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KUANYAMA AMBO FOLKLORE

BY

E. M. LOEB

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KUANYAMA AMBO FOLKLORE

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INTRODUCTION

Heretofore, only scanty material on folklore has been published for the Kuanyama Ambo,¹ a Bantu tribe living about thirty miles on either side of the international boundary between South West Africa and Angola. This is the largest of the Ambo tribes, numbering at present over 60,000 in South West Africa alone. Many of them formerly lived in South Angola where, according to Hambly,² they came into direct contact with the Ovimbundu in Central Angola and either influenced or were influenced by these people in their folklore and customs. A comparison of the Kuanyama literature with that of their immediate neighbors in the south, the Ondonga Ambo,³ indicates that the Kuanyama folklore has elements of both the Ondonga and Ovimbundu folklore. In culture, likewise, the Kuanyama are similar to both these peoples. To illustrate this point only a brief resumé of Kuanyama culture -- not a comparative cultural analysis -- can be given here. The sections presenting the texts also contain ethnological footnotes and explanations.⁴

Geography. --The Kuanyama country, about 3,300 feet in

elevation, is the flat, gently southward sloping floodplain of the Kunene, the Kuvaley (a dry river bed), and the Okavango rivers. Precipitation and flooding occur from December to April, and during these months the country is intersected by broad, shallow watercourses known as marumbas, which flow south to the Etosha Pan. Thus, as one progresses from Ondonga north into Angola, the land becomes considerably less saline and more fertile. The whole area is covered with white silted sand under which the rich dark humus supports a luxuriant parkland of subtropical trees and vegetation. There are no minerals except for iron ore in the Angola section, and stones are scarce. Thus the people have no stone tools.

A long dry season starts in April, the South African autumn, lasts through a June winter, which has an extreme diurnal temperature range of 32 to 70 degrees F., and ends in October or November with temperatures rising above 100° F. This long dry season and short rainy season regulate native economy, the drought necessitating a seasonal migration of cattle combined with a sedentary agriculture in fast growing grain crops.

KUANYAMA CULTURE

Dwellings. --The Ambo do not live in villages, but in scattered one-family stockaded enclosures containing many huts and quarters for livestock and surrounded by several individually owned gardens, which together may cover from ten to twenty acres. These round enclosures with their wooden stockades are called "kraals" throughout South Africa, but those of the Ambo are unique in size and complexity. They are built on the raised ground between the natural watercourses or marumbas. An average pagan kraal owner with four wives and several servants has quarters covering perhaps an acre. For the Ambo a kraal provides not only a shelter for his increasing family and livestock, but also a protection from outside enemies and spirits, while the palisaded labyrinth of passageways may serve as a traplike maze.

Because the kraal is the microcosm of the Ambo and enters into almost every story, a Kuanyama diagram of the ground plan is given here (fig. 1), showing kraal place names. In each kraal a broad space leads to the entrance; this is the ceremonial dancing place, the children's playground, mentioned in proverbs and stories as the oluvanda. Each kraal has three entrances; the two front ones face east toward the sacred rising sun -- one is for cattle and one for people; the third, actually an "exit" beside the cattle kraals, is used as an entrance only by the family and its personal friends. The kraal's family meeting place or living room (10 in the diagram) is called olupale, meaning "a big clear space." It contains a circle of stools and logs for seats, with special places for women and clansmen. The kraal head sits at the sacred fire

¹ E. M. Loeb, Bibliography, "Transition Rites of the Kuanyama Ambo," *African Studies*, 7:82-83, 1948. The resumé in the present paper has been abstracted from Pt. 1 of the earlier article.

² The map and diagram were drawn by Ella-Marie Loeb.

³ W. D. Hambly, *The Ovimbundu of Angola*, Field Museum

of Natural History, 1943. Hambly gives a bibliography of Ovimbundu folklore.

⁴ A. Pettinen, "Lieder und Rätsel der Aandonga," *Zeitschrift für Eingeborene Sprachen*, Vols. 15-17, 1924-1927, contains the Ondonga Ambo folklore.

⁵ The spelling and pronunciation of native words used in this paper are explained in fn. 17, p. 294.

KUANYAMA AMBO KRAAL

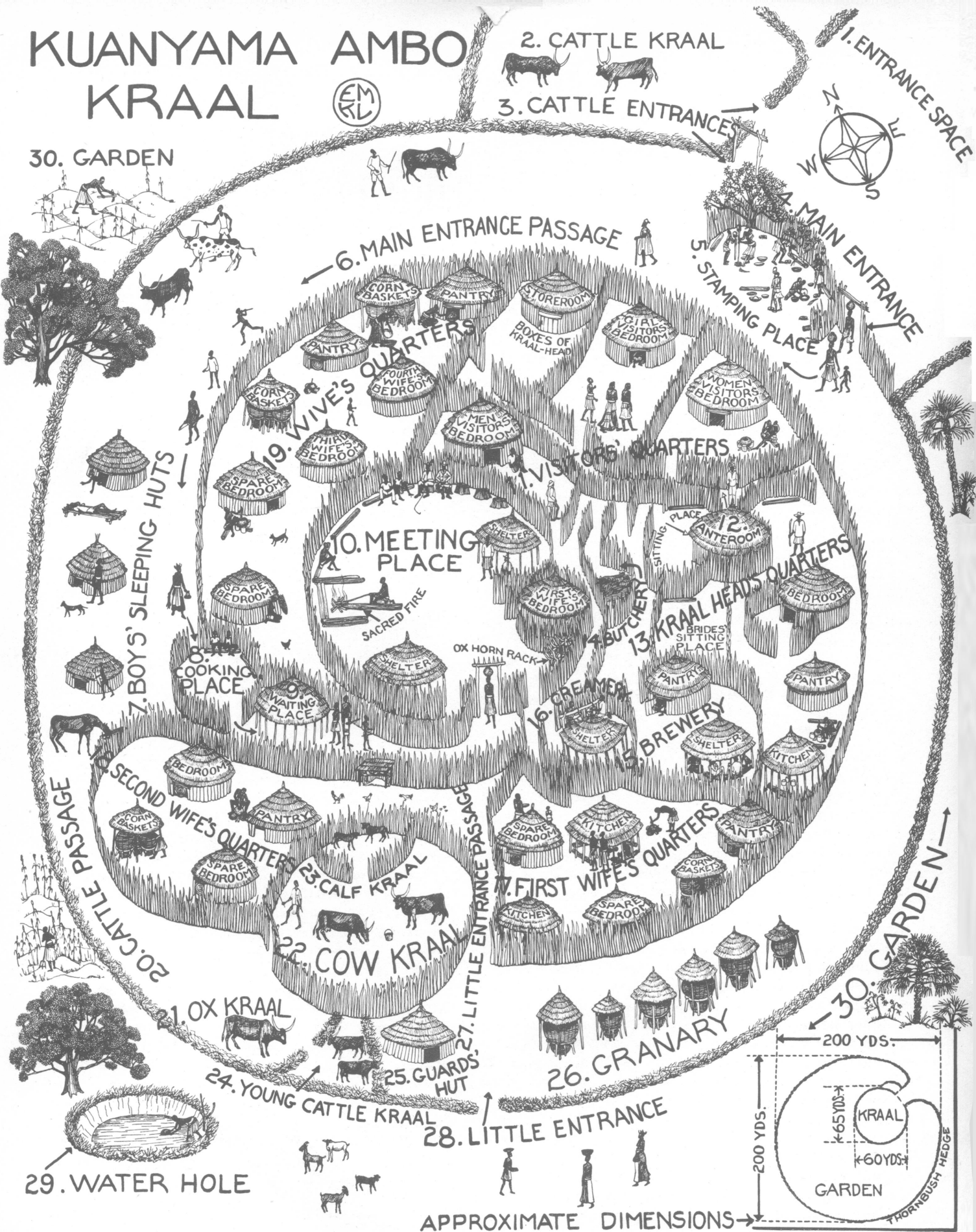


Fig. 1—Cartograph of a typical Kuanyama Ambo kraal. Based on the ground plan of a kraal built by natives for the 1935 exhibition at Windhoek, South West Africa, and also on photographs and field notes. Scale: 1/24 in. equals 1 ft. on the ground plan; 1/16 in. equals 1 ft. on the objects.

facing the first wife's sleeping hut, which is built on the inside of the olupale or just outside its southeast end; to the south of her hut stands a large wooden rack full of sacred ox skulls and horns. The olupale is the family meeting place or parlor; there the wives bring their daily cooking, which is then apportioned by their husband, the kraal head -- for himself, his guests, servants, and herdboys, a portion being returned to each wife for herself and her children.

Domestic quarters have four main stockaded divisions: the kraal head's quarters, which contain many accommodations for visitors; the first wife's quarters, where the first wife oversees all domestic duties, being in charge of issuing butter and beer meal (a sorghum grain) to the other wives and acting as the kraal's chief hostess; the second wife's quarters, whose occupants are in charge of cooking and issuing cereal (a millet meal) to the other wives; the third wife's quarters, which house the most wives, these being in charge of general house-keeping and of issuing beans, greens, nuts, and lesser foods. A boy, when about the age of eight, leaves his mother's hut and becomes guard of his father's or uncle's kraal. All boys must have their meals at their sleeping huts (7 in diagram) near the kraal's entrance passage. Visitors must walk through the boys' sitting place (8), not around it. They may return there to cook their meals, if not invited to dine with the kraal head.

Economy. --Among the Kuanyama, sex division of labor is pronounced. A hoe-culture complex belongs entirely to the women; a cattle-raising complex entirely to the men. Large economic powers are held by the agricultural women, hence wealthy land-leasing cattle raisers desire a number of wives. Although the Kuanyama still use as mediums of exchange ivory and shell buttons and beads, as well as livestock, the real signs of prosperity are the granaries (26 in the kraal diagram), filled by the work of many wives. The plow has been introduced in late years, but has met with only limited success. In most areas, because of the poor drainage caused by the yearly floods, the only feasible method of agriculture is by tilling and planting in hillocks. This is done by the women, who also transplant the seedling grain by hand.

The women commence planting as soon as rain is expected. The chief crops are Kaffir corn (sorghum) and millet, sowed in hillocks, between which gourds, melons, and Vigna beans are later planted. Tobacco growing was introduced in modern times from Angola. Cotton grows wild and was formerly used to protect the arrow points in old-fashioned quivers.

Besides cereal from the millet, Kaffir beer from the sorghum, and a limited meat supply from cattle and the game hunted in the forests between the tribal divisions the Ambo catch many fish at the close of the rainy season. The Kuanyama women make and use their own dip baskets, while the men place trap baskets in dam openings. Men also poison fish with the sap of the omuhongo, a species of Euphorbia. The dried branches of this tree are used as torches for catching frogs at night.

The Ambo have access to iron, salt, and copper. Iron is obtained once a year by the Kuanyama blacksmiths from Angola. The Kuanyama barter salt from the Ondonga and use it in seasoning and preserving fish and meat; it is never used in porridge. Similarly, the Ondonga formerly bartered copper from the Heikum Bushmen at Tsumeb and the Kaokoveld. It was then smelted, shingled, and traded to the Kuanyama and

other Ambo.

The men's occupation with cattle raising allows them an increment of wealth without work. It releases men for hunting, trade, travel, social and political activity. The boys herd, milk, and churn butter. During the dry season they take the cattle to grazing outposts in Angola and Eastern Ovamboland. At the end of the rainy season, when the boys bring the cattle home, a ceremony is held in which the animals are presented to the kraal owners (both the living and dead owners) with much singing, dancing, and feasting.

Besides cattle, the Ambo raise goats, which are the poor man's property. In Christian kraals there are a few pigs and an increasing number of chickens, although the eggs are rarely eaten and are not used in sacrifice. Horses were introduced after contact with the whites and are owned by the wealthy. They are not mentioned in the stories. Nor are sheep, which thrive only towards the Kaokoveld; the few sheep the Kuanyama possess are considered sacred, being a gift of the High God Kalunga. Every kraal has its native dogs which were formerly used by the nobles and kraal owners in hunting expeditions and in robbing neighbors of their goats. All Ambo eat dogs, but the Kuanyama never ate them in the king's kraal. Like the Ovimbundu⁵ the Kuanyama formerly practiced cannibalism at the coronation of a king and at the beginning of a war.

Since the native aristocracy has been replaced by a council of headmen and cattle raids and intertribal warfare have been outlawed, men now find little to do. Some, under strong protest, help their wives in the fields, especially the Christians who have only one wife. As among other cattle-raising peoples, plastic arts are shunned, and now even the native crafts are on the decline. The stores in Ovamboland have done away with native trading and, altogether, this sends the men south to work for the Europeans. The men still do all wood-work, make and move the kraals, weave storage baskets, traps, and mats, and tan skins, including those used in women's costumes. Women make coil baskets, grass brooms, beer strainers, and roof thatching, bead and seed ornaments, and pottery. In Ondonga, the women manufacture and sell ostrich-eggshell beads to all unmarried Ambo girls. A girl buys only a few beads at a time, and wears strands of them about her hips, adding to them year after year until she has a white shell girdle, which should, if she is wealthy, reach to her knees by the time she is ready for marriage.

Political and social organization. --Status is determined by sex and age, although the Kuanyama have no actual age classes. Each period of life is marked off by appropriate clothing and bead decorations. Besides the ostrichshell-bead girdles worn as symbols of presumed virginity, the unmarried girls also wear headdresses of corded human hair decorated with cowry shells and stiffened with fat and red ochre into Egyptian-shaped head crests. The married women wear helmets of corded hair wound into peaked caps, having two horns in front and two in back connected by side brims, thus giving the effect of Mandarin headgear. The sign of motherhood consists of the skin of an ox face draped over the belt front; of widowhood, the wearing of black bead necklaces.

⁵ Hambly, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

An unmarried man wore, sticking up above the buttocks, a hollow tail-shaped skin with a small sack beneath, which was filled with fat for oiling the limbs on long journeys; a married man replaced the tail with a cup-shaped skin filled with fat and wore a head decoration to denote his professional status. Today, the men wear whatever European clothing they can afford.

Blacksmiths and medicine men are the two professionals still practicing among the Kuanyama. Medicine men cure and sacrifice for the sick, detect thieves and witches, and find lost articles. Abortion is practiced by women professionals. Up to the time of the last king, Mandume, who was killed by the Union forces in 1917, it meant death for any girl to give birth to a child before the efundula, the combined puberty and marriage ceremony of the girls' group.

Most of the Ambo, except for a few small tribes along the Kunene River, had sacred kings. The Kuanyama king (ohamba) was thought to be in control of the weather; theoretically, he was above the law, and was owner of all land, cattle, and subjects. Kingship descended from older brother to younger brother or to mother's brother's son. A hierarchy of nobles (elenga) received land grants and other concessions according to their special merits; they in turn leased land to the smaller kraal owners in true feudal fashion. Tribes are still organized into matrilineal clans; however, the custom of naming children after the father and the handing down of sacred utensils and knowledge from father to son suggest patrilineal organization. The main property, which consists largely of cattle, is inherited by the brothers and nephews of the deceased.

KUANYAMA FOLKLORE

The following collection of folklore⁶ may appear scanty in comparison with what may still be collected in West Africa, but the present state of European acculturation among the Kuanyama makes it difficult to select authentic material. The activity of missionaries since 1870 has caused a large part of the folklore to be replaced by Bible stories, and the old songs by hymns.

Kuanyama stories.--The lengthy Jackal and Hyena story has been omitted, since part of it has already been published⁷ and since it does not portray the culture of the people. The Kuanyama migration story leading into the history of the kings will be given space in a later publication.

Melodi⁸ is an unusual version of the "Pandora's Box" theme. The love motive, symbolized by two caged birds, is handled so delicately that to one unacquainted with Kuanyama

In former times a new king, before ascending the throne, had to kill his father, since the latter came from a plebeian clan and was not of royal blood. The kings themselves were always strangled or smothered by their servants to prevent their natural death, which would have restricted their rain-making powers in the next world. After the reign of King Haimbili, the last of the circumcised monarchs, who died in the middle of the nineteenth century, the rulers were no longer allowed to live in the royal "palace" (ombala) and lost some of their divine attributes. After King Mandume's death in 1917 the Kuanyama were given indirect rule by an administrative council of headmen and subheadmen acting under the advice of government officials.

Religion.--Religious ritual was centered in ancestor worship. Offerings were made at the graves of kings and of such important men as kraal heads, when special favors were desired or at the times of planting and harvesting.

Ordeals were used by the Kuanyama in connection with the detection of witches by the medicine men. The investigating specialist stroked his greased palm with a hot knife and when the knife stuck to the palm, the "criminal" was named. In the days of the kings at least one witch (omulodi) was killed after every death. Today, the witch is still very much feared.

The Kuanyama formerly believed in the existence of three worlds: the world above, in which lived Kalunga, the High God, and the souls of the nobles (called ovakuamunghu); the earth itself; and a world below for ordinary souls. Rainfall and abundance characterized the upper world, but very little penetrated to the world below.

courtship customs,⁹ certain elements in the narrative might seem neither primitive nor African.

Nambaisita, or "He Who Was Self-Created," is a combination of culture-hero story and the animal-helpers theme. According to the universal plot of the culture-hero tale a child (the hero) is born in an unnatural manner, arouses the anxiety of the ruling powers, who fear the overturn of their regime, then proceeds to deeds of valor, and finally does overturn the established order.

In the present story the hero, Nambaisita, is born from an egg, and is therefore an unnatural child. According to Kuanyama theory any unnatural child is dangerous; hence, the father tries to kill his son before birth. Once he is born, Kalunga, the High God, plots his destruction. When this scheme likewise fails, Nambaisita overthrows Kalunga and becomes God.

Simbaba no Kadenge Kaje, "Simbaba and His Nephew,"¹⁰ is a second and less esoteric ver-

⁶ Acknowledgments are made to Professor H. Vedder, historical ethnologist, Okahandja, South West Africa, and to the Reverend G. W. Dymond, St. Mary's Anglican Mission, Odibo, Ovamboland, South West Africa. The Reverend Dymond gave me his manuscript on religious proverbs and songs; Professor Vedder made available an old unpublished manuscript by the missionary, H. Schkär, which contains valuable ethnographic material and proverbs. Both manuscripts were checked and re-translated by my informants.

⁷ A. Pettinen, op. cit.

⁸ Melodi is a woman's name, but is similar to the word omulodi, meaning "witch."

⁹ Kuanyama courtship customs are described in E. M. Loeb, "Courtship and the Love Song," *Anthropos*, 45:821-851, 1950.

¹⁰ The name Simbaba comes from osimbaba, "palmleaf basket."

sion of the Nambaisita story. Instead of killing God, the hero kills his father, the king, who then turns into an evil cannibal spirit, ekisi, and devours the hero's mother. Simbaba, the mother's brother, enables the hero to kill the spirit and release his mother. Like the Ovimbundu, the Kuanyama have a whole cycle of omakisi (cannibal spirits) stories, and all magicians are said to turn into omakisi when they die.

Okadona o Nehova, "The Girl, Nehova,"¹¹ is the story of a girl robbed of her status by an impersonating slave girl. An Ovimbundu story called "Ngana Fenda Maria" has a similar plot, probably of European origin,¹² in which a female rival substitutes herself for a girl journeying to her lover. In both stories the criminals are found out and put to death; only in the Ovimbundu story, however, is the suspect tortured. The Kuanyama seldom used torture except when obtaining confessions from suspected witches.

Ondudu Kavandje, "The Medicine Man, Kavandje,"¹³ is a true story, the incidents of which occurred during the reign of the last Kuanyama king, Mandume, who died in 1917. By a clever ruse Kavandje tricked the monarch into believing that he was being given supernatural powers.

Okadona Nekoto la Namu-uandjoba, "The Girl, Nekoto, daughter of Namu-uandjoba,"¹⁴ is the first of a series of omakisi or "ghost" stories. In this tale the omakisi are albinos and not spirits, although one and the same word is used for both. The omakisi were guarding a water hole and preventing the people of the kraal from fetching water. The heroine, Nekoto, lures the albinos into letting her fetch water and finally entices them to destruction. Albinos are not considered human, so the painful manner of their death, as told in this story, is considered humorous by the Kuanyama.

Omakisi, "The Spirits," starts with the animal-helper theme and the conquest of evil spirits by a boy. The second part of the story relates how the boy gets the better of his cannibalistic mother-in-law.

Omumati Enkembe, "The Boy, Enkembe,"¹⁵ is another story with a cannibalistic theme. The boy is in conflict with his stepmother, who tries to have him killed so that his flesh may serve as medicine for her own sick son.

Ondjaba Noipundi, "The Elephant and His Stools," is the first of an animal series. An elephant sends a man to get him some stools. A tortoise collects a reward in advance for making these stools. Each time the man calls, the tortoise, by retreating into his shell, makes himself appear like a finished stool. The elephant investigates and, while traveling with the tortoise to a distant river where the stools are said to be, he discovers the tortoise stealing a ride in his bag. So he takes the tortoise out of the bag and hangs him on a tree to die. The tortoise is rescued by the cheetah, who in return receives his "stripes."

Oita jo Kafifi ne Mbungu, "The War of the Wren and the Hyena," is an account of a war between animals with wings and those with four legs. It resembles somewhat the fable of La Fontaine in which the birds fight the animals and the bat claims to belong first to one side and then to the other. The present story, however, emphasizes the moral that strategy is superior to brute force.

Kuanyama poetry.--The translation and explanation of a few Kuanyama songs comprise the second section of this paper. Song and dance accompany every native occasion except death and burial, when the people chant their grief. While most Kuanyama songs are anonymous, in the present collection names are attached to the three prophecies. Apparently the Kuanyama had no professional bards, although some of the men are better than average in the arts of singing and pantomime.

Kuanyama proverbs.--The third section of this paper contains proverbs classified as legal (nos. 1-22), ethical (nos. 23-53), philosophical (nos. 54-124), and religious (nos. 125-137).

Kuanyama riddles.--In native cultures, riddles and proverbs are usually associated. This is not necessarily so in our own form of riddle, in which a definite solution is asked, and it is to this type that numbers 26 to 32 of the Kuanyama riddles in the fourth section of this paper belong. In numbers 1 to 25, however, the riddle takes the form of two proverbs set off against each other, a type also characteristic of many Ondonga Ambo riddles, some of which are presented in the Addenda to the fourth section of this paper. There, certainly, the riddle is associated with the proverb.

In Ondonga each riddle which requires a solution is prefixed by the remark, "Listen to this! Now give answer!" Kuanyama riddles, however, have no introduction; the usual pattern is for one proverb to be capped by another.¹⁶

¹¹ The name Nehova comes from shove, "oxen."

¹² H. Chatelain, *Folk-Tales of Angola*, *Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society*, 1:253, 1894.

¹³ The name Kavandje comes from okavandje, "jackal."

¹⁴ The name Nekoto comes from ekoto, "navel."

¹⁵ Words related to Enkembe are pembe, "white"; elembe, "fading thing" (a plant).

¹⁶ Robert Petsch (*Studien über das Volksrätsel*, pp. 58-63, 1898) has presented various introductions to riddles. One is, "Come tell me my riddle, an' I'll gie ye ma head."

THE TRANSLATION OF TEXTS

The Kuanyama now have a written language with grammar, dictionary, and published texts.¹⁷ Hence my informants were allowed to write down texts in the manner they had been taught in the missionary schools. An article on Kuanyama phonetics, based on tape recordings, may be published by the University of Witwaterarand, Johannesburg, Union of South Africa.

For the convenience of the reader, the following short fable is presented with interlineal translation:

Ekondodolo lo numba okuali lalonda
Rooster of certain had he climbed

komuti kuamue nenghadi. Ndele olo
on tree with chickens. And when

lamona ombadje taihondjauninine, opo
he saw Jackal he was approaching, then

ombadje ajahovela akutonga ke kondobolo
Jackal he starts to talk to Rooster.

ombadje ojati, "Kaume kange, diako
Jackal says, "Friend my, get off

komuti, tuje tu kundafane omblli ipe
from tree, you come to have talk [about] peace new

ejj janningua mounjuni paife."
which made in world just now."

Ekondodolo olanjamukula nde taliti, "Heno mbela,
Rooster he answered and he said, "Yes perhaps,

ame inasisiva naua esi totongo! Ndelene
I do not know well what you mean! And

paife ondiuete omukongo taende kuinja
now I see the hunter he is passing over there

eli nembua. Inda kuje utale nge oje ena
with dogs. Go to him and see if he has

ombili ipe nave. Opone fie hatuhembuluka
peace new with you. Then we get off

komuti tu pafeneni omake."
from tree to shake together hands."

Ndele ombadje taiti, "Ahoue, paife
And Jackal he says, "No, now

ondiua oupiakadi mahapu, simba embua
I am busy much, [and] I think dogs

edi inadisiuda naua, sasi ombili ejj
those not have heard well because peace this

jatongua paife tu-esi."
it is announced now just."

The following is a free translation of this fable.

A certain rooster climbed up a tree to roost with the other chickens. While there he saw Jackal approaching. Jackal started to talk with Rooster, saying, "My friend, come down from the tree and have a conversation [with me] about the new peace which just now has been made in the world."

Rooster replied, "Really! But I hardly know what you mean! And besides, just at this moment I see a hunter passing by over there with his dogs. First, you go over to him and see if he [has made] a new peace [pact] with you. After that we will get down from the tree and shake hands with you."

But Jackal exclaimed, "Oh no! At this moment I am quite too busy. Besides, it comes to my mind that the dogs have not heard [the news] very well, since the peace has been announced only very recently."

¹⁷ H. Tönjes, *Lehrbuch der Ovambo Sprache Osikuanjama*, and *Wörterbuch der Osikuanjama Ovambo Sprache*, both published in Berlin, 1910. Except for the English spelling of the word "Kuanyama," the German form of spelling used by Tönjes is employed in this paper. S is always pronounced "sh"; n indicates "w" before e or i, and elsewhere is pronounced "n" as in "Bantu"; j or y is pronounced "y" as in "yes"; aspirated "m" and "n" are preceded by an h, and not written m and n as in Tönjes' work.

STORIES

MELODI

1. Okali omulumenu umue osikuna, ndele okuali ahombola ovalikadi vatatu, ndene je okuali omufitandaka. Okuali ena okafuko kuvakuao avese aka ali ekahole unene komeso javakuao avese, edina lako Melodi.

Omulumenu oo okuali haji kohambo nengobe¹⁸ daje. Efiku limue fimbo ne alipo talifa engobe daje dedidi, okuanda oudila tavaimbi naua, ndele oudila ovo okuali tavaimbi mediva lili popepi. Onghe esi ajapo okuahanga oudila vavali veli mosilambo; oudila ava ovali vaua unene okutala, tavavema naua. Ndele ne je sasi okuali omufitandaka, onghe adula okupokia pefimbo tu olo; okuakala ne nokufimaneka oudila ovo. Opo oudila okuevatuala kohambo jaje nde tevatula mombija jaje omo evaholeka metuali omu hanangala. Oudila ovakala nokuimba oufiku ause.

2. Efiku lalandula oje okuaja keumbo pamue navo veli mombija vatuvikiluamo naua nomuenjo uavo. Esi aja meumbo okuevatule mondju uo jamufuko uaje Melodi. Onghe Melodi akala nokuvatekula naua. Opono omulumenu okuatonga, tati komufuko uaje, "Inosilombuela nande umue, ndele oudila ovo inovaefa vaje. Osesi nge uevaefa ohaifiti ondaka natango, ndele sama tu uevaefa ohaikudipa." Onghe Melodi okuati, "Heno, ohaivadininine naua." Osesi omufuko okuali jo ahafa esi eudite muene tapopi ngasi ovanu vakuao. Opo okuakala ne nge euja keumbo, ohatula ne ombija, omo veli taimbe ne vo oudila tavemunja-mukula.

Efiku limue ne ovalikadi vaje ovatua emata. Tavati olielie eholike unene pokati ketu edule avese. Opono omualikadi ou uotete okuati, "Ame ndiholike unene, osesi okuapange osikelelifo¹⁹ saje disidinine." Opo omutivali okuati, "Ii! Osikelilifo osike. Ame hano okuapange eonga laje noinima jomaulenga aje aise noiluifo jaje ndidinine."

3. Melodi akala asike amuena, asesi oje okuali atalika kuvakuao ngasi omufiona.²⁰ Ovakala ne tavemuli osipungo, tavati, "Muene uetu kekuhole." Efiku limue ne nghe tave-mula nokumuseka, omutima uaje ovali ne ualoloka. Oje nokuati, "Muene ueumbo okuapange osinima simue esi sua unene sidule aise jeni muapena; osikelelifo, noiluifo, hano. Oje okuholenge unene."

¹⁸ Kohambo nengobe: outpost for cattle. The Ambo keep their cattle at outposts from the beginning of the dry season to the end of the rainy season.

¹⁹ Osikelelifo: war belt, a form of leather armor extending up to the chest.

MELODI

1. There was once a rich man [named Nasilenge] who was married to three wives. Among his wives, one was newly wed [a young bride], and she was loved far more than all the others. Her name was Melodi.

This man [Nasilenge] was in the custom of going to his cattle outpost.¹⁸ One day, while he was there attending his cows, he heard some birds singing beautifully in a near-by pan [water hole]. When he went to the pan he found two birds in a hole; they were magnificent to look at and had shining [feathers]. And [strange enough] although the man had been dumb, now he was able to talk; so he stayed [at the place] in order to praise the birds. Finally the man took the birds to his outpost, and, placing them in a pot, he hid them in the bush shelter where he slept. The birds remained alive singing the whole night through.

2. The next day Nasilenge went home with his birds in the pot; they remained alive although the pot was tightly closed. When he arrived in his kraal, he placed the birds in the sleeping hut of his young bride, Melodi. From that time on Melodi took good care of the birds. Eventually the husband spoke to his bride, saying, "Do not talk to anyone about this, and [above all] do not let the birds escape. If the birds fly away, I will never be able to speak again. Then I will kill you." Melodi answered, "Yes, I will take good care of the birds." Melodi was glad when she heard her owner [husband] speak as other people. After this, every time Nasilenge came to the kraal he removed the lid from the pot and sang into it, while the birds answered [his song].

One day Melodi had a dispute with the other wives. They argued which one was the most beloved among them. The first wife said, "I am greatly beloved, because [our husband] gives me his war belt¹⁹ to look after." However, the second wife replied, "Oh! His war belt! That is nothing. He gives me his spear, his ornaments, and all his weapons to safeguard."

3. Melodi merely kept silent, and therefore she was looked upon by the other [wives] as a poor woman.²⁰ They then started abusing her, saying, "Our owner [husband] does not care for you." One day, while they were scorning and blaming her, Melodi's heart grew weary, so she replied, "The owner of this kraal gave me something better than anything he has given you; something [better even] than your war belt and your weapons. He loves me very much indeed."

²⁰ Omufiona. Poverty is a disgrace among the Kuanyama, so the term omufiona, "poor person," is an insult.

Opo vo ovapula, "Osike ajandja kuove?" Onghe je amuena, inanjamukula sa kuvo. Opovo vomuseka unene sidule sito. Kohuninua oje okuati, "Oinima eji muapena ojongaho, kaina omuenjo, ile kaifi jomuenjo. Hano mondjuo jange omuna sa esi sinomuenjo, nosina unene, ndele oso osiholekua, onghe ame ihaidule okusimulombuela." Onghe vakua onjamunghuao²¹ vemukondijifa evalombuele esi sili mondjuo jaje.

Vakala sili tavakula nokuhena olufuuo.

4. Kohuninua Melodi okuati, "Ohamuti ne osike sadinina oudaka ja Nasilenge." "Vo tavapula ohapopi ne?" Melodi: "Ihamudu nge tatopi? Hano ngenge omuapuulikine naua otamudu esi tapopi."

Opone oujamunghuao vatia, "Ou omuholike! Tutuala ko ndjuo joje tukatale, fie utulikile osinama osos silimo sia nosikumui." Opo okuevatuala mondjuo jaje nde taidilepo osivelo. Esi ne vajamo, Melodi tatulako osituviko kombija ilipo inene josivela nde tevaulikile oudila velipo vavali vaua unene volududi talivema, nde tavevatale nokuvafimaneka nokupandula²² omake nehafo linene.

5. Ndelene inavakala nokuhafela muinja mondjuo, ovejo pondje nde tavevaptifamo nokukuuilila²³ nehafo linene, sasi ngenge oujelele utango tauminikile momenja avo ohavakala tavavema nenghono. Fimbo ne oudila veli momake avo, otavahale okutukapo, ndele ne kohahuninua oudila vatukapo nde tavai.

Nasilenge okuali taeta keumbo je taimbi, okuapapala esi ondaka jaje vali ngasi nale. Opone esi afika meumbo okuaja ajukilila kondjuo ja Melodi, ndene okuahanga Melodi aja nale afadukapo nde taji kosilongo soina komukunda²⁴ oku adile. Atale oudila navo vava vatukapo.

6. Opone esi amona esi sauinguapo, okuakala ne ahanduka oufiku oo ause. Ongula esi kuasa okuatumu omutumua²⁵ komukunda uo Melodi euje keumbo. Opo esi omutumua aja, okuakala ofika kosikulundu²⁶ nde taimbi.

Esi omukunda ouali ne mefilu. Melodi okuadiako adiala naua je telituile kokati kosivela, ovakulunuu vaje ovmudika ne naua vati opo ne muene nge temunono emupande nokudime ehandu laje.

But when the other wives asked Melodi what their husband had given her, she kept quiet and answered them not a word. Therefore they blamed her more than ever. Finally Melodi said, "Those things which you were given are nothing at all, since they have no life. They are not living beings. But the thing in my sleeping hut is very much alive, and also it is very useful. Furthermore it is a secret, and I won't tell you anything about it." After this the co-wives²¹ [naturally] tried to force Melodi to tell them what was in her hut; without ceasing they questioned her over and over again.

4. At last Melodi said, "This object about which you are talking contains the voice of [our husband] Nasilenge." "Oh! He speaks then?" Melodi replied, "What! You don't hear him when he speaks? If only you will listen, you will hear him when he talks."

The co-wives replied, "Oh dear one! Take us into your hut, so that you can show us the good and wonderful things inside of it." Melodi took the co-wives into her hut and closed the entrance. After they were all inside, Melodi removed the large iron lid from the pot and showed the birds. There were two of them; very fine birds with glistening feathers. The two [elder women] looked at the birds with great respect and indicated their intense happiness by clapping their hands.²²

5. But the co-wives were not contented inside the hut, so they came outside, bringing the birds with them. [Once outside] the two women shrilled²³ with excitement when the beams from the sun shone on the birds and made their feathers glisten. When the birds were [outside] in the hands of the women they tried to escape, and at last they got away, and were off!

Nasilenge was bringing his cattle home to the kraal, singing on the way, when suddenly his voice left him, and he [was dumb] again as before. When he arrived in the kraal he went straight to the sleeping hut of Melodi; but he found that she had fled and gone back to the district of her mothers,²⁴ from whence she had come. The husband looked for his birds, but he found them also gone; they had flown away.

6. Once Nasilenge found out what had happened he was angry the whole night through. The next morning at dawn he sent a messenger²⁵ to Melodi's district, asking her to come home. When the messenger arrived, he stayed on top of a hill²⁶ and sang [his message].

The district of Melodi was in a valley. She appeared, finely dressed and leaning on an iron walking stick. Her parents had dressed her up well, so that, if her husband should see her, he would be pleased and his anger would be appeased.

²¹ Onjamunghuao. Wives in a kraal are "njamunghuao," co-wives, to one another.

²² Okupandula: "to clap one's hands in thanks." The Kuanyama always clap their hands when they are pleased with a gift.

²³ Okukuuilila: a shrilling sound made by Kuanyama and other Bantu women to show great excitement, as at the sight of cattle. The tongue is made to vibrate against the roof of the mouth.

²⁴ Oina komukunda: "the district of her mothers." The country of the Kuanyama is divided into districts, each under a headman. The word oina or "mothers" indicates both the mother and the mother's sisters, all being called "mother."

²⁵ Omutumua: a messenger. It is customary to send a messenger when a man wishes to retrieve a young wife. The messenger sings according to a formal pattern.

²⁶ Osikulundu: a hill. There are hills between Kuanyama land and Evali to the north. Kuanyama land itself is flat.

7. Esi Melodi euja kondjila okuaimba asike nde tati,
"Ohaja ngaho ndeete oudila va Nasilenge, ohaija ngaho."

Opo omutumua aluka nde tasuna keumbo. Opo okuaja omutumua umue nde taningi ngasi ou uotete. Melodi ohadiko asike nde teja pondjila taimbi ngasi sito. Hano ovatumua vahapu vejako nde tavaimbi nokuimba nokulisunamo, vahapu oso vaninga nde fijo otavaloloka.

"Omona uetu, fuemutukika
Inakula! Kuali-ndisi osiveli
Mboli onghelo. Haikongo.
Ndalialala omahodi sije
Nomutue. Omanina sije
Nomupolo anapo. Ndalila ndali.
Ame ndajolua ne halilifua
Ko musuko. Omutima
Uonghelo kauli ngau uoiveli."

8. Melodi esi auja keumbo esi tu muene emumona ile esi tu euja momeso aje. Nasilenge okuaninga edidiliko kovakija vaje venudipae. Olutu luaje lasasaulua moupambu vanini momaonga mukonda avo ememo.

Xe ja Melodi okueja nde tatola oupambu avese volutu lomona, tevatula mosako, nde taji najo keumbo. Okuaja nde teitula eileka meulu londuda jaje, nde tapapiti efimbo lile vatelela aninge vali omunu. Ndele ne omunu inaninga nande omuenjo, ovakala nokutulako omiti efimbo nefimbo. Kohuni-nua ne kokulekule, oveuete mueja eke laje limue nalikua, nomadi imue naikua; vapapale omutue uejamo nosipala. Opo ovemukufamo ne mosako tavemupe oikulia, nomuhunga naua. Vapapale omunu aninga omunu lela ngasi ali nale.

9. Efiku limue Nasilenge aninga osivilo sakula; oko ne kuakala omaudano, okulia, nokunua. Onghe ovakulunu va Melodi vemudika omidialo iua noivela koma oka naokuali afena unene.

Opono Melodi okuadiako nondjila nde teuja kosivilo. Esi tu Nasilenge emumona, okuaingida nde tati, "Kesi mualikadi uange uinja Melodi?" Ovanu ovaujamukula, "Heno aje." Onghe okuaingida nde tati, "Inaja vali, nakala apa nde hatukala naje ngasi omualikadi uange."

10. Opo Melodi aninga vali omualikadi uaje ngasi vale, nde takala emuhole unene ngasi nale. Oudila valuka nale naje muene Nasilenge adula okupopia.

Nasilenge okuajandja ne engobe dihapu kovakulunu va Melodi nde tomuhombola vali. Nde takala ohole jaje ngasi sali nonale.

7. As Melodi came walking along, she sang, "I will come back in spite of everything and bring Nasilenge his birds. I will come back anyway."

When the first messenger had returned to the kraal, Nasilenge sent another and still another. Each time the same thing happened. Melodi only came partway [to the hill], singing as usual [and then turned back]. Many times Melodi was sent for, and the messengers sang over and over again, until they became tired. [This was what the messengers sang.]

"Our child, I married her
Too early. We thought that she was the eldest
child;
But it was the youngest child I married.
As I turn my face up, tears sink back
Into my head. My nose runs and the mucus
Sinks back again into my nose. I cry and cry
And I am laughed at for my lamentations
For my bride. The heart of the youngest
Is not like the heart of her elder sisters."

8. Finally, Melodi came to her husband's kraal. As soon as she was in sight Nasilenge made a signal to his servants to kill her. The body was hacked with spears and sharp daggers into small pieces.

Then the father of Melodi arrived and picked up all the bits of his daughter's flesh, put them in a bag, and brought them back to his kraal. He hung up the bag on the roof of his sleeping hut and waited a long time for Melodi again to become a person; but she did not return to life. Eventually [the inmates of the kraal] put medicine time and again [on the bag]. Finally they saw one of Melodi's hands appear, and then the other hand. Next the two feet emerged, one after the other. Then the face and head were formed inside the bag. The people took Melodi out of the bag and fed her well; and thus she again became a proper human being, as well as she had ever been before.

9. One day Nasilenge gave a big feast; there was food and drink and dancing. So the parents of Melodi dressed her up well and decorated her arms with armbands. Thus she was splendidly attired.

[When all was prepared] Melodi started on her way and came to the feast. As soon as Nasilenge saw her, he cried out, "Is this not my wife, Melodi?" His people answered him, saying, "Yes, it is she." Nasilenge cried out again [this time to Melodi], "Do not go away, but remain here and be my wife."

10. So Melodi again became the wife of Nasilenge, as she had been before, and was as much beloved as in former days. The birds returned once more to their owner, Nasilenge, and he immediately recovered his power of speech.

Nasilenge gave many cattle to the parents of Melodi and was remarried to her; she remained his favorite, as she had been in former times.

NAMBAISITA

1. Ovakulu vonale ovatua ongano, taiti; Opali okakadona kaula, ndele takahombolua koilongo jokokula. Ndele esi kahombolua okali hakadala omaji. Ndele ngenge kadala eji lako ohakelihambebele takati, "Oukana kange! Oukana kange!" Ndele ngenge adipo, ohahange eji laje lihepo vali. Hano esi osakala tasiningua kese efimbo adala eji laje.

Ndele kohauhunina esi akadala vali eji, okualombuela ina, tati, "Meme, oudakala ndadala eji, ndele ngenge ndadiapo ohaihange eji lange lihepo." Opona ina okuemulombaela, tati, "Tala! Samatu ndala eji vali litula kosimato sokanda."

2. Hano esi omualikadi ahangua kedimo, okuaja kaina nde takalako omufiku mahapu atelela adale. Opaningua ne esi adala eji laje otatulua kosimato sokanda.

Efiku olo eji latendamo omuadia okana, aka kafikila takapopi, takati, "Aha ndeitasamo omu, ame Nambaisita. Inaisitua komunu ndele itaipangelua ko mune, ile ko mupangeli uounjuni ou."²⁷

3. Opaningua ne esi Omupangeli esiuda kutia opena okana kadalu ndele inakasisitua komunu ko ilakapangelua ko mupangeli uounjuni. Okuatumako tati, "Kaume kange! Oo adalu adia meji, noinasitua nande kumunu, neuje ko!"

Hano Nambaisita esi akula okuakonga ovapija vaje voifitikuti aise: endjaba; enghosi; engue; endika; enghuiju; ehologo; omaluviluvi; oinamuenjotu aise jokomaludi elili nokolili.

4. Hano Omupangeli esi aufana okamati okuahala okutala enghono dako apa difike. Okuatula ne oipouga ilili noikele lifo ihapu. Esi ne okamati takaji okuakufa ovapija vaje voifikukuti.

Hano fimbo tavaende mondjila ovahanga etunda lesosolo dihapu, nde taulana onghui nde taituna omatutumbo. Onghuiju tainingi omafundo, opona ovanu avese vadula okupita. Ndele esi vakoja etunda lesosolo oveuja vali pomulonga,²⁸ uakula uakambakana oudjila javo. Ndele okamati okaufana omaluviluvi nde tajaliko omaluviluvi²⁹ kambada jomeva. Opona ovanu avese vadula okuenda kombada jomeva. Okudia opo pomulonga ovahanga vali ongoja³⁰ jakula jo jafita. Okamati takaufana endjaba nde tadiningi omandakani jataulula ongoja ndele ovanu vadula okupita. Okudia opo ovakahanga epia laumbua onguku ile, nepia lijadi oilia jaindakana. Okamati takaufana endjaba no nghuiju nde tavatejaula onguku noilia aise jomepia.

²⁷ Pangeli uounjuni ou: "the Ruler of this World," that is, Kalunga, the Kuanyama High God. In one of the three texts of this story, the name Pamba, a title for Kalunga, was given. "This World" signifies Kuanyama land. When the reign of a king is mentioned, it is always as the "World of King So-and-so."

²⁸ Omulonga: river. The Kuanyama know two rivers, the Kunene and the Okavango.

HE WHO WAS SELF-CREATED

1. Our ancestors long ago created the following story. Once upon a time there was a good girl who was married in a faraway country. After she was married she started laying eggs. Each time she laid an egg she gave thanks, saying, "My child! My child!" But every time she went away [when she returned], she was certain to find the egg broken. This happened every time she laid an egg.

Finally, when at last she laid another egg, she informed her mother [about it], saying, "Mother I have given birth to an egg. Yet [it has happened every time] when I have been away, my egg has disappeared." The mother replied, "Look! The next time you lay an egg, place it on top of the granary."

2. The next time the woman became pregnant [got a womb], she went to her mother's and stayed there a long time waiting for her child. Then when she bore her egg, she placed it on top of the granary.

The day that the egg broke open, a child came out, who spoke at once, saying, "I have come out of here. My name is Nambaisita, since I have been made by no one. Also I have no ruler to own me, not even the Ruler of this World."²⁷

3. When the Supreme Ruler heard that a child had been born who had not been made by a person, and who [therefore] was not under the jurisdiction of the Ruler of the World, he sent [a message] to him, which said, "My friend! You who have been born from an egg, and have not been made by anyone; you shall come here!"

As Nambaisita grew up he obtained animals and insects of every variety as servants: elephants, lions, leopards, rabbits, spring hares, kudus, spiders; indeed, all kinds of animals.

4. Presently the Ruler invited Nambaisita to come and visit him, since he wanted to test the youth's magical powers. For this purpose he placed all kinds of dangers [in his path], in order to stop him. [But] when the boy went he took with him his animal servants.

As they were walking on their way they encountered some high ground full of thistles. The boy summoned the moles, and they piled up heaps of dirt so all the people were able to pass through. After they had left the hard ground full of thistles, they came to a large river²⁸ [which stretched] across their way. The boy then summoned the spiders, who spun their webs²⁹ on top of the water; this enabled everyone to walk across [on the webs]. After [having crossed] the river, the group came to a large thick jungle.³⁰ The boy summoned the elephants who plowed through the jungle, so that the people also could pass through. From there they came to a garden surrounded with a high thorn hedge and overgrown with thick cornstalks. The boy called upon the elephants and the spring hares, and these destroyed both the hedge and the thick cornstalks in the garden.

²⁹ Omaluviluvi: spider web. The word for spider is "eluviluvi" (plur. "omaluviluvi"). Spider web is "omaluviluvi" and is always used in the plural.

³⁰ Ongoja: jungle. Large jungles of dry forests lay between Kuanyama and the Okavango River impeding intercourse between the peoples of these areas.

5. Okamati esi kauja okahanga oluvanda³¹ lilelile omu vaenda ndele ovahanga muatulia omandangalati nomapango.³² Ndele endjaba odeja nde tadikufapo omandangalati no taditejaula omapango aese dahanga moluvanda.

Ndele esi euja meumbo Omupangeli nounjuni okuevahambelela nenjeme. Nde esi veuja meumbo vo tavatelekelun unene oifima joufila uomakipa ovanu nombelela jovanu. Ndele esi vapena oifima je Nambaisita tati, "Aje! Fie itatuli oifima janingua noufila uomakipa ovanu ndele fie ihatuli."

6. Hano esi veuja meumbo ovatulia kolupale³³ ndele oipundi ojalua kombada jomakelo potapajalua oubadua; vati opone ngenge tavakala omutumba vamkulukile momakelo.³⁴ No momakelo omuatulia omeva afulukifua.

Esi ne valia osumbululua, Omupangeli taufana okamati kauje katale engobe daje mosiunda. Hano esi veuja mosiunda Omupangeli okuakala ne ena omedi jaje haitu ovanu. Hano okuatia ngo esi veujamo omedi ojaumila ku Nambaisita, nde je talondo ke kumketi. Je Omupangeli tati, "Kumketi lange, mutuala! Mutuala!" Ndele fimbo inalonda okuajandja okakutu, hano esi alonda kekumbeti lo talimutuala. Je tati, "Kakutu kange, naela kakutu kange! Naela!"

7. Omupangeli tati, "Kumbeti lange aluka! Kumbeti lange aluke!"

Hano ekumbeti esi laaluka, okamati takalondoloka, nde Omupangeli tati, "Kaume kange, tuje tukahungile meumbo. Ndele taveuja meumbo tavanangala. Nde mongula esi kuasa Omupangeli okuati, "Ituje mepia ukatale oilia jange, esi ihapu."

Esi veuja mepia Omupangeli okuati, "Kokamati, uete tu oilia jange esi ihapu. Tala londa ko muti ou, utale apa lifike." Opo okamati alonda ko muti nde tati, "Tambula okakutu aka ndele katula mofingo joje." Ndele esi aja komuti Omupangele uounjuni tati, "Kamuti kange, mutuala! Mutuala!" Je tati, "Kakukutu naela!"

8. Hano okudia opo ovaja meumbo nde Omupangeli okuevatu la mondjuuo vanangalemo, kutia ne esi vakofa je takufa omudilo evatomekelelo.

5. [When the party arrived at the kraal of the Supreme Ruler] they found that it had a very long entrance way³¹ along which they had to walk and that pointed sticks³² were placed [in the ground along the entrance way]. Therefore the elephants came and picked up logs and broke all the pointed sticks which they found.

As the group entered the kraal itself, the Ruler of the World welcomed them, but he was not happy. Once having been admitted, they received a large quantity of porridge; but it was made of ground-up human bones and human flesh. When Nambaisita was given the porridge, he said "No! We do not eat porridge made of human bones; we certainly do not eat that!"

6. When [the visitors] came inside [the center] of the kraal, they entered the sitting room³³; here the [usual] wooden stools were placed on top of holes³⁴ in the ground, while hides covered up the holes. They saw, therefore, that if they sat down they would fall into the holes, into which boiling water had been poured.

After his guests had eaten breakfast, the Ruler invited the boy to come and see his cattle in the cattle kraal. After they had entered [the cattle kraal], the Ruler showed them one of his bulls, which had the habit of charging at people. As they approached, the bull charged at Nambaisita, who then climbed one of the sticks of the stockade. The Ruler then [charmed], "My stick, go away! Go away!" Nambaisita, however, before he had climbed on the stick, had given the Ruler a little bag; therefore, as he commenced climbing and the stick started moving away, he [charmed], "My little bag, choke! My little bag, choke!"

7. The Ruler [again charmed], "My stick come back! My stick come back!"

After the stick had returned, the boy got off it. Then the Ruler said, "My friend, let us again enter the kraal." So they went inside the kraal and spent the night there. The next morning the Ruler [invited the boy into his garden], saying, "Come with me into my garden and see my corn, [you will observe] what a rich harvest I have."

After they had gone out into the garden, the Ruler remarked, "You see this corn. To look properly at it and see how much is there, you must climb this tree." The boy climbed the tree, and while he was climbing, he said, "Take this little bag, and put it on your neck." Once the boy was up on the tree, the Ruler of the Universe [charmed], "My tree, go away! Go away!" [But] the boy [countercharmed], "Little bag, choke!"

8. From the garden they all went back into the kraal, where the Ruler put them in a sleeping hut to spend the night; [his purpose now being] to set fire to the hut when they were asleep, and burn them all up.

³¹ Oluvanda: the passageway leading to a native kraal. This one is said to be long (lilelile).

³² Epango: (pl., omapango): pointed sticks planted in the ground, which pierce the feet when stepped upon. This type of defense is widely used in Malaysia and Africa.

³³ Olupale: the main sitting room of the kraal. In it is the sacred fire and the wooden stools (oipundi) on which the kraal owner and his wives or guests are seated.

³⁴ Omakelo: holes. Pit traps still are used for larger animals. Formerly, pit traps for enemies were made in the kraals, set either with sharpened stakes or with boiling water.

Hano esi vaja mondjuuo vo tavafe okuena kuakambadukila ko mepia. Esi oufiku uaja mokati vo tavasukamo, nde tavatutile omatanga mondjuuo omu kuali, nde vo tavasukamo tavapitile kokuena, nde onduda taveitula omundilo. Hano esi onduda taipi, omatanga tatopa, je tati, "Ijalo! Onufu jondjaba taitopa, nonufu jakavandje, nokamati kapi-lamo!"

Hano okamati novapija vako vaja onapo. Mondjila javo mokusuna kosilong, natango ovaenda momandiu mahapu ngasi nale. Ndele esi vafika keumbo okamati okatuma omukifi udiu³⁵ nde taukuta Omupangeli. Tatumbuka omafina noitumbuka ilili nde tafi. Opone okamati kaninga ohamba nomupangeli nounjuni ause.³⁶

SIMBABA NO KADENGE KAJE

1. Omunjeumbo umue okuali ena ounona vavali: okakadona nokamati. Efiku limue okamati okuali takaeta oimuna keumbo nde takamono omuti uomuve³⁷ uli mo luvanda lavo; omuti ou inaukalamo nale. Ndele omuve ouali uatili-ana embe.

Okamati esi keuja meumbo okalombuela okandenge, takati, "Ituje tukalonde embe komuve uli moluvanda letu uatili-ana aves." Nde esi veja komuve okadona takalondoko. Manga kolanda omuve ouavudukapo tau kosilongo oku uadile nakadona kaiuanako. Ndele okamati esi kamona okandenge kaiua nako komuve okalandula omuve, takaende takaumbu oikuti. Takati kamuve, "Tualenge kamuve! Tualelele!"

2. Oso kaninga omafiku sese mokulandula nomokumba oikuti komuve fiyo omuve taufikama poluvanda leumbo apa uadile. Eumbo olo olokoilongo jokokule ndele muene ualo ohamba. Ohamba josilonga oso ojo jatumine omuve ukikongele omualikadi koiilongo. Hano omuve esi uafikama ouafa opo uamenepo. Nomumati okuafikama pefina lomuti fimbo okakadona keli pombada ko muve.

Meumbo lohamba omuadia omunu atumua ko hamba atale esi sili komuve uaje. Ndele esi euja komuve okalombuela okakadona kalondolokeko komuve. Esi okakadona kadiako, okuati, "Omumati ou, osike soje okanjamukula?" Takati, "Oje omukulu uange." Esi vatualua meumbo ohamba, ojaipula okamati, taiti, "Ove lieli?" Omumati anjamukula, tati, "Ame Simbaba edina lange." Ohamba ojalombuela ovapija vajo vadipae Simbaba opo ahasulepo okakadona. Esi vemudipa. Okakadona okahombolua ko hamba.

3. Okakadona aka omuhoko uako ohaudala omaji. Ndele esi kadala eji lako ohamba ojelidipa. Noso ngojakala

³⁵ Omukifi udiu. Omukifi is an evil wind which brings disease; udiu is a magical poison.

³⁶ The boy kills the Ruler of the Universe and becomes ruler in his place. This is the same concept as "Killing the Divine King."

But when [Nambaisita and his friends] went into the hut, they dug a tunnel which led into the garden, and at midnight they escaped [to the garden]. They then brought back melons into the sleeping hut, and finally they departed again through the tunnel. Now the hut was set on fire. While it was burning, the melons exploded [one by one]. The Ruler exclaimed, "Thank you! That is the buttocks of the elephant! And that is the buttocks of the jackal! And now it is the boy who is burning!"

After the boy and his servants had escaped, on their way home they encountered as many difficulties as they had before. When the boy arrived at his own kraal, he sent a poisonous gas [into the sky]³⁵; which so affected the Ruler that he was afflicted with swellings and sores and spots of various kinds, until finally he died. Whereupon the boy became king and ruled the entire world.³⁶

SIMBABA AND HIS NEPHEW

1. An old man had two children, a girl and a boy. One day the boy was bringing [his] cattle home, when he saw a tree, called the omuve tree³⁷ standing at the entrance of his kraal. The tree had never stood there before, and it bore red ripe fruit.

The boy came home and spoke to his sister, saying, "Let us go and climb the omuve tree with its embe fruit. The tree stands at the entrance of our kraal. The fruit is all red ripe." When [the two] came to the omuve tree the girl climbed up it. While she was on the tree, it uprooted itself and started running to a distant land from which the girl had come, thus running away with her. When the boy saw his younger sister run away with by the omuve tree, he followed, and as he ran he kept shooting with his arrows, saying to the omuve tree, "Take me, Omuve! Take me with you!"

2. So for many days the boy followed the tree, all the time shooting at it with his arrows. Finally, the omuve tree stopped at the entrance of the kraal from which it had come. The country was at a great distance, and was owned by a king. This king had sent the omuve tree to a far-off country to search for a wife for him. When the tree stood still, as if it had grown on the spot, the boy remained by its trunk, while the girl remained on top.

Then a man was sent by the king from the royal kraal to investigate what was on top of the omuve tree. When he arrived, he ordered the girl to climb down. He spoke thus: "Girl! You come down! And this boy, who is he? Come now, what is your answer?" The girl replied, "He is my older brother." When the two were taken into the kraal, the king asked the boy, "You! Who are you?" The boy answered, "My name is Simbaba." The king told his servants to kill Simbaba lest he take the girl away. So they killed him. The girl was married by the king.

3. The girl belonged to a tribe of people whose women laid eggs. But every time [the woman] laid an egg the king broke it. This happened for a long time, for the king

³⁷ *Rhamnus Zeyheri* Sond. Botanical identifications were made by Robert Rodin, of the University of California.

nokudipa omai omafiku mahapu. Nokuali isi oxuxua haidalele mondjuo jomualikadi uajo. Efiku limue omualikadi okuakufa eji laje nde tekeliholeka kosimato sokanda kaje. Ndetalikalako omafiku mahapu. Efiku limue ohamba ojaningilua oitendele ko munjeumbo umue. Ndele taiko novalikadi vaje. Ndele ou adala eji esi eueete lafika okudala ile okutendula, okuanjako inajako.

Manga eli meumbo aeke eji laje olelitendula, nokana okadiamo takapopi, takati, "A-ha! Ndelitasamo omu!" Okaifana ina, takati, "Meme, oko tukosilongo seni oku?" Ina okuanjamukula tati, "Aje! Hoko kosilongo setu oku." Okana okamati takati, "Ouejako ngahelipi oku?" Nde ina takahepaululile esi senda nana. Okamati takapula, "Okuli peni pafe?" Ina tati, "Okuadipaua." Okamati, "Okuafudikua peni?" Ina tati, "Okomudingilio uengobe."³⁸

4. Okamati tati, "Inda ukatalelenge osihua somufiati."³⁹ Opo ina esi aeta osihua, okana okadenga ombila ja Simbaba nosihua takati, "Mulumenu ove uli medu ngenge omulumenu mo tujeni, ngenge omualikadi fialamo!"

Simbaba anjumukamo nde teuja ko kamati noko kandenge kaje. Okamati takati, "Tujeni ko silongo oku muadile." Nde tavalongelepo eumbo alise fimbo avese veli ko itendele.

5. Esi vahanga omufita kengobe overmuteta ohulo jelaka nde tavemutumumu akalombebe vokeumbo kutia Simbaba engobe aja nado. Esi euja popepi okuaingida, tati, "Fimbo tamunu omalodu Simbaba engobe ajo nado." Oso aingida luhapu ndele ovanu kaveuditeko osesi itasiva okupopia naua. Noitapopi endjovo duditike, opo overmuifana euje kuvo nopo vauda kutia Simbaba engobe aja nado.

Opo ovanu tavatondoka vakalandule engobe. Esi vahanga Simbaba okana okati, "Inova umba. Ame naivaumbe andike." Okuali okamati kena oikuti ihapu jouta uanangongo.⁴⁰ Mokumba kuako otakati, "Sikuti sange hondjela kumue tujeni!" Opo osikuti tasijasele kumue ovanu vefike pefele limue. Oso kaninga fijo ovanu avese tavapupo. Ndele xe esi afialapo aeke okamati okemujasa mongolo jokulu ndele okulu takutokokako.⁴¹

thought that it was a hen who was laying the eggs in the sleeping hut of his wife. One day the woman took her egg and concealed it on top of her corn granary, where it remained [for many days]. Then finally when the king was invited to a feast at another kraal and went there with his [other] wives, the woman who had laid the egg refused to go, for she knew that hatching time was near at hand.

While the woman was alone in the kraal, her egg hatched and a child came out. The child spoke, saying, "Aha! I am hatched!" [Then] he called his mother, saying, "Mother, is this country your [land]?" The mother answered, "No. This country is not our land." The boy asked, "How did you get here?" The mother told the boy the true story of how she came [to the country]. Then the boy asked, "With whom did you come?" The mother replied, "I came with Simbaba." The boy asked, "Where is he now?" The mother said, "He was killed." The boy: "Where is he buried?" The mother replied, "In the passageway leading to the cattle kraal."³⁸

4. The boy said, "Go bring me a branch of a mopane³⁹ tree." When the mother had brought the branch, the youth hit the grave of Simbaba with it [charming], "You who are in the ground, if you are a man, come out so that we may leave! If you are a woman, stay where you are!"

Simbaba arose [out of the grave] and came to the boy, to his younger sibling [nephew]. The boy said, "Let us go to the country from whence you came." So they gathered everything in the kraal while the inmates were at the beer party.

5. They found a boy herding cattle and cut off the end of his tongue. Then they sent him to tell the people at the [other] kraal that Simbaba had stolen their cattle. When the messenger came near he shouted, "While you people were drinking beer Simbaba stole your cattle!" The messenger shouted many times, but the people failed to understand him, since he was unable to speak distinctly. So the people called him to come closer, so that they could hear what he was saying. Then they heard that Simbaba had run off with their cattle.

At once the crowd [of men] commenced running after their cattle. When they found [the fugitives] the boy said to Simbaba, "Don't shoot at them, I alone will shoot." The boy had a bow⁴⁰ and many arrows. As he shot [he charmed], "My arrows, shoot together, so that we may depart!" The arrows all shot at the same time, killing about one hundred people. The boy continued shooting until all the people were finished off. Only the father [of the boy] now was left. The youth shot him in the knee, and his leg broke off.⁴¹

³⁸ Okomudingilio uengobe. The passageway to the cattle kraal. The Kuanyama pagans still bury their dead in the kraals. A young boy ordinarily would be buried in the calf kraal.

³⁹ Omufiati tree. Called "mopane" by the whites. It is the *Copaifera mopane* Kirk. Omufiati means "person dead." Branches of the tree are believed to have the power of bringing a dead person to life; hence the

name. Branches of this tree are used in the native cattle ceremony to insure long life to the cattle.

⁴⁰ Jouta uanangongo: a bow with string. A gun would be called simply "jouta." Guns are not mentioned in old stories, since the Kuanyama had none until after 1870

⁴¹ Okulu takutokokako. The father's leg was broken off. In Kuanyama belief, a child born in unnatural circumstances, is bound to bring misfortune to his family.

6. Ndele esi vaja ovahanga endjila mbali: imue ojanamadi djolololo; imue oja namatudi. Okamati takalombuele ina, tati, "Tujeni mondjila eji janaitudi." Ina tati, "Aje! Ame ohandi muaji janamadi djolololo." Ovaninga emata, opone okamati na Simbaba nengobe dimue tavaji nado kondjila janaitudi; ina novalikadi vamue vovapika vadja navo keumbo lohamba vali ovapika vohamba. Ovaja nondjila janamadi djolololo.

Xe je mumati esi atetua okulu okuasituka ekisi⁴² lokulu kumue. Manga omukulukadi veli mondjila oveuete ekisi talidi komese javo. Ekisi: "Penge ndilie!" Je temupe ongobe. Ekisi ohakuti ngo esi lapeua lo, talikeyadia vali, komeso fijo engobe adise tadipupo novanu.

7. Hano okamati na Simbaba ovafika naua keumbo ndele ovali nekutelela ina afike keumbo. Opone esi vama na akalako, Simbaba okuakufa ongoma. Teisiki taiti, "Tilindindi, kisi ualja Nehova lameme, ila kongoma. Tilindindi, kisi ualja Nehova lameme, ila kongoma." Opone takudi omakisi amue taende, tati, "Nande hame ndalia Nehova lanjoko haija kongoma. Nande hame ndalia njoko." Omakisi esi afika Simbaba okuevapula makisi. "Onje jee, onje mualiapo Nehova lameme?" Nde tati, "Aje! Aje!"

Esi leuja Simbaba okuelipula, tati, "Kisi ove ualia Nehova lameme?" Lo taliti, "Ehe, ame ndemuliapo." Simbaba tati, "Haija hano ikukunde, jee!" Nde taji meumbo.

8. Ekisi okuali ladjala etango nohani nenjofi noivela aise taivema naua namba nomakipa ondjaba. Ekisi talpeua omakunde nde talili. Fimbo ne talili omakunde okamati okeuja nokakuva kenememo nde tateteko ofingo jalo. Nde tavelidula oivela iua netango nenjofi. Nde tavelitaula medimo lalo ndele Nehova noinima aise eji jaliua kekisi taveikufamo.

OKADONA O NEHOVA

1. Okuali kuna omusamane ena omualikadi uaje. Okuali vena ovana vavali: okakadona nokamati. Lokakadona o Nehova, lokamati o Hehova. Nokuali ena omupika uokakadona edina laje o Namutako.

Efiku omusamane okuali taumbu outa uaje uanangongo ndele tauteka oje muene okuelitua kosixuanda souta uaje ndele tavele unene fijo otafi.

6. As they were traveling they came upon a fork in the roadway: one path was dripping with honey: the other was [covered] with manure. The boy said to his mother, "Let us go on the path with the manure[on it]." But his mother replied, "No! I intend going [on the path] dripping with honey." Then they disputed. But the boy and Simbaba with some of the cattle went on the manure-spread way. The mother, on the other hand, [taking with her] some of the slave women she had brought from the king's kraal, went on the path which dripped with honey.

The father of the boy, after he had been shot in the leg, turned into an evil spirit⁴² possessing one leg. While the women were on their way they saw this spirit coming towards them. He was in front of them. The spirit said, "Give me something to eat!" The women gave him a head of cattle. The spirit took it, and then came around again in front. This happened until all the cattle were eaten up, and the women also.

7. Meanwhile the boy and Simbaba arrived safely home where they awaited the mother. However, when they found that the mother took a long time [in coming] Simbaba took a drum. While drumming he [charmed], "Boom-boom-boom! May the spirit who ate Nehova, our mother, come to the drum! Boom-boom-boom! May the spirit who ate Nehova, our mother, come to the drum!" Then the spirits arrived, walking one after the other. Each exclaimed, "Oh! It was not I who ate your mother! I come to the drum, but it was not I who ate your mother!" As each spirit arrived, Simbaba asked, "You, eh! Perhaps it was you who ate Nehova, our mother?" But each answered, "No! No, indeed!"

Finally a spirit came, who, when Simbaba asked if he had eaten the mother, Nehova, answered, "Yes, I ate her." Simbaba said, "Eh! You just wait awhile until I am ready to greet you [properly]." Then Simbaba went into his kraal.

8. The spirit wore [as decorations] the sun, the moon, and the stars. These [decorations] consisted of shining iron [beads], and fine seashell and ivory [buttons]. [The people] gave the spirit beans, and while he was eating the beans the boy came with a small but very sharp axe and cut off [his head] at the neck. He cut through [the spirit's] stomach and removed Nehova and all the other things which the spirit had eaten.

THE GIRL, NEHOVA

1. Once upon a time there was an old man who had a wife. He also had two children: a boy and a girl. The girl's name was Nehova and the boy's name was Hehova. There also was a slave girl by the name of Namutako.

One day the old man was shooting with his bow, when it broke and the man was hurt by one of the pieces. He got sick, and finally he died.

⁴² Ekisi: an evil spirit. When a magician dies he is believed to turn into this kind of cannibalistic spirit unless certain precautions are taken at his burial. An albino also is called "ekisi."

2. Okuala ena ongobe jodidi ombulutue, edina lajo Mbulu. Omukulukadi okualila omulumenu uaje unene nenghono. Oje okualombuela ovana esi alila omulumenu uaje tati: "Ngenge ndafi Kodilanene jameme eli koilongo ekemutekule."

Omukulukadi nokuafi, omumati esi amona ina afia, okuakufa okandenge nomupika ndele tavai koilongo oku valombuelua ku ina fimbo ali ena omuenjo. Novaja non-gobe jaxe Mbulu. Fimbo vali monjila ovali vena onjala inenen.

3. Efiku limue ovahanga omuti uomuandi⁴³ una enjandi datiliana; omuti okuali mule unene. Itavasiva okulondako okamati takake omani⁴⁴ kalondela oukadona enjandi pom-bada.

Oukadona esi vakuta omupika okuafapo omani pefina lomuti ndele teiholeke. Okamati tavekafle omuti itakasiiva okudjako. Omupika esi amona nokutia okamati kafiala komuti, okuadula oilanda aise mokakadona aka kokadalua ndele teidjala aise.

4. Talombuele okana ndele tati: "Singa ongobe tuje, ndele ngenge tuafiki inotia ove omudalua. Outia ove omupika ndele ame omudalua. Nokutia ondadalua kunjoko, ove uninga omupika ponele janga." Okakadona okaitavela moluombada sasi omupika okuali omukulunu nenghono.

Esi vafika oku tavai, omupika okualombuela omukulukadi tati, "Okana aka okaxuna,⁴⁵ osemi oko kaxunapo tate na meme. Meme okuali hemupele mumue nembua ndele temunangeke kosiuna soutana. Je takapendula ongula inene akakelele oudila mepia."

5. Omukulukadi okuadimina endjovo domupika. Okuadi-ladila okana aka kafiona oko okapika sili, ngasi alombuelua. Hano okadona tekapele mumue nembua ndele tekanangeke mumue noutana. Tekapendula ongula inene kakakelele oudila mepia. So takakelele oudila ohakaimbi takati:

"Sooje, sooje, oudila vaku kavakelelua;
Kepongo kavaimbua kumujeni ehena xe naina.
Meme okuati ngenge afi natuuje ku Dilanene
jaina koilongo.
Dilanene okueja okutuninga osilila mumue nembua
Osikofela noutana osimbuandjadja kengula."

2. [The father] had a hornless cow named Mbulu. The wife wept profusely over her husband. While she was mourning she spoke thus to her children: "When I die go to Dilanene, who is a relative of my mother. She lives in a far-off country, and she will look after you."

Then the woman died. When the boy saw that his mother was dead, he took his sister and his slave, and they went to the distant country spoken about by their mother while she was still alive. They took along Mbulu, their father's cow. While they were on the trip they suffered much hunger.

3. One day they found an omuandi tree⁴³ whose fruit was ripe, but the tree was very tall and the boy was unable to climb it. So the boy made a ladder⁴⁴ in order to gather fruit for his sister.

After the girl had eaten her fill of the fruit, the slave took away the ladder from the trunk of the tree and concealed it. The boy, being unable to descend, was left as a present for the tree. As soon as the slave saw that the boy was left on the tree, she removed all the bead [decorations] from the well-born girl and put them on herself.

4. Then the slave spoke to the child, saying, "Drive on the cow; we are leaving. When we arrive at our destination, do not say that you are well-born. Tell the people that you are the slave and that I am well-born; that I was born by your mother and that therefore you are the slave, and not I." The girl was cowardly and agreed; [especially] since the slave was much older [than she was].

When they arrived at their destination the slave spoke to the woman, saying, "This child is an okaxuna⁴⁵; she caused the death of her father and mother. My mother used to feed her with the dogs and make her sleep in the calf kraal. She was awakened early in the mornings so that she might drive the birds out of the garden."

5. [Dilanene] believed the words of the slave; she thought that the child, who was poorly [dressed], was really a slave. So she fed the child with the dogs and made her sleep with the calves. She wakened her early in the mornings to chase the birds from the garden. As the girl chased away the birds, she sang:

"Sooje, sooje, the birds are very hard to chase
away;
Poor me! A stranger without father or mother.
Mother said that when she died I should go to
her relative Dilanene in a distant country.
Now that I have gone, I am made to eat with
the dogs
And sleep with the calves, and make a noise
[to scatter the birds] in the morning."

⁴³ Omuti uomuandi: the omuandi tree (*Diospyros mespiliformis* Hochst). The tree has edible fruit called enjandi.

⁴⁴ Omani: a ladder made of a tree trunk with some branches attached.

⁴⁵ Okaxuna: a child who is unnatural or born in an unnatural manner, for instance, a bastard. According to native belief, such a child would be likely to cause the death of her parents.

6. Ongobe Mbulu jaxe ei veuja najo esi jauda okana takaimbi mepia jo. Taikuenta taiti, "Mbuu! Mbuu!" Okana takaimbi natango, takati:

"Ojojo taikuenta taidiladila omufita uajo ou afiala komuti;
Mulemule komuti udule oilongo.
Meme okuafia koililo talili omulumenu uaje:
Tate okuafia kosixuanda souta uaje."

Okanona manga takaimbi oka okuahika ko mukulukadi umue uo meumbo omo ndele tapuilikine esi takaimi. Ndele esi adimbuluka kutia okana aka oko okadalua, okuatondoka nde taifana Dilanene meumbo euje apulakene omuana esi taimbi mokulela oudila mepia.

7. Dilanene esi euja popepi oje okudite eui lokana lanjika oufije, opone Dilanene okuaendele nde teja pokana. Vo avese nomukulukadi ou ekemufanene meumbo ovapula naua okana ndele okana okaholola oinima aise eji janingua.

Dilanene okuakufapo omona temutuala meumbo takufa omadi temuvaeke opone omupika fimbo eli kosini. Okana okati, "Tujeni tukatale omukulu uange. Nge okuna omuenjo ile pamue afia, natujeni. Na Mbulu jatate te kelele komeso, ojo taitutuala apa tuafile omumati." Vakufa Mbulu vejumba komeso tajende taikuenta, taiti, "Buu! Buu!"

8. Esi vafika omuti taikuenta taidingoloka omuti tailiamene pombada nokukuenta. Opo okana takaeta omani eji kuali jaholekua ku Namutako teitula pefina lomuti nde okamati takalondolokako. Kali kautama katoka to kaninua kudila. Nde tavekape omeva, takatutike omilungu dako nomunino, tavekakoso nomeva. Tavekavaeke omadi, tave-muningile okandobe ahupaelemo manga.

Ndele esi valukila keumbo omupika ou inavemuningila nande oui. Ndelene komafiku okomeso ovafa osilambo sile nde tavatilemo omeva afulukana nenghono kombada jelambo, tavatuvikileko nombadua.

9. Ndele tavaifana omupika. Esi eujapo ovelombuela ndele tavati, "Kala omutumba pombadua, opo tukupe osilombe sokuifeta naso, ekako olo osemi ouakaka unene."

Namutako okuaitavela ndele tahovele okulininga naua akale, omutumba pombadua okuauila melambo. Ndele mokukala omutumba olo, ndele tafilemo. Nde tavemufuililemo nedu. Namutako okuafia oso.

ONDUDU KAVANDJE

1. Mandume oje ohamba jaxunina moukuanjama. Esi anangala osilongo⁴⁶ okuapulapula ovaklunu apa pena ondu-

6. The girl's cow, Mbulu, came to [her mistress] when she heard her singing in the garden. She [joined in] the crying, saying, "Mu! Mu!" Then the child sang again:

"I cry when I think about the herdboycow who was left on the tree;
It is the tallest tree in the country.
Mother died crying for her husband;
Father died [pierced] by a piece of his bow."

One of the women from the kraal heard the child singing in the garden. While she was listening to her she realized that it was this girl who was the well-born one. So she ran and summoned Dilanene that she also might hear the child singing while she was chasing the birds away from the garden.

7. When Dilanene approached she heard the sad voice of the child. She hurried up and came to her, along with the woman who had summoned her from the kraal. They questioned the child well and she revealed everything that had happened.

Dilanene then took the child back into the kraal and rubbed her with butter and red ocher. In the meantime the slave was stamping grain in the stamping place. The child said, "Let us go and get my elder brother. Perhaps he still is alive, or perhaps he is dead, but let us go! Allow my father's cow, Mbulu, to lead the way. She will take us [to the spot] where we left the boy." So they took Mbulu, and she walked ahead of them crying, "Bu! Bu!"

8. When [the people] arrived at the tree, [the cow] kept crying and looking up at [its top]. Then the girl brought the ladder which had been hidden by [the slave] Namutako, placed it at the tree trunk, and the boy climbed down. He was thin and completely white from the droppings of birds. The people gave him water to wet his lips and throat; then they washed him all over. Finally they smeared him with butter and red ocher, and had him drink gruel a little at a time.

Upon arriving home the people showed no anger towards the slave girl. Yet some time afterwards they dug a deep hole and poured a lot of boiling water into it. Then they covered the top of the hole with a dried cattleskin.

9. Then they called the slave. When she came, they said to her, "Stay here. You are very dirty, so sit down on this skin and we will give you meal mixed with water so that you may clean yourself."

Namutako showed no mistrust, but prepared herself [for washing] and sat down on the skin. As she did so, she fell into the hole and remained in it and died. Then the people covered her with earth. So that was the way Namutako met her death.

THE MEDICINE MAN, KAVANDJE

1. Mandume was the last king of the Kuanyama. When he came to the throne⁴⁶ he asked the old people for the

⁴⁶ Nangala osilongo: to lie upon the country, i.e., to possess the country as a man possesses his wife.

du jakula ei taidulu okupamekela omunu mosilongo Oukalombuelua nokutia opena umue Kavandje ou tesidulu. Ohamba ojati, "Nakatalue sasi he ndanangala osilongo inandipama nande."

Kavandje esi euja okuati, "Tatekulu,⁴⁷ itopame nande fimbo inonua omeva adja momuti uhena omututu." Ohamba jafa jatilapo kanini esi jauda osinima inaisiuda nale.

2. Opo ovafikama vakakonge omuti uhena omututu. Esi veumona oveutalatala ndele kauna nande omututu. Kavandje okuati, "Ohatuja ne tuke omuti ou."

Esi vadjapo Kavandje okuaja kokana kaje tati kuko, "Enda ongula inene nekopi lomeva ndele tohondama mengade. Lungama naua opo uninge ngasi hatuningi sito."

3. Ongula fimbo eluua inalitenda Kavandje nohamba ovapita ndele tavakufa ekuva taveuja pomuti. Kavandje talombuele ohamba tati, "Otoke omuti oo lune aluke,⁴⁸ namejo ohandiuke lune." Ohamba jalombuelua ike ponele imue aike. Opo ne ekuva ngenge lauluka momeva otoku tati, "Uui! Osilongo ndesinangala!" Opono omeva amue tonu amue tolikoso momutue nomosipala.

Esi Kavandje afatululila ohamba ngaho, otai ne komuti ndele teuke lune. Opono tadipo ndele talape omona euje atiepo omeva. Omona euja ndele tatilepo omeva. Kavandje taendelele atuale ekuva ko hamba.

4. Ohamba taiuja pomuti ndele taihovele okuka, esi jaka okuati ngaho, Koui! Ekuva laka momeva! Ohamba ojahovela ne okukuua, "Uui! Osilongo ndesinangala!"

Kavandje teuja taltoka tapula, "Uaulula tatekulu?" "Heno, ndulula." Kavandje takufa oimbodi, teipe ohamba. Esi vaja keumbo Kavandje apeua engobe mbali dinoutana.

OKADONA, NEKOTO LA NAMU-UANDJOB⁴⁹

1. Momukunda uonumba omuali muna omifima petambi lomifima opali omakisi akelelapo aluse. Ovanu vo momukunda ou okuali havatila okukateka moluantile uomakisi. Tavati pamue otava ualipo komakise.

Opaningua nokutia okakadona Nekoto la Namu-uandjoba okeuja ouenda. Komukunda ou katalelepo oina vaina veliko. Esi kali momukunda oina tavati ku Nekoto: "Fie omu iha tunu

⁴⁷ Tatekulu: Uncle, mother's brother; a term of respect.

⁴⁸ Lune aluke: four strokes. Four is the sacred number among the Kuanyama. In general, though, even numbers are considered lucky, odd numbers unlucky.

name of a medicine man who could make him [magically] powerful. He was told that there was a medicine man by the name of Kavandje who could do this. The king said, "Let him be brought [before me]. Ever since I have obtained possession of this country I have not been at all strong."

When Kavandje came, he said, "Uncle,⁴⁷ you will not be strong until you have drunk of the water which comes out of a tree which has no hollow spot in it." The king seemed a little afraid when he heard about this; the like of which had never been mentioned before.

2. Eventually they went out to find a tree which had no hollow in it. When they had found one, they examined it well, and determined that it was quite solid. Kavandje said, "We will come then and cut this tree."

After all [the other people] had gone away, Kavandje went to his little son, and said to him, "Go early in the morning with a cup of water and hide yourself in the bushes. Be careful to do the thing as we have done it before."

3. The next morning, before the break of dawn, Kavandje and the king arose, and taking an ax along, went to the tree. Kavandje instructed the king, "You cut the tree with four⁴⁸ strokes only, and I will give it four strokes." The king was further instructed to cut each time at the same spot. Then when the ax struck water, he was to shout, "Uui! I have occupied the country!" After this he was to drink some of the water and wash his face and head with the remainder.

As soon as Kavandje had explained [matters in this manner to the king, he went up to the tree and gave it four cuts. Then he departed and motioned his son to come and pour water. After this Kavandje himself came quickly and gave the ax to the king.

4. The king came to the tree and started to chop. As he did this, the ax hit into the water, "Splash!" Then the king commenced shouting, "Uui! I have occupied the country!"

Kavandje came running, and asked, "Uncle, did you strike water?" "Yes, I did." Kavandje took herbs and rubbed them on the king. When Kavandje returned to his kraal, he was given two cows with their calves.

THE GIRL, NEKOTO DAUGHTER OF NAMU-UANDJOB⁴⁹

1. In a certain area the place where there were water-holes was constantly guarded by albinos. The people of this locality were afraid to fetch water because of the albinos. They feared lest they be eaten by the albinos.

Now it so happened that a girl by the name of Nekoto la Namu-uandjoba came to visit the sisters of her mother at this district. When Nekoto arrived her aunts told her: "We peo-

⁴⁹ Nekoto la Namu-uandjoba: Nekoto, daughter of Namu-uandjoba. A child always takes the name of its father, never its mother. This form of patrilineal reckoning exists among the Kuanyama in spite of their matrilineal clans.

omeva osesi pomifima opakelelua vomikisi hali ovanu, ndele fie ohatutilako okukutala omeva." Nekoto otati kuvo, "Peinge osito. Ame ndikatale omeva komufima." Ovakulunu tavati, "Ahaue! Kana ove otakalikapo komakisi. Inojako nande!"

2. Nekoto otati, "Oko handi. Peninge asike osito ndikatale omeva." Opo Nekoto okuakufa osito ndele tai komufima.

Fimbo eli popepi nomifima otaimbi tati, "Nekoto, Nekoto la Namu-uandjoba omuua ondeja okuteka." Omakisi moluasi omalai nokuhole okupuilikina ojimbo, esi veudite okakadona takaimbi oo taati, "Haumue nande uetu emunjamukula." Sasi avesi esi vemudite ovahala asike okuimba ngasi okakadona takaimbi.

3. Natango Nekete taimbi vali ngasi tete. Omakisi esi emunda luvali fijo osesi otasingi lutatu. Ovanjakukua unene ndele tavemunjamukula taimbi, tati, "Nekoto, Nekoto la Namu-uandjoba omuua okueja okuteka." Omakisi esi taimbi oo taadana tanuka ahafa.

Fijo osesi Nekoto teja popepi nomakisi pomufima jetaimbi ngaho. Osesi posivelo somufima taadipo ndele taanuka moku- le taimbi, "Nekoto la Namu-uandjoba." Opo Nekoto taende- lele tai momufima, tateke omeva fimbo taadana. Fijo ota- suna keumbo vo otavadana ngaho vahafa.

4. Mongula Nekoto tasuna vali komufuma taimbi ngasi sito: "Nekoto, Nekoto la Namu-uandjoba omuua. Oudeja okuteka." Vo Tavati, "Nena inatu munjamukula nande, mufeni ngaho eujetu muliepo."

Efiku eli Nekoto okueja adiala osikafa sehafuni komatako aje. Nekoto taende ugaho taimbi fijo osesi tafiki puvo. Vo tavati, "Inofeua tu Nekoto, olielie ekufeuka ngaho? Kunatu onguuo iua?"

5. Nekoto sasi ahala okuvaheka vemuefe aje momufima okue-valombuela, tati, "Ovakulunu vange keumbo, ovo va- dikange ngaha." Omakisi opo tati, "Iujeni ua Nekoto tuo kaningue jo ngasi je afeua." Opo otavati ku Nekoto, "Tutua- lela jo keumbo leni takaningue ngasi ove ngaho!"

Nekoto tateke omeva momufima ndele tati komakisi, "Ileni tujeni keumbo musive mukadikue naua ngasi ame ndili."

6. Omakisi taa-landula Nekoto fijo osesi tavafiki keumbo. Esi vaja meumbo omakisi takala polupale. Nekoto tai kepata talombuele ina, tati, "Tula oihengo⁵⁰ pediko tuxuike oma- kisi pomatako afie."

⁵⁰ Oihengo (sing., osihengo): irons used for burning de- signs in wood.

ple here are unable to drink water because there are albinos at the water holes. They will eat our people, and therefore we are afraid to fetch water." Nekoto answered, "Give me a pot, and I will fetch water at the water holes." But her elders said, "Oh no, child, you will be eaten by the albinos. Keep away from there entirely!"

2. Nekoto said, "I will go there. Just give me the pot in which to fetch water." So Nekoto took the pot and went to the water holes.

As she approached the water-holes, she sang, "Nekoto, Nekoto la Namu-uandjoba, I am very pretty, and I have come to fetch water." Now the albinos are very silly, and they love to listen to songs. Therefore when they heard the girl singing, they said, "None of us must answer her", since when they heard the girl sing they all wanted to imitate her song.

3. Then Nekoto sang again the same song as before. The albinos heard her sing twice and then a third time. They became very much interested, and answered her song, singing, "Nekoto, Nekoto la Namu-uandjoba is pretty. She has come to fetch water." The albinos danced and jumped while they sang. They were very happy.

When Nekoto arrived at the water holes she was still singing. The albinos left the gate of the water holes, jumping high up into the air [as they did so]. They kept on singing, "Nekoto la Namu-uandjoba." Nekoto went quickly to the water holes and fetched water, while the albinos kept on dancing. When the girl arrived home [she and her relatives] danced with joy.

4. The next morning Nekoto went back to the water holes, singing as before, "Nekoto, Nekoto la Namu-uandjoba, I am pretty. I come to get water." The albinos said to one another, "Today, indeed, we must not answer her. As soon as she comes we will eat her up."

On this day Nekoto came wearing a squirrelskin on her buttocks. As soon as she reached the albinos, they said to her, "You look fine, Nekoto. Who made such a splendid back apron for you?"

5. Since Nekoto wanted to entice the albinos so that they would allow her to approach the water holes, she told them [all about her apron]. She said, "My elders at the kraal dressed me like this." The albinos said to one another, "Let us go with Nekoto so that the same thing will be done to us. Then we will look as beautiful as she." So they said to Nekoto, "Take us with you to your kraal so that we may be dressed the way you are."

After Nekoto had obtained water from the water holes, she [invited] the albinos, saying, "Come home with me and you will be given clothing the same as mine."

6. The albinos followed Nekoto to her kraal. Entering the kraal they remained in the sitting room. Nekoto went to her aunt's cooking place and instructed her: "Place the marking irons⁵⁰ in the fire so that we may burn the albinos in their anuses, and they will die."

Ina ja Nekoto tatula oihengo pediko ndele taitiliana. Ndele tavai fanako ekisi limue nalimue. Talitua osihengo pomatako esi lapetama. Takuti: "Kala naua, uningue naua."⁵¹ Opo kese ekisi olatua osihengo sipiu ndele talifi.

Eli luxunimua okuali talianje okutua esi lamina vakua ianangala. Lo talilombuelua nokutia vakneni opaife tava-
pendukape vakale vafeua. Oso nalo olatua osihengo sipiu ndele talifi. Esi omakisi sese afia. Ovanu avesi vomomukunda ovaja ndele tavakateka osesi Nekoto evapa osivelo sokuja komufuia.

OMAKISI 52

1. Okuali kuna omusamane adala okana okamati. Efiku limue okajasa okandiba nosikuti. Okaja onapo nosikuti jove-
vene. Okamati takalandula okandiba fijo omofuka. Ndele okamati okuali kena ombua dihapu; doifitukuti aise oiliani jomofuka. Ndele takakala omafiku mofuka kehena oikulia.

Efiku limue okahanga omatuali omakisi. Ndele momatuali okahanga mo ekisi limue; vati makao okujaja kougongo. Ekisi katulapo ombelela mombija taipi. Takalombuele ekisi takati, "Ondahala okujofa okadila kange pediko loja apa." Ekisi otalisiki omuilua lamuena. Esi lakanjamukula olat, "Kajofapo ndikudenge nena eli."

2. Okamati takakupula okadila pediko, ndele ekisi lahala okudenga okamati. Opone embua dako: enghosi, nengue, nomambungu, tationene ekisi. Ndele ekisi taliti, "Jofa hano okadila koje, kaume." Okamati esi kalia okadila okaehela ekisi, takati, "Penge ombelela ei ndiliepo nembua dange." Ekisi laitavela osesi latila okulikapo kembua dokamati.

Esi vamana okulia ombelela, okamati okaja mofuka nembua dako. Opone omakisi makuao aluka kougongo ongulosi afia ondjala ovahanga ombelela jaliuamo komumati. Mukuao esi evahokololela esi saliamo ombelelela, ovahandukila mukuao unene. Ndele tavati, "Ove oumumbada! Ngahelipi ngaho okana? Ihokadenge ile ukadipae tukahange apa." Mongula esi kuasa ovaja natango kougongo peumbo tavafijepo umue ena enghono.

3. Opone okamati keja nembua dako. Okaninga ngasi kaningile onghela. Ndele ekisi eli olatia kokamati, "Pediko opo inojofapo okadila. Sili vati oualunduka." Omumati

⁵¹ Kala naua, uningue naua: "Stay well, remain well." Customary polite greeting forms.

⁵² Omakisi (sing., ekisi.): spirits. Here the word "omakisi" means "spirits" and not albinos, as in the pre-

The aunt placed the irons in the fire until they became red-hot. Then the albinos were called in, one by one. They were each made to bend over [as if to be fitted], and each was then stuck with the hot iron in the anus. As each albino bent over, [Nekoto and her aunt] said, "Remain in good health! Be well!"⁵¹ As soon as a victim was stuck with the hot iron he died.

When the last of the albinos, however, saw all the others lying down, he refused to be stuck. Therefore he was told that his comrades soon would rise and be decorated [with squirrel skins]. Then he too was stuck with the hot iron, and died. After all the albinos had been stuck and were dead, the people of the district were able to go and fetch water. This was because Nekoto had opened the way to the water holes.

THE SPIRITS 52

1. Once upon a time there was an old man who had a son. One day the boy shot a hare with an arrow; the hare ran away with the arrow still in it. The boy followed deep into the forest. Now this boy had many "dogs"; they were really carnivorous forest animals of all kinds. The boy remained many days in the forest without food.

Eventually the boy came upon some wind-shelter houses of the spirits. In one of the wind shelters he found a spirit who was all alone; the others had gone hunting. The spirit had put some meat in a pot, and the meat was cooking. [The boy] spoke to the spirit, saying, "I would like to roast a bird here in your fire." The spirit whistled, and kept on whistling; but he said nothing. Finally the spirit spoke, "If you roast meat here, I will at once beat you."

2. The boy threw the bird into the fire [anyway], and then the spirit tried to beat him. But the "dogs" of the boy--the lions, the leopards, and the wild dogs--growled at the spirit. So the spirit said, "My friend, go ahead and roast your bird." After the boy had finished eating the bird, he begged from the spirit, saying, "Give me some of your meat, so that I and my dogs may eat." The spirit dared not refuse the boy, lest he be eaten by his "dogs." After they had finished eating the meat, the boy went [back] into the forest with his animals.

In the evening the other spirits returned from hunting, all feeling very hungry. So when they found out that their meat had been eaten by a boy they became very angry at the friend who had been left behind. They said, "You coward! Why did you allow a [mere] child to do that? Why did you not beat him, or even kill him, so that we might find him here?" The next day at dawn the spirits again went hunting, but this time they left at home one of their number who was very strong.

3. Then the boy came back with his animals and acted the same as on the previous day. The [strong] spirit said to the boy, "Do not roast your bird in the fire. Certainly you

vious story. The omakisi are supposed to live in anthills, and be half human, half animal. The first whites to come into the country were thought to be omakisi.

takupula kaje pediko amuena. Ekisi talikufa outa ualo tali-luifa okamati. Okamati takakumaida embua dako dilie ekise. Esi lamanua omuenjo, okamati okali amo ombelela mombija ndele takatetauilemoa ekisi. Emadi, nenjala, nomutue, nomatondo, nooda, okatula kosi jombija ndele takaji mofuka jako.

Ongulosi esi valuka kougongo ovahanga ombija ijadi ombelela. Vanjakukua unene tavati, "Ijalo! Kuueteke meumbo esi muasalele omulumenu elela. Ombelela inailiuamo nena." Ndele tavatalatala numba vakondja, tavati, "Tala omulumenu! Numba akondja!" Oponi esi valia ombelela kosi ovamonako enjala noifio aise jolutu lamukuao. Novakungana esi vadimbuluka nokutia ovalia olutu lamukuao.

4. Ongula esi kuasa ina vaja vali kougongo, avese ovanangela. Okamati avese vekadipae. Okamati okaholoka nembua dako. Nena omakisi aese okualuifa okamati. Omakisi tai onapo momakuena oivanda. Okamati takatu nosihengo seonga komakuena. Ekisi limue esi talituaa meiso olati kulikuao, "Ehenako! Handituipulua vali eiso!" Okamati esi kamana okudpa omakisi okaja.

Ndele vali efiku limue okahanga okaumbo komukulukadi ndele takaimo. Mokaumbo okahangamo omukainu eli mokaumbo naina. Okuemuhombola aninge omualikadi uaje. Omualikadi okualombuela omulumenu uaje, tati, "Meme ohali ovanu. Oukala ualungama, otekudipa alie ombelela."

5. Oponi efiku limue omukulukadi ahala okudipa ositenja saje. Oufiku ause okuaendaenda takongo omundilo konduda jositenja. Okamati esi kanangala embua dako odanangala posivelo sokalupale konduda. Okakulukadi esi takeja konduda takahondjaunine embua tadiono. Omukulukadi tati, "Uul Tandilika kembua doje!" Okamati takapula, "Oto kongo aike?" Okakulukadi: "Omundilo." Takapeua omundilo ndele okakuni. Takekadimi, osei omundilo oko uli konduda jako. Okahala okudipa ositenja.

Esi kakofapo omukainu okualombuela omulumenu uaje, tati, "Tuje kosilongo seni tulivake manga meme akofa. Namejo paife esi ondaloloka meme osei itandimono vali omulumenu. Osei kese tu ou takongonge meme otemulipo. Navejo otekulipo ngenge itatulivake utje kosilongo seni."

6. Okamati okadimina endjovo odo. Omukainu takufa ongoma⁵³ ndele tainange komutala uavo ndele tava. Omukulukadi esi apenduka okuaje konduda jositenja. Ndele esi amona nokutia embua kadifipo pokalupale, okuelipopila muene ndele tati, "Ijalo! Embua dositenja sange odakanangala, ohandimudipa nena." Ndele tasasula ongoma pokati. Kuali esi okamati kanangala.

⁵³ Ongoma: the large drum. This is made of a hollow log, and is the size, and roughly the shape, of a person.

are as rude as they said that you were." However, without saying a word the boy threw the bird into the fire. At once the spirit took up his bow and commenced fighting the boy. The latter then shouted to his animals to bite the spirit. As soon as the spirit was entirely destroyed, the boy ate the meat which was in the pot. Next he cut up the spirit. He put the feet, fingers, head, testicles, and penis in the pot; then he went off into the forest.

The other spirits returned that evening from the hunt. They found their pot full of meat. They were very happy at this, and said, "Thank you! Now you see we left a proper man at home. Today our meat was not eaten." Looking around they saw the signs of conflict. [Again] they said, "What a man! See how he fought!" But after they had eaten the meat in the pot, they found the fingers and other parts of the body of their friend. Then they all vomited, remembering that they had eaten the flesh of their comrade.

4. The next morning at daybreak the spirits did not again go hunting. Instead they all lay down in order to wait for the boy and kill him. Then as soon as the boy appeared all the spirits attacked him. [But when they were repulsed] they ran away and [hid] in anthill holes. The boy stuck the blunt end of his spear in [one of] the holes. One of the spirits was stuck in the eye, and called out to the other, "Go further in! My eye is being plucked out!" After the boy had finished killing the spirits he left.

One day the boy came upon a little kraal belonging to an old woman, and he entered it. In the kraal there was a girl who was living with her mother [the kraal owner]. The boy married the girl, and made her his wife. The wife then spoke to him, saying, "Mother eats people. You must be careful, or she will kill you for her meat."

5. Finally, one day the old woman wanted to kill her son-in-law. That night while walking about she came to his hut. The boy was lying down, with his animals sleeping at the entrance of his house. As the hag walked on tiptoes to his door, the "dogs" growled. The old woman said, "Oh! I am being eaten by your dogs!" The boy asked, "What are you looking for?" The hag said: "For fire." But when she was given fire and a little wood, she put out the fire. She had fire in her sleeping hut; it was her son-in-law she wished to kill.

That [night] while the girl was in bed she spoke to her husband, saying, "While mother is asleep, let us leave here, and without saying a word, go to your own country far away. I am tired of my mother. I will never get a husband this way, since every time a man marries me, my mother eats him up. She also will eat you up unless we leave for your country."

6. The boy agreed with the words of his wife. They took a drum⁵³ and laid it on their bed. Then they left. When the old woman arose she went to the hut of her son-in-law. When she saw that the "dogs" were no longer in the open space around the hut, she said, "Thanks! The dogs of my son-in-law have gone to sleep. Now I can kill him." She cut through the middle of the drum thinking that it was the sleeping boy.

Okuafikama ekevalandule ndele takufa okakuva kaje, aka hadipaifa nako ovanu. Esi eja popepi navo omumati no mualikadi uaje oveudite okamepo takapepe. Omualikadi okuadimbuluka kutia ina teuja kuje okualombuela omulumenu uaje tati, "Tulonde! Meme eja okamepo aka takapepe. Meme okuli popepi." Ovalonda komuti. Embua davo tadinangala pefina lomuti. Omukulukadi eja pefina lomuti nde tatetepo omuti nekuva laje nde tati, "Okakuva kange ihakatila! Omuti mukukutu kedimbue ojou mutalala esi omuti tauetele posi!"

7. Okamati okasisila embua dako ko mukulukadi nde tadinulipo nomakipa aese no honde deilailafapo. Opono va-tuikila ondijila javo ndele ombua imue esi jalafa ohonde ojandodela posi nde taisituka okakulukadi. Ohonde jomukulukadi janjumuka janinga omunu omukulukadi okualandula natango omumati nomualikadi uaje. Opo okamepo kahovela okupepa natango, namualikadi okualombuela muene, kutia, "Natulonde! Meme euja!"

Ovo ovalonda komuti. Okakulukadi esi kejapo takatetepo omuti ause nde tauetele posi. Omumati asisila embua natango ko kakulukadi nde omualikadi, tati, "Natulikile embua ohonde eji jauila kehoni aise nailafuepo naua, osesi ojo haisituka." Ovo ovaja nondjila javo fijo ovafika keumbo lokamati.

8. Ina jomumati okueva sakeneka konu. Omumati okualombuela ina, tati, "Otakudi omukulukadi mukueni tatulandula monima jetu." Opono omukulukadi tai akasakeneka omukua. Ndele ovakulukadi esi vasakena ou ina jomumati okuaponapo ina jokakadona. Nde tapitile komatako, Nde ina jokadona taponapo vali ina jomumati nde tapitilejo komatako. Nde ina jomumati aponapo vali ina jomukadona nde tafitikeko no sijongoti.

Ndele esi euja meumbo tati, "Fulukifeni omeva mombija." Opono esi omeva afuluka, ina jomumati okuakufako osijongoti nde tatamanana kombija jomeva mapui. Nde ina jokadona tauetele mombija jomeva mapui nenghono nde tafi.

9. Nena omukulukadi asituka vali aninga osipanu nde tatumamo mombija nde tali moihoa. Omumati okuaninga epia laje esine. Fiku limue aja kepia laje okuanhanga oihua aise jafikama jafa inaikeua nande nale. Nde tahovele okutetapo oihua aise eji ahanga jamena. Nde tahondama. Ndele fimbo elipo konima josihua epahu olejapo pokahua taliti, "Kahua ou ualiapa, mutumba tuende. Osihua tasifikama nde talinangi vali. Kahua ualimba mutumba tuende."

Oso ngo laninga oihua aise talipopifa. Nde aise taituama naise ojafa nga inaikeuapo nande nale. Ndele fimbo epahu talipopifa oihua oleja ne popepi nosihua esi sali sahondama okamati. Opo okamati okakuata epahu nde takelituala meumbo. Takatulapo ombija jomeva takelitimo mombija nde tava-

The old woman [after she had found out her mistake] started to follow the married couple. She took with her her little ax with which she was accustomed to kill people. As she passed near the fugitives, both the boy and his wife heard a little breeze blowing by. The wife at once knew that it was her mother following them, so she said to her husband, "Let us climb [a tree]! This [breeze] passing by means that mother is near." They climbed a tree while their animals lay down around the trunk. The old woman came to the tree and started cutting it with her little ax [charming], "This little ax of mine never fails! Even though this tree is hard and green, yet it is falling down!"

7. The boy shouted to his "dogs," who ate up the woman, blood, bones, and all, until she was entirely consumed. Then they continued on their way. But one of the "dogs," which had licked up the blood, spilt some of it down again, and it turned into the hag. The old woman, after she had come to life, once more followed the boy and his wife. Then a fresh breeze passed the couple, and the wife said, "Let us climb [a tree]! Mother is coming!"

So they climbed a tree. When the old woman arrived she started chopping, and the entire tree fell to the ground. The boy urged his animals on the hag [and they devoured her]. The wife said, "Let us point out the drops of blood on the grass to the animals. All must be well licked up, else it will come to life again." Then they were once more on their way, until finally they arrived at the home of the boy.

8. The boy's mother met the couple at the kraal's entrance. The boy said to his mother, "Another woman, who looks like you, is following us." The mother then went to meet the other woman. When the two women met, the mother of the boy devoured the mother of the girl. The girl's mother, however, passed through the anus of the boy's mother. Then the mother of the girl devoured the mother of the boy, who in turn came out of the other woman's anus. Finally the mother of the boy devoured the mother of the girl, and then stopped up her anus with an amarula pit [from the fruit of the omuongo tree, *Sclerocarya Schweinfuthiana*, Schinz].

When the boy's mother came to the kraal, she said, "Boil some water in a pot." When the water was boiling, she removed the pit and stood on top of the pot of hot water. The girl's mother passed into the pot of boiling water and died.

9. However, the hag came to life again, became a locust, and flew away from the pot into the bush. The boy made his garden there. One day when he went to his garden he found that the bushes stood up as if he had never before cut them. After he had again cut these bushes, he hid himself. While he was there behind the bushes, a locust came by and charmed, "Bush, you who were here before, get up and stand upright! Bush, you get up and grow again! Limba bush, you stand upright and move!"

All the bushes which were charmed in this manner suddenly grew up as if they had never been cut before. While the locust was charming the bushes, it came very near the bush behind which the boy was hiding. The boy caught the locust

vikeko. Opone okakulukadi ina jomukadona ahulapo.

OMUMATI ENKEMBE

1. Okuali kuna omunjeumbo umue ena ovana vavali: omumati nokadona. Ndele ina jounona okuafiapo ndele omunjeumbo tahombola omualikadi umue nena. Omukulukadi okuali ena omona tavele unene. Nde tekekapupulifa kendudu. Nondudu ojati, "Okana okena oxula jonjama jomunu."⁵⁴ Ndele ombelela kaiutike opo omualikadi ovakundafana vadipae omunona ou edina laje Enkembe.

Okandenge ka Enkembe okaudako esi omukulu takundafanu adipaue oxula jokana. Opo okadona okatondoka tai koufita takaifana Enkembe, takati, "Enkembe ja meme, Enkembe ja tate, nge uaji keumbo moxupa ino dilamo omasisi,⁵⁵ osesi omo muna xo joje ahala ehuli loje, endjandja loje, Enkembe."

2. Enkembe tati, "Ndaudako! Tajavaoikani usune mbuangaja uje keumbo!" Enkembe esi euja keumbo okuakanda nde omasini tatile posi. Omukulukadi tati ku Enkembe, "Dila omasisi moxupa!" Enkembe tati, "Itaidile omasini moxupa! Muna enu." Opo omusamane tadimo, tati, "Ha! Ha! Enkembe jange alungama!"

Tavakundafana vali numba vena okudipa Enkembe. Ovau-dafana omusamane emuhondame mongobe edina lajo Naindongo. Vati fimbo takande je emukuete nde temudipa. Okandenge kaje esi kesiuda kalotoka nde kalombuela omukulu uako, kutia, "Nge uaji keumbo esi takande munaindongo, inojamo osesi omo muna xo joje, ahala okahuli koje, noundjadja voje, Enkembe." Enkembe tati, "Ndaudako! Ndenge jange ndele tiava oukuni voje. Usune mbangaja uje keumbo."

3. Ongulosi Enkembe esi aeta engobe keumbo nde tauan-
eke okuaefako okatana ka Naindongo,⁵⁶ nde tamuena. Ina-
hala okuikanda. Nde omukulukadi tati, "Kanda Naindongo!"
Opone okamati fimbo takakande, omusamane okuanukila En-
kembe. Ndele Enkembe tadipa xe nde temujuvu osipa nde
tesidiala. Taningi olupe luaxe nde omudiba uaxe taukala
molupe lua Enkembe.

Opone esi Enkembe amona kutia eli molupe luaxe okuaja
ko mukulukadi uaxe nde tati, "Enkembe ndemudipa! Lufufu
tamono oxula nena." Ina ja Lufufu okuahafa unene nde tati,
"Ijalo! Omumuange opo aveluke koutu uaje nge ali oxula."

⁵⁴ Oxula jonjama jomunu: the sacrifice of human meat. When a medicine man is consulted, he always asks for some kind of a sacrifice to the ancestral spirits. A cannibalistic sacrifice would have been unusual but not impossible in former Kuanyama society.

⁵⁵ Dilamo omasisi: to pour milk into the butter calabash. The calabash then is shaken on a stick, and butter

and took it to his kraal. He put it in a pot of water, and covered the pot with a lid. This time the mother of the girl died completely.

THE BOY, ENKEMBE

1. There once was a kraal owner who had two children: a boy and a girl. The mother of the children died, and the man married again. The second wife had a child who became very sick, so the woman took the child to a medicine man in order to question him [and find out the source of the trouble]. The medicine man said, "The child must have the sacrifice of human meat."⁵⁴ Since no human meat was available, the wife suggested that the boy called Enkembe be killed.

When the younger sister of Enkembe heard that her older brother was to be killed as a sacrifice, she ran to the cattle kraal, calling, "Enkembe, child of my mother! Enkembe, child of my father! When you go to the butter storage hut, do not pour milk into the butter calabash!⁵⁵ In it will be your father who wants your liver and your bowels, Enkembe!"

2. Enkembe said, "I understand! Collect your wood, and then hurry and return home!" When Enkembe returned home, he milked [a cow] and then poured the milk on the ground. The old woman said to Enkembe, "Pour the milk into the calabash!" Enkembe answered, "No! I won't pour the milk into the calabash! There is a person in the calabash." The old man came out at once, saying, "Ha! Ha! My Enkembe is clever!"

Soon after this [the married couple] made another plan to kill Enkembe. They arranged for the husband to hide in a cow by the name of Naindongo. While Enkembe was milking the cow, the old man was to catch and kill him. When the younger sister heard this plan, she ran and said to her elder brother, "After you have returned home you are to milk Naindongo. Don't go near her, because your father is inside of her. He wants your liver and your bowels, Enkembe." Enkembe replied, "I understand! My little sister, you go and collect your wood and then hurry back home!"

3. That evening when Enkembe brought the cattle home, he allowed the calf of Naindongo⁵⁶ to go to its mother. But he did not try to milk the mother cow. The old woman cried out, "Milk Naindongo!" So the boy commenced milking, [and while he was doing so] the old man jumped out at him. But Enkembe killed his father and skinned him. Afterwards he put on the skin, thus assuming the appearance of his father, while the corpse assumed the appearance of Enkembe.

When Enkembe saw that he had the appearance of his father, he went to his stepmother and said, "I have killed Enkembe. Now your son Lufufu will get a sacrifice." The mother of Lufufu was very pleased. She said, "Thank you! My child will recover from his sickness after he has eaten the sacrifice."

is formed. The calabash would hardly be large enough to contain a person.

⁵⁶ Okatana ka Naindongo: the calf of Naindongo. When the Kuanyama milk a cow, they always allow a calf to take a little of the milk first in order to start the milk flowing.

4. Enkembe tatetaula omudimba uaxe nde teuleke. Esi japia Enkembe okuevatukulila averse, nde Lufufu temupe oulumeni.⁵⁷ Opo esi amona averse vamanapo ombelela Lufufu ena oulumeni auke, Enkembe okuelikufa olupe luaxe nde takala nolaje muene. Opo okuaja kepata nde tati, "Ame Enkembe."

Opo omukulukadi adimbulukua naua nokutia omusamane naje naimboli oje adipaua ku Enkembe. Ndele Enkembe tati ku Lufufu, "Ualia oulumeni uaxo." Opo omukulukadi afia ohoni nde tati komona, "Ekelasi oda jaxo, kaifi ja Enkembe, ojaxo." Ndele Lufufu okuejanjena, ndetati, "Ombelela jange, itandijekesi nande. Ohandilipo ngaho." Oso ngaho ongano eji jahula.

ONDJABA NOIPUNDI

1. Efimbo limue omunu uonumba atuma kondjaba ekei-kongele oipundi.⁵⁸ Opo euja ponghili ndele tati, "Ondatuma komukulunu uange Ndjaba ndi mukongele oipundi jahongua naua." Opo nghili atia, "Ame ongisi okulonga naua oipundi iua ngasi ame muene." Opo uinja ajandja ondjambi konghili ndele talombuelua elialuke fiku limue.

Esi ekeuja aje ponghili okuahanga jelisuna mosipeta. Opo apula ovalikadi vanghili muene apa aja nande. Je muene opo ngaho eli, unja kuali esi osimue soipundi ei halongo. Sasi asiva nghili ena omutue nomaoko nomaulu. Je inamonako ne kuasi amona. Ovalikadi vanghili vanjamukula kutia okuaja momufitu akakonga oipundi jaje.

2. Omulumeni aninga efiku nefiku teuja, noihahangepo nghili kakele kosipundi sajo. Novalikadi vajo ava havemulombuele aluse kutia nghili aja momufitu akakonga oipundi jaje. Ondjaba jaloloka okutelela opone jalombuela omunu eituale ku nghili ikapule naua osipundi sajo.

Veuja meumba la nghili. Tavapula apa paja nghili, tavalombhelua tu kutia nghili akakonga oipundi jaje momufitu. Onjaba kuali tu jafa isi onghili inaifa omunu. Nghili kese tu efimbo evaudu kutia ovovo tavadi oko je omutue uaje tahan-gika eusunifa moipeta kumue nomaulu nomaoko aje. Opo oja-pula kutia esi, "Osike esi sili apa safa onghili esi?" Omunu atia, "Oso osimue oipundi jaje ei haningi, ngasi tu oipundi ei hainingi ojemufa."

3. Hano ndjaba atia, "Osipundi esi oso ne ngaho handi naso esi, esi kuali talongelenge oso nasininge saje ponele jasi." Ndjaba takufa osipundi saje tesipake mekutu,⁵⁹ ndele tai, je ou omunu telijukilejo kuaje.

Mondjila ndjaba ekutu laje elitula posi akaliepo. Mange euje pekutu laje okuahanga nghili eli opo. Ndele tati, ko

⁵⁷ Oulumeni: the penis. According to Kuanyama belief the human penis is sacred, being the seat of life.

⁵⁸ Oipundi (sing., osipundi): stools. The Kuanyama have tree trunk stools in the kraal sitting room. The tree trunks have the bark removed and are given a good polish.

4. Enkembe cut up the body of his father and hung up the meat. When it was cooked, he divided it, giving Lufufu the penis.⁵⁷ When he saw that all the other people had finished eating, although Lufufu still had the penis, he removed his appearance of his father, and assumed his own form. He went back to the cooking place, and said, "I am Enkembe."

Then the old woman realized that it was her husband who had been killed by Enkembe. Enkembe spoke to Lufufu, saying, "You are eating the penis of your father." The old woman was mortally ashamed, and said to her child, "Throw away the penis of your father. It does not belong to Enkembe, but it is that of your father." Lufufu did not throw the penis away. He replied, "The meat belongs to me. I will not throw it away. I will eat it all up." It is indeed in this way that the story ends.

THE ELEPHANT AND HIS STOOLS

1. Once upon a time a certain man was sent by an elephant to get him some stools.⁵⁸ He met a tortoise and said to him, "I have been sent by my elder the elephant to find him some well made stools." The tortoise replied, "I indeed know how to make fine stools." The man gave a reward to the tortoise and told him that he would return the next day.

Upon returning to the tortoise, however, he found [the animal] had retreated back into his shell. So the man asked the wives [of the tortoise] where their own husband had gone, for all that [he thought] he saw there was one of the finished stools. He knew that a tortoise has arms and legs, and therefore he did not recognize the tortoise when he saw him. The wives of the tortoise replied that their husband had gone into the woods to look for his stools.

2. The man came every day, but he did not find the tortoise, he found only his stool. The wives always told him that the tortoise was in the woods looking for his stools. [Finally] the elephant grew tired of waiting. So he told the man to take him to the tortoise so that he himself could demand his stools.

[The man and the elephant] entered the tortoise's kraal. When they asked for the tortoise, they were told that he was in the woods looking for his stools. The elephant knew that a tortoise is formed differently from a man, and that whenever he hears someone coming, his head, legs, and arms, retreat back into his shell. So he asked [the man], "What is this object here which looks like a tortoise?" The man replied, "It is one of the tortoise's stools. He made it himself."

3. The elephant said, "I will take this stool with me, it will serve in the place of the one which the tortoise should have made for me." So the elephant took the stool and placed it in his bag.⁵⁹ He then went one way, while the man took a different path.

While on the trip the elephant put down his bag in order to eat. Then looking at the bag he found the tortoise inside.

⁵⁹ Ekutu: a man's bag. This kind of bag is made of goatskin or buckskin and is carried over the shoulder. It is usually used for carrying millet meal on long trips.

ndjaba, "Tatekulu, ame ngaho nghili ou uakufa kuinja. Okuali ngaho ndatila omunu, opone ndelisuna mosipeta sange." Opone atia, "Oipundi joje ondeika naua, ndele oili ne kule komulongo."

4. Kuinja ndjaba tati, "Nandihange hano toi, manga handilialiapo, sasi ove ihoendelele." Ndaba akaliapo manga je ou nghili telifefa aja. Ndjaba esi adjapo je nghili teuja telisuna mekutu. Ndjaba teuja tatumbupo ekutu laje ndele tai. Efimbo limue tatulapo vali ekutu laje akalie. Esi aluka okuahanga nghili eli opo. Opo ndjaba apula, "Ove openi toti vali?"

Nghili tati, "Ahoue opo ngaho ndili mondjila jange okuja komulonga esi." Ndjaba tati, "Naihange toi hano fimbo hai-kaliapo vali manga sasi ove ihoendelele." Ndaba tai takaliapo manga elifefa afa-aja. Ndjaba esi apilamenako nghili je otalisuna mekutu oso. Ndjaba teuja tatumbupo ekutu laje. Efimbo limue tatula vali aliepo, ekelialuke opo ahanga nghili opo.

5. Ndjaba telipula tati, "Nghili ohaende hano ngahelipi, okutia ngahelipi hano sama nga ho ndatula poima ohatusakene-po?" Naje muena utale ndimuhondame. Ame nditale esi heuja pekutu lange. Ndjaba talombuele nghili aje tu komeso ngasi sito fimbo je takaliapo.

Ndjaba okuaja ngaho konima josixua ndele tahondama. Nghili telifefa afa aja, je telialuka tai mekutu fimbo ndjaba ahondama. Ndjaba teuja pekutu laje. Opo apula ou eli mekutu laje. Nghili anjamukula kutia, "Oje elimo." Ndjaba temukufamo ndele temutulike pokati kemanga domuti, "Opo ufila opo, simbudi ove!"

6. Vali pefimbo olo ongue okuali ilaula foko ihena nande evala.⁶⁰ Fimbo nghili ali ne pombada jomuti opeuja ongue. Opo nghili atia kongue, "Kufengepo apa, kaume, ame ndikupe omulongelo moua ngenge uakufangepo." Ongue taipula onghili taiti, "Omulongelo ouasike topenge ouasike topenge ngenge ndekukufako?" Nghili tati, "Ohaikupe omavala." Ongue ojalonda ndele taikufapo. Onghili opo ne japeua omavala aja. Monale okuali ngaha ilaula ngasi oxule musila uajo.

OITA JE KAFIFI NE MBUNGU

1. Embungu laile okukatalelapo kaume kalo. Kaume kalo telidipaele osikombo. Embungu lalia naua nolakuta lanjaku-

⁶⁰ Evala: stripes. The cheetah (ongue) commonly has spots, not stripes. Shortridge says that the Striped Cheetah (*Acionyx rex*) has been reported, but so far

The latter said to the elephant, "Uncle! I am indeed the tortoise whom you picked up [in the kraal]. I was afraid of the man, and that was the reason I retreated into my shell." Then he added, "I have fine stools for you, but they are far off by the river."

4. Then the elephant said, "I think it best that you go ahead while I remain here, since you walk slowly." So the elephant commenced eating and the tortoise made a pretense of walking a little way; then he turned back. After the elephant had wandered a bit [to browse], the tortoise crept back into the bag. The elephant returned, picked up the bag, and off he went! Some time afterwards he placed it down again to resume his eating, and when he once more returned [from browsing], there was the tortoise! The elephant asked, "So it's you! Where did you come from?"

The tortoise replied, "I merely stopped here on my way to the river." The elephant said, "Go there while I eat some more, since you cannot walk quickly." The elephant ate and the tortoise pretended to go off. Then when the elephant was a short distance away, the tortoise again returned to the bag. The elephant came back, picked up the bag, put it down again while he was eating, and there was the tortoise once more!

5. The elephant asked, "Tortoise, where are you walking to? How is it that every time that I stop you are at the place to meet me?" Then the elephant said to himself, "I will hide and in this way find out how he always manages to get into my bag." So the elephant again instructed the tortoise to walk in front while he himself was occupied in eating.

[This time] the elephant went only a little way, and afterwards hid himself behind a bush. The tortoise [meanwhile] pretended [as usual] to travel on, but [instead] he returned to the bag near which the elephant was hiding. Then when the elephant asked, "Who is in my bag?" the tortoise replied, "I am in it." So the elephant took the tortoise out of the bag and hung him up between the branches of a tree. He exclaimed, "There you will die, you thief, you!"

6. At the time [of the story] the cheetah was entirely black; he had not as yet acquired his stripes.⁶⁰ While the tortoise was hung up there on the tree, along came a cheetah. The tortoise said to the cheetah, "If you will get me out of here, my friend, I will give you some good presents." The cheetah questioned the tortoise, asking, "What kind of presents will you give me if I get you out?" The tortoise replied, "I will give you stripes." The cheetah climbed up the tree and removed the tortoise. So the tortoise gave the cheetah his stripes. Before this time the cheetah was black all over, like the end of his tail.

THE WAR OF THE WREN AND THE HYENA

1. The hyena had been off to visit a friend, and since his friend had killed a goat for him, the hyena had stuffed him-

only from Southern Rhodesia. (C. C. Shortridge, *The Mammals of South-West Africa*, 1:109, London, 1934).

kua. Mokuualuka kualo esi lahala okusuna keumbo olaenda pomuti umue kuali una osihadi sokafifi omo muali muna oudilona vavali. Oudila ava vakula mosihadi inavahangikamo, vakakonga oikulia.

Embungu esi leuja pomuti ou olahovela okutukana oudilona no kuaseka nai. Ina joudilona esi euja okuahanga oudilona tavalili ndele esi evapa oikulia inavahala okulia.⁶¹ Ina esi evapula ovemulombuela asise esi saningua ndele tavati fie itatuli nande oikulia fimbo embungu inalitupa ombili. Ina okuevahekeleka nendjovo diua ndele tati, "Lieni ngaho oikulia manga haikasikula embungu. Ngenge ndelimonu taliuja limupe ombili."

2. Okadila tasikula embungu, okelihanga lanangala momudile uomuti lakofa, sasi kuali lakuta unene. Okadila okauila komuti ou ndele takapenduka embungu. Ndele embungu inalipenduka. Okadila kauila posi ndele takatolapo okati nde takalondo ndele takalondo nako komuti kekapula embungu ndele takelidenge kojulu.

Embungu lapenduka memofi dalo ndele talikevauka. Oliudite komuti takuti, "Mbungu! Mbungu!" Embungu olati, "Ove lielie topendulange memofi?" "Ame okafifi ndeuja kuove osesi ondahanga oudilona vange tavalili ndele inavahala okulia sasi uevatuka nai. Ndahala ujeko ukaninge ombili navo." Embungu olatia, "Ame lielie hano ndije ndikaninge ombili noudilona voje! Ondina sike navo? Fikama! Ina ukalie omainjo mousoso no udilona voje!"

3. Okadila okahanduka ndele takati, "Ngenge itoi koudilona vange ukaninge ombili otuna okuninga oita notulidenge. Opo ou tateua otelinjongamene kosipala samukuao." Embungu olajola mukole esi lesiuda ndele taliti, "Otodipange nasike? Onokalungu ile onounjala voje? Ina ne hano ukasive oita joje, fimbo ame haikasivajo oita jange. Fie tuje tulidenge."

Hano okadila okaja ndele takasivi oita jako. Kasiva kese tu okanamuenjo kena omavava; ekola; ekodi; kaimbi; nakese esi masituka. Ngasi omue, embodue, nenjeki. Embungu lasivajo oita jalo kese tu osinamuenjo sina omaulu ane: ondjaba; onghosi; ongue; naikuaou tu aise.

4. Oita fimbo tu kuali tailehene ojakundafana esi sina okuningua. Oita jakadila ojatuma emue dikapuilikine eji embungu esi taipangelua. Emue odaja hano sasi odinini inadimonika. Opo dauda kutia kavanje oje omuiliki uoita⁶² javo. Ombadje jatonga tati, "Ngenge omusila uange uajeluka

self and was in fine humor. On his way home, the hyena passed by a tree in which there was a wren's nest with two little birds in it. The parent birds were not there; they had flown off to find food.

As soon as the hyena came to the tree he commenced calling the little birds bad names and generally abusing them. When the mother returned she found the little birds in tears, and when she tried to give them food they refused to eat.⁶¹ Upon being questioned the little birds told their mother all that had happened and said that they would eat no food of any kind until the hyena had made peace with them. The mother comforted her children with kind words, and said, "I will go after the hyena; in the meantime you eat your food! As soon as I find the hyena there will be peace."

2. The bird followed the hyena. She found him lying down in the shade of a tree, sleeping [off] his full [stomach]. The bird flew to the tree and [tried] to awaken the hyena, but he did not wake up. Then the bird flew to the ground and picked up a stick. She flew up again into the tree and allowed the stick to fall on the hyena; it hit him on the nose.

The hyena woke up and looked about him, and finally up at the tree. The [wren] cried, "Hyena! Hyena!" The hyena replied, "Who are you, that you should wake me from my sleep?" "I am Wren. I came to you because I found my little birds crying. They did not want to eat because you called them bad names. I want you to come and make peace with them." The hyena retorted, "Who do you think I am, that I should come and make peace with your little birds? What have I to do with them? Be off with you! Go and pick worms out of the manure with your little birds!"

3. The bird became angry and said, "If you do not intend going to my little birds and making peace with them, we will have to fight a war. The one who is defeated will be the slave of the other." The hyena laughed when he heard this, and exclaimed, "You will kill me! And with what? Perhaps with your little beak or those tiny claws of yours! Go then and collect your army while I go and collect mine. After that we will fight."

So the wren went and collected her army. She mustered in every living creature which has wings, such as the crow, the eagle, and the hawk. Indeed, she gathered together all creatures that fly, including the mosquito, the hornet, and the bee. The hyena, in turn, collected for his army every living thing that has four legs, such as the elephant, the lion, the cheetah, and all other such animals.

4. Before the combat both armies discussed their plans of war. The wren's army sent mosquitoes to listen to the plans of the hyena's army. The mosquitoes were sent because they were tiny and therefore could not be seen. [First] they heard that the jackal had been appointed war leader.⁶² Then they heard that the fox had said, "When

⁶¹ Inavahala okulia: they did not want to eat. If a Kuanyama is abused and is unable to retaliate, he rejects food for the time being. This pattern of behavior starts in childhood.

⁶² Omuiliki uoita: leader of war, or leader of the army. Oita means either "war" or "army." The Kuanyama always chose a war leader who conducted the strategy and magic of war but took no part in the actual fighting.

pombada opone siveni nokutia tuevata, ndele ngenge tamu-mono uajuka pedu indeni onapo osesi otuateua."

Emue esi dauda endjovo edi odaja ndele tadikalombuela ombinga javo. Ombinga ei ojaholola enjiki odo dinging ovau-iliki voita javo. Ndele tailombuele enjiki taiti, "Ngenge muamono ombadje jajelula omusila uajo endeeleni muje kosi jomusila uajo mulieni nenghono fijo otaendjeleleke omusila uaje."

5. Oita esi jasakena enjiki daja kosi jomusila uombadja ndele tadiuli unene. Ombadja jahetekela okudilinka ijelule omusila uajo ndele ojanjengua, osesi enjiki dadinina uene. Opo ombadja jaefela omusila uajo posi. Oita aise jembungu ojafadukapo sasi jamona omusila uombadja uaendjelela.

Enjiki daefa ombadja ndele tadikuata embungu tadilihepeke unene. Opo olakuua mokule, taliti, "Uoo! Uoo! Efeinge ehamba dange! Ndikaninge ombili noudilona." Embungu laja ndele talikaninga ombili noudilona.

you see my tail standing up high you may know that we are defeating [the enemy]; but should it droop down, you must run, since it is [our side] that is being defeated."

After the mosquitoes had heard these words, they returned and reported what they had done. The scorpions then were chosen as war leaders of their army. They spoke to the bees, thus: "When you see the fox raise his tail, you must be quick to get under it and sting hard, until he again lowers it."

5. When the [two]armies met, the bees got under the fox's tail and stung him severely. The fox tried to endure [the pain] of keeping his tail raised, but he could not, the bees had stung too hard. So the fox lowered his tail. At once the army of the hyena fled, for they saw the tail of the fox hanging down [in surrender].

Now the bees left the fox and came to the hyena, whom they treated very badly indeed. Then the hyena let out a loud shout, "Oh! Oh! Let me be, my kings! I will make peace with the little birds." So the hyena went and made peace with the little birds.

Ovanu	ava	veli	momadimo ⁷³	
People	who	are	in stomachs	
Tave	ja	okusimona.		
They	indeed	will come to see it.		
Onandanga	tai-	kufua	oluvala	luajo; ⁷⁴
[From the]	polecat	will be taken	the color	[of its fur] its;
Ohnuao	tai-ku,			
A cry for help	is heard,			
Hai	dilile	kosihulo.		
It	comes from	the headmen.		
Ova-oukuamundja ⁷⁵	va	tambula;		
The people of Kuamundja	will	have yielded ⁷⁶		
Ava	kave-fi	ova-oukuamundja		
Those	who are not from	Kuamundja		
Ovo	kombala ⁷⁷	tavai.		
They	to the palace	they will go.		
Ombala	ja	tambula	omudilo ⁷⁸	
The palace	will receive	fire		
Ava	vei-huika	va-ninga	omatuali ⁷⁹	avo.
Those	who burned it	make	bush shelters	their.
Haimbili	ninga	tafi,		
Haimbili	will	die,		
Na Nangolo	ja	Hamutenja ⁸⁰	ninga	tadi,
And Nangolo	son of	Hamutenja	will	die,
Ndele	ova-endanadjila	tave-lihanene	oilongo.	
And	the strangers	they will spread	in the country.	

⁷³ Unborn children.

⁷⁴ The polecat will have its colored fur removed; i.e., prominent people will lose their honors and their wealth.

⁷⁵ People of the district of Kuamundja.

⁷⁶ To the white man.

⁷⁷ The Kuanyama have been taught to translate ombala (king's kraal) as "palace." The Kuanyama palace was never burned, but Haimbili was the last king to live in it; his successors were not circumcised.

⁷⁸ Will be burned.

⁷⁹ The omatuali usually are bush shelters erected in the rainy season by herdboys. They resemble Bushmen shelters.

⁸⁰ Nangolo ja Hamutenja. This man is said to have been Haimbili's nephew (sister's son), and therefore his possible successor.

The following is a free translation.

An elephant loose from his herd crosses the country,
He enters Haimbili's garden.
This elephant indeed was a portent of ill omen
Since he died in Haimbili's garden.
But if misfortune were to come, why of this kind?
In Ondonga, big men have forced their way through,
They will even come here to look at the garden.
These people are from the palace of God:
They have left, but they will return again.
I cannot see from whence they came,
I can only see that they are coming.
These people have settled in Ondonga;
Now they go towards Oukuambi and Ougandjera;
Presently they will turn towards Kuanyama.
Is the king so poor that he too must cry for help?
Then he likewise must seek the aid of Pamba;
Or perchance his days are numbered.
Is there no one who can serve our king?
It may be that only a bat can protect him.
The new-comers will point to the proper way.
The unborn children,
It is they who will be instructed.
From those who have, all will be taken.
A cry for help is heard,
It comes from the headmen.
Only the Kuamundja district will yield to the strangers;
The remainder of the people will seek refuge in the
palace.
Then they will burn the palace,
And when it is burned, the people will house in bush
shelters.
It is fated that Haimbili will die
And his successor likewise will perish.
It is the strangers who will thrive in our country.

The prophet Sisaama also spoke a parable, which runs as follows:

Efuma	latukile	Okavandje;	
Frog	flees [from]	Jackal;	
Hangalili	mokuenje,	kuananjanala.	
He cries	in dry season,	no rain.	
Medu	lasitamo	okukalopo	odulajaloka.
In ground	he sinks	before	rain comes.
Ndele	omafuma	asituka.	
Then	frogs	come out [in the rainy season].	
Kavandje	notanoloka	ne	ta-emuli le,
Jackal	comes	and	eats [frog] up,
Ehnulundja	dasi	emulukile	mokuenje.
Angry	because	impudent	in dry season.

This parable evidently refers to the future fate of Haim-bili after the arrival of the whites in Kuanyama land. Freely translated it runs as follows:

Frog is fleeing from Jackal, and complaining because there is no rain. Then just before the rain falls he buries himself in the ground where Jackal cannot get at him. As soon as the rains fall, all the frogs come out and croak. Then Jackal comes along and eats up Frog, who has been able to elude him in the dry season.

King Musipandeka, who ruled from 1861 to 1881, was king when the whites first entered Kuanyama land. The following prophecy of Nakulenga was uttered after the Finnish missionaries had entered Kuanyama country.

Sihangadi tasi likokole momeva;
Something strange is creeping on the water;

Ova-endanandjila tave-likokole oilongo.
Foreigners creep into the country.

Sali kokule, se-uja popepi, se-uja.
It was far, it has come near, it is here.

Ovanu tava-hovela okuenda.
People start to walk [somewhere].

Hinga omuhama tau uile ondjila.⁸¹
Perhaps an omuhama tree will fall [across the] path.

Ovanu va-dia koilongo;
[The strange] people come from a [distant] country;

Tave-uja nendjovo dimue;
They come with words different;

Ndele, esi tava-tongo si udeni.
So, when they are talking [they] should be listened to.

Onda enda mosilongo
I walked and walked through the country

Nda mona omaumbo omalenga.
And saw the kraals of the nobles.

Ina dia-ko osinima siua,
Not from it thing good,

Nda enda ko lutivali,
I walked there twice,

Inandi mona omaumbo omalenga;
I did not see kraals of the nobles;

Ndele engulu nde di-uete.
But European houses I have seen.

Freely translated this runs:

Something strange is creeping over the waters;
Foreigners are entering the country.
They were far off, now they are near: they have arrived.
When people start walking somewhere
Perhaps an omuhama tree will fall across their path.
The strangers are coming from distant countries;
They are bringing new ideas:
When they talk, they should receive attention.
I walked many times through the country
And always saw the kraals of the nobles.
Now I have walked there again;
This time there were no kraals of the nobles;
It was only European houses which I saw.

King Uejulu ruled from 1884 to 1904. He was a great friend of the missionaries, although he himself was never converted. It was in Uejulu's reign that the German missionaries came to Ovamboland and joined the ranks of the Finnish missionaries. The prophet Muselenga opposed Uejulu's friendship for the whites:

Uejulu! Hi uete eumbo lohambo.
Uejulu! I do not see the kraal of the king.

Hi uete eumbo lenga.
I do not see the kraals of the nobles.

Eli laminda, olo alike ndi uete
Only that of Naminda,⁸² this alone I see

mosihedi
in Osihedi.⁸³

Engulu ndi uete metunu
European houses I see in what were the fields

la-Haindongo,
of Haindongo.

Engulu ndi uete ko itoka ngoufila.
Houses I see which white like millet meal.

Ounjuni tau xulu, tau-di kondongolondongo,
The world will end, it will end completely,

Taudi kambala jefuma.⁸⁴
It goes to the palace of the frog.

⁸¹ It is considered a bad omen if the omuhama tree (*Albizia anthelmintica* Brongn) falls across the path. This indicates the approaching death of the king.

⁸² A noble woman.

⁸³ A district.

⁸⁴ The king will die and go underground with the frogs.

Ame hai-di-po apa, hai sama
I will go away from here, I will stay with

nouisi;⁸⁵
the bees;

Handi i moikutu jedu,
I will go in clothing of earth⁸⁶

Nda tuka ohamba.
I have cursed the king.

The following is a free translation:

Uejulu! I no longer see the kraal of the king;
I no longer see the kraals of the nobles;
The kraal of the noblewoman Naminda I still can see.
European houses are now in the fields of Haindongo;
Everywhere there are houses, white like millet meal.
Surely the world will end, it will be destroyed
completely.

The king too will die and be buried underground,
I, likewise, will find my subterranean abode:
In the grave earth will be my clothing.
I must die, for I have cursed my king.

WAR SONGS

War songs actually are songs of praise, sung when the troops return safely home from a victory. This type of song is called osimbo, (plur., omaimbo, verbal infinitive, okuimba). The same native word is used as a general name for "song." These words also are now used to describe the singing of church hymns. The following are two examples of war songs:

Otuadjako ne kondjala.⁸⁷
We are safe from hunger.

Kuhaja elume limbada;
The coward did not go to war;

Halikungile naina, otali alukile mondjila.
He followed the advice of mother, so he came back on way.

Ikovalumenu ava tavalu osilumenu, kefio lihapu.
For brave men who fought bravely, deaths many.

Kefio lafa omupuma.
Deaths as sudden.

Simbungu alele tauelele, Haulamba alele
The hyena was crying, was crying, the hyena was crying,

tauelele.
was crying.

Oku namukuetu akana momuanda, ahalele
There was our comrade left in camp, [he did] not sleep

pufie.
with us.

Oko tuemu fija oko, omaulu nemadi
There we left him there, legs and feet

omondjila,
on side path,

Omutue ua talela moxuati.⁸⁸
Head which lay in bushes.

Vakuaita va Nekanda,
Soldiers of Nekanda,

Ikongo jongobe ja Haivinga Nasitai,
Searchers for cattle for Haivinga son of Nasitai,

Sijala jaina imue mofuka mosilongo.⁸⁹
We are of mother one in the forest and in the country.

Jo tailitu oumukonda
In [our own country] we fight one another

Osesi janninga ondubo jovakainu.
Because of jealousy about women.

Sileni ngaho komupaja,⁹⁰ vakuetu,
Fasten your belts, comrades,

Oku mueja okondjala.
From where you have come there is hunger.

Ove nima jameme, hai kuatele
You, so-and-so of my mother, I have brought [you]

omupika.⁹¹
a slave.

⁸⁸ The army left one of their number behind, hungry and tired.

⁸⁹ In camp all soldiers are comrades and do not fight among themselves.

⁹⁰ Omupaja: war belts. They are made of leather, like ordinary belts, but broader. They serve as armor.

⁹¹ Cattle and slaves are war booty. The soldier sings that he is bringing home a slave for a relative.

⁸⁵ The bees also have their holes underground.

⁸⁶ In the grave.

⁸⁷ Capture of cattle will save the country from famine.

In free translation, this song runs as follows:

Now we will be free from hunger.
 It was only the coward who did not go to war;
 Following the advice of his mother, he re-
 turned when halfway to the battle.
 Among those who fought bravely, many met
 their deaths;
 Those deaths were sudden ones.
 Now hear the hyenas crying.
 We left one sick comrade in camp, he did
 not sleep with us;
 We had to leave him there with his feet and
 legs on a side path
 And his head concealed in the bushes.
 Soldiers of Nekanda,
 We have captured cattle for Haivinga, son
 of Nasitai.
 While in camp we are all blood-brothers,
 But at home we are apt to fight over women.
 Make fast your belts, my comrades,
 For you are leaving famine behind you.
 You, so-and-so, my relative, I am bringing
 you a slave.

The following war song is a variation of the one just pre-
 sented:

Nambala ja Haivinga ja paka oimbambinnga.⁹²
 Nambala son of Haivinga has outspreading tusks.

Oita ja paka jafa ondjaba nambinga dapama.
 Army has like elephant tusks strong.

Komameno nga tadiu otaikatondoka.
 Where they grow if they break off [the army] will
 run away.

Nge uaimo likujeuga, nge uaimo
 If you go in it will hurt [you], if you go in

lekutuohoma.
 it will gouge [you].

Haulamba alele, tauetele.
 The hyena was crying, was crying.

Nondove tuaholekele.
 Nondove⁹³ we hid him.

Simbungu alele, tauetele.⁹⁴
 The hyena was crying, was crying.

Namukuetu tuhalele pamue.
 Our companions did not sleep together.

⁹² The two wings of the army are compared to the tusks of an elephant.

⁹³ Our companion.

Jakatumbula ja Naukongo Nambala.
 The army of Naukongo Nambala.

Tailifindi mekulo ngo mundjona
 Pressing itself in thickets like young steenbock

ile oholonga.⁹⁵
 or kudu.

Oudidi mekulambo losana.⁹⁶
 Army going on edge of open place.

Fie inotutembauila;
 We you must not praise us:

Omumuoje okuaile onapo; omumuoje kuiuja
 Your child ran away; your child did not

kaileka.⁹⁷
 go.

A free translation of this song runs as follows:

Nambala, son of Haivinga, has outspreading
 tusks;

For the two wings of his army are strong like
 the tusks of an elephant;

If they are broken at the roots, his army will
 be defeated.

If you are caught between the tusks you will
 be gouged.

The hyenas were all around us crying in
 their sleep,

So we hid our sick companion lest he be
 eaten;

That night we did not sleep together.

The army of Naukongo Nambala
 Concealed itself in the thickets like the kudu
 or young steenbock.

We did not cross the open places; we skirted
 them.

Mothers, you must not praise us in your songs:

Perhaps it was your child who ran away;

Perhaps it was your child who never got to
 the war.

⁹⁴ Haulamba is the honorary name of the hyena, simbungu the common name. The hyenas were crying, and kept on crying. The word alele really means "sleeping," but in reference to the hyenas it means "to cry while sleeping." In this version it is clear that the sick companion was hidden so that the hyenas would not eat him.

⁹⁵ Our army was concealed in the thicket like a young steenbock or kudu.

⁹⁶ Osana: the depressions or open places through which water flows in the rainy season. The Herero call such a place omoramba, and it commonly is referred to by whites as a "marumba." In the song, the army is described as going on the edge of the open places, but not entering them for fear of discovery. These places were the customary paths for travel in times of peace.

⁹⁷ The singer is instructing the women not to praise the army on its victorious way home. Perhaps a son of one of the women turned back while the army was only halfway to battle.

A CATTLE CEREMONY SONG

Every year at the end of the rainy season the cattle are brought home from the outposts and are presented by the herd-boys to the kraal owners. At such times the herdboys are praised, when deserving, and songs also are composed in praise of the cattle. There is also much dancing by both men and women. While an ordinary song is called osimbo, a cattle song is named ongovela (plur. engovela). In the song which follows the outpost to which the cattle are driven is in Angola, on the northern side of the Kunene River, in a region where elephants roam.

Njaba	jalja	omandakani;
Elephant	ate	it opened the way; ⁹⁸

Sopa,	nadije,	kuma!
Open,	jungle,	open out!

Tulombela	apa	uanokila
Tell us	where	you jumped

Omeva	omulonga	uakuenene.
The water	river	Kunene ⁹⁹

Sikede	datile	tualukene;
Sikede ¹⁰⁰	I said	might go back;

Oku	uea	okukule,	liakuo	ombo	okahenge.
Where	you are	is far away,	to rest	under	trees of elephant.

In free translation:

The elephants opened a path through the jungle;
Open, jungle, open out!
Tell us where the cattle will be able
To cross the waters of the Kunene River.
One of the oxen, named Sikede, I sent back,
Since the place was still far off
Where the cattle could rest
Under the trees, in the land of the elephants.

SONGS OF SICKNESS AND DEATH

If a person is very ill, the medicine man may prescribe a certain sacrifice to the ancestors (ovakuamunghu), and also the performance of the magico-religious rite called omakola (literally, "calabashes"). At this rite a female shaman beats calabashes with sticks, making a drumlike noise; meanwhile friends of the invalid dance and sing.

Ombui	taimbuabuile	keulo;
Rain	bubbling	from the sky; ¹⁰¹

Hatu	uana	na	Pamba,
We	are going to meet		Pamba [God] .

Hatu	uana	na	Kalunga.
We	are going to meet		Kalunga [God] .

Nda	pula	efiku	handi	fi,
I	ask	the day	I will	die,

Ame	nda-tja	omongula.
I	said	[it will be] tomorrow.

Je	tati:	Kala	manga,
He	said:	Wait	a bit,

U	ninge	ombila	inene;
So	[you] may have	grave	big;

Kala	manga	nomuenjo,
Wait	awhile	in life,

U	ninge	elambo	lomakololo,
So	you may have	hole	scooped out well,

Nombila	ja pita	egege;
From grave	out of it	poisonous mushroom;

Nau	ua pita	oukola.
From tomb	out of it	fungus. ¹⁰²

Freely translated this runs as follows:

The rain is bubbling from the sky:
We are going to meet Pamba,
We are going to encounter Kalunga.
I asked for the day on which I am to die,
I said, "It will be tomorrow."
But God said, "Wait a bit
So that you may have a hole well scooped out,
Remain alive yet awhile.
Then from your grave a poisonous mushroom will
sprout,
And from your tomb a fungus."

⁹⁸ Made a path.

⁹⁹ Where there is a ford.

¹⁰⁰ An ox name.

¹⁰¹ G.W. Dymond, the Idea of God in Ovamboland, South-West Africa, in Edwin W. Smith, Ed., African Ideas of God: a Symposium, p. 147, London, 1950.

¹⁰² A fungus that grows on anthills.

The burden of this somewhat macabre song is that while the patient is seriously ill, yet life is not despaired of; there is still hope of recovery. As stated in this song, every death was attributed to God (Kalunga): Kalunga ailapu omnuuaje, "God took his life [soul] ," the natives used to say. And yet deaths were at the same time attributed to slighted ancestors (ovakuamunghu), and to the malpractices of witches.

The last song was sung to a cheerful tune, but the next is a funeral dirge recited by women over the grave of a dead male relative. Each woman recites one line, but many more lines, in addition to those here given, may follow as feelings dictate. There is no dancing at a funeral. The mourners weep and sing over and over again, "Oh, my father! or "Oh, my mother!" according to the sex and relationship of the deceased. The mourning lasts four days for an adult.

Ngeno ha nena! 103
If not today!

Kalunga na ifana omiiva!
Kalunga called too soon!

Mu pa omeva, okua ja inalja;
Give him water, left without eating food;

Sakala, inafia outalala.
Make a fire, he must not be cold.

Tu ningileni onele,
Prepare a place,

Inga tumu hanga,
While we will find [you] ,

Tuli hangeni.
Until we meet.

Freely translated this runs as follows:

Would it were not today!
Kalunga, you have called too soon!
Give him water, he has left without food;
Light a fire, he must not be cold.

[Spoken to the dead]
Prepare a place for us,
In a little while we shall join you,
Farewell, until we meet again.

103 Lymond, op. cit., p. 148.

PROVERBS

LEGAL PROVERBS

Among the pagan Kuanyama, and in part among the Christians, much of the instruction given the young is in the form of proverbs, since these are easily remembered. The proverbs cover the realms of law, ethics, philosophy, and religion. The first proverbs to be presented here are those which might be called legal; they represent to a certain extent the codification of Kuanyama law.

1. Omunu ohodulu okujasa okadila keli
A person should not shoot a little bird which is

komutue uoje.
on head his.

"Never shoot a bird which is resting on your own head." One should never harm a relative or clanmate. This proverb is used in the modern law courts when one relative refuses to testify against another.

2. Omukulunu embale linene lauvikila omepo.
A powerful man basket big protects from wind.

"A powerful man, like a big basket, protects one from the wind." A big man in a clan protects his clanmates. He does this by paying a large portion of their fines.

3. Hauli auke, londa!
Left alone, climb up!

If your relatives have died, make friends with people in other clans.

4. Setekela¹⁰⁴ dipa
Setekela kills

ondjaba nekuma.
elephant with lumps of clay.

"Setekela tried to kill an elephant with lumps of clay." Both the king and the elephant may turn on you and kill you.

5. Omukunda ombili, osilongo emangela.
[In] district peace, [in] country law and order.

"There must be peace in the district to have law and order in the land."

6. Pombili ihapa potua.
In peace is not evil.

"When there is peace, there is no evil."

7. Momutue uomutumua ihamuende omkole.
On head of messenger has never been wound.

"A messenger while in service is never harmed." The messenger of a king or nobleman always carried a knob-kerrie stick of his master as his credential.

8. Kapena mbungu lihesi kofuka.
Every hyena knows [the way] to the forest.

"Everyone knows how to be crafty." If a member of one's clan is killed, he should secretly retaliate on someone in the killer's clan.

9. Oikulia ihailiua nga kahnuti.
Food is not eaten as by a dove.

"If one does not work, he should not eat." A dove does no work, only pecks at its food.

10. Toja ngaho uafa ombabi judia eiso.
He comes just like a duikerbok with one eye.

This is said of a person who comes unannounced to a strange kraal. This is considered a breach of etiquette, since a kraal owner needs a day's notice in order to prepare beer for his guest.

11. Omudilo uongula oponele joje.
Fire of morning on side your.

Under the matrilineal laws of inheritance, when a man dies a brother or a sister's son comes to administer the estate. The property, consisting mostly of livestock, is divided among the members of the man's clan, the nearer relatives obtaining the greater portion. The distant relatives obtain very little; they keep warm, close to the morning fire. The near relatives get most of the property.

12. Ehopo ihajasua.
The absent one is not hit.

If a clan member is absent from a funeral, he receives nothing from the estate of the deceased.

13. Osiveli somunengobe ta-putuka
The eldest child of a cattle owner grows up

e-ongobe.
with cattle.

¹⁰⁴ Meaning "one who tries."

Although the children of a rich cattle owner are supposed to inherit nothing when the father dies, yet the oldest son, when still a child, is always given cattle by his father and thus "grows up with cattle."

14. Omuongo ou ulilila ojou kukuminina
Backbone which you ask is that related to you.

Only relatives and clanmates should be asked for favors.

15. Qhonde okupana idule omeva.
Blood is thicker than water.

This proverb was said by my informant to be original among the Kuanyama.

16. Inga tulimona moita jahada.
Until we meet in the war of the king.

When the king announces a war, all the young men in the country should join the army.

17. Oumjuni ouehongo lekuu.
The world of Ehongo¹⁰⁵ falls.

Even if a man is very rich, if he falls under the displeasure of the king, he may lose everything. The king may send armed troops against him and confiscate his cattle and goods. In the olden days, being very rich was in itself a danger, and kraal owners tried to conceal the number of their cattle by lending them out. Even today it is impossible to take a correct census of cattle.

18. Jatetekela ihainu onata.
If you go first you will not drink muddy water.

After the first man drinks at a water hole, the pool is likely to be stirred up and become muddy. This saying may be

applied to marriage; the first marriage lasts longest. "The first wife is the best wife. She should be the chief wife."

19. Oxuxuena hadela njoko, njoko, nale
Young chicken scratches [for] mother, mother before
e ku hadela.
for you scratched.

"A young chicken should scratch for its mother, your mother previously scratched for you." You should support your mother when she is old.

20. Ondjala nda-dala.
Hunger I gave birth to.

"I have given birth to starvation." My children do not support me.

21. Osididimbe si-dule ombila.
A shadow is better than a grave.

"It is better to be blind than dead." The Kuanyama were, and of course still are, very considerate of the old and blind. In former days if a man blinded another he had to support the injured one for life by paying him an annual fine. One of the present headmen has a special room in his kraal for blind relatives.

22. Onjiki ja-dala odi.
The bee gives birth to the fly.

Because of the rules of matrilineal inheritance, "a rich man may give birth to a poor son." The circumstances, of course, may be reversed.

ETHICAL PROVERBS

The Kuanyama have many ethical proverbs, which are mainly used for the instruction of children. These proverbs are taught the young either by their parents or close relatives; there is no indication that ethical instruction was given either at the time of the boys' circumcision ceremony or during the girls' coming-of-age ritual, the efundula.

23. Omundja ja kula na xe,
The steenbok grows big with [his] father;
ombabi ja putuka na ina,
the duikerbok is brought up by [his] mother,

li oukola.
they do not eat poisonous mushrooms.

"He who listens to his parents receives the best instruction."

24. Ngeno ihai jada okanda.
Supposing does not fill grain basket
[granary].

"Mere wishing gets one nowhere."

25. Ufena etondo, omutumba itau etasa.
Rubber of testicles, sitting brings nothing.

"By sitting down all day long, you accomplish nothing."

26. Si valula, si nondjabi.
What hurts, that has reward.

"It pays to accomplish the difficult."

¹⁰⁵ Personal name.

27. Tasi havaela, inga-nasi ningi sili.
What tries, it may become true.
"If at first you don't succeed; try, try again." This proverb is said especially to apply to courtship.
28. Si-i sandjala situala kelolo.
A bad thing leads to good fortune.
"Misfortune spurs one on."
29. Uhai-imba-umba kujase.
If you do not try to shoot you hit nothing.
"Nothing ventured, nothing gained."
30. Mokahua ada uadina,
In little bush which you did not think of
omo muna ndika.
in it there is here.
"Good fortune comes when least expected."
31. Tetekela si-i, siua shuninua.
At beginning hard time, good in future.
"Every beginning is difficult."
32. Oukengeli ihaumonika nokapala kajela.
Wealth does not appear with face clean.
"If you work hard, you can't always keep clean."
33. Namu ha lombuelua, ohai
A person who does not listen, goes with
netudi povanu.
faeces among the people.
"He who does not take advice, must suffer the consequences."
34. Kokule ihaku fikua ongula.
Far place never reached in morning.
"Little by little you get what you want." The natives always start on a long journey early in the morning.
35. Mua-ka nale ndele kamu-na onduba
You cut long time and have not heap
domiti.
of sticks.
"You can work for a long time and still accomplish nothing."
36. Kambunga hepa, uninge si-ime
Little hyena have hard time, so he may become king
somakulu mbungu.
of old hyenas.
"The hungry hyena may yet become king of hyenas." One should not give up hope too readily.
37. Kusamukueni topopi jusoje,
Other people's affairs you speak against,
totale omeso.
you forget your own.
"You talk about the faults of others, but forget your own." The pot called the kettle black.
38. Ulilifa iholikanifa .
To look after one's self and not to lose one's self.
"If you look after yourself, you won't get into trouble."
39. Haininga siningombua omunu,
The doer as you do it to a dog a person,
kueni otesikuningijo.
the other will do it to you.
"If you treat a person badly, in return he will treat you badly."
40. Kulupa no meso omajo,
Get old with eyes and teeth,
inga ndikutafinina
I will bite for you.
"When you are old, may you have your eyes and teeth!" This is a blessing from the old to the young.
41. Okanja komukulunu taka-di
[From] mouth old person come out
ondaka-di-i, itaka-di omuku u
words bad, never comes out breath which
njiko.
stinks.
"Old people may speak harsh words, but they never utter nonsense."
42. Omunue umue ihau tola, okuoko
Finger one cannot pick up, arm
kamue ihaku pandula,
one cannot clap thanks.

"One finger will not pick something up, one hand cannot clap thanks." The natives express gratitude by clapping their hands and even by dancing in joy. This and the following two proverbs mean that the people must work together.

43. Omunue umue ihau litola ona
 Finger one cannot catch lice
 momutue.
 from head.

"One is unable to catch head-lice with one finger." Under ordinary circumstances the people do not suffer from head-lice, since both sexes usually keep their heads well shaved.

44. Okulendela kunjenga.
 To walk alone is impossible.
45. Lakuata latumbu lamanepo
 When you have something and you are finished
 hatia omukofi.
 it is you have nothing.

"When you have food and eat it, there is nothing left."
 (Unless you have given some to someone else, so that some day he will return the present).

46. Mupa ekupejo.
 Give to him [so] that he may give to you.
47. Okujandja okutulika.
 To give [is] to keep.
48. Omulongelo ohaukafa ukuao melimba.
 Gift turns up the other from pantry.

"When you make a present of some food, it will be returned from someone else's pantry."

49. Etimaumbuile lidule ekuta.
 To keep a promise is better [than] to have something.
50. Sauana metiti omukulunu ensijandja.
 Enough in meat pot big person divided it.

"When there is enough in the meat pot, a big person should be present to divide it."

51. Leinda ongula olo halitola osima.
 Walks morning is that picks up thing.

"The early bird catches the worm."

52. Toi momeva nenaku.
 To go in water with sandals.

The custom of wearing sandals is widespread in Africa, extending even to the Bushmen. Kuanyama men wear hide sandals as protection from thorns, but remove them before entering water. Hence to enter water without removing one's sandals is to do something inappropriate or rude, such as interrupting a conversation.

53. Sekunjekele ohala ohoendepo
 What takes things away ostrich feather be careful
 toffifila.
 when you pass by.

The ostrich feather worn in the hat was a sign of a king or male member of the nobility. Now any old man may wear one. "Be careful when you pass by an old man wearing an ostrich feather. He may take away some of your property."

PHILOSOPHICAL PROVERBS

Philosophical proverbs are generalizations which influence the actions of the people but still are not legal expressions. Thus, "Too much butter makes one sick" is a simple Kuanyama proverb; "You can't take a fish out of water" has wider implications.

54. Oita ohaili heita.
 War kills the soldier.
55. Omupika alio njata, kalia
 A slave can eat manure, [but] cannot eat
 uanga.
 witch's poison.

"It is better to be a slave than a witch."

56. Kapena omudalua ahadjulukua;
 There is not a person who is not homesick;
 nomupika ohale jo koina.
 and a slave wants(misses) his parents.

57. Tujeni! Elao losimbungu
 Let us go! The luck of the hyena
 mondjila.
 is on our path.

This is said when an army sets out for a cattle raid.

58. Limbadungila, onapo jamukueni
 Trying to run, running of other

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

najo joje.
not the same.

"No one else can run for you when you are escaping in war."

59. Dalondoka hadi oita.
For warned people there is no war.

"Forewarned is forearmed."

60. Ombabi tailombuela ovana:
Duikerbok tells [his] children:

"Vo omundja veuditeko."
"Those bucks can hear."

If the king told his nobles the place where an attack was planned, the enemy would be warned. The ordinary people in an army never knew whom they were to attack until the night before the battle. Only the war leader was informed.

61. Mundja ohalile komdimbukilo.
The buck dies at last.

The army has fought all day, and just when it is about to return to camp the leader is killed.

62. Inota ondjaba touju.
Do not drive elephant gladly.

The elephant is a symbolic name for raided cattle. "Do not drive off in a joyful manner the cattle you have raided, or you may lose them."

63. Eumbo omuijo.
A kraal is a trap.

In former days a person entering a strange kraal was likely to be killed. The kraal was a traplike labyrinth, and pitfalls were often placed to catch thieves and hostile people.

64. Otuadiako tuakondoveka omusila.
We come from running with tails between legs.

We come running home, defeated in war.

65. Oujika jepumba ikutuala
A torch of cattle dung leads

kuaji jomuhongo
until you get [a good hardwood torch] of omuhongo wood.

This was said when the nobles first got breech-loaders, since there were not enough rifles to go around. "Anything does in a pinch."

66. Osikombo sahala okuja kohambo,
The goat wants to go to the cattle post,

So sisi kutia osina omusila muhapi.
But he knows that he has tail short.

Goats are able to eat the short grass at home, so they are not brought to the cattle outposts. "A weak man cannot fight a strong man; a weak tribe is unable to fight a strong tribe."

67. Osikoke noupe.
Skin new.

"When you have a new wife you put her in the honeymoon hut, she does no work, and you treat her well-- as a new skin. But afterwards she may be neglected."

68. Enguuo nadilomonue
Woman's back apron butter is put on it

ovafiona, fie tu vave.
poor, we get robbed.

When butter is used for tanning, what is left is given to the poor. Hence, the people of the kraal where the tanning takes place consider themselves robbed, since they do not get the butter.

69. Oikafa ihapu, ihapu eena.
Skins many, many [have] lice.

"Where there are many people, some must be wicked."

70. Nda-dimbua odikua¹⁰⁶ kosilua.
I forgot cradle in garden.

To have food in the kraal and feed one's guests while neglecting the kraal inmates.

71. Oukongo ohauli haukongo.
Hunting suffers the hunter.

"The hunter suffers from the hunt" if he shoots nothing.

72. Okadila aka ualokua uako,
Little bird which rained on with you,

okahojama nako.
you shelter with it.

"When it rained, you sheltered with a little bird." Comrades in trouble remain comrades in fair weather.

73. Sili ihamumono okadila kalokua
Surely when you see little bird wet [shivering with cold]

¹⁰⁶ A Kuanyama cradle usually consists of a calf-skin or goatskin carried on the back of the mother or older sister.

ohamuti okadilona.
you say it is a young bird.

"When you see a man who is poor, you think he is useless and cowardly. But he may be sensible and a good fighter." Among the Kuanyama poverty is considered almost a crime, yet you should treat a poor man kindly.

74. Osike saenda mongava.
What goes through sorghum grain sprouting in the ground?

The Kuanyama make their beer from sorghum which is allowed to sprout in the ground before being placed in boiling water. The beer is spoilt if a person or dog urinates over the sprouting grain, or if an osiololo (a harmless red snake which comes in the rainy season) crawls through the grain. Hence if a person whom you know well suddenly changes for the worse in his behaviour towards you, you may ask yourself this question. (The osiololo snake, of course, has only an imaginary effect on the beer).

75. Sapopia ohnolue osaenda
What is said by a drunken man kept it

najo komutima.
at bottom of heart.

"What a drunken man says comes from the bottom of his heart." In vino veritas.

76. Kuadia eundu kuna ondjala.
Where there is millet dough there is hunger.

When food is cooked for a guest, there may not be enough to go around, and the other people of the kraal may go hungry.

77. Omuali epuka.
A woman who just has had a child gets hungry quickly.

78. Ou uaninga ostivilo, ove uasudana.
Who makes a feast, you look funny.

"You look funny when you make a feast" unless there is plenty of food to go around.

79. Eumbo ihahikatungua simbuela.
A kraal is not built for many men.

"A man should be master of his own kraal."

80. Sihengehenge osakati kamue.
A bird name to carry a stick one at a time.

When a man makes a kraal he cuts his stakes one at a time, or two at a time. "Little things mount up."

81. Omadi ohajena.
Butter makes one sick.

"Too much of a good thing." Butter is used both for anointing the body and for frying meat after it is boiled.

82. Ongudi ka-tana, osiua kai
Fresh butter is not plentiful, the good does not

ndjipala.
multiply.

Butter is usually kept in a gourd where it is preserved with herbs. Fresh butter tastes better, but is rare. "A wicked king rules for a long time; the rule of a good king is short."

83. Ka xo kedule kanjoko.
Your father is more than your mother.

"You should love your father more than your mother." Half brothers of the same father should mean more to one another than half brothers of the same mother.

84. Hamutemo mondjabi.
The worker in the ondjabi feast.

A woman who has a large garden to harvest may invite other women of the neighborhood to help her. As reward she gives them beer and perhaps beans. This is called the ondjabi feast. The proverb above applies to a woman who works best in company.

85. Koilonga tamu-tumbula Mbangula;
For work you call [a man's name] ;

kokulia kamusi Mbangula.
in eating you do not know Mbangula.

"You call on so-and-so when there is something difficult to do; when there is a feast you forget all about him."

86. Eonga longula fhalidi honde.
Spear of morning does not shed blood.

"When an ox is speared in the morning, not much blood is shed." The Kuanyama always kill their cattle by spearing them. "If you drink beer in the morning, you won't get drunk."

87. Omunu ngenge eli moukengeli
A person when is wealthy

ohalunduka.
is selfish.

"A wealthy person is a selfish person."

88. Ouafa toli omaxuku aepua;
A rich man eats amarula nuts sifted;

okulijengela oxuku ihasidi.
to do alone nut helpless.

"Even a rich man must have his amarula nuts sifted for him. He would be helpless if he tried to eat them by himself." Amarula nuts are always opened and the flour is sifted by women. The meaning is: "If you try to do something without asking advice, you will fail."

89. Kauma koje ihamonika ta dalua.
Friend your do not choose before born.

The Kuanyama, both men and women, have the custom of choosing close friends of the same sex. There is a constant exchange of feasts and presents between friends. A man or woman will sometimes even select a friend before he is born. The proverb, however, says, "Do not choose your friend before he is born"; he may be of the opposite sex. Kuanyama male friends do not share their wives, as do the neighboring Herero.

90. Kuama koje edule mumuanjoko uoje.
Friend your more than brother your.

"A friend is closer to you than a brother."

91. Kuli uoje iha kulepa.
Where there is friend not far off.

"A friend is never too far away to be visited."

92. Ovanu vandiba ihavakala osixua simue.
Children of hare do not live in bush same.

"The children of the hare do not live in the same bush." If a man has two sons, they do not always live or work in the same place.

93. Omona uondijaba ta-dalua ena omakaka.
Child of elephant is born having thick skin.

"A young elephant is born with a thick skin." Even though a child is young, he resembles his parents. "Like father, like son."

94. Ofa jeleta komutemo.
The ant comes by itself to the fireplace.

In Ovamboland the winged ants fly by night in the rainy season. The Kuanyama catch them in the following manner. In the daytime small holes are dug near an anthill. At night the women come and build fires in the holes. The next morning the fires are out but the holes are full of dead ants. These are then roasted with butter and salt and eaten. "A needed person does not have to be summoned; he comes of his own accord."

95. Muku-dede uhitetuka fimbo edula inadiuja.
Lazy-lazy be early before rain comes.

"Lazy-lazy, be early and plant your garden before the rain comes." In Ondonga, millet and sorghum are planted after the first light rain, but the Kuanyama always plant when they think that rain will soon fall.

96. Omuenda alifile ovaumbo.
The guest eats with the people of the kraal.

"When a guest arrives, the kraal inmates get sufficient to eat." This proverb is the opposite of No. 76, which says that the kraal inmates may go hungry with the arrival of a guest, since there may not be enough food left to go around. Both proverbs may be true; circumstances alter cases.

97. Ua-uila, totila okulonda.
You fall once, you are afraid to climb[again].

98. Okahandja jahuika ofuka.
A little firebrand burns up the jungle.

"A little word may accomplish a big deed."

99. Enamba la kengelela
[Small] frog betrays

efuma.
[large] frog.

These two kinds of frogs are always together; the first kind is not eaten, but its croaking tells the hunter where to hunt for the larger variety. "Kings are betrayed by the smaller people around them."

100. Okafifi ta-tumine ondjaba.
The little wren sent the elephant.

"Even a servant can influence his master."

101. Omuhupi kalia embe, omule
A short man does not eat embe fruit, a tall man

kalia omanule.
does not eat unripe fruit.

Only a tall man is able to reach for the best fruit on a tree. "Although you go to the king's palace with a rich man, if you yourself are poor, you will receive nothing. To him who has, will be given."

102. Sa anjena onuato kasi kufua kenjala.
What defeats pincers is not removed by fingers.

"That which cannot be removed by pincers cannot be removed by the fingers." The Kuanyama make and use iron pincers to remove thorns from their feet.

103. Ngenge ta njengua ombua, omukongi
If thing defeats dog, hunter

okusisikula vali ito si hange,
follows it again never it reaches.

"If a dog is unable to catch the prey, the hunter likewise will never succeed, no matter how much he tries." This and the preceding proverb were explained as follows: "What defeats a king certainly will defeat an elenga [nobleman]."

104. To kuata momeva fimbo omafuma taai.
You are fishing in water which frogs have left.

After the rainy season the ponds in Ovamboland dry up until they are too shallow even for the frogs. "What you are doing is hopeless."

105. Totete omafuma kondobe.
You cut the frog from the pond.

Like a fish out of water. "You take a person away from the things he understands."

106. Okafifi ke-limumuka ei lako.
Small wren picks up egg his.

"Even the small bird rejoices over his egg, no matter how tiny it is."

107. Enongo ihai likalele.
A climbing plant does not stay alone.

"A person cannot remain alone in this world."

108. Omeva ihaelinjenge ehena kapuka.
Water does not move without an insect.

"A person is not cross without reason."

109. Uvelavela inga ngofi.
Many times you are sick otherwise you die.

"To be sick often is not dangerous."

110. Okuoko ihakulidi peteta.
Arms not taken away by woman's sexual organs.

"If your wife is unfaithful, it is not as bad as losing your arms." If your wife disgraces you, you should keep it secret.

111. Pahevela mbabi ingapatipite.
Tries duiker deer to escape.

"If you shout at your wife, she will run away."

112. Kamukueni nande kapa
Son of related woman, even give him

efima, linene okoina ngaho-takaji.
porridge, [when] big to mother he may go.

A Kuanyama kraal owner follows the custom of having youthful relatives, especially his sisters' sons, act as herd-boys. His own sons also take care of the cattle. "One should feed one's own son better than a boy who is a mere relative, for the relative, when grown-up, will leave the kraal and return to his mother."

113. Oudano ihauhanauka inaulififila kadu.
African "checkers" not break up before they fight.

"African checkers always ends in a fight."

114. Simbungu ngenge adikua elenge
Hyena if dressed in herdsman's hat

okenu hakatondoka.
goes to other kraals.

"If the hyena puts on the fancy hat of a head herdsman, he will be invited to visit other kraals." "Apparel of proclaims the man."

115. Okahaluni nopeumba lako.
Little squirrel in den his.

"A child in his own kraal will be naughty to strangers."

116. Inasilia ombua, omukongo okualonda.
Do not kill the dog, the hunter is up on the tree.

"A man and his wife may quarrel, and later the woman, still angry at her husband, might beat the children. She should not, however, since the husband may be within hearing distance."

117. Okavanda uhela habo takudungua.
Anthill where you go not pick mushrooms.

"You will not find mushrooms on the first anthill you encounter." The girl with whom you first bundle is not the one you will marry.

118. Omukulunu ihapuka mosipaxu.
A grown-up man is not lost among locusts.

"Even if an able man has many difficulties, people will say, leave him alone, he can take care of himself."

119. Kapena osikangua sihali ombija.
There is not a cracked pot which was not a good pot.

A cracked pot is something useless, like an old person. "Every old person was once a useful person, and therefore should be taken care of."

120. Okuhombola omupofi kadule
To marry a blind woman is better

omupombolume.
than to be a bachelor.

121. Sikokomena ihalukilua
A deaf and dumb person no one names for him

omona.
[his] child.

"No one names his child after a deaf and dumb person."
A namesake supposedly has the attributes of the person for whom he is named.

122. Hamuka ihajavala
A cutter of bush does not help

omukoki.
the gatherer of the bundles.

One man goes ahead and cuts the bush, another follows and picks up the sticks and makes them into bundles. "In

the olden days one nobleman [elenga] would not have felt sorry if another nobleman died or fell into disgrace." The Kuanyama nobility usually were chosen by the king for their ability, and they were not necessarily connected by blood ties.

123. Satunga dingili oudila vakuao
What is built [by] dingili bird others

kavesisi.
do not know how.

The dingili bird builds his nest of wild cotton. Only the dingili bird knows how to build his nest in this fashion. "One never knows of what another person is thinking."

124. Unjika iholudu.
If you smell badly you can't smell yourself.

"A bad man is not aware of his own wickedness."

RELIGIOUS PROVERBS

Although many of the old religious proverbs now frequently quoted deal with the nature of the High God (Kalunga or Pamba), many more such sayings were added with the coming of Christianity. The proverbs given below are said by the old men to be authentically pagan.

125. Enhombo hadi ombo omuti umue
The cattle shelter under tree same

na Pamba.
with God.

"The cattle shelter under the same tree with God." Cattle are sacred among the Kuanyama, although not to the same degree as among the Herero. Formerly sheep were the most sacred of the Kuanyama domestic animals.

126. Etango likulia ihali ku koja.
The sun [which] kills never you pass by.

"The sun which will kill you will never pass you by." The Kuanyama unconsciously identify Kalunga with the sun; both are the givers of life and death, and both move across the sky from east to west in daytime. The Kuanyama believe that a person's soul may be dragged down by the setting sun. The rising sun, however, is health-giving, and for this reason all the kraals face the east. "You will die on your appointed day."

127. Kalunga ailapu omnuuaje.
Kalunga took his soul [life].

This was said in the old days when a person died.

128. Ina joito ondjibololo;
The mother of pots is a hole in the ground;

ina jovanu Kalunga.
the mother of people is Kalunga.

Among the Kuanyama the women make their pots in holes which are covered over and thus sheltered from the wind. They say they do this so the pots will not crack. In this proverb Kalunga is called "the mother" of the people; usually he is thought of as male.

129. Omualikadi uakalunga oje ohengana.
The wife of Kalunga she[also] ran away.

If many wives have deserted their husbands in a particular district, the men there are consoled with this proverb.

130. Pamba iha jandje luvali.
God does not give twice.

"If a man is clever at raising cattle, he should not also try to be a good medicine man."

131. Kalunga ihakualelua tatenge,
God needs no help [when] he is cutting,

otumuningifa evongo.
you bend his way.

"God needs no aid when he cuts wood. May I cut likewise." This actually is a charm used in cutting wood.

132. Kalunga fulenge!
God blow me!

When a person gets something in his eye, he pulls down his eyelid and turns his eyes to the sky, asking God to blow out the particle.

133. Kalunga tupa odula!
God give rain!

In time of drought, sacrifice and prayer are offered to the ancestors, especially to the dead kings; Kalunga also is invoked.

134. Ovanu va 'Mbangu.
We are people of God.

During a severe thunderstorm the people invoke God under the name of 'Mbangu.

135. Kalunga ahanduka.
God is angry.

When there is much thunder and lightning during a storm the people believe that God is angry with them. They then rub their noses and foreheads with charcoal and throw the remaining charcoal outside their huts.

136. Se kupa Pamba, tambula
That given[by] God, take [with]
nomaoke avari.
hands two.

To take with two hands shows special gratitude. The Kuanyama usually receives presents with his right hand while his left hand rests on his right upper arm.

137. Onghuuo jepongo o Kalunga heitondoka.
Cry for help of poor man only God will help.

"When a poor man cries for help, only God will aid him."

Eumbo lakula kalipu valodi.
A kraal big is full of witches.

Hamupadi muene haje afulula ondjila.
Big feet owner does not disturb sand on way.

10. Ekuva nomomuhnete olatua;
An ax for the omuhnete tree is sharp;

"A person with a big nose does not necessarily sneeze; a person with big feet does not necessarily create a cloud of dust when he walks." A strong man may have a mild temper.

Ondjala nomomumati ojeama.
Hunger to young man feels it.

18. Ndili mekuma hifi ndjala;
I am in a cave [but] feel no hunger;

Ndili moitana jehove hifi ndjala.
I am a calf of an ox [but] feel no hunger.

"An ax always is sharp as far as the soft omuhnete tree is concerned; a young man is least able to bear the pangs of hunger."

11. Okadila kaenda apa, takati tui-tui!
A little bird flies up, says tui-tui!

"I am protected by a powerful man."

Etango laenda apa taliti,
The sun passes by, says

19. Okahuxuilo koje nande nakakle kaua
A small pot for urine your although it is good

tulaleni-tulaleni!
sleep well-sleep well!

kulilemo;
you cannot eat from it;

12. Efundja kalikungulula enenge;
The flood does not wash away the grass;

Mumuanjoko . nande nakale muua
Your sister even [if] she is beautiful

Ombelela janjina kaitokola elaka.
Meat fat does not break the tongue.

kumuhaele.
you cannot have sexual intercourse [with her] .

"If you speak a bad word, your tongue will not come out of your mouth."

13. Ohnutulia jangongola nositai;
A dove runs along on a branch;

20. Omukuku kauhokua ngoma;
The omukuku tree¹⁰⁹ does not make a drum;

Onako jangongola nomunino tondoka.
A ball of porridge runs along runs down the throat.

Ohamba jakula kaihongua ndunge.
King big hard to give him advice.

"The omukuku tree is too hard to be fashioned into a drum; a powerful king is difficult to persuade by advice."

14. Ekuju la-andamena kondonga;
The wild fig tree¹⁰⁸ leans to the south;

21. Omuheke apa ombuembuedu apa eheke;
Water hole here is sandy here is white sand;

Ovanu avese okefia vatalela.
People all death they face.

Osilongo apa efia kuinja oudano.
Country here[at] funerals there are dances.

The sand at water holes actually is dark, and not white. Dark is the color of mourning and black beads are worn as a sign of mourning. The people never dance at funerals. The riddle says, "If the sand were white at water holes, then the people would dance at funerals."

15. Metiti mualila osiua;
In the meat pot there is something good;

Medu muapiala ehamba.
In the ground there are buried the kings.

16. Osivanda onaili jedu;
An anthill [is] a walking stick of the earth

22. Ondjuuo jomomufitu kaipu edu;
Sleeping hut on sand is full of sand;

Oilemo ehnaku deulu.
Clouds [are] the sandals of the sky.

Omunu nande lifeta
Person even if he cleans himself

17. Hamujulu muene haje apemba;
Big nose owner does not sneeze;

kupu dilo.
cannot keep away the dirt.

¹⁰⁸ *Ficus capensis*, L.f.

¹⁰⁹ *Combretum imberbe* Wawra.

"If one's sleeping hut rests on sand, no matter how much one cleans himself he will still remain dirty." The sleeping hut usually has its floor and walls lined with clay from the anthills. The Kuanyama clean themselves daily with a mixture of millet meal and water. "If one goes with bad company, he himself will become contaminated."

23. Eti¹¹⁰ laua kembuela;
Eti falls down in Embuela;¹¹¹
- ndele nafie hatujoto;
and we get firewood;
- Etango lapita kousilo
The sun rises in the east
- ndele laminikila apese.
and sheds its light everywhere.

Owing to the shortage of wood, the Kuanyama at present are not allowed to cut down living trees in their own country. When a tree falls by itself, however, it may be used for firewood. This kind of a gift is compared, in the riddle, to the gift of sunlight.

24. Ekija lo mumbungululu latiula
Thorn of mumbungululu¹¹² sticks through
- etende tondjaba;
hoof of elephant;
- Ova uatenda mosivanda.
Mushroom comes out of anthill.
25. Samena osadia ketindi?
What grows from trunk of a tree?
- Ngege xo stokoka nave oso
If father is clever also [son] is
- tokala.
clever.

Compare "chip of the old block."

The following riddles (26-32) resemble our own: a question is propounded and an answer is expected.

26. Q. Tuakaxuikile Mutope.
We are going to burn Mutope.¹¹³
- Kapile.
He does not [burn]

- A. Omudidimbe.
A shadow.
27. Q. Tasili ekunde omulukunde
What eats beanstalk in beanstalk
- ngaho sili?
is in it?
- A. Kaume koje oje tekukengele.
Friend your he betrays you.

"What insect is in the beanstalk eating it up from the inside." "It is your friend who is living with you and betraying you at the same time."

28. Q. Okajumbo kambuletu kahupi
A little old man of far-off kraal is short
- kejadi omandjadia.
has many boils.
29. A. Euni.
The wild orange tree.¹¹⁴
- Q. Ndaile namukuetu koilongo,
I went with my friend to another country,
- ndemufijako.
and I left him there.

- A. Ohmadi.
A footprint.
30. Q. Haidongo¹¹⁵ nande mudehga,
Haidongo even if you beat him,
- nande kukula, otadija.
even if you cut him in pieces, he comes back again.
- A. Ehuiki.
The hair
31. Q. Sikunda ovaenda?
What greets visitors?
- A. Ohnu.
The kraal entrance.
32. Q. Omambale a Nangobe efike
The baskets of Nangobe are
- pamue.
equal in size.

¹¹⁰ The name of a large tree.

¹¹¹ A district.

¹¹² The name of the tree.

¹¹³ A personal name.

¹¹⁴ *Strychnos spinosa* Lam.

¹¹⁵ A name meaning something black.

- A. Edu neulu.
Earth and sky.

Nangobe is the father of the High God Kalunga. The word "nangobe" means "having cattle." Actually it is Kalunga

himself, in his role of Sun God, who is supposed to pass around the earth every day with two baskets. One basket contains millet meal and from it food is strewn to the deserving; the other basket supplies famine and sickness for the wicked.

ADDENDA

The following addenda to my collection of riddles have kindly been supplied by Archer Taylor, whose book on English Riddles has recently been published.¹¹⁶ The references here given are either from A. Pettinen, "Lieder und Rätsel der Aandonga," *Zum Eingeborenen Sprache*, 17: 202-230, 1926-1927, or from Taylor's own manuscript. The numbers at the beginning of each paragraph refer to the riddles in the present paper.

7. Pettinen, 3: "The chicken has passed through a hole and left behind it a feather. -- A person has passed out of this world, but he has left his name behind him."

9. Pettinen, 23: "An old kraal can never be without thorns. -- An old kraal can never remain without young girls."

10. Pettinen, 41: "The ax cuts into the amarula nut. -- Hunger is painful to a young man."

13. Compare "From knocking and thundering there rolled little balls along a wide board. On seeing the dawn, they jumped into the water. -- Dumplings" (Russian: Sadovnikov, 506). See Taylor, *English Riddles*, headnote to Nos. 489-490, sec. 4.

14. Pettinen, 39: "A little thorn bush on the meadow is full of pigeons. -- All human beings approach death."

A thorn bush on the meadow full of birds reminds one of a cemetery full of dead people.

15. This has a remote similarity to comparisons of a grave to a locked box by the roadside (Taylor, headnote to No. 1187) and to comparisons of a graveyard to something that eats meat but not bread (Taylor, headnote to No. 483).

19. Many riddles referring to the impossibility of marrying one's sister are collected in the headnote to Taylor, No. 1070. None, however, are closely parallel.

24. Pettinen 2: "An onjege thorn has stuck through the hoof of an elephant. --- A mushroom has broken through the back of an ant-hill." Big, white, edible mushrooms grow on anthills. Both possibilities are therefore unlikely. Taylor believes that this remark misses the point.

26. "A shadow does not burn." Compare "name does not burn," cited in the headnote to Taylor, Nos. 165-173, sec. 10.

28. For objects compared to a man with pockmarks see the headnotes to Taylor, Nos. 576-577.

31. Compare Pettinen 21: "When I arrive he is already laughing. --- The door."

32. African riddlers often call the earth and sky blankets or calabashes of equal size. See the headnote to Taylor, No. 1252.

¹¹⁶ *English Riddles from Oral Tradition*, Univ. Calif. Press, Berkeley, 1951.