which this centralisation is carried out and if the following vowel is a back vowel then the i is articulated so far back as to be indistinguishable from

\* u. e.g. harimu there is therein is pronounced as harumu.  
tindikumanya I do not know " " " tindikumanya

-----  
\* It will be of interest to Ur Bantu scholars that both the common and the centralised i belong to the same phoneme and are not two separate vowels corresponding to the i and i of Ur-Bantu.

e.g. okuhika	(to arrive)	(common i),	pika	(Ur-Bantu)
omuzimu	spirit	(centralised i),	mulimu	(Ur-Bantu)
omuhini	handle	(common i be-		
		tween h and n),	-pini	(Ur-Bantu)
omutima	heart	(centralised i),	-tima	(Ur-Bantu)

There are several variations of the vowel a both long and short. In many words this vowel becomes very fronted.

e.g. okuzaana to play.

Between b or m and h it may also become close and approximate to the centralised i mentioned above.

e.g. amahuri eggs pronounced amuhuri

### iii) Vowel length.

At the end of a word a vowel is always short, certain exclamations excepted.

e.g. okugwa to fall (the a is short)

Elsewhere it may either be long or short except:

(a) When it precedes the combination NC and NN.

e.g. okuhinda to prevent (the i is long)

nimummánya you know me (the u is long)

(b) When it follows the combination C<sup>w</sup>/y

e.g. okutwara to take (the first a is long)

ekyoma iron (the o is long)

In these cases the vowel is always long, except that:

1. Between CW and CY, and the suffixes ho, mu, yo, kwo, hi  
it is short

e.g. akagwayo he fell there (the third a is short)

2. There are several words which contain vowels which do not behave as those in a medial position. The reason

for this is that, though written conjunctively, these words are composed grammatically of separate entities.

e.g. ahabwokuba      on account of      (from Ahabwa okuba)

The o is short

3. A vowel following ny is not necessarily long since ny is a single consonant and not C+ semi-vowel.
4. Gy and ky may be the result of the prefixes gi and ki coming before a stem beginning with a vowel. In these cases the following vowel must be long.

e.g. ekyevugo      (eki-evugo)      recitation

agjeta      (agi-eta)      he calls it

The letters gy and ky may, however, also represent a palatal g or k occurring before e within the stem in which case the e may be either long or short \*

e.g. okugyesha      (oku-gyesha)      to harvest      (the e is short)

omukyeka      (omu-kyeka)      mat      (the e is long)

(c) A vowel is also long in the speech of the majority when it precedes the first personal prefix before a stem beginning

---

\* A palatal g or k may occur before any vowel as the result of the prefix gi or ki preceding a stem beginning with a vowel. Within a stem, however, a palatal g or k can only occur before e or i. Before a, e and o a palatal g or k is represented by gy or ky; before i, however, it is represented by g or k (see footnote on page 58).

with a vowel.

e.g. niinyija I am coming (from okwija)

#### iv) Diphthongs.

There are three diphthongs in Runyankore, ai, ei and oi.

ai The pronunciation varies between the ei in height and the ei in reign. In ordinary speech the latter will generally be heard.

ei The pronunciation here is always as the ei in reign.

oi Pronounced as in coit.

Apart from these diphthongs two vowels cannot immediately follow one another. Instead either there is coalescence or a semi-vowel is inserted. The only exception is the object relative (class I) ou, which, however, is not a diphthong but two distinct vowels and the combination niV. The latter is an orthographic device to distinguish ny (written ni) which is a nasal + a semi-vowel from ny which is a palatal nasal.

e.g. eizinio hindquarters of cow ni represents nasal plus semi-vowel

nyoko your mother

ny represents palatal nasal.

#### v) Devoiced Vowels.

Vowels are very often devoiced or whispered. A final

vowel in a phrase is usually devoiced except after r or n.

In medial positions the tendency to devoice a short vowel is most marked between two voiceless consonants. Long vowels are always fully voiced.

e.g. omuti tree (the i is whispered)

nkahiga I vowed (both a's are whispered)

#### vi) Elided Vowels.

Short vowels are usually elided between two homorganic consonants and also between j or sh and t.

e.g. ek(i)kyere frog amaj(u)ta oil omur(i) ro fire.

#### vii) Consonants.

	Labial		Labio-Dental		Dental		Alveolar		Post Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	Unvoiced	Voiced	unv.	v.	unv.	v.	unv.	v.	unv.	v.	unv.	v.	unv.	v.	unv.	v.
Explosive	p				t		d				ky	gy	k	g		h
Fricative		b	f	v			s	z	sh	j						
Affricative							ts		c							
Nasal		m						n				ny				
Liquid								r								
Semi-vowel		w										y				

#### (a) Explosive Consonants.

p. pronounced as in English when lightly aspirated. It rarely occurs except in nasal compounds and in words

of foreign origin.

t. pronounced as in French.

d. similar in pronunciation to the English, though it is slightly retroflex. It only occurs in nasal compounds and in words of foreign origin.

ky,

gy In the speech of the Bahima these are pure palatals but there is a tendency among the Bairu, as also amongst the Bakiga, for the articulation to be brought much further forward in the mouth and for the sounds to approximate to the English ch and j.

k,

g. pronounced as in the English car and garden, except when followed by i when they are palatal and identical to ky and gy, with the same tendency among the Bairu to make them post-alveolar. \*

#### (b) Fricative Consonants.

b. As in Luganda, i.e. it is a bilabial fricative except in the nasal compound mb when it is explosive.

---

\* Until recently, it was usual to write kyi and gyi but since these consonants are always palatal before i, the y is unnecessary in such cases and has, in the present orthography, been discarded.

f. Pronounced as in English.

v. " " " "

s. " " " "

z. " " " "

j. Pronounced as in French. Often replaced by z by the Bairu.

sh. Pronounced as in English but with more lip rounding. Often replaced by s by the Bairu.

h. Pronounced as in English.

#### (c) Affricative Consonants.

ts. Pronounced as in English. Replaced by s by many Bairu.

c. Slightly more palatal than the sound in the English church.

#### (d) Nasals.

m. Pronounced as in English.

n. As in English. In the compound nt however, the n is dental, in the compounds nk and ng it is velar, and in the compounds nky, ngy, nk (when followed by i) and ng (when followed by i) it is palatal.

ny. Pronounced with the middle of the tongue against the hard palate like the gn in French baigner.

#### (e) Liquids.

r. Pronounced as in southern English. In the speech of



some Banyankore, l will sometimes replace r.

(f) Semi-vowels.

y. Pronounced as in English yet.

w. Pronounced as in English wet.

viii) Double Consonants.

Double consonants, though not represented in the orthography, may occur through the elision of a vowel.

e.g. ek(i)kyere      frog

omur(i)ro      fire

On the other hand, the only double consonants shown by the orthography, that is double nasals, are not double consonants phonetically. When the first personal prefix precedes a stem or another prefix beginning with a nasal, a double nasal is written. This is pronounced as a single nasal though, as already explained, it has a lengthening effect on the preceding vowel.

e.g. Hinnaga      I am throwing away      (pronounced niinaga)

bakammureetera      they brought      (pronounced  
me to him      bakaamureetera)

ix) Vowel Harmony.

(a) The initial vowel.

Where the prefix contains u the initial vowel is o.

Where the prefix contains a the initial vowel is a.

" " " " i or has no vowel the initial  
vowel is e.

e.g. omu, oru, obu, oku.

aba, ama, aka, aha.

emi, e(r)i, eki, en.

(b) Vowels in verbal suffixes.

The nature of the vowel of the applied, stative, causative and reversive suffixes is governed by the final vowel of the root.

i.) Suffixes containing front vowels.

ira, ika, ikara, isa, iza

era, eka, ekara, esa, eza.

When the final vowel of the root is a, i or u, the suffix begins with i.

e.g. kubaasa to begin kubaasira to begin for

When the final vowel of the root is e or o, the suffix begins with e.

e.g. kureeba to see kureebera to see for

Note: This rule never applies to the passive suffix  
or to the ire suffix of the modified base  
except in certain dialects.

ii.) Suffixes containing back vowels.

ura, uura, urura, uka, uuka

ora, orora, oka.

When the final vowel of the root is a, e, i, or u, the suffix has u and when it is o the suffix has o.

e.g. kushara	to cut	kusharuka	to be cut
kukoma	to fasten	kukomorora	to unfasten.

x) Juxtaposition of Vowels.

(a) Within words.

Where there is coalescence there is, subject to certain exceptions, also compensation. The principal rules governing the juxtaposition of vowels within words are as follows:

i). a + a,e,i,o,	>	aa, ee, ai, oo,
e.g. abaami (chiefs)	<	aba-ami
beeta (they call)	<	ba-eta
baita (they kill)	<	ba-ita
aboojo (boys)	<	aba-ojo
ii). e + i	>	ei
e.g. eicumu (spear)	<	e-icumu
iii). i + a,e,i,o	>	yaa, yee, ii, yoo
e.g. ebyaro *(villages)	<	ebi-aro
ebyevugo* (recita- tions)	<	ebi-evugo
kiita (it kills)	<	ki-ita
ryoreka*(it shows)	<	ri-oreka

\*-----  
\* Note that in these examples it is unnecessary to double the vowel in the orthography (see page 51 ).

## Exceptions:

ni + a,e,i,o > naa, nee, nii, noo

ti + a,e,i,o > ta, te, tii, to

zi + a,e,i,o > zaa, zee, zii, zoo

e.g. naagyenda (he is going) < ni-agyenda

tagyenda (he does not go) < ti-agyenda

zaata (they break out) < zi-ata

iv). u + a,e,i,o > waa, wee, wii, woo

e.g. omwami \* (chief) < omu-ami

bamweta \* (they call him) < bamu-eta

bamwikiriza\* (they believe him) < bamu-ikiriza

omwojo\* (boy) < omu-ojo

Note: Where coalescence occurs according to the rules given above in final position in a word there can be no compensation since a final vowel must be short:

e.g. abo (those people) < aba-o

ogwo (that man) < ogu-o

-----  
\* Note that in these examples it is unnecessary to double the vowel in the orthography (see page 51 ).

## (b) At word junction.

In ordinary speech when words are run together, the rules given above in general apply to vowels at word junction, subject to the very important qualification that there is no compensation.

e.g. Abaana abarungi (the good children)

is pronounced abaanabarungi.

Reeta ekitabò (bring the book)

is pronounced reetekitabò.

This is so even when a consonant + semi-vowel precedes the resultant vowel:

e.g. Omwevugi agyenzire (the reciter went)

is pronounced omwevugyagyenzire  
(the a is short)

If the second vowel is itself long then a long vowel will necessarily result:

e.g. Reeta abo (being those people)

is pronounced Reetaabo, since the  
a of abo is a long  
vowel.

When, however, the second vowel is i then either a diphthong or a long vowel i occurs as in (a) above.

e.g. Tinaareeba ibaare (I did not see the stone)

is pronounced tinaareebaibaare.

Omwevugi ikamureeba (they saw the reciter)

is pronounced omwevugikamureeba.

xi) Assimilation of the Nasal.

A nasal is assimilated to the following consonant:

e.g. embuzi (goat) , mbaasa (I am able)

ente (cow) nteera (I beat) (dental n)

enda (bowels) ndeeba (I see)\* (alveolar n)

enkima (monkey) nkira (I excel) (palatal n)

enkoko (fowl) nkora ( I work) (velar) n)

xii) Assimilation of k and g.

When k or g precede i they are always palatal:

e.g. akahigira (he vowed at) (palatal g) applied form of

akahiga (he vowed) (velar g)

omwevugi (reciter)

A k or g is usually palatal when it precedes e.

e.g. ahigye (let him vow)

When the e following the k or g results from the coalescence of a + e, then the consonant remains velar:

e.g. akenda (he wants it) < aka-enda.

xiii) Sound Change in connection with Prefixes.

(a) RI.

The class 5 prefix only appears with nouns if their stems

---

\* < okureeba, see xiii.

begin with a vowel. Otherwise they take the prefix i.

e.g. (e)riisho (eye) (e)ibaare (stone)

(b) N.

The class prefix of classes 9 and 10 and the adjectival prefix of classes 9, 9a, 10, 10a and 10b produce a variety of sound changes in nasal compounds. The nasal is also assimilated to the following consonant:

N+b (fricative)	>mb (explosive)	e.g. embwa < en-bwa (dog)
N+h	>mp	empunu < en-hunu (pig)
N+r	>nd	endwara < en-rwara (illness)
N+n	>n	enana < en-nana (sickle)
N+m	>m	emanzi < en-manzi (hero)

Exception:

The Ganda law of nasal compounds operates in Runyankore in respect of certain nouns with stems beginning with b, which have a singular in Class 11 and a plural in Class 10, and in respect of the adjectival stem -rungi (good) when in agreement with classes 9 and 10.

e.g. Emanja	(court cases)	en-banja
Emango	(spear shafts)	en-bango
Enungi	(good)	en-rungi

The class and adjectival prefix n appears as ny before a vowel.

e.g. Enyana (calf) nyingi (many).

The personal prefix n is subject to the same sound changes as the class and adjectival prefix before b, h and r.

e.g. mbanza (I begin) < n-banza  
 mpeta (I bend) < n-heta  
 ndemera (I am too much for) < n-remera

This personal prefix also appears as ny before a vowel except before a tense prefix;

e.g. nyije (let me come), okw-ija  
 naagyenda (I went) , oku-gyenda.

Before stems beginning with f, s and sh the class prefix n may be omitted:

e.g. enfuka or efuka (hoe)  
 ensiba or esiba (group of cattle).

#### xiv) Sound Changes Produced by Suffixes.

(a) There are various suffixes beginning with an i which is derived from the Ur-Bantu *î* and which have an effect on the final consonant of the root.

i. Nominal suffix -i and the -ire suffix of the modified base  
 R+i (re) > zi(re), okukora (to work), omukozi (workman)  
 Nd+i(ri) > nzi(ri), okugyenda (to go), omugyenzi (traveller)  
 j+ i(ri) > zi(re), okubaija (to carpenter), omubaizi (carpenter)  
 t+ i(re) > tsi(re), okwita (to kill), aitsire (he killed)  
 sh+i(re) > si(re), okuheesha (to forge), aheesire (he forged)



## (b) Causative suffix ya.

There are two causative suffixes, ya and isa (esa). The former is only used with roots ending in b, m, h, k, g, nd and r. With b and m no consonant change occurs. Elsewhere:

H+ya	> sya, taaha	taasya	(invite)
K+ya	> tsya, imuka	imutsya	(lift)
G+ya	> zya, oga	ozya	(wash)
Nd+ya	> nza, funda	funza	(make narrow)
R+ya	> za, kora	koza	(make to work)

xv) Tone.

It is important here to distinguish between tone and pitch.

A syllabic consonant or a syllable containing a short vowel can bear a high or a neutral tone. A syllable containing a long vowel can bear a high, a neutral or a falling tone.

A falling tone can, however, occur only on a penultimate syllable in a phrase:

e.g. Okutwâra (to take)

Okutwâr(a)ébintu (to take the things), with a high  
not a falling tone.

A neutral tone has four pitches according to environment:

(i) A series of neutral tones has a low pitch.

e.g. Okugyenda (to go) - - - -

(ii) A neutral tone after a falling tone also has a low pitch.

e.g. Okutwâra (to take) - - \\_

(iii) Before a high or falling tone a neutral tone has a mid pitch.

e.g. Okutwára (to take) -- \\_

(iv) After a high tone, a neutral tone has a mid pitch except in the stem extension of a high tone stem syllable. Here, if the consonant is unvoiced, the first syllable of the stem extension is also high in pitch.

e.g. Okukóra (to work) -- ^ -

Okukózesá (to use) -- ^ - - (voiced consonant z)

Okukákira (to force for) -- ^ - - - (unvoiced consonant k)

During the course of a phrase the tendency is for the pitch of the voice to be progressively lowered and a high or neutral tone at the end of the phrase will be considerably lower in pitch than it would have been had it occurred at the beginning. This lowering of pitch is known as "downdrift."

## CHAPTER III.

THE RECITATIONS AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS.(i) General.

The standard recitation is a poem composed in praise of the author's heroism in battle or of the beauty of his cattle. These poems are basically factual, but although the incident which has given the composer his motif will have actually taken place, the poem will not make any attempt to give an accurate account of what occurred. The poet's intention is not to describe events, but to use them as a pretext for boasting of his own and his companions' valour. Exaggeration, invention of detail, and the transposing of chronological sequence are carried to such an extent that it would be profitless to try to treat these poems as factual records. The typical recitation deals with an encounter with the enemy which has actually taken place, certainly in the case of the older recitations, at the places mentioned in it, but there is no reason to suppose that the enemy has on each occasion fled in terror before the reciter's spear or fallen dead at his feet as the poem will undoubtedly recount.

The poems are essentially a personal and topical art form. An incident would provide a source of inspiration to a Muhima and he would compose a poem describing the exploits of

himself and his companions and add it to his repertoire; it would attain a peculiar popularity while the event was still fresh in people's minds but would not survive its composer. Every well brought up Muhima was expected to be capable of composing and no Muhima would have the slightest inclination to learn or preserve the poems of another. It is, therefore, extremely difficult to find survivals of recitations belonging to past generations. By good fortune, however, Bairu servants who worked in the kraals of Bahima would often hear and learn by heart these recitations and, proud of their accomplishments, would in turn pass them on to their descendants though usually in a fragmentary form. It is as a result of this that it has been possible to include a couple of such fragments of poems composed in the last century and recited to me by Bairu.

Not only was the recitation of these poems a pastime for the evening when Bahima gathered together to drink beer, but there were certain occasions upon which it was necessary for a Muhima to recite a poem he had composed. Among these were such occasions as when a man was given a chieftainship by the Omugabe; when he dedicated himself to the Omugabe for service in battle; and when he visited his future father-in-law the night before his marriage. Furthermore, it was usual for a Muhima in the midst of battle to recite in order to keep up his own and his companions' courage. Though all were expected

to be able to compose these poems, inevitably some had the reputation of being particularly versatile at the art. So today wherever the illiterate Bahima have their cattle, it is still possible to find herdsmen, many of them young men, who have the name of being accomplished reciters. Among the educated Bahima, however, not only is the art extinct but so is any real understanding of the language and significance of the recitations, \* and it is often a cause of considerable embarrassment when an old fashioned Muhima insists on his future son-in-law's providing the customary recitation. The Bahima of Nyabushozi and Kajara, however, continue to compose and recite these poems in their kraals and once a year, on the anniversary of the Omugabe's coronation, chosen reciters are brought into Mbarara to perform before a half understanding and none too patient audience who, as soon as the Europeans have departed, quickly convert the festivities into ballroom dancing in the Welfare Club.

The poetic recitations are of two types, distinguishable by their subject matter rather than by their form. First there

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 \* Patrick Kirindi an eishaza judge in the Ankole Native Government, is the only well educated Muhima I know of who has any real understanding of the idiom and vocabulary of these poems. Not only is Kirindi very interested in this art but he has himself composed and written down poems, one of which, the Engure, is analysed in Chapter VI.

is the ekyevugo which is by far the commoner type. Traditionally, this deals with exploits in battle and records not only the composer's heroism but also that of his companions, though these naturally play a subordinate part in the poem. Although today warfare can no longer provide a source of inspiration for these poems, the traditional form is preserved and the incidents which provide the composer with his inspiration are treated as though they were military engagements. An incident, which may have been no more than a scuffle at a watering place with the inmates of a rival kraal, is described as an encounter in which the omwevugi defies the spears of the enemy and silences their rifles. The second type is the ekirahiro in praise of a man's cattle. The members of a herd are introduced one by one and their beauty extolled.

(ii) Form, representation and mode of delivery.

The poems are metric recitations, each verse of which (called an enkome) is delivered without pause for breath. At the end of each enkome the reciter snaps his fingers and thumb, a gesture known as enkome from which the verse gets its name and his companions provide the chorus of 'Eeee'. Since, apart from Kirindi, no one, as far as I am aware, has ever tried before to reduce these poems to writing, it has been necessary to decide how these enkome should be represented. There appears

to be ample justification for dividing each enkome into lines as follows:

Rutá'kangarana akabacumitirá' Kaarukungu na Kaamukinga  
 Kaishe'bwongyera nkashonjoorana baitarakamu  
 Rutá'korera nkazeevugira ómu byasha Mbira na Rukaabira  
 Rutá'hirikirwa nkaremera ómu nte Ntsiga na Rugwengyere  
 Rutamwé'ra-Bahinda nkarema naarwanira Mushaija-omwe. \*

Rutakangarana speared them at Kaarukungu and Kaamukinga;  
 At Kaishebwongyera, I fought hard and they deserted  
 their cattle;

I, Rutakorera, made a recitation before the cattle at  
 Mbira together with Rukaabira;

I, Rutahirikirwa, stood fast among the cattle at Ntsiga  
 together with Rugwengyere;

I, Rutamwera-Bahinda, fought hard for Bagyendwa.

In the great majority of cases, a line is a grammatical entity and could have a full stop placed at the end of it. Furthermore, the lines tend to be similar in form to one another within the enkome and in the example given above it will be seen that each line begins with a praise name or a place name.

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\* From the Omusingano. See Chapter V.

Sometimes this is carried to a far greater extent and in the examples given below from Kirindi's "Buziina Bukye" and from the "Omusingano" the lines pair off almost exactly both grammatically and phonetically. \*

Rubaraza' na Katunda Kakorwa na Kapaapa  
 Rubonera' na Kagwisa Kayegye na Kashaaru

Rubaraza and Katunda, Kakorwa and Kapaapa,  
 Rubonera and Kagwisa, Kayegye and Kashaaru.

Mwami' na Muguru bakareetwa émbúndu ya Mukura na Mutaga  
 Muzibé' na Muzigu bakaguruka éntúmbi ya Muvuga na Muvunya.

Mwami and Muguru were brought by the sound of the gun  
 of Mukura together with Mutaga;  
 Muzibe and Muzigu stepped over the body slain by Muvuga  
 together with Muvunya.

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\* It will be seen in the examples that in each pair of lines there are the same number of words; that each word contains the same number of syllables as its pair, save that a syllable with a long vowel may pair with two syllables containing short vowels as in bakareetwa and bakagaruka; that each pair of words begins with the same prefix; and that the high tones are the same in number in each pair and identically spaced, save again that one long vowel syllable may pair with two short vowel syllables as in Mwami and Muzibé.



Furthermore, as will be seen later, the line is of some significance in the metric structure of the poem.

Since the enkome is repeated without pause for breath, I have not used any punctuation marks in transcribing it save for a full stop and in certain cases an exclamation mark where a pause occurs. On the other hand, in the English translation, I have used the punctuation which the syntax requires.

There is no specified length for a line provided it conforms to the metric requirements though, as already indicated, the need for a certain measure of symmetry will to some extent control the length. The attention which the poet pays to this factor seems, however, to depend upon fashion and his personal style. So too the number of lines in an enkome may vary considerably, the minimum number being two (except for the first enkome of a recitation which is often a single line) and the maximum being determined by the lung capacity of the reciter. It is the line and not the enkome that is the entity from the point of view of subject matter and it is, therefore, often possible for an enkome to be cut in half or joined to the next one if the reciter feels so inclined, his companions being ready to supply the chorus as soon as his voice indicates that he has come to the end of what he wished to be considered an enkome. The division into enkome in the recitations here recorded is merely in accordance with the manner in which they

were recited at the time of transcription and is not necessarily unalterable.

A great deal of attention is paid to the manner in which an ekyevugo is recited and indeed an omwevugi is judged by this as much as by the content of his poem. Each enkome must be recited at an abnormal speed without pause either between words or between lines and the omwevugi must not, of course, falter in so doing. The speed of recitation is such that only those Banyankore who are accustomed to this art can attain to it, and an indication of this may be given by the fact that the enkome of five lines given on page 74 would take about 9 seconds only to recite. As will be explained later, the pitch of the omwevugi's voice tails off during the course of each enkome. The omwevugi faces his audience with one or more of his friends beside him to provide the chorus. In his right hand he holds a spear horizontal above his shoulder, with which he from time to time gives small forward jabs for emphasis. He usually starts with an introductory line which is an enkome in itself, normally in the following form:

Rugumyana (or some such praise name) nkahiga.

I, Rugumyana, dedicated myself to battle.

The chorus of "eeee" follows and the introductory line is then usually repeated as the first line of the next enkome.

The ekyevugo, which is of indefinite length, proceeds enkome by enkome. The omwevugi may either stand still while he is reciting or else take small paces backwards and forwards. As has already been explained, an ekyevugo is not a narrative and an omwevugi may interchange the sequence of his enkome, add enkome or leave them out as he thinks fit. Since, however, he is dependent upon his memory, he usually keeps to the sequence to which he is accustomed. He will very often, however, in the case of a long ekyevugo reserve a complete recitation for very special occasions and at other times only provide a portion of it.

### iii) Style.

The composer is, to a large extent, circumscribed by the need to follow a certain conventional pattern in his poem. In the first place each line usually expresses a completely separate idea and a conciseness of style is therefore necessary. Since in the standard ekyevugo a large part of the line is taken up with praise names, there is little scope for further embellishments beyond the insertion of a verb in the indicative mood. Simple rather than compound tenses of the verb are, therefore, the general rule, though the participle of an additional verb is also often found. Nouns, apart from praise names (see

below), place names or those with the adverbial formative omu and aha, are used comparatively sparingly, especially as the subject of the verb, and the subject and object prefixes are frequently left to express the required meaning without them. So, too, adjectives are rarely encountered. A typical line of an ekyevugo is as follows:

Rutátungura nkabukyengyeramú na Rureega

I, Rutatungura, \* disappeared into it (i.e. I drew my bow) with Rureega.

(bu refers to obuta - a bow)

One of the outstanding characteristics of the ekyevugo is ~~in~~ the use of praise names. All Bahima are in their youth given praise names either from some characteristic they possess or from some event in which they have taken part. In the course of his career a man often acquires several such names recording virtues which are attributed to him. These praise names begin with the prefix ru. This prefix of the 11th class often has the significance of length or height but it also can have an honorific significance, e.g. Rubambansi (he who spreads out the land), a title of the Omugabe. It is this honorific significance that the praise names possess. The praise names are

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\* Meaning, he who is not feverish.

usually formed by prefixing ru in the affirmative and ruta in the negative to the present indefinite tense of a verb

e.g. Rukumbagaza he-who-overthrows (the enemy)  
(okukumbagaza, to cause to fall over)

Rutatiina he-who-is-fearless (okutiina, to fear)

Sometimes the praise name is a compound formed with a noun:

E.g. Rutateera-nte-mabega he-who-does-not-turn-his-back-on-the-cattle.  
(i.e. he does not leave them undefended)

Occasionally praise names are found which are derived not from verbs but from nouns:

e.g. Runyabyoma he who is of steel (ebyoma metal)

The grammatical behaviour of these praise names is peculiar. In the first place they cannot take an initial vowel and in the second place they take agreements partly of class 11 and partly of class I. Subject and object prefixes, for example, are always in agreement with class I but the genitive particle is always in agreement with class 11:

e.g. Ruhinda rwa Njunaki akaba ari omugabe ow'okubanza  
Ruhinda son of Njunaki was the first Omugabe.

The most usual form for the line of an ekyevugo to take is for it to state an action performed by the omwevugi and to

associate one of his companions with it thus:

I attacked the enemy together with so-and-so.

In such cases the companions are usually given the actual praise names by which they are known, or their real names. The omwevugi, however, introduces himself in each of such lines with a praise name which he has constructed for the purpose.

e.g. Rutahwezibwa nkababinga omu murombe na Rusaasa-ngabo.

I-who-am-invisible drove them off in the morning  
together with him-who-inflicts-injuries-on-the-warriors.

Although real praise names are more commonly formed from verbs in the affirmative, those constructed by the omwevugi for himself are more commonly found in the negative. The choice of the praise name which the omwevugi gives himself will often be determined to some extent by the meaning which the rest of the line conveys.

e.g. Rutatigirwa nkabwitsa ekiniga.

I-the-impatient-one broke it (my bow) in annoyance.

Sometimes the action described in the line is carried out by one of the companions:

e.g. Rubakaka akeegambira Kyanga na Kigyemuzi

He-who-urges-them-on triumphed at Kyanga together  
with Kigyemuzi (a real name)

Rutazaagira okongyeza gaakihwamu

You-who-are-not-idle made up the numbers and all the  
cattle were captured.

Sometimes the praise name at the beginning of the line is replaced by a place name:

e.g. Rubumba nkashanga nibatenda

At Rubumba I found their courage deserting them.

This use of praise and proper names in each line, particularly at the beginning, is one of the outstanding characteristics of an ekyevugo, but although in some ebyevugo every line will begin in this way, it is not essential for it to do so. In modern ebyevugo such as those about the coronation of Gasyonga II (see chapter VI), where the ideas the omwevugi wishes to express would be unduly restricted were he to adhere too closely to the traditional pattern, he gives a number of enkome of the conventional type in respect of their use of praise names and he then adopts a more individualistic style.

The observations made above about the use of praise names in ebyevugo are, in general, also applicable to the ebirahiro in which it is cattle and not warriors which have praise names. The praise name of a beast is, as in the case of its owner, additional to an ordinary name. These ordinary names are given to each animal on account of its colour, the prefix indicating the sex and maturity. Some of the commoner names are as follows:

<u>Calf</u>	<u>Cow</u>	<u>Bull</u>	
Kahogo	Bihogo	Ruhogo	a dark red calf/cow/bull





feature which her owner considers to be of particular beauty, or of some characteristic behaviour. These praise names are formed with the honorific prefix ru in the same way as are those of men:

e.g. Ruta-omu-ngororo she who puts (her horns) in splints  
i.e. she who has long straight horns.

#### iv) Language.

The ideas which the ekyevugo \* expresses are stereotyped and repetitive and the omwevugi has, therefore, to rely to a great extent upon the manner in which he expresses these ideas in order to give beauty and interest to his poem. Herein lies the art of the accomplished omwevugi who, by the ingenious choice of his vocabulary, can repeat identical themes time and time again, always with a different and startling turn of phrase. The principal device for achieving this is the use of metaphor and metonymy. Unusual verbs are sought after and converted into praise names with a metaphorical meaning:

e.g. Rutatenda he-who-does-not-slacken, i.e. he who is  
steadfast in battle (okutenda, to get  
slack, of a rope)

Rutaruuma he-who-has-not-got-elephantiasis, i.e.  
he who is agile (okuruuma, to have  
elephantiasis)

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\* Unless otherwise indicated, I am henceforth using the general term ebyevugo to cover both ebyevugo proper and ebirahiro.

Rutanjuka- he-who-is-not-delirious-in-the-fingers,  
 mu-ngaro i.e. he who grasps his weapons firmly  
 (okwanjuka, to be insane or delirious)

Ruhinda- he-who-thunders-behind, i.e. he who comes  
 nyima vehemently from the rear (okuhinda  
 to thunder)

So too everyday nouns are avoided and more unusual ones with attributed meanings substituted:

e.g empaya-maguru the swift (literally, he-goat legs)

enteeko the rear (literally, the king's bodyguard  
 which was usually in the rear  
 of the battle)

omurombe the early morning (literally, the cold)

enkuba-njojo rifles (literally, the strikers of  
 elephants)

A particularly interesting example of this is the fact that although the references to spears are innumerable, the everyday words eicumu and amacumu are very rarely used. In the ebyevugo given in Part II (in which the words eicumu or amacumu seldom occur) the following are found with the meaning of spear or spears:

Enyarwanda. There is a certain type of cattle, ente enyarwanda, which came originally from Ruanda and which have particularly long horns. The term is used for long spears because they are like the horns of these cattle.

- Enjungu. A type of spear with a short blade.
- Emishoro. Sharp points, and therefore the tips of the spears.
- Orubango. A spear shaft.
- Amashongorwa-nyondo. Literally, those which are sharpened with the hammer (i.e. are beaten out on the anvil)
- Omuhunda. A spike.
- Eminyaga. Spear shafts.
- Enkuraijo. This is a tree from the wood of which spear shafts were made.
- Ebyoma biiragura. Literally, black iron.
- Enyabya-bikungu. Literally, the breaker of anthills.

An educated Muhima is usually unable to understand a large part of an ekyevugo. This is partly because he is unable to fathom the imagery which the composer has used and partly because the actual vocabulary used is unknown to him. He is inclined, therefore, to say that the language of the ebyevugo is archaic. This, however, is not the case. The omwevugi will, it is true, tend to choose unusual words to escape from the commonplace or merely because they fit the rhythm, but they are nearly always words which are used in the everyday speech of the uneducated Muhima. A very large proportion of the vocabulary used in the ebyevugo will not be found in the existing dictionary \* and

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 \* "A Lunyoro-Lunyankole-English and English-Lunyoro-Lunyankole Dictionary" M.B.Davis.

would be unknown to a Mwiru and to very many Bahima. The reason for this is that the Bahima, who lived a very different life from the Bairu, inevitably had a certain exclusive vocabulary. In particular, they had a large vocabulary dealing entirely with cattle matters. The missionaries, however, have come mainly in contact with the Bairu since they form the overwhelming majority of the population and in the case of the Roman Catholic Mission they have had no contact at all with the Bahima. It has, therefore, been the vocabulary of the Bairu which has prevailed in the schools and educated Bahima no longer know a certain proportion of the vocabulary of the language spoken by the uneducated. In fact, the language of the ebyevugo, so far from being archaic, is full, as is all spoken Runyankore, of recent borrowings from Buganda and elsewhere. Luganda has during the last fifty years had a considerable influence on the speech of the Banyankore. In the early days of mission education, the medium of instruction was Luganda and it has always been considered to be the hall mark of erudition for a Munyankore to intersperse his speech with Luganda words. Sometimes Luganda can supply a shade of meaning which would be lost in Runyankore, but all too often the townsman will replace perfectly good Runyankore words with their exact Luganda equivalents. It is interesting in this connection that the purists who are ever vigilant in detecting and condemning words of Runyoro origin, are far more tolerant of borrowings from Luganda. \* The

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\* This may be due to an inherited hostility to anything from Runyoro, Nkore's traditional enemy.

importation of Luganda words into the uneducated Muhima's speech arises, however, less from a desire to appear smart and up to date than from the fact that the Bahima, as a result of their periodic migrations into southwestern Buganda, are in constant touch with the Baganda. Borrowed words in the ebyevugo are not, however, confined to those from Luganda and an interesting example of the use of English loan words occurs in Kirindi's Engure:

Gakateerwa omuri printing press

Gakaraba omuri lino-type

Cyclostyle ekaronderwa Manaase.

They were printed in the printing press

They were run through the lino-type

The cyclostyling was done by Manaase.

There is a considerable amount of borrowing, conscious or unconscious, of one omwevugi from another both in the choice of praise names and of turns of phrase. This, however, would seem to be inevitable for all Bahima are expected to compose poems but it would be unreasonable to suppose that all Bahima are poets.

#### v) Characteristics of Syntax and Grammar.

The need for conciseness, the desire to conform to certain

conventional patterns and the necessity to adhere to the metre of the line lead to the adoption of styles in which the syntax differs somewhat from that of ordinary speech and sometimes gives rise to rather unusual grammatical behaviour. Some of the most usual and striking features of the construction of the lines of an ekyevugo are as follows:

The usual word order in Runyankore is subject, verb, object, but for emphasis the object may precede the verb which then takes an object prefix.

e.g. Omushaija akareeba eicumu

The man saw the spear.

or Eicumu omushaija akarireeba

As for the spear, the man saw it.

The latter order is very common in ebyevugo where the object is a praise name:

e.g. Rutanjuka-mu-ngaro bakandoha Ruyanja na Rutaahira

They sent me, Rutanjuka-mu-ngaro, forward to

Ruyanja together with Rutaahira.

The object prefix may, however, sometimes be omitted in such cases in ebyevugo:

e.g. Budo-nyondo nkashanga nibaibwarika

I found the men from Budo getting their rifles ready.

Not - nkabashanga.

In order to retain the praise name at the beginning of the line, the subject may be separated from its verb in a way which would not be permissible in ordinary speech.

e.g. Rurindana enduuru yaagambira Rugongi nseetwire  
na Rubakaka

The alarm sounded at Rugongi while I, Rurindana,  
was grazing the cattle with Rubakaka.

The subject of the dependent clause, Rurindana nseetwire, is separated from the verb by the main clause, enduuru yaagambira Rugongi.

As has already been mentioned, the subject or object prefix of class 11 is never found in agreement with a praise name and where the latter is the subject or object the verb takes the subject prefix or object prefix (if there is one) of class I or a personal prefix.

e.g. Rutazaagira okagatsyamura Mugogo na Bwakagina

You, Rutazaagira, brought back the herds from Mugogo,  
with Bwakagina.

Sometimes the praise name may be found completely outside the construction of the rest of the line:

e.g. Rutakangaza gareetsire oburanga na Rutashanguura

I, Rutakangaza, was beset by spears with Rutashanguura.

Literally, as for me, Rutakangaza, they (the spears)  
brought their faces with Rutashanguura.

As has already been stated, nouns are comparatively rare, particularly as the subject of the verb, and it is therefore perplexing to find verbs with subject or object prefixes, or both, in contexts where there is no noun which can govern the agreement of these prefixes. The composer or one well versed in ebyevugo idiom will, when asked, at once say that such and such a noun is governing these agreements though it is not expressed. Since this is an extremely common construction in ebyevugo, I have found it convenient to refer to a noun as being in each case "understood" and I have in explanatory notes named such nouns. It is realised that such an approach is inexact and that it is impossible to know for certain that the poet actually had a particular noun in his mind when he used a particular prefix. Opinion, however, is so uniform when an attempt is made to identify these nouns that I have considered myself to be justified in adopting this method of practical description.

e.g. Ruraamwa gakanteeraho ga<sup>u</sup>taaka na Rugira-ngaro

I, Ruraamwa, was assailed by bullets which splashed off, together with Rugira-ngaro.

(literally, I Ruraamwa, they (amasasi, bullets understood) beat upon me and splashed off with Rugira-ngaro)

Rutabagana akaitangira Nyorozi na Kafumba

Rutabagana brought them (ente, cattle, understood) for Nyorozi together with Kafumba.



It is usually those nouns which are most frequently referred to in the ebyevugo that are most frequently left to be understood from prefixes. Some of the commonest of these are:

	English	Pronominal prefix (subject and object)
amacumu	spears	ga
amasyo	herds	ga
ebimburu	crowds (in ebyevugo usually hosts of the enemy)	bi
engabo	warriors	zi or i
obuta	bow	bu
amahembe	horns	ga

It will have been seen (page 25) that there are alternative pronominal prefixes, zi and i, for class 10. Before a consonant either can be used as the subject or object prefix, but before a vowel zi only can occur. In modern educated speech, zi is tending to replace i entirely and at the recent orthography conference it was laid down that the use of zi should be encouraged and used exclusively in schools. In the ebyevugo, however, before a consonant i almost invariably occurs:

e.g. ente ikahinduka                      the cattle turned  
 or    ente zikahinduka                      "        "        "

(the latter is seldom found in ebyevugo)

But: ente zaahinduka                      and the cattle turned  
 (this is the only form in use)

In Runyoro, Class 5 nouns, the stems of which begin with a consonant, take the initial vowel i instead of e and the prefix is heard as a single long vowel - ihano, a marvel (pronounced iihano). In Runyankore, this form also exists as an alternative to the usual form eihano. It is rarely heard in educated speech but is by far the commoner alternative in ebyevugo.

The use of place names and of other nouns with adverbial formatives is a characteristic feature of ebyevugo, the following being a favourite pattern for a line to take:

Rubanonzya akaruuza omu nkara na Rwetsiba

Rubanonzya sought battle among the arrows together  
with Rwetsiba.

As has already been mentioned, place names often take the place of praise names at the beginning of a line. In such cases they usually appear without the adverbial formatives aha or omu

e.g. Rubumba nkashanga nibatenda

At Rubumba I found their courage deserting them.

Within the body of the line place names will also often appear without any such formative.

e.g. Runyabyoma akahuruza Abahandura Burimbi na  
Rwihira-ngabo

Runyabyoma called up the Abahandura at Burimbi  
together with Rwihira-ngabo

The following locative construction involving the use of an object prefix is particularly common in ebyevugo.

Ak <u>am</u> pamya omu maisho	he stood firm before me
Nk <u>az</u> eevugira omu byasha	I recited in front of them (the cattle)
Bak <u>az</u> eeegambira rwagati	they triumphed among them (the cattle)

Another characteristic locative constructive is to name a pair of neighbouring places, perhaps two hills or two chiefs' headquarters, and to join them with the genitive particle -a in agreement with the first named place:

e.g. Kamushooko ka Mugarisya      Kamushooko near (literally, of) Mugarisya

By far the most common tense in ebyevugo is the far past tense (tense prefix ka). Consequative lines of an ekyevugo may all contain verbs in this tense:

e.g. Rutasiraara nkahigira omu ihinda-njojo na Rwinika-Bigomba

Rutakundirwa nkabiihirwa nibabuura

Rutahwekyera nkabahuruza akaata-manegye na Rukaranga

Rubahimbya nkashanga naabonana

I, Rutasiraara, made a vow at midnight together with Rwinika-Bigomba

I, Rutakundirwa, was full of anger when the enemy was reported

I, Rutahwekyera, called up my men at speed together with Rukaranga

I found Rubahimbya in secret conference.

In ordinary speech, the first verb would be put in the far past tense and subsequent verbs would be in the narrative tense (tense prefix aa). This use of the far past tense emphasises the conception of each line as a separate entity. Other tenses, such as the narrative and the present indefinite, are sometimes used and the tense will sometimes change from one line to the next, not because there is any change of time in the meaning but, it would seem, solely on account of the metre. It is fairly common to find this change from the far past to the present indefinite with the saving of a syllable as the result, since the latter tense has no tense prefix:

e.g. Runyabyoma akagatsyamura omu Kishuuju na Muzoora  
 Rutatiina agahanantura Nyanga na Rwihira

Runyabyoma brought back the herds from Kishuuju  
 together with Muzoora

Rutatiina brought back the herds from Nyanga  
 together with Rwihira

In ordinary speech, the present indefinite tense which indicates an habitual action is seldom used, the usual present tense being the present imperfect (prefix ni placed before the subject prefix.) This tense rarely occurs in ebyevugo though the present participle which, in the affirmative, is identical to it in form is a common occurrence.

e.g. Rukumbagaza nkatsyamuka nibatuteera

I, Rukumbagaza, returned (to the fight) as they were attacking us.

As an illustration of the observations made above, the following analysis is given of the words used in the first eight enkome of the Omusingano (for text see Chapter V).

Praise names formed from verbs in the affirmative.

			Line
Rugumyana	-gumyana	encourage one another	1
Rwenegyesa	-en <del>we</del> gyesa	to keep fire alight	9
Ruhinda-nyima	-hinda	thunder	11,13
Ruziriiza	-ziriiza	be furious	17
Rutuumana	-tuumana	heap up one another	18
Rushiijana	-shiijana	attack	19
Rutaagira	-taagira	call out for	20
Rutwara	-twara	carry off	24
Ruganzya-bakungu	-ganzya	persecute	29

From verbs in the negative

Rutashoorwa	-shor <sup>o</sup> orwa	be rejected	2,21
Rutarimbiika	-rimbiika	be irresolute	3,4,8
Rutazaagira	-zaagira	stand still	5,16
Rutarinda-kubanzibwa	-rinda	wait	7
Rutainamirira	-inamirira	bend the head	12

			Line
Rutatiina	-tiina	fear	15
Ruteegaana	-egaana	deny oneself	22
Rutahembya	-hembya	miss aim	23
Rutanyohoka	-nyohoka	be feverish	26

Praise name formed from noun.

Runabyoma (ebyoma iron) 14,29

With two exceptions all the praise names listed above occur as the subject of the verb.

Affirmative praise names with na.

Rukaka-ngabo	-kaka	compel	6
Rubakuba	-kuba	surround	7
Rwihira	-ihira	take out from	15
Ruhimbya	-himbya	encourage	16
Rusiimirwa	-siimirwa	be admired	22
Rufungira	-fungira	be well girt	23
Rutemba	-temba	attack	24
Rujwisa	-jwisa	cause to bleed	25
Rubanza-ngabo	-banza	precede	26
Rwihira-ngabo	-ihira	take out from	29

Nouns, other than personal or place names, as subject preceding verb

---

ebooroogo	wailing	6
emigina	red earth	7

		Line
enyarwanda	spears	10,24
amashengyero	councils	11
enkuba-njojo	rifles	12
eizinga	river land	16
eminaana	group of eight	17
amagundu	warriors	21
emikandara	belts	23
emigogo	crowds	32

As subject following verb.

Aboogyera	name of group	27
abajuna-nte	warriors (saviours of the cattle)	33

As object following verb.

Abahandura	name of group	29
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Preceding verb with object prefix.

ebikoomi	camps	3
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With adverbial formatives.

omu bikoomi	in the camps	4
omu ntimbo	among the ntimbo drums	22
aha ntomi	upon fists	26
omu byoma	amongst the spears	27
omu ibombo	among the crowd	31

Place names with adverbial formatives.

	Line
omu Bijinja	8
omu Kishuuju	14

Place names without adverbial formatives.

Byembogo	6
Kyera	7
Mukande	9
Ijwarangye	10
Burimbi	11,29
Kyabagyenyi	12
Kacumbiro	13
Nyanga	15
Kagongi	17
Magyegye	18
Majungu	18
Mareebwa	19
Marwiga	19
Mazinga	20
Marengye	20
Magyenza	21
Magimbi	21
Kiguma	28
Mushunga	30
Muzoora	30
Nyakarinzi	33



<u>Personal names</u>	Line
Kigyemuzi	4
Rwanyankwesha	8
Kabendegyere	10
Rwabuziba	13,30
Muzoora	14
Bujangara	17
Rwankyegyete	30
Rwankajuura	31
Ishanga	31
Ngozi	31
Katarataasi	32
Kibuguta	32
Kyankamba	32

Verbs.Far past tense.

nkahiga	-higa	vow	1
bakandekura	-rekura	let go	2
nkabanza	-banza	begin	2
nkabyetuuramu	-etuura	put on the ground	3
nkeetuura	"	"	4
okongyeza	-ongyeza	increase	5
nkazinda	-zinda	put an end to	6
nkahondana	-hondana	pound one another	7
nkagakuura	-kuura	draw out	8

## Line

nkasiikura	-siikura	walk quickly	9
nkabagyereka	-gyereka	add to	10
nkatsiga	-tsiga	leave	11
nkarumba	-rumba	attack	12
akaasira	-asira	shout at	13
akagatsyamura	-tsyamura	return	14
akakuba	-kuba	surround	16
nkatagurana	-tagurana	break apart	17
nkabyema	-ema	stand	18
nkabiroha	-roha	send into danger	19
okabyoreka	-oreka	show	20
nkazaagiza	-zaagiza	cause to stand still	21
akanyigimba	-nyigimba	walk proudly	22
okanywanisa	-nywanisa	make blood brotherhood	23
akakwatiriza	-kwatiriza	pledge	24
akarahirira	-rahirira	vow on	25
akamarira	-marira	finish at	26
bakeenaga	-enaga	throw oneself	27
bakamwima	-ima	deny	28
akahuruza	-huruza	call up for battle	29
bakaboorekanira	-orekanira	show one another at	30
bakabatuka	-batuka	stand up suddenly	31
bakacwekyera	-cwekyera	prevent	32
bakambuka	-ambuka	cross	33
bakarombana	-rombana	attack one another	33

Naarative tense.

Line

gaakihwamu	-hwa	be finished	5
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Present indefinite tense

agahanantura	-hanantura	bring back	15
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Subjunctive

ziije	-ija	come	33
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Present participle

nigajwara	-jwara	put on clothes	11
-----------	--------	----------------	----

nibaitsindiira	-tsindiira	load a gun	12
----------------	------------	------------	----

Past participle

gamukubire	-kuba	surround	48
------------	-------	----------	----

Infinitive of verb

okuhunga	-hunga	flee	25
----------	--------	------	----

Other words used

Ngu	that	33
-----	------	----

na	and only before praise, personal and place names	
----	--------------------------------------------------------	--

ebiri	two	17
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vi) Metric Structure

The ebyevugo are metric poems, the rhythm consisting of a series of stressed syllables more or less evenly spaced throughout the enkome. The first stress in each line is usually

particularly well marked but the stresses are inclined to tail off as the line proceeds. In the same way, the stresses of the enkome as a whole tend to tail off as it proceeds, particularly in the last part of the last line where the stresses lose their force in a most pronounced manner as the pitch of the reciter's voice sinks. In addition to the main stresses, there also occasionally occur subsidiary or very light stresses in between the main ones. Below are the first eight enkome of the Omusingano showing the stresses. The main stresses are indicated by a line placed under the syllable bearing the stress and the subsidiary stresses, where they occur, by a dot. First, however, it is necessary to explain the following points:

1) The basic poetic unit of the enkome is, for my purposes, the syllable. The syllable may be long or short, and is not confined to words as such. Syllables may be constructed as follows:

### Short

(a) Vowel only. This is rare as it can only occur as the first syllable of an enkome:

e.g. amabaruha

(b) Consonant plus vowel occurring in or between words

e.g. bagura, bashoma ekitabo (pronounced, bashomekitabo)

(c) Consonant plus semi-vowel, plus vowel. This occurs between words and in the genitive.

e.g. Rutetebya akakuba (pronounced, Rutetebyakakuba)  
Rwamanyonyi

(d) Syllabic consonants resulting from elision

e.g. ek(i)kyere

### Long

(a) Consonant plus long vowel

e.g. baraara

(b) Consonant plus semi-vowel plus vowel

e.g. akabyema

(c) Consonant plus vowel plus nasal element of compound

e.g. bakahenda

Apart from vowel only (and apparently the syllabic consonant), stress may fall on any of the above types of syllables, though, as will be mentioned later, it is comparatively uncommon to find a syllable consisting of a prefix bearing a stress and no example has been found of stress falling on a short syllable consisting of the final consonant of one word, and the first vowel of the next.

2) The official Runyankore-Rukiga orthography does not adequately indicate vowel length and, in view of the important part which vowel length plays in the metric structure, I have, for the remainder of this chapter, departed from the standard

orthography and have written all long vowels double:

e.g. akabyema will be written akabyeema

bakahenda " " " bakaheenda.

3) Elided vowels and consonants will be shown in brackets.

4) Stress and high tone do not necessarily coincide (see Sec.vii below, "Part played by tone.")

L.

1. Rugumya<sup>''</sup>ana nkahiga!

2. R(u)tashoro<sup>''</sup>orwa baká<sup>''</sup>andekura nkabaanza

3. R(u)tariimbi<sup>''</sup>ik(a) ébikoomi nkabyeetu<sup>''</sup>uram(u).

4. R(u)tariimbi<sup>''</sup>ika nkeetu<sup>''</sup>ur(a) óm(u) bikoomi na Kigyemuzi

5. R(u)tázaagir(a) okoongyeza gaakihwamu

6. Bye<sup>''</sup>embogo nkaziind(a) ébooroogo na R(u)kaka-ngabo

7. R(u)tariinda-kubaanzibwa nkahoondan(a) émigina Kyeera  
na Rubakuba

8. R(u)tariimbi<sup>''</sup>ika nkagaku<sup>''</sup>ur(a) óm(u) Bijiinja na Rwanyaankwe<sup>''</sup>esha

9. Rweenégyesa nkasiikura Mukaande

10. Ijwá<sup>''</sup>araangye nkabagyek(a) ényarwaanda na Kabeendegyere

11. R(u)hiind(a)-ényima nkatsig(a) ámasheengyero Buriimbi  
nigajwaara

12. R(u)tainamir(i)ra nkaruumb(a) énkúba-njojo Kyabagyenyi  
nibaitsiindiira.

L.

13. R(u)hiind(a)-ényim(a) akaas(i)rá Kacuumbiro na Rwabuziba
14. R(u)nyabyóom(a) akagatsyaamur(a) óm(u) Kishuuju na Muzeera
15. R(u)tátiin(a) aga(h)anaant(u)rá Nyaanga na Rwiihira
16. Rutázaagir(a) akakub(a) íziinga na (Ruhimbya) \*
17. Ruzirííza nkataguran(a) eminaán(a) ebiri Kagoongi na  
Bujaangara.
18. Rutúumana nkabyeema Magyeegye na Majuungu
19. Rushííjana nkabirohá Mareebwa na Marwiiga
20. R(u)táagir(a) okabyooreka Maziinga na Mareengye
21. R(u)tashoróorwa nkazaagiz(a) ámaguundu Magyeenza na Magiimbi.
22. Ruteegaan(a) akanyigimb(a) ómu ntiimbo na Rusiimirwa
23. R(u)táheembya (o)kanywaanis(a) émika(nd)ara na Rufuungira
24. Rutwáar(a) akakwaatiriz(a) ényarwaanda na Ruteemba
25. Ruzóoto (a)karahirira ókuhuunga na Rujwiisa
26. R(u)tanyo(h)ók(a) akamar(i)ra(áh)a ntomi na (R(u)baanza-ngabo.
27. Bakeenag(a) óm(u) byóom(a) Áboogyera
28. Rugaanzya-bakuungu bakamwiima gamukubire Kiguma.
29. Runyabyóom(a) ak(ah)ur(u)z(a) Ábahaandura Buriimbi na  
Rwiihira-ngabo
30. Rwankyegyete na Rwabuzi(ba) bakaboorekan(i)rá Mushuunga  
na Muzoora
31. Rwakajuura na Ishaanga bakabat(u)k(a) óm(u) iboombo na Ngozi

\* This word is inaudible in the tape recording and the stress it bears cannot therefore be marked with accuracy.

32. Katar(a)táási na Kibuguta bakacweekyer(a) émigogo na  
Kyankaamba

33. Bakaambuk(a) éntéék(e) ábajuna-nte Nyakariinzi bakaroombana  
 ngu ziije

From a comparative analysis of the metre employed by three different abeevugi, the following prevailing tendencies are clearly evident:

(a) The first stress in the enkome falls upon the second or third syllable and thereafter the stresses generally fall on each third or fourth syllable and, less frequently, on the fifth syllable, the enkome being taken as a whole without regard to division into lines. If, as occasionally happens, there are more than four syllables between two stresses then a very light or subsidiary stress/<sup>is</sup> usually placed on an intervening syllable to break the interval:

e.g. nkahoondan(a) émigina Kyeera (see line 7 above)

Also, from time to time, the stress will fall on two syllables separated by only one unstressed syllable.

e.g. Rwanyankweesha (see line 8 above)

The number of unstressed syllables is unaffected by whether they contain long or short vowels. The length of the line in an enkome, and therefore the number of stresses it contains, varies but usually the line contains not less than three stresses and



not more than five or occasionally six.

(b) There is a wide range of syllables which are capable of bearing a stress, though certain types of syllables are far more frequently found in stressed positions than others. A syllable containing a long vowel, whether its first element be a prefix or not, can always bear a stress and in the majority of cases it is on such a syllable that the stress will fall. A stem syllable containing a short but fully voiced vowel can also bear a stress, provided it is not the final syllable of a word. Prefixes consisting of consonant and fully voiced vowel can also bear a stress though this is far less common. Included among such prefixes is the genitive particle when it forms an integral part of a proper name.

e.g. Rwamanyonyi a place name meaning "(the hill) of  
the birds."

Despite the consonant, semi-vowel combination, the following vowel is in such cases short. Syllables beginning with certain consonants appear to be far more desirable as the bearers of stress than others.

Below are the results of a statistical analysis of 535 stressed syllables taken from three ebyevugo:

Stressed syllables containing long vowels 378

Stressed syllables containing short vowels 157

This disparity becomes far more striking when it is realised that short vowels are a far more common occurrence in the language whether it be that of ebyevugo or of ordinary speech, than are long vowels and in an average passage of Runyankore there are about four times as many short vowels as long.

Short vowel syllables within the stem (non-final) 135

Short vowel syllables composing the prefix  
(including the genitive particle)

Adjectival prefix ha	1	
Object prefix ba	3	
Tense prefix ka	9	
Negative prefix ta	3	
Genitive particle (bwa, kya, rwa)	5	21

The following is the occurrence of stressed syllables with either long or short vowels beginning with various consonants:

r	84
k (velar)	79
g (velar)	60
t	60
b	45
h	32
sh	28
z	25

Other  
consonants 122 (no consonant occurring more than 17  
times)

(c) The stress will sometimes fall on a syllable with a short vowel standing immediately before or after an unstressed syllable with a vowel which would in ordinary circumstances be long. In such cases there is a tendency for the unstressed syllable to be pronounced short.

e.g. Rutú<sup>́</sup>mana akabye(e)má Magyeegye na Majuungu  
 Rushi<sup>́</sup>ijana nkabirohá Mareebwa na Marwiiga  
 R(u)táá<sup>́</sup>gir(a) ekabyo(o)roka Maziinga na Mareengye  
 R(u)tashoró<sup>́</sup>orwa nkaza(a)giza(a) ámaguundu  
 Magyeenza na Magiimbi.

The syllable following the second stress in the first, third and fourth line, namely bye(e), byo(o) and za(a), contains what should be a long vowel but in each case the omwevugi pronounces it short.

(d) The omwevugi will often compose his lines so that they balance one another rhythmically. In the example given above, it will be seen that in the first three lines the first, third and fourth stress falls on a long vowel of the stem and the second upon the tense prefix ka. Furthermore, the stresses are similarly spaced in each line. The first and second stresses are separated by two unstressed syllables the second and third by four (in the first line by three only) and the third and fourth by three. The degree to which this balancing of lines is carried

and the frequency with which it is used depends upon the style of the composer.

vii) Part played by tone.

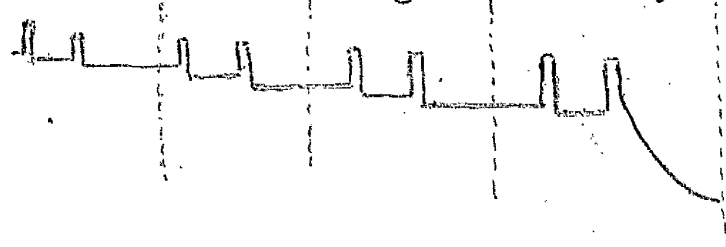
In listening to an *ekyevugo* one is struck by the sharp high tones which, at first, to an English ear, appear to be stresses. It soon becomes evident, however, that stress and high tone do not necessarily fall on the same syllable. In fact, a syllable bearing a high tone often immediately precedes or follows one bearing a stress. A reason for this is that, as has already been shown, a stress most commonly falls upon a stem syllable other than the final syllable of a stem. Praise names formed from verbs in the negative and *ofotone* class II however, have a high tone only on the negative prefix *ta*, whilst in many tenses verbs of both tone classes have in sequence no high tone except for the "carry on" tone on the syllable containing the final consonant of the verb:

e.g. *Ruta<sup>h</sup>heembya*

*Akanyigimb(a) <sup>h</sup>omu nt<sup>h</sup>imbo*

The pitch of an *omwevugi*'s voice tails off during the recitation of an *enkome*. The opening of the *enkome* is extremely forceful and the first high tone of the *enkome* is easily the highest in pitch. The high tones appear to be devices for

preventing the level of the voice from falling appreciably until the final line of the enkome. There is, however, a fall in pitch in each line and although the high tones of the next line will lift the pitch of the voice again the recovery is not complete. In the latter part of the last line, the voice is allowed to tail off completely. The pitch of a typical four line enkome could be shown diagrammatically as follows:



Until the second part of the last line the high tones in an enkome tend to be much more exaggerated than in ordinary speech. In two line enkome, the interlinear fall in pitch in the first line is less marked than in longer enkome.

As has already been explained, falling tones in ordinary speech can only occur on the penultimate syllable of a phrase. Since there is no pause during an enkome, a falling tone, if it occurred at all, would be expected only on the penultimate syllable of the whole enkome. In fact, however, a high tone on a long vowel is often realised as a falling tone, owing no doubt to the exaggerated height to which the voice has been raised and to the difficulty of maintaining it there. Also there is often a preparatory rise on the preceding syllable which has a high or mid value.

e.g. Runyabyóom(a) akahuruz(a) Ábahaandura Buriimbi  
na Rwiihira-ngabo

is realised as

Runyábyóom(a) akahuruz(a) Ábahaandura Buriimbi  
na Rwiihira-ngabo

Mention has already been made to the device of constructing lines which closely resemble one another phonetically. These similarities will include tonal behaviour. In the following lines which have already been quoted above, the high tones are the same in number, are similarly spaced and fall on comparable syllables in each line. It is, however, problematic whether the omwevugi has consciously chosen his words because of their tonal behaviour or whether the tonal pattern has merely followed from his having, for other reasons, chosen words of similar length with a similar syntactic relationship to one another.

Rutúumana nkabyeema Magyeegye na Majuungu  
Rushíijana nkabirohá Mareebwa na Marwiiga  
Rutáágir(a) okabyooreká Mazilinga na Mareengye.

It may be that we are dealing here with tonal rhyme which is a characteristic of Luganda poetry.

#### viii) A Phonetic Transcription of eight enkome.

Below are phonetic transcriptions of the eight enkome of the Omusingano which have already been quoted. First, I have

given a transcription of the passage as it would probably be read were it a piece of ordinary prose, provided the reader did not make any pause during an enkome. Vowels and consonants which he would elide I have shown in brackets. I have then given a transcription of the passage as it has actually been recited on a specific occasion. \* In both transcriptions I have only used those vowels and consonant letters which occur in the standard orthography. I have, however, placed two dots over vowels which are given a centralised rendering and a small circle under those vowels which are whispered. In the second transcription, I have shown no break between words and I have only preserved separate lines for ease of reference.

Transcription I.

L. 1. Rugumyaána nkáhiga!

L. 2. Rutashoroórwa bakaáandekura nkabaanza

L. 3. Rutariimbiík(a) ébikoomi nkabyeetuuram(u).

L. 4. Rutariimbiíka nkeetuur(a) óm(u) bikoomi na Kigyemuzi

L. 5. Rutázaagir(a) okoongyeza gaakihwamu

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\* The occasion was when the ekyevugo was recited by Patrick Kirindi for recording at Kibingo Sheema in December 1954. The analysis has been made from this tape recording. Since Kirindi is a "low tone" speaker I have given the first transcription a tone marking appropriate for a low tone speaker.

- L. 6. Byeembogo nkaziind(a) ébooroogo na Rukaka-ngabo
- L. 7. Rutariindá-kubaanzibwa nkahoondan(a) émigina Kyeera  
na Rubakuba.
- L. 8. Rutariimbika nkagakuur(a) om(u) Bijinja na Rwanyaankweesha
- L. 9. Rweenegyeye nkasikura Mukaande
- L.10. Ijwaaraangye nkabagyerek(a) ényarwaanda na Kabeendegyere
- L.11. Ruhiind(a)-ényima nkatsig(a) ámasheengyero Buriimbi  
nigajwaara
- L.12. Rutainámir(i)ra nkaruumb(a) énkuba-njojo Kyabagyenyi  
nibaitsiindiira.
- L.13. Ruhiind(a)-ényim(a) akaasira Kacuumbiro na Rwabuziba
- L.14. Runyabyoom(a) akagatsyaamu(a) om(u) Kishuuju na Muzoora
- L.15. Rutátiin(a) agahanaantura Nyaanga na Rwiihira
- L.16. Rutázaagir(a) akakub(a) iziinga na Ruhiimbya
- L.17. Ruziriiza nkataguran(a) émináan(a) ebiri Kagoongi na  
Bujaangara
- L.18. Rutuumana nkabyeema Magyeegye na Majuungu
- L.19. Rushijana nkabirohá Mareebwa na Marwiiga
- L.20. Rutaagir(a) okabyooreka Maziinga na Mareengye
- L.21. Rutashoroorwa nkazaagiz(a) amaguundu Magyeenza na  
Magiimbi.



- L.22. Ruteegáán(a) akanyigimb(a) ómu ntiimbo na Rusiimírwa
- L.23. Rutáheemby(a) okanywaanis(a) émikaandara na Rufuungira
- L.24. Rutwáár(a) akakwaatiriz(a) ényarwaanda na Ruteemba
- L.25. Ruzóót(a) akarahirir(a) ókuhunga na Rujwiisa
- L.26. Rutanyohók(a) akamar(i)r(a) áha ntomi na Rubaanza-ngabo
- L.27. Bakeenag(a) óm(u) byóóm(a) Áboogyera
- L.28. Rugaanza-bakuungu bakamwiima gamukubire Kiguma.
- L.29. Runyabyóóm(a) akahuruz(a) Ábahaand(u)ra Buriimbi na  
Rwiihira-ngabo
- L.30. Rwankyégyete na Rwabuziba bakaboorekan(i)rá Mushuunga  
na Muzoora
- L.31. Rwakajuúra na Ishaanga bakabatuk(a) óm(u) iboombo na  
Ngozi
- L.32. Kataratáási na Kibuguta bakacweekyer(a) émigogo na  
Kyaankaamba
- L.33. Bakaambuk(a) énteek(o) ábajuna-nte Nyakiriinzi baka-  
roombana ngu ziije.

Transcription II.

- L. 1. Rugumyánankáhiga
- L. 2. Rta<sup>h</sup>shoró<sup>o</sup>rwabaka<sup>a</sup>andekurankabaanza
- L. 3. Rtariimbiíke<sup>i</sup>bí<sup>k</sup>oominkabyeetu<sup>e</sup>uram.

- L. 4. Rtariimbiíkankeetuurómbíkoominakigyemuzi
- L. 5. Rtázaagirokoongyezagakihwomú
- L. 6. Byéébogonkaziindéboorogonarkakangabo
- L. 7. Rtariindákubaanzíbwankahoondanémiginakyeeranarubákub.
- L. 8. Rtariimbiíkánkagakuurómbujiinjanarwanyaankweesha
- L. 9. Rweenégyezankasiikuromukaand
- L. 10. Iiwaáraangyenkabagyerekényarwaandanakabeendegyere
- L. 11. Rhiindényimankatsigomasheengyeroburiimbinigaiwaara
- L. 12. Rtainámirrankaruumbonkubanjojokyabagyeninibaitsiindiira
- L. 13. Rhiindényimakaasrákacuumbironarwabuzibo
- L. 14. Rnyabyóomakagatsyaamurómkishuujunamuzooro
- L. 15. Rtátiinagaanaantrányaanganarwihira
- L. 16. Rutázaagirakakúbíziingana (.....)\*
- L. 17. Ruziríizankataguranéminaánebírikagoonginabujaangara.
- L. 18. Rutuúmanánkabyemamagyeegyenamajuungu
- L. 19. Rushiijanankabirohómareebwanamarwiiga
- L. 20. Rtaágirokabyorekámaziinganamareengye
- L. 21. Rtashóróórwankazagizómaguundumagyeenzanamagiimbi.
- L. 22. Rutéégaánakanyigiimbómuntiimbonarusiimírwa

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\* Indistinguishable from the recording.

- L.23. Rtáheembyakanywaanisemikaaranarufuungira
- L.24. Rutúarakakwaatirizényarwaandanaruteemba
- L.25. Ruzúotokarahirirókuhuunganarujwiisa
- L.26. Rtanyóokakamarráantominarbaanzangabo
- L.27. Bakeenagómbyómóbogyera
- L.28. Rugaanzyabakuungubakamwiimagomkubirekiguma.
- L.29. Runyabyóomokurzábahaanduraburiimbinarwiihirangabo
- L.30. Rwankyégyetenarwabuzuubakoboorekándamushuunganamuzoora
- L.31. Rwakajuuranaishangabakabatkómiboombonangozi
- L.32. Katartaáasimakibugutobakacweekyeremigogonakyaankaamba
- L.33. Bakaambukééntéekábajunaantenyakariinzibakaroombananguziije.

The principal differences between these two transcriptions are as follows:

(1) In the second transcription not only are vowels more frequently elided but elision also occurs of consonants and of whole syllables.

e.g.	<u>First transcription</u>	<u>Second transcription.</u>
L.23.	émikaandara	émikaara

This is particularly noticeable in the case of the consonant h.

e.g.		
L.15.	agahanaantur <u>á</u>	agaanaantr <u>á</u>
L.26.	akamar(i)r(a) <u>á</u> ha ntomi	akamar <u>rá</u> antomi

(ii) The tendency observable in the second transcription for unstressed long vowels to be shortened has already been referred to (page 110).

e.g.

L.27. 'aboogyera

óbogyera

(iii) The occurrence also observable in the second transcription of a falling instead of a high tone and/or a preparatory high or mid tone has already been referred to (page 112).

e.g.

L. 2. Rtashoróorwakakáandekura

L.22. Ruteé'gá'ána

(in a narrow transcription this could be written Ruteé'gá'ána)

(iv) There is an example in the second transcription of consonant plus semi-vowel plus vowel being realised as CVV.

L.24. Rutuára

(v) The second transcription shows a tendency for 'a' to be realised as 'o' either immediately before or immediately after a bilabial. \*

e.g.

L. 9. Nkasiikuromukaand

L.11. Nkatsígómashengyero

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\* This quality of the vowel was very noticeable when the record was played at slow speed but was less so at normal speed.

PART II.

## CHAPTER IV.

19th CENTURY EBYEVUGO.

As I have already explained, the ekyevugo is a personal and topical art form and a Muhima has little wish to recite or preserve a composition which is not his own. Few recitations of past generations have, therefore, been preserved and where they have it has usually been because Bairu servants have learnt them from their masters and handed them on, seldom intact, to their descendants. In this chapter I have analysed two such ebyevugo of the last century which are fragments only. The first, which concerns the invasion of Buhweju by the Omugabe Mutambuka, was recited to me \* by a Mwiru, Erinesti Rwandekyezi, who had learnt it from his uncle who had been a servant in the palace of the Omugabe Kahaya. The second, concerning a war between two Mpororo clans, the Bēnekirenzi and the Bēnekanyamuhebe, was also recited to me \*\* by a Mwiru, Rubagasira, who had learnt it from his uncle.

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\* At Rugando, Sheema in May 1955.

\*\* At Kabira Sheema in May 1955.

A. The Invasion of Buhweju.

Buhweju, now an eishaza of Ankole, was a small mountainous kingdom lying to the north-west of Nkore. The ruling Bariisa dynasty was, according to tradition, originally established in Buhweju by the Bacwezi, the first Omukama, Kinyonyi, being a brother-in-law of the Mucwezi Ndahura. Kinyonyi's descendants were the vassals of the Babiito Abakama of Bunyoro until, in the reign of Kabundami II, the eighth Omukama, Buhweju rebelled against Bunyoro and established her independence. Kabundami is said to have been a contemporary of Ntare Kiitabanyoro of Nkore and was, therefore, living in about the year 1700. As the Omugabe of Nkore during the following years replaced the Omukama of Bunyoro as the ruler of Kashaari and Nyabushozi, Buhweju came into close contact with this expanding kingdom. Towards the close of the 18th century the Omugabe Rwebishengye invaded Buhweju and a second and more serious invasion took place under the Omugabe Mutambuka in about the year 1865. For four years Ndagara, the fifteenth and last Omukama, fought against the invaders and the country was devastated. Utterly defeated, Ndagara finally fled first to Mpororo and then to Ruanda and it was not until the invaders had withdrawn and Mutambuka had died that he returned to his kingdom. From thenceforth he acknowledged the Omugabe as his suzerain and sent to him periodic

gifts as tribute. Ndagara was an old man of about eighty when the civil station was opened at Mbarara in 1898 and he was quite unable to understand the significance of the establishment of the British administration. Though prepared to send presents, he refused to come to Mbarara or to allow the Collector or the Omugabe's representatives to enter his kingdom. Misunderstandings were undoubtedly exploited by the Omugabe's chiefs who were anxious to see Buhweju incorporated in the Omugabe's kingdom, and finally an armed force led by the Collector entered Buhweju in 1901 to enforce the Omukama's submission. Ndagara resisted and he and his eldest son were killed in a skirmish. Ndibarema, his youngest son, was, however, brought to Mbarara and after some months of education signed the Ankole Agreement and was put in charge of Buhweju as an eishaza chief. He retired in 1940 and his son is the present chief of Buhweju Eishaza.

This fragment of an ekyevugo deals with Mutambuka's invasion. It describes the exploits of its composer Rwanyindo who was the Enganzi of a Muhinda chief Tajungye, a nephew of Mutambuka. Tajungye, who, with his followers, accompanied his uncle on the Buhweju campaign, was chief of a portion of Sheema in the area of the present eigomborora of Eishabahaari.



L.

1. Ruhimbwá ndemera nti ómu ihangá na Rutaahira
2. Ruhambisa-ábiri nkatoorwa ómutánda
3. Rukaré guunyahá haraingwa na Rwihira-ngabo
4. Ruzingizá naitangirá Bihanga na Bitembe
5. Kaanyabarega nkeekwata na Bukwakwa
6. Bantura yaakwata ékyéshongoro ngu tumbingye.
7. Oruhindá nkagikubuuza nti órubángo na Rwamujonjo
8. Abanyóro baatiina ómukaituranó gwa Kahenda
9. Enkóko za Karembé zantanga kujúga
10. Rukiná mbakumbizá Nyamizi na Rutasikwa.
11. Nkangá nkarikwatá aha muhúnda
12. Kanyegeyero bayecura Ruboherá
13. Nikwó naabaire ntarugá mu naama y'Abahinda na Rwangomani
14. Rushahúza nkabá mmuhambire ngu tutwarana.

L.

1. I, Ruhimbwa, was thus undefeated in a foreign land  
together with Rutaahira;
2. I, Ruhambisa-abiri, was resplendent in my cotton cloth;
3. I, Rukare, was brought from afar by the desire for battle  
together with Rwhira-ngabo;
4. I, Ruzingiza, brought back the cattle from Bihanga together  
with Bitembe;
5. At Kaanyabarega, I went with Bukwakwa;
6. Bantura started a song that we might overcome them.
7. Thus I conquered Oruhinda with my spear together with  
Rwamujonjo;
8. The Banyoro were terrified in the fighting at Kahenda;
9. At Karembe, the cocks had already crowed;
10. I, Rukina, overthrew them at Nyamizi together with  
Rutasikwa.
11. At Nkanga, I seized my spear by its shaft;
12. At Kanyegyero, I, Rubohera, took them by surprise;
13. Nor was I thereafter excluded from the counsels of the  
Bahinda together with Rangomani;
14. I, Rushahuza, seized him so that we should fight  
together.

L.

1. Ruhimbwá. He who is praised. The praise name Ruhimbwa is formed from the passive of ~~the~~ okuhimba (to praise). Praise names formed from class I verbs with disyllabic stems, the first syllable of which contains a vowel which is short or which precedes the combination NC, in sequence, have a high tone on the final syllable, whereas, in isolation, this is on the first syllable of the stem.

ndemera. I was undefeated. This is the first person singular of the present indefinite tense of okuremera. As has been mentioned in Chapter III, in ebyevugo, this tense is often used with a past meaning. Okuremera means to be difficult or to resist, and is frequently encountered in ebyevugo with the sense of being undefeated in battle.

nti. Thus. The stem -ti takes a subject prefix (in this case the first personal prefix) and has the meaning of thus or in this way.

ómu  
ihangá. In a foreign land. Eihángá means either a nation or a foreign country. After the adverbial formative omu the following noun cannot take an initial vowel. The high tone on ómu is a

ómu  
ihangá.

"carry on" high tone. Eihángá is in tone class III (b) and therefore, in the speech of a low tone speaker, has no high tone in isolation and a high tone on the last syllable in sequence.

na

Rutaahira.

With Rutaahira. Okutaahira is the applied form of okutaaha, to enter, and is used, with reference to wrestling, for coming to grips with and overthrowing an opponent. The praise name from this form of the verb means, therefore, he who overthrows the enemy. The tonal form of the praise name which is Rutaahira (in the speech of both high and low tone speakers) and not Rutaáhira is irregular.

L.

2. Ruhambisa-  
ábiri.

He who ravishes double-handed. Abiri is in agreement with the class 6 noun amacúmu (spears) which is understood and it means two spears. Okuhambisa is the causative of okuhamba (to ravish) and means here to ravish with. The meaning of the praise name is, therefore, he who ravishes with two spears (one in either hand).

nkatoorwa. I was resplendent. 1st person singular of the passive form of the far past tense of okutoóra (to choose). The passive of this verb, which

nkatoorwa. means literally to be chosen, is frequently used in ebyevugo with the meaning of being conspicuous on account of arms or dress. Nkatoorwa would, in isolation, appear as nkatoóorwa but, because it is in sequence, it has lost its high tone.

omutánda. This is the cotton cloth worn by Bahima over the shoulders. Cloth *first* came into Nkore in the reign of Mutambuka and started to be worn by chiefs in the place of skins.

L.

3. Rukaré. He who is quick. The praise name Rukaré is formed from the adverb kare (early). In sequence the high tone is on the last syllable.

guunyiha. (Enthusiasm) brought me from. The subject of the verb, omujinya (enthusiasm for battle), is understood. The verb, okwiha (to take away from), is in the present indefinite tense with a far past meaning. The singular first personal object prefix appears as a palatal nasal (written ny) because it precedes a stem beginning with a vowel; when this occurs the vowel of a prefix which in turn precedes this personal prefix is lengthened. Hence the spelling of the subject

guunyiha'. prefix guu which is in agreement with the class 3 noun omujinya.

haraingwa. Afar. An unusual adverb formed from the adjectival stem -raingwa (long or tall).

na Rwihira-ngabo. With him who makes the warriors (of the enemy) retreat. Okwihira is the applied form of okwiha (to take away from); engabo means warriors. In the speech of high tone speakers the praise name is Rwihira-ngabo.

L.

4. Ruzingiza'. He who encircles (the enemy). Okuzingiza is to surround. The praise name which in isolation is Ruzingiza, like all such praise names formed from class II verbs, takes the high tone on the last syllable when in sequence.

naitangira'. I brought them (the cattle) from. This is the narrative tense of the applied form of okutanga. The original meaning of this verb is to prevent, but it can also mean to precede. It is often used in ebyevugo in connection with cattle with the meaning of bringing the cattle with one. The object prefix i refers to the class 10 noun ente (cattle). In sequence, the narrative tense of both classes of verbs loses its high tone. The

naitangira'. final syllable has a "carry on" high tone.

Bihanga na  
Bitembe. The first is the name of a place and the second  
of a person.

L.

5. Kaanyabarega. The name of a place.

nkeekwata' na  
Bukwakwa. I was with Bukwakwa. The verb is the first person  
singular of the far past of the reflexive of  
okukwâta (to catch) and the phrase means literally  
I caught myself with Bukwakwa. This tense has  
lost its high tone because it is in sequence and  
a "carry on" high tone occurs on the last syllable  
of the verb. \*

L.

6. Bantura. The name of a person.

yaakwata  
ékyéshon-  
goro. He started a song. Yaakwata is the 3rd person  
singular of the narrative tense of okukwâta (to  
catch) and the phrase means literally, he caught  
a song. It was customary for songs or ebyevugo  
in praise of warriors to be sung or recited in  
battle to incite deeds of bravery.

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\* I shall not again refer to the tonal  
behaviour of this tense or of the  
narrative tense or to the occurrence  
of the "carry on" high tone if the examples  
in which they occur are regular in behaviour.

ngu  
tubingye.

That we might defeat them. Tubingye is the first person plural of the subjunctive of okubinga (to drive off). In the speech of high tonespeakers it would be represented as tubíngye.

L.

7. Oruhindá. The name of a place.

nkagikubuuza I conquered it. This is the 1st person singular of the far past tense of okukubuuza which means to turn aside and hence to conquer. The object prefix gi, which agrees with the locative E class, is used here instead of ru.

nti. Thus. See line 1.

órubángo. Spear. Orubángo is the shaft of the spear but is used here, instead of eicúmu, for the spear itself.

na

Rwamujonjo. With Rwamujonjo. This was the real name of one of the Benemafundo, the princes of Igara, who was fighting for the Banyankore.

L.

8. Abanyóro. Although it is several centuries since Buhweju was under Bunyoro, one will still find old Banyankore referring to the Banyabuhweju as Banyoro.



baatiina. They were afraid. 3rd person singular of the narrative tense of okutiina (to fear).

omukaitu-  
ranó.

The battle. This most descriptive noun is not in use in ordinary speech. It has a common root with enkaito (a sandal) and its form would suggest derivation from a reversive verb stem -kaitura (remove sandals). Though no such verb exists, the meaning is the place where the sandals are shed (in the heat of battle) and hence a battle-field.

gwa  
Kahenda.

Of Kahenda. Gwa is the possessive particle in agreement with omukaiturano (class 3). Kahenda is the name of a place.

L.

9. Enkóko za  
Karembe.

The cocks of Karembe. Enkóko is used of a fowl, whether hen or cock. Za is the possessive particle in agreement with enkóko (class 10). Karembe is the name of a place.

zantanga  
kujuga.

Had already crowed. Literally, had preceded me to crow. Okutânga, as stated above, means either to prevent or to precede. The idea here conveyed is that the hero fought on into the night and was still fighting when the cocks crowed.

L.  
10. Rukina.

He who runs fast. Okukina is to gambol of a calf. In sequence, the high tone of Rukina (in isolation) appears on the last syllable.

mbakumbiza  
Nyamizi.

I overthrew them at Nyamizi. Present indefinite of applied form of causative of okukumba (to fall over) with a past meaning. Nyamizi is the name of a place.

na  
Rutasikwa.

With Rutasikwa. This praise name is formed from the negative of the passive of okusika (to pull) and means he who is not dislodged. In the speech of high tone speakers it would be represented as Rutasikwa.

L.  
11. Nkanga.

At Nkanga. This is a place name. There is no adverbial formative aha.

nkarikwata. I seized it (my spear). Far past tense of okukwata (to catch). The object prefix ri refers to eicumu (spear).

aha  
muhanda.

By the end of the shaft. Omuhunda is the spike at the end of a spear. The hero was fighting at such close quarters that he had to use the end of his spear to jab with. After the adverbial formative aha the initial vowel of the noun is dropped.

L.

12. Kanyegyero. A place name.

bayecura

Ruboherá.

They were startled (by me) Rubohera. Okwecura is a verb which is reflexive in form but passive in meaning. The tense is the present indefinite but has a past meaning. Rubohera, he who binds (the enemy) is a praise name formed from the applied form of okubóha (to bind).

L.

13. Nikwó.

Therefore, literally it is thus.

naabaire

ntaruga.

I did not go out from, i.e. I was not excluded from. This is a compound tense made up of the far past tense of the verb okúba (to be), in its dependent clause form because it is preceded by nikwo, and of the negative present indefinite participle of okuruga (to go out from). The compound tense formed from the far past tense of okúba and the present indefinite participle of another verb is very common in Runyankore and has a continuous far past meaning, e.g. I was always going out or, in the negative, I never went out.

mu naama.

Among the counsels. Enaama means secrets or plans. The initial vowel of omu (in) is dropped because it follows a verb in the negative.

y'Abahinda. Of the Bahinda (<ya Abahinda). The vowel of the possessive particle is always represented by an apostrophe in the present orthography when it precedes a, e or o. The Bahinda are the members of the royal clan or princes.

na  
Rwangomani. With Rwangomani. This was one of the names of Tajungye, the son of Bwishiki, a younger brother of the Omugabe Mutambuka. Tajungye was a young man at the time of the Buhweju campaign and survived until several years after the Agreement of 1901.

L.

14. Rushahuza. He who rescues. The praise name is formed from the causative of okushahura (to rescue). The causative is used because the instrument is understood - he who rescues with his spear.

nkabá

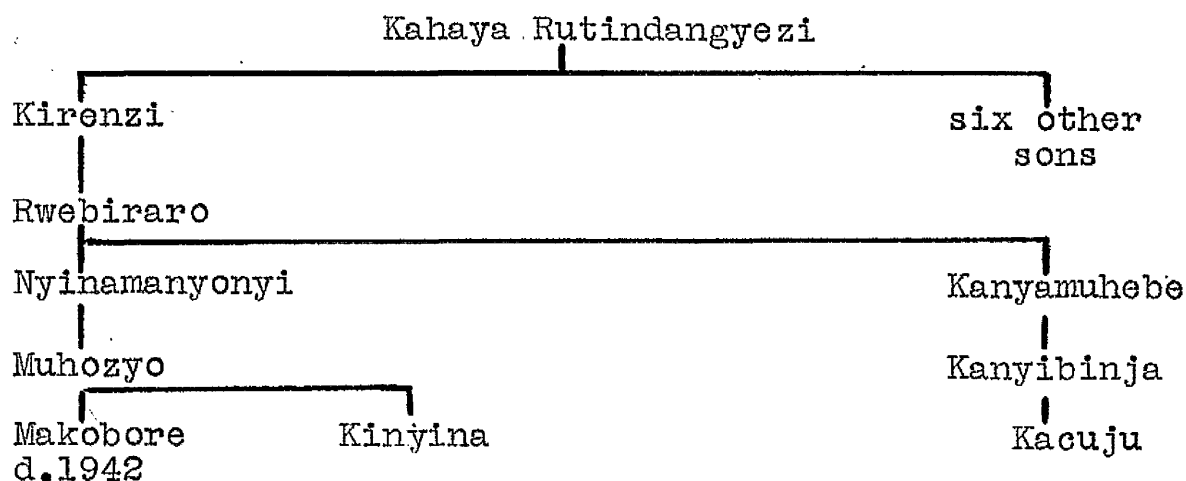
mmuhambire. I had seized him. This is a pluperfect compound tense formed from the far past of okúba and the past participle of okuhamba (to seize).

ngu

tutwarane. That we might fight together. The associative of the verb okutwâra (to carry or rule) has the meaning of to fight together. This is subjunctive indicating intention. In the speech of high tone speakers it would be represented as tutwârane.

B. The Beenekirenzi and the Beenekanyamuhebe.

When Kahaya Rutindangyezi Omukama of Mpororo died in the middle of the 18th century, \* that kingdom, which had comprised most of the present Ankole amashaza of Rwampara, Kajara, Sheema and Igara, all Kigezi except the modern Bufumbira eishaza and part of northern Ruanda, disintegrated, Kahaya's seven sons establishing themselves as heads of sub-clans of the Bashambo clan in various parts of the kingdom. These sub-clans soon afterwards came under the suzerainty either of the Omugabe of Nkore or of the Omwami of Ruanda. Rujumbura and Kinkizi, now amashaza of Kigezi District, were the domain of Kahaya's son Kirenzi, ancestor of the Beenekirenzi. His younger grandson, Kanyamuhebe, however, established himself in Kinkizi and founded a splinter group of the Beenekirenzi known as the Beenekanyamuhebe.



\* See page 18.

As the number and the cattle of the Beenekanyamuhebe increased, they attempted to assert their independence of the elder branch of the clan which, in about the year 1880, undertook a campaign, to which this ekyevugo refers, against them. The Beenekanyamuhebe were utterly defeated and practically exterminated.

The head of the Beenekirenzi at that time was a young man, Makobore, who was later to give a great deal of trouble to the early Collectors of Ankole District. The Banyankore leaders maintained that Makobore was the Omugabe's vassal and the early administrators, taking these pretensions at face value, tried to persuade him to become one of the Omugabe's eishaza chiefs. This Makobore steadfastly refused to do, maintaining, with justice it would appear, that his ancestors had never been subject to the Abagabe and when the District of Kigezi was founded in 1912 Makobore elected to have his country included in it rather than in Ankole. He became eishaza chief, however, only of Rujumbura and not of Kinkizi which the Beenekirenzi had previously controlled through the Beenekanyamuhebe. Makobore died in 1942 and his grandson, having served as the eishaza chief of Rujumbura, is now the Secretary-General of the Kigezi African Local Government.

L.

1. Rutagandaára nkageégyemera!
2. Nkeegyemera ágázaagiire na Rwakakuuto
3. Zaahunga ébooroogo ya mukamaazo
4. Ruhimbikiriza akeegyema émanga za Butúmbi na Iremezo
5. Ruhandágana akacungura ágáruhire.
6. Rurindána akaigatira ihángwe rya Kyamakanda
7. Rutáha-mukungu na Rutimbya
8. Rubagasíra yaitira Ruyanja.
9. Kajwamushaná bakabatwara niigona
10. Bakagarukana baarwana ómukuubano baanyuunyaho.
11. Ruyombera ákagamba ébyáhama na Rugangaaza
12. Rukwatá-gye yaagwisa éntumbi.
13. Aha Ruti-rw'amabáare akagumya ícúmu rya Bashenya
14. Akahurira énkóme ya Rugangura nibeegamba.
15. Rutácwekanisa-mushékye-gwa-Kamburara
16. Ékiró kya Migina kyabacwekyera bina.
17. Kikonkóma nkagyenda ómu kasiba k'Ábariita
18. Rwabuhúra yaashangwa árengire nako.

19. Rutashóoba akahigirá Nyiigongo
20. Rubahetá nyowé tibampíngura nibandonda.
21. Rugorami akarwana Buhíngo
22. Éngaaju yaatsimbirwa ámamanzi.
23. Rubeetweka ákabéégyemera
24. Rugwisa-kagwe yaabajwisá rukórongo
25. Nyarwánya nkababinga ómuriitikó muraingwa
26. Rutákiraanuka yaaseetura ámahunga.
27. Rutátiina-byoma-bíiragura na Rwisheesha
28. Rukanáma bakamútimba baamuzaahuurayo.



L.

1. I, Rutagandara, went for the cattle!
2. I went for the cattle which were outside the kraal  
together with Rwakakuuto;
3. They fled from the cries of their master.
4. I, Ruhimbikiriza, made for the hills of Butumbi together  
with Iremezo;
5. I, Ruhandagana, saved the cattle which were weary.
6. Rurindana went at noon towards Kyamakanda;
7. Rutaha-mukungu was with Rutimbya,
8. Rubagasira killed at Ruyanja.
9. At Kajwamushana, they captured them in the night.
10. They fought on without pause and they vanquished them.
11. Ruyombera fulfilled his word together with Rugangaaza,
12. Rukwata-gye made a kill.
13. At Ruti-rw'amabaare, he supported the spear of Bashenya;
14. He heard Rugangura's verse as they triumphed.
15. Rutacwekanisa-mushekye-gwa-Kamburara;
16. The night at Migina seemed like four to them.

17. At Kikonkoma, I went with a group of Bariita;
18. At Rwabuhura, he had gone with that group.
19. Rutashooba vowed to fight at Nyiigongo;
20. I, Rubaheta, they did not leave me behind but they chose me.
21. Rugorami fought at Buhingo;
22. The engaa ju herd was followed by warriors.
23. Rubeetweka came towards them;
24. Kagwisa-kagwe caused much blood to flow.
25. At Nyarwanya, I drove them off a great distance;
26. Rutakiraanuka followed those who were fleeing.
27. Rutatiina-byoma-biiragura and Rwisheesha
28. Rescued Rukanama and brought him back.

L.

1. Rutagandaara. He who does not rest. Okugandaara is to take a rest after a meal. Praise names formed from class I verbs with polysyllabic stems, whether affirmative or negative and whether in sequence or isolation, take the high tone on the second syllable of the stem if the first syllable of the stem contains a short vowel or a vowel followed by an NC compound.

nkageégyemera. I went towards them. Far past of the reflexive of the applied form of okugyema (to compel). The object prefix ga, the vowel of which has undergone coalescence with compensation before the reflexive prefix e, is in agreement with the class 6 noun amasyo (herds) which is understood. It should be noted that the g of this syllable is not palatal as in -gyemera (< nkaga-egyemera). In isolation in the far past tense of class I verbs the object prefix takes a high tone.

L.

2. nkeegyemera. I went forward. As above but without object prefix.
3. ágāzaagiire. (The cattle) which were outside the kraal. This is the relative form of the near or indefinite past tense of okuzaagira (to collect together, of cattle, outside the kraal). The subject

agázaagiire. prefix ga refers to amasyo (herds) and bears a high tone. The initial vowel a bears a "carry on" high tone.

na  
Rwakakuuto. With Rwakakuuto. A real name.

L.

3. Zaahunga  
ébooroogo  
ya  
mukamaazo. They fled from the cries of their master. The owner of the cattle was attacked and slain by the hero and his companion and the cattle scattered in alarm. Zaahunga is the narrative tense of okuhunga (to flee). The subject prefix zi, the vowel of which has undergone coalescence before the tense prefix aa, is in agreement with the class 10 noun ente (cattle) which is understood. Mukamaazo is a contraction of mukama waazo (their master). Mukama, when used for owner but not when used for king, belongs to a small group of nouns which cannot have an initial vowel when followed by a possessive;  
e.g. Omugyenzi, a companion mugyenzi we, his companion  
Omukama, an owner mukama waakyo, its owner  
but omukama we, his king.

L.

4. Ruhimbikiriza. He who is lifted up completely (over the mountains) i.e. he who can take himself over the

Ruhimbikiriza. mountains. The praise name is formed from the intensitive of the okuhimbika (to be lifted).

akeegyema. He made for, literally, he compelled himself.

emanga. Orubanga, plural emanga (note the operation of the Ganda law), means a sloping hill side. Emanga is here used for hills, instead of enshozi.

za  
Butumbi. Of Butumbi. Name of a place.

na  
Iremezo. With Iremezo. Name of a person.

L.  
5. Ruhandágana. He who stands staunch. The praise name is formed from the intensitive of okuhanda (to stand motionless). The intensitive suffix gana is very rarely encountered.

akacungura. He redeemed. Far past tense of okucúngura (to redeem).

ágáruhire. Which were weary. Relative form of the indefinite past of okuruha (to be tired). The subject prefix refers to amasyo (herds).

L.  
6. Rurindána. He who protects his companions. The praise name is formed from the associative of okurinda (to guard).

akaigatira He went at noon towards Kyamakanda. Okwigata  
 íhángwe means to press and here the applied form means  
 rya to press (the ground) to or to walk with deter-  
 Kyamakanda. mination towards. The phrase therefore means  
 literally, he pressed (the ground) towards the  
 noon of Kyamakanda.

L.

7. Rutáha-  
 mukungu.

He who does not give his chief, i.e. he who does  
 not allow his chief to be captured. The verb  
 okúha is of class II and therefore a negative  
 praise name formed from it takes a high tone on  
 the negative prefix ta.

na

Rutimbya.

With Rutimbya. This is an abbreviation of the  
 full praise name Rutimbya-nzigu. One of the  
 meanings of okutimbya is to provoke and hence the  
 meaning of the praise name is he who provokes  
 vengeance. In the speech of high tone speakers  
 a representation would be Rutímbya.

L.

8. Rubagasíra. He who is of value to them (his companions). A  
 praise name formed from the applied form of oku-  
 gasha (to be of use).

yaitira

Ruyanja.

He killed at Ruyanja. Narrative tense of applied  
 form of okwita (to kill).

L.

9. Kajwamushana<sup>1</sup> At Kajwamushana they captured them. Far past  
bakabatwara.  
tense of okutwâra (to take away).

niigona. In the night time; literally while they (the  
frogs) croak. This is the present participle  
of okugona (to croak). The subject prefix i  
refers to the class 10 noun, enkyere (frogs).

L.

10. Bakagarukana. They persisted. The associative form of oku-  
garuka (to return) has the meaning of to persist  
baarwana. They fought. Narrative tense of okurwana (to  
fight).

omukuubano. Incessantly. This adverb is derived from the  
associative form of the stem -kuuba (rub), and  
has the sense of rubbing backwards and forwards  
again and again over a surface until it is  
smooth.

baanyuunyaho. They vanquished (the enemy) there. The  
narrative tense of okunu<sup>^</sup>unya is used; -ho is  
a locative suffix meaning there. Baayuunyaho  
behaves tonally as if in sequence, i.e. there  
is no high tone on the first syllable of the  
stem, on account of the suffix. Okunu<sup>^</sup>unya  
means literally to suck and hence to pillage  
and so to vanquish.

L.

11. Ruyombera. He who is ready to pick a quarrel (with the enemy).

The verb okuyomba means to speak angrily but the applied form from which the praise name is derived here means to be quarrelsome towards. The praise name is tonally irregular in that in the speech of both high and low tone speakers it is heard as Ruyombera and not Ruyombé<sup>́</sup>era.

akagamba

ébyáhama.

He spoke (words) which were firm, i.e. he fulfilled his word (to fight bravely). Ebyáhama is the relative form of the very near past tense of okuhama (to be deep or firm). The subject prefix bi (by before a vowel) is in agreement with the class 8 noun ebigambo (words).

na

Rugangaaza. With Rugangaaza. He who slaughters (the enemy).

This praise name, which is formed from the causative of okugángaara (to be stiff), means literally he who causes (the enemy) to be stiff (as corpses). In the speech of high tone speakers the praise name would be represented as Rugangá<sup>́</sup>áza.

L.

12. Rukwata-  
gye.

He who grasps (his weapons) firmly. The praise name is formed from the verb okukwâta (to grasp) and the adverb gye (well).



yaagwisa  
entumbi.

He killed; literally, he caused to fall a corpse.  
Yaagwisa is the narrative tense of the causative  
of okugwa (to fall).

L.

13. Aha Ruti-  
rw'amabaare.

At Ruti-rw'amabaare. The meaning of this place  
name is the tall tree of the rocks. Omuti means  
a tree and oruti is an exceptionally tall tree,  
the prefix ru, indicating exceptional length.

akagumya  
icumu rya  
Bashenya.

He supported the spear of Bashenya (a person).  
Akagumya is the far past of the causative of  
okuguma (to be hard or firm).

L.

14. Akahurira  
enkome  
ya  
Rugangura.

He heard Rugangura's verse. Enkome is the snap  
of the fingers at the end of a verse of an ebye-  
vugo and hence the name given to a verse itself.  
Rugangura is he who beats, from okugangura. In  
the speech of both high and low tone speakers  
this praise name is Rugangura and not Rugangúra as  
one would expect.

nibeegamba. As they triumphed. This is the present participle  
of the reflexive of okugamba (to speak). The re-  
flexive of this verb in ordinary speech means to  
boast, but in ebyevugo it is used for the trium-  
phal declamations which would be made when an  
adversary was slain.

- L.  
15. Rutacwekanisa  
-mushékye- Kamburara. He who does not wait for the dawn to break over  
gwa- that he does not wait for daybreak. Okucwékanisa  
Kamburara. means to cross. Omushékye is the first streak of  
light in the east and Kamburara is a hill in the  
east of the Benekirenzi country near Mitooma in  
Igara which is usually misty in the early morning.  
The praise name means literally, he who does not  
cross the dawn of Kamburara. This line may be  
misplaced here because it does not fit in with  
the grammatical construction of the next line,  
the object prefix of the verb kyabacwekyera being  
plural and therefore unable to refer to the  
holder of this praise name.

- L.  
16. Ékiró kya At Migina the night seemed like four to them;  
Migina literally, the night of Migina broke for them  
Kyabacwekyera  
bina. as four. The warriors were at Migina and so  
eager were they to start the fight that the night  
before the battle seemed unending to them. The  
verb is the narrative tense of the applied form  
of okúcwá (to break). The numeral adjective  
bina (four) is in agreement with ebiro (nights).

- L.  
17. Kikonkóma  
nkagyenda. At Kikonkoma I went. There is no adverbial  
formative with this place name.

ómu  
 kasiba  
 k'Abariita. Among a group of Abariita. Each Muhima chief had his own band of followers, relations and servants who lived in his kraal in peace time and followed him to battle in war. Such a band was called akasiba which is a diminutive form of esiba which means literally a group of cattle. The akasiba of Kinyina, a younger brother of Makobore, were known as the Abariita, which is derived from the verb okuriita meaning to bind with a rope.

L.  
 18. Rwabuhura  
 yaashangwa  
 arengire  
 nako. At Rwabuhura he had gone with that group; literally, (at) Rwabuhura he was found having disappeared from view with it. Yaashangwa is the narrative tense of the passive of okushanga (to find) and arengire is the past participle of okurênga (to pass over or disappear from view). Ko is the self standing personal pronoun in agreement with akasiba. In the present orthography this pronoun when preceded by na (with) is joined to it as one word.

L.  
 19. Rutashóoba. He who moves quickly. Negative of okushooba to stalk or to walk very slowly or carefully.

akahigira  
 Nyiigongo. He vowed to fight at Nyiigongo. Akahigira is the far past of the applied form of okuhiga. This

verb means to vow and is very commonly met with in ebyevugo with the meaning of to dedicate oneself to the service in battle of a chief, or to vow to fight or to undertake some particular exploit.

L.  
20. Rubahetá. He who overcomes them. The verb okuheta means to bend.

nyowe. I. Self standing pronoun.

tibampingura  
nibandonda. They did not leave me behind but they chose me; literally, they did not pass me by choosing me. Tibampingura is the present indefinite negative of okuhingura (to pass by) with the usual far past meaning. It is followed by the present participle of okuronda (to choose). Note the sound change occurring with the first personal object prefix in both words; n+h > mp, n+r > nd.

L.  
21. Rugorami  
akarwana  
Buhingo. Rugorami fought at Buhingo.

L.  
22. Engaaju. The engaaju herd. Gaaaju is a light red cow and engaaju is a herd of such cattle.

yaatsimbirwa. It was followed or tracked down. This is the narrative tense of the passive of okutsimbira (to

follow a trail).

amamanzi. Warriors. Emanzi is a warrior or warriors and the prefix ma represents something spread out over an area, hence the amamanzi indicates that there was a large body of warriors.

L.

23. Rubeetweka. He who opposes them. Okwétweka is to oppose.

This was the praise name of Kinyina.

ákabéégyemera. He came towards them; literally, he compelled himself to them.

L.

24. Rugwisa-kagwe.

He who brings disaster (to his enemies). Literally, he who causes to fall (into) disaster. Okugwisa is the causative form of okugwa (to fall) and akagwe is a marvel or unexpected occurrence, or, as in this case, a disaster. This was another praise name of Kinyina. In the speech of a high tone speaker it would be represented as Rugwísa-kagwe.

yaabajwisá. He caused them (the enemy) to bleed. Narrative tense of the causative of okujwa (to bleed).

rukórongo. A great quantity of blood.

L.

25. Nyarwanya nkababinga. At Nyarwanya I drove them (the enemy) off.

omuriitiko  
muraingwa.

A great distance. The noun omuriitiko is formed from the unusual verb stem -riitika (run or stampede) and means a long distance.

L.

26. Rutakiraanuka. He who is direct in attack. Negative of okukiraanuka, to go a long way round to a place.

yaaseetura  
amahunga

He drove before him those who were fleeing.

Okuseetura is to drive cattle to pasture and the verb is used here for driving the enemy before one. Amahunga is a noun formed from the verb stem -hunga (flee). The prefix of the 6th class is used to indicate that the hosts of the enemy were spread out over a large area in their flight.

L.

27. Rutatiina-  
byoma-  
biiiragura.

He who does not fear black steel (spears). The praise name is formed from the negative of the verb stem -tiina (fear), the noun ebyôma (iron) which in this compound loses its high tone and the relative form of the present indefinite of the verb okwiragura (to be black) in agreement with ebyoma.

na

Rwisheehsa. With Rwisheesha. Rwisheesha is formed from the verb okusheesha (to spill or scatter) with an

object prefix in agreement with the class 10 noun engabo (warriors) which is understood. It means, therefore, he who scatters the warriors of the enemy. In the speech of high tone speakers its representation would be Rwisheesha.

L.  
28. Rukanáma. He who causes trouble (to the enemy). Okúkanama means to sue someone in a law court and the praise name is used for the trouble maker.

bakamútimba. They rescued him. The verb okutimba (to dig) is used here with the meaning of digging the warrior out from among the enemy who surrounded him.

baamuzaahuurayo. And they brought him back from there.

Okuzaahuura (to bring back from exile) is the transitive form of okuzaahuuka which is the reverse of okuzaaha (to go into exile). Here it merely means that they brought him back to his friends from amongst the enemy.

## CHAPTER V.

TYPICAL 20th CENTURY EBYEVUGO.(a) Ekirimbi.

In the year 1900 Prince Igumira, who had been a constant source of trouble to the Administration, was exiled from Ankole, and Kijoma the chief of Kikyenkye, a Muhinda who had been one of Igumira's supporters, decided in disgust to emigrate with his cattle and followers to German territory. An attempt was made to prevent him and some lives were lost but he managed to cross the frontier into Karagwe in the German district of Bukoba with most of his men and cattle. Some years later he died leaving two sons, Kakonya and Rutabindwa. During the 1914-18 war, every encouragement was given to Bahima emigrants to return to Ankole and Kijoma's sons decided to come back with their followers and their herds. Kakonya's followers were called the Ekirimbi, a word meaning a sheath for arrows. Kakonya left Karagwe with about a hundred men and one thousand four hundred head of cattle and crossed over into Ankole taking his herds, moving eventually to Nyabushozi where, some years later, he died.

This ekyevugo describes the flight from Karagwe of the Ekirimbi after whom it is called. It was composed by a Muhinda



Ruhanantuka one of the Ekdirimbi and he naturally is the hero of the recitation. The incident is described as though it were a wartime campaign but in fact, although the German authorities and the local chiefs tried to prevent the exodus of the Ekdirimbi, no actual fighting took place. Until the last enkome all the places referred to are in Karagwe. The final enkome then refers to the arrival of the Ekdirimbi at Kamukuzi (the Ankole Native Government headquarters near Mbarara) and the meeting with the Enganzi, Mbaguta.

This ekyevugo was recited to me by a Mwiru Kimuga at Shuuka in November 1954. He had been a servant of Kakonya and had learnt it from the Ekdirimbi after they had settled in Nyabushozi.

L. 1. Ruhimbána!

L. 2. Rutasiráára nkahiga!

L. 3. Rutasiráára nkahigira ómu ihinda-njojo na Rwinika-bigomba

L. 4. Rutákundirwa nkabiihirwa nibabuura.

L. 5. Rutahwékyera nkabahuruza ákaata-manégye na Rukaranga

L. 6. Rubahimbyá nkashanga naabonana.

L. 7. Rubogóka bakandomba émpínju na Rwamisooro

L. 8. Rukumbágaza nkatsyamuka nibatuteera

L. 9. Rukiná nkagumira ámasási na Rutenga-migogo

L.10. Rutábaasibwa nkaboneka na Rutahaba

L.11. Rutanjúka-mu-ngaro bakandoha Ruyanjá na Rutaahira

L.12. Rutáhingura nkabukyengyeramu.

L.13. Rutátungura nkabukyengyeramú na Rureega

L.14. Rwerotá bakampinduza énkaito na Rutaaba

L.15. Rwebindá nkashaariza na Ruguma

L.16. Rútátsyama nkarenga énshwagara na Rurekyera.

- L.17. Rutasiráára-mu-rugambá na Rukuuna-bintu
- L.18. Rubahindúra nkaboneka na Rubanonzya
- L.19. Rushambúza nkakora ómu nkoora y'Ékirimbi na Rusáásana
- L.20. Rutarééberwa-nyima nkabahambizá Migyera na Rutagyengwa.
- L.21. Kashaká nkarangiza íjugo na Rwamisooro
- L.22. Rubumba nkashanga nibatenda.
- L.23. Ruraámwa gakanteerahó gaátaraaka na Rugira-ngaro
- L.24. Rugumira-émitsíburo nkabacwa ébihanura na Rutarindwa.
- L.25. Rutákangaza gareetsire óburanga na Rutashanguúra
- L.26. Rutananá nkagaija áha biseera na Katwaza.
- L.27. Rujinya nkahigira áha kikungu na Rwinika-bigomba
- L.28. Rutatigírwa nkabwitsa ékiniga.
- L.29. Rugarúkana bakaanyorekaná mpurwire na Rutahabá
- L.30. Rutagandaára nkabakuura ómu masiisira na Katemba.
- L.31. Ruhimbisibwá nkabahuruza mararambá na Rujuna-ngabo
- L.32. Rushambírira bakantiinira ómu rugamba na Katemba.
- L.33. Rutáshoronga nkahurura ómu mpaya-maguru na Katemba
- L.34. Rushokyérwa nkahamba ómunyanjwengye na Rutaaga.

- L.35. Rutaagá nkahurira ámaráka gaawe
- L.36. Rubahimbyá na Rutiikura
- L.37. Rushonjóorana tukazibanyuunyaho.
- L.38. Karambi nkanga énaama y'émihótoro na Rutemba-ngabo
- L.39. Rufundá bakánde-kura naaboogaho.
- L.40. Rutashoróorwa mpamizá na Rugira-ngaro
- L.41. Ruruuzá nkaruhuurwa ómugangurano na Rureega.
- L.42. Ruhwezá na Rugumba nkabanda íreegire na Rusheesha-ngabo
- L.43. Rutagyengwá nkabeetunramu.
- L.44. Rusíísibanisa nkaabira ómu ntééko na Rusáásana
- L.45. Rubiihirwá nkagurikira ábákakaize na Runyamosho
- L.46. Rujwigá nkahigisa óburakaare na Runyabyóma
- L.47. Rutagumírwa akampama ómu máisho na Rwamisooro
- L.48. Rutabanzí-bwa tibampíngura nibandonda.
- L.49. Ruzayó na Ruseeturwa Rubonerá na Rweinoora
- L.50. Rufukaaná na Rukooza
- L.51. Tindeká bakaitnya na Rutumbuza Rutarúuma.
- L.52. Rutarúuma nkarenga ómu makúmi abiri na Rwamisooro
- L.53. Rushojwá nkabá nyangiré kugyenda na Rwinika-bigomba
- L.54. Rugomérwa tukagyenda baagarukayo.

- L.55. Rutátsyama nkabanza ábatwekyeire na Rukuuna-bintu
- L.56. Rukindúrana nkagonyera ómu katáre.
- L.57. Rutasheéshwa nkareetwa áha muhigo gwa Rufunzá na Katemba
- L.58. Rutátungura nkarangiza énkuraijo.
- L.59. Kanyabihára nkabahinduza ényarwanda na Rutsimbira
- L.60. Ibaáre nkabatanga énkoroogi na Rureega
- L.61. Rutahuruza nkaremera áha kafunda.
- L.62. Rutákangwa-mitsindo-y'ábananuuzi na Rugungira-manzi
- L.63. Rutarúuma nkaijuriza ábarwani.
- L.64. Rujuméera nkatanga ésiba y'ábatakarwaine na Ruseeturwa-  
mpaka
- L.65. Ruteegayá nkashanga nibabinga.
- L.66. Rutáhwezibwa nkababinga ómu murombe na Rusaasa-ngabo
- L.67. Rutatugána éngoga ikabannagamu.
- L.68. Rutatugána ikannaga ómu babisha na Katemba
- L.69. Ruhwayó nkamugibwa ókureega
- L.70. Rutahuúba-mu-ngaro na Rutagumírwa
- L.71. Ruzayó kú mpindúka bizaagira.
- L.72. Mishéényi nkagihuruza ókwésaasa na Ruhinda-ngabo
- L.73. Rutáconyerwa nkatsindura ébimbuuru.

- L.74. Rugabírana nkabataranga na Rutanana
- L.75. Rutagáta nkasharaza émizinga na Rubaagana.
- L.76. Rutátenda nkataahira áha z'Ábaziba na Rukumbyána
- L.77. Rujinyá nkataahá ndemaine.
- L.78. Kánshengo nkanyiga ómu ibombo na Rwinika-bigomba
- L.79. Rubahimbyá nkamugambira ámaháme na Rugatsimba.
- L.80. Nkahigira ómu kikaari na Rurahutsya-mu-ngaro
- L.81. Rubanyegyéza nkatembá Bikaito na Rutahindwa.

- L. 1. I, Ruhimbana!
- L. 2. I, Rutasiraara, made a vow!
- L. 3. I, Rutasiraara, made a vow at midnight together with  
Rwinika-bigomba;
- L. 4. I, Rutakundirwa, was full of anger when the enemy<sup>were</sup>/reported.
- L. 5. I, Rutahwekyera, called up the men at speed together with  
Rukaranga;
- L. 6. I found Rubahimbya in secret conference.
- L. 7. They took their aim at me, Rubogoka, together with  
Rwamisooro;
- L. 8. I, Rukumbagaza, returned to the fight when they were  
attacking us.
- L. 9. I, Rukina, withstood the bullets together with Rutenga-  
migogo,
- L.10. I, Rutabaasibwa, appeared with Rutahaba.
- L.11. I, Rutanjuka-mu-ngaro, was sent in advance to Ruyanja  
together with Rutaahira;
- L.12. I, Rutahingura, drew my bow.
- L.13. I, Rutatungura, drew my bow together with Rureega;
- L.14. They brought me, Rwerota, back for my sandals together  
with Rutaaba;

- L.15. I, Rwebinda, fought furiously together with Ruguma;
- L.16. I, Rutatsyama, crossed over noiselessly together with Rurekyera.
- L.17. I, Rutasiraara-mu-rugamba was with Rukuuna-bintu;
- L.18. I, Rubahindura, appeared with Rubanonzya.
- L.19. I, Rushambuza, took the track of the Ekirimbi together with Rusaasana;
- L.20. I, Rutareeberwa-nyima, tracked them down at Migyera together with Rutagyengwa.
- L.21. At Kashaka, I made my bell ring out together with Rwamisooro;
- L.22. At Rubumba, I found their courage deserting them.
- L.23. I, Ruraamwa, was assailed by bullets which left me unscathed together with Rugira-ngaro.
- L.24. I, Rugumira-emitsiburo, defeated them utterly together with Rutarindwa.
- L.25. I, Rutakangaza, faced the spears together with Rutashanguura;
- L.26. I, Rutanana came up alongside them together with Katwaza.
- L.27. I, Rujinya, made a vow on an anthill with Rwinika-bigomba;
- L.28. I, Rutatigirwa, broke my bow in my impatience.
- L.29. They singled out me, Rugarukana, as I was fighting together with Rutahaba;
- L.30. I, Rutagandaara, enticed them out from their camps together with Katemba.



- L.31. I, Rihimbisibwa, gathered them together from whence they  
had fled together with Rujuna-ngabo;
- L.32. I, Rushambirira, was feared in the battle together with  
Katemba.
- L.33. I, Rutashoronga, fought with men who were swift of foot  
together with Katemba;
- L.34. I, Rushokyerwa, captured a slave girl together with  
Rutaaga.
- L.35. I heard your cries Rutaaga;
- L.36.) I, Rubahimbya, I, Rushonjoorana, together with Rutiikura  
L.37.) carried off all their cattle.
- L.38. At Karambi, I rejected the counsels of the middle-aged  
together with Rutemba-ngabo;
- L.39. At Rufunda, they let me go and I out-paced them.
- L.40. I, Rutashoorwa, came to their aid together with  
Rugira-ngaro;
- L.41. I, Ruruuza, was refreshed by the battle together with  
Rureega.
- L.42. I, Ruhweza, together with Rugumba, attacked the enemy who  
had scattered together with Rusheesha-ngabo;
- L.43. I, Rutagyengwa, fell upon them unexpectedly.
- L.44. I, Rusiisibanisa, pushed my way to the enemy's rear  
together with Rusaasana;
- L.45. I, Rubiihirwa attacked the enemy host together with  
Runyamoshu.

- L.46. I, Rujwiga, fought with great fury together with  
Runyabyoma;
- L.47. Rutagumirwa stood fast before me together with Rwamisooro;
- L.48. They could not pass by me, Rutabanzibwa, as they sought me.
- L.49. I, Ruzayo, with Ruseeturwa, Rubonera, Rweinora,
- L.50. Rufukaana and Rukooza,
- L.51. I, Rutaruuma, did not allow them to pause for breath  
together with Rutumbuza.
- L.52. I, Rutaruuma, passed over to the band of twenty together  
with Rwamisooro;
- L.53. At Rushojwa, I had refused to leave together with  
Rwinika-bigomba;
- L.54. At Rugomerwa, we set off and they returned there.
- L.55. I, Rutatsyama, outstripped those who were well armed  
together with Rukuunaabintu;
- L.56. I, Rukindurana, stood firm in the market place.
- L.57. I, Rutasheeshwa, passed on to the battle at Rufunza  
together with Katemba;
- L.58. I, Rutatungura, set to work with my spear.
- L.59. At Kanyabihara, I turned them back with the spear together  
with Rutsimbira;
- L.60. At Ibaare, I got before them to the cattle together with  
Rureega;
- L.61. I, Rutahuruza, stood fast in the narrow way.

- L.62. I, Rutakangwa-mitsindo-y'abananuuzi, with Rugungira-manzi,  
L.63. I, Rutaruuma, completed the warriors' numbers.
- L.64. I, Rujumeera, went ahead of those who had not yet joined  
in the fighting together with  
Ruseeturwa-mpaka;  
L.65. I, Ruteegaya, found them in flight.
- L.66. I, Rutahwezibwa, drove them off at dawn together with  
Rusaasa-ngabo;  
L.67. I, Rutatugana, my swiftness brought me amongst the enemy.
- L.68. It brought me, Rutatugana, amongst the enemy together with  
Katemba;  
L.69. I, Ruhwayo, was wearied by the use of the bow.
- L.70. I, Rutahuuba-mu-ngaro, with Rutagumirwa,  
L.71. I, Ruzayo, when I looked back, they stood motionless.
- L.72. I collected warriors from Misheenyi without thought for  
myself together with Ruhinda-ngabo;  
L.73. I, Rutaconyerwa, drove off hosts of the enemy.
- L.74. I, Rugabirana, scattered them together with Rutanana;  
L.75. I, Rutagata, overcame their artillery together with  
Rubaagana.
- L.76. I, Rutatenda, overthrew the rifles of the Baziba together  
with Rukumbyana;  
L.77. I, Rujinya, returned home undefeated.

- L.78. At Kashengo, I was amongst crowds together with Rwinika-  
bigomba;
- L.79. I told Rubahimbya the secrets of fighting together with  
Rugatsimba.
- L.80. I made a vow in the royal enclosure together with  
Rurahutsya-mu-ngaro;
- L.81. I, Rubanyegyeza, visited Bikaito together with Rutahindwa.

- L.  
1. Ruhimbána. He who encourages (his companions). The praise name is formed from the associative of okuhimba (to lift or praise).
2. Rutasiraára. He who acts instantly. The praise name is formed from the negative of okusiraara (to go reluctantly).
- nkahiga. The meaning of okuhiga is to make a vow but here the idea is that of dedicating oneself to the service of one's leader in battle and it is very frequently so used in introducing an ekyevugo.
3. Ómu ihinda-njojo. This descriptive phrase for eitumbi (midnight) is still occasionally met with. Okuhinda (to prevent) is commonly used for chasing away wild animals which are destroying the crops and the literal meaning is 'at (the time of) the preventing of the elephants'.
- Rwinika-bigomba. He who disciplines the recruits. Okwinika means literally to bend but here to train or discipline. Ebigomba means simple or untrained people.
4. Rutákundirwa. He who is not loved (by the enemy). Formed from the negative passive of the applied form of okukûnda (to love).

- L.  
4. nibabuura. Literally, when they gave warning. The warning was given to the hero by his companions of the enemy's approach and he immediately became full of animosity towards the enemy and of eagerness to fight.
5. Rutahwékyera. He who is vigilant. Formed from the negative of okuhwekyera (to doze).
- nkabahuruza. Okuhurura is to go to war. The causative here means to call up one's followers.
- ákaata-manégye. This is an adverbial phrase meaning 'at speed'. Literally, it means 'with a breaking of testicles' and is formed from the root -at- (break) with the adverbial formative ka and the noun amanégye (testicles). Adverbs or adverbial phrases so formed are rare, one of the few others which exist being akatwaramaju (in torrents) from the root -twâr- (carry) and the noun amaju (houses) literally, so as to carry away houses.
- Rukaranga. He who inflicts pain (on the enemy). The verb okukáranga means to fry.
- L.  
6. Rubahimbyá. He who encourages them (his companions). From the causative of okuhimba (to lift or praise).

- L.  
6. naabonana. Okubónana is an archaic word used for the holding of a secret conference by a chief or the Omugabe.
7. Rubógoka. He who makes the right decision. Okubogoka means to take the right path.
- bakandomba  
empinju. They took their aim at me. Okuromba is an unusual word meaning to attack. Empinju is something which has been chopped into two or more pieces. The phrase means literally 'they attacked me (so that I should be) a thing chopped in half.' That is to say they took their aim at the navel.
- Rwamisooro. Emisooro is young millet but what its significance in the formation of a praise name may be is not clear.
- L.  
8. Rukumbágaza. He who overcomes difficulties. Formed from the causative of okukumbagara (to fall over) and meaning literally, 'he who causes (obstacles) to fall over'.
9. Rukiná. He who runs swiftly. Okukina means to gambol (of calves).
- amasasi. Bullets, plural of éisási. This word comes via Luganda and Swahili, from the Arabic

risaas. On account of the first syllable of the Arabic original it occurs in class 5 in the singular and therefore in class 6 in the plural.

Rutenga-  
migogo.

He who loves battle. Okutenga means to need and emigogo means crowds. The whole praise name therefore, means he who needs hosts (of warriors to fight).

L.

10. Rutábaasibwa. He who is unconquerable. From the negative of the passive of okubáasa (to be able).

Rutahaba.

He who is infallible. From the negative of okuhaba (to go astray).

L.

11. Rutanjuka  
-mu-ngaro.

He who grasps his weapons firmly. Okwanjuka is to be insane or delirious and the praise name means, literally, he who is not delirious in the fingers.

Rutaahira.

See 'The Invasion of Buhweju' line 1.

L.

12. Rutáhingura. He who does not avoid (difficulties). From the negative of okuhíngura (to pass by).

nkabu-

kyengyeramu.

I drew my bow. Literally, I disappeared into it (my bow). Okukyengyera is to sink down or disappear. The object prefix bu refers to obuta (bow). The idea conveyed is that, as he draws his bow, it swallows him up from sight.



L.  
13. Rutátungura. He who does not tremble. From the negative of okutúngura (to shiver with fever).

Rureega. He who tightens (the bow string). Okureega (to tighten) is usually used of tightening the skin on a drum.

L.  
14. Rwerotá. The simple stem -róta is rarely, if ever, encountered though the stem with the suffix ma is in general use - okurótama (to squat). This praise name, however, is formed from the simple stem with the reflexive prefix with the meaning of 'he who crouches (waiting to attack).'

bakampinduza  
enkaito.

They brought me back (literally, caused me to turn) for my sandals. The implication here is obscure but it would seem that, in his eagerness to attack, the hero had shed his sandals.

Rutaaba. The huge one. This is not a praise name but rather a nickname, Rutaaba being used for anything exceptionally large. The prefix ru is not used here in its honorific sense, as in praise names, but with its usual significance of something long or tall.

L.  
15. Rwebinda. He who does not disclose his plans. Okubinda is to fold something over so as to disclose it from view. The reflexive here means to fold

oneself over or to be secretive about one's plans.

nkashaariza. I fought savagely. Okushaarira is to be bitter and the literal meaning here is 'I caused (matters) to be bitter (for the enemy).

Ruguma. He who is brave. From okuguma (to be firm).

L.  
16. Rutatsyama. He who does not miss the mark. From the negative of okutsyâma (to go astray).

nkarenga  
enshwagara. Okurenga is to cross over. Enshwagara is an uncommon word meaning anything that makes a rustling noise. The phrase means 'I crossed over on tiptoe or noiselessly'.

Rurekyera. The spear thrower. From okurekyera (to let go).

L.  
17. Rutasiraara //  
-mu-rugamba. He who is not reluctant in battle. From the negative of okusiraara (to be reluctant).

Rukuuna  
-bintu. He who is eager for plunder. Okukuuna means to be greedy.

L.  
18. Rubahindura. Literally, he who turns them (the enemy) round. That is to say he attacks them first from one side and then from the other. From okuhindura (to turn).

Rubanonzya. He who wears them (the enemy) out (in battle). From the causative of okunonga (to be exhausted).

- L.  
19. Rushambuza. He who moves forward to the attack. Okushambuza means to step forward when attacking.
- nkakora ōmu  
nkoora  
y'Ekirimbi. I followed in the steps of the Ekirimbi. Okukōra means, literally, to do or make but here to take a certain direction. The usual meaning of enkoora is a track made by cattle.
- Rusaāsana. He who causes pain to others. From the associative of okusaasa (to inflict pain).
- L.  
20. Rutarēberwa  
-nyima. He who is in the forefront. The praise name which is formed from the negative passive of the applied form of okureeba (to see) means literally he who is not seen behind.
- Rutagyengwa. He who is not subject to the advice of others. Okugyenga means literally to set broken bones, but here the verb has the meaning of to remedy, a fault or to give advice; hence 'he who is not advised'.
- L.  
21. nkarangiza  
ijugo. I made my bell ring out afar. The verb is the causative of the applied form of okuranga (to announce) and means to cause to sound from a distance. Eijugo is a metal rattle tied round the ankle.

L.  
22. nibatenda. Okutênda means to get slack (as of a rope) and hence the meaning here of losing courage.

L.  
23. Ruraamwa. He who is entreated. From the passive of okuraama (to beseech). The hero is entreated by his companions to fight on account of his valour.

gakanteerahó  
gaátaraaka. I was assailed by bullets which splashed off me. The subject prefix ga refers to amasási (bullets). Okutaraaka is to splash (as water). Literally, they struck and splashed (off me).

Rugira-ngaro. He who is fortunate. Okugira means to possess and the praise name means literally, he who has (possessions in his) hand.

L.  
24. Rugumira  
-emitsíburo. He who stands firm in battle. The applied form of okuguma (to be firm) is used here with the unusual noun emitsíburo formed from the verb stem -tsíbura (strike) with the meaning of the fighting.

nkabacwa  
ébihanura. I defeated them utterly. Ekihanura is the calf of the leg and the phrase means literally, I broke their calves; that is to say the enemy were felled to the ground.

Rutarindwa. He for whom no protection is necessary. From the negative passive of okurinda (to guard).

L.  
25. Rutakangaza  
gareetsire  
oburanga.

I, Rutakangaza, was beset by spears. Rutakangaza is formed from the negative of okukangaza (to be excited) and means he who is clear headed. The subject prefix of the verb, ga refers to amacumu (spears). Oburanga usually means appearance or resemblance e.g. oburanga bw'esishe (a resemblance to his father) and here it means the faces of the spears. The word Rutakangaza is quite outside the construction of the rest of the phrase which means literally, (as for me) Rutakangaza, they brought (their) faces. The tense of the verb changes in this line from the far past to the near or indefinite past.

Rutashanguura. He who does not cease fighting. From the negative of okushanguura (to stop while in the middle of a fight or of a game).

L.  
26. Rutanana.

He who is agile. From the negative of okunana (to be stiff).

nkagaija  
aha  
biseera.

I came up alongside them (the spears). The object prefix ga refers to amacumu (spears).

Ebiseera is an uncommon noun meaning sides.

L.  
27. Rujinya.

He who is enthusiastic (for battle). This is a praise name formed not from a verb but from a noun, omujinya (enthusiasm).

kikungu.

Anthill. It used to be customary for anthills to be adapted as a platform for chiefs to stand or sit on.

L.  
28. Rutatigirwa.

He who is not disobeyed. From the negative passive of the applied form of okutiga (to refuse stubbornly).

nkabwitsa  
ekiniga.

The object prefix bu (bw before a vowel) refers to obuta (bow). Okwita (to kill) is often used with the meaning of to destroy or to break. The verb is in the causative because it is followed by the instrument, ekiniga (with anger).

L.  
29. Rugarukana.

He who retaliates. The associative form of okugaruka (to return) has a special meaning of 'to make someone regret an action' or to 'retaliate'.

bakaanyorekana. They singled me out. Literally, they showed me to one another (okworeka, to show). The vowel of the tense prefix is lengthened because it precedes the first personal prefix before a vowel.

L.  
30. Rutagandaara. He who is vigilant. Okugandaara is to take a rest after a meal.

nkabakuura  
omu  
masiisira. I enticed them (the enemy) out of their camps. Okukuura is to pull out. Ekisiisira is a temporary dwelling or camp. The prefix ma indicates that the camps were spread out over a large area.

L.  
31. Ruhimbisibwa. He who is praised. From the passive of okuhimbisa (to praise).

nkabahuruza  
mararamba. I collected them together from all directions (whither they had fled). Okuhuruza is the causative of okuhurura (to go to war) and is used in ebyevugo for calling up troops for battle. Mararamba is a very unusual adverb meaning in all directions, formed from the root -raramb- (look in all directions).

Rujuna-ngabo. Okujuna is to save and engabo means warriors. The meaning of the praise name is, therefore, the saviour of the warriors.

L.  
32. Rushambirira. He who attacks unprovoked. (okushambirira, to attack without cause).

L.  
33. Rutashoronga. He who fights on his own. From the negative of okushoronga (to move in a line).

omu

mpaya-maguru. Among the swift. Literally, among (those with) the legs (amaguru) of he-goats (empaya).

L.

34. Rushokyerwa. He who is eager for battle. Okushokyera is to put a point to a stake and the praise name therefore means literally he who is sharpened.

omunyanjwengye. Literally, one with long hair (enjwengye, long hair). This is a word used for an omuzana (slave girl) because the abazana were not allowed to cut their hair.

Rutaaga. He who does not ask for help. From the negative of okwaga (to ask for help).

L.36.

Rubahimbya. He who encourages them (his companions) (okuhimbya, to encourage).

Rutiikura. He who searches (for the enemy) (okutiikura, to search).

L.

37. Rushonjoorana. He who fights unceasingly. (okushonjoorana to fight unceasingly).

tukazibanyuunyah. We plundered them (the enemy) there of their cattle. The object prefix zi refers to ente (cattle). Okunyunya means literally to suck.



L.  
38. énaama

y'émihotero. The counsels of the middle-aged. Okuhotora is to be twisted. The prefix mi indicates manner and the phrase means literally, twisted secrets or counsels. The counsels are referred to as being twisted because they are those of middle-aged men, who, having lost their virility, are considered twisted in body. The hero rejects these counsels because they were, presumably, ones of caution.

Rutemba-ngabo. He who attacks the warriors. The usual meaning of okutemba is to climb but it is frequently used in ebyevugo for to attack.

L.  
39. naaboogaho. I outpaced them. Okwôga means to wash but with the suffixes ho and mu it frequently means to pass through.

L.  
40. Rutashoróorwa. He who is not rejected. From the negative passive of okushoroora (to separate or pick out the good from the bad).

mpamizá. I supported (them). The present indefinite of the applied form of the causative of okuhama (to be firm) with a far past meaning.

L.  
41. Ruruuzá. He who is eager to attack. Okuruúza is to move to and fro as a snake about to strike.

omugangurano. The battle. This is an unusual noun formed from the associative of okugangura (to beat); hence the fighting or the battle.

L.  
42. Ruhweza.

He who is capable (okuhwêza, to be smart or capable).

Rugumba.

This is a nickname often given to a big man (okugumba, to stand still). The prefix ru is not honorific here but implies height.

nkabanda  
ireegire.

I attacked the warriors who had scattered. Okubanda, which means literally to press down, is used for to attack. The subject prefix i refers to engabo (warriors). Okureega means to stretch but is used here for spreading out in flight.

Rusheesha-  
ngabo.

He who scatters the warriors (of the enemy).  
From okusheesha (to spill or scatter).

L.  
43. nkabeetuuramu. I descended into the midst of them (the enemy).

Okwetuura means literally, to put something down on the ground but is used in ebyevugo for descending unexpectedly upon the enemy.

L.  
44. Rusiisibanisa. He who prepares for battle. Okusiisibanisa means literally to rub and the idea conveyed here is that of rubbing earth on the hands

before using the bow and hence of getting ready to fight.

nkaabira  
omu  
ntéeko.

I pushed through to the rear. Okwaba is to scatter. Entéeko is the bodyguard of a chief or king which was usually in the rear of the battle. The word is used here to indicate that the hero has fought his way through the enemy's ranks until he has reached their rear.

L.  
45. Rubiihirwá.

He who gets angry (okubiihirwa, to be angry).

nkagurikira  
ábakakaize.

I attacked those who were jostled together.

Okugurikira is to assault or ambush and okukakaza is to jostle.

Runyamosho.

He who is left handed. A nickname formed from the noun emosho (left hand).

L.  
46. Rujwiga.

He who is angry (okujwiga, to be angry).

nkahigisa  
oburakaare.

I resolved to fight with fury. Literally, I resolved with fury. Oburakaare usually means danger but here fury.

Runyabyôma.

He who is courageous. This praise name is formed from the noun ebyôma (iron) and means literally he who is of iron.

L.  
47. Rutagumirwa.

He who is not disobeyed. From the negative

passive of the applied form of okuguma (to be firm or to withstand).

L.  
48. Rutabanzibwa. He who is second to none. Okubanza is to begin, to be first, or to precede, and the passive means, therefore to be preceded.

L.  
49. Ruzayo. He who goes there (to the battle). There are two verbs in Runyankore for the verb to go, okugyenda and okuza. The latter is usually used when a locative or suffix of place follows.

Ruseeturwa. He who is led (to battle). Okuseeturwa means literally to be led to pasture (of cattle). The full praise name is Ruseeturwa-mpaka, empaka meaning a dispute or here a battle (see line 64).

Rubonerá. He who is pleasing in appearance (okubónera, to be pleasing).

Rweinoora. This does not appear to be a praise name and no meaning for it can be discovered.

L.  
50. Rufukaana. He who gets ready to shoot. Okufukaana is to kneel on one knee to shoot an arrow.

Rukooza. He who is truculent. Okukooza means literally to kick someone when passing and here means to be eager to start a fight.

L.  
51. Tindeka<sup>ˈ</sup>  
bakait<sup>ˈ</sup>sy<sup>ˈ</sup>a.

I did not give them (the enemy) pause for breath. Literally, I did not allow that they might breathe. The prefix kaa indicates the subjunctive. Tindeka, though present indefinite in tense, has a far past meaning.

Rutumbu<sup>ˈ</sup>za.

He who swells (the number of the warriors). Okutumbuza is to cause something to rise or swell.

Rutaru<sup>ˆ</sup>uma.

He who is agile. Literally, he who has not got elephantiasis (okuruuma, to have elephantiasis). In this line the hero's praise name comes at the end instead of at the beginning.

L.  
52. makumi abiri. The (band of) twenty (two tens). Warriors fought in small groups of ten or twenty or so.

L.  
55. abatwekyeire. Those who are well armed. Okutwekyera means literally, to put a handle on a spear or hoe.

L.  
56. Rukindurana. He who incapacitates (the enemy). Okukindura means literally to sprain.

L.  
57. Rutasheeshwa. He who is not put to flight, (Okusheesha, to spill or scatter).

nkareetwa. The passive of okure<sup>ˆ</sup>eta (to bring) is frequently found with the meaning of to pass.

- muhigo. The battle. A noun formed from the root -hig- (dedicate oneself to battle).
- L.  
58. nkarangiza.  
enkuraijo. I did battle with my spear. Literally I announced (myself) with (my) spear. The noun enkuraijo which is used here for a spear is really a tree (Trema guineensis) the wood of which was used for making shafts for spears.
- L.  
59. enyarwanda. Spears. A certain type of spear with a long blade is called enyarwanda because it is thought to resemble the long horns of enyarwanda cattle.
- Rutsimbira. The tracker (okutsimbira, to follow after).
- L.  
60. enkorooqi. A cattle owner keeps a herd of his best cows near his kraal for his daily supply of milk. These are called enkorooqi. The word is, therefore, used for particularly fine cattle.
- L.  
61. Rutahuruza. He who does not ask for help. From the negative of okuhurura (call up warriors).
- nkaremera. I stood fast or resisted (the enemy). Okuremera means literally to be difficult.
- L.  
62. Rutakangwa-  
-mitsindo He who is not alarmed by the footsteps of the  
-y'ábananuuzi. plunderers. Okukânga is to startle. Okunanuura has the same meaning as okunyuunya (see line

37). Abananuuzi is the noun indicating the agent formed from it.

Rugungira  
-manzi.

He who is unyielding before warriors (okugungira to be stubborn).

L.

63. nkaijuriza  
abarwani.

I completed the warriors' numbers. Literally, I caused to be full for the fighters.

L.

64. Rujumeera.

He who comes unexpectedly (upon the enemy) (okujumeera, to come unexpectedly).

esiba.

Meaning literally a group of cattle, esiba is used here for a group of fighters.

L.

65. Ruteegaya.

He who does not despise himself. From the negative reflexive of okugaya (to despise).

L.

66. Rutahwezibwa.

He who is invisible. From the negative passive of okuhwêza (to see clearly).

omu  
murombe.

In the early morning. Omurombe means literally cold or damp.

Rusaasa  
-ngabo.

He who inflicts pain on the warriors (of the enemy) (okusaasa to cause pain).

L.

67. Rutatugana.

He who fights alone or unaided. From the negative of okutugana (to come close together).

engoga

ikabannagamu. My speed took me into the midst of the enemy.

Literally, speed threw me into them (the enemy). Engoga is here a plural noun (speeds).

L.  
69. Ruhwayó.

He who gives himself completely to the battle.

Literally, he who is finished there (okúhwa, to come to an end).

nkamugibwa  
okureega.

I was wearied by the use of the bow. Okumúga means to be lame or unable to use the arm.

The passive of the verb is used here for being wearied in the arm from repeated stretching of the bow. Okumúgibwa is the passive of the causative of okumúga i.e. the passive of okumúzya. The causative is used in account of the instrument okureega which here is a noun - the stretching of the bow.

L.  
70. Rutahuúba-mu  
-ngaro.

He who is always well armed. Literally, he who is not empty in the hand (okuhuuba- to be empty)

L.  
71. kú mpindúka  
bizaagira.

When I turned (looked back) they (the enemy) stood motionless. Both the verb of the relative clause (mpinduka) and the main verb (bizaagira) are in the present indefinite tense with a far past meaning. The subject prefix bi refers to



ebimburu (crowds). Okuza<sup>á</sup>gira means literally to collect together outside the kraal (of cattle). Here it means to stand still in a crowd.

L.  
72. Misheenyi  
nkagihuruza  
okwesaasa.

From Misheenyi I called up the fighters without thought for myself. The construction nkagihuruza with the object prefix gi referring to Misheenyi is unusual; nkahuruzayo would be expected. The okwesaasa is used adverbially. It is formed from the reflexive of okusaasa (to inflict pain) and means literally inflicting pain on myself.

Ruhinda  
-ngabo.

He who prevents the warriors (of the enemy) (okuhinda, to prevent).

L.  
73. Rutaconyerwa. He who cannot be dissuaded (from fighting).

From the negative passive of okuconyera (to discuss). He who does not listen to the counsels of caution.

L.  
74. Rugabirana.

He who fights in a body. Formed from the associative of the applied form of okugaba which means literally to distribute and hence to give a military command to.

nkabataranga. I scattered them. Okutáranga is used for cattle spreading out over a large area. The causative nkabataranzya would be expected here.

L.  
75. Rutagáta.

He who is hot, that is eager for battle.  
(okutagata, to be hot).

nkasharaza  
emizinga.

I silenced the cannons. From the causative of okusharara (to be numb). Emizingo is taken from Swahili via Luganda.

Rubaagana.

He who scourges others (i.e. the enemy). From the associative of okubaága (to flay meat).

L.  
76. Rutátenda.

He who does not lose heart. From the negative of okutênda, to get slack (of a rope).

nkataahira  
aha  
z'Abaziba.

I overthrew the rifles of the Baziba. See the Invasion of Buhweju, line 1, for an explanation of okutaahira. The relative particle z' refers to embundu (rifles). Strictly speaking, the Baziba are the inhabitants of the small chief-  
tainship of Kiziba in the north of Bukoba District but the Banyankore often apply the word indiscriminately to all inhabitants of this district.

Rukumbyána.

He who overthrows others (the enemy). From the associative of the causative of okukumba (to fall over).

- L.  
77.ndemaine. This is the past participle of the associative of okurema (to be difficult); hence the meaning of being too much for the enemy.
- L.  
78.nkanyiga omu  
ibombo. I was amongst crowds. Okunyiga means to move in a crowd and eibombo also means a crowd.
- L.  
79.amahame. Literally truth, amahame here means the arts of warfare.
- Rugatsimba. He who plants his spear firmly (okutsimba, to plant.). The object prefix ga refers to amacumu (spears).
- L.  
80.kikaari. The compound of the Omugabe.
- Rurahutsya  
-mu-ngaro. He who overthrows with speed. Okurahutsya is the causative of okurahuka (to be quick). Literally, he who causes (his adversaries to fall) quickly at his hand.
- L.  
81.Rubanyegyēza. He who drives them (the enemy). Okunyegyēza is the causative of okunyegyera (to climb) and the idea conveyed by this praise name is that the hero drives the enemy before him on to a hill from which they cannot escape.
- nkatemba. Okutemba, which usually means to climb and which in ebyevugo often means to attack, here means to visit.

Bikaito.

This was the nickname of Nuwa Mbaguta the Enganzi of Ankole from 1897 till 1935. The word is formed from the stem -kaito (enkaito, a shoe or sandal) with the prefix bi indicating something ungainly. This name of 'Big Boots' was given to Mbaguta on account of the large boots which he was in the habit of wearing.

Rutahindwa.

He who is irresistible. From the negative passive of okuhinda (to prevent).

(b) Omusingano.

In 1949 there was a general exodus of Bahima from Nyabushozi Eishaza into Kabula and Mawogola in Buganda. The Bahima are, by nature, a nomadic people and, despite every attempt by the Government to discourage the movement of cattle, with the consequent danger of the spread of disease, the Bahima have continued periodically to move their herds to and fro across the Ankole-Buganda border. The Bahima have little feeling of loyalty to a country as such and they will happily leave Ankole's pasture lands if they think they can find better elsewhere. Furthermore, Kabula and Mawogola were, until the present century, under the control of the Omugabe and not of the Kabaka and the boundary dividing the grazing lands of these amashaza from those of Nyabushozi is purely a political one.

The migration of 1949, however, was on a much larger scale than these periodic movements backwards and forwards and there were various reasons for it. Certain byelaws made by the Ankole Native Government, in particular that making the contribution of ghee by cattle keepers compulsory, were resented by the Bahima who thought they could live a far freer life under the less paternalistic government of the Kabaka. It was also rumoured and believed, though without foundation, that more and better treatment for cattle could be obtained in

Masaka District. Finally, the transfer of certain Bahima chiefs, and in particular of the Eishaza chief Anania Murumba from Nyabushozi, decided many of the leading Bahima to leave the district together with their cattle and their followers.

The Omusingano (the contest) describes this flight from Ankole in the highly imaginative terms of a military operation. Those who took part in this exodus naturally met with considerable opposition from the chiefs and the Native Government who regretted the loss to the district of men and cattle. Furthermore, they had the Law, with its restrictions on the indiscriminate movement of cattle, to contend with. This, however, was the limit of the difficulties which they had to overcome and the descriptions of encirclement by the enemy and exultation over the corpses of the slain are, of course, the products purely of the poetic imagination of the author. The first twelve enkome of the ekyevugo refer to events supposed to have taken place in Ankole, and all the place names referred to can be identified in Nyabushozi. The remainder of the ekyevugo deals with events after the Bahima have reached Kabula and Mawogola in which amashaza lie the places referred to.

The most important of the cattle owners who left Ankole at this time was the Muhinda (Prince) George Herbert Mbata.

Mbata is the son of the warrior Igumira and the grandson of Bacwa a brother of the Omugabe Ntare (d.1895)\* If, as is now generally accepted, the Omugabe Kahaya II was the son not of Ntare, but of Igumira, then he and Mbata were half brothers. Though well educated and close to the throne, Mbata returned to the traditional way of life of the Bahima among his cattle. Any wealthy Muhima who follows the old way of life has his band of followers who live in the same or neighbouring kraals and who are, for the most part, his relations or fellow clansmen. In the old days, these followers would go into battle together under their leader and today they still work together in all matters concerning their herds. Mbata's followers were the Abasaasani of whom the author was one and though the ekyevugo also deals with the exploits of the followers of other Bahima, the Aboogyera and the Abahandura, it is with the Abasaasani and with their master Mbata that the ekyevugo is chiefly concerned. The names of the hero's companions given in the ekyevugo are sometimes praise names and sometimes real names but they are all identifiable.

This ekyevugo was composed by Rumanywa and written down shortly afterwards by Patrick Kirindi.

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\* See pedigree given on page 234.

L.

1. Rugumyana nkahiga!
2. Rutashoroorwa bakandekura nkabanza
3. Rutarimbiika ebikoomi nkabyetuuramu.
4. Rutarimbiika nkeetuura omu bikoomi na Kigyemuzi
5. Rutazaagira okongyeza gaakihwamu
6. Byembogo nkazinda ebooroogo na Rukaka-ngabo
7. Rutarinda-kubanzibwa nkahondana emigina Kyera na Rubakuba.
8. Rutarimbiika nkagakuura omu Bijinja na Rwanyakwesha
9. Rwenegyeye nkasiikura Mukande
10. Ijwarangye nkabagyereka enyarwanda na Kabendegyere
11. Ruhinda-enyima nkatsiga amashengyero Burimbi nigajwara
12. Rutainamirira nkarumba enkuba-njojo Kyabagyenyi niba-  
itsindiira.
13. Ruhinda-enyima akaasira Kacumbiro na Rwabuziba
14. Runyabyoma akagatsyamura omu Kishuuju na Muzoora
15. Rutatiina agahanantura Nyanga na Rwihiira
16. Rutazaagira akakuba izinga na Ruhimbya
17. Ruziriiza nkatagurana eminaana ebiri Kagongi na Bujangara.
18. Rutuumana nkabyema Magyegye na Majungu
19. Rushiijana nkabiroha Mareebwa na Marwiga
20. Rutaagira okabyoreka Mazinga na Marengye
21. Rutashoroorwa nkazaagiza amagundu Magyenza na Magimbi.



- L.
22. Ruteegaana akanyigimba ómu ntimbo na Rusiimirwa
  23. Rutáhembya okanywanisa émikandara na Rufungira
  24. Rutwára akakwatiriza ényarwanda na Rutemba
  25. Ruzóoto akarahirira ókuhunga na Rujwisa
  26. Rutanyohóka akamarira áha ntomi na Rubanza-ngabo
  27. Bakeenaga ómu byóma Áboogyera
  28. Ruganzia-bakungu bakamwima gamukubire Kiguma.
  29. Runyabyóma akahuruza Ábahandura Burimbi na Rwihira-ngabo
  30. Rwankyégyete na Rwabuziba bakaboorekanirá Mushunga  
na Muzoora
  31. Rwakajuúna na Ishanga bakabatuka ómu ibombo na Ngozi
  32. Katarataási na Kibuguta bakacwekyera émigogo na Kyankamba
  33. Bakambuka éntééko ábajuna-nte Nyakarinzi bakarombana  
ngu ziije.
  34. Rugumya-bantu nkahiganirá Bironko na Kigyemuzi
  35. Rubakaká na Bambona bakasiikura Mwaka na Rurema
  36. Rubanonzyá na Rwetsiba bakazibira éngoma kugamba na  
Rubakuba
  37. Rubafugá na Bwakagina bakagagyenda áha mishoro na  
Zaakumumpa
  38. Bakacurika éntomi Ábagahe Miriro bakeegambira Rugushuuru.
  39. Rutashambya ákahurutuká kubanza na Rugyema-ngabo
  40. Rutembána akagaasira ómu buranga na Rutiriga

- L.
41. Rutá'ungura na Rwangoga bakazeegambira rwagati
  42. Rutátenda-mu-nte nkarema baitaraakamu
  43. Rugumyána ényóta-mugongo nkaitemba ngu tubingye.
  44. Rurindána okatempa ényarwanda na Runonzya-ngabo
  45. Rubakaka ákeegambirá Kyanga na Kigyemuzi
  46. Rubanonzya ákaruuzá ómu nkara na Rwetsiba
  47. Rutabagána akaitangirá Nyorozi na Kafumba
  48. Ruhinda-ómu-ireegire rukondo nkagirwanira ngu eiye.
  49. Rutúumana nkeegambira ómu izinga na Bambona
  50. Rutázaagira okagatsyamurá Mugogo na Bwakagina
  51. Rutasharára okajwera éminyaga na Rusaasa-ngabo
  52. Rutáhirikirwa nkacungura ábákwataine Mucwa na  
Rwakaturubwitwa.
  53. Rutahindúkirana nkashumuururá Nyabwongi na  
Ruhambisa-njungu
  54. Rutákangwa-mijigaijo nkaasha ngu bateere
  55. Rwámanyonyi nkazibira éntimbo kwaniira na Rugumya-bakungu
  56. Rutáshaijúka nkarombana émikundi Mironko na Rubanonzya.
  57. Rutahindúkirana nkarombanira ómu Bigango na Rukaka-njungu
  58. Rutarekúra-nte-na-mukungu Gijja nkabaagana ngu ziiye
  59. Rutúumana akambuka émigogo na Rurinda-mikara
  60. Rutagaránjurwa akabambira émiriraano Kagongi twahuuranira  
Kagaaga.

L.

61. Rutáfundamira nkagagyemá Kibaija na Kinongo
62. Rutátiina okagaata ómu kikoomi na Kigaara
63. Nshózi-ibiri nkazinda ébooroogo na Kigaizi
64. Rutáhembya agaroha ómu Ntuutsi na Rutemba-migogo
65. Rutákubuurwa oremera énte ómu Kihuuhira na Ruteetinda.
66. Rutáhumbira nkashumuruurirá Kaamizire na Kaamikyeno
67. Rutanongibwa akahimbibwa ákaaniiro na Kajinja
68. Rutátaana nkarangirira éngabo Nshagazi na Kagosi
69. Rugumyána énte ikajúga náijwera
70. Ruteegaána Ábasaasani akabahimbya nibaitanga.
71. Rutákangarana akabacumitirá Kaarukungu na Kaamukinga
72. Kaishébwongyera nkashonjoorana baitaraakamu
73. Rutákorera nkazeevugira ómu byasha Mbira na Rukaabira
74. Rutáhirikirwa nkaremera ómu nte Ntsiga na Rugwengyere
75. Rutamwéra-Bahinda nkarema naarwanira Mushaija-omwe.
76. Ruteegaána akabeémuura ábakungu na Rusiimirwa
77. Rutajóogwa-mashaza okajeemuura Ruzigati
78. Rutáhembya okaremera Ómurangira na Rufungira
79. Rutátaana nkacungura Ékiremu na Rusharaza
80. Ruziriíza nkarwanira Enfuúzi ya Mugyenzi Mutokye na Rukuunya.
81. Rutáfunda ogakuura ómu Kayanja na Rurinda-mikara
82. Rutátaana okagaata ómu Kabaaho na Ruraza-ngabo

- L.
83. Kénshemu gakankúba áamashongorwa-nyondo Ryamugyenyi  
nairemeramu
84. Rutarimbíika nkasheega áha Murangira Kairasya na Ruteetebya.
85. Rutakondógoza nkeeroha ómu bikara Muziba na Mukoma
86. Mwami na Mugura bakareetwa émbúndu ya Mukura na Mutaga
87. Muzibé na Muzigu bakaguruka éntúmbi ya Muvuga na Muvunya
88. Rutafunéera ényabya-bikungu nkaigangura na Munsí.

- L.
1. I, Rugumyana, made a vow!
2. I, Rutashoorwa, was sent out in advance;
3. I, Rutarimbiika, descended upon their camps.
4. I, Rutarimbiika, descended upon their camps together with  
Kigyemuzi;
5. You, Rutazaagira, made up the numbers and all the cattle  
were captured;
6. At Byembogo, I overcame those who were wailing together with  
Rukaka-ngabo;
7. I, Rutarinda-kubanzibwa, covered them with red earth in the  
fighting at Kyera together with  
Rubakuba.
8. I, Rutarimbiika, enticed away the herds from Bijinja together  
with Rwanyankwesha;
9. I, Rwenegyeza, moved swiftly at Mukande;
10. At Ijwarangye, I added the might of my spear together with  
Kabendegyere;
11. I, Ruhinda-enyima, left the war-council at Burimbi getting  
ready for battle;
12. I, Rutainamirira, attacked the riflemen at Kyabagyenye as  
they were preparing to shoot.
13. I, Ruhinda-enyima, shouted at Kacumbiro together with  
Rwabuziba;
14. Runyabyoma brought back the herds from Kishuuju together  
with Muzoora;
15. Rutatiina brought back the herds from Nyanga together with  
Rwihira;
16. Rutazaagira surrounded the riverland together with Ruhimbya;
17. Ruziriiza dispersed two enemy bands at Kagongi together  
with Bujangara;

L.

18. I, Rutuumana, attacked them at Magyegye and Majungu;
19. I, Rushiijana, repulsed them to Mareebwa and Marwiga;
20. You, Rutaagira, drove them towards Mazinga and Marengye;
21. I, Rutashoorwa, wore out the warriors at Magyenza and Magimbi.
22. Ruteegaana walked proudly among the royal drums together with Rusimirwa;
23. You, Rutahembya, tightened your belt about you together with Rufungira;
24. Rutwara offered himself and his spear together with Rutemba;
25. Ruzoto vowed never to flee together with Rujwisa;
26. Rutanyohoka made up his mind together with Rubanza-ngabo;
27. The Aboogyera threw themselves among the spears;
28. They saved Ruganzia-bakungu from capture when he was surrounded at Kiguma.
29. Runyabyoma called up the Abahandura at Burimbi together with Rwhira-ngabo;
30. Rwankyegye and Rwabuziba distinguished themselves at Mushunga and Muzoora;
31. Rwankajuura and Ishanga stood up among the crowd together with Ngozi;
32. Katarataasi and Kibuguta prevented the arrival of the enemy together with Kyankamba;
33. They, the saviours of the cattle, reached the enemy's rear; at Nyakarinzi they struggled to procure the cattle.
34. I, Rugumya-bantu, made a vow at Bironko together with Kigyemuzi;
35. Rubakaka and Bambona ran swiftly at Mwaka and Rurema;
36. Rubanonzya and Rwetsiba silenced the drums together with Rubakuba;

L.

37. Rubafuga and Bwakagina came alongside the spears together with Zaakumumpa;
38. They fought with their fists; at Miriro the Abagahe boasted of the killing at Rugushuuru.
39. Rutashambya hurried on ahead together with Rugyema-ngabo;
40. Rutembana shouted in the face of the spears together with Rutiriga;
41. Rutacungura and Rwangoga boasted in the midst of the cattle;
42. I, Rutatenda-mu-nte, was so steadfast that they fled from the cattle;
43. I, Rugumyana, attacked the weary warriors that we might vanquish them.
44. You, Rurindana, attacked the spears together with Runonzya-ngabo;
45. Rubakaka triumphed at Kyanga together with Kigyemuzi;
46. Rubanonzya was ready to strike among the arrows together with Rwetsiba;
47. Rutabagana brought cattle for Nyorozi together with Kafumba;
48. I, Ruhinda-omu-ireegire, fought for the head bull that I might capture it.
49. I, Rutuumana, triumphed on the river bank together with Bambona;
50. You, Rutazaagira, brought back the herds from Mugogo and together with Bakagina;
51. You, Rutasharara, bled on the spears together with Rusaasa-ngabo;
52. I, Rutahirikirwa, redeemed our companions at Mucwa together with Rwakaturubwitwa.

L.

53. I, Rutahindukirana, started the fight at Nyabwongi together with Ruhambisa-njungu;
54. I, Rutakangwa-mijigaijo, shouted so that they might attack;
55. At Rwamanyonyi, I prevented the drums from sounding together with Rugumya-bakungu;
56. I, Rutashaijuka, attacked at Mirongo together with Rubanonzya.
57. I, Rutahindukirana, attacked Bingango together with Rukaka-njungu;
58. I, Rutarekura-nte-na-mukungu, fought at Giija that I might capture the cattle;
59. I, Rutuumana, made my way through the enemy together with Rurinda-mikara;
60. Rutagaranjurwa, blocked their path into the area at Kagongi and we fought at Kagaaga.
61. I, Rutafundamira, drove the cattle to Kibaija together with Kinongo;
62. I, Rutatiina, seized cattle from the camp together with Kigaara;
63. At Nshozi-ibiri, I overcame the cowards together with Kigaizi;
64. I, Rutahembya, drove the herds to Ntuutsi together with Rutemba-migogo;
65. You, Rutakubuurwa, refused to allow the cattle to be taken at Kihuuhira together with Ruteetinda.
66. I, Rutahumbira, started the fight at Kaamizire together with Kaamikyeno;
67. I, Rutanongibwa, was encouraged by the cries of the enemy together with Kajinja;
68. I, Rutataana, proclaimed the warriors at Nshagazi together with Kagosi;



L.

69. The cattle bellowed and Rugumyana bled for them;
70. Ruteegana encouraged the Abassasani when they brought the cattle.
71. Rutakangarana speared them at Kaarukungu together with Kaamukinga;
72. At Kaishebwoyera, I fought hard and they deserted their cattle;
73. I, Rutakorera, made a recitation before the cattle at Mbira together with Rukaabira;
74. I, Rutahirikwa, stood fast among the cattle at Ntsiga together with Rugwengyere.
75. I, Rutamwera-Bahinda, fought hard for Bagyendanwa.
76. Ruteegana overthrew the chiefs together with Rusimirwa;
77. You, Rutajogwa-mashaza, quelled them at Ruzigati;
78. You, Rutahembya, stood fast for the prince together with Rufungira;
79. I, Rutataana, redeemed the prince together with Rusharaza;
80. I, Ruziriiza, fought for the royal orphan at Mutokye together with Rukuunya.
81. You, Rutafunda, brought the herds across the Kayanja together with Rurinda-mikara;
82. You, Rutataana, drove the herds from Kabaaho together with Ruraza-ngabo;
83. At Kenshemu, I was surrounded by spears; at Ryamugyenyi I did not leave them there;
84. I, Rutarimbiika, became savage on behalf of the prince at Kairasya together with Ruteetebya.

L.

85. I, Rutakondogoza, threw myself among the soldiers at Muziba and Mukoma;
86. Mwami and Mugura were brought by the sound of the gun of Mukura together with Mutaga;
87. Muzibe and Muzigu jumped over the body slain by Muvuga together with Muvunya;
88. I, Rutafuneera, broke the spears together with Munsu.

L.  
1. Rugumyána. He who encourages (his companions). From the associative of the causative of okuguma (to be firm).

L.  
2. Rutashoroó'wa. He who is not rejected. See Ekirimbi line 40.

L.  
3. Rutarimbiika. He who does not hesitate (okurimbiika, to be irresolute).

é'ebikoomi  
nkabyetu'ramu. I descended upon their camps. The ekikoomi is the fire lit in the middle of the kraal round which the cattle warm themselves at night, but the word is also used for a camp or temporary kraal without a fence. Okwétu'ura means to take a load off the head or throw oneself on the ground. It is, however, used in ebyevugo for descending suddenly upon the enemy.

L.  
5. Rutá'zaagira. He who is not idle. Okuza'ágira is used of cattle resting.

gaakihwamu. Literally, all the cattle were finished within it. The subject prefix ga refers to amasyo (herds) and the object prefix ki refers to ekikoomi (camp).

L.  
6. é'booroogo. This means lamentation and is used here for the cries of the enemy who were in terror.

Rukaka  
-ngabo.

He who compels the warriors (to surrender)  
(okukáka, to force).

L.

7. Rutarinda  
-kubanzibwa.

He who is second to none. Rutarinda means he who does not wait and the passive of okubanza (to be first) means to be outdone in being first.

nkahondana  
emigina.

Okuhondana means literally to pound one another and here to strike one another. Emigina is red earth. Hence, 'I gave blow for blow (with) red earth' i.e. they were covered with red earth as a result of the ferocity of the encounter.

Rubakuba.

He who surrounds (the enemy) (okukúba, to surround)

L.

8. nkagakuura.

Okukúura (to pull out) here means to entice away. The object prefix ga refers to amasyo (herds).

L.

9. Rwenégyeza.

He who never gives up. Okwenegyeza means to keep alight of a fire.

nkasiikura.

Okusiikura is an unusual verb meaning to walk quickly.

L.

10. nkabagyereka  
enyarwanda.

I added (my) spear (to the battle). Okugyereka

means literally to place one thing on top of another. Enyarwanda is a favourite word in ebyevugo for a spear. See Ekirimbi line 59.

L.

11. Ruhinda  
-enyima.

He who comes vehemently from the rear. Okuhinda is to thunder or, as here, to act with vehemence or noise.

L.

12. Rutainamirira. He who is not downcast. Okwinamirira is to bend the head or be dejected.

nkarumba. The verb okurumba (to attack) is borrowed from Luganda (okulumba).

énkúba-njojo. This is a favourite circumlocution in present day ebyevugo for embûndu (rifles). The first part is derived from the Luganda verb okukúba (to strike or fire at) and the whole means 'that which fires at elephants.'

nibaitsindiira. Okutsindiira is taken from Luganda and is used with embûndu to mean to load a gun. The object prefix i refers to embûndu (guns).

L.

14. Runyabyoma. He who is of iron. See Ekirimbi line 46.

akagatsyamura. The object prefix ga refers to amasyo (herds).

L.

15. Rutatiina. He who is fearless (okutiina, to fear).

agahanantura. The object prefix ga refers to amasyo (herds).

- Rwihira. This is an abbreviation of the praise name  
Rwihira-ngabo (see line 29). Okwiha means to  
take away and the praise name means literally,  
he who takes away the warriors and therefore,  
he who drives off the enemy.
- L.  
16.izinga. This noun usually means an island but can also  
mean, as here, land beside a river or lake.
- L.  
17.Ruziriiza. He who is furious (okuziriiza, to be angry).  
éminaána  
ebiri. Two groups of eight. It was customary to fight  
in small groups of up to twenty or so. These  
two enemy groups were each of eight.
- L.  
18.Rutuúmana. He who heaps up (the dead). From the associative  
of okutuuma (to heap).
- L.  
19.Rushiíjana. He who attacks. Okushiijana means literally,  
to mate and the idea of a bull mounting a cow  
is applied to a warrior attacking the enemy.  
nkabirohá. I repulsed them. Okuroha is to send forward  
and hence to repulse. The object prefix bi  
refers to ebimburu (crowds).
- L.  
20.Rutaágira. Okutaaga means to cry out for help. The praise  
name is an abbreviation of Rutaagira-njungu.  
Enjungu is a type of spear and the praise name  
means, he who calls out for his spear.

okabyoreká. You drove them. Okwóreka means literally to show and hence to drive. The object prefix bi refers to ebimburu (crowds).

L.  
21. nkazaagiza  
amagundu.

I wore out the warriors. The principal bull of the herd is called eigundu and here the plural is used for the leading warriors of the enemy. Okuzáágiza is to cause cattle to rest. The meaning here conveyed is that the enemy, worn out by the exploits of the hero, were exhausted.

L.  
22. Ruteegáána.

The full praise name is Ruteegáána-ntúùre. Entúùre is a fall in wrestling and okugaana which is borrowed from Luganda means to deny. In Runyankore, however, the verb is in tone class I whilst in Luganda it is in tone class II. The praise name, which is that of Prince Mbata, therefore, means he who does not deny himself a fall or he who does not fail to overthrow his enemies.

ntimbo.

The entimbo is one of the small royal drums which is beaten on certain ceremonial occasions by the Abakondore (the Omugabe's musicians). The word is used here in place of engoma (drum) on account of Mbata's royal birth.

- Rusiimirwa. He who is admired. From the passive of the applied form of okusiima (to admire).
- L.  
23. Rutahembya. He who does not miss his mark. From the passive of okuhêmbya (to miss the mark).
- okanywanisa  
émikandara. Literally, you made blood brotherhood with your belts, i.e. you tightened your clothes about you for battle.
- Rufungira. He who is well girt. From the applied form of a verb borrowed from Luganda, okufunga (to tie up). Here it is the praise name of the hero's companion and not of the hero which echoes the idea of the line.
- L.  
24. Rutwára. This is an abbreviation of Rubeetwaríra meaning he who takes himself to the enemy. From the reflexive of the applied form of okutwára (to carry)
- akakwatiriza  
enyarwanda. He pledged his spear. That is to say, he offered himself and his spear for the cause.
- Rutemba. The full praise name is Rutemba-ngabo. See Ekirimbi line 38.
- L.  
25. Ruzooto. A real and not a praise name.
- akarahirira  
ókuhunga. Not 'he vowed to flee' which would be akarahira ókuhunga but 'he vowed on the subject of fleeing', i.e. he vowed not to flee.



Rujwisa. He who cause blood to flow. From the causative of okujwa (to bleed).

L.  
26. Rutanyohóka. He who does not tremble. From the negative of okunyohoka (to be feverish).

akamarira áha  
ntomi. He made up his mind. Literally, he finished upon the fist. When speaking emphatically, a Munyankore will strike the palm of one hand with the clenched fist of the other.

Rubanza-ngabo. He who excels among the warriors (okubanza, to be first).

L.  
27. bakeenaga ómu  
byóma. They threw themselves amongst the metal (the spears of the enemy). The construction of this line is unusual and would not be found in ordinary prose in that the subject (Aboogyera) follows the verb.

Aboogyera. The Aboogyera were the followers of Kentoma an influential Muhima of the Bagahe clan. Their full name was Aboogyera-kwezi (those who wash in the moonlight). They were given this name because of their love of dancing at night time.

L.  
28. Ruganzia-  
bakungu. He who persecutes the important people. This is

the praise name of Patrick Kirindi who was then the Eishabahaari of Nyabushozi. His persecution would merely consist in applying the regulations of the Government, generally irksome to the Bahima. The term has, however, been given affectionately and is not to be taken too literally. Abakungu is now applied to the lowest grade of chief and the word has lost its proper meaning. In the old days the abakungu were the leading chiefs in the country. Here it is used in its old sense for the important people of the area.

bakamwima. They denied him (to the enemy).

gamukubire. The spears having surrounded him. The subject prefix ga refers to amacumu (spears).

L.  
29. Abahandura. These were the followers of Bujagara, the head of the Beeneishekatwe clan. This and the following four lines describe exploits of the Abahandura.

L.  
30. Rwankyégyete  
na Rwabuziba. These are real names.

L.  
31. Rwakajuúra  
na Ishanga. Real names.

Ibombo. This noun which is not in general use means a crowd. It is very common in ebyevugo for hosts of warriors.

L.  
32. Katarataási      These are real names.  
    na  
    Kibuguta.

L.  
33. bakambuka  
    enteéko  
    abajuna-nte.      The construction here is again unusual in that  
                            the subject follows the verb. Abajun<sup>a</sup>-nte means  
                            literally the saviours of the cattle and is a  
                            circumlocution for the warriors.

For enteeko see Ekirimbi, line 44.

bakarombana.      Okurombana is an unusual verb, very common in  
                            ebyevugo, meaning to attack or to fight.

L.  
34. Rugumya-bantu.      He who encourages others. From the causative  
                            of okuguma (to be firm).

L.  
35. Rubakaká.      He who urges them on (okukáka, to compel).

Bambona.      A real name.

Rurema.      He who is difficult (for the enemy to defeat),  
                            (okurema, to be difficult).

L.  
36. Rubanonzya.      He who wears them (the enemy) out (in battle).  
                            From the causative of okunonga (to be exhausted).

Rwetsiba.      A real name.

Rubakuba.      He who surrounds them (the enemy). (Okukúba,  
                            to surround).

L.  
37. Rubafugá.      He who rules them. Okufuga (to rule) is borrowed  
                            from Luganda.

Bwakagina. A real name.

bakagagyenda  
áha  
mishoro.

They went up to the spear blades. Literally, they went up (to) them on the points. The object prefix ga refers to amacúmu (spears). Omushoro is a point.

L.

38. bakacurika  
éntomi.

Okucúrika means literally to tilt. Entomi means literally a fist but is more usually used for a blow with the fist. Okucúrika éntomi is to rain blows down on an adversary who is on the ground.

Ábagahe.

This is the largest of the four Banyankore clans. All the people mentioned in this and in the three following enkome are members of this clan who herded their cattle together.

bakeegambira. They triumphed. Okwégambira means literally to speak about oneself, and is used in ebyevugo for giving vent to a cry of triumph when an adversary has been killed.

L.

39. Rutashambya. He who does not irritate (his friends).

Okushambya is commonly used of annoying a dog or other animal.

Rugyema-  
ngabo.

He who compels the warriors (to surrender) (okugyema, to compel).

- L.  
40. Rutembána. He who goes to the attack. From the associative of okutemba which generally means to climb but in ebyevugo to attack.
- akagaasira  
omu  
buranga. He shouted in the face of the spears. Literally, he shouted at them in the face. The object prefix ga refers to amacúmu (spears).
- L.  
41. Rutá'cungura. Literally, he who does not redeem (okucú'ngura, to redeem). He does not have to redeem his companions because he does not allow them to be captured.
- Rwangoga. The speedy one. Literally, the one of speed. A praise name formed from a noun, engoga (speed).
- bakazeegambira  
rwagati. They triumphed in the midst of them (the cattle).
- L.  
42. Rutátenda-mu-nte. He who does not give way on matters affecting cattle. Okutênda means usually to get slack (of a rope).
- baitaraakamu. They deserted the cattle. Okutaraaka is to separate from. The object prefix i refers to ente (cattle).
- L.  
43. ényóta-mugongo. Literally, those (animals) which bask on the ridge. The reference here is to the middle-aged or tired warriors of the enemy.

- L.  
44. Rurindána. He who guards others. From the associative of okurinda (to guard).
- Runonzya-  
ngabo. He who wears out the warriors (of the enemy).
- L.  
46. ákaruuza. Okuruúza is to be poised ready to strike (of a snake).
- nkara. Arrows. Omwambi is the general word for an arrow. Enkara is one of a special type.
- L.  
47. Rutabagána. He who does not share (the fighting), i.e. he can fight alone. From the negative of okubagana (to share).
- akaitangira. He brought cattle for. The object prefix i refers to ente (cattle). For okutangira see the Invasion of Buhweju line 4.
- L.  
48. Ruhinda-ómu  
-ireegire. Okuhinda (to thunder) has the meaning here of to come suddenly and with vehemence. Okureega is to stretch a drum or bow and the subject prefix i refers to engabo (warriors). Hence, he who comes suddenly upon the archers (of the enemy).
- L.  
50. okagatsyamura. The object prefix ga refers to amasyo (herds).
- L.  
51. Rutasharára. He who is not terrified. From the negative of okusharara (to be numb).

éminyaga. Omunyaga is the pointed end of a spear shaft.

L.  
52. Rutáhirikirwa. He for whom it is impossible to plan or he who is unpredictable. From the negative passive of the applied form of okuhirika (to plan).

abákwataine. Okukwátana is to take hold of one another or to be close to one another. The noun abákwataine, formed this stem, means here companions in battle.

L.  
53. Rutahindúkirana. He who keeps his word to others. From the negative associative of okuhinduka (to turn).

nkashumuurura. I started the fight. Okushumuurura is borrowed from Luganda (okusumulula, to open) and is used here with the idea of opening fire or starting a fight.

Ruhambisa-  
njungu. He who captures (the enemy) with the spear. Okuhambisa is to capture after a chase. Enjungu is a type of spear with a short blade.

L.  
54. Rutákangwa  
-mijigaijo. He who is not frightened by the young (warriors). Okukanga is to startle and omujigaijo is the first born (child or calf).

L.  
55. kwaniira. To sound. The verb means literally to groan.

L.

56. Rutáshaijuuka. He who is not unmanned. This praise name

is formed from the reversive form of the noun stem -sháíja (man).

nkarombana  
émikundi.

Omukundi means the navel and is often found in ebyevugo with the unusual verb okurombana (to attack) to form a phrase meaning to attack by aiming (with spear or gun) at the middle of a man's body.

L.

57. Rukaka-njungu. He who makes use of his spear. Literally,

he who compels the spear.

L.

58. Rutarekúra  
-nte-na  
-mukungu.

He who does not allow the cattle or their master to be captured. Okurekura usually means to set free but here it means to allow to go or to be captured.

nkabaagana. Okubáágana means literally to flay one another and here to fight fiercely.

ziije. That they (the cattle) might come, i.e. be captured. The subject prefix zi refers to ente (cattle).

L.

59. Rurinda  
-mikara.

He who waits for his arrows (okurinda, to wait for, emikara, arrows of a certain type).



L.  
60. Rutagaránjurwa. He who cannot be overthrown. Okugaranjura  
is to tilt backwards.

akabambira  
émiriraano. He blocked their path in the area. Okubamba  
means originally to peg out a skin. An  
extension of this meaning is to stretch some-  
thing or to close an opening. Hence the meaning  
here, to block the way. Emiriraano is borrowed  
from the Luganda (omuliraano, neighbourhood).

L.  
61. Rutáfundamira. He who is not confined, i.e. he allows himself  
room to manoeuvre. From the negative of  
okufúndamira (to be confined).

nkagagyemá. The object prefix ga refers to amasyo (herds).  
Okugyema means to compel and hence to drive.

L.  
62. okagaata ómu  
kikoomi. You seized herds of the enemy from within the  
camp. Okwâta usually means to smash but here  
to seize. The object prefix ga refers to  
amasyo (herds). For kikoomi see line 3.

L.  
63. ebooroogo. Lamentation. Used here for the wailing of the  
enemy in terror.

L.  
64. agaroha. He drove them. In this and in the following  
line the tense of verb changes to the present  
indefinite though still with far past meaning.

Rutemba-  
migogo.

He who attacks crowds.

L.

65. Rutákubuurwa. He who is not deflected from his purpose.

From the negative passive of okukúbuura (to stray from the right path).

Ruteetinda. He who does not hide himself. From the negative reflexive of okutinda (to hide).

L.

66. Rutáhumbira. He who is not speechless through fear. From the negative of okuhumbira (to be speechless with fear).

L.

67. Rutanongibwa. He who is not exhausted (by the enemy). The verb okunonga means to be in a state of exhaustion. The causative of this verb is okunonzya and the passive of okunonzya (to exhaust) is okunongibwa (to be exhausted by something).

L.

68. Rutátaana. He who does not desert his companions. Okutáana means either to be close to or to separate from; here it has the latter meaning.

L.

70. Ábasaasani. The Abasaasani (they who inflict pain on others) were the followers of Mbata (Ruteegaana).

nibaitanga. The object prefix i refers to ente (cattle).

L.

71. Rutákangarana. He who is not startled. From the negative of okukángarana (to be startled).

L.

72. baitaraakamu. They (the enemy) separated from among them (the cattle); that is ~~they~~<sup>it is</sup> say they fled leaving their cattle behind. The object prefix i refers to ente (cattle).

L.

73. Rutákorera. He who does not hesitate. Okukórerera means to test a weapon before using it. Hence the idea of going straight into battle without first testing one's weapons.

nkazeevugira  
ómu  
byasha.

I recited among them (z(i), ente)<sup>or</sup> in front of them. Ekyasha is the white mark on the forehead of a cow from which the kyasha cow gets its name. Here the meaning is that the cows had their foreheads towards the hero.

Rukaabira.

He who is eager. Okukaábira literally means to have veins standing out.

L.

75. Rutamwéra-  
Bahinda.

He who does not lose hope for the Bahinda. Literally, he who does not shave the head in mourning for the Bahinda. In Runyankore the ordinary word for to shave is okutega, and okumwa (applied form okumwera) is confined to shaving in mourning. The Bahinda are the royal clan.

Mushaija  
-omwe

is one of the names of Bagyendanwa, the royal drum. It means the unique one (the only real man in the land).

L.

76. akabéémuura.

Okwémuura is the reversive of okwêma (to take one's stand). The construction of this line is unusual in that the object, abakungu, follows the verb which, nevertheless, takes an object prefix. Furthermore, although an object follows immediately after the verb, the tonal behaviour of the latter is as in isolation.

L.

77. Rutajóógwa  
-mashaza.

He who is not treated with contempt by those of importance. Okujaogwa is borrowed from Luganda and means to be bullied or treated as an inferior. Mashaza is a contraction of b'amashaza (eishaza chiefs).

okajeemuura.

You subdued. Okujeemuura is another verb borrowed from Luganda and is the reversive of okujeema (to rebel).

L.

78. Omurangira.

This is another Luganda word. It means prince and is used here for Mbata.

L.

79. Ékiremu.

is the colubus monkey, the skins of which could only be worn or used by princes. The word is here used for prince, again referring to Mbata.

Enfuúzi  
ya  
Mugyenzi.

The royal orphan. This term is also used for Mbata who had benefitted little from his royal birth. Mugyenzi, the companion (of the Omugabe) is another name for Bagyendanwa.

L.  
81. Rutáfunda.

ogakuura  
omu  
Kayanja.

He who is not confined (okufûnda, to be narrow).

Okukuúra means to pull out or to move cattle from one place to another. The present indefinite tense is used here for the far past so that ogakuura (as opposed to okagakuura) can pair with okagaata in the next line. The phrase is translated by, you moved them (ga -amasyo, herds) across the Kayanja river.

L.  
82. Ruraza-ngabo. He who disperses the warriors. Okuráza is the causative of okurára (to wander away from home).

L.  
83. áamashongorwa-nyondo.

Literally, those sharpened by the hammer, i.e. spears which have been beaten out on the anvil. Amashongorwa-nyondo, though the subject of gakankuba, follows it. It is to be noted that, as a result, the tone of gakankúba is as in isolation whereas, had an object followed, it would have appeared as gakankuba.

nairemeramu. I stood steadfast among them (the warriors).  
The object prefix i refers to engabo (warriors).

L.  
84. Ruteetebya. He who does not praise himself. From the negative reflexive of okutebya (to tell stories).

L.  
85. Rutakondogoza. He who does not bow the head. From the negative of okukondogoza (to bow the head).

bikara. This name was originally given to the Nube soldiers who were brought into Uganda from the Sudan during the final quarter of the last century and were used by the Imperial British East Africa Company and then by the Protectorate Government against Kabarega, Omukama of Bunyoro. The Banyankore came into contact with them during these campaigns and they are remembered as a ferocious band of soldiers eager for loot. The name ebikara was given to them on account of their very dark skin, amakara being charcoal, and ekikara meaning something unduly large and black. The word still survives in its application to any native soldiers.

L.  
86. Mwami and Mugura were Baganda chiefs.

L.  
87. Muzibé and Muzigu were also Baganda chiefs.

éntúmbi ya  
Muvuga does not mean the corpse of Muvuga but the corpse of the man whom Muvuga had slain.

L.  
88. Rutafunééra. He who does not hesitate. From the negative

of okufuneera (to hesitate).

enyabya  
-bikungu.

Okwabya means to pull down or to break up and enyabya (that which breaks) is a noun formed from this stem. Ekikungu is an anthill. The whole is a descriptive phrase for spears, those which can break anthills. An anthill is very difficult to remove and an extremely strong implement is needed to break it down.

## CHAPTER VI.

EBYEVUGO ABOUT THE CORONATION OF GASYONGA II.

The accession of Gasyonga II in 1945 was a powerful source of inspiration for the composition of ebyevugo, for not merely was it an outstanding occasion in the lives of the Bahima but the fact that the succession was disputed and violence threatened gave ample scope for imaginative accounts of the overthrow of the supporters of the pretender to the throne. To understand these circumstances it is necessary to know something of the dynastic background to the new Omugabe's succession, and a genealogical table is given on page 234.

When Ntare died in 1895, there was no obvious heir to succeed him, his only recognised son having died of smallpox a few years before, and Bagyendanwa and the royal herds were seized by his nephew, Kahitsi. Igumira, another nephew of Ntare, however, brought forward a boy Kahaya, whom he claimed to be a son of Ntare. Other leading Bahima supported another nephew, a youth called Rwakatogoro, who was the son of a popular prince, Nkuranga, whom Ntare had had murdered some years before in a fit of jealous suspicion.

The Protectorate Government was appealed to as arbitrator and the Sub-Commissioner, Kampala, sent emissaries to Ankole



to try to find out the truth. These, he was able to report, met Kahitsi and Igumira who thereupon called a conference which "was unanimous in declaring that Mtali (Ntare) had given birth to a son, by a woman who had died in child-birth. This woman, on becoming pregnant, had been sent by Mtali to Gomira's (Igumira's) wife to be delivered. There were witnesses to the negotiations between Mtali and the parents of the woman on the occasion of her becoming Mtali's wife." \* Though very few Banyankore today would accept the finding of this conference, since it is now generally accepted that Kahaya was Igumira's son, Kahaya was soon acknowledged as Omugabe by the majority of the Bahima though it was not until the establishment of the British administration in the district in 1898 that his claim was undisputed.

Kahaya had only one recognised child, a daughter, who predeceased him. In the year 1920, however, a child was born in the Omugabe's compound and many believed, not only that the Omugabe was its father, but that he had actually married the mother. This belief was strengthened when the child was baptised with the name Mirindi which had been that of a previous Omugabe in the 17th century. Some years later, Kahaya undertook

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\* Records in the Entebbe Secretariat.

to pay for the education of Mirindi and of two other boys, Mbata and Kinungu, (see pedigree given on page 134). Though frequently urged to do so by administrative officers, the Omugabe refused to nominate a successor to the throne, though it was generally believed that his heir was to be one of the three boys whom he had had educated. When he died, however, his will was found to contain no reference to an heir either to the throne or to his very considerable private property. In this document he merely expressed the wish that the Eishengyero should choose a successor to the throne from among the descendants of Mutambuka.

There is no provision in the Agreement of 1901 for the election of the Omugabe, though the Governor's consent is necessary before a new Omugabe can be recognised, and the Protectorate Government did not, therefore, interfere in any way in the manner in which the new Omugabe was chosen. The majority of the chiefs, and in particular the Enganzi Lazaro Kamugungunu M.B.E., did not accept Mirindi's pretensions to princely birth and were determined that he should not succeed to the throne. Mirindi had, however, many supporters among whom was the small but influential Muslim community of the district. Alarmed by the intransigent attitude of Mirindi's supporters, the Native Government had him arrested and kept

for a short while in confinement whilst the Eishengyero met to choose their new Omugabe. This procedure of popular choice from among the princes was no innovation since it had never been the custom for an Omugabe publicly to nominate an heir during his lifetime, though he would sometimes disclose secretly to the elders whom he wished to succeed him. Succession to the throne was, therefore, always uncertain and was not confined to the sons of the late ruler though a son, not necessarily the eldest, did generally manage to secure the throne. In fact, it was left to the people to support the cause of the most popular prince and to secure his victory in the civil war which almost invariably followed the death of an Omugabe.

The Eishengyero made their choice from three candidates, among whom Mirindi was not included, Rutahaba, son of Rwakotogoro one of the unsuccessful claimants in 1895, Mbata and Ndyamuba. Rutahaba was elected by an overwhelming majority. Mirindi and his supporters accepted the decision with ill grace. There were threats of violence and the Bishop of Uganda received an anonymous letter warning him that if he performed the coronation ceremony he would be shot, and feeling ran high during the following months before the ceremony of installation took place.

The ceremonies were in two parts. First there was the

traditional ceremony of installation at which representatives of the clans carried out their traditional functions such as handing the Omugabe the ant-bear sandals and cutting his hair, and at which the Omugabe struck the drum Bagyendanwa. Rutahaba had taken the name of his great-great-grandfather, Gasyonga, and Rukoma, the site of the palace of Gasyonga I, was, therefore, chosen for the installation. The second part of the ceremonies consisted of a church service held at Ruharo the headquarters of the Church Missionary Society in Ankole at which the Bishop of Uganda placed Rutare, a circlet of beads, around the Omugabe's forehead.

Meanwhile, Mirindi decided to seek redress in a court of law. Advised by his lawyers that it would be profitless to try to dispute the Eishengyero's action in electing another as Omugabe, he confined his case to a civil action against Kamugungunu for having deprived him of the personal property of Kahaya which he claimed should have passed to him on intestacy as the only child of the late Omugabe. He also took an action against Kamugungunu for wrongful imprisonment. The case was heard in the High Court of Uganda and a great deal of evidence was produced on the subject of his birth. Mirindi was, however, unable to establish his claim that Kahaya was his father and judgment was given for Kamugungunu

both on the question of inheritance and on that of wrongful imprisonment. An appeal was then heard in the East African Court of Appeal where the judgment of the High Court was upheld. Despite offers of friendship and of cattle from the new Omugabe, Mirindi has since remained in Buganda.

The first of the two ebyevugo on this theme which I have chosen was composed by Eryabu Nyakaitana of the Beenerukari clan. This young man is just under thirty and though he is a Christian and has had some education, he has followed the traditional way of life of his ancestors in herding his cattle. His ekyevugo may, therefore, be considered as an example of the expression of an unsophisticated Muhima and representative of many other ebyevugo which were composed at this time on the same subject. \* Like all ebyevugo, it is not an accurate account of what happened but it does give a fairly vivid picture of the composer's general impression of the events he witnessed. First of all news reached him in Nyabushozi of the disputed succession which he, of course, describes as a call to battle and adds references to imaginary attacks on his friends by Mirindi's supporters. Then he journeys to Mbarara where he finds everyone getting ready for the ceremonies. The High Court

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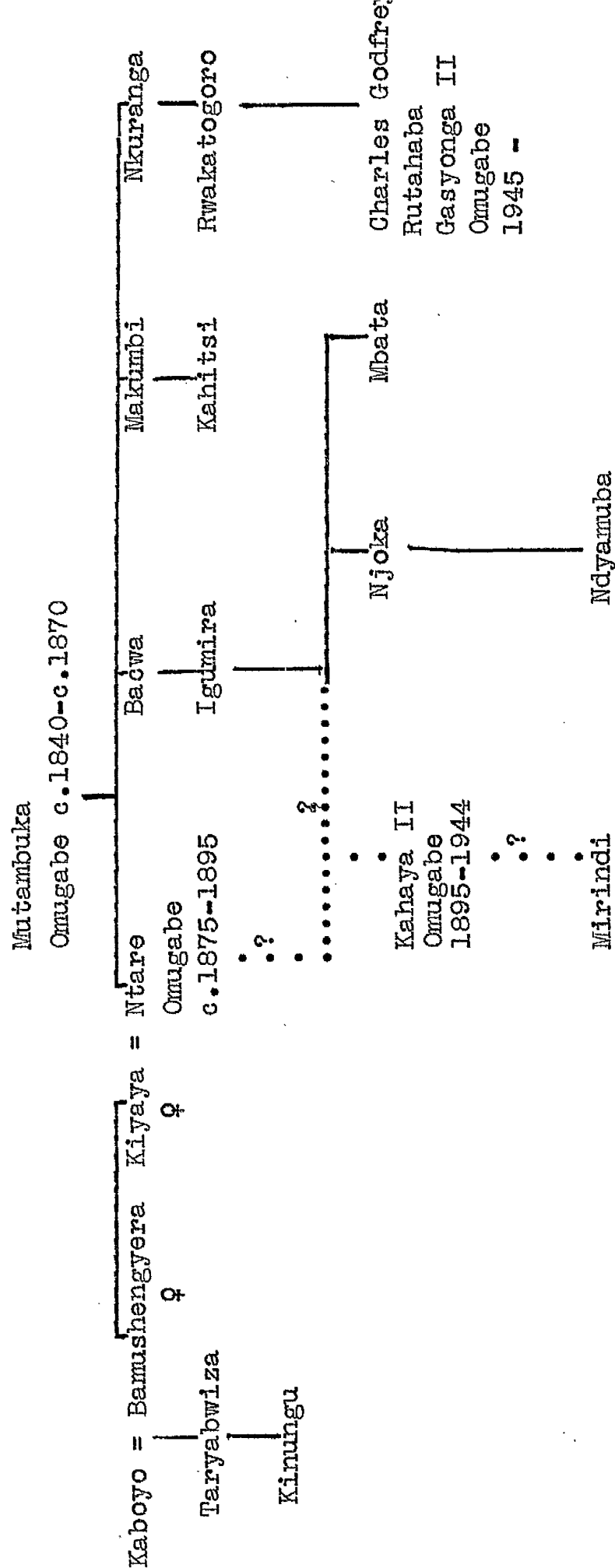
\* It was recited to me by the author at Rugando Rwampara, in May 1955.

case is lost by Mirindi and all acclaim Gasyonga as Omugabe. In point of time, however, the court case was considerably after the coronation. The ekyevugo is entitled "Engure" (the Coronation) and reference is also made in the body of the recitation to the placing of the "engure" (crown) on the Omugabe's head by the Bishop. In fact, however, the word "engure" is borrowed from Luganda in which language it means the headband of feathers worn by chiefs at the time of the Kabaka's installation and the idea of a "coronation" is a European importation. Though the word "engure" is now sometimes used for the tarboosh which the Omugabe wears on formal occasions, it has no part in the installation ceremonies, traditional or christian. The ceremony of the placing of the circlet of beads round the Omugabe's forehead by the Bishop at the church service has been taken from the traditional ceremonies. The circlet is called Rutare and in pre-christian days was associated with the Omugabe's rain making powers.

The second ekyevugo, also called "Engure" composed by Patrick Kirindi, is an interesting example of a far more sophisticated type of composition. As has been explained earlier, Kirindi is, to my knowledge, the only well educated Muhima who has not only interested himself in the composition of ebyevugo but has reduced his compositions to writing. As

has been seen from examples already quoted in chapter III, his style is a highly polished one; his metric structure is more than usually regular; and his pairing of lines is highly developed. The whole gives the impression of a rather artificial composition, well thought out and moulded according to accepted rules. An interesting aspect of this ekyevugo is the repeated introduction in the sixth enkome of foreign words such as "printing press" and "lino-type." Kirindi at the time of the coronation was an eigomborora chief in Nyabushozi Eishaza. The first four enkome are accounts of imaginary encounters with the opposing faction described in the conventional manner. Then follows a purely factual account of the preparations for the ceremonies at the Native Government Headquarters and a list of various people who came from Nyabushozi to the ceremonies. Next there is an account of the journey of Kirindi and his friends from Nyabushozi to Mbarara. A list is then given of various people, African, European and Asian who were present in Mbarara and who are taken by the author as representatives of different sections of the community. The ekyevugo ends with a reference to the court case. It is interesting to note that in neither of these ebyevugo is there any description of the actual coronation ceremonies.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



Females marked ♀  
Males unmarked



L.

1. Ruzayó na Rukooza Rukuútirira na Rugyera
2. Rushungyera énduuru ékagamba.
3. Yaagambirá Ruhékura na Bugweiraro
4. Rutáteera-nte-mabega nkarangirira naakibatsigamu
5. Rutáfaringa-munyeeto nkashuuma naagirakwó Rugaigára.
6. Rugaigára na Rugacwa
7. Rugakongá tintiina Baganda bakubire Rutagandaára
8. Rurindána énduuru yaagambirá Rugongi nseetwire na Rubakaka
9. Kamushóoko ka Mugarisya Kamukuzi
10. Baronda-ntooro nkashanga nimwekwata ébimiina.
11. Bakazira Kafukúnkuka na Rwatooro Ruzambirá na Zakumumpa
12. Kategyéte na Katumbya Kabandíze na Karongo Kóyekomá
13. Mugaba-njojo nkashanga nimwekwata ébigombe.
14. Nibazirá Rusaniya na Rutaaba Rwahabíre na Rubakuba
15. Katánywa na Katanga Ndyámuba na Rutomora
16. Báronda-ntooro mwarwanirá Rwakyasha Mugyenzi ngu etanyagwa.
17. Mutákirwa na Kazoorá Káápa na Kamoomo
18. Kabutití na Babara Baara na Zakye
19. Nshenga na Mbata
20. Nti mwébare Báronda-ntooro mukanshemerera nimwetsimba.

- L.
21. Kafúreka akeerinda Énganzi byahurura kumwé
22. Mukwenda yaahurura ómu-ihinda-njojo na Ishékibobo'
23. Mugóha yaabitangá aha kyambu na Mugyema
24. Émbúndu ya Murumba yanzaahuura óbushakaaza-itaka
25. Budo-nyondo nkashanga nibaibwarika.
26. Zaamótoka ómu mpanga ikaraara niitonganá
27. Zaaserumbeéte zaazibira éngoma kugamba'
28. Báronda-ntooro mwahangura Ábaganda
29. Ábangyereza bakahangura Ábadaaki
30. Mukamáitu akatunguutana ómu mitwe y'éngyenzi
31. Rugumya-ngabo akashemera ajwaite bushuuti.
32. Enganda mpima ikarwana nizeetonda
33. Ábarangira bakarwana ngu atunguukye
34. Ábashambo bakakiikira Gasyongá
35. Rutokíre akajurira éby'ámazima na Rusheesha-ngabo
36. Ómushango akagusinga asiibire Hai-kooti.
37. Obu órikumpénda Ruteetebya obu orikugira ngu
38. Rutokíre akabagambira ákatsíbura-mugyere na Rwakicene
39. Rutokíre akabagambira ákamara matiko na Rufungira
40. Ómushango akagusingira Hai-kooti.
41. Hakeeyanza Ábajúngu bakanagira Ábahíndi
42. Ámahangá goóna gakateera ómu ngaro
43. Bishopu akamutiikira éngure
44. Ómukama wa Kaaro
45. Mygyenzi akarahira akanywana nayo.

- L.
1. For me, Ruzayo, with Rukooza, for me, Rukuutirira, with Rugyera,
2. For me, Rushungera, the alarm sounded.
3. It sounded at Ruhekura and Bugweiraro.
4. I, Rutateera-nte-mabega, told of my purpose and left them in the kraal;
5. I, Rutafaringa-munyeto, I, Rugaigara, went down and did as was expected of me.
6. I, Rugaigara, with Rugacwa,
7. I, Rugakonga, did not fear the Baganda who beset Rutagandaara;
8. The alarm sounded at Rugongi while I, Rurindana, was grazing the cattle with Rubakaka;
9. At Kamushooka near Mugarisya, at Kamukuzi;
10. I found you, Baronda-ntooro, putting yourselves into groups.
11. They were encouraged by Kafukunkuka and Rwatooro, by Ruzambiira and Zakumumpa,
12. By Kategyete and Katumbya, by Kabandize and Karongo, by Koyekoma;
13. At the palace-gate I found you forming a group.
14. Being encouraged by Rusaniya and Rutaaba, by Rwahabire and Rwabakuba,
15. Katanywa and Katanga, Ndyamuba and Rutomora,
16. You, Baronda-ntooro, fought for Bagyendanwa that it should not be captured.

L.

17. To Mutakirwa and Kazoora, Kaapa and Kamoomo,
18. Kabutiti and Babara, Baara and Zakye,
19. Nshenga and Mbata,
20. I say thanks to you, Baronda-ntooro, you pleased me as you  
stood erect.
21. Kafureka waited for the Enganzi and they acted together;
22. Mukwenda set off before daybreak with Ishekibobo;
23. Mugoha went before them to the river together with Mugyema;
24. The rifles of Murumba brought me back from Nyamitanga;
25. I found the men from Budo getting their rifles ready.
26. The motor-cars spent the night in the valleys making a  
noise;
27. The police drums prevented the local ones from being heard;
28. You, Baronda-ntooro, defeated the Baganda,
29. Just as the Europeans defeated the Germans;
30. Our King stood majestically among his followers,
31. Grandly dressed in his robes.
32. The Bahima clans struggled to announce themselves;
33. The princes fought for Gasyonga to ascend the throne;
34. The Bashambo gave the land Gasyonga;
35. Rutokire gave true evidence with Rusheesha-ngabo;
36. He was victorious in the case before the High Court.

L.

37. When you troubled me, Rutetebya, saying,
38. Rutokire had brought unwelcome news together with Rwakicene,
39. You did not add that he had ended all hope for them together  
with Rufungira
40. And that the case had been won in the High Court.
  
41. The Europeans came to greet the Omugabe and the Indians  
followed;
42. All the nations clapped their hands;
43. The Bishop crowned him with the crown,
44. As King of Kaaro;
45. He swore on Bagyendanwa and made blood brotherhood with it.

- L.  
1. Ruzayo'. He who goes there (to the battle) (okuza, to go).  
Rukooza. He who leaves the enemy empty handed. Literally,  
he who causes to be without plunder. Okukoora  
is to be unsuccessful in taking plunder.  
Rukuutirira. He who is determined (to fight). (okukuutirira,  
to be determined).  
Rugyera. He who attempts (difficult undertakings)  
(okugyera, to try).

- L.  
2. Rushungyera. He who descends (upon the enemy) suddenly  
(okushungyera, to descend). This and the pre-  
ceding praise names are outside the construction  
of the rest of the line. The first personal  
object prefix, singular or plural, would be  
expected with ekagamba.

- L.  
3. Ruhekura na  
Bugweiraro. Both are in Nyabushozi eishaza.

- L.  
4. Rutateera-nte  
-mabega. He who does not turn his back on the cattle,  
i.e. does not leave them undefended.  
nkarangirira. I told them my purpose. Okurangirira is to  
make a public announcement.  
naakibatsigamu. And I left them in it (the kraal). The ob-  
ject prefix ki refers to ekibuga (kraal). The

hero announced to his companions his intention of answering the call to battle and left them behind at home.

L.

5. Rutáfarínga  
-munyeeto.

He who does not waste his youth. Okufáringa is an unusual verb meaning to spoil. Omunyeeto, youth, is a noun formed from the verb okunyeeta, to grow fat or to grow to manhood.

naagirakwó.

The suffix kwo is uncommon and has the meaning of 'in such a manner'. Naagirakwo, therefore, means I did in such manner (as was befitting). Note that one of the hero's praise names precedes and the other follows the verb.

Rugaigára.

Literally, he who causes the kraals to close. The object prefix ga refers to amaka (homes.) Because he takes all the cattle from the enemy, their kraals are deserted.

L.

6. Rugacwa.

He who destroys the herds (of the enemy). The object prefix ga refers to amasyo (herds).

L.

7. Rugakongá.

He who pushes aside the spears (of the enemy) (okukonga, to push aside). The object prefix ga refers to amacúmu (spears).

tintiina  
Baganda  
bakubire  
Rutagandaára.

I did not fear the Baganda who beset Rutagandaára. The main verb is in the present indefinite

tense with a far past meaning. The term Baganda is used for the supporters of Mirindi many of whose adherents were Muslims of Baganda origin, though in fact the incident is, as one would expect, an imaginary one. Rutagandaara does not refer to anyone in particular. The praise name means he who does not doze, from the negative of okugandaara, (to take a rest after a meal).

L.  
8.

The construction is unusual to enable the praise name, Rurindána, the subject of the participial clause, to begin the line, and the main clause, énduurú yaagambirá Rugongi, separates Rurindána from the participle, nseetwire. Rurindána is a praise name meaning he who guards his companions, from the associative of okurinda (to guard). Rubakaka means he who compels them (the enemy) (to surrender), from okukáka (to compel).

L.

9. Kamushóoko ka  
Mugarisya.

These are two neighbouring hills in Kashaari which the hero passed on his way to Mbarara. One is referred to as belonging to the other.



L.  
10. Baronda  
-ntooro.

There is among the Bahima a system of age-groups. During a period which lasts about ten years all males born are included in the same group which is called by some topical name. At the end of the period, a new group comes into existence. Members of the same group, in the past, felt a certain corporate identity and loyalty towards one another, particularly in battle. The following are age groups the names of which I have been able to discover:

Binyarugaga (the wearers of copper bracelets)  
Latter part of the reign of Ntare  
(d.1895).

Mbanga (a type of hoe). Owing to rinderpest at  
this time hoes instead of cattle  
were given as dowry. c.1895-1905.

Bikuura-mbanga (those who replaced the Mbanga).  
c.1905-1915.

Ebinywa-nte (the drinkers of cattle). It was at  
the beginning of this period that  
cattle once more increased in number  
c.1915-1925.

Siringi (the shillings). At this time the  
Government replaced the rupee with  
the shilling as the currency of  
British East Africa. c.1925-1935.

Baronda-ntooro. (they who have chosen the  
entooro). The entooro was a dance  
which came into fashion at this  
time. c.1935-1945.

Beegyeka (they who have replaced others, i.e.  
the Baronda-ntooro). c.1945-

Although unsophisticated Bahima still know and refer to their age-group, the system no longer has any real social significance and most educated Bahima are unaware of its existence. This is no doubt why it apparently escaped the notice of Roscoe \* and other writers on the Banyankore who make no reference to it. There is no counterpart among the Bairu.

There is some doubt as to whether Baronda-ntooro should have a high tone on the first syllable and it can be pronounced either with or without it. In this line it has been given a neutral tone but the high tone has appeared in lines 16, 20 and 28.

L.

11. Bakazira.

The use of the verb okuzira with the meaning of to be encouraged to do something is unusual. The common meaning of okuzira is to reject or to adopt as a clan totem. The subject prefix ba refers to Baronda-ntooro. All the people referred to in this enkome were Nyabushozi Bahima.

L.

13. Mugaba-njojo. Literally, the giver of elephants. This was the name of one of the gates of the Omugabe's palace at which he used to give presents.

\*-----  
The Banyankore. J. Roscoe.

- L.  
14-16. The construction of this enkome is complicated. Baroonda-ntooro in line 16 is the subject of the dependent clause, nibazira..... Baronda-ntooro. The subject prefix of the main verb is, however, in the second person plural. A literal translation would be 'the Baronda-ntooro being encouraged by Rusania.... and Rutomora, you, the Baronda-ntooro, fought for Bagyendanwa.'
- L.  
14. The four men named were herdsmen of the Omugabe.
- L.  
15. Katánywa na  
Katanga. Two Bahinda.  
Ndyámuba. One of the candidates to the throne. See page  
Rutomora. Musa Kyambu, a clerk, son of the Enganzi.  
Okutómora is to lead the attack.
- L.  
16. Rwakyasha  
Mugyenzi. Names of the drum Bagyendanwa.
- L.  
17. Mutákirwa,  
Kazoorá,  
Kaapa. Clerks in the Native Government.  
Kamoomo. An eigomborora chief, later Omubiiki.
- L.  
18. Kabutiiti,  
Baáara. Eigomborora chiefs.  
Baáara. A lorry driver.  
Zakye. A dispenser in the Medical Department.

- L.  
19. Nshenga,  
Mbata. Princes, sons of Igumira.
- L.  
21. Kafureka. Christopher Kafureka was the Kaigo, eishaza  
chief of Sheema.
- akeerinda. Okurinda means to guard and hence the reflexive  
means to guard oneself and so to watch out for  
someone.
- byahurura  
kumwe. They went to war together. The subject prefix  
bi refers to ebigombe (groups). That is to say  
all the people who have been mentioned had one  
object.
- L.  
22. Mukwenda. The eishaza chief of Rwampara.
- omu  
-ihinda  
-njojo. See Ekirimbi line 3. This phrase really means  
at midnight but is used here for the hours of  
darkness.
- Ishekibobo. The eishaza chief of Mitooma.
- L.  
23. Mugoha. Erinesti Mugoha was the Katambara, the eishaza  
chief of Kashaari.
- yaabitanga. He went before them. The object prefix bi re-  
fers to ebigombe (groups).
- kyambu. The river is the Rwizi.
- Mugyema. The title of the eishaza chief of Isingiro.

L.

24. Murumba.

Anania Murumba was the Kahima, eishaza chief of Nyabushozi.

yanzaahuura. Okuzaahuura, the transitive form of the reverse of okuzaaha (to go into exile) means to bring out of exile and hence to bring from a long way off.

obushakaaza  
-itaka.

Literally, the place of the thatching with earth. The prefix bu can be used with verbal stems to indicate a place limited in area. This is a name given by the author to the Roman Catholic Mission at Nyamitanga. The reason for this is that its buildings are conspicuous on account of their red tiles of baked earth.

L.

25. Budo-nyondo.

This phrase which means literally the Budo hammers has been invented by the author to mean the Budo boys. Why he should have used the cryptic word nyondo he is unable to explain and one can only suppose that it was chosen to fit the metre. King's College Budo in Buganda is sometimes referred to as the Eton of Uganda and most leading Bahima have been educated there. The author is, therefore, merely referring to Bahima chiefs who have been educated at this school. Although Budo-nyondo is the object of

the verb nkashanga and precedes it, there is no object prefix viz: nkabashanga.

nibaibwarika. Okubwarika is to get a weapon ready for battle.

The object prefix i refers to embundu (guns).

L.

26.zaamótoka.

The class prefix zaa is frequently found with nouns of foreign origin in the plural. Such plural nouns are in class 10b and the agreements are regular. The plural emótoka (motor-cars) (class 10a) is also used.

niitonganá. Making a noise; literally, complaining.

L.

27.zaaserubééte. Another foreign word and hence the prefix zaa. This word is used for any foreign type of drum. It appears to come from the Swahili tarumbeta and originally from the English trumpet.

L.

28.Ábaganda.

The followers of Mirindi.

L.

30.Makamáitu.

Our master. A contraction of mukama waitu.

ómu mitwe

y'éngyenzi.

Among his supporters. Literally, among the companies of the companions.

L.

31.Rugumya-ngabo. He who strengthens the warriors. The praise name of the Omugabe Gasyonga.

ajwaite.

Dressed. The usual modified form of the stem -jwára is -jwaíre. The apparently archaic form

-jwa'ite (low tone speech -jwaite) is, however, often used for being robed for a formal occasion. It is, for example, found in the translation of the biblical text 'Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these ' (Luke XII,27). The only other verb that I know of which has this unusual form is the uncommon one okutwâra (-twa'ite), to milk a cow for the first time after it has given birth.

bushuuti. The bushuuti is a long brocaded robe, either black or coloured, worn by chiefs on ceremonial occasions. Its use was introduced originally via Buganda, by the Arabs in the latter part of the last century.

L.  
33. Ábarangira. Princes. Borrowed from Luganda (abalangira).

bakarwana ngu  
atunguukye. They fought that he (Gasyonga) might ascend the throne. Okutunguuka means literally to grow tall. Here it means to reach up to or attain to (the throne).

L.  
34. Ábashambo  
bakakiikira  
Gasyongá.

Literally, the Bashambo held Gasyongo in their arms (okukiikira, to hold a baby in one's arms). Gasyonga's mother belonged to the Beenerukari, one of the sub-clans of the Bashambo. Hence

the Bashambo are said to have taken Gasyonga in their arms and given him to the nation.

L.  
35. Rutokire  
aka jurira  
éby' amazima.

Rutokire was the gatekeeper of the Omugabe Kahaya and he gave important evidence in the case which Mirindi brought in the High Court concerning the circumstances of Mirindi's birth.

Rusheesha-  
ngabo.

He who scatters the warriors (okusheesha to spill). The praise name of Lazaro Kamugungunu M.B.E. then the Enganzi.

L.  
36. Omushango.

The court case. This word is borrowed from Luganda, the Runyankore word being orubanja.

akagusinga.

He (Kamugungunu) won it.

Hai-kooti.

H.M. High Court of Uganda. This is an adaptation of the English.

L.  
37-40.

The sense of these lines is hard to follow. They mean literally, 'when you trouble me, Ruteetebya saying that Rutokire spoke with unwelcome finality together with Rwakicwene (you did not also say that) Rutokire spoke to them and finished hope together with Rufungira. He (Kamugungunu) won the case in the High Court'. Ruteetebya had brought the author an incomplete and disheartening account of what had happened in the High Court. He had told of some of the evidence, not



altogether favourable to Gasyonga's cause, which Rutokire had given but he had not gone on to give the rest of his evidence which had extinguished all hope of victory for Mirindi. When making a final refusal to a request, it is customary to stamp the foot on the ground and turn away. This is called akatsibura-mugyere (literally, a blow with the foot).

L.  
41. bakanagira. Literally, they threw to. Here it means they handed over to.

L.  
43. Bishopu. Bishop Stuart of Uganda.

akamutiikira  
engure.

He placed the crown on his head. See page  
Okutiika is borrowed from Luganda (okutikka, to place on the head of another).

L.  
44. Kaaro. See page 15.

L.  
45. Mugyenzi  
akarahirira. He swore on Mugyenzi (another name for the drum Bagyendanwa). The construction is unusual, the phrase meaning literally, Mugyenzi he swore.

L.  
46. akanywana  
nayo. He made blood brotherhood with it (Bagyendanwa). This is a figurative way of describing the ceremonies which the new Omugabe has to carry out in connection with Bagyendanwa before he can be considered the rightful ruler.

L.

1. Ruzayo' Ruzayo' ámaráka gakámpabura!
2. Nkahaburwa ámaráka ga Rutemba na Rumogyera
3. Kazinga ébooroogo ekandanga nyine Kyakashwa.
4. Kakiika' bakandekura' na Rusaasa-ngabo
5. Rutateisibwa nkakyengyeza ámagará na Rusiimirwa
6. Kabazaire akabaizira' mabogo na Mutembya
7. Kyoya ákamariza ómutanagi na Rurangwa-booroogo
8. Rutaasíra-haraingwa na Rwetsiba
9. Nkananuura Nyamitanga bagoogamu.
10. Rutasháasha nkashembutsya ámahuta na Rutemba
11. Rutabóórwa akaasira ómu izinga na Rutaasya
12. Ruteegáana akarurumya émizinga na Rutina
13. Rutáshaijuuka nkazeevugira rwagati.
14. Amabarúha gakaragiirwa Rusheesha
15. Táipu ekateerwa Mashunju
16. Ákacúmu kakasiimirwa Kazoora
17. Ágándi bakagoochereza' Nyamitanga.
18. Gakateerwa ómuri printing préss
19. Gakaraba ómuri lino type
20. Cyclo-style ekaronderwa Manaase
21. Érya Murumba rikatwarwa Kabwitwa.

- L.
22. Emiyénda bakajwara ébinoni
  23. Ébibaráho bikeezirikwa éndagaano
  24. Ámacúmu bakakwata ébihuuga
  25. Énshunju bakatega énkingira
  26. Éntengye ikakwata ébiyenje.
  27. Kosía hakaija Kareega
  28. Rutabindwa ákaruga Kashunga
  29. Rutaáahirira akaija na Babura
  30. Óburwani bukabanzibwa Ábaganda.
  31. Aboogyera bakaija na Kéntóóma
  32. Ábariita bakabumba Kaakóoro
  33. Ábahuruzi bakaija na Kiríndi
  34. Ábasaasani n'aba Ruteegaána
  35. Ábahambani bakaija na Kaaburuuku.
  36. Rwamashonje ákagyenda na Rwakanúuma
  37. Kiríndi akaragaana na Kabutiíiti
  38. Ábahandura bakaruga Nshwére
  39. Rwandaara ákatimbirá Mweza
  40. Kyankondo na Kirisitóómu
  41. Ów'ámazima hakaija Rwabushôngo.
  42. Rumanywa ákeevuga na Katúúka
  43. Ómuhúgo gukareegwa Timanywa

- L.
44. Mwórozi akeetsimba' na Ngozi
  45. Rwabuzóoba ekareegwa Nyabigóhi
  46. Kataríshwerwa akahurura na Rwakatwe.
  47. Bamwérere yaatonganisa' na Bwenda
  48. Rukurwé yaahigana' na Mugoye
  49. Basiímwa yaizira na Baaki
  50. Mutaáasa yaayesiga' Nkwita
  51. Ishaza' rya Murumba ryahigira Gasyonga.
  52. Kashaáyumbe n'Ábazigu na Rubariíta
  53. Ámamanzi gakabumba Bwaniága
  54. Ábagomera bakaruga Mitóoma
  55. Íshaza rikatsigirwa Kabutiíti
  56. Émiruka yaajwekyera Kimóndo
  57. Ámagomborora gaayecunda na Rwenyéétsa
  58. Twávuyana twafunda Kashôngi.
  59. Rwémbabi tukaraara Rweibááre
  60. Rutóoma tukafunda Bwizibwera
  61. Mugarisya tukasiiba Kamushóoko
  62. Nyakishárara tukaijura Nyarubûngo.
  63. Nyamitanga tukashunga Mwízi
  64. Émitwe ékagyenda munaána
  65. Áha Ishengyero tukakina Buráangi
  66. Ówa Rusheesha tukaraara omu bigângo.

- L.
67. Rutáhurikiza-mubúúro-gwa-Njegyere na Rutomora
68. Rutagamba-g'ábahungi na Rwetsiba
69. Rutiina-mpóra nkeenaga ómu bazigu na Runanisa
70. Rutééturaturutsya nkatunama bazinshangamu.
71. Empumi ikaija na Nyéési
72. Enfaakazi ikareeta Saaliima
73. Kwagara akabatiza n'ómwonyo
74. Tukajooya tukakúnda tukatwârwa.
75. Omuhéési hakaija Shariifu
76. Makánika tukeefuuzá Nyantý
77. Gupta Singh akaija na Virááni
78. Ómuhonda hakaija Lafunier
79. Kashenya akataaha na Buningwire.
80. Bawtree ákataasha na Páin
81. Kyoyá na Nganwá bakeetsimba na Katiiti
82. Ómukúru ni Father Lavésque
83. Sábadíikoni bakajwekyera Clárke
84. Ábakade na Tibeesaása
85. Énkoni y'Óbushumba ekakwatwa Séézi
86. Sáabití na Lábaani bakeegambira Kasaana.
87. Amashaza gakabumba Katúngi
88. Ómuhinda tukajwekyera Mugóha
89. Ómuhandiiki tukesiga Tibánga
90. Ómugambirizi hakaija Mungóonya.

L.

91. Abashambo bakareetwa Cókók
92. Éntóóre ikaruga ówa Musínga
93. Ómumbeja bakatíja Zarwángo
94. Kabaka akajwekyera Lumáama.
95. Kaápa na Músa bakaija na Kamoomo
96. Ébikara bikahinduka na Ruzambiira
97. Mutáshwera akasiimwa na Kanyamunyu
98. Rubagumya Mugyenzi ekamwikiriza kyarumwe.
99. Kaápa na Katanga bakáíjwera ikaija
100. Katánywa na Kazoora bakéégamba ikaaba
101. Mungóónya na Murumba bakéésingiza bikamanywa
102. Ruziriíza nkahimbibwa émbúndu ya Mugyema na Mukwenda
103. Rutashwáza-ngoma nkarwanira Mugyenzi-onwe.
104. Kihára na Kibende bakatéérereza bukanzika
105. Rusaniya na Rutaaba bakáihindura ikagogoma
106. Kitefáno na Kitunzi bakarurumya émizinga Mbarara na  
Katondwaki
107. Rutiina-mpóra nkazeevugira ómu byasha na Rurungama.
108. Rutátiina nkagyendá ndahiire
109. Rutéécúra nkeegambirá Kashaari
110. Ómugwénshékye nkamatsa na Rufunga
111. Rutabóórwa akaziimá na Rushaaraza
112. Rugumyána akajurirá na Rubanza-ngabo
113. Ruhimbána tukamwesigá na Rusheesha
114. Rutahwáma ómugambirizi tukasingiza Bakamuturaki.

- L.
1. I, Ruzayo, the call to battle guided me!
2. I was directed by the call of Rutemba and Rumogyera;
3. At Kazinga, lamentation announced me and I had Kyakashwa  
with me.
4. At Kakiika, they sent me forward together with Rusaasa-ngabo;
5. I, Rutateisibwa, annihilated them together with Rusimirwa;
6. Kabazaire went for them like a buffalo together with Mutembya
7. Kyoya exhausted his arrows together with Rurangwa-ebooroogo;
8. I, Rutaasira-haraingwa, with Rwetsiba,
9. Drew my bow at Nyamitanga and the enemy fled from their  
cattle.
10. I, Rutashaasha, inflicted injuries together with Rutemba;
11. Rutaboorwa shouted on the riverland together with Rutaasya;
12. Ruteegaana made the cannons roar together with Rutiina;
13. I, Rutashaijuka, recited in the midst of the warriors.
14. The letters were sent out by Rusheesha;
15. The typing was done by Mashunju;
16. The handwriting was perfected by Kazoora;
17. "Agandi" was sent out from Nyamitanga.
18. The letters went through the printing press;
19. They passed through the lino type;
20. The cyclostyling was done by Manaase;
21. Murumba's letter was taken by Kabwitwa.

- L.
22. The clothes which they wore were white;
  23. The cloth was edged with fringes;
  24. The spears they held were silver and black;
  25. Their hair was cut in large tufts;
  26. Their legs were adorned with anklets.
  27. With Kosia came Kareega;
  28. Rutabindwa came from Kashunga;
  29. Rutaahirira came with Babura;
  30. The fighting was started by the Baganda.
  31. The Aboogyera came with Kentooma;
  32. The Abariita were represented by Kaakooro;
  33. The Abahuruzi came with Kirindi;
  34. The Abasaasani were the men of Ruteegaana;
  35. The Abahambani came with Kaaburuuku,
  36. Rwamashonje came with Rwakanuuma;
  37. Kirindi agreed with Kabutiiti;
  38. The Abahandura came from Nshwere;
  39. Rwandaara set out from Mweza;
  40. Kyankondo and Kirisitoomu
  41. And Rwabushongo came indeed.
  42. Rumanywa recited together with Katuuka;
  43. Timanywa drummed for the Omuhugo;



L.

44. Mworozzi stood up together with Ngozi;
45. The rwabuzooba was drummed at Nyabigohi;
46. Katarishwerwa went to battle with Rwakatwe.
47. Bamwerere recited with Bwenda;
48. Rukurwe made a vow with Mugoye;
49. Basiimwa came with Baaki;
50. Mutaasa put his trust in Nkwita;
51. The eishaaza of Murumba dedicated itself to Gasyonga.
52. Kashaayumbe and the Abazigu and Rubariita,
53. The Amamanzi were represented by Bwaniaga;
54. The Abagomera came from Mitooma;
55. The eishaza was left to Kabutiiti;
56. The emiruka were represented by Kimondo;
57. The amagomborora were wearied and so was Rwenyeetsa;
58. We jostled one another and were too many for Kashongi.
59. We slept at Rwembabi and Rweiibaare;
60. We were too many for Rutooma and Bwizibwera;
61. We spent the night at Mugarisya and Kamushooko;
62. We filled Nyakisharara and Nyarubungo.
63. At Nyamitanga we were opposite Mwizi;
64. The companies went in sections of eight;
65. At the Eishengyero we reached the meeting hall;
66. At Rusheesha's we slept in shelters.

- L.
67. I, Rutahurikiza-mubuuro-gwa-Njegyere, with Rutomora;
  68. I, Rutagamba-g'abahungi, with Rwetsiba,
  69. I, Rutiina-mpora, threw myself among the enemy with Runanisa,
  70. I, Ruteeturaturutsya, came openly and they found me among  
the warriors.
  71. The blind came with Nyeesi;
  72. The widows brought Saaldima;
  73. Kwagara baptised with salt;
  74. We were weary but were devoted and obeyed.
  75. Among the smiths came Shariff;
  76. Among the mechanics we regretted the absence of Nyanti;
  77. Gupta Singh came with Virani;
  78. Among the miners came Lafunier;
  79. Kashenya arrived with Buningwire.
  80. Bawtree arrived with Pain;
  81. Kyoya and Nganwa rose up and with them Katiiti;
  82. The White Father was Father Levesque;
  83. The archdeacon represented was Clarke;
  84. Among the church elders was Tibeesaasa;
  85. The Bishop's crozier was carried by Seezi;
  86. Sabiiti and Labaani preached at Kasaana.
  87. The amashaza put forward Katungi;
  88. The Muhinda representative was Mugoha;
  89. Among the clerks we relied on Tibanga;
  90. Among the interpreters came Mungoonya.

L.

91. Among the Bashambo came Cook;
92. The Batuutsi came from Musinga's;
93. Among the princesses came Zarwango;
94. The Kabaka was represented by Lumaama.
95. Kaapa and Musa came with Kamoomo;
96. The police drilled with Ruzambiira;
97. Mutashwera was admired with Kanyamunyu;
98. Bagyendanwa accepted Rubagunya unreservedly.
99. Kaapa and Katanga bled for the cattle which were recovered;
100. Katanywa and Kazooru triumphed as the warriors dispersed;
101. Mungoonya and Murumba were proud when these things were known;
102. I, Ruziriiza, was encouraged by the rifles of Mugyema and Mukwenda;
103. I, Rutashwaza-ngoma, fought for Bagyendanwa.
104. Kihara and Kibende stimulated the battle afresh;
105. Rusaniya and Rutaaba brought back the cattle and they returned to their owner,
106. Kitefano and Kitunzi made the cannons roar at Mbarara, together with Katondwaki;
107. I, Rutina-mpora, recited among the cattle together with Rurungama.
108. I, Rutatiina, went as I had vowed;
109. I, Ruteecura, triumphed in Kashaari;
110. At Omugwenshekye, I walked steadfastly together with Rufunga;

L.

111. Rutaboorwa protected the cattle together with Rushaaraza;

112. Rugumyana gave evidence with Rubanza-ngabo;

113. We trusted in Ruhimbana and in Rusheesha;

114. We gave thanks to the interpreter Rutahwama Bakamuturaki.

- L.  
1. Ruzayó. He who goes there (to the battle).
- L.  
2. Rutemba. He who attacks (the enemy). This was the praise name of Kajabi, the new <sup>O</sup>mugabe's herdsman.
- Rumogyera. This is the nickname of a short stout man.
- L.  
3. nyine Kya-kashwa. This is a participial construction meaning having with me Kyakashwa (an office boy in the Native Government).
- L.  
4. Rusaasa-ngabo. The scourge of the warriors (okusaasa, to cause pain.) This was one of the praise names of Mbata who had a house at Kakiika on the outskirts of Mbarara.
- L.  
5. Rutáteisibwa. He who is not blameworthy. From the negative of the passive of okuteísa (to reprove).
- nkakyengyeza  
amagara. I annihilated them. Literally, I caused the lives to sink down. Okukyéngyera is to sink down or disappear into the ground.
- Rusiimirwa. He who is admired. This is the praise name of Chrisostomu Macwa, a Muhinda and brother of the Katambara.
- L.  
6. Mabogo. Like a buffalo. The prefixes ki and ma can be used with noun stems to form adverbs with the

meaning of, in the manner of. The former is usually confined to human beings -kishaíja, like a man - and the latter can be used for both humans and animals - maishiki, like a girl - though this is not very common.

- L.  
7. akamariza  
omutanagi.

Literally, he caused to be finished for the arrow-maker. He used so many arrows that the supply was exhausted.

- Rurangwa  
-booroogo.

He who is announced by great noise. This is a praise name or rather a nickname which the author has invented for Blastio Kabenye who was a clerk in the District Commissioner's office. Ebooroogo literally means wailing but here 'a hullabaloo'.

- L.  
8. Rutaasira  
-haraingwa.

He who goes silently. Literally, he who does not shout from afar. From the negative of the applied form of okwasha (to shout).

- L.  
9. bagoogamu.

Okwogamu is to pass right through. The object prefix ga refers to amasyo (herds). The enemy were driven off and left their cattle behind.

- L.  
10. Rutashaásha.

He who does not suffer pain (okushaasha, to suffer pain).

nkashembutsya  
amahuta.

I caused (the enemy) to limp away wounded.

Okushembuka is to walk slowly and the phrase means literally, I caused to walk slowly (with) wounds.

L.

11. Rutabóórwa.

He who is not despised. From the negative of the passive of okuboora (to despise). The praise name of Petero Garubungo, the present Kihimba (Deputy Enganzi).

izinga.

Riverland. (see Omusingano line 16).

Rutaasya.

He who causes to enter. A praise name given to a good wrestler.

L.

12. Ruteegáana.

A praise name of Prince Mbata (see Omusingano line 22).

Rutiina.

The full praise name is Rutiina-mpora, he who is slow to fear. This is another praise name of Kanjabi.

L.

13. Rutáshaijuuka. He who is not unmanned. See Omusingano line 56.

nkazeevugira  
rwagati.

The object prefix z(i) refers to engabo (warriors)

L.

14. Amabarúha.

Letters. These were the programmes and invitations for the coronation ceremonies.

Rusheesha.

This is an abbreviation of the praise name of Lazaro Kamugungunu M.B.E. then Enganzi; Rusheesha-ngabo (he who disperses the warriors).

L.  
16. Akacumu  
kakasiimirwa  
Kagoora.

Literally, the pen was acceptable to Kagoora.

L.  
17. 'Agandi'.

This is the Runyankore newspaper published by the White Fathers' Mission at Nyamitanga. The name is taken from the question asked in the Runyankore greeting 'Agandi?' (What is the news?) literally 'other(news)?' to which the answer is 'Ni marungi' (it is good). The pronominal prefix ga refers to amakuru (news) and the stem -ndi means other. This greeting is, however, of recent origin and seems to be an adaption of the Luganda greeting 'Agafayo?'

L.  
18,19.  
Gakateerwa  
omuri,  
Gakareetwa  
omuri.

The subject prefix ga in each case refers to amabaruha (letters). In Runyankore, before words which do not possess an initial vowel, the adverbial formatives omuri (in), and ahari (at, to etc.) must be substituted for omu and aha.

L.  
20. Cyclo-style  
ekaronderwa  
Manaase.

Literally, the cyclo-style was chosen for Manaase, i.e. he did the cyclo-styling. The verb okuronda (to choose) is borrowed from Luganda; the Runyankore verb is okutoora. Manaase is the christian name of Muyinda, a



brother of the present Mukwenda.

L.  
21. Éryá Murumba  
rikatwarwa  
Kabwita.

That (eibarúha, letter in this case invitation) of Murumba was taken by Kabwitwa. Anania Murumba was the Kahima, the eishaza chief of Nyabushozi, the most inaccessible eishaza and his invitation was taken by Kabwita one of the Native Government police.

L.  
22 ff.

This enkome describes the appearance of the Bahima of Nyabushozi who collected together to go to Mbarara. The construction of lines 22, 24 and 25 is the same; the line begins with a noun which is outside the construction of the rest of the sentence; as for clothes they (the Bahima) wore white; as for spears, they held ones of kihuuga type; as for hair tufts they cut (their hair in ) enkingira style.

L.  
22. ébinoni.

Literally, chalk; here it refers to the colour of the women's clothes. The Bahima are a people who follow fashion and each year or so a different colour is in vogue. In 1955 it was violet or dark blue; in 1945 it was white.

L.  
23. Ebibaráho.

The ekibaraho or ekikoye is a cloth worn by Bahima draped over their shoulders.

- endagaano. This is the fringe to the cloth.
- L.  
24. ébihuuga. The ekihuuga is a type of spear, the blade of which is part bright and part black.
- L.  
25. Enshunju  
bakatega  
enkingira. The Bahima shave their heads so as to leave tufts of hair. The size and shape of these tufts are dictated by fashion and each type of tuft is given a name. At different times during the last thirty years the following styles, among others, have been in vogue; entatunda (that which does not buy salt); endomba-izooba )that which attacks the sun); enkuura-mubyamo (the end of the rinderpest). In 1945 the fashionable tuft style was a large one called enkingira-izooba (that which shuts out the sun).
- L.  
26. Entengye  
ikakwata  
ébiyenje. Entengye are the beads fastened on the copper wire worn round the ankles of the Bahima. These ankle rings are called enyerere. A particular type of large enyerere is called an ekiyenje. The line literally means the beads caught the ankle rings, i.e. the ankle rings were ornamented with beads.
- L.  
28. Rutabindwa. He who cannot be bound (okubinda, to tie hands behind the back).

L.  
29. Rutááhirira. He who attacks. (okutaahirira, to charge).

L.  
30. Abaganda. The supporters of Mirindi.

L.  
31.-35. As has already been mentioned, each well-to-do Muhima has his group of followers each of which has its own name. Each line of this enkome refers to a certain group which came from Nyabushozi with its master. Some of these groups the Aboogyera, the Abasaasani and the Abahandura (line 38) have already been referred to in the Omusingano.

L.  
32. bakabumba. Literally, okubumba means to mould and so to set someone up as one's leader; hence ékyébumbe, one who sets himself up or a usurper.

L.  
42. Rumanywa. He who is famous. From the passive of okumanya (to know).

L.  
43. Omuhúgo  
gukareegwa  
Timanywa. The omuhugo is a song. The verb okureega is to tighten a drum for playing. Literally, this sentence means the omuhugo song was drawn tight by Timanywa. It was, of course, the drum for accompanying the song that was drawn tight.

L.  
45. Rwabuzóóba  
ekareegwa. The rwabuzooba was a dance originally composed at Buzooba in Nshara. As in the case of line

43, it was the drum which was drawn tight. The subject prefix of the verb, e, agrees with rwabuzooba which despite its prefix ru takes an agreement of class 9. There are a number of such nouns which can take agreements of either class 9 or 11. If the agreement is of the former class then the initial vowel of the noun cannot be used, e.g. rukundo nungi or orukundo rurungi (perfect love).

L.  
47. yaatonganisa'. Okutonganisa is to complain against someone in a law court. The causative here, however, means to recite alternate enkome of an ekyevugo with someone else.

L.  
49, 50. The four men named here were traders in Nyabushozi.

L.  
51. Ishaza' rya  
Murumba. Nyabushozi.

L.  
52. Kashaayumbe  
n'Abazigu. The Abazigu (enemies) were the followers of Kashaayumbe of the Beeneruhiri clan.

L.  
53. The Amamanzi (heroes) were the followers of Igundira of the Beenekahaya clan.

L.  
55. Ishaza rikatsi-  
girwa // Kabutiiti. The eishaza was left to Kabutiiti. Kabutiiti,

as the senior eigomborora chief, was left in charge during the absence of Murumba.

L.  
56. Émiruka  
yaa jwekyera  
Kimondo.

Kimondo was one of the omuruka chiefs.

L.  
57. Amagomborora  
gaayecunda  
na  
Rwenyéetsa.

Okwécunda means to be wearied from going continually to a place. As the party reached an eigomborora headquarters they exhausted the chief and his people who had to attend to their needs and supply them with food and perhaps shelter. Rwenyeetsa was the acting eigomborora chief at Kashongi in Nyabushozi where the party spent a night.

L.  
58. twafunda  
Kashongi.

Literally, we were narrow at Kashongi. There was insufficient room for the crowd.

L.  
59 ff.

In each line of this enkome, the action takes place at two places. One of the pair is put before the verb and the other is put after it. In each case the place following the verb is the more important, e.g. Rutooma is an eigomborora headquarters and Bwizibwera is an eishaza headquarters; Mugarisya and Kamushooko are two hills of which the latter is the larger.

L.  
64. Émitwe  
ekagyenda  
munaana.

The party is here described as though it were

an army moving in military formation. The Bahima army was divided up into emitwe (heads) to which the word companies can appropriately be applied. These were further divided into sections in this case it is supposed of eight men each (omunaana).

L.  
65. Buráangi.

The Obulangi is the meeting hall of the Buganda Lukiiko. The word here is borrowed from the Luganda; it is not in general use in Runyankore.

L.  
66. bigángo.

This word is also borrowed from Luganda. Its real meaning is the audience hall of a chief. Here, however, it is used for the shelters which were erected around Kamugungunu's (Rusheeshasha's ) house.

L.  
67. Rutáhurikiza-  
mubúúro-  
gwa-  
Njegyere.

He who does not heed Njegyere's cry for war. Okuhúrikiza is to listen attentively. Omubúúro means literally a warning but here a call to battle. Njegyere was a Muslim herdsman-in-chief of the Omugabe Kahaya and a strong supporter of Mirindi.

Rutomora.

The praise name of Musa Kyambu, son of Kamugungunu, then a clerk in the District Commissioner's office, he who leads the attack.

- L.  
68. Rutagamba  
-g'ábahungi. He who does not speak of flight. G(a) refers to amakuru (news) and the praise name means literally, he who does not speak (the news) of fleers.
- Rwetsiba. Henry Rwetsiba, a son of Canon Buningwire, is a master at King's College Budo.
- L.  
69. Runanisa. He who makes (the enemy) stiff (as corpses). From the causative of okunana (to be stiff). This was the praise name of Mutakirwa, a clerk.
- L.  
70. Rutééturaturutsya. He who does not doubt (okuturaturutsya, to doubt).  
bazinshangamu. The object prefix zi refers to engabo (warriors).
- L.  
71, 72, 73, 75, 76,  
78. Various people are mentioned as representatives of different sections of the community at the ceremonies. Nyeesi was an old blind woman who used to live on the veranda of the District Commissioner's office; Saaliima was an insane pauper who lived at the Native Government headquarters; Kwagara was a religious maniac who used to offer to baptise people by sprinkling salt over them; Shariff, an Arab, was one of the leading smiths; Nanty, an Indian, was a leading motor mechanic who was away at the time of the coronation; Lafunier was a miner in the south

of the district.

L.  
72. Enfaákazi  
ikareeta.

The widows brought. It is more common in modern Runyankore for concords of classes 1 and 2 rather than those of 9 and 10 to be used when the noun governing the agreement has the prefix of class 9 or 10 but refers to a human being. Either set of concords may, however, be used; e.g. Enganzi ekagyenda (the Enganzi went) or Enganzi akagyenda

The former is the older form.

L.  
74. Tuka jooya  
tukakunda  
tukatwarwa.

We were weary but were devoted and obeyed. Literally, we were weary, we loved and were ruled.

L.  
77. Gupta Singh, a transport contractor and maize miller is the leading Sikh of Mbarara. Virani is an Indian tailor.

L.  
79. Kashenya is an N.A.C. clergyman. Buningwire (now Canon) is also an N.A.C. clergyman; he was a very early Muhima convert to Christianity and is a very highly respected elder of the community.

L.  
80. Ernest Bawtree is a C.M.S. missionary who is now Archdeacon of the Western Province. Clement Pain, another Englishman, was, until recently, headmaster



of the Mbarara C.M.S. High School.

L.  
81.

The three named here represent education. Erika Kyoya, then a schoolteacher, is now the Kahima. Keesi Nganwa, then an assistant education officer in Protectorate Government service is now the Enganzi and Charles Katiiti, who is still a C.M.S. schoolteacher, <sup>now</sup> is also a member for Ankole of the Legislative Council.

L.  
82. Omukúru.

Literally elder, omukúru is also used for Government officers and for European priests of the Roman Catholic Mission. Father Levesque was a Canadian priest of the White Fathers' Mission stationed at Nyamitanga.

L.  
83. Clárk.

A European missionary of the C.M.S. then Arch-deacon of the Western Province.

L.  
84. Ábakade.

Omukade (elder) is borrowed from Luganda (omukadde) and is used for clergymen and elders of the N.A.C.

Tibeesaáasa. An N.A.C. clergyman.

L.  
85. Enkoni  
y' Obushumba.

Obushumba, from -shumba (herd cattle), is used for a diocese, the bishop being the shepherd of his flock. Enkoni is a stick and hence the use of the phrase for the bishop's crozier.

Séézi was an N.A.C. clergyman.

L.

86. Sáabiiti

na Labaani.

Erika Sabiiti, now Rural Dean in Western Ankole and Labaani Tibeeekinga were also N.A.C. clergymen.

bakeegambira. Okwégambira, the original meaning of which is to boast, has been frequently met with in these ebyevugo with the meaning of to triumph in battle. Here it is used for preaching instead of the usual okugambira.

L.

87. Katúngi.

Erinesti Katungi, later to succeed Kamugungunu as Enganzi, was then the Mukwenda, eishaza chief of Rwampara.

L.

88. Mugóha.

Erinesti Mugoha is mentioned as representative of the Bahinda owing to his position as Katambara, the eishaza chief of Kashaari, though in fact he is only remotely connected in the male line with the Omugabe, being descended from the Omugabe Macwa (living c.1750).

L.

89. Tibánga.

Luuka Tibanga, then a clerk in the Native Government, is now an eigomborora.

L.

90. Mungóonya.

Zakariya Mungoonya C.M.G. then a schoolteacher, was later Enganzi and is now Minister of Land Tenure in the Protectorate Government.

L.  
91. Abashambo  
bakareetwa  
Cook.

Literally, the Abashambo were brought by Cook, that is to say they were represented by Cook. Here again the representative is named on account of his official position, Edward Cook being then the Kashwiju, the eishaza chief of Kajara. The use of English surnames by the Banyankore is unusual but is sometimes met with. Cook was called after Doctor Sir Albert Cook who saved his mother's life by the performance of a ceasarian operation at the time of his birth.

L.  
92. Entóóre.

This noun which is formed from the root -tóor- (choose) with the passive suffix e means literally, the chosen ones and hence the conspicuous ones. The word is used by the Bahima for the Batuutsi of Ruanda who are conspicuous on account of their great height.

Ówa Musínga. Musinga's i.e. Ruanda. Musinga was the Omwami (native ruler) of Ruanda.

L.  
93. Ómumbeja  
bakaija  
Zarwango.

This is an unusual construction in that the subject prefix of the verb is plural and is in agreement neither with omumbeja nor with Zarwango. The line means literally, as for the princess, they (the princesses) came (were

represented by) Zarwango, i.e. the princesses (of Buganda) were represented by Zarwango.

Omumbeja is the Runyankore form of the Luganda omumbejja (princess). Zarwango was the Kabaka's sister.

L.  
94. Lumaama.

The title of the eishaza chief of Kabula, Buganda

L.  
95. Kaapa na  
Musa.

Erisa Kaapa and Musa Kyambu (see line 67) were clerks. Kaapa is now Assistant Omubiiki and one of Ankole's representatives on Legislative Council.

Kamoomo.

Geresomu Kamoomo was then an eigomborora chief and was later Omubiiki.

L.  
96. Ebikara.

Native Government police, see Omusingano note on line 85.

bikahinduka. Literally, they turned; hence the reference is to drill movements which they carried out under Ruzambiira, the Omujaasi (head of police).

L.  
97. Mutashwera.

Alfred Mutashwera, then an eigomborora chief, is now Omuramuzi.

Kanyamunyu.

Perezi Kanyamunyu was then the Kangaho, the eishaza chief of Buhweju. He is now Omubiiki.

L.  
98. Rubagumya.

He who fortifies them. A praise name of the Omugabe Gasyonga II.

Mugyenzi

or

Mugyenzi-omwe (the companion) is one of Bagyendanwa's names.

L.  
99,100. The four referred to were then all clerks.

L.  
102.Mugyema. The title of the eishaza chief of Isingiro.

L.  
103.Rutashwáza  
-ngoma. He who does not shame his country. From the negative of the causative of okushwara, to be ashamed. Engoma means literally, a drum but is also used for a kingdom or country.

L.  
104.Kihára  
na  
Kibende. Two Bahima of the Beeneishemurari clan.

L.  
105.Rusaniya na  
Rutaaba. Herdsmen of the Omugabe.

bakáihindura  
ikagogoma. They brought them (the cattle) back and they (the cattle) turned (to their owner). The subject and object prefix i refers to ente (cattle). The verb okugogoma means literally, to lean or bend and the idea here conveyed is that the cattle of the late Omugabe were brought back by their herdsmen to their right<sup>ful</sup> owner Gasyonga and away from the pretender.

L.  
106.Kitéfano na  
Kitunzi. Marika Kiiza was the Kitunzi, the eishaza chief

of Bunyaruguru, and Kitefano (Stephen) was his brother.

Katondwaki. Then an eigomborora chief and now Assistant Omuramuzi.

L.  
107. Rurungama. He who prepares to attack. Okurúngama is to crouch waiting to attack.

L.  
109. Rutéécúra. He who is not startled. The verb okwécúra which is reflexive in form has, in English, a passive meaning, to be startled.

L.  
110. Rufunga. He who binds. A praise name or nickname given to a Native Government policeman.

L.  
111. akaziimá. He denied them (the cattle) (to the enemy).  
The object prefix zi refers to ente (cattle).

Rushaaraza. He who brings bitterness (to the enemy). From the causative of okushaaraza (to be bitter).

L.  
112. Rugumyána. He who strengthens the others (his companions).  
akajurirá. He gave evidence (in the High Court).

Rubanza-ngabo. The leader of the warriors. Okubanza is to precede or be first. This is a praise name of Mungoonya.

L.  
113. Ruhimbána. He who encourages the others (his companions).  
The praise name of Katungi.

L.

114. Rutahwama We gave thanks to the interpreter Rutahwama  
 omugambirizi  
 tukasingiza Bakamuturaki. Bakamuturaki acted as interpreter  
 Bakamuturaki. in the High Court case and he is thanked for  
 his part in securing a successful outcome.  
 Rutahwama (he who does not flicker - okuhwama,  
 to flicker, of a flame) is a praise name which  
 the author has invented for Bakamuturaki for the  
 occasion because of the confident manner in  
 which he carried out his interpretation in court  
 Rutahwama omugambirizi, though preceding the  
 verb, describes the object of the verb, Bakamu-  
 turaki which follows it. Kamiri Bakamuturaki,  
 then a clerk in the District Commissioner's  
 Office, is a son of Kiiza referred to in L.106  
 and is now an eishaza judge.

## CHAPTER VII.

AN EKIRAHIRO.

## Abatangaaza.

This ekirahiro was composed by Kagarambe, son of Buzoora, chief herdsman of the Omugabe Kahaya II in about the year 1918.\* It is a pathetic account of the sufferings of the Abatangaaza (the marvellous ones) during a time of disease and drought. The Abatangaaza were one of the Omugabe's herds. The ekirahiro opens with a description of the beauty of the cattle. Then, while the herd was grazing in Mawogola, Buganda, disease attacked them. This was the savage outbreak of rinderpest which decimated Ankole's herds at the end of the second decade of the present century. The cattle were, therefore, brought back to Nyabushozi Eishaza in Ankole only to find that there was no water. People suggested that they should return to Kabula and Mawogola to look for water but at the close of the ekirahiro water is found for the herd in Nyabushozi.

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\* It was recited to me at Rugando  
Rwampara in May 1955 by Erinesti  
Rwandekeyezi a Mwiru (see chapter IV).



- L.
1. Katúnguru ka Rurangizi Rukunkúmbura ekagarama na Rugungira-  
irwaine
2. Kaháama ka Kambarango Rubindúrana tukagibeihherera ényana ya  
Rujanjamura ngu n'éyaayo.
3. Rwéfukuzi rwa Ndeega ábatáhembera ba Migina bakatangaarira  
ékirézi kya kya Rutiiza ekinire
4. Kabura na Nyansheko bakatangaarira ámahémbe ga Bya-Rwakitu-  
ngu-rutánina.
5. Kiyegáyega kya Migina émiyenje ekatokorekana Rusheesha
6. Rwékubo rwa Kinanga émiyenje ekagaramba eitsire émpéreka.
7. Rutungúúta ekajigaija na Ruta-ómu-ngororo
8. Rucwékyera ekabatiza na Rugyera-émbaaho.
9. Akabááre ka Nyamukondo ikagyera ótukoomi
10. Igwanjúra na Wabinyonyi zaahongahonga ómubiri.
11. Byémbugo izaana n'ébishwaga
12. Ntárama itiiza eby'émandwa
13. Kakóno ka Rubaya tukazongyera ékyóma zangiré kukanya.
14. Shágama na Rwabigyemano ikashoborora énsonga záátézya  
báireeba
15. Bunónko bwa Rwanda ikacumita éngabo zaazanira ómu rutonya
16. Nsikizi na Rwanda ikazibira ómurebe gwa Rufungá-ntebe  
kugamba.
17. Omu Burunga bwa Rutaramúka batugambira éndwara y'énte ku  
éreetzirwe Buganda
18. Rwóma n'ómu Ihondaniro ikahinduka niirééba Kaaro

L.

19. Nyumbá na Rwémiganda ikagumba niifa
20. Óbukómagó na Nyambindo ikafa nk'óbu Ábahinda baagwa Buganda
21. Taata égi niinyitwa éntsinda ya Rutaasya-ébihági.
22. Katébe na Muzáire gyóógi yaatamu ébikaito
23. Rwómugina na Rwóbusisi akashanga nigashugyera
24. Nibwó zaashobera Ábagina ómu Ntúúga za Mugore
25. Ngu ézi nte Rurenzya na Rukuuba-énshagazi n'éza Bya-Rwoza-  
ómu-nshaka.
26. Nti tímwaimanya mwaimanya kubi
27. Nti t'éza Bya-ruhínyirira-rwimútsya-ámashaza?
28. Ninga shi\* óbú zaashobera Ómuganda wa Burunga
29. Ati ézi nte Rutanda na Rutina Óbu ikundana íba ényina-emwe
30. Nti twaba tutaimanyire ítwe baanyinázo zaija kumanywa  
ébyégamizi bya Mutuku?
31. Endóngó na Bwarukaba ikaseetuka niikambabura
32. Rugushurú rwa Mirekaano ikandabya ómu ruyayo ruhiire juba.
33. Butééteera bwa Butuntumuura Kénshunga ka Nyina-ibaare
34. Rwómunágo rwa Rwakasheegu Rwénkómbero rwa Kyaburatsi
35. Maka-ábiri ga Rubirizi Mukóra-iguru na Garumuri ikantemba  
nk'engabo ihigire.
36. Rushóga na Bingango Kagaagá ka Binda ikabanza zaateeranwa
37. Nkyeréngyé ya Rugonya n'ómurúmuna Ruteerana-émishatuka
38. Akatarángo kahendá Ga-gaaju
39. Báábúgamba Óbwiha na Musháíja
40. Nti mwányíta mwangarura Kámatungu.

L.

41. Ebishinja byona na Makande abatataisana zenzire kuraara
42. Ruhenda Siina ya Kaniaga Ruboherera-mpuura ya Rugyenga
43. Rwaruura ekinira omu Buyonza
44. Amashunika ekagabuza abanyamaryo.
45. Nti eraaraine Rubanga-nkuraijo na Ga-rwa-bihoga ndengaine  
na Ruhunga-omugango
46. Abaibugaine zaatega Obunyonza ishemera ikuukira ogw'Emiriti
47. Rutaringitsa erigita niitaaha abakami beetantara Rukuura-  
emikono
48. Empoora-mara za Rwaburaga ikatezya nigatamba.

L.

1. At Katunguru near Rurangizi, Rukunkumira lay back her horns together with Rufungira-iraine;
2. At Kahaama near Kambarango, we deceived Rubindurana with the calf of Rujanjamura pretending it were hers.
3. At Rwenfukuzi near Ndeego, the lazy ones of Migina marvelled at the white patch on the daughter of Rutiiza as she gambolled;
4. At Kabura and Nyansheko, they marvelled at the horns of Bya-Rwakitungu-rutaninga.
5. At Kiyegayega near Migina, the emiyenje herd made a noise as they went to Rusheesha;
6. At Rwekubo near Kinanga, the herd walked proudly after they had killed a loaned beast.
7. Rutunguuta gave birth and so did Ruta-omu-ngororo;
8. Rucwekyera became friendly with Rugyera-mbaaho.
9. At Akabaare at Nyamukondo's they prepared their camps;
10. At Igwanjura and Wabinyonyi, they had slim bodies.
11. At Byembogo, they played with the antelopes;
12. At Ntarama, they borrowed emandwa dress;
13. At Kakono, near Rubaya we gave them another bell when they refused to increase.
14. At Shagama and Rwabigyemano they displayed the tips of their horns;
15. At Bunonko in Rwanda, they danced about and played in the light rain;
16. At Nsikizi in Rwanda, they prevented the bell of Rufunga-ntek from ringing.

L.

17. At Burunga at Rutaramuka's they told us of cattle disease  
which had been brought from Buganda;
18. At Rwoma and Ihondaniro, they returned facing Kaaro;
19. At Nyumba and Rwemiganda, they were patient in death;
20. At Obukomago and Nyambindo, they died as the Bahinda died  
in Buganda;
21. Alas I am heartbroken by the groaning of Rutaasya-ebihagi.
22. At Katebe and Muzaire, blue-fly put on his boots;
23. At Rwomugina and Rwobusisi, he found them grazing in the  
noon-tide;
24. That was when they amazed the Bagina of Ntuuga near Mugore,
25. Who asked whether Rurenzya and Rukuuba-enshagazi were  
produced by Bya-Rwoza-omu-nshaka.
26. I replied "You do not know them at all,
27. Are they not of Bya-ruhinyirira-rwimutsya-amashaza?"
28. Or what about when they amazed the Muganda of Burunga
29. Who asked if Rutanda and Rutiina who were so friendly were  
of one mother?
30. I replied "If they are not known by us who are their owners  
how can they be known by the hangers-on  
of Europeans?"
31. At Endongo near Bwarukuba, they grazed while they were  
feverish;
32. At Rugushuru near Mirekaano, they brought me into a land  
recently scorched by the sun.
33. At Buteeteera near Butuntumuura, at Kenshunga near Kanyina-  
ibaare,

L.

34. At Rwomunago near Rwakasheegu, at Rwenkombero near Kyaburatsi,
35. At Maka-abiri near Rubirizi, at Mukora-iguru near Garumuri, they pressed me like challenging warriors.
36. At Rushoga and Bigango, at Kagaaga near Binda, the fight was started
37. By Nkyerengye, daughter of Rugonya, and her sister Ruteerana-emishatuka;
38. The newly burnt land was too much for Ga-gaaju;
39. They told me of Obwiha and Mushaija;
40. I replied that they troubled me by suggesting a return to Kamatunga.
41. All at Mukande, the heedless ones, wished to struggle at the water-trough,
42. Ruhenda the Siina of Kaniaga, Ruboherera-mpuura of Rugyenga;
43. Rwaruura gambolled at Buyonza,
44. Its horns disappeared from the sight of the proud.
45. I replied "Rubanga-nkuraijo with Ga-rwa-bihogo has slept without water; I have gone to and fro with Ruhunga-omugango;"
46. They pleased those who met them having come from Obuyonza and drunk water on the way to Emiriti;
47. Rutaringitsa ran as they returned home; the milkers avoided Rukuura-emikono;
48. The slim cows of Rwaburaga had horns pointing upwards.

L.

1. Rukunkú<sup>u</sup>mura. She who teases. Okukunkumura is used for a cow knocking down another animal playfully and turning it over and over.

ekagarama. Literally, it lies flat. It is to be noted that the subject prefix is in agreement with class 9 although the subject is Rukunkumura. Although the present indefinite tense is used the time is far past. The meaning which the verb conveys is that the long horns of the cow lay almost flat along her back.

Rufungira  
-irwaine.

She who approaches the fighters (other cattle). Okufungira is to come near and irwaine means those who fought (okurwana, to fight). The subject prefix i refers to ente (cattle).

L.

2. Rubindú<sup>u</sup>rana. She who drives back the others (okubindurana, to drive back).

tukagibe<sup>i</sup>herera. We deceived it with. When a cow has lost its calf and refuses to give milk, the herdsman brings the skin of the dead calf or of another calf and rubbing it against the cow, persuades her to give him her milk.

Rujanjamura. She who has horns well spread (okuján<sup>u</sup>jamura, to spread wide apart).

- L.  
3. Ábatáhembera. They who do not (trouble to) keep the fire alight, i.e. the lazy people (okuhêmba, to blow up a fire).

ékirézi kya  
kya Rutiiza. Ekirézi usually means a white spot in the eye but here it is used for ekyasha, the white blaze on a cow's forehead from which the kyasha cow gets its name. Kyasha (the cow with a white blaze) is understood between the two kya. Rutiiza is a contraction of Rutiiza-ékirunga. Ekirunga also means a white blaze on a cow's forehead. Okutiiza is to lend or borrow. The praise name therefore means, she who borrows (from nature) the white blaze (to beautify herself).

- L.  
4. Bya-Rwakitungu  
-rutáninga. The cow was known as Bya-Rwakitungu i.e. the bihogo (strawberry coloured) cow of Rwakitungu, because Rwakitungu had given the beast to the Omugabe. Rutáninga, her praise name, means, she who is not stunted (as to her horns) (okunínga, to be stunted).

- L.  
5. émiyenje. Mayenje is a parti-coloured cow and emiyenje is a herd of cattle which are not all of the



same colour, that is to say it is the herd, and not the cows comprising it, which is parti-coloured.

- L.  
7. Rutungúuta. She whose horns stand out above the herd.  
Okutúnguuta is to wave to and fro as a reed and hence to be of exceptional height.
- ekajigaija. Okujigaija or okuzigaija is used for a woman or cow giving birth for the first time.
- Ruta-ómu  
-ngororo. She who places (her horns) in a splint or straightener, i.e. she who has straight horns.
- L.  
8. Rucwékyera. She who prevents (others from approaching).  
akabatiza na. She baptised together with, i.e. she was friendly with.
- Rugyera  
-émbaho. Literally, she who measures as planks, i.e. she who has horns as straight as planks.
- L.  
9. ikagyera  
otukoomi. They prepared (their camps). The subject prefix i refers to ente (cattle) though it was, of course, their herdsmen who, in fact, prepared the camps. Otukoomi diminutive of ebikoomi, see Omusingano line 3.
- L.  
12. eby'emandwa. Ebijwáro (dress) is understood. The emandwa, who were the oracle diviners, used to dress

in red white and brown and it was in these colours that the cattle appeared.

L.  
13. ékyóma (iron) is used for omurebe (bell). In each herd of a hundred cows, one cow is given a bell. In this case the herd was split into two parts each with its bell in the hope of persuading the cattle to multiply to the requisite number so as to qualify for both bells.

L.  
15. Rwanda. This is Rwanda Orwera in Nyabushozi not the Belgium Ruanda which is sometimes called Ruanda Rutara to distinguish it.

ikacumita  
éngabo.

They speared (like) warriors, that is to say they jumped about like warriors when they are throwing their spears.

rutonya.

In Runyankore, unlike Luganda, the verb okutonya is not generally used for raining, okugwa being used instead. Okutonya is, however, used for drizzling and this noun which is formed from the same root is used for drizzle or light rain as opposed to enjura or heavy rain.

L.  
16. Rufunga-ntebe. He who binds the chair, i.e. the chairman. It is used here for the head cow which wears the herd's bell. Entebe is not really a Runyankore word, being borrowed from Luganda. It is now

in general use for a European-type chair whereas the Runyankore word ekitebe is used for a native stool.

L.  
17. Rutaramúka. He who is not dissuaded from fighting. Okuramura is to intervene in a dispute and okuramuka is to suffer such intervention.

L.  
18. niireééba  
Kaaro. Facing Kaaro. Kaaro Karungi was the old name for Ankole, or rather for the south east portion of the present district (see chapter I) and the name is still occasionally used. The cattle were at Ihondaniro in Kabula, Buganda and they then turned back again towards Ankole. Niireeba is the first example so far encountered of a present participle bearing a high tone. The reason for this is that previous examples of such participles have been formed either from class II verbs or from class I verbs with disyllabic stems the first syllable of which has been either short or followed by a nasal compound. In such cases the present participle in the affirmative (as also the present imperfect) has no high tone:

e.g. nibabuura	from - buúra
nibatenda	from - tenda

In the case of class I verbs the first syllable of the stem of which contains a long vowel (not preceding NC) there is a high tone on this syllable e.g. nibaséétura from - seetura.

L.  
20. Nk'óbu  
Abahinda  
baagwa  
Buganda.

This is a reference to the massacre of about seventy of the royal clan by the Baganda during the civil war between Ntare and his brother Mukwenda. When the Omugabe Mutambuka died in about the year 1870, his eldest son Mukwenda seized the throne. Many of the leading Bahima, however, supported Ntare who was said to have been chosen by his father as his successor before his death. Ntare fled with his followers to Kabula and Mukwenda appealed to the Kabaka Mutesa I for help. Mutesa sent his Pokino, Mukasa, into Kabula and Mukasa sent word to Ntare asking him and his followers to meet him and make blood brotherhood with him. Ntare, suspecting Mukasa's intentions, refused to go but he sent seventy leading Bahima. These Mukasa enticed into a house and then burnt to death. Ntare fled from Kabula and after several years of fighting finally defeated and killed his brother at Mugoye. It is not accurate,

however, to say that the Bahinda were killed in Buganda since Kabula was then part of Nkore and was not incorporated in Buganda till 1899.

L.

21. Taata égi.

An exclamation of distress meaning literally, my father, this trouble (enaku, trouble understood).

Rutaasya  
-ébihagi.

She who returns home with pride. From the causative of okutaaha (to return home).

L.

22. gyoogi  
yaatamu  
ébikaito.

Gyoogi is a word used by the Bahima for the Protectorate Government Police. It is derived from the English word jersey, a black jersey being part of the Police uniform. The word is also applied to the dark blue fly which buzzes round an animal's carcass. Not only is it similar in colour to the policeman's jersey but also its behaviour is the same as that of the Police who come gathering round a body after an accident. Bluefly is here at work and therefore, like the Police, has put on his boots.

L.

23. nigashugyera. Okushugyera is used of cattle grazing at midday. The subject prefix ga refers to amasyo (herds).

L.

24. zaashobera.

Literally perplexed but here amazed. The Bagina were overcome by the beauty of the cattle.

- Ábagina. One of the sub-clans of the Bagahe.
- L.  
25. Rurenzya. An abbreviation of Rurenzya-émirongo. Okurénzya is the causative of okurénga (to reach across). Omurongo is a watering trough. The praise name therefore means she who reaches (her horns) across the watering troughs (on account of their great length).
- Rukuuba  
-énshagazi. She whose horns are like polished reeds (oku-kuuba, to rub hard).
- Bya-rwozya  
-ómu-nshaka. (The bihogo cow the daughter) of her whose horns penetrate the bushes. Okwôga (causative okwôzya) is to pass through. Bihógo (strawberry cow) is understood before bya.
- L.  
26. tímwaimanya  
mwaimanya  
kubi. Literally, you did not know them, you knew them badly, i.e. you do not know them at all.
- L.  
27. Bya-ruhinyirira  
-rwimutsya  
-ámashaza. Bihógo is understood before bya. Okuhinyirira means literally to pull up the loincloth when about to undertake strenuous work. Here it is used for leading the herd. Okwimutsya is to cause to stand. The praise name therefore means the bihogo cow daughter of the leader who made the amashaza stand still (in admiration). The

tonal behaviour of ruhinyirira is irregular -  
ruhinyirira would be expected.

L.  
28. Omuganda wa  
Burunga.

The Muganda of Burunga. This was the Mutesa (eishaza chief) of Mawogola, Buganda who at that time had his headquarters at Nyakariro, the grazing land around which is called Burunga.

L.  
29. Rutanda.

An abbreviation of Rutanda-omugongo. She who grazes on the ridge.

Rutiina.

An abbreviation of Rutiina-omungo. She who fears ill health.

L.  
30. twaba  
tukaimanyire  
itwe baanyinazo  
zaija kumanywa  
ebyegamizi bya  
mutuku?

If we had not known them (past conditional compound tense of okumanya), we the owners, how should they come to be known by strangers? The Muhima professes ignorance of his cattle to strangers lest he should bring bad luck upon his herds. Omutuku is literally the red one (okutukura, to be red) and is sometimes used for Europeans. Okwegamira is to lean or depend on. Ebyegamizi bya mutuku means, therefore, the hangers on of the Europeans and is used here for those who have adopted European ways and

forsaken the customs of the Bahima.

L.  
32.rurayo.

Land scorched by the sun and therefore short of  
pature and water.

L.  
35.ikantemba  
nk'engabo  
ihigire.

They pressed me like challenging warriors. The  
cattle were restless because they were thirsty.

L.  
37.Nkyengyeré.

A black and red cow.

Ruteerana  
-emishatuka.

The one who exchanges blows (and inflicts )  
bruises.

L.  
39.Báábúgamba  
Obwiha.

The object prefix bu in agreement with Obwiha  
is used although the object follows the verb.  
Because the object prefix is used, the tonal  
behaviour of báábúgamba is as in isolation.

L.  
40.mwanyita  
mwangarura  
Kamatungu.

Literally, you have killed me you returned me  
to Kamatungu. He was distressed by the suggest-  
ion that he would have to take the cattle all  
the way back into Buganda to find water.

L.  
41.Ebishinja.

Normally, witnesses, but here merely the cattle  
present.

abatataisana. They who do not warn each other. The cattle  
are here personified with an agreement of  
class 2 though the verb zenzire returns to an



agreement of class 10.

kuraara.

Used of cattle jostling one another to get water

L.

42. Ruhenda Siina  
ya Kaniaga.

Siina is a dark brown cow and the praise name of this siina cow was Ruhenda (she who breaks). Kaniaga was the original owner of the cow which he had given to the Omugabe.

Rubóherera  
-mpuúra ya  
Rugyenga.

Rubóherera means a leader (okubóherera, to lead other cattle). Mpuúra is a grey coloured cow. Rugyenga (he who sets broken bones) was the praise name of the Omugabe Kahaya II. The cow had been given by the Omugabe to his herdsman. The tonal behaviour of Rubóherera is irregular: Ruboheréra would be expected, c.f. Ruhinyirira in L.27.

L.

43. Rwaruúra.

She who moves fast (okwaruura, to gallop).

L.

44. Amashunika.

Okushunika means to send forward and the noun is used here for horns.

ekagabuza  
ámanyamaryo.

She caused them (her horns) to be lost to the proud. Those who were so arrogant as to think that they could touch the tips of her horns were mistaken.

L.

45. eraarainé.

She has spent the night without water.

Okuraara, to jostle at the water trough, has already been met with in line 41 and eraarine is the near past of the associative of this verb. Because the cattle had struggled together at the trough the previous night, Rubanga-nkuraijo and her companion had been unable to get their drink.

Rubanga  
-nkuraijo.

Okubanga is to brandish. Enkuraijo has already been encountered as the tree from which spears' shafts were made. Here the significant fact about it is its colour which is a striking brown. Hence, she who lifts up her horns as brown as the enkuraijo tree. The subject here follows the verb eraaraine.

Ga-rwa-bihogo. Mayenje ga ruhuuzimu rwa bihogo, the spotted cow produced by the grey cow produced by the red cow.

Ruhunga  
-omugango.

She who flees from trouble, i.e. is free from disease.

L.  
46.

Literally, they (people) who met them (the cattle) which had come from Obuyonza, they were pleasing, they drank water (on the path) of Emiriti, i.e. they pleased the passers-by (on account of their fine appearance) when they had come from Obuyonza and had found water on the path to Emiriti. The possessive particle

ogw' refers to omuhanda (a path). Note that zaa'téga is relative (which came from); were it a main verb, they came from Obuyonza, the tone would be different -zaatega Óbuyonza.

L.

47. Rutáringitsa. She who does not merely display her horns (but puts them to use in fighting other cattle).

Okuríngitsa is for a cow to display her horns.

Rukuura  
-emikóno.

She who is restless with her fore-legs.

Okukuura means literally to draw out; emikóno is used for the arms of a human being or the fore-legs of a cow.

L.

48. Empoorá  
-mará za  
Rwaburaga.

The slim cows of Rwaburaga. Okuhoora amara is to pull in the stomach muscles. Slimness in a cow is considered a point of beauty.

ikatezya  
nigatemba.

Literally, they were shaped climbing i.e. their horns pointed upwards. The subject prefix ga refers to amahembe (horns).

## CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSIONS.

In recording and annotating seven representative recitations of the Bahima of Ankole, my main purpose has been to try to show that these people possess a living type of oral poetry which is of very considerable artistic value and which is worthy of close study and preservation in a written form. Despite the restrictions which the conventional framework of the ekyevugo imposes, the skilful poet is able by the choice of his language, by its forcefulness and its imagery, to produce poems of real beauty and merit. The intricate framework of the recitations, on the other hand, is in itself an interesting study. As has been seen, there are, in addition to the metric structure of the poem, a series of poetic devices which are used, to a greater or lesser extent, in accordance with the style of the poet. These include:

the use of alliteration;

the pairing of lines;

the tonal level of the enkome with its exaggerated high tone at the beginning of each line, particularly the first, the slight tonal fall during each line of the enkome and during the course of the whole enkome itself until the middle of the last line when a steep fall in tone occurs;

the heavy stresses in each line, particularly the first of the enkome, and the gradual tailing off

of stress both in the lines and in the enkome as a whole in a manner comparable to that of the tonal behaviour in this respect.

It is important to bear in mind that these recitations are a living art form and that within a traditional framework, they are an expression of contemporary opinion. As a mirror of present day Bahima thought, they are a storehouse of information, revealing, for example, the Muhima's hankering after the old days of tribal war, his passionate devotion to his cattle and his artistic values. To anyone who wants to try to understand the way of life and mode of thought of the Bahima, be he a fellow Munyankore, a sociologist, a missionary or an administrator, a study of a wide selection of these recitations would be of the greatest value.

Though of less value as historical records, a collection of current recitations would still be of some value to the historian. As has been pointed out, the recitations are essentially personal expressions of self praise and reveal little factual information about the events which supply the pretext for the composition. Furthermore, the wildest exaggeration often results in the complete distortion of the actual facts. Nevertheless, provided that these limitations are borne in mind, a careful study of surviving fragments of ebyevugo

composed in the last century should add considerably to our very scanty knowledge of the tribal history of this period, whilst many of those of the present century would undoubtedly supplement the existing records of district affairs.

To the student of Runyankore, the recitations provide much of interest. In the first place, there are certain peculiarities of syntax commonly found in them though their occurrence cannot be said to be entirely confined to these poems. The commonest of those which have been referred to are the occurrence of the subject after the verb; the omission of the adverbial formatives *omu* and *aha*; the omission of the object prefix when the object precedes the verb; and the repeated use of certain tenses, particularly the far past tense, often to the almost complete exclusion of others. In the second place, the recitations are of particular value in that they contain the vocabulary now peculiar to the non-literate Muhima. Owing to the many differences between the way of life of the Muhima and of the Mwiru, the speech of the former contained a large number of words which were not to be found in the speech of the latter. Since it has been the speech of the Mwiru rather than that of the Muhima which has been taught in schools, this exclusive portion of the Muhima's vocabulary is now unknown not merely to the Bairu but also to the Muhima who has had a Mission education and is unrepresented in the growing body of Runyankore

literature. This vocabulary is particularly rich in words relating to cattle and, in itself, provides an insight into the life and customs of the people who use it and it is at least worthy of record before it becomes extinct.

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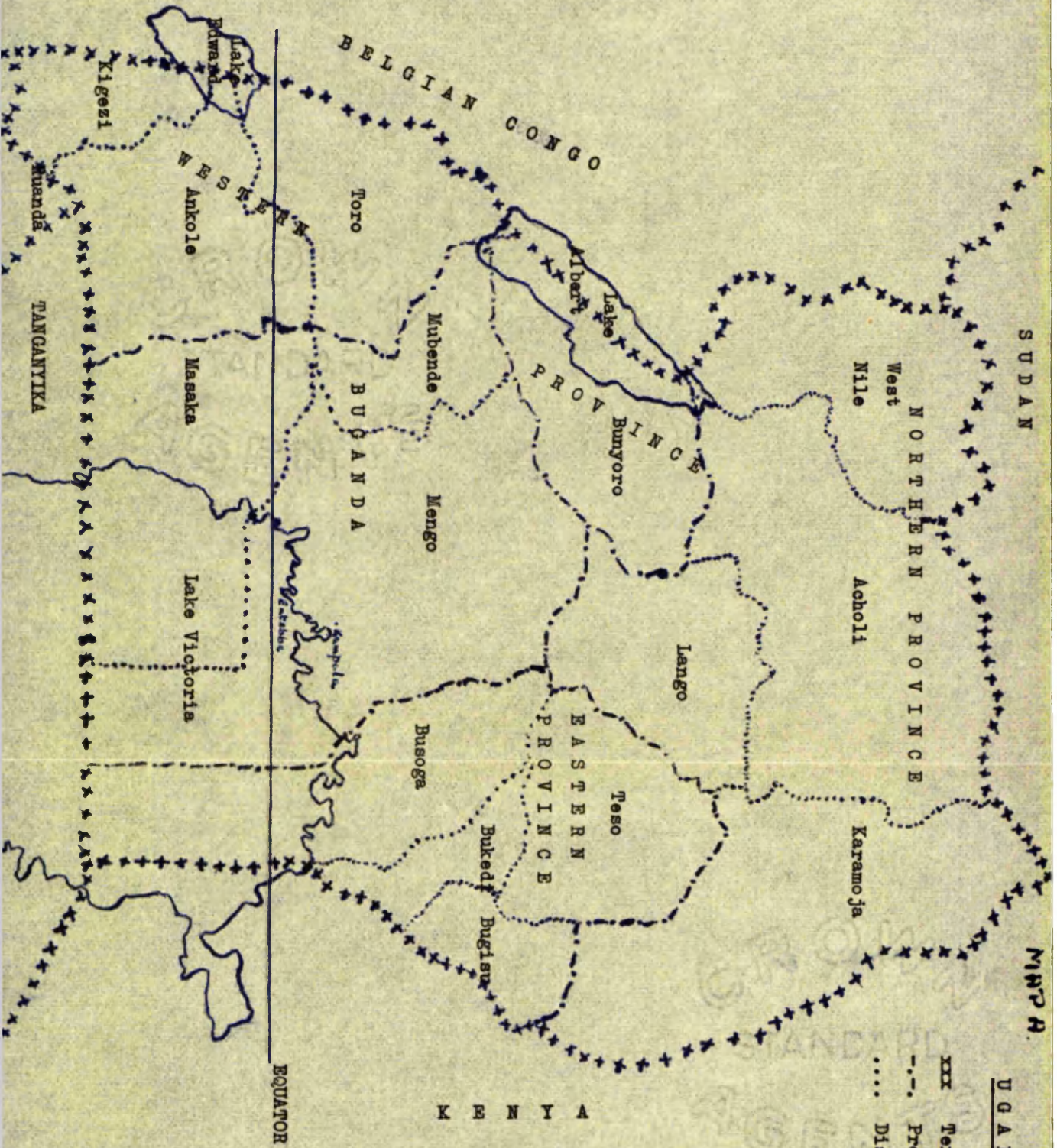
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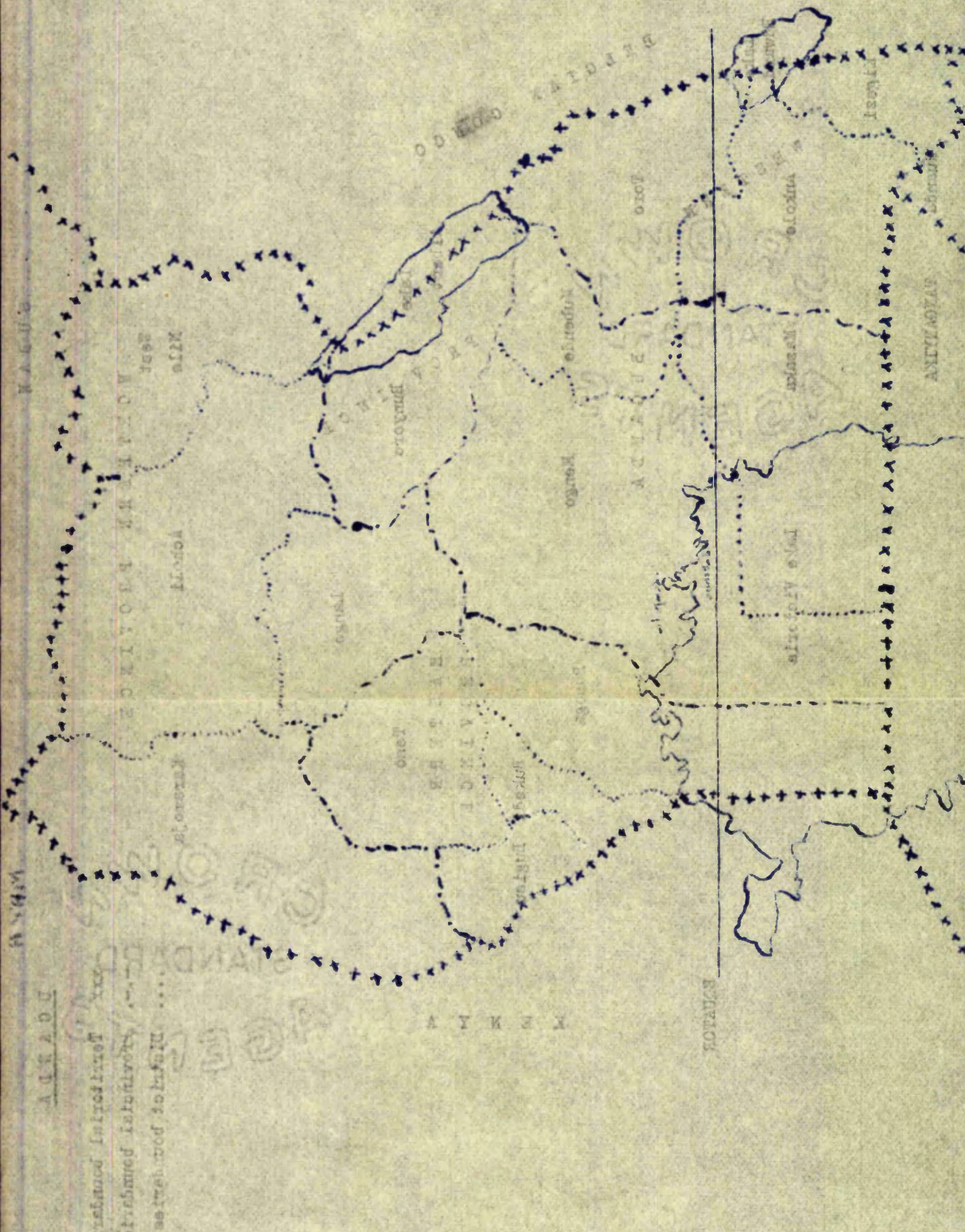
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UGANDA

- Territorial boundaries
- - - Provincial boundaries
- .... District boundaries









MAP B.KEY.

1. Kabira
2. Mitooma
3. Shuuka
4. Buzimba
5. River Rwizi
6. Rugando
7. Bwizibwera
8. Rutooma
9. Kikyenkye
10. River Kagera
11. Nyamitanga
12. Mbarara
13. Kamukuzi
14. Kashongi
15. River Katonga
16. Byaruha
17. Lake Nakivalli
18. Nshara
19. Rwanda-Rwera
20. Burunga
21. Bwera
22. River Kyogya
23. Lake Edward
24. Lake George

APPENDIX.G L O S S A R Y.

I have included in this glossary only those words occurring in the texts of the recitations analysed in Part II which are in any way unusual in themselves or have been given a meaning other than that which they usually possess in ordinary speech. In the latter case I have added in brackets their common meaning. In the case of verbs, the stem only has been entered and these, which form the majority of the entries, are listed first. Then other parts of speech are listed with their prefixes; the initial vowel, if there is one, is given separately after each word. Praise names are not entered as such but the stems of the verbs from which they are derived appear with the other verb stems. Simple forms have, wherever appropriate, been entered to the exclusion of more complex. Where a noun occurs both in the singular and in the plural the singular entry only has been made but if only the plural occurs then it is this which has been entered. In the case of verb stems, if the simple stem occurs then the applied or causative forms have not also been entered unless these have special meanings. In the case of words which have been borrowed from English or Luganda I have added in brackets the word "English" or the letters "Ga." I have, however, confined this to obvious cases of the use of a foreign word and have not applied it to words which, though derived from Luganda, are now in common use and are, for all intents and purposes, part of Runyankore.

VERB STEMS.

## A.

-abira	force one's way to (be broken, scatter)
-aniira	sound (groan)
-anjuka	be delirious
-anzika	start a fight (start grinding millet)
-áruura	gallop
-asira	shout at
-áta	break out, of cattle (crack)

## B.

-báágana	fight fiercely (flay meat)
-bambira	block at (peg out a skin at)
-banda	attack (press down)
-banga	brandish
-bátuka	stand up
-bindwa	be tied
-bindurana	drive back
-bogoka	take the right path
-bónana	be in conference
-bóneka	appear
-bónera	be smart
-boorwa	be despised
-bûmba	be represented by (mould)
-bûura	report
-bwarika	prepare a weapon for battle

## C.

-c'onyerwa	be dissuaded, be discussed.
-c'urika	tilt
-c'ungura	redeem
-cwékanisa	wait for (cross)

## E.

-ébinda	be secretive
-éconda	be weary from going continually to a place
-égamba	triumph (boast)
-éma	take one's stand
-émuura	overthrow
-enegyesa	keep alight, of a fire
-érota	crouch
-étinda	hide oneself
-éturaturutsya	doubt
-étuura	descend upon (take load off head)
-étweka	oppose
-ézirikwa	be edged, of a cloth.

## F.

-f'aringa	spoil
-f'ukaana	kneel
-f'undamira	be confined
-fungira	approach
-funeera	hesitate



## G.

-gabirana	fight in a body
-gandaara	rest after a meal
-g <sup>h</sup> angaaza	make stiff
-gangura	beat
-garama	be flat
-g <sup>h</sup> aramba	walk proudly
-garanjura	be tilted over backwards
-garukana	persist retaliate
-gogoma	return (lean)
-gona	croak (snore)
-gonyera	refuse to move at
-g <sup>h</sup> umba	stand still
-gumirwa	be disobeyed
-gumya	encourage support
-gungira	be stubborn
-gurukira	attack, ambush
-gyenga	set broken bones
-gyengwa	be advised (have broken bones set)
-gyereka	put one thing on top of another.

## H.

-haba	lose one's way
-hanantura	bring back
-handagana	stand very still

-heta	bend
-higa	vow
-himbikiriza	be lifted up completely
-hindukirana	hesitate
-hínyirira	gather up loin cloth
-hírikirwa	be planned on behalf of
-hoora	draw in stomach
-hongahonga	be slim
-húmbira	be speechless with fear
-hurura	go to war
-hurutuka	run fast
-huuba	be empty
-huuranira	fight at
-hwekyera	doze
-hwêza	see clearly, be intelligent

## I.

-igatira	stop up, press down for
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## J.

-jánjamura	be spread wide apart
-jeemuura	subdue (Ga)
-jigaija	give birth for first time
-joogwa	be bullied (Ga)
-jooya	be weary
-jwera	bleed for
-jwiga	be angry
-jwisa	make blood flow

## K.

-kaábira	be eager
-kakaza	jostle
-kambabura	be feverish
-kanama	cause trouble (go to law)
-káranga	fry
-kiíkira	hold baby in one's arms
-kina	gambol
-kindurana	sprain one another
-kíraamuka	go a long way round
-konga	push aside
-kondogoza	sit with head bent
-kóra	take a path (touch, do)
-kórera	hesitate (test a weapon before using it)
-kooza	kick when passing, cause to be unsuccessful in plundering
-kúba	encircle
-kúbuuza	conquer (turn aside)
-kumbagaza	roll over
-kumbiza	overthrow
-kumbyana	cause one another to roll over
-kúuna	be greedy
-kunkumura	toss (shake out)
-kuutirira	be determined
-kuuba	rub hard
-kúúkira	come from water
-kwátiriza	pledge
-kyéngyera	disappear into

## M.

-matsa	walk steadfastly
-mugibwa	be lamed or made unable to use arm
-mwera	shave, in mourning for

## N.

-nana	be stiff
-nanuura	draw bow (stretch)
-ninga	be stunted
-nonzya	exhaust
-nyiga	move in crowd
-nyigimba	walk proudly
-nyohoka	be feverish
-nyuunya	plunder, vanquish (suck, lick up)

## R.

-raamwa	be entreated
-raara	struggle at water trough
-raza	disperse
-ramuka	be prevailed upon by mediator to stop fighting
-rangiza	cause to ring out
-reega	draw a bow (tighten)
-rekyera	throw a spear (let go)
-rema	be undefeated (be too much for)
-renga	cross over, disappear from view
-renzya	reach across
-rigita	run

-riita	fasten with rope
-rimbiika	be irresolute
-ríngitsa	display horns
-roha	send in advance (push over)
-romba	attack
-ronda	choose (Ga)
-rúngama	crouch ready to jump
-ruuma	have elephantiasis
-rumba	attack (Ga)
-rurumya	cause to make a noise
-rúúza	be poised ready to strike (as of a snake)

## S.

-seetura	drive enemy in flight (take cattle to graze)
-shaariza	make bitter
-sháí'juuka	be unmanned
-shambirira	attack unprovoked
-shambuza	step forward to attack
-shambya	irritate
-shanguura	cease fighting
-sharara	be numb
-sheesha	spill, scatter
-shembutsya	cause to go slowly
-shiijana	overcome, (mate, of a bull)
-shokyerwa	be stimulated

-shonjoorana	fight unceasingly
-shooba	stalk, go slowly
-shóronga	move in a line
-shoroorwa	be selected, rejected
-shugyera	graze at midday
-shumuurura	begin the fight (Ga)
-shunga	be opposite
-shungyera	descend
-siikura	walk quickly
-siisibanisa	rub earth on hands before using bow (wipe over)
-sika	pull
-siraara	go reluctantly

## T.

-taahira	overthrow (enter at)
-táana	be separate from, desert
-táísana	warn one another
-tânda	spread out when grazing
-tânga	precede
-taraaka	splash off, separate from
-taranga	scatter (be spread out, of cattle)
-téérereza	make great effort (Ga)
-téga	come from
-temba	conquer, visit (climb)
-tênda	lose courage (become slack, of rope)

-tenga	need
-tezya	measure, be of a type
-tigirwa	be disobeyed
-tiikira	place something on another's head (Ga)
-tiikura	search
-timba	dig out
-timbya	pester
-tokorekana	make a noise, of cattle
-tómora	lead attack
-tónganisa	recite alternate verses (cause to complain)
-toórwa	be resplendent (be chosen)
-tsíbura	strike
-tsimba	erect
-tsimbira	follow a trail
-tsíndiira	load a gun
-tsíndura	drive off (uproot)
-tsyāma	go astray
-tsyámuka	return
-tugana	come close together
-tumbuza	cause to swell
-tunama	come openly
-túngura	be feverish
-túnguuta	stand out above companions (be flexible, as a re
-túnguuka	ascend (develop)
-twárana	fight together
-twékyera	fit handle on spear or hoe

## Y.

-yombera            be quarrelsome (speak angrily to)

## Z.

-zaágira            stand still

-zaahuura           bring home

-zira                be encouraged (be forbidden)

-ziriiza            be furious

NON-VERBS.

## B.

banánuuzi        a    robbers

bibaráho        e    cloth garment

bigângo        e    shelter (Ga)

bigomba        e    the inexperienced

bihági        e    pride

bihógo            strawberry coloured cow

bihunga        e    spears, part bright and part black

bikaito        e    big boots

bikara        e    native soldiers or police

bimbuuru       e    crowds

bimiina        e    groups

binoni        e    white things (chalk)

bishinja       e    witnesses

bishwaga       e    eland

biyenje        e    large ankle rings (cockroaches)



booroogo	e	noise, wailing
buranga	o	faces (appearance)
burângi	o	court house (Ga)
burakaare	o	fury
bushumba	o	bishopric
bushuuti	o	chief's robe
byasha		cows' foreheads (white mark on cow's forehead, a cow with such a mark)
byégamizi	e	hangers-on

## G.

gaaju		brown cow
gyóógi		police, blue cattle fly (English, from jersey)

## H.

Hai-kooti		High Court (English)
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## I.

ibombo	e	crowd
ihanga	e	distant land (nation)
ihinda-njojo	e	midnight (literally, the (time of the) prevent- ing of elephants)
izinga	e	riverland (island)

## K.

kaata-manégye	a	speedily (literally, (with) a breaking of testicles)
kagwe	a	misfortune

kasiba	a	group of warriors (small group of cattle)
katárángo	a	newly burnt land
kikaari	e	royal enclosure
kikoomi	e	temporary kraal, camp (kraal fire)
kiremu	e	prince (colobus monkey)
kire'zi	e	white mark on cow's forehead (white spot in eye)
kiseera	e	side
kirimbi	e	sheath for arrows
kyambu	e	river

## M.

mabogo	a	like a buffalo
magundu	a	warriors (bulls)
maháme	a	facts, secrets
mamanzi	a	warriors
manga	e	hill sides
mararamba	a	in all directions
mashongorwa -nyondo	a	spears (literally, those which are sharpened by the hammer)
mashunika	a	horns
masiisira	a	camps
migina	e	red earth
migogo	e	hosts of warriors (crowds)
mihótoro	e	manner of the middle aged (literally, twisted manner)
mijigaijo	e	young warriors (first born)
mikara	e	type of arrow
mikundi	e	navels

mishatuka	e	bruises
mitsíburo	e	fighting
mitsindo	e	footsteps
miriraano	e	area (Ga)
mitwe	e	groups of warriors (heads)
miyenje	e	parti-coloured herd
mpaya-maguru	e	the swift (literally, (those with) he-goat legs)
mpéreka	e	cattle entrusted to another
mpínju	e	chopped pieces
mpuura	e	grey cow
mubúúro	o	warning
mugango	o	disease (trouble)
<b>Mugyenzi</b>		a name of the royal drum Bagyendanwa
muhigo	o	battle
muhúgo	o	type of song
muhunda	o	spike at end of spear
mukaiturano	o	battle
mukuubano	o	incessantly
mumbeja	o	princess (Ga)
munyaga	o	pointed end of spear shaft
munyeeto	o	youth (stoutness)
murangira	o	prince (Ga)
muriitiko	o	long distance
murombe	o	early morning, cold
Mushaija-omwe		a name of the royal drum Bagyendanwa
mushango	o	court case (Ga)

mushoro	o	spear point
mutanagi	o	arrow maker
mutuku	o	European

## N.

ndagaano	e	fringe to cloth (agreement)
ngaaju	e	herd of light red cows
ngororo	e	splint
ngoga	e	speed
njungu	e	type of spear
nkara	e	type of arrow
nkingira	e	a hair style
nkóme	e	snap of fingers, verse of recitation
nkoora	e	track
nkoroogi	e	home herd of cattle
nkúba-njojo	e	rifle
nkuraijo	e	spear (tree, <i>trema guineensis</i> )
nkýeréngye	e	black and red cow
nshunju	e	tufts of hair
nshwagara	e	rustle
nteéko	e	rear, king's bodyguard
ntengye	e	beads for ankle rings
ntimbo	e	royal drums
Ntóore	e	Batuutsi (chosen ones)
ntooro	e	type of dance
ntúmbi	e	corpse

nyabya- bikungu	e	spears (literally breakers of ant-hills)
nyarwanda	e	spear with long blade (cow of Ruanda type)
nyota- mugongo	e	the feeble (literally those who bask on the ridge)

## R.

rukórongo		much blood
Rumogyé <sup>é</sup> ra		short stout man
ruraayo	o	burnt ground
Rutaaba		very tall man
rwabuzóóba		type of dance
Rwakyasha		a name of the royal drum Bagyendanwa

## S.

siba	e	group of warriors or cattle
siina		tawny cow

## Z.

zaaserumbeete		European drums (English trumpet, via Swahili)
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