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NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE BA-YAKA

With supplementary note to "Notes on the ethnography of the bambala," vol. xxxv, p. 398. + with plates iv and v.

Emil Torday and T. A. Joyce

THE Ba-Yaka are a Bantu people inhabiting a somewhat ill-defined territory between the rivers Kwango and Inzia in the Kasai district of the Congo Free State. The men are rather short, but generally well built and good-looking, and some of the women are even pretty.

Apart from the fact that the tribes inhabiting this region are practically unknown, considerable interest attaches to the Ba-Yaka as a people who appear to be distinctly progressive. Situated to the south and south-west of the Ba-Mbala,¹ they are gradually encroaching upon the territory of the latter, whose exceedingly loose system of social organisation, under a number of practically independent village chiefs, renders them incapable of anything like organised resistance. Moreover they are industrious, and skill in handicraft is respected, and since they exhibit no dislike to Europeans it is possible that they may have a future before them. In point of numbers they appear to be slowly increasing, and while extending northward they are retaining their old territory.

The present paper deals with the most north-easterly branch of the people the advance-guard of the movement in this direction; which movement, according to the native account, was the result of a war between rival chiefs.

From their culture, which exhibits most of the characteristics distinctive of the primitive West African type, they seem to be connected with the tribes on their southern borders; but until more is known of the population of this quarter of Africa the question of racial affinities must be left in abeyance.

¹ See Torday and Joyce, Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol xxxv, pp. 398–426, with map.

Their social organisation is interesting and in many points purely patriarchal; agricultural produce belongs to the head of the family (TRADE AND PROPERTY); the village chief is responsible for the payment of fines incurred by his subjects (MORALITY AND JUSTICE), and, when a woman is given in marriage, receives a goat from her father. The marriage price is paid to the father of the woman; and the death of a wife without having given birth to a daughter is considered so much to the detriment of the husband that the money he paid for her is refunded (SOCIAL ORGANISATION).

At the same time, the tie between a woman and her own village is by no means dissolved by marriage; on the birth of her child, her chief must make a present to her husband, and the child itself, as soon as it can walk, is sent to its mother's village to which it legally belongs and from which the father cannot even purchase it (SOCIAL ORGANISATION).

Nevertheless, a man's heir is his eldest brother, and not, as might be expected under the circumstances, his sister's son, who only becomes his heir in default of brothers (TRADE AND PROPERTY). Moreover, in connection with certain food tabus a mysterious connection appears to exist between a man and his son until the latter arrives at puberty. (FOOD)

Thus the social system is an interesting mixture, patriarchal in the main, but exhibiting peculiarities which may be survivals of an early matriarchal organisation. Certain facts almost point to a system of clanship; it is seen that the children belong to the "village" of the mother, and it further appears that the villages are small and disposed in groups, the units of the group being situated so close one to the other that it is difficult for a traveller to tell where one begins and the other ends (HABITATIONS); besides this the inhabitants of the same "village" regard each other as akin, and admit none save blood-relations as members. It may be that the term "village" should be applied to the whole local group, and that the "village" chiefs should more properly be termed clan chiefs.

Another point worthy of notice is the following: Certain of the rules governing Ba-Yaka society are instrumental in securing national purity. In the first place the Ba-Yaka, though gradually extending their territory, do not mingle with the tribes they supplant; they either enslave them or drive them out. Furthermore a free man is not only restricted in his choice of a wife to women of his own class, but is not

permitted by public opinion to keep slave concubines (SOCIAL ORGANISATION). The barrier between slave and freeman is extremely well-defined, and no slave can obtain freedom except in the very rare case of his master dying without heirs. (TRADE AND PROPERTY)

Thus the Ba-Yaka are ostensibly a people who must have preserved their racial purity, at any rate for some time and are, consequently, all the more worthy of study.

Though the Ba-Yaka are in close touch with the Ba-Mbala, they seem to resemble them but slightly except in so far as the culture of both tribes is of the primitive West African type. It is true that they confess to have received their knowledge of iron working from their northern neighbours (CRAFTS), but they seem indebted to them for very little else. It may be useful to sum up the chief points in which the two differ:

Ba-Yaka / Ba-Mbala

Circumcision practised / No circumcision

Scars and tattooing exceptional

/ Scars and tattooing practically universal.

Contracted burial / Extended burial

Government by feudal chiefs

/ Government by independent petty chiefs

Inheritance by eldest brother / Inheritance by sister's son

No slave concubines / Slave concubines

Virginity of bride essential / Virginity of bride unessential

Cannibalism abhorred / Cannibalism of daily occurrence

Slaves treated with cruelty / Slaves treated with kindness

Drunkenness condemned / Drunkenness admired

Cripples preserved and cared for / Cripples buried alive

Wars of occupation / No wars of occupation

In collecting the following details concerning the Ba-Yaka, use was made of the African questionnaire issued by the Ethnographical Department of the British Museum.

Ornaments and clothing

The head is usually shaved so as to leave three ridges of hair running longitudinally from front to back; these are plaited, and anointed liberally with oil and soot. From the centre of the forehead, along the temples, and down behind each ear, runs a tress of hair plaited with grass. The beard is allowed to grow, but the moustache is shaved. The Ba-Yaka paint their chests red with powdered *Tukula*-wood, their object being, confessedly, to increase beauty; the dead are similarly painted before burial. As a general rule, neither scarification nor tattooing is practised, though exceptional cases are found.

The teeth (incisors) are sometimes knocked out, or cut to a V-shaped point; this operation, which is supposed to improve the appearance, must not be performed in the village, but the patient must retire into the bush. Headache and swollen mouth often supervene, sometimes lasting for weeks. Women tie down the breasts in order to lengthen them. Necklets of European beads and monkey-teeth, large anklets of brass, and a large number of brass and copper armlets are worn; the last cannot be removed without bending them. The ornaments of all classes are the same, with the exception that a man who has killed an enemy wears an iron bracelet. At dances women ornament their hair with beads, and men fasten skins to the front of their girdles.

The chief garment is a loincloth of palm-fibre (*Pussu*), supported by a straw girdle, and made in one piece; it is often dyed with *Tukula*-wood, and the border is turned up and sewn with native-made iron needles and palm-fibre thread. As with the Ba-Mbala, and also the Ba-Luba, the cloth passes below the buttocks at the back, leaving them bare. A covering for the head, consisting of a piece of cloth, is often worn by old men only. As a protection against rain, a goatskin is worn, covering the head and falling down the back.

Some idea of the native ideal of beauty can be formed from the fact that in the case of their great fetish the nose, cheek-bones and chin are greatly exaggerated.

Food

Almost any flesh (except that of dogs), fish, locusts, worms etc., are eaten by the Ba-Yaka, though fowls and eggs, as is commonly the

case among tribes of this neighbourhood, or indeed any food cooked in a pot which has been previously used to cook a fowl, are forbidden to women (for the results supposed to follow the breaking of this tabu see; under RELIGION) Even men must observe certain restrictions with regard to the eating of fowls; if the bird is a hen it may be shared by several, but a cock must be eaten by one man alone or illness results; he may however give some to his son if not yet circumcised. This fact is particularly interesting since it seems to show that a male child before circumcision is not supposed to possess an individuality apart from the father, although it is regarded as belonging to the village of the mother (see SOCIAL LIFE). Blood is eaten cooked, but milk is not used as food. Bread is made from manioc. Palm-oil is found, but it is very rare; red and black pepper are used as spices. Salt is considered a stimulant; two kinds are found, the first, of native manufacture, is prepared from the ashes of water-plants, and is called *Mokindu*, the second is imported, and is termed *Mongwa*; it is preferred in crystalline form. They know nothing of imported salt beyond the fact that "it is made by the white man." Salt water is also drunk. Geophagy is unknown. All food is cooked, except in times of famine, when manioc is eaten raw. The preservation of meat is not understood. Palm-wine is found, and is called *Makana*, *Pussu*, *Sende*, *Samba*, according to the species of palm from which it is made. The chief meals are taken in the morning and evening; but the natives often eat during the day; leaves are used as platters; the host drinks first and the guest after him; otherwise no ceremonies are observed and no implements used.

Cannibalism is never found, and is regarded as something quite abhorrent.

Tobacco is used, when green, as snuff, or, when dried, for smoking; if there is no tobacco, dry leaves are smoked instead. The ordinary pattern of pipe consists of a clay bowl with a bamboo stem; it is passed from hand to hand, and the smoke is inhaled in great quantities; no hemp-smoking is found among the Ba-Yaka.

Hunting takes place in the dry season, when the villages combine and the game is driven by setting fire to the grass; the spoil belongs to the slayer, but, as a matter of fact, all partake of it. The hunting-grounds are private property, and the owner receives a leg of each head of game. No superstitious ceremonies appear to be observed in connection with hunting. As for the game, antelopes are rare, and rats

are "hunted" at all times and by everyone. The chief weapon is the bow; the arrows have points of tough wood hardened in the fire (in war iron points are used: see WAR). These points are barbed and fastened to a palm-rib shaft by means of gum and lashings, the shafts are nocked and feathered; the feathers being fastened by gum and binding. One pattern of arrow possesses four points (Plate V, Figs. 1 and 3). Fish are caught by means of baskets (Plate V, Fig. 4), and are eaten fresh, but the Ba-Yaka are very poor fishermen. No poison is used in fishing.

Fire is obtained by means of flint and steel, the latter imported; the tinder is obtained from the palm-tree; there seem to be no particular superstitions connected with fire.

Agriculture

The cultivation of the soil is carried out by women, whose sole implement is the hoe. Manioc, maize, ground-nuts and tobacco are the crops grown; sowing takes place in the rainy season, and the same ground is used for several years in succession. The produce belongs to the head of the family; fetishes are placed in the plantations to guard them from the depredations of thieves.

Habitations

The huts are rectangular, constructed of straw, and are divided into two compartments; the doorway, which is about 175 cm. high, reaches down to the ground (and therefore differs widely from the peculiar doorway of the Ba-Mbala huts),² but there is a permanent "threshold" of wooden blocks 50 cm. high fixed across the entrance. The door is made of palm-leaf ribs fastened together by means of wooden pegs, and slides between two wooden posts fixed to support it. In every hut there is a corner where the house-fetish is put, and there weapons and cloth are stored in order that they may be protected from thieves. The huts of a village are scattered and not arranged in any order, though they are usually, but not always, built with the major axis running

² Torday and Joyce, loc. cit., p. 407.

north-south; the door may face in either direction. The villages themselves are small, often consisting of not more than two or three huts, they are usually built in groups so close that it is difficult for a traveller to tell where one ends and the next begins. The village is swept each morning by the chief, but the general work of scavenging is performed by the pigs and dogs. Every married woman has a separate hut where she lives with her children, and the husband moves from one to the other; unmarried men live together, several in a hut. Sometimes in front of a hut is seen a semicircle of sticks planted in the ground and connected by strings from which other strings are hanging. This is an indication that a son of the owner has recently been circumcised and is living in the bush until his wound has healed. Hut-building is not accompanied by any ceremonies. Cattle live in a semi-wild state, and have no accommodation prepared for them.

Crafts

The weaving of palm-cloth is performed by men; string is made of twisted *Pussu*; skins are simply dried.

Baskets are made of straw, a small pattern, rather like a diminutive case-bottle with a cylindrical cover, being used to contain the small shells, *Olivella nana* (*Djimbu*), which are employed as currency (Plate V, Fig. 2).

Pottery is made by women, and, since clay is rare, the material consists mainly of old sherds powdered; it is neither painted nor glazed. When a man dies, all his pots are broken and left on his grave.

Gourds are used as substitutes for pots.

Wooden utensils are also used, some of the drinking vessels being particularly graceful (Plate IV, Fig. 2). The carving of wooden fetishes is only practised by a very few who are considered magicians.

Metallurgy, according to their own account, they have learnt from the Ba-Mbala, who, in their turn, claim to have received the art from the Ba-Huana still further north. Smelting, however, is unknown. In working iron the double bellows is used; each air-chamber, with the tube which leads from it, is made from a separate block of wood, and the expulsion of the air is effected by manipulating a skin membrane. The extremities of the tubes rest in a common clay nozzle, through which the blast is directed into the charcoal fire. The smiths do not

appear to form a particular caste, but the trade is hereditary. Labour is not regarded as degrading, and skill in handicraft is respected. No stone implements are found, and the Ba-Yaka do not appear to have heard of them.

Trade and property

The chief currency is the small shell, *djimbu* (*Olivella nana*), which is the usual medium of exchange throughout this region of Africa. Comparative values are as follows: a male slave = 30,000 *djimbu*; a female slave = 20,000; a goat = 2,000; a hoe blade = 300; a fowl = 100.³ The chief article of export is rubber, and the principal import cattle; the trading is carried on by men, except in the case of eatables, which are sold by women. Markets for the sale of the latter are held every fourth day, but are not important. In the case of debt, the wares of traders belonging to the same tribe as the defaulter are liable to be seized.

The only individuals who are capable of possessing property are free adult males: joint ownership is unknown. Plantation produce belongs to the head of the family; there is no property in water, either as regards the individual or community. A debtor, however small the amount he owes, can be seized as a slave, and a man's debts are inherited by his heir, even if there is no property out of which they can be discharged.

Property, including wives and slaves, cannot be bequeathed by will, but is inherited, in the first instance, by the eldest brother, in default, by the eldest son of the eldest sister. If the deceased leaves no heir, his wives and goods pass into the possession of one of his slaves, who thus becomes a free man. Women cannot inherit.

Government

The Ba-Yaka are ruled by one great chief called Muri Kongo, who considers them all his slaves; on entering his presence all prostrate

³ It is interesting to compare these prices with those current among the Ba-Mbala. Among the latter a male slave = 10,000 *djimbu*, a female slave = 15,000–20,000, a goat = 800, a hoe-blade = 300, a fowl = 100. (Torday and Joyce, loc. cit., p. 408.)

themselves and beat their breasts. His power is absolute, and he is not assisted in the work of government by a council, though each village is administered by a petty chief, who is succeeded by his heir. The taxes due to the supreme chief are collected by the great man in person, who goes the round of the villages. Succession to the "crown" follows the same rules as inheritance; women cannot succeed, but minors can, though in the latter case the father, or even the mother, acts as guardian.

Social organisation

Kinship – A child belongs to the village of his maternal uncle; no others save blood relations are admitted as members of the village community; if a mllan or woman begs to be received, or even asks for food, he or she is immediately seized and sold as a slave, and the proceeds divided amongst the members of the village. The inhabitants of a village regard themselves as akin; this and the preceding facts, together with the statement that "villages" lie so close together that it is difficult to distinguish one from another, almost point to a system of clanship within the local group. Relationship on the female side is considered closer than that on the male side.

Marriage is the result of purchase, and the price, usually 10,000 *djimbu*, is paid to the father of the bride, who, however, must present his chief with a goat. The woman follows her husband, who can claim absolute power over her. Polygyny is the general rule, and the number of wives possessed by one individual is conditioned solely by the length of his purse; monogamy, still more celibacy, is merely the result of slender resources. Polyandry is unknown, but in cases where no child results from the union a man will introduce his brother to his wife; this takes place in the greatest secrecy. All the wives have equal rights, and each lives in a separate hut with her young children. All marriage, or even cohabitation, must be between members of the same class, that is to say, a free man may only marry a free woman, and a slave man a slave woman. Marriage between children of the same mother is prohibited; between children of the same father by different mothers it occurs, but is considered unseemly; a man cannot marry one of his father's wives.

Intercourse takes place immediately after the purchase, and virginity on the part of the woman is considered essential, in fact, if she is found not to be a virgin she can be repudiated. The consent of the woman is regarded as absolutely necessary. A man can divorce his wife at will, and, unless she has been guilty of adultery, she may marry again, but if she does her second husband must pay compensation to the first. The latter practice affords another point of difference with the Ba-Mbala, among whom divorces are not only prohibited from marrying again, but are not even allowed to have intercourse with a man. If the woman dies before giving birth to a girl, the marriage-price is repaid. Widows return to their families, but if they remarry the price must be paid to the heir of the first husband. There is no lending of wives.

Children – At the birth of a child the mother must remain in the hut until the umbilical cord has dried off; then the father kills a fowl and sprinkles some of the blood on the house-god; the fowl is afterwards eaten. The chief of the woman's village, if the child is a boy, presents the husband with ten fowls, if it is a girl with twenty fowls, and as soon as it can walk it is sent to his village, to which it legally belongs, and from which the father cannot even purchase it. The father may neither kill his child nor sell it as a slave, and, as a matter of fact, men seem to be very fond of their children, indeed, in most villages the care of the children seems to be undertaken by the men. As long as a child is "in arms" (about a year), both it and the father must abstain from washing.

Initiation – Boys are initiated by an old woman, girls by an old man; both these old people must be past the period of fertility. The boys are circumcised at puberty, the operator being an old man. The part removed is put on the great fetish, and the name of the patient is changed; his old name must not be used again, or it is supposed that he would become sterile. After circumcision the boys are considered unclean, and are secluded in the bush until their wounds have healed. During this time they wear grass skirts, do no work and may not enter a village. In front of the house of each a row of stakes is driven into the ground and these are connected by strings from which hang strips of *pussu*. The reason given for circumcision, which is called *mushishi*, is that the boys may become "strong."

Slavery is universal, and the slaves form about 50 per cent of the total population; they receive very little consideration, are regarded as

so many cattle, and are often ill-treated. In this respect the Ba-Yaka form a striking contrast with their northern neighbours the Ba-Mbala, among whom the slaves seem the most contented section of the population.⁴ A slave can only marry a slave; more than this, a free man would scorn to take a slave woman as concubine; the child of a slave is equally a slave, and belongs to the owner of the mother. Besides those born to slavery, debtors and prisoners of war are enslaved; slaves (except in the case of the owner dying without heir mentioned above) cannot possess property, and therefore have no chance of redeeming themselves; the owner is responsible for the debts of his slaves.

Psychology

Children learn simply by imitating their elders; when young, they are precocious, but, as is usually the case among negroes, after puberty their mental powers seem incapable of further improvement. Their memory is feeble, and they are not good at arithmetic.⁵ The numerals are as follows:

1. Mo. – 2. Vil. – 3. Tat. – 4. Ia. – 5. Tan. – 6. Syamon. – 7. Nitseme. – 8. Nan. – 9. Voa. – 10. Kum. – 11. Kuminamo. – 100. Kama. – 1,000. Funda. – 10,000. Tsuku.

Small sums are reckoned on the fingers, larger amounts by means of small sticks.

Each man works for himself, labour is not regarded as in any way degrading, and skill in handicraft is respected.

They are very good trackers, and cases of idiocy or insanity do not appear to occur.⁶

The question of time may be mentioned here; the year has two seasons, the dry, *Kishua*, and the rainy, *Vula*, and is composed of lunar months, *Gondo*, each consisting of weeks of four days; the last-named bear the following names: *Bujuka*, *Tek*, *Gun*, *Pungu* (market

⁴ Torday and Joyce, loc. cit., p. 411.

⁵ "I have found that they can generally add up to ten, but subtraction seems beyond them."

⁶ "I have seen no idiots or madmen."

day). The time of day is reckoned from the position of the sun. The span between the out-stretched arms is the chief unit of measurement.

Amusements

Music – It is difficult to write exhaustively of their music, since they do not sing when marching with a European; but they are fond of music and sing well in unison. Their voices are mainly soprano and tenor, but good baritones and basses are found; they use the chest voice. Singing is usually unaccompanied, but sometimes the friction-drum (German *reibtrommel*) (Plate IV, Fig. 3) is played. This consists of a wooden cylinder, one end of which is closed by means of a membrane of hide from which the hair has been removed. This membrane is fastened to the body of the instrument by means of small wooden pegs, and through the centre is passed a stick, secured by two transverse wooden pins, one on each side of the membrane, about 10 cm. apart. A handful of wet leaves is taken in the hand, and slid up and down the stick, which is grasped firmly inside the cylinder, producing a note like that of a double-bass. It is interesting to find this rather specialised form of instrument, which has so limited a distribution in Africa, among a people as primitive as the Ba-Yaka. Wooden gongs are used for signalling, and also for accompanying the dances, which are not, however, performed in the presence of strangers. Their airs are usually solemn.

Gambling – The Ba-Yaka appear to be particularly addicted to this form of pastime,⁷ for which they use a basket and a number of small (? wooden) discs, plano-convex in shape. If the discs are thrown so that an uneven number fall with the flat side upwards, the thrower wins. The natives get very excited during the game, and scream and shout, but never seem to quarrel. Some indulge in little "tricks," by which they think they can secure good luck for themselves, such as passing the arm rapidly under the falling discs when their adversaries throw; many shout insults at the discs when they lose.

Some chiefs forbid gambling in their villages; an indication of such a prohibition is afforded by a small palm-leaf fastened to a tree in the middle of the village.

⁷ "They are the worst gamblers I ever met."

Morality and justice

Wrongs against property (including wives) and life are punishable crimes; adultery is a personal injury. Cheating, marriage with a sister by the same father, ill-treatment of slaves, are visited merely with public reprobation. In these matters no distinction is made between tribesmen and aliens. Theft committed in the house is supposed to be punished by the family god, while the plantations are under the care of special fetishes. Hospitality, limited to shelter, is accorded to every one. Lying is considered a wrong to the person to whom the lie is told, and cowardice meets with public disapproval, but nothing more.

Sexual intercourse is forbidden to the unmarried; should it occur, the man must pay a fine to the father of the girl, the latter is not punished, but it must be remembered that great stress is laid upon the virginity of a bride. Masturbation, often practised in society, is common among boys, but paederasty, bestiality, and similar vices are unknown.

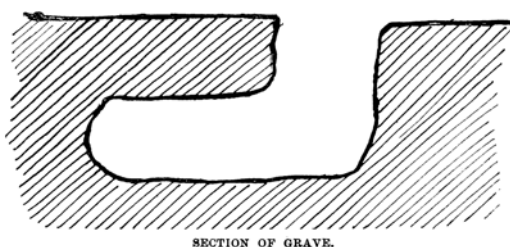
Drunkenness, which seems to occur only among men, is considered disgraceful, and a drunkard who makes himself objectionable runs the risk of a good thrashing.

Justice is administered by assemblies, called *Milonga*, in which all the neighbouring villages take part, and the decision of the case lies with the spectators.⁸ Punishment consists in fines, in fact the only crime which does not admit of compensation is treason against the high chief, this is punishable with death; even treason against the petty chief can be compensated by payment. Homicide in self-defence is no crime; in cases of murder, the fine is paid to the heir of the deceased; blood-revenge is also found, the right of vengeance lying with the heir (see PROPERTY); drunkenness is not admitted as an excuse. In cases of accidental homicide, the fine is less than for murder. Magicians are exempt from justice and cannot be fined, but an offence against a magician is heavily punished, and the fine is paid to the fetish (and, of course, appropriated by the magician). There is no right of pardon, and chiefs are responsible for the payment of fines incurred by their subjects. Every crime is a personal offence except murder, which is regarded as an offence against the whole tribe, in spite of the fact that the right of revenge attaches to an individual.

⁸ Compare Torday and Joyce, loc. cit., p. 414.

Poison ordeal

The poison ordeal, which as an institution is characteristic of West African culture, is found also among the Ba-Yaka; though it is not so frequent as among the Ba-Mba]a.



Though death otherwise than by violence is recognised as "natural " by the natives, certain cases, invariably where a chief is concerned, are referred to the malign influence of the evil spirit *Moloki* (RELIGION), acting through the agency of some old man or woman whom he is supposed to have possessed. The individual suspected is forthwith subjected to the poison ordeal. The poison administered, called *Putu*, consists of the bark of *Erythrophloeum guiniense*; if it causes vomiting on the part of the accused, he is considered innocent of the charge, but if the dose proves fatal, or if it has no effect, his guilt is regarded as established. In the last case a grave of a peculiar pattern is dug for him; he then sits down hard by and eats and drinks as much as he wishes, after which he enters the grave, usually of his own accord, and is buried alive.

WAR

Every adult (i. e. circumcised) male is a warrior, and the men of each village are led by their petty chief; the women hide. When an expedition is on foot the warriors are summoned by the beating of a gong and the following ceremony takes place: the wife of the chief, liberally adorned with red paint, stands in the middle of the village with her legs wide apart; and each man must shoot an arrow between them. If the arrow passes through, the omen is good, but if it falls to the ground between her feet the omen is bad, and the unsuccessful

marksman must remain at home. In this way a coward can always avoid military service. The fact that the Ba-Yaka have won by conquest the territory which they now hold would seem to show that they are, on the whole, courageous, but there are many cowards among them, who slink away during a fight. The old men are said to be the bravest.

Practically the only weapons used are the bow and arrow, though a few swords have been obtained from other tribes; the bow is made from a flat piece of *Mopelenge* wood (a kind of maple), about 150 cm. long, and from 5 to 10 cm. broad, tapering to about 1 cm. at the ends; the cord is of bamboo. The arrows have iron socketed heads and are nocked and feathered (for hunting, arrows with wooden points are used: see FOOD). At short distances (up to 30 feet), they shoot with great accuracy, but at longer ranges they are not very successful. Women do not use weapons. Shields are not found. A fight is usually prefaced by mutual objurgation, but ambushes and night attacks on villages are common, and, indeed, form an essential part of native tactics; consequently in war-time sentries are posted in the grass around a village.

Prisoners are sold as slaves, and, if wounded, are healed first; however, the Ba-Yaka do not amalgamate with the tribes they conquer, but drive them from the country. If a man on the Ba-Yaka side is killed, the arrow which caused his death must not be broken; it is cut out and stuck in the centre of the roof of his brother's hut.

Alliances are frequently contracted between chiefs, and peace is made in the following manner: the chiefs of the two tribes meet and eat a cake made of flour in which have been put some of their nail-parings; a fowl is then killed, wrapped in leaves and buried. It is believed that he who breaks the truce will die.

Wars are frequent, and arise principally from charges of theft or adultery, etc., but they do not seem to have any appreciable effect upon the increase of the population.

Sickness, death and burial

In cases of sickness a charm, usually consisting of a goat's bone, is obtained from the magician and bound to the diseased part. Cupping is practised by means of a portion of a gourd from which the air is

exhausted by suction through a small hole, and the latter is closed with a plug of wax. The gourd is usually applied over small incisions made immediately in front of the ear, and is allowed to operate for half-an-hour at a time. They are very skilful in removing arrows from wounds.⁹ 9

Elephantiasis appears to be unknown; they are acquainted, however, with syphilis, though it does not exist among them; they call it the "disease of the Ba-Mbala." They say that they feel the heart by means of the pulse. Strangely enough the blind are regarded as objects of pity, while the deaf are ridiculed.

Natural death by illness is accepted as a fact, though illness is sometimes attributed to witchcraft. (See POISON ORDEAL) Relatives and friends surround the dying man, but only the nearest relations attend the funeral. The corpse is painted red, and arranged in a sitting posture with the knees under the chin and the hands clasped round the shins; it is placed in this position in the grave, and food (fowls, palm-wine, etc.) is laid at its side; the earth is then filled in, and a small straw shelter erected on the grave. The clothes of the dead are buried with him, and all his pots are broken and the fragments thrown on the grave. No weapons must be buried with the dead; if by any chance this should occur, the ghost of the deceased visits the heir three nights in succession, and, on the fourth night, kills him. The same form of burial is adopted for both sexes and all ranks, with the exception of persons supposed to be possessed by the evil spirit *Moloki*. (See RELIGION) There is no exhumation of the corpse. The deceased is lamented by his wives and sisters; if he is a chief, by all the women of the village.

The widows, whilst in mourning, are painted red and are not allowed by custom to plait their hair.

Religion

The soul is called *Doshi*; it leaves the body at death and visits the living in dreams. It inspires them with evil thoughts, and reproaches

⁹ "I cannot omit to mention in this connection an almost incredible piece of surgery, to which, nevertheless, a whole village bore witness; it was said that a certain man, who was pointed out to me, had had an artery severed by an arrow, and that an old man had tied it with fine copper wire."

them if the grave is neglected; it is even supposed to cause the death of the heir if a weapon has by any chance been deposited in the grave as stated in the preceding section. The soul of a man who has been in his lifetime the fortunate possessor of many fetishes is transferred to the body of a large animal. A man who has been killed in battle is supposed to send his soul to avenge his death on the person of the man who killed him; the latter, however, can escape the vengeance of the dead by wearing the red tail-feathers of the parrot in his hair, and painting his forehead red. Big animals have souls but inanimate objects have none. Souls fly about in the air.

The Ba-Yaka believe in the existence of a malign spirit called, as among the Ba-Mbala, *Moloki*; and in the night it is a common thing to hear natives running about and shouting insults to *Moloki*, who has made them ill or caused the death of a relation. This *Moloki* is supposed often to possess some old man or woman, who is then regarded as the cause of sickness or death and is compelled to submit to the poison ordeal. (See POISON ORDEAL) The death of a chief is always attributed to *Moloki*.

The chief is the principal magician, but any man who possesses many fetishes with the requisite *kissi* (a magical compound of clay, etc., in which the fetish power is supposed to reside), can become one. Important fetishes are kept in a special hut, but may be seen on payment of a fee to the magician. An interesting fetish collected is the wooden figure of a badger (Plate IV, Fig. 1), which the magician uses in the following way: he takes the fetish into the bush and puts certain *kissi* into holes in its ears, sits down with his chin on his knees and awaits developments. The animal comes to life, runs to the village and steals anything which his master desires, *djimbu*, fowls, etc., and returns to him with the booty. The victims hear the thief, but can neither see nor catch it, nor can they procure the restitution of their goods or have the magician fined for the depredations of his familiar.

Human sacrifice is not found, but animals are slaughtered before the fetish, and the latter sprinkled with their blood; the animal is afterwards eaten.

The breaking of a food-tabu is believed in some cases to be visited by supernatural punishment. For instance, if a woman eats an egg she is supposed to become mad, tear off her clothes and run away into the bush. When found she is caught and fastened to the *taka*, a log with a fork at one end in which the neck of a prisoner is secured, and brought

to the magician. He knocks three times on the *taka*, and the woman faints; he then pours water on her face, and the spell is broken. If a man eats dog he is supposed to fall ill; and if more than one man partakes of a cock the result is similar.

Reproduction

Females are permitted to have intercourse at a very early age, even before menstruation; males after circumcision. During pregnancy the husband must abstain from his wife, and also during the period for which the child is suckled (about a year). Accouchements, which appear to be easy, take place in a sitting position; all the married women of the village assist. Children are suckled by the mother alone, and are very well treated; even cripples, etc., are preserved and well cared for. On the average a woman bears three children; families of more than four are rare. The kola nut is considered an aphrodisiac; no means are taken to prevent conception, and abortion is unknown.

Miscellaneous

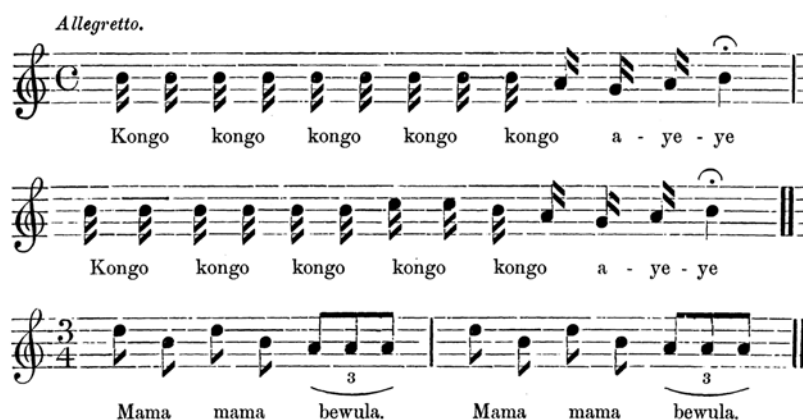
As a tribe they are not particularly cleanly; no soap or equivalent article is in use, though tooth-brushes are utilised. Male adults can swim, in dog-fashion; but there are no navigable rivers in this part of the country. In general they use no form of salutation.

Folklore

In conclusion may be appended a Ba-Yaka legend. The story is related by a single individual, the audience joining in the chorus. In explanation it should be said that the word *kongo* means "hunt," *ayeye* is merely an exclamation, and the spoken *bekelek bekelek bugumun* is supposed to imitate the sound made by falling wood.

One day, a long time ago, a monkey, in his rambles among the branches of the trees, wandered farther from his home than was his custom. At last he arrived at a place in the forest where he had never been before; and what did he see there ?

Chorus



(Spoken in a love voice very fast)

– Bekelek bekelek bugumun, bekelek bekelek bugumun, bekelek bekelek bugumun.

Home he ran and said to the other monkeys: "Oh my brothers, I have seen something horrible! I was in a part of the forest where I saw tree falling after tree, and although I looked about in every direction I could not discover what made them fall like that," "Small trees?" asked the other monkeys. "No," replied the first, "big ones, the biggest in the forest." The monkeys were greatly surprised. "Are you sure that you saw no one felling them?" "Certainly, there was no one there and the trees were falling, falling, falling."

(Chorus.)

The monkeys, unable to understand how this was possible, went to see the jackal, who had the reputation of being very sly. "I'll go and see," said the jackal. So he went, and there he too saw the trees falling, falling, falling, but could discover no cause why they should fall like that. So back he went to the monkeys and said, "I could see nobody who made them do so, but I saw the trees falling, falling, falling."

(Chorus.)

Then said the jackal, "Let us go to the leopard, he might be able to discover the explanation." So they went and told their story to that cunning animal. "I'll go and see," said the leopard. So he went, and there he too saw the trees falling, falling, falling, but could discover

no cause why they should fall like that. So back he went to the monkeys and the jackal and said, "I could see nobody who made them do so, but I saw the trees falling, falling, falling."

(Chorus.)

Then said the leopard, "Let us go to the lion; that mighty animal is sure to be able to advise us." So they all went and told their story to the mighty lion. "I'll go and see," said the lion. So off he went, and saw the trees falling, falling, falling, but could not discover what made them fall like that. So back he went to the other animals, and said, "I could see nobody who made them do so, but I saw the trees falling, falling, falling."

(Chorus.)

Then said the lion, "Let us go to the wise elephant; he is the wisest of all the animals, and he will certainly be able to discover what makes the trees fall." So they went to the elephant and related their story. "I'll go and see," said the elephant. But he was no more successful than the others, and when he returned he said, "I have looked to the right, to the left, behind me, before me, but could see no one who might be the cause why all the trees were falling, falling, falling."

(Chorus.)

All the animals were very unhappy. "What shall we do," said they, "if all the forest is destroyed?" Then up spoke the cat who had just arrived, "Let me go and see what is happening, perhaps I shall be able to discover what is the matter." All the animals laughed at the cat. "What!" said they; "the sly jackal, the cunning leopard, the mighty lion, the wise elephant all have failed; do you think that you, a cat, will be successful?" "Only let me go," said the cat, "at least no harm can come of it." So off he went, and soon returned with a rat in his mouth. So the cat was the saviour of the forest, for the trees did not fall any more.

(Chorus.)

Language

A peculiarity of the Ba-Yaka appears in the intonation of their speech; they speak rather slowly and in a peculiar sing-song which renders

their nationality easily recognizable even though they may be speaking another tongue.

The language appears to possess a fairly well-defined grammar, and bears a certain resemblance to the Kongo tongue.

Below is given a short vocabulary.

VOCABULARY

Personal Appellations.

Ancestor ...	... <i>Kake.</i>	Mother ...	... <i>Mama.</i>
Brother ...	... <i>Makyani.</i>	„ -in-law ...	... <i>Buko.</i>
Chief... ..	... <i>M'pfum.</i>	Rebel ...	... <i>Yumana.</i>
Child... ..	... <i>Moane.</i>	Sister ...	... <i>Pangi.</i>
Cousin ...	... <i>Kisoni.</i>	Slave ...	... <i>Mohika.</i>
Father ...	... <i>Tata.</i>	Thief... ..	... <i>Muifi.</i>
„ -in-law ...	... <i>Buko.</i>	Uncle (maternal) ...	... <i>Gokash.</i>
Infant ...	... <i>Moana Kunda.</i>	„ (paternal) „
Magician ...	... <i>Doji.</i>	Virgin ...	... <i>Peni.</i>
Man ...	... <i>Mutu.</i>	Woman ...	... <i>Mokento.</i>
Men ...	... <i>Batu.</i>		

The Body.

Anus... ..	... <i>Moshinji.</i>	Hair (of head) ...	... <i>Gokosi.</i>
Bone ...	... <i>Kikuri.</i>	Hand ...	... <i>Mikuri.</i>
Buttock ...	... <i>Matako.</i>	Hand (hollow of the)	... <i>Banzala Kok.</i>
Calf ...	... <i>Mafunda.</i>	Head... ..	... <i>Mutwa.</i>
	... <i>Mai.</i>	Heart ...	... <i>Bundu.</i>
Chest ..	... <i>Tuli.</i>	Hunger ...	... <i>N'zala.</i>
Circumcision	... <i>Mushishi.</i>	Jaw ...	... <i>Lowanga.</i>
Clitoris ...	... <i>Peni.</i>	Leg ...	... <i>Malu.</i>
Ear ...	... <i>Matwi.</i>	Liver ..	... <i>Masafu.</i>
Eye ...	... <i>Disu.</i>	Mouth ...	... <i>Kanu.</i>
Eyebrow ...	... <i>Chinchala.</i>	Navel ...	... <i>Mukuma.</i>
Eyelashes ...	... <i>Kongi.</i>	Nose ...	... <i>Bombo.</i>
Fæces ...	... <i>Tuifi.</i>	Penis... ..	... <i>Makata.</i>
Fingers ...	... <i>Milembo.</i>	Pulse... ..	... <i>Mikashi.</i>
Foot ...	... <i>Mitambi.</i>	Ribs ...	... <i>Banji.</i>
Forehead ...	... <i>Bunzu.</i>	Shoulder ...	... <i>Kipanga.</i>
Gleet... ..	... <i>Bumbi.</i>	Skin ...	... <i>Mukanda.</i>
Hair (on body)	... <i>Mika.</i>	Syphilis ..	... <i>Bimbutu.</i>

Testicle	<i>Tsumu.</i>	Tongue	<i>Lilimi.</i>
Thigh	<i>Mokob.</i>	Tooth	<i>Men.</i>
Thirst	<i>Puis.</i>	Vagina	<i>Murintyi.</i>

Weapons, Utensils and the House.

Arrow	<i>Misungu.</i>	Granary	<i>Tangi.</i>
„ (with iron point)	<i>Punza.</i>	Head-cloth	<i>Yepi.</i>
„ („ wooden pt.)	<i>Matomo.</i>	Hoe	<i>Tsengu.</i>
„ („ 4 points)...	<i>Tsali.</i>	House	<i>Nzo.</i>
Bag	<i>Mogoti.</i>	Knife	<i>Bel.</i>
Basket (rectangular)	<i>Makolo.</i>	Mortar	<i>Mushi.</i>
„ (round)	<i>Kimbendi.</i>	Needle	<i>Dongo.</i>
Basket-cover	<i>Bangu.</i>	Pipe (w. bamboo stem)	<i>Fama.</i>
Bead	<i>Misanga.</i>	„ (w. clay bowl) ...	<i>Kinzu.</i>
Beam	<i>Mobangu.</i>	„ (w. gourd stem)	<i>Misaka.</i>
Belt	<i>Moponde.</i>	Pot	<i>Kigangu.</i>
Bottle	<i>Bungu.</i>	Roof	<i>Mudilu.</i>
Bow	<i>Bota.</i>	Sieve	<i>Moswalu.</i>
„ -string... ..	<i>Lukand.</i>	Snare (for birds) ...	<i>M'tamu.</i>
Cage	<i>Ngunzu.</i>	String	<i>Singa.</i>
Cloth (European) ...	<i>Masuni.</i>	„ (native)	<i>Tete.</i>
„ (native)	<i>Pushi.</i>	Thatch	<i>Moango.</i>
Door	<i>Kiavule.</i>	Thread	<i>Lulchin.</i>
Fork (for securing	<i>Taka.</i>	Village	<i>Kurihata.</i>
prisoners).		Wood (f. building) ...	<i>Makund.</i>
Gong... ..	<i>Mon.</i>	„ (small pieces)...	<i>Jil.</i>

The Animal World.

Animal	<i>Dzao.</i>	Fowl	<i>Koke.</i>
Ant	<i>Gwenya.</i>	Frog	<i>Kiula.</i>
Antelope	<i>Bambi.</i>	Goat	<i>Kombo.</i>
Bat	<i>Gonzu.</i>	Grasshopper	{ <i>Pasu.</i>
Bird	<i>Nyuni.</i>		{ <i>Mayoyo.</i>
Blackbird	<i>Kanyi.</i>	Guinea fowl	<i>Kanga.</i>
Buffalo	<i>Baoa.</i>	Hippopotamus	<i>Gufu.</i>
Chameleon	<i>Lungwenia.</i>	Horn... ..	<i>Kibongwe.</i>
Dog	<i>Mboa.</i>	Kite	<i>Yimbi.</i>
Eagle	<i>Lubamba.</i>	Leopard	<i>Tami.</i>
Egg	<i>Maki.</i>	Louse	<i>Tchini.</i>
Elephant	<i>Nzao.</i>	Milk	<i>Mayene.</i>
Falcon	<i>Endembila.</i>	Monkey	<i>Kima.</i>
Feather	<i>Tsala.</i>	Parrot	<i>Kusum Bongi.</i>
Fish	<i>Bizi na mamba.</i>	Partridge	<i>Gwali.</i>
Pig	<i>Gulu.</i>	Rat	<i>Puk.</i>
Pigeon	<i>Yembi.</i>	Snake	<i>Nyoka.</i>
„ (green)	<i>Gundun.</i>	Tail	<i>Mukila.</i>

Vegetable World.

Allspice ...	... <i>Bidi.</i>	Palm-nut ...	... <i>M'ba.</i>
Banana ...	... <i>Titipi.</i>	„ -tree ...	... <i>Gazi.</i>
Bush ...	... <i>Moango.</i>	„ -wine ...	... <i>Makana</i> (also <i>Pussa, Sende</i> and <i>Sampa</i>).
Forest ...	... <i>Mishitu.</i>	Pepper ...	... <i>Kefu.</i>
Gourd ...	... <i>Mundele.</i>	Pineapple ...	... <i>Biba.</i>
Ground-nut ...	... <i>Guba.</i>	Plantain ...	... <i>Matwash.</i>
Maize ...	... <i>Masis.</i>	Tobacco ...	... <i>Fuma.</i>
Manioc ...	... <i>Mitombi.</i>	Wood ...	... <i>Miti.</i>
Maple ...	... <i>Mopelenge.</i>		
Mushroom ...	... <i>Boko.</i>		

Time, the Elements and Geography.

Air ...	... <i>Funji.</i>	Rain ...	... <i>Vula.</i>
Clay ...	... <i>Pemba.</i>	Rainbow ...	... <i>Kongol.</i>
Day ...	... <i>Bilumbu.</i>	Road ...	... <i>Jula.</i>
„ after to-morrow...	<i>N'zundu.</i>	Salt (native)	.. <i>Mokindu.</i>
„ before yesterday	<i>Buzuka.</i>	Salt (imported)	... <i>Mongwa.</i>
Days of the week	{ <i>Bujuka.</i>	Sand ...	{ <i>Toba.</i>
	{ <i>Tek.</i>		{ <i>Mavu.</i>
	{ <i>Gun.</i>	Season (dry)...	.. <i>Kishua.</i>
	{ <i>Pungu</i> (market day).	„ (rainy)	... <i>Vula.</i>
Earth ...	... <i>Mav.</i>	Soon ...	... <i>Kibungi.</i>
Evening ...	... <i>Mokole.</i>	Star ...	... <i>Monien.</i>
Fire ...	... <i>Bao.</i>	Stone ...	... <i>Mamany.</i>
Iron ...	... <i>Don.</i>	Stream ...	... <i>Mokeri.</i>
Lightning ...	... <i>Dzaji.</i>	Sun ...	... <i>Tango.</i>
March ...	... <i>Toba.</i>	To-day ...	... <i>Moana.</i>
Month ...	... <i>Gondo.</i>	To-morrow ...	... <i>Bazi.</i>
Moon ...	... <i>Gondo.</i>	Water ...	... <i>Mamba.</i>
Mountain ...	... <i>Monga.</i>	Week ...	... <i>Pungu.</i>
Night ...	... <i>Pipa.</i>	Wind ...	... <i>Funji.</i>
Plain ...	... <i>Sengu.</i>	Yesterday ...	... <i>Baji.</i>

Verbs.

Be ...	... <i>Kela.</i>	Beat down ...	... <i>Kubuis.</i>
Bear (a child)	... <i>Kubuta.</i>	Bind ...	... <i>Kokasa.</i>
Beat ...	... <i>Kubula.</i>	Boil ...	... <i>Kulamba.</i>

Bring	...	...	<i>Kubonga.</i>	Listen	...	...	<i>Kuyuka.</i>
Call ...	...	...	<i>Kianga.</i>	Love ...	...	...	<i>Kuzola.</i>
Capture	...	...	<i>Niambula.</i>	Mad, be	...	...	<i>Lao.</i>
Carry	...	...	<i>Kunata.</i>	Mock...	...	...	<i>Viako.</i>
Castrate	...	...	<i>Kotokomb.</i>	Pay ...	...	...	<i>Nisim Bika.</i>
Choose	...	...	<i>Kosola.</i>	Pick up	...	...	<i>Kutongona.</i>
Come	...	...	<i>Kuyaka.</i>	Pursue	...	...	<i>Kuluna.</i>
Crush	...	...	<i>Kukuba.</i>	Remain	...	...	<i>Kusumunda.</i>
Cry ...	...	...	<i>Kwakala.</i>	Return	...	...	<i>Kutufuka.</i>
Cut ...	...	...	<i>Kubukula.</i>	Ride ...	...	...	<i>Kunena.</i>
Discuss	...	...	<i>Coza Milonga.</i>	Run ...	...	...	<i>Swangalaka.</i>
Dispute	...	...	<i>Kunwana.</i>	Say ...	...	...	<i>Kuyakula.</i>
Divide	...	...	<i>Kukaba.</i>	See ...	...	...	<i>Kuona.</i>
Draw (bow)	...	...	<i>Kuta.</i>	Send ...	...	...	<i>Kuvitisa.</i>
Drink	...	...	<i>Kuny.</i>	Sew ...	...	...	<i>Kutsuma.</i>
Eat ...	...	...	<i>Kulya.</i>	Sit down	...	...	<i>Kusikuka.</i>
Enter	...	...	<i>Kokota.</i>	Sleep...	...	...	<i>Kunyimba.</i>
Flee ...	...	...	<i>Utin.</i>	Smell	...	...	<i>Kisulu.</i>
Fly away	...	...	<i>Kufurmuka.</i>	Speak	...	...	<i>Kwakula.</i>
Forget	...	...	<i>Kuyimbila.</i>	Strike	...	...	<i>Kubeta.</i>
Give ...	...	...	<i>Kupeka.</i>	Swim	...	...	<i>Kokasa.</i>
Go ...	...	...	<i>Kwenda.</i>	Take ...	...	...	<i>Mata.</i>
Have...	...	...	<i>Tsao.</i>	Throw	...	...	<i>Kubilisa.</i>
Hunt...	...	...	<i>Kukong.</i>	Urinate	...	...	<i>Kutalima.</i>
Impregnate	...	...	<i>Kuhukana.</i>	Vomit	...	...	<i>Koluka.</i>
Jump...	...	...	<i>Kuswa.</i>	Wait...	...	...	<i>Kudimba.</i>
Kill ...	...	...	<i>Kuhonda.</i>	Walk...	...	...	<i>Kwenda.</i>
Know	...	...	<i>Kuntsai.</i>	Wish...	...	...	<i>Kusuluka.</i>
Laugh	...	...	<i>Kushika.</i>	Work	...	...	<i>Tudimi.</i>
Lie ...	...	...	<i>Bokanvu.</i>	Wound	...	...	<i>Kula.</i>
Lie down	...	...	<i>Kunyimba.</i>				

Pronouns, Adjectives and Adverbs.

Above	...	...	<i>Yulu.</i>	Dirty...	...	...	<i>Kombi.</i>
All ...	...	...	<i>Boso.</i>	Far ...	...	...	<i>Kian.</i>
Beautiful	...	...	<i>Kitoki.</i>	Fat ...	...	...	<i>Maji.</i>
Below	...	...	<i>Kumashin.</i>	Fierce	...	...	<i>Kabu.</i>
Between the two	...	...	<i>Kateta Gana.</i>	Good...	...	...	<i>Pim.</i>
Big ...	...	...	<i>Wombata.</i>	He ...	...	...	<i>Yandi.</i>
Bitter	...	...	<i>Kitsinga.</i>	Here ...	...	...	<i>Haa.</i>
Black	...	...	<i>Kapindi.</i>	How much	...	...	<i>M'kwe.</i>
Castrated	...	...	<i>Tong.</i>	I ...	...	...	<i>Mene.</i>
Cold ...	...	...	<i>Tyoshi.</i>	Ill ...	...	...	<i>Pashi.</i>

Immediately...	... <i>Tangari.</i>	Sterile (male)	... <i>Mokobo.</i>
Little ...	... <i>Kiakunda.</i>	Strong ...	... <i>Fuku.</i>
Long ...	... <i>Klaha.</i>	There ...	... <i>Kuna.</i>
Male ...	... <i>Kakala.</i>	They ...	... <i>Bao.</i>
Much ...	... <i>Vula.</i>	Thou ...	... <i>Gei.</i>
No ...	... <i>Lo.</i>	Tired...	... <i>Kulema.</i>
Old ...	... <i>Nuta.</i>	We ...	... <i>Betu.</i>
Quickly ...	... <i>Tsinu.</i>	Where ...	... <i>Ki.</i>
Red ...	... <i>Kubabala.</i>	White ...	... <i>Pemba.</i>
Satisfied ...	... <i>Kutambusa.</i>	Wicked ...	... <i>Kabu.</i>
Slowly ...	... <i>Lokoy Lokoy.</i>	Yes ...	... <i>Ey.</i>
Small ...	... <i>Tchitchi.</i>	You ...	... <i>Ben.</i>
Sterile (female)	... <i>Mish Kisita.</i>	Young ...	... <i>Moleki.</i>

Numbers.

One ...	... { <i>Mo.</i> <i>Moshi.</i>	Eight ...	... { <i>Nan.</i> <i>Kinan.</i>
Two ...	... { <i>Vil.</i> <i>Bole.</i>	Nine ...	... { <i>Voa.</i> <i>Kivoo.</i>
Three ...	... { <i>Tat.</i> <i>Matatu.</i>	Ten ...	... <i>Kum.</i>
Four ...	... { <i>Ia.</i> <i>Waia.</i>	Eleven ...	... <i>Kuminundo.</i>
Five ...	... { <i>Tan.</i> <i>Mitano.</i>	Twenty ...	... <i>Makumimole.</i>
Six ...	... { <i>Siamon.</i> <i>Masambanu.</i>	Thirty ...	... <i>Makuma tatu.</i>
Seven ...	... { <i>Nitseme.</i> <i>Samboadi.</i>	Hundred ...	... <i>Kama.</i>
		Thousand ...	... <i>Funa.</i>
		Ten thousand ...	... <i>Tsuku.</i>
		How much ...	... <i>M'kwe.</i>

Miscellaneous.

Bewitchment	... <i>Konji.</i>	Palaver ...	... <i>Milonga.</i>
Brass rod (currency)	{ <i>Kunga.</i> <i>Monengo.</i>	Plait ..	... <i>Tangi.</i>
Dance ...	... <i>Makino.</i>	Plunder (i.e., the share	<i>Miongo.</i>
Evil spirit ...	... <i>Moloki.</i>	to which each vil-	lage has a right).
Fear ...	... <i>Bom.</i>	Present ...	... <i>Mokwala.</i>
Fetish ...	... <i>Mikissi.</i>	Salutation ...	... <i>Moyo.</i>
„ great ...	... <i>Kikunga.</i>	Skirmish ...	... <i>Kutana.</i>
„ small ...	... <i>Hemba.</i>	Sleep...	... <i>Kilu.</i>
Flesh (human)	... <i>Misuni.</i>	Song ..	... <i>Mokunga.</i>
Hunt...	... <i>Kongo.</i>	Soul ...	... <i>Doshi.</i>
Magician ...	... <i>Deji.</i>	War ...	... <i>N'jita.</i>

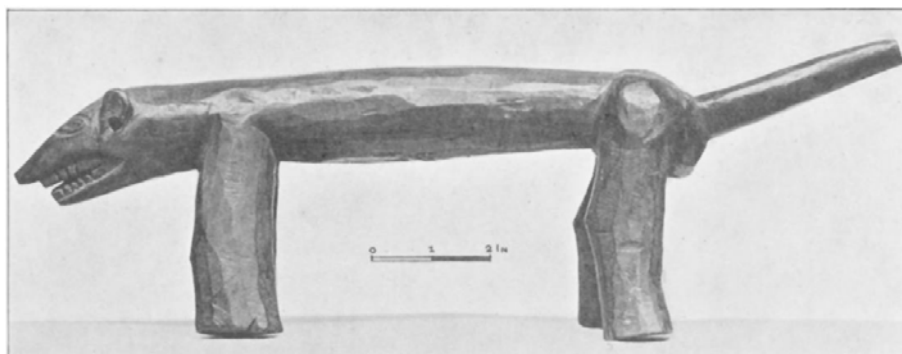


Fig 1. Wooden fetish. L. 40 0 cm.

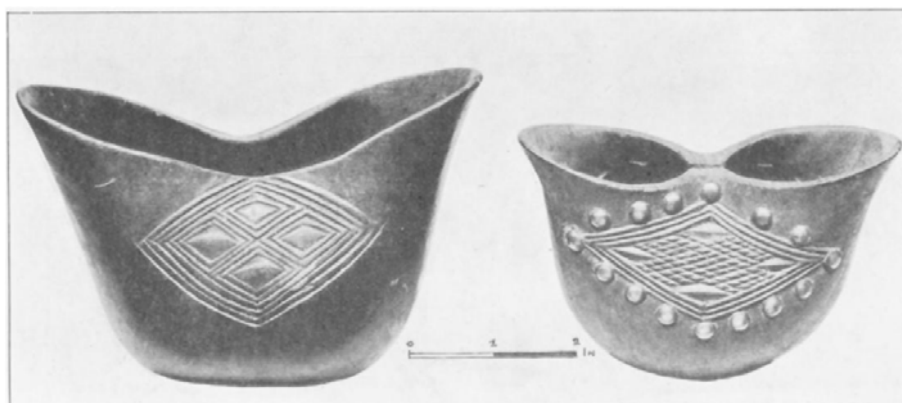


Fig. 2. Wooden drinking, vessels. w. 14,3 and 11.8 cm.

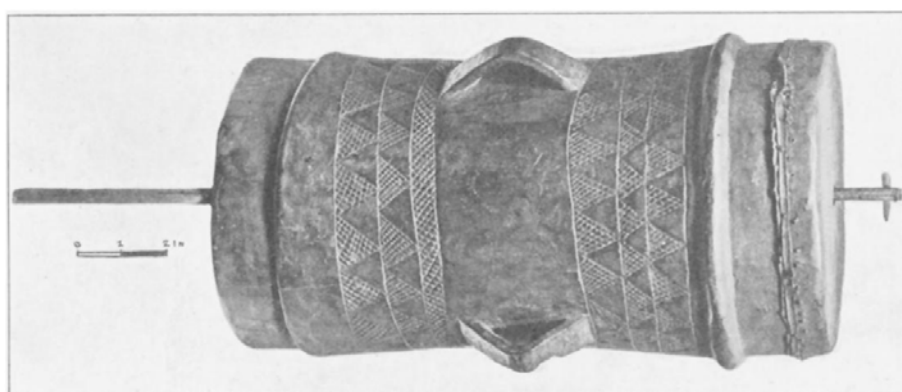


Fig. 3. friction-drum. L. of cylinder 34.8 cm.

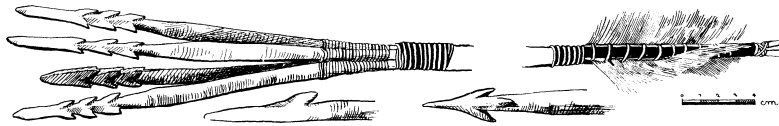


FIG. 1.—HUNTING ARROWS (pp. 42, 49).

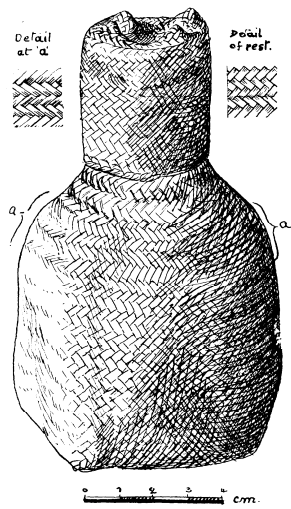


FIG. 2.—BASKET FOR CURRENCY SHELLS (p. 43).

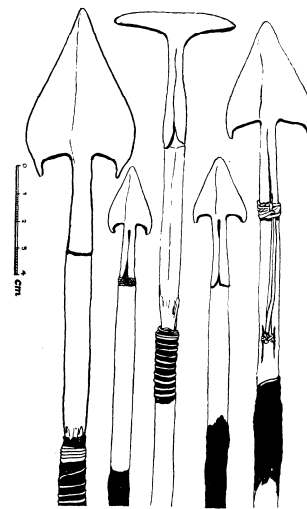


FIG. 3.—WAR ARROWS (p. 49).

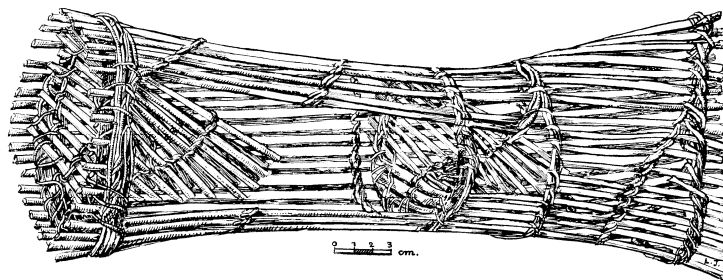


FIG. 4.—FISH TRAP (p. 42).