

KPAWÁ, BBACHA NDÈYMÍ PBÚW Ó LÒ NÀ NDRUDJÁ DHĨ



THE ORAL HISTORY, CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS OF THE NDRUKPA

NDRUKPA KINGDOM

2019

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Contents

Page

Introduction	4
Preface – who are the Ndrukpa or Lendu?	6
1. Where did we come from and how did we move?	8
2. Coming together – the story of awaza and the ambusi clan	14
3. Our traditional leadership	18
4. Growing up as a ndrukpa	24
5. Ndrukpa skills	48
6. Beliefs and superstitions	54
7. Resolving conflicts	60
8. Ndrukpa dances and songs	64
Annex.....	72

Bǔkù ó ka ndíy nì ddiy

Bǔkù gi mí Namba

Lò tsò ngàdha	5
Lò-djùkpa – Ndrǔdjá ní Áyì mà?	7
1. Mà shí ña ngá ddù ndèymí mà bbíy ñǎchú?	9
2. Ddi nga ó déydha –waza ndèymí mbutss mí ngúww dhí ngèy	15
3. Màdhí bbacha ó nì li djòkpa ddàdha djá	19
4. Dhiydha ndrǔdja-ddùw níchú	25
5. Ndrǔdjá mí li róngà nà ka njeý nì nì ddiy	49
6. Ùwdha ndèymí lò ddéydha nà	55
7. Li kàó la mí lò sídha	61
8. Ndrǔkpà mí dyì ndèymí ngwo	65
Ndrǔkpa mí pey mí nga mí pey-ddúw kpìdha	73

INTRODUCTION

This publication is about the history and the culture of the Ndrukpa (later known as the Lendu), one of the marginalised ethnic groups in Uganda. Little information is known about us among the general public, although we are one of the groups that constitutes Uganda, as listed in the 2005 national Constitution.

We have put this publication together to preserve our culture for future generations and to share information about the Ndrukpa with the public (especially our local community, youth leaders, teachers, those who wish to help us develop, and the Ministry of Gender for affirmative action towards indigenous ethnic minorities). We also want to make available written material on the culture of our unique group to better appreciate the cultural diversity of Uganda. A separate publication has been prepared for our children.

The information presented here was collected from the different parts of the country where the Ndrukpa are found. It involved personal interactions and interviews with the Ndrukpa people. Discussions were also held in the Council of Elders where different views arose and they had to agree on the specific content to be included.

We did not however only collect information from the Ndrukpa people but also from other groups that were believed in history to have had similar migration and living patterns to the Ndrukpa, such as the Kebu who are believed to share the same origin.

This information was collected to present what people know and tell us. It is not meant as a history or ethnographic book.

We thank all those whose support, guidance and material assistance made this publication possible. We acknowledge the contribution of the Ndrulo Language Project whose technical support was witnessed during the proof reading stage of the publication; of the Cultural Institution of the Ndrukpa Kingdom that provided the oversight for this project and played a very useful role in coordinating and mobilising the respondents; of the interviewing team; and of the general Ndrukpa community for welcoming this project.

Thank you all!

The editors

LÒ TSÒ NGÀDHA

Í lò ndíydha nì Ndrũdjá (Lendu) dhí Kpawá ndèymí Bbacha nà, Uganda ó ngă ì huwdjò nà nì pbúw kàó ddì nì. Mà ró lò tsì ndèy drá wání bbalè kàó, ya kpe màni cha Uganda ó ì chuw ì nì pbúw, ngbè ka ndíy ì huwdjò Uganda mí yădha chow 2005 mí ó níchú.

Mà lěy í lò ndíydha ddinga ó ndanì à pbõw màdhi Bbacha rónka ka rà gòw nì nzòw dho ndèymí wání pbúw ndanì ndrũ tsíy Ndrũdjá ró lò. (ndrõngó ní nì màdhi bbalè, màdjùkpa ì rà ddà nì yăddá, li gwídha-djá, ndèymí cha ì nì jĩ màdhi dziylíy dhí nì ndrũ mà, ndèymí Ddi kà ddì ka déy ndanà nì Ngúww, njí njèydha dhò cha ì hwó nì drá nì pbúw à nga ndèy ndrũ ní nga djú ddù nì dho). Mà ddí nì jĩ mà déy màdhi ndíydha nì ddiy nà màdhi bbacha mĩ ngèy ndèy jì nà nì ngúww dhí róddù ndanì à déy lăní wání Bbacha kàó Uganda ó nì. Yăddá dhò ka thì ngèy ní ndíydha ní lò.

Ì ngá ka lěy nì lò ka njũw ngèy-ngéy ní dziylíy ddàtsó óddù cha Ndrũdjá chuw nì ì òmá nì. Í ddiy ka njũw mí tuw tdè Ndrũdjá mí bbalè tsòró lò-lídha ndèymí lò-dhíydha nà. Lò ónga njàdha njèy ndèy pey-ddúw dhí li-tsò njúwdha ó cha ngèy-ngéy nì lò chùw ndèy òmá ndèymí ndrũ ùw ndanà cha à kà ka ndíy nì lò.

Mà njũw í lò ngă Ndrũdjá dèddù kpala-kpala chú ngéy ní ngúww dèddù ddí cha màdhi ngèy nì tdră mà shì ì nà ddì nì nga óddù nì ndèymí ì dhí déydha jì nì ddì Ndrũdjá nà nì, ngbè Kitss cha mà shì ì nà ddì nì nga óddù nì.

Í lò ka njũw ndanì à dhò cha bbalè tsì nì ddiy ndèymí cha ndrũ tdrà nì ddiy. À nì ngă ngbè ngèy òngi pbúw dhí lò tsiydha mí bũkù ní.

Mà mã ì kwõ mà tso-tso, ì ddà màdjùkpa ndèymí ì bbũw màdho njí njèydha mí ddiy à lěy í lò ndíy ndèy ndanà nì. Mà nì Ndrũló Language Project ma cha idhí nyũ'wiy njà ndèy í ndíydha ní lò ónga zòwdha ó, Ndrũdjá mí pey mí nga mí kale cha ì dhò ndanà ì dhí ddeydha í lò ó ndèymí ndrũ njèy kyele ní njí li-tsò ngbádha nà ndèymí bbalè íydha nà cha ì dho í lò ró lò ngù nì, ì nì í lò dhiy nì kpa ndèymí Ndrũdjá mí ngúww nà dzò cha ì kwõ ì lò nì.

Mà mã nyì!

Lò ónga njàdha djá

PREFACE – WHO ARE THE NDRUKPA OR LENDU?

The Ndrukpa – often known as the Lendu - belong to the Sudanic ethnic groups of Uganda and are one of the country's marginalised groups. Although we are approximately 23,000 in Uganda, worldwide we count 1,411,000 people, mostly in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

In Uganda, we are mainly found in Zombo district, West Nile region along the Uganda-DRC border. In the Congo, we mostly live in the Ituri, Mahagi and Njugu regions in the Eastern part of the country. Currently some of us are also found in Arua, Gulu, Nebbi and Pakwach districts, as well as in Bunyoro (Hoima, Masindi, Bulisia and Kiryadongo districts). In the central region, there are also Nrukpa in Wakiso and Luwero districts.

We were originally called the Ndru, but were later given the nickname “Lendu” (“something that is forsaken”) by the Alur who occupied our land and turned us almost into their servants.

We are organised under clans, although we also have a King as the supreme ruler who reigns over all the Ndrukpa people both in Uganda and in the DRC. Our clans and people who are scattered throughout Uganda all trace their origin from their original district of Zombo, with some clan members still occupying the sub-counties of Zeu, Akaa, Jangokoro, Paidha, Alangi, Kango, Nyapea and Abanga among others.

We are pre-dominantly agriculturalists who specialise in subsistence farming with only occasional engagement in cattle keeping, fishing, lumbering, and hunting. We are known as experts in local herbs medicinal among the different communities we live with. Our land in Zombo district is blessed with the various species we use as herbs for curing different diseases.

We are also blessed with the Lendu plantation forest (that started in 1928) from which we get vegetables and crops grown in forest land. Part of the forest is illegally cultivated, but it was part of our ancestral land. The forest land was given to the Government by the King of Alur who was ruling us at the time.

LÒ-DJÜKPA – NDRÜDJÁ NÍ ÁYÌ MÀ?

Ndrüdjá – wání nganá ka íy nì Ndrükpa ní- ndrü nì Sudan mí ngúww mí pbúw Uganda ó nì ndèymí ndrü nì ngă ì huwdjò nà nì ngúww. Ya kpe mà nì chow-chow 23,000 Uganda ó, dziylíy dzò nì ó mà hwo nì chow-chow bbalè 1,411,000, drö ní nì màni Democratic Republic Congo ó nì ó (DRC).

Uganda ó, mà hwo drö ní nì ka chuw nì Zombo district ó, West Nile mí ngòw ó Uganda-DRC mí dziylíy gitèy òluw. Congo ó, mà déy nì Ituri, Mahagi ndèymí Njugu mí dziylíy cha Itsé shi nì mí nga là djòluw. Nja-nja, mà hwo rò chuw nì ì ddí Arua, Gulu, Nebbi ndèymí Pakwach district ó, njàddí Bunyoro (Hoima, Masindi, Bulisia ndèymí Kiryadongo district). Uganda mí chiykà ó Ndrüdjá nì Wakiso ndèymí Luwero district ó.

Nji ka dëy mà iy Ndrü ní, chú fú ddiy dzèdjú Gòw cha ì dëy màdhí dziylíy ndèymí ì ngù tdè mà piy ní nì lëy mà ródho “Lendu” (“djá ní ka djă nì ddiy”).

Mà njüw mà ngúww ò, ya kpe mà nì ney Pey nà màdhí dröngó ní li djúnga njàdha dja cha ndèy nja nì Ndrüdjá djúnga Uganda ó ní ndèymí DRC nà. Màdhí ngúww ndèymí màdhí bbalè nà cha ì thă ngéy-ngéy Uganda òluw nì dhí njí nì nga shi Zombo district óddù, mí ngòw ó njàddí bbalè nì sűw sub-counti Zeu, Akaa, Jangokoro, Paidha, Alangi, Kango, Nyapea ndèymí Abanga mí ó njàddí kàó.

Ndrü ní nga djúddù mà tdè nì nza bbiydha djá cha ì bbiy nì nyű nyùdha dhò nì, drá ní nga dhò mà pbo nì mēyá, mà lów nì bbiy, mà tha nì tsúw ndèymí mà njüw nì njòw. Mà déy nì ì nà nì ndrü tsi mà dră, tsó téy tsúw ì bbűw nì bbalè ní. Mà dhí dziylíy Zombo district ó nì nì bű nà ddiydho bíy ní tsúw jì chuw nì ndèy òmá cha mà lëy nì ndanà bbalè ró dhi djÿy nì.

Mà ddí nì bű nà ddiydho màni tdòwdha ní gúw na cha ka íy nì Lendu plantation forest (à ngà ndèy chwo 1928) mà chuw nì òmáddù tsó-chù ndèymí njàddí nyű nà cha ka bbiy nì mí gúw ó nì. Njàddí mí nza rò ka bbiy nì ngbu ní, chú à tdè mà bbúw thí ngòw. Fú gúw ka tdòw mí dziylíy Gow mí Pey bbű ndey Gavmente dho cha ndrü nyù tdè pey màdjú mí nga nà.

1. WHERE DID WE COME FROM AND HOW DID WE MOVE?

Our elders' stories tell us that we are one among the many groups worldwide whose origin is traced to the Northern part of Africa. We moved as one large group of Ndrukpa people (then called Ndru) from our cradle in Egypt in the Northern part of Africa as all other people were migrating for various reasons. We migrated because of the shortage of fertile land for agriculture and because the hot climate of Egypt did not favour us.

The Ndrukpa were one people under the leadership of Ndru ("a person" in our language, Ndrulo), a son of the family which also led to the creation of the Kebu and the Madi. During that time, we were not yet divided into clans. Ndru led us southwards along the Nile valley until we reached Sudan and settled at Kpangbala (Bar-el-Ghazel) for a while but our intention of getting a climatically friendly environment was still not met. From the Sudan we wanted to move even to the source of River Nile, as Hezenia Pidu one of the clan elders and the senior advisor to the King, and his colleagues, explain.

The desert conditions we found in Sudan made us move further southwards until the Northern part of Uganda, , under the leadership of Bbale (Ndru's son). There we settled in a place called *Cere* in present day "Cerelendu" in Gulu district.

As we moved along the Eastern banks of River Nile, we came down near Lake Albert currently in Nwoya district and later crossed to the western side of River Nile because of the fertility of the soil and favourable climate for agriculture and hunting.

Because of the absence of boats and other navigation aids, our children (especially those who used to hunt), built up a pile of reeds tied up on pegs. This helped us to cross from the eastern to the western side of the Nile at a point near what is now Pakwach. We settled in Wadelai in Pakwach District and grew tobacco called "*jibidha*" and we named the Nile *judda* meaning "we shall not cross it again". This was before the partition between Uganda and the Congo, but we do not know how long before.

Then King Rapia I took over. When the Luo group came and occupied the land, we had to move further westwards (into the current Nebbi district). From Nebbi, due to the expansion of the Luo, we kept on moving until we reached Rusi (Erusi), Goliy (Goli), Peyda (Paidha), Jangokoro, while some of us went as far as Akara hill.

During the scramble and partition of Africa (1881 to 1918), the boundary line that was drawn between Uganda and DRC saw some of us being on the Congo side under the Belgians while some of us remained in what is currently called Uganda under British rule.

1. MÀ SHÍ ŊA NGÁ DDÙ NDÈYMÍ MÀ BBÍY ŊĂCHÚ?

Màdhí dròdró ní ndrũ dhí ngèy tdrà nì madho mà nì ddi nì pbùw í dziylíy djú ngéy ní pbùw kàò ddù cha ì dhí nga tdè nji ru nì Afrika ò. Mà bbíy ddi nì drǒngó ní ngúww ní Ndrũdjá mí bbalè dhî (fú nga nà ka dèy iy Ndrũ ní) màdhí bba Misiri ru nì Afrika óddù ngbè njàddí bbalè dèy ì ngbiy níchú ngéy-ngéy ní lo dho. Mà ngbíy mà nyũ ndèy ‘wo nì dziylíy mí zòw dho ddiydho líy ní its Misiri ó nì tdè ngá lǎní mà dho.

Ndrũdjá tdè ddi nì bbalè, ddi nì li djùkpa ddàdha tsè téy ndèy ródho tdè Ndrũ ní (“bbalè” Ndrũló nà), ddi nì dza ó kpatsè ní ngba cha ndèy óddù Kitss ndèymí Madde shì nì. Fú nga nà, mà ónga ndò tdè ndèy nzá ngúww òluw. Ndrũddà mà djùkpa bbiy Ju-ddà mí dda-bbùw òluw pbùw mà shì ndanà Sudan mí ngów ò ndèymí mà shì dey Kpangbala (Bar-el-Ghazel) ó drá ní ddu dhò chú màdhí ddeydha cha mà chũw ndanà lǎní déydha mí nga nì chùw tdè dèy nzá. Sudan óddù mà jì tdè mà rǎ bbiy cha Ju-ddà tsò ngá ndèy mí nga ò, cha Hezenia Pidu ddi li màdhí ngúww djú dròdró ní ndrũ kàò li ndèymí Pey ngá lò-onga njàdha djá kàò li ndèy dyási nà, tdrà níchú.

‘Wiydha ní nga cha mà chùw tdè Sudan ó nì lèy mà rà sũw bbiy pbùw Uganda mí rusángó nga ó, Bbale mí li-djùkpa ddàdha tsètéy (Ndrũ mí ddùw nì). Fu ngá mà shì dey cha ka íy nì Cere ní nga ó, ndu ànì “Cerelendu” Gulu district ó.

Cha mà tdè rǎ its shì nì mí juddà gitèy ròluw ro, mà rà bbiy Albet mí juddà tsòró nja-nja Nwoya district ó, fú ddiy dzǎdjú mà dà juddà djòluw its chey nì mí nga là djò ddiydho òmá dziylíy tdè lǎní nyũ bbiydha dhò ndèymí njòw njòwdha nà.

Ngò ndèymí ngéy ní dda djòluw dàdha mí ddiy tdè ngá ddiydho, màdhí nzòw, (njòw ì njow nì nì), ndrũ gwíy wíy ka chèy tsúw ró. Í ddiy kwò mà tso-tso à lèy mà dà its shinì mí nga là djú ddù its chey nì mí nga là djò juddà djòluw chow-chow nja-nja ka íy nì Pakwach ní nga ò. Mà dèy Wadelai ó Pakwach District ó nì ndèymí mà bbiy mbàzz ka íy nì “*jibidha*” ní nì, mà kǎ mí dda ródho ley *judda* ní, mí lò tey nì “mà rà à dà nzǐ ddiyàchú”. Í ddiy njèy tdè ndèy dèy nzá kà ndò tdè Uganda ónga ndèymí Congo nà ní, chú mà tsì nzá à tdè ya njá chow nà ddiy.

Pey Rapia I mí tdũw pey. Luo mí ngúww shì tdè ro, ndrũ lòw fú dziylíy, fú ddiy lèy mà drǐ mà its chey nì mí nga là djò (nja-nja Nebbi district ò). Nebbi óddù, Luo mí ngúww nyǎ ddiy mí lò dho, mà dèy mà dri sũw pbùw mà shì ndanà Rusi (Erusi), Goliy (Goli), Peyda (Paidha), Jangokoro ò, màdhí njàddí ndrũ rò rà Kara mí ngòw tò.

Cha ka dèy li chĩy ndèymí ka dèy Afrika ónga ndò ro (1881 pbùw 1918), Uganda mà kàò nga ka tdè ndò Congo nà ro, màdhí njàddí ndrũ chùw ì Congo mí nga là djò Belgian dhí pey tsètéy, njàddí ndrũ kè mà Uganda ó British mí pey tsètéy.

Cama Juma, Ndrats mí ngúww djú pey-ddùw Jangokoro ó nì Zombo District ó, tdrà

Ocama Juma, the clan leader for the Ndrats clan of Jangokoro in Zombo District, tells us that our first section which left Pakwach went as far as Katanga, Njugu, Kambala, Reti and Kisangani all in the present DRC, while the last group settled in Erusi, Goli, Paidha, Jangokoro, Alangi, Zeu and Kango sub-counties. During the partition of Africa, this last group found itself in Uganda when the border lines were drawn while the first group who had gone as far as Katanga, Njugu and Kambala fell on the Congo side.

The Ndrukpa were therefore separated in two groups: the Ndrukpa of Uganda commonly known as the “Ndrūdjá” and the Ndrūdjá of DRC commonly known as the “Walendu Wats”.



An elder from the Ndrats clan in Jangokoro tells the story of the Ndrukpa migration

Ndrats mí Pey-ddùw Jangokoro ó ni nì Ndrukpa bbiy ddiw mí ngèy tdrà.

Those who remained in Uganda later on intermarried with the Luo and mixed freely with the descendants of Gipir, the Luo group called the Alur who also moved Westward from River Nile after the Luo divided up at Wanglei (currently in Pakwach district). When Labongo and his followers went Eastwards from Pakwach after the event of the spear and the beads, Nyipir and his other followers (currently the Alur of Zombo, Nebbi and Pakwach districts) advanced further Westward following the Ndrukpa. This later led to a mixed settlement of the two tribes. The Ndrukpa helped the Alur in their war of conquest as far as among the Banyoro and were the royal fighters for several Alur chiefs.

Before the forest land was given away by the Alur King in 1928, due to intermarriages among the Ndrukpa, Kebu and the Alur, the typical Ndrukpa language which is closely related to the other Sudanic languages such as Lugbaratii, Madi and Kebu, started experiencing changes as the Ndrukpa were assimilated by the dominant Alur tribe.

mà dho, màdhi bbalè nji ì bbà Pakwach ó nì rà pbűw Katanga, Njugu, Kambala, Reti ndèymí Kisangani ò, nja-nja nì DRC ò, luwtéy ddù nì ngúww mà Rusi, Goliy, Peyda, Jangokoro, Alangi, Zeu ndèymí Kango sub-counti ó. Afirika ónga ndòdha mí nga nà, í luwtéy nì ngúww chűw ì nì Uganda ó cha dziylíy nyúddà ka ndò mí nga nà, cha ì rà tdè Katanga, Njugu ndèymí Kambala ò nì chűw ì nì Congo mí nga la djò.

Fúddiy dhò Ndrűdjá ónga ndò ndèy rwo: Ndrűdjá Uganda ó nì cha ka íy nì “Ndrűdjá” nì nì ndèymí DRC ó Ndrűdjá nà cha ka íy nì “Walendu Wats”.

Cha ì mà tdè Uganda ó nì ndrű kòw ì ì kàó Luo nà ndèymí ndrű nzi ì Gipir ngá ddèy nà, Lou mí ngúww cha ka íy nì Gòw ní nì rà itsś chey nì mí nga là djò juddà tsò ró ddù cha Luo mí ngúww ndò tdè ì ónga Wang’lei ní ka íy nì nga ó ddiy dzzdjú (nja-nja Pakwach district ó). Labongo ndèymí ndèy inì dyòw nì ndrű nà ndrű rà Itsś shi nì mí nga là djò Pakwach óddù lõ ndèymí rá mí lõ dzzdjú, Nyipir ndèy ngá kpa nà (nja-nja Zombo, Nebbi ndèymí Pakwach district ó Gòw) ndrű rà Itsś chey nì mí nga là djò Ndrűdjá kodjú. Fúddiy dzzdjú í pbűw rwo nì nziy ì kpa swàní. Ndrűdjá dèy Gòw tso-tso kwo cha Gòw tdè njèy nì la ó cha ndrű njèy ì kàó Banyoro nà nì ndèymí ndrű tdè Pey ngá la dzàdha djá bíy nì Gòw dhí Pey-ddúw dhò.

Dèy nzá Gòw mí Pey bbű tdè tsúw tdòwdha mí dziylíy chwo 1928 nà ní ó ro, ków mí lõ dho Ndrűdjá, Kitss ndèymí Gòw nà nì kàó, Ndrűló cha ndèy nì ngbè Sudanic mí lõ-tsò níchú nì ngbè Lugbara-ló, Madi-ló ndèymí Kitss-ló níchú lõw dey ndèy li ngéy ddiydho Gòw jì tdè Ndrűdjá nzá.

Mà dèy lání Kitss nà ndèymí Gòw nà ndèymí mà dèy ddiy ónga dzz mà kàó ngéy ní pbűw nà. Fú nga nà, mà ra nyúw bbiy mà ka ngu li Kitss dè cha ì dèy ka djűw ní,- djow ndèymí ngéy ní nza bbiydha mí ddiy nà dyi, lupanga ndèymí mbrà nà njòw njòwdha dhò ddiydho mà tdè njòw djá. Pbűw nja-nja nga ò mà dèy nì Kitss ndèymí Gow nà lání cha ì nì Uganda-DRC mí dziylíy nyúto luw nì.

Luwtéy chwo nà, mà kàó njàddí ndrű cha ì dèy tdè West Nile Uganda-Congo nà nì mí dziylíy nyúto luw nì lõw dey rà Bunyoro ò nyű ndèy ‘wo lání nì, cha ndèy ngúww tdè drá, Gòw ndèymí Kitss nà dèy tdè mí dziylíy ó cha mà dèy bbiy nì. Dziylíy ka bbű tdè tsúw tdòwdha dhò ddiy dzzdjú, mà kàó bíy ní bbalè lõw dey rà Bunyoro ò, ya kpe mà kàó njàddí bbalè ka dèy diy ngǎjini ddiy njèydha dhò.

Kpawá nì tdrà madho, njàddí mà kàó ndrű rò rà, ngǎ li kàó lání deydhà Gòw mí Pey nà nì dho. Njàddí ndrű rà piy ní déydha mí lõ dho: bbiysángó nì kpawá nì tdrà ya njáchú Congo ó Ndrűdjá mí ngúww chűw ì Pakwach ò ddiy. Gow mí ngèy Bbacha mí Minista tdrà, pbűw chwo 1920 cha Gow nyú pey Ndrűdjá djú ro, Ndrűdjá ngúww tdè gòw mí piy ní. Gòw mí bbacha nà ya Gow mí Pey dhì ro, ka dèy tdòw ddi nga ó ndèyngá piy nà (ya kpe mí piy gű nzí ka tdòw ndèy ddinga ó ndèyngá Pey nà, chú à dèy ngéy ní li, Ndrűdjá ddűw ley cha ka ra lõw klów nà ndèymí ka rà tdòw ddinga ó Pey nà). Fűchú ro, Gow dèy idhi Pey tdòw Ndrűdjá-ddűw djú cha ka dèy ley Pey mí bu sšto.

We lived in harmony with both the Kebu and the Alur people and engaged in barter trade with the other tribes. We would cultivate millet and other food items and exchange with the Kebu who specialised in iron smelting to make hoes and other farm tools like knives, pangas and arrows for hunting since we were also hunters. Up to now, we live with the Kebu and the Alur along the Uganda-DRC border.

Later, in the last century, some of us who had settled in West Nile along the Uganda-Congo border started moving to Bunyoro in search of more fertile land, which had become scarcer as the Alur and the Kebu came and occupied some of the land we were cultivating. Many of us were also forced to migrate when the forest land was given away, although some of us who went to Bunyoro were chased away as we were accused of witchcraft and other anti-social behaviours.

History has it that some of our people moved away because of the unfriendly acts of the Alur King. Others migrated due to the slave trade: the story below shows how a Ndrukpa group from the Congo found itself with an established settlement in Pakwach. From the history of the Alur narrated by their Minister of Culture, up to around the 1920s, when the Alur had conquered the Ndrukpa, the Ndrukpa were subdued and subordinated as slaves to the Alur. According to Alur culture when a King died, he was supposed to be buried together with his servant (although the servant could refuse to be buried together with the King, but he would then point out to another Ndrukpa who was grabbed and buried with the King). Thus, the Alur could bury their King on top of a Ndrukpa who would be put below the King's casket.

The current Ndrukpa King is called King Manasi Njuni Rapia II. He is the grandson of King Rapia 1, who ruled before the coming of the Alur and whose leadership ended with the coming of the Alur with their King in 1920s (at the time of King Rapia II's father).

When the Alur people came, the Dduts – the royal clan of the Ndrukpa - were under Amatho who was the chief of Jupamatho while other Ndrukpa clans were also brought over to other Alur chiefdoms to govern. The Djowts clan of the Ndrukpa Queen was for example under the leadership of Rwoth Kubi of Jupakubi, one of the Alur chiefdoms.

The whole of the Ndrukpa were colonised and ruled by the Alur Kingdom. We were led by the Alur kingdom under its chiefdoms until June 2010, when we gained our independence from Amatho and the Alur leadership. That is when we re-installed our own governance institution, led by Peydja Manasi Njuni Rapia II.

Nja-nja nì Ndrũdjá mí Pey nì Pey Manasi Njuni Rapia II. À nì Pey Rapia 1 ngá ddèy, cha ndèy nyù pey dëy nzá Gow shì tdè ní ndèymí ndëyngá pey nyùdha tsò tdõw Gow shì tdè ìdhí pey na chwo 1920 ó ro (Pey Rapia II mí, mí djǎnì nyù pey mí chwo nà).

Gow shì tdè ro, Dduts –pey dzá ó Ndrũdjá mí ngũw –ndrũ tdè Matho mí pey tsš téy Jupamatho mí, njáddí Ndrũdjá mí ngúww ddí rà ndaní Gòw mí pey-ddùw nyũ pey ì djú. Djowts mí ngũw Ndrũdjá mí pey dhí tdè pey-ddùw Kubi ngá pey nyùdha sštéy Jupaku mí, Gow dhí pey-ddúw kàó pey.

Gów mí pey mí nga, nyù pey Ndrũdjá djú wá. Gòw mí pey mí nga ddà mà djùkpa pbũw bÿy za nìò chwo 2010 nà nì ò, cha mà, mà ngádha ní Matho mí pey thopka óddù ro ndèymí Gow mí li-djùkpa ddàdha óddù. Fú nì tdè mà lëy tdè màdhí pey mí nga cha *Peydja Manasi Njuni Rapia II nì djùkpa ddã nì*.

2. COMING TOGETHER – THE STORY OF AWAZA AND THE AMBUSI CLAN

The Ambusi clan is found in Zombo and Pakwach districts. It is part of the larger Ambusi clan in the DRC. The Ambusi of Pakwach district are currently led by Mzee Lino Okello who explains how they found themselves in Pakwach and how they came to realise that they are one of our clans, after more than 100 years of existence as part of the Jonam of Pakwach:

“... I was still a young boy, my father’s name was Awaza and my grandfather was called Lengwa. This is the history that my father told me about our origin before he died: he said that when they were still in the Congo with Lengwa, there was a conflict with Lengwa’s brothers over power and Lengwa had to leave the Ambusi of Congo together with my father and come to Uganda. They settled in Zeu, among the Alur. Lengwa named my father Awaza because he was the first son. When Lengwa and Awaza came to Zeu, they cultivated a large piece of land and had food, yet the Alur people who were not very hardworking were suffering from famine. At that time, the wives of the Alur chief started harvesting Lengwa’s food without permission and Lengwa complained. The chief became furious and arrested Lengwa and Awaza and sentenced them to death. The priest of the Alur however said that it was not good to kill Awaza because it was the father who had problem with the chief. Lengwa was then killed but my father was spared and instead sold as a slave to Chief Atiya of Alwii chiefdom, currently in Pakwach district. Awaza went to Alwii but the chief later resold him to the chief of Angal Pamwodu in Pakwach. My father was sold as a young man and married in Pakwach when he was serving as a farmer servant and a hunter for the chief of Angal Pamwodu. My father died in 1952 when I was 15 years old. All the way we lived knowing that we were Jonam and followed the lifestyles of the Jonam people. Later, neighbours started segregating us, saying that we are Ndrukpa and not Jonam.

“I have a son called Ruma who serves as the family priest and consults the gods on any issue within the family that may need spiritual intervention. One evening in 2006, Ruma was consulting the gods. They told him to make an effort and find their true origin because they were not living among their true people. Ruma immediately reported to me and we started making plans for the discovery of our true origin.

“Ruma did not know how to start the process, but the gods directed him to move westwards. He moved under their guidance until he reached Zeu and the spirits told him: “Now you are at your true place”, but they advised him not to approach his other brothers but rather to come back and make spiritual preparations to come to his brothers through reconciliation because they are the descendants of Lengwa’s brother with whom Lengwa fought for power while still in the Congo.

2. DDÌ NGA Ó DÉYDHA –WAZA NDÈYMÍ MBUTSS MÍ NGÚWW DHÍ NGÈY

Mbutss mí ngúww chũw nì ì Zombo ndèymí Pakwach district ó. Fú nì drǒngó nì Mbutss mí ngúww cha ì nì DRC ò nì rò. Pakwach ó Mbutss djùkpa Muzee Lino Kello nì ddǎ ndèy cha ndèy dhò ya ñǎchú ì chùw ì Pakwach ò ddiy ndèymí ya ñǎchú ì tsi ì tdè nì mà kào ndrũ ddiy chwo 100 nì dzzdjú cha ì dèy ndanà Junam ní Pakwach ó nì:



Mzee Lino Okello (right) tells the history of the Mbùts̄s̄ clan and how part of us found themselves among the Jonam in Pakwach District

Mzee Lino Kello (cha ví òluw wǎ-wǎ ní dǒwdha mí ddiy djú) à nì Mbùts̄s̄ mí ngúw dhí ngèy tdrà ndèymí ya ñǎchú mà kào ndrũ rò chùw ì Junam kào ddiy Pakwach District ò.

“.... Ma tdè yǎddá ní kpatss ní ngba ro, màtsá djani ródho tdè Waza ndèymí màtsá bbuwni tdè Lengwa. Í nì màtsá djani tdrà madhò cha mà shì mí nga óddù nì mí ngèy dèy nzá ndèy dhi ní: à tdrà dèy ì tdè Congo ò Lengwa nà ro, la tà ndrũ kào djüni nà pey djú. Fú ddiy lèy Lengwa bbà Congo ó Mmbuts ndèymí màtsá djani nà, à rà Uganda ò. Ndrũ dèy Zeu ó Gow kào. Lengwa lèy màtsá djani ródho Waza ddiydho à tdè ddiydjò ní ngba. Lengwa ndèymí Waza nà shì Zeu ò ro, mà bbìy nza kyele, nyũ òw òmá chú Gòw cha ì

tdè tss-djá nì hùw chèy ndrũ dè. Fú nga nà, Gòw mí pey-ddúw dhí dhi lòw dey Lengwa ngá nyũ tdũw ngbu ní. Fú ddiy lèy thǒw lòw Pey à lèy ka chèy Lengwa màgò Waza nà, ka tdèy dhi ndrũ djú. Gòw mí Pey ngá dyǎdja tdrà à nì ngǎ lǎní ka hwí Waza ddiydho lò tdè ngǎ Waza mà kào Pey na chú àmí djani Lengwa nà. Ka hwí Lengwa chú ka bbà màtsá djani, chú à hwídhà riydja ka dzz màtsá djani ónga piy ní Pey Atiya, Alwii óni dho, nja-nja ndèy ní Pakwach district ó nì dho. Waza rà Alwii ò chú pey bbù à Angal Pamwodu ó pey dè Pakwach ó nì. Matsá djani ónga ka nzz ngbè kpatss ní ngba ní ndèymí ma kòw sǐngba Pakwach ó nì cha ma tdè nǐ njèy Pey ngá nza bbíydha dja ní ndèymí njòw njòwdha dja ní Angal Pamwodu dhí. Màtsá djani dhi chwo 1952 ma tdè chwo nà 15 ro. Màdhí déydha ó wá, mà dèy ngbè Junam níchú ndèymí mà dyòw Junam mí bbalè dhí déydha jì. Fú ddiy dzzdjú ka lòw dey mà dja, ndrũ dèy tdrà mà nì Ndrũdjá, ngǎ Junam.

Ma ni màtsá ddùw ni nà, à ródho ni Ruma cha ndèy njeý ni ní ndrũ dhí bba ó dyä-dja ní ni ndèymí à nzz ni gúw ney cha ndèy ni wá ni ddiy ró cha ndèy ni rr jĩ ni. Ddi ní, chwo 2006 ni ó, Ruma tdè gúw nzz ro, ndrũ tdrà à dho à mèy tuw wá cha à dho ndanà ì dhínga déy ní nga chùw ndanà ni ddiydho ndrũ tdè dey ngã ì dhí déy ní bbalè kào. Fú nga nà ndùw Ruma kã fú lò ngúww ma dè ndèymí mà lòw dey tuw mèy mà chùw ndanà màdhí déy ní nga.

Ruma tsi tdè nzá ya ñächú ndèy dho fú lòtsò nga ddiy, chú gúw ddà à djùkpa itsé chey ni mí nga là djò. À rà ndrũ dhí klów tsstéy pbüw à shì ndanà Zeu ò ndèymí rr kã tdrà à dho: “Nja-nja nyi shì nyimí déy ní bba ó”, chú ndrũ tdrà à dho nzíy à shì ì dhí nga déy ní djúni dè chú à ngúw luwtò ndèymí à thiy ndèy ndani à shì djúni dè ì kào nga jidha nà ddiydho ndrũni Lengwa mí djúni ó ddèy cha ndrũ njèy la pey djú ndrũ tdè dèy Congo ò ro.

Ruma ngũ luwtò ndèymí à mèy tombù ndèymí drè nà í kàonga jidha dhò ndèymí à kã dyõw chwo Zeu ó Mbutss dè ì kàonga jidha mí ddeyda mí fú ndrũ nà ndani í déy lãní deyda nà dju-dju ní. Zeu ó Mbutss kwö Pakwach ó Mbutss dèddù cha ndèy dho dhò Pakwach ó Mbutss ni dĩchú Lengwa ngá ddèy ddiy. Ndrũ thiy ngéy ní ddiy cha ndèy dho dhò Pakwach ó ndrũ ni dĩchú Mbutss ni. Ndrũ tdõw riy ndani ì tsiy ndanà dĩchú ní lò: ya fú riy tã fú ni rà dhò fú ndrũ ni dĩchú Ndrũdjá, ya nzá, fú ni rà dhò fú ndrũ ni ngá Ndrũdjá. Mí tsúw ka tdõw chwo 2007.

Sèy ní biy dzzdjú, mí tsúw tã, ndèymí Zeu ó Mbutss ùw Pakwach ó ndrũ ni dĩchú ì dhí bbalè. Fú ddiy dzzdjú li kàonga jidha mí tuw ka thiy chwo 2007 nà ni mí sídha ó Zeu ò. Fú ddiy lèy Pakwach ó Mbutss chùw ì ni dĩchú Ndrũdjá. Pakwach ó Mbutss kwö Puvungu Pakwach ó ni Pey tsò ro à mbã ì djùtey ì dhí déy ni Ndrũdjá mí Pey dè. Í ddiy njèy ndèy chwo 2012 ngbè cha ì ni dey Puvungu ò ni Ndrũdjá dhòdha níchú idhí déy ní Pey dè Pey Manasi Njuni Rapia II.

Fú nga djúddò ndrũ ni ddey ì dyõw Ndrũdjá thí bbacha chú ddiy ni drõ cha ndèy ni ndrũ rr ni ddiydho ndrũ dhíy Junam kào ndèymí ndrũ tdrà ni Junam ló. Pakwach ó Mbutss dho ngu nzí Zeu ò ddiydho dziylíy chùwdha ni klów ndrũ dhò ndèymí ndrũ dhí bba Pakwach ó ni ni lãní. Fúddiy dhò ndrũ tdrà ì rà dey nú Pakwach ò chú ì rà ì njuw cha ndèy ni ndèy jĩ ni lò ó wa Zeu ó Mbütss nà.

3. OUR TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

Our elders from both Uganda and DRC agree that the Ndrukpa have around 120 clans, some of which are not very visible because they are absorbed among the dominant tribes of Alur, Banyoro and Baganda in Uganda. Some of these include the Alisi clan of Paidha and the Andrasi clan of Jangokoro

Some of our clans that have moved to Bunyoro include the Androsi, Andhosi, Ajusi, Asisi, Ayisi Awuhwe, Alusi, and Alosi but currently almost all our clans in West Nile are also partly found in the Bunyoro region. Most of our people who are in Bunyoro went specifically for farming since Bunyoro land was vast and fertile. Our population in Bunyoro is still increasing, with most of us still living together and speaking our language, which helps us identify ourselves as Ndrukpa. Currently in Bunyoro, we are found in the villages of: Nyakyanika (Masindi district) and Nyakasene, Kabale, Buseruka, Buguma in Hoima district.

Our clans that are currently in West Nile include the Ajusi, Ayisi, Arisi, Adusi, Azasi, Asisi, Abesi, Anbusi, Alisi, Androsi, Andrasi, Arosi, Anyasi, Abisi, Urusi, Akisi, Agusi, Agisi, Angasi, and Ayesi among others.

The Ndrukpa clans in the DRC include the Arisi, Ayisi, Azasi, Adusi, Agusi, Alosi, Alusi, Andhosi, Ayesi, Abesi, Alesi and Urusi.

All the clans have their chief who directly governs them under the directives from the King. The King comes from the royal clan called Dduts while the queen comes from Djowts clan. The major clans and their current leaders are as follows:

Clan	Clan Chief
Djowts	Athocon Samson
Ruts	KasambaSibriano
Dduts	Athocon William
Thits	Raimond Binega
Ayesi	Adidi Moris
Arisi	Gilbert Udota
Huhwi	Onen Peter
Ndrats	OcamaJuma

The table above only shows the major clans who have their clan leaders in the cabinet, but there are minor clans who are merged into some of the major clans under the same leadership. The Djowts clan for example also contains Luts, The Duwts clan also comprise of Yits, Kots, and Rits.

These minor clans are under the clanship of major ones because they are very few in numbers, especially in Uganda, as most of their clan mates are in the DRC, and because it is better to place the few smaller clans under the leadership of the major ones for effective governance and administration.

3. MÀDHÍ BBACHA Ó NÌ LI DJÒKPA DDÀDHA DJÁ

Màdhí dròdró ní ndrũ Uganda ndèymí DRC óddù nà ùw Ndrũdjá nì pbúw tey nà chow-chow 120, njàddí ndrũ nì ì njă nzí ddiydho ndrũ vîy lèy ní pbúw kàò Gòw, Banyoro ndèymí Baganda Uganda ó nì. Ì vîy nì pbúw nì Lÿtss Paidha ó nì ndèymí Ndrátsš Jangukoro ó nì.

Njàddí màdhí pbúw ì rà Bunyoro mí gòw ò nì Ndrótsš, Ndótsš, Djówtss, Thÿtss, híytsš, hũhwi, Lútsš ndèymí Lòtsš chú írò màdhí pbúw wá West Nile ó nì, nì ì chũw Bunyoro mí ngòw ò. Màdhí lèy ní bbalè cha ì nì Bunyoro ò nì rà nga bbiydha dhò ddiydho Bunyoro ó dziylíy tdè lání nyû 'wodha dhò. Mà hwo Bunyoro ó nì ndèy ndrũ sũw, lèy ní ndrũ nì dey ddinga ó ndèymí ndrũ nì màdhí lò-tso tẽy, à kwò mà tso-tso mà chũw mà Ndrũdjá ní. Nja-nja Bunyoro ó, mà nì mà chũw dùdú ní bba ò luw: Nyakyanika (Masindi district) ndèymí Nyakasenene, Kabale, Buseruka, Buguma Hoima district ó.

West Nile ó nja-nja nì màdhí pbúw nì Djówtss, híytsš, Rftss, Ddũtsš Dhátsš, Thÿtss, Bëytsš, Mbũtsš, Mbëytsš Lÿtss Ndrótsš, Ndrátsš, Rótsš Nyàtsš, Rútsš, Kìtsš, Gũwtss, Gÿtss Ngàtsš, ndèymí Yetsš njàddí nà.

Ndrũdjá mí pbúw DRC ó nì nì; Rftss, híytsš dhátsš Ddũtsš Gũtsš, Lòtsš, Lúwtss, ndótsš, Yëtsš, Mbëytsš, Lÿtss ndèymí Rútsš.

Wá nì pbúw nì ìdhí dyãdja nà cha ì nja nì ì djúnga nì Pey dèddò nì lò nà. Pey shì Peydja ngá pbúw óddò ka nzz Ddũtsš ní nì ndèymí dzayà shì Djówtss mí pbúw óddò. Dròdró ní pbúw ndèymí írò nì li djòkpa ddàdha djá nì ì:

Pbúw	Pbúw ó dyã dja
Djówtss	Tocon Samson
Rutsš	Kasamba Sibriano
Ddũtsš	Tocon William
Thÿtss	Raimond Binega
yëtsš	Ddiddi Moris
Rftss	Gilbert Ddota
hũhwi	Nen Peter
Ndrátsš	Cama Juma

Fú rusángó ddiydho dhò dròdró ní ndrũ kpalakpala cha ì nì ìdhí pbúw djòkpa ddà nì, chú njàddí dùdú ní pbúw nì ney cha ì nì dròdró ní pbúw tssštéy ddiinì li djòkpa ddàdha ó. Dhòdha ní Djówtss nì Lútsš mí pbúw nà, Ddũtsš nì híytsš Kòtsš ndèymí Rftss.

Í dùdú ní pbúw nì dròdró ní pbúw tssštéy ddiydho ndrũ jà nì drá, gbè Uganda ó, gbè ndrũ dhí njàddí pbúw nì DRC ò, à nì lání ka léy drá ní pbúw dròdró ní pbúw djòkpa ddàdha tssštéy ndrũ djú nga njàdha dhò ndèymí ndrũ djòkpa ddàdha nà.

The chiefs are concerned with the collection of revenue, taxes and other forms of support to the Kingdom, though they do not collect it often, as they do so whenever there is a need for material and financial support to the Kingdom.

The chiefs are appointed by the clan elders and forwarded to the Royal Council for approval of the King and the Prime Minister. When the king consents to the people's choice then the appointed person becomes chief immediately and the Prime Minister and other chiefs are tasked with the duty to mentor the new chief and guide him on his roles and responsibilities.

Our Prime Minister, Juninga Yofes, explains that we have a centralised system of administration, under the Kingship. The administrative unit is called the Ndrukpa Kingdom which is led by the King (Pey). The King is the supreme leader of the people and he is assisted by the chiefs in the various clans. He is the supreme King for all the Ndrukpa people in both Uganda and the DRC. The queen of Ndrukpa does not have a special title but many people have referred to her as *Pey dhi* and her name is Queen Elseba Uroya.

The King has his palace (still at its initial stage) in the Ndrukpa capital called Golaju, Akaa subcounty, in Zombo district.

The kingship is hereditary where the first son is supposed to inherit the throne when the King dies unless the King and the royal council decide otherwise. The cases under which the first prince is exempted from inheriting the throne are when the prince is insane, or does not believe in some of main beliefs of the Ndrukpa, such as believing in the supremacy of the Ndrukpa.

The King is also assisted by the Prime Minister and the Speaker. They are considered the top administrators who help the King to decentralise his directives to the different ministries and clan chiefs. The clan chiefs act on any directive from any ministry that is supposed to be fulfilled by the people. When any ministry plans some action for the Kingdom, it is first discussed by the Prime Minister in the royal council and the clan chiefs are expected to implement the plans by involving their people accordingly.

The ministers are appointed by the King on merit, following the individual's commitment to the kingdom through support and other contributions and the King reserves the right to dismiss any minister whom he feels is unable to perform, whether in terms of morality, ethics, age, commitment or health.



His Highness Manasi Njuni Rapia II seated in the courtyard

Drǒngó li Manasi Njuni Rapia II dòw thiyinga djú

Pey ddúw nì ddiy njúwdha nà, ddiy djúnga bbúdha ndèymí li tsotso kwódha pey dho dèy ndanà, kpe nzĩ ndrũ njúw nì wá nì nghanà cha tdè njèy ní chú kpe li dhokpa ó ddiy ndèymí Pey mí nga tsotso kwódha mb nà.

Pey ddúw dròdró ní pbúw vùnì ndey ndèymí ndrũ bba nì mí lò njuwdha ò, Pey ndèymí ndèy nyú djú li nà ùw nì mí li vùdha. Ya Pey ùw cha bbalè vùnì ndrũBbalè njă cha ndèy kâ Pey ní nì li ní gběle ndùw ndèy ka vù nì li ngúw ndèymí Prime Minister ndèymí njăddí pey ddúw mí ngúww dhò kà nì njí bbu lò tdràdha mí kà vù nì Pey fúli pbǒ ndanà ndèy kà ndèy njèy nì ddiy.

Màdhí Prime Minister, Juninga Yofes, ngâ mà nì Pey ngá li djòkpa ddàdha tsíté. Li djò kpa ddàdha mí ngúww ka nì iy Ndrũkpa mí Pey mí nga Pey nì ndèy djòkpa ddă. Pey nì drǒngó ní bbalè djòkpa ddàdha dja ndèymí Pey ddúw mí ngúww pbúw ó nì à dzzdjú. À nì Ndrũdjá mí drǒngó ní Pey Uganda ndèymí DRC ó bbalè nà wá. Ndrũdjá mí Pey thi nì ngă li dò njèydha mí dho nà chú báy ní bbalè nzz nì à Pey dhi ní à ródho nì Elseba Uroya.

Pey nì nděyngá kaley nà (dèy à ngà ndèytsò ngàdha ní) Ndrũdjá mí drǒngó ní bba ó ka iy nì Golaju ní nì, Akaa sub-county, Zombo district ó nì.

Pey ka dho li ney, nji tsòdjú kpatsè ní ngba dho ngu ney Pey ní ya Pey dhi ro dèy nzá Pey ndèymí njuwdha ùw ro. Pey ngá nji tsòdjú kpatsè ní ngba ì dho ngu nzĩ



The administrative team of the Ndrūkpa people. The clan chiefs, the youth representatives, the women representatives, security officers and the ministers after a council meeting

'Ndrūkpa mí bballèi djòkpa ddàdha. Pey ddúw mí ngúw, yàdda djú ndrű, dhì ní ndrű djú li li ró nga pbòdha djá ndèymí njí djá njuwdha dzzdjú

pey ní ya à djòkpa nì ngǎ tútú ǐngí à `ùw nì nzǐ Ndrǔdjá njeý nì nì lò gbè Ndrǔdjá mí li djòkpa ddàdha.

Prime Minister ndèymí Speaker nì Pey dzzdjú ndrǔ. Ndrǔ nì dròdró ní li djòkpa ddàdha djá cha ì kwó nì Pey tsotso lò ónga njàdha nà ngéy ngéy ní njí ó ndèymí pey ddúw mí ngúww nà. Pey ddúw mí ngúww njèy nì ka dhò ì dho nì ddiy njàddí lò ó à kà bbalè njěy nì. Ya njàddí ngúww lèy njí Pey mí nga dhò, Prime Minister mà nja ónga nji kaley mí njuwdha ó ndèymí ka nì mí lò ley pey ddúw kàó ndrǔ tdrǎ mí lò ìdhí ddiddi ní bbalè dhò.

Ì nì njí njěy nì ndrǔ Pey vú nì ndey lǎní nga djú ddù, li bbúdha Pey mí nga ò ndèymí à tsotso kwódha ndèymí njaddí li bbúdha nà ndèymí Pey nì ney tuw nà njí djá ddàdha mǐ cha ndèy chúw ndèy dho njèy nzǐ nì, kpe nda li jì ka ùw nì ùdha, cho, li ró nga bbúdha ǐngí vokavo ní déydha.

4. GROWING UP AS A NDRUKPA

Birth

Among us the Ndrukpa, birth is an important moment when a new member of the society is brought to life. For the mother, after the labour pains, joy comes with the new baby.

According to William Opoka, an elder from Nyakasenene, a hundred or so years ago, when a woman gave birth, she and the baby were taken to a separate house with restricted access. If it was a first born, the grandmother was responsible for taking care of the baby.

Sometimes, when the baby's mother did not have breast milk, some rituals were conducted or fellow women who were breastfeeding were brought to feed the new baby until the mother had her own milk. There were also traditional birth attendants in the community who would be called for any woman who was in labour to deliver safely.

Ceremonies associated with birth.

Onyuthuwun Emmy tells us birth ceremonies varied with the sex of the baby. When a baby boy was born, he was kept indoors with the mother and the grandmother for three days, while for the girls it was four days. During these days of indoor keeping, reeds were put across the door to show that a new born baby was in that house and it was prohibited for ladies in their menstrual periods to enter the house. Other people who were not allowed to enter that room included adulterous men and women, fornicators and those who had recently eaten goat's meat. All were considered unclean and sources of misfortune, especially sickness for the new born baby.

Until a baby's mother was able to cook for herself, a specially appointed woman was arranged to help cook, so that the mother had ample time with her baby and gained enough strength to work after childbearing. Some Ndrukpa families still follow these beliefs and practices.

Naming of the child

A naming ceremony was organised three or four days after birth depending on the sex of the child. The naming was done on the first day of the baby coming out of the house, also the day when the baby was set free to be carried by any other person. This is still practiced by some families.

An opportunity was given to the baby's mother to suggest a name, but the aunts and especially the baby's grandmother also participated. Names were given for a reason but only 3 names at most were adopted. Some of the circumstances that dictated the name included hunger, drought, rain, conflict, a happy moment and some victorious encounters in life.

Jetha, a women representative in the King's Council and Anecho Sam Ayiza, a clan priest, shared some of the Ndrukpa names and their meanings:

4. DHÌYDHA NDRŮDJA-DDÙW NÍCHÚ

Ddèy

Mà Ndrŭdjá kàó, ddèy nì ndèy huwdjò nì túw ní nga cha tdey nì bbalè kíyddà drí ndèy ndanà djíy ò nì. Li híy dhò, ya à nza ndèy ndéy nà ddiy dzzdjú, à chuw nì hwí yà ndèy gòw tdey nì ní ngba ro.

Ngbè William Poka tdrà níchú, Nyakasenene ó dröngóli, chwo ddàkì ddi ñngi ndèy da fũ nì djòluw nì, ya híytss ní li gòw bbalè, à ndéyngá ngba nà ka dèy ndrŭ mbá ngéy ní dza ò cha nzí ka tsúw òma swà-swà nì. Ya à tdè ddíydjò ní ngba, djíyani rà à róngba pbò ndey.

Njà ddi nga nà, ya ngba mí yàni djà nì ngă, ka rà ddiy rò njèy ngba mí yàni ró ndaní dja chũw ndanà ñngi ka rà cha ì ngòdju nzòw nà nì nzòw híy mbà à bbú dja mí ngba dhò pbũw mí ngba yà djà rà shì ddiy ò. Cha ì ngá nì dhì nì ndrŭ ddi dèy tdè nèy mí bba òluw cha ka rá ñy yà híytss nì rá ndèy nga ro ndaní à ngá ndèy lăní.

Gôw dho ka njeý nì madha

Onyuthuwun Emmy tdrà màdho gôw mí seremoni tdè nì ngéy-ngeý mí nzòw jì ró. Ya ka gòw kpatss ní ngba, fú ngba mà rà dey yàni ñngi djíyani mà nà dzá ddu gbow nì dho, dhì-nzòw dho à tdè ddu tho nì dho. Dzà déydha mí ddu ó, ka dèy wíy ta dzá tsò ro ndaní à dhò kà ní ngba nì ney nèy dzá. Fú nì tdè ndaní à rí dhì-nzow cha ì njà bíy nì tsùwdha nà nèy dzá. Njàddí bbalè cha nzí ka dèy jí ì tsúw nèy dzá nì tdè bbàlà djá ndèymí ì nyù drí za fú nga nà nì ndrŭ. Fú bbalè wá ka ddèy ndrŭ nì ngá thí ndèymí ndrŭ rà tdr ñngi dhi mbà fú ngba ró.

Pbũw ngba mí yàni lòw dey nga rì ndèy thopka nà ro, ka dèy ngéy ní sǐngba vu à kwó à tso-tso, ndaní ngba mí yàni déy ndèy ngá ngba nà ndèymí ndaní yàni chũw klòw cha à dho ndanà njí njèy gôw dzzdjú. Njàddí Ndrŭdja dyòw nì fú ùwdha ndèymí njèydha nà sũw.

Ngba ródho léydha

Ngba ródho léydha mí seremony dèy ndèy njèy ddu gbow ñngi tho nì dzzdjú cha mí ngba nì níchú. Ngba ródho léydha dèy ndèy njèy ya ngba ka ddă dzá ddù mí ddi nì mí ddu ó, ndèymí cha ngba ka ddă ngéy ní bbalè tdũw ro. Njàddí bba nì sũw ì ddiy njèy.

Ka dèy nga bbu ngba mí yàni bbú dho rò chú 'wíy nì ndèymí ngba mí djíyà nì dèy nzòw ródho ley. Dho ka dèy ley mí lò-tey nà chú dho gbow dèy pbă ndeyCha ndèy dèy ley ka léy dho nì ddiy tdè fùw, itss, dji, la, hwí mí ddu ndèymí lăní ndèy njèy ndèy nyimí djíy ó nì ddiy.

Jetha, Pey ngá njúwdha kàó híytss ní li ndèymí a women representative in the King's Council and Necho Sam Yidza, ngúww dhí gúw-dja, dhò Ndrŭdjá dhí dho rò ndèymí lò-tey nà:

Names	Meaning	Situations for the Name
Ndru Nyu (for boys or girls)	One who eats much	When the mother of the child is lazy and only likes eating
Lotsoro (for males) and Lotsovi (for girls)	The first person to be approached or most affected by a family problem	When birth was difficult, or the child is having health problems related to the ancestral spirits
Dzaawei (for girls)	The house is disturbing me	When the mother is not settled at her home and has problems such as barrenness or being blamed for all the misfortunes at home by her husband and other relatives
Lonzama (for boys)	I am tired of problems	When the mother suffered much in life
Bba Kama (for boys)	I am fed up with the home	The product of an unstable marriage
Lorovuu (for girls)	I am overburdened	When the mother confronted difficulties

Twins and their Ceremony

Mzee Anecho Sam, from the Huwi clan and a father of twins, explains the ceremonies associated with twins.

“We recognise all the fruits of the womb in terms of child bearing. Special attention is given to twins whenever they are born. The names given are Njikpa for the male first born of twins and Zuudha for the second child if a female, while the rest are given ordinary names. Twins are celebrated among the Ndrukpa community as they are considered a spiritual gift to the family and are treated with much respect.

“That is what I always do in my family. My grandfather Ayiza used to tell me that when twins are born, there is always a pot with two openings used for the worship of the gods and the twins. The pot is filled with some herbs and charms that are said to protect the babies and their mother. When my wife gave birth to twins in 2004, I immediately remembered what my grandfather had told me and, though he had died, he had left all the materials with my father Musurubu. I had to do exactly as my grandfather told me though my wife was hesitant.

The mother is taken to the pot outside the compound, preferably at the shrine, and she puts her eyes in one opening of the pot, while the priest blows air in the pot through the other opening so that it enters the woman’s eyes. We believe that, if this is not done, the woman loses her sight as well as the twins. This is done to keep the woman close to the gods of twins and also shows her readiness to take care of the twins. When the twins grow up, they are also led through the same process and thereafter at the end of every month to keep the babies and their mother connected to the gods.”

Dho	Lo-tey	Cha mí ddiy njèy ndèy mí sǎ
Ndrũ Nyu (kpaní nzòw ingí dhì nzòw ní nzòw)	Ndèy nyu nì nga drõ nì lí.	Ngba mí yàni tdè tss nà, à jì tdè nga nyùdha drõ ro
Lotsoro (kpa ní nzòw dho) ndèymí Lotsovi (dhì nzòw dho)	Njitsó bba ó ka dhí nì lí	Gõw tdè kpá-kpá, ñngi ngba nì rr nì mbá nì dhì nà
Dzaawei (dhì nzòw dho)	Dza nì nzadha ó	Yǎni tey bbà nzá nděyngá dzá ndèymí à tdè ngúw ní ñngi kpatsš ñngi ngéy ní bbalè dëy à dhúw cha ndèy nì shí nì tr dhò.
Lonzama (kpa ní nzòw dho)	Ma nzà ñà lò nà	Yǎni nzǎ ndèy drõ djíy
Bba Kama (kpa ní nzòw dho)	Bba nzǎ ma ñà	Gõw nzá ndèy dèy ní ków mí
Lorovuu (dhì nzòw dho)	Ma djú lò nì ndrõ	Yǎni njúw tdè ndèy kpá-kpá ní lò nà ro.

Zuu ì dhí seremoni nà



The double-ended pot known as the Zuu Ddey used for the twins' ceremony. On top are the herbs that are put in the pot during the twins' worship

Ndèy tsò rwo nì zuu tdey ka dëy ndanà zu mí madha njëy. Djõmá nì tsó gi ka dëy ley mí tdey ò nì zu dhò ka nì zž ro



Mzee Anecho Sam holding the pot with two openings. Among the Ndrukpa, twins are supposed to live together. They are even supposed to go to the same school.

Mzee Necho Sam lòw zu-tděy ndèy tsò rwo nì. Ndrũdjá kào à jì zu déy ddinga ó. Ndrũ kà ddí ì rá ddì nì li-gwíydha mí nga ò

Childhood

Apart from education at school, elders are important for Ndrukpa children to grow up with our community's knowledge and values. These are also passed to the children through songs, wise sayings, rhymes and riddles.

The clan elder of Ndrats, Mr. Juma, however said that this form of education is slowly dying away because children no longer value it much. Education used to be conducted at home in the evening around the fireplaces as the elders sat together with the children. Nowadays, young people mostly spend their evening at the trading centres, only place emphasis on school and ignore staying with their elders at home, so they do not get the opportunity to learn about Ndrukpa values and knowledge.

Where this still happens, however, girls and boys are groomed differently. Girls are assigned to their mothers and aunts who teach them how to become good women in the future while boys are taught by their fathers and uncles.

Mzee Necho Sam, zu-dja Huhwi mí ngúww óddù nì dhò màdho zu dhò ka njëy nì seremoni.

“Mà bbú nì madha ddiy wání dho cha ndèy shì li zž óddù nì ngbè nzòw gòwdha níchú nì. Ka pbow nì ndrũ róngà à da nì ngéy ní ddiy djòluw ya ka gòw ndrũ ro. Dho cha ka bbũ nì ndrũ dhò nì Njikpa kpatss ní ngba njí ka gòw nì dho ndèymí Zuudha rwo nì mí ngba dhò ya à nì sngba ní, ngéy ní ndrũ dhò ka bbú nì ney ndèy ní dho. Zu mádha njey nì ndèy Ndrũdjá dhí ngúww ka ddiydho ka tdũw fú nì rr mí bbudha bba dhò ndèymí ka bbũ nì ndrũ dhò drǒngó ní madha. Fú nì cha ma njey nì ddiy màtsá ngá bba ó. Màtsá bbuwni Yidzà dëy tdrà ma dhò ya ka gòw zu ro, wání ga nà ndèy tsò rwo nì tdey tdeni ney cha ka njey nì ndanà zždha gúw dè ndèymí zu dhò nì. Fú tdey ò ka léy nì tsúw cha ndèy pbow nì zu ní nzòw róngà nì ndèymí ndrũ dhí yǎni nà. Màtsá ngá hiyts gòw tdè zu chwo 2004 nà ro, ndũw ma ddèy màtsá bbuwni dëy tdrà tdè madhò nì ddiy ndèymí kpe à dhì tdè, à bbà tdè wání ddiy màtsá djǎni Musurubbu dè. Ma njèy cha màtsá bbuwni tdrà tdè madhò nì ddiy yakpe màtsá ngá hiyts dëy tsa tsádha ní.

“ Ngba mí yǎni ka rà mbà tdey dè rúgo bbaydjò, gúw-dzà dè ndèymí à rà ndèy nyú ley ddi nì tdey tsò ró, gúw-dja kě rà rà ndèy hì vù tdey ò ddi nì tdey tsò nà ndaní à tsúw ngba mí yǎni nyú ò. Mà nì úwdha nà, ya í ddiy nzá ka njèy, nzòw dhí yǎni nyú múw nì ndèymí ǎngá zu ddi. Í ddiy njey nì ndèy ndaní zu mí yǎni déy chow nì zu mí rr nà ndèymí à dho nì fú li dho ney fú zu róngà pbò. Ya fú zu dhiy ro, ndrũ ddi ka lëy nì ndrũ dǎ fú ddi nì tuw jì nà Fúddiy dhò bÿy kodjò ró ka njëy nì ndrũ ró fú ddiy à pbò zu róngà ndèymí ndrũ dhí yǎni nà ndrũ déy chow ní rr nà.”

Nzòw ní déydha

À bba li-ngíydha dzà ò ka ra nì mí li-gwíydha, Ndrũdjá dhí dròdró ní ndrũ léy nì Ndrũdjá mí nzòw dhiy Ndrũdjá dhí lò-tsiydha nà. Í ddiy ka dho nì ndrũ dhò gwo ó, nyũ'wiy mí lò-tdràdha ó, lò-mbàdha ó ndèymí lò-gbódha nà.

Ndrats mí ngúww djú drǒngóli Mr. Juma, tdrà, í li gwíydha jì rǎ dhì dha nà bbò ddiydho í nga nà nì nzòw léy nì ì jùw nzí mí lò ró drǒ. Li-gwíydha dëy ndèy njëy bba kà ó ngítss djú nga nà kátss tsò ró cha dròdró ní ndrũ dòw ddi nga ó ì dhí nzòw nà ro. Ndu nì ddu ó, yǎddá drǒ ní ngà ndrũ déy nì dúwkà tsòró luw ngítss djú nga nà, ndrũ léy nì ì jùw li-gwíydha dzà ó li-gwíydha djú ndèymí ndrũ jì nì nzí ì déy ìdhí dròdró ní ndrũ nà, Fúddiy dhò nga rò nì ngǎ cha ndrũ dho ndanà Ndrũdjá dhí bbacha mí lò tsì nì.

Cha í ddiy nì ndèy njëy mí nga ó, dhì-nzòw ndèymí kpa ní nzòw nà dhí dhiy nì ngéy. Dhì-nzòw dhí híy ní ndèymí ‘wí ní nà gwíy nì ndrũ ndaní ndrũ déy lǎní ì jì nà nì dhì ní, kpa ní nzòw djǎní ndèymí djaní djù nà nì gwíy nì ndrũ.



The spear, a tool for security and hunting.

Lěy njòw njòwdha mĩ cha ka dëy li Kitss dè nyũ nà nì.

Knowledge is also passed on practically: if an uncle for instance wants to teach the young boys how to cultivate, he will gather all the young boys and take them for communal digging while the girls are assigned the responsibility of cooking for the boys. At the garden, the uncle allocates shares of work for each of the boys according to their ages, so that everyone struggles to finish before the others and receives privileges: as they all return to their uncle's home to take their lunch, he rewards with food the best worker who is the first person to finish his portion.

For the girl child, the aunt who is assigned to educate her calls her to stay with her as she tells her what is expected of her and monitors her as she practices.

Special skills like knitting, weaving and pottery are transmitted by those with the skills to the young ones by involving them in the processes, first as juniors as they undergo the training.

Among the Ndrukpa, skills and knowledge like hunting and traditional healing are also passed to the youth. If the grandfather was a hunter, the following generation will normally also become hunters and they are taught the skills by their grandfather as he starts taking them to the hunting grounds from the age of 12.

Marriage

Juninga, the Ndrukpa Prime Minister, reminds us that, among the Ndrukpa, marriage is considered a blessing and part of life. As every Ndrukpa must experience it, it is not common for a Ndrukpa to practice celibacy. It is indeed considered a curse for a young lady or a young man to remain single since we believe that everybody must contribute to the growth of society through marriage and reproduction.



Mothers informally teach their daughters how to perform domestic chores, such as here making millet flour.

Ngba mí yǎni nì dhàni gwǎy dzá nì njí nǎyèdha nà gbè dyúwrà ùwdha

Lò-tsidha ka dǎy dhǒ nzòw dho li thopka nà nì njí nǎyèdha òluw: Ya nzòw dhí djání djù nì jǐ ì gwǎy kpa ní nzòw nza bbìydha nà, à rà kpa ní nzòw njuw wá ka ndrǔ mbà ddinga ó nì nza bbìydha ò, ka rà dhì-nzòw ley ndrǔ rǐy nyǔ kpa ní nzòw dho. Fú lè nza ò ka rà nza tdey ndrǔ dhò ndrǔ dhí chwo ró, cha ndèy rà nza si nji nì li rà lǎní nga chùw: cha ya ndrǔ ngǔ wá nyǔ nyùdha dè ro, ndèy si nza njí nì li ka rà ndey li ma nyǔ nà.

Dhì-nzòw dho, cha ndèy nì à gwǎy nì 'wíy nì rà à iy à rǎ dey ndèy dè cha à rà dey cha sǐngba ní ngba kà ndèy njǎy nì ddiy tdrà à dho ro ndèymí à rà ndey njà ya ney à nì njǎy lǎní ddiy.

Ddiy tówdha, dyàdha ndèymí rùdha mí nyǔ'wiy cha ì tsì fú ddiy nì ndrǔ dǎy bbu yǎddá dhò fú ndrǔ leydha nà à njǎy fú ddiy tuw òluw, nji ì nì jǐ ì tsì fú ddiy nì ndrǔ ní.

Li róngà nà nì ddiy nǎyèdha ndèymí lò-tsiydha nà gbè njòw njòwdha mà ndèymí li róngà pádha mànà ka dǎy ley yǎddá tsíy. Ya bbuw nyi tdè njòw dja, à ó ddèy ddí rà dey njòw djá ní ndèymí ndrǔ dhí bbuw nì rà ndrǔ gwǎy njòw njòwdha nà à nga ndèy chwo 12 nà nì óddù.

Juninga Ndrǔdjá dhí Pey njí li dhò mà dhó, Ndrǔdjá kàó ków nì bù ndèymí à nì cha à kà ka njǎy li dhí djǐy ó nì ddiy. Gbè wáni Ndrǔdjá kà ì njǎy níchú, à nì kpákpá Ndrǔdjá ǐngi Ndrǔ-hiy dhò à déy nzá ndèy kòw ndèy ní. À nì wá sǐngba ní ngba ǐngi kpatss ní ngba dhò à déy nzá ndèy kòw ndèy nì cha mà wáni ùw Ndrǔdjá drí ì kíyddà ków nà ndèymí li gòwdha nà. Mà dhiy nyi ya ney nyi jùw dho dey hwí nà ya ddùw nyi gù ndèy kòw sǐngba ro, à tdrà: "Yakpe nzòw kà ì mǎy ìdhí dhí ì ní ddù, à kà bbalè wáni ków ì. Ya ma jì tdè nzá ma ków ma ro? Fú ndù tdè ra dey ña ngá?" À mba nì tdó-tdò bbalè ò ya kpatss ní ngba ǐngí sǐngba ní ngba cha ndèy ká ków nà nì nì jǐ nzǐ ndèy kòw ndèy. Dzá nì bbalè, dyási ndèymí à làyi nà mey nì ków mí tuw ndey à dhò.

Ndrǔ ní ków

Ndrǔ ní kpatss ní ngba ndèymí sǐngba ní ngba mí djání dǎy ndey ków mí lò dhǐ ya ì dhí nzòw dhí chwo kǎ ków nà ro (à da 20 djòluw). Ndu ddí kpe, kpatss ní ngba kà nzá ndèy kòw sǐngba yǎni màdhí ngá ngúww óddù. Ya à kòw sǐngba ndèy làyí mí ngúww óddù, fú kpatss ní ngba ka wá nì ndèymí ǎ ngá nzòw rà dey dhí dhidha ní pbùw mí ków ónga ka rà dha ddiy ò.

When asked whether he would be pleased if his son chose not to marry, he said: “*Though children are to make their choices, to me marriage is very important and is compulsory. What if I had chosen not to marry? Where would they be?*” The community therefore becomes concerned if any young man or woman whom they consider ready for marriage is not showing interest. Family members, friends and relative thus take it upon themselves to initiate a marriage for them.

Marriage in the past

Marriage in the past was initiated by the parents of the boy and the girl when ready for marriage (above twenty years of age). Even today, the boy is not to marry from the mother’s lineage but can marry from other clans. If he marries from a relative’s clan the boy is cursed and his children continue to die until separation is initiated.

Before the Ndrukpa migrations, we only married among themselves and marriage was even possible among relatives as there were then no clans. During that period, there was no bride price: marriage was for procreation and companionship. Later, when the Ndrukpa started their migrations, other groups were encountered and intermarriages started to happen. The first intermarriage was among the Ndrukpa and the Kebu but the best remembered one according to the Minister for Culture of the Kebu was one where a Ndrukpa lady married chief Chuwa of Alur. This was not agreed upon by everybody and led to the creation of different clans. Mr. Jalcebu the Minister of Culture of the Alur, tells us that among the Alur, bride price was much valued: the chief paid bride price to his father-in-law and the Ndrukpa then saw that this was a good practice. At that time, the items given were food items, with cows and goats coming later, as people started to attach more value to cattle than mere food crops. So, in the past, the bride price was in the form of items such as pumpkin and millet, measured in baskets called “*dyu*”. This was later replaced with cattle, goats and cash. Throughout that time, marriage was initiated by the parents and other relatives, especially the uncles and aunts.

Steven Wamani, youth representative in the Ajusi clan (Nyakasenene, Kabale, Hoima District), further explains that, when the lady goes to her home, the girl’s family members (young men) organise themselves to look for their sister in what is called *ou adha*. This is organised to allow the girl’s brother to know where their sister married. On arrival, they are given a cock which is prepared by their sister as a sign of welcome to her home and to show her husband’s commitment to marry her. The cock is eaten there but the brothers will expect to return with a minimum of two goats as a beginning of the dowry and to inform the girl’s parents. That is also when the formal arrangement for the main bride price is organised.

Even now, in some families, when their daughters get married and the dowry is brought, this will be used to marry the girl’s brother. If the girl has no brother, the bride price items are kept for the girl’s father who decides whether or not to share them with his brothers. In the past, and up to the early 90s, entertainment was provided with bows harps (*Dhowma*) and other traditional musical instruments.

Mr. Chombe, a resident of Nyakasenene village, Kabale, Hoima district also

Dëy nzá Ndrüdjá ngbÿy tde ì ì riydja óddù ní, mà dëy mà kôw mà kàò, à dëy ddi ndèy njëy ney ddiydho ngéy ní ngúww tde ngă. Fú nga nà, màli bbúdha tde ngă: kôw tde li róngà pbòdha dhò ndèymí ddinga ó déydha dhò. Luwtò, Ndrüdjá ngă ìdhí bbìydha tsò ro, ngéy ní ngúww lòw dey ì chùw ndèymí ków ngéy ní pbúw nà nì lòw dey ndèy njëy. Pbúw kàò njitsó nì ków tde Ndrüdjá kàò Kitss nà chú ndèy fuwdjò ka tsì lání nì cha Gow mí ngúww djú Pey Chuwa kòw tde Ndrü-híy ddi, Minista bbacha mí Kitss mí tdrà. Fú ddiy ùw tde ndèy nzá bbalè wá nì dho à lèy ngéy-ngéy ní ngúww lòw dey ì chùw. Mr. Jalcebu Gow dhí Minista Bbacha mí, tdrà màdho, Gow kàò, màli fuwdjò tde tũw: Gow mí ngúww djú Pey bbúw tde màli bbuw nì dho ndèymí Ndrüdjá njà fú nì tde lání njèydha. Fú nga nà, cha ka dëy bbuw nì ddiy tde nyũ, drìtsé ndèymí drè ngũ shì luwtò cha bbalè lòw dey drìtsé njà tũw-tũw ní ddiy ní à da nyũ djòluw. Fú ddiy wá nì òluw, gôw djá dëy ndey ków mí lò thí ndèymí ngéy ní li làyi nà ngbè li djá-djù ndèymí li-'wíy nà.



Bow harp (Dhowma), a local stringed instrument used for the Dhowma dance. It is from the name of the instrument that the dance derives its name This was until recently the source of entertainment during bride price payment functions.

Dòma ndèy ngiy nàni gwo mí ddiy ka biy nì ndanà dyì. Dòma dyì ka biy nì doma nà li nyú tsàdha dhó ndèymí hwíy njèydha dhò màli mbàdha mí nga nà.

Steven Wamani, yáddá nyú djú li djówtsé mí ngúww óddù nì (Nyakasenene, Kabale, Hoima District) drí ndèy tdràdha nà, ya sǐngba ní ngba ngũ ndèy bbà, sǐngba màdhí ngá ndrũ (kpaní nzòw) ra nì ìdhí vǐnì rǐrdja mèy, fúni ka íy nì `uw^{dh}a. Í ddiy njeý nì ndèy ndaní sǐngba màdhí nga ndrũ tsí cha ìdhí ngá sǐngba ní ngba kòw ndèy mí nga. Ya ndrũ shì, ka bbú nì ndrũ dhò òw-kpà cha ndrũ dhí vǐnì rà rì. Fú nì rà dhò nà ka kwò ndrũ tso-tso ndèymí fú nì rà kpatsé mí úwdha dhò fúli kòwdha mí. Fú òw ka rà à fungá chú djúni rà jì ì ngúw pbúw drè na rwo màli bbúdha tsò ngádha mí ndèymí ndrũ rà ndanà lò ngú sǐngba mí gòwdjá dè.

Ndrũ ní màli ní ka dëy bbu nì ddiy mà tde dhùw ndèymí dyuw nà, ka dëy tdey dyũ nà. Í ddiy rrdja ó ka lòw dey drìtsé, drè ndèymí mb bbu.

Chú nja-nja kpe njàddí bba ó, ya ndrũ dhí sǐngba ní ngba kòw ndèy, ka rà màli mbà, í nì nà ka rà sǐngba ní ngba mí djùni dho sǐngba kòw. Ya sǐngba mí djùni nì ngă, ka rà mí màli ley sǐngba ní ngba mí djani dhó cha ndèy rà ddey ñngi ì ndò ònga ñngi nzí djùni nà. Ndrüni ndèymí pbúw chwo 1990 mà ò, li nyú

explained: *“After the bride price payment, the bride would take a minimum of two weeks after the ceremony as she prepared to go back to her home. Her mother would buy her some home materials such as pots, plates, a saucepan and other materials she felt were necessary for her daughter. The bride arranged with her sisters and relatives when to go back. Her sisters would help her carry her belongings, including what the mother bought for her, and escort her to her new home. Upon arrival, she would be welcomed by the boy’s sisters who would show her new home or the mediator’s place, if there was a mediator in the marriage process.*

“The bride’s sisters would take a week at their sister’s home as they continued helping her to cultivate or to clean her home. Before leaving, they would caution her never to disappoint by failing to perform to avoid insults to the girl’s mother and aunt, as they were held responsible for the girl’s performance.”

Marriage nowadays

Among us the Ndrukpa, it is now the responsibility of the boy and the girl to identify one’s future wife or husband. Parents and other relatives therefore have limited influence at the initial stage of the marriage process. This started in the 1950s, as a result of the inclusion of cattle in the bride price. The number of cattle accepted for dowry price was a minimum of 11 although, with the reduction in the number of cows to even as low as 3 cows, this led many youths to ignore the parents’ roles. The boys’ parents started reducing the number of cattle because of the increasing breakdown of marriages. Mr. Unewun from Nyakasenene for instance said he only gave 2 cows and goats because he wanted to first see whether the woman would stay. Indeed, when she left, he decided to claim back three cows. He added that the most important in today’s marriage is not the bride price but harmony among the families.

A Ndrukpa – whether boy or girl - on average marries at 16 years, though in the past one had to be at least 20. Currently, when a boy realises the need to get married, he starts building his own hut and starts isolating himself from any brother with whom he used to share accommodation. When the hut is complete, he may get into serious agriculture for income, while still depending on parents for food. Income is used to spend leisure time in bars with a girlfriend and other friends. Some boys however buy beddings, cooking materials and goats to prepare for an independent life.

Girls also start frequenting social places, like markets, funeral places, dowry ceremonies and disco dances to attract a boy. They also start visiting their relatives, especially aunts, to see young men who may get interested. If this happens, the girl will not tell her aunt but keep it as a secret with the boy. Secret meetings may then take place either in the boy’s house or the boy’s friends’ place. This helps them to know themselves better but in most cases they meet for sexual intercourse though still outside marriage.

tsàdha ndèymí hwíy njèydha nà ka ndèy fú ddiy mà njèy *dòwma* nà ndèymí ngéy ní ngwo mí ddiy nà ngbè *ddòngo mà*.

Mr. Chombe, Nyakasenene mí bba, Kabale, Hoima district ó nì ddí tdrà màdho: “*Màli bbúwdha dzzdjú, sǐngba ní ngba rà yéngà tduw rwo màli mbàdha dzzdjú ndèy thidha mí ndaní ndèy ngúw ndèy bbă. À mí yǎni rà dzá nì nò dziy gbè tdey mà,sǎni mà, súpíríy mà, ndèymí ngéy-ngéy ní ddiy nà cha à tsi àdho ney à tso-tso kwo ndèy bbă nì nà. Sǐngba mà rà ì thì víní nà ndèymí njàddí ndèy làyi nà ya nǎngí ì kà ì rǎ ddiy. Víní rà à djùtey mbà à mí nò tdòwdha nà à bbă. Ya à shì ro, ‘wíní rà à kwo àngá tuwdja bbă, ya tuwdja tdè ney mí ków ó ro.*”

“*Sǐngba mí víní rà yéngà tduw ddi yà ì nì ndanà à tso-tso kwo nza bbìydha nà ndèymí bba thidha nà. Ya ndrũ nì rǎ ngu ro ndrũ r` à nyú ddù nzí à nyá ì djú do nzí jí njèydha nà ndaní nzánà ka dhũw ì ddiydho ì chú gwíy fú li ndey.*”

Nja-nja nì ków

Nja-nja mà Ndrũdjá kào, sǐngba ní ngba mey nì ndèymí kpatsè ndèy ní ddù, kpatsè ní ngba ddí fũchú. Gõwdjá ndèymí njàddí li-làyi nà dhí njí nì drá fú ków mí lò ó. Fú ddiy tsò ngà ndèy chwo 1950 nì nà cha ka lòw dey drrĩtss bbu màli ní mí nga nà. Ka dèy drrĩtss hwo bbu, drá ní tdè 11, Fúddiy dzzdjú à ngúww drrĩtss 3, fú ddiy lèy yáddà tdũw Gõwdja dhí njí ngǎ ków ó. Kpaní nzòw dhí djani lòw dey drrĩtss hwo ngú luwtò ddiydho ków ónga ndòdha mí klów dà nga djòluw. Mr. Unewun Nyakasenene ó nì tdrà ndèy bbũw drrĩtss 2 kpala-kpala ndèymí drĩ nà ddiydho nji à jì tdè ndèy njǎ ya ney mí sǐngba rà dey ddiy. Diychú, à bbà mí nga nà, ma rà drrĩtss 3 nì zǝ ví. À drĩ lò kíyddà, à tdrà, drǒngó ní ddiy ndu nì ków ó nì nì ngǎ màli chú lǎní déydha fú bba ó nì.

Nja-nja nì Ndrũdjá, à tdě sǐngba ní ngba ïngi kpatsè ní ngba ndrũ tsúw nì ków ò chwo 16 nì nà, ya kpe ndrũní ka dèy li ków chwo 20 nì nà. Nja-nja ya kpatsè ní ngba njà ndèy kǎ nǎ à rà lòw dey ndèymí dza sè, ndèymí à rà lòw ddù ddí ddi ní ì dhí nga kpa ní nzòw ró ddù. Ya dza síy ndèy à rà lòw nza bbìy ya kpe à rà dey nga nyù yǎni mà dè. À nì chũw nì mb nà à rà dey wa mbrĩ wa-dzà ó dhiy-nzòw nà ndèymí njàddí ndèy dyási nà. Njàddí ndrũ dziynì híydha mí nò, nga rìdha mí nò ndèymí drĩ nà cha ì nì ì thíy ndanà ì djú ddù nì déydha dhò.

Dhì-nzòw low nì dey bbìy litsò njúwdha mí nga ò gbè sòkò, dhi djòluw, mbàbbà nì shí mí nga ndèymí dyì òluw ndaní kpa njǎ ì. Ndrũ low nì dey rà ì làyi róngà njà, gbè ìdhí ‘wíní níchú ndaní ì chũw kpa cha ì jì inì. Ya í ddiy nì ndèy njèy ndrũ rà jì nzí mí lò tsíy ndèy. Rùdha ní litsò njúwdha rà lòw dey ndèy njèy kpatsè ní ngba ngà dzá ïngi à mí dyànisi ngà dzá. Í ddiy léy nì ndrũ tsí ì lǎní chú ndrũ déy nì ì njuw bbǎla njèydha dhò ya kpe à nì dèy nzá ków njèy ndèy ní.

Ya sǐngba ní ngba màdhí lò nì ndèy drr sũw, kpatsè ní ngba rà dey à dhò ndèy dyási dhò ndaní ndrũ tdrà à ró lò. Ya wání lò nì lǎní kpatsè ní ngba rà ndèy drr ków mí lò nà nzá ndèy dhiy djani mà ní. Drá ní nga dzzdjú, kpatsè nì ngba rà ndèymí ków mí lò dda tende djani mà dho, ndèymí ya djani mà ùw, ka rà tdrà kpatsè ní

As the courtship continues, the boy introduces her to other friends for compliment and opinion. If all comment positively, the boy goes ahead and proposes marriage without even asking for the parents' opinion. In a few instances, the boy may disclose his marriage intention to his parents and, if the father seconds the plan, the boy is asked to introduce the lady to his other relatives who may approve of her or not. When the relatives approve the girl, the boy will decide when to bring her home for marriage.

On the day the boy decides to marry, he arranges with the girlfriend the time when she should come to her new home. The boy brings the girl home and surprises the family with the existence of his wife. The girl spends most of her time indoors until the boy's sisters or other female relatives realise her presence in the boy's home. Most of our marriage nowadays therefore do not start with any ceremony.

Decrying current marriage practices

When interviewed on marriage among the Ndrukpa today, Bone Geoffrey had this to say:

"I note with great concern that we Ndrukpa have lost our culture, not only in terms of language but also food and other cultural aspects. The worst that keeps me crying for the past life style is the issue of marriage. Things have really changed. For us living among the Banyoro, we are not even sure whether we are really following the culture of the Ndrukpa.

"These days many youths term the marriage process as "Ma mei mani ddo" (I look for mine myself). This means that parents and relatives are not involved in finding the bride or groom. Any youth who feels like he or she is ready for marriage identifies a partner and marries. As a true Ndrukpa who is not so young, I feel so hurt when I wake up in the morning and see a new face in the community and when you ask your son, he just says "this is my wife". As the parents, you cannot do anything because the youth have already decided and, if you keep pushing against them, you may end up remaining alone in the home. We the parents don't even have the power to chase or question how it all started since we are also aware of the new ways. "Ma mei mani ddo". As parents we however cannot run away from our responsibility of supporting our sons through the bride price payment.

"I want to caution youth against such practices because we have lost so much of our wealth. You boys just get any lady and at the end the lady fails to stay at her home and you all know how hard it is to claim the bride price that has already been eaten by the girl's people. This kind of marriage where the parents are just ambushed by the new wife is not good because in reality, the girl's background check should be thoroughly done not by the boyfriend but by other members of the boys' family. Otherwise you can even marry witches who become your relatives' killers.

"Bride price itself is not a problem but the quality of the woman is what should be considered, but I have promised to support my sons. If my daughter marries, as

nga dhõ mí sǐngba ngéy ní ndèy làyi dhò cha ì rà ùw ǐngi nzǐ. Ya à làyi ùw kpatsǐ ní ngba rà ddu chùw cha à rà ndanà sǐngba ní ngba mbà bbakà ków dhò.

Ddì ní ya kpatsǐ ní ngba jì ndèy ków mí sǐngba, à rà mí lò lèy mí sǐngba ní ngba nyú djú ya njǎngí à kà à rá ndèy ngá tdey ní ní bba ò ddiy. Kpatsǐ ní ngba rà sǐngba mbà nzá ìdhí nga ndrũ tsì ní, kónóchú à rà dhò ndèy mbà sǐngba ddiy. Fú sǐngba rà de dey dzá pbũ njéy ní ǐngi njàddí dhì ní ndrũ rà tsì kónóchú ndrũ rà à dda dzá ddùw. Màdhí ndu nì ddu ó ków nga nì ndèy tsò nzǐ madha nà.

Nja-nja nì ków mí ngǎjìní nga

Mà dhǐ bbalè ndu nì Ndrũdjá dhí ków djú ro, Bone Geoffrey tdrà tdè nì lò nì i:

“Ma njà nì zòw nà drõ, mà Ndrũdjá mà bbà màdhí bbã njèydha, ngǎ lò-tsò nà kpala-kpala chú nyũ nà ndèymí ngéy-ngéy ní bba ó ddiy nà ddí. Ngǎjìní ndèy lèy nì ma dzǐ ndrũ ní njèydha djú nì nì ków mí lò. Ddiy wáni róngá lí ndèy. Mà cha màni dey Banyoro kào nì bbalè, mà tsì nzá ya ney mà nì Ndrũdjá mí bbalò róngá pbõ.

“Í ddu ó yǎddá ngù ków “Ma mei mani ddo”. Fú nì dho gòwdjá ndèymí njàddí ndrũ làyi dhí lò nì ngǎ ndrũ dhò dhì mèydha ò. Cha ndèy tsì ndèy kǎ njà ków nà nì rà ndèy tsòró lí mèy ndèy ní ddù nũ ndrũ rà ì kòw. Dìychú ní Ndrũdjá ddùw níchú, fú lò ndey nì ma róngá ya ma chì bbũw-bbúw nga nà ro, ndèymí ma njà bbalè tdey fú bba ó, ya nyi dhǐ ddùw nyi, á yì ní ndey, à rà ngù nyidhò, fú nì ndèy ngá sǐngba. Gbè gòwdja níchú cha kà nyi njèy nì ddiy nì ngǎ ddiydhò ndrũ ùw ì njà. Ya nyi lèy nyi gũ mí lò, njàddí nga nà nyi rà mà ddí ddi ní mí bba ó. Mà nzòw djá màni ngá klõw nà cha mà ngúw dhiy, í ków tsò ngá ndèy njáchú ddiy ǐngi mà ngúw ndanà mí sǐngba diy ndanà nì ddiydhò mà tsì njà í ddu ó ndèy lí ndèy nì lò jì. “Ma mèy mani ddo”. Mà gòwdja níchú tuw nì ngǎ cha madho kòw ndanà màdhí nzòw tso-tso kwódha óddù màlì bbúdha nà ndrũ dhí dhì djú.

“Ma nì jǐ ma ddũ yǎddá nyú fúchú nì njèydha ró ddiydhò mà thopka ó ddiy sà ndèy drõ fúchú nì ków ró. Nyi kpa ní nzòw nyi kow nì nú dhì chú ddí Fúddiy dzzdjú nyi rà chùw mí sǐngba bbà kpatsǐ njà ndèymí nyi tsì ddí njà màlì ddàdha tde nì klõw ddiy cha sǐngba màdhí nga ndrũ nyù nì. Í ków jì cha ka chíy nì ndanà gòwdja chídha ní nì nì ngǎ lǎní ddiydhò sǐngba ró lò ndèymí à màdhí nga nga nà à jì ka tsíy lǎní drõ ngǎ nyi kpatsǐ ní ngba ddí-ddi ní njàddí nyi làyi ddí. Njàddí nga nà nyi rà tsúw yà zz cha ndèy rà lòw dey nyi làyi chì nì.

“Mǎlì bbúdha nì ngǎ lò nà chú cha à kà ka njǎ nì ddiy nì mí sǐngba jì ndèymí àmi njèydha nà chú ma jì njà ma kwó màtsá ddùw nì tso-tso. Ya màtsá dhà nì ków ndèy, gbè nja-nja nì ków níchú, ma rà cha kpatsǐ tdey nì lò ùw cha à tdrà níchú. Drõngó ní ddiy nì ndrũ dhí déydha ìdhí bba ó nì ndèymí à kà ma sǎ mí màlì ma nyú nà ddiydhò njàddí nga nà mí dhà nyi dho ngu ví nyi dè, à mí kpatsǐ rà jì nyi ngúww ndèy mí màlì.”

Nja-nja nì màlì bbúdha jì

Mr. Combe klõ, nja-nja nì màlì bbúdha jì: í ddiy tsò nga nì ndèy ya sǐngba rà kpatsǐ bbã ró. “Úwdha” dzzdjú, kpatsǐ ní ngba mí djanì mà ndèymí ngéy ní à làyi nà ndrũ

the present marriages do not last, I will accept whatever her husband proposes. What matters most is the stability of the family and I would use the bride price carefully because at any time the daughter may come back and the husband may ask for the refund.”

Current bride price practices

Mr. Chombe narrated the current dowry payment process: this starts as soon as the girl goes to the boy's place. After the *ow adha*” (or “*follow-up*”), the boy's parents and other relatives organise themselves for another dowry payment ceremony which is one of the most celebrated event in the marriage life among us the Ndrukpa. The boy's family looks for the dowry items through family contributions but most of the responsibility is taken by the boy's parents. If orphaned, boys work to get the items themselves. During the preparation, the boy's family members do a lot of work to raise money to support their brother.

On the dowry day, the boy may choose to go or not but his family members, with one of their uncles, take the items. When the groom's team arrives, they are locked out of the guest house by the bride's female relatives and are charged an entry fee depending on the guests' bargaining power. Unless they pay this, they are not allowed to enter or even to put their belongings down. This is meant to understand the temper of the guests and to see how they react to such a situation. The in-laws take it upon themselves to understand the character of the visitors before they are allowed in, so that they know how to approach them during the function.

Once the charge is paid, the door is opened and the guests are officially welcomed by the in-laws. The party begins immediately. In most cases when the young men go for the bride price payment ceremony or “*kow*”, the single boys end up coming back with other girls from the bride price place. A few cows, goats and money are taken to the girl's place and the groom's team take three days merrymaking with the girl's relatives. For entertainment with the in-laws, the bridegroom's people carry along their music system.

Around midday on the Saturday, the ceremony of presenting the bride price is arranged and in the evening the party continues until Sunday morning. By midday on Sunday, the two sides converge to introduce themselves with special interest in the girl's aunts and the boy's uncles. During the introduction, the girl's aunt presents to the boy's relatives drinks while the boy's side present special gifts for the aunts, which may include money, goats, “*kitenge*”, beads and shoes. The function is then closed and the bridegroom's people prepare to leave.

Many of the traditional marriage stages are however no longer followed. For example, they no longer take two weeks after escorting their sister.

Different people's roles in the current marriage process

Mr. Ocoun from the Ambusi clan and Ms. Ameri from the Awuhwe clan told us about these roles:

rà ì thì ngéy ní mǎlì mbàdha dhò. Fúnì nì drǒngó ní madha cha ndèy njeý nì ndèy mà Ndrùdjá kǎò nì. Kpats̀s̀ ní ngba màdhí nga ndrù rà mǎlì mèy ì kà òluw, drǒngó ní nì rà shì kpats̀s̀ ní ngba mí djani dèddù. Ya mí kpats̀s̀ ní ngba nì ngǎ djani nà nì li, kpa ní nzòw rà ì njuw mǎlì mèydha dhò. Li thiydha mí nga nà kpats̀s̀ ní ngba màdhí nga ndrù njeý ní njí lèy ndaní ì kwó ndanà ìdhí djùni tso-tso.

Mǎlì mbàdha ìtss djú, kpats̀s̀ ní ngba dho rà ney ddí ìdhí nga ndrù nà ìngi nzí ddí chú à màdhí nga ndrù ndèy mí djani-djù nà rà fú mǎlì mbà. Ya kpats̀s̀ ní ngba màdhí nga ndrù shì ro, sǐngba màdhi ngá ndrù rà kpats̀s̀ ní ngba màdhi nga ndrù ró dzá-tsò tà rǔgò ndèymí ka rà ndrù djú mb tdey cha ndrù mí dzǔ pà ì kǎò sǐngba màdhi nga dhì-nzòw nà. Ya nzá ndrù bbù nzí ndrù rà tsúw dzá pbù ya ndrù bbà ìdhí ddiy rò fu ka tdey nì ddiy riydja ó. Fú ddiy njeý nì ndèy ndaní ka tsíy ndanà fú lu jì ndèymí ndrù dhí déydha rá tdè ñǎchú ddiy. Kpats̀s̀ ní ngba mí zǔnì rà fú lò tduw ndaní ì tsíy ndanà lu dhí ñjèydha dèy nzá ndrù tsúw dzá ní. Fú ddiy rà ley ndrù tsíy ya ñǎchú ì dho luw nà lò tèy ddiy.

Ya ka bbù fu ka tdey nì ddiy, ka rà dzá-tsò pù ndèymí ka rà lu kwo ndrù rà tsúw dzá. Madha rà ndèy tsò ngá. Wanì nga nà, ya yǎddá rà mǎlì mbà ro, ngǎ ì dhí dhì nà nì Kpaní nzòw ngúw nì ñjǎddí dhì-nzòw na. Sèy ní dr̀ts̀s̀, dr̀ ndèymí mb nà ka mba nì sǐngba màdhí ngá. Ndrù rà ddu tduw gbow yà ì nì ì bíy ndanà sǐngba màdhí ngá dhì-nzòw nà. Hwí nyádha dhò ndèymí li bbiydha dhò li wéy nà, kpats̀s̀ ní ngba màdhí nga ndrù ngwo mí sistim.

Za njí mí itss ónga nà, mǎlì bbúdha mí lò ka rà tdrà, mí madha rà ndèy drr pbùw ngítss nga djò ndèymí Yenga mí bbùw-bbúw nga nà. Yenga mí its̀ ónga nà, kpats̀s̀ ní ngba ndèymí sǐngba màdhí nga ndrù rà ì njuw ì dhòdha dhò, drǒngó ní nì ka rà jì ka ñǎ sǐngba mí 'wíy nì ndèymí kpats̀s̀ ní ngba mí djani-djù. Fú li ñjádha mí nga nà, sǐngba mí 'wíní ràa wa bbu, kpats̀s̀ ní ngba màdhí ngá ndrù rà ngéy ní ddiy bbu gbè mb, dr̀, kitenge (rù) rǎ ndèymí li koró shí nà sǐngba mí 'wínì dho. Ya mí madha sǐndèy karà ka rà tsò nì tdow, kpats̀s̀ ní ngba màdhí nga ndrù rà ì thì ngúwdha dhò.

Bíy ní bba ó ków jì ka nì dyòw nzí. Í rò dhì-nzòw ddu nì nzí yenga rwo ya ì mbà ìdhí vìnì djùtey ro.

Ngéy-ngéy ní bbalè dhí njí ków ó

Mbutss mí Cowun ndèymí Huhwi mí Ameri na tdrà màdho ngéy-ngéy ní bbalè dhí njí ków ó:

Kpats̀s̀ ní ngba: Ndrùdjá kǎò, à nì kpats̀s̀ ní ngba mí njí à mèy ndèy dho sǐngba cha ndèy nì jì ndèy ków nì ndèymí à chù cha ndèy nì ndèy jì nì ddiy ndèy ngá bba dhò ndèy nzá ndèy kòw sǐngba ní. À jì fú li déy nza nà cha ndèy rà nyù chùw òmá ddù nì ndèymí fu li déy mb chùwdha mí tuw nà cha fú li dho ndanà ddǎwà chùw ndèymí ndèy nga nzòw djú fízi bbu ndanà. À jì fú li déy dr̀ nà ìngi dr̀ts̀s̀ nà ddí cha fú li dho bbu mǎlì ní ndèymí à rà ndanà lu tso-tso kwo ì rà shì nì.

Sǐngba ní ngba: à jì fú li thiy ndèy ndèy nzá ndèy kòw ndèy ní. Fú li tsí nyù rìdha, bba híy djúnga tsúwdha ndèymí lu tso-tso kwódha nà. À rà í ddiy ñjèy wá yǎnì mí

The boy: Among the Ndrukpa, it is now the role of the boy to identify the woman he wants to marry and to meet the basic needs for his family before getting a wife. He is expected to have his own garden to produce food and to have a source of income (which may be his garden or other businesses) to cater for his family's costs, like medication and school fees. He is also expected to have some animals such as goats or even cows so as to contribute to his dowry payment, and also to be ready to welcome and host other family visitors who may visit.

The girl is expected to prepare herself for marriage by learning how to do some home chores like cooking, cleaning the compound, and welcoming visitors. She does all these with the help of some of her concerned relatives, especially mothers. Long ago, this was the aunts' role but this has recently declined because of the limited time the girls have with their aunts, as they may be away at school or have other commitments. It is also the role of the girl to identify her future husband, by going to social places like market places, disco dances, beer clubs, dowry ceremonies or even burial places. Some girls may also go to their relatives' places in search of boys. It was uncommon for a young lady to approach a boy for a relationship in the past, but this has now changed.

The boy's father has the responsibility to prepare his son, such as giving him a portion of land where he can cultivate and build his own home and paying the bride price when the time comes.

The boy's mother plays a vital role by preparing her daughter-in-law to start her own cooking at her home. When the girl first arrives, she starts cooking at her mother-in-law's kitchen. During this time, the girl serves food to her father-in-law together with her husband who eats in his father's home. After two weeks or so, the daughter-in-law is expected to cook at her own kitchen, when the boy's mother buys the necessary home materials.

The boy's uncle is an important person in the marriage process. He stands for the boy's father in any event that needs the presence of the boy's father, for example the bride price payment and introductions. During the bride price process, the uncle coordinates the programme and talks on behalf of the boy's father. This may even happen at some burial functions at the in-laws. The uncle to some extent also helps the brother's son by contributing to his bride price, such as adding some goats or money to show his support in the marriage.

The boy's aunt is responsible for identifying the girl for her brother's son, which still happens now in a few homes, but this is now mostly done by the boy himself and the aunties are made aware when the girl has already been brought home. The aunt also helps in monitoring the bride's character when she is brought home. If no problem arises, she will recommend to the boy and his father to pay the bride price. The girls only remain if recommended by the boy's aunt, after seeing her character.

The girl's mother is a sole determinant of the marriage stability of her daughter, by teaching her how to manage her home and ensuring that the daughter performs

klõw nà, ɔngi cha à nì dey ndèy bbá nì li mí klõw nà. Ndrũ ní í nì dëy tdě dhì-nzòw dhí ‘wíní dhí njí chú nja-nja í ddiy mí klõw nì ngu luwtò ddiydho sɔngba ní ngba dho dey sòmù ò ɔngi à dho tdè ngéy ní njí nà. À nì ddí sɔngba ní ngba mí njí à mēy ndèy mí kpatṣṣ cha à nì jĩ ndèy kõw ndèy ndèy dhò nì. Fú ddiy rà ndèy njèy ya à lòw bbiy li tsò njúwdha mí nga òluw gbè sòkò mà, dyl mà òluw, wa mbùdha mí nga òluw, màlì mbàdha mí nga òluw ndèymí dhi djò luw. Njàddí dhì-nzòw ra nì kpa mēy ì làyi dhí bba ò. Ndrũ ní à tdè klõw sɔngba ní ngba dhò à tdrà ków mí lò kpatṣṣ ní ngba dhò chú nja-nja fũ ddiy lí ndèy gu.

Kpatṣṣ ní ngba mí djani: à kà à thỹ ndëy ngá ngba nza bbúdha nà cha fú li dho bbiy nì ndèymí à dho ndanà ndèy mí dza ṣṣ ndèymí fú li bbúw màlì sɔngba djú.

Kpatṣṣ ní ngba mí yãni: à mí njí nifú li thỹ dhà ddùw nì-dhi à ngá ndèy mí nga rìdha tsò ndëy ngá dzá. Ya dëy sɔngba shì shìdha ní, à ri nì nyũ djíyanì ngá dzá. Fú nga nà sɔngba rà nyũ bbu bbuw nì mà dho kpatṣṣ mà nà ddìnga ó bbuw nì ngá dzá. Yenga rwo ɔngi ndèy da fú nì djòluw nì dho, à jì sɔngba lòw dey nyũ rì ndëy ngá dzá ya djíyanì dzz ngá ridha mí nò ro.

Kpatṣṣ ní ngba mí djani-djù: à nì ndèy huwdjò tũw ní li ków mí lò ó. À dey nì kpatṣṣ ní ngba mí djani rìdja ó màlì bbúdha mí nga nà ndèymí li dhò dha mí nga nà. Í ddiy njey nì ndèy ya dhi ka nì tdòw ro ddí kpatṣṣ ní ngba mí zz ní bbà. Njàddí nga nà kpatṣṣ ní ngba mí djani-djù kwó nì djũni ngá ngba tso-tso màlì bbúdha nà ǎngá sɔngba djú gbè dṛ ɔngi mb ó.

Kpatṣṣ ní ngba mí ‘wini: à mí njí nì à mēy sɔngba djũni ngá ngba dhò, fú ddiy nì sũw ndèy njèy nja-nja njàddí ṣy ní bba òluw. Í rò Kpaní nzòw nì idhí dhì mēy ì ní ddù ndèymí ‘wíní dhò ka dho nì ngá sɔngba shì bba ro. ‘Wíní kwó nì sɔngba mí kpatṣṣ tso-tso mí sɔngba mí njèydha njàdha nà cha ka mbà à bba ddiy dzzdjú. Ya ngǎjini lò rò nì ngá, à rà ùw sɔngba mí kpatṣṣ mí djani bbũ màlì. Sɔngba rà mà ya sɔngba mí kpatṣṣ mí ‘wini njà à mí njèydha ro.

Sɔngba mí yãni: à nì ndèy lēy nì dhàni mí ków déy lǎni nì li, à gwíydha nà ndani à pbõ ndèy ngá dza lǎni. À rà jì dhàni njèy ddiy wá lǎni ndani ndèy ródho chũw drõngó ní nga ddiydho wáni nga nà lǎni dey dha shi nì sɔngba mí lǎni déydha óddù cha yãni gwíy ndèy m̄ Pey ngá njúwdha ó bbalè tdrà, Ndrũdjá kàó, wáni nga nà, ya h̄iytss ní li ch̄y ddiy njèydha ó, fú nì mí ngǎjini nga ka ngu nì yãni djò. Ka tdrà nì “*Yãnyi gwí nyi nzá*”. Fú ddiy tdrà nì ndèy ya h̄iytss ní li njèy nzá ndèy kà nì ddiy. Í lǎni njí dhò sɔngba mí yãni dho ka bbũ nì dṛ à madha dhò. Sɔngba mí yãni mí njí nì ddíy dhàni ngá dza tey léydha dzá nì nò dzzydha nà. Fú nì à njey nì dhàni djùtey ngùdha dhò ndèymí à dho nì ndèy mí jĩ dhàni dho.

Sɔngba mí ‘wini: à mí njí nì gbè sɔngba mí yãni mí níchú v̄ini nga ngba gwíydha nà ya njáchú à kà ndèy pbõ ndanà ndëy ngá dza róngá ddiy ndèymí drõngó ní nì nì h̄iydha mí nga róngá ndèy mbu nì lò gbè ya njáchú à kà ndèy lēy kpatṣṣ déy hwí nà ddiy. Fú lò dho ka bbũ nì ddí dṛ ddì à madha dhò cha màlì ka nì bbu ro.

well at her home so that she gets the glory since in most cases, the stability of the home is credited to the best moral teachings given to the girl by her mother. The King's Council members say that, among the Ndrukpa, it is common that, when a woman fails to perform, her weakness is blamed on the mother. Hence the saying "*Yanyi gwi nyi nza*" ("your mother did not teach you well") mostly used when the husband or his relatives are dissatisfied with the woman's performance or morality. For this important role played by the mother in the marriage process, she is entitled to a goat as a special gift and appreciation for her vital role in the stability of the marriage. The girl's mother is also responsible for establishing her daughter's home by buying some of the materials such as a saucepan, pots and plates, which she does to wish her daughter farewell and to express her love and interest in her marriage.

The girl's aunt plays a role related to the girl's mother in teaching her niece how to manage her home and is mostly concerned with bedroom matters, such as how to keep the boy interested in her to avoid cases of infidelity and ending the marriage. For this purpose, she is also rewarded with one goat by the boy during the dowry payment.

Children and family stability

Children contribute to family stability in a way that commits the woman to the husband. It is considered an assurance that the woman can no longer think of leaving, as she is linked to the husband through the children they have together. If the marriage breaks up after having children, the bride price is not refunded because the children are counted as the price the woman has paid to the husband in exchange of his bride price.

Children are considered the fruit of the marriage: any marriage without a child or children is therefore considered ineffective and calls for the intervention of the spirits since the Ndrukpa believe it is only through a curse that someone can fail to produce.

A newly married woman continues to be called "*Mba-tdey*" (bride) until she gets her first child, when her name changes to Mama X. If a woman has not given birth, she is called by her name, an embarrassing situation that can destabilise or break up her marriage. When a marriage fails to yield children, the woman carries the major blame. She might be sent away and the woman's father is expected to refund the bride price.

Divorce

Though divorce is generally not tolerated, it may become inevitable if the elders see it as the only solution to solving a very serious problem, such as witchcraft and infidelity. If children are in existence, they are left with their father who will look for another wife to take care of them. If the mother is however still breastfeeding a baby, she will take it along until it is returned once weaned of breast milk.

Nzòw ndèymí bba mí lǎní déydha nà

Nzòw léy nì bba dey nì lǎní, à léy nì hìytss ní li chěy ndèy kpatsè ní li nà. Fú nì dho nì hìytss ní li rà nǐ kpatsè ní li bbà, gbè ndrũ chěy ì ddinga ó kpatsè nà nzòw òluw níchú. Ya ków ónga dhǎ hìytss ní li gòw nzòw ddiy dzzdjú, mǎli ka ngu nì nǐ ddiydho ka zow nì mǎli nzòw rǐdja ó kpatsè ní li dhò.

Nzòw nì ków tsi: Ngǎ ndèy ó ngba ñgi nzòw nà nì ków nì nǐ ndèy nì ndèy tsi ‘wǒ nì ków ní ndèymí à ji ka dhiy gúw dè ddiydho Ndrũdja ùw, wǎ léy nì ndey nǐ ndeyli gǒw bbalè.

Tdey nì ní ndèy kòw ndèy nì sǐngba ka ñy nì “Mba-tdey” ní pbűw à rà ndèy ngá ddiydjò ní li gòw ddiy ò, cha ka rà lòw dey à iy X mí yǎni. Ya fú sǐngba gòw bbalè nzá, ka rà à iy ndèy ródho nà, à léy nì ndeyli mbř ndèy ngǎjini ndèymí à léy ndey nì nǐ ñgi à dhá nì dza. Ya ków ‘wò ndèy tsi nzá, fú nì mí dhuwdha ka ngu nì dzò hìytss ní li djò. Njàddi nga nà ka diy nì à gu ndèymí sǐngba mí djǎni ka rà ji à ngũ mǎli.

Ków ónga ndòdha

Ya kpe ka ji nì nǐ ków ónga ndǒ ndèy, à dho ndèy njèy ya nǐ kpe ka nì jǐ à njèy ndèy ya dròdró ní ndrũ njà à nì klów ní lò sídha mí tuw ní ro, gbè tsúw mí lò mà ndèymí bbǎlà njèydha ngéy ní kpa nà. Ya nzòw nì ney, ka rà nzòw bbà djani dè cha ndèy rà ngu ngéy ní sǐngba mèy à pbǒ ndrũ róngá. Ya mí sǐngba nì kà ní ngba cha ndèy nì dèy dja njũ nì, ka rà bbà à rǎ ndanà pbűw à rà dja bbà ddiy ò, kónóchú `a rà ngù.

Lúwkuw ní nzòw

Ndrũ ní, Kpaní nzòw ndèymí dhinzòw ní nzòw nà cha ì dji nì ka dèy ũw ndrũ ków ì ndèymí ndrũ gǒw nzòw. Ya sǐngba ní ní ngba chùw ndèy zǐ dèy nzá ndèy kòw ndèy ní, ka dèy tdrà fú nì fú li njèy nzá ndèy kǎ nì ddiy ngúww ó cha ndèy dho trr mbà sǐngba ní ngba ró ndèymí à màdhí ngá bba nà.

Rũgò gòw ków óddù nì ndèymí li zǐ ddàdha nà nǐ ka uw nì. Mà kào ndèy tdùw ndèy zǐ nì li ka nja nì fú li dèy nzá fú li zǐ njà ndèy ní ndèymí dèy nzá fú li dhò ndèy làyi dhò ní, ya dyǒw lòw dey nyũ sà ndèymí dzá nì ddiy na gbè rù mà níchú nì sǐngba ní ngba mí djani ngà dzá. Ya dyǒw lòw fú bba ó nyũ sà, dròdró ní ndrũ rà lòw dey nga ddey í dhí dhì-nzòw ní nzòw djò ndèymí ndrũ rà lòw dey mèy cha ì nì bba kào ndrũ kào ya áyǐ tdùw ndey ndèy zǐ ndey ddiy.

Children before marriage

In the past, only matured young men and women were allowed to marry and have children. If a girl became pregnant before marriage, it was considered an offense in the clan which also brought curses to the girl and her family.

Giving birth outside marriage is still considered unacceptable and an abomination. Among us it is possible to detect that a girl in the family is pregnant outside marriage even before the pregnancy becomes visible or before the girl declares it to her relatives: this is when rats start to destroy crops and household belongings like clothes in the girl's father's and other relatives' homes. Thus, whenever rats start destroying crops in a family, the elders become suspicious of their daughters and start investigating who could be pregnant among daughters who are still at home.

Such an occurrence brings misfortune to the girl's family, which can only be solved by performing a ceremony of sanctification. The mother calls her daughter or sends her other sisters to ask her who could be responsible. When she names the boy, she is sent with her other sisters to his home to report the case. They inform his uncle who takes the responsibility of asking the boy whether he is really responsible. If the boy admits it, the girl is sent back to their home and after a week returns alone to get a goat, a cock or hen and an egg which is used for the sanctification ceremony to rid the girl's home of misfortune.

When the sanctification items are brought, the elders and the girl's brothers get together to slaughter the goat. The meat is cooked while the faeces is sprinkled over the nearby family crops to prevent the rats from eating the crops which have become sanctified and detached from the misfortune brought by the girl. The elders eat the meat and the hen or cock is given to the girl's brothers. They have to shoot it with an arrow before it is slaughtered, an action that gives blessings to the boys, especially the hunters, so that they do not return empty-handed and will easily find spouses when their time for marriage comes.

After the feast, the family is declared free from the misfortune. The girl is later prepared to return to the "husband", to take care of her pregnancy and allowed to stay with him before paying the dowry. Since this is the only form of marriage that can start before dowry payment, many young men resort to this though the community shames the girl as a prostitute. It is only after pregnancy outside marriage that a girl is married, even before the dowry payment function.

Death

Death among the Ndrukpa is attributed to different beliefs: it is sometimes believed to be a form of punishment by the gods for sins committed or a natural way of transiting to the new world. Mzee Kelopkpa, a traditional priest, says that when death happens, it is a sign that something wrong happened in the clan, sometimes it is the action of witches and wizards who need sacrifices to keep their supernatural power.

The Ndrukpa strongly believe in life after death and that the dead are therefore still



*The clan priest performs the sanctification process
Ngúw mí dyã-dja ò lí ngúw thí ddiy*



. An egg put in a bundle of grass. This is used for the sanctification process when a girl gets pregnant before marriage

Öw-bbiy tdarfka ó. Í ddiy ka njey ò lí ngúwdha thí ò ya sǐngba ní ngba tdùw lúwkuw

Füchú ò njèydha mba ò trr sǐngba ní ngba màdhí ngá bba ró cha ka dho si ya ka njèy lí ngùdha thí mí madha ro. Sǐngba ní ngba mí yǎni rà à iy ǐngi à rà a chwo vǐní dè cha ò rà à dhiy ya áyì ley ndey à zǝ ddiy. Ya à dhò mí kpatsǝ ródho, ka rà ndrǝ chwo vǐní nà ndrǝ rà mí lò tdrà kpatsǝ màdhí ngà. Ndrǝ rà mí lò tdrà kpatsǝ ní ngba mí djani-djù dho cha ndèy rà mí kpatsǝ n' ngba dhiy ò. Ya mí kpatsǝ ní ngba ùw, ka rà sǐngba ní ngba chwo vǐ idhí ngà, yenga ddi ò dzzzdjú à rà ndèy lí ngu rà drǝ zǝ, öw ndèymí öw-bbiy nà cha ka rà ndanà lí ngùdha thí mí madha njèy ndaní ka dǝy ndanà fú trr sǐngba ní ngba màdhí ngá bba óddù.

Ya lí ngùdha thí mí ddiy ka mbà ro, dròdró ní ndrǝ ndèymí sǐngba ní ngba mí djúni rà ò njúw ddìnga ó mí drǝ jidha dhò. Karà mí zǝ rì chú ömá zǝ ka rà jí fú bba ó nyù

living but in another, spiritual world. When a Ndrukpa dies, death is treated differently depending on the age, sex and position of the deceased in the community. When an elderly person dies, for example, he or she will join ancestors and connect the living with the spiritual world. When a young or unmarried man dies, people mourn a lot because they consider that he has died before leaving his replacement, his own child. When a married man who had children dies, it is thought that he still lives in his children. When a child dies it is also considered a great loss to the community because children are considered the future great people and leaders of the community.

When a person dies, he or she is not buried immediately. A death announcement is made to the relatives, friends and in-laws and a day set for the burial. Right from the day of death, community members gather to mourn the person at his or her home. The dead are buried next to the home, as they continue to be recognised as part of the family. In case the deceased is not to be buried where he or she dies, transport arrangement are made. The body is buried with the head pointing southward which signifies that the Ndrukpa are still moving South, following their brothers who went ahead of them in the Congo.

In most cases, when a woman dies at her home, her relatives (especially her brothers) collect the body to be buried at a brother's home. However, if the woman had elder sons, they are allowed to bury her at their place, if their maternal uncles' agrees.



Young men play a vital role in burial functions. They carry the body to the graveyard and cover it. Culturally, burial is carried out between 12 noon and 3 pm

Kpaní nzòw ñi bbűw djíy bu tdòwdha dzzdzjú.

People convene at the burial place and continue eating there till the burial day. Each evening when the dead body is still in the house, the youths (both boys and girls) convene for the “tdey-dza” dance (“house of birth” dance). This dance is organised to allow youth to meet and possibly produce another member of the society to replace the deceased. The

dance starts early in the evening until the morning. During this time, if any young man or lady is found sleeping indoor, he or she is fined by collecting firewood or fetching water. When a person dies, a replacement must therefore be found.

djòluw ndaní à dĩ dyöw nyũ sàdha róddù cha ka ngù thí ní nì ndèymí cha ka ddã sǐngba ní ngba mbà nì trr róddù nì. Dròdró ní ndrũ rà drĩ nyù ndèymí öw ka rà bbu sǐngba ní ngba mí djúní dhò. Ndrũ rà mí öw sš gǐlà nà ndèy nzá ì jì ní, fú njèydha bbú nì mb̃ cha ì njow nì njòw nì kpa ní nzòw dho ndaní nzá nà ndrũ ngúw vúní njòw óddù ndèymí ndrũ rà dhì chùw ìdho káy-káy ya ìdhí dhì kòwdha mí nga shì ro.

Fú madha mí nyũ dzzdjú, fú bba rà dey thí trr róddù. Fúddiy dzzdjú ka rà sǐngba ní ngba thì ndaní à ngúw ndaní kpatss pdõ à zž róngà ndèymí ka rà ùw à déy kpatss nà dèy nzá kpatss bbu máli ní. Í nì tdè ddì nì tuw ków mĩ cha ndèy dèy ndèy tsò ngã nzá máli ka bbũ ní, bíy ní Kpaní nzòw jì nì í ków jì ya kpe bba léy nì do à djú tdràdha nà à nì dhã ndèy nì bbiy ków nà nì li. À nì lúwkuw tdùwdha dzzdjú ka rà sǐngba ní ngba kòw, ya kpe dèy nzá ka bbũ máli ní.

Dhi

Dhĩ Ndrũdjá kào ka ùw ngéy ní tuw jì nà: njàddí nga nà ka tdra nì gúw nì nzadha bbu ndey cherr ka njèy ddiydho ñngi à ní li lídha ngéy ní dziylíy ò ddiy. Muzee Kelopkpa, gúw dja, tdrà ya dhi njèy ndèy, fú nì ngǎjini ddiy njèy ndèy fú ngúww ó, njàddí nga nà, à nì djǎyí djá nì bbúdha jĩ ì pbõw ndanà ìdhí klõw róngà.

Ndrũdjá ùw djĩy nì ney dhi dzzdjú ndèymí ì dhì nì ndrũ nì djĩy ní ngéy ní rr mí ngòw ò. Ya Ndrũ-ddùw dhì, àmí dhi róngà ka pbow nì ngéy cha àmí chwo, gõw jì ndèymí àmí túw ní nga nà fú pbúw ó. Ya drõngóli dhì, fú li rà ndèy nju mà bbúw nà ndèymí `à rà djĩy ní ndrũ gbà rr ngòw nà. Ya ngba ní ngba dhì ñngi nzá ndèy gòw li nì li dhì, bbalè dzz nì drõ ddiydho ndrũ tdrà nì fú li dhì nzá fú li bbà ndèy ñydja ó li ní. Ya ngba dhì, fú nì ka tdrà nì bba dhì ndey ddiydho nzòw nì njitsò djú dròdró ní ndrũ ndèymí njitsò djú fú bba ó li-djúkpa ddàdha djá.

Ya li rò dhì, nzĩ ka tdow nì ndeyli ndùw-ndùw. Fú li mí dyöw ka rà chwo fú li làyi dè, fú li mí dyási dè ndèymí lu ní ndrũ dè ndèymí ka rà ddu ley li tdòwdha mĩ. À nga ndèy fú li dhì mí ddu óddù, fú bba ó bbalè rà ì njuw fú li dzzdha dhò fú li bbá. Ì dhì nì ndrũ ka tdow nì chow bbayi djú ddiydho ka tdrà nì fú ndrũ nì sũw fú bba ó bbalè. Ya ndèy dhì nì ka nì tdõw nzĩ à dhì mí bba ó, ka rà tuw mèy mí bu mbàdha mí cha ka nì rã tdõw mí nga ò. Fú bu tdòwdha ró ka rà djúkpa li bbiy, fú nì dho ní bbiydha cha ì dà Congò ò nì Ndrũdja kodjú, chú njàddí ngúww li nì ru cha ì shì mí nga ò (Thĩytsš).

Wá nì nga nà ya hiytsš ní li dhì ndèy bbã, (djúní) à làyi tdúw nì à ngúw rà à tdõw ìdhí bba ò. Ya fú li mí ddiydjò ní ddùwnì nì ney, ndrũ rà ùw à tdõw yǎni, ndrũ rà ì rĩ njání nà ndrũ rà à tdõw ì dè. Ya ngã ka rà à mí bu ngúw à màdhí ngà.

Bbalè ì njuuw dhi mí nga ó ndèymí ndrũ rà dey ì nyù pbũw li tdòwdha mí ddu ò. Ddu wá nì ró ya dèy bu nì dzá, yǎddá (Kpaní nzòw ndèymí dhì-nzòw ní nzòw nà) ndrũ rà ì njuw “*tdey-dza*” bbiydha dhò. Í dyi ka lèy nì ndaní yǎddá njúw ì ndrũ gõw ndèy dhì nì li biytsò. Fú dyi rà ndèytsò ngà ngítsš nga nà ka rà biy pbũw bbũ-bbúw nga ò. Ya ka chùw kpatss” ní ngba ñngi sǐngba ní ngba nì dzá dduddũ ka rà ley fú li kwó kálí ñngi fú li ‘wĩy dda, fu ndèy dhì nì li rĩdja ó li kà ka chũw.

5. NDRUKPA SKILLS

Iron Smelting

The Ndrukpa, Kebu and Madi used to smelt iron to produce tools for their survival. At first, they would melt hard rocks to produce iron and shape it to form the tool they wanted. Later, when metal from the European countries became plentiful, they started re-melting the metal pieces to a semi solid state and shape them to make the desired tool.

The most common tools made using this technology were knives, pangas, arrows, spears, hoes and axes, all of which were very important for the economic development of the communities.

To produce iron tools, a furnace is built using strong bricks and clay and a specially shaped animal hide is used to pump air into the furnace to keep the charcoal heated, using wood or (later) charcoal. The hard iron or metal is thrown in the furnace and left to melt until a semi solid state is reached. A long metallic pincer is then used to pull out the molten iron or metal and placed on an anvil. A hammer and cutting knives are then used to shape the molten metal into the desired shape. The metal is allowed to cool down and later sharpened and the shape refined, ready for use.

Ocoun Jimmy explains why the Nrukpa no longer smelt iron:

“In the 1940s, the Ndrukpa, Kebu and Madi lived together and all did iron smelting in their respective areas. One evening, the three communities organised a joint beer party, the Ndrukpa and Madi abandoned their furnaces without leaving anyone to attend to them, while the Kebu left some people to do so. The Ndrukpa and Madi became drunk and did not return to their furnaces for several days. Their furnaces exploded and were destroyed since they needed constant monitoring. The Kebu, on the other hand, looked after theirs. After the destruction of the Ndrukpa and Madi’s furnaces, they found it hard to reconstruct them and fully adopted agriculture, leaving iron smelting but carrying on with basketry and pottery.”

Basketry and pottery, our pride and identity

As iron smelting was mainly a men’s activity, the women had their own specialisation, making baskets and pots. Though the pottery and basketry industry has not died, it is however almost vanishing, because manufactured cooking and household utensils like aluminium saucepans have invaded the market.

It has always been the role of the women in the homes to equip them with enough kitchen wares. In this way, pots and baskets were very important as part of the household materials that a newly married woman would carry from her mother and it was the role of the mother to ensure that the daughter goes back to the husband with enough cooking utensils such as baskets, pots and calabashes. Women who

5. NDRŮDJÁ MÍ LI RÓNGA NÀ KA NJEY NÌ NÌ DDIY

Chűwmà Bédha

Ndrűdjá, Kítsè ndèymí Madi dêy chűwmà béy à ddá njí mí nò ì nyű nda nà ì tsò. Nji tsò djú, ndrű rà klów ní djuw bey à ddá chűwmà ndèymí ndrű thi à à ddá ì nì jĩ nì ddiy. Dzzdjú, Mundu mí ngòw ó ddù ndèy shì nì chűmà ngù drö ro, ndrű lòw ví chűmà djűw à ddá cha ì nì jĩ nì njí mí nò.

Ka tdè djűw nì ddiy mà tdè dyi, lupanga, mbrà, lěy, djow ndèymí lõ, fú ddiy wá fűwdjò tdè klów bba' mí ngúww dhìydha dhò.

Njí mí nò ddádha, kàtss liy ka nì sş klõ ní màdháfàli nà ndèymí tdo ndèymí kà nì shí thĩ vi vúdha dhò kàtss liy ò à léy màkálà kã ndadha, kà nì njěy kàliy nà ãngí (luwtéy) màkálà. Klów ní chűwmà ka nì ngbõ kàtss liy ò ndèymí ka nì bbã à gbĩ pbűw à rà fa ddiy ò. Ndèy dhiy nà ndi nì chűwmà rà fú ndèy fã nì chűwmà kà ndèymi ka ley djuw djú. Nyöndò ndèymí nga krfdha mí dyi rà fú ddiy djűw à nì ndèy jĩ ní. Ka nì bbã chűwmà djów ndèymí luwtéy kà nì kũni tdr; dhĩy dhò.



*A furnace under construction
Ka sş nì kàtss liy*



*Iron smelting furnace
Chűmà hádha liy smelting furnace*

did not know how to make pots and weave baskets were forced to exchange food items with their friends who had the skills.



A Nrukpa clay pot. The large sized pots are used for storing drinking water and cooking for a large family. It is the original cooking utensil for the Ndrukpa though very rarely used these days.

Ndrüdjá mí tdo tděy. Dròdró ní tdey ka léy nì ndanà mbrdha ní dda ndèymí ka ri nì ndanà wandèymí nyũ na bíy ní bba ó bbalè dho. À nì ndrúní nga rídha mí nò. Í ddu nà drá ní bbalè nì ndey ndanà njíy njěy.

Baskets are used for keeping food items and, in the basket industry, several other items were woven such as the winnowers, small baskets decorations on house walls, and mats among others. They were all made from locally available raw materials, like reeds and papyrus. These are decorated with different colours but the most dominant colour was red since it would be got by dipping the reeds or sorghum stem covers in a berry fruit juice for a while and left to ferment in the ground.

Ocoun Jimmy ngà ddùdhò Ndrüdjá nì nzi chüwmà djüw ddiy mí lò:

“Cho 1940 nì nà, Ndrüdjá, Kítsè ndèymí Madi dèy ddinga ó ndèymí ndrü wá djuw nì chüwmà ì nì mí nga ó. Ddi nì ngítsè djú nga nà, fú ngúww gbow nì léy ddinga ówa mbdha, Ndrüdjá ndèymí One evening, the three communities organised a joint beer party, Ndrüdjá ndèymí Madi bbà ì dhí kàtsè ngă ndèy tsò ró li ní, Kítsè chú bbà ì dhí bbalè rò kàtsè tsòrò. Ndrüdjá ndèymí Madi nà ngú wa rí ní ndèymí ndrü ngú nzá ì dhí kàtsè tsòrò njàddí ddudhò. Ndrüdhí kàtsè liy tâ à kâ ndèy sà ì jì ka njă nga demà wàni nganà. Kítsè njànga nga ì dhí dè. Ndrüdjá ndèymí Madi dhí kàtsè liy tsò sà ndèy ddiy dzzdjú, ndrü chuwa à nì klöw ì dhò à sèdha nà ndèymí ndrü ngú ndüw nga bbìdha ò ndrü bbà chüwmà djüwdha ka ngu dyü dyàdhà ò ndèymí tdèy rudha nà.”

Dyü thidha ndèymí tdèy rudha, mà huwdjò ndèymí mà dhòdha manì áyi

Chüwmà djüwdha tde kpa ní ndrü dhí njí, dhì ní ndrü nì ì dhí njí nà, dyü thidha ndèymí tdèy rudha. KPe tdèy rudha ndèymí dyü thidha tey kwò nzá, à nì dey rá víydha nà, ddiydhò nga ridha mí ka thì nì ddiy ndèymí dzá nì nò nà gbè chùwkriyà dhìy mí dzz.

À tdè dhì mí njí bbakà ó wá nì nga nà ndrü déyndèy kâ nì nga rìdha mí nò nà. Íni ó, tdèy ndèymí dyü hùwdjò tdè klöw drö gbè dzá nì nò ní mbà tdey rà ngu ndanà ndèymí yàni de ddù ndèymí à tdè li híy dhí lò à njă dhanì ngú kpatsè dè ndèy kâ nì nga ridha mí nò nà gbè dyü tdèy ndèymí Wälògò nà. Dhì cha nzá ì tsì tdèy rudha ndèymí dyü thidha ndèymí tdèy rudha tdè nyü li fú ddiy nà ì dyássi de ddù cha ì tsì mí nyü'wiy nì.

Dyü nì nyü léydha mí nò ka nì thí mí nga ò, ka tdè thí nì ddiy tdè dzèrf, dùdú ní dyü ka léy rängi romá dza ngwò ró ndèymí méy ngéy ní nà. Ka tdè ndrü thí cha ney ndèy nì wă tey ddiy nà gbè wí ndèymí méy. Í ddiywá ka tdè njëy ngey ngéy ní rängi nà chú drö ndey tdè nì nì tdè ngbí ngbí chú ka tdè ndrü chüw dzzga kòwtey róddù ka nì à chüw kă ddà ó à déy njàddí nga dhò dziylíy ò à ngbá nji.

Ba ó dawa mí nyü 'wiy

Pbúw njanja, Ndrüdjá ùw bba ó li róngá pádha. Í nyü'wiy ka dèy lí lidha ní ndèymí à dyow nì dzá nì bbalè kodjò: Ya dyă dja rò tde ney nyìdhí dza ó, àdho ngéy ní dyă dja ddí dho shì ddì nì dzá ó ddù.

Mí nyü'wiy ka dhò nì Ya dröngó ni dyădja lòw ndèngá ddì nì ngba lèy à déy ndèy tsotso kwódha dja ní nda ní ndèy rà dhì mínga nà li róngá djidha mí klöw mã à dhokpa djani dzzdjú à ndrü ndèy mí njí nà.

Traditional medicinal knowledge

Until now, the Ndrukpa believe in traditional healing. This knowledge is mostly hereditary and follows family lineages: if there was any traditional healer in the lineage, there is a good possibility that another traditional healer will emerge from that lineage.

The knowledge is passed when the senior traditional healer starts working with one of his children as an assistant so that, by the time he or she dies, the healing power is transmitted to the younger person who fully takes over the responsibility of the deceased parent and continues to serve the community.



Common herb used for treating chicken pox by rubbing on the body. It takes three days for the body to get well. The Nrukpa are known for being great herbalists.

*Nzinyoro mí bbigi ka tdrí nì li ró. À tdúw nì ddù gbow li ró nga ngú nì ndùw lání.
Ka tsì ndrǔdjá nì dròdró ní bbigí djá*



*Mother teaching her daughter how to weave baskets and other items
Ndrüdjá ni liy mí dyi bïy*

6. BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS

Sam Anecho Ayiza and Mzee Kelokpa reminds us that the Ndrukpa believed (and some still believe) in a supreme God who could manifest himself as different gods in different ways and was adored in different ways depending on the circumstances. This God was responsible for everything, whether good or bad. It was called *Guw*, and the shrine where he was believed to stay was called *Guw-dza* (God's house). Any consultation and spiritual ceremonies were performed in the *Guw-dza*.

Traditionalists believe in an unending life or life after death: death therefore means a transition to the spiritual world where life continues, though in a different way. They also believe in the ancestors and ancestral spirits for help in any situation that needs spiritual intervention, such as in times of war, famine, drought, diseases or also successes in life.



The deputy priest. A priest is always deputised by the son who replaces him when he dies. The deputy is responsible for gathering the herbs and other materials used in the priest's house.

Gúw-dja nyú djú li. Gúw-dja mí ddùw nì ma nì gúw-dja rrdja ó ya à dhì ro. À nyú djú li mí njí nì tsúw tsò njúwdha ndèymí ngéy ní ddiy nà Gúw-dja ngá dza ò.

When an elder dies, he or she is treated with utmost respect since it is considered that he/she transited to the spiritual world and is closer to the gods. The elders' closeness is considered a blessing to the society because they will be able to intercede with the gods on behalf of their descendants who are still living behind.

After the burial of an elder, a small shrine (see photo) is built on the verandah of his eldest or other son who believes in the tradition and a ritual is performed to bring back the spirit of the dead to the shrine. The shrine is constructed near the home to show that the dead is still a family member. The clan priest and other elders select a day and gather all the clan members for that event. A goat is slaughtered and the priest sings a song to call the spirits of the dead until he or another member of the clan is possessed by the spirit of the dead. Later, the priest puts food that was cooked for that day in the shrine, casts out the spirit and directs it to the shrine where other sacrifices to the spirits will continue to be offered. Whenever there is a problem in the clan, people raise sacrificial items like a white chicken and the priest goes with it to the shrine for

6. ÛWDHA NDÈYMÍ LÒ DDÉYDHA NÀ

Sam Anecho Ayiza màgò Mzee Kelokpa tdrà màdho Ndrüdjá dhí ùwdha nì ddi nì drà ó cha ndèy dho nì ndèy ngéy-ngéy ní tuw ó nì ndèymí ka dëy à nzz ngéy-ngéy ní tuw jì nà, à dyöw ndèy cha à nì ndèy jì níchú. Í drà tdè ddiy wáni dho, lání ñgi ngǎjini. Ka dëy à iy *Guw* ní, ndèymí cha à dëy dey mí nga ka dëy ÿ *Guw-dza* ní. Lò-dhídha à dè ndèymí rr dhò nì madha bbúdha ka dëy njëy *Guw-dza* ó.

Bba ó lò ì ùw nì ndrũ ùw djÿ sǐ nì ndèy nzǐ ñgi djÿ nì ney dhi dzzdjú: Fúddiy dhò dhi nì li róngá lídha í djÿ óddù rr ngòw ò cha djÿ ra nì sũw ndèymí déydha nà òmá ngéy ní tuw jì nà. Ndrũ ddi ùw mà bbúw ndèymí mà bbúw dhí rr ó cha ndèy kwó nì li tso-tso wáni ddiy ó cha rr dho li tso-tso kwo òmá nì, gbè la, fùw, nga fwiyy ddiy, dhi ndèymí djÿ ó lání déydha.

Ya drǒngó li dhì, ka rà fú li mí bu róngá pbò lání ddiydho ka tdrà nì fú li nì rǎ rr-gòw ò chow ní drà dè. Dròdró ní ndrũ dhí déydha chow ní drà dè ka tdrà nì à nì mbũ bba dhò ddiydho ndrũ rà ìdhí ddèy cha ì nì dëy djÿ ní dhí lò tày drà dè.

Drǒngó li mí tdöw dzzdjú, drá ní gúw-dzà tǎ ka rà sš ddídjò ní ddùw ngá dza téy cha ndèy ùw bba ó lò nì ndèymí ka rà sëy ní madha ta njèy cha dèy rà ndèy dhí nì li mí rr ngù fú gúww-dzà ò nì. Fú gúww-dzà ka rà sš chow ndaní à dhò ndèy dhí nì li nì sũw fú bba ó ddi li. Fú bba ó gúw-dja ndèymí njáddí dròdró ní ndrũ rà ddu rò chùw ddi fú ddiy njèydha mí ndèymí ka rà fú bba ó bbalè njuw wá fú madha njèydha dhò. Drè ka rà jì ndèymí gúww-dja rà gwo gwò ndèy dhí li mí rr íydha mí pbũw ya rr lòw mí gúww-dja ñgi fú bbalè kào ddi li. Fúddiy dzzdjú, gúww-dja rà fú ddu ó ka rì nì nyũ ley fú gúww-dzà ó, à rà fú rr dda ndèymí à rà nga dhò à dho gúww-dzà ò cha ngéy ní madha wá mí rr dhò ka rà njèy mí nga ò. Ya fú ngúww ó ngǎjini lò nì ney, bbalè rà sár ní öw mbà cha gúww-dja rà bbu bbúdha ní rr dhò. Wà nì býy mí sídha ó, ndrũ rà bbúdha bbu rr dhò gúw-dzà ó, ya nyũ djúkpa mí nyũ ka njũw ro, róngá nji nì ka rà mbà gúww-dzà ò ka nì ndaná bú kwo rr dè.

Bba ó lò ì njeý nì ndrũ ùw ì dho trr ndèymí ngǎjì ní lò tsò tà ney ì dhí bba róddù. Í ddiy ka njeý nì tuwtsò gitèy djuw léydha nà ndaní à déy gbè kí níchú wáni lò cha ndèy nì rǎ bba kào nì dho. Í djuw ka rà ley déy cha ba kào ndèy tsúw nì tuw giytéy. Í djuw ka lèy nì madha nà: öw ka rà jì mí jũw ka rà jì mí djuw djòluw. Fũchú nì djuw nà ka njeý nì njí ddi ya bba ó ndrũ nì rǎ rǔgò cha ndèy dho bbu ndèymí drà mí li róngá pbòdha jǐgbè la ndèymí dhí mí nga nà níchú.

Ndrüdjá ùw ì nì ney klöw nà ndèymí ì dho ney fú klöw dhò ì dhí dziylíy ó dyàdha ní ddiy djú cha ì nì djÿ ní nì ndèymí ngǎ djÿ ní nì nà wá. Nyagak ó kass sšdha ngá ndèy tsò chwo 2006 nì nà gbè ddi nì mí kass ní West Nile mí dziylíy ó nì. À nì Nyagak mí dda djú,

Zumbu District ó. Fú kass sšdha sÿy ndèy chwo 2011 nì ó. Mí kass ka nì sš mí nga nà, bbalè dëy tdrà, kass ddòw nì bbalè mí jũw jǐ, ndaní à kǎ. Ka dëy tdrà býy nì bbalè kpà ka hwí fu ngá kpá ndèymí ka bbũw ndrũ bbúdha ní dda dhò ndaní à bbú

consultation. At the end of every month, they offer a sacrifice to the spirits in the shrine and whenever the first harvest is realised, the first part of it is taken to the shrine to seek the spirits' blessings.



Stones to trap misfortunes, such as diseases, external attacks and evil spirits

*Trr tsò tdèydha mí djuw tuwtsò rá ó ndèymí bǎ
bbúdha cha ka ni rǎ rǔgò*

Traditionalists believe that they can put a barrier at their homes to prevent all sorts of misfortunes and bad luck. This is done by putting roadside stones to act as traps for all the problems coming to the home. These stones (see photo) are strategically placed by the roadside at the entrance to the home. They are placed with a ceremony: a chicken is slaughtered and the blood is sprinkled over the stones. Such stones are also used when family members are going for an outside engagement which may require the blessing and the

protection of the gods, such as at times of war or epidemics

The Ndrukpa believe that they have power and can exercise it over any creation, both living and non-living, in their area. The construction of the Nyagak hydroelectric power station started in 2006 as the first hydro power station in West Nile region. It is located on the Nyagak River, in Zombo district. Construction was completed in 2011. During the construction, it was a common saying among the local people that the power generation needed blood, especially human blood, for the power to be generated. Many people were believed to have been killed and sacrificed at the river by the construction company to appease the gods of the river so that the power station could start working. Mzee Kelokpa tells how he used his power to make the turbine of the hydropower station operate:

“The Nyagak River lies in Ndrukpa land and no other tribe can appease the gods of Nyagak apart from a Ndrukpa because the gods of the river know it that they belong to Ndrukpa land. When construction work at Nyagak was complete, the engineers tried operating the power house but nothing could happen until they remembered that they did not appease the gods of the river. They called some Alur elders to go to the dam to perform the ritual to appease the gods. As I stay along the river, I could observe what was happening. The Alur elders did all that they could but failed until they admitted that Nyagak River belongs to the Ndrukpa

hwĩ dda ó drà dho ndrũ léy kass ddòw lõw njí njèy. Mzee Kelokpa tdrà ya nǎchú ndèy njèy njí ndèy mí klõw nà ddiy cha ndèy lèy ndanà kass ddòw njèy ndanà njí ddiy.



A small ancestors' shrine, where the spirits of the ancestors are believed to be. It is constructed within the home because the ancestors are believed to still be part of the family

Drá ní gúw-dzà tǎ cha dròdró ní ndjru dhí rr dèy nì òmá nì. Ka sè bba kàò ddiydhò mà bbúw nì sùw mà kàò ndrũ.



A snail shell is an important tool for the traditional healers and clan priests. They are found in the rivers from which the priests claim their supernatural power. Any gift being presented to the gods of the rivers is put in this shell and left to float away.

A snail shell is an important tool for the traditional healers and clan priests. They are found in the rivers from which the priests claim their supernatural power. Any gift being presented to the gods of the rivers is put in this shell and left to float away.

and that there was a need for the Ndrukpa people to come and perform the ritual. “So I was requested to present the ritual items, a sheep, a white cock and a white goat. These items are offered as a sacrifice to appease the gods of the river and to ask them for forgiveness for having disturbed their habitat, the Nyagak River (quarrying, rock blasting and river diversion). When all the items required were brought, I moved to the power house, facing the river and spoke to the river and said, “This is our land, the gods of the Ndrukpa people who peacefully survived in the beautiful river, you have been disturbed through the work of men and you have not been compensated, may you receive these offerings and as a sacrifice from your people and with these words may you let this power station operate”. I then slaughtered the sheep, left the blood flow into the river and did the same with the other animals. The meat was prepared by the river side and shared together with the workers at the site.”

“After the feast, I ordered the operator to try the turbine: it immediately started and the power station became operational. Since then, I have always remained a strong believer that I am staying on true Ndrukpa land and that gods have heard me on behalf of the people of West Nile who are now enjoying the power generated at the Nyagak hydroelectric power station, although I am not enjoying it myself because I cannot afford it.”



Mzee Kelokpa, the priest of the Arisi clan who represented the High Priest of the Ndrukpa in the rituals that opened Nyagak Power Station for operation. In his hands are the shell given to him by the Nyagak river and a wild cat skin showing strength

Mzee Kelokpa, Rřtsš mí gúw-dja cha ndèy njèy njí Ndrũdjá dhí drõngó ní gúw-dja rřdja ó nì cha Nyagak ó kass ka sš mí nga ó. À thopka ó nì dõló kòrř Nyagak bbũ nì ndèymí loso shí na cha ndèy nì à mí klõw dhõ nì.



*Mzee Kelokpa being interviewed
Ka nì Mze Kelokpa dhiy ddiy*

“Nyagak mí dda nì Ndrũdjá dhí dziylíy ó ndèymí ngéy ní pbúw nì ngă cha ì dho hwĩ bbu Nyagak ó drà dho ndey da Ndrũdjá djò luw nì ddiydho fú dda ó drà tsi ì nì Ndrũdjá dhí dziylíy ó. Nyagak ó kass s̄sdha s̄iy ndèy ro, mí kass ì nì s̄s̄ ní kpa ddèy ì léy kass ddòw njèy njí chú ndrũ ddèy kpě pbũw ndrũ rà ddey ì bbũ bbúdha nzá dda ó drà dho. Ndrũ ÿ gòw dhí dròdró ní kpa ră bbúdha bbu dda ó drà dho. Gbè ma dèy de funga níchú, ndrũ njèy ddiy wá cha ì kà tdè í njèy nì chú ddiy rò nì ngă cha ndèy njèy ndèy nì pbũw ndrũ rà ùw fú nì Ndrũdjá dhí dda nì ndey ndèymí à jì Ndrũ-ddùw ră bbúdha bbu ndey.

“Fú ddiy dhò ka ÿy ma, ma dhò cha ka dho bbu bbúdha ní nì ddiy, tombù, òw-kpà sár ní nì ndèymí sár ní drè nà. Fú ddiy mà ka bbú nì ndanì à bbú hwĩ dda ó drà dho ndèymí ka kwó nì ndanà lò bbàdha cha ka bbũw ndrũ dhò nzadha ì nì dey mí Nyagak mí dda ó nì ddiydho. Cha ddiy wání ka bbú ma dè ro, ma rà kass-dzà dè, ma kã ma nyú li dda dè. Ma ch̄iya matsò yà manì tdrà dda dhò, “Í nì màdhí ngòw, Ndrũdjá dhí drà cha mà dèy í lání dda ó nì, ka bbũw nyìdho nzadha, bbalè thopka nì njèy nì njí nà ndèymí ka ngù nyìdhí ddiy biytsò nzá, nyì kwó nyìdho í ddiy gbè madha mí bbúdha níchú nyìdhí bbalè dè ddù, í lò nà nyì léy í kass ddùw njèy njí”. Ma kã tumbù jì ka mí jũw bbà à pbèy dda ò ndèymí ma njèy ddí fũchú ngéy ní ddiy mà ro. Mí zã ka riy dda tsò rò, mà nyù ddinga ó fú njí djá nà fú nji mí nga ó.

“Fú madha mí nyũ dzzdjú, ma jà ka pũw kass ddòw tsò: ndùw kass ddòw lòw dey njí njèy. Fú nga djú ddù, ma mà fũngá ma jùw kpa-kpa ní nà diyichú manì dey Ndrũdjá dhí dziylíy ó ndèymí drà r̀ ma chuwest Nile ó bbalè r̀rdja ó cha ì nì Nyagak ó kass mí lání nga chũw, ya kpe manì mí lání nga chũw nzí ddiydho ma kã nzá ndanà.”

7. RESOLVING CONFLICTS

We the Ndrukpa continue to experience conflicts, whether among ourselves as individuals, between clans, or with neighbouring groups. Such conflicts mostly arise from land wrangles and drunkenness, but they can also come because of a struggle for power, witchcraft, adultery, envy, theft, laziness, lack of respect and murder.

As Ndrukpa, we are known for sharing because, since our migration, we have lived in union with other tribes, sharing our boundaries with other clans and with the Kebu and the Alur. However, when a fellow family member, lineage or clan mate decides to grab land on the border of the other, this brings conflict. A Ndrukpa will never want even fifty centimetres of his land to be taken by a neighbour without clear reasons.

Though we are agriculturalists, we do not all have the same vigour to plough or cultivate land that can accommodate the family's needs and provide food for future use. Here, conflict comes in when others begin to envy colleagues who have enough food and income, while others go as far as stealing from the garden or granary due to laziness, causing poverty to their family.

Although the way conflicts are resolved depends on their magnitude, the most common are as follows:

In a conflict involving two individuals, the elders are gathered under the chairmanship of the “*Bbadja*”, the head of the clan. Each party and witnesses make statements and the council of the elders passes judgment on the matter. The major form of redress or punishment is caning.

When the conflict involves two different clans, their heads are in charge of the mediation process. The clans are asked to bring goats for the elders to settle the matter. The goats are prepared by both clans together: this is called “*nzadha*” (community service). The Kingdom's Chief Judge (*Bbadja*) presides over the case after which the two clans are reconciled, the goats are eaten and the offender is charged according to the offence committed.

Conflicts involving other ethnic groups are resolved by the “*Ndrukpa mi Pey dja*” (King of the Ndrukpa) together with the counterpart king of the other tribe. Here the penalty is shouldered by the King of the offending party, not by the perpetrators. The perpetrators are however then handled by the King's council to meet the payments and charges levied against them by the complainant tribe. In this case we the Ndrukpa are represented by our King himself.

If the case involves murder, the offender must meet the burial expenses of the deceased and other fines such as goats for the deceased family are levied later. The King is the Chief Judge for an aggravated conflict such as murder or serious destruction of property and burning down a house.

7. LI KÀÓ LA MÍ LÒ SÍDHA

La tdè nì sūw mà Ndrūdjà kàó màní ddù, ngúww kàó ñgi mà kàtéy ndrū dhí ngúww nà. Fūchú nì la nga nì ndèy dziylíy pàdha óddù ndèymí ya bbalè rì wa nà ro, chú njàddí nghanà à njeý nì ndèy pey pàdha ó, djăyi dja mí lò ó, bbàlà mí lò ó, njàli mí ddiy njàdha lăní ddiy ó, gbu ó, tss ó, li njòwdha ngă nì ó, ndèymí li hwidha nà.

Gbè Ndrūdjà níchú, mà jì ddinga ó déydha ddiydho à nga ndèy màdhí bbiydh óddù, mà dèy nì ddì nga ó njàddí pbúw nà, ddì nì thu ó ngéy ní ngúww nà ndèymí Kitss ndèymí Gow nà. Ya ddì nì bba ó ndrū nì dziylíy pã ñgi njàddí ngúww dziylíy pã njàddí ngúww tsò ró, fú ddiy mba nì la. Ndrūdjà ddùw rà jì nzí ka ddá ndèy mí dziylíy rò drá ddí kpe nzá mí lò tey ndèy tsì ní.

Ya kpe mà nì nza ì bbí nì ndrū, mà wání nì ngă ddikà-ddì nì klów nà cha màdho ndanà nza bbiy cha ndèy dho màdhí dza ó ndrū tso-tso kwo wání ddiy ó, fú ddiy lèy njàddí bbalè rá nì njàddí ndrū dhí ddiy tdùw tdùwdha ní, njàddí ndrū nja nì ì làyi dhí ddiy ngăjì ní ddiy dhò ndrū nì tss nà ddiy njèydha mĩ, à lèy ndrū dhí dza nì ddiy mí zòw nà ndrū dhí tss dhò.

Ya kpe li kàó lò ka sí nì ndèy mí tūw-tūw ní nga ró, cha ndèy njeý nì ndèy ddu wá nì ró nì nì íchú:

Bbalè rwo nì kàó lò dhidha dhó, dròdró ní bbalè njúw nì ì “*Bbadja*” mí klów tsè téy. Ddì-ddì ní li ndèymí ndèy tsì fú lò ró lò nì li nà ndrū rà ì dhí lò klò ndèymí dròdró ní ndrū rà lò ndò fú lò djò. Fú lò sídha mí dröngó ní tuw nì li pèydha.

Ya mí la nì ngúww rwo nì kàó, fú ndrū djúnga ì nì njă nì ndrū rà mí lò önga njà ì. Fú ngúww djú karà drè ley dròdró ní ndrū dhò cha ì rà fú lò önga njà nì. Mí drè ka rà rì ddinga ó, fúnì ka ñy nì “*Nzadha*”. Pey mí nga ó lò tdèydha mí dröngóli (*Bbadja*) rà dey mí lò mí dröngóli ní, fú ddiy dzzdjú fú rwo nì ngúww kàó nga ka rà jì, mí drè karà nyù, cha ndèy sà lò nì li djú ka rà ddiy tdey cha fúli sà nì lò nà zu.

Pbúw kàó la “*Ndrūkpa mi Pey dja*” sí nì ndey ddì nga ó njàddí pbúw dhí Pey nà. I nga cha ndèy nga bbalè sà lò nì Pey djú ka lèy ní lò chú mí pey nga bbalè ngúw nì lò ley cha ndèy sà lò nì li djú. Mà Ndrūdjà ndèy dèy mà djú nì li nì Pey ndèy rónge nà.

Ya à nì dhi mí lò, cha ndèy hwì bu nì li djú ka tdey nì drè ndèymí drítsé nà bu tdòwdha mĩ ndèymí njàddí ddiy nà bu màdhíngá ndrū dhò. Fūchú nì lò ó Pey nì ndèy dröngó ní lò tdèydha dja dhí mí lò ó, ddiy sàdha ndèymí dza bëydha mĩ.

Dròdró ní la mí lò Pey-mí nga ó dròdró ní ndrū sí nì ndey ndèymí bbò déydha mí Minista nà ndèymí li rónge pbòdha mĩ nà. Fú ngúww nì ndèy nja nì bbalè lăní dey dha ndèymí shúní thíy nà déydha. Ndèy kwó nì fú bbalè tso-tso nì li nì dröngó kale ó lò tdèydha dja cha ndèy dda nì lò-tdèydha mí njúwdha djúkpa nì à dyöw ndèy cha ka ndíy nì lò nà.

Most important conflicts are resolved by the royal council under the Ministry of Security and Defence, which is responsible for ensuring peace and stability and to ensure that reparation and redress is provided to any aggrieved party. They are helped by the Chief Judge based on investigations and statements recorded by the individuals or parties involved in the conflict.



The King's Council in a court sitting. Promoting and maintaining justice is the role of the King's council and the magnitude of the offence determines the presence or absence of the King in the sitting. King Manasi Njuni Rapia II is in the centre.

Pey-ddúw dhí njúwdha lò-ndòdha ó. Ndrũ ni lǎní déydha drr Pey ngá njúwdha ó. Mí lò mí tǔ-tǔw ní nga dho nì Pey mí déydha mí lò ó ǐngǎ. Pey Manasi Njuni Rapia II dòw nděy nga thiynga djú lò ndòdha mí.

8. NDRUKPA DANCES AND SONGS

Dances

In Ndrukpa culture, dance is important and different types exist: the *Liy* [with the *oseke* or flute], *Atdey-dza*, *Dowma* [with the *adungu* or harp]. These dances play important roles for both youth and elders. For the youth, dances help them to meet future husbands or wives and to learn their traditions as they grow. They can witness talented dancers, thus helping them to know how to practice for future generations. The elders can show their experience by organising traditional dances and thus be recognised and considered wealthy and prestigious in the community, given the costs involved. Dances are also considered a good way of passing leisure time and to feel relaxed, both for the youth and the elders.

Among the Ndrukpa, one has to provide specific items which are considered very important when organising a dance. These include sheep, chicken, a cow and flour to make the local beer (*Waa rra*). The brew is made for the instrumentalists and the selected dancers to grace the dance while the animals are slaughtered, especially when it is a feast dance like thanksgiving and funeral rights.

Currently, the dances are not as common as previously, but they are still practiced in Bunyoro. This decline is attributed to modernisation, TVs and videos, as the community value traditional dances less and as there is less commitment by the talent holders. A troupe of young men dancers might for instance be scattered because young Lendu men go lumbering far from home. Elders no longer give their time to teach the youth, thus further diminishing their interest. “*Elders of this days are not like the previous ones*”, according to Unewun an elder from the Ndhowts clan in Nyakasenene, Hoima district.

The *Atdey-dza* dance was commonly practiced at night when someone dies. It was held at the burial place and was meant to create a meeting point for young boys and girls to mourn and replace the deceased. In this dance, the instruments used included the drum, wood pieces (*lakpra*) and *dongu* (cello).

The *useke* (*liy*) dance is the only one still practiced. Talented young men blow a flute (*liy*) in a rhythmic and harmonious flow to produce a musical sound. This type of dance is performed during jubilation and joyous parties, such as for the King’s coronation anniversary. It can also be organised by an individual who has achieved or excelled, such as a bumper harvest or victory at war. The two instruments shown are used simultaneously during the “*liy*” dance

The harps dance (*Dowma*) makes use of a set of well-tuned harps to produce sweet musical sounds, accompanied by drums and shakers. This dance was traditionally used during marriage ceremonies or at burials, with different songs for either.

8. NDRŪKPÀ MÍ DYÌ NDÈYMÍ NGWO

Dyì kpà

Ndrŭkpà mí bba lò ó, dyì huwdjò nì túw ndèymí ngéy ngéy ní jì ddí: Lǐy, tdey dzà dòwma, Ídyì huwdjò nì yàdda ndèymí dròdró ní ndrŭ dhò. Yàdda dhò, dyì léy nì ndrŭ njúw nì ì kpa nà ìngí dhì cha ndrŭ rà kòw nì ndèymí ndrŭ tsì nì ìdhà ì nì dhǐy mí nga ró. Ndrŭ dho ì tsì dyì nì ndrŭ dhò, Àkwó ndrŭ tsotso ndrŭ tsǐ gǎchú bbi nì ddiy ì rà shì nì nzòw dhò. Dròdró ní ndrŭ dhò nì ì dhí dyì bba ó dyì nà ndèymí ka má nì ndèymí à dho ddiyà déydha ndèymí ka njeý nì à dò. Ka chùw dyì nì lǎní sa mbadha dho ndèymí li djòkpa chùdha, dròdró ní ndrŭ ndèymí yàdda nà.

Ndrŭkpà kàó, ddiiddì ní li chuw dyì bbidha mí ddiy nji ya ndrŭnì rà dyì ley. Í ddiy mì nì tombù òw ndrŭtsǐs ddi ndèymí wa rà wa vudha mí. Ka nì war rǐ ì nì lǐy mǐy nì ndrŭdhò ndèymí dyì djá dhò ndrŭ déy dyì jǎ kani zǎ jǐ mí nganà, ya à nì madha ní gbe ndèymí dzz dyì.

Írò, dyì nì ngǎ ndrŭnì nì níchú, chú ka nì ndrŭ bbǐ sŭw Bunyoro ò. À ngú luw tò njanjaniì dyìdhò, to modernisation, TVs and videos, bbalè ngú bba ó dyì dzz ngǎ ndèymí li bbúdhà nì drò li dhí lò ó cha ì tsì nì ndrŭ dè ddù. Ndrŭdjá mí dyì bbidha mí kpani nzòw dho rà tsúw thà ndì bba ó ddù. Dròdró ní ndrŭ bbú nì nzǐ ìdhí sǎ yàdda gwíydha nà, ddiyà à hwi nì ndrŭ dhí klòw. “Í rò nì dròdró ní ndrŭ nì ngǎ ndrŭ níni nichú”, Unenwun ddeddu Ndhowts mí pbúw ó drǒngó li, Nyakasenene, Hoima district.

Tdey-dzà mí dyì kà léy nì kúw nà ya li rò dhì ro. À tde nì tdòw rà dà mí ngaó ndèymí à tdè kpa ní nzòw ndèymí dhì nzòw nà njúw nì ì tsò mí nga dzz dhò. Í dyì ó, ka tey nì dzz, lakpra ndèymí ddongò nà.

Liy mí dyì ì kpe ka nì bbǐy sŭw. Ì tsì nì kpa mey nì liy ngéy ngéy à dá lǎní chunì. Í dyì jì ka léy nì madha ìtsǐ djú, gbè Pey ka lèy mí ddu. Njǎddí ka dho ley ya li rò dà lǎní ndèy nì njèy nì ddiy ó, gbè la ó ddu ndèy ngú nì li. Í rwo nì dyì mí ddiy ka njeý nì liy mí sǎ nà.



Flutes (Liy)



Long drum (Dzz)

In addition, we have taken up a dance from the Alur, with the xylophone – this is called the *ndara* dance and is mostly a courtship dance, performed late in the evening.

Folk Songs

A song about death:

I ngbaàthayanyi ma rǎnangá nga ya
(Little child, where has your mother gone?)
A waadziloo
(She has gone underground)
A wa ndrú dhe
(She has gone to the ancestors)
Yadye, mama ra ngu ney madhe?
(Will my mother come back to me?)
Anei ara ngu
(Yes she will)

A song for boys while bathing in the river:

Itsikoro
(Will there be sunshine again?)
Itsikorowarakli
(Surely it must be)

A war song:

Sheria nga nyisaa rò mbangbà dawa djo
(Whenever you have sinned, you need to approach the priest for sanctification)
Djii nja bakombata shiiró djii shi bale ba
(Whenever our enemies see our soldiers they must leave our people)
Djiiye ee dji shi bale ba
(Our enemies you must leave our people alone)

A war song:

Ma ra ma ddo nyi kothe roo, nyi ra tdra ngow- tsa tsa ma ndey
(Much as you undermine me, the day I will cling on your neck, You will see how mad I am)
A ye ara ndey sa mi sawa na
(The day it will worsen)
Klanga ma na kwina di
(Even the groundnuts and maize will fight for us)
Ngura ma dyuw na di

Dòwma mí dyi dyá ngìynì àddá lǎní chuw nì, dzz rà djò tey dyòw ndèymí sàsi. Í dyi ka dèy ley ków mí serèmoni Ìtsš djú ndeymí dzidjú ngéy ngéy ngwo nà.

Fú nì ró, mànì dyi nà Gow de ddu, ndara mí ndèymí à nì kow mí lò teydha mí, kà bbi nì ngìtsš djú nga nà.



Ndrukpa performing their cultural dance called “lǐy dyi”.

Ndrudjá dhí bbú mí lǐy dyi

Pbúw ó gwo

Dhi mí gwo:

I ngbaàthayanyi ma rǎnangá nga ya

A waadzilioo

A wa ndrũ dhe

Yadye, mama ra ngu ney madhe?

Kpaní nzòw dhí gwo ì nì ì róngá gbu dda djò nì:

Itsikoro

(Even cassava and millet will fight for us)

Nyi ra dra ngowsa sa ma ndhey

(You will see how mad we are)

A folk story

The Antbear and the Baboon - Laziness can make you lose your life and affect the entire family – a .Story by Odota Paskal Wo'bar

Long ago Mr. Antbear and Mr. Baboon were brothers. Mr. Antbear was a cultivator while Mr. Baboon was a lazy man. Mr. Antbear dug his garden in the valley which belonged to their father, Mr. Mbukpa. The lazy Baboon did not cultivate his field while the Antbear planted maize and beans in his garden.

During this period, there was a great famine. This was the time when Mr. Baboon's wife had delivered. When Mr. Antbear's crops were ready, Mr. Baboon started to steal his crops from the field because getting money and food was difficult for the Baboon since he had a newly born baby.

When Mr. Antbear found that his maize was being stolen, he started to guard it. One night, Mr. and Mrs. Baboon thought of stealing Mr. Antbear's maize so that they could sell in Mr. Manga's market to get money. As Mr. Antbear was watching them, he saw that the thief was his brother and he could do nothing to him. When Mr. Baboon brought the first load, the owner of the field followed them and hid around the home. The thief and his wife packed the maize in a big pot to cook to get ready to be sold in Manga's market the next day.

After putting this on fire, they went for a second round. The owner of the field came in and removed some maize which was being cooked and picked the child of the thief and put it in the pot which was used for boiling the maize and covered it. When the thieves came back, the woman thought that the maize could be ready, so she removed the cover and touched something like the body of a person. Immediately she thought of checking on the baby but she did not find it. She called for the husband. The husband answered: "what?" She then told him that the baby was missing and was in the pot in which maize was boiling. The husband then told the wife not to raise alarm but to first plan how to resolve the case.

The couple collected all the maize from their house both fresh and boiled and dumped it under a tree. The husband told the wife to make an alarm very early in the morning when the smell of the maize was no longer near their house. During all this time, the maize owner was just hiding next to their house and heard all their plans. Very early in the morning, the husband told the wife to make the alarm and which she did very loudly. As people heard the alarm, they came to see what was going on. The husband and the wife were telling people to see how the wizards had burnt their child.

During the burial time, the clan elders talked bitterly about the issue of wizardry that was on the rise among the people during this time of famine. When the elders had

Itsikorowarakli

La mí gwo:

Sheria nà nyi saa rò mba ngbà dawa djo
Djii nja bakombata shiirroo djii shi bale ba
Djiiye ee dji shi bale ba

La mí gwo

Mara ma ddo nyi kothe roo, nyi ra tdra ngow- tsa tsa ma ndey
A ye ara ndey sa mi sawa na
Klanga ma na kwina di
Ngura ma dyuw na di
Nyi ra dra ngowsa sa ma ndey

Ngèy

Rìrdha màgò Biymo nà – Tss dho ley nyi ngá bba sã ndèy ndèymí à dho ìngà dzá nì bbalè róngà lòw wá. – a . Odota Paskal Wo’bar tdrà nì ngèy

Ndrũ ní, Drǒngóli Rìrdha màgò Drǒngóli Bìymo nà tdè dju-dju ní. Rìrdha tdè nza bbìydha dja, Biymo kě tdè tss dja. Rìrdha bbìy ndèy mí nza djanì ngá ddabbùw ò, ndèy ródho tdè Drǒngóli Mbukpa. Tss-dja Biymo bbìy nza nzá chú Rìrdha bbìy ndèy mí nza à kã kwí tdòw ndèymí shu nà.

Fúnga nà kyele ní hùw chèy. Fú nì tdè Biymo ngá hìytss ngã ndèy ddiy. Rìrdha ngá nyũ ‘wò ro, Biymo lòw dey tdùw nza óddù ddiydho mb chùwdha ndèymí nyũ nà tdè kpá-kpá Biymo dhò ddiydho à tdè kà ní ngba nà.

Rìrdha chùw ndèyngá kwíy ka nì tdùw ro, à lòw dey róngà pbò. Ddini ków nà Biymo màgò hìytss nà ddèy ì rã Rìrdha ngá kwíy tdùw ndanì ì dzz ònga Manga ngá sòkò ó, ì chùw ndanà mb. Cha Rìrdha tdè ndrũ nì njěy nì ddiy njã ro, à njà mí gbudja tdè nú djüni, ndèymí ndèy dho njèy nì ddiy nì ngã. Cha Biymo mbà tdè ddi nì mí nò ro, nza-dja dyòw ndrũ à kã ndèy rù bba ró chow ní. Gbudja màgò hìytss nà kã kwí pà vëy drǒngó ní ndanì à rí Manga ngá sòkò dho tdey ó cha ndèynì nēyngá bbütss ró nì.

Ngrũ lëy kwí katss djò ddiy dzzdjú, ndrũ rà rwo ní mí dhò. Nzadja tsúw dzá ka kwíy rò dda tdey óddù cha ka tdè rí nì ndèymí à kã Gbudja ngá ngba tduw ka ley cha ka tdè kwíy rí mí tdey ò, à kã djúnga dzá. Gbudjá ngù ro, hìytss ní li ddèy kwíy dho tdè ndèy ri nà, à ddã ddiy djúnga ro, à kã ndèy thopka shùw tdey ò. À mbù ddiy gbè bbalè róngà níchú. Ndùw à ddèy ndèy njã ngba chú à chùw à nzá. A kã kpatsè iy. Kpatsè kã ùw: “Ddu?” À kã tdrà kpatsè dho ngba nì ngã, à nì tdey ò cha màni kwíy rí mí. Kpatsè kã tdrà, nzí ków jüw chú mà ddèy ya njáchú màrà fú lò si ddiy

Fú sǐngba màgò kpatsè nà njüw ridha ní ndèymí jöw ní kwíy nà wá ìdhí dzá óddùw ka mba tsúw tò. Kpatsè kã tdrà hìytss ní ddù à ków jüw br̄ bbüw nga nà, ngã kwíy nzz nì ngã ìdhí dza káo ro. Fú nga nà wá kwiy-dja tdè ndèy rù ndèy chow dza kátéy

finished their speeches, Mr. Antbear, the garden owner, requested time to make a short speech. He said that the cases of wizardry that the clan elders were talking about were all false and that there was no such case among the community. He said that it is only the lazy men in the community who are looking for problems for those who have food. He added: "The wizards you are talking about are the food owners. If you think I am telling lies, why is it that all the witchcraft cases are registered in the homes of lazy people? The cause of this death is with the father and the mother of the deceased. If you still don't believe me, let some 5 men go under that tree and collect anything they will find and bring it here". Five men were sent and they collected 5 baskets of maize each, both fresh and boiled and brought them to the crowd.

After this, Mr Baboon and the wife truly accepted that laziness is bad.

Wise Sayings and Idioms

- **Slowly by slowly an egg will walk.** This means that an action may seem impossible at the start but with hard work and determination, it will become possible.
- **A hen has eaten its own egg.** Our elders often say this when they refer to the witches and wizards who are suspected to have killed their own children.
- **Don't put all your eggs in one pot.** This means: do not trust the safety of your one store. It is wiser to store in different places, so that when you lose you don't lose everything!
- **Mr Darkness ate a black skinned cow.** This means that anything done at night cannot be trusted. To be trusted, always act during the day.
- **The bats eat at night.** This refers to the thieves and other wrong doers who roam about at night wanting to steal. So be careful with your belongings, especially at night!
- **Do not push a stick into the behind of a dog sleeping at the fireplace.** Do not disturb people who are enjoying their peace.
- **Tree climbing does not start from the top** In all actions you are taking, there are always initial stages that you must pass through and they can't be skipped.

ndèymí à r̀ ndrũ dèy ddey nì lò wá. Br̀ bbũw-bbúw nga nà h̀yitss ní li k̀w jũw. Cha bbalè kpà r̀ jũw ro, ndrũ rà ì rã ya ddu nì ndèy njèy ddiy njà. Singba màgò kpats̀s nà dèy tdrà bbalè dho ndrũ njã djäy-djä bëy ì dhí ngba ddiy.

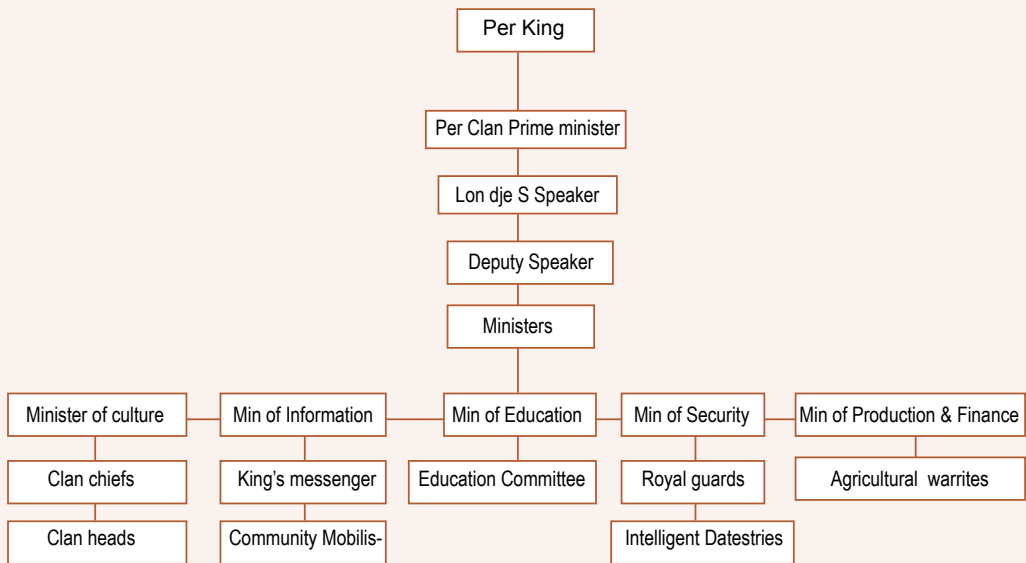
Li ka nì tdõw ro, ngúww ó dròdró ní ndrũ tdrà lò rí drõ djäyí-djä dhí lò djò cha ndèy nì ndèy drr dr̀dha ní bbalè k̀ò h̀w mí nga nà nì. Dròdró ní ndrũ sí idhí lò tdràdha ro, R̀dha, nza-dja, kwõ ndèy tdrà lò rò drã. À tdrà, djäyí-djä dhí lò cha dròdró ní ndrũ nì tdrà nì, nì wá mbwà ndèymí fũchú nì lò nì ngã ingá nì bbalè k̀ò. À tdrà tss-djä í bba ó nì, nì nì ndey lò mëy cha ì nì nyũ nà nì bbalè dè. À dr̃ ddiyàchú, djäyí-djä cha nyi nì tdrà nì, nì nyũ-djä. Ya nyi tdrà manì mbwa tdrà, ddudhò djäyí-dja dhí lò ní ndèy chũw tss-dja dhí dza òluw?Í dhí mí lò nì ngba-dja ndèymí ngba-yà nà djú. Ya nzí nyi ũw nyi léy bbalè 5 rà chá tsúw téy ndèymí ndrũ njúw ddiy wá cha ndrũ rà ch̀w fungá nì ndrũ mbã ingá. Ka chwõ kpa mbu, ndrũ njúw kwiy katoko 5, riydha ní nì ndèymí jũw ní nì nà, ndrũ mbà bbalè njúw ì mí nga ò. Fúddiy dzzdjú, Biymo ndèy ngá h̀yitss nà ùw dìychú ìnì tss nì ngãjini ddiy.

Nyũ'wí nà nì tdràdha ndèymí lò ró jĩ nà

- **Bbò-bbò òw bbíy rà bbiy ney.** Í nì mí lò tey nì, I ndèy nì ndèy njèy nì ddiy rà ndèy njà kpá-kpá tsòni ngádha ó chú kpá-kpá ní njí nà ndèymí li jùw léydha nà à rà ndèy njèy ney.
- **Òw m̀ ndèt téy bbiy.** Màdhí dròdró ní ndrũ tdrà nì djäyí-dja dhò cha ì hwi nì idhí nzòw nì.
- **Nzì léy nyi mí òw-bbiy wá ddi nì tdey ó.** Nzì léy nyi jùw ddi nì ddiy léydha mí nga ó. À nì lã ní nyi léy nyimí ddiy ngéy ngéy ní nga òluw ndaní ya ddi nì vỹ njàddí ká mà.
- **Kúw ónga nyù kúw ní dr̀ts̀s.** –kúw nà ndèy nì ndèy njèy nì ddiy nzí ka uw nì. Ya nyi jì ka ũw nyi nì njèy nì ddiy, njeý its̀s ónga nà.
- **Pí nyu nì nga kúw nà.** – gbudjándèymí ngãjì ní ddiy ì njeý nì bbalè njeý nì fũ ddiy kúw nà. Fúddiy dhò, pbo nyimí ddiy róngá kúw nà gbudjá róddù.
- **Nzì tuw ndèy h̃y fuwr óni ts̃y teytsò.** Nzì nzá cha ì nì idhí hwí njèy nì ndrũ.
- **Tsúw djèydha nga nì ndèy nzí ru ddù.** Ddiy wá cha nyi nì njèy nì, njeý cha ànì ndèy jĩ níchú, nzí ló lódha ní djòmà luw.

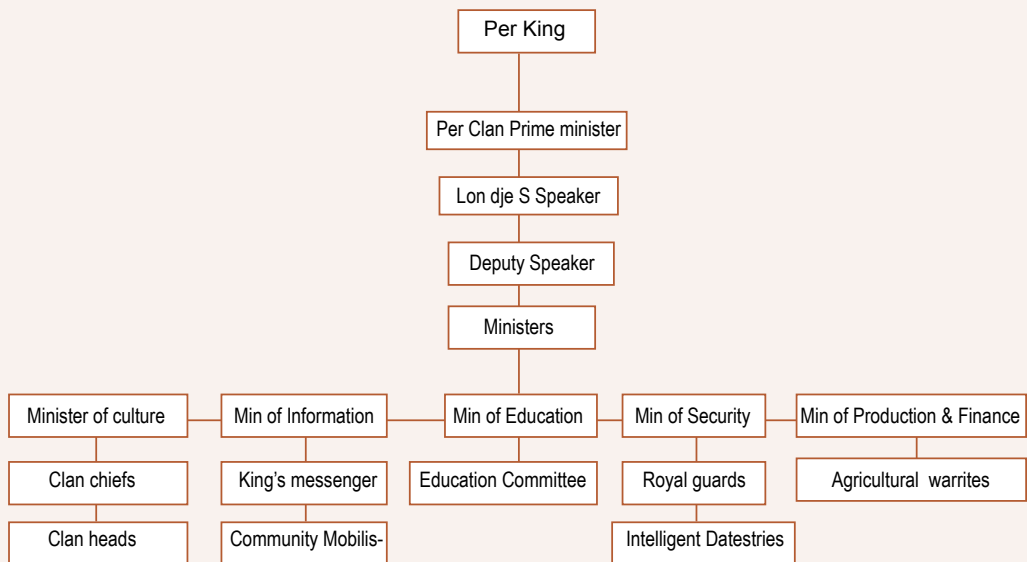
Annex

ORGANOGRAM OF THE TRADITIONAL ADMINISTRATION OF LENDU KINGDOM



Ndrũkpa mí Pey mí nga mí Pey-ddúw kpìdha

ORGANOGRAM OF THE TRADITIONAL ADMINISTRATION OF LENDU KINGDOM



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