A B S T R A C T

Introduction.

The Sandawe of central Tanzania have a simpler material culture than their neighbours, but oral art is important and forms an indispensable part of their lives. They are a nation of singers rather than of poets; all poetry is minor verse but it is found everywhere: in story-telling, in dance, and in ritual. The study of oral literature provides historical detail, knowledge of manners and customs, religion, social values in the present and in the past; it helps to correct a possibly distorted image of the tribe, to remove prejudice, to give insight into different sets of values, and thereby to create respect and understanding.

Chapter I. The land and the people.

The Sandawe live in a semi-arid country of rocky hills which is surrounded by dense bush, part of which is infested by tsetse fly; this makes for isolation. Physically the Sandawe differ to a degree from their neighbours, and Bushmanoid types are not uncommon. The surrounding peoples have traditions that their countries have once been inhabited by small, lightcoloured peoples, some of which may perhaps be linked with the modern Sandawe who would thus be a remnant of aboriginal hunting peoples; other groups in the same general area were quite different. Colonies of Bantu and other historical settlers have left their mark on the Sandawe, their culture and their oral art.

Descent is traced patrilineally, and the most important structural unit of the tribe is the hill-clan which is not strictly localized. Homesteads appear once to have consisted of small family groups who claimed a waterhole as the centre of their hunting area. Hill clans are combined in larger units based on 'countries'; some of these form well-known sub-tribes

but these larger groups are usually quite un-localized and they are no longer corporate units. Together with clan-affiliations, neighbourliness forms the principal basis for mutual aid and defence; the term for these groups is also used for enemy corporate groups and for clans.

Although there have been chiefs since the turn of the century, Sandawe society is essentially an egalitarian, chiefless society. The claims to chiefship by the Mungé Alagwa are partly based on prestige derived from their rain priests, partly on German recognition. To some extent this clan now has the status of a priestly clan. In pre-colonial days Alagwa leadership has never been universally recognized although one of their headmen, Amás', had established a great reputation as a war leader.

Traditional political leadership is not institutionalized, but based on leadership in ritual and hunting. Clan elders still practice their own rain-making and chiefship, which has never taken root among the Sandawe, has completely disappeared since the formal abolition of the chief's political powers after Tanganyika's independence.

Kinship relations are terminologically distinguished by reference to sex; mother's brother - sister's son and grandfather - grandchild relationships, and in-law avoidances are briefly discussed since they are common topics in Sandawe oral literature. The marriage ideal is monogamy but polygyny is practiced; the choice of partners is free and women have every right to refuse. Ritual abduction forms part of the marriage proceedings which are legalized by the transfer of bridewealth; usually this consists of a number of named domestic animals, but in the poorer parts beehives, arrows, etc. are still being paid instead. Bridal virginity is prized, and adultery is punished but common; it is not a ground for divorce. Illegitimacy exists, but there are mechanisms for absorbing illegitimate children who are in no way stigmatized.

The economy is a mixed one which is based on cattle-keeping and horticulture, but a good deal of hunting and collecting is still practiced; bee-keeping is important. Erratic rainfall and recurrent draughts affect livestock and crops, and have been the cause of considerable emigration.

Chapter II. Language and interpretation.

Comparative studies based on inadequate material have linked Sandawe with Nama Hottentot, but valuable linguistic work has been done by Dempwolff and van de Kimmenade. Dialectical differences exist, but Sandawe is a single, non-Bantu, language. A typical phonological feature is the use of clicks, ejectives, and laterals, of which the first-mentioned can be syllabic. The language is agglutinative, with individual syllables retaining meanings of their own. Gender exists, but this is symbolic rather than rigidly grammatical; the existence of special forms for the plural is less founded than has been assumed; case endings for nouns exist, but they do not fit the usual linguistic categories; many verbs have different roots for the singular and the plural; basic word order follows Dempwolff's rule that *regens sequitur rectum*; the genitive is formed by simple apposition; proper tense particles are absent and other constructions replace the passive voice. Verbs have aspects rather than tenses and, similarly, nouns have aspects rather than grammatical cases.

In the second half of this chapter oral literature is re-defined by using Lerner's criteria, and traditional literary categories based on western concepts are rejected for application to the Sandawe case; it is found that the only valid categories are the vernacular ones. The Sandawe do make a basic distinction between that which is spoken, that which is danced, and that which is sung, but primary categories are formed of the term *tántabule* which covers all narrative as well as riddles, and song categories based on the distinctions made between

types of dance. Categories of minstrelsy are determined by the type of instrument played, but a single term may be used to cover all minstrelsy.

Serious presentations of oral literature must include vernacular texts, showing repetitions and exclamatory items, and also variants if possible. To present only fables is to distort the picture since non-narrative may be considerably more important than stories. Translation must be literal rather than fluent in order to reproduce a maximum of the original atmosphere, but it can never be equal to the vernacular: delicate shades of meaning tend to be lost while obscure meaning is clarified. The Sandawe language uses a large number of expedients to convey meaning, and this makes for vagueness; repetition is one of the methods used to rectify this. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of tone, stress and vowel length in Sandawe, and some unfamiliar sounds.

Chapter III. Narrative: animal fables and comical tales.

This chapter presents the first half of the story material which forms part of the Sandawe category of tántabule; it consists of ten generally simple texts of which the first seven are 'pure' animal fables, while the following three introduce the human element. Footnotes which generally confine themselves to word analysis have so far been found adequate to clarify some points. In the last three texts human characters act together with animals as the chief actors.

Chapter IV. Miraculous stories, history, and myth.

In this chapter the heroes tend to be either more tragic or more heroic than in the previous one; they are human, and when animals are principal actors they act as symbols rather than as human caricatures. The first seven stories are what may be loosely termed miraculous stories. They are more symbolically significant than the stories of the previous

chapter, and investigation shows that a variety of beliefs find their reflection in these tales. The last three stories are historical and mythical ones which contain no songs.

Chapter V. Riddles and prayers.

Riddles belong to the category of tántabule, and therefore they are discussed before prayers which form a category of their own. Playing riddles is strictly prohibited during the planting season, and there must be ideological reasons for such a taboo. Investigations into the nature of the challenge and the reply formulae show that riddles are associated with various kinds of birds which eat newly planted seed and also attack the ripening crops. The complete procedure includes a special bird-riddle which all children are supposed to know. This riddle shows how the riddle-bird is drawn to the east and to the end of the rains when the light of the approaching dry season with its ripening crops, beckons the birds to come out and eat their fill. The bird is associated with femininity, but also with the bat which is opposed to life-giving sunlight, and therefore allied with destruction and death. It lives in a tree which is parasitic and therefore destructive in its own right. To play riddles during the planting season is to call up the birds and to invite disaster.

After the two procedural texts a collection of riddles is presented which has been arranged according to subject.

Prayers are also spoken in the ordinary voice, or shouted, but they are not tántabule. There is a special type of prayer which is inaudible and more like a spell. Presented are wedding blessings, rain and hill prayers, and a sample of Christian prayer used in traditional rites. Two types of rain and hill prayers reflect the status of the social groups to which they belong. The rainmakers of the priestly Alagwa clan address a more general divinity than the clan spirits to whom the clan elders direct their prayers.

Chapter VI. Poetry principally associated with ritual.

This and the following chapter describe dance songs. The first dance, the simbó represents a possession cult in which the participants dissociate; sacrifices are made and the object is to clear the country of witchcraft. The rite-descriptive songs can be arranged in an order which allows us to follow the proceedings. Lion and bird symbolism is prominent in the rites. Trees, and a rock with a cleft at its top, are phallic and play a symbolic role in clearing the way to renewed fertility of the country. After this, conditions will be favourable for the rites of circumcision.

In the songs of circumcision two principal types can be distinguished, góũ and kerem'ta. The former are rite-descriptive, and the latter camp songs of the instructive type. After a survey of the ritual the rite-descriptive songs are presented first, again arranged in such a way as to form a ritual sequence. Symbolism is similar to that of neighbouring Bantu peoples; it is expressed in terms of lions, hyenas, hornless cattle and donkeys, birds of prey, phallic horns and clitoridectomy knives, and the baobab and lannea trees; a remote echo of the interlacustrine cult of Riangombe is also found. The songs of kerem'ta suggest that men should be watchful hunters, that women have the right to be clothed by their menfolk, that the rituals of life should go on even in times of famine, that women are free to go to dances and should make sure that they are given beads by their lovers; songs also teach that phalluses, fire and smoke and the male principle are related to female fertility and childbirth.

In the rites of phek'umo we encounter an old Sandawe fertility rite which is reminiscent of the Bushman eland bull dance, but the mirimó is a secret women's ritual of Bantu origin which celebrates their proven fertility. The sanzoona is an essentially similar ritual of the southern borderland

in which a man functions as a phallus.

The rites of twin births, which are called dóa, are marked by lightning and tree symbolism which becomes clear when the tree is closely observed. The songs of dóa refer to the lightning-danger, to the causes of excessive fertility, and to phallic birds which are also twins. The last dance of this chapter, the mudanga, has lost its significance but it appears to have once been a rite of initiation into male elderhood.

Chapter VII. Dance songs of a mainly topical character.

The wayá'ga was originally a dance of elephant hunters, but its scope has widened to celebrate communal actions of almost any kind. Nowadays it has become a beer-drink or even a social party organized on commercial lines. The subjects of the songs reflect these various aspects of wayá'ga.

The mangóa is a dance of post-initiates who have become young herdsmen; one of the songs depicts the dancers while another is purely topical.

The landá is the great harvest and courtship festival of the Sandawe; the dance has now become rare but the songs have not been forgotten. While the dance symbolizes man's progress through life the songs describe memorable episodes in it. These songs are the most topical of all Sandawe dance songs, and many of them are of great historical interest. The nínḍo is an equivalent of the landá from the southern borders; it is not considered to be really a Sandawe dance.

Chapter VIII. Minstrelsy.

The Sandawe have no professional class of minstrels, and minstrelsy is very much a quiet, private form of art. The singer accompanies himself, and his favourite instrument is the trough-zither or the musical bow. Other instruemnts are also used but some of those are still thought of as foreign. Two types of minstrel may be distinguished, the epic and the lyrical singer. The subjects of minstrelsy cover the whole

range of Sandawe life in a topical fashion, but the general approach is a more intimate one than in the songs of landá.

Chapter IX. Form and style.

Seemingly inexplicable, unconnected story endings can be explained if we consider the form of narrative. End-forms also point to the existence of story cycles which centre round one particular hero.

Songs are of great importance in stories: they mark structural divisions, act as mnemonic aids, and are identified with the protagonists to such an extent that the differences between them are clearly reflected in the forms of their songs. Songs enhance audience participation and illustrate a tale in much the same way as pictures do in a book of fairy tales. The motifs found in Sandawe stories correspond closely with what is found among neighbouring Bantu tribes, especially to the north-west.

In riddles the giving-up procedure reflects the cultural environment, but the opening and posing techniques hardly do this. Sandawe riddles make extensive use of onomatopoeia and special sounds. The fun of a pun is a prominent element in the art of playing Sandawe riddles, and puns add much to the artistic value of the riddles.

In song the motifs, or topics, are largely determined by the categories of dance with which the songs correspond. Differences in style are also determined by these categories; this is different in narrative where they are largely determined by the individual storytellers. Important stylistic features are repetition, melody, rhythm, and instrumentation. In several of these aspects Sandawe oral literature differs markedly from the literatures of neighbouring Bantu peoples.

Chapter X. Symbolism and meaning.

In Sandawe literature we can find equivalents for each of Radin's four Hero-cycles, which correspond with man's

evolution in psychological development. The symbolic value of animal representations varies: while some animals are no more than human caricatures others attain the value of simple symbols, and yet others may be fully symbolic for whole sets of ideas. The Trickster-motif is prominent in Sandawe narrative, but its chief character, Hare, differs to a degree from known Bantu representations. Lion corresponds closely with its Bantu image, but Hyena as a foil and a witch may be a recent acquisition from the Bantu; the images of Elephant and of fertile herbivores may belong to traditional Sandawe thought. The phallic snake and the womb-like gourd are apt to merge in ritual, and their characters include elements of opposite significance. As divine messengers birds differ from the mantis, and trees and flowers play their own roles in symbolic expression.

Names are of simple significance in some stories and in topical song, but of dominant importance in story-songs and in ritual poetry; their functions vary significantly in different categories of oral literature. In riddles they form a basis for punning. Ritual names tend to employ Bantu terms rather than Sandawe terms which describe physical animals and objects. Personal names tend to be circumstantial rather than abstract idealisations.

Conclusion.

Oral literature is of great importance to the Sandawe; it educates and entertains, but it also provides social cohesion. It is even used as a weapon in the application of social sanctions. Individual performers derive prestige and prominence from it. Possibly Sandawe oral literature is more "poetic" in character than some Bantu literatures which would then be more "prosaic", but for lack of adequate comparative material this is difficult to prove at the present stage.

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S A N D A W E O R A L L I T E R A T U R E

W.F.E.R. ten Raa

St.Catherine's College

Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,

Trinity Term, 1967. MT



Otto Dempwolff.

Dr. Otto Dempwolff, the father of Sandawe studies.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

> La poësie populere et purement naturelle a des naïfvetez et graces par où elle se compare à la principale beauté de la poësie parfaicte selon l'art.
>
> MONTAIGNE, Essais, liv.I, chap.LIV.

The Sandawe may perhaps be best described as a people of settled hunters who keep cattle and who are also hoe cultivators. The general level of material culture remains unsophisticated but their small houses are neat and well kept and they take good care of their cattle. The standard of their horticulture lags well behind that of their neighbours. Oral literature, and in particular poetry is their principal cultural achievement. This oral art is of general interest to all Sandawe and it forms an indispensable part of many aspects of their lives.

The Sandawe are a nation of singers rather than of poets. All their poetry is minor verse but it is manifest everywhere: in story-telling, in dances and in ritual. Appreciation of good poetry is general and songs which have found recognition may soon find themselves the common property of large sections of the tribe. A good song, a meaningful tale or a witty riddle is taken over and improved upon by many. If, then, it is true that the Sandawe have a literature which is worthwhile to themselves, what factors would justify its study by outsiders, apart from mere curiosity?

Boas' dictum that the mythology and the tales of a people constitute "the autobiography of the tribe" has become a truism,

Herskovits claims.[1] Struyf has more in mind than just the prose aspect of literature when he says:

> "The well [for a thorough understanding of their manners and customs, religion and social concepts] is safe and secure; it bubbles up from the soil itself without being led through strange channels or, as it happens far too often: being misled."[2]

Historical and sociological motives for the study of literature are well stated in these quotations. But the limitations of the usefulness of oral traditions for historical purposes should be recognized. Its use appears to be greater to socio-historical researches than for establishing more or less fixed chronologies of migrations, kingships, and battles. Beidelman shows in a recent example how an appreciation of social institutions can be gleaned from folk tales even when the custom itself is no longer practised.[3] An analogous example for the Sandawe is contained in text No.18 of this thesis, which clearly demonstrates how war medicines have once been used.
A surprisingly clear picture of discontinued ritual emerges from the study of Sandawe songs. For in the songs references to many of these rites survive and associated beliefs linger on. To understand these goes a long way toward the understanding of otherwise incomprehensible attitudes which may be encountered in the behaviour of the people in their ordinary daily lives.

Lévi-Strauss' argument for the usefulness of studying visual art applies also to oral art:

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1 1958, 65. Boas' statement is more careful than Herskovits' quotation suggests. He says (1916, 393): "...[Oral literature] does not represent a systematic description of the ethnology of the people, but it has the merit of bringing out those points which are of interest to the people themselves. They present in a way an autobiography of the tribe."

2 1908, IX (translation mine).

3 1963a, describing blood covenant among the Kaguru.

> "Even if we know nothing about archaic Chinese society, an inspection of its art would be sufficient to enable us to recognize prestige struggle, rivalries between hierarchies, and competition between social and economic privileges - showing through the function of masks and the veneration of lineage", and: "...social structural and historical elements also become apparent."[1]

If oral art can furnish such historical information in greater detail than visual art, it is also much shallower in time depth. Studies of oral and visual arts therefore supplement one another rather than compete in the same field of investigation.

As for the theoretical benefit which may be derived from the study of oral art, it has been claimed that folk literature

> "gives us the basic ingredients to comparative studies, and thence to a general theory of myth, of poetry, of riddles, of literature and of human oral communication itself."[2]

To others, appreciation of the naïfvetez et graces of an exotic literature may be a sufficient reward in itself.

Andrzejewski shows us how knowledge of oral art may help to correct distorted images. According to existing historical documents the Galla were always very ruthless in war, but the study of their literature shows that this is a one-sided representation:

> "such chivalrous customs as battle by arrangement, parleys, or occasional mercy to the enemy actually existed in practice."

Thus the Galla become much more human than they would appear from non-literary sources.[3] Literature here performs a valuable complementary service to history.

It has often been necessary to use folk literature for disproving deep-rooted prejudices. Meinhof relates that when a collection of folktales from the Cameroons was published in Germany in 1888, many of the white people who had lived in daily

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1 1963, 164.

2 Herskovits, 1958, 84.

3 1962, 122.

contact with the natives for many years protested quite vigorously and indignantly and insisted that no Negro could possibly have composed them.[1] Over a hundred years ago Bleek wrote in the foreword to his Hottentot tales:

> "The fact of such literary capacity among a nation whose mental qualifications it has been usual to estimate at the lowest standard, is of the greatest importance."[2]

As late as 1953 Radin still found it necessary to explode such theories as Hermann Baumann's that the Negro is devoid of the gift of true myth-making.[3]

To show the fallacy of prejudice is one thing, but to create understanding is another. Recently Mutwa has written an excellent work on traditional Bantu history in the form of a collection of folk tales, for this particular purpose. He wrote the book "simply to lay the foundation for better understanding between two different types of human beings", he states.[4] He writes that

> "...few White people have even bothered to study the African people carefully - and by this I do not mean driving round the African villages taking photographs of dancing tribesmen and women and asking a few questions, and then going back and writing a book - a useless book full of errors, wrong impressions and just plain nonsense. Many of the books written by Europeans about Africans should be relegated to to dustbin."[5]

His prescription for gaining a better understanding is not an easy one, but he shows clearly the role which a study of other people's literature can play to overcome the barrier of ignorance about their lives:

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1 1911, 10, as quoted by Radin (1952, 2).

2 1864, XII.

3 loc.cit. For Baumann's theory see p.1 of his work (1936).

4 1966, X.

5 ibid.

> "If any Black man with a little knowledge of English, French or Portuguese wants to study the White man - as I have done - all he has to do is to go into the nearest town and become a regular customer of one of the second hand bookshops there. He must buy and read no less than twenty different kinds of books and magazines a month for a period of no less than 10 years. He must read classics, philosophical works and even cheap murder mysteries and science fiction. He must read Homer, Virgil, Aristotle, and the rest. He must turn the pages of Walter Scott, Voltaire or Peter Cheyney. He must read the newspapers with great care. Gradually, as the years pass, he will gain more or less a clear understanding of the White man, his way of life, his hopes and ambitions."[1]

It goes without saying that this eloquent plea also applies to a European who wishes to overcome his ignorance of the way of life, hopes and aspirations of an African people, and that he will have to read all he can about <u>their</u> types of literature. Even in the case of a small people like the Sandawe there are many of these, and they are quite diverse.

The present thesis seeks to investigate the forms and the nature of the oral art of the Sandawe, the place it takes in the life of the tribe and the role and the social position of its performers. To appreciate how this literature expresses the deeper feelings of the people and what occupies their minds most, we shall have to direct our attention to the symbolism which is involved in its expression. The material and social conditions of the Sandawe, by which their oral literature is inspired, have been greatly influenced by continuous contacts with other peoples. In fact, their whole way of life has gradually been changed from the hunters' and collectors' existence which it seems to have once been, to the mixed economy of the present. We shall therefore first have to gain some idea of this background and consider their country, external influences, political and economical conditions, and some aspects of the language.

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1 <u>ibid.</u>, IX-X.

CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Physical environment.

The country of the Sandawe has an area of some 1800 square miles, and it occupies the southwestern third of the administrative district of Kondoa in central Tanzania. It may be broadly divided into four distinct regions: the northern hills, the north-central plains, the central hills which form the core of the country, and the southern and western flatlands.[1] The Bubu river, called Dudú in Sandawe, is the seasonal main river of the country; it runs along the foot of a fault which traverses the central hills. Together, this watercourse and the escarpment cut off the southeastern part of the hills from the rest and set it apart. The average altitude of the inhabited areas in the hill complex is around 4000 feet, the highest point being formed by the top of Dovo hill at 5608 feet.[2] The northern hills are higher; Gíhlau reaches 5707 feet.[3] The lowest parts are found in the southern plains where the Dudú river leaves the country at just under 2900 feet.[4] The whole country forms part of an inland drainage system which empties into the Bahi depression of Gogoland.[5]

The general aspect of the central hills is that of a jumble of low rocky hills, covered by a vegetation of tangled thorny bush. During the long, dry season which lasts from May until the end of November the country gradually becomes more brown and

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1 See map No.2.

2 Also called Duvu by some local inhabitants of Rimi(Bantu)stock.

3 Incorrectly named Githau on maps.

4 Altitudes from Tanganyika, Land and Surveys, 1: 50,000 (1959).

5 see Atlas of Tanganyika, 1956, map 6.

barren. Rainfall is erratic and amounts to an average of only 24" per annum, practically all of which falls between the end of November and the beginning of May, with a low in February.[1]

The northern hills are better watered, greener and more rolling and covered with open woodland and even forest,[2] much of which is of the miombo type but infested with tsetse fly.[3] Population here is very scant, and Hassenstein's map refers to the area as "uninhabited border wilderness".[4] In 1947 the few inhabitants were expelled from these parts and moved to the central hills because of the occurrence of sleeping sickness.[5] A few people have now returned but the rare person whom one may encounter in the north is usually a honey hunter who lives further to the south.

Much of the north-central plains is desolate black-cotton steppe land with gnarled, spiny thornbush. This country is an effective barrier to the tsetse fly. At times the fly may bypass this belt where it is less effective in the west and engulf the western plains, and reach even parts of the central hills.[6] The central hill complex contains the bulk of the population.

The southernmost part of the country is the lowest (3000-3500 ft.), flat and almost unbroken by relief. It is covered by dry bush, much of it of the dense 'Itigi bush' variety. There is no tsetse but the area is parched and monotonous. It is also the remotest and most backward part of the country.

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1 Kondoa District Book, n.d. Meteorological Notes: average measured over 14 years. Obst, 1923, 108, gives 560 mm (22") and 580 mm (23") for 1910 and 1911.

2 Atlas of Tanganyika, 1956, map 9 gives only the barest outlines. A fuller picture is given in Swynnerton, 1936 (map).

3 ibid.

4 1898.

5 Date from Kondoa District Book.

6 Swynnerton, op.cit., with map reproduced from Jackson, 1933.

Rock paintings are found in many places in the northern and central hill complexes, but the inaccessibility of the country as a whole is such that the existence of these began to be reported only some time after some accounts had been published of paintings in the neighbouring areas of Kondoa, Bahi, Singida and Mkalama, which had aroused considerable interest.[1]

Racial affinities and ethnic surroundings.

The people of this land, the Sandawe, show many physical features which suggest that their origins differ at least partially from those of the surrounding tribes. These include fine-bonedness and a slight build, a typical skull form which is reminiscent of the Bushman type, an often light, almost yellow complexion and a generally short stature which is well below average in places.[2] "Peppercorn" hair, the epicanthic fold, excessive wrinkling of the skin at an advanced age, thin lips and steatopygia all occur, but it is rare for many of these features to be combined in a single individual. The general impression of the people on the whole is that they differ significantly from most surrounding peoples although similar types may be found over a wide area, in particular towards the northwest. Kielmeyer describes the skins of the Sandawe as light reddish brown and the people themselves as

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1 Mkalama: Bagshawe, 1923b. Kondoa: Nash, 1929. Bahi: Culwick, 1931a and b. Sandawe country: Kohl-Larsen investigated a dozen sites in 1935 (viz. Kohl-Larsen L. and M., 1938, 76-91, and Kohl-Larsen 1958, 110-35). Fosbrooke, 1950, lists twenty-one sites which are all comparatively accessible being close to the main tracks. Julien, 1953, 42, claims to have seen "Bushman drawings" (Bosjesman-tekeningen) but he does not elaborate. Recently three new sites in western Sandawe country have been described by Fozzard (1966).

2 This is based on optical impressions only; I have taken no measurements.

small and graceful.[1] Bagshawe gives a similar description.[2] Virchow describes two skulls but he refrains from making any definite statement about Hottentot or Bushman connections on the strength of this very slender evidence.[3] Ried concludes from his research that the Sandawe are comparable to Hottentot, not Bushmen, mainly on physical grounds.[4] Obst says that somatically and linguistically the Sandawe suggest relationship with the Hottentots.[5] Trevor concludes his anthropometrical research by stating that

> "the evidence... is clearly to the effect that the Hottentots and the Sandawe are of the same stock and do not merely possess affinities in language."[6]

He also points out that the neighbouring Nyaturu show many similarities.[7] The latter are the people who have intermarried with the Sandawe more than any of their other neighbours have done and who have, as we shall see, contributed more than any other people to the ritual practices of the Sandawe. They have also influenced their language and literature most.

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1 1897, M/S.

2 1924, 223.

3 1895, 64-65.

4 1915, 238.

5 1923, 207.

6 1947, 76.

7 The Bantu-speaking western neighbours of the Sandawe are called Wa-Nyaturu by the Swahili and by other local people. They call themselves A-Rimi and we shall henceforth refer to them by their own name, Rimi, without using the Bantu prefixes for persons in the singular or the plural. It should be noted that both Trevor and Ried have carried out their researches around the tribal headquarters at Kwa Mtoro. This area is heavily infiltrated by Rimi, most of whom have now become Sandawe. It seems possible that measurements taken in more remote parts of Sandawe country would yield even more dramatic results.

Remnant peoples and splintergroups of little hunters.

The north-central highlands of Tanzania contain an extraordinary variety of ethnically diverse tribes. Most of these have traditions of little people who inhabited their present territories in the past. According to Gray the Mbugwe say that at the time of their arrival pygmy hunters roamed their country.[1] Obst records that in eastern Rimi, according to local traditions, there had been small people who lived among the many rocks of the area.[2] Claus mentions the Wagulimba, dwarfs who are said to have dwelled in holes in the ground at Nsine in northern Gogoland.[3] Culwick says that the Wamia of Bahi were hunters who spoke a language which the arriving Bantu-speaking Gogo clans found impossible to understand.[4] Schaegelen writes that some type of "Bochimans, ancêtres au moins partiels des Wasandawi" inhabited western Gogo country,[5] and Mnyampala gives a similar account of the Gogo northwest.[6] The Hadza of lake Eyasi still are a hunting tribe[7] who are small both in numbers and in stature.[8]

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1 1955, 40.

2 1923, 199.

3 1911, 64.

4 1931a, 35.

5 1938, 200.

6 1954, 5ff.

7 Also Kindiga , Tindiga, Tindega, Hadzapi, Hadzapi'I or even Kangeju. Baumann, 1894; and Kohl-Larsen, 1937; 1943; prefer Tindiga; Obst, 1912a and b; 1913; Reche, 1914; Berger, 1943; and Cooper, 1947, refer to Kindiga. Bleek, 1931, uses Hadzapi or Tindega; Woodburn, 1958; 1962 calls them Hadza or Tindiga; Olson,n.d. (M/S) says Hadzapi'I, and Bagshawe, 1923b; 1924/5 speaks of the Kangeju.

8 Summary survey in Huntingford, 1953.

The Sandawe, finally, say that in the southeastern parts of their country there have been small, light coloured nomadic hunters whom they call N/ini and who were "like the people of Bas'ko and Bugénika" in appearance. These are two locations in south-eastern Sandawe country where the people are particularly light coloured. There are also the Elewa and Bisa who in the past spoke a somewhat different dialect but who are now Sandawe clans.[1] Baumann refers to the hunting tribe of the Wanege or Watindiga who were according to him closely related to the Sandawe.[2] These Wanege have been searched for in vain by subsequent investigators. Even though Baumann's map shows them to inhabit a vast region which includes both the Hadza and the Sandawe tribal areas these people have never been found. The term Tindiga is often used to designate the Hadza but the Wanege have disappeared from the literature since no one could be found to whom the name applies. However, a few Sandawe still recall that some of their own kin as well as others were sometimes referred to as n/ege or bushmen (from n/e, bush); others say that these people were mostly N/ini. The term n/ege thus appears to be a Sandawe term for any people who lived in the bush, leading a hunting existence, and the term would therefore include most of the little hunting groups of which so many peoples of central Tanzania appear to have traditions. If these n/ege are the same as Baumann's Wa-nege, which seems probable, then his map would merely acknowledge the fact that an extensive area contained, or had contained, an assortment of "little hunters". It should not be assumed that they formed anything like a single people or even a cluster of groups which were all of the same ethnic stock.

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1 Trevor, 1947, 62, thinks that the Elewa were "half Gogo" and that the Bisa spoke a language akin to Ngomvia. Local people say that they were basically Sandawe.

2 1894, 191.

The various accounts give little detail but the scant evidence which we have faintly suggests that the various groups had different stages of development and culture; lack of physical uniformity is indicated by the fact that the Hadza are not light but dark skinned and apparently not at all Bushmanoid in appearance.

The Ngomvia who call themselves Kwa'adzo are another remnant people who have now been absorbed by the Bantu-speaking Gogo whose language and customs they have taken over. They do not fit into the pattern of old hunting populations even though Claus held them for a remnant of an aboriginal people related to the Sandawe.[1] The information which he collected about the origins of a headman's lineage is the same as the far more detailed "tribal history" which Rigby collected in 1962.[2] In this history the Ngomvia claim that they are Burunge; this is supported by Meinhof's linguistic comparison of 1910.[3] Considerable mixing with Sandawe clans seems to have occurred. One of the three Ngomvia clans is called Bɛ̀ɛtsato;[4] this may be the same as the Sandawe Bisa clan which has already been mentioned. Some of the Sandawe Bisa of the Burunge border area actually call themselves Bɛ́ɛtsato, just as their Ngomvia opposite numbers. Another Sandawe clan in the same general area, the Agwatl'oo, claims Ngomvia descent.

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1 1910, 489.

2 M/S dated 13-2-1963.

3 1910, 494.

4 Own inquiries, 1962.

Neighbouring peoples, foreign colonies, and population movements.

The tribes whose countries are contiguous to that of the Sandawe are, starting from the north, clockwise: the Barabaiga, the Rangi, the Burunge, the Gogo, and the Rimi.[1] The Barabaiga are a Datoga tribe who speak a Nilo-Hamitic language of the Nandi type.[2] To most people they are known as Mangati or Mang'ati, a term which has been derived from the Maasai and means 'enemy', but the Sandawe call them Tatúr;[3] the literature usually refers to them as Tatoga.[4] The Bantu-speaking Rangi are closely akin to the Mbugwe who live further to the north;[5] the Burunge again are non-Bantu and linguistically allied to the Alawa or Wasi, the Gorowa or Fiome, and the Iraqw or Mbulu. Greenberg calls these peoples Cushitic[6] but this classification is far from generally accepted.[7] The term Iraqw-cluster seems the safest one for this group, at least for the time being. The Kwa'adzo or Ngomvia and the distant Mbugu of Usambaa in north-eastern Tanzania may also belong to this group.[8] The Gogo and the Rimi are both Bantu peoples; the latter are called Taweso by the Sandawe.[9]

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1 See map 1.

2 Wilson, 1952, 34, citing Huntingford.

3 The name Taturu is generally applied to all the small Datoga groups scattered further south and west, especially by Bantu peoples, cf. Wilson, op.cit., 40.

4 Umesao, 1966, 176, points out that this is incorrect; they vocalize initial consonants and their name is Datoga.

5 Gray, op.cit.

6 1955, 55.

7 Tucker and Bryan, 1956; Whiteley, 1958.

8 Meinhof, op.cit.; see also Green, 1963.

9 Dempwolff, 1916, 52. The Sandawe names for the other tribes are easily recognized, but they usually call the Nyamwezi Konongo, after the name of a Nyamwezi sub-tribe, and they refer to the Hehe as Warori. The Maasai are called Gwabé (see next page).

Further to the north-west and to the west we find the Iramba, Isanzu, Sukuma, and Nyamwezi, all of whom speak Bantu languages. The Sandawe have borrowed from their languages, and they all have features in their literatures which lend themselves to comparison with items of Sandawe oral literature.

Within and around the Sandawe tribal area there are many small groups and settlements which have left an imprint on Sandawe literature. Scattered over the thinly populated eastern, southern and western parts of the country there are occasional Baraguyu homesteads. These people speak a Maasai dialect (Nilo-Hamitic), and also in other respects they resemble the Maasai proper. Both peoples are indiscriminately called Gwabé by the Sandawe.[1] At Iseke in the north-central plain there is a Kimbu settlement of several homestead which has been there for at least three generations.[2] Bagshawe records that the Nyamwezi inhabitants of a place called Mkora near the northern tribal boundary had been bothered by pigs and moved further south to Handa well within Sandawe country.[3] The Sandawe tribal headquarters at Kwa Mtoro contains as many aliens as Sandawe: Rangi, Nyamwezi, Chagga, Arabs and other non-Sandawe generally termed 'Swahili'. Hassenstein's map of 1898 shows us that not all foreign colonies are just a post-pacification phenomenon. It already mentions 'Kwa Towera' as a colony of coastal people (Küstenleute);[4] 'Kipilipili's

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1 cf. the term Kwavi which is used elsewhere; see Beidelman 1960 and Tanganyika, Dept.of Lands and Mines, 1952.

2 "Proper" Sandawe say Seke. Iseke is a Rimi name of a type of landscape; it means 'white sandy soil', cf. Schneider, 1966, 256.

3 1919 (M/S). Entry dated 10-7.

4 Meaning 'At Towera's'(Swahili term). Towera was one of the first German-appointed headmen in Sandawe country; allegedly he was a Nyamwezi settler who had become rich. Sprigade and Moisel, 1915a, 117, point out that places were often named after headmen by (Nyamwezi) caravan porters.

village' is described as a Nyamwezi settlement;[1] another Nyamwezi colony is shown in the area which the Sandawe know as Manase and which lies a few miles to the west of Kwa Mtoro;[2] yet another is marked on the map in the Ngomvia area just south of the tribal borders. Kimbu fishermen are reported by Claus to be fishing in the lower reaches of the Dudú river;[3] he also mentions the presence of Indians, Sudanese and Arabs in Kondoa,[4] but that settlement, which is now the District headquarters, does not appear to be very ancient. Fosbrooke writes that until the latter half of the nineteenth century the place had been covered with thick forest; then two Rangi tribesmen made the first clearing. They were soon followed by Arab ivory traders and Makua elephant hunters.[5] The date of the arrival of the Arabs can be more or less firmly established. Stuhlmann must have passed there in 1891, and he states that the Arabs had been settled at Kondoa for something like nineteen years; this would put the date of the establishemnt of the trading post at 1872.[6]

Kiro in his history of the Zigua refers to the trek of a group of "Wakondongo" who left Uzigua and went to Tabora. Uzigua lies some 180 miles to the east of Sandawe country, and Tabora 180 miles to the west, and the Sandawe are situated right in the middle of their route. Kiro also says that the Zigua themselves

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1 Obst, 1923, 196, says that "the descendants of the Nyamwezi who once settled in Sandawe country as feared robbers in the neighbourhood of Kipilipili and Kwa Mtoro," have now become accepted as real Sandawe.

2 Charisius, 1901, 902, also points out that these are Nyamwezi settlements.

3 1911, 2.

4 ibid.

5 1952, 50.

6 1892, 186.

had left the Kondoa area several generations ago;[1] Kondoa is situated just north of the Sandawe tribal boundaries. Ntemo tells us that the Ngulu have followed a similar route,[2] and in the Tumbakose area of south-eastern Sandawe references to a Zigua presence in the past may indeed be heard. Hehe warriors from the south have raided as far north as Kondoa which they sacked sometime before 1893 since that is the year in which Meinecke reports the sacking.[3] Obst has reported a Hehe colony in north-eastern Sandawe country, hidden away near the Dudú river.[4] Elements of other southern tribes have moved even further north. According to Obst there are Makua among the Mbugwe,[5] and Bagshawe identifies Kikore in Gorowa country as a Makua settlement.[6] Ponck also mentions the presence of these elephant hunters in Gorowa,[7] and Kannenberg says that Muhodsa in Burunge is a Makua elephant hunters' village.[8] The Sandawe know the Makua well as elephant hunters and charm doctors, and the term Makua has become accepted in their language as a word for 'stranger'; this usage is often found in Sandawe oral literature.[9]

Further to the west there have been movements of Datoga clans who trekked south from Mount Hanang to the Itigi region

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1 1953, 72.

2 1956, 15ff.

3 1893, 213.

4 1923, 203.

5 op.cit., 225.

6 1920 (M/S), entry dated 7-2.

7 1894, 294. He uses the name Fiome for the Gorowa.

8 1900, 152.

9 Instances are shown in texts 135, 139, and 178.

past or perhaps through western Sandawe country,[1] and some Gogo groups may have followed partly the same route.[2] Last but not least there has been a steady infiltration of Rimi from the west and some Datoga have entered Sandawe country to stay: many people around the tribal headquarters at Kwa Mtoro and around the central mission at Kurio are of Rimi origin and the chief's clan, the Alagwa, claim Datoga descent.

It need not be assumed that all these movements of people have actually passed through tribal territory; quite a few of them may perhaps only have skirted the area. Yet a good number of Sandawe placenames suggest the sojourn of aliens in the past.[3] There is also an account of a group of Sandawe clans who were chased out of their country into Gogoland by invading Datoga; they stayed there for some time before they returned.[4] Trevor says that the Sandawe have entered their present habitat from the south,[5] but Obst has speculated that the Sandawe are of northern origins but moved south into Gogoland, turned about when they ran into resistance and occupied the hills where they live now, driving out others in the process.[6] Many Sandawe clans do indeed claim foreign origins, but everywhere there are traditions to be found that there were other Sandawe clans in occupation before the present ones moved in. The suggestion that the whole tribe has been involved in such movements seems higly improbable. Obst appears to have realized this, for he

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1 Wilson, 1952.

2 Culwick, 1931a, 35.

3 Tenras, 1966a.

4 Robinson, 1957b.

5 1947, 62.

6 1913, 197 and 200.

quietly dropped his theory; at least he does not refer to it again in his final account of the area.[1]

Although there have been plenty of upheavals the country of the Sandawe must not be seen as a cauldron in which untold numbers of tribes have battled one another through the ages. It has rather been an area of refuge and it is the very inaccessibility of the country which has seen to it that the Sandawe have preserved an identity of their own. Baumann may well have been right when he said that those Bushman-like hunters (the Wanege) must be regarded as the aboriginal population of the country, and that a branch of them has settled down to become the Sandawe.[2] It is quite impossible, of course, to reconstruct these events but it will be clear that the ethnic situation is complex and that many peoples have contributed to the creation of the modern Sandawe. We shall therefore meet with points of comparison among a diversity of neighbouring peoples which may help to explain certain points of Sandawe oral literature.

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1 1923.

2 1894, 194. A Sandawe myth of origin suggests the same. In text No.20 the implication is that the Sandawe have always been where they are (note 6 under the text). There are also indications which point to northern origins in the remote past. Sandawe say that circumambulations are made to the north at burials because that is where the people have originally come from, and the ghosts of the deceased are seen off to their original homes. At a dance which represents the progress of life the men are oriented to the north because, it is said, this is where their origins lie (see Chapter VII, C, the Landá. The dance may not be regarded as a reliable pointer because it may be of Rimi origin, and the death rites may also have been brought in by a section of the population which came from the north. It is interesting to note that Coon concludes on physical grounds that all capoid peoples, including the Sandawe, are ultimately of northern (Saharan) origin (Coon, 1963, 636-49).

Tribal structure: the clans.

According to the census of 1957 there were 28,309 Sandawe, of whom 20,031 lived within the tribal area; here their numbers have slightly decreased since 1931 because of emigration. Many have left for the sisal estates around Arusha and Kilosa and many others live in Arusha town.[1]

The most important structural unit of the tribe is the hill clan, which usually takes its name from a hill (gâwa). The people who belong to the same hill consider themselves to be related by descent through the male line, and hill clans are therefore strictly exogamous. They are non-totemic; there are neither clan totems nor personal avoidance objects.[2] Hill clans are the principal ritual units but there are no geographical limits which define their ritual areas, and the clans are not strictly localized. Yet clan lands are recognized and clusters of clansmen are common because sons usually build their homes near the parental home. Every hill-clan group has its own sacrificial hill where under leadership of clan elders sacrifices are made to ancestral spirits and prayers are said for rain and fertility.[3] Bagshawe says that such a hill sacrifice is "a really big occasion where a whole family or clan may be required to be present".[4] He puts the number of clans at twenty five[5] but Trevor says that there are fifty, and he gives the word boyo as the term for 'clan'.[6] This discrepancy can

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1 Appendix I gives a summary of censuses and estimates.

2 Lack of totemism is recorded by Dempwolff, 1916, 146, who has also made a study of totemism among other tribes (1909).

3 I refer to hill-clan groups because many find themselves too far away to sacrifice at their original clan hills; some clans have split up into sub-clans, each with their own hill.

4 1925, 328. Texts 80 and 81 are such hill prayers; a hill-clan's rain prayer is presented in text 79.

5 1925, 219.

6 1947, 62.

be readily explained. Although the term bovo is often used for a clan its more precise meaning is a descent group of any size, and in particular a lineage, for the literal meaning of the word is 'seed'.[1] The loose usage of the word is apparent from van de Kimmenade, who sums up its meanings as 'seed, descent, race, tribe.'[2] The lineage is sometimes also referred to as 'the collectivity of fathers' (tatax),[3] but this term may equally well be applied to 'ancestry' and 'ancestral spirits'. Since the hill-clan (gáwa) is a group which belongs together by virtue of putative common descent the term for 'hill-clan' may also be used to mean clan ancestors and even ancestors in general.

The word for family is khoo which literally means 'house', and the relation between the larger family and its smallest segments may be expressed by kitangá, the term for a 'door'. But another term for the family is waxwai these are the members of the homestead in the sense of an intimate group of trusted relatives, and the family in the narrower sense as opposed to the larger circle of relatives with whom relations are less intimate.[4] Dempwolff notes the distinction between this term and the word dogo which is used for the wider group; yaya which literally means 'elder sibling' is also used for any relative but especially for relatives of the same generation.[5] This term is also used as a honorific title for people who are really no relatives at all.

'Home' is called ts'aakŭ, which is the whole homestead

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1 From the Bantu mbegu, seed. Dempwolff, 1916, 43, says that bovo is 'seed, offspring (of either plants or people)'.

2 1954, 36.

3 cf. Dempwolff, op.cit., text 12 on p.115.

4 Also waxa, from the root wá which means friendship, love.

5 Op.cit.,53. Dogo corresponds with the Bantu n-dugu in the same meaning.

including the houses of married sons; originally this means a watering place, cf. ts'aa, 'water'. It has already been said that sons who marry usually build their houses close to their father's house, e.g. a hundred yards away. The actual watering place may be at a considerable distance. The term finds its origin in the habit of the old Sandawe hunting families to claim a waterhole as the centre of their hunting grounds. They never live at that place themselves so as not to disturb the game. Modern Sandawe who cultivate their fields and who keep cattle still build away from the waterhole for the same reasons.

There are larger structural units than the hill-clan, for several hill-clans may sometimes belong to one 'country'(i'íma). This may either mean the land in which their original clan hills are said to be located (ancestral area), or the general area in which several unrelated clan-hill groups have been living together for a long time so that they have common ties with it (fatherland or home land). Several of the better known large Sandawe clans are not hill-clans but such homeland clan-agglomerations; often they have once been single exogamous clans, but they have split up and become separate hill-clans. These clan-agglomerations are no longer exogamous and they may therefore be called sub-tribes rather than clans.[1] The various sections do retain their common name, however, in addition to their own hill names, and although marriages between the member hill-clans are allowed an extra payment is added to the bride-wealth payments in those cases for the 'shame' (múre).

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1 Government officials use the Swahili term ukoo (clan) for either hill-clan or homeland-clan. In English they use 'clan' for both. Map 3 shows a number of clan homelands; all the 'clan' names shown on it are in reality the names of sub-tribes. The Alagwa are divided into the Mungé, Hánsa, /'ek'á, Wathwa, and /aa clans, the Elewa into the //'ek'a, Kóngoro, Khangaroda, Mupendó, and Moora clans, the Warimba into the Nlats'íí, Kólokolo, Munzurá, Tsóro and //'õgitá clans, and so on.

The homeland-cland or sub-tribes are in general quite unlocalized. Bagshawe states that "the clans" are now completely intermingled and that clan membership has lost much of its significance and that "only in religious matters... the clan is of any moment at all."[1] On the subject of geographical spread Bagshawe appears to be referring to the subtribes which may once have been clans, while on the subject of religious importance he is referring to the hill-clans without realizing that the two are different entities. Of the sub-tribes there are about twenty five, just as Bagshawe says, but of the hill clans there are even considerably more than the fifty which Trevor gives as their number, but some of them are very small. These hill clans have not lost their significance. The clan principle of exogamy is everywhere strictly adhered to, and there are no signs that this is changing. The ritual function of the clan has no doubt declined with the advent of Chistianity, and the clan's solidarity (in war) has obviously also diminished since pacification, but it remains the principal structural unit of the tribe. The sub-tribes do not possess this importance at all.

The Sandawe have yet another term which is used for the clan. People who belong to the same homeland are expected to provide mutual support in war. In practice this applies in the first place to clansfellows of the same neighbourhood, but also to friendly neighbours who belong to different clans. Such defensive groups based on neighbourliness are called n//áko, a word which describes a corporate group. It is a clan in the sense of a corporate group, but also a group of neighbours, or as a combination of the two, the people of a reasonably small geographical area. It is also applied to enemy corporate groups

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1 1925, 220.

and it is therefore the common word for 'enemy'; for 'raiding' or 'war' the same term is used.[1]

Clan leadership is generally limited to ritual leadership, but particularly brave or succesful hunters sometimes acquire some dominance over their fellows. This leadership is based on personal qualities only and as a rule it is not restricted to clansfellows but it extends over a neighbourhood. Ritual leadership is much more important; it concerns activities like circumcision, hill sacrifices, and (in the past) oracles, but it is not institutionalized. It is sometimes acquired through inheritance, sometimes through divinership, and sometimes merely by force of character. There are no age sets and no military regiments, and no institutional war leaders. The only exception to this egalitarian state of affairs is found among the Alagwa sub-tribe who have a line of rain priests and a line of rain priestesses, both of which are hereditary.[2]

Controversy over tribal leadership.

The Alagwa sub-tribe supplies the chiefs to the tribe, but in how far chiefship is a traditional feature of Sandawe life is a matter of controversy which requires some clearing up.

If we believe Dempwolff's informant Habuni the power of

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1 Dempwolff, 1916, 40, lists the following words and meanings: //ña, plural //ñako, 'warrior, enemy', and //ná, plural //náko,'fellow tribesman, kinsman'; //naŋa,'brother of a woman'. Van de Kimmenade, 1954, 67, mentions: n//ᶜáko, neighbour, fellow tribesman; n//ᶜákowe,'enemy'; n//ᶜákoo,'war', and n//ᶜadhle,'brother of a woman'. From this one gains the impression that there are quite different terms for enemy, neighbour, clansman, and so on, with different tonal values, but variations in tone appear to follow contextual differentiation, and informants insist that "the words are the same". Further details on the apparent disagreement of the quoted sources are given in note 5 under text No.18. For the differences in orthography see Appendix V.

2 The Mungé clan supply the priests, the Hänse the priestesses.

the Alagwa was great: they were judges, kings and magicians. When the head of the Alagwa wore a strip of hide around his arm the people feared him greatly. They came to him for jurisdiction, he dispensed favours, and he received fines for manslaughter. Runaways sought his protection by knocking a splinter off his stool. By tying a strip of hide around the arm of the fugitive he extended his protection but at the same time he made him his slave.[1] Bagshawe states that the Alagwa had brought with them the first cattle owned by the tribe and that by virtue of this they had probably established an immediate ascendancy over the nomadic hunters. He also says that "for generations [the Alagwa] have been the ruling clan and from them was selected the first tribal chief whose direct descendant is acknowledged as chief to-day."[2] Dempwolff adds to this that "rain is made by rain magic, the secrets of which and the execution of which are the privileges of the chiefs",[3] and elsewhere he gives us the text of a song in which the Alagwa chiefs are exhorted to produce rain.[4] From this one would gain the impression that something like a fairly strong chiefship had become a traditional feature of the political scene. Bagshawe was an administrative officer in charge of Kondoa district, and he may have received much of his information from the Alagwa for the government had recognized their chiefship over the Sandawe ever since its own establishment. Dempwolff appears to have had his doubts about about the influence of the chiefs. He tentatively concluded that the 'royal house' of the Alagwa owed its effective might

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1 Dempwolff, 1916, 112 (text 10).

2 1925, 220.

3 1916, 142.

4 ibid., 166.

to rainmaking and that they were priest-kings "such as also occurred among the nearby Hamites",[1] but that it was not known how far their territorial authority went. He also noticed that Habuni, being a follower of the Alagwa headman Songo, did not recognize any other headman of equal standing and he recalled that among the government documents at Kilimatinde[2] there was a paper dated 24-1-1904 in which a non-Alagwa by the name of Barasungu was mentioned who "once was the sole chief of all Usandawe."[3] In eastern and southern Sandawe the names of Barasungu and of his ally Solá are still held in honour as dominant headmen and hillpriests. Their influence is even recognized in Robinson's account of the Alagwa chiefs. This is a history of the exploits of their headmen derived from Alagwa sources.[4] Robinson stresses the fact that because of this the account is likely to be somewhat glorified. Even from this story it becomes clear that the prestige of the Alagwa as a political force is largely derived from the stature of one man, their headman Amás'.

The first Germans appeared on the scene when Amás' second son and successor was already an old man.[5] The first European to give a first-hand account of the Sandawe, Baumann, arrived

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1 ibid., 115.

2 The military post under which the Sandawe had initially resorted.

3 Dempwolff doubted the validity of this statement on the grounds that 'Barasungu' means 'our first one' and it "would not seem to be a proper name." But Hassenstein's map of 1898 shows "Barasungu's country" and Robinson, 1957, recognizes him under the somewhat garbled name Baraganzo.

4 1957 (M/S).

5 His eldest son Limú had been killed in a battle with the Maasai (see text No.18).

in Sandawe country at the end of 1892. He informs us that the Sandawe had no real political leaders but that the "witchdoctors (Zauberdoktoren) who also made rain" were held in high regard.[1] Von Luschan confirmed a few years later that not only was there no general ruler, but he also said that there was not a single powerful headman in the country.[2] He added that in Baumann's time the Nyamwezi colonists were the real rulers of the country and that in the countryside the leadership was in the hands of the diviners, the medicine men, and the rainmakers.[3] These men were not just the Alagwa leaders. Although the Alagwa certainly attempted to monopolize all Sandawe rainmaking, as they still do, the mere fact that non-Alagwa hill prayers for rain and fertility can still be collected even to-day shows us that they have been only partially succesful in their efforts.[4]

The emergence of the Alagwa chiefs.

If then we may conclude that not even Amás' had been a Chief of the Sandawe but at best a very influential clan headman, how had the Alagwa manoeuvered themselves into the position of a chief's clan at Dempwolff's time?[5]

By virtue of the leadership qualities of individual elders and the prestige of divinership and priesthood some clans were

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1 1894, 193. Fischer may have been the first to visit the country, viz. Kiepert, 1893, who shows his route; see also text No.178 for the Sandawe side of the picture. Appendix V gives a brief summary of early sources and discovery.

2 1898, 342.

3 The most powerful Nyamwezi colonist was Mtoro who had been admitted by Amás'.

4 See texts 79 and 80.

5 As pointed out before, the Alagwa are not strictly speaking a clan. The chief's clan are the Mungé, one of the Alagwa clans.

not entirely acephalous. The size and prestige of the different clans apparently varied a great deal in the past, as it still does to-day. Some of the larger ones are divided into several sub-divisions and have in fact become sub-tribes which consist of a number of no longer cohering, but separate clans; in other cases feelings of relationship may still be strong enough to allow for an influential leader of one hill-clan to enjoy considerable prestige among the other hill-clans of the sub-tribe. This is especially true for the Alagwa where the members of all the hill-clans take considerable pride in being Alagwa. The Alagwa clans are sets apart from the other Sandawe clans, too, by the fact that they are uncommonly conscious of their common Datoga origins. Amás' was able to muster support from not only his fellow Mungé clansmen, but also from the other Alagwa clans and neighbouring non-Alagwa clansmen.

Apart from the principle of exogamy and a common name, the members of a hill-clan cooperate in such matters as the payment of debts, the raising of bridewealth cattle for their sons when they marry, and mutual aid in war. Clansmen farm out their cattle over the herds of their fellows as an insurance against total loss at the hands of raiders or disease. Clan elders who enjoy prestige also in the sister clans of their sub-tribe obviously have a wider influence as councillors, hill sacrificers, rain makers, and magicians than do the elders of small and isolated bush clans who have few cattle.[1] Some of these are little more than dispersed groups of only a few individuals who have been semi-nomadic until recently.[2] In the larger cattle clans there is more scope for individual people to show leadership in war or proficiency as magicians or priests, whereas in the 'bush clans' warfare does not substantially

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1 Called contemptuously /aa n/omáso, 'Foliage-people'.

2 Bagshawe, 1925, 336.

differ from hunting and leadership is based on bushcraft and hunting magic. Among the cattle clans leadership in war demands the ability and courage to stand up against such formidable foes as the Datoga. Because of their cattle they are vulnerable targets for raiding invaders whereas all the bush people have to do is to hide themselves in the hills.

Habuni states that a hero is a man who has killed a Datoga warrior.[1] So respected were these war leaders that on their death they were buried in a special way and with special ritual.[2] They wore ivory arm rings and if anyone of them was killed by the enemy his death had to be avenged.[3] It seems that these manifestations of a developing hero cult were particular to the Alagwa and some of their Warimba allies. Of the large cattle clans they were the most exposed to the incursions of the Datoga from the north, and being in the front line they probably developed the greatest resistance to them.[4] The practice of wearing insignia and the differential burial rites are stated by some Sandawe to have been confined to these groups, in particular to the Alagwa.[5]

It should not be surprising that when the qualities of a

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1 Dempwolff, 1916, 97.

2 ibid., 141.

3 ibid., 114 (text 12). Iron rings were also worn, cf. Bagshawe, 1925, 225.

4 See map 3.

5 Their northern (Datoga) origins may account for the rings which are found among many northern tribes as far as the Sudan, cf. Schweinfurth, 1875,II,6 and 7 (Dinka, Nuer, Dyoor, Shilluk), but he says that they also occur in South Africa. Czekanowski, 1958, 109 (fig.d) shows a nilotic iron ring which is identical with the Alagwa type. Neighbouring peoples also have them, cf. Kannenberg, 1900, 150 (Rimi); Dempwolff, 1914-5, 242 (Iramba).

traditional hill chief and those of a renowned war leader are united in one person, his influence may grow beyond the usual limits in Sandawe society. The Alagwa headman Amás' was such a person.[1] Even Bagshawe believed that "the Sandawi appeared to have had no chief until the clans united under Amas";[2] he had the reputation of being a great rainmaker and he managed to fight a decisive victory over the Datoga who at the time of his grandfather had driven the Alagwa out of Sandawe country;[3] he supported the people of Mangas'tá in central Sandawe against the attacks of their Xats'as'tá neighbours; he fought the Maasai and he kept Arab slave raiders at bay who had at the time just begun to make an appearance.[4] When he died at an advanced age the reputation of his clan the Mungé, and of the Alagwa in general, was great. His influence had been felt over much of the central parts of the tribal area but the eastern and southern leaders Solá, Marenga and Barasungu were dominant in their own areas.[5] After his death Amás' prestige was great enough for him to be thought of as the most important Sandawe by the Germans of Kilimatinde who attributed the same importance to his successors.

The Nyamwezi trader Mtoro soon used the German presence at Mpwapwa[6] to extend his influence by making it appear that

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1 He was also humane and returned cattle to the defeated Datoga so they would not starve (Robinson, op.cit.).

2 1925, 334.

3 According to Bagshawe the Datoga had at the time been much weakened by Maasai raids.

4 Robinson, 1957b. The Maasai may actually have been Baraguyu.

5 Barasungu's area is even marked as a separate political entity on Sprigade and Moisel's map of 1904.

6 Before Kilimatinde was opened. Koloniales Jahrbuch, 1890, 191, lists Mpwapwa as the farthest inland station.

he had their full backing as their representative. He had fallen out with the Sandawe, fled to Mpwapwa and returned with German help. His abuse of power soon resulted in further resistance by the Sandawe and in German involvement in pacifying the country. This was not completed until several German punitive expeditions from Kilimatinde and even one from Mwanza had put down a succession of Sandawe revolts by force. The country was ravaged in the course of these events, one of the worst episodes being the murder of the people of Sanzawa about 1897.[1] A principal leader in the resistance had been Xahliki the son of Amás'. After his death his son Songo made peace with the Germans at Kilimatinde and got himself recognized as chief of the Sandawe. Since then the Sandawe have had chiefs and the chiefship remained in his lineage until it was abolished after Tanganyika's national independence. The institution of Sandawe chiefship is therefore to a large extent the product of the European occupiers who needed a system of representatives through whom they could govern.

The Germans appointed a great number of akidas (village headmen) under jumbes (sub-chiefs) all of whom, including the Alagwa chief, were responsible to the German sergeant-major (Feldwebel) who built a fort at Kwa Mtoro and stayed to command it. This was the famed Bana Ringe of Sandawe oral literature who gained great ascendancy over the Sandawe and who became their effectual chief.[2] The post came to resort under Kondoa

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1 German writers seem to avoid the subject. Von Luschan, 1898, 342, only reports that two members of his expedition were hit and killed by Sandawe poisoned arrows.

2 The events following Mtoro's flight are recorded by Bagshawe, 1925, 222, supported by various entries in the Kondoa District Book and confirmed by Sandawe informants. 'Bana Ringe' = 'Mr.Linke'.

where a government station had been opened in 1897.[1] The post at Kwa Mtoro was closed down before the military administration was converted to a civilian one in 1911-13.[2] During the first world war the British replaced the Germans in May 1916;[3] under their more indirect system of government the chiefs gained much in importance because greater administrative responsibilities were devolved upon them. Yet chiefship never developed into a really well-founded institution among the Sandawe. The chiefs themselves did much to minimize the effect of their greater authority by squandering the wealth of the family.[4]

When the government of Tanganyika stripped all the chiefs in the country of their temporal power in 1962 this raised no protest among the Sandawe. The last chief has been retained as a local magistrate until 1964; after that he became the chairman of the local cooperative. He is well liked but he is no longer even called a chief, and there is little or no significance attached to being a member of the chiefly clan and little political prestige emanates from it.[5]

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1 Fosbrooke, 1952; Bagshawe, 1925, 222.

2 Probably in 1909. The last official mention of the post is in Jahresbericht 1909, 75. In January 1910 Dempwolff met Sgt.Linke who "had been the commander of the Sandawe post for seven years" (italics mine). Dempwolff, op.cit., 1.

3 In that month the first British military administrator, Mr. Horne, arrived at Kondoa (Kondoa District Book, List of Administrative Officers).

4 Bagshawe, 1925, 335, speaks of "the somewhat notorious Sultan Seleman" who "discredited [the name of the family] in the tribe." This is the Wa'é (his Sandawe name) of texts 138 and 147.

5 The situation is quite different among the Gogo where chiefship is traditional. Although the chiefs have also there been shorn of their temporal powers they remain honoured as chiefs and exercise their ritual leadership.

Some kinship relationships.

We have seen that descent is traced agnatically and that the terms for 'seed' (bovo) and 'collective fathers' (tatax) may be used for 'lineage'. Tatax may represent the ascending line father - grandfather - great-grandfather and so on, but also the collectivity of all the 'fathers' and their brothers, living or dead. The unity of all the agnates in each generation is symbolized by the use of the same word for them: father's brothers are 'fathers' (tatá), grandfather's brothers are 'grandfathers' (kokó), and in the same way father's brothers' sons are called 'brothers' (tots'e). Kinship terms are thus classificatory, but Dempwolff thought of the Sandawe system that "it is not rigidly so" because father's and mother's sisters are called by the same name and because consequently the children of both these categories are designated by the terms which are also used for full siblings.[1] But the terminology is less designed to classify people according to the position they occupy in respect of the lineage than to determine whether they belong to groups whose women may be married.

Kinship roles are terminologically distinguished by reference to sex. A man calls his brother tots'e, and a woman calls her sister tots'esu; these terms may be translated as 'similar sibling, male' and 'similar sibling, female'.[2]

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1 1916, 126.

2 Also tots'su or tóus'su for 'sister', cf. van de Kimmenade, 1954, 56. Etymologically to-ts'-e (brother) may be: "come(s)-out - as self - he who", i.e. one who is born out of the same lineage and who is biologically similar. To-ts'-e-su (sister) would indicate that she is biologically the same as the speaker (-su is a feminine suffix).

A man calls his sister hlisu, and a woman calles her brother n//ahle; in translation these terms would then become 'dissimilar sibling, female' and 'dissimilar sibling, male'.[1]

Bothe father's sisters and mother's sisters are called by the same name, as Dempwolff tells us; both categories are 'mothers' (mésu or ívo).[2] We have seen that father's brothers are 'fathers' (tatá), but the mother's brothers are called maame.[3] His children are also set apart: unlike the father's brothers' children who are 'brothers' and 'sisters' the maternal uncle's children are called ahle (for the male) and ahlesu (the female), irrespective of the sex of the speaker. This group forms a marriageable category, which the first mentioned are not. A man may marry his ahlesu (matrilateral cross-cousin)[4] but not his hlisu ('sister' or parallel cousin).[5]

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1 Dempwolff, op.cit., 125, calls him //naga (n//ahla in our orthography). A final a is sometimes used.

2 Mésu is a term of reference only; ívo is also a term of address. Another term for 'father' (tatá) is hets'e which is only used for reference, cf. van de Kimmenade, 1954, 41, 'son père à lui'. Dempwolff, op.cit., 45, only lists hets'e in the meaning of 'head of a clan'.

3 Van de Kimmenade, 1954,48,writes mamé (different tonal value).

4 Dempwolff, loc.cit.; van de Kimmenade, 1936, 440. Although cross-cousin marriages are perfectly in order they are not preferential, even though the terminology may perhaps suggest that they are. In addition to the normal bride-wealth elemo has to be paid in such marriages. Dempwolff, 1916, 44, translates this term as 'Sühne' (atonement, expiation); van de Kimmenade renders it as 'profanation, sacrilege'.

5 According to an informant hli-au may be 'drops off - she(who)' i.e. a member of the lineage who drops out by marriage; cf. text No.59.

The category 'mother's brother' forms the connecting link with the marriageable collateral line. It is the pivot around which the good relations revolve which exist with it by virtue of the mother's siblingship with that category; it is the generation of the mother's family with the closest ties with one's own sibling group. The mother's brother tends to maintain a fairly confidential relationship with his sister's children, but they cannot address him in a free or joking manner and they must show respect. Very correct behaviour is in fact demanded, and I would therefore not characterize the Sandawe mother's brother as a sort of 'male mother' as has been suggested for other societies.[1] He belongs to a different lineage and he does not try to exercise authority over his sister's child but he acts as a haven of refuge in case of trouble. In this way he competes with the father in popularity. He may help his sister's son by lending bridewealth, but he will not give it since he belongs to a different clan, and if he borrows cattle from his sister's son he will have to return it. Property left in the hands of a father's brother, on the contrary, is not in 'foreign' hands and will not cause stresses between clans.[2]

The term maame is reciprocal: it is also the designation for a sister's son.[3] Radcliffe-Brown remarks that such "...symmetrical terminology suggests that the social relation may also be symmetrical", but he concedes that in the case he has under review this may not be really so.[4] In the case of

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1 Radcliffe-Brown, 1962, 25; also 1924.

2 Text 172 describes difficulties with a mother's brother.

3 The Sandawe term is obviously the same as the Nandi mama which is also reciprocal, viz. Radcliffe-Brown, 1962, 34.

4 ibid.

the Sandawe complete symmetry exists, in the reciprocal terms of address as well as in the terms of reference.[1] But if a senior member of a woman's lineage allows a junior member of her husband's lineage to reciprocate his greeting in the same terms, this is not a proclamation of equality. It is a show of goodwill rather than that it amounts to an acknowledgement of a supposed symmetrical relationship.

Seniority is no obstacle in the relationship between grandchildren and their grandparents. This takes on a distinct flavour of irreverend equality and the joking nature of it allows the former at times to be positively rude.[2] Both the father's and the mother's parents share in this attitude and grandparents are called by the same terms which they use to address their grandchildren, kokó for 'grandfather' and mamá for 'grandmother'.[3] These terms are therefore quite reciprocal, like maama, but in the grandparent-grandchild relationship there are also terms of reference which are not entirely reciprocal. A grandchild is referred to as béreku (male) or bérekusu (female) but these terms are not used for 'grandfather' or 'grandmother' in ordinary references, only as terms of address.[4] Here we have a case of an asymmetrical terminology for a symmetrical relationship.

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1 Another term is sakoró, cf. Dempwolff, op.cit., 50. This is a term of address only, and used reciprocally. A third term is búlai, also a term of address and also reciprocal.

2 See riddle texts 28 and 48.

3 Máma (with high tone on the first syllable) means 'great-grandmother'; van de Kimmenade, 1954, 48, writes máma for 'grandmother' but this is a mistake.

4 Dempwolff mentions only the meaning of 'grandchild' but van de Kimmenade, 1954, 35, also gives the reciprocal meaning, however without mentioning the limitation of its use.

Van de Kimmenade tells us that "a man carefully avoids the wife of his son, the sister's son [avoids] the wife of his uncle, and the son-in-law his mother-in-law."[1] Mother-in-law avoidance is strong among the Sandawe, but it wears off with time and after the birth of some children it may be lifted altogether; this new and free state of affairs has then to be expiated with a sacrifice.[2] The term for in-laws is !'aná; this is a term of reference only since they do not address one another, and it is reciprocal: it means 'parents-in-law' as well as 'children-in-law'.[3] The strength of this avoidance is well illustrated by van de Kimmenade when he reports that children cover their faces upon entering a classroom when they notice that one of their !'aná is already inside. He also tells us that people were ill at ease when he buried a man next to the grave of his mother-in-law.[4] Avoidance is strongest between in-laws of different generations who differ in sex. A son-in-law will step off the path and face away if he happens to meet his mother-in-law, and he will keep quiet and never even look at her, but a father-in-law demands only respectful silence from his son-in-law; only for the duration of the wedding ceremonies they will stay out of sight from one another.

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1 van de Kimmenade, 1936, 404 (translation mine).

2 Dempwolff, op.cit., p.126. Mother-in-law avoidance is sung about in text 171 of this thesis.

3 Singular and plural forms are the same in Sandawe. The masculine form is !'aná, the feminine !'anésu, cf. Dempwolff, op.cit., 41. Van de Kimmenade includes the sister-in-law in the category of !'aná, but this is incorrect; she is called halímasu and she does not belong to the category of people one has to avoid; van de Kimmenade, 1936, 404.

4 loc.cit.

The brother-in-law, who belongs to the same generation, is not the object of such restraint, nor is his wife. He is called bogé, and this very term illustrates clearly that with this member of the same generation relations are relaxed, for its means 'one who one may speak to'.[1]

Marriage: monogamy and polygyny.

Van de Kimmenade states that the tribe of the Sandawe is monogamous, and that the Sandawe themselves say that polygamy is bad because the husband would constantly have to watch the activities of his young wives, especially if he has grown-up sons from his first marriage; that the institution causes many disputes and that polygyny is consequently rare.[2] But Dempwolff's informant Habuni assures us that "with us polygyny is frequent, the Rimi have introduced it."[3] The latter part of his statement shows that he does not think that polygyny is originally a Sandawe institution and it suggests that he does not consider it to be an ideal one. For he adds: "When you marry a second wife, you must build a new house, clear a new field, also provide new cattle, and goats, hoes, axes, adzes, in short, all goods you must provide anew."[4] Von Luschan also

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1 Bo-gé, lit.: 'speak - one who does'. The term of address is komba which has the same meaning since it is composed of the elements ko (urgency), mbo (speak), and a (he). Drexel, 1929, 52, seeks to explain the second syllable ba as a masculine formative element which I do not believe to be a tenable interpretation. In Chapter II, Grammatical gender, we shall see that much of his theory is invalid.

2 1936, 398.

3 Dempwolff, op.cit.,137 (text 31).

4 ibid., Habuni's father had a legal wife and two mistresses to provide for; op.cit.,131 and also Dempwolff's tables XIIIe and f, p.130.

states that polygyny is common but that a man seldom marries more than two wives,[1] but it should be noted that as a member of Werther's expedition he visited the northwestern quadrant of the country which is heavily infiltrated by Rimi, rich in cattle, and a-typical for the Sandawe.[2] Bagshawe says that "the Sandawi may marry as many wives as they like, but I think that polygamists are in a minority"[3] and: "each wife should have a separate house, and a polygamist must not cohabit with one wife longer than three days."[4] Dempwolff concludes from his genealogies that out of the ninety marriages which are shown in them eighty are seemingly monogamous and ten polygynous.[5] Since these tables show a predominance of prominent families who are rich in cattle and can afford more wives, the percentage of polygynous households for the whole tribe would be considerably lower than his figures suggest. Even for the prominent families alone the figure would probably have to be reduced, for the data do not show whether more than one wife had been married to one husband at the same time or in succession. Neither do they clearly distinguish between wives and concubines, as his genealogy of Habuni shows us.[6] It should be borne in mind also that in societies where polygamy is a desirable goal,

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1 1898, 342.

2 See Appendix V.

3 1925, 337.

4 ibid., 338.

5 Op.cit., 133. Included are genealogies of Alagwa chiefs, of the leaders of the Xats'as'tá clans, of Habuni's own cattle-owning Warimba clan and other lineages which can be identified as comparatively rich ones.

6 See note 4, p.37.

the actual percentage of composite households is usually not high.[1] Dempwolff's material does not exclude the possibility that the overall percentage of Sandawe polygynous households was actually very low when he collected his data. To-day this certainly appears to be the case; the spread of Christianity may have added further weight to the Sandawe ideal of monogamy.[2]

Acquiring a wife.

The Sandawe marry comparatively late. Van de Kimmenade puts the ages of the men at between 20 and 30 years, but he adds that this pattern tends to disappear because of inter-marriage with the Rimi who marry very young.[3] Another account confirms that Sandawe girls do not get married until they are seventeen or so, and that there are no child marriages[4] whereas Rimi girls may be married off at very tender ages indeed.[5]

Sandawe girls are married for their beauty and for their character, and they must not be quarrelsome or lazy.[6] A light

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1 Dorjahn, 1959. Rigby, 1964, confirms that the figure for the Gogo, who prize polygamy, varies between 10 and 15 %.

2 According to mission figures over 70 % of the Sandawe are now at least nominally Catholics. Of the men named in Appendix IV only No.6 and No.15 have had more than one wife at the time as far as I know, and both are Alagwa chiefs and nominal Muslims.

3 1936, 399.

4 Anon., 1957.

5 Van de Kimmenade, loc.cit.

6 The lazy wife is a common subject of scorn in poetry, viz. texts 168 and 169. References to the desirability of a beautiful girl are equally common, cf. texts 74 and 162, and 164 abouth lovelorn youths.

complexion is prized but peppercorn hair is not.[1] Parents and elders exercise control over the details of the marriage agreement and make arrangements for the rituals, but they have little say in the choice of a partner except in the sense that they could theoretically refuse to provide bridewealth if a girl is thought to be entirely unsuitable. They would prevent it if the match would clash with marriage taboos. Girls are free to reject suitors they do not want, and they actively influence a youth's choice, especially at dances.[2] Bagehawe comments that in theory a girl may have no intercourse before marriage but that in practice little attention is paid to what she does; however, an ox is to be paid by the man who deflowers her.[3] Her virtue as a wife lies in fertility rather than in fidelity; many of the texts in this thesis testify to the great freedom which the Sandawe woman allows herself. Marriage is a woman's ultimate duty and reluctance to enter into it invites mocking scorn.[4]

The time for courtship and marriage is the dry season when the harvests are in, food is abundant and there is little work to do. Van de Kimmenade describes the atmosphere in the following terms:

"The herds are joined together and they go far afield in search of grazing; each of the men guards them in turns of

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1 A food taboo determines that children must not eat the parts of cattle and goat stomachs which have a granulated inner surface which looks like peppercorn hair. Magic of similarity would cause their own hair to develop that way if they eat it.

2 In particular the landá. See Chapter VII, section C.

3 1925,338. This has more to do with the right to her fertility than with virginity, yet virginity is prized.

4 Texts 140 and 165 express this.

> four days. At this time the youths think of dancing. The dance of the young, of the youths and the girls, is called landá; it takes place during the evening until midnight at some distance from the homesteads around a large fire. In these circumstances the youth selects a girl who pleases him: he gives her a little gift, usually a string of beads, and if she accepts this is regarded as her consent to marriage."[1]

Bagshawe tells us that the youth will then carry her off with the help of his female relatives and that the family of the girl will raid his home in mock retaliation for the abduction and carry off as many goats as they can.[2] Another account simply says that the youth carries off the girl from the dance.[3] Van de Kimmenade adds that she is taken to the youth's home by his 'sisters' and that she stays there in the girls' hut without being allowed contact with her fiancé.[4] But information supplied by Dempwolff's informant Habuni shows us that we do not have to do here with any real abduction on the spur of the moment, that usually the youth and the girl have talked things over as they may be expected to have done, and that their parents know of the romance.[5] Thus the abduction is more like a ritual of formal engagement than a proper marriage by capture.

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1 1936, 399 (translation mine). The number of days in each tour of guardianship is not rigidly fixed; some clans prefer tours of six days. The roster of duties is fixed by elders to suit the circumstances. The dances may be held near cattle camps of near the homesteads; there is no regular transhumance and usually the combined cattle are driven to the homestead of one of the owners each night. The bead symbolism will be discussed later.

2 1925, 337-38.

3 Anon., 1957.

4 1936, 400.

5 1916, 77 (text 30).

It has been suggested that abduction is the second of two distinct forms of marriage, the first being the negotiated type.[1] It is indeed not at all necessary that a girl is taken into her confinement from a dance. She may well go there from her own home or from the fields, but even then she is taken up by her fiancé's 'sisters' and escorted to their hut, as in the case of the dance abduction. She is expected to put up a show of resistance, but this she also does when she is taken from the dance. Raiding in retaliation must be seen as a show of surprise and protest from the part of the girl's family when the engagement has come off rather too suddenly in a whirlwind romance, and all the people concerned have not been properly informed. It then looks as if she has been 'stolen' and the suitor's family are made to agree to an additional payment to the bridewealth which will be retained from the raided goats.

Go-betweens, bridewealth, and setting up home.

Once the girl has left her parental home the family will make inquiries as to where she has gone even though normally they know very well where she is. By doing so they make it known that there are marriage palavers in the offing. To make the inquiries and to conduct the subsequent negotiations for them they appoint a go-between (mutumé) who is usually an unrelated but trusted neighbour.[2] Members of the household may accompany him, as well as any other interested neighbour, but not the parents.[3] They ostensibly go to fetch the girl back but upon arrival at the suitor's home they will be told

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1 Anon., op.cit.

2 Also mitoma (van de Kimmenade, loc.cit.), motoma (van de Kimmenade, 1954, 49), and mutumo (Dempwolff, 1916, 49). There may be more than one go-between (same term in the plural).

3 As prospective parents-in-law they retain their decorum by staying away (avoidance).

that she has been taken to stay where she is with a view to marriage. When the visitors do not object to this in principle they will demand from the suitor's family a goat called the 'goat of the flour' (ǂumé hlaa) to compensate them for the girl's absence, for she cannot now do her usual chores at home and her mother has to do all the flour grinding instead.[1] The go-betweens and the visiting party are rewarded with a goat which is called 'the one who lights the fire' (//'i ná'a); this animal is slaughtered on the spot and eaten by all present to witness the succesful conclusion of the negotiations.[2]

The bridewealth includes an 'excision goat' (waré hlaa) which is given to the woman who has excised her clitoris at her initiation rites,[3] and a goat called 'the necklaces of the house'(khoo malanda) which is given to her mother.[4] An ox for the girl's virginity is promised by the suitor's representatives if the girl proves to be a virgin. This ox is called míla (the entry) or kundí (the fist); either term refers to the opening of her womb.[5] The term míla also means 'virginity' and

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1 Van de Kimmenade, 1936, 400, speaks of úme dhla; úme is a printing mistake. In Dempwolff's text No.30, op.cit.,p.135, the girl's father demands: "ǂkumeko ǂnaxsuú" (bring us flour)

2 Also called 'the one that makes the fire flame'(//'i ǂhewei), as mentioned by van de Kimmenade, loc.cit.(he does not give the meaning). He points out that it is given to the go-betweens because they have to eat well after their efforts.

3 See Chapter 6, section B.

4 Khoo-ma landá may be explained as 'the landá dance which leads to the [new] house'; van de Kimmenade, 1936,400, describes this animal as 'celle des danses'. Perhaps better is the translation 'the house's necklaces' as suggested by a local magistrate. At her coming out of confinement the bride is covered in necklaces (malanda). More than one explanation of Sandawe symbolic terminology is often possible.

5 Van de Kimmenade, 1954, 48, distinguishes between mila, the room of the house where the fire burns, or entrance room, and míla, hymen or virginity. Dempwolff,op.cit.,,48, lists mila as virginity or a fine for deflowering. The fist stands for something closed which is opened.

it represents here the transfer of the rights to the bride's fertility to the lineage of her husband. Sandawe say that the payment of the animal serves 'to open the door' (kitangá niowekume); the term used for 'the door' (kitangá) is also used to indicate a family or a lineage segment which traces its origin to a particular 'door'.[1] If the bride turns out to be not a virgin she must name the man who deflowered her so that her family can demand the mila payment from him instead of from the husband.

Another head of cattle, the 'hoe handle' (kolõ thee) is paid to recompense the bride's family for the loss of her labour in the field;[2] the 'gift' (ke'ao) is paid to establish good relations between the two sides;[3] and two further cows are transferred which are called 'the light' (nanki) and 'the daughter of the light' (nanki n//osu). The former represents the coming-out of the bride from her dark confinement into the open and her rebirth into the husband's home whereas the latter stands for the expected birth of her baby into that home.[4]

To these bridewealth transfers another heifer is sometimes added, the one for 'the shame' (mira), if some irregularity exists in the marriage. If some taboo is broken which demands propitiation the 'expiation' (ɗlamo) must be paid; this happens, for example, when a marriage is held during the period of

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1 See p.20.

2 Van de Kimmenade, 1936, loc.cit.('kolõ the').

3 In the classic function of gift-giving. See Mauss, 1954.

4 The transition from dark to light is to be taken literally. Sandawe houses are very dark inside. Obviously this symbolizes integration after the rite of separation by abduction and the ritual transition in confinement, as interpreted by van Gennep, 1960, 116-8. The idea of rebirth is very real too: during a confinement a Sandawe said: "Now she is in the womb" (sweaii gũbskitaaa ive). Dempwolff, 1916, 49, lists the meaning of nanki only as 'stable'.

mourning for some member of either family. A 'heifer which goes ahead'(ǃʼǂʼena dama) may be transferred if more bridewealth is demanded than usual; this term may also be applied to the head of cattle which goes ahead of the other bridewealth cattle in any marriage, especially if long delays are expected. At an important marriage an extra ox called 'meat'(n/ǂ) may be provided for eating by the guests, but this may also be just another name for 'the one who lights the fire'. Bridewealth terminology is not rigidly uniform everywhere and some payments are known under different names.

A rare but important rite is the transfer and sacrifice of the animal called 'she through whom the umbilical cord is cut' (ǃhuǂkh n/en/eʼǂsŭ) if there exists a closer relationship between the groom and his bride than can be atoned for by the payment of 'shame', for example, if it is discovered that they are parrallel cousins of however remote a degree.[1] This cuts the "umbilical cord" which ties the two in a blood relationship.[2]

Bridewealth has been discussed in terms of cattle and goats but it needs to be stressed that many Sandawe have little or no cattle,[3] and that in the poorer parts beehives, honey, arrowheads, beads, and a few goats may still be given instead.[4] It has also to be pointed out that bridewealth is rarely paid at once, but ideally everything should have been transferred at the time the first children have been born.

Some days after 'the one who lights the fire' has been slaughtered and eaten the husband takes his bride to his parents' home in a procession which he heads in triumph. The throng is

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1 This happened recently when it was realized that a bride's father had been adopted, having been a clansman of the groom. Although unrelated now through adoption, the couple made certain of their unrelatedness by cutting the cord.

2 cf. incest-cutting sacrifices as described for the Nuer by Evans-Pritchard, 1956, 184-5.

3 Bagshawe, 1925, 338.

4 In text No.15 the poor man pays only two goats.

often stopped by friends, neighbours and relatives of the bride who expect the groom to give them small presents. After arrival the husband's sister asperses the newly-weds with cold water and pronounces a blessing.[1] A series of ceremonies then follow to sanctify the wedding at the paternal home: the bride is given a ceremonial meal of porridge and honey by her new relatives, during which she is hand-fed like an unweaned child (ts'intę);[2] she is anointed with fat and given beads; the next day her brothers and sisters will arrive to hand over presents to the husband at a greeting ceremony during which they address him as their brother-in-law (bogé), and finally he takes his wife into his hut at his father's homestead.[3]

During the first year the newly-weds will stay at the home of both parents several times, helping them. During this period the husband is expected to build a house of his own. When this is ready a new fire must be lit in it with a fire drill (herendę) which is then treated with medicines and buried in front of the door. This is thought to protect the house (khoo miri-g', 'house medicine).[4]

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1 Text Nos.75, 76 and 77. For the gifts, see Text No.151.

2 This represents the growing up of the bride in her new home like a newborn infant. We have seen that the panki ('the light') symbolized her birth.

3 Dempwolff,1916, 137. According to Habuni he hides his head under cloth.

4 Rigby describes similar procedures for the Gogo (1964, 179). Ethnographic material on the ritual use of fire is extensive and its symbolic importance is universal. As in ancient Greece the hearth, ἐπιστίον ('that which is near the hearth') may here be taken as a symbol of the agnatic family, cf. Fustel de Coulanges, 1882, 72. In texts 173 and 174 of this thesis the arrival of foreign clans is described in terms of their fires which are seen in the distance. The Sandawe word mila-tę means 'at the fireplace' but also 'home fire' and 'marital home'.

The completion of the marriage, divorce and adultery.

The first child should be born in the house of the wife's mother. The child's father is not allowed to see it until the umbilical cord has dropped off; he is then shown his child for the first time and the naming ceremony can then be held.[1] When the child has been weaned the husband takes his wife and child to the house which he has built. When the fire has been ritually lit and the protection of the house has been secured by medicines it has become the permanent home for the wife, and the marriage is complete.[2] There are no hard and fast rules about the time when the young family should move into their new home; much depends on the energy with which the husband prepares it. Even after moving in the wife will continue to pay frequent visits to her old home. Marriage ceremonies do not in themselves conclude the wedding, they only begin it and form a significant stage in the gradual process of transition which they symbolize. In a sense the new home does not mark the end of this process yet, and the real completion of a marriage may be seen in the wife's initiation into elderhood after the birth of two children.[3]

Adultery is frequent and reference to it is common in Sandawe oral literature.[4] Terms for an adulterer or a lover are wamó (fem. wamósu,'friend'), buya, or safba; the latter term is most used in songs.[5] It is assumed that every woman has a lover but she must not be found out lest she be beaten repeatedly on the legs and feet and kept tied to a house post for all to see.[6]

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1 Van de Kimmenade, 1936, 401.

2 Children are weaned early, often after only six months or so.

3 See Chapter VI, section D, Mirimó.

4 Van de Kimmenade, op.cit., 415, says "very frequent".

5 Buya is Bantu, cf. Gogo mbuya.

6 Dempwolff, op.cit.,123.

The object is to punish by humiliation and no blood should be drawn in such punishemnts, for this would result in the husband being fined by the wife's family.[1] But if caught *in flagrante delicto* an adulterer may be killed, and fines are always payable; Bagshawe mentions that the fine for adultery is an ox and two goats.[2] Killings are now discouraged by the enforcement of the law but they still occur occasionally; Habuni describes a shooting match with arrows by a wronged husband.[3] Adultery is not a ground for divorce, but laziness, quarrelsomeness and barrenness are, and beatings which result in the drawing of blood provide a justifiable reason for a wife to leave her husband.[4] In divorce the bridewealth is claimed back by the husband, but for each child which has been born the wife's family is entitled to keep parts of it, and beatings are also fined by the retention of bridewealth according to the circumstances.[5] Once the divorce is settled the woman has the right to re-marry. The man may take a new wife without waiting for the return of the bridewealth if he

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1 Beating on the body must also be avoided. The Sandawe used to perform autopsies on their dead to establish the cause of death. Any lesion found on the body which could be traced to a beating would be considered the ultimate cause of death, no matter how long ago the wound had been inflicted, and full manslaughter fines would then be payable.

2 1925, 339. The crucial fine is the 'elephant's bedspread' (*n/waá ts'adé*), i.e. the fine for adultery in the bush, the realm of the elephant. Mention of this fine is made by van de Kimmenade, 1936, 415; Dempwolff, 1916, 120 (text 19); *ibid.*, 121 (text 20); and 122 (texts 21 and 22); and also by Hamp, 1962, 181. The first two writers merely give the translation of the fine; Hamp guesses its meaning.

3 Dempwolff, 1916, 113.

4 Van de Kimmenade, 1936, 402-3, but he makes no reference to the drawing of blood.

5 Van de Kimmenade, *loc.cit.*; Bagshawe, *loc.cit.*

can afford it.

The Sandawe believe that conception is closely related to menstruation and that intercourse during this period results in pregnancy; a girl who takes a lover will therefore warn him about her condition which is called 'the illness of the taboo' (moko k'wa'o).[1] Usually a youth will marry the girl if she gets pregnant. If an unmarried woman bears a child and the father refuses to marry her, then the brother of the child's mother is to provide for its maintenance; for this he will demand from the genitor a cow which is called 'the educator of the womb['s issue]' (guba amɛ́i).[2] The child will then be absorbed into the brother's family. It will grow up as a full member of his lineage and clan, and it will not be the victim of any stigma.[3]

Yet illegitimacy exists and the Sandawe have a word for illegitimate children or bastards: mandawa. A brother may refuse to accept his sister's children if she is a witch (tl'wesŭ or misabésŭ) or a prostitute (kindísu or zízi) which in some cases is almost as bad as being a witch.[4] A prostitute is defined as someone 'who does not chose', as a result of which she will be unable to point out her child's genitor and the collection of fines will then become impossible. For such a woman it may become extremely difficult to be married within the tribe. Even if she finds a man who would be willing to marry her, his family may refuse to help him with the bridewealth. Illegitimacy is therefore less the result of extra-marital relations which may be privately condemned, than of indiscriminate indulgence which is socially rejected.

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1 Van de Kimmenade, 1936, 415. Moko is from the Bantu mwiko, 'taboo'. Text No.166 deals with this prohibition.

2 Dempwolff, 1916, 122. Guba means 'womb' but also 'foetus'.

3 A man who has children by a concubine usually makes payments for them to her family; the children are then legally his.

4 Van de Kimmenade, loc.cit., says that to be called a prostitute is only just short of being accused of witchcraft.

Some aspects of the economy.

Bagshawe says of the Sandawe that "they are quite at home in the bush, upon the products of which they still live and grow fat when other tribes are starving."[1] While it may be true that they are less affected by the effects of drought than some of the surrounding tribes, especially the Gogo, the Sandawe do suffer when the crops fail. Some severe famines have even caused a considerable exodus of people to other parts where they could expect a more secure existence.[2] Outstanding in this respect have been the famines of 1896 and 1919 which are named after the countries to which Sandawe then emigrated.[3] Failure of the rains is the most important single cause of subsistence difficulties, but locusts, catarpillar pests, and cattle diseases also form severe threats. Not all of these setbacks are serious enough to be named but those which have been named provide a workable scale by which historical events can be dated and the ages of individual people estimated. Only of one neighbouring tribe, the Gogo, is a detailed famine calendar available, and although rain failures are often highly localized it shows a remarkable agreement with the Sandawe calendar.[4] Severe famines provide some striking samples of poetry in Sandawe literature, and even good years may be sung about.[5]

The nutritional position of the tribe may be called good

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1 1925, 224.

2 The Rimi and the Rangi enjoy better rainfall, the Gogo suffer from more erratic rainfall than the Sandawe. Being more agricultural, these peoples are also more vulnerable. Gogoland is the dustbowl of central Tanzania; southern Sandawe shares in this characteristic. Appendix I shows some population losses.

3 The Rangi famine (Walangí naragu) and the Fiome famine (Fiém' náragu).

4 Gogo: Rigby, 1964, 21; Sandawe: Appendix III.

5 Famine: Texts 108, 133, and 145. Prosperity: Text 147.

in comparison with the surrounding peoples. Deficiency diseases like kwashiorkor which appears to be rife among the Rimi do not seem to occur among the Sandawe. There is a striking difference in the amount of vegetable relish (nánŭ) and meat (n/ĭ) which the Sandawe eat with their porridge (núa), and what neighbouring tribes consume.[1] Bagshawe says that the Sandawe kill a great deal of game, and in the more populated areas people do sometimes complain about a shortage of game for hunting. Bagshawe also states that the Sandawe are great fishermen and honey hunters and that they do a large trade in beeswax.[2] The fishing industry may come as a surprise, for the country has hardly any permanent water. The principal fish is catfish (nuxé) which burrows in the mud to "hibernate" when the seasonal rivers dry up. Much of it is exported to the market of Kondoa where as early as 1912 ten thousand fish were sold in a year.[3] Most of the fish at Kondoa is said to come from Sandawe country.[4] The Sandawe have few general food taboos, and unlike some neighbouring tribes they like eggs and fish. Even python and hyenas are said to have been eaten in the past but the belief

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1 Among the surrounding tribes perhaps only the diet of the meat-eating and milk-and-blood-drinking Barabaiga is as balanced as that of the Sandawe, although quite different. No detailed study has ever been made to my knowledge, and these impressions have been gained from personal observations and discussions with administrative and medical officers in the area. Berger, 1951, 972, says that a greater consumption of vegetables and fat by the Sandawe would be an advantage. This may be true for some of the better developed parts with comparatively much horticulture.

2 1925, 224.

3 Amtliches Jahresbericht 1912/3, 48.

4 Local information.

that these are connected with witchcraft has become general and therefore they are now avoided.[1]

The principal crops are sorghums, millets, and eleusine; the collective term for all these is /waa ('grains'). They are phembaa (Andropogon sorghum), the reddish sorghum which is somewhat reminiscent of a bunch of grapes and the principal ingredient for beer brewing;[2] lalanga, which is the main basis for porridge flour;[3] berē (Pennisetum spaticum), also called bullrush millet, which is perhaps the most drought-resistant of the grain crops and which is used for beer making as well as for food;[4] gorombá (Eleusina coricana);[5] and ihekoo, 'finger millet'.[6] Maize (n/ini) is also grown; this is called ána in the south-east[7] and mambatú'a in the southern plains.[8] Small quantities of cassava (muhogo, from the Swahili) and sweet potatoes (phoká) are grown. Other crops are kalangá (groundnuts), kozigá (Bambara nuts) and tumako (tobacco). The principal cash crop is castor seed (aa'ú); the cultivation

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1 Some Gogo still say that the Sandawe eat snake (Rigby, private comm.); some Rimi say that the Sandawe used to eat hyena. One clan is called Walámpit', from the Rimi wala-mpiti, 'hyena-eaters'.

2 Rimi ufemba (Olson, private comm.) or upemba (von Sick, 1915, 18); Gogo uhemba (Claus 1911, 17), also hembahemba (Rigby, 1964, 28).

3 Rimi langilanga (von Sick, loc.cit.); Gogo lugugu (Claus, Rigby, both loc.cit.)

4 Rimi uvee (Olson) or owe (von Sick); Gogo uwele (Claus) or wuwele (Rigby).

5 Rimi ntono (Olson); Gogo (?)mohoni (Claus).

6 Rimi mkihi (Olson) or ukoi (von Sick). From these comparisons and the descriptions given by these writers the Sandawe grain crops could be identified.

7 cf. Ngomvia ána (Claus, 1910, 492).

8 Mamba-tú-a: 'the reptiles come out', a reference to the phallic shape of an ear of maize, thought to be obscenely funny by other Sandawe.

of this is much encouraged by the government and in 1962 the Sandawe Cooperative was opened at Kwa Mtoro with the purpose of marketing it. As a cash crop it now exceeds the value of beeswax which is the traditional Sandawe export product. The tribe are ardent bee-keepers, but most of the honey is used to make honey-beer (tshĪ k'amé) for important occasions. A large variety of gourd plants, cucumbers, pumpkins, and melons are grown in little garden plots and on dung heaps by the houses. There are also many famine crops, the seeds of certain grasses which are threshed out in times of famine. The variety of wild fruits, kernels and nuts and bulbous roots which are eaten is also considerable. Apart from their food value, the gourd plants are of great importance for making drinking vessels, food dishes, pots, snuff boxes and various containers, and also musical instruments. From the literature we shall see that they are also symbolically important.

The Sandawe now have a limited money economy. Apart from produce they sell livestock at the cattle markets (minada, Swahili) to pay their taxes and to obtain money for various cash needs. The value of livestock in cash terms is still quite separate from their exchange value in the traditional transactions of bridewealth and dispute settlements.

The Rimi and the Gogo have been characterized as 'cattle-holding peoples' as opposed to real 'cattle tribes' such as the Maasai.[1] This is also applicable to the Sandawe. Obst tells us that "the Sandawe have a surplus of cattle rather than of produce of the fields."[2] They keep cattle, goats, sheep and donkeys. The numbers of livestock are subject to considerable

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1 Herskovits, n.d., 37.

2 Obst, 1923, 259.

fluctuations; details of these are given in Appendix II, but average figures of 60,000 cattle, 45,000 goats and 9,000 sheep seem to be a reasonable estimate. According to the Native Cattle Census of 1959 there were 2,740 livestock owners; this puts the number of cattle per owner at an average of twenty two, and per head of the population at three.[1] Sandawe cattle are short-horned, humped and fairly small. Cattle, goats and sheep are rarely slaughtered without there being a sacrificial justification for it, but there are enough of these occasions to keep the people in a reasonable supply of meat. This is supplemented by fowls and by the meat of game animals.

The donkeys of the Sandawe are half wild. They are only used for occasional duties as pack animals on honey-collecting expeditions and for taking produce for the auctions in town.[2] Their meat is not eaten; this is not because of a taboo but because it is not liked.[3] Dogs are kept for herding and hunting rather than as watchdogs and some people look after them better than would be usual elsewhere.[4] Baumann and von Luschan have both commented upon the many and beautiful chickens which the Sandawe keep; both the meat and the eggs are prized as food. They are slaughtered for sacrifices but also to regale honoured guests.

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1 Kondoa District Book, 1959.

2 Texts 148 and 160.

3 The Gogo sacrifice the same animals as the Sandawe (Rigby, 1964, 62) and for the same resons. Donkeys are not sacrificial animals.

4 Text No.157.

CHAPTER II

LANGUAGE AND INTERPRETATION

Sandawe linguistic studies.

A number of speculations have been made on the linguistic affinites of Sandawe but it cannot be said that the language is adequately known yet to linguists. The first speech samples were published by Baumann; he did not distinguish between the different click phonemes and for this reason alone his material is quite inadequate.[1] Nigmann gives us the first short vocabulary list; he notices that several 'throat and click sounds' are often syllabic.[2] On the strength of this still very insufficient material Trombetti attempted to establish the relationship between Sandawe and Nama-Hottentot, including both in a Hamito-Semitic language family which he believed to extend through Africa in a southern direction as far as the Cape of Good Hope.[3] Serious linguistic work on Sandawe was first undertaken by Dempwolff whose admirable book is of lasting value not only to the linguist but also to the social anthropologist; it is wholly based on a great number of texts collected by him in the vernacular. These include descriptions by Sandawe of their own laws and customs as well as a considerable amount of oral literature: five stories and no less than fifty songs of various kinds. The first part of the work is formed by a linguistic analysis and vocabularies.[4]

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1 1894, 368-9.

2 1909, 127.

3 1910. He believes that all languages, including this family, are ultimately of Asiatic origin.

4 Op.cit., 1916, described as a "pamphlet" (sic!) by Bagshawe, 1924, 30.

Before him, the collection of Sandawe vocabulary material had been added to by details supplied by von Luschan[1] and Fuchs.[2]

In 1908 the first mission was opened at Kurio by Fr.Lemblé who made a study of the language for the practical purpose of missionary work.[3] His notes, which are said to have been detailed and comprehensive, were lost during the war of 1914-18. Some brief notes which he wrote later at the request of Bagshawe were published by the latter in 1925;[4] also preserved are a short pencil-written manuscript[5] and a grammatical sketch based on this manuscript, in the Kondoa District Book.[6] His main surviving work is a catechism written in the Sandawe language.[7]

A further comparative study, of the sex gender in Sandawe and in Nama Hottentot, was made by Drexel who - unlike Trombetti - could use Dempwolff's reliable work as a basis.[8] Copland's paper most usefully clarifies some difficulties in Dempwolff's phonology.[9] Stopa, in a series of papers, is mainly concerned with the evolution of injectives (clicks) to

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1 IN Werther, 1898 (vernacular names of collected objects).

2 1907 (some plant names).

3 Bagshawe, 1925, 333. The original mission belonged to the Roman Catholic Order of the Holy Ghost; in 1935 they handed over to the Passionist Fathers from Italy.

4 IN Bagshawe, 1925, 343-7.

5 n.d., Farkwa Mission.

6 1936, inserted by Budge.

7 Sandaue Katekisimu, 1926. The only publication in Sandawe.

8 1929.

9 His treatment of the plosive consonants k,p,y, and of the laterals and ejectives have greatly helped me to overcome some of the intricacies of these sounds. Difficulties of stress, tone and vowel length have not been tackled by him. (1938)

explosive sounds in Bushman/Hottentot languages and in Sandawe.[1]

The most important contributor to Sandawe studies after Dempwolff is van de Kimmenade. His first paper (1936) is ethnographic and an improvement on Bagshawe (1925) and it even contains details of terminology which cannot be found in Dempwolff. His second work (1954) has not been published; it includes a grammatical sketch which is more detailed than what is left of Lembé's notes, and a vocabulary which considerably exceeds Dempwolff's in extent. But whereas Dempwolff analyses the linguistic elements of his Sandawe texts, van de Kimmenade tries to organize a grammar according to the traditional categories of European grammars. Dempwolff's work therefore gives us a better insight into the structure of the language.[2] Köhler-Mayer comments upon some apparent discrepancies between Dempwolff's and van de Kimmenade's material.[3]

Papers by Jackson and Loveridge[4] and Swynnerton[5] contain lists of the vernacular names of game animals; Greenway adds some items on animal diseases and anatomy,[6] and two papers by

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1 1958 ; 1960. According to him nasalized clicks are the principal catalyst in the gradual disappearance of injectives (clicks). If this development may be assumed to have occurred the voiced clicks seem to be more active catalysts in Sandawe than the nasalized ones, cf. notes under text No. 174. Stopa attributes the cause of this supposed evolution to the simultaneous use of several muscles and two different sound chambers in the production of the click sound. The argument which he adduces for the nasalized clicks would equally apply to the voiced clicks.

2 Although not published in print van de Kimmenade's paper is available in microfilm: MBA 1954.

3 1954.

4 1936.

5 1946. A different and less complete version exists in the Kondoa District Book (M/S), 1945.

6 1947.

Tenraa mention names of musical instruments.[1] Fieldnotes by Guthrie[2] have been made use of by Westphal in Tucker and Bryan's linguistic survey.[3] Julien has also some material but this is primarily concerned with physical features of the Sandawe.[4]

With regard to the position of Sandawe in terms of linguistic classification such authorities as Dempwolff (1916), Drexel (1929), Greenberg (1955; 1963) and Westphal (1956) have claimed that links exist with Hottentot languages, and even with Hadza (Greenberg, 1955) but Westphal has recently become more cautious and now asserts that the material at present available "does not hold out any promise of being able to associate these languages [Sandawe and Hadza] with any of our Southern African click languages by regular and generally accepted linguistic procedure."[5]

Although some similarities between Sandawe and Hottentot may be striking (phonology, sex gender, some items of vocabulary) our assumption will therefore be that if any relationship does exist, it must be a remote one.[6]

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1 1963; 1964.

2 n.d.(M/S).

3 1956.

4 1947 (M/S); the author hopes to publish this material in due course (private communication). Also unpublished is my own Sandawe-English dictionary (approx. 12,000 entries).

5 1963, 242. I am indebted to Dr.J.Woodburn for drawing my attention to this (private communication).

6 Even Hottentot-Bushman similarities are only superficial (Westphal, 1956, 166) and the Khoisan cluster (term used by Schapera, but coined by Schultze, 1928, 3) may consist of several unrelated linguistic families (Westphal, 1962a,b). Hadza appears to be quite unrelated to Sandawe (Westphal, 1956). Dammann has reported clicks among the Sanye of Kenya (1950) but he wisely refrains from making undue speculations on possible relationships. Köhler, 1963, summarizes some theories and produces new arguments for some degree of interrelation.

Dialectical distinctions.

Westphal states in his linguistic survey that "it is not known whether the language is uniform or whether there are dialectical divisions."[1] The first thing we have to do is therefore to establish the unity of the language. From Appendix IV and Map No.2 it will be seen that the informants who have contributed the texts for this thesis have been drawn from all the main parts of the country. The texts have been transcribed, worked out and checked with the aid of four principal helpers, two of whom are from the West-Central part of the country, and two from the South-East. Most of the texts had been tape-recorded, and the tapes were used in the work of transcribing and translating them . This work had to be done by discussion in the vernacular because Sandawe is not used as a written language and none of the informants had ever seriously tried to write it; in the schools Swahili is taught as the literate language.[2] None of the four ever experienced any difficulties of understanding through dialectical differences. These are only slight, but the language can be divided into central-western Sandawe and south-eastern Sandawe although the overall unity is remarkable. There is no clear line of dialectical division and the transition is gradual, but if a line has to be drawn it could be drawn on the map a few miles to the west of the Dudi river. The southeastern dialect is distinguished from

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1 1956, 158.

2 Swahili is now widely known but only in an elementary way and as a checking medium it has to be used with caution. Since many songs have meanings which are not known to all and sundry, their meanings have been discussed with the performers immediately after recording, whenever possible. Many of them, especially the older ones who have contributed the most significant texts, know very little Swahili if any, and to use that language as a medium for obtaining the meanings of obscure passages would often have been worse than useless.

central Sandawe in three respects:

1. slowness of enunciation; combined with the next feature this produces the effect of a 'drawl';
2. the final unstressed vowel tends to be retained where it is dropped in central Sandawe,[1] and similarly, an i sometimes precedes an initial consonant which is not the case in central Sandawe;[2]
3. some vocabulary differences.[3]

General characteristics of the language.

As a typical phonological feature of Sandawe Nigmann had noticed the syllabic nature of some single click consonants[4] and Jaeger spoke of the 'for Sandawe characteristic syllable-forming consonants followed by a glottal stop.'[5] The most typical impression which the language leaves on the unaccustomed ear is indeed that it seems to be cut up into autonomous syllables; it sounds the opposite of fluent. This impression is no doubt intensified by the frequent occurrence of injectives,

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1 These words are usually of foreign origin. Examples: hadísi for central Sandawe hadís', 'story', from Swahili hadithi; tífti for tíf', 'black cow', from Rimi títi, cf. Gogo nthithu; níisi for nís' or nís', 'light grey cow, from Rimi nyiisi, Barabaiga nyawish; sámú for sám', 'a brindle-coloured animal' cf. Barabaiga samú (or samoi acc. to Wilson, 1952,36), Rimi samú, Gogo ili-sámu.

2 Examples: i/i for /i 'to come,(singular verb)'; ǐmbo or ǎmbo for 'mbo or 'bo 'to speak'.

3 Examples: sigóngola for thakó'a 'to be carried on the shoulder' kurú for kónto, 'the red behind of a baboon';(in western Sandawe kurú means a bloodclot left in a woman's body after childbirth); vúboo for híboo, hoeing (the second growth).

4 1909, 127 (referred to on p.55).

5 1911, 110.

ejectives, stopped consonants and stopped vowels. Some people enunciate in a more 'stopped' way than others, but with a little experience it is not difficult to isolate the syllabic elements.[1] The features which have so far been mentioned as typical for Sandawe are all outwards signs. The most distinct feature of all may be one which has not so far been isolated in the literature. A few examples have already been given of some kinship terms of which the meaning could be established by looking at their component parts. In the words of proper Sandawe origin (i.e. not in Bantu and other borrowings) each syllable has basically a meaning of its own, although as often as not this meaning is extremely vague and sometimes difficult to establish. Sandawe words are agglutinations of meaningful syllables, and unlike neighbouring languages Sandawe is a highly agglutinative language. Bearing this in mind we shall see that analysis of the meanings of individual syllables will in many cases help us to establish the meanings of otherwise obscure terms in Sandawe literature, especially in poetry.

As grammatically typical features of Sandawe Werner has summed up the following: (1) the presence of grammatical gender; (2) suffixes for forming the plural; (3) case endings for nouns; (4) different verbs for the singular and the plural. She adds that (5) the basic word order is subject-object-verb and that, regarding the construction of the genitive, (6) the possessor precedes the thing possessed.[2]

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1 It seems profitable to bear in mind Jakobson and Halle's definition of a syllable, which is "an elementary phonetic frame established by diffuse stops in which "its maximal reduction in the energy output offers the closest approach to silence." (1956, 37).

2 1955.

Werner's short and general article does not pretend to be a critical evaluation of the language but this brief list which it gives of a few salient features provides a useful basis for discussion. Greenberg further remarks that "the most conspicuous difference [from Bushman] is the absence of tense particles in Sandawe,[1] whereas Stopa remarks that, like Bushman, Sandawe has no passivum.[2] These characteristics require some qualification and some must be corrected; discussion of them may help us later to clarify some of the peculiarities which we shall meet with in the Sandawe texts.

(1) Grammatical gender.

It is generally agreed that the feminine form-element -su corresponds with the -s- element of Nama Hottentot.[3] Drexel has attempted also to isolate a Sandawe male gender suffix -be or -ba in analogy with similar Nama suffixes but the majority of the examples which he adduces appear to be invalid.[4] Dempwolff says that only the feminine can be put in parallel,[5] but as Greenberg

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1 1955, 89.

2 1936, 19.

3 This -s- element is one of the main features which led Meinhof to believe that these languages are Hamitic; he identified them with the Hamitic form-element t (1912).

4 The -ba in komba (address for 'brother-in-law') is not a male gender suffix, viz. p.37, note 1; wamboi (address for 'father') is, according to informants, wa-mbo-i ('things sayer', i.e. he who has the authority); k'amba ('male domestic animal') is a borrowed term, cf. Burunge yaghamba, Iraqw ya'amba, Rimi njaghamba, Gogo kambáku; meke-bai ('orphan') is Bantu, cf. the Swahili m-kiwa ('one who has been abandoned'). The two remaining examples mimba ('corpse') and mehembe ('widower') also look like borrowings.

5 1916, 67.

points out, "the masculine singular affix -ŵa ...[in] hawe 'he' may be plausibly compared to the -b masculine of Hottentot and Naron."[1] In respect of the feminine sex gender -su Dempwolff remarks that Sandawe words for female things do not necessarily show a feminine grammatical form and that there are also words ending in -su which do not designate things which are female. As examples of the former he quotes andela (co-wife) and mutara (second wife) and of the latter //'akasu (sun) and ts'ámasu (giraffe), to which may be added //atsu (lion).[2] But it appears that these terms do not belong to the ordinary category of words which have been made feminine by the affixation of -su. The word //'akasu (sun) may be a contraction of a circumlocutory term //'akiwaisu which means 'she who repeatedly goes down', from a verb //'akí, 'to go down'; in the contracted form which now has become the usual word for 'sun' the -su element is no longer seen as a detachable affix. The word ts'ámasu is a borrowed one which looks deceptively like a feminine grammatical form.[3] The word //atsu (lion) is said to be //a-tshú, which means 'a following (or chasing) animal'.[4] The 'feminina tanta' which Dempwolff mentions on page 28 of his work appear to be really verbal forms.[5]

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1 1955, 88.

2 1916, 29.

3 From language of the Iraqw-cluster, cf. Iraqw tsámâsi, pl. tsámâs (Whiteley 1953, 11) and Burunge tsámasi (own notes).

4 Van de Kimmenade, 1954, 65, lists the word for 'lion' with a high tone diacritic on the second syllable: //atsú; the word is indeed often so heard. Tshú means animal.

5 Cf. van de Kimmenade, 1954, 25. Forms like gubasusu and n//osusu which Dempwolff refers to as 'feminina tanta' which end in -susu are translated by him as 'pregnant' and 'woman with child'. Literally they mean 'she who has a womb (or foetus)' and 'she who has a child' but translation with an adjective or a noun is often the only practicable method.

The position now appears to be that Sandawe indeed possesses a feminine sex gender which does not necessarily have to be applied grammatically to all words which designate female beings, but all the words with a genuine -su suffix do describe female beings. These need not be physically female. The sun is 'female' after all, but there is nothing strange about this even though the sun is more male than the moon, according to informants, and the name of the moon (ǃáoao or ǃábiso) is not obviously a feminine form.[1] Objects in the sky are generally treated as female beings. Birds are normally 'female' except when they are large birds of prey.[2] There is no clear-cut dichotomy, which is not at all extraordinary. Ischoye, the sun of the Hadza, is male in one tale where he marries a woman called Haine but in another story Ischoko, whose name is stated to be the same as Ischoye (perhaps the 'female sun'?), marries Haine who is then male.[3] Coomaraswamy demonstrates the relativity of sex in Indian philosophy when it is attributed to personified natural objects or ideological concepts; they may be male or female according to the contexts in which they occur or the roles which they are given. Thus the sun is male in relation to the sky and the sky is male in relation to the earth, just as the King is female in relation to the Priest but male in relation to

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1 A female sun and a male moon must not be ruled out as an impossibility, cf. only the German die Sonne and der Mond. But the Sandawe name of the moon may also be construed as a contraction of a feminine circumlocutory term: ǃá-o-susŭ means 'she has the condition of brightness' and ǃá-bi-susŭ is 'she has the action of brightness'.

2 See text No.22, line 7.

3 Kohl-Larsen, 1956a.

his own realm.[1] Similar symbolic oppositions emerge from Sandawe oral literature but, as in the case of Indian symbolic dualism and Hadza mythology, no simple linear arrangement can be construed in which all the 'male' concepts are neatly lined up on one side and all the 'female' ones on the other. Sandawe grammatical usage may seem inconsistent because sex gender is not rigidly applied to nouns. The Sandawe uses the feminine form-element when he attributes a certain feminine quality to the thing he is talking about. Smallness, weakness, and inferiority are such qualities, but these qualities need not always be associated with the same objects in the speaker's mind. Pots and gourds are usually feminine, being symbols of the womb, but they can also be masculine. In text No.46 one pot is given the name of a woman and another is spoken of as her daughter, but the speaking gourd of text No.11 is male even though it symbolically represents a womb which swallows up a girl; it is male because it is large, aggressive, unsuperable as an 'All-Devourer'.[2] The use of sex gender thus gives an indication of the symbolism involved. Sandawe sex gender is symbolic rather than rigidly grammatical as in Indo-European languages.

(2) Formation of the plural.

Two plural noun suffixes have been used to compare Sandawe with other click languages; these are -kǫ for the masculine and -si for the feminine.[3] Actually they are so rare

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1 1942, 49-50.

2 Sandawe symbolism is discussed in chapter X.

3 Dempwolff, op.cit.,67, compares -kǫ; Greenberg 1955, 88, compares both -kǫ and -si.

that they must be regarded as exceptions to the rule that in Sandawe the plural of the noun is the same as the singular without any changes or additions. Only three words with -ko plurals have been reported and two with -si plurals. They are //ǂoko (children), //nako (tribesmen) and //ǂako (warriors), and tamitsi or tamisi (women) and //noketsi (girls).[1] Questioning of informants has not yielded any more except the plural of the interrogative pronoun ho which is hoko. If the occurrence of separate forms for the plural is as rare as that one may legitimately wonder whether they are not really forms which have originally had another meaning, rather than that they may be remnants of a once generally used plural construction. Basically ko expresses anxiety, and hoko may therefore also mean an anxious "who?" in the singular. The element ko could be rendered in translation as 'then': "who then?". Uncertainty about the nature or number of the people or things inquired after may well cause the questioner to assume a plural identity for it, hence the plural meaning of hoko. Dempwolff supplies a vernacular text with translation in which the commonly plural term //ǂoko (children) has a singular meaning.[2] It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that Sandawe has no original -ko plural. Doubt may also be cast upon the existence of a plural category ending in -si, because the two -si endings in the Sandawe terms for 'women' and 'girls' appear to be different. Informants say that it is stressed and has a raised tone in 'girls' (//noketsí), whereas it is unstressed to the point of disappearance in 'women' (tametsi), for its variants are tamesi or even tames'.

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1 Dempwolff, op.cit., 30-31. His orthography has been quoted here. Van de Kimmenade mentions the same plurals.

2 Text No.17 of this thesis; see note 4 under that text.

The -si ending in this word may be of quite a different nature: an informant speculates that the word for 'women' which is often pronounced with an aspirated t (thamɛtsi) is composed of tha-mɛ-ts'-i, 'those to whom one runs'.[1] The second typical feature of the Sandawe language in Werner's list may well be an absence rather than a presence of suffixes for the plural.

This discussion has so far been concerned with 'normal' plural formations only. Sandawe has several ways of forming plurals which are not plurals in the usual sense. Closest to a normal plural formative come -xɛ and -wa. The former expresses collectivity, the latter repetition both in time and in number.[2]

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1 Literally 'run-for-self-esse'.

2 The forms of -xa are -χ, -xɛ and -xɛ̃. Dempwolff, 1916, 32, gives only -χ which forms a plurale tantum rather than a plural: tatax (fathers = all ancestors), phex (daily = all days), thex (forest = all trees); the latter example has a long ɛ and reads theex in our orthography. Many examples may be added, e.g. zakáχ (the whole country = all the bush), n/ɔmósoχ (humanity = all the people). The lower numerals show the same ending: ts'ɛχ (one) is composed of ts' (self), -ɛ (that which), and -χ (all of), i.e. 'all of self' or 'just self'. The word kísoχ (two) consists of kí (also), -ao (they are) and χ (all of), i.e. 'there are just two of them'. The numerals three and four are borrowings which are given the same ending: 'three' is som'ki-χ (just three); 'four' is hakú-χ (just four).
-xɛ forms a real collective plural, cf. van de Kimmenade,1954, 16, e.g. !oatatsixɛ (sins). Dempwolff does not mention this form but it is common: humbu = head of cattle, humbuxɛ = all the cattle together; n//ɛko = children, n//ɛkoxɛ = all the children collectively. Here we have what may seem to be a double plural (ko plus xɛ). The common plural is converted into a collective plural by the addition of the collective suffix.
The form -xɛ̃ is -xɛ plus nasalisation; the nasalisation represents an isolative (see below).
-wa is a repetitive element in verbs (for examples see Appendix VI) and also in nouns (in conjunction with the verbal form-element -ao; see below).

The affix -so forms the plural of some nouns which end in -se in the singular; this means 'having' and -se and -so are therefore really verbal suffixes.[1] Nasalization of the final vowel has a selective, isolating meaning in both the singular and the plural and it can therefore hardly be called a plural formative element at all.[2] By focusing the attention on the noun to which it is attached it intensifies it, and if the total utterance has a plural meaning this nasalization will stress its

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1 Dempwolff, op.cit.,31, gives the examples /ǹomese (man), pl. /ǹomoso; tsewese (Rimi tribesman), pl. tsweso. Another category of nouns also uses -so for plural formation, i.e. words which end in -i, e.g. n/wewai (do-er, from n/we or n/ŭe to do, -wa repetitive action, and -i which indicates the actor), pl. n/wewaiso (doers, i.e. those who have action); simboi (exorcism dancer, from simbó, exorcizing dance, see chap.VI), pl. simbowaiso; niamei (blacksmith, i.e. a hitter, from niamé, to hit metal with a clanging sound), pl. niamewaiso. It will be noticed that the element wa (plural or repetitive action) is also used in this plural formation. wa indicates the plurality of the acts, so the plurality of the actors. This is the most common use of -wa as a plural element in nouns, i.e. in conjunction with a plural verb-element. Dempwolff mentions the repetition-indicating function of -wa in verbs (op.cit.,39) and van de Kimmenade gives an example of this function in nouns: koko (chicken), pl. kokowa. It must be stressed that the word for 'chicken' does not require -wa to form its plural, because koko means 'chicken' as well as 'chickens'. When -wa is added the word suggests a multitude of chickens who mill around; we have here what may be termed a 'repetitive-numbers plural' in analogy with the 'repetitive -action plural' which -wa forms in the examples already quoted. A collectivity of chickens would be expressed as kokoxe.

2 ǹ in Dempwolff's orthography, op.cit.,31. Lemblé attributes a plural meaning to nasalization (M/S, n.d.) but the example he gives is the -xē plural mentioned on the previous page.

plurality. There are some other affixes which may sometimes bring about an effect of plurality by underlining the extent, the intensity or the continuation of a thing. The element -ʋáǒ expresses immensity of distance, intensity of effort, or length of duration; -ra conveys an encouragement to action or movement, in particular towards the speaker; and -le suggests habitual or continuous action.[1] These word-elements are more often affixed to verbs than to nouns, and the plurality which they may convey is only incidental.

(3) Case endings for nouns.

The word-elements which fit best the description 'case endings' are i and ts'. The first is an instrumentalis[2] and the second a locative, but the latter does not quite correspond with the locatives of most European languages. As Dempwolff points out, it is a locative of origin rather than of place.[3]

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1 Dempwolff could not determine the meanings of these affixes which are indeed vague. Of -ʋáǒ and -le there are numerous examples in the texts of this thesis; -ra is less common but occurs more often as a component of verb stems.

2 Dempwolff, op.cit., 34.

3 Op.cit.,38. The first two of the following examples are Dempwolff's; I compare them with some other examples for contrast:
kitangats'a n//ume, 'he stood at the entrance'.
gelegelekitats'a tu', 'he got out of the baobab tree', i.e. from out of the tree's inside, or hollow trunk. The kita element which precedes ts' means 'inside' and is in itself a locative (derived from the Bantu kati, with vowel transposition. Its independent Sandawe form-equivalent is kate, 'middle').
A locative of direction is -na; this cannot be used as a locative of place: 'he went to the baobab tree' is gelegelenaa hik' (the final a is the 3rd person singular) and 'he went (entered) into the baobab tree' is gelegelekitanaa n//ɓè. This does not exhaust the possibilities for rendering the locative; some other forms may be used in special cases.

Another formative element which may function as a locative is -te; it indicates place and time in a vague way, and also character; 'vague indicative' is perhaps the best term to describe it. Dempwolff states that this -te is usually identical with the independently used te, 'some'.[1]

Dempwolff gives a long list of formative affixes; several of these could be more or less successfully compared with case endings, but as a category there is little difference between these 'case endings' and the 'plural formatives' which have already been discussed.[2] Both defy attempts at arranging them in comprehensive classes which are based on European linguistic categories. They are all affixes which add some quality to the words to which they are attached and as often as not they are not even specific noun affixes or verb affixes, but both. Dempwolff divided them into "suffixes which recognizably relate to grammatical persons" and others which do not, and left it at that. The statement that Sandawe has case endings for nouns is not an untruth but it does not reflect the true position either.

(4) Singular and plural verbs.

The use of different verbs for the singular and for the plural is a remarkable feature of the language. The number of verbs which change their stems is not very large but they describe basic actions and are often used. Dempwolff gives a list of nine such verbs[3] and van de Kimmenade lists fifteen,[4] but there are more than these. Because they are encountered everywhere in the texts a new summary is given in Appendix VI.

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1 Op.cit., 38.

2 Op.cit., 32-39. In the next pages a few affixes are mentioned which have not yet been recorded.

3 Op.cit., 20-21.

4 1954, 23.

It will be noticed that a double dichotomy exists. Some verbs change roots when their subjects change from singular to plural and vice versa, but other verbs take on a different form when their objects change number.

(5) Basic word order.

Word order in Sandawe is basically subject-object-verb, but requirements of emphasis and the need to draw attention to a particular part of the sentence may modify this. This happens quite frequently. According to the rule a Sandawe would say the sentence "God created the world" in the following order: 'God - the world - created' (Waronguǵé !'úmaa n/ǔi'iá). Instead he would usually say 'the world - God - created' (!'úma Waronguéa n/ǔi'iá) because this draws attention to the act of creation by God. Dempwolff sees such constructions as a matter of style, which no doubt it is, but it is perhaps possible to say that there may be a syntactic rule which demands the grouping together of words which represent one complex of ideas ('God created') within which the rule still holds true; this verb-complex then still follows the object of it in the correct order object - verb complex. Dempwolff's formulation of the word-order rule now seems more satisfactory than the one quoted above, since it leaves more room to fit in the complex hypothesis. He says:

> "The various rules which have been found for the word order, that subject, object, attribute and dependent sentence are placed in front, may be fitted into one general formula which, as it were, expresses the governing idea which underlies all sentence construction in Sandawe: where a psychological interdependence of ideas exists this is indicated by placing the dependent complex of ideas in front; in other words: 'regens sequitur rectum'."[1]

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1 Op.cit., 20 (translation mine).

(6) The genitive.

Dempwolff's formulation of the word order is also satisfactory because it covers the construction of the genitive as well as it does the whole sentence. When two nouns are placed in apposition the principal noun is preceded by its attribute, i.e. the noun which represents its possessor. The possessor precedes the possessed. Sandawe say 'the cow's head', not 'the head of the cow'.

(7) The absence of tense particles.

Greenberg states that "the most conspicuous difference [between Sandawe, and Naron and other Khoisan languages] is the absence of tense particles in Sandawe."[1] Proper tense particles are indeed absent in the Sandawe verb. The system of suffixes which it uses is not in the first place time-distinctive but it conveys a sense of time as a secondary product. Time is in the first place expressed by a method of positioning the person-indicating elements: these may be suffixed to the principal verb or to a preceding word. Since no theory of the Sandawe verb has yet been advanced a brief outline will here be given of what appears to be the underlying principle.

Three categories of suffixes provide what may loosely be called tenses: (a) form elements which indicate grammatical person; (b) non-personal affixes of the general type which are also applied to nouns, and (c) double-verb constructions in which one verb is placed in a dependent position to another. The position is therefore remarkably analogous to the treatment of nouns.

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1 1955, 89. Yet there are categories which closely resemble tense particles, viz. the one discussed under (b) below.

(a) The first category comprises the verb formatives which van de Kimmenade has attempted to organize in a schema of tenses which, although useful, is also misleading since its categories do not correspond with the principles of Sandawe verbal structure.[1] Fundamentally there are two sets of verb formatives which indicate grammatical person; neither of them is in the first place time-indicative, and the differences between the two sets only help to indicate time as a by-product of their first functions. The one set indicates purposeful action while the other indicates existing fact which can be observed and taken for granted. The former is in fact a category of emphatic forms while the latter is non-emphatic.[2] The emphatic form is normally suffixed to the principal verb and its action then takes place in the present or in the future. The non-emphatic form is usually suffixed to a word which precedes the principal verb and the action then takes place in the present or in the past. It is understood that this is a basic distinction only; it is very well possible for a Sandawe to make an emphatic statement about something which happened in the past, by using affirmatives. The by-product of the emphatic/non-emphatic verb distinction is a vague ~~primary~~ distinction in time in which the division between future and past runs more or less through the present.

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1 1954, 24-26.

2 I owe this distinction to a statement by Mr.Lyimo (informant No.28, Appendix IV) who said that: "When you say pi meena (you love) you say that a person just loves someone, but if you say meenano you tell him that you are certain that he will love that woman. When you say pi meena (you love) you say that everyone knows that you love her, for it has been that way for some time."

The schema on the next page shows the two basic sets of formative elements for the grammatical person. The set of personal pronouns is given first in order to show that the emphatic verbal forms are in fact the same as the pronominal forms. They are therefore not just verbal forms but more than that, they are general person-denoting elements.[1] For further comparison the equivalent interrogative forms are added, and also the forms which the person-denoting elements assume in the role of verbal objects.[2]

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1 Demonstrative elements which form the first syllables of personal pronouns have been separated from the person-denoting elements by hyphens. It is seen at a glance that all the emphatic forms of the verb are the same as the pronominal forms, except the 3rd person singular masculine. Yet even this is the same. The person-denoting element of the pronoun (-wé) is made up of -we (masculine sex gender) and -i (person denoting element). The complete form of the pronoun, he-wé-i may actually still be heard, although only rarely.

2 Van de Kimmenade's paradigm of the Sandawe verb (1954, 24 ff.) shows what at first sight may look like a third set of person-denoting elements. His 'passé narratif' contains the forms si, pi, pa, s'a for the singular and po, pe, pa for the plural. They precede the verb and look like independent words. Actually they are nothing but the non-emphatic forms si, i, a, sa (singular) and o, e, a' (plural) of our table, which are attached to the preceding word pu in the normal manner. Pu is a colloquial anacrusis and means 'and...' at the beginning of a sentence, cf. Dempwolff, op.cit., 19; he terms it an 'Auftakt'.
Forms like -si mesna (and I loved), -pi mesna (and you loved) etc., do indeed correspond entirely with a 'passé narratif', but this has not been brought about by the 'declension forms' (the person denoting elements) but by the use of the particle pu which performs here the function of a tense particle.
See also note 1 on p.72 and the discussion under (b) below.

PERSONAL PRONOUN		SUBJECT[1] (affirmative) Non-emph. "past-present"	SUBJECT (affirmative) Emphatic "future-present"	SUBJECT (interrogative) Non-emph. "past-present"	SUBJECT (interrogative) Emphatic "future-present"	OBJECT[2] Simple	OBJECT[2] Prepositional
I	taf(si)	-s'(-sĭ)	-s'(-sĭ)	-s'ne	-s'ne	-se-	-χse-
you	ha-pú	-i	-po	-po-ne	-po-ne	-po-	-χpo-
he	he-wé	-a	-ĭ	-na	-ĭ-ne	-e-	-kwe-
she	he-sú	-sa	-ĭsu	-sa-na	-ĭ-su-ne	-su-	-χsu-
we	sŭ	-o	-sŭ	-no	-sŭ-ne	-sŭ-	-χsŭ-
you	sĭ	-e	-sĭ	-ne	-sĭ-ne	-sĭ-	-χsĭ-
they	he-só	-a'	-so	-na'	-so-ne	-i-(-ĭ-)	-kwi-

Patterns of correspondence should be sufficiently clear from this diagram to be evident without detailed analysis. The principle of the positioning of the non-emphatic and the emphatic forms is: 'he loved' = hewáa (hewé-a) meena, but 'he does love' or 'he will love' = hewé meena-ĭ.

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1 Dempwolff, op.cit., 30, thinks that there is also a form for the 3rd person plural feminine, and he gives an example: 'ivox tsiasa sati: 'all the mothers have died'. However, the form tsia-sa may be explained from tsia (all) plus so (having or being) plus -a' (see table).

2 The 3rd person plural strikes a discordant note. Although the usual form for the object is -kwi- there exists an emphatic equivalent -xso in the south-eastern parts. The element -χ- forms the prepositional form of the verb: imbo-χ-po-s', 'I am telling [unto] you', cf. meena-po-s', 'I love you'. It isolates the goal toward which the action of the verb is directed. Van de Kimmenade speaks of 'complément indirect', Dempwolff of 'dativus ethicus'. The forms -kwe- and -kwi- have obviously been formed with the same -χ- component, from -χ(ŭ)-e and -χ(ĭ)-i.

Negative forms are made with tshe (negation of fact, from tshe, 'away from') or ts'e' (emphatic negation, impossibility). For example, meena-po-tshe means 'I do not love you', but meena-po-ts'e' is 'I do not love you at all (the possibility is excluded); also 'I cannot love you' and 'I shall not love you'. The foregoing examples show that in verbal affixes the object precedes the subject.

(b) Non-personal affixes which are not properly speaking tense particles may have a tense-forming effect as a by-product of their real meanings. Dempwolff renders the meaning of -ga as 'still',[1] and van de Kimmenade suggests in his verbal paradigm that it forms the 'passé indéfini'.[2] Both these interpretations may be correct up to a point, but they only give us the secondary meaning of -ga. Its basic function is to affirm. When a girl is urged, after some dawdling on her part, to go to the well and do her job of drawing water, she would reply: "hik'i-s'-ga", 'I am going' (but I am already going). Since the verb has already been provided with a person-denoting element (-s') , -ga is only a second affix. It is placed after the person element; this is its emphatic ('future') position. When it is placed before the person, after the preceding verb, it acquires a non-emphatic ('past') meaning. In van de Kimmenade's examples meena-ga-s' (I loved), meena-g-i (you loved) etc. the -ga element has only a weak affirmative meaning, as in 'I did love','you did love' etc., without any emphasis on 'did'. With an object these forms become meena-po-ga-s' (I do or did love you) and meena-po-s'-ga (I shall indeed love you, or I do indeed love you). We see once more that the second affix is placed after the person for emphasis, and after the verb-

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1 1916, 32.

2 1954, 24.

object cluster which precedes it, if there is to be no emphasis. The fact that the primary meaning of -ga is affirmation and not tense is attested by the example: pa /ŭeén-ga sárŭrŭ, 'then [your] eye will turn rotten green'; if -ga were a tense particle the sentence would have to be translated in the past tense, since -ga precedes the verb sárŭrŭ (to be or become mottled-green). The text from which the example has been taken obviously does not allow this.[1]

The affix -ké indicates an action which is under way.[2] In combination with another affix, -ko which expresses urgency or anxiety it forms what could be called an urgent conditional perfect tense: hlate-ké-o-ko, 'we would have died!' or 'we would be dead!'[3] Together with -naa which is a durative-affirmative the tense of the verb gets even more firmly lodged in the past:[4]

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1 Text No.10, lines 45-46.

2 Dempwolff, op.cit., 34, terms this a 'denominative' and gives the following examples: /'iṅ = snake, /'iṅke = to sting; ǃken = tongue, ǃkenke = to sharpen; /nin = meat, /ninke = to bite.

3 Hlate is a plural verb which means 'to die' (see Appendix VI), and hlate-ké indicates the action of dying which is under way. The -o- is the 1st person plural, non-emphatic, but suffixed to the verb hlate-ké rather than preceding it; it precedes the element ko which is emphasized and has taken up a position corresponding to that of a final verb. The agglutinative nature of the Sandawe language allows virtually any small speech element to take up a position of central importance. The element -ko has been described as an imperative (van de Kimmenade, 1954, 25; Lemblé, M/S; Dempwolff, 1916, 24) but its basic function is to express urgency or anxiety (Dempwolff, op.cit., 35 has hinted at this).

4 The -ke...-ko and -ke...naa-ko nor the naa-ko combinations have so far been reported but they are not uncommon. The element -naa is possibly related to the directive -na (page 69, note 3).

hlate-ké-e-naa-ke means 'we would have been long dead!' This corresponds with the conditional past preterite, but since the speech elements which contribute to this construction are not in the first place tense particles this need not always be the case.[1]

Another affix, -te, indicates the state which results from completed action; it shows finished achievement. Consequently it is suitable to convey the perfect tense: tlaa ihlime-te-ts'e means 'the door is not locked' or 'the door has not been locked'.[2]

(c) Double verb constructions may also be used to construe good equivalents of present and perfect tenses; one of the two verbs may often be used in much the same way as the auxiliary verbs 'to have' and 'to be' in English. The Sandawe use ive (plural nèè) which means 'to be in a place' or 'to remain', and i'óka, 'to finish'. For example, 'he is waiting in the house' is in Sandawe khoota dara ive (in the house - waits he - is). 'He has waited in the house' may be rendered as khoota dara i'óka

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1 The girl who is urged to draw water could have replied, after some more insistence: hik'i-e'-naa-ke, which is an annoyed 'but I am going! (cannot you see that I am?)', or 'I have been on my way for a long time!'
A sentence in the middle of text No.12 reads: kwax honohonowa tú' k'itl'ekénaake tsheea n/é'wakwei, the translation of which is: 'and then he slithered out in a great fury because of the heads which had been cut off'. Dissection of k'itl'e-ké-naa-ke gives us: 'to be furious - action - duration/affirmation - anxiety', i.e. in a very great fury. Translation in the form of a preterite tense makes no sense here, and it is much more satisfactory to omit any reference to time.

2 Vande Kimmenade mentions -te on p.26 of his grammatical sketch (op.cit.) He states that it forms the 'participe passé' when added to a verb, e.g. n/e-wa-te, 'cut' (said of trees): n/e means 'to cut', -wa shows the plurality of the acts of cutting the trees, and -te represents finality.

(in the house - waited he - finish). Yet it remains doubtful whether the term 'auxiliary verb' should be used, for this usage amounts to nothing more than the common way in which two or more verbs may stand in apposition. To take an example from text No.1: tsí tax /'ánki-s' gli'ǂ /i (I - just - was above - hurry - come) means 'I have just arrived flying in the sky with great speed'. Double verb constructions are common, especially when actions like going, staying, running etc. are described, e.g.:

hía hik'i n//ei when he went[and] arrived;

íxa thaa ma'é thus he ran [and] circled around.

Also compare:

ax nǂ'yoo and they went and went[1]

and: ax nèè nǂ'yoo and they went on going and going.[2]

If we compare the position of nèè in this example with the position of ive in 'he is waiting in the house' we see how a change in the word sequence alters a verb's position from one of dominance to dependence; this is in accordance with Dempwolff's rule for the word order. It follows that word order influences meaning. Khoota ive dara = in the house he is waiting (or: in the house he is [and] waits), i.e. he has been doing so for some time and is still waiting; but khoota dara ive = in the house waiting he is (or: in the house he waits [and] remains), i.e. he is there and goes on waiting. In the first example the tense of ive (to be or to remain) is present/past but in the second it is present/future. This is entirely in agreement with what has been said about the effect which the position of non-emphatic and emphatic person-denoting forms has on tense.

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1 -yoo is a suffix which, it has been seen, conveys a meaning of immensity of distance, effort, or duration (cf. p.69).

2 nèè and nǂ' are plural verbs (cf.Appendix VI). The singular of ax nǂ'yoo is pax hik'yoo; of ax nèè nǂ'yoo it is pax ive hik'yoo.

Genuine auxiliary verbs cannot become main verbs by merely changing positions with them, as in Sandawe. This shows that the Sandawe counterpart of the auxiliary verb is not really an auxiliary verb at all, but rather an independent verb in a subordinate position.

(8) The absence of a passivum.

Sandawe has no category of structural elements which have the sole purpose of expressing the passive voice, but there are several ways of making close approximations to it. Whereas in western languages a passivum indicates that a person or object undergoes an action (it takes place without their active participation), in Sandawe the action occurs with them. Whereas the European passivum is a negation of active participation and is seen as the opposite of it, the Sandawe equivalent is complementary to it. A common way to express it is by the use of the suffix -se which means 'having'. For example, 'the coat has been holed' is rendered as 'the coat is hole-having' (gitl'é ihwee-se). In this case the assumption is that the hole has got there by wear or by accident, i.e. without much active inducement. The affirmative suffix -ga may also be used. 'The gourd has been holed' is matõ /hurún-ga (the gourd, perforation - it does have), i.e. it has had a hole carved into it with a knife in order to provide an opening so that it can be filled with water. Here the assumption is that the existence of the hole has been actively induced, but not by the gourd. One may also use the reflexive form of the verb, ts'i. In text No.5 the Sandawe version of 'all the trees were completely filled [with birds]' reads: thee tsía téhla' ho!on-ts'i (the trees - all - they have completely - filled themselves). The assumption is this time that the trees have become filled with birds because they did

not resist them. Yet another way of expressing the passivum is to use the element -to which, as we have seen, indicates completed action and which therefore provides a suitable means for rendering the perfect tense. On page 78 we have used the example tlaa ihlime-to-ts'e which means 'the door has not been locked'. Apart from telling us that the door has been left unlocked (perfect tense) it also tells us that the door has been left unlocked (passivum). The assumption is here now, that the door has reached its final state of being unlocked by someone's omission to lock it. Whether this has happened actively or passively is not the point; it is the result which counts.

With regard to the nature of the Sandawe passivum we may say then, that Sandawe linguistic usage is concerned with the observable state which results from a verbal action, not with the question whether the result has been obtained by some 'active' or 'passive' method which finds its origin in the verb's subject. The result is important, not the cause. In Sandawe it is the passive aspect of the verb which replaces the passive voice in Indo-European languages (and in Bantu), just as the verb tenses in these languages are substituted by verbal aspects in Sandawe. Even case endings are noun-aspects rather than grammatical cases.

This discussion of some salient grammatical points may have shown that knowledge of the Sandawe language has until now not been entirely adequate; some inquiries have therefore been necessary before we can begin to discuss Sandawe oral literature. A few further points arising from its presentation will be discussed in the remaining sections of this chapter.

The scope of oral literature.

On page one I postulated that the Sandawe have a worthwhile oral literature. The first question which arises then is, what is literature. The Shorter Oxford Dictionary defines it as

> "...literary productions as a whole, or, less widely, writings esteemed for beauty of form or emotional effect."[1]

This is obviously not very helpful when applied to the Sandawe context or even to the wider context of African oral literature as a whole, but it seems a useful point of departure for a discussion. Whiteley points out that this definition has a descriptive and a normative side and that the latter needs careful elaboration.[2] It offers the difficult problem of what constitutes literature and what does not. One of the most useful sets of criteria is perhaps Lerner's when he submits that

> "All answers to the question What is Literature? can, I suggest, be reduced to three:
> [1] that it is knowledge:
> [2] that it is the expression of emotion; and that
> [3] it is the arousing of emotion in the reader."[3]

In our case of oral literature 'listener' would of course have to be substituted for 'reader'.

Yet, useful as this definition may be, it covers only part of the problem for it leaves one question of Whiteley's unanswered:

> "Is one to regard the verdict of elders in courtcases as constituting literature, or the strictures of the instructress during the initiation ceremonies?"[4]

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1 1944.

2 Whiteley, 1964, 4-5; also Lerner, 1960, p.3.

3 Lerner, 1960, 2 (numbering and spacing mine).

4 Whiteley, loc.cit.

In order to settle similar problems of definition for written literature, Lerner argues:

> "When we transfer to the category of literature a book which was written as a specimen of some other category, we are using the normative criterion. A good philosopher may be praised for being a good poet. No philosopher, as long as he is doing philosophy, can be condemned for being a bad poet. A work such as the Republic can therefore be included in the list without causing us to doubt whether literature and philosophy are different things."[1]

This normative argument seems quite adequate for deciding what constitutes (written) literature and what does not. But in our oral context the question of the courtcases and the instructresses remains unanswered. Why then is Lerner's argument not adequate for defining the borders of oral literature?

He settles which writings constitute literature and which writings do not. The question of whether fine speech would qualify as literature does not arise because it is not written. In oral literature the equivalents of the writings of written literature are all vocal, just like everyday speech. Whereas in written literature fine speech does not qualify as literature by its very nature, the question is left open in oral literature. Therefore, in order to include or exclude an item by definition we have to employ an additional descriptive criterion. I propose that for oral literature the following criterion be added to Lerner's definition of literature:

> [4] Literature is a form of expression which is accepted as traditional.

This excludes pronouncements on traditional institutions, as made in court decisions. It also excludes instruction about these institutions to initiates as far as they are couched in ordinary speech, but teachings couched in traditional song would be

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1 Lerner, on.cit., 4.

included. Topical song and minstrelsy which describes some actuality is also included since it is destined to be taken over by others and become traditional. Riddles and customary prayers are included, but not *ad hoc* personal prayers. Proverbs would have to be included but they are not presented in this thesis because the Sandawe have no proper proverbs; the same is the case with tongue-twisters.

Classification of oral literature and vernacular categories.

Having thus defined the scope of oral literature, its broad categories have now to be decided upon. Burton classifies Kanya oral literature into that which is spoken or recited and that which is sung.[1] Whiteley points out that a prose/verse distinction meets with some difficulties. Distinction on a metrical basis is difficult "since a great deal, perhaps most, of African verse ... is non-metrical" and even the spoken/sung distinction offers problems, e.g. "many folk-tales switch unconcernedly from speech to song and vice versa."[2] The Swahili literator Shaaban Robert distinguishes poetry as follows:

> "Besides being the art of rhyming, poetry expresses lucidity and preciseness of style. You may ask, What is a song, a poem or an heroic verse-narrative? A song is a small poem; a poem is a big song; and heroic verse is the peak of poetry."[3]

A quick glance at any sample of Sandawe poetry (which is all minor verse) will be sufficient to show how great the gulf is between the sophisticated world of Swahili poetry and Sandawe

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1 1943, 92.

2 *op.cit.*, 2-3.

3 IN Lyndon Harries, 1962, 273.

folk verse.[1] A characterisation of the latter would read as almost exactly the opposite of Shaaban Robert's definition. Whiteley, in his discussion of the nature of African oral literature in general, prefers to see the prose/verse distinction

> "in terms of points on a single scale of 'patterning', with metrical verse at one end and everyday speech towards the other."[2]

In prose he includes folk-tale, legend, history, biography, and oratory together with mixed formulas such as riddles, proverbs, and tongue-twisters. Poetry would then occupy the other end of the scale.

We see that concepts overlap and that it is difficult to set up comprehensive categories which are generally valid. In order to characterize the different kinds of prose and poetry various sub-categories have been proposed:

1. Prose. Chatelain distinguishes between fictitious tales (including animal stories), narratives taken to be records of events, and historical traditions, and he arranges his material accordingly.[3] Berry holds that a "first and generally valid dichotomy would be between fictional and non-fictional narrative."[4] Radin follows a different method. He classifies narrative by subject: the universe and its beginnings, the animal and his world, the realm of man, and man and his fate (i.e. tales which describe man in his helplessness vis à vis

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1 Swahili folk verse stands much closer to its Sandawe counterpart. There is an extensive literature on the "literary" forms of Swahili poetry but good examples of folk verse are much harder to come by. Velten (1907) and Zache (1899) are two early writers whose material is valuable in this respect.

2 Whiteley, loc.cit.

3 1894, VII.

4 1961, 11.

supernatural forces etc.)[1] Werner sets up her categories according to their moral content:

> "As a rule one does not go to fairy tales for high moral teaching; they are the playground of irresponsible fancy, and we do not look too closely into the ethics of Jack the Giant-killer or Rumpelstilzchen. Legends, of a more or less religious character, are a different matter, and [the] story of the Swallowing Monster may be taken as coming under that description. There is another type of story embodying a deep feeling of right and wrong, in which the spirit of a murdered person haunts the slayer in the form of a bird, and at last brings him to justice."[2]

Herskovits considers categories of myth:

> "Myth, for example, is treated as the statement of untruth, as either a rationalization or a validation of a belief, as a derivation of ritual; as an expression of theology, or as a manifestation of the unconscious desires of a group,"[3]

and he proposes a dichotomy between sacred myths (which show variation based on sectarian or regional emphasis) and myth chronicles (which involve the debated topics of what component of oral history is valid history). In fact this is again a fiction/non-fiction dichotomy.[4] Struyf uses a schema which combines considerations of form and function: animal fables, apologies (in which people and animals act together; these have "a clearly moralistic purpose"), comical tales (those where the sense of the ridiculous comes out best), and a category which he calls <u>novellen</u> (= short stories, i.e. material which cannot easily be placed in the other categories), mythical stories (dealing with divinity and the spiritual world), historical

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1 1952, XIV.

2 1933, 24.

3 1958, 13.

4 <u>ibid.</u>, 18.

tales, didactic tales, and tales about daily life.[1]

2. Poetry. For non-narrative too, a variety of classifications has been advanced. Tucker, in his discussion of the dances of the Shilluk, distinguishes between ordinary social dance and dance connected with important occasions, such as death, marriage and sacrifice.[2] Prietze however seeks to classify the songs of Bornu according to origin, presentation and content.[3] Koritschoner (later known as Cory) classifies "songs of dances where tune and dance play the main part" according to the social functions at which they are performed: war songs, "songs in competition", hunters' dances etc., ending the list with "songs of general character".[4] Another investigator who worked in an adjoining area has classified Nyamwezi songs according to the drum beat which accompanies the dances: war calls, songs at death, at work, at marriages, and those used for greeting all employ different rhythms.[5] Beier claims that he can recognize styles ("characteristics of inner form").[6] Berry - no doubt justly - criticizes this claim, pointing out that style is far too difficult a thing to handle at the present stage for classificatory purposes (at least for most African literatures) unless, of course, styles are named in the vernacular.[7]

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1 1908, XIV.

2 1933, 2.

3 1914, 141; but he recognizes the value of vernacular categories which have their own names (p.142).

4 1937. It is difficult to see what principle underlies this classification.

5 Anon., 1901, 61. I suspect that the writer is Dahl who at this time had begun his Bantu linguistic studies which were to become so renowned later.

6 1959, 9-11.

7 1961, 23.

This is what Babalola makes use of in his concise enumeration of style types in Yoruba poetry. He distinguishes at least seven types which are characterized by differences in the occasions on which they are sung as much as by style.[1]

Thus we have a multitude of ways in which writers have attempted to divide oral art and its subdivisions into neat categories. In cross-cultural comparisons and in general surveys of African literature it may be useful and even necessary to apply artificially created distinctions. But when we consider a single literature it will be remarkable indeed if these distinctions coincide with the categories which are recognized by the people whose literature we are discussing. Whiteley tells us that

> "among the Kamba of Kenya, for example, the two main divisions [of prose] are into stories which are essentially improbable (mbano), and stories which contain an element of truth (ngewa). Among some societies of the Cameroons, by contrast,.... people distinguish between 'mere talk', 'purposeful talk', i.e. oratory, and 'artful talk', i.e. prose, the last being rhythmic but not sung."[2]

We have seen that the subdivisions of poetry in Yoruba are named. Such distinctions naturally have meaning and purpose, and since it is only the vernacular distinctions which can give us an idea what variety of underlying ideas applies to them, it is obvious that we have to use these distinctions in our discussion of a tribal oral literature. The vernacular categories may then be arranged in a logical sequence. Only when there are no further vernacular subdivisions in Sandawe oral literature shall I feel authorized to make sub-distinctions of my own.

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1 1963, 185.

2 Op.cit., 3.

Sandawe literary categories.

The first division which the Sandawe make is a threefold one: that which is spoken (bó), that which is danced (//ía), and that which is sung (/hima). These categories overlap partly, for most narrative contains song and most dances are sung, but not all song is danced. Song and dance are much closer related to one another than either of them is to narrative (bo), so that we may speak of a basic dichotomy between that which is spoken (narrative) and that which is sung or danced (poetry). This will be our basic division in Sandawe oral literature: that which is spoken will be presented first (narrative, together with riddles and prayers), then the poetry of dance songs (first the ritual songs, and then the topical varieties), and finally that which is sung without dancing (minstrelsy). The categories of that which is danced and that which is sung are both song categories (poetry), but the first category is not one which consists exclusively of prose because song forms an important ingredient of stories, and the term 'narrative' is therefore preferred to 'prose'. The term 'poetry' meets with less objection than 'prose' since all poetry can instantly be recognized by rhythmic chant or song, conciseness of text, and a certain regularity in structure.[1]

The Sandawe have a large variety of literary terms to cover the different types of oral art; almost every category has its own name.

1. Narrative. The Sandawe translation for this term is bó, a word which also means 'words', 'sayings', and even 'speech' and 'language'. It may describe the literary aspect of narrative as well as the non-literary forms of speech.[2] The non-literary

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1 These features are discussed in chapters IX and X.

2 As distinguished on pages 82 and 83.

forms are covered by the Sandawe terms sayo, 'discourse', 'news', or 'story' (especially that which follows mutual greetings when people meet)[1] and turütó, 'conversation' or 'idle talk' (especially of the pleasant kind which people conduct to while the time away).[2] The literary terms for 'narrative' are bó, tántabule, hadís', and tántabule hadís'. The principal meanings of bó have already been given but a more specific meaning of bó may also be 'story'.[3] The traditional Sandawe word for a fable or any story of the traditional kind is tántabule, a term which also means 'riddle'.[4] A modern term for a traditional story, or for a story of any kind, is hadís'; this is a borrowing from

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1 Borrowed from the Barabaiga. Von Glauning, 1903, 133, gives ssäju (thafu) as 'a greeting for the whole day and both sexes' in Mangati (Barabaiga). The Sandawe also use the word for 'greeting', but especially as a men's greeting. When men meet a common greeting formula is sayoná?, '[what] news then?', the reply to which is sayogá, 'the news is all right'.

2 Text 14, line 19 shows how the term turüté (or tur'té) is used for conversation or idle talk. Carnell, 1955, 30, defines the Gogo mudowo as "the conversation around the evening meal". This is exactly what the Sandawe turüté also means. 'Story-telling' or 'conversing' is turütó, and the place where stories are told, in front of the door and under the eaves of the roof, is called turüté, 'conversation [place]'. A few houses have a verandah; this is also called turüté.

3 See text 11, line 120. The Farkwa dialect uses the variants ímbo and émbo (or 'mbó) as well as bó, cf. p.60, note 2. A derived form bonki is also in use, cf. text 13, line 128 and text 15, line 135. This is composed of bõ (the words) and -ki (with one another). In a non-literary sense bonki is used for 'palaver' or 'discussion' or 'negotiation', but especially for 'quarrel'.

4 Tenraa, 1966b 392. Dempwolff, 1916, 51, gives its meaning as 'a story, tale'.

the Swahili which cannot be used in the meaning of 'riddle'.[1] The term tántabule hadís' is a combination of the traditional Sandawe and the modern Swahili terms and is sometimes used to stress the traditional character of a tale, sometimes to indicate that the tale contains songs. The traditional Sandawe story is built around a song, as it were, and the enigmatic song forms such an integral part of the story that the whole story is referred to by the same term tántabule, 'enigma' or 'story-song'.[2]

The Sandawe also distinguish between fiction (tl'ala) and fact (ítaa nie n/wets', 'happened in olden days') but the distinction is a vague one since happening in the past ~~are~~ is commonly attributed to even the most fictional stories.[3] This distinction is therefore not very suitable to serve as a basis for organising our material.

Prayers form a separate category; there are several terms for them which are discussed in the appropriate chapter.[4] Since prayers are spoken and not sung or chanted, and also because they employ ordinary speech rather than the 'condensed' speech of poetry, they are discussed at the end of the section in this thesis which deals with narrative, before we begin to discuss poetry.

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1 From the Arab-Swahili hadithi. Johnson 1951 gives its Swahili meaning as: "story, tale, account, report, history, legend, fiction." The Swahili hadithi tu, 'only a story' (mere fiction) is rendered in Sandawe by tl'ala (see below). For examples of the use of hadís' in the meaning of 'story' see text 2, line 44 and text 7, line 20. Tántabule is used in the same meaning in text 11, line 83.

2 The basic meaning of the term is discussed in chapter V.

3 For the reason see chapter IX, opening and closing formulae. Dempwolff, 1916, 53, gives the meaning of tl'ala as 'Märchen, Sage'.

4 Chapter V, section on prayers.

2. Poetry of dance songs (//ia). A glance at chapters VI and VII in the table of contents at the beginning of this thesis shows us that there is a considerable variety of categories in this section, each with its own name. There is no need to repeat all these names here, but the corresponding categories are discussed in the appropriate sections of the two chapters on dance songs. Such a profusion of literary terms is associated with the category of circumcision songs that it has been found useful to collect them in a separate appendix.[1]

3. Poetry of songs which are not danced (/hima). These songs, the ones of minstrelsy, are distinguished in Sandawe terminology by the instruments on which the singers accompany themselves. Thus we have trough-zither song (totõ /hima), musical-bow song (rumbarumba /hima), stick-lyre song (zeze /hima or sumbi /hima),[2] fiddle song (zogozogo /hima), and hand-piano song (marimba /hima). The most common instrument used in minstrelsy is the trough zither (totõ), and the whole category of minstrelsy may be referred to as 'trough-zither song' (totõ /hima). There are no categories of minstrelsy which ought to be played on any particular instrument and a minstrel is completely free to choose any instrument for any song. Since minstrelsy has therefore no sub-categories of songs which are distinguished by a fixed name, I have arranged the minstrelsy songs by subject.

There are a few categories of song which do not belong to any of these main categories, and for obvious reasons they are not presented in this thesis: The mirisisa /hima, 'medicine song', is a magical song not unlike a prayer; it is never sung audibly and it is the secret of the singer. Sú'o means 'hissing'

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1 Appendix XII.

2 The latter term is preferred in the south-eastern dialect of Farkwa.

and it is the term for wordless hissing tunes which people blow between their teeth when they are at work; it is the Sandawe equivalent of humming. Ia'abo /hime is also a 'working song', but of a different kind. When people do heavy work in groups, as at threshing parties, they encourage one another by producing rhythmic grunts in unison, and sometimes they sing ditties of virtually meaningless syllables.[1]

Presentation of vernacular texts, non-narrative, and variants.

In 1894 Chatelain complained that the books which had been written until then on African literature had been worse than useless and even positively misleading. His principal objection was that the reader could gain hardly any impression of what the languages are really like because of the absence of vernacular texts, for without these there is no way of telling in how far the translation is accurate or even whether the English version is any translation at all. It is better, according to Chatelain, to have a translation which is literal to the point of being difficult to read than to have a free re-telling of the story which misses much of the point and all of the atmosphere. "The scientific reader will appreciate the local colouring of the literal version and the proof of genuineness given by adding the original text", he says, and he goes on to point out that "Now it will be realized that this is the basis, and even that the translation is an addition rather than vice-versa."[2]

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1 These working songs will not be further discussed since there is no literature involved. It should be noted, however, that the Sandawe equivalent of the European's humming also differs from the practice of the Swahili and other Bantu peoples of Tanzania who sing quietly in a high falsetto voice, as do the Ewe in West Africa (cf. Witte, 1906, 66).

2 1894, VII.

Chatelain does, however, acknowledge the quality of Canon Callaway's work which was later justly hailed as "the foundations for the scientific study of native African religion and folklore",[1] and he also gives due credit to the "missionary linguists [who] had to unravel the tangles of African grammar and lexicology before collecting of authentic native lore could be successfully attempted."[2]

Unfortunately Chatelain's injunctions have been far from generally heeded; Berry comments on the development of research:

> "The earlier period of collecting was much influenced by historico-comparative theories and diffusionist preoccupations in their crudest form. Given such views and such predispositions, content is all; a bare abstract of plot and dramatis personae suffices."[3]

Even after the heyday of the period thus decried by Berry the situation did not substantially improve. Berry goes on:

> "Unhappily, the marked swing in the last 30 years has not led (as was reasonable to hope) to improved techniques of collecting, but to an almost total neglect of the subject."[4]

A few lines further down he re-states Chatelain's point:

> "...we have had altogether too much translation [without the presentation of the vernacular originals] and it is difficult to see how, at this stage, the recent publications of, say Gurrey, Beier, and Herskovits are to be justified other than

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1 Callaway, 1868 and 1870. Chatelain, op.cit., 17, refers to an 1866 edition of Callaway's "Nursery Tales of the Zulus" which I could not trace. Radin's quotation is in 1952, 1.

2 Op.cit., 16. In respect of East Africa he mentions Krapf, Rebmann and Steere. Krapf's first grammar dates from 1850; Steere, 1870, 165 presents part of a fable in the vernacular, together with translation and annotations.

3 1961, 14.

4 Ibid.

by appeals to the exigencies of the commercial market."[1]

Beier, who himself has been so severely criticized by Berry for not presenting original texts, levels criticism of quite another nature at the usual type of presentation of African literature. He complains that:

> "Most translations of African literature are in fact collections of myths, legends and fables. Thus the false impression is sometimes created that African literature consists of nothing but tales about tortoise and spider. In reality poetry is more common in African life than prose".[2]

Has poetry perhaps been neglected because stories are so much easier to collect? Possibly. Much poetry is part of dance and ritual, and since this cannot easily be laid on a serious collector has to participate and spend much time to be accepted. But once an informant's confidence has been won there is no difficulty in collecting stories by making one tape recording after the other or, as in the past, taking down a series of dictations. I do not mean to minimize the total effort put into such collections: transcription and translation still require much patient and often difficult work, but the first hurdle of getting the material is often much easier to take than in the case of poetry.[3] Unsubstantiated though Beier's statement on the dominance of poetry may be (at least as applied to African literature in general), it is certainly true for the Sandawe.

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1 Ibid. Berry's alas valid criticism appears to be directed at Itayemi and Gurrey, 1953; Beier, 1959; and Herskovits, 1958.

2 1959, 6.

3 Even the bulk of Chatelain's material is narrative, collected from a single informant (one Jeremiah, cf. op.cit., VI). In respect of East African collections Kohl-Larsen deserves perhaps more criticism than most. He consistently omits vernacular texts, limits himself to stories, and what is worse, quite obviously does not even collect in the vernacular languages (Isanzu, Hadza, Burunge, and Iraqw) but in Swahili, cf. Kohl-Larsen 1937a, 1938, 1956a and b, 1966.

Another matter which deserves some attention is the presentation of variants. Evans-Pritchard writes that

> "It is, of course, well known that there is much variation in the telling of the same folk-tale by different persons, ... but not much has been said on this topic in respect of African folk-tales. Usually the best variant is published."[1]

In his analysis of the structural study of myth Lévi-Strauss says that "if a myth is made up of all its variants, structural analysis should take all of them into account."[2] Obviously this is not only true for a study of the structure of myth but for any type of oral literature. "There is no single 'true' version of which all the others are but copies or distortions", he says.[3] In terms of function the variations of literary items may be likened to repetition in language. As Lévi-Strauss points out, repetition helps to show up structure.[4] The comparison of variants may be useful also in the consideration of style, or historical validity. Variants presented in this thesis show that the advantages are diverse: they may show a comparatively rigid adherence to texts in poetry[5] but differences in the styles of individual performers;[6] a variety of informants may result in the improvement of information collected;[7] and differences pertaining to similar texts may even lead to the discovery that the ritual which they reflect belong to different social categories.[8] Publications of variants are still scarce, but

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1 1964a, 103.

2 1963, 217.

3 Ibid., 218.

4 Ibid., 229.

5 Texts 111 and 112.

6 Texts 173 and 174.

7 Texts 90 and 91.

8 Texts 78 and 79, and 80 and 81.

Evans-Pritchard devotes a whole paper to the presentation of five different versions of a Zande tale.[1] This is rare but not unique. Over a century ago Bleek showed the way by presenting four Hottentot versions of the origin of death, together with a Zulu version which shows much resemblance.[2] From the advantages of collecting variants it follows that it is also important to use a variety of informants, the larger the variety the better.[3]

Principles and difficulties of translation.

Chatelain has argued that only literal translation can hope to transmit local colour (viz. p.93). Struyf, in his presentation of the oral art of the Bakongo, couches the same conviction in different terms: "if the Dutch suffers its scientific value can only increase."[4] Whiteley quotes Itayemi

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1 Op.cit.

2 1864, 69-73, also p.14.

3 Radin, 1952, 11, complains that apart from an insufficient variety of informants, few data are usually given beyond a statement whether they are considered good or bad. Whiteley, 1960, pleads that "we should in future collections of African texts recognize the individual performer as far as possible, even to the extent of issuing accompanying records as supplementary material." In deference to this plea a tape recording accompanies this thesis (cf. Appendix XIV). I have also tried to present material from a reasonable variety of informants who are geographically well spread. Appendix IV gives a list of the forty five informants who have contributed the material, and map No.2 shows where they are from. Not all the forty five are personally well known to me and in some cases I do not even know where they live. Indeed sometimes I was lucky to obtain only the name of the leading performers in some dance rites. When their domicile is not known the places of recording are indicated.

4 1908, XVI.

and Gurrey's warning against the dangers of translation into smooth English:

> "Folk tales, of course, should be told in their vernacular idiom. Told in these translations, they lose two important things: they lose many of the jokes and the puns, and the funny twists of language that the listeners originally enjoyed, and waited eagerly for when the well-known story was begun. They lose, too, the special songs that are so often part of them."[1]

The loss of the songs is particularly serious because often they play a central role in story-telling. In Sandawe stories the songs can even become quite dominant.[2]

Whiteley points out that translations should be direct and that translations via another language must be rejected.[3] This sounds obvious, but it is perhaps less frequently realized that the urgency of this policy also applies to researchers in the field. A translation which is made with the aid of a third language which the vernacular speaker and the researcher happen to have in common, may lead to odd results. In a Hehe text published by Velten the word isomba (fish) is translated as 'shark' (Haifisch).[4] It is easy to imagine how a Hehe informant who knew some Swahili, obligingly translated isomba for Velten into Swahili as papa (shark). Unfortunately the Hehe are a highland people who live no less than 300 miles from the sea.

It may now be agreed that translations should be both literal and direct. The main difficulty with Sandawe lies in the fact that it is an agglutinative language in which small word-elements retain a certain independence, and are charged

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1 Whiteley, 1964, 9, from Itayemi and Gurrey, op.cit.

2 cf. text No.12, notes 14 and 15.

3 Op.cit., 11.

4 1899, 211.

with meaning even though this may be extremely vague. In other languages such difficulties with meaning may also occur, for the literature on African folk-lore abounds in remarks that certain songs or sayings "have no meaning". It would not be surprising if this were the principal reason why so many translations of African folk tales simply omit any reference to the songs, in particular those that do not bother to present the vernacular. Those that do often leave the songs untranslated because they may be very difficult to understand, even to speakers of the vernacular. This is often the case in Sandawe songs, yet the argument for offering no translation appears to be only partly valid. Research is usually able to discover the meaning even if it is unknown to informants or too vague for them to explain. The difficulty may be due to several causes:

1. The diffusion of meaning. A concept may include a wide range of images or values. We may recognize a term as covering only a few aspects of that range, and we are in trouble as soon as we come across a context where one of the unrecognized aspects is meant. If even informants who may be considered specialists offer no explanation a verdict of "no meaning" may be returned. But a categorical statement that the meaning is this or that may be equally misleading. Evans-Pritchard, on the subject of Zande proverbs, states that

> "It may be an obvious point to make, but only too often in the literature on African peoples we are given a single meaning, sometimes in the form of an English, or even a Latin, proverb to which a native proverb seems to correspond, though the correspondence can never be more than a more-or-less one."[1]

2. The partial loss of meaning. Archaic verse and songs which have been taken over from other peoples may cause the meaning

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1 1963a, 6.

of a literary item to be unclear or confused. To the Penan of Borneo words which have no meaning in every-day speech are 'spirit-language'.[1] Research into the origins of the text may then help. One method is etymology, the other is research into the language and institutions of another people from whom the obscure literary item may have been acquired. Occasionally a single key-word may do the trick for a whole text. Needham mentions an invocation in which one word only gives a clue about its meaning.[2] Gutmann leaves those songs which he cannot translate in the vernacular, but Dempwolff tries to translate as much as possible of an unclear passage, leaving open what has no meaning to him.[3] This occurs in one of Dempwolff's texts which has been incorporated in this thesis, but progress made in the understanding of some key words makes it now possible to complete his translation.[4]

3. Genuine lack of meaning. Good examples of this may be found in children's ditties, e.g. of the kind which Olson renders as "hi, diddle-diddle".[5] The threshing-party songs which have been mentioned on page 93 are another example. These sounds have in common with yells of pain or anguish that they are not uttered for the purpose of communicating something; they are not symbolic.[6]

No clear division can be made between these categories,

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1 Needham, 1964, 139.

2 Ibid.

3 Gutmann, 1914; Dempwolff, 1916.

4 Dempwolff, op.cit., 175-6, text 98; text 89 in this thesis. Text 91 is one in which Dempwolff's translation has been altered for the same reason.

5 1961 (Rimi songs).

6 Schaller, 1965, counts 21 distinct vocalisations in free-living gorillas. These cannot be translated since they are not symbolic.

but in the case of the first two categories where there is meaning, however rudimentary or confused, an effort should be made to isolate it because of its significance to the understanding of a class of literature or ritual. The problems which emerge from the foregoing may be summarized as follows:

1. Meaning diffuse: Translation is difficult and approximate only for lack of terms which correspond with the vernacular.
2. Meaning rudimentary: Translation is a reconstruction of meaning as well as a transposition of language. The obvious disadvantage is that success in interpretation causes the text to be clearer in translation than it was to the vernacular speaker in his own language. It loses its mystical vagueness.
3. Meaning absent: Translation should not be attempted.

The registration of meaning and its interpretation in Sandawe.

If vagueness of meaning complicates understanding, so does the fact that the Sandawe have to distinguish between at least nine expedients by which meaning is differentiated. Stress, tone variation and vowel length are common expedients in the surrounding Bantu languages. To this may be added stopping, aspiration and nasalization,[1] but also vowel modification,

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1 Ejection is an expedient which seems to be allied to stopping. Similarly, the formation of affricates must be included in this category.
Plosive sounds (called half-voiced consonants by Dempwolff) are the result of the absence of aspiration. Possibly there is some overlapping here with the results of stopping, for some plosive consonants may be the products of stoppage.
Nasalized syllables may seem to end in m (before syllables beginning with labial consonants), n (before syllables beginning with other consonants) or ŋ (in final position).

agglutination (the combination of syllables into words) and positioning (of syllables within the word, and of words in the sentence) may determine the significance of a word. Often a combination of these expedients is used. A vowel may be lengthened in conjunction with stress, or the lengthened part may be raised in tone and at the same time nasalized and stressed.[1] The reason for this complicated system is not difficult to see. The autonomy of syllables as meaningful units is considerable, and without its high degree of agglutination Sandawe might be thought of as a basically monosyllabic language.[2] Since the maximum formula for a Sandawe syllable is only a single consonant followed by a single vowel the number of basic syllables

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1 Consider, for example:

(sũ)	Sandawésũ	we are Sandawe
(sũ)	Sandawésuú	but we are Sandawe (as you know)
(sũ)	Sandawésúũ	with us Sandawe
sú	Sandawésũ	we, we are Sandawe
suú	Sandawésũ	it is we, the Sandawe
súũ	Sandawésũ	we are Sandawe (you are not)
sũ	Sandawésúsũ	we who are Sandawe
sũ	Sandawésũsuú	we who are Sandawe (as you ought to know)
sũ	Sandawésúũsũ	with us, who are Sandawe

Many more variants on this theme are possible.

2 This applies only to what may be called Basic Sandawe in analogy with Basic English. It does not apply to borrowings. The majority of words shown in Dempwolff's and van de Kimmenade's vocabularies are borrowings but the rate of occurrence of Basic Sandawe words in ordinary speech is much higher; even a cursory glance at a Sandawe prose text (see for example text No. 1 of this thesis) will show this. It may be tempting to speculate that Sandawe has once been a monosyllabic language in the remote past. Such evolutionary conjecture is dangerous for lack of proof, but also illogical, for we would have to conclude that after the elimination of all borrowings and doing away with agglutination, the language must have been so limited as to be quite inadequate. The available number of word stems would be literally decimated.

must be limited.[1] If therefore other languages with dyssyllabic roots (Bantu), triconsonantal roots (Semitic) or other complex systems (Indo-European) have a sufficiently large reservoir of word roots which may be differentiated by sound quality alone, Sandawe has to rely on a host of differentiating expedients.[2] We may expect two results from this situation:

1. We may expect to find that utterances have to be repeated more often before understanding is achieved. Comparison suggests that this is indeed the case. Whereas Bantu texts are more repetitive than European texts, generally, Sandawe repeats even more.[3] Some of the texts in the following chapters may

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1 Some syllables consist of a single vowel or a single consonant (including clicks, as Nigmann and Jaeger had noticed). Affricates and aspirated sounds are single consonants for the purpose of this definition.

2 Most Bantu languages use tone as an additional expedient, and European languages use stress. What matters is that the number of expedients is small.

3 One would expect this also to be true for Bushman. Bleek and Lloyd, 1911, 261, show in a Bushman text that it is:
"And the child's mother said: "Yes, my child, hadst thou not in this manner set the lion on fire we should have died. For thou didst set the lion on fire for us, for ( ) we should have died, hadst thou not set the lion on fire for us. Therefore it is, that we will break for thee an ostrich eggshell of "Bushman rice", for, thou hast made us live; we should have been dead, we should have died, hadst thou not, in this manner, set the lion on fire for us, we should have died."
Such extreme repetition may also be found in Sandawe speech. The following is the translation of a recording I made in a Sandawe household. A mother instructs her children:
"Children, I shall be going out. Teresia, cook some porridge for your father, so when they (he and his sons) will come home they may eat. I shall then return at 4 o'clock. I shall go to work. Now when Mary comes back and returns, help each

[Contd. next page]

give a European the impression that the Sandawe are rather overdoing it. Yet repetition is of intrinsic literary value to the Sandawe, and much of the beauty of narrative and also of poetry may actually be derived from repetition. Slight changes are continually made so that the listener is given a better audial 'depth'. Repetition improves understanding, just as a good look at a visual object improves visual perception and a good look from different angles improves it still more.

2. We may also expect to find that the Sandawe have a well developed sense of interpretation; this is shown by their readiness to etymologize. Several examples have already been given of how words are dissected by them. It is only natural that this habit is also practiced on words which are not of Sandawe origin. Etymologies may be quite wrong in such cases, but they are interesting all the same because they throw light on how the Sandawe mind works, and what meaning is perceived as a result. The example quoted under text No.12, note 16 shows how a Sandawe seeks to prove that 'to emphasize' is a pure Sandawe word. As it happens the meanings of the English and the Sandawe 'original' coincide fairly well.

[Continuation of previous page]

other, together with her, to do all things together with her. When I return porridge will be ready so we may eat. When I come back you will have prepared it already. Lusiana too will have gone to school. When she comes back let her eat. Lucas too, goes to work. Joseph himself too, goes to work out there. When he comes back and returns let them eat porridge together. Then you leave some for me, so when I come back I may eat."

This is not oral literature but common speech. The repetition employed most by oral literature is repetition of themes rather than sentences.

There are in Sandawe many small word elements (single syllables) of which the meaning is diffuse, partially lost, or just vague. Especially in songs combinations of these are often used as exclamatory words which are not entirely meaningless, and it is therefore advantageous to attempt translation. One feature of the language is particularly helpful in this attempt; this is the fact that some significance of meaning can be attributed to vowels. If we consider the examples

ha-su there-she

he-su here-she

-ra invitation towards the speaker (from there, more urgent)

-re invitation towards the speaker (action takes place already here, urgency no longer there)

-ri invitation towards the speaker (action in process)

we discern certain correspondences in the changes of meaning which, although extremely subtle and difficult to pin down precisely, are significant. By comparing the word elements (syllables) from many combinations (words) the general ideas reflected in the use of particular vowels can be more or less isolated. We find that:

a implies 'there', something which can be pointed out, remoteness and urgency.

e implies 'here', something taken for granted, presence and steadiness or continuity.

i implies a general condition; Dempwolff recognizes its nature and describes it as the Latin esse.

o implies a condition as the result of an action, or the act itself.

u is the vaguest of all. It seems to imply vagueness or generality of place, purpose or condition.

These vowel values may be found to apply to almost any vowel in

purely Sandawe words. They play little role in the grammatical function of words because there is little fundamental difference between verbs, nouns, and other categories in Sandawe; the function of words is largely determined by placement in the word order, and by affixes which give them their 'aspects'.[1]

In the following chapters crucial words are explained in footnotes; sometimes these give the basic meanings of component syllables but often these are too vague to be accurately pinpointed.[2] In conjunction with the consonantal meanings of the syllables, considerations of their vowel values may then help to solve the problem.[3]

The phonetic system and orthography.

It is well known that Sandawe is a tone language in the sense that tone alone can distinguish between meanings. Examples are found in the following pairs:

ǃ'ŏǎ	dove	sómba	fish	/'ína	female breast
ǃ'ŏǎ	pond[4]	sòmbà	aphrodisiac	/'inǎ	soil, sand

Vowel length is equally important:

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1 In his research into the languages of the Iraqw cluster Whiteley, 1958, 2, distinguishes between items and elements. Items are the minimal meaning-carrying units which occur in isolation. Elements cannot occur in isolation. Because the highly independent Sandawe minimal units may supply the foundations for words of virtually any grammatical category we need not be concerned with this distinction in Sandawe, and the term elements will do for both.

2 Text 1, notes 3,6,and 8; text 2,notes 3 and 4; text 6, note 11, etc.

3 Text 8, notes 2, 4, and 6; text 9, note 7; text 12, note 6, etc.

4 Also heard as ǃŏǎ (dove) and ǃ'ŏà (pond), i.e. with high and low tones instead of descending and rising tones.

//o'	there	na	then?	ná'	to burn
//oo	road	naa	durative affix[1]	ná	that one

On the subject of stress Kähler-Meyer mentions that "in Sandawe it seems to provide distinction between words".[2] An example may show that this is indeed the case:

//'asa to follow up (actively, to follow with purpose)
//'ase followed (neutro active state)

No general rules for tonal behaviour have yet been isolated for Sandawe. The use of tone diacritics in the texts of this thesis is explained in Appendix X. As for vowel length, there may be a direct correlation between length and meaning.[3] Long vowels are indicated by doubling the vowel signs (aa, ee, etc.). Stress appears to be often associated with a slightly raised tone but heavy stress may lower the tone; this matter remains far from clear. The influence of stress on meaning is considerable and perhaps of greater significance than may have been suspected; there appears to be a direct correlation between emphasis in meaning and stress in speech.[4] Notwithstanding this, stress is rarely indicated in the texts since the use of a tone diacritic is usually sufficient for readability.

Another problem is provided by aspiration. In their discussion of aspiration in Swahili, Tucker and Ashton state that it "... is a difficult phenomenon to determine, because it is governed by the degree of aspiration in their unvoiced consonants",[5] and because of the "tendency to aspirate unvoiced explosives in stressed syllables and not to aspirate them in

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1 Cf. p.77.

2 1947, 293.

3 A good example is ǂ'ǒà, 'pond', and ǂ'ǒàa or ǂ'ǒaá, 'large pond, lake'; na and naa may also be connected.

4 Cf text No.2, note 7; text No.12, note 12; text No.15, note 14; and text No.48.

5 1942, 87.

unstressed syllables."[1] This is precisely the difficulty which aspiration also presents in Sandawe, and it makes it difficult to decide upon an orthography which can withstand critical examination. The problem is whether an English word like 'pint' would have to be written ṗint (with a plosive p), pint (explosive p) or phint (aspirated p). Some distinction must be made because in Sandawe differences in aspiration may convey differences in meaning. Examination of the material of Dempwolff, Lemblé and van de Kimmenade shows that they do not always agree on the aspirational values of consonants. The problem is what Jakobson and Halle refer to as the question of overlapping phonemes.[2] Copland reduces the number of aspirational types of Sandawe consonants to two: aspirated and unaspirated; he also reduces the system of lateral sounds to a simpler one. It has been found possible to adopt these simplifications in this thesis.[3]

In Sandawe strong aspiration may be the result of stress, as in Swahili, but heavy stress on unvoiced plosive consonants may cause them to become voiced. Such emphasis is an aspect of style which creates special effects to stimulate the listener's interest and which has therefore literary value. Where this is clearly the case it will have to be commented upon and the effects of such sound changes will have to be discussed. These conditions are perhaps best exemplified in texts Nos. 173 and 174. Like tone, length and stress, strong aspiration has an effect on meaning; since it is the result of stress this is what should be expected.[4]

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1 Ibid., 88.

2 1956, 14-15.

3 Op.cit. Minor modifications to Copland's classification of consonants are made in Appendix IX.

4 Cf. text No.55.

An outstanding feature of Sandawe is the extensive use of clicks. These are injectives which have been described as follows by Westerman and Ward:

> "Click consonants, ..., like implosives, are sounds of a plosive nature made with the breath going in instead of out. The peculiar smacking sound is due to their special formation. There are always two points of articulation, one of them being the velar stop (the k-position), and the other made by some other part of the tongue or by the lips. The air between these two points of contact is rarefied by suction: the more forward stop is released and the air rushes in from the outside to fill this rarefied space. The k-closure is released immediately after the front closure and generally quietly, so that one does not as a rule hear any k-sound. The following vowel is made on the outgoing breath and there is no perceptible pause between the click and this vowel. The tongue is tense during the production of the sound."[1]

This is the basic, unstopped or integral click, of which there are three in Sandawe: the dental click (ǀ), the lateral click (ǁ) and the retroflex click (ǃ).[2] Each of these clicks may occur in five forms: the basic or simple form described, as well as stopped, aspirated, nasalized, and voiced, making fifteen different click phonemes in all. The method of writing them is shown in Appendix X.

Since the occurrence of these sounds is limited to southern and eastern Africa they have formed the basis for speculations that they characterize one linguistic family, a view which is now held to be of doubtful validity. Outside the South African groups of so-called click-languages with which Sandawe has been associated together with Hadza, click sounds

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1 1933, 98. Illustrated in Appendix VIII.

2 Many Sandawe use an alveolar click (ǂ) instead, but since there is in Sandawe no phonemic difference between the alveolar and the retroflex click, a single sign (ǃ) may be used for both.

occur in such southern Bantu languages as Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho, and sporadically they also occur further to the north.[1]

Ejective sounds are also common in Sandawe and one of them, the lateral ejective (tl') may sound so deceptively similar to a lateral click that Lembé speaks of 'pseudo clicks'. The lateral fricative (hl) has also given rise to some difficulties. This sound is usually enunciated much like a lateral affricate (with a 'hard release'), and different representations in writing have been the result.[2] Stops abound in Sandawe, and the general impression of the language is one of a series of sounds which does not flow smoothly, but is sharply divided into monosyllabic elements. This tendency appears to be particularly pronounced in woman speakers since they usually articulate better than men.

The vowel system presents some problems of which nasalization, length, tone, and stress have already been touched upon. Differences in vowel quality are marked in the e and the o (open ɛ and closed e, open ɔ and closed o) but they occur also in the other vowels. Phonemically they do not appear to be distinctive, at least not as an isolated feature. Copland notes these differences in vowel quality, but he decides on a

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1 Schultze, 1928, 3, introduced the term Khoi-san for the peoples with click-languages (from Bushman and Hottentot words meaning 'people'); this term was given wide circulation by Schapera (cf. p.58, note 6). Differences in clicks occur. Berger, 1943, 100, says that it is remarkable that the lateral click of the Kindiga is not formed as with the Sandawe, but as with the Nama Hottentot. Von Cassian Spiss, 1904, 273ff., reports an alveolar click in KiNgoni and KiSuto in southern Tanzania (related to Zulu).
Fokken, 1905, 67 and 93, reports a single click word in Kisiha, a Chagga dialect of Kilimanjaro. The occurrence of clicks in Sanye has already been mentioned on p.58 (note 6).

2 Cf. Appendix X.

five-vowel system.[1]

The texts of the following chapters contain a few sounds which are not used in ordinary speech. They are:

1. A bilabial click (⊙); this occurs in only one instance.[2]
2. A smacking sound which it might be tempting to call a monolabial click. The tip of the tongue is flattened against the inside of the lower lip and the tips of the lower incisors. Tensioning of the blade rarefies the air under it and the rim of the lip is sucked into the mouth. Release occurs while the mouth remains open. This sound does not quite fit into the definition of a click, perhaps, because the release is not made between the frontal point of articulation and the k position which may be absent. For this sound the lower half of the sign for a bilabial click is used (◡); just as the latter it is rare.[3]
3. A scraping sound (a voiced glottal fricative) which may correspond with what Wuras calls a 'deep windpipe guttural' of the Korana.[4] It is not uncommonly used by some minstrels to fill the pause between two stanzas; it may be extended to form a sort of breathy refrain, quite prolonged and repetitive at different tone levels.[5] Bleek and Lloyd show that Bushmen make such use of throat sounds, and their sign to represent it is therefore taken over in this thesis (ʢ).[6]

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1 Cf. Appendix VII.

2 Text No.174.

3 Texts Nos.33 and 34.

4 1920, 6.

5 Cf. tape recording, side 2, text No.158 (see Appendix XIV).

6 1911, viii. They describe it as a strong croaking sound in the throat. A textual example is in op.cit.,p. 220, The Cat's Song.

A schema of the phonological system of Sandawe is presented in Appendices VII (vowels), VIII (clicks) and IX (other consonants). Appendix VIII illustrates both varieties of the alveolar/retroflex click, since both are commonly used.[1] Appendix X shows the orthography used in this thesis. In order to facilitate the reading of quotations from Dempwolff, Lemblé and van de Kimmenade their orthographies are also listed for comparison.[2]

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1 Johnston, 1924, 26, speaks of "the three or four 'clicks' used in Sandawi" (italics mine).

2 Dempwolff employs Lepsius' alphabet (1863, 53 and 208) as modified by Meinhof (1912, 5); Lemblé follows Bantu (Zulu) orthographical usage; van de Kimmenade returns to the standard click signs. His orthography and the one used in this thesis differ only in minor detail. It is felt that the simplifications made improve the system; the alphabet adopted follows closely the recommendations of the Africa Alphabet and the separate publication of the International African Institute, cf. Africa, 1933.

CHAPTER III

NARRATIVE

ANIMAL FABLES AND COMICAL TALES

The stories.

This chapter and the next contain selections of ten stories each; the aim has been to make them as representative as possible both for type and for number. The first seven stories are 'pure' animal fables, i.e. tales in which all the principal roles are played by animals. This is a very common type in Sandawe oral literature, and it tends to be also the most simple. The remaining three stories of this chapter are of the type which Struyf classifies as apologues.[1] They are tales in which animals and people act together and, according to Struyf, these have a clearly moralistic purpose; with the same right, however, this can also be said of some of the 'pure' animal fables. According to an informant the Sandawe prefer to see stories with a mixed cast not as moralistic but as comical tales, and texts Nos. 9 and 10 would certainly qualify as such. At any rate it would be difficult to draw a clear line of division between such categories.

In this selection are included some texts which have been collected by Dempwolff in 1910 so that for comparison also older material may be presented which has not been collected by myself. It appears that the fifty years which have passed since Dempwolff collected his texts have not visibly affected the style and the

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1908, XIV.

language of Sandawe story telling, even though this span of time comprises the better part of the period of contact with European and modern Swahili influences.

This chapter contains one of Dempwolff's texts. Of these texts the vernacular is not presented again since this would be a needless duplication. The new English translations I have made from Dempwolff's presentations of the vernacular, not from his German translations. It is gratifying to see that the new translations are in close agreement with Dempwolff's German versions. In the few instances where this is not the case the reasons for the difference are explained in a footnote.

All the original story material is presented with the vernacular texts facing the translations, which have been made on a line-for-line basis. In a few instances cross-overs between lines occur; in places they are necessary in order to achieve a readable translation. They have been kept to a minimum, and anyone who should wish to use these texts for further linguistic studies should not find it difficult to find the corresponding Sandawe elements by reference to the translation. For easier reference and comparison the lines are numbered on both sides. The translations are literal; if fluent English has been achieved in places this is a happy coincidence. Where literal translations are impossible because of vagueness, as in some songs, explanatory notes are given. Completeness of the texts is a primary aim since this is necessary if they are to serve as a basis for analysis, and the risk of some texts becoming rather wearisome because of repetition, is therefore disregarded.

Although footnotes give explanations to the texts, a fuller analysis will not be given until we reach chapter IX.

Text No. 1. Told by Mr. Salim Maganga at Farkwa.

1 Utaa lólo //atsúχ dóroki aà khongomawanki, paa
2 dǒronga ka': "Tsí //atsúũ[1] ba'ásis'".[2] Paχ ka':
3 "Ah hapú dóro hótsi ba'é, n/ípo, hapú.
4 Tshí hapúts'is'[3] n/ínũaa hambe.
5 Tsí ba'éais', //atsú //wá'ǒ ke'éwatsipo?".[4]
6 Paχ ka':[5] "Tsíko doro ba'ásis' //atsús'",
7 paχ ka': "Tsíko //atsú dóros' ba'asis'".[6]
8 Pa ka': "Swèé nía ba'ásípôĩ
9 //atsúnga hapúχsũ húmawankisũ.
10 Híki húmawankisũna?" Pa ka':
11 "Gíribo húmawankisũ". - "Hánana?"
12 Pa ka': "Ts'áána tankulglesũ". -
13 "Ts'áána hákũ?" - "Mangasínχe".[7] -
14 "Aaare, ee." - Iswé //atsúnga:

"Doro kálalae kálala[8]
doro kúlalae kálala
na hima: hé, hima: hé.
Séera séera kálala",
himbá:[9] "Kálala."

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1 The ũ of //atsuũ (lion) is an attention-focusing demonstrative, translated as a vocative ("o ').

2 I.e. 'bigger than you'. The comparative is emphasized by stress on ba'asis', 'I am big'.

3 n/i-nũ-aa = 'eat/focus on the object/it is who'.

4 'Name' equals 'fame'.

5 ka' may be translated in many ways. Basically it means 'to utter', but also 'to say, to sing, to add to a previous remark, to go on saying, to repeat, to confirm. Cf. lines 6 ('to add') and 8 ('to reply').

6 doro-s' ba'a-sí-s': This is a double 'tense' construction which is common in Sandawe. The first -s' means 'I have', the second 'I shall'. The total meaning is

The Lion and the Zebra. Recorded July 1963.

Long ago a lion and a zebra were debating together, and the zebra said: "I, o Lion,[1] I am big."[2] And [the lion] said: "Ah, you zebra, what, are you big; you are [just] meat, you. I, I used to eat you,[3] I have eaten you indeed in the past. I am big, the Lion, haven't you heard my name?"[4] And he repeated:[5] "It is I, zebra, who am big, I, the Lion", and he added: "I, Lion, I am bigger than a zebra."[6] And [the zebra] replied: "Now then, if you are bigger then I, Lion, will compete with you. How then shall we compete?" And he added: "In running we shall compete." - "Where to, then?" [The zebra] said: "To the watering place we shall run." - "To the watering place?" - "[Yes], as far as Mangasín'."[7] - "All right then." - And now the lion [sang]:

"Zebra come on then, run, come on, move![8]
zebra come on then, run, come on, move!
How he pants: hé, pants: hé
Give me then, give me the a good run",
he roars out,[9] "come on, move!"

'I have always been bigger and I shall remain so in the future'. The obvious translation is the present tense, but then the subtle implication of contempt is lost.

7 This is the name by which the Sandawe usually call their tribal headquarters which is officially known as Kwa Mtoro. Mangasín' is derived from the German Magazin (store house) which Sgt. Linke built there.

8 Kílala is never used in ordinary speech. Ká is kó (urgency) with vowel value a (there), plus -la-la (habitual or persistent action, repeated, and with 'distant' vowel value a) it forms the image of 'come on then, run!'

9 Himba: cf. Bantu imba 'to sing'. Sandawe tends to add an initial h to some Bantu borrowings, e.g. Bantu andika, Sandawe handika 'to write'. Himba is also a ritual name for 'Lion'.

15 Paχ dórõkia ka':

"Nimbá[10] kálalae kálala", doro,
ka': "hima: hé, hima: hé.
Séera séera kálala",
nimbá kálala."

16 Ay héu //atsúko thágaa ǂara. Pa ka':

"Doro kálalae kálala
doro kálalae kálala
na hima: hé, hima: hé.
Séera séera kálala",
himbá: "Kálala."

17 Paχ //atsúkia ka':[11]

"Nimbá kálalae kálala", doro,
ka': "hima: hé, hima: hé.
Séera séera kálala",
nimbá kálala."

18 Ah, dóro waráŋgea; hlee'na

19 Dúdu n//eea,[12] paχ swéa //atsúŋga:

"Doro kálalae kálala
doro kálalae kálala
na hima: hé, hima: hé.
Séera séera kálala",
himbá: "Kálala."

20 Ah, //atsú waráŋgea. Swé'na /'utsuka //ó'

21 Tl'umpáko n//eea. Paχ ta'ok',

22 swéa dóronga:

---

10 Like himba, nimba is a ritual name for 'Lion'. Both terms are derived from the Bantu simba or nimba. The story-teller lets the lion arrogantly call out his own praise name, to which the zebra contemptuously replies with a variant.

11 The story-teller slips up and says "and the lion said" instead of "and the zebra said", but he corrects himself by singing the zebra's song immediately after.

15 And the zebra too, he sang:

"Lion[10] come on then, run, come on, move!" Zebra [said]
and added: "he pants: hé, pants: hé.
Give me then, given me then a good run,
Lion, come on, move!"

16 Ay, this lion, he ran really well. And he sang:

"Zebra come on then, run, come on, move!
zebra come on then, run, come on, move!
How he pants: hé, pants: hé
Give me then, give me then a good run",
he roars out, "come on, move!"

17 And the lion said:[11]

"Lion come on then, run, come on, move!" Zebra [said]
and added: "he pants: hé, pants: hé.
Give me then, give me then a good run,
Lion, come on, move!"

18 Ah, the zebra has got far away; presently then

19 he reached the Dúdu [River],[12] and now the lion [sang]:

"Zebra come on then, run, come on, move!
zebra come on then, run, come on, move!
How he pants: hé, pants: hé
Give me then, give me then a good run",
he roars out, "come on, move!"

20 Ah, the lion has got far away. Now then he has passed there,

21 at Tl'umpáko he has arrived. And the [zebra] got up,

22 and now the zebra [sang]:

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12 The route can be followed on map No.2. The story-teller lives near Farkwa and he lets his heroes run to Kwa Mtoro along a route which is also followed by the modern road. All his listeners know this road which is the most important line of communication in south-eastern Sandawe country, and members of the audience can therefore easily follow the progress of the competitors in their imagination. The next place to be mentioned, Tl'umpáko, is a hill halfway between Banguma and Kwa Mtoro (line 21); Póro Hill is off the road to the right, but the area near the road is also known as Póro (line 24).

"Nimbá kálalae kálala", doro,
ka': "hima: hé, hima: hé.
Séera séera kálala",
nimbá kálala."

23 Paχ dóro ts'éésamèèga,

24 paχ ts'ok'.[13] Hleena Póró n//ééa:

"Doro kálalae kálala
doro kálalae kálala
na hima: hé, hima: hé.
Séera séera kálala",
himbá: "Kálala."

25 Ah, hégeko //atsú n//eesama,

26 paa ts'ok' dora:

"Nimbá kálalae kálala", doro,
ka': "hima: hé, hima: hé.
Séera séera kálala,
nimbá kálala."

27 Keka tinéo héétl' ítha ime:[14]

"Doro kálalae kálala
doro kálalae kálala
na hima: hé, hima: hé.
Séera séera kálala",
himbá: "Kálala."

28 //atsúna tátara; dóro //'anta n//eea

29 paχ ka':

"Nimbá kálalae kálala", doro,
ka': "hima: hé, hima: hé.
Séera séera kálala,
nimbá kálala."

30 Pa hewé ts'éóyoo ts'áants'a, pa n//umé,

31 pa /'ósanki, pa /'ée //ó'na:[15]

"Nimbá kálalae kálala", doro,
ka': "hima: hé, hima: hé.
Séera séera kálala,
nimbá kálala."

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13 I.e., he made a special effort. Common idiom.

14 The next song is sung softly to show the distance.

"Lion come on then, run, come on, move!" Zebra [said]
and added: "he pants: hé, pants: hé.
Give me then, give me then a good run,
Lion, come on, move!"

23 And the zebra was close to drinking [at the waterhole],

24 but [the lion] jumped up.[13] Presently then he arrived at Póro:

"Zebra come on then, run, come on, move!
zebra come on then, run, come on, move!
How he pants: hé, pants: hé
Give me then, give me then a good run",
he roars out, "come on, move!"

25 Ah, it looks as if the lion is about to arrive,

26 but the zebra then got up:

"Lion come on then, run, come on, move!" Zebra [said]
and added: "he pants: hé, pants: hé.
Give me then, give me then a good run,
Lion, come on, move!"

27 He pricked up his ears, and there far away [the lion] called:[14]

"Zebra come on then, run, come on, move!
zebra come on then, run, come on, move!
How he pants: hé, pants: hé
Give me then, give me then a good run",
he roars out, "come on, move!"

28 The lion then was tired; the zebra arrived at the well

29 and said:

"Lion come on then, run, come on, move!" Zebra [said]
and added: "he pants: hé, pants: hé.
Give me then, give me then a good run,
Lion, come on, move!"

30 And he drank and drank in the water, and he stood up,

31 and rested, and he looked in the distance[15] [and sang again]:

"Lion come on then, run, come on, move!" Zebra [said]
and added: "he pants: hé, pants: hé.
Give me then, give me then a good run,
Lion, come on, move!"

---

15 //ó-na: lit. 'to there'. The word //ó', 'there' is often used for 'distance'.

32 paχ:

"Doro kálalae kálala
doro kálalae kálala
na hima: hé, hima: hé.
Séera séera kálala",
nimbá: "Kálala."

33 Hía /'ee dorá'í níngoa thántshií

34 ka': púk' púk'. "Hewé swe hewé thán'õts'i'

35 thán'wa? Háwé tshí dóro n//os',

36 /ántsipone? Tsí taχ /'ánkis'

37 g!i'ẽ /i. Swé tángis' ts'ee. Swé hó ba'ásẽ?"

38 Pa ka':

"Nimbá kálalae kálala", doro,
ka': "hima: hé, hima: hé.
Séera séera kálala,
nimbá kálala."

39 Pa ka': tlalí /hime. Tsháa

40 tángis' ts'ee. Hó ba'ásẽ? Tshí doros' ba'asís'.

41 Tháásipots'e /eeki. Tsí hámbe

42 lólotshekíi giribóts'a'; hía tánki'íí,

43 humats'íkase." Swé ó'

44 'mbó'o tsheekíga. Hlee dóro ba'áse, //atsú

45 ts'óũ. Ee, !'okágas'.

Text No. 2. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at N//atshá.

1 Utaa lólo hínao tékelexa zengúkia //oots'a' !'okí.

2 Hía' !'okíí paa tékelenga zengúts'a ka': "Waré,

3 ké'ina?" Pa ka': "Hóbena?"

4 Pa ka': "Holóats'ií n/waá tlas'."

5 - "Swé tankúléleo: n/omése tág n//eeseé

32 And [the lion] answered:

"Zebra come on then, run, come on, move!
zebra come on then, run, come on, move!
How he pants: hé, pants: hé
Give me then, give me then a good run",
he roars out, "come on, move!"

33 When the zebra was looking [back] he saw the other run,
34 yapping: puk, puk. "Like this, now like this sort of running
35 are you running along? What, I, I am the son of Zebra,
36 haven't you seen? I have just arrived flying in the sky
37 at great speed. Now I have drunk first. Now who is big?"
38 And he said [triumphantly]:

"Lion come on then, run, come on, move!" Zebra [said]
and added: "he pants: hé, pants: hé.
Give me then, give me then a good run,
Lion, come on, move!"

39 And he said: "You have sung for nothing. It is I who
40 drank first. Who is big? I, Zebra, I am big.
41 You cannot run [because] you are heavy. I, in the past,
42 since long ago I have been running; when I am running ahead
43 [away from a pursuer], he is completely beaten." Now here
44 the story is finished. Now the zebra is big, and the lion
45 is small. Yes, I have finished indeed.

The Hyena and the Stork. Recorded November 1962.

1 Long ago a certain hyena and a stork met on the road.
2 When they met the hyena spoke to the stork: "Friend,
3 have you heard?" And [the hyena] asked: "What then?"
4 And he replied: "At Holóa an elephant has died."
5 "Now let us run in competition: the person who first arrives

pa n/ĩ tsía sie." Paa zéngúngaa
ém'se. Pa zéngúnga ka': "Tékele swé hapú
tankulelesa' tsí rémasépo?" Pa ka': "Téhla
rémapos', hapú hótso daapo, zengúpoki." Paa
ka': "//ó'kwa'o bara." A' tl'ĩ. Tékele
!'úma'inga iyẽ thaa pa zéngúki /'ánk'a
kobá'inga iyẽ thaa: kobáwasé'ỏ
kobá'inga iyẽ thaa.[1] Thấấse tékele, pa íχa
/hime:

Gúmotshèè[2] tanánge, tanánge,[3]
Gúmotshèè tanánge, tanánge,
Gúmotshèè tanánge, tanánge.

Zéngúki /'ánk' thaase hewéki íχa
/hime. Pa ka':

Sángule, sánguleele, Holóa.[4]
íyo,[5] sánguleele, Holóa.
Holóa, sánguleele, Holóa.

"Héu Holóa i'ĩ n/waá tlas'ts'eè",
!'úmats'aã /hime. Aà nèèa giribé
hía /ĩ k'eets'ĩ, tékele náa
hétl' dlu'ía íyẽ than'. /hímetshèè
ka':

Gúmotshèè tanánge, tanánge,
Gúmotshèè tanánge, tanánge,
Gúmotshèè tanánge, tanánge.

---

1 Lit.: running on his wings.

2 tshèè refers to the distance they are still away from the carrion. Cf. p. 69 on the nature of the Sandawe locative.

3 tanánge is never heard in ordinary speech. The components are ta (into), na (toward), nasalization (isolative), ge (affirmative); the stress on na strongly suggests a running motion.

he will take all the meat," [the hyena said]. And the stork agreed. Then the stork said: "Hyena, now can you, in competition, beat me?" He replied: "Completely I shall beat you, you, what can you do, you stork!" And he said: "At once let us start." They jumped up. The hyena was running on the land and the stork was above, flying on his wings:[1] since he had wings he was flying on his wings. The hyena was running, and thus he sang:

To the carrion[2] let there be running, be running,[3]
To the carrion let there be running, be running,
To the carrion let there be running, be running.

And the stork while flying above, he too like this he sang. And he said:

Wearer of manes, wearer of manes run on,[to] Holóa,[4]
Oh,[5] wearer of manes run on, [to] Holóa.
[To] Holóa, wearer of manes run on, [to] Holóa.

"This Holóa it is, the place where the elephant has died", sang the one on the ground. And they went on running [and] when he came to look back the hyena was there yonder, there far behind he was running. And from there he sang and said:

To the carrion let there be running, be running,
To the carrion let there be running, be running,
To the carrion let there be running, be running.

---

4 The component parts of sangule(le) are sangu (manes) and le-le (habitual or continuous action, repeated). Manes are attributes of lions and symbols of courage; they are worn as emblems by dancers in rituals of witchcraft exorcism (see text No.85) and in the lion-game of mirimó (see chapter VI, section D).

5 iya (mother!) is a common exclamation; when enunciated without much stress, as in this case, 'oh' seems to be an adequate rendering.

Zengu paχ n!èè paχ ka':

Sángule, sánguleele, Holóa,
íyo, sánguleele, Holóa.
Holóa, sánguleele, Holóa.

Hía tágna /'ei, Holóa bébasa.

N/waásuki /aaswa[6] pa fáa

pa //'akí. Hía //'akíĩ pa /ŏáq,

/ŏáq, /ŏáq, pa n//éé í'ĩ n/waásũ tl'abisotána,

paa n!ũ titéa tú'ke.[7]

Tékele dlu'ía náá thantshèè; hía

thaní', pa k'eets', óntena /'ee

/'ánk'na /'eei: zengútshée.

Paa ká': "Hè hée, zengu swé rémagas'.

Hambéé hewé kóbàà'ĩ, hákũa iyẽ swé thán'?

Swé dó'e ts'éχ'sa n/inge." Pa ma'áá, zéngu

n!ũ ó'a /'ink'e. Hía ts'éχ'na /'inkei paχ

zéngũa /ũénga, iĩ, tl'axéékwe. Ts'ubuũ pa

ka': "Iyoibéé, n/waá tshank'sa

kamasénayóó." Ay, /ũeeá téhla áámeχse.

"Ay, dókwe, héu /'inkésanki." Hía

tl'esé /'inkei, pa /ũee ténka ts'ubũ.

Pa zéngungaa tú', pa ka': "Tékele, híki hlak'é?

Hís' kisa' humapós' /aampo?

Pii ká' tshá'sa /ũee kámawaχse.

Tsaagas'aa tl'axímaχpo mak'épo swé."

Hadísĩ[8] ó'ga tshèeki. !haak'ú tshee

tl'áχũ.[9]

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6 The elephant is 'female' because it is dead and powerless.

7 Because hides are tough, carrion-eating birds like vultures and marabou stork like to attack corpses through the anus, picking out the faeces and tearing out chunks of meat from the inside.

22 The stork then laughed and said:

Wearer of manes, wearer of manes run on, [to] Holóa,
Oh, wearer of manes run on, [to] Holóa.
[To] Holóa, wearer of manes run on, [to] Holóa.

23 When he looked forward Holóa was getting near.
24 Even the elephant, he saw her[6] and he swished [his wings]
25 and he dropped down. When he had alighted he pecked,
26 pecked, pecked, and entered and came into the elephant's belly,
27 and only his beak emerged.[7]
28 The hyena, yonder at a distance he was running; and as he
29 ran he looked back, and here he looked and there he looked
30 and upward he looked [but] the stork was not there.
31 And he said: "Heh, heh, the stork I have now beaten.
32 Where then is he, with his wings, whereto is he now running?
33 Now let me eat alone." But how he got hurt! The stork's
34 bill pecked him there. When he took his first bite, then
35 the stork, oow! pecked him in his eye. It burst and he
36 cried: "Oh mother dear, the elephant's fat has
37 really burnt me." Ay, the eye was totally broken.
38 "Ay, wait, this one I'll really bite to pieces!" When he
39 bit once more, then [also] the other eye was destroyed.
40 And the stork came out, and said: "Hyena, how is it?
41 When I said [that] I'd beat you, do you see it now [what I
42 meant]? And you said [that] the fat has burnt your eye.
43 It is I who have broken your eyes, you will suffer now."
44 The story[8] has finished here. The monkey's head
45 has cracked.[9]

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8 Hadíaí: on p. 90 we have seen that the word for 'story' is hadís'. The stress on the last syllable refers to the story just told: 'the story'; it approximates the article in English.

9 This is a typically Sandawe way of finishing a story. Its significance is explained in chapter IX, closing formulae.

Text No. 3. Told by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa.

Utaa lólo sa'úta ha lá'e'aà wamóóki. Hía'
wamóóki !'okái pa íχa ímbo, sa'úta: "Lá'e,
pheé i/íko waré áduk'se o hlomá."[1]
Pa swéa lá'ea //'ó. Hía n!eí paa
gótl'oχ: "Ah, úte tsí wa'mea kumba //'oküse.
Swé tsí hloméś'ts'e'e, hik'is' tsí wa'moe
áduk'gsana. Áarena ee." Paa hik'. Hía
hik'í kwa sa'úta !'oowe. A' nèè hlomé
hlomóyoo sáa nánets'a n//eei.[2] Pa tl'oáŋ tl'unga hánga.
Pa íχa ĕmbo, lá'ea sa'útats'a: "Hĭ swé
waré tl'oáŋ tl'ungu nèègea hánga. Iswé
híkiaũ? Kũánda mbó'na hía //'aakí,
/'éeyoos' /ántshe. Hlé'na hía //'aakí,
hótsota nèèsũ?" Kwa ka':
"Wamóó íχts'e hapú hloméko, tsí manasís'
kũánda. Áarena ee. Bas' hloméko hapú
meko iyẽ ímbo déete'o taka.[3] Tsí útes' lólos'
//'ók'po. Kũándakí tsí ímbos'ts'e'e."
Aà hlomé nèè hlomé hlomé paa
hlé tl'oánga //'akí. Tl'oánga //'akí //'ó.
Hlé úraã //'ó tl'oáŋ. Pa íχa ímbo:
"Hóko waré kũánda'és' ímbónai?"
Pa ka': "Kuánda héngeko?
Tshí úte hlomónas' //'ok'po anká tl'oánga //'ói.
Hloméko." Lá'ea thá thee tshinats'a n//ume.
Tl'oá'na hlee' //'aká. Hlee wékênsekia á/í.

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1 Lit.: to help, so we may hoe.

2 Lit.: until it entered itself into eight o'clock. Counting of the hours follows Swahili custom: periods of twelve hours begin at sunset and at sunrise. Six hours

The Hare and the Ostrich made Friendship. Recorded July 1963.

Long ago Ostrich and Hare made friendship. When they had made friendship then he spoke thus, the ostrich: "Hare, to-morrow you must come, [my] friend, to help me in hoeing."[1] And then the hare [went to] sleep. When it dawned, then he remembered: "Ah, yesterday indeed my friend invited me. Now I won't hoe [in my own field], I am going to my friend's to help. Really, indeed." And he went. When he had gone he met the ostrich. [And then] they were hoeing, and hoed on until two o'clock.[2] And a rain cloud came up. And he spoke thus, the hare to the ostrich: "Well now, friend, the rain cloud has already come up. Now what shall we do? The hut, why, [the one] I have been looking for, I do not see [it]. Now then, when it falls, at what place shall we stay?" But [the ostrich] said: "Friend, not like this; you [just] go on hoeing, I know [where] the hut [is]. Really, indeed. All right, you hoe [and] do not ask too many questions.[3] Only yesterday I have invited you. And of a hut I cannot talk [now]." And they went on hoeing, and they hoed and hoed, and presently the rain fell. The rain fell and how it rained! Now the rain fell very much. And [the hare] spoke thus: "What now, [my] friend, about the hut of which you spoke?" And [the ostrich] replied: "Why then must [you have] a hut? Yesterday I invited you for hoeing even if the rain falls. Just hoe." The hare ran [away] and stood under a tree. And the rain now poured. Presently it came also with wind.

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have to be added or substracted from the time in order to find its English equivalent. The Swahili saa (hours) nane (eight) is two o'clock.

3 Lit.: do not/ remain/ words/ profusion/ demanding.

27 Dí'sekia //'akí: ká', ká', ká', ká', ká', ká',...
28 - "K'aé' kés'naako." Pa swéa sa'úta:
29 "Hapúna téhla kosega sípots'eège,
30 tsína ó' hís' n//umei ba'ates' /ánsiponego
31 kó báwasis' ó? Thániko." Paa hewéts'a
32 thán'. Hía thádi lá'ea paa swéa sa'úta
33 thoro. Hía thoroi paa kobá tengē'sé
34 (... ... ...)[4] lá'ea kobátana
35 n//éé. Paa swéa
36 pumpusé[5] kwa sa'útā'kia
37 hewé k'wénga n//éésukwe hewé kobátana. Hía n//eesukwei
38 tl'oáŋ hlee íya //'ó. Hle lá'e
39 anká ta'áda'tshèè. Hlee tl'oánga iyē
40 //'ó, //'óyoo paa tshèèkí, tl'oánga.
41 Hía tshèèkí pa hlee hlwé'. Lá'e:
42 "Mm, wamóó kumba hapú hewé hla'ápo.
43 hií tshí é'eè χáare wetshayoo[6] kúánda."
44 Paa ka': "Tshí kúánda sīs', tshi wagónzie sīs',
45 nèès'. ǂarena é?[7] Swé'na
46 ímbósipone?" Pa ka': "Waré
47 ímbósís'ts'e; hií swé'na." Pa
48 ka': "Swé hík'ko nán' thime. Pa
49 ka': "Waré tsí núakii taχ tayári."[8]

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4 The story-teller made a mistake; three words have been omitted here from the recorded text.

5 The storyteller explained later that Hare crossed himself. The term pumpusé (to offer a sacrifice) is used for even the smallest token of atonement, such as spitting. 'To make the sign of the Cross' is also called pumpusé.

6 Wetshayoo: a word which gives the speaker time to collect his thoughts, and an expression of vagueness; it has much the same value as English 'eh'.

And it fell with hailstones: ká', ká', ká', ká', ká', ká',..
- "The flood has come right up to me!" But now the ostrich
[spoke]: "Aren't you completely lacking in thought,
am I not here as I stand here, a big[person], cannot you see,
you then, that I have wings here? Run up to me." And [the hare]
then, he ran. When he ran, the hare, then the ostrich
squatted down. As he bent down he stretched his wings,
(... ... ...)[4] the hare arrived
into[his]wings. And then he
made a [small] sacrifice[5] and the ostrich, too,
made his neck go in under his wings. When he had tucked it
in, the rain went on falling. Now the hare
was not even in the water. And presently the rain went on
falling, and it rained on until it finished, the rain.
When it had finished [the hare] then sprinted out. The hare
[said]: "Wm, [my] friend, [so] you are really like that!
Had I only been at that time, perhaps, eh, such a hut!"
And [the ostrich] replied: "But I am a hut, I am the owner,
am I not? Really, so it is.[7] Now then, have you
[anything] to say?" And [the hare] replied: "Friend,
I have nothing to say; what should I then?" And he
continued: "Now go to cook vegetables." [The ostrich]
replied: "[My] friend, my porridge too, is already served."[8]

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7 Áarena ǵ may also be interpreted as a rhetorical question: "is it not really so", but it cannot always be so translated, cf. line 51. It should be noted that patterns of tone and stress may change even in such stereotyped expressions as this one, resulting in subtle changes of meaning.

8 tayári: Swahili for 'ready'. The basic meal is a stiff porridge which is made of millet flour and seasoned with meat, sauce, and various vegetables. All these additions to the porridge are collectively called nánŭ or nán', cf. p.51. Text No.46 shows how food is served.

50 Hleeyoo ní'ĩ si χoantímaà pa
51 ímbóa tshèèkí. Áarena èè. A swéa'
52 ní'. Hía' níĩ ts'áakũa' hía n//eei,
53 pa swéa sa'úta tshaa n//unké
54 χoántékwe, nán'ki e'éa
55 kimba thiime pa swéa tshaa n//unké
56 paa χoantékwe, aà mántsha //'atá.[9]
57 Paa hángasa nèè[10] pa íχa:
58 "Wamóó waré swêê neeso hlomé tl'oánkia
59 hõ//'ówasũ. Hĩ swé phé déérako.[11]
60 Labá n!ents'ií i/íkõ ní'ko áduk'se[12]
61 o hlomé. Áarena e. Lä'ea
62 sa'útats'a ímbóo swéa ní'.[13]
63 Swé' áara //'ó. Phé hía
64 n!ei sa'úta hewé mindaatá iyẽ hloméyoo.
65 Kísoχients' sa'úta swéa hík'. "Lá'e úte
66 //'ók'sega tsí wamóóea. Swé hik'ís'
67 hlomoonas'." N/úmusuk'maa ímbó. N/úmusukia ke'ékwe
68 bas' paa swéa hik'. Hía hik'i
69 n//ééi //o'ái sa'útai aà hlé' hlomoona' ní'.
70 Hewé e'éea labé.[14] Hámbe mindáa sũ'ki nèè hloméwa

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9 The storyteller repeats himself. Mantsha //'atá is 'they ate [until] they filled.'

10 nèè: plural verb used here for a single person to describe his dawdling (seemingly a plural action).

11 On p.77 (note 3) we have seen that -ko has been generally described as an imperative. Here its basic meaning (urgency, anxiety, adhortation) is clear: "How would it be if you came to stay with me?" is an invitation rather than an imperative. The element -raa which precedes -ko is a lengthened form of -ra, a very gentle adhortative.

And then they went on their way and they cooked and the argument was finished. Really, indeed. And now they went. When they had gone [and] when they arrived [at his home], then the ostrich placed the pot [on the fire] and he cooked for him, and in a while the vegetables were indeed cooked and presently he placed the pot [on the fire] and he cooked for him, and they ate their fill.[9] And at [his] departure [the hare] waited[10] and spoke thus: "Dear friend, now we have been hoeing and the rain has fallen much on us. If now to-morrow you stayed with me?[11] When the day after to-morrow dawns, come to help me[12] so we may hoe. So be it indeed." When the hare had spoken to the ostrich, then he went.[13] And then indeed he [went to] sleep. When the morrow dawned the ostrich stayed in his own field and hoed on. On the second [day] the ostrich then went. "Hare has invited me yesterday, he who is my friend. Now I am going to hoe." He told his wife. And his wife listened to him, well then, and now he went. When he had gone [and] arrived there, the ostrich that is, then they went to hoe. He went very early.[14] As before they were hoeing the field

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12 Lit.: come (singular), come (plural action), help me. The middle verb is untranslatable in English, but in Sandawe it provides the subtle implication of coming for an extended stay, with much work to be done.

13 Informants say that <u>nf'</u> is a mistake here and that the verb <u>hik'</u> (singular) should have been used.

14 I.e. Hare, taking Ostrich along to his (Hare's) field. See note 16 on the next page.

71 óontshe[15] destúrinta sí'.
72 Labáa hik', pa hik'á
73 mindáata !'oowe[16] aà nèè hloméoo,
74 útasants' tl'oáŋ kós'a basra.
75 "Waré, tl'úngu ni' n//eegéa," sa'útana.
76 Pa ka': "Ah wamóó meko iyẽ ǂmbo hapú,[17] hlomósũ.
77 Kũándangé /ántshe waré," pa ka':
78 "Ah makáats'e waré, kũánda
79 hénge? Tsínas'ge kóosis';
80 kũánda hlé' la'adépos'. Áarena e."
81 Swé'a' nèè hlomé lá'ekia nèè hloméoo,[18]
82 tl'oánga /aa //'akí kósa:

//'ô, //'ô, //'ô, //'o //'o //'o,
//'ó, //'ó, //'ó, //'o //'o //'ô.

83 Kós'a wekén'suke. Hlé hía n/atíǂ
84 kólongai dǂ'se. "Hisí
85 wamõó //ó'kwaa." Lá'ea /aa
86 kékaa ténge'emsé'wa. Sa'úta n//umets'e
87 tlakí. "Óko wamóó hewéne kũánda hapí?"
88 Pa ka': "Kó' waré, kekế
89 sí' úra !'óχeχ'se.[19] Hĩka' hlee e'éwa
90 toshékapo." Pa ká': "Waré
91 kéke hewé tl'alá. Hikí tl'oáŋ k'a'ésũngea."

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15 Lit.: 'as according to our custom it is'. See note 19.

16 Not strictly logical. They have already met and gone to hoe, but in this repetition they meet in the field. In the next line it begins to rain, but in line 75 the clouds are approaching. This type of inconsistency is common in Sandawe narrative. See chapter IX, individual styles.

17 Lit.: Ah/ friend/ be not/ being/ speak words/ you. The correspondence of 'words' with 'worry' or 'trouble' is

71 together, as it should be done[15] according to our custom.
72 Very early in the morning he went, and he went [and]
73 at the field he met him[16] and they remained [there] hoeing,
74 until like the last time the rain again began.
75 "Friend, the clouds are approaching", [Hare said] to Ostrich.
76 And he added: "Ah, friend, don't you worry,[17] let us hoe.
77 As for the hut, I do not see it, friend," and he added:
78 "Ah, [but] it does not matter [my] friend, [for] a hut,
79 what [is it good] for? For am I not here;
80 in a moment I'll show you a hut. Really, so it is."
81 Now they were hoeing, and with the hare he remained hoeing,[18]
82 and the rain came and fell again:

drop, drop, drop, drip drip drip,
drop, drop, drop, drip drip drip.

83 Again it caused the winds [to blow]. Then, when they came
84 they troubled [the friends] with hailstones. "Well then,
85 [my] friend, try then," [Ostrich said]. The hare came [and]
86 he spread out his ears. There was no place for Ostrich to
87 stand. "Oh really [my] friend, so this is your hut?"
88 And [the hare] replied: "Certainly [my] friend, my ears
89 really <u>are</u> very covering.[19] I thought [that] now, at this time,
90 you would be satisfied." But [Ostrich] said: "Friend,
91 these ears are useless. How, the rain is drowning us!"

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the words/trouble analogy in Swahili where <u>ana maneno</u>, 'he has words' means 'he causes trouble (to others)'. In Sandawe the utterance of many words may signify personal trouble.

18 The plural verb <u>nèà</u> is used because Ostrich remains with Hare, and the two of them form a plurality. Sandawe uses the plural whenever togetherness is expressed, e.g. 'you and I together' is <u>taí hapúvaũ</u>, 'I and you are we'.

19 <u>sí'</u> is an emphatic 'to be'.

92 Paχ ka': "Meko wa'é. /áa
93 tl'eséa lá'ea /á kólenga;
94 !ǒats'ínga héwa, !'ímənga kongo'sé.
95 Sa'úta n//umets'e !ǒá. Hesú tleka
96 ts'e tlakí.[20] "Mm, wamóǒ
97 wak'apoige tshísi'naako makéé ts'egeyoi. Swé'na
98 tsí hle' tsí k'wēs' n//eesukeis' kobátanas' hapú hikípo?"
99 Kwa ka': "Áa waréko, swé hewé
100 áara tshaa !ǒátats'." Paa swéa
101 kós'a sa'úta kobáa tengesékwe, paa swéa
102 hétl'a kós'a !ǒáts'Íts'a n!áa
103 paa swé tl'oánga //'ǫyoo hiĭ dĭ'senga kós'a
104 tshèèkí. Bas' a swéa' níĭ hlé'
105 bíringa[21] tóts'ukwe hesói'a' awéa' nĭ'
106 paà núa χǒántékwe
107 paà mántsha. - "Swé hik'ís'." - "Swéē waréē
108 hik'ko."[22] Pa ka': "Meko waré lá'e
109 tl'esé héu maχō héu farí. Swé héu kekénta
110 héu n/omésé'sĭs' mésĭnswa. Hótso tleekás'.
111 Á'ǫwa pii taχ kūándako tliné." Pa ka':
112 "Eee. Hik'ko waré." Hía hik'i bas'
113 hlée hía hik'i hewé
114 kosegō téa !'ǫowe.[23] Ó'si' mísho ga'.
115 Tshèèká.

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20 Lit.: she/ succeed/ cannot/ in vain. The sex of the ostrich has suddenly become female; this may be a mistake but it is not necessarily so. An informant said that in order to find a place under Hare's ears Ostrich must be small and therefore female, just as any small object in the sky (including the sun and the moon) and ordinary birds which are not particularly referred to as large birds of prey. Another informant pointed out that Ostrich was overcome; this obviously implies the femininity of weakness (cf. text No.2, note 6 on p.125).

But [Hare] said: "Do not make [such] tumult." He came
once more, the hare, he came [and] tried hard;
he stretched his arms, [and] he spread out [his] elbows.
[But] the ostrich had no place to stand. He could not
fit in at all.[20] "Mm" [Ostrich said], "friend,
it will kill you; I for myself, I have no worry. Now then,
if I now tuck in my neck into [my] wings, what will you do?"
And [Hare] replied: "So it is, [my] friend, now this
is really [where] it is I who am mistaken." And then
the ostrich stretched his wings again, and presently,
there again, [the hare] held fast in [Ostrich's] armpits
and now the rain fell and fell, yes with hailstones again
until it finished. Well, and then they went [and] now
they finished the remaining bed[21] and then they went [to
the hare's house] and [Hare] cooked him porridge
and they ate. - "Now I am going." - "Now then, [my friend],
go."[22] And [Ostrich] said: "Don't you, friend Hare, [try]
once more your cleverness, this fraud. Now in these ears,
such a big person as I, can I fit! How do I fit in?
At that time you did not even build a hut." And [Hare]said:
"Yes. Go then, [my] friend." When he had gone, well,
then, when he had gone, this one [(Hare)] had [already]
got some other idea.[23] Here is the end, indeed.
[The story] is finished.

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21 bíri: 'Bed'. Before beginning to hoe Sandawe set themselves the tasks which they are to finish that day. To this end the leader of the hoeing party stakes out a plot which is marked with sticks and stones; such plots may be called 'beds'.

22 This is the usual way of taking one's leave and the reply to it.

23 Lit.: 'encountered another thought', i.e. he thought of another Hare's trick. Hare is the hero of many stories.

Text No. 4. - The Giraffe, the Hare, and the Dove.
Recorded by Dempwolff, 25th May 1910. Translated from Dempwolff's text No.58 (1916, 162-3).

The hare and the giraffe made friendship. Since he was friendly with him, he went to the giraffe's home. When he had gone and arrived, he was in luck, [for] the giraffe's wife was cooking porridge. When it was ready [the hare] said [to her]: "Collect relish."[1] And then the giraffe spoke: "Do not [bother to] collect relish, [it is not necessary]." [The hare] asked: "Where do you take the relish [from]?" [The giraffe] replied: "For relish my leg is there. Bring me the dish." [The hare] gave him the dish. - "Give me [my] axe." And [Hare] gave him the axe. When he stood up he pierced [his] leg, and the marrow ran out into the dish; the dish filled up completely. And they ate and they finished, [and they went] to sleep. When they had slept the hare got up the next morning. When the hare had got up, he went home [telling the giraffe]: "Friend, wait until the second day, [then] go [and] come [to me] and visit me." And [the giraffe] said: "Alright." When he had waited, had waited until the second day, the giraffe got up and he went, and he arrived at the hare's house. When [Hare's] wife cooked food [the giraffe] asked: "Where is the relish?" And [Hare] replied: "Is not my leg the relish?" And the hare stretched [his] lower leg. When [his wife] took out the cooking pot [he said]: "Wait until my leg is pierced." When he pierced [his] leg [and] broke [his] leg open there was no marrow, not even a little bit. [The giraffe spoke]: "Friend, my leg has a large

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1 The word used is nánŭ which means either vegetable relish (collected in the bush or from gourd plants grown by the house) or meat. Marrow as a relish is a great delicacy.

shinbone [but] your shinbone is small. Let another do that." And [their] friendship broke up.

When the giraffe had gone the hare bandaged his leg [and] the leg recovered. But he was bored, and presently the hare made friendship with the dove,[2] and then he went to the dove's home. When he was there [and said] "How are you", the the dove's wife replied: "He is not in."[3] - "Where has my friend gone?"[4] She said: "His body has remained here [but his] head is there." She added: "He has gone to his mother's home." - "Has he gone there, has he gone?" She said: "We always go for a walk like that." - "Has my friend gone walking like that?" - She said: "We have always gone walking like that." And they chatted on. [Then] the hare went [away] to defecate. When he returned, his friend's head was there. She then said: "He has arrived," and [the dove] said: "I have just come." And they stayed [until] night [and they then went] to sleep, and it dawned. When [the hare] went, [the dove] said: "When two days have passed I shall come on the third." When the hare had gone

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2 In Dempwolff's Sandawe text this bird is called tasunti, which he tentatively translates as 'dove'. According to an informant the Swahili name of the bird is mlamba; according to Archbold (1959, 7th page of the Appendix) this is the Drongo bird (Dicrurus adsimilis). Since this identification has not been corroborated by other evidence Dempwolff's translation is here followed; for the purpose of this story this is felt to be sufficient. Van de Kimmenade, 1954, 56, says that tlasúnte is a "sorte de pigeon sauvage".

3 Such greetings are called outside the house. It is customary to announce one's arrival in the courtyard; this elicits the occupant's invitation to enter.

4 The Sandawe text gives: hǽku (where) hik'í (went he). The table on p. 75 shows that this is the emphatic form which is often associated with the future. Tense is only secondary.

[home] he [Hare] spoke to his wife: "When two days have passed, take the chopping-knife and sharpen it. Listen, my wife, understand it well. When Dove has come, tell him [my] head has gone yonder [but my] body is here. Chop off my head [and] throw it into the storage-bin.[5] When he had made her understand they waited. When the dove came, the hare lay down on the floor, his wife came, chopped off his neck, and threw the head into the storage-bin. The dove was there [and said]: "How are you?", and [she] said: "He is not in." - "Where has my friend gone?" - And she said: "[His] body has remained here, [but] his head has gone to his mother's home." [But the dove] exclaimed: "Woe! he went, he went badly; like that [only] we go walking." When the dove listened [it rumbled] in the storage-bin: "tlun, tlun." - "What is that then?" - She said: "A rat." And [Dove asked]: "What? a rat?" [and] he went on: "You haven't cut off his head?" - "No, [it is] a rat." And [the dove] looked there and he saw: "Woe! his head has been thrown away. What have you both done? Is it like that that you went for a walk? I then, right now I'll go home." The hare was dead. The friendship had destroyed him.

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5 The Sandawe have large storage-bins in their houses for storing their grain; they are made of the inner bark of the Myombo tree (Sand.: inee) and measure about 4 feet across; the depth is roughly the same.

6 This text has been discussed with Mr. Degera (informant 27, Appendix IV) who stated that he knew the story. He commented that its moral is that to imitate others is bad, and that it is no good trying to do what a bigger fellow (giraffe) can do, nor to try what clever people can do like Dove who can tuck in his haed under his wings. Hares are stupid and birds are clever, he says. Animal representations are discussed in chapter X.

Text No. 5. Told by Mr. Salím' Maganga at Farkwa.

1 Utaa !'ŏá[1] ha !'ororón.[2] Saχ sa:
2 "Tshí !'ororóns' ba'ésis'." [!'ŏá saχ][3] !'ororón saχ
3 ka': "Hapú !'úsipóo, hós' ba'ésipo.
4 Tsí ts'aatas' íewa ba'ésis'. Ókoko !'ŏá hapú
5 ts'óiko. !'úsipo." Saχ !'oróá
6 saχ ka':[4] "Tsíko ts'aatas' íewa ba'ésis'. Tsíko
7 tl'ŏáŋ metémies' tsí. Hapú ts'ói úri. Hapú taχ
8 hlúba tétera mántsha' titea dáapo, na'
9 tsháá'ma /'waá mántshao titẽ. Hlomésipone
10 swé hapú. Tsí ba'ésis'ga. Tl'oánga hía //'oi
11 kwã n/omósa' hlomẽwaà kwa tsía pónawa,
12 haχ hapúki /'waa hewẽts'i mántshawa. Tshí ba'ésis'.
13 Hãh, farí hapú." -
14 "/'waánki /ánsipots'e. Taχ hapú ts'aáti iye.
15 Ts'ói hapú." Sa ka': "Swéẽ hapú
16 n/omósoko há!awa," sa !ŏánsüa sa.[5]
17 Swé' !'ororónga sa ka': "Swéẽ há!awako, hapú
18 n/omóso." Da !'ŏá hísa hángai', sa'sa:

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1 !'ŏá is the generic name for pigeons and doves, and in particular it is the name for a small blue pigeon (Columbae sp.) which is a common bird in Sandawe country. Tl'asunte, a bird mentioned in the previous text, may be the drongo (Dicrurus adsimilis); it could conceivably be mistaken for a dove, cf. Archbold 1959, 30 and 82. Other dove names are more certain: !'abélo or !'ebélo is used for the brown kinds of dove (Turtur sp.); swaa !'abélo is the long-tailed dove (Oena capensis) and k'onts'orío is the ring-neck dove.

2 !'ororó is the generic name for frogs and toads, and more in perticular it is the name for a medium sized frog which is thought to be a messenger of the spirits since

The Pigeon and the Frog. Recorded July 1963.

Long ago [there was] a pigeon[1] and a frog.[2] [The frog] said: "I, who am the frog, am big. [... ...][3] And the frog said: "You pigeon who are downy-haired, what are you big! I, who live in the water, I am big. Pooh, you pigeon, you are only small. You are downy-haired." And the frog, she said:[4] "But I, who live in the water, am big. For I am the rain chief, I. You are small. You just eat grass seeds, only that you can do, and [you can] only eat someone [else's] millet. Can't you hoe, now, you? I am the big one. It is when the rain falls that the people always hoe and that all will be saved, but even then at that time you eat the millet. I am big. Ha! you are a liar!" - [The pigeon said]: "You do not even know what millet is. You just sit in water, you are small, you!" And she added: "Now then, you call all your people," and she, the pigeon, had spoken.[5] Now the frog, she said: "Now then, call them all, your people." And when the pigeon few up, she sang:

---

it announces the arrival of the rain. It is used in the rain-making rituals of rain priests, cf. text No. 78. Other types of frog miss this significance although many types are recognized by name: ǃomí, a large edible variety; xididi, a poisonous frog; hungiu, somewhat smaller than the former, kalamba, a bat-toed frog; mongóa', a very small frog, and kerekere, another small frog which makes a deafening noise in ponds and marshes after rain has fallen (also gǃerekǃere).

3 The storyteller began "The pigeon said" by mistake.

4 Frog is female throughout this tale even though it is a rain-chief, because it is only a small animal. There reference to Pigeon's down is an insult since ǃǃú also means pudenda hair.

5 Pigeon is also female throughout the tale.

Kúu kuù séngeruka, kúu kuù séngeruka,
kúu kuù séngeruka, kúu kuù séngeruka,
!'ŏáayee séngeruka, kúu kuù séngeruka,
ts'ank'e séngeruka, kúu kuù séngeruka,
kúu kuù séngeruka, kúu kuù séngeruka,
!'ŏáayee séngeruka, kúu kuù séngeruka,
korómago[6] séngeruka, kúu kuù séngeruka,
thwiíyee séngeruka, kúu kuù séngeruka.

19 Twí thé' tshiííia n/atí. Théé'a' ho!onts'i.

20 - "Hapú n/omóao

21 deéna?"[7] Sax sa: "A'á maà." -

22 "/himéko."

Kúu kuù séngeruka, kúu kuù séngeruka, -sa;-
!'ŏáayee séngeruka, kúu kuù séngeruka,
kúu kuù séngeruka, kúu kuù séngeruka, -sa;-
ts'éts'e[8] séngeruka, kúu kuù séngeruka,
ts'ank'e séngeruka, kúu kuù séngeruka,
!'ŏáayee séngeruka, kúu kuù séngeruka.

23 Swé'na théé tshiíia téhla hó!onts'i.

24 Téhla hlamúsets'. Sa'sa

25 ka': "Deéna hapú n/omóso?" Sa

26 ka': "Deéa', áare deéa', ee, ŏwé [illegible] áare."

27 heu ó' humasépo tsí héu deéa', ee, áare."

28 ka': "/himéko hapúkia." Sa:

!rrrrrr, !'o !hwee, !'o !'o !'o !'o !'o,
áara kum' !ú!ú, !ú, !'ú, !rrrr kúmm.

29 Wekhengana i/í tl'oánga hlé:

túk', hluk, hluk, hluk, hluk, hluk.

30 Dí'sea //'o hle:

---

6 Korómago is a white-breasted black bird with a red beak, also called korímangó; a similar but smaller bird is called hokokí. Both resemble, but are smaller than the pied crow which is called xoxorí.

7 I.e. "Do you call that many?"

Coo, coo, all fly up, coo, coo, all fly up,
coo, coo, all fly up, coo, coo, all fly up,
pigeons then, all fly up, coo, coo, all fly up,
guinea fowls, all fly up, coo, coo, all fly up,
coo, coo, all fly up, coo, coo, all fly up,
pigeons then, all fly up, coo, coo, all fly up,
blackbirds,[6] all fly up, coo, coo, all fly up,
all birds then, all fly up, coo, coo, all fly up.

19 The birds then, all, all the birds came. The trees filled up
20 [with arriving birds]. [Frog said]: "Your people,
21 are they many?"[7] [Pigeon] replied: "No, they are not." [Frog
22 taunted]: "Sing then!" [And pigeon went on singing]:

Coo, coo, all fly up, coo, coo, all fly up, -she sang;-
pigeons then, all fly up, coo, coo, all fly up,
coo, coo, all fly up, coo, coo, all fly up, -she sang;-
Sudan dioch,[8] all fly up, coo, coo, all fly up,
guinea fowls, all fly up, coo, coo, all fly up,
pigeons then, all fly up, coo, coo, all fly up.

23 Now then all, all the trees were completely filled[with birds].
24 They completely collapsed [under their weight]. And [Frog]
25 asked: "Are there [now] many [of] your people?" [Pigeon]
26 replied: "[Yes] many indeed, many. Yes, many. Now
27 can you beat me to this, this many, yes indeed!" And she
28 added: "Sing then, you too." And [the frog sang]:

Krrrrrr, fill, [water]hole, fill, fill, fill, fill, fill,
really hurt [them], cool them, cool, cool, krrrr, hurt.

29 The storm then came, and it rained now:

Come out, drop, drop, drop, drop, drop.

30 With hailstones it rained now:

---

8 Ts'ets'e is the name of the Sudan Dioch, a small bird with a red beak of the size of a sparrow; it flies in dense flocks of several hundreds and it is a severe agricultural pest. Great numbers are caught in traps and fried and eaten minus the head. Kwar'kaka is similar but does not have a red beak.

!ŏk', !ŏk', !ŏk', !ŏk',...

!'ŏá n//oko tshía tl'oáŋ dĩ'ɛenga wak'wawatŏ.
!'ororõ n/omósô, hewá' //'ánkiyoo[9]
!'ŏá n/omóso tǫ̀', tshía. Hle
!'ŏâ ts'éχsŭa tíkinats'í. Hlé' n!ŏáa !óntshee
téhla taχ mogongós'sa iye. Swé ts'éχsa !'ŏá tíkinats'e.
"Mamayée //'ínko séyoo tsháwa wak'ase."
Swé'sa //'ínsa hlomaa hik'a.[10]
Hi'sa n!ŏaa ó'sa n//eei saχ málakŭ saχ
ts'áátanasa dúuŋ, paχ //'ínga tshô.
Saχ kwa hik': "!'ororóngee
//'ínko sé." - "Swégi e'ée //'ĩ hlome,
hós'niį /i?" Saχ //'insa iye, saχ
hik' n!ŏaásа n//ee. Saχ
kós'sa málakŭ, kwaχ //'inga tshô.
"!ŏâ /ángi hís'kis' tsí ba'ésísĩ?
Pi ki'ka': !'ororón ts'ói. Swé /ánkwa
tsíkisa n/ómóso tsías' pónawa ts'aa'ĩs', ts'aaki
ts'its'e. N/omósoki' hewé'inga hloméẽ,
humbukí hewéts'a ts'eéwaã. Makaa tsíasoki
hewénga pónawaã, hlúbaki hewénga //anáwa,
makaa tshía. Tshí tl'oánkime ba'esísis'.[11]
Tsígas' !'ŏâ ke'fí? Swé hapú n/omóso hambé'waà,
swé korómago tl'esé
wetsháyoo,"[12] !'ŏá kísoso swé'sa χé'i[13]

---

9 I.e. the elements.

10 Fire is carried by picking up an ember on a potsherd.

11 Lit.: I am the one who is great over the rain.

12 Wetsháyoo: here translated as 'all the others'. It is

clatter, clatter, clatter, clatter,...

The pigeons' nestlings had all been killed off by the hail-
storm. [As for] the frog's people,[9] they battered on until
the pigeon's people were finished, all of them. Now
[but] a single pigeon remained. Now the river was filled
completely to overflowing. Now [only] one pigeon was left.
"Oh my friend, give me fire, I am dying from cold", [the
pigeon pleaded]. Presently she picked up the fire and went.[10]
When she arrived there by the river, she slipped and she
plopped into the water, and the fire was extinguished.
And she went again [to the frog and asked]: "Oh Frog, please
give me fire." - "Now you have picked up fire some time ago,
why then have you come?" And she gave her fire, and [the
pigeon] went and she arrived [again] at the river. And
once more she slipped, and the fire went out. [The frog
called]: "Pigeon, have you seen [now] how big I am?
And you had said: Frog, you are small. Now just see
how I have saved all the people with water, this very water
which is drunk. And the people farm with it,
and the cattle drink from it. And all the creatures
are saved by it, and the grass grows because of it,
everything. I am the one who has the power over the rain.[11]
It is I, pigeon, do you hear? Now your people, where are
they, now [where are] the blackbirds, in addition to
all the others,"[12] And now, taking the two pigeons[13] she

---

an expression of vagueness: 'all the what-nots' etc., cf. text No. 3, note 6.

13 An inaccuracy. Previously there had been only one bird left. Afterwards the storyteller defended his slip by saying that two pigeons were needed for re-procreating the species.

55 hik'ĩ //'ĩ'sa
56 χáχasa ná'se.
57 Ó'a' nèè gíb'gíb'wayóó, kísoχ heweχéa
58 !'ŏá n/omóso pónawa. Swé !'ororónɔu hesú ba'ésusŭ.
59 Phaka dí'menaaki n/omósokiaà mééna.
60 Tl'oá'me ba'esúsūsu hesú.
61 Tshèèkíga swe ó'santɔ'.

Text No. 6. Told by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa.

1 Utaa lólo n!éχenta. Humbu balóóna kesë,
2 ní'sa[1] //ó'sa habá. Na
3 //atsúki ó' bóéba. A swése //atsúkia
4 i/í, aà humbúkía mamaànkĩ nĩ balóóna.
5 Ó'tshewa waraàna úri, ee, tuseme,[2]
6 Lál'taχe'na' ní'.[3] I//ó'a' nèè baloowayoo,
7 //atsú n//wekia ba'é paa humbu n//we-
8 kía ba'é. Humbu n//wekia hía' ba'ei,
9 swe humbūsŭáa, hísa hik'i balôngi, hesŭ humbusŭ
10 kimba hílasa heswĩ'sa manaa.[4] Sa:
11 "Héu n//ɔpo /'ɔo hlaa." Manáke hía
12 ba'ei swe mésuki kósegō
13 dândats'i. Manáke hís' /'ei hlaa !'ú hesowai

---

1 The use of the plural verb ní' implies repeated action: she had often gone.

2 tuseme: Swahili. Not used in proper Sandawe.

3 Lal'ta is in western Sandawe (see map No.2), i.e. "very far". The story was told in Farkwa in the south-east.

55 went [home] and she made fire
56 and it glowed and she made it flame.
57 There they were teeth-chattering with cold, and those two
58 people of Pigeon recovered. Now the frog, she is big.
59 From that time until now she is loved by the people.
60 She is the one who has power over the rain.
61 [The story] is indeed finished now, at this spot.

The Cow and the Lion. Recorded July 1963.

1 [It happened] in days long past. A cow was herded to graze,
2 she went[1] and there [in the pasturage] she calved. And a
3 lion was also near there. And presently the lion, too,
4 came and made friends with the cow [and] they went grazing.
5 From there they wandered very far, yes, let us say,[2]
6 they went as far as Lal'ta.[3] And there they went on grazing
7 until the lion's child became big and the cow's child
8 became also big. When the cow's child had also become big
9 then the cow, when she went grazing, she, the cow, had
10 indeed learned her [Lion's] tricks.[4] And she [told her
11 child]: "You child, let us watch him well." Because, now that
12 [her child] had become big, the mother's thoughts had now
13 become different. Because if I see it well, their pelts

---

4 Lit.: the tricks - hers - she understood. The lion is female here; its sex is inconsistently treated in this tale. A lion is a 'masculine' animal in Sandawe but the present use of the feminine gender shows that we have here to do with a mother lion who has befriended a mother cow. In the remainder of the story Lion is treated as male.

14 hlaa ní'tshe[5] kosegõ té'siso.
15 "Ámana[6] té'aà
16 kosego té'aà !'owé tóusũ."
17 - "Tsíki íthana hik'is'ts'e. Ó' bééba
18 baloa'." A swéa' thaa'k'wak'we má'eoo.
19 Paa swéa thaa'k'wak'oots'a //atsú hle
20 n//wẽnga hía ts'oki a'é dama n//osu n!ááts'e,
21 paa swé'a ts'óngora hlee tl'ínkhe.
22 /ũeéts'a tl'inkhe mpáka[7] paa n//waaχenga
23 wá'nte k'ótsótea' //ats'
24 dáma n//cko'inga.[8] Paa //atsúnga
25 ó'a tlas' pa hlee //'aéka ó'a
26 χotl'ose. Swée paa tháá mesukümàa ímbo
27 aà hánga, heaé ts'aana swé'à.
28 //atsúna íthanaako hewé hik'i
29 !'ínoo n/omesei. Sweeá hía
30 //ó'tshèa hía !'inéo i/í, n//óu
31 mímba. Swéa //'aa.
32 "Hií swé heaú humbuaũ, kumbá útesi' hlaeo
33 dogokío,[9] swé kumbá
34 aà tsí n//wea wák'wa giríbé.
35 //'aa'ís'na." Swéa //'aa'i
36 taχ íyẽ //'aa'í taχ //'aa'íngóó,
37 Mangasín'senga tóu;

---

5 The storyteller's observation that their pelts did not go well together means that they were no longer seeing eye to eye.

6 Swahili, but occasionally used in Sandawe.

7 Swahili, but mpaka is now quite often heard.

8 dáma: a young cow, esp. a cow which has not yet

did not go well [together],[5] and their thoughts were different.
[The cow said]: "Perhaps[6] they are different [and their]
thoughts [may] differ [and they may] plan to finish us."
[Her child replied]: "As for me, I won't go far. Near here
I shall graze." And then they went running about, all around.
And presently, during the running about, then, when the
lion's child jumped up in order to catch the cow's child,
[the latter] then struck out, and then he kicked him.
He kicked him in the eyes until[7] both hooves
stuck out on the other side at the back of the head,
that is, the [hooves of the] heifer's child.[8] And the lion
died there, and then he was finished off there, [and the calf]
pushed him aside. And now he ran to his mother to tell,
and they [both] got up [and] presently they [ran] to their
home. The lion then, he had gone far afield,
being a hunting person. Now then, when
he came [back] from the hunting there, the child
was a corpse. And now he followed [them].
"Ooh now this cow indeed! formerly we were in good
relationship with each other,[9] [but] now indeed
they have killed my son [and] run away.
Shall I not be following them!" And now he followed them,
and he was following them, and he went on following them,
until they had passed Mangasín';

---

calved, a heifer; a praise term for mother Cow. The term n//oko (children, plural) is a mistake; the storyteller may have meant to say n//osǔ'inga because on line 20 Cow's child is referred to as a female child (n//osǔ).

9 Lit.:'family relationship- with - condition of'(dogo-ki-o); dogo is a term for 'relative' and a honorific title for a friend (cf. p.20).

38 taχ úra'ā hesóki nèè giribé. Swé'a hía'

39 n/atī Duduséts'a' hía n//eei hía n/atī Zozőtena

40 n//eei Zozőts'a /'útsukuũ n/atí,

41 ó'nte héu dúruna'ai.[10] Paχ //ó'

42 ime; a' hlee' hésokia /hima baara.

43 Mésũs'kia /himesa baara:

Samŭlééda, samŭlééda[11]
wére wére tumboo.[12]
Máámekina[13] tl'ala tl'ala
wére tumboo, mááme,
óowe wére wére tumboo.

44 Paχ //atsúkia íχa ĭmbo, ka':

Phúngee phũ, kŭrŭrű ku//ũ[14]
phúngee phũ, kŭrŭrű ku//ũ

45 Saχ kís'sa:

Samŭlééda, samŭlééda
wére wére tumboo.
Máámekina tl'ala tl'ala
wére tumboo, mááme,
óowe wére wére tumboo.

46 Paχ //atsúkia:

---

10 The whole route can be followed on map No. 2.

11 Samŭlééda: A ritual name for Lion, cf. text No. 95. From a little-used verb samu,'to grunt', cf.Dempwolff, 1916, 50 and his text 109 on p.178; -le indicates habitual action, lengthened to-lee to show duration; -da suggests 'doer', cf. the verb dá,'to be able' and daa,'to have power, to overcome'. In circumcision songs the name Samŭlééda signifies latent danger, as of the lion who stalks around, head down, following the spoor of the fugitive cows of this story. The name appears to be unconnected with samú, a tawny-coloured animal, from Nandi and Datoga samoi, a brindle-coloured animal, cf. Wilson, 1952, 36.

12 tumboo(tumbo), from tumbu,'to tilt', 'to bend down',

38 but they too were running very [hard]. Now when they came,
39 [and] entered the Dudú area, when they came to the Zozó area,
40 [and] entered it, they came passing through the Zozó
41 [and] they were on this side here.[10] And there [the Lion]
42 roared; and then they too [Cow and her son] began to sing.
43 And she who was the mother began to sing:

He Who Always Grunts, He Who Always Grunts,[11]
runs about with his head lowered.[12]
To our uncle [we run][13] in vain, in vain,
he runs with his head lowered, oh uncle,
woe, he runs about with his head lowered.

44 And the lion too, he spoke thus, saying:

Charge on, charge, stalk [and] catch![14]
charge on, charge, stalk [and] catch!

45 And she again said:

He Who Always Grunts, He Who Always Grunts,
runs about with his head lowered.
To our uncle [we run] in vain, in vain,
he runs with his head lowered, oh uncle,
woe, he runs about with his head lowered.

46 And the lion again:

---

also tumbe,'to tilt'. Were is a common verb which means to walk about. Reduplication indicates stalking about.

13 Maame is the maternal uncle, or the category of brothers of mother Cow to whom she runs for protection. The action is typical for women in distress; they run to their 'own people', cf. pp. 33-4 and 49.

14 Phungee: stressed form of punge, cf. pú: 'to beat up, beat violently' (van de Kimmenade, 1954, 52); phungee is not found in ordinary speech. According to the storyteller phungee phũ also suggests the sound of the heavy paws of the pursuing lion. Kũrũrú was mimicked as the movement of an agile animal which moves up fast toward its victim, then stops dead in its tracks, crouches and slinks up for the kill. Also this term is not heard in common speech.

Phúngee phũ, kũrũrú ku//ũ
phúngee phũ, kũrũrũ ku//ũ

47 - :

Samũlééda, samũlééda
wére wére tumboo.
Máámekina tl'ala tl'ala
wére tumboo, mááme,
ówe wére wére tumboo.

48 Swé'na béébasa' hesó khoo béébakií.

49 Aà swéa': hesó ts'aakwa' //é'a':

50 "Hií's'kwera keke tine. Hótsoswaana

51 hlee ká' útasũs' n/omesũs'[15]

52 úta hlakasus'sa? /hime i/í."

53 Paχ //atsú ka':

Phúngee phũ, kũrũrú ku//ũ
phúngee phũ, kũrũrú ku//ũ

54 Saχsa ka':

Samũlééda, samũlééda
wére wére tumboo.
Máámekina tl'ala tl'ala
wére tumboo, mááme,
ówe wére wére tumboo.

55 Paχ ka':

Phúngee phũ, kũrũrũ ku//ũ ...[16]

56 Aχ ka': "Áh n/oméau té'sũts'ege

57 téhla hes'wa /íyoo. Ah laale

58 n!oowekwee'kweyoo wak'wakwe,

59 n!oowekwe. Saχ ka' kís'sa:

Samũlééda, samũlééda
wére wére tumboo.
Máámekina tl'ala tl'ala
wére tumboo, mááme,
ówe wére wére tumboo.

---

15 Lit.: female person, i.e. the cow.

Charge on, charge, stalk [and] catch![14]
charge on, charge, stalk [and] catch!

47 [And the cow cried]:

He Who Always Grunts, He Who Always Grunts,
runs about with his head lowered.
To our uncle [we run] in vain, in vain,
he runs with his head lowered, oh uncle,
woe, he runs about with his head lowered.

48 Now they have come near, they have come very near their home.

49 And now, they there [their relatives] at their home [said]:

50 "Attention, prick up your ears. For what reason,"

51 they now said, "had that woman of long ago[15]

52 got lost in the past? [Now she] is singing and coming."

53 But the lion sang:

Charge on, charge, stalk [and] catch!
charge on, charge, stalk [and] catch!

54 And [the cow] sang:

He Who Always Grunts, He Who Always Grunts,
runs about with his head lowered.
To our uncle [we run] in vain, in vain,
he runs with his head lowered, oh uncle,
woe, he runs about with his head lowered.

55 And [the lion] threatened:

Charge on, charge, stalk [and] catch! ...[16]

56 And [the relatives] said: "Ah, it is not another person,

57 it is really she who has come. Oh dear,

58 unfasten [the door] then for her lest she be killed,

59 unfasten it for her." And again [the cow] sang:

He Who Always Grunts, He Who Always Grunts,
runs about with his head lowered.
To our uncle [we run] in vain, in vain,
he runs with his head lowered, oh uncle,
woe, he runs about with his head lowered.

---

16 The story teller dramatizes the suspense by breaking off the song.

60 Paχ ka':

Phúngee phũ, kũrũrũ ku//ũ
phúngee phũ, kũrurú ku//ũ

61 ~ :

Samũlééda, samũlééda
wére wére tumboo.
Máámekina tl'ala tl'ala
wére tumboo, mááme,
óowe wére wére tumboo.

62 Hleé'na' n!oowa, sa hádo'nasa kwéle[17]

63 aà kuna' síya //é.

64 Paa kúnu'ínga siya hlee time.

65 Pa ka': "Bas' bahá̋ti hapí," ka':

66 "pooní." Aa hewéts'a ó'

67 tleega bas'.

Text No. 7. Told by Mr. Elía Esco at Dar es Salaam.

1 Utaa lólo zír'ba ha //atsú aà saíba' n/üi'ira.[1]

2 Hía ma'alé̋i n!e taía aχ ní' n/etana',

3 kwaχ //atsú ó'ntea kõ//'ó, zír'baki ó'nte.

4 Hiká' pa ka': "Iswéẽ hí

5 n/íngi wak'wai tl'eekwankoõ?" Pa

6 ka': "Ee." Hía n!aai pa ka': "Zír'bayéé"

7 pa ka': "Hó." ~ "/íko n/in/iyõo." Aχ ka':

8 "Aare dé'e /í." Paχ hik'aa n/ĩyoo,

9 zír'ba hewéki hía tshĩnga

---

17 The gate which has been opened is the one in the thorn fence which surrounds the cattle yard.

18 Final admission of defeat. Such endings of stories are discussed in chapter IX, closing formulae.

60 And [the lion] sang:

Charge on, charge, stalk [and] catch!
charge on, charge, stalk [and] catch!

61 [And the cow again]:

He Who Always Grunts, He Who Always Grunts,
runs about with his head lowered.
To our uncle [we run] in vain, in vain,
he runs with his head lowered, oh uncle,
woe, he runs about with his head lowered.

62 And now they have opened up, and she rushed into the yard[17]

63 and they took a mortar [and] threw it [at the lion].

64 And he took that mortar and then he swallowed it.[18]

65 He said: "Alright, the good luck is yours," he said,

66 "you have escaped." And here then, here [the story]

67 is finished, enough!

The Honey-badger and the Lion. Recorded March 1963.

1 Long ago a honey-badger and a lion made friendship.[1]

2 In the usual case they went every day into the bush,

3 and the lion went round this way, and the badger that way.

4 And then he said, [the badger] said: "Now then, if you

5 kill an animal, are we going to share it?" And [the lion]

6 said: "Yes." When he caught [game] he called: "Badger!"

7 and he replied: "What?" - "Come to eat meat!" And he replied

8 "Alright, let me come." And he then went and they ate meat,

9 and the badger, he too, when[ever] he collected honey

---

1 The Ratel or Honey-badger (Mellivora capensis) is a small but powerful and courageous animal and a serious menace to the beehives of the Sandawe, cf. text No. 152.

10 honáí: "//atsúwe", paχ ka':
11 "Hó", - "/í k'o," mántshayóó tshĩ.
12 N!gte paa lá'ea ke'é. -
13 "Ah, héχwena hótsokea sá'o'a'
14 n!e tsía? Úr'kea' saíbaki, dó'o ní'ĩ
15 ké'e." Paa /íyoo lá'ea
16 //oots'a ó'a //oats'.
17 Ó'ntea //atsú herẽ ma'é, zír'baki ó'nte,
18 katéa íyẽ kekú tine.
19 //atsúa hía n/ínga wák'wai kwaχ há!a: "Zír'bayéé",
20 kwa lá'ea katéa ka': "Hõõ?" -
21 "/íko mántshayó n/ĩ." Ka': "Ah, n/inko
22 hapú hlintónts'." - "Híka'?" Kwa
23 ka': "N/inko hapú hlintónts'." - "Hikíina
24 hlee íχi 'mbo?" - "A'á
25 hapúa ke'óχe taχ hewéχe." Paa
26 k'itl'é paa !hámũ; hík'ĩ /áaa tshẽẽ.
27 Kwa zír'bakia ó'ntea tshínga honúa.
28 - "//atsúe, hó, /íko mantshayó tshĩ."
29 Ka': "Thúk'ko hapú sáñants'.
30 Hóa n!e tsía mántshawa hapú sánánts'?" - "Eh, héuna
31 hikúa iyẽ, paa n/omése' íχi 'mbo?"
32 "Áh," k'itl'ó'inga.
33 Lá'e ó'aa katéa !hámũ iyẽ.
34 Hik'a hle'á: "Áh, dókwe /ánge."
35 - "Hósaa n!e tsía
36 hlúa mántshã ma'é, tsaa mak'ẽ ma'é. χáχas'
37 mántsha híai ma'é, /áa n//ókoa'."[2]

---

2 Lit.: I [have to] use ingenuity / to eat / when

he took it down [and called]: "Lion!", and he replied:
"What?" - "Come to eat", and then they ate honey.
But one day the hare heard them. [He said to himself]:
"Ah, these two then, what are they talking about
every day? They are far too friendly, wait, let us go
to hear [them]. And he came then, the hare,
and here, on the way, he hid himself.
The lion went round this way, and the badger that way,
and he [the hare] was in the middle pricking up his ears.
When the lion had killed an animal, he called: "Badger!",
and the hare in the middle said: "What then?" -
"Come then to eat meat!" And [Hare] said: "Ah, you eat
your tendons yourself!" - "What do you say?" And [the hare]
repeated: "You eat your tendons yourself!" - "Why then
do you speak now like that?" - [And the hare said]: "No,
it is as you have heard, so it is." And [the lion]
became angry and kept quiet; he did not go to see.
And the badger, on the other side, took down honey [from a
tree]: "Lion, hó! [he calls], come to eat honey!"
And [the hare] said: "You stuff yourself on your wax.
Who would eat your wax every day?" - "Eh, this,
how is this now that this person speaks like that?"
[Badger wondered]. "Áh," he said angrily.
The hare was in the middle and remained silent.
[The badger] then went, [fuming]: "Ah, wait till I see him."
[The hare mused]: "Why do they every day
go round eating well. I go round suffering. I have trouble
finding food when I go about, I [just] get some little leaves."[2]

---

there is / going about,/ leaves' / children I [get].

38 Yoo paχ //atsúkia //ó'a n!aa
39 n/inga, hía há!a'ĩ paχ 'mbo:
40 "Thúk'ko hapú hlintónts'." Ah, k'itl'étsheena
41 zír'ba.[3] Téhla !oome. //ó'tshoa
42 hê'wa tére hewé'wai'a hin/'áwa.[4]
43 //oots'a' !'okí. Aà mókolawankitshoa'
44 k'ítl'ó'inga ní'. Kíla n/omése hewé
45 k'ítl'ó'inga hik' iyê. Íkh, hía ní'ĩ kaméts'a n//eei
46 taχ n/omése hewé mizígoa //ê, "úff." Kwaχ
47 héukia hewé mizígoa //ê, "úff." Hía
48 /ĩ /wẽénga /áwa'ĩ wá'mgo k'itl'a
49 héuki hía /'ei wa'mc k'itl'a
50 'Mboga áarása kwaχ ka': "Ah, dóko //akáts'aás'."
51 "Hapúna hóots'i
52 íχi 'mbo?"
53 - "Hikís' 'mbo." - "Iswégi kika':
54 Thúk'ko hapú sánánts'." - "Hapúgapaa ka':
55 Thúk'ko hapú hlintónts'." - "Ah, !hekés'po,
56 tsí há'sus' 'mbo." - "Ah, swe hláwi
57 waré, haa swé n//ínkwanki téhlo n/wi'iya.[5]
58 Hapú kamba tsi' hewexé'i kosegaa ma'é?
59 Tsaa n!e tsía n/ĩs'kweé mak'é
60 pìi thúk'. Hapú swe tsíts'í íχi 'mbo.
61 Ah swe bas' tlea." Ah hewé' tlee'
62 zír'ba !'ẽ !'á !'awé
63 χats'étshee. Tswá'a n/ésets'a χe'ewa íye.
64 Ah, //atsú hía /iingi n!a'ats'etshee

---

3 Zírba (badger) should be //atsú (lion) in the text.

4 tére, lit.:'potsherds', often used for 'utensils'.

38 It was until the lion caught there
39 an animal, [and] when he called out, the [hare] said:
40 "You stuff yourself on your tendons!" - Ah, how angry was
41 the lion.[3] He was completely disillusioned. And from there
42 they [both the badger and the lion] picked up their things[4]
43 [and went]. On the way they met. And without greeting one
44 another they went in anger. Each person of them, they
45 went in anger. Ugh, when they had gone and arrived in camp,
46 then this person threw down his bundle: "iff", and
47 the other too threw down his bundle: "iff". When [the one]
48 came to see his fellow's eyes he [saw that he] was angry, and
49 when the other saw his fellow [he saw that] he too was angry.
50 Then he spoke, really, and he said: "Ah, wait, I shall ask
51 him." [And he asked]: "You then, to whom [do you think]
52 you are talking like that?" - [The other replied]:
53 "How, I talk like that?" - "Now then you said:
54 You stuff yourself on your wax." - "But it is you who said:
55 You stuff yourself on your tendons." - "Ah, you are mad,
56 when have I said that!" - "Ah, now you will be [done] right,
57 friend, for now we have completely broken with one another.[5]
58 You, really, do you go about thinking that I am like that?
59 It is I who every day provide you with meat with great trouble,
60 and you stuff yourself. Now you talk like this to me, me!
61 Ah, now it is enough, finished!" Ah, the other then,
62 the badger, [let himself] fall and dropped on his back
63 scolding abuse. He was holding out his claws sharply pointed.
64 Ah, when the lion went for him there was nowhere to catch

---

5 Lit.: and / now / quarreling with one another / we have completely / done.

65 zír'ba. "/úk', /úk'" ka', iyẽ

66 thátha.[6] Kwa ó'kea

67 saíbaànkia /'áwa. Kwa héukia

68 mizígoa sía hik', héukia //atsúkia hewé

69 mizígoa sía hik'. Ó'a

70 kambénga bike.[7] Hínayo tsí hadía' ó'ga wasaa.

Text No. 8. Told by Mrs. Berta Kwelẽ at N//atshá.

1 N/oméau a//oósa habáyee. Pa n//ó'nts'a

2 twía na'na'séwa. Hía iyẽ na'na'séyóói[1]

3 n//oá ba'é ba'éi hlee hía

4 hlomóna' túi. Iyẽ na'na'séo

5 pa síya hángaka. !'ǂaaka hákukèè

6 mehén'ta ka': Gwaare, //ó'naxèè.

7 N//óa ítshayoo, n//ó

8 tshee, a //'aaye twīnga /hime:

---

6 This vivid description of the badger's defence against the lion's attack appears to be an accurate account of the fighting tactics of these animals. It is said that honey-badgers are so fierce that they usually manage to inflict considerable damage on much larger opponents and to get away unscathed.

7 Kambei from Swahili kambi and English camp; a term used by the Sandawe for a temporary camp used by hunters. The Sandawe word is sundú, now mostly used for initiation camps. Bagshawe, 1925, 335-6 describes such camps of the old semi-nomadic hunting Sandawe

65 the badger. "Snap, snap" [the lion] said, and he was
66 running about [the badger].[6] And there
67 their friendship broke. And this one, he
68 took his belongings and went, and that one, the lion too,
69 took his belongings and went. Here then
70 they left the camp.[7] Well, my story has ended here.

The abducted Child. Recorded July 1963.

1 A woman gave birth to a child. And the child was
2 taken care of by a bird. While [the bird] was caring[1]
3 the child grew bigger and bigger until [the moment] when
4 they went out to cultivate. He was still caring for it
5 and [then] he took it and went away. And he sent it to
6 a certain pond called Swaare, some distance away.
7 And they searched much for the child [but] the child was
8 not there, and they followed the bird [and] sang:

---

as tepee-like shelters. He refers to them as taandu.

1 It is not clear which is the subject of the verb here: the bird or the child. The sentence may also be translated as: 'while he [the child] was taken care of'. No sex is indicated. We have seen that birds are usually treated as female although large birds of prey are male. The child is female in this story in lines 15 and 20, but no sex is indicated in lines 1, 3, 7, and 14. The child's femininity appears to be more indicative of smallness and helplessness than of actual femaleness. The bird appears to be thought of as male in lines 4, 5, and 15, no doubt because its role in respect of the child is that of an aggressor.

Swáárə[2] pírimonayoo[3]
swé warériyoo[4] swàà.[5]
Swáárə pírimonayoo
swé warériyoo swàà.
Mónariyoo,[6]
swé warériyoo swàà.
Mónariyoo,
swé warériyoo swàà.
Habé[7] tík'ko, ko
mwaa Ríngeringe pirí,[8]
ko, mwaa Ríngeringe pirí,
ko, Ma'a Ríngeringe pirí.

---

2 Swaara, the name of the pond, is derived from the verb swaa,'to coax, to egg on by persuasion', cf. text No. 157, and -rə which is suggestive of the place to which the bereaved people are being lured in their desperate search for the child. The choice of the name adds greatly to the significance of the song. For the meaning od -rə see also note 4 below.

3 Pírimo: explained as 'to circle round' or 'to whirl round like leaves caught in a whirlwind, which are first swept along the ground and then up, at great speed. Sudden whirlwinds are common during the dry season; from almost any vantage point overlooking the plains one may see several such dustriders at the time on a hot day. They carry up dust to a great hight, in spirals. They are called kirambe. The term pírimo is also used in the song of text No. 13.

4 Warériyoo: from waré,'circumcized person' or 'adult companion'and -ri (invitation towards the speaker, action already in progress); -yoo shows intensity of action or the length of its duration, cf. p. 69. The meanings of -ra, -rə and -ri have been discussed on p. 105. Waréri are thus the adult, responsible persons who have been persuaded to take part in the search, needing only little persuasion.

5 Swaa: Informant No.27 (Appendix IV) with whom the song was discussed, sees in swaa an abbreviation of the name Swaarə which in a sense it is. The verb swaa,'to coax' is here translated as an anxious 'go on and on'. Its

[To] Swaare[2] all swirl around and around[3]
Now, all searchers[4] go on and on.[5]
[To] Swaare all swirl around and around
Now, all searchers go on and on.
Try all your very best then,[6]
Now, all searchers go on and on.
Try all your very best then,
Now, all searchers go on and on.
The carrying-skin,[7] bring it out
to take it round Ringeringe,[8]
oh! to take it round Ringeringe,
oh! they took it round, round Ringeringe.

---

occurrence here in isolation helps to bring out another aspect of the name Swaare: this is not the name of any particular place, but rather it describes any place where the abductor may have hidden the child (cf. also lines 11 and 12), i.e. any place which seems a suitable one for the party to search, without being clearly defined. The searchers see many possible hiding places and they go from one to the next as if they were pursuing a fata morgana.

6 Mónari: mó (attempt) -na (direction to) -ri (action in progress as a result of persuasion). Mó is another word element with a vague meaning which can best be isolated by comparison. The verb-ending -mo suggests active induction. Dempwolff, 1916, 35, describes it as an iterative suffix which gives the verb to which it is attached a variety of intensities: !he 'to take away', !heme 'to lead away'; n!aa 'to take in the hands, catch', n!aame 'to forge' or 'to strike with a clang'. When the e is replaced by an o then we have the action of induction, or intent, cf. p.105, the value of vowels. The term monariyoo, with -yoo indicating the intensity of the action, may now be translated as 'try (ye, all) your very best then'. The stressed form of mo (mo or mó) means 'soul'; this is also heard as móo 'that which acts intently'.

7 Habé: a kaross, used by mothers to carry a child on the back, cf. note 3 on p. 196.

8 This name suggests not an aimless swirling towards some indefinite goal, but going around something definable, like the boundaries of a field. Ringo ma'é = 'to go around something'. This turns out to be the place where the child is found.

9 Aχ nèè ni'yoo. Aχ ní'a'
10 !'ŏaa té'ta'a' n//èè. Hía' ní'i:
11 "Swaare..., ó'na ánka Swaare?", aχ ka':
12 "Swaare tshee", tá na hik', Ríngeringena
13 hik'. Aχ paarí:[9]

Swáára pírimonayoo
swé warériyoo swàà
Swáára pírimonayoo
swé warériyoo swàà
Mónariyoo
swé warériyoo swàà
Mónariyoo
swé warériyoo swàà

14 Aχ hánga. "Swésina n//ŏo ánka Swaare?"
15 Aχ ka': "Hík'a iyē n//ŏosu husú'Inga."
16 Ní'yóó, pháka Ríngeringeta'a' n//èè. Hía
17 níĩ twi ŏéketshee, twi tshiíìà.
18 - :

Swáára pírimonayoo
swé warériyoo swàà
Swáára pírimonayoo
swé warériyoo swàà
Mónariyoo
swé warériyoo swàà
Mónariyoo
swé warériyoo swàà
Habé túk'ko, ko
mwaa Ríngeringe pirí
ko, mwaa Ríngeringe pirí
ko, ma'a Ríngeringe pirí.

19 Hlèè', aà ka': "Nèègea
20 hewéta'a' n!aaye. N//oõnaũa tú'keyee,
21 a' síye n/atí.
22 Ó'a sele'.

---

9 Paarí: from nu-aà-ri,(and - they - invitation with resulting action already in progress) with stress on

And they went on and on. And they went and they entered into another pond. As they went [they asked]: "Swaare..., is there <u>any</u> Swaare?", and they said: "There is no Swaare," and they went ahead, to Ringeringe they went. And they got up and went on, [singing]:

[To] Swaare all swirl around and around,
Now, all searchers go on and on.
[To] Swaare all swirl around and around
Now, all searchers go on and on.
Try all your very best then,
Now, all searchers go on and on.
Try all your very best then,
Now, all searchers go on and on.

And they got up. "Now, is there <u>any</u> Swaare with a child?" And they said: "But he is going with her, with the child." They went and went, until they entered Ringeringe. When they went there were very many birds, all [types of] birds. [And they sang]:

[To] Swaare all swirl around and around
Now, all searchers go on and on.
[To] Swaare all swirl around and around
Now, all searchers go on and on.
Try all your very best then,
Now, all searchers go on and on.
Try all your very best then,
Now, all searchers go on and on.
The carrying-skin, bring it out
to take it round Ringeringe,
oh! to take it round Ringeringe,
oh! they took it round, round Ringeringe.

And then, then they said: "Here it is [the child], and they caught it. And they took out the child [from there], and they took it and came [home with it]. Here it is ended.

-<u>ri</u> becomes the verb <u>paari</u>,'to go on and on'; also 'to get up and go on anew after a rest'.

Text No. 9. Told by Mrs. Berta Kwelē at N//atshá.

1 N/omesé n/úmusuki. Saa n/úmusũs'sa
2 hía werɔona hik'i saa noowe.
3 Hísa noowe !'okái sa hik' wamósana
4 kimbá hesú wamóe: lé'e. Sa hík'a
5 !'e !hwesa n//ume !'eǂtá íye.
6 Sa /hime:
Kolóngae[1] iyáyae[2]
hóó móko rõ'bets'i[3]
7 Paχ tú'. Aχ nís'wãkiyoo[4] paχ
8 χéa hík'. Saχ χéa
9 hik', !humésa hísa hik'i
10 χõantéi. Hía máχae /í'..., pa ka':
11 "Héuna núa hós' !'ú tite?" Sa kís'sa
12 ka': "Híana hapú n//oko íχa ru'sewai hía
13 ma'aléi //úánki ó'a //úánki //úánki
14 //úánki aχ
15 !humée !'ú tites' χõante." - "Áare?"
16 - "Ee" - Mántsha, kwaà !'oká.
17 Phé hía n!ei hía túi saχ noowe.
18 Nooweyoo saχ
19 hesú wamoe //'ánasa χea hik':
Kolóngae iyáyae
hóó móko rõ'bets'i
Kolóngae iyáyae
hóó móko rõ'bets'i

---

1 Kolonga:'to trouble, dare, challenge'. The -e is the vocative.

2 Iyaya: From comparison with Sandawe word elements this word cannot be explained, but Zache, 1899, 4, reports the same term in a Swahili song and translates it as motus remotusque penis. Cf.also text 121: Iyáya,'coitus'.

The Adulteress and the Hare. Recorded July 1963.

[There was] a man and [his] wife. She, who was his wife,
she ground [the flour] whenever he went for a walk.
When she had finished grinding she went to her lover,
indeed her lover was the Hare. She went and
stood at the anthill hole, he lived in the anthill.
And she sang:

Emboldened one,[1] randy one![2]
Oh what forbidden words I utter.[3]

And he came out. And they approached one another[4], and he
took [himself] up and went. And she took [herself] up
and went [home], and when she [took] the flour she went
to cook. When her husband came..., he said:
"This porridge then, why is it full of fur?" And she then
said: "Because your children make so much ruction, when
any of them play together they play here, play [there],
play [everywhere] and so
I cooked this flour with some chicken down" - "Really?"
- "Yes." They ate and then they finished.
When the next morning dawned he went out and she ground
[flour]. And she ground, and [then] she
went to take it to her lover's [and she sang]:

Emboldened one, randy one!
Oh what forbidden words I utter.
Emboldened one, randy one!
Oh what forbidden words I utter.

---

3 móko: from the Swahili mwiko, taboo; rõ-hɛ-ʦɛ'i: voice or utterance - activity - reciprocate form of ʦɛi, I. Together these elements form 'words I utter'.

4 An euphemism, like 'they lay together'.

20 Pax !'etátshea hlũé, pax nísiyoo
21 sax !'ú titesa χea hik', sa
22 χõanté. "Ay, hgsu thametafis'na hótso íχ?
23 Dókoyoo !'ingé /ángos'."
24 Hlee' pa surúta n//ume. Hísa
25 noowónasa tl'ankatéi', pa hlee
26 surúta iye. Sa íye nooweyoo sa
27 !'oká. Sa !'egnasa kós'sa χe.[5]
28 Sax hik'a ó'sa n//ume:

Kolóngae iyáyae
hóó móko rõ'bets'i

29 Hleẽ' iyaa /'éé máχayeeki.
30 - :

Kolóngae iyáyae
hóó móko rõ'bets'i

31 Pa tú'a nís'wa. Sa
32 χeea /i,[6] hísa /i
33 χõántei. - "Kimbá íχi n/ũewa? Kambá
34 hapú thúma //'aní χee hik'[7] nie tsía
35 pee nís'wãki pa !hume hewé'ma
36 ma'alé." Ó'aa n!aaye[8]
37 ha misoki hewé; tlũéé ó.

---

5 The woman's taking flour to Hare signifies a regular lovers' relationship: she feeds him. This is called sa'ǂbawanki'o,'the condition of being lovers to one another'. Another term is bivawanki'o, from the Gogo mbuya,'regular lover', cf. Rigby, 1964. Texts Nos. 111 and 112 deal with this relationship.

6 As before she had taken porridge to Hare, and returned with some of Hare's fur on her [illegible] (cf.lines 11 and 21). The word used for 'fur', ǂ'ú, also means

And from inside the anthill he emerged, and he approached her
and she went [home] carrying some fur [on her], and she
cooked. - "Ay, with this woman, what is wrong with her?
Just wait till I track her down that I may see her!"
Then he stood behind the wall. When she
was at the beginning of her grinding [duty], he then
remained at the wall. She went on grinding until she had
finished. Once again she took [some flour] to the anthill.[5]
And she went [and] there she stood [and sang]:

Emboldened one, randy one!
Oh what forbidden words I utter

This time her husband, on his part, was watching.
[And she sang on]:

Emboldened one, randy one!
Oh what forbidden words I utter

And [the hare] came out and they approached [one another]. She
came [home] carrying [some fur][6] and when she had arrived
she cooked. - "Indeed, you carry on like that? Behold,
you take it to your companion,[7] you go every day
and you approach one another, and because of that the flour is
in that state!" And here he caught her,
and this is also the finish [of the story]; it ends here.[8]

---

pubic hair, cf. p. 141, note 4. Sandawe audiences delight in recognizing such double meanings.

7 thâma,'companion', from thaa,'to run (to)' and -ma, which indicates a purposeful action towards a distant goal, cf. p. 105, the value of vowels, and p. 163, note 6. With vowel change to -me the idea of a remote companionship is abandoned; with the feminine affix -su the word tha-me-au then becomes the common term for 'woman'.

8 For the punishment of an adulterous woman see p. 48.

Text No. 10. Told by Mrs. Berta Kwelē at N//atshá.

1 Hísoki ma'alá', mmm, khoo hewéts':
2 sõamikíso, /üee ts'éχenga haká'ĩ.[1]
3 Aà ts'áákũsana nĩ'wa.[2] //'aã
4 ítha ítha ó' tshèèkí'a. Hía' nĩ',
5 saa !'ororónga kumbaare ma'alé /'ank'sa iye,
6 dĩ /'ank'sa.[3] Héu /üee hláunga kesé.
7 Hía humba kesé hik' hía
8 hík'ĩ //'aa ó'a béébawakái, pa
9 ka':

Irambo ere sĩ'ra Maángu,[4]
asi néene,
Mũána Ríngire,[5] máa mu dóó.[6]
Iká ni mukwatíye Iyange,[7]
ni mũrire, Iyange,
Singa Marùnde.[8]

---

1 The storyteller begins in this somewhat cryptic manner after members of the family have been clamouring for this particular tale. One-eye is the traditional Little Runt of the Sandawe, the handicapped, the underdog who in the end proves his worth by succeeding where his big brothers have failed. Here he is the youngest of four brothers. Ma'alá': cf. ma'ale,'so-and-so', an unidentified person or object. The verbal form of the text means 'to do something unidentified, potter about, go about one's business.'

2 They go to water the cattle. Ts'aaku also means home, or homestead, cf. p.20. Here the word is used in its original meaning of 'watering place', from ts'aa,'water'. In line 12 it occurs in the general meaning of 'home'.

3 Frog is grammatically feminine in lines 5, 6, 22, 55, 56, 61, and 67, but masculine in lines 8 and 51. In line 55 !'ororón-su is 'she-frog'. Feminine gender is only applied when the speaker's mind conceives a subject as feminine, cf. p.65.

One-eye and the Frog. Recorded July 1963.

1 And the others went about their business, mmm, at that house:
2 there were three of them, One-eye being the fourth.[1]
3 And they were going to the watering place.[2] The well
4 was somewhat far from here [the homestead]. When they went,
5 then a frog, indeed, was staying on top of some object,
6 on top of a stone.[3] The one with the good eyes herded
7 [the cattle]. As he went herding the cattle and when,
8 while going, he got there close to the well, he [the frog]
9 sang:

This pond is not of Maángu,[4]
it is for me,
Child of Ríngire,[5] <u>máa mu dóó</u>.[6]
Wait, till I catch him, Iyange,[7]
let me eat him, Iyange,
[I], the Lord of the Clouds.[8]

---

4 This song is in a Rimi dialect (Bantu) which means little to the Sandawe; even the storyteller could not help much to explain it. Only after a considerable amount of research among Rimi-speaking Sandawe has the meaning gradually emerged. <u>Irambo</u> = <u>ilambo</u>, 'lake' or 'pond'; <u>Maángu</u> is the name of the father of the four brothers.

5 <u>Ríngire</u> is thought to be the same as the Sandawe name <u>Ríngeringe</u>, cf. text No. 8, note 8 (p. 163), i.e. the target of each brother's journey, the well. The 'Child of Ríngire' is the bullfrog who lives in the pond called <u>Ríngire</u>. Its loud croak frightens One-eye's brothers.

6 <u>máa mu dóó</u> has defied translation.

7 <u>Iyange</u> is thought to be the name of the eldest brother. In his song the frog threatens to catch one of his cattle.

8 'The Lord of the Clouds' is an allusion to the fact that Frog is the Master of the Rain (see text No. 5, esp. note 2 on p.141). Line 5 of the text shows that Frog is a <u>!'ororón</u>, a rain-frog. "Let me eat him" suggests the sacrifice of a black steer to the Rain Spirits.

10 Paχ kwá'sea
11 tankí humbuts'a tankíii pa
12 hik'a ts'aakũa n//eewaka. Hía
13 hik'íĩ n//eewakái':
14 "Hé'wina humbu χé'wã /i?"
15 - "Tshuúa ime..., sfi n/óo."
16 - "Ah, hótso tshúúana ime,[9] hapúki
17 ó' //'antá' pi n/oo nfĩ
18 humbu kwam'séwa χé'wa /i,
19 fáro'í." Phé hía n!ei
20 paχ ténga n!oowe, paχ kesé.
21 Kesé hik'iyoo, hía hik'i
22 //'anga béébayei', saχ /hime:

Irambo ere sí'ra Maángu,
asi néene,
Mũúna Ríngire, máa mu dáó.
Iká ni mukwatíye, Iyange,
ni múrire, Iyange,
Singa Marûnde.

23 Paχ kwa'séa tankí.
24 Tankíyoo paχ hik'a
25 ts'aakwa n//eewaka. - "Ts'aa'kwa'ni?"
26 - "A'a." - "Hós'?" Ka': "Tshuú kós'a iyẽ
27 ime //'antá." - "É'ɛ̀."
28 - "Nfĩ híkina phee
29 humbu nèèkwamse pa'
30 ts'aa gwábo'í nèẽ hlaté."
31 Pa hlee héu sõamikíẽnga n!oowe
32 phee. Pa kesé, kesé hik'iyoo

---

9 Tshúúana ('animal-then'): the raised tone shows

And [the brother with the good eyes] leapt back and he herded the cattle ahead and he herded them fast and he went and made them enter the homestead. When he had gone and made them enter, [the people at home asked]: "For what reason have you come bringing the cattle [back]?" - "An animal makes a sound..., that is why I am afraid." - "Ah, what sort of 'animal' was making a sound,[9] and you, there in the well, you were afraid and then you turned all the cattle about, and you came bringing them [home]! You liar." When the next morning dawned then another unfastened [the gate], and herded. And he herded and he went on, [and] as he went he came close to the well, and [the frog] sang:

This pond is not of Maángu,
it is for me,
Child of Ríngire, <u>mía mu dóó</u>.
Wait, till I catch him, Iyange,
let me eat him, Iyange,
[I], the Lord of the Clouds.

And he leapt back and [herded the cattle] ahead. And he drove them ahead, and he went and he made them go into the homestead. - "Have you watered them?" - "No." - "What?" He said: "The animal is again making a noise in the well." - "Well, well!" - "And then how is it that you, on the next (second) day, have driven back the cattle, for they are dying of thirst for water." And then, this one who was the third unlocked [the gate] the next day. And he herded, and he went on and on herding

---

disbelief.

33 humbukína hlee balówasa rémawa yaã.
34 Kesé hik'yoo pa hik'a n//eewaka //'ants'a.

Irambo ere sí'ra Maángu,
asi néeno,
Mũána Ríngire, máá mu dóó.
Iká ni mukwatíye, Iyange,
ni múrire, Iyange,
Singa Marûnde.

35 Paχ kwa'sé. Tankí hik'
36 pa hik'a n//eewaka. Í', hets'e
37 n//ink'na. "Oh, hótso n/omósosí'na nee
38 humbu kwa'kwa'sé paã humbu
39 íχi gándawa. Ibíí."
40 Paχ tú' /ũee ts'éχenga:
41 "Híye ni'i haχ humbu peχ kwa'm'séwa
42 hótso tshuúana hlee' //'antá ó' iye
43 peẽ humbu nee kwa'm'sé?" A' ka':
44 "Óoo, hapûsi' χé'wako hik' tl'alá. Híi hle'
45 hik'I //'ants'i n//eewákai'[10] pa /ũeénga
46 sárürü[11] pi kwa'm'séa
47 tánka /i ankáki
48 ímetshets'i. //'o pa n!e
49 phé paa χé'wa:
50 - :

---

10 In river beds waterholes are dug out wide enough for the cattle to enter and drink.

11 The Little Runt of Sandawe folklore is usually presented as a fellow with one eye, or with one bad or shriveled eye. Eye diseases are common in central Tanzania, and not uncommon among the Sandawe. In some diseases the cornea discolours and becomes opaque; this condition is called sárürü. It is a word for a

and the cattle are now even unable to graze.
He went on herding and he went to make them enter the well.

This pond is not of Maángu,
it is for me,
Child of Ríngire, <u>máá mu dóó</u>.
Wait, till I catch him, Iyange,
let me eat him, Iyange,
[I], the Lord of the Clouds.

And he leapt back. He went [chasing the cattle] ahead
and he went on and made them go in. Oh! wasn't his father
furious. - "Oh, what sort of people are you that you are
turning the cattle about so that the cattle
have become so thin. Woe!"
And then he went out, the One-eye. [He asked his brothers]:
"When each time you went and when you turned the cattle
about, what sort of animal then was staying there in the well
so that you went on turning them about?" They replied:
"Pooh, you, you take them and go in vain! Once you
go and make them enter the well,[10] then [your] eye will
turn rotten green[11] and you will turn on your heels and
come [back, driving the cattle] ahead even before
[the animal] makes its noise." They slept and it dawned
and the next day he collected [the cattle and herded them
to the well]:

---

greenish colour with an unpleasant connotation. Disagreeable substances of a slimy nature are described by it, such as spittle and phlegm, and moist lichens under a wet stone. The brothers tell One-eye that his eye will turn rotten green for fear. The storyteller stresses the insult by enunciating <u>sárürŭ</u> as a shrill <u>srrr!</u> Her hand movements mimick the startling rush of a disturbed partridge which suddenly flies up from a bush in front of an unsuspecting traveller.

Irambo ere sí'ra Maángu,
asi néene,
Müána Ríngire, máa mu dóó.
Iká ni mukwatíye, Iyange,
ni múrire, Iyange,
Singa Marûnde.

51 Paχ kesés'a tite. Paχ ka':

Irambo ere sí'ra Maángu,
asi néene,
Müána Ríngire, máa mu dóó.
Iká ni mukwatíye, Iyange,
ni múrire, Iyange,
Singa Marûnde.

52 Humbu hlee hín//aka //'antá pa ts'éé'wa.

53 Humbu nèè ts'éé'wa paχ iye hik'

54 hewéki taχ iyẽ hik'iyoo hle' pa

55 !'ororónsu ó'a n//ee pa sí'su pa

56 humbu tlánana pèèsu, áfure tlánana.[12]

57 Sa hle' ó'sa iye, pa humbu ts'éé'a' !'ókawa

58 ké'ke, pa

59 kesé. Ts'áaná kesẽ hik'iyoo,

60 hía hik'ĩ khooá béébaye'i' paχ ka': "/himeko,"

61 !'ororónũsuts'a. Saχ kísa:

Irambo ere sí'ra Maángu,
asi néene,
Müána Ríngire, máa mu dóó.
Iká ni mukwatíye, Iyange,
ni múrire, Iyange,
Singa Marûnde.

62 Ts'aakũna e'ee nèèa' ts'aakũ kíkianki

---

12 Afure is a castrated steer, here the leading animal, the ox which carries the cow-bell. The frog is given a place of honour by being placed on its horns. Apart

This pond is not of Maángu,
it is for me,
Child of Ríngire, <u>máa mu dóó</u>.
Wait, till I catch him, Iyange,
let me eat him, Iyange,
[I], the Lord of the Clouds.

But he just herded on. And [the animal] went on:

This pond is not of Maángu,
it is for me,
Child of Ríngire, <u>máa mu dóó</u>.
Wait, till I catch him, Iyange,
let me eat him, Iyange,
[I], the Lord of the Clouds.

Now he prodded on the cattle, into the well, and they drank. The cattle went on drinking and he went on going [in] himself, and he went on going, and presently he entered there by the frog, and he took her and he placed her on a cow's horns, on an ox's horns.[12] She then stayed there, and the cattle drank and finished [drinking] and climbed up [out of the well], and he herded them. He went on herding them home, and as he went and approached the house he said: "Sing" to the frog. And she sang:

This pond is not of Maángu,
it is for me,
Child of Ríngire, <u>máa mu dóó</u>.
Wait, till I catch him, Iyange,
let me eat him, Iyange,
[I], the Lord of the Clouds.

At home then, at this time, they were [all] gathered

---

from being terrifying, the frog's song had to the brothers no doubt seemed a threat to this animal, the pride of the herd.

63 tsíaso heso útetaã kesésósõkí nĩ

64 hets'éχẽsokí mésuχki tsíaso. Ka':

65 "ǃhám'kwera, ǃhám'kwera." - "Hótsana?"

66 Aà ǃhámü. Pa ka': "/himeko, /himeko."

67 Sa /himé:

Irambo ere sí'ra Maángu,
asi néene,
Müána Ríngire, máa mu dóó.
Iká ni mukwatíye, Iyange,
ni múrire, Iyange,
Singa Marùnde.

68 Ka': "Á?" - "HísĨ

69 taáχsi //'ántaye, //'ántaye.

70 Tshuũ /í'ts'e'na húmbunga tímũa. HĨ

71 n/omeseki hía /üeé ts'éχenkei'." Hle'e hle'e...

72 téhla béébɑ, béébɑ n//eésakümaà.

73 Ka': "/himeko."

Irambo ere sí'ra Maángu,
asi néene,
Müána Ríngire, máa mu dóó.
Iká ni mukwatíye, Iyange,
ni múrire, Iyange,
Singa Marùnde.

74 Aà χú'tũ khoona. Heχwaa

75 bír' tshinátana hín//aki,[13] súkünáwatshe ka':

76 "p', p', p'."[14] - "íyowee tlásis'yoo."

77 - "/himeko, /himeko, /himeko." Hadó'ta:

78 - :

---

13 bír' (or bíri): the large Sandawe bed made of poles. The family sleeps on top and the chickens sleep under it. The frightened people ridiculously behave like a flock of terrified chickens.

63 together, all those who had herded before, as well as
64 all their fathers and all their mothers. [One of them] said:
65 "Be quiet then, be quiet then!" - "What is the matter?"
66 And they kept quiet. And [One-eye] said: "Sing, sing!"
67 And she sang:

This pond is not of Maángu,
it is for me,
Child of Ríngire, <u>máá mu dóó</u>.
Wait, till I catch him, Iyange,
let me eat him, Iyange,
[I], the Lord of the Clouds.

68 They [at home] said: "Oh?" [The brothers cried]: "Now you
69 fellows, [it is] the one of the well, the one of the well.
70 Isn't the animal coming to swallow the cattle. All because
71 of that person, since he is one-eyed!" And now, and now...
72 they are very near, very very near, on the point of entering.
73 [And One-eye] said: "Sing."

This pond is not of Maángu,
it is for me,
Child of Ríngire, <u>máá mu dóó</u>.
Wait, till I catch him, Iyange,
let me eat him, Iyange,
[I], the Lord of the Clouds.

74 [In panic] they surged into the house. Some of them
75 squeezed under the bed,[13] and farting all the time they did:
76 "p, p, p!"[14] - "Oh mother, I am finished!" [they cried, but
77 One-eye said]: "Sing, sing, sing." In the courtyard
78 [the frog sang]:

---

14 The Sandawe love using flatulence for descriptions of boundless fear. The image of panicky emissions of wind from the anus is also considered extremely funny.

Irambo ere sí'ra Maángu,
asi néene,
Mũúna Ríngire, máa mu dóó.
Iká ni mukwatíye, Iyange,
ni mũrire, Iyange,
Singa Marûnde.

79 "Íyo, tatá, tlásis'yoo." Ka': "Íyoo
80 tlásís'yoo." Ka': "Íyoowéé ... pí,... pí,...
81 pí,..." Pa ka': "Tú'kwe,
82 taágas'aa /ikwe. Hótso súkũna
83 phíndigo'o?"
84 Swési' tleega tántabule misonkí ó'.

This pond is not of Maángu,
it is for me,
Child of Ríngire, máa mu dóó.
Wait, till I catch him, Iyange,
let me eat him, Iyange,
[I], the Lord of the Clouds.

"Mother, father, I am finished!" they cried, "Mother oh, I am dying!" and they cried: "Oh mother,... fart,...fart,... fart,..." And [One-eye] said: "Come out [of there], it is I who have come to you. What is all this farting trouble about?"

Now then it is finished, the tale has ended here.

C H A P T E R IV

N A R R A T I V E

MIRACULOUS STORIES, HISTORY, AND MYTH

The stories.

The stories of the first chapter have generally been rather simple and lighthearted, but the tales which follow in this second chapter tend to be more serious. The heroes are either more tragic or more heroic, and the stories themselves tend to be longer and more complicated. The principal heroes are human beings; when animals occur in principal roles they do so as symbols rather than as simple animal characters which make fun of human types. The many-headed snake of text No. 12 is an all-devouring monster rather than a mere snake, and the snake of text No. 11 and the lion of text No. 13 are also symbols rather than just animals; the lion is really a human being who turns into an animal in order to portray the animal aspect of his character, and it is therefore quite different from the more naive kind of animal representations which we have encountered in the previous chapter. In text No. 17 there is a hyena in a principal role, but also this animal symbolizes an aspect of the human character, witchcraft in this case, and it may actually be identified with the human father of the story's tragical heroine.

The first seven stories belong to the category which I have loosely called Miraculous Stories. The eighth is an historical tale of which the main theme is an episode which has actually happened. The chapter then concludes with two myths of origin which are explanatory rather than historical.

Text No. 11. Told by Mr. K'ũanâ Angũ at Bugénika.

Utaa n/oméšu, n/oméšu hláwethésũ, úr'sa
hlawé n//okótsũe. N//okótsua swée héteka'o
aà ĩmbosa íyẽ ís'sũa. Ís'sa iyẽ
ís'si',[1] swéa
wa'maχkia ts'aa'na ní'. Hía nèè
ní'ioi' paa /'ĩnga //'anta iye. Bás',
hes'wé hlee' n//ókots'a' hía !'okâi', kéke thee[2]
kéketš'χẽsa hlee kéke theesa tl'aa
hĩ n//ókots'i. Hía kítatshaa kéi'
hĩ ts'aanga há'wai, hlee hísai'
/ĩ phin!'ĩ.
/'ĩ//'a kéke theeχe sa'sa:
"Sé'wako." N/omésus' //ǒanki Mirigí.[3]
"Sé'wako." Paχ ka':[4]
"Pó'was'ts'e." - "Sé'wako." Paχ
ka': "Hâanko ee n!ũ'tana khú'se."
Saa hewé hís'sa háai' pa /'ĩnga
n!ũtana ts'ók'a kwelé.[5] Hlee'
sa hewẽ'sa hik'. Tl'abisóta iyẽ ka':
"Hí' ooweí' /'ínkepos'.[6] Sawẽ
sa hik'iyoo ní' hesó ts'aakũsa n//ee.
- "Hí́i hlee' núai mántshei tl'abisóta /'inkepos'."
Núa mantshatshua //'ó.

---

1 Her refusal to get married is stressed in repetition. It is considered normal, and the duty of a girl, to get married and bear children. This girl is very attractive and her behaviour raises many eyebrows. Texts Nos. 140 and 165 especially deal with such behaviour.

2 Ear lobes are perforated and wooden plugs are inserted as beautifications. Among the Sandawe this custom is far from general. Kéke thee is literally 'ear-wood(s)'.

The Woman and the Snake. Recorded July 1963.

Long ago [there was] a woman, a beautiful woman, a very pretty girl. Presently [a man came] to take the girl away, but she was saying that she refused. She went on refusing [also other suitors] and she refused,[1] and now she went with her companions to the water[hole]. When they were going there a snake stayed in the well. Well then, when she then had finished washing herself, her ear plugs[2] were still in her ears and then she took out her ear plugs and washed them. When she had climbed up from inside [the well] she drew water [from it] and then she turned about and came [back to pick up the pluge]. Since the earpluge [were lying] near the snake she said: "Give them to me." This woman had the name Mirigi.[3] "Give them to me." And [the snake] said:[4] "I won't give them to you." - "Give them to me." And he said: "Gape, so I may throw them into your mouth." And he then, while she gaped, the snake then jumped up, throwing himself into her mouth.[5] And then she went on her way. He stayed in her belly and said: "If you make a noise I shall bite you."[6] He went with her and she went on and they went and she arrived at her home. - "If you now eat porridge I shall sting you in your belly." She [went to] sleep without having eaten porridge.

---

3 The snake is masculine. Femininity would be illogical because of its phallic nature; informants say it is like a penis.

4 Informants say that her name is Mirigi('Medicine') because she is administered medicine for her bad behaviour in this story.

5 An allusion to the snake-phallus taking sexual possession of her.

6 /'inka usually means 'to sting' (like an insect), not 'to bite', but it is used for the bite of a snake, cf. Dempwolff, 1916, 40. The verb has also a sexual connotation in Sandawe.

Phé: "Hóa'na Mirígi?" Saχ sa: "K'wawée'." Aà hlée' n/omóao hets'eχ mésuχ hesú nunúχkia tsíasaà tú'a' mínda'tana ní'. N//ínesa hlée khootása. Thúmpakeyoo. Póro.[7] Saa swésa /waã'sa tl'aae sókoraã dí'nasa[8] tl'ánk'até noowe.

Íχsa /hime:

Iyoχà mikèse,[9]
hòò síí rombe,[10]
sí rombe, Mirig'yoo síí rombe.

Yayáχà wakèse,
hòò síí rombe,
sí rombe, Mirig'yoo síí rombe.

Tatáχà wakèse,[11]
hòò síí rombe,
sí rombe, Mirig'yoo síí rombe.

Íχsa iyẽ noowe /hime. Hía golobéi' noowe'onki !'okása, pa ka':

Mirígi háanko,
Mirígi háanko,
Mirígi háanko.

Sa háankwa /áa kwéle, saχ hik'a n//ine. Hía hlee' héts'eχa mésuχkia n/ati a' ka': "Hóana Mírigi héu noowe?" Saχ sa: "Tsháa noowe." - "Swéi e'éeki:

---

7 Lit.: [the field] is desolate.

8 Grain is ground on a large grindstone (dí) by rubbing small stones (dí n//oko,'the stone's children') over it, cf. Tenraa, 1966c.

The next morning [her family asked]: "What is the matter, Mirigi?" She replied: "I feel ill." And then her people, all her fathers and mothers and also all her younger sisters went out and went to the field. And she then lay down in the house. And [the snake] then jumped out of her. There was nobody around.[7] She then brought grain for grinding on the grindstone[8] and she started to grind. She sang thus:

All my mothers have left me[9]
oh, this is my lament,[10]
my lament, poor Mirigi, this is my lament.
All my elder siblings have abandoned me,
oh, this is my lament,
my lament, poor Mirigi, this is my lament.
All my fathers have abandoned me,[11]
oh, this is my lament,
my lament, poor Mirigi, this is my lament.

Thus she was singing while she ground. When evening came she finished grinding, and [the snake] said:

Mirigi, gape,
Mirigi, gape,
Mirigi, gape.

She gaped and he came and slid in, and she went to lie down. When then her fathers and mothers had come, they asked: "Who then, Mirigi, has ground this [flour]?" And she said: "It is I who have ground it." - "Now weren't you saying:

---

9 Lit.: all my collective mothers. For categories see p. 32.

10 rombe: from rõ (voice) and -be (activity). Sĩĩ rombe: 'my (stressed) - [sad] utterances.'

11 Lit.: all my collective fathers.

38 k'wawés'?" Saχ sa: "A'anko rú'sí
39 hánga noowe." Góloba nuá' χõante
40 saχ sa: "Mántshas'ts'e'e." Aχ //'ó.
41 Phé hía míndana' ní, saχ kós'sa
42 túa haã. Kwaχ íyẽ tú'yoo
43 kwaχ kótots'a n//ine.[12] Saχ hesú kós'sa
44 noowesanasa n//ee. Íχsa /hime:

Iyoχà wakèse,
yoo síí rombe,
sí rombe, Mirig'yoo síí rombe.

Tatáχà wakẽse,
hòò síí rombe,
sí rombe, Mirig'yoo síí rombe.

Yayáχà mikèse,
yoo síí rombe,
sí rombe, Mirig'yoo síí rombe.

45 Hlée hía golobéi' kós'sa hets'éχẽnso n/atí.
46 Pa ka':

Mirígi, háanko,
Mirígi, háanko,
Mirígi, hóanko.

47 Saχ kós'sa háã paχ /á kwelẽ tl'abisotana.
48 Saχ khoonasa n//eea hewé n//ine. N/atí.
49 - "Híkana iye Mirígi, hikí hlaapone?"
50 Sa'sa: "Úris'ko k'wawé." Aã
51 núa χõante: "Mántshakwa." Sa'sa:
52 "Mántshas'ts'e'ẽ." Íχ swé hé'ts'ea: "A'ã swéê?"
53 Mésukia ímbokwanki. "Iswéẽ
54 phéẽ míndanakwe ní'sí." Dó'kwe, kwa swé
55 sénkoa síye. !hengééo

---

12 Koto: the pole-and-thorn fence which encloses the

I am sick?" She replied: "Not at all. I was mistaken to get up and grind." In the evening they cooked porridge and she said: "I won't eat." And they [went] to sleep. The next day, when they had gone to the field, she again gaped [for him] to get out. And he was then coming out and he lay down on the fence.[12] She then, once again she began to grind. And she sang thus:

All my mothers have abandoned me,
this then is my lament,
my lament, poor Mirigi, this is my lament.

All my fathers have abandoned me,
oh, this is my lament,
my lament, poor Mirigi, this is my lament.

All my elder siblings have left me,
this then is my lament,
my lament, poor Mirigi, this is my lament.

Now, when the evening fell all her elders came [home] again. And [the snake] said:

Mirigi, gape,
Mirigi, gape,
Mirigi, gape.

And again she gaped and he came and slid into her stomach. She entered into the house and she lay down. They came [and asked]: "How is it then, Mirigi, how are you getting on?" She said: "I am terribly ill." And they cooked porridge [and said]: "Please eat." She replied: "But I can't eat." So now her father [said]: "Oh, what now?" And he conferred with her mother, and said: "Now then, to-morrow all of you go to the field." Wait, for now he took his chopping-knife. He sharpened and sharpened it

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yard (hádo). Snakes are often found in these fences.

56 hlawesuke, saχ íχsa //akáts'a: "Héngena,
57 tatá, senkõ?" Pa ka':
58 "Ah míndata //ó' n/ũets'ɜ' kose,
59 /'imés'. Phé hía
60 //'okwaà n!ei', paa tṹtṹa tú'.[13]
61 Swé kumba ríngosats' hesú
62 //'oóχsa n//ine. Pa ríngoa i/áa
63 héréa i/áa hóréa hik'a
64 guréana[14] i/áa
65 kitóngea herekáa iye.
66 Aa hewé mésuχẽ'sa túa ní'. Tsíasaà ní'.
67 Hlee heswá n//ine. Saawé
68 /'waa e'ée úte mésũa sókora'ĩ'sa sía,
69 zakhása túa n//umẽ /'ééyóó hàà póro.
70 Sa kóa'sa hía. Pa tú'. Pa
71 kótots'a n//ine, sa n//eea noowe:

Iyoχà wakèse,
yoo síí rombe,
sí rombe, Mirig'yoo síí rombe.
Tatáχà wakèse,
yoo síí rombe,
sí rombe, Mirig'yoo síí rombe.
Yayáχà mikèse,
hòò síí rombe,
sí rombe, Mirig'yoo síí rombe.
N//ahláχà wakèse,
yoo síí rombe,
hò, sí rombe, Mirig'yoo síí rombe.

72 Hets'e hlee' guréats'a iyẽ k!ee. I/í
73 !hwé'ínga hía sóχi[15]

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13 tṹ: at night. tṹtṹ: still a little dark.

14 Sandawe houses usually have two rooms: the front room by the door which contains the fireplace (mila)

56 [and] made it good, and she inquired thus: "What for then,
57 father, [do you take] the chopping-knife?" He replied:
58 "Ah, there in the field there is [a job] to do,
59 I'll be rooting out [trees]." The next morning, when they
60 had slept and it dawned, he went out before daybreak.[13]
61 Now indeed, while he was going round she was
62 still lying asleep. And he slunk around, he came,
63 went round, came [again], and went on his round
64 and came [back] into the bedroom[14] and he
65 circled round the storage bin and stayed [there behind it].
66 And then her mothers went all out. They all went [to the
67 field]. Now she lay [there] alone. And now
68 she took the grain which her mother had threshed before,
69 and she went outside and stood there and there was nobody.
70 And again she gaped. And [the snake] came out. And he
71 lay down on the fence, and she began to grind, [singing]:

All my mothers have abandoned me,
this then is my lament,
my lament, poor Mirigi, this is my lament.

All my fathers have abandoned me,
this then is my lament,
my lament, poor Mirigi, this is my lament.

All my elder siblings have left me,
oh, this is my lament,
my lament, poor Mirigi, this is my lament.

All my brothers have abandoned me,
this then is my lament,
oh, my lament, poor Mirigi, this is my lament.

72 Her father was now crying in the inner room. He came
73 [to the wall] and when he peeped through the spy-hole

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and the inner room which contains the beds and the storage bins. This room is called <u>guráa</u>.

74 /'ĩ mehem'kia n//ine kototo's'a.[15] Hlee
75 !'a!'á'a i/íyoo. Hesú /ants'waa íye noowe.
76 Bééba hle iye. Hlee héts'e
77 míndatsho n/atá', pa hewé kototshèèa tho:

Mirígi, háanko,
Mirígi, háanko,
Mirígi, háanko.

78 Hlee paa hís'sa //ó'tshèa thánĩ',
79 pa n//ósunowa dlo'ína χótl'oséa /'ínga tl'aχume,
80 senkó'ĩnga tl'aχumééo pa tóu.
81 Hlé sà //ó'tshaà n/atí, pa
82 ka': "Tsí n//osũ wak'wasé nee.
83 hapúχeũ n//osü wak'wasé. Aà swé'a'
84 ó'a' ka': "Iswé hikíts'e?" Aà ka':
85 "//'ĩ'kwe ná'se, o !hewé."
86 //'ĩ'a' ná'see hétl'a tlókwats'eyóó thééa'
87 kítana //ô, pa n!áts'iyoo
88 kwa'wásaa. Swéa neewayoi'
89 tl'óánga //'oi' aà hlé máto boya' tl'oχoò.
90 Paa hewé matõ tú'a n/ía. Hía
91 n/íai' swéa neeoo matóá
92 !'oχe. Swé senko mapí'sa siyẽ
93 hík'ĩ !wer'!werχsé..., !wer'kwerχ.
94 - :

Hégo mátõ héu ó'ntea /'unũ,
ó'nte tur'túrüge.

95 Paa hewékia matõkia ka':

Hégo tl'átõ tl'óu tl'ó'ntea tl'unũ,
tl'ó'nte tl'ur'tl'úrüge.

---

15 The windows of Sandawe houses consist of small round holes the size of a fist which are called kaér' !hwé.

a giant snake was lying on the fence.[15] Then he came and came, sneaking up. She was grinding without seeing him. And then he was very near. Then her elders came from the field, and [the snake] jumped off the fence.

Mirigi, gape,
Mirigi, gape,
Mirigi, gape.

And then, the moment [the snake] sped from there [to enter her mouth] he pushed her back and he cut down the snake, and he cut him up with his chopping-knife, and he finished him off. Now they [the family] came from there and [the father] said: "It was he who was killing my daughter, who was killing your and my daughter." And then they, here they said: "Now what to do?" and they added: "Light a fire so that we may have flames."
They lit a fire and there, into it, they scattered wood which they brought from inside, and then [the snake] burned until he was finished. And now, whilst they were there, the rain fell and then they scattered pumpkin seeds.
And the pumpkin came up and bore fruit. When it had borne fruit it remained and the pumpkin ripened. Now she [Mirigi] took a chopping-knife handle and went to knock, knock it..., knock, knock.
[She said]:

Well, this pumpkin is ripe on one side,
the other side is still green.

And this one then, the pumpkin then, echoed:

Lwell, thlis plumpklin is lipe on one slide,
thle othler slide is stlill gleen.

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lit.: 'joking holes' or 'conversation holes'. The text just mentions ihwé, 'hole'.

96 Saa k'watĭ, kí'sa: "Aá nĭ? Héu
97 mátõ íyoo, ĭmbógea héu." Saχ sa:
98 "Híkáana ĭmbo?" Saχ sa:
99 "Áã i/íko, sa mésüa i/í. "Hisíkwa
100 ma'é !wer'χ!werχ'se ee nikõ."
101 Mésüa ma'é !wer'χ!werχ'se:

Hégo ó'ntea /'unŭ,
ó'nte tur'túrüwe //oóχ'.

102 kwa !hámü. Saχ sa:
103 "Éko hapúkiaa. Hís'kwa éh."
104 - "χare farí?"
105 Sa'sa: "Nó'kaako. !weréχ'
106 !weréχ':

Hégo mató ó'ntea /'unŭ
Hégo ó'nte tur'túruwe.

107 Sa'sa: "/ántsipo?" Kós'sa hlé héts'ea
108 i/í, sa kós'sa la'adé. !weréχ' !weréχ'
109 - :

Hégo mátõ héu ó'ntea. /'unŭ,
ó'nte tur'túruge.

110 - :

Hégo tl'átõ tl'éu tl'ó'ntea tl'inŭ,
tl'ó'nte tl'ur'tl'úruge.

111 Paa kóa'a héts'ea sénkoa sie
112 tl'áχumé hle mátonga hle' //'ek'a tú'
113 matóntatshe. Tl'áχuméyoo matóea.
114 Walawalasé hlé //'ek'a iyõ mogomógo.
115 Hía k'ets'i sa n//ósu
116 /'inátanasa n//ee hik'.., /'inátanasa n//ee
117 hik'.., a' hlee mó'a n!aan!aa

96 She was frightened, and she said: 'Aá, what then? This
97 pumpkin, mother, it speaks!" [Her mother] said:
98 "What are you telling me now?" And she replied:
99 "Come quickly," and her mother came. "Well you then
100 go round to knock it, take this handle then."
101 The mother went round and knocked it [and said]:

Well, on one side it is ripe,
the other continues to be quite green.

102 but [the pumpkin] remained quiet. She said:
103 "Now, listen you! Well then, there!" [And she knocked
104 again, but no reply]. - "Perhaps you are lying?"
105 [Mirigi] then said: "Give it to me then." And she knocked,
106 knocked, [and said]:

Well, the pumpkin is ripe on one side,
Well, the other side is quite green.

107 And she asked: "Don't you see?" And now also her father
108 came, and once more she showed it. Knock, knock, [and
109 she said]:

Well, this pumpkin is ripe on one side,
the other side is still green.

110 [The pumpkin echoed]:

Lwell, thlis plumpklin is lipe on one slide,
thle othler slide is stlill gleen.

111 And again the father took the chopping-knife and
112 then he hacked into the pumpkin and then blood came out
113 of the pumpkin. And he hacked and hacked into the pumpkin.
114 He hacked it to pieces and now the blood ran in streams.
115 When he looked back, his daughter
116 began to sink into the earth.., she went sinking into the
117 earth.., and then they took hold of her fast,

118 ó'ea n/omósoa' giribénanki n!aan!aa,
119 n//eéoosa /'inátanasa, tshèèkí.
120 Bas', mísonki' ó', ímbo tshèèkí, ó.

Text No. 12. Told by Mr. Paul Lyimó at Wapurú.

1 Utaa lólo n/omésea thametsüa séesu, alafü
2 aà neewayoo saa tl'abisósa
3 !'oowe.[1] Sa thametsus' hísa iyewayooi'
4 sa habá thamés' n//osusa. Hísa habã !'ókai'
5 sa' íxsa ka': "Tsí ka', kelembá hau /'ĩ
6 bahár'ta íyesẽ nókaxse tsingi.[2] Hatá n//o héu
7 tikés'ts'e'e, walá zanzúkus'ts'e."[3] Bas', aà
8 n/omóso hía kíkisènki à ka': "Swé híkits'e?
9 Hesu n/omésusü tax íyesá k'e?" K'éwasa tax tüeé

1 Lit.: her belly she filled.

2 bahár', from Swahili bahari, the sea. The Sandawe do not know the sea and they have no word of their own for it, but coastal people (swáá n//oko,'the coast's children') have been known for a long time. Swáá is from Swa-hili. The present storyteller is widely travelled, he knows the coast well and he lives at present in Dar es Salaam. He uses many Swahili borrowings, e.g. aláf' or aláfü in lines 1, 11, 14, 21, and 69 (Swahili halafu, afterwards); bak' or báki in lines 78, 91, and 102 (Swahili ku-baki, to be left over); bas' in lines 7, 39, 45, and 127 (Swahili basi, it is enough, very well. This word is now almost considered 'proper' Sandawe, and is commonly used); hata in lines 6, 10, 44, and 46 (Swahili hata in the sense of not even, even, at all); babár' in line 25 (Swahili Habari, news); katíka in line 46 (katika, inside, among); ma'arífa in line 50 (Swahili maarifa, plan); maísha in

118 and from everywhere people ran together and took hold of
119 her, but she entered into the earth until she was finished.
120 Well, the end is here, the tale is finished here.

One-eye and the Many-headed Snake. Recorded October 1962.

1 Long ago a man took a woman [as his wife], and after that
2 they lived for a long time [together] and she became
3 pregnant.[1] And after she had waited a long time the woman
4 bore a female child. When she had finished bearing it
5 she spoke thus: "I say, the skin of that snake
6 which lives in the sea, please bring it to me.[2] I won't even
7 carry the child on the hip nor even on the back."[3] Well then
8 when the people had gathered they said: "Now what to do?
9 This woman, must she be crying?" She just cried all night

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line 128 (Swahili maisha, life); nguvu in line 96 (Swahili nguvu, force); núa' in line 91 (Swahili nusu, half); pokéa in line 154 (Swahili ku-pokea, to receive); pánga in lines 11, 27, and 53 (Swahili panga, the Swahili-type cutting-knife. The Sandawe use the type which is common in the central highlands, which they call sénko); zíbo or zíbu in lines 17 and 30 (Swahili ku-jibu, to reply).

3 The mother is demanding a special kaross for her child. In the past Sandawe children were carried on their mothers' backs in sheepskin karosses which are called habé, cf. note 7 on p.163; simple karosses without rattle-sticks are shown by von Luschan, 1898, 328, and Dempwolff, 1916, 87; karosses with rattle-sticks for keeping the child happy are described in Tenraa, 1963, 43 and 1964, 94. When carried about for a short while children are usually placed on the hips, their legs straddling the mother's waist.

10 hatá k'imetéki; //'óki //'ós'ts'e'e.

11 Aláfú à n/omósa' kikisènki pánga tl'aawa

12 zumbe zumbea[4] na'á' hewéts'a' ni'ĭ,

13 bahár'na. Hía ní'a'

14 theé /'ánk'na ké. Aláfú a' báara /hime

15 hesũaa iyõ /hímeχé':

16 A ka':

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.[5]

17 Kwa //ó' /'ínga bahár'ta zíbokwe'ĭ; kwa

18 ka':

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.[6]

19 Aχ tl'eséa /hime:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

20 Kwa ka':

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

21 Aláf' kwa hewéts'a /'ínga tú'. Hóno hónoa

22 hewets'a n/omóso tl'aχuma. N/omése ts'éχa kéka /'inkékwe

---

4 Zumbe: 'sub-chief' in government usage (Swahili jumbe), but the Sandawe use the term to describe anyone who is socially prominent, from family elders to the chief and even area commissioners.

5 A free translation, since a literal one seems impracticable. The song elements are: Zókia from the Bantu joka, a large snake; mia-mb-ana: Bantu, 'he who has a hundred' or 'hundreds'; matembe: Bantu for flat-roofed houses; suruka from surú: Sandawe for 'wall'; kólonga: 'to challenge'; naa from ná'a: 'he burns'. The walls and houses stand for

and even during the day; as for sleeping she could not sleep.
After that the people gathered carrying slashing-knives,
and all the headmen[4] went, and they went on their way,
to the sea. When they had gone [and arrived at the beach]
they climbed up a tree. After that they began to sing
and she [who had remained at home] was also singing like this:
And they sang:

> You snake, hundred-headed one,
> the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.[5]

And there the snake in the sea was answering them, and he
replied:

> Haven't I eight hundred heads,
> the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And again they sang:

> You snake, hundred-headed one,
> the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And he replied:

> Haven't I eight hundred heads,
> the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And then he, the snake, came out. Slithering at lightning
speed he cut down the people. He but one man [only] in the

---

whole villages and all that is in them. Athough the monster of this song destroys villages by fire it is clearly identified with the All-devourer of the rest of the tale. The fire metaphorically devours its victims, just as it commonly does in European imagery.

6 The snake's song follows the challengers' song in the second line. The elements of the first line are: Tsí, 'I'; -ri, the self-encouraging -ra with -i vowel value; tshéé, 'heads'; mia: Swahili for 'a hundred'; and naane: Swahili -nane,'eight'. Sandawe and Bantu elements are freely mixed in both songs.

23 kwa hewé'ts'a mikéts'e kwa
24 hewé'ts'a n/omése kwaántayoo //ó'a. Kwaa hik'a
25 ts'aakwa habára tú'kexkwe'ĩ. Aà n/omôso tl'eséa
26 kikisenki hĩnsaà zúmbea' 'mbo'aa. Aχ
27 ma'álea pánga tl'aawa aà nĩ' bahár'na.
28 Bas' hĩa ni'ĩ n//eei' aχ
29 thé'é /'ánk'na ke, aχ /hime:

Zokĩa miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

30 Kwaχ //ó'a /'inga zibŭ, kwaχ ka':

Tsirí tshé'é mĩa naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

31 Aχ tl'eséa' /hime:

Zokĩa miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

32 Paχ ka':

Tsirí thshé'é mĩa naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

33 Kwa hewé'ts'a hóno hónowa tú'a
34 kós'a n/omôso tsĩa tl'axŭma kwaχ n/omésee ts'é'χa
35 mikéts'e kwa hik'a 'mbo hle'na n/omôso
36 téhla tshêêkí //ó'.
37 Ka': "Swé hĩkits'e?" ka'a':
38 "Swéé tó'ts'eú kwa'kwe; thámets
39 thámetsinki kwa' nĩ'ĩ zaribŭa. Bas'
40 hĩa hánga nĩ'ĩ n//eei //ó'wai
41 aà thé'é /'ánk'na ke. Aχ kós'a' /hime:

Zokĩa miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

ear, and this one was [the only one] left over, and
this same man ran fast to there [his home]. And he went
to give them the news at home. And the people once more
gathered together and the headman told them. And
others brought [their] slashing-knives and went to the sea.
Well then, when they had gone and arrived [there], they
climbed up into the tree and sang:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And there then the snake replied, and said:

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And once more they sang:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And he replied:

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And this [snake] then slithered out with lightning speed
and again he slew all the people and but one man
remained and he went to tell. This time [all] the people
were completely finished there. [The remaining old folk
and the women] said: "Now what to do?" And they said:
"Now then, you sisters, run back and go to try. Well then,
even all the women run back and go to try." Well then,
when they had got up and gone and arrived all there,
then they climbed up into the tree. And again they sang:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

42 Paχ ka':

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

43 Aχ /hime:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

44 Kwa tú'a', n/omóso tsía tl'aχúma hata ts'éχki
45 mikétshe. Bas' aà swé nèè //ó' khoots'
46 /'eeyoo hatá n/omése kwá'ĩ'tshee. Katíka[7]
47 hóu ma'lé n/omese
48 n/úmususé thóts'e χísota t'é,
49 hesó thots'e téhla mũíshots' iyẽ, gandaganda
50 /ũee zanga.[8] Hewé kumbe ma'arífâ n/ũeewa[9]
51 zakháta iyẽ tláa tlinewa.[10]
52 Tlaa meééa tlinge //ó'tshea /áa hewéts'a
53 pánga tl'aa'wa !hengíma hewé hánga.
54 Aâ ka': "Áa hapúsi'yoo
55 /ũee zangasipómpo, hótso hik'ĩ n/ũĩ'iyaapo?
56 N/omóso /ũeé'waseyaà níĩ hla'te
57 héuχeats'e." Kwa ka'ka': "Hík'is'ko tsí,
58 mékwe nèè ma'ahé." Kwa hewé hánga hik'

---

7 All the able-bodied people have perished. Those who remain are significantly described by the storyteller as 'relatives' (dogo) in his comment. Being neighbours they share in relatives' duties of mutual support, and as such they are 'relatives'. The importance of being a 'relative' also emerges from line 144.

8 /ũee zanga: 'green eye', i.e. with a greenly opaque discolouration of the cornea due to an eye disease, cf. text No. 10, note 11, p.174. The Sandawe folk-hero One-eye is not only physically handicapped by his eye but he is also thin and small. Line 49 shows that he is also the Benjamin of the family.

42 And he replied:

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

43 And they sang:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

44 And he came out and slew all the people, not even one
45 remained. Well then, they who now remained there at home,
46 they saw not even one person who returned. Among [the
47 remaining relatives][7] this certain man, who was
48 a brother of one of the women, remained from among all of
49 them, being their very last [youngest] brother, a thinnish
50 fellow with a green eye.[8] He indeed, made a clever plan[9]
51 while he was in the bush to build a wicker door.[10]
52 A very large wicker door he built, and from there he came
53 carrying a slashing-knife, and he went out to sharpen it.
54 And [the remaining people] said: "Ah, so it is you,
55 you who have the bad eye, what are you going to do then?
56 Haven't the people with [good] eyes long gone and died
57 because of this?" And he spoke, saying: "I am certainly
58 going, do not be in doubt." And he got up and went,

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9 The cleverness of the plan is hinted at by the use of a plural object for the verb 'to make [a plan]' (n/tee-wa), i.e. to make a plan which requires many thoughts.

10 tlaa: a wicker door; the shutter of a door made of wicker work. Sandawe doors are sliding doors which are held in place by a pair of posts behind the door frame proper. The door is moved between these posts and the wall into which the door frame is built. One-eye uses such a door as a shield to fend off the attacking snake.

59 thée /'ánk'na kéa tlaanga hĩ'/'aàwa

60 hláa hakíts'

61 //ó'na téhla /ũeénga /'ésuke

62 bahárĩtena kwa báára /himé:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

63 Paχ ka':

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

64 Kwa tl'eséa:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

65 //ó'tshea /'ínga faáaà /áa tláats'a

66 tlá'. Hía iyẽ kwá'ĩ kwa tshéẽ

67 míaχenga χó'so. Kwa hlé' mía sába

68 títenga kwaa'. /'ĩ

69 ts'aatena !awé aláĩ' kwa tl'esé iya

70 /himé, kwa ka':

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

71 Kwaχ ka':

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

72 Kwaχ:

Zókia miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

73 Kwaχ ka':

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

he climbed up into the tree and he tied the wicker door fast,
and he sat himself firmly and
he made his eye look thoroughly in that direction,
into the sea, and he began to sing:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And [the snake] replied:

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And again [he taunted]:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And from there the snake came, hissing, and he crashed into
the door. While he was recoiling [One-eye]
chopped off a whole hundred [heads]. And now seven hundred
only returned [with the snake into the sea]. The snake
fell into the water and after that [One-eye] was again
singing, and he sang:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And [the snake] replied:

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And [One-eye] sang:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And [the snake] replied:

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

74 Kwaχ hõnohõnowa tí' k'ítl'ekéanaako
75 tshéča n/g'wakwei', kwa /aa
76 hewé tlãa tlá'ts'a. Hía iyẽ kwaai'
77 kwa tshéé míaχẽnka k'óso. Kwa hlé'
78 mía kõa'ána danda ts'éχa'[11] tíkinats'i bakiwa.
79 Kwa ka': "Ay', héuna hikíkea ko' hísi iye?"
80 Kwa tl'esča /hime héu /ũee zanga:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

81 Ka':

Tsirí tshéé mía naane
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

82 Kwa //ó'tshe tl'esča kõs'a hloomaa
83 /aa tlãts'a tlã'. Hía kwaã iyẽ
84 hík'i kwa tshéé mía híngeχẽ
85 hengeχẽ'ka k'óso hle' mía kõa'ána títea tíkinats'i.
86 "Íi," kwa ka': "Hlečna héuna swési !'oowekáts'e ts'enes'?"
87 Kwa tl'esé iya /hime:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

88 Kwaχ ka':

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

89 Tl'esča /á'g'[12] tlá tla'ts'a
90 kwa hewé kwá' iyẽgi kwa hewé
91 χó'so tshéé héngeχẽ'ka hlee nús'aà

---

11 kõa'ána danda ts'éχe: five and another one. The Sandawe use a quinary system of numerals: they count the five fingers of one hand and the numbers beyond are five-and-one, five-and-two etc. Beyond thirty the system becomes

74 And with lightning speed he slithered out, in a great fury
75 because of the heads which had been cut off, and he came
76 and he crashed into the door. When he was recoiling
77 [One-eye] lopped off another hundred heads. And now
78 [only] six hundred remained left over.[11]
79 And he said: "Ay, this one, how come that he is like that?"
80 And once more sang he with the bad eye:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

81 [The snake] replied:

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

82 And from there, once more, again he picked [himself] up
83 and came crashing into the door. While he was recoiling
84 and going, then [One-eye] lopped off another so many
85 additional hundred heads, and now only five hundred remained.
86 "Oh!" And he said: "What is this then now what has met me?"
87 And again [One-eye] was singing:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

88 And [the snake] countered:

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

89 And again he came strongly,[12] and crashed into the door
90 and when he was then on his return, this one [One-eye]
91 chopped off another so many heads and now [only] half

---

cumbersome to use and Swahili numerals are employed.

12 /á'a': This is /á, 'he came' with a heavily stressed vowel ejection after a glottal stop. The stress is reflected in the meaning.

92 bák'. Kwa ka': "Ibíi, héuna hís'i n/omése héu
93 haw~es' !'òòwékats'e?" Hle' ts'ésaki
94 //'ék'a tite. Kwa ka': "Ay héu
95 n/oots'igéa swe." /hime:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

96 Kwa !'úma tinka.[13] Kwa ngúvu'Inga /hime:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

97 Kwaχ ka':[14]

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

98 Kwa /hime tl'eséa:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

99 Kwaχ ka':

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

100 //ó'tshea fiífi /áa', tlá' kwaa'
101 tshéé míaχe hingeχênka k'óso. Kwa'í
102 sóm'kiχ titea' bák'wa. Kwa ka': "Hambékina
103 swesi? Éh n/oo'ts'egéa." //'ek'ats'a hlee
104 ts'áá tlee. Kwaχ ka': "Aywéé,
105 héuna swesi' téhla n/oots'igéa," 'mbo héu,
106 "Tshèèkíges'." Kwaχ /hime hau /~ee zangá:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

---

13 Lit.: 'the country [was] cool'. Sandawe idiom for dead silence.

92 remained. And he said: "Woe! what sort of a person is
93 this then whom I have met like that?" Now even the water
94 was only blood. And he said: "Ay, this is
95 quite frightening now." And [One-eye] sang:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

96 And it remained silent.[13] And with force [One-eye] sang:

You snake! hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

97 And [the snake] replied:[14]

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

98 And [One-eye] sang once more:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

99 And [the snake] replied [softly]:

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

100 From there, hissing he came, crashed, and recoiled
101 and another hundred heards were lopped off. And it was that
102 only three [hundred] remained. And he asked: "Where is he
103 then now? Eh, it does worry me." The blood now
104 filled [all] the water. And the snake cried: "Oh woe!
105 isn't this now altogether frightening," said he,
106 "I am finished." And he sang, that one with the bad eye:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

---

14 The snake's song is rendered slowly and softly to show its diminished strength.

107 - "Tú'ko," kwa !'úma tínka, kwa ka':

108 -

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

109 Kwa ka':

Tsirí thséé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

110 Tl'eséa /hime:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

111 Kwa ka':[15]

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

112 !'ókonaats'e tl'eséa ém'fasaís':[16]

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

113 Kwa ka':

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

114 //ó'tshea fáaà /áa tláts'a

115 tláã. Kwa tshééxẽ hengexéka hlee

---

15 The song is sung in a quivering voice. The snake's song gets gradually weaker as One-eye's song is sung with ever more force to induce the snake to carry on with the struggle till the end. At this stage of the tale the delivery of the songs has become all-important; it is the principal means to convey the length and the bitterness of the struggle. Repetition of the songs increases: One-eye has to repeat his singing challenge to make the snake go on. The function of the text has become virtually secondary to the mode of delivery and repetition.

107 - "Come out!", but it remained quiet, and he sang [more
108 forcefully]:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

109 And he, [the snake], replied [weakly]:

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

110 Once more [One-eye] sang [very forcefully]:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

111 And [the snake] replied [in a quivering voice]:[15]

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

112 And he added once more to this with emphasis:[16]

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

113 And [the snake] replied:

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

114 And from there he came, hissing, and he crashed into the
115 door. And another [hundred] heads were carried off and now

---

16 ém'fasaís': The storyteller thought that this was a good Sandawe word, and he set out to prove it. The component parts are: ém', 'to agree' as in em'se,'to agree' and in (e)m'bo, to say; fa,'to make an utterance with unpleasant insistence', as in the hiss of a snake,(cf. line 65), and in faré,'to lie'; se,'having'; I, that by means of which it is had; and -s', the first person singular (see the table of person-denoting elements on p. 75). Thus the word reads ém'fasáís' rather than em'fasaís', and its meaning would be 'to insist in a somewhat unpleasant way.' Other informants, however, agree that this is not a proper Sandawe word.

116 mía kísoχ titea tíkinats'i kwaχ ka': "Ɛ̃h. Hɛ́una
117 χáges /'ís'. Swési' !'óts'iges'."
118 Kwaχ /hime:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

119 Kwaχ !'úma tinka. Kwaχ tl'eséa /hime:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

120 Kwa ka':

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

121 -:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

122 -:

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

123 Kwa fífi /áá tláá' tla'ts'a, kwa
124 tshéé mía'íngeχɛ́nka' tó'ts'uke.
125 Hle' ts'éχe mía taχ; hewáa
126 úr'ka'ĩ hewé, kwa hía /íí
127 tó'ts'u'kwái bas' tlékea hewé
128 maíshakí. /hime tl'eséa, /úee ts'éχɛ̃:

Zokiá miambana,
matembe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

129 !'úma tinka.

Zokía miambana,
matembe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

130 ... phéka saã /'utshúkũ. Kwa

and only two hundred remained, and he said: "Eh! Now this is really bad for me, the snake. Now I am really done for." And [One-eye] sang:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

But it remained silent. He repeated:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And [the snake] replied:

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

[Once more One-eye sang]:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

[The feint reply came again]:

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

And he hissed, came, and crashed into the door, and [One-eye] carrying off another hundred heads, finished him. Now there were only one hundred; on that [hundred] he now depended very much, but when he came to be finished off, well then, he was sapped of life. He then sang once more, One-eye:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

It remained still.

You snake! hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

... until the hours passed. Then [the snake]

131 ts'oónto'ta'a ka':

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

132 Kis'ka:

Zokía miambana,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

133 - :

Tsirí tshéé mía naane,
matémbe surúka kólonga naa matembe.

134 /áa fifi tláa', kwa tshéé híngeχěka
135 tó'ts'úkwa kwa ka': "Áarakei
136 úriyoo hapú tl'ŭése n//we.[17] Sísóko //'eese."
137 Kwa tláanga hewéts'a hánga tataa'wa.
138 //'akáa hík'a χória n/èèia,
139 //ó'tshea /áa, hlawesukea,
140 /'ĭ tanésana /'ĭ tl'aakaté.
141 ... phíka kwa ó'a nìets'e. Tá'nga !'oka
142 ts'waánga n/eéa
143 hewéts'a héu, n/omósonaako hlá'tésexe
144 !'áe'!'as'a taχ ni' n/ĭχe. Kwa hewé
145 n/omóso hewé tots'éχěsŏsots'a baara tl'apé.
146 - "Aa, hángako híka iye?" N/omése hía kai',
147 kwaχ ka': "Ay, ií, //'ókenes'ná."
148 Hía kai' kwaχ ka': "Ay, ií,
149 //'ókenes'ná."
150 phéka n/omóso tsía tshèèkí. Hewéts'a'
151 hángaà. Hewéts'a' /'ĭnga síya //'e'ewayaa
152 kelembénga siya, hewéts'a' belékonga n/ŭia,[18]

---

17 The ultimate abuse of the dying snake. The strongest insults of the Sandawe are based on witchcraft accusations.

131 **replied with a tiny voice:**

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

132 [One-eye said]: "I repeat:

You snake, hundred-headed one,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

133 - :

Haven't I eight hundred heads,
the challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses.

134 He came hissing, and he crashed, and the remaining heads
135 were finished off and [the snake] said: "You are really
136 extremely powerful, you son of a witch.[17] Take me and skin
137 me." And he then, [One-eye], got up to unfasten the door.
138 He climbed down and went [away] to cut a hook, and
139 from there he came, he fastened [the wooden hook] properly,
140 and he began to pull the snake out [of the water], the snake,
141 ... until it then began to dawn. He finished pulling it out
142 and he then cut its tail,
143 and he went to all the people who had died [and who] were
144 lying everywhere, all the bodies. And he then,
145 he began to beat all those people who were his own brothers.
146 - "Aa, wake up, how is it?" Whenever a person got up,
147 [that person] said: "Ay, ow! How deeply asleep I must have
148 been." When [another] got up, he said: "Ay, ow!
149 How deeply asleep I must have been." [And he worked]
150 until he had finished [waking up] all the people. Then they
151 got up. Then they took the snake and skinned it,
152 and they took the skin, and they fashioned a carrying-sling

---

18 Beléko, also beréko, sometimes used for a kaross (cf. note 3, p.196), from the Swahili berenge, 'railway carriage' and Dutch brengen, to bring.

153 hewétsʼaʼ níʼa
154 iyeesu n//ó iyosŭ. Ŝa hewésa
155 n!ééʼĭʼsa pokéa iye hewésa n//oõsa
156 zanzuké.
157 Kwa hewétsʼa Gomosĭnga siĕ tórenga
158 mágwélánga Masagésŭʼĭnga tlaχŭ tlaχŭ. Ŝa hewésa
159 hau maʼalénsukia ísolisa siya
160 magwélánga n/omo n/omo kwa hewétsʼa tshèèkíke.[19]
161 Tshèèká.

Text No. 13. Told by Mr. Marama Songolo at Tsʼwinkírʼse.

1 N/oméau máχasa iyĕ waké.
2 Hetékaàsana nèè n/atíme saχ
3 íyĕ waké, taχ deétea nèè n/atime
4 humbaʼ túku saχ íyĕ waké.
5 Hlaé túku saχ íyĕ waké.
6 Phésa túku saχ íyĕ waké. Aà
7 kaʼ: "Swé hapú hi íyewayooiʼ, hó
8 labá sípoi tháso?"[1]
9 Paʼ áara n/oméšé Mehêntatshea i/í,[2] kána[3]

19 Lines 156-9 are a formal ending of the tale. The image of the finally crushed snake is consolidated by the use of another image in which objects are irrevocably shattered. See chapter IX, section 1.

1 We have seen that a woman's consistent refusal to get married is considered anomalous (cf. text No.11, note 1 on p. 183; also texts Nos. 140 and 164). This story brings home the fact that such behaviour will bring dire results. The reference to

153 [for the child] and then they went on their way
154 and they gave it to her, the child's mother. And she
155 was receiving it laughingly, and then she carried her child
156 on the back.
157 And then he, Gomosí, took the dish and he beat the
158 shinbone of Masagdsu to pieces. And she then,
159 this what-is-her-name took his bird-arrow and
160 broke his shinbone to pieces and then he too was finished.[19]
161 It is finished.

The Woman who married a Lion-man. Recorded July 1963.

1 A woman was refusing [to marry] a husband.
2 They [the men] kept coming for her to carry her off, but she
3 went on refusing, and many [suitors] were coming for her
4 and they brought cattle but she went on refusing them [all].
5 They offered goats but she kept refusing.
6 They offered money but she kept refusing. And [her relatives]
7 said: "Now if you go on staying like this, who will
8 in the long run give you his testicles?"[1]
9 And really, a man came from Somewhere,[2] perhaps[3]

---

reproductive organs is not unusual and there is nothing obscene about it. Similar expressions are used also among other peoples; Lienhardt, 1963, 87, shows us how the Dinka speak of 'bring us your vaginas'.

2 Mchenta: a term to indicate a far-away place the whereabouts of which are vague.

3 kama: Swahili, 'as if'.

10 Kiroosa !'úmatetshea i/í. I/íI
11 hlee n//ee n/omése hewáa siye.
12 //'ékũwa hláwesuke, aà kwaà
13 ní'. Pa ka': "Ní'sũ ts'áaná
14 !humgko noowe tsí khoo
15 úraa ítha. Aà !umá noowe débe kíeoxa
16 noowe !umé. Aà hánga ní'.
17 //'ó//'ɔ zakháta
18 //'ó//'ɔ nèè'wa zakháta.
19 Khookí !'cwésots'e. Swé ní'I
20 zakháta n//eei. Paa tũeeá
21 hánga héu n/omése. Nía hángai', pa ka':

Hawẽ n/inge, hawẽ bikes'?
Hawẽ n/inge, hawẽ bikes'?
Hawẽ n/inge, hawẽ bikes'?

22 íxa iyẽ n/ũeéwayoo hía n!ei pax n/omesóa
23 n/ũets'. Ax nèè ní'yoo hlee'
24 //'oots'a !umé tshèèkíwá'. Pa ka':
25 "Tsí /aníais'; tshuúkiwá !'inés'." Paa ára
26 /aníngа tl'aa n/étsna hik' tshuúwá wák'wawa,
27 xee'wa i/í. Hlee' hewéxets'a'

---

4 Kiroosa: the town of Kilosa in Usagara on the central railway. There are many sisal estates around the town; several of these have attracted Sandawe emigrant labourers. Kilosa is 'far away' but the name is well known because of the emigrants. 'Bad people' usually have their origins ascribed to such far-away places. Having rejected many good local people the girl is soon to discover that the stranger whom she has finally married is a bad character.

5 The stranger's go-betweens had properly arranged the marriage and brought bridewealth.

10 he came from somewhere in the land around Kilosa.[4] He came,
11 and then that man arrived and took her. And [his people]
12 settled properly the bridewealth for her, and they returned
13 and went.[5] And he said [to her]: "We shall go [to my] home,
14 grind [some] flour [for the journey], my home
15 is very far. And they ground flour,[6] two tins[7]
16 of flour they ground. And they got up and went.
17 They slept several times in the bush,
18 several times they remained to sleep in the bush.
19 But [his] house they did not encounter. And now they went
20 and entered a forest. And at night [while she slept] he
21 got up, this man. When he got up, he said:

Which one shall I eat, which one shall I leave?
Which one shall I eat, which one shall I leave?
Which one shall I eat, which one shall I leave?

22 Thus he went on doing [and] when it dawned he turned into
23 a human being.[9] And they went on going, and then
24 on the way the flour gave out. And [the husband] said:
25 "I have a bow; even animals I can hunt." And truly,
26 he took the bow, went into the bush and killed animals,
27 and he came [back] bringing them. And then all of them,

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6 The woman, helped by her sisters.

7 <u>deba</u>: a four-gallon tin, the standard commercial size in which fuel oils are sold. The empty tins are much in demand as household containers.

8 The husband wonders whether he should eat his wife or her brother. From line 29 it becomes clear that her brother accompanied the newly-weds. Sandawe custom demands that a brother (and if possible also a sister) go to the bridegroom's home to meet his family and to hand over presents at a greeting ceremony, cf. p. 46.

9 At night he was a lion.

28 tax n/ĩnĩ nĩ' tax yõõ. Sa hlee
29 n//ehlemasa imbo:[10] "Swéé héu n/omésee tshuúko
30 n/omésete'e. Tãeenĩ !'umeak'o /ĩ'wa'iéi?"
31 Pa ka': "Tsĩ manétshe //'õe'."
32 - "Manéapo?" - Pa ka': "Manétshe tsĩ,
33 //'õe'." Swé kúúsa te'eeweyoo //hatánasa hĩ/'akwe:[11]
34 "Swe hle' hĩa hángaaĩ'
35 /'ékũpos' pii /'angaapo." Gólobasi
36 //hátanasa kúú'sa te'éeweyoo hĩ/'aakwe.
37 Hĩsa hĩ/'aakwei', hĩa tũe
38 hángayoo mĩlata iyei:

Hawẽ n/inge, hawẽ bikes'?
Hawẽ n/inge, hawẽ bikes'?
Hawẽ n/inge, hawẽ bikes'?

39 Sa lolosé pa n//ahlenga /'eè. Hĩa
40 hlee kongo dóolai //ateúa iye mehém'kea.
41 Paa n!únga n!aa.[12] Paa hlée'
42 kwaa n//inc pax n!é. Phé tshuú
43 !'inoona hĩa hik'iĩ pa ka'ká': "Swé'na tsĩ
44 tũndu tlines'." - "Héngena?" - "A'é, tsĩ manasĩs',
45 tũndu tax tlinés'." Swe n//éwea
46 tũndu... tũndua tlineyoo, hĩa bógenga i/i'.
47 - "Héngena tũndu héu?" - Pa ka':
48 "N/I kawéeũ kĩtana."
49 Mèè tax tũndu. Tlineyoo pa
50 tleesé, phé hĩa weroona hik'i

---

10 Her brother travelled with them, see note 6 above.

11 There are many bark and fibre materials in the bush from which ropes can be twined. Anyone can quickly fabricate a good length of string.

they just ate, and then they just went on. She then told her brother:[10] "Now this person is an animal, he is not human." Have you watched him quietly at night?" He replied: "I do not know, I was asleep." - "Don't you know?" - He repeated: "I do not know, I was asleep." Now she fashioned a string and tied it to his leg,[11] [and she told her brother]: "Now then, when he gets up, I shall wake you so that you may see." In the evening she fashioned the string to his leg and tied it fast. When she had tied it fast, then at night [her husband] got up and stayed at the fireplace. [He said]:

Which one shall I eat, which one shall I leave?
Which one shall I eat, which one shall I leave?
Which one shall I eat, which one shall I leave?

She tugged [at the string] and her brother woke up. When then he raised [his head] slowly there was an enormous lion. And he caught his mouth [in fright].[12] And then he lay back again and it dawned. When the next day the animal went to hunt [the brother] spoke and said: "Now then I shall build a cage." [She asked]: "What for then?" - "Oh, I know, I'll just build a cage." Presently the boy built a cage,.. built a cage, until his brother-in-law came. - "What for then is this cage?" - And he said: "We shall put the meat [which you have hunted] into it." But the cage was very big. He went on building and he finished it, and the next day when he went for his walk,

---

12 The common Sandawe gesture of fright is to bring the right hand over the mouth, cupped, as if to hold one's breath , and stay motionless. This is called 'to catch one's mouth.'

51 pa ka': "Yayá swé nf'sũ kwaa ts'áaná,
52 héu túndu'Ĩ." - "Híki nf'sũ
53 héu túndu'Ĩ?" Pa ka': "Tsí manasís'."
54 Pa hlee' n//owea tũndutana n//ee. Hía n//eei'
55 pa hlee' dóola taχ íχa thãá ma'é,[13] pa /hime,
56 ka':

Pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,[14]
túndu pírimo, sogóri[15] tũaare túndu.[16]

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13 The storyteller indicates with his finger the way in which the boy runs around in the cage, anti-clockwise.

14 For the meaning of pírimo cf. text 8, note 3 (p. 162). The cage is moving like a whirlwind which rises up corkscrew-wise. The song is not just a fantasy which happens to occur in this tale; it has its base in the widespread Sandawe belief that the dustriders or funnel-shaped small tornadoes are instrumental in causing people to disappear if a male spirit called Hãba is met in the bush. They wander about in these dust tornadoes, and they are malicious spirits who kill and bring disaster. There is also a female Hãba who is beneficial. She protects from danger and bestows riches provided sacrifices are made to her every dry season. These sacrifices consist of seeds which must not be red, for the Hãba gives in return fertility to the seeds from which the crops of the next rainy season are to sprout, and she protects against danger and the spilling of blood. The inclusion of even one red seed in a sacrifice to her would cause disaster. The name Hãba has obvious connotations with fertility: the verb hãba means to give birth. We may now see that the visual manifestation of this spirit, the dust tornado (kũrambe) has two distinct qualities: aggressive and destructive (male), and protective and fertile (female). The cage which the boy has built can be identified with the female tornado which protects its inmates against the danger of the lion in the form of a womb, i.e. in the identity of the Hãba who gives birth etymologically.

Van de Kimmenade, 1954, 61, describes the spirits

51 he said: "Sister, now we shall go back home,
52 by means of this cage." - "How shall we go
53 by means of this cage?" He replied: "I know how."
54 And then the boy entered into the cage. When he had entered
55 then he just ran slowly round like this,[13] and he sang,
56 saying:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
swirl up then, high up, swirl up.[14]
Cage, swirl up like chaff,[15] carry us then, cage.[16]

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called Hâba as a luminous light which appears at night (the male spirit) and also as a woman who is carrying a child (the female spirit). Informants confirm that these are the shapes in which the Hâba spirits manifest themselves, or at least the most common forms in which they are seen, for there are also other forms. The dust tornado represents an instrument or a vehicle of the spirits rather than the spirits themselves.

The spirits appear at night at any place in the bush, and during the day in dust tornadoes. These have in common with the nocturnal bush that it is 'dark' in them: one has to shut the eyes to protect them from the swirling dust, and the Sandawe actually say that it is dark inside. The heroes of the tale use their cage during the day to flee from the lion's reach. At night they sleep in its protective womb on top of a baobab tree, the unclimbable tree on which the cage then settles down like a roosting bird. The woman's husband first begins to change into a lion at night; later he becomes a lion all the time (cf. line 76). In this form he is the very embodiment of Danger (cf. chapter X, the lion as a symbol). The cage within the protective dust tornado stands for the female protective womb (also discussed in chapter X).

15 Sogóri: the same word as sokora (with plosive k), 'to thresh', cf. text No. 12, line 68, in which the final vowel has changed to i; this is the vowel value of the Latin case, cf. p.75. Sokori or sogori thus means a general condition of threshing, when the chaff blows up high in the wind.

16 tûsara: cf. Swahili twaa (twala), 'to carry away'.

57 Saχ sa:

Pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
túndu pírimo, sogóri tŭaare túndu.

58 Hlee' taχ ó'a taχ dóla'yóoo, a //'akíka.

59 Pa //ó'tshea i/i'.

60 Pa ka': "Swé n/í kawásũ." Pa

61 ka': "Kawásũ. Phé kawásũ."

62 Hía //'ó paa n!éi, hía

63 !'inoona hik'i aà hlé' túndutana n//ee, hesó.

64 Hía n//eei' pa /hime, n//ahle, pa ka':

Pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
túndu pírimo, sogóri tŭaare túndu.

65 Saχ sa:

Pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
túndu pírimo, sogóri tŭaare túndu.

66 Hleé'na ma'ésa iyẽ. Ma'ésa iyẽ taχ yóoò

67 tl'úngusa n//ee. Sa hewé 'hik'

68 ts'aaná kwa' hlee. Kíta'a'

69 nèè /hime; paχ ka':

Pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
túndu pírimo, sogóri tŭaare túndu.

70 Saχ sa:

Pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
túndu pírimo, sogóri tŭaare túndu.

71 Taχ yóó aà n/atá gélena

72 //'ákime aà ó'a //'ó. Héukina hlee

57 And she said,[the bride, who was now also inside]:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
cage, swirl up like chaff, carry us then, cage.

58 Then they went just slowly round,nearby, until they came down.

59 And [the lion] came from there [where he had been hunting].

60 And he said: "Now we shall put the meat in it." [The brother]

61 replied: "We shall put it in. To-morrow we shall put it in."

62 When they had slept and it had dawned [and] when he [the lion]

63 went hunting then they entered into the cage, the other two.

64 When they had entered the brother sang, and he said:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
cage, swirl up like chaff, carry us then, cage.

65 And she sang:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
cage, swirl up like chaff, carry us then, cage.

66 Now then she was turning round. She just went on flying round

67 until she [the cage] entered into the sky. So she went

68 back home then. Inside it they

69 were singing; and he sang:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
cage, swirl up like chaff, carry us then, cage.

70 She added:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
cage, swirl up like chaff, carry us then, cage.

71 And they [flew] on and on until they came to alight on a

72 baobab tree, and there they slept. But the other one then

73 n/wets'a //atsúa iyaa hlee' iyaa thán'
74 !'úmats'a. Hía gélé'ts'a
75 //'akimo nèèi paχ hewékia
76 tshinánta //'ó. Tshuúa hémbets'a taχ
77 //atsúa, úte hosáa máχae méénáĩ.
78 N/omósosa iyẽ wakéts'ẽ. Kokáá'a iméwaà
79 taχ matl'ea butl'ísĩ, aà hángá. Paχ
80 /hime n//ahle:

Pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
túndu pírimo, sogóri tũaare túndu.

81 Saχ sa:

Pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
túndu pírimo, sogóri tũaare túndu.

82 Taχ yóóó, aχ //'akumé
83 gélé'na'. Gélé'na n/atí hía
84 n//ee //'akuméi, tũé hía //'akumei
85 paχ hewékia n//ee. Paχ kíta's iyẽ
86 haχ //atsú hewé e'éei. Taχ
87 //'aá'ĩ iyẽ ts'áaná. //'óyoo hía
88 n!ei kókoa imewai matl'éa butl'isĩ,
89 aχ húnga. Paχ báara /himenga:

Pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
túndu pírimo, sogóri tũaare túndu.

90 Saχ sa:

Pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
túndu pírimo, sogóri tũaare túndu.

was turning himself into a lion, and then he was running [after them] on the ground. When they had landed on the baobab tree they stayed there [high up in the tree], and he [the lion] slept at its foot. He was [now] just openly a lion, he whom they had loved before as a husband. [Other] men she had been refusing for him. When the cocks crowed and the first daylight became red they got up. And he sang, the brother:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
cage, swirl up like chaff, carry us then, cage.

And she [also] sang:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
cage, swirl up like chaff, carry us then, cage.

And they [flew] on and on, until they landed on [another] baobab tree. They came to the baobab and when they arrived and landed [on it], when they landed at night, then he [the lion] too arrived. And he stayed right at [its foot] and he was a lion at that time. He just went on following them home. They slept again, and when it dawned and the cocks crowed and the daybreak reddened, they got up. And [the brother] began to sing:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
cage, swirl up like chaff, carry us then, cage.

And she repeated:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
swirl up then, highup, swirl up,
cage, swirl up like chaff, carry us then, cage.

91 Íχiyoo aχ géléna //'akime.
92 Hía' //'akumei' paχ hewékia
93 n//ei kitá'a, haχ
94 a'é //atsú hewé haχ késa daíts'e'e.
95 Paχ ó'a //'ó aχ ó'a //'ó hesókia, phé
96 aχ hánga. Hlee'yoo taχ /hime hewé:

Pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
túndu pírimo, sogóri tũaare pírimo.

97 saχ sa:

Pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
túndu pírimo, sogóri tũaare pírimo.

98 saχ sa:

Pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
túndu pírimo, sogóri tũaare pírimo.

99 - :

Pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
pírimo na yeéeè pírimo,
túndu pírimo, sogóri tũaare pírimo.

100 Taχ yóóó hlée' ts'aakũ kúmbuts'.
101 Pa hlee' zakháta hía i/Ĩ n//eei
102 pa n/wets' n/omésea. A ka':
103 "!hám'kwera. Hóts'aa //'akí kumbuts'?"
104 Hía tú'yooi hlee' n/omóso utáaχe
105 hewéχea' nèè aà hlée
106 !'úmana //'akume. Hía //'akumei', - :
107 "Hós'na hlee pee íχ n/atí?" A'
108 ka': "Ah, !hám'kwe."
109 Paa hewékia n//ee; hlee'

Thus they [went] on and landed [once more] on a baobab.
When they ha d landed, then this one [the lion] too
arrived and sat right at [the tree's] foot, and he was
that lion as before, but he was unable to climb up.
And here he slept and here they slept too, and the next day
they got up. And now again, then he [the brother] sang:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
cage, swirl up like chaff, carry us then, cage.

and she repeated:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
cage, swirl up like chaff, carry us then, cage.

and she went on:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
cage, swirl up like chaff, carry us then, cage.

[And they went on singing]:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
cage, swirl up like chaff, carry us then, cage.

Until finally now [they arrived] at home on the roof.
And then, when he [the lion] came to the forest and entered it,
he turned into a man. [At home the relatives] said:
"Be quiet then. What then has landed on the roof?"
When they went out, then those people who had been
[lost] long ago, they were both there, and then they
got down unto the ground. When they had got down [the people
asked]: "Why then have you now then come like this?" And they
said: "Ah, be quiet," [and they listened to what happened
outside]. For he too, [the lion-husband] had arrived; now he

n/omesé̱a n/wé̱ts'a. A ka': "N//eeko, n//eeko",
pa hewé̱kia khooné̱ n//ee. Swé̱ hle' gólobasi
hadisíĩ hewé̱χea bóχêngа //'á'waàyoo:
"N/omése hé̱u kimba χá'se naa kimbá //atsú,
n/omése //atsúa n/wets'ĩ. Χésũ
hik'iĩ ka':

Hó n/inge, hó bikés'?
Hó n/inge, hó bikés'?

pa swé̱ n//ooá makawá' iyẽ tũndua kímeyoo
po swé̱ tũndu hewé̱'ingo n/atí ó n//ee.
Úte hewé̱ts'e'wà'áà hlatékéonaako."
- "Bás'," aà swé̱'na:
"Hikísũ?" A' ka': "Swéẽ
!'wà'kwe mehém'ke tũáá, phére ti'iwáakwe
mukéχki." Aa swéa !'waà tũaayóó.
Níĩ swé̱ mántsha n/in/úa níĩ ó'a
mukéka hemé.[17] Paa ó'na i/í hewé̱kia,
muké'kana haki'saãs'i pa hewé̱ tumbukía hlee.
Ó'a tl'onguméts'.
Bó tshèèkí'ő'ki ó'. Hewé̱ n/omése tlààsá.
Hleé ó'a bónkia tshèèkí.

Text No. 14. Told by Mr. Tlálo Máki Solá at Farkwa.

Útaa lóloó, n/omése n/umésũa sie. Hía sigi'
sa swé̱a nèèwayoo saa tl'abísosa !oowe.
Hísa tl'abísósa !'oowei' sa swésa iyewayoo
Habó n!es'í saa tshán tere'sa habáa. Paχ hewé̱
tshèèkí. Aχ nèè //'aa, saχ

---

17 muké'ka: Swahili mkeka, a plaited mat. Sandawe tradition-

had turned into a human. And they said: "Come in, come in,"
and he too, entered into the house. Now then in the evening
they [were all told] the story and they followed its words:
"This person was in fact bad and indeed he was a lion,
a human who turns into a lion. He took us away and
on the journey he said:

Whom shall I eat, whom shall I leave?
Whom shall I eat, whom shall I leave?

and then the boy, as a matter of fact, was making a cage,
and now we have come in that cage and arrived here.
Had it not been for that, we would have perished long ago."
- "Well then," they [the relatives] said then:
"What shall we do?" They said: "Now then,
dig out an enormous hole, and press down pointed pegs
[in its floor] and also spears." And then they dug the hole.
And then they prepared food and then, [over] that place they
spread a mat.[17] And he then, [the lion] came there to [the
food] and as he sat on the mat, then he sank in.
There he pierced himself [on the stakes in the pit].
The tale is also here ending, here. This person died.
Then here the discussion ends.

The Cripple who became a Handsome Youth. Recorded July 1963.

Long ago, a man took a wife. When he had taken her,
then they stayed for some time and she became pregnant.
When she had become pregnant, she then stayed for a time.
On the day of giving birth she bore a potsherd. And that
perished. And they followed on waiting, and she

---

ally use hides; pit-traps are used for catching large animals like lions.

6 tl'abísosa !'oowe. Yóo.., saχ kérem'sangasa habáa.
7 Kérem'sanga habáa aχ nèèwa,
8 nèèwa saχ kós' tl'abísosa !'oowe som'kíensa.
9 Haχ hewé hlak'asŭ, saχ dĭ n//okosa habáa.[1]
10 Aχ tá nèè hía
11 nèèyo hákaiensi' kós' tl'abísosa !'oowe.
12 Tl'abíso hewé hísa !'oowéi', kumbá hewé
13 n/omése kós' habáa. N/omése hewé hísa
14 habái' makáwa' //hatáeets'e.
15 Tl'ŭnki tshe'wa, //hatánki tlakíe
16 sáka'ĭnga weréwá'. //ó'a
17 khóo'ŏ'a béeba taχ hlee hía dóola ba'é ba'éi
18 ó'a weré maanáke tengé χe'a
19 taχ béeba. Swéa nèè tur'téwa tur'téwa
20 tur'téwa narágŭ n!g[2] swé
21 narágŭse hlak'e !'ŭma. Paa n!wamáã
22 !'oχŏ hik'iyoo khúruχea
23 paa thónga !'oowe.[3] Thõnta
24 hía k'eets'i paa swéa lalánga[4]
25 theea [/á'wa].[5] Hlee lalánga heweχéts'a n!wamá hík'iyo
26 paa lalánga siye. Hía
27 lalánganga n/o'owai paa heweχé'ĭnga

---

1 tl'abíso-sa !'oowa: Lit.: 'a stomach she got'. The succession of strange objects to which the woman gave birth serves to convey the image of a woman who has trouble in bearing children. Each object describes a different abortion. The potsherd is broken and useless. The watermelon signifies an empty womb. Stones are barren and lifeless. The eerieness of the description strongly suggests that the mother must have been bewitched. Successive stillbirths and abortions are certainly ascribed to witchcraft: there must be some reason or another for them to occur.

6 became [again] pregnant. Until.., she bore a watermelon.
7 She gave birth to the watermelon and then they stayed,
8 they stayed and once more she became pregnant for the third
9 time. And like that she was, and she gave birth to grind-
10 stones.[1] And then they stayed another time and as they
11 waited once again for the fourth time she became pregnant.
12 When she had got this pregnancy, indeed, this [woman]
13 at last gave birth to a human being. When she had borne
14 this human being, as a matter of fact, he had no legs.
15 And also hands he did not have, and his legs were absent
16 and he moved about on his chest. There then, here
17 near the house he then, when he had slowly grown a bit,
18 moved about here, that is to say, like a tortoise
19 and only nearby. Presently they were idling and idling
20 and idling [during] the days of famine[2] and now
21 the country was in a famished condition. And he just crept,
22 he went shuffling along on his buttocks like a tortoise
23 and he found his way to the black-soil plain.[3] In the plain,
24 when he turned his head, he now saw [some] white sorghum[4]
25 plants.[5] Then he went on creeping towards those sorghum
26 [plants] and he took the sorghum. When he
27 rubbed the sorghum fine then there were of all those

---

2 tur'tá, or turũtá: to pass the time talking. Since there is a famine on there is no harvesting to be done.

3 In the recorded text the storyteller says thõ'ta before he corrects it to thónga.

4 Lalanga (white sorghum) is the principal food staple, cf. p. 52. The few ears of sorghum which the cripple had found are a treasured possession because of the famine.

5 [/á'wa] has been added to the recorded text on the authority of the storyteller ('he saw', plural object).

28 lalangaχenki somíkíχ.[6] Swé hía iyẽ hík'i
29 paa //'ánga !'oowe. Ts'áána gwabá.
30 Swé n/omóso tsíaχe
31 ts'áa matoa' kékwa aà ní'.
32 Thámetsu té'su kíta kósusũ ka' hláwethesus'.
33 Saa hesú ka' n/omósosa waakéwa n!e tsía.
34 N/oméusũ hesũ //óá thámetsusũ //óá: Sitawálume.[7]
35 A swé aà nèèoi swé hía hesú wá'masaà
36 kékwai', ts'áa matoa hía'
37 tshééna' kaa kéi', aà swéa hesú dlu'ísa
38 matố siye, aa íχa wá'maasa
39 ímbo: "Swé ts'áako hawé ní'kõ
40 hewé n/omésẽ íye. Sa'sa ka':
41 "Tsí ts'áa hawés'ts'e'e, sekér'ko hétl'." //óá hewẽ
42 ka': Kalúnkaka.[8] Aà ka':
43 "Sekér'ko," ka': "Kalúnkaka, mèè ó' ka' béébana."
44 !'á'ã i/í. - "Tsí ka': Hawékwes'ts'e,"
45 aà ka': "Hawéko íye n/omése."
46 Sa'sa: "Hawés'ts'é' sĩ hótsome
47 hawékwẽtshĩ?" Paa swéa //'aki.
48 Hlee hesúkia matõsa siyẽ tshéénasa
49 pèè, ee kumba paa //'áana hía //'aki
50 pa swéa ts'èè. Hía ts'èèyóó
51 pa swéa χáχa kongo. Héesũ a'é

---

6 He rubbed the grains out of some of the ears of sorghum and ate them; after that, there were three left.

7 Sitawálume or sita'wálume: from the Bantu sitaki (I do not want) walume (men, or husbands).

8 Kalúnkaka: No reliable etymology has been found, but the name has been described as 'He is like an inse nongolo',

sorghum [stalks] just three.[6] Now, when he went on going he happened to [come to] the well. He thirsted for water. Now all the people [who had been drawing water there] pulled up their water gourds and went [away]. Among them there was a woman, say, a beautiful one. And she, they say, she refused men [suitors] every day. This person's name, this woman's name was: Sitawálume.[7] And then, as they waited, now when her companions climbed up [out of the well to go home], when they placed their gourds on their heads, they then left her behind while she took her gourd [to fill it], and her companions spoke thus [to her]: "Now you go and draw water and give [some] to this person." She, she said [to the cripple]: "I won't draw water, you move over there." His name was, they say, Kalúnkaka.[8] They [the others now also] said: "Move up," they said, "Kalúnkaka, do not come near here." But he came approaching [her]. - "I say I won't draw him [water]," but [the others] said: "Draw and give it the man." But she said: "I won't draw [water], why don't you draw it for him?" And now he descended [into the well]. Then she, on her part, took her gourd and placed it on her head, yes indeed, and when he had descended into the well, then he drank. When he had drunk his fill he straightened himself up with difficulty. She then, this

---

which is a wood-boring grub. Possibly kalúnkaka is a hybrid of kalũsa (intestinal worm) and kalankoko (a small, flat beetle, about half an inch in length which moved about rather jerkily and plays dead when touched. For this reason children use it as a plaything. There appears to be no animal or object which is called kalúnkaka like the name of the cripple.

52 Sitawálumesu[9] saa kumbá hexwe
53 lalánga som'kíχ χē'sa tl'aa,
54 minzóósa iye. Swé hía kítatshea hángai
55 lalánga té n/ométo
56 héu hĭχwe tl'aásа pa ka':
57 "Lalánga tsí'wai hákŭ?" A' swéa wá'masa:
58 "Éeè Sitawálume, a'é híona ĕmboi'
59 hé'wi tshá'ne lalánga tl'aa? Ts'áa hawé'ŏki
60 ís'kwegi swé hé'wi tl'aa? Pa ka':
61 "Tsí lalánga héu ts'éχenki n!aas'ts'e, héu
62 kísoχenki tl'aako.[10] Saa hík'
63 heaó ts'aanasa paχ ó'a /hime //'aa:

Tóndo za kutoola,
tshá walume, tshá walume.

64 ka':

Lúngu tshángu,
tshá walume, tshá walume.
Tóndo za kutoola,
tshá walume, tshá walume.

65 Aχ ka': "Éeè Sitawálume, /ántsipone?
66 Swé a'é hío ĕmboi': híki swé

---

9 Sitawalume-su: the feminine -su suffix in the Sandawe text cannot be rendered in translation; it shows that the name is understood as 'She who refuses men'. The fact that the Bantu sita(ki) means 'I do not want' (first person singular) does not disturb the Sandawe to whom the niceties of Bantu grammar are quite meaningless.

10 The point is that Sitawálume has taken a precious thing off him. Her friends see this as her acceptance of a gift, and they make this clear in lines 59 and 60. When a girl accepts a gift from a man and this becomes public knowledge, it is explained as her assent to marriage, cf. p.41. Kalúnkaka thus establishes his claim on her.

52 Sitawálume,[9] indeed she took all these three [ears of]
53 sorghum, she took them and carried [them off], and
54 she went on her way. Now when she emerged from inside [the
55 well] the other sorghums which had been crushed [were there],
56 but the remaining ones she had taken and he asked:
57 "Where are my sorghums?" And then her companions said:
58 "Ooh Sitawálume, this one whom we spoke to before,
59 why have you taken the sorghum from him? To draw water for
60 him you refused, now why have you taken it?" And he said:
61 "I won't even take back one of these sorghums, these
62 other two, take them too.[10] She [Sitawálume] went to
63 her home and he, singing, he followed her there:

The fruits which have been given are
of your husband, of your husband.

64 He went on:

The ear of sorghum is mine,
of your husband, of your husband.
The fruits which have been given are
of your husband, of your husband.[11]

65 And [her friends] said: "Ooh, Sitawálume, can't you see?
66 Now, already in the past we have said: how is it, do you

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11 The song is made up entirely of Bátu elements. Sandawe disregard for Bantu class prefixes shows up clearly.
lúngu: cf. Gogo lulugu (cf. Claus, 1911, 17) = lalanga, white sorghum.
tsháŋgu: cf. Swahili changu, 'mine'. The possessive pronoun -angu with ki-class prefix ki-angu = changu.
tsha: cf. Swahili cha, 'of'. This is -a, 'of', with ki-class prefix ki-a = cha.
walume: from Bantu -ume or -lume, 'male' with plural wa- prefix.
tóndo za kutoola; cf. Swahili ma-tunda ya ku-to(l)a, 'the fruits for taking out', i.e. the fruits which have been given.

67 /ánge, paa héu swé ma'ale //'aapoga; hewé'na
68 χeapo." Aχ taχ nèè ni',
69 χa /hime //'aa'ĩ:

Tóndo za kutoola,
tshá walume, tshá walume.
Lúngu tshángu,
tshá walume, tshá walume.
Tóndo za kutoola,
tshá walume, tshá walume.

70 Aχ wá'ma ka': "Sitawálume /ântsiponeko?
71 Swé a'é hío ĕmboi' iswé'na
72 swé nèège. Xéekwa hik' hewé n/omése sĩ ts'áana.
73 Paχ ka':

Tóndo za kutoola,
tshá walume, tshá walume.
Lúngu tshángu,
tshá walume, tshá walume.
Tóndo za kutoola,
tshá walume, tshá walume.

74 phákasa Sitawálume hesó ts'áakŭsa n//ee,[12] paχ hewékia
75 ó'a n//èè. Hlee íχa nèè n/weki:
76 Ó'a iyẽ surúta /hime, a ka':
77 "Sitawálume íyeko. Laláng hĩ tl'aai'
78 há'kwi kàá?"[13] Pa ka':[14]
79 "Lààle háku tl'aas'ko?"
80 "Tsí laláng a'é sĩetshèègas'. Ó'os' //'antás'
81 bíkime." Paχ iyẽ surúta paχ ka':

Tóndo za kutoola,
tshá walume, tshá walume.

---

12 Lit.: their home, i.e. of Sitawálume and her family. The term hesó (their) no doubt also refers to some of her companions. Water-drawing is a social occasion where women of several households meet to exchange gossip. The women and girls of one homestead go there together, for many gourds have to be filled. All go,

see now, and now this what-not is following you; this one
you will have to take." And they went on going [on their
way home], and he sang, following all the time:

The fruits which have been given are
of your husband, of your husband.
The ear of sorghum is mine,
of your husband, of your husband.
The fruits which have been given are
of your husband, of your husband.

And her companions said: "Sitawálume, haven't you seen then?
Now, as we have said in the past, and now then,
now here he is. Go and take him, this person, to your home.
And [the cripple] went on:

The fruits which have been given are
of your husband, of your husband.
The ear of sorghum is mine,
of your husband, of your husband.
The fruits which have been given are
of your husband, of your husband.

until she, Sitawálume, arrived at her home[12] and he too
entered there. Then they went on acting like this.
There by the wall he remained, singing, and they [all] said:
"Sitawálume, give him [his due]. When you took the sorghum,
where did you put it?"[13] And she said:[14]
"Oh dear, where shall I then take him?" [And then she added]:
"I did not take that sorghum. There at the well
I left it for him." But he stood by the wall and repeated:

The fruits which have been given are
of your husband, of your husband.

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for no-one would like to miss this social contact with others.

13 Sitawalume has eaten the sorghum. In doing so she has irrevocably accepted it.

14 Pa ka' is a mistake; the storyteller should have said sa'sa or sax sa ('and she said'). Pa ka' is 'he said'.

Lúngu tsháŋgu
tshá walume, tshá walume.
Tóndo za kutoola
tshá walume, tshá walume.

Aχ hlee' mésuχà': "Tsháwalume f'wako,[15]
hewé ma'alé. Swé'na hóbe ts'ots'a
wák'apo pii tshá'me lalánga tl'aa,
nii mántshawa nii swé híkipo?
Héu hlak'èé háků χẽ hik'po?"
Aà lalánga ní'a n//wé'wa somĩkíχa
n/atáa í'iwa,
wá'á n//ume hiká[16] pa ka':
"//'weés'ts'e'e tsĩ." - :

Tóndo za kutoola
tshá walume, tshá walume.
Lúngu tsháŋgu,
tshá walume, tshá walume.
Tóndo za kutoola
tshá walume, tshá walume.

"Tsháwalume swe' hikísũna?[17] Hisí
lalánga heweχeégo n//we'éwa f'wa paa ís'.
Íyo, swé hikíts'e? Hewéna swé
utáatshèèpo hi iyẽ wak'éyoi'
hewénaako swé héu hapáa méénai
hewénaako swé hapú méχae? Hikísũna?"
Hlee n/atáa khoona n//ee taχ
ó'a iyẽ /hime. Íχa iyẽ surúts'a
pháka saa hesú darímonasa hik',[18] paχ tá

---

15 The mother calls Kalúnkaka 'Tsháwalume' after his song. If the first syllable is taken to be tsháá, the Sandawe 'it is I who(se)', the meaning becomes 'it is I whose husband he is', i.e. the mother tells Sitawálume that she is indeed his, whether she likes it or not.

The ear of sorghum is mine,
of your husband, of your husband.
The fruits which have been given are
of your husband, of your husband.

And then her mother said: "Give Tsháwalume his things,[15]
this what-not. Now then, what sort of hunger has
killed you[r sense] so that you take sorghum from
someone, and you eat it, and now what will you do?
Since it is like this, where are you going to take him?"
And [other members of the family] went to cut three ears
of sorghum and they came and gave them to him,
but he stood there, and shrugged his shoulder[16] and said:
"I won't be tried [by them], I won't." [And he insisted]:

The fruits which have been given are
of your husband, of your husband.
The ear of sorghum is mine,
of your husband, of your husband.
The fruits which have been given are
of your husband, of your husband.

"Tsháwalume, what shall we do now?[17] Now then we have
cut off these sorghums and given them to him but he refuses.
Mother! what to do now? Now, is it not like this,
since you have been refusing [suitors] since long,
that this one here now, he whom it is that you love,
isn't he then now to be your husband? What shall we do?"
Then they came to the house and entered, but he just
remained there singing. Like that he waited by the wall
until the hour when she went to her bedroom,[18] at that moment

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16 Sandawe shrug one shoulder only.

17 This is not clear. Possibly the storyteller means: "About Tsháwalume, what shall we do now?"

18 darímo: the hut of the unmarried girls.

100 /himẽ //'aa ɔ'a. Su'náasa iye[19]

101 paχ ís'. Paχ ka':

Tóndo za kutoola
tshá walume, tshá walume.
Lúngu tsháŋgu,
tshá walume, tshá walume.
Tóndo za kutoola
tshá walume, tshá walume.

102 Hleé'yoo pháka saa Tsháwalume

103 khoonása n//ee aà núa χǒantéa

104 tshán tereʦ'a f'wa,[20] pa

105 tshán tereʦ'a mántsha. Pa //'ɔ. Pa

106 taχ iyẽ /hime:

Lúngu tsháŋgu,
tshá walume, tshá walume.
Tóndo za kutoola
tshá walume, tshá walume.

107 Iswéna n!g kísoχa tshèèkí, som'kíẽnts'i'

108 Tsháwalumena swé kumba gólobasi tṹsi' hía hángai'

109 kumba k'átl'a kwaáʦ'e paχ hewé swé síyaa

110 hewé habé'ínga k'waak'wa. Hía k'waak'ái'

111 hleé'na k'aré hlawekétshee'e.[21] Hleena

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19 This is an insult, for aí'na is a small hide for sitting on; too small for sleeping. A sleeping hide is called ʦ'adé.

20 This is another insult. A man is given a proper bowl of porridge together with a small dish for vegetables.

21 The man was born deformed because of witchcraft or sorcery, cf. note 1 (p.229). Sorcerer's medicine is often thought to be hidden in the roof. The flat roofs of Sandawe houses are the most likely hiding places: the main beams are overlaid crosswise with many parallel rafter poles and these are overlaid with a dense row of battens which are covered with grass. Termite earth covers it all. From an old roof bits of bark, grass and earth come down regularly. At times of misfortune

he followed her there, singing. She gave him a piece of hide [to sleep on] but he refused.[19] He said:

The fruits which have been given are
of your husband, of your husband.
The ear of sorghum is mine,
of your husband, of your husband.
The fruits which have been given are
of your husband, of your husband.

And then afterwards she and Tsháwalume
entered the house and they cooked porridge,
and she gave him [his food] on a potsherd,[20] and he
ate from the potsherd. And he [went to] sleep. But he
just went on singing:

The ear of sorghum is mine,
of your husband, of your husband.
The fruits which have been given are
of your husband, of your husband.

Now then when two days had passed, then on the third,
indeed during the long night, Tsháwalume then, he got up,
and indeed rubbish fell on him, and presently he took
his covering skin and threw it off. When he had thrown it
off he became at once a handsome youth.[21] And now

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some of this may be recognized as sorcerers' medicine which must have been hidden there by an ill-wisher. In this story similar rubbish with medicinal powers falls on Kalúnkaka; it breaks the spell which had bewitched him and made him a cripple.

In tales, not only Sandawe, ugly features often peel off like snake skins (cf. chapter IX). Here the 'ugly skin' is referred to as habé; this is the skin in which babies are carried on their mothers' backs. The habé is therefore a temporary garment which a child will grow out of eventually. Kalúnkaka is here shedding his 'ugly skin' just as a child sheds its birth-skin, the habé. He emerges from it as a handsome youth, free from the ugliness which had covered him so far. In lines 149 and 150 the girl's relatives confirm this when they say that the young man had until then been going about covered in rubbish.

112 Sitawálume méénasa. Bás' sa phó
113 tho'súkümgsa ímbo, tho'ósükia: "Máama,
114 i/ík'o ts'aakú //'ó." Swéna tho'osüa i/í.
115 Hlee /hímekina wasáanga
116 hlee' n/omésênts'a' nèè /'eei.
117 Aa swéa hlée tho'osúkümgsa ímbo aà kumbe
118 hets'éχ'mea, n//ahléχ'mea ímbo, aà
119 ban'a' tuáayo. Ban'ínga ba'é aà //'í'a !heweyóó,
120 //'í'a' tlèesé. Swé góbasí hlee'
121 tüée hía' khoona' n//ee //'ósanai'
122 /'éewasisaà thó'suki nèèyoo, a sía'
123 hewé habé'e χé //'í'na.
124 //'ínga hlee' !hó, !ho, !hò. Hlee hía
125 kítatshe'a ts'oki aa hlé n!aa
126 paa íyẽ k'ak'as'ki
127 humba n/wéts'. Aà n!ánkb, paa
128 díinga n/wéts'. Aà n!ánk'o paa
129 thééa n/wéts'. A' n!ánk'o paa
130 kítongea n/wéts', a' n!ánk'o
131 paa twía n/wéts' a' n!ánk'o
132 paa n/waá n/wéts' aà n!ánk'o.
133 Hlee' íχ n!áa'wasãs'i' bás'
134 pa ka': "Ah, swé bás' tléa. Swé
135 tshèèká. Swé tl'esé bó'sís'ts'e.
136 Swé bás' hía hlak'gi swe'na
137 tshèèká. Tléa swé wéézase;
138 bás' swé tshèèká.[22]
139 A swéa hlee hewéts'a gitl'a íye !'ánéa;

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22 The storyteller states that had the young man not been caught by the others, he would have jumped into the fire, after his skin, or else he would

112 Sitawdiume loved him. Well then, the next day she
113 told her sister, and to her sister [she said]: "Friend,
114 come to sleep at my home. And now the sister came.
115 And then the song had ended [as the man had gone to sleep]
116 and then they remained looking at the man.
117 And now, then they told their sisters and indeed
118 all their fathers, they told all their brothers, and they
119 dug a deep pit. When the pit became large they lit a fire
120 [in it], and they readied the fire. Now in the evening then,
121 at night, when they entered the house and went to sleep,
122 they remained awake with their sister, and they took
123 his covering skin and carried it into the fire.
124 The fire then crack, crack, crackled. Then, when he
125 jumped up from inside then they caught him
126 but he went on asking [about his old skin] and
127 he turned into a cow. They caught him firmly, but he
128 turned into a stone. They caught him firmly, but he
129 turned into a tree. They caught him firmly but he
130 turned into a storage bin, and they caught him firmly,
131 but he turned into a bird and they caught him firmly
132 but he turned into an elephant, and they caught him firmly.
133 Then, as they were holding him like this, well then,
134 he said: "Ah, now it is enough, finished. Now it
135 is all over. Now it is enough and I have nothing [more]
136 to say. Now, well then, if it is like that, then now it
137 is all finished. Enough, now [you] have overcome me;
138 well then, now it is finished."[22]
139 And now then he, his father-in-law gave him a cloth;

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have escaped. For this would have been the result of the medicine's action had it been allowed to complete undisturbed the changes which it had set in motion.

140 !'anékúmaa ǐmbo kwa gitl'á dlomóa
141 i/áa íye.
142 Khootátshè tú'tshè aà
143 dáma túke paa tl'únga la'adé'ǐ,
144 a' túke paa hõ!'oa la'adé'ǐ,
145 a' dáma tl'eséa túke paa
146 sákana tukoõ la'adé'ǐ,
147 bás' a' ka': "Swé tléa,
148 sũ !'anépo.[23] Kumba n/omésepo útaa
149 hláapo pfi k'átl'a'ǐngǐ
150 weré ma'é." Pa ka': "Swé wéézase
151 tléa.
152 Ó'a tshèèkí.

Text No. 15. Told by Mr. Hamís' Maganga at Farkwa.

1 Útaa n//oo thámes' n//ósŭ hláwesanki, aà
2 mésuχkia //'áana ní'wa ts'áans.
3 Mnyángale n/úmusu.[1] //ŏá Mnyangale //ŏáa
4 théé ahléé. Mnyángale n/úmusu, swé
5 n/úmusũs' Kidólo Mnyangale, ahléé.[2]
6 Swéõ n/omése hewé hláwesanki k'aré, pa

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23 The young man's refusal to come out is a show of reluctance to marry the girl who had at first despised him and treated him badly. His honour is bought off by the gifts of cattle, and followed by his gradual emergence.

1 Since she went to the well with her mother she was still staying at her parental home. Married women do this before childbirth, cf. p. 46.

they had told his father-in-law and he bought him a cloth and he came and gave it to him. [But the young man] did not come out of the house, and [the family] produced a heifer and he showed them a hand, and they produced [another head of cattle] and he showed them his face, and they produced for him one more heifer, and he came out as far as his chest and showed it to them, well then, and they said: "Now it is enough, you will be our son-in-law.[23] Really you were a very handsome person, even in the past, but you were going about [covered] in rubbish." And he said: "Now [you] have overcome me, it is enough."
Here [the story] is finished.

The Chief who stole a Poor Man's Wife. Recorded July 1963.

Once there was a young woman, a very pretty girl, and she went with her mother to the well for water. She was the wife of Mnyángale.[1] The name Mnyángale is the name of the candelabra tree, Mnyángale's wife, now she who was his wife was Kidólo Mnyángale, the candelabra tree.[2] Now then, this man [Mnyángale] was a handsome youth, and

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2 Ahléé is the Sandawe name for the Candelabra Euphorbia; this tree is called mlangali in Nyamwezi, a name which is identified by Burtt, 1936 (No.133), as Euphorbia bilocularis or the Greater Euphorbia. Mavangali is also heard; this variant is enunciated as Mnyángale by the present story-teller.
Kidólo is also Bantu, cf. Swahili kidole, finger. The branches of the candelabra tree point up like fingers.

swéa /'ǒwesũ. Hía
ts'áana ní'i pa swéa mũtém'a /ánge.
- "Hí̃ hapúna hó n/umusupo?" Sa ka':
"Mnyángale n/úmusus'." - "Ah, héu Mnyángale
makáasets'e, mas'kín' phóó. Bíri /'ánka n//inewa
misilentó'ts'a.[3] Newéki swé méénats'e?
Nó' tsí ts'áana. Mũto /'ánk' n//ínepo,
godóro /'anki, tshái ts'ɛ̀ɛ̀, mũkatéẽ, mẽtshéleẽ
thímeχpo, pi mántsha, n/íngi tówẽ,
hlɛ́ai n//ine. Héu hik'i n//ine !ênga
tl'iba'éwayoo. Mara'ésipaa i/i
ts'áana. Áh, newékina swẽ n/omése?"
Saχ sa: "Áh, ko hía aχái tsí
máχe, tsíko ní'sü.[4] Saχ ts'áasa hawé
saχ hik'. Phéyóó sáa hesó n/atíts'ents'
wetshayòò, sáa síts', hía' n/atí'
haχ kós' koose. - "N/úmesupo hapú úr'gi
hlawe. Nó' ts'áana." Saχ sa:
"Hik'is'ts'eko." - "Héu n/omése χáate
hewáa /'upo? Tshí̃ úris' hlawe.
Tsí ts'áakũki búre makáa mántshâki.
Tsí mẽtémũes'. Hláa n//inepo taχ." Swéa hlé'
síesũ. Héau Mnyángalẽnsũa χé̃
hik'iyoo Mẽtémenga. Newé ts'áákũa n//eeka.
Swé hía n//eekai' kitáa peekwe,
kitáa peekwe. Saa hákits'ĩ aà swé'a'

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3 **Bíri** or **bír'** is the traditional bed made of poles, cf. note 13 on p. 178. The construction is simple: two or three pairs of upright poles with forks at the top form the legs; two main beams are laid to rest in the forks, and the joists called **misilento** are laid across these main beams. Some hides serve

now he had married her. When they [all the women, including his wife] went to the water hole, then the headman saw her. - "Hey, you then, whose wife are you?" She said: "I am Mnyángale's wife." - "Ah, this Mnyángale has no wealth, he is a bare pauper. He speeps on a pole bed, on rough joists.[3] Now is he then [a man] to love? Let us go to my home. You will lie down on a pillow, [lie] on a mattress, drink tea, there will be bread, and rice I shall cook for you, and you will eat, have meat as relish, and you will sleep well. If you go to him to sleep your ribs will just be sore. You will come with markings [all over your body] to the water hole. Ah, now is he then a man?" She replied: Ah, although he may be imperfect, he is my husband, I must go now.[4] And she drew [her] water and went. The next day, at the time when they usually come, well let us say, at twelve o'clock, when they came he was again present. [He said]: "You woman, you are very beautiful. Let us go home." But she said:" "I really won't go." - "This very inadequate man, is it he who married you? I am very handsome. Also, at my home [all] things are free and so is food. I am the chief. You will just sleep well." And now then he took her. This Mnyángale's wife, he carried her off and he went, the chief. He already entered his home. And now, when he had entered he put down a stool for her, he put down a stool for her. She sat down, and now they

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as a mattress. Since the joists are rough poles the comfort is not great. In a majority of households the Swahili **kitanda**, a rope-sprung frame bed, has now replaced the **hírí** which is still found in the poorer homes.

4 **ní'sú**, **lit.**:'we are going'. The plural is sometimes used after **-ko** (urgency), showing a multiplicity of reasons for going.

33 kóka' tshínza, kwa hik'a tungúa dlomeš,
34 binzára dlomèè, tshánga /íkaa[5]
35 a' n/á'awaa, χõantékwee, mántshaa,
36 tlém'see. Swéa máχea /'ééoo
37 tshèèsu kwa //'akásũa tũé.
38 /'ééoo tshèèsu
39 kwa //'akásu tũé. - "Áh, héu n/omésũs' háku?"
40 //'ó paa n!è. Swéa
41 mokóndots'a //'aayoo //'ánta hík'a n//èè.
42 Hía hik'í n//èè ts'áá máto
43 nèè'wa hlee. - "H, héu n/omésũs' há'ntenasa
44 hik'i?" Swéa mokóndots'a //'aáyoo
45 mětému ts'áakũ. - "Ah, nina ó' tsí n/úmusu
46 mũtému /ítsu."
47 "Ah, hapú hós' thametsusipo
48 χátepǫmpokí'o." - "Hapúkina swé n/omésépo?
49 /ũeéki ba'éwase. Ah, hláakwe hétl'.
50 Mihé, thámetsu thámetsu thámetsu nèès'ge?
51 Tshéa siyẽ i/i. Hík'kokwa
52 hapú makéa pó'wa.[6] Hanéχ'ina
53 túkwa huntaa? Ts'éχentaχ héu hléa
54 /ũeé zánga hewé? Hewé'o haa //'í
55 né'enki tléna ts'éχe útaa inzá,
56 hewé' newékií halé'ts'ika? Bó'kwe tsí
57 po'o,[7] É'wako."
58 Hlaáya íye /ũeé zánganga
59 inzá tlaná ts'eχenga úta wá'ma

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5 These are luxury goods available in the shops at the trading centres. Onions are not grown by the Sandawe. Binzari is a ground condiment, a yellow powder for seasoning sauces. Tshan is ghee (boiled or clarified butter). These may be the multiple reasons referred to in line 20 (cf. note 4 above).

slaughtered a chicken, and he went and bought onions, and
he bought binzari, and he brought back boiled butter[5]
and they fried it, and she cooked for him, and they ate
and they finished. By now her husband was looking [for her,
but] she was not there, until the sun set,
and he was looking [for her, but] she was not there,
until the sun set. - "Ah, this wife, where is she?"
He [went to] sleep, and it dawned. Presently he
followed her footsteps, and so going he arrived at the well.
When he had gone and arrived [there] the water gourds
were still there. - "M! this wife, where has she
gone?" And now he followed the tracks as far as
the chief's home. - "Ah, is it here then why my wife
has not come, the chief!" [And he addressed the chief]:
"Ah, what are you, haven't you a wife, you who
are in wickedness?" - "And you then, now, are you a man?
You who have bulging eyes. Ah, be good and go away.
What is this [crying] 'my wife, my wife, my wife, she is here'
It is I who took her and [made her] come. You just go,
I shall give you your belongings.[6] How much then have you
paid at that time? Only that one goat,
that one with the green eye? And that one too, which lit
the fire, that sheep of the past with the one horn,
that one, are you proud of that one? Just speak up
so I may give them to you.[7] Take them."
And [the chief] gave him a goat which had a bad eye
and a sheep with one horn which it had once broken

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6 The bridewealth which Mnyángale had paid for his wife.

7 By offering to compensate Mnyángale for his bridewealth the chief proposes to marry his wife legally. For the one who lights the fire, cf. p.43.

60 //'ankio n//we'. Hewáa swé tl'aa
61 hík'. Hík'a ta'áakŭa n//èè. Hía
62 n//oei', kosegayóó: "Héu mŭtému
63 tsí n/ímusaa tex síye áara? //', dókoyó." Swéa
64 hánga iyé hík'iyoo kwáa
65 n//èè takhá hakíta':

Mnyángalóóye, Mnyángale,
Mnyángalóóye, Mnyángalée,
Nipe rízi yángu, Mnyángale,
Nipe rízi yángu, Mnyángale,
Ha' hé, Mnyángale.[8]

66 Sa thametsŭs'wa /hime khoots'aa iyé
67 kití /'ank'aa:

Dyóó tóóle Tembo,
Dyóó tóóle Tembo wáne,
Mgosi wáne,
Dyóó tóóle Tembo.[9]

68 - "Ah, hótso makáasé'o?
69 Héu rízinki. Hótso irízina?
70 Tŭkekŏ íye. Tsí deéte powa'és'."
71 Sax ihámŭ. Pax ka':

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8 The husband's song is entirely made up of Bantu elements. He addresses his wife as Mnyángale which is possibly short for Kidólo Mnyángale (see line 5); although the storyteller has told us that her husband's name is Mnyángale this is really the name of the wife, and the husband's name is Tembo which means 'Elephant'. After he had finished his story the storyteller agreed that he might have had his names mixed up at the beginning before he arrived at the part where the songs are sung. The wife's identity as Mnyángale becomes clear later when she turns into a candelabra tree. From the next song, and from line 74 we see that the husband's name is Tembo and not Mnyángale.

Rízi (or irízi, as in line 69) is protective medicine of the kind which is often worn on bead strings,

in a fight with a fellow [sheep]. And he now took them and went. He went until he arrived at home. When he had arrived he thought and thought: "So this chief has really taken my wife? Bah! just wait." And now he was getting up and he went and returned [to the chief's house], he arrived and sat down outside. [He then sang]:

Oh Mnyángale, Mnyángale,
Oh Mnyángale, Mnyángale,
Give me my amulet, Mnyángale,
Give me my amulet, Mnyángale,
Come on, Mnyángale.[8]

And she, the wife, sang while she was in the house sitting on a stool:

Come and get it, Elephant,
Come and get it, my Elephant,
Friend of mine,
Come and get it, Elephant.[9]

- "Ah, [the chief said], what kind of property has he? This amulet [business]! What sort of amulet is it then? Go out then and give it to him. I'll give you much [more] of it." But she was silent. And [her husband] sang:

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in elephant-hair bangles, or in necklaces, cf. Swahili hirizi,'charm, amulet' (Johnson, 1951, 134). The usual Sandawe term for medicine is mirigi.

9 The wife's song is also entirely Bantu. Kyoo is a corruption of the Swahili njoo, 'come'. Tóóle,'take out' or 'give' is from ku-to(l)a, cf. note 11 on p. 236. Tembo, 'Elephant' is Bantu but commonly understood by the Sandawe; it is the usual ritual name for an elephant. Since it is not used as a proper name but clearly understood as 'Elephant', the name has been so translated in the song. Mgosi is translated as 'friend' because this is the meaning which the storyteller attributes to it. However, cf. Swahili mkosi, 'a bad omen, bad luck' (Johnson 1951, 287); considering the end of the story this meaning would fit the situation rather well.

Mnyángalééye, Mnyángale,
Mnyángalééye, Mnyángaléc,
Nipe tûnda yángu, Mnyángale,
Nipe tûnda yángu, Mnyángale,
Ha' hé, Mnyángale.

72 - :

Dyôô tóóle Tembo,
Dyôô tóóle Tembo wâne,
Mgosi wâne,
Dyôô tóóle Tembo.

73 "Mgosi wâne" ka': hesú maxẽ, nii
74 máxe //ôá ka' Tembo.[10]
75 - "Án, f'wako. Swé'na hambe
76 wá'o?" Swésa túndasa túke, sa
77 íye, siye tûndanga, paa mûtûndatana
78 pee.[11] Pa /hime:

Mnyángalééye, Mnyángale,
Mnyángalééye, Mnyángaléc,
Nipe tûnda yángu, Mnyángale,
Nipe rízi yángu, Mnyángale,
Ha' hé, Mnyángale.

79 Swé'gasû: "E'e tûnda powe
80 hax hótso tûnda?" Pax ka':[12]

Dyôô tóóle Tembo,
Dyôô tóóle Tembo wâne,
Mgosi wâne,
Dyôô tóóle Tembo.

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10 Although the Sandawe are surrounded by some large Bantu tribes, Bantu words in songs are often not understood. As a rule the literal meaning of story songs is not perceived by the audience when the elements are Bantu. Here the storyteller finds it necessary to explain (rather than translate) Mgosi Wâne, and to tell his audience that Tembo is a man's name; without this explanation they might see in their imagination a physical elephant.

Oh Mnyángale, Mnyángale,
Oh Mnyángale, Mnyángale,
Give me my beads, Mnyángale,
Give me my beads, Mnyángale,
Come on, Mnyángale.

72 [And she replied]:

Come and get it, Elephant,
Come and get it, my Elephant,
Friend of mine,
Come and get it, Elephant.

73 "Friend of mine", they say, is her husband, and
74 the husband's name, they say, is Elephant.[10] [The chief
75 said]: "Ah, give him his [things]. Now then, where are
76 those things?" She then took out the beads and she
77 gave them to him, he took the beads and put them into [his]
78 box.[11] And he sang:

Oh Mnyángale, Mnyángale,
Oh Mnyángale, Mnyángale,
Give me my beads, Mnyángale,
Give me my amulet, Mnyángale,
Come on, Mnyángale.

79 She then said: "I have already given you your beads,
80 so what beads [do you want now]?" But she sang:[12]

Come and get it, Elephant,
Come and get it, my Elephant,
Friend of mine,
Come and get it, Elephant.

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11 The Sandawe make cylindrical boxes for personal belongings out of tree bark. The joints are stitched together with thin strips of bark fibre and any remaining narrow openings are plastered over with termite clay mixed with fat.

12 Pax ka' (he sang) in the vernacular text is a mistake of the storyteller; this should read sax sa (she sang).

81 - "Aχ, f'wako hesú makáá.[13]
82 Hótsona pii ma'ale mak'ó'o, tl'áakõ
83 f'wa." Paχ !hámũ.
84 - :

Mnyángalééye, Mnyángale,
Mnyángalééye, Mnyángale,
Nipe rízi yángu, Mnyángale,
Nipe rízi yángu, Mnyángale,
Ha' hé, Mnyángale.

85 - :

Dyóó tóóle Tembo,
Dyóó tóóle Tembo wáne,
Mgosi wáne,
Dyóó tóóle Tembo.

86 - "Áh, f'wa'ko'kó irízisũ,[14] hewé
87 irízina hánex swé'o?" Saχ ka':
88 "Éh, hapúka' marasípo? Zigídaga áare
89 hía ka' iyẽ: irízi, irízi, pfi
90 ká' hóbe?[15] Zigída hikí tu'kẽ
91 fyes'? Swé áare hle'
92 zigídas' tu'kẽ fyewa'..,
93 aare hlá́á hle', manáapo tsí
94 wawé?" Pa !hámũ mũtému,
95 thámetsunaako méénai'. Iye'si' ímbói
96 wa'ésũ iye. Paχ /hime zakhá iyéẽ:[16]

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13 hesú makáá (her properties) should read hewé makáá (his properties).

14 -ko means urgency, and with an additional -kó it indicates extreme anxiety. The meaning-value is as strong as 'for heaven's sake'.
Irízisũ: the word irízi, 'protective medicine', is given the female suffix -su in contempt.

- "Ach, [the chief said], give him his properties.[13]
Why then are you being troublesome in such a way. Take them
and give them to him." And he fell silent.
[But the husband sang]:

Oh Mnyángale, Mnyángale,
Oh Mnyángale, Mnyángale,
Give me my amulet, Mnyángale,
Give me my amulet, Mnyángale,
Come on, Mnyángale.

[And she replied]:

Come and get it, Elephant,
Come and get it, my Elephant,
Friend of mine,
Come and get it, Elephant.

- "Ah! oh give him then his amulet,[14] his
amulets then, how many are there then? She replied:
"Well, have you then [no] intelligence? He means my heart
when he is crying: amulet, amulet, and you,
what will you say [to that]?[15] How shall I take out my
heart and give it to him? Now really if I then
take out my heart and hand it over to him..,
will that then be all right, do you understand my
predicament?" And he was silent, the chief,
how did he love that woman! If he'd say [any more]
she would be making a fuss. And she who was inside, sang:[16]

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15 Like western Europeans the Sandawe believe that emotions, character and love reside in the heart.

16 Another inaccuracy of the storyteller: the vernacular text says: 'And he who was outside, sang' instead of 'And she who was inside, sang'.

Dyóó tóóle Tembo,
Dyóó tóóle Tembo wáne,
Mgosi wáne,
Dyóó tóóle Tembo.

97 Paχ Tembonga ka':

Mnyángalééye, Mnyángale,
Mnyángalééye, Mnyángalée,
Nipe rízi yángu, Mnyángale,
Nipe rízi yángu, Mnyángale,
Ha' hé, Mnyángale.

98 Saχ /hime khóotasa iye:

Dyóó tóóle Tembo,
Dyóó tóóle Tembo wáne,
Mgosi wáne,
Dyóó tóóle Tembo.

99 - "Ah, f'wako." Swé'sa zigídasa siye
100 sa tl'ũ'sa χee iye.
101 "Aare hlóai mũtému mééna héu taχ zigída
102 héu hlóai méénaà?" Pa ka':
103 "Ah, f'wako. Hewé zigída hótso'ò.
104 Íyeko." Saχ sa: "A'á iyes'ta'eko."
105 Paχ zakhá iyẽ /hime:

Mnyángalééye, Mnyángale,
Mnyángalééye, Mnyángalée,
Nipe rízi yángu, Mnyángale,
Nipe rízi yángu, Mnyángale,
Ha' hé, Mnyángale.

106 Téhlana k'ee iyẽ.

Dyóó tóóle Tembo..,

107 Hesúki tshaa téhla //'akí.

Dyóó tóóle Tembo,
Dyóó tóóle Tembo wáne,
Mgosi wáne,
Dyóó tóóle Tembo.

Come and get it, Elephant,
Come and get it, my Elephant,
Friend of mine,
Come and get it, Elephant.

97 And Elephant replied:

Oh Mnyángale, Mnyángale,
Oh Mnyángale, Mnyángale,
Give me my amulet, Mnyángale,
Give me my amulet, Mnyángale,
Come on, Mnyángale.

98 And she who was in the house, sang:

Come and get it, Elephant,
Come and get it, my Elephant,
Friend of mine,
Come and get it, Elephant.

99 - "Ah, give it to him." And now she took her heart
100 and she was holding it in her hand, [and she said]:
101 "Do you really love this well, chief, this heart here,
102 do you really want it all right?" And he replied:
103 "Ah, give it to him. This heart, what is its use?
104 Give it to him." And she said: "No, I could not give it
105 to him." But he who was outside, sang:

Oh Mnyángale, Mnyángale,
Oh Mnyángale, Mnyángale,
Give me my amulet, Mnyángale,
Give me my amulet, Mnyángale,
Come on, Mnyángale.

106 He then was completely weeping. [She began to reply]:

Come and get it, Elephant..,

107 And she too, her tears dropped abundantly.

Come and get it, Elephant,
Come and get it, my Elephant,
Friend of mine,
Come and get it, Elephant.

Irízisa taχ hísa tl'ú'nasa ǂyei',
pa swéa mũtúnduna hía ts'uka'éi', pa ka':
"Kwa héri Mnyángale."

Dyóó tóóle Tembo wáne
Mgosi wáne,
Mnyángale, kwa héri Mnyángale.[17]

Swéa hía hánga hik'i, hía taχ
hik'i ts'áakũa hía n//eei', hésu Mnyángalénsu
n/úmusũa Tembo n/úmusũa hánga
swésa áhléésa n/wéts'.
Báti khóosa wala'sé,
gorófako
ahlééa /'ó'eé n//ume.[18] Swéa mũtéma
k'wátaa swéa gómã tl'apé:
tì, tì, tì, tì tì tì ...
"Mũtému khóo'te hótsaa
χé, hótsaa χá, hótsaa χá?" Hía'
wá'a túi' ahlééa /'ó'ẽ n//ume mehém'kia.
- "Hós'na mũtému héu?"
Pa ka': "Temboa kumba
ahlééa !'améoo,
/'uwésũyoo sikís' n/omésu wanadámu,

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17 Having torn out her heart and handed it over to her husband, Mnyángale dies and her husband bids her farewell. The song describes her departure into death.

18 The Sandawe have no traditional chiefs, but their southern neighbours the Gogo have. The chief's house of the tale is one with a second floor and a tin roof; this is what the Sandawe of the bush believe an important chief must be living in. Residential houses are only known from the tales of people who have travelled far afield and who have been to towns. Within

And when she then gave him the amulet into his hand,
and when he then shut it into his box, he said:
"Good-bye, Mnyángale." [And she sobbed]:

Come and get it, my Elephant,
Friend of mine,
Mnyángale, good-bye Mnyángale.[17]

Now then, when he got up, he went away, and when he had
gone and arrived at home, she then, the Mnyángale
who was his wife, the wife of Elephant, got up
and now she changed into a candelabra tree.
She broke the tin-roofed house [of the chief by growing
through the roof] and where the storied [house] had been,
there stood a shady candelabra tree.[18] Now the chief
was frightened and now he beat the drum [to call up the
people]: tom, tom, tom, tom tom tom ...
[And the people wondered]: "At the chief's house, what is
wrong, what is wrong, what is wrong?" When they
came out hastily there stood an enormous shady candelabra
tree. "What then is the matter with the chief?"
And [the chief] said: "It is Elephant who indeed
has carved out a candelabra tree [into a woman],
and then he married her and I thought she was a human woman,

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the tribal area there are only two buildings with a second floor: the extended primary school at Kurio and the presbytery of the mission at Farkwa where the priests live. It is quite inconceivable that an ordinary Sandawe countryman could ever live in such a grandiose edifice which to him is an object of wonder and admiration. Marshall, 1962, reports that the !Kung Bushmen believe that God lives in a storied house with a tin roof.

127 hláwethesũ, síye paa iyẽ /himeyoo
128 thúndasa íyeẽ irízinkisá íye,
129 pa hánga hík' hewé ts'áakũa hía n//eei'
130 sa háué[19] hángã titi'ẽ ké
131 hísiyoo kwaa ahlééa /'ó'ẽ
132 n//ume.[20] Kimba ahlééa héu Tembo /'ùwe.
133 /ánge kimba wanadám' n/omóso ma'arifas' hewé
134 swé." Tsínge tleega ímbonki.
135 Tshêêkí'õ ó'.

---

19 háué: to wail like a hyena. Hyenas are thought to be the familiars of witches, and by using this term for the sobbing of the woman the chief implies that she was a witch.

20 In lines 117, 122 and 131 the tree is described as shady. After finishing his tale the storyteller commented that the tree had a large dark shadow. Shadows are associated with spirits, death and witchcraft, but the tree itself has the same significance.

The wood of the candelabra tree is extremely light and can be carved easily. A Sandawe victim of witchcraft uses it to make an effigy of the person whom he believes to be the witch, and then he will place it at the witch's door in the small hours so that the latter will see it first thing in the morning, and take fright. For an arrow is made to point at the chest of the carving, killing the witch in effigy.

Also for real witch-killing the candelabra tree serves as a medium. The witch will be lured to the foot of the tree which has been half cut through in advance; it is then made to fall on top of its victim, burying him alive in the bush. Without being given a proper burial the bodies of witches are thus left to be devoured by hyenas, their own familiars. The tree is also said to look like a ghost (léts'ima) in the darkness of night; its branches point up like long

a beautiful one; I took her but [her husband] kept singing,
and she gave him the beads, and she gave him the amulet,
and he got up and went to his home, and when he arrived
back she wailed like a hyena[19] and rose up with a rustling
noise and at the same time a shady candelabra tree stood
there.[20] Indeed, a candelabra tree this Elephant had married.
I [now] see indeed [why] human people are warned for this,
now."[21] As for me, my words are now finished.
The ending is here.

---

menacing fingers. Having no leaves but only succulent green branches set with thorns, this anomalous tree seems to assume eerie human shapes in the dark. The candelabra tree is thus thought of as the witches' tree par excellence, but it is associated with death in yet another sense. The sap of one variety, called dodó'ma, is extremely poisonous and forms the principal ingredient of Sandawe arrow poisons.

21 Informants have given further comments to this tale which boil down to the following: Since Elephant had carved the woman out of wood she was not a human being with her own rights and her own free will, but her husband's property like no woman can ever be. When a girl is given beads these become her own absolute property and a husband cannot demand them back in a divorce. Since Mpángale was Tembo's property her beads were his too; she only handed them back because she was an un-person. When she also handed over her heart she became completely de-humanized and all that remained was the wood of the original tree she had been made of. Quite significantly this was a witches' tree. Her act of giving her heart to her husband has therefore a significance which is quite different from the European idea of giving one's love or loyalty.

Text No. 16. - The Jealous Brother.

Recorded by Dempwolff, 4th May 1910. Translated from Dempwolff's text No. 54 (1916, 152-5).

[There were] two youths. The one youth's name was Ule, the other's was Lue. The youth [called] Ule was very handsome, but he, Lue, was ugly. Two very beautiful maidens turned up to conclude friendship.[1] When they had turned up, they asked: "All youths make [girls] beautiful, they tie beads [on them]; don't you bind them round the waist?"[2] When the maidens had turned up and posed the question, they [the youths] then both stood closely next to one another and asked: "Girls, which

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1 Dempwolff's text reads a wamo /nuia. This may mean either 'so they may make love' or 'so they may conclude friendship'. From what follows we may conclude that the second translation is to be preferred, cf. note 2 below. Dempwolff chooses the same translation (Freundschaft schliessen, 'to conclude friendship').

2 Girls obtain their bead-strings by receiving presents from their parents, visiting relatives, and from admiring youths as tokens of friendship. In this way they may collect a considerable bundle of strings in due course. Beads are also given in marriage proposals (cf. p. 41) and in lovers' situations. A bride who is not a virgin has to indicate who has taken her virginity (cf. p. 44). She proves the man's identity by producing the string of beads or any other small present he has given her on that occasion. Sandawe girls are taught that they must always secure a gift for their virginity; traditionally this is a string of beads.

When youths openly give beads to a girl during the day this is merely an acknowledgement of the girl's popularity or a sign of friendly respect. This is the case here. The significance of Sandawe bead symbolism is thus entirely dependent on its context. The transfer of an especially valuable set of beads, or of any other significant gift, would amount to a proposal, even if it is made openly and by day (cf. the gift of sorghum in text No. 14).

of us is the most handsome?" The girls said: "The most handsome is Ule, he is very handsome." [And Ule then asked]: "Is for you then Lue handsome or ugly?" [The girls replied]: "Wait until [other] girls have come." So they waited anxiously until the [other] girls had bound their beads around the waist, and came.[3] - "Who is the most handsome?" - "The handsome one is Ule, he is the most handsome." Lue was tired of it, ay! Each time when girls came, then next [they said that] Ule was the most handsome. He was really annoyed[4] [and thought]: "Wait, Ule, till I revenge [myself]." [Another day Ule said]: "Get up, Lue, let us go herding." And they went to herd. They found a well. The well was deep. [and] the water was far below.

---

3 When girls go out to a dance or to meet the boys they make themselves pretty by donning their beads. Even though they wear them around the loins the beads are plainly visible if a girl is dressed the traditional way. Nowadays loin beads are covered by the wearer's dress, but in the past the customary leather aprons only partly covered them. There were also special aprons in use which were made entirely of beads (xoxó sémbala, 'bead apron(s)'). Even men wore beads, cf. Fonck, 1894, 292; Baumann, 1894, 112, gives an illustration. A good bundle of beads is not only an ornament but also a status symbol because it suggests that the owner is a popular person. On festive occasions many bead strings are also worn around the neck. When a girl comes out of the seclusion of her initiation, or when a bride is taken out of her confinement, her family heap on her as many beads as they can find so that her wealth of beads may be admired by all and sundry. This not only serves to make the bride look beautiful and to present her as a popular person, but it also shows up to advantage the wealth of the family. Photo No.10 shows a girl in her finery after initiation.

4 Dempwolff's text gives tatarasevo. Tatara-se means 'having tiredness', i.e. 'being tired of something'. The suffix -vo intensifies the meaning to 'being fed-up'. Dempwolff translates Lue 'was furious' (war wütend).

They let down a long pole and put it up [firmly].[5] "Wait with drinking from this far-away deep-away water," Lue said. "Ule, wait, drink afterwards, wait so I may drink first." Lue drank first and climbed up [the pole, out of the well]. "Ule, go down then." And Ule went down. Lue [then] took that long pole out of there, and went to throw [it away]. Ule said: "How shall I climb up?" And Lue [replied]: "Each day when we went, the girls said: Ule is very handsome, Ule is the most handsome. Now I have had enough of it, I shall make you suffer." - "Oh woe, you make me suffer like that?" And [the other] said: "Yes." And he followed the cattle, and he killed a head of cattle, [saying]: "Oh yes, oh yes, I shall do this properly." And he took the skin and he placed it on top of the well as a cover, he applied it to the well's opening as a cover, he took pegs and he pegged down the sides [of the skin] properly; while he returned [to the well] he fastened them properly. He [then] got up and herded [the cattle] home, he herded on until he arrived at home. Ule's mother inquired: "Where is Ule?" - "No, no, I do not know, Ule has come ahead

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5 Ankermann, 1906, describes excavated pit wells in Turu (Rimi country, west of Sandawe); Fonck, 1894, mentions similar wells further east, and Koenig, 1952, describes the deep wells of Maasailand. Proper pit wells are usually less than three feet in diameter and they may be quite deep. Ankermann mentions 3/4 metres diameter and a depth of 14 1/2 metres, i.e. a diameter of approximately 2 1/2 feet by a depth of over 40 feet. Many of these wells date from before the arrival of the present inhabitants in the areas where the wells are found, and therefore they are often referred to in terms like 'the work of God' (e.g. Ankermann's Turu wells, cf. op.cit., 48). The Sandawe know how to make them and also some of the neighbouring peoples still construct them, e.g. the Gogo at Loje (cf. Rigby, 1964) although at the latter place the wells are of a shallow depth.

[of me], I do not know." The moon went down.[6] [Another day] he milked the cattle and herded them, and as he arrived at the well he came [there and called]:

Uleee, Ule!

The country remained silent. [Lue said]: "Oh Ule, who then went like every day [eliciting the girls' reply]: 'Ule is very handsome'? Now I have had enough. Ule, who then, who?" [And Ule sang in the well]:

You people, you people,
Now I must die.

[And Lue told him]: "You suffer, you suffer, you who were the most handsome Ule every day, you suffer." And then again he herded [the cattle] and arrived at home. Ule remained [in the well] and the month came to an end. He ate his nails, and he ate them up, he ate up his bead strings,[7] he ate up his apron,

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6 Lit.: 'finished' (tóu). Thirteen lines further down in Dempwolff's text the month (moon) 'came to an end' (tsheki). The former expression usually describes the setting of the moon, the latter the passing of the moon's phases to the new moon. It is significant here that the moon sets, i.e. the night becomes dark rather than that the next day dawns, as in other stories. The setting moon brings the darkness of night (death) and the new moon marks the end of the moon's phases (its death). Ule finds himself in the land of approaching death, and moon symbolism is effectively used here to dramatize this. The land of death is often reached in tales through holes in the ground or through caves; in text No. 12 we have seen how Mirigi sinks into the ground when she dies. Ule's pit, of course, is homologous to the grave. In the next story, text No. 17, we shall see further examples of this representation of the pit.

7 In the past beads were made of bored pieces of ostrich shell; these were strung on grass threads or on narrow strips of hide and separated from one another by discs of hide. Ule ate the hide components.

and he ate up his own hair. Ule became emaciated and death was near. What then could he eat to fatten up? He arrived [into the state of] a corpse. One day a certain youth, [still] a child, a brother of Ule's - of the same father and the same mother, of Ule's same mother - this child turned up. Lue herded [the cattle] to their grazing and [he called] Ule's brother: "Come to herd." And they herded and they herded and they arrived at the well. When they had arrived at the well [Lue said]: "Wait then, there by the well." The child waited there, [he who was] Ule's brother. Lue went on [as far as the covered opening of the well itself], he arrived at the well [and called]:

Uleee, Ule!

and he knocked on the stretched hide. Ule sang:

You people, you people,
Now I must die.

The child listened: "Eh? What does this say? My brother has long been dead, what then speaks [there]? Wait then, let me hear well", [and Lue called again]:

Uleee, Ule!

[And Ule replied]:

You people, you people,
Now I must die.

The child said: "Oh no, no, wait." And they herded the cattle home until they arrived. The mother gave [the child] porridge but the child just cried. [The mother inquired]: "What then, father?"[8] She gave him milk, but he refused, she gave him honey, but he refused, she gave him fat, but he

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8 Tatá, the form of address for 'father' is also used as a term of endearment for children.

refused, she gave him meat but he refused, and he just cried. She inquired: "What then?" [The child replied]: "Oh mother, my brother who died long ago, what then [has become of] Ule? While we were herding Lue was knocking and called 'Uleee, Ule!', and he replied 'You people, you people, now I must die'." - "Where did you hear that?" And [the child] said: "Mother, at the well, truly." And she said: "Well, you aren't lying?" - "No, no, I am not lying." [Then] the people were gathered, the relatives came, and they inquired from the child: "What have you heard?" And he replied: "Ule, my brother, is alive." - "You are not lying?" - "No, no, I am not lying, he is alive, how then could he speak? As soon as Lue had knocked." - "Yes, let us all go, we shall find him, yes, we shall find him, you relatives!" And then they got up and they went and went, and arrived at the well. [The country] was deserted[9] but then this one [the child] stooped down and showed them by knocking:

Uleee, Ule!

They were pricking up their ears.

Uleee, Ule!

[And the reply came]:

You people, you people,
Now I must die.

- "Yes, well! he is really alive." And they pulled out the pegs of the hide and they pushed it aside. Ule was totally emaciated. They went to take the pole and let it down, but he could not climb. A relative of his went down and took him

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9 The text reads ha'ana 'ivs, which has been left untranslated by Dempwolff. The meaning is 'it is wide open', i.e. without a living soul. Ule's well was invisible as it had been covered up.

and hoisted him on his back and climbed up, and they went home and brought him in. They had pegged down the hide [again] and put the well's opening in order. When the next day had dawned, Lue arrived having come [to the well] herding. [He called out]:

Uleee, Ule!
Uleee, Ule!

but the country remained silent. "You have suffered enough and thus you have died, you have suffered enough and for a long time I made you suffer thus." That he had been taken away before, he did not know.

[At home] Ule stayed and stayed in the inner room and ate porridge; Ule fattened up again and his body became beautiful. When one day Lue came [he, Ule] took an axe and Ule took [also] a whetstone [to sharpen the axe]; in the inner room its edge [sounded]: "nech, nech."[10] [Lue asked]: "What is that for?" - "The inner room's storage bin creaks." Ule's mother applied water to millet for [making] burial beer, beer for Ule's burial.[11] Another day [the people] gathered together for the beer [ceremony]; together with them [was] also Lue, he who had slowly killed Ule before, to fill himself by drinking the beer. When they had [all] come, they locked the house. "What for then?" [Lue asked]. - "Wait here and drink, do you want to run from the room?"[12] Ule then cut him down with the axe,

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10 The usual Sandawe word for a grinding sound.

11 Dempwolff's German translation is more effective than mine: 'Ules Opferleichenbier' is 'Ule's sacrificial corpse-beer.'

12 At mourning ceremonies beer is put in the inner room of the house; guests sit in the front room and outside, and are given their beer there, but relatives and close friends sit in the inner room to drink in honour of the deceased. Informants with whom I have discussed this text of Dempwolff's say that Ule and Lue belonged to the same homestead (they may therefore be half-brothers).

[saying]: "You then, who have been killing me, [now] I revenge myself on you." This man Lue [then] died.[13] The tale ends here.

Text No. 17. - The Witch and the Fire-oracle.

Recorded by Dempwolff, 17th May 1910. Translated from Dempwolff's text No. 56 (1916, 159-61).

Some time ago there was a man who had married [several] women. When he, Selegende, went out, then his principal wife Masawa cooked beans. When she had cooked them her husband came back from the path of his stroll, and he said: "Who has gone out for [getting] beans?"[1] The principal wife then took a mouthful and yawned. While she yawned the husband had to vomit.[2]

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13 The names Ule and Lue are not usual ones among the Sandawe, and it would be strange if they did not have a special meaning. U-le could mean 'vague place or condition' - 'habitual action', i.e. 'He Who is Somewhere' (in the well?); Lu-e would then be 'He Who puts [Someone, i.e. Ule] Somewhere', cf. p. 105, the meaning of vowels.

1 In Dempwolff's translation this passage has been left open.

2 The husband is a cantankerous man who carps at his wife or wives that they have to go out to get beans. The woman in the text has beans (kosa, or gosa in Dempwolff's text) in her mouth and the sight of them causes her husband to vomit; this proves him to be a witch. Had he not been guilty of witchcraft he would have been able to bear the sight of them. The woman has common, edible beans in her mouth (kosa are cow peas, vigna unguiculata); but an informant with whom this text has been discussed says that it is as if divination (//ûma'o) is being held to prove that the husband is a witch. Proper divination beans are called tepetepa (cf. note 12); some diviners use these beans to find out the cause of the difficulties which beset their clients. In the following lines the husband takes revenge for his exposure, and the mode of his revenge further proves that he is indeed a witch.

And then he said: "You make someone else vomit, am I not [allowed] to eat?" and he added: "Am I then not to taste it myself?" She sat down on a stool, and then her husband was preparing sorcery and the stool then went [down] into the earth. When his wife had gone[down] into the earth, then the husband caught the children and he took them [by the hand] and ran [away]. And then her, Masawa's father came, and he called:

Masawa, hey, Masawa!

[The reply came from inside the house]:

Yes, she is here.

[He called again]:

Masawa, hey, Masawa!

[And she sang]:

Father, I am dying,
Selegende causes me suffering.

And her father then gave her porridge and she ate.[3] And then he, her father pulled her, but he was unable [to get her out]. And then he said: "My child, I am going now." When he had gone [home] he told his wife: "Cook porridge, I want to take it to my child."[4] And she cooked, and he came [to Masawa's house with the porridge], and he called:

Masawa, hey, Masawa!

[And the reply came]:

Yes, she is here.

[He called again]:

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3 Her head had remained above the ground.

4 Dempwolff's vernacular text says: tain̈ //nokos !'eme (I want to take it to my child). n//oko-s' (my orthography) is not the plural n//oko (children) plus -s' (I) but n//o (child) plus -ko (anxiety) plus -s'(I). The form n//oko does not necessarily have a plural meaning, cf. p. 66.

Masawa, hey, Masawa!

[And she sang]:

Father, I am dying,
Selegende causes me suffering.

He gave her porridge, and then he went on his way. But now a hyena wandered about there.[5] When he had come, the hyena called in a deep voice:

Masawa, hey, Masawa!

But she kept quiet, [thinking]: "That is not my father." And then [the hyena] went back along another path. When the hyena had gone he went to a sorcerer's home[6] [and called]:

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5 Masawa's husband had returned in the form of a hyena.

6 The vernacular text shows the word pambu which Dempwolff translates as Zauberpriester (magician, sorcerer). The usual meaning of pambu is a type of small ant which carries a nasty sting causing itchy swellings; van de Kimmenade, 1954, 51, mentions pámbu, with a raised tone on the a. Informants state that the name of the ant and the term for sorcerer are the same word, without tonal distinction. They say that 'ant' is the real meaning of pambu but that the term may also be used for implying that certain people cause others to suffer. In this sense it may mean a witch (tl'uése) or a sorcerer (misabése), but usually the latter. The distinction which the Sandawe make between witches and sorcerers is extremely vague and many will argue that the two are identical. Yet the etymologies of the two terms show us that Evans-Pritchard's principal distinction between witchcraft and sorcery among the Azande also applies to the Sandawe situation, and informants confirm this. Tl'uś-se means 'having bitterness' or 'having nastiness'; misabé-se suggests 'having arrow-like magic', misabé being derived from misobé or misuné. Supé is a special type of arrow which is associated with witchcraft (cf. text No. 157). The tl'uése (witch) uses no rites or spells but psychic powers, whereas the misabése (sorcerer) employs techniques of magic by using medicines (cf. Evans-Pritchard, 1937, 387). The pambu (ant) inflicts suffering by its sting which is like using a bewitched arrow (supé).

"Hey, sorcerer!" And [the sorcerer] asked: "Who is there?" [The hyena then said]: "Make me another voice, will you?" [But the sorcerer said]: "I don't know." [The hyena replied]: "I shall show you [a place] with meat."[7] And then he made him, the hyena, a [new] voice. And [the hyena] went. When he had gone [back to Masawa's house] he called:

Masawa, hey, Masawa!

[The reply came]:

Yes, she is here.

[He called again]:

Masawa, hey, Masawa!

[And she sang]:

Father, I am dying,
Selegende causes me suffering.

And he entered from that side, and he entered from that side, and he went [up to her] and he caught the wife, he pulled her up, and then he put his teeth into her,[8] and he stuffed himself and he ate her flesh until he had finished her. When he had

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7 The hyena promises the sorcerer some of Masawa's flesh in payment.

8 Dempwolff's vernacular text uses the term dlené which literally means 'to [pierce with an] arrow'. By implication the hyena's teeth are likened to arrows, i.e. to the type called supé (cf. note 6 above, and text No. 157); if arrow-teeth are associated with witchcraft, hyena's teeth carry a doubly strong association with it since the hyena itself is a symbol of witchcraft (cf. chapter X). From the wording of the text clearly emerges the image which the Sandawe have of sorcery, which is effected as if the victim were shot at with an arrow. This instance of witchcraft (or sorcery, with the use of the teeth) is a particularly bad one because the anthropophagous hyena is identified with Masawa's witch-husband.

eaten her and had his fill, then he went [away] on another path.[9] And after him came Masawa's father, and when he had come [he called]:

Masawa, hey, Masawa!

The country remained quiet.

Masawa, hey, Masawa!

The country remained silent. [He thought]: "But here was my child, why wait for it? Let me enter so I may see.[10] When he had gone in the hole was empty. "Oh mother, the hole is indeed empty, who then has pulled up my child?" He added: "The hyena has walked about here, perhaps, possibly he was here, the hyena has at that time walked around here, why do I wait? I shall go to ask him." And then he went and he met the hyena. "Hyena!" - "Who is there?" - "My child, who has pulled my child from the deserted house,[11] taken her from the pit in the deserted house and pulled her out? The hyena said: "I do not know." And then he, the child's father said: "Hyena, you have pulled her out yourself." But he said: "No, no, I have not

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9 I.e. the normal path on which the father came.

10 Dempwolff has left open the translation of this passage. People do not enter without calling first. When there was no reply the father decided to go into the house anyway.

11 Dempwolff translates: 'who has taken my child out of the house'. The vernacular text shows tongo which is a deserted house, a ruin, or even the site of a former house which is recognized only by the grindstone which has been left in its place. The term tongo is used rather than the usual word for a house (khoo), no doubt because of its association with death. For the significance of tongo as a sacrificial place, cf. texts 90 and 91. Deserted houses and grindstone sites are associated with witchcraft because this causes death, and the sites are inhabited by the ghosts of the deceased.

pulled her out." But [the father] said: "Now, to-morrow there will be an oracle." And [the hyena] said: "Yes."[12]

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12 Oracles are greatly feared and a refusal to submit to such a trial would have dire consequences since this would amount to a public admission of guilt. Trials by oracle are no longer held because they have been forbidden by the government; in the past they were resorted to only if an indictment obtained by divination was denied by the accused. In this tale the episode of the beans has already shown Masawa's hyena-husband to be a witch.

As among the Azande diviners and oracles are mainly consulted about matters of health and witchcraft, i.e. things which cannot be found out by normal judicial processes (cf. Evans-Pritchard, 1937, 3). Like the Azande, the Sandawe have a number of oracles which may be graded according to the severity of the accusation on which judgement is to be passed. Bagshawe, 1925, 332-3, lists four Sandawe oracles which were commonly used in the past: trial by hot iron, by boiling water, by scorpion, and by lizard. Van de Kimmenade mentions the first, the second and the fourth of these (1954, 52) but neither of them mentions the fire pit, and neither of them arranges them in order of severity:

In the lizard oracle the reptile is applied four times to the chin of the accused ; if he is bitten or if he flinches he is held to be guilty but he is innocent if he gets through the ordeal unharmed. In the scorpion oracle the insect is placed in the accused's cupped hand; he has to hold the scorpion in this way four times, each time until it crawls out of his hand. In the hot water oracle he has to fish four bits of medicinal wood from the bottom of a pot with boiling water; he has to pick them out separately with his right rand, and scalding or the development of blisters proves his guilt. In the hot iron ordeal a red-hot oracle knife (nogó roro is craped over the accused's tongue (three times according to Bagshawe, four times according to my informants). The fire pit was the most severe oracle of all; it is said to have been used for trying people accused of lion-murders (these are briefly discussed in chapter X). This oracle was consulted only rarely; the accused had to jump across the pit four times. Failure to do so would not only prove his guilt but also put him to death.

And then Masawa's father went. When he had gone [home] he [went to] sleep. And then it dawned, and he came [to the hyena's house, and called]: "Hyena!" - "Who is there?" - "Come to the oracle. You sorcerers, come all of you." And they came the usual path.[13] When they had come, then Masawa's father dug a large pit. When he had finished digging it, he lit a fire [in it] and he said [to the sorcerer]: "Now you sorcerer start off," he spoke. And then the sorcerer got up, and when he had got up he jumped across the pit. And [the father] said: "As far as you are concerned, your oracle has been satisfied. Now you come too, hyena." And [the hyena] got up; since he was in great fear he was jumping on the way [before he reached the edge of the pit], he was unable to jump [well] and he fell into the [fire] pit, and he died.[14]

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13 Masawa's father demands the presence of the hyena as well as the sorcerer who gave him his deceptive voice, and possibly this passage means that he also calls any other known sorcerer. The repeated references to the various paths which the story's protagonists follow may be symbolic. First the father follows the usual path, then the hyena follows a devious path; when he follows the usual one after that he promptly meets the father who then begins to find out about him. Now all follow the usual path so that the truth may come out and the country be cleared of the witch. The Sandawe word for 'path' (//oo) is also used for 'way' in the sense of a person's moral conduct.

14 One who knows his guilt is bound to be hindered by his conscience during the trial, say Sandawe informants in defence of the trial by ordeal system; the outcome is also influenced by the Spirit of the Oracle (pogó léts'ima) or by the clan spirits (gáwa léts'ima). In this final sentence the storyteller throws a clear light on the psychological basis of the institution.

Text No. 18. Told by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Parkwa.

1 Útaa lólo n//áko. Utáà lóloó di'sé
2 íχa' ǐmbo: N//áko hánga'o
3 χe'nta hesó sunkume ǐmbóõnta
4 póò súnki ke'é'õnta.
5 Íχa' ǐmbo: Muganga'é
6 ka' útaa: Sóno úra ba'é.[2]
7 Hewé n//ákokia ó'a ó' n//eeitshe'e, hewé
8 hewáa iye'o. Aà swé
9 kimbá hesó n//ákoisõso tág'sõso hía' n/atía'
10 !'úmank'oa' ní'. Aa ní'a
11 !ãtéte'a humba' tl'aa
12 aà swéa kesé. Aà swéa ní'i
13 //'é'awayoo ankháki !'ó'watsho
14 aà kesé. Iswéa' hía
15 mánawanki hía /ánts'itshei.
16 Hé'tshea hangaà mpháka ó'
17 /'útshukũ háku ke'elé hewá n//eete.
18 Mánaatshó misho hewẽsi'. Aà
19 íχa ǐmbo: "Iswéẽ bába iswéna
20 kumba tóusunga. Gwàábé.
21 Iswé híkisũ? Hiina hapúnge mugangaépo.

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1 The presence of some Baraguyu, a Maasai-like people, among the Sandawe and the surrounding tribes has been discussed on p. 14; Maasai and Baraguyu are both called Gwabé by the Sandawe who do not distinguish between them. The origin of the name Gwabé is mentioned in note 1 on p. 14. It is a moot point whether the people referred to in this tale are Baraguyu or Maasai proper; because of the distribution of the populations it is more likely that they are Baraguyu than Maasai, the latter occupying the plains beyond Burunge country (see map No.1)

The War with the Maasai.[1] Recorded September 1963.

Long ago [there was] a war. Long ago then, the old men said [it was] like this: The war started up and was brought upon us, as they have told us in [their stories] and as we too, have heard it in listening [to them]. They said [it was] like this: There was a magician, they said, long ago [called] Sóno who was very great.[2] When there was a war on he would not enter it, but he stayed where the others [stayed, at home]. And they now, [the Maasai] indeed, these first bringers of war, when they came they went [on their way] silently. And they went to the other side [our side], and they took away cattle and now they herded [them away]. And then [our people] went and they followed them but they found not even one, and [the Maasai] herded on. Now then when they [the Maasai] were on the cattle track this was not [even] seen. They [our people] got up [and went] from here as far as there passing yonder, listening all the time until their arrival [back home]. They did not know its end.[3] And they spoke thus [to Sóno]: "Now then, father, aren't we now then completely finished. The Maasai! Now what shall we do? But aren't you a magician?

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2 The storyteller is not certain about the clan membership of Sóno; he says that he was "from somewhere near Alagwa country". Dempwolff, 1916, 115, text 12, makes reference of two lineage heads called Muno and Sono who provided protective war medicine for raids against the Datoga. Possibly the two Sono's are identical.

3 I.e. the end of the trail leading to the place where the Maasai raiders had taken the cattle.

22 Ankáwa herendewa' n//ûnkepone?"[4] Pa ka':

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4 Herenda: a medicine stick consisting of a long pole, the thin end of which has been wrapped in a bundle of protective medicine by a magician after he has made a sacrifice to the clan spirits. The leader of a raiding party provides the sacrificial animal and is given the medicine stick by the magician to take it along with him on the raid. After the successful completion of the expedition he returns the stick to the magician, and also the captured cattle are then herded to the latter's homestead so he may distribute them among the raiders. Dempwolff's text No. 12, cit. supra, mentions this usage.

Medicine sticks may also be planted in cattle tracks in the surrounding bush; they are then made to point in the direction from which enemy raiders may be expected. This is believed to make them drowsy, careless and conquerable, and according to the storyteller this is what has happened in this tale.

The roof of a house, and the gate of the cattle enclosure are yet other places in which medicine sticks may be planted as a defensive measure; they are supposed to make the house and the cattleyard invisible to invaders.

The original and most common meaning of the term herende is 'fire drill'. This is a longish stick which is twirled between the palms of the hand so that the end of the stick bores into an underlying plank of wood; the friction produces glowing wooddust from which a fire is then carefully kindled. Fire, of course, is a magical substance of great power, cf. p. 46, note 4. On that page it is also shown how a medicinally treated fire drill is used as protective medicine for a new homestead.

The use of protective medicine sticks has now become extremely rare. Von Luschan, 1898, 344, gives an illustration of a whole stick and of the heads of four other sticks; he refers to the Sandawe medicine

22 Cannot you even erect a medicine stick?"[4] And he replied:

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stick as mtawutwa. This word appears to be quite unknown to the present Sandawe; possibly his informants have pointed out the end of a stick to von Luschan who then understood this to mean the Sandawe term for a medicine stick (tóutŏa, 'that which finishes it', i.e. the end of the stick).

Both the fire drill and its derivative the medicine stick are made of the wood of a tree called lobokhá; this may be Apocynac. Strophantus (Claus, 1911, 21, mentions that the tree which the Gogo use for fire drills is called by them veri-veri; this tree is identified by Claus as indicated). The plank into which the fire drill is bored is made of a tree called /hí/hō; according to a botanical identification obtained by Mr.J.L.Newman of the University of Minnesota this is Commiphora mollis (Oliv.) Engl. (pers. comm.).

For making the medicine the magician slaughters a black goat and prepares the stomach contents with the roots of several trees or plants (my informant did not know which); the preparation is then wrapped in a piece of skin taken from the goat's forehead, and tied around the head of the stick. The procedure largely agrees with what von Sick, 1915, 28, tells us about the war medicine of the Rimi: The root of the mpayatia tree and the stomach contents of a black sheep are used, which is sacrificed at night. The warriors eat from the meat and go home. They have to abstain from beer and from sex. In the morning, before setting out for their raid, they gather together again, the medicine is tied to a piece of skin from the sacrificial animal which is then tied to a stick, and the stick is handed to the man who has been chosen as the warriors' leader because of his courage. Upon leaving the warriors are aspersed on their backs by the magician; from now on none of them is allowed to turn back lest the medicine lose its power. Upon return from the raid the medicine is given back to the magician who places it in a cave, together with a sacrifice for the wargod (the Sandawe sacrifice to their clan spirits).

23 "ʃsí dáas' n//áko //'a'sé'o, áarena ee."[5]
24 Gwéa hewéts'a' nèè, aà Gwabéa koa'a' n/atí.
25 Hía' n/atí' aà ní'a húmba tl'aã.
26 Hía' tl'aai' hlee hía tl'aã
27 kesẽ ni'i'
28 hérende hlee n//únketa'eena.
29 Gwabé hía ní'i' hlee' Gwabé neea
30 //'õ'//'owa. Bárasats' hía ní'i
31 gelé tshinats'aà ó'a' tumatóa kaáwa,
32 aà hía n/upháí paa swé gelé

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5 The word which the storyteller uses for 'enemy' is n//áko, but in lines 1, 2, 7, and 9 the same word is translated as 'war', in line 68 as 'raid', and on p.22 its meaning is given as 'clan' in the sense of a corporate group based on neighbourliness; in note 1 on p.23 mention is made of the meanings listed by Dempwolff and van de Kimmenade; and in line 72 of this text the form n//ákoe is used in the meaning of 'enemy'. The literature provides a variety of forms of this word which suggest that more than one term is involved (my thanks are due to Dr.J.C.Woodburn for drawing my attention to this). These forms are the following:

Dempwolff, 1916, 40-41:

//nà fem. //nasu,	plural //nako,	Stammesgenosse.
//ña	plural //ñako,	Krieger, Feind.

Lemblé (quoted in Bagshawe, 1925, 344):

Nxákoe	plural Nxăko,	an enemy.
Nxá'e	plural Naxko (misprint?),	a compatriot.

Drexel, 1929, 56:

//nako	Landsleute.
//na	Stammesgenosse.
//ñako	Krieger.
//ña	Feind.

Van de Kimmenade, 1954, 67:

n//áko	voisin, homme de la même tribu.
n//ákowe	ennemi.
n//ákoo	guerre.

23 "I have the power to foil the enemy, so it is indeed."[5]
24 They then stayed at his place, and the Maasai came again.
25 When they had come they went taking away cattle.
26 When they had taken them, this time, when they had taken
27 them and went away herding them [off]
28 wasn't this time the medicine stick standing up!
29 When the Maasai went this time the Maasai then continued
30 drowsily. [Already] in the beginning when they went
31 they prepared tobacco there at the foot of the baobab tree
32 and while they smoked, now then, as they stayed

Yet according to the storyteller and also according to informant 27 (Appendix IV) the single term n//ǂko covers all these meanings. A brief consideration of the nature of the differences may show this statement to be essentially correct.

The differences between Dempwolff's //n- and //ñ-, and between Drexel's //n- and //ñ- appear to be the result of the placement of stress on the following vowel. Dempwolff's difference in tone between two variants may be due to the same factor, and may in fact be a difference in stress. Informant 27, with whom this matter has been discussed, is not sure whether tone is the differentiating agent, or stress, or both. He does agree that there is a relation between tone and stress, and meaning; cf. p. 107. The stressed variants of the word appear to imply anxiety, a warning of danger, and enmity.

The singular form //na, according to the same informant, is used next to the 'plural' form //nako which is not a real plural since it is used in singular as well as plural meanings (cf. p. 66 for plural formation; note 14 on p. 255 for anxiety; note 4 on p. 271 for -ko as a non-plural element). Thus it means clansfellow, compatriot, war-clan or corporate neighbourhood group, war, raid, enemy, and also warriors. To show the singleness of a warrior the demonstrative -e or -we may be added, cf. the forms Nxákoe and n//'ákowe quoted above. Finally, van de Kimmenade's term n// ǂkoo is really n//ǂko'o, the act of waging war.

33 tshina nee'onta paa kíta'a
34 ts'wáama ime.[6] Aà Gwabéa íχa neea
35 //'uwankí χũχusé neẽ pa
36 ts'wáama ka': "Ts'éeà." Aχ Gwabéa
37 n!èets'a' hóro' aχ ka': "Hótsona
38 héu kite?" Aχ tl'ongé. Kumbá
39 hewéẽ Sónóa k'unk'ũ'sé'í.[7]
40 Iswé hesó makáawasísõso
41 n/atíts'ena'. Swéa Gwabéa //'a'amséwa. Ó'a
42 gwabéa tík'. Gwabéte
43 paa ts'éχea kítatshe pooná. Paa hewáa thaa,
44 thayóó. Pa hik'a //ó'a n//ee.
45 Hía n//eei' ko n/omosókina
46 tóowa', húmbuki kwaa'sé'a'.
47 - "Iswé híkísũ?"[8] Aà ka':
48 "Swé hía hlak'éi' hewé muganga'éi' sũnki
49 muganga ítshasũ." Aa swéa' muganga ítsha
50 hesókia. //ó'ayóó aà muganga'é'a' !'oowe
51 aà swéa' //ó'tshesàa' n/atí.
52 Nee n/atíyoo aà ní'a kós'a' húmba tl'aa.
53 Hleé' hía' n/atí aà ká': "Swéẽ
54 hesó humbu ní'kwe híe níi," hesó
55 mugangaénga //ó'a Gwabékũme bósenga íχa imbókwei:
56 "Híe nii pee hesó mugangaénge !'oowéíí wak'waákwe.
57 Híe wak'wai' tshútshu hewé'ínkwe siyẽ nii
58 kékẽ n/eekwe nĩ n/átikwe n/eekwe nĩ

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6 Swynnerton, 1946, identifies ts'wáama (chwama in his orthography) as the dwarf-mongoose (Helogale undulata).

7 Forgetting their watchfulness, Sóno's magic causes them to prod playfully into the treetrunk with their sticks.

at the foot of the baobab tree, then in there a dwarf-mongoose cried.[6] And the Maasai stayed thus, they stayed playfully knocking [the tree], and the mongoose said: "Ts'ɛ́ɛ̀," and the Maasai rolled down with laughter and said: "What is it then in there?" And they pricked [with their sticks]. Well then, it was because of his, Bóno's concocting [medicine].[7] Presently they [the Sandawe], the owners of the wealth were coming. And now they foiled the Maasai. There they finished off the Maasai completely. From among the Maasai but one out of their midst survived. And that one ran, and how he ran! And he went and he arrived there [at his home]. When he had arrived then even all his people had been finished off and the cattle were returned. [The Maasai then said]: "Now what shall we do?"[8] They said: "Now if he is like that, that magician of theirs, we too shall seek a magician." And then they sought a magician, they too. And then really they had found a magician and now they came from there [in a new raid]. They went on coming and they went away again taking cattle. This time, when they had come they said: "Now then, cattle of theirs, go while you are going," and their [own] magician was talking there to the Maasai, speaking thus: "When you go then you find their magician and kill him. When you have killed him take his penis off him, and go cut off his ears, and go cut off his nose, and also go

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8 All the Maasai of the raiding party had been killed by the Sandawe. Those who had stayed behind in their own camp had not been annihilated and are now wondering how to organize a new raid.

59 ho!'ōnki n/eekwe.[9] Halárū ndío ó'
60 !'oowésī saláma singe. Hía hewé hlak'ets'ei'
61 tóusīso." Hóu úraa
62 mugangats'i, árarena ee. Kwa ka': "Hláwa."
63 Aà swéa n/atíī kós'a' ní'a áaraà
64 húmba tl'aaye n/atíī n//eei, hlee hía
65 húmba tl'aa n/atí kesé́i.
66 Aà swéa' kós'a' !'áχa. Hía'
67 !'áχai' swé heχwe humbuχō
68 Sandawē paa tl'inga girībé. "Gwabé n//áko n//eea."

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9 These mutilations are not meant to be a mere disfigurement by way of revenge, nor are they just an obliteration of Sóno's identity. By the removal of these parts the Maasai preclude the procreation of his power, and they ensure the discontinuation of his dangerous senses, according to the storyteller. The underlying idea seems to be not dissimilar from that of the Nyoro who stop the mouth and the anus of the body of a man who had been particularly ill-disposed during his life; this is supposed to prevent his ghost from coming out to do harm, cf. Beattie, 1961, 174. In this tale too, ghostly vengeance is sought to be prevented.

The removal of the forehead is of particular significance. In note 4 above we have seen that war medicine is wrapped in a piece of skin which has been taken from the sacrificial animal's forehead. To the Sandawe the forehead is the seat of virtues like intelligence and honour (both of these are rendered in Sandawe with the word marā), and power of the mind (dágŭ).

Marā means in the first place a blaze, the white patch on the forehead of cattle; it also means bright and beautiful, and it is the common term for 'beauty'. Text No. 38 shows the word marā in the sense of the beauty of patches as part of a colourful design; in text 136 it expresses handsomeness (of a person); and in text 175 it describes the beauty of an object (a musical instrument). An expression like 'he has honour' or 'he is honourable' is rendered in Sandawe as mara-se, feminine mara-sú-sŭ.

59 cut off his forehead too.[9] After that, yes, there you will
60 obtain your safety. If [you act] not like that
61 they will finish you off." That one was a very great
62 magician, so he was indeed. And he said: "All right."
63 And now they came and again they went and really
64 when they had come and arrived taking cattle, now when
65 they had come to take cattle they herded them [away].
66 And now again [the Sandawe] cried out loud. While they
67 cried out loud, now these, the Sandawe with their [remaining]
68 cattle jumped up and ran. "The Maasai raid has arrived!"

Of a person who is socially objectionable it is said that 'he has no honour', mara-sé-ts'e, feminine mara-sú-sŭ-ts'e. This also means 'he (or she) has no good sense'.

The blaze is associated with a light colour, clarity and whiteness (the word for 'white' as a colour is not marâ but phoo). We have seen that the Sandawe prize a light complexion in their women (pp. 39-40). The Sandawe say that 'real Sandawe' are light skinned like the people of Bas'ko and Bugénika who are yellow rather than brown like the aboriginal N/ini hunters (cf. p. 11). The culture hero Matunda (see texts Nos. 19 and 20) is said to have been light skinned, or to have had a high forehead with a receding hairline; both qualities may be described as marâ. It seems relevant that the Barabaiga, the tribe from whom the priestly Alagwa clan claim descent, say that God is bald or has a bright patch on his head (informant: the Rev. H.Faust of the A.L.M.Mission at Balángida Laalu.

The term dágŭ, which means the power of the mind, also means medicinal, magical or mystical power (cf. line 80 of the text). The patches of forehead skin taken from sacrificial animals are called !ábo; these are used not only on medicine sticks but also worn as protective amulets round the wrist. The name !ábo is related to !áb'ao, 'moon', !â 'moonlight', and !â,'lightness','wellbeing' and 'healing power'.

It may now have become clear that the forehead is closely associated with a person's power. Since Sóno's powers reside in this part of his body his forehead has to be destroyed so that it cannot continue to be harmful to the Maasai .

69 Ní'aà Sónots'a' ímbo paa Sóno
70 íxaa ímbo: "Áh, Gwabé hótso n/wíai?
71 Taí' dáits'e'. Háta ts'éxenaaki." - "Óko
72 héu n//ákoe n//eese nèè ó' bééba. Sóno hángako
73 ní'." Sóno wá'a n//ume pa ka':
74 "Hik'is'ts'e'e. Taí íyes'." - "Sóno, kó laàle, n//áko
75 n//eeé."[10] Swé hleé' n/atá' kólonga'ĭ
76 aà tl'unts'a' nìsa hángasukŭ
77 paa ríχĭ' paa mó//'ok'o tl'úntatshea
78 paχ !'awé. Aà swé wá'masots'a':[11]
79 "Girĭbóna swéesŭ Sóno, biképo hapú
80 hapú dágŭ héu. Swé /ássŭ hí' kama
81 áarai poonéi." Aà hísõs'a'
82 zígidá n!árk'oa'[12] n/atá nìsa, táene,
83 tlakí: Sóna χi'ti', Gwabéki n//eea'
84 aà bikéa girĭbé.
85 Aà Sóna hlée' tl'ongimé ó'a. Tl'ongiméyoo
86 aà wák'wa' tshátshunga' n/eekweà,
87 n/átinga' n/eekweà, hó!'õnga n/eekweà,
88 baa', aà hlée' húmbuxents'a kesé.
89 Ó'ga' hewénki mísõ. Tshèèkíga.[13]

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10 Kó is translated as 'oh!'. The meaning of kó laàle would be rendered more adequately but less literally as 'for heaven's sake', cf. text No. 15, note 14 (p.255).

11 This is not strictly logical. They addressed Sóno, not their fellows.

12 i.e. they took courage.

13 There can be no doubt that this is a historical tale. Bagshawe, 1925, 221 mentions that the Alagwa headman Amás' and his brother Sóno were successful against the Datoga because the latter were at that time weak, having suffered from Maasai raids. Robinson, 1957, shows that not only the Datoga but also the Sandawe

69 And they went to Sóno's to tell [him] but Sóno
70 spoke thus: "Ah, what could the Maasai do?
71 He cannot beat me. Not even once." - "Come on,
72 this enemy who has come is here, nearby. Sóno, get up
73 and go." [But] Sóno stood there fast and he said:
74 "I won't go. I'll stay." - "Sóno, oh! alas, the enemy
75 has arrived."[10] Now this time they came [really] bothering
76 him, and they caught him by the arms, they stood him up,
77 but he slid back down and he slipped from their hands
78 and he fell down. And now [they said] to their fellows:[11]
79 "We are going to run now, Sóno, you just stay, you
80 and your magical power. Now we shall see whether
81 you can really survive." And others then
82 tightened their hearts[12] and came to catch him, and pulled
83 in vain: Sóno slunk down and the Maasai arrived,
84 and they left him and ran.
85 And then [the Maasai] stabbed Sóno there. And they stabbed
86 him and they killed him, they cut his penis off him,
87 they cut his nose off him, they cut his forehead off him,
88 well then, and they herded off all the cattle.
89 Here then is the end of this [tale]. It is finished.[13]

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were bothered by their incursions. During one raid the Sandawe surrounded and defeated a band of Maasai at Kiolí, but a subsequent affray was won by the Maasai. In these skirmishes 'Limu' (Limó) the son of Amás' was killed and all the cattle the Maasai could lay their hands on were driven off by them. Robinson further mentions two Maasai raids during the time of Xahliki the second son of Amás'. The Maasai then tried to capture the cattle at Xahliki's residence at Porõ but the raiders were beaten, ten of them were killed and the remainder fled to the north, only to be wiped out at Mbulu in Iraqw. Since then the Maasai have stayed away, being afraid of Sandawe arrows.

[Contd. next page].

[Continuation of note 13].

The present text appears to describe the first war. According to the storyteller the Sandawe followed the tracks of the Maasai cattle raiders as far as Kiolí; here they surrounded them while they were resting and killed them with their poisoned arrows. Some time after this event several Alagwa were killed in a new Maasai raid when the latter had been fortified by counter magic of their own. Presumably Limó was among those killed, but the storyteller does not confirm this. Being a ǂats'as'tá clansman he may be ignorant of some details of the story which are important to the Alagwa; his clan has never acknowledged Alagwa leadership before it was imposed on the whole Sandawe tribe with German support (cf. p. 30).

The event is of interest to the ǂats'as'tá because the Maasai are traditional enemies of all Sandawe, because the skirmish at Kiolí occurred in an area where ǂats'as'tá clansmen from Farkwa take their herds when during the dry season the wells in the hills dry up, and because several ǂats'as'tá clansmen have taken part in the defeat of the Maasai. These ǂats'as'tá were from /'itiǂá, which is between Kiolí and the Alagwa country of Porõ and therefore on the route of the raiding Maasai (cf. maps 2 and 3).

Text No. 19. - The Creation Myth.

Recorded by Dempwolff, 26th April 1910. Translated from Dempwolff's vernacular text No. 43 (1916, 144-45).

At first Matunda emerged from the inside of a baobab tree;[1] God opened the gate, and then he stood on the earth.[2] When he had stood up completely he stood at the opening. While he stood [there], then the hyena ran out first. And he let

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1 Matunda is the name of the Sandawe Creator, but some other names and epithets are also heard: Ba'nag (The Great One, or the Ancestor); Barĕnge (The First One); and Wangu (the proper name of Matunda). Dempwolff, 1916, 146, states that Wangu was the name of the first man, the one who was let out of the tree by Matunda.

The name Matunda is not of Sandawe origin. Tastevin, 1936, 407, points out that the Baganda call the Creator Ka Tonda, and that the Ya-unde of the Cameroons call him En Tondo bŏ which, he says, is "évidemment le même mŏt." According to Kohl-Larsen, 1956b, 45, Itunda is a sort of Goliath of the Tindiga, and according to the same writer, 1937a, 26, itunde is the name for the baobab tree among the Isanzu, the southern neighbours of the Tindiga. Still nearer to the Sandawe, among the Rimi, the Creator is called Matunda, according to von Sick, 1913, 45, or Matŭnda in the spelling used by the Augustana Lutheran Mission, 1959. The Sandawe Matunda is obviously the same as the Creator of the Rimi, the Bantu tribe who have influenced the Sandawe most. The meaning of the name is 'progeny', cf. Swahili matunda, 'fruits'. The hole in the baobab is referred to by the Sandawe as an aboriginal 'womb' (guba). The connection between the Creator and fertility is evident.

2 The word for God used in Dempwolff's vernacular text is 'warohge' (waronge in my orthography; also heard as warongwe). This term which is composed of wa-rongu-e, is not Sandawe but the same as the Bantu mu-lungu (Swahili: Mungu) which means 'in the sky' (Werner, 1933, 21).

him go, and [the hyena] ran away. And then sheep came out [of the tree] and he stopped them and held them fast. And immediately after a woman with children came out. And now he held them fast and he inquired: "Where is your husband?" - "He is inside the house." And he too came out, and [Matunda] held him fast. And then all the creatures came out; then the cattle came out and he held them fast. And then all the creatures together came out in turn: then the snake came out, and he let it go and it ran away; and then the lion came out, and he let it go; and then the leopard came out, and this one he let go; and the rhinoceros came out and he let it go; and the elephant came out and he let it go; the buffalo came out and he let it go; and the gazelle came out and he let it go; all the birds came out and he let them go [but] the chicken he held fast; and the giraffe came out and he let it go; the eland came out and he let it go; and the zebra came out and he let it go; and all the animals came out and he let them go.[3]

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3 Several variations of the Sandawe creation myth are available in the literature, but only Dempwolff gives authentic vernacular material. The other versions are:

(a) Dempwolff's text No. 42 (1916, 144). This is a simpler variant than the text which has been presented here. It gives a similar enumeration of animals which come out of the baobab tree, but it is less detailed. It mentions the donkey, which is not included in the present text.

(b) Van de Kimmenade, 1936, 407, gives the following version in French (translation mine):

"There is in the country a tree called g̀ile: this is the baobab. It is known that this tree lasts for centuries, it is often hollow and its cavity is sometimes so large that one could put a table and a bed in it. The Sandawe do not say who has made the baobab, but they let everything that exists come out of it.

Ma Túnda (is this a name which is given to God?) stands in front of the baobab. Then a hyena emerges from it, which he lets go, then a sheep which he keeps; and then a woman with two children. Ma Túnda asks her: 'Where is your husband?' - 'My husband', says the woman, 'is in the tree.' The man comes out of it. After that all sorts of animals come out of it, which Ma Túnda lets go except a cow and a chicken which he also retains."

(c) Bagshawe, in his diaries (1925, 63), writes:

"Matunda Nxussu, now the sun and his wife Quabso, now the moon, came from inside a hill and begot 4 sons and 4 daughters. When those were old enough their father again opened the hill and let out the animals warning them to catch the herbivora but to let the carnivora go past. After the cattle and sheep came the hyena and the children made a mistake and tried to catch it 'which is why the hyena is always looking over its shoulder,' and in the confusion many useful animals escaped. Matunda Nxussu received of everything else himself, but gave to his wife the task of arranging for the propagation of the various species 'which is why certain physical functions of women follow the age of the moon.' The children quarrelled and scattered, and because they obeyed the moon, their women had very many children, and all the tribes were founded.'

This version by Bagshawe is interesting because of its explanation how the moon's phases are related to the fertility cycle of women, and therefore with fertility itself.

Text No. 20. - The Origin of All the Tribes.

Recorded by Dempwolff, 26th April 1910. Translated from Dempwolff's vernacular text No.44 (1916, 145).

This Matunda lived at one rock; and he built a house [there] and he killed a black cow and sacrificed it. Now the other people [also] sacrifice, because God made the opening.[1] And now he reared people, he reared many people, and then there were many. Now then when there were many, then this one went to Burunge, and that one went to Irangi, and that other one went to Gogo, and yet another went to Hi,[2] and yet another went to Mbugwe and still others went to Konongo[3] and these others went to Taturu[4] and yet another

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1 The black colour of the sacrificial animal may be an allusion to Matunda's power to make rain. All rain sacrifices use black victims (cf. van de Kimmenade, 1936, 407), and this passage could be an explanation why rainmakers carry out their rites the way they do.

2 Dempwolff's vernacular text gives wahina; waHi-na is 'to [the land of] the wa-Hi. Dempwolff translates this as 'Mangati', i.e. the Barabaiga shown on map No. 1, but the wa-Hi are Hadza or kindred people. Woodburn, 1958, 2, sums them up as follows: "There is in addition [to the Hadza proper] another group of people living by hunting usually known by the Sukuma name Wahi who are to be found near Kimali and the Semu River on the other side of Lake Eyasi in Sukumaland. The Hadza refer to the Wahi as Hadza, but say that their language is slightly different."
The Sandawe describe their habitat as being somewhere in or beyond Barabaiga country. The name is or has been used over a wide area for hunting people, cf. the use of the term Bahi by some local people for the Wamia of Bahi (referred to on p.8).

3 See p. 13, note 9.

4 See p. 13, esp. note 3.

went to Iramba.[5] And then the earth had sufficient people. But these, [some] others have remained, and our [people] too [remained] here, our forebears were left [here]; they reared us, and now then our forefathers reared us.[6] It was enough, and then we were many.

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5 See map No. 1. The Bantu-speaking Iramba are joking relatives of the Sandawe; both the Iramba and the Sandawe say that they have once been a single people.

6 The implication is that the Sandawe have always been where they are now, cf. p. 18.

CHAPTER V

RIDDLES AND PRAYERS

The procedure of playing riddles.[1]

Riddles belong to the Sandawe category of tántabule, together with traditional stories, and they are therefore presented first in this chapter, before we shall begin to discuss the prayers which form a category of their own. Riddles are played in a stylized way and they are subject to a strict taboo. The game of playing riddles is prohibited during the planting season, and this taboo is maintained until the harvests are collected. Even quite small children are firmly dissuaded by their parents from playing the game because, it is said, birds would come and eat up all the seeds. Obviously there must be underlying beliefs which cause this attitude, and we shall therefore first attempt to find out what is behind the threat of the birds, so that the reasons for the riddle-taboo may become clear.

When writing on the subject of riddles, writers have generally confined themselves to the presentation of collections - often interesting - and many of them have added summary explanations so that the reader may better understand the solutions. Fewer attempts have been made to investigate the nature of the riddles of other peoples. In respect of east African tribes a good example of the former category is Beidelman's Kaguru collection;[2] of the latter, Gutmann's writings on the psychology of Chagga riddles must be

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1 I have re-written the first two sections of this chapter for publication in Man (N.S.), cf. Tenraa 1966 b.

2 Beidelman 1963 c.

mentioned.[1] But on the procedure of riddle games little has been written beyond brief descriptions of the opening moves and the replies thereto.[2] Yet, an analysis of the form in which the game is played may give us valuable clues to the meaning of riddles.

Among the Sandawe the game is in the first place a children's game, but grown-ups of all ages also like to amuse themselves with it. It is open to anyone, and there are no special types of riddle, such as the song-riddles of the Makua which may only be played by the initiated.[3] Neither are Sandawe riddles sung or chanted; they are spoken in the ordinary voice but the style of the game is rigidly formal.

The language of riddles is in general that of everyday speech, but for special effects terms may be used which are rarely heard.[4] Challenges are made in short, often cryptic sentences (sometimes consisting of a single word) which may seem vague until the riddle is completed by the addition of the reply. Adult Sandawe, having grown up in the habits of their language, will normally understand the meaning of a completed riddle if they have not heard it before. Yet they may have to be thoroughly familiar with some riddles before they appreciate the finer points, for involved punning may also be employed. Sometimes the language of riddles is therefore more like that of poetry, especially topical poetry. It often implies more than it states.

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1 Gutmann 1911.

2 Further south the form of riddles has received somewhat more attention, cf. Schapera 1932, Cole-Beuchat 1957, and Blacking 1961.

3 Harries 1942 a.

4 Also special sounds, cf. Texts Nos. 33 and 34.

The Sandawe riddle is played in the form of a parable. The poser makes a statement rather than ask a direct question, and his opponent completes the parable by adding the answer. To talk in western terms of questions and answers is not wrong, but we should be aware of the different method of questioning. The Sandawe themselves speak of saying a riddle (bó) and sometimes of asking one (//aká), but the usual expression is I give you a riddle (powés'). Perhaps the best thing to do is to speak of challenges and replies, and in the following texts we shall use 'C' for the challenger, and 'R' for the reply of his opponent.

The rules of the game are the same throughout the tribal area. Anyone may open a riddle by making a challenge, and the person who accepts the challenge first should then be allowed to try and complete the parable while the others listen. Of course, this rule is not always strictly adhered to and the game may easily develop into one of those occasions where everyone talks at the same time.

The procedure of the game is generally as follows:

Text No. 21. - The Riddle Procedure. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at N//atshá, July 1960; completed by other participants.

1 C: Tántabule
2 R: Tánkwetá
3 C: Ríorío
4 R: Láfa thwií
5 C: Tántabule
6 R: Tánkwetá
7 C: Tsí khoo n!ũsets'e'e
8 R: .....

9 C: Húmbuko séé

10 R: Húmbuú

11 C: Hapú húmbũs' n/ĩge !'okai,

12 tsí khoo n!ũsets'éi: Dí'a.

Translation:

1 C: [Here is] a riddle.

2 R: Forward with it.

3 C: Ríorío.

4 R: The bird of the fig-tree.

5 C: [Here is] a (the) riddle.

6 R: Forward with it.

7 C: My house has no mouth.

8 R: .....(No reply, or a wrong one).

9 C: Give me a cow.

10 R: Here is [your] cow.

11 C: As for your cow, I would have eaten it,

12 if my house had had no mouth: An egg.

The riddle is now finished, and the same challenger, or anyone else, may proceed to pose the next one. The first two lines are always spoken again, but lines 3 to 6 are normally omitted in subsequent riddles. Failure to solve a riddle always results in the demand for an imaginary cow, and the beaten opponent verbally pays the cow as a fine for not having solved the riddle. The challenger may even hold out his hand when demanding it, and the opponent may make his payment seem a little more realistic by picking up a pebble or a lump of clay from the ground and giving it to the challenger. The latter then goes on to give the solution, which is always done in the way shown in line 11: 'As for your cow, I would ha ve eaten it, if..',

followed by the original question to which the solution is then added in the same breath. The i which is added to the end of the riddle-question (see text) is the result of Sandawe grammar which demands repetition of the final i in i'okai which is rendered in translation as 'would have'.

The simple egg-riddle of the text is very common all over Africa, and there is nothing of any particular interest in it. This is why it has been quoted in the text, for what interests us here before presenting some fifty riddles is the procedure of riddle-playing and the symbolism involved.

Etymology and symbolism: the bird-riddle.

The leading challenge and its acceptance (lines 1 and 2) call for some etymological explanation. We have seen that the opening word tántabule means a riddle, and the challenger therefore simply says 'Here is a riddle'. But the term also has shades of meaning which are not immediately apparent from its use in ordinary speech. A possible etymology of tánta-bu-le is 'that which is in front - place(d) - usually', from tã or tan, 'in front' and ta, 'in'. When the challenger opens the game by saying 'Here is a riddle', he does in effect say 'Here is a problem which I place before you to solve', i.e. 'I challenge you to solve it'. One informant who knows some English actually used the word challenge. In accordance with this etymology the word tánkwe-tã of line 2 would mean 'go forward with it', just as it has been translated in the text. Tã or tan may also be used as a verb in the meaning of 'to be in front' or 'to go in front'. Kwe is an adhortative, and ta indicates place. The translations of the challenge and of its acceptance are thus straightforward enough. But as van de Kimmenade reports in his

vocabulary, tánkwetá is also the name of a bird.[1] The Sandawe say that this is a grain-eating bird which looks somewhat like a partridge or a bush-fowl. This is a real bird, not just a fictional or a mythical one. But tánkwetá is also said to be one of the names of the riddle-bird which is mythical and which we shall discuss in the following pages.

The bird-identity of tánkwetá raises the question whether other etymologies of the words táŋtabule and tánkwetá are not also possible. The place-indicating syllable ta means 'at' or 'in' as we have seen, and more specifically 'there at' or 'there in'.[2] Reduplication accompanied by nasalisation and the placement of stress on the first syllable is the common method by which the Sandawe construct relative sentences. Tá-ta or tán-ta would thus mean 'that which is there in', and tán-ta-bu-le now becomes 'that which is there in - placed - usually'.[3] The acceptance of the challenge, tán-kwe-tá would accordingly mean 'place it in - do - in there'. In the light of the meaning of the riddle-bird this makes sense. The challenger, who calls out 'Here is a riddle', does in effect say 'Here I have a bird which is at large, and I challenge you to catch it and place it into the bag'. His opponent, who says 'Forward with it', also says 'Let it fly up so I may catch it and bag it for you'. The opening lines of the Sandawe riddle thus contain a pun in which the riddle is equated with a bird, and the bird has a name which is the name of a bush-fowl.

The image of bird catching may well be analogous with

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1 van de Kimmenade, 1954, 54.

2 Cf. p. 105, the meaning of vowels. 'Here at' or 'here in' is te.

3 On p. 107 it has been noted that stress may be associated with a raised tone, hence the tone diacritic on the first a in tán-ta.

something which is found in the Swahili riddle. This opens with the challenge kitendawili, '[here is] a riddle', to which the reply is tega. The meaning of tega is given by Johnson as

"(1) set ready, put in position, prepare, esp. of a trap, and so (2) snare, entrap, decoy, catch...", and

"Tega ndege kwa tanzi, snare birds with a noose".[1]

To this may be added that tega is a common word for bird-lime in the central parts of Tanzania, and that it has also found a place in the Sandawe language; indeed it is listed by van de Kimmenade as 'bird-lime' in his vocabulary.[2]

We proceed to line 3 of the text. The word ríorío which has been left untranslated is said to be the cry of the bird in the fig-tree. At first sight it looks like a mere onomatopoetic rendering of a bird's cry, but there is a verb ríra which means 'to chase off birds'. Van de Kimmenade lists it in his vocabulary as "chasser (les oiseaux dans le champ)".[3] In correspondence with this, rí-o would then mean 'the act of chasing birds', even though the term is not so used in isolation. Once more we are faced with an image of birds, who now have to be chased off rather than be caught.

Line 4 mentions the bird as well as the tree in which it is supposed to sit and utter its cry. The Bird-of-the-Fig-Tree is here represented as an anonymous bird which is identified with a particular species of tree. Its central position in Sandawe riddle symbolism is recognised in the fact that it is the subject of a special bird-riddle which is in effect an extension of the normal opening procedure of a game of riddles,

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1 1951, 458.

2 1954, 55.

3 Ibid., 52.

but it is often played as a separate riddle at any time during a session of riddle-playing. It may be repeated several times in a game, because any small child is supposed to know it. Knowledge of the bird-riddle and its meaning explains the meaning of the bird and the tree, and therefore the bird-riddle will now be discussed. It normally runs as follows:

Text No. 22. - The Bird-Riddle. Told by Mrs. K'ats'awa d/o Zuma Mũngé at Kwa Mtoro.

1 C: Tántabule.
2 R: Tánkwetá.
3 C: Rĩorĩo.
4 R: Láfa thwĩ.
5 C: Thwĩĩsu na?
6 R: !'erek'énde.
7 C: Há'ntenasa /'ee?
8 R: Thóóna'sa /'ee.
9 C: !'erek'énde iyosu?
10 R: Tharĩ.
11 C: Há'kunasa iye?
12 R: Láfa théé.

Translation:

1 C: [Here is] a riddle.
2 R: Forward with it.
3 C: Rĩorĩo.
4 R: The bird of the fig-tree.
5 C: What bird is she then?
6 R: The !'erek'énde-bird.
7 C: Where-to then does she look?
8 R: She looks toward the east.

9 C: [And] the l'erek'énde-bird's mother?
10 R: It is the bat.
11 C: Where then does she live?
12 R: [In] the fig-tree.

The first four lines follow the usual pattern which has already been discussed. Line 5 inquires after the nature of the bird. Here we note that the question employs the feminine gender -su. On p. 64 it is mentioned that birds are normally 'female' except when they are large birds of prey. This is in accordance with the image which we are beginning to acquire of the riddle-bird, a smallish bird which eats seeds.

Line 6 gives us the name of the bird, l'erek'énde; this is said to be the proper name of the bird, even more so than tánkwetá, the name of the bush-fowl. Most people have nothing very definite to say as to what sort of bird the l'erek'énde really is; it is variously described as small, gregarious, and a pest to crops. Some people say that it must be like the kwárkaka (the Sudan Dioch) or similar small birds which fly about in dense flocks and attack the ripening crops. Toward the end of the rains large-scale bird chasing operations have sometimes to be mounted in order to protect the crops from destruction. Every man, woman and child of a village area is then engaged in shouting, slinging stones, and whistling from dawn to dusk, and the birds still do a lot of damage.

Others say that the bird of the fig-tree, whose song sounds like rforío, is a small, green, dove-like bird which is rarely seen in the dense foliage of the tree because of its colour. There is a bird called the fig-tree dove (léfa íšá) which according to some is identical with the l'erek'énde

but others deny that it is the same. Finally, the !'erek'énde is described as a small green bird whose cry sounds sometimes like ríorío, sometimes like !'rrk, !'rrk, hence the name !'erek'énde. Thus we have the bush-fowl, the gregarious flocks, the dove, and the small green bird, all of which are representations of the riddle-bird whose true identity is shrouded in mystery. Nobody has ever been able to point out to me a live !'erek'énde bird. The bird is a true riddle.

Having dealt with the matter of the bird's name the challenger asks his opponent in what direction it looks, and the answer is east. No informant could explain why the bird looks to the east, but some of their comments and the subsequent lines of the text are helpful. An informant stated that the bird looks to the east 'like a woman'. Women are oriented towards the east in marriage and in death ritual. In ritual, the east is generally associated with light and life, just as the west is associated with the setting sun and death. Women are associated with the east as the givers of life, they face east on their marriage beds, and they are buried facing east with their heads pointing north. Van de Kimmenade writes that

> "Les hommes sont couchés sur le côté droit, le visage vers le soleil couchant, les femmes sur le côté gauche",

and he adds that the position of corpses is the same as that of a man and a woman on their marriage bed.[1] Bagshawe also refers to this positioning in burials, saying that

> "The Sandawi set great store by the position of a corpse. They have been known to disinter the corpse of a Christian native, buried in the usual Christian position, in order to rearrange it according to tribal ideas".[2]

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1 1936, 414.

2 1925, 336.

The directional orientation is no doubt as important to the Sandawe theory of riddles as is the burial arrangement to their theory of life and death. The life-giving woman and the bird, both females, face the east, but this does not satisfactorily explain the orientation of the bird.[1] The next two lines throw some more light on this question.

Lines 9 and 10 tell us that the bird's mother is the bat. Sandawe folk tales describe the bat as the enemy of the sun. It quarrels with the sun about stomach medicine for its children, and when it does not get the medicine it turns away from the sun in disgust. It goes away to a dark spot where the sun cannot reach it, hangs itself in an upside-down position, and enjoys itself whenever the sun dies. The light of the sun is life-giving, but the bat is clearly on the side of life-destruction. The riddle-bird is the child of the bat, and is therefore to be placed on the same side.

Another informant's reply to the question why the bird looks to the east is 'The bird watches out for the dry season', and when asked for what reason, he said 'because it comes and eats our millet during "the drizzles"'. The drizzles (Sandawe: <u>puul'</u>) are the period of light showers, cold morning fog, and spells of drizzle which conclude the rainy season. The crops

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1 In this connection it may be relevant to mention that Hertz, 1960, 110, notices that most sacred buildings, in different religions, are turned toward the east. But he refrains from trying to establish a universally valid relationship between the right hand, superiority, good, sacred, on the one side, with the east on the other, because orientational systems often run contrary to theories concerning right and left (<u>op. cit.</u>, note 86 on p. 159). Sandawe women, being feminine and therefore 'inferior' are associated with the left hand, but being life-giving they are associated with the east. We cannot contend that therefore the east is associated with the left hand.

have grown and are ripening, and this is the time of the greatest bird danger. When the bird is watching out for the dry season, it is clearly waiting for the end of the rainy season, the time when it can eat its fill on man's crops. When asked why the bird looks to the east, our informant did not say that it is looking forward to the latter parts of the rainy season, but rather to the beginning of the dry season. The logic of the substitution is not difficult to see, for the dry season is the time of plentiful sun and light, while the rainy season is the time of cloud and relative darkness. The bird is sitting in this relative darkness (non-life) and is looking for the first signs of the light of the dry season (the east and life) to eat its fill on the then ripe crops. Once the dry season has properly arrived and the harvests are in there is nothing left for the birds to destroy. The bird danger is now over and the riddle-playing taboo is lifted, for riddles can now be safely played.[1]

If the identification of birds with riddles and the reason for the taboo have now been cleared up, what has the tree got to do with it all? Not only is the bird called the Bird-of-the-Fig-Tree, but the last two lines of text No. 22 make it expressly clear that the bird lives in this particular tree which the Sandawe call <u>lífa</u>. Neither Dempwolff nor van de Kimmenade identify the tree in their vocabularies, although the latter vaguely refers to it as '<u>Caoutchouquier sauvage</u>'.[2] The Sandawe say that its Swahili name is <u>mrumba</u>, and that this is also the name given to it by the Rimi. The existing

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1 This theory has subsequently been confirmed by Mr. Pius Duma of Moóto with whom I have discussed it.

2 1954, 47.

literature does not appear to make any reference to this name in either language, but Hora and Greenway mention mrumba as the Nyamwezi name for Ficus thonningii and Ficus glumosa.[1] Burtt lists mrumba as the Luguru name for Terminalia sericea (which, according to him, is called mpuru in Rimi), but the tree is very obviously a fig species, and the Terminalia clue can be discounted.[2] The tree bears small, sweet figs in January-February, and the description of Ficus thonningi given by Brenan and Greenway fits the lá́fa tree so well also in other respects, that we may safely assume that this is the Sandawe riddle-tree.[3] Bird lime is not mentioned, but van de Kimmenade's description of the tree as a wild rubber tree clearly suggests the rubbery nature of its latex. The Sandawe collect this and smear it on sticks which are put into the bushes near wells where birds come to drink and fly up into the bushes for a rest between their drinks. In this way the riddle-tree's latex catches many of the small birds which ruin the crops. Fig-tree latex is called lá́fa té́ga, and we have already noted the possible relation between the word téga and the solving of riddles.

But there is another association of the tree with riddles. Let us return for a moment to the question why the bird looks to the east. An informant states that 'it is caught in the fig tree, and looks to the east' (lá́fa thecéna hín/'aa, sa thocónasa /'ää). This statement is supplemented by a remark that rain comes from the east. This is literally true, for in Sandawe country the dominant winds are easterly ones, and rains arrive from anywhere between the north-east and the south-east, except

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1 Hora and Greenway, 1940, 276.

2 Burtt, 1936, No.238.

3 Brenan and Greenway, 1949, 360.

for a usually very brief period about March when westerly winds may blow. Since practically all rain comes from the east the informant's remark that it does would seem rather unsignificant. But rain is life-giving and as such it is clearly associated with the life-giving east; also the last rains of the 'drizzle' period - when the birds begin to do most of their damage - never comes from the west. The westerly winds are then over and the last rains always come from the east. Meanwhile the bird sits in the fig tree in which it is caught, looking to the east. The fig tree is the bird-lime trap in which the riddle-bird is caught; from its dark shadows it looks longingly forward to the time when it can escape to the beckoning millet fields to enjoy life.

Some tribesmen say that the fig tree has a 'brother' (tots'e) which is called tepaténa. This is a large tree which has large, downy, maple-like leaves, and bears large quantities of red beans which are set in masses of tangled stalks. These beans are used by some diviners to expose witches by causing them to vomit, and the 'brother' of the riddle-tree thus turns out to be a divination-tree.[1] The relation between the two trees has been described as 'the láfa tree's fruits are sweet [but] the tepaténa tree's fruits are bitter' (láfa thée n//oko máa'wa, tepaténa thée n//okosi' tl'ŭeé'wa). As opposed to the business of solving witchcraft problems the game of solving riddles is sweet. But even the sweet figs have a dangerous aspect. The riddle-bird eats them and thrives on them, and then goes on to destroy man's crops. The tree feeds danger, and even the tree itself is a danger, not only to the bird which it entraps in its latex. For the tree is a parasite. Some people plant it as a shade tree by their homesteads, but according to the Sandawe this is the only non-parasitic way in which it can grow.

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1 Cf. p. 270, The Witch and the Fire-oracle.

They say that its natural manner of reproduction is always that of a parasite. Brenan and Greenway say that it is 'sometimes epiphytic'.[1] Birds eat the figs and deposit the seeds on other trees in their droppings. If a seed falls in a favourable place such as a hollow in the joint of the trunk and a branch, a young sapling will grow up which at first lives entirely off the host tree. Soon it begins to send down aerial roots, and when these reach the ground the young tree starts its independent life. It sends down more and more roots around the trunk of the host tree, gradually engulfing it and strangling it to death. In this way the riddle-tree brings destruction to many good and useful trees; even as large a tree as a fully grown baobab may be swallowed up and destroyed. The tree is as destructive as the riddle-bird which it sustains with its fruit, and by whom it is given its own life in return. Its nature is as strange and puzzling as a riddle, and it is a fitting companion to the bird as well as its master, for it lives off other trees like the bird lives off man's crops, and the bird is its captive tool.

The tree and the bird supplement one another like the two halves of a parable. Although the tree is a riddle-tree, it is in particular the bird which is symbolically equated with the game of riddles. To play riddles is tantamount to calling up the riddles' symbolic namesakes and alter ego, the birds. We have seen that the songs of traditional stories, and the stories themselves, are also called tántabula, like riddles. Of these songs it is said that they fly like birds, and this may be the reason why, like playing riddles, story-telling is also taboo during the rainy season. But the story taboo is more like a joking taboo and it is not strictly enforced.[2]

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1 Op.cit., 360.

2 Harries, 1942 b, 275, states that the Makua jokingly say that to play riddles and to tell stories in daytime is taboo.

In the following pages fifty riddles will be presented. In order to avoid needless repetition of procedure only the challenges of the riddles proper and the replies will be reproduced. The riddles have been arranged according to the categories proposed by Schapera, and adopted by Harries and Blacking.[1]

(1) Natural phenomena.

Text No. 23. Told by Mr. Bakari Tamba Songo at Kwa Mtoro.

1 C: Tuećkime ba'ásus'wa i/í.
2 R: !áoso.

1 C: The mother of the night has come.
2 R: The moon.

The moon is clearly seen as a female person here. The term ba'ásus' signifies a female ruler, 'she who has greatness over [the night]'. The femininity of the moon is discussed on p. 64.

Text No. 24. Told by Mrs. Dalakwí ..(?).. at Bugénika.

1 C: //akásŭ saχ: "!'íma n//ínetets'ē !'inóne' ní'kwe".
2 R: //okáa báara.

1 C: The sun says: "Go to hunt in the flat plains."
2 R: The dry season has begun.

The dry season is the principal hunting season, the grass is dry and short, and animals are better visible. The verbal form saχ (she says) shows the femininity of the sun.

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1 Schapera 1932; Harries 1942 b; Blacking 1961.

Text No. 25. Told by Mr. !'umphá Petri Salim' at N!aχuwe.

1 C: Wareχsí !ábisa bintl'.

2 R: Hángakwe o hloomé.

1 C: Friends, the new moon is glimmering.

2 R: Get up so we may hoe.

The Sandawe believe that when the moon is new during the rainy season, the rain will fall because it is brought by the nascent moon. The new moon, it is said, brings the rain clouds, and this is the sign that it is time to go hoeing so that the seeds may be planted in time.

Text No. 26. Told by Mrs. Lusía w/o Gawa Ginda'é Solá at Farkwa.

1 C: Hís' hik'i haχ hewéχsũ.

2 R: Birimbíri.

1 C: Whenever I go, I'll just be with it.

2 R: [My] shadow.

Text No. 27. Told by Mrs. Berta Kwelẽ at Dantl'áwa.

1 C: G/íg/í sumarééda.

2 R: //ogána //oo.

1 C: Descend, descend, grunting lion.

2 R: The road to the rock-hollows.

Sumarééda is the same as Samulééda, a ritual term for 'Lion', which in text No. 6 is translated as He Who Always Grunts.[1] In Sandawe country there are many bare rock surfaces which show irregular or circular depressions which look like animal foot-prints; the riddle evokes the image of such a lion 'spoor'.

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1 Cf. p. 150, note 11.

(2) The vegetable world.

Text No. 28. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at N//atshá.

1 C: Khúχ, pa solá' //aats'.

2 R: Gêle.

1 C: Kick, and then white cattle emerge.

2 R: Baobab [seeds].

When the dry fallen seed pods of the baobab tree are kicked the shells will crack open, exposing the seeds. Although the seeds proper are black they are encapsuled in a powdery white substance which has a pleasantly sour taste; this is a favourite sweet of the children. Solí is the term for white cattle; in their games Sandawe children use small lumps of clay as toy cattle, and the white baobab seed lumps serve as white cattle.

Text No. 29. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at N//atshá.

1 C: Fere'éyoo //ó'.

2 R: Sonía.

1 C: It whistles shrilly on and on, there.

2 R: [The seeds of] the gall-acacia tree.

Sonía is the name of the common gall acacia (Acacia drepanolobium) which is a very thorny shrub or tree, often found in pure stands on hardpan soils.[1] Its seeds are roughly the size of a marble and set with three large thorns; they are also holed, as a rule, as a result of the boring activities of a small beetle. These hollow bored seeds form natural whistles; when the wind blows they emit a typical shrill whistling sound.

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1 Burtt, 1936, No.6.

Text No. 30. Told by Mr. Elía Esoo at Tónkolo.

1 C: Páχŭ, mamá.

2 R: !wérk'o.

1 C: Pop! grandmother.

2 R: A wild melon.

The explanation given to this riddle was a laughing: 'Grandmother has no [longer a] womb; grandmother has finished bearing [children]' (mamá kubasúe'ts'e'e; mamá habóo ǂ'ókasa). !wérk'o is the name of a small wild melon with a leathery wrinkled skin which pops loudly when trodden upon. The image is a double one: the empty womb of a woman past the menopause, and the exceedingly wrinkled skin which some Sandawe women tend to develop at an advanced age. The hollow sound of 'pop', of course, represents a gross irreverence; this is the normal attitude toward grandparents, cf. p. 35.[1]

(3) The animal world and hunting.

Text No. 31. Told by Mr. Paul Lyimó at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Thuúnatsŭa típa'ínsa i/í.

2 R: Torő.

1 Blindly, in corkscrew motion she comes.

2 A cicada.

The insect moves in the way described, hitting anything in its way with such force that it will fall down on the floor. Lying on its back, it has to wriggle itself up before it can take off for another flight which may again end in a collision.

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1 The informant almost states in so many words that a melon is a symbol of the womb.

Text No. 32. Told by Mrs. Maria w/o Tshori at Weneko.

1 C: Gélés' khaa sikára' //aats'.

2 R: Gelewá.

1 C: I beat the baobab fruit and out come the soldiers.

2 R: The gelewa beetle.

The gelewa is a small, slender red beetle with a tiny black head which normally inhabit baobab seed pods when they have been lying on the ground for some time. When the pods are kicked open the beetles come running out; often they are locked together in pairs. The riddle likens them to the pairs of soldiers or policemen who swarm out of the government post in all directions, at the order of the government.

Text No. 33. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at N//atshá.

1 C: Hubẽ ts'elẽ.

2 R: /hía mokóndo.

1 C: The roofbeam's clanging sound.

2 R: The dwarf-antelope's footprints.

Ts'elẽ means 'the clang of metal', like the sound of a coin which drops on stone or an arrow which strikes a rock. The informant explains that this riddle poses an impossible question which requires an impossible reply. Roof beams are wooden poles, they are fixed and they do not clang with a metallic sound. The dwarf-antelope is a little animal which moves about silently; since it makes no noise its footprints can only be seen, not heard. Another informant explains that a roofbeam is impossibly large for use as an arrow. It cannot be shot off and it cannot clang like an arrow. A third informant gives yet another reason

why the association of sound with the dwarf-antelope's footprints is absurd. Cattle litter their tracks with droppings as they go along; these clack when they drop (although not metallic, the informant describes this sound as ts'elē). The dwarf antelope never deposits any droppings in its tracks; instead, it always runs to one of its special dropping spots in the bush which it marks as its own by smearing an excretion from a facial gland on a twig; this smelly excretion is called ǂ'ékhe.

Text No. 34. Told by Mr. Khawa Sóno at Tékele N/atá.

1 C: Húbu naa húbu.
2 R: Kéuto mokóndo.

1 C: Wham, and wham!
2 R: The bush-pig's footprints.

This simple onomatopoetic riddle suggests the sound of the ungainly gait of a bush-pig. Pigs are nocturnal raiders of the fields, and usually they are not seen but they may be heard. This is why it is the sound of the passing animals that matters, rather than their visual spoor.

Text No. 35. Told by Mr. Ali N!amahla Müngé at N/ǂkese, Kúrambe.

1 C: Ka': ʘ , ʘ , tl'üése thúnts'a weré.
2 R: Tékele n/ǂ'sana' nǂ'inǂ'.

1 C: He says: "smack, smack", the witch goes about stealthily.
2 R: Hyenas go to and fro, to eat meat.

For the way in which the smacking sound ʘ is produced, see p. 111. Possibly this sound is similar to a sound which Bleek describes as occurring in Bushman:

"A most curious feature in Bushman folk-lore is formed by the speeches of various animals,... said to be peculiar to the animals in whose mouths they are placed. It is a remarkable attempt to imitate the shape or position of the mouth of the kind of animals to be represented."[1]

The sound produced in this riddle appears to be an effective imitation of a hyena which smacks the lips in anticipation of a meal. It also appears to be used only for imitating a hyena.[2] Being a familiar of witches, the hyena walks about stealthily in the dark (thúnts'a weré), and its gait is like that of a person who has bad designs, nervously walking to and fro all the time.[3]

Text No. 36. Told by a boy whose name I do not know, at Mugómore.

1 C: Ka': "ʘ, ʘ", kwaχ: "ʘ, ʘ".
2 R: Tékele.

1 C: He says: "smack, smack", and says: "smack, smack".
2 R: A hyena.

The following explanation is given: 'The lion eats meat while the hyena is here waiting [for the spoils]' (//atsí hía n/íni' tékele ó'a ivŏ dáara). The lion hunts its prey and kills it, but the hyena is a coward and waits for the lion to finish its meal so he may feed on the spoils afterwards. Meanwhile he sits at a distance, smacking his lips.

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1 Bleek, 1875, 6.
2 Its wail is reproduced as háue, cf. text No.15, note 19 (p.261)
3 Informant's description. Velten, 1900, 193, writes that a European who was in the habit of sneaking up to his labourers to see if they were at work, was nicknamed Mr.Hyena by the Swahili.

Text No. 37. Told by Mrs Yustina //'oká at Mindiga.

1 C: !hwegéa !'úmasa tóu.

2 R: Tékele.

1 C: A hornless cow finishes up the country.

2 R: A hyena.

A hornless cow is an incomplete animal, an anomaly. Of young girls it is said that 'they have no horns yet' (//ɔɔx tlénawasots'e) which means 'they have no breasts yet', i.e. they are still incomplete. Initiates in circumcision camps are called hyenas (tékele) as long as they have not been ritually cleansed at the conclusion of their initiation period, i.e. as long as 'they have not become complete [people]' (//ɔɔx tlem'séwatósots'e), reintegrated into society. Hyenas are anomalous as witches and socially incomplete as outcasts, and therefore hornless cows.

The expression 'to finish up the country' is Sandawe idiom for pacing up and down, up and down, in a restless manner, the way hyenas do (see also text No. 35 above).[1]

Text No. 38. Told by Mrs. K'ats'awa d/o Zuma Mungé at Kwa Mtoro.

1 C: Tántabule !'úmank'o 'boxpos'.

2 R: Siriko.

1 C: I shall tell you the riddle in secret.

2 R: The siriko-bird.

Siriko is a small bird whose name is of Bantu origin, cf. Swahili shiriku. Johnson tells us that this is the "name of a bird,

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1 The Swahili use the same expression (kumaliza nchi).

Finches - Fringillidae";[1] Archbold describes it as a Canary (Serinus);[2] and Dammann identifies tširiko as Spinus citrinelloides hypostictus.[3] During the rains when the game is forbidden, a riddle has to be told in secret, like a bird which brings a secret message. Birds as carriers of secret messages are common in folklore all over Bantu Africa;[4] of course the riddle itself is also a bird, as we have seen. The name of the bird in this riddle involves a pun: siri is a Bantu word which means 'secret'; -ko is a Sandawe adhortative, and siri-ko thus means 'do it in secret'.

Text No. 39. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Thóntasa kẽ'kẽ'sa n!amé.

2 R: Tlankáá.

1 C: In the plain she is ringing: "kẽ, kẽ."

2 R: The francolin.

This simple onomatopoetic riddle reproduces the sound of the francolin. These birds are common in plains and valley grounds.

Text No. 40. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Kigíngots'sa mara'é.

2 R: Ts'ank'é.

1 C: At Kigango she is beautifully-patterned.

2 R: A guinea-fowl.

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1 1951, 57.

2 1956 (appendix).

3 Dammann 1938, 3.

4 Cf. chapter IX.

The speckled pattern of the guinea-fowl's plumage is considered very beautiful (mara'é).[1] Kigángo is an area near Dódu in central Sandawe which abounds in guinea-fowl. As usual the bird is feminine.

Text No. 41. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Kutúkutú.
2 R: Sindi !ima.

1 C: Little fists.
2 R: Puppy's paws.

Text No. 42. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at N//atshá.

1 C: Palapalasé.
2 R: Inzaléa dí !haansa habá.

1 C: It has the legs apart.
2 R: A sheep gives birth on a flat rock.

Flat rock expanses are the best places where birth-giving can be supervised. If an animal of the herd is about to give birth in the bush the herdsman will try to get it to such an open space if there is one nearby; here the newborn animal can be cared for and chances are better that it will not be lost. There are several places in the country which are named Palá or Phalá.

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1 Cf. p. 285, note 9.

Text No. 43. Told by Mr. Paul Lyimó at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Gáwanas' keẽ sógoro kísoχis' tl'itima.
2 R: Dak'wé /'ina.

1 C: I climbed up the hill; two pestles I cut.
2 R: A mule's teats.

A mule has only two teats; these are likened to the pestles which women use to pound grain in a mortar. They carry out this work in pairs, each of them pounding their pestle in turn.

Text No. 44. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at N//atshá.

1 C: Tsí humbu n/í zakhá, kelemba kítete.
2 R: Kóko ts'obór'so.

1 C: My cow's meat is outside [but] the hide is inside.
2 R: A chicken's gizzard.

The rough inside of a slaughtered chicken's gizzard reminds the Sandawe of a cow's hide.

Text No. 45. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Tshupe tshupe góro χú'!ũ.
2 R: Kóko musúnthi.

1 C: Clatter, clatter, the posts surround [it] closely.
2 R: A chicken's tail.

The quills of a chicken's large tail feathers are like the massive wooden main posts of a Sandawe house. The verb χú'!ũ suggests wrapping a tight bundle, like bundling together a pile of firewood which has been collected in the bush, so that the women can carry the bundles home on their heads.

(4) Crops, food, etc.

Text No. 46. Told by Mr. Bakari Tamba Songo at Kwa Mtoro.

1 C: Tsí khoo nǂũ /'ánk'na /'èè.

2 R: Misiko.

1 C: My house's mouth looks upwards.

2 R: A beehive.

Beehives are made of hollowed-out lengths of tree trunk and placed in the branches of a tree or suspended from them on a rope. The hive is actually so placed that the opening is facing slightly down rather than up; this is done to keep out the rain.[1] The term 'looking up' is the result of an image transfer from the observer on the ground who is looking up, to the hive above.

Text No. 47. Told by Mrs. K'ats'awa d/o Zuma Mũngé at Kwa Mtoro.

1 C: Tshupéé !hwa.

2 R: Mamá nán'sa k'an!'a.

1 C: Clapping; handclaps.

2 R: Grandmother has ground vegetables.

Grandmother has finished grinding, she gets up and shakes the dust of the pulverized dried vegetables off her hands.

Text No. 48. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Ts'umáχ n//osũkia //aats'.

2 R: Tshaaχ kidibáki.

1 C: Ts'umá, she always emerges together with her child.

2 R: The food pot and the vegetable dish.

1 The usual position of a hive is as described and illustrated by Culwick, 1938, 66-7.

Food is dished up in two vessels: the large one with porridge and the small one with relish. Pots are feminine, like gourds, pumpkins and melons. The small dish is the 'child' of the large one. The name Ts'umá appropriately means one 'who has smoke (or steam)'.[1]

Text No. 49. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at N//atshá.

1 C: Pándepánde phá́á phoo.
2 R: Káza.

1 C: The cleft ones are open and exposed.
2 R: A drying rack.

Meat is dried on a rack above the fireplace where it is all open and exposed to the smoke. The rack is referred to as 'the cleft ones' because it is made of sticks which are stripped of their bark and then cleft into chips; these are joined crosswise to form the rack. Van de Kimmenade gives the meaning of pánde or pándima as 'to cleave',[2] but it also means 'to be apart and parallel', cf. the Rimi iphándia, which Obst translates as 'a road with rows of euphorbia hedges on either side'.[3] Phá́á is a contraction of pa-há́á, 'and it - gaped'; phoo is literally 'white', but it also maans 'clear, open , exposed.'

Text No. 50. Told by Mr. Khawa Sóno at Tékele N/atá.

1 C: Phé tl'ík'ko labé /í o mamá sura.
2 R: Zungú.

1 C: To-morrow come early in the morning so we may hang up [grandmother.
2 R: The beer filter.

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1 The food is described in text No.3, note 8 (p.130).
2 1954, 51.
3 1911, 88.

Beer has been brewed and it has been put ready in large pots and gourds, filled up to the brims and covered with the froth of fermentation. The next morning the first guests will start to arrive early, and the beer is then filtered in front of the drinkers. To this end it is poured into plaited beer strainers or filters (zúngu); these are wrung out over the beer pots so that the chaff and other impurities stay behind in the filters. When the filters have done their work they are hung up on pegs in the wall, looking old, used and wrinkled like grandmothers.[1]

Text No. 61. Told by Mrs. Yustina //'oká at Mindiga.

1 C: Sòmboriro.

2 R: Pónde ts'uk'á.

1 C: Craving spiralling up.

2 R: Pipe smoke.

No informant has been able to explain the meaning of sòmboriro but analysis shows the following: sòmbà is an aphrodisiac, or any medicine which produces a craving; sòmb-o is the action of the medicine, cf. p. 105, the meaning of vowels. Ri-ro is the action of chasing up birds, or flying up, cf. text 21, line 3, and its explanation on p. 301. Sòmboriro thus suggests the craving caused by the tobacco smoke which is spiralling up from a pipe. Informants later agreed with this, but say that the challenge may also be posed as sónsori'o, 'that which comes forth and spirals up'.

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1 The word for 'beerfilter' in isolation is zúngu; its variant zungú in the text means 'the filter which is meant, or talked about'.

Text No. 52. Told by Mr. !'umphá Petri Salim' at N!aχuwe.

1 C: Dĭ !hánte'is' //'ék'a remãnkoa' tuk'a.

2 R: !'aak'ŭ tuk'á.

1 C: On the flat rock I spat out a blood clot.

2 R: !'aak'ŭ-bark spittle.

!'aak'ŭ is a shrub which somewhat resembles dock or sorrel.[1] Many Sandawe chew it because its juices seem to contain a mild stimulant. Chewing it causes one's spittle to become very red. A flat rock is of course the place where the result of this colouring action can be best observed.

(5) The body and its functions.

Text No. 53. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Lonzó ćarimo tatá'ona n//ume.

2 R: N/atí.

1 C: Lonzó's sleeping hut stands out foreward.

2 R: The nose.

The parable of the sleeping hut is based on its function; it is the resonator box of a person who snores. The name Lonzó supplies the clue, for it means 'that which is habitually quiet'. The first syllable indicates its habitual function, cf. lon-khá 'that which habitually beats', i.e. a fighting stick.[2] The element -le indicates habitual action,[3] the vowel change to o shows the action or function itself,[4] and the nasalisation of

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1 Newman, 1966, identifies it as Ficus hochstetteri (Miq.) A. Rich.

2 Cf. text No. 58.

3 Cf. note 8 on p.116.

4 Cf. the value of vowels, p. 105.

the vowel has an isolating meaning. Zǫ means the action of being quiet, cf. gozõ, 'a stagnant pool', i.e. quiet water.[1]

Text No. 54. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Tsí khoo χeχehlá'ĩnga swe'swe'mẹ.

2 R: !'akã.

1 C: My house has its walls with white stones.

2 R: The teeth.

Text No. 55. Told by Mrs. María w/o Tshorí at Weneko.

1 C: Tl'ankhoots'a nánaà n/ink'e.

2 R: Kesewá tl'aní.

1 C: At Tl'ankhoo the vegetables dry up.

2 R: Kesewa's tooth-gap.

The Sandawe cook their vegetables mostly as a finely ground mash, like spinach. The informant explains that when vegetables are left over in a dish, hollow crusts of dry vegetables will eventually form if the dish is left unwashed. These hollows resemble gaps between the teeth which are encrusted with the remains of vegetables after eating. The name Tl'ankhoo is deliberately chosen. This is the name of a place in central Sandawe where there is a double-humped hill. During the rainy season the gap between the humps is concealed by vegetation but during the dry season this dries up and the gap becomes visible like a tooth-gap. Tl'ankhoo (tl'an(i)-khoo) means 'the house of the tooth-gap'. The gap in the hill has evidently supplied a name for the place where local people had built their

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1 Cf. text No. 154.

homestead. Kesewa is the name of a girl who herded her flock by the gap (small animals may be herded by girls); the name means 'One Who Herds'. Kesewa had unclean teeth with a gap.

Text No. 56. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at N//atshá.

1 C: Tsí n/omóso tsía' n!ú'ta n/í'vase.
2 R: !he.

1 C: My people, they all have meat in the mouth.
2 R: The tongue.

Text No. 57. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: K'ithí.
2 R: Moróo eera.

1 C: Aggressive braggart.
2 R: Moróo's reeds.

This riddle ridicules the Maasai (or the Baraguyu). K'ithí suggests terrifying anger, cf. k'itl'é, 'to be angry'; -thí is an emphasized -ti, 'in a state of', cf. -ta 'in' or 'at' with the vowel i which has the meaning of the Latin esse (cf. p.105). K'itĺ is a furious person, and k'ithí intensifies the meaning to that of an aggressive person or a braggart who is quite terrifying. Eraa is the name of a type of reed which grows in marshes. The informant says that these reeds look like a Maasai warrior's headdress, for they wear long skeins of twined hair on their foreheads and down their necks.[1] He also says that the water reeds called eraa are 'cool' (tíuka). The image of this kind of vegetation appears to provide effective deflation to the effect of terrifying anger conjured up by the challenge.

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1 See plate III.

The informant did not know the meaning of the name Morɔ́ɔ́, but he said that the Maasai wear their hair like girl's chains (n//okotai morɔ́a). This is an old type of necklace from which many iron chains are suspended, forming a small curtain. In the past girls also used such curtain aprons to cover their pudendas; if received from a lover such chains had the same significance as beads or strings.[1] Dempwolff tells us that the word 'morɔ́' means 'barrenness' or 'infertility',[2] and also that it is a male proper name.[3] This is indeed the case, for the name is given to children who have been born when the land is barren during a period of drought. Van de Kimmenade records that the verb 'moro' means 'to abort'; the term morɔ́ɔ or morɔ́'ɔ then means the act of aborting. The name Morɔ́ɔ is used by some Sandawe as a general nickname for Maasai or Baraguyu; any resemblance with the Maasai term for 'warrior' (il-murani, plural l-muran) may be coincidence but it has no doubt helped to make the name stick. Checking up with other informants showed that there are several words which are different but related: morɔ́, 'to abort' or 'to be barren'; morɔ́'ɔ, 'the act of aborting'; morɔ́ɔ́, 'barrenness'; Morɔ́ɔ́, 'Barrenness', a nickname for the Maasai; but Moórɔ́ɔ́ (rather than Dempwolff's morɔ́), a Sandawe proper name; and morɔ́a, a neck chain or a pudenda curtain.

Thus it appears that the Sandawe make a subtle difference between a proper name which is given to their own children in times of drought, and a nickname used for the Maasai which

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1 Redmayne, 1964, 102, illustrates "a small girl wearing a traditional string apron (usako)" of the Hehe tribe; this corresponds closely with the Sandawe chain apron shown in plate III. For Sandawe bead symbolism see pp. 41, 44, 263, and 264 of this thesis.

2 1916, 49.

3 Ibid., 133.

4 1954, 49.

insultingly implies barrenness. As we have seen, our informant's first reaction was to associate the Maasai nickname with a girl's chain or pudenda curtain; it seems safe to assume that the nickname is hardly a flattering one. The Maasai are, of course, traditional enemies.

Text No. 58. Told by Mrs. Yustina //'oká at Mindiga.

1 C: Togá lonkhá.

2 R: Wazungu n!aaχí.

1 C: Togá's fighting stick.

2 R: A European's nose ridge.

Stick fighting is a traditional Sandawe game of agility, not unlike fencing. Informant No. 16 (Appendix IV), who lives in western Sandawe, says that the game is of Rimi origin and that it has often been fought in earnest to settle quarrels in duels. Each contestant carries two sticks, a hitting stick in the right hand and a shield-stick in the left. Dempwolff shows four photographs of such a stick fight;[1] von Luschan gives a good illustration of the two sticks used.[2] The Rimi used sticks as their main weapons in war; first they threw their spears at the enemy and then they went at them with their fighting sticks.[3] The Rimi term for the word lonkhá is similar: fugua-mlanga according to von Sick,[4] but a Sandawe etymology can be applied to the term. Lo-n-khaa means 'that which habitually beats'.[5]

1 1916, after the text.

2 1898, 340.

3 1915, 14.

4 Ibid., 13.

5 Could the Sandawe term have been derived from the Bantu, having been changed somewhat in the process to make it fit the Sandawe pattern of meanings for word elements?

The choice of the name again completes the image created by the riddle. Togá means 'it does stick out'. The fighting stick of course represents the narrowness and the straightness of the European's nose.

Text No. 59. Told by Mr. Bakari Tamba Songo at Kwa Mtoro.

1 C: Manâ hé'si //ése?

2 R: Hlf'.

1 C: Grandmother, why have you thrown me down?

2 R: Snot.

A Sandawe blows his nose holding it between the second and third fingers while the back of the hand rests against the brow.[1] Any mucus which may attach itself to a finger is thrown off with a flicking movement. The flicking movement is said to resemble the tottering gait of an old woman. To associate grandmother with an unclean action is of course a show of disrespect which is quite in accordance with normal grandchild-grandparent relationships.

Text No. 60. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Tántabule ba'asés' boχpo aa manápone?

2 R: Gûba.

1 C: If I give you a big riddle, then would you understand?

2 R: The womb.

The explanation given is that the womb is great, because all living creatures are fruits of the womb.[2]

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1 The left hand is not always selected for this unclean action; many Sandawe even use either hand for eating.

2 Text No.19 shows that the hollow baobab tree is the Aboriginal Womb.

Text No. 61. Told by Mr. Paul Lyimó at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Tsí //'anga zũaárea khwats'e.

2 R: K'úúdu !'u.

1 C: My well indeed is covered with grass.

2 R: Pudenda hair.

Zũaare is a type of grass which grows in moist, lowlying areas, near wells, but it has even more associations with the pubic region.[1] Some girls are said to take a sedative prepared from the grass, before submitting themselves to clitoridectomy. A particular species of Zũaare, which is called //ho//há, is a star-grass which initiates chew before circumcision takes place, to stop the bleeding quickly.[2]

Text No. 62. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Tl'átl'ábiyoo.

2 R: N/atá.

1 C: It goes on: 'clack, clack'.

2 R: Diarrhoea.

Text No. 63. Told by Mr. Paul Lyimó at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Khomós'á rógo khoosoa !ẽnts'e.

2 R: Tshóó.

1 C: Khomóso has forgotten his knife-handle.

2 R: Excrement.

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1 Newman, 1966 (No.147) identifies it as Cynodon dactylon (L).

2 Not identified botanically. //ho//há is also the name of a tree (Combretum spp.)

The likeness of the knife handle to excrement is straightforward but the fun of the riddle lies again with the choice of the name. Khomóso is a male proper name which means 'the house's fly-switch' (khoo moóso). The fly-switch is an emblem of dignity, and the 'fly-switch' of the household is its head and quite likely the grandfather of the riddle-playing children. Here he has to swish the flies off the excrement left behind by a small child.[1]

(6) Domestic life etc.

Text No. 64. Told by Mr. Khawa Sóno at Tékele N/atá.

1 C: Khuχú'.
2 R: Koé'o koé'o.

1 C: Kick!
2 R: Slamming, slamming [into something with the feet].

Text No. 65. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at N//atshá.

1 C: Khuχú'.
2 R: Mamá koéts'.
1 C: Kick!
2 R: Grandmother has crashed [into something].

Text No. 66. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at N//atshá.

1 C: Hláp'hláp' kinam'bír'.
2 R: Di'séa' mán'mán'na gir'bé.

1 C: Patter-patter, continuous running.
2 R: The elders run to the battle.

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1 The word tshóó is the Bantu choo.

When danger threatens children hide themselves with their mothers in the bush, or in the house. Inside they can hear the trampling feet of the men who are running past, on their way to the battle. 'Patter' (hlǽp') is normally used for the sound of the feet of children and dogs; 'trampling' is nǽpa. Possibly this is a riddle couched in children's terms, but perhaps the use of the word hlǽp' (patter) implies disrespect.

Text No. 67. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Kǿ'as' ko'ɐwa tl'aakwepone?

2 R: Dagé.

1 C: If I put up all the pegs, can you take them all?

2 R: Debts.

The hides of slaughtered animals have to be sun-dried properly before they can be sold. This is done by stringing them up in a circle of pegs which are driven into the ground; this keeps the skins just off the ground as they dry. If many hides are sold perhaps all the arrears in taxes can be paid.

(7) Utensils and other objects.

Text No. 68. Told by Mrs. K'ats'awá d/o Zuma Müngé at Kwa Mtoro.

1 C: Tsí n/omóso som'kfχ ůra' ia'abéwa.

2 R: Kfba.

1 C: My three people do very much work.

2 R: The hearth.

The Sandawe fireplace is of the usual African type of three stones between which the fire is lit, and on which the pots rest. It is almost continuously in use.

Text No. 69. Told by Mr. !'umphá Petri Salim' at N!aχuwe.

1 C: Degerata /hía !'war'kaka ts'éχsu.

2 R: Phálǒ.

1 C: In the degera-bush the dwarf-antelope has but one jaw.

2 R: A wood-carving knife.

The Sandawe have two special carving knives, the xorǐts'ima and the phálo. The former is bent round so that the blade forms a loop; this implement is used for carving out hollow shapes like wooden bowls (la'sá). The latter, the phálo, is a special wood-carving knife with an elegantly curved blade which is not bent sideways, but straight.[1] The dwarf-antelope of dikdik is a common animal and most Sandawe children have seen its bleached lower jaws in the bush. When the halves are separated a single jaw has a shape which resembles the phálo; the complete jaw would be more like the xorǐts'ima with its U-shape. Dwarf antelopes are vulnerable animals who like to run for cover into the thorny, dense degera-bush (Dichrostachys glomerata). Most of the animals who do get caught by their pursuers, are killed in the thornbush. This is the place, therefore, where their remains are usually seen.

Text No. 70. Told by Mr. !'umphá Petri Salim' at N!aχuwe.

1 C: Huru !'u.

2 R: Úsuli.

1 C: The hide-hair scatters.

2 R: Wooden-headed arrows.

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1 Both knives are illustrated by von Luschan, 1898, 341 (fig. 18 and fig. 19). He refers to them as 'koletzima and mbalo (p.340).

Úsuli is the name of a type of arrow which has no metal head. It is used for shooting birds, and for hunting small animals among rocks where arrows may get lost in places from which they cannot be recovered. Iron heads are precious, but wooden-headed arroes can easily be kept in quantity. Children do their practice shooting with them, and when they do this the wooden arrows may fall down in swarms, scattering all over the place like hair which is falling out of an old hide.[1]

Text No. 71. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Kokó khootá, dérū zakhá.

2 R: Tl'ábo.

1 C: Grandfather is in the house but his beard is outside.

2 R: Rafters.

The flat roofs of Sandawe houses have rafters which project outside the walls where they support the eaves under which people like to sit and talk. The rafters which are placed close together are like the stubbly goatee of an old man. Grandfather is the owner of the homestead and the rafters are therefore his beard. An element of mild ridicule may well be present.

Text No. 72. Told by Mr. Bakarŏ Tamba Songo at Kwa Mtoro.

1 C: Tsí galama selé'sets'e.

2 R: //oo.

1 C: My climbing rope has no end.

2 R: A path.

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1 Common shapes of the arrow are illustrated by von Luschan, 1898, 330, and by Tanner, 1953, 65 (Sukuma examples of shapes also common among the Sandawe).

The Sandawe make long ropes out of the fibre of the inner bark of the baobab tree; these ropes are provided with a weight at one end. This is thrown across the branch of a tree where a beehive is kept and the doubled rope is then used as a climbing rope to reach the hive; such a rope has been described by Hunter.[1] Paths between the fields wind endlessly, like a long rope.

Text No. 73. Told by Mr. Paul Koto Degera at N//atshá.

1 C: Kúmbunas' kéē dóro mokóndos' /áware.
2 R: Kundu.

1 C: I climbed on to the roof, and I saw zebra tracks every-
2 R: Weed heaps. [where.

When cultivation plots are hoed the weeds are thrown on heaps; when the work is done the whole field is covered with weed heaps at regular intervals. Zebra are gregarious animals; where a large herd has passed their track is littered with their droppings.

Text No. 74. Told by Mr. Elía Esoo at Dar es Salaam.

1 C: Hlawehlawé /'ánk'na /'ûwe.
2 R: !'ee !hwe.

1 C: Pretty-pretty is married upwards.
2 R: The antheap's hole.

Informant explains that the girl lies the wrong side up. The antheap is of course a phallus. We have here an image transfer from the question to the answer, in which it is reflected, as in text No. 46. In the smallness of a Sandawe house there is little privacy and quite small children are fully aware of the facts of life.

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1 1952, 93.

Prayers and spells.

Stories and riddles together form the large Sandawe category of oral art called tántabule, but prayers do not belong to it. Although prayers are not tántabule they are bó, that which is spoken; they are not /hime, that which is sung, and they are not //ía, that which is danced. Since they form part of the category of that which is spoken I shall now conclude that category with a presentation of prayers.

There are several terms which a Sandawe may use for prayer. It is a 'pronouncement' (//'amó) but since prayer is usually accompanied by some sort of sacrifice it is also referred to as 'sacrifice' (pumpuó). Christian and Islamic prayer is referred to by the Swahili word for 'prayer' (sala); sometimes this type of prayer is more explicitly described as 'prayer of religion' (dini sala). Sandawe prayers are not made in isolation but always as a part of ritual, and they are not chanted or even spoken in an ordinary quiet voice but shouted out aloud in order to make sure that the spirits to whom they are addressed, or divinity in general, will get the message. The one exception is the silent song or prayer which is called mirigisa /hime ('medicine song'). There appear to be three principal uses of this special type of prayer.

1. At exorcising illness. The doctor (muganga) who conducts the medicinal rites after his patient's recovery says or sings his secret and inaudible medicine song in order to ensure that the ailment will not return.

2. At divination. The diviner is said to make his divination (//íma'o) effective by 'singing for the magic power' (mirigisa or dágusa /hime). This too is done quietly and the prayer song is not heard by the client.

3. At death. Bagshawe says that "The Sandawi bury their dead

with considerable ceremony" some details of which he describes but he does not refer to any prayers either during the burial, the sacrifices, the mourning period, or its conclusion.[1] Van de Kimmenade says that when a person has died "on court à la maison mortuaire en poussant des cris lugubres"[2] and Bagshawe agrees that "women wail at intervals".[3] Van de Kimmenade further refers to the meeting which is held at the day of the burial during which the nature of the deceased person's illness and the cause of his death are discussed.[4] But he mentions no prayers; he only says that the people who are present express in words that 'his shadow (spirit) is there' and that 'he has pierced the shadow'; the latter expression indicates that the deceased has been killed by sorcery.[5] Fr. van de Kimmenade would certainly have mentioned prayers had he come across them, because of his special interest in the religion of the Sandawe. Dempwolff's text No. 39 also mentions that 'When a person has died, the belief says, his shadow is there (alive)', but again there are no references to any prayers.[6] Yet the Sandawe say that when a lineage elder (tatáxšte di'sé) conducts burial ceremonies, he quietly sings a magical song (mirigisa /hime) which can be heard by him alone. He also does this when he lights the fire which is to keep the dead man's ghost away for the duration of the mourning period.[7]

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1 1925, 336.

2 1936, 413.

3 Loc.cit.

4 Ibid., 414.

5 Loc.cit.

6 1916, 142.

7 Van de Kimmenade, loc.cit., refers to this fire. It is not the fire of baobab seeds of which Bagshawe , 1925,337, speaks; this is lit at the end of the mourning by two old men and two old women for roasting the meat of sacrificial animals.

At circumcision ceremonies the Sandawe do not shout any prayers, at least this was not the case in the dozen or so ceremonies which I have attended. Von Sick gives us a Rimi circumcision prayer and it may therefore be possible that such prayers could also be found in those parts of Sandawe country which have been influenced most by the Rimi.[1]

In this discussion we have quietly assumed so far that the Sandawe medicine song may be a form of prayer. Now we have to consider whether it really is, and if it is not we shall have to separate it clearly from prayer. We have seen that prayer belongs to the category of that which is spoken (hó), but the very name of the medicine song shows us that it belongs elsewhere, in the category of that which is sung. It is not shouted nor spoken inaudibly, but sung inaudibly. Informants also agree that it is neither a 'pronouncement' (//'amó) nor a 'sacrifice' (numpusó); the only term which could be equally applied to both prayer and medicine song, is sala. Although this means 'prayer' it should be recognized that it is a modern term of foreign origin which covers what is in fact an alien type of prayer; actually it does not really cover either the traditional Sandawe prayer nor the medicine song, and the two categories are therefore quite distinct. The medicine song is 'sung' with the purpose of securing certain results such as the banishment of harmful influences, or to prevent the return of ailments which have just been exorcized. The medicine song is therefore really a spell rather than a prayer.

Since they cannot be heard I am unable to present texts of medicine songs, and I shall now proceed with the texts of various types of Sandawe prayer.

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1 1915, 9; he gives the Rimi text. The prayer is 'We circumcize our child's foreskin, may it not become ill, we seek the foreskin [to be] clean' (my translation from von Sick's word-for-word German translation).

Wedding blessings.

Wedding blessings are pronounced in all Sandawe homes when daughters-in-law are received into the family. These prayers are said by women; the bridegroom's sister calls out the blessing while aspersing the newly-weds in the presence of members of both families, the go-betweens, and friends and neighbours. Those relatives with whom the newly-weds stand in an avoidance relationship stay out of sight in the dark interior of the house. The following texts show the remarkable uniformity of these blessings.

Text No. 75. Called out by Mrs. Mwanaisha Bula at Kwa Mtoro.

1 Neekwe pûtl'uma n!e tsía
2 ts'aa hewéχe' tínkase,
3 mèèkwe bonkí'o, pûtl'umakwe tur'té.[1]

4 Tur'tékwe pûtl'umaã,
5 ts'aa hewéχe' tínkase
6 mèèkwa téa' χahlikí khoota nee.

1 Remain in well-being all days
2 like this water is cool,
3 leave off quarrelling, and stay in well-being.[1]

4 Stay then in well-being
5 like this water is cool
6 let there not be any bad feeling remain in [your] house.

This prayer was recorded in July 1962, but the following two have been collected by Dempwolff and van de Kimmenade at much earlier dates; Dempwolff was in Sandawe country in 1910 and van de Kimmenade wrote in 1936.

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1 Pûtl'uma means safety as well as good health.

Text No. 76. Reproduced from Dempwolff's text No. 30.[1]

1 Ke'ena.
2 Turtekwe puṯ'uma, ts'a heweχe tiṅkase,
3 mekwe ɓoṅko, puṯ'umakwe turte.
4 mekwa tea χaṯiki kho ne.

1 Listen then.
2 Stay in well-being, like this water is cool,
3 make no quarrels, stay in well-being.
4 Let there not be any bad feelings remaining in [your] house.

Dempwolff's text goes on to say what the bridegroom's sister does when she blesses him and his bride:

> 'Your sister draws water, she takes an amulet and puts it in a winnowing trough. And then she, your sister, comes [to you] and she pours out the water [over you].'

Dempwolff's informant goes then on to say that the groom then escorts his bride to his house; presumably he means his own sleeping hut (darimo). He does not mention the eating ceremony which is held first.

Text No. 77. Reproduced from van de Kimmenade.[2]

1 mé-kwe bónki;
2 turuté-kwe pútl'uma;
3 ts'a hewé xe tínkase.

1 Do not quarrel;
2 stay in well-being;
3 like this water is cool.

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1 1916, 136. The arrangement into lines is mine. Dempwolff's orthography is compared with mine in Appendix X.

2 1936, 401. The arrangement into lines is mine. Van de Kimmenade's orthography is compared with mine in Appendix X.

Van de Kimmenade's translation reads: "Ne vous quellerez pas, vivez bien en paix, soyez calmes et froids, à la manière de cette eau froide". He mentions that this prayer is said after the bridegroom has introduced his bride into the homestead of his parents, and that the groom and his bride are aspersed while the prayer is recited.

Rain and hill prayers.

The first of the following texts is an incomplete one from the highly secret ritual of Alagwa rain priests. The informant is the late chief Issa Selemani who was also a principal Alagwa rain priest; in a confiding mood he once began to give me details but this was cut short when someone else came too close.

Text No. 78. Dictated by Ex-chief Issa Selemani, June 1961 at Kwa Mtoro. - Rain prayer I (Alagwa).

1 Pútl'uma súnge warongwépo,
2 hótsoso !oata, súngekwa,
3 tl'oánga //'ô warongwéye,
4 pútl'umasúkwa, a tl'oánga //'ô.

1 Give us well-being, you Divinity,
2 what have we misdone, give it to us,
3 let the rain fall, of Divinity,
4 give us well-being, let the rain fall.

A continuation which I could not take down in time refers to Chieftainess Frog (Metemusu !ororónau). Secret Alagwa rain rites are performed in a rain hut; an informant of Dempwolff's says of this: 'It is said that rain [magic] is only known to one [Alagwa] man and one [Alagwa] woman; all other Alagwa do not know anything about it; this is hidden even to the Alagwa.[1]

1916, 142 (Dempwolff's text No. 37).

Text No. 79. Reproduced from Dempwolff's text No. 40.[1] Told by Mr. Habuni. - Rain prayer II (Non-Alagwa).

1 'Waroŋgepo,[2] /natiyoso pumpumaono

2 toŋgo suŋgewai no

3 pu̯t'umakwa, t̯'onga //'o.

4 hotsoso !'wata?

5 tsia suŋ !ŋuŋ ts'eχ.

1 You Ancestor-spirit,[2] we come to sacrifice

2 at the ancestral dwelling place [gathered] we are,

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1 1916, 143.

2 'Waroŋge (waronggwé) is translated here as Ancestor-spirit, but in text No. 78 it was rendered as Divinity. This reflects the different levels at which the sacrifices are made, involving different types of supernatural being. Dempwolff's informant Habuni was not an Alagwa but a Warimba clansman (op.cit., 142) and it is likely that he directed his prayer at his own ancestral (hill) spirits rather than to the divinity of the Alagwa priests who claim that they sacrifice to them on behalf of the whole tribe, a claim which is not at all universally accepted. Yet such a supernatural being must be something more than the ancestral spirit of just a few clansmen. The term Supreme Being seems not a very satisfactory translation for it. Firth argues against it in a context which fits the present situation: "Evans-Pritchard has pointed out that to translate the Zande Mbori as Supreme Being tends to ascribe to him personality, omnipotence, benevolence and other divine qualities which are by no means clearly formulated by the Zande themselves. When the Zande call upon Mbori it is in a situation of fear, anxiety and despair, but the doctrine about him is vague, and the concept of him overlaps their ideas about ghosts to a large degree." (Firth, 1938, 180). The term God also seems too personal. Various spirits are called waronggwé; this word, to borrow the words of Lienhardt "is meaningful in relation to a number of terms with which our 'God' has no such association" (Lienhardt, 1961, 29). Following Lienhardt, I prefer the term Divinity to God here. It seems unlikely that the Alagwa rain priest's nominal Mohammedanism has influenced his ideas about is own Divinity very much.

3 give us well-being, let the rain fall.

4 What have we done wrong?

5 Of all of us the mouth is one.

Dempwolff's informant Habuni describes the sacrifice which is made when this prayer is recited. The sacrifice is made at the place where the ancestor has once lived, the site of the old homestead which is still marked by his grave stone.

Sacrifices to clan spirits are made on the clan hills. Bagshawe refers to sacrifices made to lineage ancestors (at their graves) as well as to sacrifices made to clan spirits (on the hills) whenhhe says:

> "everyone present takes a handful of the contents of the paunch, and, shouting prayers, scatters it over the grave or the top of the hill."

No sharp distinction is made between the two kinds of spirits, and both are called warongo. While text No. 79 refers to a lineage sacrifice, the following two prayers belong to clan sacrifices.

Text No. 80. Called out by Mr. Sen//a Swéga at Bugénika in January 1962. - Clan hill prayer I.

1 Pǒ warongwé hapú, khe'eni?

2 hótsoõ !oata,

3 pũí ǂχ n/wese?

4 Swesiǐ makaa sũngepo

5 hótsoõ !oata

6 sũ hapúχsũ n//oko tsía ǧlats'.

1 And you clan-spirit, you, are you listening?

2 in what respect have we done wrong,

3 that you act like this?

4 Now then give us riches,
5 in what respect have we done wrong,
6 our, your and our children are all dying [of famine].

This prayer was recited by the informant, a Kwankwaré clansman, at a sacrifice made by him on his clan hill after the first rains had been insufficient. A black goat was cut open alive and the stomach contents (sanka) were scattered by everyone present, all of them repeating the prayer in more or less the same words as they did so. Afterwards a second prayer was recited at the cave beyond the sacrificial spot, which contains the remains of an old drum or hive. This prayer now follows:

Text No. 81. Called out by Mr. Sen//a Swága at Bugénika in January 1962. - Clan hill prayer II.

1 Humbalónga na'aséwa
2 hewéxe' pútl'umakwa
3 sanka'íso pumpuséwa.

1 The drum-splinter has been lit,
2 like this one give us well-being,
3 we have made sacrifices of the stomach-contents.

Humbaló is a splinter of wood which the sacrificer knocked off the cave drum, he then took it to the fire where the sacrificial goat was being roasted, and lit it. He brandished the glowing splinter while shouting his prayer. The wood of the drum is believed to have magical powers and it is thought that anyone who would damage the drum while not on sacrificial duty would certainly die.[1] The drum cave is held in great respect and people normally avoid it, and trees may not be cut in its vicinity since it is the dwelling place of the spirits.

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1 Cf. van de Kimmenade, 1954, 42, humbaló = torch; Dempwolff, 1916, 53, ʿumbalo = rain magic.

The following prayer to a deceased close relative concludes this series of prayers. It is noteworthy that the spirit to whom it is addressed belongs to a woman.

Text No. 82. Reproduced from Dempwolff's text No. 37.[1] Told by Mr. Arangi. - Prayer to an ancestor.

1 Mama, ke'ena.
2 hambeki 'ixao pumpusewa.
3 'waroñgo hepo, ke'eni?
4 suů !huñko //'as.

1 Grandmother, listen then.
2 Often we have sacrificed like this.
3 You ancestor-spirit, do you listen?
4 Follow [the needs of] our mouth.

Since Dempwolff does not indicate the tone of Mama it is not possible to say whether a grandmother (mamá) or a great-grandmother (mâma) is addressed. The prayer is from a text supplied by Dempwolff's informant Arangi who may have been a Moxsa clansman.[2] He describes a rain ceremony conducted by Alagwa ritual leaders; he tells us that only selected Alagwa know the secret of these rites;[3] and he adds that the other people stay at a distance and eat some sacrificial meat; the next day they sacrifice unblemished black cattle, goats and sheep (i.e. animals without clips in their ears as identification marks). The prayer is then recited, and rain falls shortly after.

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1 1916, 142.
2 Ibid., 126.
3 Cf. text No.78.

Christian prayer.

When the Holy Ghost Fathers started their missionary activities among the Sandawe in 1908, they made as much use of the vernacular as they could and, under the direction of Fr. Lemblé, they even produced a catechism in Sandawe. They have had considerable success; Bagshawe estimates that in his time 25 °/o of the tribe were strongly under the influence of Christianity, if not baptized Christians.[1]

When the Italian Passionist Fathers took over in the 'thirties they adopted Swahili as a medium of religious instruction but the Sandawe version of the Lord's Prayer is still reasonably well known. The first time I heard it was when it was being recited by a man who had consulted a diviner about the illness of his young son. The sacrifice of a goat and the repeated recital of the Lord's Prayer were prescribed. The child's father would not dictate the prayer to me, apparently because he believed that this would harm the magical properties which he attributed to it. The present informant then dictated the prayer to me; he also told me that the child's father had at first not known it well, but that he had been taught it by the diviner who must have been a good Christian. The Lord's Prayer is therefore not included in this chapter as a mere curiosity or as an example of Sandawe church literature, but as a genuine part of Sandawe folk literature in which it has acquired a traditional place. The Swahili version which is at present being taught by the missions obviously does not have this value. The Sandawe spirits to whom the child's father no doubt made his sacrifice cannot be expected to understand Swahili.

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1 1925, 335.

Text No. 83. - The Lord's Prayer. Dictated by Mr. !'umphá Petri Salím' at N!axuwe, November 1962.

1 Sũ Tatá tl'únguts'i' iyesísi'pómpo,
2 hapú //ǒá tsías'akwa halisée,[1]
3 hapú metémuts'o tsías'akwa mána'e[2]
4 hapáa ítshatshe tsías'akwa n/ũíaã
5 ó' !'úmats' tl'únguteki iyexe'.
6 N!e tsíako sũ mántsha /íwakaχsũ,
7 ní'ko sũ !ǒátatsixe tétekwaχsũkwa,
8 sũ waréχisóso sũ //'ána !'ǒátatsisóso
9 mónakwákwísósoχe';
10 Sũ Tatá tl'únguts'i' iyesísi'pómpo,
11 ó' mèè !ǒátatsisú kú'se kítana n//èè,
12 ankhá χá'wase kítats'e póonasũko.
13 Ámina.

1 Our Father, You who are staying in the sky,
2 Your name, be it hallowed everywhere,[1]
3 Your chiefship, may it arrive everywhere,[2]
4 Your striving, may it everywhere be done,
5 here on earth like it is in the sky.
6 All days make our food come to us regularly,
7 and all our misdeeds, take them off from us,
8 we who have friendship for them who have done misdeeds
9 forgive them like we do them all; [towards us,
10 Our Father, You who are staying in the sky,
11 Prevent that we enter to throw ourselves into misdeeds,
12 equally make us escape from within evil.
13 Amen.

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1 'To be hallowed': halisée is an adaptation from the Swahili halisi, which is "real, genuine, true, exact, precise, accurate" according to Johnson 1951, 125.

2 Mána: 'to arrive along the cattle track', cf. mánawa, 'cattle track' (van de Kimmenade, 1954, 48).

This text is in remarkably close agreement with the missionary version of the prayer in the catechism; line 10 is a repetition which is not found there and the only other differences are minor syllabic differences, and orthographic ones.[1]

1 Vicariatus Apostolicus Bagamoyensis, 1926, 66.

CHAPTER VI

POETRY PRINCIPALLY ASSOCIATED WITH RITUAL

The material.

This chapter and the next present the poetry of dance songs, i.e. songs which belong to the principal Sandawe category of that which is danced (//'ia) as well as to that which is sung (/hime). There are many categories of dance song, each of which takes its name from the dance to which it belongs. Comparison shows that the songs of some dances tend to be concerned with the accompanying ritual, while those of other dances are of a more topical nature. The present chapter deals with the former, that is, non-topical song. This may be divided into two broad categories: (1) songs which describe the rites themselves, or express the ideas which lie behind them, and (2) songs which provide instruction and wisdom about life and society to the participants in the rites, the initiates.

The following categories of ritual song will now be presented:

A. Songs of witchcraft exorcism, which clears the air for further ritual;
B. Songs of circumcision, a prerequisite to fertile adulthood; of these the rite-descriptive songs are presented first, followed by the instructive songs.
C. Songs of the fertility ritual of the moon;
D. Songs of the secret ritual of fertile motherhood (the lion-game, or the dance of the foetus);
E. The dance of the phallus, which is related to the former;
F. The songs of twin-birth ritual; and
G. A song of initiation into male elderhood.

It will be noted that this sequence does not include such important ritual as betrothal and marriage, but the poetry associated with those occasions is of a topical nature and it will therefore be found in the next chapter.

A. The possession cult of simbó.

Dempwolff's great collection of texts contains three songs which he calls simbó songs, although one of them may actually be a circumcision song.[1] The other two are simbó texts which in discussions with informants proved to be valuable material for gaining further insight into the nature of this rite; the new translations presented in the following pages now allow these texts to be better understood. Dempwolff had the impression that simbó songs are directly connected with circumcision, but although there is a link their real significance is quite different.[2] However, Dempwolff was careful not to associate simbó too closely with circumcision, and in his vocabulary he translates the word simbó simply as 'the name of a dance'.[3]

The discovery of the true meaning of simbó was made by van de Kimmenade. He defines it as "danse, pour apaiser des mauvaises esprits".[4] He also gives a vivid description of the dance which I reproduce here in full (translation mine).[5]

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1 Op.cit., 175. The doubtful case is his text No. 97; he has attempted translation but succeeded with no more than about half the words in the text. Informants with whom I have discussed it do not appear to know this song; they suggest that it may be a circumcision song.

2 Cf. texts Nos. 89 and 91 in the following pages. My new translations differ slightly from Dempwolff's, yet these differences are so significant that text No. 89 acquires an entirely new meaning.

3 Op.cit., 50.

4 1954, 50.

5 1936, 412-3.

"Simbó is the name of the greatest dance of the country. Its purpose is to safeguard oneself, or to be delivered from the wrath of sorcerers or the spite of evil spirits who find pleasure in doing harm to the living. When someone has felt ill at ease for several days he will go to consult the ganga.[1] The latter will tell him whether his troubles are caused by sorcerers or not; in the affirmative case he will prescribe that a simbó be held. This is not danced at any other time of the year than during the months of February and March when the corn grows up. This is the time when malaria occurs.[2] When now a sufferer from some ailment feels that he is under the influence of witchcraft all his relatives will set out to help him get rid of it. To start with they will bring corn into the house with a view to make a sacrifice of a very large quantity of pombe (beer).[3] The sick man is then told to scoop up sand from the grave of his ancestor and to take some white stones out of it. The fact that some white stones are invariably found in the sand of the grave is proof, so it seems, that the ganga has hidden them there himself.[4] As soon as the patient finds them he enters into convulsions; he runs home like one possessed. In the evening a horn is beaten; the faintest sound of this causes hundreds of dancers to jump up. They run, with a horn in their hands, to the house of the sick man. They are all as if possessed; they have left off their clothes and have rubbed themselves in with hot ashes, hot enough to cause burns. Others have chewed a caustic plant which burns the inside of their mouths

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1 Diviner or witch-doctor. The Sandawe normally use the full Bantu term muganga.

2 The validity of a connection with malaria does not necessarily have to be accepted. The drug of the roots of the meraa plant mentioned below may be at least partially responsible for the stimulation of the hallucinatory state which van de Kimmenade describes.

3 Sandawe for 'beer' is k'amé; the Bantu term pombe is not used.

4 This is denied by my informants whose denial may, of course, be guided by faith, but their denial may be acceptable since bits of white flake are inevitably found in almost any sand. The white stones need not be pebbles; almost any fragment of shell or other light-coloured meterial will do.

and causes them to emit froth like lather. They bring along with them any sort of object which they have been able to unearth on their way along the fields or by the road: sorcerers' medicine, so they say. Once they are gathered together at one place they become more and more possessed by their fury, for they are given beer into which the roots have been put of a plant called méraa.[1]

Méraa has hallucinogenic properties and it is probably stronger than opium. They dance and jump until they fall to the ground exhausted. Then a woman will take a twig of méraa, immerse it in beer and asperse the dancers with it. Gradually they recover from their exhaustion and rise up. Then all the bewitched objects and the white stones from the grave are carefully put together in a horn after they have been anointed with butter, and the ganga returns the horn to the sick man.[2] He will recover and will never again be troubled by sorcery, nor by spirits. The magical horn is considered a great treasure.

Several times I have ventured among the dancers. Some of them became calm again and talked to me; others however continued with their dance not even noticing that I was present. One day I met on a narrow path some entranced runners who knocked me off my bicycle and pushed me into the thorns; I felt it necessary to box some ears. But after the dance they assured me that they had not seen their Father and that they did not know that they had been slapped."

So far Fr. van de Kimmenade. In the District Book of Kondoa there is an essay on Sandawe tribal customs in which reference is made to the fertility aspect of Simbó.

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1 This is a strong-smelling shrub which occasionally attains the size of a small tree; Allophylus rubifolius (Hochst.) Engl., according to Newman, 1966 (M/S); his No. 123.

2 It should be noted that the dancers also collect stones at the dance itself. They do this in two ways. They dig up stones (kisango) with the points of their kudu horns (ǂiokomi tlana) or waterbuck horns (sika tlana), and they scrape up sand with their feet, chicken fashion, and then pick out the white pebbles and flakes.
The kudu and its horn is also encountered as a fertility symbol in Phek'umo ritual, cf. text No. 114.

"These ceremonies usually occur annually at the beginning of the rains - in the planting season - to placate the spirits and ensure a good crop."[1]

Informants variously describe simbó as 'spirit' (warongé) or as 'illness' (k'wawo) but a possessed person is not 'mad' (jékese); instead it is said that 'he has simbó' (simbóa si'). The term is a contraction of simba-ó, which means 'the state of being a lion',from the Bantu word simba, 'lion'. They say that the sons of famed simbó dancers are often possessed with this gift but that anyone who is not the son of such a person may also become possessed. Such a person feels by intuition that a simbó dance is on the point of being held somewhere; he knows it even though the distance is too great for the horn to be heard. When they get the message they will drop anything they are doing,go into a trance and run off to join the simbó. It is said that in doing so they follow a rolling stone which only they can see.

Ahlefeldt-Bille describes what appears to be such a seizure by a simbó dancer but he misunderstood it completely. His prejudiced account is unfortunately not at all untypical of the writings of some who travel to Africa and arrogate to themselves the right to ridicule what they do not understand. He says that he went hunting for kudu

"... with one of the local [Sandawe] inhabitants,a born hunter by instinct,whom I called the 'Stone Age man'. Suddenly and without evident reason he would stop and refuse to go further. Sweat stood out on his brow, his eyes rolled wildly, half insanely, and with his bow he would point ahead and mumble dark words about 'simba' (lion).

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1 Entry by an Assistant District Officer,unsigned and undated. It adds that "Music for the dancing is supplied by hollow cattle horns beaten with sticks (known as simbo in Kisandawe)". My informants say that buffalo horns are preferred.

> The possibility of meeting lion in these parts, especially up in the mountains, was as slight as that of meeting a polar bear in Mombasa."[1]

There is no need to quote this authority any further.

The trees, the rock, and the cleft.

Great feats are ascribed to simbó dancers in their state of dissociation. According to the Sandawe they manage to ford rivers in flood when anyone else attempting this would surely be swept away and drown. Some are said to have run all the way from Farkwa to a dance at Wapurú, a distance of over twenty miles, and it is even believed that a dancer from Arusha has run without even a pause to central Sandawe; this is obviously a mythical performance since no less than two hundred miles separate these places.

These simbowaiso, as the dancers are called,[2] cannot speak when possessed; they can only grunt and growl, but they do hear other people when they speak (I go on following the statements of informants). In Wapurú they climb a tall and smooth isolated rock which ordinary people cannot possibly mount, and they also climb smooth-barked trees and then proceed to hop around in their branches like birds, discovering and destroying sorcerer's medicine as they go along. The rock at Wapurú is known as the Simbó-dancers' Rock (Simbowaiso Dí), it is pear-shaped, and it is said to have a deep cleft in its pointed top which nobody but the dancers can see. In it there is a snake which they are trying to reach with their arms; it bites them but they are not harmed by its poison although anyone else would quickly die if stung by it.

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1 1951, 158.

2 Singular simboi, cf. p. 68 note 1.

There are several such climbing rocks and trees in the country which are often called 'The Snake's Rock' (Mamba dí) or 'The Snake's Baobab' (Mamba Gele) after the mythical snake. The climb of the dancers is called séré, a name which may be translated as 'the cleft'.[1]

It is thought that witches may sometimes try to join the dancers in order to convince the people that they are not witches; for this reason the dancers make sure that there are no witches present by sniffing at the anuses of those people whom they might suspect, and they sniff at their fellows in the first place to see that there are no impostors among them.[2] If a witch is caught he is beaten. Witches are said to be in great fear of simbó and powerless to do anything against it. Simbó should therefore be performed in areas where circumcisions are going to be held later in the year, so it may 'purify the country' (i'íma hlawesuke'o).[3] Simbó thus paves the way for children to be initiated into adulthood with the minimum of danger, and it contributes to the fertility of the people.

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1 Cf. van de Kimmenade, 1954, 53: séré, nom d'une danse; séré, crevasse dans un rocher. He does not connect the two.

2 Field, 1960, 79, says that in Ghana "false prophets..[are].. often denounced by the true prophets because 'they prophesied out of their own hearts without either dissociation or hallucination, and might fake a spirit-driven run to bush'". These fakes, she says, are "sniffed out".

3 The fact that witchcraft is said to be a more severe problem now than in the past may well be ascribed to the missionary opposition to simbó; at least it may be an important contributary factor. Recently some people have set themselves up as professional witch-hunters, even though this is opposed by the government. One witch-hunter who has now been exiled from the area, has told me in so many words that there is now more witchcraft than there used to be, because of the repression of simbó. Notwithstanding this, the cult is far from extinct and its feasts are still frequently held.

When circumcisions are held, the guests in the courtyard sing simbó songs as well as circumcision songs, because their magic helps to clear the atmosphere of witchcraft fears.

The sacrificial aspect of simbó, and its symbolism may become clear from the texts which will now be presented. These have been arranged in their ritual sequence; included are two of Dempwolff's texts which have been re-translated and annotated.

The songs of simbó.

Text No. 84. Preparation to attend. Songleader: Mrs. !haia Bari at K'ats'áwase.

1 Simbóna hik'is'yoo
2 (1st chorus): hàà hélo- hélolowèè,
3 (2nd chorus): héloowèè.

1 To the simbó I am going
2 (1st chorus): and, all right, let us go,
3 (2nd chorus): let us go.

The song is repetitious and new elements are not introduced. Its translation involves the problem of diffuse meaning which is discussed on pp.102-4. The term hélowee and its variants are only used as exclamations in poetry, never in ordinary speech, but even though it is largely of an exclamatory nature it does convey a meaning. Hé is an exclamation of encouragement; -lo represents the action of continuous movement; and -we indicates a form of address. Most informants find the meaning of hélowee too vague for explanation and say that it has none, but one has been articulate enough to come up with a good translation: 'all right, let us go' (ǵara bas', nó'). He also explained that the song describes how the women have heard that a simbó dance is about to start, and now tell one another to

get ready to go. They sing this song as they go to the dance ground in a shuffle-dancing procession. They bring along their wooden bowls which every now and then they put on the ground in front of the throng, rubbing them furiously with sticks, so that the bowls emit the roar of a lion before they go on. This is called 'roaring the bowl' (la'sé nlamé'o).[1]

Text No. 85. To the dance. Sung by Mr. Roki K'aya Angelo at Boseto in March, 1962.

1 Simbóna nf'sũngo laale, nf'sũngo,
2 Sórowe dĩngona nee nf'sũngo.
3 (Refrain): àà, éé, hik'iá 'ndoreé, kiándoree.
4 Simbóona nf'sũnga tatae, nf'sũnga,
5 Sórowe nf'sũngo nee nf'sũnga
6 (Refrain): àà, éé, kiándoréé, kiandoree.
7 sss, sss.
8 Simbóna nf'sũngo, simbó, nf'sũngo
9 Simbóóe sũngo kiándoree
10 (Refrain): àà, éé, hik'iá 'ndoréé, kiándoree.

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1 To the simbó we are going, onwards, we are going,
2 To the shuffle-stones we are, we are going.
3 (Refrain): àà, éé, he goes like a Maned-Lion, Striding [Maned-Lion.
4 To the simbó we are going, oh father, we are going,
5 Ashuffle we are going indeed, we are, we are going.
6 (Refrain): àà, éé, Striding Maned-Lion, Striding Maned-Lion.
7 aaa, sss.
8 To the simbó we are going, simbó we are going,
9 Oh simbó we are indeed, Striding Maned-Lion
10 (Refrain): àà, éé, he goes like a Maned-Lion, Striding [Maned-Lion.

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1 See photo No. 4.

The term sóro dī (shuffle-stones) in the second line is related to sóre, the cleft in the rock and the climbing dance referred to on p. 355 (note 1); with vowel change to o the word sóro means the act of dissociation dancing, of going in an entranced procession, entranced shuffling, and any kind of dancing with an element of entrancement in it. Here it refers to the chicken-like shuffling which the dancers do to scratch up white stones with their feet.

The really significant term of the text is kiándoree (Striding Maned-Lion); to understand its meaning is basic to the understanding of much of the poetry of witchcraft exorcism. It is found in several other texts in this thesis, especially in circumcision songs. This particular passage is the only one which reveals its true meaning. Dempwolff notes the term, but he cannot give a translation.[1] He states that when he questioned his informants about it they repeatedly mentioned the word waré which means 'to circumcize, circumcisio praeputiae'. All they tell him is that the symbolism of simbó dances is also found in circumcision ritual. No doubt this has contributed to the formation of Dempwolff's opinion that simbó is essentially associated with circumcision.[2]

The etymology of kiándoree is not understood by informants, who say that it means a lion, a lion's head, or lion's manes. The third line of the text shows that kiándoree is a contraction of hik'iá 'ndoréé. Hik'iá is Sandawe for 'goes he', while 'ndoréé or indoro is Rimi-Sandawe for 'zebra', cf. Sandawe dóro.[3]

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1 Op.cit., 176.

2 Cf. p. 350, esp. note 2; also text No. 111.

3 Dóro means 'zebra', cf. Swynnerton 1945 and 1946; van de Kimmenade 1954, 37; Dempwolff 1916, 43; cf. also -dou in Bushman (Bleek, 1929b,94). But Rimi ndōrwe means donkey (Obst 1911, 88, note 4); also ndogowe, 'ass' (Last. 1885, 157)and Gogo ndogowe, same meaning (ibid.,223). Iraqw daqway is also 'donkey' (Whiteley, 1958, 2), and so is Ngomvia daqwaqwaika (Pearce, M/S, n.d.).

Donkey and zebra manes and tail hair are widely used in dances, especially in circumcision and other ritual which incorporates lion symbolism. The Mwera of southern Tanzania use a headdress called lichengo which is worm by the circumcisor;[1] this is the same as that which occurs among the Sukuma[2] and among the Rimi.[3] According to informants the Rimi call this headgear ndórwe ('donkey'), and according to Claus a similar ornament is called ndolé by the Gogo.[4] The Sandawe use the same crown as do the Mwera, the Sukuma and the Rimi (see photo No. 3); sometimes this crown is adorned with cowrie shells or chainwork. Such a crown is called sangu in Sandawe (cf. the Mwera li-chengo) and the wearer is referred to as dóre, ndore or ndole (cf. the Rimi and Gogo terms mentioned above), i.e. he is maned like a lion.[5] Lion's manes are called sesange or sesengu, which is obviously the same word as sangu.[6]

The Lion as a symbol of danger has been less well documented, but Kohl-Larsen presents us with an Isanzu tale in which an anti-social woman is married by a lion ('a Maned Lion'). It is this Maned Lion which is associated with lurking danger by the Sandawe,[7] and with dangerous activities of a sexual nature.[8] Since dangerous and antisocial activities are equal to

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1 Own investigations in Mwera country.

2 Kollmann, 1898, 106/8.

3 Reche, 1914, 82.

4 "Halsband aus Kettengliedern und Perlen", 1911, 71.

5 The wearing of manes is referred to on p. 124, note 4.

6 Van de Kimmenade, 1954, 53, mentions the latter variant. The similarity of the Mwera term has already been noted; the Swahili use shingo for 'neck' and manyoya ya shingoni for 'manes'.

7 Cf. texts Nos. 95, 96, 97, 121, 122, 123, 153.

8 Cf. texts Nos. 111 and 170.

witchcraft the ritual Maned Lion is also associated with combating danger and witchcraft.

The remainder of text No. 85 is simple and straightforward.[1] The informant, who is now very old, is reputed to have been a famous exorcism dancer in his younger days. He explained that the song describes the moment when a dancer is inspired by the spirit of simbó. When the dancer becomes inspired other people prepare to go to the sacrifice and the dance, which is held at the rock of the cleft after the nocturnal sacrifices.[2]

Text No. 86. The praise. Song led by Mrs. Ihaia Bari at K'ats'áwase in March, 1962.

1 Hóólalèè dórõ, hèè.
2 (Chorus): Hóólaalèè dórõ, hèè.

1 Go on then, zebra, hèè.
2 (Chorus): What, onwards then, zebra, hèè.

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1 But the following may be noted:
(a) In places the vernacular uses ni'sũnga instead of ni'sũngo, i.e. without repetition of the element -o, 'we'. This is a typical feature of the Sandawe idiom; such suffixes as those which indicate person or gender may be omitted when not required for clarity. The nasalisation diacritic (~) is not necessary in the orthography, but it is shown because the informant clearly nasalises the vowel before the following nasal consonant.
(b) 'Father' in line 4 is injected into the text as a token of respect for 'fathers' in general, i.e. living elders as well as ancestors; an invocation, according to the informant.

2 This song was recorded when it was sung by the present informant upon request. He accompanied himself on the stick-lyre (sũmbi or zéze) as shown in photo No.11) and he connected the stanzas by the hissing sound sss; this takes the place of a choral refrain in a spontaneous performance. The hissing refrain, which is common in minstrelsy, is called sũ'o. Hissing a song at work is called the same, cf. p.92-3.

The zebra is considered a beautiful animal, and 'zebra' is a term of praise for the dancers who have smeared themselves in with ashes and dust and who now, with sweat pouring down their bodies, appear somewhat striped. Stripes caused by running perspiration can be discerned on the body of the dancer shown in photo No. 15. This song describes the stage where the dance is in full swing; the women produce a loud roar on their bowls while others beat buffalo horns, and the chorus (also women) sings the praise of the men by repeating the text over and over again. Every now and then they punctuate their song with shrill ululations for encouragement; to ululate is called <u>orosé</u>.

<u>Text No. 87. The frenzied lion-dancers.</u> Sung by Mrs. Sita Nlamahla-iyo at K'ats'áwase in March, 1962.

1 Eeé́ kiándoré́ náue-ee
2 (<u>Chorus</u>) Eee
3 Eeé́ kiándoré́ solía 'ndama
4 ee kiándoré́ náue-ee
5 (<u>Chorus</u>) Eee

1 Eeé́ Striding Maned-Lion, go forth, ee
2 (<u>Chorus</u>) Eee
3 Eeé́ Striding Maned-Lion, white-coloured heifer,
4 ee Striding Maned-Lion, go forth, ee.
5 (<u>Chorus</u>) Eee

The white-coloured heifer is a term of praise with double reference: (1) Beauty; the dancers covered with white ashes are likened to white cows (this is a favourite colour for cattle), and (2) Purity; white is the colour of animals sacrificed in situations of serious distress brought about by witchcraft.

Thus the dancers appear to be fierce lions which can destroy witchcraft while at the same time they represent ritually pure white sacrificial animals, chosen to placate the spirits. The pebbles (kisango) which they dig up and place into their horns because they are such strong anti-witchcraft medicine, are also white, while it is said that the sorcerers' medicine which they smell out and destroy, is always black.

The stage of the rites which this song represents, is where general frenzy begins to set in. The scratching up of pebbles begins, and some dancers suddenly run off into the bush or into the homes of people where they seek out and destroy anything which they consider to be the medicine of sorcery.[1]

Text No. 88. The frenzy of the flying dancers. Song led by Mrs. Sita N'amahla-iyo at K'ato'áwase in March, 1962.

1 Áywee hewé werêle hó gweresíee,
2 (Chorus) A leleyoo hónae.
3 Áywee hewé werêle hó gweresíee
4 (Chorus) A leleyoo hónae.
5 Áywee hewé werêleyoo, zéngŭa lele
6 (Chorus) A lele zéngŭa lele
7 Áywee hewé werêleyoo, zéngŭa lele
8 (Chorus) A lele zéngŭa lele
...(etc)...
9 Áywee hewé werêle, hó, miánguee
10 (Chorus) A leleyee miángu
11 Áywee hewé werêleyóó dádawa lele
12 (Chorus) A lele dádawa lele

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1 I have witnessed a dancer digging several holes in the floor of a house, each more than a yard deep, until he had made an indescribable mess. When he failed to find any suspect matter there he went back to search the smoke-blackened rafters of the roof. Finally he produced some black substance which he dropped into his horn, after which he left.

1 Áywee, this one, how he flies around, [like] a vulture.
2 (Chorus) He flies on and on. What [a bird], he.
3 Áywee, this one, how he flies around, [like] a vulture.
4 (Chorus) He flies on and on. What [a bird], he.
5 Áywee, this one, he flies around and around, [like] a marabou-stork he flies on.
6 (Chorus) He flies on and on, [like] a stork he flies on.
7 Áywee, this one, he flies around and around, [like] a marabou-stork he flies on.
8 (Chorus) He flies on and on, [like] a stork he flies on.

...(etc)...

9 Áywee, this one, how he flies around, what! a kite, he.
10 (Chorus) He flies on and on [like] a kite.
11 Áywee, this one, he flies around and around, [like] a snake-eagle he flies on.
12 (Chorus) He flies on and on, [like] a snake-eagle he flies on.[1]

This song describes the stage where some of the dancers have climbed up into the trees and they are therefore like birds. Each bird in the song represents a dancer, and the bird names are thus praise names for them. The women make the bowls roar furiously and some of them shout further praise at the dancers, calling them //atsú (lion) or simba (lion, Bantu term). In between their climbing forays the men scrape up white pebbles and manage to fortify themselves with helpings of beer from large gourds which have been put ready. Others begin the most difficult part of the dance, the climbing of the rock.

Informants agree that the birds of simbó songs are always

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1 Bird identifications are difficult to establish. Not all Sandawe apply the same name to the same bird, recognition is often imperfect, and Swahili, Rimi, and other equivalents given are rarely dependable. Check lists and other writings on birds usually disagree on the vernacular names of birds in African languages, presumably for similar reasons. I have arrived at the translations shown here with the help of Archbold, 1959, and Thistleton, 1960, but the English translations of miúngu and dadawa are still tentative ones.

large birds of prey which like eating carrion (gimu). The significance of this is probably twofold: being large birds of prey they are strong and courageous, and as carrion eaters they are associated with witchcraft, or rather with its destruction.

Text No. 89. The climax: the cleft in the rock. Reproduced from Dempwolff, 1916, pp. 175-6 (his text No.98), with a new translation and annotation.

1 Lelio, ᶜolale ha'a ʿolale,
2 ketumbe simba, ᶜolale
3 simbayo, ᶜolale ha
4 'waχwaye, ketumbe simba
5 koa, ᶜolele
6 ketu ketusa lelio
7 'waχwaye 'waχwaye
8 ketu ketusa ketumbe
9 simba, ᶜolale.

1 Onwards, go on then, it is open, go on then,
2 the top, Lion, go on then,
3 oh Lion, go on then, it is open,
4 oh companions, the top, Lion.
5 On he goes, on and on.
6 The cleft, she is open, onwards.
7 Companions, companions,
8 the cleft, she is open, the top.
9 Lion, go on then.

The first line is left untranslated by Dempwolff. Lelio means 'the act of going on', cf. lela, 'to go on' or 'to fly on', viz. text No. 88. Lelo-o, 'the act of going on', has become lelio. ᶜolale is an exclamation of encouragement, cf. text No. 86.

The second line is translated by Dempwolff with "Den Scheitel scheert der Löwe", but if the image of the crown of a head is replaced by that of the top of a rock the sentence begins to ma ke sense, for the song describes the climactic stage where a dancer (the Lion) has reached the top of the simbó rock. The word ketumbe usually means a fontanel, the top of a baby's head. Since this is the place where the bones have not yet knitted together, leaving a cleft, it is easy to see how this image is applied to the rock.

Having referred to the difficulty of translation, Dempwolff comments that the song 'seems to be connected with puberty rites'. My informants agree that this song may also be used as a circumcision song. In that context the rock is obviously a phallus, and the cleft in its top becomes the cleft in the glans penis. Its openness is then a reference to the fact that circumcision has left it uncovered, while the Lion becomes a symbol of danger which is its usual role in circumcision songs. We have seen that simbó songs are a common ingredient of the repertoire of circumcision festivals because witches fear simbó, but this song evidently acquires a whole new meaning as a circumcision song; the text lends itself eminently to a double meaning.

The previous texts all describe the progress of the dance ritual rather than the sacrificial aspect of simbó, and it is in accordance with this progress that they have been arranged. In practice, there is no such an arrangement. At any stage any of the songs may be sung, but it seems possible that there may be a natural preference for those songs which are more relevant to the occasion.

In effect the rites consist of two main parts: the sacrificial part and the festival. All the stages which have been described so far in the songs, are in fact gone through

before the sacrifices are made at the patient's ancestral graves, and the sacrifices conclude this stage. The next day, when the sacrifices are done, the festival is held at the dancing ground. To this event people come from afar, and the crowd may number well over a thousand. Here the whole process of dissociation is re-enacted, as it were, in a final outburst of relief which is staged somewhat like the grand finale in an opera.

The next two texts present versions of the song of the sacrifices.

Text No. 90. The sacrifice and the reward - I. Song leader Mrs. !haia Bari at K'ats'áwase in March, 1962.

1 Mombokwe n//únke;
2 hó sie sieyoo, tongo k'amé,
3 tongo k'améyoo?
4 (Chorus) Tongo k'amé
5 hóó, tongo k'amé.
6 Waxwayee, mombokwe n//únke;
7 hó sie sieyoo, mombokwa n//únke,
8 tumbetumbesayoo.
9 (Chorus) Tumbetumbesayoo,
10 hóó, tumbesayoo.

1 The beer gourd, make it stand;
2 who takes it, takes it, the ancestral site's beer,
3 the ancestral site's beer then?
4 (Chorus) The ancestral site's beer,
5 oh, the ancestral site's beer.
6 Companions, the beer gourd, make it stand;
7 who takes it, takes it, the beer gourd, make it stand;

8 she spills over softly.

9 (Chorus) She spills over softly,

10 oh, she spills over softly.

Large quantities of beer have been prepared, and a large pot is put by the graves together with a small one. The small pot contains the sacrificial beer to which the third line refers. All take a sip from it and spit out the beer over the grave stones, enjoining the spirits not to trouble the patient again; then they drink from the large pot. Dancers in dissociation are rewarded with good helpings of beer for finding kisango pebbles and for destroying witchcraft substance. This is what the second line refers to: the dancers are encouraged to do their best by holding out before them the prospect of a reward. Line eight reminds them that there is plenty of it.[1]

Text No. 91. The sacrifice and the reward - II. Reproduction of Dempwolff's text No. 99 (op.cit.,p.176), re-translated.

1 Mombosa //nuñke;
2 ho sie sie?
3 toñgo k'ame, 'waχwai, mombosa
4 //nuñke, ho sie?
5 kambaye mombosa //nuñke
6 'waχwaye, tumbetumbesa.

1 The beer-gourd, she has made it stand;
2 who takes it, takes it?
3 the ancestral site's beer, companions, the beer gourd she has
4 made it stand; who takes it?
5 Really then, the beer gourd she has made it stand.
6 Companions, she spills over softly.

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1 As usual the gourd is feminine. The verb tumbetumbe has been translated in a different way by Dempwolff (see next version).

Dempwolff translates tumbetumbesa as 'she asperses the crown of the head' ("...sie den Scheitel benetzt") and he adds in a note that his informant told him that tumbe refers to the crown of a head which is aspersed with beer by the priest, but actually such an aspersion is not done at simbó but initiates are so aspersed at circumcision by their initiator. In simbó beer may be thrown at the dancers 'to cool them', but this is done by the women and not by a priest. It is true that tumbetumbe is connected with ketumbe, fontanel, and there is no grammatical reason why tumbe could not be used as a verb in the meaning of 'to asperse the fontanel' but usually it describes the throbbing movement of a baby's fontanel over an underlying bloodvessel. The transfer of this image to the present situation then shows us a beer pot which is full to the brim; having just been put down the beer is still in motion and it spills over softly with a throbbing motion. This is the common meaning of the verb, and my informants agree that in the song it simply describes the beer gourd rather than an aspersion.

Dempwolff's translation has been further influenced by his belief that the poetry of simbó belongs to circumcision. In respect of line five, he notes that kambe is the Bantu (Swahili) word for 'camp' but that here kambave is to be understood as the Swahili kumbini, 'in concealment' ("im Versteck"), i.e. the concealment in which circumcisions are carried out. Claus reports that ikumbi is the Gogo term for a fence of millet stalks which forms an enclosure for initiates to shield them off from the outer world.[1] This might seem to support Dempwolff's ingenious explanation, but the Sandawe do not call such enclosures kumbi or ikumbi but kambi or sundu.[2] The sacrificial beer pots are not hidden and the aspersion theory need no longer be maintained.

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1 1911, 44 and 70.

2 This is also the old Sandawe shelter, cf. Bagshawe 1925, 336-7 (referred to on p. 160, note 7).

B [redacted] Circumcision ritual: góũ and kerem'ta.

Both Dempwolff and van de Kimmenade say little about circumcision. According to the former the name of the rites is gǫ,[1] and the latter says that the name of the dances of circumcision is go or goi.[2] Bagshawe reports that

> "the Sandawi circumcise both boys and girls, the latter in the house of their mothers, but the former with considerable ceremony in the bush, the function lasting about a month, and finishing with a big beer drink."[3]

He adds that

> "I have an impression that circumcision is a practice only recently adopted by the Sandawi from their neighbours."[4]

Even to-day not all Sandawe are circumcized but such cases are rare and generally such an omission is frowned upon. Van de Kimmenade says that the term ǃᶜwe (clitoris) is an abusive term which is used for an uncircumcized person. Some Sandawe agree with what Bagshawe says about the foreign origin of the custom, saying that it was originally introduced by the Rimi but that it has been a Sandawe custom now for many generations. The word for 'to circumcize' is waré; this looks indeed like a non-Sandawe word which may be of wide currency among other peoples, cf. the Yao wāri, 'boys who have just been circumcized'.[5] Yet it is a term of importance in Sandawe, it is often used and it has a variety of meanings. Waré is a circumcision mate, one who has been circumcized together with the speaker, one who is a confidante in love affairs, and one

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1 1916, 44.

2 1954, 39.

3 1925, 342.

4 Ibid. Kohl-Larsen says that the Hadza have also adopted circumcision only recently (1956b, 226).

5 Stuhlmann, 1910, 39.

whose help one may expect in securing a bride; its plural is the social group which is formed by the initiates.[1] Waré also means any circumcized person, a person who is entitled to be treated with respect: in fact it is the most respectful term by which any stranger may be greeted. To be called waré by the grown-ups after the conclusion of his initiation period is a young man's proudest moment. After this he is considered a man and he is entitled to marry and set up his own household.[2]

Baumann states that circumcisions are held in November at the beginning of the sowing season.[3] Actually this is the very latest month for circumcisions; they begin to be held as soon as the dry season is well established, and the height of the Sandawe circumcision season coincides with the height of the dry season, from July to October.[4] Often they are held during the first week of the new moon.[5]

The Sandawe call their ceremonies ǥóū, ǥō or ǥói, a term which appears to have been borrowed from the Rimi.[6] In order

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1 Dempwolff: "Beschneidungsgenosse", op.cit., text 30, p.134.

2 In practice he never does this. Sandawe boys are circumcized before puberty, but they rarely marry before their twenties.

3 1894, 44, "mit der Aussaat".

4 Because of the school holidays there is now a tendency to postpone the late circumcisions until the end of December. Of the Rimi circumcisions, which are similar in many respects, Wyatt says that they are held "yearly at the beginning of the harvest" and that "they extend over a period of about two months" (M/S, 1929, 112).

5 Also among the Rimi, cf. Wyatt, loc.cit.

6 The Rimi term is ngoi, according to Wyatt (op.cit.). He says that "the word also refers to the dance which takes place when the actual circumcision is complete, and in which both sexes, young and old, participate, with exception of the girls who have been circumcized, who however are permitted to be present and to watch the dance." The Sandawe definition of ǥóū differs slightly from this, as we shall see.

that the songs of circumcision may be better understood I shall describe the ceremonies briefly.

After consulting a diviner and making a sacrifice the parents decide that their children are old enough to be circumcized. From the diviner the father receives a small stick which is called the initiate's medicine (tékele mirígi); this he ties to the initiate's wrist. It signifies the child's new status of an initiate; from now on he will not be allowed to stray far from home, and according to some, he is even supposed to remain confined inside. When it is learned that a suitable neighbour or relative is organising a circumcision festival the initiate is sent to his homestead for circumcision. The organiser also consults a diviner and makes a sacrifice in addition to any sacrifices he may make for children of his own. A prayer is recited which contains the phrase: "the procedure of circumcision in our clan has thus been prescribed by the spirits";[1] this shows whence the authority for the rites is derived.

At the homestead the mothers of the children begin to prepare large quantities of beer. The day before the actual operation the initiates are formally led into the house under cover, a cloak having been thrown over their heads. They are naked, and spend the night in the inner room (guraa).[2] In the afternoon before the operation the parents and the adult relatives of the initiates are all gathered at the homestead; the men go out to select a suitable baobab tree in the bush under which a site is cleared for the operation.

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1 "Waro kalē sū boyots' fxa' waronsé andikaxsū". Unfortunately I am not in possession of the complete prayer text; this is why it is not included in chapter V.

2 The symbolic womb from which they are to be re-born.

If girls are to be operated upon in the bush the women do the same, but they select a tree called /ámaka; often they do not go out however, for girls may also be operated upon in the cattle yard or in the inner room of the house. In many parts the latter procedure is the usual one for the girls' rites. As a rule the girls are done some days after the boys, but on occasion they may be subjected to their ordeal on the same day.

In the evening the guests begin to dance to the songs of circumcision which are called góũ, but simbé performances are also enacted, without the actual dissociations. The antics of exorcism dancers are imitated in a jocular way and "sorcerers' medicine" is even "found" and destroyed. The roar of the bowls and the accompanying frenzy may be considerable.

When the moon is up a circumambulation is made of the homestead and the circumcision sites, and some beer is sacrificed by the operator; the circumambulation is referred to as ringo ma'é ('circling round') but its proper name is said to be kerem'ta (said to mean the same as ringo ma'é). The Sandawe do not circumambulate in all parts, and the meaning of kerem'ta as a circumambulation is not everywhere known. To-day the most general meaning of the term appears to have become any circumcision song, but in particular song of the instructive type. Góũ is also a general term for circumcision song, perhaps even more general than kerem'ta, but its more specialized meaning has become circumcision song of the rite-descriptive type. The two terms are not sharply defined, yet the dichotomy appears to be generally made, for Sandawe may be heard to remark that such-and-such a song is kerem'ta rather than góũ, or vice versa. After the circumambulation, which is carried out in a shuffling procession, the participants wash their hands and pegs are driven into the ground at the entrances of the homestead, the cattle yard, and the circumcision sites. This is referred to

as fixing the pegs (koa ǃawa'o) or securing the sacrifice (pumpusá ǃanko'o); the latter term expresses well the nature of this rite as the sacred-making of the precincts. Dancing and drinking goes on till daybreak. The initiates are then fed and shaved clean by the initiator, and their elders (of their own sex) spit the juices of chewed //ho//á-root on their heads and rub it in while the initiator completes the anointment by aspersing them with butter.[1] Finally the initiates are smeared in with ashes, and then they are led to the site of the operation, naked and under the cover of a cloak, in a procession which is called mólolo (the accompaniment). The procession is shielded off by stick carriers, because the initiates who walk between these portable fences have been separated from the rest of their society; the cloaks ensure that they are not seen by the others, for they have not yet been re-born. Some of the men who accompany the throng guard it with sticks to fend off any member of the opposite sex who might venture too close. Women beat buffalo and cattle horns with small batons, as in ǂimbó. Initiation songs of the góũ type are song (songs which describe the procession are also called mólolo songs).[2] The horn-beating accompaniment is called wakhunga ǃamó (beating the procession); this term is also applied to the procession but others say that it especially refers to the procession in which the initiated are returned home at the conclusion of their initiation period. The origin of the word wakhunga is Rimi; in that language it appears to

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1 Silent prayers are sung during this rite which is said to prevent too much blood from flowing, and to cause the wounds to heal quickly. The spitting ceremony is called a sacrifice to the spirits (ǀéts'ima pumpusá). The plant //ho//há is a type of star grass, cf. text No. 61 (p. 330).

2 Text No.96 is such a song. Photograph No.5 shows the procession.

mean not the procession but the initiates; in Sandawe the latter are called tékele (hyenas).[1]

At the place of the operation members of the opposite sex make a seemingly determined mock attack on the guardians of the initiates; especially the women make a great show of this when they try to liberate their sons, ululating 'I am the child's mother, father!' (íyo-yoo, íyo-yoo, tatá). During much of the proceedings the women go on rubbing their bowls, supplying the background noise of an ever-present lion's roar. The songs of circumcision show important a part the image of lion-danger plays in the rites.

When the intruders have been chased away the operations begin. The first initiate is placed between the legs of his father who sits on the ground holding his arms around the boy's shoulders and his legs over the boy's knees, forcing his legs apart. Girls are held in the same way by their mothers. At boys' circumcisions a mother's brother assists the father holding the victim; in girls' operations the father's sister does this.[2] The boys' circumciser then removes the foreskin (ts'ero) with a knife, a razor blade, or even with scissors. One after the other all are circumcised, and then a chicken is sacrificed on the spot and its tail feathers (misúnthi) are used to make fly-switches (moóso). Each initiate is given such a switch to keep flies off his wound.[3] Each of them is also

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1 According to my Sandawe informants the Rimi name for initiates is akhunga or axunga but Wyatt refers to them as ahungu (M/S, 1929, 117), "the initiate stage of the youths".

2 The mother's brother represents the mother's lineage in looking after the boy's welfare (cf. p. 34); in the case of the girls the mother's assistant is not her own sister but the father's sister, for she represents 'the other side'. A woman is not absorbed into her husband's clan.

3 See photo No. 6.

given a piece of black cloth (kaniki) and is then led to the other side of the baobab tree where a shelter (kambi or sindu) is erected over their heads while they wait and the remaining boys are being circumcized. For the boys' site a baobab tree is selected because of its vast size which suggests strength and masculinity.

If girls are operated upon in the bush the tree selected for a site is not the baobab but a /ámaka tree. This tree is almost certainly the Lannea stuhlmanni. It is considered to have 'cool' (healing) properties, it is thought to be purifying because of its effectiveness against witchcraft (from its bark and roots vomiting medicine is made to remove the effects of witchcraft from a bewitched person's stomach), and it is closely associated with femininity, being soft (the bark is soft and smooth and has soft juicy wood under it) and mild (its bark tastes pleasantly bitter and although a vomitant, it is a pleasantly mild one). The tree's medicinal and magical uses are many; it need only be mentioned here that the pegs driven into the ground at the entrances to the cattle yard and the operating theatres are made of its wood. Some people prefer not to use /ámaka pegs at the boys' site because of the strong feminine associations of the tree.[1]

Like the men, the women chase away any member of the opposite sex who comes too close, and the throng shields off the proceedings from view but they do not build a shelter.[2] In the operation, the clitoris is pulled out with a thorn and then cut

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1 The tree's identity is virtually certain. It's Gogo name is said to be muwumbu; Rigby identifies this as Lannea Stuhlmanni. (priv.comm.) Burtt (op.cit.,No.172) records the Nyamwezi name mgumbu for what he describes as "the Greater Lannea", and Newman has obtained a sample of the /ámaka, the provisional identification of which is Lannea stuhlmanni (priv.comm).

2 See photo No. 8.

with a special circumcision knife (mendu). The women accompany their ritual with singing and ululations. The songs are mainly of the góũ type, and those songs which describe the occasion are referred to as /ámakata, 'at the /ámaka-tree'.[1] Unlike the men, the women do not slaughter a chicken at once but they first pummel it to death by swinging it around until it dies. The reason given for this is that the flow of blood from a still living chicken would be too much like the flow of menstrual blood; apparently the women wish to avoid the possible effect, by the magic of similarity, of the slaughter of a live chicken on the initiates, whose operation is supposed to be life-giving by enabling them to be reborn. The chicken's tail feathers are used for the same purpose as with the boys. The boys spend their first nights in the camp, but the girls are taken home and are cared for in the inner room. They are not supposed to be seen by anyone who is not a member of their immediate family, until the final washing ceremony.[2]

The day after the operations, a sacrificial goat is slaughtered which is called thûk'usi, i.e. 'the one for gorging [oneself] on'; the stomach contents (sanka) are distributed among the initiates to eat. The animal is killed with a hot knife 'to cool the wounds'; it is called 'the knife through which is cooled' (rógo !'wa'ku'ĩ). This eating feast concludes the period of the operations during which the guests have lived

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1 Text No. 100 is such a song. The equivalent of the boys is called góleta, 'at the baobab tree'; an example is presented in text No. 101. At the boys' operations most of the singing is done by women but they have to stay at a distance. The boys' operations are therefore less noisy than those of the girls, where the singers are crowded around the operation theatre.

2 In practice this seclusion is often relaxed after a few days. In theory the boys are to stay in the bush as long as their initiation period lasts, but also this is never enforced.

mainly on beer, some porridge, and the meat of the sacrificial chickens. The guests go home, and the period of instruction now begins for the initiates; for the boys in their camp, for the girls in the inner room at home. This includes little or no direct sex instruction as is the case among some neighbouring Bantu tribes.[1] Sandawe instruction is indirect rather than direct, the medium not being physical examples but songs of the kerem'ta type. Both the boys and the girls spend a considerable amount of time singing these instructive songs which teach them about life, and thus prepare them for it. Further practical instruction of the boys consists of archery and hunting birds with throwing sticks (sógoro); the sticks they have to make themselves. The boys must address their camp master and anyone else who instructs them, as 'grandfather' (kokó); the girls call their instructors 'grandmother' (mamá). These 'grandparents' allow themselves rude and obscene practical jokes which the initiates must endure. Any grown-up, even any youth who has already been circumcized the year before, may go into the camp and arrogate himself the right to tease the initiates. The latter's relationship with the camp master is easier; this soon assumes much of the mutual joking intimacy of a grandson/grandfather relationship. Their circumcisors they call 'uncle' (máame, i.e. maternal uncle) and the girls call theirs 'aunt' (íyo, or mother's sister); these relationships last for life.[2]

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1 Cf. Cory, 1954.

2 On p. 372 we have seen that a boy's father is assisted by his maternal uncle (máame) but that a girl's mother is aided by her paternal aunt (íyo). The honorific titles for the circumcisors are also máame and íyo but the meanings of íyo differ. The circumcisor of a girl is like a mother's sister and not like a father's sister, the Sandawe say, because she is (usually) not a member of the girl's own clan, which is the clan of her father. It is even said that therefore a father's sister is a more real mother than a mother's sister, although both are called íyo.

At the end of their initiation period the boys go to their baobab to perform the ceremony of throwing their knives into its trunk. They do this while carrying the nests of weaver birds in their left hands; after that they light a fire with fire drills (herende) and burn the nests. Obscene jokes are cracked during the whole procedure, and references are made to the burning of the skin of their old (uncircumcized) genitals; the ceremony signifies that the boys have now become sexually developed men. It is said that now 'the youths have become big' (k'aréxe ba'é ba'éwa).[1] Finally they walk around the baobab (gele ma'éka'ĩ) and dance around it (pirimó); this dance is the subject of the last of the góũ songs in the following pages (text No. 104). In parts of central Sandawe country the baobab is stabbed with specially made ritual spears, and after this the young men enact a battle with the arch-enemy, the Barabaiga, whom they overcome and kill. The part of the enemy is played by some of their elders.

The initiation is now finished and the youths are washed and anointed and given new clothes to wear. They take their knives (or the spears) from the baobab, and then they are carried home on the backs of their elders while they hold their knives (or spears) high up in the air so that everyone can see that their initiation is finished.[2] While being carried they are under a strict taboo not to look back; they have been told

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1 The sexual nature of this ceremony's symbolism is obvious. The birds are of the species called zákeke or g!õg!owás'; these birds build nests which resemble the male organ. For the association knife = penis, see text No. 100, for burning = sexual penetration, see text No. 113, for the purifying properties of fire and the idea that it represents the start of a new period in life, see p. 46. Fire also symbolizes the finality of destruction (of something detested), cf. line 123 of text No.14 (p.244); lines 87-8 of text No.11 (p.192); and the end of text No. 17 (p.276).

2 See photo No. 12.

that they will die if they do. There can be no looking back to their boyhood any more; they have become men.

The procession is headed by the circumciser (/akase, fem. /akasúsŭ) who leads them into the courtyard of the homestead where the parents and the relatives of all the new post-initiates are once more gathered for a big feast which is called n//óko'o, 'the washing', after the ceremony through which the young people have just passed. The latter are put down on the ground by their elders, formally led through the gate, presented to the gathered clansmen, and given beer as equals. All sorts of circumcision songs are sung, the bowls are made to roar, and the feast goes on until all the beer is finished.

Of the circumcision songs which will now be presented the first thirteen are of the rite-descriptive type while the following nine inform the initiates about the various aspects of adult life.

The rite-descriptive songs of circumcision: góŭ.

Text No. 92. The circumciser's acceptation. Sung by Mr. Salím' Maganga at Xwarants'ése, July 1962.

1 Sórowe warékoyoo, laale.
2 (Chorus) àà Taúlaéé èè, ee.
3 Námŭweyee warés'koyoo laale.
4 (Chorus) àà Taúlaéé èè, ee.
5 Sórowe warékoyoo, laale.
6 (Chorus) àà Taúlaéé èè, ee.
7 Hlísuwee warés'koyoo, laale.
8 (Chorus) àà Taúlaéé èè, ee.
9 N//áhleyee warés'koyoo, laale.
10 (Chorus) àà Taúlaéé èè, ee.
11 Kéeèè, warékoyoo, laale.
12 (Chorus) àà Taúlaéé èè, ee.

13 Áára warés'koyoo, laale.

14 (Chorus) àà Taúlaéé èè, ee.

15 Bâbae warés'koyoo, laale.

16 (Chorus) àà Taúlaéé èè, ee.

17 Máámeyee warés'koyoo, laale.

18 (Chorus) àà Taúlaéé èè, ee.

19 Áára, Taúlakóó, waré.

20 (Chorus) àà Taúlaéé èè, ee.

21 Taúlaèè lalee, warés'.

22 (Chorus) àà etc.

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1 Let us go in shuffle-procession to circumcize, come on.

2 (Chorus) They say: Taúla, say yes. - Yes!

3 Yes, Námŭ, I shall circumcize, come on.

4 (Chorus) They say: Taúla, say yes. - Yes!

5 Let us go in shuffle-procession to circumcize, come on.

6 (Chorus) They say: Taúla, say yes. - Yes!

7 Yes, sister, I shall circumcize, come on.

8 (Chorus) They say: Taúla, say yes. - Yes!

9 Yes, brother, I shall circumcize, come on.

10 (Chorus) They say: Taúla, say yes. - Yes!

11 Really, I shall circumcize, come on.

12 (Chorus) They say: Taúla, say yes. - Yes!

13 I shall really circumcize, come on.

14 (Chorus) They say: Taúla, say yes. - Yes!

15 Oh father, I shall circumcize, come on.

16 (Chorus) They say: Taúla, say yes. - Yes!

17 Yes, uncle, I shall circumcize, come on.

18 (Chorus) They say: Taúla, say yes. - Yes!

19 Really, do it then, Taúla, circumcize.

20 (Chorus) They say: Taúla, say yes. - Yes!

21 Yes, I, Taúla, shall indeed circumcize.

22 (Chorus) They say, etc.

The text has been reproduced at some length because it can easily be followed on the enclosed tape, and because it gives a good idea of the way in which repetition often makes the song in Sandawe. Taŭla is the name of a famous circumcizer of the past. He is persuaded by his sister Námŭ and by other relatives to perform the operations on a new batch of boys, and he finally gives in. This is the explanation given by informants who also suggest that the song expresses the reassuring feeling that the services of a good surgeon have been obtained. It represents the preparational stages of the ritual.

Significant is the choice of the name of Taŭla's sister who is said to have been a girls' circumcizer. Her name is a common one, derived from a tree called námŭ; this is a very red-fruited tree with paired branches from which stirring sticks (hlebera) are made, the branches forming the legs. The red fruit and the spread legs provide a good example of how the Sandawe express their imagery in nature-symbols.

The lines of the song leader and the chorus overlap.

Text No. 93. What is the beer for, are they circumcizing?
Song led by Mrs. Alusía Kozigá at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Hóa waréyoo, hóana waréyoo,
2 hó k'améyoo, íyo, hóana waré,
3 hóana waré, hóana waré, pembe?
4 (Chorus) Hàà hologólogo, hólogólogo, hó pembe.
5 (2nd chorus) Hóana waré, hóana waré, pembe?
6 Lààle, íyo waréyoo, hóana waréyoo,
7 n//okose améyoo, íyo, hóana waré,
8 hóana waré, hóana waré, pembe?
9 (Chorus) Hàà hologólogo, hologólogo, hó pembe.
10 (2nd chorus) Hóana waré, hóana waré, pembe?
11 Hóa waréyoo, etc.

1 Who is circumcizing, who then is circumcizing,
2 what is the beer for, mother, who then is circumcizing,
3 who then circumcizes, who then circumcizes, the glans penis?
4 (Chorus) And he is curing it, curing it, what, the glans penis.
5 (2nd chorus) Who then circumcizes, who then circumcizes, the glans penis?
6 Alas mother, he is circumcizing, who then is circumcizing,
7 the children are held in check, mother, who then circumcizes,
8 who then circumcizes, who then circumcizes, the glans penis?
9 (Chorus) And he is curing it, curing it, what, the glans penis.
10 (2nd chorus) Who then circumcizes, who then circumcizes, the glans penis?
11 Who is circumcizing, etc.

Two explanations have been given of this song, both of which appear acceptable: (1) the children are worried and ask what all the preparations are for, and (2) the grown-ups who are singing in the courtyard during the operations, reassure themselves. The two words which give the song its full meaning do not occur in ordinary speech. They are pembe and hologologo.

The meaning of pembe is variously explained as 'horn' (tlana), 'penis' (tshutshu) and in particular the circumcized, exposed penis (tshutshu phoo; phoo is white or bare), or the glans penis (tshutshu tshee; tshee is head). Pembe is further described as 'the end of sickness' (k'wa'o tlweo), 'the absence of sickness' (k'wa'õ tlakí), and as 'fertile' (n/íase). The combination of the first-mentioned meanings becomes at once clear from the Bantu origins of the word. Meinhof gives the meaning of Bantu -pembe as white or shiny;[1] Seidel translates the Rangi pembe as ivory;[2] von Sick the Rimi pembe as rhino;[3]

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1 1904, 142.
2 1898, 427.
3 1915, 23 (in his translation of a song of elephants).

Dempwolff presents the Rimi pembe as horns, pembe:e as rhino, and ufembe as horn, from the hypothetical Bantu verb -pemba, to shine.[1] Johnson lists the Swahili pembe as 'horn, tusk, projection'.[2] For comparison of the remaining meanings of the Sandawe pembe we may have a look at what Turner writes about the Ndembu idea-associations of this word:

> "mpemba: lumps of white clay, purest expression of the principle of whiteness,...white symbol..[stands for] strength or firmness, goodness, good luck, to have power, to be free from death, to be free from tears, to escape being laughed at, political authority, meeting together with the ancestor spirits, life, strength or health, procreative capacity, huntsmanship, giving, remembering, to laugh, to eat, to multiply in children, to make visible, maturity in old age."[3]

Although I cannot claim that all these meanings are applicable to the Sandawe term, we do have here a remarkable parallel with the Sandawe set of associations. Not only the word pembe itself appears to have been taken over from the Bantu but a whole category of ideas with it.

Kologólogo is said to be a Gogo term. Claus records that the Gogo word gulagula means 'to heal (someone)'.[4] Further associations of this term and its variants are discussed under text No. 101.

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1 1914/5, 290.

2 1951, 372.

3 1962, 142.

4 1911, 69.

Text No. 94. The guests are clamouring for beer. Song led by Mrs. Alusía Kozigá at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Hóo hahéeè tondoyoo, hóo hahéeè tondoyoo.
2 (Chorus) Hàà haa háá.
3 Hóo hahéeè tondoyoo, hóoo hahéeè tondoyoo.
4 (Chorus) Hàà haa háá.
etc.

1 What, hurray, the beer vat, what, hurray, the beer vat.
2 (Chorus) Open, open, open!
3 What, hurray, the beer vat, what, hurray, the beer vat.
4 (Chorus) Open, open, open!
etc.

On the accompanying tape this song is sung as a continuation of the previous one. The sudden change-over to this text is accompanied by a corresponding change of the rhythm; this is a style figure which the Sandawe like much, especially if the rhythm is quickened. This is called hítl'im'so.

The song refers to the stage where the guests have arrived before the morning of the operations. They spend the night sitting by fires, talking, singing and dancing, and drinking beer. Here they are clamouring for more.

The word tondo is also heard as tundu or mütundu, 'box'.[1] This is a container which is made of the bark of a tree called inèè (Brachystegia itolensis or the downy-leafed miombo) which is called ntundu in Sukuma, according to Burtt.[2] Hora and Greenway say that the Sukuma term mtundu (with m) stands for a Brachystegia sp. tree, while ntundu is Isoberlinia globiflora.[3]

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1 Cf. text No.15, line 73 (p.253), and p.254, note 11.

2 1936, No.66.

3 1940, 300.

Whoever is right, the term <u>tondo</u> appears to be a Bantu tree name which is used for 'bark'. The bark containers are very large and used for storing grain; from this the beer is brewed. The size of the containers is suggestive of the quantities of beer for which the guests are hoping.

<u>Text No. 95. The danger of circumcision</u>. Song led by Mrs. Alusía Kozigá at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Íyowéèè weré hóo weré?
2 Thónts'iyoo hóo weré?
3 Imekoyoo Sámŭledayee
4 //atsúeeyoo, hóo weré?
5 Hímbayoo hé tshúyoo, Sámŭledaee.
6 (<u>Chorus</u>) Ahéeèe Sámŭledaee.

7 Íyowee Sámŭledaee,
8 Bábayoo Sámŭledaee,
9 Ímekoyoo Sámŭledaee,
10 Hímbayoo hó tshuyoo Sámŭledayoo,
11 Thónts'iyoo Sámŭledayee,
12 //atsúnakoo áy weréyoo,
13 Ímekoyoo Sámŭledaee.
14 (<u>Chorus</u>) Ahéeèe Sámŭledaee.

15 //atsúnayoo ímenayoo, <u>etc</u>.

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1 Oh mother, it goes around, what is it that goes around?
2 In the black-soil plains, what is it that goes around?
3 Help, it roars! He Who Always Grunts it is,
4 Oh, it is the lion! What is it that goes around?
5 Oh Lion, oh animal. It is He Who Always Grunts.
6 (<u>Chorus</u>) Yes, it is He Who Always Grunts.

7 Oh mother, it is He Who Always Grunts,
8 Oh father, it is He Who Always Grunts,
9 Help, it roars, it is He Who Always Grunts,
10 oh Lion, oh animal, He Who Always Grunts,
11 In the black-soil plains he is, He Who Always Grunts,
12 oh help, what lion then, ay! goes around there,
13 Help, it roars, He Who Always Grunts.
14 (Chorus) Yes, it is He Who Always Grunts.
15 Oh, what lion then is roaring there, etc.

The children have been led to the circumcision place and the singers express their worry over the dangers of it. It is out in the bush, like the black-soil plains which are outside the inhabited areas; this is where the lions roam. The song is sung at the circumcisions of boys and girls, but some say that properly speaking this is a song of the girls only, suggesting that the lion represents the clitoridectomy knife (mendu)as well as men (who pursue women) and danger in general (with sexual connotation). Wyatt mentions that among the neighbouring Rimi the girls sing a lion-danger song before they are led to the operations. They dance a sinuous dance called isunga,

"The neophyte dances, [her] mother is pleased, ale,..
the lion meets me, alee."[1]

"The lion meets me" well expresses the same feeling.

The operative term of the song is of course sámüleda; this we have already encountered in the form of samüléda in the song of text No. 6, and the word is explained on p. 150. The text uses two words for 'lion': himba and //atsú. The latter is the ordinary Sandawe word for the physical animal, but himba is a ritual term only, derived from the Bantu where it is also common

1 1929 (M/S).

in the forms simba and nimba. To the Sandawe himba may also mean 'to roar loudly', from the Bantu verb imba; this fact obviously adds to the value of the term as a ritual name for Lion.[1]

Text No. 96. Leading the initiates to the circumcision. Song led by Mrs. /'eré'e María-iyo at Bugénika, August 1963.

1 Sá Riangombe ee, ee, ee
2 (Chorus) Sá Riangombe yóó,
3 sá Riangombe ee.
4 (Second chorus) Sá Riangombe heloéé,
5 sá Riangombe, sungeyoo.
6 Sá Riangombe ee, ee, ee, etc.

1 To the Initiate-Devourer, yes, yes, yes.
2 (Chorus) To the Initiate-Devourer, oh!
3 to the Initiate-Devourer, yes.
4 (Second chorus) To the Initiate-Devourer, come on then,
5 to the Initiate-Devourer, give them to us.
6 To the Initiate-Devourer, yes, yes, yes, etc.

This song is a procession song called mólolo; to most Sandawe the meaning is so vague that they cannot explain it. Some think that its operative term is a name Sária Gombe [sic] which has 'no meaning'. Some old men state that Riangombe means 'the Lion's Roar' (//atsú ime), that it is the 'voice of the bowl' (la'sé rō) which is like a Spirit (warongé), and that it is also a praise-name of the bowl (la'sé //ŏá, the bowl's name). They think the song is of Nyamwezi origin, and say that the first

1 See note 9 on p.116. In the translations of himba (Lion) and //atsú (lion) I have used a capital L for the ritual name.

part of the name corresponds with the Swahili ku-lia, 'to cry' or 'to roar'. Others, however, believe that the name represents the danger of the Lion to the initiates, which could devour them all like a lion-murderer (bóso, from the Bantu mbojo, a lion-man who kills his victims in the shape of a lion).[1] Although the informants did not say so, we see here that there is an association with a Devouring Danger.

The name Riangombe is found among the interlacustrine Bantu tribes as the name of the chief of the imandwa (ghosts) whose proper place, according to Werner, is among the heroes.[2] Great adventurous feats are ascribed to him, and he could speak before he was born. Werner also tells us that the meaning of the name is 'Eater of an Ox'.[3] Its component parts would then be, of course, ku-lia, to eat, and ngombe, cattle. A difficulty with the application of this etymology to an interlacustrine name is, however, that these languages do not use the stem ngombe for 'cattle', but ente.[4]

Czekanowski records that cattle feature as functioning participants in secret societies among the interlacustrine Bantu, and that these societies are called after the ancestor Ryangombe.[5] He also says that in Usuwi the female impersonator of the cult hero of the Ryangombe society imitates the roaring of a lion during the ceremonies of initiation into the society.[6]

An anonymous writer mentions a Nyamwezi Ilimang'ombe in a text which describes the fetching-away of children after an eight-day confinement (in initiation ritual?), and he says that

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1 See chapter X, lion murders.

2 1933, 49.

3 Ibid., 115.

4 Beattie, priv.comm.

5 1917, 315.

6 Ibid., 311-3.

this is the name of a famous sultan.[1]

The Nyamwezi writer Kongolo throws a little more light on the matter. He says that there is a sacrificial ceremony in which all the rulers of the Nyamwezi share, which is called Lyang'ombe.[2] It includes the laying down on the ground four horns and four sticks in an oblong pattern and the taking of an oath; it also involves danger, a threat of death, and an inspirational oracle which will help the initiate in his later life should he run into trouble, e.g. if he loses his way in the bush.[3]

At one Sandawe circumcision site which I saw, the pegs (koa) which were driven into the ground formed an oval, and the initiates' camp was erected within its confines. This was called the 'inner room of the initiates' (ifkele gurua); we have noted that the inner room represents a womb in which the initiates are secluded before their re-birth. The text of the procession song now confronts us with an echo of Riangombe in which many of its associations may be recognized: fetching children, the oblong womb, seclusion, roaring lion, danger, the devouring lion, threat of death, initiation, spirit, and the inspirational oracle; the latter in the form of the instruction which the initiates receive to prepare them for their life after re-birth, so that they do not get lost. Not yet solved is the etymological poser whether Ria in Riangombe means 'to cry' or 'to eat', as in Werner's translation 'Eater of an Ox': for either meaning there exists a Bantu stem -lia. The problem is not important in so far as both elements are elements in the Sandawe ritual symbolism: the roar and the devouring lion (or womb). But a clue is given by nombe. Why does the Danger

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1 Anon., 1901, 30.

2 1953, 32.

3 Ibid., 30-1.

or its embodiment swallow a cow? The answer may be given by the Sandawe initiates themselves. They are swallowed by the Danger in its embodiment of the Womb and they are called hyenas (tékele). Hyenas, we have seen, are hornless cattle, hornless because they are still incomplete, immature, and uninitiated.[1] Riangombe thus means childhood which is devoured in the ritual, in order that the initiate may be reborn from it as an adult. If this interpretation is correct and may be applied also to the mysterious Riangombe of the interlacustrine Bantu and the Nyamwezi, then the original Riangombe would not be a mythical hero at all, nor an ancestral chief, but initiation itself. Initiation into the imandwa cult, into the ranks of Nyamwezi chiefs, or into Sandawe manhood would then have been derived from the same set of images and beliefs, but their ritual manifestations and the myths attached to them differ.

Text No. 97. The lion-bowl roars. Song led by Mrs. Victoria Wiyá' at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Símbaná, Símba néneè?
2 (Chorus) Haya hóóe, tshéé kítara,
3 Símba néneè?
4 Símbayée, Símba néneè'è?
5 (Chorus) Haya hóóe, tshéé kítara,
6 Símba néneè?
7 Tsíí n//we ímenaã.
8 (Chorus) Haya hóóe, tshéé kítara,
9 Símba néneè?
10 Aarai weré, Símba néneè?
11 (Chorus) Haya hóóe, tshéé kítara,
12 Símba néneeè?
13 //atsú n//we ímenayoo.
14 (Chorus) Haya hóóe.

1 Cf. text No. 37 (p.317).

15 Símba néneè?

16 //atsú kó imenayoo, etc.

1 Lion then, is it not the Lion who is there?

2 (Chorus) Hey well then, isn't his head in there,

3 is it not the Lion who is there?

4 Oh Lion, is it not indeed the Lion who is there?

5 (Chorus) Hey well then, isn't his head in there,

6 is it not the Lion who is there?

7 It is my own child who cries.

8 (Chorus) Hey well then, isn't his head in there,

9 is it not the Lion who is there?

10 Truly he walks about, is it not the Lion who is there?

11 (Chorus) Hey well then, isn't his head in there,

12 is it not the Lion who is there?

13 The lion's child, how it roars!

14 (Chorus) Hey well then, isn't his head in there,

15 is it not the Lion who is there?

16 The lion, oh! how it roars! etc.

This is a praise song for the bowls which are rubbed by the women; they roar out loud, like lions. In line 13 the bowl is referred to as a physical child of a lion (without capital L), and in line 16 simply as a lion. This suggests that the roar is so good that the bowls are not mere ritual lions but real animals.

Some informants have suggested that the song's main theme is "I am a Lion" (símba nene), but this is a Bantu interpretation. Nene means 'I' in such languages as Nyamwezi, Gogo and Isanzu,[1] but in Sandawe the reduplication of the interrogative ne, 'is he here?' with stress on the first syllable forms a relative sentence.

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1 Nyamwezi: Anon.,1901, text 1 (p.45) and text 24 (p.50); Gogo: Last, 1885; Isanzu: Kohl-Larsen, 1937a, 64 ('I am it').

Text No. 98. Who are being circumcized? Song led by Mrs. Victoria Wiyá' at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 N//átshae ko, hóa lamboyoo?
2 (Chorus) Aà háá.
3 Iyo, hóee?
4 (Chorus) Hisóa' lamboée
5 Thónge-e ko, thónga ba'éyoo.
6 (Chorus) Aà háá.
7 Iyo, hóee?
8 (Chorus) Hisóa' lamboée.
etc.

1 In the grit-soil bush, oh, who is initiated then?
2 (Chorus) They are bare.
3 Mother, who then?
4 (Chorus) It is they who are initiated.
5 In the black-soil plain, oh, the plain is so large!
6 (Chorus) They are bare.
7 Mother, who then?
8 (Chorus) It is they who are initiated.
etc.

This is another song of worry. The explanation given is that the boys have been circumcized and are staying in their camp in the bush, and their parents worry about their well-being. Some of the chorus break in with anxious ululations: *íyo-íyo-iyo-yo-yoyoyo'*, 'Oh mother, mother, mother dear!'.

The operative term of the song is *lambo*, another term which is never used in ordinary speech. It appears to convey the idea of the separation of the initiation period. Claus mentions the Gogo term *i-lamba*, the meaning of which he gives as 'finery made of straw stalks'.[1] The Gogo wear trellis-like masks during their initiation period; the Sandawe do not.

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1 1911, 70, "Schmuck aus Strohstengeln".

Text No. 99. The fright of the initiates. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mááki Solá at Farkwa, August 1963.

1 Yámulee-è sangaéèa, hóó yámulee,
2 Yámulee sanga móóga, hóó yámulee,
3 aà háá hó yámulee, sanga móóga,
4 Yamulee-è, etc.

1 Oh sorrow, that Lion mane, what sorrow,
2 Oh sorrow, they fear the Lion mane, what sorrow,
3 and they are bare, what sorrow, they fear the Lion mane.
4 Oh sorrow, etc.

Yámulee is said to be an expression of sorrow for the suffering initiates, a lament. Móóga is from the Bantu, cf. ku-oga, to fear, and mw-oga, one who fears; sangu-a móóga is they fear the sangu, or lion crown. These terms are not used in common speech but in ritual only.

Text No. 100. The pain of the operation. Songleader: Mrs. Alusia Kozigá at N/waá N!ü, August 1963.

1 Íyowee hla'é'gayoo, ko méndu hoolalee.
2 (Chorus) Sumángala hóreree.
3 (Second chorus) Hóreree sumángala.
4 Kúmayoo hla'é'nayoo, méndu hla'é'gayoo.
5 (Chorus) Sumángala hóreree.
6 (Second chorus) Hóreree sumángala.
7 Tátayee n//áhleyoo, méndu hla'é'gayoo.
8 (Chorus) Sumángala hóreree.
9 (Second chorus) Hóreree sumángala.
10 Íyowee hla'é'gayoo, etc.

1 Oh mother, how the pain sears, help, the knife, hoolalee.
2 (Chorus) It is bleeding, oh, on and on.
3 (Second chorus) Oh, on and on, it is bleeding.
4 It pains, and doesn't the pain smart, the knife, how it sears
5 (Chorus) It is bleeding, oh, on and on.
6 (Second chorus) Oh, on and on, it is bleeding.
7 Oh father, brother dear, the knife, how it sears.
8 (Chorus) It is bleeding, oh, on and on.
9 (Second chorus) Oh, on and on, it is bleeding.
10 Oh mother, how the pain sears, etc.

This góũ (circumcision) song is also referred to as a /ánakata ('at the Lannea-tree') song, because of its direct reference to the operation on the girls. While the men use almost any cutting instrument the women conservatively use only the traditional méndu. This instrument is made of native iron in the shape of a traditional razor (like a 35° circle segment), an arrow head or an obovate shape; it occurs over a wide area and also its name has been reported from elsewhere (mundu).[1]

Among the Sandawe the word méndu means both a circumcision knife and a razor blade of the traditional kind.[2] The méndu also has strong phallic associations, for an informant states

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1 Dempwolff, 1916, 82, shows a circle-segment shape (rounded); Wyatt, M/S, n.d., 108, shows a similar Rimi sample (not rounded); Weule, 1908, plate 17 fig. 8 shows a straight-edged sample of a 'shaving and tattoo knife' of the Makonde; Czekanowski, 1958, 104, shows Nilotic 'women's knives, carried from the waist' ("noże kobiet, noszone za pasem") from the Sudan; all these shapes are represented among the circumcision knives of the Sandawe, which are shown in plate III (the phallic shape may also be seen in photo No.7). The name mundu is reported by Stuhlmann, 1910, 28 and 51, who refers to it as a slashing knife (Haumesser) in Central East Africa.

2 Dempwolff, op.cit., 48.

that mándu also means glans penis (pembe), an arrow (dlanî), and a bull (k'amba). On the subject of Ndembu circumcision Turner writes that

> "...the arrow is held in the right [hand]. The arrow (nsewu) is masculine. The term for marriage payment is nsewu, and in the circumciser's medicine basket two arrows are inserted at each end, representing wuyala, which means both 'masculinity' and 'penis'."[1]

Although the Sandawe material presented here does not show all the same implications there appear to be elements in symbolic representations which are similar to those found among the Ndembu. The Sandawe reference to a bull (k'amba) was made in a jocular way, but it betrays the symbolic function of the knife, which is to deflower her, as it were, and so to initiate her into womanhood. The same idea appears to be held among the neighbouring Rimi. Wyatt records that they call the knife kambakoo which means a ram, and Obst also states that the Rimi call the knife a ram (the Sandawe word k'amba, 'bull', also has the general meaning of 'male animal').[2] We have seen that the Sandawe sometimes give the knife a clearly phallic shape.

The term sumángala in the text is a ritual one which does not occur in ordinary speech; it is explained as 'bleeding much' (úraã //'ék'a). The first part appears to consist of súmu (Bantu, poison) plus the 3rd person formative element -a. The second half, gala, has many associations with blood, menstruation and circumcision (see the following song). The original meaning of sumángala appears to have been 'the poison bleeds out', in which 'poison' could stand for pre-initiate impurity (this is speculative and has not been confirmed).

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1 Turner, 1962, 133.

2 Wyatt, op.cit., 113; Obst, 1915a,11.

Text No. 101. Oh, that cruel circumcizer. Song led by Mrs. Victoria Wiyá' at N/waá N!a, August 1963.

1 Owéeèyoo ko hík'isipaa naa hámayoo.
2 Íyo thaa'asipaana khoota wagéyoo
3 hàà gálagala,
4 íyoko hík'isipaanako hámayoo.
5 (Chorus) Hàà gálagala sók'omboo.
6 Hámayoo ko thaa'asipaako wagéyoo.
7 (Chorus) Hàà gálagala sók'omboo.
8 Hàà íyo hík'isipaa háma wagé.
9 (Chorus) Hàà gálagala sók'omboo.
10 Íyo hík'isipaana hámayoo.
11 (Chorus) Hàà gálagala sók'omboo.
12 Ítsiyoo paa thaa'asipaa í/iyoo, ho, hó.
13 (Chorus) Hàà gálagala sók'omboo.
14 Owéeèyoo, etc.

1. Oh woe then indeed. He went to me, and then did he abuse me!
2 Mother, he ran to me and in the house he cloaked me
3 and he circumcized.
4 Oh mother dear, he went to me, oh! and he abused me.
5 (Chorus) And he circumcized me naked.
6 And he went on abusing. He ran to me, oh! and he abused me.
7 (Chorus) And he circumcized me naked.
8 And he, mother, he went to me, abused and cloaked me.
9 (Chorus) And he circumcized me naked.
10 Mother, he went for me and did he abuse me!
11 (Chorus) And he circumcized me naked.
12 He did me and did me, and ran to me and he came, oh then!
13 (Chorus) And he circumcized me naked.
14 Oh woe then indeed. etc.

This song of the góũ type is also referred to as mũleta, 'at the baobab tree'. Having been caught and put under a cloak, the initiate has been led to the baobab and circumcized; now he protests his indignation.

We have seen that the element gala in sumúngala (text No. 100) has been explained as 'bleeding much'. This reference to blood appears to be of Bantu origin, but there it seems to be associated with female rites rather than with male ones. Paulssen records that kalakala or kalagala is the Gogo term for 'the first day of menstruation', and that this is a feast day.[1] Claus says that the Gogo 'ufina wa kalakala kipale' is a 'dance at first menstruation' and that ngala is a headdress (Kopfschmuck) worn on such occasions.[2] It appears that the adoption of this term and its variants has resulted in a divergence of meanings. In Sandawe galagala now means 'to circumcize' (ritual term only), but there is also a term kalakala (used also in ordinary speech) which means 'to roll on the ground or in the dust, as in pain (as when circumcized)'. In Burunge the form galáŋgala means 'to gather together', e.g. children into their initiation camp.[3] The Sandawe hologólogo and the Gogo gulagula, 'to heal someone' appear related.[4] The healing or purifying element also emerges from the Kaguru term muhai kalakala, 'a burned witch', in a reference to the burning of a witch with boiling water.[5] These variants, together with the context of the term galagala in the text, suggest that

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1 1922, 168.

2 1911, 72 and 69.

3 Also in Burunge galáŋgala is not exclusively a ritual term: galáŋgala numbare is commonly used for 'to gather together' (i.e. 'in numbers'). Own fieldnotes.

4 Cf. p. 381.

5 Beidelman, 1963e, 71.

in Sandawe it means 'to circumcize' in the sense of bloody circumcision and purification, as opposed to lambo which indicates the separation of circumcision.[1]

Text No. 102. The crying initiates. Song led by ..?.. (name unknown) at Mugómore, August 1963.

1 Háúe tékele háúe
2 Tshinana gombe mallso
3 Háúe.
4 (Chorus) Iyo-yo-yoyoyo.
5 Háúe tékele háúe, etc.

1 Wail, hyena, wail
2 Buttocks [exposed], the cattle pass.
3 Wail!
4 (Chorus) Mother, mother oh mother!
5 Wail, hyena, wail, etc.

Háúe is an onomatopoetic verb which describes the wailing of hyenas, cf. the Swahili hau.[2] The buttocks are a reference to the initiates who are naked, their heads covered under a cloak, and the cattle stand for hornless cattle which represent the hyena-initiates in their still immature state.

Text No. 103. They will blossom. Song led by Miss Beatrísi Intóri Te'áwa at Bugénika, August 1963.

1 Hólalee.
2 (Chorus) Ééa hólalee.
3 Bóá'yoo hólalee.
4 (Chorus) Ééa hólalee.
5 Bóá'yoo hólalee.
6 (Chorus) Ééa hólalee.

1 Cf. p. 390. 2 Velten, 1900, 125.

7 Naa hólalee, oyoo.
8 (Chorus) Aywéé hólalee, ée̋a hólalee.
9 Naa hólalee, oyoo.
10 (Chorus) Aywéé hólalee, ée̋a hólalee.
11 Hólalee.

etc.

1 Hólalee!
2 (Chorus) Yes it is hólalee.
3 They will blossom, hólalee.
4 (Chorus) Yes it is hólalee.
5 They will blossom, hólalee.
6 (Chorus) Yes it is hólalee.
7 And hólalee, there then.
8 (Chorus) Oh woe! hólalee, yes it is hólalee.
9 And hólalee, there then.
10 (Chorus) Oh woe! hólalee, yes it is hólalee.
11 Hólalee!

etc.

Bɔ̀ (low tone) is 'hymen' and also 'marriage'.[1] The verbal form bɔ́ɔ́ thus means 'to be marriageable' and also 'to blossom'; in this sense it may be used for flowers. This song, which is sung at a slow pace, is used as a means of entertaining the girls after the operation. The slow beat enables them to sway with the song rhythm, the idea being that this will make them forget the pain. This type of gɔ́ɔ̋ song is called /esukwa, 'sway then', or /esukɔ̋'I, 'for making [them] sway'. Any circumcision song with a suitably slow beat may be used for this purpose; the previous text (No. 102) is used as a swaying entertainment for boy-initiates.

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1 Cf. van de Kimmenade, 1954, 35.

Text No. 104. The dance around the baobab tree. Sung by Mr. Roki Angelo at K'ats'áwase, July 1962.

1 Pirimó, pirimó, pirimó,
2 hó pirimó.
3 Kó hamaa tl'erek'a.
4 Pirimó, etc.

1 Circling round, circling round, circling round,
2 what, circling round,
3 well, it takes away the curse.
4 Circling round, etc.

This is the song of the final round dance around the baobab, just before the initiates are carried home on the day of the washing ceremony. The dance is also called gelé ma'éka'i, 'turning around the baobab'. The curse (hama, curse, impurity, insult) is the unclean state of initiation.

The instructive songs of circumcision: kerem'ta.

Text No. 105. The watchful initiates. Song led by Mrs. Yuliana Lébasu at Farkwa, August 1963.

1 Twíyoo wenkiyoo, dádawaxe wenkiyoo,
2 twíyexe wenkiyoo.
3 (Chorus) Aà háá, aà háá,
4 mara'ínga wenkiyooxe,
5 íyo, wenkiyoo.

6 Twíyoo wenkiyoo, miánguxe wenkiyoo,
7 twíye wenkiyoo.
8 (Chorus) Aà háá, aà háá,
9 mara'ínga wenkiyooxe,
10 íyo, wenkiyoo.

11 Zéngu wenkiyoo, mara'ínga wenkiyoo,
12 twíyexe wenkiyoo.
13 (Chorus) Aà háá, aà háá,
14 mara'ínga wenkiyooxe,
15 íyo, wenkiyoo.

16 Miángu wenkiyoo, dádawaxe wenkiyoo,
17 Oróriaxe wenkiyoo.
18 (Chorus) Aà háá, aà háá,
19 mara'ínga wenkiyooxe,
20 íyo, wenkiyoo.

21 Orória wenkiyoo, etc.

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1 The birds are dozing, all the snake-eagles are dozing,
2 all the birds are dozing.
3 (Chorus) They are bare, they are bare,
4 they are all dozing on the alert,
5 Mother, they are dozing.

6 The birds are dozing, all the kites are dozing,
7 the birds are dozing.
8 (Chorus) They are bare, they are bare,
9 they are all dozing on the alert,
10 Mother, they are dozing.

11 The storks are dozing, they are dozing on the alert,
12 all the birds are dozing.
13 (Chorus) They are bare, they are bare,
14 they are all dozing on the alert,
15 Mother, they are dozing.

16 The kites are dozing, all the snake-eagles are dozing,
17 all the pelicans are dozing.
18 (Chorus) They are bare, they are bare,
19 they are all dozing on the alert,
20 Mother, they are dozing.

21 The pelicans are dosing, etc.

The song suggests to the initiates in their camp that they must be alert hunters who are never so fast asleep that they could be taken by surprise by the dangers of their surroundings. The snake-eagle, the kite and the stork appear also in the exorcism song of the flying dancers (text No. 88); óŕória (the pelican) is identified by van de Kimmenade.[1] These birds are mighty birds of prey with whom the initiates are identified. The word mara in the second line of the chorus means 'on the alert' as well as 'with good sense'.[2]

Women of the chorus express their anxiety for the welfare of the children in the camp by interspersing their refrains with ululations: Iyo-iyo-yo-yo ('Oh mother, mother, mother then')

Text No. 106. The braying donkeys. Song led by Mrs. Ku'uná ..?.. at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Héu dlomáá, zumbe hadots'a

2 ímewayòò.

3 (Chorus) Hóólaalèè hà hóólaalee χibíχibí.

4 Íyowéé héu imewayoo, héu laaleye

5 ímewayòò.

6 (Chorus) Hóólaalèè hà hóólaalee χibíχibi.

7 Dakwe heχwe Matíka hadots'a

8 !áχawayòò.

9 (Chorus) Hóólaalèè hà hóólaalee χogőχogõ.

10 Héu dlomáá, etc.

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1 1954, 51.

2 Cf. pp. 285-6.

1 He had bought them, and in the headman's cattle yard
2 they are braying.
3 (Chorus) Well then, yes well then, in his dug-in house.
4 Oh mother, they are braying, they indeed
5 are braying.
6 (Chorus) Well then, yes well then, in his dug-in house.
7 These donkeys in Matika's cattle yard
8 are braying loudly.
9 (Chorus) Well then, yes well then, in his dug-in dwelling.
10 He had bought them, etc.

The previous song has brought home to the boys the fact that they are going to be watchful hunters; this song teaches the girls that they are soon going to be marriageable women. The key words of the text are hado, 'cattle enclosure' or 'courtyard'; xibíxibi or xogóxogõ, 'dug-in house or dwelling'; dakwe, 'donkey'; and dlomo, 'to buy' or 'to exchange'.

The Sandawe keep their cattle and donkeys in a circular yard which is placed in front of the house and surrounded by a palisade or fence called koto, 'fence'. The enclosure is a cultural acquisition from surrounding peoples, and the Sandawe call both the enclosure and the courtyard hado, 'yard'.[1] Before the modern type of flat-roofed house with a separate, enclosed cattleyard was adopted, some Sandawe had taken over from peoples of the Iraqw cluster a type of dug-in house which is still in use among the Iraqw, the Gorowa and the Alagwa (Wasi); the Burunge have changed to a type which is not dug in, like the Sandawe. There are many sites in Sandawe country where

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1 Van de Kimmenade, 1954, 40, hives the meaning of hádo as 'basse-cour, enceinte, enclos, cour'; Dempwolff, 1916, 45, simply as 'Hof'. Meinhof, 1901, 331, translates the Burunge word hãdã as 'fence'.

the outlines of this type of house can still be seen. It is called xibíxibi or xogóxogõ (the verb xibí means 'to burrow'); unlike the modern type of house it also contained the family cattle.[1]

Donkeys (dakwe) are domestic animals, like cattle, and like hornless cattle they may be used to represent initiates. Since there are no horned donkeys the term dakwe does not so much imply the immaturity of the initiates as the fact that, as housewives, they will have to carry water gourds from the well and firewood from the bush. Donkeys are beasts of burden, used for the transportation of honey gourds and building poles. An informant adds that donkeys are ash-coloured, like initiates. In the first line of the song we find the donkey-initiates in the cattle yard; this is the place where girls are often operated upon. The chorus, in line three, transports them to the inside of the dug-in house; here they may still be donkeys but this is also the place where they grow up to be marriageable women. The verb dlomí, 'to buy' really means 'to exchange something for goods', and wives are, of course, acquired in exchange for bridewealth.

Matika in line 7 is a woman's name, and it is said to be the name of a circumciser who operated on the girls in her husband's cattle yard. The choice of the name seems significant, for it is thought to mean 'the rainy period', from the Bantu term masika (Sandawe Bari), 'the period of the long rains'. This is not the sowing season but the growing season, the time when the harvest ripens and begins to bear fruit; this is in

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1 The dug-in type is illustrated by Jaeger, 1911, 97 and 103. Reche, 1914, 25, describes the Sandawe house as semi dug-in ("Halbversenkt") but his photographs show the modern type of house. The dug-in type provided good defence possibilities against raiders.

analogy with the stage of development of the girls.

Text No. 107. New clothes. Sung by Miss Rosina Akelinús' at Bugénika, August 1963.

1 Fárkwatshè kanga laale, èè,
2 áara kalé'o hóólaale, èè,
3 áara'o ní'o, laale, èè.
4 Áarago kalé
5 áara kalé'o hóólaale.
6 Fárkwatshè etc.

1 From Farkwa, printed cloth indeed, yes,
2 really well-patterned, come on, yes,
3 really then, let us go, indeed yes.
4 Really, let us be well-patterned,
5 really with nice patterns, come on.
6 From Farkwa, etc.

Farkwa is the headquarters of the south-eastern part of Sandawe country; apart from a local court, an enclosure for a cattle market, a mission and a school, a dispensary and a permanent borehole, there is a trading centre with two shops. Here the people from the surrounding country buy their clothing. Sandawe women wear colourfully printed cloth, called by the Swahili name kanga; this is thin material which is imported from Japan, Lancashire, and Holland. The cloth is sold and worn in pairs of two unseparated prints of 68" x 48" each; in 1963 local prices ranged from Shs 10/- to Shs 18/- a pair.[1]

The explanation for the song is that it teaches the girls that, as wives, they will have the right to be clothed well by their husbands.

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1 See photo No. 3.

Text No. 108. The famine-relief train. Song led by Mrs. Nwanaidi Dudi at Farkwa, August 1963.

1 Íyowee ná'sayoo tatáyee,
2 hólowee bíriana ímesa,
3 (Chorus) Elelee, sa Mambonayoo.
4 Sórowee helowee heloo,
5 habáriyee habárina ná'sa.
6 (Chorus) Elelee, sa Mambonayoo.
7 Elelee, sa yóebo, tatáyee,
8 helelee, bíriana ímesa.
9 (Chorus) Elelee, sa Mambonayoo.
10 Sórowee Mambona galayee,
11 helowee, bíriana ímesa.
12 (Chorus) Elelee, sa Mambonayoo.

etc.

13 Elowee hólowee, élelee,
14 Tatáyee hólowee, élelee,
15 Sórowee hólowee, élelee,
16 Elowee hóiowee, élelee,
17 Elelee habáriyee, élelee,
18 Sórowee galayoo, élelee,
19 Sórowee ímewayoo, élelee,

etc.

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1 Oh mother, it is belching up smoke, oh father,
2 let us go, doesn't the train whistle?
3 (Chorus) Onwards, she says, to Mambo then.
4 On, ashuffle, going on then, going,
5 oh tidings! tidings that the smoke surges up.
6 (Chorus) Onwards, she says, to Mambo then.

7 Onwards, she says, hurray! oh father,
8 onwards then, doesn't the train whistle?
9 (Chorus) Onwards, she says, to Mambo then.
10 On, ashuffle, to Mambo to circumcize,
11 onwards then, doesn't the train whistle?
12 (Chorus) Onwards, she says, to Mambo then.

etc.

13 Going on, going on then, onwards,
14 oh father, going on then, onwards,
15 on, ashuffle, going on then, onwards,
16 going on, going on then, onwards,
17 going on, oh tidings, onwards,
18 on, ashuffle, circumcize then, onwards,
19 on, ashuffle, it is whistling, onwards,

etc.

Mambo is the name of the place in southern Sandawe country where there is a local trading centre, a court, and a number of store houses for grain. It is about thirty miles from Saranda which is a railway station on the central line; the road follows the old German track from Kilimatinde to Kondoa. The southern slopes of the Sandawe hills look out over the flat and featureless bushland beyond which the smoke of the trains can often be seen.[1] The song refers to the famine of 1949/50 which is called the famine of Mambu because the stores by the courthouse held enough reserves to tide the population over the worst of the famine; much of these reserves had been built up from consignments of relief grain which the government sent to Saranda by train.[2] Although there was starvation among surrounding tribes the Sandawe generally managed to survive on roots and small game,

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1 See maps 1 and 2.

2 See appendix III.

bulbs and grass seeds,[1] but there was no possibility of brewing sufficient quantities of beer for the circumcision rites. The arrival of the relief grain changed this position, and the first concern of many Sandawe appears to have been that maize should be obtained for beer brewing.[2]

Text No. 109. Absconding to the dance. Song led by Mrs. Alusia Kozigé at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Hindeyéèèè hó híndeyoo.
2 (Chorus) Hàà sóro híndelaa.
3 Andelídía hó he híndeyoo.
4 (Chorus) Hàà sóro híndelaa.
5 Híndeyéée hói na dabeyoo?
6 (Chorus) Hàà sóro híndelaa.
7 Kokoyéée hói na dabeyoo?
8 (Chorus) Hàà sóro híndelaa.
9 Híndeyéèèè hó híndeyoo.
10 (Chorus) Hàà sóro híndelaa.
.....(etc.)
11 (Second chorus) Eeashé ahéèaa
12 (Chorus) Hàà sóro híndelaa.
13 Haa híndelaa hinde,
14 (Third chorus) Eeashéa aa hóoò aahéèa
15 (Second chorus) Eeashé ahéèaa
16 (Chorus) Hàà sóro híndelaa.
17 Haa híndelaa hinde,
.....(etc.)

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1 Kondoa District Book (n.d.) The famine of 1919.
2 See lines 10 and 18 of the song text. Government officials despaired at "the squandering of relief grain on beer making" (Distr.Book, loc.cit.).

1 Oh joy, what! oh joyful expectation.
2 (Chorus) And ashuffle they go to the dance.
3 What, co-wife, hey! oh joyful expectation.
4 (Chorus) And ashuffle they go to the dance.
5 Oh this joyful expectation, who then is it who prevails?
6 (Chorus) And ashuffle they go to the dance.
7 Oh grandfather, who is it then who prevails?
8 (Chorus) And ashuffle they go to the dance.
9 Oh this joyful expectation, oh joyful expectation.
10 (Chorus) And ashuffle they go to the dance.
.....(etc.)
11 (Second chorus) Well, come on then.
12 (Chorus) And ashuffle they go to the dance.
13 And they go to the dance, joyful expectation.
14 (Third chorus) Well come on then, what, come on then.
15 (Second chorus) Well, come on then.
16 (Chorus) And ashuffle they go to the dance.
17 And they go to the dance, joyful expectation.
.....(etc.)

The song leader explains that this song tells of an old man who had two wives whom he forbade to go to the dance, but they are persuaded by others to go anyway. A woman cannot be prevented from going to the dance, she says, and this appears to be the lesson to the initiates. When women go together to some joyful occasion some distance away, they like to go in a shuffling dance gait, the whole throng of them waving green branches and yodeling ululations. This shuffling pass is called *ágro*. This term has been explained as any dance with an element of entrancement in it;[1] the cadence of their feet, the heat and the dust, the ululations, and the endless repetition of the songs they sing, certainly provide this element.

Cf. p. 358.

As in the previous song the text and the rhythm suddenly change; this is called hítl'in'sá, 'to stumble into [a faster rhythm]'.[1] In processions the women like to sing circumcision songs of the type here presented.

Text No. 110. Lover, buy me beads. Song led by Mrs. Alusia Kozigá at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Lóólecè, dlomókoyoo,
2 liyóóliyóó'yoo liyóóliyóó.
3 (Chorus) Liyóóliyóó'yoo liyóóliyóó.

4 Íyowee, dlomókoyoo,
5 liyóóliyóó'yoo liyóóliyóó.
6 (Chorus) Liyóóliyóó'yoo liyóóliyóó.

7 Sandekúsakwe, dlomókweyoo,
8 liyóóliyóó'yoo liyóóliyóó.
9 (Chorus) Liyóóliyóó'yoo liyóóliyóó.
etc.

1 Come on then, buy it then,
2 liyóóliyóó'yoo liyóóliyóó.
3 (Chorus) Liyóóliyóó'yoo liyóóliyóó.

4 By mother! buy it then,
5 liyóóliyóó'yoo liyóóliyóó.
6 (Chorus) Liyóóliyóó'yoo liyóóliyóó.

7 A string of beads, buy it then,
8 liyóóliyóó'yoo liyóóliyóó.
9 (Chorus) Liyóóliyóó'yoo liyóóliyóó.
etc.

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1 Cf. p.382; there it refers to the joining of two different songs with the same effect.

There are two kinds of sandakúsa beads; one which is no longer seen and one which has become rare. The name sandaku-sa means 'for the box' (from the Swahili sanduku, 'box'); the beads are so called because they are too delicate and beautiful for everyday wear. The disappeared type consists of ostrich shell disks, like Bushman beads; the other of imported beads made of a fragile, hollow glassy material.[1] A girl expects her lover to give her a string of beads, and the song teaches the initiates that a girl must make sure that she is given one.[2]

Text No. 111. The secret lover, version I. Song led by Mrs. Manzo Zenobia at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Sómaa hólaale làálé, èè,
2 sómaa hólaale làálé, èè.
3 (Chorus) Góima marimónga sómaa.

4 Sómaa dí n//osu saíbaéé, èè.
5 (Chorus) Saíba Góima marimónga sómaa.

6 Sómaa díni súngeta'ea tú' sómaéé, èè.
7 (Chorus) Sómaa marimónga sómaa.

8 Sómaa saa mbíli sunge tátu éé, èè.
9 (Chorus) Góima marimónga sómaa.

10 Hó sómaa mántsha kiandoréé, èè.
11 (Chorus) Símba marimónga Góima.
12 Aywéé hólaale lèèlé, èè.
13 (Chorus) Góima marimónga sómaa.

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1 For the 'bushman beads' see p.266, note 7. The material of the glass beads is like that of Christmas tree decorations. The old-time boxes for keeping them are called mú'a. For everyday wear grass strings were used, later cheaper types of imported bead strings.

2 Cf. p.44.

14 Sa: Aywéé Góima marimónga sómaa.

15 (Chorus) Saíba Góima marimónga sómaa.

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1 He instructs, well then, alas, yes,

2 he instructs, well then, alas, yes.

3 (Chorus) The teacher of Góima does instruct.

4 He instructs, he is the rock child's fornicator, yes.

5 (Chorus) The fornicator, the teacher of Góima does instruct.

6 He instructs, from giving us religion he went out to instruct.

7 (Chorus) He instructs, the teacher does instruct.

8 He instructs at 8 o'clock, he and I, at 9 indeed, yes.

9 (Chorus) The teacher of Góima does instruct.

10 What, he instructs, he eats, the Striding Maned-Lion, yes.

11 (Chorus) A lion he is, the teacher of Góima.

12 Oh woe, well then, alas, yes.

13 (Chorus) The teacher of Góima does instruct.

14 She says: "Oh woe! he is the fornicator of Góima, yes."

15 (Chorus) The fornicator, the teacher of Góima does instruct.

Góima is the name of a neighbourhood in the south-east where a religious teacher had an adulterous affair with a woman whom he took to the rocks after lessons. The word saíba may mean 'close friend' or 'friendship', but its usual application is to illicit love.[1] The Sandawe say it is a proper Sandawe word, but Stern records that in Nyamwezi mu-shihiwa means an adulterous woman and that its active form mu-shihiya means a male fornicator.[2] A 'rock child' is a girl who goes to a rock cluster to meet her

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1 Cf. text No. 7, line 1 (p. 154).

2 1906, 146.

lover; it is an expression which implies disapproval. Informants say that the lovers act badly because they meet by day; Dempwolff states that this is taboo (_moko_).[1] By allowing herself to be seduced in daytime the woman exposes herself to the danger of punishment;[2] the temerity of her lover finds reflection in the epithet which he is given in line 10. The term Striding Maned-Lion (_kiǂandoro_) is associated with dangerous activities of a sexual nature.[3] The use of this term introduces a ribald element into the song which would be lost without it; it is strengthened by the reference to eating in the same line. Velten shows us that also in Swahili ribald verse Lions (and cattle) represent illicit lovers; the use of references to eating as representations of sexual activity is common in vulgar Swahili idiom, and the Sandawe employ such references in the same way.[4]

The lesson of this song to the initiates appears to be that adultery is acknowledged to be common, but that to commit it by day is dangerous. The song is said to be a common woman's grinding song. When women grind flour for beer parties the monotony of the work is relieved by singing, and songs are sung about affairs which the men are not supposed to know about. Initially these songs are personal songs which may catch on and be taken over by others if they are good. This song has become a well known initiation song of the girls (_karem'ta_), but it is also a grinding song (_naowa ǂhime_) or 'flour song' (_ǂhume ǂhime_).

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1 1916, 139.

2 Adultery and punishment: cf. p. 47-8.

3 Cf. p. 359.

4 For Lions in Swahili verse, cf. Velten, 1907, 429-38.

Text No. 112. The secret lover, version II. Song led by Mrs. Xóχorik'o Lébasu at Mírase, October 1962.

1 Sómayoo éélaale, éélaale sómaa.
2 (Chorus) Sómayoo marimónga sómaa.
3 Góima marimónga sómaa, ha hé.
4 (Chorus) Sómayoo matimónga sómaa.
5 Saíba Góima marimónga sómaa.
6 (Chorus) Saíba marimónga sómaa.
7 Díngo buyane, díngo saíba.
8 (Chorus) Díngo buyane sómaa.
9 Góima díni sungets'ea tú' paa sómaa.
10 (Chorus) Góima marimónga sómaa.
11 Sómayoo éélaale, etc.

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1 Instruct then, come on, come on, instruct.
2 (Chorus) He instructs then, the teacher does instruct.
3 The teacher of Góima does instruct, ha hé.
4 (Chorus) He instructs then, the teacher does instruct.
5 [My] fornicator, the teacher of Góima does instruct.
6 (Chorus) The fornicator, the teacher does instruct.
7 This is a rock lover, a rock fornicator.
8 (Chorus) The rock lover instructs.
9 At Góima, from giving us religion he goes out and instructs.
10 (Chorus) The teacher of Góima does instruct.
11 Instruct then, come on, etc.

In this version the song leader delights in expressing encouragement for the lovers' illicit action. Buya in line 8 is a Gogo term for a mistress, or an institutional lover.[1] The great similarity with text No. 111 illustrates the fact that song texts are faithfully adhered to within the freedom allowed to the performer, of choosing his exact words according to his own taste and style.

1 Rigby, 1964.

Text No. 113. The ebony phallus. Song led by ..?.. (name unknown), at Farkwa, August 1963.

1 Hó hiyóó, hó hiyóó, - hó hiyóó, hó hiyóó,
2 hó hiyóó, hó hiyóó, - hó hiyóó, hó hiyóó.
3 (Chorus) Hóee?

4 Théé moyóó, áywe Báriyoo.
5 (Chorus) Hãã, áy we.

6 Íyowéé, áy we Báriyee.
7 (Chorus) Hãã, áy we.

8 Théé moyóó, áy we théé labánda.
9 (Chorus) Hãã, áy we.

10 Théé moyóó, etc.

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1 What, so it is, what, so it is - what, so it is, what, so it is,
2 what, so it is, what, so it is - what, so it is, what, so it is.
3 (Chorus) What then?

4 The tree's heartwood, oh you Bári.
5 (Chorus) It is open, oh woe.

6 Oh mother, oh you Bari.
7 (Chorus) It is open, oh woe.

8 The tree's heartwood, oh woe, the tree's foliage.
9 (Chorus) It is open, oh woe.

10 The tree's heartwood, etc.

Thee no is the core or the heartwood of a tree, especially core wood which in a cut tree trunk is distinctly seen because its colour is darker than the rest of the wood. It is said that the best heartwood is found in the trees called ti'õ

and tamba. These two are both ebony-like trees, the heartwood of which is black.[1] The black heartwood of these trees is much in demand for logs in the fire, especially tamba, because it burns with almost invisible smoke and a pleasant smell, and the spirits (léts'ima) are said to like it; this wood has therefore a function somewhat akin to that of incense.

When bush is cleared for cultivation and the useless cuttings have been burnt, charred tree trunks are left which may go on smoking for days. These stumps are called gogo but because of their blackness they are also referred to as '[black] heartwood' (thee mo), or more obscenely as penises (tshutshu). When asked why they are so called informants did not say, as expected, that their shapes are like penises, but because they are black and because they burn. The darker pigmentation of the male organ in relation to the rest of the body is indeed noticeable in many Sandawe with their light skin colour. Black, according to an informant, is the colour of burnt wood, and his remark ties up with the information that penises burn. The verb 'to burn' is vulgarly used for 'to penetrate sexually', and the Sandawe term for a burning iron (lalaa, for burning holes into ax handles so that the blade can be fitted in) is also the term for a patrilineage, i.e. a group of people who

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1 According to Sandawe informants ti'õ (or tirõ) is called pingo in Swahili, and the Swahili mpingo is identifies by Johnson (1951, 297) as the ebony tree, Diospyros ebenum and Dalbergia melanoxylon; according to Greenway (1947) the latter is the African ebony tree. Burtt refers to Dalbergia melanoxylon as 'Pod ebony' and says that its Rimi name is mpako (1936, No.122). Some Sandawe agree that the Rimi mpako is the same as the Sandawe ti'õ, but others say that it is what the Sandawe call tamba. Newman agrees with the former, saying that ti'õ is indeed Dalbergia melanoxylon, but he identifies tamba as Dalbergia arbutifolia (M/S, 1966). Both trees would therefore be ebony species, although Dempwolff translates tamba as 'an acacia'(1916, 44).

are descended from the same penis. One of the people present during the discussion remarked that 'the tamba tree's heartwood does burn but it has sweet smoke' (tamba thee mǫ̃ //'íŋga n!aata' pax ts'uk'a mǽa), and under general hilarity a boy remarked upon this that this means coitus (/í'o). The smoking treestump thus has sexual as well as spiritual significance. Its spiritual associations are shown not only by the fragrant smoke but also by the fact that mǫ means more than just 'heartwood' or 'core'; it also means 'soul' or 'vital principle'.[1]

The song mentions a girl's name, Bari. The meaning of this name is Rainy Season; it is given to girls who are born during the rains. We have seen that the rainy season is the fertile season of the ripening crops, but an informant has explained the presence of the name Bari in the song by saying that 'Bari puts out the fire just as the rain extinguishes it' (Bari //'í'sa nuta'iŋ'se, tl'oánga //'íŋà tahuékũxé'). The fires of bush clearing prepare the ground for putting in the seeds; the rainy season then extinguishes the fires and causes the seeds to grow. The song makes a double reference to agricultural fertility and female fertility. As in Swahili, 'fire' has a connotation of sexual desire. The following explanation of the song by the informant now clears up the whole of its meaning: Bari's mother asks her: "Did you see that the tree has a mǫ (core, soul)?" Bari replies: "No, I see the foliage but I did not see that it has a mǫ (core, soul, penis)." The mother then says: "You have the foliage and when the leaves lay down (fall off) you will bear fruit."[2]

We are now able to see that the heartwood of the tree

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1 Van de Kimmenade, 1954, 49. Mǫ may be compared with the Burunge mǭna, 'heart' (Meinhof, 1910, 495) and the Ngomvia mínako, 'heart' (Claus, 1910, 492).

2 Informant 36 (cf. Appendix IV).

in line 4 represents the male principle, and the foliage in line 8 the female principle. The latter satisfies the former and bears fruit, and the song may be interpreted as embodying a whole set of symbolic associations in dual opposition: on the one side we have heartwood, hardness, blackness, tree stump, standing up, verticality, above, the male vital principle (spirituality), smoke, fire, sexual desire and aggression; on the other side we have foliage, softness, fresh colour, lying down, horizontality, below, the female vital principle (fertility), birth, rain, sexual satisfaction and conception. These series connect with what we found in the procedure of the Sandawe riddle game, that masculinity is associated with the West and with darkness while femininity relates to the East and with dawning light.

We should be careful to avoid the assumption that the Sandawe apply dualistic oppositions to everything and that they always think in these terms, but where such sets appear to be present and can be shown to exist they can be illuminating and do much to explain the nature of Sandawe symbolism.

If we have another look at the text of this seemingly very simple song it will now appear to be no longer meaningless. We may recognize in it an admonition to the girl initiates to get married and bear children.

C. The fertility ritual of phek'umo.

Phek'umo is largely a thing of the past and even the songs are remembered by only a few. Of all Sandawe dances this one has perhaps encountered the strongest discouragement from the missions. Its suppression has been so effective that even Fr. van de Kimmenade appears to know little of its nature; he does not describe it in his chapter on Sandawe dances[1] and in his vocabularies he dismisses it as "nom d'une mauvaise danse".[2] Bagshawe makes no mention of it at all and also Dempwolff does not seem to know its significance. Although he provides us with four interesting texts he avoids comment and he defines phek'umo, not too accurately, as a women's dance.[3]

The dance is only rarely performed at present, and only in some of the remotest parts of the country. Many Sandawe even deny that it ever existed, and sometimes this denial takes the form of a statement to the effect that members of one's own clan did not perform it, only members of other clans. In other words, phek'umo has generally come to be regarded as something shameful.

I have seen only part of a single performance and I have not been able to collect more than three texts, but together with Dempwolff's four texts they give a fairly good picture of the proceedings and with the aid of some additional information, also of their significance.[4]

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1 1936, 412-3.

2 1954, 51.

3 "Weibertanzart", op.cit., p.49. Dempwolff's texts are reproduced in subsequent pages, with notes added.

4 The dance I saw stopped as soon as my presence was noticed because it was at first thought that one of the missionaries had arrived. Efforts to start the dance again were unsuccessful, for the spell had been broken.

The dance is held without fire, by the light of the moon only, and it takes place about a week after new moon when the waxing moon has gathered some strength and the country is no longer dark after sunset. The dance is begun by women and unmarried girls who go round in circles, carrying their arms up in a stance which represents the horns of the moon; at the same time this is said also to represent the horns of cattle and of game animals. As the dance warms up their movements become more and more suggestive, and they begin to imitate the movements of animals on heat like cows in a cattle enclosure. Some women then turn to the men and begin to dance in front of the partners they select. The men then join in the dance, holding their arms like bulls' horns. Movements become more and more erotic until finally the men embrace their partners and the covering of the heifers is mimicked. The whole procedure appears to be remarkably similar to the eland-bull dance of the girls' puberty ceremonies among the northwestern Bushmen, and even its significance appears to be similar.[1]

Baumann may be referring to this dance when he states that 'at a girl's puberty, dances are held which are performed with singing but always without the accompaniment of drums', but he says no more.[2] An informant thought that phek'umo could mean a betrothal; van de Kimmenade gives in his vocabulary the meaning of pékwanki as "se promettre mutuellement" and of pékwankio as "promesse mutuelle".[3] It soon transpired that this is not the case, for the term phek'umo has no connection with these words; it is derived from phek'umé which means 'to hover' and phek'umo describes the hovering of a bird which

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1 Cf. Passarge, 1907, 101-3; Schapera, 1930, 119.

2 1894, 193.

3 1954, 51.

has discovered birdlime on the branch where it is about to rest. The erotically dancing women are about to be caught by the men in the same way.

About the significance of the dance an informant stated that it was held because a year ago boys and girls had been circumcized at the same place. Uncircumcized children are not allowed to take part but the circumcized may, because 'they have been made ready [for marriage]' (tlem'sóto). The dance is held 'to make the country fertile' (i'úma n/íasuke'mè) and in order to achieve this sacrifices are made to the ancestors. Others describe the dance as 'the dance of the moon' (!áoso //'ía) and as 'kusu's heat' (g!okomi gwabésa). From the following texts it will be seen that game animals like the kudu form the focus of all this preoccupation with fertility.

The phek'umo thus appears to be an old Sandawe fertility rite; possibly it is a puberty rite which dates from the days when the Sandawe had not yet begun to circumcize. Its songs are of two types, those which describe the rites and those which provide tuition as to what it is all about. They will be presented in this order.

The songs of phek'umo.

Text No. 114. The dancer's horns. Sung by Mr. Roki K'aya Angelo at Boseto, August 1963.

1 G!okomi tlanayoo, tlana,
2 hahéé g!okomi tlana.
3 (Chorus) Iyaya iyaya,
4 g!okomi tlana.
5 Gáwa tlanayoo, Gáwayee,
6 hahéé !áoso dí tlana.
7 (Chorus) Iyaya iyaya,
8 Gáwa tlanayoo.

1 The kudu's horns then, the horns,
2 hurray, the kudu's horns.
3 (Chorus) Randy, randy,
4 the kudu's horns.
5 Gáwa's horns then, oh Gáwa,
6 hurray, the moon-rock's horns.
7 (Chorus) Randy, randy,
8 Gawa's horns then.

The song describes the dance in the horn stance. An informant's comment is that Gáwa has horns like a kudu, and that Gáwa is very much a male kudu (ûraã k'amba, very male). From this remark the phallic associations of horns may again be recognized. The choice of the name Gáwa may support this image, for the meaning of Gáwa is 'hill' or 'mountain', and a good tall hill is called gáwa tlanase, 'a pointed hill' or 'a horned hill'. The reference in line 6 is to a large rock in a hill in southern Sandawe country which has the shape of a crescent moon, with two horns sticking up. In tropical countries the horns of the crescent moon stick up, not sideways as in northern latitudes. The moon, of course, is the fertility symbol under the aegis of which the dance is held, while at the same time the crescent's shape resembles the arms of the dancers. The term ivava is discussed under text No.9.[1]

Text No. 115. The dancer's bow. Reproduced from Dempwolff's text No. 90 (op.cit., p. 174).

1 Musa /aneo, museo
2 ha musa /ani.

1 Musa's bow, the one of Musa's,
2 ha, [this is] Musa's bow.

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1 Note 2 on p.166.

Dempwolff offers no explanation for this song, but from what we have seen in the previous text it has now become clear that the bow is the same as the moon rock, the crescent moon, the horns, and the dancers' arms. Musa is an islamic male personal name, and this appears to be a praise song for the male dancers who resemble bulls.

Text No. 116. The graceful jumpers. Sung by Mr. Roki K'aya Angelo at Boseto, August 1963.

1)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ
2 G!ókomi hóó, k'ambayee.
3)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ
4 Ts'áwada hóó, tindílasa.
5)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ
6 Góngosa yóó mara'é.
7)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ
8 Sikasa yóó, tindílasa.
9)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ, etc.

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1)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ
2 The Greater Kudu, what, he is a bull.
3)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ
4 The Lesser Kudu, what, she jumps gracefully.
5)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ
6 The Grant's Gazelle, well, she is beautiful.
7)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ)ˇ
8 The Water Buck she, well, she jumps gracefully.

The deep throaty noise)ˇ is said to imitate the noise which animals make when they are on heat. For establishing the names of the animals in translation I am indebted to Swynnerton.[1] The song describes how a male, the Greater Kudu (the female of the species has no horns) is seduced by some graceful females.

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1 1946.

Text No. 117. The lithe dancers. Reproduced from Dempwolff's text No. 91 (op.cit., p. 174).

1 Mama'e
2 hau hombohomboa
3 'iyowe lale hombowe.

1 Grandmother, yes,
2 this one dances lithely,
3 oh mother, well then, lithely.

Here the animals have been replaced by their human counterparts, the actors themselves. Dempwolff translates hombo as 'to be flexible, supple' (gelenkig sein)[1]; cf. van de Kimmenade, who lists hom'sé in his vocabulary as 'muscular'.[2]

Text No. 118. The animals on heat. Sung by Mr. Roki K'aya Angelo at Boseto, August 1963.

1 Hóó mamayee, tatá,
2 /flilisa mara'é.
3 (Chorus) Iyaya, iyáyayae.
4 Láále tshínasa weré,
5 !'anésüa hómbosa.
6 (Chorus) Iyaya, iyáyayae.
7 G!okomi /'ánk'naa kee,
8 /wedesusü úr'sa hlawé.
9 (Chorus) Iyaya, iyáyayae.

1 What, of grandmother, father,
2 she is beautiful with speckles.
3 (Chorus) Randy, randy one.
4 Come on, [with her] buttocks she walks around,
5 mother-in-law dances lithely.
6 (Chorus) Randy, randy one.

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1 1916, 46. 2 1954, 42.

7 The Greater Kudu climbs up,
8 the one with the paunch, she is very beautiful.
9 (Chorus) Randy, randy one.

The reference in line five to a mother-in-law is as remarkable as it is revealing. This lusty song shows that the nature of these fertility rites tends to be somewhat orgiastic and that people behave in a manner which would normally be taboo. Mother-in-law avoidance is rigorously practiced by the Sandawe, and a man does his best to stay out of her sight and not to see her himself, but during the moonlit festival of phek'umo he even watches her while she dances unashamedly.

Text No. 119. Seduction at the well. Reproduced from Dempwolff's text No. 93 (op.cit., p. 174).

1 Tuwesa tsi Melenga
2 dambiñgsa //'ansa 'wasage.
3 "tsi dambineye
4 ha, ha, tsi 'wereleye."
5 Tuwesa, mama, tataye,
6 hik'iñ dambinesa.
7 "Tsi Melenga
8 tsiñ tatane?"

1 At night my Melenga
2 impudently at the well is undressed.
3 "I am here boldly
4 ha, ha, I loiter about."
5 At night, grandmother, father,
6 she goes impudently out.
7 "I am Melenga;
8 aren't you my father?"

Melenga is a female proper name which means 'elbow (or ankle) windings of brass wire'; this is a type of beautification which is now out of fashion with the Sandawe. The choice of the name no doubt serves to stress the beauty of the girl.

This translation is in complete agreement with Dempwolff's, but he offers no explanation for the last two lines. It seems that these refer to a meeting of Melenga with a man who is a 'father', i.e. a paternal relative or a clansman with whom common descent can still be traced and whose place in the common genealogy would be one generation higher than the girl's. Such a relation would be incestuous, but in the context of phek'umo it would be indicative of the licence then prevailing.

Text No. 120. The resulting marriage. Reproduced from Dempwolff's text No. 92 (op.cit., p. 174).

1 //'ets' 'i/'iyo
2 ho kho mumbuyo?
3 kameki mumbuyo.
4 bulaŋ //'ets' 'i/'iyo
5 t̪ana χoŋ̊goe,
6 bula bulaye
7 kameki mumbu
8 t̪ana χoŋ̊goe
9 bula bulaye.

1 The bridewealth comes!
2 What house's cattle are they?
3 Kameki's cattle they are,
4 Bula's bridewealth is coming,
5 the long-horned ones.
6 Bula, oh Bula,
7 Kameki's cattle,
8 the long-horned ones,
9 Bula, oh Bula.

Dempwolff offers no comment on this text. Kameki is a male proper name which is suggestive of men's occupation of going round visiting one another and drinking beer (k'amé, beer, and -ki, reciprocative). Bula is a female proper name which suggests the women's work of digging up roots with a digging stick (bulé). The two names appear to have been deliberately chosen to emphasize that the girl is going to be a housewife after her marriage, and that the man is going to do the husband's social rounds. Another significant image is provided by the long horns of line 5. Tl'ana (ţana in Dempwolff's orthography) are horns; these are further described by the term xongo (long-horn). Xongofa is a large black scorpion with wide-sweeping arms. Most Sandawe cattle are shorthorns, but it is the longhorns which fit the Sandawe image of what a good fertility symbol ought to be like. Longhorns are considered beautiful and they are much prized in bridewealth, for they look like the fertile crescent moon, the horned game animals, and the dancers with the outstretched arms.

D. The lion-game, or the dance of the foetus: the mirimó.

Mirimó is a secret ritual of the women which may on no account be witnessed by men. The Sandawe say that a man would be killed by lightning if he ever saw any part of the proceedings, even if this should happen by accident. The women jealously guard the secrets of mirimó and there are not many men who can supply much useful information on the subject; it seems that the few who might have some knowledge of it are most reluctant to share it with anyone else. The texts of the songs in the following pages have been obtained from an informant who no longer lives in Sandawe country and she is married to a non-Sandawe; these circumstances may have helped to overcome her reluctance to give this information.

Dempwolff and Bagshawe do not mention mirimó at all and Father van de Kimmenade gives no details although he mentions the term 'mfrimo' as a "mauvaise danse des femmes".[1] Obst says that the mwimo dance of the neighbouring Rimi is a 'dance of the women, which must positively be seen as a phallus cult', and he adds that a necked gourd covered with bead adornments is placed in a newly married woman's lap, and that the songs which are sung at the occasion praise her husband's sexual prowess in a most direct manner.[2] Of the same mwimo dance von Sick says that it is a rite of initiation into the ranks of mothers.[3] The Sandawe mirimó only occurs in the western part of the country, which is the part which has been influenced by the Rimi most; in the central hills and in the south-east the dance is unknown and many people do not even know its name.

In Sandawe the necked gourd is called mirimó but also

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1 1954, 49.

2 1923, 224.

3 1915, 24.

imára, imála or mára. Wyatt describes the Rimi ceremonies of imala, "the Lion's play", an annual event some aspects of which he recognizes as being closely related to the rites of twin birth, in particular the propitiation of the god of lightning.[1] Elsewhere he defines inmala as a fertility rite, necessary to placate spirits who may have been angered by twin births.[2] The Sandawe lion game also has elements in common with twin-birth ritual, and both are deeply concerned with fertility.

The Sandawe mirimó ceremony is said to be an initiation into the ranks of married women of proven fertility; these women are the elders among Sandawe women and from their ranks their ritual leaders emerge. The chief instructress of girl initiates is always a woman-elder, and clitoridectomy must only be performed by an elder. A woman who has not borne at least two children cannot become a proper elder, although an old woman who is barren may be called an elder as a matter of respect. Elder women are called sóngosŭ, a term which appears to be of Bantu origin.[3]

For the ceremonies first an enclosure is built of maize and millet stalks; this enclosure is called maléda. Then the initiates are sent into the bush, wearing their husbands' weapons; they are sent there 'for catching a Lion' (símba niaawakŭme).[4] Some of the elder women wear 'lion manes' (saangu) and ankle bells, they beat horns with sticks and produce a

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1 M/S, n.d.

2 1950, 8.

3 Kohl-Larsen, 1937a, 59, mentions that the Isanzu call their married women, especially elder women, msungu (singular term). The -su of sóngo-su is the Sandawe feminine gender affix.

4 The term is símba niaawakŭme, i.e. 'for catching a [ritual] Lion' rather than //atsú niaawakŭme, 'for catching a [physical] lion', cf. p. 384 and p. 385, note 1.

lion's roar by rubbing their wooden bowls (la'sá) with sticks.[1] In the bush the initiates sing the lion-danger songs of their circumcision days as well as the songs of mirimó, and in the evening they return in a shuffling dance procession. They form a throng of closely packed bodies, shielding off from view the lion which they are supposed to have captured. Since the lion is Danger it would bring disaster to the uninitiated if it were seen by them; this lion is said to be a drum, a large gourd, or a mortar, covered with a cloth. The women carry it into the enclosure which is guarded against men by unmarried girls and by young married women who do not yet qualify to be initiated. Once the lion is safely inside it 'gives birth' (habáa) to a number of smaller necked gourds: the elder women produce one of these mirimó gourds for each initiate and place them in their laps. The phallic nature of the gourds in this position is obvious, but at the same time they may equally well represent babies, newly born from the lion-danger which, as we have seen, symbolizes among other things the dangers of male sexual aggression.[2] The widespread use of fertility dolls in a

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1 The practice of rubbing the bowl may be far from general. Although the Sandawe say that some Rimi also use bowls as friction ideophones, the bowls are rarely heard in western Sandawe country. They are common in the south-east and in the centre, and they are said to be typically Sandawe instruments which other tribes do not have (but some Burunge also use them). The literature does not mention them but this is hardly proof of their absence elsewhere; even for the Sandawe the bowl as a musical instrument has only recently been recorded (Tenraa, 1964, 92). Trowell and Wachsmann (1953) report that immigrants from Kenya have introduced into Uganda friction ideophones which are in the form of boxes rubbed with sticks, and that at certain ceremonies Lugbara girls use rubbing boards which are basically similar.

2 Von Sick, 1915, 24, records some Rimi songs which are sung when the gourds are put into the initiates' laps; e.g.: 'The phallus with the acorn has fallen on the bedspread, the child has woken up.'

variety of shapes among the peoples of Tanzania suggests this, and information obtained from the Sandawe confirms it.

Fülleborn describes an elongated phallus-shaped doll of the Hehe which is made of basketry and used as a children's doll.[1] Harding shows us so-called mwali-dolls of the coastal Zaramo tribe with similar shapes but the phallus has here become a recognizable human form with head hair.[2] Johnson lists the meaning of the Swahili word mwali as "girl or boy before or while in initiation rites, also flame, tongue of fire."[3] Stuhlmann also shows such Zaramo fertility dolls, which he says are carried by young women on their backs until the birth of their first child.[4] Olson has collected some Rimi specimens which are used in the same way.[5] In western Sandawe country, where there are many Rimi, young married women sometimes wear them if they do not conceive, for to carry a representation of a child on the back is believed to ensure by the power of similarity magic, that a real child will soon take its place. These dolls are said to be the same as those which the initiates of mirimó receive in their laps, and the initiates pick up the gourds from their laps during the ceremony, and place them on their backs like babies.[6]

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1 1900, 48.

2 1961, 72-3.

3 1951, 318.

4 1910, 32. He says that the name of the Zaramo doll is mwana kiti. Mwana means child; the word kiti which usually means a stool, also refers to a person who is being exorcized (cf. Johnson, 1951, 210).

5 Shown to me at Ihanja Mission, Singida, 1962.

6 Olson's back gourds fit the description given by Wyatt of the lap gourds. Von Sick also illustrates a Rimi doll (1915, 25), but this appears to be not a gourd but made of wood.

The Sandawe say that the mirimó gourd or doll represents a foetus or 'the womb's child' (guba n//we) but also a penis (tshutshu). Wyatt describes the Rimi phallic gourds in the initiates' laps as being covered in wax and adorned with beads like the spots of a python.[1] The gourd in the lap is apparently a phallus, a womb, and their offspring merged into one. This merger may account for the fact that sometimes the gourd in the lap is replaced by a phallic snake, a wooden penis which is decorated as a snake; it is said that this phallus is not merely placed in the initiate's lap but actually inserted into her womb.[2] Further use of the phallus is made in the production of a lion's roar, not, this time, on wooden bowls but on the drum or the mortar which symbolizes the captured lion; this process is the subject of text No. 123.

The mirimó proceedings are also called wasongo ivari, or sóngosü ivari, which means 'the female elders' rituals'. Von Sick reports that the Rimi hold their rituals toward the end of the dry season;[3] Wyatt remarks that this is the time when the chances of thunder are the greatest.[4] The Sandawe rituals of mirimó are held in the same season, i.e. from August until the end of November.

The imagery of the following texts supplies further detail of the symbolism of mirimó, much of which is already familiar from the poetry of circumcision.

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1 Wyatt speaks of milimu gourds; this is obviously the same as Obst's mwimo and the Sandawe mirimó.

2 Although it is said that for reasons of secrecy Sandawe women destroy their phallic gourds and snakes after use, I have been able to collect a specimen of a mirimó snake.

3 1915, 24.

4 Loc.cit.

The songs of mirimó.

Text No. 121. The lion game. Sung by Mrs. Mwanaisha Bula at Duduméra, September 1963.

1 Iyáya-yáyayàa, iyáya'ee.
2 (Chorus) Hóee.
3 Yayáχe giribó nó'oyoo.
4 (Chorus) Hó kiándoréé'ee.
5 Símba //atsúnga χá'te'ee.
6 (Chorus) Hó kiándoréé'ee.
7 (Second chorus) Iyáya-yáya'ee.
8 Hó simba !'áχawayoo.
9 (Chorus) Hó kiándoréé'ee.
10 (Second chorus) Iyáya-yáya'ee.
11 Yayáχe giribó nó', ho hó.
12 (Chorus) Hó kiándoréé'ee.
13 (Second chorus) Iyáya-yáya'ee.
14 Simba hó kiándoréé'ee.
15 (Chorus) Hó kiándoréé'ee.
16 (Second chorus) Iyáya-yáya'ee.
17 Morónga khoots'a //'o.
18 (Chorus) Hó kiándoréé'ee.
19 (Second chorus) Iyáya-yáya'ee.
20 Mimó malédayee iyáya'ee.
21 (Chorus) Hó kiándoréé'ee.
22 (Second chorus) Iyáya-yáya'ee.
23 //atsúnga //ó' χá'te //'o.
24 (Chorus) Hó kiándoréé'ee.
25 (Second chorus) Iyáya-yáya'ee.
26 Láále n/ǃkwa n!aakwera, yayá.

etc.

1 Coitus, oh coitus, it is coitus.
2 (Chorus) What then?
3 Sisters, let us go running away then.
4 (Chorus) What, it is the Striding Maned-Lion.
5 Lion, the lion, he is in badness.
6 (Chorus) What, it is the Striding Maned-Lion.
7 (Second chorus) Coitus, it is coitus.
8 What, the Lion is roaring.
9 (Chorus) What, it is the Striding Maned-Lion.
10 (Second chorus) Coitus, it is coitus.
11 Sisters, let us go running away, what then?
12 (Chorus) What, it is the Striding Maned-Lion.
13 (Second chorus) Coitus, it is coitus.
14 Lion, what, it is the Striding Maned-Lion.
15 (Chorus) What, it is the Striding Maned-Lion.
16 (Second chorus) Coitus, it is coitus.
17 Barrenness is sleeping in the house.
18 (Chorus) What, it is the Striding Maned-Lion.
19 (Second chorus) Coitus, it is coitus.
20 [In] the lion game's enclosure then, it is coitus.
21 (Chorus) What, it is the Striding Maned-Lion.
22 (Second chorus) Coitus, it is coitus.
23 The lion, he sleeps there in badness.
24 (Chorus) What, it is the Striding Maned-Lion.
25 (Second chorus) Coitus, it is coitus.
26 Come on, take the penis then, sister.

etc.

The running away is explained by the informant as the ritual expedition of the women into the bush, and the Striding Maned Lion (kiándoréé) as the mortar on which the pestle is rubbed in order to produce a lion's roar (see text No. 123). She says

that the initiates exclaim "Iyáva-váva'ee" when they sit in the enclosure and the gourds are placed in their laps.
The last line of the song literally says 'take the meat then' (n/ǂ is meat); this is a vulgarism since a Sandawe slang expression for the male organ is 'men's meat' (n/omáso n/ǂ).
The barrenness mentioned in line 17 is evidently what the rites seek to prevent.

Text No. 122. The lion has been captured. Sung by Mrs. Mwanaisha Bula at Dudumera, September 1963.

1 /'ɑ/'ũnga simba i/iyoo.
2 (Chorus) Hɔ́ //uma magenge.
3 Hɔ́ɔ́laale póngolo ímenayoo.
4 (Chorus) Hɔ́ //uma magenge.
etc.

1 It begins to darken, the Lion has come.
2 (Chorus) What, consult the diviner.
3 Well then, the quiver calls out.
4 (Chorus) What, consult the diviner.
etc.

The song continues in alternate repetition of lines 1 and 3, followed by the choral lines. The informant explains that after it has become dark, women become pregnant. When they are pregnant a diviner ought to be consulted in order to make sure that no witchcraft is at work which may prevent normal childbirth. If there is, sacrifices have to be made.
The quiver is an obvious phallus which contains fertilizing arrows, causing pregnancy. It is also a ritual instrument.
Like the previous text, this song has a double meaning; it describes human fertilisation as well as the ritual which symbolizes it. The women return from the bush in the evening

with the captured lion and put it down in the enclosure. In text No. 123 this is a mortar, but it may also be a drum. The drum is of the hourglass type with a membrane covering one side (see photos 2 and 3); it is put upright so that the membrane is on top. An arrow-quiver is then produced and placed vertically on the membrane of the drum, and rubbed vigorously. The quiver is again phallic, and rubbing it causes the drum to rumble; the quiver in line three now calls out with the voice of the captured ritual lion.

Text No. 123. The pestle is rubbed. Sung by Mrs. Mwanaisha Bula at Dudumera, September 1963.

1 Thée moó ímenayoo.
2 (Chorus) Oowe kiándoréé símbayoo.
3 //atsúnga !'áxawayoo.
4 (Chorus) Oowe kiándoréé símbayoo.
5 //atsúnga swé ímewayoo.
6 (Chorus) Oowe kiándoréé símbayoo.
etc.

1 The tree's heartwood is crying out.
2 (Chorus) Oh woe, Striding Maned Lion, Lion then.
3 The lion is crying out loud.
4 (Chorus) Oh woe, Striding Maned Lion, Lion then.
5 The lion is now calling out.
6 (Chorus) Oh woe, Striding Maned Lion, Lion then.
etc.

In this song the captured lion is a mortar, according to the informant, and the tree's heartwood is the pestle. The women put the mortar down in the enclosure and put the pestle into it, but they do not stamp the pestle as they would when pounding maize or millet. They take it in their hands and rub it.

E. The dance of the phallic man: the sanzoona.

While mirimó is a ritual of the western Sandawe, sanzoona belongs to the south-east, and in particular to the flat bush country of the southern borderland. Like mirimó it is hardly known in the central parts of the hills; while mirimó is thought of as a Sandawe ritual of Rimi origin, sanzoona is said to be not really Sandawe at all but Gogo. Like mirimó it is a women's dance, but unlike it, there is little secrecy attached to it. Young girls, and even children and men are not prevented from seeing it; although the participants and the singers are women who form a dense cluster around the central rite, men are allowed to mix with them and to have a look if they wish. When they do, this usually causes much hilarity, for the central object of the rites is also a man. There is no fenced enclosure.

There exists no reference to sanzoona in the literature on the Sandawe, and also in the literature on the Gogo I have found no mention of it except one possible reference by Paulssen, who says that among the Gogo on the first day of menstruation of a girl the Ufina wa lu-sona is danced.[1] Sandawe sources have failed to provide a clue to the etymology of the term sanzoona, and Gogo informants have not been able to help either. The proceedings are basically similar to those of mirimó. The women go out into the bush to catch a 'lion', but the role of the lion is enacted by a man in sanzoona. He is taken into the circle of women and subjected to good-natured mockeries, which include being rubbed over by the women. He endures this with a straight face and keeps his body rigid, with his arms stiffly pressed to his side. As he is rubbed he calls out his ritual name Simba (Lion), he grunts and roars like a lion, muttering "//atsúa'" (I am a lion).

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1 1922, 168.

The women abusively call him a penis (tshutshu), and while they sing the song of sanzoona they push him over so that he topples stiffly from the arms of one woman into those of another. At irregular intervals the Lion relinquishes his stiff posture, jumping up suddenly as if he were trying to catch and maul one of the women, and sometimes he acts like a man who tries to take a woman by force. Shrieking ensues, but then he is pushed back into place and he resumes his role of the phallus which is being pushed around.

During the rites several men are made to perform the Lion's part. As their phallic dolls the women select any man of proven fertility. The men cannot resist because the throng of women simply overwhelms them, and they do not want to because being caught is a sign of recognition; they are also plied with beer. At the occasion which I witnessed only one song was sung in endless repetition.

A song of sanzoona.

Text No. 124. Pushing the Lion about. Song leadership is exercized collectively and in alternation by a few elder women; at K'ats'áwase, August 1963.

1 Hayáyoo hayea,
2 (Chorus) háaàà hayeàà.
3 (The lion) Uh, uh; Uh, uh.
4 Hayáyoo hayea,
5 (Chorus) háaàà hayeàà.
6 (The lion) Símba, símba.
7 Hayáyoo hayea,

etc.

Translation:

1 Hayáyoo hayea.
2 (Chorus) hǽaàà hayeàà.
3 (The Lion) Uh, uh; uh, uh.
4 Hayáyoo hayea.
5 (Chorus) hǽaàà hayeàà.
6 (The Lion) [I am a] Lion, [I am a] Lion.
7 Hayáyoo hayea.
etc.

To translate the first line as "Well then, well then it is" would be in order if we compare this text with others where the elements of this line have been so translated, but it would be stretching the meaning too much. Sandawe informants say that the song has no words and the essential accuracy of this statement is not doubted.

Instead of "Simba" ("[I am a] Lion") the Lion sometimes calls out "//atsú!" ("I am a [real] lion"); increased hilarity shows that this is considered a bit of a joke. The joking abuse which the women heap upon the Lion includes hísai (thief), wak'wawai (killer), and ǃwē (clitoris). The first two are references to male sexual aggression and the last is a common term of abuse.

F. Ritual at the birth of twins: the dóa.

The Sandawe have two names for the rites which accompany the birth of twins: dóa and ivari. Dóa is their proper name; ivari simply means ritual but many Sandawe use the word especially in connection with twin-ritual.[1]

Kohl-Larsen's film of the Sandawe contains a few scenes to which he refers as "the Yali dance, which is a women's dance; it is a circular dance".[2] He also comments that

> "when a woman bears twins who die and are buried under the Lebe tree, this dance is performed. Also when people are born in the form of animals (abortions) the hour of the Yali dance has come."[3]

To this it should be added that the dance is not performed exclusively by women and not only at the occasions of still-births and miscarriages; they mark the occasion of any birth of twins.[4] Dempwolff's informant Habumi tells us that

> "when a woman has borne twins, the doa ceremony is held."[5]

The most important aspect of the ceremonies is propitiatory. Van de Kimmenade acknowledges this when he defines dóa as "nom d'une danse, avec sacrifice aux mânes."[6]

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1 In expressions like 'rites of the elder women' (wasongo ivari or sóngoáú ivari, cf. p. 430) the word only means ritual. Compare iva-mo, custom. Van de Kimmenade, 1954, 43, defines iamo as "habitude, accoutumance, vertu, moeurs, usage, manière, traditions."

2 Film taken in June/July 1935, viz. Kohl-Larsen,L. and M., 1938, 76-91, and also 1958, 110-35. The film is commented upon in Kohl-Larsen, 1941; the quotation is from p. 5 of this commentary (translation mine).

3 Ibid., loc.cit. A better spelling for Yali is ivari, and the lebe tree is actually called leba.

4 Photo No. 14 shows a man among dóa dancers; this is common at the beginning of the dance.

5 1916, text 34 (p.140).

6 1954, 54.

An informant states that more twins die at birth than babies who are single-born; the Sandawe therefore realize that there are dangers attached to twin births but they consider the event a lucky one, and unlike their neighbours they rejoice in it.[1] Van de Kimmenade says that

> "when a woman has the good fortune of putting twins into the world, [the] dance is held under the tree called <u>leba</u>."[2]

Elsewhere he says that this is

> "a large evergreen tree under which many sacrifices are made for barren women as well as for twin births."[3]

The Sandawe sometimes call the <u>leba</u> tree by the name <u>zémbura</u> which they say is derived from the Rimi who, they say, call the tree <u>mjembiura</u>. This name does not appear in the literature, but Burtt mentions a Rimi name <u>mejiula</u> which he identifies as <u>Ostryoderris stuhlmanni</u>, the Ash-like ostryoderris.[4] Newman has recently confirmed that it is indeed this tree.[5] It has a red resin which is referred to as blood, and its ever-green foliage is apparently seen as a life-symbol. Although the botanical literature does not seem to mention it, its most important feature in relation to the rites must be that the trunk always seems to divide in two at some distance of the ground; <u>léba</u> is therefore a true 'twin-tree'.

Van de Kimmenade gives a brief account of the rites,

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1 Baumstark, 1900, 55, reports that twins are not liked by the Rangi; von Sick, 1915, 42, writes that among the Rimi twins are unloved because of the danger of lightning; and Wyatt M/S, 111, says that they are considered bad luck by the Rimi.

2 1936, 401.

3 1954, 47.

4 1936, 189. The name <u>zémbura</u> is mentioned in text No. 126 below.

5 M/S, 1966 (No. 28).

which I quote in translation:

> "The leba is the only tree, perhaps, which is always green even during the dry months. Does one believe that it is inhabited by a powerful spirit, or is the tree only a symbol of fertility? A sacrifice is made there at the occasion of the birth of twins. In front of the house of the mother a sheep or a goat is killed; its intestines are taken up which are [then] lowered slowly on to the mother through a hole in the roof. She wraps herself in them; after this the animal is beheaded and eaten. Together with the placenta the stomach contents are taken under the leba tree and placed in an old pot; the pot is then turned over and, if it is not already holed, it is perforated. Sacrifices are never made twice under the same leba tree; for another twin birth one goes to another tree. It is believed that the mother and her twin children are particularly exposed to the danger of lightning throughout their lives. During a thunderstorm they rub their foreheads with charcoal, making with it a mark in the form of a cross. Why this extraordinary fear? I have been told that this tree is often struck by lightning. A black colour is considered effective against the danger. For the sacrifices black animals are preferred."[1]

Dempwolff also mentions the placement of the placenta in the pot.[2] He also says that to him the doa dance was described as a women's dance for which they paint their faces with chalk, put bead strings crosswise across the breast, and carry either an axe or a shield in the left hand. This dance, he says, is performed around the leba tree, the resin of which is said to look like blood.[3]

Van de Kimmenade asks whether the tree is perhaps inhabited by a powerful spirit, and what the reason could be for the fear of lightning. The fully grown leba is a very tall tree, and like other tall trees it forms a good target for lightning. When a tree is hit it normally splits, but as we have seen, the

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1 1936, 411.

2 1916, 140 (text 34).

3 Ibid., 103. For the shield in the left hand see photo No.14.

leba is a split tree by nature. The leba is a twin and has blood like twins, and human twins must therefore be in danger of being hit also. Lightning is bright, and to offset its effect the Sandawe paint dark images of it on their foreheads with charcoal so that the lightning cannot see them, they say. Usually these images are in the form of long vertical lines which run down the forehead and the nose, but they may also be crossed as van de Kimmenade says. When lightning strikes a house its roof will be holed, and the intestines of the sacrificial animal, which are long like lightning, must be passed through the hole as proof and a reminder to the lightning that it has been properly propitiated. The grave of a twin must be covered by a holed black pot, black because of the lightning's brightness and holed in analogy with the roofhole sacrifice, and also, the Sandawe say, to allow the ghost of the buried twin to breathe under it. Not a belief in tree spirits, but the magic of similarity underlies Sandawe theories of cause and effect, and these theories find their logical expression in the rites.

By the same reasoning the birth of twins is thought to be caused by an excess of sexual prowess; such zeal is normally attributed to monkeys and therefore we shall see that the songs of twin birth make obscene references to monkeys.[1] Some of these references are centered upon the fruit of the rata tree which is the sausage tree (Kigelia pinnata); these fruits look like large penises. At the birth of twins fruits of the rata are ground and cooked in a pot; the resulting

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1 Obscenity seems to be widespread. Cory (1944) reports that in Sukuma twin ceremonies the songs are extremely indecent and that during the ceremonies people may use obscene words. Beattie (1962b, 3) mentions that in Bunyoro the rites "include a formal exchange of obscenity between the two parents".

porridge is then used as a seasoning for beer which is sacrificed and drunk during the dóa rites. This is believed to result in increased fertility for all, so that more twins may be born.[1]

Some songs of dóa.

Text No. 125. Protection from lightning. Sung by Mrs. Kwanaisha Bula at Kwa Mtoro, February 1962.

1 Tsháã tere kumbits'asa n//ineyoo.
2 (Chorus) Áywee min//'a //ó' n//eete.
3 Tsháã tere /'ánk'nasa /'eewayoo.
4 (Chorus) Áywee min//'a //ó' n//eete.
5 Tl'éénate mín//'a bintl'bintl'iyoo.
6 (Chorus) Áywee min//'a //ó' n//eete.
7 Áywee hóólaale min//'a minĩmíníyoo.
8 (Chorus) Áywee min//'a //ó' n//eete.
9 Tsháã tere, etc.

1 The pot sherd is lying on the roof.
2 (Chorus) Oh woe, the sheet-lightning in the West.
3 The pot sherd is facing upwards.
4 (Chorus) Oh woe, the sheet-lightning in the West.
5 Around Mount Hanang the sheet-lightning is flickering.
6 (Chorus) Oh woe, the sheet-lightning in the West.
7 Oh woe, well then, the sheet-lightning is gleaming quietly.
8 (Chorus) Oh woe, the sheet-lightning in the West.
9 The pot sherd, etc.

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1 A reference by von Sick, 1915, 42, indicates that this is also a Rimi custom, but since they do not like twins (cf. p. 439, note 1) their theory about the practice is likely to be different.

The anxiety suffix -yoo at the end of the leading lines is not translated here. The repeated reference to the West is a reference to death; the potsherd on the roof, which is black, must protect the inhabitants against the threat of death by lightning. Mount Hanang is a large volcanic cone in the North; it is often capped by a cloud in which lightning can be seen.

Text No. 126. Sacrifice at the tree. Sung by Mrs. Mwanaisha Bula at Kwa Mtoro, February 1962.

1 Zémbura héee.
2 (Chorus) Leliyoo lelinayoo.
3 !hak'ŭa tshóraa n/we.
4 (Chorus) Leliyoo lelinayoo.
5 Pasá húbaχ sánkakif.
6 (Chorus) Leliyoo lelinayoo.
7 Paa ráta n//we úraa ba'é.
8 (Chorus) Leliyoo lelinayoo.
9 !hak'ŭa tshóraa n/we.
etc.

1 Oh ostryoderris tree.
2 (Chorus) Give us then, give it us then.
3 The monkey has made mischief.
4 (Chorus) Give us then, give it us then.
5 The twin's placenta and the stomach contents.
6 (Chorus) Give us then, give it us then.
7 But the sausage-tree's fruit is very large.
8 (Chorus) Give us then, give it us then.
9 The monkey has made mischief.
etc.

The translation "Give it us then" is based on the informant's

own; she says its meaning is sungekwera, 'give it then to us', which means that the sacrificers at the tree are asking for wellbeing or safety (nútl'uma). Line 5 is a direct reference to the sacrifice, while the choral line brings in the prayer element.

Text No. 127. The singing birds. Reproduced from Dempwolff's text No. 96 (op.cit., p. 175).

1 Thwiye myangu 'imenayo,
2 thwi dadawa homise
3 ha myangu 'imenayo,
4 thwiya dadawa homise
5 thwiya dadawa 'embomise.

1 The bird, the kite caws,
2 the eagle bird replies
3 and he, the kite is cawing;
4 the eagle bird, he replies,
5 the eagle bird, he speaks to him.

This song presents an aspect of twin imagery which has not yet been discussed. Dempwolff offers no explanation of this text, but it should be noted that the actors in the song are two birds. Both are large masculine birds of prey who are quite similar. The call and the reply of these two birds make it difficult to believe that the presentation of a pair is not intentional, and they obviously represent twins. Informants confirm this but their explanation of the birds does not, as might perhaps be expected, link the birds of the sky with other sky phenomena such as lightning and spirits. The kite (miangu) and the snake-eagle (dadawa) are described as beautiful birds with a large wingspan, whose wings are bent up at the tips as they hover; these wings are like the horns

of long-horned cattle (yongo or yongoro, cf. p.424), and as horns these wings are twin phalluses (pembe, cf. p.380-1). In the exchanges of obscenery between members of the father's and the mother's lineages these long horns take a central place.[1] References are made to the insertion of long horns and snakes, of the two birds in the song, and of two other birds which are called taurse and khongóro; these have alsoe large wings with up-turned tips. The names of the khongoro bird and the yongoro long-horn are the same, for long-horn cattle may also be referred to as khongoro.

A symbolic twin-bird link in African imagery would not be novel, viz. the well-known symbolic identification of twins with birds among the Nuer, but the fact that the Sandawe also make this identification does not necessarily mean that they are the same, for the underlying associations may be quite dissimilar.[2]

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1 The exchange is not just between parents, as in Bunyoro. Before the dance (during and after the hole-in-the roof sacrifice) there is a ceremony in the house in which two members of each lineage take part: the mother, the mother's brother, the father and the father's sister. They sit on the bed, exchange obsceneries and act obscenely. Outside this is reflected in similar exchanges between other members of the two lineages.

2 Evans-Pritchard, 1956, 128-9.

C. A dance of the elders, the mudanga.

The mudanga is a dance of the elder men, i.e. of those who possess their own households, but its original nature of a dance ritual has been lost. Nowadays it may be performed at any beer party, but this is rarely done; neither Dempwolff nor van de Kimmenade make any mention of mudanga. It is said that the dance is supposed to be held in the evenings in a maleda, a special enclosure or a clearance in the bush, where only elder men (di'sé) ought to be present. The participants, according to this description, are established elders, and other men who have their own households. The latter are junior elders who in this ceremony are accepted into the ranks of elders 'who walk in front'(tá̰na weré). The elders walk or slowly dance in a circle, and the initiate elders then join in behind them. According to another description the elders walk around so that their sons may follow and be circumcized; during this ceremony the initiate elders are addressed as 'father of so-and-so', the names used being the names of their sons.[1]

Modern practice appears to be quite different from this. Newly initiated young men and even women can take part, there is no secrecy, and children may be present. In the one dance I witnessed elder women took part with the men, while women of any age formed the chorus. The dance was a slow and stately one, circular in form with men and women entering crosswise and then pairing off in parallel rows. As in most other dances, the music of mudanga is distinguished by a rhythm of its own.[2]

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1 Hollis, 1905, 294ff., says that among the Maasai a boy cannot be circumcized (and a girl not undergo clitoridectomy) unless the father has performed a ceremony which is called "passing over the fence".

2 Cf. chapter IX, Stylistic differences between song types; rhythm.

The Sandawe say that mudanga (also called mudanka) is an old Sandawe dance, but that its origins may be Nyamwezi or Rimi. No explanation has been offered for the meaning of its name, and I have been unable to find in the literature on the Nyamwezi and Rimi tribes any references to song and dance categories which could be identified with mudanga.

A song of mudanga.

Text No. 128. The elder walks in front. Sung by Mrs. Manzo Zenobia at Tl'untú, August 1963.

1 Héé́, mbélaya weré.
2 (Chorus) mbélaya weré, mbélaya weré.
3 Héé́ mbélaye ya weré,
etc.

1 Héé́, oh he walks in front,
2 (Chorus) oh he walks in front, oh he walks in front.
3 Héé́, oh he walks in front then,
etc.

Mbele, 'in front', is Bantu; proper Sandawe would be tágna-ya weré, 'he walks in front'.

C H A P T E R VII

DANCE SONGS OF A MAINLY TOPICAL CHARACTER

The Material.

Like the previous chapter, this chapter presents the poetry of songs which are danced. The difference is that the texts which will now be presented are generally of a topical character rather than rite-descriptive or instructional. This does not mean that they belong to dances which have nothing to do with ritual; the contrary is true.

The four dances to be discussed are

A. The wayá'ga, which celebrates the conclusion of a communal effort;

B. The mangóa, a dance of youths who have become men;

C. The landá, which is a harvest and courtship dance; and

D. The níndo, a marginally Sandawe dance which is the equivalent of the landá in the southern borderlands.

The dances have been arranged in this order because the songs of the wayá'ga stand closest in relation with the events which lead up to the dance, while the songs of landá are purely topical and quite unconnected with preceding events or the ritual itself. Yet the dance ritual of landá shows more symbolic significance than that of the others. The one text of the níndo, the borderland counterpart of the landá, is not clearly topical since it also describes the behaviour of the dancers. The same can be said of one of the mangóa texts. Most of the wayá'ga texts show an element of expectation, a looking forward to the beer with which the participants of a joint enterprise are to be rewarded.

A. A celebration of the success of mutual aid: the wavá'ga.

The literature on the Sandawe contains no reference to the wavá'ga, a name which is also heard as wá'aga, yet this is one of the most frequently performed song types of the Sandawe. Wavá'ga appears to be derived from wá'e-a'-ga, which means 'they do make noise', from wá'e, 'to make noise'.[1] The Sandawe describe its nature and purpose simply as 'beer dance' (k'amé //'ía), but observation and text analysis soon reveal that the beer parties of wavá'ga are normally held as counter gifts for aid received from neighbours and clan fellows. They constitute the execution of a moral duty, and at the same time they may enhance prestige. The wavá'ga is the Sandawe social party par excellence, and it plays a vital part in the maintenance and strengthening of social relations in the way gift exchanges do as shown by Mauss.[2] The potlatch-element is not entirely absent; especially near the centres of population and the local courts there are people to be found who derive much of their prestige from frequent parties , organized on a commercial basis, where the beer is plentiful and good. Text No. 134 suggests that the advent of a money economy among the Sandawe enhances this element. Significantly, these parties are described as 'beer dances' or simply 'beer' rather than proper wavá'ga.

It is said that wavá'ga was originally an elephant hunt in which spear hunters attacked elephants with much noise after they had bolstered their morale with fermented food (sakaláni); later the term came to be applied to beer which was given in payment for aid in bush clearing, hoeing, threshing, house building and such activities. The songs of wavá'ga tend to describe such events which precede a beer drink, and the

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1 This verb is listed by van de Kimmenade, 1954, 60.
2 1954.

poetry is therefore topical in nature even though it is focused upon expected social behaviour. Its main theme is mutual aid and its reward. The last two texts of wavá'ga to be presented, Nos. 134 and 135, are concerned with the beer and the party itself rather than with what precedes it and justifies it.

The songs of wavá'ga.

Text No. 129. There will be work to do. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 Kázaa mìtondoyoo
2 téhla Bangani phe.
3)˘)˘)˘
4 Kázaa mìtondoyoo no'
5 téhla Bangani,
6 kázaa ka' kumba ni kwéli.
7)˘)˘)˘, etc.

1 Work there will be [at the] work-giver's,
2 certainly, at Bangani's to-morrow.
3)˘)˘)˘
4 Work there will be, let us go to the work-giver,
5 certainly, to Bangani's;
6 work there is, he says, indeed it is true.
7)˘)˘)˘, etc.

Although the text of this song is made up almost entirely of Bantu elements it neatly summarizes the character of wavá'ga. The informant states that it refers to a bush-clearing job which had to be done near the home of a man called Bangani. The text has been taken down and recorded on tape from the informant when he sang it as a minstrelsy song after the party where it had been danced. The throaty sound ( )˘) fills the places where the chorus replies to the song leader.

Text No. 130. Hunting together. Sung by Mr. Francis Sûme Tomás' at Bugénika, August 1963.

1 Támbúla éeè, támbúla-ee, támbúlayoo,
2 támbúlayee éeè, támbúlayee, támbúla,
3 miánguú.
4 (Chorus) Hó.
5 Miángu-éé.
6 (Chorus) Hó.
7 Támbúla etc.

1 Fly out, hey! fly out, yes, fly out then,
2 oh fly out, hey, oh fly out, fly out
3 kite!
4 (Chorus) What!
5 Oh kite!
6 (Chorus) Whay!
7 Fly out, etc.

The explanation of this song is that the kite represents a hunting leader. The song encourages him and expresses the wish that the hunt be successful so that every participant may be rewarded accordingly. This wavá'ga song is often heard in the circumcision camps when the youths are sent out into the bush to hunt, and it is used therefore as a kambi /hime, a camp song of the kerem'ta type. Wavá'ga and kerem'ta songs (and circumcision songs in general, including those of the góũ type) resemble one another closely in form and rhythm, but the Sandawe can usually tell the two apart at once by the rhythm which is faster in the wavá'ga (see chapter IX, stylistic differences between song types; rhythm.)[1] The identification of hunters with birds of prey is discussed on p. 400.

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1 The recording of this song shows a straight beat of the kerem'ta type rather than the double beat of the wavá'ga.

Text No. 131. Praise for the elephant hunter. Sung by Mr. Tíálo Mdáki Golá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 Zíwayee fúndi tatá,
2 Zíwa kímba fúndi laale,
3 Míkira, míkira tatá,
4 Zíwa fúndi laale,
5 Zíwa kímba fúndi tatá,
6 Zíwa Zíwa fúndi laale,
7 míkira míkira tatá,
8 Zíwayee fúndi tatá,
9 Míkira, míkira tatá,
10 Zíwa kímba fúndi yayá,
11 Témbowee témbo tatá.

...etc...

12 ààh, Zíwayee,
13 ààh, míkira,
14 ààh, témbowee,
15 ààh, míkira,
16 ààh, fúndiyee,

etc.

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1 Oh Zíwa, he is a great hunter, father,
2 Zíwa indeed is a great hunter, well then,
3 [Hunting] party, party, father,
4 Zíwa is a great hunter, well then,
5 Zíwa is indeed a great hunter, father,
6 Zíwa, Zíwa, is a great hunter, well then,
7 [Hunting] party, party, father,
8 Oh Zíwa, he is a great hunter, father,
9 [Hunting] party, party, father,
10 Zíwa indeed is a great hunter, elder brother,
11 Oh elephant, elephant, father.

...etc...

12 ǎǎh, oh Zíwa,
13 ǎǎh, [hunting] party,
14 ǎǎh, oh elephant,
15 ǎǎh, [hunting] party,
16 ǎǎh, oh great hunter,
etc.

The Bantu word fundi (Swahili: a skilled person, craftsman, specialist) normally means a hunting specialist in Sandawe, a recognized, courageous hunter, and in particular an elephant hunter. The elephant is the most respected of all animals, and to be called a specialist elephant hunter or just an elephant is the greatest praise a hunter can earn. The song commemorates the hunter Zíwa who often was the first to spear an elephant.

Text No. 132. The trampling elephants. Sung by Mr. Hamfs' Maganga at Parkwa, February 1962.

1 Témbo n!ápha n!ápha
2 kímba ts'áána //'ã'kimaa.
3 (Chorus) Témbo ééeè,
4 témbo búrumburéé.
5 Áara n!ápha n!ápha
6 kímba ts'áána //'ã'kimaa.
7 (Chorus) Témbo ééeè,
8 témbo búrumburéé.
etc.

1 The elephants trample, trample
2 indeed to the water, because of the well.
3 (Chorus) On these elephants,
4 the elephants root up the earth.
5 Really, they trample, trample
6 indeed to the water, because of the well.
etc.

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1 Cf. Obst 1915b (map).

7 (Chorus) Oh these elephants,
8 the elephants root up the earth.
etc.

Elephants were damaging cultivations, whereupon the owner organized a hunt; this is celebrated in a wayá'ya. Others say that this is an old song of the original Sandawe elephant hunt, when the Sandawe hunted for meat and for ivory. The ivory was traded in for beads to Nyamwezi traders and later to the Arabs of Kondoa. It is said that it is this ivory trade which has lured the first Nyamwezi settlers to Sandawe country; they founded the settlements of Kipilipili, Towera, and Mtoro, and also the Kimbu settlement at Seke.[1]

Text No. 133. Seeking famine relief. Sung by Mr. Ts'awa Sa'ú at Boseto, March 1962.

1 Kóloga'na ni'sū,
2 Párkwa'na ni'sū,
3 Oówe lààlee.
4 Iyowee kí ni'sū.
5 (Chorus) Aana minzo.

6 Kóloga'na minzo,
7 Párkwa'na minzo,
8 Oóweye náragŭ ba'é,
9 Iyowee lààle.
10 (Chorus) Aana minzo.

11 Párkwa'na minzo no',
12 Kóloga'na minzo no',
13 Iyowee, iyowee,
14 Ó'koyoo náragŭ ba'é.
15 (Chorus) Aana minzo.
etc.

1 Cf. Obst 1915b (map).

1 To Kółoga we go,
2 To Farkwa we go,
3 Oh woe, alas!
4 Oh mother, you too go along.
5 (Chorus) The maize journey.

6 To Kółoga is the journey,
7 To Farkwa is the journey,
8 Oh woe then, the famine is great,
9 Oh mother, alas.
10 (Chorus) The maize journey.

11 To Farkwa journeying let us go,
12 To Kółoga journeying let us go,
13 Oh mother, oh mother,
14 Here indeed then, the famine is great.
15 (Chorus) The maize journey.

etc.

This song of recent origin refers to the "American famine" of 1962 (cf. Appendix III). People organized parties to go and seek famine relief hand-outs at Kółoga and Farkwa. Success was celebrated with a beer party and commemorated in this song. The use of the word ńana for maize characterizes this as a song of the south-east.[1]

Text No. 13½. The beer tax. Sung by Mrs. Sisilía Dehlé at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Tlásayoo, ää Mondíee,
2 (Chorus) !'úma súngea thas', Mondíee.
3 Tlásayoo, ää Mondíee,
4 (Chorus) !'úma súngea tlas', Mondíee.

etc., ad infinitum.

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1 Cf. p.52.

1 It is finished, oh Mondi,
2 (Chorus) Our country is indeed finished, oh Mondi.
3 It is finished, oh Mondi,
4 (Chorus) Our country is indeed finished, oh Mondi.
etc., ad infinitum.

Mondi is the name of a former local headman who, because of his office, was seen as the government representative against whom grievances can be protested. The song laments the fact that the authorities have imposed a beer tax. Anyone who brews beer must buy a licence to do so, at the local court. At the time of recording this song (1962) the costs of brewing licences, according to a court elder, stood at

Shs 5/- for brewing for just one occasion;
Shs 30/- for a commercial licence valid for half a month; and
Shs 60/- for a monthly commercial permit.

Since then the fees have doubled, according to information received in 1963. The Sandawe complain bitterly about the system, for, if beer is brewed without a licence, a mwanangwa (a government-appointed headman for a village area) is sent to confiscate it and to impose a fine. It ruins the country, they say.

The beer tax has had a profound effect on the original wava'ra; in the areas near the local courts many parties are no longer given purely and simply as a just reward for services rendered. In order to cover the costs of the licence most beer is now sold there after an initial free gift, the price being 50 cents (= 6d.) a kimbo. The kimbo is a standard measure for beer of about four pints; the name is derived from a commercial brand of cooking fat which is sold in the tins which provide the measure. Many beer-socials are now run on semi-commercial lines and for the purpose of making a profit (and also for gaining prestige by the quality and the quantity of the brew).

We have seen, on p. 449, that such parties are no longer proper conclusions of communal actions (wayá'xa) but simply beer dances (k'amé //'ia). This particular text is properly speaking a 'beer song' (k'amé /hine) rather than a wayá'xa song. It is one of the few songs of which the composer is known: he is a man called Silé (now deceased) who was a younger brother of Mondí.

Text No. 135. Trouble-maker's punishment. Sung by Mrs. Sisilia Dehlé at Boseto, August 1963.

1 Hóó Mambéigwe hóó Mambeyee,
2 Hóó Mambéigwe hóó Mambeyee,
3 Hóó Mambéigwe hóó Mambeyoo?
4 (Chorus) Hóó Mambe tshina Makua.
5 Hóó kelele gáni, hóó Mambeyee?
6 (Chorus) Hóó Mambe tshina Makua.
7 Hóó bonko kwa naani, hóó Mambeyee?
8 (Chorus) Hóó Mambe tshina Makua.
9 Hóó funga kwa kamba, hóó Mambeyee?
10 (Chorus) Hóó Mambe tshina Makua.
etc.

1 What, what is this then, Mambe, what oh Mambe,
2 What, what is this then, Mambe, what oh Mambe,
3 What, what is this then, Mambe, what then Mambe?
4 (Chorus) What, Mambe-with-the-bare-buttocks, Makua!
5 What, what noise, what oh Mambe?
6 (Chorus) What, Mambe-with-the-bare-buttocks, Makua!
7 What, what for quarrelsome noise, what oh Mambe?
8 (Chorus) What, Mambe-with-the-bare-buttocks, Makua!
9 What, tie him up with rope, what oh Mambe?
10 (Chorus) What, Mambe-with-the-bare-buttocks, Makua!
etc.

This song which consists largely of Bantu elements, derides a man called Mambe who, it is said, was often drunk and quarrelsome at beer parties. In contempt he is called a Makua. The Makua are a far-away tribe who are known to the Sandawe because of their elephant hunters and charm traders, and their name has become synonymous with "stranger".[1] The choral lines use it to add contempt to ridicule. The song is said to refer to an occasion, under German rule, when a headman called Degera who was a strict disciplinarian, had Mambe tied to a tree and caned. In Dempwolff's text No. 70 Degera commands that a man called Mambe be put in chains and caned on the buttocks.[2] His rough treatment of Mambe is remembered with obvious glee.

At one beer party this song was used as what Radcliffe-Brown calls a diffuse negative sanction, a spontaneous action by the crowd to restrain a particularly objectionable character.[3] The man had been an irritating nuisance locally, and had been fined by the neighbourhood elders for various offences. Having made a nuisance of himself again at the party, the house owner had first let it be known to him that he was no longer welcome. When he refused to go he was forcibly removed from the courtyard by two strong men, yet he came back again. Then someone began to sing the song of Mambe, but with the offender's name in it, and this was immediately taken up by all the guests. This unexpected show of unanimity was effective, for the man became furious and abusive but he went away.

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1 Cf. p. 16.

2 1916, 168 (Degera also appears in texts Nos. 137, 143 and 182 of this thesis).

3 1952, 206.

B. The dance of the young herdsmen, the mangóa.

Dempwolff gives us one song text of the "men's dance maŋgoa"; this is reproduced in the following pages as text No. 137. He defines the dance as a 'bell dance' in his vocabulary,[1] but van de Kimmenade translates its meaning as "danse des jeunes gens".[2] The meaning of the term ma-ngó-a appears to be indeed a dance of the circumcized, i.e. of youths who have passed through their initiation ritual and become men, cf. the terms góũ, gó, or the Rimi ngoi which mean initiation ritual.[3] Dempwolff's text supports this interpretation, for it expresses the pride they take in their young manhood.

The mangóa is the dance of the young herdsmen, hunters and warriors, and the traditional time for its performance is said to be during the hot evenings of the last part of the dry season. This is also the time when the washing ceremonies (n//óko'o) have just been performed , marking the transition of the initiates (tékele) to the status of young men (k'aré) and their incorporation into adult society. When these young men are put in charge of the cattle to herd them, they like to take them some distance away, spending the night at the homestead of a clansfellow which then serves as a cattle camp.[4] This is said to be the proper occasion for the mangóa to be danced, with all the young people of the neighbourhood flocking to the

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1 1916, 48.

2 1954, 48.

3 Cf. p. 370.

4 The Sandawe have no age sets and no warrior class; the hunters and the herdsmen are the warriors. In cattle raids some of them have established reputations as great war leaders. Among the Alagwa these had considerable status and were buried in a special way, but among most of the other clans good hunters enjoy the same reputation as war leaders; where hunting was more important than cattle raiding it was the hunters who provided dominant leadership.

occasion and the young herdsmen forming the centre of attraction. Together with fully developed adults they form the company of dancers while the girls and the women look on and encourage them with ululations. The dancers do quite a lot of showing off in front of the girls, jumping up high and brandishing their bows and arrows, and the dance goes on well into the night.[1]

In the southern borderlands the mangóa is not known, nor is it in the Burunge borderland of Tumbakose and in the south-eastern extremities of the hills. Here it is replaced by the manhéna which is considered to be not a Sandawe dance at all, but Gogo or Baraguyu. This is a jumping dance of young warriors who do not exist as a social group among the Sandawe. Its singing is wordless and consists of sequences of melodic exclamations (há, há, hà, etc.) which are ejected forcefully in canon form by the dancers themselves as they jump.

The songs of mangóa are centered upon the individual young men (praise songs) and on events in their herdsmen's lives (topical, historical). The following texts give an example of each type.

Songs of mangóa.

Text No. 136. The proud young herdsman. Sung by Mr. Francis Kumaní Salulá at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Sagüa hlée kérayoo
2 Gawé mara,
3 laale yéeè, sángedo.

4 Hlee hego kéromisee,
5 Gawé mara,
6 laale yéeè, mmmmm.

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1 In Dempwolff's text No. 20 (1916, 121) a girl is asked where she received her pregnancy. Answer: 'At the mangóa'.

7 Pagũa hlée sangedomĩsii
8 Gawé,
9 Laale yéeè, mmmmm.
etc.

1 Well then, now he scorns then,
2 the handsome Gawé,
3 well then, oh, the haughty.

4 Now then he was scorning all,
5 the handsome Gawé,
6 well then, mmmmm.

7 And then, now, mocking he was,
8 Gawé,
9 well then, mmmmm.
etc.

Gawé and his fellows are wearing the finery with which they have emerged from their initiation period, and now they are dancing the mangóa. Resplendent in his new white loin cloth, bead strings, and new weapons, Gawé jumps proudly and disdainfully, and the song praises his handsomeness. The word sangedo in lines 3 and 7 of the text, which is used to convey haughtiness or disdainful mockery, still carries associations with the images of its component parts, sángũ-é, 'he with the Lion manes' (from sángu, Lion manes), and do, 'the condition of power' (from da, power). Young herdsmen in their finery are shown in photo No. 13.

Text No. 137. The return of the cattle. Reproduced from Dempwolff's text No. 89 (1916, 173-4) and retranslated.

1 Hindilo 'we, dzumbeye,
2 laleye, t̪'añkese.
3 Soñgowe, bana riñke, 'elale, šaušyo

4 balabalats'yo t̪ᵀañkese.
5 balabalats'e, /nini 'wamoe 'a 'embo,
6 soñgowe dzumbewe, t̪ᵀañkese.
7 heso'we, dzumbeye, lala, t̪ᵀañkese.
8 šaušye balabalats'yo
9 /nini 'wamoe, ʿalale, ke'ekoyo.
10 kadziya bori 'were.
11 dzumbe 'wa'amoyo, ᶜelale.
12 mamaye, ᶜelale,
13 mwanañgwaye, 'andelawe,
14 soñgowe, hewa 'wa'amo.

15 degera, 'e ʿelale.
16 ʿagida dasenayo,
17 soñgowe, dzumbeye 'wa'amo;
18 ke'ekoyo.

1 Oh joy, oh sub-chief,
2 oh come on, he is bringing [the cattle] back.
3 Oh Songo, Mr. Linke's representative, hey, come on,
4 he is bringing them back on the road.
5 The beloved sustenance is on the road, they tell [us],
6 oh sub-chief Songo, he brings them back.
7 They then, oh the sub-chief, onwards, he brings them back.
8 The representative then, is on the road,
9 the beloved sustenance, hurray, listen then.
10 They go about gathering [the people] for the work.
11 The sub-chief, he is close then, hey, come on,
12 Grandmother, hey, come on!
13 Oh village-head, oh co-wife,
14 oh Songo, it is he who is close.
15 Degera, yes, hey come on,

16 oh headman Dasena then,
17 oh Songo, oh the sub-chief, he is close,
18 listen then.

Dempwolff comments that this song celebrates the return of cattle which had been confiscated by the authorities on an occasion unknown to him. This confiscation appears to have occurred at the time of the Sandawe insurrection against the Germans under Xahliki.[1] Informants with whom I have discussed this text say that the country was ravaged at that time, houses were burnt, the people fled into the hills, and the cattle was driven off to Kilimatinde. The Alagwa leader Songo, the son of Xahliki, made peace with the Germans, and secured the return of the Sandawe cattle. He got himself recognized as the chief of all Sandawe by the Germans, but he also gained great prestige among the Sandawe themselves by his success. Mr. Linke (line 3) was the German N.C.O. who built the post at Kwa Mtoro, and Degera and Dasena (lines 15 and 16) were appointed headmen under chief Songo.[2]

The re-translation of this text shows no significant departures from Dempwolff's German translation except the new translation 'beloved sustenance' for /nini wamoe in lines 5 and 9, which he translates as 'the maize-friend' (der Maisfreund). The Sandawe word n/ini does mean maize, but it also means food in general, that which provides people with nourishment and sustenance, both as food and as a means for maintaining the fabric of society. Cattle are sustenance to the Sandawe, a vital basis for their economy. The arrival of the herds, guided by Sandawe herdsmen, is excitedly anticipated, and in line 10 the people are being called together for the distribution of the cattle.

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1 Cf. p. 30.

2 Referred to as Tsongo by Bagshawe (1925, 334).

C. A harvest and courtship dance: the landá.

The landá is one of the best known dances of the Sandawe, but its performances have become rare. The songs, however, show no signs of dying out and many of them are well remembered. The Sandawe say that the missions have suppressed the dance because of the late hour until which they go on, and the ensuing courtship activities. The missionaries deny that they ever forbade the landá, but the dances which I witnessed were all held at considerable distances from the nearest mission. Recent signs seem to indicate that the Sandawe are becoming less hesitant again to hold the festival.

The season of the landá begins as soon as the first harvests are in, and it is said that its purpose is to celebrate the collection of the harvest after which the time comes for the people to enjoy themselves. A quotation from van de Kimmenade in the first chapter of this thesis describes the atmosphere which then prevails, and shows how important an institution the dance is in the laying of foundations for betrothals and marriage.[1] An anonymous writer says that

> "[The] landa ... is for the mutual choosing of mates by both sexes. Married people may participate, but only as it were for the fun of it, - as a business proposition [it] is applicable only to the young unmarried youths and maidens."[2]

The landá is indeed a great dancing feast in which anyone may take part, and the atmosphere is relaxed. Dempwolff states that it is the only dance which he has witnessed himself, and he gives an account of two of the dances which he saw.[3] Of the first dance he gives the following description: a subchief first leads about 60 men and 40 women, all between 12 and 30

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1 pp. 40-1.

2 Anon., n.d. (Kondoa District Book).

3 1916, 102-3.

years of age, to the cattle enclosure for the dance.[1] The song leader then separates the sexes and places the men to the north and the women to the south in long rows which together form a circle. He leads the song, which the chorus repeats. The men stamp the rhythm with their feet while the women stand still. Three to five men then come forward at a time and begin to dance around in the circle. Each of them carries in his right hand a stick which he lays on the shoulder of a woman. The men stay in front of the women they have selected for the duration of several movements of the song. Meanwhile the song has ended and the song leader has set in another song which is taken up by the chorus who at the same time mark the rhythm with hand-clapping. After a pause (the dancing has been going on for about half an hour, from 10.30 to 11 a.m.) groups of six to twelve women go up to the men and each of them touches a man on his left arm, and then they go back; after that they form two closely linked rows by gripping one another around the waist. Then the men come forward one by one and approach the row of women and form pairs with them; again they hold one another by the waist, the men standing on the left, the women on their right. Gradually they form a throng which begins to follow the song leader. In the meantime another song, which had already been sung before, had been taken up again.

At last the throng dissolves; the men separate from their partners and all form rows again. Once again the women come forward to choose their partners, and the chosen men hold them by the waist until finally the throng of stamping pairs is

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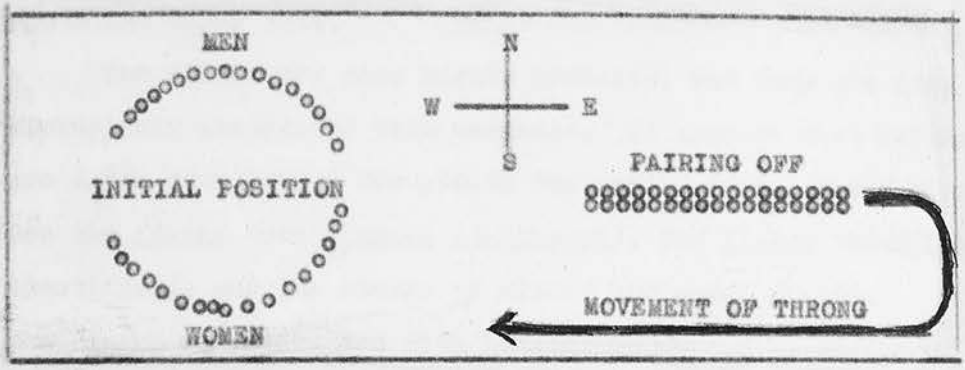
1 I follow Dempwolff's account in free translation, leaving out such detail as which song texts were sung at what particular moment because this is not relevant here. The song leader may initiate the singing of any landá song he chooses at any stage of the proceedings.

ready again, and so on. The first dance which Dempwolff so describes was stopped by a shower. His second dance took place in the afternoon, but he adds that other dances last longer and that he heard them go on in the distance until midnight.

Dempwolff witnessed his first dance on the 26th April; this is about as early as one may expect to see the landá, but sometimes the dances may begin to be held even earlier if the harvests are in early. They continue until the end of November when the first rains put an end to almost all dancing activities.

A few additional comments have to be made on the sticks and on the orientation of the dancers which Dempwolff describes. In the dances which I have seen the dancers' orientation always agreed with Dempwolff's description. Initially the men stand in a half-circle to the north, with the women opposing them. The contours of the terrain seem to have little influence on this arrangement. When they pair off the men remain on the north side, so that when the throng starts moving with the men on the left and the women on the right, they advance towards the east. Eventually the throng swings back to the centre of the dance place, making a right hand turn of 180°, i.e. the dancers move first to the east, then south and finally west. Sometimes the procession ends at the end of the western movement, and sometimes it continues around the dance floor in a clockwise motion. The explanation why this is so, it is said, is that 'the sun dies in the West' (//'akásu n//eenatasa tlas'), and it is added to this that for this reason the dance really ought to end at the end of the movement to the West. In reply to the question why the men should initially stand in the northern half of the dance floor, it is stated the people of old have originally come from the north. It is also said that in marriage people face east.

The movements of the dance may thus be interpreted as symbolizing the course of human life. In the beginning man



The landá: the development of the dance.

arrived from the north, perhaps emerging from an aboriginal womb represented by the circle. He seeks his female partner in the south and pairs off with her, facing the east in their marriage which is life-giving. Together they resume their southward journey through life, to end up in the west which represents death.

Man's arrival from the north in the dance appea rs to be founded, at least partly, on a myth that all the people, or perhaps the earliest Sandawe, came originally from the north. But there is another explanation. It is said that in the beginning the Creator lived in the north. He was Matunda, who was also the sun. In an aboriginal paradise there was only the moon in the sky, and she was a woman. The Sandawe say "When Matunda saw her, the moon lived in the sky, and he followed her to the south, and he married her" (Matunda hía /eei' íábíso tl'únguts'sa íve, naa khuats'exámatenaa //'àásu, naa /'uk'ésu). The moon, benign and cool, is associated with the rainy season and fertility. The first rains begin in the end of November when the moon stands in the southern hemisphere. The hot dry season which is associated with the sun, occurs when the sun rules the northern half of the sky. Since the sun is associated with masculinity and the moon with femininity,

it is no longer difficult to see why the men should stand to the north in the dance, and the women to the south. Like the aboriginal sun, their creator, the men follow the women to the south and marry them.[1]

The sticks are also highly symbolic, but they are more exclusively associated with marriage. It appears that cuttings are taken from only a few plants for making them. These plants are the /ámaka tree (Lannea stuhlmanni), the !'akwa shrub (not identified), and the stalks of millet and maize plants. The /ámaka is associated with healthy womanhood by virtue of its healing and anti-witchcraft properties;[2] the !'akwa is symbolic of male virility;[3] and millet and maize stalks carry the fruits of the field, providing the sustenance of life. The act of touching a woman on the shoulder stands for the man's proposal to marriage before he pairs off with his partner in the dance. It is said that if a girl and a youth take a liking to one another, they will select one another repeatedly as partners and go through the stick ritual; this may then lead to formal abduction and marriage.

There is also a competitive element in the landá. Youths who are vying for a girl's favours will try to outdo one another when dancing in front of her. Stickfights are often held at landá festivals, and on more than one occasion these fights have been the result of intense competition on the dance floor.[4]

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1 The myths of origin presented in this thesis (texts Nos. 19 and 20) do not mention mankind's northern origin, but in Bagshawe's version (p.292) the creator Matunda is the sun who marries the moon. This may account for the belief held by some people, that the people are ultimately of northern origin.

2 Cf. p. 373.

3 Cf. minstrelsy text No. 166.

4 For lonká (stickfights) cf. text No. 58 (p. 328).

The landá is thought to be of Rimi origin, and its name corresponds with the Rimi ilanda. Among the Rimi competition appears to be equally fierce, and Olson presents us with a Rimi initiation song which has this competition as its subject:

"At the Ilanda I shall outdo you,
Yes, at the Ilanda I shall outdo you,
As the braided feathers of the harûmbo bird
Yes, as the braided feathers of the harûmbo bird
As at the ngovi I shall outdo you.[1]

Just as the ritual of landá expresses the course of a man's life, so the songs commemorate noteworthy occasions in it. They are not concerned with the symbolism of the rites, but they are purely topical; they describe incidents which have left a deep imprint on the memories of the tribesmen, or which have affected the life of the tribe as a whole. The following texts have been arranged in a sequence which shows aspects of warfare, social behaviour, the advent of government and pacification, famines and prosperity, and labour.

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1 Olson, 1961, 185. It will be noted that the songs of the Sandawe landá are not competitive at all. Competitive songs are well developed further north. Koritschoner (Cory), 1937, 47, gives us a number of "competition songs" of the Sukuma, as well as "songs of a boasting character". The latter evoke reminiscences of the exaggerated self-extolment which is so very marked a feature of the heroic recitations of the Bahima who live still further away (Morris, 1964).

The songs of landá.

Text No. 158. Seeking aid in war. Sung by Mr. Tlalo Mdaki at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Bánguma n//wéèè
2 áwa Hlík'wa: "Kóngonas' hík'is'yoo".

3 Aya hóóe, Bánguma n//wéèè, áwa hlee
4 hó Hlík'wa, hó Bánguma
5 Kóngonas'a kímba tháaã a 'mbóriyoo.
6 Áumũ ke má 'ba'énes'yoo?"

7 Aya hóóe, Bánguma n//wéèè,
8 áwa Hlík'wa, "Kóngona hík'is'yoo".
9 Hó Wa'éèè hóólalee, "Kóngonas' hík'is'."
10 Kímba tháana 'mbóriyoo.

etc.

1 He, the Bánguma boy
2 well he, Hlík'wa [said]: "To Kóngose I shall go then."

3 Well he then, this Bánguma boy, well he now,
4 he then, Hlík'wa, oh, the Bánguma [boy]
5 to Kóngose really he ran, to implore their help.
6 "Bah", he encountered, "Am I not [a] great [man], then?"

7 Well then, he, this Bánguma boy
8 he then, Hlík'wa [said]: "To Kóngose I shall go then."
9 Oh Wa'é, onwards, "To Kóngose I go",
10 indeed, running there, to implore their help.

etc.

Clansmen and good neighbours are expected to help one another when they are threatened by raids. When the people of Bánguma were attacked by Datoga raiders the boy Hlík'wa was despatched

in haste to near-by Kóngose to get help. Their headman, who was called Kemüa according to the informant, declined disdainfully the way it is shown in line 6. His show of bad neighbourship is commemorated in the song which stigmatizes him each time it is sung.

The name Wa'é in the ninth line has nothing to do with the song. This is the Sandawe name of the Alagwa headman Selemani who was chief of the Sandawe from 1915-40. The song leader honours him by invoking his name; this is fairly often done in topical poetry, as we shall see. Wa'é died in 1940 but the song was recorded in 1962, and respect is therefore paid to his ghost.

Text No. 139. The abandoned baby. Sung by Mr. Francis Kumaní Salulá at Sankwaleto, July 1962.

1 Ts'ínte, ts'ínte, Makúa, ts'inte.
2 Kéme !hants'a n//ineyoo,
3 Ts'ínte, ts'ínte, Makúa, ts'ínte.
4 Makúayée hé'nsets'ina /'ée
5 i/imé /'ee pa kéyoo
6 Taturüénga i/imé !hants'ayoo.

7 Makúayée áah lààle
8 n/atimé nf' pa kéyoo,
9 Taturüénga i/imé !hants'ayoo.
etc.

1 Baby, little child, the stranger [is there], little child.
2 At the rock expanse of Kéme it is lying,
3 Baby, little child, the stranger [is there], little child.
4 Oh the stranger, why then does he watch it,
5 He has come for it, watched it, and lifted it up,
6 The Taturu indeed, he has come for it at the flat rock.

7 Oh stranger, ɗah, alas,
8 They have come and gone and taken it up,
9 The Taturu indeed, he has come for it at the flat rock.
etc.

The song describes an episode when Taturu raiders had invaded an area of western Sandawe country near the rock of Keme, and the local Sandawe had hidden themselves in the bush and between the rocks. This is a traditional reaction to intruders of the Sandawe who are described by Meyer as "sehr scheu" (very shy).[1] Women had been collecting wild vegetables and roots near an expanse of bare rock where one of them had put down her baby. When the strange warriors arrived it was too late to fetch the baby from the rock, it was left behind and the warriors found it.

The strangers are referred to as Makua and as Taturu. The term Makua, although the name of a tribe, simply means stranger. Taturu means a Taturu or Datoga tribesman, but as Obst notes, the term is widely used for any non-Bantu.[2] According to Robinson slave raids seem to have bothered the Sandawe at the time of Amás', but the latter soon put an end to this by threatening war.[3] Some people think that the intruders mentioned in this song were 'coastal people' (swáa n//oko, lit. children of the coast), a term which includes Swahili, Arabs, and Europeans, but the supplier of the text says that they were Mang'ati (Barabaiga).

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1 1914, 297. Cf. also Fonck, 1894, 292.
2 1913, 190.
3 1957b (M/S).

Text No. 140. The man-refuser. Sung by Mr. Francis Kumaní Salulá at Sankwaleto, July 1962.

1 Menté, Mentéeè, hó Mentéeè-éé
2 ts'ósũs'wa húmbusa //'ets'wayoo,
3 haya hó-e-ee.
4 N/omése kime !'úmasa n//ineyoo
5 Lonzó kime !'úmasa !haa.

} 2 x.

6 Áwayoo hého Warímba k'aré mak'énes'yoo
7 hó mak'éeè-éé,
8 ts'ósũs'wa húmbusa //'ets'wayoo,

...etc...

9 Phé ke n/omése kime !'úmasa
10 Hewée Lónzó kime n//inesa.
11 Áwayoo kigo Warímba k'aré mak'éyoo
12 Hó'na mak'éeè-éé
13 ts'ósũs'wa húmbusa //'ets'wayoo,

etc.

1 Menté, you Menté, what, you Menté,
2 our younger sister, they bring her cattle all the time
3 well then yes indeed.
4 But on account of the man she lies on the ground,
5 on account of Lonzó she sprawls on the ground.

} 2 x.

6 Oh well then, the Warímba youth was truly amazed,
7 oh yes he was truly amazed.
8 Our younger sister, they bring her cattle all the time.

...etc...

9 And the next day again, on account of a man she is on the ground,
10 even on account of him, Lonzó, she lies still.
11 Oh well then, the Warimba youth was truly amazed,
12 How then he was amazed!
13 Our younger sister, they bring her cattle all the time.

The girl Menté has refused many suitors. Then comes Lonzó, a handsome young Warimba clansman who is very eligible, but she refuses also his cattle because she does not want to become his bride. Girls are expected to get married and bear children, but Menté's odd behaviour only deprives her family of bride-wealth. The song therefore ridicules her. Stupid or unreasonable unwillingness to go along is expressed in the Sandawe idiom in terms like the ones used in this song. In the story of the Maassi war the stupidity of the magician Sóno is effectively portrayed when he 'slinks down' (limply) or 'slides down' after being stood up (like an unweaned child which cannot even stand on its own feet).[1] In the minstrelsy song of the unwilling hunting dog the pride of the family is lying down uselessly 'and stirs not'.[2] Here the girl Menté also 'lies down on the ground' (in stupid, childish recalcitrance) and 'sprawls on the ground' (as if she has dropped down in an ungainly manner). The Sandawe do not stand alone in mocking marriage aversion like Menté's in fine irony. A Dinka sings:

> "...Big girl, dances waddling/ As a hippopotamus farting in its tracks/ I move my cattle to the pastures of Macul..."[3]

The Sandawe do not only deride such behaviour. In stories they show that it may bring dire results: in text No. 11 a girl turns down suitors until she ends up being taken against her will by a snake at the well,[4] and in text No. 13 the man-refuser is landed with a lion-husband.[5]

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1 p. 288, lines 77 and 83.

2 Text No. 165.

3 Lienhardt, 1963, 88.

4 p. 184, lines 1-6 and line 18.

5 p. 216, lines 1-8 ff.

Text No. 141. A European has passed on the road. Sung by Mr. Sen//a Swága at Bugénika, August 1963.

1 Habé thõnts'a kãnsé,
2 áwa Kuzumŭe //oo'na /'ee,
3 sá'ma n//we, bénege n//we.
4 K'arése k'aré singe tŭéa,
5 hóó tŭéakwe, hóó wagéa i/iyoo,
6 Kéa dakwese. Taúla zumbe //oo'na /'ee.
7 Hóo wazungu i/iyoo?
8 Hóólaale, Habé thõnts'a kãnsé,
9 áwa Kuzumŭe //oo'na /'ee.
etc.

1 The black-soil plain of Habé he has passed,
2 for he, Kuzumu, had looked out over the road,
3 the neighbour's son, the rich man's son.
4 The youthful one, you youths, [arrived when] it was [still] dark,
5 what, it was still dark, what, and the visitor came,
6 the one with the iron mule. Headman Taúla had looked out over the road.
7 What European has come then?
8 Hóólaale, the black-soil plain of Habé he has passed,
9 for he, Kuzumu, had looked out over the road.
etc.

An iron mule is a bicycle. When in 1897 the Germans of Kilimatinde had opened a subsidiary post at Kondoa, military government traffic developed along the mule track through Sandawe country which connected the two posts. Bicycles appear to have been used at an early date.

The area of Habé is in southern Sandawe around Sanzawa. Taúla is the Sandawe name for the Nyamwezi headman Tovera who lived to the north of Sanzawa (cf. map No. 2). The song describes the arrival of a youthful German officer who travelled from Kilimatinde to Kondoa. The Sandawe had not seen bicycles

before, and had not yet adopted the term baskéli from the Swahili. People who travelled used to break up camp well before daybreak in order to reach their next camp before the heat of the afternoon. There was a rest camp at Sanzawa where the German had no doubt spent the night. Taúla's home was only a few miles from Sanzawa, which is the reason why he passed there so very early.[1]

Text No. 142. Mr. Linke's district tour. Sung by Mr. Tiálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Háya hóóeè, Bana Ringe ímbós'ats'a
2 ka' zúmbe tsía hágida kwahéériyoo.

3 Háya hóóeè, Bana Ringe ímbós'ats'a
4 ka' zúmbe tsíaã,...

5 Hólaale Mdáki k'aré !humé !emépots'e
6 kimbá Solá hembets'í n//ekâ ní'kwayoo.

7 Háya hóóeè, Bana Ringe ímbós'ats'a
8 ka' zúmbe tsía,...

9 A' zúmbeyéeè, aa laale Mdáki k'aré
10 ka' zúmbe tsía hágida kwahéériyoo.
etc.

1 Well then, Mr. Linke addressed them all,
2 saying good-bye to all the sub-chiefs and headmen.

3 Well then, Mr. Linke addressed them all,
4 speaking to all the sub-chiefs,...

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1 Cf. Obst, 1915 b(map).

5 Oh really, the youthful Mdáki was bringing him flour.
6 Indeed, into Solá's area he made them enter, [saying]"Well go then".
7 Well then, Mr. Linke addressed them all,
8 speaking to all the sub-chiefs,...

9 They [said]: "Oh sub-chief", oh well, the youthful Mdáki,...
10 saying good-bye to all the sub-chiefs and headmen.
etc.

Under the authority of the military government station at Kondoa the German N.C.O. Sgt. Linke had opened a post at Kwa Mtoro, and under the German system of direct rule he had appointed a number of sub-chiefs and headmen for village areas who were all directly responsible to him. The sub-chiefs were called jumbe (zumbe in Sandawe), and the headmen for village areas akida (usually hakida in Sandawe). Before setting out on his district tour Sgt. Linke called together the local headmen around Kwa Mtoro and gave them his instructions.

Two persons, Mdáki and Solá, are called by name in the song. Mdáki was the headman of Tóre in Maxonda, in the Lal'ta area of western Sandawe (Maxonda and Lal'ta are shown on map No. 2). Mdáki is a not uncommon Sandawe name; the present informant is also so called. Sandawe informants, including the supplier of this text, think that the name has been derived from the Swahili mdachi which means a German (m-dachi = deutsch) and some children appear to have been so named because of the presence of Germans in the area at the time of their birth. The Mdaki of the song was a headman under Linke, and therefore he cannot have been given his name for this reason (Mdaki was his proper name, not a nickname). Actually the name is of pre-German Bantu origin, cf. the Nyamwezi mu-daki, 'a cocky, proud person';[1] the Makonde kimidachi, 'you are much too cocky';[2]

1 Stern, 1906, 142. 2 Weule, 1908, 99.

and the Swahili mdakizi, 'eavesdropper, gossip-monger'.[1]
Solá was the influential headman of the Xats'as'tá clan mentioned on p. 29. He had been made sub-chief of the south-east, with his court at Tl'untú; later this was moved to Farkwa.[2]

Text No. 143. Game hunting expedition with guns. Recorded by Dempwolff in January 1910, cf. op.cit., 170 (text 78), but re-transcribed from his recording in January 1965.[3]

1 Thats'ena, thats'enayoo Tl'ééna n!áá'Inte
2 serikara'na bámba nèè thats'e,
3 thats'ena, thats'enayoo Tl'ééna n!áá'Inte.
4 Hóóláále Singánoe thats'enayoo
5 (?) wagwé bunduka sé ní' thats'e.
6 Degérayee áaà laale húmawanki
7 gwara weréna thats'e: "tóts'sukwe."
8 Thats'ena, thats'enayoo Tlééna n!áá'Inte
9 serikara' n!áá'I bámba nèè thats'e.
10 Háya hóóoè, etc.

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1 Johnson, 1951, 68.
2 Bagshawe, M/S (1920)
3 This has been made possible by Professor Kurt Reinhard who has kindly sent me a tape recording made of Dempwolff's original wax roll recording which is still preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. The recording is so good that I have been able to transcribe the text directly off the tape. Only line 5 was not sufficiently clear; this I have marked with a question mark, and I retained the corresponding line of Dempwolff's published text. Modern tape recorders clearly lend temselves much better to the painstaking work of playing back song fragments over and over again, and this new transcription is therefore somewhat more detailed than Dempwolff's own. The smallness of the differences testifies to the impressive accuracy which Dempwolff has been able to attain with the apparatus at his disposal.

1 To shoot, to shoot then, within reach of Tl'ééna
2 the soldiers stood there close together to shoot,
3 to shoot, to shoot then, within reach of Tl'ééna.
4 Well then, Singáno, he was shooting,
5 (?) the Nyamwezi took [their] guns and went to shoot.
6 Oh Degera, he then, well, he rivalled them,
7 he went about pointing out, [saying]: "finish her off."
8 To shoot, to shoot then, within reach of Tl'ééna
9 the soldiers stood within reach, close together, to shoot.
10 Well then, *etc.*

A hunt organized on military lines was novel to the Sandawe; no wonder the impression it must have made on them has been expressed in a song. *Tl'ééna* is Mount Hanang, the large volcanic cone which stands fifty miles to the north of Kwa Mtoro; with an altitude of 11,215 feet it is clearly visible from the Sandawe tribal headquarters. The land in between is sparsely inhabited and is good hunting country.

Degera is the station overseer who is also mentioned in texts Nos. 135, 137, and 182. Singáno is a messenger-policeman of the German post at Kwa Mtoro; we shall meet him again in the minstrelsy text No. 180. Nyamwezi settlers had been present in Kwa Mtoro for some time, and since the emergence of Mtoro as a would-be leader of the Sandawe they had been close to the hub of power; the German Sgt. Linke continued to rely on them. Singáno was a Nyamwezi.

The translation of the seventh line differs basically from Dempwolff's who renders it as 'they shoot at a wandering Hartebeest'. A hartebeest is called a *gwarai* in Sandawe, but the expression *gwara were* describes an overseer who goes about (*weré*) pointing out what has to be done (*gwara*, 'to point out').

Text No.144. Mr. Linke imposes government authority.

Re-transcribed and re-translated from Dempwolff's phonograph recording of January 1910, cf. op.cit., 171.

1 Dóro !emo hánga bana Ringe,
2 Sanzáwa ts'aana //'o n//eekayoo.
3 Dóro !emo hánga bana Ringe,
4 Sanzáwa ts'aana,..

5 'Nólaale k'aré tsinge, háya
6 !emeyoo bómanits'o
7 n//eeka" nèè túayoo
8 ringo ma'éyoo Manakíki ts'aana.

9 Zúmbea //'ásene tl'aphé, ěmbo: "ke'etshepone,
10 zúmbe Mwembezi?" - Gógo fundísa
11 zúa sána, zúa sána
12 ó'ha kazi ulaya.

13 Dóro !emo hánga. etc.

1 Leading a zebra he broke up camp, Mr. Linke,
2 into the settlement Sanzawa to sleep he took it.
3 Leading a zebra he broke up cam, Mr. Linke,
4 into the settlement Sanzawa,..

5 "Come on, my youths, come on, well,
6 lead it then to the base so we may
7 take it in"; he stayed [the night] and went then out
8 and he went out on his tour to the settlement Manakíki.

9 The fugitive headman he caned, telling him:"Don't you hear,
10 headman Mwembezi?" - to teach the Gogo
11 to know well, to know well
12 this work here of the Europeans.

13 Leading a zebra he broke up camp, etc.

Headman Mwembezi of Manakiki was a Gogo tribesman who had run foul of the German authorities, and Sgt. Linke went to find him and had him caned. Caning is still remembered as a favourite disciplinary method of those days.

The route of Sgt. Linke's journey can be followed on map No. 2: from Kwa Mtoro to the south-west as far as Sanzawa where the German road camp stood near the place where the school now stands, and from there to the south east across the Dudu river to K'ats'áwase. Manakiki is an area on the hill slopes above K'ats'áwase. For transporting his gear he used a zebra. The Germans experimented with the domestication of zebras with a view to use them as pack animals on a large sca le, the advantage being that they appear to be immune to tsetse.

Like the previous text this is a new translation from a re-transcription made from a tape recording which Professor Reinhard has made of Dempwolff's original wax rolls. The whole text was sufficiently clear for transcription, and there are no significant differences between this new translation and Dempwolff's original one.

Text No. 145. The great famine. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Náragũa ba'éo lààle.
2 Mankasínits'a'yóó handiika;
3 Háya hóóea, náragũa ba'éo
4 lààle, Mankasínits'ã.

5 Aà lààle Goro !hánts'a' kúndeyoo,
6 eea' Gumbu hóó Gumbua'yóó:
7 "Híkiana?" - Lààle, !'úmanga tínka.
8 Hó wagéyéé mókolagás'yoo,
9 áára náragũa ba'éo.
10 Mankasíni tarasé

11 hle'yóó handiika.

12 owéèè háya hoéè

13 Náragúa ba'éo Mankasínits'á.

etc.

1 The famine has become great, alas.

2 At Mankasíni we were all registered;

3 well then, the famine has become great

4 alas, at Mankasíni.

5 And alas, at the Rock of the Post they were stooping,

6 yes, at Gumbu, oh at Gumbu then [all said]:

7 "How are you?" - Alas, the country remained cool.

8 What, only strangers I was greeting,

9 really, the famine had become great.

10 [At] Mankasíni they stood in rows

11 and now then they were registered.

12 Oh woe, well then,

13 the famine has become great, at Mankasíni.

etc.

The song describes the great famine of 1919, which lasted for a number of years and which was perhaps the worst in historical times.[1] The Rock of the Post and Gumbu are places along the German military route from Kilimatinde and Saranda to Kwa Mtoro and on to Kondoa.[2] Relief maize was unloaded at the railway station of Saranda and brought up by donkey and porter caravan. The stooping in the fifth line of the text refers to the rows of porters bent under their loads. Most of these porters were Nyamwezi, and the lack of reply to the greeting in line 7 is a

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1 Cf. Appendix III.

2 Gumbu is shown on map No.2. The Rock of the Post is not far from there and is so called because there had been a wooden post (or posts) of a long-abandoned house near it.

reference to this. The country remained 'cool' (quiet) because there were no Sandawe to be seen. This may be partly poetic exaggeration, but many people were emigrating to Fiome (Gorowa) country at the time to find a better life; this is why this famine is called the Fiome famine.

Mankasíni is the same as Mangasín, the Sandawe name for Kwa Mtoro, the tribal headquarters.[1] Kwa Mtoro and the mission at Kurio were principal distribution points for relief grain and this is where the people had their names registered. Local conditions are described by Bagshawe, who records that he spent an afternoon at the mission disentangling a hundred loads which had arrived from Saranda; practically every load had been broached.[2] Two days later he records in his diaries that a second hundred loads had arrived, and that chief Selemani at Kwa Mtoro had received a further 209 loads the day before; a letter from Kilimatinde told him of the arrival of another three thousand loads. He writes:

> "Amongst the troubles of an officer dealing with famine may be enumerated hungry porters who broach their loads (especially women, who can't be strafed), others who simply clear home with it, highwaymen who cut off stragglers, children abandoned by their parents who crawl between your feet and pick up mealies in the dirt and eat them raw, wives whose husbands have left them, liars, people who are too lazy to help themselves, people who are too feeble to go for food, and the political Department at Dodoma."[3]

In further repetitions of the song the name Wa'é is invoked; this is the Alagwa chief Selemani mentioned above.[4]

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1 This name is explained on p. 116, note 7.

2 M/S. entry dated 19-4-1919.

3 Ibid., date 21-4-1919.

4 Cf. p. 471.

Text No. 186. Scarcity in war. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Hólaale, Wahindisí gitl'ékwe dlomoo,
2 waxa' sandúkunakwe pee.
3 Hólaale, Wahindisí gitl'ékwe dlomoo,
4 waxa' sandúkunakwe pee.
5 Ulayatə'só //'ankí,
6 //'ankí hóbetə'só //'ankí,
7 waxa ǵówe siranga.
8 Siranga ǵe nak'énayoo, ee kímba
9 zuniakweraa dlomooní pee.

10 Héya hóǵeè Wahindia' n/atíyoo,
11 wá' tlasiyoo, ní'a gitl'é náragu,
12 áà ímbó àà n/wéē.
13 Héya hóǵeè Wahindia' n/atíyoo,
14 wá' tlasiyoo, ní'a eeē.
15 Hólaale, wasenzi sínge gitl'ékwe dlomoo,
etc.

1 Come on, you Indians, buy clothing [in town],
2 friends, put it in boxes [and bring it here].
3 Come on, you Indians, buy clothing [in town],
4 friends, put it in boxes [and bring it here].
5 In Europe they fight one another,
6 they fight, what about then do they fight,
7 friends, oh woe, it is a holocaust.
8 A holocaust it is, it is disturbing, yes really;
9 buy it then in gunny bags and put it in [them to bring it here].

10 Well then, the Indians have come,
11 but it is finished, they go and clothing is scarce
12 and they explain [us] and they make it.

13 Well then, the Indians have come,

14 but there it is finished, they go, indeed.

15 Well then, you poor devils[1], buy clothing,

The song describes the scarcity of imported goods during the first world war, and it shows how quickly the Sandawe had abandoned their traditional goat skin clothing in favour of imported textiles. Local shopkeepers buy their goods in the provincial towns of Dodoma and Kondoa, but when supplies had dried up and the shelves in the local shops were bare, the traditional dress made a brief come-back. Line 12 refers to local manufacture by the shopkeepers; what they did was to fashion rough clothing out of sacking.

The song refers to Indian traders. Nowadays there are none within the tribal boundaries but there are many in the towns. Within Sandawe country the shopkeepers are now Arabs, a few Chagga, an occasional Somali and a single Gikuyu. A few Sandawe have recently begun to set up very small shops in the countryside, away from the established trading centres.

Text No. 147. The prosperous year. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Háya hóóea, Borónoe láále
2 kalánga hogorfí úraa hlawé.

3 Háya hóóea, Borónoe láále
4 kalánga hogorfí,...

5 Aa láále sána'ingo hóo nadíyoo
6 sfkarini bóma /'óóts'sukúyoo.

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1 The vernacular term used is wasenzi, from the Swahili -shenzi, 'barbarous, uncivilized, uncouth' (cf. Johnson, 1951, 419). In Sandawe the term means a poor devil, a person who is powerless, or a civilian (as opposed to government officials).

7 Háya hóóea, etc.

8 ... A Wa'é...

1 Well then, oh Borono indeed,

2 the groundnut price is very good.

3 Well then, oh Borono indeed,

4 the groundnut price,...

5 And then with beeswax, yes, we do go to the auction,

6 at the government yard we meet all together.

7 Well then, etc.

8 ... and, Wa'é ...

Boróno ('Bruno') is the name of the man who was sub-chief at Farkwa during the good years which followed the disastrous famine of 1919. He was probably installed in 1923, for it is said that he succeeded Nanekwa of whom Bagshawe had such a low opinion that he wanted to replace him in 1922.[1] Beeswax and groundnuts are still important cash crops but oil seeds have now surpassed them in importance.

The name Wa'é is invoked in subsequent repetitions of the song text.

Text No. 148. The produce auction. Sung by Mr. Tíálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Háya hóóeè, Dódoma kímba

2 a' kéa swáma iyĕ ta'énta'esee.

3 Háya hóóeè, Dódoma éé kímba

4 kéa swáma'aàã,...

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1 Bagshawe, M/S, entry date 19-5-1922. It seems that in 1925 Borono had been in office for some time (ibid., 31-3-1925).

5 Ha lâále k'arétsingee Dódoma manaà
6 kéa swáma'inga íyĕ ts'énts'esee.
etc.

1 Well then, at Dodoma indeed
2 the narrow metal was clanging.
3 Well then yes, at Dodoma indeed
4 the narrow metal,...
5 Well, you young men, the Dodoma you know
6 with the narrow metal it was clanging.
etc.

Before the advent of motorized transport the Sandawe used to load their produce on their backs and walk to the government auction at Dodoma to sell it; occasionally donkeys were used. This is a journey of seventy miles from Farkwa. At the market they put down their bundles, tired and dusty, and waited for the gong to signal the opening of the auction. The gong was a length of rail which was suspended from a tree and hit with a stick.

Text No. 149. We crept on our knees. Sung by Mrs. Victoria Wiyá' at N/waá N!ũ, August 1963.

1 Aa lààle, tl'agã kita
2 ké'ĩngo n!wamá, awa tshoró,
3 Wagó sĩnge tshóro n/wets'iyo,
4 ko, tshũũ n//inkese n/oowetsheaũ
5 hó wagé, tl'ũ'ĩngo papata.
6 Hàa: "Mwanabóriyoo",
7 aa bana k'arenga: "Mwanabóriyoo",

8 haya hóǂeè, "Mwanabóriyoo",

9 haya hóǂeè, bana k'arenga.

10 Ha lâàle tl'agǂ kita

11 kó'ingo n!wamá, a'wa tshoró,

12 wagó sîngε tshóro n/wétsʼiyo,

13 //ataúna n//inkese n/ooweketsheeũ,

14 waxée tl'ũ'ingo papata.

15 Haa: "Mwanabóriyoo",

16 aa bana Ring'îngaː "Mwanabóriyoo",

etc.

1 And alas, in the thornbush

2 we crept on our knees, with much trouble.

3 You strangers are causing us much trouble,

4 well! fierce animals we do not fear.

5 Oh, the strangers! We lead [one another] by the hand.

6 And [he called]: "Mwanabóri!"

7 and the youthful master [called]: "Mwanabóri!"

8 well then, "Mwanabóri!"

9 well then, the youthful master [called].

10 And alas, in the thornbush

11 we crept on our knees, with much trouble,

12 You strangers are causing us much trouble;

13 of a fierce lion we are not afraid.

14 Our companions, we lead them by the hand.

15 And [he called]: "Mwanabóri!"

16 and Mr. Linke [called]: "Mwanabóri!"

etc.

The song describes the ascent of the Hubía escarpment above

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1 1925, 224.

the Dudu River (shown on map No. 2) where Sgt. Linke's porters had much trouble with rolling stones and slipping back. Unlike the Nyamwezi, the Sandawe have a reputation as bad porters. Bagshawe comments that

> "though unwilling to work as porters they will travel any distance through the bush, hunting or to visit a festivity."[1]

It is said that after this episode Sgt. Linke employed Nyamwezi porters, and also Kimbu people from Séke.

Mwanabóri is the nickname which the Sandawe gave to their Nyamwezi overseer; the name means 'he who has it for saying', i.e. he who hands out the commands. The term Wagó, which literally means a member of the Gogo tribe, is used in the meaning of strangers.

Text No. 150. Work on the railway. Sung by Mr. Marimo !'umphá at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Hóólaale rédi ya'abó
2 dáyaaũta'e Dódomata'a
3 makáá tsía sómanaa.

4 Wahíndia' n/atíyoo
5 sómakwerá́á
6 adáɓukwe //hemẽ.

7 Háya hóóeè,
8 Wahíndia' n/atíyoo,
9 sómakwerá́á.
etc.

1 Well then, the work on the railway,
2 we are unable, at Dodoma,
3 to learn all those things.

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1 1925, 224.

1 The Indians have come,
5 so learn it then,
6 attention you must pay.

7 Well then,
8 the Indians have come,
9 so learn it then.
etc.

At the construction of the central railway many of the foremen and skilled workers were Indians. A number of Sandawe had been lured to the construction work by the wages, and they received their instruction from the Indian foremen. Most of them worked on the stretch between Dodoma and Saranda, i.e. not too far from Sandawe country. This must have happened in 1910-11, for Leverett records that a further extension of the line inland from Morogoro was authorized and begun in 1908, and that the line reached Tabora in July 1912.[1] The railway episode marks the beginning of the Sandawe colony at the town of Dodoma.

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1 1957, 224.

D. A harvest and courtship dance of the southern border: the ndindo.

To the Sandawe of the southern borderlands the ndindo is what the landá is to the hills, but not even the border people recognize it as a Sandawe dance; all agree that it is Gogo. In other parts of the tribal area the term ndindo is completely unknown.

Claus defines the Gogo ndindo as a wedding dance,[1] and he gives the full Gogo description of it as ufina wa ndindo.[2] Hartmoll describes the meaning of ndindo as "marriage and general rejoicing".[3] The only writer who gives any details of the proceedings is Rigby, who says that

> "In ndindo dancing, which takes place during the dry season after the main harvest and is intimately associated with love-making and potential marriage alliances, men always dance on the east, in a line facing the girls on the west. The two lines dance towards each other and away again, but their orientation does not change."[4]

This is the Gogo ndindo, but in the Sandawe ndindo which I have witnessed the movements of the dancers are not unlike the landá. The men advance from the north, and the women from the south, and they pair off as in the landá, facing east. The stick ritual was present in some dances, and absent in others, and the movement of the throng was anti-clockwise as often as clockwise.

The following example of a Sandawe ndindo song has a text which is basically Sandawe, but it shows a liberal admixture of Gogo words.

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1 1911, 47.

2 Ibid., 72. I take it that this means 'celebration of the wedding' or 'marriage feast'.

3 M/S, 1927.

4 1966, 8-9.

A song of the Sandawe ríndo.

Text No. 151. Sung by Messrs. Teodori Áfa Zoni and Zosefati Itira Zoséf at Gaboodi, August 1963.

1 Wenzéko séko káwako, kólonga eea,
2 maríno makasse-ra.
3 Wántua.

4 Wantuako sámun'ko káwako, kólonga eea,
5 maríno makaase-ra.
6 Wanamsadó.

7 Wanamsadó nimyi sizambo híkiana,
8 séko káwako kípone n/uphau,
9 híkia sayoo.
etc.

1 Friend, give me tobacco, for trouble there is,
2 you rich teacher then,
3 man!

4 You man, give me sixpence, tobacco, for trouble there is,
5 you rich teacher then,
6 giver of help!

7 You giver of help, I am all right, how are you,
8 give me tobacco and a pipe so I may smoke,
9 what is the matter!
etc.

When a groom takes his bride home in procession he is expected to hand out little presents to friends, neighbours, and his new relatives.[1] The song describes the occasion when a teacher

1 Cf. pp. 45-6.

married and was badgered by his acquaintances. To a Sandawe from the hills this text sounds horribly mixed up with Bantu terms.[1]

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1 Wenzako: Bantu, 'your friend' (companion). The Sandawe do not recognize the meaning of -ako as 'your' and use it as a Sandawe -ko adhortative. The elements of the sequence wenzá-ko sé-ko káwa-ko read in literal translation: 'companion-then, give-then, prepare tobacco-then'.
Marímo (Bantu mwalimu), 'teacher', is accepted Sandawe.
Wantu-; Bantu, a plural form which means 'men' but the Sandawe have a fine disregard for the niceties of Bantu grammar and use the term as a singular for 'man'.
Sûmun': Swahili thumuni, originally 'an eighth' (Arabic) of a coin worth four shillings. Accepted Sandawe, although many Sandawe prefer theká which literally means a leopard. The East African shilling and the 50-cents coin both show a lion on the reverse, and a shilling is therefore called 'a lion' (//atsí) and the half-shilling 'a little lion' or a leopard.
Wanamsadé: Bantu, 'he who helps'.
Ninyi: Bantu, 'you' (plural).
Sizamho: Bantu, the Swahili sijambo, 'I am all right'.

CHAPTER VIII

MINSTRELSY

The instruments.

On p. 92 it is explained that the Sandawe term for trough zither song (totõ /hime) may be used as a general term for minstrelsy, but that the Sandawe qualify this term by mentioning the minstrel's instrument whenever its identity is known. Thus they talk of musical bow song (rumbarumba /hime), stick-lyre song (sùmbi /hime or zéze /hime), fiddle song (zogozógo /hime), and so on. A summary of the instruments of minstrelsy is given in Appendix XIII.

The Sandawe themselves think of the musical bow and the trough zither as 'real' Sandawe instruments, the others being comparatively recent cultural acquisitions taken over from the Bantu, especially the Gogo who rightly have a reputation of being great musicians.[1] In actual fact the musical bow and the trough zither are no more typically Sandawe instruments than stick lyres, fiddles, and hand pianos, in the sense that they are not the cultural property of the Sandawe alone. Ankermann shows similar musical bows from South Africa,[2] and Trowell and Wachsmann from the Kiga in Uganda,[3] to mention only two instances which show their wide distribution. Ankermann states that musical bows occur from the Cape to the Sahara.[4]

The trough zither appears to vary a good deal in shape

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1 In other respects the Gogo tend to be somewhat despised by the Sandawe who say that they are dirty.

2 1902, 3.

3 1953, 408.

4 Op.cit., 75.

and execution but the surrounding tribes all have the instrument in the same form as the Sandawe.[1] Baumann shows a Rimi example,[2] and Ankermann illustrates a Sukuma specimen;[3] both are virtually identical with the Sandawe instrument.[4] Claus mentions a 'guitar-like' trough zither of the Gogo, i.e. one with a gourd resonator attached to it. The Sandawe rest the zither against a gourd for better resonance, or more commonly they use a wooden bowl, the lasé, instead.[5]

Stick lyres of the same type as the Sandawe lyre are found as far afield as the country of the Yao,[6] the Makonde,[7] and the Sambaa.[8] The Konjo instrument from Uganda shown by Trowell and Wachsmann is remarkably similar.[9] Fiddles and hand pianos of the types used by the Sandawe are also found among their neighbours, and similar instruments are used over a wide area.[10]

In most Sandawe households at least one musical instrument can be found, and music making and good instruments are deeply appreciated among the tribe; the song of the beautiful lyre in the following pages (text No. 175) eloquently illustrates this point. The instruments which are held in the highest regard are the traditional Sandawe instruments, the musical bow and the through zither; of these the latter is considered the

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1 Own observation.
2 1894, 190.
3 Op.cit., 82.
4 See plate I in this thesis.
5 See photo No.1.
6 Ankermann, op.cit., 6.
7 Own collection.
8 Karasek, 1922, 61.
9 Op.cit., 409.
10 Cf. Ankermann, op.cit., 31 and 86 ff; Trowell and Wachsmann, op.cit., Tracey, 1948, et al.

most noble (ŭr'sa hlawé). This nobility must not be understood in the sense of high technical refinement, or that any sort of religious reverence is attached to the instrument; it is simply a matter of its tone being much liked and of being thought of as the best available instrument for quiet personal music. Stumme says of the Schluh that the violin occupies such a place of honour among them, for it is the instrument of the troupes of wandering minstrels who specialize in poetry with an eschatological theme, and in historical and mythological verse.[1] Some Sandawe minstrelsy songs are also old and connected with beliefs but their minstrels do not specialize in these themes and there is little professionalism among them. It would be better to say that Sandawe minstrels show a preference for the zither because it is seen as their own traditional instrument, and more versatile than the musical bow. It seems appropriate that traditional songs are sung to the accompaniment of a traditional instrument rather than some new-fangled foreign assimilation.

Tracey says that it is considered right that some African instruments should be played by older people, in particular those instruments which have been played for many generations and those which are used for religious purposes.[2] The Sandawe preference for the zither is traditional rather than religious; since it is the older peole who know the traditional songs best the instrument tends to be played by older people, but younger men may also play them. Among the Sandawe one must not look for religious instruments in minstrelsy, but rather in ritual; the lion bowl and the buffalo horn in the exorcism rites of simbé may well be termed religious instruments.

Very few Sandawe minstrels use the fiddle or the hand

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1 1895, 3.

2 1948, 70.

piano. These instruments are in the first place the solo-instruments of young herdsmen and of those who while the time away during long journeys.[1]

The minstrels.

Dempwolff knew a blind bard called Mugonza 'whose art was not without material interest', for, Dempwolff writes,

> "he received such ample gifts for the songs which he annually produced at harvest feasts, often on topical themes, that he could afford to marry a beautiful woman of good family."[2]

Dempwolff adds to this that some jealous tribesmen looked askance at Mugonza because of that.

Of the Gogo, Claus says that

> "Professional musicians wander about the country and delight old and young. Often they are invited to a feast and for their performance they receive a goat or a sheep."[3]

If we accept this statement as correct we have to conclude that there exists a class of professional minstrels among the southern neighbours of the Sandawe. Among the Sandawe there is no such class of wandering musicians, although some minstrels may become sufficiently renowned to derive substantial benefits from their art. One of the contributors to the texts of this thesis, Mr. Francis Kumaní Salulá (informant No. 11 in Appendix IV) is often invited to beer parties as a minstrel and to ritual dances as a song leader. His art has earned him gifts

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1 There is said to be a good minstrel in the Dédu area who uses the hand piano, but I have not heard him. Mr. Elia Esoo, the young man who has supplied texts Nos. 7 and 30, has aspirations to fame as a minstrel by singing to the fiddle. He is said to have performed on the wireless in 1962 but his recognition as a minstrel is mostly confined to the small Sandawe colony in Dar es Salaam where he now lives.

2 <u>Op.cit.</u>, 164.

3 1911, 30.

as well as prestige, and his home has on several occasions been the scene of circumcision feasts which bring him further rewards and enhanced status. He is the instructor and camp-master of many local youths whose ritual grandfather (kokó) he is.[1] If we compare his rendering of a well-known song with that of another minstrel the quality of his minstrelsy may be appreciated, even in translation.[2] Two other informants (Nos 32 and 40 of Appendix IV) are said to have been in great demand when they were younger, and both are also renowned ritual leaders.

Minstrelsy is a prerogative of the men, and minstrel's instruments are never played by women, not even privately or at the secret women's dances. Performances are often private affairs at home, but passers-by will stop and drop in to listen. The minstrel's home thus becomes a social centre where old acquaintances meet and new ones are introduced. From his visitors the minstrel gets to know about places where beer is being brewed, whether the quality is expected to be good, and whether there is going to be plenty of it. He is a receptacle of knowledge on social and ritual activities, he gets the gossip and because he receives the details of interesting news he is well placed to select the material on which to base new poems.

The songs.

Some songs are the minstrel's own compositions, but the number of well known songs which can be pinned down to any

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1 Cf. p. 375.

2 Cf. texts Nos. 173 and 174. Whenever tape recordings of Mr. Francis Kumanf's singing were played back to Sandawe, the outstanding popularity of his minstrelsy became evident at once.

minstrel's individual authorship is small. Many of the best known songs he has learnt from others, but he renders them in his own way. This apparently contradicts Dempwolff who says that the composers are mostly known.[1] Often minstrels do indeed sing their own songs, and within the circle of their own friends and relatives his authorship of these songs will be known, but this is not the case outside this circle and of the widely known songs the authors are generally unknown in other parts.

In subject matter the minstrel songs show some resemblance to the songs of the harvest and courtship dances of landá, but their range is greater. Not only do they commemorate incidents of general interest but they also describe private drama and such things as the beauty of an animal, a girl, or an object. This variety is large enough for some minstrels to betray their own predilection for one type of song or another. Dempwolff recognizes two types of Sandawe minstrel. He says that

> "Mugonza was an epic poet, so to say, [but] as a lyric poet Gelao, who was a young man in his twenties, supplemented him. Gelao sang his songs accompanying himself on the musical bow. He was very popular. Whether he was paid for his performances, is not known."[2]

Among the minstrels represented in the following pages, Mr. Gawa Ginda'é Solá belongs to the lyrical category, whereas the others verge towards the epic type. However, as it is said on p. 1, all Sandawe poetry is minor verse and there exists no real epic poetry.

In accordance with the method followed in previous chapters the texts of minstrelsy have been arranged according to subject; first those which deal with beliefs, nature and hunting, then feasting and material possessions, and finally discovery and the advent of government.

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1 1916, 164.

2 Ibid., 165.

Minstrelsy songs: beliefs, nature, and hunting.

Text No. 152. The ancestor is dissatisfied. Sung by Mr.Francis Salulá Kumaní at Sankwaleto, July 1962.

1 Horógo, Horógo,
2 hewé sokosok'a k'oliméyoo.
3 Horógo, Horógo,
4 tataé sokosok'a tl'ere'éyoo
5 kumba sokosok'a owee tatáe lààléyee
6 áayoo Horóga biás'yoo...

7 Horógowéeè hó,
8 Horóga misésеyoo;
9 lààlée Horóga biás'yoo.
10 Songé, téhla ziriba
11 taχ hánzo kalandó.
12 Waχa'äyéé kwa ka' ziriba
13 taχ hánzo känsé;
14 pe ke há; n//áhla tumbuts'a.
15 Tshíŋ'Í n//umeyoo.
16 Ó'ní thats'éyoo,
17 ha lààle pe ke.

18 Horóga biás'yoo,...
etc.

1 Horógo, Horógo,
2 he, the mantis has brought bad tidings.
3 Horógo, Horógo,
4 oh father, the mantis is wailing on.
5 Indeed, the mantis, oh woe, oh father oh alas,
6 really then, Horógo is dissatisfied...

7 Oh Horógo, what then,
8 Horógo has [been given] sweet beer,
9 but alas, Horógo is dissatisfied.
10 Songé, the terrible honey-badger [is there]
11 and has opened up [the hive] with sharp kicks.

12 Oh the relatives, they say the honey-badger [is there]
13 and has opened up [the hive] and passed;
14 he climbed up and opened it; brother, he stooped on it
15 and then he stood on [top of] the honey.
16 And then, he shot at him
17 but alas he climbed up.
18 Horógo is dissatisfied...
etc.

This is said to be a very old song which describes how a family was struck by the disaster of a honey-badger getting at the beehive and stealing the honey. Songé, the owner of the hive, went out and had a shot at the badger but missed; this double misfortune is then attributed to the spite of a revengeful spirit. The name of the aggrieved ancestor is Horógo; he was dissatisfied even though he had been propitiated with beer. The sacrifice had apparently not been sufficient to make up for past neglect.

When the disaster struck a mantis was seen in the house; this convinced the family that divine action was the cause of it all. The mantis is believed to be a messenger of the spirits. There are several insects whose presence may, under the right circumstances, be attributed to divine action. Foremost among these is the mantis religiosa or praying mantis which is called hikats'i in Sandawe; there is also the desert grasshopper or locust called thwindi; a soft green grasshopper

named 'headache' (tshéé kúm'); and a red grasshopper called loós' or loósi. These are the names of insect species, but any of them is called by what may be termed their messenger-name when conditions of anxiety call for an explanation of their presence. When the tidings are bad the insect is referred to as sokosóko, a name which is derived from a verb which means 'to threaten'.[1] Good tidings are usually brought by the híkats'i; the meaning of its name may be translated as 'what is it then?' or how is it then?' Any one of the messenger mantises is called an [emissary of] divinity (warongosú, lit. a female divinity), and may be referred to as a [messenger of] a spirit (léts'ima). When such a divine messenger appears in a house small sacrifices are made to it. This consists of spitting or sprinkling some beer next to it, and of anointing it carefully with some butter. After that, the reason for its appearance will normally be found out by consulting a diviner.

When a mantis is found by children in the field there is no special meaning attached to it and there is nothing to be feared if it is eaten by children. Other locusts and similar insects which have no significance are the χats'á thwindí ('the thornbush grasshopper'), the /'iná thwindí ('the sand grasshopper') and the tshilímo, another species of hopper. These never appear in a house, which may be the reason why they are not significant. Of the species which are significant and which do enter houses the mantis is by far the most important. The thin brown mantis, the 'walking stick', is not important. When found in the house this common insect is usually crushed because, it is said, it is a false messenger.

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1 Cf. Dempwolff, 1916, 51, soki, 'to threaten'; van de Kimmenade, 1954, 54, soka, 'to dispute, quarrel'. According to some, sokosóko is also the name of a specific type of locust which is rarely seen, and which occasionally emits a shrill cry.

Text No. 153. The prowling lion. Sung by Mr. Gawa Ginda'é Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 Simba Ndoreyoo,
2 kótoleyee, kótoleye,
3 Simba Ndoreyoo,
4 hó, kótoleyee, kótoleye,
etc.

1 Lion, the Maned Lion then,
2 oh he prowls around the fence, around the fence,
3 Lion, the Maned Lion then,
4 what, he prowls around the fence, around the fence.
etc.

The informant says that once a lion prowled around a cattle enclosure for a whole night. The song uses the ritual name for Lion (simba) rather than its physical name (//atsú), presumably because of its identification with Danger. Koto is a fence, and koto-le is 'one who frequents the fence'. The meaning of Ndoro is explained on p. 358.

Text No. 154. The trumpeting elephants. Sung by Mr. Gawa Ginda'é Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 Kamba n/waá, n/waayoo, téhla n/waayoo,
2 hego n/waayo, n/waayo, téhla n/waa,
3 kamba Zozó kitaà !'áχawayoo,
4 kamba Zozó kitaà !'áχawayoo,
5 kéramowee mésûs'wa !'áχa werê.
6 Tshúwee n/waayo, n/waayo, tshúwee n/waa,
7 n//ansáts'sowa n/waayo, n/waayo, téhla n/waa;
8 kéramowee mésûs'wa !'áχawayoo.

9 Tshuwee n/waayo, n/waayo, //éu n/waa,

10 kamba Zozó kitaà !'áχawayoo,

11 hego Zozó kitaà !'áχawayoo,

12 kéramowee mésũs'wa !'áχawa weré.

13 N//atsháts'eo n/waayo, <u>etc.</u>

1 Indeed elephants, and elephants, enormous elephants then,

2 well there are elephants, and elephants, enormous elephants,

3 indeed in the stagnant pools they are trumpeting,

4 indeed in the stagnant pools they are trumpeting,

5 oh the elephant cow who is the mother goes around trumpeting.

6 Oh what animals, the elephants, the elephants, oh what
[animals, the elephants;
7 in the brushwood they are, the elephants, the elephants,
[enormous elephants then,
8 oh the elephant cow who is the mother is trumpeting.

9 Oh what animals, the elephants, the elephants, the thorn-
[bush's elephants,
10 indeed in the stagnant pools they are trumpeting,

11 well, in the stagnant pools they are trumpeting,

12 oh the elephant cow who is the mother goes all over, trumpet-
[ing.

13 In the red-soil bush there are elephants, <u>etc</u>.

The informant explains that it is a beautiful and awe-inspiring sight to see the dark shapes of large troops of elephants at their drinking places in the small hours of the morning. They trumpet, and the whole surrounding bush seems full of them. The stagnant pools (<u>zozõ</u>) are the deeper parts of river beds which retain water in the dry season; several watercourses are called <u>Zozõ</u>, two of which are shown on map 2. According to the minstrel animals must not be hunted at the waterholes because that would disturb them and cause them to move away so that the hunting becomes too unpredictable.

Text No. 155. An unknown animal has been killed. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 Sówayee náee,
2 súmangire, téndesa,
3 Sówayee náee,
4 súmangire, téndesa,
5 wakwa súmangire?
6 ♩♩♩♩
7 Téndesa wak'wayoo óyee
8 súmangire, téndesa.
9 ♩♩♩♩
10 Tshúweyee Sówayee óyee
11 téndesa wak'wa.
12 ♩♩♩♩

etc.

1 Oh Sówa, there then,
2 that elusive thing then, the unknown creature,
3 oh Sówa, there then [what is it then],
4 that elusive thing then, the unknown creature,
5 which has been killed, that elusive thing then?
6 ♩♩♩♩
7 An unknown creature has been killed then, yes it has,
8 that elusive thing, the unknown creature.
9 ♩♩♩♩
10 Oh the animal, oh Sówa, this here,
11 the unknown creature, which has been killed.
12 ♩♩♩♩

etc.

The minstrel explains that Sówa, a hunter, is questioned by his wife about the animal he has killed in the bush. Sówa says that

he does not know the animal and that other people who have seen it also do not know it. His pregnant wife is worried because she fears that her husband may have killed a pangolin (Smutsia temmincki or scaly anteater, kwár'kaka or kúrukaka in Sandawe).[1] This is a rare and strange looking nocturnal animal which is seldom seen or caught, and because of its rarity and anomalous appearance it is considered by some to be a divine messenger (warongosú) but unlike the mantis, its tidings have always to do with childbirth. Douglas tells us that among the Lele the pangolin is associated with fertility, and this is also the case among the Sandawe.[2] When a hunter sees the spoor of a pangolin leading into a burrow, this signifies to him that his wife will conceive. He may on no account kill a pangolin and bring it home while his wife is pregnant, for it is believed that if he does, she will miscarry. The expression used for to miscarry is 'to bear a potsherd' (tére haba);[3] and this explains the significance of the pangolin. Sowa's wife is afraid because a pangolin looks like an aborted foetus with a skin like potsherds and the magic of its resemblance convinces her that she would lose her baby. Similarly, the pangolin's spoor which enters into the hole convinces the hunter that his child is safely in his wife's womb. As long as his wife is pregnant he must therefore not dig up the pangolin and kill it.

The operative words in the text of this song do not occur in ordinary Sandawe speech. Súmangire conveys a sense of elusiveness, cf. súma, 'to avoid'.[4] Téndesa may literally be 'she who is some other', from té, 'some other'.

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1 Scientific name from Swynnerton, 1945. The scales of fish, etc. are called wákaka or wákhaka.

2 Douglas, 1957, 50.

3 Cf. p. 230 (Text No. 14, line 4).

4 Van de Kimmenade, 1954, 54.

Text No. 156. The dead giraffe. Sung by Mr. Gáwa Cinda'é Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 Ts'ámasu hóólaale tshúana /ili'e
2 Kirongósets'sa ǃhámu n//ineyoo.

3 Ts'ámasuwe, hóólaale tshúana ǃhámu n//ine
4 Áywee tholõngwésets'sa
5 mara'é na ǃhámu n//ine.

6 Ts'ámasuwe, hóólaale tshúana ǃhámu n//ine
7 Íyo, tholõngwése thõ
8 mara'é na ǃhámu n//ine.

9 Ts'ámasu hóólaale tshúana /ili'e
10 Áywee tholõngwésets'sa, etc.

1 The giraffe, oh alas, the gracefully patterned animal
2 in the land of Kirongo she is lying, silently.

3 Oh the giraffe, oh alas, the animal lies there still,
4 oh woe, in the endless plain country she,
5 the beautiful one then lies there silently.

6 Oh the giraffe, oh alas, the animal lies there still,
7 mother, in the endless plain country she,
8 the beautiful one then lies there silently.

9 The giraffe, oh alas, the gracefully patterned animal
10 oh woe, in the endless plain country she, etc.

The poetry of this song is much enhanced by the place descriptions. Kirongósa in the second line has a controversial meaning. The minstrel says that the place is so called because the hunter who killed the giraffe had a field there which had

been cleared all round (minda kirongo-se). Kirongo (or kiringo) is the circumference of a field, and the name would thus mean '[a place] which has a [wide] circumference'. But it seems at least as probable that the meaning is '[a place of] the hunt leader'. The Nyamwezi word kirongozi means a guide,[1] and the Swahili kiongozi is a leader of a caravan.[2] In Sandawe kirongose may be used in the meaning of a hunt leader.
The name Tholõngwése in the fouth line means 'having endless plains', from thõ, black-soil plain. No Sandawe appears to be certain which places are meant, but the minstrel thinks that they may be beyond Banganí. To the north of this mountain there are large black-soil marshes covered in thorn bush which form part of an entire belt of similar bleak country (see map 2). The place description conveys a sense of bleakness which adds much to the mood of the song.

The genuine compassion for a killed animal of which this song obviously speaks may seem a surprising thing to find in the poetry of a hunting tribe. Sandawe like the inoffensive giraffe. The pattern of its hide is considered very beautiful, and female beauty is often described in terms of giraffe patterns.

Text No. 157. The reluctant hunting dog. Sung by Mr. Gáwa Ginda'é Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 Téhla káka, téhla swaaswaa
2 kákayée laale kimba supéo hólaale
3 tsí káka, ka' !hámuni n//ine
4 ka' !'akhänge supéleyoo
5 kimba supé hólaale.

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1 Seidel, 1898.
2 There are more allied meanings; cf. Johnson 1951, 355.

6 káka hóólaale kimba supé hólaale
7 tsí káka ka' !hámuni n//ine
8 kimba swáa'swaa' pa ísí n//ine
9 kimba kákayée ka' !hámuni n//ine
10 ka' !'akhânge supéleyoo
11 kimba supé hólaale.

12 Tsí káka, etc.

1 Terrible dog, utterly coaxed,
2 oh [that] dog, well then, indeed it is arrow-toothed, well
3 that is my dog, yes, but it lies down and stirs not, [come on,
4 yes, and it does have teeth like many arrow points,
5 indeed, arrow points, come on then.

6 The dog, oh then, indeed [it has] arrow points, come on then,
7 that is my dog, yes, but it lies down and stirs not,
8 indeed it is egged on but it refuses and lies down.
9 Indeed, oh brother, yes, it lies down and stirs not,
10 yes, and it does have teeth like many arrow points,
11 indeed, arrow points, come on then.

12 That is my dog, etc.

Dogs are kept for hunting as well as for guarding cattle, and a good dog can be an object of considerable pride. Although the average Sandawe dog is fairly small it is usually not quite so emaciated as the dogs of neighbouring tribes because many Sandawe actually feed their dogs and look after them reasonably well. The song tells of a man who had a larger than average dog of which he was very proud, but when he was to take it along to a hunt it lay down, refusing to stir and showing its teeth. The fine irony of "my dog" in lines 3, 7 and 12, and its implied self-derision brought appreciative sniggers from the audience.

The image of the arrow-like teeth is effectively used to contrast with the dog's cowardice. Sungé is a type of arrow which consists of a pointed wooden shaft only; it is smooth and sharp and used for rats inside the house, or for getting rid of screeching owls in the courtyard ("they bring witchcraft"). For shooting owls the tip is heated in hot ashes until it glows. The term sungé-le in lines 4 and 10 thus suggests a repetition, or a multitude of arrow-pointed teeth which emit a fiery glow but alas, the owner of this imposing array of teeth was lying down on the ground and did not stir.

Text No. 158. The slain hunter. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣
2 Kamba Maongiyóo, tl'ongí,
3 kimba tl'ongí.
4 Tũeyee kimba Songé n//ahlangi wak'wa.
5 ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣
6 Hapú n//ahlangiĩ,
7 ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣
8 ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣
9 Kamba Maongiyoo,
10 kimba tl'ongí.
11 Keramowee kimba Songé n//ahlangi wak'wa.
12 ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣
13 Ka' hapú n//ahlangiĩ.
14 ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣
15 Ka' Songé n/waá k'ambayoo.
16 ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣
17 Kimba hapú n//ahlangiĩ.
18 ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣
19 Ka' Songé n/waá k'ambayoo.

20 ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩

21 ka' Maongí,

22 kimba Songé,

23 Keramowee kimba Songé n/waá k'ambayoo.

24 ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩

etc.

1 ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩

2 For indeed, oh Maongi then, he has been pierced,

3 indeed pierced.

4 Oh at night indeed Songé who was our brother, was killed.

5 ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩

6 You who were our brother,

7 ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩

8 ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩

9 For indeed, Maongi then,

10 indeed he was pierced.

11 Oh elephant-cow, indeed Songé who was our brother, was killed

12 ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩

13 It is said, you who were our brother.

14 ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩

15 It is said, Songé, the elephant bull.

16 ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩

17 Indeed, you who were our brother.

18 ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩

19 It is said, Songé, the elephant bull.

20 ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩

21 It is said, Maongi,

22 indeed, Songé.

23 Oh elephant-cow, indeed Songé the elephant bull.

24 ♩♪♩ ♩♪♩

etc.

The minstrel explains that long ago a famous elephant hunter called Songé had been killed. Praise is accorded to the deceased by referring to him as 'elephant bull'. The 'elephant cow' is not a female elephant who has gored and killed him, as may perhaps be expected, but Songé's daughter Maongi. The song is a lament addressed to her, and in accordance with the praise given to her father she is referred to as 'elephant cow'.

Text No. 159. Honey-collecting expedition. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Parkwa, February 1962.

1 Zakhána' ní'yoo ní',
2 téhla Kundamoa' bamba'étə'a.
3 ⌣⌣⌣
4 Ka' hego Tibíts'a'na //é' n/atí,
5 ka' hego Tibíts'a'na //é' n/atí,
6 wamée téhla Kindamota'a
7 bamba'éts'a' Múnamaxaà.
8 Zakhána' ní'yoo, etc.

1 They went on then into the bush, they went,
2 quite as far as Kundamo, near to it.
3 ⌣⌣⌣
4 They said, well, to Tibí, to there they came,
5 they said, well, to Tibí, to there they came,
6 oh friend, quite as far as Kindamo,
7 near to it, as far as Múnama.
8 They went on then into the bush, etc.

The placenames Kundamo in the second line and Kindamo in the sixth line are the same. Tibí is a large conical hill in western Sandawe country where the hills end and the flat bush expanse of the Kpondo plains begin (see map 2). Sandawe go

hunting and honey-collecting in this uninhabited wilderness. Múnama is the name of an area in the bush which is called after a man who has once had a small cultivation there.

Text No. 160. The unwilling donkey. Sung by Mr. Gáwa Ginda'é Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 "Kwénzo no'", na ní'yoo
2 ko Dóyats'o n//ee,
3 ka', tũéo n/atiyoõ.
4 Kamba, "kwénzo no'", na ní'yoo
5 ko Dóyots'o n//ee,
6 ka' tũéo n/atiyoõ.
7 Sónowee, Kúriose ts'aa
8 nãáã ime.
9 Hó dakwe, kamba tsóóa tsoõ.

10 Ka', Míndigats'o n//ee,
11 ko tũéo n/atiyoõ.
12 Ka', Míndigats'o n//ee,
13 ko tũéo n/atiyoo lààle,
14 ha, hó, Kúriose ts'aa
15 nãáã ime.
16 Hó dakwe, kamba tsóóa tsoõ.
17 ... Moríyoo,... etc.

1 "Let us go on an expedition", and we went on,
2 right until we arrived at Dóyo,
3 they said, - in the dark we were arriving.
4 Indeed, "Let us go on an expedition", and we went on
5 right until we arrived at Dóyo,
6 they said, - in the dark we were arriving.
7 Oh Sóno, at the waterhole in the Kurio area
8 he just brayed harshly.
9 What a donkey, indeed he just defecated excrement.

10 They said, at Míndiga we arrived,
11 right when darkness was coming.
12 They said, at Míndiga we arrived,
13 just when darkness was coming, alas,
14 and what, at the waterhole in the Kurio area
15 he just brayed harshly,
16 what a donkey, indeed he just defecated excrement.
... Oh Morí,... etc.

The minstrel comments that this expedition of honey collectors left central Sandawe country, passing Dóyo where they spent the night. The hills called Dóyo and Míndiga are both shown on map 2. On the way back they reached Kurio, which is also shown on the map. Here the heavily loaded donkey refused to go on.

In further repetitious stanzas the name Morí is mentioned instead of Sóno, as in line 7. Morí is said to be the name of the collector who used Sóno's mule in one of the expeditions.

Feasting and courting.

Text No. 161. The end of the party. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 Tl'ík'yoo /ŭéea n//a, Lulááe,
2 tl'ík'iĭ /ŭéea n//a, Lulááe,
3 Tl'ík'yoo /ŭéea n//a, Luláyee,
4 tl'ík'yoo /ŭéea n//a, Luláea /ŭéa.
5 ⌐⌐ ⌐⌐
6 aáh, aáh, háyayoo.
7 Tl'ík'yoo, etc.

1 Very early then, he closed his eyes, this Lulá,
2 in the early morning he closed his eyes, this Lulá.
3 Very early then, he closed his eyes, this Lulá then,
4 very early then, he closed his eyes, this Lulá, his eyes.
5)–)–)–)–
6 Aáh, aáh, well then.
7 Very early then, etc.

According to the minstrel the song commemorates a successful beer party given by a man called Lulá. The guests did not leave until daybreak.

Text No. 162. Desirable girl. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 Ka' Mudé kimba !'etsoχé'sa
2 n//owe tindílaaa, Mudé.
3 Mudé kimba, etc.

1 They say, Mudé indeed, she is like a klipspringer,
2 that child has a graceful swagger, Mudé.
3 Mudé indeed, etc.

The klipspringer (Oreotragus oreotragus, called !'etsé or !'etsú in Sandawe) is considered a very graceful animal. To compare a girl with it is to pay as great a compliment to her gait and figure as to compare her with a giraffe is to her features. The minstrel's comment is eloquent, he says: "She runs as if she were in a fertility dance, she walks with a klipspringer's swagger, she is very beautiful" (phek'umota //'íasaxé'sa weré, !ú̃teuxé̃sa tindílaaa, ír'sa hlawé).

Text No. 163. The young dandy. Sung by Mr. Ǿwa Ginda'é Solá at Parkwa, February 1962.

1 Derǐyee balóǿna keseyoo,
2 háya héé Derǐyee ka' χomba lemboyoo,
3 Derǐnga balóǿna keseyoo, etc.

1 Oh Derí, he was herding [the cattle] to [their] grazing,
2 Well then, hey, this Derí, yes, with cockfeathers swaying,
3 Derí was indeed herding [the cattle] to [their] grazing, etc.

Derí has been circumcized and has concluded his initiation period, he has become a man. Wearing his finery he is ready to join the mangóa. Dangling cockfeathers are recorded by Baumann[1] and Reche[2] as a means of covering the genitals. Baumann also says that contrary to the Rimi the Sandawe suspend a scrap of material ("ein Zeugfetzchen") in front, instead of the formerly usual neckfeathers of a chicken, while the women wear aprons from the waist.[3] According to the minstrel the youth also wears cockfeathers on the head; this is still done by some youths to-day.

Text No. 164. The lovelorn youths. Sung by Mr. Tíálo Mdáki Solá at Parkwa, February 1962.

1 Kaméyée lààle //'ootshipa kis'a,
2 ka' yayá lààle.
3 Amás'yée lààle //'ootshipa iyẽ,
4 nunuǐkima.
5 Amás'yée lààle //'ootshipa iyẽ, kimba

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1 1894, 112.
2 1915, 256.
3 Op.cit., 192.

6 kamba, Hegedékima zigída humasë.
7 Dandeyée lààle //'ootshipa iyë,
8 kimba, yayaá, lààle, mmm.
9 Dandeyée lààle //'ootshipa iyë,
10 Makana'kima zigída iyë.
11 Amás'yée lààle //'ootshipa iyë, kamba
12 kimba, yayaá lààle zigída...
etc.

1 Oh Kamé, alas, he cannot sleep again,
2 they say, [because of my] elder sister, alas.
3 Oh Amás' alas, he is sleepless
4 because of [my] younger sister.
5 Oh Amás' alas, he is sleepless indeed,
6 for indeed, because of Hegedé his heart throbs.
7 Oh Dande alas, he is sleepless
8 indeed, [because of my] elder sister alas, mmm.
9 Oh Dande alas, he is sleepless,
10 because of Makana his heart remains [throbbing].
11 Oh Amás' alas, he is sleepless, for indeed,
12 indeed [because of my] elder sister alas, his heart...
etc.

In further repetitions of the song a third girl's name appears, Salo. This turns out to be the poet's elder sister whom Kamé loves in the first two lines of the text. Eventually yet another moonstruck young man appears in the tape-recorded text; his name is Dank'ama. The theme of the song remains unaltered, and the names already mentioned are repeated many times.

Text No. 165. The man-refuser. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mǿáki Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 Tsugúna hó'sa sitaki'yoo kanángire? ⌐⌐⌐
2 ⌐⌐⌐⌐ ⌐⌐⌐
3 Tsugúna hó'sa sitaki'yoo kanángire? ⌐⌐⌐
4 ⌐⌐⌐⌐ ⌐⌐⌐, etc.

1 Tsugú then, why isn't she willing, what then for? ⌐⌐⌐
2 ⌐⌐⌐⌐ ⌐⌐⌐
3 Tsugú then, why isn't she willing, what then for? ⌐⌐⌐
4 ⌐⌐⌐⌐ ⌐⌐⌐, etc.

In this song the minstrel wonders what is wrong with the girl Tsugú rather than tries to ridicule her behaviour, as happens in the landá text No. 140.

The song provides an outstanding example of the way Sandawe sometimes treat Bantu grammatical items. The Swahili si-tak-i (I do not want) is adopted by the Sandawe as a verbal infinitive (to be unwilling), and to this new stem the usual Sandawe suffixes are added. After finishing the song the minstrel elucidated the position by stating that the girl 'does not want a husband' (máxa-sa fa'); he went on to show his knowledge of Swahili by repeating this statement in "Swahili" as dúme-sa a-na-sitaki (male-she he-present time-I do not want). One has to know Sandawe before this kind of Swahili can be understood.

Marriage, adultery and kinship relations.

Text No. 166. Forbidden intercourse. Sung by Mr. Gáwa Ginda'é Solá at Farkwa, August 1963.

1 Welaaye, hé Welaaye,
2 hé Welaa ges'wa Welaa Welaaye.

3 Hó, !'ák'wanga kwéewa,

4 ka' Welaa ges'wa Welaa.

5 Welaa ka' gelegélenga kwéewa,

6 hó Welaa, ka' Welaa ges'wa Welaa.

7 Hó Welaa, hó gelegélenga kwéewa.

etc.

1 Oh Welaa, what, oh Welaa,

2 what, Welaa, yes it is she, Welaa, oh Welaa.

3 What, the !'ák'wa-tree is blossoming forth,

4 they say, Welaa, yes it is she, Welaa.

5 Welaa, they say, the gelegéle-tree is blossoming forth,

6 what, Welaa, they say Welaa, yes it is she, Welaa.

7 What, Welaa, what, the gelegéle tree is blossoming forth.

etc.

This is another song of deceptive simplicity, in which it may seem, perhaps, that a girl called Welaa is watching some flowering trees. The giggles of the audience show that this explanation is not very likely to be correct.

The !'akwa tree (species unidentified) is fairly common in the form of a small shrub, but when it develops fully it has strong and tough wood which is used for making hoe handles, and if the tree is large enough, for the upright poles of houses. It blossoms with a profusion of white flowers. It is a 'masculine' tree (méya'e) and its name is given to male children. Its ritual use is associated with masculinity, and phallic sticks are made of its branches which are used in the harvest and courtship dances of lándí.

The gelegéle (or gelegéla) tree is the Cassia singueana (Caesalpiniaceae).[1] It is little more than a large shrub, and

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1 Newman, 1966 (M/S), No. 68.

its wood is used for making tooth brushes and for firewood. It blossoms with yellow flowers which turn orange when the seed pods develop, and dark shrivelled red when the pods are fully mature. The tree is 'feminine' (thámes') and its name is given to female children. Its ritual use is associated with womanhood. When for clitoridectomy operations in the bush no suitable lannea tree (/ámaka) can be found a gelegela tree may serve in its stead, for like the /ámaka the gelegela is smooth-barked and 'cool'.

Not too much importance must be attached to the fact that one of the trees of the song is 'male' and the other 'female' because many trees are associated with the sexes in similar ways, but further clues to their significance are found in their medicinal roles. The bark of the ǃ'ák'wa tree contains a white sap which the Sandawe use as a medicine against gonorrhoea and against impotence. The gelegela provides a medicine from its roots which is called nóngolo mirígi, a term which has a double significance. Móngolo is the usual term for caterpillars, grubs and woodborers, and nóngolo mirígi thus means medicine for intestinal worms. The second meaning of nóngolo is 'belly rumbles'; the Sandawe attribute these to the emptiness which is left inside because of the passage of real or imaginary nóngolo, like the inside of a log of wood where the boring grubs have been active. In a more vulgar sense this belly rumble is used to express lack of sexual satisfaction, i.e. the unsatisfied belly of a woman. If we now return to the flowers of the two trees the meaning of the song becomes clear. An informant confirms that the white flowers of the ǃ'ák'wa tree represent male semen (k'ó), and that the red flowers of the gelegela stand for menstrual blood which is called 'the forbidden illness' in Sandawe (móko k'wa'o), i.e. the period when illicit relations are forbidden.[1] The appearance of the

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1 Cf. p. 49.

the trees in the flowering season shows that the song's symbolism is based on obvious similarity. The !'ák'wa tree flowers in June, and in July the seed pods are fully developed. These have a circular section and they grow up to a foot in length with a diameter of no more than 1/4". The pods develop from the flowers, hanging down like snakes, and when they are mature the white flowers still sit on top of the upper ends of these phallic pods. The gelegela begins to bloom at approximately the same time as the !'ák'wa but its flowering continues until August. In September the shrivelling flower remnants on top of their seed pods assume the appearance of menstrual blood on phalluses the way it is shown in photo No. 16.[1] The song refers to a girl called Welaa who had relations with a lover during her menses.

Text No. 167. The returned bride. Sung by Mr. Gáwa Ginda'é Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 //ó'se kimbá k'ese;
2 Sónia kimbá k'éa.
3 Ka' humbukimé k'éayoo làále
4 Sónia kimbá k'éayoo lãále
5 ka' humbukimé k'éayoo làále.
6 Áywee Sóniate'o làále
7 humbukimé k'éayoo làále.
8 Sónia kimbá k'éayoo làále,
9 Dõ humbukimé k'éayoo làále,
10 Sónia kimbá Sóniayoo làále.
etc.

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1 Sexual imagery expressed in terms of flowers has also been reported from the Rimi, cf. Olson, 1961, 185 (in a footnote to a circumcision camp song).

1 Over there, indeed, there is sorrow;
2 Sónia indeed, he cries.
3 They say, because of the cattle he is crying alas,
4 Sónia indeed, he is crying alas,
5 they say, because of the cattle, Sónia then, alas.
6 Oh woe, at Sónia's alas,
7 because of the cattle he is crying alas,
8 Sónia indeed, he is crying alas,
9 because of Dõ's cattle he is crying alas,
10 Sónia indeed, Sónia then, alas.
etc.

The circumstances of this drama are still well remembered. Sónia is the name of a Wapurí clansman who lived at Buba in Ilase, in western Sandawe. He had a daughter called Méda who was courted by a well-to-do youth named Dõ. They were engaged and a generous bridewealth settlement had been agreed upon. After five nights of marriage Sónia's daughter proved unwilling or unable to consummate the marriage, and Dõ sent her back to her father whereupon the cattle had to be returned in ignominy.

The present minstrel has witnessed the event which, he says, caused some bad feelings between the two families, and the song has been used by clansfellows of Dõ's to taunt members of Sónia's clan. The minstrel says the recording of the song should not be played back to Wapurí clansmen.

Text No. 168. What is wrong with those women? Sung by Mr.Gáwa Ginda'é Solá at Farkwa, August 1963.

1 Ya'ádayee nóówesats'sa kumayoo,
2 Ya'ádayoo, Ya'áda húmbuxé'saã /íli'e.
3 Erengeyee nóówesanaã kumayoo, hóya,
4 Ya'ádayee, Ya'ádayee húmbuxé'sa /íli'e.

5 Ya'ádayee nóówesanga kumayoo, hóya,
6 Ya'ádayoo, Ya'áda húmbuxésa /íli'e.
etc.

1 Oh Ya'áda, at grinding she is suffering pain,
2 oh Ya'áda, Ya'áda who is speckel-pretty like a cow.

3 Oh Erenge, while grinding she is suffering pain, why then?
4 oh Ya'áda, oh Ya'áda who is speckle-pretty like a cow.
5 Oh Ya'áda, she does grind [while] suffering pain, why then?
6 oh Ya'áda, Ya'áda who is speckle-pretty like a cow.
etc.

Ya'áda's husband watches her painful movements at the grindstone and wonders whether she is ill. Erenge (a relative?) also appears to be sick.

Text No.169. The lazy wife. Sung by Mr. Gáwa Ginda'é Solá at Farkwa, August 1963.

1 Dadíyee n!eeayoo hóó,
2 n!eeasa χandaχanda heswá noowe.
3 Kamba Dadíyee n!eeanayoo,
4 ó'ko χandaχanda heswá noowe.
5 Ñywee n!eeayoo hóólaale
6 ó'ko χandaχanda heswá noowe.
etc.

1 Oh Dadí, it has long become day, what!
2 the day has broken, this vain one, let her grind.
3 For indeed, oh you Dadí, hasn't the day long broken,
4 here then, this vain one, let her grind.

5 Oh woe, it has long become day, come on then,
6 here then, this vain one, let her grind.
etc.

A good wife gets up at daybreak and begins her household chores. A woman who just likes ornaments is referred to as xandaxanda; xanda are any type of bead ornaments, cf. Rimi maxanda, leather wristlets.[1]

Text No. 170. Adulterers are caught by surprise. Sung by Mr. Gáwa Ginda'é Solá at Farkwa, August 1963.

1 Símba kidoleye sínga !'as',
2 Símba kamba !hámuni n//ine.

3 Símba kidoleye sínga !'as',
4 Áywee óóweyoo.

5 Mondíye hóódiyo, laale,
6 Símba kamba !hámuni n//ine.

7 Símba kidoleye sínga !'as'tsi,
8 Áywee óóweyoo.

9 Mondíye hóódi, hóólaale,
10 Símba kamba Mátowe.

11 Símba kidoleye sínga !'as',
12 tshina kamba !hámu n//ines'.

13 Fúndina hóódimsó hóólaale,
14 Mondíye hóódi hóólaale.
etc.

1 Oh in the Lion's claws did I lie,
2 the Lion indeed lay in silence.

3 Oh in the Lion's claws did I lie,
4 áywee, oh woe then.

5 "Oh Mondí, let me come in then, come on";
6 [but] the Lion indeed lay in silence.

7 Oh in the Lion's claws did I lie, I,
8 áywee, oh woe then.

9 "Oh Mondí, let me come in then, what, come on";
10 [but] the Lion indeed[said]: "Oh Máto!"

11 Oh in the Lion's claws did I lie,
12 on [my bare] buttocks indeed I lay silently.

13 The Hunter then demended from him "let me come in" what,
14 "Oh Mondí, let me come in, come on". [come on",

etc.

This song is said to have been originally a women's grinding song. Máto, the wife of Hunter is with her lover Mondí, but her husband has found out where she has gone and has followed her. Now he is standing at Mondí's door demanding to be let in. As Máto's lover, Mondí is referred to as a Lion, but when Hunter suddenly arrives his reaction is far from courageous. He lies still on the bed, and all he manages to say is a trembling "Oh Máto" to his companion, in line 10.

Text No. 171. Mother-in-law avoidance. Sung by Mr. Gáwa Ginda'é Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 !'anésŭyoo bóyoo,
2 !'anésŭyoo bóyoo,
3 kwa kamba ka', rő manaâ.
4 !'anésŭyoo bóyoo,

5 kwa kamba ka', rɔ́ manaã.
6 !'anésŭyoo bóyoo, hàà.

7 !'anésŭyoo bóyoo,
8 kwa kamba ka', rɔ́ manaã.
9 !'anésŭyoo bóyoo,
10 kwa kamba ka', rɔ́ manaã.
11 Áywee, bóyoo, hàà.
etc.

1 Mother-in-law then, is speaking,
2 mother-in-law then, is speaking,
3 for indeed she talks, her voice is known.
4 Mother-in-law then, is speaking,
5 for indeed she talks, her voice is known.
6 Mother-in-law then, is speaking, hàà.

7 Mother-in-law then, is speaking,
8 for indeed she talks, her voice is known.
9 Mother-in-law then, is speaking,
10 for indeed she talks, her voice is known.
11 Oh woe, she is speaking, hàà.
etc.

Dempwolff's informant Habuni states that "I and my parents-in-law may not speak to one another, that is taboo".[1] Further details on this avoidance are given in chapter one.[2]

Text No. 172. Complaint against the mother's brother. Sung by Mr. Gáwa Ginda'é Solá at Farkwa, August 1963.

1 Tsí maame kamba χéayoo,
2 kamba tsí maame húmbu χéayoo.

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1 1916, 126 (text 128). 2 pp. 36 and 42, note 3.

3 Tsína baráźana ka': "Hímbuna χéŋayoo?"
4 Hó, tsí maame kamba χéayoo.

5 Tsí maame, áyóówee, ka': "Xenio làále?"
6 Swe maame //ǒá χwéayoo.

7 Tsína baráźana, etc.

1 My mother's brother, indeed he has taken them,
2 for indeed, my mother's brother has taken the cattle.

3 I then [go] to court to say: "Hasn't he taken the cattle?"
4 What, my mother's brother, for indeed he has taken them.

5 My mother's brother, ay oh woe! [I'll] say: "Hasn't he taken
[them, alas?"
6 Now [my] mother's brother's name then is Xwéa.

7 I then [go] to court, etc.

Sandawe usually farm out their cattle among members of their clan as an insurance against theft and rinderpest. Here a maternal uncle has borrowed cattle which he has never returned, and this family wealth now finds itself in the hands of the wrong lineage. Even though the borrower is a mother's brother the wronged son of his sister decides it is time to place the matter before the elders of the court.

Cultivation and material possessions.

Text No. 173. The distant fires, version I. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 Kindots'if //'ínga n!áts'i
2 a'éeè Báŋgani, //'ínga
3 Báŋgani, hahéee Báŋgani //'ínga,
4 Bangani, hahéee Báŋgani //'ínga,

5 Bángani, hahéee Bángani //'ínga.

6 Ts'ents'élats'a náā //'ínga n!áts'i,
7 Kindots'i //'ínga ts'uk'a.
8 Bángani, hahéee Bángani //'ínga,
etc.

1 It is in Kindo that the fires burned,
2 at that time, [at] Bángani, the fires [could be seen],
3 Bángani, from there, Bángani, the fires [could be seen],
4 Bángani, from there, Bángani, the fires [could be seen],
5 Bángani, from there, Bángani, the fires [could be seen].

6 And there, at Ts'ents'éla the fires burned,
7 at Kindo the fires smoked.
8 Bángani, from there, Bángani, the fires [could be seen],
etc.

The meaning of this text will be discussed under the next song which is a variant of this one, and sung by another minstrel.

Text No. 17h. The distant fires, version II. Sung by Mr. Francis Kumaní Salulá at Sankwaleto, July 1962.

1 Bánganiyee hóee Bánganiyoo, hóó Bángani,
2 Bánganiyee hahéeè Bánganiyoo, hóó Bángani.
3 Lésoe Kindots'ana //'ínga hego n!áts'yoo.
4 Hláwats' //'ínga n!áts'; Kindots' híkiana ná'yoo?
5 Héé Bángani, sú Bánganiyoo.

6 Bánganiyee hoéeèo Bánganiyoo hóó Bángani,
7 Bánganiyee hahéeè Bánganiyoo, hóó Bángani.
8 Lésoe Kindots'ana tatá //'ínga ts'uk'a,
9 Ts'ents'élats'ana //'ínga tatá,
10 Hláwats'yoo //'ínga n!áts',

11 hahéé Bánganiyoo, héé Bángani.

12 Tsíkis' Bángani, etc.

1 Oh Bángani, oh what, Bángani then, what Bangani,
2 oh Bángani, from there, Bángani then, what Bángani!
3 Oh Léso, towards Kindo the fires, well, are burning then.
4 At Hláwa the fires burn; at Kindo, how is it there then?
5 This Bángani, our own Bángani then!

6 Oh Bángani, oh this here Bángani then, what Bángani,
7 oh Bángani, from there, Bángani then, what Bángani!
8 Oh Léso, towards Kindo, father the fires smoke,
9 towards Ts'ents'éla there are fires, father,
10 and at Hláwa there are fires burning,
11 from this Bángani then, this Bángani [they can be seen].
12 And I add again, Bángani, etc.

Bángani is one of the largest hills in the country; it stands at eleven miles to the east of Kwa Mtoro (see map 2). From its slopes the view to the north-west is virtually unlimited. Fires can be seen as far as Kindo and Ts'ents'éla, places which are beyond Laoda near the Rimi borders. Hláwa is in northern Sandawe and shown on map 2. Fires are lit to clear the bush for cultivation, and also for getting better pastures on the burnt patches when rain has fallen on them. In either case the fires mean that there are people who cultivate or keep cattle. According to the minstrel this is a very old song which describes how many years ago the Sandawe of Bángani saw fires in the north-west where Rimi immigrants had arrived. Others say that it was not necessarily the activity of cultivating settlers which caused the fires; according to them they may very well have been due to Sandawe hunting practices. Even to-day

Sandawe hunters like to light large fires which burn the undergrowth and blacken the soil of large expanses of bush during the dry season, because when the ground gets hard it becomes more difficult to pick up the tracks of game animals. Their spoors are easily seen on the blackened patches; here they pick them up and follow them into the bush to track down the game.

The second version of the song is considered the better one by all Sandawe who have heard the recordings. The second minstrel uses a greater variety of vocabulary and makes better use of interjections and exclamatory items. He also uses to good advantage an exaggerated plosiveness of the B in Bángani which at times sounds like an injective sound (ʘ) rather than a mere implosive. This is much appreciated by the audience who think it funny and archaic ('like some very old people still call the hill'). In imitation of the minstrel, the listeners referred to ʘángani as the name of the hill after hearing the recordings. Nowadays many Sandawe have moved to the other extreme and enunciate the name, Swahili fashion, with an almost aspirated P (Pángani).[1]

The second minstrel also uses tonal effects. He lowers the first a in Bángani so that it is sometimes hard to decide whether to write Bángani or Bàngani; this is much liked by the audience who find it very funny. The second minstrel's general vivacity of diction is greater than that of the first one. Yet the minstrel of text No. 173 is also acknowledged as being quite good.

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1 For the bilabial click, cf. p. lll. The change from ʘángani to Pángani invites speculation on the possible loss of a bilabial click in favour of explosive consonants (Stopa's theories come to mind). Parallels can be found in other click consonants, e.g. ǃ'ereǃ'énde - k'erek'énde or ǃ'erek'énde (the name of the riddle bird); gǃongowás' - gongowás' (another bird name); gǃongá - gongá (to shoot an arrow into a target); g/ǃ - gǃ (to descend); cf. also gǂi'é and girǂbé (to make haste, see Appendix VI).

Text No. 175. The beautiful lyre. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 "Mará ningoo súmbi tatá,
2 óoowe",
3 Ka': "Kongíts'i náa súmbi mará,
4 óoowe,
5 Mará ningoona súmbi mará,
6 óoowe",
7 Kwa ka': "Kongíts'i náa súmbi tatá,
8 óoowe,
9 Súmbiyee súmbi tatá,
10 óoowe".
etc.

1 "Beautiful, over there, there is a lyre, father,
2 óoowe",
3 He said: "At Kongí there, there is a beautiful lyre,
4 óoowe,
5 Beautiful, isn't it over there, the beautiful lyre,
6 óoowe".
7 And he said: "At Kongí there, there is a lyre, father,
8 óoowe,
9 Oh lyre, lyre, father,
10 óoowe".
etc.

The minstrel explains that a man called Mugonze had heard of beautiful lyres being made at Kongí and he longed to possess one, for they were as beautiful as the Gogo make them. Kongí was far away in the northern hills and he did not like to stay the night in that dangerous wilderness. After he had been

visited by a spirit-messenger in the form of a mantis who told him that he would be a great minstrel if he overcame his fear and went to get the lyre. He consulted a diviner who told him to take two goats with him, and that he was to stay the night at the rockshelter of Kongí before going on. At the shelter he was to sacrifice one of the goats, the other being the payment for the lyre. He did as the diviner told him, took the goats and went, but one of them escaped by the rock. He stayed the night and when he saw that no misfortune had befallen him because of his failure to sacrifice, he went on and bought the lyre for the remaining goat. Soon after that Mugonze became blind, but he also became a famous minstrel.

Stumme records a remarkably similar story of initiation into minstrelhood among the Schluḥ. He says that one who wishes to become an esteemed andâm singer goes to a cave in Wad Sus, and sacrifices a black ox. He has to stay there for three nights; spirits invite him into the cave and bring him kuskus to eat. If he shows fear and does not eat the spirits will kill him, but if he passes through his trial he will be given his powers to become a successful singer.[1]

It seems not unlikely that Mugonze and the blind bard Mugonza whom Dempwolff knew, are the same person.[2] Kongí is the name of a place in the fly-infested wilds of northern Sandawe near the overhanging Rocks of the Zebras (Dóro díxe) which have rockpaintings on them. They are situated where the map of Rock Painting Sites in the Kondoa District shows the site numbers F3-7, but the map records the name of the place as Tongdii instead of Kongí.[3]

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1 1895, 8.

2 1916, 164 (and p. 499 of this thesis).

3 Tanganyika Dept. of Surveys, 1950.

Text No. 176. The ear spirals. Sung by Mr. Gáwa Ginda'é Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 Tómozana !oko?
2 Tómozana !oko?
3 Tómozana !oko?
4 Kinandaga !oko,
5 Tómozana !oko?
6 Balósea !oko,
...etc...
7 Makánaye !oko
8 !okoyoo Makánayee !oko.
etc.

1 Did he then coil the ear spirals?
2 Did he then coil the ear spirals?
3 Did he then coil the ear spirals?
4 Kinanda indeed coiled them.
5 Did he then coil the ear spirals?
6 The herdsman coiled them.
...etc...
7 Oh Makána, [he] coiled them,
8 he was coiling them, oh Makána, [he] coiled them.
etc.

The girl Makána has been given ear spirals by the young herdsman Kinanda, who has made them by coiling metal wire. The girl is wondering whether it is really true, for such a gift would imply a marriage proposal.[1]

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1 Perhaps to most common proposal gift is a string of beads, cf. p. 41.

Text No. 177. The red shirt. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, July 1962.

1 Walambots'e kimba dúruts'
2 gitl'é bútl',
3 Yayae kimba bénege.

4 Hóólaale kamba bénege,
5 hóólaale kamba bénege,
6 n//we, mmm, kamba bénege.

7 Walambots'e kimba dúruts'
8 yoo, gitl'é bútl'.
9 Tatáyee kamba bénege.

10 Hó yayá, kamba bénege,
11 tatáyee, kamba bénege.
12 ǀǀ, mmm, kamba bénege.

1 Here at Walambo indeed, at the other side [of the valley]
2 [there is] a red shirt.
3 Oh brother, indeed [he is] wealthy.

4 Well then, for indeed [he is] wealthy,
5 well then, for indeed [he is] wealthy,
6 the child, mmm, for indeed [he is] wealthy.

7 Here at Walambo indeed, at the other side
8 then, [there is] a red shirt.
9 Oh father, for indeed [he is] wealthy.

10 What, brother, for indeed [he is] wealthy,
11 oh father, for indeed [he is] wealthy.
12 ǀǀ, mmm, for indeed [he is] wealthy.

Traditionally, gitl'é is the Sandawe term for any garment made of hide, but now it is generally used for woven garments, especially men's shirts and women's dresses, including the cotton prints called kanga. The song describes the first appearance at Walambo of a red shirt, worn by the son of a local cattle owner (the minstrel identifies the garment as a shirt: shaat', from the Swahili shati, English shirt). Walambo is two miles north of Sanzawa and the first place in the Sandawe hills along the original German caravan route from Kilimatinde to Kondoa. Being closest to the outside world, it is not surprising to see the shirt appearing for the first time at this place. Baumann, who paid his visit to Sandawe country in 1892, gives an illustration of a man wearing earrings, bead strings around the loins, and arm and wrist bangles.[1] In 1914 Reche mentions that both men and women wore mostly loincloths.[2] The song appears to date from the turn of the century.

A song from Nyamwezi country also shows the son of a headman proudly singing of his red shirt,[3] and the minstrel says that among the Sandawe red was a favourite colour for shirts before Swahili and European styles of clothing became commonly accepted. The speed with which the traditional clothing habits were discarded suggests that the real distinction was the possession of imported clothing, rather than red clothing. Witte presents us with an Ewhe song from West Africa in which a house servant sings of his rich and elegant pants and jacket.[4] Nadel tells us that "in a Nuba group where people still go naked or scantily clothed, the possession of Arab dress is regarded as a sign of distinction."[5] In times

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1 1894, 112.

2 1914, 30.

3 Anon., 1901, 50.

4 1906, 73.

5 1947, 81.

of social and technological change clothing may obviously become an early, prestige-giving symbol of association with a new society.

Discovery and the advent of government.

Text No. 178. Strange footprints. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Parkwa, August 1963.

1 Mokóndo sí //'aχékwe,
2 téhla Makua mokóndo.
3 Mokóndo sí //'aχékwe,
4 téhla Makua mokóndo.

5 Maa Madúmats'ise, Madúmats'ise,
6 tatá, Makuayee,
7 ɔ)ɔ ɔ)ɔ
etc.

1 The footprints, do you not know them then,
2 they are very strange footprints.
3 The footprints, do you not know them then,
4 they are very strange footprints.

5 All over the land of Madúma, the land of Madúma,
6 father, oh strangers!
7 ɔ)ɔ ɔ)ɔ
etc.

The minstrel states that this is a very old song which describes Sandawe wonderment about a new type of strangers who had been reported, the Germans. They had been sighted and spied upon in the land of Madúma which is supposed to be somewhere in the south-east, but all inquiries as to its whereaboubs met with negative results. The name appears to mean 'the land where

shots are [heard]', cf. dum-sé, 'to shoot with a gun' or 'to bang'. Guns were known to exist. Muzzle-loaders were in the hands of Nyamwezi and Arabs, and the Makua elephant hunters also seem to have owned them.[1] It is even possible that one or two Sandawe hunters owned muzzle-loaders, but the supply of ammunition must have been very erratic and a succession of shots was quite a novelty. The Germans had rifles and ammunition, and the route of their passage may have been referred to as Madíma for that reason. Their footprints were very strange, because they wore boots with nails in them. Sandawe sandals (tl'apumé) are made of leather soles bound to the foot with strips of hide. The footprints left by nailed boots are referred to as /ilili mokóndo, which means 'speckled footprints'.

Baumann's expedition reached Kwa Mtoro at the end of 1892, and the account of his travels were published in 1894, but this was not the first time the existence of the Sandawe had been reported. The first reference is in Last's Polyglotta where he writes that

> "Numbers of [Makua] hunters leave their homes in South Sagála every year, and go to Rangi, and Sandawi, in search of elephants."[2]

This was 1885. In 1886 a map was published on which is shown a settlement named 'Gangue' on the place where the Sandawe neighbourhood of Gongaa is situated.[3] Kiepert's map which mentions 'Usandaui' also appeared before Baumann's book.[4] This map shows the route of an expedition led by Fisher, who travelled from Kondoa to Uveriveri in southern Rimi land through what appears to be south-eastern Sandawe country.

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1 Von Luschan, 1898, 343, records that children were sometimes named Makua ("=Schütze").

2 Last, 1885, 24.

3 Engelhardt and Wensierski, 1886.

4 Kiepert, 1893.

It seems probable that Fisher reached Sandawe territory before Baumann and that he was the first European to visit the tribal area, for the earlier references show no evidence of any direct contact. Since the song describes the arrival of strangers in the area which Fisher must have crossed it may well be the earliest description of Sandawe-European contact, preceding Baumann's, but the contact may have been one-sided. The Sandawe of this area owned little or no cattle and they had few, if any, cultivations. They may well have hidden themselves from sight, for there appears to be no account extant in which Fisher mentions the Sandawe. This Sandawe account of their discovery of the Germans apparently precedes the first German eye-witness account of the Sandawe.

Text No. 179. What sort of people are the Germans? Sung by Mr. Gáwa Ginda'é Solá at Farkwa, August 1963.

1 Sandawéχe' n/omése Zéremaani,
2 Sandawéχe' n/omése Zéremaani,
3 aà χé' n/omése?

1 Is the German a human being like the Sandawe,
2 is the German a human being like the Sandawe,
3 are they human beings like they?

Not only their footprints, but their general appearance and behaviour caused wonderment among the Sandawe.

Text No. 180. Rounding up labourers. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, August 1963.

1 Dank'áma éélaale,
2 tl'ík'a labé weréyoo,
3 tl'inkéyoo kimba
4 Dédutshe labé.

5 Singáno éélaale,
6 tüéa weréyoo hó weréyoo,
7 tl'ík'iyoo kimba
8 Dank'ámayee.

9 Dédutshe náã lààle
10 tüéa weréwayoo
11 tl'inkéyoo kimba
12 Singánoyee, mmm.

13 Tl'ík'iyoo hó
14 Dédutshe náã,
15 Dédutshe náã lààle
16 tüéa weréwayoo.
17 Tl'inkéyoo kimba Singánowée
etc.

1 Dank'áma, yes, well then,
2 in the very early hours he was going around,
3 he was stamping around indeed,
4 from Dédu in the early hours.

5 Singáno, yes, well then,
6 was going around in the dark, what, he was going around
7 very early then, indeed,
8 oh Dank'éma.
9 From Dédu he too, alas,
10 was going around everywhere in the dark,
11 he was stamping around indeed,
12 oh Singáno, mmm.
13 Very early then, what,
14 from Dédu he too,

15 from Dédu he too, alas,
16 was going around everywhere in the dark.
17 He was stamping around, indeed, oh Singáno,
etc.

Dédu is a place in west-central Sandawe country (cf. map 2), Dank'áma is the name of a government-appointed headman, and Singáno is the messenger-policeman whom we have encountered in text No. 143.

The minstrel says that people were rounded up for wood-cutting duties; with the logs they produced the buildings and the palisades of Sgt. Linke's post at Kwa Mtoro were to be constructed. The work had to be done every day before midday when the sun gets too hot, hence the early hour. The episode is referred to by Bagshawe who says that

> "the forced labour of the Sandawi, who had never before laboured at all, built the Boma (a fort, the seat of European authority) near Kwa Mtoro".[1]

According to Bagshawe the post was built after the Alagwa headman Songo (referred to as Tsongo by him) had made peace with the Germans at Kilimatinde; three Germans then arrived with a number of soldiers to have the fort constructed.

In further repetitions of the recording of the song the verb kendema ('to hobble') is used to describe Dank'áma's limping gait.

Text No. 181. Electoral duty. Sung by Mr. Wasáa Séfu at Bugénika, August 1963.

1 Hàà kémeme di'sé'sí nigayoo,
2 aláfu tshagúa sûnkweyoo,

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1 1925, 222.

3 di'sé'sí ó'koyoo,
4 ee, ee, élelee.

5 Madái, Madáiyoo hóó, Madáiyoo íyowee,
6 ee, ee, élelee.

7 Di'sé'sí nìgákoyoo,
8 tshagúa sünkweyoo,
9 ee, ee, élelee.
etc.

1 Well, come astir, you elders, for it has become day,
2 and then, to elect we must go then,
3 you elders, here come on then,
4 yes, yes, onwards then.

5 Madái, Madái then, what, Madái then, oh mother,
6 yes, yes, onwards then.

7 You elders, it has already become day.
8 To elect we must go then, oh mother,
9 yes, yes, onwards then.
etc.

Madái is the name of a man who is said to have been a sub-chief at Gongúa and later at Farkwa before he was dismissed by the government. The minstrel comments that he was very dejected about his dismissal; this is indicated by the lament in the fifth line of the song. The episode happened under the rule of the British; under their indirect system of government appointments were made following local elections (but if the elected headman was considered unsuitable his appointment would not be confirmed). In German times appointments had been made by Sgt. Linke direct, according to the minstrel.

Text No. 182. Official's brutality. Sung by Mr. Tlálo Mdáki Solá at Farkwa, February 1962.

1 Tatayee lààleyéé, tatayee lààle,
2 tatayee lààleyéé, tatayee lààle,
3 hets'ena mùraana pee,
4 dlo'ina /'uayoo.

5 Dégera serikaréé Tshangats'a /'ua 'mbo,
6 Dégera serikaréé Tshángats'a /'uayoo,
7 hets'ena muraana pee,
8 dlo'ina /'uayoo.

9 ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣, ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣
10 ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣, ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣
11 ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣, ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣

12 Tatayee, etc.

1 Oh father, oh alas, oh father, alas,
2 oh father, oh alas, oh father, alas,
3 her father then, he put him in chains
4 and after that, he married her then.

5 Dégera the soldier says that he will marry Tshánga,
6 Dégera the soldier is marrying Tshánga,
7 her father then, he put him in chains
8 and after that, he married her then.

9 ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣, ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣
10 ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣, ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣
11 ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣, ⌣⌣ ⌣⌣

12 Oh father, etc.

Degera, the government headman at Kwa Mtoro under chief Songo and Sgt. Linke, is remembered as an unpleasant individual who liked to take an unfair advantage of his power.[1] Informants with whom this song was discussed, referred to Degera as a '[brutal] lion' (//atsú), and they were quick to point out that he was not really a Sandawe because his father had been a Nyamwezi. The minstrel explains that he wished to marry the girl Tshánga, but she did not want him and her father supported her refusal. Degera then had the father put in chains under some pretext and he married her anyway.

Dempwolff's texts Nos. 70, 72, 73, and 85 show that he acted as an interpreter for Sgt. Linke, as an overseer for various construction jobs, and as a general troubleshooter. Dempwolff himself says that he was the station overseer and that

> "in 1910 he was retired and living as a well-to-do settler among the Sandawe, a woman of whom he had married."[2]

This was Tshánga, and the circumstances of his marriage are exposed by the song.

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1 This is the same Degera whom we have already met in texts Nos. 135, 137, and 143.

2 On.cit., 168.

CHAPTER IX

FORM AND STYLE

Opening and closing formulae in narrative.

The Sandawe storyteller begins by placing his tale well into the past; thus he avoids the danger that any of his characters might resemble members of the audience too closely. The wide distribution of this method needs little illustration. The English 'once upon a time' and the Swahili 'once there was' (palikuwa or paukwa)[1] hardly differ from the Sandawe 'long ago' (úta̰a lólo) or the Hanga 'long long ago'; the latter is an example from a Bantu tribe in Nyasaland who use the same phrase as the Sandawe.[2] The popularity of this phrase with Sandawe storytellers is obvious; at least twelve of the stories presented in this thesis begin in this way.[3] Occasionally the tale starts off a little more dramatically by getting straight to the point, this may be a matter of personal style. Mrs. Kwelé, who has supplied texts Nos. 8, 9, and 10, does this in all three of her stories.

The end of a story is usually marked by a phrase like 'I have finished my story' or 'the tale ends here'. All texts presented in this thesis have such closing phrases except four (Nos. 4, 17, 19, and 20) which are all Dempwolff texts. Possibly he did not take them down or omitted them in his published reproductions of the texts. Even a storyteller with

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1 Velten, 1907, 1.

2 Rushby 1949, 80 (he does not present vernacular texts).

3 Texts 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 11, 12, 14, and 18 use 'long ago'; 17 uses 'some time ago'; 15 begins with 'once there was'; and 6 is more elaborate with 'it happened in days long past'.

such a sober style as Mrs. Kwelé uses them in all three of her texts. Most African narrative appears to use them, among nearby tribes as well as far-away ones, but they are generally only met in publications with complete texts.

More interesting than these obvious phrases are the various closing formulae which have the function of consolidating an image. For example, the story of Hyena and Stork is finished when Stork has picked out Hyena's eyes. The eyes are stated to have burst in the story, but this end is followed by another statement to the effect that "the monkey's head is cracked". This destruction of a skull has nothing to do with the story itself, but it serves to consolidate the image of the destruction of Hyena's eyes.[1] Monkeys are associated with mischief, and the mischievous nature of Stork's act is brought out by the use of this particular closing phrase.[2]

The story of the snake with the eight hundred heads (text No. 12) ends with the final defeat of the snake; this end is then followed by the shattering of various objects in what appears to be a scene of slapstick in a domestic quarrel.[2] The tale of the woman and the snake (text No.11) is really finished in line 88, when the father has killed the snake which had come out of Mirigi's mouth, and burnt it to make sure that it was truly finished off.[3] But then a new element is suddenly brought in and in fact a whole new story is begun. Pumpkin seeds are planted, the plants grow up and bear the bewitched fruit which bleeds when it is cut up, and at the same time the woman sinks into the earth. This separate tale serves to round off the story which has just been told. It stresses the

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1 p. 126.

2 p. 216. For monkey's mischief cf. pp. 441, 443; it is also mentioned in Dempwolff's text 94 (op.cit., 175).

3 p. 192.

finality of its end, it brings home to the audience the moral of the story by the use of the well known symbolic imagery of the womb, and it also stresses the association of the woman with witchcraft. Sandawe symbolism is discussed in chapter X; here I only want to point out that stories may be ended by phrases and even whole sub-stories which are unconnected with the tale itself. These are not irrelevant but they conclude the tale in a significant way, and they may even help the listener understand the point of the story.[1]

Such image-consolidating endings need not necessarily be structurally separate; they may be incorporated in the end of the tale itself. When in text No. 6 the pursuing lion is foiled in her plan to catch and eat the cow and her calf, the inhabitants of the cow's homestead throw a mortar at the lion. It hits his mouth and he swallows it. At the end of the story it is explained that this expression conveys an image of final defeat.[2] It does this by humiliating the lion who is given a mortar to swallow instead of a cow, and the ridicule in which the lion is placed is obvious. In text No. 14 we have seen how a cripple has miraculously changed into a handsome youth; the story winds up with the scene of the youth wildly changing from one thing into another many times in rapid succession. Thus the image of the Miraculous Change is consolidated in the minds of the audience.

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1 Unconnected endings are not at all particular to Sandawe narrative. Evans-Pritchard, 1964, 128, draws the attention to such an ending in a Zande tale: "a conventional ending, common in fairy tales, to the story, with which it has nothing to do."

2 p. 154, note 18.

The development and the conclusion of the plot.

Beginnings of stories like 'Once upon a time' are separate formulae, and the endings which have been discussed are quite unconnected with the development of the plot of the tale. Yet the plot, which is defined by Vansina as the ordered unfolding of the narrative, must obviously have a beginning as well as an end.[1]

The exordium of a plot is to be found in the presentation of the situation.[2] The recorded Sandawe stories show a predilection for such eminently suitable presentations as primeval friendship, birth, and marriage. The first seven stories in chapter III all begin with animals who were or became friends, or as acquaintances who started a debate. Texts Nos. 8, 11 to 15, and 17 begin with birth, marriage and birth combined, or with non-marriage (11 and 15); the creation myths presented in texts Nos. 19 and 20 also have obvious birth-beginnings.

Conclusions of plots are formed by destruction and death in some stories, and by the consolidation of achieved positions in others. The latter are typical of stories which seek to explain why things are the way they are.

Vansina has pointed out that

> "the chief artistic requirement of all tales is that they should be able to hold the interest of the listener and keep him waiting with bated breath for the denouement. Hence the construction of a tale pivots on the attempt to attain this end."[3]

One may expect to find, therefore, that the end of a tale tends to be more dramatized than its beginning. In the end death is

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1 1965, 60.

2 Loc.cit.

3 Ibid., 60-1.

dramatized by the sinking of one of the actors into a pit (texts Nos. 13 and 17), sinking into the ground (text No. 11), utter destruction by piercing (text No. 13), cutting down with an axe (text No. 16), cutting off the forehead and the penis (text No. 18), and burning (text No. 17). The burning of the snakeskin (text No. 14) is a similar dramatic denouement.

Achieved positions are consolidated in final statements such as "now Zebra is big and Lion is small" (text No. 1), "She [Frog] is the one who has power over the rain" (text No. 5), "They left the camp [i.e. erstwhile friends parted for good]" (text No. 7). Sometimes a story ends with what almost amounts to a plainly stated moral. In the story of the giraffe, the hare, and the dove, Hare suffered from the delusion that he could do everything as well as his friends, and when this proved fatal the storyteller concludes that "The friendship has destroyed him" (text No. 4). In the tale of the chief and the poor man's wife the final disaster is couched in an elaborate symbolic image (text No. 15). While the initial presentations of the plots belong to only a few types which are generally undramatic, the more dramatized conclusions are almost as varied as the themes of the stories.

The cycle.

While stories may thus be terminated by plot conclusions with unconnected endings, the story of the Hare and the Ostrich shows that Sandawe narrative also employs what may be termed non-endings as separate end-formulae (text No. 3). This tale ends with a final light-hearted remark of the "but that is another tale" variety to suggest that Hare's adventures are not really finished with what appears to be the end of the story. The narrator says literally that Hare "had already got some

other idea". Rather than the rounding-off of a separate tale this forms a connecting link with other stories in a cycle. Hare the trickster, One-eye the human folk hero, and Matunda the mythical creator form the centres of story cycles and as such they possess fixed characters; this is also the case with many other animal and human prototypes which have become caricatures for human characters, and symbols for sets of values. These will be discussed in chapter X.

The story-song (tántabule).

The importance of the song in Sandawe narrative is evidenced from the fact that traditional narrative is called by the same term, tántabule. Song is a prominent feature of African narrative in large parts of the continent, and the comments which it has drawn from a number of writers supply us with clues to its significance.

Torrend speaks of "anxiety song" in the context of Bantu folklore from Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia.[1] In her treatise on the wider field of Bantu literature in general, Werner stresses the important function which song plays in the transfer of the anxiety of the story's protagonist, through the story-teller, on to the audience.[2] Thus the song is a vital tool in the creation and the maintenance of audience participation. Herskovits sums up that

> "Associated with narratives, as integral parts of them, yet distinct and with their own franchise in the life of the people, are riddles, proverbs, verses, and invocations, often in verse, that are chanted or sung. They serve to forward action, to provide an interlude of suspense, to give point to a resolution, and to bring the audience into close participant relationship with the teller."[3]

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1 1921, 9.

2 1933, 109 ff.

3 1958, 54.

Carnell says of Gogo story-songs that they form a "special feature" of the narrative with which they form an integral part, "usually coming at the critical points in the narrative", e.g. lion-men sing a refrain when they undergo metamorphoses at midnight; the disobedient wife of an absent elephant hunter invokes her husband's aid by singing a song when she is about to be devoured by a monster.[1] "Critical" indeed appears to be the word when we consider the structural implications of the songs. Berry writes that

> "..strikingly effective... is the interpolation of songs and structural jingles at key points in the narrative"[2]

and elsewhere he says that they help in "cutting the story".[3] They do this by providing dividing lines, as it were, between the episodes of the narrative which Vansina defines as

> "sequence in the action which can be regarded as a functional unit of the narrative, each episode providing a new development in the plot. If the narrative were to be compared with a game of chess, the plot is the equivalent of the entire series of moves, and each episode the equivalent of a single move."[4]

The Sandawe material shows that the story-song can become a dominant element in the story: the tale of the snake with the eight hundred heads depends entirely on it. In its later stages the tale becomes in fact a mere repetition of the songs, interspersed with narrative commentary.[5] The song is all-important; it transfers anxiety, it creates the mood, it describes the state of the protagonists, and it illustrates by

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1 1955, 30.

2 1961, 19.

3 1948.

4 1965, 59.

5 Text No.12, esp. note 15 on p. 209.

voice modulations the development of the plot. The weakening song of the snake and the increasingly forceful reply of One-eye tells the listeners exactly what the state of affairs is.

The story-song is also an important aid in memorising a story. Vansina points out that "In all traditions that are sung, mnemonic aid is found in the melody and rhythm of the song."[1] Of the Kaguru Beidelman says that some of their texts begin with a song which later figures again in the story.[2] This does not appear to be the case in Sandawe narrative, but it shows that songs may be used by a storyteller to bring back to his mind stories which had completely eluded him. The song is equally important in creating a lasting impression on the minds of the audience because of its imitative qualities. It achieves most of its effect by letting the protagonists speak for themselves. The song not only describes the actor, it is the actor.

Song and actor: the form of the song.

If the song is really so closely identified with the actor, we may expect to find a correlation between the characters of the actors and the forms of the songs. Comparison shows that this is indeed the case.

The first two tales are of simple running competitions. In text No. 1 Lion challenges zebra:

Zebra come on then, run, come on, move!
How he pants, hé, pants hé,

and the zebra replies with a very similar song:

Lion come on then, run, come on, move!

The basic equivalence of the two actors in the tale is reflected

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1 Op.cit., 39.

2 1964, 16.

in the equally matched pair of their songs. In the beginning it is not clear whether Lion or Zebra is going to win the contest.

In the second racing contest, in text No.2, we have a little less equality because the actors differ widely in character. While Stork is a noble bird of prey which flies high up in the sky, his opponent is the contemptibe Hyena who is earthbound, and the former addresses the latter somewhat mockingly as a Wearer of Manes, a term which is usually reserved for the mighty lion. Hyena, whose only concern in life is to get at the meat first and to have it all for himself, replies to Stork in a song which exposes his greedy monomania. It consists of no more than a repetition of "To the carrion let there be running, be running". The songs differ, and the difference makes it at once clear to an understanding listener that Hyena is not likely to get the better of Stork in this tale.

The challenge-and-reply songs of One-eye and the snake in text No. 12 are also very similar. The snake's song has the form of an affirmation of the text of the challenger's song, and the similarity between the two songs reflects the initial equivalence of strength between the two contestants and the doubt about the outcome of the struggle. After all, One-eye's predecessors had all been slain by the snake.

Like the songs which have been discussed, the songs of a number of other texts are also paired, but with different themes. Also in form the two songs of each pair differ widely. They will be discussed in the order of progressively wider divergence.

In the story of the poor man's wife (text No. 15) the husband who has lost her to the headman sings

Oh Mnyangale, Mnyangale,
give me my amulet, Mnyangale, etc.,

and his wife replies "Come and get it, Elephant". Both songs show considerable anxiety, but the anguish of the husband is mixed with a demand for his wife's life while that of the wife shows an element of defiance which is combined for her fear of death when she is asked to rip out her heart. The two principal actors share much distress and the songs of both are full and melodious.

Human drama is less, but difference in power is more evident in text No. 5 where Pigeon calls up all the birds in a futile effort to challenge Frog, in reply to which Frog calls up a rainstorm to destroy Pigeon. The latter's desperation is reflected in its long, melodious song:

> Coo, coo, all fly up, pigeons then, all fly up,
> etc.

The superior power of Frog is shown in its much shorter song which is more like a confident command:

> Krrrr, fill, waterhole, fill, fill, fill,
> really hurt them.

In the tale of the cow and her calf who are pursued by a lion (text No. 6) the opposition between menace and anxiety is quite obvious. While the cow sings

> He Who Always Grunts
> runs about with his head lowered.
> To our uncle we run in vain, in vain,
> etc.,

the lion replies with a brief

> Charge on, charge, stalk and catch!

This opposition is similar but even more pronounced in the tale of the bride who flees from her lion-husband in a flying cage (text No. 13). The fugitives sing their full-size, melodious anxiety song:

Swirl up then, high up, swirl up,
cage, swirl up like chaff, carry us then, cage,
etc.,

but the husband's song is only a repeated, gruffly spoken threat:

Which one shall I eat, which one shall I leave?
Which one shall I eat, which one shall I leave?

In text No. 11 the snake's song is represented by a repeated curt command:

Mirigi gape, Mirigi gape, Mirigi gape!

and the anguished girl vents her feelings in a full song:

All my mothers have abandoned me,
etc.

In texts Nos. 16 and 17 one of the two songs of each pair is reduced to a single call; this is answered by full anxiety songs which are sung by the persons called. Since the callers are not the persecutors but worried relatives their calls are not curt commands but anguished cries. Ule's relatives call "Uleee, Uleee!", and Ule in his death agony replies to it in a song:

You people, you people,
now I must die,

and Masawa's father calls out "Masawa, hey Masawa!", and again the song of the tormented girl is a melodious anxiety song:

Father, I am dying,
Selegende causes me suffering.

Although songs may be reduced to simple threats, commands, or anxious calls, they are always concise portrayals of the actors who utter them and of the circumstances in which they find themselves in the tale. When differences in these circumstances increase the differences in the songs of each pair tend to increase accordingly, until one of them is no longer a song in the usual sense. Sometimes both songs in a

pair are such non-songs. In the quarrel between the honey-badger and the lion (text No. 7), repeatedly shouted insults form a slanging match which replaces a pair of songs which are sung. In the tale of the giraffe, the hare, and the dove (text No. 4), the critical points are formed by a repetition of crucial questions and the replies to these. The final part of the story of Mirigi and the snake (text No. 10, where the pumpkin enters the scene) also employs the device of 'spoken songs' in the form of utterances which are replied to by the rumbling echo of the pumpkin.

Songs need not necessarily be paired. The single song of the child-seeking party in text No. 8 describes the anxiety of the participants about the endless search. The song of the adulterous woman in text No. 9 conveys the stealth and the forbiddenness of her visits to her lover Hare. In text No. 14 the cripple ominously asserts his right to marry the girl who had accepted what he considers to be his gift. Even where there is no dialogue the song shows the implications of the plot, and provides background information which may not be explicit in the narrative. It does this in the manner characteristic of poetry, by implying more than it states.

<u>The general character of the story-song.</u>

Repetition and melody appear to be an integral part of the song's poetry. In paired songs, the songs of the suffering, the persecuted and the agonized are the full and melodious ones which are sung and cannot be spoken, and the melodious song is the one of the actor who deserves the sympathy of the audience.

Songs are repetitious, and by repeating themselves they consolidate the portrayal of the character of the actors, the

the nature of their fears, and the stage of development which the plot has reached at the conclusion of each of the episodes marked by them. They throw a spotlight on the situation in a far more certain way than the narrative itself can do. Thus they are audible illustrations in much the same way as pictures are visual illustrations in a fairy-tale book. They provide the magic which keeps the audience spell-bound, and they facilitate their participation because the songs are known and the words unchanging. Members of the audience often join in singing the songs.

The songs also tend to be highly condensed, cryptic, and full of words which do not occur in ordinary speech, and the words of many songs are not clearly understood by most Sandawe listeners. Only people who have heard a story often and know it well understand the meaning and the implications of those songs. Translation is almost invariably difficult, and inquiries into their meaning are often met with the reply that they have no meaning, and comparison and analysis have to take over. This means that when the translation is successful, the song has gained in clarity but lost in mystique, and as a consequence its translated presentation invariably differs from the original. In addition to this, the values of the song's melody and the modulation of the storyteller's voice are inevitably lost even to the reader who can fully appreciate the written vernacular text.

Important though they may be, songs are not an essential feature of all tales. We have seen how they may be reduced to exclamatory lines, or onomatopoetic imitations of rainstorms. The story of Ostrich and Hare who shelter under Ostrich's wings (text No. 3) has only the sound of falling rain and hail, and the historical and mythical tales of texts Nos. 18, 19, and

20 (the War of the Maasai and the origin and population myths) have no songs at all. This indicates that story-songs belong to fiction (tl'ála) rather than to non-fiction such as myths and historical tales (ítaa níeŝ n/wets'). Songs represent the actors, and relations between actors are reflected in the relations between song forms but this form of representation is used only when the actors are fictional; when they are historical or mythical, songs are dispensed with. Analysis of symbolism and the meaning of names in Sandawe oral art will show that this is not accidental.

Motifs: the African scene.

Of African folk-literature Radin has said that

> "A salient trait to be stressed is that ..[it] constitutes a single unit. Of no other region of comparable size in the world does this hold true. The similarities extend not merely to the types of plot-construction and to specific subject-matter, but to literary devices as well - for example the role played by songs in the prose text, the frequency of moralistic endings, and the marked prevalence of etiological explanations."[1]

The role of the songs has been discussed; with regard to the motifs we shall see that Sandawe literature fits equally well into the larger sphere of African oral literature.

Some of the most general motifs are almost universal. Werner describes a Chagga story as "an African 'Holle' story";[2] others are termed "false bride" stories in analogy with European fairy tale motifs,[3] and of yet another she declares that "This story reminds one of Grimm's 'Goose Girl'", because of the actions of its hero.[4] Carnell classifies some of his Gogo tales

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1 1952, 4.

2 1933, 93.

3 Ibid., 91.

4 Ibid., 93.

as having a "Cinderella or Cawupele motif", while others have a "Red-Riding Hood flavour" because of the hairbreadth escapes which occur in them from lion men, hyena men and other menaces, and he also refers to the wicked stepmother theme.[1] Bleek entitled his collection of Hottentot fables "Reynard the Fox in South Africa" because of similarities in the representation of human characters in animals, and the portrayal of some of these characters by Reynard in Europe.[2] Yet these general similarities correspond only with the basic similarities of human feelings, fears, and aspirations. For closer resemblances we have to compare Sandawe story motifs with African motifs, more in particular with those found in the large Bantu area from the northern borders of the Congo down to the Cape, and especially with those of the oral traditions of neighbouring tribes. Here are meant motifs in the sense of Vansina's definition, that is, simply the stylized contents of an episode.[3]

It appears that narrative has generally been better documented than other forms of African literature, yet the available data are still patchy and the presentation of the material varies a great deal in quality. Berry complains that

> "..we cannot assert with accuracy that a form or a theme... is not found in a given area and we cannot, therefore, as yet delineate our subprovinces by motifs occurring and not occurring."[4]

For our purposes this is not necessary, but the delineation of separate motifs is also a difficult matter because of the extent to which they overlap. However, it may be said with

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1 1955, 31.
2 1864.
3 1965, 60.
4 1961, 4.

reasonable plausibility that the greatest number of story-motifs which the Sandawe have in common with others, are found among their neighbours towards the north-west. Baumann was struck by the fact that Sandawe material culture resembles most that of the Rimi,[1] Trevor concludes that physically the Rimi resemble the Sandawe more than some other tribes he has measured,[2] the Sandawe culture hero Matunda is of Rimi origin,[3] and we have seen that many Sandawe story-songs, rites and customs are wholly or partly derived from the Rimi,[4] but no systematic collection of Rimi oral literature is yet available except one splendid collection of proverbs, but this is precisely the aspect of oral literature in which the two neighbouring tribes differ most, for the Sandawe have no proverbs.[5] The Isanzu, whose language is closely related to Rimi, have many story-motifs which are the same as those found in Sandawe narrative.[6] The stories of the southern neighbours of the Sandawe, the Gogo, also have a considerable number of motifs in common with the Sandawe, but further afield the incidence of correspondences decreases markedly.[7]

Common Sandawe motifs and themes, and their occurrence elsewhere.

There are examples galore to show that the common opening motifs of primordial friendship, followed by competition and

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1 1894, 192.

2 Op.cit., 76. Only the Nama Hottentots are more similar.

3 Cf. text No. 19, note 1 (p.290).

4 Wyatt 1929 (M/S) and n.d. (M/S), and von Sick, 1915 are the principal sources for the Rimi.

5 Olson, 1964. He has also collected a number of songs and tales for use by the Augustana Lutheran Mission (M/S, 1961).

6 Cf. Kohl-Larsen, 1937a; 1956a.

7 For Gogo literature cf. Claus, 1911; Carnell, 1955.

strife, are common among African peoples and also outside the continent; this sequence is in particular associated with animal fables. In the present collection of Sandawe stories all of the first seven texts show it more or less clearly, but in the subsequent stories it is not evident. The first seven texts are the seven pure animal fables. In his collection of Hottentot fables Bleek tells us that all animals are depicted as having once been friends;[1] in Mohl's tales from the lower Zambezi they also live in friendship at first, and then they quarrel.[2] In Rushby's Henga stories from Nyasaland Rabbit and Hyena are friends who walk, play and talk together until Hyena wants some goat meat; Rabbit then plays the mirror trick on him so that Hyena falls into the water trying to get it.[3] In Claus' Gogo tales Cat, Hyena, and Man start off as friends, Monkey and Tortoise break off their friendship, and the good relations between Hare and Hyena come to grief when Hare persuades Hyena to eat his mother.[4] All these motifs can be found in other literatures besides those from which examples have been quoted.

The second motif, that of the competitive race, is held by Meinhof to correspond entirely with its European counterpart.[5] Obviously it is of such a general nature that it can hardly fail to correspond with similar motifs elsewhere. Competitive imitation may be regarded as a special form of it; Hare's

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1 1864, 1.

2 1905, 4, 30.

3 1949, 80.

4 1911, 51ff.

5 1911, 10. He adds that this does not mean that the motif may be a European one, but under the influence of the monogenetic diffusionist theories of his time he speculates that both may be derived from a common Asian source. More sceptically, he offers as an alternative that such stories as these may have grown from a common psychological need.

efforts to imitate Ostrich, Giraffe and Dove will be discussed in the next chapter as a significant expression of his character.[1]

The motifs of Trickster, One-eye and the Cripple are all related to the general theme of the underdog; he represents the last-born, the weak little fellow, or the physically handicapped who shows his worth by cleverness and persistence and thus prevails over his brawnier brothers. Of Carnell's collection of thirty two Gogo Stories, seven are classified by him as belonging to what he calls the Cinderella or Cawupele motif. Cawupele means 'he of the scabies', and this character corresponds closely with the Sandawe cripple who is clad in rubbish.[2] About the nature of the motif, Carnell speculates that

> "the theme of the despised one opens conjecture as to how far it may be a compensation for the low esteem in which the Gogo have, in the past, been held by their neighbours the Hehe and the Masai, a low esteem of which they themselves are acutely conscious. Much more certainly it is connected with the position of Muziwanda, the youngest son, in Gogo customary law."[3]

The themes of the underdog, the Benjamin, Tom Thumb, Little Runt, and of the various animals which play their roles in world folklore, are too universal for it to be supposed that a national inferiority complex can be the main reason for its existence. Everywhere such tales console the weaker individual by demonstrating that he may be superior in other respects.[4] No doubt they can be used as boosters of morale in situations

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1 Section "Animal caricatures and the Trickster motif".

2 1955, 489.

3 Loc. cit.

4 Werner, 1933, 253, names many animals which play this role in various parts of the world.

of adversity. Mohl tells us that among the Tete of Zambezi, Hare is even made to represent the black man as the underdog in relation to the white colonial rulers.[1] The Sandawe are aware that in open battle they are militarily inferior to such peoples as the Barabaiga, and an informant has said that the sea where One-eye overcame the snake with the eighthundred heads must have been Lake Balángida Laalu where the Sandawe have once lost many men and innumerable cattle to the Barabaiga. A truce was treacherously broken by the Barabaiga who suddenly attacked the Sandawe on the salt flats by the lake and beat them badly, but later the Alagwa headman Amás' got his own back and vanquished the Barabaiga by ambushing them in a large thorn fence which he had previously built.[2] Whatever the merits may be of linking One-eye with the exploits of Amáa', this is an eloquent example of how a folk tale can be applied to a historical situation, and how a story-motif can become a clan myth.

Werner categorises story types according to content. She singles out the Swallowing Monster as belonging under the heading Legends, being "of a more or less religious character".[3] The snake which One-eye kills, is of course a Swallowing Monster but it may be argued that the Sandawe tale is more like a wishful fairy tale than a legend of some heroic saint. In this particular case it would be the mythical association of Amas' with One-eye which would cause the fairy tale to become a legend.[4]

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1 1905, 2.

2 Cf.Robinson, 1957a. The story has been confirmed by Barbaiga informants and the Rev.H.Faust of Balangida Laalu.

3 1933, 24.

4 The Shorter Oxford Dictionary defines legend, lit. legenda 'what is read' as (1) The story of the life of a saint; (2) a collection of saint's lives or of similar stories; (3) A story, history, account; etc.

The motifs of the story of the cripple who became a handsome youth (text No. 14) are much the same in a Hehe tale recorded by Dempwolff. A woman who had given birth to sherds and stones finally bore a cripple who grew up in the form of a snake, and the girls were afraid to marry him because of the ugly snake-spots of his skin.[1] In an Isanzu tale recorded by Kohl-Larsen the snake turns out to be a handsome youth after he had married a girl. Her people then anxiously urge one another to make a fire in order to burn the snakeskin which he had shed.[2] Also in the Hehe tale his wife takes the skin and burns it, so that he cannot revert to his snake identity.

The motifs of the Miraculous Change are implicit in the tale of the Cripple, but also in the tale of the Lion-husband (text No. 13), Mirigi's pumpkin (text No. 11) and the poor man's stolen wife who became a tree (text No. 15) we see the same motif. In a Hottentot story a man asks his wife to turn into a lion, knowing that she can do this. She obliges and goes out catching game for meat, but the man becomes afraid and beseeches her to change back into a woman.[3] In an Isanzu tale three men meet three girls and marry them, but they turn into lionesses. The men go out to cut wood for making mortars, and then they fly up into the air in them while the lionesses give chase. The cage of the Sandawe tale and the mortars are clearly the same protective wombs.[4]

We have now arrived at the Escape motif, to which Carnell refers as tales with a Red Riding Hood flavour.[5] Text No. 6 is

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1 Dempwolff, 1913, 145.

2 Kohl-Larsen, 1937a, 61-66 (tale No. 47).

3 Bleek, 1864, 57-8.

4 Kohl-Larsen, 1937a, 53-4 (tale No. 39). The same motif also occurs in a Kaguru tale published by Beidelman, 1964, 12 (tale No.3).

5 1955, 31.

an escape story where Cow and her calf enter their homestead just before Lion reaches them. The principal motifs of this story are also found in a Bonde tale recorded by Dammann. Cow and Lion are friends, but on one hungry day Lion eats one of Cow's children. Cow kills one of Lion's in retaliation, and flees together with her calves. In the end they are saved by Cock who intimidates Lion so that he is afraid to enter Cock's home where Cow and her calves have found shelter.[1]

One of the best known motifs is that of the All-devouring Monster. Werner states that

> "the legend of a monster which swallows the population of a village - or, indeed, of a whole country - and is subsequently slain by a boy hero seems to be current all over Africa."[2]

The songs in the tale of One-eye and the snake clearly establish the identity of the latter as the All-Devourer. In an Isanzu tale he has eaten all the people except one woman who then bears a child which grows up to kill the monster and free the people.[3] In another tale the end-motif is the same as in the Sandawe story: the boy-rescuer cuts open the back of the slain monster to let the people out who then return home.[4] Werner tells us that in Usambara a gourd or pumpkin appears as the Swallowing Monster.[5] In an Isanzu tale a big pumpkin is smashed with an axe whereupon the All-Devourer comes out and eats all.[6] This is, of course, the same motif as the one which is used as the end-motif in text No. 11 (Mirigi and the snake). Variants of the theme are found in Ronga tales recorded by

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1 Dammann, 1938, 14.

2 Werner, 1933, 206.

3 Kohl-Larsen, op.cit., 40-2 (tale No. 32).

4 Ibid., 17 (tale No. 16).

5 Op.cit., 216.

6 Kohl-Larsen, op.cit., 44-7 (tale No. 34).

Junod,[1] and in yet another Isanzu tale the pumpkin itself is the All-Devourer,[2] which is also the case in an Iramba story.[3]

End-motifs are often expressed by sinking into a pit or death by burning; on p. 548 an account was given of the ways in which death is dramatized. Digging pits for trapping game is a well known hunters' activity, and the Sandawe practice it. The motifs of Ule-in-the-pit (text No. 16) and the lion-husband-in-the-pit (text No. 13) are well founded in normal tribal practice; running home or flying home in cages when danger threatens is like the normal practice in war when the people run home to defend themselves or hide in rock shelters to stay out of sight; the identification of the snake with the pumpkin is also found in the merging of the ritual penis with the womb in the dances of mirimó; and miraculous changes like witches becoming hyenas or lion-men are as much part of the haunting images of fear experienced by the tribesman travelling in the bush at night, as the candelabra trees which suddenly assume eerie human forms when they unexpectedly loom up in from of him. A people's customs and environment help to explain their story-motifs, and understanding of the story-motifs helps to gain further insight into their culture and anxieties.

We find, then, that the principal motifs found in Sandawe tales also occur in other African literatures and that the greatest correspondence exists with neighbouring Bantu tribes, most of all with those situated to the north-west. Well-known motifs are intertribal and they transcend language barriers, just as well-known novels and books of fairy tales are international because of translation.

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1 1897, 198-200.

2 Kohl-Larsen, op.cit., 53-4 (tale No. 39).

3 Johnson, 1931, 327.

Riddles: form of procedure and cultural background.

Achebe says of Igbo riddles that they are cast in a rigid mould which cannot be varied at will.[1] This appears to be also the case in other parts of Africa. We have seen that Sandawe riddles are played as a game which has fixed rules at least in theory, and that they are presented in the form of birds, a presentation which is so suggestive that the game may not be played during the planting season for fear of calling up the birds which would destroy the crops. To my knowledge the existence of a link between riddles and birds has not been demonstrated in other literatures, but it may also be present in the minds of Swahili riddle-players because the opening formula "Here is a riddle" (kitendawili) is countered with "Put up the trap" (tega),[2] from the verb ku-tega which is used for putting up traps which ensnare their victims with bird-lime.[3] Via the birds, riddles are thus associated with the danger of destruction, but this is not all. Riddles also enlighten. In Bantu stories the function of birds as messengers is widespread; they bring vital information to man, and their vehicle is the story-song. Werner's work shows how common this function of the birds is, and she also acknowledges the existence in Bantu tales of birds which bring rain.[4] We have seen that the Sandawe riddle-birds are also birds of the rainy season, and the Sandawe also say that story-songs (which are called tántabula, like riddles) fly like birds.[5] The Bakongo do not refer in their riddles to flying birds which bring enlightenment; they open the game with "A ring!", and the reply to this

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1 1964, vii.

2 Velten, 1907, 335.

3 Cf. p. 301.

4 1933, 230.

5 Cf. p. 309.

is "Forge it!"[1] Possibly this is a reference to a blacksmith who forges a recognizable object out of amorphous iron. Although the riddle-ideology appears to differ from the Sandawe one, the opening procedure is similar. Among the Yao the challenge is a straightforward "I want to tell you something", which is countered by "Come out with it".[2] This is not a very imaginative opening perhaps, but it is still a formal procedure.

The riddle itself appears to be posed everywhere in the form of a statement rather than a direct question, and the solution completes the parable. Of Yoruba riddles Beier states that they are often posed in sets of two sentences, but this does not constitute a basic departure from the general pattern.[3]

The structure of the opening gambits of the game and the form of the riddles proper thus show basic similarities among various african peoples, but the ways in which beaten opponents are made to admit defeat show significant differences. The cattle-owning Sandawe ask for, and receive, imaginary cattle. They stress victory by mentioning the receipt of cattle when they present the solution. The cosmopolitan Swahili say "Give me a town as a present",[4] and the Chagga with their many chiefdoms demand and get a chief's homestead.[5] The fierce, riverine Bakongo require a village 'to beat to pieces', and when the defeated opponent has made his imaginary transfer to the challenger the latter rubs in the defeat by referring in his solution to the conquered villagers' bodies which float down the river.[6]

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1 Struyff, 1908, 163.

2 Weule, 1908, 66.

3 Beier, 1959, 59.

4 Velten, loc.cit.

5 Gutmann, 1911, 525.

6 Struyff, loc.cit.

Various aspects of African riddles have been studied in considerable detail: Blacking is concerned with the function of Venda riddles in terms of their educational value,[1] Cole-Beuchat with the linguistic structure of the riddles of a variety of Bantu peoples,[2] Schapera with the content of Kxatla riddles,[3] and Gutmann with the underlying psychology of Chagga riddles.[4] Detailed studies of the procedural form and its situational setting are scarce and complete riddle-procedures have been recorded of few African peoples, possibly because of the rarity of complete procedures being gone through by the players. Yet it transpires that, unlike the opening and the posing technique, the giving-up procedure of riddles tends to be typically inspired by the players' cultural environment. As for the Sandawe, it suggests how central cattle have become in their lives.

Motifs and special effects in riddles.

Riddles are in the first place a children's game, its subjects tend to be simple ones, and deeper symbolism as used in ritual poetry and in miraculous stories must not be sought in the average riddle. The essential unity of the large African cultural area suggests that we may find similar treatment for at least some of the simpler riddles, and obvious similarities can indeed be found.

Velten gives us a Swahili egg-riddle which is identical with the Sandawe approach of "my house has no mouth".[5] The

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1 1961.

2 1957.

3 1932.

4 1911, cit.supra.

5 Cf. text No.21 and Velten, 1904, 2.

Sandawe describe teeth as "My house has its walls with white stones", and the Duala of the Cameroons say "Thirty two white stones are in a hole, there is no water yet they are wet".[1] But the image of something which is densely packed is represented among the Duala by (a) children, (b) the young offshoots of a plantain, (c) death, and (d) the teeth, while it is chicken's tail feathers to the Sandawe.[2] The plantain shoots are of course a cultural image of a banana-growing people. A comparison of the nature of the death-image can only be made when we have sufficient knowledge of both the Sandawe and Duala representations of death. Children and teeth are the two images of the Duala which are not culturally influenced, and it would be conceivable that these images might provide the solutions also to the Sandawe riddle. However, they prefer the chicken's tail; chickens are, after all, the most common animals in a Sandawe homestead. To the forest-dwelling Duala girls' breasts are "Two plugs from one (tree) trunk, but the Sandawe interest in animals likens two pestles which have been cut in the bush with a mule's teats.[3]

The African three-stone hearth is of virtually identical shape throughout the continent, and its use is also the same. Many of its representations in riddles are therefore expectedly similar, yet in sufficiently different cultures its representation may differ markedly. To the Sandawe the hearth stones are "My three people [who] do very much work". A similar Swahili riddle says that "there were three children, but if one goes away, the work cannot be done", for the cooking pot cannot be placed on two round stones; it has to rest on three for

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1 Cf. text No. 54 and Ebding, 1911, 174.

2 Cf. text No. 45 and Ebding, <u>op.cit.</u>, 161.

3 Cf. text No. 43 and Ebding, <u>op.cit.</u>, 172.

stability.[1] The Duala riddle is also similar: "My mother gave birth to three of us; when one is missing the other can do nothing."[2] In this imagery the hearth is the homely fireplace on which the food is cooked, but the hearth-riddle of the warlike Maasai conjures up warriors who are planning a cattle raid: "I have three warriors. - What is a conversation between two of them when the third is not there?"[3]

When we compare the riddles of the Sandawe with those of West Africans, Bantu, and even East African Bantu like the Chagga, the Nakua or the Kaguru, we find a considerable variety of approach; linguistic and cultural differences combine to produce riddles which look strangely unfamiliar.[4]

The Sandawe riddles of chapter V have been arranged according to Schapera's categories. The largest group is formed by the animal world and hunting, notwithstanding the fact that the two informants who contributed the greatest number are educated young men who are now town-dwellers; many other riddles are concerned with the body and its functions, nature and simple objects. Thus the motifs of the riddles give a fair indication of what is culturally important to the Sandawe.

A feature of Sandawe riddles is the direct imitation which is sometimes made use of. The two riddles which represent the Hyena by the sound rendered as ʊʊ , ʊʊ, are not merely onomatopoetic in the ordinary sense but more or less accurate enactments of a hyena's behaviour when it smacks its lips.

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1 Velten, 1907, 340.

2 Ebding, on.cit., 170.

3 Fuchs, 1910, 66.

4 Sandawe with whom Kaguru riddles (Beidelman, 1963 d) were discussed not only could not solve most of them, but also required explanation after the solution was given.

This is reminiscent of the Bushmen who also use sounds in their oral literature which are not otherwise heard in their languages.[1]

Some difficulties of understanding Sandawe riddles are caused by artfulness of speech practiced in a manner which is also common among other African peoples. Berry attributes much difficulty to "the erotic double-entendre so frequently associated [with riddles]".[2] The riddle of the pudenda hair (text No. 61) and of the antheap's hole (text No. 74) show that double meanings of this kind are also present in Sandawe riddles. Another kind of difficulty is noticed by Berry when he writes that

> "Interesting but, I suspect, minor forms of riddle, based not on visual but acoustic images, have been noted among the Gio of Liberia, the Fulani, and Yoruba."[3]

One example which he cites is that the answer to the Gio riddle "Kozo" is "The sound of a falling banana tree".[4] The Sandawe riddle "Tl'átl'ábivee" to which the answer is "Diarrhoea" (text No. 62) belongs to the same category, and similar elements are found in text No. 66 where hláb'hláb' stands for 'patter of the feet'.[5] The riddle of the falling roof beam (text No. 33) derives its effect from the use of a word which is an onomatopoea for a metallic sound (ta'clē).

Another, and more sophisticated type of acoustic effect is provided by what I propose to call a tonal pun. The riddle of the aggressive braggart called Koróó (text No. 57) suggestively exploits the tonal values of words with different

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1 Bleek, 1875, 6.

2 1961, 11.

3 Op.cit., 12.

4 Ibid.

5 But, as it is noted on p. 332, the word hláb' may also be used in ordinary language.

meanings which are primarily distinguished by tone.

Direct acoustic effects do not make use of symbolic language, but tonal puns do, for they are plays on words which are symbolic. Punning will therefore be discussed in the next chapter which deals with symbolism.[1]

Categories and motifs in song.

Narrative is all in the category of "that which is leading up to something" (tántabule),[2] but songs are divided into as many categories as there are dances to which they belong, each with its own name. By motif they may be divided into three principal parts: songs in which the dominant idea is the imagery of the dance rite itself, songs in which events of instructive value form the main theme, and songs in which events are merely recorded as a matter of interest; these are the topical songs with the greatest historical value.

Categories overlap, lines of division are vague, and songs belonging to different categories may have the same motifs. Women's grinding songs are grinding songs as long as they are performed at the grindstone but they may also be taken over by minstrels and become minstrelsy, and they may even become circumcision songs because of their educational value.[3] Simbó songs are performed at circumcision and circumcision songs may be sung at wavá'ga beer drinking dances and at the fertility rites of mirimó. Lines of division are not always easy to draw between góú and kerem'ta songs, the rite-descriptive and the instructive songs of circumcision, and the same is true for the division between kerem'ta and wava'ga. Songs which belong to

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1 Chapter X, section "Name-punning in riddles."

2 This is another possible translation of the word which means 'that which is placed (usually) in front', cf. p. 299.

3 Text No. 170 is a minstrelsy song which once was a grinding song (cf.p.525); text No. 111 is now used as a circumcision song (cf.p.411).

different categories may have the same subject. The songs of the harvest and courtship dances of landá deal with the same subject-matter as the songs of minstrelsy, and the songs of wayá'ga may also be highly topical. Yet subtle differences may be distinguished even where correspondences and overlap are greatest. The best way to illustrate this is by an example. The theme of the famine is found in an instructive circumcision song (karem'ta), in a topical dance song (wayá'ga), and in a topical harvest and courtship song (landá); their subjects are the famine relief train (text No. 133), seeking famine relief (text No. 133), and the great famine (text No. 145). In all cases a principal motif is that of people who go to collect relief grain. Although the motifs are similar differences can be seen in the underlying purposes of the songs. The circumcision song teaches the initiates that life may be hungry at times, but that the rituals of life must continue; the wayá'ga song suggests that seeking famine relief is also a communal effort which is to be celebrated accordingly if successful; and the landá song commemorates one of the important events which the people have witnessed and survived. The purpose of the accompanying dance thus forms part of the song's meaning, a meaning which is translated to the listeners by the subtle method of suggestion rather than by explicit moralizing.

The theme of the man-refuser is found in a landá song (text No. 140) and also in a minstrelsy song (text No. 165). Both songs are topical, but the landá text appears to describe a rather notorious case where a most eligible suitor was rebuffed even after a handsome bridewealth had been agreed to, whereas the minstrelsy song describes a more intimate family drama. This accurately reflects the general difference between the topical songs of the landá type, and those of minstrelsy. The former belong to harvest dances in which whole crowds of

people take part, but the latter are of a quiet and intimate nature and are sung in the first place by musically inclined people at home, perhaps accompanied by one or two people who happen to be present. The songs of landá describe, more than narrative can do this, the whole life of the tribe as witnessed in important events; minstrelsy also does this, but it tends to look at it from the private point of view.

Style.

In narrative there is a great variety in the styles of individual storytellers; they range from the very stark to the repetitive and the verbose. Different uses of idiom, such as the clever manipulation of little meaningful syllables, or the lack of it, can make the same story seem interesting or dull. Much of a story's beauty can be preserved in writing if it is faithfully reproduced with all the storyteller's interjections and varied repetitions, and only the extra colour which is derived from the storyteller's inflections of delivery need be lost. Oral literature can therefore only be recorded properly from a live story-telling session, and not from dictation. Dempwolff fully understood this, and whenever possible he recorded spoken texts as well as songs on Edison wax rolls, using these recordings afterwards to check on the initial transcriptions which he had made with the aid of dictations by informants (comparison of his published texts with the original dictated transcriptions of his recordings immediately show up the improvements).[1]

In song the differences in style are more between the styles of the song categories than between those of the song

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1 I am indebted to Professor Reinhard of Berlin who has kindly sent me copies of Dempwolff's notes together with the taped copies of his surviving wax rolls. From Reinhard's paper I (1964) I had learned that some rolls had survived the war.

leaders, and these differences include variations in melody, rhythm, and instrumentation. Variable repetition is an important stylistic element both in song and in narrative, but in song it not only makes a valuable contribution to the mood of the text; it also is essential to basic understanding. It is in the repetitions that new words are introduced at irregular intervals, and the real meaning of songs often becomes clear only after several repetitions have been heard in which these significant terms occur. In this respect Sandawe oral art does not differ from that of other peoples in Africa. Marfurt holds repetition to be the most typical element of African music in general:

> "In the music-making of the blacks one may mark out changed repetition as the basic principle of compository procedure. And here one must once more admire their mastery. Mastery of the thousand nuances, of the most delicate finesses."[1]

Melody as a stylistic differentiator.

The proper category of some songs can be recognized at once by the melody alone. In the case of the landá recognition is brought about by two different melodic features of the song. The first is the stereotyped tone sequence of the hává hóó-se-èè which introduces ~~this~~ new stanzas; if a minstrel presents his audience with a landá song, they know at once that it is landá because of this. The second feature is the typical form of the tone sequences of the textual part; these form irregular patterns as in spoken language. Thus the melodic form of the most topical of all Sandawe dance songs accurately reflects the narrative nature of its poetry.

The melodies of simbó songs also have a quality which sets them apart at once. These songs have a somewhat lilting

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1 1957, 50 (translation mine).

quality which is usually the result of a flight of tones which runs up to a high pitch and then goes down again to normal level; it is as if the melody describes the soaring heights which the simbó dancers reach when they climb rocks and trees in their state of dissociation. Some Sandawe say that these are their most beautiful songs, and Sandawe in the towns usually ask first for simbó songs when tape recordings are to be played. It seems that these songs evoke strong nostalgic feelings more effectively than other types of song.

Between Sandawe music and the music of their Bantu neighbours there appear to exist differences in tone scale which have not yet been analysed. Sandawe listeners in the central hills where the ndindo and the sanzoona are unknown, at once recognize the songs of these dances as a Gogo type of music even though they may recognize the texts as Sandawe. They say that it is not only the rhythm which is different, but also the tone. The tuning of a hand-piano and of a trough-zither which I had obtained in Gogo country was recognized by the Sandawe as being of the Gogo type, and they immediately proceeded to rectify this defect.

Rhythm.

It is generally recognized that rhythm is of vital importance to African music. Jones writes that

> "Rhythm is to the African what harmony is to Europeans and it is in the complex interweaving of contrasting rhythmic patterns that he finds his greatest aesthetic satisfaction. To accomplish this he has built up a rhythmic principle which is quite different from that of Western music and yet is present in his simplest songs. His rhythms may be produced by the song itself, or by hand-clapping, or by stick-beating, beating of axe-blades, shaking of rattles or of maize seeds on a plate, or pounding pestles in a mortar. The highest expression is in the drums. Whatever be the

devices used to produce them, in African music there is practically always a clash of rhythms: this is a cardinal principle. Even a song which appears to be monorhythmic will on investigation turn out to be constructed of two independent but strictly related rhythmic patterns, one inherent in the melody and one belonging to the accompaniment. The usual and simplest accompaniment to a song is hand-clapping: so a study of hand-clapping is our best entry into African rhythmic technique."[1]

Rhythm is undoubtedly also of great importance to Sandawe music, yet this is precisely where it differs most from the music of their Bantu neighbours. Unlike the Bantu, the Sandawe have no complicated rhythms in the accompaniment in which different sets of beat intermingle and conduct lively discussions with one another. The Sandawe hand-clapping or stick-beating is straight and uncomplicated, often stark and rigid. The only instances where this is not the case are found in borderland music which is not really Sandawe at all. The cases in question are the ńndo and the sanzoona, the two types of dance songs which, as we have seen, are recognized as Gogo also by their melodies. The tape recording which goes with this thesis includes an example of either of these borderland dances.[2]

Rhythm is also the most important single element of style by which the various types of Sandawe song can be told apart. How then is it done? The original, ritual type of circumcision dance (góū) has a slow single beat, with intervals which may be as long as a full second and even longer. The longest of all are the intervals in the songs which are to entertain the newly circumcized children (/esukwa or /esukŭ'ī). The rhythm of the instructive type of circumcision song (kerem'ta) tends to be faster. The rhythm of the witchcraft exorcism rites

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1 Jones, 1954, 26-7.

2 See Appendix XIV.

(simbó) is also a straight beat, with intervals which are longer than half a second. This beat is produced with horns only. More lively is the rhythm of the beer-drinking songs of the communal effort celebrations (wayá'ga); the typical wayá'ga beat is a double one which consists of a stressed main beat at intervals of half a second plus an unstressed upbeat. It must be pointed out that nowadays many circumcision songs are performed in the more lively wayá'ga fashion, and that wayá'ga songs are sometimes accompanied by a single beat. Many of the younger Sandawe are unable to tell the difference between the rhythms of circumcision songs and beer-drinking songs but older men are rarely in doubt, and when asked about it, they are apt to point out that patterns are changing. The lively wayá'ga beat belongs to a dance which is originally a jumping dance of elephant hunters, whereas the circumcision songs are performed by people who sit in the courtyard, or crowd around the operation, or instruct the initiates in their camps. The original distinction between the rhythms is therefore quite a natural one.

The rhythm of the fertility rites of phek'umo is very different. Their songs use a rhythm of five claps and three rests in a bar of eight crotchet beats at a speed of just over two beats a second, as follows:



This rhythm is identical with a European eight-four time.

The dance of the elders (mudanga) uses a bar of simple duple time, with the first beat divided into two, and the second into three quavers:



while the rhythm of the mangoa is different again.

All these rhythms are simple rhythms, and the only poly-rhythmic accompaniments in Sandawe music belong to the *níndo* and the *sanzoona* which, as we have seen, are not Sandawe types of dance at all. Minstrels also use simple rhythms to accompany themselves on their instruments as a rule.

The unity of the African cultural area in respect of its folk literature, as stressed by Radin, was discussed on p. 557. Jones says virtually the same in respect of the musical side of the picture:

> "Africa is a large country; tribes living in various parts have widely differing musical practice; yet there is sufficient evidence to warrant the suspicion that underlying these practices there is a common ground of rhythmic structure."[1]

Although it would be incorrect to say that Sandawe music is entirely devoid of composite beats, - even in the central parts they have crept in to some extent - it seems that Sandawe music provides something like an exception to the rule on the face of it. The single main beat is what Jones characterizes as the principle of European rhythms as opposed to the African principle of multiple main beats.[2] Is Sandawe music then a European type of music, or rather, an un-African type of music? Gogo and Nyamwezi listeners to Sandawe recordings have agreed that they strike them as different from the Bantu music they are accustomed to. Yet Sandawe music fits into the general African type if we consider that the singers normally use a free rhythm for their texts; this is particularly true of the songs of *landá*, as it may be expected from what has been said about the melodies of *landá*. The vocal rhythm of Sandawe song contrasts freely with the stark, simple rhythms of the accompaniment.

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1 1958, 60.

2 *Ibid.*, 8.

Instrumentation.

Another marked difference between Sandawe singing and that of their Bantu neighbours is to be found in the instrumentation they use. Two of the most typical African instruments, the drum and the hand piano, are not Sandawe instruments although they do now occur among the tribe.[1] Neither of the two traditionally belongs to any type of Sandawe music and they are still regarded as foreign instruments. The drums which may be found are of the hourglass type and are said to have been acquired from the Gogo.[2] The Rimi may well have helped to introduce them because of their use in the mirimó dances which are of Rimi origin.[3] Drums are called goma if large, and kitaka if small; in the southern borderlands the goma may be held between the knees but elsewhere it is held under the armpit or on the hip, and used by women only.[4] Its use in ritual is restricted to representing a roaring lion in the women's fertility rites of mirimó and in the circumambulations of kerem'ta at circumcision festivals in the southern borderlands. Here drums may also show up in landá dances or more often in the Gogo type níndo, but traditionally the Sandawe are drumless.[5]

The hand piano, called marimba in Sandawe, is also a recent arrival. Although some Sandawe like to use a local variation which they have evolved from the Gogo original, the

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1 Tenraa, 1963, 37.

2 Ibid., 39.

3 But the Rimi themselves are said to have acquired drums only recently (Olson, priv. comm.)

4 See photo No. 2.

5 This also seems to be the case with the non-Bantu neighbours of the Sandawe, the Nilo-Hamitic Barabaiga, the Burunge and their fellow tribes of the Iraqw cluster, and also the Nilo-Hamitic Maasai (own observation).

marimba is not often used and only a few people own one. Yet instruments are important accessories to many types of song, and some instruments are typically used in some songs and not at all in others.

In the central hills the only instruments used at the exorcism rites of simbó are horns which are beaten by the chorus of women; ideally these are buffalo horns (/eú tlana) but cattle horns are easier to obtain and are often seen (humbu tlana). In the south-east the women also play the rubbing-bowl (la'sé) to produce the sound of a roaring lion.[1] The circumcision songs (góũ and kerem'ta) are accompanied by handclapping, stick beats and especially in the south-east also by the rubbing-bowl. The procession of the initiates to the site of their operation (mólolo) is headed by a hornblower; horns are also used for calling people to a hunt and in the elephant hunters' dance of wayá'ga.[2] In the beer-dance wayá'ga the songs are usually punctuated by stick beats. The phek'umo is accompanied by handclaps only, and the traditional accompaniment of the landá is foot-stamping. At the mangóa bells are usually fastened to the dancers' ankles and also to their sticks, and bells are also common at dóa and mudanga dances.[3] The instruments of the phallic rites of the mirimó are a mortar and a pestle, or a drum and a pestle. The singing of the sanzoona is accompanied by the grunts of the phallic man who plays the role of the pestle in mirimó, but also the songs of simbó are enlivened by the grunts of the dancers in dissociation. The instruments of minstrelsy have already been discussed.[4]

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1 In the recording of text No. 84 an hourglass drum is beaten; this recording was made at K'ats'awase near the southern border; in central Sandawe this is never done.

2 The type of horn is illustrated in Plate II (centre fig.)

3 Dempwolff refers to mangóa as a bell-dance (cf. p. 459), and his recorded song was accompanied by bells (1916, 173).

4 Pp. 494 ff.

Although there are traditionally certain types of instrumentation which are appropriate to each type of dance, there are no rigid rules and instruments are often used which do not, strictly speaking, belong to the occasions on which they are played. Yet instrumentation is still a criterium by which Sandawe songs can be told apart. Some types of song, like the simbó in the central hills, are almost invariably accompanied only by those instruments which are thought to be the appropriate ones.

Harmony is not a distinctive feature in Sandawe oral art, but perhaps it may help to distinguish Sandawe song from non-Sandawe music. As Jones points out, there are signs that Bantu music is beginning to make use of polyphony (quite independent from the influences of European music), but the Sandawe do not do this.[1] Also canon-type of singing is much more in evidence among the Gogo than among the Sandawe. Also in these respects the two examples of "non-Sandawe" music in the tape recording (sangoona text No. 124 and nindo text No. 151) are distinct from the other songs which are more traditionally Sandawe.

The subject of a song as well as the type of its chorus, its melody, its rhythm, and its instrumentation all contribute to variety, and it is obvious that each type of song has therefore a character of its own which is immediately recognized by the Sandawe themselves. If a non-Sandawe listener says that it all sounds the same to him, his judgement must be based on the fact that he is unfamiliar with any of a wide variety of styles. Unfamiliarity is the only common denominator which they all have to him.

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1 Cf. Jones, 1958, 12.

CHAPTER X

SYMBOLISM AND MEANING

Symbols and interpretation.

Beattie points out that Radcliffe-Brown's definition of what is a symbol is far too wide ('whatever has meaning is a symbol, the meaning being whatever is expressed by the symbol'). He eliminates first signals, which would qualify as symbols under Radcliffe-Brown's definition (signals give information about some state of affairs, convey a specific meaning), and he goes on to say that signs (usually merely conventional, as in language: why should the sound 'man' in English stand for homo sapiens, and not some other sound?) are not the same as symbols. As the three main characteristics of a symbol he gives

(a) some real or fancied resemblance with what is symbolized,
(b) it commonly stands for something abstract, and
(c) what is symbolized is always an object of value.

He adds that

> "Symbolism is essentially expressive; it is a way of saying something important, something which it is impossible or impracticable to say directly. What is said symbolically must be thought to be worth saying."[1]

This is what I have in mind in the following discussion of symbols in Sandawe oral literature. The verb "saying", as used by Beattie is to be understood in its widest sense of "expressing"; it includes representation in ritual and even representation in thought.

By considering Sandawe symbolic thinking, that is, by

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1 1964, 69 ff.

tracing image-associations, we can discover patterns of thought which are typical, and which as their cultural heritage form sets of collective representations. These are important because they set the members of the tribe apart and identify them as Sandawe, and so form a principal cause of social cohesion vis à vis the exterior world. Since they are expressed through the signs of language, which are also very much their own, these symbols allow the tribesmen to communicate with one another more fully than they may hope to do with outsiders.

Turner tells us that the structure and properties of ritual symbols may be inferred from three classes of data:

(a) External form and observable characteristics.

(b) Interpretations offered (1) by specialists.

(2) by laymen.

(c) Significant contexts largely worked out by the anthropologist.[1] The obvious method for working out these contexts is, of course, comparison.

The same method can be applied to the study of symbols in literature. In narrative the spoken text is the dominant source of information, but in poetry, and in particular in the poetry of ritual, more is usually left unsaid than is said and a consideration of the rites must therefore supply a supplementary source which is indispensable. Both the texts and the rites should be investigated. In order to gain an understanding of the system of symbolic associations which is common to the whole tribe, narrative alone cannot supply the material, and ritual poetry together with its associated rites, minstrelsy, riddles and idiom also have to be studied.

Key concepts form a first consideration. Evans-Pritchard enjoins us that:

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1 1964, 21.

> "As every fieldworker knows, the most difficult task in anthropological fieldwork is to determine the meaning of a few key words, upon the understanding of which the success of the whole investigation depends."[1]

This means a study of idiom and metaphor, and etymological dissection whenever practicable. Durkheim and Mauss maintain that "Metaphors originally meant what they said,"[2] and this is the justification for the etymological inquiries with which the notes to so many of the preceding texts have been burdened. At another level the characters of the heroes of the story-motifs form the subject matter for comparison.

The hero-myth, and cycles of tales.

Henderson states that "The myth of the hero is the most common and the best known myth in the world", and he goes on to say that

> "..hero myths vary enormously in detail, but the more closely one examines them the more one sees that structurally they are very similar. They have... a universal pattern. ..Over and over again one hears a tale describing a hero's miraculous but humble birth, his early proof of superhuman strength, his rapid rise to prominence or power, his triumphant struggle with the forces of evil, his fallibility to the sin of pride (hybris), and his fall through betrayal or a 'heroic' sacrifice that ends in his death."[3]

Four types of cycle have been distinguished by Radin into which the representations of the hero may be grouped; he recognizes these in the tales of the Winnebago, and he arranges them in an order which shows an evolution of psychological development. "It represents our efforts to deal with the problem of growing up, aided by the illusion of an eternal

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1 1951, 50.

2 1963, 84.

3 1964, 110.

fiction", he says of the psychology of this evolution.[1] Henderson takes up the idea and goes on to show that Radin's cycles have universal value in the psychological evolution of man.

> "The Trickster cycle corresponds to the earliest and least developed period in life. Trickster is a figure whose physical appetites dominate his behaviour; he has the mentality of an infant. Lacking any purpose beyond the gratification of his primary needs, he is cruel, cynical, and unfeeling. (Our stories of Brer Rabbit or Reynard the Fox preserve the essentials of the Trickster myth). This figure, which at the outset assumes the form of an animal, passes from one mischievous exploit to another."[2]

Radin's second cycle is the Hare cycle (Trickster is represented by the coyote among the Winnebago). Henderson describes its protagonist as follows:

> "He, like Trickster... also first appears in animal form. He has not yet attained mature human stature, but all the same he appears as the founder of human culture - the Transformer. The Winnebago believe that, in giving them their famous Medicine Rite, he became their saviour as well as their culture-hero. This myth was so powerful..., that the members of the Peyote Rite were reluctant to give up Hare when Christianity began to penetrate the tribe. He became merged with the figure of Christ",

and:

> "This archetypical figure represents a distinct advance on Trickster: One can see that he is becoming a socialized being, correcting the instinctual and infantile urges found in the Trickster cycle."[3]

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1 Radin, 1948. In 1956, ix, he holds the Trickster theme to be the "earliest and most archaic form" in stories.

2 Op.cit., 112.

3 Ibid., 113. Archetypes are described by Jung, the originator of the term, as "archaic remnants" or "primordial images"; they are "conscious representations" which must not be understood as meaning certain definite mythological images or motifs. They can vary a great deal in detail without losing their basic pattern (Jung, 1964, 67).

Red Horn is the Youngest Brother who meets the requirements of the archetypal hero by winning a race and by proving himself in battle. He defeats giants with the aid of superhuman powers or tutelary gods. He belongs to the world of man, but in an archaic world.

The Twins represent Radin's fourth and most highly developed hero. The Twins theme, according to Henderson,

> "raises in effect the vital question: How long can human beings be successful without falling victims to their own pride or, in mythological terms, to the jealousy of the gods?"[1]

All four stages are represented in the heroes of Sandawe narrative: the Sandawe Hare is the typical Trickster. The second group is represented in a variety of heroes who range from Ostrich via the adulterous woman to Matunda. It should be noted that also among the Sandawe the equation of Matunda with Christ is made; they have a tendency to merge into a single identity of creator and culture-hero.[2] The third evolutionary stage is occupied by One-eye and the Cripple, whereas the last stage is exemplified by the magician Sóno. According to Radin, Jung and Henderson the hero-figures are symbolic for the stages of human maturity which they represent. This seems to be confirmed by the Sandawe, who may say of a person that "he is a person like a hare" (hewé la'éxe' n/omésé), meaning that he is a trickster. Similarly, Ostrich may stand for the second category and One-eye for the third. Only of the fourth type no such characterization is perhaps used, but since this represents the fully evolved human it is only to be

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1 Loc. cit.

2 Among the Rimi the Missions have adopted him as the Creator, e.g. Mungu Matūnda Tata Mitu (God the Creator, our Father), cf. Augustana Lutheran Mission, 1959.

expected that more specific characterizations should be employed.

Motifs as symbols.

The motifs which have been discussed from a structural point of view also have symbolic significance, and as symbols they may be likened to the motifs of a dream. On the subject of the symbolic value of dreams, Jung tells us that

> "It is true that there are dreams and single symbols (I should prefer to call them 'motifs') that are typical and often occur. Among such motifs are falling, flying, being persecuted by dangerous animals or hostile men, being insufficiently or absurdly clothed in public places, being in a hurry or lost in a milling crowd, fighting with useless weapons or being wholly defenseless, running hard yet getting nowhere. A typically infantile motif is the dream of growing infinitely small or infinitely big, or being transformed from one to the other - as you find it, for instance, in Lewis Carroll's Alice in Wonderland."[1]

The first three motifs are common in the Sandawe tales which have been presented, and the last mentioned motif of the continuous change is equally common, but the clothing and the hurry motifs are absent. The being lost motif can be recognized in the search for the baby in text No. 8, and the useless weapons motif in text No. 18 of the war with the Maasai. Jung's distinction between what he calls natural symbols and cultural symbols provides the answer why the two absent symbols are not to be found. The natural symbols are derived from the unconscious contents of the psyche while the cultural symbols are those "which have gone through a long process of more or less conscious development, and have thus become collective images accepted by civilized societies".[2] The clothing and the

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1 Jung, 1964, 93.

2 Ibid.

hurry motifs belong to societies in which clothing and hurry are associated with important emotional values, which are worthy of symbolic representation.[1] Just as dream motifs should be seen in their own context, so the story motifs must be considered in the context of the story itself and its cultural environment. As Jung says of the dream motifs, they are not self-explanatory ciphers.[2]

Animal caricatures and the Trickster motif.

When the author of a novel stresses that any resemblance of his characters to living persons is purely coincidental, he defends himself in advance against possible attacks by those who may have grounds to suspect that their characters have been slighted. By disguising the characters as animals this difficulty is avoided. In the simpler fables animals thus serve as human caricatures. In miraculous stories, and even more so in the songs of ritual they tend to lose this harmless character and to become the serious symbols of whole sets of values. The image of the actual physical animal tends to become blurred until only the character remains which is attributed to it.

In their capacity of caricatures animals act just as their human counterparts would, though perhaps in a somewhat exaggerated manner. They talk, act cleverly or are stupid, they compete and are treacherous, they love and take revenge. There is nothing incongruous about a lion grazing peacefully like a cow,[3] or in a rabbit eating meat.[4] Yet these

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1 I.e., they fulfil Beattie's third requirement for symbols.

2 Op.cit., 53.

3 Text No. 6, line 4 (p. 147).

4 e.g., in Rushby, 1949, 78.

caricatures are also symbols: as we have seen they symbolize the hero-myth to which they belong.

The animals to which human characters are attributed vary, of course, with geographical areas. Werner writes that

> "In India it is the jackal who plays clever tricks on the stronger and fiercer animals; in Europe the fox; in New Guinea and Melanesia yet others. The jackal is the hero of the Hottentots, and also for the Galla and Somali of North-eastern Africa, who consider the hare a stupid sort of creature."[1]

Berry says that

> "By far the best documented of West African prose narrative is the animal trickster type. In the north it is Hare, further south: spider, then tortoise."[2]

Among the Sandawe the outstanding trickster type is the hare, but he is also stupid. He is the perfect trickster in text No. 7 where his mischief breaks up the friendship of Honey-badger and Lion. He is the libidinous adulterer in text No. 9, and the woman whom he seduces is caught and beaten in the end. His cleverness is also useless. At the end of text No. 3 he tries to think up something new when his futile and pedantic efforts to build a shed for Ostrich have ended in humiliation. In text No. 4 he first makes a fool of himself trying to emulate giraffe, and then he perishes as the foil of his own stupidity when he tries to imitate Dove.

This image is confirmed by descriptions given by Sandawe informants of Hare's character, which differs from the Swahili image to a degree. Both the Sandawe and the Swahili use Hare in everyday speech as a characterization for human types. The Sandawe say of him that "he has no good intelligence"

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1 1933, 253.

2 1961, 7.

(marasé'ts'e'e), "he cannot think properly" (/wa'/wa'sé'ts'e'e), "he is bad" (ayáa), "a seducer with vain words" (tl'álo sayosúkewai), "oh he, he is an imbecile" (ah hewé, k'atl'if), and "the Ostrich is big, but Hare is small" (sa'útã ba'ásé, lá'e ts'óũ). This verdict is considerably more negative than the Swahili one: expressions like "this person is as smart as a Hare" (mtu huvu mjanja kama sungura) are applied to someone who has cleverly managed to extricate himself from an embarrassing situation. On p. 587 we have seen that a similar expression is also used by the Sandawe, but the Swahili characterize Hare as 'cunningly clever' (mjanja) and 'resourceful' (mwerevu) although he is also a 'cheat' (mdanganyifu). The name which he is given is Abunawas; Johnson describes this as

> "the name in stories of Arabic origin, of the character who invariably comes off best owing to his shrewdness like the sungura (hare) in stories of Arabic origin."[1]

Thus the Swahili Hare is accorded grudging admiration for his trickery and he is held up as a hero to live up to; his cleverness is fine as long as you are clever enough to get away with it. An element of adoration cannot be altogether denied the Sandawe Hare, for he is certainly funny, but he is not an idol in the Swahili sense. His cleverness is little more than silly self-deception. The Sandawe Hare belongs firmly to Radin's first cycle, the sub-human Trickster. The Swahili Hare is also a Trickster and belongs to the same cycle, but he verges decidedly toward the Hero of the second cycle.

As part of the Trickster-motif the Sandawe Hare fits very well into the pattern of a wider range of African folk literatures, but with which character does he correspond most closely as a caricature? Werner describes Hare as the most

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1 1951, 1.

prominent hero in Bantu stories. Lion, Elephant, and more frequently Hyena are its foils, and "inoffensive creatures like duikers, lizard, bush-buck occasionally fall victims, sad to say", but Tortoise is too sharp for Hare.[1] His West-African equivalent, Spider, is described as stupid, gluttonous, selfish and irresponsible, consistently outdone by his wife Kayi who is both bigger and more clever than he, but whom he continuously tries to outwit. All spider stories are found funny. Berry says that Spider functions as the symbol of the freedom from physical limitations and moral restraints.[2] Thus the character of the West African Spider is perhaps as close as any to that of the Sandawe Hare-Trickster, whereas the general Bantu Trickster agrees more with the Swahili Hare rather than with the Sandawe one. The image of the latter lacks the idol-element which is so obviously present in the Swahili (Bantu) Hare.

A secondary Trickster in West Africa is 'Cunnie Rabbit', identified with the royal antelope and almost lovable, according to Berry,[3] but no corresponding character emerges clearly from the available Sandawe literature.

The simpler animal symbols.

The first animals to be mentioned under this heading serve in the first place as models for human types; they are caricatures rather than symbolic representations. The Sandawe express the universal tendency to sympathize with the underdog by giving, in their tales, a measure of superiority to peaceful herbivores over the powerful beasts of prey. Straightforward examples of this are, of course, Zebra who wins his race

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1 1933, 254.

2 1961, 7.

3 Loc.cit.

against Lion in text No. 1, and Cow and her calf who thwart Lion's attempt on their lives in text No. 6. Both animals are considered intelligent (maraga). Their names are used as terms of praise and may imply the attribution of courage. Exorcism dancers are praised as zebras and virile men are praised as bulls.[1] The greatest virtue of zebras and cows lies in their beauty. Zebra's stripes are outstanding marks of beauty, and Cow is admired as a fair white-coloured heifer. If she is not white-coloured, her pretty speckles are likened to female beauty, and long horns also stand for beauty.[2] Giraffe emerges as beautiful and sympathetic, and being also intelligent he foils the pretentious Hare.[3] If in terms of beauty Giraffe signifies noble beauty, Klipspringer is the enticer.[4] In Kudu we reach an animal of significant ritual and symbolic value. Kudus and gazelles stand for female grace,[5] but the kudu also portrays the erotically procreative urge,[6] and its horns symbolize fertile phalluses.[7] In the dances of phek'umo the images of kudus, gazelles, and water buck are used to convey a promise of fertility and procreation.[8] Apart from the erotic aspect of fertility the kudu also symbolizes fertility as a life-giving power over the destructive powers of witchcraft;

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1 Cf. texts Nos. 86 and 116.

2 Zebra's stripes: cf. text No. 86; white heifer: text No. 87; pretty speckles: text No. 168; long horns: text No. 120.

3 Sympathetic beauty: text No. 156; better than Hare: text No. 4.

4 Cf. text No. 162.

5 Cf. text No. 116.

6 Cf. text No. 118.

7 Cf. texts Nos. 114 ff.

8 Cf. text No. 116.

this is evident from the use of the kudu's horns in the witch-craft exorcision ritual of simbó.[1] This accent on power may be the reason why buffalo horns are also used in these rites; they provide the musical instruments for them. The Sandawe image of deer-like animals is quite different from the image of Deer in West Africa, which is thought to be helpless and stupid.[2]

Erotic excess appears to be associated with abnormal fertility resulting in twin births, and the mischief-maker who causes it is represented by Monkey.[3] Also associated with fertility is the pangolin who may be seen as a divine messenger,[4] but the best known messenger of the Sandawe is the mantis.[5] Among the Bushmen the mantis is so central a figure in folklore that Bleek and Lloyd entitle a collection of tales after him.[6] Describing his character they say that Mantis shows supernatural powers but also great foolishness; he is mischievous, sometimes kind, and always very human.[7] He is not divine himself, and he is far from invulnerable. In a tale recorded by Bleek he behaves too much according to this mythological character, and in doing so he incurs the wrath of mother Lioness and has to take flight.[8] This is in accordance with the character of the Sandawe Mantis. He is only held in awe when circumstances warrant the belief that he has come with a message from the spirits. When he is only a little insect in the field, or when he foolishly appears by a house without justifying his divine messengership, he is liable to be eaten by children.[9]

1 Cf. p. 351; 352 note 2; 362.

2 Berry, 1961, 7.

3 Cf. text No. 126.

4 Cf. p. 506 (text No. 156).

5 Cf. p. 501 ff. (text No. 152); also p. 532 (text No. 175).

6 1923, The Mantis and his Friends.

7 Ibid., v.

8 1875, 6.

9 Cf. p. 502.

In the identity of híkaìs'i he is kind, but as a sokosóko he brings mischief.[1]

Frog stands in quite a different relationship to divinity. He is the powerful rainmaker who can summon the elements at will.[2] He is probably the only animal which has a special connection with one particular Sandawe clan, the Mungé Alagwa. He symbolizes the rain-priest and the authority he wields. Alagwa clansmen sometimes refer to water as 'the frog's bedspread' (i'ororón ts'adé), and this expression is exclusively an Alagwa one in so far as that it causes amusement when a non-Alagwa says "give me a frog's bedspread" (i'ororón ts'adéko sée) for "give me a cup of water". Frog is powerful, and so he instills fear into man, but he is beneficient and does him no harm. In the tale of One-eye and the Frog it takes One-eye's courage to overcome this fear. When he has retrieved Frog from the well he gives him the place of honour on the leading ox's horns.[3] Other peoples also attribute superior qualities to Frog. Beidelman reports that among the Kaguru he is too clever and wise for Leopard,[4] and Werner says that as a Bantu character "Frog rivals tortoise in astuteness".[5]

The elephant is equally respected, but he has magical strength rather than religious power. He is strong and firm, and his name is used as a praise name for a courageous hunter or for a righteous husband.[6] In the tale of the poor man's stolen wife, "my elephant" in the wife's song carries the

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1 Cf. p. 501 (text 152).

2 Cf. p. 140, note 2. Alagwa rain-chiefs use the frog in their rainmaking ceremonies.

3 Cf. text No. 10.

4 1963b, 135-46, tale No. 4.

5 1933, 300.

6 Cf. texts Nos. 131 and 158.

significance of "my worker of magical power".[1] The elephant is the Lord of the Bush, and the object of awed admiration.[2] The bush is his kingdom, and 'the elephant's bedspread' (n/waá is'adé) is a common name for it; its special meaning is a place where adultery takes place in secret, i.e. outside the realm of human authority and social control.[3] In his quality of the Lord of the Bush (zakhá meléwi), Elephant reigns during the night even where Man is the master during the day. Some Sandawe use fresh elephant faeces as a medicine for infants who have fits. The juices are squeezed out and administered to the eyes or internally; this is believed to be very effective and Sandawe in the towns have been known to pay two shillings for a small quantity of fresh faeces. Alagwa warriors are entitled to wear ivory (and iron) armrings which are thought to give them strength,[4] and other Sandawe wear bangles made of elephant hair which they put under their pillows at night to safeguard them from witchcraft. The elephant in West Africa is described by Berry as "strong but slow",[5] but Weule reports that among the East African Yao the elephant is held in the highest esteem.[6]

The honey-badger is thought of as being courageous and tough, but this animal does not emerge from the available material as a significant representation of man, nor as a ritual animal or a symbol for certain values or ideas. It represents mainly itself. The badger is small but equal to a

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1 Text No. 15.

2 Text No. 154.

3 Cf. p. 48, esp. note 2.

4 Referred to on p. 28, note 5.

5 1961, 7.

6 1908, 64. Mentioned in one breath with Baboon.

lion as a fighter, and is a menace to man's beehives.[1] But these are no more than observations of the animal's nature.

The hyena.

The most inglorious character of all animals is accorded to Hyena. He is stupid and greedy, and the foil of other animals.[2] He is a coward, and inferior to Lion,[3] and he does not speak properly but makes funny noises which may be likened to lisps.[4] He is an incomplete animal and is referred to as a hornless cow.[5] Being incomplete, he is a social outcast, and as such he is both an initiate and a witch. Initiates are called 'hyenas', as we have seen, but witches are not; they are referred to as people who harbour nastiness (ɨl'ŭd-se).[6] Yet Hyena's identity as a witch is well established. In the story of the Witch and the Fire-oracle the killer-husband returns as a hyena,[7] and also in a riddle the hyena is a witch;[8] if he is not a witch himself, he is at least a witches' familiar whose cry is háuá.[9]

Initiates are going through a period of ritual impurity; this impurity is attested by the fact that at its conclusion

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1 For Badger's courage, see text No. 7; for his method of defence, ibid., note 6 (p. 160); as a menace, cf. text 152.

2 In text No. 2 he is the foil of Stork. Sandawe say that any animal would foil him.

3 Text No. 36.

4 Texts Nos. 35 and 36.

5 Text No. 37. Donkeys are also hornless cattle, but only in the sense of immaturity (cf. p. 402).

6 Cf. p. 272, note 6.

7 Text No. 17.

8 Text No. 35.

9 Text No. 15, note 19 (p. 261).

they are ritually cleansed and literally washed and dressed anew in a ceremony which is called 'the washing' (n//ǂkə'ə).[1] Thus Hyena, the initiate, symbolizes the state of being unclean. The idea that hyenas are unclean also finds expression in the now widespread revulsion from the use of hyena meat as a food. This has not always been so, and it is whispered that hyena meat may still be eaten on occasion in some remote parts. It may well be that the whole set of idea associations is of Bantu origin.[2] We have seen that circumcision ceremonial is known under non-Sandawe names and that it may have been adopted in comparatively recent times.[3] It is even said that in the past the Sandawe ate hyena meat, and that this is the reason why one Sandawe clan, the Walámpit, were given their name by the Rimi.[4]

Thus we have the likelihood that an old Sandawe image of Hyena, in which he was not despised, has been replaced by a modern one in which he is despised. This new image may have arrived with the introduction of rites in which Hyena symbolizes all that is despicable and unclean. From a fine Bushman fable presented by Bleek, Hyena does not at all emerge inferior to Lion. Instead, he takes the place of the underdog who takes revenge on the physically more powerful Lion.[5] The Bushman Hyena is not unclean. Planert gives us a text in which a

1 Described on p. 377.

2 Cf. p. 369.

3 There is a term /ak'use, fem. /ak'usus', circumcizer, which literally means 'one who causes [it] to be open (or visible)', from the verb /ak'u, 'to excise the clitoris' or 'to circumcize' (usually the term is used for the female operation). This may well be a Sandawe descriptive term applied to a non-Sandawe custom. The idea of openness or uncoveredness is discussed on p. 365.

4 The meaning is 'Hyena-eaters' (mentioned on p. 52, note 1).

5 1875, 12.

Bushman sets out with the express purpose of hunting a hyena; he then kills it and prepares it for food.[1] The Bantu hyena differs markedly from this image and corresponds well with the modern view which the Sandawe take of this animal. A Makua riddle shows that Hyena is identified with initiates;[2] the Gogo hyena is a cheat[3] and he lisps;[4] a Kaguru tale shows Hyena's typical selfish greed,[5] and the Hyena of the Tete is described as representing servile knavery.[6] It is well known that Hyena, as a coward and an outcast, is associated with witches and witchcraft.[7] Kohl-Larsen says with reference to the Hadza, that the role of the (European) Wolf is played by the Hyena, whose character is to be the most stupid, usually the foil, and excessively greedy.[8] This describes the Sandawe Hyena only as a caricature; we have seen that as a symbol he stands for much more.

The lion as a caricature and as a symbol.

As a caricature the lion is a big brute, but also the foil of weaker animals. In text No. 1 he loses the race against

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1 1905, 170.

2 Harries, 1942a, Riddle No. 8 (p.37): "Let the preparation be made for us, let us be circumcized." Answer: "Hyena."

3 Claus, 1911, 50.

4 Carnell, 1955, 32 (tale No. 3).

5 Beidelman, 1963b (tale No. 2).

6 Mohl, 1905, 2.

7 Cf. James, 1964 (M/8). It is remarkable that Straube in his book on animal representations (1955) only mentions hyenas as ritual animals in secret societies (p. 22). Being mostly concerned with the roles played by animals, or parts of animals, in ceremonial, he hardly touches upon their roles in witchcraft and sorcery.

8 1956b, 157.

Zebra even though he arrogantly calls out his own praise name.[1] In text No. 6 another weaker animal, Cow, comes out better than he does, and in text No. 7 he is fooled by Hare into a quarrel with Honey-badger.

Endemann tells us that among the Sotho, lustful man is conceived of as a red-eyed lion.[2] This is also a prominent function of Lion in Sandawe imagery. He is not just an irresponsible lecher like Hare, but he is a more dangerous sort of adulterer. In the circumcision song of the teacher from Goima, he is the lover who seduces his girl-friend in the wilds of the bush and the rock clusters. In text No. 170 he is the lover in the dangerous position of being found out with Hunter's wife. In either case Lion is associated with dangerous action, and in particular, with dangerous places in connection with love-making. The Sandawe have a name for such places, 'the lion's bedspread' (//atsú ts'adé), in analogy with the 'elephant's bedspread' (n/waá ts'adé) which suggests that the lovers are out of reach of human authority. Rock clusters which are known to be used by lovers as a rendez-vous, are referred to by the former term, and an adulterous woman may similarly refer to the homestead of her lover as her lion's den.

Here we begin to touch upon the symbolic value of Lion as a general representation of Danger. In text No. 153 he is still a physical animal, the dangerous animal which prowls around the fence at night in search of a kill. But in text No. 13 he is the Lion-man, the representation of the brutal husband who is about to kill his wife. 'Lion' (//atsú) is a term which is used for a bad suitor whom a woman would be ill advised to marry. The term is also used for a rapist, or a man who carries off a woman into marriage against her wish.[3]

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1 Cf. text No. 1, note 10 (p. 117).

2 1928, 24.

3 Cf. text No. 182, esp. p. 543.

The symbolic value of Lion emerges from the rites of circumcision, the women's fertility celebrations of mirimó, and the witchcraft exorcism of simbó. These rituals are pervaded with lion symbolism, but in each of them Lion conveys a different shade of meaning. The common denominator is Danger.

The Lion of Circumcision is met with in text No. 95; the subject of the text is the danger of circumcision in its various aspects. 'He Who Always Grunts' (Sámüleda) is the ritual name of Lion which suggestively describes the latent danger which it represents.[1] The Bantu terms for Lion (nimba or simba) also serve as ritual names; the Sandawe, who do not speak Bantu, use the terms metaphorically rather than in their original meanings of physical lions. We have seen that a variation of this term, himba, is felt to mean the loud roar of a lion as well as the animal itself.[2] To the initiates 'Lion' means the danger of things to come in their initiation. It implies fear for the circumcision knife as well as fear for their naked seclusion in the bush. Lion thus represents Danger in any form which threatens the initiates in their period of transition, while the seclusion itself is symbolized by Hyena.

In the women's fertility celebrations of mirimó Lion symbolizes male aggression as well as the pleasures of sexual union, and also the dangers of childbirth. The former elements are expressed by what may be called the phallic Lion, i.e. the pestle or the quiver which is placed on top of a drum or in the hollow of a gourd or a mortar, and then made to roar by rubbing it obscenely. In the sanzoona Man himself takes the place of the pestle. In the mirimó song of text No. 121 the (physical) lion sleeps in badness,[3] and he is also roaring

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1 Cf. pp. 384-5 and 150.

2 Ibid.

3 Lines 5 and 23, p. 432.

as a (symbolic) Lion,[1] while the use of the ritual name 'Striding Maned-Lion' (Kiándorée) signifies the latent danger implicit in the reproductive process.[2] The two manifestations of Lion, the phallic pestle and the uterine gourd, merge in the proven fertility of the women.

In witchcraft exorcism Lion also has a dual symbolic function. He is the Danger which is so powerful that it requires complete dissociation on the part of the exorcizers, to overcome their fear for it and tackle it. Once dissociation has dissolved this fear, Lion's aspect which is allied with the exorcizers becomes the power which vanquishes the dangers of witchcraft. We may recall that the name of the exorcism rites, simbó, literally means 'the state of being a Lion',[3] and that the rites are held 'to purify the country', so that the atmosphere will be clear for the subsequent circumcisions. The Lion of simbó minimizes the dangers of the Lion of circumcision. By climbing the phallic rocks the simbó dancers, who are the Lions, clear the way for the unobstructed fertility of the country.

With all its sexual connotations, Lion has little to do with fertility itself. Lion is conspicuously absent from the fertility rites of phek'umo which are the purest Sandawe representations of fertility per se, and in the songs of mirimó he is actually equated with barrenness.[4] What Lion does, is to symbolize the dangers of witchcraft, of man's transition into adulthood, and of his pro-creation in childbirth. Dangers constitute a power, and Lion is powerful; when these powers are properly harnessed and used constructively, as in simbó, they

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1 Line 8, p. 432.

2 Chorus lines, loc.cit.

3 Cf. p. 353.

4 Cf. p. 355.

become beneficial and see Man successfully through the processes of reproduction, as witnessed in the celebrations of mirimó. Even though Lion can be phallic he is not a fertility symbol, but rather a symbol of power which is essentially dangerous.

Sandawe representations of the lion have much in common with those of many other African peoples. Straube points out that the lion and the leopard are both African initiation animals which are portrayed by wearing the animals' skins. Their functions overlap, and the two animals are given similar characters.[1] Among the Sandawe, too, the leopard is seen as a little lion; this is evident from terms used for coinage,[2] but the leopard is not a ritual animal, nor does it appear to be symbolically important.

Elsewhere initiates are taken to a place of crocodiles, where they are circumcized by operators who "have a fearful appearance, their heads being covered with lion's manes."[3] The crocodiles are obviously homologous with the snake which in Sandawe animal symbolism represents the All-Devourer as well as sexual danger. Among the Mundang the circumcizer wears a piece of lion skin on his head, according to Frobenius,[4] and among the Katla-Nuba he wears a leopard skin.[5] Hollis tells us that among the Nandi the master of ceremonies holds court in the circumcision hut wearing a lion skin on his head.[6] The Sanda we say that the Barabaiga, who are their northern neighbours and related to the Nandi, do the same. Straube states that the

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1 1955, 5 ff.

2 Cf. p. 493, note 1.

3 Junod, 1913, 76, discussing circumcision among the Thonga.

4 1913, 149.

5 Ibid., 115.

6 1909.

girl-initiates of the Yao are attacked by a man dressed as a lion, thorns in hand.[1] Germann records that Pare boys are threatened with being eaten by lions.[2] Although this is not common now, crowns of lion manes made of zebra hair (aangu) are also used on occasion by Sandawe circumcizers.

To Straube, the circumcision ceremonies represent the 'mythical death' of the initiates, their sojourn in the other world, and their return to the world on this side.[3] Van Gennep, on the subject of Australian peoples, says that

> "In some tribes the novice is considered dead, and he remains dead for the duration of his novitiate,"[4]

but as a principal thesis he holds that

> "Rites which involve cutting something... are generally rites of separation."[5]

No doubt the Sandawe rites separate the initiates from childhood. At the end of their novitiate they are reborn as young adults and therefore they obviously find themselves in a ritual womb during their seclusion, but there is little evidence to show that they are thought of as dying a ritual death at the beginning of this seclusion. Rather than going to the other world of the spirits they go to the other world of the bush, i.e. they go out of human society to become Hyenas or outcasts, but not into the realm of death. They do not die, but have to face the threat of death represented by Lion.

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1 1955, 6.
2 1912, 74.
3 Op.cit.
4 1960, 75 (italics mine).
5 Ibid., 53-4.

The Lion-danger and sorcery.

The omnipresent fear of Lion-danger presents a situation which malevolent people may readily exploit by means of the intimidation of sorcery. The country of the Rimi, and also parts of south-western Sandawe have been notorious for outbreaks of lion-murders; the victims were killed by people dressed as lions who were believed to be real lions. Several women and some men have been convicted as the instigators and possible perpetrators of these murders, but no killer has been caught who could be identified as a 'lion' with any certainty. It seems certain that the killers were dressed as lions; footprints and claw marks found on the victims were those of lions, but knife wounds and other evidence proved the killings to be the work of humans.[1] Much about these lion-murders remains shrouded in mystery but they appear to represent cases of sorcery in which the sorcerers have made effective use of the popular beliefs about lions and Lion-danger in order to trap their prey and to intimidate the neighbourhood into silence. Although knowledge of the role of Lion in Sandawe oral literature does not solve the details of this sorcery, it may help to understand the circumstances which have made it possible.

The snake and the gourd, and similar symbols.

When the phallic symbols of the Sandawe are considered, it becomes clear that we have to do with a considerable variety of forms. Some have an obvious phallic shape; the

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1 Cf. Tanganyika, 1947, High Court Criminal Appeals Nos. 217, 218, and 219 of 1947; Dodoma, Criminal Appeal No. 163 of 1958 based on the Kondoa District Court Criminal Case No.56; Kenya: Law Reports of the Court of Appeals for Eastern Africa Vol. XV, 1948; and the Eastern Africa Law Reports, 1957; see also Wyatt 1950, and Schneider, 1962.

pestle or the quiver of the dance of the foetus (mirimó) is perhaps the most obvious of all. The phallic nature of the antheap in which the adulterous Hare lives finds its confirmation in the riddle in which it proves to be the simple, obscene phallus.[1] In the story of the woman and the snake the latter is clearly phallic, but so are the circumcision dancers' rock with the cleft, animal horns, and even bird's wings.[2] In witchcraft exorcism dances trees may function in the same way as the rock, and thus they are phallic; this is also the case in the song of the ebony phallus.[3] The horns of the moon may be identified with the phallic horns of honghorn cattle.[4] Even lions and man himself may be used as phallic symbols, as we have seen, and also the phallic opposite, the womb, may merge into a phallus. The more obvious the symbols are, the more readily they are likely to be used as vulgar references to sexual pleasure but all may help to express, at a deeper and more truly symbolic level, the deep concern of the Sandawe with fertility and the continued existence of their tribe.

The snake may be used as a vulgar referent, but it may also symbolize ugliness rather than obscenity. When in text No. 11 the snake enters the woman's mouth, part of its function is no more than to transfer an obscene image; associated with this is the warning of the dangers of a refusal to marry. In the tale of the cripple who becomes a handsome youth the position is different. Here the skin of the snake is the rubbish, the ugly skin, with which the youth had been covered. Thus obscenity and ugliness combine to find their expression by means

1 Hare in antheap: text No. 9; Antheap = obscenity: riddle text No. 74 (p.335).

2 The cleft: pp. 354-5 and 365; horns (nembe) = glans penis: text No. 93 (pp. 379-81); bird's wings: pp. 444-5.

3 Trees = Rock: p. 355; tree's heartwood = ebony phallus: text No. 113 (pp. 413-6).

4 Cf. pp. 418; 420, and 425.

of the same animal representation. Although the common use of the snake no doubt helps to associate the two referents in Sandawe thought ("Symbols direct and organize"[1]), we have here to do with two different symbols. Ogden and Richards insist that

> "When a symbol seems to stand for two or more referents we must regard it as two or more symbols, which are to be differentiated."[2]

Use of the snake as a sexual symbol is found in all Bantu literatures; as a referent to ugliness it is less common but not confined to the Sandawe. In a Hehe story recorded by Dempwolff, which is virtually identical with the Sandawe tale of the cripple who becomes handsome, the 'ugly skin' which the cripple throws off is explicitly a snake-skin.[3]

Among the Sandawe the snake also represents the All-devouring Monster who swallows people and burns their houses.[4] The snake-monster puts an end to all life, and the snake is therefore the exact opposite of the life-giving womb. In this connection it seems highly relevant to note that the sexual act is also associated with burning;[5] the phallic snake is thus a symbol of death rather than of life, and the sexual act is dangerous and destructive rather than creative; this may be compared with the danger which is expressed by Lion as a sexual symbol. The rock of witchcraft exorcism is also a barren phallus; it contains witchcraft in the form of a deadly snake. The phallus is not just a snake; it is the home which harbours the Life-destroying Snake. Only when this bewitching substance is removed from it the phallus can begin to have a fertilizing

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1 Ogden and Richards, 1946, 9.

2 Ibid., 91.

3 Dempwolff, 1913.

4 Cf. the song of text No. 12.

5 Cf. pp. 414-6.

effect.

Although sexual penetration is referred to as burning, and burning is thus associated with obscenity, destruction and death, burning is also a purifying act. The firedrill (herende) which is used at the inauguration of a new household, may be seen as a phallus which purifies by fire. Fire is deadly but it also destroys impurity. In the ceremony where the initiates prepare to leave their camp they burn a weaver bird's nest which has the shape of a male organ. They cleanse themselves ritually of the impure state of their initiation period, and they sever themselves irrevocably from their boyhood. The tree under which the rite is performed, the baobab, is a symbol of male strength and in this quality it may acquire phallic qualities; its opposite number, the /ámaka tree and its substitute the gelegela tree, under which the female rites are held, are usually small and slender.[1] Yet the "female" /ámaka tree also provides the male symbols of the sticks which are used in the courtship dances of landá. As Beattie points out, the touching of a woman's shoulder is a widespread symbol for sexual intercourse, and there cannot be any doubt about the phallic nature of the sticks, even though they are made of the wood of a 'female' tree.[2] The use of sticks as a symbol of masculinity is as obvious as it is common. When a Tallensi becomes a father he announces the fact to his parents-in-law in this form: "Your daughter has borne a calabash" - if it is a girl; "a staff", if it is a boy.[3] In Basutoland the birth of a son is announced by beating the father with a stick; the birth of a daughter by drenching him with water.[4] Yet it would be wrong to see phallic symbols in

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1 But on occasion the /ámaka may reach a considerable girth when it grows in favourable conditions.

2 Beattie, 1961, 177.

3 Fortes, 1945, 61.

4 Ashton, 1952, 29.

all sticks and trees; even the trees of the exorcism dancers and the baobab of the circumcised must be seen as assuming phallic shapes only in the proper contexts, and then only as symbols which in general represent ideas which have to do with clearing the way for healthy fertility. In neither case must they be seen as mere obscene allusions. This is not to say that these allusions are not made; they certainly are by some of the boys who throw their knives into the baobab before they are carried out of their confinement. To quote Jung, "much depends upon the maturity of the dreamer who produces such an image."[1]

Another phallic object is the knife which is used in clitoridectomy, the mendu; it produces a searing pain and it stands for a bull which symbolically deflowers the girl-initiates.[2] Circumcision's symbolic function of paving the way toward fertility is expressed in the song which says that the newly adult maidens will blossom forth after the ordeal,[3] and the person who paves the way is called the /ak'usus', 'the one who causes [it] to be open (or visible)'.[4]

It may sometimes be illuminating to draw up series of symbolic associations in terms of dualistic oppositions, but it would amount to rather an oversimplification if it were attempted to place such oppositions in two simple linear sets. Coomaraswamy has pointed out that a thing may be female in relation to one thing, but male in relation to another.[5] Not only do symbols and their referents cross sides according

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1 1964, 92.

2 Cf. p.393.

3 Cf. p. 397.

4 Cf. p. 598, note 3.

5 Cf. p. 64 and p. 65. note 1.

to the contexts in which they are used, referents may also merge in the same symbolic representation. The phallus merges with the womb in the lap-gourds of mirimó. Gourds usually represent the womb and thus fertility, but in the Lion-game of mirimó the gourds in the initiates' laps are phalluses as well as foetuses. The substitution of the pestle-plus-gourd or drum in mirimó by the phallic man in sanzoona further suggests the essential unity of the attributes of mirimó.

The womb is usually a life-giving symbol, but it can be as infertile and destructive as the phallus. In the tale of the woman and the snake it is the womb-gourd (the pumpkin) which finally destroys the girl Mirigi by swallowing her into the earth. Ogden and Richards' injunction to distinguish between symbols when their referents differ proves to be valid once more. This structural problem of symbolism may also be approached from the psychological side for, as Jung says, every thing that appears as male may have a female element in it ("anima"), and vice versa, every female symbol may have a male element ("animus").[1]

The snake as a Sandawe symbol fits in well with what it represents among surrounding tribes. Beidelman writes that among the Kaguru it represents maleness, and

> "Giant snakes are said to dwell atop mountain peaks (a male symbol for Kaguru) and, in tales are sometimes described as coupling with women, with dire results".[2]

He also states that

> "An enormous snake with seven heads is a fairly common motif in Kaguru stories. Just as birds represent beneficient factors of luck, so these snakes usually represent malevolent forces, in some sense associated with men."[3]

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1 1964, 31.

2 1964 , footnote, p.2. The Sandawe snake dwells in the sea, or a lake, which is 'female'.

3 Loc. cit.

The number of eight hundred heads given in the Sandawe story is obviously a modernism, used to stress the size of the monster. The Hadza attest to its enormity as a destructive power by letting an elephant battle with it in a tale; the elephant is then promptly swallowed up.[1]

The meaning of birds.

Like other animals, birds appear in Sandawe oral literature either as animals with characters of their own, or as symbols. But here the analogy ends, for birds as a class of animals can be split up into two main categories of different type. One of these corresponds in general with the group of animal or human caricatures, while the other category provides representations of the symbolic type. The first group consists in general of some of the more conspicuous species of birds; these are represented as individual beings with characters of their own. The second group consists of more anonymous birds, such as small and gregarious birds of the field, and also high-flying birds of prey.

The individual birds of the first group have characters which are generally favourable. The stork, the ostrich, the dove and the pigeon are all attributed a certain superiority or cleverness. Stork defeats the greedy Hyena in text No. 2; Ostrich humbles the pretentious Hare in text No. 3; Dove does something which Hare cannot emulate in text No. 4 and the latter perishes trying; and Pigeon is also said to be clever, but text No. 5 shows him to be not so powerful as Frog. The guinea-fowl is considered beautiful because of its speckled feathers[2] and the cock, which plays no role in the texts presented, is said to be a clever animal and to act as a guardian against enemies and witchcraft; because it is a witchcraft-destroyer (tl'ńé'o kónawai) it is used in circumcision ritual, according

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1 Kohl-Larsen, 1956b, 48-57. 2 Text No. 40 (p. 318-9).

to informants who say that Cock is bigger than Lion.[1]

In the symbolic category the songs of circumcision and of witchcraft exorcism mention several large birds of prey which possess watchfulness and are hunters; they eat carrion (death) and therefore they destroy witchcraft.[2] Their names are used as praise-names for the simbó dancers who climb (fly up into) trees; the dancers become bird-people who acquire the powers of the birds, and they become destroyers of witchcraft, just like the real birds of prey.[3] It is said of the rites of simbó that they purify the country, and the birds are symbolic of this purification; by identifying themselves with the birds, the dancers overcome the powers of witchcraft. The condition of being a Lion (simbó) is supplemented by the condition of being a bird of prey.[4]

The unspecified birds of the second group have a number of mysterious properties; the ideas which other peoples of eastern Africa have about them generally agree well with those of the Sandawe. Beidelman states that the Kaguru see birds as omens, and that their folklore has many instances of birds showing magical or unusual powers.[5] Werner speaks of the unnamed birds in Bantu tales which reveal the secret of a murder, and she says that a favourite incident is the sending of birds with messages.[6] Kohl-Larsen says that among the Tindiga (Hadza) birds are often the helpers of man in tales.[7]

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1 This agrees with the usual position in Bantu tales, cf. the intimidation of Lion by Cock referred to on p. 564.

2 Cf. text No. 105 (initiates are watchful hunters); text No. 88 (dancers are witchcraft destroying carrion-eaters).

3 Ibid.

4 Purification: cf. p. 355.

5 1963c, 46.

6 1933, 303.

7 1956b, 157.

The Sandawe appear to agree with this, as is witnessed by the riddle of the siriko bird which is a carrier of secret messages.[1]

Messages, stories and songs fly. Bleek and Lloyd record a Bushman text which says:

> "My fellow men are those who ( ) are listening from stories from afar, which float along; they are listening to stories from other places."[2]

The Sandawe say the same about songs, for 'songs fly up high, they run like birds' (/hima /'áŋk'na' tl'insiri, aà thwíʃe' siríbé).[3] This flying action is either divinely inspired (warongo ia'abo, the work of divinities), or the work of spirits (léte'ima ia'abo), or just mystical (informants have no explanation). Andrzejewski says that among the Somali

> "poetry spreads so quickly across vast distances that some people in the nomadic interior believe it to be transported by jinns, or even by God himself."[4]

Among the Bantu speaking Zaramo the process is a more mystical one. Werner quotes the story of the enslaved Kwege who had been sent bird-watching in the fields. He sat down, looked at the hovering flocks of birds and wept bitterly. Then he sang:

> "I Kwege, weep, I weep!
> And my crying is what the birds say."[5]

To the Sandawe birds also have a supernatural quality, for "the going of the birds is the work of divinity" (thwíi siríbó ka' warongwé ia'abo), and "the birds and the hornets help the inspirational diviner" (thwíi ní zizíí táura magangaŋga' áduk'e).

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1 Text No. 38 (pp. 317-8).

2 1911, 301.

3 I have heard a similar remark about news which flies.

4 1963, 15-6.

5 1933, 89.

This is reminiscent of what Culwick has to say about letter-writing, which is another form of transmitting information:

> "A letter is a supernatural agent whereby the writer transmits his thoughts to the reader, and reading partakes of the nature of divination, more particularly to that form of divination which consists of holding a string of beads in the hand and waiting for the thought it inspires in the mind."[1]

He adduces no conclusive evidence for the accuracy of this statement, but some Sandawe also show amazement at the power of literate tribesmen to understand news from far away, and to read the letter-writer's thoughts. Mystic communication, by bird-flight, as it were, thus includes that which is transmitted by divination, by song, and by letter.

No identification of birds with riddles has so far been documented from elsewhere, as far as I know. The link between the two, as symbolized by the Sandawe riddle-bird, fits in well with the association of birds with supernatural agencies. Supernatural agencies are usually spirits of some kind or another, and to break the riddle-playing taboo is to offend the spirits, thereby calling in the birds who will then come to destroy the crops. Birds are therefore not exclusively a force to the good; rather than being the helpers of man they may be hostile if the spirits wish it.

The link of birds with supernatural forces is vague and difficult to establish by solid evidence. In the rites of twin births the song of the twin birds suggests, on the face of it, a link between birds and other sky phenomena such as lightning and spirits, but information supplied by informants links the birds with phallic images instead.[2] Since the link of birds with supernatural forces is such a subtle one, we must be

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1 1938, 79.

2 Cf. p. 444.

careful not to depict birds as playing the role of spirit-messengers like the mantis.

In text No. 8 a newborn child is taken care of by a bird and eventually abducted to a place vaguely described as Swaare, a place to which the child has been coaxed, or an undefined place which seems to be receding while the searchers approach it, like a fata morgana.[1] Rather than being spirit-messengers, the role of the birds appears to be the symbol of Mystery itself.

Symbolism and the use of names.

In the example just quoted the use of the name Swaare has helped us to discover the meaning of the birds as a symbol. This suggests that names may be valuable auxiliaries to symbols in oral art. From the discussion of some Sandawe symbols it may have become clear that the use of symbols contributes considerably to the conveyance of meaning as expressed by plain language. This "extra meaning" is conveyed not only by the use of appropriate symbols, but also by the artful selection of names. Like symbols, names can therefore fulfil an important purpose in oral literature, but unlike symbols, which express something of general value or importance, the value of names applies only to the particular subject which happens to be under discussion.

The Shorter Oxford Dictionary defines a name as

> "1. The particular combination of vocal sounds employed as the individual designation of a single person, animal, place, or thing. 2. The specific word or words (term) used to denote a member of a particular class or being or object."[2]

If symbols are expressing general values, names designate specific or particular objects.

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1 Cf. p. 163.

2 1944, reprinted 1959 (3rd ed.).

The poetry in names.

Although the study of names and their uses in oral literature is a fascinating one, little systematic work appears to have been done on it in respect of African literatures. Beier, when discussing the poetry in names in the context of Yoruba poetry, points out that "we are not always aware that Emanuel means 'God is with us' or John means 'The beloved of God'", and he says that the names of Yoruba children may have meanings such as 'Joy enters the House', or 'I have someone to pet'.[1] He also mentions the difficulties which may be found in the interpretation of the meanings of names; in this respect he refers to the variety of popular explanations of the meaning of the Yoruba word for God.[2]

Sandawe names are as meaningful as those of any other people, but in oral literature there is more to these names than their intrinsic meanings alone. A point to be stressed is that the real poetry of names does not lie so much in the meaning of each name in isolation, but in the way it is used in a tale, a song, or a riddle. A name's poetic potential is fulfilled only in its artful application to a meaningful context. Many items of oral literature would lose much of their beauty and significance if the names occurring in them were omitted or altered. Just as symbolic representations express whole complexes of thought, names characterize people or places by the use of a single word. The clever use of one particular name may provide wit or salt, and its imaginative application may add a leavening of relevant idea-associations. A name may be circumstantial or symbolic of what it represents, but in either case it may bring in an enjoyable element of poetry.

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1 1959, 6-7.

2 Ibid., 5.

Names in Sandawe narrative.

The names found in the story texts are mainly place-names and the names of the tale's protagonists, but a few ritual names of animals also occur. When place-names are used to show the route of running competitors, as in text No. 1, well-known names are preferred which are familiar to everyone. Everyone in the audience can therefore easily follow the progress of the competitors in their imagination.[1] In the first text Lion and Zebra follow such a well-known route, and in text No. 6 Cow and the pursuing Lion follow the same route but in an opposite direction. This is significant. In the story of Lion's pursuit of Cow the route begins in distant Lal'ta; this is the place where the danger of Lion's threat to Cow develops (the story is told at Farkwa in south-eastern Sandawe, but Lal'ta is in the west). From there Cow and her calf flee from Lion, and they get nearer and nearer to Farkwa until at last they reach home and safety. What is a safer place to the Farkwa audience than Farkwa itself? The association of distance with danger is also evident from the story of the Lion-husband, whose home is placed in distant Kilosa.[2] This is the place to which he almost manages to entice his bride and her brother before the latter escape in the flying cage. Unnamed places may be used in a similar meaningful way. The sea in which the many-headed snake lives is a far-away place, and if this "sea" is interpreted as a large lake this fact remains unaltered.[3] Other associations than the danger of distance may be implied by a place-description: the unnamed place where the woman-seducing Hare lives is a phallic antheap.[4]

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1 See note 12 on p. 118.

2 Text No. 15, note 4 (p. 217).

3 Text No. 12; cf. also p. 562.

4 Text No. 9.

Since the most significant part of a tale is usually the song, it is not surprising to find that names are often used in the most significant way in the story-song. Holóa, which is the name of the place to which Hyena and Stork are racing in the song of text No. 2, may be explained as The Place Which You Cannot Miss. By selecting this name the storyteller suggests that his protagonists have one clear goal in mind from which they do not deviate. Holóa beckons them, clearly visible.[1] In the tale of the abducted child two names appear in the song, Swaare and Ringeringe. The subtle contrast between the meanings of the two names conveys the difference in the atmosphere of anxiety during the search, and the relief when the searchers are closing in on their target. Swaare is the name which suggests the undefinable nature of the place where the child has been hidden whereas Ringeringe is a name which suggests a visible target, or at least a target which is well defined. Without these two names the beauty of the song would be lost, and with it, much of the significance of the tale.[2]

The name of a story's principal hero is often found in the song, and the choice of the name is usually highly meaningful. In the tale of the chief who stole the poor man's wife the poor man is called Elephant which, as we have seen from elephant symbolism, means an Upright or Courageous Hunter. The wife's name, Mvangale, which means Candelabra Tree, is equally significant. Either she was a witch and the seducer got his due by getting a wooden witch (the tree) instead of a live woman, or she may have become de-humanized in her raped

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1 Literally: That which is in a continuous state of being open. Ho signifies a state of being open (cf. ha, to be open); lo is a continuous state (cf. la, continuous action); a is the 3rd person singular.

2 The names are analyzed in note 2 on p. 162 and note 8, p.163; see also note 5 on pp. 162-3.

condition after she had handed over her heart to her husband. The precise interpretation is a matter of personal opinion, just as the precise interpretation of poetry (which implies more than it states) is also largely left to the imagination.[1]

In the story of the woman who is possessed by a snake, the former's name is Mirisi, which means Medicine. According to informants she is administered medicine for bad behaviour, but they do not say what the nature is of this behaviour.[2] The answer is supplied by the first five lines of the tale, where it is explained that she was a very pretty girl, but that she consistently refused to get married. This is a form of behaviour which is thought of as decidedly anti-social.[3] The medicine which she is administered consists of the treatment which she receives from the phallic snake, and her consequent suffering. The name Mirisi thus expresses the association which exists between the girl's anti-social behaviour, her placement outside normal fertile society, the snake-medicine, and her resulting sickness and misery. The incurability of her aversion is shown by the end-motif, where she is hacking at the gourd-womb in a last futile effort to overcome it, but which results in her own final destruction. The name of the girl helps to clear up the function of the snake-symbol; the nature of this symbol is quite clear without the name, but its purpose is not.

In the tale of the many-headed snake the snake's name is simply "Hundred-headed one" in the first line of the song, but the second line reveals its nature as the All-devourer: "The challenger of whole villages and the burner of houses" is in fact also a name in the sense of a significant appellation or an epithet.[4]

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1 Text No. 15, notes 20 and 21 (pp. 261-2).

2 Text No. 11, note 4 (p. 184).

3 Ibid., note 1 (p. 183).

4 Text No. 12.

The significance of the assumption of new names in tales has been noticed by Boas in Tsimshian mythology;[1] Sandawe oral art also uses this expedient to good effect. In the tale of the cripple who became handsome, the cripple's name Kalunkaka probably suggests his lowly condition.[2] The girl whom he pursues but who rejects him is called 'I do not want men' (Sitawálume), but the greatest significance lies in the new name which the storyteller applies to the cripple later on in the story. At the point where the girl's mother realizes that his claim to the girl cannot possibly be refuted, she calls him Tshawalume. The meaning of this may be translated as 'It is I whose husband he is'.[3] The change of the name reflects the changed situation in the tale, and to the knowing listener it subtly expresses this fact.

Not all names in stories are subtle references to contextual situations. Some are simple, even crude characterizations. 'One-eye' simply indicates a physical handicap, and 'Green-eye' adds insult to this.[4] Matunda, the name of the creator, means progeny and implies fertility; this is a name which embodies its poetry in isolation, and it is not dependent on meaningful placement in an appropriate story-context.[5] In the tale of the war with the Maasai the name Sóno is not at all relevant to the story as an expressive medium, because here we have to do with a historical figure whose name happened to be Sóno.[6]

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1 1916, 417 ff.

2 Text No. 14, note 8 (pp. 233-4).

3 Ibid., note 15 (p. 239).

4 One-eye: texts Nos. 10 and 12, cf. note 1 on p. 170.
Green-eye: text No. 10, note 11 (pp. 174-5) and text No. 12, note 8 (pp. 201-2).

5 Texts Nos. 19 and 20.

6 Text No. 18.

Name-punning in riddles.

Berry is one of the few who have drawn attention to the importance of name-punning in African literature, by classifying West-African riddles into true riddles, riddle-questions and "conundrums, or riddles that involve puns and plays on words."[1] On the subject of the psychology of Chagga riddles, Gutmann says that the greatest joy in solving a riddle is that, by discovering the essence of its similitudes, one has recognized the nature of an object itself. Solving riddles thus helps to gratify the human mind's quest for wisdom, the ultimate achievement of which lies in recognition. And, he says, "The key to every thing is in its name."[2]

More than anything else, name-punning gives riddle-playing its special character of a clever art. Riddles are not just questions which require an answer; they are also parables which consist of two essentially equivalent parts, like a mathematical equation. In this clever art of the Sandawe, the significance of a riddle does not lie in the solution alone. It lies in both sides of the parable, in the question as well as in the solution. Posing a riddle cleverly is therefore just as commendable as solving it correctly, and clever name-keys to the nature of the likeness are often used in posing the question. Names add the fun of a pun to riddles, but they also add cognitive values of their own.

In one riddle Ts'umá is the name of a woman who always emerges from the kitchen together with her child. The answer is the large main dish for porridge and the small one for vegetable relish. The parallel is easy enough to see, but it

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1 1961, 11. The distinction between True riddles (logically solvable) and Riddle-questions (can be answered only by the initiated) is not relevant to the present discussion of name-punning.

2 1911, 522.

is solely the choice of the name Ta'umá which adds the image of a steaming dish, for the name means (One) Who Has Smoke (or Steam).[1] In another riddle, "the nose" is the reply to "Lonzá's sleeping but stands out foreward." The role of the nose in snoring is sufficiently obvious, but the name provides the image of snoring quietly, like a quiet water, and adds a modicum of ridicule.[2] The noses of Europeans are made fun of by the use of the name Tomá which means 'it does stick out'.[3] The use of the name Mlawehlawe ('Pretty-pretty') for a girl in an obscene riddle causes the resulting image to be more plastic than it would have been without it.[4] The choice of the name Morúú in the parable of the water-reeds and the Maasai warrior alludes to barrenness and implies an insult to his tribe.[5] The riddle of Khomóso who has forgotten his knife-handle and its solution (excrement) make nonsense of the dignity of a homestead-owner by linking his name with the unclean act of wiping away children's excrement; this is a woman's job anyway. Since Fly-Switch, i.e. the Head of the Household, is usually the riddle-playing child's grandfather, this pun also reflects the disrespect which is commonly shown for members of the next ascending generation.[6]

Punning on place-names can be equally involved. In the riddle of the many beautifully-patterned objects at Kigango the solution is a guinea-fowl.[7] The abundance of these birds at this place has been referred to under the text, and it gives a sufficient first explanation why the name Kigango has been

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1 Text No. 48.
2 Text No. 53.
3 Text No. 58.
4 Text No. 74.
5 Text No. 57.
6 Text No. 63.
7 Text No. 40.

chosen. But the choice of the name is also significant in another respect. The element gango in the name suggests the shooting of arrows into a tree (Ki- is a Bantu class-prefix which adds no significant meaning to the name in Sandawe).[1] Shooting for practice entails frequent searches for lost arrows, and the use of brightly speckled guinea-fowl feathers in the arrow's tail fins makes the search easier. Sandawe preference for guinea-fowl plumage is so strong that they use special boxes for storing them.[2] Thus the name Kigango refers not only to the abundance of guinea-fowl at that place, but also to the fact that the birds which are so plentiful there, are those which supply arrow-feathers.

In the riddle of the dry vegetables at Tl'ankhoo the geographical name supplied the image of a tooth-gap, which is the solution to the riddle.[3] The explanation given for the personal name Kesewa, which also occurs in the riddle, may be incomplete. The name means One Who Herds, and although the riddle is said to describe a girl with unclean teeth, it seems not unlikely that the name has been deliberately chosen to add something to the total image. "One Who Herds" may be a reference to herding animals at a place where the vegetation has dried up, adding a suggestion of incompetence to the image of dirtiness.

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1 Although vowel changes have occurred in each syllable the name is homologous with Gongaa (mentioned on p. 537); cf. also note 1 on p. 530. For the meaning of vowels, cf. p. 105.

2 The National Museum at Dar es Salaam has such a box on display, with the following caption:

> "A box made from a small log of wood split in half and hollowed out. These were used for storing guinea-fowl feathers, used by the Sandawe, for their arrows. The bright colours of these feathers make lost arrows easier to find. Such 'feather boxes' are no longer made. D.V.159."

An illustration of such a feather box is given by von Luschan, op.cit., 334. It may be added that a feather box is called mú'a and that such boxes are still being made, although only rarely.

3 Text No.55.

Ritual names.

In chapter VI songs have been collected which are principally associated with ritual, and not unnaturally this is where ritual names are used most. It is a striking feature of these songs that so few personal names occur in them, and also place names do not abound. Most names are those of animals, plants, and objects which are used as representations of wider idea-complexes and associated values. They are therefore highly symbolic. What has originally been the name of an animal or an object, may also be combined with a verb to form a complex ritual name. Even verbal forms which are used only in the context of ritual, may function as ritual names.

In the song which praises the ash-coloured exorcism dancers, the term for 'zebra' (dóro) is a ritual praise name.[1] In various other exorcism songs, and also in circumcision songs, the names of birds, in particular birds of prey, fulfil the same function. Even the name of the rites which achieve exorcism by dissociation, simbó, is really a ritual praise name. Simbó, 'the condition of being a Lion', means in effect 'to be as brave as a Lion'. It is no accident that the Bantu term simba forms the basis for the name, rather than the Sandawe //atsí (lion), because the latter simply means the physical animal. To the Sandawe who do not speak Bantu, the Bantu term has a more mystical value. Yet we have an example on hand where the Sandawe term is used to express the highest possible praise for the Ritual Lion. In the song which likens the sound of the rubbing-bowls with the roar of lions, the term for the physical lion (//atsí) is suddenly used instead of the usual term for the ritual Lion (simba).[2] This is an intensification of the praise for the fawn-coloured, elongated wooden bowls which emit the

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1 Text No. 86, The Praise.

2 Text No. 97, The Lion-bowl roars.

sound of the symbolic Ritual Lion. The bowls roar so well that they actually resemble the physical animals. The symbol is substituted by the common object; the sacred is displaced by the profane.[1]

Objects and plants which supply names for ritual symbols are the clitoridectomy knife (mendu), the horn which is identified with the Klans penis (bembe), and the heartwood of a tree (thee mo).[2]

Complex ritual names are Kiándoréé (Striding Maned-Lion), Sámülééda (He Who Always Grunts), and Kiangombe (Initiate-Devourer). Meaning-shifts have occurred in these names which mask original Bantu terms. The zebra, represented by the element ndoree in Kiandoréé, still supplies the material for a ritual crown, but the image created is that of a lion, and the ritual attire represents lion-manes.[3] The element sámü in Sámülééda has not been derived from a brindle-coloured animal as it is thought by some young men, but from a little-used verb which means 'to grunt'.[4] The term Kiangombe contains the Bantu element ngombe, but this does no longer mean 'cattle' but 'initiates'.[5] The principal association of the first of these

1 Needham, 1960, ascribes the great significance of the left hand of the Mugwe (a prophet of the Meru of Kenya) to an intensification of the sacred role of the right hand in ritual; the analogy with the case of the physical lion lies in the consideration that the left hand of the holiest priest of the Meru can do the ritual job even better than the right hand of an ordinary priest. Priesthood corresponds with the Ritual Lion (sacred); the left hand with the physical lion (profane). As Needham says, the Mugwe himself is symbolic; his use of the left hand does not mean that the left hand as such is sacred. The Ritual Lion of the Sandawe is symbolic, but the common wooden bowl is not sacred at all.

2 Texts Nos. 100, 93, and 113.

3 The term is analyzed on pp. 358-9.

4 Cf. p. 150.

5 Cf. pp. 385-8.

three terms is with the Danger of the Bush (powers not controlled by man), of the second with the Threat of Danger, and the third with the Danger of the Ritual. Especially in the last case meaning has become so vague that the Sandawe themselves are no longer able to explain it.

Ritual terms derived from various verbs and other words are lambo (initiation in the sense of separation), galagala (refers to bloody circumcision), sumángala (blood and menstruation), and holongólogo (healing; etymologically this seems to be related to galagala and sumángala).[1]

Iyéya in the Lion-game refers to coitus; in the song of the story of the adulterous woman and the hare it signifies randiness.[2] Pirimó is the circling movement of the searchers in the tale of the abducted child, and of the cage which flies up in the tale of the woman who married a Lion-man. In the ritual song of the dance around the baobab tree it is the dancers' circling movement around the tree. In the song itself the reason is given for the movement: it removes 'the curse' (of the period of pollution which is the initiation-period). This shows the importance of ritual circumambulation. It focuses the attention on that which is circumambulated, and it emphasizes its significance by setting it aside from that which is unimportant.[3]

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1 Lambo: cf. p. 390; galagala: cf p. 395; sumángala: cf. p. 393; holongólogo: cf. p. 381.

2 For the Lion-game, cf. text No. 121, pp. 431-3; for the woman and Hare, cf. text No. 9, note 2, p. 166.

3 Circumambulation of the homestead (kerem'ta) and of the baobab tree (pirimó) are in effect circumambulations of a "victim" which is sanctified and set apart, cf. Hubert and Mauss, 1964, 31. The circular route: (1) makes divine, and (2) is simply a magic circle (Ibid., note 127, p. 125). For the non-ritual meaning of pirimó cf. note 3 on p. 162.

Names in non-ritual poetry, and a key to classification.

All dances have something to do with ritual, and therefore it cannot be said that Sandawe topical dance texts have nothing to do with ritual.[1] For this reason it is difficult to draw a sharp dividing line between ritual songs and non-ritual songs on the basis of a consideration of dances, or of dance songs, in their entirety. But if we consider the use of names in oral literature, a sharp distinction becomes at once clear. In ritual poetry and in fictional narrative names are carefully selected to characterize the principal actors, and to symbolize values. But in topical poetry and in historical tales, names belong to people who happen to own them, and they have no significance in relation to the meaning of the poem or the tale.

There is no need to give an exhaustive list of examples to show the non-symbolic function of names in non-ritual poetry, for all names in it are non-symbolic. Exceptions to this rule are few, and even they appear to follow a significant pattern, for they occur in lyrical minstrelsy and not in topical or heroic minstrelsy. In the song of the dead giraffe the place names Kirongo ('a place which has a wide circumference') and Tholǂnuwéne ('having endless plains') appear to have been deliberately chosen to stress the bleak desolation of the place where the giraffe has found its sad end. The introduction of the names stamps the song as a lyrically symbolic one rather than a historically factual one. Only the fact that there is some doubt about the meaning of the first-mentioned name, which may perhaps mean 'the place of the hunt leader', shows that we possibly have to do with a mixed case. Yet even 'the place of the hunt leader' may be a deliberate poetic choice rather than a factual statement that the giraffe was slain by the home of

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1 Cf. p. 448 (1st paragraph of chapter VII).

a particular hunter.[1] In the song of the reluctant hunting dog the term Sunéle ('one who has rows of arrow-pointed teeth') is a significant appellation, and in fact a name. It virtually takes the place of the dog's proper name, yet it is not a factual proper name but a deliberately chosen epithet.[2] In the song of the forbidden intercourse significant use is made of the names of flowering trees, yet there is no reason to assume that the trees were actually flowering at the time.[3] In the song of the prowling lion the name Simba ndore ('Lion, the maned lion') is used, as well as the term Kotole ('He who frequents the fence'); the former is a ritual name for Lion, and the second is a significant appellation or epithet.[4]

We have seen that Dempwolff recognizes two types of Sandawe minstrel, the epic and the lyrical poet, and of the minstrels represented in the present thesis Mr. Gawa Ginda'é Solá is described as belonging to the second category.[5] Names and epithets which can be shown to be significant in relation to the meaning of the song, are all found in poems which may be termed lyrical. And, perhaps significantly, all the examples are from songs sung by Mr. Gawa Ginda'é Solá.

Of the names found in the topical dance songs of chapter VII, none appears to have any deliberate significance in relation to the meaning of the song. Even the name Mwanabóri ('He who has it for saying') in the song of the porters' caravan is factual. It is the nickname of a historical figure and not a name which has been specially invented for use in the poem.[6]

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1 Text No. 156 (pp. 507-8).

2 Text No. 157 (pp. 508-10).

3 Text No. 166 (pp. 518-21).

4 Text No. 153 (p. 503).

5 P. 499.

6 Text No. 149, We crept on our knees (pp. 487-9).

Invocations like Wa'é in some landá songs have nothing to do with the song.[1] As Calame-Griaule points out in regard to a Bambara text, such invocations are salutations on the part of the singer.[2] In the wayá'ga song of the beer tax the salutation becomes almost a direct address when the singers mention the name of the headman Mondí in their complaint about the imposition of the tax.[3] The name is a factual one, and all other names which occur in the songs of this chapter are also purely and simply the names of people who are mentioned in them.

Names can now be used to classify songs as topical or non-topical (lyrical or ritual). In the dance songs which celebrate communal effort (wayá'ga), of the dance of the youths (mangóa), and of the harvest and courtship dances (landá and níndo), names are not significant. Sharply contrasted with these are the songs of exorcism (simbó), of circumcision (góũ and kerem'ta), of the foetus and the phallus (mirimó and sanzoona), and of twin births (dóa); here names are highly significant. Only the placement of the songs of the elders' dance (mudanga) must be tentative for lack of sufficient name material. In minstrelsy names may help to classify songs as lyrical or heroic minstrelsy. In narrative, fables (fiction) are distinguished from mythical and historical stories (non-fiction) by the use of names. Creation myths are a borderline case but they may be seen as belonging to the second category because the name Matunda simply means The Creator; it is a factual description as much as a symbolic invention.

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1 Texts Nos. 138, 146, and 147. All three are sung by the same singer who apparently likes to salute Wa'é.

2 1963, 203.

3 Text No. 134.

Ritual terms and names are naturally found in the first place in ritual song, but they are also strikingly common in story songs. Nimba (Lion) occurs in the songs of text No. 1, Sangule (Wearer of Manes) in those of text No. 2, Sámülééda (He Who Always Grunts) in text No. 6, pirimé (swirling around) in texts Nos. 8 and 13, ivéya (randiness or coitus) in text No. 9, and Tembo (Elephant) in text No. 15. This presence in story songs is no longer surprising now that we have discovered the correspondence between ritual song and fiction. We have seen that in ritual song the names are significant to the meaning of the whole song, and in the explanations of the song texts we have referred to them as operative terms. In fictional narrative crucial moments are marked by songs which also illustrate the meaning of the story in a way which ordinary speech cannot do. Thus the song is to the fable what the name is to the ritual song. In topical poetry we find no significant names, and in correspondence with this we find no songs in historical/mythical stories.[1]

It may indeed be said that names are poems.

The general character of Sandawe names and symbols.

Efforts to discover the meanings of African proper names have often been made; even Sandawe names have been discussed. Von Luschan was the first to list a few meanings of Sandawe personal names; he mentions One Who Eats Quickly, Flatterer (i.e. one who scrounges food by flattering the donor), One Who Is Silent, One Who Loves His Mother, and Good Shot ("Schütze", which is his translation of Makua, the name of the tribe whose members are well known for their elephant hunting). He also mentions that a child may be called Cross-roads if his mother has delivered it at such a spot.[2]

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1 Cf. p. 557.

2 1898, 342-3.

Dempwolff supplies some more detail about the nature of Sandawe personal names and the circumstances in which they are given. According to one of his informants, the first name which a child receives is the name of its mother or its mother's brother. Additional names are given later, at different stages of its life: at 'puberty rites' (circumcision), at marriage, and at important occasions, for example when a grandfather dies.[1] Dempwolff's second informant denies that there is naming at circumcision. This is true; there is indeed no formal naming there, but initiates may acquire nicknames which stick. The text which is supplied by the second informant, states that [at the naming ceremony] the child's umbilical cord is picked up by one of the elder women and thrown away, after which the parent(s) give the child such-and-such a name; preferred are grandparent's names but names of other relatives are also given, and special names are chosen if special circumstances warrant it.[2] The text implies, but does not make explicitly clear, that the name which the child receives at the throwing-away of the umbilical cord, is the name of the tree or shrub under which it is thrown. In fact this $n_a$ming signifies that the umbilical cord has been deposited there, which means that the child is now free of it and has started life as an independent human being which is no longer part of its mother. This previous dependence was implied by the mother's (or the mother's brother's) name. The sex of the child limits the choice of the tree or shrub under which the umbilical cord is thrown, but subject to this limitation any plant may be chosen which happens to be nearby. Boys are called after such trees as the <u>sen//a</u>, <u>!'umphá</u>, <u>áfa</u>, <u>ámata</u>, <u>niamáhla</u>, <u>támba</u>, <u>!'ák'wa</u> and other trees; the number of trees and shrubs which may be selected is great. Girls are called <u>gelegela</u>, <u>gindará</u>, <u>!háia</u>, <u>!hák'u</u>, <u>//'anka</u>, and so on.

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1 1916, 127.

2 <u>Loc.cit.</u>

Such umbilical-cord names (ǂhuǂk' //ǒá) may also be taken from things which are not plants or trees, e.g. kóto (fence, or fence-post) is a common boy's name and ts'ǂnkwa (dung, or manure) is usual for girls.[1] In general trees and shrubs with 'male' names are those which are strong or thorny, and those which have 'female' names are small or smooth-barked. Fence posts are made of heavy logs of hardwood which are planted upright in rows to form the cattle enclosure, while dung lies on the ground and fertilizes (the Sandawe know the use of manure on the fields), and the ideology of proper names is entirely in accordance with what we have found from song symbolism.[2] Instead of plant-names, girls are often given bird-names at their naming ceremonies; the names are then taken from birds which happen to be present. Sirǂko, Báhlima, Sǒraari and Sweena are bird-names which are commonly given to girls. Bird-names may also be given to boys: Zénǂu (Stork) and Pǒngo (Bateleur, a bird like an eagle) are not uncommon boy's names, but whereas the birds selected for girls are small, the 'male' birds are large birds of prey. The presence of other animals may also decide the choice of a name: Kilǂkili, the name of the swift squirrel is a boy's name, but /'óno, a very small mouse, lends its name to girls. All these names have in common that a certain circumstance is decisive, and that ideas attached to the name-giving objects limit the choice. But circumstantial objects are not limited to trees and shrubs, birds and animals. Common men's names are Kolime or K'olime (Bad Tidings or Omen),[3]

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1 Dempwolff, loc.cit., translates koto thee as 'the Koto-tree', but thee means 'wood' or 'log' or 'post' as well as 'tree'.

2 The names I'ǂk'wa and gegelela and their uses is boys' and girls' names are mentioned in text No. 166 (cf. pp 519-20).

3 The two forms are used indiscriminately, but K'olime (with stop) is the form which corresponds with the original name-giving noun (cf. text No. 152, p. 500).

Lonkhá (Fighting Stick), Kéa (= K.A.R., King's African Rifles), Bóma (Government Post or Fort), Banaringe (= Bwana Ringe, i.e. Mr. Linke), Marimo (= mwalimu, Swahili for teacher), and Mazengo (Building Poles, from the Swahili maseng@, building site or poles). These names may commemorate circumstances like the presence of a spirit-messenger, a stick-fight, the child's father's departure to join the army, the building of the government post at Kwa Mtoro, the arrival of Mr. Linke in the area, the fact that the father or one of the guests is a teacher, or the construction of a new house. Associated ideas play a limiting role also in this kind of name. Bari means Rainy Season; this is a common name for girls born at that time but Habuni, the name of Dempwolff's chief informant, is a boy's name which means There Are Empty Stomachs. The former shows an association with fertile femininity, the latter with sterile masculinity.[1] Although men and women usually do their hoeing together the name Hlomóle, One Who Hoes Regularly, is a girl's name, and so is Kozigá, Bambara Nuts (i.e. a harvest of plenty of these nuts), for hoeing and harvests are associated with fertility and these names are therefore feminine.[2]

The meanings of traditional clan and family names have often been forgotten, but sometimes the original meanings are atill clear. Amás' is a recurring name in Alagwa families, and their great headman was so called. The Alagwa claim Datoga descent, and the name means Beautiful in that language.[3] The equally common Alagwa name Mungé commemorates the clan hill of the Mungé clan.[4] Even if the meanings of traditional names are

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1 For Bári cf. text No. 113, especially p. 415. Habuni is habú-nee (empty stomach or emptiness - there are or remain).

2 Kozigá is a traditional crop (cf. p. 52). This is not a tree or plant name of the previously discussed type.

3 Ániasa = beautiful (Werther, 1898, 491).

4 Cf. p. 19 ff., and p. 21 note 1, p. 23 note 2, and p.26, note 5.

often no longer remembered, these names tend to be circumstantial. They are chosen because it is felt that a certain ancestor's name ought to be selected for propitiatory reasons; there may have been indications that his spirit might become troublesome for some reason or another, and the selection of this ancestor's name shows to him that he is being properly remembered.

Sandawe ideas about names fit in well with what is known about other African peoples. Obst says that the Rimi use the names of seasons, harvests, or draughts for personal names, and he gives us a short list of Rimi names with their meanings.[1] Von Sick records many more Rimi names, the great majority of which are clearly substantial names.[2] Further afield the situation is not substantially different. Bull says that the Pare name their children after some circumstance attending the child's birth or some peculiarity in its appearance.[3] Struyf shows that among the Ba-Kongo such circumstances as the mother's labour, or the names of the day of the week on which the birth takes place, are prominent.[4] Spiess' study of Ewe names in Togo shows several categories of circumstance, but also names of a parent's membership of secret societies, and names of people dedicated to a divinity.[5] Still further away, in Europe, the picture has changed substantially, and religious names, names of mythological animals, warlike properties, and various idealisations dominate the scene.[6] Among the Sandawe, circumstance dominates the scene and ideology is subordinate.

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1 1911, 90.

2 1915, 40.

3 1933, 326.

4 1908, 135-7.

5 1903, 57.

6 Cf. Abel, 1853.

Unlike many European names, Sandawe names are significant appellations in the sense that they have real significance in respect of the physical existence of the individual rather than with an abstract ideal. The name's significance is related to it, not separated from it.[1]

Sandawe symbolism is similarly integrated with its surroundings. Animals provide caricatures of people and their characters, but they also provide symbols of what is important to humans and what they stand for; plants symbolize ideas about fertility, masculinity, femininity, and spiritual values. Based as they are on physical similarities, their flowers and their fruits provide erotically sexual symbols of fertility rather than romantic representations as in Europe. Thus we may contrast Sandawe symbolism (and African symbolism in general) with European (and Asian) symbolism as realistic and idealistic or, if we wish, as integrated and abstracted. Yet, if we do this we still fail to put into clear perspective an important aspect of Sandawe (and African) symbolism, and also of the nature of their oral art. This aspect is admirably described by Nketia who recognizes circumstance as the relation of a thing to its surroundings. Commenting on Akan poetry, he says that

> "Oral literature has tended to give prominence to persons, interpersonal relationships and attitudes and values derived from our conception of the universe. We do not spend time on the daffodils or the nightingale or on reflections on abstract beauty, the night sky and so on as things in themselves, but only in relation to social experience. Our poetry is full of animals and plants, but these are used because they provide apt metaphors and similes, or compressed ways of stating bits of social experience."[2]

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1 The modern use of Christian and Mohammedan names excepted.

2 1961, 106-7.

C O N C L U S I O N

In addition to Nketia's argument that oral literature states bits of social experience, it may be argued that it helps to maintain and stimulate the society which supplies this experience. Songs are more than just mnemonic devices which help storytellers remember the stories they tell; they sustain and invigorate the rituals of which they form part, and the rituals of life form an essential part of life as the Sandawe know it. In his discussion of Radcliffe-Brown's functional explanation of rites, Beattie agrees with him that

> "rites express symbolically, and so help to sustain, certain social attitudes and values which are conductive to the smooth running of community life."[1]

This is done quite unconsciously. Beattie adds that

> "We are concerned ... mainly with what R.K.Merton called 'latent function' rather than 'manifest function'. That is, we are dealing with consequences of human behaviour of which most of the actors are or may be quite ignorant."[2]

Oral literature performs the same function here as ritual, and since it provides most of the oral expression of the ritual action it is an essential part of it.

The educational value of oral literature is quite obvious. Not only initiation and other ritual songs teach the initiates what behaviour their society expects from them. Even such a minor form of oral art as riddles is educational because it helps the riddle-playing children recognize the meaning of

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1 1964, 58.

2 Op.cit., 208.

metaphorical statements made in the form of a challenge; after a while they will also learn to recognize the significance of puns and the value of symbolism and taboos in riddle-playing. Stories also teach; they do this by the examples of the characters which act in them, and often stories are clearly and avowedly moralistic. On occasion this moralistic value may be consciously used. Of the story of the girl Mirigi who has an aversion to marriage and who is administered the medicine of a phallic snake, the story-teller said that it teaches a girl that a persistent refusal to get married is bad. Actually he did more than just make this comment. He addressed his story clearly to one particular member of the audience. This person was not a marriage-shy local girl but a daughter of the story-teller's brother; some years ago she had gone away to make a living in the town of Dodoma, and she had returned home for a visit. At Dodoma she was "selling beer", i.e. she worked in a bar and led a promiscuous life. To her 'father', the story-teller, it was obvious that these circumstances were not conductive to the conclusion of a regular marriage with bride-wealth and the birth of children. The point was not lost on some of the children who laughed at her, whereupon she got up and hid herself in the inner room.

Direct mockery rather than moralizing may be used in songs, as a song text of the harvest and courtship dance (<u>landá</u>) shows us. The description of the marriage-shy girl Menté ridicules her.[1] The use of the <u>wavá'ga</u> song of Mambe with the bare buttocks, described on p. 458, amounts to the successful application of social sanctions in much the same way as Malinowski's Trobrianders did when their public insults drove an incestuous member of the community to suicide, after threats of black magic had failed.[2]

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1 Text No. 140, cf. p. 474.

2 Malinowski, 1926, 78.

Songs can also have a negative effect on the maintenance of order. The song of the returned bride must not be sung to certain Mapurú clansmen lest there may be trouble.[1] The song about the headman who refused to help his neighbours during a Datoga raid, clearly stigmatizes him and his family.[2] Oral literature is therefore a powerful tool in the maintenance of social order, but it can also be used as a disruptive weapon.

Its unifying effect is of supreme importance. Ritual is made up of the two basic corponent parts of action and song. Turner maintains that

> "the essence of rites is unification and the promotion of solidarity, and it is believed that every group and type of group whose members are present must benefit in terms of increased corporate solidarity."[3]

Since song is such an essential part of ritual it is obvious that its role in the enhancement of solidarity is important. The same can be said of prayer, which forms an essential part of the rites of the hill-clans. Smith demonstrates that every person who is born into a certain religion is socially affected and tied by it, because of its nature as a community religion.[4] By taking part in the rituals of clan religion the Sandawe identifies himself with his clan.[5] Smith's argument in respect of the ancient Semites is certainly also true for the Sandawe:

> "In the same measure as the god of a clan or town had indisputable claim to the reverence and service of the community to which he belonged, he was necessarily an enemy to their enemies and a stranger to those to whom they were strangers."[6]

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1 p. 522.

2 p. 471.

3 1962, 146.

4 1907, 28 ff.

5 And with a larger social group if the divinity belongs to a larger social group, viz. the Alagwa rain prayers (cf.p.342).

6 Op.cit., 35.

Weber speaks of the continuous retention of magic, especially of the ancestral cult, as the guarantee of social obedience.[1] As a medium of expression for this ancestral cult, oral literature forms a vital link in the maintenance of social obedience.

Narrative and riddles also play their part in one's identification with a group. Understanding of the group's language and symbolism enables a person to communicate with its members in the same terms. Understanding is recognition, and recognition implies acceptance. For a stranger there is no surer way to gain acceptance among a group of children and to gain their confidence, than to show that he is able to join and enjoy their games of riddle-playing. Similarly, among the grown-ups, an ability to tell a witty story or to refer to some well-known fact or condition in a pun or an apt characterisation, dispels initial suspicion as by magic. It may be said that successful communication is the magic of solidarity, and it operates not only among the living but also between the living and the supernatural. It expresses the relations between them, and it cements these relations. We have already referred to the expression, in prayer, of relations between the living and their divinity. In exorcism, the songs of the rites have the quality of a spell when the singing and horn-beating women help to hypnotize the dancers into achieving feats of agility and endurance. The songs contribute to the dancers' dissociation and the general atmosphere of frenzy. The magic of oral literature is applied in a negative sense when the Sandawe observe the taboo on riddle-playing in order to avoid calling up the crop-destroying birds.

Individuals may benefit from oral literature as much as society as a whole. A minstrel may derive considerable personal

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1 1963, 90.

prestige from it, and even wealth. Renowned song-leaders tend to be initiators and ritual leaders.

Like other African literatures, Sandawe oral literature is rich in form and stylistic devices. It is not just a collection of animal fables; in fact these form only a minor part of the whole range. Although narrative shows a considerable diversity of symbols and motifs the number of narrative types is small as compared to the number of song and dance types. We have briefly discussed dance procedures, melody, rhythm, and instrumentation, but there are more elements which contribute to variety and interest. Of Yoruba poetry, Beier has said that it abounds in metaphors, similes, onomatopoeia, repetition, and also in humour, irony, pathos and bathos.[1] We have found all these elements also in Sandawe poetry. Babalola, in his discussion of the Yoruba Ijala, notes features like the significant absence of connectives, grammatical compression, the lengthening of syllables, and humour-motivated tone-changes.[2] Sandawe oral art also uses these devices, and its melody is more varied than is suggested by Lasebikan when he says that in African literatures "a pattern is imposed on poetry by the tonal structure of the language."[3] Jones rightly notes that (in speech) "a word with a wrong pitch is no word at all", but that humour is often achieved in African song by running tone

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1 1959, 8. He also mentions alliteration (but not rhyme) which is found in Yoruba but not in Sandawe. Swahili poetry also uses rhyme.

2 1966, 77 ff.

3 1958. Sandawe examples of "wrong" tone: Text No. 141 (p. 475, lines 1 and 8). The melody shows us Hábe but the word tone is Habé. In text No. 154 (p. 504, line 9) the melody changes //eé to //éu. In text No. 149 (p. 485, lines 2 and 3) tshoré and tshóro differ in tonal values although there is no grammatical difference.

counter to speech tones.[1] Babalola also speaks of humour-motivated tone-changes.[2] In the song of the distant fires we have seen that the Sandawe also know how to use tone for creating funny effects, in much the same way as a European composer may make a musical joke.[3]

In Bantu riddles, Cole-Beuchat recognizes a variety of types: the interrogative, the simple-sentence, the compound-sentence, the short-story, the one-word, and the phrase types.[4] Even in the small selection of riddles presented in this thesis most of these types can be found.

Effective use of imitation is made in other African literatures as well as in Sandawe: Cendrars mentions that in a Ronga tale the narrator illustrates the smallness of an ogre by singing its song in a small childish voice, just like the Sandawe narrator illustrates the weakness of the exhausted snake in text No. 12.[5] Evans-Pritchard records that in a Zande tale Hyena cries hi ii hi ii, which corresponds with the Sandawe Hyena's voice hîue.[6] From less remote parts similar imitations are reported. Johnson says that the Iramba Cow lows Owi! Owi!;[7] in Gutmann's Volksbuch the Chagga Eagle cries Kîruii! Kîruii!;[8] according to Kohl-Larsen the Hadza Honeybird calls dâkka dâkka,[9] the Isanzu Owl cries tsintsi,[10] and the Cock crows Gokoligô

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1 1958, 11, 12.

2 1966, 77.

3 Cf. p. 530, and Beethoven, n.d.,56; instead of:



4 1957, 138.

5 1947, 217.

6 1961, 19.

7 1931, 343.

8 1914, 155.

9 1956b, 225.

10 1937a, 21.

among the same people.[1] Correspondences in the technique of imitation may be greatest with Bushman, where special sounds created to mimic animal characters are perhaps similar to those used by the Sandawe.[2] The Hadza technique of changing "many consonants to more euphonious ones in singing" (which causes many of their songs to be difficult to understand), appears to be quite different from what we find among the Sandawe.[3] The Sandawe and the Bushmen both use a deep throaty sound ( ) in similar circumstances, a sound which is not used among the neighbours of the Sandawe;[4] yet Babalola reports that the Yoruba also use a "breathy voice" in one type of poetry.[5] Repetition can be as extreme in Sandawe as in Bushman, but repetition is also common elsewhere. The eland-bull dance of Northern Bushmen appears to correspond closely with the Sandawe chek'una, and when in rituals the Sandawe fly like vultures, grunt like lions, or mimick fertile animals, they bring to mind Bleek and Lloyd's dictum that courtship and the imitation of animals are the ideas which the Bushmen express in their dances;[6] D.F.Bleek also says that the Bushmen are good mimics.[7] Bleek and Lloyd conclude that in general the Bantu are essentially prosaic in their ideas and literature, but that the Hottentot and Bushmen are more poetical (especially because the latter have "extensive mythological traditional literature").[8] Although comparative material is still inadequate to prove this point

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1 Ibid., 30.

2 Cf. Bleek, 1875, 6.

3 D.F.Bleek, 1931, 277.

4 Own inquiries among [redacted] neighbouring tribes.

5 1963, 185.

6 1923, viii.

7 1929a, 8.

8 1911, 434-5.

beyond reasonable doubt, one cannot get away from the feeling that, like Bushman art, Sandawe oral art relies on implication rather than on reasoned argument, and that this reliance is greater than among surrounding Bantu tribes. To put it in Jakobson and Halle's terms, Sandawe oral art appears to be guided more by the principle of similarity than forwarded essentially by contiguity.[1] However, at the present stage this is hard to prove, and the evidence which we have adduced is far from conclusive. Acting is part of ritual everywhere, and this includes a certain amount of mimicking. Special sounds are also made in other parts, and we do not know how good the correspondences are. All we can say is that in the course of history Sandawe oral art has become strongly influenced by Bantu neighbours; this is borne out by similarities in story motifs, riddle styles, ritual proceedings and songs, symbolic terminology, and so on.[2] Obvious differences exist in language, music and rhythm, some tradition, phek'umo, the rubbing-bowl and other instrumentation, and shades of difference in symbolic representations. Very tentatively we conclude that Sandawe

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1 Principles governing poetry and prose, respectively (1956,82).

2 Because of the neglect of poetry, story motifs form the best comparative material. Issa's small publication of Rangi tales (1965) fits in well with the material from other Bantu neighbours. We have noted that further afield similarities decrease sharply, although the same basic motifs occur over wide areas in different forms and are sometimes universal (cf. Thompson 1955-8); Asiatic links are sometimes evident even in non-Mohammedan societies (Thompson 1946, 285). Detailed knowledge of African motifs is less complete than for some other parts of the world, and is still insufficient for making a chart which would give us the information we seek. Von Sicard's recent monumental work (1965) uses Thompson's index, but the distributions which he quotes show at best general African areas (e.g. the Bantu area, as on p. 268), at worst a world-wide universality for some basic motif (e.g. on p. 213) or no recognizable pattern at all (as in most cases).

oral literature consists of a largely Bantu superstructure which has been built on what may be a Bushman or Hottentot-like substratum; the resulting edifice is partly Bantu in structure, but outwardly it looks quite different and also in content it is still different in many respects. Original Sandawe elements appear to have contributed more than various non-Bantu influences; of the latter the influence of Datoga rain-priesthood is the most important.

What is beyond doubt is the importance of Sandawe oral literature to the Sandawe themselves. Above the level of hill-clan solidarity, language and literature combine to provide what appears to be the strongest cohesive element in their egalitarian tribe. To understand their literature goes a long way toward the understanding of Sandawe society as a whole, its institutions, its history, its symbolism and morals, its ideals and failures, its hopes and aspirations. It enables non-Sandawe to appreciate and respect that which at first sight may seem odd, incomprehensible or "primitive".

Sandawe oral literature is not a highly sophisticated literature, but it is an honest and vital one.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I - POPULATION

Source and year of census or estimate	Within the tribal area	In the whole District of Kondoa
Dempwolff, 1916, 1 (Est. 1910)	20,000[1]	.
German Native Census Estimate, 1913[2]	25,000[1]	.
British Native Census, 1921[2]	13,852[3]	
Bagshawe, 1925, 219.	15,000[3]	
Kondoa District Census, 1928[2]	19,424	20,092
Kondoa District Census, 1931[2]	21,588	21,947
van de Kimmenade, 1936, 396	21,000	.
Berger, 1951, 965-1036, estimate 1947	23,000[4]	.
East African Population Census, 1948	21,202	22,286
General African Census, Aug. 1957[5]	20,031	20,607

1 These figures appear to include the large Rimi segment of the population, or perhaps to represent the total population of the tribal area.

2 Based on tax assessments, and after the 1914-19 war on more accurate poll-tax estimates. Moffet 1955, 33.

3 These figures exclude non-Sandawe tribal elements. Bagshawe refers to an additional "section of Wanyaturu [Rimi], some 5000 strong...., nearly all of whom speak the Sandawi language in addition to their own Bantu tongue [who] are rapidly becoming absorbed into the tribe."
Even if we allow for differences in the degree of accuracy between the first two estimates and the later figures and the exclusion of non-Sandawe from the latter, it would appear that the population decreased sharply during or after the first world war. The 1919 famine caused a great exodus of Sandawe to the Fiome and Arusha areas of the Northern Province.

4 This estimate is obviously somewhat on the high side.

5 Total number of Sandawe: 28,309 (including those in the emigration areas).

APPENDIX II - LIVESTOCK

Year	Cattle	Goat	Sheep	Donkeys
1913 [1]	30,000	.	.	.
1927	58,254	40,134	8,921	652
1930	75,001	51,091	9,093	811
1932	79,923	60,083	.	1,050
1934 [2]	59,773	37,272	7,416	650
1935	62,798	40,917	8,114	821
1959	61,452	51,109	14,336	.

This table has been compiled from Native Cattle Census data contained in various entries in the District Book, Kondoa.

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1 Estimate by Dr. Obst (1923, 259). In addition to a cattle figure he mentions a combined total of 6000 goat and sheep.

2 A severe epidemic of mange "almost decimated the flocks and herds of the district", from: "Types of Livestock, incidence of disease, grazing and watering amenities etc.," Report by the District Veterinary Officer, Kondoa, 1938.

APPENDIX III - FAMINES AND EPIDEMICS

Year	Name	Details and sources
.	.	Severe famine 450 years ago (sic!), Trevor, 1947, 62.
1864?	Siloodi ba'á	'Great Meteor'(of 1864?). Drought and locusts, before death of Amás'. Referred to by Robinson, 1957a.
±1875	Sak'ilo	'Rinderpest', mainly in western Sandawe. Probably the same as the rinderpest in Rimi recorded by von Sick, 1915, 18.
1891	Sak'ilo ba'a	'The Great Rinderpest'. Baumann 1894, 34ff.; Obst 1923, 206; Rigby 1964, 52.
1894	Twindí	'Locusts'. Drought and enormous swarms of locusts. Meinecke 1895, 114.
1896	Walangí Náragŭ	'Irangi Famine'. Big rinderpest in Rimi: von Sick 1915, 18. Informant 16 (App.IV) says rinderpest affected western Sandawe before German pacification wars.
1908	Hlaa tl'ongo	'Goat pneumonia'. No doubt the same as the 'Lungenseuche' reported by von Sick for this year in Rimi.
1911	Siloodi	'Comet'. Drought following the year of Halley's Comet of 1910.
1915/6?	Te'atá'o	'Sterility'. Rains late, calves die. Von Sick reports similar setback for the Rimi in 1909, but Sandawe say in their country this occurred during the war.
1919	Fiôm' Náragŭ	'Fiome Famine'; greatest historical famine, exodus to Fiome (Gorowa). Bagshawe Diaries 1920, 12; Trevor 1947, 62; District Book, Kondoa.
1921?	.	Rinderpest "after Fiome Famine" but before 1922 (Distr.Vet.Off.Report 1938).
1922/3	Hogorí	'Trade'. Year of plenty. In Farkwa named Borono Hogori after local jumbe, cf. text No. 77.
1934	/'wa	'Pest'; severe epidemic of mange, see figures in Appendix II.
1942/3	Ulaya Náragŭ	'Europe's Famine', because of the world war.
1949/50	Mambu	Grain stores at Mambu (Sanzawa Local Court) held sufficient reserve to tide the population over. Durûkis' (Mr.Brooks) in charge of famine distribution.
1954	Maumau	Famine in southern borderlands. Name follows Gogo usage because of troubles in Kenya, cf. Rigby 1964, 52.
1962	Amerikáni Náragŭ	'The American Famine' because of the distribution of American relief maize.
1963	Buraaze	'Catarpillars'. Lal'ta in western Sandawe particularly affected.

According to the District Veterinary Officer's Report, 1938, a rinderpest epidemic swept Kondoa district in 1938, in which 75 °/o of the cattle were affected. So far I have found no reference to this epidemic among the Sandawe.

APPENDIX IV - THE INFORMANTS

Ref.No. shown on Map 2.	Est. age 1963	Sex	Name	Place of residence[1]
1	25	f	/'eré'e María-íyo	Hatl'unko
2	.	m	!'umphá Petri Salím'	N!axuwe
3	30	f	!haia Bari	K'ats'áwase
4	50	m	Ali N!amahla Müngé	N/Ikese, Kurambe
5	45	f	Alusía Kozigá	N/waa N!ú
6	35	m	Bakari Tamba Songo[2]	Kwa Mtoro
7	20	f	Beatrisi Intóri Ts'awa	Boseto
8	40	f	Berta Kwelé	Dantl'áwa
9 (x)	25	f	Dalakwí ..(?)..	Bugénika
10	20+	m	Elía Esoo[3]	Tónkolo
11	55	m	Francis Kumaní Salulá[4]	Sankwaleto
12 (x)	.	m	Francis Su'me Tomás'	Bugénika
13	40	m	Gáwa Ginda'é Solá	Kukumba, Farkwa
14	25	m	Hamís' Maganga	Xahla (?)
15	50[5]	m	Issa Selemani[6]	Kwa Mtoro
16	45	m	Khawa Sóno	Tékele N/atá
17	30	f	K'ats'awa d/o Zuma Müngé	Kwa Mtoro
18	40	m	K'ŭaná Angú	Gaboodi
19 (x)	.	f	K'u'uná ..(?)..	Farkwa
20	30	f	Lusía w/o Gáwa Ginda'é Solá	Kukumba, Farkwa
21	40	f	Manzo Xenobía	Tl'untú
22	25	m	Marama Songolo	Ts'winkír'se
23	70	f	María w/o Tshorí	Weneko, Kurio
24	35	m	Marimo !'umphá	//'ek'á
25	35	f	Mwanaidi Dudú	Mambaka
26	40	f	Mwanaisha Bula d/o Salím' Súngi	Kwa Mtoro[7]
27	20	m	Paul Koto Degera	N//atshá[8]
28	20+	m	Paul Lyimó	Wapurú[9]
29	80[10]	m	Roki K'aya Angelo	Boseto
30 (x)	17	f	Rosina Akelinús'	Bugénika
31	25	m	Salím' Maganga	Xwarants'ése
32	70+	m	Sen//a Swága[11]	Tl'ákule
33 (x)	30	f	Sisilía Dehlé	Boseto
34	20	f	Sita d/o N!amahla	K'ats'áwase
35	18	m	Teodori Áfa Zoni[12]	Gaboodi
36	55	m	Tlálo Mdáki Solá[13]	Kukumba, Farkwa

Ref.No. shown on Map 2.	Est. age 1963	Sex	Name	Place of Residence[1]
37	25	m	Ts'awa Sa'ú	Boseto
38	40	f	Xustina //'oká	Mindiga[14]
39	45	f	Victoria Wiyá'[15]	Gwetshése DI, Farkwa
40 (x)	60+	m	Wasaa Sefu	Bugénika
41	50	f	Fuliana Lébasu	/üém'se, Farkwa
42 (x)	18	m	Zosefati Itira Zosé'[12]	Bugénika
43	55	f	Xoxorik'o Lébasu	Marase
44 (x)	10	m	..(unknown)..	Mugómore
45 (x)	25	f	..(unknown)..	Tumbakose

1 The residence of people marked (x) is unknown. In these cases the place of recording or dictation is shown.

2 The last Alagwa chief; after 1962 local magistrate for the courts at Kwa Mtoro and Lal'ta; now chairman of the Sandawe Cooperative.

3 Now lives at Temeke, Dar es Salaam.

4 Acclaimed as the best minstrel in the south-east.

5 Died December 1961.

6 Former Alagwa chief; deposed after conviction of corruption in April 1958.

7 Now lives at Arusha.

8 Now lives in Nairobi.

9 Now lives at Magomeni, Dar es Salaam.

10 Had status of elder already before arrival of the British, i.e. before 1916.

11 Considered one of the best minstrels in the country but now very old.

12 Nos.35 and 42 are co-informants of one text (sang duet).

13 Elder of local court, Farkwa; former sub-chief (jumbe).

14 Now lives at Temeke, Dar es Salaam.

15 Famed song leader and initiator of girls.

APPENDIX V - DISCOVERY

1885 First mention of the Sandawe on p.24 of Last's 'Polyglotta'.

1886 Engelhardt and Wensierski's map mentions 'Gangua' where the Sandawe village Gongaa is situated.

1893 Kiepert's map mentions 'Usandaui', the approximate course of the Bubu River, the 'Mnenye' and 'Gonga' hills, and the town of Kondoa in Rangi country. Also shown is the route of Fisher's expedition from Kondoa to Uveriveri in southern Rimi country; he passed through south-eastern Sandaweland. A Sandawe minstrelsy song appears to refer to this journey (see text No. 178).

1894 Baumann publishes details of his visit in 1892 to Sandawe country. His map shows a wide distribution of 'Wanege'.

1896 A map by the Edinburgh Geographical Institute shows Kondoa, Goima (in Burunge), 'Mtoro's' (Kwa Mtoro), the course of the Bubu River and its tributary the Mkinke, the Mpondo River and the rift wall to the west of it.

1897 German officers from the military station at Kilimatinde open a station at Kondoa.

1898 Hassenstein's map shows the routes of Prince and Herrmann (in 1894 and 1895 respectively), and more geographical detail than in earlier publications. Prince's and Herrmann's journeys had opened up the military road from Kilimatinde to Kondoa; the present road still follows largely the same route. In the south-eastern extremity of Sandawe country 'Burasumma's Gebiet' is shown as a separate chiefdom.

1898 Werther publishes the account of his expedition to Irangi; this includes the first ethnographical account of the Sandawe by von Luschan. Some of the vernacular terms which he presents are Rimi rather than Sandawe, e.g. the name of Mt. Hanang is rendered as 'Igruivi' rather than as 'Tl'éena'. The expedition passed through the northwestern quadrant of the tribal area where Rimi settlers form a large proportion of the population.

1902 Feldwebel (Sgt.Major) Linke establishes a military post at Kwa Mtoro on the road from Kilimatinde to Kondoa; this place soon develops into the tribal headquarters of the Sandawe.

1904 Sprigade and Moisel's map attempts to show tribal boundaries; Sandawe country is shown much smaller than on later maps.

1915 Sprigade and Moisel's maps C 4 and D 4 with 'Begleitwörte' (based on Obst's work), and Obst's map (also 1915) give a wealth of detail; they are not improved upon until the publication of the aerial survey maps of the Dept. of Lands and Surveys in 1959.

1916 Dempwolff publishes the results of his fieldwork of 1910 in 'Die Sandawe'.

APPENDIX VI - VERBS WHICH CHANGE STEMS IN THE PLURAL

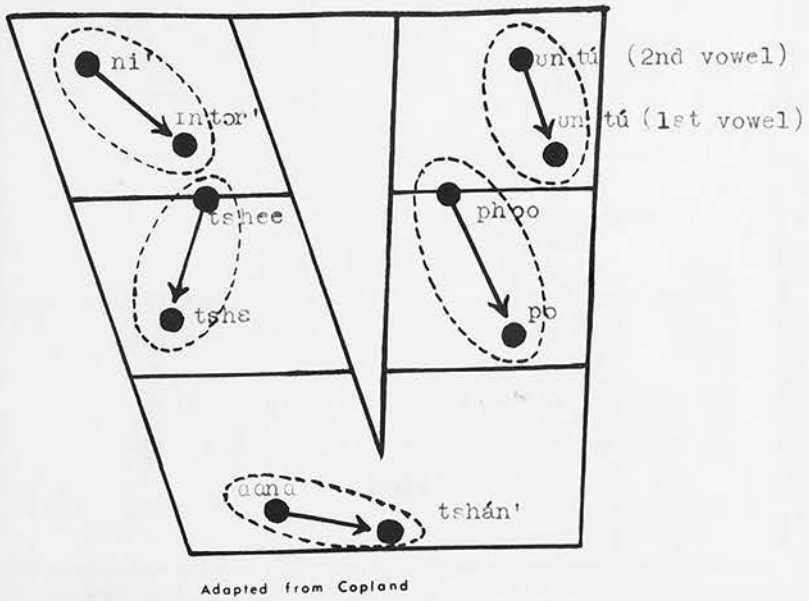
Singular	Plural	Meaning
/ǐ	n/atǐ	to come.
/ǐka	n/atǐka	to bring.
"	n/atǐwaka	" " many things, or repeatedly.
/ǐka	noka	to bring to speaker, following demand.
"	nowaka	ibid., plural object verb, reiterative.
//ei	khu'sé	to throw away, down, over.
n//ine	!'as'	to lie down.
n//ume	hlé	to stand.
n//unke	hlakwa	to put upright.
!'a	!hó̧o	to fall.
!'awé	!hó̧o	to fall over completely.
"	!hó̧owa	
g!i'é	giribé	to make haste (cf. nǐ').[1]
dára	giri	to wait for, to stand still, to stop.
doo	giri	to wait.
e	wa	to apply, to give, plural object verb.
hakǐ	hanaki	to sit.
hakits'	hanaki	to sit down.
hik'	nǐ'	to go.
huk'wa	k'wé	to kill (single object only).
"	wak'wa	to kill.
iye (ie)	nèè	to be in a place, to stay, to remain.
iyewa (iewa)	nèèwa	to live in a place, stay habitually.
ǐye	ǐ'wa'ǐ	to give him or her / to give them.
ǐyewa	ǐ'wa	ibid., plural object verb, reiterative.
khaa	tl'aphé	to beat, to strike (cf. tl'aphé)
kose	nèèse	to be present.
kwelé	χó̧tŭ	to go in suddenly, to surge in.
nèè	nèèwa	to remain a long time, to live.
nǐ'	girǐbé	to go quickly (cf. g!i'é)
pe	ka	to put.
"	kawa	to put various things.
pó	sǐ	to give to you / to give to you(plur.)
pó'wa	sǐ'wa	ibid., plural object verb, reiterative.
pekwanki	kakwanki	to come to an agreement (the plural stem is rare: only multilateral agr.)
pǐ!'isé	!'awé	to overturn.
sé	sŭ	to give to me / to give to us.
sé'wa	sŭ'wa	ibid., plural object verb, reiterative.
siye (sie)	tl'aa	to take, receive.
"	tl'aawa	ibid., plural object verb.
tha	girǐbé	to run (cf. g!i'é).
thanǐ (than')	n/atǐ	to run toward the speaker, come quickly.
thatha	girǐbéwa	to run about, to trot.
thoo	thootaki	to jump (plur.= several people, together)
"	thoowa	ibid., (plur.= separately).
tiné	tǐ'wa	to set a trap.
tlas'	hlaté(hlatǐ)	to be deadly tired, to die.
"	hlats'	to die.
tl'aphé	tl'aphéwa	to beat continuously.[2]
tsik'isé	tl'isé	to chase up.
ts'okǐ(ts'ok')	tl'i	to get up quickly, to jump up.
ts'ok'ǐsé	tl'isé	to chase up.
"	tl'ǐnsé	ibid., with concentrated effort.
ts'ongori	tl'ingiri	to jump high, to fly up.
wak'wa	k'wé	to kill with many stabs (cf. huk'wa).

1 Also girǐbéwa, if many people make haste.

2 Sometimes tl'apumé in the plural.

APPENDIX VII - THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM - THE VOWELS

For the interrelation of tone, length and stress, see p. 107; for the relation between nasalisation and meaning see p. 68. Altough we have recognized only five vowel phonemes the qualities of these vowels may vary, viz. the following diagram. Dotted lines show the borders of phonemes.



Adapted from Copland

Vowels are opened up when nasalized or when followed by a nasal consonant. This is less perceptible in long vowels: aana (maize), tl'eena (Mt.Hanang), thoona (east) rather than aana, tl'eena, thoona. Arrows show the effect of nasalisation.

Vowel quality alone does not appear to be a meaning-distinctive feature, but it may affect meaning in conjunction with length, and probably with tone:

tshéé (head): closed vowel, long.
tshe (not) : open vowel, short.

APPENDIX VIII - THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM - THE CLICKS

Although there are four Sandawe click morphemes there are only three phonemes, because the alveolar and the retroflex clicks are two diaphones of a single click phoneme.[1] The clicks shown in fig. 3 and fig. 4 are both written as (!).[2]

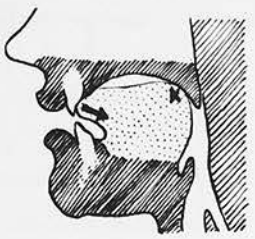


Fig. 1. Dental Click (/).

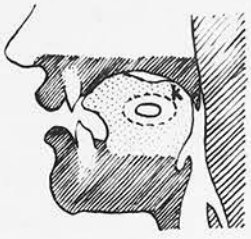


Fig. 2. Lateral Click (//).

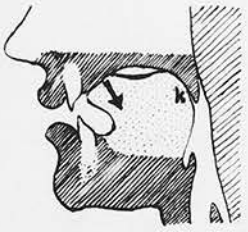


Fig. 3. Alveolar Click (≠), but written (!).



Fig. 4. Retroflex (Palatal) Click (!).

(Adapted from Westerman and Ward, 1933, 99).

A definition of clicks is quoted on p. 109. Of the double points of articulation the rear ones are shown by the letter k (for 'k-position'), and the front ones by arrows (the 'front release'). The position of the lateral release in fig. 2 is shown by a dotted line.

All clicks occur in simple, stopped, aspirated, nasalized, and voiced forms. Since in nasalized and voiced clicks the nasal element (ŋ) and the voiced element (g) set in before the release of the click, the letters n and g precede the click characters in this thesis; this is unlike Dempwolff's method.

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1 Dempwolff uses alveolar click signs in his diaries (M/S, 1910a); at that time he had apparently not yet decided upon the phonemic identity of (≠) with (!).

2 Westphal's schema (1956, 158) neatly places both (!) and (≠) in one palato-alveolar category, the distinctive criterium being only that (!) uses a tongue-tip release while (≠) uses a tongue-blade release. Fig. 4 shows how the tip of the tongue is withdrawn from the palatum, and fig. 3 shows how the blade is withdrawn from the alveolar ridge.

APPENDIX IX - THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM - THE OTHER CONSONANTS

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Denti-Alveolar	Alveolar	Lateral	Velar	Glottal
Plosive/ explosive	p b		t d			k g	'
Plosive stopped/ ejected						k'	
Plosive aspirated	ph		th			kh	
Nasal	m		n			ŋ	
Sonans					l		
Fricative		f	s		hl	χ	h
Affricate			ts dz	(j)	tl dl		
Affricate stopped/ ejected			ts'		tl'		
Flaps				r			

Voiced sounds are on the right in each column, unvoiced sounds on the left. The dotted line separates the fricative sounds from the non-fricative sounds in the register. The (j) is shown in parenthesis because it is not a proper Sandawe sound; it is used only by some Sandawe who have been to the towns, and by Bantu speakers who try to enunciate Sandawe names. Sandawe use dz instead.

Notes:

1 Dempwolff distinguishes between plosive and explosive consonants (b̥ - p; d̥ - t; g̥ - k) but there are no phonemic differences and they are therefore taken together.

2 Dempwolff also distinguishes between stopped and ejected consonants (k' - k̄; t' - t̄), cf. Bleek's similar distinction (1929a,12) in Bushman (k' - k"), but in Sandawe there are no phonemic differences and the stopped and ejected sounds are taken together. For Dempwolff's orthography see Appendix X.

3 There are differences with Copland's classification. Most sounds which he describes as alveolar are here given as denti-alveolar.

APPENDIX X - THE ORTHOGRAPHY

Dempwolff	Lemblé	van de Kimmenade	Present thesis	Significance
/ᶜ; /k	c	/ᶜ	/	dental click, simple
/'	c'	/'	/'	" " , stopped
/h	ch	/ᶜh	/h	" " , aspirated
/n; /ṅ	nc	n/	n/	" " , nasalized
-	n'c	g/	g/	" " , voiced[1]
// ;//k	x	//ᶜ	//	lateral click, simple
//'	x'	//'	//'	" " ,stopped
//h	xh	//ᶜh	//h	" " ,aspirated
//n;//ṅ	nx	n//	n//	" " ,nasalized
-	n'x	g//	g//	" " ,voiced
! ; !k	q	!ᶜ	!	alveolar/retroflex click, simple
!'	q'	!'	!'	" " ,stopped
!h	qh	!ᶜh	!h	" " ,aspirated
!n; !ṅ	nq	n!	n!	" " ,nasalized
-	n'q	g!	g!	" " ,voiced
a	a	a	a	open or closed vowel a
b	b	b	b	bilabial plosive, voiced.
d	d	d	d	denti-alveolar expl., voiced
ǵ	dl	dl	dl	alveolar lateral affricate, voiced
e	e	e	e	open or closed vowel e
f	f	f	f	labio-dental fricative, unvoiced
g	g	g	g	velar explosive, voiced
h	h	h	h	glottal fricative, unvoiced
ǧ	dhl;thl;dl'	dhl	hl	lateral fricative/affricate, unvoiced
i	i	i	i	open and closed vowel i
(dz)	(j,dz)	(dz)	(j,dz)	(alveolar affricate, voiced)[2]
g ; k	gk ; k	k	k	velar plosive/explosive, unvoiced
kh	k(h);kh	kh	kh	velar explosive, unvoiced, aspirated
k'; k̄'	ĝ	k'	k'	velar ejective, unvoiced
l	l	l	l	denti-alveolar lateral, non-fricative, voiced
m	m	m	m	bilabial nasal
n	n	n	n	denti-alveolar nasal
ṅ	ñ	~	ŋ	velar nasal
o	o	o	o	open and closed vowel o
ƀ ; p	bp; p	p	p	bilabial plosive/explosive, unvoiced
ph	p(h);ph	ph	ph	bilabial explosive, unvoiced, aspirated
r	r	r	r	alveolar fricative, flapped, voiced

Dempwolff	Lemblé	van de Kimmenade	Present thesis	Significance
s	s	s	s	denti-alveolar fricative, sibilant, unvoiced
-	sh	sh	sh	denti-alveolar fricative, sibilant, aspirated
ḍ ; t	dt; t	t	t	denti-alveolar plosive/ explosive, unvoiced
th	t(h);th	th	th	denti-alveolar explosive, unvoiced, aspirated
ṯ	tl	tl	tl	alveolar/ velar lateral affricate, unvoiced
ṯ'; ƭ'	tl'	tl'	tl'	alveolar lateral ejective, unvoiced
ts	ts	ts	ts	denti-alveolar affricate, unvoiced
ts'	ts'	ts'	ts'	denti-alveolar ejective, unvoiced
u	u	u	u	open and closed vowel u
w	w; u	w	w	semi-vowel, back
χ	ĥ	χ	χ	velar fricative, unvoiced[3]
y	y	y	y	semi-vowel, front[4]
ḍz	dz	dz	z	denti-alveolar affricate, voiced[5]
'	'	'	'	glottal stop
-	-	-	⊙	bilabial click[6]
-	-	-	ʘ	monolabial click[6]
-	-	-	ʖ	voiced glottal fricative[6]

The following diacritics are used:

á for high tone; áá on long vowel. a̲ for stress.
à for low tone; àà on long vowel. ă for brevity or
â for falling tone; áa on long vowel. lack of stress.
ǎ for rising tone; aá on long vowel. ã for nasalisation.[7]

Tone and stress diacritics are used where the tone or stress features are pronounced. Absence of tone diacritics must not been taken as evidence for middle tone; absence of stress diacritics not for lack of stress.

1 Voiced clicks are rare. Dempwolff does not mention them.

2 Not a proper Sandawe sound; normally replaced by ẓ.

3 This letter is placed here to suggest the possibility of using ẋ if χ is not available in type (cf. Africa alphabet).

4 In the texts i̯ and u̯ are sometimes used for y and w. Perhaps it is justifiable to eliminate y and w altogether for reasons of grammar. Some Sandawe eliminate these glides almost completely from their speech while others pronounce them, e.g. ie for iye (to remain); poes' for powes' (I give you).

5 ẓ is always pronounced dz, so there is no need to write the d.

6 Special sounds only; discussed and described on p. 111.

7 Sometimes ŋ may follow a nasalised vowel, as for example in tl'uŋ (hand); this is done to render subsequent velarisation. Van de Kimmenade does not do this; it may indeed not be necessary.

APPENDIX XI - GLOSSARY OF SANDAWE LITERARY CATEGORIES AND TERMS

For further detail on the terminology of circumcision songs see Appendix XII.

/ámakata	girls' initiation dance and song, 'at the /ámaka tree', cf. geleta.
/esukwa	'sitting dance' and song of initiates in their camp, to cheer them up.
/hime	song, poetry; 'that which is sung'.
/himó	the act of singing, song.
//'amó	'pronouncement'; prayer.
//'ía	dance; 'that which is danced'.
!emó //'ía	procession dance, lit. accompanying dance, esp. at wedding processions, cf. nólolo.
!'inó //'ía	hunting dance or song, usu. called wayága.
bó	word, saying, utterance, speech, story. Also 'mbo, ĕmbo, ĭmbo.
bonki	quarrel, discussion, palaver, story.
dini sala	'religious prayer': Christian or Mohammedan prayer.
dóa	twin-birth ritual, dance, and song. Dempwolff 1916, 43: 'name of a dancing feast'; van de Kimmenade 1954, 37: 'name of a dance with sacrifice to the ancestors'.
éma	to support a song, to accompany, to form a chorus.
eresé	to ululate in encouragement, in accompaniment.
ĕmbo, embo	see bó.
geleta	boys' initiation dance and song, 'at the gele tree', cf. /ámakata.
goma	dance, drum (Bantu term). Sandawe for dance is //'ía.
góũ	circumcision ritual, dance, and song.
hadís'	story, account, legend, from Swahili hadithi.
hitl'im'só	change of rhythm in a dance, breaking into a faster tempo.
ia'abó /hime	'work-song', cf. sũ'o.
iari, iyari	ritual, in particular twin-birth ritual, cf. dóa; also used for the lion game of mirimó.
imala, imara	Rimi-Sandawe name for mirimó.
ĭmbo, imbo	see bó.
kambe /hime	'camp song', i.e. in the circumcision camp. Also kambi /hime; derivation from English camp.
k'amé //'ía	'beer dance' and song; also k'amé'o //'ía, 'inebriation dance', usu. called wayága.
kerem'ta	circumcision dance and song, esp. of the instructive type. Originally a circumambulation.
kéro	joking, small-talk, story-telling, cf. turũtó.

kipande	circumcision dance in the southern borderlands (Gogo).
landá	harvest and courtship dance and song. Dempwolff, 1916, 47: 'name of a dancing feast, dance'; van de Kimmenade, 1954, 47: 'dance of the young'.
mangóa	dance and song of young hunters and herdsmen, of the post-initiates. Dempwolff, 1916, 48: 'a bell dance'; van de Kimmenade, 1954, 48: 'dance of the youths'. Also called mangŏaa, mangova.
marimba /hime	'hand-piano song'; minstrelsy.
maphána	warriors' song and dance in the southern borderlands (Gogo or Baraguyu).
'mbo	see bó.
mirigisa /hime	'medicine song', a silent song, a spell.
mirimó	the 'lion game': a motherhood dance, fertility ritual with dance and song. Van de Kimmenade, 1954, 49: 'mauvaise danse des femmes'.
misabé //'fa	witches' dance (imaginary).
móiolo	procession dance, esp. at circumcision, cf. iemó //'fa.
mudanga	dance and song of elder men; also mudanka.
nindo	wedding dance, harvest and courtship dance of the southern plains (Gogo), cf. Claus 1911, 72.
noowe /hime	flour-grinding song, also called dĭ /hime because of the grindstone (dĭ) on which women do their grinding.
pangu	war, victory dance.
pasaa //'fa	twin-birth dance and song, from pasaa, 'twins'; usu. called dóa. Dempwolff, 1916, 42, gives basa for 'twins'.
pek'umo	fertility dance of the moon, and the songs of this dance.
pirimó	'to swirl around', i.e. around the baobab tree at circumcision.
pumpusó	sacrifice, prayer.
rumbarumba /hime	'musical-bow song'; minstrelsy.
sala	prayer (modern term).
sanzoona	fertility dance employing a phallic man; southern equivalent of the mirimó.
sa'o; sayo	discourse, esp. following a greeting; story.
séré	dissociation dance, climbing the rock cleft at the rites of simbó.
simbó	a spirit, a cult, and the ritual of dissociation in which possessed dancers destroy witchcraft substance and sorcerers' medicine; the accompanying dance feast and song.
singiri	to swirl around in a dance.
sumbi /hime	'stick-zither song'; minstrelsy. Also called zeze /hime.

sú'o	hissing tune, working song, cf. ia'abó /hime.
tántabule	riddle, parable, story-song, story containing songs, any kind of traditional tale, fable or legend.
tántabule hadís'	narrative, a story.
totõ /hime	'trough-zither song'; minstrelsy. Used by some as a general term for minstrelsy no matter what instrument is used.
turütó, tur'tó	conversation, idle talk, story-telling, cf. kerú.
tl'ala	fable, fiction. Lit.: gratis, in vain, i.e. that which is not real.
útaa n!exente	'in the olden days': history, legend. Also útaa n!eã n/wets', 'what happened in olden days' or útaa n!e hadís', 'story of olden days'.
wakhunga n!amó	'beating the procession' at circumcision.
wayága, wayá'ga	communal effort celebration, dance and song.
zeze /hime	'fiddle song'; minstrelsy.

APPENDIX XII - THE SONGS OF CIRCUMCISION

1. General terms.

góū	circumcision ritual and feast, the place of circumcision, circumcision song of any kind, but in particular song associated with the rites themselves rather than instructive song. Also go, goi (Rimi ngoi).
kerem'ta	circumcision song of any kind, but in particular song of the instructive kind; camp song (also called kambi /hime); circumambulation song (also called ringo ma'é); procession song (also called wakhunga n!amo). The word kerem'ta is also heard as kerem'da.
waré /himé	'circumcision song', a general descriptive term.

2. Specific terms.

/ámakata	'at the Lannea tree'; circumcision songs sung at the site of girls' clitoridectomy, usually under a /ámaka tree but also in the cattle yard (hádu) or in the inner room (guraa), hence the alternative names hádutà and guraata.
/esukwa	'for making them sway rhythmically'; circumcision songs with a slow rhythm, sung to entertain the initiates and to make them forget the pain.
n//oko'o	'the washing'; circumcision songs sung at the final washing ceremony.
!hume /hime	'flour song', instructive songs of the girls, also sung by women when grinding (noowe) at the grindstone (dí), hence also called noowe /hime or dí /hime.
dí /hime	'grindstone song', cf. !hume /hime.
gele ma'éka'I	'turning around the baobab'; dance of boys around the baobab before leaving camp, cf. pirimó.
geleta	'at the baobab tree': boys' initiation songs, sung at the circumcision site (usually under a baobab).
guraata	'in the inner room', cf. /ámakata.
hádutà	'in the cattle yard', cf. /ámakata.
kambi /hime	'camp song'; usually this means songs of the instructive kind (kerem'ta). Also kambe /hime.
mirigisa /hime	'medicine song', a spell sung inaudibly by the operator to ensure the initiates' speedy recovery.
mólolo	'sending them on' or 'the accompaniment', i.e. songs sung while accompanying the initiates to the operation.
noowe /hime	'grinding song', cf. !hume /hime.
pirimó	'swirling around'; same as gele ma'éka'I.
ringo ma'é	'going round in circles',i.e. the circumambulation of the homestead before circumcision.
simbó	'the state of being a lion': dissociation songs sung by the guests to ensure that witchcraft will not bedevil the circumcisions.
wakhunga n!amó	'beating the procession': góū songs sung when accompanying the initiates home from their camp.

APPENDIX XIII - THE INSTRUMENTS OF MINSTRELSY

For illustrations see plate I, and photographs Nos. 9 and 11.

Donondó	a musical bow, not divided by a stay at the place where the gourd resonator is attached to the bow; such undivided bows are not considered properly made and said to be Gogo bows (cf. Rimi ndonondo, Gogo ibid.) In the extreme south-east the term is also used for a trough-zither, cf. tonondó, totõ.
Kinánda	a musical bow, esp. without gourd resonator. Also kidanánda; both terms used in the Gogo borderland.
Marímba	a hand piano. Not yet considered a real Sandawe instrument and the least used of the four instruments shown in plate I. Gogo ilimba.
Phaángo	a stick lyre, the same as súmbi which is the more common term. In the south-east phaángo is used for trough and board zithers as well as for stick lyres.
Rumbarumba	a musical bow with gourd resonator and a divided string. The usual name for a common instrument; van de Kimmenade, 1954, 52 refers to it as 'name of a musical instrument', and Dempwolff, 1916, 102, as 'musical bow'.
Sinzira	a musical bow, with a divided string. The name is not considered proper Sandawe (cf. Gogo sinjira).
Súmbi	a stick lyre with two strings and a gourd resonator, a common instrument. Some apply the term also to trough zithers and board zithers, and even to any stringed instrument. Rimi sumbi and Gogo isumbi, cf. von Sick 1915, 40 and 51, resply. Cf. zéze.
Tonondó	cf. donondó. Dempwolff, op.cit.: donondo
Totõ	a trough zither, the most common instrument of minstrelsy. Some apply the term to any instrument which is strummed or of which the strings are beaten with a stick (musical bows). Dempwolff, op.cit p. 102, dodo.
Tl'otõ	(also tlotõ): the same as totõ above, cf. von Luschan, 1898, 340 (tloto or 'toto); Tenraa 1963,30 (tloto, totó or phaángo).
Zéze	a fiddle; some apply the term to any stringed instrument, but in the central part of the hills zéze means a stick lyre. Van de Kimmenade, 1954, 37: dzedze, 'name of a musical instrument'.
Zogozogo	a fiddle, cf. zéze.

Nomenclature is vague and often contradictory, but the names given under the illustrations of plate I appear to be generally valid.

APPENDIX XIV - THE TAPE RECORDINGS

The enclosed tape recordings have been recorded at the speed of 1 7/8" per second.

SIDE I - RITUAL SONGS

Text No. — Title

Witchcraft exorcism (simbó).

84 Preparation to attend.[1]
85 To the dance (sung as a minstrelsy song).
87 The frenzied lion-dancers.[1]
88 The frenzy of the flying dancers.[1]

Circumcision songs (góū).

92 The circumcizer's acceptation.
93 and 94. What is the beer for, are they circumcizing and The guests are clamouring for beer.
96 Leading the initiates to the circumcision.
100 The pain of the operation.[1]
101 Oh, that cruel circumcizer![1]

Circumcision songs (kerem'ta).

106 The braying donkeys.
108 The famine relief train.[1]
111 The secret lover (I).
113 The ebony phallus.

Dance of the phallus (sanzoona).

124 Pushing the Lion about.

Dance of elderhood (mudanga).

128 The elder walks in front

SIDE II - TOPICAL SONGS

Text No. — Title

Communal effort celebr. (wayága).

130 Hunting together.
132 The trampling elephants.
133 Seeking famine relief.
134 The beer tax.
135 Trouble-maker's punishment.

Post-initiates' dance (mangóa).

136 The proud young herdsman.

Harvest and courtship (landá).

139 The abandoned baby.[2]
140 The man-refuser.
141 A European has passed on the road.
145 The great famine.
149 We crept on our knees.

Harvest and courtship, dance of the southern borderland (nindo).

151 Give me some tobacco.

Minstrelsy (totō /hime).

154 The trumpeting elephants.
158 The slain hunter.
- Tuning the trough-zither, showing the scale of the instrument.
173 The distant fires (I).
174 The distant fires (II).[3]

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1 The rubbing bowl, representing a lion, can be clearly heard.

2 All the landá songs on this tape are sung in the form of minstrelsy. Performances of the landá as a dance are rare now, and at the few occasions which I have witnessed I have been unable to make recordings.

3 The two versions of this song give an impression of the variation in style between individual minstrels.

PHOTOGRAPHS

PLATES

AND

MAPS



1. Some Sandawe show distinct Capoid racial features which include the epicanthic fold, a tendency toward peppercorn hair, and a yellowish skin which may wrinkle considerably at a more mature age.



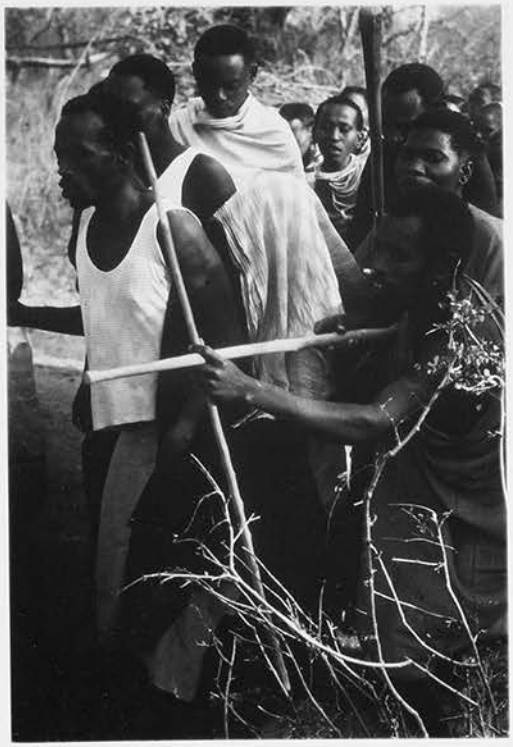
2. At a wedding the party of the bride's family and friends is arriving at the groom's home. Inside the house beer is waiting for the guests who sing appropriate circumcision songs, and songs in which they are clamouring for beer. Drums are beaten only by women among the Sandawe.



3. Dancers of the secret Lion-game 'mirimá'. The rites themselves may not be witnessed by any male. The "lion-manes" worn by the ritual leader are made of zebra hair; the Tanganyika flag adorns the kanga worn by one of the dancers. The drum forms the central object of the rites, being the ritual lion.



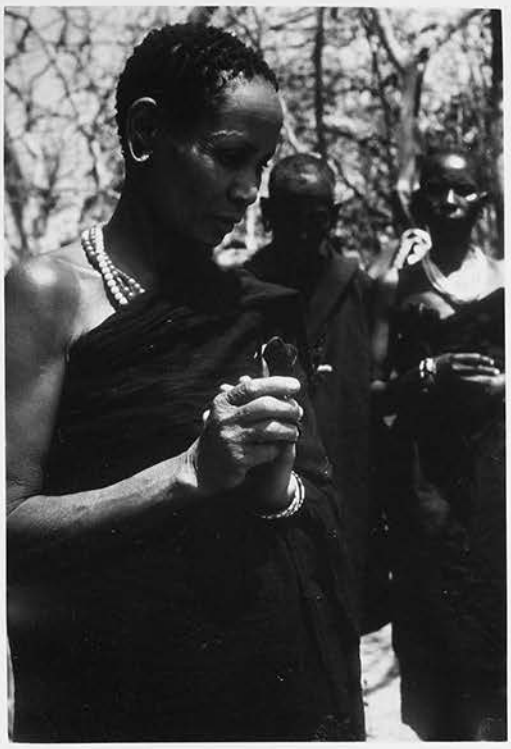
4. 'Roaring the bowl'. The elongated wooden bowl is laid upside down, openings between its rim and the ground are stopped with earth, its surface is roughened with a stone, and rubbing the bowl with the ends of sticks then causes it to roar like a lion, which it represents.



5. Taking boy-initiates to the place of circumcision. They are covered under cloth, for they must not be seen by women and girls. Their separation from society is witnessed by the fencing which is carried alongside the procession, which is called 'the accompaniment' (mólolo). Women form a chorus in the background.



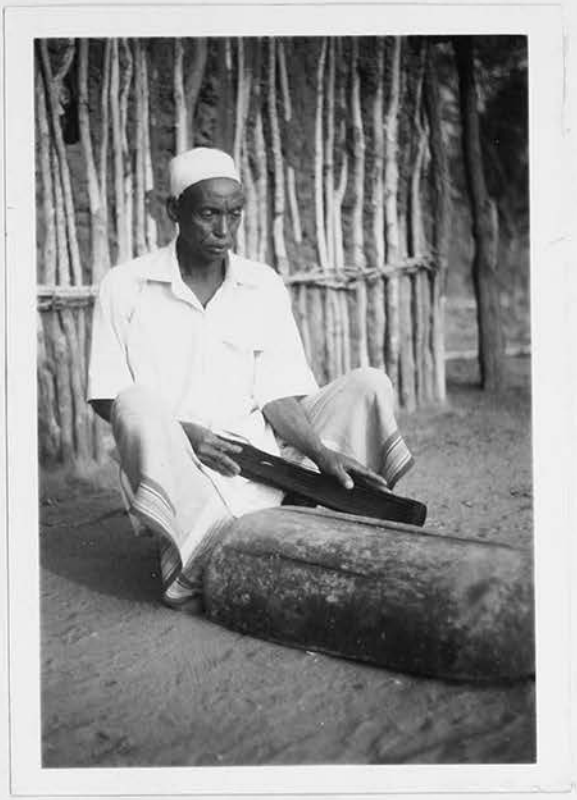
6. Initiates in their camp, just after circumcision. They have been given cockfeather switches to chase the flies off their wounds.



7. Mɛ́ndu, the girls' clitoridectomy knife. The operator shows three of these phallic knives which are also shown in Plate III.



8. The operations on the girls are in progress under a Ásaka tree. Women shield off their initiates from sight, but one girl who has already been done can just be discerned on the left. The throng also harbours some bowl players who produce a loud lion's roar.



9. A Sandawe minstrel playing his trough-zither (ɨotɔ̃). The elongated wooden bowl (la'aǵ) acts as a resonator box.



10. A wealth of beads is worn by a girl who has just passed through the washing ceremony (n//eko'o) which marks the end of her initiation period.



11. Minstrelsy: playing the stick-lyre (*zdza* or *aimbi*). Sometimes the musician presses the resonator gourd against his chest for better sound, but the position shown is the usual one.



12. The end of the circumcision period. The initiates have been washed and anointed, and now they are being carried home in triumph on the backs of their elders. In their hands they are holding the ritual spears with which they have stabbed the baobab tree.



13. The young hunters (ward). After the conclusion of their initiation period these four youths are herding the family cattle, proudly decked out in their new clothing and finery. They are ready now to join the mangoa dance.



14. The rituals of twin births (dóa). Before sunset the dóa dance is held by a young lêha tree (not in the photograph). One of the dancers brandishes the special shield which is to protect the twins and everyone present from the danger of lightning.

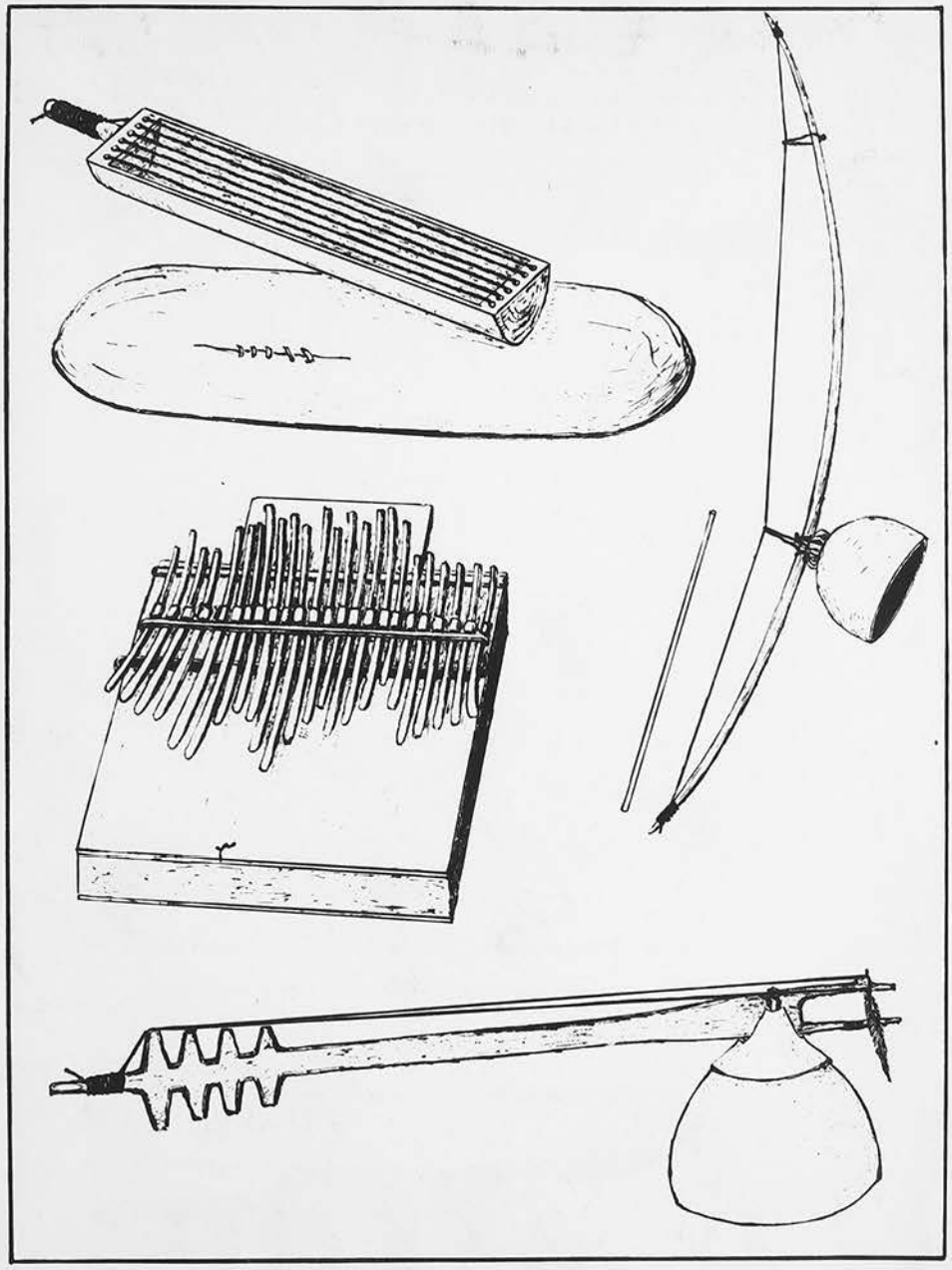


15. The dissociation cult of <u>simbó</u>. Three men are possessed by the spirit of <u>simbó</u> and perform their dance in a state of hallucinatory excitement, their bodies covered in mud and ashes, their mouths frothing, and their eyes bloodshot.



16. In the flower symbolism of text No. 166, the bean pods of the <u>malangela</u> tree represent penises while the shrivelled red flowers at their upper ends represent menstrual blood.

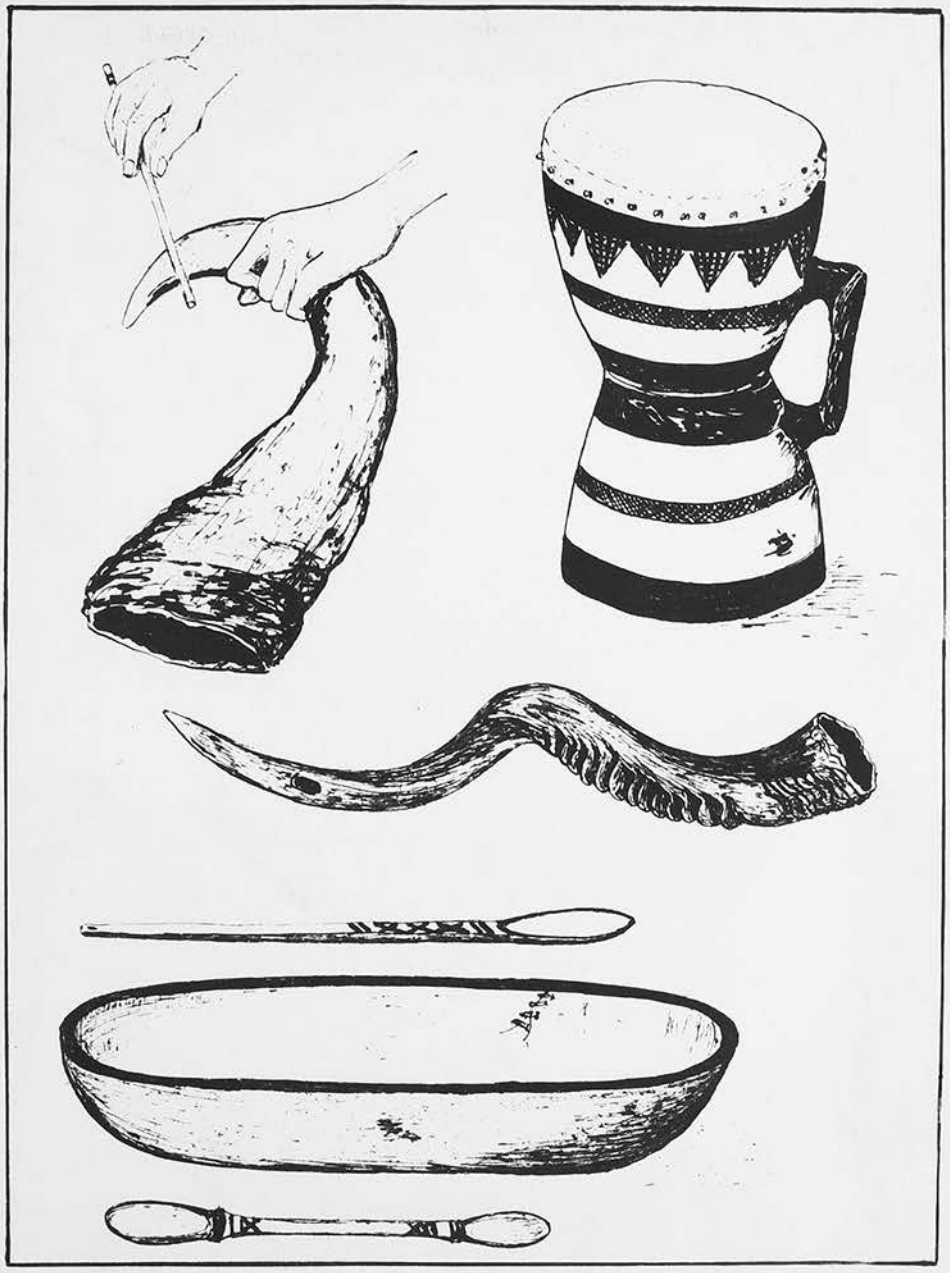
PLATE I



The instruments of minstrelsy.

Top: a trough zither (totō) which is rested on a bowl (la'aé) for better resonance. Scale 1 : 6.
Right: a musical bow (rumbarumba) with gourd resonator and a beating stick. Scale 1 : 10.
Centre: a hand piano (marimba) with 24 keys. Scale 1 : 4.
Bottom: a two-stringed stick lyre (zéze or aúmbi). Scale 1 : 5.
Drawings adapted from Tenraa, 1963.

PLATE II



Instruments used in dance-songs.

Top left: a buffalo horn (/eú tlana), used in witchcraft exorcism (simbó). Scale 1 : 6.

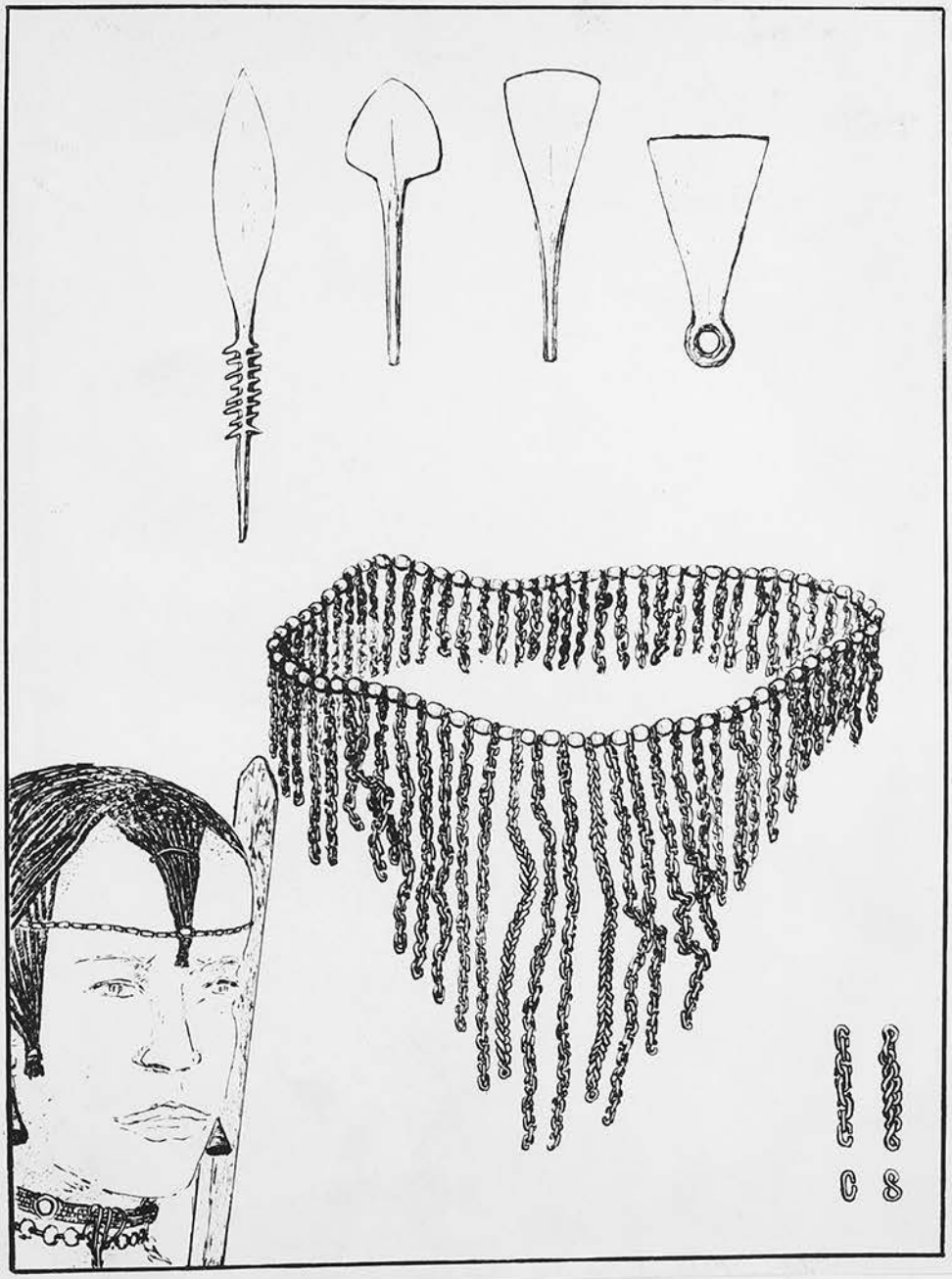
Top right: an hourglass drum (goma), used in the lion-game (ziriá) and in harvest and courtship dances (landá and nindo). Scale 1 : 4.

Centre: a kudu horn (giokomi tlana), used for calling people to a hunt (l'ino) and in hunting dances (wavá'ma). Scale 1 : 4.

Bottom: a wooden bowl (la'sá) and stirring spoons (mekónto) which are used as rubbing sticks, used in circumcision songs.

Drawings adapted from Tenraa, 1963; the bowl from Tenraa, 1964.

PLATE III



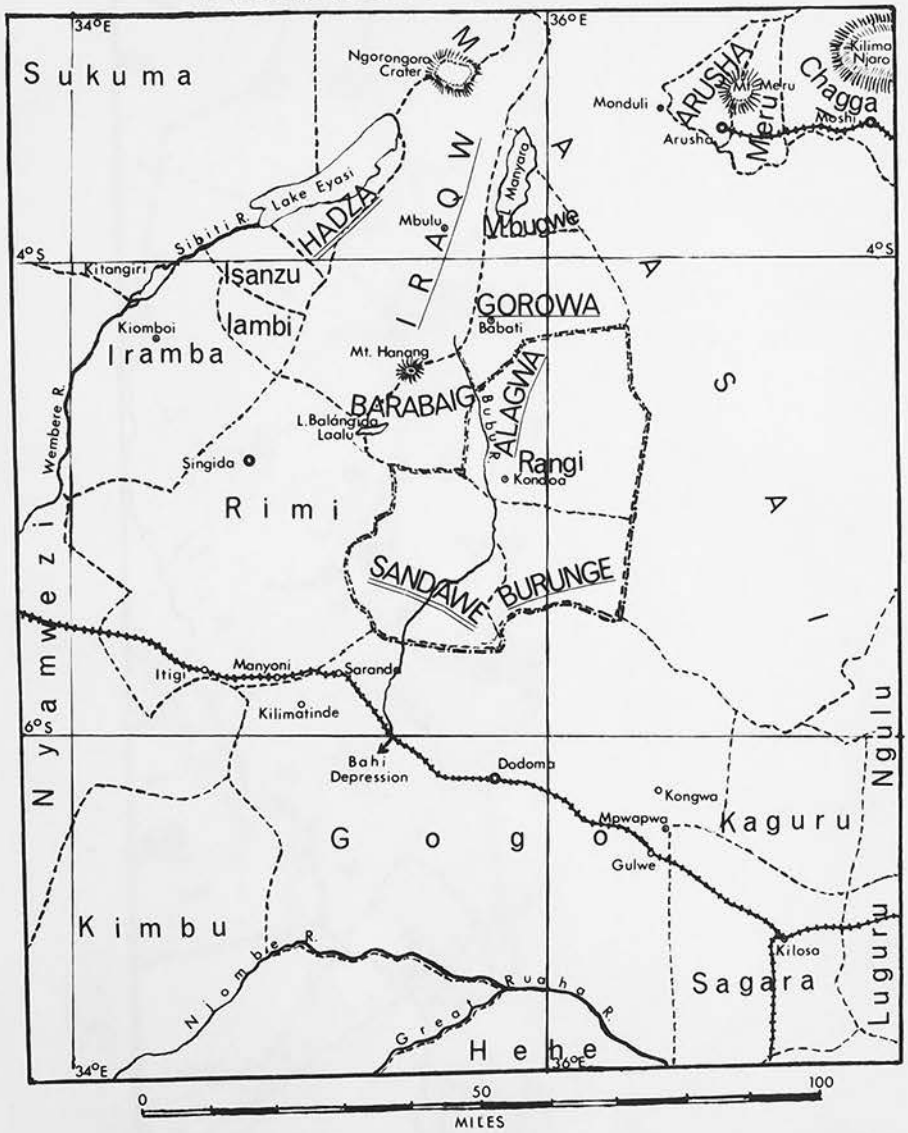
The shapes of the clitoridectomy knife (méndu). cf. text 100.

(a) arrow head; (b) phallus; (c) razor blade, rounded; (d) razor blade, squared off. In female circumcision only these traditional tools are used, unlike male circumcision where modern razor blades, knives, and even scissors are now common. The phallic shape (b) can be seen in photo No. 7.

The riddle of the aggressive braggart. cf. text 57.

Left: the headdress of a Maasai or Baraguyu muran as it may be seen in Sandawe country. Centre: a curtain of chains (morúa). Right: The specimen shown contains O-shaped and 8-shaped links.

THE SANDAWE AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS
— LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES —



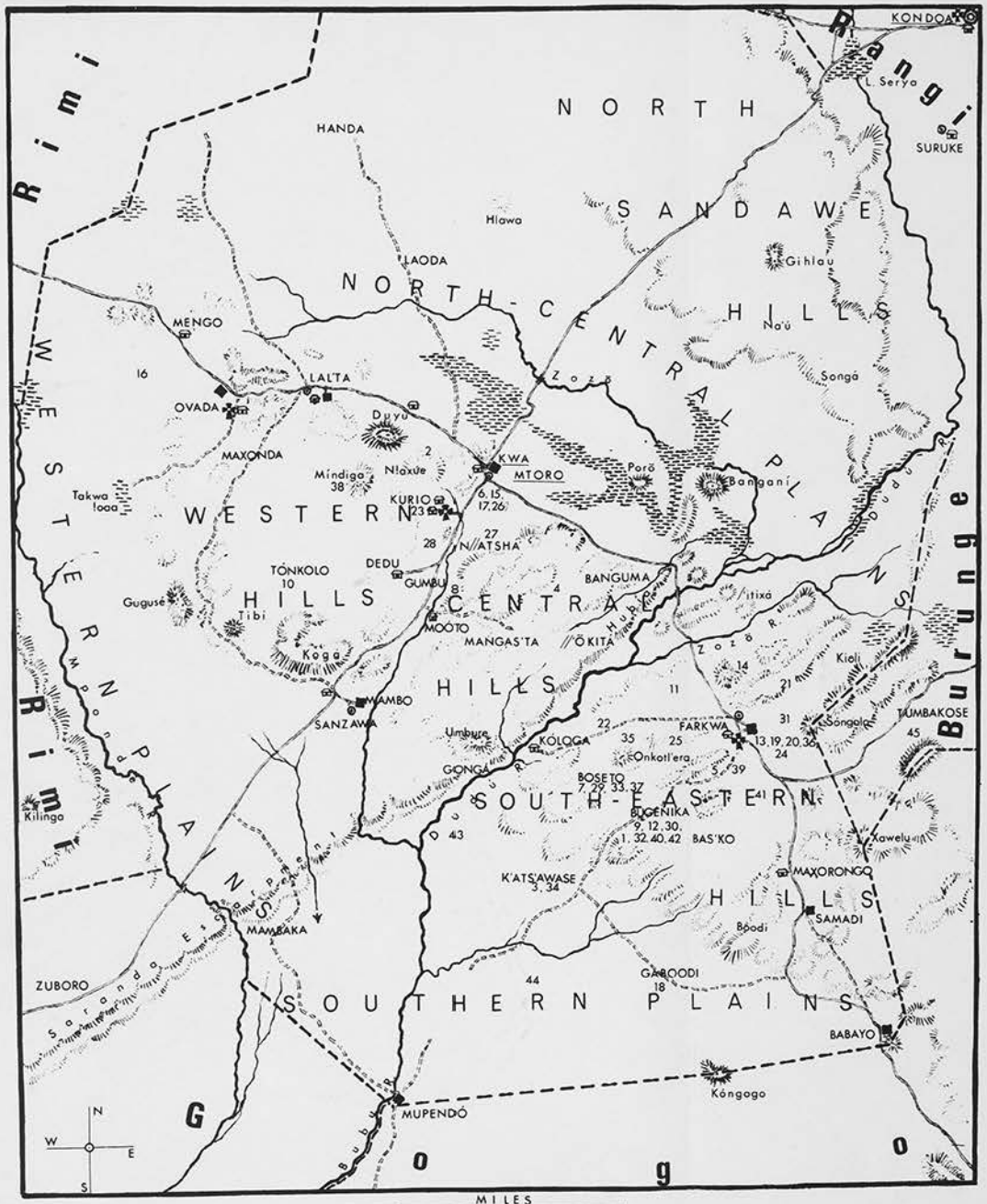
Names of Bantu tribes are in ordinary print; those of non-Bantu peoples are in CAPITALS
NAMES of Nilo-Hamitic tribes not underlined;
NAMES of tribes which belong to the Iraqw-cluster are underlined;
NAMES of tribes who speak click-languages are doubly underlined.

Approx. tribal boundaries ——— Admin. boundaries of Kondoa District. ———

References: Atlas of Tanganyika 1956. 13, 14; Gulliver: Revised Tribal Map of Tanganyika. 1960; Meinhard: Tentative Map of Ethnogr. Prov. of East Africa (n.d.)

MAP Nº 1

THE SANDAWE TRIBAL AREA AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMANTS



MILES 0 5 10 15

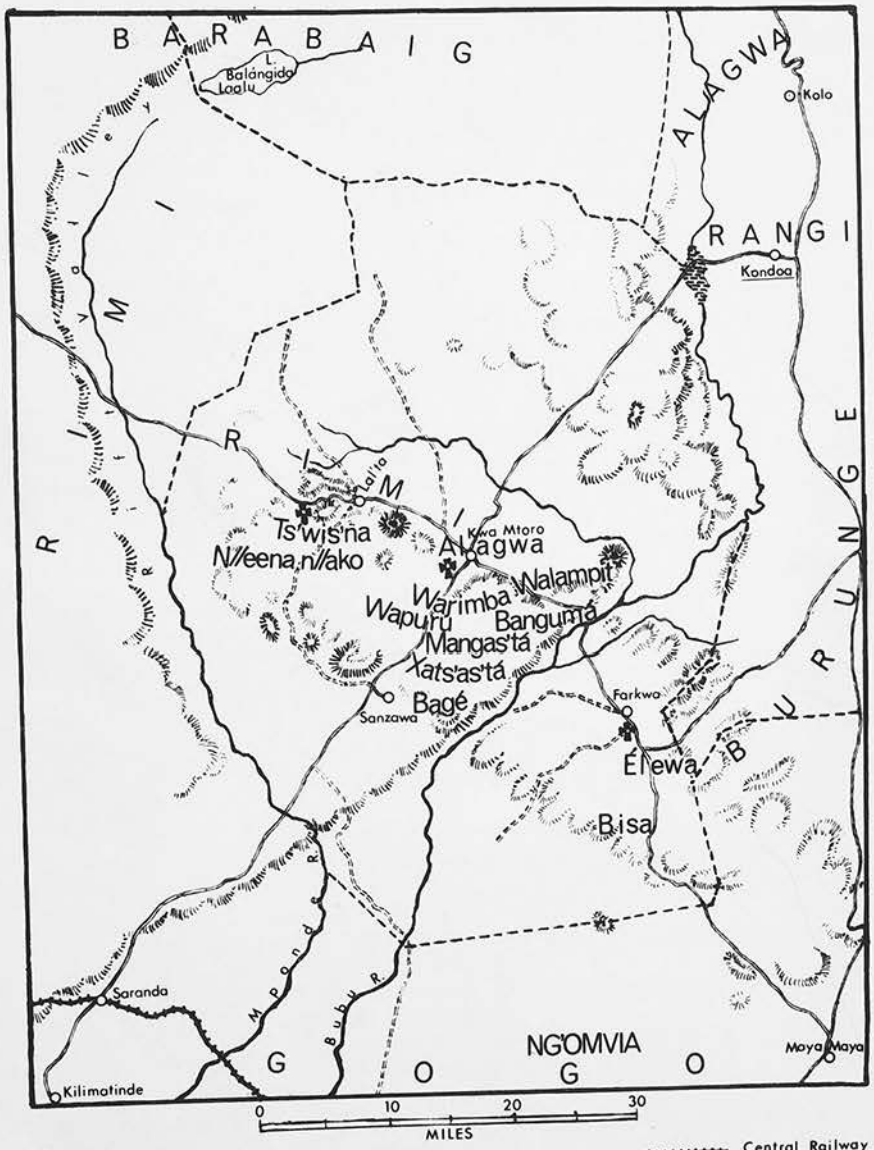
- District Headquarters
- Local Courts
- Trading Centres
- Schools
- Missions
- Tribal Boundaries
- Roads
- Motorable Track
- Seasonal Marshes

The numbers refer to the names of informants listed in Appendix IV. Where residences are not known the places are shown where texts have been obtained.

Adapted from Tanganyika, 1959, Lands & Surveys, 1: 50.000, by scale reduction; topographical names from field notes.

MAP Nº 2

— SOME SANDAWE CLAN LANDS —



Names of Sandawe clans

NAMES of non-Sandawe

Central Railway

the Missions

MAP Map drawn from scale reduction of Tanganyika 1: 50.000, 1959. **No 3**

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Afr.Stud.	African Studies.
Ant.Ling.	Anthropological Linguistics.
Ant.Q.	Anthropological Quarterly.
Anthropos	Anthropos.
Arch.Vlk.	Archiv fuer Voelkerkunde.
B-A.	Baessler-Archiv.
Bantu Stud.	Bantu Studies.
Bibl.afr.	Bibliotheca Africana. Innsbrueck.
B.S.O.A.S.	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
Dt.Kol.Ztg.	Deutsche Kolonial Zeitung.
Dt.Kol.bl.	Deutsches Kolonialblatt.
E.Afr.agric.J.	East African Agricultural Journal.
E.Afr.ling.Stud.	East African Linguistic Studies.
Globus	Globus.
Jahrb.staedt.Mus.Vlk.	Jahrbuch des staedtischen Museums fuer Voelkerkunde. Leipzig.
Janua Ling.	Janua Linguarum.
J.Afr.Lang.	Journal of African Languages.
J.Afr.Soc.	Journal of the African Society.
J.R.Ant.Inst.	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
Kol.Jahrb.	Koloniales Jahrbuch.
Kyoto Univ.Afr.Stud.	Kyoto University African Studies.
Maître phon.	Le maître phonétique.
Man	Man.
Man (N.S.)	Man (New Series).
M.B.A.	Micro-Bibliotheca Anthropos.
Mitt.dt.Schutzgeb.	Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten.
Mitt.geogr.Ges.Hbg.	Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft, Hamburg.
Mitt.Sem.orient.Spr.	Mitteilungen des Seminars fuer orientalischen Sprachen.
Odu	Odu; Journal of Yoruba and Related Studies.
Pr.etn.Lubl.	Prace Etnologiczne. Lublin.
Prés.afr.	Présence Africaine.
R.C.Accad.Bologna.	Rendiconti di Classe dell' Accademia di Bologna, Classe Scienze Morali.
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