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A LITERARY ANALYSIS OF TWIN SONGS IN BALI

KUMBAT

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Award of the Postgraduate Teacher's Diploma (DIPES II) in English**

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ABSTRACT

This work entitled, “A Literary Analysis of Twin Songs in Bali Kumbat”, examines and analyses the performance context of Bali Kumbat twin songs, in a bid to bring out their content and form. It goes further to reveal that this oral form does not only reflect the worldview and cultural heritage of the people, but also possesses significant issues such as: gratitude, joy, mystery, pride of motherhood, fidelity, fertility, praise, and pride. Besides this thematic dimension, Bali Kumbat twin songs equally contain stylistic devices like: metaphor, symbolism, repetition, irony, rhythm, simile, rhetorical question and other devices.

To ease the understanding and interpretation of these twin songs, the background knowledge of the area of study was done to reveal the social context from where these twin songs emanate. In the course of collecting the corpus for the research, oral interviews were made with informants in and out of Bali Kumbat. New Historicism and formalism were also used to analyze the twin songs. This work concludes that the Bali Kumbat twin songs are rich in thematic and aesthetic endowments. This work also suggests strategies that can be used in teaching Bali Kumbat twin songs (as poetry) to lower secondary school students in Cameroon.

RESUME

Cette recherche intitulée “A Literary Analysis of Twins Songs in Bali Kumbat” a pour but d’élucider le fond et la forme des chants réservés à la naissance des jumeaux à Bali Kumbat grâce à une analyse de la performance des dit-chants. Il est aussi question dans cette étude de démontrer que ces chants, qui constituent une forme de la littérature orale, ne se limitent pas seulement à la présentation de la vision du monde et de l’héritage culturel du peuple de Bali Kumbat, mais qu’ils regorgent aussi des thèmes tels que la gratitude, la joie, la fierté de la maternité et l’éloge. En dehors de cet apport thématique, ces chants se révèlent également très riches en style car l’on peut en dénombrer les cas de métaphore, symbolisme, répétition, ironie, rythme, comparaison, question rhétorique pour ne citer que ceux là.

Une revue du site de notre étude s’est révélée indispensable pour une compréhension et une interprétation optimale de ces chants. Ceci avait aussi pour but de révéler le contexte social duquel émanent les chants des jumeaux. Grâce aux interviews faites à l’intérieur comme à l’extérieur de Bali Kumbat, nous avons collecté nos données qui ont ensuite été analysés à l’aide des approches du formalisme et du nouvel historicisme. En résumé, cette étude révèle que les chants des jumeaux sont riches tant en thèmes qu’en style et elle propose ainsi les stratégies qui pourraient être utilisées pour l’enseignement des chants des jumeaux, comme poésie, dans les classes élémentaires du secondaire au Cameroun.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated with love to my parents Mr and Mrs Doh Edmond

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled, “A Literary Analysis of Twin Songs in Bali Kumbat” was written by Sylvie Nashu Doh-Nyagang and submitted to the Department of English of the Higher Teacher Training College (Ecole Normale Superieure) Yaounde in view of obtaining a postgraduate teacher’s Diploma, (DIPES II) in English.

Supervisor

Prof. Babila Mutia

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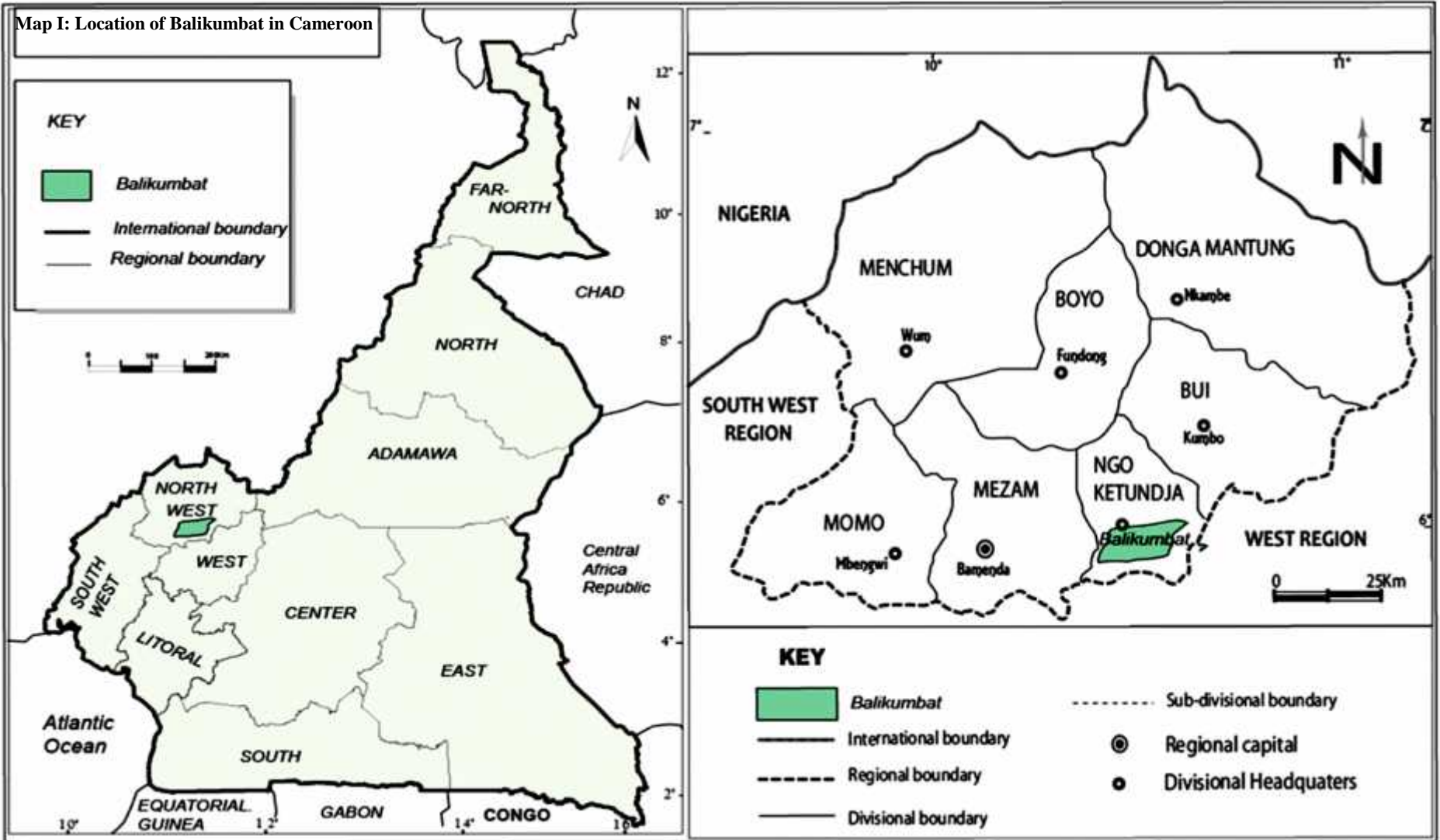
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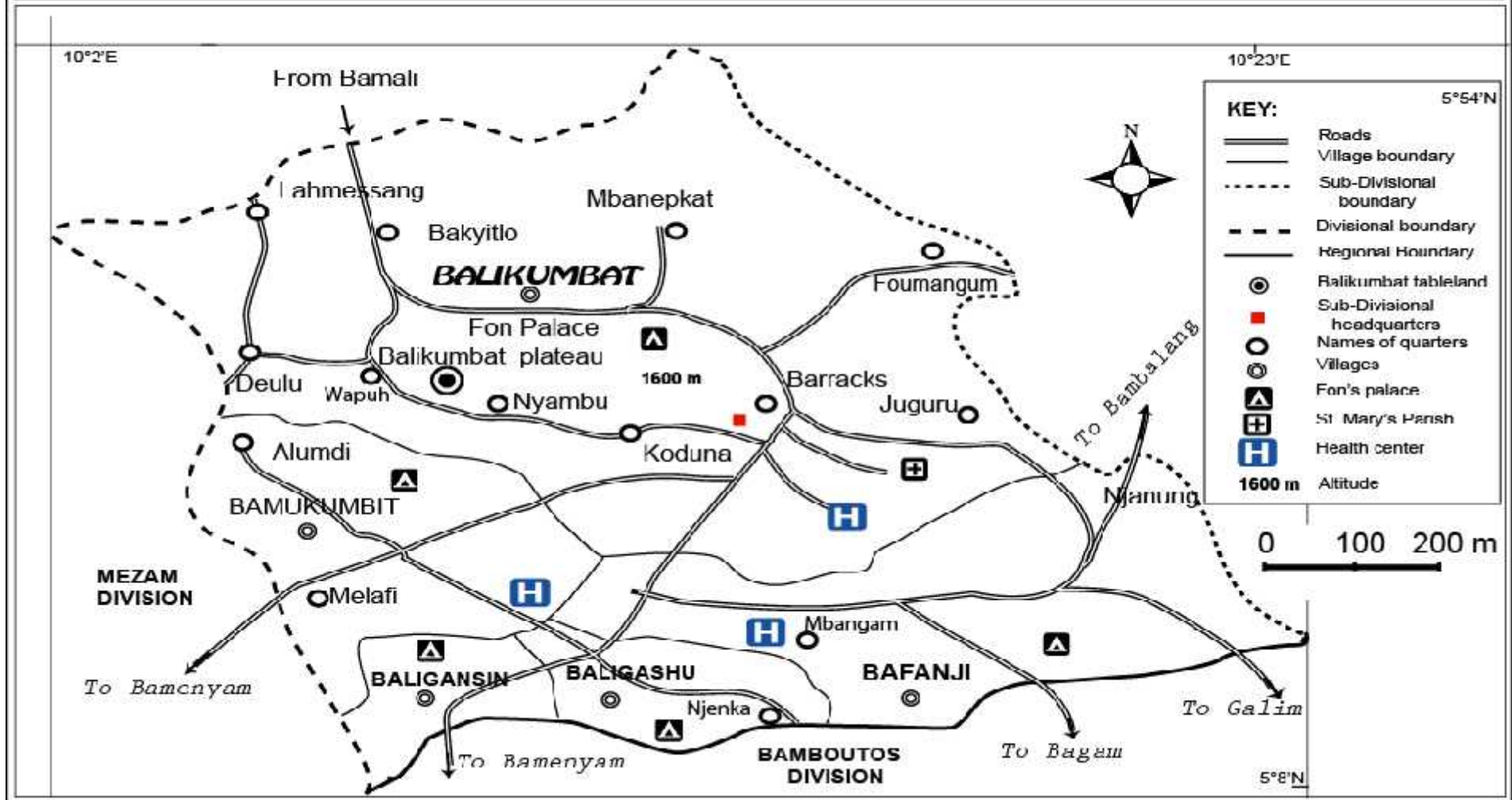
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SOURCE: New administrative Map of Cameroon, I.N.C. Yaoundé, modified.

INTRODUCTION

Literature, like orature, as coined by Ugandan scholar, Pio Zirimu, is influenced by culture, which is the pivot upon which societies are perched. Pre-literate societies see written literature as a rich area over oral tradition like folk tales, proverbs and folk songs. It is the combination of this that is referred to as oral literature. Oral literature is the oldest and most predominant kind of literature in Africa. It is one of the instruments used by Africans to communicate. In essence, African societies depend totally on meaningful existence and interaction. Oral literature is socially specific. It reflects cultural values and expresses socially accepted norms. For one to better understand and appreciate oral literature, it must be viewed in the light of cultural and historical contexts. In cultural contexts, oral literature must be performed before an audience.

Performance is an important concept in the formulation, interpretation, and evaluation of oral literature. Ibahim Kashim Tala in *Orature in Africa* posits that “a piece of Orature is considered successful, beautiful and relevant when the artist in performance succeeds in blending sound, movement, words, and visual effects” (10).

It is only through performance that oral literature can be transmitted to the public. Tala goes on to emphasize the importance of language in oral literature. Language here is said to be a vehicle for the transmission of ideas, thoughts and concepts. It is the raw material for creating literary texts. He, therefore, states “when the literary work has been composed orally, performed orally, and transmitted orally, it is considered orature” (11).

Africans are tied to oral literature because their culture, belief systems, thoughts, values, and ideas are buried in it. Abiolo Irele says that: “literature takes place within a cultural setting and no meaningful criticism is possible without the existence of the community of value between the writer and the critic which the latter can, in turn, make meaningful to the writer’s of a larger audience” (37). It is an important genre of literature since it influences the lifestyle of the people be it morally, socially, or politically. African oral literature has always served as a means of expressing feelings of sadness and joy.

Oral literature contains the values, cultures and ideas of a particular society, and check the society from excesses and deviations. Oral literature is largely performed. It takes place in the presence of audiences. This enables accessibility to the entire community. Ruth Finnegan in *Oral literature in Africa* posits that “oral literature is by definition dependent on a performer who formulates it in words on a specific occasion. There are no other way in which it can be realized as a literary product” (2).

As far as this work is concerned let us understand what African songs are all about. All African traditions emphasize singing because song is used as an avenue of communication. Since many African languages are tone languages in which pitch level determines meaning, the melodies and rhythms of songs generally follow the intonation contour and rhythms of the song texts. Melodies are usually within a scale four, five, six, or seven tones. In group singing, some societies habitually sing in unison or in parallel octaves with sporadic fourth or fifth while others sing in two or three parts. Songs, generally, are in call-and-response form. African songs include: birth songs, praise songs, work songs, children’s songs, topical songs, war songs, and twin songs.

A work song is a piece of music closely connected to a form of work, either sung while conducting a task (usually to coordinate timing) or a song linked to a task which might be a connected narrative, description, or protest song. Records of work songs are roughly as old as historical records, and anthropological evidence suggests that all African societies tend to have them. Most modern commentators on work songs have included both songs sung while working as well as those sung about work.

Children’s songs are songs sung either by the people who are in charge of the children as they grow up or by the children themselves. The diction of these songs is always very simple and the tone is striking. The songs sung by the people who are in charge of the children well-being are referred to as lullabies. For every African woman, a child is a source of great pride and joy. The feeling of pride and joy is expressed through the songs. The songs sung by the children themselves are known as children’s game verses. Children always have a familiar range of games and verses for their entertainment. These singing games and verses often give to nonsense songs, catch rhymes, tonal interplays, mocking verses, hide and seek songs.

These songs discussed above are different from the twin songs. Twin songs are sung whenever a woman gives birth to twin children. Most of these songs exhort the pride of motherhood and brevity.

This work examines the performance context and the aesthetic qualities of twin songs among the Bali Kumbat of Cameroon. It also studies the stylistic devices and themes found in these songs. This study also focuses on the relationship between culture and traditions of the Bali Kumbat. The major purpose of this work is to expose the rich tradition of the Bali Kumbat through their songs to the academic world. Lastly, the study will demonstrate the rich tradition of the Bali Kumbat people as far as twin songs are concerned. The study is guided by the following questions;

- What is the relationship between culture and tradition?
- How literary rich is the performance context and aesthetics of Bali Kumbat twin songs?
- Can the academic world benefit from the performance context of aesthetics of Bali Kumbat twin songs?

This study is based on the hypothesis that twin songs among the Bali Kumbat express the joy of childbirth. It is therefore aimed at portraying the values, ideas, and culture of the Bali Kumbat people otherwise known as their worldview. Besides, this study also seeks to prove that the Bali Kumbat twin songs perform a didactic and entertaining function. Lastly, it will highlight the fact that these songs are endowed with literary devices that make them poetic. Consequently, they can be used in the teaching of oral poetry in Cameroonian secondary schools.

The scope of this research has been limited to twin songs among the Bali Kumbat community. It is further narrowed down to the Chamba clan which represents the entire Bali Kumbat society. The work is significant as it exposes Bali Kumbat oral literature to other researchers and people from other cultures. It also helps to preserve the Bali Kumbat culture through documentation for future references. The study also enhances the realization of the twin songs as vital because it identifies the message behind each song.

The research makes use of both practical and theoretical methodologies. The researcher conducted interviews with Bali Kumbat people of all walks of life, especially those who are well versed with the customs and traditions of the land. A tape recorder and a camera were used by the researcher to facilitate data collection. Staged performance also helped to provide data. The data were transcribed into the original language and later on translated into English. The researcher faced many problems during the research process. Firstly, it was quite challenging to have a live performance because at the time women gave birth to only single babies. Thus, there was need for stimulated performances. Moreover, some people were skeptical about the intentions of the researcher as they kept asking the reason for the research; some information was even prohibited. The first phase of research was carried out in August and September at the heart of the rainy season and movement from one quarter to the other was tedious and expensive. Secondly, financial upheavals also constituted a setback to this work. The transcription and translation of the corpus from the mother tongue into English language was not an easy task as experts had to be enticed with money. Notwithstanding the above problems, the researcher's endeavor was successful as the hurdles were overcome in the end.

The study made use of the New Historicism and Formalist literary approach. New Historicism is a counter discourse of old Historicism. It is a movement that goes beyond the text-centered approach to literature. This theory arose as a result of a clamor for a return to historical scholarship in the academic study of literature. The theory developed in the 1980s with proponents like Stephen Greenblatt, Michel Foucault, and George Watson among others. D G Myer explains that, "within the rank of new historicism, literature is considered to be one of the forces that contributes to the making of individuals, it acts as a form of social control the central task of the New Historicism is to call into question the traditional view of literature as an autonomous realm of discourse with its own problems, form, principles, and then to dissolve the literary text into a social and political context from which it issued" (p.2). Thus, the social, economic, and political aspects of society should not be completely laid off in literary analysis.

Formalists rose up strongly during the 20th century with proponents like Victor Shklovesky and Yuri Tynyanov. These Russian formalists were so particular both in describing the general

characteristics of literary language and in analyzing the specific devices or modes of operation of such language. They focused on the qualities of poetic language that distinguish it from ordinary practical language. Thus, they paid attention to devices such as rhythm, alliteration, repetition, anaphora, rhyme, and others.

The formalist approach focuses its attention on the internal aspects of a work of art, otherwise known as the literariness of the work. In essence, formalists consider the author dead. Shklovesky and Tynyanaov regarded literature as both factual and scientific (independent). They hold that literature has its own history; a history of innovation in formal structures which is not totally determined by external, material history as is the case with New Historicism. They also state that the form and structure of a work of art are pregnant with a lot of meaning aside beauty. It is important to view some works which relate to the present study in order to reveal the relevance of the latter.

Bodga Emmanuel in his unpublished dissertation, “The Value of Bali Kumbat Folktales: A Functional and Structural Classification”, Concentrates on analyzing the function and structure of Bali Kumbat folktales. By so doing, he brings out the culture of the people, the origin and significance of the folktales. Also, someone like Nalah Mercy, in her work “The Literature of Bali Kumbat Enthronement Rituals: A Socio-Artistic Study”, dwells on the rituals and activities that surrounds the enthronement performances in Bali Kumbat. She also explains how the songs and incantations that emanate from Bali Kumbat are an expression of bravery of the Bali Kumbat people through the organization of scared societies some of which correspond to some of the vital issues raised in the twin songs.

More closely related to this work by approach is Gohyit Glory’s “Dirges among the Bali Kumbat of Cameroon”. She brings to the limelight the various rites and activities that are carried out during the performance context of the Bali Kumbat funerals, but does not treat context and form.

In addition, other students from other ethnic groups have done studies on other areas in Cameroon. These works are useful to this study because some aspects of their traditions are similar to those of Bali Kumbat. Some of these works are briefly reviewed below.

William Tangiri in his post-graduate dissertation entitled “The Content, Form and Function of the Wimbun Twin Songs” brings out the performance context of the Wimbun wins cycle and also exposes the oral traditions inherent in Wimbun songs, which is somehow familiar to Bali Kumbat twin songs performances. Finally, Ursula Achingale also carried out the same research on “Twin Songs among the Orokos in Cameroon”. She examines the performance context of the Orokos twin songs and a good display of the content and form of the songs. Her organization of some themes corresponds to some of the vital themes embedded in Bali Kumbat twin songs.

Nicoline Achiri Lum in “*Orature in Performance: A Literary Analysis of Baforchu Twin’s Songs and Incantation in the North West Region of Cameroon*” brings into limelight the valorization of twins through songs and incantations. The work equally examines the relationship between medium and message of twin songs while paying much attention to aesthetics.

It is with no doubts that, twin songs among the Bali Kumbat have not yet given significant literary attention. With this in mind, this research has focused itself on twin songs among the Bali Kumbat of Cameroon as a means of exposing this area of chamba orature.

This work is divided into an introduction, four main chapters, a conclusion and appendices. Chapter One, entitled “Background Study of Bali Kumbat” lays emphasis on the ethnographic study of the Bali Kumbat. Chapter Two, titled “Performance Context and Aesthetics”, encompasses the performance context and aesthetics of Bali Kumbat twin songs. Chapter Three, captioned “Matter and Manner”, examines the form and content of these songs. And finally, Chapter Four, labeled “Strategies for Teaching Bali Kumbat Twin Songs to Lower Secondary Schools”, focuses on the translated version of these songs and how they can be taught to secondary school students as African oral poetry. The conclusion sums all the points raised in the study. The appendices contain the songs, a list of informants, and photographs showing some of the stages of twin songs performance among the Bali Kumbat.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND STUDY OF BALI KUMBAT

Geographical Location

Bali Kumbat is located about 15 km West of Ndop, capital of Ngoketunjia Division of the North West Region of Cameroon. It is bounded on the east by the villages of Bamali and Bambalang, on the west by Bafanji, on the south by Bamonkumbit and on the north by Babanki Tungo and Awing. The population is about 16,000 inhabitants who are predominantly peasant farmers.

There is also a small population of Mbororo herdsmen who occupy the hills where they tend their cattle. The population is mostly young with the female population outnumbering the male. Bali Kumbat has the status of a Subdivision, which includes four neighbouring villages and a rural council.

Historical Situation

A good number of storytellers on the African continent hold the view of Mamadou Kouyate, the narrator of *Sundiata*, who states, "I teach kings the history of their ancestors so that the lives of the ancients might serve them as an example, for the world is old, but the future springs from the past". The history of Bali Kumbat is the same like that of the other four existing Bali Fondoms of the North West Region of Cameroon. The Bali Kumbat people are a part of the Chumba people who migrated from North Eastern Nigeria (Yola) during the wave of migrations in the West African region towards the end of the 17th century. Being highly skilled in the use of bow and arrows they fought their way towards the West into the present Republic of Cameroon conquering territories as they marched on. When they reached the grassland region of Cameroon their ruler "disappeared". Following total disagreement among the children about the heir of the throne, his five children, including his daughter, had some an argument and decided to break up and go their separate ways each taking along his or her own followers. They and their followers continued their onward march, fighting and conquering the inhabitants of the lands over which

they passed until they found a suitable place to settle, usual fertile farmlands. This is how the five Bali Fondoms in Cameroon came into being. The Fondoms are Bali-Gangsin (Gavalineba), Bali Kumbat (Nekoluba), Bali-Nyonga (Nyongneba), Bali-Gham (Nebgamyidba), Bali-Gashu (Gansunneba).

The Bali-Kumbat people occupied their present site after defeating and driving away its previous occupants, the Bamunkumbits. Two considerations accounted for this choice: the availability of abundant fertile farmlands and the existence of a central plateau from which they could easily sight and push back their enemies. Till date the Bali Kumbat Fon's palace is located on this plateau.

Economic activities

Subsistence farming is the main occupation of the Bali Kumbat. It is carried out on the plain part of the village. Work on most farms is carried out through a communal system in which members from various families help each other on their farms in turns. The men clear the bush while the women till the soil and sow the crops. They farm groundnuts, corn, rice, beans cocoyams, cassava and cash crops like coffee and oil palm. The Bali Kumbat farm every day except on market days and on traditional Sundays. Harvesting is also done collectively. Children raise platforms to watch over crops like corn and rice by scaring birds and other animals.

Fishing and hunting are other economic activities in Bali Kumbat. They fish in groups in streams using baskets and nets. Very often they make dams across the streams and empty the water in the dams to catch the fish and crabs when water levels get very low. Men also fish using fishing lines. At night they use torches and cutlasses or set their hooks overnight in the streams. The dry season is the most appropriate period when men go out to hunt in groups with belled dogs and cutlasses. Individual hunting is done by people who own dane guns. Big game hunting, such as buffalo and boars is carried out by very experienced hunters who spend days in the bush. This group of hunters is believed to possess supernatural powers. When such a big game is caught, it is first taken to the palace before consumption.

The Bali Kumbat are also craftsmen, blacksmiths, and weavers. Some are pretty traders who own shops in which household goods are sold.

Months in Bali Kumbat	English Equivalent	Activities
S dza	January	Clearing of farms
Soniá	February	Preparation of land
S dzelá	March	Beginning of first rains
S duná	April	Tilling period
Sogambá	May	Planting of groundnuts
Buluwá	June	Famine period
Sagwáá	July	Harvesting time
Gwà soá	August	Heavy rains
Sosàkea	September	Festival period
Vomsoá	October	Traditional dance
Sogabá	November	Season for grasshoppers
Lèhsoa	December	Dry season festival

Table 1: Months of the year and activities in Bali Kumbat.

The socio-political structure of Bali Kumbat

The Bali Kumbat society is orderly structured in the form of pyramid. At the top, we have the traditional leader called the *ga'* (fon) followed by *ndagan* (the king makers). Below them is *dame* (traditional councillors), *tanteh* (quarter head) and *nawabi* (compound heads).

The principle role of the *ga'* in Bali Kumbat land is to maintain law and order, defend the village and its people, and maintain the relationship between the people and their ancestors. The *ga'* as the political head of the village and fandum has a symbol of authority which is a traditional metal gong used to rally people whenever need arises. The heir to the throne is always chosen from among the members of the royal family. The *ga'* is the custodian of the village land and shares lands to inhabitants of the village. He presides over the village traditional court by settling disputes. He represents the village in all acts and in law by having contacts with the administrative authorities and other people who can help the village in one way or the other. He pours libations whenever the people meet. He consults the ancestors in case of any serious matter in the village, like an epidemic.

The *ndagans* are entrusted the throne to administer when the *ga'* passes away. They assume interim until a new *ga'* is enthroned. They perform other traditional rites within their quarters and the village as a whole. *Ndagans* are in charge of the defence of the village. *Ndagans* provide weapons to warriors and lead them to war after offering sacrifices to the god of war.

Members from various quarters make up *dame*. They form the traditional court that handles cases at the village level in order to respect and maintain the laws of the land. The council handles crimes like prostitution, abortion, theft, and land dispute. *Dame* also sensitizes the people on matters of general interest such as sanitary issues and any information from the *ga'*.

The *tanteh* make traditional laws, exercise justice, and collect taxes. They handle all matters concerning the different quarters in Bali Kumbat. They work in collaboration with the *ga'*. They also follow the *ga'* wherever he goes, especially when he is visiting neighbouring villages.

The *nawabi* limit their functions within their families. Family heads are usually the eldest in the family. Many *nawabi* maintain peace in their family and represent them at village assemblies. They are also the custodians of family shrines and offer sacrifices on behalf of the family. The diagram below summarises the socio-political organisation of Bali Kumbat.

gá (Fon)

ndaga (King makers)

damé (Traditional councillor)

tá teh (Quarter heads)

awábi(Compound heads)

The socio-political structure of Bali Kumbat

Secret Societies in Bali Kumbat

There are up to 10 secret societies in Bali Kumbat, but information about the other secret societies could not be revealed to us. The different secret societies we were informed about are: *gomba*, *ntadah*, *ntanga*, *ukunbe*, and *ladinbe*. In these secret societies, males are the active participants and they must be initiated before they can be considered full-time members.

Gomba is a secret society strictly for men and adolescent male children. Membership comprises of the Fon, king makers and some high-class *nchindas*. They must be initiated before they see its shrine or take part in any of its activities. Some initiation requirements include: four fowls, a bunch of plantain, a basket of groundnuts, palm wine, two goats, a tin of oil, and one pig. *Gomba* is pre-occupied with maintenance of good conduct in the land as regards the laws of the society. *Gomba* cleanses people who have offended the dead.

Ntadah is one of the strongest societies in Bali Kumbat. It is made up of some compound heads and king makers. They are meant to appease the society and punish evil doers. They protect the village by offering sacrifices to the gods. *Ntadah* members meet once every week on a day called 'selpo' (market day). When anyone commits suicide by hanging, any members of the *ntadah* society must perform some rituals before the rope is cut from the trees. *Ntadan* is particularly involved in the solving of land disputes and maintaining peace.

Ntanga is another secret society in Bali Kumbat which concerns itself with the initiation rites of the Fon. All sacred things done to the Fon are done by this special sacred society. They also perform several rites before they organise the annual dance. Membership is inherited and its membership include king makers, and members of the royal family. It ensures effective governance in the land.

Ukunbe is the society that maintains discipline by reprimanding stubborn adults. *Ukunbe* also has a masquerade which only men are allowed to see. It is more active before the farming season starts. It offers sacrifices to the gods in order to obtain high yields.

Ladinbe organise celebrations in the village. They also protect the village from evil. *Ladinbe* ensure that all the norms of the society are followed by the villagers in order to appease the gods. It celebrates harvest success and other blessings in the society.

Belief and Cosmology of the Bali Kumbat

In order to understand the nature of twin songs, an insight into the cosmological concept of the Bali Kumbat people is necessary. This cosmological concept can be deduced from certain traditional rites and songs. The Bali Kumbat believe in the existence of the spirit world, the world of animals and other living creatures and the world of inanimate objects.

The Spirit World

In Bali Kumbat, the spirit world consists of the Supreme Spirit which is referred to as *vámep*. This spirit is seen as the greatest. Though this powerful force is known to exist by the people, it is scarcely made mention of. Below the Supreme Spirit, there are other smaller spirits which the Bali Kumbat people also believe in. Each of these spirits (gods) is directly in charge of a natural phenomenon and has a delimited area of power. For example, we have the god of water. The god of water has several abodes in the streams. The people consider every dark pool as a living place for the god of water, thus a place to be avoided. Other gods are in charge of the forest, lands, rocks, raffia etc. When people want to exploit these resources, the various gods are entreated to help.

The Bali Kumbat believe that some of these spirits are good because they work in favour of people who are good and punish those who are bad. Such is the case with *vámep*. There are also bad spirits which work for the downfall of people.

The Bali Kumbat also believe in the existence of witches. Writing about witches among Bali Kumbat, Gebauer said “three types of ‘witches’ exist: Certain creatures of the spirit world who are evil and dedicated to work magic among men; Persons dedicated to magic life who remain ‘witches’ in the world of ancestors to trouble their (people’s) lives. ‘Witches’ work at night only,

riding the winds, entering into homes by stealth, engaging in dances, plating witch substances into things and people. Their daylight activities are limited to dogs and arrows as mediums or messengers” (1964, p. 106). Witchcraft is a destructive art. There are many instances when people have complained that children have been eaten by witches. Bali Kumbat also believe that certain members of the society can transform themselves into animals, birds or reptiles in order to commit evil.

The Ancestral World

Next to the world of the spirits is the ancestral world. It is believed by the Bali Kumbat that the elders who have died go to the world of the ancestors, and so those who are living hold more to the ancestors. They also believe that ancestors are a link between the world of the living and the spiritual world. This world is said to be underground. According to Alexander Haggerty Krappe,

“ancestors, in a certain measure, are also ancient divinities who [...] had to leave their temple and take refuge underground, in hallows of mountains or at the bottom of the sea. At the bottom of the belief is simply the idea that [...] ancestors continue to take a more or less active interest in the fate of he family, warning their descendants of impending death or disaster”.

In case of something abnormal, “ *awabi*” appeases the ancestors. This is done because every family in the village is answerable to its ancestors.

If there are other matters arising that concern the village as a whole, the *gá* and *dagan* entreats the ancestors of the village to intervene. The ancestors are believed to be in close contact with human affairs. It is because of their belief in ancestors that the living invoke ancestors in virtually every traditional ceremony. There are various ceremonies performed and several reconciliatory words uttered when a person dies in order to establish harmony between the dead ancestors.

It is important to note that unlike in the case of world religions like Christianity and Islam, African traditional religions have no founders. They evolved slowly through many centuries as people respond to the situations of lives and reflected upon their experiences. According to John

S. Mbiti (1977), many factors must have played a part in the development of these belief systems. These include geographical environment (mountains, rivers, deserts and forest), the change of seasons, the power of nature (such as earthquakes, thunderstorms and volcanoes), calamities, epidemics, diseases, birth and death (and especially abnormal ones), and major historical events (wars, locust invasions, famine, migrations etc.). Unlike Christianity and Islam have the Bible and the Koran as their sacred books respectively, African tradition has got none. Africans' beliefs are found in the history, customs, myths, legends, ceremonies and proverbs. In essence, the notion of the ancestral world is part of the African heritage.

The World of the Living

The world of the living is composed of the people who are alive including the developing embryos. This seems to be the centre of gravity of the cosmos. The people rely on the spirit forces, ancestral forces, and the forces of the animate and inanimate worlds for their own purposes.

The Animate World

The animate world includes both flora and fauna. The Bali Kumbat hold some animals like birds (protus African) and reptiles in high esteem. That is why some animals like leopards, lions and buffalos are considered to be divine. They are respected and if at all one is killed, traditional rites are performed. Thus, the horns of the buffalos serve as the drinking cup of the Fon, while the skin of the leopard serves as the footstool or carpet of the Fon. With respect to flora, there are many trees in Bali Kumbat land which are sacred because they are inhabited by spirits.

The Inanimate World

The Bali Kumbat consider things like stones, rocks, mountains, soil and water to be inanimate because of the foreign appellation of "inanimate world". But the Bali Kumbat consider these things to be animated by the force of *Vame'p*. That is why most of them are considered sacred objects and prayers are made near them. The Bali Kumbat see the creator in these things and the Supreme Spirit is adored because of his marvellous creations.

The Bali Kumbat World View

The Bali Kumbat world view is evident through their beliefs and socio-ethical norms and it comprises of ideas concerning their existence, ethos and their inter-personal relationship. They also find appellations for phenomena that influence their way of life. Donna Rosenberg, on her part, has observed that “every culture has its own heroic legends, which the society regards as historically accurate. Many are among the greatest stories of the world. Their heroes embody their culture’s values and functions as role models, depicting the attitudes and behaviour that their society consider to be ideal” (1997: xxvii). In essence, the Bali Kumbat person in particular has a different concept of the world and has organised their society to fit this concept. This can be seen, for instance, through marriage, procreation, conception and birth.

Marriage

John Mbiti in *Africa Religions and Philosophy* points out that “marriage is the focus of existence and a point members of a given community meet the departed, the living and those yet to be born.” (37). The Bali Kumbat see marriage as a great necessity. It is through marriage that the people believe community is insured. Respect is highly reserved for married people in the Bali Kumbat society, and they can take part in some traditional activities which are out of bounds to unmarried people. John Mbiti posits that,

“marriage is a drama in which everyone becomes an actor or an actress and not just a spectator.

Therefore, marriage is a duty, a requirement from the corporate society, and a rhythm of life in which everyone must participate... Failure to get married under normal circumstances means that the person concerned has rejected society and society rejects him in future (133).

The paying of a dowry when a wife is married is also practiced in Bali Kumbat. In the spast, the girl used to be taken away before dowry negotiations were done later on. The dowry is not paid all in a day. It is paid gradually even until the death of the bride, dowry still continues. Children can pay the dowry of their mother and grand-mothers.

It is worth noting that the Bali Kumbat society is polygamous although no one is forced to marry more than one wife. In most cases people marry for the sake of children. Thus, if the first wife does not breed children, the man is forced to marry a second wife since children are an asset in the family. Bareness in Bali Kumbat is a taboo and so everything humanly possible is done to prevent it. In certain cases, marrying many wives gives one a higher social status and prestige. The question of feeding the children and the wives does not arise because every woman has to cultivate in the company of their children.

Procreation

Procreation makes marriage a happy union for the couple and the community at large. In Bali Kumbat, child birth is seen as a great blessing from *vámep*.

Conception

Among the Bali Kumbat, the period of conception is handled with a lot of care and seriousness because it is believed to be a very dangerous period for the expectant mother and her unborn child. As posited by T.N.O. Quarcoopome, (qtd in Ekole Chabanga 2004) “The period of pregnancy is regarded as the most dangerous, because it is believed to be the period when attempts are made by evil forces to harm or destroy both the mother-to-be and the unborn child”(15). In respect to this, great care is taken to ensure safe delivery. At conception, pregnancy can be determined by the traditional midwife if it is a set of twins or a single child. This depends on the size and shape of the expectant mother’s stomach.

Birth of Twins

The birth of twins is generally an important event because of the myth that exists about their nature. The Bali Kumbat believe that twins come from the spirit world and that they possess mystical powers which can harm people. They also believe these twins can transform into snakes and other wild animals. In the past, twins were killed because they were considered an evil in the community.

Nowadays, twins are no longer considered to be evil. They are believed to possess special powers. As soon as they are born, precautions are taken for them not to have those powers that harm humanity. Presents given to twins are usually identical and in pairs. This is done to avoid envy or jealousy between the twins. Special ceremonies are also organised to please the gods and to dissuade the twins from returning to the spirit world. This is because twins are often believed to be sensitive by nature. Twins in the mebacál language are known as yepbága. Their mother is known as mányi and their father as tanyi. Twins among Bali-Kumbat are usually welcomed with twin songs which can only be sung and danced by fellow tányis (father of twins), and mányi (mothers of twins). These songs are sung because twins are believed to be special beings.

Naming Ceremonies

Names in Bali Kumbat are chosen depending on the circumstances surrounding the birth of the child. Families may choose to name a child after a renowned notable in the society or a dead relative. Some common names they give to children include: Nalah (fire), Nashu (mother), Samghen (king), Babila (father has come back) and Nabila (mother has come back). Male twins are named Samgwa (for the elder) and Samjela (for the younger) while female twins are named Nahgwa (for the elder) and Nahjela (for the younger twins). A child who follows a set of twins is called Tafili if he is male and Nakum if she is female.

The naming ceremony in Bali Kumbat usually takes place two weeks after the child is born. During these first two weeks, both mother and child are confined inside a room. The naming ceremony day must fall on the same day she gave birth to the child. The ceremony takes place early in the morning only in the family compound. It is always performed by the eldest member (family head) of child's parent's family.

The naming ceremony for twins is very special. Nol Alembong in *Standpoints on African Orature* states that “naming ceremonies are moments when the family and the larger community renew their relationship with God and other spirit beings. The ceremonies, therefore, take on

religious dimension given that a “child not only continues the physical line of life, being in some societies thought to be a re-incarnation of the departed, but becomes the intensely religious focus of keeping the parents in their state of personal immortality” (65). On the day of the ceremony, the traditional midwife brings a calabash with medicine inside. It is this medicine that she uses to bathe the twins with. The midwife bathes only the twins’ bodies because it is believed that the medicine causes the twins to grow; the medicine does not touch their head. After this rite has been performed, the midwife and the elderly people in the community carry the twins to the Fon’s place. Some items that are carried to the palace are salt, oil, calaba chalk, clay pot and the twins’ traditional drum made out of calabash (bánti). On their way to the palace, at every junction, the midwife pours a little bit of oil, salt and wine at the centre of every junction to appease the gods.

When they arrive the palace, the midwife and some elderly people lead songs to be sung while waiting for the Fon. The Fon arrives and orders the nchindas to serve the twins food in their traditional calabash. Thereafter, the Fon crowns the blessing with some incantations.

Back at home, the naming ceremony differs according to the child’s sex. In the case of a male, an elderly man in the community uses jak (bow and arrow) on the mother’s back. This is done to initiate the male child into warfare. For the female child, all women present in the scene use hoes to till the soil around the compound three times. This action is done to initiate the girl into farm work. After all these rites have been performed, the family pronounces the twins’ names and the celebrants shout and rejoice for the proclamation. The ceremony ends in merry making.

This chapter offers the background of Bali Kumbat. Issues pertaining to its geographical location, historical situation, economic activities, socio-political situation and the people’s beliefs and worldview have been examined. It can be noticed that Bali Kumbat orature is very rich and their worldview and customs are reflected in their twin songs which are analysed in this study. The next chapter centres on the performance context and aesthetics of Bali Kumbat twin songs.

CHAPTER TWO

PERFORMANCE CONTEXT AND AESTHETISCS

Since oral literature exists only in performance, there can be no oral literature without performance as posited by Tala (qtd Achiri 2011). Twin songs among the Bali Kumbat exist only in performance. These songs are actualised when twins are born and each time someone pays a visit to the babies. Performance brings life to the subject and influences the style of delivery of the performance because it is in performance that creativity is demonstrated. It is in this context that Bali kumbat twin songs are examined in this study to show the context in which these songs take place, the setting and the different stages involved.

Performances begin spontaneously on the day twins are born and last till the twin babies are presented to the public. These performances are divided into four stages namely, pre-birth, birth, post-birth and confinement (preparation, arrival of participants, outing of the nursing mother, return of the nursing mother to her room and return of the participants). These performances portray the aesthetics of twin songs through the creativity of the performer, the lead singer, the support of the audience and the paralinguistic features that accompany the performance.

Twin songs are rendered dramatically by a performer in a bid to entertain and educate the audience. The performer makes use of words and actions which reveal the themes of the songs. Through this, the audience is entertained and educated at the same time. In view of this, Ruth Finnegan holds that, ‘‘The significance of performance in oral literature goes beyond a mere matter of definition; for the nature of the performance itself can make an important contribution to the impact of the particular literary form being exhibited ...’’(page 2).

The performance context helps to reveal the themes found in the oral piece performed. In the case of Bali Kumbat twin songs, the songs most at times, reflect the type of performance.

Pre-Birth

This begins immediately conception is noticed. The father or the mother of the pregnant woman (in a case where the woman is not married) or her husband informs the traditional midwives about the pregnancy. The midwives come, examine and confirm the pregnancy. When the pregnancy is confirmed, the expectant mother is advised on how to conduct herself during her pregnancy. At this level, she is officially handed over either to her parents or a close relative for proper care. As the pregnancy grows, it can be determined by the traditional midwives if it contains one baby or twins depending on the shape of the woman's stomach. It is evident here that pre-birth rituals focus essentially on the expectant mother.

Birth

Actual birth takes place either in the couple's home or in the expectant mother's parents' home. An elderly woman usually officiates as midwife. A successful birth is announced by the relatives of the woman who has just given birth. On that day, the relatives hurry to their farms to harvest plantains. These plantains are used to bury the children's placenta. The babies' placenta is either buried in front of the house (a step to the door) or at the head bed of the mother. This is done by the traditional midwife or any elderly person in the family. They use a banana tree to bury that of a girl child and a plantain tree for that of a boy. The plantain or the banana planted symbolises regeneration. The umbilical cord is buried together with the first hair of the child under a banana plant. This is done by the traditional midwife.

Post-Birth

Post-birth rituals are carried out a few days after the babies are born, and they are essentially initiation rites that integrate the individual into the society. These post-birth rituals include: circumcision and naming ceremony. Circumcision is done after the falling off of the umbilical cord and it is the first initiation rite for male children only. This ritual is significant in that it initiates the male child into the society and prepares him for manliness, virility, courage and firmness, qualities that are essential for male children.

Another relevant ritual is the naming ceremony which is done after circumcision for male children and after the falling off of the umbilical cord for female children. This ritual is important because a name individualises and integrates a child into its community. For this reason, names are carefully chosen because they constitute a force which can make or mar the bearer. These post-birth rituals are important. They help to regulate the individual's rhythm of life and are full of social and spiritual significance. In Bali Kumbat, children are named according to the events that happened during their birth.

Confinement

This is the last stage of performances. This confinement begins immediately an expectant mother starts to labour and last until both the mother and her babies are formally presented to the public. This period is most demanding and delicate for the nursing mother. This period lasts for at least two weeks. The room where the twins and their mother are kept is prepared with medicinal herbs, leaves and raffia fibres. These items help to protect the nursing mother and her babies. She is not allowed to indulge in outdoor activities where she can be seen by people. She is also not allowed to visit anybody during this period of confinement. Moreover, her culinary habits change as she can no longer eat in the same plate or drink in the same cup as other members of the family.

Traditionally, her food is served in a special calabash which symbolise generosity. During this period the mother and her babies are rubbed with palm oil. This keeps their bodies smooth and fresh and the nursing mother is decorated with raffia fibre to showcase her beauty.

Whenever a relative, friend or a passer-by visits the home of new born twins for the first time, the visitor is welcomed by the traditional midwife. This welcome ceremony is done in song and dance and last for a few minutes.

In song No. 1 for instance, the midwife welcomes the visitors to announce the existence of new-born babies in the house and also to tell the visitors that the nursing mother will not go to the farm because she is occupied.

Nong lehnaba:tá dá-ká

L.S: Pass and go

<i>Neba-kenaba : l t bi-tá</i>	Ch: to the farm
<i>Nong lehnaba: ta dà-kà</i>	L.S: Pass and go
<i>Neba-kenaba : mà nyt si y bmà</i>	Ch: let me bathe my babies before I
<i>mà yàtô</i>	come

(Song No. 1)

The visitor's response will determine whether he/she knows about the birth of the children. And if the visitor already knows about the babies, this song (No. 2) becomes applicable.

<i>Nong lehnaba: y b бага dihlu</i>	L.S: In the house of twins
<i>Neba-kenaba : ma punt bi pàrà</i>	Ch: I will enter and take blessings
<i>Nong lehnaba: nit kòh ànsé</i>	L.S: Even if I am empty handed
<i>Neba-kenaba : mà punt bi pàrà</i>	Ch: I will enter and take blessings

(Song No. 2)

The visitor in this song says the absence of a gift cannot hinder her/him from coming. When a guest accidentally discovers that there are twins in a house where he/she has just entered, they simply join the celebration with song No. 3.

<i>Nong lehnaba: Nahjela ki Samgwa tà</i>	L.S: Nahjela and Samgwa
<i>Neba-kenaba: ki mt l msi nyú: lú</i>	Ch: Very early in the morning
	you wake me up

(Song No.3).

The visitors are shown the babies and those who brought gifts present them to the babies. It is worth noting that anyone who wants to offer gifts to the twins must make sure the gifts are in pairs so as to avoid envy or jealousy between the twins who are considered to be very sensitive to human behaviour. Again, if a visitor wants to carry the babies, he/she must carry both babies at a time to avoid the same problem. The visitors are often received by the traditional midwife.

Participants vary depending on the occasion. In fact anyone who comes to visit the babies for the first time is expected to intone a song which will be song and danced by all those present. The lead singer adapts the songs to the situation or event. Moreover, the host may sometimes

condition the tempo of the performance. Due to the spontaneity of the occasion most of the songs are improvised.

The use of drums during these performances is strictly forbidden. This is because the twins have not yet been handed over to the community that regulates the use of drums. The second reason is that the babies are still considered to be fragile to harsh noise. Traditionally, the babies can only hear the sound of drums when they must have been properly introduced to the larger community. This happens when the mother and the babies end their period of confinement. Again, given that women play a dominant role, according to the Bali Kumbat tradition, drums cannot therefore be used.

Preparation

Preparation begins on the eve of the ceremony. This preparation is twofold: the preparation of food and the preparation of the nursing mother and her babies for the outing the next day. The food cooked is mainly made up of Bali Kumbat traditional dishes such as “fufu corn” and “jamajama” (huckleberry) with kati-kati (chicken). It is worth noting also that some particular foods are cooked for the rites that will be carried out in the night. These food items consists of four bundles of egusi pudding (two salted and the other two not salted) and four bundles of groundnut paste (two salted and the others not salted).

At night the midwife takes the *bànti* (calabash) and pours wine into it; she and the other celebrants move to the entrance of the compound and place the egusi pudding and groundnut paste inside different *bàntis* which have been shaped in the form of a bowl. Each child has its own *bànti* where the food its kept. After singing and dancing, the midwife shares the egusi pudding and groundnut paste to those present. This is done to announce the proper celebration the next day to the villagers.

On the other hand, the nursing mother must be taught special dance steps by the midwife and other twin mothers in preparation for the outing. This is important because on the day of the

performance the nursing mother is the centre of attraction. Her immediate family therefore makes sure that she does not put up a poor performance before her guests.

On the day proper, the family cooks varieties of food to welcome their guests later in the day. The nursing mother is made to wear a variety of beads on her neck with a white necklace made from raffia fibres. Her wrists and ankles are equally adorned with fibres.

Moreover, the twins' father and the twin babies are equally tattooed with "calaba chalk". This is done such that the parents and babies can be identifiable. And it also serves as a symbol of initiation into motherhood for maiden mothers.

Arrival of Participants

The participants arrive at the place of ceremony either individually or in a group. These participants consist of twin children, fathers of twins and mothers of twins as well as barren women. The reason why barren women are allowed is because it is believed that there are abundant blessings in the house of the twins which can help the barren women to bare their own children. No one else is allowed to join this group. However, at some point of the ritual performances, the barren women will be asked to go out of the house. Traditionally, those who arrive in a group do so in song and dance. As seen in Song No. 4, the participants are declaring to whoever wants to hear that they are going to visit the twin babies.

Nong lehnaba: mt ki dean tanyi fàki manyi dihlu L.S: I am going to tanyi
and manyi

Neba-kenaba: y b bàgà dòdòmà Ch: To see the twin children

Nong lehnaba: mt ki kpò ò L.S: Am on my way

Neba-kenaba: fà dòdombà Ch: To see the babies

(Song No. 4)

When the participants get into the house, they pray that anyone who has come with evil intentions and hatred should stay outside because the children are pure and innocent. This song is

song while the midwife sprinkles palm wine over every participant in the house. This is the subject of Song No. 5:

<i>Nong lehnaba: t mami ny t-se</i>	L.S: If your heart is not pure
<i>Neba-kenaba : diih nòghò</i>	Ch: You better stay outside
<i>Nong lehnaba: t mami ny t-se</i>	L.S: If your heart is not pure
<i>Neba-kenaba : diih nòghò kimà y b</i>	Ch: You better stay outside
<i>t mki ny ika</i>	because the babies are pure.

(Song No. 5)

While the participants are already in the house, they continue to sing and dance until the hosts are ready to welcome them. The host most often is the family head or the uncle of the twins. The host thus welcomes the participants as shown in song No. 6

<i>Nong lehnaba: oh y b bàgà mâ</i>	L.S: Oh my twins
<i>Neba-kenaba : nyong t bia</i>	Ch: What a double blessing
<i>Nong lehnaba: oh y b bàgà mâ</i>	L.S: Oh my children
<i>Neba-kenaba : nyong sòðna</i>	Ch What a joy

(Song No. 6)

The host expresses joy at the arrival of the participants. This makes the guests feel happy that they are welcome and that they were being expected.

After these introductory exchanges, one of the nursing mother's female relatives adopts the role of the lead singer in a song which marks the beginning of the third phase which is the outing of the nursing mother. She sings this song to express her joy and pride at the birth of twins in their family. This song sets the pace for what Finnegan calls "The emotional situation of a (birth) the singers' beauty of voice facial expression, vocal expressiveness and movement" (07). She may be motivated to sing Song No. 7.

<i>Nong lehnaba : k li ki kpt kià</i>	L.S: The hill is hell
<i>Neba-kenaba : k l pi na si à</i>	Ch: But not everyone can climb
<i>Nong lehnaba : mányi nyi kò kòli</i>	L.S: Manyi held the hill
<i>Neba-kenaba : nà ki nyinúà</i>	Ch: With her hands and climb
<i>Nong lehnaba: t kpt sé</i>	L.S: If you are not powerful

Neba-kenaba : t ti kò ko nàhné?

Ch: Can you hold a hill with your
Hands and climb?

(Song No.7)

The Entrance of the Nursing Mother

After singing the above song, the nursing mother and her husband are ushered into the arena in procession. This procession is made up of fathers and mothers of twins exclusively. Depending on the financial strength of the host family, each member of the procession carries a present for the participants. Usually the presents consist of kola nuts, tobacco and assorted drinks. The chief celebrant is led into the arena in song and dance accompanied by hand clapping. Song No. 8 below is usually sung by the participants and the procession to announce the arrival of the nursing mother.

Nong lehnaba: nyi ú ki ú nt àm

L.S: She was alone

Neba-kenaba: bà à ki: h néép tà

Ch: Now has people

Nong lehnaba:nàh nyi ú nt àm

L.S: Mother was alone

Neba-kenaba: bà à ki: h néép -tà

Ch: Now has people

(Song No.8)

The nursing mother's appearance is a rare opportunity to be enjoyed only by those who are patient enough to wait. This is because the nursing mother usually appears on the scene at an advanced stage of the performance.

As the nursing mother enters the scene with the procession, both the male and female lead singers appear on the scene. The male lead singer comes in with a basket containing kola nuts and a traditional cup made from the horn of a cow and some palm wine for libation. When they get to the centre of the house, he places the basket containing the kola nut on the floor. He then breaks the kola nuts into pieces and throws some on the floor. They serve some palm wine into the cup and pour it on the floor. This is done to show appreciation to the gods of the land. After this has been done, the remains of both the kola nuts and palm wine are shared to the participants. This symbolises the blessings brought by the twin children to the participants.

After this ritual, the male lead singer intones song No. 9 which is sung by all. In this song he refers to the twins as blessings, joy and peace sent by the ancestors.

<i>Nong lehnaba: nyong t bià sàngtisila ngong t bià</i>	L.S: Peace, joy, blessings
<i>Neba-kenaba: dohftbi: ki kaatiftbi túmfà sinú</i>	Ch: Our ancestor has sent them
<i>Nong lehnaba:nyong t bià, sàngtisila ngong t bià</i>	L.S: Peace, joy, blessings
<i>Neba-kenaba: dohftbi: ki kaatiftbi túmfà sinú</i>	Ch: Our ancestor has sent them

(Song No. 9)

After this song, the female lead singer intones another song that serves as an “opening of the floor”. In this song, she ushers in the new born babies and also recognises the fertility of their parents:

<i>Nong lehnaba: kpàlàk sotli t bià</i>	L.S: The raffia palm has reproduced
<i>Neba-kenaba: nààh nyi sòstnú</i>	Ch: Mother started it
<i>Nong lehnaba:kpéndéh l bà</i>	L.S: The plantain has reproduced
<i>Neba-kenaba: dòhftbi nyi ih sòstnú</i>	Ch: Father initiated it our

Forefathers started it all

(Song No. 10)

Participants dance in a circle while the nursing mother with the twins and their father are sent in the middle of the circle to dance. The nursing mother together with the babies and her husband becomes the centre of attraction. Later on, special songs are sung for the babies to show their supernatural birth and the supernatural powers they carry in them.

<i>Nong lehnaba: i ki mt ni kà</i>	L.S: They are sending me away
<i>Neba-kenaba: ma da vat fogtúngú</i>	Ch: To die in the bush
<i>Nong lehnaba: i ki mt ni kà</i>	L.S: They are sending me away
<i>Neba-kenaba: gog fogobi u kú mt ka</i>	Ch: To be eaten by wild animals
<i>ki m la li i masé nah, bah,</i>	because I do not have relatives,
<i>kun-kina</i>	mother, father and sisters

(Song No. 11)

This song is sung by the participants to show the supernatural powers of the babies. While they sing the song, the nursing mother carries her two children at the centre of the circle.

Nong lehnaba: Najeh t sikibà
Neba-kenaba : pà yà kúlú
Nong lehnaba: ki kog-dúlú k tà lú?
Neba-kenaba : pà yà kúlú

L.S: Najeh where have you kept it?
Ch: Take it and bring it to me
L.S: Is it under the bed or on the ceiling?
Ch: Take it and bring it to me

(Song No. 12)

The dancing continues with other songs that praise the twin babies and their mother for a job well done. Song No. 13 is one of such songs where the twin mother is presented as a brave woman.

Nong lehnaba:ki s nba vat t k ghlú
Neba-kenaba: kpwa -yitlú gha
Nong lehnaba: t ti kum
Neba-kenaba: wakiinú kpt kià

L.S: It is good you die on your bed
Ch: Rather than on the main road
L.S: Then you will become
Ch: A powerful woman

(Song No. 13)

As the performance continues, the couple receives gifts from friends and relatives. These gifts vary depending on the couple's relationship with the donors. The most precious of these gifts is the piece of cloth which is tied round the waist of the beneficiary. Other gifts are received by the traditional midwife. Some of the gifts are given to the parents of the couple.

The Exit of the Nursing Mother

Due to the fragile nature of the nursing mother, the couple is not allowed to dance for long. There are therefore led back to their room to rest by the procession after a couple of songs and dance. In song No. 14, the couple is appreciated for their braveness.

Nong lehnaba: manyi nyi t dà t b b y b yib
Neba-kenaba: i yà gibsi nt am
Nong lehnaba: tanyi nyi t dà t b b y b yibà
Neba-kenaba: a nyo wà bà t ki sàkià

L.S: Manyi you went and took
Two children
Ch: And came back at the
Same time
L.S: Tanyi you went and took
Two children
Ch:It is true that you are not

Faithful

(Song No. 14)

The nursing mother's exit is automatically announced by this song. The participants bid her farewell by singing, dancing and clapping.

After the exit of the nursing mother and her husband, the dancing takes a break and everyone settles down. It is at this point in the performance that food is served to everyone present in the house of the new born babies. The food consists mainly of plantain, pepper soup and corn fufu and jama-jama with kati-kati. Each participant is free to eat as much as he or she wants. The nursing mother is encouraged to eat a lot of pepper soup because it stimulates breast milk to flow in abundance.

After eating, palm wine is served to the participants. This drink is placed on the floor and the participants are expected to drink of it because it is the first gift given by the new-born babies. After drinking, dancing resumes and this time around, the performers are mainly participants and the members of the procession who brought in the nursing mother.

The Exit of the Participants

At this juncture, some of the participants start to leave the ceremonial ground individually. Those who leave individually do so silently so as not to influence the untimely departure of others. However, whenever the participants decide to leave in groups they do so in song. Through the departure song, the hosts are thanked and advised to take good care of both the twin babies and the nursing mother. These songs enable the host to determine whether the participants are happy and satisfied. The participants announce their appreciation and departure in the following song:

Nong lehnaba:ft dòmna

L.S: We are grateful

Neba-kenaba :ndjinka

Ch: Thank you

Nong lehnaba: ft dòmna

L.S: We are grateful

Neba-kenaba : ndjinka

Ch: Thank you

(Song No. 15)

It is at this point that the midwife asks the barren women to come at the centre. They all kneel down at the centre and she uses the peace plant to whip their waists. This is done to insure that the barren women can be able to conceive and bear children. This is done while Song No. 16 is being sung.

Nong lehnaba: Samgwa wúghà

L.S: Samgwa has come

Neba-kenaba : t bi wúghà

Ch: Come with blessings

Nong lehnaba: Najeh wúghà

L.S: Najeh has come

Neba-kenaba : yah ki t bi-tà

Ch: Come with blessings

(Song No. 16)

The purpose of organised performances for twin babies is twofold. It is at this stage that the traditional midwife formally hands over the twin babies and their mother to the society and the general public to assess the job of the twins father. This ceremony equally gives the nursing mother formal authorization to start going out of her house unaccompanied. It is at this point that she is allowed to start performing the tasks she could not perform during her period of confinement. She is now free to interact with other members of the community or even go to the farm or to the market if she wants to.

Lead Singers

Lead singers play a vital role during the ceremony. They are the soloists who introduce the songs. They ensure a smooth connection between the chorus and the solo. Their role is vital because it conditions the tempo of the performance. When a new song is intoned, one of the lead singers moves round the circle to make sure that the participants understand it and adapt their steps to the rhythm. The lead singer also dictates the pace of transition from one song to another. He/she also helps to guide solo singers in their choice of songs at the different stages of performance.

Solo singers on their part perform only when a participant arrives the place of ceremony or is about to present a gift to the couple. These songs express individual feelings towards the host family. A solo singer may become a lead singer in case the lead singer has a failure in her voice.

They equally correct errors made by the lead singers. For a participant to become a solo singer, he/she should have a qualified voice.

As the singers succeed each other, the performance becomes varied, elaborate and flexible. This variety improves on the quality of the performance. It is during this alternation that the audience appreciates the creativity of the singers. Singers among the Bali Kumbat do not undergo training. Anyone who is gifted with a good voice can sing during a performance provided the song suits the context. Actually, among the Bali Kumbat, the context determines the performance and dictates the song.

Role of the Audience

During rituals ceremonies for twins, many people gather to watch the performance. Some are neighbours and friends, while others are just curious passers-by. However, most of the family members and friends are observers or spectators. This is because the twin ceremony is only performed by mothers and fathers of twins and twin children themselves. No one else is allowed to perform. The role of the audience is quite important in every oral performance as they serve as critics and learners at the same time. Their role as critics helps to influence the performance. A singer's success and fame depends largely on his/her ability to sustain the interest and admiration of the audience towards the performance. The audience is therefore actively involved in the performance of any oral piece. The audience remains alert and critical during a performance. This can be seen by the manner in which the audience motivates the performers through cheers and claps during a performance. Sometimes, they even join in the dancing.

The lead singer shares an intimate relationship with the audience. For a performance to be captivating, the host families usually schedule twin birth performances in such a way as to enable both the performers and the audience to fully participate. The performance helps to put Bali Kumbat oral traditions into the limelight as many people have the chance to witness it. It also creates an opportunity for children to be exposed to the songs which they eventually learn to sing. The children equally learn how to dance as they see the elders dance. This is important for

the sake of preservation of orature because children constitute the future generation and as such will be the ones to promote this culture in future. It is therefore important for them to be exposed to oral tradition. It is for this reason that, the audience remains alert and highly critical because it wants to ensure that the acceptable and unadulterated forms of performances are transmitted to the younger generation so as to ensure continuity. Finnegan holds similar views:

The connection between transmission and the very existence (of an oral piece) is a much more intimate one, and the questions about the means of actual communication are of first importance ... an unwritten literary piece cannot easily be said to have any continued or independent existence at all ... (13).

There are spontaneous expressions used during the performance of Bali Kumbat twin songs which do not involve speech. These include gestures, facial expressions, clapping, nodding and miming from both the performers and the audience. While miming and gesture on the part of the performers sometimes gradually transfer oral poetry into aesthetic drama, facial expressions reveals the psychological state of these performers. The facial expressions have a direct bearing on the audience. Light-hearted expressions keep the audience alert and active in their observation and criticism of performance. Gloomy expressions on the other hand demoralise the audience and thus render the performance uninteresting. In response to the expressions of the performers and the melody of their songs, the thrilled audience may clap in approval or shake their heads in disapproval. Through this, they can provide immediate criticism to the performance. It is clear that skilled performers of Bali Kumbat twin songs transform the songs from mere utterances into artistically rich pieces of orature

This far, this chapter has analysed the performance context and aesthetics of Bali Kumbat twin songs to demonstrate how these songs are performed. The setting of these performances has been highlighted as well as the role of the performers, the lead singers and the audience to show their importance in the performance process. In addition, the twin songs in general constitute an integral part of Bali Kumbat oral tradition.

CHAPTER THREE

MATTER AND MANNER

Bali Kumbat twin songs are imbued with themes which reflect their society. These themes include: gratitude, joy, mystery, pride of motherhood, pride, fidelity, fertility, praise, love, generosity, hatred and hard work. Pickering Jack H. and Hoper John D. in their work “Literature” accept the importance of themes when they hold that “the theme is the central idea or statement about life that unifies and controls the total.”(P.4). These themes are equally conveyed through a variety of stylistic devices, which work hand in glove to bring out meaning and beauty in Bali Kumbat twin songs and also to portray the idea that the language of twin songs in Bali Kumbat somehow differs from normal day-to-day usage. Such devices include: repetition, symbolism, alliteration, assonance, metaphor, irony, rhythm, consonance, rhetorical question, simile word order and structure. Talking about the form of a poem, Susan Glad, et al says: “the form of a poem is the overall pattern. You can get a sense of the poem simply by looking at a poem on a page.” (246) The Bali Kumbat twin songs therefore take their poetic form from these devices given that they enhance their aesthetic values. Bali Kumbat twin songs are also usually accompanied by paralinguistic features which add melody and beauty to them.

To begin with, the theme of gratitude is expressed in Bali Kumbat twin songs as the people thank the Supreme Being and the ancestors for the gift of twins. The Bali Kumbat believe that children are a gift from the Supreme Being so they thank Him for answering their prayers as seen in Songs No. 6 and 9.

Nong lehnaba : oh y b bàgà mâ

L.S: Oh my twins

Neba-kenaba : nyong t bia

Ch: What a blessing

Nong lehnaba: oh y b bàgà mâ

L.S: Oh my twins

Neba-kenaba: nyong sòona dohfibi

Ch: What a gift from God

(Song No. 6)

In this song, God is acknowledged for blessing the family that has the twins. Their birth guarantees the continuity of the family line. This gratitude is portrayed by the use of repetition. Repetition is a device frequently used in Bali Kumbat songs in general and twin songs in particular. This involves reiterating a word, phrase or line to add clarity to what has already been said. This repetition is used for the purpose of emphasis and it portrays the joy felt by the participants at the birth of twins. The fact that the lead singer and the chorus keep on repeating their lines over and over shows that they are joyful and want to show their gratitude to the Supreme Being for blessing them with twins. In the above song, the “oh my twins” and “what a gift from God” are repeated by both the lead singer and chorus. This repetition portrays their joy at the birth of twins and also their gratitude towards the Supreme Being.

In song No. 9, the Bali Kumbat thank the Supreme Being through the ancestral spirit. They consider the twin children as peace sent by the ancestral spirit.

<i>Nong lehnaba : nyong t bià sàngtisila ngong t bià</i>	L.S: Peace, joy, blessings
<i>Neba-kenaba: dohftbi: ki kaatiftbi túmfà sinú</i>	Ch: Our ancestor has sent them
<i>Nong lehnaba:nyong t bià, sàngtisila ngong t bià</i>	L.S: Peace, joy, blessing
<i>Neba-kenaba: dohftbi: ki kaatiftbi túmfà sinú</i>	Ch: Our ancestor has sent them

(Song No. 9)

There is repetition here as the words “peace” “joy” and “blessings” are constantly repeated. This lays emphasis on and intensifies the blessings of the creator. Even the line “our ancestors have sent them” is repeated.

The repetition here portrays the worldview of the Bali-Kumbat who consider twins as a gift sent by the Supreme Being through the constant supplication and intervention of the ancestral spirits. They are thus grateful to their ancestors. Their gratitude is expressed in the songs through the use of repetition. Among the Bali Kumbat, children are considered as a symbol of peace and blessings. That is why the word “peace” is repeated over and over in this song. Equally, assonance is another stylistic device noticed in this song. This is portrayed through the repetition of the vowel sound /i/ “peace” in the lines of the song. The use of assonance is predominant in songs which express joy. Through assonance, the song gives accent to their emotions, hence the theme of joy and gratitude to the ancestors for the gift of twins.

Furthermore, as hinted in the introduction, Bali Kumbat twin songs are about a joyful moment, hence the theme of joy. Among the Bali Kumba, the birth of children guarantees the continuity of family lines. So childless couples are usually unhappy. The Bali Kumbat believe that procreation makes a marriage complete and fosters the continuity of the clan. It is therefore with great joy that news of the birth of twins is received in the continuity. This joy is expressed in song No. 17 and 20.

<i>Nong lehnaba :ki y bsòðna ki t bià</i>	L.S: It is my joy, I am happy about it
<i>Neba-kenaba: ki y bsòðna</i>	Ch: It is my joy
<i>Nong lehnaba: ki mi sòðna ny t-se</i>	L.S: I am joyful about it
<i>Neba-kenaba: ki y bsòðna</i>	Ch: It is my joy
<i>Nong lehnaba: ki mi t biàny t-se</i>	L.S: I am happy about it
<i>Neba-kenaba: uné sòðna t bià bakiyé</i>	Ch: It is our joy, we are happy

(Song No. 17)

The performers express their joy at the arrival of twin children in their community. The singer says it is her joy to witness the birth of twins. The theme of joy in this song is revealed through the use of sound devices such as alliteration and assonance. Alliteration refers to the repetition of the same consonant sound at the beginning of closely connected words or stressed syllables while assonance is the rhyming of a vowel sound in two or more words within the sentence or line of verse. Alliteration abounds in Bali Kumbat twin songs and is used to arouse the emotions of the audience and sustain interest during performance. In song No. 24 for instance, there is repetition of the vowel sound /e/ at the initial position of the words ‘‘it is my joy, it is my joy’’. This assonance arouses the audience’s feelings and sustains their interest. It equally portrays the mood of the performers.

This constant repetition of the /e/ sound creates a melodic tone which gives the song a smooth rhythm and makes for musicality. This musicality portrays the feelings of joy that is felt by everyone at the birth of twins. This expresses the theme of joy that is always present during birth celebrations. In the case of the above song, the lead singer, who in this case is the mother of the twin children, expresses the joy she feels due to the birth of twins in her family. The nursing

mother's mother-in-law too may sing the same song. The participants who play the role of the chorus also show their happiness through performance.

In addition, Song No. 20 captures the theme of joy. This theme brings out the idea that there is joy in child birth. This is why the twin mother says they should leave her to dance.

<i>Nong lehnaba: dà mt má ná nábá</i>	L.S: Leave me to dance
<i>Neba-kenaba : kim lá mt ná y bá</i>	ch: Because I have my children now
<i>Nong lehnaba: dà mt má ná nábá</i>	L.S: Leave me to dance
<i>Neba-kenaba : kim lá mt ná y bá</i>	Ch: Because I have my children now

(Song No. 20)

Alternation is use with connection to the theme of joy. The alternation between the lead singer and the chorus is balanced because the length of their respective phrases is almost the same when sung. This is to show that both the audience and the twin mother are joyful about the new born. Again, the antiphonal form of Bali Kumbat songs makes it possible for the singer to improvise. Besides, the necessity to adapt performance to a particular audience makes the antiphonal form of songs more musical, melodious and entertaining.

Mystery is also a theme explored in Bali Kumbat twin songs. The Bali Kumbat strongly believe that twins are mysterious beings who travel at midday to conduct mischievous activities like frightening their enemies and playing various tricks on family members and friends alike, especially those who annoy or offend them. They believe that twins are born with supernatural powers and so are different from other children. This belief, by the Bali Kumbat, portrays the theme of mystery as the origin of twins in general is usually attributed to the spirit world or the supernatural. That is why twin song performances are entirely different from those of ordinary births. Twin children are equally treated differently, that is, with some fear and respect. This is exemplified in Songs No. 11 and 12.

<i>Nong lehnaba: i ki mt ni kà</i>	L.S: They are sending me away
<i>Neba-kenaba : ma da vat fogtúngú</i>	Ch: To die in the bush
<i>Nong lehnaba: i ki mt ni kà</i>	L.S: They are sending me away
<i>Neba-kenaba: gog fogobi u kú mt ka</i>	Ch: To be eaten by wild animals

ki m la li i masé nah, bah,
kun-kina

because I do not have relatives,
mother, father and sisters

(Song No. 11)

In this song, the twins are hailed as supernatural beings. The participants dance for the twins and hail them as supernatural people.

There is the use of repetition in this song as the line “they are sending me away” is constantly repeated. It also helps to bring out the mood and emotions of the performers during the performance of the twin songs. This repetition makes for melody and equally portrays the twins as mysterious beings. This literary device also reveals the theme of rejection. The twins are rejected because the society sees them as supernatural beings from the line “they are sending me away”.

In addition, Song No 12 also contains the theme of mystery. The theme brings out the idea that twins are mysterious beings who play various tricks on family members especially those who annoy them.

Nong lehnaba: Najeh t sikibà

L.S: Najeh where have you kept it?

Neba-kenaba : pà yà kúlú

Ch: Take it and bring it to me

Nong lehnaba: ki kog-dúlú k tà lú?

L.S: Is it under the bed or on the ceiling?

Neba-kenaba : pà yà kúlú

Ch: Take it and bring it to me

(Song No. 12)

The rhetorical question is use with connection to the theme of mystery in this song and this is simply for emphasis. In this theme of mystery, the rhetorical question helps to lay emphasis on the fact that twins are supernatural beings.

The use of word order in Bali Kumbat twin songs is glaring in the theme of mystery. During the actualisation of some Bali Kumbat twin songs, the chorus strictly respect the word order without distorting the rhythm. Through this manipulation, they introduce new elements which help to develop the main idea in the song. This enables the lead singer to increase the length of the song based on the audience’s appreciation and enjoyment of the song. Such a manipulation of the

word order is evident in the song above, where the lead singer varies the sentences whereas the chorus repeats just the same words.

Equally, the theme of pride of motherhood is pertinent and evident in the Bali Kumbat twin songs. It is known in the Bali Kumbat community that when a woman gets married the next thing that is expected of her is procreation. It is therefore with great pride and joy that her family welcomes and celebrates her pregnancy and the actual delivery of a baby. Song No. 18 captures this.

Nong lehnaba :kia i mâ lisihli

L.S: When my daughter gives birth

Neba-kenaba :fá yá k fá li:-kà

Ch: She is as beautiful as a fresh
bunch of plantains.

Nong lehnaba : kia i mâ lisihli

L.S: When my daughter gives birth

Neba-kenaba : fá yá k fá li: -kà

Ch: She is as beautiful as a fresh
bunch of plantains.

(Song No. 18)

The participants sing this song to praise the nursing mother for bringing forth twins and equally feel proud that the ancestors has blessed them with twins.

The theme of praise is expressed here through the use of simile. Most Bali Kumbat twin songs utilize simile. This style is embodied in a lot of imagery drawn from plants, animals, birds and other elements of the natural environment. This literary device is always marked by the use of “as” or “like”. The nursing mother is compared to a bunch of fresh plantains. Among the Bali Kumbat, fresh plantain is welcomed in every home. The fact that the nursing mother is compared to fresh plantain shows how much she is admired and appreciated.

The theme of pride is equally brought out by the participants who are proud of the fact that the nursing mother has become a mother. The joy of having a baby is over-emphasised because childless women are very unhappy and are sometimes mocked by their peers.

The Bali-Kumbat encourage fidelity in their community and condemn infidelity and waywardness. This concern is portrayed in song No. 19:

<i>Nong lehnaba: nùmà lùmki n áhmá -bà</i>	L.S: My face is like my mother's
<i>Neba-kenaba : ah nyongw h</i>	Ch: Oh yes
<i>Nong lehnaba: nyin-mà lùmki n áhmá -bà</i>	L.S: My hands are like my mother's
<i>Neba-kenaba : ah nyongw h</i>	Ch: Oh yes
<i>Nong lehnaba: d ùn-mà lùmki k áhmá -bà</i>	L.S: My legs are like my father's
<i>Neba-kenaba : ah nyongw h</i>	Ch: Oh yes

(Song No. 19)

The child in the song feels proud that he looks like his parents. The parents equally feel proud that their offspring looks like them. By so doing, the theme of fidelity is introduced. Through this, the nursing mother is praised for her fidelity to her husband and this makes her husband to be proud of her. The Bali Kumbat believe that fidelity is necessary for a couple to stay united. That is why they closely examine the physical features of new-born babies to see if they have something in common with those of their parents. If the babies do not resemble their parents or any close relative, the mother is suspected of infidelity.

This song makes use of simile as the baby is compared to both parents through the use of the word "like" as seen through the lead singer like "my face is like my mother's". This simile helps to stress the specific aspects of what is being described through the use of direct comparison with what it is being compared to. This makes the description vivid and lucid and so helps to pass across the message to the audience.

Another device found in the theme of fidelity is the use of rhythm. Rhythm in Bali Kumbat twin songs cannot be considered from the metrical system based on stressed and unstressed syllables, but rather as being inherent in the songs, dance and music of the performers. During performance, the rhythm of twin songs depends on the theme of each song and on the organisation of the words and sentences as well as the tone and emotions of the lead singer. Repetition is an essential element of rhythm in Bali Kumbat twin songs. The repetition of some group of words or lines produces a rhythmic effect. In this song one notices that the singer says

most of the words in the song while the chorus only repeat the words “oh yes” throughout the song. This makes for harmony and musicality. It equally portrays the mood and emotions of the performers during performances.

Fertility is a theme that features in most Bali Kumbat twin songs. Performances provide an occasion for the members of the community to celebrate the fertility of women. This is seen in song No. 19.

<i>Nong lehnaba: kpàlàk sotli t gbà</i>	L.S: The raffia palm has reproduced
<i>Neba-kenaba :nàáh nyi s tstn</i>	Ch: Mother started it all
<i>Nong lehnaba: kpèndéh l bà</i>	L.S: The plantain has procreated
<i>Neba-kenaba :d hfibi nyi ih s tsin</i>	Ch: Father initiated it, our forefathers started it all

(Song No. 19)

The theme of fertility is expressed here as the participants encourage the nursing mother to continue procreating in order to extend the family line. The performers emphasise that procreation was initiated by the nursing mother’s parents, and their ancestors before them. So she too has the obligation to follow suit. The community uses this song to make everyone see procreation as a noble activity.

This theme is revealed through the use of metaphor as the nursing mother is indirectly compared to a raffia palm. Raffia palm in the above song refers to the nursing mother. She is being exhorted to continue procreating as exemplified as follows: ‘the raffia palm has reproduced’ and “Mother started it all. The effectiveness of this metaphor lies in the fact that the raffia palm is known for its longevity and reproductive ability.

Symbolism is seen in the theme of fertility. The nursing mother is thus compared to this tree which symbolizes procreation because she is seen as a vessel through which the family lineage can continue. That is why the participants emphasise that the job of procreation was initiated by the nursing mother’s parents and ancestors before her and so she too must follow suit.

The structure of the song also helps to reveal the theme of fertility. Bali Kumbat twin songs are usually short statements uttered in song, which praise, advice, criticize, educate and entertain the

community. These songs may be phrases or a statement in more or less veiled language that has to be decided by the audience.

Another device found in the theme of fertility is lexical repetition. This repetition occurs when one lexical item is repeated wherever the singer so desires within a sentence.

Equally the theme of praise is present in Bali Kumbat twin songs. In this theme, the twin mother is praised for her bravery in giving birth to two children. This praise is equally given to the Supreme Being and the ancestors for granting the twins' mother a safe delivery. In the course of praising the twins' mother, womanhood is celebrated. This is seen in song No. 7 and 14 wherein the twins' mother is appreciated for giving birth to twins. The twin mother is held in high esteem because the Bali Kumbat believes that twins are special children who deserve special treatment.

<i>Nong lehnaba: k li ki kpt kià</i>	L.S: The hill is hell
<i>Neba-kenaba: k l pi na si à</i>	Ch: But not everyone can climb
<i>Nong lehnaba: mányi nyi kò kòli</i>	L.S: Manyi held the hill
<i>Neba-kenaba: nà ki nyinúa</i>	Ch: With her hands and climbed
<i>Nong lehnaba: t kpt sé</i>	LS: If you are not powerful
<i>Neba-kenaba: t ti kò ko nàhné?</i>	Ch: Can you hold a hill with your hands and climb?

(Song No.7)

In this song, the participants praise the twin mother and the ancestors for a safe delivery. She says that her daughter held a hill and climbed it and eventually came down without any problem. The image of the hill in this song shows the danger in which the expectant found herself. Her safe delivery is seen as a successful descent from the hill. This brings in symbolism as the hill stands for danger. The rhetorical question, "Can you hold a hill with your hands and climb?" answers it all. The hill here symbolises danger since it is evident that anyone who falls from a hill can hardly survive. This image is used here to show the danger in which pregnant women go through. A safe delivery is seen as a successful descent from the hill. This stylistic device reveals the theme of praise as the nursing mother is praised for her safe delivery. The singer equally uses

this opportunity to praise and thank the Supreme Being for granting the pregnant woman a safe delivery.

In the same vein, Song No. 14 praises the nursing mother for a job well done:

<i>Nong lehnaba: manyi nyi t dà t b b y b yibà</i>	L.S: Manyi you went and took Two children
<i>Neba-kenaba: i yà gibsi nt am</i>	Ch: And came back at the same time
<i>Nong lehnaba: tanyi nyi t dà t b b y b yibà</i>	L.S: Tanyi you went and took two children
<i>Neba-kenaba: a nyo wà bà t ki sàkià</i>	Ch: It's true that you are not faithful

(Song No. 14)

The singer says in this song that only strong and brave people can go and bring two children at the same time. The irony found in the lead singer's lines "Manyi you went and took two children", shows that it is but normal to climb the hill and bring back one child and not two children at a time. The song goes further to say both Tanyi and Manyi are not faithful. The effectiveness of this irony portrays the difficulty of the situation and the bravery and endurance of the woman who carries more than one child in her womb for nine months and successfully gives birth to them. That is why the Bali Kumbat hold mothers of twins and twin children in high esteem.

The theme of love is also found in the Bali Kumbat twin songs. The Bali kumbat believe everyone is subjected to be treated with love. The performer is telling the father of the twin to take care of the twin mother. Song No 21 brings out this theme.

<i>Nong lehnaba: Tanyi Tanyi</i>	L.S: Tanyi Tanyi
<i>Neba-kenaba :kòh sòhnká</i>	Ch: Please keep watch over the nursing mother.
<i>Nong lehnaba: Tanyi Tanyi</i>	L.S: Tanyi Tanyi
<i>Neba-kenaba :kòh sòhnká</i>	Ch: Please keep watch over the nursing mother.

(Song No. 21)

This song requests the nursing mother to be well taken care of by the husband. It is believe that she is very fragile immediately after birth.

Word order is seen in the theme of love. It is the chorus that sings most of the words in the song while the lead singer keeps repeating just two words. The lead singer introduces the first two words in the song while the chorus takes up the rest of the song. This word order is just there to emphasis the responsibility of the twin father to take care of the nursing mother.

The theme of generosity is captured in Bali Kumbat twin songs as expressed in Song No. 22. The performer is happy that he has a guest in the house. Bali Kumbat people believe that whenever a guest comes into the house, he must be served with food.

<i>Nong lehnaba: ba wugha</i>	L.S: Ba has come
<i>Neba-kenaba : tng</i>	Ch: oh yes
<i>Nong lehnaba : s n ki dihlu</i>	L.S: We have guest in the house
<i>Neba-kenaba : tng</i>	Ch: oh yes
<i>Nong lehnaba :y bá b ga dihlu</i>	L.S: We have visitors in the house
<i>Neba-kenaba : tng</i>	Ch: oh yes

(Song No. 22)

There is repetition in the theme of generosity. The repetition of the word “oh yes” helps to emphasize the idea of generosity. This repetition helps to emphasize that the Bali Kumbat are welcoming and they always feel happy when someone comes to share their joy. Here the lead singer uses creative skills to vary the sentences but takes care not to distort the rhythmic flow of the song.

In addition, Song No 23 also contains the theme of hard work. This theme brings out the idea that Bali Kumbat women are expected to be hard working both in the farm and in the house. It further makes it clear that the twin mother has to take full responsibility of her children well being.

<i>Nong lehnaba:tá dá-ká</i>	L.S: Pass and go
<i>Neba-kenaba : l t bi-tá</i>	Ch: to the farm
<i>Nong lehnaba: ta dà-kà</i>	L.S: Pass and go

*Neba-kenaba : mà nyt si y bmà
mà yàtô*

Ch: let me bath my babies before I
come

(Song No. 23).

Antiphonal can be used to portray the theme of hard work. Bali Kumbat twin songs are essentially antiphonal, that is, they are performed by a lead singer and the chorus. The lead singer sings part of the sentence and the chorus completes it. This alternation between the lead singer and the chorus is unbalanced because the lead singer intones just a small part of the song while the chorus sings the main part. The lead singer introduces the message while the chorus elaborates. This makes the song interesting and captivating to the audience. This therefore implies that the twin mother has to play her role as a nursing mother before going to the farm.

The theme of hatred runs through Song No. 24. The participants wish that anyone who has come with evil intention and hatred should stay outside because the children are pure and innocent. It is believed in Bali Kumbat that not everyone is happy when his/her fellow human being is joyful.

Nong lehnaba: t mami ny t-se

L.S: If your heart is not pure

Neba-kenaba : diih nòghò

Ch: You better stay outside

Nong lehnaba: t mami ny t-se

L.S: If your heart is not pure

*Neba-kenaba : diih nòghò kimà y b
s*

Ch: You better stay outside
because the babies are pure.

(Song No. 24)

There is repetition in the theme of hatred. The repetition of “if your heart is not pure” helps to emphasize the idea that the children are innocent.

Apart from the themes and the stylistic devices used above to give beauty to the songs, there are also some paralinguistic features used by the performers of Bali Kumbat twin songs to bring out the beauty that is embedded in the songs. They include: gestures, clapping, nodding and facial expression which the performer draws from to give the songs new life, which can for example be seen through the use of rhythm or refrain.

At this level, the performer and the audience or chorus is both concerned which give the song an antiphonal form. By the antiphonal form, beauty is brought out through the use of language by the lead singer and the chorus. This explains why Bali Kumbat twin songs like most twin songs

in other ethnic groups are organised in two parts between the lead singer (L.S) and the chorus (Ch.). As concern this antiphonal form, Ruth Finnegan says: ‘‘it makes possible both the exploitation of are expected to join’’. In this case, the lead singer sings one part of the song or a full sentence and the chorus comes in with the reply as singer sings one part of the song or a full sentence and the chorus comes in with the reply as in Song No.7.

<i>Nong lehnaba : k li ki kpt kià</i>	L.S: The hill is hell
<i>Neba-kenaba : k l pi na si à</i>	Ch: But not everyone can climb
<i>Nong lehnaba : mányi nyi kò kòli</i>	L.S: Manyi held the hill
<i>Neba-kenaba : nà ki nyinúà</i>	Ch: With her hands and climbed
<i>Nong lehnaba: t kpt sé</i>	L.S: If you are not powerful
<i>Neba-kenaba : t ti kò ko nàhné?</i>	Ch: Can you hold a hill with your hands and climb?

Here, the lead singer starts the song and at the same joins the chorus in singing. She sings in a very fast way so that participants who seem to be lost will take to singing without difficulties.

From the above analysis, one can conclude that Bali Kumbat twin songs are thematically and stylistically rich. The themes found in the songs blend with the stylistic devices to reveal the poetic beauty embedded in them. The stylistic devices found in these songs include repetition, symbolism, alliteration, assonance, consonance, metaphor, irony, simile, rhythm as well as different structural aspects. These devices help to reveal themes such as praise, joy, gratitude, fertility, mystery, fidelity, patience and pride of motherhood. In the course of the analysis, it has been proven that style cannot be analysed in a vacuum but needs to operate within themes. The study equally proves that through analysis, the message becomes more entertaining and didactic. The medium and message also portray the aesthetics in the communication of Bali Kumbat traditional beliefs regarding twin songs performances.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHING BALI KUMBAT TWIN SONGS TO LOWER SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN CAMEROON

Bali Kumbat twin songs constitute a rich source of oral poetry in translation which can be taught in junior secondary schools in Cameroon. The teaching of these twin songs will enable learners to know more about the Cameroonian culture as a whole and the Bali Kumbat culture in particular. The style and themes inherent in these songs make them relevant for both the teacher's lessons and the learner's understanding vis-à-vis the schemes of work and the regulations and syllabuses of the Cameroon General Certificate of Education Board which states that students must be able to demonstrate knowledge, comprehension and personal evaluation of all the text since teachers are only guides and facilitators in the learning process. With the advent of the Competency-Based Approach (CBA) emphasis has been laid on the use of authentic material in teaching Literature in English. The Competency-Based Approach seeks to establish competences in learners so that they can apply what has been acquired in the classroom in real life situations. Richard J. and Rodgers T. in *Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching* define the CBA as 'an educational movement that focuses on the outcome or output of learning in the development of language programs'' (5). According to Richard and Rodgers, the focus of this approach is on output rather than input. The fact that it is output makes it adaptive to the needs of students, instructors, and the community.

Bali Kumbat twin songs make use of various literary devices such as metaphor, simile, repetition, personification, assonance, alliteration, symbolism and rhythm which are indispensable in the analysis of any literary text, particularly poetry, following the recommendations of the Cameroon GCE Board. In order to better exploit these literary aspects, it is important for the students to have background knowledge of African cultures because this knowledge will help to ease understanding of the songs/poems. The twin songs equally reveal themes like joy, gratitude, praise, fertility, mystery and motherhood, which are relevant in the understanding of literary lessons, especially those aspects that give the poems local color and

make them fit in as an integral part of African literature. Gillian Lazar states that, ‘literary texts have a powerful function in raising moral and ethical concerns in the classroom’ (3). The themes in Bali Kumbat twin songs can help in the teaching and learning process because of the moral lessons students will learn from them. Students will learn that a mother goes through pains to have a baby and so will appreciate and respect their mothers more, for example.

Moreover, the themes, structure and elements of style inherent in Bali Kumbat twin songs can be used to create enthusiasm in the teaching and learning process. This enthusiasm is necessary especially in a poetry class given that many students feel bored during poetry lessons because they seem to find this literary genre difficult to understand. The elements of style together with the themes help to impact the knowledge of what African oral literature is all about. These songs will create room for memorization, a technique that is much needed in the teaching and learning of poetry because it facilitates understanding.

For the purpose of illustration, one of the Bali Kumbat twin songs has been chosen to be taught. Christopher Brumfit in an article entitled “Testing Literature” published in *Assessment in Literature teaching* (1991) states that “the purpose of any curriculum is to help learners to learn something worthwhile. Only insofar as testing assists this process is it valuable. Since testing is inevitably ‘unreal’ because we do worthwhile things for their real intrinsic worth rather than to be judge by some outsider, too much domination by tests destroys the reality and value of the activity” (7-8). This therefore would mean that teacher obviously need to ensure that they choose poems suitably graded to the level of the students and that students are given as much help as possible in understanding the language of the poem. Below is a sample lesson plan on how Bali Kumbat twin songs can be taught to junior secondary school students as poetry. This lesson is based on the learner-centered approach and greatly explores interactive methods. This lesson plan is described below.

In the first instance, the teacher will brainstorm on issues related to mountain. This is done to capture the students’ attention and get them to focus on the lesson of the day. It is equally a way of introducing the day’s lesson and giving students the opportunity to reflect on the questions asked and pictures presented by the teacher and provide answers at the presentation stage, which

is the core of the lesson. The teacher provides a pre-teaching vocabulary to enable students to understand some difficult words they will encounter while reading the poem. After this, the teacher presents the poem to the students and asks them to listen attentively while he/she reads aloud. H.L.B Moody in *The Teaching of Literature* states that: 'Poetry is predominantly an oral art form: its true effect comes from being read or recited aloud by an individual to a group. Only in this way can its dramatic and rhythmic qualities be satisfactorily demonstrated and appreciated'. The teacher reads the poem for the second time and asks some students to read after him/her. Next, the teacher dramatizes and sings the poem and asks some students to do the same in the front of the class. Lastly, the teacher asks oral questions to the students individually.

In the guided practice, the teacher gives students the opportunity to practice what they have learned. The teacher asks oral questions to the students about the poem. The students answer the questions orally and take corrections from the teacher. This is done to enhance their speaking skill.

In the free practice, the teacher allows the students to practice what they have learnt in groups. The teacher asks the students to form groups and work together. The students are to answer the questions in their exercise books. The teacher later does the corrections which the students copy in their books. This is done to encourage peer work and check if the students have understood the poem.

At the evaluation stage, the teacher gives an exercise for the students to do in their books individually. The exercise questions are written on the chalkboard and the teacher moves around the class to ensure students do the exercise. Most importantly, the evaluation stage is to check if the lesson objective has been attained through the students' results. Lastly, the teacher gives a take home task and instructs students to write it down in their books. This is done to enable the students to revise the lesson at home and also give them the opportunity to be creative.

Pre-reading activities.

The teacher provides a list of difficult words found in the poem and gives their meaning. The teacher asks students questions about a mountain. She further asks students what they will do if they were asked to climb up a mountain, and why.

While-reading activities

At this stage, the teacher helps students to understand the poem by asking questions related to the poem. She will ask questions on the title of the poem, the number of stanza in the poem and the poetic devices used in the poem. She will also ask the students to say what the poem is all about.

Post-reading activities

The teacher asks the students what they think the purpose of the song is and why the singers decide to sing this particular song. He/she further asks the students what they like or dislike about the poem and why. He/she also asks the students to find out about twin songs from their respective ethnic groups.

Teacher's name: Doh-Nyagang Sylvie Nashu
Series : LMA
School: GBHS Mendong
Sex: Mixed
Average age: 12
Number on roll: 100
Subject: Literature in English
Module: Exploring Oral African Literary Forms for Education.
Class: Form One
Action/Lesson: Poetry
Topic : "The Hill is Hell"
Category of Action: Reading, Speaking, and Dramatization
Attitude: To create a sense of awareness of child bearing
Time: 10;45-11;40
Duration: 55mintes
Date: 20th June 2016.
Teaching Aids: pictures, instructural charts.

Previous knowledge;

--students have been appreciating other poems.

--students are familiar with mountains.

Expected outcome; by the end of the lesson, students are able to;

1. .Read, recite, and sing the poem.
2. Dramatize the poem.
3. Bring out the message and meaning of the poem.
4. Bring out their opinion about the poem (whether they like or dislike the poem).

STAGES	INTER ACON	SUBJECT MATTER	PROCEDURE	RATIONALE	DURATION	
			Teacher's Activities	Students' Activities		
INTRODUCTION	T-S S-T T-S S-T	<p>LEAD-IN-TASK</p> <p>Q. Do you know the mount Cameroon race of hope? Ans: Yes</p> <p>Q. What is it all about? Ans: It is an athletic exercise that competitors climb up the Buea mountain.</p> <p>Q. Is it easy to climb up a mountain? Ans: No</p> <p>Now look at these pictures and tell me what you see.</p> <p>Q. What can you see in the pictures? Ans; I can see a woman holding two babies.</p> <p>Ans: I can see some women dancing in a circle.</p> <p>Q. What do you think is happening in the picture? Ans: It is a twin birth celebration. -Our lesson of today is on a poem in the form of a twin birth song. - I would like you to suggest a Title for our lesson</p>	<p>The teacher asks oral questions.</p> <p>The teacher distributes some pictures to students and asks them to say what they see in the picture.</p> <p>The teacher asks students questions about the pictures.</p> <p>The teacher corrects the students and writes the topic on the board.</p>	<p>Students put up their hands and answer the questions orally.</p> <p>Students put up their hands to say what they can see in the picture and listen to the teacher's corrections.</p>	<p>. To arouse the students interest to the lesson.</p> <p>To enable the students to reflect on what they see and provide answers.</p> <p>To create a relax atmosphere in class.</p>	5 minutes

	<p>Not everyone can climb Manyi held the hill With her hand and climbed If you are not powerful Can you climb a hill with your hands and climb?</p> <p>The hill is hell Not everyone can climb Manyi held the hill With her hand and climbed If you are not brave Can you climb a hill with your hands and climb? [Translated from Bali Kumbat] Look at the poem on the board attentively and listen to me while I read. Now read after me. I need some students to come out and sing and dramatize the poem for the rest of the class.</p> <p>Questions Q. What is the titled of the poem Ans: ‘‘The Hill is Hell’’ Q. What is the poem about? Ans; It is about a hill and how a twin mother holds the hill with her hands and climb. Q. How many stanza does the poem</p>	<p>The teacher places a chart with the poem on the board and asks the students to study it and listen attentively while she reads.</p> <p>The teacher read out the poem aloud stressing on the important words.</p> <p>Teacher asks some student to come out in the front of the class to sing and dramatize the poem.</p> <p>The teacher asks oral</p>	<p>Students study the poem silently and listen to the teacher read it.</p> <p>Students listen attentively to the teacher sing and watch him dramatize the poem.</p> <p>Students come to the front of the class sing and dramatize the poem.</p>	<p>to entertain and captivate the students’ attention.</p> <p>To make students recreate the situation of the poem.</p> <p>To check if the students have understood the poem.</p>	<p>20mintues</p> <p>20minutes</p>
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		<p>have</p> <p>Ans; The poem has two stanza</p> <p>Q. Which are the poetic devices used in this poem?.</p> <p>Ans; Repetition. “ the hill is hell” and “you cannot climb it” is repeated in all the stanzas, to emphasis the difficulty of climbing a hill.</p> <p>Metaphor—the hell stands for the twin children</p>	<p>questions to student and points out students to answer.</p>	<p>Students answer the teacher’s questions orally.</p>	<p>To check if the students have understood the poem.</p>	
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GUIDED PRACTICE	T-S S-S S-T	<p>Form a group of two students and work together. <u>Answer the following questions orally.</u> Q. Who is talking in the poem? Ans; The family of the woman who has given birth to twins. Q. What do you think the hill stand for? Ans; It stands for the twins. Q. Why do you say in the poem that the hill is hell? Ans; Not everybody can give birth to twins. Those who give birth to twins are considered to be strong.</p>	<p>The teacher asks students to form groups and work together.</p> <p>Teacher goes round to check if all the students are involved in the exercise.</p> <p>The teacher helps the students where they is any difficulty.</p>	<p>Students form groups of two and work together and answer the questions orally.</p>	<p>To encourage peer cooperation and check if the students have understand the poem.</p>	7 Minutes
FREE PRACTICE	T-S S-S	<p><u>Write down a song that is sung during the birth of twins in your village.</u></p> <p>Ans; It beats with joy My heart is full of happiness It beats with joy My rt is joyful It beats with joy</p>	<p>Teacher asks the students to write down their answers in their exercise books individually.</p> <p>The teacher asks the students to sing out their songs to the whole class.</p>	<p>Students do the task in their exercise books individually.</p> <p>Students sing out the songs and dramatize some of the activities.</p>	<p>To make the lesson context specific.</p>	10minutes

EVALUATION	<p>T-S</p> <p>S-T</p>	<p><u>Open your exercise books and answer the following questions.</u></p> <p>Q. What is the purpose of this poem? Ans; To celebrate the birth of twins.</p> <p>Q. Who are the people who sing these songs? Ans; They are mostly women.</p> <p>Q. Why do you think this particular song is sung by the women? Ans; To praise the woman who has given to twin children.</p> <p>Q. What is the general meaning of the poem? Ans; It is not easy to give birth to twins and it is not everybody who is blessed with twins.</p> <p>Q. What do you like or dislike about the poem? Ans; I like the poem because it celebrates the mother of twins. Ans; I dislike the poem because it is not very easy to understand.</p>	<p>The teacher writes the exercise on the board and asks the students to do in their exercise books individually.</p> <p>Teacher goes around and marks the first five books.</p> <p>The teacher writes the correction on the board.</p>	<p>Students do the exercise in their exercise books silently and individually.</p> <p>The students give their books to the teacher to mark.</p> <p>Students write down the correction in their exercise books.</p>	<p>To make sure that the students do the exercise in their books.</p> <p>To verify if the lesson objectives has been attained.</p>	<p>10minutes</p>
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HOMEWORK	T-S	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Homework</u></p> <p>Find out about any twin song in your mother tongue from your parents. Translate the songs into English and practice singing it for the next class.</p>	Teacher writes the home on the board.	Students copy in their exercise books.	To follow up on the lesson taught. To give the students the opportunity to be creative.	3 minutes
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This chapter discussed the pedagogic relevance of the song. It looked at the song (poem) as a good material for teaching Literature in English in a Form One classroom. The Competency-Based Approach is seen as an approach that advocates for the use of authentic material in the classroom. That is, taking real life situation to prepare lesson for future challenges.

CONCLUSION

Twin songs performance among the Bali Kumbat reveals both didactic and entertaining issues through the performance context and aesthetics as well as their medium and message. This study has helped to create awareness about the importance of twin songs among the Bali Kumbat and also to encourage the Bali Kumbat people to value, protect and promote their cultural heritage through documentation. Lastly, the study showed that Bali Kumbat twin songs constitute a rich source of oral poetry which can be taught in lower secondary schools so as to enable learners to know more about the Cameroonian culture as a whole and the Bali Kumbat culture in particular. As new historicists posit that literature is not realized in a vacuum, it is usually relevant to know the background of a literary piece of work. To better understand the literature of a particular community, the background knowledge of that community has to be investigated. It is in this vein that this work had to investigate the geographical, historical, and socio-political location and activities of the Bali Kumbat community in order to highlight and ease the understanding of their oral tradition. The socio-political set-up of Bali Kumbat is pyramidal in nature with the ga' at the top.

This research establishes that the belief and cosmology of the Bali Kumbat people are conditioned by the existence of a Supreme Being who directs and controls the lives of the people. Moreover, they believe in ancestral spirits whom they consider as mediators between the world of the living and the supernatural world. The role of these ancestors is to intercede on the behalf of the living. Also relevant in the Bali Kumbat society is the idea of mystery. Twin children are believed to come from the world beyond, therefore, they possess mystical powers which can be used to play tricks or even harm those who offend them. This mysticism about twins partly accounts for the personification of both animate and inanimate things among the Bali Kumbat such as green snakes, trees and plants that seems to be a linked to twin children. Any attempt to break the link causes sickness or even death of the twins.

This study has proven that the Bali Kumbat twin songs function as oral literature which is not different from other forms of literature. This is seen through the analysis of the structure, the stylistic devices and the themes found in the songs. In Chapter Three, the various structures and literary and sound devices are employed to help reveal the themes found in the songs. These stylistic devices include repetition, alliteration, metaphor, simile, symbolism, personification and rhythm. They all help to posit the literariness and the poetic beauty of the twin songs as well as their musicality. The themes expressed include joy, praise, gratitude, pride of motherhood, mystery, fidelity and fertility. These themes expressed through the songs teach the Bali Kumbat about the importance of children in the community. In some songs children ensure the continuity of the family lineage and by extension the community. It is therefore with gladness that the community receives the news of the birth of a baby or babies. That is why most Bali Kumbat twin songs express joy and gratitude. Bali Kumbat twin songs, as this research revealed, foster and maintain group solidarity by bring the people to celebrate together for the birth of the new born or twins. Through the singing of these songs, good fellowship among the people is encouraged and a sense of belonging to the same ancestral origins and beliefs is instilled in them. The songs that praise the nursing mother encourage fertility and procreation thereby creating a feeling of fulfilment in the nursing mother and giving her a sense of self-worth. The songs also provide answers to some crucial questions on the origin of twins and how they are treated in the community. The songs of gratitude for instance show that children are gifts from vamep (Supreme Being). That is why couples turn to the Supreme Being in times of need. However, twin songs do not only celebrate the birth of twins but equally act as vehicles through which the people vent their joys and sorrows.

The corpus of songs collected and analysed in this study can be documented as an aspect of Bali Kumbat orature. The documentation of twin songs performance among the Bali Kumbat will greatly help in the preservation and protection of this orature which is threatened by globalization. These songs equally help to promote Bali Kumbat culture and can also be used to teach poetry in junior secondary schools. Following the results of the analysis of these songs, secondary school teachers can greatly benefit from this research. This study demonstrates that

oral literature can effectively be used for the education with a view to moralizing, and entertaining Africans.

The effects of globalization are gradually relegating Bali Kumbat oral traditions to the background. The growth of villages and their gradual transformation into towns is weakening the stronghold of tradition. Twins births nowadays are celebrated with modern musical instruments and not in the form of twin songs performance. Similarly, the bedroom of manyi (twin mother) is constantly besieged by visitors who come to see the babies. This completely wipes out the sacred nature of the twin mother and reduces her resting period. Equally, traditional midwives have been replaced by baby-sitters and modern midwives or nurses.

However, some of the old traditional ceremonies still remain side-by-side with some aspects of modernity. This work therefore serves as a way of advocating the promotion of the much-neglected African values in general and Bali Kumbat oral traditions in particular. The Bali Kumbat have a rich repertoire of oral traditions which is still to be exploited. Areas like idioms, riddles, folktales, lullabies and initiations rites could still be studied by oral literature students. These areas are also of great importance to the Bali Kumbat community because they portray the people's ideas and beliefs as well. Folktales recount myths and legends to the younger generation. Those who intend to carry out research on Bali Kumbat orature should do well to exploit these genres and bring out their relevance to contemporary society. These aspects of culture should also be codified or written down for posterity. This will be a sure means of preserving the Bali Kunbat culture.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Corpus of Songs

L.S: Lead singer

Ch: Chorus

Song No. 1

Nong lehnaba: tá dá-ká

L.S: Pass and go

Neba-kenaba : l t bi-tá

Ch: to the farm

Nong lehnaba: ta dà-kà

L.S: Pass and go

*Neba-kenaba : mà nyt si y bmà
mà yàtô*

Ch: let me bathe my babies before I
come

Song No. 2

Nong lehnaba: y b бага dihlu

L.S: In the house of twins

Neba-kenaba : ma punt bi pàrà

Ch: I will enter and take blessings

Nong lehnaba: nit kòh ànsé

L.S: Even if I am empty handed

Neba-kenaba : mà punt bi pàrà

Ch: I will enter and take blessings

Song No. 3

Nong lehnaba: Nahjela ki Samgwa tà

L.S: Nahjela and Samgwa

Neba-kenaba: ki mt l msi nyú: lú

Ch: Very early in the morning
you wake me up

Song No. 4

Nong lehnaba: mt ki dean tanyi fàki manyi dihlu

L.S: I am going to tanyi
and manyi

Neba-kenaba : y b bàgà dòòmà

Ch: To see the twin children

Nong lehnaba: mt ki kpò ò

L.S: Am on my way

Neba-kenaba: fà dòòmbà

Ch: To see the babies.

Song No. 5

Nonglehnaba: t mami ny t-se

Neba-kenaba : diih nòghò

Nong lehnaba : t mami ny t-se

Neba-kenaba : diih nòghò kimà y b

t mki ny ika

L.S: If your heart is not pure

Ch: You better stay outside

L.S: If your heart is not pure

Ch: You better stay outside

because the babies are pure.

Song No. 6

Nong lehnaba : oh y b bàgà mâ

Neba-kenaba : nyong t bia

Nong lehnaba : oh y b bàgà mâ

Neba-kenaba : nyong sòdona

L.S: Oh my twins

Ch: What a double blessing

L.S: Oh my children

Ch: What a joy

Song No.7

Nong lehnaba : k li ki kpt kià

Neba-kenaba : k l pi na si à

Nong lehnaba : mányi nyi kò kòli

Neba-kenaba : nà ki nyinúa

Nong lehnaba: t kpt sé

Neba-kenaba : t ti kò ko nàhné?

L.S: The hill is hell

Ch: But not everyone can climb

L.S: Manyi held the hill

Ch: With her hands and climb

L.S: If you are not powerful

Ch: Can you hold a hill with your

Hands and climb?

Song No.8

Nong lehnaba : nyi ú ki ú nt àm

Neba-kenaba : bà à ki: h néép tà

Nong lehnaba : nàh nyi ú nt àm

Neba-kenaba : bà à ki: h néép -tà

L.S: She was alone

Ch: Now has people

L.S: Mother was alone

Ch: Now has people

Song No. 9

Nong lehnaba: nyong t bià sàngtisila ngong t bià
Neba-kenaba: dohftbi: ki kaatiftbi túmfà sinú
Nong lehnaba:nyong t bià, sàngtisila ngong t bià
Neba-kenaba: dohftbi: ki kaatiftbi túmfà sinú

L.S: Peace, joy, blessings
Ch: Our ancestor has sent them
L.S: Peace, joy, blessings
Ch: Our ancestor has sent them

Song No. 10

Nong lehnaba: kpàlàk sotli t bià
Neba-kenaba: nààh nyi sòstnú
Nong lehnaba: kpéndéh l bà
Neba-kenaba: dòhftbi nyi ih sòstnú

L.S;The raffia palm has reproduced
Ch: Mother started it
L.S:The plantain has reproduced
Ch: Father initiated it our
Forefathers started it all

Song No. 11

Nong lehnaba: i ki mt ni kà
Neba-kenaba : ma da vat fogtúngú
Nong lehnaba: i ki mt ni kà
Neba-kenaba : gog fogobi u kú mt ka
ki m la li i masé nah, bah,
kun-kina

L.S: They are sending me away
Ch: To die in the bush
L.S: They are sending me away
Ch: To be eaten by wild animals
because I do not have relatives,
mother, father and sisters

Song No. 12

Nong lehnaba: Najeh t sikibà
Neba-kenaba : pà yà kúlú
Nong lehnaba: ki kog-dúlú k tà lú?
Neba-kenaba : pà yà kúlú

L.S: Najeh where have you kept it?
Ch: Take it and bring it to me
L.S: Is it under the bed or on the ceiling?
Ch: Take it and bring it to me

Song No. 13

Nong lehnaba: ki s nba vat t k ghlú
Neba-kenaba: kpwa -yitlú gha

L.S: It is good you die on your bed
Ch: Rather than on the main road

Nong lehnaba: t ti kum
Neba-kenaba: wakiinú kpt kià

L.S: Then you will become
Ch: A powerful woman

Song No. 14

Nong lehnaba: manyi nyi t dà t b b y b yibà

L.S: Manyi you went and took
Two children

Neba-kenaba: i yà gibsi nt am

Ch: And came back at the
Same time

Nong lehnaba: tanyi nyi t dà t b b y b yibà

L.S: Tanyi you went and took
Two children

Neba-kenaba: a nyo wà bà t ki sàkià

Ch: It is true that you are not
Faithful

Song No. 15

Nong lehnaba: ft dòmna

L.S: We are grateful

Neba-kenaba : ndjinka

Ch: Thank you

Nong lehnaba: ft dòmna

L.S: We are grateful

Neba-kenaba : ndjinka

Ch: Thank you

Song No. 16

Nong lehnaba: Samgwa wúghà

L.S: Samgwa has come

Neba-kenaba : t bi wúghà

Ch: Come with blessings

Nong lehnaba: Najeh wúghà

L.S: Najeh has come

Neba-kenaba : yah ki t bi-tà

Ch: Come with blessings

Song No. 17

Nong lehnaba :ki y bsòna ki t bià

L.S: It is my joy, I am happy about it

Neba-kenaba: ki y bsòna

Ch: It is my joy

Nong lehnaba: ki mi sòna ny t-se

L.S: I am joyful about it

Neba-kenaba: ki y bsòdona
Nong lehnaba: ki mi t biàny t-se
Neba-kenaba: uné sòdona t bià bakiyé

Ch: It is my joy
L.S: I am happy about it
Ch: It is our joy, we are happy

Song No. 18

Nong lehnaba : kia i mâ lisihli
Neba-kenaba : fá yá k fá li: -kà

L.S: When my daughter gives birth
Ch: She is as beautiful as a fresh
bunch of plantains.

Nong lehnaba : kia i mâ lisihli
Neba-kenaba : fá yá k fá li: -kà

L.S: When my daughter gives birth
Ch: She is as beautiful as a fresh
bunch of plantains.

Song No. 19

Nong lehnaba: kpàlàk sotli t gbà
Neba-kenaba : nàáh nyi s tsn
Nong lehnaba: kpèndéh l bà
Neba-kenaba :d hfibi nyi ih s tsin

L.S: The raffia palm has reproduced
Ch: Mother started it
L.S: The plantain has procreated
Ch: Father initiated it, our forefathers
started it all

Song No. 20

Nong lehnaba: dà mt má ná nábá
Neba-kenaba : kim lá mt ná y bá
Nong lehnaba: dà mt má ná nábá
Neba-kenaba : kim lá mt ná y bá

L.S: Leave me to dance
Ch: Because I have my children now
L.S: Leave me to dance
Ch: Because I have my children now

Song No. 21

Nong lehnaba: Tanyi Tanyi
Neba-kenaba :kòh sòhnká
Nong lehnaba: Tanyi Tanyi
Neba-kenaba :kòh sòhnká

L.S: Tanyi Tanyi
Ch: Please keep watch over the nursing mother.
L.S: Tanyi Tanyi
Ch: Please keep watch over the nursing mother.

Song No. 22

Nong lehnaba: ba wugha

Neba-kenaba : tng

Nong lehnaba : s n ki dihlu

Neba-kenaba : tng

Nong lehnaba :y bá b ga dihlu

Neba-kenaba : tng

L.S: Ba has come

Ch: oh yes

L.S: We have guest in the house

Ch: oh yes

L.S: We have visitors in the house

Ch: oh yes

Song No. 23

Nong lehnaba:tá dá-ká

Neba-kenaba : l t bi-tá

Nong lehnaba: ta dà-kà

*Neba-kenaba : mà nyt si y bmà
mà yàtô*

L.S: Pass and go

Ch: to the farm

L.S: Pass and go

Ch: let me bath my babies before I
come

Song No. 24

Nong lehnaba: t mami ny t-se

Neba-kenaba : diih nòghò

Nong lehnaba: t mami ny t-se

*Neba-kenaba : diih nòghò kimà y b
s*

L.S: If your heart is not pure

Ch: You better stay outside

L.S: If your heart is not pure

Ch: You better stay outside
because the babies are pure.

APPENDIX II
LISTS OF INFORMANTS

Name	Sex	Age	Status	Occupation	Information Given	Date
Mama Mandeh Sigali	F	75	Traditional midwife	Farming	-Belief systems -Song -Meaning of songs -Staged performances -Naming ceremony	05/08/15
Mr Wobyab Victor Dohmemg	M	40	Youth Leader	Teaching	-Historical origin -World view -Belief system	15/08/15
Mr Abadah Patrick	M	45	Ordinary subject	Photographer	-Naming ceremony -Economic activities	10/09/15
Pa Doh Adamu	M	78	King Maker	Farming	-Socio-political set up -Historical origin -Songs and translation	03/08/15
Mr Doh Festus Ako	M	45	Ordinary subject	Teaching	-Songs and Translation -Meaning of songs -Transcription of songs	12/12/15

Mama Doh Rebecca	F	65	King maker's wife	Farming	-Songs and translations -Meaning of songs -The months of the year and its various activities	25/10/15
Mrs Bogha Justine	F	50	Housewife	Farming	-The background study of Bali Kumbat, its world view and cosmology.	06/11/15
Pa Andrew Samghen	F	60	Quarter Head	Farming	-The background study of Bali Kumbat, the political structure of Bali Kumbat	17/12/15
Mama Doh Mary	F	55	Fon's wife	Farming	-Twin songs performances	18/08/15
Mrs Nayah Mercy	F	45	Ordinary subject	Nurse	-Songs -Stages of performance	24/11/15
Pa Thomas N.	M	65	Ordinary subject	Accountant	-Translation of songs	29/09/15
Ms Patience Gohyit	F	35	House wife	Hairdresser	-Songs -Performances	12/10/15
Mrs Nalah Glory	F	40	Ordinary subject	Teaching	-Transcription of songs -Meaning of songs	

APPENDIX III

PICTURES OF SOME PERFORMAANCES



Picture 1
Twin children being prepared by the traditional midwife



Picture 2

Traditional midwife blesses the expantant mothers during the celebration.



Picture 3
A cross section of twin mothers and their babies



Picture 4 Celebrants performing at the Fon's palace