Suriname folk-lore

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Plate I. At the Central Market-place, Paramaribo.

To FRANZ BOAS

Preface.

The field work from which the material in this volume derives was carried on in Dutch Guiana, South America, during the summers of 1928 and 1929, and included study of both the coastal Negroes and the Bush-Negroes of the upper Suriname River. Of the work among the latter group, only such results as deal with their folklore and their music, - the proverbs we recorded while among them, and the songs they sang into our phonograph, - are here given. The description of their culture, and the comparison of its elements with the cultures from which these originated, must be reserved for separate treatment. Except for Bush-Negro proverbs and songs, therefore, this work is concerned with the Negroes of the coastal region of the Colony, or, more strictly speaking, of the city of Paramaribo, where the greatest portion of the ethnological information, and the tales, were gathered. Relevant details bearing upon the manner of collecting the data are included in the notes which introduce each of the separate sections.

Our first field trip was made under the auspices of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences; our second under those of Northwestern University; and both were made possible by the generous support of Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons. It is a privilege to express here our deep appreciation to Dr. Parsons, not alone for this support, but for the initial indication of Suriname as a fruitful area for research into African survivals in the New World, and for the many suggestions concerning the handling of the data which she has given us. To Professor Franz Boas we are indebted for much that we can name - the endorsement of the Suriname project, its direct sponsorship, and counsel on method - and for much more that does not lend itself to enumeration, above all, the inspiration of his work.

Once in the field, we found a livery interest in our problem and a desire to help us achieve our aims. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the cordiality which the stranger meets in the Colony, for no effective work could have been done without the sympathy and cooperation of Whites as well as Negroes. His Excellency, Governor H.H. Rutgers, himself a scientist, and the Hon. Frans J.L. van Haaren, first Colonial Secretary and later, during our second visit,

Attorney-Generail of the Colony, extended to us all possible courtesies, both scientific and personal, while Mme. Gay Schneiders-Howard, Mrs. James Lawton, Miss L. Gans, Dr. P.W.H. Lampe, Mr. Alexander Woolf, Mr. J.W. van Lier, and many others, allowed us to share their knowledge of the customs and beliefs of the people we had come to study.

To our native informants, we record the gratitude that all fieldworkers must hold toward those who give them the information that is the basis of scientific work in anthropology, - a gratitude that is a primary obligation when, as in the case of many of those who worked with us, and whose names appear in the list of informants, we were permitted to share the beliefs which govern their inner lives. To all these, and to those whose names we have promised not to publish, - like the priestess of the *wɩnti*-dance we describe, and her group, - as well as to those others, more casually met, who gave us information of value, we add to our appreciation for their confidence regard for them as individuals. We should like, however, to name two of them here, - Frederik Bekker and Edwin Bundel. These men, who made the largest contributions to this work, were not only of invaluable assistance to us, but stood out among our native acquaintances for a fulness of knowledge of their own culture.

Many others have aided us in the prosecution of our research. Dr. Morton C. Kahn of Cornell University Medical College, whom we accompanied during our first summer in the Colony, gave us freely of his earlier experience in Suriname, indicating many short-cuts that greatly helped us in making the most efficient use of the time at our disposal. Furthermore, our good health during our field work in Dutch Guiana, and later in West Africa, we hold due in very large measure to his Spartan training in tropical hygiene. We also wish to express our gratitude to Dr. Charles G. Aars, of the Military Hospital in Paramaribo, and his colleagues, for their medical attention and friendly advice concerning life in the Colony; to Dr. Parsons and the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, for further grants which made possible the publication of the folk-lore and ethnographic notes in this volume; to the American Council of Learned Societies, for one grant which provided for the preservation of the wax phonograph cylinders on which our songs were recorded, and for another which supported the cost of printing the music contained in this work; to the Social Science Research Council of Northwestern University, for funds which aided the transcribing of the music and helped us in the task of working up our field notes; to Dr. M. Kolinski, for the care which he exercised in the difficult work of writing and analysing the music, and for the excellence of his transcriptions; to Dr. George Herzog and Miss Helen Roberts, for their suggestions and aid in assuring the correct translation of the technical musical terms from Dr. Kolinski's original

German manuscript; to Miss Dorothy Burdette, for the drawings of the kerchiefs we figure; to Mrs. P.H. Erbes, for assistance in the preparation of the manuscript; and finally to our friends, Jonkheer L.C. van Panhuys and the late Dr. H.D. Benjamins, for having read and commented on portions of this work before it was published, as well as for many other favors during the course of our investigation.

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Evanston, Illinois,
September, 1932.

Table of phonetic symbols

The phonetic system used to render *taki-taki* and the speech of the Bush-Negroes employs, with a few modifications, the symbols given in the Memorandum of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures on 'Practical Orthography of African Languages,' and in the American Anthropological Association's memorandum 'Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages.' For convenience, an outline of this system is given here.

Vowels

a, e, i, o, and *u*, have the so-called continental values.
ą, ę, į, ǫ, and *ų*, represent nasalisation of the above.
ɑ is English 'a' in 'hat'; nasalised, *ą*.
ɛ is English 'e' in 'met'; nasalised, *ɛ̨*.
ɩ is English 'i' in 'hit'; nasalised, *ɩ̨*.
ɔ, open 'o', has the sound of 'au' in English 'caught'; nasalised, *ɔ̨*.
ō, close 'o', is intermediate between 'o' and 'u'; nasalised *ǭ*.
ü, is German 'ü' as in 'spüren'.

Vowels are short unless followed by a dot *(a·)*, in which case a doubling is indicated.

Diphthongs

a̰i, a̰u, ḛi, o̰i, ɔ̰i; all of these may be nasalised.

Consonants

b, ch (as in English 'church'), *d, dj, dy, f, g, gb, gy, h* (as in English 'house'), *k, l, m, mb, n, ŋ*, (as English 'ng' in 'hang'), *ny, p, r, s, sh, sy, t, ty, v, w, x*, (as German 'ch' in 'ach'), *z*.

Tone (for *Saramaka tɔŋgo* only) is indicated as follows:
á, high, *a*, middle, *à*, low, *â*, high to low, *ă*, low to high, *ă*, middle to high, ***â***, middle to low, *â*, high to middle, *ă*, low to middle.

In the texts, the apostrophe is not a phonetic symbol, but indicates the elision of a letter or a syllable.

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Part I Notes on the culture of the Paramaribo Negroes

1. General Considerations

The Negroes of the city of Paramaribo, the capital of the Dutch Colony of Suriname, in South America, make these distinctions in the population of which they form a part; they differentiate the urban group, *foto suma*, which includes the people of the principal cities of the colony - Albina, near the border of French Guiana, Nickerie, near British Guiana, and Paramaribo itself; those who live on plantations and in the 'small bush' of the coastal fringe of the colony, and are called *pranasi suma*, - 'plantation people'; and, finally, those who are loosely characterised as 'Djukas'. This last group comprises three principal tribes of Bush-Negroes who inhabit the 'big bush' of the deep interior.[1]

The classifications made are not alone geographical, but racial as well, though the lines of racial demarcation do not follow closely those of the groupings we have just described. Thus, in this coastal area, there are Negroes, Whites, American Indians, Hindus, Javanese, Chinese. In the deep bush, with the exception of a few Carib and Arawak Indian bands, there are only the 'Djukas.'

Still finer classifications are made, - classifications that are mirrored sharply in the attitudes held toward those placed in the various divisions. For example, all Whites are *Bakra*, but there are important White people, *bɩgi Bakra*, and there are those who are merely *Bakra*; Chinese, Javanese, Hindu are all *Kuli* (coolie), though here, too, distinctions are made, so that the Hindu is often referred to as *Madrasi*, and the Chinese as *Sinese*. Indians are *ɩŋgi*, except in definite ritual possession by an Indian spirit, when reference is made to *Arawaki ɩŋgi* or *Krebisi ɩŋgi*, Arawak or Carib Indian. All Negroes are *Nɛŋgere*; but here there occurs grouping within grouping, - of color, of status, of place of habitation; and terms overlap, as for example when Negroes speak of a man as a 'Djuka,' meaning not a member of a Bush-Negro tribe at all, but someone, not an inhabitant of one of the three urban centers, who is skilled in the control of the supernatural.

1 In reality, 'Djuka' is the name of only one of these tribes, the other two being the Saramacca and the Boni. The Encyclopaedia van Nederlandsch West-Indië, (hereafter referred to as 'Encyc.') states, 'Die naam Djoeka wordt te Paramaribo ten onrechte soms gebruikt voor Boschnegers in het algemeen.'

Since the days of slavery, there has been no vast amount of crossing between the racial groups of the colony, and basically each lives its inner life without too much intimacy with, or interference from the others. In earlier times, the usual crosses between master and slaves were common, so that there is a considerable mulatto population in the coastal area. Today, with the ratio of Oriental men exceeding that of Oriental women, crosses do occur between them and women of the Negro group, but these are isolated instances, rather than the rule, and this is also true of Negro-Indian crosses. Those that occur most commonly are between Indian men and Negro women. Negroes have their names for all crosses, and, in the traditions of the colony, children born of such racial mixture enter into the Negro group.[1] A cross between a Negro and a Hindu is called *kabugru*, between a Negro and an American Indian, *basera˛lŋgi*.[2] A Negro-White cross, as elsewhere, is called a mulatto, and the gradations of color follow in terminology those used in the Caribbean Islands, but if the features of a child born of a Negro-White cross are distinctly Negroid, he is called *Nɛŋgere*. Crossing is not looked upon by the Negroes with much favor at the present time. The attitude toward it is reflected in such a town Negro proverb as, 'Greed makes her marry a mulatto,' and the satirizing which accompanies racial crossing when it does occur.

The life which we describe is centered largely in the southern portion of the city of Paramaribo, where the Negro population is concentrated. This does not mean that there are no Negroes living in other parts of the city, for there is no segregation of population groups. Indeed, we must make clear at the outset that in the general idiom of the colony, the term Negro - *Nɛŋgere* - relates to those who are either actually of full African descent, or who in appearance give the impression of being of full African descent, and to those, who, though showing some racial mixture, choose to be identified with this Negro group by adhering to the practices which distinguish the Negro population as such from the rest of the inhabitants of the city. All reference to the beliefs of the town Negro population must, therefore, be held as excluding those mulattoes and others, who, representing varying degrees of crossing with non-Negroid stocks, participate in the culture of the Europeans of the colony in dress, manner of living, and worship. Nor must it be assumed that there are no Negroes, in the Suriname sense of the word, who do not also live according to these patterns of

1 Thus, the grandchild of one of our acquaintances, herself a Negro, was the result of a Chinese-Negro cross, but was regarded as a member of his mother's group, the Negroes. This child is the one shown, with his grandmother, in Pl. II.

2 Encyc., however, p. 400, gives the name 'Karboeger' to a mulatto-Negro cross: 'De karboeger heeft dus drie vierden negerbloed.' 'Indiaansche karboegers' are also mentioned, the term being used as applicable to 'kruisingen van een indiaan en een negerin', or vice versa.

European life, nor that there is no marginal group of persons who, following the European form of life in externals, continue certain religious practices peculiar to the Negro group.

Again, it is to be emphasized that in singling out for description here those practices which individualize the Negro group from the rest of the population, it is not suggested that these urban Negroes have not incorporated numberless European and Indian traits into their patterns of life. For, in fact, all of the more generalized aspects of that life will tend, certainly in externals, to emphasize its European character. Where such acculturative elements impinge upon the customs described, mention is made of them.

There is yet another observation, which though implicit to the scientifically trained, would seem, nevertheless, to require explicit stating. For inferences have too frequently been drawn from descriptions of African and African-like customs of a fear ridden, superstition obsessed people who lead paranoiac lives because of the structure of their supernatural world. That such deductions are less than half truths is evident to those who study ritual not as material for cataloguing, but as something which illuminates the life and the values in life of the people investigated. The customs herein set forth fall into a rhythm of life that shows no greater pathological stresses than life lived in any Western World community. It cannot be pointed too sharply that the existence of ambitions, enmities and jealousies, and the range of antisocial expressions they seek, are not exotic facts; that the problems the Suriname Negro faces in pacifying his soul and his gods have been secularized by modern idiom into such rubrics as personality problems and the like; while it is also evident that the Western World does not wholly shun non-scientific remedies to cure diseases.

2. The Koto-Missi[1]

In contrast with the African life of the Bush-Negroes of the interior, the Paramaribo Negro, as seen on the street, is no more African than are the Negroes met with in the islands of the Caribbean Sea, or in the rural districts of southern United States. In dress the men conform to European modes; and though many of the women preserve in their style of clothing the voluminous skirts which have been worn in the colony for a century or more, these are today more often reserved for ceremonial occasions such as religious dances, traditional social dances staged against a personal enemy, and the dances in the market place. The older women can be heard deploring the changing times when they can no longer afford to buy the twenty-seven ells of material required for a proper costume, and have to resort to the use of twenty ells, and even less.[2]

1 cf. Morpurgo, *passim*.

2 The Dutch or Flemish ell is 27 inches. For several excellent photographs of *Koto-Missi*, taken some years ago, see Johnston, (I), pp. 114, 123, 124 and 128.

The name for this costume is *koto-yaki*, and in its more exuberant manifestations, it is one of the most picturesque elements in the gay panorama of the Paramaribo street. It is usually made of a cotton print, and elegance is achieved by having a matching head-kerchief, though a kerchief whose design and color harmonize with the figure in the cloth of the dress is also thought desirable. Contrast is not entirely disdained, however, so that a vivid green or purple kerchief, especially if of silk, is greatly prized. Its structure is complicated. The skirt reaches within an inch or two of the ground, and attains a circumference of more than five yards at the hem. It is made with a ruffle reaching twenty-seven inches, or more, downward from the waist and this is turned up and fastened with a draw-string about the waist-line, after a substantial pad has been attached at the back. This pad is called the *famiri*, the 'family'. The effect thus obtained is that of a very generous bustle, and the *famiri* is often identified with the European costume of the eighteenth century.

It must be recognised, however, that women in Africa are given to the use of draperies and padding about the waist to emphasize the broadness of hips and buttocks[1], and it may well be that in this, as in many other instances, the merging of two characteristics somewhat similar aboriginally has occurred to form a unified cultural trait in the civilisation of the Suriname Negroes. That this mode of dress does carry African values to the Negroes themselves, was brought out in the comment of Granman Moana Yankuso, late headman of the Saramacca tribe of Bush-Negroes, when he was discussing what he considered to be the demoralisation of the coastal Negroes. When Granman Yankuso spoke of 'demoralisation,' his meaning was 'de-Africanisation' or 'Europeanisation', and the fact that the *koto-yaki* is met with less frequently on the streets of Paramaribo was a prominent case in point adduced by him.

If the skirt shows a blending of African and European fashions, the blouse is European, for clothing the upper part of the body is, to the aboriginal African, a foreign conceit. This blouse is well-starched, and is often made as a bolero and worn over a white, collarless chemise in such a manner as to accentuate the fullness of the bosom. The sleeves are customarily of three-quarter length, and, on ceremonial occasions, two or more silver bracelets, hammered into the shape of coiled snakes, complete the costume, though a silver pin at the neck instead of a button to fasten the bolero is a very desirable addition, and shows a final stamp of elegance.

This costume, as mentioned, must be completed by a headkerchief, and here we touch upon a phase of dress which, existing as it does in some form wherever Negroes are found in the New World,

1 As we ourselves observed in Nigeria, Dahomey, and the Gold Coast of West Africa. See Encyc., p. 403 (Art. 'Klederdracht') for a discussion of this costume.



Plate II. A *Koto-mısi*.



Plate III. *Koto-mɪsi;* the *famiri*.

shows in one aspect, at least, definite African values. This aspect has to do with the naming of designs and of methods of tying these kerchiefs. The practice of naming designs is directly traceable to Africa. Rattray has published an elaborately detailed account of the names given to various patterns in Ashanti weaving[1], and this custom prevails in Nigeria and Dahomey, where we were able to substantiate the fact during field-work in these regions. The naming of the methods of tying head-kerchiefs is also West African, and this is something that has not, to our knowledge, been heretofore recognised. In Ashanti, we obtained over fifty proverb-names applicable to as many ways of tying head-kerchiefs, and we also obtained evidence that this practice exists, though in a more restricted form, in coastal Dahomey and in Western Nigeria.[2]

These kerchiefs are cotton prints, about a yard square, and of European manufacture, as is all cloth used by the town Negroes, who themselves do no weaving. Since the salability of a given kerchief depends upon the appeal to the imagination which the name given it will have for the potential buyers, the shopkeepers encourage women to come to them with suggestions for the naming of new designs.[3] These suggestions arise out of current happenings, with which old proverbs are associated for purposes of satire. Often one of these old proverbs is so paraphrased as to retain its basic form and meaning, and yet to include direct reference to such an event as is singled out for ridicule. Before illustrating this process, it must be added that a shop-keeper may himself select, from a list of proverbs kept by him, a name which he considers sufficiently evocative to ensure the profitable sale of a certain cloth, without consulting any of the townswomen. In instances where two shops having the same cloth for sale give two different names to the same design, the one which has broader innuendo, or has been named or bought by a woman of greater forcefulness of character, will prevail. We are, of course, dealing here with the same psychological phenomenon as in our own culture we identify with the word ‘fashion’. In Paramaribo, however, it is the manner of wearing the kerchief that is relatively stable, and the element of change lodges in the African relish for ridicule as this is brought into play by the use of a traditional saying, which, commenting upon a current happening, is associated with a given kerchief design. It is not uncommon for a woman to have as many as one hundred of these kerchiefs, and these, in many instances, constitute her essential wealth. In the

1 R.S. Rattray, (I), pp. 234-250, and figs. 126-137.

2 Whether the inner significance given to kerchief designs and methods o tying by these West African peoples and the Suriname town Negroes is to be met with in other regions of the New World where Negro women wear head-kerchiefs cannot be said at the present time. It is a point well worth investigating.

3 A design-name, when determined upon, is printed and displayed with the cloth for sale. We reproduce such an advertising device in Plate XI.

days before prints came to be accepted, kerchiefs and often *koto-yaki*, as well, were made of white cotton cloth on which designs were embroidered in colors. These hand-embroidered kerchiefs are today still very much valued, and, should an owner be prevailed upon to sell one, - this rarely occurs, - such kerchiefs bring higher prices than new ones which can be bought at the shops.

The proverbs selected for kerchief names touch largely upon situations arising out of the relationships between men and women. An example will make this clear: It is said that some years ago, a man of official rank in the church was recalled from the colony because of gossip which connected his name with that of a woman in the city. The town Negroes, who enjoy comment on the vagaries of the White people of the colony, took occasion, under the protection of the *double entendre* which is part of the African character of these proverb-names, to make popular a kerchief with this saying: 'All bush animals eat (steal) cassava, but only the rabbit has the name for doing it.'[1] Though the situation afforded them amusement, there was yet sympathy for the man who was being punished for a failing which so often goes unpunished. Another of these proverb-names given to a kerchief is: 'When the cow has eaten, she must give the horse the right to graze.'[2] This saying was related to an occurrence which took place among the Negroes themselves. A woman who had lived with a man for many years, found herself deserted in favor of a young girl who had taken her man's fancy. This woman was ill, and the feeling, while one of commiseration with her, was not one of sympathy, since it was felt that, having had her day, she should step aside.[3] Yet another kerchief-name which had a great vogue is: 'Anansi is cunning, yet today the Tiger rides him.'[4] This saying comments on the experience of a Negro editor who had resorted to free criticism in his paper for many years, and on one occasion was disciplined for some especially daring comment. Another, named 'Anansi climbed the thorny palm-tree,'[5] describes the fate of a Negro who escaped punishment for the sharp practices he carried on over a long period of years, until one day he was apprehended and imprisoned. One kerchief-name comments on the adventures of an officer's wife with an ice-man: 'The attraction of the *Iceko* (Ice Company) caused the officer's wife to lose the way to her house.'[6] In its structure, this last proverb represents one of the forms met with again and again in the naming of these kerchiefs; examples of the way in which

1 Taki-taki proverb No. 83.
2 Taki-taki proverb No. 18.
3 The reasons for the excess of Negro women over men in Paramaribo will be discussed later.
4 Taki-taki proverb No. 115.
5 The first line of the verse which constitutes taki-taki proverb No. 10.
6 Taki-taki proverb No. 17.

this is paraphrased may be seen in the proverbs that appear in the pages devoted to them.

Not all kerchief names need be derived from proverbs; a word or a phrase may suffice. The chief requirement for the name, be it proverb, phrase, or word, is that it evoke a situation that lends itself to lampooning. Two of these names, not derived from proverbs, may be given here as illustrating this point, and these were the names of the two kerchiefs in greatest demand at the time we were in Paramaribo. One was named 'Porcupine',[1] and the other, 'Bushmaster'.[2] Both of these touched upon the difficulties which arose between two women who had been living together in the institutionalised form of sexual inversion found among the Paramaribo Negroes.[3] After thirteen years of this relationship, one of them formed an attachment for a young boy, and there were quarrels and threats of black magic. The choice of the kerchiefs involved partisanship as well as amusement at the occurrence. Another non-proverbial kerchief name was *kabugru uru*, 'brown girl wanton'.

It should be remarked that, with rare exceptions, there is nothing in the design that gives the observer a clue to its name, for the relationship between design and name is an entirely arbitrary one. The figures in themselves may be non-realistic geometric designs consisting of stripes or squares, or they may be flowers. Only in two instances where names took their meaning from the fact that the kerchiefs were brilliant red in color, and nothing more, did we come upon cloths bearing names suggested by the designs themselves, and in such instances there were no associations between the cloth and an occurrence to be commented upon. One of these kerchiefs was named *fiamɪngo*, 'flamingo', and had large yellow flowers on a red background, and the other was called *fa̰ia-lɔbi*, a name given to a red flower common in Paramaribo.[4] We give illustrations[5] of a few of these kerchiefs already tied, and of the patterns of the kerchiefs employed.

To tie a kerchief requires skill, and though at puberty a girl is expected to know a few ways of tying, it is only the older women who are adepts at it. Before a kerchief can be tied, it must be washed and well starched. The tying is done on the head, before a mirror, and even the skilled woman takes as long as ten minutes to do this. Once tied and with the ends pinned into place, the kerchiefs are treated as hats, that is, they are put on for going to market and for visiting. At home, a woman wears no kerchief at all, or she may wear an old unstarched bit of cloth carelessly tied about her head.

1 *Djɪndja-maka*.
2 *Maka-sneki*.
3 See below, pp. 32ff.
4 Encyc., p. 390, gives this as *Ixora Coccinea* L.O. Fam. *Rubiaccae*, a plant indigenous to the East Indies, prized for its flowers in Suriname.
5 Plates VI-X.

Women never appear on the street bare-headed,[1] even though, as in Africa and elsewhere in tropical lands, burdens are carried on the head.

If the names of the kerchief designs may be said to derive from the happenings of the world in which the Paramaribo Negro moves, the names of the manner of tying can be said to be related to the mood of the wearer herself. Thus, one type of tying is called *trɔbi*, 'trouble'. The kerchief, folded into a triangle, is arranged carefully in front, but the ends hang loosely in back. This at once characterises a bad tempered woman, who is to be avoided if there is to be no quarrelling; and when women skilled in magic tie their kerchiefs in this way, they are approached with the greatest tact. When we saw quarrelling women in the streets, it was remarkable in how many instances their kerchiefs were tied with flapping ends. The implication of the flapping ends is that the wearer is indifferent to what people do or say, 'all the evil wishes are spoken to the wind, and all evil the wind will blow away.' Another style of tying is given the designation of '*wakti mi na tap'-uku*, - wait for me on the corner.' A kerchief so tied has a straight line in back, and a slight opening to one side, and is considered a signal to men, though only for a comparatively harmless flirtation. While we have reason to believe that the men know the significance of most of the tying styles, one man, commenting on this particular style when he saw it on the street, observed that all men know kerchiefs whose significance is of this order. Another of this general category of loosely-tied kerchiefs is called *motyo-ɛde*, 'prostitute', and is the kerchief of a loose woman. It is tied so that there is a short straight line in back, which symbolizes a road, and a large opening with loose ends to indicate that the men are to follow her, and 'be at home'. Still another is made to resemble a fan in back. Its name is '*Yu ką wa̧i yu wɩnti lɔntu foto, ma mi no sa dra̧i baka*, - You can fan your breath around town, but I will not return.' It is worn to express a woman's sentiments toward a man with whom she has quarrelled and whom she has left, and bodes hini no good. One kerchief has a small plaited end to represent a fan, and carries the name, '*Yu lɔbi na mą̀n, a no lɔbi yu*, - You love the man, but he does not love you (as yet)', and this style of head-dress signifies that the wearer is fanning some man's emotions, so that he might notice her. A way of tying kerchiefs which, it was said, is very old, is called *broko hɛde*, 'broken head'. A kerchief tied in this manner used to be worn by young girls as a sign that they had already had sex relationship, but today this style is not much worn. The complement to this is the method of tying known as *yungu-me̯idjɛ hɛde*, 'young girl's head', where all loose ends are tucked in, and a girl wearing it is marked as a virgin, - to be specific, it was said that 'this kerchief

1 The hair is worn in small braids, but there is not the variety of styles of braiding that is met with in the bush, where kerchiefs are not worn by the women.

is worn before a girl has a man, to show that she is ready for one.' One style of kerchief-tying is done in a fashion called *frɪnskap*, 'friendship' (really 'love'). At the back this has two open corners but no flapping ends; one of the open places represents the woman, the other the man, and the knot made in the center of the design stands for the woman's heart, open to him. When worn, this style signifies that the wearer's love for her man is reciprocated. Other styles are *brasa mi trąŋga*, 'hug me tight'; *yu sa si mi baka*, 'you will see me again'; *boto ɛde*, 'boat'; *dɔksi tere*, 'duck's tail'; *dagu tere*, 'dog's tail'.

3. Daily Life

Whatever phase of the culture of the town Negroes is selected for study, it soon becomes apparent that those elements in it which make the life of this group distinctive from that of other groups in Paramaribo are discernible chiefly in the behavior of the women rather than in that of the men. This may be said, at least in part, to be the reflection of the preponderance of women over men in the Negro population of the city, and this in turn may be related to the economic life of the colony, especially to the sex division of labor, which allows the man to range far in search of work, while the woman sells in the local market, or finds work in the city as a servant. The effect of this is that the greater degree of acculturation to the forms of behavior set down by the dominant White race is found among the Paramaribo men, as it is found among Negro men everywhere in the New World, and consequently, such Africanisms as have been retained are almost wholly in the custody of women, and through the women are passed on to the succeeding generations.

This does not mean that the men are not entirely at home among the Africanisms of Paramaribo Negro culture, nor that if they live to be old men they will not assume their role of guiding the young in the traditions of the group, and passing on their personal spirits to male relatives, who in their youth will be as lax in worshipping them as they themselves had been. These younger men, furthermore, even though away from home, carry with them the spiritual protection against evil magic given them by the local diviners, and once at home again, if ill, they will go to a diviner as well as to the hospital for treatment.

Where do the men go to find work? They are off in the bush 'bleeding' balata. They work in the bauxite mines at Moengo and elsewhere in the Colony. They act as guides for those who prospect for gold. They work wood, or become boatmen in the lower river trade. They man the small railway that runs into the interior, or they travel to the French and British colonies to get work, or range farther to Curaçao and Trinidad, the Windward Islands, and even to Harlem in New York. Those few who find work in Para-

maribo itself act as servants to Whites and well-to-do mulattoes, they are the fishermen, they are clerks in stores, they run errands, they make copra, do carpentry work, become policemen, join the local army, and those few who have the ambition and the financial means to gratify it, study for the professions. In the main, however, the view is that men do better away from home than at home, and it is understandable that as a result of this travelling, the traditions in which the men were reared become weakened in performance, if not in sanction.

Yet another factor must be considered in understanding the importance of women as the carriers of this culture. Though a child may take his mother's name or his father's, it is with the mother's family that he identifies himself most closely, and it is his maternal relatives who will come to his aid when he is in difficulty. It cannot be said that this matter of tracing descent through the mother is as sharply adhered to as it is among the Bush-Negroes, yet it is nevertheless manifest in the Paramaribo Negroes' attitudes toward their maternal relatives, and in the belief that if a maternal relative is not given help when in need, the ancestors will be angered, and will seek vengeance.

One of the occupations followed by men, which does include ceremonial practices that derive from traditional African sanctions, is that of fishing. Fishing is done in boats manned by eight and more men, who go out after dark, and return before dawn with their catch. When the men have been successful, they can be heard singing on the river in praise of the sacred *Dagowe* snakes in whose power lies good or bad fortune for them. There are places in the river which are known to be inhabited by the *Dagowe*, - stretches of fast water, eddies, whirlpools. There, once a year, the fishermen bring offerings of rum and eggs to propitiate these spirits. This yearly sacrifice does not always suffice, for it often happens that the catch continues poor for successive weeks, and this is to be directly ascribed to the *Dagowe*, who, because they are offended, have withdrawn their favors. New offerings of rum and eggs are then given the *Dagowe*, and prayers are spoken, asking forgiveness for any unwitting offence, and asking, too, for renewed friendliness in providing an abundant catch.

When a sea-cow, as the manatee is called, is caught, a special dance called *Kauna*[1] is given to honor its spirit.[2] If, while the men are fishing, a manatee appears, disappears, and appears again, the

1 For examples of the songs to which these dances are danced, see Nos. 235-239, 244, 246.

2 This is a translation into the field of fishing of the wide-spread African custom of propitiating the spirits of certain animals which are killed, lest harm come to the hunter and those who partake of the kill. An account of this custom in the Gold Coast will be found in Rattray, (I), ch. ix, pp. 182-186. On the Suriname plantations a similar ceremony is held when a tapir is killed.

men taunt it to make it the easier to catch, and call out, '*Kaụ bɪgi mɔro yu!* - The cow is bigger than you!' and the manatee, who is thus incited to come back again to prove that this taunt is not true, is then caught.

'It's lucky, when they catch a manatee. They play music all night. The music is called *Kauna*, the same name as the drum.' The *Kauna* drum is oblong, and is played at both ends as it hangs suspended by a cord about the player's neck. 'If they would not play music, and have the feast, the house would burn down.' The 'feast' consists of a broth made with the head of the manatee and liquor. The dancing is done with the dancers either standing or squatting against a wall, or leaning seated against a table, and both men and women participate, though not necessarily in couples. The hands and feet beat time, the body moves rhythmically, so that the muscles of the buttocks are in motion, and the dancers go through the motions of coitus.[1] We were assured that only the 'low' people participate, and it was characterised as 'bad' dancing. This *Kauna* dance (or *Kawina*, as it is at times pronounced) has a social character as well as a ritualistic one, and, as such, it is held on Saturday nights, whether a manatee has been caught or not. In addition to the recorded songs for this type of dance, we append the following further examples:

(1)
So mi yɛre Kauna 'ɛ bɔro
So mi yɛre Kauno 'ɛ lolo

So I hear Kauna is *bɔro*,[2]
So I hear Kauna is rolling.

(2)
Sɪneki beti mi,
Mi si wɔrɽn, mi frede.[3]

A snake bit me,
I see a worm, I am afraid.

(3)
Sani mɔro Abane
A no mąŋ kɽ,
A no mąŋ go.

Hard times have come to Abane
He cannot come
He cannot go.

1 Our stay in Paramaribo coincided with the season of the sacred dances, so that we were unable to be present at a *Kauna* dance to verify this description.
2 Untranslatable.
3 This was also recorded as a proverb (*taki-taki* proverb No. 42).

(4)
Bɔrgu, są mi kɛ?
Bɔrgu, są mi kɛ?
Dagu dɛ bari,
A no ką beti mi
Bɔrgu, są mi kɛ?

Fellow, what do I care?
Fellow, what do I care?
The dog barks,
He cannot bite me
Fellow, what do I care?

From the manatee itself is extracted what was described as ‘a big seed inside its belly as large as an apple’. This is dried, divided into four parts, and put into ‘high-wine’, - strong liquor. This mixture, which is white if the ‘seed’ has been dried in the sun, and black if it has been dried in smoke, is drunk by men to give them virility, and the immediate effect when it is drunk is to cause the veins to swell. The virility that is attained, however, is specious in character, since drinking the fluid is said to induce impotence, and a woman who discovered that her man used this would ‘summons him’ to the doctor. This mixture, when drunk, is also supposed to give great physical strength, for a man who takes it ‘will be able to knock down a person with his bare fists.’ Boys are given a little of the mixture in water, not rum, as soon as they begin to eat solids, and this is repeated several times a year to insure their ‘strength’, until puberty, when the practice is discontinued.

Other than in fishing, however, the occupations of the men do not bite deeply into the non-European sanctions of the life of the people.

Let us see what obtains among the women. What is the nature of their work? their relations to one another? their place in the family organisation and economy? What are the customs, peculiar to these urban Negroes, that flow through the women, and that they preserve both for themselves and the men to participate in?

For the women, the market is the most important element in their economic life. There are two principal markets in the city of Paramaribo, though other small ones are scattered at strategic places along the railway into the interior. Here the women buy and sell, and it is only rarely that a man is found behind the low-set boards on which the wares are displayed.[1] Early in the morning, the women can be seen on their way to market, carrying on their heads trays of foodstuffs and other wares. In one market they sell salt-fish, considered a great delicacy, chickens and produce, condiments of all sorts, white chalk, which is used for ceremonial

1 The African aspect of this trait of Paramaribo culture is obvious. In all West Africa it is the women who, in overwhelming proportion, are the venders in the markets.



Plate IV. A market-scene in Paramaribo.



Plate V. Negro and Hindu women in the Market.

purposes, yams, rice, cassava, plantains, peanuts *(pɩnda)*,[1] fruits, peppers, greens, melons; in the second, notions, cloths, china, cutlery, pottery. There is specialisation both in markets and in the articles sold by each woman, and the women keep their habitual places in the market, and sell their habitual wares. In pottery there is also specialisation, for there are two kinds; the Indian *prapi* (red ware), which is used in the daily life, and the black 'Djuka' pots, used for ceremonial purposes.

In the produce markets are held the dances in worship of the spirits which rule trade. The principal dance for this is the *banya*, participated in by those who are engaged in trade in any form, whether it be in the market or in a shop. Women who themselves are not traders dance to these spirits to propitiate them in behalf of their men who may be engaged in trade, and this is one occasion when women from the plantations come to the city for ritual purposes. For, as we shall see later, the townspeople on occasion seek freedom from official restrictions that stand in the way of following the full traditional ritual by going to the plantations or to clearings in the bush, where they can dance as the gods who possess them dictate.

Life in the Negro quarter of the city may be said to be lived in the *dyari*, - the yard, or compound. The dwellings of the quarter which lie closest to the heart of the city are flanked on the street side by shops, or by houses which stand so close together that there is but room between them for a narrow passage which leads into the yard. This passage, which at times is a short alley, is entered by a gate or door. Farther away from the center of the city, however, the houses are no longer so closely grouped, until when the outskirts of the city are reached, the aggregate of cabins, still conforming to the yard pattern, are grouped about a large clearing, though each is placed a fair distance from the other, with the entire complex facing on this clearing, but surrounded by open country and intersecting roads. It is clear that in the outlying districts, at least, what grouping of cabins there occurs about such a clearing is not the result of the need for crowding, but occurs because of the distaste for living in isolation. A cabin standing withdrawn from the road, and alone, is but rarely met with, and where such a one is seen, it is as often as not inhabited by a diviner, or a practitioner of magic. In the view of the people, isolation is not for the timid, and when met with, it bespeaks such assurance in the control of the supernatural that the inhabitants of an isolated house are treated with exceeding circumspectness. In the idiom of the people, 'You walk softly with them.'

Few of the houses, wherever located, are more than one story high, and fewer yet, whether facing a street or not, contain more than two rooms. A yard may have as few as two or three cabins, or as many

1 From Kongo *mpinda*, as given in Bentley, p. 11.

as will permit the housing of ten or more families. When the yard holds but few cabins, and the owner is well-to-do and himself occupies the house which fronts the street, the yard cabins may accommodate members of his own family, - an old mother may occupy one of these cabins, and a sister and her children another. The large yards may be surrounded by individual one- or two-room cabins, or there may be several of these small cabins, and in addition, one or two long single-story buildings, one room deep, divided into separate compartments, each of which has only one door which opens into the yard. There is, of course, no uniformity in the construction of these houses. Some are built level with the ground, and some are built on piles; a few may have glass windows, while others only have openings cut into the walls, which at night are closed with shutters to keep out the feared night air. Some houses may have individual verandas; others may have parapets built to enclose the several steps which lead to the door of the cabin built on piles.

Practically all the single-room cabins have attics, which are entered by ladders reaching to trap-doors. In these attics the family wealth is stored, - the woman of the house keeps a cannister there, or a box holding her kerchiefs, her *koto-yaki*, her beads, her bracelets; or there may be some heirloom, often kept for luck rather than for its intrinsic worth. The man places his cannister or box containing his holiday clothes there, if he is not away from home, or else leaves behind in this attic those of his keep-sakes he does not take with him, though if his mother is still living, he may prefer to leave them with her. The room itself contains a table and perhaps two or three chairs, although any convenient box in the yard, or a log lying on the ground is preferred for relaxation. The walls may be bare, or papered entirely or in part with newspaper, and as many colored lithographs as the owners have been fortunate enough to collect are hung. A well-to-do home may have a cabinet for bric-a-brac, jars, bottles, and brightly colored boxes. Either hammocks about which mosquito nets are slung, or mats which are spread on the floor, or beds, are used for sleeping, but the latter are but seldom found in the single-room cabins. A typical cabin is no larger than ten by twelve feet in size, and may accommodate as many as five people. This, of course, means that these five people sleep there, for during the day the adult men and women are away working, and the children are either at school or at play in the yard. Cooking is seldom done indoors. Each family has a coal-pot or a hearth made of stones, and there the food is cooked, for these cabins have no chimneys, and except when the weather is inclement, the smoke is kept out of the cabin. There is a well in the yard, and there may also be a ‘cook-house’ with an oven for baking which is for the use of all who live in the yard. Food consists principally of roasted or boiled plantains and stews in which a bit of salt-fish or meat is added to rice and okra, or to rice and the varieties of

beans and peas which grow in Suriname, mixed with the peppers without which no dish is complete.[1] An equally favored way of preparing food is to shape it in small cakes, and wrap it in banana leaves, in which it is cooked. *Akąnsą*[2], the cakes made of pounded corn, and wrapped in banana leaves, *asogri*,[3] the cakes of pounded corn made with sugar and raisins, *dokụn*,[4] pudding made of bananas, young corn, or peanuts, highly seasoned, and wrapped in a banana leaf, *tọmtọm*,[5] a heavy pudding made of pounded bananas, (of the consistency of dumplings) *fufu*, and boiled plantains, are some of these dishes. The first two of these are used ritually, since they are included in practically all offerings to the spirits, and to the third we have frequent reference in the folk-tales, where the young man setting out to seek his fortune provides himself with *dokụn* for the journey.

In the yard itself, the very young children seldom wear clothing, and even the dress of the older ones is likely to be sketchy. The women working about the yard go barefoot, and wear their oldest dresses, which are usually one-piece cotton garments, for the *koto-yaki* is not a work-dress. Unless there is quarrelling, the yard is markedly quiet during the day. It is at night that life is lived, and it is then that gossip is liveliest. Those men who are at home lounge about, sitting on the steps which lead to the cabins, and the women are with them. One group may be telling Anansi stories, the listeners joining in the accompanying songs, and each story-teller vying with his neighbor to show how many tales he knows. There may be a quarrel, or a wake which brings many people to the yard, and keeps its inhabitants from sleep the night through. If a priestess is numbered among the people who live there, and it is the time for dances to the gods, all must be got in readiness for the ceremonies, until finally the dances themselves occupy the people's time. Ordinarily, however, long before midnight the yard is quiet, and all are asleep.

A family considering the renting of a vacant cabin in any of the yards, makes inquiries concerning the ‘luck’ of that particular yard. The word ‘luck’ involves the question whether there is a sacred tree in the yard in which a *Lɛba* spirit lives; whether there is a snake which makes its home in the yard and brings good fortune

1 This type of dish also is a staple in West Africa, especially when seasoned with very generous portions of native peppers.

2 Cf. Encyc., p. 35. *Akansa*, made in the same way as described here, only served in round portions, is an important dish in Dahomey. In Haiti, *acasan* is the term for this dish, which like in Dahomey and Suriname, is employed in religious rites. For *acasan* in Haiti, see E.C. Parsons, (I), p. 173. The term *akasa* is also found in Eastern Nigeria to designate this dish, according to N.W. Thomas (II), ii, p. 191.

3 Encyc., p. 59.

4 Encyc., p. 273.

5 Encyc., p. 683; ‘Het woord is aan het Tsji *toem-toem* ontleend...’

to all who live there; whether there are practitioners of bad magic to make trouble for the inhabitants; whether some deed has been committed in the cabin to be rented which might cause it to be haunted by a ghost or by a bad spirit. If the prospective occupants find the answers propitious, they make preparations in their old home for moving. Most important of all is the ceremony of asking the souls, - particularly the souls of the children - to follow the family to the new quarters. An offering is usually also given to the local earth spirit, - the *grǫn mama* of the yard - to ask it to befriend the newcomers. If the family had been harrassed at the old location, or had prospered there, a diviner is consulted, - in the one instance, to tell how to evade the bad spirits so that they will not follow the family to the new yard, and in the other, how to propitiate the good ones so that they may continue their goodwill. Not all will take recourse to divination for so simple a matter as changing living quarters, but all will seek for proper omens when making their choice.

4. Marriage and Divorce

The social organisation of Paramaribo Negro culture, strictly speaking, does not center about the compounds which we have described, for it is not the rule for the grouping of father, mother, and children to live in the same compound as those related to them. As a matter of fact, in its outward manifestations, there is not much difference between the family as constituted in Paramaribo among the Negroes and among the Europeans. Residence, in the main, is away from the parental home, a new couple going off to a compound where the relatives of neither live, to make their home. But when such matters as the ways of getting a mate, the attachments which characterise these family groupings, and the manner in which matings are ruptured are considered, certain features distinctive of this Suriname town-Negro culture appear.

The idealised manner in which a man goes about getting the girl of his choice for a wife, is given with the full reservation that it does embody an ideal, which is honored as often in the breach as in the performance.[1] In this ideal situation, the man who is attracted by a girl, sends his mother and a maternal aunt or uncle to the parents of the girl of his choice. When the two families satisfy themselves of the desirability of the marriage, the man is permitted to court the girl openly. This courtship extends over a period of not less than six months, - in some instances it has been known to last a year and more. During this period, gifts

1 The first account of such a courtship was supplied us, indeed, by a woman who was to our own knowledge fantasying, for, young as she was, her experiences with men had taken her through some four semi-permanent matings. The existence of the ideal, however, is of ethnological importance.

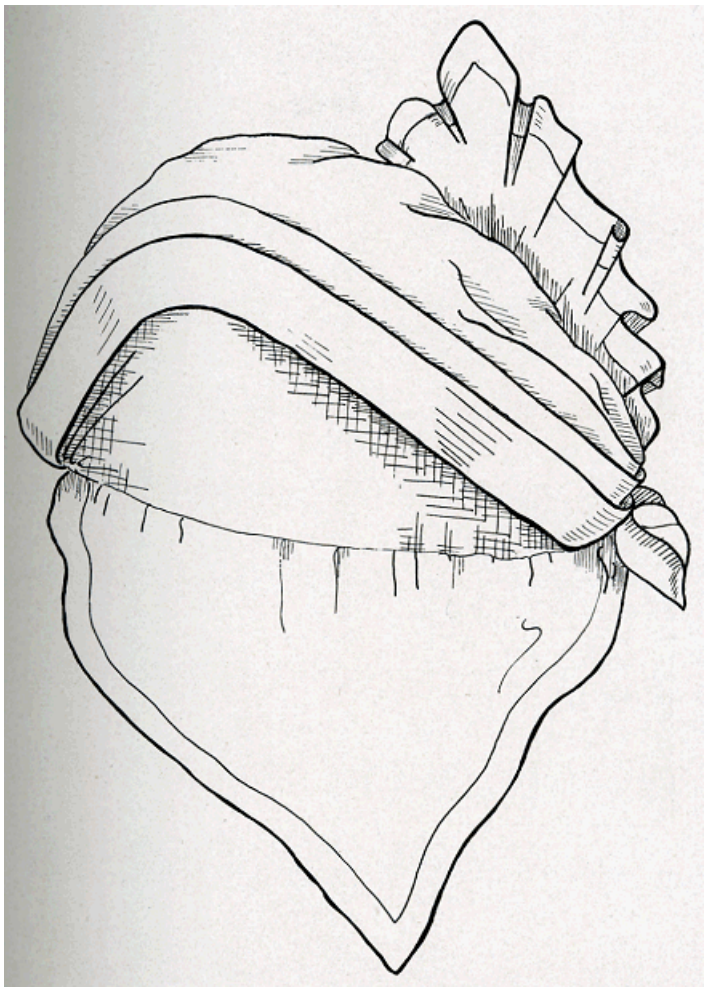


Plate VI. Head-kerchief, front view.

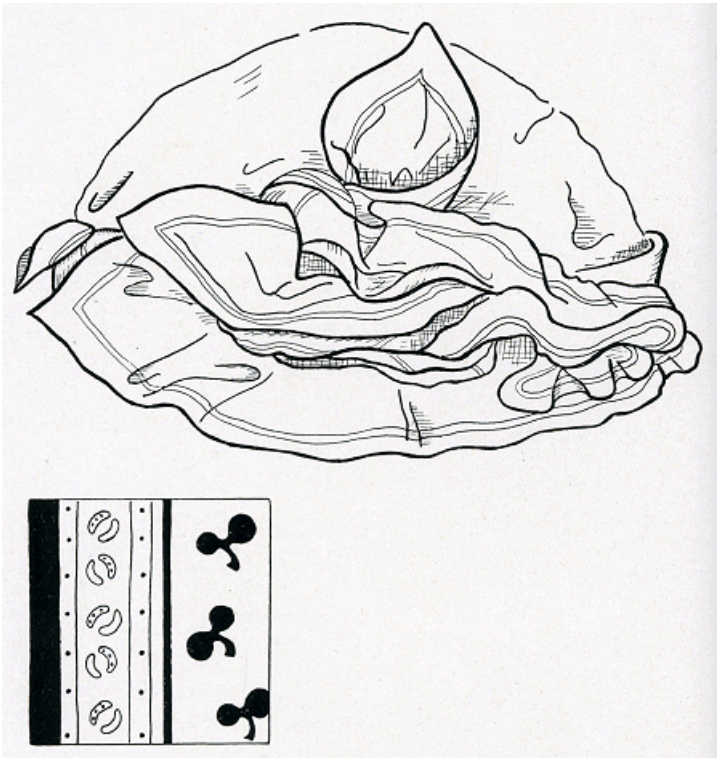


Plate VII. Name of pattern, *Maka sneki;* name of tying, *Boto hɛdɛ*.

are made by the young man to the girl and to her mother and father, and, if the parents do farming, they make use of their privilege to call on their daughter's fiancé to help work their field. Any social functions, such as ceremonies for the individual souls of the principal members of the girl's family, are attended by the young man. If a death occurs in either family during that interval, attendance at the funeral and wakes is obligatory, and presents must be given.[1] If a *wɩnti*, a god, troubles a member of the girl's family with demands involving an expenditure beyond the means of the immediate family, and contributions are called for from relatives, good form requires that the suitor also make some contribution. In return, the man enjoys the right to share the meals of the girl's family whenever he comes to the house, though as a discreet suitor, he does not impose too greatly on this prerogative. The ‘church marrying’ need not take place when the marriage is consummated, if the couple do not have enough money to meet the expenses of the marriage fee and the marriage-feast and dance that go with the performance of a ‘White man's marriage’.

In reality, though all matings conform to this pattern to some degree, the whole of it is rarely carried through. What generally obtains is that a man and a woman decide to live together and establish their household in a one-room cabin in one of the yards. To the extent to which they are anxious to stay on good terms with their respective families, they will make gifts, and go through as many of the requirements of the ideal condition outlined above as is necessary, or as they can afford. The dearth of men in the colony, because of the operation of the economic factors we have discussed, allows the burden of marriage to rest but lightly on the men. Thus a mature woman, who is well established in the market and has means of her own, may take a fancy to a younger man and support him until such time as she discovers that he has formed an attachment for a younger woman. An older, well-to-do man, who may have gone through a marriage which had followed closely the lines of the approved form of courtship and a marriage ceremony, may choose, in addition to his legal wife, a young girl with whom he has a family under a free relationship. In some respects this may be said to follow the African pattern of polygyny which obtains at the present time among the Bush-Negroes of the colony. Such a mating, however, is not wholly sanctioned by the community, and the relationship resembles similar ones which occur among the monogamous Europeans. Thus, the term *dɔro-seệi pikin*, ‘outside children’, - that is, illegitimate offspring - is applied to the children of such matings, though no stigma attaches to these children

1 In Dahomey, this duty of attending the funeral of the father or mother of his fiancée or wife is the first duty of the engaged man or son-in-law toward the woman, and should this duty be neglected, the engagement is broken or divorce pronounced, as the case may be.

in the community in which they live their lives. Indeed, though the sanctioned pattern calls for a legalised wedding, the real emphasis is more on the prestige given by the wedding feast, with the display of wealth it entails, than on the legalising ceremony itself. Not very many such weddings take place, and it is not too rarely that one occurs after the pair to be married had lived together long enough to have children of their own, or even grandchildren, for wedding attendants.

Yet, though matings which are legal from the point of view of the law of the colony are far from the rule, the use of the term ‘marriage’ to describe the matings among the Paramaribo Negroes is ethnologically none the less valid. If marriage is defined as a socially sanctioned mating, then innumerable instances of non-legalised matings as secure, as long-lived, and as socially honorable as any performed in church or registry office can be found among the Negro community of Paramaribo. These are marriages where many of the requirements of the ideal way of getting a mate have been carried out, where the man and woman have lived together on good terms with each other and their respective families, and where their children have held together as a recognised unit in the social whole. No definite marriage ceremony precedes such matings, though during the year there may perhaps be ‘birthday parties’ for the young couple, and they may, if they can afford it, *gi tafra* - ‘provide food’, - for their souls, so that these may live together amicably.

Relationships, once established, may be dissolved as a result of the operation of several factors. A man and woman may get on badly because they had unwisely disregarded that they were both born on the same day of the week. Having been born on the same week-day, - Thursday, let us say - they both have ‘Thursday souls’, and this, it is believed, makes for conflict, since both derive their springs of action from the same source. The two may have tried to guard against this difficulty, yet the souls refuse to live together. The effect is the inevitable clash of temperament, - unaccountable bursts of temper, and general disharmony; and the result is that one of the two becomes ill and goes to a diviner to discover what has brought on this illness. If the diviner discovers that it is because the souls are incompatible, the two separate. Another reason for separation lies in the belief that sometimes a man's *wɩnti* (god) or a woman's *wɩnti* forms a dislike for the spouse. In such a case, there will also be difficulties of adjustment and, at the advice of the *wɩntimąn* who is consulted, separation will ensue. In the majority of instances, however, marriages are broken because of infidelity on the part of the man or woman. Where the man neglects his wife, resentment arises out of the fact that his new mate is given money gifts, for this neglect takes the form of smaller and smaller contributions toward the support of his family.

As this situation becomes more apparent to the woman, she shames him by going about in public in her oldest clothes, seeing to it that she appears, clothed in this way, where he happens to be. Another effective protest, antecedent to actual divorce, takes the form of the wife's refusal to cook for the man.[1]

Often, at this stage, magic is called in to aid the woman, who uses what money she possesses to pay a diviner to reveal to her a means for keeping her husband. She may also go to a skilled maker of charms to find out how she can 'tie his soul', or, if matters go from bad to worse, she may go to a practitioner of black magic to get charms with which to avenge herself.

There is no other single factor which, among these people, shares psychologically the importance of potency and fecundity as an essential to human happiness. So much stress is laid upon this, that by far the greater part of innuendo, gossip, and ridicule lodges in situations involving impotence and infertility. The greatest threat, when an appeal to black magic is implied in a quarrel, is to bring about these conditions. Certainly in marriage, the fear that a neglected wife or a deserted husband may bring about sexual failure by employing such means is a notable factor in preventing separation, - a fear that is particularly strong since, through intimacy of contact, it is not difficult to obtain hair or nail-clippings, or some bit of clothing effective for such use.

The means to which a woman resorts to secure the constancy of her husband, or her lover, fall into three categories. A woman may avail herself of a love-charm, - an *opo* - or she may have recourse to 'tying his *akra*', - controlling his soul - or she may obtain from a practitioner of black magic 'medicine' concocted of herbs to which either the man's hair, finger-nails, a bit of cloth saturated with his perspiration, or a piece of his wearing apparel is added, and which causes him to be potent only when with her. A man who is given such 'medicine' is thought unable to perform the sex act when he goes to lie with another woman, and thus is subjected to the ridicule attaching to such incapacity.

An *opo*, the principle of which we shall explain later,[2] is a charm which gives the possessor power over the will of another. It is made by a dealer in magic, and the knowledge of how to make it and give it power is kept as a professional secret by the maker. It is used not only by a woman to retain the affection of her husband, but by a man to insure his wife's fidelity; thus, one such *opo*, described by an informant who was assured of his wife's constancy by its use, was stated to operate in such a way that, if she were to

1 We note, in this connection, that many of the women's songs recorded by us among the Ashanti, in a village where European influence is at a minimum, contained the theme of complaint made by women against their men for giving them no meat to put in their stew.

2 Pp. 99 ff.

go to another man, the menstrual flow would come as soon as she attempted to have sex relations with him.

If the method of ‘tying the soul’ is employed, the actual technique may take several forms. One way is for the woman to use a black pot made by the Bush-Negro women of the interior, a type of pottery much prized both in the bush and in the town for its inherent magical properties. With a knife she scrapes the bottom until she has about a teaspoonful of the scrapings, and this she puts into the man's food. That night, when the man is asleep, she gets up softly in order not to waken him, pours a little rain-water into the black pot, and places a candle in it. She then places this pot at the man's head, as he sleeps. Taking up a piece of white thread, she tries to waken the man sufficiently to elicit a grunt from him, having care, however, not to bring him to full consciousness. After the third response from him, she quickly makes a knot in the string, and lights the candle. If she means to free his soul later, she keeps the string, for when the knot is untied, his soul is released; otherwise she throws it away so that it is in no danger of being found by the man should he ever become aware that she had ‘tied his soul’. The special term that is employed for this is *kroị ʾa mąn*, - ‘tie the man’. Still another way to cause the man to desire no other woman is achieved by taking the head of a ground-lizard, smoking it until it is dry, and pounding it until it is reduced to a powder. The powder is then put into the black pot, and to it is added perspiration from the woman's face, or else the black pot is held under the woman's arm until sufficient perspiration has dropped into it. This mixture of perspiration and powdered lizard's head is mixed with the food eaten by the man, or put in the rum he drinks, and the same result is believed accomplished.

To protect himself against such charms, a man provides himself with a *tapu*, a preventive against all magic designed to impair his virility. In addition, he stimulates desire by drinking rum into which has been put the scrapings from a fish called *kutai*.[1] The female of this species is used for this potion, its efficacy lying in the fact that it is believed to menstruate. The fish is cleaned and left to dry in the sun, or is smoked until dry, and scrapings are then put in rum, so that after two or three days this mixture is ready for use. A small glass of this mixture drunk daily, though not necessarily before coitus, is held to be excellent. We may refer once again in this connection to the medicine made of the ‘seed’ found inside the manatee, as an erotic stimulant for men.

The man can, as suggested, avail himself of the use of magic to insure his wife's fidelity, and to accomplish this he may, with a few minor differences in its execution, resort to the first of the two methods described above. The principal difference lies in the fact

1 Encyc., p. 412, states this name is given to fish of the order *Anablebs Anablebs* and *Anablebs Microlebis*.

that the man does not put anything into the woman's food, the reason for this being that since men have nothing to do with the preparation of food, any man discovered beside the cooking pot would arouse very serious suspicions. However, a woman's hair being long, he has the advantage of tying his wife's soul with her own hair, instead of using a piece of thread or string. The controlling element in this magic is that it involves the principle of 'tying',[1] which in itself is an important category in magical devices for subordinating one will to another, and its particular duties are defined in the formula which is pronounced when the tying is done. These formulae follow a definite pattern of making a compact with the supernatural force employed.[2] The man's formula, in this instance, would be: 'Just as I tie this hair, so I tie you, *Akra Abena* (Tuesday Soul), and not until someone finds this to untie the knot, is A... (here is spoken the woman's name) to attempt coitus with any man, other than myself, without the menstrual flow appearing directly to make this impossible.' The instructions to the soul vary with the ends that are desired. The soul might be told to feel loathing for all men but himself; or to bring violent pain to the woman when about to perform the sex act with another; or to shame her by inducing an instantaneous attack of diarrhea when about to have connection with another.

Though the use of menstrual cloths, either by men or women, is thought to be so abhorrent as to be classed with the practice of black magic, it is possible to devise a charm for fidelity of the type we have described by taking such a cloth to a practitioner and having him use it to achieve the same results as those sought in the 'tying' of the soul. Black magic does, indeed, enter on occasion, but when this is called into play, it is for revenge after desertion, and is intended to bring sterility, impotence or death. In our ensuing discussion of *wisi*, - black magic - the way in which this is manipulated will be explained.

When separation occurs, the children remain with the mother. If she is unable to care for them herself, her mother, if living, takes all or several of the children, or a sister or a maternal aunt cares for one or more of them, as economic conditions permit. Sometimes a younger sister comes to live in the cabin to look after the children while they are young and their mother is away selling in the market, or is in service. If because of extreme poverty the mother's family is unable to care for the children, and the woman herself has no means with which to feed them, the children find homes in strange families as *kweki*. The term *kweki* as applied to such children is difficult of definition, but literally it means that they become

1 In Dahomey there is a whole category of magic charms which involve the principle of 'tying'. In Haiti, too, the concept of 'tying' - in this case of 'tying' a spirit, a *loa* - is present. Cf. Parsons, (I), p. 163.

2 See below, story No. 141.

attached to certain households which engage to bring them up. Frequently these children are given homes because of friendship for their mother, or some member of her family, but a *kweki* is not an adopted child. If the *kweki* are intractable, or shiftless, they can be sent back to their families, and furthermore, they have no claims on the families with whom they live, beyond the expectation of being fed and clothed in exchange for the work they do as members of the household. Abuses in the treatment of these children are, nevertheless, but seldom heard of, and very often they are sent to school as are the children of the household.[1] In Paramaribo itself the institution of the *kweki* has far less currency at the present time than it had in former years.

Whether the children, after separation between a man and a woman, remain with the mother, or go to their maternal grandmother or aunt, or are sent as *kweki* to outside families, they identify themselves with the family of their mother, and it is to the mother's family they come when in trouble. This obtains despite the fact that a child's food taboos come from the father, that in particular the strength of the soul of a boy depends upon the father's friendliness toward him while in his mother's womb and thereafter at least through early childhood, and that, on occasion, the sons especially may inherit the father's personal god, or gods, - his *wɩnti*.

It is not intended to convey, however, that there is no affection between a father and his children after the separation of the parents, particularly if the children are sufficiently grown to know him as an individual; or that a father may not help provide for them after separation. Such significant divergence, however, as is found to exist from the pattern of identification with the mother and her family when separation occurs may be said to stem from three separate causes, any one of which may at the same time be interrelated with another, or with the other two. The first is the emotional factor which enters where the father's personal feelings toward his children dictate an interest in their well being, and this may be qualified also by the importance which is attached to fruitfulness, and a generalised feeling that it might be displeasing to his own ancestors if he allowed the young children to experience want. The second is the factor of acculturation to European modes of thought, which manifests itself more often in determining the disposal of material possessions at death to a man's own children, rather than to a brother, or a sister's children. The third, which is perhaps most important of all, is that not all of the African ancestry of these

1 It may be said, perhaps, that the European system of apprenticeships of earlier days more nearly describes the role of the *kweki* in the homes to which they go, or that the institution of the *kweki*, as such, is even more akin to the African system of ‘pawns’ for family debts, though in the instance of the *kweki* no debt is involved.

people derived from regions where descent was traced through the female line,[1] and that while the conditions of slavery favored the institution of maternal descent, the paternal descent groups did not lose their own traditions.

It must be stated, however, that emphasis is always placed among these people on the ties toward the mother and her family, and that the responsibilities held binding are those which bear upon relationships through the mother. One illustration of the importance of the association of children with the mother is given in the folktales, where, as in African stories, we see clearly that an orphan is a child without a mother and never one who has lost his father.[2]

5. Lɔbi sɩngi

After a separation not many women have the financial means at their disposal, or the temerity, to enter into negotiations with a worker of black magic for revenge against their successful rivals, or against the men who have deserted them. For these, there remains the institutionalised form of revenge known as *lɔbi sɩngi*, - literally, 'love song' - in essence a ceremony which employs songs of ridicule for purposes of social castigation[3]. In its more generalised form, *lɔbi sɩngi* may take place non-ceremonially when a woman who has quarrelled with another woman in her yard, goes about her work, pounding corn, or crushing peanuts, or stamping rice in a mortar, or drawing water from the well, singing songs which, though traditional in tune and words, have direct allusion to the other, the point being that all those who hear the song recognize that the singer is berating the other woman. *Lɔbi sɩngi* are also sung in private by men and women who live together, but these relate to personal idiosyncrasies rather than ridicule, and their point is erotic reference rather than hatred.

Lɔbi sɩngi, then, is an established form of social criticism[4] by

1 Among the Yoruba and the Dahomeans, descent is patrilineal; in Ashanti, matrilineal as far as family membership and the inheritance of property are concerned.

2 Thus, in Dahomey, the term for orphan is *nochiovi*, lit. 'mother-dead-child.' This illustration may be of some significance as throwing light on the reference to 'motherless child' in American Negro spirituals. One of the best known of these spirituals is 'Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child.'

3 Cf. Encyc., p. 453.

4 The use of song for social criticism represents a widespread West African cultural pattern, which has survived in New World Negro behavior. Thus, in Dahomey, once a month each quarter of a city has an opportunity to give a dance in the market. This dance, called *avogą*, is accompanied by songs in which current happenings are satirized, and particularly such current happenings as involve a dispute between persons of one quarter with those of another. In Ashanti, when we were unable to allow groups of natives to sing into our recording phonograph, they assembled in the road, and sang songs of derision against us. A well-known instance of this pattern as manifested in southern United States is contained in the account of the folklorist who, in attempting to collect a Negro work-song, finally heard himself satirized for sitting on the wall doing nothing while they were working. Reference must also be made to the songs sung in Dahomey by co-wives against each other, a number of which we recorded there.

ridicule and bears particularly on the reprehensible conduct of women. The instance we cited,[1] of the man who left the woman he had lived with for many years and had gone to a younger one, would rarely call forth sufficient public sympathy to encourage the deserted woman, had she the means, to stage a *lɔbi sɻngi*. But should a young woman entice a man away from another about her own age, causing him to spend what money he had on gifts for her, so that he ceased to make the contributions expected of him toward the support of his wife and children, and failed to make appearance at his home at the usual times, a *lɔbi sɻngi* would be given by this wife to shame the other woman into giving him up. In such a case, if the deserted woman had the gift of improvisation, she herself led the singing. If not, or if she was too timid to assume the leadership in her own behalf, she hired another woman who had shown excellence at such performances to assume leadership, paying her from half a guilder to a guilder for this service.

The spectacle is staged during the day, usually in the afternoon when trade in the market is dull, and the women are free to participate and watch. The ceremony may last well into the evening, and particularly when there is moonlight, the singing may continue until eight or nine o'clock. When the day for the *lɔbi sɻngi* is decided upon, the woman spreads the news among her friends, and they in turn make the occasion known as they go to market or work about their yards. Sometimes the landlord of the yard where this is to be held, - the yard of the girl who is to be sung against - demands a small payment for permitting the singers and spectators to enter. Arrangements must also be made for the hiring of music. A really effective *lɔbi sɻngi* has as many as four or five pieces of music, - a clarinet, flute, drum (that is, a snare drum, not the African hollow-log type used in religious ceremonies), and what were described as. ‘cymbals’, which means a tambourine or any other percussion instrument which gives a similar sound. The use of the rattle, like that of the ceremonial drum, or the hard-wood bench beaten with sticks, does not occur, because these form the complex of instruments for religious ritual.

With these preliminaries cared for, and the date at hand, all those who are to participate actively come to the yard of the woman who is giving the ceremony, dressed in their best *koto-yaki*, and there, if the means of the hostess permit, food and drink are distributed before starting, though this is not at all essential, since the love

1 See above, p. 6.

of the spectacle brings participants without the lure of food or presents. Early in the afternoon, then, as soon as a sufficient number of the women who had promised to come have gathered, a procession is formed. It is led by the music, and proceeds to the yard where the *lɔbi sɻngi* is to be given. The participants are usually followed by a crowd of men, women, and children, for whom this is entertainment to be relished. It may begin less spectacularly with people coming in small groups to the place where the *lɔbi sɻngi* is to be staged. Though this is less enjoyed, it is at the present time the more common way of assembling.

Arrived at their destination, they range themselves before the cabin of the woman against whom the singing is directed, with the onlookers flanking the performers, and all facing the cabin where the woman to be sung against has shut herself in. It is customary to open a *lɔbi sɻngi* with an improvised song to suit the occasion; that is to say, traditional music is sung, but the words are especially composed. This kind of improvisation has been discouraged in recent times because of the recourse the people sung against have had to the courts, where complaints of slander have been lodged. It is therefore found more expedient today to sing traditional songs with only sufficient change in a number of lines to point to the specific occasion to which the song refers. The pattern of singing, as in all the songs of these Negroes, is that of statement by the leader, and response from a chorus. Whatever the content of the song, whether it be that of threat, or entreaty, or excoriation, the formal way of ending the chorus is with a few dancing steps, accompanied by a disdainful lifting of the voluminous skirts in back as the steps are executed, and followed by the exclamation ‘Ha! ha!’ After the initial song, where improvisation is called for, the leader ranges through the store of well-known *lɔbi sɻngi*. Often an old Dutch tune, or one imported from the United States or Europe, which has achieved momentary popularity when heard in the cinema or on phonograph records,[1] is utilised, and traditional words are sung to it. Similarly, an old tune is sung, and to it are fitted words that have to do with automobiles, or a flying-machine that visited Paramaribo, or other happenings of the day as these can be brought to bear, by innuendo, on the situation that is being ridiculed.

Let us illustrate with instances from the songs themselves:[2]

1 The example of this ready taking up of a foreign song by the Paramaribo Negroes is had in the case of the ‘Volga Boat Song’. There was a cinema of that name being shown in Paramaribo during our stay, and the song was played in the course of its showing. We heard it sung or whistled everywhere in the city.

2 We do not give here the *lɔbi sɻngi*, the music of which has been recorded and transcribed. These will be found in the section of this work devoted to music as Nos. 249 and 250.

1)
Sąn wą, mira ką, du,
Nąŋga wąn kaọ hɛde?
Ha! Ha!
A musu nyąm na meti
A libi na bọnyo.
Ha! Ha!

What can an ant do,
With a cow's head?
Ha! Ha!
It must eat the meat
And leave the bones.
Ha! Ha!

2)
Ɛfi lɔbi bɛn lɔbi mi,
A no lɔbi mi mɔro,
Mi no ką tyiri mi sɛrefi na liba
Fō dati hɛde.
Ha! Ha!

If a lover has loved me,
And he loves me no more,
I cannot drown myself in the river
On that account.
Ha! Ha!

3)
Yu mọị mɔro mi,
Yu fatu mɔro mi,
Ma mi sụịti mɔro yu.
Dati hɛde meki, gudu,
Gudu, no kąn fɛrdwal
Fō libi sụịti ros
Fō kọ na krabu Dɪŋki hoso.

You are handsomer than I,
You are fatter than I,
But I am sweeter than you are.
That is why, my treasure,[1]
My treasure, cannot bear
To leave a sweet rose
To come to the house of a crab Dɪŋki.[2]

Sometimes the man, as well as the woman with whom he has gone off, is the object of ridicule, as in the following:

1 The word *gudu* (treasure) is used for ‘lover’.
2 Our informant stated that the girl's name was Dina, hence *Dɪŋki* is a play on her name; while for ‘crab’ any animal may be substituted, the choice being left to the fancy of the singer.

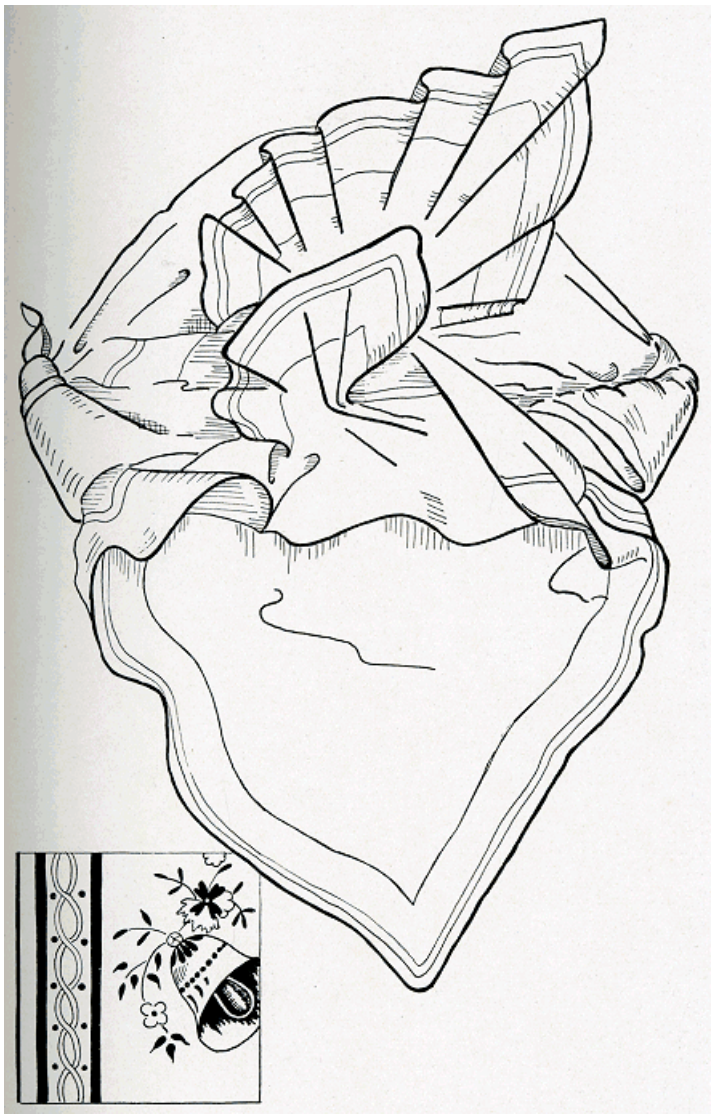


Plate VIII. Name of pattern: *Yu ką loi yu dyįdyį leẹiki fa yu wą', mi no dɛ yɛre yu;* name of tying: *Yu ką waẹi yu wɪnti lɔntu foto, ma mi no sa draẹi baka*.

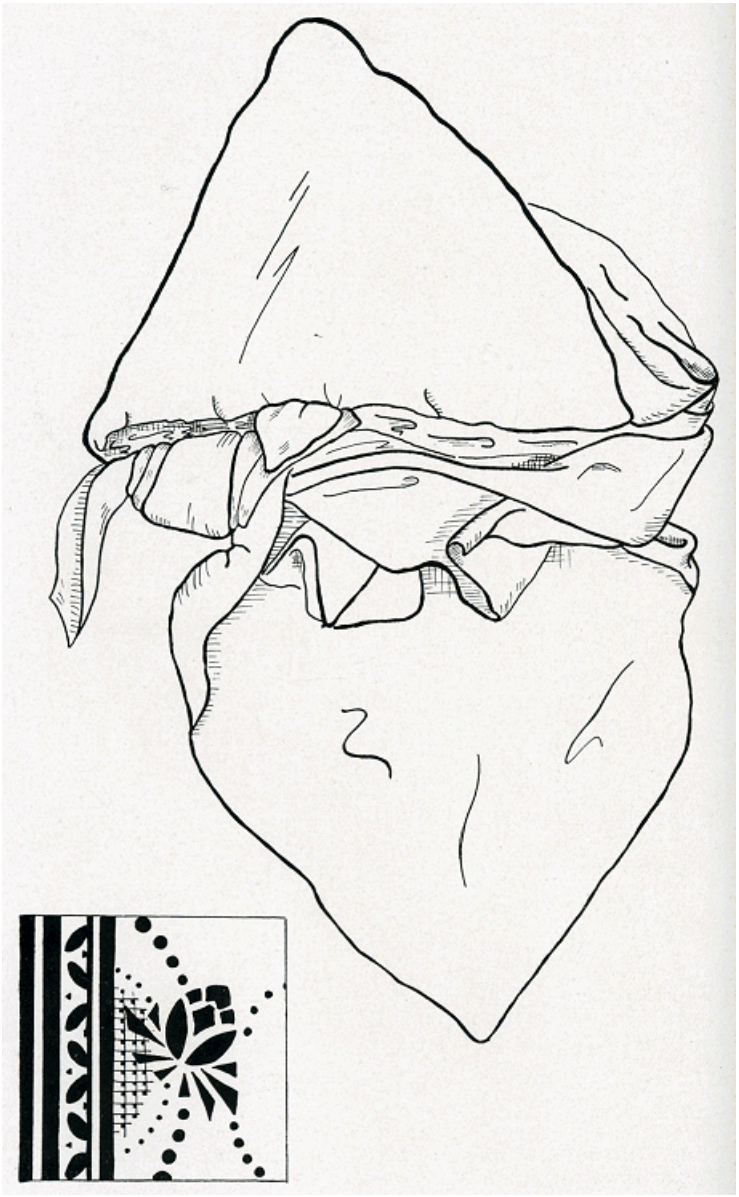


Plate IX. Name of pattern: *Doti wagi dɛ tyari doti, ma a no dɛ tyari syɛm* (Proverb No. 89); name of tying: *Trɔobi*.

4)
Trąŋga lɔbi zɔndro nɔtį
Dɛ gi fɛrferi;
A kɔm geɛrsi wą ros
Zɔndro smeri.

A passionate love without anything
Is wearying;
It comes to resemble a rose
Without fragrance.

5)
Te mi baį̯ mi kaǫ̯, mi kaǫ̯,
Te mi baį̯ mi kaǫ̯,
Te mi baį̯ mi kaǫ̯, mi kaǫ̯,
Mi kaǫ̯ no habi tutu!

When I bought my cow, my cow,
When I bought my cow,
When I bought my cow, my cow,
My cow had no horns![1]

The next example is a song that might be sung against the man involved, or against the woman, to tell her that her new lover will be no more constant to her than he has been to the woman he has jilted. There is also the intimation that he will come back to the one who has been deserted:

6)
'Wasi fa da pasi ląŋga,
Fa da neti dųŋgru,
A no dųŋgru, a no dųŋgru,
Ha! Ha!
Lɔbi pasi no farawɛ.[2]

No matter how long the road,
How dark the night,
It is not dark, it is not dark,
Ha! Ha!
The lover's path is not far away.

Some of the songs plead with the woman to let the man go so that he may return to his wife:

7)
Leader: Mi lɔbi libi mi,
Chorus: Libi hɛm, mɛk' a go.
Ha! Ha!

1 The meaning of this is that only since the jilted woman took up her man had he become important; before that he was worthless.
2 This song is also used when a man is courting.

Both: Bɪkasi yu na bąŋkɛti
Ha! Ha!
Yu dɛ na batra.
Ha! Ha!
Trawą sɑ ba̱i yu,
Trawą sɑ ba̱i yu,
Libi hɛm, mɛk' a go.
Ha! Ha!
Trawą sɑ ba̱i yu.

Leader: My lover left me,
Chorus: Leave him, let him go.
Ha! Ha!
Both: Because you are the cakes
Ha! Ha!
You are the bottle.[1]
Ha! Ha!
Another will buy you,
Another will buy you,
Leave him, let him go.
Ha! Ha!
Another will buy you.

8)
Mi gudu, yu no yɛre fa lɔbi su̱iti?
Ma mi lɔbi no su̱iti gi mi.
Wąŋ-kri[2] lɔbi mi habi. Luku,[3]
A dɛ dre̱i hɛm baka gi mi.

My dear, don't you feel how sweet love is?
But my lover brings me no sweetness.
I have one lover. Look,
Return him to me again.

Other examples of the *lɔbi sɻngi*, which do not fall in any of the categories we have given, follow. The first is a very old one:

9)
Me̱it, fa yu ką taki mi no mo̱i?
Na tu mo̱i brɔnki meki mi.
Rɔs-kanɔp na mi mama,
Stanfasta-kanɔp na mi papa.
Fa yu ką taki mi no mo̱i?
Na tu mo̱i brɔnki meki mi.

1 The reference to the cakes and the bottle is to a kind of cookie sold in jars. These are expensive, and greatly prized, and the allusion, therefore, is a great compliment.
2 The syllable *kri* is added to lengthen the line, in order to fit these words into the tune.
3 This word also serves the purpose of lengthening the line in accordance with the demands of the music.

Wanton, how can you say I am not beautiful?
Two beautiful flowers bore me.
A rose-bud was my mother,
A bachelor-button was my father.
How can you say I am not beautiful?
Two beautiful flowers bore me.

10)
Mọi mɪsi, fa mi mu libi?
Mọi mɪsi, fa mi mu libi?
Gotu kɛti na yu nɛki,
A dɛ meki kama-lama,
Trąŋga lɔbi na wą sani
Waka go na wąn deị blaụ brɔntyi.
A no ląŋga,
A no ląŋga,
A no ląŋga,
Ha! Ha!
Suịti lɔbi na wąn sani.

Pretty Miss, how am I to live?
Pretty Miss, how am I to live?
The gold chain about your neck,
Is very dazzling,
Passionate love is something
That goes away in a day like a blue flower[1].
It does not last long,
It does not last long,
It does not last long,
Ha! Ha!
Sweet love is something.

Songs of the following type are sung in private by men and women. We give an example of a song sung by a man to a woman, and a woman to a man. Though the keynote of both is ridicule, it is a ridicule which is intended to heighten erotic excitement because of the obscene allusions, rather than to incite bitterness or anger.

11)
Kabugru umą nąŋga bɪgi bakadɔm,
Bɪgi blaka umą nąŋga bɪgi fes-seị,
A...[2] ɔro leịki ɔro,
Ɔro leịki bambusi ɔro.
Dɔksi taki, 'Wisi-wasi fodɛn!'
En, twe, ɔro leịki ɔro,
Ɔro leịki bambusi ɔro.

1 The translation of this line is tentative, because the informant was not clear in his own mind what the song meant.
2 The woman is named here.

Brown woman with big buttocks,
Big black woman with big vagina,
A...'s[1] hole like a hole,
A hole like a bamboo-hole.
The duck says, 'You good-for-nothing!'
One, two, a hole like a hole,
A hole like a bamboo-hole.

12)
Tu bombina na lɔntu
Tu stonsiri na ɛŋ kɔntu,
Ala feị̂f' yuru mamɛntɛm
B...[2] sɪkin dɛ steị̂fu.

Two vagina-lips surrounding
Two testicles beside them (?),
Every morning at five o'clock
B...'s[2] penis is erect.

A *lɔbi sɻngi* may serve yet another purpose, for a woman may give a *lɔbi sɻngi*, with herself as the subject of it. In that case, the basic theme has neither the character of threat, ridicule, entreaty, nor obscene pleasantry, but becomes one of public confession. Let us take as an example of this, a girl who has led a promiscuous sex life and bears the reputation of a loose woman, but who has decided to turn over a new leaf. She arranges for a *lɔbi sɻngi*, which she herself leads. The songs sung at this ceremony all bear on the theme of the evil ways she has followed, the young men she has led astray, the women she has wronged, and ends with the declaration that she is beginning a new life. Whatever the lines, the chorus following the song does not fail to include the few dancing steps of mockery, with the usual exclamation 'Ha! Ha!' interpolated at the whim of the singers, either after every line or following any especially appropriate line. Such a public confession having been held, however, the community considers the woman cleansed, and socially respectable until such time as she returns to her former ways of life. An example of the key-note song of such a public confession follows:

13)
Ɛfi mi bɛn dɛ wą gudu-mąn,
Mi bɛn sɑ baị̂
Wą bɪgi buru-grǫn.
Dą' są mi prani na ɪni?
Dą' są mi prani na ɪni?
Mi dɛ go prani ɔndrofeni na ɪni
Fō tɛ mi dɛ go na dɔro
Ɔndrofeni mu dɛ wą pɔmpera fō mi s'kin.

1 The woman is named here.
2 The man is named here.
2 The man is named here.

If I were a rich man,
I would buy
A large farm.
And what would I plant in it?
And what would I plant in it?
I would plant experience in it
So that when I went forth
Experience would be a perfume for my body.

In this discussion of *lɔbi sɻngi*, we have indicated that in its institutional form, it is a factor which governs relationships between woman and woman, and which has to do with social criticism of women by women. Though in its external aspects this holds without exception, a man can, nevertheless, be avenged on a woman who has left him for another, by arranging and paying for a *lɔbi sɻngi* to be performed before her house. The actual staging of such a ceremony, however, is carried out by a woman, the man asking a sister or another member of his immediate maternal family to arrange the details. In such a case, his own role is restricted to that of onlooker.

In all instances of *lɔbi sɻngi*, except those where confession is the point of the singing, the woman against whom the singing is directed remains in her cabin and does not come out until the crowd has dispersed, and while the castigation of her deeds goes on; 'She is too shamed. She cries all the time.' The curbing of free improvisation of which we spoke before has, however, had the effect of reducing the urge to stage these spectacles, since the traditional songs of generalised ridicule that must be used today have not the force of social castigation that songs specially composed to meet the occasion in hand have, - songs identified exclusively with the one sung against, and remembered and sung for a long time afterwards further to shame the woman.

A woman, then, whose husband has been taken from her can have recourse to *lɔbi sɻngi* to avenge herself, but no institutionalised way of revenge, except as pointed out, by indirection, is available to the man whose wife has left him for another. Recourse to force would result in a jail sentence, and that force is not employed sufficiently to attract the attention of the police authorities, at least, is attested by the extent to which the people of Paramaribo are law-abiding.[1] A man who is intent on revenge can, and, it is said at times does, resort to magic. But, in a city like Paramaribo, where a large excess of women over men exists, it is not strange that we do not find many incidents where a man feels forced to take such measures. If a wife does leave her husband, it is not

1 So very small is the prison population of the city of Paramaribo, indeed, that it was a common complaint that there were seldom enough prisoners in the local jail to clean the streets!

difficult for him to find someone to take her place, and the attempt to harm the seducer, or render the woman infertile by recourse to magical means occurs, therefore, only in exceptional cases.

6. 'Mati' and the 'Birthday Party'

There is yet another aspect of social ceremonialism which is wholly in the hands of women. Like the *lɔbi sɻngi* it has no religious implications, and like the *lɔbi sɻngi*, it is imbedded in the emotions which arise out of experiences connected with certain phases of sex life. The ceremonial which we are about to discuss, the 'birthday party,' is often associated with the institution of *mati*, a term which literally translatable as 'friends,' is in a specialised sense applied to the two persons who form a homosexual relationship.[1] This ceremonial is also found in association with normal relationships between men and women, where it affords an evening's entertainment, and carries with it the prestige of display through expenditure and the dramatisation of the existence of close emotional ties between the person who celebrates and the one whose birthday is celebrated.

Except where women *mati* are concerned, 'birthday parties' are given only for young people; in the *mati* relationship a party is given most generally for the younger member of a homosexual pair of women. It must not be understood that homosexuality is confined to women. Relationships of this type exist also among men, and in *taki-taki* are to be found words which are specific designations for male homosexuals, who are termed *hantimąn*, or *awɛge*. But the 'birthday parties' are associated in the thinking of the Paramaribo Negroes primarily with the attachments between pairs of women, which, due to the disproportionate ratio of women to men, exceed in number those which occur between men.

These festivities open during the late afternoon, and if there is dancing, continue through the night. If there is no dancing, they break up about midnight. For fine 'birthday parties' several pieces of music are engaged, these being of the same non-religious types of instruments used for the *lɔbi sɻngi*. As in all secular dancing, the rattle and the drums made of hollowed logs are not employed. When there is no orchestra, there can, however, still be dancing to the accompaniment of singing and hand-clapping. It is customary for the special 'friend' of the person who is celebrating her birthday to come late, and to bring flowers for her *mati*. These she carries on her head, and, as she approaches the door of her friend's cabin, she stops some paces away, and calls out, '*Mɪs-mɪsi, mi ką kǫ na ɪni? Nową doti no dɛ na pasi? Nową maka? Nową sɪneki? Nową stɔrɪm*

1 Cf. Encyc. p. 467, where, in a definition of the term *mati* is given as follows: 'Het woord beteekent in het Neger-Engelsch ook vriendin, met Lesbische liefde.'

no sɑ wa̱i mi fadǫn? - Miss-missi, may I come in? Is there no dirt on the path? No thorns? No snakes? No storm to blow me over?'

The answer comes from her friend, who dances toward her, '*No, no, mɪsi, yu ką kǫ dɔro*. - No, no, Miss, you can come in.'

The first asks again, '*Nąŋga baka?* - Backwards?'

'*Ya*. - Yes.'

'*Nąŋga fesi?* - Forward?'

'*Ya*. - Yes.'

'*Nąŋga se̱i? Fa mi ˀɛ kąnti dɛ, mi no sɑ fadǫn?* - Sideways? As I lean over, I won't fall down?'

'*No, yu no sɑ fadǫn*. - No, yon won't fall down.'

This colloquy is accompanied by dancing steps, with the participants moving toward each other and away from each other. When the last phrase has been spoken, the woman whose birthday is being celebrated brings wine to steady the visitor, who is still outside the door. The music begins to play, and the people who are gathered shout, '*Hɪp, hɪp, hura! Sopi no dɛ, ma kuku dɛ*. - Hip, hip, hooray! There is no rum, but there are cakes.' A chorus of laughter is heard. Some one in the audience calls out, '*Ɛf' sopi no dɛ, watra dɛ*. - If there isn't rum, there is water.' The other woman now comes in, and the essential preliminaries are considered over. It is said that in former days, there were stirring toasts offered when food and drink was passed, but improvisation no longer flourishes as in the days when *lɔbi sɻngi* specialists had opportunities to develop their talents.

It happens at times that when the ceremony we have just described is concluded, and the special 'friend' bearing her flowers enters the house of her *mati*, she discovers that there are other flowers already in the room. The one just arrived thereupon seizes these flowers, crushes them, and throws them out, for they are the symbol of a rival claimant to the affection of her *mati*. If she knows the identity of this rival, she will, in addition, slap her, to show before the assembled guests that she will not have her rights disputed. If she does not know who had brought these flowers, she goes from one woman to the next to find out who it was. This byplay adds to the zest of the party, and while it goes on, such observations are made as will not fail to heighten the tension between the rivals, with the precaution, however, that the angered woman does not turn her attention to those who are making these remarks. It may happen, too, that the woman who had first sued for the affections of the *mati* in whose honor the party is being held is not at all intimidated, and makes a stand for her own prerogatives as 'friend'. In that case the matter is settled by blows, and the stronger of the two ejects the other; for while it is not uncommon for a woman to have more than one *mati*, neither will tolerate the presence of the other, nor yield her place if the challenge is thus made public. While the quarreling goes on, the woman who is celebrating watches

passively, accepting the appeal to force, and when the dispute is settled, the party proceeds with a new impetus.

Sometimes a friend who comes with a gift, - the *mati* brings the principal one - will sing as she gives it to the woman in whose honor the party is being held,

> Tin trǫn na wą yari
> Mi 'ɛ meki kamalama,
> Mi 'ɛ meki sapakara.
>
> Ten times a year
> I make a lover's gift,
> I make salamander stew.[1]

Such, in essence, is the ceremonial of a ‘birthday party’ given by one woman for another. So completely a woman's affair is this, that some are given without any men present, and even when a ‘birthday party’ is given for a man, it is entirely in the hands of women. Such festivities for men are met with far less frequently than those for women, and they occur under any of the three following conditions: a woman has means of her own, and is anxious to flatter her husband; a woman of strong personality enjoys the initiative she takes in giving and managing the party; or a man's sisters, or his relatives, cooperate with his wife to honor him. When a man is honored, although he himself is present at his ‘party’, he takes no active part in the ceremony attached to it. The man's party which we describe was recounted to us by a woman who, a short time before our arrival in the colony, honored her husband by giving it for him. A birthday party may be given for a man by his sister, as well as by his wife or by his ‘girl’, but not by his mother or anyone of his mother's age-group.

At this particular party, the wife's sister acted as a substitute for the wife, playing the role of gift-bearer, while the wife herself acted for the husband. Both of the women wore *koto yaki*. This was considered obligatory for them, for without these elaborate skirts the dancing steps and the pantomime would have been thought colorless. It is customary, moreover, for a majority of the women to come dressed as *koto-mɩsi*, and this may be taken as another indication of the extent to which the Negroes themselves regard this dress as something uniquely theirs, and without which these ceremonies having the sanction of long usage are felt to be incomplete.

The sister approached with the basket on her head which is called *kamalama*, or *lama*, or *kado*,[2] and asked ‘*Dag, mɩsi. A dia Masra A... ɛ libi?* - Good-day, miss. Does Master A... livehere?’

1 Salamander stew is a great delicacy, and the use of the phrase is idiomatic for carousing.
2 From the French *cadeau*

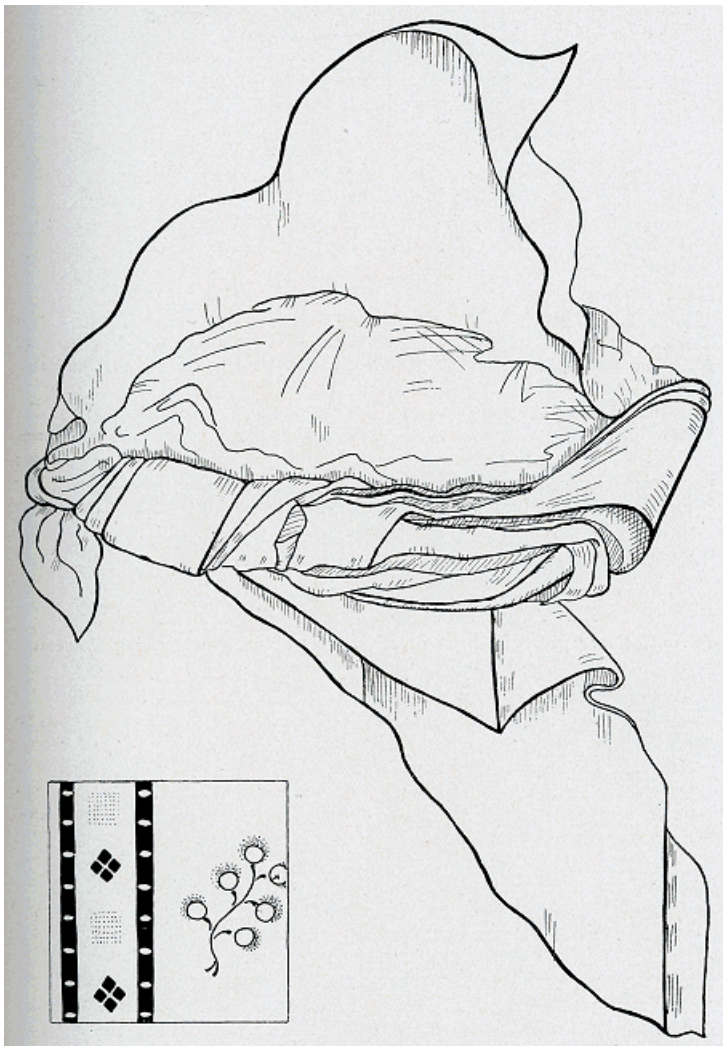


Plate X. Name of pattern: *Sụiti fō mi smeri, meki mi gudu lasi ɛŋ hoso pasi* (Proverb No. 97); name of tying: *Motyo-'ɛdɛ*.

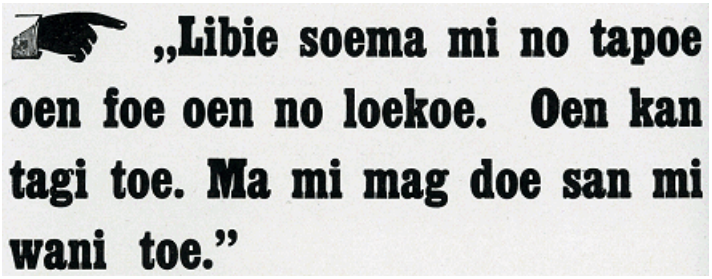


Plate XI. An Advertisement for a New Style of Kerchief.
(*Translation:* 'Living beings I do not interfere with your looking. You can talk too. But I can do what I like, too.')

'*Ya, mɪsi*. - Yes, miss.'

'*Mi ką, kǫ na ɪni?* - I can come in?'

'*Nąŋga presiri yu ką kǫ na ɪni*. - With pleasure, you can come in.' The wife by now was at the door, her sister outside, and as they talked, they danced.

The sister continued, '*Na kabugru mɪsi sɛni mi tyari na bɔskopu kǫ gi Masra A*... - The brown miss sends me with a message for Master A...'

The other asked, '*Suma sɛni na bɔskopu?* - Who sends the message?'

'*Na kabugru mɪsi sɛni tąigi Masra A... taki, a no wą bɪgi warde a sɑ kɪsi. Bikasi na warde dɛ, a sa ferląŋga na grǫntapu, a sa dɛ na hɛm hoso. Bikasi gotu a no nǫtį, diamanti a no nǫtį, ma wąn stąnfasti lɔbi sɑ dɛ na mɔro bǫn varde fō grǫntapu*. - The brown miss sends to tell Master A... that he will not get a thing of great worth. Because that which he values most in the world will be (i.e., already is) in his house. Because gold is nothing, diamonds are nothing, but a faithful love is the thing most to be prized on earth.'[1]

From this point the festivities took on the general character of the 'birthday party', with singing, dancing, and toasts to the one who was being honored.

7. Birth-Customs and the Dangers of Early Childhood

When a woman finds herself with child, she guards against black magic by going to a practitioner for what she calls 'luck' for the child in her womb. From him she obtains a liquid in a bottle. This bottle is hung above the door of her cabin, and is held to be invisible to all but the woman who has placed it there. What causes it to be invisible is the spirit inside the bottle, placed there by the practitioner to serve as guardian for the woman. When put in place, it constitutes a protection against the entrance of a *bakru*, or some other messenger of evil that might be sent to cause a premature birth, or the delivery of a dead or a misshapen child. A full discussion of the *bakru*, one of the most important carriers of black magic, is reserved for treatment in the section on magic.[2] It need only be noted at this point that the *bakru* are 'little people' fashioned by sorcerers and made animate by injecting into each the soul of some dead person, who usually manifest themselves in the shape of two- or three-year-old children. The spirits which animate these creatures can also be injected by the practiced sorcerer into any object, or any living thing, though a fowl constitutes the carrying medium most frequently employed when the 'little people' are not resorted to. Any fowl not recognised as be-

1 This sentiment, composed for the occasion by the wife who gave the party, was greatly appreciated by the guests.

2 Below, pp. 105ff.

longing to a given yard is identified as a *bakru*, and if discovered in a yard where a pregnant woman lives, is understood to be on a fatal errand to the woman herself or her unborn child. The invisible watchman over the door, however, sees to it that such an emissary does not enter the woman's cabin.

When going out to market, or to work, the woman may either sprinkle some of the liquid in the bottle over certain portions of her body, as directed by the seller of this magic, or she may have yet another charm against *bakru* on her person. This may be tied about an ankle, or below the knee, or about the waist, - any of these places serving equally well. If, however, the woman had previously experienced normal deliveries, she may rely upon her *akra* (her soul), and the magic which she wears to keep it strong, to watch over her and her unborn child.

Once the safety of the woman and the developing foetus are assured by magical means, the next care of the woman is to add to her own food taboos those of her husband. It is well, at this point, to digress and explain the concept which governs the food taboos, known either as *kina*[1] or *trefu*.[2] At birth a child falls heir to two things, a personal soul, and personal *trefu*. A *trefu* is a prohibition against performing an act that is hateful to some supernatural agent with which the destiny of the individual is associated, and most of the prohibitions demand abstinence from eating certain foods. These *trefu*, - and each individual inherits several things which are his *trefu* - come to the child from his father, and they represent the dominant *trefu* to be observed by him during the entire course of his life. In addition to these inherited *trefu*, each person adds others as he grows older. Some come to him when he acquires his god, or gods, - for just as each individual has his personal *trefu*, so each deity has his *trefu*, and the worshipper of any deity takes over its tabooed foods. Other taboos come to him in association with magical charms, each of which is differentiated for the individual purchaser by the *trefu* that govern his behavior toward it, but these last are only binding as long as the charms are used, and for many of them only when the charms are used. The *trefu*, whether they be inherited or acquired, may require abstinence from eating

1 This is derived from the Bantu (Loango) word *tschina*. See Pechuël-Loesche, pp. 455-466.

2 A discussion of this institution of *trefu* will be found in Encyc., pp. 685-6. In recent years the feeling of those in Paramaribo who have considered it has veered to the point of view that the institution derives from the same Hebrew source as the word itself, and this position is best put forth in a paper by Lampe, (I), where numerous other valuable data are given. Our own feeling, however, is that the institution is African, the word of Hebrew origin, and the resulting integration in Suriname Negro life is to be accounted for by the telescoping process we have discussed above. Data to support this point of view are to be found in Panhuys (I), pp. 361-363, and Herskovits, (I), pp. 548-550.

some kind of fish, from a special kind of meat, from some vegetable. Yet it is seldom that among the things forbidden are found such staple foods as rice or yams or peanuts or corn. The foods which most often are not to be eaten are milk, mutton, beef, and shell-fish. If the father is one of a pair of twins, the woman has to abstain from eating the monkey and the sloth,[1] as well as all creatures that live in the trees, since these are sacred to twins. During pregnancy, a woman need abstain, however, only from violating the husband's inherited *trefu*, but not those acquired by him later in life.

The institution of *trefu* is dealt with here because of the bearing it has on the relationship of a child to his father. In spite of the child's close attachment to the mother's family, we observe here, as we shall observe when we discuss the concept of the soul and how it is acquired by the individual, that the spiritual relationship between a child and his father is governed by binding supernatural sanctions.[2] A child learns his *trefu* from his mother, who knows what are the things her husband must not eat, and sees to it that her child abstains from them. Indeed, failure to do this is considered one of the most reprehensible acts a Paramaribo mother can be guilty of, for the penalty exacted for failure to observe the inherited *trefu*, is a severe one, and inescapable, since it is imposed by supernatural powers which cannot be controlled by any means known to man. This penalty takes the form of punishment with skin-disease; a mild form of eczema at first, which, if neglected and aggravated by continued disregard of the inherited *trefu*, develops into leprosy.[3] The *trefu* also serves as a social check on unfaithfulness on the part of the wife. For if a woman bears a child who later is troubled by persistent skin eruptions in spite of his observing the *trefu* of the husband of his mother, this is regarded as *prima facie* evidence that the woman has had this child by a man other than her husband. The resulting social stigma is not, however, caused by her infidelity, but comes rather from the fact that she had not learned the other man's *trefu*, or, if she knows it, has not taken care that her child, first by her own efforts, and later through his own, should know the food-taboos of his real father.

1 '*Loiri*', in *taki-taki;* given in Encyc. p. 177, as *Bradypus tridactylus.*

2 This dual attachment to both parents, to the one through ties of personal association, and to the other through those of spiritual relationship, is strongly suggestive of the Ashanti double exogamic system described by Rattray, (II), pp. 45-85. Taken in connection with similar affiliations that are found in the social organisation of the Saramacca tribe of Bush-Negroes (cf. Herskovits, II, pp. 719-720), it is a safe assumption that we have here an adaptation of this Ashanti system to the exigencies of life in Paramaribo.

3 The belief in punishment of violation of inherited food-taboos by a skin-disease accompanied by itching is widespread in West Africa. In Dahomey, a person's taboos are determined by his sib-affiliation, and he inherits them in the paternal line.

When a woman is about to be delivered, she is attended by several experienced women who have borne children. Usually they are old, and include the woman's maternal grandmother, or her mother, or a maternal aunt, as well as some elderly neighbor. The woman is seated on the floor on some old cloths, or at times, following a practice peculiar to some families, on a bed of leaves. One of the old women, - the grandmother, if she is present - takes a new calabash with water in it, and with her hand sprinkles water in front of the seated woman and behind her,[1] calling her soul by name. Thus, if a woman was born on a Friday, she calls, '*Akra Afi, mi dɛ bɛgi fõ yu kąn meki ala sani wroko bǫn*. - Affi (Friday) soul, I pray you to see to it that all goes well.' If this is a first pregnancy, food is also given to the *Grǫn Mama*, the earth spirit of the yard, and a prayer is offered up to her and to any other god or gods, or special ancestor that the diviner who had been consulted suggests.

While the woman is in labor she is given a drink of stewed herbs called *smeri-wiri*[2] from time to time. Parturition is hastened by tying a cloth tightly about the woman's abdomen, and tightening it still more, if necessary, or by pressing down on the muscles of the abdomen, hips and buttocks. In all normal births it is not unusual to see the woman washing the soiled cloths several hours after delivery, and to find her about the yard performing her household tasks the following day. Those that are difficult have medical care, and in addition are helped by consultation with a diviner who informs the family whether the difficulty is the result of black magic, of an angered god or soul, or of dissatisfied ancestors, and who supplies remedies.

A woman who dies in childbirth is buried *safri-safri*, - 'softly, softly'.[3] She has a perfunctory wake, at which only members of the immediate family and some old people are present, or no wake at all is given for her. If a hexagonal coffin is used for the honorable burial, her's is a flat box, and mention of the death is not made to women of child-bearing age or to young girls. The mourning period, if observed at all, is considerably shortened. A stillborn child is buried without a cloth over it, and the parents do not show any signs of mourning. In fact, there is little mourning at the death

1 Among the Saramacca Negroes, prayers are offered to the woman's soul, to the ancestors, and to the woman's personal *wɪnti*, especially if these are the snake gods, who are envisaged as being jealous of children.

2 *Ocimum micranthum* (Encyc., p. 516).

3 Among the Saramacca Negroes women who die in childbirth are not given an honorable burial. There is no wake for them, and no mourning, and all the women who are obliged to look upon the dead wash their eyes with medicinal herbs that they may never see such a death again. In some villages they are thrown away in the bush, as are lepers, those who die of contagious diseases, and idiots, for no encouragement is given such souls to seek reincarnation. This strongly resembles Dahomean custom.

of any child before puberty, ‘Because the neighbors talk too much if they make a big funeral for a child.’

Once the child is born, and the placenta has come normally, or has been forced out, the woman in charge of the delivery cuts the umbilical cord with a small knife, leaving from four to six inches of cord which she ties with thread. She then stanches the blood with freshly charred herbs reduced to a powder. Mother and child are bathed, the mother in very hot water in which the leaves and twigs of the *aneisi* bush[1] have been stewed for many hours, and the child is washed in some of this mixture and then rubbed over with oil, or else is washed in oil only. The head and face, however, are bathed in cool rainwater, and this washing is continued for six weeks or longer. The magical charms that the mother has on hand for the child are then put on. These may be bits of cord on which a caury-shell is strung, to be worn on wrists or ankles; or may consist of a larger cord to be fastened about the child's waist, or some mixture in a bottle to be sprinkled on certain portions of its body, any of these acting as preventives against evil magic, a mischievous ghost, an unfriendly god, and vampires. In the native idiom these serve as *tapu* against *wisi*, a bad *Yɔrka*, a bad *wɩnti*, and the *azemąn*. If there is any abnormality of birth, like an umbilicus twisted about the neck of the child or a caul, these are preserved, the former in part, and the latter wholly, in order that they may be converted into magical charms for the child. One form of using them is to dry them in the sun or in smoke, and reduce them to powder, sewing this powder into a small sack to be worn by the owner.

When a child is two weeks old, the mother cooks seven spiders in boiling water, and gives the child some of the broth. This is done on two or three separate occasions, to insure against death caused by convulsions, for it is held that if a spider circles the place where a baby lies, the child imitates the movements of the spider and dies of *trąŋgamąn* (strangulation). Only spiders that are found about the house and yard are used for this broth, since bush spiders are not seen by a child. Another remedy for convulsions is a drink containing the powdered scrapings from the horns of a deer. This mixture is called *dia-tu*', - ‘deer's horn’. This drink may be given on the third day after birth, and any time thereafter. The Bush-Negroes are said to have many other remedies against an attack of *trąŋgamąn*, something that is especially feared by the Paramaribo Negroes, since such attacks are said to cause more fatalities among children than any other illness. It is not believed that European doctors have a cure for these attacks.

Circumcision is commonly practiced, and takes place when a boy is about two months old. The operation is held to be a protection against venereal diseases (it has no religious significance), and is

1 A weed of the family *piperaceae* (Encyc., p. 564).

performed either by native specialists, or by a European doctor. When speaking of circumcision, the phrase, '*Mi gō ɛnt 'a boi̯*, - I am going to circumcise the boy', is used.

Since the Paramaribo Negroes are, in the main, professing Christians, they baptise their children as soon as they can afford the proper clothing in which to take the child to church. Some observations made to us regarding baptism indicate the attitudes of worshippers of the *wɩnti* toward it. One woman said, 'When he come big, he can do what he like. Now we does it for him. When he come big, he can go to *wɩnti*-dances like me, or go to church, what he like.' Another said, 'We baptise him so he can get into a school.' And another, 'When a man is big and goes for work, they asks him if he was baptise. If he say no, he don' catch work.'

Though social pressure to have children is such that a woman who has not conceived takes all possible measures to have offspring, abortion is practised. One way of bringing on an abortion is to drink the contents of a heated bottle of stout, to which has been added a heaping tablespoon of salt. The mixture must be swallowed all at once. This serves as a violent cathartic, and is followed by several days illness. However, after this 'it is finished'. Lime juice may be added to the salt, or substituted for it. Another method is to use a leaf called *bita*,[1] which is put into the stout. These remedies are thought to be effective only for the first and second month of pregnancy. After the second month, the women try to bring on a miscarriage by more violent means. In one case which came to our attention, for example, the woman threw herself from a stepladder, but experience has not shown this to be an effective measure. Infanticide is said to be practiced only rarely, and 'by the girls who wear hats', - that is to say, by those who have become so Europeanised that they have discarded not only traditional dress, but also the traditional fear of the ancestors and the ancestral spirits, to whom infanticide is one of the most abhorrent practices that can be perpetrated. Those who do not 'wear hats' may have recourse to some magical means which they believe destroys unwanted children after these have been conceived. The most common of these methods is to get a *bakru* from a sorcerer, for since the *bakru* are especially jealous of children, the child is killed in the womb without any overt act on the part of the mother.

These *bakru* also figure as one of the explanations why a woman is barren, for when a woman who wishes a child does not conceive, it is assumed that a *bakru* has been sent by an enemy to make her womb infertile. This conclusion is not reached immediately, however. The woman's first thought is that the fault lies with her husband, and she sees to it that this hypothesis is tested secretly with other men. It is only after several trials of this nature that

1 *Phyllanthus niruri* L. Fam. *Euphorbiaceae*. (Encyc., p. 560).

the explanation of black magic comes as a natural second hypothesis. The procedure next in order is to go to a sorcerer to have him exorcise the *bakru*. If his power is not strong enough to accomplish this, she tries others, until she is persuaded there is no remedy.

It sometimes happens that a woman conceives and bears children, and each dies within a year of birth. When this has occurred two or three times, the woman goes to a diviner when she again conceives.[1] The diviner may be either a man or a woman, but usually men are preferred because their souls are stronger than the souls of women. The child may be 'bought' from the '*kra*, or from a *wɪnti* who is jealous of the child. The necessary ceremony is held any time during pregnancy, or a few days after the child is born. Holding a ceremonial bead, or a gold chain, which had been given to the mother's '*kra* as a gift when she became nubile, the *wɪntimąn* draws it three times diagonally across the body of the woman, from a point above each breast to the vagina. While this is being done, an old woman throws water out of a new calabash in front, in back and at the sides of the woman who is being treated.

The diviner says, '*Mama fō dɔti, yu na mama fō pikin. Koru watra mi dɛ gi yu. Meki fa na watra koru, na so yu muso koru na sɪkin nąŋga ala sani gi yu pikin. Nąŋga saka fasi, mi dɛ bɛgi, Akra A*...[2] *Mi dɛ bɛgi yu tu, nąŋga nem fō tata, mi dɛ bɛgi yu, so wi dɛ bą̣i na pikin. Ɛfi na mąn pikin, ɛfi na umą pikin, yu muso meki ala sani waka nąŋga bǫn*. - Mother of the Earth, you are the mother of children. I give you cold water. Just as the water is cold, so you must cool the body of your child with all the means at your disposal. Prostrating myself, I beg you, soul of A... I beg you also, in the name of the father, I beg you so we can buy the child. Whether the child be a boy or a girl, you must see to it that all things go well.'

The reason given for addressing the *akra*, and for 'buying' a child from it, is that the mother may have a *wɪnti* of whom she does not know, who is jealous of children. The *akra* is therefore invoked to take the child under its special protection. If the mother knows of a *wɪnti* that she has, and suspects that this spirit is the cause of the death of her children, she goes to a *papa fō wɪnti*,[3] a priest, to wash her. This washing is done with water in which herbs sacred to the *wɪnti* have been placed, and may occur once or several times during the pregnancy, as the priest directs. It is always best to have this done at the beginning of a pregnancy, so that the *wɪnti* does not harm the foetus. In order to negotiate with the spirit, the *wɪnti*-priest calls the *wɪnti* and interrogates it as to why it had

1 This situation also calls for expert treatment by a diviner in Dahomey, where the spirit that is believed to come as a baby, lives a short span on earth, and goes away again, is called *abiku*. Such children in Dahomey are vowed to a deity, who takes them under special protection.

2 Here is inserted the day-name of the mother, if the child is yet unborn, or that of the child itself, if birth has already taken place.

3 Lit. 'father of the god.'

killed the other children born to this woman, and ascertains the nature of its demands for refraining from killing the one to be born.

These are not the only dangers which threaten a child. It is believed there are others that have their being in the quarrels between father and mother, and that imperil the soul of the child both before and after birth. This belief, subsumed under the native term *fiofio*,[1] makes it imperative for the well-being of the child, in the womb as well as after it is born, that there be no enmity between the parents, especially as that enmity arises out of recriminations having to do with the pregnancy of the woman, or the question of the legitimacy of the child.

Twins, and the child born after twins, who is called *Dosu*,[2] and children born feet foremost, are in a category by themselves, and they are often spoken of as *ɔgri*[3] - 'bad'. It is said, for example, '*Tweling wis' den srefi*, - twins work black magic against each other,' and the statement made by a man about his twin sister was that while he was not certain whether he and his sister shared but one soul, he knew that the two souls were closely attuned, so that if a *wɩnti* wished to come to his sister, and his soul refused to allow it to come, it could not do so. '*Ɛf' mi 'kra no gi na wɩnti pasi, a no mąŋ kǫ'*, - If my soul does not give the *wɩnti* permission, it cannot come.' He also told that when she was about to marry, he was consulted about his feelings for the man chosen, for had he disliked the man, his soul could have caused them to separate, and even at this very day he can cause trouble between them if he chooses. Parents of twins, and of those others who belong to the twin category, must take care, therefore, not to arouse the jealousy of one of these children.[4]

Another danger to the child is an ailment which results from the evil eye. One remedy is to bring the child to a Jewish rabbi and have him read Hebrew words out of a book.[5] This is followed by a

1 Cf. Penard, (I), p. 168, and below, pp. 53ff.

2 *Dosu* is the name given such children in Dahomey (f. *Dosi;* m. *Dosu*). The name *Dosu* is also found in Haiti, according to Parsons, (I), p. 173, and Encyc., p. 501, and among the Saramacca Bush-Negroes. Unlike the case in these other regions, there is no organised twin-cult in Paramaribo.

3 The meaning of the word *ɔgri*, - evil, or bad - as spoken by Negroes in all languages of West Africa or the New World is often not deprecatory at all, but one of admiration for endowments which permit a person to ignore traditional or prudent behavior.

4 In the ambivalent attitude toward twins that exists in the colony, we may have the manifestation of a telescoping of two distinct attitudes toward twins which derive from different regions in West Africa, - one of worship, and one of abhorrence.

5 The influence which the Jews of the colony have had on this Negro culture is shown in a number of *taki-taki* words, and in some Negro customs. Thus like the word *trefu, kasiri* is derived from the Hebrew *kasher*, to purify. Another example of this influence is the belief that anniversary lights must be lighted for those who are dead, though something similar is to be seen in the Dahomean custom of lighting lamps on the anniversary of a death and, of course, in Catholic ritual.

series of purifying baths in water in which washing blue, salt, urine, and *sibi-wiri* have been placed. The invocation in this case is, '*Pikin fō mama, mi na mama fō yu. Mi 'ɛ was' yu fō yu sɪkin mu lɛkti. Na sisibi mu sisibi ala 'ɛbi*. - Mother's child, I am your mother. I wash you that your body may lighten. The broom must sweep away all heaviness (i.e., the load you are bearing).' Not only must children be guarded against this danger of the evil eye, but grown-ups as well, for though less susceptible, they are not immune to the ill effects of the evil eye, especially if their souls are not strong enough to resist the machinations of those who wish to harm them.[1]

The gravest supernatural threat of all, particularly to children, is that of the vampire, the *azemąn*.[2] These creatures are thought to be women, who, at night, shed their skins, change into animal form, and drink the blood of human beings. Protection against the *azemąn* is had by scattering rice or *abongra* (sesame), or red pepper, in the room near the door of the sleeping-place, or by placing a broom against the door. It is held that a vampire cannot leave until she has picked up every grain that lies there, or counted the separate straws, and so is caught. Another way is to wait until a vampire sheds her skin, and then to rub pepper on it, so that when she returns to convert herself into human form, she will be unable to step into her skin again and will stay in recognisable form until daybreak, when she will be caught.[3] Should a woman be suspected of being an *azemąn*, she will be driven out of the colony; in olden times, she would have been killed.

No marked ceremonialism attends the attainment of puberty. If a girl's maternal grandmother, or an aunt, or older sister lives on a plantation, she may be sent away from the city for the duration of the first menstrual period. The members of her immediate family are all informed, and they make her small gifts if they can afford them. The girl's parents may, in addition to the kerchief they buy her, and the dress they also get her, if their means allow, purchase a gold chain for her *akra*, and if she is not in good health, care is taken to give the girl's soul a feast, or a gift sometime during the year. When the succeeding periods come, she sleeps away from the men of the family, and never thereafter shares a mat with her brothers, for '*a trǫn bɪgi suma kaba*, - she has changed into a full grown person already.'[4] In the case of a boy, the 'medicine'

1 In Haiti this same belief is held, and the evil eye is called *mal jok*.

2 Cf. Encyc., p. 63, where a discussion of the beliefs centering about the *azemą* is to be found. While it is stated that *aze* is an African word, the place of origin is not indicated. However, the word comes from Dahomey, where it is associated with the same concept. In *Fǫ, aze* is a witch, *azemą* a vampire; in Yoruba the word for witch is *aje*, in Edo, *aze*.

3 For this concept as a motif in an African tale, see Rattray, (III), p. 127. Penard, (II), p. 242, recounts the same way of catching the *azemą* as we give.

4 The *taki-taki* idiom for growing up is '*bɪgi a kɪsi hɛm kaba*, - big has caught him already.'

made of the manatee which had been given him for ‘strength’ since childhood is discontinued when he reaches puberty so as not to superinduce sexual excitation, though he may supply himself with other ‘medicines’ for virility, if his sexual appetites are developed at an early age. All illnesses or maladjustments which occur at adolescence are interpreted as being either maladies of an angered soul, or as originating from *wɩnti* who wish to make a devotee of a girl or boy. We shall see in our discussion of the soul and the gods how health is restored in the first instance by gratifying the *akra* with some coveted attention, - the individual acts, of course, as the soul's agent - and in the second by pacifying the *wɩnti* with dancing.

8. The Soul

In our discussion thus far we have described those customs and sanctions which may be loosely grouped under the heading of social beliefs and practices. We may now turn to the consideration of certain spiritual forces which, from the point of view of the people themselves, are judged to be the concern of the individual. It must not be inferred, however, that these manifestations are the less based on popular sanction. In fact, we have already had occasion to refer to a number of the spiritual forces which we are now to discuss in more detail, for so integrated are the religious sanctions with all phases of life that whatever the approach, or whatever phase of life is touched upon, these must be introduced.

Of all the supernatural forces which govern the destiny of the individual, none surpasses the role of the *akra*, - the soul - in determining that destiny.[1] The *akra* is a man's ruling spirit, and when it is well disposed toward him guards him against the sinister forces that are set in motion by human enemies, or unfriendly gods. It comes to a man at birth, and dies with him when he dies; and except for its wanderings during a man's sleep, it is with him always, and is faithfully on guard for him, if its dictates are obeyed.

Associated with the *akra* is the *djodjo*,[2] but so little uniformity of opinion exists about the nature of these two forces that we shall give both of the two views most frequently met with. One view holds that the two terms are the names for the two separate souls with which every man is endowed at birth, and while the *akra* remains with the individual, the *djodjo*, which is also the man's shadow, is the wanderer, the soul which goes abroad to see strange things.

1 The word *akra* or '*kra* derives from the Twi word which has the same meaning.

2 *Djodjo*, perhaps, comes from the Fǫ, since the root *djo* (a guardian) is contained in the Dahomean word *djɔtɔ* (guardian-father), the name given to one of a person's souls. Cf. Encyc., pp. 35-36. Penard, (I), pp. 159-161.

When a man is about to die, it returns from whatever distant place it had strayed, and dies with him, to become, however, the man's *yɔrka*, - his ghost. But having been a restless soul during the life of the man, it remains restless after death, and when a man is given improper burial, or when he has led an evil life, this *djodjo*, because of anger toward the world of the living, or because of its inherent evil nature, haunts human dwellings and thoroughfares, and carries with it misfortune and death for the living. It is also said that a man's *djodjo*, in the course of its wanderings, may be trapped or imprisoned or shot by a sorcerer; thus is brought on the slow death of the man to whom it belongs, and the *djodjo* becomes the tool of the sorcerer for his death-dealing errands. In the course of these wanderings, however, the *djodjo* has opportunities to learn secrets, and it is this knowledge that is revealed to man in dreams, though the revelations are made in symbolic form, and require to be interpreted by those who know the lore of dreams and the meaning of the symbols.[1]

Yet another name heard for *akra* and *djodjo* is *ye* or *yeye*, and this is said by those who hold the second view of the matter to be both the soul and the shadow of the man. This, too, is claimed for the *akra* by those who hold that *akra* and *djodjo* and *yeye* are synonyms. The *akra*, they argue, has all the powers ascribed to the *djodjo* and all its attributes, for it goes forth in sleep to visit strange places, and what it sees, man experiences as dreams; it can be trapped, imprisoned or shot by a sorcerer, and after death can come to haunt the living as a *yɔrka;* when offended it may decide to leave the individual and set out on a journey, coming back before the death of the individual to die with him.

Whether there are two souls or one for each individual, the term which has greatest currency is *akra* or '*kra*.[2] What does a man know about his soul? To begin with, there are, apparently, as many categories of souls as there are days of the week.[3] Every individual has one name which he does not disclose, unless he is consulting a diviner, and this name is his ‘day name’, of which mention has already been made. It derives from the day of the week on which

1 Some Paramaribo dream-symbols will be found in a separate section of this work.

2 Penard, (I), p. 59, also speaks of two souls, a Mother '*kra* and a Father '*kra*. We ourselves have heard no reference to these.

3 These day names are so well known that it is not necessary to repeat them here. They are those given in Encyc., p. 501, for Suriname and for the Twi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast; by Westermann, (I), p. 49 (columns 3 and 4), for the Ewe-speaking peoples of Togo; and by Delafosse (II), p. 133, for the Agni of the Ivory Coast. They have persisted in Jamaica, (Beckwith, I, p. 59) and in other parts of the New World, as witness the Negro names of Cuffy and Cudjo, in use in the south of the United States. They are also found, in translation, as names of Negroes who live in the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina, where there are men named ‘Thursday’ or ‘Saturday’.

a man is born, and is called his '*kra* name. In discussing causes for divorce, reference was made to the fact that the soul of a man and a woman may not agree, and that is because some souls are not compatible. Today, only those versed in the ancient mythology can trace back how the gods had fared in their matings in order to understand the cause of these maladjustments, but of these, few survive. An informant, whose name is that given to a male child born on Thursday, - *Yao* - indicated that a Saturday girl would be a congenial mate for him, but not one born on a Friday. In writing of marriage, we also mentioned that it is held that a man and a woman born on the same day are rarely successful in marriage, or any other undertaking involving a partnership. This is because the two derive their knowledge from the same supernatural forces, and are equally aware of situations, so that if one uses bad judgment on occasion, or attempts some deception, the other recognises this instantly, and this makes for friction.

Not alone, however, are souls to be classified according to the days of the week and the resulting powers which inhere in these days, but also according to whether they are weak souls, or strong.[1] Several persons told us that because their souls are not strong, if bad magic is planted during the night for some neighbor in the yard, they awake the next morning feeling ‘like licks all over the body’, - as though they had been flogged. Indeed, a soul lacking in strength is the prey of any force that wishes to control it, and since strength of soul is inherited, the only recourse an individual has to seek to strengthen his '*kra* is to resort to a diviner for magic to keep the evil forces away. A strong soul, however desirable it may be, brings difficulties to its possessor. In defining the term *akra* and its role in the life of the individual, we qualified the fulfilment of that role as conditional upon its being well disposed toward the individual, and upon its having its dictates followed. A promise made to a strong soul, if not carried out, angers the soul, and causes it to seek vengeance, which in extreme form leads its possessor to behave in such anti-social ways as to steal, to destroy property and even to kill. A strong '*kra*, if it chooses, may dispute the right of a *wɩnti* to become a familiar of the individual, so that the *wɩnti* harasses him and brings him illness.

In order to understand what these promises to the soul are, we must turn to a consideration of the forms which worship of the *akra* takes. One of the duties which every individual owes his *akra* is to give it a timely feast.[2] This should be done annually, if a person

1 In discussing the concept of the soul with Ashanti informants in the Gold Coast, West Africa, we were told of a belief that prevails there in two kinds of *sunsun*, or supplementary souls, a ‘light’ or weak, impressionable type, and a ‘heavy’ or strong type.

2 In Dahomey a person gives a feast for his soul when the diviner consulted states that his questioning of Destiny has indicated the inquirer's soul desires such a feast to be given.

has the means with which to do it, for the *akra* refuses to be taken for granted. It must not be thought, however, that debts to the soul are acquitted in as regular a manner as this statement would imply. As a matter of fact, a person delays doing homage to his soul until such a time as he has unmistakable evidence, through some overt manifestation on the part of his soul, that it is displeased and must be placated. So much has this become a truism that when one invites friends to a meal of any kind, gossip at once takes for granted that this is not a casual invitation, but is in effect a 'feast' for the person's soul, and at once someone recalls some mishap, actual or imagined, that has occurred to the person giving the 'feast', as confirmation of the fact that the '*kra* has made its demands on its possessor.

When misadventures come to a person, though his first thought is that his soul is asking for its due, he goes to a diviner to call his soul to discover its specific wishes. A person's '*kra* may ask for a feast. It may ask for a gold chain, if the possessor is a woman. It may ask for any item of apparel that has taken its fancy. It may want a bicycle, and we know of a case where a man's '*kra* desired an automobile! The usual request, however, is either for a gold chain, in the instances of young women, or a '*kra tafra*, a feast for the '*kra*, for others. Though the soul refuses to be ignored, it can be reasoned with, and a promise can be made that payment will be given it at some future date. Another device is to give a *to*, a sort of partial payment towards a deferred fulfilment of its demands. All such negotiations are carried on through the diviner, for though all mature individuals know how to serve their souls, it is only the diviner who can call the soul to come into the head of an individual so that it can be questioned. If any but a specialist undertook this, he might not know how to *saka na 'kra*, 'dismiss the soul', (especially if in the process of questioning, a cup were placed on the head instead of in the hand, when insanity would ensue). This necessity for a specialist's aid is a general pattern of belief, which is even more in evidence when the manner in which a person works with his *wɩnti* is considered.

To call the *akra*, the person who comes to consult the diviner wears something of which he is extremely fond. He is seated on a '*kra bąŋgi*, - a stool for the soul.[1] The diviner is also seated on a stool. An egg is put into a bowl of rainwater, and someone who is assisting at the ceremony takes a new calabash and throws water all about the person whose *akra* is being called. If a black pot, one of the kind made by Bush-Negro women, is available, this replaces the new calabash, and such a pot may be used many times. The

1 The importance of the stool as something associated with its owner's '*kra* has been discussed in detail by Rattray, (II) *passim*. In Dahomey, we found that stools, especially the stools of the king or of chiefs, are of great ceremonial importance.

diviner addresses the soul: '*Akra Kwasi*,' he says, if the subject, for example, is a man born on Sunday, '*Mi taki, mi dɛ bɛgi fō yɛre sąn yu dɛ habi fanodu. Tąŋgi, tąŋgi, mi dɛ bɛgi yu nąŋga saka fasi, pɔti pikin*,[1] *a wani sabi są na bǫn yeye*[2] *habi fanodu*. - Sunday soul, I speak to you, I beg (pray) you, to hear what your desire is. Thank you, thank you, (please, please), I pray you, prostrating myself, this poor child wishes to know what the good soul has need of.' As each word is spoken, water is sprayed from the calabash by the diviner. This is said over and over, until the *akra* comes into the head of its possessor. This is easily recognised by those who are watching, because when this happens, the body begins to tremble, the eyelids grow heavy, and the bowl which is held by the person in his right hand, or on his head, begins to shake from side to side. The diviner, if one is in charge,[3] then begins to question the soul, and the water in the bowl, as it moves from side to side, spills if the answer is 'yes' to the question put to it, and does not move if the answer is 'no'.

Let us suppose that the *akra* has demanded a feast. The diviner then asks it what kind of a feast it desires. It may request that the individual dine alone with it. If that is the case, the table is set for two, one place for the '*kra* and one for its owner. The usual feast consists of a meal of rice, eggs, and chicken. When there is chicken or pigeon, the bones must not be eaten, and when the chicken is divided, care must be taken that the pieces are severed at the joints, so that no bone is broken. If this happens, the whole '*kra tafra* is spoiled. These bones are saved and are put away, serving as 'a kind of stop for bad'. The food served at such meal must be eaten with the hands, for no fork or spoon may touch it.[4] Before the person concerned sits down to this meal, the diviner causes him to remove his clothes, and washes him with the contents of a pot containing healing herbs. For the *akra*, these are fragrant leaves, and perfume constitutes an important ingredient that is always added. The diviner uses a hen for the washing which he takes up by the legs and bends back the head until he can hold the animal by its head and legs,[5] in this way making a sponge of the body. This is called washing away the *hɛbi*, that is to say, the 'heaviness' that oppresses a person. Should a hen that has been so used live,

1 *Pikin*, literally 'child', is used irrespective of the age of the suppliant.
2 Compare the Dahomean word for shadow-soul, *yɛ*.
3 It is not unusual to have an old woman of the family act in place of the diviner, if the cup is held in the hand. This may be a mother, a grandmother, or a maternal aunt.
4 This exemplifies the lag so often found in ceremonial practice when ritual is compared with everyday usage.
5 At the consecration of the drums employed in the great annual ceremonies to the Dahomean sky-deities, - *Mawu, Lisa* and the associated gods of their pantheon - the drummer held the chickens which he passed over the drums in exactly this manner.



Plate XII. A compound yard.

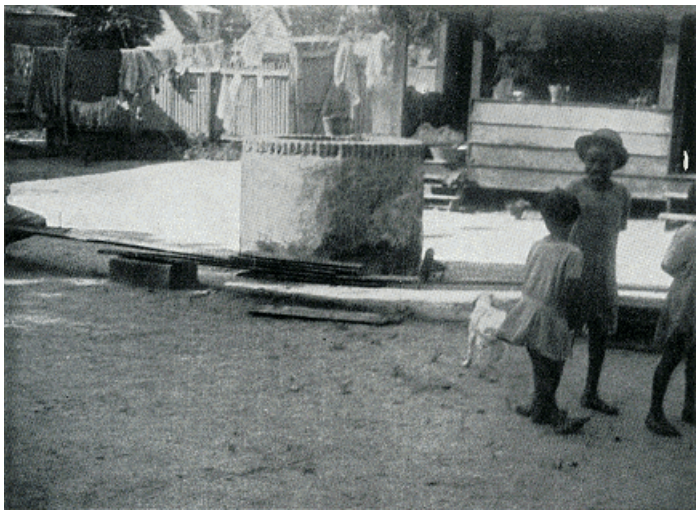


Plate XIII. Another view inside the same compound yard shown in Plate XII.

it is considered lucky for purposes of breeding, but if it dies, it is never eaten. After this washing, a bottle of beer is poured over the head of the person who has been bathed. This is followed by emptying the contents of a small bottle of sweet liquor and some perfume over him. If the '*kra* asks for a large feast, friends are invited to come at an appointed time, but they are not told why they had been invited, or that the *akra* is in any way concerned. Sometimes, in addition to the meal for the *akra*, a trinket, such as a chain or a ring or a bracelet, may be prescribed. After such a trinket is bought, it must be immersed in a bowl containing weeds and perfume, for purification. This is called *kaser*, or *kasiri*,[1] and is done secretly by the person who has called the *akra*.

Those who are provident, and do not wait until the soul is angered to give it recognition, may perform the ceremony called *paị̂ akra*, a phrase that signifies 'to pay the soul', but has the idiomatic meaning of making an offering for the soul. For this a black pot of the type mentioned before is employed for the ceremonial bath, and a new calabash is used to hold the offering. This consists of seven grains of *nɛŋgɛre kɔndre pɛpre*, seven half-cent pieces (the smallest Dutch coins); one ell of blue cotton, and sometimes red cotton as well; one bottle of sweet liquor; a few *abongra* (sesame) seeds, and *akąnsa*.[2] The calabash or pot containing these ingredients is left at a cross-roads, the customary place of sacrifice for all but river and snake gods. If the *akra* is satisfied with what has been given it, 'you don't find it when the *akra* take it.' Therefore, if the offerings at the cross-roads are undisturbed the next day, it is a sign that what has been given is insufficient and has not met with the *akra's* approval. When this occurs, the person who made the sacrifice at once goes to a diviner, and the ceremony described above takes place.

The '*kra* is also called in cases of illness. The person whose '*kra* is to be summoned is seated. A porcelain cup of which this man or woman is fond, and the kerchief he or she likes best are brought out. The kerchief is rolled into a carrying-pad. The cup is filled with water, and an egg and a Dutch silver 10-cent piece are placed inside it. When the '*kra* enters the head, and the diviner questions the soul, the answer is 'yes' when the water is spilled toward the questioner, and 'no' when it is spilled away from him. The cup and the coin must be retained and the former will be known as *mi 'kra komki*, 'my soul's cup.'

We have spoken of the particular importance of inviting the souls of children to accompany their possessors to the new home when moving from one place to another. In order to do this it is necessary to go to the place where the child was born, and summon the *akra* from there, for the soul has a strong attachment for the place where its bearer came into the world. The invocation pro-

1 See above, p. 42, note 5.
2 See above, p. 15, note 2.

nounced, is, '*Akra Amba* (for a girl born on Saturday), *mi dɛ kari yu fō yu no tą' na baka*. - Saturday soul, I call you that you do not remain behind.' While this is said, rainwater from a new calabash is sprinkled in front of the child's mother, who speaks the invocation, and behind her. A woman performs this ceremony for herself and for her children, but not for her husband, who must do it himself. Belief holds that this is necessary, not alone to show deference to what might be a temperamental soul, but to safeguard the *akra* from being detained by any 'bad' *wɩnti* that might live in the yard from which the soul's possessor is moving. When the term 'bad *wɩnti*' was spoken in this connection, reference was made to an evil spirit that possessed some tenant in the yard out of which the owners of the souls in question were moving.

Let us give a concrete instance of what happens when a soul is neglected, and an account of the experience of recovering a soul.

> When C... was ten years old, her mother moved from the house in Nickerie[1] where C... was born, and herself went to Paramaribo, leaving her with a maternal aunt. Shortly after her mother went away, C... went to bed with fever, and became so weak that she could hot leave her mat. The doctor diagnosed the disease as malaria, and advised that she be taken to Paramaribo, where the climate is better than at Nickerie. In Paramaribo, however, she did not recover, and had hallucinations that there were crowds of people near her bed. After a few weeks in Paramaribo, her mother, at the advice of an old woman, consulted a 'Djuka'. The old woman brought him to their house that evening, as C... was unable to walk. He asked the mother what was wrong, but her mother did not describe her illness to him, because the test of a good healer is that he himself, when he becomes possessed, repeats the history of the case and the circumstance that brought the illness about. The mother gave this 'Djuka' some rum, which he drank, and he then took a large red kerchief and waved it about his head, while he spoke an invocation in the 'Djuka' tongue, which none of the townspeople present understood. He put the handkerchief back, and taking C... 's wrist in his hand, held it until he began to tremble. The chair under him began to rattle, 'It went *r-r-r-r-r*.' When these tremors subsided, he sat still for a long time, - the whole consultation took more than an hour. Then he told her mother that C... was very sick, for she had been brought away from her place of birth without her *akra*. Having diagnosed the case, he left, saying that if the mother wished to find out more, she should bring C... to his house. For this diagnosis he was given no money.
> At four o'clock the next morning, 'so we could go with the wind', they went to see the 'Djuka'. They brought with them half a bottle of rum, a cigar, and one guilder fifty cents. His house on the outskirts of the town was the usual 'Djuka' hut, with a thatched roof. He sat on a carved stool, which was covered with white clay. He drank some of the rum, and put the same red kerchief about his neck, 'like a scarf.' He took up a rattle in one hand, and a mat, about eight inches wide and twenty-four inches long, which he folded in half, in the other. A mirror lay before him, and he sat smoking his cigar. Then he said to C... 's mother, '*Mɩsi, na yu pikin 'ɛ sɩki. Ɛŋ akra a bɛn dɛ libi na baka. Ma yu luku fō feti fō kɩsi hɛm baka, bikasi a weri*

1 Nickerie is a settlement near the mouth of the Corantyne river, on the border of British Guiana.

kaba. - Missi, your child is sick. Her soul was left behind. But you must see to it quickly in order to get it back, because she is already weary.' He

began to question the mirror. '*Na bǫn akra? Ɛfi na ɔgri wą, hɔri hɛm baka*. - Is it a good soul? (For) if it is a bad one, hold it back.' '*Na bǭn?* - Is it a good one?' The folded mat in his hand opened. Her soul was a good one. '*Fō sąn ɛde yu hɔri hɛm na baka*? - Why are you keeping it back?' Then he said, '*Lusu hɛm gi mi, bikasi na wą pɔti pikin*. - Free it for me, because she is a poor child.' He stopped the rattle and said to the mother, 'It went away because you did not call it.' Then he said the spirit wanted many things to appease it. The mother must get a *prapi* (a basin) and put into it a half-bottle of drink, - table-wine, not rum - a small bottle of molasses, (an old bottle was needed as a container for this), one ell of red cotton, one ell of blue cotton, some *abongra* (sesame) seeds, and a piece of white chalk. The following night the 'Djuka', the mother, and C... were taken to the Suriname river where it widens, a short way downstream below Paramaribo. The boatmen were her mother's friends, for in a ceremony of this kind, there must be no strangers about. The 'Djuka' uttered an incantation, as they rowed slowly; then the boat stopped. He scooped up some water in his hands, and threw it over the sick girl's head three times. Taking the basin, he rested it on the palm of his hands, and, holding it thus, slowly lowered his hands into the water, continuing the incantation in his own tongue. As he chanted, the basin floated softly out of his hands. 'Don't see nobody, but don't see the *prapi* no more. The water take it.'

The *akra* of this girl also wanted a gold chain. After purchasing it, the chain was taken to the 'Djuka' a few days later, and left with him with another *prapi* which held a small bottle of perfume. When the 'Djuka' came again in a few days, he carried the *prapi*, which still contained the perfume, and, in addition, some herbs and flowers, and the chain. He took the chain from the basin, and, first with the right hand and then with the left, he circled it several times over C... 's head, finally putting it around her neck. In eight days, her fever left her, and though for another month she was still weak, she recovered and has been well since.

The mother paid ninety guilders for this cure. Had the payment not been made, the cure would not have remained effective, but if C... had not recovered, the 'Djuka' would have received no payment for his efforts. Indeed, this matter of payment is, to the townspeople, an indication of the good faith and ability of a diviner. We were told by a man who had had many dealings with diviners that the manner in which a good practitioner can be told from a bad one is this: 'The bad one asks you plenty money when he begin. He make no promise but he talk big. When a man is good, he don't ask nothing, but he make man come better, and don't charge too much when he finish.'

We have observed several times that the soul makes demands on its possessor. It must be recognised, in this connection, that a person uses or wears the belongings of his soul, or consumes what food the soul is given. The distinction between what belongs to the person as an individual, and what he keeps as custodian for his *akra*, is nevertheless sharply made. In the first category are those things which a person may dispose of whenever he wishes, and in any way he chooses. With those things in the second category, the property of his soul, he may take no liberties; and if he does dispose of his '*kra's* possessions, punishment is inflicted upon him by the real owner, his *akra*. We witnessed one such instance in the case

of a woman who had taken the liberty of pawning a gold chain that belonged to her *akra*. It was in a compound where we were collecting songs, and the season was that of the *wɩnti*-dances, several of which were taking place that same week. As our phonograph was recording songs sacred to the water-gods, we suddenly heard the sound of violent retching outside the cabin where we were at work, and soon a woman entered who was possessed by a *wɩnti*. She was obviously in great pain, and was in ugly temper, swaggering about between her spasms of retching, frowning, glaring at everyone in a hostile fashion, and threatening all who were present. As is customary, we offered her spirit a drink of beer, and she said, ‘I don't want any gifts from you. I am a strong *ɻngi wɩnti* and I can have all the champagne I want from the White man's boats by capsizing your steamers.’ We were told that this retching was soon expected to bring up blood, because this woman's soul was tormenting her, and turning her friendly *wɩnti*-spirit into an ugly one, in punishment of the pawning of the gold chain belonging to it. She came out of her possession for a few moments, explained that she had lived in British Guiana, and added in perfect English, ‘I am not insulting you, sir. It is my '*kra* troubling me.’

When situations of this kind arise, it is believed that the offended soul may force its possessor to steal in order to procure the means for redeeming the pawned article. It is, therefore, the duty of the family to help the individual, and if the family is unwilling or unable to do this, the soul causes the person to break and destroy things. When this happens, and the demands of the soul are such that the family either considers them exorbitant, or beyond any possible means at their diposal, they call a diviner to try to appease the soul, in the manner we have described. Should the soul, however, refuse to be appeased by a partial gift, an attempt is then made to discipline it by having the diviner ‘tie’ it, - that is, they will have him try to subjugate it. In order to do this, a powerful *wɩnti* belonging to the diviner, who in this case, is a priest of that *wɩnti*, is called upon to take the recalcitrant soul in hand. The ‘tying’ is generally done in the following way: The *akra* which is thought greedy is lured to manifest itself by setting before it all kinds of food, - rice, *abongra*, liquor, chicken. White thread is put about this offering of food, and when the soul is called and it goes to take the food which is there before it, the diviner quickly takes up the ends of the thread and ties them into a knot, as he pronounces the words, ‘Monday soul, I have now tied you.’ But if the soul is strong and very wrought up, it will beat the *wɩntimąn*, powerful as is his god, and will not allow itself to be ‘tied.’ As mentioned when discussing the means men and women have recourse to in order to insure fidelity, this process of ‘tying’ of the soul is employed for other than disciplinary action against an unruly soul, and it can also be utilised to subjugate an orderly soul to the will and machinations of another.

9. Fiofio

In the concept of *fiofio* the Paramaribo Negroes manifest a fundamental African attitude toward relationships between people and the effect of the interplay of personalities on the unconscious, which, in the ideology of the people we are studying, is one of the attributes of the *akra*.[1] It concerns the belief that repressed bitterness or hatred harms both the one who had caused it, and the one who experienced it, and that the harm is to the soul.

Fiofio, as envisaged in this belief, is the name of an insect[2] and also of a spirit which, taking the shape of this insect, enters human bodies, causing illness and sometimes death. It comes as a result of family quarrelling which does not end in reconciliation. Strictly speaking, it is the extending of gestures of friendship or intimacy at a later date, when the bitterness of the quarrel has either passed or is masked, which brings on the illness. Such gestures of intimacy or friendship include accepting food that is offered, or a caress, or borrowing some kind of wearing apparel, or asking and receiving any other favor, and the resulting illness comes to either one or both of the persons who had participated in the quarrel. These situations can arise only between those who meet on intimate ground, and thus *fiofio* might come as a result of these gestures between persons of the same family who had quarrelled, or between intimate friends, or lovers, or between a mistress and a servant who has been associated with her for many years. If an illness that arises from such a cause is not promptly diagnosed by the diviner, and the necessary ceremonial retraction is not made, the disease is steadily aggravated until it brings death, or at the least, misfortune of some sort to harass the family of the persons involved.

We may illustrate the working of *fiofio* with some examples. Let us consider the case of a woman who had been living with a man for some years.

> One day the man formed an attachment for the younger sister of his wife, and there was a bitter quarrel between the two women. For a long time they did not speak to each other. After some years had elapsed, and the man had passed out of the lives of both of them, and out of their memories as well, the younger sister, who was going to attend a *lɔbi-sɻŋgi* and wished to be especially well dressed for the occasion, borrowed a *koto-yaki* from the older

1 The similarity of the concept of *fiofio* to one which lies at the base of the Ashanti *apo* ceremony, described by Rattray (II, ch. XV) becomes at once apparent. The Freudian character of the ceremony of retraction and the belief in *fiofio*, - namely, that of the 'festering soul', which, only when the thing that troubles it is brought into the light of consciousness is the evil remedied, - is noteworthy. That a similar concept is held in Haiti seems apparent from a ceremony described by Seabrook (*The Magic Island*, pp. 225-226), though one cannot be sure of the reliability of the material in this work. If the ceremony was as it is described, then a failure to understand the principle underlying *fiofio* accounts for Seabrook's astonishment that those who accept a man's hospitality would revile him.

2 Of the order *Rhynchota;* cf. Encyc., p. 608.

> one. Shortly after this, the younger sister fell ill and died before it occurred to anyone that she had been stricken by *fiofio*. Our informant, who had himself been at the deathbed of this woman saw the *fiofio* insect come out of the nostril of the woman as she died. When this occurred, all recalled the quarrel that had taken place so many years ago.

Another instance of the working of *fiofio* is that of a servant who was dismissed after a quarrel with her mistress.

> The mistress was angry, and, though the servant had been with the family for many years, she was not permitted to say goodbye to a child whom she had nursed, and who was a great favorite of hers. A few years later, when all had forgotten the incident, the servant met the child, caressed it, and gave it a piece of cake. The child ate the cake, and that night fell ill. A few days later, after several remedies had been tried, it was suggested to the mother that she consult a diviner. The diagnosis was that the illness was due to *fiofio*, and the mother of the child and the servant promptly went through a ceremonial retraction.

A third example is drawn from the case of the death of a child caused by *fiofio*, that was brought about by the quarrelling of the parents.

> During the pregnancy of the mother, she quarrelled with her husband about his penuriousness. He, in turn, reproached her with sexual looseness, disclaimed responsibility for having made her pregnant, and said that the child in her womb was not his. When the child was born, it was sickly, and this was held to have been caused by the fact that in his anger the father had withdrawn the support of his soul from the child[1]. The neighbors, knowing of these quarrels, (which, incidentally, grew steadily worse after the baby was born), cautioned the mother not to accept any money from the man for the support of the child if the father was to see the baby, this measure being considered necessary to save him from being attacked by *fiofio*. The mother, who was young and not willing to place too much credence in the old beliefs, did not heed the warning. When the baby was three months old, he died. The mother, discussing this, said that a girl might have survived, because of the support of her own soul, but that boys get their strength from their fathers.

Generally speaking, if the members of a family suffer a series of misfortunes, - when the crops of one brother are poor, another brother has repeated illnesses in his home, a third loses his job, a sister's children die shortly after birth, and another sister is unable to live for any length of time with the men with whom she forms alliances - the townspeople say, ‘It's *fiofio*. Don't you remember how they quarrelled when their uncle died? They never made up the quarrel, and they became friendly again. It's *fiofio*!’ The friends of such a family counsel a visit to a diviner, and if the

1 In the Saramacca bush during the period of gestation the husband sleeps with his wife nightly in order to ‘feed the child.’ Should the husband die during his wife's pregnancy, she not only does not go into mourning for him, but that very night the man's brother, or a cousin in the maternal line, or the dead man's sister's son, if old enough, must go to her hammock, and will share it with her until the child is born.

diagnosis is indeed that it is *fiofio*, the ceremony of retraction known as *puru mɔfo*,[2] (literally, 'whithdraw from the mouth'), is performed. Those in-

2 Rattray (V, p. 180) states 'pǫ̱ṅ (mpǫ̱ṅ) means literally to pull off, or strip off, hence to remove, take back...'

volved in the quarrel gather, and the one who has wronged the other calls on the soul of the wronged one, saying '*Akra Kwami* (if it is a man, born on Saturday), I did not mean to offend you. I was hasty. Do not revenge yourself upon me, or upon my wife, or our children. I beg you, overlook what I said and do not bear me any ill will.' He then takes some water into his mouth, and spurts it out before his own doorway, repeating this formula three times. If there has been reciprocal wrong done, then each in his turn will call on the soul of the other, begging pardon for himself and for his family.

The ceremony of retraction is preceded and followed by washing, and the idiom for this is '*Mi go was' fiofio watra*, - I am going to wash in *fiofio* water.' Cold water is used, to which the skin of a large plantain, dried in smoke, some egg-shells, seven pieces of white chalk, *nɛŋgɛre kɔndre pɛpre*, - African pepper,[1] - and *s'ibi wiri*, - sweet broom - are added. The washing may take place early in the morning, or at mid-day, or in the evening, but if a person is undergoing a cure he washes three times a day. The invocation for the washing is '*Sisibi dɪsi di sibi 'ɛbi gowe, a so den 'ɛbi di dɛ na yu mu gowe tu. So leẹ̈iki fa ma-foru tyari ɛŋ pikin a de broko dɛn, na so ala sąn' di yu tyari mu broko kǫ̣m na krịŋ*. - Just as this broom sweeps heaviness away, so, too, must your heaviness go away. Just as the mother hen carries her child until it breaks the egg, so everything that you carry must break and come out in the open.'[2]

For an understanding of the concept of *fiofio*, it must be recognised that enmity in itself does not bring this spiritual recrimination, even when that enmity exists between those who, as neighbors or blood-relations, are thrown into close contact. It is only when conscious or unconscious hypocrisy enters that the souls become resentful and bring on illness.

10. Divination

The references we have made to divining must already have suggested that divination plays an important part in the life of the Suriname town Negroes. Indeed, so impressed are the Paramaribo Negroes themselves with this, that those who have knowledge of the life of the Saramacca tribe of Bush-Negroes make the point that there is greater recourse to divination in the city than in the bush. It was claimed that among the Saramacca people there are only a few important diviners to be found, - one at the village of

1 *Aframomum melegueta* K. Sch. Fam. *Zingiberaceae*. 'De plant is uit Afrika afkomstig.' Encyc. p. 34.

2 In explaining this invocation, our informant said, 'Just as the chick comes out of the egg-shell, so the sickness must come out of the person who is ill.' The meaning of the figure 'just as the mother hen carries her child' is obviously 'just as the mother hen cares for her child.'

Lɔmbe, a short distance south of the rail-head, and several others in the distant village of *Dahome*, on the far upper river - whereas in Paramaribo alone, there are several times as many, and they are the more skilled. While to our own knowledge of life in the Suriname bush this statement is not borne out by actual fact, the significance of such an assertion as demonstrating the place the Suriname town Negroes give their own diviners, - despite the superiority ordinarily acceded the Bush-Negroes in dealing with the supernatural, - is of the first order.

Diviners are called *lukumąn*, 'those who look'. Loosely, however, all those who deal with the supernatural, whether as diviners or as workers of evil magic, or as providers of magic which protects, as well as those who exorcise evil spirits such as ghosts, and those who pacify personal spirits which have been aroused, are called *Djuka*. Another name, with the same general implication, is *bonu*[1], a third *obiamąn*. Conversationally, a practitioner of any one of the above categories is also referred to as a *wɩntimąn*, or a *wisimąn*. When, however, an individual informant is questioned closely, he carefully differentiates these categories. A *lukumąn*, he explans, is a diviner who also cures souls. A *wɩntimąn* is one who deals with the spirits called *wɩnti*, the gods, and cures all illnesses sent by these spirits. A *wisimąn* is a practitioner of black magic, and as such can if he chooses also cure black magic. The maker of protective charms, if yet finer differentiation is sought, is the *obiamąn*, one who deals in *obia*[2], and the *obiamąn* will also at times be designated as the one who cures *wisi*, evil magic. It must be indicated, nevertheless, that in reality this separation of function is most frequently only theoretical, for it is seldom that a man in any one of the categories named is not competent as well in at least one other, and some are skilled in all.

While discussing divination and those who divine, it is also necessary to name the Indian *piąimąn*, and the *kartamąn*, - literally 'card-man,' - the latter of whom may be White or Javanese or Hindu as well as Negro. In order to understand why the Negro values the Indian diviner, we must glance at his attitude toward the ranking of Indian, Negro, and White supernatural powers. The logic with which he approaches this problem is that for himself his

1 *Bonu* has, as its derivation, the Fǫ term *gbo*, a Dahomean word applied to magical charms.

2 According to the suggestion of Professor D. Westermann, the word *obia* may be derived from the *Bia* river, a mythologically important river of the Gold Coast, conceived by the Twi-speaking peoples as a brother of *Tano*, the god of all rivers (cf. Cardinall, I, pp. 48-50). The prefix 'o' denotes the singular in Twi. Another possible derivation may be from the Efik word '*Mbiam* (cf. Talbot, I, pp. 46ff.), while Sir H.H. Johnstone states '*Obia* seems to be a variant or a corruption of an Efik or Ibo word from the northeast or east of the Niger delta, which simply means "Doctor".' Recently Williams (II) has advanced the theory that the word is to be derived from the Twi *obayifo*.

own magic, - Negro magic - is the strongest, but that, in certain situations, the magic of the Indian takes precedence over his own, because the Indians, as the autochthonous inhabitants of the land, have the greatest control over the spirits of earth and water. Of White man's magic, the reading of the future by means of cards has some vogue, and anyone, whether White, Hindu, or Javanese, who can tell fortunes with cards, is said to use the White man's method of divining.

We have already described two variants of one method of divination as practised by the *lukumąn*. In one of these, when questioning the soul, the answers are given by the tilting of a cup containing water and an egg which rests on the head of the person whose soul is being called, and in the other the tilting of a cup or bowl, also containing water and an egg, held in the right hand. In both these instances, the diviner uses a folded mat, but sometimes the mat alone is employed. A *lukumąn* may also look into a mirror when he reads the future, or he may watch the surface of a basin of water which stands before him, and when the water becomes troubled the spirit is said to have entered it, and the questioning proceeds as it does when the cup placed on the head or held in the hand begins to shake. In all those instances where a mat or its equivalent, a fan, or water in a basin, is used, the answers can only be ‘yes’, or ‘no’. Divining, however, may be done by means of calling upon a *wɩnti* to enter into the body of either the diviner or of the person who came to consult him, and causing this *wɩnti* to speak. Albinos, and those exhibiting strains of albinism, who are called *bɔnkɔru*,[1] are particularly gifted diviners for they are all said to have strong *wɩnti*, and consequently important remedies.[2] If the *wɩnti* is one of African or Indian origin, it is said to ‘speak tongues’, and only the *wɩntimąn*, - the priest or priestess - is able to interpret what is said by the spirit. Certain generalised methods of divination may be mentioned here in passing, which, though they do not need a specialist to perform, may also be employed by a specialist. Thus, a fowl which is being sacrificed either to an individual's *akra* or to a *wɩnti*, is opened and its intestines or testicles are examined to see whether they are white or discolored. If they are white, the omen is one of good luck, while if they are not, the prediction is bad luck. This same test is also used as an ordeal to establish the innocence of a woman who disclaims guilt in adultery. Again, those who are

1 Among the Saramacca people albinos are called *Tonɛ* people, that is, they belong to the river gods. In Dahomey such people are said to be sacred to *Lisa*, god of the sun. According to Proyart, p. 197, albinos were sacred in Loango.

2 An informant told of one such remedy that had restored his own health, which consisted of herbs gathered by his mother in the bush, while her moves to pluck now one, now another, were directed by the *wɩnti* of the diviner who, in his own home in the city, sat in a state of possession, shaking a rattle and chanting.

possessed of *ŋgi wɩnti* (Indian spirits), especially the water-Indian spirits, are thought to have the gift of divination, even when they are not specialists in the sense that the *lukumąn* is a specialist. Certain individuals, as well, at whose birth abnormal phenomena were manifest, such as a caul, or a navel cord entwined about the neck, are thought to have special aptitudes for divination and magical practice. Such persons are encouraged to go through specialized training with an established diviner to fit themselves for this profession.

Divination as practised by the specialist, then, is a matter of training. The knowledge of the technique passes, in the main, from a man to his brother until, the generation exhausted, it is given to one of their sisters' sons. The one chosen is either selected because he is specially intelligent, or because by divination, or in a dream, he is discovered to have special aptitude for the profession. If a father cares, however, he may teach his own son his craft. In the case of women, the knowledge is passed on to sisters, or one of a woman's own daughters or sons; or if a woman has no children, then to the children of a sister. The rule is that the technique of a man is taught to a man, and that of a woman to a woman. It must be made clear that we found no sex division in the types of divination employed by diviners of the two sexes. General practice is to choose a male *lukumąn* for illnesses of the soul, but for ills caused by the *wɩnti*, a man or woman practitioner may be selected. There is a way of becoming a *lukumąn* other than by inheriting the knowledge and this occurs when an African *kɔmfo*[1] decides to take possession of a man or a woman who has been chosen by him as his fitting medium. It is not necessary that this *kɔmfo*-spirit should have manifested itself actively to the family before. In our ensuing discussion of *wɩnti*, we shall see how certain important spirits are sent to reside in trees and stones by those who die without successors, or whose successors are unwilling to continue the worship of the African gods. It may be that one such spirit who, while remaining quiescent, had yet continued to identify himself with the family, might cause a man or woman to go into a state of possession, and reveal the answers to questions sought of the supernatural. Such a *kɔmfo* needs, to be sure, to prove himself, but once his reputation for curing and prophesying[2] is established, he is then said to '*wroko furu mɔni*, - earn much money' for his possessor.

Let us illustrate one method of divination by describing the visit paid by a woman to a *lukumąn*.

1 *Kɔmfo* is the Ashanti-Fanti word for priest.

2 An especially valued instrument is called 'the *kɔmfo* telephone,' whose 'strong name' is *Kausi*. It is a stick, magically treated, which if concealed in a room, records all that is spoken, and if it is but sprayed with rum and made to hear the proper formula, need only to have one end of it placed against the ear to repeat what it had recorded.

She was ill of a fever that ‘no White doctor could cure,’ since it was a fever sent by a spirit. She went to a *lukumąn* who had helped the family before, who lived on the outskirts of the city in a house which more nearly resembled those of the Bush-Negroes than the ordinary town houses, in keeping with his title of ‘Djuka’. She said to him, ‘*Masra, mi kǫ a yu fō wą fąnodu*. - Master, I come to you because of my need.’ He asked what was the matter, and she answered that she was not well. The *lukumąn* sat down on a carved stool, the traceries on which were painted over with white chalk. On the table before him was a mirror. In one hand he held a rattle, and in the other a folded mat. He drank some liquor, and to the accompaniment of the rattle, spoke an invocation ‘in Djuka’. This was pronounced sometimes very fast, sometimes slowly, ‘but you don't understand’. Then he took up the mat, and sat looking in the mirror, shaking the rattle constantly. After a while, his eyes fixed on the mirror, he began to talk, this time in *taki-taki*, ‘because it's my spirit he talk to.’ He inquired if the spirit troubling her was bad, or if it was good. He asked if she had many friends? Many enemies? Were they men? Women? Was she going to get money? Was she going to get well soon? When the mat opened, the answer was ‘yes’, and when it remained closed the answer was ‘no’. Then the spirit was questioned about what it wanted. Was it beer? Was it money? Was it a chain? Was it a ring? If so, was this to be gold? Or silver? Sometimes a spirit wishes food. Whatever it is, the *lukumąn* tells the day on which the patient is to bring the article or series of articles; and at what particular time of the day the special food the spirit has asked for is to be eaten. After the inquirer had heard the requests of the spirit which was troubling her, she came back the next day with a *prapi* (a basin) in which perfume had been poured, - it might have been beer if the spirit had asked for this instead - and left it with the *lukumąn*, who added rainwater and some herbs from the bush. That night the woman called for the *prapi*. It was important that no one who met her should know what she was carrying. The spirit troubling her proved to be a good one, but if it had been a bad spirit, everything in that basin would have had a foul odor. ‘The stink-water washes the bad spirit away.’ She washed with the contents of the *prapi* once a day, - the washing time for curing is either at dawn, at noon, or at night. The time was given her by the *lukumąn*. In her own case, because her *akra* was weak, she washed for eight days, but in some instances only three days of washing are required. The same water was used during the entire period, and, as is ordinarily done, was kept hidden under a bed or in some corner of the house. During this time no other water was used by the patient for washing, nor was anyone outside the immediate family circle allowed to know what was in the basin. If done during the day, the washing ceremony was performed in the house, to insure privacy. There was, of course, but little water, so that a cupful or even less was all that was available for a day's washing. If, while going through these ceremonial ablutions, the patient had been surprised by a stranger, and there had been no time to hide the basin, then the stranger would have been told that she was doing it for the ‘spirit’, but she would neither have named the spirit, nor specified whether it was a good or a bad one. Had evil-smelling water been provided for the patient to wash in, and had some stranger coming in remarked about a bad odor in the

house, such a remark would have been dismissed with a joke. ‘You smell something, true, true? I don't know what it can be.’

An illness may be caused by violating a *trefu*. Perhaps it is an unconscions violation, arising out of the fact that a man's mother had never told him the name of his true father, and consequently he had been observing food taboos which were not his own and had been neglecting to observe those which were his,

since, as we have seen, these personal food taboos are inherited from the father. The *lukumąn*, is consulted, and he both diagnoses the cause of the illness, and names the foods to be avoided. A person's illnesses or difficulties which bring him to the diviner may arise out of a violation of the injunctions of some deity. He may have urinated in that portion of the yard that is identified as the habitat of the *Grǫ Mama*, - Earth Mother - of that particular yard. Or a person may come to the *lukumąn* because he has found a bundle containing porcupine-quills under his door-step, or one of red and blue cotton, or a broken calabash with evil-smelling weeds, soiled cloth and thorny bits of wood in it, and these, he knows, bode him no good. A man consults the *lukumąn* to discover why his rice-crop does not prosper, or he comes to find out who is responsible for a recent accidental death in his family that is suspected to have been brought about by other than natural causes. In the last instance, he waits until after the eighth-day wake has been celebrated, and then goes to the *lukumąn* to have him divine the person who had invoked black magic to cause the death of his relative. Or it may be such an incident as was related to us, where a *Yɔrka*, - a ghost - has manifested itself, and, through this manifestation, presages trouble.

This incident concerns a man who was sitting one night (about a week before he told us of the occurrence), drinking beer with some friends.

> He left the table for a few moments, and when he returned, his friends said they had seen a white hand reach out for his glass. When he looked, the glass was not there. He had laughed about it, but had told his mother.[1] His mother insisted that he go with her to the *lukumąn*, but he refused. She, therefore, took a piece of his underwear, and went herself. ‘The *lukumąn*, who never saw her before, or me, told her everything which was true. He said I had two good friends. One of them is not home now, - that's A... - (and he named a man whom we knew to be away at the time). He told her I had an enemy who came to the house sometimes. But he could not give his name. Last time when he looked for someone else, and gave the name of the enemy, he got a jail-sentence, because the family made too much trouble.’ The man was given a bath of perfume, with liquor and sweet-smelling weeds in it, in which there were also four *s'rıŋ* (thirty-two cents, Dutch). He was also given a liquid in a bottle to take internally as a prophylaxis against this ghost that his enemy had had sent to him through a practitioner of black magic. The potency of the liquid lies in the fact that it is a *tapu*, a preventive, against such black magic. Should the hand manifest itself again, unseen while he is drinking, the glass will break or fall from his hands so that none of the liquid might touch his lips.

1 The informant's comment at this point carries some significance in terms of acculturation: ‘All my mother does is go to church. She don't want me to go to *wıntı*-dances, even to look. But if anything happens, she runs to a *lukumąn*.’

11. Gods and Familiar Spirits[1]

a) the nature of the *wɩnti*

Divination, then, is an essential factor in the system of beliefs of the Paramaribo town Negroes, for it is through the work of the diviner that all the elements of this system are drawn together, explained, and controlled. These elements are four in number, - the *akra*, or the soul; the *wɩnti*, or the gods; *obia* and *wisi*, or good and evil magic; and the *Yɔrka*, or the spirits of the dead. Having considered the concept of the soul and its place in the lives of these people, let us now turn to an examination of the nature, manifestations and significance of the *wɩnti*.

'*Wɩnti*,' say the Negroes, 'mean wind. Wind is every place. Is air (breath). The spirit, too, is everywhere. So we says *wɩnti*.' The term, as we shall see, defines the gods and spirits which rule the destiny of the universe.[2] Among the Bush-Negroes, though the word *wɩnti*, - also spoken there as *wenti*, or *wintu* - has the same significance as among the Negroes of Paramaribo, the gods are usually designated by the term *gadō*. This latter name is heard in Paramaribo as well, though except in ritual song, it occurs usually in the exclamation '*Mi gadō!*' in daily speech. Another term heard is that of *vɔdų*,[3] (pronounced also *fɔdų*), though in the city this word has in addition to the specialised meaning of the Saramacca Negroes which makes it a generic name for snake deities, the generalised meaning that makes it synonymous with *wɩnti. Vɔdų* is a word used especially when it is wished to disguise the fact that sacred spirits are being invoked, and in such a case, the play on words, which makes *fɔdų* mean, in Negro-English, 'things that fall down', that is, litter or trash, is utilised. Thus, they sing,

> Wi wani si dem fɔdų na djari,
> Wi wani si dem, ba.
>
> We want to see the *fɔdų* in the yard,
> We want to see them, brother.

A fourth term which has currency is that of *kɔmfo*. When referring to a *kɔmfo*, a person says, '*Mi 'abi wą bigi Nɛŋgɛre-kɔnde kɔmfo*, - I have a great African spirit.' *Kɔmfo* is not, however, a synonym for the word *wɩnti*, and is identified only with specialised spirits, among them being those called Indian *wɩnti*. In addition to all these

1 Consult the article *Winti* in Encyc., pp. 750-751, Penards (I), and Van Lier, *passim*.
2 This identification of the gods and spirits with wind or air was found by us in Dahomey, where the Fǫ word *djo*, which means wind, is often employed as the term for 'god'.
3 *Vodų* in Dahomey is the term for 'deity'.

designations, the *wɩnti* songs in the Kromanti language, also give the name *bosum* or *abɔsmo*[1] for *wɩnti* or god.

Let us examine the types of *wɩnti* that fill the universe of the Suriname town Negro. Though among the Bush-Negroes the term *Massa Gran Gadō* (Supreme God) occurs repeatedly in conversation and prayer, it is but seldom that a Sky-god is invoked in Paramaribo. The only reference there to the Sky is in the *wɩnti* dances to the *Tap-Kromanti*, that is to say, to the Kromanti gods of the Sky, who comprise the seven Thunder gods. These thunder gods are *Tata Yao*,[2] *Tata Aladi* (or *Alada*), *Tata Wɛse* (or *Muwɛse*), *Tata Abonuako* (or *Akoabonua*), *Tata Anąŋka Yao, Sofia Bada*,[3] and *Ta S'rąnami*.

The Earth gods are headed by the *Mama fō Grǫ*, the Earth-Mother, who even in ritual is referred to by this euphemism and named only in songs sung by those who are actually under possession. The names given this deity are many, and this is accounted for only partially by the fact that in Paramaribo, as in the bush, deities have their 'strong' or *numąn* names which may be known only to a few who are initiated, and employed only in ritual[4]. The Earth-Mother possesses a large number of these 'strong' names, and this it appears is due to the fact that in Paramaribo are to be found the descendants of persons who derive from various regions of West Africa. Those most frequently heard in ritual are *Asasɛ*,[5] *Agida, Aida, Waisa, Aisa* or *Awąnaisa*,[6] and we have listened to persons who perhaps come from families carrying the traditions of two different regions dispute heatedly as to the 'true' name of the *Mama fō Grǫ*. One of these persons, who definitely claims descent from a Dahomean family, insisted that the Dahomean names just given are the correct ones. The point must be made, however, that so feared is the Earth-Mother, and so great are her powers, that there is the utmost reluctance to speak her name, and young people are never encouraged to question about these designations. The names that occur most often for the Earth gods as a group are *Agida, Aisa* or *Awąnaisa, Loko*,[7] and the *Grǫ ¸ŋgi*.

Worship of the *Grǫ Mama*, or the *Ma fō Doti* (Earth-Mother, or Mother of the Soil) differs from that of most of the other gods, in that while the majority of gods receive offerings from, and are

1 This is, of course, the Gold Coast *obosom*, the Twi word for god.
2 *Tata* means 'father'.
3 *Badɛ* is youngest and most powerful member of the *So* (Thunder) pantheon of Dahomey. In Dorsainvil's list (p. 39), *Zofi-Bade* appears as one of the voodoo gods in the Haitian pantheon.
4 In all West Africa, every deity, to say nothing of human beings, especially kings and chiefs, have these 'strong' names which are employed only on ceremonial occasions.
5 *Asasɛ* is the Gold Coast name for the Earth deity.
6 In Fǫ, *Ai* is the term for 'earth', and occurs in sacred names.
7 In Dahomey and among the Yoruba, *Loko (Iroko)* is the name of a sacred tree. The *Loko* tree in Dahomey, however, is a deity in the *Mawu-Lisa* pantheon, and has totemic associations for many sibs, as well.

danced for, only by their own devotees, the Earth Mother is a godhead for all *wɩnti* worshippers, whatever their particular gods. To understand this, we must recognise that every plantation, every yard, every locale, is said to have its *Grǫ Mama*, who may either be a 'good spirit', or a 'bad spirit', but who in either case must be served. The *Grǫ Mama* is served by observing the sacred character of the place identified with her habitat, usually a *kąnkąntri*, (silk-cotton tree). That is to say, people refrain from polluting it in any way and also make it offerings of food and drink once a year or more often, if demands upon her are made for special favors. If angered, the *Grǫ Mama* manifests herself as a snake, - a *Dagowe* or *Aboma*[1]; as an alligator, - *Kaimąn*; or as an owl, - *ɔru-kuku*. If when she appears as a snake, let us say, a person scoffs or says 'If I had seen it in time, I'd have killed it,' she reappears in the person's house, with an air of challenge, 'Here I am. Kill me, if you like!' She might also appear in his bed at night. She can be appeased with a generous offering of eggs, and a prayer for forgiveness. '*Mama, mi dɛ bɛgi yu nąŋga saka fasi, mi no du fō ɔgri*. - Mother, I humble myself and pray you, I had not intended to do harm.' If he should have had the misfortune to offend a bad *Grǫ Mama* who refuses to pardon him, she appears and reappears to challenge him, finally entering his body, and thereupon speaks with the man's voice telling him that she wishes him to become her *hasi*,[2] her devotee. Should he resist her, saying he does not care to have a *wɩnti*, he begins to do unaccountable things, - to steal, to destroy property, to kill. A friendly and well-propitiated *Grǫ Mama*, however, protects the inhabitants of her domain. Thus, no oath is as binding as one pronounced in her name, which is followed by the swallowing of a few drops of the blood of both parties to the oath, to which some earth had been added; nor is any threat as dangerous as that of invoking the vengeance of the *Grǫ Mama*. Thus we heard a Negro woman say in anger to a man of Indian-White descent, '*Luku bǫn, mi nąŋga yu habi na srɛf'-srɛfi Grǫ Mama*. - Take care, I and you have the selfsame Earth Mother.'

The most prevalent types of *wɩnti* among women in particular ire those associated with the snake, and since these enter into all the categories of *wɩnti*, we list them after the gods of the Sky and Earth. Of these we have *Dagowe*,[3] *Papa, Vɔdų, Heį-grǫ, Aboma, Aninino*,[4] *Alado, Sɩnero, Korowena, Kwɛnda, Tobochina*, and

1 Kongo *mboma*, python. (Bentley, p. 170).
2 Lit. horse; in Haiti *choual (cheval)* is used with the same significance.
3 *Dagowe* is the Suriname equivalent of *Dągbe*, an Ewe-Fǫ word also used to designate a sacred snake. *Dangbe* is similarly employed in Haiti, (Parsons, I, and Dorsainvil). *Dą* is the Fǫ term for a kind of serpent-like mobility, and is applied not only to snakes, but to a spirit which manifests itself in anything that is undulating. See Herskovits, M. & F., (I), pp. 56-58, for a discussion of *Dą*.
4 This is the sacred python, *Onini*, of the Ashanti.

Cheno. The term *Dagowe* often serves, in the town, as a generic term for all the snake spirits, though the *Dagowe* snake, properly speaking, is one of the constrictor group found in the colony, and is believed by the natives to inhabit both land and water. This is, of course, good observation on their part, for this characteristic of all snakes of the boa type is well-known. Not all snakes are sacred, yet no one will kill a snake. In support of this it is said that the snake itself, whether *Dagowe, Aboma* (boa constrictor), or any other, is not a god, but only a potential carrier of a god, and therefore if someone kills a *Dagowe*, the snake itself, once dead, takes no steps to punish its murderer, but those who worship it see that the *Dagowe* is avenged.[1] 'They send *wisi*,' - that is, bad magic or poison. There are those, however, who hold that the *Dagowe* snake in particular is the *wɩnti* itself, for if a person kills a *Dagowe* snake, the *winti* enters the abdomen, causing it to swell, and brings eventual death to the killer. In point of fact there is no sharp distinction between the Earth deities and the Snake spirits; indeed, not alone the Earth spirits, but any spirit, may manifest itself in the form of a snake.

Though the *Dagowe* may take possession of either a man or a woman, the *Papa* snake possesses only women. The explanation given was, '*Yu sab' sąn 'ɛdɛ Papa-gadō n'e kɩsi mąn suma? Mąn suma no meki pikin*. - Do you know why the *Papa* God doesn't possess men? Because men don't make (i.e., give birth to) children.' *Vɔdų* is said to be greater in power than the *Papa* spirit, while *Hę̣i-grǫ* surpasses all in strength. For this snake, which occupies mountainous regions, is thought to be the incarnation of ghostly spirits, - 'When a *Yɔrka* goes into an *Aboma* and catches a human being, that is *Hę̣i-grǫ*.'[2] Thus we see an illustration of the belief that ancestors, as well as gods, may use snakes as vehicles for exercising their power over human destiny. It is in this that is constituted the essential importance of the snake-cult to the Suriname town Negroes.

A fourth group of *wɩnti* are those which are associated with the river. This group, as all others, overlap the Snake gods, since the constrictor lives in the water as well as on land. However, there are other gods, among them the *kaimą*, which are peculiar to the rivers alone. The river-gods are headed by the *Liba-Mama*, or *Watra-*

1 This follows Dahomean pratice, where, if someone by a willful act does what is hateful to a *vodų*, the members of all the *vodų* cults go into a state of frantic possession, shouting the name of the guilty one at all the crossroads and at the shrines of all the gods, until a purification dance is held. This last takes place when the *vodų* is avenged, that is, when the offender is dead or insane.

2 This statement reveals the identity of the *Hę̣i-grǫ* snake spirit with the Dahomean deity called *Dambala Hwedo*, which also takes the form of a serpent that lives in mountains and is a manifestation of the spirit of an ancient ancestor.

Mama, respectively Mother of the River, or Mother of the Water, who, again, is not referred to by name. Among the Saramacca tribe of Bush-Negroes, the river-gods go under the generic name of *Tonɛ*, and this name, like the name from the interior for the gods in general, is also sometimes employed in Paramaribo.[1] In one instance at least, when a woman under possession was singing to what she called *ɻŋgi*, - Indian - *wɪnti*, she sang,

Da-i Tonɛ na liba-e
Da-i Tonɛ na liba-o
Den liba Fɔdų masi mi,
Da-i Tonɛ na liba-e
Den liba Kwɛnda masi mi,
Da-i Tonɛ na liba-o
Da Liba Mama masi mi,
Da-i Tonɛ na liba-o.

The *Tonɛ* spirits are in the river-e
The *Tonɛ* spirits are in the river-o
The river *Vɔdų* crush me,
The *Tonɛ* spirits are in the river-o
The river *Kwɛnda* crush me,
The *Tonɛ* spirits are in the river-o
The River-Mother crushes me,
The *Tonɛ* spirits are in the river-o.

The *Tonɛ*, it is said, are the river *Dagowe*, and all these are included in the term 'water-*ɻŋgi*'. One of these river spirits sung to is called *Abo*, and the rest are the *ɻŋgi* spirits, *Yąŋki, Kobisi, Frɛpsi*, among others. We have already commented upon the powers ascribed to the Indian spirits. This is definitely in the African tradition, and follows what seems to be a deep-seated African pattern of belief which is manifest practically throughout all of West Africa, if not in other portions of the continent as well.[2] Among the Saramacca Bush-Negroes, little reference is made to Indian spirits, for here the tradition exists that the ancient ancestors had themselves cleared the land, deepened the channels of the river, and caused the great forests to spring up.

1 Through a transposition of vowels, it is possible that the *Twi* name for the most sacred of all rivers, *Tano*, the parent of numerous deities, has here become *Tonɛ*. Cf. Rattray, (II), passim, and Cardinal, (I), pp. 49ff. It is also to be remarked that the Fẹ word *to* means 'water'.

2 See on this point, Delafosse, (I), ch. V., especially the section entitled 'Le Régime Foncier.' The same attitude as is described here is found on the part of the Dahomeans toward the spirits of those persons who represent the aboriginal inhabitants of their country.

Next, in the list of Paramaribo deities, come the *Kromanti*[1] gods. These comprise *Opɛte*,[2] the vulture; *Tigri*,[3] the jaguar, sometimes called *Dyɛbi* or *Dyadya; Obia-Kromanti; Nɛŋgɛre-kɔndre Kromanti* (African *Kromanti*)*; Busi-Kromanti* (Bush *Kromanti*)*:* and *Ɔndrowatra Kromanti* (the *Kromanti* spirits who live under the water).[4] The thunder deities, of which we have spoken, are also classed in this *Kromanti* group. The designation *Kromanti*, as used in Paramaribo, though often employed as a synonym for 'African' gods, is, nevertheless, the name for a distinct category, and seems to relate to warrior and disciplinary elements in nature. Thus comment is made that *Kromanti* dancing is *hɛbi*, - 'difficult' - that is, 'strong', or dangerous. *Kromanti* devotees are immune to bullet wounds; when they are under possession a knife cannot cut them, thorns cannot lacerate their flesh, or fire burn them, or glass cut them. The *Kromanti wɪnti* are conceived as powerful spirits, who when they possess human beings, cause them to speak African words not intelligible to the uninitiated. The section on music contains *Kromanti* songs in the *Kromanti* language.

In still another category are to be found the gods of the bush. The most dreaded of these are the *Akantamasu*, who live in anthills. There are thought to be three types of these, - those who live in the ground, those who live in trees, and those who live in holes. Another group of bush-spirits are the *Apuku*, the little people of the bush. In town, though this name is heard both in reference and in song, the designation for these is also *Bakru*. There is no uniform opinion, however, that the two are identical. Those who hold that they are make the distinction that there are *Bakru* whom 'God' makes, and those are the *Apuku;* and there are *Bakru* whom sorcerers make, and those are the messengers of black magic. Whether we consider these as two groups or one, reference is made to the 'little people' in both instances. Belief also exists that there is a group of *Apuku* who live in the water. This, however, seems to have little currency

1 This term is derived from the Gold Coast. It is a well-known fact that one group of slaves were called Coromantines, and there was a kingdom of Coromantyn in the present colony of the Gold Coast. The word is well known in Jamaica and throughout the West Indies. Thus, Edwards, vol ii, p. 75, speaks of 'the Koromantyn, or Gold Coast, Negroes...' For an ingenious theory as to the origin of the New World significance of the term see Williams, (I), p. 9.

2 *Opete* is a Twi word for vulture, and is in use among the Ashanti-Fanti peoples of the Gold Coast. The sacred character of the vulture is widespread in West Africa and among the New World Negroes. In Dahomey, Togoland, and the Gold Coast the vulture is the messenger who takes sacrifices to the gods; the vulture is sacred in Jamaica; and even in the Sea Islands of the United States to 'jump Jim Crow' is to dance a vulture-dance.

3 The leopard is sacred in all of West Africa, where it is often identified with royalty. In Dahomey it is the totem animal of the royal sib and is thus accorded the rank of a powerful deity.

4 These are not to be confused with the river spirits proper.

in general knowledge or in ritual practice, and would appear to be a belief that, at most, is restricted to one group of Negroes.[1] Another of these bush spirits is that of the *kąnkąntri*, the silk-cotton tree.[2] There are differing opinions as to why this tree is sacred. One view is that it is worshipped as the home of the Earth-Mother, another because the tree itself has a *wɩnti* known as *Kąnkąntri wɩnti*, which at times sends out a 'fireman' who is seen as a wave of flame that disappears if someone stands watching it fixedly. Another holds that the silk-cotton tree is important because people who die without having heirs to whom to leave then *wɩnti* send these *wɩnti* to live in silk-cotton trees. A fourth is that the tree is sacred only because the *Dagowe* snake lives in it, and that when food is placed as an offering at the foot of one of these trees, it is not for any spirit in the tree itself, but for the spirit of the *Dagowe*.

These, then, are the principal categories of deities which the Paramaribo Negroes worship. Through matings between these *wɩnti*, however, there result offspring who give rise if not to categories which are distinctly new, then to new alignments in behavior and function of these resulting gods, since they inherit their powers and attributes from both parents. For the *wɩnti* are thought of as living in families. The only direct reference to this in the city is to the seven Thunder gods we have named, who are spoken of as '*na sɛbi opruru brada*, - the seven thunder brothers'. In discussing dancing for the snake *wɩnti*, we shall see the point made that male snakes mate with the Earth gods, and the female snakes with the deities of the Sky.

Some of the *wɩnti* that are not classifiable under the categories we have mentioned can be comprised under the heading of *Nɛ̨ŋgɛre-kɔ̨ndre wɩnti*, - African spirits. Foremost among these is *Lɛba*, about whom two different concepts exist.[3] One of these is that *Lɛba* is the god of the cross-roads.[4] The second opinion holds that *Lɛba* 'is like a lock against bad spirits', and that it is a *wɩnti* left in a tree by some person who either had no children or relatives to whom he might leave the *wɩnti*, or who did not feel that these children or relatives would worship the *wɩnti* properly. When such

1 Possibly the Dahomean *tɔxɔsu* cult is here found merely as a vague tradition; see Herskovits, M.J. and F.S. (I), pp. 29-31.

2 The silk-cotton tree is sacred throughout West Africa, and in Dahomey is revered because the souls of ancestors are held to have taken their residence in them.

3 This bespeaks the fact that in this deity as he is envisaged in Suriname there appears to have been a merging of the attributes given him in the beliefs of two distinct regions in Africa.

4 Cf. Story No. 148, *Lɛba* and *Yɔrka. Lɛgba* is the deification of accident in Dahomey, and is universally worshipped as the divine trickster. (Cf. Herskovits, M.J. & F. S, I). *Lɛgba* is worshipped in Haiti, (cf. Parsons, I, pp. 65-67). *Lɛgba*, under the Yoruban name of *Ɛlɛgbara*, is worshipped in Cuba, (Ortiz, I, p.. 66-67), and in Brazil. For a discussion of *Lɛba* in Suriname, see Encyc., p. 453, and Penard, I, p. 165.

wɩnti consent to leave the family in peace and reside in a tree, they become *Lɛba*, and they manifest themselves in the form of tattered old women or, when invisible, are heard in the night as a wind. If a *Lɛba* chooses, it can allow evil to enter the yard it guards, just as it can, when it wishes, prevent evil from entering. It is offended by having soiled water thrown at it. At night, inhabitants of a yard go in a roundabout way in order to avoid the particular tree where the spirit is said to reside. The two beliefs merge in the concept of it as a spirit constantly on guard, the one idea being that *Lɛba* guards the cross-roads, and the other that he inhabits the yard and keeps evil from it.[1] Another of these African *wɩnti* is *Akabrewa*, and still another is called *Adyąnti-wą̱i*, sometimes also known as Fire-*wɩnti*, because of the fact that, under possession, the devotees of this deity dance in the fire. This, however, would seem to bring this *wɩnti* logically into the category of the Thunder-gods.

A person acquires a *wɩnti* in one of three ways. Most frequently his *wɩnti* comes to him by inheritance; that, is to say, before dying, a man or a woman designates the individual to whom his or her *wɩnti* are to go just as he would designate the disposal of any other possessions. Usually, succession in the instance of *wɩnti* is from men to men and from women to women, so that a man first wills his *wɩnti* to his next eldest brother, and a woman to the sister who follows her. There are, however, exceptions to this manner of passing on the custody and worship of the familial *wɩnti*. If an individual, whose death is approaching, has many *wɩnti*, - we have heard the fact referred to with pride that an ancestor of one informant had as many as ninety-seven *wɩnti* - and the sister or brother in line to succeed is old or ill, such a relative is passed over for someone younger who is physically more capable to perform the rites necessary to worship the family spirits. This need for physical strength in the worship of the *wɩnti* is referred to constantly, since dancing is the governing element in this worship. Should that strength be lacking in any one individual, several members of the family are called upon, each to take over several of the *wɩnti* to be inherited. In those cases where the person who is about to die is the last of his generation, the *wɩnti* are passed to daughters, if it is a woman who is disposing of her inheritance, or to a sister's sons, if it is a man. If a woman has no daughters of her own, her *wɩnti* are inherited by her sisters' daughters, though, if she chooses, she may give any of her *wɩnti* to her sons. In the same way, a man, if he chooses, may pass down his *wɩnti* to his own sons, or even to his daughters. This occurs, in the main, only when there are no proper heirs, and is to be regarded as the exceptional procedure.

1 The Haitian *Lemba* who is *Mait' 'Bitation*, e.g. Master of the Habitation, suggests a parallel, - but in Haiti *Legba* and *Lemba* are recognized as distinct deities, the first belonging to the *Rada* group (Allada-Dahomey-Nago), and the second to the *Petro* group.

Another way in which a *wɩnti* is acquired is for a spirit itself to choose the individual whom it wishes to possess. ‘Living with someone doesn't give a person *wɩnti*, unless the *wɩnti* likes him. Some people do get then *wɩnti* that way. Some get theirs at a *wɩnti* play. This happens when a *wɩnti* likes a person and decides to come to him.’ When this occurs, it is said that the *wɩnti* has met and loved the one whom it has chosen, and has decided to stay with him. Thus, when, in family inheritance, the *wɩnti* goes to someone not in the customary line of succession, such a choice on the part of the god is said to have taken place. However, such a choice by the *wɩnti*, as is indicated in our informant's statement, need not be within a given family. The spirit may decide to leave the family and go to a stranger, and we ourselves were earnestly warned against memorizing the words of *wɩnti*-songs and singing them, lest the spirits, flattered by this attention, decide to possess us, and make us their devotees. The choice of worshippers by the *wɩnti* themselves is said to be occurring with special frequency in more recent times, because the *wɩnti* are so often dissatisfied with the descendants of their traditional devotees as potential worshippers. This is the case, for example, when the persons in line for succession to a given *wɩnti* or group of *wɩnti* have become active members of one of the Christian churches.

The third way in which a person obtains a *wɩnti* is by *wisi* or *kunu*. A *wɩnti* which comes to an individual in the first two ways described is friendly to its devotee, and when worshipped properly helps him keep his health, earn a living, gain the good-will of his neighbors, and relish life. But one acquired in this third manner is an evil *wɩnti*, that seeks to bring its devotee illness, poverty, misfortune, and death. These evil spirits can only be appeased by doing their will, or by getting medicine which will send them away. Those brought to a person through *wisi* are sent at the behest of some enemy. *Kunu*, in town as in the bush, is the vengeance meted out by gods and ancestors for violation of traditional codes of moral behavior. In the city the concept of *kunu* is not as powerful a disciplinary force as it is in the bush, since the belief in its validity is not as strong in Paramaribo as in the interior. Yet even in the city the crime of incest, or that of killing a sacred snake without giving it ritual burial, and of killing by black magic, are held to be punishable by *kunu*. The form this takes is to punish not so much the perpetrator of the crime, as members of his family in the female line, from generation to generation, thus bringing his line to an end, or, at best, seeing his family reduced to poverty. This punishment by *kunu*, for the town Negroes, takes the form of the coming of a *wɩnti* as an enemy. If a snake is killed, a snake spirit comes; if incest is committed or evil magic employed, any type of *wɩnti* may come.

In this connection a further point relating to the concept of *wɩnti* must be made, and that is that a *wɩnti* may at the same time be

both a good and an evil spirit. The fact is that the logic of the Negroes of Paramaribo holds that no spirit is either good or evil in the absolute sense. This concept of the absence of a spirit which is wholly good or completely evil enters here in a more subtle way. For while it generally follows that a spirit is friendly if it is worshipped, unfriendly if it is neglected, and evil if it has been sent to do evil, a spirit may be temperamentally as inconstant as human beings are inconstant. A whim may make one of them disposed to overlook an offense, and a whim may cause the same spirit to bring accident to a person who has not been guilty of serious neglect. There are *wɩnti* such as the *Akantamasu* who may be said to be friendly spirits only in the negative sense; that is, when they are not angered they abide in the deep bush, and allow the person possessed of them to live in peace. But all *Akantamasu* spirits that are inherited are thought to have originally come into the family as the result of the operation of a *kunu*.

b) the worship of the *w□nti*

We have discussed the nature of the *wɩnti*, the types of *wɩnti* that are found, and the manner in which these spirits are acquired. In our consideration of the pattern of their worship, let us first view the phenomenon of the *wɩnti* as it is thought to manifest itself in the growing child who is a potential devotee of his family's gods. For example, we watched a two-year-old girl playing in the yard where her mother lives, and saw how any vessel filled with water attracted her attention, and how if it was large enough, she climbed into it and splashed about. It was soon said in the yard that when she grew up she would have a strong water Indian *(watra ˌlŋgi)* god, and what at first seemed to be mere pleasantry at the child's attraction for water, soon became apparent as a serious expression of belief. The mother of the child had Indian *wɩnti*, and though she was not yet obliged to worship it regularly, since her own mother, the child's grandmother, was still alive, the *wɩnti* had already manifested itself to her, and the opinion was held that if the grandmother lived long enough for the child to be of an age to dance when the grandmother died, the *wɩnti* would go to the child rather than to the mother of the child. Thereafter when choosing gifts for her little daughter, the mother bought red beads, or figured red prints, or a small red kerchief, since red is sacred to the water gods.

Again, bad tempered children are spoken of as having dormant Tiger spirits, and at times, especially if reference is being made to a boy, this is said with pride. Or if a child behaves badly and breaks things, the mother may say, in disgust, 'Ah! She's going to have *Bakru wɩnti!*' It must be made clear, however, that praise or blame is not associated only with the *wɩnti*. For the *akra* is called upon to take foremost responsibility for personality traits,

and a good-tempered child is generally said merely to have a good '*kra*, or a bad-tempered child to have a bad one. However, no matter what aptitudes for the worship of a given type of *wɩnti* a child shows either in general behavior, or in special ability to remember and sing the songs of that *wɩnti*, or to drum its rhythms, or to dance its dance-steps, we know of only one instance where any belief was held in the active presence of a *wɩnti* in a child under the age of puberty. This case was that of a boy about seven years old, who already was under the influence of a *Lɛba* spirit. Once a year his mother gives an offering at the cross-roads to the child's spirit, putting into a calabash a pipe filled with tobacco, some corn, *akąnsa*,[1] *asogri*,[2] and a torn blouse. If she neglects to do this, then with the coming of the new year the child rolls on the ground and screams, as he had done the first time, two years back, when the presence of his *Lɛba* spirit was discovered.

Let us give another instance of the manner in which it is discovered that a child, when of age, will be possessed by a god. An informant, whose grandmother was said to have come from *Dɛmakuku*,[3] dreamed, when a young child, that someone came to tell her she would be taken to Africa. They then went together on foot through the bush for a long time, until they came to a 'big' house, where hung a 'big' bell. A very black, stout woman was sitting there. She wore a black *pąŋgi*, - tunic - and a colored cloth over her breasts. When our informant awoke and told her mother of her dream, her aunt, who was present, informed them that the informant's grandmother had *Nɛŋgɛre-kǫndre Kromanti wɩnti*, - African[4] Kromanti *wɩnti* - which she would 'catch' when she grew up. While still a child, she had had yet another proof that this *wɩnti* would come to her, for once when she was ill she again dreamed that she was taken to Africa. When she arrived there, she saw several very black men stamping leaves on a mat. These leaves when sufficiently crushed were put in water, and with this water she was washed. When she awoke, she felt better, and soon grew well. This *wɩnti*, however, did not come to her immediately after these dreams, for, except in rare instances, it is not until after the age of puberty that the person destined to be possessed by a *wɩnti* actually begins his worship by dancing for it under possession. This

1 See above, p. 15, note 2.
2 A dish of baked corn-meal and sugar. Encyc., p. 59.
3 We were unable to localise this term in Dahomey, where, according to the Suriname people who spoke of *Dɛmakaku*, this village is supposed to be located. According to Encyc., p. 1, a reference to 'Doemakoekoe Negers' is made by F.W. Hostmann, in volume II, p. 250 of his work entitled 'Over de beschaving van negers in Amerika door kolonisatie met Europeanen', published in Amsterdam, 1850, while on p. 638 they are referred to as cannibals.
4 Rattray (V, p. 145), gives the following: '*Abibirim*, Africa, lit., among the blacks, the black man's country.' This would explain the Suriname usage of *Nɛŋgɛre-kǫndre* - 'Negro country' - for 'Africa'.

woman has today six *wɩnti* in all; two snake gods, one male and one female, that came to her from a maternal aunt; this African *wɩnti* from her grandmother; *Aisa, Loąŋgo*, and *Papa ¸lŋgi* from her mother.

How does a person learn the manner of worship of his *wɩnti?* Those who have *wɩnti*, when questioned, say no formal instruction is given. When the *wɩnti* enters the individual, it is the spirit itself who sings the songs, speaks the tongues, and dances the dances. That this is an accepted belief is illustrated by the comments heard at *wɩnti* dances, where if a devotee dances unusually well, it is said 'Her *wɩnti* dances splendidly.' Again, when one of the *wɩnti* priestesses was induced to sing some sacred songs for our phonograph, the words never corresponded exactly to those we ourselves had taken down during the actual ceremonies which this woman had led. The explanation of this was that at the dance it was the *wɩnti* that sang, while before the phonograph, the priestess could at best only reproduce such fragments of the songs sung by the gods as remained in her memory. Often, when asking a man or a woman who was an acknowledged devotee of a *wɩnti* to sing the songs of that *wɩnti*, the answer was, 'I know these songs only when the *wɩnti* comes, because it is the *wɩnti* who sings them.' It must be recognised that in the refusal often lay the fear that if the songs were sung, possession would come on, as we have seen it come on when an informant, himself choosing the songs he wished to sing for the phonograph, sang those of his own *wɩnti*.[1] It is not strange the belief exists that in the performance of ritual songs, dances, and drumming, it is the *wɩnti* who perform. Given a situation where the children, from their earliest years, are held to be potentially capable of possession by a given spirit, and where they have, from time to time, witnessed the dances, heard the songs, and listened to the drum-rhythms for the *wɩnti*,[2] it follows that when the traditionally acceptable time comes for them to be possessed by these spirits, they dance and sing as a result of unconscious habituation; not as novices, but as though they were being directed by a force within them.

This belief in the performance by the *wɩnti* itself cannot be said to be universal, for we have the statement of one man, at least, that he went through formal training for his *wɩnti*. This man, who is now in his late twenties, told how when he was fourteen years old his mother informed him that he had *Arawaki ¸lŋgi wɩnti* (an

1 The fact must not be overlooked that there is also a disinclination to discuss these matters with a White person because of the fear that the spirit itself would resent such a discussion with a member of the race that had forbidden *wɩnti* dances.

2 *Wɩnti* songs are never introduced as work-songs, or sung for diversion. If they are sung while at work, or about the house, it is either that a ritual is being performed, or that the *wɩnti* is clamoring for worship.

Arawak Indian spirit), saying she had learned of it in a dream. She began to teach him the dance-steps for this *wɩnti*, and not until after a year of intermittent instruction was he ready to dance. During this period she also taught him the make-up for the spirit that was to possess him, and the songs to be sung in worshipping it. One other instance which contravenes the general explanation given comes from our own observation. At a *wɩnti* dance, as the devotees of the *Tapʾ-Kromanti* spirit were dancing under possession, there was one young woman who danced with awkward hesitation. Observing this, the priestess in charge, herself possessed, came over to the young woman and, since speech is forbidden under possession, stepped lightly on the young woman's foot to call her attention to her presence; then, dancing at her side, showed her the steps and gestures.[1]

Let us return to the case of the man who had Arawak Indian *wɩnti*, and see what, other than the steps of the dances and the words and melodies of the songs, it was incumbent upon him to know in order to worship his *wɩnti*. One factor which entered his life with the coming of the *wɩnti* was the observance of its *trefu*. In his particular case, this necessitated the abstinence from eating beef, or pork, or a certain kind of fish. '*Na wɩnti dati a teki da kaụ̂ fõ hɛm ʾasi*. - That *wɩnti* has taken the cow for its medium.' No food cooked by a menstruating woman could be eaten by him, for this is the deadliest taboo of all for the *wɩnti*. '*Kwɛti, kwɛti! Nowąn wɩnti kąn nyąm futumąn nyąnyąm. Ɛf na wɩnti nyą' futumąn nąnyąm, a go pɔri. A no ką wroko mɔro*. - No, no! No *wɩnti* can eat food prepared by a menstruating woman. If the *wɩnti* eats food prepared by a menstruating woman, it will spoil. It cannot work any more.' Since red is the sacred color for the Arawak Indian *wɩnti*, the new devotee wore about his person something of that color to please his *wɩnti*. There was no other ritual of systematised worship, except that when he embarked on a journey, he made a sacrifice of some kind to the *wɩnti*, to ask of it support and protection.

Some of the foods that are forbidden by other *wɩnti* are as follows: persons who worship the *Papa-wɩnti* do not eat plantains or bananas. The *Kromanti* gods forbid smoking in their presence. '*Kromanti no lɔbi smoku. Ɛfu suma smoki pɛ den dąnsi Kromanti, dą' yu habi tumusi trɔbi. - Kromanti* does not like smoke. If someone smokes where they dance *Kromanti*, then you have much trouble.' Those who worship *Aisa* do not eat the flesh of the peccary, nor of a species of deer described to us as having a spreading hoof. The *Tigri* devotees refrain from eating meat not freshly killed.

The *wɩnti* also prescribe the offerings that are pleasing to them. For example, all *wɩnti* demand that the rice given them as sacrifice be

1 The same technique of instruction is employed in Dahomey, where for each two or three novitiates an older initiated member of the cult dances beside them.

kriɔri (creole, or native-grown) rice, and not the imported kind. They demand that the food be cooked with *obia-fatu*, - oil that comes from indigenous palm trees, and not imported oil. The *Kromanti* gods and the ancestors require rum, but to the Earth gods rum is hateful, and only sweet drinks such as molasses, or syrups, or a mixture of sugar and the bitter and sweet almond, called *ɔrshadi* are given, though beer is also acceptable to them. Each *wɩnti*, too, is said to come to a special part of the body of its devotee, and if angered by neglect, it is that portion of the body that the *wɩnti* attacks when it sets out to bring illness to a follower. Thus, the snake deities, the *Akąntamasu wɩnti*, and the *Apuku wɩnti* '*nyąm bɛre*', - eat the belly; the *Opɛte* 'eats' the eyes; while the *Kromanti wɩnti* attack the head and bring fever to the heart. Each *wɩnti*, in addition, has a color that is sacred to it. White is the color of the Thunder gods, blue is the *Kromanti* color. Red is for the *ɻŋgi* gods, brown is for the *Akąntamasu*, while *Lɛba*, dancing in tatters, wears black or dark brown.

Those who are possessed by the *wɩnti* are called, as we have seen, the '*asi* of the *wɩnti*.[1] An '*asi* waits for his *wɩnti* to manifest its desire to be worshipped before entering on its ritual. In the city this makes for difficulties, for since early slave days, the *wɩnti* dances have been forbidden. Consequently, in the city of Paramaribo there is not the freedom to dance for the *wɩnti* that exists in the bush, and that the working out of the system of *wɩnti*-worship demands. Among the Bush-Negroes, where this freedom is had, when a devotee feels his *gadō* asking for dancing, - this is manifested by restlessness and nervous tension, - he begins to wash for the spirit, daubs himself with white clay, and waits until the day of the week sacred to the god to dance. In Paramaribo this is impossible, and the restrictions have made, among other things, for the desuetude into which the custom of observing the day sacred to each individual *wɩnti* has fallen, at least insofar as general dancing is concerned. In setting the day for *wɩnti* cures, however, the *wɩntimąn* does wait for the day sacred to the *wɩnti*.

Under recent official rulings, dances have been decreed to be legal in the city four times a year. One of these legalized dances is held the first of July to celebrate the emancipation of the Negroes from slavery; another the first part of August, in celebration of the

1 '*Asi* is literally translated as 'horse' by Paramaribo Negroes who are asked its meaning, and they say that it denotes the one who 'carries' the *wɩnti*. Some persons add to this the meaning 'servant', i.e., of the *wɩnti*. However, the word is identical with the Fǫ-Ewe word for 'wife', - *asi* - which, in Togo and Dahomey, is employed in religious terminology to denote 'wives of the gods', i.e., worshippers. Thus, a follower of Mawu is called *Mawusi*, one of Lɛgba, *Lɛgbasi*. On the Gold Coast, the Ashanti employ the term *oponko*, 'horse' for worshipper, hence the telescoping of the Fǫ-Ewe word, and the Ashanti usage into the word '*asi*, which is Negro-English for 'horse', accounts for the translation so often given.

birthday of the Queen-Mother of Holland[1]; the third, during which the most important *wɩnti* plays of the year take place, is held in celebration of the Queen's birthday, and on this occasion the festivities cover a period of about a week; the fourth celebrates the end of the year, and occurs the last week in December. There are those who dance for their *wɩnti* at each of these dances, - who, in fact, appear every night and dance as long as the dances go on. Since giving a dance for the *wɩnti* involves expense, many persons dance only at one of these dances, or at a series of dances given during one of these legally sanctioned intervals. There are other people, however, whose *wɩnti* are not appeased even though they dance for them at all of these four annual dance-cycles. Such *wɩnti* demand further dancing during the year. Those who can afford to indulge their *wɩnti* in their desire to be thus worshipped frequently go up the river and either dance on one of the plantations, where the prohibitions of the city do not exist, or better still, arrange for a dance in worship of their own *wɩnti* somewhere in the bush away from the city. This last, of course, is most costly of all, for it involves not only paying the drummers and buying all the sacrifices to the person's own *wɩnti*, but also furnishing the things needed to propitiate the Earth-Mother and other Earth gods as well as the god of the cross-roads, all of whom must have their sacrifices in order that the *wɩnti* be allowed by them to come and dance, and evil spirits be kept at bay. Finally, those who hold a dance must sacrifice to the ancestors so these may share the offerings and the dances for the ancestral *wɩnti*.

If the '*asi* who is troubled by an insistent *wɩnti* cannot afford to provide his god with one of these costly special dances, and his *wɩnti* is amenable to persuasion, he gives an offering of food, and asks for its forbearance until such time as he can find the means to worship it properly. If it is not willing to wait, he arranges for a surreptitious *wɩnti* dance in his own yard or in that of the *wɩntimąn*, and provides an ordinary bass drum, or more probably a calabash upturned in a basin of water. A reasonable *wɩnti* accepts the exigencies of the situation which demand the use of a substitute for the sacred drum, and is appeased when its '*asi* dances to it. It is also possible for a devotee who is troubled by his *wɩnti* to come and dance at a special dance that another provides for the curing of an illness brought on by *wɩnti*, for, except at those dances that are held away from the city, the *wɩnti*-cures but rarely take place at these four stated dancing-periods. As one informant put it, ‘After the Queen's birthday, I will have to see to the pacifying of my *wɩnti*. On the Queen's day each one looks after his own, the *wɩntimąn*, too.’

It is said that there are certain types of *wɩnti*, - the bad *wɩnti*, as they are called - which must be worshipped away from the city. It should be noted, however, that when an informant is asked

1 Recently deceased.

to define the word ‘bad’ in describing a *wɩnti*, he tells that a ‘bad’ *wɩnti* is one that asks for many sacrifices and clamors for much dancing, so that its worship is especially costly. In this group are the *Tigri wɩnti*, who demand animal sacrifice; the *Kąnkąntri wɩnti*, whose '*asi* climb trees and dance in their branches; *Sofia Bada*, the most dreaded of the Thunder gods; the *Akąntamasu*, who makes those whom it possesses foam at the mouth and become violent if angered; some of the *Watra ¸lŋgi wɩnti*, who insist that their '*asi* enter the water, and are not satisfied when their devotees simulate the motions of creatures that inhabit the water; and the *Kromanti wɩnti*, who dance with cutlasses, and cause their '*asi* to enter groves of thorny trees during the state of possession. It is also felt that the important African *wɩnti* are not pleased when their devotees appear in all the clothes that city dancing requires. Hence, the worshippers of these *wɩnti*, too, see to it that they dance away from Paramaribo.

The make-up and dress for dancing in the ‘small bush’ differs from that of the dances in the city. The dancers in Paramaribo, if they are men, wear the European clothes that are usual to men, and the women wear *koto-yaki*, or simple cotton dresses, though the latter are worn because of poverty rather than choice. Women wear kerchiefs on their heads, and men wear theirs tied about the waist or worn about the neck. A man who wears his kerchief about his waist shows that he is possessed by a female *wɩnti*, for this is the sign of female dress[1] as a substitute for the complete female attire which would characterise his costume if he were dancing away from the city. When dancing, shoes are thrown off and are picked up by the person who comes to look after the one dancing for his *wɩnti*. Make-up is at times seen at the dances in the city, though it is more customary not to find it there. When make-up is used, it takes the form of whitening the face with *pɛmba doti*, - sacred white clay - for *Tap'-Kromanti;* of marking blue or black stripes on the face, or two white spots high on the cheek bones, with blue spots near the eyes, for the Snake gods; of painting black and white spots on the face and white over the eyes for the Tiger; and of placing red on face and arms for the Indian *wɩnti*. The *koto-yaki* is at times discarded in the frenzy of possession, as are a man's trousers and shirt, and when this happens a woman dances clothed in a striped *pąŋgi* which, if her means permit, she buys especially for the dance, to honor her *wɩnti*, while a man dances in his loin cloth. This occurs but seldom at dances held in Paramaribo itself, because of a fear that discovery will lead to the revocation of the license to hold dances, and to the confiscation of the drums.

1 In the Suriname bush and in West Africa generally a large kerchief folded triangularly and knotted about the waist with the widest part at the back, is the sign that the wearer is a married woman. Therefore, in Dahomey, all *vodụnsi*, - ‘wives’ of the god - wear this, even though they be men.

How do the dances held in the ‘small bush’ differ from those held in the city? The women wear *pąŋgi* (tunics), and cloths tied about the breasts, while the men wear loin cloths, unless they are possessed by female *wɩnti*, when they dress as do the women. Those who dance for *Tap'-Kromanti* have their faces, throats, and arms whitened with sacred clay. The dancers for *Aladi*, the Thunder god, whiten their faces and legs, wear a white cloth, and dance with a *sąŋgrafu*[1] stick, looking up toward the sky as they dance. For the *ɻŋgi* dancers, the face and sometimes the entire upper portion of the unclothed body is painted with red *kuswɛ*, a pigment obtained from the fruit of a tree of that name.[2] Red kerchiefs are worn by these dancers or a red band is placed about the head, while pins are thrust through the lips. A band, often of human hair, is worn below the knee, or a red band of cloth is used in its place, while others tie strips of red cloth on the upper arm or on the wrists. Those who dance for the snake-gods spot their faces and arms with *pɛmba*, - white sacred clay - and black, or blue pigment[3] or they paint white spots on the cheek-bones, and blue circles about the eyes. For the Tiger[4] dances, the make-up consists of black and white markings on the face, or on the face and on the exposed portions of the body as well.

The essential differences between the dances held away from the city and those which take place in Paramaribo lie not so much in the manner of dress or make-up as in the type of dancing, in the offerings to the *wɩnti*, and in the activities of those in a state of possession who are not dancing. One dance described was said to have continued for a period of eight days, and many of those who came to dance the first day remained for the entire time, dancing every day. Those who danced were, as always, accompanied by friends or relatives who took them in charge while they were under possession. The participants brought food for the duration of their stay, and cooking utensils. The dance was held in a large clearing, roofed over for the occasion with *pina*, - palm-leaf thatch. On benches and boxes brought by the dancers and their friends sat dancers and onlookers. About the dancing-space were many small huts, some of them no larger than kennels. To one side was the music; three drums, the *kwakwa* bench, on which the basic rhythm of the dance was beaten, people with rattles, and a man who held the two pieces of iron which must be beaten for all *Kromanti* dances. The priestess had already, during the first afternoon,

1 *Costus cylindricus* Jacq. Fam. *Zingiberaceae* (Encyc., p. 230).
2 *Bixa orellana* L. Fam. *Bixaceae* (Encyc., p. 140).
3 Blue and black have a single designation in most of the languages of the West Coast of Africa.
4 *Tigri* (Tiger) is the European word that, in New World Negro dialects and in pidgin-English and pidgin-French in West Africa, is used for the largest feline of the respective regions; in West Africa the leopard is so termed, in Suriname, the jaguar.

gone through the necessary ceremonies to propitiate the gods who were to come, and now, as the dancers sat on their boxes or stood leaning against the posts of the improvised shelter, she went about the space cleared for dancing, pouring water out of a calabash she held in her hand. This was 'to bring the *wɩnti*'. After the drums had been playing for a few minutes and the singing had got under way, people began to sway in their places as they clapped their hands in time to the rhythms of the drums. 'When the *wɩnti* get good, they run in the middle.' This was done individually by those who became possessed, and possession came only to those who had the *wɩnti* that was being called by the drums and the songs. Those who had other *wɩnti* sat waiting for their own gods to be called, for there is no rigid precedence in the order of calling the *wɩnti*. However, since it was the first day of the ceremony, the opening dances were for the ancestors, the Earth gods, and the god of the cross-roads. Old and young danced; among the youngest were two women about sixteen years old. One woman, big with child, supported her abdomen by tying a red kerchief about herself, and danced with the rest. 'She dance later for the *Dagowe*, rolling on the ground,' said our informant, and added, 'and woman like she has the baby better than me sitting in one place.'

Eight days before this ceremony, those who were planning to dance *Tigri* (the jaguar), bought animals to sacrifice to the *wɩnti*. These animals, which could have been dogs, fowls, or goats, were sent on ahead to the place where the dance was to be held, and this was done in order to *kasiri*, or purify, them. No special food was given them; the animals were simply kept away from surroundings which might have polluted them. At the dance, when the *Tigri* spirit was called, those to whom possession came danced for it. As soon as the *wɩnti* 'danced strong', the animals were led into the clearing among the possessed dancers. Those who brought goats 'rode the goats', and all the animals were stalked from behind in the manner in which the feline whose spirit was being worshipped attacks his prey. Since jaguars are said to drink the blood of their prey, those possessed drank the blood of the sacrifices, and when the devotees ate the animals, which they tore open, they ate skin and hair, or feathers, if the animals attacked were chickens. The important parts of the sacrificial animals are the brain, the heart, the liver and the genitals, and these were eaten first. What was left by the 'Tigers' was thrown to one side, and this was later eaten by those possessed by *Opɛte* (vulture) *wɩnti*.

Another generalised description of this kind of ceremony may be paraphrased as follows: An '*asi* who is preparing to dance for his *wɩnti* 'washes' for the dance with the contents of a basin in which there is either *ɔrshadi*, rum, or beer, *abɔngra* seeds, and red, blue or white cotton. He also drinks *ɔrshadi*, rum, or beer, according to his *wɩnti's* preference, and eats *pɛmba doti*. Let us say the drums

begin to call *Tigri wɩnti*, and *Tigri* songs are sung. Those who have *Tigri wɩnti* are soon in the center of the space, one joining the other as possession comes on. Those who are not dancing sing the songs, if they know them. There is at least one dog and one fowl for those who are possessed, and any stray dog that appears is seized and added to these animals, though many provide their own dogs or fowls. A man or a woman seizes the dog or the fowl, - the dog is held by the hind legs, head down - and tears the animal open. All others come forward to drink the blood. In five minutes they have torn it 'like a kerchief'. The flesh and bones are thrown to one side, and the *Opɛte wɩnti* later come and eat this. This dance may take place during the day or the night, and if the dancers continue two or three days or nights, this ceremony recurs as often as the *Tigri* play[1] is on; three *Tigri* intervals are the usual number for a long dance. The *Dagowe wɩnti* also is given an animal sacrifice, but for *Dagowe* only the dog is used, and when the sacrifice is made, those under possession eat the flesh. When the music begins to play *Watra ɻŋgi*, many among the dancers who are possessed run to the river and disappear for a half-hour or more. The drums must not stop playing until they come back, for if they were to stop, those in the water would drown. The devotees of the *Watra ɻŋgi wɩnti* who do not go to the river, dance imitating the Indians. The dancers for *Opɛte wɩnti* 'move their arms so fast you might think they would break, but it doesn't hurt them.' Under possession, the *Opɛte* go forth to find dead creatures or tainted meat, and eat these. Those who are possessed by the *Kromanti* spirits dance in fire under the strength of their possession, for nothing can cut, or wound, or lacerate a '*let', let' Kromanti wɩnti*, - a true *Kromanti* spirit'. The dogs in the kennels are male for one *wɩnti* and female for another. The rest of the low houses are used all during the dance; couples drift in and out all the time, and several at a time, but 'they don't want you to see what they do with the animals.'[2]

The point has been made that the essential mode of worship of the *wɩnti* is dancing for it, and that the need to dance for the *wɩnti* manifests itself in possession. It will make for clarity in understanding the phenomenon of possession as it exists in Paramaribo, and the attitudes toward it, if we cite specific instances we ourselves witnessed.

One of the possessions we saw was that of a woman in her early twenties, who was on her way to market.[3] She was alone, and as

1 In Nigeria, as in Suriname, the word 'play' is usually employed for 'dance' or 'ceremony'. Cf. Talbot, (II), vol. ii and iii, *passim*.

2 Since no informant would admit having been inside one of these houses, it was not possible for us to determine what occurs there.

3 Whether it is chance that the instances we cite occurred a short time before the sanctioned period of dancing in Paramaribo, we cannot say, for our stay in the colony coincided with this time.

she walked, her body shook and trembled, and the muscles of her face twitched. She talked as she went on, greeting in the name of her *wɩnti* those who passed her, announcing her *wɩnti's* 'strong' names, and her own 'strong' name. She was possessed by the *Papa* god. Before she reached the market, her trembling became more violent, and suddenly she fell to the ground and began crawling and rolling face downward. She emitted falsetto sounds, which turned into shrieks when some women tried to bring her to her feet. A crowd soon gathered, and an old woman who herself had a *Papa* god came from the market with something for her to drink. After several minutes, in which all those who surrounded the woman showed anxiety lest the police come, she was lifted into a passing automobile and taken home. Those, however, who did not know the woman sufficiently well to be concerned whether the police came or not, joked about the incident, for though according to religious belief the *wɩnti* alone was accountable for this performance, the actual situation presented an amusing scene in the marketplace which was well relished.

This latter attitude toward the phenomenon of possession we have seen expressed during the tensest moments of a dance, and illustrates a fundamental point of view toward worship. The sense of immediacy which fequent possession by the *wɩnti* engenders, though it gives an experience of the most valid kind to those who go through it, brings with it neither sanctimoniousness nor solemnity. This is evidenced also in the directness of the prayers that are sung or spoken, in the reasoning with the *wɩnti* whose wants are too exacting, in the tradition of calling upon the *wɩnti's* sense of fair play in difficult times to induce it to forego demands it has made for dancing or sacrifices. The *wɩnti*, indeed, partake of much of the character of human beings, and while they are respected and feared, little of awe enters into their worship, except in times of stress, when the spirits show themselves implacable.[1]

Another case of possession occurred on the street near our hotel. The possessed woman was brought into the courtyard, threw herself on the ground, and lay moaning and foaming at the mouth. In this instance, possession was by the *Akąntamasu*, god of the ant hill. However, the woman had a strong alcoholic breath, and this puzzled the bystanders for a moment, for they could not decide whether intoxication or possession was the cause of the attack. But the white foam at the mouth was for them an unmistakable sign that it was the latter, and the alcoholic breath was at once attributed to the fact that under the malign influence of this particular god the possessed woman had been drinking. This time there was very little levity on the part of the bystanders, for the *Akąntamasu wɩnti* is

1 We have found the same attitude toward the gods among Negroes in the Suriname bush, in the West Indies, and in West Africa itself.

dreaded by those who have it, and when it manifests itself, calls forth a feeling of pity. A woman who herself had many *wɩnti* brought water for the possessed one, and soothed her with gentle speech, bathing her hair and face. Recovery from this possession was slow; the woman whose god had seized her lay in the courtyard for more than an hour before she regained consciousness. Finally, however, she was brought to her feet, and with the aid of several of the women who had remained with her, was taken home. She looked physically exhausted, but it was explained that '*A sɑ kɩsi hɛm srɛfi te a kaba dąnsi fō 'a wɩnti*. - She will recover after dancing for her *wɩnti*.'

The third instance of possession not brought on during ritual dancing occurred in our room, while we were working on tales and songs with an informant. Two of the songs which he had given as *kɔt' sɩŋgi*[1] were *Kromanti* songs, and as he sang them on the phonograph, he became extremely nervous. He asked for a cigar, and chewed it as he went on to tell two ghost stories. Then he got up and began pacing the floor, until he suddenly turned and asked for a Bush-Negro drum, which he knew we had collected in the interior, saying he wanted to sing into the phonograph with a drum accompaniment. As soon as he had finished these songs, which he sang loudly, the drum was taken from him with the explanation that it was too late to record any more songs, for he was then fully possessed, and the situation demanded that he be calmed.[2] The drum obviously fascinated him, for he stood looking at it fixedly, and then he walked toward it. He himself, however, did not wish to allow his possession to get out of bounds, and he stood beside it struggling for self-control against the new African *kɔmfo* that troubled him. This *kɔmfo*, when once calmed and made at home by his *akra*, - it was at the time being opposed by his soul in taking possession of the informant, because this *kɔmfo* would become his *basi-wɩnti*, his governing *wɩnti*, - would make of him an important priest. The time had not yet come to see to its calming, however. The following day, when we discussed this possession with him, he explained that it is possible to check the coming on of possession by taking measures to allay the restlessness of the troubling *wɩnti* with a promise of a future dance. Within a day we had an opportunity of verifying this, for both he and his aunt, who had told us in advance that they would not dance at a certain ceremony to which they escorted us, actually did not dance.[3]

1 These songs are used to 'cut' Anansi stories. See pp. 142-144.

2 As a matter of fact, by this time a crowd had collected in the street in front of the hotel, and the talk ran that White people were dancing for their *wɩnti*. Our gratitude goes once more to Miss Gans for her forbearance in this, as in other situations incidental to ethnological inquiry.

3 This is practised in Haiti as well, where a worshipper will *marré* his *mâit' tête*, i.e. bind his controling deity, before going to a dance at which he does not wish to be possessed.

The woman remained seated beside us, though when her own *wɩnti* were called, she did not participate in the singing. The man, hearing his *wɩnti* called, rose and paced back and forth on the road which flanked the yard where the dance was held, and the people who watched him go shook their heads and laughed. They knew the symtoms of possession, and were scornful of his attempt to frustrate his *wɩnti*.

When possession occurs without the necessary preparation for dancing, it is because the *wɩnti* is forcing its wishes to become known. In other words, it is a sign that the *wɩnti* has been angered because of improper worship, and since what the *wɩnti* exacts is, above all, dancing for it, - the offerings which are a part of the necessary preparation for the *wɩnti*-dance accompany such dancing as a matter of course - sudden possession comes when its '*asi* has either denied the *wɩnti* expression through dancing, or has not given it full release.

c) *w□nti* maladies and *w□nti* cures

There are other ways, often more drastic than through possession, that a *wɩnti* makes known its displeasure. It may make its '*asi* so ill-tempered that he will tear his own clothes to shreds and break whatever is in his house. It may even cause its '*asi* to steal, in order to obtain money necessary to provide the proper offerings and the necessities utilised when preparing for a dance. It will, above all, bring illness to the individual himself and to members of his family. The sequence of any of these punishments is not fixed, for any of them may occur in a more or less aggravated form as a first sign of displeasure, this depending largely upon the powers attributed to the *wɩnti* itself. When such misfortunes occur, it is usual for the more immediate members of the family to call together the more distant relations to discuss what should be done. At such times, contributions are made to enable the family to satisfy the familial *wɩnti*. An attempt may be made to have a *wɩntimạn* call the *wɩnti* to reason with the spirit on behalf of the family, and to offer it some small sacrifices to appease it temporarily. If the *wɩnti* refuses to be pacified on those terms, a *wɩnti*-play is given in order to cure the person who is being troubled. This ritual is called *sɛti wɩnti*, - pacifying the *wɩnti*.

Before discussing *wɩnti* curing, let us return to the informant who was being claimed by an African *kɔmfo* as its '*asi* for an example of how the need for such a cure arises. This *wɩnti* came from Demakuku, in Africa,[1] and is traced by our informant through five generations of his ancestry. ‘It is not a little one,’ he said of it proudly, though at the time he knew but little about it, - only, in

1 See p. 71, note 3.



Plate XIV. Men from Bush and Town.

t.o. 83

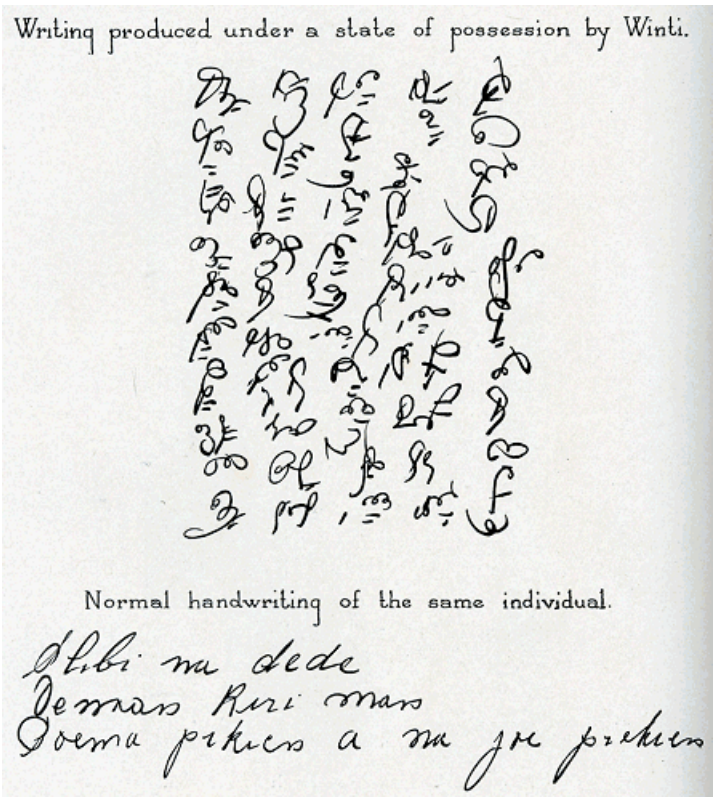


Plate XV.

fact, that it did not drink rum, but wished sweet liquors, and that it troubled him when he worked for other people, especially when those others were men darker than himself. One of the things he does under possession, and which he did when he was possessed in our hotel room, is to write the language of his *wɩnti*. We reproduce a sample written while in a state of possession.[1] Since leaving Suriname, we have had several letters from him which contained this writing, included, he explained, as a greeting from his *wɩnti* to us. Objectively considered, the symbols he employs are consistent, and we have seen him write them with ease. He has not yet solved for himself the meaning of this writing, for he still questions us about the peoples in Africa who know how to write, though he assures us that once the *wɩnti* is pacified, it will make known to him the meaning of the symbols, and their origin.

This man's difficulties in having his *wɩnti* pacified are many. Most important of all is that of getting the money necessary to engage a *wɩntimąn* to do this pacifying, and to provide for the essentials of such a ceremony. This should cost about fifty guilders, a sum still beyond his reach. In addition, in his present condition he has a grave distrust of the *lukumąn*, feeling that once they discover how powerful a *wɩnti* it is, they may give him medicine to 'spoil' it, and thus eliminate a powerful rival. Moreover, since this *wɩnti*, powerful as it is, would become the *basi wɩnti*, the master of all the *wɩnti* whose devotee he is, his *akra* sees in it a challenge to its own power over the man, for a powerful *wɩnti* such as this would seek to subordinate the will of the *akra* to its own will, and therefore, the *akra* is reluctant to yield it the right to take possession of the man.

What constitutes a *wɩnti* cure? All curing, whether of possession such as we have described, or of illness, includes in its regime the need of bathing the body. This bathing is said to 'cool' the body, and the phrase 'to cool' means 'to set at peace'. Each individual *wɩnti* has herbs which are especially sacred to it. These are put in water, and to this is added white chalk, washing blue (to represent indigo), African pepper and other ingredients according to the *wɩnti* that is to be 'washed for'. Among these sacred herbs are the *sąŋgrafu, mąnu-sneki wiwiri, umą-sneki wiwiri, blaka-umą wiwiri*,[2] *kɔrsu wiwiri, aneẹ̀isi wiwiri, abǫ̀ngra* seeds, and *sibi wiwiri*. The person to be washed is stripped, and the washing is done either with a black or a white cock, used as a sponge, or some bread is employed for the same purpose. 'Bread is more better, because bread come from the skin of God.' If a cock is used, it is killed after the ceremony, and, as is the case when divining is done at a *wɩnti*-dance, if its testicles are white the omen is held favorable and the person under treatment will be cured, but if black, the person will

1 Plate XV.

2 *Cordia Graveolens* H.B.K. Fam. *Borraginaceae*. (Encyc., p. 229).

not recover. After this washing, and before a cure can he effected, the *wɩnti* must be worshipped with dancing. While it is best that dancing be done by the person possessed by the *wɩnti*, it is not unusual, especially where the patient is too old, or too ill, or has become so Europeanised that he is not familiar with the proper dance-steps, to find someone else to dance for him. Most frequently this other is the *wɩntimąn*, who, as priest of the *wɩnti*, may be either a man or a woman.

Not all the *wɩnti* can be dealt with so simply. We were told the story of a woman who is unable to dance for her *wɩnti* because her husband is a pastor of one of the Christian churches. The wife's *wɩnti* so dislikes the husband that it harasses him and even threatens to kill him. This woman is described as handsome, and as a good wife when her *wɩnti* does not trouble her, but she becomes violent when her *wɩnti* comes, and she was once known to have struck her husband so hard a blow on the head while under the influence of the *wɩnti* that he was in the hospital for some weeks. Sometimes her *wɩnti*, in anger, puts the children out on the road in the rain, and the husband seldom dares enter his house when he finds his wife possessed by her *wɩnti*. When the *wɩnti* leaves her, she has no memory of having done any of these things. And the belief of most Negroes in Paramaribo is that if those, who like this woman give their *wɩnti* no outlet in dancing, persist in their course, they will go insane. This, in fact, is the Paramaribo Negro's explanation of insanity, as given us by more than one informant. And though most often this is deplored, we have heard the fact mentioned with astonishment mingled with admiration that there are some who take up the religion of the Europeans so fervently that, in spite of their knowledge that insanity is in store for them, they still refuse to dance for the *wɩnti*. This power of the *wɩnti* to punish those who refuse to worship it is never questioned, and the conviction gives rise to a number of folkloristic beliefs.

A favorite theme of this folkloristic type has to do with the case of a policeman who was sent by the authorities to stop a *wɩnti*-dance. It is told that upon hearing the drums play, his own *wɩnti* possessed him. Stripping off his clothes, he joined the circle of dancers, and danced not only all that night, but remained at the *wɩnti*-play until its end five days later. Another tale concerns a woman in the colony, who, to all appearances, is white. She came to a dance to satisfy her *wɩnti*, and when the *wɩnti* possessed her, she turned black, and remained black until her *wɩnti* was appeased. Then, slowly, the deep pigmentation faded out and she was once more white. Still another story concerns a White woman whom a White man brought to see a *wɩnti*-dance. When the drums played for the Snake gods, the *wɩnti* seized her. She began to tremble and to twitch like the others who were possessed, and pulling out the hat-pins from her hat, flung them and the hat into the bush, and joined

the dancers, rolling on the ground as did the devotees of the snake. ‘It was the *wɩnti* dancing. That's why she knew how.’ So strong is this belief, that White people who are interested in the cult of the *wɩnti* are themselves said to be possessed of a spirit of which they may know nothing. In their own homes, belief holds, White people give *wɩnti*-dances, but so disguised that only the expert eyes of the servants, who know what *wɩnti* is, recognise them as such. For instance, instead of *wɩnti* drums, snare-drums are used, and the violin and such other instruments as complete the White man's orchestra are substituted for rattle and gong. But after the dancing, which is but ordinary party-dancing of the White people, is in full swing, it becomes *wɩnti*-dancing, and the special evidence in one such case cited was that some of the women present wore red petticoats![1]

In all situations which arise out of the unfriendliness of a *wɩnti* toward his '*asi* and the family of the '*asi*, it is important to deal with the *wɩnti* amicably. Those who, let us say, choose insanity for themselves rather than ‘serve the Devil’ are thought to be selfish, for, in accepting insanity for themselves, they are by no means ridding the family of the *wɩnti* which, deserted, becomes an enemy, and will seek to enter the body of one member after another.

Those about to die, therefore, who wish to prevent the harassing of their descendants by unfriendly *wɩnti*, call upon their *wɩnti* to name the price at which they will withdraw from the family and leave it in peace. Mothers, especially, do this to save such of their children for whom belief in *wɩnti* has lost its old validity. These negotiations with the *wɩnti* are called *meki wą sweri*, - ‘swearing an oath’ - or as an informant whose English was excellent, said, ‘Making a contract with the *wɩnti*.’ Through the *wɩntimąn*, the *wɩnti* is asked to name its own conditions upon which it will consent to release the family. A woman, then, let us say, who wishes a *wɩnti* to leave the family at her death, and the *wɩntimąn* who is to question the *wɩnti* are seated on benches. The *wɩntimąn*, with rattle and to the accompaniment of drums, brings the *wɩnti* into that part of the body of the woman where the *wɩnti* is localised. The *wɩntimąn* addresses the *wɩnti:* ‘Your '*asi* is getting old. She has no one to whom to leave you. She wishes to pay you to leave her children in peace. I am here to find out what payment you ask.’ The answer may be that the *wɩnti* demands a dinner, or a big feast, or liquor, - some *wɩnti* are less exacting than others. The *wɩnti* is also asked where it wishes to be sent. Usually, the place it elects

1 This tendency on the part of *wɩnti*-worshippers to infer their own kind of belief from behavior that has nothing to do with the *wɩnti* is illustrated by the question asked us by one informant who wanted to know what kind of *wɩnti* the Negroes of the United States worship. On being told that they are Christians, he exclaimed, ‘But I saw a *wɩnti* dancing in your country!’ Further questioning brought out the fact that, at the cinema, he had seen the Charleston danced.

to enter is a tree, and the tree preferred is the *kąnkąntri*. A person who is thoughtful of his neighbors does not leave his *wɩnti* in a tree in the city, but sends it to a *kąnkąntri* on the outskirts of the city.

When the *wɩnti* called *Adyąnti-waį* was called to name the conditions upon which it would release a woman, it expressed the wish to leave the colony and to go back to Africa. 'They made a little corial, and they put in a bottle of beer, some *switi sopi* (liqueurs), some *ɔrshadi*, rice, *Nɛŋgɛre kɔndre pɛpre*, some white, blue, and red cotton, about an ell of each, and thirty-two cents (Dutch). At night, the little corial was taken in a boat to the harbor.[1] We waited for the falling tide, and the *wɩntimą*n said, "We made an oath that you would leave the body of your '*asi Afi* now. She is getting old. Her children do not care to serve you. We are giving you the payment you asked for. It is here in the corial. You are in the corial. We beg you to go back to your own country. We beg you to leave the family of this '*asi* in peace." Then they put the corial in the water, and it floated out to sea in the direction of Africa.'

No *wɩnti* that comes to a family as a *kunu* can, however, be disposed of in this manner.

d) a *w□nti*-dance

Our description of *wɩnti*, thus far, has been based largely on accounts given us in discussions of *wɩnti*. In this section we shall describe one of the *wɩnti*-dances we ourselves witnessed. For this purpose we have chosen a dance where, returning the day after its occurence, we had the opportunity to discuss the ceremonies with the priestess in charge, and to record many of the songs which had been sung in the course of the dance.

This dance was held in one of the larger Paramaribo yards, situated at a cross-roads, one of the cabins of which was occupied by the *wɩntimąn* - in this case a woman. The yard had been carefully swept, and benches lined the space reserved for the dancers. Food had already been given to the *Grǫ-Mama* of the yard. Food had also been offered at the cross-roads for *Lɛba*, for the *Kromanti* gods, and for other Earth spirits who were coming from a distance. At the river, food had been offered for the *Watra ļŋgi*, the river gods. The dance, which had been scheduled for four in the afternoon, was slow in getting under way, and did not actually begin until six o'clock. When we arrived at four o'clock, the priestesses were washing for the *wɩnti*, and dressing in their ceremonial clothes. The drums were not as yet in evidence. After a time, three women came out of one of the small houses that lined the yard; each held a

1 This is at the mouth of the Suriname river, some miles away from Paramaribo.

calabash in her hand, and made the tour of the yard, sprinkling some of its contents at the places sacred to the spirits of the yard, and in the four directions of the compass. The first of these calabashes held rum, the second was filled with beer, and the third had 'sweet things', - molasses, this last especially being for the deities of the Earth.

The drums were brought out, one by one, and placed in position at one end of the rectangular dance-clearing, nearest to the cabin of the priestess. There were five drums used, which we illustrate.[1] The largest of these drums was the *agida*,[2] played both with the hand and with a stick. The next in size, longer but not nearly as large in girth, was the *mąn drǫm*, which was also played with a stick, since its drum-head is not large enough to permit the player to employ his hands. A third drum was the *pɔdyo*, and the other two *apinti*,[3] one small one which, with carved foot, was decorated with the designs to be seen in white on its surface. This is, ritually, the most important drum of the battery, and is played with the hands only. Such was the vigor with which the players, themselves possessed as the ceremony continued, drummed on it, that the day following the dance the finger-tips of the principal drummer were quite raw. During the time he was playing, however, he gave no evidence that the state of his hands was giving him any discomfort, although the next day he was in evident pain. In addition to these drums, a hardwood bench was brought out. When beaten with two sticks, this makes the percussion instrument called the *kwakwa*, which, with the *agida* drum, is utilised in keeping the basic rhythm of the dances. If no hardwood bench is available, it is sufficient to have a small empty packing box. The sound is sharp, and pierces through the notes made by the drums. Rattles, - two of them, in this *wɩnti*-dance, - were brought out,[4] and two pieces of iron, one struck against the other, called *isri nąŋga isri*, - iron

1 Plate XVI. For a discussion of Suriname drums, see Encyc., art. 'Muziek-Instrumenten en Muziek,' pp. 494-499.

2 While an exact West African equivalent in terminology for this drum has not been found, it is perhaps worth mentioning that the crooked drumsticks used to beat the great drums in Dahomey are called *agida*. The details of the drum, as seen in our illustration, are the same as Dahomean, Haitian and Ashanti drums.

3 The Ashanti talking-drums, which are the same in general construction and the manner in which the drum-head is attached to the drums as the Suriname *apinti* drums, are called *mprintin*. A Yoruba drum, described by Talbot (II, iii, p. 814) as a 'short, single-skin drum, beaten between the knees, and especially used at feasts, etc.,' is called *apinti*.

4 The rattle is of great importance. In the Suriname Bush, a rattle accompanying songs can bring on possession even if the drums are not playing, while in Dahomey, a cult-center could not carry on the rituals essential to worship were it without a rattle. We have never seen any African ceremony, in Guiana, the West Indies, or West Africa, where rattles were not indispensable.

with iron.[1] The drums at these dances are played by men;[2] but it seems indifferent whether a man or a woman strikes the *kwakwa*, and several times in the dance we are describing, when the player failed to play the proper rhythm, the priestess took the sticks away from him and herself beat out the time which set the note for the drums to follow, in the correct invocation to the god. The rattles were played only by women.[3] The music was completed by hand-clapping and singing. The singing was done, in the main, by a chorus of women who, as the followers of the officiating priestess, were familiar with the songs. Both men and women joined in clapping their hands in time to the rhythms of song and drums, and when some favorite melody was introduced by the priestess, the volume of sound swelled.

This was the first *wɩnti*-play of the Queen's birthday cycle, and drew many of the older people because the drummers for the occassion were *Brɔsi nɛŋgɛre*, members of a group identified in the mind of the townspeople as stemming directly from Africa.[4] Some of those who acted as drummers were boatmen who had come to town from their home in the coastal 'small bush' country to take part in the boat-races that mark the festivities of the occasion. Among them was an old man who was a renowned *wɩntimąn* of that region. In this dance he did not become possessed, but he directed the playing of the drums, himself playing the *agida* or the *apinti*.

The drums in place, people slowly gathered, but there was no hurry to begin the ceremonies. Young boys took up one drum or another to try their skill with a tentative rhythm; sometimes two or three of these children played together, occasionally corrected by an older man, himself a drummer. From time to time a man who was to play a drum tested it, tightening the cords that held the drum-head, until he was satisfied that its tone was properly pitched. As the drums were tried, more people were attracted by the sound, until, as the rapid dusk deepened, there were enough persons present to occupy all the wooden boxes and benches that surrounded the cleared dancing-space, and behind them was a thin fringe of persons who were standing. A few lanterns were brought out, the

1 These represent the gong, an African musical instrument also important ceremonially, the distribution of which is wide over the continent.

2 This is also the rule in West Africa, though neither in Paramaribo nor Africa was its observance as strict as among the Bush-Negroes, where derision greets the very idea of a woman playing a drum.

3 We have never, in the ceremonies of the town Negroes, seen men play rattles, although among the Bush-Negroes, in Haiti, and in West Africa, they are played by both men and women.

4 This appellation, '*Brɔsi* Negroes', is significant in the light of the following quotation concerning the people of the Warri district of Nigeria: 'The slaves... are principally composed of the natives... who are called at Bonny the Brass-country negroes, from the circumstances of the... large brass pans, taken from Europe to Bonny, being requisite for this particular trade.' (Talbot, II, i. p. 327).

drummers seated themselves, gave their drums a final adjustment, and swung into the rhythm of the first song.

The priestess went about the cleared space greeting those present. She knew who would dance and who would not. Those who had come belonged to the particular group of *wɩnti* worshippers of which she was the leader, though any stranger whose *wɩnti* came to him could, without exciting any astonishment, enter the cleared dancing-space, and dance for it. The group gathered was, nevertheless, scrutinised for adherents of a rival *wɩntimąn*. This was done casually, and so much as a matter of course that the actual incident was in the nature of welcoming friends who were present, and making certain that some of the younger devotees, who were under the priestess' special tutelage, had already arrived. It is true, nevertheless, that *wɩnti* worshippers have their special *wɩnti* groups with whom they share this worship. This seems to go down in families, and may possibly reflect some early recognition of African affiliations. Whether this is altogether borne out or not, a native of Paramaribo hesitates to go to a *wɩnti*-dance given by a group with which he is not affiliated, for only those of our informants who belonged to families associated with the group giving the dance we are describing were to be seen here. When we suggested to others that we might see them at this dance, they either laughed and said they would come and watch, or said frankly that they had their own groups, and would take us to their own dances. One elderly woman, indeed, went so far as to exclaim, ‘What would I be doing at that *wɩntimąn's* dance?’

Those who were seated on the benches and boxes, - many of the latter were brought by the people who came - were the *wɩnti*-worshippers and their friends or relatives, and all of them were expected to participate in the singing. Some of those who came brought bottles of beer or of rum, but notwithstanding this, possession was not superinduced by the drinking of strong liquor. From time to time, a drink of rum was given the drummers, but those who were possessed did not indulge, and there was no instance of anything approaching intoxication on the part of anyone at the dance. Indeed, it is safe to say that as much beer and liquor was poured on the ground in the form of offerings to the gods as was consumed by those hi attendance at the ceremony.

The first spirit called was that of the Earth Mother. This was termed *bɛgi Grǫ-Mama*, - prayer to the Earth Mother - also sometimes called *presi doti*, - praise for the earth. Most of the songs sung at this ceremony were later recorded; of these we give a few to illustrate the sequence, and all which we were not able to record. The priestess sang:



Plate XVI. The *wɪnti* drums.

Mama-o, wi bɛgi-o,
Wi kari yu nɛm.
Aisa, Awąnaisa,
Wi no sab' bɛgi-o,
Wi piki-o
Wi kari yu nɛm.
Aisa, Awąnaisa,
Ma Loko,
Wi kari yu nɛm.

Mother-o, we pray you-o,
We call your name.
Aisa, Awąnaisa,
We know not how to pray-o,
We speak to you-o
We call your name.
Aisa, Awąnaisa,
Mother *Loko*,
We call your name.

This was followed by:

Agida-o,
Ma Loko,
Agida-e.

Agida-o,
Mother *Loko*,
Agida-e.

And:

Aisa bɔmbo Loko
Na mi sisa,
Bɔmbo Loko
Bɔmbo Mande.

Aisa mates with *Loko*
My sister,
Mates with *Loko*
Mates with *Mande*.[1]

Then was sung:

Loko na bom,
Awąnaisa na doti,
O, Loko na bom,
Awąnaisa na doti-o.

Loko in the tree,
Awąnaisa in the earth.
O, *Loko* in the tree,
Awąnaisa in the earth-o.

1 Not translatable.

As the priestess began the first of these songs, she walked about the enclosure, rattle in hand, keeping time to the music. Her assistant followed her with a calabash filled with water, sprinkling water in front of all those seated, so that the *wɩnti* might come to them. But the *wɩnti* were slow in coming. Again and again she repeated this song, singing the leader's part, being echoed by the chorus. Single figures came out and danced, each with a kerchief in hand,[1] waving it back and forth in time to the swaying of the body. They were dancing *Bąnya*, which, though itself the name of a special dance for the Earth, here was employed to designate the various types of dancing that were going on in the center of the cleared space to do homage to the Earth and the Ancestors, and that were preliminary to the more individual dances for the separate *wɩnti*. In this category were dances known as *Krɪɔro drǫ*', 'Creole drum',[2] *Aisa*, and *Papa ¸lŋgi*, which latter is the *wɩnti* resulting from the mating of the *Papa* snake and the Earth *¸lŋgi*. The women danced in single file, the *Aisa* dancers waving their kerchiefs, and when the *Papa ¸lŋgi* dance came, the women danced in a circle imitating Indians.

Next came the *Anąnsi-tɔri* dances. These are dances for the ancestors, and the name is a euphemism derived from the fact that Anansi stories are told at wakes. In this *Anąnsi-tɔri* group were *Gąŋga* and *Yɔrka* dances. The latter included a bit of dramatisation of the days of slavery. One man, taking a stick and using it as a crutch, simulated decrepitude. Another, who was standing near the drummers, announced in a loud voice, 'Tomorrow early you must all come to work.' There was groaning and limping; the man impersonating the cripple began to protest; and those who danced in the circle joined him, limping, and showing they were incapacitated. The man who was standing at the drums then announced that the next day all were to report for rations. Promptly the man threw away his crutch, and he and the dancers in the center, one behind the other, each holding to the shoulders of the dancer in front so that they formed a winding, twisting line, began an excited dance of jubilation, singing '*Tamara Sɔnde!* - Tomorrow's Sunday!' to the solo line of '*Amamba Tyɛnde!*'[3] This ended, the priestess begged the Earth gods again to let the *wɩnti* pass so that the dancing might begin. She sang,

Wąnke, są yu wani?

with the chorus singing,

Mi kǫ tek' 'a sani pą¸imąŋ,

1 Among the Ashanti and the Yoruba, dances which are not ritualistic or are semi-religious in character, are danced by persons who have kerchiefs in each hand. These kerchiefs make for the best form in dancing.

2 The use of the word 'drum' for 'dance' or 'ceremony' is employed extensively by Dahomean natives who speak French. The phrase 'to perform a ceremony' is always '*faire un tamtam*'.

3 Song No. 152.

that is, '*Wąnke* (name of a deity), what do you wish?' 'I have come to take the offerings.'

The next *wɩnti* called was the deity of the cross-roads, *Lɛba*. As the drums played and the singing began anew, several persons, who were seated, began to tremble. Their trembling began with the agitation of the lower limbs, after which the knees began to shake. This was followed by the quivering of the hands, the twitching of the shoulders, and the head. The facial expression was that of a person in a trance. Their eyes were either shut or they stared blankly, and the muscles were set and tense. As the drumming and singing continued, the heads of those who were experiencing possession began to shake agitatedly and to roll from side to side, and in this state they raised themselves from their seats, and sank back again. As the twitching and trembling and rolling of the head became more and more violent, a friend or relative seated beside the ones who were becoming possessed straightened the head-kerchiefs which were by now askew, if the persons were women, and helped them back to their seats. From time to time an exclamation issued from their lips, a shout, a groan, or words spoken rapidly and unintelligibly. They were speaking the secret language of their *wɩnti*. As their movements increased in violence, the arms were thrown about so that anyone sitting next to a possessed man or woman was struck. The jerking movements of the head were repeated with greater and greater frequency, until the head seemed to be rolling about on the shoulders. When the one who was going through these movements of possession was not in the front row, room was made so that there would be no obstacle in his way when he rushed forward into the dance-clearing.[1]

The priestess was leading the singing as she danced to the god, and a man now joined her. He was the first one under possession. Soon a woman came dancing into the cleared space, and then others, until there were twelve people dancing in the center. They sang,

Lɛba - o, Lɛba - a,
Ma Aisa, gi mi pasi,
Mi pasa.

Lɛba - o, *Lɛba* - a,
Mother *Aisa*, give me the right of way,
And I will pass.[2]

1 This description of the way in which possession comes on might apply equally well to *kɔmfo* dances seen by us among the Ashanti, especially in the details of motor behavior.

2 Other songs, sung both to *Lɛba* and *Afrekete*, a *wɩnti* said to be a child born of the mating of *Lɛba* and *Aisa*, have been recorded, and will be found as Nos. 214-219. *Afrekete* is a Dahomean deity, the youngest member of the Sea pantheon worshipped in that country.

The dancing for *Lɛba*, as it is for all other *wɩnti*, is an individual matter for each dancer possessed, though for each *wɩnti*, all those who are possessed dance according to a certain definite pattern that distinguishes the worship of that god from the worship of others. Thus, while no two *Lɛba* dancers danced exactly the same steps, or danced in coordination with any other person, each of them impersonated, in his own way, the scratching movements of the tatterdemalion deity of the cross-roads. Each went round and round in the circle, arms crossed from time to time over his breast, the fingers tugging at the clothing, as though scratching to relieve an itching sensation. This continued until more than half the dancers swooned, bringing their possession to an end. To those, and to the others who were still dancing, water was given to *kɔru ɛŋ ʾati*, to 'cool their hearts', so they might be calmed, and their gods depart, making way for another *wɩnti*. Soon the priestess put her foot on one of the drums and the music stopped. She did not speak, for none who dances for a *wɩnti* may engage in conversation during possession. The time was then 10:15. Though *Lɛba* had receded, the *Aisa* spirits had not yet been satiated, and the *agida* drum continued playing its beat. Again the priestess sang to the Earth Mother.[1] People whispered that the priestess *a kɩsi Aisa*, - had 'caught' *Aisa*. For the first time that evening, she showed the full intensity which marks the state of possession. She was a powerful woman, and it soon was apparent that she was a 'stronger' dancer than any of the others. Exclamations of praise came from those who were sitting near us, "*A wɩnti dąnsi mo̱i*, - her spirit dances splendidly.' Water was again poured in front of those seated to bring the gods, and the old *wɩntimąn* who was drumming, raised both his hands, and cried out, '*Presi Gadō, afkodra̱i a no dɛdɛ yɛte!* - Praise God, heathenism is not dead yet!' The chorus sang '*Odi, mama! Odi, mama!* - Howdo, mother! Howdo, mother!' Another possessed woman came out, and made the rounds of the seated figures, greeting each of them. Her crossed arms were held out in front of her away from the body, as three times she gave both her hands to all who were sitting in the front row, and to as many of those standing behind as she could reach. Many leaned forward to take her hands, for it was not this woman, but her *wɩnti* who was greeting those who had come to the dance. Before long, there were twenty people dancing in the cleared space, only a few of whom were men. One young man who became possessed, took a kerchief, and tied it about his waist. He had a female *wɩnti*, and a kerchief worn this way, as mentioned, is the sign of a married woman, and acts as a substitute for woman's clothing which he would have worn, had the dance been held away from the city. '*Te mąn suma 'abi umą wɩnti, a weri umą krosi*. - When a man has a female *wɩnti*, he dresses like a woman.'[2]

1 Song No. 200.
2 See above, p. 76, Note 1.

The songs now changed to *Grǫ-Papa*. The Earth gods were not yet satisfied, for the *Grǫ-Papa* are the offspring of the mating of Mother *Aisa* and the male snake-spirit.

Papa Wɩnti lɔbi ʾɛm,
Ma Awąnasa.

Papa *Wɩnti* loves her,
Mother *Awąnasa*

they sang. A woman sitting behind us, who had gone through all the motions of possession, fell to the ground and began to roll. Having the male snake god, she rolled face downward, wooing the Earth deities. The priestess raised her, for it had been raining earlier in the day and the ground was damp; she continued dancing to the *Papa* god, standing upright, as the others were doing. Water to bring the god was again poured on the ground in front of those seated. At this time, however, there was some grumbling heard from those who wanted to dance for other *wɩnti*, for the *Aisa* deities were still not satisfied, though the time was now 11:15, and twelve people were possessed and dancing. At 11:20 there were seventeen in the cleared space, of whom sixteen were women. Those near us said ‘The *Opɛte* and the *Aisa* never have enough. It is always the same thing. They want to dance all night.’ There was only one thing to be done. Since to stop playing for a *wɩnti* before it has had its fill is to endanger the lives of those who are under possession, *Aisa* was left to the discipline of a *wɩnti* more powerful than she, so that she might be compelled by the new *wɩnti* to make way. When the *Papa wɩnti* was being called, they sang

Grɛnya na goro,
Ma Aisa ɛ loi ɛŋg dyɛndyɛn,
Papa-umą ɛŋ seki ɛŋ saka.

Run back to the earth
Mother *Aisa* has rung her bell,
The *Papa* woman is shaking her rattle.

This had not yet the desired effect, and was followed by the song,

Di ɛ gowɛ,
Di Wąnaisa,
Ma Loko,
Gɜdeǫsi,
Mi Dada.

That she go away,
That *Wąnaisa*,
Mother *Loko*,
Gɛdeǫsi,
My *Dada*.

Six people went back to their places, dissenting, and there was argument back and forth that the Earth gods really should leave. At 12:05 A.M., the drums began to play for the snake gods. The priestess greeted her audience with '*Ala masra nɛŋgɛre, wodi!* - All master Negroes, howdo!' As the drums played and the singers sang their snake-songs, more and more became possessed by the snake-gods, and they went about, greeting the seated auditors with crossed arms as had the woman first possessed by a snake spirit, saying, '*Odi, odi*,' and naming their individual gods. But among them were still those who were dancing for the Earth. At 12:10 the priestess again bade the Earth gods goodbye, but the Earth *wɪnti* would not go, until four older women joined the priestess to *saka*, - to stop, - the *wɪnti*. Two dancers for the Earth still remained, but at 12:15 they were finally pacified.

It should be made clear that nothing in the attitude of anyone present expressed impatience against the dancers themselves for monopolising the evening. The fault found was with the selfishness of the Earth *wɪnti* who would not let other *wɪnti* come. It might be observed objectively that dancing for the Earth gods is one of the least exhausting of the dances in the whole *wɪnti* cycle, and it is not difficult, therefore, to continue dancing the *Aisa* dance for a long time.

After the *Aisa* spirits were gone, there was an interval, during which the priestess in charge paced about the clearing, agitated, anxious to dance again, now thoroughly roused. On the fringe of the gathering younger people were dancing what they called *Kaseka wɪnti*, the dance, semi-social in character, which comes as an interlude in the lull of *wɪnti* dancing. It consists in the skillful manipulation of the feet and the muscles of the buttocks. While the dancing had continued, more and more people drifted into the compound to watch what was going on, so that a group which at six o'clock numbered not more than fifty people, now comprised about three hundred. The drums were quiet, the drummers drifted off to talk with friends, or to the priestess' house to get a drink, but soon returned, and, at 12:25, when the drum-heads were again tightened, the new rhythms commenced.

This time the drums called the *Lōąŋgo* gods. This *wɪnti* was said to be an Earth and Snake deity in one. The song with which they began has been recorded.[1] The priestess herself was again showing signs of possession coming on, but the spirits of the worshippers were slow in manifesting themselves. She walked back and forth in the cleared space, looking about her, and she called out '*No habi suma dɛ beifi*? - Is there no one trembling?' She changed the song,[2] - her voice was by now hoarse - and this being a more familiar melody, her lead was quickly taken up. Not all the songs

1 Song No. 183.
2 To Nos. 184-185.

were equally popular, either because they were not as well known, or because the tune was not liked. When the chorus did not respond in sufficient volume, the priestess quickly changed to another song for the same deity. She sang,

Ma Lōąŋgo,
Mi na gąŋgule Lele.

Mother *Loąŋgo*,
I am *gąŋgule Lele*.

This was followed by,

Bumba-e
Kɛre Bumba-e.[1]

After five minutes, the impatience of the priestess was rewarded, and she was joined first by one woman and then, in quick succession, by five other persons, one of whom was a man. Some of those possessed talked *Lōąŋgo*, rubbing their outstretched hands together as they spoke the language of their deity.

At 1:15, when the dance was in full sway, a uniformed policeman came and demanded to see the permit which had been issued for this dance. This caused great consternation, and many of the dancers stopped dancing. The large drums were spirited away at once so they would not be confiscated, for these drums are especially expensive and difficult to procure. There were many indications of suppressed anger because the drumming had to be stopped while people were still under possession, and murmurs that in spite of the fact that all the requirements had been complied with the dance was being interrupted. The priestess, furious but disdaining to speak, paced back and forth with quick steps, impatient to get back to her dancing. The police officer, himself a black man, understood the mood of the group, and enjoyed his authority. He stood there, joking, though his good spirits evoked no response from anyone. Finally, the policeman left, but returned in about fifteen minutes with a superior officer, who again entered the dance-clearing, and asked questions, seeking to find out, among other things, why White persons should be present at a *wɪnti*-dance. At 1:50, however, the dancing was resumed, but a uniformed policeman remained to the end.

The priestess had seated herself on a low bench at the second interruption, and now, with her head buried in her arms, began to

1 We have no translation for this verse. Encyc., p. 143, states ‘Bomba of Boemba is volgens Hostmann, Over de beschaving van negers, enz. I, 34, een watergod bij de Boschnegers en wel, in tegenstelling met hunne meeste goden, een goedaardige.’



Plate XVII. A compound with benches arranged for a *wɩnti* dance.

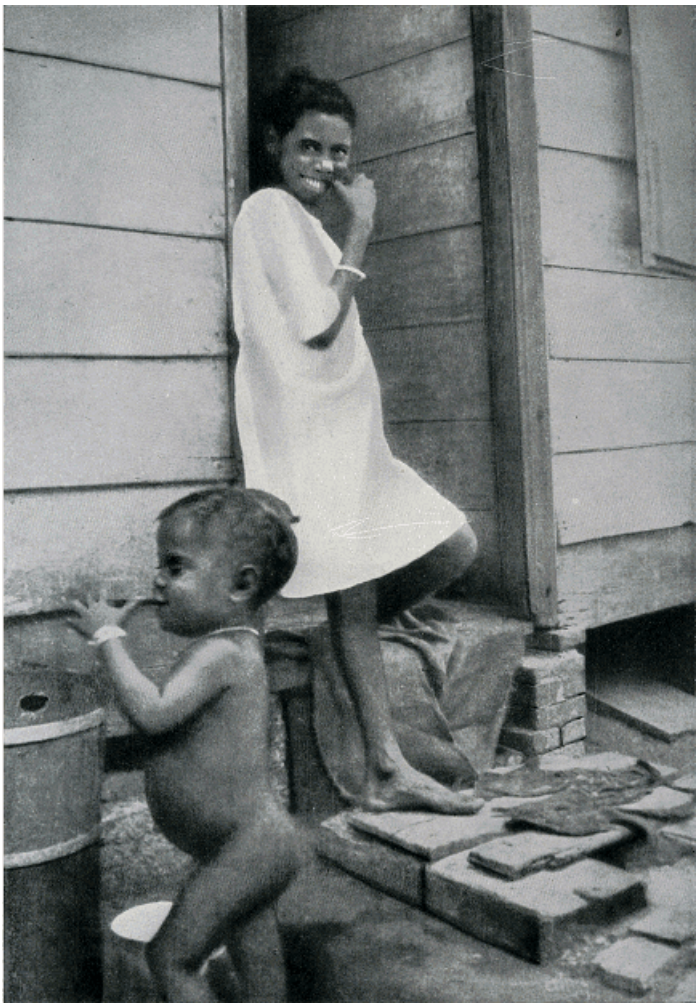


Plate XVIII. Within a compound: children at the entrance to a house.

sing for Bush *Kromanti*, the *Lōąŋgo* god having left as abruptly as had the drums at the interruption.

Yu mu yɛpi, yu mu yɛpi, yu mu yɛpi mi,
Yu mu yɛpi, yu mu yɛpi, yu mu yɛpi - o!
Yu mu yɛpi, Osąi̯ Tąndo
Yu mu yɛpi, Abɛrewa.

You must help, you must help, you must help me,
You must help, you must help, you must help-o!
You must help, Osąi̯ Tąndo
You must help, Ancient One.[1]

With emotions stirred by their anger at the intervention of the police, possession came quickly, and a man began to dance almost immediately. He wore a red kerchief about his neck, and danced on his knees. The priestess helped him to his feet. He continued to dance with his eyes closed, and when he stopped for a moment, his body shook as did the others who were feeling possession coming on. Two women soon joined him, and then a boy of about eighteen. Before long, there were ten dancers in the circle beside the priestess, three of them men. As they danced, the arms were alternately outstretched, with index fingers pointing, and this was the pantomime of warriors, shooting. The priestess, who herself was possessed, called out '*Oso!*' as she made these gestures, and sang,

Sa komąnda
Na Kromanti Akuba
Sa komąnda
Achawa-o
Achawa-a
Dati na kɔmfo
A kɔmfo na mi, ba.

Sa komąnda
Kromanti Akuba
Sa komąnda
Achawa-o
Achawa-a
That is the *kɔmfo*
My *kɔmfo*, brother.

This song in the *Kromanti* tongue named the priestess' own *Kromanti* spirit.[2] It was followed by another, which the priestess also led,

1 Song No. 165.
2 We could obtain no exact translation of it, nor would the priestess sing it for us into the phonograph when we visited her the following day.

Yawa, wi bɛgi,
Yawasi, Yawasi,
Yawa.

Yawa, we pray you,
Yawasi, Yawasi,
Yawa.

While this dance was going on, the young girl of whom we have already spoken in connection with our discussion of the learning of *wɩnti*-dancing, was shown by the priestess how to dance for this god in the manner we have described.[1] At 2:55 A.M., the priestess asked this *wɩnti* if it was ready to go. She ran about the circle, clasping her hands, and finally threw her body across the *kwakwa* and the drums to silence them, and the spirit left.[2]

Other *winti* dances we witnessed varied but slightly in general pattern from the one we have described. In one, the priestess carried a black horse's tail,[3] which she used as she danced in the same manner as the other devotees used their kerchiefs. In another, when dancing *Kromanti*, the son of the priestess, who was being trained as her successor, had a kerchief thrown over his head of a blue background dotted with white stars, and his dancing consisted of a rhythmic motion of the head only, for he had one of the most powerful *wɩnti* of all, - the 'head' *wɩnti*, that is, a curing *wɩnti*. In another, the dancers for the snake deities rolled on the ground, those lying on their backs were said to '*opo den bɛre gi na tapu*, - open their wombs for the sky', and those lying face downward were spoken of as mating with the '*gɔro gadō*, - Earth gods'.

In principal outline, these dances showed a complete lack of exhibitionistic motivation on the part of the dancers. Each person danced to his *wɩnti*, or, rather, embodied his *wɩnti* who was dancing there, and each seemed unaware of anything about him. All possession, leading from agitation to increasingly greater excitation, culminated in a faint. It is important to recognise how much form mattered in these ceremonies. If a kerchief came awry while the person possessed was dancing, or a *koto-yaki* got twisted about, or a man's shirt became unfastened, the person who had come with such a one was at once in the circle adjusting the clothing that had become disarranged, while moving along with the dancer in order not to interfere with the behavior of those in a state of possession. Nothing orgiastic took place in the dances we observed. The drinking, as in the case of the dance we have just described, was

1 See above, p. 73.
2 Other songs sung for the Bush *Kromanti wɩnti* during this dance have been recorded and are to be found as songs Nos. 165, 166 and 167.
3 Among the Yoruba, the Dahomeans, and the Ashanti, we have seen horses' tails employed by those who dance for the gods in the ritual dances.

moderate. Away from the city, where complete freedom is had in the worship of the *wɩnti*, whatever takes place in the dances is never regarded as orgiastic in the minds of the people themselves. If there is connection between a woman and a man not her husband, her husband, if he is present, does not view the act as a breach of fidelity, for when connection takes place under possession, it is merely regarded as the will of the *wɩnti*. When there is connection between a human being and an animal, as on rare occasions is said to occur in the fullness of possession, this, too, is viewed as the personal expression of the *wɩnti* who had temporarily made of the person possessed his medium. However undisciplined these dances may appear when behavior under possession takes on more extreme forms, from the point of view of those, who live by the sanctions of *wɩnti*, the dances are rigidly patterned. Those who sat beside us at the dances we witnessed knew the significance of every change of beat in the music, could at any moment tell us the name of the god who was being called, could point out the minute differences which, too detailed to be seen by an eye not expert, were to be discerned when the dancing of one person was contrasted with that of another. In each instance, that slight difference in mode of dancing denoted a different *wɩnti* of the same group. We do not underrate the full significance of the physiological and psychological release of tension that comes to those who worship the *wɩnti* after the violence of possession, whatever form that possession may take, but it must be emphasized that the patterning of this release follows traditional behavior.

12. Magic, Good and Evil

a) obia - the *tapu* and the *opo*

Of the four phenomena which define the world of the supernatural for the Paramaribo Negroes, we have thus far described two, the manifestation and role of the *akra*, (the soul) and of the *wɩnti* (the gods). The third phenomenon concerns magic, good and evil. The generic term for good magic, as among the Saramacca Bush-Negroes, is *obia*,[1] and for evil magic, *wisi*.[2] But whereas the word *wisi* has general currency when reference is made to evil magic, the more usual name for good magic in Paramaribo is ‘luck’ rather than *obia*. That is, people are spoken of as ‘buying luck’ or ‘wearing luck’, and comments are heard about the importance of carrying one's ‘luck’ when walking alone at night, when going on a journey, when wooing a woman, or seeking work, or combating the effect of black magic.

1 Cf. Encyc., p. 515.
2 Cf. Encyc., p. 751. There the primary identification of *wisi* is made with poison, which is perhaps a misapplied emphasis. See below, pp. 103ff.

More specifically, however, this 'luck' is divided into two distinct types, the *tapu*[1] and the *opo*. It is when we consider these two designations, indeed, that we come to the twofold aspect of good magic. A *tapu* is good magic which acts as a defensive instrument against evil. Thus, there are *tapu* against *Yɔrka* (ghosts), against *bakru*, (sorcerers' emissaries), against poison, against slander, against sterility and impotence, and against illness of the soul. In fact, a *tapu* can be provided for any ill within the range of human experience. The *opo*, on the other hand, is called into play to procure for an individual certain definite ends. It is an aggressive force, and it is the offensive factor in the concept of good magic.

The *opo*, in its use as a supernatural instrument to procure positive ends for its owner, is often asked to accomplish such ends to the definite disadvantage of other people. From the point of view of the group, these disadvantages may assume, if not a criminal character, certainly one that is anti-social in nature. That this does not escape the attention of the people themselves is evidenced by the fact that they recognise the *opo* as a marginal instrument between good and evil magic. We heard this point raised several times, one view holding that since the *opo* requires a ghost to act as its agent, it is *wisi*, another maintaining that the *opo* serves to better oneself, and takes that for its primary function as against the function of *wisi*, whose essential purpose is to bring harm to another.

An *opo*, then, is conceived as a supernatural agent which works on the will of others to make that will favorable to the owner of the *opo*. Examples of such *opo* are those which use as a base a piece of paper on which appears the handwriting of a White man. This paper, when combined with other elements, forms a charm for working on the will of White persons, and such charms are called *Bakra opo* and form in themselves an entire category of magical devices. Since a charm possessing blanket power to achieve any end, in all situations, is not deemed to have much efficacy, a special *opo* must be procured for each occasion of sufficient importance to warrant the expenditure of the amount necessary to secure it. One of these *Bakra opo* might be bought to secure a desired job from a White man; another for a case that is pending in court before a White judge, to bring a judgment favorable to its possessor. A *Bakra opo* might also be acquired to conceal irregularities in keeping the larder, or the mercantile stock of a White employer.

There are other categories of *opo*. People buy love *opo*, that is, either *umą* (female), or *mąn* (male) *opo*, which make it impossible for the men or women held desirable by the owners of the *opo* to resist their attentions. There are hunting *opo, opo* for trade, *opo* to help a person win at cards when played for money, and *opo*

1 Cf., Penard (I), p. 179.

to make it impossible for a police officer to arrest its owner. '*Te suma habi let-let' opo*,' in this instance it was an *opo* against the interruption of a *wɩnti* dance, - '*na sxɔtu no mąŋ fɔm hɛm. A no mąŋ, srɛf-srɛfi. Na opo a no gi 'ɛm pasi. Mi si ɛm tu trǫ kaba. Na sxɔtˀ srɛfi bɩgin dąnsi, a fergit' sąn a kɔm du. Na opo taki, "Pɛŋgere, pɛŋgere, no kɔm dia tide"... Pɛŋgere, dati na obia-taki fō sxotu nąŋga oru.* - When a person has a true-true *opo*, the policeman cannot beat him. He cannot do it at all. The *opo* does not give him the right. I saw it twice already. The policeman himself began to dance, and he forgot what he came to do. The opo said, "*Pɛŋgere, pɛŋgere*, don't come here today"... "*Pɛŋgere*" is the *obia*-language for a policeman with his weapon.' A very famous *opo* that has earned a great deal of money for its owners is called *bambakula*, and is said to have been brought from Africa.

An *opo* may be some medicine in a bottle which, as in the *karta-opo*, or in the *mąn* or *umą opo*, for example, the individual puts on his person, - on his hair or his hands or some other part of his body - before embarking on the adventure he wishes to engage in; or it may be a charm to be worn on the person, or carried in a pocket, or kept in the house, and used in conjunction with a medicine. Each *tapu* and each *opo* has its own *trefu*, and sometimes an *opo* or a *tapu* may have several of them, for it is these food taboos which individualise the *opo* or the *tapu* for each owner, and assure him that his charm will remain potent. Thus, if someone, suspecting that a *tapu* was impeding his black magic, were to seek to nullify its effectiveness, he would be unable to spoil it if he did not know the proper *trefu*. On the other hand, violation of a *trefu* spoils an *opo*, as is to be seen in story 146.[1]

We have seen how the *sweri*, - the compact - sealed between an individual and his *wɩnti*, resulted in the release of that individual's family from its obligation to serve the *wɩnti*. This concept of making a *sweri* with a supernatural force is operative in magic also. An *opo* which once freed a sentenced man from jail involved such a compact made between the prisoner and a bird. The *opo* was worked with the head of a cock, and was called *kakaforu opo*. The compact specified that at the next cock crow the man was to be set free, and it is told that this occurred. This *opo* could have been made with any bird instructed to enter the cell, and when the bird found its freedom, the man would also have found his freedom. Such power is given to a bird by the maker of the *opo*, and is based on a formula, such as the one which occurs in story 141,[2] where the man makes seven cuts on a calabash, gives seven cuts to the man for whom the charm is being made, and says, 'Well, you see, I did not cut you any more than I cut the man, so I throw you away under the water. Well, you see, the person who gets you under the water to do something to

1 See below, p. 429.
2 See below, p. 425.

you, that one can do something to the man, too.' This same principle of sealing a compact applies both to the *tapu* as well as to the *opo* and is also operative in *wisi*. What special supernatural agencies stand behind this compact is not clear, but it is generally attributed to the power of the *basi-wɩnti* of the practitioner.[1]

Though we have spoken of the *tapu* as a passive agent, there are times when, in its defensive role, it issues positive warnings to its possessor. We have already spoken of the belief that if a drink which had black magic in it were taken up by a person who had a *tapu* against *wisi*, the glass would break. There are also *tapu* in the form of metal arm-bands, which contract when danger threatens, to warn the wearers. Variants of this general type are *sɛgribui* (silver link bracelets) which have been ceremonially cleansed in herbs, iron anklets or toe rings, and belts on which cauries or small white buttons are sewed. All of these, when felt to tighten, tell their owners that not only is black magic set against them, but that the *wisi* is actually entering into these *tapu*. Another form of *tapu* is that of 'getting a *kɔti*'. This consists of several small incisions which are made anywhere on the body, and into which medicine is rubbed. An example of this was had in the story of the calabash and the man who was cut seven times. These *kɔti* are specialised in power. There are *Yɔrka-kɔti* which insure to the possessor of them the harmlessness of ghosts; there are *Bakru-kɔti*, which protect against these 'little people'; cuts are also made against illnesses, and to prevent anyone from calling away a person's soul.[2]

A *tapu* of this type that has attracted the widest attention in the literature is the *sneki-kɔti*.[3] Belief in this immunizing agent against snake bite, and in its curative powers if given after the serpent has struck (it may either be taken internally or in a cut), is not only held by the Negroes but by many of the Europeans resident in the colony. This remedy of the Bush-Negroes is said to be made out of the roasted powdered head of a venemous snake, and is sold to the people of the town. We have heard many persons testify to its efficacy, but whether their belief is validated in fact, or whether it is only of folkloristic value, is not our concern here. That this belief is firmly held is significant for our study, and we may quote an incident related to us illustrative of the manner in which faith in the remedy is kept alive. The person who recounted this anecdote was at one time a plantation-overseer whose station was

1 It will be remembered, in the case of our informant whose *basi-wɩnti* made him write in a script that he could not explain, how it would be this *wɩnti* that would make an *obiamɑ̨n* or a *wɩntimɑ̨n* of him. In Haiti such compacts are called *engagements*.

2 These cuts are given in Haiti for similar purposes.

3 The most recent contribution to the discussion of *sneki-kɔti*, in which the literature is critically summarised, is that of Benjamins.

not far from Paramaribo. One day, during his absence in the city, a poisonous snake bit a Javanese woman who was working on the plantation. The natives who were present did everything possible for this woman, but her condition grew steadily worse, and, toward evening, it seemed certain that she would die. It was at this time that the plantation manager returned. Going to his medicine stores, he took out some of this *kɔti*, mixed it with liquor, and forced it down the unconscious woman's throat. She soon began to revive, and early the next morning was at work again. This *kɔti*, it must be noted, is believed to be a preventive in other than the prophylactic sense, for belief has it that if a person with *sneki-kɔti* encounters a poisonous snake, the snake, recoiling from the influence of the *kɔti*, glides out of his way.

There is yet another aspect of *obia* to which reference has been made in several connections, and this is its curative power. The internal and external application of various ingredients added to a base of herbs, white clay, washing-blue (for indigo), and other similar substances which have for their purpose curing disease, are all actuated by the principle of supernatural aid that is implicit in the belief in *obia*. We shall see, in the case of black magic, how the Paramaribo Negro does not differentiate between the chemical operation of an actual poison and the supernatural actuation of a charm that has as its end the bringing of evil to another. The same evaluation of cause and effect holds also in the case of *obia*, where the work of chemicals and formulae are for purposes of good magic, and not evil. No efficacy is thought inherent in any medicine except insofar as such medicine is actuated by the power of *obia*, and so strong is this belief that, while the natives of Paramaribo do avail themselves of the expert medical services which are at their disposal, they do not fail to complement the White man's cures with their own *obia* remedies. The view persists, however, that there are fevers that the White doctor can treat, and those that he is powerless to cure. For this last type of fevers, therefore, the *lukumąn*, the *wɩntimąn*, or the *obiamąn* must be called in, since these ailments are of supernatural origin, and it is only a supernatural remedy that can cure those who have succumbed to them.

b) Wisi and *Bakru*

If *obia*, then, is good magic, *wisi* is the magic that brings evil. '*Wisi wroko nąŋga Yɔrka - Wisi* works through ghosts,' and in manifestations of black magic it is not so much the ingredients which go into the making of black magic as the deadly carrying agent which kills. The control of ghosts for these errands is obtained by *wisi*-men in the following manner. It is thought that the souls of men, like the *wɩnti*, may belong to the earth, to the water, to the air. In order to procure a carrier for black magic, a

wisimąn will call out the soul of a living person and shoot it; if it is a soul of the air, he will imprison it in a tree; if it is a soul belonging to the earth, he will bury it in the ground; or he may destroy it in the water, if it is a soul which in its wanderings would make for the water. A person whose soul had been so treated sickens and soon dies. It is then that the *wisimąn* claims this soul, making it his agent through which he accomplishes his ends. Other souls are obtained by digging up a recently buried body and taking from it some hair or a finger, and calling the ghost of the one who has died to enter into this. Some souls are brought under the control of a *wisimąn* by stealing some of the water in which a corpse had been washed and summoning the *Yɔrka* to enter the water. A ghost obtained in any of these ways becomes the slave of the *wisimąn*, and does his bidding.[1] It is made to animate the *bakru*, to enter fowls, to go into inanimate objects such as wood or clothing, to enter into herbs, or earth, or water in order to carry sickness or death where it is directed to go, and it is the *Yɔrka*, too, that actuates the poison put into an enemy's drink or food.

Before discussing *wisi* itself, it is necessary to consider two examples of what may be termed ‘marginal’ *wisi*. These are a form of *opo* designed to enrich their owners, but since this is accomplished at the cost of the lives of the growing children of the family, native opinion classifies them as *wisi*. One such *opo*, less condemned by public opinion than the second, is that of the purchase of a snake, - the *Dagowe*, or *Aboma* - from a *wisimąn*, to keep in the house for ‘luck’. Whether acquired by the man or the woman of the household, such a snake serves all those who live in the same cabin with it. It is kept under the bed, or in some hidden corner, and is fed on eggs. Such snakes are said to exact as many as fifty eggs a day, and the *Aboma* requires yet more in order to be satisfied. The owner, however, is well repaid for such lavishness in terms of wealth, - money, and the prized things which money buys, such as bracelets, *koto-yaki*, kerchiefs, and ear rings. Not only must this snake be well fed in order that it may not leave the household, and the ‘luck’ leave with it, but it must have assurance of the owner's affection for it, and in proof of this, the owner must speak to it at night in terms of endearment. When children are born to such a household, the snake soon grows jealous of the attention paid them,

1 This is similar to the Haitian concept of *zombi* (Cf. Parsons, I, pp. 178-179), though the *zombi* is more specialised in the work it can do for the sorcerer. The term *zombi* is not used in Suriname, but when we described the Haitian concept to one Paramaribo Negro, he said that tradition had it that in Africa a *wisimąn* could dig up the body of a person who, apparently deceased, was really only bewitched, and could sell the body, now without a soul, to some far-off land. We were able to confirm the validity of this tradition in Dahomey.

and kills them. Actually, then, it is held that the owner of such an *opo* sacrifices his children to his personal ambitions.[1]

'Do one snake in the house bring luck? I knows a lady sitting in the market now. She got one *Dagowe* snake in she house. She sell fish, but sometimes one-two month she don't sit in the market at all, but she got plenty gold bracelet on all two hand, and chain, and plenty, plenty money. Everybody say the snake bring she money.'

The second 'marginal' case of *wisi* concerns the acquisition of *bakru* for '*luck*'. This special use of the *bakru* is so classified, under the definition that it is designed to enhance one's own position, rather than as a direct instrument of evil magic against a specific individual. 'If you want luck, you go to a *wisimąn* and tell him what you want. Husband, some woman's husband, automobile, plenty money, bracelets. You pay a hundred or two hundred guilders and go home.' After a short interval, the *wisimąn* comes at night and brings two children, a boy and a girl, who have the appearance of very black two-year-olds, except that their heads are large. These are, however, not children, but *bakru*, creatures fashioned by the *wisimąn* himself, and each is but half flesh, - the other half of the body is of wood. They have human voices, and human speech, and are given to teasing, which they do to trick and disarm people. Those who own them keep them under the bed, or locked in an empty room, and there they feed and care for them. They do not need to be clothed, however, for the garment they wear when they are brought to their owner, a checked blue and white dress, they never outgrow, or wear out. If they are struck, they turn to receive the blow on the wooden side. Sometimes, when one looks under the bed, the *bakru* are not there. That occurs because they have gone to amuse themselves on the road. They are not always visible on the road, but even when they are invisible, one senses their presence as a hot wind. A person who meets a *bakru* on the road strikes it only if he has a long stick, and above all 'if he got luck with him for bad spirit.' A man who has no 'luck' and strikes a *bakru* dies. The *bakru*, however, never die; even if one were to see them stretched out lifeless on the ground, they would not be dead. If a person returns later, nothing is to be found, for the *bakru* only simulate death, and once left alone, they return to the cemetery where their home is.

The accounts that follow summarize the incidents given by informants as first-hand knowledge of the existence of *bakru*. All who spoke of *bakru* recalled that when they were children, their mothers kept them from school many days, and some days did not even allow them out of the cabin into the yard, because there were *bakru* on the road. 'Now it is better,' we were told.

After the owner of a pair of *bakru* dies, and there is no one to care

1 This concept is paralleled by the Haitian belief in the *baka*, though the Haitian *baka* also resemble in some respects the Suriname *bakru*.

for them, they disappear to live on the road. A favorite diversion of theirs is to mingle with children who are on their way home from school. They try to touch the children, to tease them, and to offer them a drink. It is death for a child to drink from the little bottle each *bakru* carries in his pocket. One three-year-old child, while drinking, had a *bakru* pour a single drop from his bottle into her glass. The water turned green immediately, and the child began to swell, so that by evening she was dead. In another yard a man who died three months before this account was given us, was said to have had a pair of *bakru* for a long time. Neighbors in the yard said he had bought them when he was eighteen, and he was sixty-four years old when he died. His wife had died the year before, and the *bakru* had killed off all their children when they were little. Since there was no one left to care for the *bakru*, they went to live on the road. A woman whose own aunt had had two such creatures, looked under the bed after her aunt died, caught a glimpse of the *bakru*, and fled. They were very black, - black hair, black skin, black eyes, - '*leị̂ki Djuka-nɛŋgɛre pikin*, - like Bush-Negro children.'

Another told how, late one night, she and her brother were coming home with their aunt. They saw two such *bakru* sitting on the stoop, playing with a string. The boy threw himself at the girl, and the girl at the boy, and both laughed. The three humans stopped to watch, and just then they heard a child crying. One had been born in the yard six weeks before. The girl *bakru* then said, 'I wish I had a baby. I have been hearing the child cry all night.' The boy *bakru* asked her, 'Do you want a baby?' The girl said, 'Yes.' Then they saw the two *bakru* get up, and the boy followed the girl. Both coughed as if to call someone, and the crying stopped. They heard, the next morning, that the child was dead.

Aside from the marginally sinister duties which the *bakru* and the snakes perform, these 'little people' have the more important rôle of carrying magic that is only evil in character. The *bakru*, who play a major part in the performance of *wisi*, are created by *wisi*-men out of the portions of bodies of the dead which, as we have said, come from a disinterred corpse, or a finger, or some hair taken from a corpse. These figures are made animate by injecting into them a dead soul, for it is said of *bakru*, as of *wisi* in general, '*Bakru wroko nąŋga Yɔrka*, - The *bakru* work through a ghost', or, '*Bakru wroko nąŋga Djɔmbi. Na Djɔmbi nąŋga na Yɔrka na srɛf-srɛf' sani*. - The *bakru* works with the *Djɔmbi*. The *Djɔmbi* and the *Yɔrka* are the self-same thing.' Thus, one informant, who said he was a *dɔro-seị̂ pikin*, an illegitimate child, explained why he was an only child. The legally married wife of his father had sent a *bakru* to his mother. '*Dati bɛn dɛ wą wisi fō tap' hɛm bɛre. Dat' meki mi mama no kɪsi pikin noit' mɔro*. - That was a *wisi* to stop pregnancy. That is why my mother never had any more children.' Sterility,

indeed, is usually said to be the work of *bakru*. Another incident, given by a woman, told how when she was a girl a neighbor in the yard where she lived found a snow-white chicken underneath her table. This neighbor called together the women of the yard to find out to whom this chicken belonged, but no one claimed it. The woman then took a broom and struck it. There was one cry from the chicken, and it disappeared. Later that day, this woman and a rival of hers met on a plantation where they were both trying to sell fish. The other fell upon her and beat her, without her having the power to lift a finger in her own defense, though she had had a reputation of holding her own against men. 'That was the *bakru* the other had sent her. The *bakru* make the woman come weak.' Late that same night, when they were all sitting on their doorsteps, a *bakru* appeared at the gate of the yard. It could not enter, however, because there was a *wɩnti* guarding the yard. 'That *wɩnti* was one lock to keep away bad things.' This *wɩnti* was lodged in a tree close to the entrance of the yard, and was a *Lɛba*.

Another example of *wisi* which occurred during our stay was that sent against a friend of one of our informants, who, working about town, stepped on a nail late one afternoon, and by nine o'clock that night was dead. A death such as this could be explained only as caused by *wisi*. When the body was placed in the coffin a candle and some other objects, unknown to the church officials who were present, were put with the corpse. This was done to make the spirit of the dead come back to tell who had killed him. The dead person was expected to appear in a dream to name his enemy. Sometimes, instead of placing the candle and other objects in the coffin, or in addition to putting them there, the corpse is placed face downwards, and is so instructed that not before the spirit of the dead comes and reveals the one responsible for his death will his body be able to turn over and rest. In addition to this, in the case just cited, the parents of the dead man were waiting for the important wake of the eighth night after death to be held, after which they would be free to consult a *lukumạn* as to the cause of their son's death.

Wisi is worked by the use of menstrual cloths, perspiration, hair, finger-nail clippings, and wearing apparel that has touched the body of the person against whom evil magic is designed. These act as substitutes for the individual himself, and whatever form of destruction is intended is told to a ghost or the *bakru* animated by a ghost, who puts it into execution. *Wisi*, like *obia*, involves the pronouncing of a formula which, magically endowed, makes clear that the object belonging to the person against whom the magic is directed is being used to represent the person himself, and that whatever is done to this representational object shall befall the person meant to be harmed. A simpler form of *wisi*, which involves slow illness rather than death, is to place a broken basin containing faded, evil-smelling weeds, thorny bits of wood, pins, porcupine

quills, or other pointed objects, or toads either living or dead, in the center of the yard where the person against whom the evil is designed lives, or at the door of his cabin. In the morning, when this is discovered, an immediate alarm is raised, and no effort is spared to find the perpetrator of the deed. If he is found, he is taken before a magistrate and imprisoned as a *wisimąn*. If this is not possible, recourse is had to the *lukumąn* to find out what must be done to ward off the effects of this *wisi*, and, according to the prescription given, the person will set up a *tapu*, or will wash, or will appeal to his *wɩnti* or his *akra* to save him, or if the *wisi* had already entered his body, he will see that it is exorcized. Indeed, even if the *wisimąn* is discovered and imprisoned, this procedure would be gone through to insure the purification of the yard and its inhabitants from the bad effects of the *wisi*.

For protection against *wisi*, a person may go to any *lukumąn*, but actually selects a *lukumąn* who is known to be versed in the ways of *wisi*. For in the logic of Paramaribo Negroes, it is those familiar with the practices of black magic who know its cure. Perhaps in this logic lies the key to the fact that though there is an abstract differentiation made between *lukumąn, wɩntimąn, obiamąn*, and *wisimąn*, actually the practitioner of black magic can cure, and the *obiamąn*, whose duty it is to heal and to furnish protective magic, also supplies people with *opo* to enrich them at the expense of others. This, in a more attenuated fashion, holds for the *wɩntimąn* and the *lukumąn*. It is also because of these factors that, in order to practice his craft, a man invariably familiarises himself with all these branches of knowledge of the traffic with the supernatural. As a direct concept *wisi* is abhorrent to everyone, but as a measure of recourse in the hands of the weak against the strong, it has the sympathy of all.

Curing *wisi* involves exorcising the bad spirit that has been instructed to enter the individual whose death is sought. The idiom for this it to *puru wisi*, to ‘remove’ the evil magic. The ritual for this varies, though the principal elements of the exorcism include the knowledge of calling the spirit and forcing it to speak, and of driving it from the body of the person it has attacked. The ceremony of the final driving out of the spirit takes place at the crossroads, for the cross-roads is a ‘place where bad and good must cross’. Before the cure is begun, an offering is made at the crossroads for *Ma Lɛba*. The individual to be cured is stripped of his clothing, and the practitioner, dipping a broom into a mixture of water and herbs, beats the naked body of the patient as he pours the water over him. When satisfied that the spirit is about to come out, a bottle is held ready to imprison it, and this, quickly corked, is thrown into the river at low tide, to be carried out to sea at the turn of the tide. If the ceremony occurs away from the tidal belt, the bottle is thrown into a nearby river where there is fast water.

A more detailed description of exorcising will be given in our discussion of *Yɔrka*, for in all these ceremonies the pattern is the same, and the exorcising of *wisi* differs from that of a *Yɔrka* only in the details of names of the spirits invoked and to be exorcised, and the ingredients placed in the water used for the washing.

13. The Spirits of the Dead

a) the *yɔrka* as an ancestor

The fourth element in the supernatural world as it is conceived by the Paramaribo Negro is the *Yɔrka*,[1] or ghost. The *Yɔrka*, it is said, never dies, and a person's *Yɔrka* is good or evil according to the character of the man when he was alive. The life the *Yɔrka* lead is not visualised as quiescent. The good *Yɔrka*, when appealed to, helps the members of his family, warding off evilly disposed ghosts, working with the gods of the Earth for a good harvest, interceding in behalf of the living members of his group with deities who may be angry, counseling the family in dreams, and bringing them well-being and good fortune. If evil, a *Yɔrka* harasses the living, bringing illness, bad luck and death. A *Yɔrka* may enter the body of a member of his own family, or of a family not his own, even when not acting under the instructions of a *wisimąn*. And a *Yɔrka* may turn into an animal and haunt a cabin, or a yard, or a road.

Even though the *Yɔrka* can appear in many guises, no trouble is spared when a corpse is prepared for burial to dress it in such a way so that later, when the *Yɔrka* walks abroad, it can be identified. This consists in stopping up the nose with cotton so that when it speaks, '*A n'e taki krįŋ*, - It does not talk clean', that is, its speech is nasal. Cotton is put into the ears and a folded white kerchief is tied about the head to hold the jaw in place. Since ghosts are known to dislike gunpowder, firecrackers are an important element in all the *tapu* against *Yɔrka*, and when there is a death, though ceremonial shooting is not permitted in the city, firecrackers are placed before the bier and lighted, in this case performing not only the ritual of honoring the dead, but above all, serving to drive away the bad *Yɔrka* that might cluster about the corpse. Care is also taken that the *Yɔrka* does not come back to claim the living for whom the person who has just died has felt affection. Thus string is used to measure each of his children, and the pieces of string are put into the coffin as substitute companions, or several knots are made in one piece of string, each marking the size of a child, or the young children are passed across the coffin three times as a gesture of separation. The man's most ultimate friend also addresses the deceased as he lies in his coffin, telling the dead man that they had

1 *Yoroka* is a Carib Indian word (Encyc., p. 393).

been friends, but now their friendship is at an end, for the dead must associate with the dead and the living with the living.[1]

For the good *Yorka* the wake serves to entertain the recent dead, as well as the spirits of those other dead that may care to come. There is propitiation of these good *Yɔrka*, with offerings of food and dancing at the opening of *wɩnti* dances; there are offerings of food, and the lighting of a lamp for them when the year draws to a close, or at the anniversary of the death of those who have died not long before; and, finally, the *Yɔrka* eat of the first crops, especially of staples such as rice. 'When you plant rice, the first rice you must not eat. Then you boil some. Then you throw (it) away on the ground. If you can afford it, you give a dance. I saw when this was not done. There was no second crop from that field.' When rice offered the *Yɔrka* is cooked, neither salt nor pepper is put in, for the dead must not eat salt.

This offering is given for the Earth Mother as well as for the ancestors, for both of these must eat of first fruits if the fields are to prosper. Nor is this the only instance where Earth and Ancestors are associated in ritual. For example, one dance for the Earth[2] is called *bąnya*, and that for the Ancestors is termed *baka-futu-bąnya* = back-foot *bąnya*. For the *baka-futu-bąnya*, food is given the ancestors before the dance takes place. '*Yu teki ɛn yu bɔri aleẹisi nąŋga foru di no hab' sotu, no hab' pɛpre. Dą' yu trowe lɔntu 'a dyari*.[3] *Dąn yu teki 'afu, pɔt na ɩni wą' baki. Ɛfi yu wani, yu pɔti wą pikinso sopi. Dą' yu saka a wą presi, pɛ suma n'e si. Dą' yu gi dąnsi. Ɛf' suma habi Yɔrka wɩnti, a wer' weẹiti nąŋga kakumbɛ 'ąŋgisa*. - You take and you cook rice and chicken, which has neither salt nor pepper. Then you throw some away about the yard. Then you put half in a basin. If you like, you add a little rum. Then you put it down somewhere, where no one sees it. Then you give a dance. If someone has *Yɔrka wɩnti*, he is dressed in white, and he wears the kerchief of the dead.'[4]

The *Yɔrka* are also given food when they are called upon to help a person, that is, when the *lukumąn* or the *wisimąn* goes to the cemetery and calls the *Yɔrka* to find out what food and other offerings it wishes for help on a special venture on which a member of

1 Among the Saramacca tribe of Bush-Negroes, at one funeral we witnessed, the dead man was separated from his family, from the Kromanti group, and from his village.

2 This is actually a social dance which Earth deities and ancestors are felt to enjoy. The Martinique cycle of dances in Haiti resembles the Suriname *bąnya*.

3 At this point the informant interpolated the explanation that if no people are about, the food is thrown down anywhere at all, but if it is a yard where other people live, then the food is thrown where no one sees it.

4 This means that the kerchief is tied so that it goes over the head and under the chin, in the manner in which a white kerchief is put about the head of the corpse to make it easy to identify a ghost as such.

the family is embarking. The usual offerings in such a case are rum and white rice grown in the colony, and cooked without salt. '*Mi no sabi sąn ɛde, ma noit' i bɛn pɔti sotu te i bɔru nąnyam gi Yɔrka*. - I do not know why, but you never put salt in the food you cook to give a *Yorka*.'[1]

b) the *yɔrka* as an enemy ghost

The *Yɔrka*, then, as a friendly ancestor, is worshipped at harvest-time, at the close of the year, at wakes, at the opening of *wɩnti*-dances, and on special occasions when its services are sought in behalf of a particular enterprise, or for special intervention with the gods, as during childbirth, or in times of drought. At the same time, it should be made clear that in the daily life of the individual, such awareness of the existence and importance of the *Yɔrka* which a person may have is not of the good *Yɔrka* but of those who do evil. The association of the ghost with *wisi*, and the danger from those ghosts who, because not satisfied with the rites offered them, have become evilly intentioned, is sufficient to explain this attitude. Thus it is that so many of the *Yɔrka* stories, - and in these as a cycle, the bad *Yɔrka* is chiefly referred to - bring out the point of the danger of being abroad alone at night. When going home late from *wɩnti*-dances, we were led away from certain thoroughfares, and went a roundabout way to avoid a corner, or a tree, or a house, because these were known to be 'bad' places, - that is to say, they were haunted. At least two persons accompanied us home, so that, in returning to their own homes, they would not have to walk the streets alone. The hours that are dangerous are midday, from 5:30 to 6:30 in the evening, and from 12:30 to 1:30 at night.

Many tales of such encounters are current. A few months before our first stay in the colony, a taxi-driver, a friend of the teller of this tale, was in his cab at eleven o'clock at night near a motion-picture house, when two young women 'dressed in pink, like for church' asked him to drive them home. They made a price with him of one guilder fifty cents, and indicated a road leading past the cemetery as the one that led to their house. When he had passed the cemetery, he turned to them to get the exact directions, but there was no one in the car. The man was sick with fever for months after. 'He went to the hospital, but they couldn't do anything for him. A *wisimąn* cured him. He had no "luck" with him, because, if he had a *tapu*, the *Yɔrka* couldn't come in his car.' In another case, a hunter on his way to the bush before dawn met, on several mornings, a tall White man dressed in white with silver buttons on his coat.

1 This idea that the dead must not be 'fed' salt in offerings to them is prevalent in many Negro cultures of West Africa and the New World. To our knowledge, Haiti is one of the New World exceptions.

One morning this man stood on the road with arms outstretched blocking the hunter's way. The hunter turned back and loaded his gun with a special bullet, and though his wife pleaded with him not to go out that day, he went back. The man was still there, standing as before, arms outstretched. The hunter shot at the man, but took fright, and ran home. Later, when it grew light, he went once more to see what was there, and he found a large white cat lying in the road. ‘It was the bad spirit of a White man. Everybody went to look at the cat. It was big, like a dog. A policeman made a black man throw it in the river. The man didn't get sick because he had a good *tapu*, but he was afraid.’

The *Yɔrka* who enters the body of a living person does not kill outright. ‘*Na Yɔrka, a no kąn kiri yu wąn-trǫn. A kiri yu pikin a pikin, ma fɔs' a shwax yu*. - The *Yɔrka* cannot kill you all at once. It kills little by little, but first it weakens you.’ One man told of an instance of a *Yɔrka* that had entered a man's body. When the *Yɔrka* was in him, he spoke like a woman, for the ghost was that of a woman. This same man told of having heard the voice of a *Yɔrka* in a girl. It was a male ghost, who kept saying, ‘I'm going to kill her. There's nothing you can do.’ This girl, however, did not die because a *wıntimąn* exorcised the *Yɔrka*. This was done by beating the girl as she was given a cleansing bath at the cross-roads. One such attempt at a cure, however, ended disastrously, according to this man, for it was interrupted by a police officer who arrested the entire party, and the girl died.

When a *Yɔrka* has entered a person and must be exorcised, the person who is possessed is seated on a bench and a white sheet is put over him. A drum begins to play, - often in town it must be an improvisation of a real drum. The *bonu*, or *wintimąn*, who does the exorcising, sings

Sabana wer' weı̯ti,
Yu n'e sɑ sidǫ dɛ,
'A Yɔrka sidǫ dɛ,
'A Yɔrka sidǫ dɛ.

The cemetery is clothed in white,
You shall not sit down there,
The *Yɔrka* sits there,
The *Yɔrka* sits there.

This is repeated until the possessed person, hidden by the white sheet, begins to tremble. The man who does the exorcising addresses the spirit, and orders it to leave. The *Yɔrka* answers nasally, ‘*No, mi n'e gowɛ! Mi basi pa̯i mi. Ɛf' yu wani mi gowɛ, dą' yu pa̯i mi baka*. - No, I will not go away! My master has paid me. If you want me to go away, you must pay me again.’ The one who is in charge of

the ceremony asks '*Sąn yu bas' paị yu?* - What did your master pay you?' '*Fo kɔpro sɛ̨nsi, nąŋga sɛbi-ại nɛ̨ŋgɛre-kɔndre pɛpre, nąŋga dri pis' krɛti. Dąn yu mu tyari go pɔti na sabana. Ɛfi yu no pɔti 'a sabana, mi n'e gowɛ. Mi broko yu nɛki*. - Four copper cents, and seven grains of African pepper, with three pieces of *krɛti*(?). Then you must take them and put them in the cemetery. If you don't put them in the cemetery, I won't go away. I will break your neck.' The one exorcising sings

A sabana den teki yu,
A sabana yu sɑ go baka,
Tide a kaba fō yu.

From the graveyard they took you,
To the graveyard you will return,
Today you are through.

He then comes forward with a cord of twisted white cotton, seizes by the hair the person who is being treated, and ties the cord around it. This symbolizes tying the *Yɔrka*. After several songs such as we have recorded[1] are sung, he loosens the hair, and puts the cord quickly into a bottle. '*Na Yɔrka a-i kǫ na ɩni na tɛtệi*. - The *Yɔrka* comes into the cord.' He then corks up the bottle. '*Na batra kǫm hɛbi le̩iki fa a bɛn dɛ libi suma na ɩni*. - The bottle becomes heavy, as though there were a human being inside it.' This bottle is carried to the river, and thrown in. If someone were to take up the bottle and open it, the *Yɔrka* would at once enter into that person, and possess him.

Not all possession by the *Yɔrka* is dangerous, for there are friendly ancestral *Yɔrka* who on occasion seek out a descendant and enter his body to demand offerings and dancing. This occurs at the *baka-futu-bąnya* dances at the end of the year, when those so possessed dress in white, tie a kerchief about their faces, and stop up their ears and nostrils with cotton, and dance. This dress is necessary because while the *Yɔrka* possess them, they cease to be themselves, and become the *Yɔrka*. Each family generally has some member to whom an important ancestor so manifests himself.

1 Songs No. 228-231.

Part II Stories, riddles, proverbs and dreams

A. Introduction

1. data and informants

Folk expression among the Paramaribo Negroes may be said to be chiefly erobodied in the tale, or *Anɳnsi-tɔri*, the proverb, or *kɔtˀ-odo*, and the riddle, or *leɲi-tɔri*. The collection of these which follows was made principally, in the city of Paramaribo; the proverbs and riddles in the *Saramaka tɲŋgo*, the language of the Saramacca tribe of Bush-Negroes, are included here in order to point to the unity of these forms in the bush and the coastal areas, as well as to indicate the basic linguistic unity of these two regions.

In collecting this material, a special problem of method presented itself with regard to informants. It is a truism that in the collection of folk-lore a large number of story-tellers assure a rich sampling of folk-literary forms, and the majority of students have sought such representativeness for their collections. At the same time, as has often been experienced by those in the field, the story-teller, when confronted with the novel situation of a collector, note-book in hand, loses all ease of presentation, and as a result of his self-consciousness and his inability to narrate effectively at the tempo at which what he is telling can be written down, the tale is given in an abbreviated form. It is not strange, then, that many suggestions have been given to overcome this.[1] This problem, moreover, presented a special difficulty in the instance of this collection, since it comprises a portion of data gathered in Suriname which, though aiming at a description of the Dutch Guiana Negroes, were essentially pointed toward a study of the problem of the extent to which there has been retention of aboriginal African cultural elements not only among the Negroes of Guiana, but of the New World Negroes in general. It seemed desirable, therefore, to work through one or two principal informants, whom we might so interest in the study, and so accustom to the mechanics of recording

1 Thus Rattray, (III), pp. v-vi, speaks of the difficulties in the way of obtaining 'living' reproductions of tales, and suggests that only tales which have been heard in their natural setting should be recorded. Andrade, p. 24-26, discusses this problem and suggests the tale should be rehearsed before it is taken down by the collector. See also Parsons, (II), pp. xiii-xx, and (III), pp. x-xi, for illustrations of other methods of 'getting at' informants.

texts, that we could be assured of an idiomatic rendition. It did, in fact, happen that our principal informant became sufficiently interested in the making of this collection to spend entire nights at wakes where these tales are best told, in order to refresh his memory and to hear again the well-known stories. We count ourselves fortunate in our informants, for the one who gave us the longest series came of a family of famous story-tellers, and the one who seconded him was himself a gifted teller of tales, who had travelled extensively in the Colony, where he had often told these stories and heard them told.

The following list gives the names of the informants; the number before the name of each is appended to the tales they told, so that the student interested in tracing characteristic narrative style may see how one differed from the other in this respect.

1. Frederik Bekker, our principal informant.
2. Johan Bekker, uncle of Frederik. He is reputed to be one of the best story-tellers in the city of Paramaribo; he is a church elder whose story-telling ability is much in demand at wakes.
3. Magdalena Bekker, aunt of Fred, who has lived for many years on the Saramacca River, in the country of the Bush-Negroes. With her two relatives named above, she identifies herself as deriving from Dahomean ancestral stock, her family belonging to the group known as *Demakuku* Negroes.[1]
4. Edwin Bundel, who, as guide and cook, has travelled extensively in the interior of Dutch Guiana, and has had contact with the Negroes of the border regions of British and French Guiana.
5. Emilius Bundel, brother of Edwin.
6. David Bottse.
7. Lupi Horner, the only non-adult, aged 15 or 16.
8. Jacoba Abensitt.
9. Meli, sister of Jacoba.
10. M.H. Nahar, a Paramaribo citizen of Javanese descent, who was Van Cappelle's principal informant. The difference between his *taki-taki* and that of our other informants is noteworthy.
11. W.J. van Lier, a local student of Bush-Negro ethnology, whose publications have been mentioned in Part I of this work.
12. Mathilde de Vries.
13. A woman whose name we did not learn, but who, while listening to Informant 1 dictating a tale, volunteered two stories.

1 *Demakuku* Negroes have long been known in the colony; see above, p. 71, note 3.

2. orthography

In taking down the *taki-taki* text, we have employed a phonetic orthography rather than the traditional Dutch method of writing this speech. In the light of the body of literature dealing with *taki-taki*, and of the texts given in the language, it may be well to indicate our reasons for doing this. In considering the manner in which *taki-taki* is usually written, it is soon seen that the letters of the European alphabet come to have that standardised significance characteristic of the letters of any written language, and hence, for the purposes of scientific analysis, such rendition makes for loss of accuracy. To cite but one example, there is no symbol in European orthography which represents the nasalisation that is so outstanding a characteristic of Suriname speech. But nasalisation is also an outstanding characteristic of African speech, and if correspondences with African languages are to be traced, this cannot be neglected. In order, therefore, to secure a reproduction of *taki-taki* which might be most adaptable for a study of African relationships, we employed a phonetic system of notation, and we found that, having done this, we were also in a position to analyze the variations in the speech of a given individual, as, *man* or *mą* for ‘man’, of *uma* or *umą* for ‘woman’, of *wą, wan*, or *wąn*, for the numeral ‘one’. To make our system clear to those accustomed to *taki-taki* written with Dutch spelling, we give here an excerpt from Van Cappelle's collection of tales, with an interlinear rendering of our own notation of the words, and a word-for-word translation.[1]

Anansi	ben	moesoe	zorgoe	vo	hem	heri	famirie,
Anąnsi	*bɛn*	*musu*	*sɔrgu*	*fō*	*hɛm*	*heri*	*famiri*,
Anąnsi	had	must	look-after	for	his	whole	family,

ma	a	no	ben	de	kisi	foeroe	vo	da	san	a	ben
ma	*a*	*no*	*bɛn*	*dɛ*	*kɪsi*	*furu*	*fō*	*da*	*są*	*a*	*bɛn*
but	he	no	had	is	catch	much	for	that	thing	he	had

de	tjari	kom	na	hoso;	foeroe	tron	a	go	na	bedie
dɛ	*tyari*	*kǫ'*	*na*	*hoso;*	*furu*	*trǫ'*	*a*	*go*	*na*	*bɛdi*
is	carry	come	to	house;	many	time	he	go	to	bed

nanga	hangri-beri	en	disi	no	ben	fiti	hem	ai.
nąŋga	*ŋgri-bɛre*	*ɛn*	*dɪsi*	*no*	*bɛn*	*fɪti*	*hɛm*	*ą̂i*.
with	hungry-belly	and	this	no	had	fit	his	eye.

1 Van Cappelle, p. 303.

A	no	kan	go	so	moro	langa,	a	denki	na	hem	srefi,
A	*no*	*ką'*	*go*	*so*	*mɔro*	*ląŋga*,	*a*	*dɛnki*	*na*	*hɛm*	*sɛrefi*,
He	no	can	go	so	more	long,	he	think	to	him	self,

vo	wroko	vo	pikienso	monie	en	vo	habi	wan
fō	*wroko*	*fō*	*pikinso*	*mɔni*	*ɛn*	*fō*	*habi*	*wąn*
for	work	for	little-so	money	and	for	have	one

hangi-bere,	dati	no	kan	go	so	moro	langa...!	A
ŋgi-bɛre,	*dati*	*no*	*ką'*	*go*	*so*	*mɔro*	*ląŋga*...!	*A*
hungy-belly,	that	no	can	go	so	more	long...!	He

praktiseri	na	hem	srefi	en	a	go	fofoeroe	wan	pisi
praksɛri	*na*	*hɛm*	*sɛrefi*	*ɛn*	*a*	*go*	*fufuru*	*wą*	*pɪsi*
study	to	him	self	and	he	go	steal	one	piece

bere	vo	wan	kaw.	Mi	no	sa	taki	sortoe	passi
bɛrɛ	*fō*	*wąn*	*kaų̂.*	*Mi*	*no*	*sɑ*	*taki*	*sɔrtu*	*pasi*
belly	for	one	cow.	Me	no	shall	talk	(what) sort	path

a	wakka	go	na	ini	kaw	bere.	Dem	moe	tapoe
a	*waka*	*go*	*na*	*ɪni*	*kaų̂*	*bɛrɛ*.	*Dɛm*	*mu*	*tapu*
he	walk	go	the	inside	cow	belly.	They	must	stop

nanga	da	gridi	manieri,	mi	no	de	go	na	hoso
nąŋga	*da*	*gridi*	*maneri*,	*mi*	*no*	*dɛ*	*go*	*na*	*hoso*
with	the	greedy	manner,	me	no	is	go	to	house

jete,	fosi	mi	sa	njam	pikienso	en	a	san	de
yɛte,	*fɔsi*	*mi*	*sɑ*	*nyąm*	*pikin-so*	*ɛn*	*'a*	*sąn'*	*dɛ*
yet,	first	me	shall	eat	little-so	and	the	thing	is

libi	mi	sa	tjari	gi	dem.
libi	*mi*	*sɑ*	*tyari*	*gi*	*dɛm*.
leave	me	shall	carry	give	them.

3. Linguistic Notes

As indicated, the language spoken in Paramaribo is *taki-taki*, or Negro-English, that of the Saramacca people is the *Saramaka tɳŋgo*, or Negro-Portuguese and English. In rendering the translations of the texts we collected we have retained as much of the idiom and sentence structure as would not do too much violence to simple English constructions. A literal translation was impossible, since it would have rendered the tales unintelligible.[1] An analysis of some of the texts raised the question as to what cultural mechanisms operated to produce the linguistic elements that recur with such regularity, for even a first reading of the material made evident that we were dealing with an inner structure that was the result of something other than the blind groping of

1 This is readily seen from a glance at the word-for-word translation of the fragment from Van Cappelle given above.

minds too primitive for expression in modes of speech beyond their capabilities.[1]

We may name some of the characteristics that stand out as forms foreign to the idiom of European languages, but which occur with a consistency that characterises grammatical forms.[2] Among these may be noted the absence of sex-gender in pronouns, and the failure to utilise any methods of indicating sex except by employing as prefix the word for 'man' or 'woman', or the use of relationship terms, like 'father', 'mother', 'brother', 'sister'[3]; the manner of indicating the possessive;[4] of expressing comparison;[5] of employing nouns for prepositions of place.[6] The use of a series of verbs to express a single action,[7] or the use of verbs to indicate habitual[8] and completed[9] action also characterises this speech, as does the employment of the verb 'to give' as a preposition,[10] the use of 'to say' to introduce objective clauses, making the only English translation possible the word 'that',[11] the use of 'make' in the sense of 'let',[12] of 'back' to mean 'again', 'behind', 'in

1 This hypothesis is the one most commonly met with in discussions of Negro pidgin dialects, and of Negro speech variants.

2 In giving examples, we cite only one or two instances of each point; similar forms occur repeatedly in the texts.

3 *Wǫ' m'ma bɛn dɛ di 'ab dri umǫ-p'kin* - 'There was a mother who had three daughters (lit. women-children).' (Tale No. 99).

4 *Dǫ' Tigri mama bɛn dɛ libi na wǫn presi di 'ę kari Sotwatraseį*. 'Then Tiger's mother (lit. Tiger mother) was living at a place which was called Saltwaterside.' (Tale No. 3), or *Ma di den hari den tɛtɛɩ kɔm na dɔro, na kaų fō Anǫnsi bɛn mǫŋgri*, 'But when they pulled out the cords, Anansi's cow (lit., the cow for Anansi) was lean.' (Tale No. 34).

5 *Na karu fō yu moį, ma di fō mi mɔro moį* - 'Your corn is nice, but mine is nicer (lit., the corn for you nice, but that for me more nice).' (Tale No. 19).

6 *Lɛti na Konum stupu tapu si wan Sɛkrepatu bɛn dɛ*... 'Even on the King's stoop there was a Tortoise... (lit., Right the King stoop top see one Tortoise was there...)' (Tale No. 25; see also p. 132, note 3).

7 *Anǫnsi hati-brǫn. A naki na godo broko*. 'Anansi was angry. He smashed the gourd (lit., he knocked the gourd broke).' (Tale No. 65) *Dǫn tyari na foru nɛki kǫ gi Konum*. 'Then he brought the bird's neck to the King, (lit., then carry the fowl neck come give King).' (Tale No. 67).

8 *Anǫnsi bɛn go fufuru na Konu 'oso*. 'Anansi was robbing (i.e., was in the habit of robbing) the King's house.' (Tale No. 9).

9 ... *dǫn tɛ yu pɔti na nyam na ɩni na patu kaba, dǫ' yu preį nǫŋga na pat tapu 'ǫŋga na tɩki*, 'Then when you finish putting the food into the pot, then you play with these sticks on top of the pot. (lit., then time you put food the inside the pot finish...)' (Tale No. 117).

10 *Na Satra fɔs' Anǫnsi go prek na tyerki, a taįgi ęŋ fro taki mek' a 'ǫŋga blaka pak' gi' ęŋ*... 'The Saturday before Anansi was going to preach he said to his wife said, let her hang up his black suit for him... (lit. make her hang black suit give him...)' (Tale No. 88).

11 *Ma Kaimǫn bɛn sabi taki na so Anǫnsi bɛn kiri den tra meti* - 'But Alligator knew that it was so that Anansi had killed the other animals', (lit., But Alligator was know say...) (Tale No. 29). Rattray (V), p. 51, says: '*se*. This word has lost its association with its original root *se*, and becomes exactly the equivalent of the English "that".'

12 *Mek' wi go na Papa, go puru nanyǫm*, - 'Let us go to the Papa, and gather food (lit., make we go).' (Tale No. 48).

back', and 'after'.[1] Repetition of words for emphasis is a regularly employed mechanism,[2] and this form is also used to indicate a more intense degree of the action,[3] or to change a verb into a noun,[4] while the verb 'to go' often carries the significance of 'will'.[5] Stylistic traits that appear regularly are the opening of many sentences with the word 'then',[6] the change to the future tense to mark an explanatory interval between two actions which are separated from each other in time,[7] and the use of the adverb *tɛ* to express emphatic distance, or effort, or emotion, or degree. Phonetically, also, deviations from the pronunciation of European words are quite regular, as, for example, the interchange of 'r' and 'l'; the degree of nasalisation, about which we have already commented; or the insertion of a 'y' after 'c' in such words as 'car' and 'carry' and 'can't'; or the tendency to end all words with a vowel,[8] so that 'call' becomes *kari* or *kali*, 'look' becomes *luku*, 'must' changes to *musu;* the use of elision and the dropping of final syllables.

It soon became apparent that the characteristics which could be singled out in the Negro-English of Paramaribo were also manifested in other regions of the New World where Negroes speak English. Our first comparison was made with the speech of Jamaica, and in the following list we give some of the correspondences to Suriname speech we found:[9]

1 *Di a waka so tɛ... a miti tu pikin boo̱i baka*, - 'As he walked so till... he met two boys again (lit., met two boys back).' (Tale No. 104). *So a tɛnapu na baka wo̱n bom*, - 'So he stood behind a tree (at the back of one tree).' (Tale No. 104).

2 *Tru-tru, mo̱n dɛ mɔro le̱iki mi*, - 'There are indeed men who are more than I am.' (Tale No. 105).

3 *Ma nō, Sɛkrepatu no mo̱ŋ waka, ma krɔ̱ipi a dɛ krɔ̱ipi*, - 'But now Tortoise could not walk, but creeping he crept along.' *Sɛkrepatu pina-pina gowɛ*, - 'Tortoise mournfully went away.' (Tale No. 17).

4 *Konum habi wo̱n grɔ̱', a habi furu nanyo̱m*, - 'King had a field, he had many crops.' (*nyo̱m* as a verb means 'to eat'; *nanyo̱m* is contracted from *nyo̱m-nyo̱m*). (Tale No. 8).

5 *Yu dɛnk' te yu dɛ mek' so mi n'e go tyari ya na Konu hoso?* - 'Do you think if you carry on so I won't take you to the King's house?' (Tale No. 31). G. Merrick in 'Notes on Hausa and Pidgin English', pp. 304-5, says: 'Intention is expressed by the idea of motion. Example "I will do" by "I go do"... The above remarks though probably applicable to other African languages, have been written with speech reference to Hausa.'

6 As in Tale No. 22; also Balmer and Grant p. 38, 'The past tense may also be indicated by placing nna (then)... before the present.'

7 As in Tale No. 7, the third paragraph. Parsons (II), p. 41, has a similar example, and interestingly enough this is one of the stories written by the informant.

8 de Gaye and Beecroft, p. 6. state 'Without any exception all Yoruba verbs end in a vowel, or in the nasal *n*.'

9 We take our examples from Beckwith (II), and the page numbers in parenthesis after each quoted phrase refers to this work. In this, as in the lists that follow, only the first occurrence of a given idiom is referred to, though all those we cite are quite common. Following the example, we give the corresponding *taki-taki* equivalent.

one great hungry time (p. 1)	*wąn bıgi pina tɛm*
take out the fishes, one one (p. 1)	*puru na fısi wąn-wąn*
mak I bu'n you (p. 4)	*mek' mi brǫn yu*
belly full (p. 4)	*bɛre furu*
I will carry you go (p. 5)	*mi sɑ tyari yu go*
eat done (p. 11)	*nyąm kaba*
Tiger study fe him (p. 11)	*Tigri prakseri fō hɛm*
knockey han' (p. 15)	*naki hanu*
mak we wring de neck t'row, 'way in de bag (p. 16)	*mɛk' wi broko na nɛki trowɛ na ɹni na saka*
hungry tak him (p. 22)	*hǫŋgri tek' hɛm*
so-so dog-head (p. 22)	*soso dagu-hɛde*
carry the cow come (p. 27)	*tyari na kaụ kɔm*
it spoil (p. 33)	*a pɔri*
he wanted to eat him one (p. 37)	*a wąni nyąm hɛm wąwąn*
tell him mus' tak out piece of meat gi' him (p. 38)	*taki a mus' tek' wąn pis' meti gi 'ɛm*
but me have one cock a yard fe me wife (p. 39)	*ma mi habi wąn kaka na dyari fō mi weịfi*
when dem ketch a pass (p. 44)	*te den kısi 'a pasi*
see one little stone a river-side deh (p. 51)	*si wą' pikin sitǫ a libaseị dɛ*
me nyam-nyam taya (p. 54)	*mi nyąm-nyąm taịa*
run go (p. 55)	*lɔ' go*
roll in filth today-today (p. 56)	*lolo na dɔti tide-tide*
so after de eat an' drink done (p. 57)	*so tɛ den nyąm ɛn drɹŋgi kaba*
at door-mout' (p. 75)	*na dǫro mɔfo*
an' went away to ground (p. 93)	*ɛn gowe na grǫ*
kyar' me go sell (p. 153)	*tya' mi go sɛri*
catch half-way (p. 169)	*kısi 'af-pasi*
night catch him on de way (p. 180)	*neịti kısi hɛm na pasi*

In addition, we found correspondences in such pronunciations as ‘bwoy’ (p. 2), for ‘boy’, of ‘kyan't’ (p. 2), for ‘can't’, ‘kyan-crow’ for ‘carrion-crow’ (p. 80, Suriname *yankoro*), of ‘busha’ for ‘overseer’ (p. 80, Suriname *basha* or *bassia*), while the words ‘nyam’ for ‘eat’, ‘Buckra’ for *Bakra*, ‘white person’ (p. 22), ‘oonoo’ for ‘you’ (p. 40, Suriname *ụn*, or *unu*), as well as the exclamation ‘Cho!’ which is often heard in Suriname, were further indications of linguistic similarity between the two regions.

However, these correspondences in speech were true not alone of the idiom and pronunciation of Jamaica where resemblances could be explained on definite historical grounds,[1] for in our next com-

1 Johnston (I), p. 112, note 2, indicates some of the historical currents that connect Jamaica and Suriname.

parison with the speech recorded by Parsons of the Andros Islanders in the Bahamas,[1] we found the following correspondences:

says to Boukee, says (p. 1)	*taki a...*[2] *taki*
day clear (p. 3)	*de̯i krɩ*
dat sweet (p. 6)	*dɑti su̯iti*
but b'o' Boukee was beeg eye (p. 9)	*ma ba... 'abi bɪgi a̯i*[3]
Vwhen he reach in de half way (p. 10)	*te a kɪsi na 'af pasi*
an' he went, an' he meet no rabbit yet (p. 11)	*ɛn a go, ɛn a no miti kɔn-kɔni yɛte*
de han' fasten (p. 13)	*na hanu fasi*
gal, you love me so till (p. 14)	*umą, yu lɔbi mi so tɛ...*
brer, loose me (p. 16)	*ba, lusu mi*
next day evening (p. 19)	*tra de̯i ne̯iti*
finish eat (p. 24)	*kaba nyąm*
Two-Yeye (p. 28)	*tu yeye*[4]
I sick *bad* (p. 30)	*mi sɪki ɔgri*
bathed his skin (p. 37)	*wasi hɛm sɪkin*[5]
... an killed two thousand men dead one time (p. 38)	*ɛn kiri tu du̯isen suma dɛdɛ wą trǫ*
eat her bellyful (p. 39)	*nyąm hɛm bɛri furu*
time he hear dat, he get up an' call Lizabet, say.. (p. 44)	*te a yere dɑti, a opo kari Lizbet, taki..*
they fry fowl egg, many cake, give him (p. 53)	*den bɔri*[6] *foru ɛksi, furu kuku, gi 'ɛm*
yer only goin' meet poppaone.. (p. 60)	*yu go miti papa wą...*[7]
torectly[8] Rabby cry... (p. 85)	*no mo Kɔnkɔni bari...*
...va you dere gwine? (p. 114)	*pɛ yu dɛ go*?
show you macasee[9] (p. 141)	*sɔri yu, mek a si*

1 Parsons (III).
2 *Taki-taki* has no 'Boukee'; it is the idiom to which we wish to call attention.
3 In both Suriname and the Bahamas, the meaning of a 'big eye' is greedy.
4 That is, 'two eyes'.
5 In both regions, 'skin' is used for 'body'.
6 We know of no *taki-taki* word for 'fry'.
7 Parsons, in a footnote, explains that 'poppaone' means 'poppa by himself', which corresponds to the Suriname and Jamaican usage already illustrated.
8 'directly' or 'at once'.
9 'macasee' here is evidently a coalescing of the phrase 'make a (him) see', found in *taki-taki* for 'let him see'.

As in Jamaica, there were also correspondences to Suriname pronunciation. Many of these have been given above, but others are ‘kyarry’ (p. 3, Suriname *tyari*) for ‘carry’, ‘kyarridge’ for ‘carriage’ (p. 28), ‘ooman’ (p. 115) for ‘woman’, or ‘kyamp’ for ‘camp’ (p. 148).

Yet another comparison was had when we analysed the language of the tales recorded by Parsons[1] in the Sea Islands. Some of the correspondences to Suriname Negro speech we found in this collection are as follows:

Rabbit tell Fox, said (p. 9)	*Kɔnkɔni taki*...[2] *taki*.
an' dat make Ber Rabbit have short tail ... (p. 18)	*ɛn dɑti meki Ba Kɔnkɔni habi pikin tɛre*...
... an' de tail come fo' white 'til to-day (p. 19)	...*ɛn na tɛre kǫ' fō we̯iti tɛ tide*.
she was too happy now[3] (p. 24)	*ɛŋ bɛn tumusi breiti nō*
tell de gyirl fo' love him (p. 25)	*taki na umą fō lɔbi 'ɛm*.
... de han' fasten (p. 26)	...*na hanu fasi*
day clean (p. 28)	*de̯i krį*
man, don't you see all dis fresh meat[4] standin' in dis lot? (p. 32)	*man, yu no si ala dɪsi meti tenapu na dyari?*
Rabbit lie in de sun on his so' skin (p. 44)	*Kɔnkɔni didǫ' na sǫn na hɛm soso sɪkin*.
an' all her people died out an' leave her one[5] (p. 46)	*ɛn hɛm heri famiri go dɛdɛ ɛn libi hɛm wąwą*
so he study... (p. 78)	*so a prakseri*...
... your rice too much better (p. 104)	...*na ale̯isi fō yu tumusi bɛtre*.
... people tell, say... (p. 140)	...*suma piki taki*...

Some of the phonetic correspondences are ‘yeddy’ (p. 1, Suriname *yere*) for ‘hear’, ‘kyart’ for ‘cart’, ‘kyarry’ for ‘carry’, ‘kyan't’ for ‘can't’ (p. 1), and ‘shum’ for ‘see him (or them)’ (p. 18). Similar phrases and phonetic shifts[6] are to be found in the speech of the islands as reported by Peterkin, Gonzales, Stoney and Shelby, and Johnson.[7]

Correspondences of this character made it clear that, whatever the provenience of these phrases and phonetic parallels, they were

1 Parsons, (II).
2 *Taki-taki* has no word for ‘fox’ that we know of.
3 The footnoted explanation of ‘too’ as ‘a characteristic use for “very”’ exactly corresponds to the way Suriname Negroes employ *tumusi*.
4 Note the use of the word ‘meat’ with the meaning of ‘live animal’ in both instances.
5 Once again the use of ‘one’ for ‘alone’ is to be remarked.
6 Tribute must be paid to the insight with which Schuchardt, pp. ix-xiv, discerned the resemblances between the speech of various groups of Negroes in the New World and *taki-taki*, on the basis of a vastly smaller amount of data than is available today.
7 This is not the place for an analysis of the provenience of the speech of the Gulla Islanders and of American Negroes in general. However, sufficient data are in hand to make it evident that it is in this matter of idiom, rather than in vocabulary (as Johnson, I, attempts to show), that an explanation of its peculiarities and provenience is to be sought.

common to Negro-English in the New World. This suggested that it would be profitable to investigate pidgin English as spoken in the region of Africa from whence came the Negroes who laid down the fundamentals of New World Negro culture.[1] As only few data on pidgin are available,[2] it was necessary to go into the field to obtain the requisite material for such an investigation, and a field-trip to West Africa made this possible. During a short stay in Nigeria a small collection of tales in pidgin was made,[3] and though these numbered but seven, the following significant phrases occurred in them:

chop no de' (p. 448)	*nyąm no dɛ*
my neck is pain me too much (p. 448)	*mi nɛki 'ati mi tumusi*
I be good man, true (p. 449)	*mi wą bǭ' mąn, tru*
... all de white man, dey fit to make men by demself..(p. 455)	...*ala Bakra suma, dę fɪti fō meki suma den srɛfi*...
w'en Adjapa reach inside de bird... (p. 451)	*tɛ Adjapa kɪsi na ɪni fō na foru*...
an' her mother took one give to her pikin (p. 456)	*ɛn na mama teki wą gi na ɛŋ pikin*
he run come from inside de hole. (p. 458)	*a lǫ kɔmōto na ɹni na ɔro*
... took de man fo' dey house ...(p. 458)	...*teki na mąn fō na 'oso*...
...if I salute you two more time... (p. 461)	...*ɛfu mi piki yu tu trǫ mɔro*...

In Africa, as in the New World, we found the phonetics of Negro speech producing such changes in English pronunciation as ‘cyap’ for ‘cap’, ‘dyah’ for ‘jar’, ‘hyar’ for ‘hear’.

The tales told us in Nigeria, however, were given by informants who had had some degree of schooling, and whose pidgin English was therefore modified by what teaching they had received. The extracts from historical tales of Dahomey which follow were told us, however, by an informant who had learned his English entirely ‘by ear’. This man, a son of former King Behanzin,[4] had left Dahomey and had lived in the coastal and interior regions of Nigeria for more than ten years, where, in the course of his everyday life, he had learned what English he knew.

1 Herskovits, (III).
2 There are the tales of Cronise and Ward, and it is worthy of remark that several students of New World Negro dialect have noticed correspondences between the speech recorded in these tales and that of the Negroes which those students have investigated. The paper by Merrick is perhaps the only study extant of West African pidgin as such.
3 Herskovits, M. and F. (II).
4 François Behanzin. The tales from which these excerpts are taken were recorded in Abomey, Dahomey.

> Dis princess, she palaver too much. If he marry dis man today, tomorrow he go way leave 'um. He suffer everybody. He vex he fadder too much, so he sell 'um go 'way. He no can kill he own daughter, so he sell go 'way. When he never see he daughter no mo', he sorry now. He say, 'Who find daughter, I give dash plenty,' say, 'I give everyt'ing.' Now dey bring him come. Now he start make lau again. He fadder say, 'You be my proper blood,' say, 'I like you too much when you be quiet.' But he make too much trouble. Sell 'em again to Portuguese. White man take him go. Dey de' fo' Whydah. Dey no go fo' sea yet... Dis princess he was ploud. He was fine too much. He fine pass all woman. Dere was hole in Allada, nobody mus' go. Princess he steal he fadder sandal at night. Nex' day ol' woman see someone was in hole, come tell king. Everybody go for look, see king foot. King vex, say, he no go. Princess he laugh, say, 'Who go? Look, you foot.'... He (Hwegbadja) give dem order again say, if be somebody go put faiah to anode' man house fo' burn anode' man house, if sometime he no like 'em, he burn house, if he see, kill 'um, bring him head come, show, say, 'Dat man burn house.' I see, I kill 'um. Den if he tell dem so, den man have enemy, take man who do not'ing, cut head and bring, den if he fin' man lie, he go kill 'um de same. Den he say, if take small small gyal (girl) no be big 'nough, if somebody spoil 'um dey go kill 'um. Make nobody see people dey pass wit' load, go sell 'um. If somebody do so, he go find out, he kill 'um... Den de people who de' fo' odde' king country de' lon com' fo' Hwegbadja, say, 'If my fadde' die, you go bury fo' me. To put fo' stick no good.'... So people like it too much.

Many of the idioms and phonetic shifts of Suriname speech, the West Indies, and the United States appear in these excerpts: 'too much' for 'very much', 'sell go 'way' for 'sell and send away', 'bring him come' for 'bring him (her)', 'take him go' for 'take away', 'dey de' fo' Whydah' for 'they are at Whydah', 'dey no go fo' sea yet', literal translation of the Suriname *den no go fõ si yɛte*, 'ploud' for 'proud', 'he fine pass all women', the African comparative that finds its Suriname equivalentin *a moi̯ mɔro ala umą*, 'gyal' for 'girl', 'if somebody spoil 'em', the Suriname equivalent of *pɔri* in the significance of 'deflower', 'make nobody see people dey pass...', *mek' nową si suma den pasa*, 'lon com' for *lǫ kɔm*, and, finally, the use of the term 'stick' to mean 'tree', a usage which has its equivalent in the Saramacca use of the term *pau̯*, also 'stick', for 'tree'.

In Dahomey, a possession of France, this was the only English we heard. French has little pidgin, yet occasionally, in contact with a native who had not been educated in the schools, we would hear

une fois, the French equivalent of the Suriname *wą trǫ*, used exactly as the people of the Sea Islands employ ‘one time’. We would hear a native telling another to go *doucement, doucement, - safri, safri*, as the Suriname Negro has it, - while phonetic shifts which cause the White man to eat ‘flied potatoes’ in Nigeria and in Suriname, make him eat *pommes flites* in the French territory of Dahomey, or cause a native to point out a young woman walking along the road with the remark ‘*C'est mon flere, là. C'est femme, eh?*’[1]

Still pursuing the subject of correspondences between New World and West African Negro English, we collected more tales in pidgin among the Ashanti of the British territory of the Gold Coast, - among some of these very people to whom the Suriname Negroes, in their folk-lore, owe their trickster-hero, Anansi. We give here some of the correspondences in phraseology which are to be found in these stories:[2]

if Kwaku Anansi chop dat co'n he go die...	*ɛf' Kwaku Anąnsi nyąm dɑti karu, a go dɛdɛ*...
hunger go kill me	*hǫŋgri go kiri mi*
hungry kill him too much	*hǫŋgri go kiri ɛ̨ŋ tumusi*
w'y you big man sabi war, you no wan' go war, sen' pikin go?	*sąn 'ɛdɛ yu bɪgi mąn sabi feti, yu no wąn' go feti, sɛn' pikin go?*
go kill' em one time	*go kiri ɛ̨ŋ wantɛ*
in de mawnin' time...	*na mamɛ̨ntɛ̨m*...
w'en you go, don' go small, small like t'ief	*tɛ 'i go, no go pikin pikin le̯iki fufurumą*
he run-go and cut it	*a lǫ-go, kɔti ɛm*
sasabonsam fin' dat he tail no de	*s....feni dati ɛ̨ŋ tɛre no dɛ*
you must call my sheep come	*yu muso kari mi skapu kǫ*
W'en Kwaku Anansi he come de, he no sabi, say, ‘Tiger sleep for de sheep place.’	*Te Kwaku Anąnsi a kɔm dapɛ, a no sabi, taki*, ‘*Tigri sribi fõ na skapu-presi*’.

1 Not enough data in Negro-French were available when this section was written to make the sort of comparisons we make here between Negro-English in Africa and in the New World. Our experience with Negro-French in Dahomey, however, compared with the few examples of Haitian French were able to find in the literature, and with the sketch of (Louisiana) Creole grammar by Fortier (II, pp. 125-147), convinced us that study would show a unity of Negro-French wherever spoken that would be akin to that of Negro-English and, more, that a basic similarity in idiom between Negro-French and Negro-English would also be found to exist. These assumptions have been more than validated by the texts published by Parsons (VII), which appeared while this work was in press, by her unpublished manuscripts of Haitian tales, which we have been privileged to examine, and by the findings of our own field-work in Haiti during the summer of 1934.

2 Herskovits, M. & F., (III). These tales being in manuscript, no page references can, of course, be given here.

He tell he husband, say, 'I finish'.	*A taki ɛŋ mąn, taki*, '*Mi kaba*'.
den he fear too much.	*dą' hɛm fredi tumusi*
den he sen' all him pikin one, one	*dąn a seni ala hɛm pikin wąwą*
Den himse'f say, make he go see 'em.	*Dąn ɛŋ sˀrɛfi taki, mek' a go shi'm*.
dey laugh, laugh, laugh te ... make small dey all two...	*den lafu, lafu, lafu tɛ... meki pikin den ala tu*...
dey run long te... he no catch Aduwa.	*den lǫˀ tɛ... a no kɪsi Aduwa*.
he go cover hi'self someplace[1]	*a go kɪbri hɛm s'rɛfi na wą presi*
two weeks catch	*tu wiki kɪsi*
Some small, small man say, wan' go bush. W'en he go, he meeti some big wate' in bush de.	*Wą pikin, pikin mąn taki, wani go na busi. Tɛ a go, a miti wą bɪgi watra na busi dɛ*.
Den he sta't to heah talk fo everyt'ing in de worl'.	*Dąn a bɪgin fō yɛre na taki fō ala sani na grǫn-tapu*.

While with the Ashanti, we were also able to obtain some characteristic expressions from a member of the Mossi people from the northern territories of the Gold Coast, whose pidgin was as untutored and as rich in flow as any we heard in West Africa.

de chief hask dem say...	*na gramą ɑksi hɛm taki*...
So you be chief pikin. Make you sing, make me see. W'en you be chief pikin, me go know.	*So yu gramą pikin. Mek yu sɻŋgi, meki mi si. Tɛ yu na gramą pikin, dą' mi go sabi*.
he cover he sikin[2] all	*a kɪbri hɛm heri s'kin*
w'en dey get up fo' dance, now dance go 'bout six ya'ds	*tɛ den tenapu fō dąnsi, den dąnsi go sɪksi*...[3]
he run go bush wit' pikin	*a lǫ-go busi nąŋga pikin*
dis firs' time he de' fo' town	dɪsi fɔsi tɛm a dɛ fō foto
rabbits den chop all bush meat[4]	kɔnkɔni den nyąm ala busi meti
so he cali a house again, say...	*so a kari na hoso agɛn, taki*...
rabbit he pass all sense for play trick	*kɔnkɔni, a kɔni mɔro ala fō preɻi trɪki*

Still other examples are to be found in Cronise and Ward's Temne tales. These are rendered in pidgin, and beside the idiomatic

1 The use of the word 'cover' having the sense of 'hide' is to be remarked.
2 Again one finds the use of 'skin' for 'body'. One morning our steward-boy, after receiving a message from the chief of Asokore for us, translated as follows: 'De chief he sen' hask how you sikin be tiday.' It was a formal inquiry about our health.
3 In Suriname the unit used for measuring is the ell and not the yard.
4 'Bush-meat', i.e., wild animals.

expressions and constructions cited by the authors in their 'Introduction'[1], the following may be also found; under each of the expressions we place the *taki-taki* equivalent:

One	ooman	get	girl-pickin (pickaninny), (p. 49)	
Wąn	*umą*	*kɻsi*	*umą-pikin*	
He go inside	one big forest	whey all de	beef duh pass. (p. 41)	
A go na ɪni	*wąn bɪgi busi*	*pɛ ala dę'*	*meti dɛ*	*pasa*
Spider take de	hammer soffle (softly),	he hit	Lion one	tem... (p. 43)
Anąnsi teki na	*mɔkro safri*,	*a naki*	*Leō wąn*	*tɛm*
De ooman	ax de	man:	'Nar	true?' (p. 47)
Na umą	*aksi*	*'a mąn:*	*'Na*	*tru?'*
Spider go	nah	puttah-puttah,	he look	sotay (until)... (p. 48)
Anąnsi go	*na*	...,[2]	*a luku*	*so tɛ*...
'Na play	I	duh	play' (p. 48)	
Na preị	*mi*	*dɛ*	*preị*	
One day me bin	say Bowman	long pass	dis	tick... (p. 48)
Wąn deị mi bɛn	*taki Aboma*	*ląŋga mɔro*	*dɪs'*	*tɪki*...
One net	big	rain	fa' down (p. 55)	
Wan net'	*bɪgi*	*aleịn*	*fadę'*	
Dat	make	tay (until)	today... (p. 63)	
Dat'	*meki*	*tɛ*	*tidɛ*...	
...en I	mus' kare	dis fiah	go	home (p. 64)

1 pp. 32-34.
2 This word does not exist in *taki-taki*.

...*ɛn*	*mi*	*mus'*	*tyar'*	*dɪs'*	*fa̰iah*	*go*	*na hoso*		
Dey	all	tow,	dey	duh	sleep (p. 66)				
Den	*ala*	*tu*,	*den*	*dɛ*	*sribi*				
...all		run		go (p. 70)					
...*ala*		*lo̰*		*go*					
...'tan' up		nah de		do'-(door)		mout' (p. 70)			
...*tɛnapu*		*na*		*dɔro*		*mɔfo*			

Make	I	tie	um	'roun	yo'	mout',	make	I	hole
Meki	*mi*	*taị*	*ɛŋ*	*lɔntō*	*yu*	*mɔfo*,	*meki*	*mi*	*hɔri*

um,	so	w'en	I	duh	shake, shake,	make	I	no	fa' down. (p. 72)
ɛŋ,	*so*	*tɛ*	*mi*	*dɛ*	*sɛk-sɛki*,	*mɛk'*	*mi*	*no*	*fadǫ*

I	done	bring	Trorkey	come (p. 75)
Mi	*dɛ*	*tyar'*	*Sɛkrepatu*	*kɔm*

Dem	beef	all	come,	dey	try,	dey	no	able[1] (p. 83)
Den	*meti*	*ala*	*kɔm*,	*den*	*proberi*,	*den*	*no*	*mąŋ*

...he	no	bin	'tan'	lek	today... (p. 93)
...*a*	*no*	*bɛn*	*tą'*	*lɛk'*	*tide*...

Hungri	tem (famine)	done	ketch	dis	Africa (p. 117)
Haŋgri	*tɛm*	*bɛn*	*kɪsi*	*dɪs'*	*Afrika*[2]

De	two	beef	no'	know	say... (p. 120)
Den	*tu*	*meti*	*no*	*sabi*	*taki*...

...he	drag	dem	nah	sho'... (p. 121)
...*a*	*hari* (haul)	*dem*	*na*	*shɔro*...

...make	we	come	go;	ef	no	so,	ef	he	meet	yo',
...*mɛk'*	*wi*	*kɔm*	*go*,	*ɛf'*	*no*	*so*,	*ɛf'*	*a*	*miti*	*yu*,

he	go	kill	yo' (p. 185)
a	*go*	*kɪri*	*yu*.

Spider	he	smart	man	fo'	true,	true (p. 213)

1 This simple sentence illustrates admirably the manner in which *taki-taki* has incorporated words from many sources into a grammatical form common to African languages. Thus *meti*, 'meat', for animal, *kɔm*, for 'come', *no* for 'not' are from English, *ala*, 'all' is from English or Dutch, *proberi*, 'try', is from Dutch, while *mąŋ*, 'to be able' is from Ewe.

2 In Suriname they would say *Nɛŋgrɛ kǫndre*, 'Negro land', for 'Africa'.

Anąnsi	*a*	*kɔni*	*mąn*	*fō*	*tru*	*tru*
W'en		'fraid	ketch		Lepped... (p. 225)
Tɛ		*frede*	*kɪsi*		*Tigri*
...I		go	mi		one (alone), (p. 234)
...*mi*		*go*	*mi*		*wąn*
Make	yo'	kare	mi	nah	yard (p. 247)
Mek'	*yu*	*tyar'*	*mi*	*na*	*dyari*
De		grabe	'plit		mo' (p. 272)
Na		*grebi*	*priti*		*mo*

Story			done (p. 278)		
Tɔri			*kaba*		
He	see	white	clo'es,	no	mo' (p. 294)
A	*si*	*weti*	*krosi*,	*nō*	*mō*
Well,	de	debble	pull	one	sing (p. 182)
Wɛ,	*na*	*di̯ębi*	*puru*	*wąn*	*sụŋgi*

The correspondences between the speech of New World Negroes in idiomatic expression and the pidgin English of West Africa suggested a further inquiry. It seemed logical to investigate whether there might not be some underlying similarity in aboriginal speech that could account for the large number of parallels between New World and African Negro English. To this end we drew up a list of *taki-taki* idioms, and asked our interpreter[1] to give us the corresponding Twi phrases for these, being careful, however, to state them to him in the English, rather than *taki-taki* manner of expressing the ideas contained in them. The following list gives some of the resultant Twi idioms, with their literal meaning expressed in English words:

Bring	*fá bra*,[2] (take come)
Take (away)	*fá kɔ*' (take go)
Run away	*djuą̇ne kɔ*' (run go)
I am hungry	*ɔkɔ́m di mî* (hunger eat me) or *ɔkɔ́m okṵ́ mî* (hunger kill me)
Give birth to a child	*wa nyá abɔfrá*, (he catch child)
Let us go	*ma yɛ ụŋkɔ́*' (make we go)
I traveled for a long time	*m(i) anan ti, anan ti, anan ti, (I* walked, walked, walked)
I went to look for something I did not find it	*mi kɔ' hwí hwê, m(i) ąn hṵ́n* (I go look for find, I no see)
Early in the morning	*anɔpa túṭú*, (morning early)
All of you,	*mṍ nyi̯na·*, (you all)
She is very nice,	*no hṍŋ yɛ fɛ' dodo*', (he skin is nice much-much).
Do it at once	*yɛ no prɛ̂·ko* (do it time one)
That is why	*aśɛm nútî*, (case head)
He told me	*ɔkąŋ tchiírɛ mísê* (he tell show me say)
A thing done one at a time	*nkorṍ (n)koro*, (one, one)

1 It is a pleasure to record our indebtedness to our interpreter, Charles Donkoh, for the assistance he gave us while among the Ashanti.

2 In transcribing Twi, the same phonetic system employed for *taki-taki* has been used except that an apostrophe here stands for a glottal stop, and that tonal marks (*á* = high, *a* = middle, *à* = low, *â* = middle to low, *ă* = middle to high, *ȃ* = high to low) are employed.

Little by little	*kakrá kàkra*, (small, small)
Bigger	*esǘŋ sıne no*', (big pass it)

Edge of the road	*kwán hǫ́*, (road-skin)
I am angry	*m(i) akúm**â'** ehuru*',[1] (my heart burns)
In the road	*mi wɔ kwanemu*, (I am road inside)
He came to a stream	*ɔba túw**ô** esúyó bí*, (he-came met river some)
Add one to it	*fa kóró toso*, (take one put top)
After this	*yę̣i ɛchíri*, (this back)
To calm a person	*djõdjõ n(a) akóm**â** máno*, (cool he heart give him)
'Meat' (for animal)	*o kokúm nám*, (he go kill meat)
Wild animal	*wirɛm nam*, (forest meat, = bush meat)
He is very foolish	*ɔyɛ kwasi á dodo*', (he is fool too much)
He is very strong	*´ɛyɛ dɩŋ dodo*', (it is strong too much)
The tale is very nice	*aśɛm' no yɛ dɛ dodo*', (story it is sweet too much)
I am afraid	*súró k**â** mè*, (fear touched me) or *súró chíre m**î***, (fear catch me)
He walked a short way	*ɛnantî kakrá*, (he walked small)
Do you understand English?	*wó t**ê** brɔf**ô***, (you hear English)
He brought it to me to see	*ɔfá brá mi hẃɛ*, (he took come me see)

The above list shows that many of the idioms peculiar to Paramaribo, Jamaica, Andros Islands, and the Sea Islands are literal translations of Twi. The presence of similar idiomatic expressions in Yoruba, Fǫ, Ewe and Hausa speech, and as reported by Cronise and Ward and others, leads to the further hypothesis that these idioms are basic to many, if not all, of the West African tongues.

Though this establishes the provenience of a large proportion of the idioms, explanation of the non-European constructions remained to be made. In earlier studies of *taki-taki* and other New World Negro speech, there had been several attempts to trace the provenience of vocabulary,[2] but not of morphology. Parsons[3] makes some cogent observations on prevalent grammatical forms, and offers as a possibility that these may derive from African usage. Available grammars of West African languages throw considerable

1 *Ehuru*' means 'something that is put on the fire and cooks'.
2 Cf. Ortiz, (II), *passim*, for Cuba, Guy Johnson, Ch. I, for the Sea Islands, and, outstandingly for *taki-taki* and *Saramaka tongo*, with full bibliography, Schuchardt, op. cit., *passim*.
3 Parsons, (II), p. xx. On p. xvii, note 5, similarities in idiom between the Sea Island speech and that of Sierra Leone, as recorded by Cronise and Ward, are cited.

light on these perplexing constructions, and, though it is not possible here to give a complete discussion, a few examples will make the point that in this, as in the instance of many of the idioms whose literal translation we have given, the peculiarities of Negro speech are primarily due to the fact that the Negroes have been using words from European languages to render literally the underlying morphological patterns of West African tongues.

Let us consider first the tendency of New World Negroes to use the verb 'to give' for the English preposition 'for'. In Ewe[1] *na*, 'to give' is used in just this manner, and we read that

> '...what one does to another is done for him and is, as it were, given to him, e.g.,... *he said a word (and) gave (it) to the person*, i.e., he said a word to the person; *he bought a horse (and) gave (it) to me*, i.e., he bought me a horse.'

In rendering Ashanti tales, it is explained that *ma*, which is translated by the preposition 'for' is really the verb 'to give'.[2] In Gą, *ha*, 'to give', is used as we would use 'for' in English, when employed with persons.[3] The Fante-Akan language utilises the verb *ma*, 'to give' as an equivalent of the English preposition 'for';[4] while, turning to a Yoruba text we find a phrase which, literally translated, reads

> '*Ils prennent vont donnent au roi*', and has the meaning of 'They bring to the king.'[5]

In the matter of gender, we find in grammars of West African languages the explanation of the seeming lack of differentiation of sex in the use of pronouns. We have noted how 'he' and 'she' are interchanged in West Africa and Suriname; how, in the West Indies and the Gulla Islands, 'he' is employed to indicate both a man and a woman. Ewe, we find, 'has no grammatical gender'.[6] Do the Ewe, then, fail to distinguish persons who differ in sex? Not at all; they must, however, employ nouns, such as 'man', 'woman', 'youth', 'maiden', 'father', 'mother', or they must add either *-su*, 'male', or *-no*, 'female' to a given word as a suffix. Yet this latter method is that of New World Negro English, as, for example, when the Suriname Negro speaks of a *man-pikin*, - a boy, - as against an *umą-pikin*, a girl. In Gą,[7] as in Ewe, gender is designated by a prefixing or a suffixing of an element, in this case, *yo* for woman and *nu* for man, though there are a few differ-

1 Westermann (Ia), p. 50. The examples cited for Ewe also apply in the case of Fǫ, the related language of Dahomey, as can be seen by referring to Delafosse's *Manuel, passim*.
2 Rattray (III), p. 28.
3 Wilkie, p. 30.
4 Balmer & Grant, p. 24.
5 Bouche, (I), cols, 129-30. Other Yoruba examples may be found in de Gaye and Beecroft, *passim*.
6 Westermann, (Ia), p. 43.
7 Wilkie, p. 7.

entiating words such as ‘husband’, ‘wife’, ‘father’, ‘mother’, and the like. Similarly, in the related Fante-Akan speech,[1] it is by affixing particles or utilising different words, that the difference of sex is indicated. Of Yoruba we read that

> ‘The Yoruba language being non-inflective, genders cannot be distinguished by their terminal syllables, but by prefixing the words *ako*, male, and *abo*, female, to the common term;...’[2]

Perhaps no other element in *taki-taki* proved more difficult to translate than those expressions containing what Westermann terms ‘substantives of place.’ While *taki-taki* does not have all the connotations given for each of the words listed in his Ewe grammar,[3] all the words he cites in this connection have their *taki-taki* equivalents, and many of these equivalents have retained several of their meanings in Ewe. Thus, in *taki-taki* as in Ewe, *na mɻndri*, (the Ewe *dome*) not only means ‘a place between’, but is also used with the meaning of ‘between’, ‘among’, ‘in the midst of’. *Tapu*, (Ewe *dzi*), means not only ‘top’ but also ‘the sky’, and ‘over’, ‘on’, and ‘above’. *Inisệi* in Suriname (Ewe *me*), as in Africa, carries the significance not only of ‘inside’ but also of ‘the context of a word of speech’. *Na baka* is difficult to translate into English until its equivalence to the Ewe *megbe* is perceived, when it becomes clear that it not only signifies ‘the back’ but also ‘behind’ and ‘after’ and ‘again’. A last example (though this does not exhaust the list) shows the derivation of the numerous curious uses of the *taki-taki* word *hɛdɛ*, ‘head’. The Ewe equivalent, *ta*, besides its initial significance, means ‘point’ or ‘peak’, ‘on account of’, ‘because’, ‘therefore’, and ‘for that reason’, the last being the exact translation of the Suriname word in such a phrase as *fõ dɑti ɛdɛ*. For Gą we find similar constructions reported.[4] Thus, the Gą people say, ‘he looked at his face’ for ‘he looked in front of him’; ‘my garden is at the house's back’ for ‘my garden is behind the house’; ‘he went to their middle’ for ‘he went among them’; ‘walk my back’ for ‘walk behind me’. In Fante the same construction is found.[5]

If one wishes to know the grammatical bases of such usage as the reflexive pronoun, *den fɔm den s'rɛfi;* the order in which those in a compound subject involving the speaker are named, *mi nąŋga yu;* the cohortive form, which expresses an invitation, as *mɛk' wi go* for ‘let us go’; forms like *mi dɛ go, mi bɛn go;* the use of a separate term (like the taki-taki *kaba*) to denote completed action; the use of the word ‘to say’, *a taki*, to introduce objective phrases; the use

1 Balmer and Grant, pp. 62-64.
2 S. Johnson, p. xxxvi; Gaye and Beecroft, p. 8.
3 Westermann, (Ia), pp. 52ff.
4 Wilkie, p. 29.
5 Balmer & Grant, ch. xi.

of the term ‘more’ (‘surpass’)[1] to make the comparative form of the adjective, he will find all these discussed in grammars of West African languages. Let us here only indicate, from Westermann, some other rules of Ewe that, as for other West African tongues, still are operative for *taki-taki*. When one says ‘he is four years old’,[2] he says ‘he has received four years’ - the Suriname *a kɩsi fo yari kaba;* if one wishes to say ‘I know something’, he says ‘I have come to know something’,[3] - taki-taki *mi dɛ kɔm sabi wą sani*. In Ewe, for ‘tell the Governor’, one says, ‘say it give Governor say’, our *taki gi Gramą taki;*[4] the Ewe use of the double verb occurs also in *taki-taki* as *krɔ̂ipi a krɔ̂ipi*.[5]

In our examples, we have cited the language of the Negroes of Paramaribo. Except, however, for the greater presence of both African and Portuguese words in the *Saramaka tǫŋgo*,[6] a greater use of elision, and the omission of the *r*, this language follows in idiom and structure that of the town, as the several Saramacca proverbs with the equivalents in *taki-taki*, and the interlinear English translation serve to illustrate.[7]

It may be well to restate the conclusions arrived at on the basis of comparing *taki-taki* with Negro English in the New World, pidgin English in Africa, Ashanti idioms, and West African grammatical forms as illustrated in Yoruba, Ewe, Fǫ, Gą, Twi, Mende, Hausa and other West African languages.[8]

1. Parallels to *taki-taki* were found in Jamaican speech, in the Bahamas, and in the Sea Islands of the United States.

2. Similar parallels were also found in pidgin English as spoken in Nigeria and on the Gold Coast, as well as in such specimens of Negro-French spoken by natives with no schooling as were available.

3. Phonetic peculiarities which Negro speech exhibits in the New

1 Thus King, p. 196, states of Hausa, ‘The absence of any proper comparative is one of the weakest spots in the language. The English... “too many”, “too good”, etc., can only be rendered by the use of the verb *fi* - “to pass or excell”... “He is cleverer than you” - *Ya fika nankali* (lit., “He surpasses you as to sense”)...’

2 p. 116.

3 p. 119.

4 pp. 126-7.

5 p. 129.

6 Cf. Schuchardt, pp. 46ff., and Herskovits (I).

7 A somewhat more detailed consideration of *Saramaka tǫŋgo* must be reserved for inclusion in a projected analysis of the culture of the Saramacca tribe of Bush Negroes.

8 We have not mentioned influences of the languages of the Indians of Suriname in our discussion because these influences lie mainly in the field of vocabulary, which we have not considered, and also because Indian influences, compared to European and African, have been slight. We have also not mentioned the languages of the Congo in our consideration of African tongues, but only because grammars of these languages were not available to us.

World were met with in African pidgin, and it was possible to trace them to African speech.[1]

Therefore, it must be concluded that not only *taki-taki*, but the speech of the other regions of the New World we have cited, and the West African pidgin dialects, are all languages exhibiting, in varying degrees of intensity, similar African constructions and idioms, though employing vocabulary that is predominantly European.

We have thus far made no mention of the element of tone in *taki-taki*. Tone is to be found in Paramaribo Negro speech, as it is in Africa, but whereas in Africa tone is 'significant', in Paramaribo we have come across no example where tone entered into the determination of grammatical form. An extended study is necessary to determine definitely whether all significant tone has been lost in the New World. It can be assumed, however, that relatively little tone of grammatical importance has held over in *taki-taki*, though in *Saramaka tɔŋgo* it has been possible to isolate tonal configurations of significance.

One point has yet to be touched upon, and concerns the European elements, other than vocabulary, that have entered into the organisation of *taki-taki*. It must be evident that with the loss of tone certain Europeanisms had to be introduced to meet the linguistic needs of the Negroes in their new environment. It need not be stressed here that this involves no implication that the recognition of such a need is a conscious one. That acculturation was not limited to vocabulary, but made for the introduction of morphological characteristics of European origin as well, is to be seen in the position of the adjective in the sentence, for example, where the modifier most frequently appears before the word it modifies, instead of after the word, as in African usage.

Finally we must call attention to the fact that just as English words had in earlier times replaced Portuguese, as is evidenced by the difference in the speech of the bush and town Negroes, and as African words for non-ritual phenomena are tending to disappear, to be replaced by English, or Dutch ones, so Dutch is today replacing many of the English words. Instead of *boi̯* we often hear *yuŋgu*, instead of *umą-pikin* we hear *me̯ishɛ*, instead of *umą* we hear *fro*, and we hear the words *dre̯i* for 'turn', and *wardɛ* for 'worthy', *dax* for 'howdo' *(odi)*, and *hemɛl* for 'sky'. One encounters *nōtu* for 'need', *rɛkfardig* for 'just', *ferstąn* for 'understand', *fertro* for 'trust', *xolōku* for 'luck', *sipotu* for 'ridicule', *frandra* for 'change', *mɛshandɛl* for 'abuse', *beina* for 'almost', *ɔndrosuku* for 'examine', *gɛbɔro* for 'born', *regɛl* for 'rule', *stɔfu* for 'stewed', *strafu* for 'punishment', *skotu* for 'fence', *sontu* for 'healthy'. Still other words are sufficiently similar, both in English and Dutch,

1 Cf., for example, Balmer & Grant, p. 14, sections 12 and 13, for their remarks on the 'glide' in Fante.

to make difficult the determination from which of the two languages they stem. What is significant is that, whether English or Dutch, these words are spoken in sentences which adhere to the rules of grammar we have described.

4. Notes on Proverbs

When we consider the specimens of Suriname folk-literature that have appeared, we find that it is pre-eminently the proverb that has received the attention of collectors. From the time of Wüllschlägel,[1] who published over seven hundred, various shorter collections of proverbs have appeared. A number of these collections, published locally in Suriname, are now not available. The most recent collection to be published is one which, up to the fifth section, contains over three hundred sayings.[2] It is not strange that this form should have been the one to which collectors turned, for in comparison with riddle and story, the proverb is heard more often, and presents much less difficulty in gathering. Among the Suriname Negroes of both town and bush, proverbs are employed in every kind of situation, as they are in Africa. They are a prime factor in the education of the young, in pointing a lesson to a fellow adult, in passing a judgment on someone newly met. We have already discussed the use of the proverb in connection with the naming of designs and the methods of tying the head-kerchiefs worn by the women in town.[3] In the bush, proverbial sayings are woven into all conversation, and it is characteristic of an elder of a village, or a man who has standing in his group, that he is an adept at introducing these pithy sayings, so that at times what he says reduces itself to the quotation of one proverb after another, with so few connectives to point these to any definite subject as to make it a form of elliptical expression understood only by men of like rank and experience. Indeed, in the bush it may well be said that the skillful use of these proverbs marks the man who in our own civilisation would be regarded as scholarly. In the town, also, it is the older people who introduce these proverbial asides and comments most frequently, but since, as we have indicated, the culture is carried on chiefly by women, the proverbs in most frequent and most vigorous use are those that enter into disputes, either as threats, or with vituperative intent, or as expressions of

1 In the appendix to his dictionary of Negro-English. Our own collection of proverbs is much smaller than it otherwise would have been, due to the loss of our copy of this work in bringing it back from Suriname, where we used it in checking the number of old proverbs current today.
2 Neger-Engelsche Spreekworden (Odo's).
3 See above, pp. 5-7. All proverbs employed for this purpose are marked with the notation (K.). This does not mean, however, that the use of such a proverb is restricted to designating the kerchief it has been selected to identify.

indifference to threats. Yet another factor enters into the use of the proverb in quarrels, namely, that these Negroes, like those in other parts of the New World and Africa, attach supernatural power to 'cussing'. Thus it is safer to take recourse in a traditional expression to vent their feelings than to become involved in accusations and recriminations, because of the mishaps that befall the one who had been 'cussed.' It is not intended to suggest, however, that there are not sayings to comment fatalistically, or jibingly, or wittily, on human experience. We find, in fact, that human ingratitude is remarked upon, and the faithlessness of women; that foolish show of courage is deplored, and boastfulness is ridiculed; that caution is recommended, and discretion, but not timidity; and the point is made that no one is so powerful or exalted that there is not someone to meet him on his own terms; greed is criticised, but reckless generosity is enjoined; the importance of wisdom is cited, and the role of necessity stated.

In the bush the belief exists that these proverbs are constantly being added to by the elders, and the chief in particular was credited with having originated countless of these. For at least one of the proverbs attributed to Gramǫn Moana Yąnkuso, however, we have found a parallel in West Africa,[1] and what is happening in the bush may, as in the city, be that within the framework of a traditional proverb a few words are changed or added. For example, proverbs 9, 9a, 15, 77, 97[2] all are stylistically the same, but references such as those to the lottery or to the Ice Company are recent adaptations. Tradition in town holds that there was in olden days a *Bas' Djaki* who was the originator of many of these sayings. Only one of our proverbs cites him as the speaker of the proverb, but our informants assured us that many which are spoken had first been heard from him. He is said to have been an iron-worker, remarkable not alone for his craftsmanship and supernatural strength, but for his gift of improvisation.

This device of attributing the sayings to a given character, animal or human, follows African pattern, and, as might be expected, is met with most frequently in the bush. Thus, out of forty-nine Saramacca proverbs, we have ten attributed to definite speakers, whereas out of one hundred and seventy-four from the town, we have but six references to the character who is citing the proverb. Stylistically, the proverbs are given in a few instances as rhymed couplets, and all show a fixed rhythmic patterning.

1 Saramacca proverb No. 35.
2 Unless otherwise stated, the proverbs are those in *taki-taki*.

5. Notes on Riddles

Summaries of the small numbers of riddles and tales published up to 1926 have been made by the Penard brothers.[1] They notice twenty-three examples of riddles, to which they add sixty-seven, while of tales they give a bibliography of ten titles containing twenty-one stories, in addition to the four tales they contribute and the thirty-nine stories given in Van Cappelle's contribution.[2] It is not surprising that so few riddles have been collected and published, for this form is not as popular in Suriname as it is elsewhere. Here its use seems to be restricted, as the Penards remark, 'to the children and occasionally to the mourners at... wakes.'[3] Indeed, it was our experience that except for the wakes, where the riddle is not used 'occasionally' but practically without exception, and repeatedly in the course of the night to amuse the people who are present, riddling is not indulged in by the Suriname Negroes to any appreciable extent. Again and again, when we asked for riddles, we were told that unless a person frequented the ceremonies for the dead, he rarely heard them, and that they were, therefore, not so well known. When we pressed for them, we found that a small number were given to us by different informants, and that the greater number of these were the same riddles.

In Suriname, as elsewhere among African peoples, the riddle depends upon *double entendre* for much of its effect, and it may be that this is the reason why more riddles have not found their way into print, for it is possible that informants hesitated to give riddles of this type through fear of offending the collectors. After coming to know our informants, we ourselves found no such inhibition, but rather a decided relish for the obscene elements. The absence of a large number of riddles in Suriname may then be accounted for, perhaps, by the fact that it has here come to have a specialised function of serving at funerary rites, and has ceased to play a part in the folk expression of everyday life; whatever the cause, its restricted use is especially interesting in view of the prevalence of riddling found in most New World Negro cultures, where the riddle is as important, if not more important, than the proverb.[4] The stylistic device of introducing the speaker's mother or father as the person involved in the action stated in the riddle has been remarked

1 Penard, (II), pp. 239-40, and (III), p. 411. See also Van Panhuys, *passim*.
2 The Penard brothers state that they had collected more than eighty tales, and mention their intention to publish them (II, p. 243), but to our knowledge they have not done so.
3 (III), p. 412.
4 Practically all large collections of New World Negro folk-tales, such as those of Andrade, Beckwith, Parsons, and others, contain examples of riddles in numbers. We ourselves found that some White children we met in South Carolina delighted in riddling, and, on inquiry, were informed it was their Negro nurse who had taught them this form of amusement.

by the Penards.[1] This again follows the African pattern of riddling, and is met with elsewhere in the New World. In the bush, riddles are at times used for the opening of Anansi stories.[2]

6. The Telling of the Tales

Though few tales have been recorded, these play an important role in the life of the Suriname Negroes. They are, whatever their nature, called *Anąnsi-tɔri*, the stories of Anansi, the Twi trickster-hero, who, like in Curaçao and Jamaica has survived his migration to the western hemisphere to be here, as on the Gold Coast, the most important single character in the folk-tales of the Negroes of these regions.[3] Whether a story deals with animals, or recounts the adventures of kings and princesses, or tells of ghosts, the name is still *Anąnsi-tɔri*, though at times one hears the term '*ɔndrofeni tɔri*' applied to those purporting to recount personal experiences. The explanation for the generic term of *Anąnsi-tɔri* for all stories may be had from the myth told in Ashanti, which tells how Anansi acquired the right to have all tales bear his name - formerly they were called 'God's stories' - by performing the tasks set for him by God.[4]

1 (III), p. 412.

2 See, for example, the tale given by Schuchardt, pp. 41-2. We were present at a story-telling session in Abeokuta, Nigeria, and there each narrator was asked a series of riddles as a prelude to his story. These riddles were spoken rapidly, one after another, while the children in a chorus shouted the answers. In Dahomey, riddles are the opening formulae for stories, and as in Nigeria, the riddles need have no bearing upon the content of the story. In Dahomey, too, the children organise into story-telling groups, with a 'head-man' who is chosen among themselves to act for the group, and this 'head-man' opens the story-telling session at dusk by riddling with his group. Those who, when called upon, cannot give the answer, are 'assessed' a certain number of stories which they must tell.

3 See Cardinall, (I) and Rattray (III), for Anansi among the Gold Coast peoples. It must not be assumed, however, that the spider (under other names, it is true) is found only on the Gold Coast. He is a prominent character in Cronise and Ward's and in Thomas' collection (VI) from Sierra Leone, among the Guro, Gagu and Agni of the Ivory Coast (Tauxier, I, III), in Togoland (Speiss, I), and among the Hausa, where, according to Tremearne, (III, p. 10) 'since the spider is the king of cunning and craftiness, all fables are told in his name.' Even in the far-off Cameroons, the spider is the *wahrsager* of the animals (Lederbogen, I). For Anansi in Jamaica, see Beckwith (II), *passim*. Encyc. p. 44, states that in Curaçao these tales are called *Cuenta di nansi*. Van Cappelle (p. 267, note 2), states the spider in Curaçao is called 'Nanzi'. It is perhaps not without significance that 'Miss Nancy' figures as an occasional character in the Sea Island tales (Parsons, II, No. 62, IV, and *passim*).

4 Rattray's statement that 'all of the stories in this volume would, however, be classed by the Akan-speaking African under the generic title of "Anansesem" (Spider stories) whether the spider appeared in the tale or not,' is pertinent (II, p. xiii). Indeed, we ourselves found among the Ashanti that most of our informants began by offering to tell us the story of how *Nyąkɔnsɛm* came to be called *Anąnsesɛm*.

What is the role of the *Anąnsi-tɔri* in the life of the Paramaribo Negroes?[1] Its most important function is its place in the complex of the rites for the dead, and it is from this that stems the reason why these tales may not be told during the day,[2] for the belief holds that the dead would come and sit beside the tellers of the tales if this were essayed, thus causing their death.[3] Among the Saramacca Bush-Negroes, these tales are told to entertain the dead while they lie in state in the *dɛdɛ-wosu*, the house of death that every village possesses, since burial seldom takes place, even for a man of no great rank in the community, until six or seven days have elapsed since his death. In Paramaribo, though stories are told at all wakes, and often at anniversary celebrations for the dead, the most important story-telling ceremony for the dead is what is called *a̯iti-de̯i neti*, 'eighth-day night (after death)'. This wake, beginning early in the evening with hymns which last for about an hour, continues, after what is called *prati skrati* ('serving the chocolate', as the refreshments are known), with riddling, and games of forfeits and impersonation, and story telling until daybreak.[4] It must not be thought, however, that the Anansi-stories are told only on occasions associated with honoring or entertaining the spirits of the dead, for they serve an important educational function, and serve, as well, to entertain during the leisure of an unoccupied evening in the 'yard', on the plantation, or in work-camps where men from the city are isolated in the bush.

The tales may be divided into three general groups; those that have animals as their *dramatis personae*, those with human characters, and those containing animals and humans, who appear to share the world they inhabit on equal terms. Among those tales in which only humans figure are to be found the incidents dealing with magic manipulation or with idiosyncracies traceable to the world of the tellers of the tales, or with ghosts. The animal tales may in turn be subdivided into those in which Anansi, the spider, figures as leading character, and those in which other animals appear. In arranging the stories, we have followed the sequence of presenting the animal tales about Anansi first, then those about other animals,

1 While we were unable to collect tales in *Saramaka tɔŋgo*, we heard many *Anąnsi-tɔri* told in the bush, and we found that both in the tales told and in the social setting of the stories, there is but little difference between town and bush.

2 This reluctance to tell tales during the day is characteristic of New World and West African Negroes alike, and has been remarked upon by almost every student.

3 The Penards (II, pp. 242-3) state 'It is considered unlucky to tell *Anansi-tori* in the daytime; but, if this is to be done, the narrator may avert the evil consequences of his indiscretion by first plucking a hair from his eyelids.' Though most of our tales were gathered during the day, we have never seen this done.

4 Cf. Beckwith, (II), pp. xi-xii, for a similar statement as regards Jamaica.

and finally the tales of humans, following in our grouping the distinctions made above.[1]

With the exception of Elephant, *asau*[2], and Whale, who figure in the Tug of War tale, there are no animals who do not come from the immediate environment of the people of Suriname. Thus we find among them Anansi, the spider, Tiger (by which term the jaguar is named), *Kɔnikɔni* (variously denoted the rabbit and the *aguti*), Deer, Buffalo (the tapir), Monkey, Wild Dog, Goat, Cock, Cockroach, Wren *(Tyɔtyɔforu)*, Toad, Tortoise, Hog, Ant-eater, Parrot, Cricket and Alligator.[3] Of supernatural characters we have Death, the Devil, and Lɛba, god of the crossroads; of personifications we have 'Gun' and the magic peanuts who break into speech. The traits that individualise these characters are, as is usual in animal stories, those which they manifest in everyday life. Thus, Tortoise is slow and Spider is cunning, while Tiger is strong, but lacking in shrewdness.

In the majority of the tales in which Anansi figures as trickster, he attains his ends by some ruse, but there are instances of retribution; one of them comes at the hands of Rabbit (No. 23); another comes from Alligator (No. 29), and yet another from Tortoise (Nos. 83 and 84). In three instances he is outwitted by his own wife (Nos. 43, 44, and 45), and for the rest, it is usually 'the king' or 'the chief' who sees to his punishment. There are instances where a son surpasses him in cunning (No. 65), or where he saves Anansi's life (Nos. 11 and 12). The common factor in all the animal tales is that the small animal outwits the larger one. We see this in Anansi's exploits against Tiger (as in No. 30), or in the story of the flying contest (No. 26), where the little bird who mounts on the back of Falcon is made king of the birds, or where Rabbit and Tortoise save themselves from Tiger (as in No. 18).

This motif also occurs in the human tales, where the small boy (No. 128) or the poor boy, endowed with magic (No. 103) or given magic by a witch (No. 104), outwits the king and marries the king's daughter. It is tempting to refer the human tales figuring kings and hunters, and boy heroes, and princesses and witches, to a European provenience, because of their resemblance to the fairytales found in such a collection as that of the Brothers Grimm. This assumption, however, is by no means entirely borne out when reference is also made to the African literature. Thus, in a tale such as 'The Good Child and the Bad' (No. 100), although we have

1 We collected all versions of any tale told to us, and have grouped the variants, whatever their characters, hence in some instances the above classifications are not held to.

2 Compare Kongo *nzau*, in Bentley, p. 68.

3 It is not necessary to indicate how in these, as in the tales of most folk whose lore is living, the stories reflect the everyday life of the people. This can be seen in the way such tales as No. 100 or as No. 122 are embroidered with details arising out of the experiences and beliefs of those who tell them.

a combination of two, and perhaps three, well-known European tales (Frau Holle, Cinderella, and the Magic Whip), it is equally true that an impressively large number of West African correspondences for both the Frau Holle and the Magic Whip portions of the tale are found in the available literature. Indeed, the Frau Holle tale is an excellent case in point in illustrating the manner in which a story that lies deep in African patterns may be credited by the comparative folk-lorist, studying New World Negro tales, to European provenience exclusively. West African folk-lore, however, shows frequent occurrence of what may be termed the 'orphan' cycle of tales, the moral of which teaches consideration for the orphan. When recording tales in Dahomey, we repeatedly heard the expression, 'this will be a *nɔtchiɔvi* story', and *nɔtchiɔvi* means 'motherless child'. Most African collections contain the well known and often repeated tales of the market of the dead, where the orphan is helped by her dead mother to destroy the co-wife who had mistreated her, or, even more frequently, they contain this Frau Holle motif of the orphaned child obeying difficult and apparently meaningless injunctions and being rewarded, while the well-treated child refuses to obey, and is punished.

That there is an appreciable European influence in the stories, particularly in the tales about human beings, is indisputable. But that there are also elements of African provenience in these tales of kings and princes, of demons and changelings must not be ignored. A consideration of the correspondences to European and West African tales does, in fact, bring up problems of a larger nature which cannot be discussed here. In the light of the number of African correspondences for human as well as animal stories, it may, however, be queried whether the conclusion that New World Negro tales of this character are largely derived from European influences, may not profitably be reinvestigated.

The arrangement of the stories in this collection to follow a sequence of animal, animal-human, and human tales was made in order to facilitate comparative work of students of folk-lore. They might have been grouped otherwise, - as explanatory and moralising tales, for example, with an intermediate group for tales which overlap these two types. There would have been ample reason for such classification, for these aspects of the character of the tales explain their function as an educational factor among the Negroes. 'While you Whites have schools and books for teaching your children, we tell them stories, for our stories are our books,' the West African Dahomeans say. In Paramaribo, though a large proportion of the children attend school, they still listen after dusk to Anansi-stories, and they are encouraged by the older women in the yard to recount them to one another, to break the flow of narrative with songs, and to end with the proper moral, or the proper explanatory sentence. If riddles are asked the children, no

emphasis is given to the elements of *double entendre*, but stress is laid upon memorising the answers.

The tales told by adults at night for their own entertainment fall principally into the group of stories about human beings, though animal tales, whether they point a moral or not, are included if they afford the teller an opportunity for impersonation and mimicry. Such tales as the Tar-baby, with the pantomimed description of the trickster striking the doll, or those which pit Anansi's cunning against the Tiger's strength and afford the teller the opportunity of imitating the mincing voice of Anansi and the gruff tones of the larger animal, are special favorites.

Story-telling among these people is not an art which is dependent upon the skill of the narrator alone, for any well told story becomes a dramatic presentation with a principal impersonator, and a chorus.[1]

To understand the character of this participation by the listeners, it is necessary to go beyond story-telling, and to examine the pattern underlying conversation in the Suriname Bush, or in such regions of West Africa as the Gold Coast, or Nigeria, or Dahomey. Among the Bush-Negroes, whether two men pass each other on the river, and state their respective errands and exchange greetings, or two women meet on the path to the fields, and stop to recount some domestic incident, or men meet in the council-house, or gather for a joint enterprise, what is spoken by one is punctuated with a phrase of interpolation by the other, so that all speech consists of a series of statements and responses and becomes liturgical in its rhythms. These interpolations may come at the end of a pause, or they may break the length of a sentence, and they are often no more than 'Yes!' 'Well, so it is!' 'So I hear!' 'True-true!' 'That's so!' 'Yes, brother!'[2] To listen to speech passively would be considered boorish, or unfriendly. The interpolations which punctuate the flow of the story and introduce the songs are, therefore, fundamental to narrative structure.

In the Paramaribo tales, these interruptions are called *kɔt' tɔri*, literally 'cutting the story', and the songs are *kɔt' sɪŋgi*, 'songs that cut (the story)'.

Before we discuss the formulae for these *kɔt' tɔri*, however, we must mention the two most popular openings for stories. The first is

'*Er, tin, tin*'

with the answer

'*Tin, tin, tin*'[3]

1 This characterises the telling of tales by Negroes everywhere; cf. the descriptions of story-telling given by Dennett, (I, ch. II), Rattray, (III, p. vi, x-xi), Cronise and Ward, Tauxier, (I), Westermann, (III, pp. 357ff.), and Parsons, (III, pp. xx-xxi), among numerous others.

2 One may refer to the 'Yes, Lawd!', 'Glory!', and other exclamations from the congregation which, in Negro churches in the United States, punctuate a prayer or a sermon.

3 This formula is said to mean 'Once upon a time.'

and the second is

'*Kri, kra*, all men on their *kra-kra!*'[1]

A tale may also open with a proverb (as in Nos. 98 or 107), or by an invocation (as in No. 121), in order to give the listeners the clue to the theme.

The first interruption may come after the narrator has spoken but five or six sentences.

Man in Audience: '*Kri-kra!*'
Narrator: '*Fa yu taki?* - What are you saying?'
Man... '*Bato! Mi bɛn dapɛ. - Bato*, I was there.'
Narrator: '*Sąn yu si?* - What did you see?'

The rejoinder to this is a song, led by the man who has interrupted, to the accompaniment of the listeners singing a chorus.

It is possible to shorten this formula, and simply call out '*Bato!*' as a signal to the narrator to stop, and then to begin a song, or to call, '*Kri-kra!*' and answer the narrator's first question with a song. It often happens that the story-teller himself cuts his own story, and breaks into a song, in which his audience joins. He may do this because his audience is listless, or because he wishes to heighten suspense, for the good story-teller introduces these interruptions with fine dramatic effect. One such *kɔt' tɔri* goes as follows:

Narrator: '*Harki tɔri! yɛri tɔri!* - Hear the tale! Listen to the tale!'
Voice from Audience: '*A sɑ go?* - Will it go?'
Narrator: '*A mus' ką go!* - It must go on!'

The teller may pause long enough to assure his audience that what follows is interesting, whereupon he will pause his narrative and exclaim,

'*Mɔksmɔriǫ, nąŋga shuba, shuba*'[2]

or

'*Wɛ, mi mąn, opo yu yesi, yɛri tɔri, fō tɛ yu go taki baka fō yu no le̯i*. - Well, my man, open your ears and hear the story, so that when you go to repeat it, you won't lie.'

These intervals are usually followed by at least one song.

The songs employed for the purpose of 'cutting' the story vary widely as to their character, as may be seen in the songs that 'cut' the tales of this collection. Only few of the traditional songs that are considered as an integral part of the story itself have been retained, for these are often replaced by more recent ones. The newer songs may be Dutch tunes to which some old words have been fitted, or a Dutch verse sung to an old tune, or a fresh adaptation of a traditional melody. *Kɔt'sɻŋgi* may also be religious songs, or those of the *Kauna* dances, the first being introduced

1 This formula is said to mean 'All in their places', *kri, kra* being a bird's cry, and *kra-kra* a perch on a tree.
2 This is said to be an African assurance that the tale will delight the listeners.

because they are well known, their simple lines enabling the chorus to sing with the leader; and the second because the *Kauna* songs abound in satirical and gross allusions, and thus overcome the handicap of the longer recitative by the leader with the hilarity aroused by the rendition of words that are more or less known to all.

These interpolations, with song intervals and often short dance intervals as well, continue until the end of the tale, when the narrator closes with a proverb, or simply says, '*A kaba* - It is finished,' or '*Na tɔri kɔm kaba*, - The story is at an end.' Someone in the audience may interrupt at the very end of the story with yet a final exclamation, such as '*Bato! Mi bɛn dapɛ! - Bato!* I was there!' and go on to tell how he himself shook hands with the prince and the princess whose trials the story had brought to a happy conclusion; or how he sat at their wedding feast; or how otherwise he participated in the action of the story's end. Or it may be that it is the teller of the tale who himself recounts how, as in story 99, it was the shock of the concluding action that brought him to the very place where he is recounting the story.[1] Thus the effect sought is the illusion of actual participation in the action, not only by the teller but by the entire audience. The swaying of the body to the rhythms of the songs, the accompaniment of hand-clapping, and the few dance-steps often introduced by the leader of a song or by the narrator, and repeated by others standing on the fringe of the listening group, all make for the heightening of this illusion, and it is this enjoyment of rhythmic participation that makes stylistic repetition in the tales a pattern that is as welcome as the similarly patterned repetition in songs and drum rhythms.

The formulae with which the tales are opened and closed call for some further mention, principally because in them we find one of the deep-seated African characteristics of folk-tales that has persisted in all portions of the New World. It is not easy to find illustrations of such devices in the published collections of African tales, mainly because these most frequently consist of abstracts, - though the abstracts may be extended ones, - rather than full renditions of the tales themselves. But where tales are given in close translation, or where attempts have been made to render them as they are told, examples do appear. The best instance is found in Rattray's collections. In his Ashanti stories[2] almost every tale is prefaced by the statement 'We do not really mean, we do not really mean (that what we are going to say is true)', while each ends with the formula 'This, my story, which I have related, if it be sweet, (or) if it be not sweet, take some elsewhere, and let some come back to me.' In Rattray's collection of Hausa tales,[3] one often finds the opening 'A story, a story. Let it go, let it come.' In Nigeria, one of the

1 For other instances see Nos. 18, 23, 79, 96, 104, 119, 127, 128.
2 (III), *passim*.
3 (IV), *passim*.

tales collected by us began, in a fashion we have heard during evenings of story-telling '*Alo, alo. Itomi - Alo, alo*. My story'; another began with the proverb that also ended it and was the point of the tale, while a third began with the statement

'We live in de worl',
We live in de worl',
But no, we live in de devil-people country.'[1]

In Dahomey, one informant, in writing for us a list of riddles, prefaced it with the heading, '*Les formules que on se prononce d'abord avant le raconter les contes*.'

Examples abound of New World correspondences to this trait of Suriname folk-lore style. Thus, in the Bahama Islands, Parsons gives numerous rhymes which open the stories she reports, -

'Once upon a time, a very good time,
Monkey chew tobacco and spit white lime'[2]

is the one that appears most often. Her Sea Island tales carry no such openings, but Johnson[3] maintains that this opening which we have quoted is common on Ladies Island, and quotes two others. Closing formulae are also very common in New World collections, and they are of close resemblance to the type of closing we have quoted from Suriname. Thus, in Louisiana, Fortier reports the ending of one story as consisting of the sentence

'As I was there when all that happened, I ran away to relate it to you'[4]

and another with

'The young girl said "Yes" and there was such a wedding that they sent me on to relate the story everywhere, everywhere.'[5]

From the Sea Islands, to cite only one instance from Parson's tales we find

'Of course I couldn't stay any longer to see any more done'[6]

while as a variant to this ending, she gives

'I was watching them very close, and I turn aroun', -
I step on a tin and the tin bend
And there my story end.'

1 Herskovits, M. & F., (II), p. 460.
2 (III), p. 1 and often elsewhere in this volume.
3 G. Johnson, p. 156.
4 (I) story XV, p. 53.
5 (I), story XVI, p. 61.
6 (II), p. 51.

In the Bahamas, numerous examples of both kinds of ending dot Parsons' collection, two such, taken at random being the narrative ending

> 'Boukee he started back, an' de reins broke an' hit me an' cause me to tell dis storee,'[1]

and the formulary

> 'E bo ben,
> My story en'.'[2]

In Jamaica, no set beginning is reported, but Beckwith ends many of her tales with '*Jack man dora!*',[3] apparently a favorite closing formula. In Santo Domingo, where, according to Andrade, 'the majority of the tales seem to be of European origin', he finds that 'it was customary at one time to begin a story with certain formulistic expressions...' and states that 'endings may be extemporised, but the one most commonly resorted to is... *y a mí me dieron una patá y me dejaron aquí sentao*.'[4] It is not claimed, of course, that these endings to Negro tales are not European in provenience, for in some of the tales of such a collection as that of Grimm Brothers, endings reminiscent of these are present. They may perhaps be best regarded as representing a coalescing of African and European cultural elements.

7. Titling

The titles which head the individual stories are not those given by the informants; where informants gave us titles, they will be found at the head of the *taki-taki* text. The usual heading was of the type of 'Anansi and Tiger', although in a few instances, such as that of No. 122, set titles by which the tale is known in Suriname were given. In all instances of stories with well-known themes, we have used the titles that are coming to have currency in the literature to facilitate comparisons. In instances where current catch-phrase titles were replaced by others, as in stories 1-4 'Outwitting Creditors', the choice was dictated by the fact that the point of the stories both in Suriname and West Africa seemed best to fit the title given here. In stories 66 and 67, the title of 'Enfant Terrible', is another instance of African affiliations dictating our designation.[5] The motif of the young boy, born with the full power of speech and the ability to perform feats of valor and cunning, figures very

1 (III), pp. 30-31.
2 (III), pp. 108 and 109.
3 (II), *passim*.
4 P. 26. See also the end of tale No. 43 for a different narrative closing.
5 As a matter of fact, we took this title from that of an entire cycle in Tauxier (I).

widely in one form or another in West African folk-lore, - indeed, this character is not only a folkloristic one, but also figures in the mythology of West African peoples, as, for example, the *tɔxɔsu* of Dahomey. In most West African collections, it will be found that these 'precocious-child' tales form a cycle of appreciable bulk, and their hero shares with the hunter and the twin the ability to perform feats which only the strength given by magic makes possible. But of these three, the 'precocious child' is the strongest, the most feared, and the most told of in story. Stories for which current titles were not available were given titles that would supply a clue to the material contained in the tale; where it seemed that two or more general motifs were contained in one story, a compound title containing a description of each of the principal elements of the tale was employed.[1]

8. Arrangement of Bibliographic Notes

A word must be said regarding the bibliography of collections of folk-lore read for the purpose of finding correspondences for the Suriname stories. It will be noted that it is chiefly the West African literature that was gone through, and to which correspondences in plot and incident will be found. This selection was made advisedly, for in the light of our historical knowledge of the West African derivation of the Suriname Negroes, and the manner in which comparative study of African customs and languages validated the historical data[2], it seemed best to concentrate upon the literature of that area, rather than to achieve a thin sampling of literature from all of Africa. It was also desired, however, to indicate the correspondences with New World Negro folk-tales, and several of the more extensive collections of New World Negro lore have therefore been employed to this end. Since all but one of these collections have especially full bibliographies on the New World material, no attempt other than this was made to cover the field in this area. For European correspondences, the work of Bolte and Polívka has happily lightened the labors of the comparative folk-lorist, and, with Dähnhardt's *Natursagen*, has been relied upon to indicate where the correspondences between this collection of tales and those of Europe are to be found. No correspondences, either African, European, or New World Negro, were attempted for the proverbs or riddles, since the series in this volume were not felt to be sufficiently full to provide an adequate sample of the resources of the Suriname Negroes in these forms, and to proceed to investigate correspondences on the basis of inadequate samples would

1 We are indebted to Dr. Parsons for her suggestions on titling, as we are for the titles she has used in her own works.

2 Cf. Herskovits (III).

lead to biased results. In the comparative notes appended to each tale, the references are arranged in the following order: first come the West African correspondences from the north and west (Senegal and the Sudan) along the coast to the Congo; these are followed by New World references; and finally, by the Indo-European.[1]

1 Where correspondences with Van Cappelle's and the Penard brothers' collections have been found, these are also noted. Two of the Penards' four tales are found in our collection, and nineteen of Van Cappelle's thirty-nine. In addition, two of Van Cappelle's tales (given as correspondences, though not close, to two of ours) are identical with two we collected in West Africa.

B. Tales from Paramaribo

1.

Anąnsi go na Hɔntimą', a taki[2], 'Hɔntimąn, lɛni mi fe̯iftin xulder. Na ɩni dri mų̵n, mi sɑ gi yu na mɔni baka.' Hɔntimąn taki, 'A bǫ'.' Anąnsi taki ɛ̨ŋ tąŋgi. 'A tąn fa wi taki.' N'ya a gowe. A kɔmopo na Hɔntimąn, a go na Tigri. A taki Tigri, 'Tigri, wąn pina dɛ nąŋga mi. Lɛni mi wąn hɔndro bankōnotō.' Tigri taki, 'O tɛm yu sɑ gi mi hɛm baka?' Anąnsi taki so srɛfi, 'Dri mų̵n mi sɑ gi 'ɛm baka.' N'ya a taki hɛm adio̯si, a gowe. A go noya a Kakaforu. 'Lɛni mi wąn hɔndro bankōnotō. Mi habi na mɔni tumusi fanodō. Mi we̯ifi nąŋga mi p'kin 'ɛ sɩki ɔgri, ɔgri.' Ɛn Kakaforu gi na mɔni. Kaka ɑksi, 'O tɛm mi dɛ go kɩs' na mɔni baka?' Anąnsi piki Kakaforu, a taki, 'Dri mų̵n yu sɑ kɩs' na mɔni baka.' A taki ad̯iosi, a gowe. A go na Kakalaka, taki, 'Odi. Mi kɔm bɛg' yu lɛn' mi wąn hɔndro bankōnotō. Mi sɑ gi hɛm baka na ɩni dri mų'.' A taki Kakalaka ad̯iosi, a gowe.

Di na tɛm kǫ̨m klosiba̯i, a go na Kakalaka, a ta̯igi, 'Kǫ' so wąn de̯i na a̯iti yuru, dą' mi sɑ pa̯i yu.' A kǫ̨mopo na Kakalaka, a go na Kakaforu. A ta̯igi, 'Kakaforu, pikinso pasa a̯iti yuru yu mu' kǫ' na mi, kɔm teki na mɔni di mi mu' pa̯i yu.' A go na Tigri, a taki, 'Mati Tigri, na tɛm dɔro fō mi gi yu yu mɔni baka. Wɛ, mi kǫ' bɛgi yu fō kɔm teki hɛm na so wąn de̯i.' A gi Tigri na srefi de̯i di a pɔti gi Kakalaka nąŋga Kakaforu, ma a gi Tigri pikinso mɔro lati. Tigri taki, 'A bǭ'. Wi sɑ miti baka.' Nowa a go na Hɔntimąn, a taki Hɔntimąn, 'Odi, mo̯i Hɔntimąn. Mi kǫ̨m pik' yu na so wąn de̯i yu kɔm teki na mɔni fō yu, kɔm teki hɛm.' A taki pikinso mɔro lati a bɛn ta̯igi Tigri.

Na de̯i kɔm. Kakalaka kɔm. Anąnsi taki, 'Mo̯i, yu kǫ' dyǫnso. Sidǫn pikinso.' Ɛn a hɔri hɛm nąŋga wąn pikin tɔri. Na ɩni na tɔri, Anąnsi luku, a si Kakaforu dɛ kɔm. Anąnsi naki hanu, a taki, 'Kakaforu de kɔm!' Kakalaka taki, 'Mi dɛdɛ! Fa mi dɛ go du?' Anąnsi taki, 'Go na baka mi dɔro.' Kakaforu taki, 'Masra Anąnsi, odi. Mi kǫ' fa wi bɛn taki.' Anąnsi piki a Kakaforu, a taki, 'A bǫ', mi klari gi yu, ma sidǫn pikinso.' Ɛn den taki wąn tɔri te... Kakafo-

2 Wilkie (I), p. 22, states that *a* from *ame* forms the impersonal pronoun; in Paramaribo it also takes the usage of the 3rd personal singular pronoun (he, she, it).

ru opo ɛŋ a̱i, a si Tigri dɛ kɔm. A naki hanu, a taki, ‘Tigri kɔm! Mi dɛdɛ! Anąnsi, kibri mi!’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Go na baka na dɔro.’ Kakaforu go na baka na dɔro, a si Kakalaka, a swari hɛm. Dąn ɛŋ kibri. Tigri kɔm na ɩni. ‘So, Anąnsi, mi kɔm tek' mi mɔni fa wi bɛn taki.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Wakti pikinso.’ Tigri taki, ‘No, mi no habi tɛm. Pa̱i mi wantę'.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘No mek' trɔbi. Go na baka dɔro, mi kɩbri wąn sani gi yu.’ Tigri go na baka dɔro, a feni Kakaforu, a nyam ɛŋ wąntɛm. Nowa a kɔm baka na Anąnsi, a taki, ‘Gi mi na mɔni.’ Fa a dɛ ɑksi na mɔni, den luku, den si Hɔntimąn. Anąnsi taki, ‘Mi mama! Hɔntimąn dɛ kɔm!’ Tigri taki, ‘Mi dɛdɛ! Anąnsi, kibri mi!’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Luku na bom dia. Go na tapu.’ Tigri feti go na tapu. Na bom pɛ Anąnsi meki Tigri go na tapu, bifɔ' Tigri kɔm, Anąnsi bɛn pɔti wąn tɔbo watra na ɔndro na bom.

Hɔntimąn kǫ'. ‘So, Masra Anąnsi, na de̱i kɩsi kaba. Le̱iki fa wi bɛn ta̱igi, mi kɔm fō na mɔni.’ ‘Hɔntimąn, yu kąn kɔm na ɩni mi hoso, ma yu futu dɔti. Yu mu' wasi yu futu 'fɔsi. Luku, wąn tɔbo watra na ɔndro na bom.’ Hɔntimąn taki, ‘Ya.’ Fa a dɛ go, a saka fō wasi ɛŋ futu, a luku na ɩni na watra, a si Tigri. A taki, ‘Tą'! Są' mi dɛ si?’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Tigri dia.’ Wantɛ na Hɔntimąn sütu Tigri. Anąnsi taki, ‘O mąn, sąn yu du? Yu kiri Konim tigri! Na Konim bɛn pɔti Tigri diaso, fō mi lɛre hɛm taki. Nowa yu kiri hɛm. Fa mi mu' du? Mi mu' go ta̱igi Konim!’ Hɔntimąn frede. ‘No, no, Anąnsi, no meki ɔpruru, mi bɛgi yu. Mi sɑ pa̱i yu tu hɔndro bankōnotō. Na pa̱imɛ̨ŋ fō mi, yu kąn hɔri, ma grą' tąŋgi, no meki Konim yɛre. Nowąn suma mu' sabi-taki na mi kiri Tigri. Ɛf' Konim sabi, a dɛ go kiri mi baka.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Ya, a tą' so. Ma yu mu' gowe wąntɛm. Dąn mi sɑ dɩki hɔro ɛn bɛri Tigri. Dąn mi sɑ go ta̱igi Konim, taki, na sɩki, Tigri sɩki, a dɛdɛ. Mi bɛri hɛm.’

So le̱iki Hɔntimąn gowe, Anąnsi tek' ɛŋ nefi, a fari na buba fō Tigri. A dre̱i ɛŋ mo̱i fō a go sɛri.

1. Outwitting Creditors: Chain of Victims.[1]

Anansi went to Hunter, and he said, ‘Hunter, lend me fifty guilders. In three months I will give you back the money.’ Hunter said, ‘All right.’ Anansi thanked him. ‘It stands as we said.’ Now he went away. He left Hunter, and went to Tiger. He said to Tiger, ‘Tiger, I am having a hard time. Lend me a hundred *bankonoto*.’[3] Tiger said, ‘When will you give it back to me?’ Anansi told the same (thing), ‘In three months I will give it back.’ Now he said good-bye to him, and he went away. He went now to Cock. ‘Lend me a hundred *bankonoto*. I need the money very much. My wife and children are terribly, terribly sick.’ And Cock gave the money. Cock asked, ‘When am I going to get the money back?’ Anansi answered Cock, he said, ‘In three months you will get the money back.’ He said good-bye, and he went away. He went to Cockroach, and said, ‘Howdo. I came to beg you to lend me a hundred *bankonoto*. I will give it back in three months.’ He said good-bye to Cockroach, and he went away.

When the time approached (to repay the debts), he went to Cockroach, and he said, ‘Come on such a day at eight o'clock, and I will pay you.’ He left Cockroach, and he went to Cock. He said, ‘Cock, a little after eight o'clock you must come to me to take the money which I must pay you.’ He went to Tiger, and he said, ‘Friend Tiger, the time has come for me to give you your money back. Well, I come to beg you to come and take it on such a day.’ He gave [told] Tiger the same day which he had set for Cockroach and Cock, but he gave Tiger a little later (time). Tiger said, ‘All right. We shall meet again.’ Now he went to Hunter, and said to Hunter, ‘Howdo, fine Hunter. I came to tell you to come on such a day to take your money.’ He said a little later (time) than he had told Tiger.

The day came. Cockroach came. Anansi said, ‘Fine, that you come just now. Sit down a little.’ And he held him with a little story [gossip]. In the midst of the story, Anansi looked, and he saw Cock coming. Anansi clapped his hands, and he said, ‘Cock is coming!’ Cockroach said, ‘I am a dead one! What shall I do?’ Anansi said, ‘Go behind my door.’ Cock said, ‘Master Anansi, howdo. I come as we had agreed.’ Anansi answered Cock, he said,

1 Told by 7. Compare, for Sierra Leone, Koelle 159-161, No. 3 (Fables); Togo (Ewe), Speiss 118-120, No. 5; Hausa, Rattray (IV), ii. 58-72. No. 26, Tremearne (I) 210-212, No. 7, (III) 372-4, No. 78; Northeastern Nigeria (Bura), Helser 115-120, No. 17; S. Nigeria (Calabar), Dayrell (I) 6-10, No. 2, Cobham 307-8; Gabun, Nassau (I) 245-7, Fang No. 11; Congo (Bakongo), Struyf 744-5, No. 2; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 55-56, No. 45; Brasil, Eells 115-119, No. 11. Another Suriname version of this tale is given by Van Cappelle 307-313, No. 9.

3 A *bankonoto* is half a guilder.

‘All right, I will settle with you, but sit down a little.’ And they gossiped till... Cock opened his eyes, and he saw Tiger coming. He clapped his hands, and he said, ‘Tiger is coming! I am a dead one! Anansi, hide me!’ Anansi said, ‘Go behind the door.’ Cock went behind the door, and he saw Cockroach, and he swallowed him. Then he hid. Tiger came inside. ‘So, Anansi, I come to take my money as we had agreed.’ Anansi said, ‘Wait a little.’ Tiger said, ‘No, I have no time. Pay me at once.’ Anansi said, ‘Don't make trouble. Go behind the door, I hid something for you.’ Tiger went behind the door, and he found Cock, and he ate him at once. Now he came back to Anansi, and he said, ‘Give me the money.’ As he was asking for the money, they looked, and they saw Hunter. Anansi said, ‘Mother! Hunter is coming!’ Tiger said, ‘I am a dead one! Anansi, hide me!’ Anansi said, ‘See that tree there? Go on top.’ Tiger fought[1] to the top. Before Tiger came Anansi had put a tub of water under the tree where Anansi had Tiger go.

Hunter came. ‘So, Master Anansi, the day has come. Just as we had agreed, I come for the money.’ ‘Hunter, you can come in my house, but your feet are dirty. You must wash your feet first. Look, there is a tub of water under the tree.’ Hunter said, ‘Yes.’ As he went, and he stooped down to wash his feet, he looked at the water, (and) he saw Tiger. He said, ‘*Tan!* What do I see?’ Anansi said, ‘Tiger is there.’ At once Hunter shot Tiger. Anansi said, ‘Oh man, what did you do? You killed the King's tiger! The King placed Tiger here for me teach him to talk. Now you killed him. What must (shall) I do? I must go and tell the King!’ Hunter was afraid, ‘No, no, Anansi, don't make an uproar, I beg you. I will pay you two hundred *bankonoto*. The payment due me, you can keep, but please don't let the King hear. No one must know that I killed Tiger. If the King knows, he will kill me.’ Anansi said, ‘Yes, let it be so. But, you must go away at once. Then I will dig a hole and bury Tiger. Then I will go and tell the King that Tiger was sick,[2] and he died. I buried him.’

So as Hunter went away, Anansi took his knife and skinned Tiger. He dried it [the skin] well in order to sell it.

2. Anąnsi wąn b□gi pina tɛm.

Anąnsi prakseri fo' kɔ' nąŋga mɔni. A bɔri srop. Dą' a taį̂g' Sa Akuba tak', ‘Wɛ, mi'ɛ go suku mɔni.’ A kɔmopo, a gowɛ. A miti Kakaforu, taį̂gi Kakafo' taki, ‘Mati, mi 'ɛ go tro, ma Konim taki mi mu habi wąn braka pak'.’ Taki, ‘Lɛn' mi feį̂ftin xoldɛ.

1 Idiom for ‘hurried’.
2 The idiom ‘that sickness sickened Tiger’, as used here, has the connotation of emphasis of a normal death, one not caused by sorcery, etc.

Tɛ you kǫ' na tro-woso, yu sɑ kɪsi dobrō.' A tek' 'a fe̯iftin xoldɛ, a gowɛ.

A miti Krab-dagu no'. A tagi 'ɛm ta̯igi, 'Mati, mi ɛ go tro, ma Konu tak', suma lɛn' mi twɛnti xoldu, a sɑ kɪsi dɔbru. Ma yu mu kǫ' di-dɛ-wroko na tro-woso.' A waka baka, a miti Tigri nō, a taki, 'Mi tata, mi ɛ go tro, ma Konim taki, suma lɛn' mi dertį xoldɛ a sɑ kɪsi ɛ̨ŋ dɔbro. Di-dɛ-wroko yu mu kǫ na tro-woso.' A tɛk' 'a mɔni, a gowɛ.

A mit' Hɔntiman no, a taki, 'Hɔntimą', mi ɛ go tro, ma Konim taki, suma lɛn' mi fe̯iftɪg xoldɛ, a sɑ kɪsi dɔbro. Ma yu mu kǫ' di-dɛ-wroko na tro-woso, ę' tɛ yu kǫ', yu mu tyari yu gǫ' kɔm.'

Anąnsi go na 'oso, a sidon mo̯i. Ɛ̨ŋ fro, Sa Akuba ta̯iki, 'Mat' Anąnsi, Kakaforu ɛ kǫ'.' Di a kǫ', dą' a gi ɛ̨ŋ wą pikinso srɔp fō a drɻŋgi. Fa-i-si Kakaforu ɛ drɻŋ na srɔp, no mo a taki, 'Mat' Anąnsi, Krab-dagu ɛ kǫ'!' Kakaforu ta̯igi, 'Mat' Anansi, kɪbri mi. Mi gadu, mat' Anąnsi!' A mek' a go na ɔndro bɛdi.

Krab-dagu kǫ'. Fa-i-si Krab-dagu kǫ', a gi' ɛ̨ŋ pikinso fu 'a srop. A tak', ''A srop switi, yɛrɛ.' Anąnsi taki baka, 'Kakaforu kǫ' diaso drɻŋgi so te... Ma ɛdi mi mu pa̯i yu...' Krab-dagu taki, 'Mɛk' 'a mɔni tą, taki mi pɛ Kakaforu!' Taki, 'Kaka dɛ na ɔndro bɛdi.' Fa-i-si Krab-dagu go fɛti fō nyam Kakaforu, Sa Akuba taki, 'Mat' Anąnsi, Tigri ɛ kɔm!' Krab-dagu taki, 'Mi gadu, kɪbri mi! Fa mi go do?' Dą' dem tą tiri na ɔndro 'a bɛdi.

Dąn Tigri kǫ'. Sa Akuba gi' Tigri na srop. Di Tigri drɻŋgi, a tak', 'Hm! so wą switi srɔp yu ɛ drɻŋgi?' A tak', 'Mi tata, a di mi mu pa̯i yu wą pikin mɔni nō, no so, mi bɛn sɑ taig' yu Kakaforu na Krab-dagu drɻŋgi so tɛ...' Tigri tak', 'Mɛk' 'a mɔni tą', ta̯ig' mi, pɛ den dɛ.' Tak', 'Den dɛ na ɔndro bɛdi.' Fa-i-si Tigri ɛ fɛti fō nyam dɛm, Sa Akuba taki, 'Mi Gadu! Hɔntimąn ɛ kǫ'!' Tigri taki, 'Mi mama, kibri mi, kibri mi!' Wɛ, so a mɛki Tigri go 'a tapu na wan bom. Dąn a pɔt' wą bɛki nąŋga wat'a na ɔndro na bom, dąn na sxadu fō Tigri ɛ kɔm lɛt' na bɛki watra di dɛ na ɔndro na bom.

Wɛ, dąn di Hɔntimą' kǫ', dąn a pɔti na hɔntimą' sidǫn leti na se̯i 'a bɛki. Dan den taki tɔri. No mo Hɔntimą' luku ɪni na watra na ɪn' na bɛki, dąn a si Tigri. Fa-i-si Tigri, no mo a teki ɛ̨ŋ gǫn a süti Tigri. Di Tigri dɛdɛ, no mo Anąnsi ta̯igi 'ɛ̨ŋ taki, 'Yu mu' sab' fa yu du nąŋga mi. Na Konu bɛn gi mi na Tigri fō mi kweki gi' ɛ̨ŋ. Mi go ta̯ig' Konu, yu mu' pa̯i fō na Tigri di yu kiri 'ɛ̨ŋ.' Hɔntiman taki, 'Wɛ, dan 'a mɔni di yu mu pa̯i mi, hɔri 'ɛ̨ŋ.' Anąnsi taki, 'Yu mu pa̯i hɔndro xoldu fō na Tigri.'

Na hɔntimąn paį̯ na mɔni, so Anąnsi kɪs' ala da mɔni di a bɛn leni na den tra wąn fō soso. So Anąnsi kɔni.

Tibo, tibąŋ,
San a naki mąn trowɛ,
Tibo, tibąŋ,
San a naki mąn trowɛ,
Mi go buku baląnsɛ,
Tį̯ŋgɪ lɪŋgɪ lį̯ŋ
Buku baląnsɛ
Tɪŋgɪ lį̯ŋgɪ lɪŋ.

2. Outwitting Creditors: Chain of Victims.[3]

Anansi studied to come into money. He boiled syrup. Then he said to Sa Akuba, said, ‘Well, I am going to look for money.’ He came out [of the house] and went away. He met Cock, and said to Cock, he said, ‘Friend, I am going to get married, but the King

3 Told by 1. Comparative references as for the preceding tale.

says I must have a black coat.' Said, 'Lend me fifteen guilders. When you come to the wedding you will get double.' He took the fifteen guilders, and he went away.

Now he met Wild-Dog.[1] He said to him, he said, 'Friend, I am going to get married, but the King says whoever lends me twenty guilders will get double. But you must come to the wedding Tuesday.' He went farther on, and now he met Tiger, and he said, 'Father, I am going to be married, but the King says whoever lends me thirty guilders will get double. Tuesday you must come to the wedding.' He took the money, and he went away.

He met Hunter now, and he said, 'Hunter, I am going to get married, but the King says, whoever lends me fifty guilders, will get double. But you must come Tuesday to the wedding, and when you come you must bring your gun.'

Anansi went home, and he sat down nicely. His wife, Sa Akuba, said, 'Friend Anansi, Cock is coming.' When he came, he gave him a little of the syrup to drink. Just as Cock was drinking the syrup she [Sa Akuba] said, 'Friend Anansi, Wild-Dog is coming.' Cock said, 'Friend Anansi, hide me. My God, friend Anansi!' He made him go under the bed.

Wild-Dog came. Just as Wild-Dog came he gave him a little of the syrup. He said, 'The syrup is sweet, hear?' Anansi said again, 'Cock came here and he drank till... but since I must pay you...' Wild-Dog said, 'Let the money wait. Tell me where Cock is!' He said, 'Cock is under the bed.' Just as Wild-Dog was hurrying to eat Cock, Sa Akuba said, 'Friend Anansi, Tiger is coming.' Wild-Dog said, 'My God, hide me! What am I going to do?' Then they remained quietly under the bed.

Then Tiger came. Sa Akuba gave Tiger the syrup. As Tiger was drinking, he said, 'Hm! so sweet a syrup you drink?' He said, 'Father, I must pay you a little money now, or I would tell you how Cock and Wild-Dog drank so till...' Tiger said, 'Let the money wait. Tell me where they are.' Said, 'They are under the bed.' Just as Tiger was hurrying to eat them, Sa Akuba said, 'My God! Hunter is coming!' Tiger said, 'Mother, hide me, hide me!' Well, so he had Tiger go on top of a tree. Then he put a basin of water under the tree, and then the Tiger's shadow came right into the basin of water that was under the tree.

Well, then when Hunter came, then he had Hunter sit down right beside the basin. Then they gossiped. No sooner did Hunter look at the water in the basin than he saw Tiger. Just as he saw Tiger, he took up his gun and shot Tiger. Once Tiger was dead, Anansi said to him, he said, 'You must know what you did to me. The King gave me this Tiger to raise for him. I am going to tell the King, you must pay for the Tiger since you killed him.' The Hunter said, 'Well, then, you can keep the money which you must

1 This animal is related to the North American raccoon; Encyc., p. 590.

pay me.' Anansi said, 'You must pay one hundred guilders for the Tiger.'
The hunter paid him the money, and so Anansi got all the money which he had borrowed from the others for nothing. So Anansi was clever.

Tibo, tibąŋ,
San a naki mąn trowe.
Tibo, tibąŋ,
San a naki man trowe,
Mi go buku baląnsɛ,
Tɻŋgi ɻŋgi ɻŋ.
Buku baląnsɛ,
Tɻŋgi ɻŋgi ɻŋ.[1]

3. Tyotyoforu nąŋga Anąnsi

Nō, Tyotyoforu[3] go lɛni mɔni na Anąnsi, taki, te ɛŋ kɔm bɪgi ɛŋ sɑ paį. No, Anąnsi dɛ kɔm aksi Tyotyoforu na mɔni ala deį. Tyotyoforu taig' ɛŋ taki, 'Mi no bɪgi yɛte.' So mɛni yar' ląŋga Tyotyoforu no mąŋ kɔm mɔro bɪg'. No, wąn deį wą' suma kɔn taįigi Anąnsi, taki, 'Tyotyoforu n'e go bɪgi mɔro. Na so no mo a dɛ bɪgi.'
Wɛ, Tigri no yɛre so. Dą' ą kari Anąnsi, a taki, 'Mi sɑ paį 'a mɔni gi Tyotyoforu.' Ma nō, Tigri paį mɔro fur' mɔni lek' są' Tyotyoforu bɛn habi paį. Dąn nō, tɛ Tigri kɔm aksi Anąnsi na tra mɔni, Anąnsi 'ɛ kibri. Dą' wąn deį Tigri kɔm, dąn a kɔm miti Anąnsi na hoso. Dąn Anąnsi taįigi Tigri taki ɛŋ dɛ sɛni wąn fō ɛŋ pikin fō go tek' mɔni gi hɛm nąŋga wąn godo.

Ma nō, di na fɔs' wąn 'ɛ go, dą' Anąnsi taįig hɛm taki, te a go, dą' a mu go na ɪni na godo, bika' no wą' suma bɛn mu paį Anąnsi. Di na fɔs' wąn go, a n'e kɔm. No mo Anąnsi sɛn' na trawąn, tak' mek a go luku pɛ na trawąn tą'. Ma tɛ a go, mek' a go 'a godo. So a sɛni ala den pikin. Dąn den ala go n' ɪni na godo.

Ma di Tigri si den n'e kɔm, no mo Tigri srɛfi kɔmopo go na pɛ Anąnsi tak' ɛŋ dɛ sɛn' go teki na mɔni. Di Tigri go, a no si nowąn suma, ma a si wąn godo soso. No mo a tek' 'a godo, tak', 'Mi 'ɛ tyari ɛŋ gowe.' Dą' a tek' 'a godo.

Dą' Tigri mama bɛn dɛ libi na wąn presi di ɛ' kari Sotwatraseį. Dą' a gowe nąŋga godo. No mo Anąnsi bɪgin bari na ɪni na godo,

1 Song No. 135.
3 *Tyotyoforu* is given as *Troglodytis musculus* in Encyc., p. 687.

‘Mi tata Tigri, mi tata Tigri-o! Yu mama dɛdɛ na Sotwatraseị̂.’ No mo Tigri harki. A yɛre 'a sani bari baka. Dąn a kɔm bribi. A dɛnk' taki na wąn suma bar' gi hɛm taki ɛŋ mama dɛdɛ. Dą' a frịŋ 'a godo, a bɪgin lǫ' fō go luku ɛŋ mama. Ma di a go, a si ɛŋ mama no dɛde.

Dąn ala den Anąnsi kɔmopo fō na godo. Tigri no kɪs' 'a mɔni te lɛk' tide.

3. Outwitting Creditors: Escape Inside Gourd: The Talking Gourd.[2]

Now, the Tyotyo-bird went to borrow money from Anansi, saying, when he grew up he would pay. Now every day Anansi came to ask Tyotyo-bird for the money. Tyotyo-bird said, he said, ‘I am not big yet.’ So many years passed, but the Tyotyo-bird could not grow bigger. Now one day a man came to tell Anansi, say, ‘Tyotyo-bird is not going to grow bigger. He is only so big.’

Well, Tiger did not hear this. Then he called Anansi, and he said, ‘I will pay the money for Tyotyo-bird.’ But now Tiger paid more money than Tyotyo-bird had to pay. Then now, when Tiger came to ask Anansi for the other money, Anansi hid. Then one day Tiger came, and he found Anansi at home. Then Anansi said to Tiger, said, he would send one of his children to fetch the money for him in a gourd.

But now, when the first one was going, then Anansi said to him, said, when he went, then he must go into the gourd, because no one owed Anansi [money]. When the first one went he did not come [back]. At once Anansi sent another one, saying, let him go look where the other went. But when he went, [Anansi told him] let him go into the gourd. So he sent all his children. Then they all went into the gourd.

But when Tiger saw that they did not come [back], at once Tiger himself went where Anansi said he was sending to take the money. When Tiger went he saw nobody, but he saw only the gourd. At once he took the gourd, and he said, ‘I will take it away.’ Then he took the gourd.

Then Tiger's mother was living at a place which was called Saltwaterside. Then he went away with the gourd. At once the

2 Told by 1. Compare for Togo (Ho), Spieth 582-4, No. 6; Damomey, Herskovits, M. & F. (IV), MS No. 24; Ashanti, Herskovits, M. & F. (III), MS No. A4.

spiders began to call from inside the gourd, ‘Father Tiger! Father Tiger-o! Your mother is dead at Saltwaterside.’ Instantly Tiger listened. He heard the thing call again. Then he came to believe. He thought that someone was calling to tell him his mother was dead. Then he flung the gourd [from him], and he began to run to go and see his mother. But when he went, he saw his mother was not dead.

Then all the spiders came out of the gourd. Tiger has not collected his money till today.

4.

Ba Tigri na Ba Kɔnkɔni bɛn dɛ. Dą' Ba Todotodo bɛn sidǫ' na pasi. Dą' Ba Tigri bɛn pasa. Dą' Ba Todotodo hakisi ɛŋ taa̰igi ɛf' a no wąn' lɛni ɛŋ wą' pikin mɔni? A taa̰igi hɛm taki, a sɑ paa̰i ɛŋ te a kɪsi bɪgi. Tigri taa̰igi ɛŋ taki, ‘aa̰i.’ Dą' Ba Kɔnkoni taa̰igi Tigri nowa, taki, Ba Todotodo a n'e go paa̰i ɛŋ, bikasi Ba Todotodo no sɑ mąŋ wroko mɔni. A no habi fō bɪgi mɔro. 'A so a pikin, 'a so a sɑ tą. Na so hɛm mama na hɛm papa. Dą di 'a Ba Tigri miti Ba Todotodo, a tya' ɛŋ gowe, bikasi na hɛm nɛŋgɛre. A kɔm teki hɛm bikasi a nɛŋgɛre fō paa̰imąŋ.

4. Outwitting Creditors: How Slavery Began.[1]

There were Ba[2] Tiger and Ba Rabbit. Then Ba Toad was sitting on the road. Then Ba Tiger was passing. Then Ba Toad asked him, said, if he wouldn't loan him a little money? He said to him, said, he would pay him [back] when he grew up. Tiger said to him, said, ‘Yes.’ Then Ba Babbit said to Tiger now, said, Ba Toad isn't going to pay him, because Ba Toad won't be able to earn money. He won't grow up any more. Little as he is, so he will remain. His mother and his father are like that. Then when Ba Tiger met Ba Toad, he took him away [with him], because he was his slave. He took him because he was a slave for the debt.

5. Anąnsi nąŋga Bɔfru.

Anąnsi n' 'abi mɔni. A prakser' fa i sɑ du fō kǫ' na moni. Bɔfru bɛn dɛ d'rɛtɔro fō bąŋk. Anąnsi taa̰iki, ‘Mi-ɛ-go lɛn' wą' mɔni na Bɔfru.’ Di a gō, a aksi Bɔfrō ɛf' Bɔfru no ką' lɛni ɛŋ wą' mɔni. Bɔfru taki, ‘A bǭ', hɔmɛni yu wani?’ A taki ɛŋ wan' hɔndro xōldɛ. Ma Anąnsi nō taig' Bɔfro taki, ‘Tɛ m'ɛ kǫ' tɛk' na mɔni, mi-ɛ-go tyari wą' p'kin pagara kǫ' gi yu. Ma mi-ɛ-go lak ɛŋ. Dą' yu mu ɔr ɛŋ tɛ mi kǫ' baka fō kǫ' paa̰i yu. Dą' mi sɑ tɛki ɛŋ.’ Anąnsi teki karu nąŋga aleẹisi nąŋga asisi, a pɔti n'ɪn' na pagara. D'a tyari g'a Bɔfro. A tek' 'a mɔni, a gi' Bɔfr' 'a pagara.

Ma nō, di a tyar' 'a moni go gi Bɔfru baka, den a taa̰ig' Bɔfru taki, ‘Yu mu gi mi na pagara baka.’ Ma nō, di Bɔfro tyar' a pagara kɔm, a taa̰ig' Bɔfrō taki, mɛk' Bɔfr' op' 'a pagara kant ɛŋ na tap' tafra fō teri ɛfu na san' di dɛ n' ɪn 'a pagara no mankyeri f'i. Bɔfro dɛ so dɔm, a tek' na pagara, a op' ɛŋ, a kant' a tap' tafra. Nō mō Anąnsi taki, ‘So, bɛgin fō teri, mi T'ta. Ma ɛf' a mankeri, mi n'e gi 'a mɔni baka, bika' na hɔndert xuldɛ yu bɛ̨' gi mi, na hɔndert mi mu gi yu baka. So ɛf' te yu teri den sani na ɪn' na pagara a mankeri, i n'e kɪs' 'a moni.’ Bɔfru bigɪn fō teri. A ter' na karu, nąŋga n'aleẹisi,

1 Told by 9. Compare, for Dahomey, Herskovits, M. & F. (IV), MS No. 32.
2 Ba Tiger, that is, Brother Tiger.

ma na asisi a no mąŋ f' ter' ɛŋ. Nō mō Anąnsi taa̱ig' ɛŋ taki, ‘Wɛ, baa̱iya, mi no ką' yɛpi yu. So ląŋga yu no ter' hōmɛni na asisi dɛ, mi no ką' gi' 'a moni baka.’

Bɔfru nō, no mąŋ kɔ' ter' asisi, ɛn no wą' suma bɛ' ką' ter' ɛŋ tu. o Anąnsi kɔmopo nąŋga na mɔni. Ɛ#x014B; no paa̱i Bɔfru.

5. Outwitting Creditors: Anansi Tricks Banker Buffalo.[3]

Anansi had no money. He studied what he should do to come into money. Buffalo was director of the bank. Anansi said, ‘I am going to borrow some money from Buffalo.’ When he went, he asked Buffalo if he could not lend him some money. Buffalo said, ‘All right, how much do you want?’ He said he wanted a hundred guilders. But Anansi now said to Buffalo, he said, ‘When I come to take the money, I am going to bring you a little Indian basket. But, I am going to lock it. Then you must hold it until I come to pay you. Then I will take it back.’ Anansi took corn and rice and ashes, and he put them in the basket. Then he brought it to Buffalo. He took the money and gave Buffalo the basket.

But now, when he brought the money to give back to Buffalo, then he said to Buffalo, he said, ‘You must give me back my basket.’ But now when Buffalo brought the basket, he said to Buffalo, he said, let Buffalo open the basket, and turn it over on top of the table to count if what was in the basket was not short. Buffalo was so stupid that he took the basket, and opened it, and turned it over on the table. At once Anansi said, ‘So, begin to count, Father. But, if it is short, I won't give the money back to you, because you gave me a hundred guilders, and I must give you

3 Told by 1. Compare, for Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 313-314, No. 54.

back a hundred. And so if when yon count, the things in the basket are short, you won't get the money.' Buffalo began to count. He counted the corn, and the rice, but the ashes he could not count. At once Anansi said to him, he said, 'Well, brother, I cannot help you. As long as you do not count how many ashes there are, I cannot give you back the money.'

Now Buffalo could not count ashes, and no one else can count them, either. So Anansi came away with the money. He did not pay Buffalo.

6. Anansi nąŋga Kɔnkɔni.

Anąnsi nąŋga Kɔnkɔni den bę' frieri wąn-tu medjɛ. Ma nō, dem medjɛ lɔbi Kɔnkɔni mɔro furu. Dąn Anąnsi 'atibrǫŋ. Dąn a go taị̂gi medjɛ taki, 'Soso Kɔnkɔni waka so, te neị̂ti a-i xrotu na ęŋ presi.' Dą' den medj' taki, 'Dɛm Kɔnkɔni fɪsti.' Anąnsi taki, ɛf den wani mek' dę ɔri wąn fɪshɪty tɛ neị̂ti, dąn dę' tą' sribi dɛ, dąn den medjɛ sɑ si.

Ma nō, fɔs' den go, dą' Anansi taị̂g' Kɔnkɔni taki, a no mu kari ęŋ 'Anąnsi' mɔro, a mu kari 'Mi Ka.' Dan 'a neị̂ti di den go didǫn, dąn Anąnsi opo, dą' ęŋ xrotu wąn moị̂ hipi xrotu na Kɔnkɔni presi. Dą' di Kɔnkɔni weị̂ki, dą' i bari, 'Mi Ka, Mi Ka.' Dąn Anąnsi taki, 'Ɛf' yu kaka, dą' yu go puru ęŋ.' Dąn Kɔnkɔni taki, 'A no mi.' Ma ala den metjɛ yeri wą' trǫ', so dem bribi Anąnsi no leị̂, wan Kɔnkɔni xrote ne ęŋ presi. So den 'atibrǫ' nąŋga Kɔnkɔni, ę' den libi Kɔnkɔni. Dɛn dę tek' Anąnsi.

So Anąnsi wroko Kɔnkɔni nąŋga kɔni.

6. Slandering a Rival: Anansi and Rabbit.[1]

Anansi and Rabbit were courting several girls. But now the girls loved Rabbit more. Then Anansi was angry. Then he went to tell the girls, say, 'Rabbits behave this way, at night they defecate in their places.' Then the girls said, 'Rabbits are nasty.' Anansi said, if they wished, let them prolong the visit (of Anansi and Rabbit) till night, then they would sleep there, and the girls would see.

But now, before they went, then Anansi said to Rabbit, he said, he must not call him 'Anansi' any more, he must call him 'My Excrement'. Then at night when they went to lie down, then Anansi rose, then he defecated generously in Rabbit's place. Then when Rabbit awoke, then he cried, 'My Excrement, My Excrement.' Then Anansi said, 'If it is your excrement, then you go and remove it.' Then Rabbit said, 'It is not mine.' But immediately all the girls heard, so they believed Anansi did not lie that a Rabbit defecated in his place. So they were angry[2] with Rabbit, and they left Rabbit. They took Anansi.

So Anansi tricked Rabbit with cunning.

7.

Den bɛn dɛ tu sisa. Dia bɛn dɛ freị̂ wąn fō den sisa. Ma nō, Dia lɔbi 'a wą' sisa, ɛn 'a sisa bɛn lɔbi Dia tu. Ma nō, Dia bɛn weri moị̂. A no bɛn weri leị̂k' wąn meti. A de proro. Ma nō Anąnsi bɛn dɛ. Anąnsi si na srefi sisa, en a lɔbi hɛm. Ɛn 'a sisa taki,

1 Told by 1. Compare for Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 286-7, Guro No. 27.
2 The idiom for anger is 'the heart burned', or 'the heart came to burn'.

‘No, no, Anąnsi. Mi man Dia na wą' tumusi mo̱i man. A wer' tumusi mo̱i krosi. Ɛf' a-i-kɔm so, a gi lɔbi.’

Ma nō, wąn neti, Dia nąŋga Anąnsi miti. Anąnsi taki, ‘Mat' Dia, na umą fō yu a mo̱i, ba.’ Ma Dia taki, ‘Wɛ, mi lɔbi hɛm. Mi nąŋga ɛŋ no sɑ prati tɛ dɛdɛ.’

Anansi sɑ taig' na wąn fō den sisa taki, ɛŋ no sabi fa 'a sisa ką' tek' Dia. Dia mɔrsu.

Wɛ, Dia nąŋga Anąnsi den sɑ bɛn dɛ na ɩni wąn vɛŋkre, drɩŋgi wąn sopi. A sɑ tą̈igi a Dia, a tak', ‘Dia, yu no mu' kari mi “Mat' Anąnsi” mɔro. Yu mu' taki “Mi Kaka”.’ Nō mō Dia taki, ‘No, no, mat' Anąnsi, mi no kąn du dɑti.’

Nō na uma a taki, ɛfu Dia nąŋga Anąnsi lɔbi hɛm trutru, dą' tidɛ-neti den kɔm sribi nąŋga hɛm na ɩni wą' kamera. Wɛ nō, a di den didǫ', dąn mat' Anąnsi opo sa·afri, a go 'a Dia se̱i, go mek' mɔrsu. A i tɛm Dia dre̱i, ala ɛŋ sikin mɔrsu. Dąn nō, mat' Anąnsi go didǫ' sa·afri baka na hɛm pre̱isi. Wɛ, a di Dia we̱iki, a smeri 'a mɔrsu. Nō mō a bɩgin kari Anąnsi, a taki, ‘Mi Kaka, mi Kaka, mi Kaka.’ Nō mō Anąnsi hati brǫn. A tak', ‘Yu kaka, ɛf' no yu kaka, sąn mi 'a trɔbi dia!’ Nō mō Dia taki, ‘Mi Kaka, luk' wąn sani na mi tapu. Na yu kaka, na Mi Kaka.’

So, fa Dia opo mamɛntɛm, ɛŋ heri sɩkin mɔrsu. A puru 'a krosi, a lǫnwe na busi. A no kɔm mɔro. A syɛm tumusi. Anąnsi taki nō, ‘Nō, mi no bɛn tą̈igi taki na Dia mɔrsu?’

So Anąnsi teki na umą, a tro nąŋga hɛm. So Anąnsi wɩni.

7. Slandering a Rival: Anansi and Deer.[3]

There were two sisters. Deer was courting one of the sisters. But now, Deer loved one of the sisters, and the sister loved Deer, too. But now Deer dressed nicely. He did not dress like an animal. He was spruced up. But now there was Anansi. Anansi saw the same sister, and he loved her. And the sister said, ‘No, no, Anansi. My man Deer is a very nice man. He wears the nicest clothes. When he comes [dressed] so, one must love him.’

But now, one night, Deer and Anansi met. Anansi said, ‘Friend Deer, your woman is pretty, brother.’ But Deer said, ‘Well, I love her. She and I will not part until death.’

Anansi will say to one of the sisters, that he does not understand how the sister can take Deer. Deer is dirty.

3 Told by 4. See reference to preceding tale.

Well, Deer and Anansi will be in a rum shop, drinking rum. He will say to Deer, say, ‘Deer, you mustn't call me “Friend Anansi” any longer. You must say “My Excrement”.’ At once Deer said, ‘No, no, friend Anansi, I can't do that.’

Now the woman said, if Deer and Anansi loved her truly, then tonight they should come to sleep with her in a room. Well now, when they lay down, then friend Anansi got up softly, and he went to Deer's side, and he dirtied it. When Deer turned, his entire body was dirty. Now then, friend Anansi went back to his place and lay down softly. Well, when Deer awoke, he smelt the excrement. At once he called Anansi, and he said, ‘My Excrement, My Excrement, My Excrement.’ At once Anansi was angry. He said, ‘Your excrement, or not your excrement, what is that to me?’ At once Deer said, ‘My Excrement, look, there is something on me. It is your excrement, my Excrement.’

So, when Deer got up in the morning, his entire body was dirty. He took off his clothes, and he ran away to the bush. He came no more. He was too ashamed.[1] Anansi said, ‘Now, didn't I tell you that Deer was dirty?’

So Anansi took the woman, and he married her. So Anansi won.

8. Tara Poptie□.

Konim habi wąn grɔ', a habi furu nanyąm. Dąn Ba Anąnsi bɛn 'ɛ fufuru nanyąm di Konim bɛ̨n prani. Dąn Konim no bɛn sabi suma 'ɛ fufuru nanyąm. Di a wani sabi suma 'ɛ fufuru nanyąm, a pɔti wąn tara-poptie̯ tɛnapu na ɩni grɔ'. Dą' Ba Anąnsi go si na poptie̯, dą' a dɛnki na wąn suma dapɛ. A taki, ‘Yu bo̯i, są' yu dɛ du dapɛ?’ Na poptie̯ no piki hɛm. A taki, ‘Ɛfi yu no wąni piki, mi dɛ skɔp' yu!’ Dą' a skɔpu hɛm. Dą' ɛ̨ŋ futu fasi. A taki, ‘Lus' mi, no so, mi dɛ naki yu!’ Dąn hɛm hanu fasi tu. Ɛ̨ŋ taki, ‘Mi dɛ skɔpu nąŋga na' tra futu!’ A fasi, tu. A naki na tra hanu. A fasi, tu.

Dą' Konim kɔm feni suma dɛ na fufurumąn. Konim fɔm ɛ̨ŋ te... a kisi a̯iti futu nąŋga wąn kro̯is na baka.

8. Tar Baby: How Anansi Came by Eight Legs.[2]

The King had a field, and it had much food. Then Ba Anansi was stealing the food which the King had planted. Then the King did not know who was stealing the food. When he wanted to know who was stealing the food, he put a Tar-doll in the ground. Then Ba Anansi saw the doll, and then he thought a person was there. He said,

1 Lit., ‘he shame too much’.

2 Told by 9. Compare, for Sierra Leone, Thomas (VI) 59-60, Cronise and Ward 101-109, Schlenker 57, No. 2; Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 388, No. 14, (Gola), *ibid.* 493, No. 22; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 332, Gagu No. 20; Gold Coast, (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 57-9, Barclay and Sinclair 69-72, No. 10, Herskovits, M. & F. (III), MS No. A6a; Togo (Krachi), Cardinall (I), 234-6, (Ewe), Speiss 106-9, No. 2, Ellis (II) 275-7, No. 4; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. & F. (IV), MS No. 69; Hausa, Tremearne (I) 214-15, No. 9, (II), 212-14, No. 15; Nigeria (Yoruba), Lomax, 5, No. 3, Bouche (II) 223-4, (Warri) Herskovits, M. & F. (II) No. 7, pp. 460-463, (Ikom) Dayrell (II) 3-6, (Ekoi), Talbot (III) 398-9, Mockler-Ferryman 288-9, (Fiort), Dennett 92-93, XXIII, (Bura), Helser 72-3, No. 16; Cameroons (Duala), Lederbogen (II) 58-60; Gabun, Nassau (I) 18-25, Mpongwe No. 2; Congo, Weeks; Angola, Chatelain 183-189, No. 22; East Africa, Werner; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier (I) 136-7, No. 1 (appendix), Sea Islands, Parsons (II) 26-27, No. 14 I; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 23-26, No. 21 a-c; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 13-16, No. 10-12; Santo Domingo, Andrade 210-213, No. 156-159; Brazil, Eells 123-131, No. 12. Comparative, Dähnhardt, XV, 26ff.; for general study cf. Espinosa. See Van Cappelle 317-318, No. 12, for another Suriname version of this tale.

‘You boy, what are you doing there?’ The doll did not answer him. He said, ‘If you won't answer, I am going to kick you!’ Then he kicked him. Then his foot stuck. He said, ‘Loosen me, or I will strike you!’ Then his hand stuck too. He said, ‘I will kick you with the other foot!’ It stuck too. He struck with the other hand. It stuck, too.

Then the King came to find out who the thief was. The King beat him until... he got [to have] eight feet, and a cross on his back.

9. Tara Poptie□.

Anansi bɛn go fufuru na Konu 'oso. Ma Konu sɛt' trapu fō kɪsi ɐŋ. Konu mɛk' wą tara poptiẹ, dą' a pɔti ɐŋ nąŋga kuku. Dą' Anansi kɔ̨'. A tag' a poptiẹ taą̇gi, mek' a gi wan pɪsi kuku. Dąn na poptiẹ no piki ɐŋ. A taki, ‘Ɛf' yu no gi' mi, mi 'ɛ nak' yu!’ Fa a naki ɐŋ, ɐŋ 'anu fasi. A taki, ‘Mi dɛ skɔp' yu!’ Fa a skɔp' ɐŋ, ɐŋ futu fasi. A teki ɐŋ 'ɛdɛ, a buku ɐŋ. 'Ɛdɛ fasi. A teki ɐŋ bɛrɛ, a buku ɐŋ, dą' ɐŋ bɛrɛ fasi. Dąn Anąnsi fas' tą' na poptiẹ.

Dąn mamantɛm di Konu kɔm, a kɔm kɪsi Anąnsi. A mɛk' dɛn wɪpi ɐŋ na ɐŋ bōtu, dat' mɛk' Anąnsi bōtu kɔm fini so.

A kaba.

9. Tar Baby: Why Anansi's Thighs are Thin.[1]

Anansi was robbing the King's house. But the King set a trap to catch him. The King made a tar doll, and put it up with a cake [in its hand]. Then Anansi came. He said to the doll, he said, let her give him a piece of cake. The doll did not speak to him. He said, ‘If you do not give me, I am going to strike you!’ As he struck her, his hand stuck. He said, ‘I am going to kick you!’ As he kicked, his foot stuck. He took his head, and he butted her. Head stuck. He took his belly, and he butted her, then his belly stuck. Then Anansi stood fastened to the doll.

In the morning when the King came, he caught Anansi. He had them whip him on his legs, and that is why Anansi's legs became so thin.

It is finished.

10.

Kɛskɛsi bɛn dɛ. Dą' i waka fufur' karu. Te a fufuru na karu kaba, dą' i gowe na busi baka. So ala dẹ̯i na suma den kǫ̯m luku na grǫ̯', na karu mankeri. 'A suma a sɛt' wakti gi hɛm, ma a no bɛn kɪsi hɛm na ɪni na grǫ̯'.

Ɛn so, di na suma kɔmopo na ɪni na grǫ̯' gowe, Kɛskɛsi dɛ let' drapɛ baka fō nyąm.

So na suma mek' wąn tara poptiẹ̯, pɔt' dapɛ nąŋga wąn karu na ę̯ŋ hanu. Ɛn di Kɛskɛsi kɔm, a no sabi mɔro bɛtre, a go na na tara poptiẹ̯, a bɪgin sɻŋgi gi hɛm:

> Sɛn' kari bi̯a, bi̯a,
> Sɛn' kari bikeble duą.
> Kɛti dyɔmpo ɪn' de pɔt yoti,
> Ta maka yąŋki!
> Sineki-yo!
> Sineki-yąŋki-ho!

Ɛn nō, aksi 'a tara poptiẹ̯, a taki, ‘Gi wąn pis' karu. Ɛf' yu no gi mi, mi 'ɛ krap yu!’ A naki hɛm; hɛm hanu fasi. Kɛskɛsi taki, ‘Lus' mi hanu!’ A naki nąŋga 'a trawąn. 'A trawąn fasi. A tak', ‘Mi dɛ skɔp', ɛf' yu no lus' mi hanu!’ So Kɛskɛsi skɔp' ę̯ŋ nąŋga wąn futu. 'A fut' fasi. ‘Ɛf' yu no lus' mi fut', mi de go skɔp' yu nąŋga trawąn!’ A fasi tu. So a teki ę̯ŋ hɛdɛ, a buk' na tara poptie. Ę̯ŋ hɛdɛ fasi.

1 Told by 1. References as for preceding tale.

A so dyariman kɔm, a taki, ‘So, na yu furumąn?’ Kɛskɛsi taki, ‘Kɛ, mi grǫ'mąn, mi bɛgi yu, lus' mi. Na hangri tyari mi dati mi kɔm fufuru.’

A so, grǫ'mąn fɔm Kɛskɛsi tɛ... a kiri hɛm.

10. Tar Baby: Monkey as Thief.[2]

There was a Monkey. Then he went about stealing corn. When he finished stealing the corn, then he went back to the bush. So every day when the people came to look after the field, corn was found missing. The people lay in wait for him, but they did not catch him in the field.

And so when the people left the field and went away, Monkey was right there again for the purpose of eating.

So the people made a tar doll, and put it there with a corncob in its hand. And when Monkey came, he did not know better, and he went to the tar doll, and he began to sing to him:

> Send call for *bi̯a, bi̯a*,[3]
> Send call for *bikeble duą*.
> *Kɛti* jump in the pot *yoti*,
> *Ta maka yąŋki!*
> Snake-yo!
> Snake-*yąŋki*-ho!

And now he asked the tar doll, he said, ‘Give [me] a piece of corn. If you don't give me, I will slap you.’ He struck him; his hand stuck. Monkey said, ‘Let go my hand!’ He struck with the other. The other stuck. He said, ‘I'm going to kick, if you don't let go my hands!’ So Monkey kicked him with one foot. The foot stuck. ‘If you don't let go of my foot, I'm going to kick with the other!’ It stuck, too. So he took his head, and he butted the tar doll. His head stuck.

2 Told by 4. References for No. 8, though it may be remarked that in the Angola and Brazil correspondences it is monkey who is caught on the tar baby, as is the case in this tale.

3 Indian Winti-song. See song No. 145.

And so the yard-man came, and he said, ‘So you are the thief?’ Monkey said, ‘Ke! I beg you, field overseer, release me. It is hunger that has forced me to steal.’

And so the field overseer beat Monkey till... he killed him.

11.

Konu bɛn habi wą preį̈si nąŋga ala sɔrtu frōxtu, nąŋga ba'ana, nąŋga tra sɔrtu nanyąm. Ma dɔro-suma bɛn dɛ fufuru den fruxtu nąŋga den nanyąm. So Konu bɛn mek' den pɔt' wąŋ bɪgi tarapopki na ɪni na dyari.

Nō, na neti, na fufurumą' kɔm. Dɪsi bɛn dɛ mat' Anąnsi. 'A yurtɛm a si na poptyi, a skreį̈iki fō meki wą fąnsoisi. A tak', ‘Mi tata, fa yu tą?’ Ma a no bɛn kɪsi wąn wɔrtu baka. A taki, ‘Ɛf yu no piki, mi de gi yu wą' krap!’ Na pɔptki no de piki. Anąnsi naki hɛm wą' kofu. Hɛm 'anu fasi. A tak', ‘Ɛf' yu no lus' mi, m' de gi yu wą' trawą nąŋga na traseį̈ hanu!’ Anąnsi 'ɛ naki nąŋga na traseį̈ hanu. Ma dati hanu a fasi tu. A taki, ‘Ɛf yu no lus' mi, mi dɛ buku yu.’ Anąnsi buk' ɛ̨ŋ. Hɛm hɛdɛ fasi. A tak', ‘Ɛf' yu no lus' mi, mi 'ɛ skɔp' yu!’ So Anąnsi skɔp' hɛm. Ma a no bɛn ką' du nɔti mɔro, bikasi hɛm hɛdɛ, hɛm futu nąŋga ɛ̨ŋ hanu bɛn fasi. So a fō tą' dapɛ te den bɛn kɔm feni hɛm. Dɛn mek' wąŋ sabi-taki, tak' na Anąnsi na na fufurumą'. So Konu taki, ɛ̨ŋ dɛ go kiri Anąnsi.

Fɔs' Anąnsi dɛ go dɛde, a sɛn' kar' den pikin fō hɛm. A taki, ‘Mi pikin, yu si mi dɛ go dɛde. Ma są' yu dɛ go du gi mi?’ ɪbriwą' fō den pikin bɛn taį̈gi hɛm wąn laų̈-laų̈ sani, ma na mɔro pikin wą' bɛn taį̈gi hɛm taki, ‘Mi papa, yu sabi są' mi dɛ go du? Pɛ den sɑ pɔti yu fō kiri, mi sɑ kɪbri na tapu wą' heį̈ bɔm. Dą' mi sɑ sɪŋgi:

> Den kir' Anąnsi tɛ...
> Den kir' Anąnsi tɛ...
> Heri kɔndre sɑ su'ų̨ŋ;
> Ala suma sɑ dɛdɛ;
> Konu srefi sɑ dɛdɛ,
> Anąnsi wawą sɑ tą'.

'A yurtɛm Konu yere na stɛm dɛ sɻŋgi, a taki, ‘Sąn 'a dati?’

Anąnsi taki, ‘Tyɛ! Mi Konu, yɛre, Gadu srefi dɛ bɛgi gi mi.’

Konu taki, ‘A no tru. Wą' fufurumą' mu' kɪsi strafu.’

Anąnsi taki, ‘Tyɛ, mi Konu, yu sɑ yɛre taki na tru, bikasi Gadu dɛ go bɛg gi mi agɛn.’ Wantɛm den yɛre na stɛm baka:

Den kir' Anąnsi tɛ...
Den kir' Anąnsi tɛ...
Heri kɔndre sɑ su'ųŋ;
Ala suma sɑ dɛdɛ,
Konu srefi sɑ dɛdɛ,
Anąnsi wawą' sɑ tą'.

So Konu bɛn kɔm skreiki. A kɔm fredɛ. A kɔm lusu Anąnsi.

11. Tar Baby: God Above.[1]

The King had a place with all kinds of fruit, and plantains, and other kinds of food. But outsiders were stealing the fruit and the food. So the King made them put up a large tar doll in the yard.

Now the thief came at night. This was friend Anansi. When he saw the doll he was alarmed. He said, 'Father, how are you?' But he did not get a single word in answer. He said, 'If you do not answer, I will slap you.' The doll did not answer. Anansi struck him a blow. His hand stuck. He said, 'If you do not release me, I will give you another with my other hand.' Anansi struck with the other hand. But that hand stuck, too. He said, 'If you do not release me, I will butt you.' Anansi butted him. His head stuck. He said, 'If you do not release me, I will kick you.' So Anansi kicked him. But he could do nothing more because his head, his feet, and his hands were stuck. So he had to remain there until they came and found him. They made an announcement that Anansi was the thief. So the King said he would kill Anansi.

Before Anansi was going to die, he sent to call his children. He said, 'My children, you see I am going to die. But what are you going to do for me?' Each one of his children told him a foolish thing, but the youngest one said to him, said, 'Father, you know what I am going to do? I am going to hide on top of a tall tree, where they will put you in order to kill you. Then I will sing:

They kill Anansi till...
They kill Anansi till...
The whole country will be flooded;
All the people will die;
The King himself will die,
Anansi alone will remain.'[2]

When the King heard the voice singing, he said, 'What is that!'

Anansi said, '*Tyɛ!* Listen, my King, God himself pleads for me.'

The King said, 'It is not true. A thief must receive punishment.'

Anansi said, '*Tyɛ*, my King, you will hear that it is true, because God will plead again for me.' At once[3] they heard the voice again:

1 Told by 6. References for Tar Baby as in tale No. 8, for God Above as in tale No. 12.
2 Song No. 116.
3 Lit., 'one time'.

They kill Anansi till...
They kill Anansi till...
The whole country will be flooded;
All the people will die,
The King himself will die,
Anansi alone will remain.

Then the King grew alarmed. He was afraid. He freed Anansi.

12.

Anąnsi go fufuru na Konu hoso. Ma Konu mek' den kis' ɛŋ, daąn den bɛn go kiri hɛm. A no sab' są' fõ du. Dą' a meki ɛŋ pikin go na tapu wan bom. Dą' i sɩŋgi:

Ụn kir' Anąnsi tɛ...
Ụn kir' Anąnsi tɛ...
Ala suma sɑ dɛdɛ,
Konum weifi sɑ dɛdɛ,
Konum s'refi sɑ dɛdɛ,
Anąnsi wawan sɑ tą' na libi.

Dan di Konum yɛre, a bɛn kɔm fredɛ. A dɛŋki taki na Gadu bɛn dɛ taki. Dą' a lọ' go a taigi ɛŋ uma taki, mek dɛn lusu Anąnsi baka. Ɛf' den kir' Anąnsi, daąn ala 'ɛ go dɛdɛ.

So den kɔm lusu Anąnsi. Anąnsi no dɛdɛ moro.

12. God Above.[1]

Anansi went to rob the King's house. But the King had them catch him, and they were going to kill him. He did not know what to do. Then he had his child climb a tree. Then he sang:

You kill Anansi till...
You kill Anansi till...
All the people will die,
The King's wife will die,
The King himself will die,
Anansi alone will remain alive.[2]

Then when the King heard, he became afraid. He thought that it was God speaking. Then he ran and said to his wife, said, let them free Anansi again. If they kill Anansi, then all are going to die.

So they came to free Anansi. Anansi did not die.

13. Lei Hati Mɔro Sɔro.

1 Told by 1. Compare, for Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 256-257, No. 71, Cardinall (I) 171-2; Togoland (Ho), Spieth 580, No. 5, (Ewe) Speiss 124-5, 126-8, Nos. 7 and 8; Congo (Lamba), Doke 131-3, No. 69; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 38-9, No. 24 I and II.

2 Song No. 116.

Anąnsi go taị̂g' Konum taki, ɛfu Konum wani streị̂, taki, leị̂ hati mɔro sɔro. Konum taki, ‘Dati no kąn. Ɛf' yu habi wąn sɔro na yu sɪkin, a dɛ hat' yu, ɛf' leị̂ sɑ hati mɔro leị̂iki dati?’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Konum, yu wani mek' mi sɔr' yu taki dati kan?’ Konum taki, ‘A bǭ'. Mi wani si.’

Wan neti Anąnsi go moị̂ na tapu Konum trapu, a kaka wąn bɪgi hipi kaka; dąn a go kɪbri na ɔndro. Mamɛntɛm, di Konum dɛ saka, a si na sani. A taki, ‘Są'!’ A kari ala den suma, ɑksi den taki, ‘Suma du na sani?’ Den streị̂, den taki, dɛm no sabi. Ma di wąn srodati tenapu, nō mō a yɛre na kaka taki, ‘Na Konum srɛfi pɔt' mi dia.’ Dąn na srodati harki. A yɛre baka na sani taki baka. Dąn a go kari Konum kɔm harki. Ma ala dɑti na Anąnsi bɛn dɛ taki na ɪni na kaka.

Dą' Konum kɔm kɪsi bɪgi syɛm, bika' a no hɛm bɛn du dati. So Konum bɛn syɛm te... a sɪki. Ma nō di wąn sɔrdati go puru na sani, dąn a si Anąnsi kɔmopo na ɔndro. Dąn a go taį̇gi Konum taki na so den si Anąnsi kɔmopo na ɪni na sani. Dąn Konum sɛ̨ni kari Anąnsi kɔm. Di Anąnsi kɔm, a taį̇gi Konum taki, 'Konum, mi no bɛn taį̇gi yu taki leį̇ hati mɔro sɔro?' Ma Konum bɛn si taki dɑti dɛ so, bika' na sani bɛn hati Konum di Anąnsi bɛn leį̇ gi hɛm. Dąn a teki Anąnsi go sroto. Di a sroto Anąnsi, a taki den mu' kiri hɛm.

Ma di den tyari Anąnsi fō go kiri hɛm, Anąnsi bɛgi Tyotyoforu taki, na mamɛntɛm fɔs' den kir' hɛm, dą' a mu' go na tapu wan bom, dąn a mu' sį̇ŋgi taki,

Ų̇n kiri Anąnsi tɛ...
Ų̇n kiri Anąnsi tɛ...
Ala suma sɑ dɛdɛ,
Konum srɛfi sɑ dɛdɛ;
Konum p'kin sɑ dɛdɛ;
Konum wį̇fi sɑ dɛdɛ;
Anąnsi wąn sa tą' na libi.'

Di Konum harki, a yɛre na sani. Dąn a kɔm frede. A taki, 'Bɛtre ų̇n no kiri Anąnsi. Yu no yere sąn Gadu dɛ sɪngi? Ɛf' wi kiri Anąnsi, wi alamala go dɛdɛ.' So Konum mek' den lus' Anąnsi. Den no kir' hɛm mɔro. A bɛn wɪni Konum.

13. A Lie Hurts More than a Wound:[3] God Above.

Anansi went to say to the King, say, if the King wanted to bet that a lie hurt more than a wound. The King said, 'That cannot be. If you have a wound on your body it hurts you, how can a lie hurt more than that?' Anansi said, 'King, do you want to let me show you that it can?' The King said, 'All right. I want to see.'

One night Anansi went to the top of the King's staircase and he defecated there generously; then he went and hid underneath. In the morning when the King was coming down he saw the excrement. He said, 'What!' He called all the people, and he asked them, said, 'Who did this thing?' They bet, they talked, they did not know. But, as a soldier was standing, suddenly he heard the excrement say, 'The King himself put me here.' Then the soldier listened. He heard the thing repeat this again. Then he went to

3 Told by 1. Compare for Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 255, No. 26; Hausa, Tremearne (III) 195-6, No. 6. This tale is also reported from Suriname by Van Cappelle, 298-9, No. 4.

call the King to come and listen. But all this Anansi had spoken from inside the excrement.

Then the King grew very ashamed,[1] because it was not he who had done that. So the King was ashamed till... he became ill. But now as one of the soldiers went to remove the thing, then he saw Anansi come out from underneath. Then they went to tell the King that they saw Anansi come out from inside the thing. Then the King sent for Anansi to come. When Anansi came, he said to the King, said, 'King, did I not tell you that a lie hurt more than a wound?' But the King had seen that that was so, because the thing had hurt the King when Anansi lied about him. Then he took Anansi and arrested him. When he arrested Anansi, he said they must kill him.

But when they took Anansi to kill him, Anansi begged the Tyotyo-bird that in the morning before they killed him, it must go to the top of a tree, and it must sing, say:

> You kill Anansi till...
> You kill Anansi till...
> All the people will die,
> The King himself will die;
> The King's children will die;
> The King's wife will die;
> Anansi alone will remain alive.[3]

When the King listened, he heard the thing. Then he became afraid. He said, 'It is better you do not kill Anansi. Do you not hear what God is singing? If we kill Anansi we are all going to die.' So the King had them free Anansi. They did not kill him any more. He won from the King.

14.

Wąn Konum bɛn dɛ. Anąnsi a go na Konum, a ɑksi Konum, 'Mi Konu, mi Konu, leį̂ fō sɔro, sɔrtu wąn mɔro hati?' Konu taki, 'Sɔro mɔro hati.' Anąnsi taki, 'No, no, mi Konu, leį̂ mɔro hati.'

Anąnsi go na hoso, a taį̂gi hɛm pikin, tak', 'Tamara mamɛntɛm, di yu go na Konu dɔro, dąn yu go xrotu na grǫ' na dɔro, dą' kɩbri dapɛ.'

Anąnsi go na Konu, a tak', 'Mi Konu, yu wan' si fa na grǫ dɛ taki?' Konu taki, 'Ya.' So Konum fɔm prokoti, sɛn' kari ala tra Konu fō kɔm yere, taki grǫ' i taki. Nō, mamɛntɛm, Konu sɛn' kari fō ala suma kɔm yɛre fa na grǫ' i kɔm taki. So mamɛntɛm, ala suma den kɔm, kɔm yɛre grǫ' dɛ taki. Anąnsi meki hɛm p'kin

1 Lit., 'came to catch big shame'.
3 Song No. 116.

go kɩbri na ɔndra na xrotu. Mamɛntɛm, Anąnsi kɔm nąŋga ala den makandra.

Anąnsi aksi Konu, ‘Kụkụ, kụkụ. Suma kụkụ dia?’ 'A kụkụ piki taki, ‘'A Konu kụkụ.’ A taki wąn trǫ' mɔro, ‘Kụkụ, kụkụ, suma kụkụ?’ ‘Na mi Konu kụkụ.’ So Konu kɩs' so syɛm, a flaụ̣.

Anąnsi kɔm tamara mamɛntɛm na Konu, a haksi, ‘Mi Konu, mi no bɛn taị̣g' yu dati leị̣ hati mɔro sɔro?’ Konum taki, ‘Ya, Anąnsi, nō mi si tru-tru dati leị̣ hati mɔro sɔro.’ Ɛn so Konum a fō gi Anąnsi wąn leti-mɩndri kɔndre fō hɛm, nąŋga hɛm weị̣fi, nąŋga hɛm p'kin. Anąnsi wɩni Konu.

14. A Lie Hurts More Than a Wound.[4]

There was a King. Anansi went to the King and he asked the King, ‘My King, my King, which is more painful, a lie or a wound?’ The King said, ‘A wound is more painful.’ Anansi said, ‘No, no, my King, a lie is more painful.’

Anansi went home and he said to his child, said, ‘Tomorrow morning, when you come to the King's door, then you are to go and defecate on the ground before the door, and then hide there.’

Anansi went to the King, and he said, ‘My King, do you want to see how the earth speaks?’ The King said, ‘Yes.’ So the King beat a message [on the drum] to call all the other kings to come and hear how the earth spoke. Now in the morning, the King sent to call all the people to come and hear how the earth came to

4 Told by 13.

speak. So in the morning all the people came to hear the earth speak. Anansi had his child go and hide underneath the excrement. In the morning Anansi came together with the others.

Anansi asked, 'Kunkun,[1] kunkun, whose kunkun is here?' The kunkun answered, said, 'I am the King's kunkun.' He said once more, 'Kunkun, kunkun, whose kunkun?' 'I am the King's kunkun.' So the King was so ashamed,[2] he fainted.

Anansi came to the King the next morning and he asked, 'My King, didn't I tell you that a lie hurts more than a wound?' The King said, 'Yes, Anansi. Now, I see truly[3] that a lie hurts more than a wound.' And so the King had to give Anansi half of his kingdom, and his wives, and his children. Anansi won from the King.

15. Gǫ' Dɛdɛ.

Anąnsi go leni wan gǫ' na Hɔntiman. Dąn a sɛn' piki ala den meti, taki, den mu kɔm na ɛŋ, bikasi gǫ' dɛdɛ. Ala den mɛti bɛn breı̯ti bikasi gǫ' bɛn dɛ wąn takru sani. Na gǫ' bɛn dɛ kiri den na busi. Ɛn so den bɛn breı̯ti fō yeri taki a dɛdɛ.

Dąn Anąnsi meki den meki wa trapu. Dąn a pɔti gǫ' na tapu taki, dę i go bɛri hɛm. Ma a meki den meti waka lɛti na fesi, dą' a pɔti gǫ' mɔfo leti na tapu 'a trapu. Dą' den pikin fō ɛŋ tyari na trapu. Dąn Anąnsi go sidɔn na tapu gǫ'. Fa-i-si a luku ala den meti de na wan reı̯ na fesi fō gǫ, so a süt' gǫ'. Ala den meti dɛdɛ, dą' Anąnsi bɛn fen' furu nyąm.

Anąnsi kɔni tumusi.

15. Mock Funeral. - Gun is Dead.[4]

Anansi went and borrowed a gun from Hunter. Then he sent word to all the animals that they must come to him, because gun was dead. All the animals were happy because gun was an evil thing. It was gun that had been killing them in the bush. And so they were happy to hear that it was dead.

Then Anansi had them make a ladder. Then he put the gun on top, saying they were going to bury it. But he made the animals walk right in front, and he put the nozzle of the gun right on top of the ladder. And his children carried the ladder. Then Anansi went to sit down on top of the gun. As he saw all the animals in a single row in front of the gun, he discharged the gun. All the animals died, and Anansi found much food.

Anansi is very cunning.

16. Tigri nąŋga Kɔnkɔni.

Tigri sɛn' kari ala meti fō den kɔm na dɛdɛ hoso, bikasi na gǫ' dɛdɛ, na feanti fo ala meti. Ala dati Tigri pɔti wąn gǫ' na ɔndro parada. Ma Kɔnkɔni nąŋga Anąnsi bɛn sabi na triki fō Tigri. So bifɔs' den go na bɛri, Anąnsi sɛni ala den twalfu p'kin fō hɛm

1 Informant said it was African for excrement.
2 Lit., 'so the King catch so shame'.
3 Lit., 'true-true'.
4 Told by 1.

gowe nąŋga hɛm weį̂fi. Nō mō a go na Tigri a taki, ‘Mi Tata Tigri, luku fa na weį̂fi fō mi nąŋga dɛn p'kin no habi wą' heį̂ maniri nąŋga respɛki fō yu. Ma mi dɛ go, nō mō, na hoso go tyar' den kɔm baka.’ Anąnsi gowe. Ɛn nąŋga den twalfu p'kin fō hɛm nąŋga hɛm weį̂fi kɩbri na papa-gɔdo.

Den wakti Anąnsi so te... ma den no kąn wakti hɛm mɔro, bikasi na dɛdɛ mu' gowe. Tigri taki, ‘Ala mą' mu' waka na ląŋga lo.’ Ma Kɔnkɔni sɔrgu tą' fō lasti wą'. A taį̂gi Tigri taki, ‘Mi kąn waka hesi-hesi so, a mɔro bɛtrɛ yu meki mi trɔ̨n krɛpsi.’

Tigri taki, ‘A bǭ'. Ma yu mu' waka leti na fesi na lą̀ŋga lo.’ Kɔnkɔni dɛ na fesi, a bɛn srapu hɛm yę̀isi. Tigri dɛ na baka, a dɛ kiri den meti wą̀n fō wą̀n. Ma Kɔnkɔni bɛn dɛ lǫ' ala tɛm, go na wą̀' sè̩i. Nō mō a de bari sṵŋgi:

Ụn luku bǭ',
Mi Tata Tigri
De go nyam ụn.

Tigri taki, ‘Yu bò̩i Kɔnkɔni, na kɔndɪsi no dɛ taki yu mu' waka na la̧ŋga lo? Ma yu de dyɔmpo, dyɔmpo. Yu no habi wą̀' rɛspɛki taki na bɛri yu de?’ Kɔnkɔni taki, ‘Mi no ką̀' lɛpi. Ma na so mi lɔbi dyɔmpo, dyɔmpo. Yu sabi-taki mi na Kɔnkɔni, mi dɛ krè̩i fō mi baka nɛki. Den trawą̀' no wani sɔrgu fō den, ma mi dati, mi sɔrgu fō mi srɛfi.’ A yurtɛm di 'a skapu yɛre so a bari, ‘Bɛ! Bɛ!’ A sɛti lǫ' gowe. Ala den trawą̀' du na srefi, tu. Ma Tigri no bɛn hab' bōrō, bikasi a bɛn kiri nɔfo meti na gǫ' bɛri. So gǫ' dɛdɛ, ma Tigri tą̀' fō kiri na tra meti.

16. Mock Funeral, - Gun is Dead.[5]

Tiger sent to call all the animals to come to a funeral, because Gun, the enemy of all animals, was dead. In the meantime[6] Tiger put Gun under the bier. But Rabbit and Anansi knew Tiger's tricks. So, before they went to the burial, Anansi sent away all his twelve children and his wife. Presently he went to Tiger, and said, ‘Father Tiger, see how my wife and children are lacking in proper manners and respect for you. But I am going home, this very moment, to bring them back.’ Anansi went away. He and his twelve children and his wife hid in a large gourd.

They waited for Anansi so till... but they could not wait longer, because the dead had to be taken away. Tiger said, ‘All men must walk in a single row.’ But Rabbit saw to it that he should be last. He said to Tiger, said, ‘I can walk so fast that it is better that

5 Told by 6. Compare, for Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 293-294, Guro No. 36.
6 Lit., ‘all that’, idiomatic for ‘in the meantime’.

you make me krepsi.'[1] Tiger said, 'All right. But you must walk right at the head of the file.' Rabbit was in front, and he sharpened his ears. Tiger was in back, and he was killing the animals one by one. But Rabbit was running all the time from one side to the other. Soon he cried out, singing:

'You take care,
My Father Tiger
Is going to eat you.'

Tiger said, 'You boy Rabbit, does not the condition say that you must walk in single file? But you jump and jump. Don't you realise you are at a funeral?' Rabbit said, 'I cannot help it. But so I like to jump and jump. You know that I am Rabbit, and I cry from the back of my neck.[2] The others do not care to look out for themselves, but I am one who takes care of myself.' When the sheep heard this they cried out, 'Beh! Beh!' They set out on a run. All the others did the same, too. But Tiger was not disturbed, because he had killed enough animals already at Gun's burial. So Gun was dead, but Tiger remained to kill the other animals.

17.

Tigri bɛn preị taki a dɛdɛ. Dą' ala den meti na busi den kɔm lɔntu Tigri. Den kɔm na dɛdɛ-hoso. Wąn Tigri dɛdɛ. Den tak', 'Mi Tata Tigri dɛdɛ.' Ma nō, Sɛkrepatu no mąŋ waka, ma krɔị̂pi, a dɛ krɔị̂pi. Nō mō di a luk' ęŋ si Tata Tigri, nō mō a bar' na wąn Kromanti tɔngo, a taki,

'Bia, bia, bia,
Sɛns' yu dɛ,
Yu yɛre suma dɛdɛ,
Dąn ęŋ bakaseị̂ dɛ bro?'

Nō mō Sɛkrepatu taki, 'Ba, yu sab' są'? Mi 'ɛ go 'a dɔro, go pɪsi.'

Sɛkrepatu pina-pina gowɛ. Nō mō Kɔnkɔni si dɑti, Kɔnkɔni taki, 'Hɛm! Mi Tata Tigri, a hati mi, mi papa Tigri dɛdɛ. Ma mi papa

1 A man chosen by the government to lead the funeral, and to see that the body in the coffin is not tampered with before the coffin is closed and put into the ground. The origin of the word was explained as being the name of the first man who was chosen by the government to hold this office. No burial can take place without a *krɛpsi*. The explanation given by the informant was that in former times the body was often molested for purposes of black magic.

2 This innuendo has reference to the manner in which the tiger kills his prey, i.e., by attacking it from the back and seizing it by the neck.

Tigri 'ɛ dɛdɛ, na hɛm baka hɛm bro.' Dąn Tigri opo hɛm a̱i, pikinso, a luku dąn, a tapu ɛŋ a̱i baka.

Bɔfru dɛ kre̱i, Dia dɛ kre̱i, Tamanwa 'ɛ kre̱i. Nō mō ala den meti 'ɛ gowe wą' wą'. Nō mō Hagu drapɛ, 'ɛ bari,

'Bia, bia, bia,
Mi yɛre suma dɛdɛ,
Ma karaki[1] dɛ bro.'

Nō mō Bɔfru pina tak', 'Yu sab' są'? Mi 'ɛ gowe.' 'Agu sidǫ' dɛ kre̱i nō mō.

A i tɛm Tigri opo hɛm a̱i, a si ala den meti dɛ gowe. 'Agu wąn sidǫ' dɛ kre̱i. Nō mō Tigri hopo na dɛdɛ, a naki wan krapu. Dąn ɛŋ hanu pasa na ɩni Hagu a̱i. Dąn 'Agu a̱i watra kɩsi na ɩni na Tigri hanu. Dąn a leki hem, dą i taki, 'Bǫ̱i, a̱i-watra fō yu swit' sǫ, wɛ, yu meti no!'

'A so ala den bus'-meti gowe. A kiri Hagu.

17. Mock Funeral, - Tiger Plays Dead.[3]

Tiger was playing [pretending] that he was dead. Then all the animals of the bush gathered around Tiger. They came to the funeral. A Tiger died. They said, 'Father Tiger is dead.' But now Tortoise could not walk, but creeping, he crept along. No sooner did he look and see Father Tiger, than he shouted in a Kromanti[4] language, and he said,

'*Bia, bia, bia,*
As long as you live,
Have you heard of a dead person,
Whose backside breathed?'

At once Tortoise said, 'Brother, you know what? I am going outside to urinate.'

Mournfully Tortoise went away. No sooner did Rabbit see that, than the Rabbit said, 'Hm! Father Tiger, it hurts me [that] my

1 'Hagu-tɔngo fō baka-se̱i'.

3 Told by 4. Compare, for Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 219-222; Liberia, Bundy 417, No. 16; Ewe, Bassett 213-14 (from Ellis (II), 274-5, No. 3); Fǫ̱, Trautmann 32-33; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. & F. (IV), MS. Nos. 47 and 53; Nigeria (Yoruba), Bouche (II) 226, Frobenius 256, No. 26; E. Nigeria, Mockler-Ferryman, 287-288; Hausa, Tremearne (I) 209-10, No. 6; Gabun, Nassau (I) 13-17, 25-26, 27-30, Nos. 1, 3 and 4; Angola, Chatelaine 187-9, No. 23; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 65, No. 59c; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 87-89, No. 43 I-III; Santo Domingo, Andrade 291, No. 245. For another Suriname version see Van Cappelle 297-8, No. 3.

4 The secret language spoken by those who are possessed by the Kromanti spirit.

Father Tiger is dead. But my Father Tiger is dead, [yet] his backside breathes.' Then Tiger opened his eyes a little, and looked, then he shut his eyes again.

Buffalo was crying, Deer was crying, Tamanwa[2] was crying. No sooner did all the animals go away one by one, than Hog called out,

'*Bia, bia, bia,*
I hear a person died,
But his backside[3] breathes.'

At once Buffalo mournfully said, 'You know what? I am going away.' Hog sat down and he wept without stopping.

When Tiger opened his eyes, he saw all the animals were gone. Hog alone sat crying. At once Tiger rose from his death-bed, and he struck a blow. Then his hand went into Hog's eye. Then Hog's tears were caught in Tiger's hand. Then he licked it, and he said, 'Boy, if your eye-water is so sweet, well, [how must] your meat [be] now!'

And so all the bush animals went away. He killed Hog.

18.

Tigri ben pre taki 'ɛm dɛdɛ. A meki dɛm sɛni kari ala meti, taki hɛm dɛdɛ. Ma nō a taki te dɛm kɔ' na dɛdɛ-'oso, dɛm no muso sɻŋgi tra sɻŋgi leɻiki dem sɻŋgi dąnsi-sɻŋgi.

Krabita bɛn sabi pre fiɔl, ɛn Dia bɛn sabi pre gita'. Nō, di den gō na dɛdɛ-'oso dem bɪgin fō pre, no mō Sɛkrepatu a si taki Tigri no dɛdɛ, Tigri bɛn wani fō kiri den alamala. No mo a sɻŋgi -

Asasa sambaɻi sambaɻi sa
Asasa sambaɻi sa
Suma n' a futu
A bɪgɪn bitɛm.

So a gō, a taɻigi Krabita taki Tigri no dɛdɛ, ma a i dɛ luku den, fo' kiri den. Dąn Krabita teki ɛŋ fiol, a pre -

Suma no abi futu,
A bɪgɪn bitɛm,
Suma no abi futu,
A bɪgɪn bitɛm.

2 Ant-eater.
3 Informant's explanation of 'karaki' was 'hog language for "backside".'

So ala den meti bıgın lǫ'. Tigri lǫ' na Krabita baka fō go kısi ɛ̨ŋ, ma di a lǫ' so te... dą̨n Krabita go na in' wą' ɔro, d'a poti hɛm tutu 'a dɔro.

Dą̨n dagu, nō, tɛnap' farawɛ. No mō a ta̱igi Tigri taki, 'Ɛf' yu tra̱ŋga, na tɔmpu di dapɛ frı̨ŋgi ɛ̨ŋ' go na abra.' Ɛn so, di Tigri 'ati brǫn, a teki na tutu fō Krabita, a hari ɛ̨ŋ, frı̨ŋgi gō na abra. Dą' di a frı̨ŋg' ɛ̨' kaba, a kǫ' si taki, na Krabita. No mo a naki ɛm 'anu.

Odo: Grǫ' no dɛ ta̱igi suma sani sabi so diri.

A busi kɔndre wi n'ɛ pre so,
Zɔndro akrima;
A mi doti-o, wi n'ɛ pre so,
Zɔndro akrima.

Mi 'ɛde 'ɛ golo,
Nana-ho!
Mi 'ɛde 'ɛ golo,
Mi wiri ą̨nsi,
Te mi 'ɛ si sani so.
Mi 'ɛde 'ɛ golo,
Nana-ho!

18. Mock Funeral, - Tiger Plays Dead: Bone for a Stump.[4]

Tiger played that he was dead. He made them send to call all the animals saying he was dead. But now he said when they came to the funeral, they must not sing other songs than dance songs.

Goat knew how to play the violin, and Deer knew how to play the guitar. Now, when they went to the house of the dead and they began to play, at once Tortoise saw that Tiger was not dead. Tiger wanted to kill all of them. At once he sang -

Asasa sambai sambai sa
Asasa sambai sa
He who has no feet
Begins betimes.

So he went to tell Goat that Tiger was not dead, but was lying in wait for them, to kill them. Then Goat took his violin, and he played -

He who has no feet,
He begins betimes,
He who has no feet,
He begins betimes.

4 Told by 1. For 'Mock Funeral' correspondences, see preceding tale. For 'Bone for a Stump' compare, for Senegal (Toucouleur), le Brun 183, No. 1; Sudan (Bambara), Travélé 142-143, No. 53, (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 433-435, fables No. 23 and No. 24, (Hausa), Tremearne (III) 219-220, No. 18; Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 197, No. 50; Gabun, Nassau (I) 45, Mpongwe No. 41; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 51-52, No. 40a and b; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 103-104, No. 55 I and II.

So all the animals began to run. Tiger ran after Goat to catch him, but as he ran so till... then Goat went into a hole and he put [left] his horns outside.

Then Dog, now, was standing far away. At once he said to Tiger, he said, ‘If you are strong, fling across the stump that is there.’ And so, as Tiger was angry, he took Goat's horns, and he pulled at them, and flung them across. Then, when he had flung them, he came to see that it was Goat. At once he struck his hands.

Proverb: The earth does not tell people why knowledge is so costly.

In the bush villages we do not play so,
Without an Akrima;[1]
On my soil, we do not play so,
Without an Akrima.

My head is turning,[2]
Oh Ancestors!
My head is turning,
My hair turns gray,
When I behold such things.
My head is turning,
Oh, Ancestors!

19. Syɛ̨nsyɛ̨n nąŋga Anąnsi.

Kri-kra! Ala man na ɛ̨ŋ Kra-kra!
A sɑ go?
A sɑ go!

Anąsi nanga Syɛ̨nsyɛ̨n bɛ̨n dɛ bɪgi mati. Den tu 'ɛ wroko makandra. Dą' wan lɛpi 'a trawą wroko. 'A trawą lɛpi 'a trawan. So den libi. Wɛ, no dɛn pran' wąn pɪsi karu, ma na karu fō Syɛnsyɛn kɔm mɔro mo̱i lẹ̱iki di fō Anąnsi. Dą' Anąnsi kɔm kɪs' bigi a̱i. Dą' a wan' 'pur' 'a karu fō Syɛ̨nsyɛ̨n. Dą' a taig' Syɛ̨nsyɛ̨n taki, ‘Na karu fō yu mo̱i, ma di fō mi mɔro mo̱i. Di di fō mi bɛn dɛ lẹ̱iki di fō yu, dą mi wą̱i ɛ̨ŋ, dą a kɔm mɔro mo̱i.’ Ma Anąnsi le̱i. Te i kɔt' karu a n'ɛ gro mɔro. Dą' i kɔri Syɛ̨nsyɛ̨n...

Bato, mi bɛn dɑpɛ!
Sąn a taki?

1 A drum.
2 Idiom for being possessed by a Kromanti spirit, because Kromanti enters the head, as the vulture (Opete) does the eyes, and the snake (the Dagowe, Papa, etc.) the abdomen.

Asanti bɔyo
Da mi a widya!
Akɔlo!
Asanti bɔyo
Da mi a widya!
Akɔlo, akɔlo, abanu ba.
Asanti bɔyo
Da mi a widya!
Akɔlo!
Asanti bɔyo
Da mi a widya!
Akɔlo, akɔlo, abanu ba.

Waka 'ąŋga yu tɔri!
... Syɛnsyɛn kɔt' a-i-karu. Dą' di suma de pasa baka-dina, dą' den si 'a karu kɔti, dąn den taki, ‘Są' mek' Syɛnsyɛn kɔt' na karu so? Wą mǫ̣i karu.’ Dą' ta̱ig' den suma ta̱igi, na Anąnsi mek' ɛŋ kɔt' 'a karu. Dą' den suma taki a n'ɛ go gro mɔro. Dą' Syɛnsyɛn taki, ‘Wɛ, a bon. A kɪs' mi nąŋga karu, ma mi go kɪs' ɛŋ nąŋga ɛŋ mama.’...

Bato, mi ben dapɛ!
Sąn a taki?

Kɔm tɛsi mi,
Mi na mąn;
Kɔm firi mi,
Mi na mąn,
Mi na Sofia Bada,
Bō' mąn fō Alada,
Kɔm tɛsi mi,
Mi na mąn.

Mek' a go!
A sɑ go!
... Syɛnsyɛn a wroko mɔni tɛ a ba̱i wan tyapu. A ba̱i ala wrok' sani, ɔru, ɑksi, a ba̱i ala wroko krosi. A wroko wąn pikin saka mɔni, a kɪbri. Dąn a ta̱ig' hɛm, a taki, ‘Wɛ, mi mama, mi go taki yu dɛdɛ; dą yu mu tą na tap' sɔdro. Dą' mi 'ɛ go mek' kɛsi, mek' den bɛri yu.’ Di a du dati, d' a sɛn' bɔskopu gi ala meti taki ɛŋ mama dɛdɛ.

Dąn Anąnsi kɔm. Dą' di dɛn go bɛri, dą a meki ɛŋ mama go na ɔndro na parada. A pɔt' ala den sani di a ba̱i na ɔndro-se̱i pɛ na

parada. A sab' taki Anąnsi a bıgi a̱i. Dą' fɔs' dem bɛri, a-i bıgın kre̱i, 'a̱i, mi mama! Luk' fa yu gowɛ. I no lib' wan ɑksi srɛfi gi yu bo̱i. No wan wroko sani srɛfi, yu bo̱i no habi.' Ala den sani bıgın kɔmopo na ɔndro parada. Anąnsi 'ɛ tek' den. A wıɲsi ɛŋ mama kǫ dɛdɛ trǫ' wantrǫ' fō a ką' kıs' sani tu. 'A Syɛnsyɛn kre̱i bɛgi ɛŋ mama a bɛg' hɛm fō mɔni. Ɛŋ mama frıŋ na mɔni kɔm gi 'ɛm. Dem bɛri mo̱i. Dan dę gowe.

Ma ala de̱i tɛ Anąnsi nąŋga ɛŋ mama kıs' trɔbi, a taki, 'Yu no ką' dɛdɛ kɔmopo le̱iki fa Syɛnsyɛn mama dɛdɛ?' Wą de̱i ɛŋ nąŋga ɛŋ mama kıs' trɔbi. A tek' wą tıki a nak' ɛŋ mama. A kiri hɛm...

Batō, mi bɛn dapɛ!

Mo̱i man Amusi,
Mo̱i man.
Mo̱i man Amusi,
Mo̱i man.
Tɛ yu tɛr' 'a Gadu
Yu mu tɛr' Amusi.

... A du so srɛfi le̱iki fa Syɛnsyɛn bɛn du. Pɔt' parada mo̱i, dą' a bıgin fō kre̱i le̱ik' fa Syɛnsyɛn bɛn kre̱i. Ma a no kısi nɔtį. Den tyari ɛŋ mama go bɛri.

Wan wiki na baka Syɛnsyɛn meki ɛŋ mama kɔm na grǫ. Dą' Anąnsi 'ɛ i kǫ, dąn a si Syɛnsyɛn mama. Anąnsi taki, 'Mat' Syɛnsyɛn, a no yu mama dia?' A taki, 'a̱i, na mi mama. Yu bɛn kɔri mi nąŋga karu, a nō mi kıs' yu nąŋga mama.' Syɛnsyɛn mama bɛn dɛ na libi. Anąnsi mama dɛdɛ.

A kaba.

19. Mock Funeral: Gifts from the Dead: Fatal Imitation.[3]

Kri-kra! *All men on their* Kra-kra!

Will it go?

It will go!

Anansi and Syensyen[4] were great friends. The two of them worked together. One helped the other work and the other helped the one. So they lived. Well, now they planted a field of corn, but the corn of Syensyen grew better than that of Anansi. Then Anansi became envious.[5] He wanted to destroy Syensyen's corn. He said to Syensyen, he said, 'Your corn is nice, but mine is much nicer. If mine were like yours I should cut it, then it would grow better.' But Anansi was lying. When corn is once cut it will not grow any more. He was misleading Syensyen...

Bato! I was there.

What was said?

3 Told by 1. Compare, for Senegal, Zeltner, 'Histoire de Koli', esp. pp. 68-71; Sierra Leone (Mende), Westermann (III) 456-457, No. 16; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 285-6, Guro No. 25; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 263, 265-267, 269-271, Nos. 30-33; Gabun, Nassau (I) 194-5, Benga No. 26; Cameroons (Duala), Lederbogen (II) 77-78, No. 36; Congo, Weeks; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 104, No. 103; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 164-5, No. 135 and No. 136; Santo Domingo, Andrade 29-31, Nos. 3-5.

4 *Odonata*, (Encyc., p. 516). According to Penards, II, p. 242, '*sen-sen*' is the cricket.

5 'Anansi came to catch a big eye'.

Ashanti earth spirits
Make me possessed!
Akolo!
Ashanti earth spirits
Make me possessed!
Akolo, akolo, abanu ba.
Ashanti earth spirits
Make me possessed!
Akolo!
Ashanti earth spirits
Make me possessed!
Akolo, akolo, abanu ba.[1]

Get on with your story.

... Syensyen cut the corn. Then when the people went by in the afternoon, then they saw the corn was cut, then they said, 'What made Syensyen cut the corn? Such fine corn.' Then he told the people, he said, Anansi had him cut the corn. Then the people said it would not grow any more. Then Syensyen said, 'Well, all right. He tricked me with the corn, but I am going to trick him with his mother.'...

Bato! *I was there*.

What was said?

Come try me,
I am the man;
Come feel me,
I am the man,
I am *Sofia Bada*,[2]
Good man of *Alada*,
Come try me,
I am the man.[3]

Let it go on.

It will go on.

...Syensyen earned money until he had enough to buy a scythe. He bought all sorts of tools, hoes, axes, and he bought working clothes. He worked until he had a little sack of money which he hid. Then he said to her, he said, 'Well, Mother, I am going to say you are dead; you must go upstairs. Then I will make a coffin and have them bury you.' When he did this, he sent a message to all the animals that his mother was dead.

Then Anansi came. Then when they were going to bury her, he made his mother go under the bier. He put all the things which

1 Song No. 132.
2 A bad spirit. The native conceives him as a man with a tail who dances upon a woman, and drinks her blood.
3 Song No. 234.

he bought underneath the bier. He knew that Anansi was very greedy. Then before they buried her, he began to wail, ‘O Mother! Look how you go away. You do not leave even an axe for your boy. Your boy hasn't even a tool to work with.’ All the things began to come out from under the bier. Anansi took them. He wished his own mother would die at once so that he could get all these things. Syensyen cried and begged his mother for some money. His mother flung the money at him. They buried her handsomely. Then they went away.

But every day [thereafter] when Anansi and his mother quarrelled, he said, ‘Can't you die like Syensyen's mother died?’ One day he and his mother quarrelled. He took a stick and struck his mother. He killed her...

Bato, *I was there!*

A fine man is *Amusi*,[1]
A fine man.
A fine man is *Amusi*,
A fine man.
If you trust in God
You must trust *Amusi*.[2]

... He did the same as Syensyen had done. He fixed the bier nicely, and then he began to wail as Syensyen had wailed. But he got nothing. They took his mother away to bury her.

A week later Syensyen had his mother come to the field. Then Anansi came, and he saw Syensyen's mother. Anansi said, ‘Friend Syensyen, isn't that your mother here?’ He said, ‘Yes, it is my mother. You had lied to me about the corn, and now I have tricked you with your mother.’ Syensyen's mother was alive. Anansi's mother was dead.

It is finished.

20. Anąnsi nąŋga Tigri.

Tigri fɛn' wąn krǫnto. Dą' Anąnsi kɔm. Dą' Anąnsi tɛk' a krǫnto, dą' i tya' gowɛ. Dą' Anąnsi si wan tra Tigri nõ, dą' a broko a krǫnto, dą' i nyam. Dą' Tigri ɑksi hɛm, tak', ‘Są' yu nyam!’ A tą̱igi a Tigri taki, na wan pis' fo ɛ̨ŋ ston a nyam. Dą' Tigri tą̱igi taki, ‘Tą'! Anąnsi! Di a waka so na yu ston süt' so?’ Dą' tak', ‘Mi Tata, fa di fõ yu bɪgi fatu dɛ süt' a so süti so!’ Dą' tą̱ig' ɛ̨ŋ taki, ‘Wɛ, fa mi sɑ broko di fõ mi fõ mi nyam?’ ‘Mi Tata, waka kǫ na

1 Inf.; ‘This is an obia name and the song is a Komfo song.’
2 Song No. 190.

baka uko.' Dą' a sab' pɛ wan smɛtman dɛ nąŋga wan bɪgi ambɛsi. So a tak' mɛk a didǫ'. Fa-i-si Tigri didǫ', a naki nąŋga wan mokro broko ɛŋ stǫ'. Wantɛm Tigri dɛdɛ.

Dą' tamara a mit' Tigri brada. Dą' a fɛn' wan godo ɔni, dą' Tigri āksi hɛm taki, 'A no yu kir' mi brada?' Dą' taki, 'No, no!' Dą' taki, 'Są' yu drɪŋg dąn?' Anąnsi taki, 'Na pikin kɛskɛsi pɪsi mi 'ɛ drɪngi.' Dą' taki, 'Wɛ, kɔm mɛk' mi tɛs' hɛm.' 'A Tigri taki, 'Tą! A so kɛskɛsi pɪsi süti!' Dą' aksi hem tak', 'Fa mi sɑ kɪs' a so pikinso fō na pɪs' fō kɛskɛsi?' Dą' taki hɛm mɛk' a kɔm na wan kriki, dą' a sɑ si dɛn dapɛ, dą' a sɑ mek' hɛm kɪs' wan. Dą' a go dɛ; dąn kɛskɛsi kɔm, dą' a kis' wą.

Mamɛntę' taki, 'Mi n'ɛ i go kiri yu, ma pɪsi pikinso gi mi.' A kɛskɛsi pɪsi, di a tɛs' hɛm, a no süti lɛk' a di fō Anąnsi bɛn gi hɛm. A taki, 'Bo̱i, pɪs' na srɛf' pɪsi; no so, mi go kiri yu.' Kɛskɛsi pɪsi tɛ a pɪsi brudu, da a no mąŋ fō kɪsi na swit' pɪsi.

Dą' Anąnsi i kǫ' nō. A taki, 'Mi Tata, a no pɪsi gi yɛtɛ?' Dą' a taki hɛm, 'Mi Tata, mi 'ɛ go taig' hɛm mek' a pɪsi gi yu.' Nō mō Anansi ta̱igi Kɛskɛsi, 'Yu mu tyara, dą mi 'ɛ go tyu bǭ'.' Tigri aksi hɛm tak', 'Są' yu taki?' A taki, 'Mi ta̱ig' hɛm a kla̱ine gi yu.' So a ta̱igi Tigri baka taki, 'Mi Tata, lusu hɛm pikinso, mɛk' a kɪsi hɛm srɛfi.' Fa-i-si Tigri lusu hɛm, na kɛskɛsi lǫ. Nō mō Anąnsi dukru na wata.

Srapu mi nɛfi, mo̱i, mo̱i,
Mi 'ɛ kɔt' Akuba barba.
Srap mi nɛfi, srɛŋ, srɛŋ,
Fo mi go kɔt' Akuba barba.

Susana re̱i
Susana re̱i
Yu habi wą mo̱i bɔbi;
Na bɔbi, na fō yu,
Ma te mi dɛ fas'
ɛŋ na fō mi.

20. Fatal Imitation: Monkey's Urine is Sweet.[3]

Tiger[4] found a cocoanut. Then Anansi came. Then Anansi took the cocoanut and he carried it away. Then Anansi saw another Tiger now, and he broke the cocoanut and he ate it. Then Tiger asked him, said, 'What are you eating?' He said to Tiger, he said, he was eating a piece of his testicles. Then Tiger said to him, said, 'What, Anansi! How does it happen that your testicles are so sweet?' Then [he] said, 'Father,[5] then how sweet [must be]

3 Told by 1. Compare Hausa, Tremearne (I) 493-494, No. 23, and (III) 195-196, No. 6; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. & F. (IV), MS No. 9; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 255, No. 26, (Bura), Helser 181-183, No. 44, (Calabar), Dayrell (I) 58-61, No. 14; British Antilles (Jamaica?), Bassett 432-433, No. 68; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 33-34, No. 20.

4 Jaguar is called 'Tiger' (*Tigri* in taki-taki).

5 Taki-taki *Tata*, a term of respect. Inf. said, 'The animals are afraid of Tiger so they talk sweet to him.'

yours that are so big and fat!' Then he said to him, he said, 'Well, how shall I break mine in order to eat them?' 'Father, come to the corner.' He knew where a blacksmith lived who had a big anvil. So he said, let him lie down. Just as Tiger lay down, he struck him with a hammer and broke his testicles. Tiger died instantly.

Then the next day he met Tiger's brother. Then he found a gourd with honey, and Tiger asked him, he said, 'Is it not you who killed my brother?' He said, 'No, no!' He said, 'What are you drinking then?' Then Anansi said, 'I am drinking a young monkey's urine.' Then he said, 'Well, come let me taste it.' The Tiger said, 'What, is monkey's urine so sweet?' Then he asked him, he said, 'How shall I get a little of the monkey's urine?' Then he said to him, let him come to a creek, then they will see them [the monkeys] there, and they will catch one. They went there; the monkeys came, and then he caught one.

In the morning he said, 'I am not going to kill you, but urinate a little for me.' The monkey urinated, [but] when he tasted it, it was not as sweet as that which Anansi had given him. He said, 'Boy, urinate the same urine; if not I will kill you.' The monkey urinated until he urinated blood, but he could not get sweet urine.

Then Anansi came now. He said, 'Father, didn't he urinate yet?' Then he said to him, 'Father, I am going to tell him to urinate for you.' At once Anansi said to Monkey, 'You must run, and I will duck well.' Tiger asked him, 'What are you saying?' He said, 'I am saying to him to urinate urine for you.' So he said to Tiger again, he said, 'Father, loosen him a little, let him come to himself.' Just as Tiger loosened him, the monkey ran. At once Anansi ducked under the water.

Sharpen my knife, fine, fine,
I am cutting *Akuba's* beard.
Sharpen my knife, sharp, sharp,
For I am going to cut *Akuba's* beard.[1]

Susanne rệi
Susanne rệi
You have a fine bosom;
The breasts, they are yours,
But when I play
They are mine.[2]

1 Song No. 140.
2 Song No. 136.

21.

Dagu nąŋga Tigri bɛn meki barki fō nyąm Krabita. Dagu nąŋga Tigri tyari Krabita go na Tigri hoso. Dagu pɔt' wąn bǫ' bɪgi pat' watra 'a faa̰iya fō te a hati fō den pɔt' Krabita na ɪni. Ma na Dagu bɛn habi na wroko fō go luku te 'a watra hati. Ala yurutɛ' Tigri sɛni hɛm, a de kɔm piki taki na watra no hati yɛte, bikasi ɛŋ hati bɛn kɔm dreı̯. A ben kɔm kɪs' sari-hati fō Krabita. So di Tigri sɛni hɛm tak' go luku ɛf' na watra hati, Dagu ɑksi Tigri 'a taki, ‘A mɔro bɛtre yu go dɪs' lesi go luku?’ Tigri taki, ‘A bǭ'.’

'A yurtɛm, te 'a Tigri gowe, Dagu nąŋga Krabita sɛt' lǫ' gowe. Na yurtɛm Tigri dreı̯ kɔm baka, a si taki Krabita nąŋga Dagu gowe. So Tigri sab' są' Dagu du. A sɛti lǫ' na dem baka.

Dagu nąŋga Krabita lǫ' te den kɔm dɔro na fesi wą' kriki. Ma nō, fa Dagu dɛ go du nąŋga Krabita? Bikasi Krabita no sabi swɛ̨ŋ. Dagu taki, ‘Mat' Krabita, yu sab' są' mi 'ɛ go du 'ąŋga yu? Mi 'ɛ dik' wąn bɪgi hɔro, dąn mi dɛ pɔti yu na ɪni. Dąn mi tap' hɛm baka, ma mi dɛ lib' den tutu na lɔktu.’ Dagu du so. Di a kaba, a kɔti-go na abraseı̯.

Pikinso na baka Tigri dɔro na fesi na kriki, ɛn a si Dagu na abraseı̯. Ma Tigri srɛfi frede watra. So Dagu dɛ na abraseı̯, i Tigri syɛm. Tigri taki, ‘Yu boı̯ Dagu, pɛ yu pɔti Krabita?’ A taki, ‘Mi no sabi. Krabita go na busi.’ Dagu taki, ‘Mi Tata Tigri, yu hati dɛ brǫn 'ąŋga mi, no?’ Tigri taki, ‘Yu boı̯, ɛf' mi go kɪs' yu, mi go sɔri yu.’ Nō mō Dagu piki Tigri taki, ‘Mi Tata Tigri, ɛf' yu hati 'ɛ brǫn 'ąŋga mi trutru, tek' den tu pis' tɪki frɻŋ nak' mi.’

Tigri nąŋga na hatibrǫn a grabu den tu pis' tɪki, ala dɑti na Krabita tutu, a frɻŋ 'ɛm go na abraseı̯ fō naki Dagu. 'A yurtɛm, te a fadǫ' na abraseı̯, Tigri si tak' na Krabita.

Na srɛfi hatibrǫ' dati fō tigri mek' a no kąn si krabita nąŋga dagu, a no suku fō nyąm den.

21. Plot to Cook Goat: Bone for a Stump.[1]

Dog and Tiger had made a bargain to eat Goat. Dog and Tiger took Goat to Tiger's house. Dog put a large pot of water on the fire, so that when it was hot, they could put Goat in it. But Dog had the task to go and see if the water was hot. Every time Tiger sent him, he came and answered that the water was not yet hot, because he had a turn of heart. He had become sorry for Goat. So when Tiger sent him to see if the water was hot, Dog asked Tiger, he said, 'It is best you go and look this time.' Tiger said, 'All right.'

When Tiger went away, Dog and Goat set out on a run. When Tiger returned, he saw that Goat and Dog were gone. So Tiger knew what Dog did. He set out to run after them.

Dog and Goat ran until they came to a creek. But now, what was Dog to do with Goat? Because Goat did not know how to swim. Dog said, 'Friend Goat, you know what I am going to do with you? I will dig a large hole, then I will put you in it. Then I will fill it in again, but I will leave the horns out.'[2] Dog did so. When he was through, he crossed to the other side.

A little later Tiger came to the creek, and he saw Dog on the other side. But Tiger himself was afraid of water. So Dog was on the other side, and Tiger was ashamed. Tiger said, 'You boy Dog, where did you put Goat?' He said, 'I don't know. Goat went to the bush.' Dog said, 'Father Tiger, you are angry at me, no?' Tiger said, 'You boy, if I catch you, I will show you.' At once Dog answered Tiger, said, 'Father Tiger, if you are really angry at me, take the two sticks and fling them at me.'[3]

Tiger in anger snatched the two sticks, which were[4] Goat's horns, and he flung them to the other side, in order to strike Dog. When they fell on the other side, Tiger saw that it was Goat.

And that same anger is the reason why tigers cannot see goats and dogs without seeking to eat them.

22.

Tigri nąŋga Anąnsi go streị̂ suma hanu mɔro trąŋga. Dę' go nak' den srɛfi, ma ala manɛntɛm feị̂fi yuru den dɛ i kɔm pɛ dę' i libi, dąn den 'ɛ go nak' den srɛfi fõ si suma hanu mɔro hɛbi leị̂k' trawan.

Anąnsi go na smɛtman, a meki wą bɪgi mokro. Fa-i-si mamɛntɛm a go, a kari Tigri taki ɛ̨ŋ kɔm fõ naki. Fa Tigri opo na dɔro, Anąnsi naki nąŋga mokro. Tigri skreị̂ki. A no prakseri taki, na so Anąnsi

1 Told by 6. For comparative references, see Tale 18.
2 Lit., 'in the air'.
3 Lit., 'fling strike me'.
4 Lit., 'all that were...'

hanu hɛbi. Tamara mamɛntɛm Tigri dɛ go naki Anąnsi nō. Bakadina Anąnsi go na Kɔnkɔni a taa̤ig' hɛm taki, ala mamɛntɛm wan suma dɛ tyari nanyąm kɔm gi ɛŋ, ma ɛŋ habi kɔrsu, ɛŋ no dɛ mąŋ go fō opo na dɔro tamara mamɛntɛm. Meki Kɔnkɔni kɔm sribi nąŋga ɛŋ. Mamɛntɛm, fa Tigri naki na dɔro, a mek' Kɔnkɔni go opo na dɔro. Na so, Tigri naki Kɔnkɔni; a dɛŋki taki na Anąnsi ɛŋ bɛn naki.

Na tra dea̤i, di Anąnsi go fō go naki Tigri, a naki 'a dɔro. Tigri bɛn skrea̤iki bika' a bɛn dɛŋki taki fa a naki Anąnsi, Anąnsi no bɛn kąn kɔm fō naki hɛm baka. Anąnsi taki, ‘Mi tata, opo 'a dɔro, mi kɔm.’ Fa Tigri hopo 'a dɔro, Anąnsi naki 'ąŋga mokrō baka. Tigri skrea̤iki, a taki, ‘Są'! Na Anąnsi hanu hɛbi so!’

Tamara Anąnsi kar' Dia, taki, mek' a kɔm sribi nąŋga hɛm. Manɛntɛm wan suma dɛ tyari nanyąm kɔm gi hɛm, dą' meki Dia opo na dɔro teki nanyąm. Fa Tigri kɔm, Dia opo na dɔro, Tigri naki hɛm, a fadǫ'. Tigri gowɛ.

Na tra dea̤i Anąnsi go fō go naki Tigri baka. Dąn Tigri kɔm frede. Dąn a kari Anąnsi, a taki, ‘Mi bɛgi yu, yu pikinso, ma yu hanu mɔro hɛbi leki di fō mi.’ So Anąnsi kɔm wɩni Tigri.

22. The Boxing Contest: Anansi Uses a Hammer.[5]

Tiger and Anansi went to test whose hand was the stronger. They were going to strike each other, but [the condition was] every morning at five o'clock, when they came where they [each] lived, then they were going to strike each other to see whose hand was heavier.

Anansi went to a smith and made a large hammer. When morning came he went to call Tiger to say he came to fight. As Tiger opened the door, Anansi struck him with the hammer. Tiger was

5 Told by 1. Compare, Sudan (Mande), Binger 9; Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 388-390, No. 15: Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 147-151, No. 39; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. & F. (IV), MS No. 7.

frightened. He had not thought that Anansi's hand was so heavy. Now, the next morning Tiger was to go to strike Anansi. In the afternoon Anansi went to Rabbit and he said to him, said, every morning someone brought him food, but he had fever and he would not be able to open the door tomorrow morning. Let Rabbit come and sleep with him. In the morning, as Tiger knocked on the door, he made Rabbit go and open the door. And so Tiger struck Rabbit; he thought that he had struck Anansi.

The next day when Anansi went to strike Tiger he knocked on the door. Tiger was frightened because he had thought that the way he had struck Anansi, Anansi could not come to strike him again. Anansi said, ‘Father, open the door, I have come.’ As Tiger opened the door Anansi struck him with the hammer again. Tiger was frightened, he said, ‘What! Is Anansi's hand so heavy!’

The following day Anansi called Deer, saying let him come and sleep with him. In the morning someone would bring him food, then let Deer open the door and take the food. As Tiger came, Deer opened the door, Tiger struck him, he fell down. Tiger went away.

The next day Anansi went to strike Tiger again. Then Tiger was frightened. Then he called Anansi, and he said, ‘I beg you [for forgiveness], you are little, but your hand is heavier than mine.’ So Anansi came to win from Tiger.

23.

Mati Tigri naŋga mati Anąnsi dɛm bɛn streị̂ suma hanu mɔro trąŋga. Dą' mati Tigri taị̂gi mati Anąnsi, taki, mati Anąnsi fɔs' kąn kɔm naki mat' Tigri, ma tɛ Kaka bari, dą' musu deị̂.

Dą' a mati Anąnsi go 'a tumbremą', a meki wąn bǫ̃' kɔdya. Dą', mamɛntɛm, go kar' mat' Tigri, mek' mat' Tigri opo kɔm gi hɛm wąn kɔfo. Dą' mat' Tigri gō, dą' Anąnsi naki hɛm wąn naŋga kɔdya na hɛm fesi hɛdɛ. Dą' mat' Tigri a kɔm skreị̂iki. A no prakseri dɑti mati Anąnsi hanu trąŋga so.

Dą' na tra deị̂, mat' Anąnsi bɛgi mat' Dia, taki ɛ̨ŋ hɛdɛ hati hɛm, mek' mat' Dia kɔm sribi naŋga hɛm. Mati Dia go, bika' a no sabi. Dą' mɪndri neti, mat' Anąnsi taị̂gi mat' Dia, taki, ‘Te yu yɛre mi Tata Tigri kɔm, dą' yu mu opo hesi go na ɛ̨ŋ, dą i go tyari switi-mɔfo gi mi. Dan yu sɑ teki hɛm gi mi.’ Dą' mat' Dia opo tɛ Tigri kɔm. Dą' Tigri naki Dia wąn kɔfo, dąn Dia fadǫ'. Dia dɛdɛ. Dą' mat' Anąnsi tek' Dia pɔt' 'a brakoto.

Dą' mamɛntɛm dąn Anąnsi go na ɛŋ Tata Tigri, a taki, ‘Mi Tata, mi dɛ. Tideį neti mi 'ɛ kɔm gi yu wąn tra kɔfo baka.’ Dąn Tigri a skreį̂ki, bika' dɛŋki Anąnsi dɛdɛ kaba. A no sabi taki 'a Dia a naki. Tigri taki, ‘Tidɛ neti na boį̂ 'ɛ go kiri mi.’ Ma di Anąnsi go kari mat' Tigri, Tigri hopo, a go nąŋga skreį̂ki na mati Anąnsi. A nak' mat' Tigri wąn fō na kɔdya, dą' Tigri fadǫ'. Nō mō Tigri bari, ‘Mi gadō, na boį̂ hanu trąŋga so!’

Dą' mat' Anąnsi kɔm bɛg' mat' Kɔnkɔni fō a kɔm sribi nąŋga hɛm. Dąn mɪndri neti a tak' Kɔnkɔni dati habi kɔrsu. Dą' bɛgi mati Kɔnkɔni tak', ‘Tąŋgi, tąŋgi, opo, go na mi Tata Tigri, go teki meti gi mi.’ Ma Kɔnkɔni no wani. Kɔnkɔni taki ɛŋ n'ɛ go na Tata Tigri. Anąnsi bɛgi Kɔnkɔni, ‘Tąŋgi, tąŋgi.’ Dąn Kɔnkɔni taki, tak' ‘Mat' Anąnsi, yu kɔni, ma mi a no yu boį̂.’ Dąn Tigri hatibrɔn. A hopo 'a dɔro, a go na ɪni. Dąn Kɔnkɔni kɪbri. Dąn mat' Tigri nak' Anąnsi. Anąnsi dɛdɛ.

So dąn mati Kɔnkɔni tą' na mat' Anąnsi hoso. Dąn mati Kɔnkɔni hɛm nyąm mati Dia.

23. The Boxing Contest: Anansi Uses a Cudgel.[1]

Friend Tiger and friend Anansi contested whose hand was the stronger. Then Tiger said to friend Anansi that friend Anansi could come first and strike friend Tiger, but when the Cock crew, then [it] must be [considered] day.

Then friend Anansi went to a carpenter and made a good cudgel. Then, in the morning, he went to call on friend Tiger, to have friend Tiger get up for his blow. Then friend Tiger went, then Anansi struck him on the forehead with the cudgel. Then friend Tiger became frightened. He had not studied that friend Anansi's hand was so strong.

Then the next day friend Anansi begged friend Deer, he said his head hurt him, would friend Deer come and sleep with him. Friend Deer went with him, because he did not know. Then in the middle of the night, friend Anansi said to friend Deer, he said, ‘When you hear my father Tiger come, then you must get up quickly and go to him, for he is going to bring me delicacies[2]. Then you will take them for me.’ Then friend Deer got up when Tiger came. Then Tiger struck Deer one blow, and Deer fell down. Deer died. Then friend Anansi took Deer and put him on the barbecue rack.

1 Told by 3. Comparative references as in preceding tale.

2 Lit., ‘sweet-mouth’ or sweet morsel, but idiomatic for meat and salt fish. Rattray, (V) p. 147, explains that sweet-mouth means delicacies.

Then in the morning Anansi went to his Father Tiger, and he said, ‘Father, I am here. Tonight I come to give you another blow.’ Then Tiger was frightened, because he thought Anansi was already dead. He did not know that he had struck Deer. Tiger said, ‘Tonight the boy is going to kill me.’ But, when Anansi went to call friend Tiger, Tiger rose and went trembling to friend Anansi. He struck friend Tiger one with the cudgel, and Tiger fell down. At once Tiger cried out, ‘My God, the boy's hand is so strong!’

Then friend Anansi came to beg friend Rabbit to come and sleep with him. Then in the middle of the night, he said to Rabbit that he had fever. Then he begged friend Rabbit, he said, ‘Please, please, get up and go to my Father Tiger, and take the meat for me.’ But Rabbit did not want to [go]. Rabbit said he would not go to Father Tiger. Anansi begged Rabbit, ‘Please, please.’ Then Rabbit said, he said, ‘Friend Anansi, you are cunning, but I am not your boy.’ Then Tiger was angry. He opened the door and went inside. Then Rabbit hid. Then friend Tiger struck Anansi. Anansi died.

So then friend Rabbit remained in friend Anansi's house. Then friend Rabbit ate friend Deer.

24.

Anąnsi go taị̯g' Walfɪsh na ɔndro watra taki, mek' den streị̯ suma sa 'ari trawą mɔro trąŋga. A go baka, a aksi Asau̯, taki ɛŋ dɛ gō na ɔndro watra, dąn meki den tu taị̯ dem sɛrɛfi fō si suma sɑ har' trawą mɔro trąŋga. So a taị̯ wan tɛteị̯ gi' Asau̯, ɛn a go na ɔndro watra. A no taị̯ 'ɛm sɛrɛfi, ma a taị̯ Walfɪsh nąŋga Asau̯, bika' a bɛn sab' taki a no ką' hari no wąn fō den tu.

Nō, di a taị̯ den tu kaba, Walfɪsh dɛ hari Asau̯, Asau̯ dɛ hari Walfɪsh. Dem hari dem sɛrɛf' so tɛ... Anąnsi dɛ lafu dem. Den no bɛn sabi taki na so Anąnsi du. Dąn den ala kɔm prakseri taki, ‘Ɛfu na Anąnsi trąŋga so?’ Ma di den 'ar' te den weri, na Walfɪsh kɔm pikinso na shɔro. Nō, a si taki, Anąnsi bɛn kɔri ɛŋ na spotu. A kɔ̨n si taki nąŋga Asau̯ 'ɛm bɛn dɛ hari. Ɛn so dem lusu den sɛrɛfi. Anąnsi lafu den, a gowɛ. Anąnsi wąn kɔni meti.

24. Tug of War.[1]

Anansi went to say to Whale under the water to say, let them contest which of them could pull the harder. He went back and asked Elephant, said, he would go under the water, then let both of them tie themselves to see who could pull the other harder. So he tied a rope to Elephant, and he went under the water. He did not tie himself, but he tied Whale with Elephant, because he knew he could not pull against either of the two.

1 Told by 1. Compare, Senegal, Zeltner 111-112, and (from Niger territory), 195-197; Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 117-121; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 274, Guro No. 4; Sudan, Monteil (I) 49-51, (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 432-433, fable No. 22, (Hausa), Rattray (IV) ii 124-146, No. 30, Tremearne (I) 203-4, No. 1; Togoland, Cardinall (I) 139 and 207; Fɔ̨, Trautmann 37-38; Nigeria (Ibo), Blasden 277; (Onitsha), Thomas (III) 145-146, (Calabar), Dayrell (I) 104-106, No. 29, Cobham 307; Gabun, Nassau (I) 37-41, Mpongwe No. 5; Cameroons (Cross River), Mansfeld, 230, No. 18, (Duala), Lederbogen 28-30, No. 13; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier 3-7, No. 1 (reporting a correspondence with F. Didot, ‘Fables Sénégalaises’, No. 2, Wolof), and 13-19, No. 3; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 74-76, No. 34 I-III; Brazil, Eells, 47-50, No. 5. For another Suriname version, see Van Capelle 329-334, No. 20.

Now, when he had finished tying the two, Whale pulled Elephant, and Elephant pulled Whale. They pulled against each other so till... Anansi laughed at them. They did not know that Anansi did this. Then they all [both] came to study, and said, ‘Is Anansi so strong?’ But when they had pulled until they were weary, Whale came a little on [toward] the shore. Now he saw that Anansi held him up to ridicule. He came to see that he was pulling against Elephant. And so they freed themselves. Anansi laughed at them, and went away. Anansi is a clever animal.

25.

Dia nąŋga Sɛkrepatu go streı̯ fō lǫ'. Nō, Sɛkrepatu no mąŋ fō lǫ'. Dąn a pɔti wan sɛkrepatu dia na tap' uku, ɛn a pɔti ala ukutapu wan sɛkrepatu, so dɑti ala pɛ Dia 'ɛ lǫ' na fɛsi a i mit' sɛkrepatu. Lɛti na Konum stupu tapu si wan sɛkrepatu bɛn dɛ, so dɑti di Konum kɔm na fɛnsrɛ a si na Sɛkrepatu, wantrǫn a taki Sɛkrepatu wɪni Dia, bikasi Dia no bɛn dɔro yɛte.

Ɛn so Sɛkrepatu ben teki erstɛ preı̯s. Ala suma bɛn ferwɔndru fa Sɛkrepatu bɛn wɪni Dia.

25. Relay Race.[1]

Deer and Tortoise went to race. Now Tortoise could not run. Then she put a tortoise here at the corner, and at every corner she put a tortoise so that everywhere Deer ran he met a tortoise ahead of him. Even on the King's stoop there was a tortoise, so that when the King came to the window he saw the tortoise, and at once he said Tortoise won from Deer, because Deer had not arrived yet.

And so Tortoise took first prize. Everybody wondered how Tortoise won from Deer.

26. Konubri.

Nō, foru kɔm prakseri nō, taki, a dɛ fanodu fō den kɪs' wąn konum, bika' ala sani habi wąn konum. Dąn den go na Leō, go taį̣gi Leō taki mek' a kar' wąn kɔmparsi, bika' na Leō bɛn de konum fō ala meti. Di na kɔmparsi bɪgin, ala den foru kɔm makandra fō si suma sɑ trǫ' konum. Konubri bɛn dɛ da mɔro p'kin wąn. A prakser' taki, 'Mi na mɔro p'kin, ma mi sɑ dɛ konum.'

Di den bɪgin fō taki, Leō prakser' taki, 'Fa wi sɑ du?' Ma Falɛk bɛn prakser' taki, 'Mi kąʹ freį̣ heį̣, so mi wɻnsi dɛm meki wi streį̣ fō freį̣. Dąʹ mi sab'-tak' mi sɑ freį̣ mɔro heį̣ leį̣iki wąn, dąn mi sɑ trǫ' konum.' Ma a no bɛn sabi fa fō taki dɑti, bika' a sab'-taki den tra foru bɛn dɛ go taki, na di a kąʹ freį̣ heį̣, mek' a tak' so. Ma a no sab'-taki Konubri srɛfi bɛn habi na hɛm hɛdɛ są a i go du. Di den ala taki so te... Naktigal taki, 'Mi wan' fō tak' wan sani, ma mi no sabi ɛfu a sɑ bǫ' na ụn.' Dąn ala piki taki, 'Taki, mek' wi yɛre.' A taki, 'Mi no sataki meki ụn teki wąn fō wi di kąn sɻŋgi mɔro switi, bika' mi sab'-taki ɛfu mi opo mi stɛ̨n, mi dɛ go wɪni alamala. Ma mi sɑ tak' wan sani. Gado gi ụn ala wąn sani, ɛn dati na wąn freį̣. So mek' wi pɔt' hɛm taki, suma ką freį̣' mɔro heį̣ leį̣ik' tra wąn, dat' sɑ trǫ' konum.' Na Falek kɔm prɛsiri di a yɛre so, bika' dat bɛn lą̨ŋga tɛm na ɛ̨ŋ hɛdɛ. A dyɔmpo, a taki, 'Ya. Dat' yu tak', wąn bǫ' sani.' So den alamala feni fō bǫ'. Den sɑ du so.

Ma di dem go fō streį̣, Konubri go sidǫ' na Falek mɪndri baka. So, fa Konubri bɛn p'kin, Falek no sabi-taki san a du. Ma di den freį̣ so te... wąn pisi na heį̣, nō mō den luku, den taki, 'Falɛk teki

1 Told by 1. Compare Sierra Leone (Mende), Migeod (I) 232-236, No. 12; Liberia(Kru), Bundy 419, No. 21; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 314, Guro No. 73; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. & F. (IV) MS No. 57; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 260-261, No. 29, (Onitsha), Thomas (III) 153-154, (Ibo) Blasden 274, (Ikom), Dayrell (II) 82-84; Gabun, Nassau (I) 65-68, Mpongwe No. 14, 96-98, Benga No. 5; Cameroons (Cross River), Mansfeld 224, No. 3, (Bulu), Schwab (I) 277, No. 18, (Duala), Lederbogen 40-41, No. 18; Angola (Umbundu), Bell 116-117 (though not a close correspondence); Lamba, Doke 65, No. 29; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 79, No. 70 I and II; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 65-66, No. 60a; Brazil, Eells 50-52, No. 5; comparative, Bolte u. Polívka iii, 339-355, No. 187, Dähnhardt IV, 46ff.

fɔsi preis.' Fa i si dɛm luku baka suma de mɔro hei, den si Konubri na tapu fō Falek. So wantrǫ' den taki, 'No, no, Konubri sɑ trǫ' konum, bika' a bɛn dɛ mɔro hei leki Falɛk.'

So dati Falɛk bɛn dɛnki taki na hɛm bɛn sɑ dɛ konum, ma a no bɛn kɔm fa i bɛn dɛnki.

26. The Flying Contest.[2]

Now, the birds came to study that they had need of a king, because all things had a king. Then they went to Lion, to tell Lion to have him call a council, because Lion was king of all the animals. When the meeting opened, all the birds came together to see who would become king. Konubri[3] was the smallest. He studied and said, 'I am the smallest, but I shall be king.'

When they began to speak, Lion studied, and said, 'What shall, we do?' But Falcon studied, and said [to himself], 'I can fly high, so I hope they make the contest one of flying. I know that I should fly highest of all, and then I should become king.' But he did not know how to say that, because he knew that the other birds would say since he could fly high, he suggested this. But he did not know that Konubri himself had a plan in his head about what he was going to do. As they were all talking so till... Nightingale said, 'I want to say something, but I do not know if it will be agreeable to you.' Then all answered, said, 'Speak, let us hear.' He said, 'I will not suggest you take one of us who can sing the sweetest, because I know that if I raise my voice, I shall win from all. But I will say one thing. God gave you all one thing, and that is wings. So, let us decide that whoever can fly the highest, that one shall become king.' Falcon was pleased when he heard this, because that had been in his mind for a long time. He jumped up, and he said, 'Yes, what you say is a good plan.' So they all found it good. They would do so.

But when they went to race, Konubri went and sat down in the middle of Falcon's back. So, as Konubri was small, Falcon did not know what he was doing. But, when they had flown till... some

2 Told by 1. Compare, Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 155-156, No. 30; Angola (Umbundu), Bell, 116-117; comparative, Bolte u. Polívka, iii, 278-283, No. 171, Dähnhardt IV, 160ff.

3 There is a possible Cameroon derivation of this bird's name when it is compared with the character in Lederbogen's Tale No. 1, 'Der *Kolibri* und der Webervogel'.

distance high, soon they looked and they said, ‘Falcon takes first prize.’ But just as they looked again to see who was the highest, they saw Konubri on top of [above] Falcon. So at once they said, ‘No, no, Konubri shall become king, because he was higher than Falcon.’

So that Falcon had thought that he would be king, but it did not happen as he had thought.

27.

Anąnsi bɛn go streį nąŋga Kakalaka, suma sɑ krį mɔro heį. Ma nō, Kakalaka bɛn ką' freį, ɛn Anąnsi bɛn ką' krį' bǭn. Ma nō, di den go fō streį, Kakalaka taįg' ɛŋ taki, ‘Mek' ų' krį' na tapu wąn awara bom.’ Nō, Anąnsi no mąŋ freį, ɛn so Kakalaka opo freį, a g'a tap' 'a bom. A sidǫ. Anąnsi 'ɛ feti fō krį, ma na maka de shüt' ɛŋ. Nō m'a i bari, ‘Mati Kakalaka, 'a bom 'abi mira, mi no mąŋ krįŋ.’ Nō mō Kakalaka bar' gi' ɛŋ 'a tap' 'a bom taki, ‘Wɛ, opo freį.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Ma, mi n'ɛ freį, dą' yu no wın' mi, bika' wi no bɛn streį fō freį. Wi bɛn streį fō krį'.’

Ma nō, Kakalaka taki ɛŋ wıni, bika' i fɔsi dɔro. Dąn den go kari mati K'kaforu fō kǫ' kɔti 'a trɔbi. Di K'kaforu dɔro, wą' trǫ' a si taki, Kakalaka dɛ na ɛŋ s'ti mɔfo. Nō mō a bari, ‘Ko-ko-di-a-kɔ!’ Dąn Kakalaka aksi Kakaforu taki, są wą tak' 'a bar' di 'ɛ bari? A taki, te i wan' yɛri, dą' i waka kǫ' nąŋga futu. So fa-i-si Kakalaka waka kɔm, Foru nyami ɛŋ. Na dat' meki fō ɛŋ nyą' Kakalaka tɛ tidɛ.

27. Climbing Contest: Enemy as Judge.[1]

Anansi was going to bet with Cockroach [to see] which of them could climb higher. But now Cockroach was able to fly, and Anansi was able to climb well. But now, when they went to compete, Cockroach said to him, said, ‘Let us climb to the top of an *awara*[2] tree.’ Now Anansi could not fly, and so Cockroach flew up, and went to the top of the tree. He sat down. Anansi struggled[3] to climb, but the thorns stuck him. Soon he cried out ‘Friend Cockroach, the tree has ants, I cannot climb it.’ At once Cockroach cried back from the tree-top, he said, ‘Well, fly up.’ Anansi said, ‘But I do not fly, nor did you beat me, because we did not bet about flying. We were betting about climbing.’

But now Cockroach said he won, because he was the first to arrive. Then they went to call Cock to settle the dispute.[4] When Cock came, he saw immediately that Cockroach was his delicacy. At once he cried out, ‘*Ko-ko-dia-kɔ!*’ Then Cockroach asked Cock, he said, what was the meaning of this cry which he cried? He [Cock] said, if he wanted to hear, then he must walk over to him on foot. So just as Cockroach came toward him, Cock ate him. That is why he eats Cockroach to this day.

28. Kakaforu nąŋga Bɔtro.

1 Told by 2.
2 A thorny palm tree identified in Encyc. as *Astocaryum Segregatum Drude*. (p. 60).
3 Lit., ‘fought’; also idiomatic for ‘hurried’.
4 Lit., ‘to cut the trouble’.

Den Kakaforu nąŋga Bɔtro bɛn dɛ bɪgi mati. Den libi na wąn presi. Ma ala mamąntį' dę' go koi̯ri. Ma nō, nową' mamąntų' Kakaforu kɔ' na 'oso fɔsi. Ala mamąntį' Bɔtro fɔsi kɔm na 'oso. Kakaforu a no bɛn sabi taki ɛf' Bɔtro waka na sɔn a-i smɛlter. Dɑt mek' a i kɔm fruku na 'oso. Wąn mamąntį' di dę' gowe, dąn Kakaforu tek' 'a sɛroto tya' gowɛ.

Di Bɔtro kɔm, a no mąŋ go na ɪni na 'oso. Dąn a tąn na mɔfo na dɔro. Dąn, sɔn opo, Bɔtro smɛlter. Di Kakaforu kɔm, a si

są pasa nąŋga Bɔtro. A go na seị a kari ɛŋg birfro mek' a kǫm luku są' pasa nąŋga Bɔtro. Di na birfrō kɔm Kakaforu aksi ɛŋ taigi, 'Są wi sɑ du nąŋga Bɔtro?' A taki, 'Tek' wąn nefi kǫm, dąn mi sɑ sɔri yu.' Fa a tyari na nefi kǫ', nō mō birfrō tek' na nefi, a kɔti ɛŋ nɛki, a pot' ɛŋ nąŋga Bɔtro na ɩni patu, a bɔr' ɛŋ moị.

Dat mek' wi dɛ bɔri Kakaforu nąŋga Bɔtro tɛ tide.

Na birfrō na Kakalak', so na odo taki: Yu na Kakalaka, yu n'ab' leti na foru mɔfo.

28. Why Cock and Butter are Cooked Together: Enemy as Judge.[5]

Cock and Butter were great friends. They lived in one place. But every morning they went walking. But no morning was Cock the first home. Every morning Butter was the first to come home. Cock did not know that if Butter walked in the sun he would melt. That was why he came home early. One morning when they went away, then Cock took the key and carried it away with him.

When Butter came he could not get into the house. Then he stood in the doorway. Then, when the sun came up, Butter melted. When

5 Told by 1. Compare, Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 304, Guro No. 54; Hausa, Tremearne (III) 191-193, No. 4, Equilbecq i, 193-201; Nigeria (Ibo), Blasden 276-277, (Calabar), Dayrell (I) 83-85, No. 24; Jamaica, Beckwith (II), 75-76; Bahamas, Parsons, (III) 125-126, No. 75. In all these correspondences, however, the parallel is to the character made of some substance which melts when exposed to heat. Usually it is a wife that is lost through being melted.

Cock came he saw what had happened to Butter. He went and called his neighbor to have her come and see what had happened to Butter. When the neighbor came Cock asked her, said, ‘What shall we do with Butter?’ She said, ‘Bring a knife, then I will show you.’ No sooner had he brought the knife than the neighbor took the knife, cut his neck, and put Cock and Butter into a pot. Then she cooked him nicely.

That is why we cook Cock and Butter to this day.

The neighbor was Cockroach, so the proverb says: You are Cockroach, Chicken will never say you are right.

29. Anąnsi nąŋga Kai□mąn.

Anąnsi go na wąn fɪsi hɔro, go kɪsi fɪsi. Ma di a go na ɪni na hɔro fō firi dem fɪsi, wąn sani hɔri hɛm. Na sani no wani fō lus' hɛm. Anąnsi taki, ‘Suma hɔr' mi so?’ Na sani taki, ‘Na mi a frɻŋgi.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Wɛ, frɻŋgi mi.’ Dą' na sani frɻŋgi hɛm. Di a frɻŋgi hɛm, a fadǫ' farawɛ. Ma di Anąnsi fadon, dąn a marki na preịsi pɛ a fadon. Di a ɔpo, a si na preịsi, dą' a go a meki so mɛni pɛŋki. Dąn a bɛri dɛm na grǫ' so dati ɛf' wąn meti sɑ fadǫ' dapɛ, dąn den pɛnki den go borō hɛm. Dąn Anąnsi gōwe.

A kari Kɔnikɔni fɔsi, taki, ‘Mek' wi go fɪsi.’ Di dem go, dąn Anąnsi sabi kaba taki wąn sani dapɛ dɪsi dɛ hɔri suma. So a no go dapɛ dɛ go firi, ma a sɛni Kɔnkɔni. Fa-i-si Kɔnkɔni go dapɛ, nō mō na sani hɔri hɛm. Kɔnkɔni bari gi Anąnsi taki, ‘Mati, wąn sani hɔri mi.’ Nō mō Anąnsi tạigi hɛm taki, ‘Aksi taki, “Sąn hɔri mi so?”’ Di Kɔnkɔni aksi, nō mō na sani piki taki, ‘Na mi a frɻŋgi.’ Anąnsi tạigi Kɔnkɔni, ‘Wɛ, taki, “Frɻŋ mi, dą.”’ Fa-i-si Kɔnkɔni taki, nō mō na sani frɻŋg' hɛm. A fadǫ leti 'a tap' dem pɛŋki. A dɛdɛ. Anąnsi go, a teki hɛm. So Anąnsi bɛn kiri furu meti di no bɛn sabi taki 'a so Anąnsi bɛn du.

Ma Kạiman bɛn sabi taki na so Anąnsi bɛn kiri den tra meti. Wąn deị Anąnsi go kari Kạimą' taki, meki a kɔm go fɪsi. Kạimą' taki, ‘A bǫ'.’ Di den go na ɪni na hɔro, Anąnsi tạigi Kạimą' taki, ‘Firi go dɑti seị.’ Kạimą' taki, ‘Fa yu dɛ sɛn' mi go dapɛ dąn? Yu sab' na hɔro mɔro mi, so na yu mu go.’ Ma di Anąnsi sab' kaba, dą' a no wani go. Kạimą' kari Anąnsi taki, ‘Kɔm luku wąn bɪgi fɪsi dịa.’ Fa Anąnsi kɔm, nō mō Kạimąn pusu Anąnsi. Anąnsi go leti pɛ na sani dɛ. So na sani hɔri Anąnsi nō. Nō mō Anąnsi bɛgi Kạimąn taki, ‘Kạimą', go luku na tapseị, yu sɑ si so mɛni pɛŋki bɛri dapɛ.

Pur' den gi mi.' Kậiman taki, 'ậi.' A ɑksi Kậimą baka taki, 'Yu pur' den kaba?' Kậimąn taki, 'Ya.' A tak', 'Tru, tru? Yu n'ɛ leị̂?' Kậimąn taki, 'No'. Wɛ nō, Anąnsi no sab' fa fō du. A bɛn musu fō tậigi na sani taki, 'Frɻŋgi mi.' Fa Anąnsi aksi taki, 'Są' hor' mi dapɛ?' 'a sani taki, 'Na mi a frɻŋgi.' Anąnsi tak', 'Wɛ, frɻŋgi mi.' Fa na sani frɻŋgi Anąnsi, no mo Anąnsi fadǫ' let' na tap' den pɛ̨ŋki. A dɛdɛ.

Kậimąn go, a tek' ala den meti di Anąnsi bɛn habi dapɛ. A tyar' gowe. So Kậimąn kɔni mɔro Anąnsi.

29. Fling Me![1]

Anansi went to a fishing hole to catch fish. But when he went inside the hole to feel about for fish, something held him. The Thing did not want to let go of him. Anansi said, 'Who holds me so?' The Thing said, 'It is I who fling.' Anansi said, 'Well, fling me.' Then the Thing flung him. When it flung him, he fell down far away. But when Anansi fell down he marked the place where he fell down. When he got up, and he saw the place, then he went and made many pointed stakes. Then he buried them in the ground, so that if an animal should fall down there, then the stakes should pierce it. Then Anansi went away.

He called Rabbit first, and said, 'Let us go fishing.' When they went, then Anansi knew already that something was there which held people. So he did not go there to feel about, but he sent Rabbit. No sooner did Rabbit go there, than the Thing held him. Rabbit called out to Anansi, 'Friend, something holds me.' At once Anansi said to him, said, 'Ask, and say "What holds me so?"' When Rabbit asked, the Thing at once answered him, said, 'It is I who fling.' Anansi said to Rabbit, 'Well, say "Fling me, then."' No sooner did Rabbit speak than the Thing flung him. He fell just on top of the stakes. He died. Anansi went and he took him. So Anansi had killed many animals who did not know that this was what Anansi had been doing.

But Alligator knew that it was so that Anansi had killed the other animals. One day Anansi went to call Alligator to say let him come fishing. Alligator said, 'All right.' When they went inside the hole, Anansi said to Alligator, said, 'Feel about on that side.' Alligator said, 'Why do you send me there? You know the hole better than I, so it is you who must go.' But since Anansi knew already, then he did not want to go. Alligator called Anansi, and said, 'Come look, here is a big fish.' No sooner did Anansi come, than Alligator pushed Anansi. Anansi went right where the Thing

1 Told by 1. Compare, Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 310-312, No. 53; Lamba, Doke 9-11, No. 7; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 43-44, No. 33. This tale, however, corresponds closely in plot and point to the 'Bearded Rock' tale that is widely spread throughout West Africa, examples of which may be seen in Schlenker 66-73, No. 5, or Tauxier (III) 231-232, No. 4.

was. So the Thing held Anansi now. Anansi begged Alligator, and said, ‘Alligator, go look on the upper path, and you will see many stakes buried there. Pull them up for me.’ Alligator said, ‘Yes.’ He asked Alligator again, he said, ‘You have pulled them up already?’ Alligator said, ‘Yes.’ He said, ‘True-true? You are not lying?’ Alligator said, ‘No.’ Well now, Anansi did not know what to do. He had to tell the Thing, say, ‘Fling me.’ As Anansi asked, said, ‘What holds me there?’ the Thing said, ‘It is I who fling.’ Anansi said, ‘Well, fling me.’ No sooner did the Thing fling Anansi, than he fell down right on top of the stakes. He died.

Alligator went, and took all the animals that Anansi had there. He took them away. So Alligator's cunning surpasses Anansi's.

30.

Anąnsi a go taị̯gi Konu taki ęŋ reị̯ Tigri leki wan 'asi. Konu taki a i leị̯, a no ką' reị̯ Tigri. Anąnsi taki, ‘A i bǫ'.’

Anąnsi mek' wan tǫ, a mek' wan sadra, a mek' wan krawasi. A pɔt' den 'afpasi. Dąn Konu sɛn' kar' Tigri taki na so Anąnsi taki. Dą' Tigri a lǫ go na Anąnsi. Ma Anąnsi bɛn sabi sąn dɛ fō du. No mo Anąnsi mɛk' kreị̯ a kɔrsu. A i beị̯fi. Dąn Tigri kɔm, i Tigri taki, ‘Są yu go tak' Konum taki yu reị̯ mi leki 'asi?’ No mo Anąnsi taki, ‘Kɛ, Konu a leị̯ gi mi. Ma ɛf' mi no bɛn sɪki mi bɛn sɑ go 'a Konum. Ɛf' mi bɛn fen' wą suma fō opo mi tyari go 'a Konu, mi bę' i gowe.’ Nō mō Tigri taki, ‘Wɛ, kɔm, mi-o pur' yu, pɔt' a mi baka.’

Anąnsi go 'a Tigri baka. Di den waka wan presi kɔm pɛ na tǫ dɛ, nō mō Anąnsi mek' leị̯k' a i fadǫ'. Nō mō a taki, ‘Kɛ, mi Tata, luk' wan sani dya. Mek' mi pɔt' ęŋ na yu mɔfo, da mi habi steị̯fi fō mi no fadǫ'.’ A teki 'a tǫ, a wer' gi Tigri.

Dą' i gowe. A waka di a meti pɛ na sadra dɛ. Dą' a taki, ‘Mi Tata, luk' wan sani dia. Mek' mi tek' ęŋ pɔt' gi yu. Dą' mi 'a' mɔro furu trąŋga fō sidǫ' 'a yu tapu.’ Dą' a pɔt' 'a sadra gi Tigri, dą' i gowe.

Di a miti pɛ na krawasi dɛ, no mo a tak', ‘Mi Tata, maskita i bet' mi. Mek' mi tek' wą sani, dą' mi sɑ wɪp' na maskita.’ Dą' tek' 'a krawasi. A bɪgin wɪp' Tigri. Di dę' i dɔro krosbeị̯ fō Konum 'oso,

nō mō Konum taki, ‘Anąnsi no leį̇. A i reį̇ Tigri kɔm.’ Dą' i Konum mek' wan pɛ̨n. Di den dɔro Konum mɔfo-dɔro, Anąnsi bɪgin wi... pi Tigri. A reį̇ Tigri pɔt' ɪni na pɛ̨n. 'A Konum kɔm bribi hɛm wantrɔn taki a no leį̇. A reį̇ Tigri fō tru.

A kaba.

30. Anansi Rides Tiger.[1]

Anansi went to tell the King that he rode Tiger like a horse. The King said he lied, he could not ride Tiger. Anansi said, ‘All right.’

Anansi made a bridle, he made a saddle, he made a whip. He scattered them on the road. Then the King sent to call Tiger, and told him, [that] so Anansi had spoken. Then Tiger ran to Anansi. But Anansi knew what there was to do. He immediately complained that he had a fever. He shivered. Then Tiger came, and Tiger said, ‘Why did you go and tell the King that you rode me like a horse?’ Anansi said at once, ‘What? The King lied about me. But if I were not sick I would go to the King. If I could find someone to take me up and carry me to the King, I would go there.’ At once Tiger said, ‘Well, come, I will take you up, and put you on my back.’

Anansi went on Tiger's back. As they came to the place where the bridle was, Anansi made as if he were going to fall down. At once he said, ‘Please, Father, look something is there. Let me put it in your mouth so that I may have something to support me to keep me from falling down.’ He took the bridle and put it on Tiger.

They went on. They traveled until they came to where the saddle was. Then he said, ‘Father, look, something is there. Let me take it and give it to you. Then I will have more strength to sit astride you.’ He put the saddle on Tiger and they went on.

When they came where the whip was, he called out at once, ‘Father, a mosquito bit me. Let me take something, and I will whip the mosquitoes.’ Then he took the whip. He began to whip

1 Told by 1. Compare, Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 70-75; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 427, fable No. 16, (Hausa), Rattray (IV) i, 186-198, No. 9, Tremearne (I) 205-207, No. 3; Nigeria (Yoruba), Ellis, (I) 265-266, Tortoise No. 3, Frobenius, 280-281, No. 40, (Eastern Nigeria), Mockler-Ferrymann 289-290; Angola, Chatelaine 203, No. 28; Lamba, Doke, 161-163, No. 83; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier (I) 112-113, No. 6 (appendix), (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 53-54, No. 38 and No. 39; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 5-6, No. 3; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 30-32, No. 19 I and II; Santo Domingo, Andrade, 37-38, No. 12; Brazil, Eells 55-57, No. 5.

Tiger. No sooner did they come close to the King's house, than the King said, ‘Anansi did not lie. He is riding Tiger.’ Then the King had built a stable. When they reached the King's doorway, Anansi began to whip Tiger. He rode Tiger into the stable. The King came to believe him at once that he did not lie. He truly[1] rode Tiger.

It is finished.

31.

Anąnsi bɛn go na Konu hoso, a taịg' Konu, taki ɛŋ reị Tigri. Konu taki, ‘Yu sową p'kin, p'kin Anąnsi! Na wąn leị-tɔri fō yu. Mi n'ɛ bribi yu. Mi sɑ ɑksi Tigri.’ A taki, ‘Konu, yu kąn bribi mi. Yu sɑ si taki na tru.’ Konu sɛn' wąn bɔskopu gi na Tigri sɛn' kari hɛm fō a kɔm yɛre wą' sani. Tigri bɛn breịt' so tɛ... fō di a ką' go na Konu hoso. A dɛŋki, ‘Sɔrt' bɔskopu Konu sɑ habi fō mi?’ Ma di a go 'a Konu hoso nąŋga so wąn presiri hati, Konu aksi hɛm taki, ‘Tigri, yu sowąn trąŋga bɪgi meti, yu sɑ meki p'kin, p'kin Anąnsi reị yu?’ Tigri hatibrɔ̣', a taki, ‘Konu, mi dɛ gowɛ wąntɛ wąntɛ, mek' Anąnsi kɔm, bikasi a leị gi mi.’

A yurutɛm wąn fō den p'kin fō Anąnsi bɛn dɛ a strati de preị, a miti Tigri 'a pasi. A taki, ‘Yu boị, pɛ yu tata dɛ? Mi dɛ go sɔri hɛm leị gi mi tidɛ.’ Ala dati Anąnsi bɛn taịgi 'a boị kaba. Anąnsi taki hɛm, ‘Ɛf' yu si mi Tata Tigri, kaba aksi fō mi, dąn yu mu' taịgi hɛm, taki mi dɛ sɪki, mi habi trąŋga kɔrsu.’ So na boị piki Tigri taki, ‘Mi Tata Tigri, mi papa sɪki, a i beị fi nąŋga kɔrsu na hoso.’ Tigri taki, ‘M' n' habi trɔbi. Ma a mu' kɔm na Konu hoso nąŋga mi, awas' mi tyari hɛm srefi.’

Tigri kɔm na Anąnsi hoso, a tak', ‘Sa Akuba, pɛ 'a boị Anąnsi dɛ?’ Akuba taki, ‘Mi Tata, a i sɪki, kɔrsu dɛ mor' hɛm.’ Tigri tak' ‘Pɛ a dɛ? Mek' mi go shi 'ɛm.’ Akuba tyari Tata Tigri go na ɪniseị na Anąnsi bɛdɛ. Tigri aksi hɛm taki, ‘Yu boị Anąnsi, sąn yu go tak' 'a Konu hoso?’ Anąnsi piki hɛm taki, ‘Mi Tata Tigri, mi dɛ sɪki. Ma Konu leị gi mi, mi no tak' so.’ Tigri taki, ‘Mi n'a trobi, ma kɔm nąŋga mi na Konu hoso.’ Anąnsi piki hɛm taki, ‘Tyɛ! Mi Tata Tigri, luku fa mi dɛ beị fi. Mi no mąŋ waka. Yu no wakti tɛ mi kɔm bɛtrɛ?’ Tigri taki, ‘No, no, mi no ką' wakti. Yu mu' kɔm nō, tide srɛfi.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Wɛ, mi Tata, mi no mąŋ waka, fa mi dɛ go waka go na Konu hoso?’ Tigri taki, ‘Wɛ, kɔm sidɔ̣' na mi baka. Mi sɑ tyari yu.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Wɛ, mi Tata, mi 'a' wan p'kin saka dị̣a, nąŋga wan deị̣ką. Yu no kąn mek' mi tek'

1 Lit., ‘He rode Tiger for true’.

hɛm fō te mi dɛ kɔru?' Tigri taki, 'A bǫn, tek' hɛm. Ma yu mu' kɔm wantɛm, wantɛm.' Anąnsi krɛŋ na na Tigri baka, dą' Tigri tek' pasi. Dą' den gowe na Konu hoso.

Anąnsi dɛ seksek' hɛm srefi na Tigri baka. Tigri taki, 'Yu boi, są' yu mek' so? Sidǫ' bǫ'!' Anąnsi taki, 'Mi Tata, na kɔrsu. Mi habi wąn sani dia. Yu no wani mek' mi pɔt' gi yu na yu mɔfo so mi kɔm wan p'kin steifi te mi hɔri hɛm?' Tigri taki, 'A bǫ'.' Tigri dɛ waka baka hesi hesi.

Anąnsi seksek' hɛm srɛfi baka. Tigri taki, 'Yu boi Anąnsi, są' yu mek' so? Yu dɛnk' te yu dɛ mek' so, mi n'e go tyari yu na Konu hoso fō sɔri yu fa yu dɛ lei?' Anąnsi taki, 'Tye! Mi Tata, mi 'a' wąn sani dia leik' wąn sadri. Yu no ką' mek' mi sütu mi futu go na ɪniseı, dą' mi ką' sidǫn wą' p'kin mɔro bɛtre?' Tigri taki, 'Mi n'a trɔbi. Du są' yu wani, ma yu mu' go na Konu hoso.' Anąnsi wer' 'a sadri gi Tigri.

Den waka wą bǫ' pis' baka, Anąnsi si Konu hoso na ɛŋ fesi farawɛ. A bɪgɪn sekseki ɛŋ srɛfi baka. A dɛ beifi. Tigri taki, 'Yu boi, są' yu dɛ mek' so? Di yu si Konu hoso, yu bɪgɪn beifi, no? Mi dɛ go puru lei gi yu.' Anąnsi taki, 'Mi Tata, na beifi, mi ɛ beifi na kɔrsu, nąŋga wąn p'kin maskita 'ɛ bet' mi.' Tigri taki, 'Mi no taig' yu kaba mi no ha' trɔbi? Yu beifi, ɛf' yu no beifi, yu mu' go. Yu no si Konu hoso 'a yu fesi?' Anąnsi taki, 'Mi Tata, wą' lasti sani mi'ɛ go bɛgi yu. Mi'a' wąn p'kin wɪpi dia. Yu no kąn mek' mi nak' den maskita nąŋga hɛm? Dąn mi no sɑ beifi so mɛni mɔro.' Tigri taki, 'A bǫ'. Mi n'a trobi. Mi tyar' yu go na Konu hoso sɔri fa yu lei gi mi bɪgi, bɪgi man.'

Anąnsi fɹri taki ɛŋ weri tǫ gi Tigri, nąŋga sadri, habi wɪpi na hɛm hanu. 'A yurtɛm Anąnsi si den suma na barkǫ' fō Konu, a wɪpi Tigri dri tɛtei. Tigri dyɔmpo na lɔktu. Anąnsi taki, 'Kǫn, kǫn!' Tigri hatibrǫn. Tigri dɛ lǫ'. Anąnsi dɛ hɔri na tǫ nō mō gi hɛm, ɛn a de bari, 'Konu, Konu, kɔm luku, Anąnsi 'ɛ rei Tigri.' Tigri bɛn syɛm so tɛ... ma Anąnsi bɛn rei hɛm kaba.

31. Anansi Rides Tiger.[2]

Anansi went to the King's house, and he said to the King that he rode Tiger. The King said, 'So little a spider as you! This is one of your lies. I do not believe you. I will ask Tiger.' He said, 'King, you can believe me. You will see that it is true.' The King sent a message to Tiger to call him to come and hear something. Tiger was happy so till... that he could go to the King's house. He thought, 'What kind of a message will the King have for me?' But as he went to the King's house with such pleasant feelings, the King asked him, said, 'Tiger, you are such a strong and big animal and you allow little Anansi to ride you?' Tiger was angry, and he said, 'King, I am going at once, at once, to make Anansi come, because he lied about me.'

As one of Anansi's children was playing in the street, he met Tiger on the road. He said, 'You boy, where is your father? I am going to show him how he lied about me today.' All that [meanwhile] Anansi had told the boy already. Anansi had said to him, 'If you see Father Tiger, the moment he asks you for me, then you must tell him that I am sick, and that I have high fever.' So the boy answered Tiger, said, 'Father Tiger, my father is sick. He is at home shaking with fever.' Tiger said, 'That doesn't bother me. But he must come to the King's house with me, even if I must carry him.'

Tiger came to Anansi's house, and he said, 'Sa Akuba, where is the boy Anansi?' Akuba said, 'Father, he is sick, fever has gripped him.' Tiger said, 'Where is he? Let me go see him.' Akuba took Tiger to Anansi's bed. Tiger asked him, said, 'You boy

2 Told by 6. Comparative references as for preceding tale.

Anansi, what did you go and say at the King's house?' Anansi answered him, said, 'Father Tiger, I am sick. The King lied about me, I did not say that.' Tiger said, 'That doesn't bother me. But come with me to the King's house.' Anansi answered him, said, '*Tye!* Father Tiger, look how I am trembling. I cannot travel. Can you wait until I am better?' Tiger said, 'No, no. I cannot wait. You must come now, this very day.' Anansi said, 'Well, Father, I cannot walk. How am I going to travel to the King's house?' Tiger said, 'Well, come sit on my back. I will

carry you.' Anansi said, 'Well, Father, I have one small sack here, and a blanket. Won't you let me take them to use when I am cold?' Tiger said, 'All right, take them. But you must come at once, at once.' Anansi climbed up on Tiger's back, and Tiger went on his way. Then they went to the King's house.

Anansi shook as he sat on Tiger's back. Tiger said, 'You, boy, why do you act so? Sit still!' Anansi said, 'Father, it is the fever. I have something here. Won't you let me put it in your mouth, so that I might brace myself a little when I hold on to it?' Tiger said, 'All right.' Tiger traveled on in great haste.

Anansi shook again. Tiger said, 'You, boy Anansi, why do you act so? Do you think if you carry on so, I won't take you to the King's house to show how you lied?' Anansi said, '*Tye!* Father, I have something here like a saddle. Couldn't you let me shoot my feet inside it, then I could sit a little better?' Tiger said, 'I don't care. Do what you like, but you must go to the King's house.' Anansi put the saddle on Tiger.

They traveled a good piece farther, and Anansi saw the King's house some distance ahead. He began to shake himself again. He was shivering. Tiger said, 'You boy, why are you carrying on so? When you see the King's house you begin to tremble, no? I am going to show up your lie.' Anansi said, 'Father, my shivering is from fever, and a small mosquito bit me [too].' Tiger said, 'Didn't I already tell you I don't care? Whether you shake or you don't shake, you must go. Don't you see the King's house ahead of you?' Anansi said, 'Father, one last thing I am going to beg of you. I have a small whip here. Couldn't you let me strike at the mosquitoes with it? Then I wouldn't shake, so much.' Tiger said, 'All right. I don't care. I am taking you to the King's house to show how you lied about an important man like me.'

Anansi felt for the bit he had put on Tiger, and the saddle, and he had the whip in his hand. The moment Anansi saw all the people on the King's balcony, he gave Tiger three lashes with the whip. Tiger jumped in the air. Anansi said, 'Kon! Kon!'[1] Tiger was angry. Tiger ran. Anansi pulled at the bit all the harder, and he called, 'King, King, come look, Anansi is riding Tiger.' Tiger was ashamed so till... but Anansi was already riding him.

32.

Hɛri tin-tin-tin.

Anąnsi mɛn streį nąŋga Gramą' fō reį Tigri. Gramą' taigi ɛŋ dati a no sɑ ką' du. Anąnsi taį̀gi Tigri taki, 'Luku, mi dɛ go shɔri yu dati mi sɑ tek' yu, meki mi 'asi.' Tigri lafu, ɛn a taį̀g' gi Anąnsi, 'Ha, ha, ha, yu bɪgi mɔfo boį̀, yu go tek' mi meki yu 'asi?' 'No wą

1 Imitating the sound made when driving a horse.

tra suma leki yu mi sɑ reị, mi sɑ tya' go tɛ na Gramą fesi.' Tigri taki, 'Yu boị, luku bǫ'. Mi naki yu wą' klap puru tifi yu tifi f'na ɩni yu mɔfo.' Anąnsi lafu, a taki, 'Wi sɑ mit' makandra na lǫŋgrǫ.'

Anąnsi teki na tra mamąntɩn aleị̂s' saka, wąn pis' tɛteị̂ nąŋga wą' pis' tɩki, ɛn a go didǫ', na na pasi pɛ Tigri dɛ a go p'sa. Di a si Tigri kɔm, a bɛgɩn kreị̂ ɛn a mɛk' gɩmɛ. Tigri si Anąnsi ɛn aksi ɛŋ, 'Yu boị̂, a yu didǫ' dɛ, di dɛ go reị̂ mi?' 'Kɛ, mi brada, mi p'pa,' Anąnsi taki, 'yu no sabi taki mi mɔfo na mi trąŋga? Fa mi sɑ mąŋ fõ reị̂ yu, so wąn p'kin meti lek' mi dɛ. ai̯, mi Gadu, mi go dɛdɛ. Mi bɛri dɛ hati mi, ɛn mi no ką tɩnapo mɔro. Mi bɛri dɛ go kɔmɔpo na dɔro.' Anansi bari, 'Wai-i-i, wai-i-i, o mi Gadu, mi go dɛdɛ! Kɛ, mi brada, yɛpi mi. Na m'ma meki mi tu! Kar' wą' datra gi' mi, kar' wą' datra gi mi, mi bro go tapu!'

Tigri piki Anąnsi, 'Oh-ho! yu boị̂ yu, i-si, noya so yu habi mi na fanodu. Wɛ, fõ Gadu fasi nąŋga sari-hati mi sɑ yɛp' yu. No so, yu sɑ dɛdɛ dị̂a.' Anąnsi a dɛ bari nõ mõ. Tigri taị̂gi Anąnsi, 'Wɛ, yu wani mi tya' yu go na wąn datra?' Anansi piki Tigri, nąŋga wa' shwaki stɛ̨ŋ, 'Ya, mi omu.'

'Wɛ, opo tenapo dąn.'

Anąnsi taki, 'Mi no mąŋ, mi go dɛdɛ, mi shwaki.'

Tigri kɩsi sari-'ati nąŋga Anąnsi. A gi' Anąnsi 'anu. Ɛn a na opo tenapo, ma a trõwɛ ɛ̨ŋ serefi baka na grǫ'. Tikri sheki ɛdɛ, ɛn a taki, 'Hm, 'a boị̂ a go dɛdɛ. A no i leị̂.'

A yɛp' Anąnsi baka, ɛn a hɔri ɛ̨ŋ baka. A krɛ̨n na wą' seị̂, ɛn na tra seị̂ a fadǭ' baka nąŋga bɛri. Anąnsi bɩgɩn bari, 'Hoị̂, 'oị̂, 'oị̂, wą' sani brok' n'ɩn' mi bɛri. Hoị̂, hoị̂, hoị̂.' Tigri go skreki, ɛn a kɔm fredi. Taki, 'Luku, ɛfu mi bɛn sabi, mi na bɛ̨' p'sa diaso. Ɛf' Anąnsi go dɛdɛ, dą' mi dɛ go na 'anu fõ sxotu, dą' mi dɛdɛ. Luku na mi weị̂f' nąŋga mi p'kin. Anąnsi! Anąnsi!' Ma Anąnsi tą' tiri, a hɔri ɛ̨ŋ sɛrefi tiri leị̂ki a flau̯.

Tigri taki, 'Mi boị̂, opo p'pa, opo. Gadu dɛ. 'A m'ma mek'-i-tu; 'a bǫ' P'pa sɑ yɛp' yu tu. Yeri mi, boị̂, i sɑ kɔm bɛtrɛ.' Tigri dɛ bɛgi Anąnsi bikasi a frede taki, Anąnsi go dɛdɛ, ɛn dɛ go kǫ' na bɩgi trobi. A saka ɛ̨ŋ s'refi, a taki, 'Mi boị̂, kǫ' sidǫ' na mi baka.' Nąŋga tumusi furu moị̂ti, a krɛ̨ŋ go na Tigri baka, ɛn a bari, 'Wai̯, wai̯, wai̯, wai̯!' 'Sąn dati, Anąnsi?' Tigri aks' ɛ̨ŋ. Anąnsi piki Tigri, 'Hu, hu, mi hu ɔmu, dem baki bɔnyo f'yu de sütu mi na mi bakaseị̂. Mi no ką' sɩdǫ'.' Ɛ̨ŋ trowe ɛ̨ŋ s'rɛfi na grǫ'.

Tigri skreki mɔro furu leį̣iki na fɔs' trǫ', ɛn a bari, ‘Są' dɛ go p'sa na mi tidɛ?’ ‘Mi omu, hu, wą' saka dɪsi, hu, meki mi pɔt' ɛm na mɪndri baka, ɛn mi taį̣ ɛŋ nąŋga t'teį̣, so dati dem bɔnyo no ką' shütu mi, ɛf' mi 'abi krakti fō sidǫ'.’ Tigri piki Anąnsi, ‘Kǫ' hɛs-hɛsi, bikas' mi no 'abi tę'.’ Anansi sidǫ' na tapu na aleį̣s' saka, 'ɛn Tigri bɪgɪn fō waka.

Anansi bari baka, ‘Mi go fadǫ', ɛn dɪsi leį̣isi mi dɛ go broko mi nɛki.’ Tigri skreki, ɛn a tenapo. Anąnsi taį̣igi Tigri taki, ‘Mi omu, a t'teį̣ dɪsi nąŋga na tɪki, hɔri ɛŋ na ɪn' yu mɔfo. Dan mi ką hɔri ɛm, ɛn dą' mi no ką' fadǫ'.’

Tigri lasi tɛm fō go na wroko nąŋga Anąnsi. Dati 'ɛdɛ a taį̣ig' gi Anąnsi taki, dat' ɛŋ dɛ go waka hesi. Anąnsi taki, ‘A bǫ, mi ɔmu, bikasi mi dɛ go dɛdɛ. Mi s'rɛfi wan' wą datra 'esi.’ Ɛn Tigri b'gɪn lǫn. Ma Tigri no ką' go pɛ ɛŋ wani, ma opɛ Anąnsi dɛ stür' ɛŋ. A tyari Tigri lǫ' p'sa na mɔfo Grą'mą dɔro. Ɛŋ a bar' gi Grą'mą taki, ‘Grą'mą, mi tyari mi hasi kǫ nō, ɛn pɔt ɛŋ na stal. Grąmą, yu si, mi nąŋga yu streį̣ dɑt' mi sɑ' reį̣ Tigri, ɛn yu taį̣ig' gi' mi dɑ́t' 'i no ką'. Yu si, mi wɪni yu, ɛn yu lasi. O di paį̣imąŋ yu gi mi?’ Grąmą' taį̣ig' gi Anąnsi, ‘Wɛ, di yu kyari dati hasi gi' mi, yu ką' tą' so ląŋga yu libi na ɪni mi 'oso.’

Dati hɛdɛ yu habi serefi te na ɪni Gramą hoso, Anąnsi.

Ɛn Anąnsi taį̣igi Tigri tu, ‘Fa nō, yu, 'a so mi reį̣ yu ɔf mi no reį̣ yu? Mi gebruį̣k yu leki mi 'asi ɔf nɪt?’ A kaba.

32. Anansi Rides Tiger.[2]

Heri tin-tin-tin.

Anansi made a bet with the Chief to ride Tiger. The Chief told him that he could not do it. Anansi said to Tiger, said, ‘Look, I am going to show you that I will take you, and make you my horse.’ Tiger laughed, and he said to Anansi, ‘Ha, ha, ha! You

2 Told by 10. For this same tale written by the same narrator for another investigator, see Van Cappelle, 321-322, No. 15.

big-mouthed boy, you are going to take me, and make me your horse?' 'No other man than yourself will I ride and take before the Graman.' Tiger said, 'You, boy, take care. I will strike you a blow and knock out the teeth in your mouth.' Anansi laughed, and he said, 'We will meet at the racing field.'

The next morning Anansi took a rice sack, a piece of string, and a stick, and he went and lay down on the path where Tiger was going to pass. When he saw Tiger coming, he began to cry, and to groan. Tiger saw Anansi and asked him, 'You boy, is it you who were going to ride me, lying there?' '*Ke!* my brother, my father,' Anansi said, 'don't you know that my mouth runs away with me? How should I be able to ride you, so small an animal as I am? Yes, my God, I am going to die. My belly hurts me and I can no longer stand up. My belly is going to burst open.' Anansi cried, 'Wai-i-i, oh! my God, I am going to die! *Ke*, my brother, help me. A mother has borne me, too! Call a doctor for me, call a doctor for me, my breath is giving out!'

Tiger answered Anansi, 'Oh-ho! you boy, you see now you need me? Well, for the sake of God and pity, I will help you. Otherwise you would die here.' Anansi cried without stopping. Tiger said to Anansi, 'Well, you want me to take you to a doctor?' Anansi answered Tiger in a weak voice, 'Yes, uncle.'

'Well, stand up, then.'

Anansi said, 'I can't. I am going to die. I am weak.'

Tiger took pity on Anansi. He gave Anansi his hand. He [Anansi] stood up, but he threw himself on the ground again. Tiger shook his head, and he said, 'Hm! the boy is going to die. He is not lying.'

He helped Anansi again, and held him up. He [Anansi] climbed up on one side, and [pretending to climb] on the other side he fell down again on his belly. Anansi began to cry, 'Hoi, 'oi, 'oi, something broke inside my belly. Hoi, hoi, hoi.' Tiger was alarmed, and he became frightened. Said, 'See here, if I had known I would not have passed by here. If Anansi dies, then I will fall into the hands of the police, and then I will die. Look, [I have] my wife and my children. Anansi! Anansi!' But Anansi kept quiet. He held himself quiet, as though he had fainted.

Tiger said, 'My boy, get up father, get up. There is a God. A mother has borne you, too; the good Father will help you also. Hear me, boy, you will get better.' Tiger was begging Anansi, because he was frightened that Anansi would die, and he would be in great trouble. He stooped down, and he said, 'Boy, come sit down on my back.' After many, many trials he climbed up on Tiger's back, and he cried, 'Wai, wai, wai, wai!' 'What is that, Anansi?' Tiger asked him. Anansi answered Tiger, 'Hu, hu, my, hu, uncle, your bones are hurting my backside. I cannot sit down.' He threw himself on the ground.

Tiger was even more alarmed than he was at first, and he cried, ‘What is going to happen to me today?’ ‘My uncle, hu, this sack, hu, let me put it in the middle of your back, and tie it with a string, so that the bones should not hurt me, if I should have strength to sit down.’ Tiger answered Anansi, ‘Come, quickly, because I have no time.’ Anansi sat down on top of the rice sack, and Tiger began to walk.

Anansi cried out again, ‘I am falling down, and this time I am going to break my back.’ Tiger was frightened, and he stopped. Anansi said to Tiger, said, ‘Uncle, hold this rope and this stick in your mouth. Then I can hold them, and then I will not fall down.’

Tiger had lost time going to work because of Anansi. That is why he said to Anansi, said that he was going to walk fast. Anansi said, ‘All right, uncle, because I am going to die. I, myself, want a doctor quickly.’ And Tiger began to run. But Tiger could not go where he wanted, but where Anansi guided him. He took Tiger past the Chief's door. And he called out to the Chief, he said, ‘Chief, I bring my horse now, and I put him in the stable. Chief, you see, you and I made a bet that I would ride Tiger, and you said to me that I could not. You see, I won, and you lost. What reward will you give me?’ The Chief said to Anansi, ‘Well, since you brought me this horse, you can remain in my house as long as you live.’

That is why you have spiders even in the Chief's house itself.

And Anansi said to Tiger, also, ‘How now, you, did I ride you or didn't I ride you? I used you as my horse, didn't I?’ It is finished.

33. Anąnsi nąŋga Dagu.

Konum gi den tu kaụ. Ma nō, di den go tek' den kaụ, den kaụ bɛn dɛ 'a baka wąn sxɛrm. Dą' di den go, wąn fō den kaụ bɛn dɛ wąn mąŋgri, ɛn na wąn bɛn fatu. Na fɑt' bɛn taị nąŋga wąn pikin tɛteị, ɛn na mąŋgri bɛn taị naŋga bɪgi tɛteị. Di Anąnsi naŋga Dagu go teki den kaụ, Anąnsi no luku, a tek' na di taị nąŋga bɪgi tɛteị. Dagu tek' na trawɛ'. Ma nō, di dę' ɛ gowɛ, Anąnsi kɪs' bɪgi haị. Dą' a wani fō tek' na fɑt' kaụ, ma a no sab' fa fō du. A prakseri taki, ‘Mi dɛ go meki Dagu kir' 'a kaụ fō hɛm.’ A taị g' Dagu taki, ‘Mat' Dagu, mi 'ɛ go kiri na kaụ fō mi.’ Dagu taki, ‘Mi n'a' trɔbi, na f'yu. Yu kan du są' yu wani.’ So Anąnsi kir' 'a kaụ fō hɛm.

Ma di a kir' hɛm, a aksi Dagu, taki, ɛf' a no wani wan pisi. Dagu taki, ‘No.’ Anansi taki, ‘Tek', ba.’ Dagu no wani. Ma

di a dwɻŋgi Dagu so tɛ... Dagu tek' wan pisi lefɛr. Ma nō, Dagu dɛ wą' meti: te a nyąm, na nanyąm no dɛ saka na ɩni hɛm bɛre, so ląŋga a no drɻŋg' watra. Di den waka so tɛ... nō mō Anąnsi taki, ‘Mat' Dagu, gi mi lefɛr baka.’ Dagu brak na lɛfer gi hɛm baka. Anąnsi taki, ‘Na spɔt' mi 'ɛ meki nąŋga yu. Nyąm i sani f'yu baka.’ Dagu nyąm hɛm baka. Di den waka so tɛ... Anąnsi ben dɛŋki na lefɛr tą' na ɩni Dagu bɛre, taa̯ig' hɛm baka taki, ‘Mat' Dagu, gi mi lefɛr baka.’ Dagu brak na lefɛr gi hɛm baka. A taki, ‘Wą' pikin spɔt' mi mek' 'ąŋga yu. No yu hatibrɔn. Nyąm sąn' 'ɛ fō yu.’ Dagu nyąm hɛm baka.

Ma di den dę' gowɛ nō baka, Dagu drɻŋg' watra. Dąn na lefɛr saka go na ɩni hɛm bɛrɛ. Di den waka wą' pisi baka, Anąnsi taki age̯in, ‘Gi mi lefɛr baka, mat' Dagu.’ Ma mat' Dagu no bɛn mąŋ fō pur' hɛm baka. Anąnsi taki, ‘Mi n'a' trɔbi. Dą' yu mu kiri na kau̯ fō yu, meki yu ką' gi mi lefɛr baka.’ Dagu no bɛn kąn du tra fasi. A kiri na kau̯ fō hɛm. Ma di a kiri hɛm kaba, Anąnsi teki ala na meti. Dagu no piki hɛm nɔtɻ'.

Dagu lɔn go 'a fesi, pɛ Anąnsi mu kɔm pasa. A dik' wą' bɪgi hɔro, a go na ɩni. A piri hɛm tifi. Di Anąnsi dɛ kɔm pasa, Anąnsi no sab' taki na Dagu bɛn du so. Fa a dɔro, a si 'a tifi. A skre̯iki, a kɔm fredɛ. A taki, ‘Mi bɛgi, mi tata, ɛf' mi ką' pasa?’ Dagu no piki hɛm. A tak', ‘Mi Tata, mi dɛ trowɛ wą' pis' meti gi yu. Dą' yu mek' mi pasa?’ A trowɛ 'a pisi meti. Dagu no piki hɛm. Anąnsi trowɛ wą' pis' met' age̯in. Dagu no pik' him. Anąnsi taki, ‘M'ɛ bɛg' yu, ɛf' mi trowɛ ala na meti gi yu, yu sɑ mek' mi pasa?’ Dagu no piki hɛm.

Ma di Anąnsi si taki na tifi no wani gowɛ, a lɔ'. A go taa̯ig' Konum taki grɔn 'a' tifi, mek' Konum kɔm fō luku. Ma di den go, den no si nɔtɻ', bika' Dagu bɛn tek' ala 'a meti, dąn a gowɛ. So, di Anąnsi no mąŋ fō sɔri Konum pɛ grɔ' hab' tifi, Konum mek' den srɔt' hɛm, tak' a dɛ wan le̯imąn.

Odo: Bɪgi a̯i fō Anąnsi, mek' dɔm kɔri hɛm.

33. Greed Test: The Earth Has Teeth.[1]

The King gave them two cows. But now, when they went to take the cows, the cows were behind a screen. And when they went, one of the cows was lean and one was fat. The fat one was tied with a thin rope, and the thin [cow] was tied with a stout rope. When Anansi and Dog went to take the cows, Anansi did not look, and took the one which was tied with the stout rope. Dog took the other. But now, when they went away, Anansi was envious. Then he wanted to take the fat cow, but he did not know what to do. He studied and said, ‘I am going to make Dog kill his cow.’ He said to Dog, said, ‘Friend Dog, I am going to kill my cow.’ Dog said, ‘I don't care, she belongs to you. You can do what you like.’ So Anansi killed his cow.

But after he killed it, he asked Dog, said, if he did not want a piece of it. Dog said, ‘No.’ Anansi said, ‘Take, brother.’ Dog

1 Told by 1. Compare, Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 51-54, No. 6; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. & F. (IV) MS. No. 121a and b; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 450-451, fable No. 46, (Hausa), Tremearne (I) 212-214, No. 8, (III) 263-4, 266-7, Nos. 34 and 37; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 267, No. 32, (Awka), Thomas (III) 110-115, (Edo), (II) 64-68, No. 26; Lamba, Doke 177, No. 95; Suriname (another version), Van Cappelle, 322-324, No. 16.

refused. But after he urged Dog so till...Dog took a piece of liver. But now, Dog is this kind of an animal: when he eats, the food does not go down into his stomach, as long as he does not drink water. As they walked so till... Anansi suddenly said, ‘Friend Dog, give me back the liver.’ Dog vomited the liver and gave it back to him. Anansi said, ‘I was joking with you. Eat the thing which is yours.’ Dog ate it again. As they walked so till... Anansi thought the liver was in Dog's stomach, and said again, said, ‘Friend Dog, give me back the liver.’ Dog vomited the liver and gave it back to him. He said, ‘It is a little joke I am playing on you. Don't be angry. Eat that which is yours.’ Dog ate it again.

But as they went on now again, Dog drank some water. Then the liver went down into his stomach. Finally, as they walked some distance farther, Anansi said again, ‘Give me the liver, friend Dog.’ But friend Dog was unable to take it out again. Anansi said, ‘I don't care. You must kill your cow so that you can give me back that liver.’ Dog could not do otherwise. He killed his cow. But when he finished killing it, Anansi took all the meat. Dog said nothing to him.

Dog ran ahead [along the road] where Anansi must pass. He dug a large hole and went inside. He bared his fangs. When Anansi came by, Anansi did not know that Dog had done this. When he approached, he saw the fangs. He was startled and became afraid. ‘Please, Father, may I pass?’ Dog did not answer him. He said, ‘Father, I am going to throw down a piece of meat for you. Then will you let me pass?’ He threw down the piece of meat. Dog did not answer him. Again Anansi threw down a piece. Dog did not answer him. Anansi said, ‘I beg you, if I throw down all the meat for you, will you let me pass?’ Dog did not answer him.

But when Anansi saw that the fangs refused to disappear, he ran away. He went to tell the King that the earth had teeth, let the King come and see. But when they went, they saw nothing, because Dog had taken all the meat, and then had gone away. So, when Anansi could not show the King the place where the earth had teeth, the King had them lock him up, saying he was a liar.

Proverb: Anansi's greed causes fools to lie about him.

34.

Konu bɛn habi wąn preịsi pɛ bɛn dɛ furu maskita. Nowan suma no bɛn ką' tąn dapɛ. Ma Anąnsi go streị nąŋga Dagu, taki, ɛŋ sɑ si suma sɑ tą' mɔro ląŋga nąŋga maskita. Anąnsi sidǫ' nąŋga Dagu. Na maskita 'ɛ beti Dagu. Dą' 'ɛ beti Anąnsi tu. Anąnsi

no mąŋ hɔri mɔro. A tak', ‘Mi Konu, mi de go taị̯gi yu wą' tɔri.’ A tak', ‘Mi papa bɛn habi wąn kaụ̯, a pens, a pens, a pens, a pens, mi Konu....’

So Anąnsi go wɪn' na fɔs' praị̯isi. So a sɑ kɪsi wąn kaụ̯, ɛn Dagu, tu.

Ma Konu teki wą' mąŋgri kaụ̯ nąŋga wą' fatu wan. Na mąŋgri kaụ̯, den taị̯ nąŋga wan deị̯ki tɛteị̯, ɛn na fatu wąn nąŋga wan fini tɛteị̯. Di Anąnsi kɔm fō teki hɛm tɛteị̯ 'fɔsi Dagu kɔm, a grabu na fatu tɛteị̯. So Dagu bɛn 'a' fō teki na fini tɛteị̯. Ma di den hari den tɛteị̯ kɔm na dɔro, na kaụ̯ fō Anąnsi bɛn mąŋgri. Te p'kin mɔro, a no bɛn kan waka. Ma są' Anąnsi sɑ du? A bɛn musu teki hɛm. Hɛm nąŋga mati Dagu bɛn gowe na pasi, na kaụ̯ fō hem no bɛn mąŋ waka mɔro. So Anąnsi kiri hɛm kaụ̯. A pɔti hafu na ɪni hɛm mutete, a gi mati Dagu wą' pisi lɛfre. Ma Dagu no bɛn nyam na lɛfre. A ben hɔri hɛm na ɔndro hɛm tǫŋgo.

Di den waka so tɛ... Anąnsi taki, ‘Mat' Dagu, mat' Dagu, gi mi mi lɛfre.’ Dagu ląŋga hɛm tǫŋgo, a tak', ‘Mat' Anąnsi, yu lɛfre dị̯a.’ Anąnsi tak', ‘'A spɔt' mi 'ɛ meki.’ Ma di den waka so tɛ... watra bɛn kɔm kɪsi Dagu. A bɛn go na wąn kriki fō drɻŋgi watra. So a swari da lɛfre. Pikinso na baka Anąnsi taki, ‘Mat' Dagu, mat' Dagu, gi mi mi lɛfre.’ Dagu ląŋga hɛm tǫŋgo, ma na lɛfre no bɛn dɛ, bikas' a bɛn swari hɛm di a bɛn go drɻŋgi watra. So Dagu bɛn 'a' fō kiri hɛm kaụ̯ fō gi Anąnsi hɛm lɛfre.

'A yurtem, di Dagu gi Anąnsi na lɛfre kaba, a teki hɛm meti, a lǫ' gowɛ na fesi. A diki wąn bǫ' bɪgi hɔro, a go na ɪniseị̯, a pir' ɛŋ tifi na lɔktu. Di Anąnsi dɛ kɔm pasa, a si na tifi. A tak', ‘Odi, mi Tata.’ Na mɔro Dagu dɛ piri hɛm tifi. Anąnsi taki, ‘ạ̈i, mi Tata, mi sabi są' yu wani. Na wąn pisi meti.’ Na mɔro Dagu dɛ piri hɛm tifi. 'A so Dagu mek' na sani tɛ... Anąnsi tro ala na meti fō hɛm na grǫ'.

A lǫ' gowɛ na Konu, a taki, ‘Konu, grǫ' habi tifi.’ Di Anąnsi gowɛ, Dagu opo na ɪni da hɔlo, a teki ala da meti, a tyari gowɛ. Konu sɛni suma nąŋga Anąnsi, go luku ɛf' na tru taki grǫ' habi tifi. Ma di den suma go, den no bɛn feni nɔtį̣'. So den hati bɛn kɔm brǫ' nąŋga Anąnsi, dɛn dę' bɪgɪn kravas' hɛm.

So yu si, Anąnsi lǫ' go kɪbri na pɔstu hɔro.

34. The Mosquito Test: The Greed Test: The Earth Has Teeth.[1]

The King had a place where there were many mosquitoes. No one could live there. But Anansi went to contest with Dog that they should see which of them would remain longer with the mosquitoes. Anansi and Dog sat down. The mosquitoes bit Dog. They bit

1 Told by 6. For comparative references, see notes to Tales No. 33 and 35, also for Nigeria (Edo), Thomas (II) 64-68, No. 26; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 111, No. 113; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 36-37, No. 29.

Anansi, too. Anansi could stand it no longer. He said, ‘My King, I am going to tell you a story.’ He said, ‘My father had a cow. It was spotted here, it was spotted here, it was spotted here, my King....’ [pantomime of slapping the parts of his body where the mosquitoes were attacking him].

So Anansi won first prize. So he was to get a cow, and Dog, too.

But the King took a lean cow, and a fat one. The lean cow they tied with a stout cord, and the fat one with a thin cord. As Anansi came to take his cow before Dog came, he grabbed the stout cord. So Dog had to take the fine cord. But when they pulled out the cords, Anansi's cow was lean. After a little while, it could not walk. But what could Anansi do? He had to take it. He and friend Dog went along the road, and his cow could not walk any more. So Anansi killed his cow. He put half inside his carrying basket, and he gave friend Dog a piece of liver.[1] But Dog did not eat the liver. He held it under his tongue.

When they had walked so till... Anansi said, ‘Friend Dog, friend Dog, give me my liver.’ Dog put out his tongue, and said, ‘Friend Anansi, here is your liver.’ Anansi said, ‘I was making fun.’ But as they walked so till... Dog became thirsty.[2] He went to a creek to take a drink of water. So he swallowed the liver. A little later, Anansi said, ‘Friend Dog, friend Dog, give me my liver.’ Dog put out his tongue, but the liver was not there, because he had swallowed it when he went to drink water. So Dog had to kill his cow in order to give Anansi his liver.

When Dog had given Anansi the liver, he took his meat and he ran on ahead. He dug a large hole, and he went inside, and he bared his fangs, which alone showed.[3] When Anansi was coming by he saw the fangs. He said, ‘Howdo, father.’ Dog showed his fangs all the more. Anansi said, ‘Yes, father, I know what you want. A piece of meat.’ Dog showed his fangs all the more. And so Dog did the thing till... Anansi threw down all his meat.

He ran away to the King, and said, ‘King, the earth has teeth.’ When Anansi went away, Dog came out of the hole, [and] he took away all the meat. The King sent some people with Anansi, to go and see if it was true that the earth had teeth. But when the people went, they found nothing.[4] So they got angry with Anansi, and they began to whip him.

So you see, Anansi ran away to hide in a post-hole.

1 The etiquette here, as in Africa, is that anyone who looks on while an animal is being cut up must get a piece, no matter how trifling.
2 Lit., ‘water came to catch Dog’.
3 Lit., ‘he showed his teeth to the air’.
4 Lit., ‘they no did find nothing’ - always the double negative.

35.

Konu bɛn ab' wąn uma-p'kin. A taki, suma wan' tro nąŋga 'a p'kin, a mu' kɔ' nyąm wąn krabasi pɛpre sɔ̨ndra meki, ‘Fffahh’. Wąn de̯i Anąnsi taki, ‘Mi 'ɛ go si ɛf' mi no kąn go tro nąŋga ɛ̨ŋ p'kin.’ Anąnsi kɔmopo, a go. Ma di a go, ala san' a de tak' nąŋga Konu, a i tak' so, ‘Fffahhh, odi mi Konu, fffahhh. Fa mi Konu tą', fffahhh? Ma mi Konu, mi kɔm, fffahhh.’

Di ɛ̨ŋ nąŋga Konu tak' mo̯i, Konu de luk' ɛ̨ŋ. Konu taki, ‘Mąn, wɛ fa yu tak' so dąn?’ Anąnsi piki ɛ̨ŋ, ‘Fffahhh, na so mi tak' tą', fffahhh.’

Ala dɑti Anąnsi wroko trɪki fō te a nyąm 'a pɛpre, dąn te 'a pɛpre brɔ̨n ɛm, dąn Konu no ką' sabi taki na na pɛpre de brɔ̨n ɛm. Anąnsi go, Konu 'ɛ gi 'ɛm na pɛpre. Ma ala di na pɛpre brɔn hɛm, dąn a de meki, ‘Fffahhh.’ Dąn a nyą' den krabas' pɛpre. Dąn Konu dɛ taki, ‘Na so na mąn taki tą', dɛ so na pɛpre n'e brɔ̨n ɛ̨ŋ. Bika' na so a i taki, ala san' dati hɛm taki a meki so, “Fffahhh”.’

So dat' Konum bɛn musi mek' a tro nąŋga hɛm p'kin. Ala di na pɛpre brɔ̨ŋ ɛŋ, Konu no dɛ mek' anmerkɛn tak' na pɛpre ·ɛ brɔ̨n ɛ̨ŋ.

35. The Pepper-Eating Test.[2]

The King had a daughter. He said, whoever wishes to marry his daughter, must come and eat a calabash of pepper without making 'F-fah.'[3] One day Anansi said, 'I am going to see if I cannot marry his daughter.' Anansi left [his house] and he went. But when he went, everything he said to the King, he said so: 'F-fah-howdo, King, f-fah. How is the King today, f-fah? But King, I came, f-fah...'

While he and the King were talking nicely, the King looked at him. The King said, 'Man, well why do you talk like this then?' Anansi answered him, 'F-fah, this is my way of talking, f-fah.'

All that Anansi worked as a trick in order that when he ate the pepper and when the pepper burnt him, then the King should not know that the pepper was burning him. Anansi went, and the King gave him the pepper. But, when the pepper burnt him, then he made 'F-fah.' Then he ate the calabash of pepper. Then the King said, 'Such is the man's speech, and so pepper does not burn him. Because so he talks, everything that he said, he made so, "F-fah".'

So the King had to let him marry his daughter. When the pepper burnt him, the King did not notice that the pepper was burning him.

36. Anąnsi nąŋga Didibri.[1]

Wąn manąntɛm fruku, aleịn bɛn finifini, ɛn Anąnsi bɛn kōmoto na wą' fō hɛm weịfi hoso. A p'sa na smɛti-'oso fō Yosi. Anąnsi taki, 'Af uy nat?' ('Fa yu tan,' na krapina tǫŋgo.)

'Yu mama pima yu! Dagu yu!'

'Hmmmm! Nas im ud uy?' ('Sąn mi du yu'?)

'No aksi mi, yu. Mi dɛ teki na fạịa ɪs'i dɪsi, mi dɛ fɔm yu nąŋga hɛm te yu kaka-saka bastar'!'

'Są mi du yu dan, mi ba?'

'F'rɛk! Mi a no yu ba! G'we! Są yu wani diaso?'

'Wɛ, mi ba, di mi bɛn dɛ a kɔm, mi yɛre ɔ fa yu dɛ naki na ɪs'i nąŋga yu amra. A dɛ leịiki poku de preị. Taki sąn' yu wani, yu dɛ wąn bǫ' smɛtmą'. A wroko no hebi nɔfo, no so, yu dɛ du ɛŋ. Basidjaki serefi no ką' fō asuwą' nąŋga yu.'

2 Told by 4. Compare Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 129-131; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 418, fable No. 5; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 274-275, Guru No. 6; Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 129-131, No. 35; Togo (Dagbamba), Fisch 158, No. 7; Nigeria (Warri), Herskovits, M. and F. (II) 448-452, No. 1; (Edo), Thomas (II) 27-28, No. 7.

3 According to the teller of this tale, this is the sound made when tasting something hot.

1 The idiom of this tale, told by a man of Javanese descent, is to be compared with that of the other tales.

Didibri hɛde kɔm glo di Anąnsi taį̈gi hɛm dɑti. Didibri taį̈g' gi Anąnsi, 'Ya, ya, wi heri famili na shmɪtmąn.' Didibri teki ɛ̨ŋ hanu, shutu na ɪni na faį̈a. A puru wąn pisi faį̈a ɪsri, ɛn a de shɔri Anąnsi. Anąnsi go kibri, bikasi a kɔm fredɛ. 'Nowąn wroko dɛ, di mi no kąn meki. Na ɪsri drat no krɔ̨ŋ ɔf mi de meki lɛt' ɔpo.' Anąnsi taki, 'Yu dɛ leį̈, yu.' 'Yu wąn' stre?' Anąnsi taki, 'aį̈.' Anąnsi shutu ɛ̨ŋ hanu na ɪni ɛ̨ŋ kamisa. A hari wą' sɪtɔ̨n wiwiri, a pɔti hɛm gi Didibri fō naki hɛm leti ɔpo. Didibri naki, naki, naki, naki, ma a no kąn kɪsi hɛm let' ɔpo. A de kroru mɔro-mɔro. Anąnsi taki, 'Yu si, mi wɪni yu. Ɔ są' yu gi' mi?' Didibri teki na faį̈a-ɪsri, trowe naki Anąnsi. Nō, baka dɑti, Anąnsi go kɪbri na ɪni wąn pɔstu-hɔlo.

So fasi yu habi Anąnsi tɛ.... na ɪni smɛti-hoso.

36. A Challenge to the Devil.[4]

One early morning a fine, fine rain was falling, and Anansi came out of one of his wives' houses. He passed Yosi's[5] forge. Anansi said, 'Woh era uoy?' - ('How are you,' in the language of the damned souls).

'By your mother's genitals! You dog!'

'Hm! tahw evah I enod ot uoy?' - ('What have I done to you?')

'Don't ask me, you. I'll take this hot iron, and I'll beat you with it till your intestines burst!'

'What will I do to you then, brother?'

'Curse you! I'm not your brother! Go away! What do you want here?'

'Well, brother, when I was coming this way, I heard how you were hammering the iron with your hammer. It was like a drum playing. Say what you will, you are a good smith. There is no work too hard for you to do. Basi Jaki[6] himself, could not surpass you.'

4 Told by 10.
5 A name assumed by the devil.
6 Said to have been a slave, who, many years ago, was renowned for his fine iron working.

The Devil's head swelled with pride[1] when Anansi said that to him. The Devil said to Anansi, ‘Yes, yes, our whole family are smiths.’ The Devil put his hand in the fire. He pulled out a piece of hot iron, and he showed it to Anansi. Anansi went and hid because he became afraid. ‘There is no work I cannot do. No iron wire is so twisted that I cannot straighten it.’ Anansi said, ‘You are lying, you.’ ‘Do you want to bet?’ Anansi said, ‘Yes.’ Anansi shot his hand into his shirt. He pulled out a pubic hair, and he gave it to the Devil to hammer it straight. The Devil hammered, and hammered, and hammered, and hammered, but he could not get it straight. It curled more and more. Anansi said, ‘You see, I won from you. What will you give me?’ The Devil took the hot iron, and threw it at Anansi. After that Anansi went to hide in a post-hole.

So that is why you have Anansi till... inside the forge.

37. Anąnsi nąŋga Tigri.

Anąnsi taa̰ig' Tigri, ‘Mi Ta, yu no wani wasi? Wąn moo̰i fḛḭfer mi hab' diaso.’ Tigri taki, ‘No, no, mi boo̰i, ɛf' mi go wasi, mi mu' puru mi bɛre, dą' fɔs' m' ką' go wasi.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Wɛ, dą' i puru, mi Ta.’ Tigri puru ɛ'm bɛre, dąn a go wasi. Anąnsi luku di Tigri go wasi, dąn a nyam Tigri bɛre. Di Tigri kaba wasi, Tigri taki, ‘Pɛ mi bɛre dɛ?’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Mi no sabi, di dyɔ̰nso, a bɛn di diaso.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Mi Ta, mi sɑ sɔri yu suma nyąm yu bɛre.’ Tigri g'we; Anąnsi, tu.

Na pasi, Anąnsi miti furu kɛskɛsi. Dɛm bɛn dɛ sɻŋgi, den dɛ go na wą' dɛdɛ-hoso. Anąnsi taki, ‘Ụn boo̰i, ụn no mu sɻŋgi so, ụn mu sɻŋgi,

‘Wi nyam Tigri bɛre,
A switi;
Wi nyam Tigri bɛre,
'A sotu,
'A pɛpre.’

Den kɛskɛsi taki, ‘a̰i. Wą' moo̰i sɻŋgi.’

Dąn Anąnsi go na Tigri, a taa̰igi Tigri taki, ‘Mi Ta, mi sabi suma nyam yu bɛre. Mi sɑ tyari yu go sɔri pɛ den dɛ.’ Tigri taki, ‘Moo̰i, mi boo̰i.’ Anąnsi tyari Tigri go na dɛdɛ-hoso pɛ den kɛskɛsi dɛ. Den kɛskɛsi sɻŋg' wąn tra sɻŋgi. Anąnsi kari wą' fõ den kɛskɛsi, a taki, ‘Hɛlo, mat', yu frɪgiti na sɻŋgi di mi bɛn taa̰igi yu fõ sɻŋgi?’ Kɛskɛsi

1 Lit., ‘The Devil's head came to grow’.

tak', ‘a̱i, mi sab' ɛŋ.’ A go na ɪni hoso, a ta̱igi den trawąn fō sɻŋgi są' Anąnsi bɛn taigi dɛm,

‘Tigri bɛre switi,
Tigri bɛre,
'A sotu,
'A pɛpre.’

Tigri yɛre dem. A dyɔmpo na ɪni na hoso, a kiri dɛm kɛskɛsi.

'Afu lǫnwɛ. Anąnsi go nąŋga dɛm dɛ lǫn gowɛ. A taki, ‘So, kɔm, mi go sɔri yu wąn mo̱i sani.’ A pɔti wąn kapa nąŋga watra na fa̱iya. A taki, ‘Ụn bo̱i, mi dɛ go na ɪni na kapa. Te mi taki, “Mąn lɛpi,” dą' yu musu opo mi. Dąn ụn dɛ go nō, te ụn taki, “Mąn lɛpi,” dąn mi sɑ puru ụnu baka.’ Den kɛskɛsi go. Di dem firi na waraŋ, dem taki, ‘Mąn lɛpi.’ Anąnsi taki. ‘Tɛ mąn lepi, tifi mu' piri.’

37. Eating Tiger's Guts: Incriminating Song: The Killing Hot Bath.[2]

Anansi said to Tiger, ‘Father, don't you want to bathe? I have a fine pool here.’ Tiger said, ‘No, no, my boy. If I go to bathe, I must take out my belly,[3] then only can I go and bathe.’ Anansi said, ‘Well, then, take it out, father.’ Tiger took out his belly, then he went to bathe. Anansi watched, and when Tiger went to bathe, then he ate Tiger's belly. When Tiger finished bathing, he said, ‘Where is my belly?’ Anansi said, ‘I don't know; [but] just now it was here.’ Anansi said, ‘Father, I will show you who ate your belly.’ Tiger went away; Anansi, too.

On the way, Anansi met many monkeys. They were singing, they were going to a wake. Anansi said, ‘You boys, you mustn't sing so, you must sing,

‘We ate Tiger's belly,
It was sweet;
We ate Tiger's belly,
With salt,
With pepper.’

The monkeys said, ‘Yes, a fine song.’

Then Anansi went to Tiger, and he said, ‘Father, I know who ate your belly. I will take you where they are.’ Tiger said, ‘Fine, my boy.’ Anansi took Tiger to the wake where the monkeys were. The monkeys were singing another song. Anansi called one of the monkeys, and he said, ‘Hello, friend, did you forget the song I told

2 Told by 9. Compare, Sudan (Malinke), Monteil (I) 45-49, Travélé 102-104, No. 40; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 273, Guro No. 3, 324, Gagu No. 9; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS. No. 44 and No. 48; Nigeria (Bura), Helser 72-73, No. 16, (Calabar), Dayrell, 36-37, No. 7; Angola (Umbundu), Bell 133-135, No. 14; Lamba, Doke 35-39, 75, No. 16 and No. 32; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier (I) 25-27, No. 8, (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 108-109, No. 110; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 13, No. 10b, 47-48, No. 37a and b.

3 Entrails.

you to sing?' The monkey said, 'Yes, I know it.' He went in the house and he told the others to sing what Anansi had told them,

'Tiger's belly is sweet,
Tiger's belly,
With salt,
With pepper.'

Tiger heard them. He jumped inside the house and killed the monkeys.

Half ran away. Anansi went with those who ran away. He said, 'So, come, I am going to show you a nice thing.' He put a kettle of water on the fire. He said, 'You boys, I am going inside the kettle. When I say "Man is ripe",[1] then you must take me out. Then you will go now. When you say "Man is ripe", then I will take you out again.' The monkeys went. When they felt the heat, they said, 'Man is ripe'. Anansi said, 'When man is ripe, the teeth must appear.'

38. Kɛskɛsi nąŋga Tigri.

Tigri a no bɛn 'abi sani fō nyąm. Dą' a prakseri fa ɛ' gō du. Dą' a mek' wan bɪgi kapa nąŋga dɔro. Dąn a kari ala babų taki ɛŋ dɛ go pre kino. Dę' mu' kɔ' luku.

Dąn a go na ɪni na kapa, taki ɛŋ dɛ go pōti dem plat, ma te ɛŋ bari a waraŋ, dąn den mu puru ɛŋ, bika' a ben pɔt' fa̱ia na ɔndro na kapa. Dąn di a bari 'A waraŋ,' dąn dę' opo na dɔro. Dą' a mek' ala den babų go na ɪn' na kapa tak' dę' go luku kino. Ma wan pikin babų̱n no bɛn go na ɪni. A kibri na tapu wan bom. Dąn a luku ala są' pasa. Dąn di den babų go na ɪn' na kapa, dą' Tigri pɔt fa̱ia gi' na kapa. Dąn den babų bori, dą' a kɪl' alamala, so a ką' fen s'ti-mɔfo.

Wan tra de̱i baka, di a i pina, dą' a kari ala kɛskesi nō. Taki, mek den kɔm luku, ɛŋ dɛ go pre̱i kino. Dąn di den kɛskɛsi kɔm, dąn na pikį' babų di bɛn tą na tap' na bom tra lesi, dąn a ta̱ig' den taki, te Tigri go ɪn' na kapa, dąn dę' no mu opo na dɔro te a bari a waraŋ. Den mu ta̱igi, 'Te a waraŋ man tifi mu piri a we̱iti.' Ɛn so, di Tigri go na ɪni, dąn den no opo na dɔro gi' ɛŋ'. Den pɔt' fa̱ia na ɔndro na kapa, ɛn so Tigri dɛdɛ.

1 This word is also idiomatic for 'mature', and when used as a verb means 'help'. The point of the ending involves a conscious play on words, with the three meanings in mind.

Odo: Tɛ wan suma diki wą' ɔro fō pōt' wa' tra wą', ɛŋ sɛrefi fadǫ' go na ɩni.
Na paa̱iman fō san a bɛn du nąŋga den babų'.

38. The Killing Hot Bath: Tables Turned.[2]

Tiger had nothing to eat. Then he studied what he was going to do. Then he made a big kettle with a lid. Then he called all the baboons,[3] saying he was going to play a cinema. They must come and look.

Then he went inside the kettle, saying he was going to put in the plate (the film), but when he called it was warm, then they must take him out, because he had put fire under the kettle. So, when he cried, 'It is warm,' then they opened the lid. Then he made all the baboons go inside the kettle, telling them they were going to look at a cinema. But one little baboon did not go inside. He hid in a tree top. Then he watched everything that happened. Then when the baboons went inside the kettle, then Tiger lit the fire under the kettle. Then the baboons were cooked, he had killed all of them, that he might find meat.

Some time later, when there were hard times, then he called all the monkeys. He said let them go look, he was going to play a cinema. Then when the monkeys came the little baboon who had been in the tree top the other time, said to them, said, when Tiger went in the kettle, then they must not raise the lid when he cried it was warm. They must say, 'When it is warm, man's teeth must show white.' And so, when Tiger went inside, then they did not raise the lid for him. They lit the fire under the kettle, and so Tiger died.

2 Told by 1. For comparative notes see preceding tale, and also compare for Nigeria (Awka), Thomas (III) 94-95; Cameroons (Bulu), Schwab (I) 277-278, No. 19; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 19, No. 16.

3 Suriname Negro term for howling monkeys.

Proverb: When someone digs a hole for another, he himself will fall into it.
This was the payment for what he had done to the baboons.

39. Anąnsi go pre fō Datra.

Anąnsi nō, mek' wą' 'ɔspital, taki, ɛŋ sabi fō drɛsi siki mą'. Nō Tigri bɛ' 'abi sɩksi p'kin, dem p'kin bɛn dɛ sɩki. Wɛ, di Tigri yeri tak' Anąnsi dɛ so wą' bǫ' datra, a tyar' dɛm p'kin go mek' Anąnsi luku dem. Anąnsi taki, 'Mi ką' mɛk' dem p'kin kɔm bɛtre, ma i mu' tya' dem kɔm na 'ati-'oso, kǫ' didǫ' fō wą' tįn deį.' Tigri sɛni ɛŋ p'kin kɔm na Anąnsi.

Anąnsi nyą' ala dem p'kin Tigri. Dąn, di Tigri kɔm fō luku dem p'kin, a taįg' Tigri taki, Tigri no ką' si dɛm. Ɛŋ gi' dɛm wą' drɛsi, suma no ką' tak' nąŋga dem. Di Tigri gowe, Anąnsi prakseri taki, te Tigri kǫ' luku dem p'kin baka, są' i sɑ tak' Tigri? A prakseri, a taki, 'Mi sab' są' mi go du kaba.' A suku tɛteį, d'a span na tɛteį na ɩn' na kamera. Dąn a 'ąŋga den p'kin Tigri bǫnyo na na tɛteį. Dąn di Tigri kǫ' luk' na pikin baka, a taįg' Tigri taki, 'Yu no ką' si dem p'kin 'ɛte, ma ɛfi yu wani, mi sɑ meki yu yeri fa dɛ a lafu.' Dą' taig' Tigri taki, 'Luku na t'teį dia. 'Ar' ɛŋ p'kinso, dą' i sɑ yeri fa i dɛm dɛ lafu.' Ma Tigri n'e si na ɩn' dem kamera. Te a 'ar' na t'teį, den dem bǫnyo, dɛm meki, 'Tchara, tchara, tchara.' Dąn Tigri yɛri, a dɛŋki taki na den p'kin bɛn dɛ taki. Di a kɔm wą' tra deį, Anąnsi du so sɛref' baka. A mek' Tigri har' 'a t'teį. Di Tigri har' 'a t'teį, dąn dɛm bǫnyɔ meki, 'Tchara, tchara, tchara,' baka. Tigri gowɛ. Di a go na 'oso, a teįgi ɛŋ frō taki, 'Dem p'kin de kɔm moį bɛtrɛ, bika' de-a tak', "Tchara, tchara, tchara, tchara".' Ala deį tɛ a go luku dɛm p'kin, na na wą' 'Tchara, tchara' a yeri.

Wą' deį a i ɑks' Anąnsi taki, 'Tą'! Ma san' wą' tak' dati? Ala deį na wą' "tchara, tchara, tchara" den p'kin taki! Mi n'e ferstand. Mek' mi sɛrɛf' go luku n' ɩn' na kamera.' Fa-i-si a ɔpo na dɔro, a si soso bǫnyo 'aŋga na den t'teį. A draį g'a dɔroseį fō go nak' Anąnsi. Anąnsi lǫ' gō a pɔst' ɔro.

Dati mek' Anąnsi dɛ tą' te tideį na ɩn' pɔst' ɔro.

39. Curing the Sick: Killing Tiger's Children.[1]

Anansi now made a hospital, and he said he knew how to cure sick people. Now Tiger had six children, and the children were sick. Well, when Tiger heard that Anansi was so fine a doctor, he took the children to have Anansi examine them. Anansi said, 'I can make the children better, but you must bring them to the hospital to lie there for ten days.' Tiger sent the children to Anansi.

Anansi ate all the little Tigers. Then when Tiger came to see his children, he said to Tiger that Tiger could not see them. He gave them a medicine and people could not talk to them. When Tiger went away, Anansi studied, what should he say to Tiger when Tiger came to see his children again? He studied, and he said, 'I know already what I am going to do.' He found a cord, and he put up the cord in the room. Then he suspended the little Tigers' bones from the cord. Then when Tiger came again to look at the children, he said to Tiger, he said, 'You cannot see the children yet, but if you like, I will let you hear how they laugh.' Then he said to Tiger, he said,

1 Told by 1. Compare, Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 226-230; Hausa, Rattray (IV), ii, 100-104, No. 28; Nigeria (Ikom), Dayrell (II) 58-61, No. 22; Gabun, Nassau, (I) 125-126, Banga No. 12.

‘See that string there. Pull it a little, and you will hear how they laugh.’ But Tiger did not see inside the room. When he pulled the string, then the bones made ‘Tchara, tchara, tchara.’ Then Tiger heard, and thought that the children were speaking. When he came another day, Anansi did the same thing again. He had Tiger pull at the string. When Tiger pulled at the string, then the bones made ‘Tchara, tchara, tchara’ again. Tiger went away. When he went home, he said to his wife, he said, ‘The children are better, because they say “Tchara, tchara, tchara, tchara”.’ Every day when he went to see the children, he heard the same ‘Tchara, tchara.’

One day he asked Anansi, he said, ‘Tan! but what does that mean? Every day the children speak the same “tchara, tchara, tchara.” I don't understand. Let me go in the room to look at them myself.’ As he opened the door, he saw only bones and cord. He turned and rushed outside to strike Anansi. Anansi ran away into a post hole.

That is why Anansi lives in the post holes until today.

40.

Konum bɛn habi wąn umą-p'kin. 'A p'kin bɛn sɪki so tɛ... Somɛni datra bɛn luku 'a p'kin, ma nowąn bɛn ką' drɛsi.

Anąnsi prakser' taki, 'Mi go suku wąn p'kin mɔni a Konu.' Anąnsi baį wąn blaka pak' nąŋga wą' brɔru. Anąnsi mek' dɛm mek' wąn shesi. A yuru wąn kõshiri. Anąnsi go na ɪni na shesi wąn deį, a meki na kõshiri tyari hɛm pasa let' na Konu mɔfo-dɔro. Di a i pasa, Konu mek' den sɛn go luku suma dɛ pasa dįa, ɛf' a no wąn datra. Den taki den sɑ go luku. Di den kar' na datra, datra go, ɛn di a luku 'a pikin, a taįg' Konu taki, 'Na pikin sɑ kɔm bɛtre, ma tɛ... ala kaba.' Konu no sab' sąn Anąnsi bɛn prakseri. Anąnsi prakser' taki, 'Dɑti wą' taki, te Konu n'a' mɔni mɔro.'

Na fɔs' deį, Anąnsi ɑksi Konu doįzen xulder. Konu gi hɛm. A gi Konu wąn drɛsi. A taįg' Konu taki, 'Na drɛsi nem Tɛ-nɔt-no-dɛ-mɔro.' So Anąnsi dɛ luku na p'kin pasa wan yari tɛ... beina Konu ala ɛŋ mɔni kaba. Ma ala deį, tɛ Anąnsi go, a i tak' Konu taki, 'Mi Konu, no habi fredɛ. 'A p'kin a kɔm bɛtre, ma tɛ ala kaba. So ląŋga sani dɛ, mi 'ɛ gi hɛm drɛsi Tɛ-nɔt-no-dɛ-mɔro, dą' a sɑ kɔm bɛtre.'

So wąn deį, Konu go fɛrteri wąn suma taki na so wąn datra dɛ luk' na p'kin, ma na p'kin n'ɛ kɔm bɛtre. Ma ala deį, 'a datra a i taįgi hɛm, te ala kaba, dąn fɔs' 'a p'kin kɔm bɛtre, ɛn te nɔt' no dɛ mɔro. Na suma taįg' Konu taki, 'Te na datra kɔm, dąn yu mu aksi hɛm sąn wą' tak' dɑti?' Wɛ, na wąn deį, di na datra kɔm, dąn Konu aksi hɛm taki, 'Otɛm ala sɑ kaba dąn? Bika' ala deį yu de taįg' mi, "Tɛ ala kaba"?' Anąnsi taig' hɛm taki, 'Wɛ, mi Konu, na tɛ yu n'a' mɔni mɔro, ɛn tɛnɔtnodɛmɔro, dɑt wąn taki na tɛ na p'kin bro kɔti.' Na Konu taįgi hɛm taki, 'Wɛ, dąn, Datra, yu no hab' fõ kɔm, bika' na p'kin no sɑ kɔm bɛtre noįti.'

Ma wąn suma kɔm fɛrter' Konu, taki na Anąnsi bɛn kɔm preį fõ 'a datra. Konu sɛn' tek' Anąnsi, a mek' den wɪp' Anąnsi so tɛ... 'A yurutɛm di den lus' Anąnsi, a no sab' pɛ fõ lǫn'-go. A lǫn'-go na ɪni pɔst hɔro. Dɑt' mek' Anąnsi tą' na pɔst hɔro, di a go preį Konu trɪki. A bɛn wani mek' ala Konu mɔni kaba.

40. Curing the Sick: Till Nothing Remains.[1]

The King had a daughter. The daughter was sick so till... So many doctors had examined her, but no one could cure her.

Anansi studied, and said, ‘I am going to the King to seek a little money.’ Anansi bought a black suit, and a high hat. Anansi had them make a carriage. He hired a coachman. Anansi went into the carriage one day, and he had the coachman bring him right by the King's door. When he was passing, the King had them send to see if the person passing there was not a doctor. They said they would go and look. When they called the doctor, the doctor went, and when he examined the child, he said to the King, said, ‘The child will get better, but when... all is finished.’ The King did not know what Anansi had studied. Anansi studied and said, ‘That is to say, when the King has no more money.’

The first day, Anansi asked the King for a thousand guilders. The King gave it to him. He gave the King some medicine. He said to the King, said, ‘The name of the medicine is Till-there-is-nothing-more.’ So Anansi looked after the child for over a year, till... almost all the King's money was finished. But every day, when Anansi went, he said to the King, said, ‘My King, don't be afraid. The girl will get better, but when all is finished. So long as things are there, I will give her the medicine Till-there-is-nothing-more, then she will get better.’

So one day, the King went to tell someone that such a doctor was looking after his daughter, but that the girl was not getting better. But every day the doctor said to him, when all was finished, then only would the child grow better, and when nothing more was there. The person said to the King, said, ‘When the doctor comes, then you must ask him what that means.’ Well, one day, when the doctor came, then the King asked him, said, ‘When will all be finished? Because every day you tell me, “When all is finished”?’ Anansi said to him, he said, ‘Well, King, when you have no more money, and when there is nothing more, that is to say, when the child's breath is gone.’[2] The King said to him, said, ‘Well, then, Doctor, you don't have to come, because the girl will never get better.’

But someone came to tell the King that Anansi had pretended he was a doctor. The King sent to take Anansi, and he had them whip Anansi so till... When they freed Anansi, he did not know where to run. He ran into a post hole. That is why since he went to play tricks on the King, Anansi lives in post holes. He had wanted to make all the King's money come to an end.

1 Told by 4. The general resemblance of the ‘Till Nothing Remains’ motif to ‘Playing Godfather’ type of tale (as given by Parsons (III) 1, No. 1, with bibliography) is to be noted.

2 Lit., ‘breath is cut off’.

41.

Anąnsi g'aseį wąn kriki, go kɔt' wąn bom. Fa Anąnsi bigın fō kɔt' na bom, ɛŋ aksi fadǭ' na ını na watra. Anąnsi dikrụn fō go firi na aksi. A fen' wą' prapi. Anąnsi taki, ‘Mi fen' wą' prapi.’ Nō mō na prapi taki, ‘Mi a no prapi. Mi na Agitafra.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Wɛ', gi' tafra, mek' mi si.’ Nō mō ala sɔrtu n'nyam kǫ' na tap' wą' tafra. Anąnsi nyąm! Di a nyąm, ɛŋ bɛlɛ furu, a tek' 'a prapi, a gowe na 'oso.

D'a go na 'oso, a pɔt' 'a prapi a tap' ɛŋ sɔdro. A no mek' na wą' suma sabi. A bɛn gridi, ɛŋ wa'wąn bɛn wani f'i go nyąm. So ala deį a i go safri go nyąm. Te a nyąm kaba, dą' i saka kɔm. Dą' i taį̂gi ɛŋ umą, tak', tide a n'a f' gi' ɛŋ nyąm f'a bɔri. Ɛŋ no de lɔstu n'nyąm tidɛ. Na fro no sab' są' i du.

Ma wą' deį̂, di Anąnsi go na tap' sɔdro, dąn wą' f' den p'kin krı̣n' safri, go luku sa ɛŋ p'pa i du. Di a gō, a kıbri. Ɛŋ p'pa no si ɛŋ. Dą' ɛŋ p'pa go na prapi, a taki, ‘Agitafra, gi tafra.’ Wą' trǫ' wą' tafra dɛk. Anąnsi nyąm! A no si taki suma si ɛŋ.

'A p'kin f'ɛŋ go na grǫ', a taį̂gi ɛŋ m'ma taki, ‘Mi m'ma, na so wą sani mi p'pa ɛ du, mek' a i taį̂gi taki, te yu bɔri, yu n'a fō gi' ɛŋ. A i nyą' ala deį̂ 'a tap' sɔdro. Mi kıbri, luk' ɛŋ. Mi si sąn a i du.’ Dąn wą' deį̂ Anąnsi no dɛ, ɛn na p'kin teki 'ɛm m'ma nąŋga den brada f'ɛŋ, dąn dę' g'a tap' 'a sɔdro. A tak' a sɛrefi lek' fa Anąnsi bɛn tak' gi' 'a prapi. Dąn tafra kɔm, dąn tafra dɛk. Dę' nanyąm! Di Anąnsi kɔm, a no sab' sąn' p'sa. A g'a sɔdro, a tak' nąng' 'a prapi, ma tafra no dɛk.

Anansi prakser', taki, ‘Na suma kǫ' na prapi fō mi, ma mi go shɔr' den.’

A go baka na serɛf' presi pe a bɛn fen' na prapi, en kɔt' wą' bom. Di a i kɔti, ɛŋ s'rɛf' trowe n'aksi na ın' na watra. Nō, a no fen' prapi, ma a fen' wąn wıpi. Na wıpi bıgin fō wıp' ɛŋ. Anąnsi lǫn. 'A wipi de lǫn ɛŋ baka. Ma di a prakseri, nō mō a bari, ‘Mi wıpi, tapu!’ Dąn na wıpi tapu. Dąn a tek' na wıpi, a tya' gō, a pɔt' 'a

tap' sɔdro. Ma di den p'kin si a g'a tap' sɔdro, dę' no sab' są' tyar' go. Dąn Anąnsi gowɛ.

Di a gowɛ, dą' den alamala krįŋ' g'a tap' 'a sɔdro. Dąn dę' fas' na wɪpi, 'a wɪp' a bigɪn wɪp' den. Dę' no sab' fa' fō bari, f'a wɪpi tapu. Nō m'a Anąnsi bari, ‘a̰i, gi' den! Mi sɑ pur' fufuru gi' den, den fufur'mą'!’ Na wɪpi wɪp' den te yu kɔ' si Anąnsi botu fini so.

Dɑt' mɛki Anąnsi botu fin' so.

41. Pot and Whip.[1]

Anansi went to cut down a tree beside a creek. Just as Anansi began to cut down the tree, his axe fell into the water. Anansi dived to go and feel about for the axe. He found a pot. Anansi said, 'I found a pot.' Instantly the pot said, 'I am not a pot. I am He-gives-a-feast.' Anansi said, 'Well, give a feast, let me see.' At once all kinds of food appeared on top of a table. Anansi ate! When he had eaten until he was satisfied,[2] he took the pot and he went home.

When he went home he put the pot up on the ceiling. He did not let any one know. He was greedy, he alone wanted to go there and eat. So every day he went quietly to eat. When he had finished eating, then he came down. Then he said to his wife, said, today she need not give him food when she cooked. He had no desire for food today. His wife did not know what he did.

But one day, when Anansi went upstairs, then one of his children climbed up quietly to go and see what his father was doing. When he went, he hid. His father did not see him. Then his father went to the pot, and he said, 'He-gives-a-feast, give a feast.' Instantly a table was spread. Anansi ate! He did not notice that somebody was seeing him.

His child went down to the ground, and said to his mother, said, 'Mother, this is the kind of thing my father does which makes him say to you that when you cook you need not give him [anything]. He eats upstairs every day. I hid and watched him. I saw what he did.' Then one day Anansi was not there, and the child took his mother and brothers and they went upstairs. He spoke just as Anansi had spoken to the pot. Then the table appeared, and the table was spread. They ate! When Anansi came [back] he did not know what had happened. He went upstairs and spoke to the pot, but the table did not appear.

Anansi studied, and said, 'Some people came to my pot, but I am going to show them.'

He went back to the same place where had found the pot, and he cut a tree. When he was cutting it, he himself threw the axe into the water. Now he did not find a pot, but he found a whip. The whip began to whip him. Anansi ran. The whip ran after him. But after he studied about this then, at once he cried out, 'My

1 Told by 1. Compare, Senegal (Toucouleur), le Brun, 206-208, No. 18; Sudan (Bamana), Monteil (I) 57-61, (Gurmantie), Equilbecq ii, 95-99; Sierra Leone (Mende), Westermann (III) 453-454, No. 10, Migeod (I) 223-226, No. 10; Liberia (Gola), Westermann (II) 112, No. 31, (III) 499-502, No. 31 and No. 32, (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 440, No. 46; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 287-288, Guro No. 28; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 39-44, No. 4, (Ashanti), Herskovits, M. and F. (III) MS No. 11 and No. 12, Rattray (I) 63-67, No. 19; Togo (Dagomba), Cardinall 153; Hausa, Rattray (IV), i, 80-106, No. 5; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 310-312, No. 53, Lomax 11-12, No. 15, Trautman 79-81, (Ibo), Thomas, (IV) 87, (Agbede), Thomas (II) 86-88, No. 5, (Calabar), Dayrell (I) 20-28, No. IV; N. Nigeria (Jukun), Meek 469-474, (Bura), Helser 29-38, No. V; Cameroons (Cross River), Mansfeld 229-230, No. 16; Gabun, Nassau (I) 113-120, Benga No. 11; Lamba, Doke 33-35, No. 15; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 31-33, 25a and b; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 141, No. 92, I and II; Santo Domingo, Andrade 189-193, No. 140-142. Comparative, Bolte u. Polívka, i, 346-361, No. 36.

2 Lit., 'had eaten his belly full'.

whip, stop!' and the whip stopped. Then he took up the whip and brought it upstairs. But when the children saw him go upstairs, they did not know what he brought. Then Anansi went away.

When he went away, all of them climbed upstairs. Then they touched the whip, and the whip began to whip them. They did not know how to cry out for the whip to stop. At once Anansi cried out, 'Yes, give it to them! I shall cure them of their thieving [habits], the thieves!' The whip whipped them till... you could see the spiders' legs become thin.

That is why spiders' legs are so thin.

42.

Anąnsi fen' wan wɪpi na ɔndro watra. Dą' a tyari hɛm kɔm na ɛŋ hoso. Ma te yu taa̰g na wɪpi taki, 'Mi wɪpi, opo,' dą' ala sɔrtu nyam kɔm na tap' tafra.

Dą' Anąnsi no wani meki den pikin fō ɛŋ nąŋga ɛŋ umą sabi. Dąn a dɛ go ɛŋ wąwan na tapu na sɔdro; dąn te a nyąm, dąn a dɛ kɔm. Ma wan fō den pikin kɪbri luku ɛŋ san a dɛ du, dąn di Anąnsi gowɛ, dąn na pikin teki den trawan, dąn den go na tapu na sɔdro. Dąn den taa̰g' na kravasi, 'Mi kravasi opo.' Dąn di na kravasi opo, dąn ala sɔrtu nanyąm kɔm na tapu tafra. Dąn den nyąm.

Ma di Anąnsi kɔm, dąn a sabi. Dąn ɛŋ hatibrɔ̰n. Dąn a taki, 'Mi 'ɛ go sar' hɛm.' Dąn a go, a teki na kravasi a pɔri ɛŋ. Dąn den pikin go baka. Dąn di den taki, 'Mi kravasi opo,' no mo kravasi bɪgin wɪp' den. Dąn den bɪgin lɔ̰'. 'A kravasi wɪpi den lɔ̰' 'a den baka.

'A dati hɛdɛ meki Anąnsi kɪbri na ɪni pɔst' hɔro tɛ tidɛ.

42. The Magic Whip.[1]

Anansi found a whip under the water. Then he brought it to his house. But when you said to the whip, said, 'My whip, open,' then all sorts of food came to the table.

Then Anansi did not wish to have his children and his wife know about it. Then he alone went on the ceiling; then when he had eaten, he came down. But one of his children hid to see what he was doing, and when Anansi went away, then the child took the others and they went upstairs. Then they said to the whip, 'My whip, open.' Then when the whip opened, all sorts of food came to the table. Then they ate.

But when Anansi came he knew of this. Then he was angry. Then he said, 'I am going to show them.' Then he went and took the whip and spoiled it. Then the children went back. Then when they said, 'My whip, open,' instantly the whip began to whip them. Then they began to run. The whip ran after them, beating them.

That is why Anansi (spiders) hide in post holes until today.

43.

Anąnsi sabi taki a i go pina. Dąn a wani kiri ɛŋ pikin nąŋga ɛŋ umą. Dąn 'a yuru wan papa den bɛn kari Papa Akala, pɔti na ɔndro ɛŋ bɛdi fō kiri ala den pikin nąŋga umą

1 Told by 1. Comparative references as for the preceding tale, and in addition, for Gold Coast (Ashanti), see Rattray (I) 213-219, No. 55.

tɛneįti. Ma na umą kɔm sabi taki na so Anąnsi du. Dąn na umą' fɛni pikin 'ɔni, a i drįŋgi. Di Anąnsi kɔm, a aksi hɛm taki, ‘San yu drįŋg so?’ A taki, ‘A na pikinso fatu fō Papa Akala a̰i mi ɛ drįŋgi.’ Nō mō Anąnsi taki, ‘Mi dɛdɛ, wan dɛ na ɔndro bɛdi. Kis' ɛm, mek mi dık ɛŋ a̰i.’ Na papa yɛre, dąn a bıgin lǫ'. Anąnsi lǫn ɛŋ baka. Ma a no kis' hɛm.

So dat' meki den pikin nąŋga na mama no lasi ɛŋ lib'.

43. Anansi's Wife Tricks Anansi.[2]

Anansi knew that hard times were coming. Then he wanted to kill his children and his wife. Then he hired an old man whom they called Papa Akala,[3] and put him under the bed to kill all his children and his wife that night. But his wife came to know that Anansi did this. Then the wife found a little honey, and she drank it. When Anansi came he asked her, he said, ‘What are you drinking so?’ She said, ‘I am drinking a little oil from Papa Akala's eye.’ At once Anansi said, ‘I am a dead one, one of them is under the bed. Catch him, let me pluck out his eye.’ The old man heard, then he began to run. Anansi ran after after him. But he did not catch him.

So that is the reason that the children and the mother did not lose their lives.

2 Told by 1.
3 Yoruba name for vulture.

44.

Anąnsi bɛn 'abi twarfu p'kin. Ma nō, te ɽŋ fro bɔri, a i gi' ɽŋ sɪksi ba'ana. 'A ba'ana n'e ser' Anąnsi. Anąnsi prakseri taa̰igi, ‘Mi ɛ go pre wą' kɔni.’ So dati a kari ɽ' wei̯fi, a taa̰igi ɽŋ taki, ‘Mɪsi, te i bɔri, yu no 'a fu gi mi n'nyąm, ma mi sɑ teki wą' ba'ana na ɪbri wąn fō den p'kin.’ Na fro prakser' taki, ‘A yu go kɔs tɛm mɔro furu wąn. Ɛfu Anąnsi teki wą' ba'ana den pikin, da' i kɋ' twarfu ba'ana.’ So dɑti na fro taa̰ig' ɽŋ taki, ‘Ɛf' yu wan' du so, dąn te mi 'ɛ go bɔri, yu mu' gi mi mɔro mɔni fō mi ba̰a̰i ba'ana, bika' te mi 'ɛ gi' yu na sɪksi mi 'ɛ gi' yu, ma ɛf' yu tek' wą' fō na ɪbriwą' fō den p'kin, a i kɔm twarfu.’ So dɑt' na fro bɛn mɔro kɔn' lḛi̯k Anąnsi.

44. Anansi's Wife Can Figure.[1]

Anansi had twelve children. But now, when his wife cooked, she gave him six plantains. The plantains did not satisfy Anansi. Anansi studied, and said, ‘I am going to play a trick.’ So that he called his wife, and he said to her, he said, ‘Wife, when you cook, you need not give me anything to eat, but I will take one plantain from each child.’ The woman studied, and said, ‘This is going to cost you more. If Anansi takes one plantain from each of the children, then it will come to twelve plantains.’ So that his wife said to him, she said, ‘If you want to do this, then when I go to cook, you must give me more money with which to buy plantains, because before when I gave you, I gave you six, but if you take one from each of the children that will come to twelve.’ So that his wife was more clever than Anansi.

45.

Anąnsi fen' taki ɛŋ uma, Sa Akuba, n'e gi hɛm nanyąm nɔfo. A taị̂gi 'a umą taki, ɛŋ srɛf' sɑ bɔri. Ma nō, Anąnsi si taki tɔk tɛ a bɔri, a mu' gi ɛŋ umą. Anąnsi prakser' taki, ‘No, mi wani nyąm ala nanyąm.’

A go, a miti mɔfo nąŋga datra, taki ɛŋ go sɛn' Sa Akuba go na datra, ɛn datra mu' taki Sa Akuba na sɪki di Sa Akuba de sɪki. Na hatihoso a mu' go. Anąnsi prakser' taki tɛ a go na hatihoso, dą ɛŋ wan sɑ nyąm ala nanyąm tɛ ɛŋ bɔri. So a du so leị̂k' fa a prakseri. A sɛni Sa Akuba go, taki mek' datra luk' ɛŋ. A geɛrsi, a i sɪki. Na uma no sabi. A go na datra. Di a go, datra luk' ɛŋ, datra taị̂g' hɛm taki, ‘Yu no kąn tąn na hoso, yu mu' go wantrɔ̨' na hatihoso.’

Ma bifɔsi a go na hatihoso, dą' a miti wąn ɔru umą. Na umą bɛn sabi sąn Anąnsi bɛn du. Dą' a gi na umą Sa Akuba wą' batra nąŋga wą' sani, a taki, ‘Tɛ yu go na hoso, drɔpu na watra na ala den kukru sani fō yu pati, yu krabasi, sipų', ɛn den preị̂ti.’ Di a go na hoso, a du so, dąn a go na hatihoso.

Tamara Anąnsi breị̂ti. Anąnsi pɔti wą' patu okro-brafu 'a faị̂ya, nąŋga tɔ̨ntɔ̨', a bɔri. Fa-i-si a bɪgɪn fō puru nanyąm, di na nyąm bɔri, a si na patu kɪs' futu, den kɔmki kɪs' futu, ala den sani kɪs' futu. Dɛm bɪgɪn lɔ̨n. Den lɔ̨n go te na hatihoso na na umą Sa Akuba. Anąnsi lɔ̨n na den baka, ma bɪfɔsi Anąnsi dɔro, den bɛn dɔro kaba. Te Sa Akuba bɛn dɛ nyąm kaba, dąn Anąnsi dɛ na hatihoso. A bɛgi na umą taki, ‘Kɛ, mi mama, libi pikɪnso fō yu

1 Told by 1. Compare, Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 31-32, No. 25a.

boi̯. Yu boi̯ no feni wą' drɔpu. Fa yu si yu boi̯ bɛn wan' pur' den nanyąm, na so den sani lɔn.' Ɛn so, ala dei̯ 'a sani bɛn de pasa so nąnga Anąnsi. Ɛn a go puru na umą na hatihoso, ɛn so den puru gridi gi hɛm.

45. Collusion with Doctor: The Pots Acquire Feet.[2]

Anansi found that his wife, Sa Akuba, did not give him enough to eat. He said to his wife that he himself would cook. But now, Anansi saw that when he cooked, he had yet to give some to his wife. Anansi studied, and said, 'No, I want to eat all the food.'

He went and agreed with the doctor that he would go and send Sa Akuba to the doctor, and the doctor must tell Sa Akuba that sickness was sickening Sa Akuba. She must go to the hospital. Anansi studied that when she went to the hospital, then he alone would eat all the food he cooked. So he did just as he had planned. He sent Sa Akuba, and said let the doctor look her over. She looked like she was sick. The woman did not know. She went to the doctor. When she went, the doctor examined her, and the doctor said to her, said, 'You cannot remain at home. You must go at once to the hospital.'

But before she went to the hospital, then she met an old woman. The woman knew what Anansi had done. Then she gave the woman, Sa Akuba, a bottle with something in it, and she said, 'When you go home, sprinkle the water on all your cooking utensils, your pots, your calabashes, your spoons, and the plates.' When she went home, she did this, then she went to the hospital.

The next day Anansi was happy. Anansi put a pot of okra soup and dumplings on the fire, and he cooked it. Just as he was about to begin to take out the food, then, when the food boiled, he saw the pot acquire feet, the cups acquire feet, all the things acquire feet. They began to run. They ran until they came to the hospital to the woman, Sa Akuba. Anansi ran after them, but before Anansi got there, they had already arrived. When Sa Akuba had finished

2 Told by 1. Compare, Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 152-159; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 280-281, Guro No. 17; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 294, No. 47.

eating, Anansi reached the hospital. He begged his wife, and said, '*Ke!* mother, leave a little for your boy. Your boy hasn't found a drop. Just as your boy had wanted to take out the food, the things began to run.' And so, every day this thing happened to Anansi. And he went and took his wife out of the hospital, and so they cured him of his greed.

46.

Anąnsi bɛn 'abi wą' krabita. Ma nō, a bɛn wani fō nyąm na krabita, ma a no wani meki suma nyam ɛŋ nąŋga 'ɛm. 'Ɛm wąwąn bɛn wan' fō nyąm ɛ'. A go na lukumą', go luku fa hɛm sɑ du. Dąn lukumą' taį̂gi ɛ' taki, 'Yu mu' pɔti wąn koko na ɩni yu mɔfo, dąn yu mu' taį̂ki yu weį̂fi dɑti yu tifi dɛ hat' yu. Dą' mek' a sɛn' kari mi, fō mi kɔ' luku gi' yu, sąn dɛ du yu. Dąn mi dɛ go taki so ląŋga yu no nyąm na krabita na tifi no dɛ go saka.' Di lukumą' kɔm, a luku. A taį̂gi, a mu' nyąm wą' krabita, no so, ɛ' go dɛdɛ. 'Ɛm weį̂fi taki, 'Wɛ, pɛ fō yu dɛdɛ, dą' nyą' na krabita.' Anąnsi bɛn presiri, bika' na dati a bɛn wani ląŋga tį' kaba.

Ma di a teki na krabita fō go nyąm, a go tɛ... na mindri busi fō go nyąm ɛŋ, fō nową' suma kɪsi wą' pisi. Dą' a si wą' pampųn na ɩni na busi. Dąn a taki, 'Mo̱i, mi sɑ nyam na krabita nąŋga na pampųn.' Ma na pampųn bɛn dɛ na sani dɪsi dem kali madųŋgu, ɛn di Anąnsi broko na pampųn nyąm, wantrɔn a kɪsi madųŋgu. Dą' a kali Aka taki, meki a teki ɛŋ na ɛŋ mɔfo. Dąn a mu' fle̱i nąŋga hɛm. Dąn di Aka du so, dąn a dɛ bari taki, 'Suma no 'abi madųŋga mek' a kɔ̂m teki.' Dąn Aka lusu ɛŋ. A fadɔ' na grɔ', ɛn di a fadɔ', a pąnya.

Dɑti meki ala suma di kɪsi madųŋgu. A bɛn dɛ te na mɪndri busi, ma Anąnsi teki ɛŋ tya kɔ' na foto.

46. Collusion with Diviner: How the Madungu *Disease Spread.*[1]

Anansi had a goat. But now he wanted to eat the goat, [but] he did not want to let anybody eat it with him. He wanted to eat it alone. He went to the diviner to divine what he should do. The diviner said to him, 'You must put a nut in your mouth, then you must say to your wife that your teeth hurt you. Then let her send to call me that I may come to divine for you what is troubling you. Then I am going to say that as long as you do not eat goat the toothache will not stop.' When the diviner came, he divined. He said he [Anansi] must eat goat, otherwise he is going to die. His wife said, 'Well, if it is a matter of your death, then eat the goat.' Anansi was happy, because that is what he had wanted for a long time.

But when he took the goat to eat, he went into the deep bush to eat it, so that no one would get a piece. Then he saw a pumpkin in the bush. Then he said, 'Fine, I will eat the goat with the pumpkin.' But the pumpkin was a thing which they call *madungu*,[2] and when Anansi broke open the pumpkin, then at once he caught *madungu*. Then he called to Hawk and said, let him take him in his mouth. Then he must fly with him. Then, when Hawk did this, then he cried out and said, 'He who

1 Told by 1. Compare Hausa, Rattray (IV), ii, 106-110, No. 29, and Tremearne (III) 255-7, No. 52. Another Suriname version is given by the Penards, (II) 245-6, No. 2.

2 The name for enlarged testicles.

has no *madungu* let him come and take.' Then Hawk freed him. He fell to the ground, and when he fell, it [the disease] scattered.

That is why all the people catch *madungu*. It had been in the deep bush, but Anansi took it and brought it to the city.

47. Tata Kǫŋgodifa.

A bɛn dɛ wąn mąn. Nowan suma bɛn sabi fa a nę'. Ala suma di go a wroko dapɛ, tɛ dę' bɛn wroko, Satra te a mu paị̂ den, dą na taki dę' mu wraị̂ ęŋ nę' fɔsi. Ɛf' dę' no sabi ęŋ nęm, dą' i kir' dɛm. So a kir' somɛni suma kaba.

Dąn Anąnsi yɛri fō ɛŋ. Dą' Anąnsi taki, ɛŋ go proberi ɛfi ɛŋ kan sabi fa a nɛm. Dąn Anansi meki ɛŋ weį̇fi, Sa Akuba, weri wąn nyu-nyu pikin yapon gi ɛŋ nąŋga pɪsi-duko. Dąn a tek' papa nąŋga broko krosi leį̇k' wan nyu-nyu pikin. Dąn a (Sa Akuba) go suku wroko na Tata. Dąn, di a kɪsi wroko, dąn a bɛgi na Tata meki ɛŋ libi na pikin. Ma a no bɛn dɛ wą' pikin, na wan bɪgi suma. Dąn di a gō na wroko, dąn Anąnsi bɪgin bari. A no wani tą tiri. Dąn na Tata 'atibrǫ', dą' a taki, 'Gadu pres' mi, Kǫŋgodifa. Sɛnsi mi dɛ sani lɛį̇k' dɪsi no mit' mi.' A no bɛ' sab' taki na wan bɪgi Anąnsi, a bɛn dɛŋki dɑti wan pikin nɛŋgre di no kan taki, so a no bɛn sɑ sabi fō kari na nɛ'. Ma di a kari ɛ' nɛ', wą'trǫ Anansi yeri.

Bakadina di Sa Akuba kɔmopo na wroko, dąn Anąnsi tą̇igi ɛŋ taki, 'Na Tata nɛ' Kǫŋgodifa.' Bika' no wą' suma bɛn sabi na Tata nɛ'.

Tamara mamantɛ', fa Sa Akuba kǫ' na wroko, nō mō a taki, 'Odi, Tata Kǫŋgodifa.' Wantrǫ' na Tata dɛdɛ, bikasi a bɛn mek' wą sweri, suma sɑ sabi fa 'a nɛ', watrǫ a sɑ dɛdɛ. Ɛn di a dɛdɛ, dąn Anąnsi teki ala den san' f'i nąŋga na heri presi. So Anąnsi meki pre kɔni fō a ką' sabi fa na Tata bɛn nɛm.

Na mɔfo bɔko broį̇ki
Na mɔfo bɔko broį̇ki
Bǫnyo 'ɛ wak' a i suku dagu
A wɛri ɛŋg geri kreti
A wɛri ɛŋg geri kreti
Bǫnyo 'ɛ wak' a i suku dagu
Mu santō bą̇i dagu
Mu santō bą̇i dagu
Fō go beti Mɪsi Na·na.

47. Guessing a Name: Anansi Disguises as a Baby.[3]

There was once a man. No one knew what his name was. To all the people who went to work there, when they had worked, and Saturday came when he must pay them, then he would say they must first write his name. If they did not know his name, then he killed them. So he had killed many people already.

3 Told by 1. Compare Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 279-80, Guro No. 15, and 281, Guro No. 18; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 45-49, No. 5; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 483-4, fable No. 84; Nigeria (Calabar), Dayrell (I), No. 22; Cameroons, Lederbogen (I) 66-67, No. 30; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 28, No. 23, 77-79, No. 69a and b (for guessing motif only); Bahamas, Parsons (III) 116, No. 68, III.

Then Anansi heard of him. Then Anansi said he would try if he could learn his name. Then Anansi had his wife, Sa Akuba, put on him an infant's dress and a diaper. Then she took pap in an old cloth, like for an infant. Then she went to look for work with the Tata. Then, when she got work, she asked the Tata to let her leave the child. But it was not a child, it was a grown person. Then when she went to work, Anansi began to cry. He did not want to remain quiet. Then the Tata became angry, and he said, ‘God bless me, Kongodifa. Since I live nothing like this has happened to me.’ He did not know that this was a grown up Anansi, he thought it was a small Negro that could not talk, so he would not know to call his name. But when he called his name, then at once Anansi heard.

In the afternoon when Sa Akuba came from work, then Anansi said to her, said, ‘Tata's name is Kongodifa.’ Because no one knew the name of the Tata.

Next morning when Sa Akuba came to work, she said immediately ‘Howdo, Tata Kongodifa.’ Instantly Tata died, because he had sworn an oath if someone should learn his name, he would die at once. And when he died, then Anansi took all of his things, and the entire place. So Anansi played a trick so that he might know the name of the Tata.

At the mouth of the broken bridge
At the mouth of the broken bridge
Bonyo walks looking for a dog
She wears her yellow dress
She wears her yellow dress
Bonyo walks looking for a dog
Mu santo baị dog
Mu santo baị dog
To go and bite Mistress Na·na.[1]

48.

Wąn mąn bɛn meki wąn bɪgi grɔ̨'. A prani na grɔ̨' nąŋga furu nanyąm, ma a no dɛ sɛri da nanyąm. Ma ɪbri suma dɛ kɔm na ɛŋ, a dɛ taki, ‘Go na ɪni grɔ̨', yu ką' puru somɛni nanyąm leị̂k' yu wani, ma yu mu taị̂g' mi beị̂nɛ̨m.’

Ma ala sɔrtu suma bɛn go, ma den no bɛn ką' tyari nanyąm gowɛ, bɪkasi den no bɛn sabi ɛŋ beị̂nɛ̨m. Ma wan deị̂ Anąnsi taị̂gi hɛm weị̂fi, a taki, ‘Mi weị̂fi, tidɛ wi no habi no nanyam nąŋga wi pikin. Mek' wi go na Papa, go puru nanyąm. Ma, yu kąn puru somɛni leị̂k' yu i ką', bɪkasi no wą' suma no mąŋ tyari na nanyąm gowɛ. Ma mi, Anąnsi, dɑti 'ɛ go tyari hɛm.’ A taki, ‘Mi weị̂fi, wer' wąn

1 Song No. 247.

pɪs-duku gi mi, dan yu pɔt' mi lidǫ' na ɪni wą' baki, dą' mi go preį leį̈k' mi na wąn nyunyu pikin.' So hɛm weį̈fi teki Anąnsi, a wer' na pɪs-duku gi hɛm. A pɔt' hɛm na ɪni na baki, a waka go na na Papa grǫ'.

A taki, 'Mi Papa, mi kɔm bɛgi ɛfu yu no habi pikin nanyąm gi mi?' Na Papa piki hɛm, a taki, 'Luku, sowąn bɪgi grǫ' mi habi. Ɛf' yu wani, ɛn ɛf' yu sabi mi beį̈nɛ̨m, yu kąn tyari alamala gowɛ.' A taį̈gi, 'Mi Papa, mi sɑ go na ɪni grǫ', go bɪgin puru. Tɛ mi kaba, mi sɑ proberi si ɛf' mi kan laį̈ yu beį̈nɛ̨m. Ma tąŋgi, tąŋgi, yu kąn mek' mi libi na nyunyu pikin diaso na yu na fes'-seį̈, bikasi na ɪni grǫ' habi tumusi maskita?' Na papa taki, 'Ɛf' a no dɛ stotu, nąŋga ala presiri mi sɑ luku ɛ̨ŋ gi yu.' So Anąnsi weį̈fi libi na p'kin na fes'-seį̈, a go na ɪni grǫ'. A puru nanyąm so tɛ... dati beį̈na a no bɛn mąŋ tyari hɛm. Di a kɔm 'a fes'-seį̈, a taki, 'Mi Papati, mi kɔm luku na p'kin. Mi kɔm gi hɛm p'kin bɔbi.' Nō, a dɛ teki Anąnsi na ɛ̨ŋ futu tapu. Anąnsi tak' hɛm sa·afri na ɛ̨ŋ yeį̈isi, a taki, 'Puru mɔro, bɪkasi wi go tyari hɛm gowē.' So, di na mama kaba gi hɛm bɔbi, a gowē baka na bakagrǫ', go puru mɔro nanyąm.

Pikinso na baka, di Anąnsi weį̈fi bɛn go na bakagrǫ', Anąni bɛn bɪgin stotu. A den bari, bari, bari tumusi, a dɛ skɔp' hɛm futu na lɔktu. So na Papa hati ben kɔm brǫn, a taki, 'Sɛnsi mi dɛ, mi no si sowąn stotu p'kin.' O mɔro a di dɛ doį̈ Anąnsi, o mɔro a dɛ bari. So a taki, 'Gadō! Mi Kǫŋgodifa, sɛnsi mi dɛ, mi no si stotu p'kin yɛte leį̈iki dɪsi.' Di Anąnsi yɛre na nɛm fō Kǫŋgodifa, a bɛn presiri tumusi. A de bari mɔro. So na Papa lib' hɛm na fes'-seį̈, gowɛ na bakagrǫ', go kari hɛm mama. A taki, 'Mɪsi, kɔm teki yu p'kin, bɪkasi a stotu tumɥsi.' Na mama taki, 'Mi sari tumusi fō yɛre dati, bikasi na hoso, a no dɛ so stotu. Sɔntɛ maskita bɛn beti hɛm, dati meki a dɛ stotu so. Ma mi sɑ kɔm wantɛ, wantɛ, na fes'-seį̈ fō kɔm luku hɛm.'

So a kɔm 'a fes'-seį̈, a teki hɛm p'kin, a dɛ di doį̈ hɛm. A taki, 'San hɛdɛ meki yu dɛ stotu so, te na Papa hati srɛfi kɔm brɔn nąŋga yu?' Dą' Anąnsi taigi hɛm weį̈fi sa·afri na yeį̈isi, a taki, 'Na nanyąm a fō ɥnu, yu puru nɔfo nanyąm?' Taki, 'Ɛfu yu no pur' nɔfo, go puru mɔro.' So na mama taį̈gi na Papa, a taki, 'Mi Papa, mi wani go puru p'kin nanyąm mɔro.' So na Papa piki hɛm, a taki, 'Yu n'a' fō go puru mɔro, bɪkasi yu no kąn tyari hɛm gowe, sɔndro yu sabi mi beį̈nɛ̨m.'

So Anąnsi taki hɛm weį̈fi sa·afri na hɛm weifi baka, a taki, 'Hɛm nɛ̨m na Kǫŋgodifa.' So Anąnsi weį̈fi bɛn sabi na Papa beį̈nɛ̨m kaba, a taki, 'Yu habi leti, mi Papa. Mi no a fō dɛ so bɪgi aį̈. Nō, mi no sabi fa mi sɑ tyari mi nanyąm gowɛ, bɪkasi mi no sabi yu beį̈nɛ̨m. Ma mi sɑ proberi, sɔntɛ mi sɑ habi na

xoluku fõ leị̂ hɛm.' A taki, 'A no Kwaku yu nɛ̨m, mi Papa?' 'A papa taki, 'No, no.' A taki, 'A no Kɔdyo yu nem?' 'A papa taki, 'No, no. Yu no dɛ go tyari na nanyą̀m gowɛ, bɪkasi yu no sabi mi beị̀nɛ̨m.' No mõ Anansi weị̂fi piki hɛm taki, a taki, 'Mi Papa, ɛfu na Kǫ̀ŋgodifa yu nem, mi kan tyar' na nanyą̀m gowɛ dą'?' Fa a bɛn kari na wɔrtu fõ Kǫ̀ŋgodifa, na Papa bɛn fadǫ̀' dɛdɛ na grǫ̀' fõ skreị̂ki.

So Anąnsi nąŋga ɛ̨ŋ weị̂fi nąŋga ala ɛ̨ŋ p'kin, den bɛn teki na grǫ̀' nąŋga ala den nanyą̀m, bɪkasi yu srɛfi sabi Anąnsi mɔro bɛtre nąŋga bɪgi haị̂ nąŋga fufuru.

48. Guessing a Name: Anansi Disguises as a Baby.[2]

A man had cleared a large field. He planted the field with many kinds of food, but he did not sell the food. But to everyone who came to him, he said, 'Go in the field and gather as many provisions as you like, but you must tell me my surname.'

But all kinds of people had gone, but they could not carry away the food, because they did not know his surname. But one day Anansi said to his wife, he said, 'My wife, today we and our children have no food. Let us go to the Papa, and gather food. But, [it is a place where] you may gather as much as you can, for no one is able to take the food away. But [yet] I, Anansi, am the one to go

2 Told by 6. Compare, beside Ivory Coast (Tauxier) references given for preceding tale, for Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 33; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 118-120, No. 92a-c.

and take it away.' He said, 'My wife, put a diaper on me, and lay me down in a basin, then I am going to pretend I am a newborn child.' So his wife took Anansi and dressed him in a diaper. She put him inside a basin, and walked with him to the Papa's field.

She said, 'Papa, I come to ask you if you haven't a little food for me?' The Papa answered her, he said, 'Look, I have so large a field. If you care to, and if you know my surname, you can take it all away.' She said, 'Papa, I will go in the field, and begin to gather. When I finish I will try to see if I can guess your surname. But please, please, may I be allowed to leave my newborn child here in front, because there are too many mosquitoes in the field?' The Papa said, 'If he doesn't fret, I will gladly look after him for you.' So Anansi's wife left the child in front, and went to the field. She gathered food so till... that she almost could not carry it. When she came to the front she said, 'Father, I came to look after the child. I came to feed him a little.' Now she took Anansi on her knee. Anansi said to her softly in her ear, he said, 'Gather more, because we are going to take it away.' So, when the mother was through feeding him, she went to the back of the field, to gather more provisions.

A little later, when Anansi's wife had returned to the back of the field, Anansi began to fret. He screamed, and screamed, and screamed very much, and he kicked his feet in the air. So Papa became angry, he said, 'As long as I live, I never saw such a fretful child.' The more he rocked Anansi, the more he screamed. So he said, 'By God! I, Kongodifa, as long as I live, I never saw a fretful child like this.' When Anansi heard the name of Kongodifa he was very pleased. He screamed all the more. So Papa left him in front and went to the back of the field to call his mother. He said, 'Miss, come take your child because he is very fretful.' The mother said, 'I am very sorry to hear that, because at home he is not so fretful. Perhaps a mosquito bit him and that is why he frets so. But I will come up front immediately to look after him.'

So she came up front, and she took her child, and she rocked him. She said, 'What makes you fret so, till the Papa himself becomes angry with you?' Then Anansi said softly in his wife's ear, he said, 'The food is yours, did you gather enough?' He said, 'If you did not gather enough go and gather more.' So the mother said to Papa, she said, 'Papa, I want to go and gather a little more food.' So Papa answered her, he said, 'You do not need to go and gather more because you cannot take it away unless you know my surname.'

So Anansi said to his wife, softly again, he said, 'His name is Kongodifa.' So Anansi's wife knew already Papa's surname. She said, 'You are right Papa. I needn't be so greedy. No, I don't know how I am to take away the food, because I don't know your surname. But I will try, perhaps I will have the luck to guess

it.’ She said, ‘Isn't Kwaku your name, Papa?’ The Papa said, ‘No, no.’ She said, ‘Is not Kodyo your name?’ The Papa said, ‘No, no. You aren't going to take away the food, because you don't know my surname.’ At once Anansi's wife answered him, she said, ‘Papa, if your name is Kongodifa, then may I take away the food?’ As she called the word Kongodifa, the Papa fell to the ground dead of fright.

So Anansi and his wife and all their children took the field and all the food, because you yourself know Anansi best for his greed and his thieving.

49.

Gramą' bɛn gi wą' preį̂mi fō i ką' sabi Tigri weį̂fi nɛ̨m. No wąn suma bɛn kąn taį̂g' gi Gramą o fa Tigri weį̂fi bɛn nɛ̨m, bikasi a no bɛn dɛ kari hɛm weį̂fi na hɛm nɛ̨m.

Anąnsi taį̂gi Gramą, a nak' ɛ̨ŋ hanu na tapu hɛm hati, ɛn a taį̂g' gi Gramą dɑti tamara tamara a wɪnsi san dɛ p'sa ɛ̨ŋ Anąnsi, sɑ taki gi' Gramą ɔ fasi Tigri weį̂fi nɛ̨m. ‘A bǫ',’ Gramą' taki gi Anąnsi, ‘wi sɑ si trutru ɛf' yu no dɛ leį̂, bikasi mi sabi yu nąŋga yu leį̂ mɔfo.’ Anansi lafu, ‘Hu, hu, hu, hu, hu, mi Gramą, bribi mi, tamara tamara mi dɛ taį̂gi yu fa Tigri weį̂fi nɛ̨m.’

Anąnsi go na 'oso. A taį̂gi Ma Akuba dɑti ɛ̨ŋ nąŋga Gramą' 'abi wą' streį̂ fō kɔsi fō sabi fa Tigri weį̂fi nɛ̨m. ‘Wɛ, a bǫ' Kapten,’ Ma Akuba piki ɛ̨ŋ. ‘Mi sabi trutru taki yu sɑ muso fō sabi fa na uma nɛ̨m.’ ‘Wɛ, Ma Akuba, tamara mamątɛ̨m, y' i 'ɛ taį̂ mi na yu baka. Mi 'ɛ go tą' soso s'kin. Yu dɛ tya' mi go na Tigri bikasi ɛ̨ŋ na datra. Dą' yu mu' taį̂gi hɛm dɑti mi no kụnkụn aį̂ti-deį̂ kaba, ɛn mi bɛri dɛ hati mi. Mi dɛ go djɛnɛ, ɛn mi dɛ go kreį̂. Ɛfu den fas' mi, mi dɛ go bari.’

Wɛ, na tra mamantɛ̨' Ma Akuba tyari Anąnsi go na datra, let' leį̂ki Anąnsi bɛn taki di Ma Akuba na deį̂ na fesi. A pɔt' Kɔ̨ŋgodifa na i baka, ɛn a tya' na boį̂ go gi datra Tigri. A taki dɑti na p'kin dɛ sɪki kaba na aį̂ti-deį̂. Ɛm a no go na bakaseį̂. Tigri kari hɛm weį̂fi, ɛn a taį̂g' gi hɛm, ‘Pɔti watra na faį̂a, meki a broko koru, warąŋ, warąŋ. Dąn yu pik' mi.’ Di na watra bɪgɪn warąŋ, Tigri weį̂fi taį̂g' gi ɛm dati 'a watra warąŋ kaba. Tigri ɑksi Ma Akuba o ɔru na p'kni dɛ. A piki, ‘Tu wiki.’ Tigri taį̂gi ɛ̨ŋ weį̂fi, ‘Pɔt' na boį̂ na ɪn' na warąŋ watra, ɛn dampu ɛ̨ŋ bɛre, meki a ką' kɪs' lusu bɛri.’ Tigri weį̂fi taį̂g' gi Ma Akuba, ‘Gi' mi na boį̂.’ Ma Akuba gi' ɛ̨ŋ. Di Tigri weį̂fi teki na boį̂, a skreki, taki, ‘Hhu! Mi Adjuba!

Wąn boi̯ fō tin-na-fō' dei̯ tyari sitǫwiwiri so!' Anąnsi tąi̯g' so, 'Grąn tąŋgi, mɪsi Adjuba. Mi sabi yu nɛ̨m. No wan meti bɛn ką' kɪsi fa yu nɛ̨m, ma mi, Anąnsi, kɪsi fō sabi fa yu nɛ̨m.'

A kaba.

49. Guessing a Name: Anansi Disguises as a Baby.[1]

The Chief offered a prize in order to learn the name of Tiger's wife. No one had been able to tell the Chief what Tiger's wife was called, because he never called his wife by her name.

Anansi said to the Chief, [as] he struck his hands against his heart, and he said to the Chief that day after tomorrow, no matter what happened he, Anansi, would tell the Chief what Tiger's wife's name was. 'All right,' the Chief said to Anansi, 'we shall indeed see if you do not lie, because I know you and your boasting.' Anansi laughed, 'Hu, hu, hu, hu, hu, Chief, believe me, day after tomorrow I am going to tell you the name of Tiger's wife.'

Anansi went home. He said to Mother Akuba that he and the Chief had a wager to learn the name of Tiger's wife. 'Well, all right, Captain,' Ma Akuba answered him. 'I know that you really must learn what the woman's name is.' 'Well, Mother Akuba, tomorrow morning you will tie me on your back.[2] I will remain naked. You will take me to Tiger, because he is a doctor. Then you must tell him that I haven't defecated for eight days, and my belly hurts me. I am going to groan, and I am going to cry. If they touch me, I am going to scream.'

Well, the next morning, Ma Akuba took Anansi to the doctor, just as Anansi had told Ma Akuba the day before. She put Kongodifa on her back, and she took the boy to doctor Tiger. She said that the child had already been sick for eight days. His bowels had not moved. Tiger called his wife, and he said to her, 'Put some water on the fire, heat it to break the cold. Then you call me.' When the water began to heat, Tiger's wife told him that the water was already warm. Tiger asked Ma Akuba how old this child was. She answered, 'Two weeks.' Tiger said to his wife, 'Put the boy in the warm water, and steam his belly to have him get a loose belly.' Tiger's wife said to Ma Akuba, 'Give me the boy.' Ma Akuba gave him. When Tiger's wife took the boy, she was frightened and said, 'Hhu! I, Adjuba![3] A boy of fourteen days has such pubic hair!' Anansi said. 'Thank you very much,

1 Told by 10.
2 Children are carried on their mothers' backs.
3 I.e., 'as my name is Adjuba!'

Miss Adjuba. I know your name. None of the animals has been able to get to know your name, but I, Anansi, got to know what your name is.'

It is finished.

50.

Anąnsi bɛn 'abi wąn umą pikin, ma ɛŋ sɛrefi bɛn lɔbi na pikin. Dąn a wani fō libi nąŋga na pikin, a no sabi fa a fō du. A go a lɛn' wąn blaka yas nąŋga wą' bruku, dąn a weri. Na neị̯ti dąn a gō na strati, go weri na krɔsi. Dą' a kɔ̨' ɑksi taki, ɛfu a no dị̯a wąn pikin dɛ libi dɛm kari Atandɛ. Di a kɔm, a taki ɛŋ lɔbi na pikin, 'ɛm wani fō tro nąŋga 'ɪm. Ma den no mą' sabi taki na Anąnsi sɛrefi bɛn weri so kɔm dapɛ.

Di a puru na krosi, dan a kɔ̨ na 'oso. Dąn ɛŋ weị̯fi taị̯gi 'ɛm taki, 'Wą' Bakra bɛn kɔ̨ luku na pikin, ɛn a lɔbi ɛŋ na pikin. A wani fō tro nąŋga ɛŋ.' Anąnsi taki, 'Dati bɔ̨'.' Ma na ɛŋ sɛrefi bɛn du so. A taị̯gi ɛŋ weị̯fi taki, 'Mi no 'abi trɔbi. Na Bakra ką' tro nąŋga 'ɪm.' Ma noiti te na Bakra kɔ̨' na 'oso a dɛ si na pikin papa, bikasi na ɛŋ papa sɛrefi bɛn dɛ pre fō na Bakra.

Wą' neti di na Bakra kɔm, dąn na mama taki, 'Mi dɛ go slibi, ụn sidɔ̨' fɪsiti. Ụn na tu yụŋgu suma.' Ma di den' bɪgin fō pre, dąn na metjɛ wani bɔsi na man. Fa a go fō bɔsi ɛŋ, no mō a si taki na ɛŋ papa. Dąn a bari taki, 'Mi Gadu, mi mama, na mi papa sɛrefi wan' fō libi nąŋga mi.' Dąn Anąnsi lɔ̨' gowɛ.

Di a kɔm na 'oso, dąn dɛm aksi 'ɛm ɛfu a so a du. A taki, 'No, no, ma mi bɛn wani nyąm mi ɛgi fatu.' Bika' na pikin bɛn mọị̯ tumusi, a no bɛn wan' fō wąn tra suma libi nąŋga ɛŋ.

50. Anansi Disguises as a White Man.[1]

Anansi had a daughter, but he himself loved the child. Then he wanted to live with the child, he did not know what to do. He went and borrowed a black coat and breeches, and he dressed himself in them. At night, then, he went down the street wearing his clothes. Then he came to ask, to say, if it was not here a child called Atende lived. When she came he said he loved the child, he wanted to marry her. But they could not know that Anansi himself came there dressed like this.

When he took off his clothes, then he came home. Then his wife said to him, said, 'A White man came to see the child, and he loves the child. He wants to marry her.' Anansi said, 'That is good.' But he himself had done this. He said to his wife, said, 'I don't mind. The White man can marry her.' But when the White man came to the house he never saw the child's father, because her father was himself playing the White man.

One night when the White man came, then the mother said, 'I am going to sleep, you sit down and visit. You are two young people.' But when they began to play, then the girl wanted to kiss the man. No sooner did she go to kiss him, than she saw he was her father. Then she cried out, she said, 'My God, mother, my father himself wants to live with me.' Then Anansi ran away.

1 Told by 1. Compare Ivory Coast (Agni), Tauxier (II) 229, No. 1; for Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 285, No. 42.

When he came home, then they asked him if he had done this. He said, ‘No, no, but I wanted to eat my own fat.’[2] Because the child was very beautiful, he did not want to have another man live with her.

51. Ma Akuba fredɛ fō Amer'ką.

Wą' deị Anąnsi mɛ̨n wani fō nyąm foru-meti nąŋga dɔksi, bikasi Ma Akuba mɛ̨' habi wą' bıgi kweki fō foụ̂ru nąŋga dɔksi. Ma a no mɛ̨n dɛ gi' Anąnsi foru-meti fō nyąm. Dati 'ɛdɛ Anąnsi meki wą' kɔni fō kan nyąm ala den kweki fō Ma Akuba. Anąnsi kɔm wą' bakadina lati na 'oso. Ɛn Ma Akuba aksi hɛm pɛ a kɔmōtō, ɛn a tạị̂gi hɛm dat' ɛ̨ŋ kɔmōtō na sıpi, na wą' Ameriką' Kaptɛn di dɛ ɛ̨ŋ mati, ɛn dɑt' Ma Akuba mu' hɔri ɛ̨ŋ sɛrefi klari, bikasi na

2 This is a proverb used when a man makes free with his own children, or with his siblings.

Kaptɛn de a go kɔm fō luku hɛm. Ɛn dɑt' Ma Akuba no muso gi' hɛm shɛm, ɛn dɑt' a muso meki wą' bɪgi tafra gi' ɛŋ, want' da mąn lɔbi foru-meti. Ma Akuba gimɛ, 'Masra, fa mi go bɛgin? Mi fredɛ f'a Amer'ką', ɛn mi no sab' fō taki Ɛŋglish. Yu mu' sɔrgu dɑti yu de na 'oso te 'a Bakra kǫ' dia.' 'A bǫn,' Anąnsi taki, 'ma bɪgin mek' klar fō wą tafra, ma no gi' mi shɛm.' 'Hm,' Ma Akuba piki, 'a bǫ', Kapten. Mi sɑ du są yu taki.'

Na serefi neti Anąnsi lɛni wąn bɪgi yas, wą' broku, wą' broru nąŋga wąn blaka brɪl. A naki 'a dɔro, ko, ko, ko, ko, ko. 'Suma dapɛ?' Ma Akuba aksi. Anąnsi piki, 'a̱i yam ɪt.'[1] Ma Akuba ta̱igi wą' fō den p'kin dat' ɛŋ meki a opo na dɔro gi na Bakra. Anąnsi kǫ' na ɪni, ɛn a taki, 'Gutɪfnɪŋg, gutɪfnɪŋg!' Ma Akuba nąŋga den twarf' pikin meki kosi gi na Bakra, ɛn hari ɛŋ futu. 'Nafu, mi Kaptein.' 'Gutɪfnɪŋg, gutɪfnɪŋg,' Anąnsi piki. 'Leti na lampu.' 'No, no, no, no,' Anąnsi taki, 'Mi 'abi soro ha̱i, ɛn mi no ką' si fa̱ia.' Anąnsi sidǫ', ɛn a nyam ala na n'nyam. Ɛn Ma Akuba dati dɛ be̱iti fō skreki, want' a no taki noiti nąŋga Amerikąn.

Di Anąnsi kaba nyąm, a ta̱ig' ɛm taki, 'Te Anąnsi kɔm, ta̱ig' gi hɛm dɑt na n'yąm bɛn su̱iti, ɛn dat a sɑ si mi baka. Ma tamara mamantɛm meki a kɔm na mi na shɪpi. Ma Akuba, ɛf yu wani, yu ką' kɔm tu nąŋga dę' p'kin.' 'No, no, no, no, mi Kaptein. Mi frede f' g'a tap' watra.'

Anąnsi gowɛ. A pur' den krosi, ɛn a baka wąn yuru a kǫ' na 'oso. Ma Akuba kɪsi trɔbi nąŋga Anąnsi, bikasi na Bakra mɛ̨' i kɔm, ɛn 'ɛ' wąwą na dɛ na 'oso nąŋga den p'kin, ɛn dɛm no bɛn ką taki nąŋga hɛm. 'Ma a nyąm?' Anąnsi ɑksi. 'Mm! Masra!' Ma Akuba piki Anąnsi, 'Ɛfu a nyą'? A dɛ wą' tumusi gridi mąn. Na mati f' yu nyąm sɛrefi dem bǫnyo. A no lib' wą' p'kin pisi fō' den pikin ką' so̱igi. A krį' na tafra.'

'Nō, yu mu' presiri bikas' a dɛ wą' grani f'yu want' na n'nyąm bɛn su̱iti. No so, a no bɛn dɛ go nyąm alamala. Mi ble̱it, bikasi ɛf' mi g'a shɪpi, na man dɛ gi mi ala sani dɑt' a habi. A no aks' yu wɪski fō drɪŋgi?'

'San i 'ɛ taki, kaptein, wisi?'

'No, no, wɪs-ki. Dɑti na wąn sɔrtu fō Amer'ką drɪŋgi.'

'Mm! Na fɔs' trǫ' mi dɛ yɛri so wą' sani. Wisi.'

'No, no, no, no. Wɪski, wɪski!'

'Kal' i fa yu wani, mi no sabi ɛŋ. Mar Kapte̱in, tąŋgi, tąŋgi, no go mɔro na mɔfo ne̱iti na dɔro, bikasi yu dɛ go kɔm feni mi dɛdɛ-dɛdɛ na ɪni mi 'oso, bikasi mi kra no tek' a Bakra.' 'No, yu no mu' frede f'ɛŋ, a dɛ wąn libi suma le̱iki mi nąŋga yu.'

1 I.e., the American says, 'I am it.'

'A tra neiti Anąnsi kɔm baka leik' Amer'ką, ɛn Ma Akuba bɛn meki n'nyąm baka. Anąnsi kɔm baka leik' Kaptein, ɛn a aksi baka, ‘Pɛ Anansi dɛ?’ Di Ma Akuba taig' gi hɛm dat' Anąnsi bɛn go na shɪpi mamantɛn, bikasi Kaptein bɛn kari ɛŋ kɔ' na shɪpi. Sɪnsi mamą'tɛn a gõ na dɔro, ɛn a no kɔm baka na 'oso yɛtɛ. Kaptein kɪsi 'ati-brɔn. A tek' ɛŋ tiki, ɛn nak' 'a tap' tafra. A taki ɛŋ feni ɛm moi fõ Anąnsi, bikasi ɛŋ bɛn taki nąŋga hɛm taki, ɛŋ dɛ go kɔm na 'oso, ɛn a mu' wakti hɛm, ɛn dat' ɛŋ no dɛ wą' p'kin boi fõ Anąnsi. A teki ɛŋ tɪki, a naki 'a tap' tafra baka. Ma Akuba skreki, ɛn ɛŋ a kleine na grɔ' fõ skreki. Kaptein sidɔ' tiri, dɛn a nyąm ala na nyąm baka. Na baka dɑti, a puri bɪgi pipa nąŋga Amer'ką tabaka, ɛn a bɪgɪn smoko te a i druŋgu. Na baka dati, Anąnsi gowɛ.

Di a k'ɛnki ɛŋ krosi, a kɔ' na 'oso. A miti Ma Akuba nąŋga den p'kin dɛ krei. ‘San dɛ fõ du agein?’ Anąnsi aksi ɛŋ. ‘San dɛ fõ du?’ Ma Akuba piki, ‘A sani di yu wani yu go feni ɛm! Yu sɑ kɔ' feni mi dɛdɛ-dɛdɛ na ɪni na 'oso, bikasi na mati f'yu kɪsi wą' hatibrɔn, dati bikasi yu no bɛn dɛ na hoso. Luku fa mi bɛg' yu! Mi teki mi dɛdɛ m'ma bɛg' yu fõ yu no lib' mi wą'wąn mɔro na ɪn' na 'oso.’ Anąnsi piki Ma Akuba, ‘Ma Aku', yu no mu' dɛ so. Yu no gowɛnti nąŋga Bakra, no so, yu no bɛn sɑ dɛ so.’ ‘Masra, mi dɛ bɛg' yu fõ yu no g'we mɔro na neiti na dɔro, bikasi wąn ɔnxɛluku dɛ go p'sa.’ ‘No, no, Ma Akuba, mi no sɑ libi yu. Mi sɑ sɔrgu dat' mi dɛ na 'oso.’

Anąnsi du dati nąŋga Ma Akuba tɛ ala den kweki kaba. Na wą' neiti Kaptein kɔ' baka, kɔ' suku Anąnsi. Ma Ma Akuba no bɛn meki nyanyąm, bikasi ala hɛm foru nąŋga dɔksi kaba. Kaptɛn kɪsi 'ati-brɔŋ, aksi, ‘Pɛ Anąnsi dɛ? Bikasi somɛni trɔ' mi dɛ kɔm na hɛm, ma mi no dɛ feni ɛŋ na 'oso. Ɛn te a kɔ' na mi, ala tɛ' mi dɛ.’

Ma Akuba hati b'gɪn brɔn, ɛn a sɛri ɛŋ hɛdɛ. A teki wąn tamarin wɪpi, a fɔm Kaptɛn. Dąn Kaptɛn bɛgin bari, ‘Kaba, kaba, habi sari hati nąŋga mi! Mi a no Kaptɛn, ma mi na yu man Kɔŋgodifa.’

Dati ɛdɛ Anąnsi prati na tu. Na tamarin wɪpi naki ɛŋ na mɪndri ɛŋ bɛri.

51. Anansi Disguises as an American.[3]

One day Anansi wanted to eat fowl and duck, because Ma Akuba had a large chicken and duck farm. But she would never give Anansi chicken to eat. For that reason Anansi made up a trick so that he might eat the whole flock belonging to Ma Akuba. One afternoon Anansi came home late. And Ma Akuba asked him where he came from, and he told her that he came from a ship of an American Captain, who was his friend, and that Ma Akuba

3 Told by 10. For this tale, as written some years ago by the teller of it, see Van Cappelle 335-337, No. 21.

must hold herself ready, because the Captain was going to come to see her. And that Ma Akuba must not bring shame on him, and that she must prepare a fine table for him, because the man loved fowl. Ma Akuba groaned, ‘Husband, how am I going to begin? I am afraid of Americans, and I don't know how to talk English. You must see to it that you are at home when the White man comes here.’ ‘All right,’ Anansi said, ‘but begin to prepare the meal, and don't shame me.’ ‘Hm,’ Ma Akuba said, ‘very well, Captain. I will do as you say.’

That same night Anansi borrowed a large coat, a pair of breeches, a high hat, and a pair of black spectacles. He knocked at the door, *ko, ko, ko, ko, ko*. ‘Who is there?’ Ma Akuba asked. Anansi answered, ‘I yam it.’[2] Ma Akuba told one of the children to open the door for the White man. Anansi entered, and said, ‘Gutifning, gutifning.’ Ma Akuba and the twelve children made a curtsy for the White man, and pulled their feet. ‘Good evening, Captain.’ ‘Gutifning, gutifning,’ Anansi answered. ‘Light the lamp.’ ‘No, no, no, no,’ Anansi said, ‘I have sore eyes, and I cannot look at a light.’ Anansi sat down, and he ate all the food. And Ma Akuba shook with fear, because she had never talked with Americans.

When Anansi was through eating he said to her, said, ‘When Anansi comes tell him the food was very good,[3] and that he will see me again. But early tomorrow have him come to my ship. If you like, Ma Akuba, you and the children can come, too.’ ‘No, no, no, no, my Captain. I am afraid to go on the water.’

Anansi went away. He took off the clothes, and an hour later he came home. Ma Akuba quarreled with Anansi, because the White man had come, and she had been alone in the house with the children, and they had not been able to talk with him. ‘But he ate?’ Anansi asked. ‘Mm! Husband!’ Ma Akuba answered Anansi, ‘Did he eat! He is a very greedy man. This friend of yours ate even the bones. He did not leave even a small piece for the children to suck. He cleaned up the table.’

‘Now, you should be pleased, because it is a sign that your food was good. Otherwise he would not have eaten all. I am delighted, because if I go to the ship, the man will give me all the things he has. Didn't he ask you for whiskey to drink?’

‘What is it you are saying, husband, *wisi?*’[4]

‘No, no, whis-key. That is a kind of American drink.’

‘Mm! The first time I hear of such a thing. *Wisi*.’

‘No, no, no, no. Whis-key, whis-key.’

‘Call it what you like, I don't know it. But Captain, please, please, do not go out at night, because you are going to find me dead in my own house, because my '*kra*[5] does not take to the White men.’ ‘No, you must not be afraid of him, he is a human being like me and you.’

2 The story-teller is imitating American speech.
3 Lit., ‘sweet’.
4 Black magic.
5 Soul.

The following night Anansi came again like an American, and Ma Akuba had prepared more food. Anansi came again as a Captain, and again he asked, ‘Where is Anansi?’ Ma Akuba told him that Anansi had gone to the ship in the morning, because the Captain had called him to come to the ship. He was gone since, and he had not yet come back to the house. The Captain got angry.[1] He took his stick, and struck the top of the table. He said he did not find it polite of Anansi, because he had said to him that he was going to come to his house, and that he must wait for him, and he was not a small boy of Anansi's. He took his stick and struck the top of the table again. Ma Akuba was frightened, and from fear she urinated on the ground. The Captain sat down quietly, and again ate all the food. After that, he took out a large pipe [filled] with American tobacco, and he began to smoke until he was drunk. After that Anansi went away.

When he changed his clothes, he came home. He found Ma Akuba and the children crying. ‘What is the matter again?’ Anansi asked them. ‘What is the matter?’ Ma Akuba said, ‘The thing that you want [to happen] you are going to find! You will come and find me dead in the house, because this friend of yours got angry, and that [happened] because you were not home. See how I plead with you! In the name of my dead mother, I beg you not to leave me alone in the house again.’ Anansi answered Ma Akuba, ‘Ma Aku', you must not act like this. You are not accustomed to White men, or you would not act so.’ ‘Husband, I beg you not to go out again at night, because a misfortune will come.’ ‘No, no, Ma Akuba, I will not leave you. I will see to it that I am home.’

Anansi did this with Ma Akuba until all the fowl which she had raised were gone. One night the Captain came again to look for Anansi. But Ma Akuba had not cooked food, because all her chickens and ducks were gone. The Captain got angry, and asked, ‘Where is Anansi? Because I come to him many times, but I haven't found him home. And when he comes to me I am always there.’

Ma Akuba began to get angry, and she lost her head. She took a tamarind whip and she struck the Captain. Then the Captain began to cry, ‘Enough, enough, have pity on me. I am not a Captain, but I am your husband, Kongodifa.’[2]

For this reason Anansi split into two parts. The tamarind whip struck him in the middle of his belly.

52. Ba Anąnsi w□ni Dɔm'ni.

Anąnsi go lɛre fufuru. Di a go fufuru, wąn mąn taį̇gi hɛm taki, ‘Dɔmɩni 'abi wan lį̇ŋga na hɛm fį̇ŋga. Ɛfu yu fufuru dɑti gi mi, dąn yu dɛ wan bǫ' fufurumąn.’

1 Lit., ‘caught heart burn’.
2 Strong name for Anansi.

Anąnsi naị wąn weị̂t' yapǫ̂ŋ nąŋga freị̂. A weri wąn ɛŋgɛl. Neti a go na ɩni na kerki. Dɔmɩni bɛn dɛ libi let' na abra. Di Dɔmɩni si na faị̂ya leti na ɩni kerki, a tak', 'Mek' mi go luku.' Di a go na ɩni, a si wąn ɛŋgɛl 'ɛ freị̂. A no bɛn sab'-taki na Anąnsi bɛn weri wąn ɛŋgɛl.

Dąn nō, Anąnsi taị̂gi hɛm taki, 'Gadu sɛni mi fō kɔm teki yu kɔm na heị̂mɛl.' Dąn a teki Dɔmɩni, a poti na ɩni wąn saka. A freị̂ nąŋga Dɔmɩni wąn ertɛm. Di den freị̂ so te... nō mō a taị̂gi Dɔmɩni taki, 'Yu habi wąn grǫntapu sani dɩsi di trɔbi yu fō go na heị̂mel.' Nō mō Dɔmɩni taki, 'Yu no leị̂, na na ɭɩŋga na mi fɩŋga.' Ɛn so Dɔmɩni pur' na ɭɩŋga gi Anąnsi. Anąnsi tek' na ɭɩŋga, a freị̂ nąŋga Dɔmɩni go na Dɔmɩni hoso, dąn a pɔt' Dɔmɩni na ɩni wąn foru koị̂.

Dą' mamɛntɛm di na nɛnɛ weị̂ki, dąn a dɛ taktaki, dąn na Dɔmɩni yɛre. Nō mō Dɔmɩni dąn ɑksi hɛm taki, 'Nɛnɛ Anna, o'tem yu kɔm na heị̂mɛl kɔndri?' Bɩka' Dɔmɩni no bɛn sabi, a dɛŋki taki na heị̂mel a bɛn dɛ. Di Nɛnɛ Anna yɛre na stɛn takɩ, so a go luku. A si Dɔmɩni na ɩni na foru koị̂, na ɩni wąn saka.

So Anąnsi ben kɩsi ɛrste praị̂s fufurumąn, bɩka' a bɛn fufuru na ɭɩŋga.

52. Anansi Disguises as an Angel: Tricks the Priest.[3]

Anansi went to learn thieving. When he went to steal, a man said to him, said, 'The priest has a ring on his finger. If you steal that for me, then you are a good thief.'

3 Told by 1. Compare U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 57-58, No. 46, I and II; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 163, No. 133.

Anansi sewed for himself a white dress with wings. He dressed as an angel. At night he went to the church. The priest lived directly opposite. When the priest saw a light inside the church, he said, ‘Let me go and see.’ When he went inside he saw an angel flying about. He did not know that Anansi had dressed as an angel.

And now Anansi said to him, said, ‘God sent me to come and take you to heaven.’ Then he took the priest and put him in a sack. He flew about with him for a long, long time. As he flew about so till... Anansi suddenly said to the priest, said, ‘You have one earthly thing which hinders you from going to heaven.’ At once the priest said, ‘You do not lie, it is the ring on my finger.’ And so, the priest pulled off the ring and gave it to Anansi. Anansi took the ring and flew with the priest to the priest's house, then he put the priest in the chicken coop.

Then in the morning, the housekeeper awoke and went about talking to herself, until the priest heard. At once the priest asked her, said, ‘*Nene* Anna, when did you come to heaven?’ Because the priest did not know, he thought that he was in heaven. When *Nene* Anna heard the voice speak, she went to look. She saw the priest in the chicken coop, inside a sack.

So Anansi won first prize as thief, because he had stolen the ring.

53.

Anąnsi bɛn dɛ slaf. Ma nō, hɛm mama no wani fō baị hɛm puru na ɩni slaf, bika' Anąnsi bɛn hɔgri tumusi. Wąn deị Anąnsi prakser' taki, ‘Mi ɛ go suku wąn kɔni fō mek' mi mama baị mi.’

Anansi weri wąn weị̣t' yapǫ' gi hɛm nąŋga wąn freị, dąn neti a go na na kamera pɛ ɛŋ mama dɛ sribi. No mō a taki, ‘Mi na Ɛŋgɛl Kebriɛl. Gadō sɛni mi fō kɔm taị̣gi Ma Akuba fō a baị na boị, puru na slaf. Dan Mam' Akuba sɑ kɪsi wąn bǫ' preị̣si na heị̣mel.’ Di Ma Akuba opo hɛm aị fō luku, a si na weiti. A kɔm frede. A tap' hɛm aị̣ baka. Dąn a kɔm bribi taki na Gadō bɛn sɛni wąn ɛŋgɛl kɔm. Di a weị̣iki mamɛntɛm, a go taị̣gi ɛŋ birfrau taki na so wą' sani bɛn pasa nąŋga hɛm. Dąn hɛm birfrauụ taị̣gi hɛm taki, ‘Wɛ, di na Gadō srɛfi sɛni kɔm bɛgi yu fō baị na boị, dąn yu mu' baị hɛm.’ Na mama go, a baị na boị. Ma tɛ na boị du hɔgri, dąn na mama de kɔs' hɛm taki, ‘Yu dɛŋk' taki na fō bǫ' fō yu, mi baị yu? Ma na Gadō srefi bɛn sɛni bɛgi mi.’

Ma nō, Anąnsi bɛn wani fō ɛŋ mama baị na ɛŋ weị̣ifi, tu. Dąn a du na srɛf' fasi leị̣iki fa a bɛn du kaba. Ma di a go, a bɛn hab

fɛrkotu. Nō mō a taki, ‘Ma Akuba, Gadō sɛni mi kɔm ageįn, taįgi yu taki yu bɛn du so leįiki fa a bɛn sɛni taįgi yu.’ Ma te Anąnsi dɛ taįgi dą' a i kɔso, bika' a bɛn habi fɛrkotu. Anąnsi taki, ‘Ma Akuba, Gadō sɛni mi taki meki mi taįg' yu taki ɛf' yu sɑ baį na umą gi na boį, dąn hɛm sɑ sɛni sɔri yu pɛ wąn mɔni beri na yu presi.’ Ma di a taki so, nō mō, a kɔso ageįn. Nō mō na mama taki, ‘Fa na stɛn geɛrsi na stɛn fō Anąnsi.’ Nō mō Anąnsi taki, ‘Mi mama, mi no sɑ du mɔro.’ Dąn na mama leti faįya, a kɔm luku, a si na eįgi pikin fō hɛm bɛn weri leįiki ɛŋgɛl. No mo a taki, ‘Yu ferfluktu ɛŋgɛl! Na mɔni di bɛri na mi preįsi, teki hɛm go baį umą, yu fufurumąn.’ A taki, ‘Ɛŋgɛl Gebriɛl! Na yu moį so. Yu didibri ɛŋgɛl. Kɔmopo na mi tapu, yu fufurumąn.’ Dąn na mama hati kɔm brɔn. Mamɛntɛm a bɪgɪn kɔsi ala den suma di bɛn taįgi hɛm fō baį na boį di na ɛŋgɛl bɛn kɔm na hɛm. A taki den bɛn miti mɔfo makandra.

53. Anansi Disguises as an Angel: Tricks his Mother.[1]

Anansi was a slave. But now, his mother did not wish to redeem him from slavery because Anansi was very bad. One day Anansi studied, and said, ‘I am going to find a trick to make my mother buy me.’

Anansi dressed himself in a white dress with wings, then at night he went to the room where his mother was sleeping. Soon he said, ‘I am the angel Gabriel. God sent me to come and tell Mother Akuba to redeem the boy from slavery. Then Mother Akuba will be rewarded with a fine place in heaven.’ When Mother Akuba opened her eyes to look, she saw the white. She was frightened. She closed her eyes again. Then she came to believe that God had sent an angel. In the morning, when she awoke, she went to tell her neighbors that this thing had happened to her. Then her neighbors said to her, said, ‘Well, since God himself sent to beg you to buy the boy back, then you must buy him.’ The mother went and bought the boy. But when the boy misbehaved, then the mother cursed him, and said, ‘Do you think that I bought you for your own sake? It was God himself who had sent to beg me.’

But now Anansi wanted his mother to buy his wife, too. Then he did the same as he had done before. But when he went, he had

1 Told by 1. Comparative references as for the preceding tale; see also, for Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 408, No. 26.

a cold. Soon he said, ‘Mother Akuba, God sent me again to tell you that you did as he had ordered you.’ But when Anansi talked he coughed, because he had a cold. Anansi said, ‘Mother Akuba, God sent me word to have me tell you that if you will buy the boy's wife for him, then he will send to show you where some money is buried on your land.’ But, as he spoke so, he coughed again. At once his mother said, ‘How the voice resembles the voice of Anansi!’ Immediately Anansi said, ‘Mother, I will never do it again.’ Then the mother lit a light and came to look, she saw her own son dressed like an angel. At once she said, ‘You accursed angel! Take the money which is buried on my land and buy your wife back, you thief.’ She said, ‘Angel Gabriel! You are a fine one. You are the devil's angel. Come down from on top, you thief.’ Then the mother became angry. In the morning she began to curse all the people who had told her to buy the boy, since the angel had come to her. She said they had plotted together.

54.

Anąnsi fufur' wą' dagu. A go sɛri ɛŋ gi' Kąimą'. Ma nō, di na suma di 'ab' 'a dagu las' 'a dagu, d'a go suk' ɛŋ. A fen' na dagu na Kąimą'. Kąimą' taki, ‘Na Anąnsi sɛr' 'a dagu gi' mi.’ Na suma go 'a skɔt' 'osō go klagɛ, taki, Anąnsi fur' wą' dagu f'i gō sɛri. Dɛn skōtu taki, meki Kąimąn tya den go sɔr' na f'fur'mą' di sɛr' na dagu gi' ɛŋ. Di den gō, Anąnsi krɔ̨ŋ ɛ' mɔfo. Dą' Kąimą' taki, ‘Na suma dɪsi, a i gɛrt' na s'rɛf' wąn di bɛn sɛr' na dagu gi' mi, ma i mɔfo no bɛ' krɔ̨ŋ.’

So dɛ' no kɪs' Anąnsi, bika' na di bɛn sɛr' 'a dagu mɔfo no bɛn krɔ̨ŋ, ɛn dis' mɔfo krɔ̨ŋ. A kaba.

54. Contortion as Disguise.[1]

Anansi stole a dog. He went and sold it to Alligator. But now when the owner of the dog lost the dog, then he went to search for him. He found the dog with Alligator. Alligator said, ‘Anansi sold me the dog.’ The owner went to the police station to enter a complaint that Anansi stole a dog of his and sold him. The police said let Alligator take them to show them the thief who sold him the dog. When they went, Anansi twisted his mouth. Then Alligator said, ‘This person resembles the very one who sold me the dog, but his mouth was not twisted.’

So they did not catch Anansi, because when he sold the dog his mouth had not been twisted, and this one's mouth was twisted. It is finished.

55.

Anąnsi, ala san' den tak' nąŋga hɛm, a i piki, ‘No, ser,’ ɛn ‘Yɛ', ser.’ Nō, a go suku wroko na Kon' 'oso. Konu ɑks' ɛŋ te a mu' nyąm, ɛf' a wani n'nyąm. Nō mō Anąnsi piki, ‘Yɛ, ser.’ Te Konu ɑks' ɛm taki, ɛf' a g'a wroko, a i piki, ‘No, ser.’ Ma a no bɛn tak' wąn no tra fasi leiki, ‘Yɛ, ser,’ ɛn ‘No, ser.’

Konu praxeri, taki, ‘Wɛ, sɔrtu mąn na mąn dɪsi? Tu sani, nō mō, a i taki. Te-i ɑksi 'ɪm fō wąn bǫn sani, a i piki, “Yɛ, ser,” ɛn te i ɑks' ɛm fō wan ɔgri sani, a i piki, “No,

1 Told by 1.

ser”.’ Konu ɑksi hɛm baka, ‘Ąŋgri kir' yu?’ A-i piki, ‘Yɛ, ser.’ Te 'a Konu ɑksi 'ɛm baka, ‘Yu wan', Anąnsi, go du wan bɔskopu gi mi?’ Nō mō a i

piki, ‘No, ser.’ So Konum mek' den kis' ɛm, go serɔt' ɛm, mek' tak', ‘A laụ, a laụ.’

Anąnsi waka na ın' post-ɔro f' ɛm, kɔmɔpo ını na dungr' 'oso. Konu 'ɛ waka suku pɛ wą' mąn 'ɛ libi, a i tak' so-so ‘Yɛ, ser,’ nąŋga ‘No, ser.’ Tɛ leịk na deị fō tidɛ, Konu no kıs' Anąnsi mɔro. A kaba fō tak', ‘No, ser’ nąŋga ‘Yɛ, ser.’

55. Speech Mannerism as Disguise.[2]

Everything that was said to Anansi, he answered ‘No, sir,’ and ‘Yes, sir.’ Now he went to look for work at the King's house. The King asked him when it was time to eat, if he wanted to eat. At once Anansi answered, ‘Yes, sir.’ When the King asked him, he said, if he was going to work, he answered, ‘No, sir.’ But now he did not talk in any other fashion than ‘Yes, sir,’ and ‘No, sir.’

The King studied, and said, ‘Well, what sort of man is this? Two things only does he say. When you ask him about a good thing, he says, “Yes, sir”, and when you ask him about a bad thing, he says “No, sir”.’ The King asked him again, ‘Is hunger killing you?’[3] He said, ‘Yes, sir.’ When the King asked him later, ‘Do

2 Told by 4. Compare Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 304, No. 50.
3 That is ‘Are you hungry?’

you want to come and do an errand for me, Anansi?' At once he answered, 'No, sir.' So the King had them seize him and lock him up, saying, 'He is mad, he is mad.'

Anansi walked into a post hole in order to come out of prison. The King went about trying to find where a man lived who said only 'Yes, sir,' and 'No, sir.' To this day, the King has not caught Anansi. He stopped saying, 'No, sir,' and 'Yes, sir.'

56.

Sɛkrepatu naŋga Tigri bɛn dɛ bɪgi mati nąŋga mat' Anąnsi. Dąn Tigri bɛn kiri ala meti tɛ den taki ɛŋ tɔri. Dąn mat' Anąnsi lɛre mati Sɛkrepatu fõ a kąn kiri mati Tigri. A taa̲igi mati Sɛkrepatu, a taki, a mu baa̲i wąn kąką fõ ką hɛdɛ, dąn tɛ a dɔro mati Tigri hoso, dąn te mati Tigri aksi hɛm pɛ ɛŋ dɛ gõ, dą' mati Sɛkrepatu mu piki mati Tigri, taki, 'Mi dɛ go 'a mat' Anąnsi. Mi go ką mi hɛdɛ wiwiri.' A du so.

Dąn, te mati Sɛkrepatu pasa, nõ mõ mati Tigri taki, 'Ɛ, mati Sɛkrepatu 'ɛ laa̲u̲. A no habi hɛdɛ wiwiri, na soso buba habi. Pɛ ai go ką?' Dąn a taki so, 'a mat' Tigri wąntɛ fadǫ' dɛdɛ.

Odo: Yu no mu luku fõ trawąn fõ taki tumusi. (Da mati Tigri tek' ɛŋ nyąm. Mati Tigri obia wroko dɑti, mat' Anąnsi kɔni, na so a lɛre mat' Sɛkrepatu fõ meki Tigri kɔm dɛdɛ).

56. Magic Against Gossip.[1]

Tortoise and Tiger were great friends of Anansi's. Then Tiger had been killing all animals who gossiped about him. Then friend Anansi taught friend Tortoise how to kill friend Tiger. He said to friend Tortoise, said, he must buy a comb to comb his hair, then when he reaches friend Tiger's house, and when friend Tiger asks him where he is going, then friend Tortoise must answer friend Tiger, say, 'I am going to friend Anansi. I go to comb my hair.' He did so.

Then, when friend Tortoise passed, friend Tiger suddenly said, 'Eh! friend Tortoise is foolish. He has no hair on his head, he has only skin. Where is he going to comb?' Then as he said this, friend Tiger instantly fell down dead.

Proverb: You must not be on guard against another's talking too much. (So friend Tiger took [found] his food. Friend Tiger's obia worked that: [but] Anansi is cunning, and so he taught friend Tortoise to make Tiger die.)

57.

Wąn kɔndre bɛn dɛ. Ɛf' yu taki suma sani, wąntrǫ' yu go dɛdɛ. Ma nõ, wą' meti bɛn dɛ, dąn a meki 'ɛm 'oso leti na pasi. Dąn a dɛ du somɛni sani te den tra meti p'sa. Te den taki san den si, wą'trǫn dę' dɛdɛ. Dąn a dɛ teki dɛm, dɛn a dɛ 'abi dɛm fõ nyąm.

Ma wą' dea̲i Sɛkrepatu taki, 'Mi 'ɛ go meki a dɛdɛ.' Na Sɛkrepatu nõ tek' wąn kąnką' naŋga fatu batra. Dąn a gõ, p'sa leti dapɛ. Nõ mõ na meti aks' ɛm taki, pɛ a de go?

1 Told by 3. Compare Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 436-7, fable No. 27, (with reference to this same tale collected by Froger, and published in his 'Étude sur la langue des Mossi', pp. 242-3).

A taki, ‘Mi dɛ go kam mi wiwiri.’ No mo di a p'sa a meti taki, ‘Ma sani dɛ, ba! Luku Sɛkrepatu, di a go kam wiwiri. Mi no si pɛ wiwiri dɛ, di Sɛkrepatu 'ɛ a go kam.’ No mō, wą'trǫ' a fadǫ' dɛdɛ.

57. Magic Against Gossip.[2]

There was a country. If you said something about a person, then at once you died. But now there was an animal who made his home right on the path. Then he did many things when the other animals passed. When they spoke of what they saw, then at once they died. Then he took them, then he had them for food.

But one day Tortoise said, ‘I am going to make him die.’ Tortoise now took a comb and a bottle of oil. Then he went and passed right there. At once the animal asked him, said, where was he going? He said, ‘I am going to comb my hair.’ No sooner did he pass than the animal said, ‘But things are happening, brother! Look at Tortoise who is going to comb his hair. I don't see where the hair is which Tortoise is going to comb.’ That very instant he fell down dead.

2 Told by 1.

58.

Anąnsi go na busi, a miti wąn mąn. A mąn bɛn habi furu fɪsi nąŋga meti na brabakɔto. Dą' aksi, ‘Baya, yu no kąn gi mi wąn-tu fɪsi?’ Baya taki, ‘Yu kąn teki.’ Dą' Anąnsi furu ɛŋ kurkuru. Ala deį̈, Anąnsi 'ɛ kɔm baka fō teki fɪsi nąŋga meti. Nō mō Dɛdɛ taki, ‘Sąn yu dɛ gi mi na presi?’ Anąsi taki, ‘Mi sɑ gi yu mi pikin Akuba.’

Dą' wąn deį̈, Anąnsi tyari Akuba kɔm gi Dɛdɛ. Nō mō Dɛdɛ teki ɛŋ tɪki, a naki Akuba na mɻndri hɛdɛ. Dą' Akuba fadǫn. A dɛdɛ. Anąnsi bari, ‘Akuba, Akuba, opo dąn!’ Ma Akuba no bɛn mąŋ opo, bikasi a bɛn dɛdɛ.

Anąnsi lǫ' go na hoso, bɪgin bari, ‘Ụn go kibri, Dɛdɛ dɛ kɔm!’ Ma Afi taki, ‘Anąnsi, libi me! Sąn' dɛ kari Dɛdɛ?’ Anąnsi g'we, go kɪbri na pɔstohɔro. Na Dɛdɛ no bɛn kąn feni Anąnsi. Ma a kʊri Afi nąŋga ala den pikin. Dąn dɛ Dɛdɛ g'we, nō mō Anąnsi bɪgin sɻŋgin:

Eri kɔndre sɑ su·um,
Ala suma sɑ dɛdɛ,
Anąnsi wąn sɑ tą'.

58. Trading with Death.[1]

Anansi went into the bush and he met a man. The man had much fish and meat on the drying rack. Then he asked, ‘Baya, can't you give me one or two[2] fish?’ Baya said, ‘You can take.’ Then Anansi filled his basket. Every day Anansi came back to take fish and meat. Soon Death said, ‘What are you going to give me in exchange?’ Anansi said, ‘I will give you my daughter, Akuba.’

Then one day, Anansi brought Akuba to Death. At once Death took his stick and struck Akuba in the middle of the head. Then Akuba fell down. She died. Anansi cried out, ‘Akuba, Akuba, get up, then.’ But Akuba could not get up, because she was dead.

Anansi ran home, and began to shout, ‘Go hide, Death is coming!’ But Affi said, ‘Anansi, let me alone! What do they call Death?’ Anansi went away to hide in a post hole. Death could not find Anansi. But he killed Affi and all their children. Then when Death went away, at once Anansi began to sing:

> All countries will be flooded,
> All peoples will die,
> Anansi alone will remain.

59.

Dɛdɛ no bɛn dɛ tą' na mɪndri foto, a bɛn libi te na mɪndri busi. Ma wąn deį̈ Anąnsi no habi nanyąm. A teki hɛm katasụŋ nąŋga hɛm gɔ̨', fō go na hɔnti. Ma a waka na her' busi lɔntu, a no bɛn kąn feni wąn meti fō sütu. So a waka so tɛ... a kɔm dɔro na Dɛdɛ kampu. Dɛdɛ sidɔ̨' 'a mɔfo dɔro. Anąnsi syɛm. Anąnsi tak', ‘Odi, mi Tata.’ A tak', ‘Hɔngri dɛ kiri mi. Mi waka na her' busi fō suku wąn meti fō sütu, ma mi no feni no wąn.’

Dɛdɛ taki, ‘Kom na ɪniseį̈. Mi sɑ gi yu wąn sani fō yu dɛ nyąm.’ Dɛdɛ tyari hɛm go na ɪni hɛm kukru pe Dɛdɛ habi ala sɔrtu meti na brabakɔto. 'A yurutem Anąnsi si dɛm meti, hɛm mɔfo bɪgɪn lɔ̨' baba. Dɛdɛ gi hɛm wąn moį̈ pis' meti. Anąnsi nyąm te hɛm bɛre furu. A taki, ‘Grąn tąngi fō yu.’ A taki, ‘Ma suma na yu di habi so mɛni meti na brabakɔtu?’ Dɛdɛ taį̈igi hem taki, ‘Yu no sabi taki mi na Dɛdɛ?’ Anąnsi taki, ‘aį̈, mi Tata Dɛdɛ. A dɑti meki yu habi so mɛni meti, bikasi mi waka na her' busi, mi no feni nɔtį̨.’ A taki, ‘Ma wąn sani mi wan' bɛgi yu. Mi nyąm mi bɛre furu, ma mi weį̈fi nąŋga dem p'kin no nyam yɛte. So yu no 'a wąn pis' meti

1 Told by 12. Compare Togoland, Cardinall (I) 30-31, Spieth 390-392, No. 10; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 39-42, No. 21 and No. 32 a-c. Another Suriname version of this tale is available in Van Cappell 325-327, No. 18.

2 This is idiomatic for ‘a few’.

gi mi, mek' mi tyari go gi dɛm?' Dɛdɛ taki, 'A bǫ'. Tek' wąn pis' dapɛ.' Anąnsi tek' wan her' wąn seį botu.

'A yurtɛ' Anąnsi dɔro na hoso, a tak', 'Sa Akuba, mi feni na nyąm grǫ'. Mi no habi trɔbi fō feni nanyąm, bika' tɛ wi no habi, mi kąn go teki, ɛf' mɔro bɛtre, mi kąn go fufuru.' So ala deį, te Anąnsi no habi nanyąm, a i go na mąn Dɛdɛ kampu, a i fufur' Dɛdɛ meti. Dɛdɛ kɔm na hoso, a 'i shi hɛm meti mąŋkeri. Ma a no sabi suma dɛ du dati, te wąn deį Dɛdɛ sɛti wakti fō dɪsi da fufuruman. 'A yurtɛm, di Dɛdɛ kɪbri na ɪni wąn uku, a si Anąnsi kɔm na ɪni na kampu, a teki wąn heri kurkuru nąŋga meti. A taki, 'Heį! na yu na fufuruman! Fō san hɛde meki yu habi so takru hati?'

Anąnsi no habi tɛm fō piki leįiki a sɛti lǫ' Dɛdɛ na hɛm baka. Dɛdɛ de lǫ', Anąnsi srɛfi den lǫ' tu. Ma yurtɛm, di den dɔro na foto, Anansi dreį luku na hɛm baka, a si Dɛdɛ. A bɪgɪn bari nąŋga trąŋga sten, 'Libi-suma, tapu ųn dɔro, bikasi Dɛdɛ dɛ kɔm.'

'A so, yu si, Dɛdɛ kɔm na foto, en furu suma den dɛdɛ fō fufuru Anąnsi hɛde. Bikasi, ɛf' Anąnsi no bɛn fufuru hɛm meti, Dɛdɛ bɛn go tą' safri fo hɛm na mɪndri busi.

59. Stealing from Death: How Death Came to the City.[3]

Death did not stay in the city, he lived in the bush. But one day Anansi had no food. He took his hunting sack, and his gun, to go hunting. But he walked the entire bush, and he could not find a single animal to shoot. So he walked so till... he reached Death's camp. Death sat on the doorstep. Anansi was ashamed. Anansi said, 'How do, Father.' He said, 'I am very hungry. I walked through the entire bush in search of an animal to shoot, but I did not find any.'[4]

Death said, 'Come inside. I will give you something to eat.' Death took him into his kitchen where Death had all kinds of meat[5] on the drying rack. When Anansi saw the meat, his mouth began to water. Death gave him a nice piece of meat. Anansi ate until he was full. He said, 'Thank you very much.' He said, 'But who are you who have so much meat on the drying rack?' Death said to him, said, 'Don't you know that I am Death?' Anansi said, 'Yes, Father Death. And that is why you have so much meat, because I walked the entire bush and found nothing.' He said, 'But I want to beg one thing of you. I ate until I was full, but

3 Told by 6. Compare Bornu, Prietze 96-99, No. II, 6 (not a close correspondence, however); Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 322, Gagu No. 5, and 337, Gagu No. 29, (Agni), Tauxier (III) 240-241; Togo, Cardinall 30-32, Speiss 128-130, No. 9; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 34-36, 27a, No. 28.

4 Lit., 'but I no is find none'.

5 'Meat' means both animals and animal flesh.

my wife and the children have not yet eaten. So haven't you a piece of meat for me to take to them?' Death said, 'All right. Take a piece there.' Anansi took a whole side.

When Anansi reached home, he said, 'Sa Akuba, I found a provision ground. I won't have to worry about finding food, because when we have none, I can go and take, or better still, I can go and steal.' So every day, when Anansi had no food, he went to the man Death's camp and he stole Death's meat. Death came home, and he saw his meat missing. But he did not know who was doing that, until one day Death set out to watch for this thief. As Death hid in a corner, he saw Anansi come into the camp, and take a whole basket of meat. He said, 'Hey! it is you who are the thief! Why have you so evil a heart?'

Anansi had no time to answer properly, and set out on a run. Death ran after him. Death ran, and Anansi himself ran, too. But when they came to the city, Anansi turned to look back, and he saw Death. He began to cry out in a loud voice, 'Human Beings! Close your doors, because Death is coming!'

And so, you see, Death came to the city, and many people have died for the sake of the thief Anansi. Because, if Anansi had not stolen his meat, Death would have remained quietly in the deep bush (of his).

60. Dɛdɛ nąŋga Anąnsi.

Anąnsi bɛn dɛ wąn bɪgi basi fō preị̂ fɪɔl. A bɛn gi furu suma lɛs'. A bɛn wroko furu mɔni. Ma nō, na tę' kɪsi fō Anąnsi dɛdɛ. Dɛdɛ kɔm na hɛm, Dɛdɛ tak', 'Mi kɔm tek' yu.' Anąnsi bɛg' Dɛdɛ taki, mek' Dɛdɛ wakti wąn yari yɛtɛ, wante' habi wąn-tu suma di ɛ̨ŋ leri fō preị̂ fɪɔl, so a no ką' go yɛtɛ.

Di na wąn yar' kɪsi, Dɛdɛ kɔm baka. Anąnsi bɛgi hɛm mek' a wakti tu mun yɛte. Dɛdɛ gowe. Na tu mun pasa. Dɛdɛ kɔm baka. Anąnsi begi hɛm mek' a wakti wąn mun mɔro. Dɛdɛ gowe. Di na wąn mun pasa, Dɛdɛ kɔm baka. Anąnsi bɛg' Dɛdɛ fō Dɛdɛ wakti wąn wiki yɛte. Nō mō Dɛdɛ taki, 'No, no, na yu deị̂ kɪsi tidɛ. Yu klari noya, efu no, dą' go, nō mō yu mus' go.' Dąn Dɛdɛ teki Anąnsi, a tyar' gowe.

So Anąnsi kɔm dɛdɛ.

60. Bargaining with Death.[1]

Anansi was a great master of the violin. He gave many people lessons. He earned much money. But now, the time approached for Anansi to die. Death came to him, and Death said, 'I come to take you.' Anansi begged Death, said let Death wait yet a year, because he had several people whom he was teaching to play the violin, and so he could not go yet.

When the year was over, Death came back. Anansi begged him to let him wait two months yet. Death went away. The two months passed. Death came back. Anansi begged him to let him wait one month yet. Death went away. When the month was up, Death came back. Anansi begged Death to wait another week yet. At once Death said, 'No, no, today your day has come. Whether you are ready now or not you must come.' Then Death took Anansi away.

So Anansi came to die.

1 Told by 1.

61.

Nɔt' sɑ dɛ na dụŋgru di no sɑ kɔm na krịŋ.

Konu Faro a bɛn habi baluba, bɪgi so. Ma a no wani no wan suma sabi tak' 'a baluba, ɛn nowan suma fen' si dɛm. Ma a no

bɛn dɛŋki tak' wąn suma bɛn drapɛ, so ɛŋ hati bɛn brɔn, a kari 'a suma fõ kir' hɛm. A no wani suma sab'-taki 'a' baluba. So a diki wan bɪgi hɔro gi Anąnsi. Dą' Anąnsi go na hɔro, a pɔti hem mɔfo, a taki, ‘Konu Faro 'a' baluba - o!’ Nowąn suma no yɛre.

Ɛn dri yari na baka, dą' wąn bɔm kɔmopo let' na ɪni na hɔro pɛ a pɔti hɛm mɔfo. Ɛn so, a bɛn skrifi na bɔm sɪkin, ‘Konu Faro 'a' baluba.’

61. No Secrets.[2]

Nothing shall exist in the darkness that shall not come to light.

King Pharaoh had a beard, so big [pantomime showing length]. But he did not wish a single person to know that he had a beard,

2 Told by 4. Compare Hausa, Tremearne (III) 304-305, No. 55.

and not a single person to see it. But he had not thought that a man was there, so he was angry, and he called people to kill him. He did not want people to know that he had a beard. So he dug a large hole for Anansi. Then Anansi went to the hole, and he put his mouth to it, and he said, ‘King Pharaoh has a beard-o!’ No one heard him.

And three years later, a tree grew right from the hole where he had put his mouth. And so, written across the trunk of the tree was, ‘King Pharaoh has a beard.’

62.

Tɔtyoforu nąŋga Anąnsi bɛn dɛ prani wąn bɪgi grǫ', ma Anąnsi bɛn preį̈ tumusi kɔni. So ala deį̈ Anąnsi bɛn dɛ sɪki. Tɔtyoforu wąwąn dɛ go na wroko. Anąnsi dɛ tą' na hoso nō mō. A dɛ nyąm. Te mamɛntɛm Tɔtyoforu dɛ go 'a wroko, a tak', ‘Mat' Anąnsi, yu n'e kɔm, no?’ Anąnsi dɛ piki hɛm taki, ‘Mati Tɔtyoforu, mi dɛ siki, na kɔrsu dɛ nąŋga mi agɛ̨n.’ Tɔtyoforu tak', ‘Wɛ, yu nanyąm dɛ na kukru. Yu sɑ mąŋ go teki hɛm, no?’ A taki, ‘Ya. Mi dɛ̨ŋk' mi sɑ pina, pina.’

Tɛ Tɔtyoforu gowɛ, Anąnsi de hɔpo, a teki hɛm nanyąm, a i nyąm te hɛm bɛre furu. Den a n'e firi fō didǫn mɔro, dąn a i bɪgɪ̨n sɪ̨ŋgi:

Syɔro ma tyɛ̨ntye,
Mi kɪsi Tɔtyo moį̈;
Sɔro ma tyɛ̨ntye,
Mi kɪsi hɛm moį̈.

Ma wąn deį̈, wąn suma dɛ pasa, a yɛre Anąnsi dɛ sɪ̨ŋgi, a dɛ dąnsi. A miti Tɔtyoforu 'a pasi, a tak', ‘Mat' Tɔtyoforu, fa a dɛ nąŋga yu sɪki man?’ Tɔtyoforu piki hɛm taki, ‘Mi lib' hɛm na hoso nąŋga trąŋga kɔrsu.’ A suma taki, ‘Nąŋga kɔrsu? Kaba mi dɛ̨ŋki na friari hoso yu habi na yu hoso.’ Tɔtyoforu taki, ‘Tru tɔri?’ A suma taki, ‘Ya! na tru tɔri.’ A taki, ‘Wɛ, di mi dɛ go na hoso, dan ala sani sɑ kaba.’

'A yurtɛm a dɔro na hoso, a tak', ‘Mat' Anąnsi, fa yu dɛ fir' nō?’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Sɛns' yu gowe libi mi nąŋga kɔrsu mi bɛn didǫ'.’ Tɔtyoforu piki hɛm taki, ‘Kaba mi yɛre den suma bɛn dąnsi a i sɪ̨ngi dį̈a.’ A taki, ‘Wɛ, tide yu n'e hɔr' mi mɔro a sipɔtu, yɛre?’

So a swari Anąnsi, ɛn tɛ tide a i du na sref' wroko. Ala presi pɛ a si wąn Anąnsi, a musu swari hɛm. 'A tɔri kɔm kaba.

62. Playing Sick.[1]

Tyotyoforu and Anansi planted a big field, but Anansi played very many tricks. So every day Anansi was sick. Tyotyoforu alone went to work. Anansi stayed home all the time. He ate. When in the morning Tyotyoforu went to work, he said, ‘Friend Anansi, you are not coming, no?’ Anansi answered him, said, ‘Friend Tyotyoforu, I am sick. I am feverish again.’[2] Tyotyoforu said, ‘Well, your food is in the kitchen. You will be able to take it, no?’ He said, ‘Yes, I think I will struggle along.’

When Tyotyoforu went away, Anansi got up, he took the food, and he ate until he was full. Then he did not feel like lying down again. Then he began to sing

1 Told by 6. Compare U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 44, No. 31; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 61-62, No. 57 b-c; Bahamas, Parsons, (III) 90-91, No. 44, II.

2 Lit., ‘fever is with me again’.

Syɔro ma tyɛntye,[3]
I tricked Tyotyo nicely;
Syɔro ma tyɛntye,
I tricked him nicely.[4]

But one day someone passed, and heard [that] Anansi was singing, and he was dancing. He met Tyotyoforu on the way, and he said, ‘Friend Tyotyoforu, how is it with your sick man?’ Tyotyoforu answered him, said, ‘I left him at home in a high fever.’ The person said, ‘In a fever? Yet I thought there was a party at your house.’ Tyotyoforu said, ‘Is it a true story?’ The person said, ‘Yes! A true story.’ He said, ‘Well, when I get home, then everything will be finished.’

When he reached home, he said, ‘Friend Anansi, how do you feel now?’ Anansi said, ‘Since you went away, and left me feverish, I have been lying down.’ Tyotyoforu answered him, said, ‘Yet I heard people were dancing and singing here.’ He said, ‘Well, today you will hold me up to no more ridicule, hear?’

So he swallowed Anansi, and until today he does the same thing. Everywhere he sees a spider [Anansi], he must swallow him. The story is finished.

3 The informant said this is a ‘strong name’ for Anansi.
4 Song No. 126.

63.

Anąnsi bɛn wani tro nąŋga Konim pikin. Konim taki, ɛfi a wani tyari dri bǫ' bɪgi nɛŋgere gi hɛm. Anąnsi taki, ‘Tru, mi Konim.’ ‘Dąn yu sɑ tro nąŋga mi umą-pikin, dąn mi dɛ gi yu leti mɪndri fõ mi kɔndre.’

Konim gi hɛm wąn blaka yas. Dąn a gowe. Dąn di a dɛ gowe, a ɑksi Konim dri a̰i karu, dąn Konim gi hɛm. Dą' a go na wąn presi pɛ furu foru dɛ. Dąn a trowe na karu, dąn wąn Kakaforu nyąm wąn fõ dɛ̨' karu. Anąnsi go na da uma, a ta̰igi hɛm taki, na Konim gotu-l̨ŋga 'a folu nyąm. ‘Gi mi na folu, meki mi go sɔri Konim, taki na dɪsi nyąm hɛm.’ Dąn di a teki na kaka, dąn a dɛ lǫ' gowe. A taki, ‘Mi Anąnsi, mi kɔni ba.’ hɛm kɔti de bari ‘Grɛ̨ŋya!’ Anąnsi taki,

> ‘Dri a̰i karu kɪsi wąn kaka.’

Di a waka so tɛ... a miti wąn hoso. Dąn a bɛgi fõ kɪbri na folu na wąn agu-pɛn. Dąn dɛm agu beti na kaka. Di a si taki na agu beti hɛm, a taki, ‘Gi me na agu fõ sɔri Konim, na agu dɪsi nyąm na kaka di swari Konim l̨ŋga.’ A taki, ‘Teki hɛm.’ Dąn a lǫ' gowe. A taki,

> ‘Dri a̰i karu kɪsi wąn kaka,
> Wąn kaka kɪsi wąn agu.’

Dąn a dɔro na wąn hoso baka, a ɑksi fõ sribi. ‘Ya.’ Dą' a tyari na agu go na asi stal. Dą' na hasi skopu na na agu, kiri 'ɛm. Dą' a ta̰igi, ‘Gi na 'asi meki sɔri Konim dɪsi kiri na agu di nyąm Konim kaka-folu, di swari na gotu l̨ŋga.’ Dą' a leni na hasi, a gowe. 'A koti taki, ‘Grɛ̨ŋya!’

> ‘Mi, Anąnsi, mi kɔni ba,
> Dri a̰i karu kɪsi wąn kaka,
> Wąn kaka kɪsi wąn agu,
> Wąn agu kɪsi wąn hasi.’

Dąn a lǫ' gowe baka. A miti den a tyari wąn pikin go bɛri. Anąnsi taki, ‘Gi mi na dɛdɛ p'kin, meki mi go bɛri, dąn hɔr' na hasi.’ Dąn suma taki, ‘No, no, na wi habi na dɛdɛ, na wi mus' bɛri hɛm srɛfi.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Ɛfu ṵn go bɛri na dɛdɛ, mi dɛ ta̰igi

Konim.’ Den suma g'ɛm. A go bɛri. Ma a no bɛri hɛm. A teki hɛm, a gowe. A taki,

‘Mi, Anąnsi, mi kɔni ba,
Dri a̰i karu kɪsi wąn kaka,
Wąn kaka kɪsi wąn agu,
Wąn agu kɪsi wąn hasi,
Wąn hasi kɪsi wąn dɛdɛ.’

Dąn a gowe. A si wąn bɪgi wɪnti prḛi. Dem suma dɛ dąnsi. Dri bo̰' bɪgi nɛ̰ŋgɛre dąnsi, tu. Anąnsi taki, ‘Hɔri na p'kin, mi go dąnsi, tu. Na p'kin dɪs' na Konim p'kin.’ Dem suma no bɛn sabi taki na wąn dɛdɛ pikin. A taki, ‘Mi dąnsi mɔro mo̰i.’ Dąn suma taki, ‘a̰i.’ Anąnsi go dąnsi. A sɪŋgi:

‘Mi, Anąnsi, mi kɔni ba,
Dri a̰i karu kɪsi wąn kaka,
Wąn kaka kɪs' wąn agu,
Wąn agu kɪs' wąn hasi,
Wąn hasi kɪs' wąn dɛdɛ,
Wąn dɛdɛ kɪs' dri bɪg' nɛ̰ŋgɛre.’

Di a kaba dąnsi, a go luku n'ɛ̰' p'kin. A taki, dɛm nɛ̰ŋgɛre kiri na p'kin.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Mi sɑ bɛri na p'kin, ma mek' den nɛ̰ŋgɛre go mek' na Konim si dɛm, taki na den kiri na p'kin.’ Dąn suma tak', ‘a̰i.’ A tyari den dri nɛ̰ŋgɛre gi' Konim. Konim tak', ‘a̰i, Anąnsi, yu kɔni, so yu kąn tro mi pikin naŋga leti mɪndri mi kɔndre.’

63. Profitable Amends: Three Slaves for Three Grains of Corn.[1]

Anansi wanted to marry the King's daughter. The King said if he wanted to bring three big slaves for him. Anansi said, [interrupting],[2] 'True, my King.' '...Then you will marry my daughter, and then I will give you half of my kingdom.'

The King gave him a black coat. Then he went away. Then as he was going away, he asked the King for three grains of corn, then the King gave them to him. Then he went to a place where many chickens were. Then he threw away the corn, then a cock ate one of the grains of corn. Anansi went to the woman, and he said to her that the fowl ate the King's golden ring. 'Give me the fowl, and let me go and show the King that this one ate it.' Then when he took the cock, then he ran away. He said, 'I, Anansi, I am a cunning fellow.' His coat called 'Grenya!'[3] Anansi said,

'Three grains of corn caught a cock.'

As he walked so till... he came to a house. Then he asked to shelter the fowl in a pig pen. Then the pigs bit the cock. When he saw that the pigs had bitten him, he said, 'Give me the pig to show the King that this pig ate the cock, that swallowed the King's ring.' She said, 'Take it.' Then he ran away. He said,

'Three grains of corn caught a cock,
One cock caught a pig.'

Then he came to a house again, he asked if he might sleep. 'Yes.' Then he took the pig to the horses' stable. Then the horse kicked the pig, and killed it. Then he said, 'Give [me] the horse, and let me show the King that this one killed the pig that ate the King's cock, that swallowed the golden ring.' Then he borrowed the horse, and he went away. His coat said, 'Grenya!'

'I, Anansi, I am a cunning fellow,
Three grains of corn caught a cock,
One cock caught a pig,
One pig caught a horse.'

Then he ran away again. He met those who were taking a child for burial. Anansi said, 'Give me the child, let me bury it, then hold the horse.' Then the people said, 'No, no, it is we who have the dead, and it is we who must bury it ourselves.' Anansi said,

1 Told by 9. Compare Senegal, Zeltner 73-80; Sierra Leone (Temne), Schlenker 59-61, No. 3, Bassett (I) 189-192, No. 78; Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III), 427-431, No. 38; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 481-3, fable No. 83, (Hausa), Rattray (IV) 232-246, No. 13, Tremearne (IV) 237-241, No. 27 (with bibliography), 367-373, No. 77, 380-384, No. 80 (with bibliography); Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I), 257-261, No. 68; Togo (Krachi), Cardinall (I), 15-20, (Ewe), Speiss 102-106, No. 1; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS. No. 5, No. 94; Cameroons, Krug 113-114, No. 10; Congo (Bena Kanioka), De Clercq 74-79, No. 3; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 69, No. 63; Brazil, Eells 15-20, No. 2.

2 See p. 142 concerning interpolated responses to a superior's speech.

3 The meaning given by one informant is that this is a secret African word expressing what the coat said. Another said it meant, 'Run away!'

‘If you go and bury the dead, I am going to tell the King.’ The people gave him [the child]. He went to bury it. But he did not bury it. He took it, and he went away. He said,

> ‘I, Anansi, I am a cunning fellow,
> Three grains of corn caught a cock,
> One cock caught a pig,
> One pig caught a horse,
> One horse caught a dead one.’

Then he went away. He saw a large *wɩnti* play.[1] The people were dancing. Three big slaves[2] were dancing, too. Anansi said, ‘Hold the child, I am going to dance, too. This child is the King's child.’ The people did not know that it was a dead child. He said, ‘I [can] dance better.’ Then the people said, ‘Yes.’ Anansi went to dance. He sang,

> ‘I, Anansi, I am a cunning fellow,
> Three grains of corn caught a cock,
> One cock caught a pig,
> One pig caught a horse,
> One horse caught a dead one,
> One dead one caught three big slaves.’

When he was through dancing, he went to look after his child. He said the slaves killed the child. Anansi said, ‘I will bury the child, but make the slaves go to let the King see them, that it is they who killed the child.’ The people said, ‘Yes.’ He brought the three slaves to the King. The King said, ‘Yes, Anansi, you are cunning, so you can marry my child, and [have] half of my kingdom.’

64.

Wą deị̂, bifɔsi libi suma bɛn dɛ, Anąnsi bɛn go na Gramą. A ɑksi Gramą ɛfu a wani si dɑti ɛ̨ŋ ką' gi Gramą wąn hafu seị̂ kɔndre. Gramą' lafu, ɛn a taị̂gi Anąnsi taki, ‘Yu dɩsi, dɛ go gi mi wą 'afu seị̂ kɔndre?’ Anąnsi lafu, ɛn a piki Gramą, ‘Ya, ya, ma yu mu' gi mi wąn tyuą̂-tyuą̂ nąŋga tu foru.’ ‘A bǫ',’ Gramą taki, ‘wi sɑ si sąn na wąn sani.’ ‘A bǫ',’ Anąnsi taki, ‘mi sɑ shɔro Gramą dɑti Gramą sɑ kɩsi wąn af' kɔndre. Mi mu' 'abi, tu, wan tǫŋg-ati, wąn mɔnteri djakti, wą bruku, nąŋga wą apa, nąŋga wą oru.’ Ɛn Gramą gi' ɛ̨ŋ ala sani di a ɑksi.

1 I.e., dance.
2 Lit., ‘Negroes’.

Anąnsi gowe nąŋga ɛŋ boto mamąntɛm fruku-fruku. A poti den tu foru na mofose̱i fō na tyau̱-tyau̱. A bıgın pali, ɛn a bıgın fō' sı̨ŋgi,

Puru na fesi,
O grı̨ŋya!
Puru pari na baka,
O grı̨ŋya!
Mi, Anąnsi, mi kɔni,
O grı̨ŋya!

Wan sani fō twe yuru a dɛ p'sa wą bıgi kɔndre, ɛn a bigın sı̨ŋgi,

Puru pari na fesi,
O grı̨ŋya!
Puru pari na baka,
O grı̨ŋya!
Mi, Anąnsi, mi kɔni,
O grı̨ŋya!

Den suma fō na kɔndre kari Anąnsi, ‘Gramą Anąnsi, Gramą Anąnsi, Gramą Anąnsi! kɔm na shɔro.’ Ma Anąnsi piki, ‘No, no, no, mi no ką k'a shɔro. 'A shɔro mi dɛ go lasi tɛm, bikasi mi muso du wąn hesi-hesi bɔskopu fō na Gramą fō mi kɔndre. Ɛŋ mati p'kin dɛ sıki trąŋga, ɛn a sɛni mi fō mi kyari dem tu foru go gi ɛŋ, fō dem bori supu gi na sıki mą'.’ Dem dwı̨ŋgi Anąnsi tɛ a kɔm na shɔro. A weri ɛŋ krosi di a bɛn kısi fō Gramą, so dɑt' ɛŋ sɛrefi bɛn geɛrsi wąn Gramą. Nąŋga poku, fragra, dem kɔn teki Anąnsi na watra-se̱i. Di-a shuti gɔ', kanɔ' gi Anąnsi. Na Gramą fō na kɔndre dati gi wą' tumusi bıgi Bąnya nąŋga Susa fō na grani fō Anąnsi.

Anąnsi taig' gi na Gramą, ‘Gramą, mi 'abi tu p'kin fɔru fō tya-go gi wąn mati fō na Gramą fō mi kɔndre, bikasi ɛŋ p'kin sıki. Ma den no dɛ sribi nąŋga foru, ma nąŋga gąnsi.’

Mındri neti Anąnsi go na dɔro, ɛn a kıli den tu p'kin fo̱uru. Na tra mamąntɛ', sıksi yuru, a taki ɛ' muso fō gowe, bikasi ɛŋ dɛ go lasi watra. Ɛŋ dɛ bɛgi den tu p'kin fo̱uru. Na Gramą fō dɑti kɔndre sɛn' teki dem tu p'kin fau̱lu, mar na futu-bo̱i kɔ' baka nąŋga dem tu dɛdɛ foru. Anąnsi bari, kre̱i, ‘Mi no bɛn wani fō kɔm na shɔro! Mi s'kin bɛn piki mi dɑt' wąn sani sɑ p'sa mi! Fa mi dɛ go do? Den tu fo̱uru dɛdɛ, ɛn mi no kąn gi' tra fo̱uru.’ Gramą fō na kɔndre taki gi Anąnsi, ‘Gramą Anąnsi, no kre̱i. A no nɔtı̨ŋ. Mi sɑ gi' yu tu tra fo̱uru.’ Anąnsi bari hɛm, ‘Yu de lau̱, fō gi' mi tra foru. Mi wani den s'refi fo̱uru di mi tya' kɔm dia, libi-libi baka.’ ‘Dɑti mi no kąn.’ ‘Wɛ, yu mu' gi' mi tu gąnsi.’

Anąnsi kısi dem tu gąnsi, a pɔti dɛm baka na fesi na boto, ɛn a bıgin fō sıngi baka,

Puru pari na fesi,
O grıŋya!
Puru pari na baka,
O grıŋya!
Mi, Anąnsi, mi kɔni,
O grıŋya!

Wąn sani fō dri o' fo' yuru, a p'sa baka wąn tra kɔndre. Den bar', kar' 'ɛm, ‘Gramą Anąnsi, kɔm 'a shoro.’ ‘No, no, no, mi no ką' do so wą' sani, bikasi tamara wąn mati fō mi Gramą de go tro, ɛn a sɛni mi fō tyari den tu gansi go dapɛ fō meki nyąnyąm tamara. Mi no ką' las' dem.’ Den saka na boto, ɛn den tapu hem, ɛn dem tyari hɛm kǫ' na shɔro. Dem b'gin fō shutu gǫ' baka 'a heri kɔndre. 'A heri kɔndre gi bigi presiri fō Gramą Anąnsi. Na futu-boi fō na Gramą go teki Anąnsi fō tyari 'ɛm go na Gramą hoso. Anąnsi bɛgi, ‘Tąŋgi, tąŋgi fō den tu gąnsi. Nɔtiŋ mu' mankeri dem. Ɛn dem no dɛ slibi nąŋga gąnsi, ma nąŋga hagu.’

Mındri neti, di na prei bɛn fai̯a, Anąnsi dukru, sɔndro wąn s'ma si ɛŋ. A go kiri den gąns'. Mamąntɛm, so lei̯iki fa dei̯ fō piri tifi, Anąnsi aksi den gąnsi, bikasi nąnga dei̯-broko ɛŋ mu' dɛ na na kɔndre di na Gramą sɛni hɛm go, fō den kąn kiri na gąnsi fō nyą' na dei̯ dɑti. Dem futu-boi fō na Gramą go, a teki den gąnsi tya-kɔm, ma dę' bɛn dɛdɛ. Anąnsi tai̯igi na Gramą, ‘Yu kąn du są' yu wani, ma mi muso habi baki den tu s'rɛfi-s'rɛfi gąnsi, bikasi na fō go na tafra.’ 'A gramą taki, ‘Mi no ką' du dɑti.’ ‘Wɛ, dą' yu mu' gi mi tu agu, na presi.’ Gramą gi' Anąnsi tu agu.

A gowe, ɛn a bigın sıŋgi baka,

Puru pari na fesi,
O grıŋya!
Puru pari na baka,
O grıŋya!
Mi, Anąnsi, mi kɔni,
O grıŋya!

No, a p'sa baka wąn tra kɔndre. Den kali hɛm nąŋga tumusi furu noiti fō go na shɔro. 'A yurutɛm na shɔro, ala suma fō na kɔndre bɛn dɛ na watra-sei̯, uma p'kin, mąn p'kin, oru suma, mąn, umą, bikasi dem no bɛn si Gramą Anąnsi, ɛn ala suma bɛn wani fō si hɛm. Na yurutem dɑti Anąnsi de kɔmɔpo na ɛŋ boto kɔm na shɔro, ala dę' umą b'gın sıŋgi gi hɛm, ɛn den dɛ pre yoro-yoro. Anąnsi tai̯' gi dem

suma di bɛn kɔm teki hɛm taki, dɛm tu hagu, 'ɛm muso tyari go na na kɔndre na tap'-seį, ɛn dɑt den hagu no dɛ sribi nąŋga tra 'agu, ma nąŋga kaų. 'A heri neįti bɪgi prisiri bɛn dɛ na ɪni na kɔndre dɑti. Bɪgi nąŋga p'kin, oru nąŋga yųŋgu, mɛn dɛ meki prisiri. Mɪndri neįti, wąn sani fō twarfu yuru, Kǫŋgodifa go na dɔro-seį, taki ɛ̨ŋ dɛ go pɪsi. Ma a go kiri den hagu baka. Di a kɔm, a go sribi.

Wąn sani fō di kaka bari, a wiki, ɛn a ɑksi den tu hagu. Mar a no kąn kɪsi dem, bikasi dɛm bɛn dɛdɛ. Anąnsi bɪgɪn kreį, djɔmpo na tapu, bikasi a no bɛn wani fō kɔm na shɔro, ɛn den dwɛ̨ŋgi hɛm fō kɔm. A aksi wąn kaų, ɛn dɑti a kɪsi. A pɔt' ɛ̨ŋ na mį̈ndri na boto, ɛn bɪgin pari baka, ɛn a bɪgin sį̈ŋgi,

Puru pari na fesi,
O grį̈ŋya!
Puru pari na baka,
O grį̈ŋya!
Mi, Anąnsi, mi kɔni,
O grį̈ŋya!

Wan sani fō feįfi yuru bakadina, a de p'sa wąn tra kɔndre, ɛn a si dɑt' den dɛ go beri wąn p'kin. A kibri na seį busi, en di dem suma gowe kaba, a trowɛ na kaų na ɪni liba. A go na shɔro, a krabu na grebi, ɛn a puru na dɛdɛ p'kin. A pɔti hɛm na ɪni na boto. A pari hesi-hesi, te a pasa na kɔndre, ɛn a go na na kɔndre na seį.

A bɛn sɑ dɛ, wąn sani fō sɪksi yuru, sabatɛm. Dem suma kari hɛm baka fō kǫ' na shɔro, ma Anąnsi no bɛn wani. A taki, ‘Mi no ką' kɔm diaso, bikasi mi muso go na dɑti bɪgi datra na tapu-seį. Na mɔro yųŋg' p'kin fō da Gramą fō mi kɔndre dia sɪki tumusi trąŋg, ɛn a muso fō habi wąn datra.’ ‘Kɔm na shɔro, Gramą, datra dɛ diaso tu!’ Anąnsi piki, ‘No, no, no, mi no ką' kɔm, bikasi ɛf' wąn sani p'sa, mi libi mi go lasi hɛm. Den sɑ kiri, den sɑ hąŋga mi, ɔf den de go brǫ' mi.’ ‘No, no, Gramą Anąnsi, kǫ' na shɔro, kǫ' na shɔro. Wi sɑ yɛp' yu.’ Anąnsi piki, ‘Ya, ma nō, ala datra 'ɛ go luk' a p'kin dɪsi.’

Nąŋga poku den tyari Anąnsi go na hoso fō na Gramą fō na kɔndre dati. Den sutu gǫ' nąŋga kanǫ' gi Anąnsi. Ɛn baka dati Anąnsi bɛn go na ɪni na hoso fō da Gramą fō na kɔndre. A taki, ‘Mi no wani wąn babari so ląŋga na p'kin 'ɛ slibi.’ Den gi Anąnsi wą' kamera, ɛn ɛ̨ŋ nąŋga na pikin wąwąn bɛn dɛ na ɪni na kamera.

Anąnsi bıgin kreį leį̇iki wąn nyu-nyu p'kin. Na weį̇fi fō da Gramą fō dɑti kɔndre ɑksi Gramą Anąnsi są' ɛde na p'kin de kreį. Anąnsi piki, ‘Mi bribi taki 'ąŋgri dɛ kiri hɛm.’ Na weį̇fi fō' na Gramą ɑksi Anąnsi ɛfu 'a pikin sɑ mąŋ fō drı̨ŋgi taį̇a brafu. Anąnsi piki, ‘Ya, ya.’ Na baka dina, nyąnyąm bɛn klari, na weį̇fi fō na Gramą tyari wąn krabasi nąŋga na brafu gi' Anąnsi fō a gi na pikin. Di Anąnsi teki na taį̇a-brafu, ɛn di na fro bɛn gowɛ, a sidǫn, a nyąm ala sɛrefi.

A baka dɑti, Anąnsi bıgin bari kreį, ‘O Gadu! O, mi dɛ go dɛdɛ! Luku sąn p'sa mi! Mi no bɛn wani kǫ' na shɔro. Den dwı̨ŋgi mi tɛ mi kǫ' na shɔro.’ Anąnsi dɛ bari tɛ... da Gramą fō da kɔndre, na grąnfıskari, al' dɛm bıgi suma fō na kɔndre bɛn kɔm dape, fō luku sąn' bɛn p'sa. Den ɑksi Gramą Anąnsi, ‘San ɛdɛ yu dɛ bari?’ Anąnsi dyɔmpo, tinopo nąŋga watra na ɛŋ haį, ‘Są mi 'ɛ bari! Yu dɛ aksi mi? Mi bɛn taį̇gi ų̇nu bǫnbǫn dɑti mi habi wąn sıki pikin di muso go na datra. Yu weį̇fi gi' hɛm krasi-taį̇a brafu fō nyam, ɛn a kiri na pikin. Yu sɑ sabi sąn sɑ p'sa, bikasi den dɛ go kiri mi! Ma mi dɛ tya yu go, tu.’ Anąnsi kɔti wąn odo, ‘*Ba suku, Ba feni, Ba tyari*.’

‘Gramą Anąnsi, mi weį̇fi no gi' na p'kin krasi-taį̇ya, ma na sɛrefi taį̇ya di a gi mi fō nyam.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Yu leį, bikasi na nyąnyąm dɛm faį̇a, mi teki na krabasi sipų' fō bro ɛŋ koru, ɛn pikinso fō na taį̇a-brafu kısi mi mɔfo. Luku fa a kır' ɛŋ? Yu si taki, a no bǫ' taį̇ya.’

Na Gramą fō' dɑt' kɔndre, nąŋga ala dem tra bıgi-bıgi suma fō da presi, bıgin fō bɛgi Anąnsi fō si wąn fasi fō trɔbi no miti dɛm, bikasi dę' sabi sąn wąn taki dati Anąnsi ɑksi dem. ‘Sąn ų̇n' dɛ taki dapɛ dɛ? Mi no dɛ puru mi futu dį̇aso, awı̨nsi sąn sɑ pasa. Ų̇nu mu' sabi sɛrefi sąn dɛ kǫ' na ų̇n' tapu.’ Na Gramą fō na kɔndre bıgin bɛgi Anąnsi fō den kąn si wą' fasi fō trɔbi no miti dɛm. Anąnsi taį̇gi dem taki, na pikin dem mu' bɛri wątem wątem nąŋga poku, bikasi na Gramą pikin. Na baka di dɛm beri, Anąnsi 'ɛ kreį, ɛn a de sari, ‘Ya, mi no sabi sąn sɑ p'sa na mi.’ 'A Gramą mus' kɔm nąŋga hɛm na foto fō ɛŋ sɛrefi, go tinapu na taki leti. Gramą skreki, ɛn ala suma ɛn na kondre tu. Den bɛgi Anąnsi fō a prakseri wąn manyeri dati nɔtį̇' kąn p'sa dem.

Anąnsi sɔktu, ‘Hmmmm! Wąn ɛŋkri sani kąn yɛpi yu nąŋga dɛm suma na ını yu kɔndre. Luku, Gramą, yu hɛde, nąŋga mi hɛde, dɛ go na tapu broki. Gi wąn afu seį fō yu kɔndre, dąn ala sani kaba.’

‘Nąŋga ala lespɛki wi sɑ gi wą' afu fō wi kɔndre.’

Anąnsi djɔmpo, tinapō. A naki na hanu 'a tap' tafra, a bari gi na Gramą, ‘Papira, papira, papira!’

Na Gramą fō da kɔndre meki wąn papira gi' Anąnsi, pɛ a gi' hɛm leti mɪndri fō na kɔndre. Ala dem bɪgi suma na kɔndre krabu na papira tu. Na baka dati, Anąnsi bɛn habi leti mindri fō na kɔndre kaba, na tapu papira. A taki, ‘Adiosi’, ɛn a dɛ go na ɪni hɛm boto. A pur' ę' hati, nąŋga na yas, a pari na heri neį̇ti, ɛn sɻŋgi,

Puru pari na fesi,
O grįŋya!
Puru pari na baka,
O grįŋya!
Mi, Anąnsi, mi kɔni,
O grįŋya!

Ɛn musu-deį̇, a dɔro na na kɔndre pɛ a bɛn kɔmopo. A go na na Gramą, a taki, ęŋ dɔro. ‘Yu leį̇, mąn,’ Gramą taiki Anąnsi, ‘o-pɛ na hafu seį̇ kɔndre yu dɛ go gi' mi?’ Anąnsi shutu ęŋ hanu na ɪni na djakti, ɛn nak' a papira na tapu tafra. ‘A diaso.’

Gramą opo na papira, ɛn a si tru-tru taki Anąnsi wɪni wąn haf'-kɔndre gi' hɛm. Anąnsi aksi Gramą, ‘Wɛ, mi Gramą, są' yu dɛ gi' mi fō paimąŋ?’ Gramą piki Anąnsi, ‘Mi boį̇, so ląŋga yu dɛ, yu kąn tąn libi na ɪni mi 'oso. Go na ɪni na pɔst'ɔro.’

Na so fasi meki Anąnsi dɛ te na ɪni Gramą hoso.

64. Profitable Amends: Half a Village for Two Chickens.[3]

One day, before there were human beings, Anansi went to the Graman.[4] He asked the Graman if he wanted to see that he [Anansi] could give Graman half a village. The Graman laughed, and he said to Anansi, said, ‘You are going to give me half of a village?’ Anansi laughed, and he answered Graman, ‘Yes, yes. But you must give me a small boat, and two chickens.’ ‘All right,’ the Graman said, ‘we will see what there is in this.’ ‘All right,’ Anansi said, ‘I will show Graman that Graman will get half a village. I must also have a cocked hat, a coat with gold braid, a pair of trousers, and a pair of soldier's shoes, and a sword.’ And the Graman gave him all the things that he asked.

3 Told by 10. Comparative references as given for the preceding tale. This tale, written by the narrator of this version, appears in Van Cappelle 282-293, No. 1.

4 Chief.

Anansi went away in his boat early in the morning. He put the two chickens in the forward part of the little boat. He began to paddle, and he began to sing,

Stroke in front,
Oh run away!
Stroke the paddle in back,
Oh run away!
I, Anansi, I am cunning,
Oh run away![1]

About two o'clock he passed a large village, and he began to sing,

Stroke the paddle in front,
Oh run away!
Stroke the paddle in back,
Oh run away!
I, Anansi, I am cunning,
Oh run away!

The people of the village called to Anansi, ‘Graman Anansi, Graman Anansi, Graman Anansi! come ashore.’ But Anansi answered, ‘No, no, no, I cannot come ashore. I will lose time on shore, because I must do a very urgent errand for the Graman of my village. His friend's son is very sick, and he sent me to take him the two chickens, so that they may cook soup for the sick man.’ They urged Anansi until he came ashore. He wore the clothes which he got from the Graman, so that he himself resembled a Graman. With drums and flags they came to take Anansi from the bank. They shot guns and cannons for Anansi. The Graman of that village gave a very big Banya and Susa[2] in honor of Anansi.

Anansi said to the Graman, ‘Graman, I have two chicks to take to a friend of the Graman of my village, because his son is sick. But, they do not sleep with the chickens, but with the geese.’

At midnight Anansi went outside, and he killed the two chicks. The next morning, at six o'clock, he said he must go away, because [if he delayed] he would miss high water. He asked for the two chicks. The Graman of that village sent to take the two chicks, but the servant came back with the two dead fowl. Anansi shouted and cried, ‘I didn't want to come ashore! My heart[3] told me that something would happen to me! What am I going to do? The two chickens are dead, and I cannot give other chickens.’ The Graman of the village said to Anansi, ‘Graman Anansi, don't cry. It is nothing. I will give you two other chickens.’ Anansi shouted at him, ‘You are a fool to offer me other chickens. I want the same chickens that I brought here alive again.’ ‘That I cannot [do].’ ‘Well, you must give me two geese.’

1 Song No. 119.
2 These are dances.
3 Lit., ‘my body’.

Anansi got the two geese. He put them again in the forward part of the boat, and he began to sing again,

Stroke the paddle in front,
Oh run away!
Stroke the paddle in back,
Oh run away!
I, Anansi, I am cunning,
Oh run away!

About three, or four o'clock, he passed another village. They cried out, and called to him, ‘Graman Anansi, come ashore.’ ‘No, no, no, I can't do such a thing, because tomorrow a friend of my Graman is going to marry, and he sent me to take the two geese there for tomorrow's food. I cannot leave them.’ They stopped the boat, and they stopped him, and they brought him ashore. Again they began to shoot guns. The whole village was greatly pleased with Graman Anansi. The Graman's servant took Anansi to the house of the Graman. Anansi begged, ‘Please, please be careful of the two geese. Nothing must be denied them, and they must not sleep with the geese, but with the pigs.’

At midnight, when the play was going strong,[1] Anansi stole away without being seen by anyone. He went to kill the geese. In the morning, just as day showed its teeth, Anansi asked for the geese, because at daybreak he had to be at the village to which the Graman had sent him, so that they might kill the geese, and eat them that day. The Graman's slaves went and brought the geese, but they were dead. Anansi said to the Graman, ‘You can do what you like, but I must have the very same geese back, because they are for the feast.’ The Graman said, ‘I cannot do that.’ ‘Well, then, you must give me two pigs, instead.’ The Graman gave Anansi two pigs.

He went away, and he began to sing again,

Stroke the paddle in front,
Oh run away!
Stroke the paddle in back,
Oh run away!
I, Anansi, I am cunning,
Oh run away!

Now, he passed another village. They called to him and urged him very much to come ashore. When he came ashore, everybody from the village was on the bank, girls, boys, old people, men, women, because they had not seen Graman Anansi, and everybody wanted to see him. When Anansi stepped out of his boat and came ashore, all the women began to sing for him, and they played the Yoro-

1 Lit., ‘was hot’.

yoro.[1] Anansi said to the people who came to take him that he had to take the two pigs to a village on the upper river, and that these pigs did not sleep with other pigs, but with the cows. All night there was great rejoicing in that village. Big and little, old and young were happy. At midnight, at about twelve o'clock, Kongodifa[2] went outside, saying he was going to urinate. But he went to kill the pigs. When he came back, he went to sleep.

At cock-crow he awoke, and he asked for the two pigs. But he could not get them, because they were dead. Anansi began to cry, and to stamp about, because he had not wanted to come ashore, and they had forced him to come. He asked for a cow, and he received that. He put it in the middle of the boat, and began to paddle again, and he began to sing,

> Stroke the paddle in front,
> Oh, run away!
> Stroke the paddle in back,
> Oh, run away!
> I, Anansi, I am cunning,
> Oh, run away!

About five o'clock in the afternoon, he was passing another village, and he saw that they were going to bury a child. He hid in the nearby bush, and when the people had gone, he threw the cow into the river. He went ashore. He opened the grave, and he took out the dead child. He put it in the boat, and he paddled away quickly until he passed the village. And he went to the neighboring village.

It will be about six o'clock in the evening. The people called him again to come ashore, but Anansi did not want [to come]. He said, ‘I cannot come here, because I must go to that big doctor on the upper river. The youngest child of the Graman of my village is very sick here, and must have a doctor.’[3] ‘Come ashore, Graman, there are doctors here, too.’ Anansi answered, ‘No, no, no, I cannot come, because if something happens, I will lose my life. They will either kill me, or they will hang me, or they will burn me.’ ‘No, no, Graman Anansi, come ashore, come ashore. We will help you.’ Anansi answered, ‘Yes, but now all the doctors are to go and look at this child.’

They brought Anansi to the house of the Graman of the village, with drums. They shot guns and cannons for Anansi. And after that Anansi went to the house of the village Graman. He said, ‘I don't want any noise as long as the child sleeps.’ They gave Anansi a room, and he and the child were the only ones in that room.

1 An instrument which twenty or twenty-five years ago was used for accompanying women's dances.
2 One of Anansi's strong names.
3 Informant said by doctor he meant a native medicine man.

Anansi began to cry like a new born child. The wife of the Graman of that village asked Graman Anansi why the child was crying. Anansi answered, ‘I believe that he is hungry.’ The Graman's wife asked if the child would be able to drink taia[1] soup. Anansi said, ‘Yes, yes.’ In the afternoon the food was ready, and the Graman's wife brought a calabash of soup for Anansi to give to the child. Anansi took the taia broth, and when the woman went away, he sat down and ate all of it himself.

A little later Anansi began to shout, and cry, ‘Oh, God! Oh, I am going to die! Look what has happened to me! I didn't want to come ashore. They forced me to come ashore.’ Anansi cried till... the Graman of the village, the counsellors, and all the important people of the village came there to see what had happened. They asked Graman Anansi, ‘Why are you shouting?’ With tears in his eyes, Anansi jumped up, ‘Why am I crying! You ask me? I told you again and again that I had a sick child who must go to a doctor. Your wife gave him poisonous taia soup to eat, and she killed the child. You will know what will happen, because they are going to kill me! But I am going to take you, too.’ Anansi interrupted with the proverb - ‘*Brother seeks, Brother finds, Brother carries*.’

‘Graman Anansi, my wife did not give the child poisonous taia, but the same taia she gave me to eat.’ Anansi said, ‘You lie, because the food was hot, and I took from the calabash a spoonful to blow it cool, and a little of the taia soup touched my mouth. See how it has scorched it? You see that it wasn't good taia.’

The Graman of the village, and all the most important people of the place began to beg Anansi to find a way to avoid trouble, because they knew the meaning of what Anansi asked. ‘What are you saying there? I will not move my feet from here, no matter what happens. You yourselves must know what is to come upon you.’ The Graman of the village began to beg Anansi to find a way to avoid trouble. Anansi said to them, said, they must bury the child immediately with drums, because it was the Graman's child. After the child had been buried, Anansi cried, and he grieved, ‘Yes, I don't know what will happen to me.’ The Graman must come with him to the city, so that he himself should go and explain things properly. The Graman was frightened, and all the people in the village, too. They begged Anansi to study a way so that nothing should happen to them.

Anansi sighed, ‘Hm! One thing only can help you and the people of your village. Look, Graman, your head and my head are going on the gallows (?). Give half of your village, and all will be finished.’

‘We will give half of our village with all honors.’

1 A spinach-like plant.

Anansi jumped up. He struck his hand on the table, and he shouted to the chief, ‘Paper, paper, paper!’

The Graman of the village made out a paper for Anansi, in which he gave him half of the village. All the elders of the village signed the paper, too. After that Anansi already had half of the village on paper. He said, ‘Good-bye’, and he went to his boat. He took off his hat, and his coat, and he paddled the whole night, and sang,

Stroke the paddle in front,
Oh, run away!
Stroke the paddle in back,
Oh, run away!
I, Anansi, I am cunning,
Oh, run away!

And when it was day, he reached the village from where he had started. He went to the Graman, and he said he arrived [he was back]. ‘You lied, man,’ the Graman said to Anansi, ‘where is the half of a village you were going to give me?’ Anansi shot his hand into the coat, and threw down the paper on the table. ‘It is here.’

Graman opened the paper, and he saw Anansi had indeed won half a village for him. Anansi asked Graman, ‘Well, my Graman, what are you going to give me as a reward?’ Graman answered Anansi, ‘My boy, as long as you live, you can live in my house. Go in the post hole.’

That is the reason why Anansi is found even in the Graman's house.

65.

Anąnsi sabi-taki ɛŋ na na mɔro kɔnimąn fō grǫntapu. Nowa, a no wani wąn kɔni mu' tąn na trawą'. Ɛŋ mu' habi ala. A waka dɛ suku pɛ a sɑ feni wąn suma di habi wąn kɔni fō' a baį na ɛŋ. So a waka, a pɪki ala kɔni dɛ dɛ. Ɛn di a kaba, a taki, ‘Nowąn suma de feni wąn mɔro.’ A pɔti ala den kɔni na wąn godo. A taki, ‘Mi dɛ krɛŋ tyari na godo go kɪbri na wan kąnkąntri hɛdɛ, drapɛ dį̂a, suma no kąn kɔm fufuru den kɔni.

Nowa, Anąnsi teki wąn tɛtaį̂, a taį̂ na godo, hąŋga na ɛŋ nɛki, na ɛŋ hati tapu. Nowa, a wani krɛŋ, ma na godo dɛ frifi na na bom. Anąnsi no mąŋ fō go na tapu. A go pikinso, a tą', a saka baka. A proberi baka, ma a no mąŋ. Nowa, wąn pikin fō Anąnsi tɛnapu dɛ, luku fa hɛm dada dɛ pina. Nō mō a taki, ‘Mi da, puru na godo na yu fesi, pɔti na yu baka, dąn yu sɑ subi.’ Anąnsi piki, a taki,

‘Mi dɛdɛ! Na boi̯ habi wąn kɔni di mi no habi. Mi dɛŋki mi habi ala kɔni, wąn na boi̯ habi di mi no habi. Wɛ, daąn mɔro suma sɑ habi mɔro kɔni di mi no habi.’

Anąnsi hati brɔ̯n. A naki na godo broko. Ala kɔni pąnya baka.

65. How Wisdom was Spread.[1]

Anansi knew that he was the wisest man on earth. Now he did not want a single cunning to remain with another one. He had to have all. He traveled in search of where he should find a man who had a cunning that he might buy it from him. So he traveled, and he picked up all the cunning there was. And when he finished, he said, ‘No person will find one more.’ He put all the cunning in a gourd. He said, ‘I will climb up and take the gourd to hide on top of a silk-cotton tree, where no person can come to steal the cunning.’

Now, Anansi took a string, and he hung the gourd about his neck, above his heart. Now, he wanted to climb, but the gourd rubbed against the tree. Anansi could not go to the top. He went a little, he stopped, he slid back. He tried again, but he could not. Now, a son of Anansi's stood looking on how his father was struggling. All at once he said, ‘Father, take the gourd from the

1 Told by 2. Compare Liberia, Bundy, 425, No. 37; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 279, Guro No. 14; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 33-34, No. 2, (Ashanti), Rattray 5-6, No. 3; Togo, Cardinall 180-181; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS. No. 28; Northern Nigeria (Jukun), Meek 489.

front, and put it in back. Then you will climb up.' Anansi answered, he said, 'I am a dead one! The boy has a cunning that I don't have. I thought I had all the cunning, [but] the boy has one that I don't have. Well, then, more (other) people will have more (other) cunning that I don't have.'

Anansi was angry. He smashed[1] the gourd. All the cunning was again scattered.

66.

Wan kɔnd'e bɛn dɛ, ɛn wąn Foru bɛn dɛ bari. Ɛf' a bar' so, na her' kɔndre 'ɛ trubu. Konu pɔt' taki suma kir' na Foru, a sɑ tro nąŋga wąn umą pikin fō ɛŋ.

Anąnsi yɛre. A go taį̂g' Konu taki, ɛŋ sɑ kiri na Foru. Mek' Konu gi hɛm mɔni ɛn baį̂ sani, dąn ɛŋ sɑ go kir' ɛŋ. Di Anąnsi go a tą' tu wiki. A kir' wan Pǫpǫ, a tyar' kɔm. Konum no bribi ɛŋ taki na na Foru dati de bar' so. Konum taį̂g' hɛm, taki, ɛfu na Foru no bari baka wą' mų', dąn a sɑ tro nąŋga na pikin. Ma bifɔs' wą' mųn, dan na Foru bari. Dąn Konum sɛni tek' Anąnsi, mek' srot' ɛŋ.

Ma na ɩni na kɔndre wąn mama bɛn mu kɩs' wąn pikin. 'A deį̂ di a kɩs' na pikin, a kɩs' wą' mąn pikin. A weri wą' mamiyo yapǫŋ nąŋga wąn gǫ' saka na ɛŋ seį̂. Na ɩni na gǫ' saka wąn broko sɛmnefi bɛn dɛ. Di na pikin gebɔro, a taki wąntrǫ'. A taį̂gi ɛŋ mama taki, 'Mi mama, gi mi pikin watra. Mek' mi go lɛre ɔndrofeni.' Ɛn na boį̂ gowɛ. Ma na Gadu bɛn sɛni ɛŋ kɔm fō kir' na Foru, bika' na Foru bɛn dɛ wąn Foru dɩsi bɛn sabi soso obia. A bɛn dɛ bari wisi. Wɛ, nowąn suma bɛn dɛ ferstand są' na Foru dɛ sɻŋgi. Ma te 'a Foru 'ɛ sɻŋgi, na na kɔndre sheki. Ma na boį̂ ferstand wantrǫ' sɑ' na Foru dɛ sɻŋgi. Na Foru dɛ sɻŋ':

Mąn Kwakwa, Mąn Kwakwa,
Ba Toto, mi na Kwɛmąndo.
Mąn Kwakwa,
Mąn Kwakwa.

1 Lit., 'struck the gourd broke'.

Dąn na boi̯ piki ɛŋ wantrɔ', taki:

Na mi, na mi, na Fiąntoni,
Ba Toto, mi na Kwɛmąndo,
Mąn Kwakwa.

Dąn na Foru hati kɔm brɔn, bikasi sɛns a bɛ' dɛ no wąn libi suma bɛn dɛ sabi sąn a i sɻŋgi. Dąn na boi̯ a i g'we fō go mit' ɛŋ. Sɪksi yari ląŋga na boi̯ waka 'fɔsi a miti pɛ na Foru dɛ. Di a dɔro, dąn a si wąn bɪgi wei̯land. Na dapɛ na Foru bɛn libi. A habi wąn bɪgi kapa pɛ a dɛ bɔri ɛŋ obia. Di na boi̯ kɔ' krosbei̯, dąn na Foru go na ɪni na obia kapa a tek' obia. Dąn a ląŋga ɛŋ nɛki fō diki na boi̯ ai̯. Dąn na boi̯ teki na srɛbnɛfi, a kɔti ɛŋ nɛki.

Dąn a drei̯ baka nąŋga na nɛki fō na Foru, ɛn a tyari kɔm sori Konum. A ben dɛ twalfu yari ląŋga de na boi̯ bɛn teki fō go pɛ na Foru dɛ. Di a sɔr' Konu, Konu no bribi ɛŋ. Konum taki, so mɛni yari ląŋga kaba na Foru no dɛ bari mɔro, ɛfu na nō a kɔm taki yu kiri na foru. Dąn a taig' Konum taki, meki Konum luku na ɪni ɛŋ buku, ɛfu na so wąn yari wąn mama no bɛn kɪsi wąn pikin nąŋga wan mamiya yapǫŋ. 'Dɑti na mi, di Gadu bɛn sɛni fō kɔ' kiri na Foru, bikasi a bɛn dɛ wąn Foru dɪsi no wąn suma bɛn sab' kiri hɛm. A bɛn dɛ wąn tumusu bɪgi Obia Foru. Luku na nɛki fō ɛŋ.' Ɛn di Konum kɔm yɛre, so ɛ' kɔm bribi na boi̯ taki, a no lei̯. Ɛn so a bɛn meki a tro nąŋga hɛm umą pikin.

Mi a no soso ɭŋgi,
Dɪsi weri kamisa;
Mi na Papa umą,
Mi dɛ weri k(o)rosi.

66. Enfant Terrible: Killing Magic Bird.[2]

There was once a kingdom, and there was a Bird which screeched. If it screeched so, the whole kingdom was disturbed. The King announced that the person who killed the Bird would marry a daughter of his.

Anansi heard of this. He went to tell the King that he would kill the Bird. Let the King give him money to buy things, then he would go and kill it. When Anansi went he remained away two weeks. He killed a Pompom,[3] and brought [it]. The King did not believe him that this was the Bird which screeched so. The King said to him, said, if the Bird did not screech again within a month, then he could marry the girl. But before the month was up, the Bird screeched. Then the King sent for Anansi and had him imprisoned.

But in this kingdom there was a mother who was about to be delivered of a child. The day she gave birth to the child, she bore a male child. He wore a striped dress and had a shooting sack at his side. Inside the sack was a broken razor. When the child was born he talked at once. He said to his mother, said, 'Mother, give me a little water. Let me go in search of experience.' And the boy went away. But God

2 Told by 1. Compare Nigeria (Edo), Thomas (II) 19-21, No. 4; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 113-116, Nos. 89-90; Bahamas (predatory bird motif), Parsons (III) 125, No. 74. It is to be noted that this story partakes of the widely distributed type of tale of a child born with a knife and a hunting-sack, who talks and performs feats of magic and valor and who is endowed with great cunning. As an example, see Equilbecq, ii, 63ff. We found this type of tale very popular in Dahomey, and collected a number of versions of it.

3 *Icteridae*, Encyc., p. 372.

had sent him to come and kill the Bird, because the Bird was a bird who knew pure obia.[4] It was screeching black magic.[5] Well, not a person understood what the Bird was singing. But when the Bird sang, the kingdom shook. But the boy understood immediately what the bird was singing. The Bird was singing:

> Man Kwakwa, Man Kwakwa,[6]
> Ba Toto, I am the Kwemando.
> Man Kwakwa,
> Man Kwakwa.[7]

4 The great healing and protecting principle among the Suriname Negroes.
5 *Wisi*.
6 This 'is a very high *Kɔmfo* song'.
7 Song No. 123.

Then the boy answered at once, he said:

It is I, it is I, the Fiantoni,[1]
Ba Toto, I am the Kwemando,
Man Kwakwa.

Then the Bird became angry, because in all its existence no human being had known what it was singing. Then the boy went away in search of it. Six long years the boy travelled before he came where the Bird was. When he arrived, then he saw a big valley. There the Bird was living. It had a large kettle where it cooked its obia. When the boy came closer, then the Bird went into the obia kettle and took the obia. Then it stretched out its neck to dig out the boy's eyes. Then the boy took the razor and cut its neck.

Then he turned back with the Bird's neck, and he brought it to show the King. It was twelve years since the boy had started for the place where the Bird was. When he showed the King, the King did not believe him. The King said, it is already so many years since the Bird had not screeched, and it is now you come to tell you killed the Bird. Then he said to the King, said, let the King look in his book, if in such a year a mother had not been delivered of a child born with a striped dress. 'It is I whom God sent to kill the Bird, because it was a Bird which no one knew how to kill. It was a very powerful Obia Bird. Look at its neck.' And when the King heard this, he came to believe the boy that he did not lie. And so he had him marry his daughter.

I am not an ordinary Indian,[2]
Who wears a Kamisa;
I am a Papa woman,
I wear clothes.[3]

67.

Kɔni foru bɛn dɛ di a i bɛri obia. Dąn ala yari te na foru bari, dąn hoso den broko fadǫ' na ɩni na kɔndre. Ala den bom den kɔmopo na grǫ', fa na foru tǫŋgo bɛn trąŋga. Dąn 'a Konu fō na kɔndre a bɛgi, taki, suma sɑ kiri na foru ɛ̨ŋ sɑ kis' let' mɩndri fō hɛm kɔndre nąŋga na fɩs' fō ɛ̨ŋ umą pikin fō ɛ̨ŋ tro.

Dąn wan mama bɛn habi bɛre. A kɻs' wąn mąn pikin, na wan mąmąntɛ̨m. Na pikin a kɔm bɔro nąŋga wą' gǫ' saka nąŋga wąn mamiyo yapǫŋ a weri. Di a gibɔr', dąn na boi̯ bɩgin fō taki wantɛ.

1 *Na* as an emphatic particle occurs in Ashanti, Rattray (V) p. 181: - '*na*... emphatic, translated by "it is".'
2 Name for a Snake deity worshipped especially by women.
3 Song No. 192; an Earth spirit song, said by informant to be an *Iŋgi Kɔmfo*. The latter word is Ashanti for native priest.

A taki, ‘Mi mama, gi mi pikin watra meki mi drịŋgi. Mi mama, mi dɛ go lerɛ ɔndrofeni. Mi kɔm fõ na Obia-foru di dɛ bari. Mi dɛ wạn Obia-mạ'.’

Dạ' na pikin gowɛ. A waka l...ạŋga yari, te a i gro, a i bɪgi. Dạn, di a waka fa na foru bɛn dɛ bari, a dɛ yɛre fa na foru dɛ bari. Ma dɑti bɛn dɛ wạ' sịŋgi, di na foru sịŋgi:

Mạn Kwakwa,
Mạn Kwakwa,
Ba Toto, mi na Kwɛmạndo;
Mạn Kwakwa.

Dạ' na boị sịŋgi piki na foru baka:

Na mi, na mi, na Fiạntoni,
Ba Toto, mi na Kwɛmạndo;
Mạn Kwakwa.

Dạn na foru hati kɔm brɔn, dạ' mɔro laŋga ɛŋ nɛki. Dạ' i bari, a i sịŋgi naŋgạ hatibrɔn. Dạ' mɔro na kɔndre kɔm seki. Dạn sạ' bɛn dɛ na ɪni na gɔ' saka fõ na boị, wạn sɛbi-nefi. Dạn a puru na sebi-nefi na ɛŋ saka, dạn kɔti na foru nɛki. Dạn a lolo na nɛki, na nɛki bɛn l...ạŋga. Dạn waka dɔro na kɔndre pɛ na foru dɛ libi. Dạn a si dri bɪgi obia patu. Den no habi faị̂ya, ma dɛn dɛ kuku. Wạn habi rɛdi, wạn habi braka, wạn habi grün. Dɑti dɛ na obia di na foru bɛn bori. Dạn na boị teki ala. A luku sạ' na foru bɛn skrifi, dạn a teki ala. So dati meki na boị hɛm bɛn trɔn Obia-mạn fõ na kɔndrɛ. Dạn tyari na foru nɛki kɔ' gi Konum. Dạn Konum gi hɛm leti-mɪndri fõ hɛm kɔndre, naŋga ɛŋ umạ-pikin.

So dɑti boị̂ paŋya obia hɛri kɔndre. Pikin fõ na boị̂ tạ' Obia-mạ'.

67. Enfant Terrible: Killing Magic Bird: How Obia Spread.[4]

There was a wise bird that cooked obia. Then every year when the bird screeched, then houses in the kingdom were shattered. All the trees were uprooted by the force [of the sound] of the bird's tongue. Then the King of the kingdom begged, and said, he who would kill the bird would get half of his kingdom and the eldest of his daughters to marry.

Then there was a mother who was with child. She bore a son one morning. The child was born with a powder sack, and he wore a striped[5] dress. Immediately after he was born, then the boy

4 Told by 3. Compare Gold Coast (Ashanti), Herskovits, M. and F. (III) MS. No. A 13; Togo, Cardinall 27; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 216, No. 12, (Edo), Thomas (II) 19-21, No. 4.

5 In the Suriname bush, strips measuring from 2 to 2 1/2 inches in width are cut from trade cloth, and are sewed together into African strip-weaving patterns. Only men wear these, and usually on ceremonial occasions.

began to talk. He said, ‘Mother, give me a little water and let me drink. Mother, I am going to learn experience. I come for the Obia-bird which screeches. I am an Obia-man.’

Then the child went away. He traveled many years till he grew up, and was a man. Then, since he traveled while the bird was screeching, he heard what the bird was calling. But that was a song which the bird was singing:

> Man Kwakwa,
> Man Kwakwa,
> Ba Toto, I am the Kwemando;
> Man Kwakwa.

Then the boy sang in answer to the bird:

> It is I, it is I, the Fiantoni,
> Ba Toto, I am the Kwemando;
> Man Kwakwa.[1]

Then the bird became angry, then all the more did it stretch its neck. Then he screeched and he sang with anger. Then all the more did the kingdom shake. Then what was inside the boy's sack was a razor. Then he pulled the razor from the sack, and then he cut the bird's neck. Then he rolled up the neck, and the neck was long... Then he traveled to reach the kingdom where the bird lived. Then he saw three large obia pots. They had no fire,[2] but they were cooking. One had red, one had black, one had green (inside). That was the obia which the bird was cooking. Then the boy took all. He looked to see what the bird had written, then he took all. So that caused the boy to change into the Obia-man of that kingdom. Then he brought the bird's neck to the King. Then the King gave him half of his kingdom, and his daughter.

So that boy spread obia throughout the whole kingdom. The children of the boy's children were Obia-men.[3]

68.

Anąnsi pasa ala dệi Aboma. ‘Mati,’ Anąnsi ɑksi Aboma, ‘otɛm yu dɛ nyąm?’

‘Te Gadō wani.’

Na tra dệi, di Anąnsi dɛ pasa, Aboma grɑb' ɛ'.

68. Aboma Kills Anansi.[4]

Anansi passed the Aboma every day. ‘Friend,’ Anansi asked the Aboma, ‘when do you eat?’

‘When God wishes.’

The next day when Anansi was passing, the Aboma grabbed him.

1 Song No. 123.
2 This seems to be a special indication of magic in the mind of natives. When the city informants spoke of the sacred city of Dahomey in the interior of the Suriname bush they said that at Dahomey they know how to cook without fire.
3 I.e., the knowledge was passed on in the family.
4 Told by 7.

69.

Alata bɛn habi ɛŋ kɔndre. Anąnsi ɑksi alata, taki ɛfi a no wani habi grąnmąn. Alata piki Anąnsi taki, ‘Ya.’ Dąn a tyari wąn grąnmąn kɔm. 'A grąnmąn na puspusi. 'A grąnmąn kiri ala den alata. Nowąn no libi. Anąnsi kiri 'a grąnmąn, nowąn no libi abra.

69. Cat as King of Rats.[1]

The rats had their kingdom. Anansi asked the rats, he said, if they did not want to have a granman. The rats answered Anansi, they said, ‘Yes.’ Then he brought a granman. The granman was the cat. The granman killed all the rats. No one was left. Anansi killed the granman, and no one [at all] was left.

70. Anąnsi nąŋga Dagu.

Anąnsi no bɛn sab'-taki na sɔrt' Dagu mɔfo wroko. Dąn a i kari Dagu ‘mati P'kin-mɔfo.’ Ma nō, te den go nyąm makandra, ɛf' Dagu meki tu hop, a i kaba nąŋga ala na nyąm. Anąnsi dɛ prakseri taki, ‘Wɛ, fa Dagu mɔfo wroko so? Ɛŋ n'e si a bɪgi na dɔro, ma i nyąm so.’ Nō, den gi wąn fe̯ist. Dąn Puspusi kǫ' na tafra. Ma di Puspus' kɔm, Dagu nąŋga hɛm den no nyąm makandra. Fa-i-si Puspusi kɔm na Dagu se̯i, Dagu pir' hɛm tifi gi hɛm. Nō mō Anąnsi si fa Dagu mɔfo wroko. Nō, a taig' Dagu taki, ‘a̯i, mati, na soso mi bɛn dɛ kari yu 'mati P'kin-mɔfo', ma mi no bɛn sab'-taki na so yu mɔfo wroko. No so, no̯it' mi bɛn sɑ nyąm nąŋga yu makandra na tafra. Ma no Puspusi mi habi fō tak' tąŋgi. A mek' mi sab' tide tak' a so yu mɔfo wroko.’

Dɑt' meki tɛ Puspusi nąŋga Dagu kɔm 'a fes' wan preti nanyąm, Dagu dɛ pir' hɛm tifi gi Puspusi. Den n'e nyąm makandra. A kaba.

70. Why Cat and Dog are Enemies.[2]

Anansi did not know how Dog's mouth worked. Then he called Dog ‘Friend-little-mouth.’ But now, when they went to eat together, if Dog made but two swallows he finished all the food. Anansi studied, and said, ‘Well, how is it that Dog's mouth works so? It does not look big from the outside, but it devours so.’ Now they gave a feast. Then Cat came to the table. But now when Cat came, she and Dog did not eat together. Just as Cat came to Dog's side, Dog bared his teeth at her. Instantly he saw how Dog's mouth worked. Now he said to Dog, said, ‘Yes, friend, I have been calling you “Friend-little-mouth” for nothing, but I did not know that your mouth worked this way. Otherwise, I would never have eaten together with you at the table. But now I have to thank Cat. She made me see today that that is how your mouth works.’

And that is why when Cat and Dog come before a plate of food, Dog bares his teeth at Cat. They do not eat together. It is finished.

71.

Dagu no bɛn kąn waka na strati. Ala suma dę' kɔs' hɛm. Den kari hɛm fufurumąn. So a go na Gadō, a taki, ‘Masra Gadō, mi dɛ bɛgi yu f' i kąn kɛŋki na nɛm fō Dagu gi mi?’ Gadu Masra piki hɛm taki, ‘A bǫn. Mi sɑ si.’ So Masra teki Dagu, a tyari hɛm gowe nąŋga hɛm. A kiri wan fatu kau̯, a ta̯igi Dagu, a taki, ‘Meki wąn brabakɔtu, meki wi brabakɔtu na kau̯. Dąn mi sa libi yu fō wakti da kau̯ na brabakɔtu, ma no wąn pisi no mu mąŋkeri.’ Dagu piki Gadu, a taki, ‘Ya, mi Masra, mi sɑ sɔrgu fō hɛm

1 Told by 7. Compare this version with that of Van Cappelle 315-317, No. 11.
2 Told by 1.

bǫn.’ Ma di na faa̯iya bɛn dɛ brǫ' na na brabakɔtu, dɑn kaų ben de rǫn fatu. Dagu smeri na fatu, a bɛn dɛ lɛki hɛm tǫŋgo, bɪkasi a bɛn lɔstu wąn pisi fō na kaų. Ma a bɛn frede fō nyąm. Ma a wakti, wakti so tɛ... a no bɛn mąŋ hɔri mɔro. A luku lɔntu, a no si nowan suma, so a teki wąn pisi fō na meti, a i nyąm. Dąn a fɪgi hɛm mɔfo, so nowan suma no si hɛm.

Na tradẹi, di Gadō kɔm, Dagu aksi hɛm taki, ‘Masra, mi no luku na meti bǫn?’ Gado piki hɛm taki, ‘Ya, yu luku hɛm heri bǫn.’ Dagu taki, ‘Wɛ, dąn yu mu kɛ̨ŋki mi nɛ̨m.’ Masra piki hɛm taki, ‘Fō di yu luku na meti so bǫn, mi sa kɛ̨ŋki yu nɛ̨m gi yu.’ Dagu bɛn bre̯iti so tɛ... A taki, ‘Masra, yu de rɛkfardig ɛn bǫn fō kɛ̨ŋki mi nɛ̨m. Ma ta̯igi mi fa sɔrtu nem mi habi nō?’ So Gadu piki hɛm taki, ‘Yu no nem Dagu mɔro, ma yu nɛ̨m de So-no-mo, So-no-mo.’

So Dagu go na strati, den p'kin bo̯i na strati den bari gi hɛm, ‘Luku, na fufuru Dagu.’ Dagu piki den taki, ‘Mi kąn tyari yu go na krutu, bɪkasi mi no nɛ̨m Dagu mɔro. Mi nɛ̨m dɛ So-no-mo, So-no-mo.’ No mo den bo̯i bari, ‘a̯i, na So-no-mo, So-no-mo, dagu de nąŋga fufuru.’

71. Dog Asks for a New Name.[3]

Dog could not walk the streets. People insulted him. They called him thief. So he went to God and he said, ‘Please, Master God, can you change the name of Dog for me?’ So God, the Master, said to him, he said, ‘All right. I will see.’ So the Master took Dog and he took[4] him away with him. He killed a fat cow and he said to Dog, he said, ‘Make a barbecue and let us barbecue the cow. Then I will leave you to watch the cow while it is being barbecued, but not a single piece must be missing.’ Dog said to God, he said, ‘Yes, Master, I will look after it well.’ But when the fire began to barbecue the cow, then the cow ran fat. Dog smelt the fat, and he licked his tongue because he longed for a piece of the cow. But he was afraid to eat it. But he waited and he waited so till... he could keep back no longer. He looked about him and he saw no one, so he took a piece of the meat and he ate it. Then he wiped his mouth, so that no one should see him.

3 Told by 6. Compare Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 231-235, No. 59.

4 Wilkie (I) p. 30 in his discussion of verbs that have prepositional value, states that the verb *ke*, ‘to take’, is used for ‘with’. This sentence, then, should read, ‘So the Master took Dog with him’.

The next day when God came Dog asked him, said, ‘Master, did I not look after the meat well?’ God answered him, said, ‘Yes, you looked after it very well.’ Dog said, ‘Well, then you must change my name.’ The Master answered him, said, ‘Since you looked after the meat so well, I will change your name for you.’ Dog was happy so till... He said, ‘Master, you are just and good to change my name. But tell me, what sort of name do I have now?’ So God said to him, said, ‘You are not called Dog any more, but your name is Just-the-same-as-ever, Just-the-same-as-ever.’

So Dog went about the streets, and the small boys in the street called after him, ‘Look, the thieving Dog.’ The Dog answered them, said, ‘I can take you to court, because I am no longer called Dog. My name is Just-the-same-as-ever, Just-the-same-as-ever.’ At once the boys called. ‘Yes, Just-the-same-as-ever, Just-the-same-as-ever, dog lives by thieving!’

72.

Wąn dąnsi bɛn go dɛ. Dagu no bɛn hab' krosi fō go dąnsi. Dąn a len' wąn bruku na Anąnsi. Ma di den go dąnsi, na bruku bɛn p'kin fō Dagu. Te Dagu 'ɛ dansi, a i bradi ɛŋ futu. Na fɔs' trǫ', Anąnsi kari hɛm kɔm na wąn seį, a taki, ‘Mati, luk' bǫ', yu broko mi bruku.’ A libi hɛm. Di den dɛ dąnsi baka, Dagu bradi hɛm futu baka. Anąnsi kari hɛm baka, a taki, ‘Mati, luk' bǫn, yu broko mi bruku.’ Ma di fō dri trǫ' di Dagu bradi hɛm futu baka, nō mō Anąnsi kis' na bruku, hari puru na Dagu sɪkin.

Dati meki te tidɛ Dagu dɛ waka 'a soso sɪkin.

72. Why Dog Goes About Naked.[1]

A dance was going to be held. Dog had no clothes in which to go dancing. Then he borrowed a pair of breeches from Anansi. But when they went to dance, the breeches were too small for Dog. When Dog danced he spread his feet. The first time Anansi called him aside, and he said, ‘Friend, look out, you are tearing my breeches.’ He left him. When they danced again, Dog spread his feet again. Anansi called him again, and he said, ‘Friend, look out, you are tearing my breeches.’ But, when for the third time Dog spread his feet again, Anansi suddenly caught the breeches and pulled[2] them from Dog's body.

That is why to this day Dog goes about naked.

73.

Dagu taki, ɛŋ no de meki aleį̂isi, a i p'sa ɛŋ. Nō, Anąnsi no ferstąn i. A taki, ‘Mi mat' Dagu, sa wą' tak' dɑti?’ Dagu taį̂g' ɛŋ taki, ‘Dɑt' wą' taki, te wą' suma gi yu wan preti nanyąm, yu n'e nyą' ala, dą' na n'nyąm dɛ tya dɔro a no dɛ na yu. Yu no si mi, te wą' suma gi mi n'nyąm, mi 'ɛ nyą' alamala?’

1 Told by 1. Compare U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 104-105, No. 102.
2 Lit., ‘Anansi caught the breeches, hauled, pulled the dog skin’; a good example of the use of a series of verbs to express a single action.

73. Dog's Riddle.[3]

Dog said he did not let rice get by him. Now Anansi did not understand him. He said, ‘Friend Dog, what does that mean?’ Dog said to him, said, ‘That means when someone gives you a plate of food, and you do not eat all, then when the food is carried outside, it isn't yours. Haven't you noticed, when someone gives me food I eat all of it?’

74.

Anąnsi taa̰ig' Konu taki, Konum no mu' meki Dagu kǫ' ın' 'a 'oso, bika' Dagu 'ɛ f'furu. Ɛn Konu taa̰ig' Anąnsi taki, ‘A no tru.

3 Told by 1.

Dagu n'e fufuru. So mɛn' trǫŋ Dagu kǫ' dia.' Anąnsi tak', 'Sooo... Wɛ, mi Konu, a di a no si sani f'a fufuru, mek' a n'e f'furu na yu 'oso.' A taig' Konu taki, 'Ɛf' yu wan' si, pɔt wą' kan mɛrki na tap' i trapu, dąn yu sɑ si ɛf' a n'e f'furu.'

Konum pɔt' 'a mɛrki. Tamara, Dag' 'ɛ kɔm. Fa na Dagu si 'a mɛlki, a drįŋg' 'a mɛrki, no mo Konum kari ęŋ, a taki, 'Noiti mi sab'-taki na so yu fufuru. Anąnsi bɛn taig' mi fō' yu, ma mi no bɛn b'ribi ęŋ. Ma tidɛ mi si taki yu na wą' f'furuman.'

So Konu no fertrō dagu nąŋga mɛrki mɔro; a sab'-taki, ɛf' dagu si mɛrki, a no ką' p'sa ęŋ. A mus' drįŋg' ęŋ.

74. Anansi Sets a Trap for Dog.[4]

Anansi said to the King that the King must not let Dog come to his house, because Dog steals. And the King said to Anansi,

4 Told by 1.

he said, ‘It is not true. Dog does not steal. Dog has been here many times.’ Anansi said, ‘So... Well, my King, he hasn't seen anything in your house to steal, that is why he has not stolen in your house.’ He said to the King, he said, ‘If you want to see, put a can of milk at the head of the stairs, then you will see if he does not steal.’

The King put the milk there. The next day Dog came. When Dog saw the milk, he drank it. At once the King called him, and he said, ‘I never knew that you steal. Anansi told me about you, but I did not believe him. But today I see that you are a thief.’

So the King no longer trusted Dog with milk; he knew that if Dog were to see milk, he could not pass it by. He would have to drink it.

75. Anąnsi nąnga Tigri.

Anąnsi go ɛ' tɛmre. Ma fa a i tɛmre, dąn Tigri kɔm bɛgi ɛŋ taki ɛf' a no ką' tek' wąn p'kin fõ ɛŋ kɔ' ler' wroko. Anąnsi tak', ‘A bǫn.’ A piki, ‘Tigri ką' kɔm ler' wroko.’ Anąnsi, nõ, sɛn' ɛŋ, mek' a krɛŋ go he̯i a tap' na 'oso. Dąn d'a krɛŋ, Anąnsi pus' ɛŋ trowe. Di a fadǫ̃', a brok' ɛŋ 'anu. Ma di a go na 'oso, a ta̯igi ɛŋ papa taki, na Anąnsi bɛn pus' ɛŋ. Ɛŋ papa taki, ‘Tą', mi go ler' Anąnsi.’ Anąnsi bɛn go kɪbri.

Wąn de̯i Tigri kɔm, ɛ' mit' Anąnsi. A taki, ‘Yu, Anąnsi, a no yu bɛn trowe mi p'kin brok' ɛŋ anu?’ Anąnsi taki, ‘No, no, mi na wą' tra Anąnsi. Na di trowe, 'ɛm dat' na tɛmre Anąnsi, ɛn mi na smɛt' Anąnsi.’ Tigri taki, ‘Fa de smɛti? Mi wan' kǫ' go luku fa yu dɛ smɛti.’ Di den go, Anąnsi mɛk' fa̯ia, d'a ta̯ig' Tigri taki, ‘Mi 'ɛ go mek' dɪsi rɛdi. Dąn te a rɛdi, dąn mi a go sɔri yu fa a dɛ smɛti.’

Ma bufɔsi na ɪsri rɛdi, dąn wą' ale̯in fadõ', dąn Tigri kǫ' nati. Dąn di Tigri nati, a taki ɛŋ koru. Dąn Anąnsi ɑksi 'em ta̯igi, ‘Yu no wani mek' yu warąŋ nąŋga na ɪsri?’ Tigri tak', ‘A bon.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Wɛ', i si, dre̯i yu sɛrefi kǫ' dɪs' se̯i, dan mi gõ süt' na ɪsri gi' yu, dan yu heri s'kin sɑ kǫ' warąŋ.’ Tigri bɛn dǫ'. A dre̯i 'a baka-se̯i gi' Anąnsi. Anąnsi süt' na ɪsri go na baka-se̯i. Tigri fadǫ', a dɛdɛ.

So Tigri no 'ab' ɔndrofeni, bika' fur' trǫ' Anąnsi a pre' ɛŋ trɪki. A kaba.

75. Anansi Injures Apprentice Tiger: Kills Father Tiger.[1]

Anansi went to do carpentry. But as he was doing carpentry, then Tiger came to ask[2] him if he could not have one of his children come and learn the work. Anansi said, ‘All right.’ He answered, ‘Tiger can come learn the work.’ Anansi now sent him to climb high on the roof of the house. Then as he climbed, Anansi pushed and tripped him. When he fell down, he broke his hand. But when he went home, he said to his father, said, it was Anansi who had pushed him. His father said, ‘Wait, I am going to teach Anansi.’ Anansi went and hid.

One day Tiger came and met Anansi. He said, ‘You Anansi, isn't it you who threw down my child, and broke his hand?’ Anansi said, ‘No, no, I am another Anansi. He who threw him down is the carpenter Anansi, and I am the smith Anansi.’ Tiger said, ‘How does one forge? I want to come and watch how you forge.’ When they went,

1 Told by 1.
2 Lit., ‘beg’.

Anansi made a fire, then he said to Tiger, said, ‘I am going to make this red. Then when it is red, then I am going to show you how one forges.’

But before the iron was red, then the rain came down, and Tiger became wet. Then when Tiger was wet, he said he was cold. Then Anansi asked him, said, ‘Don't you want me to make you warm with the iron?’ Tiger said, ‘All right.’ Anansi said, ‘Well, you see, turn yourself about on this side, and then I am going to shoot the iron into you, and then your whole body will grow warm.’ Tiger was stupid. He turned his backside to Anansi. Anansi shot the iron into his backside. Tiger fell down and died.

So Tiger does not learn by experience,[3] because many times Anansi had played him tricks. It is finished

3 Lit., ‘does not have experience’.

76. Todo nąŋga Sneki.

Mati Sneki nąŋga mati p'kin Todo bɛn dɛ bɪgi mati. Dę' a preị makandra. Ma nō, wąn deị dąn p'kin Sneki go na 'oso, a taị̯igi ęŋ m'ma taki, ‘'Aŋ̱gri kir' mi.’ Na m'ma taị̯g' ęŋ taki, ‘Mi n'abi nyąm fō gi yu. Bika' na dɔm f'yu sɛrefi, yi 'ɛ tek' yu s'ti mɔfo ɛn mek' pre sani.’ No mo p'kin Sneki nō aksi ęŋ mama taki, ‘San na mi s'ti mɔfo?’ 'A m'ma taki, ‘Yu dɔm yu! Yu no si taki Todo na wi s'ti mɔfo? So te a kɔm pre 'ąŋga yu, yu m'ɛ swari ęŋ. No so, mi n'e go g' i nyą' mɔro, bika' ala mąn mu' suku f' i sɛrefi. Gadō fō ala, ala suma fō den sɛrefi.’

76. Enemy Playmates: Snake and Toad.[1]

Friend Snake and friend little Toad were great friends. They played together. Now one day, when little Snake went home, he said to his mother, said, ‘Hunger is killing me.’ His mother said to him, said, ‘I have no food to give you. Because of your own stupidity, you take your favorite morsel, and make of him a plaything.’ At once little Snake asked his mother, he said, ‘What is my favorite morsel?’ The mother said, ‘You stupid, you! Don't you see that Toad is our favorite food? So when he comes to play with you, you must swallow him. Otherwise, I am not going to give you anything more to eat, because all men must look out for themselves. God for all, all people for themselves.’

77. Pikį Puspusi nąnga Pikį Alata.

Pikį' Puspusi nąŋga pikį' Alata bɛn dɛ bɪgi mati. Ala dei̯ dɛm dɛ go prei̯ makandra. Ma Alata no bɛn sabi-taki ɛŋ na Puspusi s'ti-mɔfo, en Puspusi sɛrɛfi no bɛn sabi-taki Alata na ɛŋ s'ti-mɔfo.

Ma wąn dei̯ di Pikį' Alata kɔ' na 'oso, ɛŋ mama ɑksi ɛŋ taki, ‘Nąŋga suma yu de prei̯?’ A taki, ‘Nąŋga mati pikin Puspusi.’ Ɛn na sɛrefi tɛ' di Puspusi bɛn gowe na 'oso, ɛŋ mama ɑksi ɛŋ taki, ‘Nąŋga suma yu dɛ prei̯?’ A taki, ‘Naŋga pikin Alata.’ No, Alata mama tai̯g' gi ɛm taki, ‘Yu no mu' pre' nąŋga pikį' Puspusi mɔro, bika' yu na hɛm s'ti mɔfo.’ Ɛn da sɛrefi yuru, tu, mama Puspusi bɛn dɛ tai̯g' gi' pikin Puspusi taki, ‘Yu dɔ' mą' yu, yu no sabi taki na yu s'ti mɔfo? Tɛ yu de prei̯ nąŋga hɛm, yu muso naki 'ɛm.’

Na tamara, di dem kɔ' na strati, no mõ pikin Puspusi kari mat' Alata taki, ‘Yu n'e kɔm pre nąŋga mi mɔro?’ No mõ pikin Alata piki 'ɛm taki, ‘ai̯, bai̯ya, bɪgi suma dɛ na yu kɔndre, ɛn bɪgi suma dɛ na mi kɔndre tu.’

77. Enemy Playmates: Kitten and Rat.[2]

Kitten and little Rat were great friends. Every day they went to play together. But Rat did not know that he was Cat's favorite food, and Kitten himself did not know that Rat was his favorite food.

But one day, when little Rat came home, his mother asked him, said, ‘With whom do you play?’ He said, ‘With friend Kitten.’ And at the same time, when Kitten went home, his mother asked him, said, ‘With whom do you play?’ He said, ‘With little Rat.’ Now Rat's mother said to him, said, ‘You must not play with Kitten any more, because you are his favorite food.’ And the same hour, also, mother Cat was saying to Kitten, saying, ‘You stupid fellow, don't you know that he is your delicacy? When you play with him, you must strike him.’

The next day, no sooner did they come on the street than Kitten called friend Rat, said, ‘Aren't you coming to play with me any more?’ At once little Rat answered him, said, ‘Yes, brother, there are wise people[3] in your village, and there are wise people in my village, too.’

1 Told by 1. Compare Sierra Leone, Koelle 154-156, No. 1 (Fables); Nigeria (Ekoi), Talbot (III) 386; Cameroons (Bulu), Krug 118-119, No. 16, Schwab (II) 431-432, No. 4; Angola, Chatelaine 191-195, No. 24. For tales explaining enmity between animals, see Dahnhardt, iii, 324ff.

2 Told by 1. Comparative references as for the preceding tale.

3 Lit., ‘big people’.

78.

Babų' bɛn leri Dagu fō krįŋ na bɔm. Ma nō, pikin Dagu 'ɛ taį̀g' Babų' tak', ‘Ɛf' yu leri mi papa nąŋga mi mama krįŋ bom, awasi hau̯ he̯i yu go, mi papa a i kɔm kɪs' yu.’ Babų' taki, ‘Dɑt' no dɛ nɔtį', ɛf' mi leri hɛm.’ So pikį' Dagu taį̀g' Babų' taki, ‘Yu sabi sąn'? Ɛf' yu wani si wąn sani, ba̯i tu batra sopi. Dan yu tek' wąn bat'a watra, dan yu kari mi papa nąŋga mi mama kɔm, mek' den kɔm drį̀ŋgi sopi.’ Ma Babų' bɛn leri Dagu fō krįŋ na brabakotu kaba.

Ma di den kɔm fō drɻŋgi, pikin Dagu taa̯igi Babų' taki, ‘Te ų̀n dɛ go drɻŋgi, daą̀n yu mu' drɻŋgi 'a watra, daą̀' i gi den na sopi, daą̀' yu sɑ si.’

Di den drɻŋgi, Dagu no sabi-taki na soso watra Babų' bɛn drɪngi. Daą̀n Dagu druŋgu. Nō mō Dagu taki, ‘Mati Babų', yu si, fa yu dɛ leri mi fō krɛ̨ŋ na bom, te wi miti 'a busi, alowasi yu go te na noko fō na bom, mi dɛ kɔm kɪs' yu.’

No mō Babų' yɛre, a taki Dagu, taa̯igi, ‘So? Wɛ', a bǫ'. Tɛ na brakɔtō no mō yu sɑ krɛ̨ŋ go. Meki suma naki nąŋga tɪki.’

Odo: Dagu bɛn wani teki Babų' ea̯igi fatu, baka Babų'.

78. Baboon Teaches Dog to Climb.[4]

Baboon was teaching Dog to climb trees. But now little Dog said to Baboon, said, ‘If you teach my father and my mother to climb trees, no matter how high you go, my father will come after you.’ Baboon said, ‘That is nothing, if I myself teach him.’ So little Dog said to Baboon, said, ‘You know what? If you want to see something, buy two bottles of liquor. Then you take one bottle of water, and you invite my father and mother to drink some liquor with you.’ But Baboon had already taught Dog to climb to the barbecue rack.

4 Told by 1. Compare Santo Domingo, Andrade 224-225, No. 172.

But when they came to drink, little Dog said to Baboon, said, ‘When yon start drinking, yon must drink the water, and you must give them the liquor. Then you will see.’

When they were drinking, Dog did not know that Baboon was drinking plain water. Then Dog got drunk. At once Dog said, ‘Friend Baboon, you see, since you are teaching me to climb trees, when we meet in the bush, no matter if you go to the very treetops, I will come and catch you.’

No sooner did Baboon hear [this] than he said to Dog, said, ‘So? Well, all right. You will climb only to [as high as] the barbecue rack. Let people beat you with sticks.’

Proverb: Dog wanted to take Baboon's own fat to bake Baboon.

79. Dagu nąŋga Babų'.

Dagu nąŋga Babų' bɛn dɛ bɪgi mati. Ma nō, Babų̄n dɛ leri Dagu fō krɪ̨ŋ na brabakɔto. Ma, dɛ a leri ɛ̨ŋ, dąn wą' mati f'ɛ̨ŋ taa̯ig' ɛ̨ŋ taki, a no mu' leri Dagu fō krɪ̨ŋ na hea̯i. Bika' a bɛn wani fō leri Dagu fō krɛ̨ŋ na bom.

So na mati taa̯ig' gi' ɛ̨ŋ taki, meki den drɪ̨ŋgi sopi wąn dea̯i, dąn a sɑ si. Di dɛm drɪ̨ŋgi kaba, no mō Dagu bɪgɪn taki, ‘Mat' Babų', ler' mi krɛ̨ŋ bom, mi 'ɛ go sɔri yu!’ No mō Babų yeri dati, a taki, ‘Soooo? A bǫ'. Te na brabakɔto no mo i sɑ krɪ̨ŋ.’

Odo: Te opo wąn suma luku dąnsi, a opo yu luku feti.

79. Baboon Teaches Dog to Climb.[1]

Dog and Baboon were great friends. But now Baboon was teaching Dog to climb to the barbecue rack. But, while he was teaching him, then a friend of his said to him, said, he must not teach Dog to climb high. Because he had wanted to teach Dog to climb a tree.

So the friend said to him, said, have them drink rum some day, and then he would see. When they had finished drinking, at once the Dog began to speak, ‘Friend Baboon, teach me to climb a tree, and I will show you!’ No sooner did the Baboon hear this than he said, ‘So? All right. You will climb only to [as high as] the barbecue rack.’

Proverb: When you pick up someone to watch a dance, he picks you up to watch a fight.

80. Krabita nąŋga Anąnsi.

Anąnsi pɔt' faa̯iya gi kerki. Konu pɔt' taki suma kɪs' na suma de pɔt' na faa̯iya a sa kɪs' bǫn mɔni.

Anansi go taa̯igi Konu taki ɛ̨ŋ sɑ kis' na suma de pɔt' na faa̯iya, ma Konu mu gi wąn friari hoso, dan ala pokumąn kąn tyari poku kɔm.

Wɛ nō, Krabita bɛn sab' prea̯i fiɔl. Dąn Anąnsi go, a taa̯ig' Krabita taki, ‘Mek' wi kari suma mɔro, dąn wi go na friari woso nąŋga wi poku.’ Dąn fɪs' den go, dąn a leri Krabita wan sɻŋgi, taki ɛ̨ŋ go sɻŋgi, taki:

1 Told by 1.

Suma brǫn Konu kerki?

Dąn Krabita mu dɛ piki nąŋga fiɔl taki:

Na mi, na mi,
Brɔn Konu kerki.
Na mi brǫn Konu kerki.

Ɛn di den go bɪgin fō preị na Konum mɔfo dɔro, no mo Krabita bɪgin preị:

Den no leị;
Na mi
Brǫn Konu kerki.

Dąn wantrǫ' Konum bɛn yɛre. A bɛn kis' Krabita go srotu.

A no Krabita bɛn brǫn na kirki, ma Anąnsi. Ma Anąnsi pur' ɛŋ srefi, ɛn so Krabita tek' 'a strafu.

80. Incriminating Song.[2]

Anansi put fire to the church. The King announced that whoever caught the person who started the fire would get good money.

Anansi went to say to the King that he would catch the person who started the fire, but the King must give a birthday party and then all the drummers can bring their drums.

Well now, Goat knew how to play the violin. Then Anansi went and said to Goat, said, ‘Let us call other people, and then we will come to the birthday party with our drums.’ Then before they went, he taught Goat a song he was to sing, which went:

Who burnt the King's church?

2 Told by 1. Compare Hausa, Tremearne (I) 352-353, No. 11; Lamba, Doke 71-75, No. 31; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 145-146, No. 170 I-III; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 6-7, No. 4.

Goat was to answer with the violin, saying:

It is I, it is I,
Who burnt the King's church.[1]
It is I burnt the King's church.

No sooner did they begin to play before the King's doorway than Goat began to play:

They do not lie;
It is I
Who burnt the King's church.

Then at once the King heard. He caught Goat and imprisoned him.

It was not Goat who had burnt the King's church, but Anansi. But Anansi cleared himself, and so Goat took the punishment.

81. Anąnsi nąŋga Bobo. -

Wɛ no, Anąnsi go fufuru Konu 'ɔrloisi. Dąn Konu no sabi suma fufur' ɛm. Anąnsi go taị̂gi Konu taki, ɛfu Konu wani paị̂ ɛŋ, 'ɛm sɑ kɪsi na fufurōmą'. Ma Konu mu gi wą' dąnsi, dąn na suma mɔfo sɛrefi sɑ taki na ɛŋ fufurō na hɔrloisi.

Anąnsi go kari Bobo taki, 'Kɔm, meki wi go dąnsi na Konu 'oso. Ma mi dɛ go gi yu wąn 'ɔrloisi fō yu pɔti na yu saka. Dąn te wi dɛ dansi, dąn mi dɛ go sɻŋgi, taki,

Kɔnu 'ɔrloisi lasi,
Sɔntɛ na Bobo teki ɛŋ.'

Dą' yu mu' de piki, "Yɛs, yɛs, Ba Anąnsi".'

Ɛn so, di dem bɪgin fō dansi, di Anąnsi sɻŋgi na sɻŋgi, nō mō Bobo piki ɛm leị̂ki fa a bɛn taị̂gi 'ɛm. Ɛn wą' trɔ̨' Konu meki dem kɪsi Bobo, go serotō ɛŋ, taki na ɛŋ na fufurōmą'. Ɛn so Anąnsi kɪsi na mɔni, a gowɛ.

81. Incriminating Song.[2]

Well now, Anansi went to steal the King's watch. Then the King did not know who stole it. Anansi went to tell the King to say, if the King wanted to pay him, he would catch the thief. But the King must give a dance, then the person's mouth will itself tell that he stole the watch.

Anansi went to call Bobo,[3] and he said, 'Come, let us go and dance at the King's house. But I am going to give you a watch to put into your pocket. Then when we dance, then I am going to sing, and say,

"The King's watch is lost,
Perhaps Bobo took it."

Then you must say, "Yes, yes, Ba Anansi".'

1 Song No. 122. The same words are found to the tale collected by Parsons in the Sea Islands (II, 145).
2 Told by 1.
3 Bobo, 'the fool'. Compare *Agbogbo*, Dahomean toucan who plays role of fool.

And so, when they began to dance, and when Anansi sang the song, at once Bobo answered him as he had told him. And at once the King had them catch Bobo and lock him up, saying it was he who was the thief. And so Anansi got the money, and he went away.

82.

Anąnsi bɛn dɛ waka go, a nyą' nąŋga dę' tra meti. Ma no, a i taa̯ig' den tra met' taki, te wą' dei̯ ɛŋ sɛrefi a go mek' den kɔ̨' nyą' nąŋga ɛŋ. Ma te den p'sa, ɛf' den yɛri ɛŋ tak' taki, dan dę' no mu' kɔ̨m, bika' na wroko ɛŋ wroko. Ma ɛf' den yɛri ɛŋ tą' tiri, den ką' kɔm.

So wą' deį̣ den meti 'ɛp'sa, dąn den yɛri Anąnsi tak' taki. Dę' n'e go na ɩni, ma ala dɑti te Anąnsi dɛ nyam, dą' i tak' taki, dąn den meti dę' dɛ̨ŋk' taki, na wroko a i wroko. Dan dę' n'e go na ɩni.

Ma wą' deį̣ dę' meti 'ɛ p'sa, dan dę' yɛri a i tak' taki. Ma den taki, ‘Tidɛ, wi mu' go luku są' Anąnsi 'ɛ du.’ Di den go na ɩni, dę' go mit' Anąnsi dɛ, a nyąm. Dɛn dę' taki, ‘Mat' Anąnsi, kaba yu bɛn taį̣g' ụn' taki, te yu 'ɛ tak' taki, dan yi 'ɛ wroko, ma te yu tą, tiri, dą' yi 'ɛ nyam. So ala deį̣, te wi 'ɛ p'sa, da' wi 'ɛ yeri y'ɛ taki.’ Nō mō Anąnsi taį̣g' den taki, ‘Wɛ, mati, na te mi mɔfo a meki 'tya-kɔm, tya-kɔm', na na wroko mi 'ɛ wroko? Wɛ, tɛ yu de nyąm, yu mɔfo ɛ wroko, ɛn te y'ɛ wroko, yu mɔfo na tak' taki.’

82. Grudging Hospitality.[4]

Anansi went about and ate with the other animals. But now he said to the other animals, said, one day he himself was going to have them come and eat with him. But when they passed, if they heard him talk to himself, then they must not come in, because he would be working at his work. But if they heard him remain silent, then they could come.

4 Told by 1. Compare Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 11, No. 6 and 61, No. 57a.

So one day the animals were passing, and they heard Anansi talking to himself. They did not go in, but all the same when Anansi ate, then he talked to himself so that the animals thought that he was working at his work. Then they did not go in.

But one day the animals were passing, and they heard him talking to himself. Now they said, ‘Today we must go and see what Anansi is doing.’ When they went in they found Anansi eating. They said, ‘Friend Anansi, didn't you say to us that when you talk to yourself you are at work, but when you are silent, then you are eating? So every day when we passed, we heard you talking.’ At once Anansi said to them, said, ‘Well friends, when my mouth says “tya-kom, tya-kom”,[1] is it not work at which I am working? Well, when you eat your mouth is working, and when you are working your mouth talks-talks.’

83. Anąnsi nąŋga Sɛkrepatu.

Anąnsi bɛn friyari. A 'ɛ gi wąn fe̯ist. A kari ala meti fō kɔm nyąm nąŋga ɛ̨ŋ. Nō, di ala den meti kɔm, Sɛkrepatu kɔm tu. Ma Anąnsi no bɛn wani fō Sɛkrepatu kɔm nyąm na tafra. Bifɔ' den nyąm, nō mō Anąnsi taki, ala meti di dɛ go nyąm mu wasi den hanu fɔs' den kɔm na tafra. Nō Sɛkrepatu go wasi ɛ̨ŋ hanu, ma fa a dɛ waka fō kɔm baka, hɛm hanu dɛ doti baka. A wasi hɛm hanu somɛni trǫ', ma a no bɛn ką' waka tra fasi. So a no nyąm na tafra.

Sɛkrepatu gowɛ. A taki, ‘Anąnsi kɪsi mi, ma mi dɛ go kɪsi hɛm baka.’

Sɛkrepatu nō friyari. A sɛni kari ala meti fō kɔm na friyar' hoso, kɔm nyąm nąŋga hɛm. A sabi taki Anąnsi de go kɔm tu. Dati meki a gi na fe̯ist na ɔndro watra, bika' a sab' taki Anąnsi lɛkti, a no ką' kɔm na ɔndro watra. Dati mek' a du so fō a kąn kis' Anąnsi. Nō, di ala den meti bɪgɪn fō gō, Anąnsi no mąŋ go na ɔndro watra. A go, a leni wą' bruku nąŋga yas, dąn a weri. A pɪki furu stǫ', pɔti na ɪni hɛm saka fō a kąn kɔm hɛbi. Ma nō, di a hɛbi kaba, a saka go na ɔndro watra. Di tafra klari, ala suma mu' kɔm nyąm. Nō mō Sɛkrepatu luku, a si taki Anąnsi bɛn pɔti stǫ' na ɪni hɛm saka. Nō mō Sɛkrepatu ta̯igi den alamal' taki, ala den meti, taki, bifō den kɔm na tafra, ala suma mu' pur' den yas. So Anąnsi kɔm skre̯iki tɛ a yɛrɛ so. A prakser' taki, ‘Ɛf' mi pur' mi yas, dąn mi go opo na tapu baka, bika' na na stǫ' di dɛ na ɪni mi saka, na dɑti dɛ hɔr' mi.’ Nowa, Anąnsi no mąŋ fō puru ɛ̨ŋ yas. Di Anąnsi kɔm na se̯i tafra, nō mō Sɛkrepatu ta̯ig' hɛm taki, ‘Mi

1 ‘Bring, bring’, also sound imitating the working of the jaws.

no tạigi yu taki, ala suma mu puru hɛm yas? Yu habi fō puru yu yas. Di yu bɛn gi yu feẹist, yu bɛn du sạ' yu wani. Di mi gi fō mi, mi kạn du sạ' mi wani, tu.'

So Anạnsi puru hɛm yas. Fa a pur' hɛm yas, nō mō a opo kɔm na tapu watra. A no kɪsi nạnyạm fō nyam. Na gridi di a bɛn dɛ gridi mek' dɑti pasa ɛ̣ŋ. So tɛ yu den nyam, yu mu' nyạm nạŋga suma. A kaba.

83. Grudging Hospitality: the Feast on the Mountain and the Feast under the Water.[2]

Anansi had a birthday. He was giving a feast. He invited all the animals to come and eat with him. Now, since all the animals came, Tortoise came, too. But Anansi did not want Tortoise to come and eat at the table. Before they went to eat, Anansi suddenly said, all the animals who were going to eat, must wash their hands before they came to the table. Now Tortoise went to wash his hands, but as he walked back, his hands were dirty again. He washed his hands many, many times, but he could not walk any other way. So he did not eat at the table.

Tortoise went away. He said, 'Anansi caught me, but I am going to get even with him.'

Tortoise now had a birthday. He sent to call all the animals to come to his birthday party to eat with him. He knew that Anansi was going to come, too. That is why he was giving the feast under the water, because he knew that Anansi was light, and could not come under the water. That is why he did this, so that he might catch Anansi. Now when all the animals began to arrive, Anansi could not go under the water. He went and borrowed a pair of breeches and a coat, and he dressed himself in that. He picked up many stones, and put them in his pockets, so that he might become heavy. But now when he was heavy enough, he went down into the water. When the table was set, all were to come and eat. All at once Tortoise looked, and saw that Anansi had put stones in his pockets. Immediately Tortoise said to them all, said, before they came to the table, all the people should take off their coats. So Anansi was troubled when he heard this. He studied, and said,

2 Told by 1. Compare Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 458-9, fable No. 59; Nago (Dahomey?), Trautmann 34-35; Cameroons, Krug 114, No. 11; Gabun, Nassau (I) 63-65, Mpongwe No. 13, (Pahouin), Roblin 85, No. 2; Lamba, Doke 229, No. 128. For another Suriname version see Van Cappelle 314, No. 10.

‘If I take off my coat, then I am going to come up on top again, because the stones which are in my pockets hold me.’ Now Anansi could not take off his coat. When Anansi came to the table, Tortoise at once said, ‘Didn't I tell you that all must take off their coats? You have to take off your coat. When you gave a feast you did what you liked. When I give mine I can do what I like, too.’

So Anansi took off his coat. No sooner did he take it off, than he rose to the surface of the water. He did not get any food to eat. Greed[1] caused this to happen to him. So when you eat, you must eat with others. It is finished.

84.

Anąnsi bɛn gi wąn bɪgi tafra. Ma no bɛn wan' mek' Sɛkrepat' kɔm nyąm. Ma di a bɛn wan' kari ala meti, a bɛn mus' kari Sɛkrekatu, tu. Ma a tak', ‘Mi sɑ sɔrgu taki na boi̯ Sɛkrepatu no nyąm wąn pisi fō mi nyąm.’

So Anąnsi sɛn' piki ala den meti, taki so wąn dei̯ hɛm go habi wąn bɪgi tafra, na na tapu bergi. So na dei̯ bɛn dɔro. Ala meti bɛn kɔm na makandra fō kɔm nyam nąŋga Anąnsi. Di na tafra bɛn sɛti kaba, Anąnsi taki, ‘Wi dɛ go nyąm, ma 'fɔsi wi nyąm, ala suma hanu mu' krįn.’ So Anąnsi ɑksi mat' Kɔnkɔni, a tak', ‘Mat' Kɔnkɔni, yu na wąn kɔnimąn, so waka luku gi mi ɛf' na wąn suma no habi santi.’

Kɔnkɔni waka lɔntu na ala meti. Fa a dɔro na Sɛkrepatu, a tak', ‘Mat' Sɛkrepatu, yu mu' go wasi yu hanu, bikasi yu hanu a santi.’ Sɛkrepatu saka, a go wasi hɛm hanu. A kɔm baka na tafra. Ma na heri tɛm, te a bɛn gowe, bikasi a no de waka hesi, den bɛn nyąm lɛt' mɪndri fō na nąnyąm. Di a sidǫ' baka na tafra, Anąnsi tak', ‘Mati Sɛkrepatu, mɛk' mi shi ɛf' yu hanu krįn.’ Sɛkrepat' sɔri hɛm ɛŋ hanu, ma a bɛn furu nąŋga santi. Anąnsi taki, ‘Mat' Sɛkrepatu, na kɔndisi dɛ, ala suma hanu mu' krįn, so yu mu' go wasi yu hanu baka. Yu no ką nyąm.’

Sɛkrepatu hatibrǫ'. A gowe na hoso.

So Sɛkrepatu, nō, sɛni bɔskopu na ala meti, taki hɛm habi bɪgi tafra, ma na ɔndro watra. 'A yurtɛm, di na dei̯ kɔm fō na tafra, Anąnsi bɛn kɪsi bɔskop' fō kɔm tu. Ma Anąnsi taki, ‘Na ɔndro watra mi no kąn go, bikasi mi lɛgti.’ So Anąnsi weri wąn bɪgi yas, ɛn a lai̯ lɔlto na ɪni na yas saka. Ma yurtɛm, di den kɔm na tafra, Sɛkrepatu taki, ‘Wi dɛ go nyąm makandra, ma ala suma mu' pur' den yas.’ So Anąnsi bɛn habi fō pur' hɛm yas tu. Fa Anąnsi pur' hɛm yas, 'a so a kɔm na tapsei̯ baka.

1 Lit., ‘The greed that he had been greedy (of), etc.’

So Sɛkrepatu leri Anąnsi fa a no bǫ' fō są' yu no wani na ɩni yu saka, yu no mu' pɔt' hɛm gi mati.

84. Grudging Hospitality: the Feast on the Mountain and the Feast under the Water.[2]

Anansi was giving a big feast. But he did not want to let Tortoise come and eat. But, since he wanted to call all the animals, he had to call Tortoise, too. But he said, ‘I will see to it [that] that boy Tortoise does not eat a morsel of my food.’

So Anansi went to tell all the animals that on such and such a day, he would have a big feast on top of the mountain. So the day arrived. All the animals came together to eat with Anansi. When the table was set, Anansi said, ‘We are going to eat, but before we eat, everybody's hands must be clean.’ So Anansi asked friend Rabbit, he said, ‘Friend Rabbit, you are a clever fellow, so look around for me if someone hasn't sand.’

Rabbit walked among all the animals. As he came to Tortoise, he said, ‘Friend Tortoise, you must go wash your hands, because your hands are sandy.’ Tortoise climbed down to go wash his hands. He came back to the table. But during the whole time he was away, because he did not walk fast, they had eaten half the food. When he sat down again at the table, Anansi said, ‘Friend Tortoise, let me see[3] if your hands are clean.’ Tortoise showed him his hands, but they were full of sand. Anansi said, ‘Friend Tortoise, the condition is that everybody's hands must be clean. So you must go wash your hands again. You cannot eat.’

Tortoise was angry. He went home.

So Tortoise now sent a message to all the animals that he was having a big feast, but under the water. When the day came for the feast, Anansi received a message to come, too. But Anansi said, ‘Under the water I cannot go, because I am light.’ So Anansi put on a large coat and loaded his coat pockets with lead. But when the time came for them to come to the table, Tortoise said, ‘We are going to eat together, but everybody must take off his coat.’ So Anansi had to take off his coat, too. Just as Anansi removed his coat, he came back to the surface.[4]

2 Told by 6. Comparative references as for preceding tale.
3 Note use of *shi* for ‘see’ in text.
4 Lit., ‘the top-side’.

So Tortoise taught Anansi that what you do not want in your pockets you must not put into your friend's.

85.

Wą' mąn a bɛn dɛ g'a wąn trawą' oso. Ma nō, ala deį tɛ a go, a i taki, dįa meti na ɛŋ bɪgi trefu, ɛn no ką nyąm s'rɛfi s'rɛfi. Wą' deį, a gō na mąn 'oso baka, dąn na mąn umą bɔri. Dąn di a tyari nyąm kɔm, 'a mąn no wąn fō mek' 'a trawą' nyąm na ɛŋ. Nō m'a taįg' 'a trawąn taki, 'Mati, mi bɛn sɑ meki yu nyąm nąŋga mi, ma na dįa met' mi bɔri.' Bika' a bɛn dɛ yeri taki na trawą' i taki dįa meti na ɛŋ trefu. Nō mō na man si na n'nyąm, a kɔn kis' lɔstu f'ɻ. No m'a taki, 'Mati, mi 'ɛ bɛg' yu, baįa, na mi trefu, ma gi' m'afu.' Na tra wą' taig' ɛŋ taki, 'Kaba i ɛ tak' ala deį taki, dįa met' 'ɛ i trefu? Mi no kąn mąŋ fō gi yu. Ɛf' yu nyąm ɛ', yu 'ɛ go pɔri.' So na man nyąm, a no gi' ɛŋ nɔtįŋ.

85. Grudging Hospitality: Food-Taboo Pretext.[1]

There was a man who used to go to another's house. But now, every day when he went he said deer meat was his great *trefu;*[2] he could never, never eat it. One day he went to this man's house again, and the man's wife was cooking. Then when she brought the food, the man did not wish to have the other eat with him. At once he said to the other, said, 'Friend, I would have you eat with me, but I cooked deer's meat.' Because he had heard that the other one said deer's meat was his *trefu*. No sooner did the man see the food, than he had a great desire for it. At once he said, 'Friend, I beg you, brother, it is my *trefu*, but give me half.' The other man said to him, said, 'Haven't you been saying every day that deer's meat was your *trefu?* I cannot give you. If you eat it you are going to be sick.'[3] So the man ate, and it did not give him anything.

86.

Mati Tɻŋgiforu nąŋga mati Sɛkrepatu nąŋga mati Aka bɛn dɛ mati. Dą' ala deį mati Aka 'ɛ kɔm nyąm nąŋga mati Sɛkrepatu. Ma mati Tɻŋgiforu dati 'ɛ ɑksi mati Sɛkrepatu, 'Otɛm yu sɑ dɛdɛ fō mi kąn nyąm yu?' Dąn mati Anąnsi a lɛre mati Sɛkrepatu taki, 'Te mati Tɻŋgiforu dɛ taki nąŋga yu, yu mu hari yu hɛdɛ tyar' go na ɪni yu buba, no so, a i go diki yu aį puru.' Dą', te mati Tɻŋgiforu kɔm, dą' mati Sɛkrepatu a hari ɛŋ hɛdɛ tyari gowɛ. Dąn mati Tɻŋgiforu nąŋga mati Sɛkrepatu dɛm pori mati. Den no hɔri mɔro.

Ma mati Aka dɑti 'ɛ kɔm na mati Sɛkrepatu, dąn a dɛ nyąm ala deį. Dą' mati Sɛkrepatu weįfi ɑksi mati Aka taki, wɛ, otɛm a i go na hɛm mat' Sɛkrepatu fō nyąm nąŋga hɛm? Dą' mati Aka taki, 'Tɛ mati Sɛkrepatu wani, a kąn kɔm.' Ma mati Aka taki, 'Mat' Sɛkrepatu n'e mąŋ go pɛ mi dɛ. Mi dɛ tɛ na heį tapu.' Mamentɛm Sɛkrepatu weįfi yɛre, dąn a tak' 'Tamara mi 'ɛ go kɪs' mat' Aka nō.' Dąn taįg' mati Sɛkrepatu taki, 'Tamara mi ɛ teį yu na ɪni ba·ana buba, dą' mi-ɛ dɔmru yu na ɪni papira.' Dąn a du so, mat' Sɛkrepatu weįfi. Mat' Sɛkrepatu weįfi dɔmru mati Sɛkrepatu na ɪni na papira.

1 Told by 1.
2 Food-taboo.
3 Lit., 'spoil'; for punishment for violating food taboos, see above, pp. 36-37.

Dą', di mati Aka kɔm, dą' mati Sɛkrepatu weifi gi mati Aka na dɔmru-dɔmru, tak' tyari go na tapu bom. ‘Na nąnyąm 'ɛ bɔri fō mat' Sɛkrepatu nąŋga yu nyąm.’ Dą' mat' Aka teki na sani, a tyari go 'a tapu na bom. No mō a go na tapu na bom, a tak', ‘Mi dɛ hopo hɛm, dąn mi nyąm ala, bika' mat' Sɛkrepatu no go mąŋ kɔm pɛ mi dɛ na tapu na bom.’ Dąn lusu na papira, dąn di a opo ɛŋ, a si ba·ana buba. A trowɛ na ba·ana buba, dą' a si mat' Sɛkrepatu na ɩni. Dąn a skreiki. Dąn frįŋ mat' Sɛkrepatu trowɛ na grǫ'. Dąn mat' Sɛkrepatu baka broko. Dąn den pɔri mati wantɛ.

Odo: Mi du yu bǫ', yu pai mi ɔgri.

86. False Friendship: Grudging Hospitality.[4]

Friend Vulture and friend Hawk and friend Tortoise were comrades. And every day friend Hawk came to eat with friend Tortoise. Now friend Vulture, that one asked friend Tortoise, ‘When are you going to die so that I can eat you?’ Then friend Anansi taught friend Tortoise, he said, ‘When friend Vulture talks to you, you must draw your head inside your shell, otherwise he will dig out your eyes.’ Then, when friend Vulture came, then friend Tortoise drew in his head. Then friend Vulture and friend Tortoise broke[5] their friendship. They had no more regard for each other.

But friend Hawk, that one came to friend Tortoise, and he ate every day. Then friend Tortoise's wife asked friend Hawk, she said, well, when was he going to ask his friend Tortoise to eat with him? Then friend Hawk said, ‘When friend Tortoise wishes he can come.’ But friend Hawk said, ‘Friend Tortoise is not going to be able to come where I am. I live on high.’ In the morning Tortoise's wife heard, then she said, ‘Tomorrow I am going to trick friend Hawk.’ Then she said to friend Tortoise, she said, ‘Tomorrow I am going to tie you inside a plantain skin, then I am going to wrap you up in paper.’ Then friend Tortoise's wife did this. Friend Tortoise's wife wrapped friend Tortoise in paper.

4 Told by 3. Compare Cameroons (Ekoi), Mansfeld 223-224, No. 2; Brazil, Bassett (I) 433-434, No. 69, Eells 23-29, No. 3.

5 Lit., ‘spoiled their friendship’.

Then, when friend Hawk came, then friend Tortoise's wife gave friend Hawk the package,[1] saying for him to take it to the tree-top. ‘The food is cooked for friend Tortoise and you to eat.’ Then friend Hawk took the thing and he carried it to the tree-top. No sooner did he come to the tree-top than he said, ‘I will open it, and then I will eat all, because friend Tortoise is not going to be able to come where I am in the tree-top.’ Then he unwrapped the paper, and when he opened it he saw the plantain skin. He threw away the plantain skin, and he saw friend Tortoise inside. Then he was frightened. Then he flung[2] friend Tortoise to the ground. Then friend Tortoise's back broke. Instantly they broke their friendship.[3]

Proverb: I do you good, and you repay me with evil.

87. Kɔnkɔni nąŋga Anąnsi.

Anąnsi ɑksi Kɔnkɔni ɛfu' a sabi mɪndri-pas' trɔbi. Ɛŋ go lerɛ hɛm. Anąnsi taį̇gi Hɔntimąn taki Kɔnkɔn' taki ɛŋ no frede Hɔntimąn. Dąn a taį̇g' Kɔnkɔni taki, tamara mamɛntɛm sɪksi yuru, dąn a mu go na mɪndri-pasi. Ɛn so srɛfi a taį̇g' Hɔntimąn taki mamɛntɛm sɪksi yuru Hɔntimąn mu go na dę' srɛf' pasi, dą' a sa si Kɔnkɔni. Fa i si Hɔntimąn 'ɛ go, 'a so a si Kɔnkɔni, fa a wani sütu, Kɔnkɔni lǫ'.

A go na Anąnsi. Anąnsi ɑksi hɛm, taki, ɛfu a sabi seį̇-pas' trɔbi? Meki a kǫm luku. A tyari hɛm go pɛ wąn tigri bɛn habi pikin. Ɛn Anąnsi teki den pikin ɛn na wąn di a gi Kɔnkɔni a broko dati hanu. Dą' den pikin tigri den bari. So, di Tigri kǫm, dąn den pikin den bari. Anąnsi taki, ‘Mi Tata, luku bǫ', Kɔnkɔni du na pikin wan sani.’ (Ma na ɛŋ srɛfi bɛn broko na pikin hanu.) Tigri luku na pikin, a si hɛm hanu broko. Wantrǫ' Kɔnkɔni lǫ' go na wąn hɔro. Tigri lǫ' n' ɛŋ baka fō kɪsi hɛm. Dąn Anąnsi kɔm, a taį̇gi Tigri tak', meki a go suku wan ląŋga tɪki, meki den sutu Kɔnkɔni na ɪni na hɔro.

Di Tigri gowɛ, dąn Anąnsi go na Kɔnkɔni nō, a taį̇g' hɛm taki, ‘Mi ɛ go gi yu pɛpre, dą' yu dɛ kaų̇ ɛŋ na ɪni mɔfo. Dąn, tɛ Tigri kɔm, dą' mi 'ɛ go meki a sütu ɛŋ a į̇ luku na ɪni na hɔro. Dą' yu bro na pɛpre na ɪni ɛŋ a į̇.’ Di Tigri kɔm, Anąnsi taki, ‘Mi Tata, sütu yu a į̇ luku na mɔfo na hɔro, ɛfu yu no sɑ si Kɔnkɔni.’ Fa Tigri süt' ɛŋ a į̇, 'a so Kɔnkɔni bro na pɛpre na ɪni ɛŋ a į̇. Dąn Tigri lǫn.

1 Note this case of noun formation by duplication, i.e., *domru* - to wrap; *domru-domru* - package.
2 Lit., ‘Then he fling Friend Tortoise throw away (on) the ground’.
3 Lit., ‘Then they spoilt friendship, one time’.

Kɔnkɔni kɔmopo na ɩni na hɔro. Nō mō Anąnsi 'ɛ bari Tigri na ɛ̨ŋ baka. Kɔnkɔni dɛ bari. Ɛn so den hɔr' Tigri fō sipotu.

87. Seeing Trouble: Watcher Tricked.[4]

Anansi asked Rabbit if he knew middle-of-the-road-trouble. He would teach him. Anansi told Hunter that Rabbit said he was not afraid of Hunter. Then he said to Rabbit, he said, tomorrow morning at six o'clock he must come to the middle of the road. And Hunter he told the same, that tomorrow morning at six o'clock, Hunter must go on the same road, and he would see Rabbit. Just as Hunter was going, he saw Rabbit, and as he wanted to shoot, Rabbit ran.

He went to Anansi. Anansi asked him, he said, if he knew side-of-the-road-trouble? Let him come and see. He brought him where a tiger kept his young. And Anansi took the little tigers and he broke the hand of the one which he gave to Rabbit. Then the little tigers began to cry. So, when Tiger came, the little tigers were crying. Anansi said, ‘Father, take care, Rabbit did something to that child.’ (But he himself had broken the hand of the child.) Tiger looked at the child, and he saw his hand was broken. At once Rabbit ran into a hole. Tiger ran after him to catch him. Then Anansi came, and he said to Tiger, he said, let him go and look for a long stick, and let them shoot Rabbit inside the hole (with the stick).

When Tiger went away, Anansi went to Rabbit now, and he said, ‘I am going to give you pepper, then you must chew it in your mouth. Then, when Tiger comes I am going to make him put his eye into the hole to look. Then you [are to] blow the pepper in his eyes.’ When Tiger came, Anansi said, ‘Father, shoot your eye into the opening of this hole to see if you won't see Rabbit.’ As Tiger shot his eye, so Rabbit blew the pepper into his eye. Then Tiger ran.

4 Told by 1. Compare Senegel (Kassonké), Zeltner 107-108; Sierra Leone (Temne), Schlenker 73-77, No. 6; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 321, Gagu No. 3; Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 163, No. 42; Hausa, Rattray (IV) 180-182, No. 8; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 29-30, No. 15 I and II, 59-60, No. 48 I and II; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 15-16, No. 13a and b; Brazil, Eells, 136-138, No. 13. For another Suriname version see Van Cappelle 340-343, No. 24.

Rabbit came out of the hole. At once Anansi shouted after Tiger. Rabbit shouted. And so they held Tiger up to ridicule.

88. Anąnsi bɛn dɛ Dɔm'ri.

Anąnsi bɛn ɑksi Konu fō a trǫ' dɔm'ri. Konu taki, mek' a go prek wą' Sɔndei̯ fɔsi na tyerki. Ma di Anąnsi g' a fɔs' dei̯, Konum no bɛn mąŋ fō go 'arki a prɛk. Dąn Konum gi Anąnsi wą' blaka pak, tak' t'a i kǫ' tra wiki, na dat' a mu' weri.

Ma nō Anąnsi nąŋga Kakalaka bę' libi sei̯ na sei̯. Ma na skotu na gyari wą' krɔnto-bɔm bɛn dapɛ, ma a bɛn dɛ na Kakalaka sei̯. A no bɛn dɛ wą' bɪgi bɔm, ma a bɛn 'abi wą' trɔs' krokonɔto. A hąŋga let' a tapa skɔtu, wą' sei̯ kǫ' na Anąnsi, wą' sei̯ kǫ' na Kakalaka. Anąnsi tek' ɛ̨ŋ oru, a kotu trɔs' let' a tu. Di Kakalaka si a kɔti ɛ̨ŋ, a tai̯g' ɛ̨ŋ taki, ‘We, fa i ką' kɔt' na krɔnto. Na mi dyari na bom dɛ, yu no mąŋ kɔti ɛ̨ŋ so.’ Anąnsi taki, ‘Wɛ, yu no si fa a 'ąŋgu dɔn, wą' sei̯ kǫ' na yu, wą' sei̯ kǫ' na mi?’ Kakalaka taki, ‘Bǫ', mi ɛ go kɪsi yu baka.’

Na Satra fɔs' Anąnsi go prek na tyerki, a tai̯gi ɛ̨ŋ fro taki, mek' a 'ąŋga blaka pak' gi' ɛ̨ŋ, bika' a kɔm koru. Na fro teki na yas, a ąŋga let' na skoru. Kakalaka nō tek' ɛ̨ŋ nefi, a kɔt' 'a pis' f'na yas, di kǫ' na ɛ̨ŋ sei̯.

No, sɔndei̯ m'mątɛ̨n, Konu g'a tyerki fō go arki f'a Anąnsi a prek. Anąnsi no mąŋ kɔm, bika' a no bę 'abi na blaka yas. Ɛn so Konu mek' dɛm tek' Anąnsi, go serɔt 'ɛ̨ŋ.

Dąn Anąnsi tai̯gi Kakalaka taki, ‘Yu! So ląŋga mi d'a libi, mi n'e fergɪt' yu fō na sąn' yu du mi. Yu mek' mi las' mi wroko. Dɛdɛ sɑ mek' mi fergɪt' yu.’

88. Tables Turned: Cockroach Revenged on Anansi.[1]

Anansi asked the King if he might become a preacher. The King said let him first go one Sunday and preach a sermon in church. But when Anansi went the first day the King could not go to hear him preach. Then the King gave Anansi a black suit, and said to him, said, he must wear this the following week.

But now Anansi and Cockroach, lived side by side. Beside the garden fence was a coconut tree, but it was on Cockroach's side. It was not a large tree, but it did have a coconut. This hung right on top of the fence, so that one part came on Anansi's side and one part came on Cockroach's side. Anansi took his hoe and cut it right in two. When Cockroach saw he had cut it, he said to him, said, ‘Well, how could you cut the coconut? The tree is in my yard, [and] you should not have cut it.’ Anansi said, ‘Well, didn't you see how it hung down so that one part was on your side, and the other part on mine?’ Cockroach said, ‘All right. I will get even with you.’

The Saturday before Anansi was going to preach in church, he said to his wife, said, let her hang up his black suit (for him) to air. His wife took the coat and hung it right on the fence. Now Cockroach took his knife, and he cut off that part of the coat which was on his side.

Now, Sunday morning the King went to church to hear how Anansi would preach. But Anansi could not come, because he did not have the black coat. And so the King had them take Anansi to prison.

1 Told by 1. Compare Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 483-485, fable No. 84.

Anansi said to Cockroach, said, ‘You! as long as I live, I won't forget you for what you did to me. You made me lose my job. Death will make me forget you.’

89.

Puspusi taki, bɔtro na ɛŋ trefu. So dɑti a go wroko na wą' presi, ma di a g'a wroko, a taịg' 'a frō taki, ‘Ɛf' mi 'ɛ nyąm bɔtro, mi 'ɛ kıs' krasi.’ So dat' a frō, 'ɛ fertrō ɛŋ. A i libi bɔtro. Ma dɔro bɔtro 'ɛ mankere. So wą' deị na frō sɛt' trapu fō si suma a f'fur' bɔtro. Di a gō, a go kıs' Puspusi. A taki, ‘Puspusi, kaba i taki mi yu n'e nyąm bɔtro, ɛf' i nyąm bɔtro, yu go pɔri?’ A taki, ‘Ya, wą' suma bɛn ler' mi, taki, te y' n'e nyą' wą' sani, te yi nyami ɛŋ, dą' yu ką' lɛki na patu ɔndro di bor' 'a sani.’

89. Lying about Food Taboo.[2]

Cat said butter was her *trefu*. So that she went to work at a certain place, but when she went to work, she said to the woman, said, ‘If I eat butter I will get a rash.’ So that the woman trusted her. She left the butter out. But butter was missing. So one day the woman set a trap to see who was stealing the butter. When she went to see she caught Cat. She said to Cat, ‘Why did you tell me you did not eat butter, that if you ate butter you would become sick?’ She said, ‘Yes, someone taught me that when you eat a thing you should not eat, then you can lick the bottom of the pot in which the thing was cooked (and come to no harm).’

2 Told by 1.

90. Puspusi nąŋga Kɔki.

Puspusi nąŋga wąn umą bɛn dɛ. Den bɛn wroko makandra. Ma nō di Puspusi kɔm suku wroko, a taki bɔtro na ɛŋ trefu, ma a bɛn leį. Ma ala deį bɔtro 'ɛ lasi na kukru. Na mɪsi a taki ala deį, a taki, a no Puspusi di a fufuru na bɔtro, bika' bɔtro na Puspusi bɪgi trefu. So na sani 'ɛ pasa dɔro. Na mɪsi de kɔs' na tra kɔki, taki na ɛŋ fufur' bɔtro. Wą' deį na mɪsi sɛti trapu fō kɪs' na fufurumą'. Ma Puspusi no go.

Wą' suma kǫm taįigi na mɪsi taki, ɛf' a wani kɪs' na fufur'mą', mek' a baį lakseri puiri, dan mek' a pɔti na ɪni na bɔtro, dąn a sɑ si suma na na fufur'mą. Nō, Puspusi no sabi, dąn a go tek' 'a bɔtro nyąm. Ma di a nyąm na bɔtro, tamara, di a kɔm wroko, na her' deį a dɛ lakseri. Dąn wąntrǫ' na mɪsi kɔm sabi taki na Puspusi de fufuru na bɔtro.

So mek' dɛn dɛ taki, ‘Te kamera-wɛŋke nąŋga bɔtrimąn kɪs' trɔbi, yu dɛ yere pɛ na bɔtro go.’

90. Lying About Food Taboo: Purge to Catch Thief.[1]

There were once a cat and a woman. They worked together. But now when Cat came to look for work, she said that butter was her *trefu*, but she was lying. But every day there was butter missing in the kitchen. The mistress said daily, she said, it could not be Cat who was stealing the butter, because butter was Cat's great *trefu*. So this went on. The mistress scolded the other cook, saying it was she who was stealing the butter. One day the mistress set a trap to catch the thief. But Cat did not go.

Someone came to tell the mistress that if she wanted to catch the thief, let her buy laxative powder and let her put it in the butter, then she would see who the thief was. Now, Cat did not know, then she went to take butter, to eat. But having eaten the butter, then the next day, when she came to work, she was physicked the whole day. Then at once the mistress knew that Cat was stealing the butter.

So that is why they say, ‘When the chambermaid and the butler quarrel, you hear where the butter goes.’

91. Tigri nąŋga Kakaforu.

'Aŋgri bɛ' dɛ kir' Tigri. Nō, Tigri kɔ' na wąn foru kɔ̰i. A si wą' kaka na ɩn' na kɔ̰i. Ma nō, na kɔ̰i bɛn seroto. Tigri no mąŋ fō go na ɩn' na kɔ̰i. Dan Kakaforu 'ɛ bar' nō mō, ‘Ko-ko-dḭa-ko...!’ Tigri yeri na bari, ɑksi ɛŋ taki, ‘Mati K'kaforu, są' yu 'ɛ taki?’ Kakafor' no pik' ɛŋ nɔtiŋ. Tigri bɪgɪn sɩŋgi,

Mi wani nyąnyąm,
Mi wani nyąnyąm,
Mi 'abi wąn gotu mɔni.
Suma wani fō k' ɛŋk ɛŋ,
Fō wan pisi lefrɛ?

Nō, di K'kaforu yeri so, a ɑksi Tigri taki, ‘Wɛ, fa y'a go kɪs 'a lefrɛ?’ Tigri ta̰ig' ɛŋ taki, ‘Op' 'a dɔro, dąn yu kɔm bɔs' mi.’

Ɛn na Kakaforu bɛn dɛ so dɔm, a ɔpo 'a dɔro. Fa a ląŋga ɛ' mɔfo fō bɔs' Tigri, nō mō Tigri bɛti ɛŋ 'ɛdɛ. Ɛn so K'kaforu feni ɛŋ dɛdɛ.

91. Tiger Decoys Cock.[2]

Hunger was killing Tiger. Now Tiger came to a chicken coop. He saw a cock in the coop. But now the coop was locked. Tiger could not get into the coop. Just then Cock cried out, ‘Ko-ko-dia-ko!’ Tiger heard the cry and asked him, he said, ‘Friend Cock, what are you saying?’ Cock did not answer him anything. Tiger began to sing,

I want food,
I want food,
I have a gold piece.
Who wants to change it,
For one piece of liver?[3]

1 Told by 1.
2 Told by 1.
3 Song No. 149.

Now when Cock heard this, he asked Tiger, he said, ‘Well, how are you going to get the liver?’ Tiger said to him, said, ‘Open the door, then you come and kiss me.’

And Cock was so stupid (that) he opened the door. No sooner did he put out his bill to kiss Tiger, than Tiger bit off his head. And so Cock met his death.

92.

Wą' mama habi wąn e̯inkri umą p'kin. So mɛni masra 'ɛ kɔm ɑksi hɛm, a no lɔbi. 'A me̯itshi habi wą' brada. Wą' de̯i Aboma

yɛre taki wą' meị̂tshi na wą' kɔndre, no wą' mąn suma a no fɪti hɛm. Aboma go na hɛm birmąn, a lɛni wą' yas. A go na tra birmąn, a lɛni wąn bruku nąŋga wąn hati. A go na trawąn, a lɛni wą' susu. So na heri bo̱i̱ti a lɛni wąnwąn sani.

So 'a meị̂tshi sidǫ' na hɛm dyari, na Aboma dɛ kɔm. A taki, ‘Ya, mi mama, 'a mąn dɪsi mi wani.’ Ɛŋ mama tak', ‘Mi p'kin, yu sabi na mąn di yu si hɛm, wąntɛm yu lɔbi hɛm?’ So Aboma kǫ̱m ɑksi hɛm fõ freị̂dɛ nąŋga hɛm. Aboma taki, ɛŋ tro drideị̂wroko. Ɛŋ no mąŋ libi hɛm kɔndre so ląŋga fõ tą'. Den kari ala suma kɔm na tro hoso, ala suma nyąm drɻŋi.

'A tamara den gowɛ na ɛŋ kɔndre. Di dę' gowɛ, 'a meị̂tshɛ habi wąn fagubɔnd p'kin brada. So Aboma i gowɛ nąŋga hɛm umą. Na bo̱i̱ kɪbri, luk' ala sąn Aboma i du nąŋga hɛm sisa. Aboma dɔro na pasi, a gi na birmąn ɛŋ hati. A dɔro baka na traseị̂, a gi hɛm yas. A go na traseị̂ baka, a gi hɛm bruku. So na her' pasi a gi ala den sani baka. No mo na meị̂tshi kɔm fredɛ, ma lɛpi no dɛ. A musu go. Na p'kin brada na hɛm baka dɛ kɪbri, a no sabi dɑti hɛm dɛ.

Tɛ Aboma dɔro ɛŋ kɔndre, a taị̂g' hɛm umą taki, ‘Yu si, dị̂a yu dɛ go tą'. Mi no dɛ tąn dia. Mi dɛ tą' na watra. Ma tɛ yu wani si mi, dą' yu mu sɻŋgi

> Alensɛ kaka alensɛ
> Alensɛ kaka alensɛ
> Alensɛ imɛrɛ kaka a wani si.’

Dą' Aboma go. Tɛ Aboma kǫ̱m na hoso, dąn na heri pasi mu nati fõ a ką' waka kɔm na ɪni na paleị̂s.

Wąn deị̂, 'a p'kin brada kɔm luku hɛm sisa. A tak', ‘Mi sisa, pɛ mi suwagi dɛ? Sɛns' mamɛntɛm mi kɔm, mi no mąŋ si mi suwagri.’. Ɛŋ sisa taki, ‘Yu no kąn shi hɛm.’ A taki, ‘So ląŋga mi no shi hɛm, mi n'e gowe.’ Na umą go na watra seị̂, a i go fõ kari hɛm mąn,

‘Adụndụn kaka Adụndụn
Adụndụn kaka Adụndụn.

Mi brada kɔm. A wani shi yu.’ A piki na umą taki, ‘Ɛŋ no kąn shi mi. Ma ala san' a wani, yu kąn gi hɛm.’ Dą' sisa taį̣gi hɛm brada, taki, a no kąn shi hɛm manu. A taki, ‘Mi musu si hɛm, so ląŋga mi no si hɛm, mi n'e gowe.’ Na umą, go baka, a go sụŋgi kari Aboma. So Aboma hati kɔm brǫn. A taki, mek' a taį̣gi hɛm brada, ‘Ɛf' a wani si mi, a sɑ si mi. Tamara mamɛntɛm mi sɑ kɔm. Ala preį̣si mu nati.’

Tamara mamɛntɛm, eį̣ti yuru, Aboma a i kɔm. Na p'kin brada sidǫn, a i luku Aboma. A bɛn tyari wą' gɛtnefi. So Aboma a i kɔm, a sidǫ. Ɛŋ sisa taki, ‘Mi brada, yu dɛ go las' yu libi, mɔro bɛtre yu gowe.’ A tak', ‘Mi sisa, yu tro, yu mu sabi yu masra.’ A taį̣gi, ‘Mi masra kɔm, a i go kiri yu.’ Dą' taki-e, ‘Mek' a kiri mi. Mi no fredɛ.’

So Aboma kɔm. Aboma bɪgin fõ swari. So Aboma a swari, pɔt' na brada na ɪni ɛŋ bɛre nąŋga ɛŋ nefi. Dąn i priti Aboma nąŋga nefi. So na boį̣ kɔm baka na dɔro. Aboma dɛdɛ. A taki, ‘Mi sisa, mi du yu wą' bǫn. Ala na gudu fõ Aboma yu habi. Mi puru yu na wąn strafu. Yu kąn waka.’ Na sisa taki, ‘Ya, mi brada. Teki mɔni, go teki mi mama tyar' kɔm libi nąŋga mi makandra. Dąn wi ala dri sɑ tą'.’

92. Chosen Suitor.[4]

A mother had an only daughter. So many men came to woo her, but she did not love any. The girl had a brother. One day Aboma

4 Told by 13. Compare Senegambia, Berenger-Feraud 227-234; Peul, Equilbecq iii, 63-64; Sudan (Bambara), Travélé 153-154, No. 56; Senegal (Malinké), Zeltner 85-89; Sierra Leone (Mende), Migeod (I) 206-208, No. 4, (Temne), Cronise and Ward 178-188, Thomas (V) 82-84; Liberia (Gola), Westermann (II) 101-103, No. 20 and No. 21, Westermann (III) 486-493, No. 20 and No. 21, and 494-5, No. 24, (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 385-387. No. 12; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 310-311, Guro No. 65, (Agni), Tauxier (III) 236-239; Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 171-173, No. 44 and 205, No. 53, Herskovits, M. and F. (III) MS No. A5 and No. A16; Togo (Dagbamba), Fisch 156, No. 3, (Grunshi), Cardinall (I) 203-204; Dahomey, Ellis (II) 271-273, No. 2, Herskovits, M. and F.(IV) MS No. 100, (Fon),Trautmann 40-41, Nago, Trautmann 21-22; Hausa, Tremearne (I) 346-348, No. 45; Nigeria (Yoruba) Ellis(I) 267-269, Tortoise No. 4, Frobenius 234-235, No. 17, (Ikom), Dayrell (II) 88-93, (Calabar), Dayrell (I) 38-41, No. 8; Gabun, Nassau (I) 68-70, Mpongwe No. 15; Lamba, Doke 85-87, No. 39, 107-111, No. 57, 247-249, No. 4; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier (I) 9-11, No. 2, 69-71, No. 19, (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 45-47, No. 32 and No. 33; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 103-104, No. 85a and b, 106-107, No. 86b; Bahamas, Parsons 45-50, No. 25, I-II, IV-VI (with bibliography), 50-54, No. 26, I-IV; Santo Domingo, Andrade 101-102, No. 70, also not to so great a degree, Nos. 71-75. For another Suriname version, see Van Cappelle 376-379, No. 39.

heard that in a certain kingdom, there was a girl whom no man suited. Aboma went to his neighbor and he borrowed a coat. He went to another neighbor and he borrowed a pair of breeches and a hat. He went to another, and he borrowed shoes. So from the entire settlement he borrowed something.

So the girl was sitting in her yard and the Aboma came. She said, ‘Yes, mother, this man I want.’ Her mother said, ‘My child, do you know the man that you fall in love with him at first sight?’ So Aboma came to ask to pay court to her. Aboma said he would marry on Tuesday. He could not stay away from his country any longer. They called all the people to come to the wedding, and all the people ate [and] drank.

The following day they went away to his kingdom. When they went away, the girl had a vagabond young brother. So Aboma went away with his wife. The boy hid and watched all the things Aboma did with his sister. Aboma came to the road and he gave the neighbor his hat. He went down the other side and gave his coat (back). He went on again to the other side and he gave (back) his breeches. So the whole way he gave all the things back. At once the girl was frightened, but there was no help. She had to go on. Her young brother who was following was in hiding, she did not know he was there.

When Aboma reached his kingdom, he said to his wife, said, ‘You see, here you are going to live. I am not going to live here. I will live in the water. But when you want to see me, then you must sing

Alense kaka alense
Alense kaka alense
Alense imere kaka a wani si.’[1]

Then Aboma went away. When Aboma came home, then the whole path had to be flooded, so that he might walk into his palace.

One day the young brother came to see his sister. He said, ‘Sister, where is my brother-in-law? I have been here since morning, and I have not been able to see my brother-in-law.’ His sister said, ‘You cannot see him.’ He said, ‘As long as I do not see him, I won't go away.’ The girl went to the water to call her husband,

1 Song No. 151.

‘Adundun kaka Adundun,
Adundun kaka Adundun.

My brother came, he wants to see you.’ He answered the woman, he said, ‘He cannot see me. But everything he wants, you can give him.’ Then the sister told her brother that he could not see her husband. He said, ‘I must see him. As long as I do not see him, I won't go away.’ The woman went back and sang calling Aboma. So Aboma became angry. He said, let her tell her brother, ‘If he wants to see me, he shall see me. Tomorrow morning I will come. The whole place must be flooded.’

The next morning, at eight o'clock, Aboma came. The young brother sat down and waited for Aboma. He was carrying a long knife. So Aboma came, and he sat down. His sister said, ‘Brother, you are going to lose your life, better go away.’ He said, ‘Sister, you married him, you must know your husband.’ She said, ‘(When) my husband comes, he is going to kill you.’ Then he said,[1] ‘Let him kill me, I am not afraid.’

So Aboma came. Aboma began to swallow. So Aboma swallowed the brother with his knife inside his belly. Then he slit Aboma open with his knife. So the boy came out again. Aboma died. He said, ‘Sister, I did you a good turn. You have all the Aboma's riches. I saved you from punishment. You can walk (at will).’ The sister said, ‘Yes, brother. Take the money, and go bring my mother to live here with me. Then the three of us shall live (here).’

93. Aboma Kɔnde.

Wą' gą' masra a bę' a wąn kɔnde. A bɛn lɔbi muyɛ tɛ... Ma tɛ dę muyɛ go a taki dę no hansō. Dą' wan kɔnde dɛ lɛti abraseį̇. Ala muyɛ fō dapɛ go na ęŋ. Na homi a no kɛ nowąn.

Ma wan takru muyɛ bɛn dɛ. 'A dɑti taki, ‘Wɛ, mi 'ɛ go tu. Dę hąnsō wąn go a no kɛ den. Ɛfu mi takru wan go, dą' a no kɛ mi a no syɛm.’ 'A muyɛ a sreka manda tɛ... Di a i go. A mu abra wan kriki. Dą' a si wąn Aboma. Aboma ɑksi hem pɛ a i go? Dą' taį̇g na Aboma taki ęŋ go na da homi di no wani kɛ nowąn muyɛ. Dą' Aboma hakisi ęŋ taki ɛfu' a wani mek' a hansō? A taki, ‘Ya.’ Dą' Aboma taki, ‘Wɛ, mi hopo mofo, dą' yu poti hɛdɛ meki mi guli yu. No, tɛ mi puru yu baka dą' yu hąnsō.’ Dą' Aboma swari hɛm, dą' a puru hɛm baka, dą' a kom hansō mɔro ala muyɛ.

1 Note text *mi taki-e* for said; a vowel addition rarely heard in town, but in frequent use in the bush, as in *Mitaki, mi taki-e*... ‘I say, I am saying...’

Dą' a go na homi. Dą' homi kɛ hɛm wantɛ! Ma Aboma bɛn taa̱igi hɛm a no mu taki wąn suma, no so tɛ a i pasa baka a i kiri hem. Dą' na homi lɔbi na muyɛ tɛ ... a gi hɛm furu gudu. Ma ala neti na homi akisi 'a muyɛ, 'Fa yu hansō so?' A taki, 'Gadu mek' mi hansō so.' Na homi hɔri hɛm trąŋga tɛ ... a no mąŋ hɔri mɔro. A taki, 'Na na Aboma fō kriki ɛŋ guli mi, dą' puru mi baka, dą' mi hansō so. Ma a taki mi no mu taa̱igi.'

Dąn na muyɛ 'ɛ go baka na ɛŋ kɔndɛ. Dą' na homi srapu wan faka gi hɛm, dą' a gi hɛm wan heri batra dram. Dą' na homi taa̱ig hɛm są' a mu du nąŋga Aboma. Na homi taki, 'Tɛ Aboma hakisi yu fo sani di yu bɛn taa̱ig' mi, dą yu taki, "Tata, tą ụn sō, no meki hati brɔ̨n. Hopo i buka da mi, fō mi konda da i"!'

Dą' Aboma opo buka. Dą' a gi hɛm her' batra dram mɛk' a-i bɛbɛ ɛŋ tu. Dąn da Aboma drụŋgu. Dą' a teki na faka, a kɔti hɛm labu teki. Dąn da Aboma ɔyo limbo, dą' haksi na muyɛ, 'Muyɛ, fa mi labu dɛ kɔti?' 'A muyɛ taki gi 'ɛm taki, 'Tata, 'a dram di yu bɛbɛ, hɛm drụŋgu a mɛk' mi fɛni pasi kɔti yu labu. Wɛ, so na homi bɛn süti gi mi mɛk' mi konda da̱i hɛm tu fa na tɔri waka.'

Dą' so na Aboma no swari hɛm mɔro. A mɛk' hɛm go baka na ɛŋ konde.
'A tɔri kaba.

93. Snake Gives Beauty.[2]

A rich man lived in a village.[3] He loved women till... But when the women went he said they were not beautiful. There was a village directly opposite. All the women there went to him. The man did not care for any of them.

But there was an ugly woman. That one said, 'Well, I am going, too. The handsome ones went and he did not care for them. If I, an ugly one go and he does not care for me, it will be no disgrace.' The woman adorned herself till... Then she went. She had to cross a creek. Then she saw an Aboma. The Aboma asked her where she was going. Then she said to the Aboma, she said, she was going to the man who did not wish to care for any woman. The Aboma asked her, he said, if she wanted him to make her handsome? She said, 'Yes.' The Aboma said, 'Well, I will open my mouth, then you must put your head inside to let me swallow you. When I pull you out again, then you will be handsome.' The Aboma swallowed her, then he pulled her out again, and she became handsomer than all other women.

2 Told by 3. Compare Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 203, No. 52; Hausa, Tremearne (III) 304, No. 55.

3 Note the words *gąn, muyɛ, hansō*, etc. which are *Saramaka* for 'big', 'woman', and 'beautiful', really 'handsome'. This tale is essentially in the speech of this Bush-Negro tribe.

Then she went to the man. Then the man loved her at once! But the Aboma had told her that she must not tell anyone, or else when she returned he [the Aboma] would kill her. The man loved the woman till... he gave her much wealth. But every night the man asked his wife, ‘How is it you are so beautiful?’ She said, ‘God made me so beautiful.’ But the man treated her so well that she could resist no more. She said, ‘The Aboma of the creek swallowed me, and pulled me out again, and made me handsome. But he said I must not talk.’

Then the woman had to go back to her village. The man sharpened a knife for her, and he gave her a whole bottle of rum. Then the man told her what she must do with the Aboma. The man said, ‘When the Aboma asks you why you told me, then you say, “Father, wait a minute, do not get angry. Open your mouth for me and I will tell you a story”.’

Then the Aboma opened his mouth. Then she gave him a full bottle of rum, and made him drink it all. Then the Aboma was drunk. Then she took the knife and cut his tail off with it.[1] Then the Aboma's eyes became clear[2], and he asked the woman, ‘Woman, how was my tail cut off?’ The woman answered him, she said, ‘Father, the effect of the rum which you drank, made me find a way to cut your tail. Well, so, too, my husband's kindness toward me made me tell him all that happened.’

And so the Aboma did not swallow her any more. He allowed her to go back to her village.

The story is finished.

94. Fa du kǫn da Krabita 'ɛ tą' na Hoso.

Krabita go mek wan kampō. Di a kɔti wąn postu a pɔt'. Tɛ fa a kǫ baka nąŋga wąn trawą', a miti somɛni post' mɔro. A go baka tɛ fa a kǫ nąŋga wiwiri, a kǫ mit' na hoso meki. Dąn a kɔm mit' makandra nąŋga Tigri, den tak' dati den sɑ libi ɩni na hoso makandra.

Nō, den mek wąn regɛl. Wąn deį Krabita 'ɛ go suku meti 'a busi, ę' wąn deį Tigri go. 'A fɔs' deį Tigri go, a kiri, a tya kǫ', den nyąm. Krabita go, a no kiri nɔtų. Wan deį baka Tigri go baka. A kiri, tya kɔm. 'A tra deį Krabita go, Krabita no kiri.

1 Notice the use of ‘take’ for preposition ‘with’, i.e., lit., ‘Then she took the knife, she cut he tail take.’

2 Idiom for becoming sober.

No, Tigri go, a kiri di̯a, a tya kǫ. Krabita no wani fō nyąm. Bika di̯a na Krabita omu. Dąn Tigri ati brǫ. A taki, ‘Ala dei̯ mi 'ɛ kiri yu de nyąm, ma tıde yu no wąn' nyąm. Ma yu 'ɛ go, yu no dɛ kiri, tya nɔtı̨ kɔm.’

Ma te dɛm pikin tigri prei̯ nąŋga den pikin krabita, nō mō den pikin tigri a taki, ‘Mi papa a 'ɛ go sɔri ụn!’

Ma Krabita tai̯igi, ‘Fa Tigri taki, so den pikin taki.’ Den mu luku bǫn nąŋga Tigri, bika Tigri kir' na omu kaba. 'A papa Krabita taki na pikin nɛŋgre makandra na pre dę' a prei̯.

Ma nō, Krabita go na hɔnti, a mit' wą' man. A tai̯igi na man taki, ala dei ɛŋ go na hɔnti, ɛŋ no kıri nɔtı̨. Dą' 'a man gi 'ɛŋ wą' sani, tai̯igi, ıbri wan mɛti di a si a kɔm, mek a sɔri ɛŋ fı̨ŋga taki, ‘Luku bǫn!’ 'A wantɛ' 'a mɛti fadǫ' dɛdɛ.

Fa-i-si Krabita tek' 'a sani, a sɑ miti Tigri grąnpapa a kɔm. A sɔri den, ‘Luku bǫn!’ A dɛdɛ wąntrǫn. A tyari ɛŋ kǫ' na hoso. Nō, di a kɔm, Tigri no' wąn' nyąm, bika na grąnpapa. Nō, tamara Krabita go baka. A kiri Tigri brada nō, a tya kɔm. Tigri no wąn' nyąm.

Dą' den pikin krabita nō, ɛ' tak' den pikin tigri tak', ‘Mi papa 'ɛ soru ụn!’ Mama Tigri tai̯igi Papa Tigri tai̯igi, ‘Luku bǫn, Krabita a' wąn sani. A tu trǫ' a go na hǫnti, a tyari ɛŋ famiri kɔm.’ Dąn di Krabita 'ɛ go na hɔnti baka, dąn Tigri waka safri na ɛŋ baka. Fa-i-si a go, a si Tigri omu a i kɔm. Fa-i-si Krabita sɔri ɛŋ, ‘Luku bǫn!’ no mo a fadǫ' dɛdɛ.

Papa Tigri kɔm na hoso, a tai̯igi den mama Tigri na pikin tigri, meki den froisi wąntrǫ'. Krabita habi wan sani, ɛfi a sɔri den fı̨ŋga, den ala 'ɛ dɛdɛ. Wąntrǫ' dɛ' tigri froisi gowɛ, lib' 'a prɛsi gi Krabita.

So, kaba.

94. Tiger and Goat in Partnership: Pointing Kills.[3]

Goat went to make a shelter. When he cut one post, he put it down. When he returned with the second, he found many more posts. He went back and when he came with thatch, he found the house built. Then he met Tiger, and they said they would live together in the house.

Now they made one condition. Goat was to go to the bush in search of food one day, and Tiger the next day. The first day Tiger went, he killed, and he brought, and they ate. Goat went, and he killed nothing. The following day Tiger went again. He killed, and brought (home). The day after Goat went, and Goat did not kill.

3 Told by 1. Compare Sierra Leone (Mende), Westermann (III) 455-456, No. 15; Liberia (Gola), Westermann 493, No. 22, (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 524-525, No. 22; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 338-339, Gagu No. 33, 341, Gagu No.37, (Agni), Tauxier (III) 242-243; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 141-143, No. 27, (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 41, No. 11, 231, No. 58; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 447, fable No. 43, 502, legend No. 10; Togo (Krachi), Cardinall (I) 97-98, (Dagbamba), Fisch 157, No. 5, (Ewe), Bassett 210-212, No. 87 (from Ellis, II, 269-271); Hausa, Rattray (IV) ii, 34-38, No. 25, 142-146, No. 30, Schön 191-192, No. 79, Tremearne (I) 495, No. 24; Nigeria (Jukun), Meek 489-492; Southern Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 248-250, No. 23, (Ibo), Thomas (IV) 90-91; Lamba, Doke 179-181, No. 99; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 63, No. 58; Brazil, Eells 61-69, No. 6.

Now, (one day), Tiger went and killed a deer, and brought (him home). Goat would not eat. Because Deer was Goat's uncle. Then Tiger was angry. He said, ‘Every day I killed and you ate, but today you refuse to eat. But you go, and you do not kill, and bring nothing (home).’

But when the little tigers played with the little goats, all at once the little tigers said, ‘My father will show you!’

Mother Goat said, ‘As Tiger talks, so the children talk.’ They must watch out for Tiger, because Tiger had killed their uncle already. Father Goat (however) said, all little Negro children must play together.[1]

But now, Goat went to hunt, and he met a man. He said to the man, every day he went hunting, but he never killed anything. Then the man gave him something, and said, at every kind of animal that he sees coming, let him point at it, and say ‘Take care!’ At once the animal will fall down dead.

Just as Goat took the thing (Man gave him), he will[2] come upon Tiger's grandfather. He pointed it, ‘Take care!’ He died at once. He (Goat) brought him home. Now, when he came, Tiger would not eat, because it was his grandfather. The following day Goat went again. He killed Tiger's brother now, and he brought him (home). Tiger would not eat.

Then the little goats now said to the little tigers, ‘Father will show you!’ Mother Tiger said to Father Tiger, said, ‘Take care, Goat has a thing (so that) of the two times he had gone to the bush to hunt, he brought back with him members of their family.’ Then when Goat again went hunting, Tiger followed him softly. Just as he went, he saw Tiger's uncle coming. And no sooner did Goat point at him, ‘Take care!’ than he (Tiger's uncle) fell down dead.

Father Tiger came home, and he said to Mother Tiger and the little tigers, let them escape at once. Goat had something which if he pointed at them, they would all die. At once the tigers escaped, and left the place to Goat.

So, finished.

95. Alata, S□neki nąŋga Libisuma.

Nō, Alata nąŋga Sɪneki nąŋga Libisuma fadǫ', dɛ' bɛn de na ɪni wan peti. Da Hɔntimąn i kɔm, dą' ala dri bɛg' hɛm fō a pur' den. Ma nō, Sɪneki bɛg' 'ɛm taki, ‘Pur' mi! Mi sɑ du yu wąn bǫn.’ Alata bɛg' 'ɛm, mek' a pur' ɛŋ, ɛŋ sɑ du 'ɛm wąn bǫn. Libisuma bɛg' 'ɛm, mek' a pur' ɛŋ, a sɑ du 'em wąn bǫn. A puru ala dri.

1 Lit., ‘play they is play’.
2 Note change in tense to make the transition to a new scene.

Nō, di den gowe, a go na bąŋk a fufuru so mɛni papira mɔni tyari go Hɔntimąn. Nō, Libisuma a si fa Hɔntimąn 'ɛ libi nąŋga mɔni, dą' ɑksi ɛŋ fa i du, kɔ' nąŋga mɔni. Dą' i taį̇g ɛŋ taki, ‘Na di mi pur' ų̇nu na peti, na Alata di tyar' mɔni kɔm gi mi.’

Di Konu kɔm sabi tak' na mɔni ɛŋ las' 'a bąŋk, dą' a pɔti na koranti tak' suma fen' na fufurumąn ɛŋ sa mek' a tro nąŋga uma pikin fo' ɛŋ. Libisuma go wantrǫn fō taį̇g Konu taki, na Hɔntimąn alata a 'furu na mɔni gi hɛm. Dą' den sɛn' tek' Hɔntimąn wąntrǫ'. Den srɔt' hɛm fō kiri.

Na Sɪneki nō, diki wan holo na ɔndro grɔ̨, dą' a go na Hɔntiman, dą' a taį̇g' ɛŋ taki, ‘Yu si na bǫn di Libisuma i du yu? Ma mi sɑ du yu wąn bǫn. Tamara mamentɛm na pikin fō Konu 'ɛ kǫn na ɪni dyari. Dą' mi 'ɛ go bet' ɛŋ. Dąn dę' go kɔm suku drɛsi a yu. Ma yu mus' taki yu mu' habi wan pis kɔnkrumąn leį̇ifer nąŋga wąn wiwiri. Dąn 'a pikin sɑ kɔm bɛtre.’ Dąn Sɪneki go mamɛntɛm, a beti na pikin fō Konu. Dąn den kɔm na Hɔntimąn, kɔm ɑksi ɛŋ taki ɛfu a no sabi wąn drɛsi.

Dą' fa-i-sab' taki ɛŋ mu habi wąn pis kɔnkruman leį̇ifer, no mo wantrǫ' 'a mąn d'ɛ go kɔnkru ɛŋ bɛgin lǫn. Konu bar' tak' meki den kɪs' ɛŋ wąntron. Dą' den kir' ɛŋ, teki ɛŋ leį̇ifer, dan den tyar na leį̇ifer gi Hɔntimąn. Dą' a mek' 'a drɛsi, dą' na pikin kɔm bǫn.

Na so fō den dri sani di Hɔntimąn bɛn lɛpi, Sɪneki nąŋga Alata du ɛŋ mɔro bǫn. Libisuma du ɛŋ ɔgri.

95. Animal Gratitude and Human Duplicity.[3]

Now, Rat and Snake and Human Being had fallen into a pit. Hunter came by, and all three begged him to save them. But now Snake begged him, he said, ‘Save me! I will do you a good deed.’ Rat begged him to save him, he would do him a good deed. Human Being begged him to save him, he would do him a good deed. He saved all three.

3 Told by 1. Compare Sierra Leone (Temne), Thomas (V) 27-28; Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 432-436, No. 40 and No. 41; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 163-166, No. 32, (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 59-73, No. 18; Nago (from Porto Novo), Bouche, cols. 49-52, No. 1; Nigeria (Ora), Thomas (I) 222-224, No. XXIII, (Bura), Helser 89-92, No. 20, 213-216, No. 54. For another Suriname version of this tale see Penards (II) 248-249, No. 4.

Now when they went away, he (Rat) went into a bank and stole many paper bills to give Hunter. Now, Human Being saw how Hunter lived richly, and he asked him what he had done to come into money. Then he said to him, he said, ‘When I saved you from the pit, Rat brought me the money.’

When the King learned of the money he lost at the bank, he announced in the papers that whoever found the thief should marry his daughter. At once Human Being went to tell the King that Hunter's rat stole the money for him. Then they sent immediately to take Hunter. They imprisoned him to kill him.

Snake now dug a hole underneath the ground, then he went to Hunter, and he said to him, he said, ‘You see the good which Human Being did for you? I will do a good deed for you. To-morrow morning the King's daughter will come into the garden. Then I will bite her. Then they will come to you to look for medicine.[1] But you must say you must have a piece of a betrayer's liver, and a few leaves. Then the child will become better.’ Then in the morning Snake went and bit the King's daughter. Then they came to Hunter to ask him if he did not know of a medicine.

As soon as he knew that a piece of a betrayer's liver was needed, the man who betrayed immediately began to run. The King called out that they must catch him at once. Then they killed him, and took his liver, and they brought the liver to Hunter. Then he made the medicine, and the child became well.

And so of the three things (beings) Hunter had helped, Snake and Rat did him good. Human Being did him evil.

96. □ndrofeni.

Wą mąn go na busi, go hɔnti. Di a waka so tɛ ... a yɛre suma dɛ, ɑksi yɛpi na ɩni wąn bɪgi hɔro. A luku na ɩni na hɔro, a si wąn libisuma, wąn sineki nąŋga wąn alata. So a taki, ‘Sineki na wąn takru meti, Alata so srɛfi. Mi sɑ lɛpi Libisuma.’ Ma bakatɛm a kɔm prakseri. ‘Meki mi lɛpi ala dri, Sineki, Alata, nąŋga Libisuma leį̂iki mi srɛfi.’ So Sineki teki ɛ̨ŋ pasi, Alata ɛ̨ŋ pasi, ɛn Libisuma go nąŋga hɛm makandra na hɛm hoso. No dąŋki srɛfi a bɛn kɪsi fō dem dri dɪsi a bɛn lɛpi na dɛdɛ.

Ma Alata kɔm prakseri taki, a musu lɛpi da suma dɪsi bɛ̨n du hɛm bǫ'. So a go na bąŋk-hoso, a broko wąn prąŋga, ɛn a fufuru furu mɔni ɛn a tyari hɛm gi Libisuma fō paį̂imąŋ, fō dɪsi a bɛn hɛlpi hɛm fō dɛdɛ.

So libisuma bɛn dɛ makandra, ɛn a si ala sani. So a go na skotu ɛn tɔri hɛm mati. So dem sɛni skotu kɔm na hɛm mati hoso, ɛn tyari hɛm go na dų̨ŋgru-hoso. Di da nusu bɛn pąŋya na foto,

1 This follows the African pattern of identifying hunters as the owners of medicine and magic.

Sineki kɔm yɛre dɑti. So a wani si wąn fasi fõ lɛpi da Libisuma dɪsi bɛn puru hɛm na dɛdɛ.

So da Konim fõ da kɔndre bɛn habi wąn moi̯ Prɪncɛs. Sineki taki, 'Ɛfu mi beti dɪsi Prɪncɛs, ɛn sɔri Libisuma wąn drɛsi fõ meki na Prɪncɛs no sɑ dɛdɛ, den sa puru hɛm na dųŋgru-hoso.' So Sineki go na ɪni paleis fõ Konim, ɛn beti da Prɪncɛs. Na baka dɑti a go hesi na busi, ɛn broko wiwiri dɪsi sɑ dɛ wąn drɛsi fõ puru na Prɪncɛs na dɛdɛ hąn', ɛn tyari hesi na Libisuma na ɪni dųŋgru-hoso, ɛn sɔri hɛm fa a musu meki na drɛsi fõ da Prɪncɛs sɑ tą' na libi.

Konim kari ala datra na ɪni foto fõ drɛsi hɛm umą-pikin, da Prɪncɛs. Ma nowąn datra bɛn kɔni nɔfo fõ sabi wąn drɛsi. So Konim bɛn sɛni nųnsu go na ala preisi fõ da suma dɪsi kąn drɛsi hɛm pikin, dɑti sɑ kɪsi leti-mɪndri fõ hɛm kɔndre, ɛn a sɑ tro nąŋga da Prɪncɛs. So Libisuma na dųŋgru-hoso bɛn ɑksi Konim fõ kɔm na ɪni paleis fõ drɛsi da Prɪncɛs. Dą' Konim taki, 'Ala kɔni datra bɛn meki noiti, ma dem no kąn drɛsi mi pikin. So yu dɛŋki yu kąn drɛsi hɛm?' Libisuma taki, 'Ya, Konim, mi dɛ da mąn dɪsi sɑ drɛsi hɛm.' Ala suma fõ da kɔndre bɛn kɔm makandra na ɪni paleisi fõ si da konimąn dɪsi sɑ drɛsi Konim pikin. Libisuma teki dɛm wiwiri na makandra, ɛn meki hɛm drɛsi. So a lɔbi dɑti na da preisi pɛ Sineki bɛn beti da Prɪncɛs. Na wąn yuru na baka, da Prɪncɛs bɛn kɔm bɛtre, ɛn go sɔntu leiki a bɛn dɛ bifosi. So Konim bɛn presiri tumusi. A kɪsi da tɔrimąn, ɛn a pɔti hɛm na dųŋgru-hoso. Ɛn da drɛsimąn bɛn tro nąŋga ɛŋ Prɪncɛs, ɛn a bɛn trǫ' Konim fõ da kɔndre.

Na tɔri kɔm kaba.

Mi srɛfi bɛn dapɛ, ɛn mi sek' hanu nąŋga da Konim ɛn da Prɪncɛs.

96. Animal Gratitude and Human Duplicity.[2]

A man went to the bush to hunt. As he walked so till... he heard people asking for help from a deep hole. He looked in the hole, and he saw a human being, a snake, and a rat. So he said, 'Snake is a bad animal, and so also is Rat. I will help Human Being.' But after a while he came to study. 'Let me help all three, Snake, Rat, and Human Being who is like myself.' So Snake went his way, Rat his way, and Human Being went home with him (the hunter). He did not even receive thanks from the three he had saved from death.

But Rat came to study that he must help the person who had done him a good (deed). So he went to the bank and he broke a board, and he stole much money, and he brought it to Human Being as a reward for having saved him from death.

So the human beings were together, and he (the rescued man) saw everything. So he went to the police, and told on his friend. So they sent policemen to his friend's house and took him away

2 Told by 11. Comparative references as for preceding tale, except those of Helser and the Penards.

to prison. When the news spread through the city, Snake came to hear that. So he wanted to find a way to help Human Being who saved him from death.

So the King of that country had a beautiful Princess. Snake said, ‘If I bite this Princess, and show Human Being a medicine to keep the Princess from dying, they will free him from prison.’ So Snake went to the King's palace, and bit the Princess. After that he went quickly to the bush, and picked herbs that should be a medicine for saving the Princess from the hands of death, and he carried them quickly to Human Being in prison, and showed him how he must make the medicine, so that the Princess should remain alive.

The King called all the doctors of the city to cure his daughter, the Princess. But not one of the doctors was clever enough to know a medicine. So the King sent the news everywhere that he who could cure his daughter would receive half of his kingdom, and he would marry the Princess. So Human Being (who was) in prison asked the King to come to the palace to cure the Princess. The King said, ‘All the clever doctors have tried their utmost but they could not cure my daughter. So you think you can cure her?’ Human Being said, ‘Yes, King, I am the man who will cure her.’ All the people of the kingdom came together in the palace to see the wise man who would cure the King's daughter. Human Being took the herbs, and made his medicine. So he rubbed that on the place where Snake had bitten the Princess. An hour later the Princess was well, and healthy as she had been before. So the King was very happy. He caught the slanderer and he put him in prison. And the medicine-man married the Princess, and he became King of the country.

The story comes to an end.

I myself was there, and I shook hands with the King and the Princess.

97. Fa Kɔm Sineki dɛ Nyąm Suma.

Sineki waka wąn deị na wąn busi pasi. Leti miti hɛm. Fa a de lǫn, nō mō a fadǫ' na wąn dipi pɛti. Na pɛti bɛn draị, ma Sineki no mąŋ kɔmopo na ɩni. A proberi so, a proberi so, ma a dɛ grati baka. Dụŋgru bɪgɪn fadǫ'. 'A Sineki bɪgɪn bari. Hǫntimąn dɛ na pasi, a yɛre Sineki dɛ bari. A go luku sąn dɛ fō du. A si Sineki. Sineki kreị, ‘Luku fa mi dɛ go dɛdɛ. Hąŋgri a di go kiri mi. Tyɛ, Hɔntimąn, lɛpi mi.’ ‘A bǫn,’ Hɔntimąn taki. A go, a kɔti wąn laŋgą tɪki, a pɔti na ɩni na hɔro. Sineki krɛŋ na na tɪki, a kɔmopo. Fa a kɔmopo, a sütu ɛŋ tu kɪni na dɔti, gi Hɔntimąn, taki, ‘Tyɛ, Hɔntimąn, sąn mi sɑ feni fō paị na paịmɛŋ?’ ‘A no nɔtɩ,’ Hɔntiman piki taki, ‘meki a tą' so. Di yu sabi dɑti mi du yu wąn bǫn,

dą' nɔfo.' Hɔntimąn gowe. Ma Sineki no kaba nąŋga na taki. Dei̯ nąŋga neti a dɛ prakseri fa fō du fō sɔri Hɔntimąn taki ɛŋ sabi bǫn.

Wąn mamantɛm, fa a kɔmopo na hoso, nō mō a si wąn suma dɛ kɔm. 'Tyɛ, Masra, fa yu geɛrsi Hɔntimąn! Yu sabi Hɔntimąn? Fa a waka ụŋ tu geɛrsi so?' Libisuma lafu. A piki Sineki, a taki, 'Mi na libisuma, ɛn Hɔntimąn na Libisuma tu. Na so a kɔm wi geɛrsi wi srɛfi.' 'Ah, grąn tąŋgi fō Gadu,' Sineki taki, 'tide mi kɔmopo na ụni na pina. Tyɛ, Libisuma, yu na libisuma, Hɔntimąn na libisuma. Mi dɛ go kre̯i wąn pina gi yu. Hɔntimąn bɛn du mi wąn bɪgi bǫn.' Sineki taki na tɔri, fa Hɔntimąn bɛn puru hɛm na dɛdɛ, a ta̯igi Libisuma. Libisuma sidǫ', a harki bǫn. 'Wɛ, Sineki, sąn yu wani mi mu' du gi yu, dą'?' 'Tyɛ, mi dɛ bɛgi yu, sąn mi mu' du gi Hɔntimąn meki a si taki mi sabi są' na bǫn?'

Libisuma gɛme, a taki, 'Ɛfi yu wani sɔri Hɔntimąn taki yu sabi są' na bǫn, dą' yu mu' luku na pasi pe a dɛ waka go na busi, dą' yu dɛ go kɪbri na na pasi sɪkin, ɛn fa Hɔntimąn dɔro pe yu dɛ, nō mō yu dɛ dyɔmpo, dą' yu nyąm ɛŋ. Dɑti na mɔro bɪgi bǫn di yu kąn du gi Hɔntimąn.'

Sineki gi Libisuma grąn tąŋgi. A gowe. Dei̯-broko, a du fa Libisuma bɛn sɔri hɛm.

97. Animal Gratitude and Human Duplicity.[1]

One day Snake walked along a bush path. Lateness overtook him. As he ran, all at once he fell into a deep pit. The pit was dry, but Snake could not come out. He tried, and he tried, but he slid back. Darkness began to fall. Snake began to shout. Hunter was on the path, and he heard Snake call. He went to look what there was to do. He saw Snake. Snake cried, 'Look, how I am about to die. Hunger is going to kill me. Tye, Hunter, help me.' 'All right,' Hunter said. He went and cut a long stick, and put it in the hole. Snake climbed up on the stick, and came out. As he came out he shot his two knees to the ground for Hunter,[2] and he said 'Tye, Hunter, what shall I find to pay my debt?' 'It is

1 Told by 6.
2 Idiom for, 'he knelt down'.

nothing,' Hunter answered, said, 'let it rest so. Since yon know that I did you a good (deed), then (it is) enough.' Hunter went away. But Snake could not stop talking (about this). Day and night he studied what to do to show Hunter that he knew good.

One morning as he came out of his house, all at once he saw a person coming. 'Tye, Master, how you resemble Hunter! Do you know Hunter? How does it happen[1] you two resemble each other so?' Human Being laughed. He answered Snake, he said, 'I am a human being, and the Hunter is a human being too. So it comes about (that) we resemble each other.' 'Ah, thank God,' said Snake, 'today I will rid myself of my difficulty. Tye, Human Being, you are a human being, the Hunter is a human being. I am going to tell you my trouble. Hunter did me a great service.' Snake told Human Being, he told the story of how Hunter had saved him from death. Human Being sat down, and he listened well. 'Well, Snake, what do you want me to do for you, then?' 'Tye, I beg you, what must I do for Hunter to let him see that I know what good is?'

Human Being sighed, and he said, 'If you want to show Hunter that you know what good is, then you must find out the path he follows to the bush, then you must go and hide at the edge of the path, and as Hunter comes where you are, then all at once you are to jump up, and then you (are to) eat him. That is the greatest good you can do for Hunter.'

Snake thanked Human Being. He went away. At daybreak, he did as Human Being showed him.

98. Tąŋgi fō bǫn, na Kɔdya.

Odo: Tąŋgi fō bǫn, na kɔdya.

Yu bɛn habi wąn krab-dagu, nąŋga wąn sɪneki. Ma nō, Hɔntimąn bɛn waka na bɪgi busi. So Sɪneki taki 'a Krab-dagu, 'Yu sab' sąn? Libisuma meti switi.' Nō mō Krab-dagu tak' aksi hɛm, 'Fa yu du sabi taki libisuma meti switi?' Sineki taki, 'Wɛ, mi sɑ sɔri yu dyǫŋsro tɛ Hɔntimąn pasa.'

Wɛ, nō Krab-dagu a smɛri Hɔntimąn. Krab-dagu kɪbri na ɪni wąn hɔro. Sineki kɪbri na ɪni wąn hɔro. Ma nō, a di Hɔntimąn a i pasa, Krab-dagu bɛgi hɛm, a taki, 'Mat' Hɔntimąn, mi wani taki yu wąn sani, ma mi frede taki yu go sütu mi.' Hɔntimąn taki, 'Ka, (a bǫn) mi bo̱i, dąŋgi fō yu.' A taki Hɔntimąn, 'Na bo̱i Sɪneki a sɛti fō beti yu.' Hɔntimąn taki, 'Pɛ a dɛ?' A taki, 'Mi papa Hɔntimąn, a tɛ yu de waka, let' na fɔsi hɔro a pɛ na bɔm dɛ, a kɪbri dapɛ fō beti yu.'

1 Lit., 'how does it walk'.

Na so, Hɔntimąn bɛn sütu Sɪneki. Sɪneki dɛdɛ.

Dą' Hɔntimąn pramisi Krab-dagu, a taki, ‘Krab-dagu, na bǫn di yu du mi, mi no habi nɔtį fō gi yu. Ma tąŋgi fō bǫn na kɔdya.’ Ma Hɔntimąn taki, ‘Mi habi dɔksi, foru, ɛn mi go libi na koi opo. Dą' tɛ yu kɔm na neti, yu kąn nyąm sɔrt' foru nąŋga dɔksi di yu wani.’ A i te Krab-dagu yɛre dɑti, a i presiri, taki, ɛŋ go nyąm foru, dɔksi. So, seibi yuru na nɛti, na hɔntimąn libi 'a koi opo gi Krab-dagu fō a kąn kǫm nyąm foru nąŋga dɔksi.

Ma nō, Hɔntimąn a taigi hɛm weifi, tak' Krab-dagu du hɛm tumusi bǫn. A mus' mek' hɛm nyąm sąn a wani. Hɔntimąn weifi go suku wąn tra hɔntimąn, pɔti sa·afri dapɛ mek' a kɩbri fō tɛ Krab-dagu kɔm fō a sütu hɛm. Neigi yuru na nɛti, Krab-dagu kɔm. ɛŋ leki hɛm mɔfo taki, hɛm go nyąm bǫn. Fa Krab-dagu a dyɔmpo fō tek' wąn foru, na so Hɔntimąn süt' hɛm, bum!

A so, *tąŋgi fō bǫn, na kɔdya*.

98. The Reward for Good is the Cudgel.[2]

Proverb: The reward for good is the cudgel.

You had once a wild-dog and a snake. But now, Hunter was walking about in the deep bush. So Snake said to Wild-Dog, ‘You know what? Human meat is sweet.’ At once Wild-Dog asked him, said, ‘How do you know that human meat is sweet?’ Snake said, ‘Well, I will show you just as soon as Hunter passes.’

Well, now Wild-Dog scented Hunter. Wild-Dog hid in a hole. Snake hid in a hole. But now, as Hunter was passing, Wild-Dog begged him and he said, ‘Friend Hunter, I want to tell you something, but I am afraid that you are going to shoot me.’ Hunter said, ‘All right, my boy, thank you.’ He said to Hunter, ‘The boy Snake is lying in wait to bite you.’ Hunter said, ‘Where is he?’ He said, ‘Father Hunter, as you walk, right at the first hole where the tree is, [you will find] he is hiding there to bite you.’

2 Told by 4. Compare Gold Coast (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 207-211, No. 54; Togo (Dagomba), Cardinall (I) 197-198; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 463-464, fable No. 51. Van Cappelle gives this tale for Suriname 371-372, No. 36, and the Penards, 249, No. 4, cite another tale employing the same proverb as is given here.

So Hunter shot Snake. Snake died.

Then Hunter promised Wild-Dog, he said, ‘Wild-Dog, I have nothing to give you for the service you did me. But the reward for good is the cudgel.’ But Hunter said, ‘I have ducks and fowl and I am going to leave the coop open. Then when you come at night, you can eat what fowl and ducks you want.’ When Wild-Dog heard that, he was happy that he was going to eat fowl and ducks. So, seven o'clock at night Hunter left the coop open for Wild-Dog, so he could come and eat fowl and ducks.

But now, Hunter told his wife, that Wild-Dog did him a great service. She must let him eat whatever he wanted. Hunter's wife went to look for another hunter, and quietly stationed him there, and had him hide, so that when Wild-Dog came, he should shoot him. Nine o'clock at night, Wild-Dog came. He licked his chops saying [to himself] he was going to eat well. As Wild-Dog jumped to take a fowl, so the hunter shot him, boom!

And so, *the reward for good is the cudgel*.

99.

Wą' m'ma bɛn dɛ di 'ab' dri umą-p'kin. Dąn a bɛn 'ab' wą' tra wąn fõ ɕŋ sisa, a i kweki hɛm. Ma den bɛn fɔm 'ɛm, mɛsandel 'ɛm. Wą' dei̯ a kɔmɔpo, a gowe na busi. A waka so tɛ ... neti kɔm kɪsi 'ɛm 'a pasi. D'a go na ɔndro wąn bɔm, a go didʑ'. Ma d'a didʑ', dąn na ɛdɛ-mąn fõ ala den wisi-mąn kɔ̨n let' na ɔndr'a bɔm, kɔm ɔr' wąn komparsi. Dąn den bigɪn fõ taki, ɛn na ɛdɛmąn ɑks' wąn tra wąn, ‘Fa sortu wroko yu du fõ na heri yari?’ A taki, ‘Mi bɛn ligeri furu suma.’ So ala gi frantwɔrtu są' den bɛn du na heri yari. Na mei̯idjɛ dɛ na ɔndro na bɔm, a i arki na ala sani.

Ma wąn fõ den, nõ, di na ɛdɛ-mąn ɑks' ɛm sąn a bɛn du fõ na 'eri yari, a taki, ‘Wɛl, mi bɛn mek' wą' prɪns sɪki, ma nowąn suma sɑ drɛs' ɕŋ na prɻns dati. Na suma di sɑ drɛs' ɕŋ, na mu' bɔr' wąn tɻŋgiforu supu gi' hɛm.’

Na mei̯idjɛ yɛre. Tamara mamąntɛ̨m, a gowe, a go na s'rɛf' foto pɛ na prɻns dɛ. A go, a taki ɕŋ sɑ drɛs' na prɻns. So a kɔm bɔr' na tɻŋg'foru sup' gi' na prɻns. Na prɻns drɻŋgi, ɛn so 'a prɻns kɔm bɛtrɛ. ɕŋ a mu tro nąŋga 'a mei̯idjɛ.

Ma di den tro kaba, dąn na prɻns kar' na mei̯idjɛ, a taki, ‘Yu si, di̯a mi 'abi wąn gotu brakri, nąŋga wąn kɔpra brakri, nąŋga wąn sɔrfu wąn. Wɛ, i si, mi dɛ go trʑ' wąn p'kin foru. Dą i ɛ tek' dɛm braki. Na ɪn' na sɔrfu yu pɔt' sɔrfuwatra. Ɛn na ɪni na kɔpra wąn

yu pɔt' kɔpra-watra. Ɛn ɪn' na gotu wą', yu pɔt' gotuwatra. Bika', te mi freį̱ kɔm na ɪni, mi mu' was' mi fesi fō mi trǫ' na prɻns baka.'

Ɛn so na meį̱idjɛ bɛn du. Ala neį̱iti na foru bɛn freį̱ kɔm, a i wasi hɛm fesi na ɪn' na watra, en a i trǫ' wąn libisuma. Mamantęm, a gowe baka.

Nō den dri sisa bɛn taį̱igi dem m'ma taki, 'Mek' wi go luku ɔpɛ na tra wąn go.' Dem tek' pasi, den gowe, go suk' hɛm. Nō, di den dɔro, na sisa taį̱ig' dɛm taki, mek' dɛm go srib' na ɪn' na 'oso na prasi. Ma den no bɛn wani, bika' dem bɛn kɔm fō si są' na sisa dɛ du. Neį̱iti den kibri luku, dɛm si wąn foru freį̱ kɔm, ɛn a trǫ' wąn prɻns. Dem bɛn fruwɔndert tumusi. Tamara dem gowe, ɛn dem taki den m'ma taki, 'Na tra wąn feni bǫ'.' Dem si wąn pikin foru freį̱ kɔm yɛsterdeį̱, ɛn a trǫ' wąn prɻns. Dąn na m'ma taki, 'A bǫ', mi sɑ go suku wąn wisi, dąn wi sɑ tyari hɛm go pɔti meki na foru no trǫ' na prɻns mɔro.'

Nō, a go na wąn wisi-mąn. Na wisi-mąn gi ɛm dri pina. A taki, 'Yu dɛ go, yu dɛ pɔt' na kɔpra wąn na ɪni na kɔpra brakri, ɛn na sɔrfu wąn na ɪni na sɔrfu brakri, ɛn na gotu wąn na ɪn' na gotu brakri.' Ɛn so na mama bɛn gi den sisa dɛm pina fō den tya' go. Di den go, den du so leį̱ik den wisi-mąn bɛn taki.

Neį̱iti, fa na p'kin foru freį̱ kɔm, a drɻŋgi den watra, ɛn so dɛm pina, a bɛn swar' dɛm. Ɛn wąn-trǫ' a no bɛn trǫ' na prɻns mɔro, ma a bɛn fleį̱ go wɛ, ɛn a kǫ' sɪki. So na meį̱idjɛ, nō, bɛn sari tumusi, a tek' 'a pasi, a i gowɛ baka fō go suku na prɻns. Ma di a dɔro, a mit ɕŋ na prɻns, di a trǫ' prɻns baka te a freį̱ gowe, taį̱ig' 'ɛm taki, 'Yu si, na fō umą mek' mi 'ɛ dɛdɛ. Deį̱is, a mi no sɑ wani umą mɔro.' Na meį̱idjɛ taig' hɛm taki, 'Wɛ, mi sɑ go suku drɛsi fō yu kɔm bɛtrɛ.'

'A meį̱idjɛ waka gowɛ, a go mit' wąn ɔru grąn-mɪsi. A bɛn bɛgi ɕŋ ɛfu a no kąn lɛpi ɕŋ, nąŋga wąn drɛsi.'A grąn-mɪsi taį̱ig' 'ɛm taki, 'Mi sɑ gi yu wąn drɛsi, ma yu mu' preį̱ fō datra.' Ɛn so a gi na meį̱idjɛ wąn batra, taį̱igi ɛm taki, 'Yu dɛ gi hɛm dri dropu tɛ yu gō. Ma yu mu' taį̱igi ɛm taki, na deį̱ di a sɑ ɔpo ɕŋ hanu nąŋga wąn rewɔlfer fō shut' wąn suma, a mu' mɛmbre sąn ɕŋ datra bɛn taį̱igi.'

Na meį̱idjɛ a gowe. A baį̱ wąn brōru, baį̱ wąn blaka pak. A weri, a kɔm p'sa. Di a i p'sa, wąn suma taį̱ik prɻns taki, 'Wąn datra dɛ p'sa.' Prɻns taki, mek' den kari hɛm kɔm. Di a kɔm, a luku prɻns, a taki, 'Mi sɑ gi' yu wąn drɛsi. Ma na deį̱ di yu sɑ opo yu 'anu nąŋga wąn rewɔlfu' fō shutu wąn suma, wą' trǫ' yu mu mɛmbre sąn yu datra bɛn taį̱igi yu.' Ɛn so na datra kǫ̱n gi' ɛm na drɛsi.

Ɛn fa-i-si a bɛn drɻŋg' na drɛsi, a bɛn brak' den pina puru. Na datra gowɛ.

Nō, na meị̂djɛ go na na s'rɛf' presi pɛ na foru bɛn freị̂ kɔm. Wąn neị̂ti, na foru freị̂ kɔm, ɛn di na foru freị̂ kɔm, a trǫ' na prɻns. Ma fa-i-si a trǫ' na prɻns, a si na meị̂djɛ. A opo ɛ̨ŋ rewɔlfō' fō wąntrǫ' shutu hɛm. Ɛn na meị̂djɛ bɛn taig' hɛm taki, 'Mɛmbre są' yu datra bɛn taị̂gi yu!' A saka ɛ̨ŋ 'anu. A opo ɛ̨ŋ 'anu baka fō shutu hɛm. 'A meị̂djɛ taig' gi ɛm baka, taki, 'Mɛmbre sąn yu datra bɛn taị̂gi yu!' So a no süt' na meị̂djɛ mɔro. ɛ̨ŋ 'ati bɛn kɔm karu.

Nō, na meị̂djɛ kar ɛ̨ŋ, taị̂g' ɛ̨ŋ taki, 'Wɛ, yu si na so bɛn p'sa. Na mi bɛn dɛ na datra, dɪsi bɛn drɛs' yu.' Na prɻns taị̂gi ɛm taki, 'Ma dem sisa f' yu, dɑti, ɛf' den kǫn dị̂a, den 'ɛdɛ sɑ go na kaluk.'

Ɛn so, dem sisa bɛn kɔm. Ɛn so na yɥŋgu bɛn meki dɛm hąŋga dem sisa fō na ɔgri di den bɛn du nąŋga dem sisa.

Ɛn so dem bɛn gi' wąn feị̂st. Ma na ɪn' na feị̂st wąn kanǭ' bɛn shutu. Ɛn na sxɔt fō na kanǫ' bɛn tro-wɛ mi kǫn tɛ ... dia. Dɑt' mek' mi n'e sab' mɔro fō na tɔri.

99. The Prince Who Changed into a Bird.[1]

There was a mother who had three daughters. Then she had another whom she was bringing up who was her sister's (child). But they beat her and abused her. One day she left, and went to the bush. She walked so till... night came, and caught her on the road. Then she went under a tree, and she lay down. But when she lay down, then the headmen of all the sorcerers came right under the tree to hold a meeting. Then they began to talk and the headman asked one of them, 'What sort of work did you do all year?' He said, 'I bewitched many people.' So all of them gave accounts of what they had done the whole year. The girl was there under the tree, she heard everything.

But one of them, now, when the headman asked him what he had done the whole year, he said, 'Well, I made a prince sick, but no one will cure that prince. The person who would cure him would have to cook vulture soup for him.'

The girl heard. The next morning, she went away. She went to the same city where the prince was. She went, and she said she would cure the prince. So she cooked the vulture soup for the prince. The prince drank it and so the prince got better. And he must marry the girl.

But when they were already married, then the prince called the girl, and he said, 'You see here I have a gold tray, and a copper tray, and a silver one. Well, you see, I am going to change into a small bird. Then you will take the trays. In the silver one, you

1 Told by 4. Compare Hausa, Tremearne (III) 280-283, No. 44 (variant); Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 156-158, No. 123; Santo Domingo, Andrade 109-110, No. 78; Brazil, Eells 165-174, No. 16.

must put silver water. And in the copper one, you must put copper water. And in the gold one, you must put gold water. Because when I come flying inside, I must wash my face in order to change back into a prince.'

And so the girl had done. Every night the bird came flying, and he washed his face in the water, and he changed into a human being. In the morning he went away again.

Now the three sisters said to their mother, said, 'Let us go and see where the other went.' They went on their way to look for her. Now, when they arrived, the sister said to them, she said, let them go sleep in the house in the back yard. But they did not want (to go), because they came to see what the sister was doing. At night they hid to watch and they saw a bird come flying, and it changed into a prince. They were very much astonished. The next day they went away, and they said to their mother, said, 'The other one has found good (fortune).' They saw a small bird come flying yesterday, and it changed into a prince. Then the mother said, 'All right, I will go and find a *wisi*[1], then we shall take it and fix it so that the bird will not change into a prince any more.'

Now she went to a sorcerer. The sorcerer gave her three pins. He said, 'You will go and you will put the copper one in the copper tray, the silver one in the silver tray, and the gold one in the gold tray.' And so the mother gave the sisters the pins to take away. When they went, they did just as the sorcerer had said.

At night, as the little bird came flying, it drank the water and so it swallowed the pins. And at once he could not change into a prince any more, but he flew away, and he got sick. So the girl, now, was very sad, she went on her way again to try and find the prince. But when she came upon the prince, who had turned back to a prince when he flew away, he said to her, said, 'You see, for the sake of a woman I am dying. Thus I will have nothing more to do with women.' The girl said to him, she said, 'Well, I am going to look for medicine to cure you.'

The girl walked away, she met an old woman. She begged her if she couldn't help her with her medicine. The old woman said to her, she said, 'I will give you a medicine, but you must pretend to be a doctor.' And so she gave the girl a bottle, and said to her, said, 'Give him three drops when you go. But you must say to him, say, the day he will raise his hand, (armed) with a revolver[2] to shoot someone, he must remember what his doctor had said.'

The girl went away. She bought a high hat, and bought a black coat. She dressed herself in these, and came by. When she passed, someone said to the prince, he said, 'A doctor is passing.' The prince said have them call him. When he came, he looked at the prince, and he said, 'I will give you a medicine. But the day you raise your hand, (armed) with a revolver to shoot someone, you must

1 Black magic.
2 Note the three pronunciations given to word 'revolver'.

at once remember what your doctor had said to you.' And so the doctor gave him the medicine. And just as he drank the medicine, he vomited the pins. The doctor went away.

Now the girl went to the same place where the bird used to come flying. One night the bird came flying, and when the bird came flying, it changed into a prince. But just as he changed into a prince, he saw the girl. He raised his revolver to shoot her at once. And the girl said to him, said, 'Remember what your doctor had said to you!' He dropped his hand. He raised his hand again to shoot her. The girl said to him again, said, 'Remember what your doctor had said to you!' So he did not shoot the girl any more. His heart grew cool.[1]

Now, the girl called him, and said to him, said, 'Well, you see, this is what happened. I was the doctor who cured you.' The prince said to her, he said, 'But if those sisters of yours come here, their heads will go on the gallows.'

And so, the sisters came. And so the young man had them hang the sisters for the evil they had done to their sister.

And so they gave a feast. But in the midst of the feast, a cannon was shot. And the cannon-shot threw me till... here. That is why I don't know any more of the story.

100.

Wąn m'ma bɛn dɛ, bɛn 'abi dri umą-p'kin. A bɛn 'ab' wą' tra p'kin, ɛ̨ŋ kweki, di a no bɛn f'ɛ̨ŋ. Ma a bɛn mɛsandel dɑti. San den tra wąn nyąm libi, 'a dɑt' a bɛn gi' ɛ̨ŋ. A no bɛn gi' ɛ̨ŋ krosi s'rɛfi, broko kros' a bɛn wer' gi ɛ̨ŋ. 'A pikin, a i sari so tɛ ... ma no bɛn kąn du bɛtre.

Wą dei̯ den gi ɛ̨ŋ kau̯-bɛrɛ f'a go wasi na liba. Nō, d'a go was' 'a kau̯-bɛri, fɪsi hala kau̯-beri tya' gowɛ. A bɪgin fō krei̯ so tɛ ... bika' a bɛn sab' taki, ɛf' a go na hoso sɔndro kau̯-bɛre, dę 'ɛ go fɔm ɛ̨ŋ.

1 Idiom in town and bush for 'his anger subsided'.

Nō, di a no sab' sąn fō du, a bɪgin fu lǫ'-we g'a busi. Ma, di a g'a pasi, a miti wą' grąn-mɪsi. 'A grąn-mɪsi ɑks' ɛŋ, pɛ a i go. A ferteri na grąn-mɪsi sąn bɛn dɛ fō du. Na grąn-mɪsi taį̱g' ɛŋ taki, mek' a krasi ɛŋ baka gi' ɛm. Ma di a bɪgin fō krasi, na grąn-mɪsi baka furu nąŋga broko batra. Ma, tox a no tak' nɔtįŋ, a kras' 'a grąn-mɪsi baka. Di a kaba, 'a grąn-mɪsi gi ɛŋ wąn dosu, a taki, ‘Wɛ, 'i si, mi p'kin, yu kras' mi baka gi' mi, ɛn mi n'a nɔtįŋ fō gi' yu. Tek' 'a dosu dɪsi, dą' i go na i oso, dąn. Tɛ yu wan' wą' sani, dąn yu taki, “Mi dosu, mi dosu, sąn yu mɪsi bɛn taį̱g' yu?” Dąn yu sɑ si.’

'A medjɛ no g'a busi mɔro, m'a kǫ' na 'oso. Di a kǫ' na 'oso, dem fɔm ɛŋ so tɛ ... fō na kaų̱-bɛri di go na watra. Nō, a no piki dɛm nɔtįŋ, tak' na so wą' sani 'a grąn-mɪsi bɛn gi' ɛŋ.

Wąn Sɔnde m'mąntɛm, wą' fe̱ist bɛn go dɛ na kerki. Ala den tra p'kin fō na fraų̱ a na̱i mo̱i krosi gi dɛm, ma na di a i kweki, dɑti a taki a no mu' go s'rɛf' s'rɛf na kerki. Ma na Sɔnde m'mąntɛm dɑti, na p'kin du ala ɛŋ wroko fō a kąn k'ba fruku-fruku. Di den tra wą' g'we na kerki, ala sani k'ba. Dąn ɛŋ go na ɛŋ dosu nō, a taki, ‘Mi dosu, mi dosu, są' i mɪs' bɛn taį̱g' yu?’ Wątrǫ', a bɛn kɛnki kǫ na ɪni wąn mo̱i yapǫŋ, nąŋga wąn got' shusu na i futu. Tu spąn asi bɛn tenapu wątrǫ' klari f' g'a kerki. Ɛn so, di a re̱i na ɪn' na she̱isi go na kerki, ala suma bɛn luk' ɛŋ. Dem bɛn fruwundru tumusi. Dem no bɛn sabi suma dɑti.

Konu s'refi bɛn go na kerki, ɛn 'a medjɛ bɛn mo̱i tumusi na ɛŋ a̱i, dɑti a bɛn wani fō sabi pɛ a dɛ libi, ɛn suma na hɛm. Konu go na wąn f' den mąn fō kerki, taį̱g' ɛm taki, dę' mu' luku sodra le̱ik a me̱idjɛ go na ɪn' na shesi, dę' mu' puru wąn fō den shusu na ɛŋ futu. Ɛn dem bɛn du so. Di kerki kɔmopo, fa na me̱ishɛ go na ɪn' na shesi, den har' wą futu-susu puru ɛŋ. Den kyar' 'a susu gi' Konu.

Nō, na medjɛ kǫ' na 'oso, a go na ɛŋ dosu, a tak', ‘Mi dosu, mi dosu, tapu.’ Ɛn so a bɛn trǫ' na s'rɛf' medjɛ baka. Di den tra wą' kǫ' na 'oso, dem bɪgin fɛrter' ɛŋ fa wą' mo̱i medjɛ kǫn na kerki tide m'mąntɛm, ma Konu no sab' suma, a mek' dɛm pur' wąn-se̱i susu f'ɛŋ futu.

Dri de̱i na baka, Konum meki soldati waka na ala gyari fō na kɔndre, mek' ala suma sɑ fɪti na susu. Ɛn suma a fɪti den, sɑ tyar ɛŋ kǫ' na Konu. Na de̱i di dɛ' kǫ' dapɛ, dɛ pɛ na medjɛ tą', na fro meki den p'kin f'ɛŋ was' den s'kin mo̱i, ma na wą' dɑti, a s'rot' ɛm na ɪn' wąn ɔŋfu. Nō, na fro no bɛn sab'-taki a bɛn 'ab' wąn pɔpoka̱i dapɛ, ɛn na pɔpoka̱i a bɛn dɛ taki, ɛn so a luku ala san' dɑt' p'sa. Di dem soldat' kɔm nō nąŋga na susu, a meki dem p'kin

fu ɛŋ fɪti na susu, ma a no fɪti nowąn. Ma di den soldati 'ɛ gowe, nō mō 'a pɔpokaį 'ɛ bari, ‘Ụn kɔm baka, wąn suma dɛ n'ɪn' na ɔŋfu 'ɛte. A no dɛ nąŋga leti dati. Ụn mu' kɔm mek' na di dɛ na ɪn' fɪti tu.’ Den soldat' draį kɔm baka, den ɑksi na fro ɛf' wą' suma dɛ 'ɛte. 'A fro tak', ‘No, no.’ Na p'pokaį a i bar', taki, ‘Yu leį! Wą' dɛ ɪn' na ɔŋf' 'ɛte.’ Ɛn so den soldati tak', dę' sɑ go luku. Di den go, den si na meįtjɛ na ɪn' na ɔŋfu. Den tyar' ɛŋ kɔ' dɔro, ɛn fa den pɔt' na susu na ɛŋ futu, na susu fɪt' ɛŋ.

Wąntrǫ' dem go na Konu, dem fɛrter Konu ala sąn' di p'sa. Ɛn Konu sɛni bɔskop' kɔm taki, so wąn deį na meįdjɛ mu dɛ, leti dape na ɛm 'oso. Ma dɛ fɔs' na meįdjɛ go, a go na ɛŋ dosu, a taki, ‘Mi dosu, mi dosu, są' yu mɪs' bɛn taįgi yu?’ Wąntrǫ' a bɛn kɔ' na ɪni wą' mɔro moį yapǫŋ leįiki na fɔs' leįisi. A bɛn raį na Konu 'oso, ɛn di Konum bɛn si, a i kɔm, Konu bɛn flaų wą'trǫn. A taki, ‘Nąŋga dɪsi meįdjɛ mi sɑ tro.’ Ɛn so Konum bɛn prati papira wąntrǫ' taki, so wąn deį ɛŋ sɑ tro nąŋga na meįdjɛ. Ɛn so Konu bɛn tro nąŋga hɛm.

Nō, na sani kɔm speįt dem p'kin nąŋga dem m'ma, di na meįtjɛ bɛn kɪs' so wąn xɔlɔku. Wąn deį, na m'ma gi' wąn fō dem p'kin f'ɛŋ kaų-bɛre, tak' a mu' go wasi. Ma a mu go na s'rɛf' presi pɛ na tra wąn bɛn go. A bɛn dɛnk', taki, tɛ a go, a sɑ p'sa na sɛrefi leįik f'a bɛn p'sa na tra p'kin. Di a go, fɪsi tek' na kaų-bɛri. A kɔmopo, a i go na 'oso. A mit' wąn grąnmɪsi. 'A grąn-mɪsi taki, ‘Kras' mi baka gi mi.’ Ma di a luku 'a grąn-mɪsi baka, 'a grąn-mɪsi baka bɛn furu nąŋga soso maka. A taig' na grąn-mɪs' taki, ‘Mi sɑ go kras' yu baka nąŋga na maka dɪsi?’ Na grąn-mɪsi, nō, piki 'ɛm nɔtįŋ. A taki, ‘Mi p'kin, wɛ, tek' na dosu dɪsi, dą' i taki, “Mi dosu, mi dosu, są' i mɪsi bɛn taįg' gi yu”?’ Na meįdjɛ praxer', taki, ‘Na na s'ref' a i go p'sa mi. Mi dɛ go na in' na moį krosi leįik' na trawą'.’. Ma a no bɛn sab' bɛtre. Di a go na 'oso, taįgi ɛm m'ma sąn p'sa, na m'ma taki, ‘Wɛ, tąn te Sɔndeį, dąn yu sɑ go na dosu.’

Sɔndeį na meįdjɛ dem go alamala, go fō go luku są i go p'sa. Di na meįdjɛ go na ɛŋ dosu, 'ɛm taki, ‘Mi dosu, mi dosu, są' yu mɪsi bɛn taįg' yu?’ Ma a no bɛn kɔ' na ɪni moį krosi. Wąn krawasi kɔmopo na ɪn' na dosu. A bɪgin fō wɪpi dem, dat den alamala bɛn 'ab' fō rɔ'. Den no bɛn sabi sąn' fō du, bika' a di a no bɛn kras' na grąn-mɪsi baka gi' ɛm.

A no so, yu dɛ fen' bǫn, yu mu rɛspeki fɔsi yu feni bǫn? Ɛn so, na paįimąŋ dɛm bɛn dɛ kɪsi fō di dem bɛn mɛsandel den tra wąn.

Kaba.

100. The Good Child and the Bad: Cinderella: Magic Whip.[2]

2 Told by 4. Compare Senegal (Toucouleur), le Brun 190, No. 6; Sudan, (Bambara), Travélé 205-213, No. 66; Wolof, Equilbecq, iii, 9-34; Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 265-275; Liberia, Bundy 406-407, No. 1, (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 410-414, No. 28 and No. 29; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 303, Guro No. 48, 304-305, Guro No. 52, 307-308, Guro No. 59; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 89-94, No. 16; Togo (Popo), Trautmann 1-2, 5-6; Dahomey (Fon), Trautmann 3-5, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS No. 42; Hausa, Rattray (IV) 130-160, No. 7, 232-246, No. 13, 260-272, No. 17, Schön 101-109, No. 22, 123-124, No. 36, 150-154, No. 52, Tremearne (III) 187-190, No. 3, 295-297, No. 50, 307-314, No. 56, 401-407, No. 84, 424-428, No. 93; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier 467-468, fable No. 68; Northeastern Nigeria (Bura), Helser 206-208, No. 53; Southern Nigeria (Yoruba), Ellis (I) 244-253, No. 1 and No. 2, Frobenius 222-233, Nos. 14-16, 312-313, No. 53, Bouche (II) 235-238; Cameroons, Krug 113, No. 9 (also No. 5), (Bulu), Schwab (I) 274-275, No. 14, (Pangwe), Tessmann 373, (Duala), Lederbogen (II) 65-68, No. 8 and 70-71, No. 12; Gabun (Batanga), Nassau (I) 45-47, No. 16, Nassau (I) 208-226, Binga No. 33; Angola, Chatelaine 53-63, (Umbundu), Bell 145-147, No. 20; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier (I) 117-119, No. XI (appendix), (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 120-121,

There was a mother, who had three daughters. She had another child (whom) she was bringing up who was not hers. But she was mistreating that one. What the others left after eating, that she gave to the child. She did not even give her clothes, she gave her torn clothes to wear. The child was unhappy, so till... but she could not do better.

One day they gave her a cow's belly to wash in the river. Now, when she went to wash the cow's belly, a fish snatched at the cow's belly, and carried it away. She began to cry so till... because she knew that if she went home without the cow's belly, they would beat her.

No. 130; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 94-96, No. 81; Santo Domingo, Andrade 202, No. 150, 214-218, Nos. 163-165. Comparative, (for Good Child and Bad) Bolte u. Polívka, i, 207-227, No. 24, (for Cinderella), ibid., i., 165-188, No. 21. For another Suriname version see Van Cappelle 365-370, which is even closer to our Dahomean tale No. 42 than is the story we give here. It is to be remarked that the majority of the above correspondences refer to the 'Good Child and Bad' ('Frau Holle') portion of our tale; in the Sudan for 'Good and Bad Child' one often finds 'Good and Bad Wife'. For Magic Whip correspondences see comparative note to Tale 41.

Now as she did not know what to do, she started to run away to the bush. But, as she went on her way, she met an old woman. The old woman asked her where she was going. She told the old woman what had happened. The old woman said to her, said, let her scratch her back for her. But when she began to scratch, (she found that) the old woman's back was full of bits of broken glass. But yet she said nothing, and she scratched the old woman's back. When she finished, the old woman gave her a box, and she said, ‘Well, my child, since you scratched my back for me, and I have nothing to give you. Take this box and go home. Then when you want something, then you say, “My little box, my little box, what did your mistress tell you?” Then you will see.’

The girl went no farther into the bush, but she came home. When she came home, they beat her so till... because of the cow's belly which fell in the water. Now, she did not tell them anything, saying that the old woman had given her such a thing.

One Sunday morning, there was to be a celebration in the church. For all of the woman's other daughters she sewed fine clothes, but to the one she was bringing up, to that one she said that she could not even go to church. But now, that Sunday morning, the child did all her work that she might finish very early. When the others went away to church, everything was finished. Then she went to her small box, now, and she said, ‘My box, my box, what did your mistress tell you?’ At once she was changed into (a girl in) a fine dress, with golden shoes on her feet. Two span of horses were standing ready to go to church. And so, when she rode to church in the carriage all the people looked at her. They were very much astonished. They did not know who she was.

The King himself went to church, and the girl was so beautiful in his eyes, that he wanted to know where she lived, and who she was. The King went to one of the churchmen, and he said to him, said, they must watch when the girl went back in her carriage, and they must take off a shoe from her foot. And they did so. When church was over, as the girl went to her carriage they took off one of her shoes. They brought the shoe to the King.

Now the girl came home, and she went to her box, and she said, ‘My box, my box, shut.’ And so, she changed back to the same girl. When the others came home, they began to tell her how a beautiful girl had come to church that morning, but the King did not know who she was, and he had them take off a shoe from her foot.

Three days later, the King made the soldiers go to all the yards in the Kingdom to have everybody try on the shoe. And the person it fitted they should bring to the King. The day when they came there where the girl lived, the woman had her daughters bathe their bodies nicely, but that one, she locked up in an oven. Now, the woman did not know that there was a parrot there, and that the parrot talked, and so he saw everything that happened. When the

soldiers came now with the shoe, she had her daughters try on the shoe, but it did not fit any of them. But, as the soldiers were going away, at once the parrot cried out, ‘Come back, there is still someone in the oven. That isn't right. You must come and let the one who is inside try it on, too.’ The soldiers turned back, and asked the woman if there was still someone. The woman said, ‘No, no.’ The parrot cried, and said, ‘You lie! Someone is still there in the oven.’ And so the soldiers said they would go and look. When they went, they saw the girl in the oven. They brought her out, and as they put the shoe on her foot, the shoe fitted her.

At once they went to the King, and they told the King everything that happened. And the King sent a message that on such a day the girl must be right there in his house. But before the girl went, she went to her box, and she said, ‘My box, my box, what did your mistress tell you?’ At once she found herself in a more beautiful dress than the first time. She rode to the King's house. And when the King saw that she came, at once the King fainted. He said, ‘This girl I will marry.’ And so the King prepared a paper at once that on such a day he would marry the girl. And so the King married her.

Now the thing came to irritate the daughters and the mother that the girl had found such luck. One day, the mother gave one of her girls a cow's belly, and said she must go and wash it. But she must go to the same place where the other one had gone. She thought that when she went, the same thing would happen as happened to the other girl. When she went, a fish took the cow's belly. She left and she went home. She met an old woman. The old woman said, ‘Scratch my back for me.’ But when she looked at the old woman's back, the old woman's back was full of thorns. She said to the old woman, ‘I am to go and scratch your back with all these thorns?’ The old woman, now, answered her nothing. She said, ‘My child, well, take this box, then say, “My box, my box, what did your mistress tell you”?’ The girl studied and said, ‘The same is going to happen to me. I am going to come into fine clothes like the other.’ But she did not know any better. When she went home and told her mother what had happened, the mother said, ‘Well, wait until Sunday, then you will go to the box.’

Sunday all the girls went to see what would happen. When the girl went to her box, she said, ‘My box, my box, what did your mistress tell you?’ But she did not come into fine clothes. A whip came out of the box. It began to whip them, so that they all had to run. They did not know what to do [to stop it], because she had not scratched the old woman's back for her.

Is it not true [that] in order to find good, you must be respectful first before you can find the good? And so, it was the payment they got for mistreating the other one.

Finished.

101.

Wą, mama bɛn habi fɔr pikin. Wąn bɛn nɛm Minimini, wąn bɛn nɛm Fremąnboni, trawąn Fremąntaria, na trawąn Koprokanu. Ma nō, a no bɛn lɔb' Koprokanu. Dąn den pikin dɛ tąn 'a wąn presi. Dąn, te brɛktɛm, te a tyari nąnyąm kɔm gi dem, a n'e gi Koprokanu. A no lɔb' Koprokanu. Dą' i sɻŋ' wą sɻŋgi gi dem:

Minimini kɔ' nyąm,
Fremanbɔni kɔ' nyąm,
Fremantaya kɔ' nyąm,
Koprokanu tą' dɛ,
Koprokanu tą' dɛ.

Te den trawą, nyąm, san den no wani, 'a dati a i tyar' gi Koprokanu.

Nō, Didibri sabi taki na so na mama i du. Dą' a wan' go kir' den dri pikin di na mama lɔbi. A go 'a smɛti, a meki smɛti fari i tɔŋgo gi hɛm. Ma Dibri taig' hɛm taki, tɛ a dɛ go, a no mu nyąm bakba. Ma, de a i go 'a pasi a nyąm bakba. Dąn dɛ a go, dą' a sɻŋgi na srɛf' sɻŋgi di na mama de sɻŋ', ma ɛŋ stɛm bɛn hɛbi. Dą' den pikin taki, ‘A no mi mama stɛm, 'a stɛm di sɻŋgi dɛ.’ Den no opo 'a dɔro. Didibri gowe.

'A smeti a fari ɛŋ tɔŋgo baka. A no nyąm bakuba mɔro. 'A tra deį a kɔm, dą' a sɻŋgi na srɛf' sɻŋgi di na mama i sɻngi. Dą' den pikin opo na dɔro. A kiri Fremanboni, nąŋga Fremantaria, nąŋga Minimini. A libi Koprokanu.

Di na mama kɔm, a sɻŋgi na srɛf' sɻŋgi, nō mō Koprokanu pik' ɛŋ taki:

Minimini no dɛ,
Fremanboni no dɛ,
Fremantaya no dɛ,
Koprokanu wan dɛ.

So dɛ na mama opo na dɔro, a kɔm si ala den tra pikin dɛdɛ. Koprokanu wawą' tąn. A kɔm lɔb' Koprokanu so tɛ ...

Dɑti dɛ sɔri taki, tɛ yu habi furu pikin yu mu lɔbi ala na srɛfi. Yu no mu lɔb' trawą mɔro leik' trawąn.

101. Abused Child: Devil Files his Tongue.[1]

A mother had four children. One was named Minimini, one was named Fremanboni, another one was named Fremantaria, and another Koprokanu. But now she did not love Koprokanu. Then the children lived in a certain place. Then, at breakfast time, when she brought food for them, she did not give Koprokanu. She did not love Koprokanu. Then she sang a song for them:

> Minimini come eat,
> Fremanboni come eat,
> Fremantaria come eat,
> Koprokanu stay there,
> Koprokanu stay there.[2]

When the others had eaten, whatever they did not want, that they brought Koprokanu.

Now the Devil[3] knew that so the mother did. Then he wanted to kill the three girls whom the mother loved. He went to the smith and had the smith file his tongue for him[4]. But the Devil said to him, he said, when he went, he must not eat bananas. But, when he went on the road he ate a banana. Then he went to sing the same song which the mother sang, but his voice was heavy. Then the children said, 'The voice which is singing is not our mother's voice.' They did not open the door. The Devil went away.

The smith filed his tongue again. He did not eat any more bananas. The next day he came and he sang the same song which the mother sang. Then the children opened the door. He killed Fremanboni, and Fremantaria, and Minimini. He left Koprokanu.

When the mother came, she sang the same song, and at once Koprokanu answered her:

> Minimini is not here,
> Fremanboni is not here,
> Fremantaria is not here,
> Koprokanu alone is here.

So when the mother opened the door she saw that all the other children were dead. Koprokanu alone remained. She grew to love Koprokanu so till...

That shows that when you have many children you must love all alike. You must not love one more than another.

1 Told by 1. Compare Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS No. 82; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 20, No. 17a and 116-117, No. 91. Comparative, Bolte u. Polívka, I, 37-42, No. 5. For another Suriname version see Van Cappelle 372-374, No. 37.

2 Song No. 118.

3 Note the Devil in the role of champion of the abused child as an example of acculturation akin to that of the Dahomean-Nigerian use of *Legba* for Devil, where the European name is given, but not the European attributes.

4 Informant said the Devil's tongue is heavy. When the Devil wants to impersonate a human being he files his tongue. This smith was the master Devil.

102. Santa Fai□ya Mama Kiri ◻ŋ Pikin.

Wąn mama bɛn 'abi wąn pikin. 'A boi̯ bęn hɔgri so tɛ ... ɛf' a pɔt' ɛ̨ŋ fō go lɛr' wroko na wąn basi, a i fɔm na basi. Tumusi a bɛn ɔgri. Nowąn suma bɛn mąŋ nąŋga ɛ̨ŋ. A go pre mormō nąŋga Konu pɪkin, a wɪn' dɛm. Dąn den wani fɛti nąŋga ɛ̨ŋ. A nak' wą' fō dɛn, a trǫ' wąn ros-bɔm. A naki tra wąn, a trǫ' wąn dyari. A naka tra wąn, a trǫ' wąn broko skotu.

Nō, suma kǫ' tai̯gi ɛ̨ŋ mama tai̯gi na so a bɛn du. Dąn ɛ̨ŋ tai̯gi na mama, taki, meki a pōti na boi̯ na wąn basi dɛm kari Abrikɛ. Dapɛ dɛm sa maxti ɛ̨ŋ.

Abrikɛ bɛn dɛ wąn didibri. Di na mama ɑksi fō a tyari na boi̯ kɔm leri wroko dapɛ, Abrikɛ taki, ‘A bǫn.’ A sɛni wąn boto kǫ teki na boi̯. Na boi̯ taki, ‘Nąŋga dɑti boto, mi no dɛ gō.’ Bɪkasi na boi̯ bɛn dɛ wąn sabi-mąn; a sabi taki ɛf' a gō nąŋga na boto dati, a i go dɛdɛ. Di a gō nąŋga wąn tra boto, dą' Abrikɛ teki ɛ̨ŋ tya gō na ɪni na wroko-'oso, Dąn a sori ɛ̨ŋ taki, meki a go wroko nąŋga mashin. Na boi̯ taki, ‘No, no, na yu na basi. Yu fɔsi mu sori mi fa na mashin dɛ wroko.’ Bika' ɛf' na boi̯ bɛn gō na na mashin, a bɛn go dɛdɛ. Abrikɛ du ala moi̯ti fō kiri ɛ̨ŋ, ma a no bɛn mąŋ. Na boi̯ kɔni mɔr' ɛ̨ŋ.

Di a no mąŋ fō kir' ɛ̨ŋ, a sɛn' ɛ̨ŋ gowe baka. Di na boi̯ gowɛ, a go wroko na wąn timrɛbasi. Dąn Abrikɛ prakseri taki, ‘Mi mu' go suku na boi̯ baka, di bɛn kǫn dia.’ Dąn Abrikɛ kɛ̨ŋki trǫ wąn umą, dɛn a go pɛ na boi̯ dɛ wroko. Wą' moi̯ umą a bɛn dɛ. Di den tra wrokomąn si na umąn, dę' alamala stre fō teki na umą. Ma no, spɛsial fō na boi̯ a bɛn kɔm. Dąn a ben 'abi wąn baksita na ɛ̨ŋ 'ɛdɛ tapu. A taki, ‘Ụn' alamala lɔbi mi, na suma naki na baksita puru na tapu mi 'ɛdɛ, nąŋga dɑti mi sa libi.’ Dąn ala teki sani pus' na baksita, ma a no mąŋ fadǫ. Na boi̯ no pusu. Den trawą' taki, ‘Wi ala dɛ proberi, wɛ, mek' a proberi tu.’ Fa a teki wą' pikɻ' tɪki, a meri na baksita, wą'trǫ' a fadǫn. Ɛn so a bɛn libi nąŋga na umą. Ma di den libi wąn-tu dei̯, dąn na 'umą taki hɛm wani meki dɛm go suku ą̨wara.

Ma na boi̯ bɛn habi dri dagu, na ɛ̨ŋ mama 'oso. Dąn bifɔ' a gowɛ nąŋga na umą, a go na ɛ̨' mama, a tai̯g' ɛ̨ŋ taki, ‘Mi mama, 'a dia

mi dɛ kɛt' ɛŋ dɛm dagu. Dɛn mi dɛ pɔti wạn patu nạŋga watra na fạ̣ia. Ma tɛ yu si na watra bɛ' redi, lusu den dagu, meki dɛm kọ̣m na mi.'

Di den gō na busi fō pɪki awara, na umạn taki, 'Luku, go na tapu na bom dɪsi, dɑti mi wani.' Di na bọ̣i go na tapu na bom, no mō' na umạn (Abrikɛ) trọ' wạn bɪgi mạn. A taki, 'Yu bọ̣i, tidɛ wi miti.' Dis' tɛ' na watra dɛ rɛdi na 'oso na tapu fạ̣ia. Ma na mama no bɛn luku na watra, so di na 'uma trọ' na Abrikɛ, dạn a sɻŋgi taki, '*Abrikɛ, ni-ni-ni-ni-ni*.' Dạn somɛni suma kɔm. Na bọ̣i drapu wan batra nạŋga obia di a bɛn habi. A taki, 'Santa Fạ̣ia Mama kiri ɛŋ pikin.' Dạn na bom kɔm so bɪgi, so bɪgi dɑti den no mạŋ fō kɔti hɛm. Dɪsi tɛm, na patu kuku tɛ ... a trọ' brudu. Na mama dɛ taki tɔri nạŋga hɛm birfraụ̣ fō na bɪgi okro tọntọn di den bɛn nyạm yɛstɛdẹ̣i. A frɪgiti sạn ɛŋ pikin bɛn taị̣gi hɛm. Den dagu kaụ̣ na keitɻ' tɛ ... hɛm mɔfo bɛn kɔm brudu. Wạn fō den lusu. Di na bɔm den luku fō fadọ', na bọ̣i drapu hɛm batra baka. A taki, 'Santa Fạ̣ia Mama kiri hɛm pikin.' Abrikɛ sɻŋgi baka, sɻŋgi taki, '*Abrikɛ, ni-ni-ni-ni-ni*.' Mɔro furu tra didibri bɛn kɔm nạŋga ɑksi fō kɔti na bɔm. Ma nō, ala dɛm dri dagu lusu dem dɔro, dem kiri ala den didibri. Dem wani fō kiri Abrikɛ. Dạn na bọ̣i taki, 'Mi dagu, tapu.' So na dagu no kiri Abrikɛ.

Dạn na bọ̣i saka kɔm na grọ'. A taki, 'Abrikɛ, fa tide mạn miti mạn, tɛ tu mạn miti den srɛfi, dɛm kali dɛm srɛfi omu.' 'Sạ' yu dɛŋki yu bɛn sɑ du nạŋga mi?' Dạn a taị̣gi hɛm, taki, 'Mi no sɑ kiri yu, ma mi sɑ dɪki wạn hɔro, pɔti yu na ɪni.' Dạn a du so.

Ma di a go na hoso, dạn a taị̣gi hɛm mama, taki, 'Mi Mama, yu si blɛkwar, dem dagu no mu' nyɛm.' Ma wạn dẹ̣i, na bọ̣i bɛn sribi. Dạ' na mama ben bɔri salɛm. Dạn a libi na brɛk. Dạn dem dagu smɛri na blɛk, ɛn so den go, den kiri na bọ̣i.

Dati meki na tɔri nem, 'Santa Fạ̣ia Mama kiri hɛm pikin.' Bika' na na mama bɛn meki hɛm pikin dɛdɛ.

102. Enfant Terrible: Flight up the Tree.[1]

A mother had a child. The boy was bad so till... if she placed him somewhere with a boss to go and learn a trade, he beat his boss. He was very troublesome. Nobody could manage him. He went to play marbles with the King's children, and he won from them. Then they wanted to fight with him. He struck one of them, and he turned into a rosebush. He struck another and he turned into a yard. He struck another and he turned into a broken fence.

Now somebody came to tell his mother that this was what he had done. Then he said to the mother, said, let her apprentice the boy to a boss they called Abrike. There they will tame him.

Abrike was a devil. When the mother asked to bring the boy to learn a trade there, Abrike said, 'All right.' He sent a boat to bring the boy. The boy said, 'With that boat I am not going.' Because the boy was a wise man; he knew that if he went with that boat he would die. When he went with another boat, then Abrike took him into the workshop. Then he showed him, he said, let him come and work at the machine. The boy said, 'No, no, you are the boss. You must first show me how the machine works.' Because if the boy had gone to the machine, he would have died. Abrike made all kinds of attempts to kill him, but he could not. The boy's cunning surpassed his.

When (he found) he could not kill him, he sent him back. When the boy went away, he went to work with a master carpenter. Then Abrike studied, he said, 'I must go and look again for the boy who came here.' Then Abrike changed into a woman, then she went where the boy was working. She was a beautiful woman. When the other workers saw the woman, they all entered into a rivalry to take the woman. But she had come especially for the boy. Then she had a basket on top of her head. She said, 'All of you love me, but I will live with the one who knocks the basket from my head.' Then all took things with which to push the basket, but it could not fall down. The boy did not push. Then the others said, 'We all are trying, well, let him try too.' As he took a little stick and touched the basket, it fell down at once. And so he lived with the woman. But when they had lived (together) a few days, then the woman said to him, let them go look for awara.[2]

But the boy had three dogs at his mother's house. Then before he went away with the woman, he went to his mother, and said to

1 Told by 1. Compare Sudan (Bambara), Travélé 129-135, No. 49; Sierra Leone (Temne), Thomas (V) 58-60; Liberia (Gola), Westermann (II) 101-2, No. 20, and (III) 486-492, No. 20; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 299-300, Guro No. 44, 307, Guro No. 57, 338, Gagu No. 31; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 123-128, No. 22, (Ashanti), Rattray (I) 165-169, No. 43; Togo, Cardinall 102-103; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 474, fable No. 75; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS No. 17, No. 19, No. 29, No. 30, No. 45; Hausa, Bassett (I) 53-54, No. 18, (II) cols. 225-226, Tremearne (III) 298-299, No. 51, 432-441, No. 95, Schön 90-91, No. 12; Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 235-236, No. 17, (Ikom), Dayrell (II) 11-13, No. 6; Congo (Bena Kanioka), De Clercq 85-86, No. 7; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier (I) 11-13, (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 81-83, No. 73 I-III, 85-87, No. 74; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 96-98, No. 82a; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 66-70, No. 32 I-IV; Santo Domingo, Andrade 110, No. 78, 112-113, No. 81, 139-144, Nos. 105-109; general (comparative), Parsons (IV).

2 A yellow fruit growing on a thorny palm tree. (*Astrocaryum Segregatum*, Fam. *Palmae*, Encyc. p. 60).

her, said, ‘Mother, here I am chaining the dogs. Then I am putting a pot of water on the fire. But when you see the water become red, turn loose the dogs and let them come to me.’

When they went to the bush to pick awara, the woman said, ‘Look, go to the top of this tree. That is what I want.’ When the boy went up the tree, then instantly the woman (Abrike) changed into a tall man. He said, ‘You boy, today we meet.’ At this time the water which stood on the fire in the house was red. But the mother did not look at the water, so when the woman changed to Abrike, then he sang, said, ‘*Abrike, ni-ni-ni-ni-ni*.’ Then so many people came. The boy dropped a bottle of obia which he had. He said, ‘Santa-Fire-Mother kills her child.’ Then the tree grew so large, so large that they could not cut it. This time the pot cooked till... it turned to blood. The mother was gossiping with her neighbor about the big okra pudding they had eaten yesterday. She forgot what her child had told her. The dogs chewed the chain till... their mouths were bloody. One of them came loose. When the tree looked as if it would fall, the boy dropped his bottle again. He said, ‘Santa-Fire-Mother kills her child.’ Abrike sang again, he sang, said, ‘*Abrike, ni-ni-ni-ni-ni*.’ Many more devils came with their axes to cut the tree. But now all the three dogs came loose and they arrived, and they killed all the devils. They wanted to kill Abrike. Then the boy said, ‘My dogs, stop.’ So the dogs did not kill Abrike.

Then the boy climbed down to the ground. He said, ‘Abrike, as today man met man, (so) when two men meet their equal they call each other uncle.’ ‘What do you think you are going to do with me?’ Then he said to him, said, ‘I will not kill you, but I will dig a hole and put you inside.’ Then he did so.

But when he went home, he said to his mother, said, ‘Mother, you see, the dogs must not eat canned things.’ But one day the boy was sleeping. Then the mother cooked salmon. Then she left the can. Then the dogs smelt the can, and so they went and killed the boy.[1]

That is why the name of the story is ‘Santa-Fire-Mother kills her child.’ Because the mother caused her child's death.

103. Konum Dɔmpetro.

Konum Dɔmpetro bɛn dɛ wąn bɪgi Konum. A bɛn dɛ wan didyɛbi srɛfi. A bɛn dɛ preį̂ karta. Wąn deį̂ a miti wą' pikin boį̂. Na boį̂ bɛn dɛ wąn prɻns. Dąn a kari na boį̂ fō den go preį̂ karta.

1 Presumably the dogs were poisoned by the can, and they in turn poisoned him.

Ma di den preị, dą' a wɪni na boị, tɛ ... a wɪni na boị papa krɔn. Dą' na boị gowɛ.

Ma wąn deị a taki, 'Mi dɛ go na Dɔmpetro, go suku mi papa krɔn.' Di a i go na pasi, a miti wąn grąn'-mɪsi na neti. A bɛgi hɛm fõ a sribi. Na grąn-mɪsi taki, 'Mi habi seị̀bi mąn pikin, ma ɛfu den kɔm, dąn den dɛ go kiri yu.' Bɪkasi den bɛn dɛ seị̀bi rofer. Ma a kɪbri na boị. Di den pikin kɔm na hoso, den taki, 'Mi smɛri suma. Mi smɛri suma.' Na mama taki, 'Dɑti na mi ụn smɛri.' Dąn a ɑksi den taki, 'Ụn no miti Dɔmpetro kɔndre yɛte?' Den taki, 'No, no.'

Mamɛntɛm na boị gowe. A miti wąn grąn-mɪsi agɛn na neti. Na grąn-mɪsi taki, 'Pɛ yu dɛ go?' A taki, 'Mi dɛ go na Dɔmpetro.' A taki gi na boị, 'Luku, Dɔmpetro kɔndre habi seị̀bi dɔro, ma tɛ yu go, yu dɛ go si den umą pikin fõ Dɔmpetro. Den go kɔm wasi na wąn feị̀fer dapɛ. Ma tɛ den kɔm, na mɔro pikin wąn te a puru ɛ̨ŋ klosi, dąn yu musu teki hɛm mantɛl bika na hɛm habi ala kɔni fõ ɛ̨ŋ papa.'

Di na boị go, na meị̀djɛ kɔm wasi. A teki na mantɛl. Dąn na meidjɛ kreị, a taki, 'Suma teki mi mantɛl nąŋga mi papa sroto, meki a tyari ɛ̨ŋ gi mi. Mi sa du hɛm bǫ'. hɛm sa dɛ mi mąn.' Dąn di a taki so, dą' na boị go na hɛm. Dąn a taị̀gi na boị taki, 'Yu si, mi papa kɔndre habi seị̀bi dɔro, ɛn suma kɔm dapɛ a dɛ dɛdɛ. Ma dị̀a mi dɛ gi yu sɛbi drɔm ɛn tɛ yu miti na fɪs' dɔro, dąn yu naki hɛm, dą' na dɔro sɑ opo. So ala den dɔro pɛ yu dɔro yu mu naki den poku.'

Di na boị dɔro, a du so leị̀iki fa a bɛn yɛre. Di a dɔro na Dɔmpetro kɔndre, fa Dɔmpetro si ɛ̨ŋ, Dɔmpetro taki, meki den meki klari, bika' ɛ̨ŋ kɪsi wąn nąnyąm. A ɑksi na boị taki, 'Boị, pɛ yu dɛ go?' Na boị taki, 'Mi kǫ' teki mi papa krǫ' di yu bɛn wɪni.'

'Bifɔ yu teki na krǫ', yu mu du dri wroko gi mi, no so, mi dɛ go kiri yu.' A taị̀g' gi hɛm, 'Mi habi wąn ɪsri bom, yu mus' kɔt' ɛ̨ŋ gi mi bifɔ' tamara.'

Na meị̀djɛ kɔm. A taị̀gi na boị, taki, 'Yu si, mi dɛ go lɛpi yu. Dị̀a mi dɛ gi yu wąn batra. Drɔp' ɛ̨ŋ na na bom ɛn taki, Dɔmpetro taki mi mu kɔti yu'. Ɛn wąntrǫ' na bom sɑ kɔti.' Di Dɔmpetro kɔm, luku, a si na bom kɔti. A bɛn skreki. Dɔmpetro taki, 'Dị̀a, mi go gi yu wąn wroko yɛte. Mi habi dri asi. Yu mu makti hɛm gi mi.' Na meị̀djɛ kɔm. A taị̀gi na yǫŋgu taki, 'Yu si, wąn fõ den asi na mi papa srefi, ɛn na wą' na mi mama, ɛn na wą' na mi sisa. Ɛn dị̀a mi dɛ gi yu wąn obia fõ yu magti den.' Na meị̀djɛ gi hɛm wąn batra nąŋga wąn watra, a taki, 'Tɛ den pɔti den hasi, den yu mus' drɔpu dri drɔpu na den hɛdɛ tapu.' Na yǫŋgu du so. A fɔm den hasi, dati di den kɔm na hoso, na umą hatibrɔ' nąŋga

Dɔmpetro. A taki, ‘So, yu mek' na boi̯ fɔm mi? Na boi̯ dɛ go wini yu.’ Dɔmpetro taki, ‘Na boi̯ no kɑ̨'.’

Dɔmpetro taɑ̯igi na boi̯ baka taki, ‘Mi habi dri umɑ̨ pikin. Mi dɛ go pɔti den tenapu. Yu musu sɔri mi na moro pikin wɑ̨n.’ Na meɑ̯idjɛ kɔm, a taɑ̯igi na yɔŋgu taki, ‘Tɛ mi papa pɔti wi, yu dɛ go si wɑ̨n kapɛlka dɛ go kɔm na mi hɛdɛ tapu. Dɑ̨n yu musu taki na mi na na mɔro pikin wɑ̨n.’ Di Dɔmpetro pɔti den, wantrǫ' na kapɛlka kɔm na tapu na meɑ̯idjɛ hɛdɛ. Ɛn na yɔŋgu taki wantrǫn, ‘Disi na na mɔro pikin wɑ̨n, ɛ̨n disi na na mɔro bɪgi wɑ̨n.’ Ɛn so a kɔm wɪni Dɔmpetro.

Ma nō, Dɔmpetro sɛni hɛm go didǫ' na tapu wɑ̨n bɛdi. A pɔti wɑ̨n kapa na ɔ̨ndro nɑ̨ŋga oli fō na yɔŋgu fadǫ' na ɪni. Neti na meɑ̯idjɛ kɔm a teki hɛm, den gowɛ. Di Dɔmpetro kɔm, a no si den, a naki hɛm weɑ̯ifi na hɛm bakaseɑ̯i, a trǫ' wɑ̨n hasi. A reɑ̯i na ɛ̨ŋ tapu fō go kɪsi hɛm. Den si leɑ̯iki aleɑ̯in dɛ blaka. Na meɑ̯idje drɔpu tu drɔpu na grǫ', na heri presi kɔm furu nɑ̨ŋga maka dati Dɔmpetro no bɛn mɑ̨ŋ fō reɑ̯i go kɪsi den. A gowe baka. A teki hɛm obia fō go kɪsi den. Na meɑ̯idjɛ si a dɛ kɔm, a dropu tu dropu baka na grǫ'. Na meɑ̯idje trǫ' wɑ̨n koro, en na yɑ̨ŋgu trǫ' wɑ̨n buru. Di Dɔmpetro dɔro, a dɛ ɑksi taki, ‘Yu no si wɑ̨' meɑ̯idje nɑ̨ŋga wɑ̨n yɔŋgu pasa dɑ̯ia?’ Dɑ̨n buru den aksi hɛm taki, ‘Yu dɛ baɑ̯i koro?’ Dɔmpetro dreɑ̯i gowɛ baka, a taɑ̯igi hɛm weɑ̯ifi taki, hɛm si wɑ̨n buru nɑ̨ŋga koro. hɛm weɑ̯ifi taki, ‘Efu yu bɛn baɑ̯i na koro, dan yu go kɪsi den. Gowɛ baka, go teki na koro.’ Di a gowɛ baka a no si nɔtɟ leki tu doɑ̯ifi. Fa a wani kɪsi den, den freɑ̯i gowɛ.

So doɑ̯ifi na pikin fō Dɔmpetro nɑ̨ŋga na boi̯ di bɛn wɪni hɛm.

To mi, tya' g'we, Elisa
Yu na wɑ̨' toboto.
To mi, tya' g'we.

Na Goliati baka dɑ̨n
Drapɛ moni dɛ lolo.
Na ɛ̨' Kɛtɛ-kɛtɛ baka dɑ̨n,
Drapɛ pina dɛ lolo.

103. The King's Daughter: Magic Flight.[2]

King Dompetro was a great King. He was a very devil. He played cards. One day he met a small boy. The boy was a prince. Then he called the boy to come and play cards. But when they played,

2 Told by 1. Compare Sierra Leone (Temne), Thomas (V) 18-41; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 508-9, *conte* No. 1; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS No. 15 (for allotted tasks motif); Southern Nigeria (Yoruba) Frobenius 215-216, No. 11; Northern Nigeria (Jukun), Meek 479-485; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 52-3, No. 37 I and II; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 135-139, No. 105; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 50-55, No. 26 I-IV, 56-60, No. 27 II; Santo Domingo, Andrade 75-81, Nos. 48-52, 84-85, No. 56; Comparative, Bolte u. Polívka, ii, 516-527, No. 113.

then he won from the boy till... he won the boy's father's crown. Then the boy went away.

But one day he said, ‘I am going to Dompetro to seek my father's crown.’ As he went on his way, then at night he met an old woman. He asked her for a place to sleep. The old woman said, ‘I have seven sons, but if they come they will kill you.’ Because they were seven robbers. But she hid the boy. When the children came home, they said, ‘I smell someone. I smell someone.’ The mother said, ‘It is me you smell.’ Then she asked them, said, ‘Have you come across Dompetro's kingdom yet?’ They said, ‘No, no.’

In the morning the boy went away. At night he again met an old woman. The old woman said, ‘Where are you going?’ He said, ‘I am going to Dompetro.’ She said to the boy, ‘Look, Dompetro's kingdom has seven gates, but when you come you are going to see Dompetro's daughters. They are going to go to wash in a pool there. But when they come, and the youngest one removes her clothes, then you must take her cloak because it is she who has all the wisdom of her father.’

When the boy went, the girl came to bathe. He took the cloak. Then the girl cried, she said, ‘He who took my cloak and my father's key, let him bring them to me. I will reward him. He will be my husband.’ When she spoke so, then the boy went to her. Then she said to the boy, said, ‘You see, my father's kingdom has seven gates, and whoever comes there dies. But here I am giving you seven drums and when you come to the first gate, then you play it and the gate will open. So at every gate you come to you must play the drum.’

When the boy arrived, he did as he heard. When he arrived in Dompetro's kingdom, and Dompetro saw him, Dompetro said, let them make preparations, because he had caught food. He asked the boy, he said, ‘Boy, where are you going?’ The boy said, ‘I am coming to take my father's crown which you have won.’

‘Before you take the crown you must do three tasks for me, or else I am going to kill you.’ He said to him, ‘I have an iron tree which you must cut for me before tomorrow.’

The girl came. She said to the boy, said, ‘You see, I am going to help you. Here I give you a bottle. Drop it on the tree and say “Dompetro says I must cut you”. At once the tree will cut (itself).’ When Dompetro came and looked, he saw the tree cut. He was frightened. Dompetro said, ‘Here, I am going to give you yet another task. I have three horses. You must tame them for me.’ The girl came. She said to the young man, said, ‘You see, one of these horses is my father himself, and one is my mother, and one is my sister. And I will give you an obia with which to tame them.’ The girl gave him a bottle of water, and she said, ‘When they bring out the horses, then you must drop three drops on top of their

heads.' The young man did so. He beat the horses, so that when they came home the wife was angry with Dompetro. She said, 'So, you let a boy beat me? The boy is going to win you.' Dompetro said, 'The boy cannot.'

Dompetro said to the boy again, said, 'I have three daughters. I am going to have them stand up. You must show me the youngest.' The girl came, she said to the young man, said, 'When my father arranges us, you are going to see a butterfly on top of my head. Then you must say that I am the youngest.' When Dompetro arranged them, then at once a butterfly came on top of the girl's head. And immediately the young man said, 'This is the youngest one and this is the oldest one.' And so he came to win from Dompetro.

But now Dompetro sent him to lie down on top of a bed. He put a kettle of oil under the bed for the young man to fall into. At night the girl came and took him, and they went away. When Dompetro came and did not see them, he struck his wife on her backside, and she changed into a horse. He rode on her to go catch them. Then he saw before him a darkness as of rain. The girl dropped two drops on the ground, and the whole place was filled with thorns so that Dompetro could not ride on to catch them.[1] He went back. He took his obia with which to catch them. The girl saw him coming, and again she dropped two drops on the ground. The girl changed into a head of cabbage, and the youth into a farmer. When Dompetro arrived, he asked, he said, 'Did you not see a girl and a young man pass?' Then the farmer asked him, said, 'Do you want to buy cabbage?' Dompetro turned back, and he said to his wife, he saw a farmer with cabbage. His wife said, 'If you had bought the cabbage, then you would have got them. Turn back and go take the cabbage.' When he went back he saw nothing but two doves. As he went to catch them, they flew away.

So the doves were Dompetro's daughter and the boy who defeated him.

Tow me, carry me away, Elisa
You are a tow-boat.
Tow me, carry me away.[2]

In back of the Goliati dam
There money is rolling.
In back of his Kete-kete dam,
There poverty is rolling.[3]

1 Lit., 'Dompetro no was able for ride go catch them.'
2 Song No. 240. This song and the one that follows it are Kawina (Kauna) songs.
3 Song No. 241.

104.

Er-tin-tin!
Tin-tin-tin!

Wąn konum bɛn dɛ, dɪsɪ bɛn habi wąn mąn pikin. Di a bɛn kɔm bɪgi kaba ɛn hɛm papa kɔm grani, a taki gi na pikin, ‘Mi pikin, luku mi dɛ kɔm hɔru kaba, so yu a fō teki da kɔndre abra. Ma fɔsi yu mu go na na kɔndre fō Konu Leimąn ɛn tro Hɛlena tyari kɔm gi mi.’ So na pikin piki hɛm papa, a taki, ‘Mi papa, na wąn tumusi hɛbi wroko yu gi mi, bɪkasi Konu Leị̂mąn na wąn tumusi hɔgri Konum.’ Na papa taki, gi hɛm pikin, a taki, ‘Ɛfi yu no tro nąŋga prɪncɛs Hɛlena, yu no sɑ kɪsi mi kɔndre.’ So na pikin taị̂gi hɛm papa, a taki, ‘Mi sɑ du sąn yu wani, ɛn go tro nąŋga prɪncɛs Hɛlena.’

Na tamara mamantɛm na prɻns teki hɛm katasụn, a leị̂ hɛm nąŋga dokụ'. A taki hɛm papa adiosi, a teki pasi. Di a waka so tɛ ... a miti tu pikin boị̂, den feti. A taki, ‘Mi boị̂, sąn hɛdɛ ụn dɛ feti?’ Den taki, ‘Wi den feti fō da srebinɛfi dɪsi, bɪkasi na na wąn sani dɪsi wi papa dɛdɛ libi. Hɛm wani ɛŋ, mi wani ɛŋ tu.’ Na prɻns taki, ‘No feti mɔro. Sɛri hɛm gi mi, dąn mi sɑ gi ụn mɔni.’ Den taki, ‘A bǫ'. Dąn wi ala tu kąn kɪsi wąn sani.’ Di na prɻns paị̂ den na mɔni, a teki na srebnɛfi, a waka wąn pisi gowɛ. Ma a prakseri taki da srebinɛfi musu habi wąn wardɛ, no so, den boị̂ no bɛn kąn feti fō hɛm hɛdɛ. So a kari den boị̂, a taki, ‘Mi boị̂, mi baị̂ na srebnɛfi, ma ụn no taị̂gi mi sąn a dɛ du?’ Dɛm boị̂ taki, ‘Te yu dɛ na ɪni notu, ɛfu yu taki, “Mi srebnɛfi Kotifąn”, dąn yu srɛfi sɑ si.’

A teki hɛm pasi baka, a gowe. Di a waka so tɛ ... a miti tu pikin boị̂ baka. Den dɛ feti fō wan katasụn. A taki, ‘Mi boị̂, sąn ụn dɛ feti?’ Den boị̂ piki hɛm taki, ‘Na na katasụn hɛdɛ wi dɛ feti, bikasi na na wąn sani dɑti wi papa libi gi wi di a dɛdɛ. Wi ala tu wani ɛŋ. So wi dɛ feti. Suma kiri tra wąn sa teki ɛŋ, bɪkasi a habi wardɛ.’ So a taki, ‘Boị̂-i, ụn no feti mɔro, ma sɛri da katasụn gi wi. Mi sa paị̂ ụn bǫn.’ Den boị̂ bɛn breị̂ti fō kɪsi mɔni, so den sɛri da katasụn gi na prɻns. Na prɻns taki, ‘Ụn boị̂, sɔrtu wardɛ na katasụn habi?’ Den boị̂ piki hɛm taki, ‘Wąnsi suma sütu gǫn na yu tapu, ɛn yu taki, “Katasụn fąŋga!” dąn ala kugru sɑ go na ɪni na katasụn.’ Na prɻns bɛn breị̂ti, bɪkasi a taki, ‘Dɪsi mi sa habi fanodu, na Konum Leị̂mąn kɔndre.’

So a bɛn waka, a bɛn waka wąn-tu deị̂. A bɛn miti wąn ɔru mama, bɛn sidǫ' na pasi furu nąŋga kraskrasi. A taki, ‘Mi mama,

fa yu sidǫ' so?' Dąn na mama piki hɛm, taki, 'Mi sɪkin dɛ krasi mi. Mi wani wąn suma fō wasi hɛm gi mi.'...

Bato! Mi bɛn dapɛ.

Bagɛ, bagɛ Leį̂mąn,
Yu kɔm fō leį̂, leį̂ dɔro,
Bagɛ, bagɛ Leį̂mąn,
Yu kǫ' fō leį̂ doro, Leį̂man.

... A taki, 'A bǫn, mi mama, mi sɑ wasi hɛm gi yu.' So a go na ɪni liba, a kɪsi watra, a wasi na mama sɪkin. Di a kaba, dąn na mama taki hɛm tąŋgi, a taį̂gi hɛm taki, 'Mi prɻns, yu du mi wąn bǫn, so mi wani lɛpi yu baka. Tu yuru mɔro yu sɑ waka, dan yu dɛ kɔm na da pali fō na Konum Leį̂imąn kɔndre. Dati na wąn tumusi hɔgri Konum.' Na prɻns piki hɛm taki, 'Na dapɛ mi musu go fō tro nąŋga prɻncɛs Hɛlena.' Na mama piki hɛm taki, 'Fō tro nąŋga prɻncɛs Hɛlena! Yu sabi homɛni mąn na Konum bɛn kiri fō da prɻncɛs hɛdɛ? Na twenti na aį̂ti!' Na prɻns bɛn skreį̂ki dɛ a yere dati. A taki, 'Mi no sabi ɛfu mi dɛ go dɛ da twenti na neį̂gi, ma mi habi fō du mi papa wani.' Na mama taį̂gi hɛm taki, 'Te yu dɛ go, yu sɑ si da prɻncɛs dɛ go kɔm na libaseį̂ kɔm swɛŋ. Te a puru ɛŋ krosi ɛn a saka go na ɪni watra, dąn yu dɛ teki hɛm krosi kɪbri. Ɛŋ a dɛ go bari dri trǫ', "Suma teki mi krosi, mek" a tyari ɛŋ gi mi, dąn mi sɑ tro nąŋga hɛm', ma yu no mu tyar' hɛm go. Ɛfu yu du dati hɛm papa dɛ go kiri yu. Ma tɛ yu no tyari hɛm go, dąn a dɛ go bari baka, taki, "Na suma dɪsi sɑ tyari mi krosi gi mi baka, a sa tą' mi mati te na dɛdɛ." Dąn yu kąn tyari hɛm go.' A taki, 'A bǫ'.'

A taki na mama tąŋgi. A teki hɛm pasi, a dɛ go. Di a waka so tɛ... a kisi na tu yuru, a miti Konum Leį̂imąn kɔndre. So a tɛnapu na baka wąn bom na da libaseį̂ fō wakti te na prɪncɛs sɑ kɔm fō go wasi. Di a bɛn puru ɛŋ krosi, na prɻns bɛn go sa·afri ɛn a teki ɛŋ kibri.

Di na prɻncɛs kaba wasi, a kɔm suku hɛm krosi, a no bɛn feni hɛm. So a bari dri trǫ' so leį̂iki fa da mama bɛn taį̂gi da prɻns, taki, 'Suma tyari mi krosi gi mi, mi sa tro nąŋga hɛm.' Dąn prɻns bɛn yere dati, ɛŋ bɛn hankri tumusi fō tro nąŋga prɻncɛs, so a ben wani lǫ' tyari na krosi go. Ma a bɛn yɛre wąn foru bari na loktu taki, 'Fa yu dɛ go las' yu libi!' So a hop' hɛm aį̂ na loktu. A si na wąn raf na tapu na bom. Wąntɛ a kɪsi hɛm srefi, a prakseri są' na mama bɛn taį̂gi hɛm. D'a prakseri, a dɛ prakseri fa lɔbi fō de

prıncɛs hɛdɛ meki a bɛn frıgıti wąn tumusi fanodu sani. So a yɛre na prıncɛs bari baka dri trǫ', ‘Suma tyari mi krosi gi mi, hɛm sa tą' mi mati te na dɛdɛ.’ So a lǫ' hɛsi hɛsi, a tyari da krosi gi da prı̨ncɛs. Di na prı̨ncɛs weri na krosi, a taki, ‘Yɔnkumąn, sąn tyari yu kǫ' dia na mi papa kɔndre? Yu sabi-taki mi papa na wąn tumusi hɔgri Konum. Ma ala sani sąn a dɛ go du, mi dɛ si na fesi.’ Na prı̨ns piki hɛm taki, ‘Mi kɔm na Konum Le̯imąn kɔndre bıkasi mi horu papa dɛ wąn Konum tu; a sɛni mi fõ kɔm tro nąŋga na prı̨ncɛs Hɛlena.’ Na prı̨nces bɛn ta̯igi hɛm taki, a taki, ‘Bıfɔs' yu tro nąŋga mi, kan dɛ yu papa dɛdɛ. Ɛfu no so, yu dɛdɛ, bıkasi mi papa dɛ go gi yu somɛni wroko, ɛn ɛfu yu no kąn du den wroko, dąn yu dɛ go dɛdɛ.’ A taki, ‘Ma mi promisi yu taki, yu sa tą' mi mati tɛ na dɛdɛ. So meki mi sa lɛpi yu fõ yu kąn wıni mi papa hati.’

So den teki pasi fõ go na pale̯is fõ Konum Le̯iman. Konum Le̯iman de na tapu hɛm barkǫn nąŋga adyudanti. A si da prı̨ncɛs den kɔm nąŋga wąn tra suma. A ta̯igi adyudanti wąntɛ, a taki, ‘Wan yu̧ŋkumąn dɛ kɔm baka fõ lɔsi libi.’ A taki, ‘Bıkasi nowąn fõ den wroko fõ mi a sɑ mąŋ du.’ Di na yu̧ŋgumąn doro na ını na pale̯is fõ da Konum, a bɛn taki odi mo̯i. Konum pɔti hɛm sidǫ', a hɑksi hɛm sąn' a wani. A taki, ‘Mi Konum, mi papa sɛni mi fõ kɔm na yu kɔndre. Mi musu tro nąŋga prı̨ncɛs Hɛlena, ɛn mi mu tyari hɛm go baka na mi papa kɔndre.’ Konum piki hɛm taki, ‘Mi yu̧ŋkumąn, trɔbi no dɛ, ɛf' yu kąn du den wroko di mi sɑ gi yu.’ Taki, ‘Tamara mamɛ̨ntɛ̨m yu mu fara na pisi busi dısi gi mi. Yu mu prani karu, na karu musu gro, ɛn tamara mamɛ̨ntɛ̨m mi mus' habi karu brɛdɛ fõ hɛm na mi tafra.’

'A yu̧ŋkumąn bɛn skre̯iki dɑti na hɛm futu bɛn kɔm koru. Na hɛri nɛti a dɛ prakseri. Na prıncɛs kɔm na hɛm, a taki, ‘Sąn yu prakseri so?’ A taki, ‘Yu papa gi mi wąn wroko dɑti mi no sabi fa mi sɑ du ɛ̨ŋ.’ Na Prı̨ncɛs piki hɛm taki, ‘Na la̯u̯ sani na wroko di mi papa gi yu. Ɛf' yu habi wąn suma di kąn fara na busi, mi dɛ prani na karu gi yu, mi de losu na karu brɛde gi yu.’ So na yu̧ŋkumąn kɔm prakseri hɛm srebinɛfi. A taki, ‘A bǫ'.’ A taki hɛm srebinɛfi, taki, ‘Mi srebinɛfi Kotifąn', mek' mi ta̯igi dɛ.’ Na srebinɛfi kɔti ala bom na ını na busi, a trowɛ na grǫ. So na prıncɛs ta̯igi hɛm taki, n'a fõ wroko mɔro. A kąn go lidǫ' ɛn sribi. ‘Ala tra sani mi sɑ du.’

'A yurutɛ̨' na Konum we̯iki na mamɛ̨ntɛ̨m, a bɛn si da karu brɛdɛ na tapu hɛm tafra, a bɛn skre̯iki. A taki, ‘Na yu̧ŋkumąn dısi sɔri le̯iki a wani pre̯i nąŋga mi.’ So a sɛni kari hɛm. A taki, ‘Yu du da wroko bǫ', ma dati na fɔsi wroko.’ A taki hem, ‘Tamara mamɛ̨n-

tɛ̨m mi dɛ go dia na mɔfo dɔro, dɑn mi habi tu p'kin, disi geɛrsi makandra leɪ̯iki wɑn dropu watra. Dɑ' yu mu taɪ̯igi mi sort' wɑn na fɔsi wɑn.' A taki, 'Konum, wɑn hɛbi wroko yu gi mi, ma mi sɑ si ɛf' mi kɑn du hɛm.'

Na neti na yu̧ŋkumɑn bɛn sidǫ', a bɛn praksɛri ageɪ̯in fa ɛ̨ŋ go du dɪsi wroko, bɪkasi a no bɛn si den tu sisa srɛf'-srɛfi yɛtɛ. So a sidǫ' a prakseri, a prakseri. Na pru̧ncɛs kɔm na hɛm baka. A taki, 'Yu dɛ so sari, sɑn dɛ fō du nɑŋga yu?' Na yu̧ŋkumɑn piki hɛm tak', 'Mi bribi tamara yu papa a i go kiri mi, bɪkasi mi no si den sisa srɛf'-srɛfi yɛtɛ, fa mi de go sabi sɔrtu wɑn na fɔsi wɑn? Dɛ̨' geɛrsi makandra leɪ̯iki tu drapu watra.' Pru̧ncɛs taki, 'Na laʊ̯ sani na wroko di mi papa gi yu.' A tak', 'Tamara mamɛntɛm, te den tu sisa tɛnapu 'a seɪ̯i makandra, dɑn yu luku bǫn, dɑn yu sɑ si wan freɪ̯i-freɪ̯i. Ɛ̨ŋ go freɪ̯i dri trǫ' lɔntu. Dɑ' i go saka sidǫ' na tapu ɛ̨ŋ letseɪ̯i yesi. A i go sek' ɛ̨ŋ hɛdɛ fa 'a freɪ̯i-freɪ̯i gowē. Ma a n'e gō gowē. Dati na fɔsi pikin.' So na yu̧ŋkumɑn bɛn tak' na prɪncɛs tɑŋgi, a go sribi.

Tamara mamɛ̨ntɛ̨m fruku na Konum nɑŋga den tu pikin bɛn tɛnapu na mofo dɔro nɑŋga ala soldati lɔntu, nɑŋga gǫ'. Ɛf' na yu̧ŋkumɑn no sab' du na wroko, wɑntrǫ' den sa kiri hɛm. Ma ɛf' a du ɛ̨ŋ, dɑn a sɑ tro nɑŋga Konum p'kin. So na yu̧ŋkumɑn kɔm, a luku, a si den tu sisa ala tu geɛrsi makandra. A taki, 'Konum, na wroko dɪsi, ɛfu mi no bɛn dɛ wɑn kɔni mɑn, mi no dɛ̨ŋki mi sɑ puru hɛm.' So a luku, a si na freɪ̯i-freɪ̯i freɪ̯i lɔntu, si a sidǫ' na letseɪ̯i yesi. Na prɪncɛs a seki ɛ̨ŋ hɛdɛ fō na freɪ̯i-freɪ̯i gowē, ma a no bɛn go, a bɛn sidǫ'. So na yu̧ŋkumɑn waka go na fesi. A fas' na pru̧ncɛs na tapu hɛm skoru, a taki, 'Konum, na dɪsi na di fɔsi wɑn.' Nō, Konum skreɪ̯iki. A taki, 'Fa yu du sabi, yu mu gi mi wɑn marki taki na so a dɛ.' A taki Konum, 'Luku na tapu na letseɪ̯i yesi. Yu si na freɪ̯i-freɪ̯i sidǫ' dapɛ? Ɛn dɑti na marki.' Na Konum taki, 'Yu wɪni ageɪ̯in, ɛn tamara yu sɑ tro nɑŋga prɪncɛs Hɛlena.'

Ma neti, fɔsi na prɪns go didǫ', prɪncɛs kɔm na hɛm, a taki, 'Luku! Ɛf' mi no bɛn si sani na fesi, dɑn tidɛ net' srɛfi yu sɑ dɛdɛ. Ma kǫ' na ɪni yu kamera, mi sa sɔri yu wɑ' sani.' A yurtɛm den go na ɪni na kamera, na prɪncɛs teki wɑn pisi brɔn-wudu, a taki, 'Dɑ' yu luku, dɑ' yu sɑ si fa yu bɛn dɛ go dɛdɛ.' A tek' na brɔn-wudu, a trowē na tapu na bɛdɛ. So, blam! na hɛri matrasi dreɪ̯i, en na wudu fadǫ' na ɪni wɑn bɪgi kapu nɑŋga bɔri watra. Na prɪncɛs taki, 'Na baka ala den sani dɪsi wi no kan tɑ' mɔro. Yu musu lǫ' wē gowē.'

'A yuru te na prɪns nɑŋga prɪncɛs kɔmopo na kɔndre gowē, na Konum bɛn habi wɑn kakaforu, dɪsi bɛn dɛ lukumɑn ɛn waktimɑn

fō da kɔndre. Kakaforu bari dri trǫ' 'Ko-ko-dia-ko. Suma pikin de-i gowɛ.' Na Konum bɛn djɔmpo na hɛm sribi-presi. Hɛm sabi sąn pasa. A taki, 'Hɛlena de gowɛ.' A kari sordati fō lǫ' wē, go kɪs' dɛm. Te den lǫ' na prɪns baka, na Konum nąŋga ɛŋ fraų bɛn dɛ. A taįgi den sordati, mek' hɛm sütu na prɪns kiri. Fa den marka den tapu, a bari gi hɛm katasųn, a taįgi, 'Mi katasųn, fąŋga!' Ala den kugru di den sütu, alamal' a i go na ɪni na katasųn. Den sordati den lǫ' na dɛm baka. Fa den dɔro na fesi wą' pikin krɪkɪ, den no mąŋ kɔtigo abra. Na prɪns tak', 'Fa wi go du? Den go kɪs' wi!' Na prɪncɛs taki, 'Dat' na wąn laų sani. Tą', mek' wi djɔmpo ɪni na watra.' Tɛ den djɔmpo na watra, wantrǫ' den trǫn tu skrurki. Te na Konum dɔro na fesi na kriki, a si den tu skrurki, den swɛŋ. A taįg' den soldat' taki, 'Kɪs den skrurki gi mi. Den moį fō kweki na dyari.' Fa den soldati dę' ląŋga hanu fō kis' den skrurki, wantɛm den trǫ' tu weti raf. Den opo freį gowɛ.

So den kɔm dɔro na na prɪns papa kɔndre. Dąn den hɔri bɪgi trohoso. Ɛ' mi srɛfi tu bɛn dɛ, ɛ' mi dąnsi bandamba.

104. King Leiman's a Daughter: Magic Flight.[1]

Er-tin-tin!
Tin-tin-tin!

There was once a king who had a son. When he was already grown and his father grew old, he said to the son, 'My child, see I am old already, so you must take over the kingdom. But first you must go to the kingdom of King Leiman and marry Helena and bring her here.' So the son answered his father, he said, 'You have given me too difficult a task, because King Leiman is a very evil King.' The father said to his son, he said, 'If you do not marry princess Helena you will not inherit the kingdom.' So the boy said to his father, he said, 'I shall do your bidding and go marry the princess Helena.'

The next morning the prince took his bag and packed it with *dokun*.[2] He said good-by to his father and he went on his way. As he walked so till... he came upon two small boys who were fighting. He said, 'Boys, why do you fight?' They said, 'We are fighting for this razor, because this is the one thing our dead father left. He wants it, and I want it, too.' The prince said, 'Do not fight any more. Sell it to me and I will give you money.' They said, 'All right. Then both[3] of us can get something'. When the prince paid them the money, he took the razor and walked away a short distance. But he studied that the razor must have some value, otherwise the boys would not have fought for it. So he called the boys, and he said, 'Boys, I bought the razor, but you did not tell me what it does.' The boys said, 'When you are in distress, if you say "My razor *Kotifan*", then you yourself shall see.'

He took to the road again and went away. As he walked so till... he met two boys again. They were fighting for a hunting sack. He said, 'Boys, why are you fighting?' The boys answered him, said, 'We are fighting on account of this sack, because it is the one thing our father left us when he died. We both want it.[4] So we are fighting. Whoever kills the other will take it, because it is valuable.' So he said, 'Boys,[5] do not fight any more, but sell the sack to me. I will pay you well.' The boys were glad to get the money, so they sold the sack to the prince. The prince said, 'Boys, what value has this sack?' The boys answered him, said, 'If a man shoots a gun at you and you say "Sack catch!" then all the bullets will go into the sack.' The prince was happy because he said, 'I shall need this in King Leiman's kingdom.'

So he walked and he walked several days. He came upon an old woman who was covered with sores sitting in the road. He said,

1 Told by 6. Comparative references for Tauxier (II), Herskovits, M. and F. (IV), Meek, Parsons (II) and (III), Beckwith, and Andrade as on p. 327. In addition, compare Sierre Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 249-254, (Mende), Westermann (III), No. 11, 454-455; Hausa, Tremearne (III) 323-324, No. 60; Gabun, Nassau (I) 208-226, Benga No. 33.
2 'This is a mixture of cassava, coconut, sugar and currants and is cooked in a banana leaf.'
3 Lit., 'all two'.
4 Lit., 'we all two want it'.
5 Plural is here formed by the lengthening of the last vowel.

‘Mother, why do you sit so?’ Then the old woman answered him, said, ‘My body itches. I want someone to wash it for me.’ ...

Bato! I was there.

Bage, Bage Leiman,
You come to guess, guess elsewhere,
Bage, Bage Leiman,
You come to guess elsewhere, Leiman.[1]

... He said, ‘All right, mother, I will wash it for you.’ So he went to the river and fetched water with which to wash the old woman's body. When he finished, the old woman thanked him, and said to him, said, ‘Prince, you did me a good service, so I will help you in return. You will walk two hours longer, and then you will come to the border of the kingdom of King Leiman. That is a very evil King.’ The prince answered her, said, ‘There I must go to marry princess Helena.’ The old woman answered him, said, ‘To marry princess Helena! Do you know how many men have been killed for the sake of the princess? Twenty-eight!’ The prince was frightened when he heard this. He said, ‘I do not know if I am going to be the twenty-ninth, but I must do my father's bidding.’ The old woman said to him, said, ‘When you go you will see the princess coming to the river to swim. When she removes her clothes and goes in the water, then you take the clothes and hide them. And she will call out three times, “Let the person who took my clothes bring them to me, and I will marry him”, but you must not take them. If you do that, her father will kill you. But when you do not take them, then she will call again, say, “The person who will return my clothes will be my friend until death”, and then you can take them to her.’ He said, ‘All right.’

He thanked the old woman. He took to the road, and went away. When he walked until the two hours were up, he came to the kingdom of King Leiman. So he stood behind a tree near the river bank to wait until the princess should come to bathe. When she removed her clothes, the prince went stealthily and took them and hid them.

When the princess finished bathing, she came to look for her clothes, and did not find them. So she called out three times, just as the old woman had told the prince, she said, ‘The person who brings my clothes, I will marry him.’ The prince heard this, and he longed very much to marry the princess, so he wanted to run and take the clothes. But he heard a bird in the air say, ‘How you are going to lose your life!’ So he lifted his eyes, and he saw a macaw[2] in the tree-top. Immediately he controlled himself. He

1 Song No. 142.
2 Encyc., p. 49.

studied what the old woman had told him. Then he studied and he studied, how for the sake of his love for the princess he forgot so important a thing. So he heard the princess call again three times, ‘The person who will return my clothes will he my friend until death.’ So he ran quickly and brought the clothes to the princess. When the princess was dressed, she said, ‘Young man, what brought you here to my father's kingdom? You know that my father is a very evil King. But all the things that he is going to do, I foresee.’ The prince said to her, said, ‘I come to King Leiman's kingdom because my old father is a King, too; and he sent me to marry the princess Helena.’ The princess said to him, she said, ‘Before you marry me perhaps your father will be dead. Or else you will die, because my father is going to give you many tasks, and if you cannot do the tasks, then you are going to die.’ She said, ‘But I promised you that you will remain my friend until death. So let me help you so that you may win my father's heart.’

So they took the road which led to the palace of King Leiman. King Leiman was on the balcony with his adjutants. He saw the princess coming with another person. At once he said to his adjutants, he said, ‘Another young man comes to lose his life.’ He said, ‘Because not a single of my tasks will he be able to do.’ When the young man arrived at the palace of the King, he spoke his greeting politely. The King had him sit down, and he asked him what he wished. He said, ‘King, my father sent me to your kingdom. I must marry the princess Helena, and I must take her back to my father's kingdom.’ The King answered him, said, ‘Young man, there is no difficulty, if you can do the tasks which I will set for you.’ Said, ‘Tomorrow morning you must cut this piece of bush for me. You must plant corn, the corn must grow, and tomorrow morning you must have corn bread from it on my table.’

The young man was so frightened that his feet became cold. All night he studied. The princess came to him, and she said, ‘What are you studying about?’ He said, ‘Your father gave me a task, and I do not know how I shall do it.’ The princess answered him, said, ‘The task which my father gave you is a silly thing. If you have someone who can cut the bush, I will plant the corn for you, and bake the corn bread.’ So the young man came to study (about) his razor. He said, ‘All right.’ He said to his razor, said, ‘My razor *Kotifan*', let what I say happen.’ The razor cut all the trees in the bush, and threw them to the ground. So the princess said to him, said, he had no more work to do. He could go lie down and sleep. ‘All other things I will do.’

When the King awoke in the morning[1], he saw the corn bread on the table. He was frightened. He said, ‘This young man is acting as though he wants to play with me.’ So he sent to call him. He said. ‘You did that task well, but that is the first task.’ He said

1 Lit., ‘At the hour time...’

to him, ‘Tomorrow morning I am going to be here in the doorway, then I have two children who resemble each other like a drop of water. Then you must tell me which is the first one.’ He said, ‘King, you set me a heavy task, but I will see if I can do it.’

At night the young man sat down, and he studied again how he was going to do this work, because as yet he had not even seen the two sisters. So he sat down, and he studied, and studied. The princess came to him again. She said, ‘You are so sad, what is troubling you?’ The young man answered her, said, ‘I believe tomorrow your father is going to kill me, because I haven't even seen the sisters yet, and how am I going to know which is the first one? They resemble each other like two drops of water.’ The princess said, ‘The task my father gave you is a silly thing.’ She said, ‘Tomorrow morning when the two sisters stand together side by side, then you look carefully and you will see a fly.[1] It is going to fly around three times. Then it will sit down on the right ear. She will shake her head for the fly to go away. But it will not go away. That one is the first child.’ So the young man thanked the princess and he went to sleep.

Early the next morning the King and his two children stood in the doorway with all the soldiers armed with guns. If the young man does not know how to do the task, they will kill him at once. But if he does it, then he will marry the King's daughter. So the young man came, he looked and he saw the two sisters who resembled each other. He said, ‘King, if I were not so wise a man, I do not believe I could guess it.’ So he looked and he saw a fly fly around, and settle on the right ear. The princess shook her head for the fly to go away, but it did not go, it stayed there. So the young man came forward.[2] He touched the princess on the shoulder and he said, ‘King, this is the first one.’ Now the King was frightened. He said, ‘How do you know? You must give me a sign that this is so.’ He said to the King, ‘Look on top of the right ear. You see that fly sitting there? That is the sign.’ The King said, ‘You win again, and tomorrow you will marry the princess Helena.’

But at night, before the prince went to lie down, the princess came to him, and she said, ‘Look! If I did not foresee things, then this very night you would die. But come to your room and I will show you something.’ When they went into the room, the princess took a piece of firewood, and she said, ‘Then look and you will see how you would have died.’ She took the firewood and threw it on the bed. So, blam! the entire mattress turned over, and the wood fell into a large kettle of boiling water. The princess said, ‘After all these things we cannot remain any longer. You must run away.’

When the prince and princess were leaving the kingdom, the King had a cock who was the diviner and guardian of the kingdom. The

1 Example of noun formed by duplication, i.e., *freệ-freệ*, fly; *freệ*, to fly.
2 Lit., ‘So the young man walk come the face.’

cock called three times ‘Ko-ko-dia-ko. Someone's children are escaping.’ The King jumped up from his sleeping place. He knew what happened. He said, ‘Helena is gone.’ He called for soldiers to run and catch them. When they ran after the prince, the King and his wife were there, too. They told the soldiers to shoot the prince and kill him. As they aimed, he called out to his sack, he said, ‘My sack, catch!’ All the bullets that they shot went into the sack. The soldiers ran after them. When they came to a small creek they could not cross. The prince said, ‘What are we going to do? They are going to catch us!’ The princess said, ‘That is a silly thing. Wait, let us jump into the water.’ When they jumped in the water, they at once changed into two ducklings. When the King came to the creek he saw the two ducklings swimming about. He said to the soldiers, said, ‘Catch these ducklings for me. They are good to raise in the yard.’ As the soldiers stretched out their hands to catch the ducklings, they immediately turned into two white macaws. They flew away.

So they reached the kingdom of the prince's father. Then they held a big wedding. And I myself was there, too, and I danced *bandamba*.[1]

105.

Na fɔs' tɛm wąn mąn nąŋga hɛm weį̂fi bɛn dɛ na wąn pranasi. Dą' a i waka trɔbi ala den mąn nąŋga den umą. Ɛŋ bɛn dɛ na mɔro trąŋga mą' na pranasi. Dą' a tek' wąn nem fõ Ba Mąn-No-Dɛ. Dąn wąn deį̂, a taį̂gi hɛm weį̂fi taki, mek' a bori sɛbi dokųn gi hɛm. Dąn i gowe na tra preį̂isi, a i trɔbi den suma. Dąn, di a gowe so tɛ ... dąn a i mit' wąn umą. Dąn di a go, a tak' na uma, ‘Odi.’ Dąn na uma ɑksi hɛm, ‘Fa yu nɛm?’ Dą taki ɛŋ nɛm na Ba Mąn-No-Dɛ. Dąn uma taį̂gi hɛm taki, ‘Yu 'ɛ djoku. Mąn dɛ mɔro leį̂iki yu.’

Wɛ, nõ, na umą taki, ‘Luku, mi habi tu mąn p'kin. Wąn nem Sambakala. Wąn nem Brąŋgbo.’ Ɛn den tu mąn p'kin fõ na umą bɛn dɛ hɔntimąn. Den hɔnti asaų̂. Dąn den mąn p'kin fõ na umą, ɛf' den dɛ gowɛ fõ hɔnti fõ diaso te na Nɪkeri, dąn, tɛ den dɛ kɔm kaba, den dɛ weri ɪsri susu. Dąn, tɛ den bari, ‘Bį̂ŋg, bąŋg, Sambakala,’ dąn den dɛ farawɛ, ma tɛ diaso yu dɛ yɛre. Na mąn dɪsi,

1 This is danced principally at weddings and ceremonies at the birth of twins and the breaking of mourning. The dance is a rhythmic manipulation of the muscles of the buttocks, hips and abdomen.

wąn lụŋgi fɔtɛnti futu na bɪgi brada Brąŋgibo, na p'kin lụŋgi dritɛnti futu. Dɑti na Sambakala. Tɛ den go hɔnti, den gowɛ mamɛ̨ntɛ̨m, fę̣ifi yuru, dąn seį̣bi yuru na neti, den dɛ na hoso baka. Den go tɛ Nɪkeri, den dɔro na hoso na srɛfi deį̣. Ɛn ala deį̣, na so den dɛ du, ɛn den kɪsi kąn dɛ seį̣bi ą̨iti asaų̣, ɛn den nyąm ala wąntem. Bɔfru den no wani. Bɔfru p'kin tumusi. Tigri den no wani. Asaų̣ nō mō.

... *Mi tɔri sɑ go nąŋga presiri moksi-mɔlyɔn, nąŋga shuba-shuba. Krip-krap, ɪbri wąn mąn na mɪndri hɛm kraka*.
Ɛr tin, tin!
Wɛ, mi mąn, mi yɛre na tɔri...

Dąn di den p'kin dɛ kɔm, dąn 'a mąn kɔm skreiki, dąn a taki 'a umą taki, ‘Mi mama, mi 'ɛ gowe mit' den p'kin fō yu 'af pasi.’ Dąn a mit' den p'kin 'af pasi. Den gi hɛm wąn asaų̣ fō ɛ̨ŋ tyari, ma a no mąŋ. So den p'kin teki na asaų̣, den kɔm dɔro na hoso. Dąn den ɑksi hɛm mama, ‘Mi mama, suma na boį̣ dɪsi?’ Dąn a i tak', ‘Wąn p'kin dɛ pasa, a i kɔm bɛg' mi fō a sribi dį̣a. Tamara a i gowɛ.’

Ma di den krį̣n na asaų̣ kaba, dąn den bɔri. Dąn den gi Sambakala wąn preti nanyąm. Dąn Sambakala a nyąm nąŋga so-ląŋga ɪsri fɔrku. Ma di Sambakala nyąm nąŋga na ɪsri fɔrku, na fɔrku a mɪsi, a tek' na mąn, a sutu hɛm na ɪni hɛm mɔfo. A bigɪn fō kaų̣ hɛm. Dąn ɛ̨ŋ mama lǫ' fō hari hɛm puru.

Dąn, di dę' go didǫ', dąn na mama taį̣gi hɛm, taki, ‘Twalfu yuru 'a neti yu mu' opo gowɛ. Twalfu yuru na neti, den srefi sɑ opo fō go hɔnti. Dąn, ɛf' den kɪsi yu, den go nyąm yu.’ Dąn na mama gi hɛm dri ɛgsi. Dąn na mama taį̣gi hɛm, taki, ‘Tɔk den go waka na yu baka, dąn te yu si den a i kɔm a yu baka, dąn yu nak' wąn ɛksi a grǫ', dąn yu taki, “Ɛgsi, sąn yu mama bɛn taį̣gi yu”?’

A du so. Nō mō, wąn bɪgi seį̣ kɔmopo. Dąn na mąn gowɛ te na hoso, go teki wąn kroį̣-wagi nąŋga skopu, a i tyar' dɑti go tapu na seį̣. Dąn di den mąn tapu na seį̣, dąn a i lǫ' na hɛm baka baka. Dąn na mąn naki na ɛgsi 'a grǫn, a taki hɛm, taį̣gi, ‘Ɛgsi, sąn mi mama bɛn taį̣gi yu?’ Wantrǫ, wąn bɪgi faį̣ya, bɪgi mɔro leį̣ki wąn hɛri kɔndre, kɔmopo. Dąn i mąn go tɛ na hoso, go teki wan bran-spoiti fō kiri na faį̣ya, ɛn tɛ a kiri na faį̣ya a lǫ' na hɛm baka.

Dąn na trawąn naki 'a tra ɛgsi 'a grǫn baka. A taki, ‘Mi ɛksi, mi ɛksi, sąn mi mama a taki yu?’ Dąn wąn sɔrtu busi kɔm na mąn fesi, soso maka. Dąn den mąn gowɛ tɛ na hoso baka, go teki matchaų̯ nąŋga horu. Dąn 'a mąn kapa ala den maka, a fɛni pasi, ɛn a lǫ' na hem baka, baka.

So, di a lǫ' na hem baka, na mąn dɔro na ɩni wąn bɪgi foto. Dąn a no kąn go mɔro na hɛm baka. Dąn a tak', ‘A bǫ', bo̯i, go. Mi mɪsi yu.’

Na dɛ a go na hoso nō, dą' a ta̯igi hɛm we̯ifi taki, ‘a̯i, mi we̯ifi, yu 'a' leti. Tru-tru, mąn dɛ mɔro le̯iki mi.’

Dąn noit' mɔro a trɔbi tra suma.

105. Brother-None-Surpasses: Magic Flight[2]

In early times a man and his wife lived on a plantation. Then he went about troubling men and women. He was the strongest man on the plantation. Then he took the name of ‘Brother None-Surpasses’. Then one day he said to his wife, said, let her cook seven *dokun* for him. Then he went to another place, and he troubled the people. Then, as he went so till... then he met a woman. Then as he went, he said to the woman, ‘Howdo.’ Then the woman asked him, ‘What is your name?’ Then he said his name was Brother None-Surpasses. Then the woman said to him, she said, ‘You are joking. There are men who do surpass you.’

Well, now the woman said, ‘Look, I have two sons. One is called Sambakala. One is called Brangbo.’ And the two sons of this woman were hunters. They hunted elephants. Then this woman's sons, if they went to hunt, they went from here[3] till Nickerie,[4] then when they came they wore iron shoes. Then when they (the shoes) cried, ‘Bing, bang, Sambakala’, then they were far away, but

2 Told by 5. Compare Senegal (Mandingo), Zeltner 4-5, (Malinké), Zeltner 89-90; Sudan (Gourmantie), Equilbecq ii, 53-58, (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 477-478, fable No. 77; Sierra Leone (Mende), Migeod (I) 206-208, No. 4, Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 123-128, No. 22, (Ashanti), Herskovits, M. and F. (III) MS No. A2; Togo, Cardinall 129, (Dagomba), Cardinall 249; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS No. 71; Hausa, Tremearne (III) 344, No. 66; Gabun, Nassau (I) 74-76, Mpongwe No. 15; U.S. (Lousiana), Fortier (I) 71-73, No. 18, (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 45-6, No. 32, No. 33, 48-49, No. 34 I and II, 51-52, No. 36 I; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 53-55, No. 26 III-IV, 55, No. 27 I, 59, No. 27 II; Santo Domingo, Andrade 82-83, No. 54; Brazil, Eells 159-161, No. 15. Comparative, Bolte u. Polívka, ii, 140-146, No. 79. Another Suriname version, identical with our own Ashanti tale (No. A2), is found in Van Cappelle 353-358, No. 29.

3 Paramaribo.

4 A town on the border of British Guiana.

you heard it here. Of these men, the elder brother, Brangibo, was forty feet tall, the younger one was thirty feet tall. That one was Sambakala. When they went hunting, they went away in the morning at five o'clock, then they were back at home at seven o'clock at night. They went to Nickerie, and they arrived home the same day. And every day this is what they did, they got perhaps seven or eight elephants, and they ate all of them at once. Buffalo they did not want. Buffalo were too small. Tigers they did not want. Elephants only.

... *My story will go on pleasantly with* moksi-molyon, *with* huba-shuba.[1]
Krip-krap, *everyone in his place*.
Er tin, tin!
Well, my man, I am listening to the story...

Then when the sons were coming, then the man became afraid. And he said to the woman, he said, 'Mother, I am going to meet your sons half way.' Then he met the sons half way. They gave him an elephant to carry, but he could not (do it). So the sons took the elephant, and they arrived home. Then they asked their mother, 'Mother, who is this boy?' Then she said, 'He is a child who was passing by, he came to ask me if he could sleep here. Tomorrow he is going away.'

But when they finished cleaning the elephants, then they cooked them. Then they gave Sambakala a plate of food. Then Sambakala ate with an iron fork so long (showing about three feet). But while Sambakala was eating with the iron fork, the fork slipped and he took up the man, and shot him into his mouth. He began to chew him. Then his mother ran to pull him (the stranger) out.[2]

Then, when they went to lie down, then the mother said to him, said, 'Twelve o'clock at night you must get up, and go away. Twelve o'clock at night, they themselves will get up to go hunting. Then, if they catch you, they will eat you.' Then the mother gave him three eggs. Then the mother said to him, said, 'Even though they should come after you, then when you see them coming after you, then you throw an egg on the ground, and then you say, "Egg, what did your mother tell you"?'

He did this. At once a big sea appeared. Then the men went back home to take a wheelbarrow and a shovel, and they took earth with which to fill in the sea. Then, when the men had filled in the sea, then they ran after him again. Then the man threw the egg on the ground, and he said to it, said, 'Egg, what did my mother tell you?' At once a great fire, greater than an entire kingdom, appeared. Then the men went home to take a fire-hose with which to put out the

1 These expressions are untranslatable. They are all said to mean great pleasure.
2 Lit., 'Then he mother run for haul he pull.'

fire,[1] and when they had put out the fire, they ran after him. Then the other one threw another egg on the ground. He said, ‘My egg, my egg, what did my mother tell you?’ Then a kind of bush sprang up in front of the men, nothing but thorns. Then the men went back to take machetes and hoes. Then the men struck down all the thorns, and found the path, and ran after him again.

So, as they ran after him, the man reached a large city. Then they could not run after him any more. Then they said, ‘All right, boy, go. We missed you.’

When he went home now, then he said to his wife, said, ‘Yes, wife, you are right. There are indeed[2] men who are more than I am.’

Then never again did he trouble other people.

106. Man fasi.

Wą' mą' bɛn dɛ 'a bɛn dɛŋki a dɛ mɔro bɛtre leị̂ki ala tra mąn. A 'abi wąn tutu. Na ala deị̂ a dɛ bro na tutu, na tutu dɛ piki, ‘Mi na mą' mɔro ala mąn.’ Da' ɛŋ frō dɛ taị̂g' gi ɛm, taki, ‘Yu no mu' brō na tutu so.’

Wą' deị̂ di a pre 'a tutu, a yɛri wą' tra tutu brō taị̂ki, ‘Mąn dɛ mɔro mąn.’ Dąn a kɔmopo fō go luku pɛ na tutu brō. A waka so tɛ ... a go mit' wąn grąn-mɪsi. Dąn na grąn-mɪsi taị̂g' ɛ' taki, ‘Yu mu' gowɛ. Ɛfu yu tą' dia tɛ den pikɩ̱' fō mi kɔ̱', dąn dę' go kiri yu.’ Ma a bɛgi na grą'-mɪsi taị̂gi, mek' a kɪbri ɛŋ. Dą' na grą'-mɪsi kɪbri ɛŋ.

Di na fɔs' pikɩ̱' kɔ̱' na bakadina, a tyari tị̂n bɔfru kɔm. Na tra wą' kɔm, a tyari tị̂n sak' aleị̂si. Na tra wąn tyari fo' saka saụ̂tu. Ma di den bɔri, den nyąm, dą' na mama taị̂g' dɛm, taki, ‘Yu no sabi taki ụn bɛn habi wąn brada, ma a no bɛn tą' dia.’ Dąn dɛm taị̂ki, ‘Kaba yu no bɛn taị̂ki wi noiti?’ A taki, ‘Mi bɛn sari fō taị̂g' ụn.’ Dąn a taki, ‘Wɛ, ɛfu mi meki ụn si ɛŋ, są' ụ' sɑ du nąŋga ɛŋ?’ Den taị̂gi, ‘Wi sɑ prɪsiri nąŋga ɛŋ.’ Di na mama meki ɛ' kɔ̱', na fɔsi wąn teki ɛ', a frɩ̱ŋgi ɛ' go na lɔktu. Di a 'ɛ fadɔ̱', na tra wą' fąŋga ɛŋ, a frɩ̱ŋg' ɛ' baka. Di a i fadɔ̱' baka, na tra wąn fąŋga ɛŋ, dąn a frɩ̱ŋgi ɛŋ go baka. Dąn a fadɔ̱' na grɔ̱'. No mo a taki, ‘ą̱i, a no mi wąwąn na mąn. Mąn dɛ moro mąn.’

Dąn a go na 'oso, a taị̂g' ɛŋ frō są' pasa. Dą' na umą taị̂g' ɛŋ taki, ‘Tɛ sapakara tɛre kɔti, wąntrɔ̱n a dɛ feni 'olō.’

106. Giants Cure Boastfulness.[3]

There was a man who thought he was better than all other men. He had a trumpet. Every day he blew his trumpet, and the trumpet said, ‘I am the man who surpasses all men.’ Then his wife said to him, said, ‘You must not blow the trumpet so.’

One day, as he was blowing his trumpet, he heard another trumpet blow, saying, ‘Man surpasses man.’ Then he came out to go and see where the trumpet was being blown. He walked so till... he met an old woman. Then the old woman said to him, ‘You must go away. If you remain here, when my children come they are going to kill you.’ But he begged the old woman, he said, let her hide him. Then the old woman hid him.

1 Lit., ‘to kill the fire’.
2 Lit., ‘true-true’.
3 Told by 1. Compare Sudan (Bambara), Travélé 118-123, No. 45, (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 492-493, fable No. 93, (Hausa), Rattray (IV) 210-230, No. 12.

When the first child came in the afternoon he brought ten buffaloes. The other came, he brought ten sacks of rice. The other brought four sacks of salt. But when they had cooked they ate. Then the mother said to them, said, ‘You do not know that you have a brother, but he has not been living here.’ Then they said, ‘Why have you never told us?’ She said, ‘I was too sad to tell you.’ Then she said, ‘Well, if I let you see him, what will you do with him?’ They said, ‘We shall rejoice with him.’ When the mother had him come, the first one took him and tossed him up in the air. When he fell down the other caught him and tossed him again. When he fell down again the other one caught him, then he tossed him again. Then he fell to the ground. At once he said, ‘Yes, I am not the only one who is a man. Man surpasses man.’

Then he went home, and he told his wife what had happened. Then the wife said to him, said, ‘When Salamander's tail is cut off, he immediately finds a hole (in which to hide).’

107.

Te wą' mą' no sabi naki na poku, a taki 'a poku n'e bǫn.

Wą' mąn go luku wąn dąnsi, ma di dɛ i dąnsi, dan nō mō a i taa̰igi dɛm trawąn taki, na poku no dɛm nak' bǫ'. Ma na poku bɛn dɛ naki bǫ'. Ma na suma di bɛn naki 'a poku yɛre sąn a taki, dan a kari hɛ̀m a taki, ‘Mi dɛ go luku wą' sani, kɔm naki pikinso gi mi.’ Ma di a go, dan den suma no mąŋ fō dąnsi, bika' a no dɛ naki na poku bǫ'. Di na suma di bɛn dɛ naki na poku kɔm, a taki, ‘Wɛ, baya, fa a de nō mō na mąn taki na poku no bǫ', ma a no bɛn sabi fō naki hɛm?’ Dąn na trawąn bɛn wani fō firi hɛm; na dɑti meki a bɛn kali hɛm kɔm naki na poku.

107. The Boastful Drummer.[1]

When a man does not know how to play the drum, he says the drum is not good.

A man went to watch a dance, but when they were dancing, then he at once said to the others, said, the drum was not being played well. But the drum was being played well. But the man who was playing the drum heard what he said, and he called to him and he said, 'I am going to look for something, come and play a little for me.' But when he went, then the people could not dance, because he did not play the drum well. When the man who had been playing the drum came, he said, 'Well brother, how is it that the man said the drumming was not good, but he does not know (how) to play it?' [For] the other had wanted to test him; that was why he had called him to come and play the drum.

108.

Wą mą' bɛn dɛ. A go wroko na wąn presi. Dąn di a go 'a wroko, na mąn taa̲ig' hɛm taki, 'Mi 'ɛ go taa̲ig' yu tu sani; kɩbri yu hatibrǫŋ fō tamara, ala sąn' yu a̲i si, yu no mu taki.'

Bɩfɔsi na mąn bɛn gowɛ a bɛn libi ɛ̨ŋ we̲ifi. A no bɛn habi pikin. Dąn na mąn tą' ląŋga. Ma di a kɔm na hoso, dąn a miti wąn mąn na tapu ɛ̨ŋ bɛdi. A puru ɛ̨ŋ refolfer fō sütu na mąn, ma bifo' a sütu hɛm, a mɛmbre są' na mąn a taki hɛm: 'Kɩbri yu hatibrǫŋ fō tamara.' Dąn a no sütu hɛm. A no bɛn sabi taki na ɛ̨ŋ pikin bɛn kɔm bɩgi so. Bifɔ' a gowɛ' na umą bɛn tą' nąŋga bɛre, ɛn na ɛ̨ŋ pikin bɛn kɔm bɩgi so. Ɛf' a bɛn sütu, na ɛ̨ŋ srɛfi pikin a i go sütu.

Dɑti meki a bǫ' fō yɛre suma di taki, 'Kɩbri hatibrǫŋ fō tamara,' meki a no sütu na pikin kiri.

108. 'Hide Anger 'til Tomorrow'.[2]

There was a man. He was going to a certain place to work. Then when he was going to work, the man said to him, said, 'I am going to tell you two things; hide your anger until tomorrow, and all that your eyes see you must not tell.'

Before the man went away he left his wife. He had no child. Then the man remained away for a long time. But when he came home, then he found a man on his bed. He drew his revolver to shoot the man, but before he shot at him, he recalled what the man had said to him: 'Hide your anger until tomorrow.' Then he did not shoot him. He did not know that his child had grown so big. Before he went his wife had been with child, and his child had since grown so. If he had shot, he would have shot his own child.

That is why it is well to listen to a person who says, 'Hide your anger until tomorrow,' for that is why he did not shoot and kill his child.

1 Told by 1.
2 Told by 1. Compare Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 155-156, No. 122; Santo Domingo, Andrade 239-240, No. 185.

109.

Wąn boi̯ bɛn dɛ. A bɛn dǫ'. Ɛŋ papa krut' nąŋg' ɛŋ ala dei̯ fō na dǫ' f'ɛŋ. Ma sō wą' suma kǫn tai̯g' gi ɛŋ p'pa, taki, mek' a sɛni ɛm gōwe, go waka, somtɛ a sa frandra.

Na papa gi' ɛŋ mɔni, mɛk' a gowɛ. Di a gō 'a pasi, a mit' wą' mą', nąŋga wą' futu. Aks' a mąn taki, ‘Są' yu du di̯a?’ Na mąn

taki, ‘Mi 'ɛ waka leik wą' peiri kɔm ɔpo na ɩni wąn bo.’ A taki, ‘Mi sɑ yuru yu. Kɔ' na wroko nąŋga mi.’ Dɛm gowe makandra.

A miti wąn tra mą' na pasi baka. Ɛŋ yesi bɪgi lak' wąn prasɔro. A taki, ‘Sąn yu du dɛ?’ Na mąn taigi, ‘Ɛf' mi put mi wą' yesi na grɔ', mi dɛ yɛri ala sąn' dɛ a taki na grɔ'-tapu.’ A taki, ‘Yu no wani mi yuru yu?’ Na mąn taki, ‘A bǫn.’ Dɛm gowe makandra.

A waka so tɛ ... a miti wą' tra mąn. Ma mąn ɛŋ baka bradi leiki wą' tafra. A taki, ‘Sa yu dɛ du dia? Yu no wąn' mi yuru yu?’ Na mą taki, ‘A bǫn.’ A teki ɛŋ, a gowe.

A waka so tɛ ... a kɔ' miti wą tra mąn. Na mą' mɔfo brada leik' wą' kapa. A taki, ‘Suma na yu?’ Na man taigi, ‘Mi na Brokaka.’ So a tak', ‘Kɔm, mi sɑ yuru yu.’

Di den waka so tɛ ... den kɔm mit' wąn kɔndre. Dem go na wąn otɛl. Den leisi wąn papira taki Konu habi wą' umą pikin; a no wani fō tro. Ma a de wąn meidjɛ di ką' waka hesi, so a taig' gi ɛm ɛŋ papa taki, 'ɛfu a feni wąn mąn di kąn waka mɔro ɛŋ, dąn fɔsi a sɑ tro. Na fɔsi mąn di na yuŋgu bɛn yuru taki, ‘Mi sɑ strei nąŋga ɛŋ gi' yu.’ Na yuŋgu go taig' gi' Konu taki, ‘Ɛŋ wani strei nąŋga na meidjɛ.’ Konu taki, ‘A bɔ'. Meki den strei.’

Di dɛm stre kaba, na mąn wɩni na meidjɛ, so a bɛn muso fō tro. Ma a bɛgi 'ɛm papa, taki ɛfu a no ką' ɑksi na mąn fō a gi' ɛm mɔni, dąn 'ɛm no tro nąŋga hɛm. Di Konu ɑksi na mąn taki ɛfu a wani mɔni, a taki, ‘Ya, ma somɛni leiki mi wroko-mą' ką' chari.’ Konu taki, ‘A bo'. Meki a kɔ' teki.’

Di a gō, dem pɔti wąn bari mɔni na na mąn baka. Na man taki, ‘Dis', no mō? Pɔti mɔni!’ Dɛm pɔti te dɛm pɔti ala na mɔni fō Konu, ma a no bɛn sari na mąn. Dą' na mąn saka ɛŋ baka fō teki na 'ɛr 'oso fō Konu. Di Konu si sō, a bɛgi ɛŋ, a taki, ‘Libi dɑti gi' mi, mi bɛg' yu.’ Dąn so dɛm 'ɛ libi dati, gi' Konu, ɛn a tyari na mɔni gowe.

Di dɛn gowɛ, Konu prakser' taki, ‘A no bǫn sani, na sani dɩsi.’ Ma na mąn di bɛn 'ab' na bɪgi yesi a yeri kaba, są' Konu taki. So Konu sɛni somɛni soldati fo kɔm kɪsi dɛm. Di dɛm soldati kɔm, di dɛm si dɛm soldati dɛ kɔm, dɛm fredɛ. Ma Brokaka taki, ‘No fredɛ, na mi mu' wroko nō.’ En so a bɛgin brō wɩnti nąŋga ɛŋ mɔfo. Bom dɛ fadǭ' kiri dɛm soldati. So dɛm kɔm gowɛ.

Di a dɔro na ɛŋ papa, a frowɔndrō fō si fa so wąn dǫm boi bɛn kɔm nąŋga so furu mɔni. Sō, te yu 'abi wąn dǫm pikin, yu muso sɛni hɛm gowē farawei meki a leri ɔndrofeni. A kaba.

109. One-foot, Big-ears, Broad-back, Wide-mouth.[3]

There was a boy. He was stupid. His father admonished him every day about his stupidity. But a certain person came to tell his father, he said, let him send him away to travel, and perhaps he will change.

The father gave him money and had him go away. When he went on his way, he met a one-footed man. Asked the man, he said,

3 Told by 1. Compare Sierra Leone (Temne), Thomas (V) 10-14; Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 399-400, No. 23; Sudan (Hausa), Equilbecq ii, 171-179; Lamba, Doke 151, No. 77; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 130-131, No. 146; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 32-33, No. 20 I and II; Santo Domingo, Andrade 93-96, No. 63 and. No. 64. Comparative, Bolte u. Polívka, ii, 79-96, No. 71, iii, 84-85, No. 134.

‘What are you doing here?’ The man said, ‘I travel like an arrow which comes from a bow.’ He said, ‘I will hire you. Come work for me.’ They went away together.

He met another man farther along the path. His ears were as big as a parasol. He said, ‘What do you do?’[1] The man said, ‘If I put one of my ears to the ground, I hear everything that is said on the earth.’ He said, ‘Don't you want me to hire you?’ The man said, ‘All right.’ They went away together.

He traveled so till... he met another man. The man's back was as broad as a table. He said, ‘What are you doing here? Don't you want me to hire you?’ The man said, ‘All right.’ He took him and went away.

He traveled so till... he came upon another man. The man's mouth was wide as a kettle. He said, ‘Who are you?’ The man said, ‘I am Blow-hard.’ So he said, ‘Come, I will hire you.’

As they traveled so till... they came upon a country. They went to a hotel. They read a paper which said the King had a daughter; she did not want to marry. But she was a girl who could walk fast, so she said to her father if he found a man who could surpass her in walking then first would she marry. The first man whom the young man had hired, said, ‘I will race with her for you.’ The young man went to tell the King, to say he wanted to race with the girl. The King said, ‘All right, let them race.’

When they had finished racing, the man won from the girl, so she had to marry. But she begged her father, she said, if he could not ask the man to accept money not to marry her. When the King asked the man, he said, if he wanted money, he (the boy) said, ‘Yes, but as much as my workman can carry.’ The King said, ‘All right, let him come and take.’

When he went, they put a barrel of money on the man's back. The man said, ‘Only this? Put on money!’ They put till they had put on all of the King's money, but it did not trouble the man. Then the man bent his back to take the King's whole house. When the King saw this he begged him, he said, ‘Leave that for me, I beg you.’ So then he left that for the King and he took away the money.

When they went away the King studied, he said, ‘This thing is not a good thing.’ But the man who had the big ears had already heard what the King said. So the King sent many soldiers to come and catch them. As they saw the soldiers coming, they were afraid. But Blow-hard said, ‘Do not be afraid, it is I who must work now.’ And so he began to blow a wind with his mouth. Trees fell down and killed the soldiers. So they came away.

When he reached his father's house, he (the father) was astonished to see how so stupid a boy became so very wealthy.[2] So, when you have a stupid child you must send him far away to have him learn experience. It is finished.

1 Lit., ‘What you do is?’

2 Lit., ‘with money.’ In *taki-taki*, English adverbs appear in prepositional phrases: wisely is ‘with cunning’; greedily, ‘with big eyes’; happily, ‘with pleasure heart’; angrily, ‘with heart-burn’.

110. Tu srɛm kak.

Wą' boi̯ bɛn dɛ go na skoro, dą' ɛŋ mei̯ster bɛ' go friyari. Ma nō, ala yari tɛ ɛŋ meister friyari, dąn dɛ tyari presɛnt gi' ɛŋ. Ma nō, den mei̯ster a go friyari, a ɑksi ɛŋ m'ma są' a 'abi fō gi' ɛŋ. Na m'ma gi ɛŋ tin-na-sɪksi sɛnsi. A bai̯ wą' kakaforu. Dąn, di a dɛ go na pasi, a miti rofɛr. Dąn den rofer den tek' ɛŋ, den puru na kaka na ɛŋ 'anu. Dąn dę' gowɛ. Ma nō, na boi̯ waka na dem baka, go luku pɛ den dɛ gō. Na boi̯ kibri na tap' wą' bom, dąn a si den dɛ gō na wan pɪkin bergi tapu. Dąn dę' taki, ‘Bergi, bergi, opo. Bergi, bergi, seroto.’

Na boi̯ luku nō pɛ dɛm dɛ wasi. Dąn a go na smɛti, a mek' wąn brant-marki ɪsri. Dąn di a mek' ɛŋ, a meki wą' moi̯ bąŋgi. Dąn a pōti ɛŋ drapɛ, pɛ dɛm dɛ wasi. Di den kɔm wasi, na fɔsi wą' go sidǫ' na tap' 'a bąŋgi, dąn 'a sani brǫn ɛŋ. So den ala go sidǫ', ɛn dɛm ala kɪsi na marki fō na boi̯ nem.

Dąn nō, na boi̯ go kragɛ na lǫntu 'oso, taki, ɛŋ papa bɛn habi sɛbi slaf, ma den rǫ' we. Dan de meki sxotu gō waka suku dem slaf. Di den kɪsi dem, dɛm ɑksi na boi̯, taki, sortu fō wei̯s a 'abi fō sori, taki dem mą' na hɛm slaf. Na boi̯ taki, ‘Dɛm ala habi mi p'pa nɛm na dem bakasei̯.’ Ɛn dɛm rofer taki, ‘A lei̯. O'tai̯m wi bɛn dɛ yu papa slaf? Luku, yu so wąn piki' boi̯, yu taki wi na yu slaf!’ Ma di den go na lɔntu 'oso, dɛm pur' den krosi, dan dɛm ɔndrosuku dɛm, ɛ' alamala bɛn 'abi na brant-marki na dɛm s'kin. So den seroto dɛm.

Na boi̯ gō, a teki ala den sani di den bɛn 'abi na ɪn' den bergi. So, fō sekstin sɛnt' bɛn meki na boi̯ kɔm gudu.

110. The Password: Branding-iron.[1]

A boy was going to school, and his teacher was going to celebrate his birthday. But now, every year when his teacher celebrated his birthday, then he brought him a present. But now the teacher was going to have a birthday, and he asked his mother what she had to give him. The mother gave him sixteen cents. He bought a cock. Then, as he went along the road, he met robbers. Then the robbers tore the cock out of his hands. Then they went away. But now the boy followed them to see where they were going. The boy hid in a tree-top and he saw they were going to the top of a hillock. Then they said, 'Hill, hill, open. Hill, hill, shut.'

The boy looked now where they were bathing. Then he went to a smith and he made a branding iron. Then when he made it, he (also) made a fine bench. Then he put it there where they washed. When they came to wash, the first one went to sit down on the bench, and the thing burnt him. So they all went and sat down, and they all got the mark of the boy's name.

Now then, the boy went to enter a charge at the courthouse, that his father had seven slaves who had run away. Then they had police go about to search for the slaves. When they caught them, they asked the boy, they said, what kind of proof had he to show that these men were his slaves. The boy said, 'They all have my father's name on their backside.' And the robbers said, 'He lies. When have we ever been your father's slaves? Look, you are such a small boy, and you say we are your slaves!' But, when they went to the courthouse, they removed their clothes, and they examined them, and all of them had the brand on their bodies. So they locked them up.

The boy went, and he took all the things they had inside the hill. So, sixteen cents caused the boy to grow rich.

111.

Koleria bɛn go na buu̯iti-pasi, go ba̯i awari. Wąn wiwiri fasi hɛm na ɔndro-koto. Nō mō a buku dụn fō puru hɛm, nō mō wąn suma taki hɛm taki, 'No puru hɛm, bikasi na safri-wiri a dɛ, drɛsi hati-sɔro.'

111. The Leaf that Talked.[2]

Koleria[3] was on her way to buy awari. A leaf caught under her skirt. As she bent down to remove it, all at once someone said to her, 'Don't remove it, because the delicate leaf is a cure for heartache.'

1 Told by 1. Compare Senegal, Zeltner 70-72, 'Histoire de Koli'; Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 395-397, No. 21, (Gola), ibid., 498-499, No. 29; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 277-278, Guru No. 12; Gold Coast (Ashanti), Herskovits, M. and F. (III) MS. No. A 8; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS. No. 46, No. 109; Hausa, Tremearne (III) 211-212, No. 14; Nigeria (Yoruba), Bassett 217-220, No. 90 (from Ellis I, 271-274, Tortoise No. 6), Bouche 223-224, Parkinson 180-181, No. 9; Gabun (Batanga) Nassau (III) 358-367, No. 5; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 36, No. 22; I; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 21, No. 17d, 129, No. 100; Bahamas, Parsons (III) 5-6, No. 4 I and II; Santo Domingo, Andrade 193-197, Nos. 144-147. Comparative, Bolte u. Polívka, iii, 137-145, No. 142A, Parsons (V), for 'password' theme.

2 Told by 8.

3 Informant said this was a true story relating to a market woman, and that the voice speaking was the voice of a friendly male *yɔrka*, i.e., ghost.

112.

Wan umą bɛn dɛ, a bɛn habi ɛŋ masra. Ma a bɛn dɛ wan pranasi umą. Wɛ, dąn ɛŋ masra bɛn dɛ na busi, dąn habi wan tra masra.

Ma di na masra kɔm na foto, dan 'a tra masra taị̯g' hɛm taki, ‘Ɛf' yu lɔbi mi, yu mu mek' mi kɔm sribi na yu hoso.’ Dąn a taị̯gi na mąn taki, ‘A bo'. Mi masra dɛ na foto, na mi go mek' yu kɔm. Mi dɛ go weri wan koto nąŋga yaki fō mi gi yu, dąn mi dɛ go taị̯gi mi masra taki yu na mi sisa fō pranasi.’ Dąn di a weri na koto gi ɛ̨ŋ, neti dąn a kɔm drapɛ. Dą' na umą taị̯gi ɛ̨ŋ masra taki na wan sisa fō ɛ̨ŋ.

Dąn neti dɛn go sribi. Ma mamąntɛ̨m na umą go na wowoyo bika' a bɛn de sɛri sani. Dąn na man lidǫ' na sodro. Ma di na mas'a fō na umą si a no dɛ saka kɔm na grǫn, dąn a go luku, dąn a si na wan man suma. Dąn na man hatibrǫn. Dąn a tek' wan tɪki lǫn kɔm na wowoyo na na umą tapu. Ma di na umą si a dɛ kɔm, dąn na umą tek' wan pis' papira, dąn a lesi, dąn a di kreị̯. Dąn, di na man kɔm, a taki, ‘Sąn du yu?’ Dą' a taị̯gi na wan taki, ‘Hm! dyɔnsro mi kɪs' wan breị̯fi, ala mi sisa na pranasi trǫ' man suma.’ Dąn na man taki, ‘Den no leị̯, bikasi na wan di kɔm sribi nąŋga yɛsɛrdeị̯ neti, dati srɛfi trǫ' wan man suma.’ Ma na man n'e sabi fō leị̯isi. Dati meki na umą kis' ɛ̨ŋ nąŋga so wąn trɪki.

Odo: Suma pikin a no yu pikin.
Sribi na dɛdɛ.
Umą kir' man.

112. Unfaithful Wife: the Letter Trick.[4]

There was a woman who had a husband. But she was a plantation woman. Well, then her husband was in the bush, and she had

4 Told by 1. This story corresponds in point, though not in the incidents that go to make the plot, to numerous tales found in New World Negro collections, an example of which is Parsons (III) 77-82, Nos. 36-38.

another man. But when her husband went to the city, then the other man said to her, said, ‘If you love me, you must let me come sleep in your house.’ Then she said to the man, said, ‘All right. My husband is in the city, I will let you come. I am going to dress you in one of my skirts and blouses, and I am going to tell my husband that you are my sister from the plantation.’ Then when she dressed him in the dress, then that night he came there. And the woman told her husband this was her sister.

Then at night they went to sleep. But in the morning the woman went to the market because she sold things. Then the man lay down upstairs. But when the woman's husband saw she did not come down, then he went to look, and he saw a man.[1] Then the man was angry. He took a stick and came running to the market toward the woman. But when the woman saw him coming, then the woman took a piece of paper, then she read and cried. Then, when the man came he said, ‘What are you doing?’ Then she spoke [made up] a speech. ‘Hm! I just received a letter that all my sisters on the plantation have changed into men.’ Then the man said, ‘They do not lie, because the one who came to sleep with you last night, that one, too, changed into a man.’ But the man did not know how to read. That is why the woman deceived him with such a trick.

Proverb: Another's child is not your child.
Sleep is death.
Woman kills man.

113.

Wą' mąn bɛn g'a wąn presi. Dąn den gi' ɛ̨ŋ stofu kɔkrɔntu, dąn a nyam ɛ̨ŋ. Ma di a kɔ̨' na 'oso, dąn ɛm taịg' ɛ̨ŋ umą taki, ɛ̨ŋ nyąm stofu kɔkrɔnto na wą' presi. A su̯iti. Mek' na umą stofu p'kinso gi' ɛ̨ŋ. Ma na umą bɛn dɛ so dɔm, a no bɛn sabi-taki nąŋga sukru dem dɛ stofu kɔkrɔnto.

A go wąn de̯i, a ba̯i speki, oli, braki-pɛprɛ, a tya-kɔ̨m. A tek' 'a kɔkrɔnto, a grit' ɛ̨ŋ, a baka na meti, a pɔt' 'a kɔkrɔnto na fa̯ia, mek' a i bɔri. Di a bɔri, a puru, a pɔt' a tafra. Di na man kɔm na 'oso, a ta̯ig na mąn taki, ‘Mi stɔfu na kɔkrɔntu gi' yu.’ Na mąn no sabi, a dɛ̨ŋki taki nąŋga sukru a bɛn stɔf' ɛ̨ŋ. Ma di na mąn opo na preti, a si a bɔri nąŋga meti, nąŋga braka pɛprɛ, gi ɛ̨ŋ. 'A mąn ati brɔ̨n, a kɔsi na umą, ‘Yu dɔm umą yu! A no so den stɔfu kɔkrɔnɔtu! Nąŋga sukru de stɔfō. Yu dɔm nɛ̨ŋgre umą yu!’

113. The Stupid Wife[2]

There was a man who went somewhere. Then they gave him stewed coconut, and he ate it. But when he came home, then he told his wife, that he ate stewed coconut at a certain place. It was sweet.[3] Let his wife stew some for him. But the wife was so stupid, that she did not know that they cook coconut with sugar.

One day she went and bought bacon, oil, black pepper, and brought them home. She took the coconut, and she grated it, she baked the meat, and she put the coconut on the fire to let it cook. When it was cooked she removed it (from the fire), and she put it on the table. When the husband came home, she said to the husband, said,

1 Lit., ‘man-person’.
2 Told by 1.
3 Idiomatic for ‘excellent’.

‘I stewed the coconut for you.’ The husband did not know, and he thought she had cooked it with sugar. But when the man picked up the plate, he saw she had cooked it with meat and black pepper. The man became angry, and he cursed the woman, ‘You stupid woman, you! This isn't the way they stew cocoanut! They stew it with sugar. You stupid Negro[4] woman, you!’

4 A rare instance of this term used as an aspersion. Its use here is the same as the United States ‘nigger’.

114.

Ba Yaụ na fɔs' tɛm a bɛn dɛ dritoro fō wąn prɛndasi. A bę' 'abi tu umą na fōtō. Ma fa a bę' fɛni den sąn' na prɛnasi, dą i cha' kǫ' gi den umą f'ęŋ. Ma tɛ a'ɛ cha' kǫ', dą' a taị̯g' den taki, ‘Te ụn dɛ nyąm, ụn mu' pąŋya fi̯ŋga.’ Ma d' a taị̯g', na fɔs wą' a no ferstąnd bǫn są' dɑt' wą' taki. A taị̯g' na twedi umą na seref' sani, dɑti ferstand. Są' wąn' tak' dati, dat' bɛn wąn' taki te ęŋ chari sani kǫ' gi' dem, dę' no mu' dɛ nyąm ęŋ dem wąwąn, dę' m'ɛ gi' suma afu.

Nō, na wą' di no ferstąn' san' dat' wą' taki, dąn tɛ bakadina, tɛ a bɔri, a nyąm. Dą' ę' g'a dɔro seị̯, dą' i pąŋya i fi̯ŋga, a i taki, ‘Ba Yaụ taki, te mi 'ɛ nyąm, mi mu pąŋya fi̯ŋga.’ Bika' Ba Yaụ bę' tyari furu speki nąŋga bachaụ kǫ' gi' ęŋ. A den nyąmi ęŋ wawąn. Ma na trawą', tɛ Ba Yaụ tyari den san' gi' ęŋ, a dɛ prati afu gi' suma, sant' a bɛn ferstand są na odo bɛn taki.

No ląŋga na baka Ba Yaụ kǫ' dɛdɛ. Ma di Ba Yaụ dɛdɛ, na wą' fō' den umą di bę' pąŋya ęŋ' fi̯ŋga gi' lɔktu, no wąn suma n'ɛ tyari wąwąn sani gi' ęŋ. A sidǫ' ęŋ wąwąn. Ma na trawą' di bę' gi suma fɛ den sani, somɛni suma 'ɛ kǫ' dɛ tya' san' gi' ɛŋ. Trawą' dɛ tyari kaụ, trawą' 'ɛ tyari sukru, trawą' 'ɛ tyari kɔfi, kǫ' gi' ęŋ. So a i kɪsi furu sani na tra suma bę' gi' ęŋ. Nō, wą' deị̯, na wą' umą go na tra wą', a taki, ‘aị̯, baị̯iya, sɛnse Ba Yaụ dɛdɛ, mi dɛ pina. No wą' suma 'ɛ tya' sani kǫ' gi mi. Ma luku yu dɑti fa somɛni suma tya' sani kǫ' gi' yu?’ Dąn da tra wą' ɑksi ęŋ taki, ‘Wɛ, di Ba Yaụ bę' char' san' gi' yu, sa' yu bę' du 'ąŋga 'ęŋ?’ A taki, ‘Mi wąwąn bę' nyąmi.’ A den tra wą' tak' baka, ‘Di Ba Yaụ bɛn taị̯g' gi yu taki, “Yu mu pąŋya fi̯ŋga,” fa 'ɛ yu bę' du?’ A taki, ‘Tɛ mi nyąm, dą' mi pąŋya fi̯ŋga gi lɔktu.’ 'A tra wą' tak', ‘Sooo. Wɛ', dɛn na lɔktu mu' tya' gi' yu, bika' na lɔktu bę' pąŋya fi̯ŋga. Mi, dati tɛ 'ę bę' dɛ gi' mi, na den sɛrefi suma di mi a bę' gi', dę' tya' kǫ' gi' mi baka.’

Na odo fō te yu 'ɛ nyam, yu mu' pąŋya fi̯ŋga, dati wą' taki, tɛ i nyam, yu mu' nyą' na suma, yu no mu' ɔr' ala fi 'u sɛrefi. No so, tɛ yu no 'abi, no wą' tra' suma dɛ go gi' yu, bika' yu no mę' gi suma di f' yu.’

114. Spreading the Fingers.[1]

In the early times Ba Yau[2] was a plantation overseer. He had two wives in the city. But as he found things [provisions] on the plantation, he brought them to his wives. But when he brought [things], then he said to them, said, ‘When you eat, you must spread your fingers.’ But when he said this, the first one did not understand very well what that meant to say. He told the second wife the same thing, and that one understood. What that meant was that it was meant to say [that] when he brought them things, they were not to eat them alone, they were to give others half.

Now the one who did not understand what that said, then, in the afternoon when she cooked, she ate. Then she went outside, and spread her fingers, and said, ‘Ba Yau said when I eat I must spread my fingers.’ Because Ba Yau brought her much bacon and salt fish. She alone ate it. But when Ba Yau brought the things for the other one, she shared half with other people, because she had understood what the proverb had said.

Not long afterwards Ba Yau died. But when Ba Yau was dead, nobody brought anything to the wife who had spread her fingers for the air. She sat alone. But to the other one who had shared things with other people, many people brought things. One brought her a cow, one brought her sugar, one brought her coffee. So she received many things from others. Now one day, the one wife went to the other, and she said, ‘Yes, sister, ever since Ba Yau died, I have suffered hunger. No one brought me anything. But look, how is it that so many people have brought things to you?’ Then the other one asked her said, ‘Well, when Ba Yau had brought you things, what did you do with them?’ She said, ‘I alone ate them.’ Then the other one said again, ‘When Ba Yau said to you, said, “You must spread your fingers,” what did you do?’ She said, ‘When I ate, I spread my fingers in the air.’ The other one said, ‘So... Well then, the air must bring you things, because you spread your fingers for the air. As for myself, the same people to whom I gave things, bring me things in return.’

The proverb, when you eat you must spread fingers, means, when you eat, you must eat with people, you must not keep all for yourself. Otherwise, when you have nothing, nobody else is going to give you, because you had not given people what was yours.

115. 'A so du wi ala.

Wąn mąn a kɔmopo na pranasi, beina 'a boto sụŋgu. Dąn di a gō na pranasi baka, a tą̂igi ɛ̨ŋ birmąn taki, ‘Watra dɛ seki na liba. Beina mi sụŋgu.’ Na birmąn taki, ‘Są' mi mu du?’

1 Told by 1. Compare Cameroons (Ekoi), Mansfeld 233, No. 27.
2 Lit., ‘Brother Thursday’.

No lą̀ŋga na baka, na birmą̀n 'ɛ go na foto, dą̀n a sụ̀ŋgu na pasi. Ala ɛ̀ŋ la̱i̱ gowɛ. Di a kọ̀' na pranasi, a go ta̱i̱gi na birmą̀n fa a sụ̀ŋgu. Dą̀n 'a birmą̀n ta̱i̱gi ɛ̀ŋ taki, ''A so du wi ala. Tra de̱i̱, tɛ mi bɛn ta̱i̱g' yu taki, “Beina mi sụ̀ŋgu,” yu bɛn taki, “Są̀ mi mu du”?’

115. No Sympathy.[3]

A man left the plantation, and his boat very nearly sank. Then when he returned to the plantation, he said to his neighbor, he said, ‘The river was rough. I almost sank.’ The neighbor said, ‘What can I do (about it)?’

3 Told by 1.

Not long after, the neighbor went to the city, and he sank on the way. All his load was lost. When he came to the plantation, he went to tell his neighbor about how he had sunk. Then the neighbor said to him, said, ‘It will happen to all of us. The other day when I said to you, said, “I almost sank,” you answered, “What can I do (about it)”?’

116. Tigri nąŋga Kɔnkɔni.

Tigri nąŋga Kɔnkɔni bɛn dɛ bɪgi mati. Den libi makandra. Ma nō, Kɔnkɔni nąŋga Tigri kɪs' trɔbi. Tigri bɛn habi wąn mantɛl. Kɔnkɔni tek' 'a mantɛl go sɛri, so dati Tigri 'ati kɔm brǫn nąŋga hɛm. Tigri wani go mek' den srot' hɛm. A bɛgi Tigri taki, mek' a no srot' hɛm, a bɛtre a trowɛ na liba. 'A na Tigri tak', ‘A bǫ'.’ Tigri teki Kɔnkɔni, a pɔt' ɛŋ na ɪni wąn saka, a dɛ tyari hɛm na tap' wąn kroi̯-wagi. No, di den waka, Tigri go na wąn presi. A libi na wagi na mɔfo-dɔro.

Wɛ nō, Watra-dagu bɛn dɛ skapumąn. A dɛ luku somɛni skapu. Kɔnkɔni bɪgin fō tak' na ɪni na saka, taki, ‘ai̯, baya, na fō di mi no wani fō tro nąŋga na hɛm p'kin, meki a wani fō kiri mi.’ Watra-dagu yɛre. Watra-dagu taki, ‘Wɛ, a bǫ'. Mek' mi lus' yu, dan mi dɛ go na ɪni na saka, dan mi sɑ tro nąŋga na p'kin.’ Watra-dagu lusu Kɔnkɔni, puru hɛm na saka, ɛn go na ɪni na saka.

Nō, di Tigri kɔm, a teki na kroi̯-wagi, a pusu tyar' go na liba. A trowe na saka. A dɛŋk' taki na Kɔnkɔni a trowe. Ma nō, di Kɔnkɔni kɔmopo na ɪni na saka, ɛn Tigri tyari Watra-dagu gowe, dąn Kɔnkɔni teki ala den skapu. A gowɛ. Dąn wąn dei̯ Kɔnkɔni kɔm dɛ pasa nąŋga den skapu, nō mō Tigri taki, ‘Tą'! A no Kɔnkɔni di mi bɛn trowe na watra?’ Kɔnkɔni piki hɛm, a taki, ‘Mi Tata, mi wɻnsi yu bɛn trowɛ mi mɔro na mɪndri. Yu no si sąn mi tyar' kɔmopo na ɔndro watra? Ɛf' yu bɛn trowɛ mi pikinso mɔro 'a mɪndri, mi bɛn dɛ tyari soso gōtu tutu skapu kɔm.’

Tigri go tai̯gi hɛm umą taki, ‘Mi sabi Kɔnkɔni no dɛdɛ. A tyari somɛni skapu kɔmopo na ɔndro watra.’ Na uma taki, ‘Tru, tru? Wɛ, masra, tek' den p'kin fō ųn, dąn yu tai̯ den na ɪni wąn saka. Dąn yu go trowɛ na liba, ma mɔro fara lei̯ki pɛ yu bɛn trowe Kɔnkɔni.’ Dąn Tigri du so, bika' a ben lɔbi skapu meti fō nyąm. A prakser' taki, tɛ den p'kin tyari den skapu kɔm na syɔro, dąn den

habi furu nanyąm. Ma a no bɛn sab'-taki na kɔri Kɔnkɔni bɛn kɔri hɛm. Ɛn so a trowɛ ala den p'kin na liba. Den no kɔm mɔro.

Dɑt' meki Tigri den nyąm Kɔnkɔni pɛ a miti hɛm.

116. Take My Place.[1]

Tiger and Rabbit were great friends. They lived together. But now Rabbit and Tiger quarreled. Tiger had had a coat. Rabbit took the coat and sold it, so that Tiger was angry with him. Tiger wanted to have them lock him up. He begged Tiger, he said, not to have them lock him up; it would be better to throw him into the river. Tiger said, ‘All right.’ Tiger took Rabbit and put him in a sack, and carried him away in a wheelbarrow. Now, as they were traveling, Tiger went to a certain place. He left the wagon in the doorway.

Well now, Water-Dog was a shepherd. He looked after a great many sheep. Rabbit began to talk (from) within the sack, he said, ‘Yes, brother, because I do not wish to marry his daughter, he wants to kill me.’ Water-Dog heard (this). Water-Dog said, ‘Well, all right. Let me free you, then I will go into the sack, and then I will marry the daughter.’ Water-Dog freed Rabbit and pulled him out of the sack, and he (himself) went into the sack.

Now, when Tiger came, he took the wheelbarrow, (and) he pushed it toward the river. He threw the sack away. He thought he threw away Rabbit. But now, when Rabbit came out of the sack, and Tiger had taken Water-Dog away, then Rabbit took all the sheep. He went away. Then one day Rabbit was passing by with the sheep, and at once Tiger said, ‘What! Isn't that Rabbit whom I have thrown into the water?’ Rabbit answered him, he said, ‘Father, I wish you had thrown me more toward midstream. Do you not see what I have brought from under the water? If you had thrown me a little more toward midstream, I should have brought nothing but golden horned sheep.’

Tiger went to tell his wife, to say, ‘I know Rabbit is not dead. He brought many, many sheep from under the water.’ The woman said, ‘True, true? Well, husband, take your children and tie them up in a sack. Then go throw them into the river, but a little farther than you threw Rabbit.’ Then Tiger did so, because he loved to eat sheep's meat. He studied that when the children brought the sheep

1 Told by 1. Compare Senegambia, Berenger-Feraud 51-56; Liberia (Kru), Bundy 414-415, No. 12; Sudan (Mossi), Tauxier (II) 431-432, fable No. 21; Hausa, Tremearne (III) 214-216, No. 16; Gabun (Batanga), Nassau (II) 28-29, No. 3; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 41-43, No. 28, No. 29; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 3-5, No. 2, 30-31, No. 23, 141-144, No. 107, No. 108; Bahamas, Parsons, (III) 82ff., No. 39 (bibliography 82, note 6); Santo Domingo, Andrade 49, No. 24.

on shore, then they would have a great deal of food. But he did not know that Rabbit had lied to him. And so he threw all the children in the river. They did not come (back) any more.

That is why Tiger eats Rabbit wherever he meets him.

117.

Na Konu bɛn dɛ, di habi wan kɔndre. Dąn nō wąn mąn suma mąŋ libi nąŋga umą, ala den umą mu' dɛ fō ɛŋ wąwąn. Ma wąn mąn bɛn libi na ɩni na kɔndre, ma a bɛn libi farawɛ. Ma 'a Konu no bɛn sab' pɛ a i libi. 'A man dɑti habi wąn weifi. Dąn ala dei a i weri moi krosi, a i kɔm pasa na Konu dɔro. Dąn wąn dei Konu kari hɛm, dąn ɑksi hɛm fa ɛŋ nɛm. Dą' a taki Konu taigi ɛŋ nɛm Krɛstum. Dąn Konu ɑksi hɛm taki, 'Yu habi umą?' A taki, 'Ya, Konu.' Na Konu taki, 'Wɛ, yu sab' sąn? Tamara bakadina mi 'ɛ kɔm kiri yu.'

Dąn di a i go na hoso, a i taigi hɛm weifi. Dąn, di a taigi hɛm weifi, dąn den tek' wąn patu, di den bɔri nanyąm. Dąn den pɔti hem na ɔndro na hoso, mek' faiya. A dɛ bɔri aleisi. ɛŋ taki na uma, 'Mi 'ɛ luku tɛ Konu dɛ kɔm.' Dąn di Konu dɛ kros-bei, dąn den puru na patu na ɔndro na hoso, dąn den pɔt' na tapu tafra.

Dąn Konu kɔm. Dąn a i tak', 'Wɛ, Kristum, mi kɔm kiri yu.' Dąn a i taki, 'Mi bɛg' Konu, mi bɔri p'kin aleisi fō mi nyam.' Dąn habi tu tɩki, so 'i naki na pat' tapu. Dą' yurutɛm a opo 'a patu, na Konu taki, 'Tą'! Na so yu dɛ bɔri nanyąm!' A tak', 'Ya, Konu.' Dąn a tak', 'Yu sab' sąn? ɛf' na so yu bɔri aleisi, mi n'ɛ go kiri yu mɔro, ma yu mu' gi mi den tɩki.' Dąn a taki, 'Ya, Konu, yu kąn tek' den.' Dąn Konu tak', 'Wɛ, ɛf' mi tek' den, fa mi mu' du 'ąŋga den tɩki?' Dą' a tak, 'Wɛ, Konu, yu dɛ was' ala yu nanyąm, pɔti na ɩni yu patu. Dąn tɛ yu pɔti nanyąm na ɩni na patu kaba, dąn yu prei nąŋga na pat' tapu 'ąŋga na tɩki.'

Dąn Konu tek' den tɩki, a i gowe. Dąn di Konu gowe kaba, dąn a kari ala bɪgi suma, taki den mu' kɔm 'a paleis, ɛŋ go bɔri aleisi zɔndro faiya. Dąn a kiri somɛni foru nąŋga dɔksi, nąŋga krakųŋ. Konu prei 'a tapu 'a patu so tɛ ... dei kɔmopo. Na patu no mąŋ bɔri.

Dąn tamara, na mąn kɔm koiri na Konu dɔro mɔfo, fō si sąn a pasa. Na Konu taigi hɛm taki, 'Yu kɪs' mi moi, yɛre? Ma tidɛ

bakadina mi dɛ kɔm kiri yu.' Na di a go na hoso, a taki hɛm weifi baka. Dąn a meki hɛm weifi baį wąn kaų-blas. Dą' a baį wan batra rɛdi vin, dą' a kant na vin na ɩni na kaų-blas. Dąn a taį hɛm na ɛŋ weifi hati tapu. Dąn 'a umą weri ɛŋ krosi moį. Nowąn suma kąn si dɑti a pɔti na kaų-blas. Dąn Konu kɔm bakadina, fõ kɔm kiri hɛm. Dąn di Konu kɔm, dą' a taįgi Konu taki, mek' hɛm kiri na umą fɔs' Konu kiri hɛm. Ɛf' ɛŋ dɛdɛ, libi na umą, na umą dɛ go pina. Dąn ɛŋ nąŋga umą bɛn taki ala sani kaba. Dąn a bɛn dɛ so wąn nefi. Dąn na mąn tek' na nefi, a süt' ɛŋ weifi. Dąn di a süt' na umą, dąn na kaų-blas a priti opo, dąn na umą fadǫn a grǫ'. Ma na nefi no kis' na umą. Dą' a bɛg' Konu, a taki ɛŋ wan' weiki na umą fõ kɔm baka na libi. Ɛŋ kɔm sari ɛŋ dɛdɛ. Dąn Konu taki, 'Yu sɑ mąŋ weiki hɛm baka?' A tak', 'Ya.' Dą' a go, a tek' wąn rɛdi hąŋgisa, dą' i wev ɛŋ so na ɛŋ umą fesi. No mo na umą a soktu. 'A Konu taki, 'Wɛ, yu sab' sąn', boį? A bɛtre yu gi mi na hąŋgrisa, mi no sɑ kiri yu mɔro.'

Dąn di Konu gowe na hoso, dąn a taki ɛŋ, go kiri ɛŋ weifi. Ala suma mu' kɔm 'a paleis. Ɛŋ sɑ kiri hɛm weifi, ɛn na ɩni feif' minut a sɑ weiki hɛm baka. Dąn, di ala suma kɔm na pareis, Grąnmąn, na grąn fɪskari, ala kɔm, dąn Konu tek' wąn nefi, dąn a sütu hɛm weifi, dąn a fadǫ' na grǫ'. Dąn Konu tek' na hąŋgisa na mąn bɛn gi hɛm, dąn a waį hɛm weifi fesi. Hɛm weifi no weiki mɔro, te na ɔndro grǫ'.

Dąn na tra dei na na mąn kɔm pasa na Konu dɔro agen. Ma nõ, di na mąn kɔm pasa na Konu dɔro, dąn na tamara mamɛntɛm a i pasa nąŋga tu duzen kaų. Dąn Konu tak', 'Pɛ yu go 'ąŋga den kaų?' A taki, a i gowɛ 'a tra kɔndre na sei, go kiri den kaų, seri feif' xulder wąn gram. Nąŋga ala dɑti na mąn 'ɛ lei. Dąn Konu no du nɔtį mɔro leiki hɛm baį fo-duzen kaų nõ. Dąn a teki fotɛnti sɔrdati, taki den go kiri den kaų sɛri. Kaų-meti 'a mɔni drapɛ. Nąŋga ala dɑti, kaų-meti bɛn wąn sɛnsi wąn pɔntu. Nõ, di den sɔrdati kiri den kaų, nowąn suma wani baį. Dąn den sɔrdati frɛde fõ kɔm na hoso. A tak' Konu go kiri den. Dąn Konu sɛn' wąn suma fõ tyari den sɔrdati go na hoso. Dąn Konu ɑksi den sɔrdat', 'Sąn yu du, yu no bɛn wani kɔm na hoso?' Dąn den sɔrdati taki, na mąn dɛ lei, no wąn suma wani kaų-meti. Na kaų-meti drapɛ wąn sɛnsi wąn pɔntu. Dąn Konu taki, ''A mąn disi wąn tumusi leimąn.'

Dąn Konu tek' wąn saka, dan a laį ɩsri na ɩni. Dą' i gi dri sɔrdati na saka, tak' tɛ den go, den mu' tek pɔti na mąn na ɩni na saka,

dąn den mu' trowɛ go na liba. Di den sɔrdati den hari hɛm tyar' go trowɛ na liba, dąn dę' mit' wąn sopi-wɛ̨nkri. Dąn den libi 'a saka na mɩndri strati, a go drɩ̨ŋgi sopi.

Dąn, di den dɛ na sopi-wɛ̨nkri, dąn wąn umą a i kɔm pasa nąŋga wąn tiẹn duzen kaụ̯ nąŋga buriki nąŋga hasi. Dąn 'a mąn dɛ na ɩni na saka dąn a taki, 'Mi gudu so tɛ kaba, Konu dɛ taki mi fõ mi dɛ go kɔm tek' mɔni, ma mi no wani mɔni mɔro.' Dąn 'a umą taki, 'Masra, a bɛtre yu gi mi 'a mɔni.' Dąn 'a man taki, 'Wɛ, lɣ' lus' na saka gi mi. Dąn yu go na ɩni.' Dąn, di na umą lus' na saka, na umą go na ɩni, dąn na mąn taị̯ na saka mɔfo. Dąn na mąn gowe.

Dąn, di a gowe, dąn a teki ala den kaụ̯, den buriki, den hasi. Di den sɔrdati kaba drɩ̨ŋgi sopi, den sɛn' srep 'a saka go trowɛ a liba. Dą' tamara mamɛntɛm, na mąn kɔm pasa na Konu dɔro nąŋga ala den kaụ̯, ala den hasi, den buriki, ala sani. Dąn Konu taki, 'Mąn, pɛ yu kɔmoto nąŋga den sani disi?' A taki, 'Konu, den sani dɪsi furu na ɔndro liba, so tɛ ... mi no mąŋ tyari ala mi srɛfi.' So Konu go na ɩni wąn saka, dąn a mek' den sɔrdati pɔti ɩsri na ɩni na saka, dan a tak' den mek' hɛm trowɛ na liba. A taki, ɛ̨ŋ go tek' kaụ̯, nąŋga hasi, nąŋga buriki, tu. Dąn Konu go na ɔndro liba. A no mąŋ kɔm mɔro 'a tapu. A dɛdɛ.

Wɛ, so meki seị̯ habi Konu.

117. Mock Killing: Take My Place.[1]

There was once a King who had a kingdom. Then no man could live with a woman, all the women had to be for him alone. But there was a man living in the kingdom, but he lived far away. But the King did not know where he lived. That man had a wife. Then every day he dressed in fine clothes, and came by the King's door. Then one day the King called him, and then he asked him his name. Then he said to the King, he said, his name was Krestum. Then the King asked him, said, 'Have you a wife?' He said, 'Yes, King.' The King said, 'Well, you know what? Tomorrow afternoon I will come to kill you.'

Then when he went home, he told his wife. Then, when he had told his wife, then they took a pot, in which they cooked food. Then they put it (the pot) under the house and made a fire. She cooked rice. He said to his wife, 'I will watch for the King.' Then as the King was approaching then they took away the pot from under the house, and they put it on the table.

Then the King came. Then he said, 'Well, Kristum, I came to kill you.' Then he said, 'Please, King, I am cooking a little rice to eat.' Then he had two sticks, so he struck the top of the pot. Then when he uncovered the pot, the King said, 'What! Is that how you cook food!' He said, 'Yes, King.' Then he (the King) said, 'You know what? If that is how you cook rice, I am not going to kill you any more, but you must give me the sticks.' Then he said, 'Yes, King, you may take them.' Then the King said, 'Well, if I take them, what must I do with the sticks?' He said, 'Well, King, you

1 Told by 5. See comparative references to Bundy, Nassau (II), Parsons (II) and (III), and Beckwith (II) in preceding tale, and in addition Senegal, Zeltner 65-66, 'Histoire de Koli'; Sudan (Khassonke), Monteil (I) 65-73; Sierra Leone (Temne), Thomas (V) 23-24, Cronise and Ward 254-256; Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 409-411, No. 27; Togo, Cardinall 133-134; Hausa, Schön 75-76, No. 3; U.S. (Louisiana), Fortier (I) 89, No. 26, (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 69-71, No. 60; Santo Domingo, Andrade 40-42, No. 15, 45-47, Nos. 20-21: comparative, Bolte u. Polívka, ii, 1-18, No. 61, (variant) iii, 192-193, No. 143B.

wash all your food, and put it into your pot. Then when you finish putting the food into the pot, then you play with these sticks on top of the pot.'[2]

Then the King took the sticks, and he went away. Then when the King had gone, he called all the important people, saying that they must come to the palace, he was going to cook rice without fire. Then he killed many, many fowls, ducks, and turkeys. The King played on top of the pot until... day came up. The pot could (did) not boil.

Then the next morning, the man strolled by the King's door to see what had happened. The King said to him, said, 'You tricked me

2 The figure is that of beating a rhythm on a drum.

nicely, hear? But this afternoon I will come and kill you.' When he went home, he told his wife again. Then he had his wife buy a cow's bladder. Then he bought a bottle of red wine, then he poured the wine into the cow's bladder. Then he tied it on his wife's heart. Then the woman dressed nicely. No one could see that she had put on the cow's bladder. Then, in the afternoon, the King came to kill him. Then when the King came, he said to the King, said, let them kill the wife before the King killed him. If he died, and left the wife, then the wife would starve. Then he and his wife had already talked all this over. Then there was such a knife.[1] Then the man took the knife, and shot it into his wife. Then as he shot the woman, then the cow's bladder burst open and the woman fell to the ground. But the knife did not reach the woman. Then he begged the King, and he said he wanted to waken his wife, that she might come to life again. He was sorry now she was dead. Then the King said, 'You will be able to resuscitate her?' He said, 'Yes.' Then he went and he took a red handkerchief, and he waved it so over the woman's face. At once the woman sighed. The King said, 'Well, you know what, boy? Better give me the handkerchief and I will not kill you any more.'

Then when the King went home, then he said he was going to kill his wife. Everybody must come to the palace. He would kill his wife, and in five minutes he would waken her again. Then, when all the people came to the palace, the Granman, the counsellors, all came, then the King took a knife, and then he shot his wife (with it), then she fell to the ground. Then the King took the handkerchief the man had given him, and then he waved it over his wife's face. His wife did not waken again until she was under the sod.

Then the next day the man came by the King's door again. But now when the man came by the King's door, then the next morning he came by with two thousand cows. The King said, 'Where are you going with the cows?' He said he was going to another neighboring country to kill the cows and sell them at five gulders a gram. However, the man was lying. Then the King did nothing more than buy four thousand cows now. Then he took forty soldiers and told them to go and kill the cows and sell them. Cow's meat was money (currency) there. However, cow's meat was a cent a pound. Now when the soldiers killed the cows, no one wanted to buy. Then the soldiers were afraid to come home. They said the King would kill them. Then the King sent a man to bring the soldiers home. Then the King asked the soldiers, 'What did you do, that you did not want to come home?' Then the soldiers said, the man had lied, no one wanted cow's meat. Cow's meat was a cent a pound there. Then the King said, 'This man is a great liar.'

Then the King took a sack, and he loaded it with iron. Then he gave the sack to three soldiers, and said when they went, they had

1 Informant's gesture of indicating a size reaching from the finger tips to the elbow.

to put the man in the sack, and then they had to go and throw him in the river. As the soldiers were taking him to the river to throw him away, then they came to a rum shop. Then they left the sack in the middle of the street, and they went to drink rum.

Then, when they were inside the rum shop, then a woman passed by with ten thousand cows, and donkeys, and horses. Then the man was inside the sack, then he said. ‘My wealth is so great already, and the King tells me I am to come and take money. But I don't want any more money.’ Then the woman said, ‘Master, better give me the money.’ Then the man said, ‘Well, then, untie the sack for me. Then you go inside.’ Then, when the woman untied the sack, the woman went inside, then the man tied the sack. Then the man went away.

Then as he went, he took all the cows, the donkeys, and the horses. When the soldiers had finished drinking rum, they sent to pull the sack and throw it in the river. Then the next morning, the man came by the King's door with all the cows, all the horses, the mules, everything. Then the King said, ‘Man, where do you come from with these things?’ He said, ‘King, there are so many of these things on the river bottom, till... I could not carry (away) all myself.’ So the King went into a sack, then he had the soldiers put iron in the sack, then he said to them let them throw him into the river. He said he was going to take cows, and horses, and donkeys, too. Then the King went to the river bottom. He could not come on top again. He died.

Well, so that is why the sea has a King.

118. Den twarfu Raf.

Wąn Konu bɛn dɛ, habi twalfu mąn pikin. A no bɛn kis' nowąn umą pikin. Ma nō, di den pikin kɔm bɩgi, dą' a kar' 'a mama, a tak', ‘Mɩsi, mi 'ɛ go mek' wan sweri nąnga yu. 'A dę̣ yu sa kɩs' wan pikin, ɛf' na wan umą wan, dą' wi 'ɛ kir' ala den mąn wąn.’ 'A mama bɛn sari so tɛ ... Ma no ląŋga baka a bɛn kɔm kis' bɛrɛ. 'A papa mu go na fɛti nō. Dąn nō, a libi ordɛ' gi na minister tagi, 'a dę̣ di na umą sa meki 'a pikin, ɛf' na wąn umą wąn, a mu' kir' ala den mąn wąn.

Ma nō, di na tɛm kɔm kɔsbę̣ di na mama fō mek' 'em, a kar' den mąn pikin, a tag' ɛ̨m taki, ‘Ụn papa bɛn mek' wąn promis' nąŋga mi, ɛf mi kɩs wąn umą pikin, dąn ụn ala i dɛdɛ.’...

Bato! Mi bɛn dapɛ!
Sąn a tagi?
Mi adɛlo Selina,
Moi boto a fɛlɛ,
Mek' a fɛlɛ.
Waka 'ąnga yu tɔri!

... Dą' tak, mek' den tek i n'nyam, dą den go 'a busi, dąn mek den ala luku mamantęm, ɛf den si wąn rɛdi fraga ɔpo, dą' na wąn umą pikin kɪs' ɛm. Dąn den mu go mɔro fara. Ma, ɛf' na wąn weiti fraga, dą' na wąn mąn pikin 'ɛ meki. Nō, ala mamąntęm den luku. Wąn mamąntęm den si wąn rɛdi fraga. Dą' wantrǫ' den gowɛ, ɛn go mɔro fara. Dą' dɛn 'ɛ kɔt presi, prani nanyąm, mɛk' hoso, dą' 'ɛ libi.

Ma di na umą pikin kɔm bɪgi, dąn a i si den twalfu kasi. Dą' ɑksi 'a mama taki, ‘Suma habi krosu na ɪni den kasi?’ Da mama tak' na tɛ suma kɔm tą dia na dɑt' mek' den dapɛ. Nō, wąn dei, 'a umą pikin tek' wąn refolver, a taki ɛf' ęŋ mama no taig' hɛm suma hab' den kasi, wan skot fō ęŋ, wan fō ęŋ mama. 'A mama no mąŋ hɔri mɔro, dą' kɔm taig' hɛm taki, ‘Wɛ, yu bɛn habi twalfu brada. Ma di fɔs mi mek' yu, yu papa bɛn mek' wąn sweri nąŋga mi taki ɛf' mi kɪs' wan umą pikin ęŋ kiri ala den twalfu mąn wąn. Dat' mek' mi dɛ mek' hɛm gowe.’

Dą' na umą pikin teki na tro-saka-hąŋgisa nąŋga na lɪŋga fō ęŋ papa, a taki ęŋ gowɛ ęŋ suku ęŋ brada...

Bato!
Aleintɛm krabu
Kɔti kwɛnda moi, moi.
Frudu watra pɔt' mi na shɔro.
Neti tapu mi na dam.

... A waka so tɛ ... dąn a mit wan presi wan neti, a si wan faia far awɛ. Dąn mamantɛm a waka dɔro; a go miti pɛ dɛn brara bɛn dɛ.

Ma den brada bɛn meki wąn sweri taki, ɛf' wą umą suma kǫ dapɛ, dɛn sɑ kiri ęŋ, bika na fō umą suma ɛdɛ dę' kǫn tą' na mɪndri busi. Den brada bɛn habi wan gowɛnti; erfu fō den dɛ go a wroko, dą wan i tą' na 'oso bɔri...

Bato! mi bɛn dapɛ.
San a tagi?
Oranyɛ Nasau,
A bɛtre yu no bɛn kǫn dia,
Tɛ yu si 'a boto dɔro nō mō
Foto dɛ na wai ya ya.
Waka nąŋga yu tɔri!

... Ma di a si na umą kǫ', dąn ɑksi ɛŋ tak', ‘Są' yu kǫ' dia?’ A tak', ‘Na mi brada mi kǫ' suku.’ Aksi ɛŋ taki, ‘Sɔrtu brara?’ A sɔri na yuŋgu 'a sak-ąŋgisa nąŋga na tro lɻŋga fɛ ɛŋ papa. Dą' wan trǫ' a si na na fu ɛŋ papa, dą' a bribi wą' trǫ' tak' na ɛŋ sisa. Dą' a taį̂gi ɛŋ taki, mɛk' a kibri, bikasi ɛf' dɛn brada kɔm, dę' go kiri ɛŋ. Dę' mek' wą' swɛri, taki, ɛfi wą umą suma kɔm dia, dę' sɑ go kiri ɛŋ. Dą' nō, di a bɔri nyąm, dą' a pɔti dertin preti. Di den brada kɔm, den dę' ɑksi ɛŋ taki, san' wan tak' dati? Den dɛ twarfu suma, ma a pɔti dertin preti. Dąn 'a brada ɑksi den taki, ‘Ɛf' uŋ si uŋ sisa, san u' sɑ du nąŋga ɛŋ?’ Dę' tak', ‘Wi dɛ kiri ɛŋ. Sɔrtu sisa?’ Dan dę' bɪgin fǫm na brada. Den ati-brǫŋ. Ma no, di den taki, ‘Mek' a kɔm, mɛk' wi si ɛŋ,’ di a go kari ɛŋ kɔm. Den di a kɔm, dąn a sori den na trō lɻŋga, dąn dę' bribi ɛŋ. Dą' dę' prisiri nąŋga ɛŋ; den drɻŋgi makandra. Ma no dę' ala go na wroko no, dąn dę' libi na sisa fō bɔri.

Dąn dę' habi wąn ros bɔm, a bɛn abi twarfu kropo. Dę' no bɛn opo yɛte. Ma de dę̂i dɑti den opo, dąn di na metyɛ bɔri, a pɔt tafra, dą' a broko den twarfu ros, dą' a pɔti ɛbriwąn fō den preti wąn ros'. Ma fa den brara kǫn na 'oso, no mo den trǫ twalf raf. Dąn 'a sisa taki, so langa ɛŋ no si den brada baka, ɛŋ no sɑ taki mɔro. Dą' a bɪgin wak' 'a busi, tɛ ... ala ɛŋ krosi kɔm broko.

Dąn wąn yuŋgu, a bɛn dɛ wąn prɻns, dą' a kom na ɪn' na busi, dą' a teki ɛŋ. Dą' a weri manta gi ɛŋ, dą' a tyari ɛŋ go na ɛŋ 'oso, ma 'a medyɛ a no dɛ taki. Dąn dɛm sisa fō na yuŋgu bɛn lɔbi na metyɛ. Ma tɛ a no piki, dąn dɛn ati kɔm brǫŋ, dąn den bɪgin kɔsi ɛŋ, taki, na wan busi xę̂ist. Dą' a kǫm kɪsi wą pikin. Ma no, a mu kisi wą tra wą. Dąn na papa taki, ɛf' a no taki, dąn ɛŋ go kiri ɛŋ. Ma na prɻns sari so tɛ... A du ala fasi fō a tagi, ma a no bɛn mąŋ taki. Dąn dę' tek' ɛŋ a dɛ, tyari fō go kiri. Di den pɔti ɛŋ fō kiri, dąn na yuŋgu prɪns go na ɛŋ, a bɛgi ɛŋ tagi, ‘Mi gadu! Kɛ, tak' wan wɔrtu, meki no dɛdɛ.’ Fę̂if minut fɔs den kiri ɛŋ, dɛn twarfu raf fre̊i kɔm. Fa-i-si dɛn bari ‘Raf, raf,’ na wą'trǫ' na metyɛ taki. Dąn den trǫ' twarfu prɻns. Dąn wantrǫ den ɑksi na Konu frɔntwɔrtu san ɛdɛ a wan' kiri ɛŋ sisa.

Dąn dę' kɔmop' wantrǫ' tak' na Konu mu' dɛdɛ. Ma di dę' no sab' fa fo kiri ɛŋ, dę' go 'a lukumąn. 'A lukumąn taki, dę' mu gi wan fę̂ist,

dąn ala suma mu weri wan spɛsial susu fõ na fe̯ist. Dąn lukuman pɔt wan sani na ɩn' na susu fõ na Konu, ɛ̨ŋ sɑ fa wer na susu, wantrǫ̨' dɛdɛ. Na me̯idjɛ nąŋga den twarf brada gõ na den papa baka.

A kaba.

118. The Unknown Sister.[1]

There was a King who had twelve sons. He had not a single daughter. But now when his children grew up, he called the mother, and he said, 'Wife, I am going to swear you to a bargain. The day you give birth to a child, if it is a girl, then we will kill all the males.' The mother was grieved so till.... But not long after she became pregnant. The father had to go to war now. Then now, he left orders with his minister that the day his wife gave birth[2] to a child, if it be a girl, he must kill all the boys.

But now when the time approached for the mother to give birth, she called her sons, and she said to them, she said, 'Your father has made an oath with me, if I give birth to a daughter, then you are all to die.'...

1 Told by 1. Comparative, Bolte u. Polívka, i, 70-75, No. 5.
2 *Taki-taki,* 'to make a child'.

Bato! I was there!
What was said?
My Adelo Selina,
A fine boat flies,
Let it fly.
Go on with your story!

...Then she said, let them take food, and go into the bush, and then let them look every morning, if they should see a red flag flying, then she had been delivered of a girl. Then they must go farther. But, if a white flag, then a son had been born. Now every morning they looked. One morning they saw a red flag. Then at once they went away, they went farther. Then they cleared a place, planted food, built a house, and they lived there.

But when the girl grew up, then she saw the twelve chests. Then she asked her mother, she said, 'Who owns the clothes inside these chests?' The mother said they were there for people who came to visit. Now one day the girl took a revolver, and she said, if her mother did not tell her to whom the chests belonged, (then) one shot for her, one for her mother. The mother could not hold out any longer, and she said to her, she said, 'Well, you had twelve brothers. But, before I gave birth to you, your father and I took an oath that if I gave birth to a daughter he would kill all the twelve sons. That is why I made them go away.'

Then the girl took her marriage kerchiefs and her father's ring, and she said she was going away to look for her brothers...

Bato!
Rainy season crabs
Wriggle nicely, nicely.
High tide brings me ashore.
Night arrests me at the falls.[3]

She walked so till... then she came one night to a place and she saw a fire far away. Then in the morning she went out; she went toward the place where her brothers were.

But her brothers had taken an oath that if a woman came there they would kill her, because for the sake of a woman they came to live in the deep bush. The brothers had a custom; eleven of them went to work, and one of them remained at home to cook...

Bato! I was there.
What was said?
Orange Nassau,
Better you had not come here,
When you see the boat arrive no more
The city will be happy *ya ya!*[4]
Go on with your story!

3 Song No. 238. This and the following are Kauna songs.
4 Song No. 239.

...But when he saw the woman come, then he asked her, he said, ‘Why do you come here?’ She said, ‘I come to look for my brothers.’ Asked her, he said, ‘What kind of brothers?’ She showed the young man her handkerchief and her father's wedding ring. Then immediately he saw that it was his father's. Then at once he believed that she was his sister. He said to her, he said, let her hide because if the brothers came, they would kill her. They took an oath saying if any woman should come here they would kill her. Then, now, when he had cooked the food, he put down thirteen plates. When the brothers came, they asked him, they said, what was the meaning of that? They were twelve people, but he (had) put down thirteen plates. Then the brother asked them, he said, ‘If you saw your sister, what would you do with her?’ They said, ‘We would kill her. What kind of sister?’ Then they began to beat the brother. They were angry. But now when they said, ‘Let her come, let us see her,’ then he went to call her. Then when she came, she showed them the wedding ring, then they believed her. Then they were pleased with her; they drank together. But now they all went to work, and they left the sister to cook.

Then they had a rose bush, and it had twelve buds. They (the roses) had not yet opened. But, on the day they opened, after the girl had cooked and set the table, then she plucked the twelve roses, and she put a rose on each plate. But no sooner did the brothers come home, than they changed into twelve macaws. Then the sister said, as long as she did not see her brothers again she would not speak. Then she began to wander in the bush till... all her clothes were torn.

Then a young man, who was a prince, came into the bush, and he took her. He gave her a cloak and he carried her to his house, but the girl did not speak. Then the young man's sisters loved the girl. But when she did not speak, then they grew vexed with her and began to scold her, saying she was a spirit from the bush. Then she was delivered of a child. But now, the time had come for her to give birth to another. Then the father said, if she did not speak he would kill her. But the prince was sorry so till... He did all he could to make her talk, but she was unable to talk. Then they took her, and carried her off to kill her. When they were about to kill her, the young prince went to her and begged her saying, ‘My God! Please[1] say one word, so that you do not die.’ Five minutes before they were going to kill her, twelve macaws came flying. Just as they were crying, ‘Macaws, macaws,’[2] then at once the girl spoke. Then they changed into twelve princes. Then at once they asked the King to explain the reason why he wanted to kill their sister.

Then they at once said the King must die. But as they did not know how to kill him they went to a diviner. The diviner said they

1 ‘*Kɛ!*’ which informant translated as ‘please’.
2 The word is ‘*Raf-raf!*’ and is employed onomatopoetically.

must give a feast, and everybody must wear special shoes for the feast. Then the diviner put something inside the King's shoes, and so as he put on the shoes, he died instantly. The girl and the twelve brothers went back to their father.

It is finished.

119.

Wąn Konu bɛn dɛ, 'a Konu nɛm Nɔtneatɛŋ. Wɛ nō, wąn deį na Konu nąŋga ɛŋ weįfi bɛn go na wąn koiri. Ɛn na Konu bɛn 'abi wąn umą-p'kin. A bɛn moį tɛ moį liba abra, ɛn a bɛn lɔb' ɛŋ mɔr' leįk ɛŋ 'aį-glas fō ɛŋ haį.

Ɛn 'a tɔri mus' ką' go!
A sɑ go!
Ɛn na tɔr' abi maxmɔriǫn, nąŋga shuba-shuba.
Kri-kra, ala mąn na ɛŋ kraka!
Da tɔri a wąn sɻngi, nō -
Kǫ go na broįki, yu sɑ si,
Kǫ go na broįki, yu sɑ si,
Malata umą de, ya-yo.
'A tɔri sɑ go?
A sɑ go!

We, di Konu de koiri, so i bɛn 'abi somɛni p'kin boį, dɛ pre mɔrima. Ɛn so, wąn fō den boį mɔrimo naki Konu Nɔtniatɛŋ. A weri wą' weįt' bruku, ɛn na boį mɔrs' ɛŋ.

Bato! Mi bɛn dapɛ!
Sąn 'ɛ taki?

Di a mɔrimo nak' 'a Konu, nō mō wą' fō den boį sɻŋgi,

Alimąn, xɛfmąn betyɛ so
Alimąn, tįn, tįn, tįn, alimąn.
Waka na i tɔri, basi!
A mus' ką' go!
Wɛ, mi mąn, opo yu yesi yɛri tɔri, fō tɛ yu go taki baka fō yu no leį.

Ɛn di na p'kin boį mɔrs' na bruku fō Konu, Konu ɑks' ɛŋ tak', suma n' ɛŋ? ‘Mi na Nɔtnihatmi, mi Konu.’

So na Konu waka gowɛ dɔro. Di a dɔro n'ɛŋ 'oso, deį-broko m'mantɛm, a sɛni wą' brifi sɛni kar' na boį. A taįki, ‘Mi wani si tru-tru ɛf' sąn n'ɛ 'at 'a boį.’ Ɛn 'a boį taki, ‘Mi wani si tru-tru ɛf' sąn n'at' Konu.’

Sɛns' na boi̯ bɛn dɛ wą' p'kin boi̯, a bɛn froit' nąŋga ɛ̨ŋ mɔfo wąn fesiwi̯nti. Wɛ, mi mą', Konu sɑ kal' na boi̯, a tak', ‘Nɔtnehatmi, ɛn ɛf yu du sani di sɑ hat' mi, mi kɔndre na fō yu, ɛn mi nɛki yu ką' pɔt' na ɪn' wąn pɛ̨ŋki.’ 'A boi̯ lafu fō prisiri. Wɛl, mi mą', a tai̯gi na boi̯, a tak', ‘Tamara mamąntɛ̨' sei̯bi yuru, mi wani yu diaso na mi 'oso-mɔfo dɔro.’

Bato! A tak' wąn sɪŋgi:
Sani mor' Abana!
A no mąŋ go,
A no mąŋ kɔm.
Tɛ sɪneki bei̯ti mi,
Mi si wɔrɔ̨ŋ,
Mi fredɛ.

Wɛ, na sei̯bi yuru mamąntɛ̨m, a tɛ na boi̯ dɔro, a tak', ‘Mi Konu Natnehatmi, mi dɔro.’ Konu tek' 'a boi̯, a gi' ɛm agu-pɛ̨n fō a libi na ɪni. Ɛn na nanyąm di den agu nyąm, na dɑt' 'a boi̯ mu' nyąm. Di dę' opo mamąntɛ̨m, a ɑksi na boi̯, a tak', ‘Natneatmi, fa yu srib' na nei̯ti?’ A taki, ‘Mi Konu, mi slibi mɔro sui̯ti lei̯ki yu, ɛn mi nyąm mɔro bɛtre lei̯ki yu.’ Wɛ, a tak' a no nɔtɪŋ.

Dą' Konu tek' ɛ̨ŋ nō, pɔt ɛ̨ŋ ɪni na wąn p'kin 'oso. Są' dagu dɛ nyą' nąŋga pus-pusi, ɛn dɑt' a mu' nyąm. Tama', Kon' ɑksi ɛ̨ŋ tak' fa a sribi. A taki ɛ̨ŋ sribi tu trǫ sui̯ti lei̯k' yɛsredei̯. Konu a seki ɛ̨ŋ 'ɛdɛ.

Konu bɛn 'abi wą' ɔndru nąŋga fei̯f' tɛnti skapu. A bɛn habi tu ɔndro kau̯. A bɛn abi wąn duzo fɔru. Mamąntɛ̨m, di opo, a tai̯g' Nɔtneatmi taki, ‘Diaso mi abi tu ɔndro kau̯. Tamara mi wani yu tyari dem go na sabana fō go nyąm grasi.’ Ɛn na boi̯ tek' dem tu ɔndro kau̯ tya'i dɛm go na sabana. A sɛri dem alamala. D'a kǫ' na Konu baka. Konu taki, ‘Nɔtneatmi, pɛ den kau̯ dɛ?’ 'A boi̯ tak', ‘Ax, mi bɛn sɛr' dem, Konu.’

Na tɔri sɑ go!
Na tɔri 'abi maxmɔriǫn, na na shuba, shuba!
Bato, są' ɛ̨ŋ taki?
Ura, sani nyą' mąnya?
Ura, sani nyą' mąnya?
Ura, Pompom nyąm mąnya.
Wɛ, na tɔr' di mi dɛ gi' yu, na tɔri mus' ką go.
Arki, mąn, arki!
Yɛre, mąn, yɛre!
Kri-i, kra-a!

Konu tak' na boi̯, ‘Tek' dem hɔndro nąŋga fei̯fi-tɛnti skapu, tya' dem go na sabana, mek' dɛm nyąm baka.’ No, na boi̯ go na

sabana, mi mąn, nąŋga den skapu. Tra' wą a gi suma, ɛn somɛni a sɛri baka. Nō, mi mąn, na boi̯ bɛn dreį̯ kǫ' na 'oso baka. Konu luk' ɛm. A lafu. A tak', ‘Natnehatmi, fa fō den skapu, dę' bɛn nyąm bǫn?’ 'A boi̯ tak', ‘Konu, mi sɛr' tra wąn, tra wąn mi gi suma.’ Konu tek' 'a boi̯, a pɔt' hɛm baka ɪn' na agu-pɛn baka pɛ a tą'. A pɛ Konu dɛ wąs' ɛŋ futu na watra, dɑt' na boi̯ mu' drɪŋgi.

Wɛ, mi mu opo yesi yɛri tɔri.
Wɛ, mi mąn, mi go taį̯g' yu tɔri nō!

Wąn bɪgi ɔptɔk bɛn dɛ, so dem bɛn sɛni kali Konu fō wąn dri deį̯. Ɛn so Konu a bɛn muso fō go. Ɛn di a dɛ gowɛ, a bɛn sari so tɛ ... fō libi ɛŋ weį̯fi na ɛŋ pikin fō gowɛ na na feį̯ti. Ma di Konu gowɛ k'ba, na boi̯ Natnehatmi 'ɛ kɔmopo nowa na agu-pɛn ɛn a bɪgin froi̯ti wą' sɪŋgi. A froi̯t' taki,

Skapu na wąn sɛgi-meti.
Są' a go du na sabana?

Wɛ, mi mąn, a i tį' na boi̯ bɪgin froi̯ti, Konu p'kin a yurutɛm a yeri na froi̯ti fō na boi̯, a bɛn bɪgin fō dąnsi. Na mama s'rɛf' bɪgin fō dąnsi. A tɛm dɑti Konu dɛ feį̯ti fō kaba na bɪgi feį̯ti. Ɛn na umą-p'kin fō Konu, a sɑ kar' na boi̯ Nɔtneatmi, a tak', ‘Nɔtneatmi, yu no mu srib' na ɪn' n' agu-pɛn mɔro.’ A sɛn' wąn pret' n'nyąm gi na boi̯, san di ɛŋ s'rɛfi no dɛ nyąm, ɛn a taį̯g' na boi̯, a tak', ‘Tide-neį̯ti, ɛf' yu wani, yu kąn pre' wąn froi̯ti wąn p'kin-so dąnsi gi' mi.’ A i tį' na boi̯ bɪgin na froi̯ti, na yur'tɛm a bɪgin froi̯ti baka, Konu p'kin dąnsi. Ɛŋ nąŋga ɛŋ m'ma. Ɛn di na boi̯ tɛnapu na tapu froi̯ti, Konu p'kin taki, ‘Kɔmopo na tapu na trapu. Kǫ' tek' stara sidǫ', froi̯ti, meki mi yeri.’ A i tį' na boi̯ bɪgin fō froi̯ti, ageį̯n, mi mąn, na medjɛ a bɛn lɔbi na boi̯ tɛ ... a lɔbi libi-abra. Ala sani a nyąm, a gi na boi̯ f'a nyąm tu.

Na boi̯ bɪgin fō froi̯ti baka, a taki na medjɛ, ‘Mi 'abi wą' p'kin afkodraį̯ wɪnti mi s'rɛfi.’ A di na boi̯ bɪgin froi̯ti baka, mi mąn, a taį̯gi na boi̯ taki, ‘Nɔtnehatmi, kǫ' sidǫ' na tap' mi futu, want' na froi̯ti f'yu a dɛ gi mi tumuso prisiri.’

Mɔksmɔrio, na na shuba, shuba!
Presesi a lɔ'tu,
Doi̯, doi̯, mɪsi,
Ɛf' mi mu' tro nąŋga mi papa,
A mɔro bɛtre mi dɛdɛ.
A mɔro bɛtre mi was' mi futu,
Mi go na mi bɛdɛ,
Mi go didǫ'.

Wɛl, mi mąn, wąn san' na twarf' yur' na mɪndri-neį̣ti, Notneatmi nąŋga na medjɛ bɛn dɛ na ɪni kamera, dę' sripi. Wąn sani fō wąn yuru na neį̣ti Konu bɛn wɪni feį̣ti, a yurutɛm a dɔro nąŋga presiri, a dyɔmpo na ɪni ɛŋ hoso. A yu'tɛm na fɔs' dɔro a go pɛ ɛŋ umą-p'kin dɛ. A i tį' a pus' na dɔro go na ɪni, nō mō a si na boį̣ Nɔtneatmi, a bɛn didǫ' laŋga laŋga na ɛ' umą-p'kin seį̣. A bɛn skreki tɛ fō dɛdɛ, ɛn a bɛn ati ɛŋ so tɛ ... fō dɛdɛ. Ɛn so a tek' wąn gǫ' fō shuti na boį̣. Na boį̣ sɑ taį̣igi ɛm taki, 'Konu Natnehatmi, kibri y'at'-brǫn fō tamara.'

Na tamara a taki, 'Konu, diaso mi abi yu nɛki.' A so dem bɛn kiri Konu, ąŋga ɛm na kari, pɔt wąn strɔp na ɛŋ nɛki. Ɛn na boį̣ sɑ tak' na umą-p'kin fō Konu Natnehatmi, a tak', 'Yu papa buba a sɑ dɛ fō mi figi futu, ɛn ɛm bǫnyo sɑ dɛ fō mi draį̣ trapu.'

'A so, na boį̣ tek' na kɔndre, ɛn a tro nąŋga konu-p'kin. Ɛn so a bɛn wɪni Konu. Ɛn so na tɔri bɛn kǫ' kaba.

S'ek[1] fa mi taki, na so a dɛ.

119. Enfant Terrible: Fate of King 'Nothing-Hurts-Him'.[1]

There was a King, the King's name was 'Nothing-Hurts-Him'. Well now, one day the King and his wife went for a walk. And the King had a daughter. She was beautiful until there was beauty to spare, and he loved her more than the eye-glass of his eye.

And the story must go on!
It will go on!
And the story has maxmorion, with shuba-shuba.
Kri-kra, all men in their places!
The story has a song, now -
Come to the bridge, and you will see,
Come to the bridge, and you will see,
The mulatto women are there, ya-yo.[2]
The story will go on?
It will go on!

Well, as the King was walking, so there were many small boys who were playing marbles. And so, one of the boy's marbles struck the King Nothing-Hurts-Him. He was wearing white trousers, and the boy soiled them.

Bato! I was there!
What was said?

When the marble struck the King, at once one of the boys sang,

Aliman, xefman betye so
Aliman tin, tin, tin, aliman.[3]
Go on with your story, boss!
It must go on!

1 Abbreviation of 'so leį̣k', - 'just as'.
1 Told by 4. Compare Southern Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 214-217, No. 11; Northeastern Nigeria (Bura), Helser 81-84, No. 18.
2 Song No. 120.
3 Song No. 133.

Well, my man, open your ears and hear the story, so that when you go to repeat it you don't lie.

And when the little boy soiled the King's trousers, the King asked him, he said, who he was? ‘I am Nothing-Hurts-Me, my King.’

So the King went away. When he came home, in the morning at daybreak he sent a letter to call the boy. He said, ‘I want to see if indeed something won't hurt the boy.’ And the boy said, ‘I want to see if indeed something won't hurt the King.’

Since the boy had been a small boy he had whistled with his mouth a face-wɪnti. Well, my man, the King will call the boy, and he will say, ‘Nothing-Hurts-Me, and if you do something which will hurt me, my kingdom is yours, and you can put my neck in stocks.’ The boy laughed from happiness. Well, my man, he said to the boy, he said, ‘Tomorrow morning, at seven o'clock, I want you here at my door.’

Bato! He spoke a song:
‘Things trouble Abana!
He cannot go,
He cannot come.
A snake bit me,
I see a worm,
I am afraid.’[1]

Well, at seven o'clock in the morning when the boy arrived, he said, ‘King Nothing-Hurts-Me, I have arrived.’ The King took the boy and gave him a pig-pen to live in. The boy had to eat the food the pigs ate. When they got up in the morning, he asked the boy, he said, ‘Nothing-Hurts-Me, how did you spend the night?’ He said, ‘My King, I slept better than you, and I ate better than you.’ Well, he said it was nothing.

Then the King took him now, and put him in a small house. He had to eat what the dogs and the cats ate. The next day the King asked him, said, how he had slept. He said he had slept twice as well as yesterday. The King shook his head.

The King had one hundred and fifty sheep. He had two hundred cows. He had a thousand chickens. In the morning, when he got up, he said to Nothing-Hurts-Me, said, ‘Here I have two hundred cows. Tomorrow I want you to take them to the pasture to graze.’ And the boy took the two hundred cows to the pasture. He sold all of them. Then he came back to the King. The King said, ‘Nothing-Hurts-Me, where are the cows?’ The boy said, ‘Ah! I sold them, King.’

The story will go on!
The story has maxmorion, with shuba, shuba!
Bato, what does it say?
Hurrah! What ate the mangoes?
Hurrah! What ate the mangoes?
Hurrah! Pompon ate the mangoes.[2]
Well, the story I am giving you, this story must go on.
Harken, man, harken!
Listen, man, listen!
Kri-i, kra-a!

The King said to the boy, ‘Take the hundred and fifty sheep to the pasture and have them graze again.’ Now the boy went to the

1 Song No. 125.
2 Song No. 129. *Pompon* is a bird.

pasture, my man, with the sheep. Some he gave away to people, and many he sold again. Now, my man, the boy returned home again. The King looked at him. He (the boy) laughed. He (the King) said, ‘Nothing-Hurts-Me, how about the sheep, have they eaten well?’ The boy said, ‘King, I sold some, and the others I gave (away) to people.’ The King took the boy and he put him back in the pig-pen, where he had been. The boy had to drink water which came from the place where the King washed his feet.

Well, I must open my ears and hear the story.
Well, my man, I am going to tell you a story now!

There was a big war, so they sent to call the King to come for about three days. And so the King had to go. And when he went away, he was sorry so till... to leave his wife, and his children, and to go away to war. But, when the King was gone, the boy Nothing-Hurts-Me came out now from his pig-pen, and he began to whistle a song. He whistled (said),

A sheep is a sacred animal.
What is it going to do in the pasture?[1]

Well, my man, as soon as the boy began to whistle, the King's daughter heard the boy's whistling, and she began to dance. The mother herself began to dance. At that time the King was fighting to end the big war. And the King's daughter will call the boy Nothing-Hurts-Me, and say, ‘Nothing-Hurts-Me, you must not sleep any more in the pig-pen.’ She sent a plate of food to the boy, that she herself had not eaten, and she said to the boy, she said, ‘Tonight, if you want, you can whistle a little for me so that I may dance.’ As soon as the boy began to whistle again, - the very moment he began to whistle again, the King's daughter danced. She and her mother. And as the boy was standing up whistling, the King's daughter said, ‘Come upstairs. Come take a stool, sit down, and let me hear you whistle.’ As soon as the boy began to whistle again, my man, the girl loved the man till... there was love to spare. Everything she ate she gave the boy to eat, too.

The boy began to whistle again, and he said to the girl, ‘I have a small heathen[2] *wɩnti* myself.’ As the boy began to whistle again, my man, she said to the boy, she said, ‘Nothing-Hurts-Me, come and sit on my lap, because your whistling gives me great pleasure.’

Moxmorio, and shuba, shuba!
Presesi a lɔ'tu,
Doi, doi, Missi,
If I must marry my father,
It is better I die.
It is better I wash my feet,
I go to my bed,
I go lie down.[3]

1 Song No. 141. ‘Savannah’, in one sense, also means ‘cemetery’.
2 The word *afkodrại* is from the Dutch word for ‘idolatrous’.
3 Song No. 128.

Well, my man, about twelve o'clock midnight, Nothing-Hurts-Me and the girl were asleep in a room. About one o'clock at night the King, having won the war, came back happy, and he hurried into the house. When he arrived, he went where his daughter was. As he pushed open the door to go in, at once he saw the boy Nothing-Hurts-Me, and he was lying stretched out beside his daughter. He was frightened to death, and it hurt him so till... death. And so he took a gun to shoot the boy. The boy will say to him, say, ‘King Nothing-Hurts-Me, hide your anger till tomorrow.’

The next day, he said, ‘King, here I have your neck.’ And so they killed the King, and hanged him by putting a strap about his neck. And the boy will say to the daughter of King Nothing-Hurts-Me, he will say, ‘Your father's skin will be for me to wipe my feet on, and his bones will be my stepladder.’

And so the boy took the kingdom, and he married the King's daughter. And so he won from the King. And so the story has come to an end.

Just as I said, so it happened.

120.

Wan papa bɛn dɛ, habi dri pikin. Ma tɛ i go a raa̱is, daǫn a i ɑksi den pikin san a muso cha' kǫ' gi' dɛn tɛ a i kɔm na 'oso. Di a dɛ gowɛ wan dea̱ na raa̱is, a ɑksi na mɔro pikį' wą' są' a wan' na chari ɛŋ. A taki a wani wan ros. A ɑks' 'a tra wą są' a wani. A taki a wani wan dakfanfelia. 'A trawą taki ɛŋ wani wąn sɔnblum. Ma di ɛ gowɛ, a fɛn' na dakfanfelia, a fɛni na sɔniblum, ma na rɔs a no mąŋ feni. Daǫn a bɛn dɛ sari tumusi....

Bato! Mi bɛn dapɛ!
San taki?
Na mi Tanta fu neti,
Mi gō fu luku,
Grą'-mɪsi yagi' mi.
Wɔi, wɔi, grą'-mɪsi,
Wɔi, wɔi, yagi mi.
Waka nąŋga yu tɔri!

... di a no fen' da rɔs. A bɛn lɔbi na pikin dɑti mɔro furu. A waka so tɛ ... a kɔm miti wan dyari nąŋga wan broko skɔtu, nąŋga wan rɔs-bom, a 'abi wąn rɔs. A kɔm breti tumusi di a kɔm fen' 'a rɔs, ma fa-i-si a broko na rɔs, wantrǫ' wan stɛŋ taki, ‘Na suma di 'abi na rɔs, bufɔsi a̱it' dea̱i, a mu' kɔm dia, ɛn a sɑ si wan

batra nąŋga watra. A sɑ drɔpu ala pis' tɪki di a sɑ si, ɛn a sɑ weį̈ki na prį̈ns. Dąn a sɑ trō nąŋga ɕŋ.'

Di na papa gō na 'oso, a bɛn tumusi sari fu di a bɛn broko na rɔs. A no bɛn dɛ nyą' serefi. Den pikin aksi ɕŋ taki, san du ɕŋ? A no wan' taki. Ma di a no mąŋ ɔri mɔro, dąn a kǫn taį̈g' dɛn, sąn bɛn pasa.

Mi 'ɛ go gowɛ na liba-o!
Mi wą'wąn.
Mi na wan į̈ŋgi,
Mi n'e tąn nąŋga dę' Negro.
Mi go gowe na liba-o!

Ma di a taki dɛn, dąn 'a pikin taki, ɕŋ sɑ go. A no a fu sari. 'Mi sɑ go.' A tɛki ɕŋ asi nąŋga ɕŋ krosi, a go na presi pɛ na papa bɛn broko na rɔs. A tɛk' na batra, a du so lɛk' na stɕŋ bɛn taį̈gi. A dropu ala dɛn pisi tɪki, ala sani, ɛn a bɛn weį̈ki na prį̈ns. Wą kɔndre bɛn kɔmopo, ɛn a trō nąŋga na prį̈ns.

Ma, di den trō kaba, wan-tu wiki na baka, a ɑksi na prį̈ns fō a go luku ɕŋ papa, nąŋga ɕŋ mama, ɕŋ famiri. A tɛk' 'a span hasi fō gowɛ, ma bufosi a gowɛ na prį̈ns kari ɕŋ, a taki, 'Tɛ i go, aluwasi dɛm dɛ go kiri yu, yu no mu tak' fa mi nɛm. Mi nɛm Süt' Wilyam, ma yu no mu taki fa mi nɛm. No so, mi dɛ go fɛrgit yu.' 'A metjɛ gōwɛ. Di a dɔro ɕŋ papa nąŋga mama 'oso, dɛm meki bɪgi feį̈st. Dɛm prisiri fo si ɕŋ, ma di a tą' ɛri deį̈ kaba bakadina a i kɔm fu gowɛ na 'oso, dąn den tu sisa taki, 'Wi dɛ gō pɔt' yu af-pasi.' Na wan fō den teki wan aksi, ɛn na tra wan teki wan ōru. Dą' ɕŋ gō.

Fa na sisa go na ɪni ɕŋ sheį̈si, den aksi ɕŋ, 'Taį̈gi mi, fa yu masra nɛ'?' A kɔri. A taki ferkert nɛm. Den taki, 'Yu leį̈. A no so yu masra nɛm.' Ma di a no wani fu taki fa na man nɛm, dą' den taki, 'Ɛf' yu no taį̈g' wi, wi dɛ go kiri yu!' Dąn a fredɛ, dąn a kari na nɛm, taki, 'Masra nɛm Süt' Wilyam.' Ɇn wantrǫ' den asi kɔm gowɛ, a kɔm lasi na ɪni na busi.

Kɛskɛsi djɔmpo na tapu,
Go fredi wan gran-mɪsi.
Kɛskɛsi djɔmpo na tapu,
Go fredi wan gran-mɪsi.
Są mi sɑ gi' ɕ' fō drį̈ŋgi?
Pɪnda nąŋga karu watra,
Ha! ha!
Pɪnda nąŋga karu watra,
Ha! ha!

Dąn a kɔm waka so tɛ ... na ɩni na busi, tɛ beina a dɛ soso s'kin. Dąn a waka tɛ ... A kɔm mit' wan boiti, wan presi, dą' a kǫ si wan 'oso na na strati. Dąn a go dapɛ, ma a no si na wan suma. Dąn a go, a tą' dapɛ tɛ neti, di na gran-mɩsi kɔm di bę' libi dapɛ. A bɛn dɛ wan tofer gran-mɩsi. A bɛn sabi ala sani kaba. Dąn di a kɔm, a taki, 'Ɛf' wan suma kɔm dia, a no mu' kɩbri, a mu' kɔm mek' mi shi ęŋ.' Ma di a bɛn dɛ soso s'kin ęŋ habi syɛm fō kɔm. Na gran-mɩsi pɔti nanyąm. A go, a nyąm. Tamara a du so mɛni wroko di na gran-mɩsi gowɛ. Dąn neti di na gran-mɩsi kɔm baka a taki, 'Ɛfu wan suma kɔm dia a no mu' syę', a mu' kɔm meki mi shi ęŋ.' Dąn a kɔm na fesi, ɛn dą' na gran-mɩsi si ęŋ. Dąn a kɔm fɛrteri ala sani di bɛn pasa ęŋ nąŋga hɛm sisa. Na gran-mɩsi taig' hɛm taki, 'Luku, dia mi habi apresina, mi 'ɛ go puru gi yu. Dąn yu dɛ go 'a foto-sei, go yuru wan hoso leti na abra dapɛ prɩns bɛn libi. Dąn bakadina yu dɛ teki na apresina na ɩni wan baki, dan yu go sɛri na dɔro-mɔfo. Dąn prɩns dɛ go sɛni kɔm bai. Ma yu mu' taki, ɛfu den wani fu yu sɛri, dąn yu mu' go sribi na ɩni prɩns kamera.'

Dąn den taki, 'A bǫ', meki a du so.' Neti na umą di prɩns bɛn tro baka pɔti opiɔn na ɩni na te. Neti di a go, a taki na heli neti, 'Swüt' Wilyam, Swüt' Wilyam, fa yu firgit mi so? Swüt' Wilyam, Swüt' Wilyam, fa yu firgit mi so?' Ma prɩns bɛn sribi, a no yɛre. Mamąntęm a gowɛ. Bakadina a kɔm na dɔro-mɔfo baka. Den sɛni aksi fō bai apresina baka, a taki na srɛf' fasi a gi ęŋ. Ęŋ mu' sribi na ɩni prɩns kamera. Den taki, 'A bǫ'.' Ma bakadina, fa-i-si na umą tyari te gi prɩns, dąn wan suma kɔn sɛri fisi, ɛn so na bedindɛ teki na te tyar' gi prɩns. So dɑti a no bɛn pɔti opiɔn na ɩni. Neti di na umą go na ɩni na kamera a taki agein, 'Swüt' Wilyam, Swüt' Wilyam, fa yu fɛrgit mi so?' Dąn wantrǫ Swüt' Wilyam bɛn harki. A taki agein, 'Swüt' Wilyam, Swüt' Wilyam, fa yu fergit mi so?' Wantrǫ Swüt' Wilyam bɛn weiki. A bɛn si taki na ęŋ uma di ęŋ habi fɛrgiti wąn. A taig' ęŋ taki gi ęŋ, 'Mi no bɛn taig' yu taki yu no mu' kar' mi nɛm, no so, mi dɛ go fɛrgit yu?'

Wantrǫ tamara mamęntęm a bɛn meki den tyari krosi kɔm gi na umą. Ɛn so a bɛn kɔm trō nąŋga ęŋ baka. So den sisa bɛn wani fu kiri den sisa.

120. The Rose that Talked: Secret Name: Jealous Sisters.[2]

There was a father who had three children. But when he went on a journey, then he asked his children what he must bring them when he came home. One day as he was going away on a journey he asked the youngest what she wanted him to bring her. She said she wanted a rose. He asked the other what she wanted. She said she wanted a dakfanfelia.[3] The other one said she wanted a sunflower. But when he went away he found the dakfanfelia, he found the sunflower, but the rose he could not find. Then he was very sorry...

Bato! I was there!
What was said?
I am Tanta of the night,
I go to look,
An old woman[4] drives me away.
Woi, woi, an old woman,

2 Told by 1. Compare Bahamas, Parsons (III) 59-60, No. 27 II; Santo Domingo, Andrade 170-171, No. 123, 202-203, No. 150; comparative, Bolte u. Polívka, ii, 229-273, No. 88.
3 A rose-like purple flower.
4 A witch.

Woi, woi, drives me away.[5]
Go on with your story!

... when he did not find the rose. (For) he loved that child most. He traveled until... he happened upon a yard and a broken fence, and a rose bush that had one rose. He was very happy when he found the rose, but no sooner did he pluck the rose, than a voice said, ‘The person who has the rose must come here before eight days are up,

5 Song No. 148.

and she will see a bottle of water. She will sprinkle all the sticks which she will see, and she will wake the prince. Then she will marry him.'

When the father went home, he was very sorry that he had broken off the rose. He did not even eat. The children asked him, they said, what was troubling him? He did not want to tell. But as he could not hold out any more, then he told them what had happened.

I am going away to the river-o!
I, alone.
I am an Indian,
I will not stay with the Negroes.
I am going away to the river-o![1]

But when he had told them, then the child said she would go. He must not be sad. 'I will go.' She took her horse and her clothes and she went to the place where her father had broken off the rose. She took the bottle and she did as the voice had said. She sprinkled all the sticks, (she did) everything, and she awakened the prince. A village sprang up, and she married the prince.

But one or two weeks after they were married, she asked the prince to go and see her father, and mother, and her family. She took a span of horses to go away, but before she went the prince called her, and said, 'When you go, even if they are going to kill you, you must not tell what my name is. My name is Sweet William, but you must not tell what my name is, or I am going to forget you.' The girl went away. When she reached her father's and mother's house they made a big feast. They were happy to see her. But when she had been there a full day, and in the afternoon she came to go home, then her two sisters said, 'We will take you half way.' One of them took an axe and the other took a cutlass. Then they went.

Just as the sister was going into her carriage, they asked her, 'Tell us, what is your husband's name?' She lied. She told a false name. They said, 'You lie. That is not your husband's name.' But when she did not want to tell what her husband's name was, then they said, 'If you do not tell us, we are going to kill you!' Then she was afraid. Then she called the name and she said, 'My husband's name is Sweet William.' And at once the horses ran away, she was lost in the bush.

The monkeys jump up,
They are afraid of an old woman.[2]
The monkeys jump up,
They are afraid of an old woman.
What shall I give them to drink?
Peanut and corn water,
Ha! Ha!
Peanut and corn water,
Ha! Ha![3]

1 Song No. 195. This is an *ɹŋgi* (Indian) *Kɔmfo* song.
2 See footnote 4, p. 375
3 Song No. 137.

Then she traveled so till... in the bush, till she was almost naked. Then she walked till... She came upon a small village, and she saw a house on the street. Then she went there but she saw no one. Then she went, and she remained there until night, when the old woman who lived there came. She was a witch. She knew everything already. Then, when she came, she said, ‘If a person came here she must not hide. She must come and let me see her.’ But since she was naked, she was ashamed to come. The old woman put down food. She went, and she ate it. The next day she did many tasks after the old woman went away. Then at night when the old woman came back, she said, ‘If someone came here she must not be ashamed, she must come and let me see her.’ Then she came forward, and the old woman saw her. Then she related everything that had happened between her and her sisters. The old woman said to her, she said, ‘Look, here I have oranges that I am going to pick for you. Then you are to go to the city, and rent a house right across from where the prince lives. Then in the afternoon you are to take the oranges on a tray, and you are to sell them in the doorway. Then the prince is going to send to buy them. But you must say, if they want you to sell [them], then you must go and sleep in the prince's room.’

Then they said, ‘All right, let her do this.’ At night the woman [whom] the prince had later married, put opium in his tea. At night when she [the girl] went, she kept saying all night, ‘Sweet William, Sweet William, how could you forget me so? Sweet William, Sweet William, how could you forget me so?’ But the prince slept, he did not hear. In the morning she went away. In the afternoon she came to the door again. They sent again to ask to buy oranges and she said the same thing again. She must sleep in the prince's room. They said, ‘All right.’ But in the afternoon, just as the woman[1] was bringing tea for the prince, then someone came to sell her fish, so the servant took the tea to the prince. So that she did not put in opium. At night when the woman went to the room, she said again, ‘Sweet William, Sweet William, how could you forget me so?’ Then at once Sweet William listened. She said again, ‘Sweet William, Sweet William, how could you forget me so?’ At once Sweet William awoke. He saw that it was his wife whom he had forgotten. He said to her, he said, ‘Didn't I tell you that you must not call my name or I would forget you?’

The first thing the next morning he had them bring clothes for the woman. And so he came to marry her again. So the sisters had wanted to kill their sister.

1 The later wife.

121.

‘Mi braka poptki, taį̈g mi ɛf' na leti dati, no so, me 'ɛ kɔti yu nɛki.’

Wan papa bɛn habi wan umą pikin, ma nɔtį 'a pikin ben lɔbi leį̈ki ɕŋ papa bɛn piani wan feį̈fer nąŋga paragrasi. Dɑti nō mō a bɛn lɔbi. Ala mamɕntɕm hɛm nɛnɛ tyari hɛm go luku na grasi. Wan mamɛntɛm di den go, den 'asi bɛn go nyąm na grasi. Dąn de i fɛti, da brudu fadǫ' na tapu na grasi. Na umą pikin taki, ‘Mi nɛnɛ, luku fa hasi nyąm mi grasi, te den feti. Ma luku fa na rɛdi moį̈ na tapu na grǫn.’ Ɛn wantrǫ' wan stɕn piki hɛm taki, ‘Luku fa na rɛdi moį̈ na tapu na grǫ'. Wɛ, ɛfu yu si Prɻns Sribiman! Ma na suma di taki na sani, bifosi aį̈ti deį̈ a musu kɔm agen, a sɑ si Prɻns Sribiman. Ɛn a sɑ si wan wawaį̈, ɛn a sɑ waį̈ prɻns tɛ prɻns sa weį̈ki. Dąn a sa bɔsi prɻns. Ɛn a sɑ si wan batra nąŋga watra, a sɑ drɔpu gi ala pisi tiki di a si.’

Ma di a bɛn go a teki ɕŋ krosi, dąn a ben habi wan braka poptye nąŋga wan broko srebi nefi. Dąn a teki den a tya'i go tu dapɛ. Dąn a si prɻns, ɕŋ a teki na waį̈waį̈, a bɛgin fō' waį̈ prɻns. Di a waį̈ so tɛ ... wan gran-mɪsi bɛn sidǫ' seį̈. A ben dɛ wan tofer gran-mɪsi. Dąn a ɑksi hɛm taki ɛfu a no weri fu waį̈. Ma a bɛn taki, ‘No, no.’ No ląŋga na baka, na gran-mɪsi kɔm baka, a aksi ɕŋ taki, ‘Yu no wani go kleį̈ine?’ Ɛn so wantrǫ' a bɛn opo fō go pɪsi. Na gran-mɪsi teki na waį̈waį̈, a bɛgɪn fō waį̈. Ɛn so, bɪfɔsi na umą pikin kɔm baka, prɻns bɛn weį̈ki. Ɛn na gran-mɪsi bɛn bɔsi prɻns, ɛn so na gran-mɪsi bɛn mu' tro nąŋga prɻns, bɪkasi na wɛt' bɛn dɛ suma bɔsi prɻns, na dɑti sɑ tro nąŋga hɛm.

Ma di den tro kaba, dąn da umą no den pɔti hɛm fō a luku foru. A bɛn dɛ tumusi sɔri, bika na ɕŋ papa kɔndre a bɛn dɛ wan prɻnsɛs, ɛn dį̈a a mu kɔm luku foru. Den bɛn mɛki wan moį̈ pikin hoso gi ɕŋ pɛ a di libi. Dąn tɛ neti tɛ a kɔmopo na wroko go na hoso, a dɛ weri ɕŋ moį̈ krosi, dąn a dɛ preį̈ wan sɻŋgi-dosu. Ma tɛ a kaba preį̈, dą' i teki na braka poptki nąŋga na srɛbi-nefi, a dɛ ɑksi hɛm taki, ‘Mi braka poptki, mi braka poptki, taį̈gi mi ɛfu na leti dati, no so, mi dɛ kɔti yu neki.’ Dąn a de pɔti hɛm baka, a go sribi.

Ma wan srodati bɛn pasa wan neti. Dąn a yɛre fa na singi-dosu de preį̈ so switi. A go kɪbri na seį̈ na hoso, dan a yɛre ala sani fō na

umą dɛ aksi na braka poptke. Ɛn so a go taa̲igi Konum taki na umą di dɛ luku foru na so a dɛ du. Konum bɛn gō na srɛfi neti go 'a̲iki. Fa-i-si na umą ɑksi na braka poptye ɛfu na lɛti dati, Konum bɛn naki na dɔro wantrǫ' fō opo na dɔro. Fa na dɔro opo, Konum si na umą, a kɔm flau̯ wantrǫ', bika' a no bɛn sabi taki na umą na wan prɻnsɛs. Ɛn a bɛn weri ɛŋ moi̯ krosi. Ɛn di Konum kɪs' hɛm srefi, a kari na umą taki ɛŋ sa kari wan bɪgi ogɛnsɪ, ɛŋ a mu frantwɔrtu sąn meki a dɛ ɑksi na braka poptkɛ so.

Di den kɔm na na ogɛnsɪ na fei̯si fu ala den hei̯ suma a taki, ‘Ya, na mi papa kɔndre mi bɛn dɛ wan prɻnces, ɛn di̯a mi mu' kɔm luku foru.’ Ɛn a fɛrtɛri ala san' bɛn pasa, nąŋga na gran-mɪsi fa a bɛn du nąŋga ɛŋ meki a tro nąŋga prɻns. Ɛn so den kɔm gi hɛm reti, ɛn den kiri na gran-misi.

No bǫnyo fō ɛŋ den meki wan dreitrapu fō a krɻn go na tapu ɛŋ bɛdi. Ɛn na buba fō na gran-mɪsi a bɛn meki wan tapɛt fō bradi na grǫ'. Ɛn na hɛdɛ a bɛn meki wan lampɛt kan fō wasi ɛŋ fei̯si.

Ɛn so a kǫn tro nąŋga prɻns baka. A bɛn dɛ hɛm xeluk.

121. The Sleeping Prince.[1]

'My black doll, tell me if that is justice, or I will cut off your neck.'

A father had a daughter, but the child loved nothing so much as the field of grass which her father had planted. Only that she loved. Every morning her nurse took her to look at the grass. One morning when they went, the horses were feeding on the grass. Then they fought, and fought, and blood fell on the grass. The girl said, 'My nurse, look how the horses are eating my grass till they fight. But look how nice the red is on the earth.' At once a voice answered her, it said, 'Look how nice the red is on top of the earth. Well, if you were to see the Sleeping Prince! But the one who said the thing must come before eight days are up, and she will see the Sleeping Prince. And she will see a fan, and she should fan the prince until the prince shall awaken. Then she should kiss the prince. And she will see a bottle of water, and she shall sprinkle all the sticks which she sees.'

But, when she went she took her clothes, and she had a black doll and a broken razor. Then she took them and carried them there, too. Then she saw the prince, and she took the fan[2] and began to fan the prince. She fanned so till... an old woman sat by at the side. She was a witch. Then she asked her, she said, if she was not tired of fanning? But she said, 'No, no.' Not long after, the old woman came back, and she asked her, she said, 'Don't you want to go urinate?' And so at once she got up to go urinate. The old woman took up the fan and began to fan. And so, before the girl came back, the prince awakened, and the old woman kissed the prince. And so the old woman had to marry the prince, because the law was that the one who kissed the prince should be the one to marry him.

But when they were already married, then the woman made her look after the fowls. She was very sad, because in her father's country she was a princess, and here she had to look after the fowls. They built a nice little house for her to live in. Then at night when she returned from her work, she put on her fine clothes, and she played a singing box. But when she finished playing, then she took up the black doll and the razor, and she asked it, she said, 'My black doll, my black doll,[3] tell me if that is justice, or I will cut off your neck.' Then she put them back and she went to sleep.

But a soldier passed one night. Then he heard how sweetly the singing box played. He hid at the side of the house, and he heard

1 Told by 1. Note the general resemblance of this story, in point if not in incident, to the type of tale where a servant takes the place of the real princess by taking her clothing and ornaments, to be later discovered through the real princess' singing an identifying song, as, e.g. in Equilbecq, ii, 227-232, where a Malinké tale of this kind is given.

2 Another example of forming a noun by duplication, as *wa̱iwa̱i*, 'fan', from *wa̱i*, 'to fan'.

3 The black doll apparently had magic powers, and in this invocation the spirit within it is called upon to bring to light the deception.

everything the girl asked the black doll. And so he went and told the King that the girl who looked after the chickens, did thus. The selfsame night the King went to listen. Just as the woman asked the black doll if that was justice, the King knocked on the door that she open the door at once. As the door opened the King saw the woman and at once he fainted, because he did not know that this woman was a princess. She was wearing her fine clothes. And when the King came to himself, he called the woman and said he would call a big audience, and she must explain what made her ask that of the black doll.

When they came to the audience, she said before all the important people, ‘Yes, in my father's country I was a princess, and here I must look after the fowls.’ And she related everything that had happened between her and the old woman, and she had acted toward her, to cause her (the witch) to marry the prince. And so they found her in the right, and they killed the old woman.

From her bones they made a stepladder to climb to the top of her bed. And from the skin of the old woman she made a carpet to spread on the ground. And from the head she made a wash-basin in which to wash her face.

And so she came to marry the prince later. It was her destiny.

122. Wąn leiꞌ Papa.

Wan papa bɛn dɛ. A bɛn 'abi wąn umą pikin. Dąn a bɛn lobi ɛŋ so tɛ ... a gō taa̰igi Konu taki, ‘Na pikin dɪsi dɛ meki strɔ trǫ' gotu.’ Konu taki, ‘Yu musu sɛni hɛm kǫ' dia.’ Ma di na medjɛ gō, a no mą' sabi, bika' na papa bɛn lei̯, a no bɛn sabi so wąn sani.

Na pikɻ' krei̯ na her' neti so tɛ ... na mɪndri neti a yeri wąn suma na na dɔro. Di a opo na dɔro, a si wą' Bakru kǫ' dapɛ. A taki, ‘Efu mi lɛpi yu, są' yu dɛ gi' mi?’ A taki, ‘Mi dɛ gi yu wąn moi̯ krara.’ Dąn na Bakru bɪgin fō sɻŋgi, taki:

Traplɛnt wɪltyɛ
Snorɛ, snorɛ.
Traplɛnt wɪltjɛ
Horɛ, horɛ.
Dratjɛ rɛk, i ląŋgsam haut.

Wɛ, ɛn so na medjɛ kǫ' sribi, tɛ fa a wei̯ki, 'a her' kamera furu nąŋga gotu. Di Konu kǫ' luku manantɻn, a prisiri, a taki, ɛfu a meki mɔro di neti, tamara tɛ ɛŋ kɔm ɛŋ sa tro nąŋga hɛm.

Nei̯ti na mei̯tjɛ bɪgin fō krei̯ baka. Na Bakru kɔm baka, a taki, ‘Ɛfu mi wroko gi yu, są' yu dɛ gi' mi?’ Na metjɛ sɔri ɛm somɛni

sani, ma a no wani. Dąn a taịg' gi ɛm taki, ‘Yu mu' gi' mi na sani di yu lɔbi na grǫ'-tapu mɔro furu. Ma na baka tu yari mi sɑ kɔm teki hɛm.’

Di Konu tro nąŋga na meịtjɛ kaba, dɛm kǫ' kɪsi wą' pikin. Di na pikin 'abi wą' yari, wą' deị dąn na Bakru kɔm drapɛ, kɔm teki na sani di na meịtyɛ lɔbi mɔro furu na grǫ'-tapu. A ɑksi ɛŋ, sąn a bɛn lɔbi mɔro furu. Na na pikin, na meịtjɛ bɛn lɔbi. A taki, ‘Dąn yu mu' gi' mi ɛm.’ Ɛn na meịtjɛ bɛn sari tumusi, fõ gi' na pikin. Dąn 'a meitjɛ bɛgi na Bakru taki, ɛf a no ką' tek' wąn tra sani, na presi fõ dati. A taki, ‘Wąn sani mi sɑ du gi' yu. Mi sɑ kɔm meki yu leị mi nɛ̨m. Ɛfu yu sabi mi nɛ̨m, dąn mi no sɑ' teki na pikin.’

Di na Bakru kɔm, a kari furu nɛm, ma a no bɛn sabi nɛm fõ na Bakru. Dąn a sɛni soldati fõ go suku ala mąn pikin nɛ̨m kɔm gi' ɛŋ. Ma di wąn fõ den soldati waka na busi pasi, dąn a si wąn 'oso. Dąn a go luku, a si wąn patu nąŋga wąn spụn na ụni na tap' faịa. Dąn a si wąn pɪkɻ' mąn dɛ a dansi. A taki, ‘Tidɛ mi 'ɛ bɔri, tide mi 'ɛ fraị, tamara mi 'ɛ tek' Konim pikin. A sụ̈iti ba! No wąn suma no sabi taki na Akantiudu, mi nɛm.’ Di na soldati yeri na nɛm, dąn a skrifi ɛŋ, a go 'esi na 'oso, a taịgi na meịdjɛ taki, na so wąn sani ɛŋ si. Dɛn na meịtjɛ skrifi na nɛm gi' na Bakru kɔm.

Fa-i-si a kari na nɛm fõ na Bakru, Akantiudu, wą'trǫ' a fadǫ' dɛdɛ, bika' no wąn suma bɛn dɛ fõ sabi ɛŋ nɛm. Ɛn so meki na meidjɛ no lasi na pikin. A wɪni na Bakru.

122. Rumpelstiltskin.[1]

There was a father. He had a daughter. Then he loved her so till... he went to tell the King [to] say, ‘This child makes straw turn into gold.’ Then King said, ‘You must send her here.’ But when the girl went, she did not know [how to do this], because the father had lied, for she did not know such a thing.

The girl cried the whole night so till... at midnight she heard someone at the door. When she opened the door, she saw a Bakru[2] come there. He said, ‘If I help you, what will you give me?’ She said, ‘I will give you a beautiful bead.’ Then the Bakru began to sing, say:

Traplent wiltje
Snore, snore.
Traplent wiltje
Hore, hore.
Dratje rek, i langsam haut.[3]

Well, and so the girl went to sleep, and when she awoke, the entire room was filled with gold. In the morning when the King came to look, he was pleased, and he said, if she made some more that night, he would marry her the next day when he came.

At night the girl began to cry again. The Bakru came back, and he said, ‘If I work for you, what will you give me?’ The girl

1 Told by 1. Compare U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 23-24, No. 11, and, for general comparative data, Bolte u. Polívka, i, 490-498, No. 55.
2 See above, pp. 105-107.
3 Song No. 147.

showed him many things, but he did not want them. Then he said to her, said, ‘You must give me the thing you love best in the world. But I shall come back to take it two years later.’

After the King had married the girl, they had a child. When the child was one year old, then one day the Bakru came there, he came to take the thing the girl loved more than anything in the world. He asked her what she loved best. It was the child the girl loved. He said, ‘Then you must give me it.’ And the girl was very sad about having to give the child. Then the girl begged the Bakru, said, if he could not take something in place of that. He said, ‘One thing I will do for you. I will come to let you guess my name. If you know my name, then I will not take your child.’

When the Bakru came, she called many names, but she did not know the name of the Bakru. Then she sent soldiers to go in search of all boys' names for her. But while one of the soldiers was walking along a bush path, then he saw a house. Then he went to look, and he saw a pot on the fire with a spoon in it. Then he saw a little man who was dancing. He said, ‘Today I boil, today I fry, tomorrow I will take the King's child. It is sweet, brother! No one knows that Akantiudu is my name.’ When the soldier heard the name, then he wrote it down, and he hastened to the house to tell the girl, to say that he had seen such a thing. Then the girl wrote the name for the Bakru when he came.

No sooner did she call the name of Bakru, Akantiudu, than he fell down dead, because no person was to know his name. And so it happened that the girl did not lose her child. She won from the Bakru.

123.

'A wąn Konu ben 'abi dri umą pikin. Ma di a dɛdɛ, dem dɛ tą' nąŋga dem m'ma. Sɛns dem dɛ, dę' no sabi mąn suma. So mɛni s'ma sɛn' aksi fō tro nąŋga den, ma dem m'ma no wani. Wą' bo̱i bɛn dɛ na wąn kɔndre a yeri. A taki, ‘Mi sɑ go probɛri ɛf' mi no sɑ kis' dem pikin.’ A go na barbir, a meki fals wiwiri, a na̱i umą-suma krosi. Dąn a teki sɪpi a kǫ' na na kɔndre.

Di a kǫ', a go suku wroko na na presi pɛ dem pikin dɛ. Dąn na m'ma gi' em wroko. A ta̱igi, ‘Mi dɛ teki yu na wroko, ma yu no mu' tyari na wą' mąn suma kǫ' dia.’ A taki, ‘Ya, mi no 'abi mą' suma fisiti.’ A gi' 'ɛm nę' fō Juliana.

Nō, di a de tąn dapɛ, dɛm tra pikin lɔbi ɛŋ. Dem taki, ‘Yu ką' kɔm libi pɛ wi dɛ libi, na se̱i na wą' kamera.’ Di a gō, dą' wą' ne̱iti den didǫ' dąn a yeri dɛm dɛ ta̱igi, ‘Luku bǭn, a kan dɛ na tra wąn gō ta̱igi wi m'ma baka.’ Wą' fō den taki, ‘A no go taki, wi de fertrō 'ɛm.’ Dąn di a yeri, a ɑksi dem taki, ‘Sąn ụn dɛ du?’

Dąn dem taa̱igi meki ɛŋ kɔm luku. Di a gō, dɛm sori ɛŋ, taki, ‘Luku, dia wi 'abi wą' kandra, na so wi dɛ pree̱i makandra. Wi dɛ pɔti ɛŋ gi' wi sɛrefi.’ Dąn a taki, ‘Meki mi si fa' ų̱n dɛ du.’ Dąn dɛm shɔri ɛŋ, den pɔt' gi' dem sɛrefi. Ma di den kɔm fō pɔti gi' ɛŋ, a taki, ‘No, no.’ Dąn dɛm kɔ̨' fredɛ, taki, ‘A dɛ go taki baka.’ Ma a taa̱ig' dem taki, ‘Mi serefi 'abi wą' kandra gi' ų̱n.’ Dem taki, ‘Pe a dɛ? Sɔri wi!’ A taki, ‘Didɔ̨'. Meki mi pɔti gi' yu.’ Ma di a pɔti di na wąn, a taki, ‘a̱i, mi sisa Julia! a̱i, mi sisa! Dis' a wąn kandra, yɛri! Pɔt' kandra, mi sisa. Mi no mę' sab'-taki ala di yu di̱a nąŋga wi, na so wąn su̱iti kandra yu habi.’ So a pɔti gi' ala dem sisa. Dɛm de fe̱iti sɛrefi fō a pɔti gi' ɛm, te a kɔm weri.

Na baka fō dati dɛm pikin kɔm sɩki. Na mama sɛn' kari datra. Datra kɔm, a luku dem pikin, a taki, ‘Na bɛre dɛm habi.’ Na mama no b'ribi, a sen' kari wą' fut-frō kɔ̨'. Na fut-frō taki, ‘Mi fɛrsteri yu, dɛm pikin habi bɛri.’ Na mama taki, ‘Mi sɑ go ɔndrosuku dem.’ Na mama meki dɛm go na ɩni kamera. A kari Juliana tu, mek' a i kɔm, ma bufosi Juliana kɔm, a teki naa̱i tɛtei, dan a taa̱i na kandra go na baka. Di na m'ma luku dem, a taki, ‘Mi m'ma! Ụn mɔro mi.’ Dąn a go na Juliana nō. Di a luku Juliana, a taki, ‘Mi pikin, fa yu wroko so? Yu dɛ pɩsi bɔ̨'?’ Juliana taki, ‘Ya.’ Na mama taa̱igi, ‘Mi no si libi suma wroko so 'ɛtɛ.’ Dąn a go teki ɛŋ brɛl fō luku moro bɛtre. Ma dis' tęn 'a kandra bɛn kɔm stefi. Fa a pɔti ɛm a̱i fō' luku, nō mō na kandra naki 'ɛm na ɛŋ fesi. Dąn Juliana kɔ̨' saka, a gowē. A taki na frō gi' ɛm shɛm.

Na baka fō dati na mama pɔti na kɔranti, taki, so wą' sani bɛn p'sa hɛm, ma meki na suma di du dati kɔn na hɛm. Dąn wą' neti, dąn Juliana weri ɛŋ krosi le̱iki wą' mą' suma. Dąn a gō na drapɛ, gō piki ɛŋ, taki na hɛm bɛn dɛ na mąn dɩsi du dɑti. Ɛn so na frō kɔm skreki fō yerɛ dati, bikasi a bɛn dɛŋki Juliana bɛn dɛ wąn 'umąn-suma. A no bɛn sabi-taki a 'abi laŋga-laŋga.

A kaba.

ɻŋgi boto ɛkwɛnda i kɔ̨m
Boi̱-ya-ya
Ala d' ɻŋgi no kɔ̨' yɛte
Boi̱-ya-ya
ɻŋgi boto ɛkwɛnda i kɔ̨m
Boi̱-ya-ya
Ala d' ɻŋgi no kɔ̨' yɛte
Boi̱ ya ya.

Ba·ana, ba·ana
Kule kule
D' ɻŋgi kɔti
Kule, kule
Ba·ana, ba·ana
Kule kule
D' ɻŋgi de kɔti yu ba·ana
Kule, kule.

123. Man Plays Maid-Servant.[1]

A King had three daughters. But when he died, they lived with their mother. Since they were born they never knew a man. Many people sent to ask to marry them, but their mother did not wish it. A boy lived in a country who heard of this. He said, ‘I will go and try if I cannot get the children.’ He went to a barber and made a wig, and he sewed for himself women's clothes. Then he took a ship and came to the country.

When he came, he went to look for work where the girls were. Then the mother gave him work. She said, ‘I am taking you on to work, but you must not bring a man here.’ He said, ‘Yes, I do not have visits from men.’ He gave his name as Juliana.

Now, while he was living there the other children came to love him. They said, ‘You can come and live where we live, in a room next to ours.’ When he went, then one night they lay down and he heard them say, ‘Take care, perhaps the other will go and repeat this to our mother.’ One of them said, ‘She is not going to talk,

1 Told by 1. Compare Santo Domingo, Andrade, 329, No. 296.

we trust her.' Then when he heard, he asked them, said, 'What are you doing?' Then they said let him come and look. When he went, they showed him, said, 'Look, here we have a candle, and so we play together. We put it into ourselves.' Then he said, 'Let me see what you do.' Then they showed him by putting it into themselves. But when they came to put it into him, he said, 'No, no.' Then they became afraid, and said, 'She is going to repeat this.' But he said to them, he said, 'I myself have a candle for you.' They said, 'Where is it? Show us.' He said, 'Lie down, and let me put it into you.' But when he put it into one, she said, 'Yes, my sister Julia! Yes, my sister! This is a candle, hear! Put the candle, sister. I did not know that all the while you were here with us you had so fine a candle.' So he put it into all the sisters. They even fought to have him give it to them, till he became weary.

Later the children became sick. The mother sent to call the doctor. The doctor came, and he looked at the children, and he said, 'They are pregnant.' The mother did not believe it, and she sent to call a midwife. The midwife said, 'I am sorry to disappoint you, but the children are pregnant.' The mother said, 'I will go to examine them.' The mother made them go in a room. She called Juliana, too, let her come, but before Juliana came she took sewing thread and she tied the candle in back. When the mother looked at them she said, 'Mother [alive]! You are too much for me!' Then she went to Juliana now. When she looked at Juliana, she said, 'My child, how do you work so? Do you urinate well?' Juliana said, 'Yes.' The mother said, 'I never yet saw a human being work so.' Then she went to take her spectacles to be able to see better. But by this time the candle became erect. No sooner did she put her eye [close enough to see], than the candle struck her in the face. Then Juliana went away. He said the woman shamed him.

After that the mother put in the papers that such a thing had happened to her, but let the person who had done that come to her. Then one night Juliana dressed like a man. Then he went to tell her that he was the man who had done that. And so the woman became frightened when she heard that, because she had thought Juliana was a woman. She did not know that he had a long thing.

It is finished.

ɻngi boto ɛkwɛnda i kɔ̨m
Boi̯-ya-ya
Ala d' ɻngi no kɔ̨' yɛte
Boi̯-ya-ya
ɻngi boto ɛkwɛnda i kɔ̨m
Boi̯-ya-ya
Ala d' ɻngi no kɔ' yɛte
Boi̯ ya ya[1].

1 Song No. 194.

Ba·ana, ba·ana
Kule kule
D' ɻngi kɔti
Kule, kule
Ba·ana, ba·ana
Kule, kule
D' ɻngi de kɔti yu ba·ana
Kule, kule.[1]

124. Mąn Konu nąŋga ɛŋ Weifi.

Wąn Konu bɛn dɛ. A bɛn sabi taki ala tal fō meti. A bɛn dɛ ferstand dem tɛ den taki. A bɛn 'abi wąn burikin nąŋga wąn 'asi nąŋga wan kaų, nąŋga somɛni foru. Wąn deį a mek' 'a buriki go na wroko, dąn 'a buriki wroko furu tɛ a kɔm weri. Di a kɔm, dąn a taįigi na kaų nąŋga na 'asi taki, ‘Ai baįiya, na mąn meki mi wroko hɛbi.’ Dan 'a Konu ferstand są' na buriki taki. Dąn a lafu. Di a lafu, ɛŋ weįifi ɑks' ɛŋ taki, ‘Sąn yu lafu?’ Ma a no taįig' ɛŋ, bika' ɛf' a bɛn taįig' ɛŋ, a i dɛ go dɛdɛ. A no mek' fō taki baka tɛ a yeri wąn meti taki.

Na tra deį na 'asi nō, go na wroko. Di a kɔ' na 'oso, a taki, ‘Ai, mi Gadu, mi weri. Na mąn dɛ go kiri mi nąŋga wroko!’ Dąn 'a mąn yeri. A lafu baka. Ɛŋ weįifi aks' ɛŋ baka taki, ‘Sąn yu lafu?’ Ma a no taįig' gi' ɛŋ. Tamara na kaų go 'a na wroko. Di a kaba wroko, a kɔ' na 'oso, a soktu. Dąn na mąn yeri baka, a lafu. Na umą aks' ɛŋ baka taki, ‘Taįigi mi sąn yu lafu? Bika' na dem meti dę taki sani, yu dɛ yeri, ma yu no wani taįig' mi?’

Dąn a taįig' ɛŋ taki, ‘Ɛfi yu no taįigi mi, mi sɑ plati nąŋga yu.’ Dąn 'a man kɔm sari, bika' a bɛn lɔbi na umą. So a wani fō taįigi na umą. Nō mō na kakaforu taįigi ɛŋ taki, ‘No puru yu bɛri gi' umą, bika' umą no bɔ'. Luku mi. Somɛni umą mi 'abi, mɔro mɔro mi dɛ feni umą, ɛn tɔx dę' n'ɛ preį mi basi. Na wąn di yu 'abi, tɔx yu wan' meki ɛŋ a bas' yu. Tɛ a ɑksi yu baka, dan yu suk' wąn wɪpi, dąn yu wɪpi ɛŋ, dąn yu taįigi ɛŋ taki, “Na mi na mąn, mi mu' dɛ basi. Yu no mą' fō basi mi. Na mi dɛ sɔrgu yu. Na mi na mąn”.’

Emɛlina Karolina,
Wą' kunu d'a y'oso.
Mayɛmbe, Mayɛmbe,
Wą' kunu d'a y'oso.

124. The Man Who Understood Animal Speech.[2]

There was once a King. He knew all the animal languages. He could understand them when they spoke. He had a donkey, and a horse, and a cow, and a great many fowl. One day he made the donkey go to work. Then the donkey worked till he

1 Song No. 143.
2 Told by 1. Compare Sierra Leone, Koelle 143-145, No. 3; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 105-113, No. 20, (Ashanti), Cardinall 108-109, Herskovits, M. and F. (III) MS No. A 24; Togo (Popo), Trautmann 48-49; Sudan (Mossi) Tauxier (II) 517-518, conte No. 13, (Hausa), Equilbecq (I), ii, 230-234; Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS No. 33; Angola, Chatelaine 219-223, No. 39; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 154-155, No. 121; Santo Domingo, Andrade 300-301, No. 261.

became weary. When he came, then he said to the cow and the horse, said, ‘Yes, friends, the man makes me work hard.’ Then the King understood what the donkey said. Then he laughed. When he laughed his wife asked him, said, ‘Why do you laugh?’ But he did not tell her because if he had told her he would have died. He could not repeat what he heard an animal say.

Now the next day the horse went to work. When he came home, he said, ‘Yes, my God, I'm tired. The man is going to kill me with work!’ Then the man heard. He laughed again. His wife asked him again, said. ‘Why do you laugh?’ But he did not tell her. The next day the cow went to work. When she had finished working she came home, and she sighed. Then the man heard again, and he laughed. His wife asked him again, said, ‘Tell me why you are laughing? Because the animals say things, and you understand them, but you don't want to tell me?’

Then she said to him, said, ‘If you don't tell me, I will leave you.’ Then the man became sad, because he loved the woman. So he wanted to tell the woman. Just then the cock said to him, said, ‘Do not remove your belly for a woman, because women are not good.[3] Look at me. I have so many wives, and I am finding more and more new wives, and yet they do not boss me. You have only one, and yet you want to let her boss you. When she asks you again, then you go find a whip, then you whip her, then you say to her, say, “I'am the man, I must be the master. You cannot boss me. I am the one who looks after you. I am the man”.’

Emelina Karolina,
A kunu[4] is at your house.
Mayembe, Mayembe,
A kunu is at your house.[5]

3 This is a paraphrase of the proverb: ‘You must be kind toward people, but you must not remove your entrails for them.’
4 See Glossary.
5 Song No. 242.

125.

Wąn papa bɛn 'abi wąn pikin. Bɪfo' a dɛdɛ, a kali na pikin ɛn taki, ‘Mi pikin, di̯a mi dɛ pɔti sɛbi pɔntu ribriki meti fō mi, na ɪni wąn rɛde, wan we̯i̯ti, nąŋga wąn blau̯ saka. Dąn yu mu go na Konu fō a la̯i̯ sąn dɛ na ɪni.’

Di a go na Konu, Konu bɛn la̯i̯ so tɛ ... a no bɛn mąŋ fō sabi. Dąn na bo̯i̯ bɛn wɪni Konu. Ma Konum sɛni hɛm umą-pikin meki a gō fredi na yụŋgu. Sɔmtɛ a sɑ kɪsi hɛm. Di na pikin go, a bɛgi na yụŋgu tumusi fō na yụŋgu puru na tɔri gi' ɛŋ. Dąn 'a yụŋgu bɛn kɔ̨' lɔbi ɛŋ, ɛ̨' so a kɔ̨' ta̯i̯gi ɛŋ taki, ‘Na di mi papa bɛn dɛ go dɛdɛ, a meki mi teki hɛm sebi pɔntu ribriki meti fō 'ɛm pɔti na ɪni dɛm saka.’

So na pikin kɔm breti, a go ta̯i̯gi ɛŋ papa da la̯i̯ tɔri. Ɛn so di na bo̯i̯ kɔm drapɛ, dąn a puru na tɔri. Ɛn so Konu wɪni na bo̯i̯. Ma na dati meki wąn odo di taki, ‘No puru yu bɛri gi' umą, bika' umą dɛ kiri mąn.’

125. 'Woman Kills Man': Divulging Answer to Riddle.[1]

A father had a child. Before he died he called the child, and said, 'My child, here I am putting seven pounds of my rib meat into a red, and a white, and a blue sack. Then you must go to the King to have him guess what is inside.'

When he went to the King, the King guessed so till... but he could not know (the answer). Then the boy won from the King. But the King sent his daughter to court the young man. Perhaps she could trick him. When the girl went, she begged the young man very much to have the young man solve the riddle for her. Then the young man came to love her, and so he came to tell her, say, 'When my father was about to die, he made me take seven pounds of his rib meat to put into the sacks.'

So the girl was happy, and she went to tell her father the riddle. And so when the boy came there, then he guessed the riddle. And so the King won from the boy. But that makes a proverb that says, 'Do not remove your belly for a woman, because woman kills man.'

126.

Wąn Konu bɛn dɛ. A no bɛn habi nowąn mąn-p'kin. Ma wąn dệi, wąn mąn bɛn kɔm na ɕŋ, ɛn na mąn ɑksi hɛm taki, 'Mi Konu, nộiti mi wệifi bɛn kɪsi wąn mąn-p'kin. Soso umą a bɛn kɪsi. Ma, mi Konu, dệia wi dɛ mek' wąn pramisi, ɛfu mi wệifi sɑ kɪs' wąn mąn-p'kin ɛn yu wệifi sɑ kɪsi wąn umą-p'kin, den tu sɑ tro.' Ma Konu bɛn wɻnsi fõ ɕŋ wệifi bɛn kɪsi na mąn-p'kin.

Ɛn so, wąn yari na baka, na Konu wệifi bɛn kɔm kɪsi wą umą-p'kin, ɛn na mąn wệifi bɛn kɔm kɪsi wąn mąn-p'kin. Nõ, Konu no bɛn prisi nąŋga dati. Di den p'kin kɔm bɪgi, Konu feni taki na tra mąn-p'kin na wąn pɔti-suma p'kin. Ɛn na Konu p'kin a bɛn trɔbi ɕŋ fõ den tro. Ma di a bɛn mek' 'a pramisi kaba, so den bɛn kɔm tro.

Ma di den tro, na wąn dệi dąn, den go na ɪni na busi go waka, na yɻŋgu nąŋga na mệishɛ. Ma di den waka so tɛ ... dem kɔm weri, ɛn so dem bɛn sidǫ'. Ma so di den sidǫ', na yɻŋgu bɛn kɔm sribi. A bɛn pɔti hɛm hɛdɛ na na mệishɛ futu-tapu.

Ɛn so, na mệishɛ bɛn kɔm si wąn Kuli Konu. Ɛn so, na Kuli Konu bɛn kɔm tak' 'ąŋga hɛm fõ' tyari hɛm gowe. Ɛn so, a puru na yɻŋgu hɛde safri na hɛm futu-tapu. Dɑt' mek' dɛm taki, 'sribi na dɛdɛ,' bika' na yɻŋgu bɛn sribi, dati a no sab' srefi. Ɛn so, na Kuli Konu bɛn tyari na mệishɛ gowɛ.

Di den gowɛ fara kaba, na yɻŋgu kɔm wệiki, ɛn a si hɛm wąwąn na ɪni na busi. A no si na mệishɛ. A tek' pasi, a gowe baka na hɛm

1 Told by 1. Compare Sudan (Bamara), Monteil (I) 148-150 (also given in Monteil (III) 366-369, Text No. IV); Dahomey, Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS No. 123; Nigeria (Ora), Thomas (I) 222-224, No. XXIII; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 33-34, No. 26, 150, No. 116.

papa kɔndre. A taki, ‘Mi papa, gi mi wan sɪpi nąŋga matrosi, meki mi go suku na umą dɪsi du so nąŋga mi.’ So na yụŋgu laị sɪpi, a dɔro na na kɔndre. Di a dɔro, a bigɪn fō sutu kanǫ. Na Kuli Konu no bɛn sabi-taki na na yụŋgu. Ma na meịshɛ bɛn sabi. Ɛn so a bɛn miti-mɔfo nąŋga wąn fō dem matrosi, taki, ɛfu dem no kąn fufuru na lɪŋga na na yụŋgu fɪŋga, gi hɛm. Ɛn so na matrosi di a ben mit'-mɔfo 'ąŋga hɛm, fufuru na lɪŋga na na yụŋgu fɪŋga gi hɛm. Di na yụŋgu dɔro shɔro, nō, taị̂gi na Kuli Konu taki, ‘Tideị mi kɔm teki mi umą.’ Na Kuli Konu taigi hɛm taki, ‘Wɛ, fō kɪs' na umą, yu 'a' fō kɔ̂m feti deị̂ker.’ Bika na Kuli Konu bɛn kąn feti na deị̂ker bǫn. Tamara mamɛntɛm dem feti, tɛ ... dem feti na ɪni na vɔrku. Ma nō, na Kuli Konu bɛn si taki na yụŋgu dɛ go mɔro hɛm. A kar' na umą, a taki, ‘Yu si dịa yu mąn kɔm fō kɔm teki yu. Yu kąn go nąŋga yu mąn, bikasi na srefi są' yu du nąŋga hɛm, so yu go du nąŋga mi tu.’

Umą den kiri mąn,
Suma p'kin a no yu p'kin.
Sribi na dɛdɛ.

'A tɔri kɔm kaba.

126. ‘Woman Kills Man’: The Faithless Wife.[2]

There was a King. He did not have a single son. But one day a man came to him, and the man asked him, he said, ‘King, my wife never gave birth to a son. She has had only girls. But, my King, here we will make a vow, if my wife should have a son, and your wife should have a daughter, the two shall marry.’ But the King was hoping his wife would give birth to a son.

And so a year later, the King's wife gave birth to a daughter, and the man's wife gave birth to a son. Now, the King was not pleased with that. When the children grew up, the King found that the other man's son was a poor person's son. And the King's daughter was troubling him about marrying. But since he had already made the promise, so they were married.

But when they were married, then one day they went for a walk in the bush, the young man and the girl. But as they walked so till... they grew tired, and so they sat down. But as they sat down, the young man grew sleepy. He put his head in the girl's lap.

And so (later) the girl saw a Coolie King.[3] And so the Coolie King came to talk to her about taking her away. And so she lifted the young man's head gently from her lap. That is why they say ‘sleep is death,’ because the young man was sleeping, so that he was unaware (of what was taking place). And so the Coolie King took the girl away.

When they had already gone far, the young man awoke, and he saw he was alone in the bush. He did not see the girl. He took the

2 Told by 4.
3 In Suriname, the British-Indian and Javanese workers are called coolies.

road back to his father's village. He said, ‘Father, give me a ship with sailors, and let me go in search of the woman who has done this to me.’ So the young man loaded the boat, and he arrived at that village. When he arrived, he began to shoot cannons. The Coolie King did not know that it was the young man. But the girl knew. And so she plotted with one of the sailors, she said, couldn't they steal for her the ring on the young man's finger. And so the sailor who had plotted with her, stole for her the ring on the young man's finger. When the young man arrived on shore, now, he said to the Coolie King, said, ‘Today I came to take my wife.’ The Coolie King said to him, he said, ‘Well, to get the woman, you must come fight with daggers.’ Because the Coolie King could fight well with daggers. The next morning they fought till... they fought in the clouds. But now the Coolie King saw that the young man was going to surpass him. He called the woman, and he said, ‘You see, here is your husband who came to take you. You can go with your husband, because the same thing you did to him, so you will do to me, too.’

Woman kills man,
Someone's child is not your child.
Sleep is death.

The story has come to an end.

127.

Kri, kra! Opo yɛsi, yɛri tɔri!
Ala mąn n'e kraka!

A bɛn dɛ wąn Konum, a nɛm Konu Wilyam, a bę' abi wą' uma. A bɛn libi nąŋga ęŋ tin-na'-ait' yari, ɛn noiti na umąn bɛn tą' nąŋga bɛri. Ma di fō tį'-na-neį̇g' yari, a bɛn firi taki ęŋ kɪsi bɛri. Ɛn Konu Wilyam taig' ęŋ taki, ‘Ɛf' yu kɪs' wą' uma pikin, dat' sɑ dɛ mi weį̇fi, mi sɑ tro nąŋga ęŋ. Ɛn ɛf' na wą' mąn p'kin, mi sɑ kir' ęŋ.’

Ma no', di na tę' kɔm wan sɪksi-mųn, na umą firi taki, 'a tɛm dɛ krosibeį̇. Dąn a tek' wą' taį̇taį̇, a suk' wąn tra kɔndre, a gō. Ɛn di a dɛ na tra kɔndre, tu mų' na baka, a kɪsi wąn sxonɛ mąn p'kin. Ɛn na p'pa nę' skrifi na fesi hɛm hɛde Konu Wilyam. Ɛn na m'ma meki ęŋ nąŋga wąn tofer dosu nąŋga wąn sroto.

Ɛn di na p'kin gebɔr', a ɑksi hɛm mama, a tak', ‘Mi mama, suma na mi papa?’ A taki, ‘Mi p'kin, yu no habi papa.’ A tak', ‘Fa dat' kąn dɛ, wąn p'kin gebɔr' zɔndro papa?’ Na p'kin a tak', ‘Wɛ, mi mama, tidɛ mi wani sabi suma na mi papa.’ A taki, ‘Tyɛ! mi p'kin! A sɑ dɛ hɔgri fō yu, ɛn a sɑ dɛ hogri fō mi.’ Ɛn

a taki, ‘Na yu hɛde mi libi yu papa kɔndre, mi kɔm tą' di̯aso. A taki, ɛfi mi meki wąn umą-p'kin, a sɑ dɛ hɛm we̯ifi, ma ɛf' na wąn mąn-pikin, a sɑ kiri hɛm. Dɑt' mek' me fredɛ. Mi kɔm kɪbri di̯aso.’

Kri, kra! Harki tɔri!

Nō, a taki, ‘Mi mama, mi sɑ skrifi wąn brifi na mi papa. Yu n'e fō fredɛ.’ Ɛn so na bo̯i bɛn skrifi wąn brifi gi hɛm papa. Ɛn a bɛn di na papa kɪsi na brifi, a krɔsi mɔro le̯iki wąn leu, a kɪsi ɛŋ hɛde wiwiri, a hari. A taki, ‘Na bo̯i musu dɛdɛ.’ Ɛn so a tek' wąn feti-boto nąŋga na mɔro bɪgi teta̯i di a bɛn habi, fō ta̯i na bo̯i. Dąn a sɻŋgi wąn sɻŋgi:

Sribi na dɛde,
Luku, umą kiri mą'.

Kri, kra! Harki tɔri!

Ɛn na p'kin a dɛ na ɛŋ hɔso. A hɔri ɛŋ tofer dosu, ɛn a si dati hɛm papa de kɔm fō kiri hɛm. Ɛn a hopo hɛm a̯i, mi mąn, ɛn a si da sɪpi dɛ kɔm nąŋga hɛm papa, nąŋga ala sɔrtu ɔgri meti fō prɛti hɛm. Ɛn 'a yurutɛm na papa dɔro krosibe̯i fō hɛm, mi mąn, nō mō a go na ɪni hɛm dosu, a tek' wąn batra, a dropu dri dropu, ɛn a bari, a taki, ‘Kirimąn, kir' ų̄n srefi. Mek' mi papa nąŋga kapiten nąŋga den soldati go baka!’

So na sɪpi a' fō dre̯i go baka. Ɛn papa hɔgri so tɛ ... di a no kɪsi na bo̯i fō kiri hɛm. Ma di na papa bɛn gowe baka, mi mąn, so a bɛn teki rɛspeki fō skrifi wąn bǫ' brifi gi na bo̯i, taki a kąn kɔm luku hɛm. Ma na bo̯i no bɛn wani. 'A bo̯i taki, ‘Ɛfi yu habi mi fanodu, dąn yu kɔm luku mi.’ Dąn na bo̯i bɛn sɻŋgi:

Anąnsi kɔni, kɔni mąn,
Kɔni dɛ mɔro mi.

Ɛn nō, na papa sɛn' ta̯igi hɛm taki, ‘Meki ala sani klari, mi dɛ kɔm luku yu fō bǭ', no fō hɔgri.’ Ɛn so na papa bɛn dɔro, mi mąn, ɛn a i tɛm tɛ a bɛn dɔro na mɔfo na kɔndre fō na bo̯i, ɛf' yu yeri kanǫn sütu fō na sɪpi, dɑti fō presiri. Ɛn di a dɔro go na sɔro, mi mąn, a kɪs' na bo̯i, a bɔsi, a kɪs' na mama, a abrasa hɛm. Ɛn a taki na mama, a taki, ‘Umą, fa yu kąn mek' wąn mąn pikin dɪsi kɔni mɔro le̯iki mi nąŋga yu? Yu no sab'-taki 'a bo̯i sɑ kiri yu? Sɑ kiri mi?’

Ą̄fɛ̨ŋ, mi mąn, a so na tɔri dɛ go. Ɛn den bɛn presiri, nyąm, drɻŋgi, lafu, ala sani.

Ɛn nō, na ɪni na presiri, bɛn dɛ wąn Konu bɛn habi n' ɛ̨ŋ kɔndre wąn bɪgi feti. Ma nō, a yere taki wąn boi̯ gɛbor, 'a nɛm Konu Wilyam. 'A boi̯ kɔni so tɛ ... kɔni libi abra. So da Konu bɛn sɛn' kari hɛm kɔm, fō kɔm feti na feti gi hɛm. Ma na feti ben dɛ wąn tumusi bɪgi feti.

Harki tɔri!
Anansi kɔni, kɔni, kɔni mąn,
Kɔni dɛ mɔro mi.

Wɛ, mi mąn, ɛn so na papa nąŋga mama bɛn dapɛ. Ɛn so na boi̯ sɑ kɔm abrasa hɛm papa, hem mama. Ɛn so a rei̯ki taki ɛ̨ŋ papa no habi hɛm mɔro na ɛ̨ŋ hati. Ɛn so na boi̯ taki adiosi, a gowe fō wɪni na feti.

Kri kra! Suma sa tek' mi tɔri tyar' go baka, a sa trǫ' wąn mɔrmɔrstǫ'!

Ɛn so na papa nąŋga hɛm mama bɛn tą' drapɛ.
Fɔs' na boi̯ gowɛ na na feti, a kari hɛm mama, a taki, ‘Umą, sribi na dɛdɛ. Umą kiri mąn.’ Ɛn dis' 'a sɻŋgi:

Wą mama, tyɛ! Sąn na wąn mama?
Wąn papa, tyɛ! Sąn na wąn papa?
Tąŋgi, tąŋgi, gi mi pikin watra,
Tɛ yu dɛdɛ, mi sɑ mɛmbrɛ yu.

Wɛ, mi mąn, di na boi̯ gowɛ kaba, so na papa kari na mama, a taki, ‘Wɛ, mama, luku, mi nąŋga yu, tin-nąŋga-ai̯ti yari di wi libi kaba, noiti yu bɛn kɪs' bɛrɛ. Ɛn di fō tin-nąŋga-nei̯gi yari, yu kɪsi wąn moi̯ mąn p'kin. Ɛn yu srefi si da boi̯ kɔni mɔro lei̯ki mi nąŋga yu. Ɛn dɑt' no mąŋ dɛ. Ɛn yu srefi sabi fa mi lɔbi yu. Mi lɔbi yu moro lei̯ki ɻŋgi lɔbi dram.’ Ɛn a kɪs' na umą, a bɪgɻn abrasa, bɔsi, ferlai̯ ɛ̨ŋ. A taki, ‘Luku fa mi nąŋga yu bɛn pina. Yu sɑ mek' wąn p'kin kɔm pɔri wi libi?’ A bɔs' hɛm baka, a taki, ‘Umą, sąn na da kɔni fō na boi̯ mek' na boi̯ kɔni so?’

Wąntɛ, di na boi̯ bɛn gowɛ, a bɛn habi wąn tofer tiki tu. So habi bɛn libi gi hɛm mama, a taki, ‘Mi mama, a wɻnsi yu dɛ dɛdɛ srefi, a wɻnsi są' mi papa sɑ taki, yu no de prefuru sɔri hɛm na tiki. No so, yu dɛ go dɛdɛ, mi dɛ go dɛdɛ.’

Ma yu sref' sabi umą nąŋga mąn, mi mąn, kaba. A i tɛm na mąn bɪgɻn fasfasi prei̯ nąŋga hɛm, a hɔpo, mi mąn. A bɛn kibri na tɔfer tiki tu yuru fara fō na prei̯si. 'A so a bɛn hɔpo, a go tek' na tɔfer tiki fō na boi̯, gi na papa. Ɛn 'a yuru di na papa kɪsi na tiki, a luku na mama, a taki, ‘N'a yuru fō mi nąŋga yu kɪs' kaba.’ 'A so na papa a skrifi fō hɛm sɪpi. 'A so den kɔm tyar' teki hɛm gowɛ.

Ɛn so, di a dɔro na hɛm kɔndre, mi mąn, a bɪgɪn meki ala sɔrtu sani fō kiri na mama nąŋga na boi̯.

Kreị! 'A tɔri sɑ go.
A mus' kąn go.
Mi sɛrɛna mi sɛrɛna,
Trɻ, trą, trɻ,
Mi na mɔni masra,
Trɻ, trą, trɻ.

We nō, na boi̯ sɑ feti da feti fō na tra Konu te a wɪni na feti kaba. 'A boi̯ de kɔm nąŋga presiri, poku, fraga. Ala sani na tafra. A i tɛm a dɔro, a kɪsi hɛm mama abrasa, a bɔsi hɛm, ɛn aksi hɛm taki, ‘Fa fō mi papa?’ Ɛŋ a taki hɛm taị̯gi, ‘Yu no 'a' fō frede, yu papa bɛn gowe nąŋga presiri fō yu.’ Ɛn so na umą, mi boi̯, no piki na boi̯ nɔtį san gebɔr' nąŋga hɛm. So 'a boi̯ taki, ‘Wɛ, mi sɑ skrifi mi papa wąn brifi, taki mi wɪni da feti kaba.’ Dą' a taki,

‘Anąnsi kɔni, kɔni, kɔni mąn
Kɔni 'ɛ mɔro mi.’

Wɛ, a i tɛ' papa kɪsi na brifi, taki na boi̯ dɔro baka, a wɪn ifeti kaba, 'a papa hɔgri srefi dat' a teki tigri, leu, pɔt' na ɪniseị̯ wąn sɪpi fō kɔm priti na boi̯. Ɛn 'a yurutɛm, mi mąn, a i tɛ di papa dɛ dɔro, mi mąn, 'a boi̯ lɔ̨n gowe na ɪni hɛm tofer dosu, a lɔ̨n, a bari, ‘Kirimąn, kir' ụn srefi. Meki sturmąn, na' den matros' tyari na sɪpi go baka.’ Ma dati no bɛn hɛlpi hɛm. Na tofer tiki no bɛn dɛ. So a lɔ̨n 'a hɛm mama, a taki, ‘Mi mama, pɛ mi tofer tɪki dɛ?’ A mama bɪgin suku, a taki, ‘Mi Gado, a bɛn di̯aso.’ A go baka, a tak', ‘Mi Gado, mi no sab'! Fa mi dɛ go do, mi masra.’ So fō skreị̯iki meki a mɔrsu hɛm hɛri s'kin. Na boi̯ a taị̯gi hɛm, a tak', ‘Mi mama, tide a kaba fō mi nąŋga yu. Yu kiri mi, yu kiri yu srefi.’

Ɛn so, a i tɛ' da papa dɔro, a kɔm na syɔro nąŋga dem matrasi, sɔrdati, a kɪs' na boi̯, a taị̯ hɛm, taị̯ na boi̯ so ... ɛn 'a mama den bɛn taị̯ leị̯iki wąn buriki. Den pɔti den na ɪni na sɪpi leki wąn hagu. Ɛn na papa bɛn teki na tɔfer-tɪki fō na boi̯, a bɛn trowe hɛm tɛ ... na ɪni grün Spansi seị̯. Ɛn di a taị̯ hɛm pɔt' na ɪni na sɪpi kaba, 'a sɪpi dɛ gowe, ‘Mi sɑ si, mi sɑ si, mi sɑ si, mi sɑ si.’

Ala matrasi plesiri. Ɛn nō, papakaị̯ dɛ freị̯, alata dɛ diki. A i tɛ' dɛm sɑ dɔro na grụ̈n Spansi seị̯, na papa a sɑ kir' den. So alata dɛ diki, papakar' dɛ freị̯. So fa na papakar' de freị̯, a so a tek' na

tofer tiki, a friŋg na da boi̯ hanu so, ɛn na boi̯ a kɪsi wąn krakti na ɛ̨ŋ sikin, a taki, ‘Kirimąn, kirimąn, kiri ụn srefi. Mek' mi mama nąŋga mi papa wawąn tą'.’ Ɛn a taki, ‘Mi mama, yu hɛdɛ sɑ dɛ fō mi watra kɔmki, en mi papa, yu bǫnyo sɑ dɛ fō mi drai̯trapu.’ 'A so na mama bɛn dɛdɛ. A ben teki hɛm hɛdɛ fō wąn watra kɔmki. Ɛn na papa, dem bǫnyo a teki fō wąn drai̯-trapu. Ɛn a taki, ‘Papakai̯, mi no habi nɔtį fō gi yu, ma wąn bǭn hati suma sɑ teki yu, a sɑ leri yu taki, ɛn a sɑ gi yu nanyąm. Ɛn alata, mi no habi nɔtį fō gi yu. Ma tɛ wąn suma sa bai̯ wąn pisi krosi, yu sɑ fɛni hafu.’ D'a sɻngi wąntrǫ' mo', taki:

Sribi na dɛdɛ,
Umą kiri mąn;
Suma pikin
A no yu pikin.

'A so na tɔri bɛn kɔm kaba
Bato! mi bɛn dape!
Suma sɑ tek' 'a tɔri tyar go baka, a sɑ trǫ' wą mɔrmɔrstǫ'.

127. *‘Woman Kills Man’: The Jealous Father: Mother's Treachery*.[1]

Kri, kra! Open your ears, and hear the story!
All men on their kraka!

There was once a King whose name was King William, and he had a wife. She had lived with him for eighteen years, and never had the woman been with child. But when the nineteenth year came, she felt she was pregnant. And King William said to her, said, ‘If you give birth to a daughter, she will be my wife, I will marry her. And if to a son, I will kill him.’

But now, when the sixth month came, the woman felt that her time was approaching. Then she took a rope, and she went to look for another country. Two months after she came to the other country, she gave birth to a fine looking son. And his father's name, King William, was written on his forehead. And his mother bore him with a locked magic box.

And when the child was born, he asked his mother, he said, ‘Mother, who is my father?’ She said, ‘My child, you have no father.’ He said, ‘How can that be, a child born without a father?’ The child said, ‘Well, mother, today I want to know who my father is.’ She said, ‘*Tye!* my child! It will be bad for you, and it will be

1 Told by 4. Compare Senegal (Mandingo), Zeltner 1-36, 47-62; Liberia (Gola), Westermann (III) 496-497, No. 27; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 294ff., (the cycle of *l'enfant terrible*); Northern Nigeria (Jukun), Meek 479-485; Southern Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 217, No. 12.

bad for me.' And she said, 'For your sake I left your father's country, and came to live here. He said, if I gave birth to a daughter she would be his wife, but if to a son, he would kill him. That made me afraid. I came to hide here.'

Kri, kra! Harken to the story!

Now he said, 'Mother, I will write a letter to my father. You needn't be afraid.' And so the boy wrote a letter to his father. And it happened [that] when the father received the letter, he was more enraged than a lion, and he caught his hair and pulled it. He said, 'The boy must die.' And so he took a fighting ship, and the stoutest rope he had with which to tie the boy. Then he sang a song:

> Sleep is death,
> Look, woman kills man.[1]

Kri, kra! Harken to the story!

And the child was at home. He held his magic box, and he saw that his father was coming to kill him. And he opened his eyes, my man, and he saw the ship coming with his father, and all kinds of wild animals to maul him. And when the father approached, my man, he went to his box at once, and took out a bottle, and he sprinkled drops, and he shouted, he said, 'Murderers, murder yourselves. Let my father and the captains and the soldiers go back!'

So the ship had to turn back. His father was enraged so till... when he did not catch the boy in order to kill him. But when the father returned, my man, so he took the trouble to write a good letter to the boy that he could come and see him. But the boy did not want to (go). The boy said, 'If you need me, then you can come and see me.' Then the boy sang:

> Anansi is a cunning, cunning man,
> Cunning is more than I am.[2]

And now, the father sent to tell him, say, 'Have everything ready. I am coming to see you with good intentions and not evil.' And so the father arrived, my man, and when he reached the entrance to the boy's country, if you heard the ships' cannons shooting, that was for pleasure. And when he reached the shore, my man, he caught the boy, and he kissed him, he caught the mother and he embraced her. He said to the mother, he said, 'Wife, how could you give birth to a son who is more clever than you and I? Don't you know that the boy will kill you? Will kill me?'

Ą́fɛ̨́ŋ,[3] my man, so the story goes. And they rejoiced,[4] ate, drank, laughed, everything.

1 Song No. 130.
2 Song No. 131.
3 *Ą́fɛ̨́ŋ* - probably informant's version of *enfin*. This informant has been to the Marowyne River which separates Dutch from French Guiana.
4 Lit., 'pleasured'.

And now, in the midst of this rejoicing, there was a King who had a big war in his kingdom. But now he heard that there was a boy, whose name was King William. The boy was clever so till... he had cunning to spare. So the King sent for him to come, and fight this war for him. But the war was a very big war.

Harken to the story!

> Anansi is a cunning, cunning, cunning man,
> Cunning is more than I am.

Well, my man, and so the father and mother were there. And so the boy will come to embrace his father and his mother. And so he figured that his father was no longer angry[1] with him. And so the boy said goodbye, and he went away to win the war.

Kri kra! He who will take my story and repeat it, shall turn to marble!

And so the father and his mother remained there.

Before the boy went away to the war, he called his mother, and he said, 'Woman, sleep is death. Woman kills man.' And this he sang:

> A mother, *tye!* What is a mother?
> A father, *tye!* What is a father?
> Please, please, give me a little water,
> When you die I shall remember you.[2]

Well, my man, when the boy went away, the father called the mother and he said, 'Well, mother, look, you and I lived for eighteen years and you were never with child. And the nineteenth year you gave birth to a fine son. And you yourself see that the boy is more clever than you and I. And that cannot be. And you yourself know how I love you. I love you more than an Indian loves rum.' And he caught her, and began to embrace her, to kiss her, to entice her. He said, 'Look how you and I have suffered. Will you let a child spoil our lives?' He kissed her again, and he said, 'Wife, what is this wisdom which makes the boy so wise?'

Because when the boy went away, he had a magic stick, too. So he had to leave it with his mother, he said, 'Mother, no matter even if you are dead, no matter what my father will say, you are not to show him the stick. Otherwise you are going to die, and I am going to die.'

But you yourself know already, [the way of] a woman with a man, my man. When the husband began playing with her, she got up, my man. She had hid the magic stick two hours distance from the place. And so she got up, and she went to take the boy's magic stick to give to the father. And when the father got the stick, he looked at the mother, and he said, 'My hour and yours have come.'

1 Lit., '...no had he more on he heart'.
2 Song No. 150.

So the father wrote for his ship. So they came to take him away. And so when he reached his kingdom, my man, he began to make all kinds of things with which to kill the mother and the boy.

Krei! The story will go on.
It must go on.
Mi serena mi serena,
Trin, tran, trin,
I am a rich fellow,
Trin, tran, trin.[1]

Well, now the boy will fight the war for the other King until he will win the war. The boy was coming (back) with rejoicing, drums, flags. Everything was on the table. When he arrived, he caught his mother and embraced her, and kissed her, and asked her, ‘How about my father?’ And she said to him, said, ‘You have nothing to fear. Your father went away pleased with you.’ And so the woman, my boy, told the boy nothing of what had happened to her. So the boy said, ‘Well, I will write my father a letter that I have won the war.’ Then he said,

‘Anansi is a cunning, cunning, cunning man,
Cunning is more than I am.’

Well, when the father received the letter that the boy was back, and had won the war, the father was so enraged that he took tigers and lions, and put them in a ship to go and maul the boy. And when, my man, the father arrived, my man, the boy ran to his magic box, he ran, and he cried, ‘Murderers, murder yourselves. Let the steersmen and the sailors take the ship back.’ But that did not help him. The magic stick was not there. So he ran to his mother, and he said, ‘Mother, where is my magic stick?’ The mother began to search, and she said, ‘My God! It was here.’ She went back, and she cried, ‘My God! I don't know what I am going to do, my master.’ So from fright she dirtied her whole body. The boy said to her, he said, ‘Mother, today is the end for you and me. You are killing me, you are killing yourself.’

And so when the father arrived, he came on shore with the sailors and soldiers. He caught the boy, and he bound him, bound the boy so [pantomime of arms crossed], and he bound the mother like a donkey. They put them in the ship like hogs. And the father took the boy's magic stick, and threw it till... the green Spanish Sea. And when he had finished tying them, and putting them in the ship, the ship sailed away [singing] - ‘I will see, I will see, I will see, I will see.’

All the sailors rejoiced. And now, the parrot was flying, and the rat was digging. When they will reach the green Spanish Sea, the father will kill them. So, the rat was digging, and the parrot was

1 Song No. 139.

flying. So, as the parrot was flying, he took the magic stick, and flung it into the boy's hands so... and the boy caught strength in his body [from it], and he said, ‘Murderers, murderers, murder yourselves. Let only my mother and father remain.’ And he said, ‘Mother, your head shall be my drinking cup, and father, your bones shall be my stepladder.’ And so the mother died. He took her head for a drinking cup. And the father's bones he took for a stepladder. And he said, ‘Parrot, I have nothing to give you, but a kind hearted man will take you and teach you to talk, and he will give you food. And Rat, I have nothing to give you. But [when] a man will buy a piece of cloth, you will find half.’ Then he sang once more, and he said:

Sleep is death,
Woman kills man;
Someone's child
Is not your child.

And so the story came to an end.
Bato! I was there!
He who will take this story and repeat it, will turn to marble.

***128*.**

Kri, kra! Harki tɔri!
Opo yę̣isi drapɛ! Yɛre tɔri!
Mąn dɛ! Kri, kra!

Wąn mama bɛn dɛ, a bɛn habi wąn pɔti p'kin bo̱i. 'A bo̱i no bɛn habi krosi na hɛm s'kin. Ɛn 'a mama bɛn habi dri hagu dę' kweki. Wąn dɛ dąnsi apuku. Wąn dɛ dąnsi susa. Wąn dɛ dąnsi walsi. Wɛ, di na pina kɔm kɪsi, na mama a ta̱igi na bo̱i, ɛn na bo̱i bɛn nem Boni-boni...

Harki dɛ!
Na tɔri sɑ go!
Na tɔri mus' kąn go!
Ma na tɔri habi moximɔlyɔn nąŋga syuba-syuba.

... Wɛ, di pina bɛn kɪs', na mama a ta̱igi na bo̱i, a taki, ‘Wɛ, mi bo̱i, mi srefi si yu no habi nɔtį fō nyąm. Dą' tek' na wąn hagu dɪs' di dąnsi apuku, tyari go seri hɛm, mek' wi kąn feni nanyąm.’

Ma, sɛns na hagu bɛn dɛ p'kin, na boi bɛn leri hɛm dąnsi.

Bato!
Sɻŋ', sɻŋ', mi dɪndyamaka,
Sɻŋ', sɻŋ', mi dɪndyamaka,
Sani sɑ dɛ, mi dɪndyamaka. [1]

... Wɛ, mi mąn, na so na boi bɛn tek' na wąn hagu di dɛ dąnsi apuku, a bɛn tyari hɛm fõ go seri.

Ma nõ, krɔsibei fõ na kɔndre bɛn habi wąn prɪncɛs. 'A prɪncɛs a moi. A bɛn hąnsi mɔro sɔn. Mɔro yu dɛ luku hɛm, mɔro a dɛ hąnsi. Ma di na boi sɑ dɔro na na kɔndre krɔsibei, wąn-tu sɔrdati sɑ tap' hɛm, taki, 'Boi, pɛ yu dɛ go? Dapɛ suma no mąŋ pasa.'

So na prɪncɛs a bɛn waka na ɪni dyari, a si na boi nąŋga na hagu. So a bɛn kari na boi, a taki hɛm lɔbi na hagu, ɑksi na boi sąn 'a hagu dɛ du. A taki, 'Na hagu dɪsi, a dąnsi apuku.' Dą' a taigi na boi, taki, 'Wɛ, mek' a dąnsi.'

Ɛn no ɛf' na hagu bɪgin fõ dąnsi wɪnti, ala suma dɛ lɔ'. A dɛ wąn presiri fõ si. Ɛn na wɪnti sɻŋgi fõ na hagu:

Yɔrka d'a sabana,
Pɛ a dɛ?
Yorka wɛri weiti,
Pɛ a dɛ?
Yɔrka d'a sabana,
A dɛ 'a bɛri-pɛ.
Yɔrka wɛri weiti,
A dɛ 'a bɛri-pɛ.

So 'a prɪncɛs ɑksi na boi, 'Haumɛni yu wani fõ na hagu?' Na boi taki, 'Ah, mi prɪncɛs, mi no wani mɔni. Ma, ɛf' yu wani du mi wąn presiri, dąn mek' mi si yu bɔbi, dąn mi sɑ gi yu na hagu.' Na prɪncɛs luku hɛm, a lafu. A taki, 'Tɔx, yu dɛ na lau boi. Yu suku nanyąm, yu suku bɔbi?' Ma na prɪncɛs a bɛn lɔbi na hagu, so a bɛn sɔri na boi hɛm bɔbi. Ɛn sąn na bɔbi bɛn dɛ, mi mąn? Tu gotu bɔbi. So na boi bɛn habi wąn p'kin buku, a skrifi hɛm na ɪni na buku.

Ɛn so, di na boi go na hoso, hangri na bɛn mɔro na mama tumusi, ɛn 'a yurtɛm na mama aksi hɛm, 'Boni-boni, pɛ na hagu dɛ? Yu sɛri hɛm kaba?' na boi tak', 'No, mi mama, na 'agu lusu na mi 'anu. Mi suk so tɛ ... Mi no mąŋ kɪs' ɻŋ.' 'A mama go tek' wąn tɪki, ɛn tak', 'Ɛf' yu no kyɛ' na 'agu kɔm, mi sɑ brok' yu 'ɛdɛ nąŋga wąn tɪki.' So na boi bɛn frede. A lɔ' gowɛ, go kɪbri ɛŋ...

1 Told by 4. Compare Santo Domingo, Andrade 47-48, No. 22. The resemblance may be noted of the motif of locking the three characters in the room to the West African theme of locking a suitor with the girl he wishes in a room for five, eight, or ten days, during which he must go without food, as, e.g., in Tremearne (III) 336-338.

Harki tɔri!
Ɛ' yɛre tɔri!
Suma sɑ tek' mi tɔri tya' go baka, a sɑ trǫ' wą' marmustǫ!

... So na m'ma bɛn kali ɛŋ baka, a taị̂gi, 'Boni-boni, mi p' kin.' A bɛn dɛ wąn boị̂ fō tɻn-na-seị̂bi yari. A taki, 'Luku, mi dɛ bɛgi yu, luku fa mi no 'abi fō nyąm. Luku fa wi dɛ pina, ɛn tek' na wąn 'agu dɪsi, dɪsi dɛ dąnsi walsi, dąn yu dɛ go ser' ɛŋ. Ma tąŋgi, tąŋgi, no mek' a lusu mɔro gowɛ.' Ɛn so na boị̂ bɛn teki pasi baka. A bɛn dɔro na ɪn' na prɪncɛs kɔndre baka...

Kri, kri! Ala mąn n'ɛ' kra, kra!
Ɛn so, na boị̂ bɛn sɻŋgi gi na 'agu -
Selina faneị̂da
San 'ɛdɛ yu dɛ kreị̂?
Yu lɔb' mi fō mi mɔni,
Ma i no lɔb' mi fō mi parson,
Na dati yu dɛ kreị̂.
Bato! 'A tɔri mus' kąn go!
A habi maxmɔriɔn nąŋga shuba, shuba.

... Wɛ, mi mąn, a di na prɪncɛs si na tweị̂dɛ 'agu, a taki, 'Boni-boni, mi boị̂, sɛr' dɪsi gi' mi, ɛn somɛni mɔni yu wani mi sɑ paị̂ yu f' ɛm. Ma nɔiti mi si wąn 'agu dans' leị̂k wąn libi suma!' Ɛf' na 'agu dąns wąn walsi dị̂a, yu 'ɛ firi na wɻnti fō na 'agu tɛ na strati. Na boị̂ tak', 'Ax, mi prɪncɛs, mi no kąn sɛr' ɛŋ gi' yu.' Ɛn na boị̂ bɪgɪn lafu. 'A boị̂ taki, 'Mi prɪncɛs, mi bɛgi yu wąn sani, ma 'i no sabi ɛf' yu sɑ wani. Mi wani mɛk' mi si yu komba. Dąn mi gi yu na 'agu fō soso.' Ɛn na prɪncɛs luk' ɛŋ, a taki, 'Tɔx, yu na wąn soso boị̂. Yu no kąn mąn dɛ nɔtį̄ nąŋga mi. Wɛ, mi sɑ sɔri yu.' Ma di na prɪncɛs sɔr' ɛŋ, sąn a sɔr' ɛŋ wą' kalbon komba. Na boị̂ lafu, a gi' na prɪncɛs na 'agu.

Nō, den prɪncɛs a bɛn kɪs' tu 'agu k'ba, wąn den dąns' wɪnti apuku, ɛn wąn dɛ dąns walsi. Ɛn so na boị̂ bɛn skrif' na ɪn' na buku baka...

Arki tɔri, mi mąn!
Arki tɔri!
Anansi-tɔri mąn dị̂aso!

Ɛn so na boị̂ gowe n'a m'ma baka, ɛn a taị̂gi ɛŋ m'ma, a taki, 'Mi m'ma, no fredɛ. Gudu yuru sɑ kɔm.' A tak', 'Ma mi m'ma,

yu s'rɛf si mi no 'abi krosi. Ma mi bɛg' yu, meki moiti. Yu baį wąn braų yas gi mi, nąŋga wą' bruku, wąn krɔmpu gi mi.' 'A m'ma tak', 'A bǫn, mi p'kin.'

So na boį da 'abi wąn tra 'agu, di meki dri, dą' a i dąnsi susa. Ɛf' n'agu naki ɛŋ futu na grǫ', 'a grǫn dɛ priti fō n' agu kǫ' dąns' so moį. Ma, di na m'ma dɛ sribi, a so na boį tek' na 'agu, a gowe na s'ref prıncɛs kɔndre baka. Ɛn dapɛ a b'gın sıŋgi na susa, sıŋgi gi' n'agu fō' na dąnsi:

Aleisi-ɛ fadǫ',
Kɔm piki ɛm, ba,
Sani dɛ.
Aleisi-ɛ fadǫ',
Kɔm piki ɛm, ba.

aį, di na prıncɛs si dɑti, a presiri a no fō taki. A tak' na 'agu a mus' 'abi. Ɛŋ a lɔbi na 'agu tɛ ... a lɔbi libi-abra. Ɛn nō, na prıncɛs kar' ɛm, ɛn taki, 'Boni-boni, mi boį, awis' neįgi 'ɔndro xɔldō dat' mi dɛ gi 'i f'ɛŋ.' A taki, 'No, no, mi prıncɛs, mi no kąn sɛr' ɛŋ gi' yu.' 'A boį lafu, 'a boį tak', 'Mi prıncɛs, mi bɛg' yu wąn sani dat' yu sɑ du, mi prıncɛs.' Prıncɛs tak', 'Wɛ, sąn sɑ dɛ dati, mi boį.' A taki, 'Mi prıncɛs, mi wani si yu botu.' Ma na botu fō na prıncɛs bɛn 'abi wą' gotu kɛti nąŋga spri w'wiri. Ɛn so na boį gowe, a gi' na prıncɛs na 'agu.

Ɛn na boį bɛn dɛ. Na boį bɛn dopo na Lǫnsu Kirki, ɛn na boį bɛn lɔbi fō bikti. Ɛn nō, te 'a boį go na 'oso nō, a mek' 'ɛm mama mek' wąn blaų bruku, nąŋga wąn blaų yas gi' ɛm. Ɛn wąn af' yuru na baka, wąn masra, nąŋga ɛ' seį birmąn sɑ kari ɛ' m'ma taki, ɛŋ leįsi na kɔranti taki, wąn prıncɛs habi dri sani na ɛŋ s'kin, ma suma sab' den frag fō pur' den sani di dɛ na ın' na prıncɛs s'kin, ɛŋ sɑ tro nąŋga 'ɛm, ɛn kıs' na kɔndre.

Ɛn so na boį a bɛn yeri dɑti. So wąn Sɔnde na boį go na bıkti na pater. Ɛn nō, na boį bıgin fō bıkti gi' pater. Pater ɑks' ɛŋ tak', 'Mi boį, luku fa i ɛ pina. Ɛf' yu bɛn mąŋ pur' den san' na prıncɛs s'kin 'i bɛn sɑ puru!' Ma nō, na boį tak', 'Pater, yu wani mi taįg' yu są' na fɔsi wąn?' Pater taki, 'Yu no sab' nɔtį, mąn.' 'A boį taįgi, 'Mi wan' taįg' są' na fɔsi wąn.' A tak', 'Taįg' mi, nō.' A taki...

Arki tori!

... 'Pater, mek' mi tak' yu tɔri. 'A fɔs san' di na prıncɛs habi, a tu diamanti bobi.' Al' a bɛn taįg' den pater, a tek' 'ɛm buku, a

skrifi. A tak', ‘Boni-boni, sąn mɔro?’ A tak', ‘Pater, mi no sab' mɔro, yɛri?’...

Wɛ, mi mąn, 'a tɔr' sɑ go!

... Wɛ, Mǫnde, dem go pur' na frag na prɪncɛs kɔndre. Ala den bɪgi bakra mu' go pu' frag. Pater na fɔsi wąn. Boni-boni weri ɛ̨ŋ p'kin blaų̱ yas, ɛ̨ŋ p'kin blaų̱ bruku, ɛ̨ŋ krɔmpo, bɛn dɛ wą' pɔti bo̱i. 'A tɛm dɑti, pater 'abi bɪgi baruba. Ma di den dɔro na prɪncɛs kɔndre fō pur' na frag, pater na fɔs' wąn di na go na ɪni fō pur' na frag. A yeri sąn na bo̱i taki, 'a dɑti a go taki fō puru. Wɛ, a di pater go fō puru na frag, dem aksi ɛ̨ŋ, ‘Sąn' na da fɔsi sani di prɪncɛs 'abi?’ Pater laf'. A tak', ‘Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha! Na fɔs' sani? Ax, na tu diamanti bobi.’ Pɛ Konu 'ɛ tɛnapu, a skreki tɛ 'i skreki libi-abrą. Aksi pater, ‘San na ɛ̨' twe̱ide wą'?’ Pater prakseri, a tak' so nɔtį tɛ pater b'gin skreki. A ben skrek' so tɛ ... fō dɛdɛ. A no bɛn mąŋ sidǫ' mɔro.

Ɛn di dę' kar', den kar' na bo̱i. Dę' taki, ‘Yu bo̱i, yu sɑ mąŋ pur' frag? San yu kǫ du d̨iaso!’ A taki, ‘Mi sɑ pur' frag tɛ ... frag libi-abrąŋ.’ A taki, ɛ̨ŋ puru mɔro le̱ik' den dɛ̨ŋki. Konu tak', ‘Są na fɔs' sani dat' na prɪncɛs 'abi?’ A tak', ‘Ah, Koni, na fɔs san' di prɪncɛs habi? Tu diamanti bobi.’ Koni naki ɛ̨ŋ futu gi' 'a bo̱i, ‘Tapu yu mɔfo. Dati yu yɛri pater taki diɔnsro.’ 'A bo̱i taki, ‘Na mi s'refi bɛ̨' ta̱ig' pater a bɪktri.’ Pater skrek' so tɛ fō dɛdɛ. Aks' na bo̱i sąn na da twe̱idi wą'. ‘Na twe̱idɛ wąn na karbɔnkle komba.’ Pɛ Konu tinapu, a skre̱iki, a hari ɛ̨ŋ 'ɛdɛ wiwiri, fō wąn pikin mu' pur' so wąn frag. ‘Ɛn na derd' wąn?’ Konu taki, ‘Są' na dɛrdɛ wą'?’ A taki, ‘Na dɛrdɛ wąn, mi Konu, wąn gotu kɛti nąŋga gotu sɛnari spri' wiwiri.’

Al' dem bakra skreki. A opo na bo̱i nąŋga situru na tapu fō prisiri. Ma tɔx den fen' taki na bo̱i no fɪti fō tro nąŋga na prɪnces. Dę' wani meki pater fō tro nąŋga prɪncɛs. Ɛn so dę' gi' na bo̱i fe̱if' ɔndro xoldu fō a go nyąm. Ɛn na Konu taki dem, a taki na bo̱i nąŋga pater, a tak', ‘Tamara ne̱iti, tin' yuru, mi sɑ s'rotu yu nąŋga pater nąŋga prɪncɛs na ɪn' wąn kamera. Prɪncɛs sɑ dɛ na mɪndri, pater na leti 'anu, en Boni-boni na kruptu 'anu. Ɛn fe̱ifi yuru mamąntɛn, suma di mi si prɪncɛs sɑ 'brasa, dat' sɑ trō nąŋg' i, kɪsi na heri kɔndre.’...

Bato!
Kri, kra! Dą' i tak' wąn trǫn,
Anąnsi kɔni, kɔni, kɔni mąn,
Kɔni dɛ mɔro mi.

So na boi dɔro na 'i 'oso nąŋga presiri. A yur' fō na boi dɔro na 'oso, a taki, ‘Nō, m'ma, nyąm ɛn drɻŋgi, presiri. Mi wɪni feti k'ba.’ Ɛŋ presiri fō di na m'ma si na feifi hɔndro xɔldu, a krei, a 'blasa na boi. Na boi tak', ‘Mi m'ma, n'a' fredɛ. Teki dɪsi. Tamara mi go fet' wąn mɔro bɪgi feti.’ So na boi du, mi mąn. A dɛ aksi ɛŋ m'ma tin xoru. So na boi dɛn go na bakri-'oso, ɛn mek' dem meki wąn paki sui̯ti-kuku, ɛn a meki wąn tra paki nąŋga shialap-kuku. Ɛn a bai wąn batra lafɛndra. Ɛn a taigi mama, a taig' di a gō.

Ɛn so di a gō, mi mąn, a mit' na neigi yuru na neiti. Pater sidǫ' kaba, leiki wąn grą' masra. A wakti fɔs' na yur' kɔm. So na tin' yur' na neit, prɪncɛs nąŋga pater nąŋga Boni-boni, dąn dɛm seroto dɛm na ɪni wąn kamera. Na kamera bɛn moi tɛ ... moi libi-abra. Na bɛdi bɛn krɻn, dat' a no fō taki. Wɛ, di den didǫ kaba, dą' wąn san' fō ɛlfi yur' na neti, na boi prakseri na wąn Lɔnsu boi, so pater nąŋga ɛŋ bɛn gowɛnti. Ɛn 'a boi bɪgin nyąm wąn fō den paki sukru-kuku. Ɛn 'a kuku bɛn sui̯ti tɛ ... a sui̯ti den libi-abra, tɛ prɪncɛs s'rɛfi na lɔstu na kuku fō na boi. Ma prɪncɛs prei leik' a bɛn sribi. 'A boi taki, ‘Sribi na dɛdɛ, umą kiri mąn.’

Wɛ, di pater si dɑti, a tak', ‘Boni-boni, mi boi, luku wąn sani 'ɛ go miti ụnu tide neti.’ A boi tak', ‘Pater, 'i a leti. Ɛf' mi mąŋ opo gowe, mi sɑ gowe.’ Ma a taki, ‘Pater, ɛf' yɛ froferi, mi wą-tu sukru-kuku dia, dąn 'i tek' wąn-tu nyąm.’ Pater tak', ‘ai!’ Ɛn na boi gi na pater wąn fō den sui̯ti kuku, a nyąm. A bɛn fen' na kuku so sui̯ti, a ɑks' na boi, a tak', ‘Yu 'ab mɔro?’ 'A boi tak', ‘Yu wan' mɔro?’ Dąn na boi gi pater nō di kuku di a meki nąŋga shalap.

Ma, dɛ wąn sani fō wąn yuru na neti, pater fir' ɛŋ bɛr' b'gin hati ɛŋ. A tak', ‘Boni-boni, mi boi, mi go dɛdɛ dia. Fu wą' prɪncɛs 'ɛdɛ mi no wąn' dɛdɛ, ɛn yu mu' prakser' tak' na 'oso sroto, so ląŋga Konu no kɔm op' ɛŋ a no ką' opo.’ So di pater fir' ɛŋ bɛri 'ati ɛŋ, ɛŋ a taig' na boi, a tak', ‘Boni-boni, 'i sab' są'? Mi 'ɛ go mɔrso na ɪn' na 'oso, ma mi no kąn lɛpi.’ Dą' nō, Boni-boni a go lei, a tak', ‘Mi Gadō, pater! Mi brib' den go kir' ụnu dia. Wɛ, mi s'rɛf' a dɛ fo du, tu.’

Leḭk' mi dɛ taḭg' yu, pater go na baka na dɔro, a mɔrs' na bak' ɛm dɔro. Ɛn no, dia mɔrs' na bak' 'a dɔro, a no sab' sạ' fō du, a kọn didǫ' baka. So na 'er' kamɛra a kɔm smer' mɔrso, tɛ prıncɛs s'ref' bɛn kạn dɛdɛ.

Ɛn no, Boni-boni, a na dri yuru na neḭiti, a sɑ taḭg' pater, taki, ‘Mi drḭŋ na mɔrsu di pater mɔrsu dapɛ, ɛf' pater no pur' ɛŋ, dem sɑ kir' pater.’ So pater bɛn kɔm fredɛ, a taki. ‘Mi Gadu! dạn mi a fō nyạm ɛ'.’ Dạn na boḭ gō leḭ no, 'a boḭ taki, ɛŋ s'ɛf' mus' nyạm f'i tu.

Wɛ, mi mạn, a kɔm fo yur' na neti. Na koru bɛn kɪsi prıncɛs k'ba. Tu mạn-suma bɛn didǫ', ɛn so, so a bɛn kɪsi takru prakseri na ɛŋ 'ɛdɛ. A bɛn wani fō brasa pater. Ɛn wạn sạn' fō alfu feḭifi mamantɛ' pater go, a nyạm di f'ɛŋ mɔrsu baka. Ɛn so na baka a teki figi na grǫ'. Ɛn so, wạn sạn' fō tu mɪnɪt fō feḭifi yuru, na meḭidji draḭ, a wan' bras' a pater, ma na smer' bɛn tumusi gi' ɛŋ, a draḭ g'a na Boni-boni seḭ. A draḭ g'a pater baka. A no kạn mạŋ. A yuru dati, Boni-boni a trowe lafɛndr' na ɛŋ s'kin, ɛn di na meḭidjɛ draḭ na dri trǫ' na Boni-boni seḭ, a feḭifi yu' na mamantɛ'.

Tɛ dɛ' opo na dɔro, den si prıncɛs naŋga Boni-boni fa dem brasa. So na boḭ bɛn a fu trō naŋga na prıncɛs, kɪs' 'a kɔndre. Ɛn so pater ben shɛm. A no bɛn mạ' fō waki mɔro, fō swaki ɔr' 'ɛŋ. Ɛn na pater go pur' ɛŋ barba. Na fō dat 'ɛdɛ meki pater n'e kweki barba mɔro...

Nō, na tɔri mus' kạn go.

... Ɛn so na boḭ bɛn trō, ɛn a kɪs' na kɔndre. En na p'pa na Konu a no bɛn dɛ tefredu fō na prıncɛs trō naŋga na boḭ. Ma tɔx den tro...

... *Ɛn so, mi s'rɛf' bɛn nyạm 'a trō-'oso, ɛn dɛ' süt' mi naŋga wạ kanǫ', te mi sidǫ' ḍiaso. Ɛn so na tɔri kɔm k'ba. Ɛn so na boḭ bɛn sḭŋgi*,

> Ɛmɛlina, todowaḭs',
> Ɛmɛlina, todowaḭsɛndɛ.

128. Riddling for the Princess: Priest's Deception: Sleeping-mat Test.

Kri, kra! Harken to the story!
Open your ears there! Hear the story!
There are men! Kri, kra!

There was a mother who had a poor son. The boy had no cloth to cover his body. And his mother had three pigs which she was raising. One danced apuku.[2] One danced susa.[3] One danced the waltz. Well, when hard times came, the mother said to the boy, whose name was Boni-boni...

Harken!
The story will go on!
The story must go on!
But the story has moximolyon and syuba-syuba.

2 The name for the sacred ‘little people’ of the bush, as well as the dances for them.
3 This is recognised by natives of the bush and town as an African dance. It is danced by men only. The pantomime is that of combat with shield and spear.

... Well, when hard times came, the mother said to her boy, she said, ‘Well, my boy, I myself see you have nothing to eat. Then take the pig that dances apuku, and go sell him, so that we may find some food.’

But, since the pig had been little, the boy had taught him to dance.

Bato!
Sing, sing, my dindyamaka,
Sing, sing, my dindyamaka,
Things will happen, my dindyamaka.[1]

Well, my man, and so the boy took the pig that danced apuku, and took it away to sell.

But now near the village lived a princess. The princess was beautiful. She was handsomer than the sun. The more you looked at her, the more handsome she was. But as the boy will be approaching the neighboring kingdom, several soldiers will stop him, and say, 'Boy, where are you going? People cannot pass there.'

So the princess was walking in the yard, and she saw the boy with the pig. She called the boy, and she said she liked the pig, and asked the boy what the pig did. He said, 'This pig dances apuku.' Then she said to the boy, said, 'Well, let him dance.'

And now if the pig began to dance winti,[2] all the people ran. It was a pleasure to see. And the pig's winti song (was):

Ghosts are in the cemetery,
Where are they?
Ghosts wear white,
Where are they?
Ghosts are in the cemetery,
They are in the burial ground.
Ghosts wear white,
They are in the burial ground.[3]

So the princess asked the boy, 'How much do you want for the pig?' The boy said, 'Ah! my princess, I do not want money. But, if you want to give me pleasure, then let me see your breasts, and then I will give you the pig.' The princess looked at him, and she laughed. She said, 'You are a silly boy. Are you looking for food, or are you looking for breasts?' But the princess liked the pig, so she showed the boy her breasts. And what were the breasts, my man? Two golden breasts. So the boy had a small book, and he wrote it in his book.

And so, when the boy went home, the mother was suffering from hunger, and when his mother asked him, 'Boni-boni, where is the pig? Did you sell it already?' the boy said, 'No, mother, the pig, it got away from my hands. I looked for him so till... (but) I could not catch him.' The mother went to take a stick, and said, 'If you do not bring the pig, I will break your head with a stick.' So the boy was afraid. He ran away, and hid himself....

1 Song No. 121. *Dındyamaka* is the porcupine.
2 I.e., began to dance for a spirit.
3 Song No. 124.

Harken to the story!
And listen to the story!
He who takes this story, and repeats it, will turn to marble!

So the mother called him again. She said, ‘Boni-boni, my son.’ He was a seventeen year old boy. She said, ‘Look, I beg you, look how I have nothing to eat. Look how we are suffering, and take this pig, this one that dances waltz, and go sell him. But please, please, do not let him get loose again and run away.’ And so the boy took his path again, and he came once more to the kingdom of the princess...

Kri, kra! All men on their kra, kra!
And so, the boy sang to the pig -
Selina fanaida
Why do you cry?
You love me for my money,
But you do not love me for myself,
That is why you cry.[1]
Bato! The story must go on!
It has maxmorion and shuba, shuba.[2]

Well, my man, when the princess saw the second pig, she said, ‘Boni-boni, my boy, sell me this, and I will pay you for him as much money as you want. But [for] never did I see a pig dance like a human being!’ If the pig danced a waltz here, you felt the pig's winti as far as the street. The boy said, ‘Ah, my princess, I cannot sell him to you.’ And the boy began to laugh. The boy said, ‘Ah! my princess, I beg of you one thing, but I do not know if you will agree. I want you to let me see your navel. Then I will give you the pig for nothing.’ And the princess looked at him, and she said, ‘You are still only a boy. You cannot do anything with me. Well, I will show you.’ But when the princess showed him, what she showed him was a black diamond navel. The boy laughed; and he gave the princess the pig.

Now the princess had got two pigs already, one that danced apuku winti, and one that danced waltz. And so the boy wrote in the book again....

Harken to the story, my man!
Harken to the story!
An Anansi-story teller is here!

And so the boy went to his mother again, and he said to his mother, he said, ‘Mother, don't be afraid. Good times will come.’

1 Song No. 146.
2 Same informant gave to these words this different pronunciation, and said that they meant ‘nice, nice’.

He said, ‘But mother, you yourself see I have no clothes. But I beg you share with me. Buy me a blue coat, and a pair of breeches, and a pair of sandals.’ The mother said, ‘All right, my son.’

So the boy had another pig, which made three, and he danced susa. If the pig struck his foot on the ground, the earth burst open that a pig should come to dance so beautifully. But, while the mother was sleeping, the boy took the pig, and he went back to the kingdom of the same princess. And there he began to sing the susa song for the pig to dance:

> The rice is falling,
> Come pick it, brother,
> Things are there.
> The rice is falling,
> Come pick it, brother.[1]

When the princess saw that, she was pleased beyond words.[2] She said she must have the pig. And she loved the pig till... there was love to spare. And now, the princess called him, and said, ‘Boni-boni, my boy, I will even give you nine hundred guilders for him.’ He said, ‘No, no, my princess, I cannot sell him to you.’ The boy laughed, and the boy said, ‘Princess, I beg you to do one thing, princess.’ The princess said, ‘Well, what will that be, my boy?’ He said, ‘Princess, I want to see your thighs.’ But the princess' thighs had a gold chain and [golden] pubic hair. And so the boy went away, and he gave the princess the pig.

And the boy was there. The boy was baptized in the Roman Church, and the boy liked to confess. And now, when the boy went home now, he had his mother make him a pair of blue breeches, and a blue coat. And a half hour later, a man accompanied by their nearby neighbor will call on his mother, and say he read in the paper that a princess had three things on her body, but he who knows how to answer[3] the questions what there is on the body of the princess will marry her, and get the kingdom.

And so the boy had heard that. So one Sunday the boy went to the priest for confession. And now the boy began to confess to the priest. The priest asked him, said, ‘My boy, see how you suffer. If you were able to guess the things on the princess' body you would guess!’ But now the boy said, ‘Pater, do you want me to tell you what the first one is?’ The priest said, ‘You know nothing, man.’ The boy said, ‘I want to tell what the first one is.’ He said, ‘Tell me, now.’ He said...

Harken to the story!

...‘Pater, let me tell you a story. The first thing the princess has is two diamond breasts.’ All he told the priest, he [the priest] took

1 Song No. 138.
2 Lit., ‘to pull’.
3 Lit., ‘It is not to say’.

his book, and he wrote. He said, ‘Boni-boni, what else?’ He said, ‘Pater, I do not know more, hear?’...

Well, my man, the story will go on!

... Well, Monday, they went to the kingdom of the princess to answer the questions. All the important bakra must go to answer the questions. The priest was the first one. Boni-boni wore his little blue coat, and his little blue breeches, and his sandals, he was a poor boy. At this time the priest had a long beard. But when they arrived at the kingdom of the princess to answer the questions, the priest was the first one who went in to answer the questions. He heard what the boy had said, and that was what he was going to say to guess. Well, when the priest went to answer the questions, they asked him, ‘What is the first thing the princess has?’ The priest laughed. He said, ‘Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha! The first thing? Ah, two diamond breasts.’ Where the King was standing, he was frightened till... there was fright to spare. He asked the priest, ‘What is the second one?’ The priest studied and he said such nonsense till the priest began to be afraid. He was afraid so till... death. He could not sit down any more.

And when they called, they called the boy. They said, ‘You boy, you will be able to answer the questions? What are you doing here?’ He said, ‘I will answer the questions till... there are questions to spare.’ He said he would answer more than they thought. The King said, ‘What is the first thing that the princess has?’ He said, ‘Ah, King, the first thing the princess has? Two diamond breasts.’ The King struck the boy with his foot. ‘Shut your mouth! You heard the priest say that just now.’ The boy said, ‘I, myself had told the priest at confession.’ The priest was frightened to death. Asked the boy what the second one was. ‘The second one is a black diamond navel.’ Where the King was standing, he was frightened, and he pulled his hair that such a youngster should answer such a question. ‘And the third one?’ the King said, ‘What is the third one?’ He said, ‘The third one, my King, is a golden chain, and golden pubic hair.’

All the bakra were frightened. They lifted the boy and the stool [upon which he sat] for joy. But yet they found that the boy was not fit to marry a princess. They wanted to have the priest marry the princess. And so, they gave the boy five hundred guilders to go and eat. And the King said to them, he said to the boy and the priest, he said, ‘Tomorrow night, at ten o'clock, I will lock you and the priest and the princess in a room. The princess will be in the middle, the priest on the right hand, and Boni-boni on the left hand. And at five o'clock in the morning, whomever I see the princess embracing, that one will marry her, and get the entire kingdom.’...

Bato!
Kri, kra! Then he said at once,
Anansi is a cunning, cunning, cunning man,
Cunning is more than I am.[1]

So the boy went home happy. When the boy came home, he said, ‘Now mother, eat and drink, [and] be happy. I have already won the fight.’ When the mother saw the five hundred guilders, she was so happy that she wept, and she embraced the boy. The boy said, ‘Mother, don't be afraid. Take this. Tomorrow I am going to fight a greater fight.’ So the boy did, my man. He asked his mother for ten guilders. So the boy went to the bake-shop, and had them make one package of sweet cakes, and make another package of laxative cakes. And he bought a bottle of lavender water. And he told his mother, he told her when he went.

And so when he went, my man, it was nine o'clock at night. The priest was already sitting there like a great man. He was waiting for the hour to come. So at ten o'clock at night, they locked the princess and the priest and Boni-boni in a room. The room was beautiful till... there was beauty to spare. The bed was so clean that it is beyond words. Well, as they were lying down, then about eleven o'clock at night, the boy studied he was a Roman Catholic boy, so that he and the priest were acquainted. And the boy began to eat one of the sugar cakes. And the cakes were sweet till... there was sweetness to spare, till the princess herself yearned for the boy's cakes. But the princess pretended to be asleep. The boy said, ‘Sleep is death, woman kills man.’

Well, when the priest saw that, he said, ‘Boni-boni, my boy, look, something is going to happen to you tonight.’ The boy said, ‘Pater, you are right. If I could get up, and go away, I would go away.’ But he said, ‘Pater, if you like a few of the cakes, then you can take a few, and eat.’ The priest said, ‘Yes!’ And the boy gave the priest one of the sweet cakes, and he ate it. He found the cake so sweet, that he asked the boy, he said, ‘Have you more?’ The boy said, ‘Do you want more?’ Then the boy gave the priest now the cakes which he had made with the laxative.

But, at about one o'clock at night, the priest felt his belly begin to hurt him. He said, ‘Boni-boni, my boy, I am going to die. I don't want to die for the sake of a princess, and you must study that the house is locked, and as long as the King does not come to open it, it cannot open.’ So the priest felt his belly hurt him, and he said to the boy, he said, ‘Boni-boni, you know what? I am going to defecate in the house, but [for] I can't help it.’ Then now Boni-boni is going to lie, and say, ‘My God, pater! I believe they are going to kill you here. Well, I myself, have to do it, too.’

1 Song No. 131.

As I tell you, the priest went behind the door and he defecated behind the door. And now, when he defecated behind the door, he did not know what to do, he came and lay down again. So the whole room came to smell, until the princess herself could die.

And now, at three o'clock at night Boni-boni will tell the priest, will say, ‘I dreamed if the priest does not remove the excrement he defecated there, they will kill the priest.’ So the priest became afraid, he said, ‘My God! then I have to eat it.’ Then the boy is going to lie now, and the boy is going to say, he himself must eat his, too.

Well, my man, it was four o'clock at night. The princess was cold. Two men were lying [beside her], and so a wicked thought came into her head. She wanted to embrace the priest. And about half past four in the morning the priest went and he ate his excrement. And so after that he wiped up the ground. And so about two minutes to five o'clock, the Princess turned and she wanted to embrace the priest, but the smell was too much for her, and she turned, and went to Boni-boni's side. She turned again to go to the priest. She could not. At that time, Boni-boni poured lavender water on his body, and when the girl turned for the third time to Boni-boni's side, it was five o'clock in the morning.

When they opened the door, they saw how the princess and Boni-boni were embracing. So the boy had to marry the princess, and receive the kingdom. And so the priest was ashamed. He could not walk any more, for feebleness seized him. And the priest went and pulled out his beard. That is why priests do not grow beards any more...

Now, the story must go on.

And so the boy married, and received the kingdom. And the father, the King, was not pleased that the princess [should] marry the boy. Yet they were married...

And so I myself ate at the wedding feast, and they shot me with a cannon, till I sat down here. And so the story comes to an end. And so the boy was singing,

Emelina, todowais',
Emelina, todowaisende.[1]

***129*.**

Wą' mą' bɛn waka na busi. Dąn a fɛn' wąn patu nąŋga 'ɔni. Ɛn a taki, na patu, ɛŋ go sɛri hɛm. Dą' i go baa̱i kau̱. Dąn a merki na kau̱, i go gi baka, ɛŋ dɛ sɛri. Ɛn baa̱i foru, ɛn na ɛksi na foru sɑ meki ɛŋ dɛ go sɛri. Baa̱i krabita, skapu. Na so, den p'kin fō hɛm, ɛŋ

1 Song No. 115.

mek' den leri bǫ'. Ɛŋ go yuru tin suma fō gi hɛm weį̇fi fō wroko. Ɛn, te den p'kin leri bǫ', daą̇n a sɑ trǫ' meį̇ister, datra, naą̇ŋga afkati.

Ɛn so, di a taki naą̇ŋga presiri, waą̇n tɪki bɛn dɛ na ɛŋ hanu. A de waį̇ na tɪki. A so na patu hɔni trowɛ.

Odo: Yu prakseri na tapu wan sani, tɔx yu no kɪsi hɛm.

129. Wealth from a Pot of Honey.[2]

A man was walking in the bush. Then he found a pot of honey. And he said he would go and sell the pot. Then he would buy a cow. Then the milk which the cow would give later, he would sell. And buy chickens, and the eggs the chickens would lay, he would

2 Told by 4.

sell. Buy goats, sheep. And so he would educate his children well. He would go and hire ten people to work for his wife. And, when the children were well educated, then they would become teachers, doctors, and lawyers.

And so, while he talked happily, there was a stick in his hand. He was swinging the stick. And so the pot of honey was spilled.

Proverb: You study about something, yet you do not get it.

130. Agari.

Na fɔs' tɛm yu bɛn 'abi so mɛni suma di bɛn lǫ'-wɛ. Ma nō, wą'-tu bɛn lǫ'-wɛ. Ma di dɛn lǫ'-wɛ, dąn dę' g'a busi, dąn ąngri kǫ kir' dem, dąn dę' mit' wąn bɔsu busi-ba'ana, dąn dę' lɔsi. Ma nō, wąn fō dę' man bɛn dapɛ t'a ba'ana lɔsi, dą' i pɔt' den na seį̇ faį̇a. Ma nō den tra wąn, bufɔs' 'a ba'ana lɔs' bǫ', dę' a nyam' ęŋ. Nō mō den tra wąn ɑks' 'a man taki, 'Wɛ, baį̇a, yu n'e a nyam?' Dąn a i piki den taki, 'Mati, mek' a gari, a no gar' 'ɛtɛ.' Dąn den trawą' 'ɛ nyam tɛ dɛm bɛri 'ɛ furu, ma ęŋ dati no dɛ nyam.

Pikinso baka, nō mō den yeri suma de kɔm ɩn' na busi fō kǫn kis' dɛm. Nō mō dę' ala bigɩn lǫn. 'A mą' no a n'ab' tę' fō luku dem ba'ana di a 'abi pɔt' 'a seį̇ faį̇a. Nō mō den tra wąn den bari gi' ęŋ taki, 'Mat' Agari-o! Fa agari?' So den trawą' kǫ' spɔt' ęŋ, fō di a bɛn dɛ pɔt na ba'ana na seį̇ faį̇a f' agari. Na dat' mek' den gi' a wąn nem fō Agari.

130. The Fastidious go Hungry.[1]

In early days you had many, many people who were running away. But now, (once) several had run away. But when they ran away, they went into the bush, and there they suffered hunger,[2] then they came upon a bunch of bush plantains, which they roasted. But now there was one man there who, when the plantains were being roasted, put his at the side of the fire. But now the others, before the plantains were well roasted, they ate them. Soon the others asked the man, they said, 'Well brother, aren't you eating?' Then he answered them, he said, 'Friends, let them get done, they are not well done yet.' Then the others ate until they were full,[3] but that one did not eat.

A little later, all at once they heard people coming to the bush to catch them. Instantly they all began to run. The man had no time to look after the plantains which he had put at the side of the fire. At once the others shouted to him, said, 'Friend-Well-Done - o! How is it getting done?' So the others came to ridicule him, because he had put the plantains at the side of the fire to have them well done. And that is why they gave him the name Agari.[4]

131.

Wan ler'man habi na wą' apresina bom. Ala deį̇ suma 'ɛ go fufuru ęŋ. Dąn 'a lerimąn 'ɛ prek na kerki ala wiki fa den fufuru na apresina. Dąn a mek' a taki, a i go kɩsi 'a

1 Told by 1.
2 Lit., 'hunger came to kill them'.
3 Lit., 'their bellies were full'.
4 Meaning 'well done'.

fufuruman. Dąn wą Sɔndei̯ a tek' na wan fō den apresina tya go 'a kerki. Di a go prek, dąn 'a dei̯-wɔrt taki, ‘Yu no mu fufuro.’ Dąn a taki ɛ' sab' 'a fufurumą, ɛŋ drɪ̯ŋg na neti fō na fufurumą'. ‘Luku fa a dɛ luku mi, na fufurumą! Efi mi no mɛmb're Gadō, mi sɑ naki ɛŋ nąŋga apresina.’ Na fufurōmą' dukrų' na 'ɛdɛ, dąn ala suma sabi wantrǫ' ta̯igi na na man dɛ a fufuru na apresina.

So lerimąn kɪsi na fufurumą.

131. The Preacher Traps a Thief.[5]

A preacher had an orange tree. Every day someone went to rob it. Then every week the preacher preached in church how they stole the oranges. Then he let it be known that he was going to catch the thief. Then one Sunday he took one of the oranges, and carried it to church. When he went to preach, then his text said ‘Thou shalt not steal.’ Then he said that he knew the thief, [for] he had dreamt that night of the thief. ‘See how he is looking at me, the thief! If I did not remember God, I would hit him with the orange.’ The thief ducked his head, and then all the people knew immediately that this was the man who had been stealing the oranges.

So the preacher caught the thief.

5 Told by 1.

132.

Wan boi̯ bɛn go leri fo leį̈. Di a go na ɽŋ basi, daɳ 'a basi taį̈gi ɽŋ taki, mek' a luku na tap' 'a tɔrn, a sɑ si waɳ mira. Di na boi̯ luku, daį̨' 'a boi̯ taį̈gi ɽŋ taki, ɽ' n'e si ɽŋ, ma ɽŋ yere ɽŋ step. Daį̨ 'a bas' taį̈gi ɽŋ taki, ɽŋ kį̨' kɔmɔpo na skɔro, bikasi a kaɳ leį̈ mɔro ɽŋ.

132. Master Liar.[1]

A boy went to learn to lie. When he went to his teacher, then his teacher said to him, he said, let him look at the top of the tower and he will see an ant. When the boy looked, then the boy said to him, he said, he did not see it, but he heard its step. Then the teacher said to him, he said, he could leave the school because he could lie more than he.

133.

Lesi boi̯ a go ler' lesi 'a wạn basi. Dạ' den lidǫ' na ɔndro wạn bom. Dạ' wan mạnya fadǫ' tu meter fara fō 'a basi. Dạ' 'a basi kroi̯pi go teki ɛ̣ŋ. Ɛn wạ' mạnya fadǫ' wạ' af-meter fō 'a boi̯. Dạ' 'a boi̯ bɛgi ɛ̣ŋ basi fō kǫ tek 'a mạnya gi ɛ̣ŋ. Dạ' 'a basi tak', ‘Yu lesi mɔro mi, bikasi luku, so fara di fō mi fadǫ', ɛ̣' mi kroi̯pi go teki ɛ̣ŋ, ma di fō yu, yu no wạn lạŋga yu anu teki ɛ̣ŋ.’

So a i kɪsi wan papira fō lesi.

133. Diploma for Laziness.[2]

A lazy boy went to learn laziness from a teacher. Then they lay down under a tree. Then a mango fell down two meters away from the teacher. Then the teacher went creeping to take it. And one mango fell down half a meter away from the boy. Then the boy begged his teacher to come and take the mango for him. Then the teacher said, ‘You are more lazy than I, because look, this one fell down so far away from me and I crawled over to take it, but yours you would not stretch out your hand to take it.’

So he got a paper (diploma) for laziness.

134.

Wạn mama bɛn habi wạn pikin. Ma nō, di na pikin mu' go dopu, dan Dɛdɛ ɑksi fō tạ' na pikin pɛpɛ. Ma di Dɛdɛ trǫ' ɛ̣ŋ pɛpɛ kaba, a tại̯g' 'ɛm taki, ‘Mi dɛ go gi yu wạn drɛsi. Yu mu' waka ala pre̯isi drɛsi suma. Ma tɛ yu si mi dɛ na wạn suma hɛdɛse̯i̯, yu no mu gi hɛm drɛsi, bika' a no dɛ go libi.’ So na boi̯ bɛn waka, a wroko furu mɔni. Ma di a bɛn kɪsi mɔni kaba, dạn tɛ a go luku wạn sɪki, ɛfu ɛ̣ŋ pɛpɛ dɛ na hɛdese̯i̯, dạn a dɛ kɛnk' ɛ̣ŋ pɔti na futuse̯i̯. Dạn a dɛ gi drɛsi meki na suma kɔm bǫ'.

Dạn wan de̯i̯ na pɛpɛ kɔm na hɛm, taki, meki a kɔm go nō nạŋga hɛm. Dạn, di den go, dạn den krɪ̯n wạn lạŋga trapu, dạn den si so mɛni lampu nạŋga oli dɛ lit. Sɔmwạn fō den no habi oli beina. Dạn ɛ̣ŋ pɛpɛ tại̯g' hɛm taki, ‘So, yu no sabi taki mi na Dɛdɛ, ɛn yu bɛn du mi hɔgri di yu bɛn kɛ̣ŋki mi na den suma hɛdɛse̯i̯, bɪkasi mi no dɛ teki yǫŋgu wạn libi oru wạn; sạ' mu kɔm a mu kɔm.’ Ɛn a sori hɛm wạn lampu, taki, ‘Luku, dɪsi na lampu fō yu, ma mi sɑ puru na oli fō yu pɔti gi dem tra lampu fō dem suma dɪsi, dem lampu no bɛn habi oli mɔro.’

1 Told by 1. The resemblance is to be remarked of this tale to the West African ones where one character tells a lie, and the next speaker a greater one, as, e.g., in Travélé 61-62, No. 7.

2 Told by 1. For comparative data, see Bolte u. Polívka, iii, 207-213, No. 151 and No. 151a.

Ɛn so a puru ala na oli da na lampu. Da boi̯ kɔm dɛdɛ, bika' na oli bɛn dɛ oli hɛm libi.

134. Cheating Death.[3]

A mother had a child. But now when the child had to go to be baptized, Death asked to be the child's godfather. But when Death had already become its godfather, he said to him, said, ‘I am going to give you a medicine. You must travel everywhere healing people. But when you see me at a person's head you must not give him medicine, because he is not going to live.’ So the boy traveled and he earned much money. But when he had [accumulated] money, then when he went to see a sick person, if his godfather was at the head of the bed, then he changed him [the patient] about to the foot [of the bed]. Then he gave the medicine to make the man recover.

Then one day the godfather came to him, and said, let him come with him. Then, when they went, then they climbed a tall ladder, and they saw many oil lamps lit. Some of them had almost no oil. Then his godfather said to him, ‘So, you did not know that I was Death, and you did me harm when you changed me about away from people's heads, because I did not take young ones and leave old ones; [and] what must come must come.’ And he showed him a lamp, and said, ‘Look, this is your lamp, but I will take out your oil and put it into the other lamps belonging to those people whose lamps had no more oil.’

And so he took out all the oil from the lamp. The boy died, because the oil was the oil of his life.

3 Told by 1. For comparative data, see Bolte u. Polívka, i, 375-388, No. 42 and No. 44.

135.

Wɛ, Didibri taigi wąn suma taki, aluwasi sɔrtu bǫ' ɛŋ du suma, 'ɛm no 'abi bǫ' nɛm. Didibri taki, ‘A bǫ', mi sɑ meki yu si disi.’

Nō, Didibri go na Gadu, a taig' Gadu meki Gadō pɔti wą' bɪgi stǫ' na pasi, ɛn 'ɛm sɑ pɔt' wąn saka mɔni, dąn den sɑ' si suma sa kɪsi bǫ' nɛm. Wɛ, di dɛm du so, wąn dei wąn suma dɛ kǫ' p'sa, a naki ɛŋ futu na stǫ'. No mo a taki, ‘Na Didibri pɔti na stǫ' 'a pasi, meki mi naki mi futu!’ Nō, wąn tra wą' kǫ' p'sa. a si na mɔni. A teki na mɔni, no mo a taki, ‘Kyɛ Gadu! Mi tak' yu “Grąn tąŋgi,” mi feni na mɔni.’

Nō mō Didibri taki, ‘Yu si, na mi pōti na mɔni, ma na suma taki Gadu tąŋgi. Ɛn na suma di pɔti na stǫ', dati a kɔsi. So na mi a kɔsi, ɛn a taki Gadu tąŋgi. So mi no taig' yu taki, mi no 'abi bǫ' 'ɛdɛ na grǫ'-tapu?’

Odo: Luku pɛ yu stotu yu futu, ma no luku pɛ yu fadǫ'.

135. The Devil Complains.[1]

Well, the Devil said to someone said, no matter what good he did people, he did not have a good name. The Devil said, ‘All right, I will let you see this.’

Now the Devil went to God, and he said to God let God put a big stone on the path, and he would put a sack of money, then they should see who would get the credit. Well, when they did this, then one day someone came by and he struck his foot on the stone. At once he said, ‘The Devil put the stone on the path and made me strike my foot!’ Now another came by and he saw the money. He took the money, and at once he said, ‘Praise God! I say to you “Many thanks,” (that) I found the money.’

At once the Devil said, ‘You see, it is I who put down the money, but the man gives God thanks. And the person who put down the stone, he curses. So me he cursed, and he thanked God. So did I not tell you that I get no justice on earth?’

Proverb: Look where you stub your foot, but do not look where you fall down.

136. Mat' Luisǫn (Dibri tɔri).

Mat' Luisǫn bɛn dɛ wąn didibri. A bɛn dɛ libi na wąn plesi. Ma wąn mąn tɛki ɛ̨ŋ pikin nąŋga weı̯fi fō go meki grǫ' leti na seı̯ dapɛ. Fa-i-si dɛm nak' wąn 'oru, nō mō Luisɔn ɑksi taki, ‘Suma dapɛ?’ Na mąn taki, ‘Na mi, Luą·ŋgu.’ A tak', ‘Są' i kɔ' du?’ A piki taki, ‘Mi kǫ' meki grǫ'.’ Luisɔn taki ɛ̨ŋ pikin taki, ‘Kǫ' go lɛpi Mat' Luą·ŋgu meki grǫ'.’ Bifɔsi Mat' Luą·ŋg' kɔt' wąn bom, Mat' Luisǫn nąŋga ɛ̨ŋ pikį' kɔt' na heri grǫ' Dem gowɛ.

Tamara Mat' Luą·ŋg' go baka. Mat' Luisǫ' aksi, ‘Suma dapɛ?’ A taki, ‘Na mi Luą·ŋg'.’ ‘Sa' i 'ɛ du?’ A taki, ‘Mi a gō pran' grǫ'.’ Luisǫ' taki nąŋga ɛ̨ŋ pikį', meki kɔm lɛpi pran' grǫ'.

Ma nō di den prani kaba, na nanyąm kǫ' lepi. Mat' Luą·ŋg' gō fō kɔt' wan karu, nō mō Luisǫn ɑksi taki, ‘Sa yu 'ɛ do?’ A taki, ‘Mi 'ɛ kɔt' wąn karu.’ Luisǫn tą̇igi ɛ̨ŋ pikį' baka taki, ‘Kǫ' go lɛpi Mati Luą·ŋgu kɔti karu.’ Bufɔsi Mat' Luą·ŋg' kɔti wąn karu, Luisǫn nąŋga ɛ̨ŋ pikin kɔt' na her' grǫ' karu.

Tamara Mat' Luą·ŋg' a 'e gō kɔti wąn ba·ana. A go safri fō Luisǫn no yɛri. Ma fa-i-si a fasi na ba·ana nō mō, Luisǫn aksi ɛ̨ŋ'

1 Told by 1. Compare Herskovits, M. and F. (IV) MS No. 10.

taki, ‘Suma dapɛ?’ A tak', ‘Na mi Luą·ŋgō.’ ‘Sa yu 'ɛ du?’ A tak', ‘Mi 'ɛ kɔt' wąn ba·ana.’ Luisǫn taį̂gi ɛ̨ŋ pikin taki, ‘Kǫ', go lɛpi Mat' Luą·ŋgu kɔt' ba·ana.’ Biɛ̨ɔs' Luą·ŋg' kɔt' wąn ba·ana, dę' kɔt' na her' grǫ'.

Dąn Mat' Luą·ŋgō hati bɛn brǫ̨ŋ. Di a gō na 'oso, dą' wąn fō den pikin du wąn ɔgri. Nō mō a bigin fɔm na pikin, Luisǫn aksi taki, ‘Sa yu 'ɛ du?’ A taki, ‘Mi 'ɛ fɔm mi pikin.’ Luisǫn taki gi' ɛ̨ŋ' pikin, ‘Kǫ, go lɛp' Mati Luą·ŋgō fɔm wąn pikį̈'.’ Den go, den fǫ' na pikin, biti ɛ̨ŋ tɛ den kir' ɛ̨ŋ.

So Mati Luą·ŋgō kǫ' fredɛ. A taki gi' ɛ̨ŋ weį̂fi, ‘Mek' wi froisi, bika' a no bǫ' suma d̨ia na wi seį̂.’ Ɛn so dę' bɛn gowɛ, libi Mat' Luisǫn. Mat' Luisǫn tek' na her' grǫ' nyanyąm di dem bɛn prani.

Kaba.

136. Trespassing on the Devil's Land.[2]

Mat'[3] Luison was a devil[4]. He lived at a certain place. But (one day) a man took his children and his wife, to go and make a field right there beside it. No sooner had they struck with a hoe than Luison asked, he said, ‘Who is there?’ The man said, ‘It is I, Luangu.’ He said, ‘What have you come to do?’ He answered him, said, ‘I have come to make a field.’ Luison said to his children, said, ‘Come, go help Mat' Luangu cut his field.’ Before Mat' Luangu cut down one tree, Mat' Luison and his children had cut the whole field. They went away.

The next day Mat' Luang' went back. Mat' Luison asked, ‘Who is there?’ He said, ‘It is I, Luangu.’ ‘What are you doing?’ He said, ‘I am going to plant the field.’ Luison said to his children, let them come and help plant the field.

But now when they had finished planting, the crop became ripe. No sooner did Mat' Luangu go to cut a stalk of corn than Luison asked him, said, ‘What are you doing?’ He said, ‘I am cutting a stalk of corn.’ Luison said to his children again, said, ‘Come, go help Mat' Luangu cut the corn.’ Before Mat' Luang' had cut a stalk of corn, Luison and his children had cut the whole field of corn.

The next day Mat' Luang' went to cut a plantain. He went softly so Luison would not hear. But no sooner did he take hold of

2 Told by 1. Compare Senegal (Torodo), Equilbecq, ii, 116-122; Sierra Leone (Temne), Cronise and Ward 152-159; Liberia (Kpelle), Westermann (III) 381-385, Nos. 10 and 11; Ivory Coast, Tauxier (I) 331-2, Gagu No. 19; Gold Coast, Barker and Sinclair 181-184; No. 36; Southern Nigeria (Yoruba), Frobenius 219, No. 49, (Lagos), Herskovits, M. and F. (II) No. 4, (Ekoi), Talbot (III) 371-373; Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 70-71, No. 65; Santo Domingo, Andrade 284-285, No. 238.

3 *Mati*, ‘friend’ is often employed to designate a person of whom one is speaking.

4 Inf. ‘This is a devil story.’

the plantain, than Luison asked him, said, ‘Who is there?’ He said, ‘It is I, Luangu.’ ‘What are you doing?’ He said, ‘I am cutting a plantain.’ Luison said to his children, said, ‘Come, go help Mat' Luangu cut plantains.’ Before Luang' had cut one plantain they had cut the whole field.

Then Mat' Luangu was angry. When he went home, then one of his children misbehaved. No sooner did he begin to beat the child than Luison asked, said, ‘What are you doing?’ He said, ‘I am beating my child.’ Luison said to his children, ‘Come, go help Mati Luangu beat a child.’ They went and they beat the child till they killed it.

So Mati Luangu became afraid. He said to his wife, ‘Let us run away from here, because these are no good people here beside us.’ And so they went away and left Mat' Luison. Mat' Luison took all the crops of the field which they had planted.

The end.

137.

Wąn mąn a fɛn' wąn-tu pɪnda. Dą' a prani ɛŋ. Ma di a prani ɛŋ, a taki, so ląŋga a no friari, ɛŋ n'ɛ pur' 'a pinda. Ma nō, 'fɔsi friari, 'a pinda lɛpi, a gō fō gō puru ɛŋ. Nō mō 'a pinda taki, ‘A no so yu bɛn taki.’ Ɛŋ waka-tɪki taki, ‘Mi bɛn yeri. A no so yu bɛn taa̱igi.’ Ala den sani na ɪni ɛŋ 'oso bɪgɪni taki, ‘Na pinda a leti, a no so yu bɛn taki.’

'A mąn bɪgin lǫ'. Di a lǫn a mit' wąn mąn nąŋga wą' bosu wudu na tapu ɛŋ 'ɛdɛ. 'A mąn taki, ‘Są yu lǫ' so?’ A taki na mąn, ‘Mi bɛn pran' wąn pinda, ɛ' na so mi bɛn taki, “Tɛ mi friari, mi 'ɛ go puru ɛŋ.” Ma di mi gō fō gō puru ɛŋ, no mo ala den sani na ɪni mi 'oso bɪgin taki “A no so yu bɛn taa̱igi, 'a pinda a' le̱iti”.’ 'A mąn taki, ‘A! na fō dati yu lǫ'. Mi no kąn lǫn fō so wan laų̱ sani.’ Nō mō na bosu 'udu bar' 'a tap' ɛŋ 'ɛdɛ taki, ‘Yu le̱i, ɛf' a yu, yu dɛ go lǫ' mɔro 'ɛsi.’ Nō mō na mąn skreki, a trowɛ na 'udu na grǫ'. 'A man taa̱ig' ɛŋ taki, ‘Wɛ baya, i sɑ du ala i bɛn taki. Fō so wąn sani yu no kąn lǫn. Kaba yu lǫ' mɔro le̱ik' mi.’ A kaba.

137. Broken Pledge: All Things Talk.[1]

A man found several peanuts. Then he planted them. But when he planted them, he said, as long as there was no birthday[2] he would not dig up the peanuts. But now before the birthday, the peanuts were ripe, and he went to dig them up. At once the peanuts said, ‘That is not what you had said.’ His walking stick said, ‘I had heard. It is not what you had said.’ All the things in his house began to talk, ‘The peanuts are right. This is not what you had said.’

The man began to run. As he ran he met a man who had a bundle of wood on his head. The man said, ‘Why do you run so?’ He said to the man, ‘I planted peanuts and this is what I said, “When my birthday comes, I will dig them up.” But when I went to dig them up, then instantly all the things in my house began to say, “This is not what you had said. The peanuts are right”.’ The man said, ‘Ah! that is why you run. I would not run for so silly a thing.’ Instantly the bundle of wood on top of his head cried out, said, ‘You lie, if it were you, you would run faster.’ At once the man shook with fear, he threw the wood down on the ground. The man said to him, said,

1 Told by 1. Compare U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 71, No. 61.

2 Possibly the anniversary of the planting. Informant was not clear about this.

‘Well brother, you should do as you said. From such a thing you cannot run. You already run faster than I.’ It is finished.

138.

Mi bɛn dɛ na pranasi. Dą' mi birmąn dɛ, leti na m' seį̣. Dąn na neti, di mi didǫ, dąn a bar' kari mi. Dąn, di mi go kaba, dąn mi ɑksi hɛm sąn a wani. Dąn a taį̣igi mi taki, ‘Wąn umą bɛn dɛ den

kari Malime, a kɔm fõ drįŋ' mi.' Na m' ɑksi hɛm, 'Fa yu dɛ sabi?' A taki, 'Mi habi wąn dagu. Dąn, di na dagu bıgin bari, dąn a opo mi na sribi. Di a opo na sribi na Azemą no mąŋ pur' na buba yɛte. Dą' a lǫ'. Fõ dɑti hɛde, mi bɛn kari yu.'

Di den sabi taki Azemą dɛ kɔm, dąn den dɛ pąŋya aleį̇isi. Dąn a 'i brada ɛŋ krosi, dąn i pɔti na aleį̇isi na ıni. Na so, mek' den di kısi hɛm. Tɛ a tek' na krosi, dan na aleį̇isi fadǫ'. Dąn i' bıgin fõ piki baka. A no kąn pasa aleį̇isi. A kısi hɛm nąŋga pɛpre tu.

138. The Visit of the Vampire.[3]

I was at a plantation. Then there was a neighbor of mine right near me. Then at night as I lay down, then he screamed and called me. Then, when I went I asked him what he wanted. Then he said

3 Told by 4. Compare U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons 63-64, No. 53.

to me, said, ‘There is a woman they call Malime. She came to drink my blood.’[1] I asked him, ‘How do you know?’ He said, ‘I have a dog. Then, when the dog began to bark, then he wakened me from my sleep. When he awakened me the Azeman[2] had not yet been able to remove her skin. Then she ran. That is why I called you.’

When they know that an Azeman came, then they scatter rice. Then they spread out her cloth, then they put rice inside. That is how they catch her. When she takes up the clothes, then the rice falls out. Then she begins to pick it up again. She cannot pass (scattered) rice. They also catch her with pepper.

139. Agida.

Na wą' mą' bę' a go gi' wą' wɪnti dąnsi. Dąn a no mąŋ baị agida, a go lɛn wąn. Nō, d'a go lɛn n' agida, a sɛn' wą' s'ma f'go tek' ɛm. Ma agida na wą' poku, ɛf' a no wan' g'a wąn presi tɛ suma kǫ' tek' dem, tu mą' no ką' kyeri ɛm. A i nak' den, tro 'a grǫ'. So di 'a mąn go f' tek' ɛŋ, 'a mą' i teki ɛŋ, ma ę' no bę' mąŋ fō kyeri ɛŋ. Na her' pasi a i nak' 'a mąn, trō 'a grǫ'. D'a mąn kɪs' wąn wɪnti. A g'a busi, a kɔt' tu tɪki (wɪpi). A fɔm agida tɛ ... fɔs' a bɛn kąn tyar' ɛŋ go gi 'a suma.

Dat' meki 'a wą' sɻŋgi f' agida.

Agida fadǫ',
Mąn no dɛ,
Agida fadǫ',
Mąn no dɛ.
Prɻnci wąwąn na mąn,
Agida wąwąn na mąn.

139. Disciplining a Drum.[3]

A man was going to give a *wɪnti* dance. He could not buy an agida drum, so he went to borrow one. Now when he was going to borrow the agida, he sent someone to take it. But the agida is the kind of a drum, if it does not wish to go to a certain place when someone comes to take it, then two men cannot carry it. It throws them to the ground. So when the man went to take it, he was able to take it, but he was not able to carry it. The whole way it kept throwing him to the ground. Then the man was seized by a *wɪnti*. He went into the bush, and he cut two sticks (whips). He beat the agida till... before he could bring it to the person.

That is the reason there is a song about the agida.

Agida falls down,
No man is there,
Agida falls down,
No man is there.
Princi alone is the man,
Agida alone is the man.[4]

1 Lit., ‘she came to drink me’.
2 Vampire.
3 Told by 1.
4 Song No. 134. This song is for the snake *wɪnti*.

140.

Wąn mąn bɛn dɛ, habi wąn Nɛŋgɛre kɔndre wɪnti di dę' kari Adąŋgra. Ma Adąŋgra bɛn wroko mɔni. A bɛn dɛ wąn wɪnti di sɛt' tra suma wɪnti. A dɛ kar' 'kra, a dɛ pur' yɔrka, a i pur' wisi. Ɛn tɛ a kɪs' na mɔni, dą' a pɔt' 'a mɔni na ɪni wąn dyɔgo. Tɛ a wani, a i gi na mąn somɛni fō a nyąm. Ma wąn dei̯, 'a mąn go safri na dyɔgo, a fufuru hafu na mɔni. A dɛŋk' taki Adąŋgra n'ɛ go sabi. Wąn tra dei̯, a go fō tek' agɛn, a si soso anąnsi-tɛtai̯ dɛ na ɪni na dyɔgo.

(Tɛ wąn suma pai̯ Adąŋgra na mɔni, a 'i tek' hɛm, a 'i tek' wąn braka krosi tai̯ hɛm tɛ ... a lusu hɛm baka, 'a mɔni no dɛ Ɛf' a wani, a 'i swari hɛm. Mi srɛf' si hɛm pɛ a swari na mɔni.)

Na mąn kɔm siki. Beina a bɛn dɛdɛ. A bɛn 'a fõ bɛgi Adąŋgra bifɔsi a kɔm bɛtrɛ, bika' na mɔni no bɛn dɛ fõ hɛm. Dɑti meki Adąŋgra sɪki hɛm. Dɑti na tru tɔri.

140. W□nti Adangra's Revenge.[5]

There was a man who had an African *wɪnti* they called Adangra. But Adangra earned money. He was a *wɪnti* who treated other people's *wɪnti*. He called the soul,[6] he exorcised ghosts, he exorcised black magic. And when he got the money, he put the money in a jug. When he liked, he gave the man some of it to spend.[7] But one day the man went cautiously to the jug, and he stole half the money. He thought that Adangra would not know. Another day he went again to take, and he saw only a spider's web in the jug.

(When a person paid Adangra money, he took it, and he took a black cloth, and he tied it, and when he loosened it again, the money was not there. If he wanted, he swallowed it. I myself saw him swallow the money.)

5 Told by 1.
6 The '*kra*.
7 Lit., 'to eat', but this is used idiomatically to mean spend, enjoy, relish.

The man became sick. He almost died. He had to beg Adangra's pardon before he grew better, because the money had not been his. That is why Adangra made him sick. That is a true story.

141.

Adąŋgra bɛn sab' wąn bǫn tapu. Ma 'a tapu bɛn dɛ mek' so: A 'i mek' wąn kɔti, dą' i tyari 'a suma go na mɪndri watra. Dąn a i tek' wąn lala krabasi, dąn i go na mɪndri watra nąŋga na suma. Dąn i kɔt' na krabasi seį̇bi kɔti, a i kɔt' 'a mąn seį̇bi kɔti. Dąn a i taki na krabasi, 'Wɛ, yu si, mi no kɔt' yu mɔro furu leį̇k' mi kɔt' 'a mąn, so mi trowɛ yu na ɔndro watra. Wɛ, yu si, suma sɑ kɪs' yu na ɔndro watra fō du yu wąn sani, dat' kąn du na suma tu.' Dąn i tro na krabas' na ɔndro watra. So na suma di a kɔti, no wąn suma kąn kɪsi hɛm du hɔgri, bikasi na suma mus' kɪs' na krabasi na ɔndro watra fō du hɛm wąn sani, dąn 'fɔsi a kąn du na mąn wąn sani. Ɛf' suma sɛni hɛm wąn wisi, a no kąn kɪsi hɛm, bikasi Adąŋgra a meki wąn sweri nąŋga krabasi di a trowɛ.

141. W□nti Adangra's Magic.[2]

Adangra knew a good *tapu*.[3] But the *tapu* was made this way: He made *kɔti*,[4] then he took the man to the middle of the river. Then he took a green calabash, and then he went to the middle of the river with the man. Then he cut the calabash seven cuts, and he cut the man seven cuts. Then he said to the calabash, 'Well, you see, I did not cut you any more than I cut the man, so I throw you away under the water. Well, you see, the person who gets you under the water to harm you, that one can harm the man, too.' Then he threw the calabash in the water. So no one can get the man whom he had cut to do him evil, because to harm him, the person must get the calabash from under the water, then only could he harm the man. If someone were to send him *wisi*[5] it could not get him, because Adangra had made a compact[6] with the calabash when he threw it away.

142.

Wą' suma bɛn lɔbi tapu nanyąm na ɪni ǫŋfu. Wą' deį̇ a bori aleį̇si nąŋga spɪt-pesi. D'a tap' i na ɪn' na ǫŋfu baka. Neti, di den d'dǫ', dą' i yeri yorka taki 'a tap' ɛ̨ŋ stupu. Na wą' taki, 'Di wi a gowɛ, pɛ ụn dɛ gō?' 'A wą' fō den taki, 'Mi 'ɛ go na Mɪs' Anna 'oso, kǫ' was' mi futu.' 'A tra wą' taki, 'Mi ɛ go na Alexi 'oso, go drụŋ watra.' 'A tra wą' taki, 'Mɪsi Maria libi wąn pat' nąŋga aleį̇si na ɪni ǫŋfu, m'ɛ a go nyą' pikin so.' So na suma prakser', a taki, 'Tą! A no bǫ' suma i taki.'

M'mąntɛ̨' d'a opo, a go na ɪn' 'a ǫŋfu, a si na n'yąm. Ma no wąn suma bɛn go na ɪni. Spɛsial fō a kąn si ɛf' na tru taki wą' yɔrka bɛn nyąm na ɪni, a kar' wąn tra suma p'kin, a gi' na n'nyąm. Ɛn sō, di na p'kin nyą' na n'yąm, a sɪki. Den go na luk'mąn, go luku są' du ɛ̨ŋ. Lukumąn taki, 'Na wąn yɔrka dɛ sɪki ɛ̨ŋ.' Dąn i kar' na yɔrka kɔm

2 Told by 1.
3 A spiritual preventive.
4 A preparation rubbed into cuts which are used either as magic inoculants, as in cases of prevention of snake bite, etc., or in instances of sealing a compact, as explained here.
5 Black magic.
6 Lit., 'made an oath'.

na i 'ɛdɛ. Di na yɔrka kɔm, wɛ, wątrǫn i b'gɪn tak' so, ‘Ąhą, ną mį ną splįt-pįs aleį̇sį dį 'ą s'mą bęn gį 'ą nyąm.’[1] Dąn den kar' 'a suma kɔm, di bɛn gi' ɛm na n'nyąm. Dąn na yɔrka taį̇g' na suma taki, ‘Ną yų mį bąsį, bęn tąkį mį mų kįrį. Ą dį nǫ nyą' ną n'nyąm, 'ą dǫt' męki mį nǫ kɪs' yų.’[1]

1 Very nasally, for this is the way the *yɔrka* talks when he is speaking through the *lukumąn*.

1 Very nasally, for this is the way the *yɔrka* talks when he is speaking through the *lukumąn*.

So dem kɔm pur' na yɔrka na p'kin tapu, ɛn dem pɔt tapu gi' ɛŋ f'a n'ɛ kɪsi ɛŋ mɔro. So dat' mek' a no bǫn fõ tɛ yu libi n'nyąm, sribi, f'yu go nyąmi ɛŋ baka. Yɔrka dɛ nyąm nąŋga suma.

142. Yorka Come for Left-overs.[7]

There was once a person who liked to leave food in the oven. One day she cooked rice and split peas. Then [after she had eaten] she put it back in the oven. At night, when they lay down, she heard the ghosts talking on the stoop. One said, ‘When we go away, where will you go?’ One of them said, ‘I am going to Miss Anna's house to wash my feet.’ Another one said, ‘I am going to Alexi's to drink water.’ Another said, ‘Miss Maria left a pot of rice in the oven. I am going to eat a little of it.’ So the person studied, and said, ‘What! No good people [are these who] are talking.’

In the morning when she got up, she went to the oven, and she saw the food. But nobody had disturbed it. In order to see if it was true that a ghost had eaten some of it, she called another person's child, and gave him the food. And so, when the child ate the food, he became sick. They went to a diviner to divine what was troubling him. The diviner said, ‘A ghost has made him sick.’ Then he [the diviner] called the ghost to come into his head. When the ghost came, well, then all at once, he began to speak so, ‘Ha, the split peas and rice which someone gave him to eat, were mine.’ Then they called the person who had given him the food. Then the

7 Told by 1. Compare Togo, Cardinall 93-95; U.S. (Sea Islands), Parsons (II) 71-72, No. 62 I.

ghost said to that person, said, ‘It is you my master had said I must kill. Since you did not eat the food, I could not catch you.’

So they exorcised the ghost from the child, and they gave him a charm so that it might not come to him again. That is why it is not good to leave food overnight and eat it later. The ghosts will eat with the living.

143. Yɔrka.

Wąn mąn habi waka lati 'a neti. Dą' wą' neti a i kɔm, dąn a mit' wąn mąn. Nō mō, na mąn taįg' hɛm bɪgɪn taki, ‘Mɛk' mi lɛt mi cigarɛt. Mi no habi shwalfu.’ Dąn a tak', ‘Kɔm, mi leti nąŋga mi cigarɛt.’ Fa-i-si a ląŋga ɛŋ mɔfo fō leti, nō mō na mąn piri ɛŋ tifi gi hɛm. A ląŋga dri dɔim. Na mąn lǫ'.

Fa a lǫ', na mąn mit' wąn tra mąn baka. 'A mąn ɑksi hɛm taki, ‘Są' yu i lǫn so?’ A taki, ‘Mi si wąn mąn, so ɛŋ tifi ląŋga so.’ Nō mō na mąn pir ɛŋ tifi gi hɛm baka. ‘Sɔrt' wąn mɔro ląŋga, na fɔs' wąn, ɛfu disi?’

'A mąn lǫn baka, a mit' wąn tra mąn baka. A tak', ‘Sąn yu i lǫn so?’ A taki, ‘Mi si wąn mąn, so ɛŋ tifi ląŋga.’ No mo na mąn pir' ɛŋ tifi gi hɛm baka, a taki, ‘Sɔrt' wąn mɔro ląŋga, dɪsi, ɔf' na di yu bɛn si kaba?’ So na her' neti na so na mąn i lǫn. Ala pɛ a i lǫn, 'a mąn a i bar' gi hɛm, ‘Yu si tifi bɪgi lek' disi? Tif' bɪgi leki disi?’

Noit mɔro na mąn wak' lati na strati.

Odo: Ɔndrofen' sɑ leri yu.

Obia odo: Pikin no wan' yɛre mama, a sɑ go na abąnba.

143. Yorka Teeth.[1]

A man was in the habit of walking late at night. Then one night came and he met a man. At once the man began to speak to him, and he said, ‘Let me light my cigarette. I have no match.’ Then he said, ‘Come, I will light it on my cigarette.’ No sooner did he reach to light the cigarette, than the man showed his teeth. They were three inches long. The man ran.

As he ran, the man met another man (again). The man asked him, he said, ‘Why do you run so?’ He said, ‘I saw a man whose teeth were so long.’[2] Immediately the man showed his teeth (again). ‘Which are longer, the first ones or these?’[3]

The man ran ahead, and he met another man. He said, ‘Why do you run so?’ He said, ‘I saw a man, his teeth were so long.’ And immediately the man showed his teeth (again), he said, ‘Which are longer, these or those you have seen already?’ So the whole night the man ran. Everywhere he ran, the man called after him, ‘Did you see teeth as big as these? Teeth as big as these?’

Never again did the man walk the streets late at night.

Proverb: Experience will teach you.

Obia proverb: A child who will not listen to his mother, will meet death.

144.

1 Told by 1. Compare Jamaica, Beckwith (II) 180; Santo Domingo, Andrade 282-283, No. 234.

2 Here the narrator stretched out his arm and pointed half-way to his elbow.

3 Informant said this was a *dyɔmbi* - a ghost.

Wą' mą' bę' wak' na leti na neɪ̯ti. Na wą' neɪ̯ti, a mit' wą' mąn. 'A mąn aksi ɛŋ taki, ‘Są' yu suku so?’ A taɪ̯igi, ‘Mi wan' si fa yɔrka op' 'a grebi.’ 'A yɔrka tak', ‘A bǫ', waka kǫ' nąŋga mi.’ A kyar' 'a mą' go leti na bɛr-pe. A sɔri ɛŋ den tu dɛdɛ-'ɛdɛ. A tak', ‘Luku den. Na so dɛm bɛn dɛ lek' mi, ma luk' fa den kǫn tą'. A so i sɛrɛp' kǫ' tu.’

144. Yorka Rise from Graves.[4]

A man was in the habit of going about late at night. One night he met a man. The man asked him, he said, ‘What are you looking for so?’ He said, ‘I want to see how the ghosts rise from their graves.’ The ghost said, ‘All right, follow me.’ He brought the man right to the cemetery. He showed him two skulls. He said, ‘Look at them. They were like I am, but look how they have become. So you yourself will become, too.’

145.

Wą' mą' bę' waka na strati ala neti. A bɛn sabi preɪ̯ gitar. Wąn net' a kɔmopo na wąn friar' 'oso nąŋga ɛŋ gitar. A i preɪ̯ dɛ kɔm, a mit' wą' mą'. 'A mą' taki, ‘Kǫ', mek' mi pre' wą' p'kin so.’.

4 Told by 1.

A gi' na mą' na gitar, 'a mą' i pre. Ma di dę' waka so tɛ ... nō mō taịg' 'a mąn taki, ‘Mąn! a so i sɑ preị gitar!’ 'A mą tak', ‘Ax, kɔm! Wɛ, di m' bɛ' da libi, na dat' bɛn' dɛ mi ɛgi wroko.’ 'A mąn kǫ' sikreki, a tak', ‘Mi Gadō! dąn ala mi a tak' nąŋga yu, yu na wą' dɛdɛ sumɑ!’ 'A mą' bigɪn lǫn, a tra wą' i bar' gi ɛŋ nō mō, ‘Kǫ' teki gita'! Kǫ' teki gita'!’ A i piki ɛŋ taki, ‘Yu ką' tyari 'a gita' g'we, mi no wani 'ɛm mɔro. Tɛ yu go, yu sɑ preị gi ɛm tra yɔrkɑ!’

Ma dɛ 'a man gō na 'oso m'mątɛm, a mit' na gitar na mɔfo ɛŋ dɔro. Noiti mɔr' a wak' 'a leti na strati.

145. The Guitar-Playing Yorka.[5]

There was a man who used to go about the streets every night. He knew how to play the guitar. One night he came from a party with his guitar. He played (as he went along) until he met a man.

5 Told by 1.

The man said, ‘Come, let me play a little.’ He gave the man the guitar and the man played it. But, as they walked so till... suddenly, he said to the man, said, ‘Man! that is how one should play the guitar!’ The man said, ‘All, come! Well, when I was alive that used to be my own work.’ The man was frightened, he said, ‘My God! all I have been saying to you, and you are a dead man!’ The man began to run. The other one called to him, ‘Come take the guitar! Come take the guitar!’ He answered him, he said, ‘You can take away the guitar, I don't want it any more. When you go, you will play it for the other ghosts!’

But when the man came home [in] the morning, he found the guitar in his doorway. Never again did he walk the streets at night.

146.

Wąn neti, na ɩni wąn koleisi, den mąn sidǫ' a i preı̨ karta. Di den preı̨ so tɛ ... na mɩndri neti, dąn wąn mąn kɔm. A kǫm na seı̨ na tafra, a i preı̨ 'ąŋga dem. Ma sɛns' 'a mɛn kɔm den dɛ preı̨ nową' suma mąŋ fō wɩni na mąn. A i wɩn' ala den suma. Ma di dę' i preı̨, wąn karta fadǭ' na ɔndro na tafra. Na wąn fō den mąn saka tek' 'a karta. Fa-i-si a buku na ɔndro na tafra, a si wąn hasi futu. Di a si 'a futu, a skreı̨iki. Na soso libisuma dɛ na seı̨ na tafra, ma wąn 'asi futu dɛ na ɔndro.

Ala dɑti na wąn mąn ben go suku takru sani, wisi fō preı̨ karta fō wɩni mɔni. Ma na suma di bɛn gi hɛm na sani, a bɛn wroko wąn krara gi hɛm. Dąn, tɛ a go na ɩni na koleisi, a mu' wer' na krara. Sɔndra a wer' na krara na hɛm nɛki, dąn wantrǫn a dɛ trǫ' wąn sɔrtu leı̨iki didibri.

Ma di den kɩs' hɛm na neti, dąn den aksi hɛm taki, ‘Fa yu dɛ kɩsi na hasi futu?’ Dąn a taı̨igi hɛm taki, na suma di bɛn gi hɛm na sani, taı̨igi hɛm taki, tɛ hɛm dɛ kɔm na koleisi, dąn ɛŋ musu trowe watra, dąn mus' taki, ‘Mi na wąn libisuma, ma tɛ mi go fō preı̨ karta, mi mu' trǫ' wan karta-yɔrka, so mi sɑ wɩni ala den suma na ɩni na koleisi. Ma na krara di mi dɛ weri, dat' meki mi nɛki no dɛ geɛrsi takru sani, ma a dɛ geɛrsi libisuma.’

A so den kɩsi hɛm, den fɔm hɛm, dąn den yag' hɛm gowe. Dąn di ɛŋ go na hɛm basi, den ɛŋ basi taig' hɛm taki, ‘Yu no kąn kɔm bɛtre mɔro, yu go las' ala yu tu futu, bika' na trefu fō na kɔni a no mąŋ fō nyąm futumą' nanyąm.’[1] A kɔm sɩki. A las' ɛŋ futu.

146. A Card Yorka.[2]

One night, inside a gambling house, men sat and played cards. As they played so till... then at midnight a man came in. He came to the table, and played with them. But ever since the man came to play no one could win from the man. He won from all the people. But as they were playing, a card fell down under the table. One of the men bent down to take the card. Just as he bent down under the table, he saw a horse's foot. When he saw the foot he was frightened. Only human beings were at the table, but there was a horse's foot underneath it.

All this was because a man had gone to look for evil magic for card-playing in order to win money. But the person who gave him this thing, had worked a bead for

1 *Futumǫ' nanyǫm* - food cooked by a woman who is menstruating.
2 Told by 1.

him. Then, when he went into the gambling house, he had to wear the bead. Unless he wore the bead about his neck, then instantly he was changed into a sort of devil.

But when they caught him that night, then they asked him, they said, ‘How did you get a horse's foot?’ Then he said to them, said, the person who gave him the thing told him that when he came to the gambling house, then he had to pour some water on the ground and he had to say, ‘I am a human being, but when I come to play cards, I must become a card-*yɔrka* so that I may win from all the people in the gambling house. But the bead that I wear, causes me not to resemble an evil thing, but to resemble a human being.’

And so they caught him, and they beat him, and then they drove him away. He went to his *basi*,[3] and his *basi* said to him, said, ‘You can no longer get well. You are going to lose both your feet, because the *trefu*[4] of this magic is that one cannot eat food cooked by a woman during her menses.’[5] He became ill. He lost his feet.

3 Here *basi* has the connotation of the head *wɩntimǫn*, who, in reality is often a practitioner of both white and black magic. The names for the *wɩntimǫn* are *Pa Aluku-bǫn* or *Boni-Boni*, or *Basi fō Wɩnti Preị*, i.e., leader of the *wɩnti* play.

4 Food taboo.

5 Menstruation is one of the deadliest taboos of these people, both in the bush and in town. Unless the *trefu* against menstruation have been removed, any *obia*, i.e., healing magic, or *wisi*, i.e., black magic, or any other form of supernatural power is contaminated and rendered useless, with the consequence that it not only loses its properties helpful to the person employing it, but eventually punishes the violator by exposure, as in the instance of this tale, or metes out punishment in other ways.

147.

Wąn suma bɛn go pur' wąn yɔrka gi wąn trawąn. Ma di den pur' 'a yɔrka, dąn den no bɛn hab' batra fõ pɔt' tɛ na ɩni. Dąn den pɔt' ɛ̨ŋ na ɩni wąn swalfudosu fõ go tro 'a liba. Ma bifɔsi den dɔro liba nąŋga hɛm, a lusu na ɩni na dosu, a nak' wąn fõ den suma di bɛn sidǫ' dapɛ. A taki, ‘Mi so wąn trąŋga, trąŋga mąn. Ụn sɑ go pɔt mi na ɩni wąn swalf'-dosu!’ So na mąn bɛn habi fõ kɩs' ɛ̨ŋ, taa̱i baka, pɔt' na ɩni wąn batra. Ma fɔs' a taa̱i hɛm, dąn ɛ̨ŋ wɩnti bɛn sɩŋgi taki,

Morgu Dan kɔt' a liba,
I' tro-wɛ tɛ yana,
N' ɻŋgi kɔt' 'a liba,
I' tro-wɛ tɛ yana.

Na suma kɩsi hɛm srefi.

147. Exorcising a Yorka.[1]

A person was going to exorcise a ghost for another one. But when they exorcised the ghost, then they had no bottle in which to put it. Then they put it into a match box to go throw it into the river. But before they reached the river with it, it broke lose from the box, and it struck one of the men who was sitting there. It said, 'I am so strong a man. You would put me inside a match box!' So the man had to capture it, and tie it again, and put it inside a bottle. But before he tied it, his *wɩnti* sang,

> Morgu Dan kot' a liba,
> I' trowe te yana,
> N' Ingi kot' a liba,
> I' trowe te yana.[2]

The man recovered.

148. Lɛba nąŋga Yɔrka.

Wąn yɔrka nąŋga wąn Lɛba go streį̣, taki den wani si suma 'fɔsi sɑ kɪs' pasi fō go na bakafutu-bąnya. Ma di den kɔmopo na bɛr'pe, dąn 'a Lɛba taį̣gi 'a yɔrka taki, 'Yu si na fɔs' uku-tapu di wi dɛ miti, dąn mi dɛ go kɛ̨ŋki mi krosi nąŋga yu.' 'A yɔrka taigi, 'A bǫ'.' Ma na fō soso yɔrka dem bɛn gi na bakafatu-banya. Lɛba no bɛn mąŋ pasa kɔm na ɩni.

Ma ala yɔrka bɛn weri soso weti. Nō, di den kɛ̨ŋki na krosi, na Lɛba, nō, bɛn wer' broko krosi, ɛn na yɔrka ben dɛ weri wet' krosi. Ma di den kɛ̨ŋki krosi, na Lɛba frɪgɩti fō tek' na kakɥnbɛ krosi. Dąn a go na na hoso. Ma di a go, fɔs' a pasa kɔm na ɩni, dan den tap' ɛ̨ŋ. Den taki, 'Ala den suma di dɛ na ɩni na hoso weri kakɥnbɛ krosi. Ma kaba yu no weri?' Dąn a pik' den taki, 'Bika' mi na Lɛba. Mi nąŋga yɔrka na wąn, ma mi bɪgi mɔro yɔrka, bika' mi kɔmopo tɛ ... na Afrika. Yɔrka na sabana dɛ tą', ma mi na her' kɔndre, ala uku-tapu mi dɛ, so dɑti yɔrka musu pasa na mi uku-tapu.'

Dɑti meki, te wąn suma dɛ go wis' wąn trawąn, ɛf' na yɔrka a go tek' hɛm, a musu paį̣ tapu-uku 'fɔsi, bika' na uku-tapu a musu pasa nɛŋga na yɔrka. So dati mek' Lɛba de wąn sɔrtu fō wɛn mɔro heį̣ gadō leį̣iki den p'kin gadō. Tɛ wąn suma 'abi wąn yɔrka nąŋga wąn Lɛba, na yɔrka no kąn kɪs' na suma fɔs' na Lɛba, bika' na Lɛba dɛ na ala preį̣isi. 'Fɔs' 'a yɔrka dɔro na tapu-uku, dɪsi na Lɛba dɛ na uku dɪs' tapu.

148. Leba and Yorka Make a Wager.[3]

A yorka and a Leba made a wager to see which would be the first to be admitted to a *bakafutu-banya*.[4] But when they left the cemetery, then the Leba said to the yorka, said, 'You see the first crossroads we come to, I am going to change clothes with you.' The yorka said, 'All right.' But it was only for yorka that they were giving the *bakafutu-banya*. The Leba could not pass (to) get inside.

1 Told by 1.
2 Song No. 144.
3 Told by 1.
4 A *yɔrka* dance. This is one of the dances danced yearly in the market place to propitiate the gods of trade, and this is also danced at the opening of *wɩnti* dances, and is included under the euphemistic term of Anansi story dances. An explanation of this latter name is that Anansi stories are told for the dead, and these are the dances for the dead.

All the yorka were wearing only white. Now when they [came to] change clothes the Leba, now, was wearing torn clothes, and the yorka was wearing white clothes. But when they changed clothes, the Leba forgot to take the kerchief tied about the head and face.[5] Then he went to the house. But when he went, before he could pass inside, they stopped him. They said, 'All the people who are in the house are wearing kerchiefs about their heads. Why are you not wearing one?' Then he answered them, he said, 'Because I am Leba. The yorka and I are one, but I am greater than the yorka because I have come all the way from till... Africa. The yorka live in the cemetery, but I am on all the crossroads of the country, so that the yorka must pass my crossroads.'

That is why, when someone is going to use black magic against another, if he is to take him a yorka, he must sacrifice at the crossroads first, because he must pass the crossroads with the yorka. So that is why the Leba is a kind of a higher god than the lesser gods. When a person has a yorka [spirit] and a Leba [spirit], the yorka cannot get him before the Leba, because the Leba is everywhere. Before the yorka arrives at the crossroads, the Leba is [already] at this corner.

5 The name for this is *kabụnbe*. It is tied about the head of the dead, so he may be recognized when he walks abroad.

C. Riddles

Lei□-Tɔri

1. Sɛns' mi mama mek' mi, mi no nyą' aranya-tɪki, ma sɛnsi den pɔt' mi na ɪni na parada, dąn fɔs' mi nyą' aranya-tɪki.
   - Dɑt' wąn' taki, te wąn fɪsimą g'a fɪsi, t'a kɪs' wą fɪsi, t'a go dreį̈ ɛŋ na faį̈ya, a pɔt' wą' tɪki na ɪni na mɔfo.
2. Te na mɪndri busi wąn mąn sidǫ' nąŋga wąn kron na tap' ɛŋ 'ɛdɛ.
   - Dɑt' na wąn ąnąnasi.
3. Mi mama kɔt' wąn kakaforu nɛki. A trowɛ na 'ɛdɛ na busbusi. Na 'ɛdɛ bari ‘ko-ko-dia-ko’.
   - Ąnąnas.
4. 'A p'kin hɛdɛ meki hɛm mama baka.
   - Na wąn tchę'.
5. Bari na tap' bari.
   - Kyę'.
6. Mi m'ma g'a wowoyo. A baį̂ somɛni bari, ma a no sab'-taki den a' watra, bika p'sa tin bari bɛn fas' makandra. Ma di a bɪgɪn fõ broko den bari, a kɔm si taki dem bari ab' 'a watra.
   - Wąn tchę'.
7. Na 'udu-bɛre mi kɔmopo, ɛn mi watra bɔr' 'a faį̂ya 'e suį̂t' leį̂k' 'ɔni.
   - Na srɔp fõ tchę'.
8. (B) Wata dɛ 'a matu.
   - Tchę'.
9. Wąn 'oso tinapu. Tɛmremąn dɛ na ɪni de wroko, ma na 'oso tapu lǫntu.
   - Dati na wąn guyaba. Na guyaba tapu lǫntu, ma tɔk 'a wɔrǫ' na ɪni de nyąm.
10. Ɛf' 'aŋgamąn no bɛn dɛ, fufurumąn bɛn sɑ kili slibimąn.
    - Wąn mąnya 'aŋga na wąn bom, ɛn wąn 'agu bɛn didǫ' na ɔndro na bom dɛ sribi. Ɛn wąn tigri bɛn dɛ kɔm fõ kiri ɛŋ, ma bifɔsi na tigri dɔro, dąn na mąnya fadǫ', naki na 'agu, ɛn na 'agu weį̂ki, a lǫ'. So na tigri n'e kɪsi ɛŋ.
11. Mi mama 'abi wą p'kin. So ląŋga yu no puru 'ɛm muso, yu no kąn bɔs' ɛm.
    - Maripa koko.
12. Mi srɛf' no bǫn fu nyąm, ma mi futu bǫn.
    - Suį̂t' kasaba.

13. Te mi m'ma de nyąm, a de pɪsi na heri sɪkin.
    - Matapi.
14. Mi m'ma go na wowɔyo. A baį 'udu, nąŋga nanyąm, nąŋga watra.
    - Na wan kokronɔto.
15. Mi m'ma 'abi dri aį.
    - Wąn kokronɔto.
16. 'A mi m'ma 'abi wąn lǫntu bal. A sutu pina lǫntu na bal. No, na bal ferfi grün na dɔro, na ɪni a ferfi weįti, ɛn dɛm kɔmɔpo dɑt' a hab' na ɪni 'ɛm bɛri braka.
    - Na bal na wąn sursaka; na pina di dɛ na ɛŋ s'kin dɑt' na na maka, ɛn na weįt ferfi dɑ' na ɪniseį f'ɛŋ, ɛn na braka, dati na siri.

16a. Kerki ferfi grün, dɔmni weri blaka, ɛn suma na ɪni kerki wer' weįti.
    -Sursaka.

17.
Mi buba fō dri spǫn,
Mi bǫnyo moį leįiki krara,
Mi brudu suįti leįiki bɔtro,
Ala suma taki fa mi suįti.
Ma tɔx den taki fa mi ɔgri.

    - Masusa.

18. Alatem 'a papa, ɛf' 'a mama habi fɔsi hɛdɛ, ma na p'kin de kɔm mɔro bɪgi leįiki fa hɛm mama, dą' a dɛ meki hɛm papa nąŋga hɛm mama baka.
    - Mąnya koko. Tɛ yu tek' wąn mąnya, yu nyąm hɛm, dąn yu prani na koko. Na koko dɛ gro wąn bom, 'a bom dɛ bɪgi mɔro leįik' 'a koko, ɛn a de meki tra mąnya baka.
19. Di mi p'pa bɛn yǫŋgu, hɛm bariba bɛn weįti, ma di a kɔm oru, ɛŋ bariba blaka.
    - Dati wąn karu.
20. Nąŋga wąn karu mi p'pa baį kaų, a baį 'asi, a baį buriki.
    - Wąn mąn tek' wąn karu, a prani ɛŋ. A kɪsi tįn saka. A ser' na saka, a baį wąn kaų. A kweki 'a kaų. Na kaų meki wąn p'kin. A sɛr' ɛŋ. A baį wąn 'asi; a sɛr na p'kin. A baį wąn buriki.
21. Mi mama 'a wąn sani. A dyeri na dɔro, a dyeri na ɪni.
    - Na wąn mami.
22. A grün na dɔro, a weįti na ɪni, a rɛdi na ɪni, a blaka na ɪni.
    - Watramǫn.
23. Faįya na mɪndri busi.
    - Awara.

23a. Sɔndro 'udu faa̱iya de na mɪndri busi, ma a n'e gi faa̱iya.
- Na wąn bǫsu awara na mɪndri busi.
23b. (B) Faa̱iya dɛ 'a matu.
- Da' wą awa'a.
24. 'A p'kin gebɔr' fɔsi ɛŋ mama.
- Na wąn kashų.
25. A tenapu steı̱ifi na tap' 'a bɛdi, afu rɛdi nąŋga afu weı̱iti, ma ala den p'kin Nɛngere f'a kǫndre den frede fõ tek' ɛŋ pɔti na olo di dɛ na den fesi, bikasi ala den bɪgi suma di tesi ɛŋ kaba, den tak' a pɛpre.
- Wąn sani den kar rebenas.
26. Mi go na busi. Libi suma no piki mi, ma dɛdɛ wąn piki mi.
- Na draı̱i wiwiri.
26a. Mi g'a busi, mi kir' meti. Mi tak' na libi wąn 'odi', a no pik' mi. Mi tak' na dɛdɛ 'odi', dɑt' pik' mi.
- Lala wiwiri nąŋga dreı̱i wiwiri. Te trap' na dreı̱i, a i bari, ma lala wą n'e bari.
27. Odi mɪsi, odi masra. Kǫ' na ɪni nąŋga yu ląŋga sani, waka lǫntu, kǫn drɻŋgi mɪndri futu watra, ɛn nyąm gogo-nanyąm.
- Na watra na mɛrki, ɛn na nanyąm na ɛksi.
28. 'A mąn sidǫ' 'a tap' wąn tafra. A lolo fadǫn 'a grǫ'. No wąn suma kąn meki hɛm baka.
- Dɑt' na wąn ɛksi.
29. Mi mama habi wąn bari. Ɛŋ mɔfo a no ɔpo, ma ɛŋ dɛ hɔri watra.
- Ɛksi.
29a. Mi mama 'abi wąn bari. A no 'abi ɔpuru, ma a dɛ 'ɔri watra.
- Na wąn ɛksi.
30. Sɔrt' fɔru yu dɛ nyąm nąŋga ala ɛŋ wiwiri?
- Ɛksi.
31. Gogo na ɔndro, gogo na tapu, 'a sua̱it' kǫ 'a mɪndri.
- Tɛ yu tapu sua̱it'-sani na ɪni tu skotriki.
32. Braka sabana, weı̱it' sabana, dri mąn lǫn p'sa.
- ɻŋki, skrif papira, nąŋga pɛn nąŋga fɻŋga.
33. Mi mama tąn na sɔdro; a frɻngi wąn gą' baskita nąŋga preı̱iti fadǫn kǫ' na grǫn, ma no wąn no broko.
- Dat' wąn taki papira.
33a. (B) Mi tata 'abi wąn pa'abi fõ ɛŋ. A kumotō 'a leō, a kaı̱i, ą' b'oko.
- Wą' 'ifi.

34. Mi mama a' wąn djari. A habi twent' nąŋga sɪksi bom. Ma ala sani di yu kar' 'a nɛm, yu kąn suku den na djari pɛ den bom dɛ.
    - Alfabet.
35. Mi na mi mama oru na srefi.
    - Dat' wąn taki alfu, wą' nanga wąn.
36. 'A dipi fõ mi mama, na ląŋga fõ mi papa.
    - Wąn peti, nąŋga na ɛmbre tɛtaį.
37. *Er-tin-tin*
    Tin-tin-tin.
    Sąn mi papa dɛ tak' dįa, na dɑti hɛm brada de tak' te na Bakra kɔndre.
    - Na wąn hɔlɔisi.
38. A wroko deį nąŋga neįti.
    - Na liba.
39. 'A mi mama meki mi, na mi meki hɛm baka.
    - *Ice*.
40. Wąn weįt'-umą tɛnapo na tap' wąn tafra. Mɔro a dɛ tɛnapo, mɔro dɛ kaba.
    - Dati na wąn kandra.
41. 'A mi papa tek' ɛŋ spara, a shütu na ɪni mi m'ma smala.
    - Ki nąŋga sɛroto.

41a. Mi papa bɛn wani go na ɪni mi mama. D'a teki hɛm sani sutu na ɪni mi mama sani.
    - Wą, seroto.

42. Blaka murąŋyi, rɛdi musyɛsyo, djokotiri na mɪndri.
    - Dɑt' na wąn tɔbo. Na blaka ala ɛŋ skin; ɛŋ heri ɪni rɛdi. Djokotiri, dɑt' wąn ster a mɪndri.
43. A ląŋga na fesi, a ląŋga na baka.
    - Teteį nąŋga nanaį.
44. *Er-tin-tin*. Tɔmpu wer' kamisa.
    - Nanaį nąŋga tɛteį.
45. Pikin mɪsi sidǫ' 'ąŋga hɛm 'anu na hɛm seį.
    - Dat' na wąn pɪs-patu.

45a. Mi m'ma 'abi wąn mąn. Ma noįti ɛŋ 'anu dɛ kɔmopo na ɛŋ seį.
    - Pɪs-patu.

46. Mi mama 'abi wąn p'kin. So ląŋga a g'ɛŋ nanyąm, a dɛ bari.
    - Wąn patu na faįya.
47. Rɛdi 'asi dɛ lɛki braka 'asi baka-seį.
    - Na te wąn braka patu sidǫ' na tap' faįya.

47a. Rɛdi 'asi a dɛ reį blaka 'asi gogo.
    - Wąn pɔtu na tap' faįya.

47b. (B) Bɛ manu tą' lɛmbɛ b'aka muyɛ gogo.
    - B'aka patu na faįya.

48. Pikin todo de djɔmpo na patu.
    - Na te wąn patu dɛ bɔri nąŋga aleisi.
49. P'kin boi sɔri Gado kofu.
    - Dat' na te wąn Djuka umą 'ɛ fɔm aleisi, 'a maka tɪki opo ɛŋ 'ɛde na tapu.

49a. Ląŋga mąn de sɔri Gadu fɪŋga.
    - Mata nąŋga tɪki.

50. Yu habi dri sani na ɪni yu hoso,
    Wąn dɛ wɪnsi o'tem dei kɔm broko,
    Wąn dɛ wɪnsi o'tem neit kąn kɔm,
    Wąn dɛ wɪnsi o'tem grǫ'tapu sɑ kaba.

    - Kɥnsu, - a wɪnsi o'tem dei kɔmɔpo; sturu, - a weri, a wan' neit kɔm fõ a bro; holoisi, - a kɔm weri, a wąn' fõ grǫ'tapu kaba.
51. Mi papa sütu wąn kau n'ɛŋ hɛdɛ. 'A lai kɔmopo te n'ɛŋ tɛre.
    - Na wąn pipa.
52. Mi papa a' wąn 'oso, a furu hɛm nąŋg' meibel. A let' faiya g'ɛŋ. Ala den sani brǫn, ma na 'oso no brǫn.
    - Wąn pipa.
53. Mɔro mi papa hatibrǫn, mɔro ɛŋ sak'-angisa frei.
    - Na wąn skafu.
54. A mi o go, a mi o kǫ'. A tą' steifi.
    - Dɑt' na wąn sigara.
55. A lǫntu, a sidǫ'.
    - Tǫntǫn.
56. A ląŋga na fesi, a ląŋga na baka.
    - Strati.
57. Mi papa a' wąn mąn, a i tɛnapu nąŋga wąn futu.
    - Na wąn gǫ'.
58. Mi p'pa de nyąm na ɛŋ baka-sei, a i dɛ xrotɛ na ɛŋ mɔfo.
    - Na wąn gǫ'.
59. Yu fɔs' bɛn go, ma tɔx mi kǫ' p'sa yu tɛ mi mek' wąn brand.
    - Wąn gǫn 'ąŋga wąn dia.
60. Olo na ɪni olo, wiwiri lɔnt' oro, suit presiri kɔmopo na ɪni.
    - Na wąn tutu na yu mɔfo, te yu de prei ɛŋ, nąŋga yu barba.
61. Blaka umą, swɪŋ na swampu.
    - Dɑt' na wą' stopu.
62. Blaka umą dɛ meki kɔsi ala yuru na swampu.
    - Na wąn stop' na ɪni swampu.
63. Homɛni spikri 'e bo wąn 'oso?
    Na wąn, bikasi na lasti spikri 'a dɑt' meki na hoso kaba.

64. Pufu naki pufu.
    - Asisi.
65. Mi meki wąn 'oso nąŋga wąn pɔstu.
    - Na wąn prasɔro.
66. Wąn mąn dɛ na dungru-'oso. So ląŋga a no piɔ, a no dɛ kɔmopo.
    - Te wąn mąn go na wąn umą, t'a kaba 'a sani saka, a piɔ.
67. Sąn su̯iti mɔro ɔni?
    - Mi mama bɔbi.
68. Soko-umą, tya' bɛre na baka.
    - Koiti.
69. Mi mama habi wąn peti, wiwiri lɔntu 'm. No wąn n'e fadǫ' go na ɩni.
    - a̯i.
70. Sa Akuba kiri, sɔri Ba Wilyam.
    - Dɑt' na yu fɩŋga nąŋga yu a̯i.
71. Pirpiri sribi na birbiri, a libi ɛŋ wiwiri na dɔro.
    - Na a̯i nąŋga a̯i-wiwiri.
72. Sąn Gadō meki libi-suma puru?
    - Te wąn p'kin kɛbɔr, a i kɛbɔr nąŋga ɛŋ kumba, ma libi-suma 'ɛ pur 'ɛŋ.
73. Wąn sani dɛ, a i tą' na mɩndri pɛ 'ɛ derti-tu sneki, ma den sineki n'e be̯iti ɛŋ.
    - Tǫŋgo.
74. Sąn' na Konu 'ɛ du nō, nō?
    - A i blo.
75. Są fō yu mama yu no lɔbi?
    - Yu no lɔb' si na las' bro' f' yu mama.
76. Ɛfu yu ta̯igi mi homɛni hɛdɛ-wiwiri yu habi, dan mi sɑ ta̯igi yu homɛni gudu mi papa habi.
    - Tu sani yu no mąŋ tɛre. Yu no mąŋ tɛre na wiwiri, na so yu no mąŋ tɛre na ster.
77. Wąn mama a bɛn habi hɔndro do̯isɛn p'kin. 'A mama sɛni den p'kin go krį' da presi. Den p'kin no krį' da presi bǫ'. Ma fa na mama go, wąntrǫn a krį' da presi bǫn.
    - Na mų̇n nąŋga na ster.
78. Wąn a̯i karu a i weiti her' liba.
    - Na mų̇n-krɛŋki.
79. Asa̯o-gogo pliti. So ląng' ale̯in no fadǫn, a n'e tapu.
    - 'A te grǫ dre̯i, a i priti.

79a. Mi p'pa bakase̯i priti. Tete̯i no dɛ fō na̯i.
    - Kla̯i-dɔti. Te a priti, nɔtį no dɛ fō tap' ɛŋ.

80. Mi seiki, yu seiki, ma mi suiti kɔm na yu.
    - Dɑt' wąn taki, wąn boi a bɛn dɛ na wą' apra-bom tapu, dą' a bɛn habi wąn kwata. Da boi dɛ seiki den apra na tap' na bom. 'A kwata na tap' na bom de seik' tu, dąn na kwata djɔmpo saka na grǫ', a i nyąm ala den apra.
81. Sebi mąn nyam wąn sika.
    - Wąn mąn bɛn 'abi wąn sika. A libi na sika tɛ 'a sika kǫ' bɪgi, dąn a pɔt' 'a sika na wąn sei. Dąn yu bɛn habi seibi tɛmbremąn, ɛn wąn fō den tɛmbremąn tek' 'a sika, a go opo nąŋga wąn sika, a kɪs' wąn fɪsi, dąn ala seibi nyąm 'a fisi.
82. Meti na ɪni bǫnyo, ɛn 'wiri na tap' bǫnyo.
    - Krabu.
83. Di p'kin kɔdyo bɛn sabi-tak' a i go dɛdɛ, a i dɪg' wąn 'ɔro pɔti ɛ̨ŋ srefi.
    - Dat' na wąn sika.
84. Alfu daiki de waka.
    - Todo.
85. Mi dɛ wąn tumusi ɔgri meti. Yu puru mi 'ɛdɛ dą' mi tap' wą' ǫndro yari.
    - Dat' na wą' leō fō busi. Ɛf' yu pur' na 'I', dąn a tąn wan 'eō', dąn a trǫn ɔndro yari.
86. Mi nɛm 'abi feifi lɛtre, ma tɛ yu pur' tu lɛtre, a i tą' sɪksi.
    - Moses.
87. Wąn kiri Ɛlfida; Ɛlfida kiri seibi; seibi kiri dri. Mi drɪŋgi fō wąn watra di no kɔmopo na na heimal, a no kɔmopo na grǫn, ɛ̨' nąŋga na wɔrtu fō Gadō mi 'ɛ nyąm.
    - Wąn na dagu; sebi na yankɔrɔ; dri na mira.

88. Wąn Konu prani aleị̯isi. Wąn mąn kɔm a aksi ɛ̨ŋ taki ɛf' na aleị̯is' sɑ kɔm. A piki ɛ̨ŋ taki, ‘Ɛf' den kɔm a n'e go kɔm. Ma ɛf' den no kɔm, dąn a sɑ kɔm.’
- Pikin foru. (Ɛf' den p'kin foru kɔm, dan a n'e i go kɔm. Ma ɛf' den p'kin foru no kɔm, dąn a sɑ kɔm.)
89. Mi p'pa go na busi nąŋga mi m'ma na 'ɔnti. Dɛm meti di a kiri, dɑti a lib' 'a busi. Ma den d'a no kiri, dɑti a gi mi m'ma tya kɋ' na hoso.
- Loso.

89a. Mi papa go na hɔnti. Dem meti di a kiri, dɑti a libi 'a busi. Ma den di a no kiri, dati a mek' mi mama tyar' kɔm.
- Loso.

90. Aiti stampu, wiriwiri, tikita.
- Na tu spąn 'asi, nąŋga na wil, nąŋga krawasi.

91. Wąn mąn reị̯ na tap' wąn 'asi. Ɛ̨ŋ saka-hangisa fadɋ'. Te a saka teki ɛ̨ŋ, a no shi ɛ̨ŋ mɔro.
- Na asi spɪti.

91a. Wąn suma reị̯ wąn bisigre. Ɛ̨ŋ hati fadɋ'. Dɑt' suma saka fō go teki na hati, ma a no fɛni ɛ̨ŋ mɔro.
- Na spɪti.

91b. Mi p'pa a reị̯ 'a tap' wąn 'asi. Ɛ̨ŋ saka-hangisa fadɋ'. A draị̯ go suk' ɛ̨ŋ. No wąn suma no p'sa na pasi, ma a no fɛni ɛ̨ŋ.
- Spɪti.

92. Tɻŋgifɔru dɛ freị̯, ɛn dagu sidɋ' na ɛ̨ŋ tɛre. Pɛ a sidɋ'?
- Na dagu tɛre.

93. (B) Mi ma habi wąn gologolo f' ɛ̨ŋ, ą' fu ko wat'a.
- Puspus'.

94. (B) Mi ma habi wąn golo f' ɛ̨ŋ. A tą' fu' ko wat'a.
- Hantsi.

95. Mi papa sɛni wąn brifi fō kari ɛ̨ŋ p'kin. Fa na brifi dɔro, na so srefi na p'kin dɔro na papa.
- Fɪsimąn, 'uku, fɪsi.

96. Mi dɛ na mi hoso. Mi feị̯anti dɛ kɔm kɪs' mi. Mi hoso de p'sa na mi feị̯anti fɛnsrɛ, ma yɛte mi feị̯anti dɛ kɪs' mi.
- [Fishing net.]

97. Sąn dɛ na he̯imɛl di libi-suma 'anu meki?
    - Den spigri na Masra Jesus 'anu.
98. Suma na na mɔro fufurumąn?
    - Tɛmeremąn. 'A wantɛm de bɛn fufuru na spigri di spigri Masra Jesus na ɛ̨ŋ kroist.
99. Sąn na wrokomąn no bɛn 'abi dɑt' a gi ɛ̨ŋ basi?
    - Na dopo. Dat na Johanes na dopomąn, hɛm basi Masra Jesus. A no bɛn dopo, ma a dopo.
100. Mi papa a' wąn bari. Hoso-suma no kąn kɪs' watra na ɪni, ma dɔrose̯i-suma kąn kɪsi na ɪni.
    - Brada nąŋga sɪsa no kąn tro.
101. Domini nąŋga ɛ̨ŋ fro, kɔstel nąŋga ɛ̨ŋ fro nąŋga ɛ̨ŋ p'kin. Den kɔm na wąn fɪsiti, den tyari fo' apra kǫ' a tafra. Ibriwąn fō den tek' wąn.
    - Dat' kɔstel p'kin bɛn dɛ domini fro.
102. Gadō no si ɛ̨ŋ noiti;
    Wąn Konim si ɛ̨ŋ wąn-tu trǫ';
    Wąn buru si ɛ̨ŋ ala de̯i.
    - Wąn koleixa.

    Gadō no si noiti wąn tra gadō;
    Wąn Konim no si wąn Konim ala de̯i;
    Wąn buru si tra buru ala de̯i.

103. Sɔrt' kǫndre yu dɛ go, di yu no dɛ kɔm baka?
    - Na dɛdɛ kǫndre.
104. *Er-tin-tin*.
    Mi papa habi se̯ibi sani. A gi sikisi, ma di fō se̯ibi, dɑti a no gi.
    - Sikisi de̯i fō wroko, wąn a fō Gadō.
105. Sort' meti na Lǫnsu?
    - Dɑt' na wąn buriki. Le̯it' na mɪndri-baka, 'abi na krois.
106. Mi p'pa habi dagu. Na bɪgi dagu n'e be̯iti, ma den p'kin wąn beiti.
    - Wan pɛpre.

Riddles[1]

1. Since my mother bore me, I never ate an orange-stick, but since they put me on the bier, then first did I eat an orange-stick.
   Ans. - That is to say, when a fisherman goes fishing and he catches a fish, then when he goes to dry it over the fire, he puts a stick through its mouth. (The reference to the orange-stick is to the chewing sticks used by Negroes in Africa and the New World for cleaning the teeth.)
2. In the deep bush a man sits with a crown on his head.
   Ans. - This is a pineapple.
3. My mother cut a cock's neck. She threw the head into the bush. The head crowed ‘ko-ko-dia-ko’.
   Ans. - Pineapple. (If you cut off the head and throw it away, it will grow again.)
4. A child's head gives birth to its mother later.
   Ans. - A piece of sugar-cane.
5. A barrel on top of a barrel.
   Ans. - Sugar-cane.
6. My mother goes to market. She buys many barrels, but she does not know that they hold water, because more than ten barrels are fastened together. But when she begins to break open the barrels she comes to see that the barrels hold water.
   Ans. - Sugar-cane.
7. I come from a wooden belly, and my water boiled over a fire is as sweet as honey.
   Ans. - The syrup from sugar-cane.
8. There is water in the bush.
   Ans. - Sugar-cane.
9. A house stands. A carpenter inside is at work, but the house has no openings.
   Ans. - That is a guava fruit. The guava is closed all around, yet a worm is eating away inside.
10. If the hangman had not been there, the thief would have killed the sleeping man.
    Ans. - A mango hangs from a tree, and a pig is lying under the tree asleep. And a tiger is coming to kill him, but before the tiger arrives, then the mango falls down, strikes the pig, and the pig wakes up, and runs. So the tiger does not catch him.
11. My mother has a child. As long as you do not take off its cap, you cannot kiss it.
    Ans. - A maripa-nut.
12. I myself am not good to eat, but my feet are good.
    Ans. - Sweet cassava (because you plant the root).

1 Those riddles marked ‘B’ after the number, are in Saramacca Tongo, and not taki-taki.

13. When my mother eats, she urinates all over her body.
Ans. - Cassava press.
14. My mother goes to the market. She buys wood, and food, and water.
Ans. - A coconut.
15. My mother has three eyes.
Ans. - A coconut.
16. My mother has a round ball. She shoots pins into this ball. Now, the color of this ball is green outside, inside it is colored white, and what comes out from its belly is black.
Ans. - The ball is a soursap; the pins in its body are thorns, and the white color is the inside, and the black [which comes from its belly], the seeds.

16a. The church is colored green, the priest is dressed in black, and the people are in white.
Ans. - Soursap.

17. My body is made of three spoons,
My bones are beautiful as beads,
My blood is as sweet as butter,
Everybody says how pretty I am.
But yet they say I am bad.

Ans. - Masusa.[1]

18. Always at first the father or the mother is ahead, but the child becomes bigger than its mother, and later gives birth to its father and mother.
Ans. - A mango seed. When you take a mango, you eat it, then you plant the seed. The seed grows into a tree, the tree is bigger than the seed, and bears other mangos later.
19. When my father was young, his beard was white, but when he became old, his beard became black.
Ans. - An ear of corn.
20. With one ear of corn my father bought a cow, he bought a horse, he bought a donkey.
Ans. - A man took an ear of corn, and planted it. From it he got ten sacks. He sold the sacks (of corn) and he bought a cow. He raised the cow. The cow bore a calf [lit., 'made a child']. He sold it. He bought a horse; he sold the colt. He bought a donkey.
21. My mother has a thing. It is yellow outside and it is yellow inside.
Ans. - The mammi fruit.
22. It is green outside, it is white inside, it is red inside, it is black inside.
Ans. - Watermelon.
23. Fire in the deep bush.
Ans. - Awara tree (i.e., its flowers are flaming red).

1 *Renealmia Exaltata*, Encyc., p. 607.

23a. Without wood there is fire in the deep bush, but it does not give heat.
Ans. - A bunch of awara in the bush.
23b. There is fire in the bush.
Ans. - Awara.
24. A child is born before its mother.
Ans. - A cashew nut.
25. It stands stiff on top of a bed, half red and half white, but all the young Negroes of that country are afraid to take it and put it in the hole which is in their faces,[1] because all the grown-up people who already tasted it, say it is peppery.
Ans. - A thing they call radish.
26. I go to the bush. The living people do not speak to me, but the dead ones speak to me.
Ans. - Dry leaves.
26a. I go to the bush and I kill animals. I tell the living ones 'howdo,' they do not answer me. I tell the dead ones 'howdo,' those answer me.
Ans. - Green leaves and dry leaves. When you step on the dry ones, they crunch, but the green ones make no sound.
27. Howdo, missus, howdo, master. Come inside with your long thing, walk around, come drink water from between the feet, and eat food from the anus.
Ans. - The water is milk, and the food an egg.
28. A man sits down on a table. He rolls down to the ground. No one can put him together again.
Ans. - That is an egg.
29. My mother has a barrel. It has no opening, but it holds water.
Ans. - Egg.
29a. My mother has a barrel. It has no hoops, but it holds water.
Ans. - An egg.
30. What kind of a bird do you eat with all its feathers?
Ans. - Egg.
31. Buttocks on the bottom, buttocks on the top; a sweet thing comes in the middle.
Ans. - When you put a sweet thing inside two *skotriki* (i.e., a sandwich).
32. A black savanah, a white savanah, and three men run past.
Ans. - Ink, writing paper, and pen and fingers.
33. My mother stands on the ceiling; she flings a large basket of plates to the ground, but not one is broken.
Ans. - That means paper.
33a. My father has a pot. Coming from the river it fell, but did not break.
Ans. - A letter.

1 Or 'in front of them'. A play on words.

34. My mother has a yard. It has twenty-six trees. But for all things whose name you call, you can look in the yard where the trees are.
Ans. - The alphabet.
35. I and my mother are the same age.
Ans. - That is to say eleven, one and one.
36. It is a deep thing of my mother's, and a long thing of my father's.
Ans. - A well, and a bucket rope.
37. *Er-tin-tin*
Tin-tin-tin.
What my father says here, that (same thing) his brothers are saying as far away as the White man's country.
Ans. - A clock.
38. It works day and night.
Ans. - The river.
39. My mother bore me, and later I gave birth to my mother.
Ans. - Ice.
40. A White woman is standing on a table. The more she stands the more she wastes away.
Ans. - That is a candle.
41. My father took his spade and shot it into my mother's narrow opening.
Ans. - Key and lock.
41a. My father wanted to go inside my mother. So he took his thing and shot it into my mother's thing.
Ans. - A lock.
42. Black outside, red inside, a star in the center.
Ans. - That is to say a tub. It is black outside; its whole inside is red. *Djokotiri*, that is a star in the middle.
43. It is long in front, it is long in back.
Ans. - Thread and needle.
44. *Er-tin-tin*. A stump wears a shirt.
Ans. - A needle and thread.
45. A little girl is sitting with her hand on her hip.
Ans. - That is a chamber-pot.
45a. My mother has a man. But never does his hand come away from his side.
Ans. - Chamber-pot.
46. My mother has a child. As long as you feed it, it cries.
Ans. - A pot on the fire.
47. A red horse licks a black horse's backsides.
Ans. - When a black pot stands on the fire.
47a. Red horse is riding on a black horse's buttocks.
Ans. - A pot on top of the fire.
47b. A red man licks a black woman's buttocks.
Ans. - Black pot on fire.

48. Little toads jump from the pot.
Ans. - When a pot of rice boils over.
49. A small boy shows God a fist.
Ans. - That is when a Djuka woman stamps rice in her mortar, the pestle points to the sky.
49a. A tall man shows God his finger.
Ans. - Mortar and pestle.
50. You have three things in your house,
One longs for daybreak,
One longs for night to come,
One longs for the world to end.

Ans. - Bed, - it longs for dawn; stool, - it is weary, it longs for night to come so that it may rest; clock, - it has grown tired, it longs for the world to end.
51. My father shoots a cow in the head. The load comes out from her tail.
Ans. - A pipe.
52. My father has a house which he filled with furnishings. He put it on fire. All things burned, but the house did not burn.
Ans. - A pipe.
53. The more my father is angry, the more his pocket handkerchief flies.
Ans. - A plane.
54. I go and I come. It remains stiff.
Ans. - That is a cigar.
55. It is round, (and) it sits down.
Ans. - A pudding.
56. It is long in front, it is long in back.
Ans. - A street.
57. My father has a man who stands on one leg.
Ans. - A gun.
58. My father eats with his backsides, and he defecates through his mouth.
Ans. - A gun.
59. You were the first to go, and yet I overtook you when I lit one firestick.
Ans. - A gun and a deer.
60. Hole inside hole, hair about the hole, sweet pleasure comes from inside.
Ans. - A flute in your mouth, when you play it, and (the hair of) your beard.
61. Black woman swims a swamp.
Ans. - That is a gin bottle.
62. Every hour a black woman makes a courtsy in the swamp.
Ans. - A black gin flask floating in the swamp.
63. How many nails will build a house?
Ans. - One, because the last nail is the one which finishes the house.

64. Puff strikes puff.
Ans. - Ashes.
65. I make a house with one post.
Ans. - An umbrella.
66. A man is in prison. As long as he does not spit, he is not going to get out.
Ans. - When a man goes to a woman, when he is through the thing droops, and spits.
67. What is sweeter than honey?
Ans. - My mother's breast.
68. A *soko*[1] woman carries her belly in back.
Ans. - The calf of the leg.
69. My mother has a well with weeds around it. Yet none falls in side.
Ans. - An eye [and its lashes].
70. Sister Akuba kills, (and) shows Brother William.
Ans. - That is (when with) your finger, (you take something out of) your eye.
71. Look-hard sleeps on the road beside the grass, and leaves his hair outside.
Ans. - An eye and eye-lashes.
72. What does God make which human beings remove?
Ans. - When a child is born, it is born with its navel-cord, but human beings remove it.
73. There is one thing, which is in the midst of thirty-two snakes, but the snakes do not bite it.
Ans. - The tongue.
74. What does the King do now, now?
Ans. - He breathes.
75. What thing of your mother's do you dislike?
Ans. - You dislike to see your mother's last breath.
76. If you tell me how many hairs you have on your head, then I will tell you what my father's riches are.
Ans. - Two things you cannot count. You cannot count your hair, and so you cannot count the stars.
77. A mother had one hundred thousand children. The mother sent the children to clean the square. The children did not clean the square well. But the moment the mother herself went, the place was clean.
Ans. - The moon and the stars.
78. One grain of corn whitens the whole river.
Ans. - A moonbeam.
79. The elephant's buttocks are cracked. So long as rain does not fall, they will not mend.
Ans. - When the earth is dry it cracks.

79a. My father's backsides are split. There is no thread to sew them.
Ans. - Clay. When it is cracked, there is nothing with which to fill it in.

1 A word used in riddles.

80. I shake, and you shake, but my pleasure comes to you.
Ans. - That is to say, a boy climbed an apple tree, then there was a monkey on this tree. The boy shook the apples from the tree. The monkey on the tree shook, too, but the monkey jumped down on the ground and ate up all the apples.
81. Seven men eat one *sika*.[1]
Ans. - One man has one *sika*. He leaves the *sika* till it becomes big, and then puts it aside. Then you have seven carpenters, and one of the carpenters takes the *sika* and with that he catches a fish, then all seven eat the fish.
82. Meat inside bones, and hair on top of bones.
Ans. - A crab.
83. When little stick knew he was going to die, be dug a hole for himself.
Ans. - That is a *sika*.
84. A sloping roof walks.
Ans. - A toad.
85. I am a very evil beast. You pull off my head and I remain a hundred years.
Ans. - That is a bush lion. If you take away the *l*, then there remains *eo*, which changes to 'one hundred years'. (i.e., 'eon'.)
86. My name is five letters, but when you take away two, there remain six.
Ans. - Moses (i.e., take away 'mo', there remains the Dutch word for six as pronounced in *taki-taki*).
87. One kills Elfida; Elfida kills seven; seven kill three. I drink water which did not come from the sky, and did not come from the earth, and with the word of God I eat.
Ans. - One is a dog; seven are buzzards; three are ants. (A boy goes abroad to find wisdom and he takes with him his dog, Elfida. A cook poisons the food which he gives to the dog, and the dog dies. Seven buzzards *(yankoro)* eat the dog and die, and three ants eat the seven buzzards and they die. The water the boy drank was dew. He walked farther on and went hungry until he found a rabbit, but still he could not eat, because he did not have anything with which to cook the rabbit. And so he walked on until he came to a church and he took a Bible and made a fire with it. Then he came where the King and Queen lived and asked them to guess the riddle, but they could not guess. The queen sent for her daughter. He liked the daughter, so he told her the answer. One was the dog; seven are the

1 The translation given us for 'sika' was variously 'chigo' - a small insect that burrows into the foot under the nail of the great toe - and 'crab', 'snail', or 'shrimp'.

buzzards, and three are the ants. The water which came from neither sky nor earth is dew, and by means of the Bible which he put on fire he cooked his food. Therefore, with the word of God he ate.)

88. A King plants rice. A man comes and asks him, says, if the rice will come. He answers him, says, 'If they come, it will not come. But if they do not come, then it will come.'
Ans. - Small birds. (If the small birds come, then it [the rice] will not come. But if the small birds do not come, then it [the rice] will come.)
89. My father and my mother go to the bush to hunt. Those animals which he kills he leaves in the bush. But those he does not kill, he gives to my mother to bring home.
Ans. - Lice.
89a. My father goes hunting. The animals he kills, he leaves in the bush. But those he does not kill, he makes my mother bring home.
Ans. - Lice.
90. Eight footfalls, *wiriwiri, tikita*.
Ans. - Two span of horses, and (the sound of) the wheels, and (the sound of) the whip.
91. A man is riding a horse. His pocket handkerchief falls down. When he steps down to take it, he does not see it any more.
Ans. - The horse's spit.
91a. A person was riding a bicycle. His hat fell down. That person climbed down to take his hat, but he did not find it any more.
Ans. - Spit.
91b. My father was riding a horse. His pocket handkerchief fell down. He turned back to look for it. No one had passed down the road, but he did not find it.
Ans. - Spit.
92. The buzzard is flying, and the dog sits down on his tail. Where does he sit down?
Ans. - On the dog's tail.
93. My mother has a gourd which is not full of water.
Ans. - A cat.
94. My mother has a gourd. It is full of water.
Ans. - Ant hill.
95. My father sent a letter to call his child. Just as the letter arrived, then that self-same moment the child arrived at his father's.
Ans. - Fisherman, fish-hook, and fish.
96. I am in my house. My enemies come to catch me. My house passes through my enemies' windows, but yet my enemies catch me.
Ans. - A fishing net. (Explanation: the fish are at home in the water. The enemy of the fish is the net. Water, the home of the fish, passes through the net, but the fish are caught.)

97. What is in the sky that human hands made?
Ans. - The nails in Master Jesus's hands.
98. Who is the greatest thief?
Ans. - A carpenter. He promptly stole the nails which nailed Master Jesus to his cross.
99. What is it that the workingman has not that he has given his boss?
Ans. - Baptism. That is to say, John is the baptist and (he baptised) his boss Master Jesus. He was not baptised, but he baptised.
100. My father has a barrel. The people of the house cannot take water from it, but outsiders can take.
Ans. - A brother and sister cannot marry.
101. A minister and his wife, the deacon and his wife and child. They come on a visit, (and) they bring four apples to the table. Each one takes one.
Ans. - That is, the deacon's daughter was the minister's wife.
102. God never sees it;
A King sees it once or twice;
A farmer sees it every day.
Ans. - An equal.

God never sees another god;
A King does not see another King every day;
One farmer sees another farmer every day.

103. What is the country you go to from which you never come back?
Ans. - Death's country.
104. *Er-tin-tin*.
My father has seven things. He gives six, but as for the seventh, that he does not give.
Ans. - Six days for work, one is for God.
105. What kind of an animal is a Roman Catholic?
Ans. - That is a donkey. Right in the middle of the back, he has a cross.
106. My father has dogs. The big dogs do no bite, but the little ones bite.
Ans. - Pepper (i.e., pods and broken peppers).

D. Taki-taki proverbs

1. Bɪgi a̰i fō Anąnsi meki dɔm kɔri hɛm.
2. Syɛm meki mi dɔm.
3. Tɛ yu taki, taki fō yu fɔsi; sąn yu du mi.
4. Tąn tiri a no dɔm.
5. Fa yu tą'? Yɛsrɛdḛi bɛtre tidɛ.
6. Te yu nyąm nąŋga didibri, dą' yu mu habi ląŋga fɔrku.
7. Tąŋgi fō bǭ' na kɔdya.
8. Ɛfu dra̰i fɪsi kɪsi wɔrɔm, na mekunu.
9. Switi fō sapatia meki dḛibroko frimusu na foru 'oso.

9a. Süti fō lefɛr meki dḛibroko awari na foru 'oso.

10. Ba Anąnsi krę' na awara bom. (K)
    Maka sütu hɛm, n'e flig-mashin,
    Mira beti hɛm, n'e lukbalǫn
    Ba Anąnsi krę na awara bom.
11. Hesi-hesi bǭ', safri-safri bǭ', tu.
12. Tɛ lagadisa tɛre kɔti, daąn ɛŋ feni ɛ̨ŋ hɔro.

12a. Tɛ sapakara tɛre kɔti, wantrǫn a dɛ feni 'olo.

13. Por' nɛm na umą-suma sribi-krosi.
14. Bigi a̰i fō mɔni meki a go tro na malata.
15. Süti fō pya̰u meki fḭofḭo hąŋga na barkǫ'. (K)
16. Ɛfu ɔndrofeni no bɛn dɛ, sabi-diri a no sɑ bɛn dɛ.

17. Switi fō a̱isko meki amtɛnar frau̱ lasi ɛŋ hoso-pasi. (K)
18. Tɛ kau̱ nyąm, a mu gi 'asi pasi. (K)
19. Faka-faka fō Anąnsi mɛki tigri kɪsi hɛm.
20. Yu mu' fō de bǭn nąŋga suma, ma yu no mus' fō puru yu bɛre gi' ɛm.
21. Mi na p'kin ɑksi, ma mi de fara bɪgi kąkątri. (K)
22. Anąnsi kɔni so tɛ ... ma tɔk a dɛ fasi na lakbɔru.
23. Tigri oru, ma a no las' ɛŋ peni.
24. Fɪsi pasa maswa, ma a no pasa ɛŋ dɛdɛ.
25. Mąn dɛ na opo, mąn dɛ na bilo, tu.

25a. Bɪgi suma dɛ na yu kɔndre, bɪgi suma dɛ na mi kɔndre, tu.

26. Suma p'kin a no yu p'kin.
    Sribi na dɛdɛ.
    Umą kiri mąn.
27. Ɔndrofeni sɑ leri yu.
28. P'kin no wąn yɛr' ɛŋ mama, a sɑ go na abanba.
29. Ɛfu fɪsi no bɪgi, a n'e nyąm uku.
30. Te yu dɛ kɔti, yu mu' dɛ fɪti.
31. Takru ta̱iya a no bǭ' fō nyɑm, a no bǭ' fō trowɛ.

32. 'Agu ɑksi ɛŋ mama, taki, ‘Mi mama, saɳ 'ɛdɛ meki yu mɔfo laɳga so?’ Na mama piki hɛm taki, ‘Mi p'kin, sa kɔm y'e kɔm.’
33. Te okro brafu kɔru, bɔro-noso 'ɛ drɻŋg' 'm.
34. Te suma no sabi yu nyąm-presi, a tek' tapu-krabasi gi yu watra.
35. Noti bila, yu dɛ teki pari puru pɔndo.
36. Xōloku habi laɳga pasi,
    Ma hɔr' yu srɛf', dɑt' na basi.
37. Luku pɛ yu stotu yu futu, ma no luku pɛ yu fadǫ'.
38. Te opo wą' suma luku dąnsi, a opo yu luku feti.
39. Tɛ yu sab', yu du na ɛxpresi.
40. Süti fō libi sɑ si yu tą' tiri.
41. Wąn nanyąm d'ɛ fur' beri a i de si ɛŋ.
42. Sineki beti mi, mi si wɔrǫn, mi fredɛ.
43. Mi kɔm fō merki, ma mi no kɔm fō sɛri kaų̱.
44. Te wąn taki leti, ɛŋ dik' wąn olo.
45. Grǫntapu na asi-tere; a wą̱i ala se̱i.
46. Bɪgi ale̱in no kiri mi, yu dɛŋ̂ki na p'kin wą sɑ kir' mi?

47. Na pasiɛnsi-umą na wąn gudu-umą.
48. Bıgi dagu n'e bet' den srefi.
49. Fesi bɛn dɛ bifɔsi spikri.
50. M'ma-foru futu n'e kir' ɕŋ p'kin.
51. 'Aŋgri-si skapu, na tigri nanyam.
52. Sąn' süti na kɔnkɔni mɔfo, na dɑt' a dɛ go pir' ɕŋ tifi.
53. Tɛ i taki f'na alata, yu mu tak' f'a batchau.
54. Praŋga a' yɛsi.
55. Barbar' dagu n'e i beti.
56. Yu na anamu, yu no gointi.
57. Mi na Kakalaka, mi n'a let' 'a foru mɔfo.
57a. Yu na Kakalaka, yu n'a 'a leti na foru mɔfo.
58. Mi na watra, tya' hɛbi.
59. A no mi drɻŋgi yu grɻn mek' yu no 'abi.
60. Tɛ suma no sabi dąnsi, a tak' 'a pok' n'e pre bǭn.
61. A no i lafu a kɔnkɔni mek' a n'ab' tɛre.
62. Tide na f'mi, tamara na f' yu.
63. Te wąn 'asi kɔstu mɔni, yu dɛ si na ɕŋ grǫn futu.
64. Mąn lɛpi a no wisi.

65. Dagō taki ‘chaku, chaku’. F'yu na f' yu.
66. Babụn tɛre na babụn sɪkin.
67. Tɛ yu no habi fɻŋga, yu no kąn mek' kofu.
68. Ala kaụ blaka na neịti.
69. Masra heị, meki masra kaụ fatu.
70. Busi brɔn, sɪneki no habi hɛdɛmąn.
71. Kɔni mɔro trąŋga.
72. Wɑn süt' brafu meki i nyą' wą' suą tɔntɔn.
73. Te yu lɔb' na ɔkro, yu mu lɔb' 'a siri.
74. No puru yu bɛre gi umą, bika' umą dɛ kiri mąn.
75. Yu wąn' nyą' yu ɛgi-fatu.
76. Bɛtre buriki skopu mi leịki yu kɔsi me.
77. Süti fō mi tɔri meki tu dagu nyąm na ɪni wąn preti.
78. Lakboru no dɛ na 'oso, Anąnsi dɛ na wroko.
79. Bɪgi sɪpi mi bɛn tyari sɔndro stürmąn; wɛ, na wąn krioro dąn?
80. Ɔru faịya-tɪki no dɛ preị fō teki.
81. Tą' tɛ tamara meki todo no habi tɛre.

82. Suma no bribi laị, a i no bribi tru.
83. Ala busi meti nyąm kasaba, ma kɔnkɔni tyari nɛm. (K)
84. Mi na hafu-sɛnsi, nowąn mąn ką' broko mi. (K)
85. Na blǫŋki di bɛn dɛ drɛsi sɔro, na dɑti dɛ meki bɔnkete na grąnmąn tafra. (K)
86. Lɔbi na basi. (K)
87. Libi suị̂ti. (K)
88. Ɔndrofeni a no bom, ma a dɛ gro. (K)
89. Doti-wagi dɛ tyari doti, ma a no dɛ tyari syɛm. (K)
90. Wawąn lɔbi dɛ, ma ala dɛ na suma 'anu. (K)
91. Na p'kin patɛnti na dagu nɛki meki puspusi hati brǫn. (K)
92. Mi doị̂fi freị̂ gowɛ, ma mi xoluk, dɑti tą'. (K)
93. Leị̂si nąŋga mɔrsu meki yu 'kra gowɛ libi yu. (K)
94. Taki sąn yu wani, mi fraga dɛ na tapu. (K)
95. Fa mɪsi taki, 'a masra dɛ du. (K)
96. Bɪgi sɛnsi kastoli mi gi yu, a de wroko yu so! - Dag buba! (K)
97. Suị̂ti fō mi smeri, meki mi gudu lasi ɛ̨ŋ hoso pasi. (K)
98. Wąwąn bǫn lɔbi dɛ yɛte, ma a diri fō wɪni. (K)
99. Ala piri tifi a no lafu.
100. Ala gi hanu a no frɻnskap.
101. Te yu kɔsi ʈɪŋgi-foru, a dɛ hati krakụn.
102. Tɪmrimąn 'oso no 'abi bąŋgi.
103. Bas' Djaki taki, ‘A no fō soso na wɔrǫn dɛ waka na seị̂-seị̂.’
104. Mi no kąn trǫ' todo fō opo prasɔro gi sneki.

105. San wan miri kąn du nąŋga wąn kaų̯ 'ɛdɛ?
106. Di mi ba̯i mi kaų̯, mi kaų̯,
Mi kaų̯ no 'abi tutu.
107. Lɔbi dɛdɛ kaba.
108. Yu no kɔt' abra-watra, yu no dɛ kɔs' ka̯imąn mama.
109. Sɛkrepatu taki, a no taki ɛŋ no mąŋ krɛ' bergi, ma na lafu dɛ mɔro ɛŋ.
110. Tɛ kamerawɛŋki nąŋga bɔtremąn kıs' trɔbi, dą' yu dɛ yere pɛ na bɔtro bɛn go.
111. Tɛ yu naki kapa lasi, yu dɛ yɛre bɔrimąn tǫŋgo.
112. Agamą taki, ‘Hesi, hesi bǫ̃n, ma safri, safri bǫ̃n, tu.’
113. No teki syɛm nyąm wisi.
114. Todo taki, ‘Ɛf' yu dɛ tak' fō gogo, m'no kąn piki, ma ɛf' yu dɛ taki fō ha̯i, mi kąn piki.’
115. Anąnsi kɔni, ma tide tıgri ra̯i na hɛm baka. (K)
116. Grabu nanyąm, ma no grabu taki.
117. Tǫŋgo tyari hɛm masra na bǫ̃n, a tyari hɛm masra na ɔgri, tu.
118. Ɔru sıki fō todo na kraskrasi.
119. Te yu kɔri 'ɛdɛ, yu dɛ feni loso.
120. Sąn yu lasi na fa̯iya hoso, yu sɑ feni na asisi.
121. Krab-dagu dɛ kɛŋki hoso, ma a no mąŋ kɛŋki maneri.
122. Ɛfu p'kin no habi syɛm fō dɛdɛ na mındri neti, hɛm mama no habi syɛm fō bari tu.

123. So lą̨ŋga leį̇ki lǫnwe dɛ, so lą̨ŋga, lą̨ŋga na wɪpi dɛ.
124. Ɛngel fõ strati, didibri fõ 'oso.
125. Wą̨n kehe̱im hɔntimą̨n mɔro ɔgri leį̇ki wą̨n kirimą̨n di ala suma sabi.
126. Trą̨ŋga n'e tyari kau̱ go na pɛn, ma wą̨n lɛpi fi̱ŋga ba·ana, dɑti no mo.
127. Gɔngotɛ gɔdo mofo 'ɛ we̱i̱ti, ma na tra suma de nyam ɛ'.
128. Sneki kɪbri ɛ̨ŋ sɛrefi, a trǫn aboma.
129. Wakamą̨ si yorka, 'a yorka si 'a mą̨n dɛ.
130. Tak' leti a no asɛrą̨nti.
131. Tɛ yu no wani yɛre ‘odi, odi’, yu no mu meki yu 'oso na se̱i̱ pasi.
132. 'A tǫntǫn di yu bɛn dɛ̨ŋki no dɛ go furu yu bɛri, na dɑti dɛ go bonant yu.
133. Gadu sab' są̨n a du, a no gi 'asi tutu.
134. Są̨n yu no sabi mu du yu, ma są̨n yu sabi no mu du yu.
135. A sɑ du wi ala.
136. Yu go lasi lą̨nsi, yu las' sapakara.
137. Ala fɪsi dɛ sɛk' ɛ̨ŋ tere, te ɔru-we̱i̱fi, tu.
138. Ale̱i̱ntɛm yankɔro wan' meki 'oso, te ale̱i̱n kaba, a frɪgɪti.
139. Sani mɔro tigri, a 'ɛ nyą̨m doti.

140. Laị hati mɔro sɔro.
141. Faị̂ya dɛdɛ, p'kin nɛ̨ŋgere preị na asisi.
142. Sąn dɛ na duŋgru a sɑ kɔm na krịn.
142a Not' sɑ dɛ na duŋgru, di no sɑ kɔm na krịn.
143. Yu baị wisi yu mu baị kɔni tu.
144. Yu no sab' sąn asaụ̂ bɛn nyąm mek' a kɔm bɪgi so.
145. Dagu a fō futu, ma a no dɛ waka na fō pasi.
146. A teki bąŋgi, a wąn' teki gogo tu.
147. Wąn fɻŋga n'e drɻŋgi okro.
148. Tɛ mi dɛ waka na tapu doti, dą' mi dɛ trąpu safri; tɛ mi dɛdɛ, na doti go nyąm mi.
149. Grąmą' bobi na fō ala pikin.
150. Yu muso prani kasaba fɔsi bifo a sɑ grō.
151. Te wą suma dɪki wą oro fō pɔt' wą tra wą, ɛ̨ŋ sɛrefi fądǫ' go na ɪni.
152. Mi tyari mi sɪpi go na mɪndri, na roder broko, a libi mi na mɪndri sei. (K)
153. Luku 'a sprɛ̨ŋki na yu fesi, ma no luku na barki na yu birmą ạị̂.
154. Lɔbi a no nɔtɻ, smusi dɑti na basi.
155. Ɛf' na baila no habi faị̂ya, na stɪm no sɑ go.
156. Tɛnapu na kofu no brasa.
157. Ala foru no habi wan tǫŋgo.
158. Te aleị̂n si yu dɛ na broko hoso, a n'e kaba na yu baka.
159. Udu no dɛ, mi teki tɛteị̂ pɔti na faị̂ya.
160. S'ana kɔndre na 'asi tɛle; tide a waị̂ so, tamara a waị̂ so.
161. Orąŋya mu grün bifɔsi a lɛpi.
162. Anąnsi taki a no fredɛ, ma ɛ̨ŋ sɪkin dɛ gro.
163. Alata no sabi sąn mɔni baị̂.
164. Alata taị̂gi, ‘Tɛ mi waka fufuru na neti, a no fō mi srefi 'ɛdɛ, ma mi pikin dę' sɛni mi.’
165. Dagu no dɛ, yu tya' k'abita go na hǫnti.
166. Yu preị̂ nąŋga pikin dagu, a i lɛki yu mɔfo.
167. Skapu dɛdɛ, a libi pina gi hɛm buba.
168. Tigri dɛdɛ, Dia dąnsi na hɛm grebi tapu.
169. Ɛf' i habi nɛm fo' kaụ̂, i mu tya' tutu.
170. K'abita pikin, ma a n'e futu-boị̂ gi kaụ̂.
171. K'abita taki, ‘Mɔfo tą' tiri, dąn yɔrka.’
172. Awasi krabu no 'abi brudu, a 'abi hatibrǫn.
173. Mi na ɔrukuku; tɛ mi bari, suma dɛdɛ.
174. San' mɔro kɛskɛsi, a brasa maka.

1. Anansi's greed permits the stupid to lie to him.
2. Shame makes me stupid.
3. When you talk, talk first of yourself, and what you did to me.

   - Said in a quarrel.

4. Silence is not stupidity.
5. How are you? Yesterday better than today.

   - We know yesterday; today is not over yet.

6. When you eat with the devil, then you must have a long fork.
7. The reward for good is the cudgel.
8. If dried fish becomes wormy, it is a curse.

   - If two people who were friends quarrel, this is said to express the opinion that there never was friendship between them. *Mekunu*, the Paramaribo equivalent of the *kunu* of the Bush-Negroes, is the supernatural curse meted out by ancestors and gods.

9. Love of the sapatia fruit caused the bat to be found in the chicken coop at daybreak.

   - The attraction of the woman caused the lover to forget prudence, and led to his discovery by the husband.

9a. Love of liver found the hawk in the chicken coop at daybreak.

   - The same as No. 9.

10. Ba Anansi climbed the awara tree. (K)
    Thorns shot into him, but there was no flying machine,
    Ants bit him, but there was no air-balloon,
    Ba Anansi climbed the awara tree.

    - This proverb is also used as a song. The point made about Anansi is that his daring in climbing the thorny awara palm-tree was rewarded with bruises. As spoken and sung, the proverb is used to comment on the fact that a man who had many times outwitted the authorities, had at last been caught and punished.

11. Haste is good, caution is good, too.
12. When the lizard's tail is cut off, then he finds his hole.

    - This is used to point the moral that when a man has been humbled, he is not seen about much.

12a. When the salamander's tail is cut off, he promptly crawls into a hole.
13. A bad name is a woman's winding sheet.

    - This is often said to commiserate with someone who, because of an early bad reputation, receives no recognition for a good deed.

14. Greed made her go and marry a mulatto.

    - Reference is made here to a white woman marrying a mulatto.

15. Love of the lottery makes *fio fio* hang on the balcony. (K)

    - See above, pp. 53 ff., for explanation of *fio fio*.

16. If experience had not been there, knowledge would not exist.

17. Love of the ice-company makes the officer's wife lose the way to her house. (K)

    - This proverb refers to the misadventures of a woman who had succumbed to the blandishments of the ice-man. It is interesting that it follows a definite pattern of proverb, and that currency is given to the saying by substituting a few words.

18. When the cow has eaten, she must give the horse the right to graze. (K) (Lit., 'she must give the horse the path.')

    - The saying was quoted about a man who deserted his elderly wife to find a young one. While the women commiserated with the older woman, their feeling was that she had had her turn, and now it was time that the younger girl had hers.

19. Anansi's haste caused the tiger to catch him.
20. You must be kind to people, but you must not take out your entrails (lit., 'belly') for them.
21. I am a small axe, but I cut down the big silk-cotton tree. (K)
22. Anansi is very cunning, yet he is caught by the broom.

    - Anansi, the spider, gets swept away from the walls in spite o his ability as trickster.

23. The tiger is old, but he has not lost his spots.

    - A man does not lose his old habits.

24. A fish can pass a trap, but it cannot pass its death.

    - Said of a thief or a witch. A man can evade punishment, but he cannot evade death.

25. There are men on the upper river, there are men on the lower river, too.

    - This proverb constitutes an answer to a threat, and usually relates to a threat of black magic.

25a. There are big men in your village, there are big men in my village, too.

    - Used as in No. 25.

26. Someone else's child is not your child.
    Sleep is death.
    Woman kills man.

    - Any of these three lines may be used independently as a proverb, and together they form part of a song which occurs in stories (as, e.g., Nos. 125-127) whose point is that women betray those who trust them.

27. Experience will teach you.
28. The child who does not listen to his mother, will go to the land of the dead.

29. If a fish is not big enough, it does not bite at hooks.

    - Said to convey the idea that it is best to curb one's ambitions.

30. When you cut, you must fit.

    - This indicates that a man had better weigh his acts.

31. The bad taya is not good to eat, and not good to throw away.

    - *Taya* is a spinach-like plant, and, as used in this proverb, indicates that a family member is in disgrace.

32. The pig asked its mother, said, ‘Mother, why is your snout so long?’ The mother answered him, said, ‘My little one, it will come to you, it will come.’

    - Employed when someone makes a deprecating remark about another.

33. When the okra soup is cold, a sore nose can drink it.

    - This comment would be spoken about the downfall of a man. When misfortune comes to a strong man, a weakling can taunt him.

34. When a man does not know your eating place, he takes a closed calabash to offer you water. (This is also at times translated as, ‘...he takes a calabash cover in which to offer you water.’)

    - When a stranger imposes upon another whose position he does not know, this proverb would be used. To offer a drink in a closed calabash is apparently very reprehensible.

35. When the need arises, you take a paddle to push a punt.
36. Luck has a long road,
    But mastery of yourself rules everything.

    - Said to a person who, having had good luck, abuses it.

37. Look where you stub your toe, but do not look where you fall down.

    - This proverb would be employed when a person in a quarrel with another turns on a friendly bystander.

38. When you stand up to watch a man dance, he will stand up to watch you fight.

    - This comments on the fact that a good turn is repaid with evil.

39. When you knew (better), you did the direct opposite.

    - A man who has met misfortune, and to whom this proverb is said, is thereby told that he must expect no sympathy, for he should have known better than to embark on his adventure.

40. Love of life will see you hold your tongue.

    - This is said by one man to another to indicate that while he knows the other is wrong, he does not mean to prove it.

41. Food which will fill the belly is seen.

    - An overconfident person would be told this proverb to imply that there is no need to boast, for when he achieves, ah will know.

42. A snake bit me, I see a worm, I am afraid.
43. I came to milk (the cows), but I did not come to sell cows.

- This is said to a person who asks many indiscreet questions, and is especially used for the young.

44. When one tells the truth, he digs a grave.

    - Said cynically to a man who had got into difficulty for being frank.

45. The world is a horse's tail; it waves in all directions.

    - This is the equivalent of the saying, ‘each to his own liking’. (See No. 160).

46. The big rains did not kill me, you think the little ones will kill me?

    - Used both as a threat, and to express confidence.

47. A patient woman is a rich woman.
48. Big dogs do not bite each other.

    - A commentary on the fact that people take care of their own kind. The example given by the informant to illustrate the point was that of a white man and a black man in a dispute, his feeling being that the white official who judges the case will always favor the white man.

49. Faces were there before mirrors.

    - Often employed to suggest that though the whites have astonishing mechanical devices, the gods are still powerful. By ‘gods’ the black man's gods are thought of.

50. The mother-hen's foot does not kill her young.

    - Used when a parent chastises a child.

51. The inquisitive sheep is the tiger's food.
52. That which the rabbit finds toothsome, that will show its fangs.

    - That is to say, what a man longs for most, will kill him.

53. When you speak of the rat, you must speak of the saltfish.

    - This is said when someone who should be impartial, takes sides in a dispute.

54. Planks have ears.
55. A barking dog does not bite.
56. You are a wild bird, you do not stay at home.

    - Spoken to a restless person.

57. I am Cockroach, the hen will never say I am right.

    - This proverb would be used by a person who is blamed for something he has not done.

57a. You are Cockroach, the hen will never say you are right.
58. I am water; my load is heavy.

    - Used disdainfully by a person who is accused of being in the wrong.

59. It is not because I drink your gall (?) that you have none.

    - This is said to a person who always hints that someone else is well-to-do.

60. When a man does not know how to dance, he says the drum is not being played well.

    - Criticism of someone who is speaking of what he does not know is conveyed by the use of this proverb.

61. It is not your ridicule of the rabbit that caused him to be without a tail.

    - This suggests that good fortune is a fickle thing and that it is well not to despise someone who is down on his luck.

62. Today is for me, tomorrow for you.

    - Said to a person who is mocking another about his bad luck.

63. When a horse costs money, you see it by his hoof prints.

    - Said to a person who is putting on airs.

64. Maturity [wisdom] is not black magic.

    - Used most often to criticise a man who knows how to do things but never does them for fear of public opinion.

65. The dog says '*chaku, chaku*'. What is yours is yours.

    - Said to a member of one's family, to indicate that a man should help his own relations first.

66. The baboon's tail is on the baboon's body.

    - This means that a hurt to someone in the family is a hurt to all.

67. When you have no fingers you cannot make a fist.

    - Said cynically to imply that you cannot do anything against a rich man.

68. All cows are black at night.

    - This is said to mean that at night a man can hide.

69. When the master is important, the master's cows are fat.

    - A rich man has well-fed retainers.

70. When the bush burns, the snake has no head-man.

    - This is said when a family breaks up, and draws its analogy from the fact that the bush is the provider for the snake.

71. Cunning is more than strength.
72. For the sake of sweet soup you eat sour dumplings.

    - Used when a person overlooks the behavior of a friend or friend's relative because of his friendship.

73. When you love okra, you must love its seeds.

    - The equivalent of 'Love me, love my dog.'

74. Do not take out your entrails for a woman, because woman kills man.
75. You want to eat your own fat.

    - When a man makes sport with one of his own children or siblings, he might hear this said. 'Eating one's own fat' means having an incestuous relationship.

76. I would rather a donkey kicked me than you cursed me.
77. The pleasure of gossiping about me makes two dogs eat out of the same dish.

    - Said to suggest that a common enemy will bring enemies together.

78. When the house has no broom, Anansi (the spider) is at work.
79. I have brought in large boats without steersmen; well, what of a corial then?

    - Used in a quarrel to imply that the speaker has held her own against greater odds than those presented by the opponent. One example given

was of an older servant quarreling with a younger one, with this proverb spoken by the older one to say that she had defied the mistress herself.

80. Old fire-sticks do not take long to rekindle.

- This proverb implies that reconciliations between old friends are not difficult.

81. Waiting till tomorrow caused the toad to remain without a tail.

- This reminds a person of an unfulfilled promise; see Saramacca Proverb No. 39.

82. A man who does not believe a lie, does not believe the truth.
83. All bush animals eat cassava, but the rabbit carries the name (of thief). (K)

    - This proverb was used to comment on the fact that a certain man had suffered too great a penalty for adultry.

84. I am half a cent, no one can break me. (K)

    - This is said in defiance when a person is being taken to task. Reference to the half-cent, of course, is to the smallest coin.

85. The flower which cures a wound, is the one which is used for a bouquet on the chief's table. (K)
86. Love is the boss. (K)
87. Life is sweet. (K)
88. Experience is no tree, but it grows. (K)
89. A dirt-wagon carries dirt, but it does not carry shame. (K)

    - Spoken in a quarrel by someone who has been reduced to poverty.

90. Lovers there are, but all are in others hands. (K)
91. The small license on the dog's neck makes the cat angry. (K)

    - Said in a quarrel.

92. My dove flew away, but my luck, that stays. (K)

    - A woman would say this to a man who is about to leave her.

93. Laziness and nastiness caused your soul to leave you. (K)
94. Say what you like, my flag is on top. (K)

    - Used in a quarrel when one woman accuses the other of being incompetent, this proverb suggests that nevertheless fortune has favored her.

95. What the mistress says, the master does. (K)

    - This is said to a lover by a woman who mocks him for being henpecked.

96. I gave you a cent's worth of castor oil, and it has worked you so! - *Dag buba!* (K)

    - Used in a quarrel as a taunt.

97. Enjoyment of my smell, makes my lover lose the road to his house. (K)
98. There is still a good lover left, but he is hard [costly] to win. (K)
99. All showing of teeth is not a laugh.
100. All stretching out of the hand is not friendship.
101. When you curse the buzzard, it hurts the turkey.
102. The carpenter's house has no benches.
103. Boss Djaki says, ‘It is not for nothing that the worm crawls from side to side.’

- A warning to be careful of a person.

104. I cannot change the toad to [so that he will] open a parasol for a snake.

- A play on words is involved here, for *todo-prasoro* means a ‘toad-stool’.

105. What can an ant do with a cow's head?

- Said in a quarrel as a retort to a threat.

106. When I bought my cow, my cow,
My cow had no horns.

- This ridicules a person who is putting on airs.

107. Love is already dead.

- A cynical saying, used when someone brings up the story of a quarrel between a man and a woman.

108. If you have not crossed the stream, you do not curse the alligator's mother.

- Used for men who boast, to suggest the value of discretion.

109. The turtle says, it is not that he cannot climb a hill, but the laughter disturbs him.

- Said in mockery to someone who, as an excuse for something which he cannot do, blames it on some trivial external thing.

110. When the chambermaid and the butler quarrel, then you hear where the butter went.

- This would be said during a quarrel between friends, who in their anger disclose confidences.

111. When you strike the bottom of a kettle, you hear the boiling-man's tongue.

- When two people who had gossipped about another quarrel, he will soon hear what they had said about him.

112. The chameleon says, ‘Haste, haste is good, but caution, caution is good, too.’

- This, is said to an impetuous person. (Compare No. 11).

113. Do not be shamed into eating poison.

- Spoken to a timid person. As has been stated, *wisi* may mean either ‘poison’ or ‘black magic’.

114. The toad says, ‘If you are talking of buttocks, I cannot speak, but if you are talking of eyes, I can speak.’
115. Anansi is cunning, but today the tiger rides on his back. (K)

- This was said of a man who had for a long time criticized the authorities but had finally been sentenced to serve a prison term for it.

116. Seize food, but do not seize speech.
117. The tongue brings his master good, it brings his master evil, too.
118. The old sickness of the toad is eczema.

119. When you comb the head, you find lice.
120. What you leave in the burning house, you will find in the ashes.
121. The wild dog changes his house, but he cannot change his manners.
122. If a child is not ashamed to die in the middle of the night, his mother is also not ashamed to bewail him.

123. As long as there is running away, so long there is a whip.
124. The angel on the street, the devil at home.
125. An unknown hunter is worse than a killer whom all men know.
126. Strength does not take the cow to the barn, but one small ripe banana will.
127. The gourd which holds cassava-flour has a white mouth, but other people eat the flour.

- This is said by a person who is accused of possessing something which he does not have.

128. Snakes that hide, change into boa constrictors.

- Someone who wished to register distrust of another person would use this proverb.

129. The wanderer sees a ghost, the ghost sees that a man is there.

- This proverb is used when a strong man meets his equal.

130. To tell the truth is not evil.

- This would be said by a man who had been insulted for being frank.

131. When you do not want to hear ‘howdo, howdo’, you must not build your house by the side of the road.

- Spoken to someone who has put himself in a position to be criticised, and resents it.

132. The pudding which you thought would not fill your belly, that one is going to tax your digestion.

- This applies to a person who has misjudged another.

133. God knew what he did, (when) he did not give the horse horns.

- Said to a man who has tried to do more than he is capable of doing.

134. What you do not know should overwhelm you, but what you know should not overwhelm you.

- This is a criticism of someone who did that which he knew he should not do, and is now in difficulties.

135. It will come to all of us.

- Spoken to reprove a person who seems to find relish in another man's bad luck.

136. You go (prepared) to lose the arrow, you lose the salamander.

- This would be said to a man who has given up something he was sure of for the possibility of finding something better, and has lost both.

137. All fish shake their tails, the old-wife, too.

    - This is said about a poor man who tries to act as though he were rich, the point being that ‘old-wife’ is the name of a very small fish.

138. When the rain comes the buzzard wants to build a house, when the rain is over, he forgets.
139. When hard times come to tiger, he eats earth.

    - That is, when tiger has not found any kill.

140. A lie hurts more than a wound.
141. When the fire is dead, the pickaninny plays in the ashes.
142. What is in the dark shall come to light.
142a. There is nothing in darkness, that will not come to light.
143. (If) you buy poison (black magic), you must buy cunning (sense) also.
144. You do not know what elephant has eaten to make him grow so big.
145. Dog has four feet, but he does not walk on four roads.
146. He took the stool, and he wants to take the buttocks also.
147. With one finger you cannot drink okra.
148. When I walk on the earth, then I step softly; for when I die, the earth is going to eat me. (See Saramacca Proverb 1.)
149. The chief's breast is for all children. (See Saramacca Proverb 2.)
150. You must plant the cassava before it will grow.

- That is, a person must ask for a thing before he can hope to get it.

151. When a person digs a hole to put another in, he himself falls into it.
152. I took my ship to the middle of the stream, the rudder broke, and it left me in midstream. (K)
153. Look at the speck on your own face, but do not look at the sore on your neighbor's eye.
154. Love is nothing, talk (companionship?) is the boss.
155. If a boiler has no fire, there will be no steam.
156. Standing with a clenched fist is not an embrace.
157. All animals do not speak the same language.
158. When the rain finds you in a leaky house, it never stops coming down on you.
159. When there is no wood, I put vines on the fire.
160. Suriname is a horse's tail; today it moves so, tomorrow it moves so. (See No. 45.)
161. An orange must (first) be green before it is ripe.
162. Anansi says he is not afraid, but his body trembles. (See No.109.)
163. Rat does not know what money buys.
164. Rat says, ‘When I go about stealing at night, it is not for my own sake, but (that) my children send me.’
165. When there is no dog, you take the goat hunting.
166. You play with a puppy, he (will) licks your mouth.
167. When the sheep dies, it leaves (its) suffering to its skin.
168. When Tiger is dead, Deer dances on his grave.
169. If you are called a cow, you must carry horns.
170. Goat is small, but it is not a servant to cow.
171. Goat says, ‘(When) the mouth is quiet, then it is a ghost.’
172. Even though crab has no blood, it has anger.
173. I am the owl; when I cry, someone dies.
174. When the monkey is in need, it embraces a thorn.

E. Proverbs of the Saramacca bush-negroes

1. nιT ąt akav ípas ,ĵas a m ε t i m sɔdɔ a' ,õũ i m ε' .ũũ
   neit dats klav tfis ,tfe tub neit l daed o t dɔŋ l s i yeg

   The time has come for me to walk softly, softly, but (for) when I am dead, into the earth I shall go.

   This means that what a person has to do he must do carefully, lest in doing it without discretion he will get hurt; he must 'walk softly, softly', and be politic with those who are stronger than he. This proverb was said by Kaptein Abaisa in speaking of Graman Yankuso, whose political opponent he was, but with whom he could not afford to break openly. For the *taki-taki* equivalent, see No. 147.

2. | Gąmą | bobí | na | fõ | hí | sɛmbɛ. |
   |---|---|---|---|---|---|
   | Chief | breast | it | for | many | people. |

   The chief's breast belongs to many people.

   A ruler must care for all his subjects. The town variant is No. 148.

3. Tɛ vaą mîn dɔ ɔgi i' nɔn sɔ dã pɛ̃ɔ
   Wev ee dɔ dɔ ey yɔ nɔs sɔa ge pa

   When a child does evil, you should forgive him.

   The great man, or the person who has political power, must know how to forgive an offense.

4. ε Tu yą w ,iąm ¸ ε u y i tɔkmɛ h ,ĩĩĩ ε t u y iarp ,ɔ' 'ąd a ¸ ɔk .iąm ibah
   nelWuoy eno ,nay dnauoy tucmi h eiei nehwuoy tralp ,mih neht t i emocmay evah

   When you have a yam and cut it into pieces, when you plant the pieces, yams will grow.

   Used when the actions of a person are being discussed and reasons for them given. It is like our saying 'like to like', for the inference is that a good yam comes from a good one, and a poor one from a poor.

5. ff uy wɔ a õ ąą ąą ąą ąą ũ ɔ
   lf uy hɔw a v/e a ɔ a hiv gõ pɛ

   If you wash your hands well, you can eat with important people.

   This is an injunction to be careful of your conduct in the presence of persons of standing. If you treat them with the deference that is their due, they will do well for you.

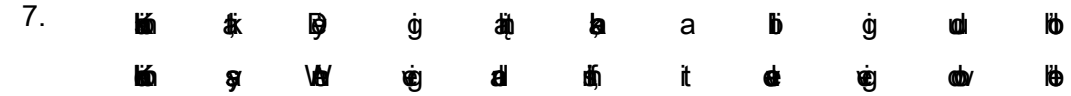
6. Kɔnkɔni taki, 'Ɔgi dɛ na ala pɛ.'

Koni-koni say, ‘Evil is in all place.’

Koni-koni says, ‘There is evil everywhere.’

The moral in this saying is that just as there is bad everywhere, there is also good, and if you do good for people they will return you good, but if you are evil with them, they will work against you.

7.



Koni-koni says, 'When there is no more land, there remain the holes in the trees.'

Koni-koni is a rabbit-like animal who figures extensively in Suriname folklore; his name actually means 'cunning-cunning one'. This saying, put into his mouth, means that there is more than one way to attain an end if a person is determined. For *taki-taki* version, see No. 65.

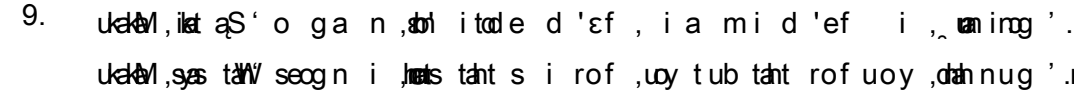
8.

Dagu	taki,	Chaku	fi'	ú,	dą'	fi'	ûu.'
Dog	says,	Chaku	for	you,	then	for	you.'

Dog says, 'Chaku-chaku, what is yours, then, is yours.'

'Chaku-chaku' is the noise a dog makes when he laps up water, and as far as could be ascertained, has nothing in particular to do with the meaning of the proverb. This lies in the last part of the quotation, and signifies that a person will give first of all to those who are related to him, thus reflecting the family solidarity found among the Suriname Negroes. The *taki-taki* version is given in No. 65.

9.



Makaku says, 'What goes in your stomach is yours, but what is in your hand is the hunter's.'

Makaku is a small monkey. 'Don't count your chickens before they are hatched' is our corresponding saying.

10.

Abosiki	dompo	tu	musi,	a	kaya	faia.
Abosiki	jump	too	much	he	fall	fire.

Abosiki jumps too much, and it falls into the fire.

Abosiki is an insect (moth ?) that jumps far, and often, not seeing where he jumps, is killed. Therefore, the saying warns that if a person trys too hard to accomplish something, he is likely not to succeed in it.

11.

Beɛsi	dɛ	na	seia	mí	'ɛ	kõ.
Beɛsi	there	at	side	I	is	come.

Beɛsi is at the side from which I have come.

This is a toad-like animal, and the saying may reflect the dislike which the Suriname Negroes have for it. The proverb is used by a person when talking to another in the presence of a third, to indicate that there is something of a private nature which the speaker wishes to tell the other.

12.

Masa	kaọ,	masa	sabana.
Master	cow,	master	field.

The owner of the cow is the owner of the field.

The person to whom a thing belongs is the one who has the say over it.

13.

Toɔb	fi	no	de	leẹiki	noọi	ko	fi.
Toad	head	not	is	like	belly	and	head

Toad's head is not toad's belly.

You are not the same person I am.

14.

iɛ€	uy	ˆse	uy	,sɔh	ɛt	uy	ˆla	,ila	ɛp	uy	ipɔ	?ɪ]ɛ
fI	uoy	Ise	noy	,sda	nedw	uoy	yub	tah	eneb	uoy	tup	?ihw

If you sell your head, when you buy a hat, where will you put it?

Used by a man when he is urged to do something that would redound to his own harm.

15.

Ɛfi	wą	bɔb	n'a	pada	fa	a	dɛ	gɔ?
If	one	boat	no have	padd	how	he	is	go?

If a boat has no paddle, how will it go?

This means that if a person has no witnesses in court, how can he prove his case?

16.

Ɛfi	na	kɔnu	dą'	mi	bɛ	´ɛ·si	fɔt^ɔ
If	it is	hill,	then	I	been	see	town

If there were a hill, then I would see the town.

Like the preceding proverb, this is used in court, and signifies the thought, 'We have come to a point we must discuss the matter before we can go farther with it.'

17.

uY	um	kɛt	ŋɔs	ɔ̃f	a'	itsú	ufa	'ą	uy	ayn	aɔ́s	ɟɔb
uoY	tsum	etat	nabs	nof	eht	tsaw	pots	neht	uoy	tae	nɔs	ɔdɔh

You must be shamed by the sweet soup, into eating sour pudding.

For the sake of the thing a person likes or respects he must submit *to* things he would otherwise escape. For *taki-taki* version, see No. 72.

18.

isiwE	,ɛt	a	ŋɔs	,ɔfm	,ɔ̃m	u	y	a	n	ɔsɔs	,ɪɔn	o	n	ą	k	irk	'uy
isiW	,yas	e	h	gɔs	,ɔfm	,um	uoy	a	ka	,nam	o	n	nac	llk	'uy

Powisi sings, 'Mmhu, mmhu; you are a man, I cannot kill you.'

This is a proverb quoted by the Graman of the Saramacca people, and signifies that every creature recognizes the limitations to his power. But it may be said ironically, too.

19.

Kori-kori	ɦɛdɛ̂,	yu	ką	kɩsi	losu.
Combcomb	head,	you	can	catch	lice.

If you comb the head, you can catch lice.

A proverb quoted by the Graman to indicate that as one must go carefully after a louse, so a man's friend can get something from him that an ordinary person cannot. For *taki-taki* variant, see No. 119.

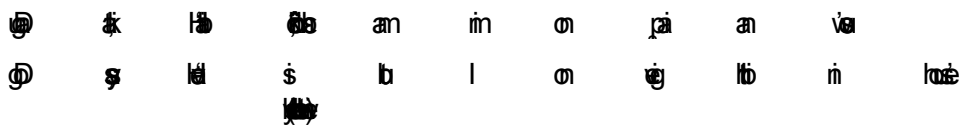
20.

ˆ			ɛh	et	e'	og	a'		a	af	ǫd	ą ąk
			eh		si	og	ot		ti		on	

piíti,	wą	wobo	a	ką	piíti.
break	one	egg	it	can	break.

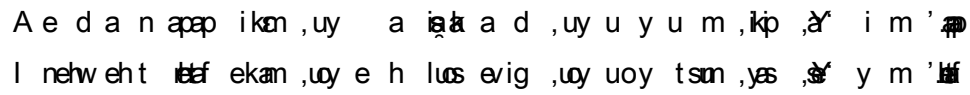
Parrot says if his tail goes to the city and falls down, it cannot break; if an egg falls, it can break.

A strong man will come through any situation he finds himself in, but a weak one will give way under the strain. A proverb used by the Graman.

21. 

Dog says, 'I am pregnant, but I cannot give birth in the house.'

The Graman used this proverb to indicate that while a person may know what is outside a closed container, he cannot know what is inside it. The saying also signifies that one cannot know what a person will say until he speaks.

22. 

Since, when the father made you he gave you your soul, you must answer, 'Yes, my father.'

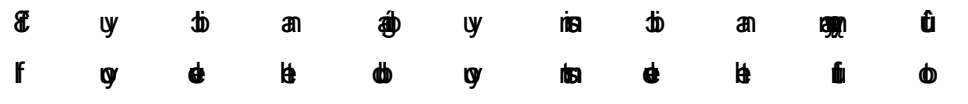
The Graman used this saying to indicate that the dictates of the spirits must be followed.

23.

Ɛfi	'a	bɛ	i	fû,	no	fatí	fatu.
If	he	belly	is	full	no	fat	fat.

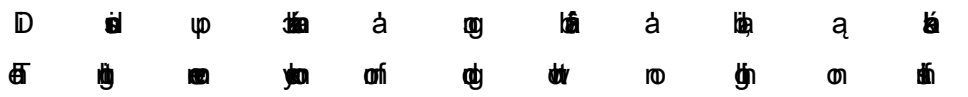
(Even) if his belly is full, he is not very fat.

Said when a person who has given someone only a small amount, boasts of how much he has given.

24. 

If you love the bud, you must love the fruit, too.

A corresponding proverb of ours is 'Love me, love my dog.'

25. 

The power that took the makaka monkey from the ground and put it in the tree,

is not exhausted.

The meaning of this proverb is that if a man had done a good deed for another, the second should not forget it, for the gods are still there to see that the weak are protected.

26. i fƐ ą w anus abil i îsf o k ,îfen ną'd usun abil ɛ f ˙ˆie o k dorb âtab
f l eno nsrep evahs uoy ecaf ht iw rcar tabt tsun evahs rof e h ht iw rekrb elttb

If a person shaves you with a razor, do not shave him with broken glass.

Do not return evil for good.

27. Fû krîkî ´ą tân hon wî.
Full creek no stand uproot weeds.

A flooded creek does not uproot the weeds.

Another proverb which teaches not to boast.

28. i M ą t ukul ɛ d a ' ¸ê a m i m o n 'as imbo ɛ d a .ˆɛd
I dats kool eeht t a swoc tub I o n wonk woh ynam yeht s i le

I am looking at the herd, but I do not know how many cows there are.

Used by a person given a package by another to keep, to indicate he does not know the contents; also used when the speaker wishes to indicate he does not want to discuss the affairs of another.

29. [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ą [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]

Chicken says she can lie about her eggs, but she cannot lie about the chicks.

That is, no one can tell what is inside an egg before it has been hatched, but everyone knows what the chick, once born, is like. The point to the Bush Negro is that no one can know what is going on inside the mind of another person.

30. Pɩḱį matchaṷ fa a gˇą paṷ.
Small axe cut down big stick.

A small axe cut down a big tree.

For *taki-taki* equivalent, see No. 21.

31. Sekí na gogo a go seki na bakâ
Shake the buttocks he go shake the back

The more the woman moves her buttocks (in connection), the more the man's back will move.

This is a woman's proverb, and carries the significance that one person must help another.

32. Boto n'á masanga a si'íbi ooo̯ sṓ.

Boat no-have steersman, he sleep quiet.

The boat without a steersman rests quietly.

This proverb, said to be spoken in the esoteric ‘Kromanti-tongo’ - the language of the men's secret society (?) - means that a village cannot exist without a head-man.

33. 

The thing which will make the little bird happy is on the corn stalk.

That is, the thing a person looks for, he will get. The saying is used to console someone who wants something badly, and cannot get it at the time.

34.

Kambá	tą	kɔsi	kapasi	fō	kōkû.
Big armadillo	stand	curse	small armadillo	for	thick-skin.

The big armadillo curses the little armadillo for being thick-skinned.

But both have the same kind of skin; hence the equivalent of, ‘The pot calls the kettle black.’

35.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

No one must die, but the grave-yard must not be empty.

This is spoken fatalistically to convey that what must be must be. Attributed to Graman Yankuso.

36.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	i	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

People say, ‘If you stir up a hole, you will see what is inside it.’

This proverb is used when in a fight, or condition of stress, someone shows unsuspected power.

37.

Ganiya	futu	ąn	mu	ki'i	ɛŋ	pikį.
Chicken	foot	no	must	kill	he	child.

The foot of the chicken must not kill her young.

It was explained that when a person asks for help in time of need, this is how he appeals to the one he is asking. For the *taki-taki* version, see No. 50.

38.

Ɛfi	yu	no	sɔdi	wą	no	ką	kō	tû.
If	you	no	settle	one	no	can	out	two

If you do not settle one, you cannot dispose of two.

That is, ‘One thing at a time.’

39.

A'	[illegible]	[illegible]	id	i	ɛk	i	[illegible]	a'	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
tA	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	eh	[illegible]	eh	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

'A tap-uku luku tɛ a lɔbi a teki, na todo tą' zɔndra tɛre.[1].
Standing at the corner watching so that when he liked he could take, caused the toad to remain without a tail.

40.

Koni-koni	taki,	ka'api	süti	mo	pįnda.
Koni-koni	say,	krapa	sweet	more	peanuts.

Koni-koni says, 'Krapa is sweeter than peanuts.'

41.

Sabi	ą̀n	dɛ	a	g'ą̀ndi.
Knowledge	no	is	with	old.

Knowledge is not only with the old.

42.

I kǫ̀ go	kaa̱i,	a	no	maɩŋgɛre.
Come-go	fall	is	no	weakness.

To slip is not to be a weakling.

1 *Taki-taki* version.

43.

Tidɛ	fō	i,	a mąnya	fō	mi.
Today	for	you,	tomorrow	for	me.

Tide fō yu, na tamara fō mi.[1]
Today is for you, tomorrow for me.

44.

Hati	fō	tidɛ	chubi	hɛm	fō	a mąnya
Heart burn	of	today	hide	he	for	tomorrow

Hatibrǫn fō tidɛ kɩbri hɛm fō tamara.[1]
Hide today's anger until tomorrow.

45.

Wiwiri	kąi	'a	watra,	a	no	tidɛ	a	pɔri
leaves	fall	in	water	it	no	today	it	spoil

Wiwiri fadǫ' na watra, a no tidɛ a de pɔri.[1]
Leaves that fall into the water will not spoil today (in one day).

46.

A	kaleų	tą	nyąm,	makaka	dɛ	'a	faįya.
The	worm	stand	eat,	monkey	is	in	fire.

Na wɔrǫn tą' nyąm, makaka dɛ na faįya.[1]
A worm in the maripa nut will bring the monkey to the fire.

47.

Pi	wata	'abi	fųndu	grǫ'.
Still	water	have	deep	ground.

Tiri watra habi dip' grǫ'.[1]
Still water has a deep bottom.

48.

Sųnyu	wata	habi	bǭnbǭn	fɩsi.
Ruffle	water	have	good-good	fish.

Truli watra habi bǭn fisi.[1]
Ruffled water has good fish.

49.

Wiwi	alu	pąu	abo	maka	a	kɔkɔ	a	gro	maka
Leaf	like	sick	like	thorn	he	kɔkɔ	he	grow	thorn

Na bom di habi maka na hɛm hɛdɛ, a de gɔro maka.[1]
A bush which has thorns will grow thorns.

1 *Taki-taki* version.
1 *Taki-taki* version.
1 *Taki-taki* version.
1 *Taki-taki* version.
1 *Taki-taki* version.
1 *Taki-taki* version.
1 *Taki-taki* version.

F. Dreams

1. Tɛ mi m'ma meki mi, mi m'ma drɽŋ taki a kɔti ɽŋ fɪŋga, d'a pɔti na wą uku, d'a kɪs' wą trapu. Dą' a sɛr' 'a trapu, d'a bą̣i wąn par doi̯fi. Dąn a gi wąn tra suma umą-wan, d'a 'ɔr' na man-wą. Na s'refi dei̯ di mi xebɔru, tu wiki na baka, na suma di a kɪsi na umą-wan, a kɪsi wan umą p'kin. Ala tu no kąn nyąm doi̯fi na trapu. Wi ala tu na wan dei̯, a taki wi habi wą 'kra lei̯iki tu-p'kin. Ɛf' wą wɪnti wan' fõ kɪsi hɽm, so ląŋga mi no miti hɛm, a no kan kɪsi hɛm. Ɛf' a teki masra ɛn mi yeye no lɔbi hɛm, a muso prati.
2. Ɛf' wan suma drɽŋ hɛm si pastoru, dɑti na Papa wɪnti.
3. Tɛ yu drɽŋ yu si Bakra, na Kromanti wɪnti.
4. Tɛ yu drɽŋ kɛskɛsi, na Obia wɪnti.
5. Tɛ yu drɽŋ wan suma yu bɔs' beina, 'a wɪnti mus' kɪs' yu nõ mõ. A kɪsi yu kaba. Dɑti wąn sweri. A feti nąŋga yu, ma a habi pasi kaba. Yu no habi wan koni fõ tapu hɛm.
6. Ɛf' wan suma 'ɛ drɽŋ a si sineki, dɑti taki a habi feiąnti.
7. Ɛf' yu drɽŋ fą̣ia, na trɔbi 'ɛ go mit' yu.
8. Ɛf' neti didǫ' baka yu drɽŋ yu smoko pipa, na alamal' trɔbi dɛ go mit' yu - soso trɔbi.
9. Ɛf' yu didǫ' na neti ɛn yu drɽŋ dɑti yu kɪs' wąn brɛdɛ - ma a no mu' habi bɔtro - na wąn wroko yu go kɪsi.
10. Ɛf' habi bɔtro, 'a wroko n'ɛ go wroko bǫ̃n. A i n'ɛ go kɪsi hɛm.
11. Ɛf' yu drɽŋ yu go waka na sɪpi, dɑti na bɔskopu yu go kɪsi fõ go 'a wąn prei̯si. A kąn dɛ bǫ̃n, ɛf' ɔgri.
12. Ɛf' yu drɽŋ yu si na sɪpi, dąn yu sɑ kɪsi wan bɔskopu.

13. Ɛf yu drɛŋ yu si wan Djuka boto, dat' na dɛdɛ. No sabi suma, ma wąn suma go dɛdɛ.
14. Ɛf yu si wąn bosu ba·ana, dɑti wąn suma go dɛdɛ, yu sɑ kɪs' bɔskopu.
15. Ɛf' yu si draị fɪsi, na dɛdɛ.
16. Ɛf' tyari wa hɛbi na hɛdɛ, dati wan sani di a go hɛbi gi yu. Pina, trɔbi.
17. Ɛf' yu drɛŋ yu na soso s'kin, yu sɑ kɪsi syɛm.
18. Ɛf' yu drɛŋ yu heri sikin mɔrsu nąŋga xrotu, na mɔni a go kɔm na yu hanu.
19. Ɛf' yu drɛŋ aleịn kɔm, yu i go kreị.
20. Ɛf' yu drɛŋ y'i 'ɛ dąnsi, dąt' no bǭn tu. Dat' wą sari go kɪs' yu. Ibriwą dąnsi, ɛf' yu dąnsi naŋga musik.
21. Tɛ yu drɛŋ dat' yu swɛŋ na ɪn' wą liba, ļŋgi wɪnti sɑ kɪs' yu.
22. Ɛf' mi drɛŋ taki mi sɪki, ɛf' mi hanu, ɛf' mi futu kɔti, dat' wan' taki mi 'ɛ go 'a wą preịsi, den go ɑksi wą sani, ma mi n'ɛ go sabi fō piki.
23. Ɛf' yu drɛŋ na neti wą mą-suma a gi yu wąn lɛpi ba·ana a bakba, yu nyąm hɛm, dɑti taki na dati mą' a teki yu umą. Ma ɛf' yu no nyąm, dati taki a i suku, m'a no kɪsi yɛtɛ.
24. Ɛf' na wą' umą gi tra umą wa lɛpi ba·ana a bakba, ɛf' a nyąm hɛm, dɑti taki na umą dɑti a teki hɛm mą'. Ma ɛf' a no nyąm. a no kɪsi yɛtɛ.
25. Tɛ yu drɛŋ yu kɪsi wa nyu susu, yu dɛ go fen' wą nyu lɔbi.
26. Ɛf' yu drɛŋ wąn kriki nąŋga fɪsi, ma krịn watra, ɛf' yu dɛ go du wą sani, a i go waka bǭn.
27. Ɛf' yu drɛŋ yu kɪsi fɪsi na wą uku, 'a wan pikin yu dɛ go kɪsi.
28. Ɛf' yu drɛŋ fo foru ɛksi, a no bǫn; ɛf' yu sɑ du wą sani, a i n'ɛ go waka.
29. Ɛf' yu drɛŋ dagu, dati na Kromanti wɪnti.

Introduction

The dream interpretations which appear here were given by one informant, and developed from a discussion of the souls of twins. There was no opportunity to obtain fuller material; the list that follows is, therefore, included as raw data that may be useful to students for comparative purposes.

The first dream explains how the informant came to be regarded as a twin brother of a girl born of another mother two weeks after he was born. While taking down these dreams we were several times assured, '*A tru-tru. Mi habi ɔndrofeni fō na sani dɪsi*.... It is true. I have [personal] experience regarding these things.'

1. When my mother conceived, my mother dreamt that she cut off a finger, and put it on a [fishing] hook, and caught a tarpon. Then she sold the tarpon, and bought a pair of doves. Then she gave away the female, and kept the male. Two weeks after I was born, on the same week-day, the one [the woman] who got the female [dove], gave birth to a girl. Both of us cannot eat doves or tarpons. Both of us were born the same day [of the week], and it is said that we have one soul like twins. If a spirit wishes to make a familiar of her, as long as I have not come upon it first it cannot do so. If she marries and my soul does not like the husband, they must separate.
2. If a person dreams he sees a priest, that is a *Papa wɪnti* [that wishes to make a familiar of him].
3. When you dream you see a White man, it is *Kromanti wɪnti* [that is seeking to come to you].
4. When you dream of monkeys, it is *Obia wɪnti* [that is seeking to come to you].
5. When you dream someone is about to kiss you, the *wɪnti* [one that had manifested itself as in 2, 3, or 4] must catch you without fail. He has already caught you. That is an oath [compact]. He fought you, but [and] he has already gained sway. You have no means to stop him.
6. If a person dreams he sees snakes, that means he has enemies.
7. If you dream of fire, trouble will come to you.
8. If night after night you dream you are smoking a pipe, all kinds of trouble will come - nothing but trouble.
9. If you lie down at night and you dream that you are getting a [piece of] bread - but it must not have butter - you will get a job.
10. If it has butter, the job will not turn out well. You won't get it.
11. If you dream you will travel in a ship, that means you will get a message to go somewhere. It can be [for something] good, or bad.
12. If you dream you see the ship, then you will get a message.

13. If you dream you see a Djuka boat [a corial], that is death. Don't know who, but someone will die.
14. If you see a bunch of plantains, that means someone will die [and] you will get a message [about it].
15. If you see dry fish, it is death.
16. If [you dream] you carry a load on your head, that means that something is going to distress you. Hunger, trouble.
17. If you dream you are naked, you will be humiliated.
18. If you dream your whole body is covered with excrement, you will come into money.
19. If you dream of an approaching storm, you will weep.
20. If you dream you are dancing, that also is not good. That [means that] you will have a sorrow. Any dance, if you dance to music.
21. When you dream you are swimming in a river, an Indian *wɩnti* will take possession of you.
22. If I dream that I am sick, and my hand or my foot is cut off, that means I am going somewhere, and they will ask me something, but I will not know how to answer them.
23. If you dream at night that a man gives you a ripe banana, and you eat it, that means that man took your wife away. But if you do not eat it, that means he is trying [to take her], but he has not got her yet.
24. If a woman gives [in a dream] another woman a ripe banana, and she eats it, that means that woman took her husband away. But if she does not eat it, she has not got him yet.
25. When you dream you are getting a pair of new shoes, you will find a new lover.
26. If you dream of a fishing creek, but [with] clear water, [then] if you will do something, it will turn out well.
27. If you dream you are catching fish on a hook, you will have a child.
28. If you dream of eggs, it is not good; if you will do something, it will not turn out well.
29. If you dream of a dog, that means *Kromanti wɩnti*.

Part III Suriname music

TRANSCRIPTIONS AND ANALYSES BY DR. M. KOLINSKI

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A. General statement

The study of Afro-American music is as significant from a musicological as from an ethnological point of view, for in the comparison of the musical styles of the various Afro-American peoples with one another, and with those of the African homeland, we may look for clarification of some of the important problems of acculturation. It already appears as a possibility that by an analysis of musical forms we may be able to follow gradations from the African dark-brown, so to speak, to the purest European white. Up to the present time the types of Afro-American music that have been generally known and discussed, are jazz and 'the spirituals'. The fact, therefore, that New World Negro musical forms, other than these two, have been but little studied,[1] enhances the value of the data presented here. For as the present study discloses, the songs of the Suriname Negroes are in large part typically African in their entire tonal, rhythmic and formal structure. This means that in spite of the sudden uprooting of the Dutch Guiana Negroes from their native soil, the decisive change that took place in their conditions of life, and their contact with foreign races, this element of their culture has been preserved partially unchanged for centuries.

B. Musicological analysis

1. Introductory Remarks:

To facilitate comparisons between the tonal structure of the songs treated here, it is necessary to classify them according to a uniform and at the same time characteristic scheme. Undoubtedly the so-called anhemitonic[2]-pentatonic scale, the intervals of which correspond to the black keys on the piano, represents a special type of tonal progression; however, neither the absence of half tones nor the presence of five notes constitutes its predominant characteristic. Thus, the scale *f-g-a-b-c*♯, to choose an extreme example, is non-half-tonal as well as five-tonal; yet in spite of this fact, it differs basically from the so-called anhemitonic-pentatonic type. The scale *c-d-e-g*, hi spite of its four-tone character, is much more closely related to it. Some have termed such scales of less than five tones 'incomplete-pentatonic', but this has been done with just as little justification as it would be to call the pentatonic scales 'incomplete diåtonic' ones. As a matter of fact, the differentiation of tonal structure on the basis of the number

1 The most noteworthy exceptions are H.H. Roberts' studies of Jamaican Negro music, referred to below, though some studies of Sea Island music have been made by Johnson (I).

2 I.e., non-half-tonal.

of tones within one octave, or according to the occurrence of half-tones, appears to be of little value as a primary principle of classification, even though the number of tones as well as the anhemitonic character constitute in themselves important elements. Of far greater significance in determining the characteristics of the tonal structure is the manner in which the tones are connected, the greater or lesser melodic significance of the various tones, and the position of the tonal center, - the key-tone within the scale; in short, the functional relationships between the tones.

Thus it may be said that the so-called anhemitonic-pentatonic scales are to be distinguished by an especially close binding of the tones. All tones in such scales are linked in fourths and fifths, the end points of the chain being separated from each other by not more than four steps of a fourth or a fifth each, (e.g.,  or ). Thus the tones employed always lie within a section of five tones, within the cycle of fifths; in the first example, it is the section *c-g-d-a-e*, in the second, *b♭-f-c-g-d*. All scales, then, whose tones lie within such a section of five tones from the cycle of fifths, - that is, the so-called anhemitonic-pentatonic scales, - as well as those having fewer tones, as for instance *c-d-e* (these being a part of the complex *c-(g)-d-(a)-e*), constitute a tonal type which may be called the 'penta-type'. All scales whose tones lie within a section of six tones from the cycle of fifths, namely, scales of from two to six tones, like *b-c* (of the complex *b-(e)-(a)-(d)-(g)-c*) or *e-f-g-a*, (from: *f-(c)-g-(d)-a-e*) or *g-a-b-c-d-e*, (from: *b-e-a-d-g-c*), form what will be termed the 'hexa-type'. All scales whose tones lie within a section of seven tones from the cycle of fitfhs, constitute the 'hepta-type'; i.e., *f-g-b* (from: *f-(c)-g-(d)-(a)-(e)-b*) or *d-e-f-g-a-b♭*, (from: *b♭-f-(c)-g-(d)-a-e*).

Different modes may be distinguished in accordance with the position of the key-tone. One might classify modes according to their key-tones, and this can be accomplished without employing sharps or flats; thus, one speaks of a *do-, re-, mi-, fa-, sol-, la-*, and *si*-mode. However, only the scales of the hepta-type can be thus defined unequivocally, since the cycle of fifths contains only one seven-tonal progression without accidentals, namely *f-c-g-d-a-e-b*. On the other hand the scales of the hexa- and penta-type may be built up from two or three tones, because the cycle of fifths contains two sections of tones which do not have any accidentals, namely, *f-c-g-d-a-e* and *c-g-d-a-e-b*, in addition to three sections of five tones without sharps and flats, namely, *f-c-g-d-a, c-g-d-a-e*, and *g-d-a-e-b*. From the point of view of the determination of mode, therefore, scales of the hexa-type have a two-fold, those of the penta-type a three-fold aspect. Thus, the scale *g-a-b*, with the key-tone *g*, may, for example, be deemed to belong not only to the *sol* mode, but to the *do* mode *(c-d-e)*, and to the *fa* mode *(f-g-a)* as well.



Plate XIX. Left to right: Bush-Negro (Saramacca) Apinti drum, Haitian Voodoo-cult drum, Bush-Negro (Djuka) Apinti drum.

In the diagram of tonal structures the section of fiths *c-g-d-a-e* has thus been arbitrarily selected as representative of the penta-type the mode based on *c* being called the penta-*do*-mode; the mode based on *d* designated the penta-*re*-mode, etc. For the hexa-type, the progression *c-g-d-a-e-b* has been chosen, the mode based on *c* being termed the hexa-*do*-mode, and that based on *d* the hexa-*re*-mode, etc.

Following the example of E.M. von Hornbostel, the different melodic values of the individual tones have been indicated in the analyses of tonal structures by employing notes of different values. In this way, fundamental tones have been expressed by whole notes; tones not structurally significant which are only occasionally employed have been expressed by quarter-notes. Structurally significant intervals are indicated by means of horizontal brackets '⏤'; less important ones by brackets in dotted lines '⸺'. The sign, ⏡, above a note indicates the opening tone; inverted, ⏠, it indicates the closing one.

In the transcriptions of the songs the sign + or - above a note means that this note is raised or lowered in tone, up to approximately a quarter-tone. In exceptional cases, where a certain tone has been consistently raised throughout the whole song, (as for

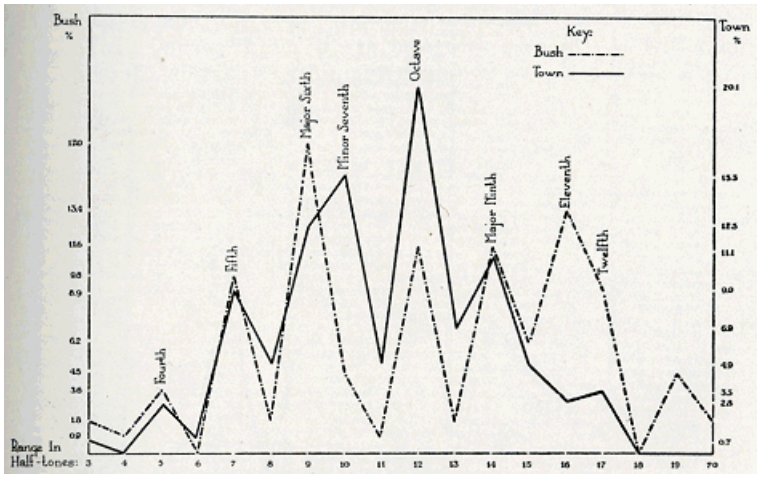


Fig. 1. Tonal ranges of the songs.[1]

instance the *a* in song 68), then, to avoid repeating the sign throughout, this fact has been indicated by writing a + at the beginning each bar on of the line where this note occurs. A

1 Due to an error in copying this figure, the designation 'Eleventh' should read 'Major Tenth', that given as 'Twelfth' should be 'Eleventh', while the word 'Twelfth' should mark the point on the dotted line above the figure 19.

slanting line before or after a note (´♪ , ♪`), or between two notes, (♫) indicates by its direction an upward or downward glissando. Parts enclosed by brackets, '[ ]', have reference to deviations which result from repetition of songs, or parts of songs. Notes not distinctly audible on the phonograph records are placed in parentheses '( )'.[1]

Inasmuch as the relationship between the tones of a given melody is of foremost importance, and absolute pitch only of secondary significance, the major portion of the songs have not been transcribed in the key in which they were sung. Readability of the transcription has been the prime consideration in transposing the songs, and this has been accomplished by avoiding the use of many accidentals, and the necessity of adding additional lines to the staff.

2. The Music of the Bush-negroes.

a. Tonal Range.

The songs are very diverse in their tonal structure, something which becomes evident when the range of tone is considered. While it is true that the nature of the tonal structure of a song is not sufficiently designated by merely presenting the limits of its range of tone, yet this constitutes an important characteristic as a frame within which other traits are to be discerned. In addition to very narrow intervals (comprising only a third or a fourth), there

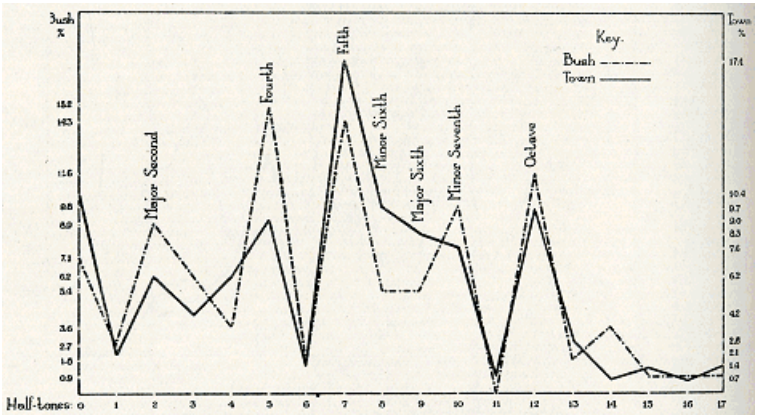


Fig. 2. Range between the lowest tone and the initial note. (Amount of descent in melodic line.)

are some songs with ranges of over one and a half octaves.[2] Songs of large range predominate; 40% have tones within the limits of a

1 See O. Abraham and E.M. von Hornbostel, *passim*.
2 See Fig. 1.

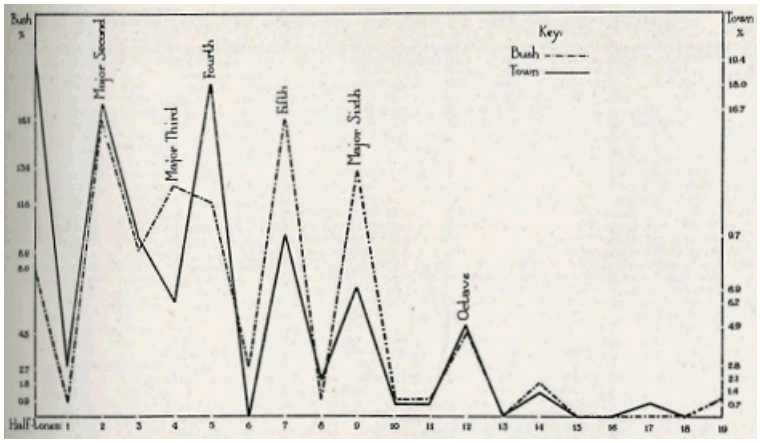


Fig. 3. Range between the highest tone and the initial note. (Amount of rise in melodic line.)

third to a seventh, while 60% have ranges between an octave and a thirteeenth. The major sixth is the range of greatest frequency of the individual intervals. The extremely rare occurrence of the minor sixth as setting limits to tonal spread is, on the other hand, to be noted. In songs of a wide range the major tenth, the major ninth, and the octave most often describe the limits. The small degree of consonance between the intervals is evidently the reason why we find only a small number of songs having a range of a major seventh and minor ninth, and none at all with a range of an augmented fourth.

b. Melodic Movement.

The majority of Suriname Bush-songs have a descending melodic progression. This being the case, it is not strange to find, for example, that songs where the lowest note is more than a sixth below the beginning tone, are much more frequent (29%) than those where the highest note is more than a sixth above its opening tone, (9%).[1] The fact that upward skips of such magnitude occur at all - those of a fifth or of a sixth occur fairly frequently, - is what is noteworthy.[2]

Just as in a chord the root forms the foundation, so also in the course of a melody the ‘tonic’, i.e., the key-tone, toward which the melody aims and which almost always closes the song, is as a rule placed on a comparatively low, if not the lowest tonal-position. Although in an eighth of the songs the final tone is placed more

1 See Figs. 2 and 3.
2 See Fig. 3.

than a fourth above the lowest tone, most frequently it is placed on the lowest tone, or a fourth, a major second, or a minor third above it.[1]

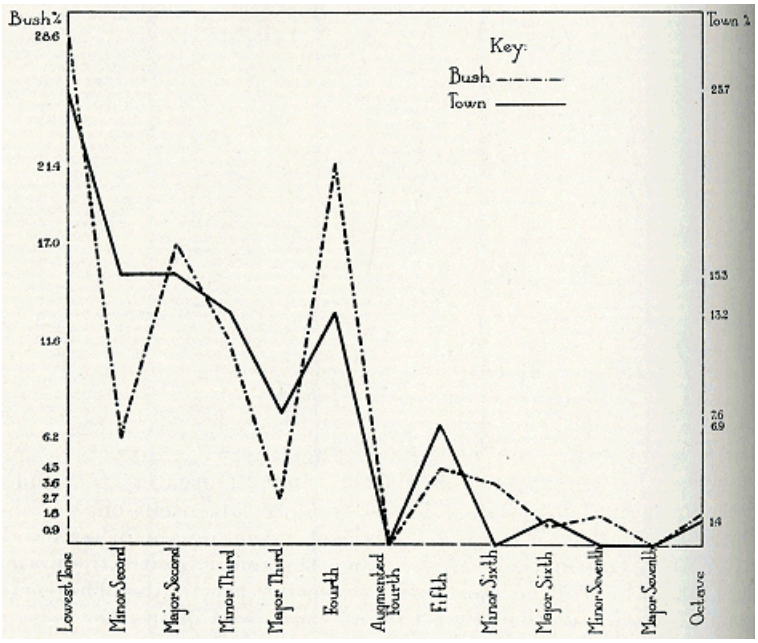


Fig. 4. Location of the final tone of a song with relation to the lowest note.

Furthermore, the relation between the opening and closing notes of a song helps to characterise its melodic line. In most of the songs, the pitch of the opening note is above the pitch of the final one, and in these cases the fifth above the final tone is especially favored for the initial tone. Very frequently the opening and concluding tones are the same.[2]

c. Absence of Half-tones.

In the analyses of tonal structure, apart from the twenty scales of the penta-type which are necessarily half-toneless, we find only three scales which lack half-tones[3]. However, a great number of songs other than these three must, strictly speaking, be considered as also being without half-tones. First of all, there are those songs

1 See Fig. 4.
2 See Fig. 5.
3 See analyses of tonal structure, IIIe, VIa, and VII.

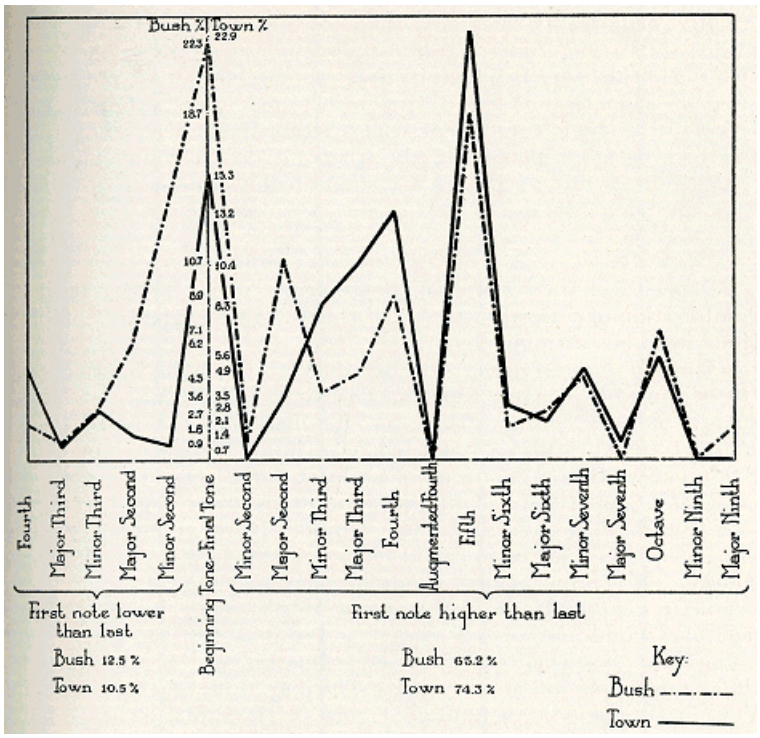


Fig. 5. Location of the opening note in relation to the final tone.

which, though they contain intervals of a half-tone, do not show in their melodic flow any half-tonal steps;[1] secondly, songs in which the half-tone step only seldom occurs and is without significance for the melodic form.[2] Altogether, almost two-thirds of the songs (63%) are those which completely or almost completely lack half-tones.

d. Intervals.

The conspicuously frequent employment of wide steps usually gives to the melodic line an erratic and ragged appearance. Almost all songs (91%) contain intervals of a fourth or more. The step of a fourth, whether ascending or descending, is especially favored (85%). The fifth is frequently found (45%), and is more often a descending step (31%) than an ascending one (20%). Occasionally

1 Songs 22, 31, 39, 42, 45, 46, 53, 55, 60, 64, 79, 81, 85, 87, 91, 93, 96, 98, 99, 103, 109.
2 Songs, 16, 18, 19, 25, 27, 33, 34, 36-38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 51, 56, 63, 65, 67, 75, 82, 83, 90, 101, 106, 108, 112.

we find still wider intervals, such as the minor sixth (9%), the major sixth (2%), and - almost always ascending - the octave (6%). On the other hand, recitatives, themselves a part of the song, sung on a continuous pitch,[1] are also found. Less extensive repetitions of a single tone occur with extraordinary frequency; in by far the greater proportion of the songs (70%) are found phrases in which four or more syllables are sung on the same note.

e. Combinations of Thirds.

A special characteristic of Bush-Negro music is the frequent combination of several intervals of thirds. Three types of combinations may be distinguished:

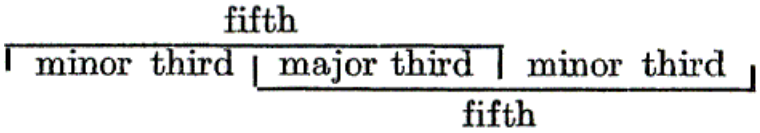
The pendular swing, as, for instance, the melodic figure *a-c-a-c*. Repetitions of the same tone can hardly be called tonal steps; thus, such a melodic configuration, as, for instance, the motif 'c' in song 11, must still be regarded as a linking together of thirds. Such pendular combinations of at least three sets of thirds (with or without repetitions of the same note) are to be found in a little less than half of the songs. The minor third is given conspicuous preference in this respect to the major third; 37% of the songs contain only minor third pendular combinations; 4% have only pendular combinations of the major third; while in 5% we find pendular combinations of major and minor thirds side by side. Song 30 is of special significance as illustrating the preference for the combination of minor thirds. The key-tone of the song is *e*. Yet, in the melodic pendulum figure of the motif a^2 it is not *e* but the minor third *e*♭ which is chosen for the third of *c*, the tone next in importance to the key-tone, although *e*♭, has no relation to the rest of the tonal structure.

Sequence of thirds moving in the same direction (as occurs in 53% of the songs). From the above discussion, it might be assumed that where two linked thirds are found to move in the same direction, minor thirds (for example, *b-d-f*) would predominate. However, such combinations of minor thirds are very rare, being found in only 5% of the songs, and always descending. In the main, minor and major thirds are found to be associated in these combinations. The reason for this would seem to lie clearly in the fact that two minor thirds combine into a tritone, an extremely dissonant interval, while a minor and major third, form a perfect fifth, which is highly consonant. Such sequences of thirds, which give the European the impression of broken major or minor triads, occur frequently in primitive music. In non-European music that is characterized by melodic line, it is by no means a question of chords which have been split into such intervals. Von Hornbostel has characterised these

1 See, above all, songs 30 c d, 46 b d, 53a[1], 81a[1] e, 108, 109, 112c.

'triads' as steps of a fifth which are split by a middle tone. However, aside from these 'filled-out fifths' there are also triadic motifs of a different nature. In many cases, - especially in the Suriname songs, - the fifth is not the primary unit, but rather the minor third, which has been enlarged to a fifth by adding the sub-dominant of its upper tone, or the dominant of its lower tone. Such fifths derived from the enlargement of minor thirds are to be found, for example, in the music of the Papuans of New Guinea,[1] of Negroes of East and West Africa,[2] as well as of North and South American Indians.[3] If a fourth be substituted for a fifth, then musical motifs such as those where, again, the minor third is the skeleton, will result.[4] A characteristic example of the enlarged minor third, where the dominant of the lower tone is added, may be seen in song 77. The beginning of song 11 affords another example, where the minor third is enlarged into a fifth, in this case, however, through the addition of the sub-dominant of the upper tone.[5]

Of special significance for an understanding of the function of the minor third within 'triadic' tone configurations are the motifs *d-b-g (g-b-d)* in songs 3, 6, and 17, which are substituted for the minor thirds *d-b (b-d)* in analogous places. Motifs of the 'major triadic' type are more abundant (38%) than those of the minor (24%); descending ones more often found than ascending. In several songs (7%), a set of three thirds, and in exceptional cases even of four[6] have been linked together, moving in the same direction; in such a case minor and major thirds alternate. In those instances where three thirds are found, the outer members each constitute a minor, the inner member a major, third.[7] Evidently this structure is conditioned by the fact that what is present are two fifths, each composed of two thirds, the two sharing the central major third:

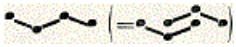


It is to be observed that ascending linked-thirds do not occur less frequently[8] than descending ones.[9]

1 See illustration A, Appendix II
2 See illustrations B and C, Appendix II
3 See illustrations D and E, Appendix II
4 See illustration F, Appendix II Compare with this motif 'g' in song 11, or motif 'a' in song 103.
5 Cf. the first phrase in songs 5 and 96.
6 Cf. song 38.
7 For example, song 80.
8 E.g., song 24 c, first part of 40.
9 E.g., songs 30b c, 34 b.

Interlocking thirds.[1] By this form we understand melodic figures such as these  or  That is to say, here we have steps of thirds moving in the same direction that are connected with one another by steps of seconds, going in the opposite way. Triple progressions of this kind occur but rarely and only in a descending direction;[2] usually it is only two steps of thirds which are connected, and as a rule they are descending thirds. An illustration for an ascending progression is motif 'a' in song 98. Most often, however, the complex consists of two steps of descending minor thirds.[3] Occasionally a minor and a major third are connected,[4] and in one instance[5] two descending major thirds are so associated.

f. Combinations of Fourths.

Intervals consisting of fourths are also very frequently found in combination (in 38% of the songs). Steps which move in opposite directions predominate, and form either the melodic figure  [6] or  .[7] These two figures may be taken to constitute a pendular figure composed of fourths  ;[8] an extension of this (in the last section of song 5) through an offbeat from the fourth, makes a pendular motif of four members, thus: 

The employment of *a sequence of fourths moving in the same direction* (mostly descending) is found in 6% of the songs.[9] An example of an ascending sequence of fourths is found in song 4. Just as here the figure  represents the nucleus of the larger figure  so in song 82 (the measure before the last),  is the starting motif for the extension  , and in song 28 (the line before the last),  is the nucleus of the extended figure 

Interlocking fourths occur in 11% of the songs. As a rule it is here a question of two descending steps of fourths which, connected

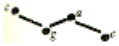
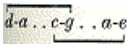
1 *Terzverhakung*. This occurs in 16% of the songs.
2 Songs 15 and 31 III c.
3 E.g., song 8, var. 2, 73, end of 89, 105 b.
4 E.g., songs 22, 31 I c.
5 Song 65, var. 1 b.
6 14%; e.g., songs, 9, 64, the end of 86.
7 9%; e.g., songs 74, 89, 107.
8 Songs 3, 27b a^2, 45c, 101.
9 E.g., song 83d.



Plate XX. Town-Negro Apinti drum.



Plate XXI. Town-Negro Podya drum.

by an ascending minor third, create the figure  ,[1] or, connected by an ascending major second, create the figure  .[2] 46c[1]d gives us a characteristic example of this. Here the minor third pendular motif *e-g-e-g* links into one melodic phrase the descending set of fourths *d-a-e* and the interlocked set *g-d.. e-b*. Song 20 (if we overlook the ornamental sixteenth note) contains in the last line the three-fold broken progression of fourths  , which may be considered as a fusion of the two fundamental figures *d-a..c-g*, and *c-g..a-e*.

g. The Penta-types of Modal Structures.

Among the songs of the penta-type, number 47, with its narrow range and its limited number of tones, has the most primitive tonal structure. It is note worthy that here, contrary to what is found in most other songs, no single tone stands out as the tonic; rather the melodic line oscillates between *b* and *a*. The variant in which *g* is replaced by *a* shows that we are really dealing here with a structure based on two tones. Song 74 also has a pendular composition; in this instance, however, the minor third and not the major second constitutes the nucleus, while fourths and fifths appear in the function of structural intervals. Through the employment of the sub-dominants of both tones of the nucleus and the fourth above the lower tone of the nucleus, the tonal range becomes enlarged into an octave and the number of steps is increased to five. In the penta-*do* songs,[3] with one exception, the *g* above or below the tonic *c* represents the melodic 'dominant'. However, other fourths and fifths also acquire structural significance; for example, in songs 4, 57, and 84, the steps *c, g, d*, and *a* are interlocked by intervals of a fourth and a fifth.[4] Just as in the penta-*do* modes[5] so also in the penta-*sol*[6] forms the step of a fourth *c-g* stands out as the basic structural interval. However, the melodic center is no longer on the higher but on the lower of the two tones which compose the interval. The penta-*re* mode[7] is related with especial closeness to the penta-*do* mode. It is not *a*, the fifth above the key-tone which is the 'dominant'. Rather, side by side with the fourths above and below the tonic *(g-d; d-a)*, the fifth *c-g* - as in the penta-*do* mode[8] -

1 E.g., songs 32 II c, 76c, and 104a[1].
2 E.g., 26c, 44, and 106c.
3 See analyses of structures Nos. 1 a-h.
4 Analyses of structure Ie, f, h.
5 Analyses of structure Nos. If, g.
6 Analyses of structure Nos. I i-l.
7 Analyses of structure Nos. I m-q.
8 Cf., for example, the penta-*do* songs 1 and 4 with the penta-*re* songs 2 and 5.

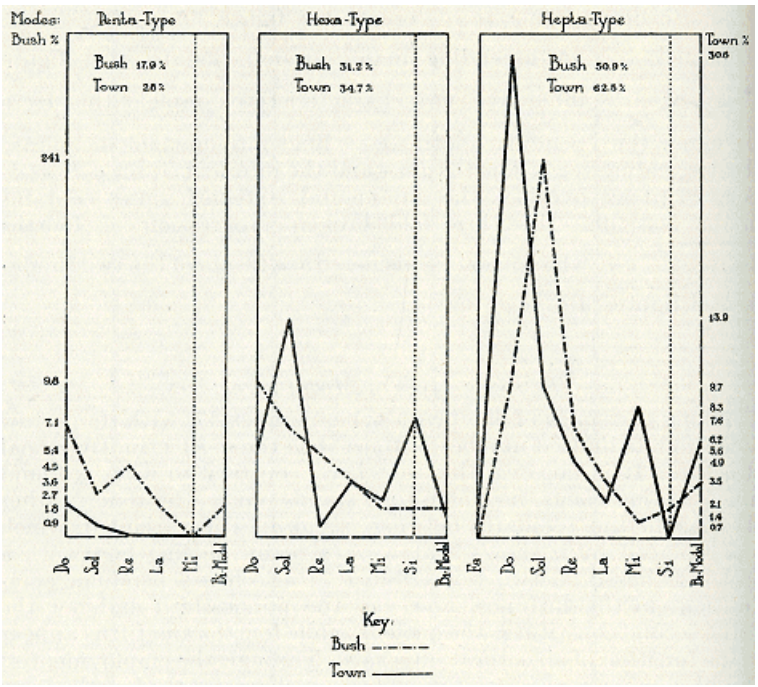


Fig. 6. Distribution of modal types in Bush and Town music.

comes to the fore as a structural interval, occasionally extended into an octave by the fourth *g-c*. The primitive pendular structure which forms the basis of song 47, may possibly be looked upon as representing the common nucleus of the penta-*do* and the penta-*re* modes. Song 35, also has essentially a pendulum-structure based on a second in which, however, the greater weight seems to rest on the higher tone. If the emphasis be shifted to the lower tone, the penta-*re* mode then becomes a penta-*do* mode. Of the two examples of the penta-*la*[1] mode, song 78 much resembles the structure of the penta-*do* song 77.[2] In both cases, the fifth *e-a* is the interval within which the song is composed, while *c*, the key-tone of 77, becomes the initial tone of song 78. The next two tones, *d* and *g*, function as leading tones of the fifth *e-a*. In the other penta-*la* song[3] also, the fifth *e-a* is the principal structural interval; it is the concluding link in the three-fold chain of fourths and fifths, *g-d-a-e*.

1 See analyses of structure Nos. I r, s.
2 Analysis No. Ia.
3 Analysis No. I s.

h. The Hexa-types of Modal Structures.

In most cases the songs of hexa modal structure may be reduced to the penta types: thus, for example, the pendular structure based on a second shown in analysis III p is an extension of the penta-structure I t; in the case of other songs in the hexa modes, on the other hand, we do not find any analogous structure in the penta-type. In the hexa-*do* structures composed of six tones,[1] *g*, the fourth below the key-tone, has always the function of the dominant and is the lowest tone of the melody as well. Besides the fourth *g-c*, the fifth *g-d* is the outstanding structural interval. The range of the songs, in the main, comprises a sixth *g-e*, and they are closely related to the structure of the penta-*do* songs analysed in I f.[2] In the hexa-*do* songs of fewer tones,[3] the absence of the step *g* which is elsewhere of structural importance is to be observed. The melodic interplay of the fundamental tone *c* through the minor third *b-d*, characterises the structures of the songs analysed in II a and b; II c represents an extension of the penta-*do* structure I a, achieved through transposing the dominating fifth *a-e* a fourth lower. The tonal structure of song 92[4] is remarkable. The part marked 'a[1]' is a transposition of part 'a' a second lower. Though the first part of the song is in the hexa-*do* mode, the tonic being above the half-tone, and thus closely resembles the song analysed in II b, in the second part the main tone occurs as the lowest note. Yet variant 2, with its ending on the higher tone, corresponds to the hexa-*do* structure of the first. In contrast to what is found in the songs sung in the hexa-*do* modes, the tonic in the hexa-*sol* mode[5] is most often the lowest note. Certain hexa-*sol* songs have essentially a penta-*sol* structure; thus the structure of song 36[6] very much resembles that of song 68.[7] In other hexa-*sol* songs a combination of penta-*do* with penta-*sol* elements is to be observed. Thus, in song 103[8] the structure of the phrases 'a', 'b', and 'd' is almost identical with that of the penta-*do* song 3,[9] while in motif 'c' a penta-*sol* element makes for a resemblance to the structure of I i. Similarly in song 73[10] the penta-*do* structure of the solo part, identical with I c, is to be contrasted with the penta-*sol* structure of the choral section. In song 87[11] the manifold relations between fourths

1 Analyses Nos. II d-k.
2 Compare, for example, the hexa-*do* song 56 (IIh) with the penta-*do* song 57 (If).
3 Analyses Nos. II a-c.
4 Analysis No. IIIq.
5 Analyses Nos. II l-s.
6 Analysis No. IIq.
7 Analysis No. I k.
8 Analysis No. II o.
9 Analysis No. I d.
10 Analysis No. II m.
11 Analysis No. II r.

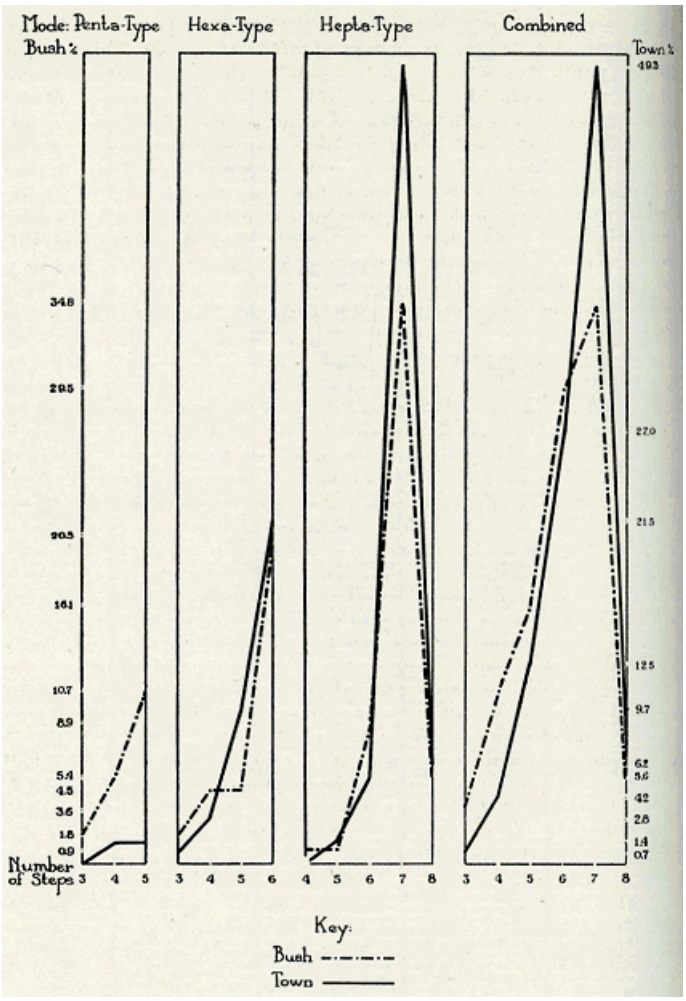


Fig. 7. Number of steps (excluding octaves).

and fifths are to be remarked. The hexa-*re* songs III b-f, with their wide range and six tone structure, attract attention in contrast to the narrow four-tone structure of III a, which is based on the

same (Doric) tetrachord as II b and q. The hexa-*re* mode is remote from the penta-*re*, which is characterised by the fifth *c*-*g*, but has more in common with the penta-*sol* mode. On the other hand, the hexa-*la* structures, with the exception of III g, are evidently developments of penta-*re* structures. Thus in song 39[1] the hexa-*la* mode (line 2) appears as a variant of the penta-*re* mode (line 1), while the structure of the songs analysed in III h and III i is almost identical with that of those given in I m and I n. The penta-pendular structure of song 74[2] shows a close correspondence to the hexa-*si* structure of song 75.[3] The structure of 69[4] is especially simple. Here the melodic line runs essentially on the same pitch, which is lowered by not quite a full tone on one unaccented beat, while at another strong beat it is raised by something short of a half-tone.

i. The Hepta-types of Modal Structure.

Half of the songs belong to the hepta-type.[5] Among the hepta-*do* structures, IV a and b may be cited to call attention to the relatively high position of the fundamental tone. In IV b[6] we recognise the penta-*do* mode as basic. Thus, the first line of the song corresponds structurally to the penta-*do* song 4.[7] Here, the minor third below the tonic acquires (next to the tonic) a special significance. Song 42[8] possesses what is essentially a hexa-*sol* structure; the *b* which characterises the mode only occurs in one part of the song and then only as an unaccented lower third. The transposition of the initial motif a whole tone higher in the third line of the song is to be observed. In the other hepta-*do* songs we notice a closer relationship to the hexa-*sol* than to the hexa-*do* mode. While the fourth above the tonic - whose absence, as has been seen, characterises the hexa-*do* mode - constitutes, along with the dominant *g*, the most outstanding structural element in these songs, the 'seventh step' (i.e., the *b* in the hepta-*do* mode), the absence of which is characteristic of the hexa-*sol* mode, is also of little significance in the greater number of the hepta-*do* songs.[9] By far the most favored of the hepta modes is the hepta-*sol*.[10] Like the hepta-*do*, it is usually an extension of the hexa-*sol* form (and not of the hexa-*re*); thus, for instance, song 89,[11] with the exception of variant 2, possesses the same tonal configuration as songs 72 and 73. In the hexa-*sol* mode the notes a fifth and a

1 Analysis No. III k.
2 Analysis No. I u.
3 Analysis No. III o.
4 Analysis No. III n.
5 See Fig. 6.
6 Song 40.
7 Analysis No. I e.
8 Analysis No. IV a.
9 See analyses Nos. IV a-c, e-h, comparing, for example, IV h with II l, m.
10 Fig. 6.
11 Analysed in No. V a.

fourth above the tonic stand out as structurally important. The extension into the hepta-*sol* mode is accomplished, as a rule, by adding the sub-dominant of the fourth above the tonic.[1] The fifth *f-c* must be understood as being very often the transposition of the fifth *g-d* - a whole tone lower, as in song 98, variant 1,[2] and at the beginning of song 76. In the choral repetition of song 25, the beginning of the 'b' motif (the progression *f-c*) is transposed a whole note above its original level. The apparently chromatic combination *c-b-b♭-a* in V d and V e may also be traced to transpositions of this character; while the *b* fulfills the function of a third within the fifth *g-d*, the *b♭* constitutes the major second below *c* within the fifth *f-c*.[3] Occasionally traces of the penta-*do* mode[4] and penta-*sol* mode[5] are found. The forms analysed in IV q and IV r are deserving of special notice, for while in other songs in the hepta-*sol* mode the *d* usually has the function of the dominant, it is here scarcely touched upon, or not at all. The most simple hepta-structure is found in the hepta-*re* song 48;[6] aside from the extension in motif 'a^{2}', the tonal range is restricted to that of a fourth, using only three steps *(d-f-g)*. The *g*, the fourth above the tonic, especially prominent here, is almost always important in the other hepta-*re* songs[7] but in these cases further relations of fourths and fifths also enter, as *c-g-d-a* in VI b, d, h; *f-c-g-d-a* in VI c, or *g-d-a-e-b* in VI g. In some hepta-*re* structures the penta-type cannot be overlooked as the one from which they may have been derived; thus, VI d has essentially a penta-*la* character, while VI g goes back to the penta-*sol* mode and resembles I 1 in form. In song 31, parts I and II are in the hexa-*la* mode; only in part III is this enlarged into the hepta-*re* mode. The hepta-*la* structures VI k and VI m constitute minor modifications of hexa-*la* structures; in VI k[8] this is accomplished by substituting the third *f-a* for the fourth, *e-a*;[9] in VI m[10] it is accomplished by 'filling' the third with an inserted note in the beginning of the song. Songs in the hepta-*mi* and *si* modes[11] are very rare; when they do occur, it is as non-essential extensions of ambiguous modes, the hepta-*mi* mode being reducable to the hexa-*mi* and the hepta-*si* mode to the hexa-*si*. Finally, the 'bimodal' structures comprising eight tones may be remarked; here we are confronted either with a combination of *do* and *sol*,[12] or of *sol* and *re*.[13]

1 See, for example, songs 90d and 104 (end).
2 Analysed in No. V c.
3 Compare analysis No. III q.
4 Beginning of song 85.
5 Songs 45 and 51.
6 Analysed in No. VIa.
7 Analyses Nos. VI b-e, g-h.
8 Song No. 50.
9 Variant 1.
10 Song 43.
11 Analyses Nos. VI n-p.
12 Analyses Nos. IV m and n.
13 Analyses Nos. V s and t.

j. Falsetto.

The use of the falsetto is very rare.[1] At the same time the songs show that the occurrence is not due to an unintentional break in the voice, but to a deliberate and conscious use of head tones. Thus the last measure of song 38 is a repetition in falsetto of the final phrase, while, on the other hand, in 39 the falsetto is employed in the manner of a yodel.

k. Meter and Melodic Rhythm.

About half of the songs may, without forcing, be fitted into some metrical scheme. Measures of even numbers of beats are more frequent than those of odd ones; however, in most of the songs triplets are employed in abundance. The three-quarter rhythm predominates in the odd meters, while the five-four meter,[2] and the seven-four meter[3] are also represented. Occasionally, the meter is extended or shortened,[4] or a change of rhythm occurs in the course of the song.[5] In a number of songs diverse meters are combined, either in regular or varied sequence.[6] In spite of these liberties in meter, the songs are strictly rhythmic, and are to be contrasted with about a third of the songs, which run in free rhythms. It is characteristic of these free-rhythmic songs that in them there occur, side by side, long drawn-out motifs, motif-like calls, and recitative-like motifs, broken up into tones of short duration[7].

l. Drum Rhythms.

A drum accompaniment often goes with the songs, or there is hand-clapping. In most instances this represents rhythm which underscores that of the melody. The beats are usually regular quarter-notes.[8] In song 73 each quarter-beat is dissolved into two eighth-notes, in 90 and 94 into triplets of three eights-notes each. In song 57 the regularity of the 3/8 drum beats underscores the 6/8 of the music, while in song 72 the rhythm of the accompaniment is more differentiated, in conformity with the melodic rhythm. More vivid drum-rhythms which, however, still form a unit with the rhythm of the melodies, are found in songs 1, 58, 98, and 99. The strictly rhythmical 3/8 drum accompaniment to some songs which are characterised by more or less free rhythms is remarkable.[9] Of

1 Songs 5, 38, 39.
2 E.g., songs, 9, 35, 76, 96.
3 E.g., songs 8, 16, 92, 103.
4 E.g., songs 56, 63 b, 98 c.
5 E.g., songs 50, 81, 83.
6 E.g., songs 36, 40, 60, 63, 95, 100.
7 E.g., songs 19, 24-27, 31, 45, 51, 52, 64, 102.
8 Songs 55, 77-81, 83-87, 89.
9 Songs 21, 28, 42.

these latter, song 42 is instructive, as it makes for an understanding of the relation between regular drum-rhythm and free melodic rhythm. A comparison made between the three verses shows especially that drum and song are essentially independent of each other, meeting only here and there at important points.

m. Formal Structures of the Songs.

In general the songs of regular rhythm are tonally as well as formally more primitive than those where the rhythm is free. In this connection, songs of especially small range and of few tones have, for the most part, markedly primitive formal structure as well, and are restricted to repeating one short melodic phrase a number of times. These shorter songs are of predominantly regular structure, as the following table shows:

Song 69	consists of 2 times	2 beats
Songs 13, 58, 70, 78	consist of 2 times	3 beats
Songs 54, 74, 75	consist of 3 times	2 beats
Songs 47, 54, 59, 71, 72, 79, 94	consist of 2 times	4 beats
Songs 9, 35	consist of 2 times	5 beats
Songs 1, 2, 7, 15, 17, 101	consist of 2 times	6 beats
Songs 8, 92	consist of 2 times	7 beats
Songs 12, 57, 73, 77	consist of 2 times	8 beats
Songs 76, 96	consist of 2 times	10 beats
Songs 6, 87	consist of 2 times	12 beats

The frequent repetition of such phrases, most of them bipartite in character, gives a song cyclic form, especially if it closes with the opening theme.[1] In some instances the second motif is a variant of the first.[2] In songs 8 and 96 the second portions of the motifs ‘a’ and ‘a^1’ are almost identical, so that here, in reality, the form ‘a-b-c-b’ is found. This same form is also found in songs 50, 55, 57, 76.[3] In other songs the two halves differ in their ending, with the result that the form is really ‘a-b-a-c’.[4] Sometimes the bipartite form ‘a-b’ is enlarged into the tripartite form ‘a-a-b’ by either a close or varied repetition of ‘a’.[5]

Another tripartite type is ‘a-b-c’,[6] a form which, in song 87, is enlarged into four sections ‘a-b-c-c^1’ through the employment of a variation of the final phrase. Some songs are divided into four

1 See songs 8, 9, 70, 71, 78, 96; compare 16, 44, 97, 104.
2 E.g., songs 8, 56, 59, 92, 96.
3 Cf. also songs 26 and 32.
4 See songs 35, 47, 77, 89; compare 21, 28, 60.
5 Songs 3, 34, 67, 110.
6 Songs 24, 25, 41, 75, 100.

different phrases ‘a-b-c-d’;[1] it is true, however, that in song 83, ‘b’ and ‘d’ are free variations of themes ‘a’ and ‘c’. In song 103 the configuration ‘a-b-c-d’ is extended into a rondo-like form ‘a-b-c-d-c-d-c[1]’. Of the longer songs, part of them are characterised by a rather free treatment,[2] others by a divisional construction which may be clearly perceived.[3]

n. Alternation of Solo and Chorus.

The form of a song often results from the alternate singing of the soloist and the chorus, something which favors the development of cyclical forms. In songs 71 and 78 the structure is particularly concise and simple; one short theme is sung by the soloist, another by the chorus, and the entire song is repeated several times (in song 78, there are seventeen repetitions!), the solo part constituting the beginning as well as the end of the whole. In song 91 the responsorial singing is preceded by a solo part which also contains the motif sung by the chorus; in 80, the initial statement of the solo part is enlarged after the choral interpolation by a variation of the phrase sung by the chorus. Of a similar nature is song 84, where the extension of the solo part, achieved through the addition of the themes ‘c’, ‘c[1]’ and ‘d’, presents a comparable case. The chorus is not always restricted to the repetition of only one phrase, however. Thus, in song 77 the solo part, which remains the same throughout, is followed by two different choral phrases which alternate with one another. In other songs, the solo as well as the choral parts vary.[4] While in these songs of strict rhythm the motif of the chorus is different from that of the solo, in the songs where the rhythms vary,[5] the chorus is mostly a slightly changed repetition of the solo part. In song 23, the part of the chorus is shortened noticeably, while in 27 the entries of the chorus and the soloist differ quite considerably. To illustrate with an instance where alternating themes occur in the solo part while the refrain of the chorus remains the same, song 26 may be cited.

o. Part Singing (Polyphonic Music).

In Bush-Negro music, part-songs in the proper sense of the term are almost entirely absent. Occasionally the premature opening of the solo over the prolonged final tone of the chorus produces an accord, and in this manner a bourdon-like effect is created.[6] In the

1 Songs 19, 64, 68, 83.
2 E.g.,, songs 11, 40, 106.
3 Songs 30, 43, 46, 52, 53, 81, 102.
4 See songs, 72, 73, 89.
5 Songs 19, 23-27, 29, 31.
6 See song 19a[1].

choral part itself there are simultaneous seconds, thirds, or fourths occasionally to be heard.[1] The jump from unison singing to the upper fourth is to be noted, as well as an attack on the fourth above the main voice with a step of a descending fifth following, as in song 85, variant 2, and 87, variant 2. Parallel fifths are found in one instance only.[2]

p. Tempo.

In general the tempo is rather lively. In most cases (91%) it remains constant; however, sometimes there is much acceleration as the song proceeds.[3]

3. The Music of the Town Negroes

a. Tonal Range.

The songs of the Town Negroes also show considerable difference in tonal range;[4] however, in the Town music, a range of more than a minor tenth is found in only 6% of the songs (in contrast to 29% of the Bush songs). Most commonly the tonal range is an octave.

b. Melodic Movement.

The descending tendency of the melodic movement is more conspicuous in the Town than in the Bush songs. Thus, about one-fifth of the Town songs begin on the highest note of the song (Bush 8%); while a maximum rise of more than a fourth over the opening tone occurs in 27% (Bush 42%), and a maximum drop of more than a fourth below the opening note is found in 62% (Bush 56%).[5] The position of the opening tone in relation to the closing one, as well as the position of the final tone itself, shows essentially the same characteristics as in the Bush songs.[6]

c. Intervals.

Only 10% of the Town songs (Bush 63%) are entirely, or almost entirely without half-tones.[7] The less frequent employment of steps of wide range is a correlative of much more frequent use of half-tones. The following table gives comparisons between Town and Bush in the matter of the intervals which are found:

1 See songs 19, 23, 24, 26, 92, 93.
2 Song 86, variant 2.
3 See, e.g., songs 47, 59, 85.
4 Fig. 1.
5 Figs. 2 and 3.
6 Figs. 4 and 5.
7 Songs 116, 138, 142, 158, 180, 182, 187, 198, 200, 204, 209, 215, 217, 224, 228.



Plate XXII. Town-Negro *Mąn-drẹ*.



Plate XXIII. Town-Négro Agida and *Lɑŋga drɔ*.

Songs with	*Town*	*Bush*
Steps of a fourth	62%	85%
Steps of a fifth	18%	45%
Steps of a sixth	8%	11%
Steps of an octave	1%	6%

Manifold tonal repetitions are, as in the songs of the Bush, very much favored; two-thirds of these contain parts in which four or more syllables are sung on the same pitch.[1] On the other hand, the combinations of steps of thirds and especially of fourths, so characteristic of Bush songs, occur here more rarely:

Songs with	*Town*	*Bush*
1. Pendular combinations of at least three steps of thirds	17%	45%
(a) Minor thirds	17%	41%
(b) Major thirds	1%	8%
2. Sequences of steps of thirds moving in the same direction	37%	53%
(a) Two minor thirds	2%	5%
(b) 'Major triads'	30%	38%
(c) 'Minor triads'	10%	24%
(d) Three thirds	4%	7%
3. Interlocking thirds	14%	16%
4. Combinations of fourths	6%	38%
(a) Configuration of fourths 	0	14%
(b) Configuration of fourths 	3%	9%
(c) Sequences of fourths moving in the same direction	0	6%
(d) Interlocking fourths	2%	11%

d. The Penta-types of Modal Structure.

1 See chiefly songs 113, 168, 180, 204, 205, 212, 232, 245, 249.

A large proportion of the Town songs more or less coincide in their tonal structure with those of the Bush Negroes. The penta-type occurs only very rarely.[2] In the song analyses VII a and b, the dominant *g* stands out especially and becomes the tonic in VII d. Song 116, it may be remarked, has essentially the same structure as Bush song 1.

e. The Hexa-type.

The frequency curve showing the number of songs in the hexa-mode indicates an increase in the number in *sol* and *si* at the expense of those in *do* and *re*. Among the hexa-*do* songs,[3] numbers 164 and 171 are to be noted for the absence of the *g*, a tone other-

2 Fig. 6.
3 Analyses of structure Nos. VII d-l.

wise of importance in this mode. Song 77[1] may be looked upon as the basic structure of 164;[2] gaps in the thirds are filled in by two inserted tones. Song 171, having a range of a fourth,[3] based on the minor third, is closely related to song 14;[4] song 243 has the same tonal structure as 49,[5] while 242 appears to be almost a variant of 15.[6] Songs 228 and 254 are extensions of the penta-*do* mode.[7] Just as is the case with the Bush songs, so in those sung by Town Negroes, the tonic of the songs in the hexa-*sol* mode is for the most part the lowest tone, the upper fifth functioning, as a rule, as a dominant.[8] Song 117 is a variant of the penta-*do* melody 116.[9] The scales on which the songs analysed in VII m-p are based, represent what may be called diatonically 'filled' penta-chord structures, and in this resemble the analyses of songs 72 and 73 in II l and m.[10] The structures VII q-u, based on a sixth, are like II n-p; VII u, based on the octave, is like II q. The hexa-*re* mode, which is only represented by song 198, has, if we overlook the absence of the fourth below the key-note, the same structure as song 23.[11] Of the songs in the hexa-*la* mode, those analysed in VII c-e, with their emphasis on the fifth, *g*-*d*, resemble the analyses given in III h-k. Just as in the Bush music, where songs sung in the penta-*re* mode were seen to be closely related to those sung in the penta-*do* mode,[12] so the music found in the hexa-*la* mode is closely related to that in hexa-*sol*. This appears with special clarity in song 186, which was rendered twice by the same singer, who ends his song one time on *a*, that is, in the hexa-*la* mode, and the other on *g*, in the hexa-*sol* mode. In the songs sung in the hexa-*mi* mode[13] either the fifth above the tonic[14] or the fifth below it[15] functions as the 'dominant'. The minor third *b*-*d*, with *b* as the fundamental, 'filled' with an inserted *c*, forms the nucleus of the hexa-*si* mode.[16] Besides this the thirds *a*-*c*[17] and *g*-*b*[18] also have structural significance. The tonic *b*[19] is the 'mese' of the third *a*-*c*, as well as

1 Analysis No. I a.
2 Analysis No. VII h.
3 Analysis No. VII g.
4 Analysis No. II b.
5 Compare analysis No. VII k with No. II i.
6 Analyses Nos. VII j and II g.
7 Analyses Nos. VII l and i.
8 Analyses Nos. VII m-v.
9 Analyses Nos. VII m and VII a.
10 Compare especially songs 72 and 184.
11 Compare analysis No. VII a with No. III e.
12 Compare songs 1 and 4 with 2 and 5.
13 Analyses Nos. VIII f-h.
14 Song 132.
15 Songs 187, 192.
16 Analyses Nos. VIII i-t.
17 Analyses Nos. VIII l, o, p, r-t.
18 Analyses Nos. VIII p, r, s.
19 As in analysis No. III o.

of the fifth *g-d*. Song 248[1] exhibits a pendular structure of minor thirds in the second part, while in 214[2] the melodic weight is shifted in the course of the song from *g* to *b*, and thus the hexa-*sol* mode changes to hexa-*si*.

f. The Hepta-Type.

The hepta-*do* mode is by far the most commonly employed in the Town Negro songs.[3] Songs in this mode are found to correspond, to a degree, with those of the Bush Negroes.[4] *g* is, in most cases, the dominant. The chromatic sequence that is employed in two instances is avoided in the restatements of these songs.[5] Further parallels to the Bush songs of various kinds are also found among the other hepta melodies.[6] As in song 214,[7] the melodic weight in 218[8] is shifted by a third; in this instance, however, by a minor third downward, which means that the song modulates from the hepta-*do* mode to the hepta-*la*.

g. Meter and Rhythm.

The 4/4 rhythm is that which occurs most frequently in those songs of regular meter,[9] while 3/4 time is rare.[10] 6/8 time is found somewhat more frequently,[11] as is the 5/4 beat.[12] Metrical extensions and contractions are much in favor. Thus, for instance, the 4/4 measure is found shortened to 7/8[13] or to 3/4[14] or extended to 5/4.[15] These changes in rhythm are in part caused by the nature of the text, as, for example, in the two renditions of the final measures of song 142. The shortening of the phrase 'a^{1}' in song 236 when contrasted to 'a' is worthy of remark: the two distinct elements of phrase 'a' have been welded together in 'a^{1}', where the end of the first becomes at the same time the opening of the second. For a number of songs no rigid metric scheme can be established, notwithstanding the fact that a regular meter may be recognized as underlying their rhythmic form; one may note in this regard the

1 Analysed in No. VIII u.
2 Analysed in No. VIII v.
3 Fig. 6.
4 Compare analyses Nos. IX i with IV c-d; IX j with IV e-g; IX l-o with IV h; IX q-w with IV k.
5 Songs 174, first variant, and 185, first variant (analysed in Nos. X n and IX p).
6 Compare analyses Nos. XI g-h with V a-c; XI i with V i; XI n with V r; XI r-s with VI d-e; XI v with VI g.
7 Analysed in No. X v.
8 See analysis No. XII o.
9 Songs 117, 129, 135.
10 Songs 181, 187, 224.
11 E.g., songs 133, 164-166.
12 E.g., songs 131, 152, 253.
13 E.g., songs 115, 126, 194.
14 E.g., songs 149, 150, 240.
15 Songs 125, 142, 185, 202.

4/4 measure in song 119, the 3/4 measure in song 161, and the 6/8 measure in song 167. Occasionally different texts are set to the same melody, and because of this the meter becomes changed, as can be seen when comparison is made between songs 120 and 121, 140 and 141, 221 and 222. Songs in free rhythm are much less frequent in Town Negro music than in that of the Bush. However, they do occur.[1]

h. Formal Structure of the Songs.

Essentially the same formal characteristics are found in the Town and Bush songs. Very short melodies, restricted to an exact or varied repetition of a short theme, are rare;[2] on the other hand, songs which fall into two phrases are very much in favor.[3] Frequently the second phrase is a variant of the first; in 131 and 203 the end is varied, while in 139-141 and 213 the second phrase, in contrast to the first, is transposed a fifth lower. From the varied repetition of the form ‘a b’, constructions such as those to be noted in songs 144, 170, 192, 194, 207 and 241 result. A somewhat richer cyclical construction is found in 125, 129, 132, 171, 209, and 231. Songs which comprise a number of phrases often originate from the basic form ‘a b’ by a single or manifold repetition, strict or free, of one or the other of the two members; thus, we see the three-fold ‘a b b^1’ in song 114, ‘a a b’ in 119, 188, and 199, ‘a b a’ in 127 and 247, the four-fold ‘a a^1 b b’ in 161, ‘a a^1 b a^2’ in 219, ‘a a^1 a b’ in 179 and divers others of greater number, as in 118, 123, 232, 245, and 248. Similarly the repetition of individual elements of the fundamental set of phrases ‘a b c’[4] and ‘a b c d’[5] result in enlargements such as ‘a a b b b c’,[6] ‘a b b^1 b^1 b^2 c c^1 c^2 c^3’,[7] and ‘a a b b b b^1 a a b^2 b^1 b^2 b^1 c c d d^1 d^1’.[8]

i. Alternation of Solo and Chorus, and Polyphony.

Songs in which there is alternate singing by solo and chorus are frequently found, as was the case with the Bush Negro music. The part of the chorus, in varied forms, represents a repetition, more or less strict, of the entire song, which has been initially sung by the leader;[9] transposition of the choral part in song 166 a fourth higher than the rendition by the soloist is to be observed. In song 128 the repeated and varied opening phrase ‘a’, and in 250 the last motif of ‘a’ is repeated by the chorus. More frequently,

1 As, for example, in songs 179, 210, 229, 232, 248.
2 Songs 113, 115, 122.
3 Songs 148, 159, 189, 235, among others.
4 Songs 165, 180, 183, 190.
5 Songs 134, 186, 195.
6 Songs 116, 117.
7 Song 205.
8 Song 208.
9 See songs 163, 165, 183, 187, 199.



Plate XXIV. Town-Negro Agida drum.

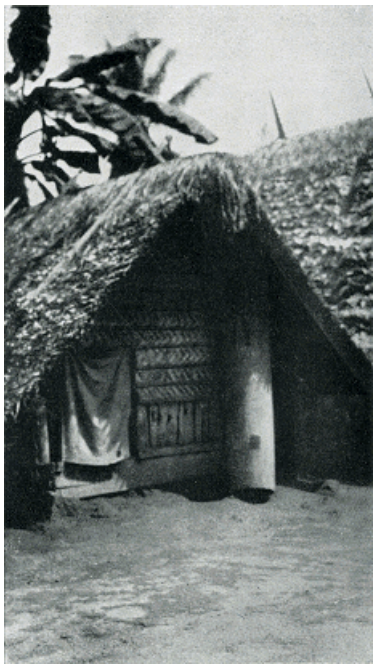


Plate XXV. A Bush-Negro Agida drum.

however, the chorus represents a continuation of the solo part.[1] In songs 153 and 202 the solo of the precentor, which remains the same throughout, is alternatingly answered by two different choral themes as was the case in the Bush-Negro song 77; in 184 and 223 the solo part is varied as well.[2] In some songs chords are produced by the overlapping of the solo and chorus.[3] In song 215 the chorus carries a drone above the singing of the solo part. Chords occur in the choral parts as well as in songs for chorus alone. These are, in the main, the major second,[4] the minor third,[5] the major third,[6] and the fourth[7]. In only one instance each do we find a tritone, a major sixth,[8] a minor sixth,[9] and a minor seventh.[10] Parallels are rare; we do, however, find parallel thirds in songs 158, 206, 233, and 255, as well as one instance each of parallel fourths, fifths, and major seconds in 203 and 255. The polyphony in song 253 is noteworthy; it originates, however, in the possible unintentional overlapping of the phrases ‘a’ and ‘b’.

j. Tempo.

In many cases the tempo accelerates as the song proceeds.[11] Occasionally, while the tempo is constant within the verse, the repetition is sung faster.[12] In song 178, however, the tempo of the duet is slower than that of the solo. The strong rubato in songs 156 and 190 is to be remarked.

C. Ethnological evaluation.

The music here analysed cannot be fully assessed from an ethnological point of view on the basis of the material encompassed in this study. This will be possible only after an analysis has been made of the extensive phonographic material gathered during the field-work of the Northwestern-Columbia Universities' Expedition in the regions of West Africa where the ancestors of the Suriname Negroes lived, and a comparison of this material with that which is published here.[13] Even so, the materials presented here offer

1 As in songs 138, 210, 217.
2 Cf. Bush-Negro songs 72, 73, 89.
3 As, for example, in songs 152, 201, 220.
4 E.g., songs 178, 204, 211.
5 E.g., songs 163, 165, 222.
6 E.g., songs 209, 211, 219.
7 E.g., songs 217, 227, 244.
8 Song 211.
9 Song 244.
10 Song 240.
11 E.g., songs 115, 121, 150.
12 As in songs 139, 159, 251.
13 More than 450 songs, religious and secular, were collected in Dahomey, Nigeria and the Gold Coast during 1931. Further comparative value will accrue to the songs published here when still another collection of Negro music, consisting of 300 Haitian songs, recorded in 1934, are analyzed.

data from which results of some ethnological significance may be derived.[1]

If one compares the individual Bush Negro songs, it becomes evident that the music of these people is far from homogeneous, the collection containing musical forms which differ greatly, and between which the connection is anything but obvious. One sees this difference, for example, when one compares song 47 and song 24; the first having a narrow tonal range, small number of steps, pendular-structure, strict rhythm, constant meter, considerable acceleration in tempo and very concise form; the second possessing the range of a tenth, a large number of steps, prevalence of the keytone, free rhythm and meter, constant tempo, greater variety in form and alternating solo and chorus parts. On the basis of this material it is not possible to trace the cause of these differences. The few songs of the Djuka tribe[2] show no characteristics which do not also appear in the other songs, that is, those of the Saramacca tribe. The relationship between Saramacca song 2, for instance, and Djuka song 96 is much closer with regard to tonality, rhythm and form than is that between many Saramacca songs. Nor does one find musical uniformity within the various divisions into which the songs fall; this is true both in the case of the three important groups of religious, ancestral, and secular songs, and within the subdivisions of these groups, as, for example, the Kromanti or Seketi songs. This is made evident by comparison of such two different Kromanti songs as 1 and 26, or of the two work-songs 103 and 107. On the other hand, to mention only one case, the religious song number 35, the ancestral song number 55, and the secular song number 96 are of the same musical type. Only the dance-songs[3] show at least one characteristic in common, namely, the absence of free rhythm, though it would be strange if dance music were not distinguished by a strictness of rhythm.

Even less homogeneity can be discerned in the Coastal Negro songs than in those of the Bush. Within any given classification are to be found, on the one hand, greatly contrasting forms,[4] and, on the other, melodies appearing in different classes of so great a resemblance that one might be justified in considering one melody a variant of the other.[5] It is therefore apparent that it is the text and not the musical form which marks the song as belonging to a certain type. Originally the various types of songs may also

1 The number of available papers on African music which could make a comparison possible is very small. The large collection of African records in the phonograph archives in Berlin have been gone through, however, thus enabling a clear impression of the character of Negro music to be gained.
2 Songs Nos. 9, 13, 75, 76, 91, 96, 97.
3 Nos. 69-100.
4 Compare, for example, Dagowe songs 220 and 227.
5 Compare song 196 (Aisa) with 219 (Lɛba) and with 161 (Kromanti).

have been differentiated musically; that is to say, it is conceivable that in the beginning, music and text were an inseparable unit, and that later, a cleavage occurred when several texts were sung to the same melody and thus effaced the musical characteristics of the individual groups. Perhaps an analysis of the music collected in Africa will lead to the elucidation of this question.

For the problems of acculturation, it is of great importance to see to what extent and in what manner European influence may be detected in this music. Before this is attempted, the criteria which determine whether or not a song is African, European, or a combination of both African and European elements, must be considered. Theoretically, two methods are possible. The first is synthetic; one listens to the record of the song in question, and the resulting judgment is prompted by the total impression. Naturally, this method can be employed only by one who for years has studied primitive music, - including also the music of African Negroes, - and who has acquired the ability when hearing primitive music, to recognise instantly the European elements. The second method is analytical. After the recording of a song has been transcribed, its melody, rhythm, form, and other characteristics are analysed, and those features which are typical of African or European music are segregated. The exclusive use of either of these methods is, however, inadvisable; for only through employing both the synthetic and the analytic approach will the student be led to reasonably valid results. In this investigation, therefore, both general impressions and detailed analyses have been taken into account.

With the exception of a few songs, the music of the Bush-Negroes displays traits that are essentially African, and the musical characterization of the songs given above[1] exhibits almost throughout features which are either specifically typical of African Negro music, or, at any rate, of non-European music in general. The music of the Coastal Negroes, on the contrary, shows a strong European influence, though, even here, a considerable proportion of songs (23%) is, as in the Bush, wholly African.

A comparison between the music of the Coastal Negroes and those of the Bush gives insight into the direction of the change from African to European elements. The most striking fact is the difference in proportion of entirely or almost entirely anhemitonic songs, this being 63% in the Bush and only 10% in the city. The less frequent use of wide skips and their combinations goes hand in hand with the tendency to favor half-tone steps.[2] Intervals which were originally of wide range are frequently lessened by the insertion of notes. Obviously the greater proportion of hepta-type songs in comparison with penta-type,[3] the greater occurrence of

1 In section 2, ‘The Music of the Bush-Negroes’.
2 See the comparative percentages given above in section 3 c, pp. 510-511.
3 See Fig. 6.

songs with seven steps and the less frequent appearance of songs containing three to six steps[1] are connected with that fact. Figure 6 c is especially significant as indicating European influence in the music of the Town Negroes, for it shows the great incidence of music in the hepta-*do* mode, which, in comparison with all other modes, corresponds to the European major. Since one of the most significant characteristics of European melody is its relation to triad harmonies, the use of broken chords within the melodic line being frequent, one might expect these arpeggios, combinations of a major and a minor third, to occur more often in the strongly Europeanised Town-music than in that of the Bush. This is not the case, however. On the contrary, the percentage of songs containing melodic passages corresponding to a broken major or minor triad is smaller in the city than in the bush, the percentages for the former being 38% and 30%, respectively, and for the latter 24% and 10%. This fact proves the opinion stated above[2] that the combination of major and minor thirds, to be found so frequently in songs of the Bush Negroes, is not to be interpreted as a broken chord, but purely as a melodic phenomenon. Yet, in spite of their differing significance, such melodic passages may be regarded as forming a bridge between European and Negro music. For a European would interpret the completion of two thirds to a fifth, when occuring in Negro music, as a broken triad, - that is, his interpretation would be an harmonic one; a Negro hearing European music, on the other hand, would understand real arpeggios only as melody, and would think he recognized in them a characteristic of his own music. The predominantly descending course of the melody, typical of non-European music, is not very strongly marked in songs of the Bush.[3] This might be referred to European influence, but such a contention would be made difficult by the fact that the extent to which the descending melodic line is found, when compared with the incidence of an ascending one, is greater in songs of the Town than of the Bush.[4] In similar manner, it cannot be held that the tunes of very wide range that are found in the Bush Negro music are a sign of European influence, for the rarer occurrence of songs of wide range in the music of the Town-Negroes would vitiate such an assumption.[5] With respect to rhythm and meter, the development toward the European manifests itself in the gradual supplanting of songs with free rhythm by songs with a strict rhythm.

Among the songs of the Bush-Negroes only the religious Wata-winti song number 49, the ancestral cult song number 61 and the secular Seketi song number 88 have strong European features. In

1 See Fig. 7.
2 Section 2e, pp. 498-499.
3 Cf. section 2b, pp. 495-496.
4 See Section 3b, p. 510.
5 See Fig. 1.

Town music, African style has been preserved mainly in religious songs, where 31% seem to bear no marks of European influence whatsoever.[1] Of the secular Town songs, only 10%[2] are purely African, while in the 'songs in stories', 13% are of this nature.[3] In the music not influenced by Europe, as in non-European music in general, songs are to be found which are far removed from European conceptions of melody besides others which show some similarity with European forms in their musical structure. It is a significant indication of the greater musical acculturation of the Town Negroes to European patterns, that among the songs in African style the number of extreme non-European structures is much smaller in the Town than in the Bush. On the other hand, there are to be found among the European songs of the Town Negroes a great many melodies relatively akin to African forms,[4] as well as striking non-African forms.[5] While the latter are doubtless European tunes adopted by Negroes, the former are probably in part composed by them.[6] The European melodies are frequently found to have been transformed by the Negroes into African-like songs. For example, song 123, otherwise European in nature, is combined with African elements by the interpolation of the minor third pendular motifs 'a^1' and 'a^2'. Occasionally the tonic of a given melody is transposed, whereby the European major or minor is transformed into a non-European mode. In such cases, the tonic moves either to the second above the tonic,[7] to the dominant,[8] or to the fourth below the tonic.[9] More frequent than tonal changes are those of rhythm, which loosen the more or less inflexible metric-scheme. For instance, 4/4 time is transformed by means of shortening or extension to 3/4, 5/4, 7/8, 9/8 and other meters.[10] In addition to European songs which contain few Africanisms, there are in the music of the Town Negroes a great number of songs which combine European and African styles.[11] A part of these are of European origin, remodelled until they are all but unrecognisable; but there are also melodies which may have been invented by the Negroes under the influence of European music. In hybrid songs of this type sometimes the

1 Songs Nos. 152, 154, 156-158, 168, 169, 171, 176, 179, 180, 187, 188, 200, 201, 205, 207, 209, 214, 215, 217, 220-223, 232.
2 Songs Nos. 242, 248.
3 Songs Nos. 113-115, 119, 132.
4 For example, songs Nos. 136, 137, 145, 146, 150, 182, 234, 243.
5 For example, songs Nos. 116-118, 127, 139-144, 170, 173, 184, 189, 213, 216, 235, 239, 240, 252.
6 The presence of Hindus and Javanese in Suriname may explain this phenomenon.
7 Songs Nos. 120, 121, 163, 172.
8 Song No. 192.
9 Songs Nos. 149, 159.
10 For example, songs Nos. 126, 185, 195, 237, 238, 241, 251.
11 For example, songs Nos. 122, 124, 131, 138, 153, 166, 175, 203, 204, 208, 210, 212, 218, 224, 226-231, 233, 245, 249, 250, 255.

European, sometimes the African characteristics predominate. Song 206, for example, is essentially African; only the parallel thirds reveal European influence. All gradations of musical acculturation from extreme African to pure European can easily be found in these Suriname songs.

The Negro spirituals have very little resemblance to the songs of the Suriname Negroes.[1] However, the Suriname music helps to throw light on the question as to whether or not some features of the spirituals can be traced to Africa. Syncopation, so typical a rhythm in Negro spirituals, is usually considered to derive from African rhythm; only Von Hornbostel has voiced the suspicion that this syncopation is derived from Europe, probably from the Scottish folk-song.[2] This hypothesis would seem to be confirmed by the present material; for the typical syncopations are not to be found in songs of African character but only in Europeanised tunes.[3] There is, however, a greater bond between Suriname music and that of West Indian Negroes. To take only one example from the Haitian songs published here,[4] it is to be seen that its melodic configuration is quite similar to that of Suriname song 116. In general, European influence upon the Negro music of the West Indies is much greater than upon the Suriname songs, but there, too, distinct African traces are discernible.[5]

D. Musical instruments.

Drums are the most important instruments in both Town and Bush, and the drummers, in these as in all Negro cultures, achieve a virtuosity of performance and an intricacy of rhythm that come of long practice. It was impossible to obtain satisfactory recordings of drumming which would reveal the complexity of these rhythm-patterns, chiefly because, lacking electrical recording apparatus, the inner rhythms which in combination give a steady beat are lost, and only the points where the notes of the several instruments coincide can be discerned.

The drums have more than a musical significance in this culture. Tradition assigns to them the three-fold power of summoning the gods and the spirits of the ancestors to appear, of articulating the messages of these supernatural beings when they arrive, and of sending them back to their habitats at the end of each ceremony. Both in Town and in the Bush, the dancers who are the worshippers,

1 It has been maintained recently in several works, (Johnson, Jackson, I, among others) that the spirituals are essentially adaptations of White revival songs.
2 Hornbostel, p. 748.
3 For example, songs 126, 135, 149, 159, 174, 182, 195.
4 Song No. 256.
5 Roberts; H.H., I and II, *passim*.

- one of the most important expressions of worship is dancing, - face the drums and dance toward them, in recognition of the voice of the god within the instruments.

Bush-Negro drums are of three types, the Apinti, the Tumao, and the Agida. The Apinti, of which examples from both Saramaka and Djuka tribes are to be seen, with a Haitian Voodoo drum of similar size, in Plate XIX, is the principal drum of the battery, as far as its function in ritual is concerned. It is the tenor drum, and the one that carries the most intricate rhythms; but, more importantly, it is also the drum that calls the Sky-gods, the powerful Kromanti spirits, and the ancestors. The attachment of the drum-head to the body shows a characteristically Gold Coast arrangement of the fastenings, and it is the only type of drum that is decorated with carved designs. Of so sacred a character are these Apinti that an example of one was acquired only after prolonged negotiations with the ancestors (through diviners), as well as the village elders. The drum spoken for was without a head, and had had to be replaced by another, yet not until the end of the second summer in the field was the decision to dispose of it reached, and the chief finally prevailed upon to send out his young men to hunt for a ‘deer’ to provide a drum-head. In the case of the Djuka specimen, the difficulty was not so great, for the village was near the rail-head, was well-to-do, and there were a number of drums available; the one acquired and which is figured was, however, the only one of the village collection that was without carving.

The Tumao drum is especially dedicated to the Apuku, or spirits of the bush. When the full battery of three instruments is being played, this drum furnishes the intermediate accompanying rhythms. An example of this type is illustrated in Plates XXVI and XXVII. Inasmuch as it was the first drum acquired, it often served as a substitute for the others when drum-accompaniments to the songs were recorded. At times it was used in place of the Apinti, when the latter was not available. In actual ceremonial usage, however, when a tenor drum is missing and cannot be readily borrowed from the people of a neighboring village, the natives prefer to improvise an Apinti rather than to employ a drum of another category. As can be seen, the method of attachment of the head to the body of the drum is quite different from the attachment of the Apinti.

The Agida is the bass drum of the Suriname Negroes, both in Town and in the Bush, and is the instrument which, with its low note, dominates the battery with a steady beat. With the *kwakwa* (to be shortly described), this beat sets the basic rhythm of the more complicated notes played by the drums of higher pitch. It is sacred to the Snake deities and is used to call them. A number of the Agida drums seen were of impressive size; the largest, found in a shrine to the Snake deities in a village on the Pikien Rio in the

deep interior, measured more than eight feet in length, and was played as it lay on the ground. So powerful was its call, that only a few minutes after it began to sound the invocations to the Snake god, devotees from nearby villages, under possession, made their appearance.[1] Unlike the Apinti and Tumao drums, which are played only with the hand, the Agida is played with one drum-stick, the player using his free hand to sound more intricate rhythms.

All drums have at least two tones. When played near the outer edge a higher note is sounded than when the beat is struck in the center of the drum-head. All of these instruments, whatever their type, are constructed from hollowed-out logs, and, except for the largest Agida drums, each has a carved 'foot' on which it rests. The Apinti and Tumao drums are tilted off the ground at an angle when being played, the player usually squatting on the instrument which, in turn, rests on his heels.[2] This makes it possible to obtain the greatest volume of sound in drumming, since there is no stoppage of the column of air inside the body as is the case when the opening at the lower end stands directly on the earth. Before playing any drum, the head is tightened, usually by driving the pegs which hold the fastenings of the head deeper into the body of the drum. With heat the skin also tightens, but we have never witnessed a drum-head tightened by means of holding it near a fire. Dances are ordinarily held during the night, when it is dampest, and it is characteristic for drummers to tune their drums at intervals during the period when they play them.

Other instruments in the Bush are the *kwakwa*, the rattle, and the striking the 'iron against iron' *(felu-kǫ-felu)*, an improvised triangle consisting of any two pieces of iron which are at hand. The *kwakwa*, which, with the iron and the Agida drum set the basic rhythm of a complex of instruments, is a low bench, with a hardwood top, beaten with two sticks by a player who squats beside it facing the dancers. However, the only real *kwakwa* we saw was in Paramaribo; in the Bush, the Negroes are quite content to use an old wooden box and any two pieces of wood at hand for the purpose. The rattle is the most important of the subsidiary instruments and we have seen it used alone to induce possession. It is indispensable for any religious ceremony[3] and the rhythms it sounds vary with the spirits that are being called. In secular dances the rhythms are also governed by the song categories.

A word may be said concerning those who play these instruments. The major line of specialisation is one of sex, for no woman may play

1 Cf. Herskovits, M. and F., (V), pp. 243-246.

2 Kahn, p. 58, gives an excellent photograph of a Bush-Negro playing a drum, and (p. 60) figures two Bush-Negro drums.

3 In Dahomey, the *asogwe* (rattle) is necessary for the establishment of a cult-house to any deity; equal importance is ascribed to the rattle in all the West African regions from which the forebears of the Suriname Negroes were derived.

t.o. 522



Plate XXVI. A Bush-Negro Tumao Drum. (Hamburg Museum, No. 30.51: 76)



Plate XXVII. Detail of attachment of drum-head, Bush-Negro Tumao Drum.

drums, or even touch them. Belief has it that if a woman plays the drums, her breasts will grow until they reach the ground; whether or not it is this belief that gives the custom a living validity, it can be said that one never sees a woman playing one of these instruments. All men are expert at handling drums. There are those who excel as drummers and they are seen most frequently playing them, but such excellence is attributed to the favor of the gods, - 'He has strong gods', they say in the Bush; and in the Town, 'It's his *wɩntí*'. Nevertheless, when necessary, any man can take his place in an orchestra. This is not strange, since every Bush-Negro hears the drum-rhythms from his earliest years, and before every dance one can see the small boys tuning and playing the drums. Often very young girls dance to these rhythms, while the older men listen to the drumming and correct mistakes. To illustrate how early in life a feeling for rhythm appears, we can cite our own experience on the Pikien Rio, where a child who could not have been more than two years old drummed against the side of the low box on which he was sitting, reproducing perfectly some of the Awasa dance-ryhthms, and being encouraged by the admiring comments of his parents and others who listened to him. Both women and men play the *kwakwa* and the rattle, but it is the women who accompany the songs with hand-clapping, and for all but the Kromanti and ancestral songs, they are the most important singers.

Little need be added to what has been stated in discussing the musical instruments of the Paramaribo Negroes. Detailed photographs are given of the five drum-types found among them, and the differences in the size of the drums, and in techniques of attaching the drum-heads, are shown in the accompanying illustrations[1]. The smallest of these drum-types, and, as in the Bush the only one to be decorated and ritually the most important, is the Apinti. Of similar size but different in outline and in method of attaching the drum-head is the Podya. Next comes the intermediate-sized drum, which corresponds to the Tumao of the Bush, but which, among the coastal Negroes, is termed the *Man drǫ*, the 'man-drum', and still larger is the long, slender '*laŋga-drǫ*', which is played lying on its side with a drum-stick. The great drum of Town as of Bush is, once more, the Agida. As in the Bush, these instruments are supplemented with rattles, *kwakwa*, and iron; the sex-division in playing, and the technique of handling these various instruments follows essentially what has been described, though on occasion a woman, in the Town, will play a drum[2].

1 Plates XVI, XX-XXIV.

2 See above, pp. 87-88 for the description of the use of these drums in an actual ceremony.

E. Notes on the recording op the songs.

The songs presented in this work were recorded in 1929, during the second field-trip to Suriname, on a phonograph recommended by Professor von Hornbostel, and procured from Wira, G.M.B.H., Berlin; recordings were made on wax cylinders of the Edison Phonograph Company. With the cooperation of the Psychological Laboratory of the University of Berlin two hard-rubber casts were made of each of the original cylinders, thereby making available for reference two complete sets of the recordings, one in the Phonogramm Archiv of the University of Berlin, and the other at Northwestern University, Evanston. The transcriptions, as they appear here, are grouped according to song categories, and two tables[1] are appended for the use of those who may wish to consult the original recordings, the first giving the number of the record on which the song appears, and the second listing the songs by the numerals given each in the field, and opposite these the corresponding transcription numbers.

The Bush-Negro songs were obtained from singers the length of the Suriname River, and with the exception of songs Nos. 9, 13, 75, 76, 91, 96 and 97, which are Djuka songs, sung by Djuka men, they were given us by members of the Saramaka tribe.

In order to facilitate the work of students of comparative music, the Bush-Negro as well as the Town Negro songs are included in this volume, even though the major portion of the data describes aspects of the life of the coastal Negroes. Since, however, there is no ethnological comment in these pages to serve as a background against which the Bush-Negro songs may be projected, we shall sketch briefly certain phases of the life, and a few of the more cogent psychological attitudes of the Bush as they touch upon the songs themselves and the technique of recording, and shall indicate the bases from which these spring.[2]

The New World experiences of these Negroes have been such as to preserve in the interior of South America an archaic African culture, for whereas their ancestral stocks in Africa have had continuous contact these last two hundred years with other West African and European peoples, the Suriname runaway slaves who had fought their way to the status of a free political group by the first half of the eighteenth century, have remained in isolation. From the aboriginal Indians whom they had driven from the river bank terrains which they appropriated for their own villages and fields, they had taken over certain food complexes, either in their entirety, like the manioc complex, or in part, as in the use of the *kunali* shrub for poisoning fish. From the Whites they obtain such staples as cloth, rum, gunpowder, axes and bush knives, iron griddles and pots,

1 Appendices IV and V.
2 See Herskovits, M. and F. (V), for a full account of Bush-Negro life.

beads for ornamental and ceremonial purposes, brass and iron for conversion into armlets, bracelets and anklets, and white clay for ceremonial uses. To these must be added such luxury acquisitions as enamel basins, large and small oil lamps, tools for woodcarving, with helmets, folding chairs and even an occasional table, hammocks with mosquito net attachments, a shirt and pair of trousers as a sign of special affluence.

Other than in the field of material culture, the greatest single outside influence is to be discerned in the language, which, as we have indicated in our discussion of the language of the Town, consists of a Portuguese-English base with a good proportion of African words, a sprinkling of French, Dutch, and Indian, and all of these expressed in an African idiom, with African speech cadences and rhythms, and, in the instance of African words, with significant tones. In other aspects of their culture, however, no outstanding influence of either Indian or European civilisations is observable.

The Bush-Negro's attitude toward the White man may be said to stem chiefly from the lore of the relationship of the enslaved ancestors to the Whites, and the heroisms of the runaway slaves in establishing themselves in the Bush. This memory is consciously fostered from one generation to the next in the name of the ancestors, who are worshipped, and for political reasons is often emphasized anew by clan heads and priests. The pervading attitude, then, may be said to be characterised by two proverbs most often spoken to White persons by men of all ages. One is, ‘White man's magic is not black man's magic,’ and the other, - heard incidentally on the coast as well, and expressing that one is fortified by wit and strength to cope with enemies - ‘There are men on the upper river, and there are men on the lower river, too.’

About this attitude of aloofness toward the White man's civilisation, and the suspicion of the White stranger, cluster an entire complex of inhibitions. One of these was manifested in the unwillingness to give the text of the songs sung into the phonograph, though except in the case of the very young, or of the specially timid, there was no reluctance to sing into it. The reason for this was that the fascination of singing a song into a ‘machine’ and hearing it reproduced immediately thereafter was strong enough to overcome all hesitancy. The singing, however, was often prefaced with a spoken explanation to the ancestors, or to a man's personal spirits, that he was conceding nothing of his heritage in thus performing for the White man's machine. Often, too, the singer made peace with the spirits by misnaming the songs he sang.

Knowing these attitudes, it was necessary to replay the songs to members of other villages in order to obtain a check on the names of the songs, and to play them again to informants for explanations. An excited exclamation naming the type of song usually resulted from first hearing a record, and this was taken as the best indication

of the true nature of a given song. In the matter of obtaining texts, however, new problems arose. Few men on the river fail to carry protective magic against slander and backbiting, so that to reveal what another had attempted to distort involved spiritual danger. If a man, however, was so sure of the powers of his own spirits, and their friendliness toward him, to ignore this danger, he was faced with the edict of the ancestors that no man might reveal more than half of what he knew. Moreover, with many the mere replaying of the songs which named important gods, or ancestors, or invoked the spirit of magic - Obia - brought much consternation, and there was little willingness to repeat these sacred names.

Many of the texts, therefore, had to be worked out by playing and replaying the songs after we returned from the field. When it is recognised that many of them are in the esoteric Kromanti language, unknown to all but the initiated adult men, and that even the secular language of the Bush-Negroes because of its use of elision and circumlocution, added to differences in basic vocabulary, is not understandable to Coastal Negroes, it must be evident that much that is tentative is contained in these texts. Nevertheless, despite our many misgivings about them, and our decision to refrain at this time from giving translations, it was found that the texts were sufficiently accurate to enable the two Fanti and one Ashanti informants from the Gold Coast of West Africa with whom we have had an opportunity to go over them to give us partial, and in some instances even full translations of a number of these songs - particularly those in the Kromanti group - with the accompanying comment often of ‘This word is proper Fanti’, or ‘This any Fanti on the coast will understand’, or ‘This is ours, but I can't get all the sense’, or ‘This is an Adansi expression. The Ashanti use it today.’ As a check on these African translators, we made it a point to read to each informant all the songs, including those which by internal evidence showed them not to be of Twi origin, as for example those invoking the Dahomean Snake god *Dangbe*, (pronounced in Suriname Dagowe), or the rainbow serpent *Aido-Wedo*, or the Bantu god *Zambi*. In all these instances we were told ‘That's not ours’ before we had more than pronounced a few phrases.

An experience in the Gold Coast, among the Ashanti, during the summer of 1931, provides another example of the tenacity of the culture of the Bush-Negroes and the purity of its Africanisms, and suggests the problems that need to be met before a definitive rendering of the texts can be essayed. In the village of Asokore we came upon a group of the older generation who could remember Seketi dances (pronounced by them Sekete), and one informant proceeded to sing a refrain to one of them which is the same as the Bush-Negro song No. 82. But whereas the Bush-Negro sings,

Mamba semba go na Semene
Mamba people go to Semene,

the Ashanti sing,

Amamasem be go no asem ne

Distinguishing themselves they will ease matters today.

It can be seen from this illustration that other translations given may upon analysis show similar tendencies to inject into traditional words meanings based on current speech, for it must be borne in mind that for the Bush-Negro it was a new experience to be objective about the songs he sang. Songs contained words which came from the ancestors, or were improvisations on an event that was remembered as lore, or not remembered at all; or else symbolised, in the idiom of song, some event of more recent origin. Until such time, therefore, as we have definite internal and external evidence, derived from an analysis of the component elements of the language, to corroborate these translations, or definitely to controvert them, a sound methodology requires that the songs be treated in their present form, with all the elements that require study indicated.

In a separate discussion treating of the culture of the Bush-Negroes, a full analysis of the Twi translations will be undertaken. In this section they will be indicated in footnoote form for the respective songs.

The Town Negro music presented no similar problem. In most instances the singers dictated the words of the songs and gave us the proper classifications. Nevertheless, the same process of checking and rechecking songs by playing them to others was carried on as in the Bush. Where the singers were vague about the meanings of phrases, or knew no translation, we have so indicated. It must be remarked that at times the Town Negroes were also baffled by the request to explain the meaning of a song, never having had to assume an analytical attitude towards the words they sang. It was evident that this led to some improvisation of meaning. All instances which showed hesitancy on the part of the informants are noted.

Because of the fact that the style of singing differs with the individual singers, another table is given showing the singer of each song, so that a future student interested in this aspect of the music may have the information available.[1] Names do not occur, for we have substituted numbers, the reason for this substitution lying in the wish of the singers to remain anonymous.

1 Appendix III.

F. Bush-Negro songs

1. Religious Songs.

a) Kromanti.[1]

1.

Sa-ma-we, Sa-man-yo, ye - gr*į*n - ya - e Sa-mawe, Sa-man-yo,
to gr*į*n - ya [-e] Sa-man-ya - na

2.

A kom - bo-yo Sa-bi na b'o - koa - ya-wa o bo - a kog-bwe-tio
Sa - bi na b'o - koa-ya - wa 'ban'-ba kog-bwe-ti -o.

1 A secret cult among the Bush Negroes. The word itself is derived from the Gold Coast Coromantyn. The organisation of this cult among the Bush Negroes points to its being a warrior society, whose symbol is iron. The dancing of the Kromanti group is more violent than that of any other, and it is in the frenzy of Kromanti possession that exhibitions of imperviousness to cuts by iron, glass, thorns, is demonstrated. This group also includes *Obia-Kromanti* songs. Cf. Herskovits, M. and F., (V), 322ff.

3[1]**.**

A - ya - wa Da - da ya - wa Da - da - o -
A - ya - wa Da - da ya - wa Da - da - o -
A - ya - wa Da - da K'o man - ti ma'o kǫ wi - dio ya - o
[Ta - ta To - nio]
(3 times)

4.

Nya-mio-o Ka-ria gri - gri - o A bon-ya mio-bia-e Ka-ria gri - gri
Nya-mio - o Ka-ria gri-gri-i A bon-ya mi - i Ka-ria gri-gri
Nya-mio - o - o Ka-ria gri-gri-o A bon-ya mi-o ten tye-e Ka-ria gri-gri

1 The translation of this song was given by Africans to whom the words were read as follows:

'Ancient *Ayawa*,
Ancient *Ayawa* - o,
The Kromanti people
Will fight to save you.'

5.

Bu - si wa - na - bi - wą gan-ga - o - a wa-ni ba - e
Bo - su wa - na - bi - wą oan - ga - a bo - si - bi - sa - o -
Bu - si (etc.)

6[1]**.**

Yɛ m'o - bi'e - i ye m'o-bi'yo ye m'o - bi'yo ye m'o - bi'yo
Ɛ m'o-bia dy - e - ye ɛ m'o-bi'yo ye m'o-bu dya ɛ m'o-bi'yo

7.

Yo grin - ya - o a ba - na - we ba ma - ni Yo grin - ya-a
o - bia ba - na - we ba man-ya na yo grin - ya - o

8.[2]

O - ru - ma We-de O - ru - ma We-de kwa Ko-dyo

1 In Twi, *Ye m'obia e dja* would signify

'We give again, father,
Here it is again.'

2 It is probable that the classification given for this song is incorrect; from internal evidence, it would seem to be a song for a snake deity.

O - ru-ma We-de kwa Kodyo O - ru - ma We-de kwa Ko-dyo.

9.[1]

U - sa - fō tu - tu fo - ma - nio 'sa - fō ye sa - fō tu-
tu fo-ma - nio 'sa - fō ye U - sa - fō tu - tu (etc.)

10.

Te-i-go -, Dya-dya man-yio Te - i - go -, Dya-

1 One Fanti informant referred this to a campaign of Osai Tutu, translating it as

‘General Tutu
Start a campaign.’

Another Fanti gave its meaning as,

‘O warriors gather,
And give it to him,’

(i.e., the unnamed enemy).

dya man-yio Te - i - go -, Dya-dya man-i a - go
Te - i e - go, Dya - dya man - yo
Ku-ma tio, na - wo kwa-ya wa tịn -tịn ya-vo-du na - bo
kwa-ya ya-wa tịn tị-ịn Ku - mạtio nab - wo kwa - ya - wa
Vo - du sab-wo, kwa - ya-wa Kro-man-tio tịen tịę-ę Vo - du, na-
wo kwa - ya-wa-o A - ya - wa ko' tịẹ̱ịẹ̱n tịẹ̱ịẹ̱n, nab - wo kwa-ya
Dya-dya man - yio -

11.

A - ye mu da - e Kwa-si kwa-dyo (etc.)

A - ye mu da - e - o - (etc.)
(Repeated 3 times with variations).
A - ye mu da - e - (etc.)
A-ye mu da-e - o - (etc.)
A - ye mu da - e -
ye mu da-e - o -

12.

Ya si - ki si Dya-dya u - si dya si bu - bu
Ya si - ki si Dya-dya u - ni dya si bu - bu

13[1]**.**

Ya - wa nu-a sa - fō ya - wa nu - a nu

14[2]**.**

Kod-yo, kod-yo - o sa - ba sa - ba wa sa do - a

1 Called a ‘Djuka Kromanti’ song. The Twi-speaking translator rendered the meaning of the words as

‘Here we are, warriors,
Here we are.’

2 If the accent on *saba* is on the first syllable, the meaning is

‘Kodyo, Kodyo, have you come with love,
Or have you come to kill me?’

kod-yo - o sa - ba-a kum-yo sa - ba wa sa do
Kod - yo, kod - yo - o sa - la - e kum - yo - o
sa - ba - wa sa do - a - o sa - ba - wa sa do

15.

O Ma - to Sya - ba ga - du we - o we - a
Ma - to Sya-ba ga - du we - o we

16.[1]

A - fi - mu da-dye a ye - a - o Am-ba-o san-yo - A-

1 'The year has come to a close
Amba, here are our tears.
The years has come to a close,
Save us today,
Amba, we come to you for aid.'

Amba is the female Saturday day-name. Here reference is either to a goddess or ancestress.

-fi-mu da-dye - a - yo Da-dyo-de - Am-ba-o su-yo -
Am-ba on-dye A - - fi-mu da-dye - ai - yo A - - fi-mu da-
dye-on-dye Da-dyo-ndye fi-mu da dye - a - yo Am-ba-o,
sub - wa 'fi-mu da-dye - a - yo Da-dyan-de - 'fi - mu dadye-a - yo

17. **see p. 541.**

18.

A-na-mu Dya - dya-e - - o - - i A-na-mu Dya-dya - o - i
Ma - na tu ku - ma na - mu - ba We ma-ma - o ma - i (3 times)

17.[1]

Bod'-bo, bod'-bo, a - di - ka - a bod'-bo Bo-dyi A - nan-si 'dji ka bod'-bo
Bod'bo (etc.)

1 One informant stated that *Bodji* is a Fanti ‘strong name’ for Anansi, but he could not say what it signified.

19.

A-ma-nu Dya-dya-e - ye - o A-ma-nu Dya - dya - o o -ye
(.....) ku-ma le - u - ku mo wu-e ma-ma-e o - o - u
A-ma - na - u (etc.)
A ye ne Ga - du - lu- ku na mu Dya-dya ti - de Ma na
mu bɛg' yu lu - ku na mu Dya - dya - o e -
Ma Ga - du wą' su - ku ma luu - ku - mo me ma - ma - e

20[1]**.**

A - na-bo bio A - na - bo bio A-na-bo bio Tat' An-do [Tat' Fa-ku] [Tat'Adjạ̈i-ni].
A - na - bo - bio A - na - bo bio A - na - bo bio -
A - na - bo bio A - na - bo bio A - na - bo Ta - ta - o
A - na - bo bio A - na - bo bio A - na - bo bio
A - na - bo bio - A - na - bo - bi An-do A - na - bo bio
A - na - bo bio A - na - bo bio A-na - bo Ta-ta - o

21.

1 'Have you come again, Ando?
Have you come again, Faku?
Have you come again, Adjạ̈ini?'

Adjạ̈ini is a 'strong name' for 'brave man.'

O kǫm ny - ą' gwąm - bǫ - kǫm ny - ą' tɛ -
dɛ-dɛ ki-ye Ogwąm-bǫ ko-to mi - e - o kǫm ny-am tɛ -
dɛ - dɛ - ki - e - mum ba-o - (- - - - - -.) (4 times with variations)

22[1].

Dąn - kio Nyąn-kǫm-pǫn Dąn-kio Nyąn-kǫm-pǫn e Dąn-kio Nyąn-kǫm-pǫn [kǫ pi - ki] Dąn - kio - Nyąnkǫmpǫn (etc.)

23.

Ta - ta lu-ku ąn-ka - mą - o ti - de Ya tą lu-ku ąn -ka - mą
Ya-e - - o Ya - o [Kǫm pi - ki] Ya-o tąn lu-ku ąn -ka - mo

1 Either ‘Turn’ or ‘Thank you, Nyankompon [come speak]’ - last addressed by the soloist to the chorus.

Ya-o tạn lu - ku ạn -ka-mo ti - de Ya (...) Ya-o - e
Ya-o - e Ya-o tą luk' ạn-ka-ma-o Ya tą luk' ạn - ka-ma-o ti-de
mi o-g'a lu-ku ạnka-ma-e - y-e

24[1]**.**

Dạn-kio Na - na - o - ye - A - ya - we dyạn-kio luk' Dạn-
kio lu - ku Na - na - o - ye Na - na mi dan - kiyo Na - na wɛnt'
Dja-dja - e - Dạn-kio - Na-na-o - e - ye U Dạn-kio
Na-na-o - e - ye Na-na-na - u Dạn-kiyo-o Na-na - e - - e - o dan-kie

1 See Song 22.

'*Nana* ancestors
Nana went' *Djadja-e* ancestral *Djadja winti*.'

Dąn - kio Na - na - o - Na-na Yąnkǫmpǫnu Ti-de mi dąn-kio
tę Na - na - o O - bia tu mi dąn-kio te Na-na-we Dya-dya-o
Dąn-kio - o - Yan-kǫm-pǫ U Dąn-kio - Na-na-o - - ye
Na - na (...) Dąn-kia - o - Na - na - e Dya-dya - e

25[1]**.**

O - pe - te kwa-sio A - djąi-nie - o - e - o O - pe - te
kwa - sio A - djąi - nio o - bia - o O - pe - te kwa - si
tid' A - djąi - ni węn - ti kwao kwao kwao kwao

1 'Sunday Vulture, O mighty one,
Sunday Vulture, O mighty spirit of magic,
Sunday Vulture, today the mighty *winti*
Kwao, Kwao, Kwao. [Said to be call of the vulture.]
Sunday Vulture, O mighty one, greetings.
Sunday Vulture, look at the mighty *obiamąn*.'

(O)- pe - te kwa - sio A - djaị-nio - yi O - pe - te kwa-se
A-djaị - nio - o - yo O - pe - te kwa-sio A-djaị - nio ku - mau
O - pe - te kwa-sio lu-ku A-djaị-ni-e o - bia-mau O - pe - te kwa-sio
ti-de d'A-djaị-ni O - pe-te kwa-si ti-de da A-djaị-ni we-ti kwao

26.

'U ku - ya Ga - do, Wu-du-bai-yu, Lu - ku - ku - ya - e -
Ga - du O kō - kō - - o - ya O ku -
- ya ti - dɛ lu - ku ba'i-yo-o kō - kō - e o - bia.

O kō - kō U ku - ya (.....) Wu - du - bai - yu,
Lu - ku - ku - ya - e - Ga - du - e - O kō
A ye ma ye -, o ma bu - si[1] A - la - da
mi da o kō - kō - e - - o - mu ya

27.[2]

Kɛ - dia-ɔn - so Kɛ-diąm-po - nu Kɛ - dia - ɔn - so -
Kɛ - diam - p'o - di - o sa - ki na - ya - wa [o - bia - we]

1 '*O ma busi* - I bring you Kola.'
2 'Accept water, Kediampon,' etc.

Kɛ-dia - ɔn - so - e - Kɛ - diam - po - nu Kɛ-dia-diam-
po Kɛ-diam - po - nu (.....) ya - wa - e (3 times)
Kɛ - dia - o - no- na moi

28.

O - da ya - we - o - dwa ya - we - ob-ia - o-dwai ya
wi wai ya-ob - ia - wei
We pi - ki trąŋga kǫ' o - bi-a-'bia wi o-bi-a'o dwai-ya
(.....) o-bamba Wa ya oe - o-dwai-yao-we -

o dwai - ya - o wai - ya - o de - i -
(.....) o - bi - a - o o - bi - a kan - tia da ban-ka-ma
wa - ye e pi - ki trąŋ - ga kǫ' o - bi - a pi - ki yan - ka - mo
o - ko - e kyu o - bia o dwai ya-o bam-ba A ya we -
o - dwai ya - we - o - dw-ai ya wi wai a - o - de - i

29.[1]

A Nu-ma-o - Wɛn-ti-a Nu-ma - o - we A Nu-ma - o -
Wɛn - ti-ba-a Nu-ma-o 'Sant' o - bi-a Nu - ma kom - fo mi Wɩn-

1 The meaning of the first part, according to Gold Coast translators, is

‘Bird *winti*, come,
Ashanti *obia*,
Priest of the bird-god come.’

Anumai has the meaning of ‘this bird’; *ayeba* is a black pot used for sacrifices.

tia Nu - ma - ba A Nu-ma-i A Nu - ma - e -
Wɛn-tia Nu-ma-o A Nu-ma-we - Wɛn-tia Nu-ma, ba
A-sant' o - bi-a Nu - ma Kɔm - fo Wɛn - tia Nu - ma-a
ba A Nu - ma - i (.....) A Nu - ma - e
Wɛn - tia Nu-ma O - pe - te kwa - si a g'i ba - ka
te a-ye - ba A Nu-ma-o - o - bi-a Nu - ma - o
'Sant' o-bi-a Nu-ma- i kɔm-fo mi Win-tia Nu-ma-ba A Nu-ma - i

30.[1]

Dąn-kio, Na-na - e - o - e - Dąn-kio Na-na- o o - bi - a - o
Ye mu ta- fa - ra Na - na, mu ta - fer' a - di - o Kɛ-dia-mo-a
Ų dan-kio Na-na - o - e - Ų dan - kio Na-na - o o-
bi-a-e - Ta-fe - ra Na-na, mu ta-fer' a - di - o Kɛ-diam-po - e
Dan-kio Nana, wa yem ku-mi-ba Ta-fe - ra Nana, mi ta-fe - ra gi.'
Dan-kio Na - na - o man ku-mo ta - f'a yo to ga-wɛ a Man-dɛ[2]

1 (See Songs 22 and 24.)

'*Dankio* ancestors - e
Dankio obia of the ancestors
You must forgive us ancestors,
Must forgive and save us, *Kɛdiamo*.
Dankio ancestors,
Do not kill my children.
Forgive us, ancestors,
You must forgive and save us.
Dankio ancestors,
Do not kill me,
.....
Dankio ancestors of the Awana bush,
Dankio ancestors of *Tata Weneki*,
Dankio Kromanti ancestors.'

2 *Yo to ga-we a mande* could not be translated by the Fanti, who understood the remainder of the song; this line was said by them not to be Fanti.

Ų dan-kio Na - na - o - o - ye A - wa - na bu - si Ų dan-kio
Na-na- o - o - yo Ta-ta Wɛ-nɛ-ki Ų dan-kio Nana-o, K'omanti - o
Gi mu ta - fe - ra Na - na mu ta - fe - ra-di - o Kɛ-diam-po-a
Ų dan-kyo, Na-na - e - Ų dan - kyo Na - na- o o - bi-a - o
Ta - fa - ra Na - na, mu ta - fer' a - di - o Kɛ - diam - po - e

31.

Ma-wu - le - ye Te - da Ku-dya - ni ku- ma - o (- - - -
- -) Ma - wu - lo kɔ dia me we Ma wu - lo - e - o -
Ma- wu - lo Ga - du me ko - di Ma-wu - lo u-dyon - gi

Dyan ka - ta - sụ ko Ma - wu - lo-o Ti - de u dɛ ko Ma - wu - lo Ke-
dya - ni - i (- - - - -)

32.[1]

A dya mi-a dizǫn-go mąn go mą Komą'-ti Kǫn-go mąn ma-u lụ-tu Na-na
ga-e-a mino mo ye - e ga-du! Sa - ve - - e Sa-ve-e-e - o
A - dyai - ni a di zǫn - gō mąn go - mą Ko - mą' ti Kǫn-go - mą'
ma lụn-tu Na-na ǫn-za an - zi - nya-ma Sa - ve - e Sa-ve

33.

(O) mą djɛ - ni o - bia dy-e ma dje-ni no-ho o - bi - a ma - ye
Am-ba djɛ - yi o-bia mi yi yi (- - - -) (o-bia) (- - - -)

1 There is reason to believe that this has been classified incorrectly, and is not a Kromanti song.

O ma dje - ni o- bia mi yi man dje-ni no-ho o-o-bia mo - ye
Am-ba dje - ni o - bia- i yɛ man dje-ni no-ho (o - bi-a - i).

34.

Ma ya - o - wi-sia ma-ma-o Ma ya - o - wį-ga ma - ma
Ta Azanku nya ma-ma ku-ma nwį - (.....)
Ma ya - o - wi-sia ma-ma-o A ya - o - wįn-sia ma-ma
Ma no m'a g'w'a Nɛ̨ŋ-ge kɔ̨n-de (.....) (.....)
Ma ya - o - wįn-sia ma-ma-o mi kuma-ni A ya - o - wįn-sia
ma-ma Ma no m'a g'wa Nɛŋ-ge kɔ̨n-de (.....)

b) Dagowe.

35.[1]

Da wa - da da - gō Ma - o da - da ya-o Da - wa - da da-gō
Ma - o da - da ya - o Ma - o

36.

Ma-lem - be - e ya Ma-lem - be Ma-ma - we - o -
Sa Ma-lem- be - o - o
-ma - Ga - du Sa Ma-lem - be fi - la - e -

37.

Ma - um - be - wa Ma-um - be - wo T'-ta Man-ga
Ti - ta Ma-um - be Ga - du Ma-lim - be Da - go - we

1 *Dagowe* is a snake deity (Dahomean *Dąŋgbe*).

Ma-um - be - wa Ma-um - be - wo Ti - ta Man-ga
Ti - ta Ma-um - be Ga-du Ma-lim - be Da - go - we
Tu - tu kar' yɛ - o Tu - tu kar yɛ - o Ga - dua de-a
li - ba dɛ - dɛ Ga-du tu - tu ka' ye - - - - yo
(Repetitions with minor variations)

38.[1]

Bo-na- e -, a - bo-na-ye -, a - bo - na-ye, a - bo-nya-o
E-ya bo-nya yu - ku bra-bra-bra yu - ku (...) ya bo- nya - e
Ma-ma mi kul' a bra-bra kwa bo-nya- e A-bo- nya - e -, a

1 Our Fanti informant said when he heard this song, ‘This is our's but I can't get the sense,’ and added, ‘It is a praising song.’

bo - nya - o - Gan- ga - sa Vo - dų a - bo - nya - o
Ku-ma-ni fo sa-bra bra Ko Vo-dų-si kwa bo-nya-e a bo-nya-e -
Mi ku - la bra-bra kwa bonya-o - o Mi ku-ta bra-bra a bo-nya-e
End: bo - nya - e ye - ye -

c) Apuku.[1]

39.

Sem - be - re - wa gą - ga wa - e -, Sem - be - re - wia
gą - ga wa - e - U -pau we - i - Sem - be - re-wa

1 Apuku are the little people of the bush. They are thought of as good spirits, but mischievous, and capable of evil when disturbed. The natural clearings in the bush are places where the Apuku gather to hold council at night, and may never be worked, or entered by humans. These spirits seem to be definitely related to the forest spirits of West Africa, such as the *Azizą* of Dahomey and the *Mmotia* of the Ashanti.

gą - ga wa - e Sem - be - re - wa gą - ga wa - e -,
Sem - be - re-wa gą - ga wa - e - U - pau we - u -
Sem - be - re - wa gą - ga

40.

Y'a - no bi - a - i ba - ka te - en - die Lu - ku die
Y'a - no bi-a - i ba - ka te-en - die ma bu - li - man lu - ku
Y'a - no bi - a - i ba - ka te - en - die Y'a - no
bi - a - i ba - ka te - en - die ma bu - li-man lu - ku

Y'a - no bi - a - i ba - ka te - en - die E - y'a - no
bi - a - i ba - ka te - en - die ma bu - li - man lu - ku
Y'a - no bi - a - i ba - ka te - en die Lu - ku die -
Y'a no bi-a-i ba - ka te-en - die ma bu - li - man lu - ku
(Repetitions with minor variations)
Y'a - no bi - a - i ba - ka ye - ye u Tu - tu
Y'a - no bi - a - i ba - ka te - en - die ma 'bu - li - man
lu - ku Y'a - no bi - a - i ba - ka te - en - die
A ta bom - bo - to a yu m'ba-ka ro mo te - en - die ma
bu - li-man lu - ku A ta lom - bo - - toa yu m'ba-ka no mo

te-en die ma bu - li-man lu- ku A ta lu - ku a (m'ba)-ka
te - en - die ma bu - li - man lu - ku A ta lu -
ku a (m'ba) - ka te - en - die ma bu - li - man lu - ku
A ta lu - ku a (m'ba-) ka te-en - die ma bu - li - man lu- ku

41.

Da - wi - e -, Ga-du, Da - wi - o - o Da - wi - e -, mi
kɔm ka- ri - yo Ti - de m' wa - a - ka na Ba-k'a Ga-do ka - ri - yo
O Da - wi - e -, Ga-du, Da - wi - o O Da - wi - e -, mi
kɔm ka - ri - ye (.....) ka - ri - ye

42.

A Ta-ta Bo-di-yo 'Pu-ku bo-ni-yo Tye - - - - - go
A Ta - ta - 'Pu-ku
bo - ni-yo - Tye - go - A
Ta - ta Bo - di - yo 'Pu-ku bo - ni - yo Tye - - go
A Ta-ta 'Pu-ku bo - ni-yo-
- Tye - - - - - go A

Ta-ta - Bo-di-yo 'Pu-ku bo - ni-yo Tye - go
A Ta-ta - 'Pu - ku bo-
ni-yo - Tye - go -

43.

Bang-wa - e ma-ma- o -, Bang-we ma - ma- e A-ya - o -
Bang-we - ma- ma - e Bang-we ma - ma- e A-ya - o -
Bang-we - ma-ma-o Ye Bang-we ma-ma-e - A- ya - o -
Bang - we ma-ma - Bang-we ma - ma - o A - ya - o -

Bang-we ma-ma-we-o Bang-we ma - ma - e - A - ya-o -
Bang-we - ma-ma - Bang-we ma-ma - o A - ya - o

44.[1]

Yen-to-nyo, yen-to - nyo, yen-to - nyi A - be-ru Mam-ba e -
A-yen - to-nya, yen - to - nyo, yen - to-nyi A - be - ru Mam - ba - o
Yen-to - nya ya - ya, ba - ku ye yen - to - nyu

45.[2]

Yen - to- nyo, yen - to - nye, yen - to-nya I - be- ru fo Mamba-ye - e

1 'Let us sing,
Let us sing well,
Let us be united,
Aberu people.'

2 The translation is the same as for Song 44.

Yen-to-nyo, yen-to- nye, yen - to-nyi I- be-ru Mam-ba-o-e- o
Yen - to - nyi - ya - ya Ta-ta Ma-wo wi -
(Repetitions with variations)

46.

A ma-ma A-mu - te - Wa - ka si ku - ma - no, ku - ma - no, ku-
ma-no Ku-ta - e - A ma-ma A-mu - te -
Wa-ka si nku-ma - nu, ku - ma - nu, ku- ma-no An-dya - o-
we - o - a ma-ma A-mu - si Wa - ka si ma-nu, ku - ma - nu
Ba Ton-tio, Bai An- dio, Ma-mai A - mu - su Di de wa - ka si ku-
ma - nu, ku - ma - nu, ku - ma - nu, ku - ma - nu Ku-tia-e -

Ta-tai A-mu-se - Wa-ka si ku-ma-no, ku-ma-no, ku-ma-no
An - dye - o - we - ma-ma-i A-mu-si Ta-ta 'Si Ma-nu, ku-ma-nu

d) Aido wedo[1]

47.

Do - ma - i'ŋ - ge tiŋ - gi tiŋ - gi Do - m' A- i - da Wɛ - do
tiŋ - gi

48.

A da - nya bo - nya hu, a da-dya We- da - e A - la - da-nya
Bo - nya A - da - dya We- da Dad' A - gi - da hu-nya
bo - na hu - ya tu - wa Da-dya We - da - o

1 The rainbow-serpent; bears the same name in Dahomey (Fǫ, *Aido Hwedo*) and Haiti as it does in Suriname.

A da - nya bo - nya - hu a da - dya We - da - e
A - la - da - nya Bo - nya A - da - dya We - da

e) Wata-W□nti.[1]

49.

Ba-ka lo ye - ye - ye Ba-ka lo ye - ye Ba - ka lo ye - ye
Ba-ka lo-a-den-tiyo Ba-ka lo ye - ye - ye Ba-ka lo ye - ye
Ba-ka lo ye - ye Ba-ka lo a-den - tiye Ye-ye - ye - ye - ye
ye - ye Ba-ka lo ye - ye - ye Ba-ka lo a-den - tiye
Mi' a ko - ti wak-tian Ga- mą Ba - ka lo a - den - tiye

1 Spirits of the water.

Ko - ti, ko - ti wak-tian Ga - mą dia Ba - ka lo a den - tiyo
Ko - ti, ko - ti wak-tian Ga - mą Ba - ka lo a den - tiyo

f) G'ą obia[1].

50.[2]

O - bia - yo -, Yan - ko - ro O - bia - e, Yan- ko - ro
O - bia - e, Yan - ko - ro O - bia - e, Yan - ko - ro
O - bia - ye -, Yan - ko - ro O - bia - e -, Yan - ko - ro (8 times)
Yan -

1 Literally ‘great spirit of magic’.
2 The word Yankoro in the body of the song indicates that in reality the vulture is being invoked. This bird as in Africa is held sacred as a messenger of the gods.

g) Towenu[1].

51.[2]

Ye - ye - ye - ye o - ye - o O - ye - ye - ye - ye - ye - o -
To - we - nio Ye - ye ye-o ku - ma yen - ye - ye- ye- o
Ga - du mu - ye - ye, Na - na ku - ma nye - ye- ye - ye - o
O-ye-ye-ye-ye o - ye-o (etc.)

h) Zambi.[3]

52.

E - - ye o - e - Mi kǫ - ǫ Zam-bi - o - e

1 'Strong name' for the *Papa* god, a snake deity.
2 Fanti informants translated the words to this song as

'What we have done
We can do (this),'

and explained that *ye-ye o-ye* has the meaning of 'it can be done.'
3 The name of the Congo-Loango Great God; it is significant that the song in this category was sung by men of the Saramacca sib called *Loango*.

Wų - u Ma mi kǫ Zam - bi te na mu' So - ko So-ko
Mi kǫ - ǫ Zam-bi Gą Zam-bi Mi kǫ Zam-bia Mam-b' A-wa-ni
Mi kǫ Zam-bi A - mu - si kǫ wa - ye mi kǫ - ǫ Zam-bi Zam-
bi - ye o - e - Mi kǫ-ǫ' Zam - bi ti - de - o - we - o -
ke o - we Ma mi kǫ a Zam - bi tę na mu' So-ko So-ko

i) Prayer to the earth gods.

53.

Dɛm - bu - ra Mam - ba - e - y - - o -
Ti-de mi dɛm-bu-ra Mam-ba - o, wa - ye Ga - - dō mi dɛm
bu-ra a-Mam-ba-, Ti - de mi dɛm-bu - r' A- i - da Ga - du a kar'

mi a - i-ye (-o) Dɛm-bu-ra Mam-ba-e un de To - wo-nyo Ga-du
Dɛm-bu-ra Mam-ba- e un de Pe - ra Ga - du Dɛm - bu - ra Mam-
ba - e un de Mam - ba wɛn - tio Dɛm - bu-ra Mam - ba - o
dɛm - bu-ra wɛn - tia Ti - de mi dɛm - bu - ra a Mam - ba
O dɛm-bu - ra wɛn - ti - a Ga - du a kar' mi a - i - ye (-o)
(Repetitions with minor variations)

2. Ancestral Cult Songs.

a) Twin songs.[1]

54.

Ka - bi - ya - ya gbo - lo Ka - bi - ya - ya Ka - bi - ya - ya

1 Twins in the Bush, as in Dahomey and other regions of the West African Coast west of eastern Nigeria, are sacred. They are known among the Saramacca people by the Dahomean term *hoho*, and are called *hohobi*, from the Fọ *hoho*, 'twin' and the Gą *bi*, meaning 'child'.

55.

Hand-clapping:
A ku - da mi mbe-yu Na - kia-ban-dya Ma na mi sek'
Na- kia-ban-dya

56.

Ka - ya zun - zio Ka-ya zunz' bom-bo zem- ba - ye
Ka - ya zun - zio Ka - ya zunz' bom-bo zem - ba

57.

Ho-lo -lo bom-bia ho-lo- lo A - ho - lo bom-bia ho - lo - lo
Ke-bu-ta m'ta-ta dy - a - la - la Ho-lo- lo bom-bia ho-lo - lo A-

b) Yorka.[1]

58.

A di' a dis' [si]man Zom-be [A-]- (26 times)

c) Ancestral.[2]

59.

Bwa-mu - ra -, A-ben-tu-a - o Bwa-mu - ra -, 'Wa-ben-tu-a - e
Bwa-mu - ra
1 a) 1 b) 2) A-wa-ben-tu - a - e

1 The *Yɔrka*, in the Bush as on the Coast, are the ghosts. The fact that the word *zombe* occurs in the body of the song is interesting in view of the Haitian word *zombi* as applied to certain special ghosts, or the West Indian *djombie*, a generic term for the spirits of the dead.
2 Under this heading are grouped ancestral songs which could not be more definitely classified.

60.[1]

To-we-nu - To-we-nu a To-we-nu - Na-wa bo - e Ba-ku-ba (8 times)

61.[2]

Bon - to - nyo bon- to - nyo [bon-to-nyo] bon-to - nyo
(6 times)
Na-na wa - ya
kum-wa
ya-wai
kum' obia

1 In Twi, *bo-e* signifies ‘help’; *ba ku ba* was translated as ‘one who has come to thee’.

2 ‘Sing us a song
About what the ancestors have done.’

d) Papa songs.[1]

62.

Dyąŋ - ga - si, sịŋ - ga - si Dyąŋ - ga - si, sịŋ - ga - si
Kɛm - bi - tien - ti ma kɛm - ba tu - tu A - wal' kwi -
so - - o yan - gi - si A - wan - ga - e - mi lu -
ku lu A - wan - gi - so - o yą - gi - di (3 times)

63.

A - o - o, ma - ma 'An - gye - ye Zam - be ma-ma -, na-
ki a-ban-dya-o - A - o - - o, ma-ma (etc.)

1 Songs for the dead. It is held that when a song of this type is sung and no ceremonial for the dead is being performed, it means the death of a member of the village where it is sung. A coincidence lay in the fact that the child of the singer's sister died one week after he had sung these songs for the phonograph. The people who heard them played showed fear, and demanded that the machine be stopped as soon as the nature of the songs were recognised. Most of these were improperly named when first sung.

A - o - - o, ma-ma (etc.)

64.

Ų da-mie -, ye-ye - o Ma - bu Ko - dya mi o - n-
de te a Ga - du Wa - ye mi kǫ no da mi - dai
(.....)
(3 times with variations)
Ų da - Ų ku da -

65.

A-za - ke mu-ye - Ma Ga-du kɛ-mbu na yo- yo kɛ-mbu-an-ya-we

A - za - kyɛmbu-o kyɛ-mbuna yo - yo kyɛ-mbu yo - y - o (6 times with variations)

66.

A - za - kye mu-ye, kye- mu- na yo- yo Ke - bwan - ga
A - za - kye mo - o - kye-mu - na yo - yo mu-yo -
A - za - kye mu - ye -, kye-mu-na yo - yo - yo Ke - bwan-ga
A - za - kye mo - o kye-mu - na yo - yo ki-mu-yo

67.

Si-na-ma-le bo - to Si-na-ma-le den-tiyo A ye -

Si - na - ma-le bo - to Si-na - ma-le den - tiyo A - ye
I - ri - ye i - ri - yo si - ba si ba

68.

Wɛ, mąn na-ụn' bɛn go-e - ya-ye Wɛ, mąn na-ụn 'bɛn gō-o ya-ya
Cha go 'wa na mąn mi gąŋ-ga ke, Ga-dō na mi o - to me-ya-ye -
Ma Gadu miɛ-go 'we, ya - ye - no Ma na di miɛ-gyo, ya - ya
Ga-du a na mąn-yo Wa-ye na mi o - to dɛm wąn ki- ra
Tu bɛn g'we - ya - e Ma na di wi bɛn gyo - ya - ya
A na ma-di gąŋ-ga-o Wa-ya na mi o - to ụn' g'ia Ga-du -

3. Secular Songs.

a) Susa.[1]

69.

Da - gu la - bu se - ben - tin'
(14 times)

70.

Kɛ - si kɛ - si Zɔn-d'o lįŋ - ga Lįŋ - ga - li
[Kɛs'kɛs - i g'a] (5 times)

71.

Ta yo Zen - fa mąn Ta yo - ye - ye

72.

Gi mi mi G'ą - mą' Ma-yom-be

1 Susa songs, like most of those in this category, are dance songs. The dance is a contest in which two men engage in hostile demonstrations, and the pantomine is that of men fighting with shields and spears. They leap toward each other, the left foot of one dancer parallel to the right of the other, changing until when the song is broken, the one whose foot is on the outside is said to have ‘killed’ his opponent. Once a year there is a ‘Susa play’, when the dancers of a region congregate; the final winner is given a wand, and is called ‘King of Susa’ until the next contest is held, when he is expected to defend his title.

Gi mi mi G'ą-mą' Mayom-be Gi mi (etc.)

73.

Kɛ-si Kɛ-si g'a wo - wo-yo Kąi̯ɛ̨ŋ ļŋ - gi - o
Kɛ-si Kɛ-si g'a wo - wo-yo Kąi̯ɛ̨ŋ ļŋ- gi - o Kąi̯ ɛ̨ŋ ļŋ - gi - o

74.

Yo yo gri, yo gri, yo gri, A - ku - ba - o yo gri, yo gri,
yo gri, 'is' A - ku - ba yo go lu - ku, go lu - ku yo gri

75.

Dju-kau- mą - ye Yo - yo - yo - - y - o Dju - kau - mą - ye
yo - yo - yo - yo (etc.)

76.[1]

Yo - yo - yo - yo Ka-na dy' yo - yo - yo Ka-na dya-dya

1 The syllables *yo-yo-yo* have no meaning.

Mik'a fu-tu na Kwa-mi-si Ka-na-dy' yo - yo - yo Ka-na dya-dya

b) Sɛkɛti.[1]

77.

Ko - ba dɛ-mu-a - i, ba To - ne - ne - ne Da - i To - ne-
ne - ne Da - i To - ne ne - ne

78.

Ma-ma Ho - lan - de Ho-lan - de m'mu-ye
[Ma - sa]
[Mi - sa]

1 The *Sɛkɛti* is the most popular social dance on the river. The songs comment on current happenings, and are satirical in character. The finest examples of *Sɛkɛti* dancing are to be found in the village of the tribal chief, and this is recognised everywhere on the Suriname River. It is there, too, that the recitatives are the longest, and the variety in melody greater. In this phenomenon we have a survival of the trained choruses of the African courts - as, for example, those of the Dahomean chiefs, whose wives form choruses and rehearse songs in praise of the ancestors. Such songs, however, often take the form of deriding the living and the dead enemies of the chief and his forebears.

79.

80.

Got' mon'in - gio Hol' a yo - - ye Got' mon' in - gio
Hol' a yo - - ye [Hol'] a ye - - ye Got' mon' in - gio
(8 times)

81.

Yąn - ku - so dop' a Ho - lan - dsi mɔ - ni yu - yu
Yąn - ku - so dop' a Ho - lan - dsi mɔ - ni yu - yu
Yąn-ku-so dop' a a yu Ye - mi Yąn- ku - so dop' a-u

Yạn- ku - so (etc.)
Ti to - ti ti Wi a (.....) ko - ni - ba
wa - ka ko - ni (.....
.....

82.[1]

(.....) 'Mam - ba sɛm - be go
na sɛ-mɛ ne .. 'Mam - ba sem- ba go na Se - me - ne
'Mam - ba sem - ba go na Se - me - ne (etc.)

1 This song is still sung in the village of Asokore, Ashanti, on the Gold Coast.

83.

84.

A ye - e ye-e-e ye
A yo ye-e-e - e sa wan' Ga - dō - go lu - ku ba?
(women's cry)
(4 times)

85.

A-y - o
A - e - ma

(5 times)

86.

Yo kan - to - ri mis' to mi ko - ne ya - ya
Yo kan - to - ri mis' - to mi ko - ne ya - ya
Ye kan - to - ri (etc.)
(5 times)

87.

Ų - mų gąn - ga - le - a 'tu mi - ni dại - a - ye Ų - mų
gąŋ - ga - le - a 'tu mi - ni dại - o - yo Ų - mų (etc.)
(6 times)

88.

Mi go ba - ka te - le - le na min-dri bo - to - ɛ dyom -ba
te n'an g'wa La - me sib' a - e de mu - ye
Te n'ang'wa La - me sib' a di mu - ye (etc.)

c) Awasa.[1]

89.

Tɛ mi go na o to nyo Pa - pa-ka - yo da-yo da-yo Tɛ mi
go na - o to nyo Pa - pa-ka - yo da-yo da - yo Tɛ mi
go na - o to nyo Pa - pa-ka - yo da - yo da - yo ye
ye ye ye ye ye - ye (3 times)

1 The Awasa dance songs are of a semi-religious character, in that they are often sung as a preliminary to the religious dances. In their secular aspect the words are introduced to comment on current happenings, as in the *Sɛkɛti* songs. Saramaka tradition tells that the Awasa was learned from the Djuka tribe of Negroes. In the Ashanti country, the dance is called *Awisa*, and is said to be of Hausa origin.

90.

(4 times)
Si gi - d'ai ba - ka -
lu tan - yo ye - ye - ye Si - - gi-d'ai ba-ka - lu tan - yo
ye - (etc.)
(7 times with variations)

91.

Yo yo Ka-wa̱i-na, yo wa ye yo yo Ka-wa̱i-na, ye
Yo kɔ̨ Nɛ̨ŋ - gre Yo kɔ̨ Nɛ̨ŋ - gre Ka - wa̱i - na, ye
Dai - mo-i ma - ti Yo kɔ̨ Nɛ̨ŋ-gre (Ka - wa̱i - na, ye) (13 times)
I - ya-o
Ba - ka-a

92.

Da mi są-o fo yu a' mi'e tan - gi f'i - ai - ye
Da mi są-o fo yu a' mi'e tan - gi f'i - ai - ye (4 times)

93.

Dą mi go mio g'we Sa - ba mi ną' g'we Ma na
te mio go - Sa - ba mi na' do' Dą mi go - we, mio go-
we O lu - ku są - ni na, lu - ku są - ni,
ba Te u - ma lu - ku ba są - nią de (.... tąŋ na)
lu - ku, ba, są n'ą kan-ta na Ma mie-go - (mie-go)

94.

Yu - ku Ke - dja-ma tan-dyo Yu Ku-djo Kwa-ma wa-

dji wa-djo (.....) (7 times)
djo ye ye ye
ye -

95.[1]

Ko - dyo, ko-dye da-i - y - o ko - dye
Ko - dyo, ko-dye da-i - y - o ko - dye - i
Ko - dyo, (etc.)

1 A Gold Coast informant, stating that *kodyo* signifies ‘sleep,’ felt that this song might be a lullaby.

d) Sungi.[1]

96.[2]

Ba - yi ba - o - e Ba - yi ba - o
Ba - yi ba - yi ba - yi ba-a Ba - yi ba - o (11 times)

97.

Mi yɛn - ti mų - nyo yɛ mą-nyɛ yo, yo, Mi
yɛn - ti mų - nyo ye mą - nyo ye, ye Mi (4 times)

1 The songs given under this heading are Djuka songs and constitute an accompaniment to a secular dance of the same name.
2 Translated as, 'Take it off and come.'

e) Banya.[1]

98.

Mie go na li - ba - e Ka'i go - Mie go na ba - ti - ye
Ka'i go - Tio ka'i go - (.....) (5 times)
Ye ye ye - Ka'i go - Mie go na ba-ti - ye Ka'i go -

99.

Ba-ka den - tiye ti - de-o - Ba-ka den-tiye ti - de-o -
(.....) A ma-nya o - ga - nya ti - ya - ye - (5 times)
Ye ye ye - ye ye - ye -

1 The character of this dance among the Saramaka people is more secular than in the city, and is known mostly to lower river villages. A probable derivation is the Coastal Fanti dance *Bai nya*, considered semi-sacred in character and important in the cycle of dances to insure prosperity, especially an abundant fishing catch.

100.

ļŋ - gwa da li - o da - ti moi̯ moi̯ moi̯ Dan-go
ļŋ - gwa da li - o da - ti moi̯, moi̯, moi̯, O - pi - ti
ļŋ - gwa da li - o da - ti moi̯ mo - i -
ļŋ - gwa da li - o da - ti moi̯ - o -
ļŋ - gwa da li - o da - ti moi̯, moi̯, moi̯,
da - ti ļŋ - gwa da li - o da - ti moi̯ - o - i

f) Alada.[1]

101.

A - la - da - nya - Bo - nya - we Dan - di - dy-a

1 In classifying the songs in this group, we follow native terminology; we are not able, however, to offer any explanation of why they are so termed.

A - la - da - nya Bo-nya Dan - di A - la - da - nya (etc.)

102.

We - a Mam- ba Ga - du g'Wa-o - si We ku - ma nya so kwe
dia f' A - la - da Wɛd' Gad' Nam - fa - ye -
Ma-ǫn de di Ga - du Wa - o - si Ya - kō-ma ya no kwe - a dya f' A-
la-da Dya - kạ̈i - o Mam - ba Ga - du f'i (Nyąn-kɔm' ....)

Mam - ba Ga - du f'i Yą - kō - mo yo ku - kwe dia f'A - la - da
(.....) Yą - kō - mo yo ku - kwe
dia f'A - la - da Dya - ka-o - Mam - ba Ga - du f'i
(Nyąn - kɔm' .....)

g) Work-songs.[1]

103.

Ye gri - gri na boi - ko mo' Ba - k'a mọ' mu - ge
ye - Ye gri - gri na boi - ko mo' Ba - k'a mo' mu - ye
Ye ye gri ye gri Ba - k'a mo' mu - ye - Ye gri - gri -
gri na boi - ko mo' Ba - k'a mo' mu - ye ye ye gri

1 The songs in this group are chiefly those sung by men while hauling timber to the river.

ye gri Ba - k'a mo' mu - ye Ye gri-gri-gri na boi - ko mo' Ba -
k'a mo' mu - ye ye ye ye ye ye gri -

104.

Wa - ya ban - gi de Di - siǫ - Sąŋ' gia Di - siǫ Wa - ya
ban - gi de Di - siǫ - Sąŋ gia Di - siǫ Wa - ya ban - gi de
Di - siǫ Saŋ gia Di - sia Wa - ya ban - gi de Di - siǫ -
San gia Dis' Ye ye ye ye ye Sąŋ gia Di - siǫ
Wa - ya ban - gi de Di - siǫ Sąŋ gia Dis' Ye ye ye
ye - ye - ye O Kwa - wa - e ye ye ye

ye ye Wa - ya ban - gi de Di - siǫ Sąŋ gia Di -
siǫ - bia Wa - ya ban - gi de Di - siǫ Sąŋ gia Dis'
ye ye - ye - ye - ye - ye ye
Wa - ya ban - gi de Di - siǫ - Sąŋ gia Dis'

105.

Mi dɛ bu - le - le ge' o ta - ma - ye Di mi go na
min - dri bo - to Di mi go na min- dri bo - to-e - mi
gi'a pan - gi ka - ba, gi na u - ma de a be - gi'a gi' na
sa - po-a di - gri gri - gri gri - gri - i A - ku - ba, a

go go, b'A - ku - ba, go, go - we maŋ go ti - de

106.

Kɛ - lɛ - lɛ, ɛ kom - be, sa - ma - e - Kɛ - lɛ - lɛ, ɛ kom -
be, e sa - ma - a Kɛ - lɛ - lɛ kom - be - o - sa - na - i
Kɛ - lɛ - ɛ kom - be-o sa - na - a Ke - le - e -
kom - be-o sa - na - i - Kɛ - lɛ - lɛ (kom-be-o) sa - na - i
Mɛn deą - i - ni - mo Mɛn deą - i - ni - mo
Fɔm - bo kie Mɛn deą i - ni - mo Mɛn deą
i - ni - mo Fɔm - bo kie A fi - ni - mo,

te mi go ye wą - ni wa ki dja - ri diụ-ma-e - e
Fɔm - bo ka, fɔm ka, ki-e dɛn - de Fɔm
ka ka Fɔm ka ka Dɛn - de mąn ko - mo

107.

h) Miscellaneous.

108.[1]

109.

1 A number of the songs in this group (such as No. 111, a Kromanti song), are religious, but since the natives gave no distinctive designations for them, it seems preferable to leave them unclassified, rather than to place them in arbitrary categories.

110.

Ma - no-we - ma-ni ma-yo ɩ̨n-ki - Ma-nu-e - ma-ni man-
yo ɩ̨n - ki Ma - ni ma - ne a sa - bi Ko-dyo ɩ̨n - ki - (3 times)

111.[1]

Ke - dya' - mku-man-ye - e Bem-pon ye - o Al-gam ko - pǫ̨ me de
le - ba Bem - po - ne - e mi kwa ya - wa mi ku - ma - ni

1 ‘O thou whom we welcome,
Great warrior, great leader,
Nyankompon, I am bringing,
O great leader, my life is yours,
Great warrior, thou hast performed the deed,
I am only a wretched being, great warrior.
I am kneeling...
Kedyampon, Tata Nyankomponu...
Tata Nyankomponu, here is water...
Hold (i.e., protect) me.’

A - ya - o - o, a - ya - o A - ya - o - o, mi ku - ma - ni
bu fa - ni - kwa U mi ku - ma-nią mi ku - tu mi koi - ya wa
du Wi, wi na ku - ya dwa Ga - du ko no Ya wa
na - ki - to n - ma na Dya-dya, ya - o - nu Ke-dyam - pǫ, Ta-ta
Nyan-kom-pǫ na - nu Ma dya - o - kǫ - dya ǫŋ - su Ta-
ta Nya-kom-pǫ nu - mi-dya ǫŋ - su o-kwa-mi mi

112.

A Ma - ri - a - ye mu-ye A Ma - ri - a - o - a - A
Ma - ri - a - ye mu - o A Ma - ri - a - e ļn - gi

kon - de a din - dya o - bia Ma - ri - a A Ma - ria -
ye mwo A Ma - ria- o - A Ma - ria ye mwo A
Ma - ri - a - o An - do kon - de din - dya - o - bia Ma
ri - a- e A Ma - ri - a-ye mo A Ma - ri - a
Ta - fe - ra Na - nạm' ta - fe - ra - di A Ma-
ri - a - ye mu - ye A Ma - ri - a Ban - tu - o,
ban - tu - a dya tyin - tyin tu - a man - de

G. Town-Negro songs

1. Songs in Stories.[1]

113.[2]

A-bri-kɛ - ɛ ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni ni

114.[3]

Bi-a, bi-a, bi-a, bi - a
(Dje - be de - de) su - ma dɛ - dɛ ma'i - ka - ra-(ke)-bro
Ti - ge - ri Pap' Ti - gri Ta Dje - be'ɛ dɛ - dɛ

115.[4]

Ɛ - mɛ - li - na to - do-wa̱i - sɛn - d'Ɛ-mɛ - li - na to - do-wa̱i -

1 The order of words given with the songs is that taken from the records themselves, and do not always agree exactly with the words to the same songs as found in the texts of tales, where they are reproduced as recited by the tellers of the tales, after the respective songs had been sung into the phonograph.
2 To story 102.
3 To story 17; see pp. 175-177 for translation.
4 To story 128; when this song was played back to the singer, he harmonised with the phonograph, as he did in the case of other songs (127, 138, 146).

sɛn - dɛ to - do - waa̯i - sɛn - dɛ to - do - waa̯i - sɛn - d'Ɛ - mɛ-
li - na to - do - w'aa̯is' Ɛ - mɛ - li - na to - do - waa̯i[s']-
-sɛ to - do-waa̯i - sɛn - d'Ɛ-mɛ - li - na to - do - waa̯i-sɛn-d'Ɛ- mɛ - li
Ɛ - mɛ - li - na (etc.)
(3 times)

116.[1]

Ɣn kir' A - nąn - si tɛ Ɣn kir' A - nąn - si tɛ A-

1 To story 12; see p. 169 for translation.

la su - ma sɑ dɛ - dɛ Ko - num s're - fi sɑ dɛ - dɛ
Ko-num weị - fi sɑ dɛ - dɛ A - nąn - si wan sɑ tą' na lib'.

117.[1]

Kir' A - nąn - si tɛ Den kir' A - nąn - si tɛ A - la su-
ma sɑ dɛ - dɛ Ko-nu s're-fi sɑ dɛ - dɛ He - ri kɔn-dre sɑ
su' - ųŋ A - nąn - si wa- wą sɑ tąn Den

118.[2]

Mi - ni - mi - ni kǫ' nyam Fre - man - bo - ni kǫ'
nyam Fre - man - ta - ya kǫ' nyam Ko - pro - ka-

1 To story 11; see p. 167 for translation.
2 To story 101; see p. 323 for translation.

nu tą' dɛ Ko - pro - ka - nu tą' dɛ

119.[1]

Pu - ru par' na fe - si, o grį-ŋya Pu - ru par' na ba-ka, o grį - ŋya
Mi A - nąn - si, mi kɔn', o gri- nya Pur' par' na (etc.)
Pur' pa-ri na (etc.)

120.[2]

Kǫ' go na broi̯- ki, yu sɑ si Kǫn go na broi̯- ki yu sɑ si
Kǫ' go na broi̯ - ki yu sɑ si Ma - la - ta u - mą

1 To story 64; see p. 259 for translation.
2 To story 119; see p. 369 for translation.

dɛ, ya - yo yu sɑ si Ma - la - ta u - mą de ya - yo

121.[1]

Sɻŋ', sɻŋ', mi dɪn-dya-ma - ka Sɻŋ', sɻŋ', mi dɪn-dya-ma - ka
Sɻŋ', sɻŋ', mi dɪn-dya-ma - ka Sa - ni sɑ dɛ, mi dɪn-dya-ma-ka

122.[2]

Na mi, na mi, brǫn Ko-nu ker - ki (4 times)

123.[3]

Man Kwa-kwa Man Kwa-kwa Ba To - to mi na Kwe-man - do,
Man Kwa-kwa Man Kwa- kwa Na mi, na

1 To story 128; see p. 403 for translation.
2 To story 80; p. 285 for translation. See Parsons, (II), p. 145, for this same song.
3 To story 66; see pp. 269-271 for translation.

mi, na Fi-ą̣n- to - ni Na mi, na mi, na Fi - ą̣n-
to - ni Ba To - to, mi na Kwe - mą̣n - do, Mą̣n Kwa - kwa

124.[1]

Yɔr - ka d'a sa - ba - na Pɛą̣ dɛ? Yɔr - ka wɛ - ri we̱i̱ - ti
Pɛą̣ dɛ? Yɔr - ka d'a sa - ba - na Pɛą̣ dɛ? Yɔr - - ka d'a bɛɾ' pɛ
Pɛą̣ dɛ - ɛ' Yɔr - ka (etc.)

125.[2]

Sa - ni mor' A - ba - na No mą̣ŋ go a no mą̣ŋ kɔm
Sa - ni mor' A - ba - na No mą̣ŋ go a no mą̣ŋ kɔm

1 To story 128; see p. 403 for translation.
2 To story 119; see p. 371 for translation.

Tɛ sɪ - ne - ki bẹi - ti mi M'si wɔ - rɔŋ mi fre - dɛ
Tɛ sɪ - ne - ki bẹi - ti mi M'si wɔ - rɔŋ mi fre - dɛ

126.[1]

Syɔ - ro ma tyɛn - tye, Mi kɪ - si Tyɔ - tyo moi
Sɔ - ro ma tyɛn-tye, Mi kɪ - si Tyɔ-tyo moi Syɔ - ro ma tyɛn-tye, Mi kɪ - si Tyɔ - tyo moi Sɔ - ro ma tyɛn- tye,
Mi kɪ - si hɛm moi Sɔ - ro (etc.)

1 To story 62; see p. 253 for translation.

127.[1]

Ark' tɔ - r'A - nąn - si tɔ - ri Mąn d̰ia - so
Ar - ki tɔ - r'A - nąn - si tɔ - ri Mąn d̰ia - so
Ark' tɔ - r'A-nąn-si tɔ - ri Mąn d̰ia - so

128.[2]

Ɛf' mi mu tro nąŋ - ga mi pa - pa Mɔ - ro bɛ - tre mi dɛ -
dɛ A mɔ - ro bɛ - tre mi wa - si mi fu - tu Mi go
na mi bɛ - de go di - dǫ - ǫn Pre - si - s̰ia lǫ'-
tų do̰i - do̰i mɩ - si Pre - de - si - s̰ia lǫ' - tu do̰i-

1 To story 128; see p. 405 for translation.
2 To story 119; see p. 373 for translation.

doi̯ mɪ - si Ɛf' mi mu tro nąŋ - ga mi pa - pa
Mɔ - ro bɛ - tre mi dɛ - dɛ A mɔ - ro bɛ - tre mi wa -
si mi fu - tu Mi go na mi bɛ - de go di - dǫ - ǫn

129.[1]

U - ra, sa - ni nyą' mą-nya U - ra, sa - ni nyą' mą - nya [U-]
Nyą' ma - nya, nyą ma -nya U - ra, Pom - pom nyą' ma - nya
Nyą' ma - nya, nyą' ma - nya U - ra, sa - ni nyą' ma-nya
Pom-pom

1 To story 119; see p. 371 for translation.

130.[1]

Sri - bi na dɛ - dɛ - ɛ Sri - bi na dɛ - dɛ - ɛ Sri-
bi - na dɛ - dɛ - ɛ lu - ku, u - mą ki - ri mąn
Sri - bi na (etc.)

131.[2]

A - nąn - si kɔ - ni, kɔ - ni, kɔ - ni mąn Kɔ - ni'ɛ mɔ - ro mi
Kɔ- mi'ɛ mɔ - ro mi

132.[3]

A - san - ti bɔ - yo Da mi a wi-dy'a - kɔ - lo A - san - ti

1 To story 127; see p. 401 for translation.
2 To story 127; see p. 397 for translation.
3 To story 19; see p. 181 for translation.

bɔ - yo Da mi a wi-dy'a - kɔ - lo a - kɔ - l'a - kɔ - l'a - ba - nu ba

133.[1]

A-li-mąn, xɛf-mąn, be - tyɛ so A - li-mąn tyɛ, tyɛ, A - li - mąn
A - li - mąn, xɛf'-man (etc.)

134.[2]

A - gi- da fa - dǫ' Mąn no dɛ A - gi- da fa - dǫ' Mąn no dɛ
Prįn - ci wą-wąn na mąn A - gi - da wą-wąn na mąn

135.[3]

Ti - bo, ti - bąŋ, sąn a na - ki mąn tro - we

1 To story 119.
2 To story 139; see p. 423 for translation.
3 To story 2.

Mi go bu - ku ba - laṇ - sɛ ṭɻŋ - gɪ lɻŋ - gɪ lɻŋ
Bu - ku ba - laṇ - sɛ ṭɻŋ - gɪ lɻŋ - gɪ lɻŋ

136.[1]

Su - sa - na - reị̂ Su - sa - na reị̂ Yu ha - bi wą
moị̂ bɔ - bi Na bɔ̂ - bi na fō yu Ma
te mi dɛ fas' Ɇŋ na fō mi na fō mi

137.[2]

Kɛs - kɛ - si djɔm-po na ta - pu Go fre - di wan
gran mɪ - si Są' mi sɑ gi'Ɇ' fō drɻŋ -

1 To story 20; see p. 185 for translation.
2 To story 120; see p. 377 for translation.

gi? Pɪn - da nąŋ-ga ka - ru wa - tra, ha -ha!
Pɪn - da nąŋ - ga ka - ru wa - tra, ha - ha!

138.[1]

A - lei - siɛ fa - dǫ' Kɔm pi - k'ɛm, ba, Sa - ni dɛ
ni dɛ - A - lei - siɛ fa - dǫ' kɔm pi -
kiA̰ - lei - siɛ fa - dǫ' kɔm pi - kiA̰ - lei-siɛ fa-dǫ' (etc.)

1 To story 128; see p. 407 for translation.

139.[1]

Mi sɛ - rɛ - na mi sɛ - rɛ - na trį, trą, trį,
Mi na mɔ - ni ma - sra trį trą, trį

140.[2]

Srap' mi - i nɛ - fi srę̨ŋ, srę̨ŋ Kɔt' A - ku - ba bar - ba
Sra - pu mi nɛ - fi mǫ̨i, mǫ̨i Mi go kɔt' A - ku - ba bar - ba

141.[3]

Ska - pu na wąn sɛ - gi me - ti Są'a go du na sa - ba-na
Ska - pu na wąn' sɛ - gi me - ti Są'a go du na sa - ba - na

1 To story 127; see p. 399 for translation.
2 To story 20; see p. 185 for translation.
3 To story 119; see p. 373 for translation.

142.[1]

Ba - gɛ, ba - gɛ Leị - mąn yu kɔm fō le - i leị dɔ - ro
Ba - gɛ, ba - gɛ Leị - mąn yu kǫ' fō le - i dɔ - ro, Leị - mąn
yu kɔm fō leị Leị - man yu kɔm fō Leị - mąn

143.[2]

Ba·-a - na, ba· - a-na, ku - le ku - le, d'ļŋ-
gi kɔ - ti ba· - a - na, ku - le ku - le

144.[3]

Mor - gu Dąn kɔt' 'a li - ba l' tro - wɛ tɛ ya - na
N'ļŋ - gi kɔt' 'a li - ba l' tro - wɛ tɛ ya - na

1 To story 104; see p. 335 for translation.
2 To story 123; see p. 389 for translation.
3 To story 147; no translation of these words was obtained.

Mor - gu Dąn kɔt' (etc.)

145.[1]

Sɛn' kar' bi - a, bi - a Sɛn' kar' bi - ke - ble - du - ą
- ą Kɛ - ti dyɔmp' ın de pɔt, yo- ti Ta ma - ka
yąŋ - ki - ki - ky - o Ta ma - ka yąŋ - ki - ho

146.[2]

Se - li - na fa - ne̯i - da san 'ɛ - dɛ yu dɛ kre̯i
dɛ kre̯i Yu lɔb' mi fō mi mɔ - ni Ma i no
lɔb' na mi par-son Na da - ti yu dɛ kre̯i

1 To story 10; see p. 165 for translation.
2 To story 128; see p. 405 for translation.

147.[1]

Tra-plɛnt wɪl - tyɛ, snɔ-rɛ, snɔ-rɛ Tra-plɛnt wɪl - tyɛ, hɔ - rɛ, hɔ - rɛ
Dra-tyɛ rɛk, i ląŋg-sam haut Dra-tyɛ rɛk, i ląŋg-sam haut

148.[2]

Na mi Tan - ta fu ne - ti Mi gō fu gō lu - ku Grą'-mɪ - si
ya - gi mi Wɔ - i, wɔ - i Grą' - mɪ - si ya - gi mi

149.[3]

(Mi) wa - ni nyą-nyąm Mi wa - ni nyą-nyąm Su- ma wąn' k'ɛŋk
Mi a - bi wąn
ɛŋ Wą' pis' wąn go - tu mɔ - ni Fō wąn pi - si le - frɛ
go - tu mɔ - ni

1 To story 122; no translation of this song was obtained.
2 To story 120; see p. 375 for translation.
3 To story 91; see p. 297 for translation.

Mi wa - ni (etc.)

150.[1]

Wą' ma - ma tyɛ! San na wą' ma-ma? Wą' pa - pa tyɛ!
San na wą' pa - pa? Tąŋ - gi, tą - ŋ' gi mi pi - kin
wa- tra Tɛ yu dɛ - dɛ, mi sɑ mɛm-brɛ yu Ma - yu

151.[1]

A - len - sɛ kak' a - len - sɛ A - len - sɛ kak' a - len - sɛ
A - len - s'i - mɛ - rɛ ka - ka a wa - ni si A - len - sɛ kak'
a - len - sɛ a - len - sɛ

1 To story 127; see p. 397 for translation.
1 To story 92; no translation of this song was obtained.

2. Religious Songs

a) Anąnsi-tɔri

152.[1]

Solo: A - mam - ba ti-ɛn-de Ta - ma - ra Sɔn - deį̣ 'Mam-ba ti-ɛn-de-
Ta - ma - ra Sɔn - deį̣ Ta - ma - ra Sɔn-
e (5 times) A - mam- ba ti-ɛn-de Sɔn-
deį̣ (etc.)
deį̣ 'Mam - ba ti-ɛn - de (etc.)

b) Opete

153.[2]

Mi na mąn fɔ' lok - to O - pe - te mąŋ freį̣ Mi - na
mąn fɔ' ta - pu O - pe - te mąŋ freį̣ (4 times)

1 See p. 91 for a description of the occasion on which this song was sung.
2 No translation of this song was obtained.

Solo: I am the man of the air,
Chorus: The Vulture can fly!
Solo: I am the man from on high,
Chorus: The Vulture can fly!

154.[1]

O - pe - te Yǫŋk-mą mi wąn bra mi wan O - pe - te Yǫŋk-mą
mi wąn da - di mi wąn bra O - pe - te Yǫŋk-mą mi wąn da - di
mi wąn O - pe - te Yǫŋk-mą A mi wąn da - di mi wąn bra

155.

M'sɛn' na bo - ya, no wa - ni go - Mi sɛn' na bo - ya, no
wa - ni go - Mi sɛn' na bo - ya, no wa - ni go A
mɔ - ro bɛ - trɛ mi s're - fi go (5 times)

1 No translation of this song was obtained.

I sent the *boyo*
He did not wish to go,
I sent the *boyo*
He did not wish to go,
Far better I myself go.

156.

Ma-fre, ma - fre, A - la - dɛ - o Ma-fre, ma - fre, A - la - dɛ - o
O - pe-te go na 'San-tio Ma-fre, (etc.)

I have called, I have called, *Alade* - o,
The Vulture goes to Ashanti - o.

157.[1]

A - la - do a - mi - ra O kwa - so a - mi - ra a - mi - ro a-
mi - ro (.....) a - mi - ro am-bra O - pe - te kwa-

1 No translation of this song was obtained.

so a - mi - ra - O - pe - te kwa - so a - mi - ra a - mi-
ro a - mi - ro ('Pe - te kwa - so) a - mi - ro mi man bra

158.[1]

A - mi - o da - ti mi wąn bra O - pe - te yuŋk-mąn,
mi wąn da - ti mi wąn bra Yuŋk-mąn - o mi wąn da - ti
mi wąn bra 'pe - te yuŋk-mąn, mi wan (etc.)

1 No translation of this song was obtained.

c) Kromanti obia

159.

Ma-ma 'Bre - wa nąŋ-ga Ta - ta 'Bre - wa M'a - do - rɛ to - rɛ
sa Ga - do mi - a do - rɛ -

Ancient Mother,
And Ancient Father,
M'adore,
Toresa Gado
M'adore.[1]

d) tap' kromanti

160.[2]

Mi T'-ta Ya - o Tru-tru mąn A - dǫn-swa Mi T'-t'A - la - do
Tru-tru mąn A-dǫn - swa Bra-ka mąn I - ba Bra-ka man Ya- ō
Mi T' - ta Ya - o (etc.)

Father *Yao*,
True, true man *Adonswa*
Father *Alado*
True, true man *Adonswa*
Black man *Iba*,
Black man *Yao*.

1 Untranslatable. Informant said this song is in the 'Kromanti tongue'; '*m'adore*' is probably derived from the French, and has the meaning 'I worship'.
2 See Song 162.

161.

Wa - dya - e, a - wa - dya - e Wa - dya - e a - wa - dya - e
'A bu - si kɔn - dre Kro - man - tio Wa - dya - e
'A Nɛŋg-'re kɔn - dre Kro - man - tio Wa - dya - e

Awadya - e
Awadya - e
The Bush Kromanti - o
Awadya - e,
The African Kromanti - o
Awadya - e!

162.[1]

Tru-tru mąn A - dɔn - swa O - pru - ru Bra - da Tru - tru
mąn A -dɔn - swa Bra - ka mąn I - go 'A bra - ka i - mąn Kąi- ye Ta - ta A - la - do
Mi Ta - ta Ya - wo (8 times)

1 See Song 160.

True, true man *Adonswa*,
Thunder Brothers,
True, true men *Adonswa*,
Black man *Igo*
Black man *Akaiye*
Father *Yao*,
True, true man *Adonswa*[1],
Father *Alado*.

163.[2]

Vɛ - de, A - go vɛ - de A - go Ma Vɛ - da wo - ya - ya
Gɔ - ro du mi so o - ya - ya Vɛ - de, A - go vɛ - de
Mɛm-bre Wan-ga yo - ye
-da wo - ya - ya

e) Busi kromanti

164.

Ma-ba, ma-ba, san kǫ' Ma - ba Kro-man- ti A-mamba 'Ku-ba

1 Informant could not translate this word.
2 No translation of this song was obtained.

San kǫ' Ma - ba (6 times)

I came, I came,
I went and I came [back]
[I am] *Akuba* of the Kromanti nation.[1]

165.

A - yu mu yɛ - pi, yu mu yɛ - pi, yu mu yɛ - pi mi,
A - yu mu yɛ - pi, yu mu yɛ - pi, yu mu yɛ - pi - o,
A - yu mu yɛ - pi O - sa̤i Tan - do, yu mu yɛ - p'A - b'e - wa
(5 times; sung alternately by solo and chorus.)

You must help me,
You must help me - o;
You must help me,
You must help me - e.
You must help (me) *Osai Tando*[2]
You must help, *Abrewa*.[3]

1 This translation was given by a Gold Coast informant.
2 Gold Coast Deity (Tano).
3 Gold Coast Deity; lit., ‘Ancient Woman’.

166.

O - ya Bus - mǫ, ɛ Bus - me-o Ko-rą - ti - na ba- bra
O - ya Bus- mǫ, O Bus - mǫ, Ko-rą - ti - na ba - bra
Da ya-wa Bus-mǫ Kro-man-t'a Bus - mǫ - Ko-rą - ti - na ba - bra
O - ya (etc.)

Thou art God
Thou art God
O *Korantina* calls
O Thursday Gods
Kromanti Gods
O *Korantina* calls.[1]

1 This translation was given by a Gold Coast informant.

167.

Kro-mąn-ti ba - ri, a ba - ri, a sa - chie - o Kro-mąn-
ti ba - ri, a ba - ri, a sa - chi Na Nɛŋ-gre Kɔn-dre Kro - mąn-
ti Na Bu - si kɔn-dre Kro-mąn - ti Kro-mąn - ti ba - ro, a
ba - ri, a sa - chi Kro-mąn-ti ba - ro a ba - ri, a sa - chi
Kro-mąn - ti ba - ro, a ba - ri, a sa - chi Na Nɛŋ-gre Kɔn-dre Kro-
mąnti Na Bu-si Kɔn-dre Kro-mąn-ti Na Ɔn - dro Wa-tra Kro-mąn-ti
Kro-mąn-ti (etc.)
(End of the record)

Kromanti is crying;
It cries, and it calls - o!
O, Kromanti is crying;
It cries, and it calls;
The African Kromanti,
The Bush Kromanti,
The Water Kromanti,
O, Kromanti is crying;
It cries and it calls - o!

168.

Ya, ya - wa - ya - wa - ye - Ya-wa, ya - wa
ya - wa ya - wa-o A Na - na - o Ya-wa, ya - wa
A - san - te - o (.....) A-ya- wa dɛn - si' a - wa - ni
[ku-ma] (Repetition by the chorus)
a-wa den - si - a - wa-wa - wa- wa - wa - wa - wa A - ya - wa
dɛn - si' a - wa - ni a-wa den - si - a - o A Na - na - ba
Ya - wa dɛn - si' a - wa- (ni) - A 'sa - sa ku - ma (.....)

Oh Ya, oh Ya, oh Ya - e,
Oh Ya, oh Ya, oh Ya - o,
Oh ancestors,
Oh Ya of Ashanti - o,
Oh Ya we greet you - o!

f) asobu djanti w□nti

169.

Woi, woi, ba, 'Djan-tio Woi, woi, ba, 'Djantio mi-kal' a Gad' A-sob' Dyan-tio -tio

Woi, woi, Ba Adyanti - o
I call the god *Asobu-Dyanti - o*.

g) adyanti w□nti

170.

Taị - gi a - la dę u - mą gi' mi Mi no dɛ - dɛ yɛ - te
Tai - ai dɛ' u - mą gi mi Mi dɛ, mi no dɛ - dɛ
Lu - si mi na mi nɛ - ki - e Hɔ - ri mi na mi ba - ka

Tɛ mi dɛ na mi fu - rɛ - si yu - ru Lu - su mi, na m'ɛ- dɛ
Hɔ - ri mi na mi nɛ - ki - e Lu - su mi na mi ba - ka
Tɛ mi dɛ na mi pre - si- ri yu - ru Lu-su mi na mi nɛ - ki

Tell all the women for me,
I am not dead yet;
Tell all the women for me,
I live, I am not dead.
But let go of my neck,
And clasp my back;
When I am in my hour of passion,
Loosen my head.
Hold me by the neck,
Loosen my back,
When I am in my hour of pleasure,
Loosen my neck.

h) □ŋgi w□nti

171.

A - Gɛ - dɛ - ų - su, na mi Tạn - do fa - nu - a ko - bịo
Miẹ - dɛ go na yɛ - rɛ - to Na yɛ - rɛ - to, mar-wa
Mi'ɛ - dɛ go na yɛ - rɛ - to

A Gedeusu, my *Tando* take it back again,[1]
My head goes on the bier
On the bier, *marwa*
My head goes on the bier.

172.[2]

Yan-kio pre man - do ke yan - kio pre man - do ke
yan - ki pre - man - do na yan - ki e - go pre man - do
Yan-kio (etc.)
(6 times)

1 This line was translated by Gold Coast informants; the phrase *Fa nua ko bio* meaning 'take it back again' is used to signify the taking away of the spirit at death.
2 Not enough words of this song were translatable by Suriname informants to attempt a rendition of it here.

173.

Miɛ̨-go pre A - gi - da tɛ - deị Miɛ̨ - go pre A - gi - da tɛ - deị
Kop-si pur' 'a wi - si fo ka - ka a ba - ro Miɛ̨- go pre A-
gi - da tɛ - dei (etc.)
(6 times with minor variations)

I will play the Agida (drum) today,
I will play the Agida today - o!
Kopsi will remove the evil magic,
That the cock may crow - o!
O I will drum on the Agida today,[1]
I will change into the Agida today - o,
Kopsi will remove the evil magic,
That the cock may crow - o!

1 These last four lines are a translation of a variant of the original words not given above in *taki-taki*.

174.

Miɛ - go dɛ-dɛ na li - ba pɛ-man - dɛ - Miɛ-go dɛ-dɛ na tu - na pe-man - dɛ li-ba

I will die on the river,
Pemande;[1]
I will die on the water,
Pemande.

175.

Gu - ru - ya da - da A - ya - ya A - gi- da - o yo A-gi - da wo - ye A - gi - da - o ye - o Go - ro wiɛn - ti no kɔ' 'ɛte n'A - gi - da o - ye M'A - i - sa no kɔm Ga - dō Ma - ya A - gi - da - o ye - (....

1 Not translatable. Occurs in Indian *wɪnti* songs. One informant said the word *dɛdɛ* in former times also meant ‘softly’, and that the song had reference to running away under the protection of the water Indian *wɪnti* spirits who rule the inland waters.

.....) Go - ro Ga - dō no kɔ̨' yɛ-te
A - gi - da wo - yo M'A - i sa no kɔ̨' yɛ - te

Guru ya da-da
A ya-ya Agida-o-yo.
Agida wo-ye, Agida-o ye-o.
The earth *wɩnti* have not come yet,
Agida o-ye.
Mother Aisa has not come yet,
? ? ?
The earth gods have not come yet,
Agida wo-ye.
Mother Aisa has not come yet.

i) Busi □ŋgi

176.

Yo na - yo - o Bu-si ma- sra na - yo - ba-ya - dyo
Bu - sio na - yo - na Bu-si ma - sra na - yo - o ba-ya - dyo

Yo Nayo-o!
Master of the Bush,
Nayo bayadyo,
Bush *Nayo*
Master of the Bush
Nayo bayadyo.

j) Watra □ŋgi

177.

Ti-dɛ, ti - dɛ bo - yo sąn' mor' ka - ba ɻŋ - gio Bo - yo sąn' mor'
ka-ba ɻŋ - gio (8 times)
mo - ro ka - ba - a ɻŋ - giɛ

Today, today, Boyo,
Hard times have come,
ɻŋgi - o!
Hard times have come.
ɻŋgi - e!

178.

Mi'ɛ go go - we na li - ba, mi wąn; mi'ɛ go go - we
na li - ba, mi wąn Da - ti mi na wąn ɻŋ - gi
Mi n'ɛ tąn 'a dɛ - bra, trǫ nɛŋ-gre go - we na li - ba
mi wąn Mi'ɛ go go - we na tu - na mi wąn (etc.)

(3 times)

I will go on the river,
I will go on the river,[1]
Because I am an Indian,
I will not remain to turn into a Negro,
I will go on the river,
I alone.

179.

Yan - ki dɛ na dye - re - to - Fa mi 'ɛ - dɛ e gro
Yan - ki dɛ na dye - re - to Fa mi 'ɛ-dɛ e gro -
Yan- ki dɛ na (etc.)

Yanki is on the bier,
How my head grows!

1 In the repetition the word used, *tuna*, is Indian for river.

180.

Ka - ri dę' ɻŋg' na li - ba Gri - gri dɛ ya - na -
Ka - ri dę' ɻŋg' na li - ba Gri - gri dɛ ya - na -
Ka - ri Ko - ri - si na li - ba Gri - gri dɛ ya - na
(5 times with minor variations)
Ka - - na

Call the Indians to the river
The *Grigri*[1] are yonder.
Call the Indians to the river
The *Grigri* are yonder.
Call *Kobisi* to the river
The *Grigri* are yonder.

k) Abo fō watra

181.

'A wa - tra su - ma A - bo te - te A - bo - e -,
A - bo - o A - bo na li - ba su- ma A - bo te - te

1 This is said to mean the spirits.

A - bo - e, A - bo - o - A - bo na li - ba su - ma
A - bo - te - te A - bo - e - A - bo - e - A - bo na
li - ba su - ma A - bo te - te A - bo - e - A - bo - e

He is a water creature,
Abo - te - te,
Abo - e, Abo - e,
Abo is a river being,
Abo - te - te ... etc.

I) Watra w□nti

182.[1]

U - wai da - da mi bęm - bɛ si - na - ro kɛ
wa - tra mi bɛ - be si - na - ro Kɛ wa - tra mi bɛ - bɛ
si - na - ro - kɛ - wa - tra mi bɛ - bɛ si - na - ro
Kɛ wa - tra mi bęm' si - na - ro ke (etc.)

1 No translation of this song was obtained.

Wa-tra mi bɛ - bɛ (etc.)

m) Lōango-w□nti

183.[1]

Miɛ- go ta - ląŋ - go - ni ta - ląŋ - go - Lōan-g'oɛ ta - ląŋ-
go - ni ta - ląŋ - go Kon-go mą go na Ga - o kǫn - de
Miɛ - go ta - ląŋ - go - ni ta - ląŋ - go Lōan-g'oɛ ta - ląŋ - go - ni
ta - ląŋ - go Pap' u - mą go 'a Ga - dō kǫn-de

1 No translation of this song was obtained.

184.

Na yu ba - ka mi wa - ka Ma Bum - ba Na
yu ba-ka - mi wa - ka Ma Bum-ba Na yu ba - ka mi wa - ka
Ma Bum- ba Na yu me - ki mi fe - ni bǫn Ma Bum - ba (3 times)
yu ba - wa - ka ko - ya

I tread on your back,
Mother *Bumba;*
You help me to live well,[1]
Mother *Bumba*.

185.[2]

Na yu ba - ka dę' wa - ka Ma Bum - ba - Na yu
ba - ka dę' wa - ka Ma Bum-ba - O na yu Ma Bum-ba

1 Sometimes this phrase is sung '*Yu meki me feni bǫn*, - You cause me to copulate well.'
2 The translation of this song is the same as for the preceding one, except the first line is to read 'They tread on your back'.

n) papa w□nti

186.

Mi ma-ma na go - ro wen - ti - Mi pa-pa na wa-tra bo - su
Mi da-tio na Pa-pa ļŋ - gi ak-si na A - gi-da (....) Pɛ-man-de
- da Pe-man-de

My mother is an earth winti
My father is a water god[1]
I am a Papa Indian,[2]
Ask Agida *pemandɛ*.

187.

Mi n'A - la - da u - mą Mi na si - ne - kio Mi n'A - la - da

1 *Bosu* is probably derived from the Ashanti 'Obosom'.
2 A spirit resulting from the mating of a mother who had a Papa (snake) spirit, and a father who had an Indian *wɩnti*.

u - mą Mi na si - ne - kio Mi n'A - la - da (etc.)
(4 times)

I am the woman of *Alada*
I am a snake - o.

o) Obia w□nti

188.

Mi̯a no ba-sio ma mi̯a no bo - io Dia no ba - so ma mi̯a no
bo - io Ma te den ba - si kɔ̯m den sa tya' wa - tra gi mio

I am no master - o
And I am no boy - o
But if no master - o
I am no boy - o
Yet when the masters come,
They will fetch water for me - o!

p) song to ‘set’ w□nti

189.

Chɛ̨ŋ, chɛ̨ŋ, o chɛ̨ŋ chɛ̨ŋ, o Kɔt' a ka-ma-ya Ti-de, ti-de, o-
Kɔt' a ka-ma-ya Ta-ki Kɔt' a ka-ma-ya Ta-ki Kɔt' a ka-ma-ya

Chɛ̨ŋ, chɛ̨ŋ, chɛ̨ŋ,
Cut the illness.[1]
Today, today - o (say)
Cut the illness.

q) kɔmfo

190.[2]

Mǫ̣i m'A-mu - sị[e]mǫ̣i mą' Na mi mǫ̣i m'A- mu-si mǫ̣i mą'
Tɛ y'e tɛr' 'a Ga - du yu tɛr' A - mu - si -
[Ga - du -]
(3 times with minor variations)

191.[3]

'A bu-si kɔn-dre na'i pre so 'A bu - si kɔn-dre na'i pre so

1 *akamaya* is Fanti for ‘disturbance’.
2 Song to Story 19; translation on p. 183.
3 Song to Story 18; translation on p. 179.

Zɔn - dr'a - kri - ma Zɔn - dr'a - kri - ma A mi do-tiǫ na'i
pre so 'A bu - si kɔn - dre na'i pre so A mi do -
tiǫ na'i pre so Zɔn-dr'a-kri-ma Zɔn-dr'a-kri-ma

r) grǫn □ŋgi kɔmfo

192.[1]

Mi̯'a no so - so i̯ŋ - gi dɪs' we - ri ka - mi - sa
Mi̯'a Pa - pa u - ma mi dɛ we - ri-e ko - ro - si
Mi̯'a no so - so i̯ŋ - gi dɪs we - ri ka - mi - sa
Mi̯'a Pa - pa u - mą mi dɛ we - ri ko - ro - si

1 Song to story 66; translation on p. 271.

s) ̨ŋgi kɔmfo

193.[1]

Mi'ɛ-dɛ go - lo, Na - na - o - Mi'ɛ-dɛ go - lo, Na - na-o
Mi wi-ri ą̀n-si te mi 'ɛ si sa-ni so Mi'ɛ-dɛ go-lo -

194.[2]

l̨ŋ - gi bo - toɛ̨-kwɛn-da iḵǫ̀m bo - ya - ya A - la d'l̨ŋ-gi no
kǫ̀myɛ - tɛ, bo - ya - ya l̨ŋ - gi bo - toɛ̨-kwɛn-da iḵǫ̀m bo - ya-
ya - A - la d'l̨ŋ - gi no kǫ̀m yɛ - tɛ, bo - ya - ya

195.[3]

Mi'ɛ-go, go - wɛ na li - ba - e Mi'ɛ-go, go - wɛ na li - ba-

1 Song to story 18; translation on p. 179.
2 Song to story 123.
3 Song to story 120; translation on p. 377.

e Mi na wąn ɻŋ - gi mi n'e tąn naąŋ-ga Ne-gro
Mi'ɛ-go, go - wɛ na tu - na - e
Mi'ɛ-go, go - wɛ na tu - na - e

t) Aisa

196.

A- i - sa - o - e - Ai - sa - e A-i - sa - o - e - Ai - sa - o
Ai - sa go na ba - ka gɔ - ro Tɛ su - ma no dɛ Ai - sa - e
Ai - sa - o Wa-na-i - sa go na ba - ka gɔ - ro tɛ
(5 times)

Aisa-o-e, Aisa-e,
Aisa goes into the earth
When no one is about,
Aisa-e, Aisa-o!
Wanaisa goes into the earth ... etc.

197.

M'Ai- sa fir' ɛŋ gɔ - ro Saf - ri saf - ri wą̣ deị̂ (...
.....) M'Ai-sa fira' ɛŋ gɔ - ro - e M'Ai-sa fir' - ɛŋ
gɔ-ro saf - ri Saf - ri wą̣-deị̂ M'Ai-sa fi - ra ɛn gɔ - ro - e

Mother *Aisa* felt (?) her ground
Softly, softly one day
Mother *Aisa* felt her ground-e.

198.[1]

Ye, ye sa - gi sag' - yo mu - a - wɛ - se wi no bra
Sa - gi mam-bra Sa - gi mam-bra

199.[1]

A - ga - ma si - si 'ga - ma wo - yo Mi tu - tu no dɛ -

1 No translation for this song was obtained.

1 No translation for this song was obtained.

A - ga - ma si - si 'ga - ma wo - yo Mi tu - tu no dɛ
Ai - sa 'ga-ma si - si 'ga-ma wo - yo De tu - tu no do - ɛ
A - ga - ma si - si 'ga - ma wo - yo Tu - tu no dɛ
A - ga - ma si - si 'ga - ma wo - yo Tu - tu no dɛ
Ai - sa 'ga - ma si - si 'ga-ma wo - - yo Tu - tu no dɛ

200.

Ai - sa no dɛ na pa - si No dɛ na bu - si No dɛ na wa-
tra Kǫ' na bro-ko mas-sa (tɛ) A - wa-nais' A - gi - da
do - ro a - ye - a - ye A-wa-nais' A - gi-da do - ro a - ye - a - ye (5 times)

Aisa is not on the road,
Is not in the bush,
Is not in the water.
She came to the (?) master from far.
Awanaisa Agida approaches
A-ye-a-ye!

201.

Pa Lo - ko na bom A - wa-nai - sa na na do - tio
Lo - ko na bom A - wa - na - is' na - do - tio
Pa Lo - ko na (etc.)

Pa Loko is in the tree
Awanaisa is in the earth-o
Loko in the tree
Aisa in the earth-o.

u) grǫn mama

202.

Grǫn Ma - ma mi dɛ bɛ - g'yu Wa̰i - sa, Wa-i - sa

Grǫn Ma - ma, m' dɛ bɛ - g'yu fō p'kin Wa̧i - sa, Wa-i - sa
Ų Grǫn Ma-ma̧,m' tek' Ga- du bɛ - gi yu Wa̧i - sa, Wa-i - sa
Grǫn Mam' dɛ bɛ - gi bɛ - gi yu Wa̧i - sa, Wa - i - sa

Earth Mother, I pray you
Waisa, Waisa;
Earth Mother, I pray you for children
Waisa, Waisa;
Earth Mother, I pray you in God's name,
Waisa, Waisa.

v) vodų fo grǫn

203.

Mi na Fo - dų A bis' mi ha - b'o Na gɔ - ro wɛn - ti - o Mi kɛ -
kɛ, mi kiɛ Mi na Fo - dų A - bi - si mi̧ha- bi Na, gɔ -ro wɛn - t' - o
Mi kɛ-kɛ,m' ki - ɛ

I am *Fodų*
Abisi[1] I have-o
The earth winti-o
Mi kɛkɛ, mi kiɛ.

204.

Ya - ro, Fo-dų Ya - ri A - la su - ma na ya - ro Mi no si
Fo - du- Ya - ro - Fo - dų ya - ri Ya - ro, Fo-dų Ya - re
Ya - ro, Fo - dų Ya - re A - la su - ma A - la su - ma na dya - ri
na dya - ri Mi no si Fo - dų Ya - ro na Ya - re

Yaro, Vodų, Yari
All the people are in the yard,
I do not see the *Vodų* yet,
Yaro, Vodų, Yari.

w) Akantamasu.

205.

Y - e -a - e mia mia mia mia mia mia mio Te na 'ɔ -

1 Untranslatable.

ro mi dɛ - dɛ trɔ - bi mio Mi'a na Ką - ta - ma - sio
Mi'a na Ką - ta - ma - su Ma li - bi su - ma trɔ - bi mi
A bǫn - bǫn tɔ Tɛ mi bǫ - bǫ sɛm - be sɛm - be
Te na mi̱'o - ro, mi dɛ - dɛ trɔ - bi mio Mi bǫn-bǫn sɛm-be

Ye-a-o, mia, mia, mia,
To my very lair my dead trouble me-o,
I am *Kantamasi-ǫ*,
I am *Kantamasu*,
But human beings trouble me,
It is well, too
Since I am a good[1] person
To my very lair, my dead trouble me,
I am a good person.

206.[2]

A - ma - sio fa - ni - nim-ba - A-kan - ta - ma - sio fa-
Ma - to gre-nya - Ma-
ni - nim-ba - A - ya - ma - sio fa - ni-nim-ba -

1 Informants said this was said ironically, but *bɔn*, in Fanti means ‘evil’.
2 The translation of this song was not obtained.

to gre - nya (.....) ni - nim-ba Ma - to gre - nya -
ba - 'ma - sio fa - ni - nim-ba
fa - ni - nim - ba Ma - to gre - nya
A - kan - ta - ma - sio fa - ni - nim - ba -

207.

Tɛ na tɔmp' ɛ - dɛ mi si - dɔn - 'A su - ma sɛn' kar' mi
'A Ko - nu Bi-a, Bi-a, Bi-a, Su - ma sɛn' kar' mi
Tɛ na tɔmp' ɛ - dɛ mi si - dɔn - Su - ma sɛn' kar' mi
'A Ko - nu Bi-a, Bi-a, Bi-a, Bi-a, Su - ma sɛn' kar' mi
Tɛ na tɔmp' (etc.)

At the top of the stump I sit,
And the people send to call me.
The King *Bia, Bia, Bia*,
People send to call me.

208.

Kan-ta - ma - su d'a bom go - go (...) ụn no fre - de Kan-ta-
ma - su d'a bom go - go ụn no fre - de Ụn no trɔb' 'ɛm
dia Ụn no trɔb' 'ɛm dia Wakti dą mi pi - ki - o
Ụn lib' ɛ̨ŋ (.....) Kan - ta - ma - su d'a bom go - go
Ụn no trɔb' ɛ̨ŋ Kan - ta - ma - su na ɔ - gri sa - ni
(....)mi no trɔb' ɛ̨ŋ A dɛ̨'a bus' a n'e trɔb' ụn, ba,
Di - dɛn - dɛ, ba - Kan - ta - ma - su d'a bom go - go

Di dɛn mek' a tạn Ụn no tro - bio Ụn no tro - bio
Kan - ta - ma - su no bọn sa - ni Di - den-dɛ A - di-
den - (i) a - di - den - dɛ A - di - den - (i) a - di - den - dɛ

Kantamasu is at the foot of the tree
Fear not.
Do not trouble it there.
But I say-o
Let it be.
Kantamasu is at the foot of the tree
Do not trouble it.
Kantamasu is an evil thing
I do not trouble it.
It is in the bush,
It does not trouble you, brother,
Di-den-de, brother.
Kantamasu is at the foot of the tree
Diden, let it be
It does not trouble you-o.
Kantamasu is not a good thing.
Di den dɛ,
A di den,
A di den dɛ.[1]

x) Tonɛ

209.

To - nɛ - si go na li - ba To - nɛ - si ba - ro Ai - sa - yɛ

1 A Gold Coast informant states that at Akantamasu, where a great battle was fought, there are many ant-hills, 'red ones, and high.' It has already been explained (above, p. 66) that the Akantamasu deity in Suriname is god of the anthill.

To - nɛ - si go wa - dɛ To - ne - si go na li - ba To - ne-
si ba - ro Ai - sa - ye To - ne - si go wa - de

Tonesi go to the river,
Aisa-ye.
Tonesi go to the river,
Kokoro cries-o.
Tonesi go wade
Aisa-ye.

210.

Dai To - nɛ na li - ba - ɛ Dai To - ni na li - ba - o
Li - ba Ma ma - si mi Da-i To - ne na li - ba [Li - ba Wąn-
ga ma - si mi Da-i To - ne na li - ba]Da Kwen-dai
ma - si mi Dai To - ne na li - ba

The *Tone* are in the river-e
The *Tone* are in the river-o,
The River Mother crushes me,
The *Tone* are in the river,
The River *Kwenda* crushes me,
The River *Wanga* crushes me,
The River Mother crushes me,
The *Tone* are in the river-e.

y) Apuku

211.

To - nya, yɛ - ny - a A mi ye - si no bo - ro Ma ba - yɛ - ya
ora bra Mi yɛ - si no bo - ro, mi da wɛ - nya Yɛ - si yɛ - si
dɛ bɔ - ro, mi da we - ny - a Mi yɛ - si dɛ bɔ - ro, mi da
we - ny - a Mi yɛ - si no bo - ro, a - i me - ki bra - bra

Tonya, yenya
When my ears are pierced,
I wear rings.
But when they are not pierced,
It makes *bra-bra!*[1]

1 A *winti* priestess explained that this is the Apuku circumlocution for saying that if they will pay, there will be a dance, i.e., if the ears are not pierced for earrings, there is nothing to shake. To 'pierce the ears' is the equivalent of our idiom 'to grease the palm'.

212.

A - pu - ku djǫ, djǫ, djǫ A - pu - ku djǫ, djǫ, djǫ, - Tɛ na ɔ - ro
mi dɛ A - pu - ku djǫ, djǫ Tɛ na ɔ - ro mi dɛ A - pu - ku
djǫ, djǫ, djǫ, djǫ, djǫ, djǫ, djǫ Mi na Da-go-we - Mi na Da-
go - we Tɛ na ɔ - ro mi dɛ Li - bi su - ma trɔ - bi mi - mi

Apuku djǫ, djǫ, djǫ
I am in my lair,
Apuku djǫ, djǫ,
I am the *Dagowe*,
I am in my lair,
But human-beings trouble me.

213.

Sa'i kǫ' lu - ku, sa'i kǫ' ha-ksi Yɛr' A - puk'ɛ nyąm su-ma
Sa'i kǫ' lu - ku, sa'i kǫ' ha - ksi Yɛr' A - pu-kuɛ̨ nyąm su - ma

What did you come to see?
What did you come to ask?
You heard the *Apuku* eat people.

z) Lɛba

214.[1]

Ya, ya A - i - sa 'Fre - kɛ - tɛ na mi kɛ
A ya, ya A - i - sa 'Fre - kɛ - tɛ na nu kɛ
Ya, ya A - i sa frɛ - kɛ - te na nu kɛ (etc.)

1 The translation of this song was not obtained.

215.[1]

Solo: A - dan-dya Ma Lɛ - ba A - dan-dya (etc.) (5 times)

A - dan - dya Na - yo

216.[1]

Na u - mą du - mi ta 'Fri - kɛ - te ų - ma du - mi - o
Na u - mą du - mi ta 'Fri- kɛ - te u - mą du - mi - o ta - ta u -
ma - i Fru - ku - tu no - bu - o Na u - mą du - mi
ta 'Fri - ke - te u - ma - i (4 times with minor variations)

1 The translation of this song was not obtained.
1 The translation of this song was not obtained.

217.

Lɛ - ba Ga - do ko' ya E - si - na - ma - y' Lɛ - ba ba Lɛ - ba
A - si - na - ma - y' Lɛ - ba ɛŋ go - ra wiẹn - ti ko' ya E - si -
na-ma-y' Lɛ - ba Lɛ-ba Lɛ - ba A - si - na - ma - y' Lɛ - ba (4 times, with minor variations)

The *Lɛba* God is coming,
Sinemaya Lɛba
The Earth Winti are coming,
Sinemaya Lɛba.
The *Papa*[1] Winti are coming,
Sinemaya Lɛba,
The Earth Winti are coming,
Sinemaya Lɛba.

218.[2]

A pɛ-man-de, pɛ - man - de, pɛ-man - de ma Fi - na ba - djǫ
Lɛ- ba di - dǫ' Pɛ-man-de Pɛmande, pɛmande, pɛ-man - de ba
Fi - na ba - djǫ Lɛ - ba di - dǫ', Pɛ - man -de A pɛ-man-de,

1 i.e., Papa-snake. Only the first four lines are translation of the text given above; the following lines represent the words to repetitions of the song.
2 The translation of this song was not obtained.

pɛ - man - de, pɛ - man - de A pɛ - man - de, pɛ - man - de,
pɛ-man-de ba Fi - na ba - djǫ Lɛ - ba di - dy-ǫ Pɛ - man-de
Pɛ-man-de, pɛ-man-de, pɛ-man-de - e A pɛ-man-de, pɛ-man-de,
pɛ-man-de ba Fi - na ba - djǫ Lɛ - ba di - dǫ Pɛ-man-de

219.[1]

Lɛ - ba - o - Lɛ - ba - o Lɛ - ba - o - Lɛ - ba - o
A - bo - nu - wɛ nu - wɛ kɛ - rɛ - su Wa-na-i - sa Lɛ-ba-o -, a
Lɛ - ba - o

1 The translation of this song was not obtained.

aa) Dagowe.

220.

Dag'-we lo - lo - Kɔn-da lo - lo Dag'-we lo - lo Dag'-we lo - lo -
(Dag' - we lo - lo)
Dag'-we lo - lo - Dag'-we u - a -
Dag'-we bari - o - Dag'-we lo - lo - Dag' - we -
Dag'-we lo - lo
Dag'-we lo - lo - Dag'-we lo - lo - lo - lo
Dag'-we lo - lo
Dag'-we lo - lo - Dag'-we lo - lo Dag'-we lo - lo -

Dagowe is rolling,
Kɔnda is rolling,
Dag'we cries - o!

221.

Man g'a mi'o - ro Man g'a mi'o - ro Man g'a mi'o - ro
Dag'-we ba - ri
Dag'-we go na ho-ro Dag'-we ba - ri - o (6 times)

A man goes to my lair,
The *Dagowe* cries - o!
The *Dagowe* goes to the lair,
Papa goes to the lair!

222.

[Dag'-we] kǫ lo lo Dag'-we kǫ lo - lo Dag'-we kǫ lo - lo
Su - ku y'u - mą Dag'-we kǫ lo - lo - kǫ lo - lo - (10 times with variations)
Vo - dų kǫ lo - lo Su - ku y'u - mą Su - ku y'u - mą

Dag'we come and roll,
Dag'we come and roll,
To seek your woman.
Patu come and roll,
Vodų come and roll,[1]
Kwasi come and roll,
To seek your woman!

223.

[Di] yu bro - ko mj̯ɔ - ro, ba - Pɛ m'mu go -
Di yu bro- ko mj̯'o- so, ba Pɛ m'mu go (3 times)

1 At this point the cry of a possessed woman is heard. The fourth and sixth lines given here are not present in the *taki-taki* text under the transcription of the music.

Solo: Since you broke (into) my lair, brother,
Chorus: Where am I to go?
Solo: Since you broke (into) my house, brother,
Chorus: Where am I to go?

224.

[A] Lo- lo Kɔn-da m'yo - Dag'-we lo - lo Lo - lo Kɔn-dam' yo
O Dag'-we lo - lo (5 times)
m'yo - Dag' -

Dag'we is rolling
Rolling *Kanda* mine-o
Papa is rolling
Kwenda is rolling
Papa Dag'we is rolling.[1]

225.

Ta - ki, san du Pa - pa - Pa - pa dɛ me - ki so
Da - go - we -, di kɔ - ti pɛ - ni so mo̯i Da - go - we,
di kɔ - ti pɛ - ni so mo̯i Da - go - we, di fu - ru

1 All the names in this song are those of sacred snakes.

li - ba so moi̯ Ta - ki, san du Pa - pa? Pa - pa, dɛ
me - ki so

Tell us, what troubles *Papa*
That *Papa* acts so?
The *Dagowe* are so finely marked,
The *Dagowe* fill the river so handsomely.
Tell us, what troubles *Papa?*

226.

O, mi wa - ni si dɛm Vo-dų na dya-ri 0, mi wa - ni si dɛm, ba
Wa - ni si dɛm Vo-dų na dya-ri Mi wa - ni si dɛm ba
O, mi wa - ni (etc.)

O, I want to see the *Vodų* in the yard,
O, I want to see them, brother!

227.

Na mi hɔ - ro mɔ - fo mi'ɛ go - Dag' - we ba - rie̯
Yan - ki - a ya - po - to Na mi hɔ - ro mɔ - fo mi'ɛ - go - Dag' -
we ba - rie̯ (etc.)

I go to the entrance of my lair,
The *Dagowe* cries to me,
'*Yanki yapoto*'.

bb) Yɔrka.

228.

Kwa - si Kwa - sio, mi'ɛ ka - ri - ɛ, Kwa - si Kwa - sio,
mi'ɛ ka - rio Mi'ɛ tra dệi mend' ye de su - ma di tya mi - ny - o
Yu mu ka - ba Tye, Kwa - si Kwa - so mi'ɛ ka - rio
te - dɛ a mɛn - de mi - o -, Ma ti - dệi mu ka - ba - a
Pa - si mo - ro me - ki pa - sio Pa - sį̂'a bu - si, man dɛ̨'a bu -
si, Ma - ma dɛ na 'o - so tu Kwa - si Kwa - si mi - 'ɛ
ka - ri-y-o - man de mo - ro mąn, Man na bu - sio,
man na o - so, Kwa - si Kwa - sio ti - de miɛ' ka - rio

Kwasi Kwasio, I am calling-e
Kwasi Kwasio, I am calling-o
Mi-e tra-die mende
De suma di tya minyo,
You must put an end to it.
Tye, Kwasi Kwaso, I am calling you-o
Tede a mende mi-o,
But today it must end,
A troubled path (?) makes a path-o
There is a path in the bush,
And there is a man in the bush,
A mother is there in the house, too.
Kwasi Kwasi I am calling you-o
Man is in the bush-o
Man is in the house.
Kwasi Kwasi, today I call you-o.

229.

Li-bi-su-ma wi 'ɛ si bǫn, bǫn, Fa wi 'ɛ wa - kaɛ̨ trɔ - bi su-ma
No mu go mit' nąŋ - ga Ka-ma-a - dɛ-wɛ Li - bi- su-ma wi 'ɛ si
bǫn, bǫn, Fa w'ɛ - wa - kaɛ̨ trɔ - bi su-ma Wi mu go wa - ka
Mit' nąŋ - ga Ka - ma - dɛ - wɛ Wa-ka - mąn si Yɔr-ka Yɔr - ka si 'a -
mąn dɛ Li - bi - su - ma w'ɛ si bǫn, bǫn, Fa - ɛ wa - kaɛ̨

trɔ - bi su - ma Wi mu go mit' nąŋ - ga Ka-ma-a - dɛ - wɛ

Human-beings we see well, well,
As we go about troubling people,
You must not approach *Kamadewe*.
Human-beings we see well, well,
As we go about troubling people.
We must approach *Kamadewe*.
The wanderer sees the ghost,
The ghost sees a man is there.

230.

Yɔr - ka-o -, Yɔr-ka, Yɔr - ka - e Na sa - ba - na den
te - kio Na sa - ba - na i sa go ba - ka - o
Yɔr - ka, Yɔr - ka - o - Na sa - ba - na den te - kio
Na sa - ban' y'e go ba - ka Na nąŋ-ga wit' ka - tin y - o
'A ta - ma - ra sa - ba - na y'ɛ go ba - ka

Yɔrka-o, Yɔrka, Yɔrka-e,
From the cemetery they took you-o,
To the cemetery you will go back-o,
Yɔrka, Yɔrka-o,
From the cemetery they took you-o,
To the cemetery you go back,
With white cotton-*yo*,
Tomorrow back to the cemetery you will go.

231.

Sa - ba - na wer' we - ti Gran' Yɔr-ka - o, m'o ka - ri yu
Sa - ba - na wer' we - ti - o Gran' Yɔr - ka, mi ka - ri
Na i - ni gre - bi dę' pɔt' yu A no mi bɛn pɔ - ti yu
Mi go paị̯ pɔt' ba - ka Sa - ba - na wer' we - ti - o
Gran' Yɔr - ka, mi'ɛ kar' yu Na su - ma pɔ - tie,
Ma mi sa pur' yu ba - ka Mąn na 'o - so, mąn na bu - sio

The cemetery is clothed in white,
Great *Yɔrka*, I am calling you,
The cemetery is clothed in white-o,
Great *Yɔrka*, I am calling.
In the grave they put you,
'Twas not I who put you [there].
I will pay you, and put you back,
The cemetery is clothed in white-o,
Great *Yɔrka*, I am calling you.
Someone put you (here),
But I will take you out again,
Man is in the house,
Man is in the bush-o!

cc) Bakru.

232.[1]

Bra bri bri bri bri bri bra bra bra bra bra Bra bri bri bri
bri bri bra bra bra bra bra bra bra Bra bri bri bri
bri bri bra bra bra bra Bra bri bri bri bri bri bra bra bra
A lɔn a lon - ta A lɔn a lon - ta Bra bri bri
Fɛ pre mo - kro Bra bri bri Fɛ pre mo - kro A - be - re - ta

1 The translation of this song was not obtained.

A - be - re - ta Bra bra kǫ-kru - mą Bra bra kǫ - kru-mą
A bɛ - tre mi sa Mi si - sa ye - a ye - a
be - a be - a be - a Bre - a bre - a ta bri bri

dd) Agida.

233.

(.....) (.....
.....) 'A Ko - ro - so m'a-i - da A - gi - da
m'ai - da Ko - ro - so - O mi na Pa - pa Ga - du
Ko - ro - se - o da Ko - ro - se (.....)

Agida m'aida
Koroso m'aida
I am the *Papa* god
Korose-o, da Korose.

ee) Sofia bada.

234.[1]

Kɔm tɛ - si mi, mi na mąn, Kɔm fi - ri mi, mi na
mąn, So - fia Ba - da, Mi na bǫ mąn f' A - la-da, Kǫ'
tɛ - si mi na mąn, ha, ha! (3 repetitions with minor variations)

3. Secular Songs.

a) Kawina.

235.

Mį'a Ma - ria We - gri Mi n'e we - gri fō lɛ - ti Dąn yu
kǫ'nami (mi) grɔn kǫ - dɛ Tɛ yu wa - mi fu fre ye nąŋ-
ga mi si - sa Dąn yu kǫ' na mi grǫn kǫn - dɛ
Mi na Ma - ria (etc.)

1 Song to Story 19; for translation see p. 181.

I am *Maria Wegri*
I do not *wegri fō leti*
Then yon must come to my village.
If you wish to court my sister,
Then you must come to my village.

236.

No - do mọ̀i mi go srib' naɣ' bɛ - di Sɛ - ki mọ̀i
mi go srib' naɣ' bɛ - di Pro - do mọ̀i mi go srib'
naɣ' bɛ - di srib' naɣ' bɛ - di mi go srib' naɣ' bɛ - di

Spruce up nicely,
I am going to sleep in your bed.
Shake nicely,
I am going to sleep in your bed.

237.

Kọ' go na o - po Kọ' go Wa - i - sa Kọ' go
na op' A - mer - ya Da - i kọ' go Wa - i - sa Te - ki

y'a - ka naŋ - ga y'o - ru Kɔ' go na op' A - mer - ya Kɔ' go
Wa - i - sa (Repeated with minor variations)

Come let us go inland,[1]
Come let us go, *Waisa*,
Come let us go inland, *Amerya*
Come let us go, *Waisa*,
Take your hoe and your axe,
Come let us go inland.

238.[2]

A - leˆin-tɛm kra - bu - o Kɔ - ti kwɛn-da moˆi, moˆi
Fru-du wa-tra pɔt' mˆia shɔ - ro Ne - ti ta - pu m'a dam

239.[2]

O - ra - nyɛ Na-sauˆ Bɛ - tre no bɛn kɔˆn dˆia Te'i siˆ'a
bo - to dɔ - ro no mo Li - ba dɛ na wai ya - ya

1 *Opo* is here translated ‘inland’ in accordance with its sense of indicating ‘up-river’.
2 Song to Story 118; for translation see p. 365.
2 Song to Story 118; for translation see p. 365.

240.[1]

To mi tya' g'we to mi tya' g'we
E - li - sa, yu na wą' to - bo - to to mi tya'
g' we To mi tya' g'we to mi tya' g'we
E - li - sa, yu na wą' to - bo - to to mi tya' g'we

241.[1]

Na Go - l̰ia - ti ba - ka dąn Dra - pɛ mo - ni dɛ lo - lo
Na Go - l̰ia - ti ba - ka dąn Dra - pɛ me-ni dɛ lo - lo
Na Kɛ - tɛ - kɛ - tɛ ba-ka dąn Dra-pɛ pi-na dɛ lo - lo
Na Kɛ - tɛ - kɛ - tɛ ba-ka dąn Dra-pɛ pi-na dɛ lo - lo

1 Song to Story 103; for translation see p. 331.
1 Song to Story 103; for translation see p. 331.

242.

Man - da Ma - de - ra Man dɛ Man-da Ma - de-ra Man dɛ
Mi no 'a - bi no pa - pa dɛ Man dɛ Man-da Ma - de- ra Man dɛ
(7 repetitions with minor variations)

Manda Madera,
Man dɛ.
I have no mother there,
I have no father there,
I have no sister there,
I haven't got anybody there,
Manda Madera,
Man dɛ.[1]

243.[2]

Ɛ - mɛ-li - na, Ka-ro - li - na Wą' ku - nu d'a y'o so
Ma - yɛm - be Ma- yɛm - be Wą' ku - nu d'a y'o - so

244.

Dąn - si go na wo - wo - yo Te mi wąn' u - mą

1 The idiom in this song is that spoken near the British Guiana border.
2 Song to Story 124; for translation see p. 389.

Wa - si na wąn' go li - ba Su - ku na wąn' mąn O,
Dąn - si go na wo - wo - yo - (etc.)

Dąn - si go na (etc.)

Dancing (I) go to the market
When I want a woman.
To wash in the river one goes
To seek a man.

245.

Tye, aụ̃ ma-ma -, aụ̃ ma-ma, tye aụ̃ ma - ma Wą' te, wą' te,
aụ̃ ma - ma, au ma - ma, tye au ma - ma Dą' yɛ - ri Kot'-
ka lib' wa - ka lɔn - tu (...) Mi wa - ka tɛ mi si wą'

Dju - ka u - mą, Tą, tą, me - ki tą', Me - ki wąn pus-pu-si
Tą' me - ki tąn, Me -ki wąn pus-pus' Tye au̯ ma-ma au ma-ma tye
au̯ ma - ma Kot'-ka li - ba dɛ fu - ru nąn - ga Dju - ka
Kot' - ka li - ba de tyo tyo tyo tyo tyo tyo man - gri Dju - ka
Tą', tą', tą', Yɛ - ri są, - i - du A - te, a - te są me - ki,
są me - ki wą' pop - tya A - te, a - te są me - ki
są me - ki wą' pop - tya

Tye, o mama, o mama, tye o mama,
At once, at once, *o mama, o mama, tye o mama*,
Then you heard the Cottica river flowing along
I travelled till I saw a Djuka woman.
Wait, wait, let her wait,
Meki wan puspusi
Wait, let her wait,
Meki wan puspusi
Tye, o mama, o mama, tye o mama,
There are many Djukas on the Cottica river
The Cottica river is full of skinny Djukas
Wait, wait, wait,
Hear what is done
Until, until they give birth to a doll
Until, until they give birth to a doll.

246.

Wą Sɔn- dɛ' ma-man-tɛm Mi go na Bu - gu - dąŋ Tɛ mi go,
mi si dri bi - gi mąn Nyąm a na de' nyąm wąn Ku - lia nyą-nyąm
Sɔn - dɛ' na A - de - la̰i - na Sɔn - dɛ' na To - ro - a - ma
Sɔn - dɛ' na A - ma - ti - ri Di den nyąm wąn Ku - li nyą - nyąm
O sa - ni di dęn nyąm, Ku - ri nyą - nyąm Sąn' dę ba - ya
Ku - ri ba̰i - mąn O są - ni dɛn nyąm Ku - ri nyą-nyąm
Sąn' dę ba-ya Ku-ri ba̰i-mąn O mi dɑ - ti ba̰i wą-wąn Ku-li nyąnyąm
O mi'ɛ-go pa-ya Ku-li pa̰i-mąn Mi da- ti wa' sab', a Ku- li nyą-nyąm
(8 times, with minor variations)

Solo:
One Sunday morning
I went to Bugudan
When I went I saw three big men
Eating, they were eating Coolie food[1].
Sunday[2] it was *Adelena*,
Sunday it was *Toroama*
Sunday it was *Amateri*
Who was eating a Coolie food.

Chorus:
Oh, what did they eat?
Coolie food.
Oh, what did they buy?
A Coolie purchase.

Solo:
Oh, I am the one who buys a Coolie food,
Oh, I will pay for a Coolie debt,
Oh, I am the one who knows the Coolie food
Oh, I am the one who knows Coolie roast beef.[3]

b) B□nya.

247.[4]

Na mɔ - fo bɔ - ko broi̯ - ki Na mɔ - fo bɔ - ko broi̯ - ki
A wɛr' ɛŋ' ge - ri kre - ti A wɛr' ɛŋ' ge - ri kre - ti
Mu san - tō ba - i da - gu Mu san - tō ba - i da - gu

Bǫn - yo'ɛwak' a̯i su - ku da - gu
Bǫn - yo'ɛ wak' a̯i su - ku da - gu
Fō go be - ti Mɩ - si Na - na

1 The verb ‘to eat’ means also to enjoy, to spend, and as in this case, to have connection; the reference to ‘Coolie’ is either to a Hindu or Javanese woman.
2 Or *sɔntɛ*, meaning ‘perhaps.’
3 This line is not in the song as transcribed.
4 Song to Story 47; for translation see p. 231.

248.

Sɔn - dɛ mɔ-min' mi gri-nya Bɛ - gi-strǫn Mi mit' 'a u - mą dɛ
Ko - ti - ka kɔm Mi trɛ-nya mi bak' 'a Kɔ - ti - ka A dɛ
dye - no, [dye-no, nan - ɛ - go dye - no] A de sɛ - ka de sɛk'
Yɛs, mąn Den ba - di den luk Yɛs, mąn Dɛn den luk, dɛn den luk
Yɛs, mąn Yu bɛ - li dɛ wɔk Yɛs, man Dye - no
(Repeated with variations)

Sunday morning I hurried to Begistron,
I met the Cottica women coming.
I stuck out my back at the Cottica.
A dɛ dyeno, dyeno, let us go, *dyeno*,
And it shook, and it shook?
Yes, man.
The bodies they looked?
Yes, man,
They looked and they looked?
Yes, man.
Your belly it worked?
Yes, man.

c) Lɔbi s□ŋgi.

249.

Mi g'a sɛ - ri bu - ba no mi dɛ lɔ - bi mɔ - ro U - mą
mi san - ti Wa - ka mɔ - ro a - 'ɛ si dɛm moi̯-moi̯ sa - ni
Mi gu - du, mɔ - fo dę wa - ni, mɔ - fo - dę wa - ni, tu
Wa - ka mɔ - ro a - 'ɛ si dɛm moi̯-moi̯ sa - ni Mi gu - du,
mɔ - fo dę, wa - ni O, mɔ - fo dę' wa - ni, mɔ - fo dę' wa - ni,
Go - go dę' wa - ni, tu, Go - go dę' wa-ni, mɔ - fo dę' wa - ni
Mɔ - fo dę' wa - ni, go - go dę' wa - ni, tu

I will sell my skin, I am loved no longer,
Woman is hateful to me.
Travel about and you see fine, fine things.
My dear, the mouth they want, the mouth they want, too.
Walk about and you see fine, fine things,
My dear, the mouth they want,
O, the mouth they want, the mouth they want,
The buttocks they want, too,
The buttocks they want, the mouth they want,
The mouth they want, the buttocks they want, too.

250.

Ɛ - ri de - j y'ɛ ba - ri Fa yu lɔ - bi swi - ti
Ma mi n'e si, si, Ma mi n'e si, si, Di wi ma-kan-dra
su - ku Mi go dɛ si lɔ - bi da - i dɛ dɛ - dɛ
Ma no fō g'a su - ma ni no fō zɔr - gu mɔ - ni
da - i ne - ti de dai - ne - ti de Ɛf i g'a 'a
sa - fri w'e - go nyą' ma - ka - dra dą' mi si

Solo:
Every day you shout,
How sweet your love is,

Chorus:
But I do not see, see;
But I do not see, see;

Solo:
If we get on together,
I will see that there is love;
But not to go to people (men)
Nor to earn money

Chorus:
Does the night, the night exist.

Solo:
If you go softly,
We will eat together,

Chorus:
Then I will see.

The words continue as follows:

Solo:
Ma ɛf y'ɛ go trąŋga
Y'ɛ go na sigara

Chorus:
Dą' mi si
Dą' mi si.

Solo:
Dą' y'ɛ mek sapakara
Dą' y'ɛ a baki nasu

Chorus:
Dą' yu da gogo.
Dą' i da gogo.

Solo:
But if you will go rudely.
You will go *na sigara*,[1]

Chorus:
Then I will see,
Then I will see.

Solo:
Then you make *sapakara*,[2]
Then you thumb your nose,

Chorus:
Then you give your behind,
Then you give your behind.
(Then to beginning of song)

d) Fisherman's song.

251.

Si, si, si, Na -go Si, si, si, Na - go
Yɛ, ma-ma no dɛ, Pa - pa no dɛ, Si, si, si, Na - ro

1 Lit., 'to the cigar,' but what the definite allusion is, informant did not know.
2 Lit., 'Salamander,' and idiomatic for having 'a big time'.

Si, si, si Nago
Si, si, si Nago,
Yes, there is no mother,
There is no father,
Si, si, si Naro.

e) Miscellaneous.[1]

252.[2]

Pe-rum, Pe-rum, mi pa-tron Są' wa - ni kǫ -, mek' ą kǫm
ɻŋ - gri - si ma - sra tya - ri praŋ-ga go na djo - go praŋ

253.[3]

A ye - ye - ye Mi̯a - la A ye - ye - yo Mi̯a - la A-san - do
yo Mi̯a - la A ye - ye - ye Mi̯a - la A ye - ye - ye Mi̯a - la

1 Under this heading come songs for which there were no other classification or for which natives gave us no designation. No. 252 is a play song, while, from internal evidence, it is apparent that No. 253 is *Tap' Kromanti*, No. 254, (*ɻŋgi Winti*, and No. 255, *Bush Kromanti*.
2 The words to this song given here represent only a portion of those which were heard on several occasions, but not recorded. See van Panhuys (V), 211, for a translation of these words, given with an additional phrase. The same writer (II, p. 125) has also published an extremely interesting Curaçao version of the words of this song.
3 No translation of this song was obtained.

A - Bo-nu a kǫ' Mi̱a - la (etc.)

254.

'A Ka-ri-bo bro - ko, a - yo 'A Ka-ri- bo bro - ko - Gi mi
mi bo - to nąŋ - ga mi pa - ri A - la dę' i̱ŋ-gi-o Ma-ma-dam

The *Karibo* is broken, - *ayo*[1]
The *Karibo* is broken.
Give me my boat and my paddle
All the Indians are at the Mamadam.

255.

Ya - o - ya - o - ya - o - e Y'A- na- na -o A ku-ma-e

1 Reference is here made to the fact that many people had run away into the interior and the *wɩnti* wished to go, too.

[ya - o ya - o] o A - na- na - e Yaọ a den - si' ya - o

O Yao, Yao, Yao-e
Yao ancesters-o
We greet you-o!
O Yao adensio.

H. Songs from Haiti

1. Religious Songs.[1]

a) Rongol.

256.

Ron-gol po al - le' (.....
.....
.....)
(3 times)

b) Dambala wedo.

257.

Fi - lé, na fi - lé, Mam' Dam-ba - la We - do;
Fi - lé, na fi - lé, A - i - da We - do c'est cou -lè - v' (8 times)

1 These examples of Haitian music were recorded when the ship from New York to Paramaribo called at Port-au-Prince. The deities to whom the songs are sung are all members of the Vaudou pantheon, and are of Daho-mean provenience. (See Dorsainvil, *passim*, for these deities). No translations of the words which are in Haitian French *creole*, are given; the songs are appended here because, as the only examples of recorded Haitian music available, they have value for the comparative study of Negro music.

c) Zombi.

258.

Al - lé' na ci - mi-tière po' Zom - bi cou - ri (...)
Al - lé' na ci - mi-tière po' Zom - bi cou - ri [(..)]
(5 times)

d) Loko.

259.

Pa-pau - pa - u Aido We-do pai - Pa - pau Loko
Aido We-do pai -

e) Marassa (twins).

260.

Ma - ras - sa m'en d'l'eau me man-ger A - go - ye Ma-ras - sa
m'en d'l'eau me man - ger - (- - - - - - - -
- - - - - -) Ma - ras - sa m'en d'l'eau me man - ger -

Ma - ras - sa m'en d'l'eau me man - ger A - go - ye (- - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - -) (3 times)

f) Legba.

261.

Pa - pa Leg-ba, ou - vri bar-rier' po' moin A - go - ye
A - zi - ma Leg-ba, ou - vri bar-rier' po' moin, ou - vri bar - ri-
er' po' moin a - go - ye - e
(3 times)

g) Simbi.

262.

Simb' man-dé d'l'eau, l'eau dans la bas-sin Simb'man-déd'l'eau
(etc.) (3 times)

263.

Sim - bi man-dé d'l'eau (.....) Sim - bi man-dé d'l'eau
(.....) (.....)
Al - lé ci - mi-tiére (.....
.....
.....) Sim - bi man - dé d'l'eau (.....)
A - go - ye Sim - bi man - dé d'l'eau (.....
.....)

I. Analyses of tonal structure

1. Suriname Bush.[1]

a) Penta type.[2]

Penta-do Mode.

1 See above, p. 493, for explanation of the symbols employed in these analyses. The number underneath each bar is, in every case, that of the song analysed.
2 See above, pp. 501-502.

Penta-sol Mode.
Penta-re Mode.

Penta-la Mode.
Penta-re-mi Mode.
Penta-sol-mi Mode.

b) Hexa type.[1]

Hexa-do Mode.

1 See above, pp. 503-505.

Hexa-sol Mode.

Hexa-re Mode.

Hexa-la Mode.
Hexa-mi Mode.

Hexa-si Mode.
Hexa-la-si Mode.
Hexa-(do)-si Mode.

c) hepta type.[1]

Hepta-do Mode.

1 See above, pp. 505-506.

[vervolg]

Hepta-do-sol Mode.
Hepta-sol Mode.

[vervolg]

[vervolg]

Hepta-sol-re Mode.
Hepta-re Mode.

Hepta-la Mode.

Hepta-mi Mode.
Hepta-si Mode.

2. Suriname Town.

a) Penta-type.[1]

Penta-do Mode.
Penta-sol Mode.

b) hexa-type.[2]

Hexa-do Mode.

1 See above, p. 511.
2 See above, pp. 511-512.

Hexa-sol Mode.

[vervolg]

Hexa-re Mode.
Hexa-la Mode.

Hexa-mi Mode.
Hexa-si Mode.

Hexa-sol-mi Mode.
Hexa-sol-si Mode.

c) Hepta-type.[1]

Hepta-fa Mode.
Hepta-do Mode.

1 See above, p. 513.

[vervolg]

[vervolg]

[vervolg]

Hepta-do-sol Mode.

Hepta-sol Mode.

[vervolg]

Hepta-re Mode.
Hepta-la Mode.

Hepta-la-mi Mode.
Hepta-mi Mode.

Hepta-do-la Mode.

3. Haiti.

Penta-do Mode.
Penta-mi Mode.
Hexa-sol Mode.

Hexa-sol Mode. (Hepta-fa Mode.)
Hepta-do Mode.

Appendices

Appendix I. Glossary of Taki-Taki Words Appearing in Introductory Notes

NOTE: Wherever it was possible to establish definite African provenience and New World survivals, these are indicated parenthetically, according to language or region, after the definition. In those instances where identification is not obvious, we have given European provenience as well.

- A -

a, the (Ewe *a*, the).
Abɛrewa, ancient woman; deified ancestress (Twi).
aboma, boa constrictor; deity assuming the guise of the boa (Kongo *mboma*, python).
abɔŋgra, medicinal seeds.
Abonuako, Thunder God (Ashanti *abonua*, stone axe, i.e. 'thunder stone').
Adyanti-waị̂, African deity.
Aflɛkete, deity born of the mating of *Aisa* and *Lɛba* (in Dahomey daughter of *Agbe* and *Naete*, gods of the Sea).
afkodrai, idolatry, i.e. worship of African gods (Dutch).
Agida, earth spirit; largest of complex of ceremonial drums; principal drum for invoking Earth and Snake Gods.
Aida, earth spirit (in Dahomey, snake deity coiled under the earth to support its weight).
Aisa, earth deity (Dahomey, Haiti).
Akabrewa, African deity, see *Abɛrewa*.
akansa, cornmeal cakes cooked in banana leaves (Fɔ, Nago, Edo, Haitian).
Akantamasu, or *Akantamasi*, Gods of the Ant-Hill (Twi?).
Akoabonua, see *Abonuako*.
akra, soul (Twi).
Alado or *Aladi*, Thunder God.
Ananka Yao, Thunder God.
anąnsi, spider; principal trickster of the animal tales (Twi).
anąnsi-tɔri, generic name for all tales (*tɔri*, Eng. story).
anąnsi-tɔri dąnsi, euphemism for the series of individual dances for the ancestors.
aneị̂si, name of bush whose leaves and twigs are used medicinally.
Aninino, snake deity (Twi, *onini* python).
apinti, sacred drum; principal drum for invoking African gods not in Earth or Snake categories (Yoruba, *apinti:* Ashanti, *mprintin*).
Apuku, little folk of the bush worshipped as deities (probably from Yoruba-Dahomean, *abiku*).

Arawaki, Arowak Indian.
asaų, elephant (Kongo, *nzau*).
'asi, horse; devotee of a god (Dahomey, *asi*, wife; suffix *si* added to name of a deity denotes wife of deity, i.e. devotee).
asɔgri, cornmeal pudding.
Awąnaisa, earth deity, strong name for *Aisa* (in Dahomey one of the strong names for the earth).
Awąnasa, see *Aisa* and *Awąnaisa*.
awɛge, male invert (Edo, *awekia*, impotent man).
azɛ, witch (Fọ, Ewe, Edo; Nago, *Aje*).
azɛmąn, vampire (Dahomey).

- B -

baka-futu-banya, dance for the ancestors.
bakra, white person (Efik).
bakra-opo, charm for dominating the will of a white person.
bakru, little people with bodies half human and half wooden, who act as carriers of black magic.
bakru-kɔti, a magic inoculation against these carriers of black magic.
bąnya, dance for the earth spirits; on occasion danced socially.
basɛra, bastard.
beifi, to tremble, used especially in connection with religious possession.
bita, Suriname bitters, used medicinally.
bɔmbo, vagina; to copulate.
bɔnkoru, albino.
bɔnu, priest, maker of charms (Ewe, *bo*; Fọ, *gbo* charm, *nu*, person).
bosum or *abɔsomo*, Kromanti word for deity (Twi).
Bumba, deity invoked in *Loango wɩnti* dances (also used in Haiti).

- C -

Cheno, snake deity.

- D -

dagowɛ, sacred snake (Ewe, Fọ, Haitian).
dia-tu or *dia tutu*, the horn of a deer, the scrapings of which form an important ingredient for the making of charms.
didibri, devil.
Djuka, name of one of the three principal Bush-Negro tribes; generic coastal name for a non-urban Negro skilled in magic.

dokụ, highly seasoned pudding of bananas, or peanuts, or young corn, cooked in a banana leaf (Gold Coast, Jamaica).
dɔro-seệi pikin, illegitimate child (Haiti, '*enfant-dehors*').
dosu, name of child born after twins (Dahomey, Haiti).

Dyadya, a spirit of the *Tigri-Kromanti* group: see *Kromanti*.
dyɛbi or *djɛbi*, devil; a spirit of the *Tigri-Kromanti* group: see *Kromanti*.
dyodyo or *djodjo*, soul (Dahomey *djɔtɔ*, ancestral soul).

- □ -

ɛnt, to circumcise.

- F -

fậia-lɔbi, scarlet flower (see note, p. 7; according to van Panhuys [in a letter], 'fire-love', hence 'ardent love').
famiri, family; pad worn by women about the waist; name for protuberance formed by this pad in back which is one of the elements of the woman's dress called *koto-yaki*.
fiofio, bug, and spirit manifesting itself as this bug to punish for conscious or unconscious hypocrisy in relationships of intimacy or blood-kinship. (In the Congo *fiofio* is a root whose dust is used to exorcise the demons that might have entered the body of a child in its mother's womb).
fɔdụ, see *Vɔdụ*.
Frɛpsi, Indian *wɪnti* spirit.
futumą-nąnyam, food cooked by a menstruating woman.

- G -

gadō or *gadu*, god.
Gąŋga or *Kąŋga*, dance for the ancestors.
gi tafra, to offer food; idiom for offerings to the soul.
gɔro gadō, earth god (Eng., ground-god).
grąnmąn, chief, headman, governor. (Ewe, *gą*, chief; *Sar*. speech, *g'amą*).
Grǫ Mama, Earth Mother; also generic name for tutelary earth spirit of each compound, plantation, etc. (Eng., 'Mother of the Ground').
Grǫ Papa, a deity born of the mating of a female Earth spirit and a *Papa* snake. (*Papa* is generally interpreted as the equivalent of *Popo*. The *Saramaka* tribe includes the *Popoto* clan, which is pronounced as here written, and also the *Papa Gadu*).

- H -

hąŋgisa, kerchief (Eng., handkerchief).

hantimąn, male invert.
hasi, see '*asi*.
hɛbi, heavy, a load; trouble.
he̯i-grǫ, a snake-deity.

- I -

isri nąŋga isri, two pieces of iron struck against each other to give a rhythm; *Kromanti* spirits will not come unless to the voice of the drums is added the sound of iron against iron, for iron is the symbol of the *Kromanti*. (Dutch; in the Bush this is called *felu ko felu*, Port.).

- □ -

ɻŋgi, Indian.
ɻŋgi Wɩnti, Indian spirits, associated particularly with earth and water.

- K -

kabugru, Negro-Hindu cross (also employed to mean Negro-mulatto or Negro-Indian cross).
kabugru-uru, brown girl wanton (*uru*, probably Eng. 'whore').
kado, gift (Fr.).
kamalama, birthday gift of best friend.
kankantri, sacred silk cotton tree.
kankantri wɩnti, spirit of this tree.
kartamąn, man who tells fortunes by means of cards.
kaseka wɩnti, interlude of social dancing during a *wɩnti* dance.
kasiri, to purify (Hebrew).
kauna or *kawina*, social dance, essentially a fertility dance; ceremony performed when a manatee is caught, or a tapir is killed.
kauna sɻŋgi, songs for such dance and ceremony.
kauna drǫ, small drum, played at both ends.
kina, see *trefu*.
Kobisi, Indian *wɩnti* spirit.
kɔmfo, spirit skilled in divination (Ashanti word for priest of a god).
kɔndre, country, village, kingdom.
Kɔrowena, snake deity.
koto-mɩsi, women who dress in *koto-yaki*.
koto-yaki, traditional dress of women, now used principally for ceremonial occasions.
kriɔri, creole.
'kra, see *akra*.
'kra tafra, food offerings to the soul, eaten by the individual himself as the corporeal agent of the soul.
Krɛbisi, Carib Indian.
kreti, gunpowder, firecrackers; used ceremonially at funerals, and as an ingredient for making preventive charms against ghosts (Dutch).
kroi 'a mąn, idiom for subjugating a man's soul.
Kromanti, category of spirits comprising African, forest, water and

thunder gods; among the Saramacca people men's warrior society(?). (Ancient Gold Coast kingdom; name in New World for Gold Coast slaves, i.e. Coromantyns.
kuli, coolie; name given both Javanese and Chinese.
kunu, violation of ancestral moral code; punishment for such violation by ancestors and gods.
kuswɛ, red pigment from the fruit of the *Bixa orellana*.
kwakwa, musical instrument played at sacred dances, consisting of a hardwood bench beaten with one or two sticks.
kweki, children reared by strangers; they have the status akin to the African pawn in certain respects, though no money is exchanged between the family of the child, and the family taking the child.
Kwɛnda, snake deity.

- L -

lama, see *kamalama*.
Lɛba, god of the crossroads; guardian spirit of habitations, thought most often to reside in trees that are found in the yards. (Dahomey, *Legba*; Yoruba, *Elegbara*; Haiti, *Legba*).
Liba Mama, Mother of the River.
Loango wɩnti, lit., '*Loango* spirit', a *wɩnti* associated with snake deities.
lɔbi-sɻŋgi, institutionalized ceremony of recrimination by ridicule, with women as the active participants; also form of public confession for women; songs sung at such ceremonies.
loko, sacred tree, and deity residing in the tree. (Dahomey, *Loko*; Yoruba, *Iroko*).
lukumąn, diviner.
leị̂, to lie; to guess; a lie.
leị̂-tɔri, riddle.

- M -

Ma fō Doti, Earth Mother, see *Grǫ Mama*.
mąn drǫ, male drum, one of complex of sacred drums.
mąn opo, a charm for winning and keeping a man.
mąŋ, to be able (Ewe; also possibly Dutch; or telescoping of both).
masra, master, husband, mister.
Masra Gra Gadō, Supreme God (lit., 'Master Great God').
mati, friend; name for homosexual relationship; invert (prob. Eng., mate).
muwɛse or *Wɛse*, Thunder God.
moị̂, fine, beautiful, polite (Dutch).

- N -

na, the; idiom for ‘it is’; abrev. for *nąŋga* (Twi, Nago, Mende).
nąŋga, and; with.

nąnyąm, food.
Nɛŋgɛre, Negro.
Nɛŋgɛre-kǫndre, Africa.
Nɛŋgɛre-kǫndre kɔmfo, see *kɔmfo*.
Nɛŋgɛre Kromanti, see *Kromanti*.
Nɛŋgɛre-kǫndre pɛpre, African pepper, *Aframomum Meleguete*.
Nɛŋgɛre-kǫndre wɪnti, an African spirit, see *wɪnti*.
numą nɛ̨m, strong name.
nyąm, to eat, enjoy, capture, (as in a game of counters); spend, attack, (as when referring to an illness), (Jamaica, Brit.Guiana, U.S. [Sea Islands], Trinidad).

- O -

obia, healing principle; generic name for charm. (Efik, Twi?).
obia-fatu, palm oil.
obiamąn, maker of charms, who also exorcises evil magic.
odi, greeting, (probably Eng., 'how do'; Sar., *odi* or *ųndyi*).
opɛte, vulture (Twi; Ewe, *mpete*).
opo, category of charms designed to perform aggressive acts for their owners; see *tapu*.
Opruru Brada, Thunder Gods (Eng., 'Uproar Brothers').

- □ -

ɔrshadi, a drink made of the bitter and sweet almond, water and sugar; used as an offering to Earth Gods.
ɔru-kuku, owl.

- P -

pą̣i, pay, sacrifice.
pąŋgi, cloth worn as skirt by women (Fr. *pagne*).
Papa Gadō or *Papa Wɪnti*, snake deity who possesses women. See *Grǫ Papa*.
Papa ˌlŋgi, a spirit born of the mating of a *Papa* snake and a female Indian spirit.
Papa fō wɪnti, priest; lit., 'Father of the *wɪnti*'.
pɛmba or *pɛmba-doti*, sacred white clay (Kongo).
pią̣imąn, Indian priest (Carib Indian).
pikin, child; small; term of reference to the speaker when addressing a superior, i.e. a chief, a deity, a protector.
pina, pain, suffering, famine (Loango, *pena*); palm-leaf thatch; pin.
pinda, peanuts (Kongo, *mpinda*).
pɔdyo, a drum forming one of the complex of sacred instruments.
pranasi or *prandasi*, plantation (Eng.).

prapi, clay pot, bowl, or jug.

presi-doti, praise the Earth, i.e. prayer to the Earth (Eng., praise-dirt).
puru, pull, withdraw, retract, guess, solve, redeem, retrieve. (Eng.)
puru mɔfo, ceremony of retraction; see *fiofio* (Eng., lit. 'pull mouth').
puru wisi, exorcise black magic.
puru yɔrka, exorcise a ghost.

- S -

sabana, savanna, cemetery.
safri-safri, cautiously, tenderly, quietly, (Eng., 'softly').
saka, to subside, to dismiss (Kongo, *sakusa*, to abate).
saka-saka, rattle used ceremonially to call the gods, and as one of the instruments of the ritual complex.
sąn, what (when speaking of things).
sąŋgrafu, sacred bush whose leaves and shoots are used ceremonially, particularly when dancing for the *Tap' Kromanti*, the sky gods.
sani, thing.
sɛti wɩnti, to pacify an angered *wɩnti* spirit.
sibi, to sweep.
Sinero, snake deity.
sisibi, broom.
smeri-wiri, a plant, *Ocimum micranthum*.
sneki-kɔti, magic inoculation against snake bites.
Sofia Bada, Thunder God (Dahomey, *Bada*, youngest member of Thunder pantheon; Haiti, *Zofi Bada*).
sopi, rum, alcohol.
Sranami, Thunder God, according to van Panhuys (personal communication), 'Suriname deity'.
suma, person; who; used to form passive voice, i.e. *suma taki*, people say.... (Twi?).
sweri, oath, compact.
switi sopi, liqueur.

- T -

Tąndo, Osai Tando, African deity. (Gold Coast, *Tano*, older spelling, *Tando;* Togo, *Asiotando*, war god).
Tap-Kromanti, the Sky Gods envisaged as Thunder Deities; see *Kromanti*.
tapu, category of charms designed to act as preventives against the machinations of ghosts, malicious gods and sorcerers, see *opo;* top; on; 'stop' (in Haiti, the same charms are called *arrêt*).
tɛ, tɛm, when, until, (lit., 'time').
tigri, jaguar (lit., 'tiger').
Tɔbochina, snake deity (in Ewe, Fǫ, *to*, water).

Tonɛ, generic name for water gods.
tǫtǫ or *tǫmtǫm*, pudding made of pounded bananas (Twi).
trąŋgamąn, strangulation, convulsions.
trefu, tabu, usually food tabu (Hebrew), also called *tchina*.
twelįŋ, twins (Dutch).

- U -

umą-opo, charm for winning and keeping a woman.

- V -

Vɔdų, snake deity; generic name for spirit, god. (Dahomey, *vo*, python, *Vodų*, generic name for spirit, god; Haiti, *vaudou*; U.S., *voodoo*).

- W -

Wankɛ, an African deity.
Watra ¸lŋgi, Indian Water spirit.
Watra Mama, Mother of the Water.
Wɛse, see *Muwɛse*.
wıntı, wind, air, atmosphere, deity, spirit (Eng.).
wıntimąn, priest or priestess of a *wıntı*.
wıntı preį, dance for the gods, lit. *wıntı* 'play'.
wiri or *wiwiri*, hair, leaf, herb, plumage.
wisi, black magic; poison.
wisimąn, sorcerer, poisoner.

- Y -

Yąnki, Indian *wıntı* spirit.
Yao, Tata Yao, Thunder God; male born on Thursday (Twi).
Yawa, Thursday goddess (Twi).
ye or *yeye*, soul (Fǫ).
yɔrka, ghost (Carib Indian).
yɔrka kɔti, magic inoculation against ghosts.

Appendix II. Themes from Music of Other Primitive Folk, Used for Comparative Purposes in Musicological Analysis

Example a

Beginning of a song of the Awèmbiak Tribe of New Guinea (From: J. Kunst, A Study of Papuan Music. Weltevreden, 1931.)

Example b

Solo:
Choral refrain:
Beginning and Choral Refrain of a ‘Song from the Festival for the Soul’ of the West African Pangwe Tribe. (From: E.M. v. Hornbostel: Musik [der Pangwe], in G. Tessman, Die Pangwe, Vol. II, Berlin, 1914.)
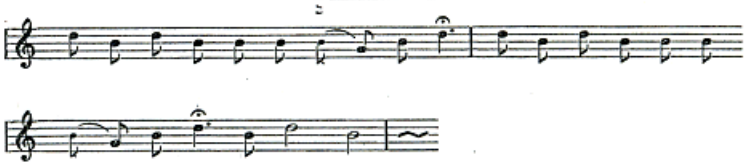
Example c

Introductory solo from a dance song of the East African Wanyamwezi. (From: E.M. v. Hornbostel, Wanyamwezi Songs; Anthropos iv, 1909.)

Example d

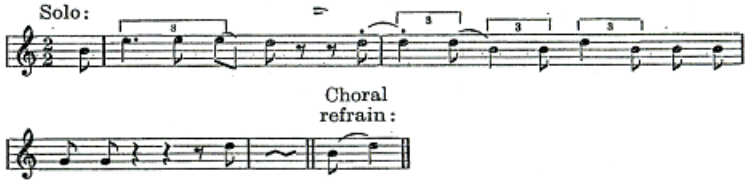
First half of a song of the Mohave Indians of North America. (From: George Herzog, The Yuman musical style; Journal of American Folklore xli, 1928.)

EXAMPLE A
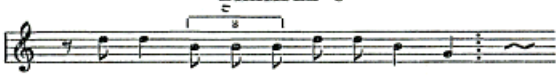


Beginning of a song of the Awèmbiak Tribe of New Guinea (From: J. Kunst, A Study of Papuan Music. Weltevreden, 1931.)

EXAMPLE B
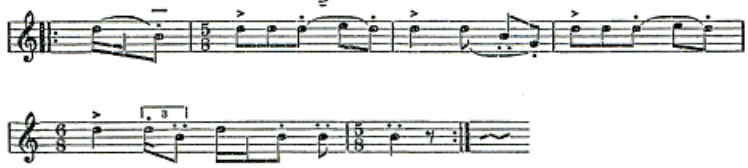


Beginning and Choral Refrain of a "Song from the Festival for the Soul" of the West African Pangwe Tribe. (From: E. M. v. Hornbostel: Musik [der Pangwe], in G. Tessman, Die Pangwe, Vol. II, Berlin, 1914.)

EXAMPLE C



Introductory solo from a dance song of the East African Wanyamwezi. (From: E. M. v. Hornbostel, Wanyamwezi Songs; Anthropos iv, 1909.)

EXAMPLE D



First half of a song of the Mohave Indians of North America. (From: George Herzog, The Yuman musical style; Journal of American Folklore xli, 1928.)

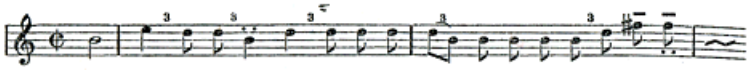
Example e

First half of a chorus from a song of the Makushi Indians of South America (From: E.M. v. Hornbostel, Musik der Makuschi, Taulipáng und Yekuaná, in Th. Koch-Grünberg, Vom Roroima zum Orinoko, Stuttgart, 1923.)

Example f

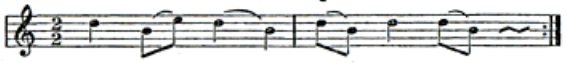
Canonical Theme of the Kenta Tribe of Pygmies of Malacca (From: M. Kolinski, Die Musik der Primitivstämme auf Malaka und ihre Beziehungen zur samoanischen Musik; Anthropos xxv, 1930.)

EXAMPLE E



First half of a chorus from a song of the Makushi Indians of South America (From: E. M. v. Hornbostel, Musik der Makuschi, Taulipáng und Yekuaná, in Th. Koch-Grünberg, Vom Roroima zum Orinoko, Stuttgart, 1923.)

EXAMPLE F



Canonical Theme of the Kenta Tribe of Pygmies of Malacca (From: M. Kolinski, Die Musik der Primitivstämme auf Malaka und ihre Beziehungen zur samoanischen Musik; Anthropos xxv, 1930.)

Appendix III. Catalogue of Singers of Songs.[1]

BUSH-NEGRO SINGERS (SARAMACCA TRIBE).

Singer B_1 (Disiǫ) - 1, 10, 35, 38, 40, 49, 58, 72, 73, 83, 88, 89, 90, 98, 99, 101, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107.
Singer B_2 (Disiǫ) - 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 59, 60, 61, 69, 74.
Singer B_3 (Gąnya Kǫnde) - 33, 36, 43, 44, 63, 66, 67.
Singer B_4 (Gąnya Kǫnde) - 37.
Singer B_5 (Gąnya Kǫnde) - 18, 47, 100, 110.
Singer B_6 (Gąnya Kǫnde) - 14, 15.
Singer B_7 (Niu̯ Kǫnde) - 3, 20, 42.
Singer B_8 (Lɔmbe) - 16, 21, 28, 30, 41, 51, 53, 64, 65, 68, 102, 112.
Singer B_9 (Lɔmbe) - 70, 82, 92.
Singer B_{10} (Lɔmbe) - 93, 108, 109.
Singer B_{11} (Kadju) - 17, 34, 111.
Singer B_{12} (Lōąŋgo) - 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 45, 46, 52.
Singer B_{13} (Asindopo Lantiwe) - 84.
Singer B_{14} (Asindopo Lantiwe) - 54, 55, 56, 57.
Singer B_{15} (Asindopo Lantiwe) - 77, 78, 79, 80, 86, 87.
Singer B_{16} (Asindopo Lantiwe) - 48.
Singer B_{17} (Guyaba) - 11, 12, 39, 50, 62, 81, 94, 95.

BUSH-NEGRO SINGERS (DJUKA TRIBE).

Singer B_{18} (Kofikamp) - 9, 13, 75, 76, 91, 96, 97.

TOWN-NEGRO SINGERS.[2]

Singer T_1 - 113, 116, 118, 122, 123, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 140, 143, 144, 147, 148, 149, 156, 160, 161, 169, 171, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 207, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 243, 247.
Singers T_1 and T_2 - 220.
Singers T_1, T_2, and T_3 - 202, 219, 227, 254.
Singer T_2 - 114, 115, 120, 121, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 138, 139, 141, 145, 146, 150, 170, 182, 205, 208, 212, 232, 242, 245, 248, 251.
Singer T_3 - 228, 229, 230, 231.
Singer T_4 - 117, 126, 142, 153, 159, 179, 180, 189, 223, 225.
Singers T_4 and T_{12} - 252.
Singer T_5 - 185, 226, 249.
Singers T_5 and T_6 - 163, 178.
Singers T_5, T_6, T_7, and T_8 - 244.
Singers T_5 and T_8 - 246.
Singer T_6 - 155, 162, 167, 173, 174, 196, 221, 222, 250.
Singers T^6 and T_8 - 172, 177.

1 The names of the individual singers are replaced by numbers. In the case of the Bush-Negro singers, village names follow the number. Names are omitted because of the wish of the singers.
2 These songs are all from Paramaribo.

Singer T_9 - 152, 183, 184, 199, 200, 201, 214, 216, 218.
Singers T_9 and T_{10} - 157, 158, 164, 165, 166, 168, 176, 181, 187, 197, 198, 211, 213.
Singer T_{11} - 154, 175, 186, 203, 204, 206, 209, 210, 215, 217, 224, 233, 253, 255.
Singer T_{12} - 151.
Singer T_{13} - 119.

Appendix IV. Field-Numbers of Songs Arranged According to Transcription Numbers.[1]

Trans. No.	Orig. No.
1	39 - 1
2	19 - 4
3	53 - 2
4	19 - 2
5	19 - 3
6	19 - 1
7	20 - 2
8	20 - 3
9	75 - 1
10	50 - 1
11	99 - 1
12	99 - 2
13	75 - 2
14	7 - 3; 8 - 1
15	8 - 2
16	60 - 1
17	10 - 2
18	62 - 1
19	71 - 3
20	53 - 4
21	65 - 3
22	71 - 1
23	69 - 3
24	69 - 2
25	69 - 1
26	72 - 1
27	71 - 2
28	65 - 1

1 In enumerating songs in the field the number of the cylinder was first given, then the number of the song on that cylinder, since, in some cases, as many as seven different songs were recorded on one record.

29	68 - 1
30	59 - 2
31	68 - 2
32	72 - 2
33	8 - 3; 8 - 4
34	10 - 1
35	64 - 1
36	56 - 4
37	55 - 2
38	50 - 2
39	98 - 3
40	51 - 2
41	61 - 3
42	54 - 2
43	38 - 2
44	38 - 1
45	67 - 3
46	67 - 4
47	62 - 3
48	25 - 1
49	35 - 3
50	98 - 2
51	61 - 2
52	67 - 2
53	66 - 2
54	12 - 5
55	12 - 6; 13 - 1
56	12 - 4
57	12 - 2,3; 13 - 2
58	39 - 2
59	22 - 1
60	22 - 2
61	22 - 3

62	98 - 1
63	56 - 3
64	58 - 3; 59 - 1
65	58 - 2
66	56 - 1
67	56 - 5
68	58 - 1
69	21 - 5
70	7 - 1
71	5 - 4
72	36 - 3
73	36 - 2
74	20 - 4
75	73 - 5
76	73 - 4
77	15 - 1
78	15 - 2
79	14 - 1
80	14 - 2
81	100 - 3
82	7 - 2
83	49 - 1
84	16 - 1
85	17 - 1
86	14 - 3
87	15 - 3
88	60 - 2
89	36 - 1
90	39 - 3
91	73 - 2
92	6 - 1
93	6 - 2, 3
94	100 - 2
95	100 - 1

96	74 - 1
97	74 - 2
98	40 - 2
99	40 - 3
100	62 - 2
101	52 - 2
102	61 - 1
103	35 - 2
104	35 - 1
105	48 - 2
106	48 - 3
107	48 - 1
108	6 - 5
109	6 - 6
110	62 - 4
111	10 - 3
112	59 - 3
113	82 - 2
114	88 - 4
115	85 - 4
116	81 - 2
117	24 - 4
118	80 - 6
119	88 - 3
120	38 - 4
121	84 - 6
122	82 - 1
123	77 - 5
124	84 - 7
125	41 - 4
126	21 - 7

127	85 - 2
128	64 - 5
129	64 - 3
130	84 - 1
131	84 - 2, 3
132	76 - 5; 79 - 1
133	41 - 3
134	83 - 2
135	76 - 1, 2
136	76 - 4
137	80 - 4
138	85 - 3
139	84 - 5
140	76 - 3
141	64 - 4
142	70 - 3
143	82 - 8
144	83 - 1
145	88 - 5
146	85 - 1
147	82 - 3
148	83 - 4
149	83 - 3
150	84 - 4
151	64 - 6
152	97 - 1
153	25 - 4
154	94 - 6
155	32 - 2
156	87 - 3
157	63 - 4
158	63 - 3

159	24 - 5
160	78 - 1
161	78 - 2
162	26 - 1
163	33 - 1
164	11 - 4
165	11 - 3
166	75 - 4
167	26 - 2
168	23 - 2
169	87 - 1
170	89 - 1
171	77 - 3
172	28 - 2
173	27 - 1
174	27 - 2
175	93 - 3
176	95 - 3
177	28 - 1
178	29 - 2
179	34 - 2
180	34 - 1
181	95 - 4
182	89 - 4
183	97 - 4
184	11 - 2
185	29 - 1
186	94 - 2, 1
187	75 - 3
188	77 - 4
189	25 - 3
190	77 - 2
191	82 - 5

192	81 - 5
193	82 - 6
194	82 - 7
195	80 - 3
196	32 - 1
197	95 - 1
198	95 - 2
199	97 - 3
200	96 - 4
201	97 - 2
202	90 - 3
203	93 - 1
204	93 - 2
205	89 - 3
206	94 - 5
207	88 - 1
208	87 - 4
209	92 - 3
210	92 - 2, 1
211	95 - 5
212	89 - 2
213	95 - 7, 6
214	96 - 2
215	94 - 4
216	96 - 3
217	94 - 3
218	96 - 1
219	90 - 1
220	87 - 2
221	29 - 3
222	31 - 2
223	25 - 5
224	93 - 4
225	18 - 1

226	31 - 1
227	90 - 2
228	91 - 2
229	91 - 1
230	91 - 5
231	91 - 3
232	88 - 2
233	93 - 5
234	77 - 1; 79 - 2
235	83 - 5
236	83 - 6
237	83 - 7
238	80 - 1
239	80 - 2
240	81 - 6
241	81 - 7
242	86 - 2
243	81 - 1
244	37 - 1
245	86 - 3
246	37 - 2
247	80 - 5
248	89 - 5
249	33 - 2
250	33 - 3
251	86 - 1
252	70 - 2
253	92 - 5
254	90 - 4
255	92 - 4
256	4 - 3
257	2 - 2,3; 4 - 2
258	3 - 3
259	3 - 1

260	5 - 1
261	4 - 1
262	3 - 2
263	3 - 4

Appendix V. Transcription Numbers of Songs Arranged According to Field-Numbers.

Orig. No.	Trans. No.
2 - 2	257
3	257
3 - 1	259
2	262
3	258
4	263
4 - 1	261
2	257
3	256
5 - 1	260
4	71
6 - 1	92
2	93
3	93
5	108
6	109
7 - 1	70
2	82
3	14
8 - 1	14
2	15
3	33
4	33
10 - 1	34
2	17

3	111
11 - 2	184
3	165
4	164
12 - 2	57
3	57
4	56
5	54
6	55
13 - 1	55
2	57
14 - 1	79
2	80
3	86
15 - 1	77
2	78
3	87
16	84
17	85
18	225
19 - 1	6
2	4
3	5
4	2
20 - 2	7
3	8
4	74

21 - 5	69
7	126
22 - 1	59
2	60
3	61
23 - 2	168
24 - 4	117
5	159
25 - 1	48
3	189
4	153
5	223
26 - 1	162
2	167
27 - 1	173
2	174
28 - 1	177
2	172
29 - 1	185
2	178
3	221
31 - 1	226
2	222
32 - 1	196
2	155

33 - 1	163
2	249
3	250
34 - 1	180
2	179
35 - 1	104
2	103
3	49
36 - 1	89
2	73
3	72
37 - 1	244
2	246
38 - 1	44
2	43
4	120
39 - 1	1
2	58
3	90
40 - 2	98
3	99
41 - 3	133
4	125
48 - 1	107
2	105
3	106
49 - 1	83

50 - 1	10
2	38
51 - 2	40
52 - 2	101
53 - 2	3
4	20

54 - 2	42
55 - 2	37
56 - 1	66
3	63
4	36
5	67
58 - 1	68
2	65
3	64
59 - 1	64
2	30
3	112
60 - 1	16
2	88
61 - 1	102
2	51
3	41
62 - 1	18
2	100
3	47
4	110
63 - 3	158
4	157
64 - 1	35
3	129
4	141

5	128
6	151
65 - 1	28
3	21
66 - 2	53
67 - 2	52
3	45
4	46
68 - 1	29
2	31
69 - 1	25
2	24
3	23
70 - 2	252
3	142
71 - 1	22
2	27
3	19
72 - 1	26
2	32
73 - 2	91
4	76
5	75
74 - 1	96
2	97
75 - 1	9

2	13
3	187
4	166
76 - 1	135
2	135
3	140
4	136
5	132
77 - 1	234
2	190
3	171
4	188
5	123
78 - 1	160
2	161
79 - 1	132
2	234
80 - 1	238
2	239
3	195
4	137
5	247
6	118
81 - 1	243
2	116
5	192
6	240
7	241
82 - 1	122
2	113

3	147
5	191
6	193
7	194
8	143
83 - 1	144
2	134
3	149
4	148
5	235
6	236
7	237
84 - 1	130
2	131
3	131
4	150
5	139
6	121
7	124
85 - 1	146
2	127
3	138
4	115
86 - 1	251
2	242
3	245
87 - 1	169
2	220
3	156
4	208
88 - 1	207

2	232
3	119
4	114
5	145
89 - 1	170
2	212
3	205
4	182
5	248
90 - 1	219
2	227
3	202
4	254
91 - 1	229
2	228
3	231
5	230
92 - 2	210
3	209
4	255
5	253

93 - 1	203
2	204
3	175
4	224
5	233
94 - 1	186
2	186
3	217
4	215
5	206
6	154
95 - 1	197
95 - 2	198
3	176
4	181
5	211
6	213
7	213
96 - 1	218
2	214
3	216
4	200
97 - 1	152
2	201
97 - 3	199
4	183
98 - 1	62
2	50

3	39
99 - 1	11
2	12
100 - 1	95
2	94
3	81

Appendix VI. Population of Suriname by Racial Type and Religious Affilation.[1]

A. Population of Paramaribo according to place of origin. (From statistics of the Netherlands Colonial Office, 1930-1931).

	for 1929 Male	Female	for 1930 Male	Female
Europeans (born in Holland)	447	264	451	268
Europeans (born elsewhere)	334	221	336	228
Natives of Suriname[2]	15 786	21 790	15 824	21 966
Netherlands East Indies	357	354	365	405
British Indians	2 107	1 978	2 113	2 013
Chinese	976	217	979	226
Others	1 145	977	1 151	993
Total	21 152	25 801	21 219	26 099
Combined Totals	46 953		47 318	

B. Population of the Colony of Suriname according to racial type and religion. (Prepared by the Royal Netherlands Colonial Institute for the Colonial Exposition, Paris, 1931.)

1. Population of Suriname according to type (estimated)

British Indians	34 000
Javanese	30 000
Chinese	1 500
Caribs and other American Indians	2 500
Bush-Negroes	18 000

1 These data were made available through the kindness of Jhr. L.C. van Panhuys. They are given here to document the discussion at the beginning of Part I of this work.

2 Although no details of the manner in which this classification was made are available, it is presumed that the figures under this heading represent the citizens of Paramaribo who are entirely or partially of Negro blood. In view of the discussion on pp. 16-23 above, their disparity in sex ratio is to be remarked.

Europeans (Whites, and mixtures between Whites and the above types)	4 000
Creoles of Suriname (city Negroes, Mulattoes, and other natives of Suriname, more or less colored, not belonging to one of the above groups)	60 000

2. Population of Suriname according to religion (estimated)

Christians	
Catholics	27 000
Protestants	45 000
Other	1 000
Mohammedans	36 000
Hindoos	24 000
Jews	500
Pagans	16 000

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NOTE: In the body of the text, references are made by author's last name only. Where more than one work of a given author is cited, these are quoted by name and number, as 'Lederbogen (II)'. In order to distinguish titles employed in analysing correspondences for the tales, and to make the list of titles more useful to folk-lorists, the number of tales found in such works is indicated.

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