Narrative Dynamics of the Iteso Performers of Ateso Oral Narratives

Simon Peter Ongodia*

Abstract
This article investigates the charged reactions and the narrative dynamics of Iteso Performers in oral narrations in selected Ateso speaking districts of Uganda and Kenya. The article discusses the social functions of oral narratives in the Ateso communities and challenges the view that reciprocal utterances and/or silence from the audience are collaborative. Using quantitative analysis techniques, the study observed that performances often evoked reactions. The article makes a case for performer-audience interaction as co-narrators in a performance and concludes with a strong argument that Ateso narratives can be used to address the numerous socio-cultural and political issues affecting the Iteso. The performers, the study recommends, should consider their audiences as empathically complementary to the narration. Secondly, the efforts of the rather few narrators should be appreciated. Thirdly, the Ministry of Education and Sports in Uganda, should encourage the studying of local languages at all levels.

Résumé
Cet article examine les réactions chargées et la dynamique narrative des artistes interprètes d’Iteso en narrations orales dans les circonscriptions Atesophones sélectionnées en Ouganda et au Kenya. L’article décrit les fonctions sociales des récits oraux dans les communautés Ateso et conteste l’opinion selon laquelle les paroles et/ou le silence réciproque de l’auditoire sont collaboratifs. En utilisant des techniques d’analyse quantitative, l’étude a observé que les présentations évoquent souvent des réactions. L’article soulève le cas de l’interaction audience-interprète en tant que co-narrateurs dans une présentation se terminant par un argument fort qui dit que les récits d’Ateso peuvent être utilisés pour répondre aux nombreuses questions socio-culturelles et politiques affectant l’Iteso. Les artistes-interprètes que l’étude recommande, devraient considérer leur public comme des acteurs éminemment complémentaires à la narration. Ensuite, les efforts de quelques narrateurs doivent être appréciés. Enfin, le ministère de l’Education et des Sports en Ouganda, devrait encourager l’étude des langues nationales à tous les niveaux.

* Makerere University, Kampala. Email: spongodia@chuss.mak.ac.ug
Introduction

This article discusses salient narrative techniques in Ateso oral narrative. The article examines the story telling sessions from four major performing events. Seven Ateso Folktales were studied: *Okirokuan* (Troubled Life), *Nyagilo na Eisinye* (The Greedy Nyagilo), *Apesur Akany ka Obibi* (Ten Girls and the Ogre), *Obibi ka Apese* (Ogre and the Girl), *Apesur Akany edenget Aimuria* (Five Girls picking wild Grapes), *Otoori ka Oliogom* (Kite and Stock) and *Etunganan je ka Aberuke* (A Man and His Wife); two Ateso Trickster stories: *Abaliga lo Ngora* (Abaliga from Ngora) and *Opoo ka Obuin* (Hare and Hyena), five Ateso Fables: *Turukuku* (A Woman and her Adolescent Girl), *Apesur akany na araraete Akito* (The Five Girls who were collecting Firewood), *Opowoi, Omenia, Otomei, Orisai ka Okolodong* (Hare, Bat, Elephant, Leopard and Tortoise), *Angrikan na Ibaren* (The Grumbling of Domestic Animals) and *Amojong kede Epege* (The Old Woman and The Piglet), three Ateso Mysteries: *Epolon ka Aberuke* (The Old Man and his Wife) the plight of the pumpkins-cum-sisters, *Eipone lo Abunio Atwanare Akwap* (How Death came into the World) and *Aicum Akiru* (Piercing rain clouds); and then two Ateso Legends: *Malinga lo Ejie* (Malinga the Warrior) and *Abaliga lo Epali* (The Stubborn Abaliga).

The article makes reference to the information gathered from various interviews before and after other performances of Ateso oral narratives where the artist evokes the attention of his or her audience. Propp (1928) in his *Morphology of Folktales* broke up narratives into different sections. He divided the tale into a series of sequences that occurred within the fairytale. According to him, there is an initial situation, after which the tale usually takes on 31 functions. Vladimir Propp used this method to study Russian folklore and fairy tales. There are at least two distinct types of structural analyses in folklore. The structure or formal organisation of a folkloristic text is described following the chronological order of the linear sequence of elements in the text as reported from an informant.

The telling, consciously or otherwise, follows a pattern chosen or designed by the performer. The article highlights the patterns followed by the artists in the Ateso oral narratives. Most of the performers did not come from the same community. The Iteso, in Uganda, are about 3.2 million (9.6% of Uganda’s population) and live mainly in the Teso sub-region in the districts of Amuria, Katakwi, Soroti, Kaberamado, Serere, Ngora, Kumi, Bukedea, Pallisa, Busia and Tororo. There are also Iteso in western Kenya numbering about 279,000 giving a total of about 3,479,000. There is notable similarity in the narrative styles in these Teso communities. Whether it was the Teso community in Uganda or the one in Kenya, the narrative pattern was quite identical. The article discusses the social functions of folktales in the Ateso
communities and shows that there is hardly any narrative performance which is restricted to one genre. Almost all narratives are integrated with other sub-genres like the song, dance and oral poetry. The article also examines the role of emory and simulation in the delivery of the tales.

The study builds on other studies on oral performance by scholars such as Irele Abiola (1985) who believes that African literature and culture was fixated on particular formulae and norms. He argues that performance may be callous to innovation and modernisation. Isidore Okpewho (1992:18) states that it is through the storytelling performance that we see the maximum use of innovation and manipulation of language. The study used the theory of Narrative Empathy advocated by Suzanne Keen (2006), which advocates for empathic stances in analysing the performer-audience association.

**Functions of Narratives**

The narrative functions of the Ateso tales may be fitted into Propp’s functions of narratives. Propp contends that folktales have thirty-one functions (Propp 1984). The first function is Absentation, where a protagonist leaves the security of his or her community. The tale of *Nyagilo na Eisinye* (The greedy Nyagilo) told by Ojangole follows some of these functional phases. Four girls had gone to collect firewood at a rather remote part of the forest. The narrative engages the audience into the first function of Absentation. The girls in the Nyagilo tale had left the security of their homes and the forest and had ended up in the remote hut of a man-eater.

*Nyagilo Na Eisinye*

Inacanka ka ipapero ka, aloisi eong alimokin

yes awaragan naka Nyagilo na Eisinye. Ajaas

kolo apesur kwa kaitutubet kec. Apotu kesi koloto

arar akito. Keloto kesi arar akito, abu edou lo

apol lo da aupas k’ekwam loakusi erono kongatu.

Apotu kotamakis ail iselio, aimo nebeara kede

ikes luakito; konye abu edou je koracun, imilia

ido kireta erono noi.

The second function is Interdiction, where a character is given a warning or a deterrent to an activity. In this tale, their host was a little strange: he did not
allow his wife to communicate with visitors and he was roasting a strange
type of meat over the fire. The wife used non-verbal warning signs to the
group taking shelter to dissuade them from eating that meat.

**Akiring k’acudan**
*Aponi apesur nu kijaarai ejok cut. Kedautu*

*kesi ainapanakin ikes lu akiro kec obalasa,*

*apotu kolomasi togo kosodete da alukun*

*ekiala naarai enokokitai akim na asarani*

*ido komwana ejok cut. Arereng acie, apotu*

*kesi kisiriamikisi elohe ere euta aipe akiring*

*na akukuny. “Inyoni lolo arereng na!” ebala*

*ngin tunganan kotau ke, kokerete aimul.*

*Arai epone lo ajar elop ere, arai bo nat*

*icie bore, konye abu asoorian nepepe*

*k’abuonokin kolomak apejok. Kes da akulepek*

*.....epone lope ajaar. Mam acamakit na owaike*

*aapun okiala arai bo nat einer k’apejok. Iyatak*

*kuju kangun, atamit toto ere aedanakin*

*akonye, osiite bala etamit aikwenyar kes. Kibeloki*

*okilenike nges epur, abu kolatu angajep kinga*

*bala ekingok loejakit akure.*

*Koduos do apesur nu aokot. Nyagilo bon nges mam apodokinit.*

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**The cannibal’s meat**

The girls were warmly welcomed. When they had set down their luggage in the verandah, they entered the house and sat around the blazing and warm fire. Another piece of good luck was that they had found the owner of the home roasting nice meat. “What luck this is!”

Everybody said in her heart, as they salivated. Was this the way of life of the owner, or was something not right, the frightening doubts crossed the girls’ minds. .....He did not allow his wife to get near the hearth or to talk to the visitors. On top of that, the mother of the home was trying to signal to the visitors using her eyes, a warning. Whenever her husband’s back was turned, she lunged out her tonguelike a thirsty dog. The girls’ blood ran cold. Only Nyagilo was not bothered.
This is followed by a violation of the Interdiction when the warning is deliberately ignored by the actor. Nyagilo ignored the warning not to eat the meat and in the twilight, unlike her sisters who pretended that they had eaten the meat offered, she had consumed her share. The host demanded for his meat when he was sure that they had eaten it. The other three girls produced their pieces of meat from their hideouts behind them but Nyagilo had nothing to give the demanding man-eater. She had to remain in captivity while the rest were freed to go.

In the tale, the fourth function is Reconnaissance where the villain makes an attempt to get information to use in designing the malicious plan to trap or capture the victim. Nyagilo, the victim, spent a sleepless night frightened and helpless. It was her turn to do an investigation and find the escape route. The man-eater had a cock to aid him in surveillance. Whenever, Nyagilo tried to escape, it would crow loud enough to alert its master of the attempted escape.

**Etukuro ekokor k’acudan Nyagilo aisi**

*The cannibal’s cock has prevented Nyagilo from escaping*

_Akuware ngin mam Nyagilo abu kopedo_  
 agreed. Arai aiwalakin aimony naarai  
_mam nges ajeni nu etemonokin ekacudan_  
aiswamaikin ngesi. Inacike da na ti abeit  
aingarakin nges asubit bala mam apodokit.  
“*Akurian akurian arai bo alogan?*”

.....

*Iwala abwap abu ekacudan okutok Nyagilo_  
_alos airye, ipudoret ekesa je kana owaike_  
_aswam omanikor kec. Abu Nyagilo koumok._  
“One nyoni bo lolo arereng na? Eomit do  
_ekapilan lo ebe abangaana eong cut._  

That night, Nyagilo could not sleep. She spent the night crying because she did not know what the cannibal had intended to do with her. Even her sister who should have helped her out seemed not to be bothered.  
“Could she be just afraid or was she under a spell?”

.....

Next morning the cannibal got millet for Nyagilo to grind into flour, and he and his wife went to the garden to dig. Nyagilo wondered.  
“What stroke of luck was this? The wizard thinks that I am stupid. Let them
Inyek ber oikasi musiri. Eong da erot.”

Ketubor apak adis, abu Nyagilo kinyekik

alos nabakai nges airey e ikumene kobalasa

kogeari ti aisi. Mam ber nges edolit

opuati lo ere da, oruikini ekokor:

“Kokolio koo! Papa, itumoro jo komusiri

da aeka nan Nyagilo obubec sek sek!”

Apupun ekokor eruo epone ngol, acaka

nan ekacudan je amusenu ngina kosodi

da adingirir akerit ore. Abu Nyagilo korieng

erono noi keruiki ekokor kinera da bala

…..

Obongori ekacudan aswanusinei be.

“Ibore ejai, ekot eong aidokokin ijo

ekileng. Mam kere eong da emasere adakai.”

aitumor apak, abu bobo ngesi

kikam ekokor kosodi atubor akou. Abu

da komou eikep loecangicanga inacike

amukeke kolomakini aidec akou kekotor

ton aipirisiar.—Mam da abu kosangak nen.

go to the garden. I shall be
gone.”

After a short while, Nyagilo left the millet
she was grinding under the
verandah and
tried to escape. But before
she could reach
the edge of the compound,
the cock crew:

“Kokolio koo! Father,
while you are away
in the garden, Nyagilo is
escaping early!”

When he heard the cock
crowing, the man
threw away the hoe and
ran home.

Nyagilo got a shock of her
life when the
cock crew talking like a
human being.

…..

The cannibal returned to
his work.

“What I must do is to lay
a knife on your
neck. They do not drink
left-over beer over Komam
me.” Without wasting
time, she caught the
cock and slaughtered it.
She got a baby
stone used by her sister for
breaking sweet
potatoes for drying and
used it to pound the
cock’s head to pulp. She
did not stop at that.
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Abu kotubutub ekokor lo kosodi aidorokin nes. She cut the cock up and put it in a pan to cook.

“Lolo anapana, mam jo itukurori eong akerit.” Alimun ngun bon igeuni teni ya from running away” She mentioned that

akeju akerit. Konye nuaumokin, abu and started running. But strangely enough,

ekokor je koruik bala mam akou be the cock crew as if its head was not cut off,

etuboritai, bala mam ekesa je ekulai and as if it was not boiling in saucepan:

kosepulia: “Kokolio koo! Papa, itumoro jo komusiri “Kokolio koo! Father, while you are away

da aeka nan Nyagilo obubec sek sek!” in the garden, Nyagilo is escaping early!”

Abu akurianu na epol kiting Nyagilo. Nyagilo was gripped with a lot of fear.

“Anyoni bo do aitisilaaro ebet eong “What kind of punishment will I get for

adumun kanu aiar ekokor itunga?” killing the man’s cock?”

Fifth, is the Delivery when the villain gets enough information about the victim to enable him to execute the plan. This step in Ateso tales comes in the latter episodes. Similarly the sixth function, that is Trickery when the villain attempts to lure the victim and try to win his or her confidence, had already been achieved in the Nyagilo tale. The villain had made use of their misplaced confidence in him to get them into a trap of eating his roasted meat knowing he would demand for it from the most ‘greedy’ of the visitors.

The seventh level is Complicity when the victim, taken in by deception, unwittingly helps the enemy. The trickery of the villain now works and the hero or victim naively acts in a way that helps the villain. In the tale of Nyagilo, her naivety had trapped her. In the eighth function, the folktale takes the narrative to Villainy or Lack where the villain causes harm or injury to the hero or a family member. There are two options for this function, either or both of which may appear in the story. In the first option, the villain causes some kind of harm, for example, carrying away a victim or the desired magical object (which must then be retrieved). In the second option, a sense of lack is identified, for example, in the hero’s family or within a community, whereby something is identified as lost or something becomes desirable for some reason, for example a magical object that will save people in some
way. Nyagilo had to devise an escape plan herself. She decided to slaughter the notorious cock and pounded its head in a mortar and ground it on a grinding stone.

This is another dimension of villainy. Is the trapped victim the ‘villain’ to kill the master’s cock? No, she lacked the villainy. But when Nyagilo tried to escape from the home when the man and his wife had gone to dig, the ground pieces of the slain cock’s head crew in warning of the escape. Fortunately, the wife was returning early from the garden. She identified herself as the sister earlier-on abducted from Nyagilo’s home. She quickly hid her sister, Nyagilo in the granary. This was true to the Proppian ninth function which is referred to as Mediation when misfortune.

In the tale, the man-eater consulted his little magic drum which told him that his sister-in-law-cum-food was hiding in the granary. He did not bother to eat her yet. After all she had stored herself as his food in the right place. The tenth tenet is the Beginning Counter-action when the Seeker agrees to, or decides upon counter-action. The hero now decides to act in a way that will resolve the crisis he or she finds himself or herself. In the Ateso narrative, this stage had been overtaken by events. Nyagilo had made several but unsuccessful attempts to escape. Luck was on her side then in the next function the eleventh one, Departure, when the hero leaves home or a comfort zone. Her captor went on a visit to a faraway place, giving the victim chance to escape.

**Epone lo akuia Nyagilo**

_Apaaran naeunikini, abu ekacudan kolot apejo._

_Ikamuni do na owaike arereng na alacakina_  
Nyasgilo. Abu koinak inacike ituo yen didi yen

_eletetba ikanyum, kobala da ebe:_  
“Oker atipet. Iguik  
iyo, ipurak ikanyum

_oiom loiguik iyo. Ipup iyo ikweny eruoa,_  
iwelak ikanyum ari na emonyia ikweny ngin.

_Aso koker. Kidari iyo akaj._”

**How Nyagilo survived death**

On the third day, the cannibal went on a visit. His wife got the opportunity of releasing Nyagilo. She gave her a small gourd full of simsim, saying, “Run quickly. If you trip on a tree trump, spread a little simsim on the trunk. When you hear a bird chirping, throw for it some seeds in the direction from which it is crying. Now, run

When Nyagilo knew that she was being followed, she fell down and cried. She knew that she did not have the energy to outrun the cannibal. But as she was resigned to death, a frog jumped from a tree. When the frog saw the girl crying it asked her what calamity had befallen her. When the frog heard Nyagilo’s sad story, it became sympathetic. It told Nyagilo: “Get me a banana leaf quickly. I am going to help you.”

When the teeth were out it swallowed the girl. After that it put back its teeth. As soon as it had finished the cannibal arrived sweating profusely and panting heavily.

The twelfth function is the First Function of the Donor where the hero is tested, interrogated, attacked etc., and preparing the way for his or her receiving magical agent or helper referred to as the donor. The donor in the Nyagilo tale is her sister who helps her escape. The magical agent she was given was grain which she used on her escape route to overcome obstacles.
In the thirteenth function is the Hero’s Reaction where the hero reacts to actions of future donor shown in either withstanding or failing the test, frees captives, reconciles disputants, performs service, uses adversary’s powers against him. The fourteenth function entails Receipt of a Magical Agent where the hero acquires use of a magical potent which is either directly transferred, located, purchased, prepared, spontaneously appears, and is eaten or drunk and enables the hero to accept help offered by other characters. But her troubles were not over: her captor used his ‘superior’ magical powers to know that she had escaped and was soon in pursuit.

The second donor in Ateso tale appears to bail Nyagilo out. It is Frog. It swallows the desperate girl, hiding her from the man who had come very close in pursuit. This is the fifteenth function, Guidance, when the hero is moved to a safe haven in preparation to be delivered. The belly of Frog is safe for the frightened Nyagilo. In the sixteenth tenet is the revolutionary phase of Struggle when the hero and villain join in direct combat or confrontation. This phase in the Nyagilo case had already been carried out when she ground the head of the cock.

The seventeenth function is the Branding where the hero is branded or marked. When Frog delivered Nyagilo to her people, he found that they were gathered mourning the ‘dead’ Nyagilo. They recognized her as their kin. This function turned out in many phases. At the eighteenth Proppian function is Victory where the villain is defeated either by being killed in combat, defeated in contest, killed while asleep, or banished from that community. Most folktales end at this resolution stage of the narrative. The Nyagilo tale ended when the mourning changed to celebration. According to Propp, this is not the finale. Other things have to be made right or restored.

The next function, the nineteenth, is Liquidation when the initial misfortune or lack is resolved the object of search distributed, spell broken, slain person revived, captive freed. The young men, after listening to the story of the Frog, went out in search of the villain. They found him snoring under a tree and killed him. The twentieth function is the Return when the hero returns from the triumphant experience. The next function which follows is Pursuit where the hero is pursued usually by the pursuer who tries to kill, eat, and undermine the hero.

In the Nyagilo tale this stage came before the fourteenth stage when Frog saved the day. It naturally lapses into the twenty-second function the Rescue where the hero is rescued from pursuit. Obstacles appear to delay pursuer, hero hides or is hidden, hero transforms unrecognisably, hero saved from attempt on his or her life. In the tale Nyagilo had to overcome many obstacles
both chirping, distracting birds and physical features of the train. In the twenty-third tenet is the Unrecognised Arrival of the hero to his or her home. Nyagilo’s arrival at home in the belly of a Frog caused a stampede from the mourners. They ran away suspecting bad magic only to return to a celebration.

The twenty-fourth function is the Unfounded Claims where the false hero presents unfounded claims, say of inheritance. When the villain had claimed back his pieces of meat from the victim and her sisters, the claims were unfounded. It was dog meat and not beef. The twenty-fifth tenet is performance of a test in a Difficult Task proposed to the hero. This is a trial by ordeal, riddles, test of strength and/or endurance, other tasks set by the moderator. When the hungry girls taking shelter from a rain storm were welcomed into the room where the host was roasting meat over a fire, the test was clearly set up.

The twenty-sixth function is when a resolution is got in the Solution when the task is resolved. The other there girls, save Nyagilo, passed the test by not succumbing to their appetite for roast meat. But for Nyagilo, this was the beginning of her troubles. The twenty-seventh function is the Recognition when the hero is recognised in his or her community by mark, brand, or any other thing given to him or her at the Branding function. When Nyagilo was vomited out by Frog, the relatives recognised her as one of them and celebrated.

The twenty-eighth function is the Exposure when the false hero or villain is exposed. Frog, who had rescued Nyagilo from the villain, exposed the villain and delivered the heroine home. In triumph the hero is given a new face in the twenty-ninth function, the Transfiguration where the hero is given a new appearance or is made whole, handsome, new clothing apparel etc. In the Nyagilo case, there was celebration. The thirtieth function is the penalty apportioned to the villain in the Punishment. When the young men of the village learnt that the villain was somewhere, they went out to hunt him, found him asleep, and slaughtered him as punishment.

The thirty-first function which is the last according to Propp is a ritual of expiation called a Wedding where for instance, a hero marries and ascends the throne, is rewarded or promoted to a higher social or cultural position that the villain had tried to deny him or her. In the Nyagilo tale the mourning turned out a celebration of a return to life and an end to the man-eater villain. The hero of the day, Frog was rewarded with a cow which he promptly took to his home.

*Kedaunos ikela kere opokocumi aidodok Nyagilo pokoc!* When the teeth were finished, the frog spat out Nyagilo pokoc!


Mourning turns into feasting Then ululations filled the sky at Nyagilo’s home! Mourning turned into feasting. The youth vigilantes were sent to hunt and kill the cannibal. Surely, they found the evil man snoring in deep sleep. They did not waste time but annihilated him.

The functions of narratives in Ateso tales follow the Proppian definitions although not in the same chronological order he had designed for Russian folktales. Some functions are merged while others are divided further into other sub-functions. This article proposes that the functions in Ateso tales can be viewed from the following ten (10) stages.
The first function is Absentation where a crisis looms over the situation of the actors. There is Equilibrium which is at stake. This is in line with the Proppian first function.

The second one is Warning which Propp had called Interdiction. The hero is cautioned of the maintenance of the status quo and the possible repercussions of default. In the third function, the equilibrium is shaken. The Violation, just like the Proppian notion, is when the hero deliberately goes against the instructions given to him or her. Disequilibrium occurs. The next function is Complication, similar to Propp’s Delivery and Complicity, where the actions entrench the hero in the crisis. The fifth function is Villainy which would embrace the Proppian Trickery and Villainy or Lack functions. The errant character falls prey to the villain by design or default.

The sixth function is Guidance for Liberation, which would embrace First Function of the Donor, Hero’s Reaction, Receipt of Magical Agent, Guidance and Branding according to Propp. In the Ateso narratives this function collapses into a series of actions forming one concerted effort towards getting the victim out of the mess. The seventh function is Struggle which would entail the Proppian functions of Reconnaissance, Mediation, Beginning Counter-Action, Departure, Struggle, Difficult Task, Unfounded Claims and Pursuit.

The eighth function which is being proposed in this article is the Solution which would embrace the following functions according to Propp: Return of Hero, Rescue, Unrecognised Arrival of Hero, and Solution. The ninth function is Transfiguration which would entail Recognition, Exposure of Villain and Transfiguration. This is the Neo-Equilibrium stage of the narrative. The tenth and last function is bipolar: Punishment and Victory which would embrace the Proppian Victory, Liquidation, Punishment and Wedding. The villain is accosted and made to pay for the malice done while the hero is rewarded for valour. The chronological occurrences of these functions, one to ten, are altered in the Disequilibrium stage but maintain the Equilibrium and Neo-Equilibrium stages at the beginning and end of the tales respectively.

The pattern is followed in the trickster tale, Abaliga from Ngora. In one of the parts of the narrative, the trickster, Abaliga, declared himself the chief mourner for a deceased he hardly knew. In the first function, Abstention, the trickster joins a group of mourners who have a crisis looming over them. They are going to bury a man whose wealthy sons are away, a man who had been abandoned by younger folks migrating for employment opportunities. The second function, Warning, is when the mourners had been cautioned to guard the mourners’ contributions well and use it for purchasing sheets for wrapping the body for burial. This is not heeded to the letter. The Violation is
when the mourners trust their money to a stranger, Abaliga, in spite of his loud claims that he was the long lost nephew to the deceased. Issues are made complicated when the sons of the deceased proved docile enough to leave their newfound cousin with the money and they remained outside the Indian’s shop. The Villainy of the trickster is shown when he enters the shop and continued through the rear exit. The stranded brothers were brought to reality in Guidance, where they were told that they had been tricked. In the next function, Struggle, the mourners are made to make fresh contributions and then send for the sheets of wrapping cloth. The mourning is transfigured into a cautious group of people suspecting every strange face next to one. This Transfiguration is followed by Punishment when the trickster elopes. He is not seen again but the community lives to remember. The following is one of the five parts of the trickster tale, Abaliga from Ngora. All the parts end with nine functions and the tenth is the climax of the trickster tale: The Punishment for the village villain is Christian victory – he became a reformed man able to pass on moral messages to other people in the community using his testimony.

**Atwanare ka mamai**

*Abu na kitebeben no*

- *aswamuke naka akoko.*
  Shops when Kadiope paran ajai Abaliga
  ebwobwoot
  *kotoma Odukai luko Ngora, apotu angor*
  - *auni eupas nepepe ka ekiliokit ediope*
  - *kodolut Ngora iwonyete noi ido kobearitos*
  - *orot lo Atoot. Kingit Abaliga ne*
  - *ewonyete kes, apotu kobongoikis nges ebe*
  - *alosete kes Mukongoro atesi.*

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**The death of uncle**

*His theft was eased. One day, Abaliga was standing lazily at Ngora three women accompanied by a man reached Ngora in a hurry taking the route towards Atoot. When Abaliga asked where they were hurrying to, they answered that they were hurrying to a burial at Mukongoro. When Abaliga asked for the name of the deceased at Mukongoro, Odeke, who was...*
When Abaliga had mastered the name of the deceased and his sisters, he expressed willingness to go along with them claiming that Onangu was his uncle.

When they approached the home, our man burst into a loud wail. “Wuu! my uncle Onangu! Wuu! Uncle, who will you leave the children with? Who will you leave Ademun with?”

As he wailed, he was busy throwing himself down, pataka, again sheets from the shops. When money had accumulated, Abaliga accompanied the two boys sent on bicycles to buy the burial sheets from Ngora. The elders warned the young men to be careful of conmen and robbers. They left riding bicycles.

When they reached Ngora shops, Abaliga went straight to Asinali’s shop with 50,000/- The boys remained outside keeping their bicycles. When the vagabond entered Asinali’s...
korasa cut agude naka eiduka, engol aloma shop, he continued and exited from the rear, from there he joined the busy market and

osokoni kiton alosite cut ne mam yen ajeni.

osokoni kiton alosite cut ne mam yen ajeni.

Abu Asinali kolimok nges ebe, “Etungan

Abu Asinali kolimok nges ebe, “Etungan

lo etoro ne erai Abaliga ido Abaliga erai

lo etoro ne erai Abaliga ido Abaliga erai

ekokolan loejena ko Ngora kere. Arai ejai ibore

ekokolan loejena ko Ngora kere. Arai ejai ibore

idio yen ijaikitos yes, idaunt yes atwaniar.”

idio yen ijaikitos yes, idaunt yes atwaniar.”

Erai kwana bala isawan 9 mam isapa lu

Erai kwana bala isawan 9 mam isapa lu

ejenete nukiswa. Kwi da k’atesi eutasi

ejenete nukiswa. Kwi da k’atesi eutasi

aikumanakin noi noi.

aikumanakin noi noi.

According to Tzvetan Todorov’s theory of Equilibrium and Disequilibrium, the narrative theory allows a more complex interpretation of tales. There are five stages the narrative passes through beginning with the state of equilibrium when all is well as things should be, and then there is the disruption of that order by an event, an act or omission. Disorder is registered and seen as disequilibrium which sets pace for the dire need to set things right. An attempt or a series of attempts are made to repair the damage caused. Finally, there is the restoration and creation of a new equilibrium. The characters are better informed and so are the audiences.

In analysing the functions of Ateso narratives I did not expect the linear compromise between the Russian and Ateso tales. As Todorov argues, narratives involve a transformation where the characters and events get into new dimensions as the tale progresses. The Ateso narratives like the Nyagilo tale kept on taking new twists as the story progressed to its finish. One of the structuralist literary theorists, Joseph Campbell, structured tales into three phases: a setup, conflict and the resolution make the broad path of oral narratives (Campbell 2009). This is true of the Nyagilo tale as well.

**Integrated Oral Narrative**

Narrativity is a vital concept in the humanities and as Barthes (1977) wrote, “narrative is international, trans-historical, trans-cultural: it is simply there,
like life itself”. It is a narration which aids in comprehension of concepts and enables communication to be more effective in various circumstances. In trying to explain some concept or to persuade some listener, narrative strategy works. Diachronic analysis gives a critic a sense of “going through” the highs and lows of a story while the synchronic, is where the story is taken in all at one time by the audience. Most literary analyses are synchronic, offering a greater sense of unity among the various components of a story. Integrated oral narrative is a design where the performer consciously or otherwise crosses generic borders on the oral forms.

According to Saussure (1968), semiology, a science of signs like images, gestures, sounds, artifacts, and other non-verbal aids form an integral part in public entertainment. These serve to augment narrative in the Ateso tales. Most narratives in Ateso have not been left as “pure” as they were before. A number of allusions have been made to genres and disciplines from other societies to spice up the tales.

In an attempt to identify death and answer the numerous questions people ask about the origin of death and whether a human being can avert death, the Iteso have a myth How Death came to Earth *(Eipone lo Abunio Atwanare Akwap.*). In one performance observed as part of this study, the oral narrative performer does not confine herself to the story-telling exclusively. The song form and poetic recitations coupled with formulaic statements are used. The performer frequently took the liberty to go into the world of imagination and out of it at will. She would interrupt the narrative to explain the characteristic features or traits of some animals she mentioned. This served to deepen the audience’s comprehension of the thematic relevance of such animal characters in the tale. The Ibalasa approach of integrating narrative with explanations and elucidations is very helpful for comprehension.

It is important to mention that the setting of the story also plays an important role in both delivery and comprehension. The performance in question was done in the month of December. In the months of December and January, there is a prolonged spell of drought throughout Tesoland, in Eastern Uganda. Grass turns pitifully pale yellow, and people and animals have a tough time looking for drinking water and grazing grounds. Most wells and springs that are nearby to human settlements dry up. One has to travel long distances in search for water. Men have to forego sleep in order to escort their wives and daughters for miles in chilly nights to collect water. During the day herdsmen move long distances with their animals to fairer grazing lands and watering places.

The aged narrator started her narrative with a question and answer session.
Ibalasa

Ingai ewanyunitor etom? Who has ever seen an elephant?

Awanyunit eong Opio aputo ke kotoma apapulai. I saw its photograph in the papers.

The old lady then explained the physical features of most animals that formed the list of characters in the ensuing narrative. She took her time describing each of them especially outlining their strengths and weaknesses. These traits could easily be identified in people around the audience.

The tale ‘Eipone la Abunio Atwanare Akwap’ (How death came into the world) alludes to biblical narratives about death. God the creator is a character and a loving benevolent Overseer who provides for his creation. Evil comes into the world of man by man’s own deliberate misuse of the freedom to choose. More often than not, the choice is fatal: man chooses death instead of life, evil in place of good and, disobedience in place of obedience. In many African tales, this motif is enhanced. Wrong choices and selfish moves often jeopardise the collective well-being of the communities (the original plan of the Creator)

Such a narrative helps to enhance the listener’s knowledge of the relationship between God and man. The narrators that were interviewed believed that at the time of the telling there is always transliteration. The animal characters cease to be literal animals but assume a new form in the minds of the listeners.

The Iteso myth: How Death came to Earth (Eipone la Abunio Atwanare Akwap) also fits well into the earlier proposed ten functions of Ateso folktales. Abstention is at the beginning when the Creator gives a pool of living water to all animals. The characters were instructed to guard the pool well to prevent Death from accessing it. The second function, Warning is taken by all animals serious. But on the fateful Friday, there is Violation. Hyena does not take the warning seriously. In his dilemma is the irresistible aroma of roasting meat. He experiences Complication in the drama. Villainy is the next function as the villain in Hyena emerges strongly: greed. In the next function, Guidance, the character follows his instincts and looks for the meat. This distracter in his round of guarding the pool adds on the complicity of the drama. Death freely swims in the pool. There is Struggle as animals cry out in fear to the Creator. The Creator gives them a Solution by giving them a rainbow as an escape route from death. The animals experience a Transfiguration. A multi-coloured bow reached out to them ready to rescue any animal from the destruction brought about by Death. But the villain, who had been away during the Transfiguration, returns and, believing that the
rainbow was some meat, began chewing it. The rainbow retreated to avoid being eaten up by Hyena. This follows a Punishment of the villain and eventual victory for the rest of the animals. That is why everlasting life has eluded man and all creation.

The Structure of Ateso Tales
According to Campbell (2009), narrative structure is the framework that underlies the order and manner in which a narrative is presented to an audience be it a reader, a listener or a viewer. The narrative text structures are the plot and setting. He advocated that the narrative structure of any work can be divided into three sections namely, setup, conflict and resolution. In the setup, the main characters and their main situation is introduced by giving the essential background to the characters and events therein. In order for the story to unfold, a problem is introduced. A look at the Ateso oral narratives confirms that the initial stage of the narrative conforms to Campbell’s notion. The equilibrium is unsettled in order to give justification to the narrative.

The second act, according to Campbell is the conflict which forms the major part of the story. This stage of complicity is developed both thematically and in characterisation. A number of changes are reported and these have a bearing on the plot of the story. Things will not remain the same after some of the major character and thematic changes. The villain is more entrenched in his or her malicious designs while the victim who will be hero or heroine suffers the bitterness of the villainy. It is usually at this stage that the story evokes, in varying degrees, the sympathy and understanding of the audience. It is also at this stage that important messages are passed across by the performer to the audience.

The third act, the resolution, is the denouement of the performance. Due to confrontation of the crises by some characters and the hero, the issues are solved usually for the good of society. This trend is evident in the Ateso tales.

Mushengyezi argues that narrators use devices and discourse markers to punctuate their stories. The most commonly used devices are the connectors (Mushengyezi 2007:116). These connectors keep the narrative on track and the central motif on focus. Ibalasa kept on saying, ‘Inerai akiro eisinye!’ (‘People talk of the vice of greed in life!’). Such statements mark the turning point in the narrative. The most ridiculous turn of events is when greedy Hyena took the rainbow for a multi-colour animal skin and began chewing it hence, destroying the last chance of creatures to access eternal life.

There is also frequent use of ‘Aso do kanen’ / ‘Aso do konyet’ (‘And then/ and then Alas!’) to punctuate the different pieces of the plot. When the hyena realised the trick of death and found him swimming, ‘Aso do konyet…’
Alas, he howled and wailed a chill cry that spread across the country that summoned all animals to the desecrated drinking water! Such connectors are also used to pace up the tempo of the narrative e.g., before the flight or separation of friends.

There is dialogue and turn taking. The narrator tries to establish rapport with the listeners and to see if they follow the gist of the narrative. According to the turn-taking theory advanced by Coates (1993), the basic elements of oral communication and conversational elements have to be taken into account when understanding a narrative process. We need to examine the frequency of usage, the various reactions they elicit from the audience and the general impact on the conversation. In the study, some of the performers that were observed employed a lot of pauses and interjections in their varied narrative performances. For instance, the pre-performance dialogue between Amojong Ibalasa and her prospective audience helped to establish the ground for the telling. The necessary explanations and clarifications were given by the audience while the narrator made comments, compliments and clarifications on what she had meant to find out.

**Narrative, Memory and Simulation**

In examining narratives, this study looked closely at the reproduction of the essential features of the Ateso oral narratives. The differences between representations and simulations were less direct. Genette (1969) distinguishes ‘the representations of actions and events’ from the ‘representation of objects and characters’. The former is the proper narrative of a tale while the latter is mere description. Genette advocated that narration is concerned with the temporal and dramatic parts of the story, whereas description suspends time and displays the story spatially. In a similar way, whatever retentions of the texts are reproduced in the narrative representations by the characters, actions and events, these are ‘models of their behaviors’. The way the characters of the story speak, move and act is defined by the physical laws, their biological features, and their psychological patterns of behaviour, the historical and cultural temperatures coupled with the socio-economic conditions of the actors.

In the narrative by Ajilong at Kacumbala about *Epolon ka Akeberu* (The Old Man and his Wife), a very good platform is provided for simulation of behaviour especially of the characters. ‘Models of acceptable behaviour’ are portrayed. The tale allows speculation of what could happen to the pumpkins that had been transformed into girls to answer the prayer of a barren couple. When the characters from *Epolon ka Akeberu* are portrayed as communicating with one another it is emphasised that the lame unmarried ‘daughter’ was
scolded by the ungrateful step-parents. She summoned her sisters using a song of lament. In earlier tales according to the performer, Ajilong, there had been no mobile phones and the communication was through premonition. In her tale there was the use of the phone. All the married sisters were networked and made a unilateral decision to abandon their marital homes and return to their abode, the spring well.

In this simulation the social desire of the mistreated daughter is connected to possibilities of ingratitude and determines the trend of the plot of narration. According to Genette, perceiving narratively operates to draw the future into desires expressed in the present situation as well as demonstrates how the present was caused by the past and how the present may have effects in the future (Genette 1969:32). This interdisciplinary, namely, Literature and History, analysis of the narrations help to place the oral narratives in a domain which gives them a founded relevance beyond entertainment and moralisation.

The study also observed the narration and audience reaction to the tale about collection of white ants in Teso. The story was told by, a narrator, Ojangole, to portray the attributes of hard work. As narrated, two neighbours Hare and Hyena used to collect white ants together. However, the latter was as greedy as he was lazy. The narrator paused to see the effect of such a statement on the listeners. He was happy when one listener was pointed out by the audience as the lazy and greedy one, to the excitement of many people present.

This narrator used both his lips, which he pursed, and his eyes, which he winked to encourage the group to single out the lazy bones in their midst. The unfortunate listener, who had been singled out in the audience, protested vehemently but his protests fell on deaf ears. From then on the story was followed with rapt attention to see the fate of the lazy one. The narrator paused again to have the story sink in: “the hard-working hyena went and cleared the anthill while the lazy but cheeky hare slumbered unconcerned. But he did not stop thinking. At night there had to be a way in which hare could collect white ants. He always had a good appetite for that delicacy. So, he thought of a trick”. “What do you think hare would do?” the narrator asked his audience.

There were numerous attempts at solving the puzzle. At the end of several attempts by the audience to answer the plot riddle, the narrator continued with the narration. He had renewed authority and confidence in divulging the account. As many had guessed almost correctly, the clever hare collected sacks full of white ants and took to his house while the greedy hyena continued struggling to chew the tough animal skins he had encountered on his way to the anthill. He would pay dearly for this appetizer he had taken to eating on
the way to the delicious white ants. By the time he was through with the task, the ants will have ceased flying.

The narrative is concluded with the narrator stating: ‘Abu Papa Emorimor keworo eong alosit aira emuogo. Awosikin do eong Ebu iwjakijwaki imukulen kowuta Apoo aigigin ikong ke. (The cultural leader of Iteso, His Highness, the Emorimor, summoned me to plant an acre of cassava. So, I left Hyena struggling with the animal skins and the Hare filling his belly with the white ants)’. Ojangole held his audience spell bound and he enjoyed every bit of the narration.

Oral performance is a human activity whose form, meaning and role is ‘rooted in culturally defined scenes or events’ (Bauman 1986:3). The entire act of storytelling and not just the text-relaying is the product of the narrator’s display of skills determined by the circumstances like the season of ikong (white ants) which is looked forward to by people from Teso and other savannas. This served to make the narration a worthwhile experience for both the performer and the audience. The glowing facial expressions of both parties told it all.

Narrators are conscious of event sequencing (Abbot 2002:3). In the above narrative the performer was cautious and choosy about the events. Each of the events in the plot of the narrative had to be selected and placed logically leading to a climax of the telling. This sequencing began from the start of the narrative; such a tale as told by Ojangole above would not be performed at the time of drought, floods or season. There is hardly a totem or cultural taboo for the eating of white ants in Teso. Most people from the audience confessed to be active participants in the white ant eating and became eager listeners to tales which satiate if not whet their appetites.

A Mystery tale ‘Epolon ka Akeberu’ (The Old man and his wife) performed by Ajilong was about pumpkin that turned into beautiful daughters for an old barren couple. The performer cleared her throat and said she was going to tell a story. When she used the formula; “Ikanacan ka ikapapero” (my brothers and friends), the audience was at a loss. What a novelty in opening a narrative? She used the connector ‘Ogeari...’ (‘And then...’) many times. After every event it punctuated the narrative. In the excerpt below, the narrator gives us a contextual introduction into the narrative.

Ikanacan kede ikapapero, alosi kwana

My brothers and my friends, I am

eong aitatamikin yesi akawaragat

going to narrate to you my story

na epon kaje kede ake aberu. Amamete

about the old man and his wife.
During the narration, the performer kept on asking the audience to fill in the gaps in the plot. What probably happened next? What do you feel about the barren old woman’s behaviour? Ajilong left the audience for about five minutes in heated arguments without her interrupting them. The performer held her well-informed patience. At last she fitted in the missing link. The ungrateful old woman was punished. For her this phase helped the comprehension and active participation of all to be achieved. It paid out.

In the tale the wronged daughter consulted her sisters through the phone. In earlier versions of the tale according to Ajilong, the mournful loud lamentation of the lame girl summoned up her sisters from their homes. The five girls assembled and chanted a song of remorse. The narrator sang it for us. It was a mournful song about how they (the girls) had been a result of sympathy of the gods for the barren couple and how they must return to where they came from because these humans were not grateful. The girls went back to the well fell in and turned into pumpkins and creeping plants.

In getting out of the illusionary world, Ajilong surprised us when she said boldly that she had just returned from the home of the cultural leader of Iteso, His Highness the Emorimor, in Serere where the aggrieved husbands had taken the old man and the old woman demanding for the bride price they had paid for the wives.

‘Awosikini eong Papa Emorimor imungimungi akou.’ (‘I left the cultural leader shaking his head in sorrow.’)

Again, the narrator’s extricating themselves from the fictional world of the fable, is made possible by the reference to the visit of the aggrieved party to the cultural leader for redress. This is the signifier of the close of the tale. It could also herald the need to have disputes settled by reference to cultural institutions. It is open ended leaving the listeners to draw both personal and community lessons.

The telling of the folktales in these oral narratives makes use of stock formulas and environmental signifiers. It seemed that the opening and closing formula was dependent on performers and occasion of performance. Ojangole had the following opening and closing:

‘Ikanacan kede akainacan alosi eong alimokin yesi akawaragat... (My brothers and sisters, I am going to tell you my story....)’. He ended his narrative by bringing the audience out of the imaginative world of the tale saying: ‘Abu Papa Emorimor keworo eong alosit aira emuogo. Awokikini do eong Ebu ijwakikiwaki imukulen kowuta Aboo aigigin ikong ke. (The cultural leader of Iteso, His Highness, the Emorimor; summoned me to plant an acre of cassava. So I left Hyena struggling with the animal skins and Hare filling his belly with white ants.’)
When the narrator thinks it necessary to establish rapport or understanding of certain remote concepts then the narrative was preceded by the selected interjections and explanations. Amojong Ibalasa prepared her audience for the session by dialogue aimed at making them familiar with the animal characters in her story. This was necessary especially for longer narratives before an audience that knows the names of animals, crops or seasons only through hearing about them from their elder relatives or parents. She then started on the familiar formula of: *Kolo sek sek kasonya...* (‘Long, long time ago.’). In her tale she took the narrative through an experience of anxiety, suspense and release of tension; and weaved the scenes to fit the plot. She ended the narrative on another familiar note: ‘*Aso, eipone ngol nesi abunio atwanare toma akwap na.* (So, that is how death came into this world’). She is answering a mythical question which her tale had set out to unravel.

**Conclusion**

This article discussed the Ateso oral narratives in the light of the Proppian functions of narratives. Propp (1928), in his *Morphology of Folktales* argues that there is an initial situation, after which a tale usually unfolds in a sequence of thirty-one (31) functions. Drawing from Tropp’s work, this article proposed that the Ateso narratives can be analysed based on ten functions, namely Absentation, Warning, Violation, Complicity, Villainy, and Guidance for Liberation, Struggle, Solution, Transfiguration and Punishment vis-à-vis Victory.

Citing Barthes (1977) who argues that narrativity is a vital concept in the humanities and “narrative is international, trans-historical, trans-cultural: it is simply there, like life itself”, the study has shown that oral performance is a form of narration which aids in the comprehension of concepts and enables communication to be more effective in various circumstances.

In trying to explain some concept or to persuade some listeners, narrative strategies are often employed. The article made reference to the work of Saussure (1986), who wrote on Semiology, a science of signs like images, gestures, sounds, artifacts, and other non-verbal aids and argues that these form an integral part in public entertainment. This assertion was seen to be quite correct with respect to the narrative performance of the Ateso tales. The article revealed that an integrated oral narrative strategy is used by performers to enhance their delivery. The article also argued that most narratives in Ateso have not been left as “pure” as they were before the coming of western colonialists. A number of additions have been made to genres and disciplines to spice up the tales and make them conform to modern norms.

With regards to the Structure of Ateso tales, reference is made to Joseph Campbell, who argues that narrative structure is the framework that underlies the order and manner in which a narrative is presented to an audience, whether...
it is a reader, a listener or a viewer Campbell (2009). He also points out that a narrative structure can be divided into three namely: setup, conflict and resolution. A look at the Ateso oral narratives confirmed that the initial stage of the tale conformed to Campbell’s notion. The equilibrium is unsettled in order to give justification to the narrative.

The article also cited Mushengyezi who argues that narrators use devices and discourse markers to punctuate their stories (Mushengyezi 2007:116). In Ateso narratives narrators are prolific in the use of discourse markers. The tale of Abaliga from Ngora, for example, has episodes which the narrator performs as social markers. He handles social, ethical, cultural, economic and political markers. The study explored the concepts of Narrative, Memory and Simulation and cited Gerard Genette who argues that the representations of actions and events are different from the representation of objects and characters. The former is the proper narrative of a tale while the latter is mere description Genette (1969). Genette advocated that narration is concerned with the temporal and dramatic parts of the story, whereas description suspends time and displays the story spatially. In a similar way, whatever retentions of the texts are reproduced in the narrative representations by the characters, actions and events, these are ‘models of their behaviors’.

The performer manipulates dramatic strategies to portray the way the characters of the story speak, move and act as defined by the physical laws, their biological features, and the psychological patterns of behaviour, the historical and cultural temperatures coupled with the socio-economic conditions of the actors. This was confirmed in the study of the Ateso tales. The article has shown that Ateso narratives can be used effectively for planning and problem-solving in many socio-cultural and political issues affecting the Iteso.

Recommendations

Performers should not consider their audiences as stumbling blocks but rather as complementary to the narration. They ought to strive to establish rapport for effective communication. Secondly, audiences should appreciate the efforts of the rather few narrators to keep the cultural norm of story-telling alive in communities. Thirdly, further analyses of folktales could be carried out to ascertain whether the ten functions I propose will work elsewhere. Some projects could take up recording of folktales and availing the same to the digital avenues and consumers. This could serve as an enhancement of the message delivery system in various communities. Also, the study of local languages should be encouraged in Uganda for the preservation of linguistic and cultural heritage.
References


