

Daily Life as Poetry: The Meaning of the Pastoral Songs of the Karimojong in Northeastern Uganda

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The Karimojong have two genres of songs: *eete* and *emong*. *Emong* is a kind of song that individuals other than the composer refrain from singing in public; these songs mention specific castrated animals owned and herded by the composer/singer. A consciousness grounded in the ideology of identification with a castrated animal has had a profound effect on the structural features of this creative endeavor. Nevertheless, references to oxen constitute only a small portion of the lyrics of these songs, which describe the life-worlds of singers as they engage in the daily subsistence activities of pastoralism. This paper describes gender divisions of the singing situation characterizing *emong* and *eete* songs as well as the 'empirical' features of *emong* and examines: (1) how singing *emong* enables the singer to satisfy personal needs; (2) how visual images of animal coats function as a metaphoric source; and (3) how visual experiences, the sources of the poetic imagination, are transformed into auditory illusions through the manipulation of color and visual perception.

Key words: Eastern Nilotic pastoral people, imagination, memory, ox songs, visual perception

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Human-Animal Relations in East African Pastoral Societies

Haudricourt (1969) characterized human engagement with livestock among groups practicing wheat agriculture in west Asian and Mediterranean regions as being built on collective intervention into anonymous existence. His basic theory was that animals, particularly livestock, are generally anonymous to humans. However, observation of human-animal relationships in hunting and pastoral subsistence societies reveals a unique familiarity between humans and individual animals in pastoral societies. Knight (2005) suggested that hunters become familiar with the general behavioral patterns of an animal species through time and accumulated experience, but that hunters lack familiarity with individual animals. In contrast, domestication provides the temporal and spatial conditions for familiarity to emerge between humans and animals. For example, identification and memory of individual animals is a basic skill essential for herders to guide the herd, to assist mothers and infants for the purpose of milking, and to establish the absence or presence of individual animals in the herd.

In contrast to reindeer pastoralism in north Eurasia, horse and sheep pastoralism in the steppes of central Asia, sheep pastoralism in the mountains of the Mediterranean coast, camel, goat and sheep pastoralism in the semi-desert region from North Africa to the Middle East, yak and sheep pastoralism in the Tibetan plateau, and llama and alpaca pastoralism in the mountains of South America, African pastoralism tends to be less dependent upon, or related to, market-based transactions.⁽¹⁾ In

East African pastoral societies in particular, economic co-existence between farmers and herders is less developed than in West African pastoral societies, and the tendency toward self-sufficiency is strong. Sato (1984) studied social characteristics among East African pastoral societies and found a heavy dependence on animal products as food and frequent use of animals as goods for social exchange, rather than for sale as in a market economy. In East Africa, cattle are the most important of all pastoral animals, economically, psychologically, and socially. The mode of existence in pastoral societies based on this close relationship between humans and cattle is well known among researchers as the 'cattle complex.'

Homewood (2008) noted that the herds of West African pastoralists can be regarded as commercialized herds, compared with the 'cattle complex' mode of East African pastoralism. For example, in East Africa even old and skinny animals that have lost market value, by having lost weight or being unable to reproduce or provide milk, are retained within herds. Pastoralists tend to maintain the largest herd possible, which may enable them to survive in arid regions in times of plague and drought.

East African traditional pastoral societies are labor intensive. In general, many family members are involved in animal husbandry. Furthermore, unlike the ranching system in which commercial value determines livestock production, personalized ties are formed between people, especially men, and animals (Galaty 1989). The Dodoth carry out a particular ritual to celebrate cows that have died of old age (Kawai 2004). In Turkana, the expression 'old cow' is a term of respect, indicating that one has survived many diseases and droughts (Broch-Due 1999).

Eastern Nilotic pastoral peoples keep adult male animals even after castration. Castrated animals do not contribute to the reproduction of the herd, but they are a main source of blood, which is food for the herders. Individual castrated animals have personal value as important symbols; even the earliest ethnographies of East African pastoral societies described the strong relationship between ox and man in the context of ox songs.

The populations of northeastern Africa compose, chant, and sing 'ox songs' in admiration of their beloved oxen and in celebration of the peculiar connection between oxen and humans (Evans-Pritchard 1956; Gourlay 1972; Deng 1973; Ohta 1987). These practices can be interpreted as part of the overt behavior defined by Seligman and Seligman (1932) and Evans-Pritchard (1956) as 'identification.' Researchers have focused extensively on the altered state of consciousness characterizing the singer, who identifies physically with his favorite ox while performing musically, and on the linguistically nondeterministic phenomenon of whether the subject of the song lyrics is the singer or his favorite ox.

Performances leading to self-surrender by singing aria-inflected songs about oxen in solemn voices have been recorded among the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard 1956) and the Dinka (Lienhardt 1961). Bell (1949), who explored northeastern Uganda (Fig. 1) in the early twentieth century in order to hunt elephants and trade ivory, wrote about how the Karimojong, an Eastern Nilotic pastoral people, imitated the behavior of oxen.

Several theories have been proposed to explain why the ox was selected as the object of identification. Among East African pastoral societies, humans are often treated as analogous to oxen but not to bulls. Indeed, oxen embody the virtues of ideal body size, strength, beauty, and sociability, characteristics that are very different from the wiriness, boniness, and misbehavior associated with bulls (Beidelman 1966). Furthermore, the sexual ambiguity of castrated oxen enables these animals to function as media for peak experiences in rituals designed for spiritual communication with supernatural and mystical worlds (Beidelman 1966; Hutchinson 1980).

1.2. *Problem of Consciousness*

The use of oxen as media for spiritual communion implies that this cultural phenomenon is strongly related to religious beliefs (Evans-Pritchard 1956). However, as discussed below, Karimojong men ubiquitously sing *emong* in a variety of everyday situations, apart from rituals. Lyrics referring to oxen are only a small portion of all the lyrics in songs describing the life-worlds of singers as they engage in the daily subsistence activities of pastoralism. Existing theories leave unanswered questions about the

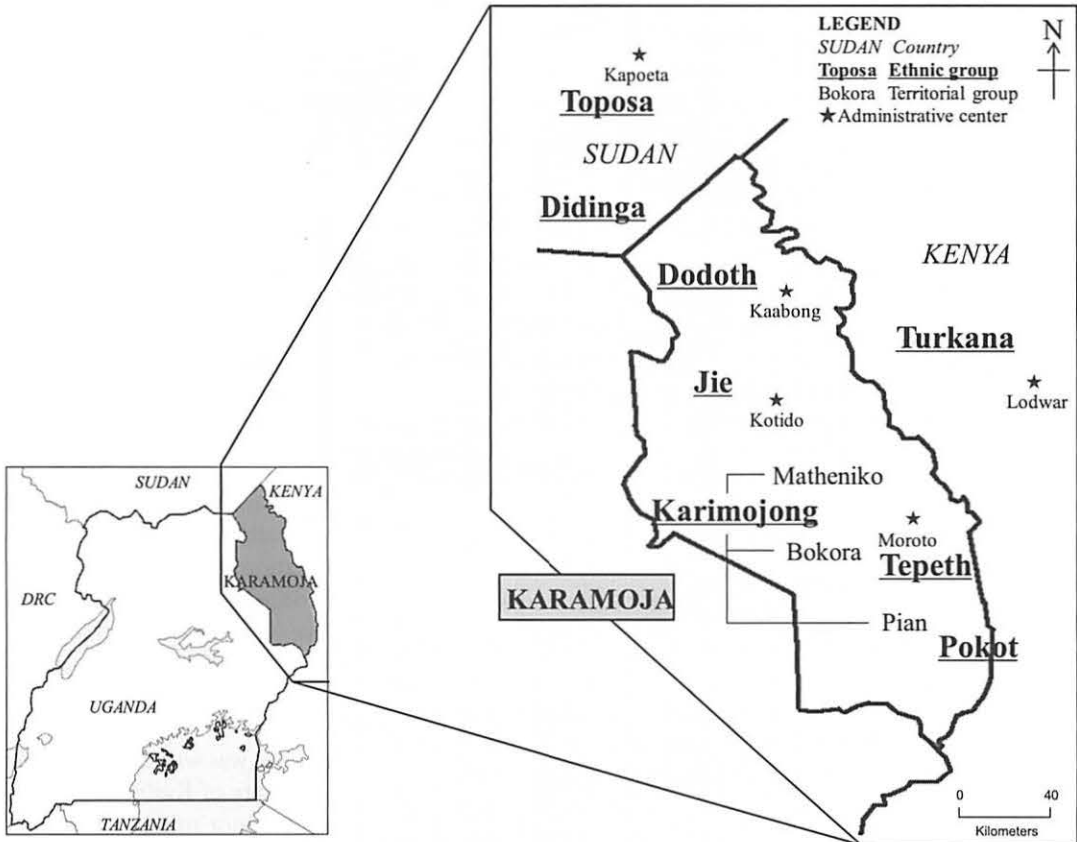


Fig. 1. Map of northeastern Uganda, Karamoja

structure of the lyrics used in ox songs and how the singers of these songs are related to the genre.

In "Imagery in Ngok Dinka Cattle-Names" (1934), Evans-Pritchard described how pastoralists in southern Sudan referred to their cattle by color or by the relationships between colors and other phenomena; he promised to publish a more complete account of the nomenclature used by this population to refer to cattle. He repeated this promise in *The Nuer* (1940), but the linguistic culture surrounding the conceptualization of livestock, which he described in 1940 as a neglected subject, remains to be elucidated (Coote 1992).

A number of relatively recent branches of literary research on various forms of art have adopted an ideological approach with regard to individuals and the societies in which they operate (Bakhtin 1975). Studies on the art of pastoral songs have not been exempt from this tradition. Indeed, in this regard, the problem of the consciousness of the researchers, in addition to the ideology of identifying with a castrated animal, has had a profound effect on approaches to understanding the structural features at the heart of this creative endeavor (e.g., Gourlay 1972).

I began my field research among the Karimojong people in August 1998 and among the Dodoth people in January 2003 in an effort to elucidate the herding ecology among the pastoral societies of Karamoja, northeastern Uganda. This paper is mainly based on data recorded between December 1998 and March 1999 in Moroto, the main residence of the Karimojong people.

In my first phase of research in Karamoja, I identified each goat in the focal herd and recorded and analyzed group membership during daylong herding trips based on proximity and interactions between shepherd and goats, applying methods used in animal sociology (Hazama 2002). As boys shepherded in the pasture grounds, they would sing tunes they had composed. Each Karimojong herder and shepherd had his own songs that he composed on his own. Boys aged around 10 years

sang basic songs listing animal names.⁽²⁾

This paper explores what kinds of phenomena the Karimojong songs addressed and how they were related to daily pastoral activities such as herding, acquiring, watching, and celebrating animals. It also explores how song lyrics have been integrated into the life-world of this culture and how the lyrics mediate creative vision.

1.3. Overview of the Karimojong people

The language of the Karimojong people is called *Ngakarimojong* and is classified into the Teso-Turkana cluster of Eastern Nilotic (Nilo-Saharan) languages (Gregersen 1977). The cluster consists of the Teso, Karimojong, Jie, and Dodoth in Uganda, the Turkana in Kenya, the Toposa and Jiye in Sudan, and the Nyangatom in Ethiopia. With the exception of the Teso, all these peoples depend strongly on livestock production and base their subsistence and social foundations on pastoralism.

These peoples used to be one group; they began migrating from the *Moru Apolon* ('Big Mountain') region in northwestern Kenya 200 years ago and subsequently divided, forming the prototypes of the present groups (Lamphear 1976).

The Karamoja region, including Karimojong land, is remote and far from Kampala, the capital of Uganda. Recently, violent conflicts between peoples in this area over cattle raiding and ambush attacks against vehicles have resulted in social insecurity and increased isolation, more so than in other regions of Uganda. Some youths who are school-educated and employed speak English, Italian, and Kiswahili well, but the predominant language in Karimojong society is *Ngakarimojong*. Job Loor published a *Ngakarimojong* dictionary, the *Karimojong English Dictionary*, in 1976. In 1985, Bruno Novelli wrote a 541-page book, *A Grammar of the Karimojong Language*, which provides a detailed syntax according to contexts and position class analysis of verbs.

The first monograph based on long-term fieldwork among the Karimojong was written by Dyson-Hudson (1966), who carried out research in the 1950s on the cultural ecology of Karimojong politics. Dyson-Hudson reported that the segmentary lineage system plays a minor role in structuring Karimojong society and that the society is decentralized. Karimojong political community is built upon territorial segments divided according to neighborhood of residence. Dyson-Hudson explained that the goal of the political policy is to satisfy the cattle interests of the community, based on agreement among members under the authority of elders in an age-grade system.

Knighton (2005) demonstrated that the traditional Karamojong religion⁽³⁾ is flexible and has been altered in terms of both concept and ritual practice. Historical changes affecting religion have included the social and psychological importance of marriage, the regulation of sex and kin by cattle, and the cultural value of cattle. Sundal (2009) conducted medical anthropological research on indigenous practices related to health problems caused by physical violence during cattle raiding and by structural violence.

2. GENRE, CONTEXT, AND REMEMBERING

2.1. Ox songs

The Karimojong begin composing pastoral songs when they start caring for herds. This practice is continued throughout their lifetimes, during which the songs are memorized and accumulated by repeated singing. Attitudes about ox songs and the ways in which they are performed differ substantially from attitudes about, and the performance of, traditional songs associated with rituals for age cohorts and territorial groups.

When the situation is appropriate, men always prefer to sing an ox song that they have composed themselves rather than a group song. They demonstrate ecstatic behavior while singing aria-inflected ox songs but not while performing strong and rhythmic elephant dances. The singer makes a great effort to identify the ox as the object of a song by jumping with raised arms, forming the shape of the horns of the ox, and by locking 'horns' with others.

Among the Eastern Nilotic pastoral societies of northeastern Uganda, the song genre that refers to a particular castrated animal is known as *emong*, which originally meant ‘ox.’ The term *eoth*, which is derived from *aeo*, means the action of singing. It has been dichotomized into subcategories of *eete* and *emong* (Fig. 2). *Eete* refers to a genre of songs in which the composer is unknown and the song is shared collectively by members of the society; it includes references to totems such as animals, plants, and other objects that have special relationships with particular human populations, including age cohorts, generations, territorial groups, and descendants. *Emong* refers to a genre of songs that individuals other than the composer (*elope*) refrain from singing in public; the songs generally refer to specific castrated animals that are owned and herded by the composer/singer.

Young men sing the *emongs* that they have composed to members of their own generation, who clap their hands and sing along with the chorus while leaping upward (*edonga*) in the moonlight when the rainy season has ended and the community has an abundance of food and peaceful relationships with neighboring groups. Boys’ *emongs* are rhythmical, but the songs sung by young men convey a sense of regality; these are regarded as ‘true’ *edongas*, while the *emongs* of boys are regarded as ‘ludic’ *edongas*. *Eete* songs are sung in unison, and choral renditions are very common. Most songs are sung in unison, punctuated by periodic solos, yielding music that includes both choral and solo portions.

At singing parties attended by unmarried women (*abolia*), *eetes* are sung in unison by singers crowded into a hut, who sit on the ground with their legs extended straight out in front of them. At assemblies involving the drinking of sorghum beverages, men chant individual songs in loud voices into the middle of the night. Songs are also sung during daily subsistence activities such as harvesting agricultural crops and daylong herding trips. Work songs accompany collective labor in cultivated fields. Herders and shepherds sing *emongs* while they herd cattle and goats in the absence of other humans, claiming that singing encourages the animals to relax and graze better.

Males who covet the cattle owned by another person compose a song praising the animal’s appearance and stand outside its pen for weeks or months, singing the song for the animal. I was informed that initiation rites for generation and age sets involve singing directed at totems as well as dancing, and that *emong* songs are sung when an ox is sacrificed as part of the male rite of initiation, but I was unable to actually observe these events. Thus, *emong* songs, which are associated with a particular individual animal, are sung not only during rituals but also during various segments of daily life including subsistence activities, socializing, and entertainment.

Emong songs are composed the first time that a boy acts as a shepherd during a daylong herding trip involving small livestock (goats and sheep). Men who have never acted as shepherds cannot

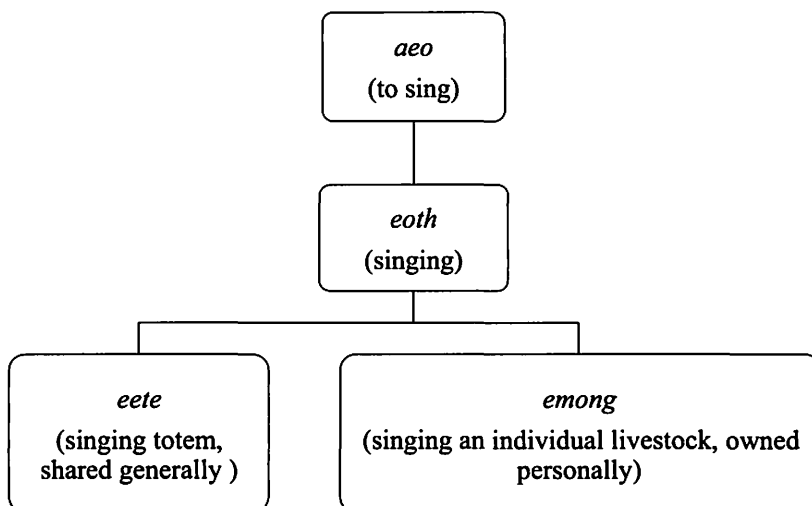


Fig. 2. Category of song

compose *emongs* despite being male. Gender differences appear between *emong* and *eete* songs (Table 1); females do not sing *emong* songs because daylong herding trips are conducted only by males.

2.2. Composition

I recorded, transcribed, and translated a total of 745 individual ox songs composed by 33 people to analyze the lyrics. These songs were independent of each other and did not contain overlapping lyrics. The number of songs composed by each man varied greatly, but averaged more than 20 songs. One 8-year-old boy had already composed five songs, and a 54-year-old man had composed the most songs (158; see Table 2).

Emongs are composed by voicing lyrics while standing or walking alone in front of cattle, goat, and sheep herds in the pasture.

[Case]

At 3 PM, a young shepherd was standing and looking after some goats and sheep that were spread across a flat pasture; they were browsing, slowly grazing, or ruminating while lying on the ground. One breeding male goat approached, in front of the shepherd, and browsed with his head pointing toward the shepherd. After a few moments, a faint melodic song including the name of this goat emerged from the boy's mouth; beginning with brief utterances, the boy soon repeatedly whispered longer phrases such as "*epuki akim tomacaretei Lolinga-Tulya*" in a high tone for a few minutes. (28 Jan. 1999)

This song's lyrics included, "Sending wind into fire, *Lolinga-Tulya* is branded," and it was the first *emong* this boy had composed. During the previous night, the young shepherd had held down *Lolinga-Tulya*, a goat with large spots on his face and neck; it screamed as its skin was burned by a red-hot iron. On the following day, *Lolinga-Tulya* finished its morning grazing, drank water at a well, rested, and then grazed during the afternoon in one spot. The shepherd remembered how it had struggled and screamed the previous night and how he had watched "our clan mark" (*emacar*; the mark of the shepherd's clan) being branded on its body, while the goat grazed on ground that had been fresh and unblemished the previous day. It was at this point that the shepherd produced the song, by means of a relatively unusual process.⁽⁴⁾

The Karimojong do not refer to 'composing (or making) a song' but, rather, to 'remembering a song' [*atamun (emong)*]. During a song's composition, both the melody and the lyrics of an entire song

Table 1. Genre choice according to context

	<i>emong</i> (ox song)	<i>eete</i> (general song)
song and dance party	△*	×
song party	×	○
drinking beer together	△	×
cultivation	△	○△
grazing	△	×
begging of animal	△	×
wooing	△	×
wedding ceremony	×	○
initiation	?	?
a ritual for rain	△	△
a ritual for treatment	×	○

*△ sung by men, ○ sung by women

Table 2. Age of composers* and number of his own songs

Informant Number	Age	Number of his own songs
1	8	5
2	10	5
3	10	11
4	11	2
5	11	17
6	16	26
7	18	61
8	20	26
9	21	10
10	21	11
11	21	55
12	23	12
13	23	26
14	23	18
15	24	4
16	25	18
17	25	46
18	25	32
19	26	2
20	32	13
21	32	8
22	32	30
23	39	21
24	40	22
25	40	26
26	40	31
27	54	158
28	56	11
29	56	1
30	56	9
31	56	1
32	57	5
33	69	22
		745

*All of composers are male.

usually, unpredictably, 'visit' the composer at the same time, rather than emerge in pieces, as in the case described above. Once the *emong* is remembered, it is memorized by repeated singing so that it can be sung when appropriate.

3. PERSONAL NEED

The most prominent and unique linguistic feature of *emong* songs is the ‘empiricism’ reflected in their lyrics; the lyrics refer to visible and tangible external objects and events that the composer has directly experienced. Lyrics may refer to herding, raiding cattle, begging, the appearance of livestock, and events at sedentary settlements.

Herding, a daily activity, accounts for the greatest proportion (more than one-third) of song subjects (Table 3). Within this general category, songs in which the singer asks individual animals or shepherds to do something are particularly common. Songs about goat herding are much more frequent among younger shepherds (aged around 10) than among males of other ages, because younger shepherds are responsible for herding goats. This trend reflects the pastoral Karimojong’s life-stages: a career as a herder begins with herding of goats and sheep but not cattle.

For example, one song [Song: Herding 1] tells a particular castrated goat (*Natuliangiro*) to follow a shepherd (who was shepherding a herd of goats and sheep together with the composer) wearing sandals rather than walking barefoot, signaling the beginning of a daylong herding trip. Another [Song: Herding 2] introduces the composer’s behavior (“I took it to graze”) and mentions the hide color of the ox and its big hump, which is a physical feature of Zebu species (*Bos primigenius indicus*) and indicates sufficient feeding.

[Song: Herding 1]

*Natuliangiro*¹ *kiwapa*
ngilewa.

*Iteba iyong Lokiru*² *a alemu ngamuk.*

Natuliangiro, you follow
the native warriors.

Do you see *Lokiru* wearing shoes?

¹ Goat name: gray (*ngiro*) patch on the head (*tulya*)

² Friend’s name, in-law

[Song: Herding 2]

*Lolingapira*¹ *a Dengele*²

eramiramaki

towo nyakiliri

Lolingapira of *Dengel*

I took it to graze.

Its long and big hump stood.

¹ Ox name: color pattern like a ball (*epira*) with a white background around its neck and heart (*elinga*)

² Cousin’s name

Songs about cattle raiding are the most popular among those concerning the possession of animals. Men aged in their 20s to 40s compose the largest proportion of raiding songs. These songs include the names of the individual cattle that were raided or the name of their favorite ox (sometimes these are the same), the names of those who accompanied the singer on the raid, and names of the raiding sites.

The raiding song [Song: Raiding 1] below describes an instance in which the raiders (the composer, Nangoli, and Lokwang) were articulating the individual name of each animal and the names of Nangoli’s wife (*akiwanga*) in preparation to launch an attack against the Pokot, a neighboring pastoral society. *Akiwanga* also refers to the behavior by which the fighter’s body is made “hot” enough to be ready to fight. [Song: Raiding 2] includes five personal names of raiders; these raiders were told by an elder before the attack that they should raid from the enemy, and they confirm their behavior during the attack.

[Song: Raiding 1]

*ikinyaritae Nyemeriakwangan*¹.

oiyo, arimata ngataruku.

*arimata na Upe*².

You are being called *Emeriakwangan*.

Oh! Vultures have flocked.

They have flocked to the *Upe*.

Table 3. Topic of songs

LARGE CATEGORY	MIDDLE CATEGORY	SMALL CATEGORY				
Grazing	talking to their livestock	117	behavior of livestock	83		
			behavior of human beings	34		
	grazing land	66	grass	21		
			river	2		
			enemy territory/foreign land	21		
			place of dust bath	1		
			cattle camp (<i>awi</i>)	13		
			airplane	1		
			drought	3		
			rainfall	4		
			identification	1		
			fighting	3		
	dust bath	1				
	accompanying	4				
	moving	3				
	feeding	18				
	bellowing/producing a sound	9				
	beings and doings of livestock	65	sleeping	6		
			drinking water	7		
			annoying behavior	3		
			birth	1		
			a coward	1		
			surprised	1		
			sickness	6		
			chasing a bird away	1		
			interpersonal relationship	10		
			arming	25		
beings and doings of human beings	37	sleep	1			
		wearing sandals	1			
		cleverness of livestock	1			
asking a question	10	worrying about livestock	9			
		raiding	183			
Possession of livestock	280	268	begging	52		
			gifting	23		
			exchange	5		
			bride wealth	4		
			birth	1		
			relationship with owned livestock	12	calling the name	12

Table 3. (Continued)

			pattern	32		
		42	color	7		
			shine	3		
		32	beating	18		
			shape	14		
appearance of the body of livestock	106	15	cutting	14		
			shape	1		
		6	branding	3		
			figure	3		
			hump	1		
		3	size	1		
			dewlap	1		
		8	collar	5		
			cow bell	3		
				21	slaughter	19
			treatment	2		
			visitor	5		
		20	greeting	9		
			family	2		
			love, romance	4		
Events at the semi-permanent settlement (<i>ere</i>)	64	10	call livestock to action	7		
			description of behavior of livestock	3		
					supporting election	5
					meeting	2
		other	13		collecting blood	2
					shopping	2
					smearing cow dung on the ground	1
					eating on the sly by a goat	1
		Total	745			

enyarito ngikilioko ngakecheberu.
oo, nyara dang nyeka mong emoriki ka ngalepono.
enyariti Nangoli³ akepese,
Nangoli angina inoki akim nakware.
oo, nyara dang nyeka mong emoriki ka ngalepono.
enyariti Lokwang⁴ akepese,
Lokwang ngolo inoki akim nakware.

Men have been calling their wives.
 Oh! I call also my ox and cows.
 Nangoli called his wife,
 the one who makes fire at night.
 Oh! I call also my ox and cows.
 Lokwang called his wife,
 the one who makes fire at night.

¹ Ox name: spotted (*meri*) on white (*akwan*) body

² Place name: the Pokot land

³ Friend A's name

⁴ Friend B's name

[Song: Raiding 2]

*ejoko kona akirworo a ngikakasikou.
aramu nyakirebe epolo Lotwalatwalameri¹.*

*Lokwanga² topupi ngakiro ata papa, ata papa,
Makuk³.
ebala papa a Mangate⁴ taramu ngaatuk anariyiete.*

*Angolia⁵ topupi ngakiro anajore.
anajore ata Lomilio⁶, abasi inyakete oguma ngimoe
kibinoko*

It's good now to be talking with my old men.
The army has driven *Lotwalatwalameri* already
big.

Lokwang, take heed of the words of the father,
of the father, *Makuk*.

The father of *Mangat* said, "Raid the animals
from foreign areas."

Angoli, take heed of the words of the army.

The army of *Lomilo* said, "While running
up and down, let's shoot against enemies"
speaking.

¹ Ox name: small spotted markings

² Friend A's name

³ Friend B's name

⁴ Younger brother's name

⁵ In-law's name

⁶ Friend A's name

At the most abstract level, the structure of the lyrics demonstrates a general tendency to refer to collaborative activities involving the composer and others, in addition to referring to the names of individual livestock. At first glance, comparisons among songs about only livestock, human beings, or places underscored the prominence of songs centered only on livestock (Fig. 3). However, the vast majority of songs associate livestock with human beings and places; that is, specific livestock are positioned in specific places that also include people.

An ethnomusicologist who conducted field research in northeastern Uganda during the 1960s noted that composers sang about personal events in ox songs and that singing the composition satis-

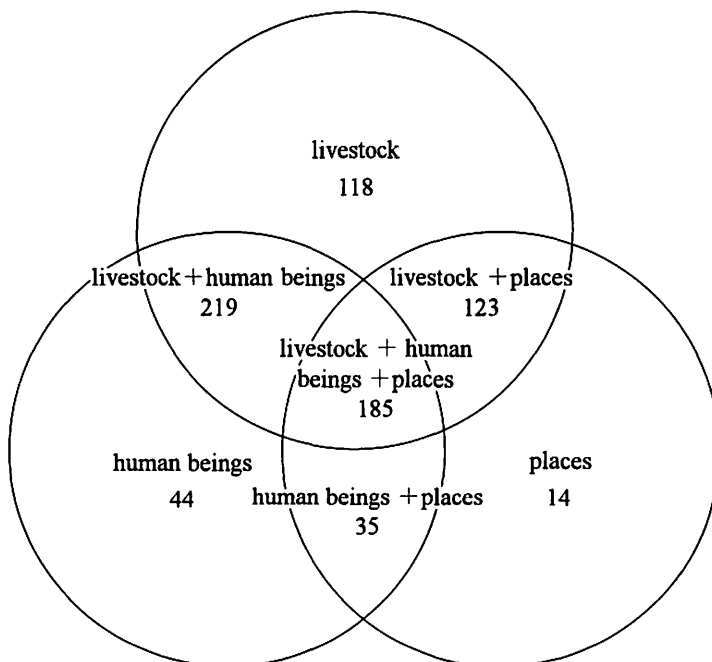


Fig. 3. Number of Songs referring to livestock, human beings, and places

fied the personal needs of the singer as a composer (Gourlay 1971). This characterization appears to be correct, insofar as the song refers to a real-life situation. Additionally, it is important to note the dichotomy between 'social' and 'personal' domains, which are so mutually exclusive that the satisfaction of a personal need cannot be understood or shared by other people. However, the personal satisfaction experienced by singing *emong* seems to be acquired in collaborative interactions with specific people and animals in particular places at particular times, which are unique in that they involve the singer himself serving as one of the raiders, shepherds, and stockholders.

Karimojong men can beg for animals with their favorite hide color or color pattern. Each man has a favorite coat color or pattern, and the word for their favorite color is adopted as part of his name.

[Case]

The favorite coat pattern and color of Alengia Apalongorok is *ngorok* (black and white spots that are larger than other types of spots; see Photo 1). He begged for an ox with his favorite coat configuration and explained its appearance as follows: "I saw one head of cattle of the neighboring territorial group at the watering place of the cattle camp (*awi*). The animal has a white part that is smooth like a candle. It walks softly with a long stride without splashing water and mud, and the white part does not get dirty. Black spots around the mouth move together with the lips when sucking up water."

The animals that are typically the objects of begging, due to a favorite color or pattern, are oxen, premature male cattle, castrated goats, breeding goats, wethers (castrated sheep), and rams. The person begging tries to collect animals with his favorite coat color and include them in his herd to exhibit 'his color.' He goes to the owner's pen with his herd and begs by saying, "This is my color. Why haven't I taken you (the animal) to graze and water? Why don't you (owner of the animal) give me this one? Give it to me. You will get an animal and stay well." The beggar's attitude of self-confidence, exemplified by statements such as "it is natural to give," is so strong that it may be more appropriate to describe this interaction as 'pressing for giving' rather than begging. Then, the beggar goes into the pen where the animal is and sings songs about his favorite coat color all through the night. The beggar visits the owner's pen to sing repeatedly for a month to a year. Once the gift is conferred, the beggar and the former owner invite and entertain each other. This mutual friendship through gift-giving is called the "tie of the friend" (*aiyan ngina akone nu*), and the partners use this term to refer to each other. Once this friendship is established, the two friends continue to visit each other and give each other gifts through begging. Their family members refrain from marrying each other.

Begging songs increase dramatically after the age of 50. In [Song: Begging 1], the composer, whose favorite color pattern is *ngole* (white patch on the forehead), is going to Lotome where the owner resides. The composer and the animal's owner are already official friends through the gift of an animal. In the last line, the composer asks a man who will visit Lotome to remind the owner of the composer's request for an ox with *ngole*.

In [Song: Begging 2], the composer sings his history mentioning each instance of begging from three different men and explains the reason for the recurring begging as a case of being captured by an endless, unsatisfied desire for cattle. In this society, begging for a favored animal can be performed very proudly, as a cultural behavior, so 'stomach' or hunger for livestock naturally results in face-to-face interaction with others and promotes the formation of social networks through each gift.

[Song: Begging 1]

*amin elipu ngikiliok ngolo ti kamong ngole*¹.

*omianakinos Abura*².

*inakinae Nakoru Nachodo*³ *ekakone*.

amini elipu Ngitome,

omianakinos Abura.

I am going to beg men for an ox with a white patch on the forehead.

Let us give each other *Abura*.

I have given my friend, *Nakoru Nachodo*.

I am going to beg the people of Lotome,

Let us give each other *Abura*.

kimalakinae Tukei⁴ ekakone.

Greet for me, *Tukei*, my friend.

¹ White patch on the forehead (*ngole*)

² Friend A's name

³ Friend A's name (same person as *Abura*)

⁴ Friend B's name, who is going to visit A's village

[Song: Begging 2]

aah, ngimwonene nyakook ngaatuk.

Ah! The hunger for cattle will never be satisfied.

akameki Loseuni¹ Losilitwalatwala².

Loseun has given me *Losilitwalatwala*.

eliputu Lokoki³ eche mong,

Let's beg another ox from *Lokoki*.

abu otema kori cha alata ngaatuk ikwa emam ikwa ekidioko.

I thought that the cattle had become many, (but) they were not. They were very few.

elip Lokwakan Loput⁴ eche mong.

I begged another ox from *Lokwakan Loput*.

abu otema kori cha alata ngaatuk ikwa emam ikwa ekidioko.

I thought that the cattle had become many, (but) they were not. They were very few.

elipu Redarot Longor Nabur⁵ eche mong.

I begged another ox from *Redarot Longor Nabur*.

abu otema kori cha alata ngaatuk ikwa emam ikwa ekidioko.

I thought that the cattle had become many, (but) they were not. They were very few.

¹ Friend A's name

² Ox name: white part overlaps the spine (*sil*) and there are like markings on either side (*twalatwala*)

³ Friend A's name (same person as *Loseun*)

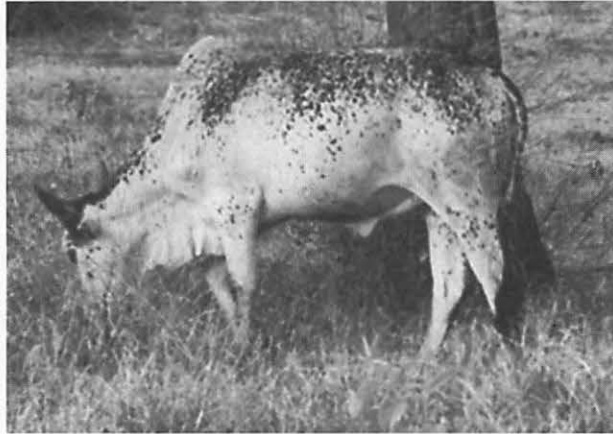
⁴ Friend B's name

⁵ Friend C's name

In [Song: Color Pattern 1], spots (*ngameriyeki*) are described as if they are liquid and spreading. *Abukoki* is the verb for something liquid that expands to increase its surface area. The composer of this song explained that at the beginning of a rainfall, raindrops form spots on the body of the animal as well as in the air, the surface of the ground, and the body of the shepherd, which is usually dusty. *Ngameriyeki*, spots formed by raindrops, are associated with color patterns or the arrangement of color, but not with color itself, as opposed to *ngorok*, *meri* (Photo 2), and *koli* on the bodies of oxen. In songs, color patterns of animals are often associated with body ornamentation. For example, an animal with many spots of various colors such as red, black, yellow, gray, and white may be compared



Photo 1. *ngorok*

Photo 2. *meri*

with a beaded ornament. In [Song: Color Pattern 2], white lines on the body are compared with a leather anklet (*epokoi*) and the front-beaded apron worn by girls (*etele*).

[Song: Color Pattern 1]

*abukoni ngameriyeki*¹ *nyakaua, akawua a Siliye*²,
o ngameriki.

*abukokini ngameriyeki Losilingoroko*³ *nyakawua.*

*abukokini ngameriyeki Lomeringoroko*⁴ *nyakawua.*

*abukokini ngameriyeki Lokolingoroko*⁵ *nyakawua.*

*abukokini ngangoroko*⁶ *Losilingoroko nyakawua.*

The spots have spread at the back of *Siliye*.

Ooh! Spots!

Spots have spread *Losilingorok*, (at) the back (of it).

Spots have spread *Lomeringorok* (at) the back (of it).

Spots have spread *Lokolingorok* (at) the back (of it).

Spots have spread *Losilingorok* (at) the back (of it).

¹ Small spots (*meri*)

² Ox name: white part overlaps the spine (*sil*) on either side

³ Ox name: white part overlaps the spine (*sil*) on either side with black and white spots (*ngorok*)

⁴ Ox name: small spots (*meri*) and black and white spots (*ngorok*)

⁵ Ox name: whitish with black spots (*koli*) and black and white spots (*ngorok*)

⁶ Black and white spots larger than *meri*

[Song: Color Pattern 2]

*ekoliyana*¹ *epewoe ekosi mong ata Lokwanga*²
*etokwanga ngakepokoya*³

*Lorengesili*⁴ *a Losike*⁵,

*Lorengengorok*⁶ *ikoni akuwana*

nyatele, nyatele itakitae, enapito ngidwe kanakero.

Our ox with *Lokwang* with a white hide is one-side spotted.

The body of *Lorengesil* of *Losike*, the body of *Lorengengorok* is like a beaded ornament that girls put on when they are at a dancing ground.

¹ Whitish with black spots (*koli*)

² Ox name: white (*akwan*)

³ White leather band bound around the ankle as an ornament

⁴ Ox name: reddish-brown (*arengan*) with white part overlaps the spine (*sil*) on either side

⁵ Friend's name

⁶ Ox name: reddish-brown (*arengan*) with black and white spots (*ngorok*)

Herds and people migrate at the beginning of the rainy season. At this time, people and animals are divided into those remaining at the semi-sedentary settlement (*ere*) and those migrating to the cattle camp (*awi*). The lyrics in [Song: Ceremony] explain that the composer's ox (*Bilibilikan Ewalo*) migrates after the celebration (*akiwudakin ngaatuk*) that permits the herds to depart for migration and blesses the herders who accompany them. In this ritual, an ox is sacrificed with a spear, and people dance and perform histrionic behavior in which they attack enemies. At the end of the ceremony, the cattle enclosure is opened, and the herd starts moving.

[Song: Ceremony]

kiriamanar ka ngasuban a lore.

ado nyaliru a nyakile.

ar Lomanasili¹

etara lochen ka Longole² ka Lonyangale³.

adoko Lolachat⁴ owatak ngalup Bilibilikan Ewalo⁵. It met with a ceremony at home.
The spear of the man has landed.
Lomanasili has been killed.
It (ox) made the nephew of *Longole* and
Lonyangale kill itself.
Bilibilikan Ewalo crossed *Lolachat* and I sprinkled soil on it.

¹ Ox name: white part overlaps the spine (*sil*) on either side

² Son's name

³ Friend's name

⁴ River's name

⁵ Ox name: white, like feathers used for decorating the head (*wale*) like a pied wagtail bird (*bilibilikan*)

The Karimojong till the soil using oxen and barren cows to pull plows at the beginning of the rainy season. Sorghum is the staple food; women play the main role in seeding, and men are in charge of driving the two oxen pulling the plow.

[Song: Cultivation]

kiriya nyemaleku Ekoribere¹.

kingarak iyong ngalepono.

adolo nyetich akitare. (x2)

kingarak toto a Nawotoni²

nyakeet Lobeere³.

kingarak toto ka Angella⁴

nyakeet Lobeere.

kingarak toto a Muron⁵

nyakeet Lobeere.

You pull the ox plow, *Ekoribere!*

Help other animals (cows).

The work of cultivation has come.

Help the mother of *Nawoton* to plant her seeds, *Lobere*.

Help the mother of *Angella* to plant her seeds, *Lobere*.

Help the mother of *Muron* to plant her seeds, *Lobere*.

¹ Ox name: red spots like giraffe (*ekori*) and color like a grasshopper (*abere*)

² Daughter's name

³ Ox name (same ox as *Ekoribere*)

⁴ Daughter's name (same person as *Nawoton*)

⁵ Son's name

4. ASSOCIATION

The names of individual animals consist of the following visible characteristics of their coats: 1) a single color, represented by a single word; 2) a combination of colors—distinct colors that gradually blend into the color next to them, and 3) a pattern of more than two distinct colors that interact to produce a clear shape. In ox songs, these visual images are embedded within a typical pattern of lyrics that move from references to the appearance of the animal's coat to references to other things

encountered by the composer. In [Song: Single Color] below, a black ox inspires an association with a black ostrich, a black sandal made of used car tire, black cotton sheets of cloth, shade, and shadow.

[Song: Single Color]

*iriono ikoni ngamuku a Kenya¹ Erionokales².
ariamü nganangikae a lorenta³.
ariamü Eribolomamungole⁴.
ariamü Etolimirionoe⁵ ebong.
ikiramuni a Loruyo⁶ ebong.*

*Erinokales is black like the shoes from Kenya.
I got the sheets of cloth of Kenya.
I got Eribolomamungole.
I got Etolimirionoe in the evening.
I drove it with Loruyo in the evening.*

¹ Used car tire sandals from Kenya are black

² Ox name: black (*rionon*) as an ostrich (*ekales*) feather

³ Black calico toga

⁴ Ox name: black like shade of cloud (*aribo*) with white patch on the fore head (*ngole*)

⁵ Ox name: black like a shadow (*etolim*)

⁶ Friend's name

Visual experiences are transformed into visual illusions through reversals of figure and ground, differences in scale resulting from varying sizes between objects, and adaptations to dark and light. Manipulations of color and visual perception are the sources of the poetic imagination.

[Song: Figure and Ground]

*Ekalees¹
lokitela, akwap ngina anginya,
akuj, eyai apuwa, ecayeete, iyeliyelasi.
ibore ngini ikiboki akipany ngina kirionon².
emong ngolo kirion...*

*Ekalees,
the plateau, pasture ground,
sky, dust, they are lightening, scattering.
A thing that bores a deep black hole.
A black ox...*

¹ Ox name: black as an ostrich (*ekales*) feather

² Color term: black (*rionon*)

Portions of this pastoral song, which could be entitled 'The black ox on the plateau,' describe black as an 'absence' that appears to be deeply embedded within the scattered lights in space. A black ox on a plateau becomes a black area in the background of a vast blue sky in this verse, which 'visited' the shepherd in the context of the strong sunlight characterizing days during the dry season, spanning January, which the Karimojong refer to as the "white season." The black ox exists as fog on a transparent space or as an absence of blue sky.

Typically, seeing involves unconscious concentration on a single object that is abstracted from the whole. According to Rubin (1921) and *Gestalt* psychology, the differentiation between figure (*Figur*) and ground (*Grund*) is a prerequisite for this sort of perception. If nothing within sight can be distinguished as a figure (e.g., 'a stark white snow-covered mountain' or 'the white season in dry land'), then perception and distance perspective cannot occur. Until a figure appears, the ground remains seamless. After a figure, however small, appears, it is possible to perceive both ground and figure and their reversal. 'The black ox on the plateau' exemplifies this ability to reverse figure and ground in its allusion to existence as the absence of absence, or to being as the nothingness of nothingness.⁽⁵⁾

[Song: Ever-changing Scale]

*oo, abukoki. oo, abukoki.
ngingoleele nakapet.
ereng¹ nyelem² lololota.
oo, abukoki. oo, abukoki.
akuta ekwam kuj Longori³.*

*Oh, it has poured. Oh, it has poured.
Clots on leather mat.
Red one without horns, pure red.
Oh, it has poured. Oh, it has poured.
Wind has blown it up, Longori.*

ereng nyelem lobolota.
Longole¹
aroko ekiye⁵ Longori
alomu ana kipi Longori
aroko alokakinēt Longori

Red one without horns, pure red.
Longole
 It's red like spirits, *Longori*.
Longori has come out of water.
 It's like (red of) the rainbow, *Longori*.

¹ Color term: reddish-brown (*arengang*)

² Horn shape: hornless (*lem*)

³ Ox name: dark-brown patches on the head (*ngori*)

⁴ Shepherd's name

⁵ Spirit; Karimojong people believe that *ekipe* lives in the water and *ekipe* is red.

The red color of the coat of the singer's beloved ox resembles the color of the blood that clotted after dropping on the hide of a sacrificed animal (Photo 3). The protagonist in this song has no spots and is "pure red" (*lobolota*); clots are used as the figure and the leather mat is used as the background, indicating it is not in the singer's consciousness. This ox, named *Longor*, also resembles dust that forms colored swirls in the sky as a result of wind (Photo 4). Thus, the lyrics of this song proceed from a focus on the source of the association (the color of the hide of the red ox) to blood clots and then from the color of blood to dust swirls.

Color as an abstract concept has no size. The Karimojong language has no word for color itself; a



Photo 3. The "pure red" of the fur (*lobolota*)



Photo 4. Red coloured swirls in the sky

concrete concept such as *ngajul*, (originally meaning “fur”) is used to express the abstract concept of color. When color is projected onto the coat of animals, it is within a concrete frame, and it is real, with a definite expanse. In [Song: Ever-changing Scale], “pure red” *lobolota* becomes emancipated from the particular frame projected on the hide, and, with the identification of color as a clue, is transformed using an ever-changing scale into large and small phenomena: a drop of blood on a hide, a sandstorm, a spirit, and a rainbow.

[Song: Color Pattern 3]

elimi kikoki nyakuju¹-a.

aa, Nyebeye².

elimi kikoki nyakuju-a.

emoli ka ngitopono-o.

akuju-a alopedurru-a³.

abu ayong oanywa ngitopon epotete

ayai tooma akim ngina elimim

Drizzling, like sky.

Aa, *Beye*.

Drizzling, like sky.

It is looking like stars.

Sky of tamarind tree.

I saw stars coming.

I am inside a cold fire.

¹ God, the blue sky (*akuj*)

² Ox name: white with spots like an egg (*abeje*)

³ Tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indica*)

The word *elimi*, which I translated as “drizzling”, is a derivative of *lim* and is an onomatopoeic representation of the sound of a falling drop touching the surface of water. Although the general expression “it rains” is expressed as *etepi*, *elim* is used to draw attention to the mist accompanying rain. *Lim* has also produced such derivatives as *akilim* (to drizzle) and *lima* (the tiniest spot), which underscore the notion of tininess at the core of its definition.

The above song, composed by a 14-year-old shepherd, was based on his discovery of the similarity between his spotted ox, the spotted eggshell of a wild bird (Photo 5), the motif formed by the sky and light when mist and rain appear, and by the motifs formed by the stars in the night sky and the sunbeams streaming through the leaves during the day. During the day, huge tamarind trees located at this latitude (2°N) cast long shadows on the ground. The song conveys the idea that the shepherd had escaped from the strong sunlight and looked up from under the shade of a tree, which was covered by numerous leaves that obscured his full range of vision so that the glimmering light radiating from the spaces between the leaves left the impression of a starlit sky.

When staring fixedly at a starlit sky, the human eye soon adapts, so that light appears where it was once too dark to see anything, and lighted areas appear to be brighter.⁽⁶⁾ The expanded light of stars makes the viewer feel as if the stars in the sky, and even the sky itself, are coming nearer. Finally, the



Photo 5. Spotted fur like the spotted eggshell of a wild bird

viewer is standing in the “cold fire” of the star.

[Song: Light Adaptation]

alimokin cha ekiro
*Longorok Lotodongole*¹.
*akimok eke ekiro awala*²
ngini euwoi alo siling
ngini euwoi alo siling.
alimok nyekone a Lemukol
*ikenyit kebusan nachokakipi*³
ngini euwoi alo kipwor
ngini euwoi a nanam.

I've given just the name,
Longorok Lotodongole.
 I've given his name, crested crane, one
 standing in the coin,
 one standing in the coin.
 I, a friend of *Lemukol*, have given
 the name, beautiful bird, *nachokakipi*,
 one standing in a water pond,
 one standing in the lake.

¹ Ox name: black and white (*ngorok*), small, white patch in the middle of the head (*todongole*)

² Grey-crowned Crane (*Balearica Regulorum*)

³ Pied Kingfisher (*Ceryle rudis*)

[Song: Light Adaptation] exemplifies the exact reverse of the process of light adaptation. The ox (“*Longorok Lotodongole*”), which is the object being named and is the focus in the first three lines, transforms as the song proceeds into the “grey-crowned crane,” which is the national bird of Uganda and appears on the Ugandan Shilling coin. The ox with its white-on-black forehead shares its color combination with the crane. When it is described as “standing in the coin,” the poetic imagination moves far away from the view before the composer’s eyes because the crane appears in relief and because the body of the ox is decolorized into the monochromatic ground of the coin texture, thereby ending its connection with *Longorok Lotodongole*.

Evans-Pritchard (1934) referred to the cattle-naming method used by the Bor Dinka as a double analogy. Seligman (1932) reported, more specifically, that Ngok Dinka naming conventions involved naming each animal according to the characteristic behavior of the wild animal most closely resembling it in terms of body color, and provided examples. The ox named “Grey-crowned Crane” in the poem above is associated with the crane on the coin in a double sense: in terms of body color combination, and in terms of the silvery glowing scene of the lake where the ox is standing; in other words, the landscape of which the focal animal is a part.

The association between the two individual creatures, the ox and the crane, is lost after the fifth line. Here, the focus on separate, equally-expanding white-on-black areas on the heads of both animals becomes senseless. From this point, the poem about the “coin of the Grey-crowned Crane” and “the surface of the lake of the ox” focuses on the disappearance of obscure relics of existence. The reflection of a cold and hard coin is equivalent to the light-filled lake where the ox stands and the brightly shining landscape, the context of both beings.

5. DAILY LIFE AS POETRY

The source of the poetic imagination of *emong* is constituted by each individual’s memory of actual daily events. Of all the data I collected, the song that could be traced to the most distant past was based on a memory of events that took place 46 years ago. Poetic imagination develops according to the life stages of individuals. Herding songs about goats and sheep are sung most often by younger boys, and make up the great majority of their repertoire. Young shepherds spend most of their day accompanying a herd of goats and sheep. Men start joining cattle raids in their late teens and lead raids during their thirties. By this time, a man has not only accumulated experiences of raiding but has also played a leading role in animal management for the survival of his family. Therefore, raiding is the main topic of the songs sung by men in this age group. Begging songs are common among

men in their 50s. Begging is practiced only by experienced and open-minded elders; it is not a simple expression of worldly desire but a cultural action that must be learned and practiced.

Some song references to the appearance of animal coats apply to the world more generally. For example, haruspication (divination by reading animal entrails) involves removing the entire intestine from the body of a sacrificed animal and viewing it as a kind of map; imminent “fires” (attacks, fights), “enemies,” “sacrifices,” and “water” (rainfall) are predicted on the basis of clots of blood, gas bubbles, and abnormal features on the surface of the intestine and mesentery. The positions of these features on the ‘map’ indicate the presumed site of each event; the map is considered to represent an elongated and contracted version of the entire Karimojong territory, so it can reveal the specific site of an event, the pasture, and the route of daylong herding trips.

The Karimojong sometimes use a single term to refer to a pattern of colors and its reverse image; at other times, they use different terms when the semantic content is reversed. For example, *meri* means fine spots of a pair of contrasting colors such as black and white; this pattern can be observed among cattle and goats. Even when the colors inside and outside the spots are reversed, they are still called *meri*, which refers to contrasts between opposites. On the other hand, white-on-black spots that are slightly larger than *meri*, which can also be observed among cattle and goats, are known as *komol*. If this pattern is reversed, black-on-white spots are known as *ngorok*. Such different usages of terms referring to color patterns may draw the attention of the speaker to the reversal. [Song: Color Pattern 3] exemplifies this linguistic practice, using metaphors in which black-on-white spots on the body of an animal are compared to starlight in the darkness of the night sky and sunlight appearing under a dark canopy.

The Karimojong’s practice of reversing figure and ground can be observed in their habit of seeking individual livestock and enemies while herding in the bush and woods. They locate enemies and wandering livestock by concealing themselves and focusing ‘between’ the leaves and branches. This approach, essential for shepherding, is taught by elders to young shepherds during their early training. It involves concentrating on the space between the leaves and branches, rather on these objects themselves.⁽⁷⁾

Lestel (1998) described domestication not as a condition pertaining to an animal but as a relationship between humans and animals within an integrated set of social and cultural structures, and emphasized that domestication is a reciprocal and cognitive process by which special techniques develop through the mutual relationship.⁽⁸⁾ Classification systems involving gender, developmental stage, appearance (such as coat color), genealogy, along with the bestowing of individual names based on the individual identification of domesticated animals yield a galaxy of vocabularies and are the result of cognitive elaboration among pastoral peoples (Evans-Pritchard 1940). Herders maintain close daily contact with pastoral animals, identifying and memorizing each of them individually. For example, an indispensable and basic pastoral technique is that of helping mothers and infants meet for nursing, which also prevents animals from getting lost during daylong herding trips. Use of individual names based on the identification of each of animal also plays an important role. For example, a shepherd calls the names of the animals that will lead the rest of the herd. The animals react obediently and move in the direction indicated by the shepherd, which leads to a good pasture. Haraway (2003) avoided using the term ‘domesticated animals’ and, instead, used the term ‘companion species’—but this kind of companionship usually exists in partnership on a one-on-one level with a dog, horse, or cat; it is not applicable to a whole herd of animals in a context of pastoralism.

In East African pastoral societies, all pastoral animals are identified individually and given individual names, and their histories and parent-child relationships are recognized. Additionally, pastoralists do not enumerate animals in front of the herd (Dyson-Hudson 1966) because enumerating involves abstracting the individuality of objects and reducing them into interchangeable equivalents (Ohta 2002). The fact that pastoralists do not count heads demonstrates that they do not see herds as gatherings of anonymous things; each pastoral animal is individually recognized as indispensable and as having a unique existence (Ohta 2002).

The Karimojong's poetic imagination, which underpins their pastoral songs, is rooted in visions that appear unexpectedly during daily activities and, which also serve to express a mutual commitment to others. Shikano analyzed data about the acquisition and loss of every animal owned by one Samburu family, and found that the dynamics of the herd resemble "a book" recording daily pastoral life (2004: 299). Among the Karimojong, each individual animal consolidates all information relevant to pastoral activities, such as daylong herding trips and acquisitions. The recognition of the uniqueness of each animal enables people to remember every interaction involving that specific animal (Dyson-Hudson 1966; Ohta 1987).

In the Karimojong's poetic world of the imagination, animals play a significant role as hubs connecting events that occur at different times, and linking metaphorical phenomena according to colors and patterns. Pastoralists receive creative visions, remember them as pastoral songs, and connect individual animals to different times and spaces via concrete events and phenomena experienced by the herders themselves. Thus, songs reflect what men have seen, what they have lived, and what they have created but in a far richer form than conscious thought or record-keeping permits. This form of expression can be compared to a massive iceberg with a small tip supported by a huge base, which represents daily life. In this sense, the lyrics of pastoral songs are exceptionally appropriate topics for anthropological research.

NOTES

- (1) Pastoralism in all its forms is more than just a mode of production. It involves a certain mode of social organization and certain cultural patterns and practices. Therefore, pastoralism is aptly described as "a way of life" (Markakis 2004: 4). This paper uses the term "pastoralism" in this sense.
- (2) The individual name for each pastoral animal is called in the pasture during daylong herding trips, in pens during milking, and in song lyrics. These names are derived from classificatory appellations to referent animals and may include color and color patterns of coat and horn shape. However, not all attributes of each animal are included; each animal's name is expressed using a single classificatory appellation or a combination. In either case, a particular expression of a particular attribute is used selectively, and other possible expressions are discarded. Each animal has a specific name, which is used to stimulate it when it is a newborn, when the shepherd approaches it to aid in nursing or lactation, and when it is taken from its mother at milking time in the mornings and evenings.
- (3) "Karamojong" is Knighton's own artificial term and includes Karimojong, Jie, and Dodoth.
- (4) Van Gennep (1902) analyzed the meaning of a brand used to mark domesticated camels, known as a *wasm* or *ousm*, and stated that a *wasm* is a kind of coat of arms and that the names of *wasm* resembled those related to the early period of heraldry.
- (5) This structure of vision is repeated exactly in the structure of hearing, as illustrated by the following song lyrics:

nyakiriket, akosi kiriket Angaro/ nyakiriket/ ekitet a Longolengitiriama anges kona erwo/ ekama cha, amoni nyakiriket Angaro

Ritual grove, our ritual grove Angaro/ Ritual grove/ The bell of *Longolengitiriama* is the one sounding now/ The bush, ritual grove Angaro, reflected

Here, cattle are grazing, creating a holy grove in which men pray that an enemy's advance is impeded and that the enemy is driven away; it also serves as the site of rainmaking rituals. The bells hung around the necks of oxen make sounds as the animals eat. This poem does not refer to the voice of the bell but, rather, to how the sound grows and then disappears. In other words, it refers to the quality or sound of silence. In this case, the sound of the bell is a necessary sacrifice to achieve an awareness of the absence of sound. Thus, this song is based on a reversal in which existence can be understood as the absence of absence.
- (6) Eyes adjust to differences in lighting by modifying the pupil and photoreceptors; this process takes time and explains why the process of light adaptation and dark adaptation makes one's vision more acute.
- (7) Shepherds are also keen to observe changes in vision or sight. Two examples of narratives appear here. First, one shepherd said, "If the anterior fontanelle (*esiaduduk*) is exposed to direct rays of the sun without headwear (*akopia*), all things look small and of various colors. It is dangerous, but makes you enjoy herd-

ing.” Second, shepherds also enjoy changing their vision; this process is called *adiikin*, when they close one eye and cover it with one hand with the other hand rolled up into a kind of tube like a telescope to see through. The changes in vision by *adiikin* are illustrated as follows: “Once the eye is squeezed, spots of an animal’s coat get smaller and once it is opened widely, they become bigger.” “The whitish fur on the stomach looks very white. After stopping *adiikin*, dirty parts stand out and it becomes dark white. By means of *adiikin*, it looks very clean as if it is washed. But if the eyes open, it looks dirty.” “Brown colors get darker and white colors brighter on the coats of animals by means of *adiikin*. Yellow spots get more whitish, and red spots change into black. Gray colors become more intensely gray. If you see the color black in the sunlight, a black coat shines yellowish.” “If sunlight shines on white, that particular part emits a beam of light.” “If you see white and black small spots (*meri*), the contrast appears strong and the pattern emerges as very clear *meri*.” “The small spots look numerous and the big spots relatively small.” “The white part looks striped.”

- (8) Karimojong shepherds try to make goats lower their heads and engage in grazing on the plateau at good pasture ground with scrubs of thorn trees in bud, and where the ground gently rises and falls. The shepherd will stand in front of the herd and, in a deep bass voice, utter the names of animals that will follow from the rear of the herd without slowing the speed of the herd, alternately calling them with a velar plosive that sounds like “zuuui zuuui.” At that point, the goats stop to browse and, as a result, the herd avoids rushing forward in a synchronous reaction to a few animals.

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